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Music

Volume 1 of 1

Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Insular Polyphony of the "Long Thirteenth Century" (c. 1150-c.1350)

by

Amy Williamson

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GENRE, TAXONOMY AND REPERTORY IN INSULAR POLYPHONY OF THE "LONG THIRTEENTH CENTURY" (c. 1150-c.1350)

Amy Williamson

Modern scholarship has often viewed insular medieval music unfavourably in comparison to continental and, specifically, Notre Dame composition. This is, in part, due to the fragmentary remains of the insular repertory and the lack of theoretical literature relevant to insular composition, which clearly contrasted with French practices, at times. These differences have been perceived pejoratively in scholarly study, often through a lack of understanding of contemporary aims and perceptions. This thesis therefore attempts to pinpoint the unique features of the insular style and repertory, to quantify their frequency in the extant sources and compositions, and to provide an overview of the entire extant insular polyphonic repertory from the "long thirteenth century".

It has often been observed that part of the uniquely insular approach to composition is a more fluid approach to and cultivation of genre. Whereas French composition focussed on the development of several specific genres, each with their own set of standard rules for composition that were rigidly adhered to, for the most part, insular composers seem to have preferred to experiment, mixing features of French genres, and techniques to create pieces that do not appear to conform to any one continental generic style. Furthermore, while compositions in French manuscripts are organised according to their genre, and the number of voices included, insular manuscripts appear not to follow this organisational style in a significant number of extant sources. This study therefore aims to explore and discuss insular composition in terms of genre, and to investigate and quantify how often insular manuscript sources appear to have been organised in a manner reflective of a more experimental approach to genre.

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List of Accompanying Materials

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- Catalogue of Insular Sources
- Catogue of the Worcester Fragments
- The 11th Fascicle of W_1
- The Harleian Index
- Continental Monotextual Motet Concordances
- List of Recently Discovered Fragments at Worcester
- A Possible Medieval Popular Canon?

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Amy Williamson, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Insular Polyphony of the "Long Thirteenth Century" (c. 1150-c.1350)

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
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3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
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6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
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Acknowledgements

There are many people to thank for their support and contributions to this project. I thank my supervisor, Mark Everist, for his advice, encouragement, and enthusiasm for my project. His confidence in my capabilities helped me to persevere when times were hard. Thanks also to the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for providing me with a full studentship as part of the *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* (CPI) research project.

I would like to thank my colleagues in the Music Department at the University of Southampton, who have been unfailingly supportive and encouraging. Special thanks goes to my colleagues on the CPI team: Jacopo Mazzeo, Gregorio Bevilacqua, Asher Yampolsky, and Lena Wahlgren-Smith. They are wonderful colleagues, and I have benefitted immensely from their own insights into the field of medieval study. Thanks to Gregorio, too, for offering his opinions and advice on some of my research. I would also like to thank Laurie Stras for her help and support in seeing this project to its fruition, and to Tom Irvine, for his interest and encouragement. During my studies I have benefitted from the experience of acting as an assistant in the compilation of *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (forthcoming), and working with some of the most well-respected names in my field. Thank you to Mark for providing me with this opportunity.

Thanks also to colleagues outside of the Music Department at Southampton, who have offered help and advice, and particular thanks to Sean Curran for sharing some of his current research with me. Thanks also to Edward Roesner, for his encouragement, kindness and advice. I want to thank Jane Bliss, too, for her generosity in providing meticulous proof reading of this work, and for her enthusiasm for my research.

Most importantly, this project would not have been achievable without the support of my friends and family. Dr Sarah Boak, you have supported me through the most difficult times, both professionally and emotionally, without fail. Your kindness, your cheery disposition, and your generosity have been so invaluable, and I thank you for all of the fun and laughter along the way. Thanks also to Julia Martin and Dr Austin Glatthorn for your friendship, and for the hilarity and silliness you have both shared with me. I'm so glad that I was able to meet you all. I would also like to offer special thanks to Emily Duke. You have listened to all of my worries and concerns, you have been there through all of my personal difficulties, and most importantly we have had so much fun together. Thank you for your love and friendship.

To my partner Jonny Bliss, I thank you for your calmness, patience, love and support. You are one of the most selfless and generous people I know, and your positive outlook on life has been of great comfort to me. Thank you also to my mum, Lyn, and my stepfather, Peter, for your unconditional love, your support, both financial and emotional, over the years, and for always being there for me when I needed you.

Finally, I would like to thank my lovely daddy, who passed away during the writing of this thesis. I would never have considered taking a doctoral degree without his complete faith in my abilities and his great pride in my achievements. He always had valuable insight and advice, he was so very kind, and he was also my greatest friend. It was his dying wish that I complete this project, and so I dedicate this work to him.

Introduction

1.1 The Remains of the Insular Repertory

It is extremely difficult to evaluate, reconstruct or characterise the polyphony of the "long thirteenth-century" in England.[1] Only meagre and mutilated evidence of the cultivation and copying of polyphony survives, in the form of small, scattered fragments of what were, in many cases, once much larger books of music. Most fragments can be found as flyleaves, pastedowns or as strips to strengthen bindings in newer manuscripts and early printed books.[2] However, the number of apparently unrelated insular fragments found suggest that the composition and cultivation of polyphony was widespread in medieval England.

It is impossible to capture the same impression of polyphonic composition in the British Isles as we can in France, since no complete or near-complete sources survive. Unlike the relics of French polyphony, of which a large proportion survive in full (or nearly so), only W_1 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 [*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 682]) – a source that consists of music of the Notre Dame repertory, with a single fascicle of insular additions – survives in a similar state.[3] Similarly, although a number of theoretical writings and musical treatise survive detailing continental compositional theory, genre and practice, very few such treatises survive for insular music.[4] Furthermore, many of the surviving, brief discussions of insular musical styles, genres and

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[1] Any reference to the "thirteenth century" should be interpreted instead as reference to the "long thirteenth century" – inclusive of all evidence of the period from, roughly, 1150 to 1350.

[2] A few sources have survived through more unusual means, however. *GB-DOr* PE/NBY/MI 1 was found in a cavity of the wall of the clock chamber in a parish church in Netherbury, Dorset, presumably as insulation, and *GB-AB* 22857E was discovered used as stuffing in an old chair cushion in Machynlleth.

[3] Apart from W_1, only the Winchester Troper (c.1000) and the Old Hall Manuscript (c.1420) survive in similar states. The entire high medieval period is therefore devoid of musical remains of a high rate of preservation. See *GB-Ob* Bodley 775 and *GB-Ccc* 473 for the Winchester Troper and *GB-Lbl* Add. 57950 for the Old Hall Manuscript.

[4] Although, somewhat ironically, the most important theoretical source for the music of the Notre Dame school is in fact an Englishman (Anonymous IV), who appears to have been a monk of Bury St Edmunds who studied at the University of Paris. He does make reference to insular compositional practices, but his comments are notoriously brief and equivocal. He refers to specifically insular notational practices (although only discussing one in particular – usually agreed to refer to the so-called English *conjunctura*), he makes mention of an English irregular rhythmic mode (interpreted in modern scholarship as a reference to binary rhythm) and he talks of an English style, whereby those in the West Country like to sing in major and minor thirds. Apart from his comments being brief and hard to interpret with any confidence for the most part, there is no guarantee that Anonymous IV's knowledge of insular composition was as extensive as his knowledge of the French. If we assume that he was probably a student at the University of Paris and a monk of Bury St Edmunds, we might wonder how he had an apparent knowledge of music and style in the West of England. In fact, some of his comments would appear not to make sense when compared to the surviving evidence – see chapter 5. English music is mentioned in other writings – such as the Chronicle written by

practices are unclear, ambiguous and imprecise – partly as a result of the descriptions themselves (which can be difficult to decipher), and partly through the ambiguity of certain Latin words, when the intended meaning is not clear from the context.[5] We are therefore restricted in our understanding of contemporary insular musical thought, and of attitudes towards genre, composition and style. Modern descriptions of the insular style are therefore often insufficiently qualified, vague or conflicting. This is not the case with French polyphony since theoretical writings survive in greater number, with reference to a wider range of musical topics, and a clearer match to surviving repertories.[6]

1.2 The Historiography of Insular Polyphony

Since insular musical culture was clearly influenced by, and shared elements of French compositional practice, the lack of contemporary theoretical writing has encouraged modern study to define the insular repertory on the basis of a comparison with the French repertory. Despite exhibiting some significant differences, insular practices are today seen only through the lens of continental composition. This comparison encourages unfavourable views of insular composition, where differences and diversions from the continental model may be perceived as erroneous and inferior, and where insular styles appear as poorly understood attempts at emulating French compositional practice. As a result, English medieval musical history has been frequently overshadowed in favour of that of mainland Europe, the music deemed less important to the development of medieval musical culture.

Gerald of Wales. He appears to refer to the practice of singing in many parts, but the significance, accuracy and meaning here is unclear and his words are somewhat ambiguous anyway.

[5] The only musical treatise written by an Englishman and about insular music that survives from this period is *De Speculatione Musices* by Walter of Evesham. It survives only in part. Although it contains the only extant discussion of *rondellus*, and comments on a number of genres, it is quite difficult to interpret. In general, Walter's descriptions are less than clear and his use of language is ambiguous. It should be made clear here that Walter of Evesham is best known to modern scholars as Walter Odington. However, Elina Hamilton has shown that this pseudonym is the result of an old error, made during the eighteenth century and repeated in academic study ever since. There were actually two Walters active at similar points in time. The Walter who wrote *De Speculatione Musices* is named in some of the surviving manuscript sources of the treatise as Walter of Evesham. Another Walter, who wrote a mathematical and scientific treatise, was sometimes referred to as Walter of Eynsham, and the two became confused. It is Walter of Eynsham who was also known as Walter Odington, and not our music theorist. For more information see, Elina Hamilton, "Walter of Evesham Abbey and the Intellectual Milieu of Fourteenth-century English Music Theory" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Bangor, 2014).

[6] See, for instance, the writings of Johannes de Garlandia, Johannes de Grocheio, Petrus de Cruce, Franco of Cologne, Jacob de Liege, Johannes de Muris, Philippe de Vitry, to name but a few.

The situation has not been improved by the lack of an insular equivalent to Ludwig's comprehensive catalogue of continental sources.[7] Perhaps as a result, a disproportionate amount of importance has been given to certain songs and sources in the surviving repertory. Therefore, one of the main obstacles in this area of study is separating fact from fiction, and legend from legacy. The most frequently discussed sources in the insular repertory include the collection of manuscript remains known as the Worcester Fragments, and a number of compositions in the vernacular – in particular, the *rota* 'Sumer is icumen in'.[8] The 11th fascicle of W_1, conversely, is regularly omitted from discussions of thirteenth-century insular music. The status given to these particular remains has become embedded into a standardised narrative; the existing scholarship has become intrinsically linked to the historiography of modern musicology itself. Focus on the Worcester Fragments and vernacular song has been to the detriment of the rest of the extant repertory, and has fostered a misleading conception that the there is little else of interest surviving from the British Isles. In fact, the Worcester Fragments represent only a minor portion of the extant polyphony from thirteenth-century England.

1.2.1 The Worcester Fragments

The so-called Worcester Fragments are a collection of fragments removed from numerous host sources, some from books in Worcester Cathedral Library, and others from books in the British Library, the Bodleian Library and Magdalene College Library, Oxford, all of which appear to have once resided at Worcester Cathedral Library.[9] The fragments were first brought to

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[7] This situation might have been different, however. Hughes reports that the Chapter Librarian at Worcester Cathedral Library told him that Ludwig had previously requested access to the newly-discovered fragments for inclusion in his study, but this request was denied. Apparently, the librarian told Hughes that he "saw no reason on earth why we should let a foreign scholar come in and reap the benefits of editing what we could perfectly well do for ourselves in England". As Losseff states, "That Ludwig was turned away, and thus did not have the opportunity to discuss insular music alongside Notre Dame, has probably been the largest single reason why scholars still have to press for the recognition of the importance of insular music in the thirteenth century". See Anselm Hughes, *Septuagesima* (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1953), p. 26 and Nicola Losseff, "Insular Sources of Thirteenth-Century Polyphony and the Significance of Notre Dame" (Ph.D Dissertation, Kings College, London, 1993), p. 31, n. 65. For Ludwig's catalogue, see Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols (1 (1) - Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); (1 (2) - [345-456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of 'Die Quellen der Motetten altesten Stils', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923) 185-222 and 273-315, Summa musicae medii aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1961; *R* [345-456], [457-783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music,1978); (2 - [1-71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8 - 65-71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1962; *R* [1-64, 65-71 corrected], [72-155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972).

[8] Found in the miscellany *GB-Lbl* Harley 978.

[9] For more information about the host sources, and for general information about the contents of the library (including those items no longer *in situ*), see Rodney Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: 2001).

musicological attention by Dom Anselm Hughes in the 1920s, who first coined the term "the Worcester Fragments". Hughes attempted to reconstruct and catalogue the fragments, creating two modern composite sources – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Latin liturgical D. 20 [*GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. D. 20] and Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68 [*GB-WO* Add. 68] – and he published an edition to accompany his findings and analysis.[10] He identified at least three original manuscript sources among the leaves. Evidence of his preliminary work on the fragments can be found in the form of letters in *GB-Ob* Lat. litug. D. 20. In Hughes' first letter to the Consultant Librarian at the Bodleian in 1924, he asks for some of the fragments to be removed from the bindings of their host sources, and he clearly states that:

> Their [the Worcester Fragments'] importance in musical history can hardly be over-estimated, as practically nothing else has survived in English music between 1226 and 1400 of a level of culture in any way comparable to that of France and Italy.[11]

By the time Hughes published his findings in *Worcester Medieval Harmony* his opinion of the history of the fragments had taken several steps forward. He writes in the introduction to the volume that it is "highly probable" that there was a school of composition at Worcester during the thirteenth century.[12] He provides almost no evidence for this assumption, which appears to be an attempt to validate the importance he felt the fragments held. He portrays Worcester as the musical centre of insular musical culture during this time, and consequently renders the rest of the repertory as inferior in comparison. Luther Dittmer gave the fragments further attention in the 1950s, and his catalogue remains the most exhaustive examination to date.[13] He clearly shared Hughes' opinions, stating that the surviving music "attests to the fact that this music was sung in Worcester, undoubtedly at the Cathedral, from the beginning of the 13th century to the middle of the 14th century".[14]

Right or wrong, Hughes' and Dittmer's studies have influenced subsequent scholarship, and their views have been reiterated again and again, particularly in general histories. The fact that such volumes are exposed to a far-reaching readership has obvious consequences for the understanding of English thirteenth-century music. In his 1940 publication, *Music in the Middle Ages*, Gustave Reese writes, "They [the fragments] indicate the existence at Worcester of a school

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[10] Dom Anselm Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony of the Thirteenth & Fourteenth Centuries* (Burnham: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1928).
[11] The letters can be found as part of the composite source *GB-Ob* lat. Liturg. D. 20, stored in the Bodleian Library.
[12] Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1928), p. 27.
[13] Luther A. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription,* Musicological Studies and Documents 2 (American Institute of Musicology, 1957).
[14] Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments,* p. 9.

of composers who seem to have been influenced by older French music", producing work that was "old-fashioned in comparison with contemporary French compositions".[15] Later, in 1960, Donald Grout writes, "The chief sources of our knowledge of English fourteenth-century music are a number of manuscript fragments containing works that point to the existence of a school of composition centering at Worcester Cathedral".[16]

Since almost all of the fragments appear to have come from host sources that were once at Worcester Cathedral it might seem most logical to assume that the fragments originated there, but there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the music was copied at Worcester (rather than simply dismembered and rebound there).[17] It requires a big leap of faith to assume that the music was composed at Worcester, and even more so if we are to believe that there was a school of composition there. There is nothing to suggest that the music was performed at Worcester either. In fact, apart from their preservation in volumes once at Worcester, there is absolutely nothing to connect the leaves or the music to Worcester Cathedral.

Some scholars have attempted to find evidence of book production and polyphony at Worcester. Harrison's evidence all dates from the late fourteenth century and cannot be used to refer to similar activity in the thirteenth century. Despite this, he states, "the most active centres of the cultivation of polyphony until the mid 14th century were undoubtedly the greater Benedictine Abbeys. There are actual musical remains from Reading, Worcester and Bury St Edmunds".[18] In fact, it would seem most likely that the fragments were bound into newer volumes during the early sixteenth century (c. 1529-32), when a rebinding initiative appears to have taken place at the cathedral. [19] By this point, some two hundred years and more after they were copied, the music leaves could have easily arrived at Worcester from elsewhere. When only

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[15] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1940), pp. 397-8.
[16] Donald J. Grout, *A History of Western Music* (New York, W.W. Norton and Company, 1960), p. 131.
[17] A number of fragments have been recovered from manuscripts in the Worcester Cathedral Library: *GB-WO* F 109, *GB-WO* F 43, *GB-WO* Q 24, *GB-WO* F 152, *GB-WO* F 64, *GB-WO* F 37, *GB-WO* Q 21, *GB-WO* Q 72(?),*GB-WO* F 133, *GB-WO* F 34, *GB-WO* Q 31, *GB-WO* F 125. However, other fragments have been found in manuscripts found elsewhere. Music leaves were reused as flyleaves in *GB-Lbl* Add. 25031, a medical miscellany originally from Worcester. These pages are from the same book as those recovered from *GB-Ob* Auct. F. inf. I. 3 and *GB-Ob* Bodley 862. Both of these sources are known to have belonged to Worcester Cathedral. Other manuscripts include *GB-Ob* Hatton 30 and *GB-Omc* 100. *GB-Ob* Hatton 30 appears to have been written at Glastonbury, but was taken to Worcester at some point before the fifteenth century, according to an inscription. *GB-Omc* 100 is known as the Worcester Psalter, and was most likely copied at Worcester (or for Worcester) during the thirteenth century. For more information see Rodney Thomson, *Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*; and Neil Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964). However, further leaves have been recovered from at least one unknown host source.
[18] Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge, 1963), p. 112.
[19] Thomson, *Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library.*

the existing evidence is considered, the confidence with which the above arguments for a school of composition at Worcester are expressed seems misplaced.

Nicola Losseff discusses the provenance of the fragments.[20] In an attempt to determine whether the music is likely to have been composed at Worcester as opposed to elsewhere, she compares the chants of a sample of the pieces preserved in the fragments with *cantus firmi* to their appropriate chants, preserved in a thirteenth-century, near-complete Gradual of Worcester provenance (*GB-WO* F 160), or to some troped Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus dei settings preserved afterwards on folios 292-352.[21] Losseff acknowledges the speculative nature of her analysis, and the limitations of working with largely fragmentary material, and she is only able to compare a limited number of chants (partly due to fragmentary or missing *cantus firmus* voices in the fragments, and partly because the chant used as a *cantus firmus* cannot be found in the Gradual). Through the previous work of Luther Dittmer and Dom Anselm Hughes, and with further analysis from Lefferts, among others, it is generally accepted that the fragments can be reconstructed into (at least) three original manuscripts. Losseff is therefore able to compare eight chants from Reconstruction I, three from Reconstruction II and only a single chant from Reconstruction III. None of the chants are exactly the same in both sources – all are variants, some minor and some quite substantial. As Losseff states, however,

> The most damning evidence is not the lack of correspondence between the chants and the chant settings but the fact that so many of them cannot be found at all. In the case of the Ordinary chants this cannot be owing to *lacunae* in the chant source as these two sections of the manuscript are contiguous with other sections which begin on the same page.[22]

More recently, there has been a concerted effort to pay closer attention to other extant sources in the repertory through studies such as Peter Lefferts' analysis of insular motets, and Losseff's study of the importance of thirteenth-century insular polyphony and its relationship to the Notre Dame school.[23] However, the legendary status the fragments have acquired through earlier scholarship persists when a more comprehensive view of the entire extant repertory is described. For example, Lefferts' and Ernest Sanders' entry in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* for "English Polyphony 1270-1400" refers repeatedly to the Worcester Fragments,

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[20] Nicola Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 82-88.
[21] *Ibid.* pp. 82-88.
[22] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 86.
[23] Peter Martin Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (PhD, Columbia University, 1983).

rather than other extant sources.[24] After the initial introductory section of the entry, where they are referred to several times, an entire subsection is devoted to a description of the Worcester Fragments. This is followed by a third and final subsection, entitled "Other individual sources", where a selection of other extant sources are listed together, with no one entry coming anywhere close to the length of the Worcester Fragment subsection.

1.2.2 'Sumer is icumen in'

A number of individual compositions, particularly the few extant compositions with vernacular texts, have also received exaggerated emphasis. Of these, the most famous is certainly the *rota* contained in the manuscript London, British Library, Harley 978 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 978], 'Sumer is icumen in'. Interestingly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 is the first source listed in the subsection entitled "Other individual sources" in Lefferts' and Sanders' Grove article. *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 and the *rota* were first brought to musicological attention by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of Music* (1776).[25] He calls it "the most ancient English song with the musical notes perhaps anywhere extant".[26] As many of the sources now known to musicologists were yet to be discovered during Hawkins' time, this piece came to be of great interest as one of the sole relics of nearly 200 years of music history. Initial declarations of importance and value, as well as incautiously expressed theories were perpetuated through writings of subsequent scholars. Over 100 years later, in 1895, Henry Davey writes "So far as we know, not a piece endurable by modern ears existed before 1400, or ever did exist, save and except only ' Sumer is icumen in.'"[27] Later still, in 1914, Hurry states, "But no contemporary polyphonic composition can for a moment compare with the Canon, whose composer must have been one of the greatest musicians the world has ever known."[28]

This sort of hyperbolic writing seems somewhat foreign from a modern perspective. However, the persistent interest in the Sumer Canon is partly due to the nature of the piece itself, which, unlike many other medieval compositions, sounds familiar to twentieth-century ears. The aesthetic value invested in this *rota* is therefore based upon modern value judgements as much as on any sort of historically contingent criteria. In 1928, Gray writes,

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[24] Ernest H Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, "Sources, MS, §VI: English Polyphony 1270-1400", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158 [Accessed 7 March 2016].
[25] Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* 5 vols (London: T Payne and Son, 1776).
[26] Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* Vol. 1, p. 201.
[27] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1895), p. 47.
[28] Jamieson Hurry, *Sumer is icumen in* (London: Novello and Company, 1914), p. 17.

> If it would seem that too much stress is laid here on a single piece of music like the reading *rota* it is because in aesthetic value and interest it outweighs by itself all the rest combined of the polyphonic music of the period that has survived.[29]

Furthermore, the Sumer Canon uses what appears to be the earliest extant example of canon technique, with a unique musical structure that sets it apart from other sources. As Colton states, it has therefore been approached as a "pivotal work of art".[30] So familiar has it become that it is known by several affectionate pseudonyms, such as 'The Sumer Canon' and 'The Reading *Rota*'. It is one of very few medieval English compositions to have its own entry in Grove, it is one of very few English medieval pieces available to buy on iTunes, and it has been the topic of innumerable scholarly studies, from Handschin's articles in the 1950s to Fred Büttner's 1990 dissertation.[31] Despite the fact that the study of medieval music has changed infinitely in the last 200 years, and many more extant sources have come to light, the Sumer Canon still occupies pole position of the study of English composition, risking distortion of our understanding of English musical history.

Other individual compositions held in high esteem, to a lesser extent, include several with vernacular texts, perhaps accounting for some of the level of interest they have inspired.[32] *Angelus ad virginum* is preserved in the miscellany London, British Library, Arundel 248 [*GB-Lbl* Arundel 248] with an English *contrafactum*, "Gabriele, from evene king". It is also mentioned by

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[29] Cecil Gray, *The History of Music* (New York: Knopf, 1928), p. 40.

[30] From the paper "'No Rude Attempt at Vocal Harmony': Sumer is icumen in and the Canon of English Music", read by Lisa Colton at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference at Royal Holloway, University of London, on 6 July 2010.

[31] Jacques Handschin, 'The Summer Canon and its Background', *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 3 (1949), pp.55-94; vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; Fred Büttner, *Klang und Konstruktion in der Englischen Mehrstimmigkeit des 13. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Stimmtauchskompositionen in den Worcester-Fragmenten*. Münchner Editionen zur Musikgeschichte, 47. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1990); Lisa Colton, "Sumer is icumen in", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27110 [Accessed 8 March 2016]. Numerous other articles and books exist in which the Sumer Canon holds a prominent position. For example, see Ross Duffin, 'The Sumer Canon: A New Revision', *Speculum,* Vol. 63 (1988), pp. 1-21; Manfred Bukofzer, "'Sumer is icumen in': A revision", *University of California Publications in Music,* Vol. 2 (1944), pp. 79-114; W. Obst, "'Sumer is icumen in': A Contrafactum?" *Music & Letters,* Vol. 64 (1983), pp. 151-161; G. H. Roscow, "What is 'Sumer is icumen in'?" *Review of English Studies,* Vol. 50 (1999), pp. 188-195; Bertram Schofield, "The Provenance and Date of 'Sumer is icumen in'", *The Music Review* (1948), pp. 81-6; David Wulstan, "'Sumer is icumen in': A Perpetual Puzzle Canon?" *Plainsong and Medieval Music,* Vol. 9 (1999), pp. 1-18; Andrew Taylor and A. E. Coates, "The Dates of the Reading Calendar and the Summer Canon", *Notes and Queries,* Vol. 243 (1998), pp. 22–24; N. Pirrotta: 'On the Problem of "Sumer is icumen in"', *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 2 (1948), pp. 205–16.

[32] For the most recent study of insular songs with vernacular texts and their manuscript sources, see Helen Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources, c.1150-1300: An Edition of the Surviving Songs in British Manuscript Dources Dated Between c.1150 and 1300, Many of them Only Recently Discovered, and Over Half Never Before Edited,* Musica Britannica 95 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013), which includes modern editions and texts.

Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, during the Miller's Tale.[33] It received early attention from William Chappell, and was the feature of an article by Christopher Page.[34] *Jesu Cristes milde moder* from the same manuscript has also been the focus of some academic attention.[35] Another English-texted piece, *Worldes Blisce, have god day*, found on the single bifolium of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8 [*GB-Ccc* 8], was given particular attention by Bukofzer in his 1936 article "The First Motet with English Words", and there have been various subsequent mentions of the piece. [36] Bukofzer believes it to be an isorhythmic motet, built on a *Benedicamus domino* tenor.

1.2.3 The 11th Fascicle of W_1

Treatment of the 11th fascicle of W_1 presents a slightly different set of issues. This source, dating probably from the 1230s and originating in St Andrews, transmits music from the Notre Dame repertory.[37] The 11th fascicle however, is a later addition and its music appears to have been composed locally. This fascicle of insular additions has suffered by comparison to the rest of the manuscript. It was given some attention by Ludwig, when compiling his *Repertorium*, who commented that it is in an older, less advanced style than the rest of the repertoire.[38] Handschin identified the fascicle as insular, explaining the relative simplicity he found in the style of its repertoire.[39] He called it, along with the other compositions slotted into previous fascicles,

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[33] The song is sung by a young Oxford scholar named Nicholas in the Miller's Tale, to the accompaniment of a psaltery: "And al above ther lay a gay sautrie/On which he made a-nyghtes melodie/So swetely that the chambre rong;/And *Angelus ad virginem* he song;/And after that he song the Kynges Noote./Full often blessed was his myrie throte."

[34] Christopher Page, "'Angelus ad Virginem': A New Work by Philippe the Chancellor?" *Early Music*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1983), pp. 69-70. See also John Stevens, "'Angelus ad virginem': the History of a Medieval Song", in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett,* ed. P. L. Heyworth (Oxford, 1981), pp. 297-328.

[35] J. B. Trend, "The First English Songs", *Music & Letters,* Vol. 9, No. 2 (1928), pp. 111-128; Friedrich Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten älteſten Stils"*, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 5. Jahrg., H. 4. (1924), pp. 273-315; Sylvia W. Kenney, "'English Discant' and Discant in England", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1959), pp. 26-48; Manfred Bukofzer, "The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polyphony", *Music & Letters*, Vo. 16, No.2 (1935), pp. 77-84.

[36] Manfred Bukofzer and G. D. H. Pidcock, "The First Motet with English Words", *Music & Letters,* Vol. 17, No. 3 (Jul. 1936), pp. 225-233; Peter M. Lefferts, "Two English Motets on Simon de Montfort", *Early Music History,* Vol. 1 (1981), pp. 203-225; Sanders, Ernest H.. "Die Rolle Der Englischen Mehrstimmigkeit Des Mittelalters in Der Entwicklung Von Cantus-firmus-satz Und Tonalitätsstruktur". *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* Vol. 24.1 (1967), pp. 24–53.

[37] It is generally accepted that Mark Everist's 1986 article on the transmission of the material in W_1 to Scotland and his proposed date for the copying of the source presents the most likely argument for the origins of W_1. For more information, see Mark Everist, "From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 43 (1990), pp. 1-42.

[38] Ludwig, *Repertorium*.

[39] See Jacques Handschin, "Zur Frage de Melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelaltter", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X (1928), pp. 513-559; and Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background", 2 vols, *Musica Disciplina*, I: Vol. 3 (1949), pp. 55-94; II: Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113.

"peripheral", a term also used by Ernest Sanders.[40] Edward Roesner's Ph.D dissertation distances the fascicle not only from Notre Dame composition, but also from other English pieces. He states that although the genres found are typical of the extra-Parisian polyphony of the period such as that found in Britain, for example, in the Worcester Fragments and London, Lambeth Palace, 457 [*GB-Llp* 457], the techniques used in these compositions are apparently "markedly different from those found in W_1 (11)".[41] He asserts that the progressive Worcester Fragments, which appear "to have been touched by the extensive cross-pollination that occurred during the thirteenth century between the Parisian and these other centres [note here that he refers to Worcester as a "centre"], show activity of elements related to the motet and use of structural manipulation and reshaping of *cantus firmi*".[42] However, he argues that the 11th fascicle, "like the earlier part of W_1, appears to have held itself aloof from such developments".[43] The fact that the style of composition included in this fascicle is not like that of the Worcester Fragments, to me, seems unsurprising. W_1 is the only Notre Dame source not to contain motets. It contains gradual and alleluia settings for use in the liturgy. It seems only appropriate that a scribe would add insular liturgical settings to this volume, which conformed to the local Rite and could be used in practice alongside appropriate Notre Dame compositions. The fact that this whole fascicle is made up of two-part Mass settings, and that some of these appear to have been put in an order (which is hardly typical of English source organisation as a whole), suggests a desire to conform to the rest of the contents of W_1. I, too, find it hard to argue that St Andrews was "aloof from such developments" when a book like W_1 was copied there.

1.2.4 Legend and *Lacunae*

There are a number of reasons why certain pieces and sources have received a greater emphasis than others. During the eighteenth century there was a particular interest in early Western musical repertories as a way of tracing the history of music from antiquity to the modern present, and as Andrew Kirkman puts it "identifying great artists from the past as precursors of the geniuses identified in the present".[44] Notions of aesthetics, and the "work of art" preoccupied eighteenth-century scholars, but the music of the later Middle Ages created obvious obstacles for

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[40] Ernest Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* vol. 17 (1964), pp. 261-287.
[41] Edward Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628, Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle", 2 vols (Ph.D Dissertation, New York University, 1974). See Vol. 1, p. 355.
[42] *Ibid*.
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] Andrew Kirkman, "The Invention of the Cyclic Mass", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 54 (2001), p. 17.

scholarship. Furthermore, British history created more problems than that of France or Italy, where more recognisable quality could be made to be evident. The highly fragmentary remains of (in England's case) a totally anonymous repertory made the inclusion of these works into a coherent history problematic. They created a large and cavernous hole, which historians felt compelled to attempt to fill in the best way that they could. So when Hegel commented of the fifteenth century that it was "the dawn, the harbinger of a new fine day after the long, fateful and terrible night of the Middle Ages", such a work as 'Sumer is icumen in' came to represent a source of light in the otherwise dark and soulless Medieval period.[45]

The eighteenth-century scholarly interest in English musical history and the desire to fill historical *lacunae* led to an English musical renaissance in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a new focus on English composition, and the showcasing of English composers through performance of their works.[46] Furthermore, with the onset of the Second World War, "a music for England became a political priority, an extension of competing nationalisms".[47] The focus on "Englishness" and the English contribution to Western musical history therefore continued to influence scholarship even in the twentieth century. Hidden agendas in musical scholarship have influenced our perception of English medieval music. As the Nazi's were able to manipulate the history of music to conform to their own narrative, so scholars of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could interpret the English role in the development of Western music to suit theirs. In this way, modern scholarship is inevitably shaped by post-medieval concerns and expectations.[48] For instance, there seems to be an attempt in earlier scholarship to link the skills and advance of 'Sumer is icumen in' to developments of the fifteenth century, which I interpret as an attempt to validate musical activity in the thirteenth century as a precursor to more important developments in the history of English music; a sign of the developments that had made later achievements possible. 'Sumer is icumen in' came to

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[45] G. W. H. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1837), p. 518. See also, Larry Earp, "Reception", in *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), pp. 335-370 for a discussion of the modern reception history of vernacular song.
[46] For more information see Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
[47] *Ibid.*, p.25.
[48] For a recent discussion of musicological bias or agendas and how they can affect our perceptions of music history see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Moden Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) – in particular the chapters entitled "Hearing Medieval Harmonies" (pp. 157-214) and "Evidence Interpretation, Power and Persuasion" (pp. 215-256). See also Norman Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York: W. Morrow, 1991).

symbolise the first recognisable English contribution to Western music history, and it was used as evidence that England was the "first and greatest musical nation in Europe".[49]

> And then [after the Sumer Canon] the art of music, made independent and structural for one moment, died again, and came not into life for another 200 years… It appears as the morning star of musical composition, rising resplendent but solitary, and long before the full glory which arose in England during the 15th century.[50]

This is not to say that insular musical developments in the thirteenth century did not act as, in some respects, a precursor to the music of the fifteenth century, but those developments have little to do with the composition of a single piece of music. They can only be observed by reviewing all aspects of the extant repertory over the course of the century. Yet, it is clear that the Worcester Fragments have met a similar fate. Hughes wrote about the fragments when musicological study was evolving into the form that we recognise today. The studies that Hughes would have been likely to have read however, belonged to an older generation of scholarship and Hughes' focus was not far removed from that of his predecessors. Before his study of the fragments, and apart from W_1 (containing for the most part, continental music), no major manuscripts of English music remained between the Winchester Troper and the Old Hall Manuscript. A large historical void, a *lacuna,* therefore, still existed to some extent in English musical history. The discovery and analysis of a series of musical fragments, which appear (at least at some point) to have all been at Worcester Cathedral, formed a rather convenient and effective filler. If we return to Hughes we may remind ourselves of his statement that:

> Their importance in musical history can hardly be over-estimated, as practically nothing else has survived in English music between 1226 and 1400 of a level of culture in any way comparable to that of France and Italy.[51]

Interestingly, it would appear that his mention here of the date of 1226 is a reference to a proposed date for the Sumer Canon, further singling it out as a rare point of interest in an otherwise bleak outlook.[52] Furthermore, in the introduction to *Worcester Medieval Harmony,* he speaks in terms that Hegel, would have recognised, when he comments that the void in English musical history

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[49] Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, p. 28 (from a speech given by the Duke of Albany at a fundraiser for the proposed Royal College of Music at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on December 12, 1881).
[50] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: Curwen and Sons, 1895), p. 29.
[51] Hughes, see note 11.
[52] In his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1855), William Chappell suggests that 'Sumer is icumen in' was written at Reading Abbey by a monk named John of Fornsete in c.1226, but this suggestion has now largely been rejected.

> may be compared to a valley between mountain peaks. The summits are clear, and accessible to those willing to make a little effort: the valley is hidden by fog, and the very contour of its depths is unknown… and in these Worcester manuscripts we do actually find one or more of the minor elevations of the valley coming out into the sunlight.[53]

The distance we feel between the music of the medieval period and our understanding of music today is inevitably great. Music in the thirteenth century had very different aims to music even 200 years later, and composers had a very different understanding of harmony and counterpoint to prominent later figures in musical history. Yet historians have made value judgements about medieval music on the basis of features deemed recognisable to the modern musician. Scholars frequently comment on the number of "erroneous" harmonies employed in a piece. Others comment on the composers "conformity" to modern methods of composition, as if the medieval composer had some understanding of developments to come. Many of the pieces given a greater sense of importance by modern music historians are those that conform more precisely to modern ideas about composition and the use of "correct" harmonies. The Sumer Canon provides an excellent example here, described in just this context by many scholars. William Rockstro comments that it is "wonderfully free from harmonic defects",[54] and Emil Naumann remarks, "it is relatively free from harmonic errors".[55]

Part of the reason that the Sumer Canon has reached its current position in the historiography of English medieval music is that it is complex: it employs a canon technique with the use of a *pes*, for up to six voices, interacting with one another. But there are many other complex surviving compositions using unique, insularly developed techniques, such as *rondellus* and voice exchange. The use of a canon is perhaps more familiar to the modern musician, however, with clear generic rules and boundaries that are well understood and easily recognised. *Rondellus* and voice exchange remain difficult to define comprehensively, due to the lack of surviving contemporary theoretical writing. Hughes valued the music of the Worcester Fragments in the 1920s for the use of double counterpoint, and for manipulations of *cantus firmi* and forms rather like the motet on the Continent. Yet these are prominent features of a substantial portion of the surviving repertory, found in many other insular manuscript sources.

The value of insular thirteenth-century music in general is seen as inferior to that of the continent due to the perception that it is less complex nature, often referred to as "simple

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[53] Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony*, p. 11.
[54] William Rockstro, *A General History of Music: From the Infancy of the Greek Drama to the Present Period* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886), p. 47.
[55] Emil Naumann, *The History of Music*, 2 vols, ed. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, trans. F. Praeger (London: Cassell and Company, 1886), vol. 1, p. 221.

polyphony". Burney and Hawkins were the first to discuss English music in this way and, as Colton explains, they "helped to establish the commonly held perception of a lack of significant music produced in the early medieval period in England."[56] This perception quickly became a feature of many studies of insular medieval music, but also of discussions of England's contribution to the history of music as a whole (with only a few exceptions – namely Dunstable, Tallis and Byrd, Purcell, and the Beatles). England's position in the history of Western music was seen as almost non-existent and greatly inferior to most other nations in Europe.[57] R.W. Southern states that the English composed "rather less well and in a provincial and derivative way".[58] Richard Crocker also compares insular composition, which he says "lacks the strong distinctive features of Notre-Dame polyphony", to the Notre-Dame school unfavourably.[59] It has been assumed therefore that it was the infiltration of the Notre-Dame repertory into England that revolutionised the insular style.

As a result, English manuscript remains that do not appear to contain music of a quality deemed valuable by modern historians have often been neglected, or described pejoratively. With the exception of the Worcester Fragments, the Sumer Canon, and other examples I have mentioned, this constitutes around two thirds of the extant English repertory. Conversely, however, these same scholars used elevated language, exalting to sublimity any examples of English music deemed worthy of study and equal to continental counterparts. We see this clearly in writings about the Sumer Canon and the Worcester fragments.

During the course of the twentieth century scholars of medieval music in general have become more concerned with the quest for authenticity in music history. However, previous scholarly generations' focus on certain historical musical landmarks at the expense and marginalisation of others has helped to create a discrete treatment of repertories in insular medieval musical scholarship. The Worcester Fragments have become their own separate entity, grouped and treated in way that they may never have been in their own time, and based on an assumption about their origin for which there is no real evidence. The same is true of the Sumer Canon and other individual works, raised as it is so far above other examples from the period that none can touch it. Equally, the 11th fascicle of W_1, deemed of an inferior style and cut off from

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[56] From the paper "'No Rude Attempt at Vocal Harmony': Sumer is icumen in and the Canon of English Music", read by Lisa Colton at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference at Royal Holloway, University of London, on 6 July 2010.

[57] Clara Schumann commented, for example, that the English were "so dreadfully behind the times", and Nietzsche described a "musical defect in the English soul".

[58] R. W. Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance", in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p.158

[59] Richard Crocker, "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century", in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300: New Oxford History of Music,* Vol. 2, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp.679-680

musical developments of the time, is omitted from the majority of discussions of English medieval music. Very rarely are any of these pieces even compared to one another, and even more rarely is the entire extant repertory given attention or discussed. Harrison, Sanders and Lefferts omit the 11th fascicle of W_1 from their *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* volumes and they do not include a large portion of the pieces from the Worcester Fragments either (as they are edited separately by Hughes and Dittmer).[60] Losseff does not discuss the 11th fascicle of W_1 either in her exploration of the importance of insular polyphony, but she does dedicate a large portion of her discussion to the Worcester Fragments.[61] The only complete edition of the 11th fascicle of W_1 is Roesner's, still unpublished, in his 1975 dissertation.[62] Together, this has helped to create a distorted view of English medieval musical history that only a complete review of the entire repertory can change.

Scholarship itself has assisted in creating a narrative that is misleading, imbalanced and persistent, despite changes in academic methods, and new findings. By writing a history of English music that conforms to the preoccupations of the modern era, certain remains have been elevated high above others without consideration of contemporary perceptions. As Kirkman states, it is important to examine "more clearly the conditions and preoccupations that gave rise to the narrative of our forebears", as "we will at least be in a better position to decide on the directions we wish to follow on our own".[63] We will find ourselves able to re-evaluate the position that some of these compositions hold, questioning the validity of the narrative along which they have been placed. There are now so many other sources available for consultation, but they have remained hidden in the shadows of their more highly regarded cousins. Study of English medieval music might attempt to even out the ground and take a more general look at the extant English repertory, whose secrets are waiting to be uncovered.

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[60] See Ernest Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XIV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979); Frank Ll Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980); Ernest Sanders, Frank Ll Harrison, and Peter Lefferts (eds), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I): Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVI (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983); Ernest Sanders, Frank Ll Harrison, and Peter Lefferts (eds), *English Music for Mass and Offices (II): Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVII (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986).

[61] Losseff frequently makes reference to the Worcester Fragments, the Sumer Canon and *GB*-Lbl Harley 978, and some of the other larger, or better known sources, rather than referring to trends across all of the extant repertory. See Losseff, "Insular Sources".

[62] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628, Helmstadiensis".

[63] Kirkman, "The Invention of the Cyclic Mass", p. 42.

Chapter 1: The Extant Insular Repertory

1.1 The Study

In recent years, scholarly literature has attempted to explore, understand and outline the extensive insular repertory in greater detail, and from a more objective and impartial perspective than previous scholarship – particularly through studies by Ernest Sanders and Peter Lefferts, and more recently by Nicola Losseff, and Helen Deeming.[1] Several of these studies (particularly Lefferts' "Motet in England", which explores the various styles and techniques of insular motets in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) reveal evidence to suggest that insular composers generally took a more experimental approach to composition. While the French developed several specific genres, each with their own set of standard rules for composition that were rigidly adhered to, for the most part,[2] insular composers seem to have preferred to experiment, mixing features of French genres, and using various techniques to create pieces that do not appear to conform to any one continental generic style.[3] As Losseff observes,

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[1] See Ernest Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony and its Significance for the Continent" (Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1963) and his collection of essays in the publication Sanders, *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries: Style and Notation*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 637, ed. Ernest Sanders (Ashgate, 1998); Losseff, "Insular Sources of Thirteenth-Century Polyphony and the Significance of Notre Dame" (Ph.D Dissertation, King's College, London, 1993); Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 1983); Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions" (2012). Faculty Publications: School of Music. Paper 45. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/musicfacpub/45; Helen Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources, c.1150-1300: An Edition of the Surviving Songs in British Manuscript Sources Dated Between c.1150 and 1300, Many of them Only Recently Discovered, and Over Half Never Before Edited,* Musica Britannica 95 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013).

[2] It should be made clear that some Notre-Dame genres do vary a little in style and character, and there are a number of instances where this results in some confusion for modern scholars in terms of how to categorise certain compositions. Some of the slightly differing accounts of genre in contemporary literature do not help to clarify the situation. However, for the vast majority of the time pieces are much easier to interpret, categorise, and understand according to contemporary perception and surviving literature than most of the extant insular repertory. For more information about some of the more generically confusing continental compositions see: Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula", *Annales musicologiques*, Vol. 1 (1953), pp. 65-103; Thomas Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: 'Motetish' Works from the School of Notre Dame", in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 220-38; and Gregorio Bevilacqua, "*Conductus* or Motet? A New Source and A Question of Genre", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 58 (2013), pp. 9-27.

[3] The Notre-Dame School – a term that was not coined until the nineteenth century at the earliest, which spanned the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries – was responsible for the development of a number of specific genres. Most significant were *conducti, organa, clausulae*, and, later, motets. *Organa* and *clausulae* are genres that use melodies borrowed from Gregorian Chant in their tenor parts. In *organa* the chant of a Gradual, Alleluia or Responsory, chosen from the Proper items of the Mass and Office, is sung by the tenor part and is augmented by an ornamental *duplum* to create a sustained note style. The upper part(s) are freely-composed melismas sung over the chant. *Clausulae* are sometimes presented separately to *organa* in manuscript sources, and they are designed to be inserted into *organa* at the relevant position

> Stylistically, it would be difficult to confuse a Notre-Dame *conductus* with a Notre-Dame *organum* or a Notre-Dame motet. In contrast, defining an "English" *conductus* as separate from a troped chant setting, a polyphonic sequence, a *rondellus* or, later, a *cantilena* becomes more of a problem, based on a delicate balance of textual form and content, musical style and function.[4]

Furthermore, insular composers appear to have developed their own techniques, which they applied to pieces of various styles and genres, rather than reserving particular compositional techniques for use in specific genres as on the continent (thus, we find insular motets with alternating passages of melismatic and syllabic writing, and *rondellus* and exchange are regularly found in motets, troped chant setting and *conducti*). *Rondellus*, specifically, and the use of the term *"pes"* to label tenor parts (that often require repetition, or employ a repetitive form) are uniquely insular. It would seem that exchange, and the use of structural forms in general were particularly popular in the British Isles. This is especially evident in Lefferts' study of the insular motet, where he discusses the typology of motet structures and notes that while "musical structures are limited to variations on a small number of recognisable models, or formal archetypes" they are "more diverse than those found in continental motets from contemporaneous sources".[5] His analysis reveals the frequency with which *rondellus*, exchange, repetition, isoperiodicity and isomelism occur as part of the recognisable insular models. Lefferts also identifies and explores the close and often hybrid relationship between motets, troped chant settings, and *cantilenae* in insular composition.

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in the chant. *Clausulae* could therefore be substituted to suit the Proper items of the Mass and Office at different times of the liturgical year. The tenor melody and text is borrowed from a chant melisma (e.g. "Nobis" from the Alleluia Reponsory *Dies sanctificatus*), and the upper parts are freely-composed melismas that complement the chant, set contrapuntally. *Conducti* are quite different. They are free compositions, not based on any pre-existing melodies, with all parts moving homophonically to a Latin (often devotional, but sometimes topical) poetic text. These passages (*cum littera*) are sometimes interspersed with sections of melisma (*caudae*) where all voices move independently, without text (*sine littera*). Modern scholarship views the motet as the result of an evolution in *clausula* composition. Notre-Dame motets were generally structured in a similar manner to *clausulae*. The tenor is usually a melisma of a Responsorial chant, sung without text (to the single word of the chant melisma). The upper voices are set contrapuntally, as in a *clausula*, but are given texts (usually different texts in each part). Sometimes they are Latin, sometimes French, and sometimes motets have different languages in their upper parts. There is no stanzaic structure, as there usually is in a *conductus*, and motets are through-composed. There are rarely melismas of any significance, unlike the *clausulae* in *organa* and the *caudae* in *conducti*.

[4] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 138

[5] See Lefferts, "Motet in England", p. 49. It is also the case that many of the surviving "high" insular *conducti* (that do not attempt to pastiche the Notre Dame style) differ from continental examples in their use of *rondellus*. While exchange, repetition and internal structures can be found in continental composition, the complexity and frequency with which these techniques are applied in insular composition appears much greater.

At the same time, though, certain genres popular on the continent appear to have been almost entirely ignored by insular composers. With the exception of a small collection of four *clausulae* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8 [*GB-Ccc* 8] (written in mensural notation and copied in parts), no *clausulae* survive in insular sources. Equally, sustained-note *organa* are found extremely rarely. The *clausulae* in *GB-Ccc* 8 are unique and therefore possibly insular compositions, but there are no surviving examples of insularly composed sustained-note *organa*. Instead, insular composers appear to have preferred troped chant settings, which are found in profusion.[6] Additionally, while Parisian *organa* consisted of settings of a few select items from the Proper items of the Mass and Offices (usually Responsorial chants), insular sources preserve settings of a wide range of items, both Proper and Ordinary.

Although no source survives in more than a fragmentary form, it has been noted that insular manuscript organisation may have contrasted somewhat with French methods of organisation.[7] Sanders wrote that "most of the preserved sources of the thirteenth century show that the border lines between polyphonic genres were far more fluid in England than in France. Thus, the extant English repertoire exhibits a degree of stylistic homogeneity that accounts for the fact that *conducti, rondelli* and motets of all varieties are generally not separated in the manuscripts". In other words, Sanders suggests that the sharing of stylistic features between these genres, and the apparent differences in attitudes towards genre in the British Isles, had a direct impact on the organisation of manuscript sources. The aim of this study is therefore not only to explore and elucidate the nature of insular genre, manuscript organisation and style, but also to examine the potential relationships between insular attitudes and perceptions of genre, and the organisation of insular music sources. In order to do so, however, it is essential to take into account all of the extant sources of polyphony in the long thirteenth-century (c.1150-c.1350), since selective study can create an inaccurate overview of the repertory.

French sources are, in the vast majority of instances, organised into fascicles (thematic chapters). Pieces of the same genre are grouped together to form their own discreet chapter within a larger volume. It is also common to find pieces organised according to the number of

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[6] Troped chant settings are very similar to *organa* in principle – they are polyphonic settings of plainchant from the Mass or Offices. The chant is set in the tenor, with freely composed voices added above. In Notre Dame *organa*, however, the tenor part is augmented, so that the chant is sung in a serious of long, sustained notes, with upper parts singing fast-moving melismas above. Insular composers appear not to have adopted this style. Troped chant settings do appear in a variety of forms and styles, though, and there are some that have a similar contrast between the upper parts and the tenor, but without any actual augmentation of the chant. See chapter 4.

[7] Sanders, "The Medieval Motet", in *Gattungen der Musik Einzeldastellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. W. Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1973), p. 539.

voice parts, in addition to organisation by genre.[8] Occasionally, pieces are also or alternatively organised alphabetically, or according to the liturgical order of the textual theme or *cantus firmus* borrowed from chant. Insular sources are naturally harder to characterise in terms of organisation, given that only very small portions survive of what were once much larger books. However, it has been observed that, while some sources use identifiable methods of organisation according to typical French practice, other insular sources show a distinct lack of organisation by any of the above criteria.[9] Losseff is somewhat conservative in her discussion of source organisation. She feels that "the meagre remains of most insular sources do actually suggest that they were organized in this rigid [continental] way", and that "only a comparatively small number of sources blur this picture".[10] However, when she later discusses the Worcester Fragments reconstructions she is clear that she cannot identify a logical method of organisation. Everist clearly disagrees with Losseff. In the case of Aberdeen, University Library, 2379/1 [*GB-A* 2379/1] he notes that three different genres, and possibly both monophony and polyphony can be found on a fragment "about one third of the size of a single leaf from the Florence manuscript". This, he notes, "is almost unheard of in continental sources" but is in fact "less than uncommon in English ones".[11] Lefferts has suggested a number of convincing methods of organisation for a small number of what appear to have been motet codices from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Alphabetical ordering seems likely in a handful of cases, but a number of other sources do not suggest similarly regulated ordering. Lefferts discusses a number of sources with more diverse contents, and notes that "some sources mix motets with discant cantilena settings; these are mainly from later in the century".[12] Moreover, the various different compositional styles and techniques used in insular motet composition identified by Lefferts demonstrate the difficulty in organising the pieces (even of the same genre) into a homogeneous group. If the idea of genre with a specific set of compositional procedures was not popular or important to insular composers, then we might expect that manuscript organisation according to such principles would not have been important either. However, no study has attempted to quantify or articulate the frequency with which insular sources appear to have no discernable methods of organisation.

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[8] See, for instance, any of the main Notre Dame or related sources.
[9] See, for example, Lefferts' "Motet in England", pp. 317-326, where he discusses the organisation of a handful of insular motet sources that appear to follow continental methods of organisation. He notes, for instance, the apparent alphabetical ordering of both *GB-Lbl* Harley 5958 (source B), and *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, and the use of the headings "quadruplices" and "triplices" in *GB-Lwa* 33327, which would suggest that pieces were ordered according to the number of voice parts.
[10] "Insular Sources", pp. 149-50.
[11] See Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction in Music, c.1170-c.1300", *Revue belge de Musicologie,* Vol. 46 (1992), pp. 14-15.
[12] Lefferts, "Motet in England", p. 319.

We may question, though, whether the fragmentary state of the repertory is responsible for this perception of the organisation of the sources. We might consider whether, if preserved in a similarly fragmentary state, we might fail to identify the rigid organisational methods in French sources. If we take a single bifolium from any point within any of the Notre Dame or related sources, however, or a small booklet of leaves from part of a gathering, the method of organisation remains decipherable. Pieces are grouped together by genre, as well as the number of voice parts, and sometimes individual fascicles are also organised according to liturgical order or alphabetically according to the text of the highest part. It is not uncommon, however, to find more than one specific genre or number of voices within a single fascicle of a Notre Dame source. For instance, in the Florence Manuscript (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 [*F*]) there are just six four-part compositions.[13] It would not make sense for the scribe to copy these six pieces in their own separate fascicle, and so they have been grouped with a collection of three-part *clausulae* in the first fascicle. This mix of pieces was clearly necessary at times to avoid the inclusion of several small fascicles and the wastage of significant parchment, but the organisation is still clear, and the inclusion of fascicles of this nature do not affect the overall homogeneity of a source.

It has been argued that some insular scribes made use of uniquely insular notational forms, too – such as the so-called English *conjunctura* and the rhomboid breve – and notation that alternates longs and rhomboid breves is often referred to as English mensural notation.[14] Quite how much these forms appear, how exclusively insular they are, and whether insular and continental manuscripts differ in appearance beyond these features has not been explored in detail. However, the level of detailed decoration in French sources such as the Montpellier Codex (*F-MO* H 196 [*MO*]), with historiated initials and delicate and detailed border decoration, are not found in insular music sources, despite the fact that some sources were clearly of high quality and expensively made (with gold leafing in a couple of instances).

Despite various studies that discuss and highlight some of the above features of what would appear to have been a uniquely insular style of composition, there have been no attempts to quantify or clarify the extent to which these features and trends appear within the entire

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[13] Three of these six pieces are actually pairs of *conducti* for two voices above one another, whereas the other three pieces are *organa quadrupla.*

[14] This perception is partly due to comments made by Anonymous IV. He states that there is a certain *elmuarifa* (widely interpreted as referring to *conjuncturae*) "which can be called irregular, which has a line descending on the left side, as the English write it or notate it" (Jeremy Yudkin (ed.), *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985), p. 164). The extent to which this notational feature is part of an insular style will be considered later. Conversely, rhomboid breves are not discussed as part of any contemporary literature, but appear to have been used only by insular scribes. Sanders has often referred to the graphic as an "English Breve" (see, for example, his Ph.D thesis, "Medieval English Polyphony and its Significance for the Continent", 1963).

extant repertory. Without such an evaluation, it is difficult to be clear as to whether these features appear frequently enough to be considered important to, and characteristic of, insular composition. The following study therefore attempts to investigate and achieve such an evaluation, providing a quantitative account of those features most closely associated with the insular style in modern scholarship. Naturally, however, work by Losseff and Lefferts, in particular, will feature frequently in this study, and the scope of this project will overlap somewhat with Lefferts' "The Motet in England" and Losseff's "Insular Sources".

There are a number of obvious obstacles in embarking on such a project, however. Firstly, it is not always possible to be clear about the origin of manuscript remains, and there are a number of sources that may have been of either French or insular origin.[15] As a result, these sources have been tentatively included in the catalogue that accompanies this study and are included in discussions about the frequency in which certain features are found (where applicable), but are generally not referred to specifically, or in any detail. Furthermore, it is often difficult to determine the relationship of fragments to one another, even sometimes when catalogued within a single modern shelf mark. Some shelf marks are known to preserve fragments from more than one original manuscript source, but there are a number of cases where it is not clear how many original manuscripts are represented, and caution must be exercised.[16]

Naturally, the fragmentary nature of the repertory seriously hinders scholarly study, not least because many of the sources and the compositions within survive in such a poor state that it is impossible to assess their qualities with any certainty. Furthermore, we cannot make too many assumptions about that which is now missing. Clearly, study of the surviving sources and compositions can provide some suggestion of the character of some of the lost music, but we must be careful not to assume too much. After all, in most cases a single bifolium or less survives of what was likely a source of several hundred folios.

The lack of surviving insular theoretical literature hinders an authentic perception of the music according to contemporary principles. We are left to guess as to how ideas such as genre were perceived by insular composers, and we have no clear understanding of the value placed upon certain types of composition over others. We also cannot be sure of insular attitudes to

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[15] See, for example, *F-Pn* lat. 11411, or *F-Pn* lat. 15129.

[16] *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, for example, is a composite source of various fragments removed from bindings. The music leaves consist of three separate fragments or group of fragments, from three separate original sources, despite being preserved in the same host source (*GB-Ob* Bodley 816). In the case of *GB-DRc* C.I.20, however, the relationship between the two groups of flyleaves at the front and rear of the host source is not clear. They share certain similarities, but also exhibit a number of differences, and it is not clear whether they were part of a single source, perhaps as earlier and later layers, or whether they were from two original sources that were from the same provenance.

French composition and vice versa. Modern study must attempt to interpret the surviving music, but without making too many assumptions. Most importantly, however, we must not view insular composition according to the principles and rules of French theoretical literature. With no other frame of reference it is difficult not to do so, but it is this means of analysis that has encouraged a negative view of insular composition, comparatively. We can refer to insular pieces as being of a particular French genre, or similar to, or even a mix of the compositional features of two or more French genres, but we must be clear that this is unlikely to be reflective of contemporary perception. The concept of genre in England may have been completely different, or even entirely foreign to insular composers. We cannot possibly be clear of the principles of composition that insular composers followed, but we can be sure that they differed in many respects to those of the French, and this must be acknowledged in scholarly literature.

Determining reasonable parameters for an overview of an entire repertory presents further problems. This issue is exacerbated by the fact that there are very few insular sources that reveal any evidence of a potential date of execution. It is simply not possible to embark upon a study that considers only thirteenth-century sources, for example, since we can only suggest potential, inexact periods of time in which we suspect the sources were copied, for the most part. These suggestions are based upon studies of palaeography, codicology and the evolution of musical notation and style in relation to sources that appear to provide more precise evidence of their date of conception. However, while carefully weighed by modern scholars, this method of analysis cannot account for a number of ungovernable factors. For example, we cannot account for the rate of the spread and appropriation of notational developments. The adoption of a particular graphic symbol, for instance, may have taken place at a relatively traceable point in time in Paris, but we cannot assume the same date for the adoption of that symbol by insular scribes. It is unclear at what rate the spread of developments such as this took place. Furthermore, there is likely to have been an overlap in the use of older and newer notational styles and other palaeographical features. Well-connected centres would likely have known of such developments before a scribe in a more isolated environment, for instance, and individual scribes may have made their own stylistic choices. A young scribe may have been trained to write in the most current notational style, whereas an older scribe may have preferred to continue writing in an older form of notation that he was more familiar with, or had a more thorough understanding of. Therefore, we cannot assume that a source that employs English mensural notation with c.o.p. ligatures and semibreves, for example, is necessarily significantly later than a source that is written in simple longa-brevis mensural notation. It should be made clear therefore, that reference to date is made tentatively in the following study and should not be used as the basis for any sort of analytical assumption.

In some respects, the following study concerns the music of the period often referred to by modern scholars as the *ars antiqua* – from the rise of the Notre Dame school of polyphony (c.1170), and the subsequent development of those polyphonic genres (specifically the motet), to the inception of the period known as the *ars nova* (usually considered to be around 1320 on the continent, roughly coinciding with the composition of the treatise *Ars novae musicae* by Johannes de Muris).[17] The *ars nova* period differed from the *ars antiqua* in that the development of notation allowed for greater rhythmic independence and greater expression in composition, as well as the development of rhythmic techniques such as the use of isorhythm. The introduction of the minim, and of *tempus perfectum* (which followed soon afterwards) is generally considered to mark the beginning of this period of "new style" (although with some inevitable overlap). It is not possible to be precise about the point at which the minim was adopted in insular notational practice, but it is certainly possible that it was some time after its adoption in contemporary French sources. In some cases, evidence suggests that while sources that would appear to date from the earlier fourteenth century make use of minims, others that seem to date from around the middle of the fourteenth century do not (or do so in very small quantities). Therefore, when we speak about the *ars antiqua* in relation to insular sources, we must be aware that some sources may significantly postdate the c.1320 introduction of features of the *ars nova* applied to the French repertory in modern scholarship.

The current study seeks to include all insular sources from the rise of the Notre Dame School in Paris (c.1170) to the introduction of the minim and new *ars nova* features in insular sources (sometime after c.1320). However, a number of sources that do include minims are considered here on the basis that they preserve compositions with concordances in sources without minims, which would appear to have belonged to an earlier repertory.[18] Loosely, then, this study includes all extant insular polyphonic sources from c.1150 to c.1350, perhaps best described as the "long thirteenth century". Any reference to dates, or to the *ars nova* and *ars antiqua* should be interpreted as above.

Of course, embarking upon such a wide study requires the consultation of well in excess of one hundred different original sources. Regretfully, therefore, it was beyond the limitations of the current study to examine each source first hand. However, access to high-quality images via the

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[17] Both terms were also used contemporarily, but with less uniformity than they are in modern scholarship. For more information about the use of these terms see, Roesner and G. A. Anderson, "Ars Antiqua", *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01356 [Accessed 7th March 2016]. See also David Fallows, "Ars Nova", *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01360 [Accessed 7th March 2016].

[18] See, for example, *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14; *GB-Ob* Barlow 55; *GB-NWr* Flitcham 299; *US-NYpm* 978.

Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) has allowed for close examination of almost all of the extant sources, supplemented with images purchased from libraries.[19] It was also beyond the limitations of this project to include all extant sources of monophony from the same period. A number of sources of polyphony also include monophony, and these pieces are therefore included in discussions of those sources. It is unfortunate that sources only containing monophony could not be included, since, as Helen Deeming states, "this partial treatment of the surviving music of this period has also served to establish and reinforce generic and other distinctions between pieces that are not apparent in the sources themselves".[20]

Not only are monophonic and polyphonic compositions frequently preserved together, but pieces were often adapted and changed – text, language and the number of voice parts are all features that can differ between concordances of the same composition, and several compositions appear in both polyphonic and monophonic form. To draw too firm a line between monophony and polyphony relies upon "too strong an adherence to the categories that modern scholarship has placed upon this material" and this could "skew our understanding of the song repertory".[21] The difficulty in discussing both monophony and polyphony together is that it is often hard to understand their relationships to one another. It is not clear how many of the monophonic pieces were contemporarily perceived – whether they were thought of as relating to, or being part of any of the extant polyphonic genres. Many monophonic compositions are simple pieces with Latin devotional texts, and we might reasonably find them comparable to monophonic *conducti* in Notre Dame sources. In a good number of other cases, however, there are no obvious polyphonic counterparts. Deeming groups pieces (both polyphonic and monophonic) loosely together as "songs". She excludes motets and liturgically-related items from this broad category, where such distinctions are clear. In many respects, the use of this term is helpful in that it distracts the modern scholar from considerations and restrictions of genre, and encourages new perspectives. However, the term itself is a problematic, since we cannot be sure how a contemporary composer, musician or theorist would define the term "song" (or "*cantio*") in relation to, say, "*conductus*". Was the term more associated with the act of singing, or did it have more generic implications? In any case, the omission of sources containing monophony only is an unfortunate but necessary limitation for the purposes of the current study and is not intended to imply any generic distinctions or divisions between extant monophony and polyphony.

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[19] First-hand examination was possible in a few cases, however. For the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, see http://www.diamm.ac.uk.

[20] Helen Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources: An Edition of the Surviving Songs in British Manuscript Sources Dated Between c.1150 and 1300, Many of them Only Recently Discovered, and Over Half Never Before Edited*, Musica Britannica 95 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013), p. xxvi

[21] *ibid.,* p. xxvii

Although it is important not to measure insular music by the same yardstick as continental music of the time, to compare the less-understood insular repertory unfavourably with the French repertory and to apply modern value judgements, it is nevertheless impossible to discuss the insular repertory in any detail without reference to the better-known French repertory. This study will therefore attempt to highlight the differences between insular and French notions of genre, organisation and the differences in the use of compositional techniques. It must be stressed that at no point should discussions of these differences imply any degree of inferiority. Moreover, the use of terms such as "hybrid", "inconsistent", and "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" should not be interpreted pejoratively, or as an implication of any sort of value judgement.

The term "English" is used sparingly in the current study because we know that a few of the surviving sources were not copied in England, but in Scotland or Ireland. There is no evidence that any of the surviving volumes were copied in Wales, but that is not to say that none were. Therefore, the term "insular" is used frequently, to refer to England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, all of which were independent of one another in the thirteenth century. The term British Isles has been avoided for the most part, but its occasional use is with the full knowledge that the concept of Great Britain did not exist at this time and refers only to a geographical area of land. Furthermore, although the term "insular" may be considered to imply pejorative connotations, its use here is simply as a descriptor for the four individual countries separated from the rest of the continent by the English Channel.

1.2 The Repertory

The insular musical repertory of the thirteenth century has been seen as an inferior, peripheral cousin to the highly active, innovative and comparatively well preserved French repertory. However, when we take all of the extant evidence into account for both musical cultures this is clearly not the case. Insular musical activity – in terms of composition, copying and dissemination – was as prevalent, if not more so, than on the continent. Whilst many more individual pieces survive in French sources (because a higher proportion of French sources are preserved in a near-complete state), the number of individual insular sources that survive in any state from the long thirteenth century, outstrips the number of individual sources extant in France.[22] Considering that the insular repertory seems to have suffered much more drastically

[22] The same problems in dating insular sources apply to dating contemporary French sources, and there are also a number of sources that may or may not be of French origin. This makes an accurate conclusion impossible. However, it would seem as though the total number of surviving French sources is around 20 percent less than the number surviving insular sources. See also Gilbert Reaney, "Some Little-Known Source of Medieval Polyphony in England", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 15 (1961), pp. 15-26. Reaney states, "as soon as

from deliberate dismembering, reuse and destruction over time, this might suggest that there were more insular sources to begin with.

The remains of around 120 insular sources containing polyphony survive from the *ars antiqua* period. This number cannot be given precisely since there are a number fragments stored under a single shelf mark that may or may not have originally come from more than one original manuscript. Furthermore, the Worcester Fragments have not been entirely reconstructed and it is not clear exactly how many original sources are preserved among the recovered leaves. There would seem to have been at least three volumes, but there may have been more. Of the c.120 sources, only approximately a quarter contain any continental concordances. This would seem a relatively low proportion, if we consider the importance given to the Notre-Dame repertory in modern scholarship. It would suggest that, while many insular musicians and copyists were familiar with Notre-Dame polyphony, and while it was likely performed in larger monastic milieus and transmitted across number of institutions in (at least) England and Scotland, insular musicians were more concerned with cultivating their own music. The modern importance given to Notre-Dame polyphony was not necessarily shared by our medieval insular counterparts.

The total number of extant insular compositions is c. 650 (although the same restrictions in being precise apply). Only an additional 70 or so compositions have continental concordances (around 10% of the total), and approximately 70 insular compositions have concordances elsewhere in the repertory (accounted for in the figure of c. 650). The majority of these pieces are found only once elsewhere, but there are a few more prevalent compositions. The most commonly found of the compositions are extant in around five different sources.[23]

The texts of extant insular songs are found in several different languages, but by far and away the most common is Latin. Of the c. 650 extant insular compositions, around 10 pieces include text in French, while a similar number contain text in Anglo-Norman, and as many as 15 pieces (including some monophony in manuscripts containing polyphony) have texts in English.[24]

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fragments and odd pages are taken into account, it becomes clear that England has in fact more sources of medieval polyphony than any other country" (p. 15).

[23] See for example *Spiritus procedens a patre*, a troped Gloria setting that is found in a total of 5 different sources (*B-Br* ii. 266; *GB-GLr* 149; *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14; *GB-Onc* 362; WF 43).

[24] Anglo-Norman was the French dialect spoken in the British Isles for nearly three centuries following the Norman Conquest in 1066. The vocabulary was essentially the same as other Old French dialects with the adoption of a few words from English. However, the English language was transformed by the very large number of words that entered from Anglo-Norman and from the influence of French grammar and pronunciation. French was the dominant vernacular of the Church and state authorities in England until the late thirteenth century and continued to have substantial currency in the fourteenth century, especially in its use in law. It is estimated that a large proportion of the population must have spoken this dialect during this period. It was used in a variety of courtly settings and in poetry, chronicles, literature, drama and music

When vernacular texts are used in insular compositions, they are often applied in a manner unusual to French composition. There are a number of motets, for instance, with Latin upper parts and French or English tenor parts – the reverse of the usual use of the vernacular on the continent. [25] Whereas a significant number of the extant French compositions (motets, in particular) have secular and vernacular texts, the vast majority of insular compositions have liturgical or quasi-liturgical texts in Latin. This may indicate different functions and performance contexts. Of the liturgical texts a significant portion are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, a cult very popular across Europe during the thirteenth century. The trend for secular texts in the French motet and chanson appears not to have spread to insular composition. There are a small number of pieces surviving with topical or politicised texts.[26]

Despite what would appear to be an insular preference for sacred Latin texts, there are several instances of the use of *contrafacta,* some of which provide vernacular alternatives to Latin texts, and in the majority of cases both texts are preserved together in the same source. In *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 two of the compositions include alternative *contrafacta*: The piece *Ave, gloriosa mater salvatoris* is provided an alternative French text, *Duce creature, virgine Marie*, and the *rota* "Sumer is icumen in" also appears with the Latin *contrafactum*, *Perspice, Christicola, que dignatio*. *Angelus ad virginum subintrans* is preserved in both London, British Library, Arundel 248 [*GB-Lbl* Arundel 248] (monophonic) and London, British Library, Cotton Fragment XXIX [*GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX] (two-part). In *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248, however, it is provided with an alternative text in English – "Gabriel fram evene king". One further song in *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248 is provided with a *contrafactum*. The Latin monophony, *Flos pudicine aula mundiae mater misericordie,* may also be sung to the French text *Flur de virginite chambre donestere de ma mere e de pite.* Although *contrafacta* are usually provided as a substitute for the entire existing text, *GB-Onc* 362 contains a *contrafactum* for the text of a single voice part. The motet *Solaris ardor Romuli/ Gregorius sol seculi/ Petre, tua navicula vacilat/ Marionnette douche* includes a French secular song in the tenor part. This same song is found in the *motetus* of the previous composition with an alternative text – *Virgo mater et filia regis.* However, there are cases where only one text of a piece with a known

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(see Brian Merrilees, "Anglo- Norman Literature", in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982-9), pp. 259-272).

[25] French motet manuscripts contain a large number of French motets with French texts in the upper parts over a Latin tenor. There are very few French compositions of this nature in insular sources and there are no insular examples of this format either. English texts are relatively rare, too, and there are certainly no examples of three-part motets with English in the upper parts and a Latin tenor. Only *Worldes Blisce, have god day*, preserved in *GB-Ccc* 8 comes any where close, with a single upper part in English and a Latin (Benedicamus) tenor. Most examples of the use of English or French texts in insular sources are found in tenor parts, however, with Latin upper parts, in the reverse of the usual French use of the vernacular. See, for instance, the motets of *F-TO* 925.

[26] For information about pieces with topical texts, see Lefferts, "Two English Motets on Simon de Montfort", *Early Music History*, Vol. 1 (1981), pp. 203-225.

contrafactum is found in all extant sources. *Ave magnifica/ Ave mirifica/ Alleluya,* for example, does not appear with two texts in any of the four sources in which it survives. It survives in both Reconstructions I and II of the Worcester Fragments, and a text-only version can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 400* [*GB-Ob* Rawlinson C. 400*] (Frag. A). However, the same piece can be found in the eighth fascicle of the Montpellier Codex (*F-MO* H. 196, 322) with the incipit *Alle-psallite-cum-luya*. Despite its appearance in a continental source, this piece is generally believed to be of insular origin.[27] Perhaps the text found in *F-MO* H. 196 is a French *contrafactum*, not known in the British Isles.

Insular music has been preserved and discovered in a number of different ways. Aside from more unusual examples, music is preserved either in parchment manuscripts or *rotuli,* which can be divided into a number of categories. Sometimes polyphony is included in, or added to a service book (such as a Gradual or Antiphoner) among the plainchant. In some cases the music appears at the appropriate place according to the order of the liturgy, but in other instances it has been added in a blank space. Many miscellanies survive from the medieval period, too, some of which contain music. They typically contain collections of literary items, letters, sermons, and sometimes music and more. They are usually compiled either by a single person or small group of people and they represent personal collections of favourite works and keepsakes. Music appears in these sources haphazardly, often spread throughout the volume, copied at different times and in different, usually unprofessional hands. Sometimes the music appears to have been added in a later hand to the contents immediately surrounding it, presumably copied onto a previously blank folio.

Finally, there are several extant fragments that clearly belonged to large, purpose-built books of polyphony. They are collections of polyphonic song, usually written in professional scribal hands and including decoration and large initials. Manuscripts such as these were not kept for posterity, and when the repertory fell out of use books were dismembered and the valuable parchment reused in newer volumes either as flyleaves, pastedowns, or as strips to strengthen the binding. The Reformation in the sixteenth century was the cause of significant further losses since many of the books found in monastic and cathedral libraries were destroyed, and music associated with the Catholic liturgy would have been quickly disposed of during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Such remains are therefore found only as flyleaves, pastedowns and strips (or occasionally as a wrapper for an administrative document) in newer, non-musical volumes. The great majority of the surviving fragments appear to have come from purpose-built manuscripts. In

[27] For information about this argument see Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background II", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113 and Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58.

a few cases leaves may have been discarded due to error, since some fragments lack decoration (although indents have been left for initials), or the text and staves have been entered but the music never was. However, it is not always possible to ascertain the sort of manuscript that a fragment came from. Some flyleaves and fragments, for instance, contain music on one side of the leaf and account entries on the other and it is not clear which was copied first. It can be misleading, too, when music is added on flyleaves, or as later additions to blank pages in service books, but were not actually part of the original compilation. Despite this, over 60 % of the extant insular fragments appear to have come from purpose-built books of polyphony. The remaining sources are miscellanies, service books and additions to blank leaves in relatively equal numbers (as far as can be surmised).

Service books are generally ordered according to the liturgical calendar. Miscellanies, naturally, do not have ordered contents at all but, rather, were compiled gradually over time (often by several individuals). Additions to blank pages are obviously not part of any planned compilation process either. Purpose-built books of polyphony, on the other hand, could potentially have been more carefully constructed, but this does not always seem to be the case for insular sources. It is important to attempt to clarify exactly how often sources appear heterogeneously organised, as well as to analyse how the range of insular genres preserved compares to French genre at this time. Manuscript organisation and genre were intrinsically linked in French musical culture, but the extent to which insular composers shared this same culture is not clear. Although insular genre appears difficult to categorise and define according to our understanding of continental music, and the approach to composition seems more fluid, the frequency with which this is the case has never been investigated. The current study therefore seeks to clarify how often we find pieces that are difficult to define in insular sources, and whether (and how) this affects the organisation of those sources. Furthermore, it is possible that the organisation of the source has an affect upon our perception of genre. In some cases, our interpretation of a piece may be influenced by the compositions copied alongside it. Moreover, the generic contents of a source may help to understand its original, intended function. The study also seeks to clarify exactly how different and unique insular compositional style is to that of the continent in the thirteenth century, and how often we find features considered common to insular composition. It may be that trends can be identified – perhaps certain types of preservation are common to particular genres (or combinations of), and this may help to clarify contemporary perceptions of genre and intended function.

1.3 The Catalogue

A catalogue of all extant insular and suspected insular sources accompanies this study. Currently, no such catalogue exists and information about the extant sources is scattered among a number of different sources. While the RISM catalogues are useful, they are now outdated (various discoveries have been made, even since Wathey's supplement), and the entries are not consistent.[28] While one entry might give information about the different hands, or the sizes of the leaves or written blocks, another does not. The appended catalogue therefore pools information from all relevant secondary sources, providing as much of the same information about each source as possible. Entries also include first-hand observations. Unfortunately, the development of a catalogue into a fully searchable online database was outside the scope of this project.[29] As a result, the catalogue currently consists of a number of Microsoft Excel files, with entries plotted into columns according to their various features, contents and history. Entire files can be searched, as well as each individual row/entry or themed column. Each individual library shelf mark is provided with its own row, and each shelf marked entry is distributed among columns that are allocated different features (e.g. notation, decoration, script, provenance, etc.). The files are designed to assist the reader by providing as much information as possible about the various sources mentioned in this work.

There are four different catalogue files. One file contains the vast majority of the extant sources ("Catalogue of Insular Sources"). However, it was necessary to provide three additional tables for some of the larger extant sources. It should be made clear that the separation of sources into different files was necessary to allow for the emendation of the column fields to suit the different requirements of certain sources. It should be in no way construed as significant to the relationship between sources, or to the perceptions of the sources in this study. The Harleian Index at the rear of *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, the additions to, and 11th fascicle of W_1 and the various reconstructions and compositions that make up the Worcester Fragments were too large to occupy a single row in the main catalogue file, and are therefore provided with their own separate files where each composition can be allocated its own row.[30]

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[28] Three volumes of RISM are relevant to the music and the period in question: Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century),* Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/1 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966); Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/2 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1969); Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, B/IV/1-2 supp..

[29] I hope to achieve this in the future.

[30] All of the accompanying catalogue tables can be found on the CD ROM attached to this submission.

Chapter 2: Insular Genre (I)

We might question to what extent composers of the period c.1150-1350 were concerned with the concept of genre. It would certainly appear to have been a concern for those scribes responsible for the organisation and division of the Notre Dame repertory into manuscripts such as *F*, and many theorists appear to have explored the idea of genre in detail, but we cannot be sure to what extent genre was the preoccupation of the average composer, singer or spectator. In any case, it is clear that the treatment of (from the perspective of modern scholarship) generic forms was quite different in the British Isles to those on the continent. As Mark Everist states,

> In France, by the time of the copying of the major sources of Notre-Dame polyphony: 1240-1260, the three genres of *conductus, organum* and motet had become clearly differentiated. In England, the boundaries between *conductus, rondellus* and motet were regularly crossed. The generic status of the music was very different in the two countries.[1]

In fact, we might add troped chant settings to Everist's statement. In sources that appear to date from the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the boundaries between troped chant settings and *cantus-firmus* motets become harder to distinguish and define. Perhaps a little earlier in origin, however, are a number of compositions that appear to merge features from both the motet and *conductus* genres. These pieces are not uniquely insular, but they appear in greater numbers (proportionally) in insular sources, and appear more typical of a general insular approach to the appropriation and adaptation of French genres. The question of whether this form of composition was an insular or a French invention is not currently answerable on the basis of the surviving evidence, but there was clearly significant cultivation of it in the British Isles. This chapter therefore aims to explore the features of compositions that merge characteristics of both the *conductus* and the motet, to identify whether these compositions could be considered to belong to a relatively homogeneous group, and to examine what these pieces might reveal about insular attitudes to genre in general.

2.1 Monotextual/*Conductus*-Motets

The term "*conductus*-motet" was not coined by Ludwig, as is often mistakenly believed. He certainly discussed the compositions to which the term is applied, but he referred to them as motets with a single text, and remarked on the resemblance of the structure and style of the

[1] Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction", p. 17.

upper parts to that of *conducti*.[2] It was, in fact, Heinrich Husmann who coined the generic descriptor in his 1940 article (*Konduktmotette* and, later, *Konductusmotette*).[3] The term was quickly adopted amongst the academic community and widely used. The most well known collections of continental "*conductus*-motets" are preserved in two of the four main Notre-Dame sources (believed to transmit the repertory associated with the *Magnus liber organi)*.[4] The largest (and possibly the earliest) of these collections, preserving a large proportion of the extant compositions, is in fascicle eight of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 [*F*]). This is followed in size and importance by the collection in the seventh fascicle of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1099 Helmst. (*D-W* cod. Guelf. 1066 [W_2]). Both of these sources are believed to be Parisian in origin, but W_2 postdates *F* by perhaps a decade or so.[5] These two collections are very similar in form and presentation and as together they preserve the vast majority of the extant continental monotextual motets, the pieces might be considered to be "typical" examples of this type of composition. The only major difference between the two collections is the use of French texts in W_2 (absent from *F* as a whole), many of which are *contrafacta* of Latin-texted versions preserved in the eighth fascicle of *F*. Almost all of the pieces in these two manuscripts are in three parts, but there are a small handful of four-part versions.

2.1.1 Continental Monotextual Motets

Whilst the pieces in these two fascicles appear to form a fairly homogeneous group, other pieces included in scholarly discussions of continental *conductus*-motets are a little more irregular. It is not clear whether these pieces would have been perceived contemporarily as of the same ilk as those pieces in *F* and W_2, and whether the grouping of these compositions together in modern scholarship is misleading and misrepresentative of their original design. Furthermore, the term "*conductus*-motet" is problematic in that it does not imply a clear taxonomy – it is unclear whether the pieces to which it is applied should be considered part of a subgenre of the

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[2] See Ludwig, *Repertorium.*

[3] Heinrich Husmann, *Die Drei- und Vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa: Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* Publikationen älterer Musik, Vol. 11 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1940), p. xiv. See also Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers in einer Dominicanerhandschrift", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* Vol. 24 (1967), pp. 1-3.

[4] The term *Magnus liber organi* refers not to a specific book, but rather to a repertory of music composed and performed at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Two different theorists – Anonymous IV and Johannes de Garlandia – mention the collection in their treatises. Anonymous IV even tells us that it was "made" by Leoninus, and subsequently revised by Perotinus (who added many *clausulae*). Various manuscripts preserve music believed to originate at Notre Dame, but four main sources survive in which the bulk of the extant repertory is preserved. These are *F*, W_1, W_2, and *E-Ma* 20486 [*Ma*].

[5] See Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989). For a discussion of the date of W_1 (particularly in relation to *F*), see Everist, "From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W_1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 43 (1990), pp. 1-42.

conductus repertory, the motet repertory, neither, or both. Research by Ludwig, Tischler and others, has convincingly argued that these pieces are some of the first examples of the new and emerging motet genre, created through experimentation with, and the amalgamation of, pre-existing genres.[6] With this in mind, the inclusion of the word "*conductus"* in this generic descriptor only acts to muddy the water. It is certainly true that the upper parts of so-called *conductus*-motets resemble those of *conducti*, but the motet was born not of experiments with *conducti* alone, but of experimentation with ideas from a range of other Parisian genres. As Tischler notes:

> Being the youngest of its type, it took some time to shed various elements of kinship which related it to the older species, before it gained complete independence and began to overshadow them. Among the earliest motets are, consequently, some that employ the musical style of the *organum* and some that are related to the *conductus*, as well as very many that share their music with discant *clausulae*.[7]

Arguably, therefore, the use of the term "*conductus"* as a partial descriptor for these pieces is misleading in terms of origin and influence. It seems more appropriate to refer to the pieces as, simply, motets. The use of pre-existing, liturgical tenors, and the relationship of many of these pieces to extant *clausulae*, further supports the exclusion of the term "*conductus"* from any academic descriptor. As Darwin Scott notes:

> The designation "*conductus*-motet" is regrettable, since the most singular characteristic of the *conductus* – namely, a freely composed non-liturgical tenor progressing in a rhythm more or less parallel to the upper voices – is completely antithetical to the underlying principal of the medieval motet.[8]

The contrast between motet and *conductus* composition is never more apparent than in surviving continental theoretical treatises, where differences between styles and compositional methods are explicitly explained. For instance, Franco of Cologne writes:

> For discant is composed either with or without texts… With differing texts discant is composed as in motets that have a triplum or [and?] tenor, because the tenor is equivalent to a particular text…. And notice that in all of these types the same procedure is followed, except in *conductus*, because in all other types some previously composed

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[6] See Darwin Floyd Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets of the Notre Dame School (Ph.D dissertation, University of California, 1988); Hans Tischler, "The Earliest Motets: Origins, Types and Groupings", *Music & Letters,* Vol. 60 (1979), pp. 416-427.
[7] Tischler, "Earliest motets", p. 416.
[8] Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets", pp. 16-17.

> melody (which is called the tenor) is first selected…. But in *conductus* this is not so, but rather the melody [i.e. tenor] and the discant [upper voice or voices] are composed by the same person.[9]

However, it is interesting to consider Walter of Evesham's description of a *conductus* when we discuss *conductus*- or monotextual motets. Of all of surviving descriptions, his is perhaps the most remarkable in that the clear distinctions between *conductus* and motet made by Franco of Cologne, above, are entirely contradicted. Evesham states, "Conducti sunt compositi ex pluribus canticis decoris cognitis vel inventis", or "Conducti are composed of many beautiful melodies, which are already known or invented".[10] This description seems to have much more in common with *conductus*-motets than with *conducti.*

Scott prefers to call the pieces "motets", and he suggests Andrew Hughes' use of the term "monotextual" as a descriptive prefix (or, indeed, "single-texted").[11] Despite the resemblance of the upper parts to *conducti*, and the clear influence of other genres, this seems a more appropriate term for these compositions, more reflective of their relationship to the evolution of genre, and more attuned to how they appear to have been perceived (for the most part) contemporarily. I will use this term exclusively in my discussion. However, it is certainly true that the sheer weight of scholarly literature that makes use of the term "*conductus*-motet" unfortunately compels its use (if only to clarify the use of the term "monotextual motet" as a preferred alternative) in virtually all discussions of the pieces in question.

There are no extant contemporary descriptions of these specific compositions or their styles, and so taxonomy has been undertaken solely by modern scholars, who have attempted to interpret and define them. Of course, modern perceptions are likely to be different to those of medieval musicians. Deciding what constitutes a "monotextual motet" is therefore difficult by nature since it is not a genuine medieval genre and attempts to force taxonomy can overcomplicate and blur the issue. There seems little question that the pieces in *F* and W_2 form a relatively homogeneous group of compositions. That, in both sources, they are preserved together in their own fascicle – just as, for instance, two-part *conducti*, or *organa tripla* – is

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[9] Translated from the original Latin of *Ars cantus mensurabilis* in G. Reaney and A. Gilles (eds), Corpus scriptorum de musica, Vol. 18 (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), p. 69.

[10] This is not to say that generic distinctions between *conducti* and motets were generally unclear, since "the difference between the two types of compositions is essentially clear for a great part of the repertory", but there are small number of compositions, comparatively, that "fail to fall into either of these standard categories" (Bevilacqua, "*Conductus* or Motet? A New Source and A Question of Genre", pp. 9-10 – see this article for more information about the various extant theoretical descriptions of *conducti* and motets, as well as some examples of generic ambiguous compositions).

[11] Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets", pp. 16-17.

perhaps an interesting insight into the contemporary perception of these pieces.[12] Their presentation in these two sources seems to imply that the makers of *F* and W_2, who were very concerned about providing their volumes with a logical division, perceived them differently to the other genres present. Furthermore, the pieces are distinguished from the other, later motets in both sources. The monotextual motets in *F* are preserved in fascicle 8. Immediately before this in fascicles 6 and 7 are *conducti* in three and two parts, respectively, and fascicle 9 contains motets. Since continental manuscript organisation was so frequently aligned with genre, perhaps the placement of the monotextual motets here, sandwiched between a *conductus* fascicle and a motet fascicle, is relevant.[13] While we have no theoretical evidence that the compositions in *F* and W_2 were considered to be examples of a distinct, genuine medieval genre, their placement and treatment in these two sources would suggest that they were differentiated from *organa, clausulae, conducti* and motets by Notre-Dame scribes, at least.

Of course our modern perception of the compositions in *F* and W_2 may not be reflective of the contemporary perception. Moreover, the use of the terms "monotextual" or "*conductus*-motet" in modern scholarship has not been limited to these pieces (and a few other very similar pieces in other souces), but applied to a much larger group of pieces, from numerous Insular and continental sources, that are more experimental in nature. Many of the pieces in this larger group are variant concordances of the monotextual motets in *F* and W_2, which demonstrate fundamental differences in character and appearance. Despite this, they are still referred to as, and categorised alongside, monotextual motets by some scholars.[14] It is unlikely that this heterogenous, larger group of compositions would have been considered as part of the same generic group contemporaneously, or copied together in their own distinct fascicle by Notre-Dame scribes. The flexible way in which the generic descriptor (monotextual/conductus-motet) has been applied in modern scholarship is therefore problematic.

In terms of appearance the compositions in *F*, fascicle 8, and W_2, fascicle 7, are copied with the upper parts in score, and the tenor written out separately afterwards (with one or two exceptions). A single text is written underneath the lower of the two upper parts, and the tenor either has a textual incipit, or is textless. Scott notes the single poetic text simultaneously declaimed by the upper voice parts with homogeneous rhythm and phrase structure, and the

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[12] Although in W_2, fascicle 7 has the appendage of nine two-part conducti after the last monotextual motet.
[13] However, the format of these pieces, with the upper parts in score and the tenors copied separately, may have played a role in determining their positions within the sources. Perhaps this, and not genre, determined their placement between *conducti* and motets.
[14] Both Tischler and Scott describe the variant concordances of the monotextual motets in *F* and W_2 in these terms. See the file entitled "Continental Monotextual Motet Concordances" on the accompanying CD for a list of extant continental monotextual motet compositions and details of their concordances in other sources.

independent rhythmic pattern in the tenor, which is differentiated from the modal rhythms in the upper parts. Furthermore, the poetic text in the upper voices usually tropes the tenor syllable, word, or phrase.[15] The tenors are ordered liturgically in *F* according to the *cantus firmus*.

However, both Scott and Tischler discuss a number of other monotextual motets, some of which are preserved in non-Parisian and peripheral sources, and a good number of these pieces differ in either format or style to those in the main two collections. In *F*, too, a handful of more irregular pieces appear. There are two four-part monotextual motets copied in fascicle 6 among three-part *conducti* (a few pieces apart from one another).[16] They are written with the upper three parts in score, and the tenor copied separately afterwards, exactly as those compositions in fascicle 8, but with an extra upper voice part. Although these two pieces are of the same nature as those pieces in fascicle 8, their placement among three-part *conducti* is probably due to the fact that they are in four parts (or, rather, that they have three upper parts). Usually in French manuscripts pieces are grouped according to both genre, and number of voices. Providing there are a sufficient number of pieces to copy, they are frequently separated into different fascicles. In *F*, for example, fascicle 6 contains two-part *conducti* and fascicle 7 contains three-part *conducti.* With just two four-part monotextual motets, the scribes of *F* could not provide them with their own fascicle and it seems likely that they wanted to avoid including two four-part pieces in among the three-part monotextual motets. The scribes had to determine the next best place to copy them. Although the pieces are in four parts (and we might reasonably have expected them to be copied with the other four-part pieces in the first fascicle), the way that the upper parts are presented closely resembles a three-part *conductus*, and they could even have been performed as such (with the omission of the tenor). It is probable therefore that fascicle 6 was deemed the most inconspicuous place to copy these two anomalous pieces.

Three further pieces in *F* differ from those already discussed. The first, *Beatis nos adhibe, beatis vita/Benedicamus domino*, is also preserved among three-part *conducti* in fascicle 6, and the second, *Veni, doctor previe/Veni, sancte spiritus*, is one of only two pieces of the 26 in the eighth fascicle that differ in style or presentation from the other 24 pieces. Both are in three-parts but appear entirely in score. The text for the upper two parts is written under the *motetus*, with a separate text for the tenor written underneath that part. They closely resemble extant *organa* (with addition of poetic text) since, unlike the "typical" monotextual motets in fascicle 8, the

[15] Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets", pp. 15-16.
[16] These pieces also appear in W_1 without their tenor parts, essentially as *conducti* (among which they are copied). This may suggest that either the pieces were originally composed as *conducti* and then adapted to include another tenor part, or the scribes of W_1 chose to omit their tenors and copy them as *conducti* instead.

tenors consist of augmented, sustained notes. Essentially, they are adapted *organa*, with a poetic text added to their upper parts. Tischler has argued that these pieces (along with a couple of examples in other sources) represent the very first stage in the evolution of the motet, and he terms the pieces "organal motets".[17] Whilst the use of a separate term to describe these pieces could be construed as only complicating the situation further, and although we must be cautious about modern generic distinctions, these pieces form a homogeneous group that differ from the other three-part monotextual motets, but are clearly related to them. It is important to our understanding of insular genre that we do not apply the same term to pieces with such clear differences in compositional approach. It is unclear, however, why one of these three-part pieces is preserved in fascicle six, and the other among the monotextual motets in fascicle 8. A few other examples of this apparently short-lived form of composition survive in other sources.[18]

The third piece in *F* that differs from the main group of monotextual motets, also preserved in fascicle 8, is *Agmina militie celestis/Agmina*. Although, in style, it appears exactly the same as the other pieces in this fascicle, it is copied in three-part score, with the text for the upper parts under the *motetus* and the tenor incipit under the tenor part. There seems to be no apparent reason why this piece is copied in three-part score rather than the same format as the other pieces (with the exception of the organal motet) in this fascicle. Whilst its position here indicates that it was perceived as being of the same or similar genre, it seems unlikely that the change in format for this piece is without significance. However, the organal motet also in this fascicle is somewhat different, too, and there appears to be no clear reason for its placement here either. Unfortunately, concordances of *Agmina militie celestis/Agmina* do not necessarily help to clarify the situation. In W_2 it appears among the other monotextual motets in fascicle 7, and is copied in the typical format with the upper parts in score, followed by the tenor. It appears in this form, too, in Las Huelgas [*E-BEu*] and in the insular source Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1. [*GB-Ctc* O.2.1.], but in the latter the *triplum* and *motetus* parts are reversed. It appears in several further manuscripts, too, as a Latin motet notated in separate parts. However, *Agmina militie* can also be found in London, British Library, Egerton 2615 [*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615], where it is also preserved in three-part score.[19] In this source, too, the *triplum* and *motetus* are reversed but the text that is

[17] Tischler, "Earliest motets", pp. 16-17.
[18] See Tischler, "Earliest motets", pp. 16-17 for a detailed discussion.
[19] Egerton 2615 is a tripartite source, made up of three originally discrete sections. The first contains the Office for the Circumcision, with an appendix of seven polyphonic items, written at Beauvais. Section two is a separate booklet of polyphony with 12 items of unknown, but probably Parisian origin. Six of the items in part one are the same as items in part two. The third section is a Play of Daniel, in the same hand as the Office, presumably for performance at the feast, but otherwise irrelevant to this study. Observations and comments about this source will focus on the second discrete section unless otherwise specified. For further information on this source, see Everist (ed.), *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A*

normally applied to the upper parts alone is copied underneath the tenor and applied to the entire piece. The liturgical tenor and its incipit are ignored, and the result is a piece that appears as a three-part *conductus*. This *conductus*-like presentation may be an attempt to secularise the piece, or perhaps due to a misunderstanding by the scribe of the early motet form (who copied it, instead, in a form he understood). It is unclear which manuscript pre-dates the other, but it seems possible that the variant format in *F* was adopted from the exemplar from which it was copied. Perhaps this exemplar was also the common ancestor of the version in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615. Nothing in particular about *Agmina militie* sets it apart from the other motets in fascicle 8 of *F* and the fact that the piece appears in various formats, including the typical monotextual motet format, suggests that variations are more to do with copying practice than anything else. Clearly it must still be considered a monotextual motet in cases where the format varies (with the exception of those where it appears as a Latin motet), since all of the above versions preserve the same voice parts, including the liturgical tenor. It has been suggested that all of the voices are derived from the source *clausula* preserved in the St Victor manuscript (Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale, fonds Latin 15139 [*F-Pn* Lat. 15139]), but this view has been challenged more recently.[20]

GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 (2) is unusual in terms of the pieces it preserves and the format in which they are copied. Everist, among others, has discussed its relationship to *F* in detail.[21] The polyphony in the second discrete section of this source shows an unusually heterogeneous compilation of items for a French (probably Parisian) source. Everist suggests that the contents reflect "a process of copying a common core repertory", rather than a large body of works of questionable quality or usefulness.[22] The collection consists of twelve pieces, including the famous

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Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1988), pp. 42-59.

[20] See Norman E. Smith, "From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origin and Early History of the Motet," *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 34 (1980), pp. 29-65; Scott, "Monotextual Motets", pp. 120-177; Norman E. Smith, "The Earliest Motets: Music and Words," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 114 (1989), pp. 141-63; Heinrich Husmann, "Das Organum Vor und Außerhalb der Notre-Dame-Schule" in *Bericht über den Neunten Internationalern Kongress, Salzburg 1964,* ed. Franz Giegling (Kassel: International Musicological Society,1966), Vol. I, pp. 25-35; Smith, "Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus liber organi", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 45 (1973), pp.73-97; Gordon A. Anderson, "Newly Identified Clausula-Motets in the Las Huelgas Manuscript", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 55 (1969), pp. 228-245; Tischler (ed.), *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): Text,* Vol. 1, Musicological Studies 40 (Henryville: Institute of Medieval Music, 1985); Tischler, "Earliest Motets"; Tischler, "Perotin and the Creation of the Motet", *Music Review*, Vol. 44 (1983), pp. 1-7; Jürg Stenzl, *Die Vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 15139 (Saint Victor Clausulae),* Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, series 2, Vol. 22 (Berner Paul Haupt, 1970).

[21] See Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* p. 47.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 52.

four-part Petronian *organum, Viderunt omnes*.[23] 11 of the 12 pieces have concordances in *F,* and two of those 11 pieces appear as monotextual motets in *F* – one of the two four-part monotextual motets from the sixth fascicle of *F*, *Serena virginum/Manere*, and the three-part organal motet from fascicle 8 of *F*, *Veni, doctor previe/Veni, sancte spiritus*. Both pieces are copied twice in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 – once in the first discrete section consisting of the Office of the Circumcision, copied at Beauvais, which is appended with a small group of polyphonic pieces; and again in the second discrete section, consisting entirely of polyphonic compositions. In the first section *Serena virginum* is copied in three-part score (with the tenor omitted) but without the text, and in the second section it is also in three-part score (also with the tenor omitted), with the text copied under the lowest part.[24] The liturgical tenor and its incipit are omitted from both copies. Arguably, therefore, although the upper parts were based on the upper parts of the same source *clausula*, the piece essentially functions here as a *conductus*, with no liturgical tenor (unlike *Agmina militie*). In both sections 1 and 2 of *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 the piece is preserved among *conducti*.

Veni, doctor previe, however, uses (in both sections 1 and 2) the organal motet form of three-part score with the upper part text under the *motetus* and the tenor incipit under the tenor part – identical to its presentation in *F*. Everist questions its position in the second discrete section of *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 – after the initial three *organa*, and not with the other pieces with concordances with monotextual motets in F and also in score, after the *conducti*.[25] As an "organal motet", however, its placement here, tagged onto the end of a small group of *organa*, seems to make perfect sense – generically, and in terms of format. It is also logical that the *conducti* should be followed by the two pieces with concordances with monotextual motets in *F*, since they are copied here as though they were *conducti*.[26] The only puzzling aspect of the choice of organisation here is the placement of an *organum* at the end of the extant second section, which was originally followed by at least one further quire, and not with the other three *organa*. However, without knowledge of the pieces that followed this *organum* it is difficult to speculate about organisational choices.

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[23] Everist suggests that *Viderunt omnes* originally opened the booklet of polyphonic compositions, since the patch left for the removed initial in this case is much larger than the other patches and remaining initials, and therefore may have been historiated, or a miniature. Further evidence to support this comes from the fact that *Viderunt omnes* is the opening composition in the first fascicles of both *F* and W_1.

[24] Hughes suggests that the lack of text for this and the following piece in part 1 of the manuscript shows a tailing off of interest in the project. Everist has other ideas, suggesting five different layers of copying in the appendix to the Office, probably through difficulty in accessing the appropriate exemplars, and he asserts that section 2 was added from elsewhere because it preserves even more of the desired compositions.

[25] Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* pp. 53-4.

[26] This is not to say, necessarily, that the scribe(s) of this source knew of the monotextual motet versions of the two pieces and decided to adapt their appearance here, but rather that there may have been several different versions of the same melodies and texts in circulation, reflective of a gradual evolution from *organum*, *clausula*, and *conductus* to motet.

Everist suggests that the two discrete booklets that make up *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 sections 1 and 2 may not share a common origin.[27] His argument for a Parisian origin for section 2 and a Beauvais origin for section 1 (where the three sections also appear to have been bound together) is convincing.[28] However, of the seven polyphonic compositions included in the first section of the manuscript, four appear again in the second section. While the two sections may not have originated at the same place, Everist assumes, despite their similarities, that they were conceived entirely independently of one another. The contents of the second section, as Everist notes, were clearly carefully chosen by the compiler, and with purpose, so it is hard to believe that two independent groups of scribes chose the same pieces and copied them in a very similar order and within a similarly close proximity to one another.[29]

Although we might have expected some of the pieces in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2) to have been copied in formats other than score, given that such a small number of pieces were copied together (and therefore genres and voice parts could not be neatly separated into fascicles of their own) the scribes may have applied score format throughout in order to arrange the pieces into a coherent group. Although it seems as though *Agmina militie* should have been copied with the upper parts in score and the tenor afterwards, the format here matches that of *F*.[30] This

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[27] Sections 1 and 3 do appear to share a common origin, however, since the same scribal hand appears in both sources.

[28] Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* pp. 42-50.

[29] The Office in section 1 is furnished with 13 rubrics indicating polyphony, and the pieces appended at the end represent five of the indicated examples. Everist observes that the copying of these musical addenda happened in around five separate stages, pointing to difficulty in obtaining the necessary exemplars. However, section 2 contains seven of the 13 items indicated in the Office, and in a better quality. He suggests that, after the copying process for the appendix to the Circumcision Feast collapsed at Beauvais, the "availability of *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2), with seven pieces that might be used for this feast was clearly an opportunity not to be missed", but this suggests that the inclusion of so many compositions in section 2 appropriate to section 1 was simply coincidence. Although the decoration in the appendix to the Office differs from that of the Office itself, the decoration in the second section of the source is too conveniently similar. Both employ *initials champies* and the colour scheme is the same, too (although, as Everist notes, the colours are not identical due to differences in pigmentation). However the range of patterns used, and the overall quality of initials in section 2 outstrip those of section one. This would accord with Everist's theory that the source was produced at a Parisian atelier (Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* p. 47. See also, Robert Branner, "The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter", *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 54 (1972), pp. 24-30; and Rebecca Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 25 (1972), pp. 1-18.). With all of this in mind, the difficulty in obtaining exemplars for the pieces in the polyphonic appendix to section 1, as Everist suggests, resulting in what appears to have been a gradual collapse of the project (as decoration and text is increasingly omitted), may have resulted in the commissioning of a professional booklet of the required pieces from nearby Paris (where, no doubt, exemplars of many of the pieces would have been readily available). Not only would the commissioners have dictated exactly what should be included in the booklet, but they may have specifically requested *initials champies* in order to match (even if not precisely) the decoration in the Office that it was designed to complement. See Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* pp. 50-57.

[30] Everist incorrectly asserts that *Agmina militie* is preserved in the typical monotextual motet form in *F*, and that it has been adapted here, whereas although the text is underlaid differently in the two versions, the

suggests that the choice to present this motet in score may not have been made by the scribe of this source, but that the piece was, in fact, copied in this manner to comply with the format of the exemplar; perhaps an exemplar with a common origin to that of *F*, from the Johannes Grusch Atelier. Furthermore, the version in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2) of *Agmina militie* is preserved after five *conducti*, and alongside *Serena virginum* (which also appears in score, with the tenor missing, as a *conductus*). In fact, as *Veni doctor previe* is an organal motet and the small number of surviving examples of this form of composition are more typically found in score, it is only *Serena virginum* that is presented in an unusual format in this context. It therefore seems more likely that the scribes of *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2) used score format throughout not to create a booklet homogeneous in appearance, but as a result of the copying practice in the exemplar(s), due to personal preference (perhaps a conscious decision was made to give the motets the appearance of *conducti*), or perhaps because the potentially early date of this source pre-dates a standardisation in format for these new generic forms. It has been suggested that *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2) may be almost exactly contemporary with *F*, but that the Circumcision Feast and the items appended (section 1) may even pre-date *F.*[31] Arguably, the presentation and the similarities between the styles of the pieces (which makes it harder to differentiate between one piece or genre and the next) point to an earlier stage of development in terms of distinct generic features. At least two forms of early motet are preserved here, in among and undistinguished from *conducti* and organal works. It is impossible to be sure of chronology, but clearly the score format of *Agmina militie* in both sources, provides further evidence of the close relationship between them. Of course, if this composite source was designed with purpose, with pieces chosen specifically to complement the Office, we must assume that the manuscript was intended for use in performance. It might be, then, that the use of score format throughout is a functional choice.

We might reasonably argue that when the text and music of a piece are adapted and presented differently in one source to another, and according to different generic practices, then the two versions should be considered as belonging to different genres (as was the contemporary perception). However, both Tischler and Scott include many of the extant concordances for the monotextual motets in *F* and W_2 – most of which are adapted to appear as different genres – in their discussion of the genre as a whole. A good number of the concordant pieces are copied in a more developed motet form, often polytextual, or with *contrafacta*. Pieces are not just found in a later motet form, though. Both *D-W* cod. Guef. 689 [W_1], and *E-Ma* 20865 [*Ma*] might be described as peripheral sources – W_1 was copied in St Andrews, Scotland, probably from a

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version in *F* is also in three-part score. Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* pp. 52-53.

[31] See Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library,* pp. 54-55 and Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures".

Parisian exemplar, and *Ma* is a Spanish source, also preserving the music of Notre-Dame.[32] W_1 contains no motets at all, and their appearance in *Ma* is highly variable. Concordances in these sources with motets (of any sort) found in *F* appear in an different, *conductus*-like form. Six pieces in W_1 and nine in *Ma* preserved in a manner akin to *conducti,* are concordant with monotextual motets in *F* and W_2.[33] The upper parts are in two-part score and the tenors have been entirely omitted. They are copied in *conductus* fascicles, alongside *conducti.* Referring to these concordant pieces as monotextual motets only confuses the situation since their style clearly sets them apart as later motets, or *conducti*. Attempting to group together pieces such as those in fascicle eight of *F* with these tenor-less versions seems entirely contrary to both the generically driven thirteenth-century French musical culture, and to contemporary discussions of continental genre. To force together groups of pieces with very different features like this seems clumsy, and it disregards scribal intention and perception.

It might be argued that the *conductus* versions of monotextual motets in *F* and W_2 should not be viewed as *conducti* because it would seem that the monotextual motet versions probably pre-dated the *conductus* versions. Monotextual motets are almost all derived from source *clausulae*, and therefore the upper parts (like the tenor) are not freely composed; a stipulation of *conductus* composition in medieval musical theory. This might suggest that contemporary musicians and scribes would not have perceived the *conductus*-like versions in this way. However, this argument relies on the assumption that the scribes in question would know of this relationship. Whilst experienced or monastic scribes would almost certainly instantly recognise the use of a liturgical tenor (duly omitted in these cases), they would have to have had an incredibly good grasp of a very large body of works to recognise the upper voice parts of monotextual motets (frequently adapted) from their source *clausulae*. As a result, it seems most likely that these monotextual motets were copied here with the intention of functioning as, and being performed as *conducti*, probably in ignorance of their borrowed melodies.

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[32] It seems possible that the scribes of these two sources (also probably peripheral) were either unfamiliar with the new motet form, or they did not like it and instead preferred older, and more established generic forms like the *conductus*. By simply discarding the tenor part a *conductus* adaptation was easily achievable. They may also have been confused by the use of format, which could have been entirely unfamiliar to them. Two pieces identified as "organal motets" by Tischler are copied at the beginning of *Ma*, alongside *organa*. However, although the scribe sets out the pieces with the tenor part underneath the upper parts and their text, the notation was never copied in. Whilst this may have been an oversight, it seems possible that either scribal confusion or distaste disturbed the copying process of these new, alien pieces. It is possible, especially in the case of W_1 (thought to pre-date *F*), that the monotextual motet form of these compositions was not available in the exemplar from which the manuscript was copied.

[33] Four of these pieces are preserved in both sources, making 15 occurrences of 11 pieces across the two sources. All of the compositions can be found in *F*, and the majority are also preserved in W_2.

The rigorous, scholarly taxonomy of all pieces relating in any way to the pieces in *F*, fascicle 8 or W_2, fascicle 7 has essentially forced together a fairly heterogeneous and disparate group of compositions. The confusion generated by the use of this modern, "umbrella-like" term (in application) hinders a better understanding of the compositions and draws boundaries and correlations that simply are not there, and probably never were.

One further group of continental monotextual motets survive in the later Las Huelgas Codex (*E-BUlh* [*Hu*]). However, none of these ten examples have concordances in this same form elsewhere. They do appear as various later forms of the motet in other sources (primarily *Ma*), however, and source *clausulae* exist in some cases. Las Huelgas is another peripheral source, copied in Spain c.1300, at the Cistercian monastery after which the manuscript was named (and where it is still housed). That the Spanish were still copying monotextual motets at this time, long after they had lost favour in Parisian circles, suggests that they were still popular, at least in some areas of the Iberian peninsular. The fact that some of the pieces are unique to this source, and some concord with *Ma*, also suggests that a significant proportion were peripheral compositions, and/or peripheral re-workings of continental motets. These latter examples "may well represent the only surviving traces of the original monotextual three-voice pieces that served as the sources for later motets." [34]

The relatively small number of continental monotextual motets have more in common with insular approaches to composition and genre than any other continental genre. The experimental, hybrid nature of many of these pieces, combined with variable forms of presentation and a lack of modern understanding of contemporary perception, are features that plague scholars of insular music frequently. What makes these pieces stand out among the continental repertory is the unique position they occupy in this sense. The difficulties in characterising these continental examples become critical when we turn our attention to insular examples.

2.1.2 Insular Monotextual Motets

If the interpretation and taxonomy of monotextual motets ("*conductus*-motets"), and other related compositions, is problematic for thirteenth-century continental polyphony, it is significantly more complicated for insular composition. Although the experimental and evolutionary nature of the motet is more than evident in the different pieces preserved on the continent, the level of experimentation in insular composition presents a much broader range of pieces that fail to yield to generic analysis according to continental distinctions. Although

[34] Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets", p. 94.

monotextual motets survive in insular sources, there are a good number of compositions that fall somewhere in between a motet and a *conductus*, but which differ from the typical continental monotextual motets enough to warrant exclusion from this genre, developed by modern scholars to suit a more homogeneous group of continental pieces.

Several pieces have been described as *conductus*-motets by modern scholars, but this seems to be primarily motivated by the fact that this taxonomy is probably the most appropriate of the available options. Furthermore, some the pieces do not lend themselves to being grouped together (let alone being appended to another, differing, form of composition) since they form a fairly heterogeneous group. Of course, attempting to interpret insular composition according to continental distinctions is a large part of the problem, since (although closely aligned) the musical attitudes and preferences surely differed, to some extent, between the two nations.

One insular source preserves a collection of monotextual motets akin to those in the eighth fascicle of *F*. *GB-Ctc* O.2.1. consists of a calendar and two late twelfth-century volumes from Ely bound together. The music leaves appear as flyleaves before and after the first of these volumes and "evidently served previously as flyleaves and pastedowns when it was independent".[35] The host source was copied at Ely, but it is not clear whether the music leaves were copied at Ely too. Regardless, it is often considered to be one of a group of East Anglian sources alongside other manuscripts from Bury St Edmunds.[36] Unfortunately, the music leaves do not form a contiguous set, but are in fact four single folios, none of which were originally adjacent. As a result, many of the surviving compositions are incomplete. Reaney suggests a date of c.1300 for the music leaves because of the use of English mensural notation, but the lack of more developed features such as c.o.p. ligatures, semibreves, dots of division or mensural rests means that it might be a little earlier.[37] Ten monotextual motets survive in this source, nine of which are in three parts, with the upper two parts in score and followed by the tenor part, written separately afterwards, and one four-part example survives. Of the ten extant pieces, seven are insular and three are continental in origin.[38] One of the continental pieces is *Agmina militie*, and has been already discussed. The other two are *In veritate comperi/[Veritatem],* otherwise found in this form only in *F*, and not at all in W_1 and *Ma*, and *Virgo decus castatis/[T. Alleluia]*, which does not appear in this form anywhere else, but instead it is in Las Huelgas and the Montpellier Codex as a polytextual motet. The remaining seven compositions are all *unica*. It would appear that, like the continental

[35] Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony", http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/musicfacpub/45
[36] The other East Anglian sources are: *GB-Cjec* QB1; *GB-Cjc* 138 (F.1); *GB-Cu* ff. ii. 29.
[37] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, p. 482.
[38] Three pieces have continental concordances, but seven are unique. It is therefore assumed that these seven pieces are insular in origin, but we cannot be sure that this is the case.

examples, the insular versions also employ liturgical tenors and are potentially derived from *clausulae*, but many have not been positively identified. This is partly because the tenors have not been provided with their incipits and partly because some of the tenors are missing due to the fragmentary state of the source. Only the fourth piece, *…virtutum spolia…(ending)…mundo profuit/ T./ T. [Et confitebor]* (PMFC XIV, appendix no. 25), has a tenor with a definite origin. This is the single four-part example in this source. The plainsong comes from the melisma on *Et confitebor*, taken from the Alleluia for the dedication of a church – *Alleluia V. Adorabo*. Several *clausulae* survive on this melisma in two parts, but it is unclear whether any of the upper voices bear any relation to the upper parts preserved here. This piece is worthy of closer attention because it differs from all of the extant continental four-part monotextual motets. Instead of having, like *Serena virginum*, three upper parts in score, followed by the tenor, this piece has just two upper parts written in score with two tenors written afterwards (also in score). The fourth part (the upper tenor part) is freely composed, whereas the lower tenor part carries the plainsong. This is very similar to the style of many of the extant insular four-part motets. They are usually copied in parts, but unlike the rare examples of four-part French motets which have three voices behaving as upper parts over a single tenor, insular motets often consist of equal forces, with two voices acting as upper parts and the other two acting as tenors. However, for the most part, the pieces in this source are essentially identical in form, style and presentation to those in *F* and W_2.

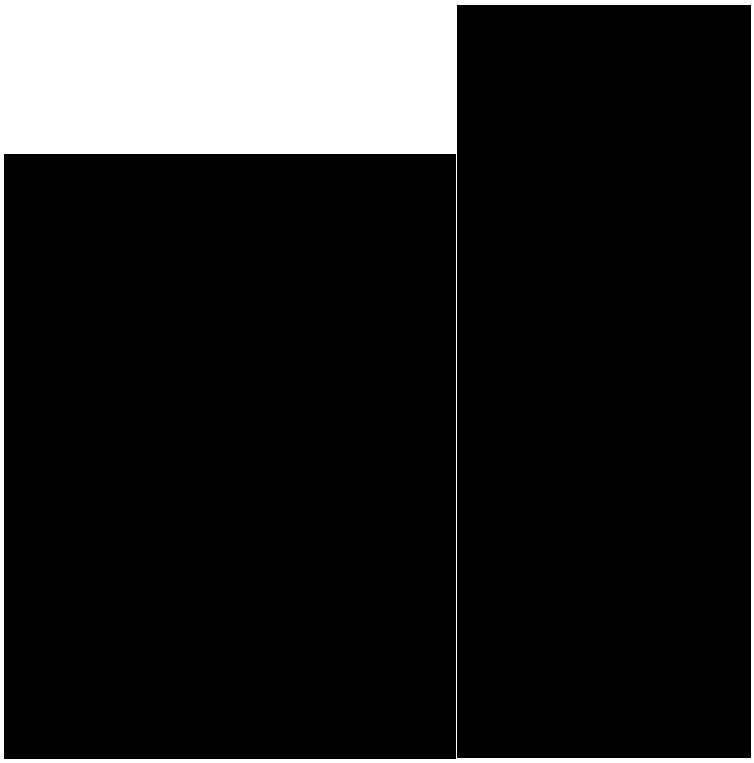
Reaney believes that the last three pieces (with continental concordances) "are evidently from the older repertoire, while the texts of the other pieces are tropic to well-known motet or other liturgical texts." [39] The fact that the seven insular pieces are *unica* may support this argument. If *GB-Ctc* O.2.1 does date from c.1300, then these insular examples represent a later copying initiative than any of the extant French examples. However, they may well be of a roughly similar age to those examples in the Las Huelgas codex, many of which are considered either to be the only surviving examples of the original Parisian monotextual motet versions now lost, or Iberian attempts to replicate the earlier Parisian style. Either way, the presence of these very early motets in later peripheral sources suggests that either the monotextual motet had greater longevity as a genre outside of Paris, or that the motet in general took much longer to generate interest in peripheral areas. It is unlikely that such a large gap can be attributed to the process of cultural transfer, since other developments seem to appear almost concurrently in French and peripheral sources alike. The delay in interest in the motet genre outside of Paris seems the more likely scenario. Not only does W_1 not contain motets, but if we were to look at the contents of all

[39] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/1, p. 483.

the extant insular manuscripts it becomes clear that motets do not appear in any great number until the end of the thirteenth century. Insular composers seem to have been more occupied with the copying of tropes and liturgical items (particularly Marian), as well as sequences and *conducti*, in the earlier part of the century. Interestingly, various *conductus*- or motet-like, simple vernacular pieces do appear in the earlier part of the century.

The above insular examples of monotextual motets are the only ones to survive together in this form. One further piece, however, is preserved in London, British Library, Harley 5958 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 5958] – *[Beatus] . . . nobis filium carnem sumens . . /T. Beata visce[ra marie virginis que porta]* (see figure 3.1). The music fragments preserved in this manuscript are from two original music sources – folio 22 from one source, and folios 32 and 65 from the other. The latter contains *[Beatus] . . . nobis filium*, which appears to be copied as a monotextual motet. The source is highly fragmentary – just two fragments from a single leaf remain – so it is difficult to make definitive comments about the surviving compositions. Nonetheless, folios 32v and 65v show two upper parts in score, underlaid with a single text, and followed by the tenor part copied afterwards (see figure 2.1). The piece uses a *cantus firmus* taken from the Communion for the Blessed Virgin Mary Assumption. The text paraphrases the second stanza of the Annunciation hymn, *A solis ortus cardine*. It cannot be proven with certainty, but it appears that this piece is another monotextual motet in the same format as those in *F* and W_2.

Figure 2.1: *[Beatus] . . . nobis filium carnem sumens . . /T. Beata visce[ra marie virginis que porta]* (*GB-Lbl* Harley 5958, ff. 32v and 65v) – *Image removed: embargoed*



Apart from *GB-Ctc* O.2.1. and *GB-Lbl* Harley 5958, there are a number of other compositions in the extant insular repertory that Scott and Tischler have termed "monotextual/conductus-motets". However, the same problem occurs in this use of the terminology as those *conductus*-version pieces in W_1 and *Ma*. Namely, the pieces in question do not resemble those pieces in *F* and W_2 and have clearly been copied with other intentions in mind.

London, British Library, Harley 978 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 978], famous for preserving the *rota* 'Sumer is icumen in', also preserves the motet *Ave, gloriosa mater/Domino* (PMFC XIV, appendix nos 23a and b). This motet has a wide concordance base on the continent, but this version is unique in its form and presentation. The three voice parts are presented in score, with a single text written underneath the tenor, to be applied to all parts. The tenor has then been divided into smaller notes values and notated in longs rather than ligatures, to accommodate this. A second, alternative French text is written underneath the Latin text, and the tenor is also presented again at the end of the piece in its original ligature form. As a result, the presentation is not entirely dissimilar to the monotextual motets already discussed. However, the single text applied to all parts, and the homorhythmic movement of the voice parts are rather more like a *conductus* than anything else, and the tenor in ligatures at the end of the piece corrects a number of errors in the broken-up tenor part, which may have been the purpose of copying it. Given the other pieces preserved in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 – most of which are of a simple, *conductus*-like style – it seems likely that this version of the motet was preferred, or better understood, by insular musicians. The inclusion of the *contrafactum*, and of the ligated version of the tenor, though, allow for a range of different performances. It could be performed, as is suggested by the copying format here, as a *conductus*, or it could be performed as a motet (monotextual or otherwise). There is even the option to perform the piece as a polytextual motet, by applying the Latin and alternate French texts to each of the upper parts, and by using the ligated version of the tenor. It is certainly an interesting piece, and one that could quite legitimately be discussed in relation to monotextual motets, but to label this version a monotextual motet seems to underestimate its performance potential, and it is not in-keeping with the use of the term elsewhere. It seems more suitable to refer to this piece as an insular interpretation of a continental motet – it hardly rolls off the tongue, but without a full understanding of the scribal intention in this case, it is the most appropriate description. This is not to imply that the insular version is symptomatic of a misunderstanding of a more sophisticated French genre since its performance potential alone demonstrates a complex understanding by the insular scribe/composer. In fact, we may consider that this sort of adaptation is a more intelligent approach to continental influence and more

authentic, as opposed to a simple mimicry of the original version, and suggests a strong sense of insular musical identity, style, and ability.

A troped chant setting in the Worcester Fragments, *Alleluia V. Nativitas* (WF 81; PMFC XIV, appendix no. 16), contains a three-part *clausula*, which has been provided with a single text. Scott describes this embedded *clausula* as a monotextual motet, seen here fulfilling its original function.[40] It seems unlikely, however, that the scribe would have viewed the piece in this way. Clearly, adding text to *clausulae* was one of the earliest developments in terms of the evolution of the motet, but several rather important developments took place between this, and the monotextual motets presented in *F* and W_2. Whilst the relationship between this piece and the monotextual motets is clear, and the importance of this surviving example of motet evolution undeniable, the presentation here is of a troped *organum triplum*, with a texted *clausula*. To refer to it as a monotextual motet risks ignoring the context and intention of the copyist(s).

The final insular composition discussed by Scott is *Barbara simplex animo/ Barbara simplex animo/ Tenor* (PMFC XIV, no. 80; see Appendix G.1). It is a three-part composition, copied in three separate parts but with the upper two parts sharing the same text. It is preserved in Chicago, University Library, 654 appendix [*US-Cum* 654 app.], believed to have originated at Meaux Abbey in Yorkshire.[41] The upper parts are interspersed with short melismas between phrases. They show an independence from strict rhythms and include numerous hockets but, apart from this, they move homorhythmically. The tenor consists mostly of chains of longs, and is without an incipit. It is repeated twice (with augmentation of the final two notes in the second statement). The melody is an adapted *cantus firmus* (for St Barbara or for the Common of the Virgin Martyr) of the sequence for the Assumption *Hodierne lux diei,* preserved in numerous sequentaries and missals. If monotextual motets are derived from source *clausulae*, then this piece does not quite conform since it is unlikely that the sequence from which it is derived would have been made into a *clausula*. However, as both Scott and Tischler note, there are some monotextual motets that do not have source *clausulae* (in *F*, for example, the last three pieces of fascicle eight). Whilst there may well have been existing *clausulae* in some cases, now lost, Tischler suggests that some compositions were a little later in date, with freely composed upper parts rather than those adapted from existing *clausulae* melodies. Since this source was probably copied in the early fourteenth century, this may well be one of those instances. Apart from format, *Barbara simplex animo* is comparable to those compositions in *F* and W_2. As a result, it seems that referring to this

[40] Scott, "The Early Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets", p. 88.
[41] See Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/1, p. 813, and Richard L. Greene, "Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 7 (1954), pp. 1-34.

piece as a monotextual motet is most appropriate, but it would not be incorrect to call it a "*cantus firmus* motet", as Losseff does.[42]

One further composition, not discussed by Scott or Tischler, but which might be considered a monotextual motet is preserved in Oxford, Merton College, 248 [*GB-Omec* 248]. The single music leaf is preserved as the front flyleaf in this host source and it is in a very poor condition. A little over half of the page has been torn away vertically, and the music on the recto is badly damaged and difficult to read (perhaps indicative of exposure to the elements at some point over time, when no outer binding was present). Two compositions are preserved here, one on the recto and the other on the verso. The first fragmentary piece, *…induit [ ]tuit divinitas…(ending) .. Desuper lux orta./ T.*, considered a monotextual motet by Lefferts, has two upper parts in score, underlaid to a single text, with what appears to be a snippet of a tenor part visible, copied afterwards.[43] Although there appears to be no textual incipit, it seems that this tenor part was either rather long, or else there were originally two tenor parts copied in score to make a four-part piece. No borrowed material has been identified from the remaining notation. It does appear as though the upper parts move homorhythmically, but all of the remaining music is *cum littera* with no visible sections of melisma. It does seem possible that this is a three- or even four-part monotextual motet, but its fragmentary state prevents any definitive conclusion. The second composition, *[ ] Karitatis….pacis consiliarum yma regis*, has only two visible voice parts remaining, copied in score with the text underneath the lower part. Sections of *cum* and *sine littera* sections are visible, as well as a *rondellus* section (formatted differently). However, the bottom right-hand margin shows that the last accolade of staves has notation right up to the end of the stave lines with no visible double bar or sign of conclusion. It would seem, therefore, as though the piece continued onto the next folio (now lost). Unfortunately, no *custodes* are used at the ends of lines, so there is no way of being sure that this was the case. Lefferts and Losseff both refer to this piece as a *rondellus-conductus*, which is not an unreasonable conclusion, but without seeing the end of the piece can we be sure that there was not a separate tenor part that followed after these two parts in score?

2.1.3 Monotextual Motets and Hybridisation

Whilst neither Scott nor Tischler discuss any further compositions from the insular repertory in their respective studies, nonetheless, other pieces have been subject to 'monotextual/*conductus*-motet' categorisation regardless of features irregular to the bulk of

[42] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 218.
[43] Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony".

compositions in *F*, W_2 and *GB-Ctc* O.2.1. The struggle to decipher and allocate genre when it is unclear tends to result in the placement of pieces into generic categories that do not fully represent their characteristics. Many of these pieces simply do not lend themselves to generic categorisation at all, on the basis of the evidence at our disposal and our understanding of contemporary attitudes towards genre and composition. Whilst the evolution of the motet in France led to the composition of a number of more peculiar and experimental pieces like the monotextual and organal motets mentioned above (whose concordances and various different generic settings further complicate the picture), the insular picture is much harder to decipher, due to a wider and more heterogeneous range of experimental compositions.

Some of the additional compositions to which the term "monotextual motet" has been applied in modern scholarship are of a similar nature to the organal and monotextual motets on the continent, but they are much more varied in character, and they cannot be grouped under a single generic umbrella. A huge range of experimental compositions with borderline genres and hybrid forms appear across the extant sources, and while a good number of these pieces mix features from both the motet and *conductus* repertories, they cannot reasonably be described as monotextual or *conductus*-motets since they are fundamentally different compositions. Whilst the experimentation evident in French sources discussed above is symptomatic and indicative of stages in the development and evolution of the motet, experimentation with genre and technique seems not to have had any direct link to specific genre development in the insular repertory, but it is a feature that persists in insular composition for some while longer than in France. Over time, the prevalence of experimentation in insular composition gave rise to a blurring of (continental) generic boundaries through hybridisation, and, therefore, the emergence of a range of compositions that significantly strayed from continental theory and practice.

Lefferts uses the term *conductus*-motet to describe a number of additional pieces in the insular repertory in his recent catalogue.[44] Two such pieces appear in *US-Cum* 654 app. alongside *Barbara simplex animo.* However, they are entirely different in character to this monotextual motet. *Patris superni gratia fraus/ Patris superni gratia fraus/T. Pia pacis inclita sedens* (PMFC XIV, no. 38; see Appendix G.2) is a three-part composition notated in separate parts. The upper parts share the same text, but the tenor is fully texted with a different text. It is unclear whether the tenor part is liturgical or not, but it has not yet been identified, and the text does not appear to be preserved in any other sources. The piece begins with a long melisma in all parts – rather like an opening *cauda* of a *conductus* – during which two of the three voice parts move homorhythmically at any one time, and the remaining voice part rhythmically diverges. There is a

[44] *Ibid.*

swapping of both melodic and rhythmic material between parts. After this initial melismatic section a short texted section begins. Here the upper parts are more homorhythmic, and contrast more with the tenor part, although at "frangitur" the *motetus* begins the phrase just before the *triplum*. After this section, the longest and last section begins. It is a texted *rondellus*, with a three-way exchange of material. However, because the tenor has a different text to the upper parts, rather than alternating the text between the three parts as well, the tenor is texted with its own unique text for the duration of the *rondellus*, and the upper parts alternate their single text between phrases. Melodic material is exchanged between all three parts. The scribe indicates the use of *rondellus* by decorating underneath melismatic passages in red and blue, in order to visually assist the exchanges. The piece ends with a short melisma.

The structure of the piece, both in terms of the tripartite overall structure and the relationships between parts, is therefore quite unlike any of the monotextual motets in *F*, *Hu*, W_2 and *GB-Ctc* O.2.1.. The application of *rondellus* completely dominates the final section, and the first two sections are quite *conductus*-like. Clearly, this piece is not a *conductus*, nor is it a *rondellus* since the use of this technique is restricted to the final section. However, it is clearly not a monotextual motet. The tenor, if borrowed, remains unidentified, the piece is not monotextual, and it does not resemble any of the other monotextual motets discussed thus far in structure or style. It seems to combine features from both the motet and *conductus* repertories, with the addition of a distinctly insular technique. It does not, therefore, conform to our understanding of continental genres, or lend itself to this (or any) sort of categorisation.

Orbis pium primordium natum/ [Orbis pium primordium natum].....hominem/ O bipartitum partum (PMFC XIV, no. 39; see Appendix G.3) is another composition of this sort, also preserved in *US-Cum* 654 app., between *Patris superni* and *Barbara simplex animo*. Like *Patris superni*, the piece is copied in three separate parts, with the upper parts sharing the same text and a fully-texted tenor with a different text. It begins with a long, texted section. The relationship between the parts is similar to the previous piece but all three parts move homorhythmically more frequently. There are several melismas in the tenor part that are not reflected in the upper parts, too. The marginally shorter second section consists entirely of a *rondellus*. The text of the tenor part during this section is the same as the upper parts, and the parts alternate the text between exchanges. A short melisma concludes the piece; after all three voice parts sing the text of the last phrase simultaneously. Whilst a number of the features of this piece are similar to those of *Patris superni*, the compositions do differ in structure and interaction between parts, and the overall differences are significant enough to question whether these two pieces should be grouped together generically at all. Certainly, when we compare these two pieces with *Barbara simplex animo*, which follows *Orbis pium primordium* in *Us-Cum* 654 app., it seems clear that they are

fundamentally different compositions. That all three of these pieces, of which the third is quite alien to the first two, could be described using the same generic term seems peculiar.

However, not all modern scholars use the term "*conductus*-motet" to describe these three pieces, and some scholars apply generic terms inconsistently. In Lefferts' Ph.D dissertation, he calls *Patris superni* an "independent motet" and *Orbis pium primordium* a "*rondellus*-motet in parts" (he does not address the genre of *Barbara simplex animo*).[45] However, in the same work he states "The motets in *US-Cu* with sections in voice exchange (no.7) and *rondellus* (no. 8) are "*conductus*-motets" because their upper parts have the same text, while their tenors bear a different text".[46] This is not quite how Tischler or Scott appear to define the features of a *conductus*-motet. Losseff, however, refers to *Patris superni* as a voice-exchange motet, *Orbis pium primordium* as a *rondellus*-motet, and *Barbara simplex animo* as a motet on a *cantus firmus*.[47] In *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Vol. XIV), however, all three pieces are grouped under the heading "Latin sequences, tropes, *conductus*, *rondelli*, *cantilenae*".[48] The application of more than one term to a particular style of piece in modern scholarship may be, in some cases, due to the view that some terms can be used interchangeably, and are therefore not mutually exclusive. However, the confusion that these multiple, sometimes conflicting taxonomies generate contributes to misunderstanding and obscurity in the extant insular repertory, and this approach to the use of generic descriptors is not necessarily true to contemporary attitudes and perceptions. In numerous cases the scholarly instinct to apply continental taxonomies, or to allocate a specific generic descriptor at all, is unhelpful. The resemblance of the three compositions to other pieces in the same manuscript, categorised entirely differently, attests to the overlapping of styles and ideas between generic forms. For example, *In excelsis gloria* (PMFC XIV, no. 36; WF 93) and *Stella Maris nuncuparis* (PMFC XIV, no. 37) are both in three parts, notated separately. *In excelsis gloria* consists of an opening melisma where the tenor sings the same phrase twice and the upper parts sing two phrases in voice exchange. All three parts sing the same text syllabically and homorhythmially for a short time in the following *cum littera* section. Very quickly, however, a new section of texted *rondellus* begins. The text of the tenor now differs to that of the upper parts but declamation of the text alternates between all three parts. A further *sine littera* melisma follows the texted section, also with *rondellus*, which

[45] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", pp. 58-59.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 80, n. 26.
[47] Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 218, 234-235.
[48] It is interesting that Sanders chose to group so many types of song into a single category here. It is perhaps symptomatic of the difficulty in separating pieces of this nature into generic categories due to the merging and hybridisation of many of the features associated with these genres. Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XIV (Monaco: l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979).

continues with a short homophonic phrase and then another, longer section of texted *rondellus* to complete the piece (see Appendix G.4).

Despite its unorthodox presentation, it is still possible that the piece might have been conceived as a *conductus* but the similarity to other pieces both in this source and elsewhere, many of which have been categorised differently to this piece by modern scholars, demonstrates the various pitfalls of this sort of taxonomical endeavour. Moreover, the use of extensive *rondellus*, in both *sine* and *cum littera* sections at periods throughout the piece, demonstrates how *rondellus* can blur the boundaries between generic forms. *Stella maris nuncuparis* is different again. The entire piece is subject to *rondellus* technique, which completely dominates the style, structure, and counterpoint (see Appendix G.5). As a result, the piece is often referred to simply as a "*rondellus*", but the presentation of this piece, and its placement alongside *rondellus-conducti* and motet-like *rondellus* compositions shows the difficulty in interpreting generic intent for modern scholarship. It is tempting to refer to these hybrid compositions as *conductus*-motets; a term which, were it not already so strongly associated with monotextual motets, would be an ideal descriptor for these pieces. However, to apply any generic-like term would imply a homogony that is not apparent between these compositions. They cannot and should not reasonably be categorised into genres, as they were clearly composed according to musical traditions that we simply do not fully understand. Whether or not the composers of the Parisian repertory thought about genre in the same way that we do today is unclear, but the different methods of composing *conducti, organa, clausulae* and the like were generally adhered to on a fairly strict basis. In the British Isles, this is much less clear and there seems to be a greater willingness to compose pieces that do not conform to continental "rules", suggesting more relaxed and perhaps intrinsically curious attitudes to generic experimentation.

2.2 Insular Hybridisation and Problematic Taxonomy

As well as combining the styles and structures of different genres within a single piece, other factors contribute to the apparent obscurity of some insular compositions. The insular use of *rondellus*, voice-exchange and *pes* techniques across all genres and styles of composition can distort our judgements about genre because similarities exist between the pieces that use the same techniques regardless of genre. As a result, if we compared a *rondellus-conductus* to a *rondellus*-motet we might well notice many similarities between the two compositions that blur the compositional distinctions between them. Furthermore, some pieces are copied into formats that seem irregular according to continental practice. We might find, for example, what would appear at a glance to be a *conductus* in parts, but if the style of the piece includes features of both motet and *conductus* composition, the use of format can contribute to the overall doubt over

definitive taxonomy. Finally, the fragmentary state of many of the sources and individual compositions further complicates the issue, since in some cases it is impossible to interpret the nature of the original piece at all, let alone make any definitive conclusion regarding genre.

There are several compositions of a similar, non-taxonomical nature to those immediately above, that have not been subject to a "monotextual motet" taxonomy in scholarship, but have been given a number of different generic descriptors. The fact that some of these pieces behave similarly to the likes of *Patris superni* but are subject to different categorisation(s) shows the significant confusion generated by modern analysis. Many of the following compositions show great diversity of style, presentation and quality, but also a merging of generic features, and none are easily categorised according to continental generic distinctions. At the same time, they share some similarities in their divergence from Parisian norms. Sometimes, an effective way of understanding contemporary generic perception is to examine the context of the piece in question. Since continental manuscript organisation generally reflects the taxonomy of pieces into genre and number of voices (although sometimes alphabetical and liturgical orderings are used, but without transcending genre), the placement of each of these pieces and the pieces they are copied alongside, can be suggestive of their contemporary perception. However, due to a more flexible approach to genre, insular scribes seem less concerned about rigidly organising sources according to this principle. Therefore, context is not always helpful and fragmentation means that it is not always possible to ascertain relationship between leaves.

2.2.1 Examples of Manuscripts Containing Hybrid Compositions

London, British Library, Additional 24198 (*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198), is a Missal of the Augustinian Canons Regular, with special insertions for the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin.[49] Clearly the manuscript was executed by experienced scribes and is of a moderate quality. It contains three flyleaves, one at the front and two at the back, containing polyphony (from a single original source). The initials on these flyleaves match those of the codex, suggesting that the music leaves may also originate from St Thomas's, Dublin. The original relationship between the flyleaves is unclear. Although the leaves appear to be foliated, the foliation does not tally with the distribution of the pieces. The folio at the front of the manuscript is labelled "II", and the two at the back are labelled "VI" and "VIII" respectively. If these numbers are foliations, this puts the folios in very close proximity to one another in the original source. However, the music copied onto folio II is completed on folio VIII, suggesting that they were, in fact, adjacent pages. It seems likely, then, that the numbering refers to something other than foliation. The manuscript appears

[49] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/1, p. 513.

to have been alphabetically ordered, and pieces from "R", "S" and "T" are preserved on the extant folios. However, "T" appears on the folio labelled "II" with "R", and "S" on the leaves labelled VI and VIII, which clearly disturbs an alphabetical ordering, further confirming that the roman numerals do not indicate page numbers. The versos of the leaves have, instead of numbering, the relevant letter of the alphabet as a header – e.g. "T" on f. IIv. It could be suggested that the numbering refers to the number of folios of each letter of the alphabet, meaning that "II" is the second folio in the "T" section, and "VI" is the sixth folio of letter "R". However, this cannot be the case since folio VIII contains "S" initials on the recto, and "T" initials on the verso.

When applied to continental sources, alphabetical ordering is implemented on a fascicle-by-fascicle basis. Therefore, generic groupings into fascicles are undisturbed in the manuscript, but each group within a fascicle is neatly ordered in a method that does not transcend genre. However, in *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, quite a varied group of pieces appear to have been copied in close proximity. A significant number of different features and techniques appear in just seven pieces preserved here – secular song forms, *rondellus* and voice-exchange, hocketing, and isorhythmic structures. Interactions between voice parts are also intricate and varied. The pieces either use quasi-liturgical texts, are dedicated to particular saints, and/or they make direct use of *cantus firmi*. The relevant rubrics are provided in the margins.

The final three compositions preserved in *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198 are clearly motets, two of which are on *cantus firmi* (one identified and one unidentified), and the other appears to have borrowed its tenor from the secular repertory, possibly a virelai (*Trinitatem veneremur unitate/ Trinitas et deitas atque divinitas/ Trinitatis vox, fons ecclesie/* T.; *Te domina regina pariendo/ Te domina Maria Iesse virgula/* T./ T.; and *Triumphat hodie Christi miles/ Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme/ T. [Si que la nuit vus preigne]*, respectively). An anomalous textless composition appears before these motets, which is preceded by another motet with two extant voice parts (*Surgere iam est hora libere/* T.). However, the first three compositions are harder to interpret. The situation is not helped by the fact that they are very fragmentary. The first piece, *Rota versatilis orbis dominatio vertitur in rota/ Rota versatilis,* has two extant voice parts.[50] Reaney states that they are the remains of the *motetus* and tenor parts, with the text of the lower part sparsely underlaid and entirely in red.[51] The upper voice part is considerably more active than the lower voice part. There appear to be alternating *cum* and *sine littera* sections, rather like a *conductus*, but the relationship between the parts and the use of part format are more motet-like features.

[50] A transcription of this piece can be found in Margaret Bent, "Rota versatilis – Towards a Reconstruction", *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart,* ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), pp. 92-97.
[51] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, p. 514.

Lefferts refers to this piece as a motet, and Reaney suggests that the leaves are originally from a motet book.[52] *Rosa mundi purissima, Maria, flos*, appears on the verso of the same leaf, but only a single voice part survives. Since some of the pieces have been copied in parts across an opening, it is likely that other voice parts were copied on the opposite folio (now lost). The surviving voice is very active and is texted throughout. Lefferts describes this piece as a "Petronian-style motet with stratified levels of activity".[53] Despite attempts to categorise these two compositions, in reality their highly fragmentary state prevents further comment or analysis.

Regis aula regentis omnia (PMFC XVI, no. 100; see Appendix G.6) has only one voice part surviving in a fragmentary form. However, this composition is also preserved in Princeton University, Garrett Library, 119 (*US-PRu* Garrett 119), where all three parts are extant. Both Losseff and Lefferts consider it a *rondellus-conductus cum caudis*.[54] However, in both instances the composition is preserved in parts, among motets and (in the case of *US-PRu* Garrett 119) *cantilenae,* and this context may suggest a different taxonomy. Furthermore, the structure of the piece, with an opening melisma, a homorhythmic *cum littera* section and then a long *rondellus* section where the text alternates between parts, is not unlike the two compositions discussed above in *US-Cum* 654 app. (with the exception of the full text in the tenor of *Regis aula*). In Harrison's edition of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* the piece appears among a group headed "Settings for the Office".[55] Interestingly, and unusually for a *conductus* (but due to the application of voice exchange), the opening melisma is in the form AABBC. Although it does, perhaps, seem appropriate to refer to this piece as a *rondellus-conductus cum caudis*, it is clear that there are various features about this piece, and the two contexts in which it appears, that cast doubt over definitive taxonomy.

Oxford, New College, 362 (*GB-Onc* 362) contains an interesting range of pieces that have been subject to various different interpretations in modern scholarship. It would seem to date from the fourteenth century – probably from the first two decades or so – and as a result it shows features from both older and newer musical traditions.[56] There is a mixture, too, of notational styles. Sixteen of the twenty-one pieces preserved in this source are motets. They are quite typical examples of later insular motets, with more developed compositional styles. Voice-exchange and *rondellus* are rife, French text appears (as well as Anglo-Norman), song forms are

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[52] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 44; Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, p. 513.
[53] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 146.
[54] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 58; Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 238.
[55] Sanders; Harrison, Frank Ll.; Lefferts (eds.), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I): Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVI (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983).
[56] Lefferts describes the pieces in this source as representing a "pivotal repertoire in the apparent evolution of the voice-exchange motet" – see Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 62.

frequently used in tenor parts, relationships between parts are quite intricate, and there seem to be two incidences of borrowed tenors from the secular repertory, one of which is fully texted. Like *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, many of the pieces make use of *cantus firmi*, and/or have liturgically themed texts, and almost all of the pieces have rubrics in the margin indicating the theme or dedicatee. Of the remaining five pieces in *GB-Onc* 362 that are not motets, one is the *Spiritus et alme* Gloria trope, but the remaining four are a little more difficult to define. *Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium/……../ Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium* (PMFC XVI, no. 102) is notated in parts with one upper voice (apparently the *triplum*) and the tenor surviving. Both parts are fully texted with the same text. It may seem peculiar to find the voice parts copied "out of order" so to speak, but there are a few other pieces in this manuscript where the copying method seems strange or hard to decipher. This is in part due to the fragmentary nature of the source and problems deciphering collation. Moreover, we cannot be one hundred per cent sure that we have the tenor and *triplum* here without seeing the missing part. Arguably, the piece could potentially have had a different, textless tenor, with the two extant parts acting as upper parts. The music alternates between *sine* and *cum littera* sections, of which the latter are homophonic and mostly syllabic. The middle voice part has been reconstructed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XV*, made possible because of the extensive use of voice exchange in the *caudae*.[57] It seems likely that this part would carry the same text, too. If these assumptions are correct then this piece appears to be a *conductus cum caudis*, notated in parts and with voice exchange. Whilst it would be considered very unorthodox to find *conducti* in parts in continental sources, as previously discussed, it is not so uncommon among insular sources. The genre and generic intent of the composer are not easily deduced, however, and consequently, it would be incautious to apply any generic descriptor to this composition with complete surety.

Another piece in *GB-Onc* 362, *Ka-; Karisma conserat a patre* (PMFC XVI, no. 101; see Appendix G.7), has been reconstructed thanks to the identification of *rondellus* technique.[58] A single voice part is preserved, beginning with a melisma, which is peculiar in that all voice parts move entirely homorhythmically rather than polyphonically. It continues with a very short homorhythmic texted section followed by another melisma (this time with *rondellus*, but also homorhythmic), and then ends with an enormous coda entirely dominated by *rondellus*, some of which is texted. The vast majority of the piece, therefore, is subject to *rondellus*, all of which can be accurately reconstructed. Presumably the first three short sections were reconstructed by a realisation of the counterpoint. Lefferts calls this composition a *rondellus-conductus cum caudis*,

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[57] Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980)

[58] See Sanders; Harrison, Frank Ll.; Lefferts (eds.), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I)*, PMFC Vol. XVI, pp. 248-251; 279.

and in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XVI* the extant voice part is described as being "probably the middle voice of a three-voice *conductus* with *rondellus* elements".[59] The first half of the piece, with *sine* and *cum littera* exchanges, does essentially resemble a *conductus*, except that *caudae* are generally contrapuntal, and the two *caudae* in this first section are not. Moreover, the melismatic *rondellus* occupying the entire second half is naturally void of any *conductus*-like features. In many ways, this piece is not unlike *Regis aula*, *Patris superni* or *Orbis pium primordium*. It appears in parts and has features that resemble *conducti*, but other features that might be seen as irregular in terms of *conductus* composition. The structures are similar between the pieces – *sine* and *cum littera* first halves and then long *rondellus* sections to complete. It might not be inappropriate to refer to this piece as a *conductus* but, clearly, it shows fundamental differences to other, perhaps earlier, insular *conducti* and to the large body of Notre-Dame *conducti* in the main Notre-Dame sources. The Parisians were not, on the whole, composing *conducti* much after the mid thirteenth century, whereas the genre was still reasonably popular and well disseminated insularly. Perhaps these compositions represent a later, insular development of style in *conductus* composition. However they were designed and viewed contemporarily, though, they are not easy to define taxonomically according to our modern understanding of *ars antiqua* composition.

Two further compositions in *GB-Onc* 362 are worthy of mention – *Excelsus in numine* (PMFC XVI, no. 99) and *[Balaam de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam]* (PMFC XV, no. 2). *Excelsus in numine* is described in the critical apparatus of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Volume XVI as a "*rondellus-conductus* with non-*rondellus* prelude and section endings".[60] In fact, it might be more appropriate to refer to the technique applied here as voice exchange rather than *rondellus.* The piece is copied in three separate parts. The tenor does not exchange any material with the upper parts, but rather has a repetitive form that aligns with the exchanges in the upper two parts. Apart from the aforementioned prelude and a short homophonic coda at the end, the tenor takes the form AA BB CC DD. The tenor part has no text or incipit and is labelled "tenor de Excelsus", a form of labelling normally applied to pieces that are otherwise untexted and freely composed, which appears to be the case here. The upper parts do not share the same text, but instead the piece "has two different texts identical in versification that are heard alternately, except at the end of each half of the motet where, in brief codas, they are heard simultaneously" (see figure 2.2).[61] Therefore, although the parts move fairly syllabically and homophonically in *cum littera* sections, the differing text of the upper parts, the textless

[59] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 58; Sanders; Harrison; Lefferts (eds.), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I),* PMFC Vol. XVI, p. 279.
[60] Sanders; Harrison; Lefferts (eds.), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I),* PMFC Vol. XVI, p. 278.
[61] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", pp. 63-64.

tenor and homorhythmic melismas do not point to *conductus* classification, but rather a voice-exchange motet. However, the overall structure of this piece is perhaps not quite what one might expect from a motet and the conflicting descriptions of the piece are probably symptomatic of this.

Figure 2.2: *Excelsus in numine* (*GB-Onc* 362, ff. 86v-87r) – *Image removed: embargoed*

[Balaam de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam] has extensive voice-exchange throughout, and has a structure similar to that of *Excelsus in numine*. It is built on a *cantus firmus* and is single texted, and the verses are repeated on exchange (rather than declaimed simultaneously by the upper voices). The text tropes chant verses. Apart from voice exchange, there is hocketing, and each half of the piece ends with an elaborate textless *cauda*. It is often considered to be a voice-exchange *cantus-firmus* motet, although Lefferts observes that it also sets whole-chant in the tenor (more typically the case in chant settings and troped chant settings than in *cantus-firmus* motets).[62] Harrison describes it as a *rondellus*-motet.[63] The upper

[62] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century", p. 12.

parts share the same text and they move homophonically frequently throughout the piece, and it is only due to the use of voice exchange that this system breaks down. Even then, however, the two parts without the text (at any one time) move together – the grouping of two to one remains, but is exchanged between parts. The taxonomy is unimportant, but this is another example of how the use of *rondellus* and/or voice-exchange can significantly complicate the picture, and of the eclectic collection of pieces often grouped together within a single generic sphere (as well as the similarities between pieces that are categorised differently). Only the *motetus* of the piece survives in *GB-Onc* 362 and its only concordance is in the Montpellier Codex.[64] Reconstruction shows that the *triplum* of the *MO* version has been amended and changed to agree with the *motetus* in *GB-Onc* 362.[65] Whilst the continental concordance sheds some doubt over the origin of the piece, its style, the fact that it is not found elsewhere in any form (fairly unusual for continental motets), and the amendment of the continental version to agree with the insular one suggests insular origin is more likely. Additionally, the concordance for this piece is found in the later eighth fascicle, where a number of pieces are suspected of being of English origin in modern scholarship.[66]

One further example, *[Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ [Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ Equitas in curia* (PMFC XIV, appendix no. 10)*,* is preserved in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 820/810 [*GB-Cgc* 820/810]. This is a highly fragmentary source. Just two folios survive, but both versos only contain empty staves lines, one of the rectos (f. 2r) has staves and text but not music, and the other recto (f. 3r) is the only side to contain music. It is the second piece in this source, *[Fulget ecclesia prelatis]*, that is found with ruled out staves and the text underlaid, but no notation. *Equitas in curia* is copied in full. The leaves appear to have either originally been part of a *rotulus*, or else were never bound into a volume. Collation is difficult to ascertain as a result of these factors, and the original proximity of the folios to one another is unclear. It would appear that, whatever the case, *Fulget ecclesia* is a motet copied in parts, but *Equitas in curia* has been subject to various interpretations. Losseff calls it both a *conductus*-motet and a voice-exchange *conductus cum caudis*.[67] Sanders seems to agree that it is a *conductus*.[68] It is written in parts, with the text laid out under each voice part (including the

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[63] Frank Ll. Harrison, "English Church Music in the Fourteenth Century", in *New Oxford History of Music III: Ars Nova and the Renaissance 1300-1540,* ed. by Gerald Abraham and Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 88-94.
[64] *F-MO* H 196, 323 & 324 (the two stanzas here are set as two different pieces in *MO*).
[65] Harrison (ed.), *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century: Motets of English Provenance,* Vol. XV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, c1980), p. 159.
[66] For information on arguments of English origin in the Montpellier Codex see, Handschin, "The Sumer Canon".
[67] Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 203 & 222.
[68] Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,* PMFC Vol. XIV, p. 246.

tenor). It is monotextual and it has sections of melisma alternating with sections of more syllabic, homophonic *cum littera* writing (see figure 2.3). In fact, it appears to be a *conductus* in all but format. The presentation of the pieces in parts may have encouraged the use of numerous generic descriptors, and different interpretations, in modern scholarship. However, if we ignore the format, the features of the composition strongly suggest that this piece was part of the insular *conductus* repertory, and would likely have been considered so by contemporary musicians.

Figure 2.3: *[Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ [Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ Equitas in curia* (*GB-Cgc* 820/810, f. 3r) – *Image removed: embargoed*

There are examples of monotextual or *conductus*-motets in insular sources that are of the same nature as those in *F* and W_2, such as the pieces preserved in *GB-Ctc* O.2.1. However, there are clearly a number of other insular compositions that fall somewhere in between a *conductus* and a motet and which bear little or no resemblance to the compositions known as *conductus*-motets in the modern study of continental polyphony. Yet, in many cases they are referred to in this manner. The use of the term "*conductus*-motet" is quite possibly the reason for this since it implies that the pieces share a relationship to both *conducti* and motets, and many of the insular pieces in question seem to do just that. Work by Scott and Tischler, however, suggests that the typical continental examples are in fact representative of the early stages in the evolution of the motet, with a close relationship to discant *clausulae,* and although they appear in some sources without their tenors (essentially as *conducti*) they have no direct relationship to the *conductus* genre. Although the continental examples range in style (Tischler identifies "organal motets" as a sub group of pieces, for example) and show evidence of experimentation with genre, they still

form a relatively homogeneous group.[69] The insular compositions that are in that same typical style can be added to this group. However, to group compositions that bear no relation to the typical monotextual motet compositions under the same generic umbrella is misleading. Although some insular compositions appear to mix features of both motets and *conducti* they are entirely different in style and do not, together, form a homogeneous group. They are symptomatic of a general trend of experimentation in insular composition that is far removed from continental practice, and which leads modern scholars to interpret compositions in various different ways, as in those cases discussed above. In some cases, definitive categorisation should be avoided entirely – either because the piece does not fit any contemporary continental descriptor, or because not enough of the piece survives to provide clear taxonomy. Of course, we can only describe compositions from a perspective that we understand, but we clearly do not know enough about insular composition to understand how pieces like those described above were contemporarily perceived, and so to force their taxonomy only muddies the water. If we consider only known, genuine medieval genres – those named and discussed by contemporary theorists and of which numerous demonstrative examples survive (including examples of Notre-Dame genres) – there are, in fact, a significant number of insular compositions that our modern understanding does not allow us to interpret in terms of genre. The pieces mentioned above, that appear to demonstrate features associated with both *conductus* and motet genres, and many of the pieces with features of both motet and troped chant setting genres (several of which are preserved in the so-called Worcester Fragments), fall into this category. Moreover, if we also take into account those compositions described in quite different terms by different scholars, with several possible modern interpretations, as much as around a third of the extant repertory might be considered to defy a coherent means of taxonomy. While our own difficulty in understanding these pieces in their contemporary sense is part of the problem, the range of techniques and styles employed in insular composition, in various different combinations and in contrast to French genre, is part of what characterises and sets apart the insular repertory in the long thirteenth century.

[69] Tischler, "The Earliest Motets", pp. 16-17.

Chapter 3: Insular Genre (II)

3.1 The Insular Motet

Although early motets are preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (*I-Fl* plut. 29.1 [*F*]), a source likely to have been copied c.1245,[1] it seems as though it may have been sometime later that the genre received significant attention in the British Isles.[2] Tracing the origins of the motet in insular polyphony is also significantly more difficult than in continental sources. Soon after the adoption of the motet genre, though, an insular motet style developed that differed markedly from the direction that continental motet composition began to take at this time. That is not to say that there is one particular model for insular motet composition but, rather, a number of common styles and forms that were changed and experimented with to create a rich and varied repertory. While Peter Lefferts' "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" is an invaluable guide to the extant repertory of insular motets, the purpose of this discussion is to explore the evolution of the insular motet style and its gradual hybridisation with other insular genres.

Motets are not found in insular sources in any great number until the later thirteenth century, around the time roughly contemporary with the old corpus of Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H 196 (*F-MO* H 196 [*MO*]). Whilst earlier Notre Dame manuscripts, such as *F*, include fascicles dedicated to the new genre, no concordances survive for any of these pieces in insular sources from the first half of the century.[3] That said, the number of surviving insular sources that can be conclusively dated as pre-1250 are extremely small in number, and the majority of the surviving sources seem to date from after this date. The manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 628 Helmst. (*D-W* cod. Guelf. 628 [W_1]) copied from a Parisian exemplar, which has the closest relationship to *F*, does not include any of the sixty or so motets in fascicles 8 and 9 of *F*. W_1 is the earlier of the two sources, but only by a small margin of around a decade. Either, then, the motet genre was developed after the exemplars for W_1 were taken from the Johannes Grusch atelier in Paris for copying in St Andrews, but before the copying of *F* (between 10 and 20 years later), or, perhaps more likely, there was a conscious decision to omit motets from W_1 (either by the Scottish scribes, or the people responsible for acquiring the exemplar), probably due to either

[1] See Rebecca Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 25 (1972), pp. 1-18.
[2] It is difficult to be sure of the point at which the motet genre infiltrated insular composition since we cannot accurately date the vast majority of the extant sources. However, it would seem as though sources that preserve motets generally date from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
[3] This is not including continental motets that have been adapted to appear as *conducti* in insular sources.

a lack of understanding, or because of a distaste of, or reluctance to adopt the new continental motet genre.[4] It is certainly true that later, secular French motets were not popular in England, where a strong liturgical link was maintained in motet composition, but these early French motets were sacred in subject matter and in their use of *cantus-firmi* tenors.

Some of the earliest sources to preserve motets in England show continental influence. For instance, London, Westminster Abbey, 33327 [*GB-Lwa* 33327] is copied in the style of a continental motet book. Like the continental motet book, *MO*, the pieces are set out in two columns with the tenor part underneath, and pieces are arranged not only according to the number of voice parts, but also (it would seem) according to origin.[5] Of the eight motets preserved here, the first seven are insular compositions in four parts, and the remaining three-part piece has concordances in the Montpellier Codex, the Las Huelgas Codex and the Bamberg Codex, among others.[6] However, four-part motets are uncommon in the continental repertory. Just one four-part motet survives in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146 (*F-Pn* fr. 146), one in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 628 Helmst. (*D-W* cod. Guelf. 1066 [W_2]), and none are found in *F*. The largest collection is in *MO*, which preserves just 17 four-part motets among over 300 motet compositions.[7] Furthermore, the construction of four-part insular motets often differed to four-part continental motet construction. In continental four-part motets, the fourth voice essentially acts as an additional (third) upper part, with a text that usually differs to the texts of the other two upper parts (polytextual). This results in an upper to lower part ratio of 3:1 – three upper parts, with a single tenor part. This is less frequently the case in insular motets, with the fourth part assuming the role of a second tenor. It is generally textless, and sometimes (as in *GB-Lwa* 33327) designated "*quartus cantus"* or "*quadruplum",* or sometimes the two tenor parts are labelled "*primus*" and "*secundus*" in the source. In fact, the majority of insular four-part motets have an upper part to lower part ratio of 2:2 (two upper parts and two tenor-like parts),

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[4] This gap of roughly a decade between the two earliest Notre-Dame sources is proposed by Mark Everist in his article "From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W_1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. , where he discusses the likelihood that W_1 was compiled c.1235 while accepting Baltzer's date for *F* of c.1245-55, proposed in "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures".

[5] The insular pieces in four parts are copied on folios with the heading "quadruplices" in the upper margins of the rectos. However, no new fascicle, folio, nor any sort of marking or heading indicates the change from four- to three-part pieces. There is no separation of this sort according to origin either, but it is possible that, as in *GB-Ob* Wood 591, pieces were grouped within a fascicle according to origin.

[6] *F-MO* H 196, 51; *E-BUlh* s/n, 102; *D-Ba* lit. 115, 30; *F-Pn* lat. 11411, 5; *D-DS* 882, 4.

[7] Fascicle 2, nos 11 – 27. One of the pieces in this fascicle can also be found in the insular source *GB-Lbl* Cotton Titus A XVII. I do not wish to suggest that any of the 17 compositions in this fascicle are of insular origin, but rather that we must be open to the idea that, with strong insular connections implied in the eighth fascicle, and more tentative connections suggested for other fascicles, there might be evidence of an insular influence over continental composition here. Either way, it is impossible to determine where and when styles and methods of composition were conceived, but certain ideas, such as this, could just have easily initiated in England as in France.

and consequently much of the melodic and rhythmic relationships between parts reflect this ratio. Furthermore, this arrangement allows for the application of double voice-exchange, found in a handful of examples, resulting in an innovative and sophisticated style of composition.[8] It is highly irregular, though, when compared with typical continental practices.[9]

This 2:2 motet construction is found most conspicuously in manuscripts after c.1300, such as *GB-Onc* 362, *F-TO* 925, *GB-Ob* Hatton 81 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198. There are some examples, however, of insular four-part motets constructed in the same way as continental examples, often in the same sources as 2:2 examples.[10] There are 39 identifiable four-part insular motets (as well as several other candidates, too fragmentarily preserved). Those with vernacular or secular tenors are more frequently found 3:1 than 2:2. Of the 39 pieces, 27 work on a 2:2 ratio, as opposed to the continental 1:3 arrangement. However, the sources in which these 12 3:1 motets are found overlap with those preserving 2:2 motets – *GB-Onc* 362, *GB-Cgc* 512/543, *F-TO* 925, *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, *GB-Lwa* 33327 and the Worcester Fragments (both reconstructions 1 & 2). Only two sources preserve 3:1 motets without any 2:2 examples – *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198 and *GB-Cjc* 23(B.1).

Table 1: Insular four-part motets

Incipits	Source(s)	Upper parts: Tenors (ratio)
Exulta Syon filia/ Exulta Syon filia/ Exulta Syon filia/ T. En ai ie bien trouvé	*F-TO* 925, 1	3:1
S…./ Syderea celi cacumina/ T. Se iavoie a plaingant/ Tii. [tenor cont.] Si javoie	*F-TO* 925, 5	3:1

[8] Lefferts coined the term "duet motets", in order to describe these pieces. He characterises them as having "melodic duets in thirds and sixths, hocketing between pairs of voices, voice exchange on several rhythmic levels, larger structural repetitions, and recurring melodic tags" (Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 1983), pp. 81-2). See, for example, *[T]homas gemma cantuariae/ T(homas caesus in doveria)/ Secundus tenor/ P(rimus tenor)* (WF 67). For further discussion about the terminology applied to lower parts in insular sources see chapter 5.

[9] I have found only one example of a four-part continental motet from this period with two tenors (2:2 rather than 3:1) in the Bamberg Codex (*D-BAs* lit. 115, 92). Interestingly, this piece actually employs two *cantus firmi*, one in each tenor. This is very rare among insular motets (as far as successful chant identification to date is concerned), with only two potential pieces of this nature surviving. *Mirabilis deus invisibilis/ Ave maria/ Ave maria* may or may not have two *cantus firmi* since neither tenor has been identified, but it would seem as though they are setting two different chants on *Ave Maria*. The other piece is *Doleo super te, frater mi/ Absalon, fili mi, fili mi/* T. (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 7), which has a *medius cantus* from the Magnificat Antiphon *Rex autem David* as well as an unlabelled tenor identified as the melisma "Amoris" from the chant *Alleluia V. Veni sancte spiritus* (see Appendix G.8 for an edition of this piece).

[10] See, for example, *Solaris ardor Romuli/ Gregorius sol seculi/ Petre, tua navicula vacilat/ Marionnette douche* in *GB-Onc* 362 (although the use of the secular tenor here contrasts with continental practice).

Virgo Maria patrem parit/ O stella marina nos a/ Virgo Maria, flos divina/ Flos genuit regina qui	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 3	3:1
Tu civium primas per imperium/ O cuius vita fulsit ita/ Tu celestium primas civium/ Congaudens super te fundata	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 4	3:1
Thomas gemma Cantuarie/ Thomas cesus in Doveria/ T./ T.	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 6; WF 67; *US-PRu* Garrett 119, 4*; GB-DRu* Bamburgh Select roll 13	2:2
[S…..] Quis queso precabilium/ S-….[Quis?]/ S-….[Quis?]/ [S…..] Quis queso	*GB-Cjc* 23 (B.1), 3	All texted? 3:1
[Det]entos a demonibus/[Sec]undo tenor	*GB-CA* Add. 128/2, 1	2:2
[Q]Uid rimari cogitas/[Ten]or primus	*GB-CA* Add. 128/2, 2	2:2
[Regi]na iam discubuit/. . . s de primo puncto	*GB-CA* Add. 128/2, 3	2:2?
[Venit sponsa de li]bano/. . . de secundo puncto	*GB-CA* Add. 128/2, 4	2:2?
Trinitatem veneremur unitate/ Trinitas et deitas atque divinitas/ Trinitatis vox, fons ecclesie/ [Pro patribus]	*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 5	3:1
A solis ortus cardine insigne/ Salvator mundi, domine, nacens/ Tenor Secundus	*GB-Lwa* 12185, 5	2:2
Ovet mundus letabundus..... Ante partum virgo mansit mater/ Ovet mundus letabundus....Ante partum/ Quadruplex/ Tenor	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 2	2:2

Hostis Herodes impie/ Hostis. Hic princeps ubi nascitur/ Quartus cantus/ Tenor	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 3	2:2
Salve, cleri speculum, antistes/ Salve, iubar presulum/ [Quartus cantus]/ [Tenor]	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 4	2:2
Petrum cephas ecclesiae/ Petrus pastor potissimus/ T. Petre [amas me?]/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 3	2:2
Ave, miles celestis curie/ Ave, rex patrone patrie/ T. Ave, rex [gentis]/ Tenor ii	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 8	2:2
[H]uius devia.../ Quadruplum [?] or Quadri....ivium	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 12	2:2
Campanis cum cymbalis/ Onoremus dominam dignam/ Campanis/ Onoremus	*GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 13	2:2
Candens crescit lilium/ Candens lilium columbina/ [Quartus cantus]/ [Tenor primus]	*US-NYpm* 978, 12; WF 53	2:2
…-ferno cum timore more/…per te fides aperit/ Spirans odor, flos beate/ Tenor. Kyrie.	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 1	3:1
O nobilis nativitas virgo/ O mira dei misericordia/ O decus virgineum casta parit/ Tenor. Apparuit	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 2	3:1
O mors, moreris, mors/ O vita vera/ Tenor. Mors/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 3	2:2
[Pro beati Pauli gloria dat preconia]/ [O pastor patris summi regis gregi]/ [O preclara patrie celestis bina]/ T. Pro patribus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 4; WF 40 & 70	3:1

...-e ineffabilis potencie/ Dona celi factor, domine/ Tenor. Doce/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 5	2:2
Opem nobis, o Thoma, porrige/ Salve, Thoma, virga iusticie/ Tenor. Pastor cesus/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 6	2:2
Ave, miles, de cuius militia/ Ave, miles, o Edwarde/ Tenor. Ablue/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 7	2:2
Ianuam quam clauserat fructus/ Ia-, iacinctus in saltibus/ Iacet granum/ Tenor per se de Iacet granum/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Onc* 362, 2	2:2 (solus T)
Alta canunt assistentes cuncti/ Quadruplum	*GB-Onc* 362, 8	2:2
Solaris ardor Romuli/ Gregorius sol seculi/ Petre, tua navicula vacilat/ Marionnette douche	*GB-Onc* 362, 10	3:1
O homo de pulvere, surge, propere/ O homo, considera que vite/ Filie Ierusalem/ Quartus [cantus]	*GB-Onc* 362, 17	2:2
O quam glorifica luce/O quam beata domina/ O quam felix femina/ T.	WF 10	3:1
O venie vena spes seculi/…../ Illumina, morti…../ T.	WF 13	3:1
Loquelis archangeli/…./Quartus cantus/……	WF 18 & 66	2:2
Ut recreentur celitus/……./ Secundus tenor/……..	WF 78	2:2
[Super te Ieruslaem]/ Sed fulsit virginitas/ Primus tenor/ [Secundus tenor]	WF 95	2:2

It would seem as though the scribes of *GB-Lwa* 33327 were aware of the method of layout used for the three-part motets in *MO*, since they have attempted to apply it here. However, given that most of the pieces preserved on this bifolium are in four parts, the result is not quite the same. The fourth voice, or *quartus cantus*, is positioned inconsistently, squeezed in where possible in an ad hoc manner. The result is somewhat chaotic at times (unlike the well-organised three-part pieces in *MO*) and it is not at all consistent with the layout of the four-part *MO* motets in the second fascicle.[11] This may be indicative of the insular scribes' unfamiliarity with this sort of organisation. Due to the relatively small number of four-part motets preserved on the continent the scribes, whilst familiar with the layout used for copying three-part motets like those in *MO*, may not have not come across a continental motet source with four-part compositions before.[12]

The insular motets in *GB-Lwa* 33327 may demonstrate some features that arguably betray their origin, but they appear to have been composed to a continental model and they do not include *rondellus,* voice exchange, or other distinctively insular techniques. All of the motets in this source are based on *cantus firmi*. A large proportion of the earliest motets found in the British Isles have either texts and/or melodies borrowed from the liturgy but very quickly insular composers began to cultivate motets without liturgical *cantus firmi*. On the continent, however, it is unusual to find a free motet before the second quarter of the fourteenth century – just a handful of pieces suspected of or identified as not using liturgical tenors survive in *MO*, for instance. On the contrary, in English sources, a much higher proportion of surviving tenors are freely composed, and it also seems likely that some were borrowed from the secular repertory. Monotextual, polytextual, bitextual, duet, and isorhythmic insular motets all appear in greater number in early fourteenth-century sources, too.

Soon after the appropriation of the motet genre it would seem that insular composers started to adapt motets to include insular techniques and practices. Voice exchange was commonly applied to the upper voices of motets, often accompanied by the use of a repetitive, structured form in the tenor (AABBCC etc.). This led to the composition of motets with much more complicated relationships textually, melodically and rhythmically between parts. Those insular motets that appear to date from the early fourteenth century include song forms and structures in increasingly greater numbers; not only in the tenor part(s) but reflected in the upper

[11] The four-part motets in *MO*, 2 are copied with one piece occupying an entire opening. Both pages are drawn in two columns (four in total), with each voice part occupying separate columns.

[12] This assumes, of course, that insular scribes were copying French copying formats and practices, rather than the other way around. There is no solid proof that it was continental scribes who developed the typical format used for three-part motets (two columns for the upper parts and the tenor copied across the page underneath), but given the apparent popularity of the motet on the continent by the time *MO* was copied, it would appear to be the more likely scenario.

parts too.[13] Furthermore, insular composers include distinct melismas, or melismatic sections, in their writing quite frequently. This is perhaps a feature carried over from *conductus* composition but it is inconsistent with continental practice where distinct melismas are practically never found in motet voices.

Whether built upon *cantus firmi* or not, liturgical influence remained crucial to many of these compositions, either through a troping of liturgical texts, or through the use of quasi-liturgical poetry, particularly dedicated to saints or to the Blessed Virgin Mary (approximately 60%); a cult especially popular in the British Isles and across Europe at this time. Fewer than ten are secular in theme. The cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary was also a particularly popular textual theme for French Latin double motets. For instance, of the 144 continental Latin double motets identified by Anderson, 67 have Marian-themed upper parts with non-Marian tenors, and a further 22 have Marian-themed upper parts and tenors.[14] The more startling comparison between insular and continental motet themes lies in the use of secular poetry. Far fewer later continental motets (fourteenth century) have Marian texts, with composers preferring to use secular poetry for new compositions. In France, secular poetry became increasingly popular during the later thirteenth century.[15] So much so that there was an unsuccessful attempt to stem the flood of secular influences via the introduction of Latin sacred *contrafacta* for existing compositions, some of which were Marian in theme.[16] The comparative rarity of secular insular motet texts indicates that the function of insular motets was different, and perhaps more formal, than French examples. This contrasts, however, with the use of non-liturgical tenors in motets of insular origin; a feature found much more frequently than in continental motets.[17]

Secularly themed continental motet texts are often in French. There are numerous French language motets preserved in continental sources, but in insular sources they are extremely

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[13] See, for example, the motets in *F-TO* 925. I read a paper specifically about these compositions at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference (MedRen) at the University of Nottingham, 2012 entitled "The Motet in England c.1300: Liturgy, the Seasons and the Vernacular Tenor" and I intend to publish this paper in the future. For more information about motets on vernacular tenors see Lefferts, "The Motet in England", pp. 384-385 and for information about comparative compositions in the continental repertory, see Everist, "Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 24 (2007), pp. 365-406.

[14], Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre-Dame Latin Double Motets ca. 1215-1250", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 25 (1971), p. 34

[15] Some of the first examples of French motet texts can be found in the first motet fascicle of W_2 where five of the older Latin monotextual motets are provided with French *contrafacta*.

[16] Anderson, "Notre-Dame Latin Double Motets", p. 36.

[17] In the Montpellier Codex, for instance, only c.25 motets are transmitted with what appear to be vernacular, secular or freely-composed tenors. In insular sources a far greater proportion of the extant pieces do not carry a known *cantus firmus*.

uncommon, and none appear to be of insular origin.[18] Anglo-Norman is found almost as infrequently, often where an originally French text has been forfeited for an Anglo-Norman version.[19] There are only three continental French double motets surviving in the repertory and a further two French motets of continental origin are copied in Anglo-Norman.[20] One bilingual motet survives in French and Latin,[21] and one in Anglo-Norman and Latin, both of which could be insular compositions.[22] A collection of eight motets with French or Anglo-Norman tenors (and Latin upper parts) has survived across five sources,[23] and one further motet has a French tenor, an Anglo-Norman *motetus* and a Latin *triplum*.[24] There appears to be another motet with a French text, preserved in Wisbech, Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Town Library, C 3.8 [*GB-WHwfm* [pr. bk] C 3. 8], but only a single, fragmentary voice part remains and it is impossible to deduce the languages or texts of the missing parts.[25] The use of vernacular (English) poetry is not common in insular sources, but a small group of pieces do survive, most often referred to simply as "songs".[26] They are either monophonic, or in simple two-part polyphony and tend to be found in miscellany manuscripts. However, there are three motets that make use of the vernacular.

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[18] Five pieces in *F-TO* 925 have French texted tenor parts, and a small handful of other examples survive elsewhere, but it is unclear whether the texts (and melodies) were taken from French secular song, or composed by Englishmen. Other than these compositions, no pieces that appear to have been composed in the British Isles make use of French texts. There are, however, a small number of French vernacular motets surviving in insular sources – see *GB-DRc* C.I.20 and *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, for example.

[19] For example, the continental motet *Au coeur ai un mal qui me destraint souvent / Je ne m'en repentirai d'ameir / Jolietement me tient*, found in *D-BAs* Lit. 115, f.32; *F-MO* H 196, f.283 and *I-Tr* Vari 42, f.24, is copied into the insular source *GB-Ob* Douce 139 with the text translated into Anglo-Norman - *Au queer ay un maus ke my destreynt/ Je ne mi repentiray de'amer/ Jolietement my teent li maus d'amer.* Equally, another continental bilingual motet found in *GB-Lbl* Cotton Vespasian A. XVIII is copied here in Anglo-Norman and Latin, as opposed to all other concordances, where it is in French and Latin - *Amor veint tout fors quer de felun / Au tens d'esté ke cil oisel chantent / Et Gaudebit.* A couple of Anglo-Norman texted compositions without continental concordances (and therefore seemingly insular) can be found in *GB-Ccc* 8, *GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1], *GB-Onc* 362 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198.

[20] All three French double motets are preserved in the same source – *GB-DRc* C.1.20, nos 11, 16 and 19.

[21] *[P]ura, placens, pulcra, pia/ Parfundement plure Absolon/ Tenor* found in *GB-Ob* e mus. 7. It would seem as though this piece is insular, but Lefferts feels that the text could be French in origin.

[22] *En averil al tens jolifs ly oysels/ O Christi clementie mire mira/* [Tenor] in *GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1].

[23] One of these eight pieces appears twice, in two different sources. The sources are: *F-TO* 925, *GB-DRc* C.I.20, *GB-Lbl* 24198, *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 and *GB-Onc* 362. All of these sources are considered to date from the beginning of the fourteenth century.

[24] *Triumphat hodie Christi miles/ Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme/ [Si que la nuit vus preigne]* found in *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198 and *GB-Onc* 362.

[25] All that remains of the text of this voice part is *….-s de mon cr….s voy bone.* Lefferts has suggested, however, that this voice may be the tenor for the previous composition. If so, then it would be another instance of Latin upper parts over a French tenor.

[26] Deeming uses this term to describe a number of monophonic and simple polyphonic pieces in insular sources, but she omits motets from her edition entirely (see Deeming, *Songs in British Sources*). However, the term has been used to refer to simple motet-like compositions with vernacular texts in other literature. While the term is useful in some contexts, the different uses of the term "song" in modern scholarship result in conflicting accounts and subsequent confusion.

Two compositions have English tenors (one of which is fully texted) with Latin upper parts.[27] One of these, *Vide miser et iudica/ Vide miser et cogita/ T. Wynter,* is the only three-part composition with an English tenor text. Only a single remaining *ars antiqua* motet has English text in an upper part - *Worldes blisce have god day/Domino*. In fact, the tenor, which is liturgical, should read "*Benedicamus domino".* The *cantus firmus* has four isorhythmic *talea* in the tenor part, which is structured AA'B, and has to be stated three times to fit the upper part.[28] The text of the upper part is devotional, and Bukofzer notes a predilection for harmonies of a third with the tenor part.[29] The piece is preserved in two parts, copied separately, in the manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8 [*GB-Ccc* 8], which contains the remains of one of the more heterogeneously organised extant insular manuscripts. A bifolium used as a flyleaf and several binding strips are all that remains of what was clearly a large purpose-built book of polyphony.[30] However, the mix of genres preserved on a few small leaves, the use of four languages, different numbers of voice parts, and the inclusion of compositions that evade taxonomy, suggest that either no form of organisation was applied at all when copying the music, or else we simply do not understand the method employed. Four *clausulae* appear on the recto and verso of one side of the bifolium (originally adjacent pages – 557-8). However, *Worldes blisce* appears on the recto of the other side (pages 547-8), after a simple, homophonic, two-part composition with an English text, and followed by an Anglo-Norman piece in three-part score with a single text laid under the tenor. Whilst we may be able to make sense of the organisation of the *clausulae*, despite the original proximity of the two sides of the bifolium (just nine pages or four folios apart), the vernacular motet, placed alongside two unfathomable, *conductus*-like compositions with vernacular and Anglo-Norman texts, is harder to understand.[31]

When Bukofzer referred to *Worldes blisce* as "the first motet with English words" he suggested a date, based on the notation, of around 1280.[32] Of course, this proposed date applies to the manuscript, but not the song itself, as we know that scribes updated the notation of older compositions when copying them into new sources. It is, in fact, evident in this source, since the

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[27] *Vide miser et iudica/ Vide miser et cogita/ T. Wynter* can be found among other similar compositions in *F-TO* 925, and *[S]alve, mater gratie, stella claritatis/Dou way, Robin, the childe wile wepe* is found in both *GB-Lbl* Cotton Fragment XXIX and *US-PRu* Garrett 119. It is fragmentary in both cases, but the two sources put together preserve almost all of the composition.

[28] Manfred Bukofzer and Pidcock, G. D. H., "The First Motet with English Words", *Music & Letters,* Vol. 17, No. 3 (1936), p. 228.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[30] The bifolium is paginated with the numbers 547-8 and 557-8.

[31] For a thorough account of this source, including observations not previously mentioned and a new theory on the relationship of the fragments to one another, see Amy Williamson, "English Polyphonic Music around 1300: Genre and Repertory in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Ms 8", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 58 (2013), pp. 373-392.

[32] Bukofzer, The First Motet with English Words", p.226.

clausulae are copied in mensural notation; unusual by continental standards. Bukofzer argues that fairly early in the thirteenth century, French composers were experimenting with the use of the vernacular.[33] There is no reason to assume that similar experiments happened significantly later insularly. In general, the use of vernacular poetry is not very uncommon and is found in several other sources and genres. Anglo-Norman, which functioned as a secondary vernacular around this time, is found in similar numbers.[34]

Apart from the motets already discussed, the bulk of the remaining extant insular motets are Latin double motets, in three or four parts (usually polytextual). It is difficult to give an accurate number of surviving Latin double motets, partly because of missing voice parts and difficulties with taxonomy, but there are certainly well over 70 such compositions that can be definitively verified. Latin two-part motets are found in much smaller numbers, however. In part, this is due to the difficulty in identifying two-part compositions definitively – as so many of the surviving motets are fragmentary and the original number of voice parts cannot be established – but there seem to be fewer extant two-part compositions in the insular repertory, proportionally, to the number found in French sources. Of those insular sources where the original number of voices can be ascertained, there are eight surviving continental two-part motets, and just four insular examples.[35] However, it should be noted that a further 15 two-part motet incipits are listed in the famous Harleian Index.[36]

There are 144 Latin double motets on the continent (regardless of other forms of motet), and there are probably c.200 insular motets (of any kind) in total. Of course large portions of the repertory have been lost, and it is possible that a significant number of motets have not survived. When we consider the number of extant insular fragments that appear to have come from substantial volumes of music, it is conceivable that insular motets existed on a similar scale to the number of French motets cultivated around the same time. In terms of the proportion of motets surviving compared to other genres and styles, it would seem as though a roughly similar number

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Manuscripts containing compositions of any genre, with English texts are: *GB-Lbl* Harley 978; *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248; *GB-Ccc* 8; *GB-Lbl* Cotton frag. XXIX; *GB-Occ* E. 59; *US-PRu* Garrett 119; *GB-Ob* Douce 139; *GB-Ob* Rawl G.18.
Those with Anglo-Norman texts are: *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248; *GB-Ccc* 8; *GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1]; *GB-Cu* ff.1.17; *GB-Lbl* Cotton Vespasian A. XVIII; *GB-Lbl* Harley 978; *GB-Ob* Douce 139; *GB-Onc* 362.

[35] Seven of the continental two-part Latin motets are in *F-Pa* 135. This source has been the subject of scholarly conjecture, since some believe it to be French and others, insular. The eighth continental two-part motet is in *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18. The four insular two-part motets are all preserved in the Worcester Fragments – WFs 74-5 (from Reconstruction I) & 79-80 (both palimpsests, not currently part of any reconstruction).

[36] See *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, and Lefferts' list of the incipits in Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony".

of *conducti* survive, and both genres are only outnumbered by chant settings.[37] Unfortunately, a large and significant proportion of the extant motets cannot be analysed in detail due to their fragmentary survival. Interestingly, though, of all of the extant motets in insular sources, only 19 are continental compositions, with a further two continental motets copied in the style of *conducti* – a surprisingly low number.

Of those compositions that can be confidently assessed, approximately 50 motets have *cantus firmus* tenors, or *medius canti.*[38] Furthermore, several tenor parts are suspected of carrying a borrowed melody but no such concordance has been found, and others have scant or no tenor parts surviving. The use of tenor parts with repetitive or structural forms is the next most common feature of insular motets, with around 36 identifiable instances.[39] *Rondellus* or voice-exchange techniques can be positively identified in approximately 26 examples, and isorhythm and isoperiodicity have been noted in around 30 examples. Finally, song forms and refrain-like structures have been noted in at least 20 motets, but further investigation would surely reveal several more. Moreover, in several instances the structures in the tenor parts are reflected in the upper voices. Lefferts refers to this as "isomelism" and he finds it frequently enough to designate it a subcategory of the motet alongside isoperiodicity.[40]

3.2 Motets and Chant Settings

The hybridisation of the motet with features of *conducti* (and *clausulae*) has already been discussed in detail. However, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the features of the motet appear blended with those of another genre to create similarly hybrid, but characteristically different compositions.

Chant based liturgical settings for the Mass and Office make up a significant proportion of the extant compositions in the insular repertory. Approximately 50 sources contain troped or untroped chant settings (or both).[41] Around 114 pieces have been identified as troped chant

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[37] I am purposely cautious about these figures, due to difficulties in taxonomy.
[38] *Medius canti* are *cantus firmi* which are carried by the middle voice, rather than the tenor as is the usual practice. Lefferts described them in detail in "The Motet in England", and the frequency of their use in what he terms "duet motets" – see pp. 130-139.
[39] It should be made explicitly clear that, although these features are commonly associated with the term "*pes",* this number does not refer to the number of instances in which the term "*pes*" appears in manuscripts. It refers only to the number of tenors that employ the technique most associated with the term "*pes*" in modern scholarship (i.e. a short, ostinato like phrase requiring repetition, or a tenor with a repetitive structure – AABBCC…).
[40] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 50.
[41] This figure, along with other similar figures quoted in this thesis, must remain approximate due to fragmentation and difficulties in taxonomy.

settings in modern scholarship, and approximately 126 untroped settings survive. Unlike continental settings for the Mass and Office, insular composers set a much wider range of items and did not favour the sustained-note style of the *Magnus Liber Organi*. As a result, very few continental compositions of this nature survive in insular sources, although a small group of insular compositions contain features reminiscent of the continental *organum*.[42] Moreover, a large proportion of the insular liturgical settings are troped, a technique far more prevalent insularly than on the continent, particularly after the twelfth century.

The term "trope" has been applied to several, similar methods of composition, both contemporarily and in modern scholarship. Sometimes, tropes are simply non-liturgical textual additions to previously untexted melismatic sections of chant (although this is more frequently referred to as a *prosula*); sometimes a new melisma is added without the addition of text; but, much more frequently, the term refers to the addition of both non-liturgical music and text to a liturgical chant. By the thirteenth century, a wide range of liturgical chants were subject to troping, and the extant compositions form quite a heterogeneous group. Not only are there a number of hybrid motet-like compositions, but some borrow techniques from the *conductus* genre, some resemble *organa*, and others are simple polyphonic settings. There even exists a small surviving collection of free Kyrie tropes.[43] The confusion generated by insular tropes is thus compounded, and clarification cannot be sought in contemporary descriptions of musical theory and terminology since they are not consistent. Modern scholarship, furthermore, has allowed for a broadening of the term and its meaning "to include even the sequence and its proses, the *conductus*, verse songs that sometimes replaced the *Benedicamus Domino*, and the upper voices of early *ars antiqua* motets", despite efforts by Crocker and others to clarify this terminology.[44]

Whilst individual or small groups of compositions have previously been analysed and discussed in scholarly literature, the true nature and range of insular troped chant settings has never been fully explored. Much attention has been given to the twelfth century Winchester

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[42] One Notre Dame *organum* survives in *GB-A* 2379/1 and another *organum*-like setting can be found in *GB-Cu* ff. ii. 29. In this latter example, Lefferts states that only one *clausula* is concordant with music from the Notre-Dame repertory. This is simply because the rest of the composition is missing in this source. It would appear that the piece continued onto a page now missing. What does remain is very similar to the composition in *F*.

[43] Two are found in *GB-DRc* C.I.8 (*O pater excelse,* and *…Tu lava nos et sordiebus*); Three in *GB-Ob* Arch Selden B.14 (*Kyrie christifera populi psalentis eleison* (also in *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210)*, [Kyrie Tro] Christe dulcis amor virginum… aeterne gloriae eleison,* and *Regina virginum, decus et corona Te regens gentium, parens tam emena Amator hominum alma et focunda);* and one in *GB-Ob* c mus. 60 (*[ ]e hausit lugens mirifice…(ending) eleyson).*

[44] See Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Trope (i)." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28456 [Accessed 18 March 2016] and, for instance, R.L. Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis", *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 52 (1966), pp. 183-203.

Troper, but the varied thirteenth-century repertory remains, relatively, in the dark. If the entire extant troped chant repertory of this period is considered, it is clear that there are various styles and forms of composition that appear to have evolved over time alongside, and influenced by, the development of other polyphonic genres during the thirteenth century. For instance, simpler compositions (i.e. simple, homophonic settings of established and well-known tropes) are evident in earlier sources, along with a few examples that appear to borrow from the *conductus* and *organum* genres (very popular in the earlier part of the thirteenth century).[45] Only in sources that appear to be later in date do troped chant settings begin to resemble and borrow from motets (around the point at which motets in general begin to appear in insular sources).[46] It seems probable that, whilst certain methods of troped chant composition appear to have been more popular at different periods (according to the approximate dating of the sources in which they are preserved), these different styles of setting co-existed to some extent. A number of different styles of chant setting can be found in Reconstructions I and II of the Worcester Fragments, for instance.

Alejandro Planchart observes, "tropes may originally have been largely a monastic phenomenon, but it should be noted that a substantial number of sources come from cathedrals and secular churches as well".[47] Tropes were regularly copied alongside sequences, and are preserved in various Tropers and appended to other liturgical tomes. Tropes probably evolved from local embellishments and additions to chant in the eighth and ninth centuries. Chants had little official status at this time and therefore could be manipulated. However, the Council of Meaux in 848 condemned a number of new practices, including *prosulae*, *sequentia*, and tropes added to the Gloria. Regardless, the repertory of tropes continued to increase, growing substantially in places. The tenth-century troper from St Martial, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1240 [*F-Pn* lat.1240] demonstrates this larger repertory, preserving several trope

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[45] Simple, homophonic troped chant settings can be found in the 11th fascicle of W_1. The date of this fascicle has been subject to much conjecture. It is my opinion, however, that it does not post-date the main corpus quite as substantially as has been suggested in some studies. I would certainly prefer a date within the thirteenth century; perhaps the third quarter. See also *GB-Cgc* 803/807, probably of c. mid-century; *GB-Llp* 457, whose "neat, smallish 13th century notation which has much in common with that of W_1" (Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/1 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), p. 523); and *GB-A* 2379/1, which has also been estimated as dating from the mid thirteenth century, but contains a simple monophonic Kyrie trope alongside a continental *organum*. A significant portion of the collection of troped chant settings in the Worcester Fragments could certainly be considered *organum*-like; an observation made by Anselm Hughes, who labelled the pieces "English *organa*" (Anselm Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony of the Thirteenth & Fourteenth Centuries* (Burnham: Publication of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1928)).

[46] Probably around the same time as the copying of the Worcester Fragments (which preserve both sorts of composition) in the third and/or fourth quarters of the thirteenth century.

[47] Planchart, "Trope (i)." *Grove Music Online.*

verses by incipit only, indicating that they were already part of a well-known repertory. The repertory continued to come

> …under increasing attack, however, from various monastic reform movements, particularly the Cluniac, which eliminated all Proper tropes from its liturgy, and the Cistercian, which allowed no room for them in the reform of its chant. Fassler has shown that a similar attack on tropes was carried out by the Augustinian canons in the 12th and 13th centuries.[48]

Despite this, during the thirteenth century it would seem that tropes were still regularly performed in liturgical services and transmitted in manuscript sources in the British Isles. However, their cultivation and performance on the continent had greatly diminished, in favour of new Notre Dame genres such as *organa*. Indeed, chant settings in general took on this form and appearance in many French, or central, sources. Tropes remained present in peripheral manuscripts, particularly in England and Spain during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. During the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, tropes began to appear in fairly small number in French sources, and larger codices again.

The following table lists the numbers of identifiable extant thirteenth-century chant settings according to the type of chant (indicating whether Ordinary or Proper), and the number of untroped versus troped examples:

Table 2: Chant settings

	Troped	Untroped	Total
Gloria (Ordinary)	11	6	17
Alleluia (Proper)	35	47	82
Kyrie (O)	21	10	31
Sanctus (O)	16	11	27
Agnus dei (O)	12	4	16
Gradual (P)	6	0	6
Offertory (P)	1	9	10

[48] *Ibid*.

Antiphon (P)	3	2	5
Introit (P)	3	0	3
Tract (P)	1	1	2
Communion (P)	0	1	1
Deo Gratias (O)	0	3	3
Lection (P)	0	1	1
Hymn (P)	0	3	3
Credo (O)	0	4	4
Te Deum (O)	0	1	1
Benedicamus (O)	0	4	4
Responsory (P)	3	0	3
Total	112	107	219

On the continent, the range of chants set polyphonically was fairly limited. Composers seem to have much preferred setting Proper chants, for particularly important feasts during the liturgical year – settings of Ordinary chants do not appear. The range of items set in insular sources (both troped and untroped) is much wider, though. Lefferts includes a full list of insular fourteenth-century tropes in his study of the *Motet in England*, but such a list does not exist for the entire *ars antiqua* period.[49] The issue is that exact numbers cannot be quoted. Several compositions are too fragmentary to assess with any accuracy, and some have missing tenors or have not, as yet, been identified as carrying a known *cantus firmus*. Furthermore, as some motets and troped chant settings borrow and share many of the same features and styles, many of the pieces do not lend themselves to categorisation according to a modern sense of genre, or to our understanding of contemporary perceptions of genre. Unfortunately, this is not a contemporary problem, but rather one created in modern scholarship, and symptomatic of the difficulties in discussing insular genre. It should therefore be noted that the function of the table above (and any such table or discussion in this work) is not to display precise numbers of extant pieces in particular genres (however loosely the terms may fit) but, rather, to tentatively categorise

[49] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", pp. 9-12.

compositions, where possible, to provide a rough overview of the extant insular chant settings, to compare the proportions of troped to untroped settings, and to assess the prolificacy of the use of specific chants.

Table 1 shows that a wider range of liturgical items have been set polyphonically, without troping, than those that have been subject to troping. This is probably due to a number of factors including accepted liturgical practice, and the practicalities of troping itself. Certain chants, for instance, have a standard structure that particularly lends them to troping. Overall, Gloria tropes seem less numerous than Alleluia, Sanctus and Kyrie tropes, and untroped Gradual and Introit numbers seem particularly low, given their popularity in the Notre Dame repertory (where Proper chants were set exclusively, and the majority of settings are Responsories, Graduals, Alleluias, and Introits). Whilst insular composers set different, sometimes Ordinary chants, they still set a wide range of Proper chants, too. In fact, eight different types of Ordinary chant, but ten different Proper chants are represented in the extant pieces, but the numbers overall are almost equal – of those listed above, 103 are Ordinary chants and 116 are Proper.

Whilst more obscure chant settings are found in the repertory, such as Lections and Tracts, it is clear that these were cultivated in much smaller numbers, perhaps for use only at particular, high-ranking feasts. However it is interesting to note the difference between the number of troped and untroped setting for each chant. For instance, Kyrie, Gloria and Agnus dei tropes far outnumber untroped settings. Graduals, Introits and Responsories are only found troped, whereas Te Deum, Deo Gratias, Lection, Communion, Hymn, Credo and Benedicamus settings are only found untroped. It is difficult to be certain about the number of alleluia settings in the repertory since so many appear in the Harley Index as textual incipits only. 41 alleluia incipits are listed in the first column of the index. Throughout the index, even those pieces with multiple texts are listed with one incipit only – that of the *triplum*.[50] In the case of the chant settings, it is therefore impossible to tell whether a piece would have originally been polytextual, monotextual, troped or untroped, with any certainty. However, copied in the first group of pieces, before the alleluia cycle of 37 compositions, are four alleluia incipits. The fourth incipit is listed very much like the following thirty-seven alleluia compositions – i.e. Alleluia <VERSE TEXT>. However, the preceding three compositions have incipits that are different – *Alleluia. Virginia inviolate. Virga Jesse; Alleluia. Gaude mundi domina. Gaude virgo;* and *Alleluia. Salve virgo domini. Salve virgo.* It is clear from their incipits that these three pieces are troped alleluia settings, as additional text not found in the chant is included here. Whilst these three pieces are unique, a number of the

[50] The polytextuality of the motets in the index is known only because of the motet headings provided – e.g. *Moteti cum duplici littera* – which list only the triplum texts as incipits.

following 38 compositions have been tentatively identified in other sources. However, every suggested concordance is to a troped alleluia setting and it seems highly unlikely that any of the other 38 alleluia settings are troped. This is simply because all of the tropes in the first section of the first column (of which there are, in addition to the three alleluias, a Gloria and two Regnum tropes) are easily identified as such from their incipits. It would seem very strange, therefore, for the scribe not to continue this practice for the other 38 alleluias were they also troped. Therefore the figures quoted in the above table assume the suggested concordances are wrong and that 38 of the 41 alleluias in the Harleian Index are untroped. It is interesting that (coincidental as it may be) the numbers of troped and untroped chant settings overall are almost the same – only five fewer untroped settings survive than troped settings.

The composition of untroped chant settings appears to have been quite regular and unvaried in style and number throughout the thirteenth century, but in the first few decades of the fourteenth century numbers increase greatly. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden B. 14 [*GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14] consists almost entirely of troped and untroped chant settings, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 55 [*GB-Ob* Barlow 55] consists entirely of untroped chant settings.[51] The prolific cultivation of untroped chants continued throughout the fourteenth century, possibly influenced by continental composition, and the works of Machaut and Philip de Vitry.[52] In any case, as Levy states, "for a period around the beginning of the 14th century the well-developed English motet type represented (by Thomas gemma) must have held its own against an advancing French influence".[53] Untroped settings are almost exclusively found copied in score, and they are always monotextual.[54] Troped chant settings, however, seem to have been in a more constant state of flux throughout the *ars antiqua* period. This is almost certainly

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[51] The dating of these two sources in the fourteenth century is due to the fact that both employ *ars nova* notation with minims.

[52] Various scholars have explored the idea of influence in the fourteenth century. Lefferts discusses the issue in "The Motet in England", pp. 155-159, and Sanders suggests that in fact the influence flowed in the other direction – the English influenced the French (Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony and its Significance for the Continent" (Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1963)). The contact across the Channel was certainly higher from mid-century onwards with the advent of the Hundred Years War and the occupation of Northern France.

[53] Kenneth Levy, "New Material on the Early Motet in England: A Report on Princeton Ms. Garrett 119", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 4 (1951), pp. 230-231. See also Roger Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-thirteenth and Early-fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary", 2 vols (D.Phil. Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1976).

[54] The remains of a highly fragmentary Benedicamus setting can be found copied in parts in *GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1]. Only one surviving voice is visible, however. It may therefore have simply been a monophonic Benedicamus, or it may have been a *cantus firmus* motet set on a Benedicamus tenor. There is also a two-part Alleuia setting in *GB-Ob* Rawl. D. 1225, preserved in a Gradual among monophony, that is copied in parts – perhaps to match the rest of the contents, or perhaps because the scribe (used to copying liturgical monophony) preferred not to (or did not know how to) copy in score. Finally, there is a Credo in parts found in *F-VA* 116, but it is unclear whether or not this source is of insular origin. It consists of a single leaf and no other compositions are preserved.

because of the additional freedom the use of troping gave composers, which in turn allowed for the incorporation of new and evolving musical ideas into the compositions. As the most popular genre of the late thirteenth century, it is perhaps unsurprising that the evolution of the motet was influential to the composition of tropes.

Lefferts observes, some "troped chant settings are very similar in technique and source layout to motets".[55] As he duly points out, clear distinctions existed, particularly earlier in the thirteenth century: In chant settings, the tenor would normally consist of a single statement of the chosen chant, which would be used in its complete form, or "some well-defined subsection of a chant, such as the soloist's portion of a Responsorial chant".[56] The tenor material is rarely repeated. Furthermore, "the melody and syntax of the chant determine most features of overall form; and the text is closely allied to that of the tenor".[57] The Marian troped chant settings found in the 11th fascicle of *W1*, as well as those additions to the ends of earlier fascicles might be considered examples of clearly defined troped chant settings (they are also monotextual and copied in score). However, Lefferts continues:

> By the early fourteenth century the line between the two genres often becomes harder to draw. Just as in the *conductus* and *rondellus* genres, there is an apparent hybridisation (or perhaps better, a convergence) of features of chant settings with those of the motet.[58]

The apparent preference for the use of *cantus firmi* in earlier extant insular motets is perhaps an important contributing factor to the gradual blending of motets and troped chant settings.[59] Lefferts notes the "convergence" in various ways, most noticeably in terms of the text.

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[55] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 8.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 14.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Since the dating of medieval sources of music is, in almost all cases, entirely unreliable, it is difficult to talk about chronology and progression between sources. It is problematic, therefore, to discuss motets and troped chant settings as "earlier" or "later" than one another. Whilst there is no sure way of determining the date of copying, sources can be grouped according to the kind of notation used, which (on the whole) provides them with a rough chronology. This is by no means foolproof, since it is entirely possible that older forms of notation were still in use after the introduction of new notational features (we see this in sources such as *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14 that preserve both older compositions in *ars antiqua* notation, and what appear to be more recent compositions in *ars nova* notation). However, in more general terms, it is clear that modal, unmeasured notation was superseded (in texted music) by longa-brevis notation, which then gradually developed to include semibreves and c.o.p. ligatures, mensural rests, dots of division, downstemmed semibreves, Franconian ligatures (measured), and eventually *tempus perfectum* and the minim (*ars nova*). Certainly, no specific dates can be assumed, but the chronology of the sources and their relationships to one another are probably best guessed at through the notation in which the sources are preserved, and with some regard for concordant compositions and sources, and other paleographical features (short, that is, of any other form of compelling evidence). Lefferts provides a list of estimated dates for a selection of motet sources ("The Motet in England", pp. 29-30). According to his estimations (which

It becomes impossible to differentiate "between simple assonance and a tropic relationship" between the upper voices and the tenor.[60] Assonance was a popular feature of motet composition, but it is seen increasingly less frequently outside of the British Isles during the course of the thirteenth century. In insular composition, however, the use of textual interplay is frequent and can be very intricate and complex. Lefferts asserts that it became somewhat of an "English preoccupation", and is often referred to as an identifying feature of insular composition.[61] The *cantus-firmus* motets preserved in *GB-Lwa* 33327 are some of the latest examples of an older, simpler style of textual relationship, where the tenor incipit is incorporated into the last line of the *motetus* and *triplum*.[62]

In later motets, and particularly those of the first decades of the fourteenth century, assonance is extremely common and often applied at many suitable points throughout a piece, and frequently in a conspicuous and pronounced manner. Furthermore, various other types of verbal play commonly co-exist with assonance, namely, echo-rhymes, textual hocketing, homo-declamatory patter, varied text exchange paralleling musical voice-exchange, and alliteration.[63] With one or more of these features applied to any one composition, differentiating between assonance and troping becomes less straightforward; the textual relationship between the upper parts and tenor essentially mimics that of a troped chant setting. Appendix A lists insular compositions with two or more assonant textual incipits.

Some motets exploit assonance in a less evident manner. Sometimes, for instance, just a quotation of the tenor text appears at the beginning and/or end of the upper parts of the piece. Even subtler is the relationship that "links incipits of several texts of a motet by the same word or word-root, consonant-vowel cluster, or merely the same consonant".[64] This is an extremely common feature of insular motets and can be seen in examples such as *Barabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitur in merito/ Babilonis flumina,* in Durham, Cathedral Library, C.1.20 [*GB-DRc* C.1.20], Oxford, Bodleian Library, e mus. 7 [*GB-Ob* e mus. 7] and Berkeley Castle, Castle Archives, select roll 55 [*GB-BER* Select roll 55]; *Frondentibus florentibus silvis/ T. Floret* in *GB-Ob* e mus. 7; and even in bilingual works, such as *Ade finit perpete/ Ade finit misere/ T. A definement d'este lerra*y found in Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 925 [*F-TO* 925] and Oxford, New College, 362 [*GB-*

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take into account only a selection of the surviving sources), the minim first appears in insular sources between 1330 and 1360.

[60] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 14.

[61] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p.380.

[62] For example, the tenor of *Dona celi* (no. 5) is *Docebit* and the duplum ends *"qui nos prudencie et iusticie vias docebit"*.

[63] An example of a motet that uses all of these textual techniques is *Tu civium primas per imperium/ O cuius vita fulsit ita/ Tu celestium primas civium/ Congaudens super te fundata* in *GB-Cgc* 512/543.

[64] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 378.

Onc 362]. Consequently, it is also common in motet-like chant settings. Lefferts observes that, in general, "it is rare to find no assonance relating the texts to the tenor" and if there is none, it may indicate that the tenor is freely composed, unidentified or missing.[65] It is difficult to ascertain just how many motet-like troped chant settings use assonance in their incipits because so many have missing or fragmentary voice parts, and certain settings begin with "Alleluia" or "Kyrie", for example, in all voices (which one might argue is not quite the same as assonant textual openings). This aside, the majority of polytextual motet-like troped chant settings have at least two assonant textual incipits.

Whilst motet texts are not generally taken, word-for-word, from the liturgy they often use very similar phrasing and vocabulary to items such as Antiphons, Hymns, Sequences and Responsories.[66] The theme of the chosen textual source for the upper parts is often complementary to the theme of the tenor chant, although there are also many upper part texts that are Marian in theme. Furthermore, a good number of motet texts also quote biblical references, and devotional poetry. This predilection for assonance alongside strong liturgical links is an important feature of the blurring of generic boundaries. Troped chant settings that trope the text of the tenor chant in the upper parts can closely resemble the textual relationships in motets of this nature.

However, various other factors complicate the issue further. For instance, the treatment of applied chant melodies becomes less distinct between some troped chant settings and *cantus-firmus* motets in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Chant settings found in sources believed to date from the earlier thirteenth century (sources from the first half/three quarters of the 1200s) are, on the whole, faithful to the chant source. They contain either a whole chant, expressed just once, or else a very distinct section of the chant. The application of the chant to a polyphonic setting results in only minor, necessary alterations to rhythm or melody. Sometimes the chant might be repeated (in full), but repetitions of certain sections, the creation of forms in the tenor, and substantial manipulation for compositional purposes are much less common, and were probably considered inappropriate for compositions of this nature. Presumably, this is symptomatic of their liturgical function. Earlier motets, on the other hand, tended to include much smaller sections of chant in the tenor (as little as a single melisma), and the *cantus firmus* may be repeated, or adapted textually, rhythmically, or melodically to suit its polyphonic setting. However, by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, some *cantus-firmus* motet compositions include a whole chant in the tenor and, with the use of verbal play and

[65] *Ibid.,* p. 381.
[66] Lefferts lists the textual links to the liturgy in full – See "The Motet in England", pp. 374-389.

assonance, they "show a strong tropic relationship to their tenors throughout the texts of the upper voices".[67] A motet employing these features, therefore, resembles a troped chant setting. Lefferts also points to some examples where single statement French-texted tunes, other multi-statements of integral tunes with Latin texts, and single or multiple statements of unidentified tenors that appear to be whole chant settings, are used as tenor parts in motet settings, further complicating the situation.[68]

Conversely, composers also began to manipulate the chants in polyphonic chant settings in the same manner as in *cantus-firmus* motet composition, and there survives a small collection of free troped chant settings (troped text only).[69] Essentially, then, it becomes impossible to differentiate between motets and chant setting based on the treatment of the *cantus firmus* or texts, and the motets and troped chant settings have shared and interchangeable features and styles. If it is impossible to draw distinctions between motets and chant settings on these bases, there is little else to tell them apart. As a result, we cannot always interpret the compositions according to the contemporary compositional ethos in medieval England, or according to our own views of genre, seen through the lens of continental theory.

It was presumably deemed more acceptable to manipulate liturgical melodies in motets because they had no strict liturgical function. Tropes, polyphonic hymns and antiphon settings, and polyphonic settings of Gregorian Chant (such as *organa*) could be sung instead of monophonic chant at the relevant place in the liturgy of the Mass or Offices. On the continent, polyphonic settings of Proper chants were used to elaborate services during high-ranking feasts, in particular. Motets, however, have a non-liturgical text (although often quasi-liturgical or devotional) applied to the upper parts (sometimes with different texts in each upper part), and the chant text is not usually apparent in the tenor because only an incipit is sung, and the tenor is often taken from a chant melisma, and not a whole chant setting. Furthermore, "because of the diversity of Gregorian tenors, the motet cannot be associated categorically with one or even a small number of liturgical contexts".[70] Despite early motets containing excerpts of chant in their tenor parts they are unlikely to have been performed instead of plainsong during liturgical services. Moreover, some settings are free, or have non-Gregorian tenors. However, it may be that they were used for processions in and out of services, or employed in some other, informal place in the Catholic service, or in religious milieus. Harrison has suggested that those motets with

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[67] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 378.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[69] See, for example, *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 5; *GB-DRc* C.I.8, 2; *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210, 6; *GB-NWr* Flitcham 299, 1; *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14, 5 & 2; *GB-Occ* 497, 4.
[70] Lefferts, "Motet in England", p. 20.

a *cantus firmus* from Mass chant were sung by soloists to essentially break the silence during certain parts of the Mass.[71] It is possible that some also served as Deo gratias substitutes, or as unaccompanied Benedicamus domino substitutes. Insular motets may have continued to serve such purposes well into the fourteenth century, since the secularly-themed continental motets popular at that time appear not to have been popular in the British Isles. Therefore, while motets may have been performed in liturgical or religious contexts, they had no strict musical function within the liturgy. As Lefferts states, "there is no sign that there ever was any systematic recourse to a particular category of chant for motet tenors, nor any sign that any repertoire indicated a consistent performance context by concentration on motets with either Mass tenors or Office tenors to the exclusion of the other".[72]

The manipulation of liturgical melodies in motets was also advantageous to composers because increased compositional freedom allowed for the experimentation with, and application of a much wider range of ideas in the other voice parts. Faithful recitation of chants in polyphonic settings must have been very restrictive for composers. However, the later use of both faithful recitation, and manipulation of chants in both genres not only blurs the distinctions between them, but also calls into question the function of these motet-like troped chant settings. Unfortunately, the remaining official documentation of Bishops' and Archbishops' edicts, and of the proceedings of the Black Monk General Chapter meetings in the thirteenth century is sparse, and evidence of edicts like that of Bishop Eudes de Sully of Paris (who permits the performance of polyphony on particular, large feast days in 1198) do not survive.[73] As a result, it is impossible to ascertain the relationship between Church and polyphony during the thirteenth century. Initial wariness of polyphonic performance of liturgical chants is evident on the continent and it seems likely that it was also met with some caution insularly. However, it is unclear how the English Church felt about the performance of polyphony 100 years later, at the turn of the fourteenth century. It has been suggested that quasi-liturgical *cantus-firmus* motets may have been used as

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[71] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge, 1963), pp. 122-128

[72] Lefferts, "Motet in England", pp. 23-24. By the late fourteenth century, however, it would appear that motet performance was primarily associated with the Mass, as a significant number of Deo gratias motets are found in sources from this period. For more information about motet function see Lefferts, "Motet in England", pp. 16-25; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, pp. 122-128; Sanders; Harrison; Lefferts (eds.), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I),* PMFC Vol. XVI, p. XI.

[73] The remaining entries in records of General Chapter Meetings focus on re-defining the Benedictine Rule, monitoring obedience of the Rule (through the use of visitation, introduced at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215), forbidding the consumption of meat, deliberating over the proposed shortening of some sections of the Daily Offices, and encouraging scholarly study within monasteries and cathedral chapters. See William Able Pantin (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540,* Vol. 1, Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, Vol. 45 (Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1931).

processional music, appended to (but not strictly part of) the liturgical service.[74] This would suggest a gradual acceptance by the Church of polyphonic composition as it became more prolific and established. The continual appearance of polyphonic chant settings in insular sources and the wide range of items set from the Mass and Daily Offices support this assumption. Furthermore, a certain amount of prestige, status and wealth could be exhibited through the composition and performance of skilled polyphony, and the production of beautiful musical manuscripts. It seems quite likely, then, that some of the larger institutions in particular might have gradually given more importance to the composition and cultivation of new and interesting music to accompany the liturgy, than to the faithful recitation of the chants.

As Lefferts notes, "troped chant settings often show isoperiodicity of phrase structure", and this is also a common feature of motet composition. In order to support this structure, the tenor part often has irregular rhythms. As a result, isoperiodicity applied to later chant settings resulted in the abandonment of "a close relationship with chant text to incorporate instead a regular verse structure".[75] Not only does this feature overlap considerably with common motet compositional practice but consequently, the chant settings appear to lose their close liturgical link and function. In some cases, only a small section of chant is set and then repeated as many times as necessary to accommodate the music of the upper parts. This is reminiscent of the repetitive forms and structures often found in *cantus-firmus* motets (and those with free tenors) and typical of motet chant manipulation, allowing more compositional freedom. Repeats and forms in the tenor parts of motets are often referred to as *pedes* in modern scholarship, since there are some extant tenors labelled "*pes*" that behave this way. Whether or not this use of the term is consistent with medieval usage or not, it is interesting to note that there are only three motet-like troped chant settings with a tenor part labelled in this same way.[76]

A further contributing factor to the hybridisation of motets and troped chant settings is the variable format in which these pieces are copied. According to the Notre-Dame tradition, chant settings of any sort – *organa*, *clausulae*, and simple discant – are all set in score. Motets, however, (with the exception of the monotextual motets in Notre Dame sources, already discussed) appear in parts. However, in insular sources, although untroped chant settings are generally monotextual and found in score, troped chants are found in both parts and score, as well as with upper parts in

[74] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 14.
[75] *Ibid.,* p. 15.
[76] *Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V Pes (Pascha nostrum?)*, WF 27 (Reconstruction I, 38). Also *GB-Ob* Rawl C. 400*, Frag. B, nos 1 & 3. For more information about the use of the term *pes* in both medieval sources and in modern scholarship see chaper 5.

score and a separate tenor, and they are texted in several different ways.[77] For example, the troped chant settings preserved in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 22857E [*GB-AB* 22857E], Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 499 Helmst. [*D-W* 499 (W_3)] and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 47-1980 [*GB-Cfm* 47-1980] are copied in parts, but those preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, ii. 266 [*B-Br* ii. 266] and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 334/727 [*GB-Cgc* 334/727] are all copied in score. The reason for the differing copying practices is not obvious. We might hypothesise that perhaps the format is chosen to suit the context, but the original relationships between leaves and compositions are often unclear and there is no obvious evidence that this is the case. *B-Br* ii. 266 includes alongside troped chant settings, three *cantilenae* in score but, in fact, the bifolium was not the middle of the original gathering and so the original proximity of the chant settings to the *cantilenae* is unclear (as they are preserved on different sides). Furthermore, in London, British Library, Sloane 1210 [*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210], it is possible to deduce that some of the pages were originally contiguous. On one group of contiguous leaves (ff. 138-141) are a Gloria setting, a troped Kyrie, a *cantilena*, a Hymn setting, a motet, what appears to be a *conductus* and an Alleluia setting. The troped Kyrie is copied in score. We might argue that this is to match the untroped chant settings and the *cantilena* either side of that composition. However, the scribe saw no problem with changing the format for the motet, which is copied in parts and next to two compositions copied in score. The choice to present the Kyrie in this way is unlikely to have been influenced by matters of consistency and content, therefore.

Although chronology is hard to ascertain, it does not seem as though the use of format changed over time, either, with increasing hybridisation. For instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden B. 14 (*GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14) is, most likely, a fourteenth-century source that in terms of notation falls somewhere in the transition between *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* – the notation varies from fully-developed *ars nova,* to Petronian, to simple long-breve – yet all of the

[77] Of the c.108 untroped chant settings in the insular *ars antiqua* repertory only four are not copied in score. These appear to be anomalous examples, and there are potential explanations for the choice of format in these instances. There is one untroped setting in parts in *F-VA* 116 (….*locutus est per prophetas*…), which is a source of unknown and debatable origin. It is therefore not clear whether this piece should be included here or not. Another, in *GB-Cjc* 138 (F.1), is extremely fragmentary indeed ([ending]….*-mus domino*….). It looks as though it was copied in parts, but it is impossible to be sure that it was not a monophonic composition, or perhaps part of another composition (perhaps as a monophonic coda, since it is a Benedicamus). The third composition in question is in *GB-Ob* Rawl. D. 1225, where it is the sole polyphonic composition (*Alleluia. V. Ave, dei genitrix Maria*). Music is included in this miscellaneous collection of documents at the beginning and the end, but it is all monophonic save this piece. There is no real reason for the piece to be in parts rather than score, except, perhaps, that since all the monophony is copied as single parts, copying the polyphony in parts would suit the context better. The final composition in parts is found in *GB-Cfm* 47-1980 (*Ihesu redemptor omnium labencium/ Ihesu redemptor omnium./ Ihesu labentes respice*...). Rather unlike any other untroped chant setting in the repertory, this piece has the same text in the upper two voices and a different text in the tenor, which may explain the choice of format.

troped chant settings are presented in score. However, the various original volumes preserved in the Worcester Fragments, spanning probably from the second half of the thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century, preserve all troped chant settings in parts.

When the entire surviving repertory is taken into consideration troped chant settings are found almost as often in score as in parts. It is not until we consider the use of text in troped chant settings that the choice of format begins to form a more identifiable trend. In general, polytextual pieces (and those with the same text in the upper parts against a different tenor text) are copied in parts, and those that are monotextual are copied in score, but there are a few exceptions and a couple of anomalous examples.[78] By nature, monotextual troped chant settings copied in score are quite distinct from insular motets. However, polytextual pieces copied in parts appear much more motet-like.

The way in which a chant is incorporated into a troped setting varies (but with no relation to format or text). In some cases, troped chant settings are not set entirely polyphonically; only the sections of troped text and music are polyphonic (and not the *cantus firmus* or its text). Although almost never copied into the source as part of the composition (with the exception of the eleventh fascicle of W_1), it is then necessary to intersperse monophonic sections of the chant music and text between sections of polyphonic troping, creating an antiphonal relationship between chant and trope. Sometimes, in these cases, the places where monophony should be inserted are marked by minor initials in the text, or by the use of full stops. In a few cases, monophonic chant is only required at the beginning and/or end of the piece. This method is particularly prevalent in the well-known and well-disseminated Gloria tropes such as the *Spiritus et alme* and the *Spiritus procedens a patre*. Sometimes the polyphonic trope sections include paraphrases of the chant in the tenor, or allusions to the chant text in their text. Since exchanges between polyphonic and monophonic sections are never found in motets, the use of this structure is indicative of the troped chant genre, even in more motet-like examples. Other tropes incorporate the chant into the polyphonic setting, and no monophonic passages are required. The most motet-like examples are, inevitably, of this form. Finally, there are some tropes that are essentially free musical settings, without the inclusion of the *cantus firmus* at all, but merely textual troping of the chant text. These are quite small in number, and appear in sources that probably date from the early fourteenth century.[79]

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[78] *[K]yria christifera plebis modulantis/ Aulula florigera plasmata regentis/ Nostra luens scelera more medentis*, for example (*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210, 6), is a polytextual troped chant setting copied in score.
[79] See p. 77 for more information.

A final point of consideration is the application, distribution and labelling of text in the tenor parts. This can greatly affect the overall impression of the piece since motet tenors are almost never fully texted and are frequently given an incipit, and/or labelled "tenor", or "*pes*". In general, earlier troped chant settings have the same trope text in all parts, declaimed simultaneously, whereas later examples with no tenor incipit or text (and therefore no indication of the chant text), but simply labelled "tenor" or, in one instance, "*pes*", with upper parts that do not specifically quote liturgical or chant texts, behave and are presented like motets. Other pieces do have fully-texted tenors, but the text is sparsely declaimed. The text has not been altered or repositioned in these examples but, rather, the chants themselves are very melismatic. It is unclear whether the overall, "organal" effect is intentional, or simply a consequence of the chosen chant.[80] Whilst sustained notes do not really appear in these cases, the tenors are normally notated in a series of *longae*, which exacerbates the feeling of augmentation. The upper parts contrast with the tenor by moving in much shorter note values and therefore with faster declamation of the text. The result is rather reminiscent of Notre-Dame *organa*.

As a result of the wide range of styles, techniques and copying practices, there are various ways in which the repertory could be subcategorised or grouped. It is impossible to discuss the various styles in distinct groups, or according to particular features, since so many of the compositional styles and techniques overlap with the many ways in which one might attempt to divide the repertory. This is problematic for the modern scholar, since dividing the repertory is necessary for the purposes of examination, analysis and discussion, and yet any attempt to do so seems counterintuitive to the ethos of the music itself. All that can reasonably be achieved is to analyse and outline the number of extant pieces that use and share the features outlined above, and to attempt to highlight any apparent trends.

3.3 The Troped Chant Repertory

There are around 114 extant troped chant settings. 11 of these examples survive only through their incipit, and nothing can be gleaned from the source apart from that they were probably monotextual (and possibly not even troped in the case of the Harley Index). Of the remaining 103, 40 are fragmentary enough to cause major problems for anyone trying to assess

[80] See *[K]yria christifera plebis modulantis/ Aulula florigera plasmata regentis/ Nostra luens scelera more medentis* (*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210, 6); *Alma iam ad gaudia V Per te dei genitrix/ Almae matris dei V Per te, o beata, semper/ Alleluia V Per te dei genitrix* (WF 28); *Rex visibilium, invisibilium/ Rex invictissime regnorum/ T. Regnum t[uum] solidum (GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 4); *……../ Virgo Paris filium/ (virgo dei) genitrix* (WF 14); *Salve mater redemptoris/ Salve lux langentium/ Salve sine spina rosa/ Sancta parens* (WF 64); *Salve sancta parens virgo/ Salve sancta parens virgo/T.* (WF 9; *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 1).

them in detail. In a few cases at least, an educated guess can be made as to whether the piece was monotextual or polytextual, and it is generally possible to see whether the piece was copied in score or parts (or other) from the remaining fragment. In fact, of those 40 compositions, 33 are set in parts, five in score, one with the upper parts in score followed by the tenor, and one unusual example where the tenor and *duplum* are in score, followed by the *triplum*. Beyond this, the majority of the 40 compositions betray very little of their character. Sometimes, this basic information may in fact be enough to postulate as to their character, on the basis of what is most common in the 63 complete, or nearly complete pieces, and by comparing them to more complete pieces from the same sources. Of all of the 103 compositions, fragmentary or not, 62 are in parts, 38 in score, and three mix score and part formats.

Of the 63 better-preserved pieces in question, 29 are in parts, 33 in score and one has upper parts in score and a separate tenor. It is unfortunate that so many of the 40 fragmentary compositions are preserved in parts, since it interferes with the actual proportions of extant part to score format compositions. It is important therefore to bear in mind that only half of the compositions in parts can be discussed here. Around 29 pieces could be considered to be motet-like, to varying degrees. 28 of these pieces are in parts, with one unusual example in score. 20 of the 29 motet-like compositions are polytextual. Four of the remaining nine pieces have the same text in the upper parts and different tenor texts, one is anomalous (with two identical tenor incipits and a single upper part with a different text), and two are monotextual (one being the example in score). The final two compositions of this group of 29 are not quite preserved well enough to be sure as to whether they were polytextual, or had the same text in the upper parts against a different tenor, but they appear not to have been monotextual. One of these two pieces (WF 4), along with one of the monotextual pieces in parts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 400* [*GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*], frag. B no. 1), might be considered to include *conductus*-inspired features, too.

So, of the 29 pieces in parts, 28 are motet-like, and one is probably more *conductus*-like than motet-like (and monotextual). Twenty pieces are polytextual, four have the same text in the upper parts and a different tenor text, two are monotextual, and one is anomalous in the distribution of its texts. The 33 pieces in score are all monotextual. Only one piece in score might be considered to be motet-like, and around 11 are quite *conductus*-like in structure and in the relationships between voice parts.

The insertion of monophonic sections of chant seems to be much less common in the motet-like examples, than in the monotextual examples (in score). Just seven of the 29 motet-like pieces (and of those pieces in parts) require monophonic chant passages (all seven of which are

polytextual examples in parts). However, 19 of the 35 monotextual examples require monophonic chant insertions. Just under a quarter of the compositions in parts apply exchanges, whereas they are included in over half of the examples in score. A large proportion of the surviving pieces copied in parts are not considered in this summary, of course, and it is not impossible that a much higher proportion of the other 33 examples included monophonic and polyphonic exchanges. However, with almost equal numbers of compositions in score and parts represented in this overview, it seems more likely that these exchanges were applied less frequently to pieces in parts, and motet-like examples. This seems reasonable, since sections of monophonic chant would somewhat restrict a composer's structural, stylistic and technical choices. The motet-like examples appear to have been composed with the intention of creating more sophisticated compositions, by moving away from restrictive and traditional methods of troped chant composition. It is possible that polytextual/motet-like compositions that include monophonic and polyphonic exchanges may be earlier than the examples without exchanges (as the new style of troped chant setting gradually evolved), but this is pure speculation.

It would seem that only seven different compositions have obvious and clearly identifiable examples of *rondellus* or voice-exchange. Voice exchange appears in five compositions, all of which are in parts and are motet-like. Two are polytextual, and three have the same text in the upper parts with a contrasting tenor text (the text of the upper parts being exchanged between them). The two compositions with *rondellus* are monotextual, as we might expect given the three-way exchanges of a *rondellus*. They are, unusually, in parts and could be considered *conductus*-like, with exchanges between *sine* and *cum littera* sections. A third fragmentary piece (from the same source), not included in the 63 pieces currently under discussion, also employs *rondellus*. All of the pieces that feature either *rondellus* or voice exchange are, interestingly, troped Alleluia settings.

The results thus far are fairly clear: 21 of the 22 polytextual compositions are in parts and one has upper parts in score and a separate tenor. All are motet-like compositions, to varying extents. A further five compositions have the same text in the upper parts with a different tenor text, four of which are also copied in parts. The fifth piece has upper parts in score and a separate tenor. Three of these five compositions could be described as motet-like. Therefore, of the 31 compositions that are motet-like, one is monotextual, three have the same text in the upper parts and one is anomalous (two tenor incipits and a different upper part). The rest are all polytextual. All 31 pieces are in parts.

The remaining 35 compositions are monotextual and, of these, 33 are in score and two are in parts. One of the 35 compositions, previously discussed, could be described as motet-like

(despite being monotextual and in score), and 13 could be described as *conductus*-like (11 in score and two in parts). 19 of the 35 compositions require the insertion of monophonic chant passages (18 in score and one in parts), of which 10 are *conductus*-like (nine in score and one in parts). Therefore, only three of the *conductus*-like compositions do not require monophonic chant insertions (two in score and one in parts). The use of voice exchange seems to be exclusively restricted to motet-like examples in parts, which are either polytextual or have the same text in the upper parts, whereas *rondellus* only seems to appear in monotextual compositions that are *conductus*-like (although these are the only two of the 35 in parts). Over half (54%) of the extant monotextual compositions (which are almost exclusively in score and are not motet-like) include alternations of monophony and polyphony, including many of those that resemble *conducti* in the alternation of *sine* and *cum littera* sections (which, in some cases, marry with the melismas in the chant). A good number of these examples come from the eleventh fascicle of W_1 (or from the additions to the ends of earlier fascicles). However, only just under one quarter of the polytextual compositions (and those with the same text in the upper parts) alternate between monophony and polyphony.

Troped chant composition is wide-ranging in style. Some borrow motet-like features but are still identifiable as troped chant settings, but other examples are much harder to distinguish. In a few instances, it seems as though no distinction between the two genres really existed in the mind of the composer and/or copyist. While chronology is problematic, if we take into account the sources preserving troped chant settings according to the sort of notation applied in the source, it is possible to witness a little of the evolution of the insular troped chant settings. Five sources that use the older, unmeasured, modal notation contain troped chant settings – W_1, London, Lambeth Palace, 457 [*GB-Llp* 457], Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 803/807 [*GB-Cgc* 803/807], Cambridge, University Library, ff. ii. 29 [*GB-Cu* ff. ii. 29], and Aberdeen, University Library, 2379/1 [*GB-A* 2379/1]. Those in W_1, as already discussed, are monotextual, in two-part score, quite *conductus*-like, and exchange monophonic chant and polyphonic troped passages. The chants are not only exactly faithful to the Rite, but are also still performed monophonically. There are 20 troped chant settings in total – seven Kyrie, eight Sanctus and five Agnus dei. One of the two Agnus dei tropes in *GB-Llp* 457 is a palimpsest and quite fragmentary, but *Astripotens, famulos audi, benigne* is less so. It is also a two-part piece in score, and is of a very similar nature to the compositions in W_1 (monotextual, polyphonic and monophonic exchanges, etc.). However, it is perhaps a little simpler in terms of structural complexity – A single phrase of polyphonic music is applied to three verses of trope text, sandwiched by two phrases of chant, all repeated three times: Ch1 A Ch2. The three troped Agnus dei settings in two-part score in *GB-Cgc* 803/807 are also preserved in varying states of completeness, but all are monotextual and exchange

polyphonic and monophonic passages. The two voices of *Mundum sanctificans qui mundum* are, at times, are quite homophonic (with perhaps a little more elaboration in the upper part), but at other times a very inactive tenor is accompanied by a very melismatic upper part. There are also several sections of *cauda*-like melismatic passages in both parts. *O felix mortale* is very similar, but the parts move together for the most part, alternating between *sine* and *cum littera* sections. There are some very long melismas. *Rex eterne glorie* is similar again. It is easy to see where the transitions from polyphony to monophony should occur within the polyphonic setting because the textual phrases end with "miserere miserere" twice, and then "dona nobis, dona nobis", essentially introducing the chant. The polyphonic setting begins and ends with quite long melismas. The parts move together a lot, but there are also passages where the upper part is a lot more active, sometimes with a sustained note in the tenor.

The tiny extant portion of a Kyrie trope in *GB-A* 2379/1 is far too fragmentary to discuss in detail here, but it does appear as though it was copied in parts. It might even have been monophonic, especially since the surviving voice carries the plainsong but does not behave like a tenor. *GB-Cu* ff. ii. 29 preserves two three-part Sanctus tropes, both in score and monotextual. One of the pieces is extremely fragmentary and all that can be gleaned is that there seems to have been at least one long, *cauda*-like melisma in all parts, followed by a syllabic section. The other piece, *Sancte ingenite genitor,* is more complete. Alternations between monophony and polyphony are evident. Three recitations of the word Sanctus in monophonic chant come before each of the initial three troped phrases, respectively. Then, before "Cuius", the "dominus deus….excelsis" is inserted, and before "A celsa" the "Benedictus….domini" is inserted. Finally the piece ends with the final phrase of the chant "Osanna in excelsis". The polyphonic troped sections are rather *conductus*-like. The three parts move homophonically, for the most part, and some long melismas appear at the beginning and end of the final polyphonic section.

The next stage in the evolution of notation was the introduction of longa/brevis simple measured notation (without the inclusion of other mensural features). Only two sources contain troped chant settings in this form. London, British Library, Cotton Titus A XXI [*GB-Lbl* Cotton Titus A XXI] contains a monotextual Agnus Dei trope in three-part score. It alternates monophonic chant and polyphonic trope. The setting is mostly homophonic, with parts moving fairly syllabically. The *rotulus* fragment, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C.400* (frag. B), contains six troped alleluia settings. They are three-part compositions copied in parts. They are not polytextual, but they are not strictly monotextual either – the text is exchanged between parts and for the most part the text is only sung by one voice part at a time. When more than one part sings the text it is generally the same in all parts. However, there are some parts that overlap in their exchanges and other moments where texts do differ a little between parts singing together. It is not clear, but

this may be the reason why the scribe chose to copy these pieces in parts rather than score. However, it might also be that he wanted to present all the pieces in the same way. It is possible, though, that the manuscript was intended for use in performance, as there is annotation in the margin that indicates an alternative ending for *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus*, stating "or if time is running short it may be performed this way". This alternative ending is around half the length of the first ending provided, and would presumably be used if there was limited time in the service. After the section of plainsong "super terram", the first ending begins with another section of trope, with voice-exchange over a repeating tenor (ending "eya musa deo da laudum preconia"), and then the singers are directed to return to the homophonic alleluia in all three parts near the very beginning of the piece, and to end with the monophonic alleluia chant melisma which follows it. The alternative ending consists of a newly-composed relatively homophonic alleluia in all three parts, to be sung immediately after "super terram", ending with the same monophonic alleluia chant melisma. The alternative ending is therefore approximately half the length of the original ending, but this has only a relatively minor effect on the length of the entire composition.

Only *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus* is fully restorable, but what remains of the other compositions indicates that they were all quite similar in style (see Appendix G.10 for an edition of this piece). It would seem as though all of the compositions require the insertion of sections of monophonic chant, and these are applied in a similar way in each of the six settings to create structures consisting of several different sections. *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus* opens (as do the other compositions) with polyphonic troping of the "alleluia" sections of the chants, with the use of *rondellus* technique (and only one part singing the text at any time). After a complete round of exchanges, this section ends with all three parts singing an alleluia melisma – with the plainsong melisma in the tenor, completed in the first monophonic insertion of plainchant that comes immediately after the melisma. Following this is a second polyphonic section, which begins with a brief trope of the beginning of the verse text with all parts singing the text and moving quite homophonically. After a single phrase, however, the parts begin to diverge. The tenor carries the text and melody of the plainsong verse, with troped text in the middle voice during the melisma on "dies". All parts sing the text of "sanctificatus", but the tenor diverts from the chant by repeating a short phrase (A) of the plainchant to support the two exchanges (three statements) of two phrases. The tenor then continues with the chant, and the middle voice tropes the text of the verse during the melisma on "nobis". At "Ve-" of the "Venite" melisma, the textual troping moves to the *triplum*, and the musical phrase that is repeated at this point in the plainsong (B) provides an excellent opportunity for the upper parts to exchange two new phrases. This section continues very much in this same

vein until the end of the "magna" melisma in the chant/tenor. The only times that the parts come together musically and textually are when the tenor has syllabic text, rather than melismas (e.g. "gentes et adorate" and "descendit lux"). A short phrase of monophonic plainsong follows this section ("Super terram"), which marks the end of the chant. The final section consists of further troping. The tenor part here is freely composed, and consists of two different phrases, repeated once each, with voice-exchange in the upper parts. A short homophonic coda occurs, before a repeat back to the alleluia melisma at the beginning. However, the alternative ending provides a concluding alleluia melisma so that no repeat is necessary.

Whilst not all of the pieces in Fragment B of *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* are identical, they all appear to begin with a section of *rondellus* (the only surviving examples to do so), they all seem to alternate monophonic chant and polyphonic troping, and make substantial use of voice-exchange and repetition in the tenor. There are also some distinct sections of *cum littera* and melismatic writing, though not always in all parts, that might be likened to the typical *conductus* style. The pieces are remarkably similar, in many ways, to some of the troped settings in the Worcester Fragments, and they are certainly noticeably different to the earlier settings discussed above.[81] The chant is still followed quite faithfully, but with some small manipulations in order to accommodate the activities of the upper parts. The more ambitious overall structure is also noticeably different. The structure here is not so dependent on that of the chant, but rather seems to be a result of compositional intention and competency. Whilst still significantly different to motet settings, these pieces show a gradual move away from the sort of troped chant settings found in the 11th fascicle of W_1 and begin to subtly share some of the characteristics typical of the motet genre, particularly in the use of voice-exchange, assonance, and a structured tenor.

None of the especially motet-like settings are found in simple longa-brevis or unmeasured notation, suggesting that they represent further, later developments. What is interesting, however, is that we might assume a gradual change in function as the creation of sophisticated polyphonic settings of troped chants seems to take precedence over faithfulness to the chant and chant text itself. We might suppose that troped chant settings of this nature were not used as part of the services of the Mass or Offices, particularly in the place of plainchant. However, this

[81] See, for example, *Alme veneremur diei/Alme veneremur diei/T. Alleluya V. Iusti epulentur* (WF 52), which has a tenor with the form AABB etc. to accommodate extensive voice-exchange in the upper parts, with only one of the two voices singing the single text at any one time. The parts come together in order to sing the alleluia melisma. Or, *Alma iam ad gaudia V Per te dei genitrix/ Almae matris dei V Per te, o beata, semper/ Alleluia V Per te dei genitrix* (WF 28). Between the initial polyphonic troped introduction and the verse should be inserted a monophonic line of chant –the alleluia melisma. At the end a further line of monophonic chant requires insertion on the final melisma "Salvatorem" – final word in upper parts is the penultimate word in the chant text, thus introducing the final monophonic melisma. Upper parts begin homorhythmically, but begin to diversify becoming more independent.

manuscript provides evidence otherwise. Whether this particular source was ever used in performance is questionable (particularly due to the use of part format, which makes the simultaneous reading/following of all parts much more problematic), but the inclusion of performance instructions with an alternative ending to be used "if time is running short" strongly suggests that the pieces were intended to be performed in a formal setting, during Mass (why would time be short, otherwise?). We know that Kyries, in particular, were sometimes shortened from nine repetitions to three in order that the service not be of unreasonable length, and perhaps that was also the case with settings such as this, where an elaborate, polyphonic troped setting took the place of a much shorter and simpler alleluia chant.

It should also be mentioned that Fragment C of this source, probably of a similar period, contains two troped chant-like settings that are both particularly strange compositions, with two tenor parts presented in score, and a single texted upper part written separately. *Mirabilis deus/ Ave Maria/ Ave Maria* is described by Lefferts as "a bipartite *cantus-firmus* motet a3, possibly a troped chant setting of an Alleluia V. Ave Maria with two verses".[82] Neither lower part appears to have been identified, but both have the incipit "*Ave Maria*". The text of the upper part, however, concords with the second verse of the text of one of the motets listed in the Harleian Index. The second piece, *Descendit de celis. V....procedens de thalamo. Gloria laus et honor/ [Descendit de celis. V. Tamqum sponsus...thalam]o suo. Gloria patri,* is a troped setting of the Christmas Matins Responsory *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus.* The two lower voices in score are untroped, and the lower of the two carries the *cantus firmus*. The upper part textually tropes the chant on the melismas "tanquam" and "gloria patri". This piece is more obviously a troped chant setting (rather than a motet) than the previous piece, but it is extremely unusual. However we choose to view or interpret these two compositions, they are undoubtedly evidence of a continual evolution of both genres, a borrowing of ideas and a willingness to experiment. All of the remaining troped chant settings are found in sources with more advanced forms of mensural notation. Quite a large proportion of the settings in these sources are motet-like to a greater or lesser extent. While this would suggest that the hybridisation between motet and troped chant setting took place (certainly in any significant number) in the later thirteenth century, Fragment C of *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* suggests that at least some experimentation with these two genres was taking place c.1250, and that the pieces in Fragment B may be earlier in origin than previously supposed. Fragment C has grain accounts copied on the dorse of the roll "all written after the music on the face of the roll, as made clear by holes in the parchment, which perforate the work of the music scribe but

[82] Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony".

which were avoided by the scribes who wrote on the dorse."[83] Therefore, the music must have been copied before the account records begin, which Wathey has dated to December 1256 at the latest. Furthermore, Fragments B and C share a text hand, and so it is likely that they were copied not only in the same place, but within a relatively close period of time to one another – certainly no longer than the life of the scribe – and it is possible that Fragment B is of a similarly early date.[84]

3.4 Tenor Presentation

The appearance of a chant-bearing tenor part is often a determining factor in the level to which a troped chant setting appears motet-like (or vice versa). Not only is the use of the chant in the tenor important, as discussed above, but the use or absence of text in the part, and/or the labelling of the part in the manuscript can greatly affect the overall appearance of the piece, and therefore it can influence the level to which we might consider that piece to be motet-like. Some of the 31 motet-like pieces might also be considered to share some features reminiscent of *organum* composition. It is hardly surprising that this is the case, given the evolutionary relationship between motets and *organa*, but it is the application of text to the tenor, and the manner that it is applied, that adds this additional element of perceived influence. In the 29 motet-like examples, a number of different categories of tenor exist: fully texted tenors; fully, but sparsely texted (or with long melismas); no text or labelling of the part; no text, but the part is labelled "tenor"; no text, but the part is labelled "*pes*"; just an incipit; an incipit with the part also labelled "*pes*"; the tenor text/part is cut away near the beginning; and the tenor part is entirely missing. In fact, the first two categories here are essentially one and the same, since there are

[83] Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), No. B/IV/1-2 suppl. (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), pp. 73-74.
[84] The fact that the two fragments share a text hand, suggests not only a common origin, but also that, in terms of time scale, the fragments were both written within the adult lifetime of the scribe, or during the time he was located in a particular place. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the two sets of fragments were written more than c.40 years apart. The dorses of both *rotuli* were used for the copying of various texts, including accounts and records. These show some connection to the Reading or Salisbury areas, or perhaps Reading Abbey's dependency, Leominster Priory. This has led some to believe that the alleluia compositions on Fragment B are those purported to have been written by a "W. de Wynton", apparently during his time at Leominster priory – see Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, pp. 570-573, and Handschin "The Sumer Canon and its Background". See also Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58; Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song", *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Vol. 15 (2006), p. 17 (n. 31); Christopher Holher, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing Thirteenth-Century Polyphony", *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society,* Vol. 1 (1978), pp. 2-38; Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (Ph.D Dissertation, Trinity College, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 64-65.

arguably few-to-no examples of fully texted tenors with texts that are declaimed at the same pace as the upper parts, or without long melismatic passages throughout.

Of the 29 pieces that, to some extent, share motet-like features, 12 have fully texted tenors.[85] Despite the use of motet-like features – perhaps through treatment of the tenor melody, polytextuality, or the application of voice-exchange – it is reasonably clear that these pieces are troped chant settings, since motets are very rarely found with texted tenors, despite some overlapping of other features. However, it is interesting to note that at least two-thirds of these compositions could also be described as being *organum*-like in the contrast between their upper parts and their tenors. Dom Anselm Hughes referred to the pieces as "*organa"* in his early twentieth-century study *Worcester Medieval Harmony*, clearly noticing the resemblance of these pieces to the sustained-note *organa* of the Notre-Dame repertory.[86] However, the tenor parts of the pieces are constructed in a fundamentally different way. Instead of augmenting the chant, so that each note is held and sustained for several perfections before moving onto the next note (and syllable), sparsely texted chants or those with lots of long melismas appear to have been especially chosen for the settings, and generally consist of chains of longs. The effect of the tenor is often exaggerated, in the last instance, by highly active and quite melismatic upper parts. Therefore, no augmentation has taken place, and the end result is not quite the same as a sustained-note *organum*, but the resemblance and the similarity of function suggest that they may have been composed with sustained-note *organa* in mind.[87] Unfortunately, however, the majority of those compositions are very fragmentary, and many can only be reconstructed in part, through the use of voice exchange against an AABBCC etc. form tenor. Many are multi-sectional, though, and the relationship may have been different between parts in those different sections that cannot be reconstructed through voice exchange.

It is not the case that pieces with fully-texted tenors appear *organa*-like as a rule, but rather that aspects of some compositions appear influenced by *organum* composition. Some are polytextual pieces in parts. Two pieces are monotextual (one of which is in score). The remaining four pieces with fully-texted tenors are in parts, but the upper parts share a single text, with a different text for the tenor part. Three of these pieces cannot really be described as *organa*-like from the surviving material. *Alleluia psallat – Alleluia concinat/Alleluia V. Virga Jesse* (WF 46), for example, has a tenor that is syllabic and active, moving fairly homorhythmically with the upper parts (the tenor is the alleluia verse, which the upper parts trope). Although fragmentary, like the

[85] WF 14; WF 19; WF 26; WF 28; WF 46; WF 55; WF 56; WF 64; *GB-Cjec* QB1 (frag. B), 2; *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 4; *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 1 (and WF 9); *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 12; *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (Frag. B), 7.
[86] See Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony.*
[87] See also p. 91.

other compositions the first section can be reconstructed due to the application of voice exchange. A small part of the next section survives, and here the tenor moves almost entirely in longs, but the *duplum* is also much less active and so only the *triplum* moves in shorter note values. Moreover, the upper parts mirror the alleluia melisma and its text distribution.

In contrast to motet-like/*organum*-like troped chant settings with fully-texted tenors, six of the 29 pieces in discussion have no text at all.[88] Four of these pieces have tenors that are not labelled either, and two of the pieces have tenors labelled "Tenor pro".[89] Both pieces with tenor labelled "Tenor pro" are from W_3, the main codex of which is from Arbroath, Scotland, and they are the only motet-like troped chant settings with tenors presented this way. At least one further composition from this source, of which the tenor has not survived, was almost certainly labelled the same way. Of all of the motet-like settings, the Alleluias in this source are, arguably, the most motet-like of all. They can be performed in four parts, whereas troped chant settings are far more commonly found in three parts (there are just a handful of four-part settings) and, although not labelled, there is a tenor part that essentially acts as a *solus* tenor.[90] Therefore, each piece has five different voice parts – four part performance requires the use of the labelled *quartus cantus*, with the tenor labelled "tenor pro iiii". Should three part performance be preferred, the "tenor pro iii" combines the *quartus cantus* and the "tenor pro iiii" to make this possible. The use of a voice part that has been labelled "*quartus cantus*" is unique among motet-like troped chant settings, but is a common feature of motet copying practice. So, too, is the labelling of tenor parts "tenor". Perhaps this is indicative of the contemporary perception of these pieces – as motets, rather than chant setting – or it shows an acknowledgment by the scribe of the hybrid nature of the composition.

The use of *cantus firmi* in W_3 is not straightforward either. The first of the two pieces with surviving tenors is *…solis vel syderis cum beatis ceteris coram salvatore/ Quartus/ Tenor pro iii/ Tenor pro iiii*. The voice labeled "Tenor pro iiii" begins like the respond of *Alleluia V. Iustus*

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[88] *…solis vel syderis cum beatis ceteris coram salvatore/ Quartus/ Tenor pro iii/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 1); *Quartus/ [Tenor pro iii]/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 3); *Virgo mater salvatoris/ Virgo pia vite via/*T. (*GB-Cfm* 1980-47, 1); *[Kyrie fons pietatis]/ Kyrie pater venerande/ T.* (WF 29; *GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 9); *Crucifixum dominum in carne/……/ (Crucifixum in carne)* (WF 96); *Doleo super te, frater mi/ Absalon, fili mi, fili mi/* T. (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 7) (see Appendix G.8 for an edition of this piece).

[89] *…solis vel syderis cum beatis ceteris coram salvatore/ Quartus/ Tenor pro iii/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 1); *Quartus/ [Tenor pro iii]/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 3).

[90] The use of *solus* tenors was popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in England and on the continent. They are applied mostly to four-part compositions. Three lower parts are composed – a *quartus cantus* to be paired with a tenor, and another tenor that combines the music of the first tenor and the *quartus cantus* to allow for three-part performance. It would appear as though the *solus* tenor examples in the insular repertory – found in *GB-Onc* 362 and W_3 may be the very earliest surviving examples. See Lefferts, "Motet in England", p. 40, and Shelley Davis, "The Solus Tenor in the 14th and 15th Centuries", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 39 (1967), pp. 44-64.

germinabit (the soloist's portion and not the jubilus).[91] It does not appear as though a whole chant, or a distinctive portion of chant, has been set. The folio has been cut away at the bottom of the second stave line of "Tenor pro iiii", but the clef, and most of the notation of that second line is still legible – well enough that any further chant quotation has the potential to be identified, but has not been. It seems then that the tenor makes only allusions to the respond of *Alleluia V. Iustus germinabit*, and is not a *cantus firmus* in the traditional sense. Likewise, *Quartus/ [Tenor pro iii]/ Tenor pro iiii* (upper parts do not survive), has only a small quotation of chant melody – at the verse the tenor melody is identical to the first three words only of the verse of *Alleluia V. Assumpta est Maria.*

Of the other four compositions with untexted (and unlabelled) tenor parts, *Doleo super te, frater mi/ Absalon, fili mi, fili mi/ T. [Amoris]* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 512/543 [*GB-Cgc* 512/543], 7) is quite an unusual example (see Appendix G.8 for an edition of this piece). The duplum carries text and melody from the Magnificat Antiphon *Rex autem David*, functioning as a *medius cantus*. However, more recently, the tenor part has been identified as the melisma "Amoris" from the chant *Alleluia V. Veni sancte spiritus*.[92] Various polyphonic *clausulae* on this melisma can be found in the central Notre-Dame sources.[93] The use of two *cantus firmi* in two separate parts that are both essentially acting as tenors, is extremely unorthodox. No other troped chant setting has two (identified) *cantus firmi*.[94]

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[91] Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony".

[92] This identification can be found on the Digital Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) site, where someone has handwritten "Amoris" underneath the tenor incipit for this piece on the scanned pages from RISM provided on the site. It is not clear who is responsible for this identification.

[93] The same chant is used in the tenor of the motet *Pos vos, amie, criem morir, puisque n'ai / Hé, quand je remir son cors le gai! / Amoris* (*MO* 77) and in *Dame de valour et de bonté / Hé, diex, quand je remir son cors le gay / Amoris* (*MO* 264). *Clausulae* on this chant can be found in *F*, 306; W_1, 125.

[94] The textual theme of love is extremely strong in both the texts of the first and second part and in the choice of tenor ("Amoris"). The *triplum* refers to the love between King David and Jonathan in the Book of Samuel, and the *duplum* refers to the death of David's son, Absalom, as a result of his attempted deposition and betrayal (also in the Book of Samuel). It is possible that the *triplum* text makes a topical reference to the relationship between Piers Gaveston and Edward II. The love shared between David and Jonathan has been interpreted in several ways historiographically, but is most commonly associated with a fraternal love. Contemporary accounts of the relationship between Edward and Gaveston are similarly ambiguous, but most often interpreted in the same way. Gaveston, deeply unpopular with much of the baronry, was eventually executed in 1312 upon his return from a third period in exile. The lament to the death of Absolam in the *duplum*, although referring to a father's loss of his son, may be loosely linked to the execution of Gaveston. Edward was said to have been distraught and bereft at the news of his death, and the text may be interpreted as reference to the loss felt between men who share a close, family-like relationship. While this is pure speculation, the potential date of *GB-Cgc* 512/543 may support these theories. Harrison notes that a list of bishops of Norwich, part way through the music leaves, is in a hand contemporary with the music hand. The last bishop on the list held the see until 1336, and two further added names after the main list suggest a *terminus ante quem* of 1355. Edward's reign ended in 1327. Assuming Harrison is correct, with only 14 to 23 years between Gaveston's execution and the copying of the piece in this manuscript source, it seems reasonable that a topic such as this would still be current and relevant. However, there are some problems with Harrison's suggested date. Even the hand of the list of

Mirabilis deus invisibilis/ Ave maria/ Ave maria in *GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19, fragment C, no. 1, is perhaps similar in that it has two tenor parts, but, neither tenor has been identified from known chant. Equally, *D[escendit de celis] V. procedens de thalamo/Descendit de celis V. Tamquam/ sponsas…thalamo suo* only has an identified cantus firmus in one of its two tenor parts. There are no *cantus-firmus* motets in insular sources that have more than one *cantus firmus* melody in one, or more than one part. *Doleo super te* is somewhat of an anomaly. It is also an extremely rare feature in continental sources.[95] The two chants in this piece are used in a more motet-like manner, than conventional troped chant setting. Setting a single chant melisma in the tenor, rather than a whole chant or a definitive portion, is very much a feature of *cantus-firmus* motet composition. The *cantus firmus* in the *medius cantus*, equally, begins half way through the source Antiphon.

Doleo super te is motet-like in other ways, too. It is polytextual with an untexted tenor, but there is also much melodic and rhythmic material that is subject to repetition. The tenor ("Amoris") has to be sung twice in order to accommodate the upper parts. Furthermore, there is some interaction between the *duplum* (or *medius cantus*) and tenor part. The parts move quite homophonically with one another, except that they alternate rests so that only one of the two lower parts is active at any one time. The *triplum* is independent of these two lower parts, and does not include repetition but it does use (and elaborate upon) the same rhythmic patterns as the lower parts. Furthermore, the tenor part is disposed in four *talea,* the first two of which are isorhythmic to one another and "the composer took advantage of the use of recurring material (for the recurring text *Absolon fili mi*) in the plainsong".[96] This same material in the *medius cantus* reappears with the repetition of the tenor. The texts of the voice parts are not strongly linked. There is no assonance, and no attempt to match opening syllable sounds or words. However, the *triplum* frequently refers to love, which complements the unlabelled "Amoris" tenor, and the last line of the *triplum* has been inserted at the end of the *medius cantus* (with the names switched around). But there is no other reference to either of the chants in the *triplum*, including the sections of chant and text not included here.

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bishops is contemporary with the music hand, a number of important questions still remain. Was the music copied before the list, or sometime after? It seems unlikely that it was at the same time – why would any scribe purposely choose to insert a list of bishops half way through a section of music? While the hand might seem contemporary, there is nothing to prove that it was not written by an older scribe, still using older writing styles. Therefore, while the Gaveston/Edward II connection is appealing, and certainly possible, there is very little by way of evidence to either confirm or deny this speculation. See J. Burgtorf, "With my Life, His Joyes Began and Ended: Piers Gaveston and King Edward II of England Revisited", in *Fourteenth Century England V*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 31-51.

[95] Of all the main motet sources from this period (*F, MO, W_2, F-Pn* fr. 149, etc.), only one piece survives with two tenors, each consisting of a different chant, found in *Ba*, 92. See discussion on p. 61 and in note 161.

[96] Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance,* PMFC Vol. XV, p. 163.

Virgo mater salvatoris/ Virgo pia/ T. is a troped Kyrie setting, with an untexted tenor, found in the source *GB-Cfm* 47-1980. The Kyrie melody is known in this particular version from insular sources only.[97] However, the upper parts do not trope any known Kyrie text (although it does seem likely that the tenor was originally texted since it is distributed in longs). The piece is not overwhelmingly motet-like, but it does include polytextuality, assonant openings, part format and an untexted tenor. Equally, *[Kyrie fons pietatis]/ Kyrie pater venerande/ T. [Kyrie fons bonitatis*] is only superficially motet-like on the basis of the remaining material. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to assess the piece with any certainty as, although the *triplum* is complete in the Worcester Fragments the other voice parts are missing. In *GB-Ob* c mus. 60 the *triplum* is missing altogether, only a portion of the *duplum* survives (the entire folio has been ripped in half vertically), and just a few notes of the untexted tenor survive. We cannot be sure that this tenor was completely untexted, since so little of it remains – it may have been a melismatic or sparsely texted tenor – but it does appear to move in roughly the same note values as the upper parts. Furthermore, it has been identified as being from the known Kyrie trope, *Kyrie fons bonitatis*. This trope uses the melody from the Vatican Kyrie II, adding text to the melisma in what might be more appropriately called a *prosula.* The piece is therefore a fairly typical troped Kyrie setting, apart from the polytextuality, part format and untexted(?) tenor. The textual interplay between parts might be described as motet-like, but it is hard to follow due to the fragmentary nature of the *duplum*. There is, however, a clear relationship between the incipit of the trope text in the *triplum* and the tenor chant. Equally, the first word of the *duplum's* tropic text, "pater", appears early in the tenor chant text: "Kyrie fons bonitatis, pater ingenite".

Crucifixum dominum in carne/……/ (Crucifixum in carne) (WF 96) is the final piece in the group of six pieces with untexted tenors. The tenor is an unusual version of the verse from the processional Easter Antiphon *Sedit angelus*. The chant can be found in the Worcester Gradual, Worcester, Cathedral Library, F.160 [*GB-WO* F.160]. Unfortunately, only the *triplum* and untexted tenor have survived. It is therefore unclear whether this piece was polytextual or not, but it was copied in parts. The *triplum* contains a number of repetitive melodic and rhythmic ideas, and the text heavily tropes the *Crucifixum in carne* verse. It has also been suggested that voice-exchange was employed here, and that the tenor is structured like a *pes*.[98] No polyphonic/monophonic exchanges are required, and there are no *sine/cum littera* exchanges or melismas. The chant is

[97] Sanders, Harrison and Lefferts (eds), *English Music for Mass and Offices (II)*: *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVII (Monaco: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1986), p. 177.
[98] See Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58, and Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription*, Musicological Studies and Documents 2 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1957).

not faithfully reproduced in the tenor (leaving Dittmer to speculate that perhaps the piece was originally in four parts).[99]

There are a further six pieces where the copyist has only supplied the incipit of the relevant chant text in the tenor. Whereas the pieces with fully-texted tenors are primarily from the Worcester Fragments, those with no texts, or just incipits, are much less regularly of this same origin. Of the twelve pieces without text, or with just an incipit, only four are found in the Worcester Fragments. However, *Kyrie fons pietatis/ (Kyrie pater venerande)/ (Kyrie Fons bonitatis)*, (WF 29, also preserved in *GB-Ob* c mus. 60), is not preserved with its tenor, which may not have been copied in the same way (textually) as its concordance, and the tenor of *Alme veneremur diei/Alme veneremur diei/T. Alleluya V. Iusti epulentur* (WF 52) has been cut away near the beginning, so we cannot be sure that the entire tenor was texted.

It is possible that the tropes in the Worcester Fragments with fully texted tenors are representative of earlier developments (along with, perhaps, the similar settings on Fragment B of *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*), but they could equally represent another experimental arm that has no link to chronology and evolution. The notation in the various sets of fragments that constitute the so-called Worcester Fragments is quite variable. It is mensural in all reconstructions, but varies from simple longa-brevis notation to more advanced mensural notation with the use of c.o.p. ligatures, semibreves and mensural rests. It is perhaps interesting that seven of the nine pieces with fully texted tenors are in simple longa-brevis mensural notation with the use of rhomboid breves (as in *GB-Ob* Rawl C. 400*). Of the three pieces with incipits only, only one consists of simple longa/brevis notation, and the other two are mensural with c.o.p. ligatures, semibreves and mensural rests. The two pieces with no text at all are both in this same, more advanced, mensural notation. There is no correlation, though, between this information and the various proposed reconstructions of the fragments into original sources. Perhaps, then, the notation used in these fragments depended on the scribe, the exemplar, or perhaps they were compiled gradually, over a period of several years. However, there are no instances of fully-developed Franconian notation, nor of unmeasured notation (in *cum littera* writing). We might consider the leaves (as an unnatural group) to be of a similar period to *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* or perhaps slightly later, roughly contemporary with sources such as Cambridge, Clare College, 1988/17 [*GB-Cclc* 1988/17], or London, British Library, Cotton Fragment XXIX [*GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX], which introduce other mensural features such as individual semibreves, but do not include dots of division or grouped semibreves, nor Franconian ligatures.

[99] *Ibid.*

Only three troped chant settings include an incipit that has also been labelled "*pes*" (WF 27 and *GB-Ob* Rawl C. 400*, Frag. B, nos 1 & 3). The similarities of the compositions in these sources, already discussed above, renders this observation all the more interesting. *Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia [V.] Pes* (WF 27) presents a slightly unusual situation because the opening text of the alleluia verse has not been included in the incipit (it reads "Alleluia [V.] Pes"). It appears to be a Marian adaptation of the Easter alleluia from the *graduale sarisburiense*, but the verse and its text are unknown. The choice to copy the piece in this way seems a peculiar one, since none of the other alleluia tropes in the Worcester Fragments have untexted verses, or tenors labelled "*pes"*. There is nothing about this piece that marks it out as especially different to the other troped chant settings in the fragments. Perhaps the copying style was adopted from the exemplar source. In modern scholarship the term "*pes*", whilst unmentioned in contemporary theoretical literature, has become synonymous with a repetitive, ostinato-like tenor part of one or more short phrases. This is due to the fact that, in some cases, tenors labelled "*pes*" in the source conform to this model.[100] However, WF 27 is not one of these compositions. The upper parts begin by moving homorhythmically, with lots of thirds and contrary motion, but they become a little more independent in the verse section. The upper parts share the same text in the alleluia section, but this changes for the verse with the introduction of a different text in one of the upper parts. However, at each new verse they begin with the same words. In general, the upper parts work together, against a fairly inactive tenor, but there is no clear evidence of exchange between parts, nor structures in the tenor. However, within the same parts, there are some varied repetitions of previous phrases. The piece would have included monophonic insertions, but these cannot be reproduced since the chant verse is unknown. Whilst the tenor, and the other voices, contains repetitive material, there are no direct repeats or structures. The *pes* is not ostinato-like, although it does consist of similar rhythms and melodic movements throughout.

GB-Ob Rawl. C. 400*, Fragment B, no. 1, *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- (pes) Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus,* also has a tenor designated "*pes*" (for a modern edition of this piece see Appendix G.10). The placement of the word, as can be seen from the incipit above, is a little unusual. Placement within the text, as opposed to next to the beginning of the voice part, or in the place of an incipit, is not wholly unusual (the previous example was similarly presented). However, the placement here, after the first syllable of the tenor text (Al- of Alleluia), is quite unusual, and it is not clear whether the placement is indicative of anything, or whether it

[100] For more information about the use of the term *"pes"* in insular sources see chapter 5.

was merely placed here out of convenience. This may well be the case, since the voice part begins half way through a stave line (presumably to save space) and the space just before the voice part is taken up by the labelling of the piece (in black ink). "*Pes*" is written in red ink, like the initial for the "A" of "Al-", which makes it clear that it is not part of the text. Moreover, other part labelling in the source is presented similarly. For instance, on f. 5r the words "In fine" are written in red ink, underneath the notation but on top of the staves, and the same words appear on f. 7r, alongside "Chor'" (Chorus), both of which are written over the stave. This piece is very different to WF 27. After an initial section of *rondellus* and a section of monophonic chant, the tenor sings the chant for the verse, but repetitive sections of the chant (where the same musical phrase is repeated once or twice) are used to create opportunities for voice exchange in the upper parts. The result is that the tenor, whilst faithfully reciting the chant, has a structure of: (*Rondellus*, monophonic chant,) chant, AAA, chant, BB, chant, monophonic chant, CC, DD, chant, monophonic chant. One partial repeat is indicated in the source, with an alternative ending provided for shorter performance. Although the tenor part does provide a supporting voice for the short *rondellus* section and the even shorter sections of voice exchange, it was not written for this purpose – the tenor simply recites the chant (apart from the monophonic insertions) throughout the main body of the piece, and repetitions in the chant have been used by the composer to construct the upper parts. The tenor does not consist of one or several short melodies, repeated a given number of times. There is also no real connection with WF 27 and therefore no obvious reason why both pieces have the tenor allocation "*pes"* when almost all of the other surviving troped chant settings do not.

The final piece to use the term "*pes"* is *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Fragment B, no. 3, *[Adoremus ergonatum...Alleluya V. Vidimus stellam]/ [A-, Adoremus ergo natum...Alleluya V. Vidimus] stellam eius qui natus/ A- pes, Adoremus ergo natum...[Alle]luya V. Vidimus [stellam].* Unfortunately, however, most of this piece is lost. Only the end of the *duplum*, and some of the tenor survives. It seems clear from what survives of the tenor, though, that it consisted of the opening alleluia melisma (with troped text added) and then the recitation of the verse of the chant in the tenor, with very little variation. There is no evidence of form or repetition in this part. The motet tenors designated "*pes"* will be discussed in due course, but in terms of troped chant settings, there are no identifiable techniques that can be associated with the term, no obvious correlations between the tenors of the three pieces to which the term is applied, nor any clear difference between these three compositions and the very many other extant troped chant settings. The application of the term to these three troped chant settings, therefore, is only considered motet-like because all of the other instances of the term "*pes*" written in a manuscript source apply to motet compositions, and not because of the application of a particular style, form, or technique.

3.5 Motet-like Troped Chant Settings/Troped Chant-like Motets

Inevitably, there exists a slightly obscure group of compositions that occupy a middle ground between motets and troped chant settings. We might categorise these compositions in an attempt to talk about them in terms that we can understand but, in reality, they are compositions that we simply cannot comprehend or appreciate in a contemporary sense. Some of the "troped chant settings" discussed above fall into this category, and there are compositions that we may consider to be motets, on balance, but which also occupy this grey area. Unfortunately, attempts to categorise the compositions according to continental practices has led to the use of a wide range of terms to describe pieces that have very little to distinguish them from one another. These descriptors, when applied, are not necessarily incorrect but sometimes several descriptors could be legitimately and appropriately applied to a single composition.[101] Terms such as "tropic motet" or "motet-like troped chant setting" essentially mean the same thing, for instance. It is a difficult issue to rectify, though, partly because certain terms have gained currency in scholarly writing, but also because it is extremely difficult to discuss and describe compositions of this nature without alluding to other known, and better understood, genres. Equally, when analysing a larger group of compositions it is necessary to somehow divide the group into categories in order to structure a discussion and argument. It is very difficult to completely abandon this approach. However, conflicting generic descriptions of ambiguous pieces in musicological writings, resulting in numerous descriptors for a single piece, only exacerbates the issue further.

The motet-like troped chant settings in W_3 that have already been discussed are probably some of the best extant examples of motet/troped chant hybrid, or miscellaneous, compositions. From a modern perspective, these pieces are some of the hardest to categorise. They are treated as troped chant settings above merely for convenience when discussing them and placing them within a larger study. In reality, I would not like to definitively categorise these pieces as belonging to one genre or another.

Other examples of such compositions can be found in various other sources, mostly those that appear to have been written later in the *ars antiqua* period (possibly post 1300). *GB-Cclc* 1988/17 consists of a single fragmentary folio preserved as a rear pastedown in an unknown source. One of the two compositions it preserves might be considered generically ambiguous. Both compositions are three-part Kyrie settings, preserved in parts. Losseff calls the compositions

[101] See Sanders, "Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 37 (1965), pp. 19-34 for further discourse on the application of varying descriptors in discussions of insular genre.

"tropic Kyrie motets", but Lefferts asserts that they are simply troped chant settings.[102] The text of the first composition tropes the verse *Kyrie Rex virginum amator,* but it is very fragmentarily preserved and, with only one voice part surviving, it is not possible to closely analyse the composition.[103] The next piece begins immediately underneath this voice part, however, which suggests that – since only a fairly small portion of the stave line is missing – the lost tenor part was a short phrase subject to repetition rather than a single statement of a whole chant. The second piece, *Lux polis refulgens/ Lux et gloria regis/ K[yrie eleyson],* has three fragmentary voice parts surviving, but is also found in the Worcester Fragments (WF 2, Reconstruction I).[104] It is polytextual, and the tenor has only an incipit. The upper voices open assonantly, and alternate assonant textual material during each of the three sections of the piece, where there is some very subtle hocketing (see the ending syllable "–ia" or similar). Futhermore, the text in the upper parts heavily tropes the text of the troped chant in the tenor. Since *Lux et Origio* is a known troped chant in monophonic, liturgical sources the text in the upper voices essentially tropes that of the trope. The piece is also structured on several levels – not only is there an overall three-part structure, but each part can be further subdivided by three. This leaves nine smaller sections overall, which perfectly suites a Kyrie, where nine recitations are necessary (three of each of the three sections of a Kyrie – Kyrie eleyson (x3), Christe eleyson (x3), Kyrie eleyson (x3)). However, the chant itself has also been manipulated to accommodate this structure. According to the known surviving version of this chant, the tenor begins with the first phrase of the chant, stated in full, which is then repeated twice (section 1). Section 2 begins with the second phrase of the chant, stated in full and then repeated twice. Section 3 begins with the fifth phrase of the chant but quickly diverges from the extant version. Approximately halfway through section 3, however, phrase six of the chant is stated in full occupying the tenor part to the end of the piece. The tenor is therefore unlike traditional chant settings, and more comparable to *cantus firmus* motet tenor structures, where the manipulation of chants to suit tonal requirements and stylistic preferences was commonly undertaken by composers.

There are several compositions in *GB-Onc* 362, most commonly referred to as motets that are equally as ambiguous. This source is likely to have been copied in the early fourteenth century

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[102] Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony"; Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 203.
[103] There is a Kyrie trope with the same text in the insular 11th fascicle of W_1, and while there are some similarities evident between the two settings, and the surviving voice in *GB-Cclc* 1988/17 shares some similar material with the upper part of the W_1 setting (which cannot be coincidental), they are not concordant. The setting in W_1, for instance, has text written in the margin at the end of each line, where the same music is to be repeated to accommodate it, whereas what remains of the *GB-Cclc* 1988/17 version indicates that it is through-composed. It is not possible to compare the tenor parts, as only a single upper part has survived in *GB-Cclc* 1988/17.
[104] The layout and the intended arrangement of the surviving parts are a little difficult to ascertain in the Worcester Fragments. Several Kyrie eleyson melodies have been copied, with two crossed out entirely.

and may be from Canterbury.[105] Six of the 21 compositions found here might be considered hybrid. Four of the six are polytextual, while one is too fragmentary to tell (two voice parts survive – one texted and one untexted lower voice), and the other has the same text in the upper parts and an untexted tenor.[106] All six pieces are preserved in parts, in three or four voices.[107] Apart from *Alta canunt assistentes cuncti/ Quadruplum,* and *De spineto rosa crescit/ Virgo sancta Katerina, gemma/ Agmina* the pieces have at least two assonant voices at the beginning, and include various textual interplay and troping throughout. Assonance seems almost equally as common in troped chant settings as in motets (although this is partly due to the fact that, with certain chants, all voice parts start on the same word), and therefore does not help to elucidate matters.[108] The tenors of all of these compositions are *cantus firmi*, but rather than setting a short, indistinct section of chant (such as an individual melisma), or perhaps a heavily manipulated section of chant, all six pieces set whole chants in their tenors. The setting of a whole chant in the tenor would normally be considered a feature of troped chant settings, but due to the gradual crossover that developed between the two genres, and the mix of generic features here, we cannot assume that the use of a whole chant tenor is indicative of genre. The labelling of parts "*quartus cantus*" and "*quadruplum*" is certainly more common in motet composition, but there are a number of four-part, (more ambiguous) troped chant settings and some of these are labelled in the same way.

Moreover, many of the compositions are stylistically quite different. For instance, *[Balaam de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam]* uses "declamating and hocketing in semibreves", and alternates between vocalised and texted sections in a *conductus*-like manner.[109] The *cantus firmus* consists firstly of the fourth stanza of the prose sequence *Epiphaniam domino canamus,* and the second part is the fifth stanza, both of which are repeated, so that "the tune of

[105] Lefferts has suggested a possible Canterbury provenance, since the source contains two pieces dedicated to Thomas of Canterbury and a third to Augustine of Canterbury ("The Motet in England", p. 348). He places the date of the source in the early fourteenth century on account of the styles of composition and the use of notation (see pp. 30 and 384-5). Harrison more specifically suggests a date of c. 1320 (Harrison, "*Ars Nova* in England", p. 69).

[106] The *triplum* of this last piece *[Balaam de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam]* does not survive in this source, but is known from the concordance in *MO*, fascicle 8. It appears in *MO* with two other compositions that are all thought to have been of insular origin, despite their appearance in this continental source.

[107] Obviously no.4 has only two surviving parts here, but it is known to have three in total from its concordance, and *Alta canunt assistentes cuncti/ Quadruplum* was clearly in four parts originally, since it has a *quadruplum*.

[108] For instance, several troped alleluia settings begin with "Alleluia", or sometimes "Al-[trope text]-leluia". Therefore, all parts are naturally assonant. Other settings, however, begin with troped texts – some polytextual – and in these instances the assonance must have been engineered.

[109] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 62.

each double stanza (itself a repeated unit) is used twice".[110] This enables the voice exchange between the upper parts. Whereas, the second composition in this source, *Ianuam quam clauserat fructus/ Ia-, iacinctius in saltibus/ Iacet granum/ Tenor per se de Iacet granum/ Quartus cantus*, is quite different. The tenor is the third Respond for Matins of the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, stated once in full, as we might expect in a troped chant setting. The upper parts all have an assonant opening syllable. The labelling of the tenor as "Tenor per se Iacet granum" is more typical of motets than of troped chant settings (where an incipit, or full text is more common), but no form of tenor labelling/texting seems to be used consistently for a particular sort of tenor in insular sources. The composition makes use of a *solus* tenor and can therefore be performed in either three or four parts. The "Tenor per se Iacet granum" is, in fact, a combination of the other tenor, with the incipit "*Iacet granum"*, and the *quartus cantus*. It is only used for three-part performance, therefore, and the tenor with the incipit "*Iacet granum*" is the tenor for four-part performance. This, and the pieces preserved in W_3 are the earliest extant examples of the use of a *solus* tenor, both in insular sources and apparently in continental sources too.[111] It is interesting that the tenors are also labelled "tenor" in W_3 (although this applies to both tenors – "Tenor pro iii" and "Tenor pro iiii"), and the additional fourth part is labelled "*quartus cantus".* We might hypothesise that this form of tenor labelling was deemed necessary for pieces that make use of *solus* tenors, to clarify the intension of the composer and to direct the performer. The use of *solus* tenors in later sources is certainly associated with motets rather than chant settings, but it is perhaps relevant that the three surviving examples from this period (all from insular sources) are compositions of an ambiguous genre.[112]

A further motet-like feature of *Ianuam quam clauserat fructus/ Ia-, iacinctius in saltibus/ Iacet granum/ Tenor per se de Iacet granum/ Quartus cantus* is the isoperiodicity in the tenor. Moreover, not only do the musical and textual phrases in the upper parts overlap, but also neither corresponds to the phrases of the chant, nor to the isoperiodic phrases in the tenor (both of which conflict also). This is quite common in some of the more skilfully-composed extant motets. *Doleo super te, frater mi/ Absalon, fili mi, fili mi/* [T. *Amoris*] (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 7) is another troped chant/motet composition that uses an isorhythmic tenor, probably copied roughly contemporarily with *GB-Onc* 362 (see Appendix G.8 for a modern edition of this piece). The words and the music in the *duplum* are taken from *Rex autem David*, one of the Antiphons to the

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[110] Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance,* PMFC Vol. XV, p. 159.

[111] For more information see Shelley Davis, "The Solus Tenor in the 14th and 15th Centuries", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 39 (1967), pp. 44-64, and Lefferts, "The Motet in England", pp. 40-41.

[112] *Ianuam quam clauserat fructus/ Ia-, iacinctius in saltibus/ Iacet granum/ Tenor per se de Iacet granum/ Quartus cantus; …solis vel syderis cum beatis ceteris coram salvatore/ Quartus/ Tenor pro iii/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 1); *Quartus/ [Tenor pro iii]/ Tenor pro iiii* (W_3, 3). It is likely that the other two surviving pieces in W_3 also made us of *solus* tenors, but both pieces are missing their tenor parts.

Magnificat on Saturdays after Trinity. The whole Antiphon is not reproduced here, but rather just the last two phrases.[113] The untexted tenor part carries the plainchant melisma "Amoris" from *Alleluia V. Veni Sancte Spritus,* which consists of two short, identical phrases. The phrase forms an isorhythmic *color* in the polyphonic setting, stated twice (as in the chant), with each repetition consisting of four (almost identical) *talea*. The first and second *talea* are of the same rhythm as the first phrase of the *duplum*, with slight variations in the third and fourth citations – *Co* = *ta*1, *ta* 2, *ta* 3', *ta* 4''. The second repetition of the *color* is identical to the first. The first *talea* of the piece begins with the *duplum*, but phrases overlap between parts on the whole (with no correspondence, either, between the isorhythmically-set chant phrases and the other chant phrases in the *duplum*). The piece essentially consists of two parts, though, since the repetition of the tenor *color* is accompanied by repetitions of all of the material in the upper parts but with variation. Therefore, the same sections of *duplum* and tenor melodies appear over the same part of the tenor for both repetitions, but for a few minor changes. A lot of the rhythmic and melodic material in the *duplum* and *triplum* parts is very similar to those in the tenor. Sometimes the *triplum* and tenor move together for a brief moment (or the *duplum* and tenor, or the *duplum* and *triplum*), but alliances between parts seem to rapidly change throughout. Moreover, there are rather a lot of rests in the *duplum* and tenor, and so (due to overlapping phrases) often only one part accompanies the *triplum*.

Various conflicting descriptions of *Doleo super te* exist – it is listed as a troped chant setting on the *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* (DIAMM), Reaney seems to suggest that it is a motet, and Lefferts refers to the piece as a motet with a strophic repeat and variation.[114] Essentially, all of these classifications could be reasonably applied to the piece. We might, for sake of a definitive mark of genre, suggest that we call anything with a whole chant in the tenor a troped chant setting, and anything with small sections of chant a motet, but this simply does not realistically tally with the apparent compositional approach to the compositions. Some of the pieces in *GB-Onc* 362 set whole chants in the tenor and might equally be called troped chant settings.[115] Furthermore, the use of rubrics provided for the pieces in *GB-Onc* 362, which indicate to whom they are dedicated, is reminiscent of chant books. Conversely, the first three items of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 81 [*GB-Ob* Hatton 81] have been classified in the *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* series as compositions "for the Offices", but the first and third

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[113] Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance,* PMFC Vol. XV, p. 163.
[114] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 101; The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) http://www.diamm.ac.uk/ [Accessed 21 March 2016]; Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century,* RISM B/IV/I, p. 468.
[115] *Alta canunt assistentes cuncti/ Quadruplum; and [R]osa delectabilis spina carens/ [R[egalis exoritur mater decoris/ [T. Regali ex progenie].*

compositions only paraphrase their respective chants, and the second composition seems to be freely composed.[116]

3.6 Motet-like Troped Chant Settings, *Cantilenae* and Chant Settings

As demonstrated, the situation is not so simple as to say that motets and troped chant setting hybrid compositions are the only sorts of hybridity in extant insular sources. Not only do these compositions resemble other genres – *conducti*, *organa*, sequences, secular song – but various other combinations of style, influence and technique exist within the repertory. Untroped chant settings are also subject to external influence, albeit perhaps less frequently than troped chant settings and motets. *Singularis et insignis mundi domina* (WF 97) is fragmentarily preserved, but appears to have been a chant setting that only sets the melisma from the verse of the Offertory *Recordare virgo mater*, rather like a *cantus firmus* in a motet. It is not unlike a simple *conductus* setting, too – monotextual and homophonic – but is also somewhat sequence-like. Equally, *Sponsa rectoris omnium* (WF 98) is generically ambiguous. Three stanzas of Marian text have been set polyphonically, built on the melody of the hymn *Veni sancte spiritus*. It could quite legitimately be described in a number of ways – as a whole chant setting, a Marian Latin song, or as a Marian *contrafactum* of a hymn. A great many other extant compositions could be mentioned here as examples of the hybridisation of motets and troped chant settings (but also demonstrative of a more general blending and borrowing of generic features), especially in fourteenth-century sources. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of the current project to discuss them all.

It may be possible to glean some understanding of the contemporary approach to the composition of motet-like troped chant settings, however, when we consider the context in which many of them appear in their manuscript sources. It must be relevant that in so many instances we find motet-like troped chant settings copied alongside and undifferentiated from untroped chant settings and *cantilenae* (as well as other, more definable motets and troped chant settings). In some cases, there are no other genres preserved on the remaining leaves. However, it is not always possible to ascertain the original proximity of the leaves to one another in the manuscript source – some folios could easily have been removed from opposite ends of the original music source, as so little survives. However, whatever the specific organisation of the source, the lack of clear generic definition presents both a homogeneous (as many share the same styles and techniques) and heterogeneous (because hybridity allows for a wider range of compositional

[116] Sanders, Harrison and Lefferts (eds.), *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century: English Music for Mass and Offices (I)*, PMFC Vol. XVI, pp. 277-8.

choices) picture, all at once. Interestingly, very few of these sources contain any continental concordances.[117]

The term "*cantilena"* appears to have had a much more defined meaning in England than on the continent (where it was frequently applied to various compositional styles and genres).[118] Insularly, a *cantilena* was a free setting in score, without the melismatic *caudae* associated with *conducti* and less homophonic (as *cum littera* passages), too. Voice parts are often very close in range, frequently crossing, and show a "striking preference for the interval of the 3rd, which contrasts with contrapuntal conventions elsewhere in Europe where the 3rd was not favoured before the 15th century".[119] Walter of Evesham mentions *cantilenae* in his treatise (c.1300), where he states that the consonance of a sixth was regularly applied "in cantilenis istius temporis".[120] *Cantilenae* set liturgical and quasi-liturgical texts (often Marian in theme), and some are free settings of troped texts. Although *cantilenae* do not have a particularly close connection with chant settings, motets or chant/motet hybrids in their compositional style (and they do not carry *cantus firmi*), these different pieces may have been copied 'together' because of a common function. Sanders feels that:

> While nothing definite is known about the function of *cantilenas*, many may reasonably be presumed to have occasionally taken the place of the sequence, especially as many of them exhibit its double-versicle structure; they may also have come to serve as devotional songs (votive antiphons) in church or, simply, as clerical chamber music.[121]

This may give some weight to the theory that, in some cases, these genres were copied together exclusively, in a book for specific liturgical use. A number of extant sources provide examples of the cohabitation of these generic forms. *GB-Ob* c mus. 60 is a composite source. It consists of three original, independent sources. Therefore, although the list of contents may seem extremely heterogeneous, when the pieces are considered according to these three different

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[117] Of course, the only extant source preserved in anything like its complete form during this period is W_1. Therefore, it is impossible to know on the basis of a few fragmentary folios whether or not the rest of the original source contained any continental compositions, or what the generic contents may, or may not, have been. This observation, therefore, is made solely on the basis of the extant folios, and makes no assumption about the rest of the source.

[118] Sanders, "Cantilena (i)", *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04773 [Accessed 21 March 2016].

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] See Walter of Evesham's treatise, *De speculatione musices.* The full text can be found in Frederick F. Hammond (ed.), *Walter Odington. Summa de speculatione musicae,* Corpus Scriptorum Musicae *14* (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970). For a translation, see Jay A. Huff (ed.), *Walter Odington (born c. 1278). A Translation of Part VI of De Speculatione Musica.* Musicological Studies and Documents 31 (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

[121] Sanders, "Cantilena (i)", *Grove Music Online.*

sources, the picture is a little less chaotic. However, Fragment A – the largest source – consists of two folios, and two bifolia. The bifolia are nested together and were clearly from the centre of a gathering. As a result, the pieces are preserved as they would have appeared in their original source, and were part of the same fascicle (no obvious fascicle divisions exist in what remains). Most of the compositions on these leaves are troped chant settings – all of those on the two individual folios (four or five pieces in total), and three of the six pieces on the bifolia along with an untroped Gloria setting. One of the remaining two pieces, *Quator ex partibus mundus,* is so fragmentary that its character is unclear, but the other piece is quite clearly a four-part motet (*Campanis cum cymbalis/ Onoremus dominam dignam/ Campanis/ Onoremus*). It has two tenors, with incipits, neither of which seem to be *cantus firmi*, and both are very simple and repetitive voice parts. They engage in some hocketing, and move homophonically for the most part. The position of this motet here, however, demonstrates that the scribe of Fragment A copied a motet in amongst a larger group of troped chant settings, some of which could be described as motet-like. All are in parts (except the untroped Gloria), with untexted tenors.

GB-Cgc 512/543 consists of fourteen folios. It would seem as though all, or almost all of these leaves are consecutive, preserved in their original order. Many of the pieces are unusual and difficult to assess. Of the fifteen compositions, around eight seem to be motets without *cantus firmi*, but two of them quote Epiphany hymns in their texts, and many have complex forms in the tenors (and sometimes in the upper parts too). One of the remaining seven is the motet-like troped chant setting *Doleo super te,* discussed above, and the other six pieces appear to be *cantilenae* with quasi-liturgical texts. The liturgical connection between the pieces preserved on the leaves of *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 is perhaps not so strong. Two sets of leaves preserved as front and rear flyleaves in their host source. They are almost certainly from two different original sources, although they may have been earlier and later parts of the same manuscript. The rear flyleaves, which employ *ars nova* notation, consist of seven motets and an untroped Kyrie setting. It would seem that at least some of the leaves are contiguous, and that this piece was originally placed alongside some of the extant motets. The motets do not carry *cantus firmi*, and the chant setting is untroped and not motet-like.

Unfortunately, there are all too many examples where definitive relationships between compositions and fragmentary leaves cannot be established. *B-Br* ii. 266 preserves three *cantilenae* and three troped chant settings on either side of a single bifolium, respectively, but there is no way of knowing whether it formed the middle of the gathering or not. It is possible that leaves from two different fascicles are preserved here. Equally, *GB-Cfm* 47-1980 contains three troped chant settings, two of which are particularly motet-like, and a fourth untexted piece which is a *cantilena*. The same music appears with the text *Gaude, virgo mater* in London, British

Library, Harley 3132 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 3132]. However, while it would seem that the placement of the piece is original – on one side of a bifolium with two of the other three compositions – there is some question as to whether it may have been added later because it is not in line with the main writing block.

GB-Lbl Sloane 1210 presents a similar problem. Two folios are preserved at the front of the host source, and six are at the rear. The front folios are written in a completely different music hand, at least, and it is possible that the leaves at the front of the host source are from a different original source to those at the rear. However, it is clear that the front folios are contiguous, and the majority of the rear leaves are too. As a result, even though the relationship between the two groups of fragments is unclear, we can observe that, on the front flyleaves, a Credo setting appears alongside a motet (with a tenor that has been partially cut away and has therefore remained unidentified) and two *cantilenae,* and on the rear flyleaves an untroped Gloria, an untroped Alleluia, a troped Kyrie, a motet, a Hymn, a *cantilena* and a *conductus*-like setting, are found copied alongside one another (ff. 138-141), as are two *cantilenae* and a motet (ff. 142-3).[122] The troped Kyrie is not really motet-like, but it does bear some resemblance to sustained-note *organa*. It is not always essential, though, to find contiguous leaves to make these sorts of observations. Cambridge, St John's College, 138 [F.1] [*GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1]] is a single folio source containing three motets, and a Benedicamus domino setting copied alongside them. Equally, *GB-WHwfm* [pr.bk.] C 3. 8, another single folio source, preserves motets and (what seems to be) an untexted *cantilena*. There are some sources that preserve troped chant settings alone, such as *GB-Cclc* 1988/17, but they are almost always single folio sources and rarely preserve more than one composition in an interpretable way.

In sources that employ fully-established *ars nova* notation, the preservation of chant settings seems to differ. They are found much more frequently copied together, and without any other genre (on the surviving leaves), and the number of troped chant settings found seems to decrease in favour of untroped settings. Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Flitcham 299 [*GB-NWr* Flitcham 299] and *GB-Ob* Barlow 55 consist entirely of untroped chant settings, and *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14 (two bifolia from the middle of the gathering) preserves troped and untroped settings alone.[123]

While this chapter has demonstrated the experimentation with motets and troped chant settings in the insular repertory, and the various forms of composition that result from such

[122] It may be that all six of these folios were originally contiguous. There is no evidence to prove or disprove this.
[123] *GB-GLro* D.149 is only a single folio source, but it solely preserves troped chant settings.

experimentation, it has also shown that motets, chant settings and *cantilenae* clearly had a close relationship towards the end of the *ars antiqua* period. The nature of this relationship seems, to an alien observer, complicated and difficult to understand. It is relatively easy to interpret that, as a general rule, a piece with a whole chant setting (or integral section of the chant) in the tenor, and with the liturgical chant text only (in all parts) is a chant setting. Whereas pieces with a whole chant setting (or integral section of the chant) in the tenor, but with one or more new texts in the upper parts that relate to the liturgical text are troped chant settings. However, whilst the best way to draw some sort of distinction in modern scholarship seems to be through analysis of the treatment of the *cantus firmus*, compositions like *[O mores perditos] agant inferi sinistre* in Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 220g [*D-Gs* Theol. 220g], where many motet-like features exist, but which sets a single statement of a whole Antiphon in the tenor, still occupy a murky middle ground. The contemporary perception of these pieces is difficult to appreciate from a modern (and continentally-informed) perspective. What the thirteenth-century scribe found to be perfectly adequate categories of genre may not suit us in the twenty-first century. However, it seems extremely relevant that motets and troped chant settings are found copied together in sources so commonly, alongside untroped settings and *cantilenae*. Although it is not always possible to ascertain the original proximity of the compositions to one another in the manuscript, the frequent absence of other genres in the surviving leaves (and, equally, the regular appearance of the genres together in random scraps and fragments of parchment) may indicate that these genres were copied into a single source together quite often. This, in turn, suggests that contemporary scribes, and perhaps musicians and composers, viewed the pieces as closely connected; that perhaps they were intentionally designed and preserved in this way. It may also suggest a common, possibly liturgical function, as so many insular motets and *cantilenae* have liturgical or quasi-liturgical texts, and *cantus firmi* are integral to chant settings and often feature in motets. There is no way of knowing what other compositions were originally copied in the now fragmentary extant sources, but the frequency with which these genres appear together is a little too coincidental to be ignored.

Chapter 4: An English Style?

Apart from a few comments here and there, in treatises and chronicles, very little is known about the contemporary perception of insular composition in relation to that of the French; whether these two musical cultures were considered similar, different or distinct from one another.[1] Scholars have attempted to define their own ideas of what constitutes a French or English style based on their observations, from a modern perspective, but this is challenging given the highly fragmentary state of the insular repertory in comparison to that of the French.[2] As a consequence, opinions differ and conflict. Moreover, many of the features deemed to be indicative of one origin over another are not, in reality, exclusive to one repertory. The later insular repertory of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is much easier to define and characterise in terms of style not just because it is quite distinct from continental composition, and was subsequently adopted and emulated by continental composers, but also because the repertory is much less fragmentary than that of the thirteenth century.[3] We might consider, therefore, that insular music c.1400 is

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[1] There are five important theoretical works surviving from the thirteenth century that discuss the music of the Notre Dame school in detail – Anonymous IV, John of Garland, Lambertus, St Emmeram anonymous, and Franco of Cologne. However, there is only one surviving treatise that discusses insular music of c.1300, by Walter of Evesham (although, somewhat ironically, both Anonymous IV and John of Garland were Englishmen). Other than Evesham, only very short discussions of insular composition survive. Gerald of Wales makes brief mention of insular style in his *Descriptio Cambriae* but his comments are notoriously vague and ambiguous.

[2] For detailed discussions about scholarly interpretations of an insular style (and how it compares to continental composition) see, Ernest H. Sanders, "Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 37 (1965), pp. 19-34; Sanders, "Continuity in English Music", *Music & Letters*, Vol. 47/2 (1966), pp. 187-189; Jacques Handschin, 'The Summer Canon and its Background', *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 3 (1949), pp. 55-94 and Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode", *Journal of American Musicological Society*, Vol. 15 (1962), pp. 249-291; Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 17 (1964), pp. 261-287; Mark Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction in Music c.1170-c.1300', *Revue belge de musicology,* Vol. 46 (1992), pp. 5-22; Edward H. Roesner, "The Origins of W1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 29 (1976), pp. 337-380; Roger Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary" (D.Phil. Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1976); Hans Tischler, "English Traits in the Early 13th-Century Motet", *Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 30 (1944), pp. 458-76; Sanders, *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries: Style and Notation*, Vol. 637 of Variorum Collected Studies Series (London: Ashgate, 1998); Nicola Losseff, "Insular Sources of Thirteenth-Century Polyphony and the Significance of Notre Dame" (Ph.D Dissertation, Kings College, London, 1993); Peter Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 1983); Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (New York: Praeger, 1959); Harrison, "Rota and Rondellus in English Medieval Music", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 86th Sess. (1959-1960), pp. 98-107; Manfred Bukofzer, "The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polyphony", *Music & Letters*, Vol. 16 (1935), pp. 77-84; Luther A. Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen" *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58; Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm, Musical Theory and the Worcester Fragments", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 7 (1953), pp. 39-57.

[3] The music of composers such as Lionel Power, John Dunstaple and Walter Frye can be found disseminated in manuscripts across Europe during the fifteenth century, and continental composers adopted some of the features of this English sound, or "contenance Angloise". See, for example, David Fallows, "The contenance angloise: English influence on continental composers of the fifteenth century", *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 1

better understood and defined in modern scholarship because of the many surviving examples and pastiches, and through the writings of such theorists as Tinctoris.[4] Were the thirteenth-century repertory to have survived in a better state, we might draw sharper distinctions between French and insular styles.

Studies by Handschin, Sanders, Bukofzer and Wibberley have all attempted to pinpoint features of an insular style. These include a propensity for 6/3 harmonies, voice exchange (*Stimmtausch)*, a predilection for the major mode and trochaic rhythms, a "stress on the chords of tonic and supertonic", *rondellus*, *pes/*ostinato tenors, and regular periodicity, as well as notational features such as use of the rhomboid breve and "English *conjunctura*".[5] However, it is not the aim of this study to discuss their arguments in detail, nor to become bogged down in discussions about the frequency of thirds and other compositional minutae, which are not necessarily helpful.[6] For instance, in reality, pieces with a high proportion of 6/3 harmonies can be found in sources from either side of the channel. In some cases we cannot be sure of provenance, and we have very little understanding of the stylistic influence shared between insular and continental composers. Rather, attempting to quantify the frequency with which features such as *rondellus*, *pedes*, and voice exchange are used in insular sources, or found elsewhere, can help to provide a

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(1988), pp. 189-208; Sylvia Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance angloise,* Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven, 1964); Philip R. Kaye, *The "Contenance Angloise" in Perspective: A Study of Consonance and Dissonance in Continental Music c.1380-1440,* Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York, 1989); Margaret Bent, *Dunstaple* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Craig Wright and Sean Gallagher, "Martin le Franc", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17928 [Accessed 22 March 2016].

[4] For more information about the insular music of the fifteenth century and the *contenance Angloise*, see Sylvia W. Kenney, ""English Discant" and Discant in England", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 45/1 (1959), pp. 26-48; Margaret Bent, *Dunstaple* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Rob Wegman, "New Music for a World Grown Old: Martin Le Franc and the 'Contenance Angloise", *Acta Musicologica,* Vol. 75 (2003), pp. 201-241; Andrew Wathey, "Dunstaple in France", *Music & Letters*, Vol. 67 (1986), pp. 1-36; Rob Wegman, "Johannes Tinctoris and the 'New Art'", *Music & Letters,* Vol. 84 (2003), pp. 171-188; Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); David Fallows, "The Contenance Angloise: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century", *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 1 (1987), pp. 189-208; Martin Le Franc, *Les Champion des Dames,* ed. Robert Deschaux, 5 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica,* ed. Albert Seay, 2 vols, Corpus scriptorum de musica, xxii (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-8); Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript", *Early Music,* Vol. 2 (1974), pp. 2-14; B. J. Blackburn, "On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 40 (1987), pp. 210–84; L. A. Holford-Strevens, 'Tinctoris on the Great Composers', *Plainsong and Medieval Music,* Vol. 5 (1996), pp. 193-199; Ronald Woodley, "Tinctoris, Johannes", *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27990 [Accessed 22 March, 2016]; Margaret Bent, "Dunstaple, John", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08331 [Accessed March 22, 2016].

[5] See, for example, Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode", pp. 22-23.

[6] Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background"; Bukofzer, "The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polphony"; Sanders, "Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony"; Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries". For further reading see note 271.

sense of perspective in deliberations over origin and style. Identifying trends in the copying of insular sources (such as the *mis-en-page*), the use of notation (such as the "English *conjunctura*" and the rhomboid breve), and the generic characteristics of individual compositions, are also revealing. Therefore, "style" in this instance does not just refer to the minutiae of the compositional choices within a piece, but rather the notational style, use of techniques, and the layout and format of the piece on a leaf, or within a larger source. Although the notation applied to a piece in any one source may or may not have been that which the composer used to transcribe the piece in the first place, the choice to include unusual notational or copying features is a distinguishing factor that can be considered as part of an insular style. However, the application of many of these features cannot alone be used as evidence of a particular origin and, clearly, determining the origin of a source does not necessarily help determine the origins of the pieces preserved in it. In terms of defining an insular style, then, the physical features of a source or composition should be considered alongside compositional practice. However, the extent to which these physical features appear has not yet been conclusively quantified in all of the extant insular sources of the *ars antiqua* period. This chapter will outline the frequency with which characteristics and techniques often considered to be insular in style and origin are found in insular sources and compositions (*rondellus*, *pedes*, voice exchange). However, I will also consider typical copying practices and notational types (such as the use of "English *conjuncturae*", rhomboid breves, decoration, mis-en-page, and tenor labeling).

4.1 Notational Features

4.1.1 *Conjunctura*e

Two particular notational shapes are thought of as being English – the so-called "English *conjunctura"* and the rhomboid breve – and they have long been considered to be indicative of insular origin.[7] Current research for this dissertation confirms that the rhomboid breve is, in fact, exclusive to insular sources, but this is not true of the "English *conjunctura*", despite some misleading scholarly literature (Dittmer notes that the English *conjunctura* "seems to be an

[7] This can be seen in Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode", p. 276; Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm", p. 54; Olga E. Malyshko, "Three Newly-Discovered Fragments at Worcester Cathedral: Another 'Magnus liber organi' Flyleaf", *Scriptorium,* Vol. 52 (Revue intemationale des etudes relatives des manuscrits. International Review of Manuscript Studies), Centre d'Etude des Manuscrits. Bruxelles, Belgique. Tome Lii, 1 (1998), p. 80; Geoffrey Chew, "A "Magnus Liber Organi" Fragment at Aberdeen", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 31 (1972), pp. 326-343. The rhomboid breve, it is referred to as the "English Breve" by Sanders throughout "Medieval English Polyphony", and also in "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode". It is also discussed by Losseff in "Insular Sources". See also Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 204.

exclusively English procedure",[8] but later studies such as Losseff's assert that "the "English *conjunctura*" is not exclusive to insular manuscripts").[9] The association of this particular graphic form with insular notational practice is not a purely modern phenomena, however. Writing in second half of the thirteenth century, Anonymous IV, the author of an important musical treatise, describes it as "a certain figure which is called *elmuahym* or something like it. And it always lies in a certain oblique manner, but denotes different things."[10] He later goes on to say that "the *elmuahym* is often drawn obliquely... also there is a certain *elmuarfa*, which can be called irregular, which has a line descending on the left side, as the English write it or notate it."[11] Anonymous IV is the only contemporary to suggest that the figure came specifically from England, however. In reality, however, the figure is found in several manuscripts across Europe.[12] Moreover, two continental theorists, Lambertus and the St Emmeran Anonymous, discuss the *conjunctura* but without referring to it as English or making any such geographical connection. Regardless of exclusivity, however, the frequency with which these two notational shapes appear in insular sources, and their association with the insular repertory, may have been somewhat exaggerated. This is partly due to the disproportionate attention given to sources such as London, British Library, Harley 978 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 978] and the collection of fragments known as the Worcester Fragments, where a high proportion of rhombs and "English *conjuncturae*" are found. However, these sources are not indicative of prevalence in the rest of the surviving insular repertory. It is important to clarify their prevalence if they are to be considered typical of an insular notational style.

An "English *conjunctura*" is a variation on the more widely used forms of *conjuncturae*. It is a ligature, consisting of three notes that are created in the manner of a breve (with one short stroke of the nib) but are written at an angle, appearing as rhomb shapes.[13] A descending tail is added to the first rhomb on the upper left-hand side of the shape. Contrary, perhaps, to conventional wisdom, the angle in which a *conjunctura* tail is added depends, to some extent, on

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[8] Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm", p. 54.
[9] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p.115.
[10] Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985), p. 164. See also, Charles Burnett, "The Use of Geometrical Terms in Medieval Music: `elmuahim' and `elmuarifa' and the Anonymous IV", *Sudhoffs Archiv* [*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*] Vol. 80 (1986), pp. 198-205.
[11] Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, p. 164.
[12] *F-CA* A 410 – Flemish 12thc?; *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 – Paris? 13thc.; *I-Ac* 695 from Rheims; *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274 – probably from Tournai; *D-BAs* lit. 114 – Paris?; *F-Pn* 15139 –St Victor?; *GB-Lbl* Add. 16975 from Lire, Normandy, which had close connections to England though various insular monastic cells. For more information see pp. 124 and 233.
[13] This sort of rhomb shape is also sometimes applied to English mensural notation consisting of longs and rhomb-shaped breves. However, it appears that over time, and with the advent of the unstemmed semibreve, this shape evolved into a longer, narrower diamond shape, that must have been created by a different sort of stroke of the nib.

the angle of the rhomb but in any event varies greatly from a fairly straight, downward tail, to one around 45 degrees to the left of this position.[14] In fact, the shape often thought of as typical (see figure 4.1), with a very pronounced angle to the tail, is found less commonly than *conjuncturae* with a smaller angle to the tail (figure 4.2), or those in a more upright position (figure 4.3). Moreover, English *conjuncturae* drawn at a particularly pronounced angle tend to be found in what may be older sources, often in unmeasured/modal notation, frequently alongside monophony, and in miscellanies and additions to service books.[15] *Conjuncturae* can appear in a variety of other graphic forms, all of which are found in both insular and continental sources (see figure 4.5). Only those with tails to the left of the first rhomb are known as "English *conjuncturae*", however.

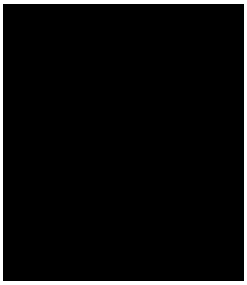
Figure 4.1: A "typical" English *conjunctura* (*F-Pn* 25408) – *Image removed: embargoed*

Figure 4.2: An "English *conjunctura*" with a slightly angled *tractus* (*GB-Lbl* Cotton Vespasian A XVIII) – *Image removed: embargoed*

[14] In general, descriptions of "English *conjunctura*" refer to a shape with a *tractus* that is angled at around 45 degrees, or diagonally as it is sometimes described. This is in contrast with other forms that have more vertically aligned stems. However, descriptions of these note forms rarely acknowledge the fact that a wide range of shapes and angles survive across the sources, sometimes with two or more differently-shaped *conjuncturae* occurring within a single composition. It is not the case that there are *conjuncturae* and "English *conjuncturae*" and nothing in between.

[15] For instance, *F-Pn* 25408 (figure 1) is a miscellany. See also, *GB-Lbl* Add. 50120 (polyphonic additions to a Gradual); *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 (a miscellany); *GB-Ob* Wood 591 (part of a collection of Notre-Dame and insular *conducti* in (mostly) unmeasured and modal notation); *GB-Ob* Rawl. D. 1225 (a polyphonic addition to a Martyrology); *GB-Llp* 457 (three miscellaneous booklets bound together); and *GB-Owc* 3.16 (A)* (fragments of a collection of insular *conducti* in a Notre-Dame style notation, but with some use of longs and rhomboid breves to indicate long and short rhythms).

Figure 4.3: An "English *conjunctura*" in an upright position (*GB-Cgc* 820/810) – *Image removed - embargoed*



There is no obvious reason for the variation in the tractus angles of "English *conjuncturae*". Their appearance in continental sources vary as much as insular examples: Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, A 410 [*F-CA* A 410], a twelfth-century Flemish source, has *conjuncturae* with angles to the stems, as does London, British Library, Egerton 2615 [*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615].[16] However, London, British Library, Egerton 274 [*GB-Lbl* Egerton 274] (Tournai) and London, British Library, Additional 16975 [*GB-Lbl* Add. 16975] (from Lire, Normandy), both use *conjuncturae* with upright stems, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds lat. 15139 [*F-Pn* lat. 15139] (a mid-thirteenth-century source from St Victor), uses mostly upright stems, but some stems vary in their uprightness (see figure 4.4).[17] However, it has been remarked by Reaney, among others, that *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274 displays some English (due to the rhombs alternating with longs) and German influences (neumes) in its notation, and that *F-Pn* Lat. 16975 is a French source from a monastery with very close links to England, with alien cells in Hinkley (Leicestershire), Llangywan (Monmouthshire), and Wareham (Dorset).[18] If we were to speculate that the downstemmed *conjunctura* was, in fact, more of an insular phenomenon than that with an angled stem, this might provide potential evidence that its appearance in these sources is potentially a result of insular contact and influence.

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[16] This source has various contents that show connections with the Liege area of modern day Belgium. See Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/1 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), pp. 261-262.

[17] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p.116; Everist (ed.), *French 13th Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1988), pp. 49-50; Jürg Stenzl, *Die Vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 15139 (Saint Victor-Clausulae),* Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft Serie II 22 (Bern and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1970), p. 237; Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century*), Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/1 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), pp. 512, 420.

[18] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, p. 512; David Knowles and Neville R. Hadock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953); "Alien houses: The priory of Wareham", in *A History of the County of Dorset: Volume 2*, ed. William Page (London, 1908), pp. 121-122. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/dorset/vol2/pp121-122 [accessed 19 March 2016].

Figure 4.4: Varied *tractus* angles of *conjuncturae* in *F-Pn* Lat. 15139 – *Image removed - embargoed*

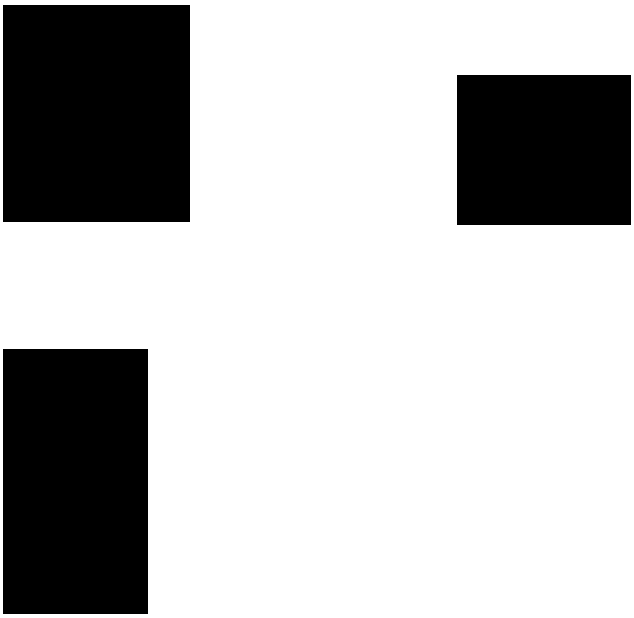
However, in reality, it seems most likely that country or area of origin has nothing to do with the angle of the stem. In insular sources, 107 pieces contain"English *conjuncturae*" with angled stems (varying in depth), 88 have upright stems (around eight of which include some slight tail variation), and seven include *conjuncturae* with stems that are both upright and angled.[19] In some sources, the tails of *conjuncturae* vary from piece to piece (and this might be the result of copying from different exemplars, or by different hands), and some *conjuncturae* tails vary even within a single piece. Therefore, it appears unlikely that stem variation has any connection with region, or scribal practice. Since some variations occur in the work of single notational scribes, it would seem that it has nothing to do with the copying styles of individual scribes either. There would appear to be no mensural or notational implications for the angle of the tail, and the density of the notation on the page and the available space for copying seems to make no difference either. Perhaps the shape of the ligature was simply just variable in the same way that other pre-Franconian ligature valuations permitted more than one shape. Otherwise, the only potential identifiable trend is one of date, since those manuscripts that appear to have been copied earlier in the thirteenth century tend to employ angled-stemmed *conjuncturae*, whereas in later sources they tend to have more vertical tails. However, variations within a single source,

[19] Two pieces in *GB-DRu* Bamburgh select 13; four in the Worcester Fragments, Reconstruction I (WF nos 12-15); and one piece in the eleventh fascicle of W_1 (no. 10), all have "English *conjuncturae*" with both upright stems and diagonal stems.

notational hand, or piece, contradict this theory and we have no accurate idea of, or evidence for, the chronology of the sources.

Quite often, several of the different graphic forms of *conjuncturae* found in manuscripts from across the continent appear within a single piece or manuscript (see figure 4.5). The reason for this is unclear. As with the angle of the stem on an "English *conjunctura*", the choice of graphic shape cannot be explained as being a regional phenomenon, nor can it be considered to be a matter of scribal style or practice. There are, of course, variations in the shapes of two- and three-note ligatures, but these are primarily determined by the pitches of each note. Since *conjuncturae* always consist of three conjunctly descending pitches, this cannot be the explanation either. Perhaps there were simply various ways of expressing the ligature graphically, for no particular reason, but for a notational system so perfectly and carefully crafted for the music of the time it seems strange that this should be the case. There is no obvious intended mensural, or contextual difference between the graphic forms (in measured/modal notation); however, a much larger-scale enquiry would be required in order to analyse properly whether or not this is the case.

Figure 4.5: Various other forms of *conjuncturae* in *F-Pa* 135 – *Image removed: embargoed*



Assuming that, according to our current understanding, all graphic forms imply the same mensural value within the same context, *conjuncturae* written in *cum littera* sections of music (unmeasured) are performed in the same way and with the same value. However, in the *sine littera* sections in modal notation the rhythm and value of *conjuncturae* is subject to modal rhythm and could be of any rhythmic mode. The same is true of *conjuncturae* in mensural notation, where value is dependent on context and mode. Both Lambertus and the St Emmeram

Anonymous give the figure a definitive rhythm of two or three *tempora*.[20] However, Losseff asserts that Lambertus is discussing

> the later, pre-Franconian use of the figure unconnected with insular use, which had been widespread independently of its occurrence on the continent and which clearly does not represent semibreves. It is impossible to tell to what extent it differs rhythmically from the ordinary ternary *conjunctura*, and whether its relationship to the *ternaria* can be successfully codified: we cannot know whether a transmission with altered notation suggests a change of rhythm or a different graphic symbol with the same meaning.[21]

With no clear indications as to the significance or notational value of different forms of *conjuncturae* in either the surviving literature, or the extant examples, it must be assumed that their application had no notational significance. According to Losseff, the "English *conjunctura*" and "English rhomb" are "the two features whose occurrence before the establishment of English mensural notation has been notoriously difficult to quantify".[22] This is certainly the case for the indeterminate number of sources that have not survived into the modern age (naturally), but in terms of the sources that survive, it is not particularly difficult to locate *conjuncturae* and rhombs found in pre-mensural manuscripts.

With the entire extant repertory taken into consideration, 202 copied pieces out of a total of around 800 in insular sources (not accounting for concordances, since copying and notational practices differ) include English *conjunctura*e. Of the c.800 individually copied pieces in the extant sources, around 130 pieces are preserved in the Worcester Fragments (including all palimpsests, later additions, and fragments found elsewhere in Worcester Cathedral Library more recently). Of these c.130 pieces, 63 contain *conjuncturae* (just under 50%). When we compare this to the rest of the extant repertory, 139 remaining pieces contain *conjuncturae* out of a total of c.670 further pieces, and it is clear that the frequency with which the *conjunctura* appears in the Worcester Fragment sources is far greater than in the rest of the repertory as a whole. With such disproportionate attention given to the Worcester Fragments in modern scholarly literature, it is easy to gain a false impression of the prolificacy of this particular ligature. In fact, on this basis, the occurrence of pieces copied with this notational feature is of a lower proportion of the whole than one might expect.

Closer examination of the pieces including "English *conjuncturae*" allows for the observation of certain trends in insular sources. For example, just under half of the pieces that include English

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[20] See Lambertus' *Ars musica* and the St Emmeram Anonymous' *De musica mensurata*.
[21] Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp.116-7.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

conjuncturae are in Notre-Dame type, premensural notation (or else in stroke, or Aquitainian-type notation). The remaining pieces are in an early mensural notation, consisting mostly of longs and breves, and sometimes with some c.o.p. ligatures, or unstemmed semibreves. None of the surviving pieces that use more developed mensural notation, such as Petronian or Franconian notation, employ this sort of ligature. It would appear, therefore, that its usage diminished after the introduction of mensural notation, in the latter part of the *ars antiqua* period. It is not clear why this should be the case, other than to avoid confusion with newer notational shapes such as semibreves and rhomboid breves. In any case, it should be clear that the appearance of English *conjuncturae* within a piece does not necessarily imply insular provenance and cannot be a contributing factor to an assessment of this sort. Equally, the absence of this ligature should by no means be a reason to doubt insular provenance.

4.1.2 Rhombs and Rhomboid Breves

The application of rhomb-shaped notes, particularly rhomboid breves, is as irregular in insular sources as that of the English *conjunctura*. In some cases, rhomb shapes are used to denote the length of a breve in longa/brevis mensural notation (rhomboid breve). However, rhombs are also found in pieces copied in insular sources in modal notation (as well as in some continental sources) where they apparently have no rhythmic value. In some other instances they would appear to imply some rhythmic significance, but it is unclear. For example, in the eleventh fascicle of W_1, a number of syllabic rhombs are found in the tenor parts only, and "almost exclusively among the sequences, sequence-like compositions and tropes".[23] Interestingly, all pieces including these syllabic rhombs appear to have been the work of a single scribe.[24] Roesner has suggested that

> The simplest explanation for these evidently rhythmically neutral rhomb designs is that they reflect the notational tradition of an ancestor, perhaps even the of the chant source from which the *cantus firmi* were originally drawn.[25]

Since rhomb-shaped neumes in chant manuscripts and in early chant-based polyphonic sources are commonly found in manuscripts from across Europe, and since the syllabic rhombs are found only in the insular fascicle and other additions to this source (and only in the chant tenors), we might support Roesner's suggestion they formed part of a more local copying

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[23] Edward Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle" 2 vols (Ph.D Disseration, New York University, 1974), Vol. 1, pp. 291-2.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 292.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 297.

tradition, or else were copied in the same way as their local chant exemplar (whereas, in the case of *W_1*, the main corpus of the codex was probably copied from a Parisian exemplar).[26]

In fact, *W_1* includes various other uses of rhomb shaped notes, discussed in detail by Roesner. Rhombs appear in pieces throughout the manuscript, including the main corpus and some central Parisian works, but only a minority act as rhomboid breves. Roesner states, "in a number of instances the rhomb has the value of a brevis and appears, therefore, to possess mensural implications".[27] Many of these examples are to be found in the eleventh fascicle of *W_1* also (and are not generally made distinct from the brevis) with the exception of the monophonic Sanctus and Agnus dei settings added to the tenth fascicle. These instances of implied measure support the theory that the eleventh fascicle is of a later date than the rest of the codex, but given that Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 400* [*GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*]/ Oxford, Bodleian Library, latin liturgical b. 19 [*GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19], Fragment C, can be dated to before 1256, and uses mensural notation with longae and rhomboid breves, we might hypothesise that the eleventh fascicle is no more than 20 years or so younger.[28]

In other instances, particularly in the main corpus of *W_1*, rhombs would seem to indicate measure, but do not actually have mensural value at all. Roesner provides the example of the Notre-Dame *conductus, Fraude ceca desolata* (f.127v-129v), which alternates longs and rhombs in two places, but when the notation is transcribed in context it clearly has no mensural value.[29] However, he further observes "a number of rhomb configurations [that] appear to possess rhythmic significance other than that of the brevis per se".[30] He refers specifically to chains consisting of a virga followed by two rhombs, on a single pitch. From context, it is clear that they should be read as three-note ligatures (crotchet, quaver, dotted crotchet), and so Roesner calls them *conjunctura* on a single pitch.[31] It seems reasonable that a scribe would have used rhomb graphics to clarify what would otherwise have been a series of undifferentiated single notes. Paired rhombs appear in later, mensural notation as breves, and in certain contexts are indicative of binary rhythm and alternate third mode. However, as Losseff states, it is questionable (unlikely, even) that the paired breves on a single pitch in *W_1* are "precursors of

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[26] See Everist, "From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 43 (1990), pp.1-42.
[27] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628", p. 279.
[28] See Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), No. B/IV/1-2 supplement (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), pp. 73-74.
[29] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628", p.281.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 284.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 284.

the paired-breve practice which is the main feature of English mensural notation".[32] In any case, an example in a *cum littera* section would be required to prove that binary mensural rhythms were in operation so early.

There are a number of examples of single rhombs, both in W_1 and elsewhere, however, which cannot be explained in any of the above ways. Roesner has suggested a hypothetical "interrupted *conjunctura*" or "*conjunctura imperfect*" to provide explanation for some of these examples,[33] but the theory cannot be applied to all cases where the use of single rhombs is hard to interpret.[34] It is simply not possible to transcribe these notes conclusively according to our current understanding.

Roesner's discussion of rhombs in W_1 is somewhat reflective of their appearance in the rest of the extant insular repertory. Use of the rhomb can essentially be divided into four main types – those acting as rhomboid breves in mensural or transitional works; those in non-mensural notation that appear to have no rhythmic value; those that seem to imply a rhythm other than that of the breve; and those whose intended purpose, if any, is unclear. Unlike the English *conjunctura*, the use of the rhomboid breve is an exclusively insular feature and seems to be proof of an independent paleographical tradition. This, in itself, suggests that an independent musical tradition existed in the British Isles during this time. Losseff seems to agree with this suggestion, stating,

> If we are looking for evidence that an indigenous high polyphonic practice existed and that it was not Notre-Dame polyphony, then the existence of an independent paleographical tradition which catered for this would certainly be significant.[35]

Rhombs do appear in continental sources, but in early chant monophony or chant based polyphony as undifferentiated neumes, and are far more common in so-called peripheral polyphony, rather than Parisian works.[36] In later French sources, rhomb-shaped notes appear only as part of *conjuncturae*, until the advent of semibreves. No rhomb-shaped notes with mensural value can be found in continental sources until this point. It seems unlikely, therefore, that rhomboid breves were included in those continental sources now lost, since it seems too coincidental that all of the examples should not have survived. As a result, the inclusion of

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[32] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 119.
[33] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628", p. 287.
[34] *Ibid*., p. 291.
[35] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 119.
[36] Such as the sources discussed above – see p. 122.

rhomboid breves in a source provides extremely strong evidence for insular origin (providing they equate to the value of a brevis).

There are several sources where the use of rhomb-shaped graphics suggests that the notation may represent a transitional period between insignificant and significant rhythmic rhomb values.[37] In sources such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591 [*GB-Ob* Wood 591], Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 257 [*GB-Ob* Bodley 257] and Oxford, Worcester College, 3.16 (A)* [*GB-Owc* 3.16 (A)*] some pieces seem to include rhomboid breves, with long-short rhythms implied by *virga*-rhomb alternation, and in other pieces rhombs are applied sporadically and in an unfathomable way. Losseff observes that, in *GB-Ob* Wood 591, it seems the scribe may have copied from an exemplar without fully understanding the virga-punctum, long-short tradition. *O laudanda virginitatis,* in particular, presents considerable problems in the use of rhomb-shaped graphics. *GB-Owc* 3.16 (A)*, preserving four insular *conducti*, is perhaps even more interesting in terms of variation in the application of rhomb-shaped notes. The first piece, *Ave, virga decoris,* does not contain any rhombs at all, and no measure is implied in its notation. However, *Ave, tuos benedic, virgo singularis*, a later version of a *conductus* also found in the seventh fascicle of *F*, alternates longs and breves regularly and can therefore be transcribed mensurally. *Ave, Maria, salus hominum* is more problematic. Rhombs appear, but inconsistently and irregularly so, and it is only in the last phrase that mensural transcription seems possible. Only the beginning of the final *conductus*, *Ave, regina celorum, ave, decus*, has survived, and therefore it cannot be analysed in its entirety, and, whilst rhombs do appear in these opening phrases, they are only on single pitches, and do not appear to equate to the value of a breve. It is unclear, in fact, whether any measure is implied at all. Whatever the intended value (or lack thereof) of the rhombs in the above sources, it would appear that the rhomb can "indicate varying degrees of rhythmic significance in early thirteenth-century insular sources".[38]

It may be that, in some cases, scribal misunderstanding accounts for the sporadic and confused use of rhomb-shaped notes – either because the scribe has not understood the notation of the exemplar, or perhaps because a poor attempt has been made to transcribe modal notation from an exemplar into notation with some sense of rhythmic value. It seems unlikely, though, that scribal misunderstanding, or scribal tradition carried over from plainsong notation, is responsible for all examples where notation is confusing and difficult to transcribe. It would appear quite probable that some sort of insular, independent notational tradition existed at this time – one that we do not understand . Given that, in some cases, rhombs appear only in part, but have been

[37] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p.124.
[38] *Ibid.,* p.117.

purposely included in certain positions within the voice parts (which must, surely, have been a conscious decision by the scribe), it seems unreasonable to assume that they have no meaning or intention. Clearly, we do not fully understand the origin and evolution of the rhomb-shaped graphic in insular sources, and further research on a much larger scale would be required to attempt to elucidate the issue any further. As Losseff comments, however,

> Even the existence of rhombs on a single pitch as rhythmic determinants argues for a singular notational system, already in place by the time the "foreign" Notre Dame repertory came to be copied in the British Isles, and which could be imposed on a non-insular repertory.[39]

Over time, it would seem that the use of the rhomb as a mensural sign, equivalent to that of the breve, became standardised in insular sources, although never eclipsing, and always coexisting with the square breve.[40] *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*/*GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19, fragment C, exclusively applies rhombs as mensural rhomboid breves and is possibly one of the earliest sources to do so. It has been dated by Wathey before 1256, and is the only source where a date for the rhomboid breve can be confidently assigned.[41] Losseff notes that London, Lambeth Palace,752 [*GB-Llp* 752] "represents an early, possibly one of the earliest examples of a pair of rhombs representing English altered breve notation", although there is no means of deducing the date of this source.[42] Similarly, Canterbury, Cathedral Archives, Additional 128/8 and Additional 128/71 [*GB-CA* Add. 128/8 & Add. 128/71] contains paired rhomboid breves on single pitches, which may be intended to indicate long-short (2+1) rhythms, but Sandon asserts they are possibly only decorative.[43]

However, like the English *conjunctura*, the appearance of the rhomboid breve varies quite significantly between sources. In some cases, a fairly symmetrical and upright shape is drawn, but

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[40] Rhombs and square breves rarely coexist within a single composition. The only clear instance of this is in *[Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ [Equitas in curia….subroga]tur, iustitiamorte/ Equitas in curia,* in *GB-Cgc* 820/810, although in *GB-Ob* Wood 591 breves seem to vary from rhomboid, to square, and in between the two. However, in some sources, the use of the graphic to denote breve rhythm varies between pieces, as is the case in *US-Cum* 654 appendix. More often, a source solely includes either the rhomboid or the square breve, although sometimes not all pieces are measured and therefore not all pieces contain breves of either description, for example *GB-Ob* Bodley 257 only contains one measured piece with rhombs, and all other pieces are unmeasured without rhombs. Finally, pieces that include unmeasured rhombs, as part of modal notation, are often found alongside other unmeasured pieces that do not contain rhombs too – see, for example, *GB-Lbl* Harley 4664, or *GB-Lbl* Cotton Titus A XXI.

[41] See Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, RISM B/IV/1-2 supp., pp. 73-74.

[42] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 122.

[43] Nicholas Sandon, "Fragments of Medieval Polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral" *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 30 (1976), pp. 37-39.

in the majority of instances it appears slanted (somewhere between and square breve and a rhomb), unsymmetrical, or ambiguous. A slant, or tilt, to the left is most common (see figures 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8) but, at times, just a rounded blob of ink is drawn to represent a rhomb/breve. As mentioned above, the rhomb is normally drawn with the same nib-stroke as that of the square breve but simply tilted, unlike the later semibreve shape, which is often more of a teardrop diamond, clearly drawn in a different manner, with a different nib-stroke (see figure 4.9).[44]

Figure 4.6: Upright rhombs in *Miro genere, GB-Llp* 457 – *Image removed: embargoed*

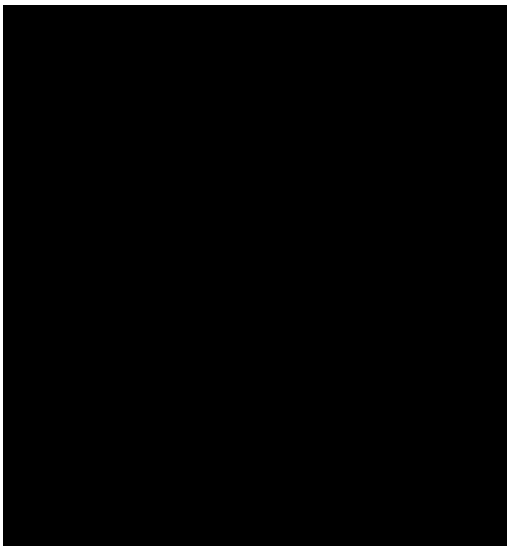

Figure 4.7: Rhombs with a more typical left-hand slant in *GB-Lbl* Cotton Vespasian A XVIII – *Image removed: embargoed*

[44] Some unstemmed semibreves are also created with this simple nib stroke, but it would appear that in the later sources a more pronounced diamond shape was adopted.

Figure 4.8: Rhombs with a pronounced left-hand slant in *GB-Lbl* Harley 5958, f. 22 – *Image removed: embargoed*

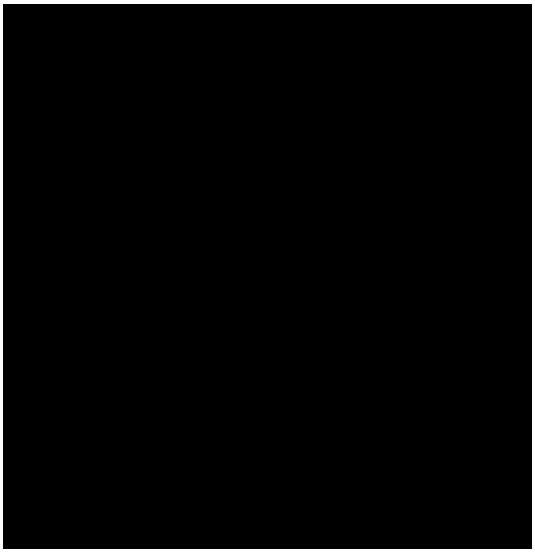

Figure 4.9: Long, narrow teardroped semibreves on the front flyleaves of *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 – *Image removed: embargoed*

Although the rhomboid breve is only found in the insular repertory, it is only found in around a third of the extant insular sources, and it is sometimes not used exclusively within a single source. Furthermore, its usage seems to have diminished at a similar rate and during a similar time as that of the English *conjunctura*. Although it could be practically applied to pieces in longa/brevis mensural notation, with the introduction of more advanced forms of mensural notation it became disadvantageous to apply the rhomboid breve alongside the unstemmed semibreve. In instances where there are two potential readings of the same shape, it is only possible to identify the correct rhythmic value through context. Whilst this would not have been beyond the capabilities of skilled singers, composers, and scribes, perhaps it was felt that the use of the rhomb to denote a breve was unnecessarily overcomplicating the situation. In any case, the rhomboid breve is most common in compositions that employ simple longa/brevis mensural notation, and it appears in a few pieces that include some unstemmed semibreves and c.o.p.

ligatures, but it is very rarely, if ever, employed in more developed, Petronian or Franconian forms of mensural notation. The sources with the most developed forms of mensural notation to include rhomboid breves are Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 22857E [*GB-AB* 22857E], Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 820/810 [*GB-Cgc* 820/810], London, British Library, Cotton Fragment XXIX [*GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX], Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 25 [*GB-Ob* Savile 25] and Chicago, University Library, 654 appendix [*US-Cum* 654 app.]. *GB-Ob* Savile 25 and *US-Cum* 654 app. both contain downstemmed semibreves alongside long-rhomb notation and *GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX has syllabic semibreves. *GB-AB* 22857E and *GB-Cgc* 820/810 probably contain the most developed mensural notation, the former containing c.o.p. ligatures, mensural rests and dots of division and the latter with unstemmed semibreves and mensural rests. Like the English *conjunctura*, rhomboid breves seem to have lost currency in the later *ars antiqua* period. The appearance of rhombs in non-mensural sources points either to a transitional phase of notation with the introduction of some rhythmic clarification, or else a different, or non-mensural intention for the graphic.

The use of the rhomboid breve in insular notation has been linked to an important topic in modern scholarship – namely, the theory that insular composers made use of an alternative third rhythmic mode (where, instead of reading – dotted crotchet, quaver, crotchet – it is only possible to transcribe the given notation thus – dotted crotchet, crotchet, quaver), and binary rhythm.[45] Paired breves, and particularly rhomboid breves, are central to the concept of binary rhythm, as they are often indicative of its presence. In particular contexts, a longa, two rhomboid breves and another longa, when the breves are written against, say, two c.o.p. ligatures in another voice part, can only be transcribed of equal length. Perhaps most significantly, however, binary rhythm is not common in continental sources until the fourteenth century, and so its appearance in earlier insular compositions, its close relationship with the insular alternate third mode, and the use of paired rhomboid breves in many extant cases, forms an important part of an insular style and identity.

Of the c.800 individual instances of a piece copied into an insular manuscript, there are around 177 pieces with rhomb-shaped notes (not including unstemmed semibreves) in their notation. A further 43 (of the 65 tropes) in the 11th fascicle and additions to the ends of fascicles in W_1 include rhombs in several different contexts, making 220 instances in total.[46] However, in

[45] See, for example, Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm, Musical Theory and the Worcester Fragments", and Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode".

[46] The rest of W_1 is not considered here for two reasons: Firstly, Roesner has already discussed details of the use of rhombs in the main codex. Furthermore, the repertory contained in the main corpus is entirely Parisian, and not insular, and was most likely copied from a Parisian exemplar, at St Andrews, Scotland.

these cases very few pieces seem to include rhombs that conclusively equate to the value of a breve. Roesner provides six examples of pieces with rhomboid breves, all from the 11th fascicle.[47] It should be noted, however, that none of the pieces in W_1 consistently apply rhomboid breves, and none are entirely mensural. However, of the 177 pieces with rhombs in the rest of the extant repertory, perhaps surprisingly, approximately 130 pieces, or around 73%, appear to be acting as rhomboid breves. Whilst, certainly, rhombs appear in a significant portion of the extant repertory, they are much less common in insular sources than one might think, given their prominence in discussions of the insular repertory and its various characteristics. The tendency to overstate the case when it comes to rhombs, like English *conjuncturae*, may have been a result of the disproportionate attention given to the Worcester fragments, where around half of the pieces include rhomb-shaped graphics, the vast majority of which appear to be rhomboid breves.

Focusing on the 177 or so pieces in the insular repertory that contain rhomb-shaped notes (except W_1), around 19 compositions contain rhomb-shaped notes in unmeasured notation, clearly without mensural value themselves. A further 30 pieces might be considered transitional due their sporadic and irregular use of the rhomb, which sometimes seems to equate to the value of a rhomboid breve, sometimes appears to have a mensural value other than that of the breve, and sometimes seems to make no mensural sense at all. In terms of rhomboid breves, 128 pieces (73%) from around 23 originally independent sources contain rhombs that imply mensural value equal to that of the square breve. Clearly then, rhomb-shaped notes in general are most common in a long-breve or mensural context, while their appearance in pre-mensural and transitional compositions is much more infrequent. In terms of collections of pieces in individual sources, the 177 compositions including rhomb-shaped graphics in their notation come from approximately 37 or so original sources. Of these 37 sources, 14 might be considered to be transitional, either with a mixture of measured (with rhomboid breve) and unmeasured notation (without rhombs at all), or with mensural and partially or non-mensural rhombs.[48]

There appears to be some correlation between the use of the so-called "English *conjunctura*" and the application of rhombs in insular composition. Of the 128 pieces in 23 sources with rhomboid breves, a maximum of 11 sources, containing only 31 relevant

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Whilst it is very likely that the Scottish(?) scribes used some of their own notational methods and practices in the copying of the main corpus, it is also extremely likely that the exemplar influenced the way in which the scribes copied the music. As a result, and in order to avoid repeating Roesner's previous analysis, I have elected to concentrate my discussions on the insular 11th fascicle only.

[47] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628", pp. 281-282.

[48] For instance, *GB-Ob* Douce 139 preserves a two-part English song in unmeasured notation without rhomb-shaped notes, as, too is the textless monophonic dance. However, the three-part coda of the dance, and the three-part French motet (here in Anglo-Norman) are in mensural notation with longs and rhomboid breves.

compositions between them, do not also contain English *conjunctura*e (only about 24% of the compositions, but just under 50% of the sources). Of the 19 pieces (in approximately 12 sources) that contain non-mensural rhombs in unmeasured and mostly Notre-Dame type notation, ten pieces also contain English *conjuncturae*. Obviously *conjuncturae* and rhombs appear less frequently in unmeasured notation (perhaps unsurprisingly, since neither serve any purpose – as far as we know – in *cum littera* sections at least), but with such a small sample base of unmeasured compositions with rhomb-shaped notes, these proportions may not fairly represent the proportions in those sources and compositions now lost. From the small number of surviving examples, though, it would seem as though quite a high proportion of pre-mensural compositions containing rhombs also contain English *conjuncturae*. However, of the 43 pieces in W_1 with rhomb-shaped graphics, only 12 also contain English *conjuncturae* (all but one of which are drawn with upright stems). Of the 30 pieces that we might consider to be transitional in their use of rhombs and measure, only eight do not also contain English *conjuncturae* (27%). Therefore (with the exception of the 43 ambiguous pieces in W_1), of the 177 pieces containing rhomb-shaped notes of some description, only 48 pieces do not also contain English *conjuncturae* (27%). Even taking into account W_1, 141 of 220 pieces with rhomb-shaped graphics also contain *conjuncturae* (64%). When considered from the perspective of extant *conjuncturae* the situation is the same.

Around 202 compositions survive with "English *conjuncturae*". Of these, around 107 have diagonal stems and 88 have upright (although in at least eight examples the stems have more noticeable variation in their shapes). Around seven pieces contain both upright and diagonal stemmed *conjuncturae*. Of the 63 pieces with English *conjuncturae* in the Worcester Fragments (35 of which have upright stems and 24 diagonal) 42 pieces also contain rhombs (quite a high proportion at 67%). The situation is similar in W_1 where of the 19 pieces with English *conjuncturae* (three tilted, 15 upright, and one piece with both) 12 have rhombs of some description too (63%). In the rest of the repertory, where 120 further pieces with English *conjuncturae* can be found (69 with diagonal stems, 49 with upright and two with both), 75 pieces also contain rhombs of some description (62%). Of those 75 compositions, 42 are in mensural notation, 16 are transitional in terms of measure, and nine are unmeasured. A further eight pieces in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 were seemingly originally copied in unmeasured, or perhaps transitional notation, with later amendments to clarify measure. In total, of the 202 compositions with English *conjuncturae*, 120 also contain rhomb-shaped graphics (59%).

Of the 63 pieces with English *conjuncturae* in the Worcester Fragments 43 also contain rhombs, all of which appear to equate to the value of a breve. Of the 12 pieces in W_1 with *conjuncturae* alongside rhomb-shaped graphics, 10 are unmeasured, and two might be described as transitional (with some rhombs that seem to indicate the value of a brevis). All in all, 85 pieces

with *conjucturae* are in measured notation with rhomboid breves (38 with diagonal stems, 47 with upright stems and four with both), 18 pieces are mensurally transitional, with rhomb-shaped graphics implying unclear measure, or else sporadically implying the value of a breve (15 with diagonal stems and three with upright stems), and 19 pieces with *conjuncturae* also include rhomb-shaped graphics without measure and in unmeasured notation (16 with diagonal stems and three with upright stems). It seems unlikely that the angle of the stem of *conjuncturae* has any influence over measure, or the relationship with rhomb-shaped graphics. But the above figures suggest that some sort of relationship existed between rhomb-shaped graphics and the "English *conjunctura*". This relationship seems most prominent specifically between *conjuncturae* and rhomboid breves. It is certainly interesting that of the 128 pieces containing rhomboid breves, no fewer than 97 also contain "English *conjuncturae*" (75%), and of the 202 pieces with "English *conjuncturae*", 120 also contain rhombs and 85 rhomboid breves (42% of pieces with *conjuncturae* have rhomboid breves, and 71% of the 120 pieces with *conjunctura* that also contain rhombs shapes, have rhombs equating to the value of a breve). However, it should be highlighted that 97 of the pieces with rhomboid breves, which appear alongside English *conjuncturae*, come from just 12 sources – or, more precisely, a large number can be found in the Worcester Fragments. We must therefore be careful not to misrepresent the repertory as a whole when we discuss these figures. Regardless, however, the proportions are still worthy of note.

It is not entirely clear why these two notational shapes appear together so frequently, although both seem to have had similar life spans. English *conjuncturae*, like rhombs, appear in chant sources and monophony, and it seems possible that both graphics were taken from an insular or peripheral monophonic scribal tradition. Both figures appear in smaller numbers in sources with unmeasured notation, and can also be found in transitional sources, and in mensural sources, but neither graphic is to be found in sources with more developed mensural notation. Moreover, both shapes are most prolific in measured long-rhomb notation, where the rhomb is equal to the value of a breve. The inclusion of rhombs and English *conjuncturae* in manuscripts in unmeasured notation is not uncommon outside of the British Isles, evidently influenced by more peripheral monophonic chant traditions, but rhomboid breves or mensural rhombs are an exclusively insular phenomenon, and the inclusion of *conjuncturae* in mensural or semi-mensural works is certainly noticeably more common in insular sources. In fact, only one continental source uses "English *conjuncturae*" in pieces in mensural notation of any sort, and they may have been

added later.[49] Whatever the case, it would seem that mensural pieces with "English *conjuncturae*" are almost exclusively insular in origin.

We might feasibly speculate that the continued use of rhomboid breves and (to a lesser extent) "English *conjuncturae*" in music in mensural and transitional notation is a sign of a graphic insular identity, and an emerging independent copying tradition. This was perhaps as a result of older practices carried over into the copying of polyphonic songs, or else could have been a conscious attempt to create a copying tradition that, whilst based on the very same principles as continental mensural notation, was distinct from that of the continent. The latter proposition might be more convincing were all of the sources, or a good portion, from a similar geographical area since the likelihood of a relatively concurrent nationwide attempt to create an insular notational identity seems unlikely. However, the fact that the minority of insular sources include "English *conjuncturae"* and rhomboid breves may indicate that there is a connection between the sources that use these notational forms that we are currently unaware of.[50] Either way, we might reasonably say that the "English *conjunctura*" is part of the insular style, but by no means exclusively so, nor is it indicative of origin alone. The same can be said for unmeasured rhombs, but rhomboid breves are much more of an integral part of an insular style. Moreover, their appearance in a source is proof alone of insular origin.

4.2 Presentational Features in Insular Sources

Whilst the presentational features of music manuscripts do not answer questions of origin for individual compositions, they do contribute to an overall picture of what we might consider to be an English style – not just in terms of musical style, but also copying tradition and manuscript organisation. There are a good many features that we might consider and compare when thinking about source presentation. There are those which vary from one source to another, even when the manuscript comes from the same establishment, in the same style, or in the same hand, and are not attributable to any particular national style (for example, the number of staves per page, the size of the folio and written block, and the gauge of the stave lines). Equally, features such as

[49] Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, A 410 [*F-CA* A 410] is a twelfth century source, which includes a group of thirteenth-century motets in long-breve notation with the use of c.o.p. ligatures. However, the *conjuncturae* that appear are in a much smaller notational hand than the rest of the notation and contrast with not only the rest of the notation but, specifically, with other forms of *conjunctura* included in the piece(s). Adequate space seems to have been left for the *conjunctura* ligatures which somewhat complicates the situation, but it is possible that they were added in later, or that the existing notation was altered at some point.

[50] By "connection", I mean perhaps establishments linked through a particular monastic order, or through contact with certain other monasteries or personnel, or dioceses, or perhaps through certain avenues of travel or trade.

the use of enlarged second letters in the text (sometimes capitalised), after the decorated initial (where present) appear in both insular and continental sources, with little to distinguish between them in terms of usage, style and number. The use of score format where the stave accolades are drawn so closely together that they appear as one large stave system of 10-15 lines is also found in both insular and continental sources, and seems to be a particularly common feature in sources of *conducti*, appearing in many of the earlier Notre-Dame sources. In insular sources, merged stave lines also appear fairly frequently in earlier miscellanies containing examples of simple polyphonic songs. However, there are a number of presentational features that appear significantly more frequently in insular sources, are unique to insular sources, or else appear in continental manuscripts but are conspicuously absent or rare in insular examples.

4.2.1 Illumination and Initials

In a few cases, both in insular and continental manuscripts, it has been possible to attribute the decoration in a music source to a particular area or scribe. For example, Sonia Patterson identified a number of common shapes and patterns within flourished initials in sources from Bury St Edmunds priory, confirming their common origin.[51] No such analysis on this level is possible to distinguish or differentiate between styles of decoration in insular and continental sources. However, some general comments might be made. As one might expect, decoration in music sources is most commonly found in the form of flourished major initials, sometimes with coloured minor initials in the text of the piece (to mark musical sections, textual verses, or the beginnings of other voice parts). In some insular (and plenty of French) sources the flourishing (particularly the filigree) of major initials extends the length of the left-hand border of the written block, and sometimes across the width of the top border, too. However, in French sources from around the mid-thirteenth century onwards, it is not uncommon to find very elaborate forms of border decoration including, for example, animals, people, floral and leafy patterns and mythical creatures.[52] Moreover, in particularly richly decorated manuscripts, such as *MO*, historiated initials and important miniatures are found regularly throughout the source (especially marking the beginnings of fascicles), often depicting biblical scenes that complement the textual themes in the music. Various continental motet books and chansonniers, in particular, are decorated this way. Significantly, however, not a single insular music source survives with any sort of historiated

[51] See Sonia Patterson, "Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts", *The Library* ser.5 27 (1972), pp. 23-30 and Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century" (B.Litt. Diss., University of Oxford, 1969).
[52] See, for example, *F-MO* H 196; *F-Pn* fr. 146; *F-Pn* fr. 846; *F-Pn* fr. 844 (on some leaves). In fact, in many instances French manuscripts contain filigree that extends from the major initial all the way down one side of the written block, at least. This is less common in insular sources.

initial, miniature, or with elaborate border decoration of the kind just described. Nowhere in the surviving insular repertory is there a source with decoration more advanced than the flourished initial.[53] As a result, the appearance of faces, animals and other depictions within the decoration is much scarcer in insular than continental sources. Only ten sources of probable insular provenance have faces in the decoration.[54] Of these, just two include animals – Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135 [*F*-Pa 135] contains the occasional fish or dog alongside faces (in the monophonic sections of the Sarum Gradual), and Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments includes, alongside several faces, what appears to be a bird of some form and, on another folio, what looks like a duck with marked vocal ambitions.[55]

The lack of border decoration, minatures and historiated initials in insular sources marks an important difference between music manuscript decoration on either side of the channel. Given the fragmentary nature of insular sources, music manuscripts or individual leaves with this sort of decoration might have simply not survived. Furthermore, initials and minatures were sometimes cut from manuscripts, particularly in the nineteenth century, for commercial or collecting purposes. However, it seems unlikely that such scenarios could account for the loss of every single example of border decoration, minature and historiated initial in insular music sources, especially since border decoration and drawings like those of *MO* are found in surviving, non-musical insular sources, particularly Breviaries, Missals and bibles, and in those containing plainchant, such as Antiphoners and Graduals.[56] Music sources of varying quality survive on the north side of the English Channel – high-quality, expensively made and purpose-built sources, and poor-quality, miscellaneous, or composite sources. London, Westminster Abbey, 33327 [*GB-Lwa* 33327] and *GB-Ob* Wood 591 are two of the most elaborately decorated, with the inclusion of gold leafing. It seems quite peculiar therefore, that neither should include border decoration as elaborate as *MO* (and others) if it existed, or was as commonly used, in insular music sources. On the other hand, historiated initials might have existed and not survived, since they tend to appear only at the openings of fascicles, and it is not unlikely that these pages are not among those that survived

[53] In non-musical insular manuscripts the use of miniatures, borders and more elaborate forms of decoration is not at all uncommon.
[54] *US-Cfm* 47-1980; *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210 (rear leaves only); *GB-LIc* 52; *GB-Ob* Hatton 81; *US-Cum* 654 app.; *US-NYpm* 978; *GB-Lwa* 33327; *F-Pa* 135; *F-Pn* lat. 11411; *GB-O*b lat. liturg. d.20/*GB-WOc* Add. 68 – Reconstruction I.
[55] See fragment xxviii 4v and *GB-Ob* lat. liturg. d. 20, 17v.
[56] See, for example, *GB-Ob* Lat. bib. e.7, a bible with select Masses, in Latin, written in Oxford, in the thirteenth century. The first half of the source is illuminated in the style of, and perhaps by, William de Brailes. Here, thick and elaborate border decoration with dragons, like that of *MO*, can be found. See also, *GB-Ob* Don. b. 5, a late fourteenth-century English Missal with elaborate border decoration, and *GB-Lbl* Arundel 157, a Psalter from St Albans c. 1240, with 20 very large minatures and eight historiated initials.

(especially since so many of the more elaborate initials have been removed over the course of time).

Apart from historiated initials, miniatures and extensive border decoration, another form of initial almost entirely absent from insular music sources is the *initale champie*. This type of initial consists of a pale-coloured or, commonly, gold-leaf letter set against a square background, which is decorated in a darker colour – generally a royal or navy blue and/or a rose coloured ink. Often there is white-coloured filigree in the background, too, and sometimes, intricate patterns are included in the design. *Initiales champies* are not found as abundantly as flourished and historiated initials, but they can be found in musical and non-musical sources alike. They are found most frequently in French sources from the turn of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century, and quite a few of the larger chansonniers and motet books employ *initiales champies* – The Roman de Fauvel, the Chansonnier du Roi and the Chansonnier Noailles, for instance, all make use of this form of decoration.[57]

Only one insular music source, probably dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, uses anything comparable to an *initiale champie*. London, Westminster Abbey, 101 [*GB-Lwa* 101] is highly fragmentary with only a single surviving folio, which is somewhat mutilated. The folio was cut into strips and used in the binding of a mid-sixteenth century book printed in Paris. Two initials are preserved, one on each side of the fragmentary folio, partially cut away. What does remain of the folio appears worn, particularly around the edges, and it would seem that some of the coloured ink has faded significantly. On the recto is an "S" initial in gold, which is set against a square background. The space outside of the "S" shape appears to have been coloured a pale red or pink, and the space inside was apparently a light blue. It seems as though some sort of infill in black ink was drawn over the blue ink, but it is too damaged to tell with any certainty (it may be that the blue ink has worn, revealing something in black ink underneath). The initial is not as well-preserved, or perhaps executed, as the surviving French examples, and no white-coloured infill has been added but, nonetheless, this initial bears a strong resemblance to *initiales champies.* The initial on the verso is much the same, except the ink survives in a better state and it is clear that the background is coloured light blue and pink. A small flourish is also visible on the top left-hand corner of the square background. Another fragment of decoration can be seen at the top of this side of the leaf. It appears to be a coloured tail-like decoration, perhaps from an initial now missing above. It is coloured blue and pale green. It is not clear whether the two surviving initials originally had tails such as this, since both of their bottom edges have been cut away. The provenance of this source is unknown, but the inclusion of what appear to be French-influenced

[57] Roman de Fauvel (*F-Pn* fr. 146); Chansonnier du Roi (*F-Pn* fr. 844); Chansonnier Noailles (*F-Pn* fr. 12615).

initials, with use of gold leafing, suggests that it was written or commissioned by a well-connected person, or large abbey.[58] *GB-Lwa* 101 may have been copied by a French scribe, but the initials appear to be an attempt at copying the French style, rather than the work of a scribe familiar with the style. It is possible that the music leaves were bound in with the new volume shortly after it was printed, perhaps in Paris or elsewhere in France. While the music seems more likely to have been English, we should perhaps consider whether it is possible that this music leaf originally came from a French source. Of course, if the book was brought back to London after purchase, or bought in London, and then bound, the leaf could have been added from an insular source.

There are a few particularly unusual forms of initial preserved in insular sources. Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments contains, at the top of fragment xiir, an initial marking the beginning of the *triplum* of the partially preserved motet *Ut recreentur coelitus/……./ Secundus tenor/…….* . The initial itself, an "E", is surrounded by a square of black ink, infilled. The letter is not coloured at all, but rather has purposely been left as plain parchment, with a few plain parchment filigrees extending into the black surround. Around the outside of the black square surround is very modest red filigree, and the letter has been decorated with red dots. This is the only surviving initial of this sort in Reconstruction I, in the rest of the Worcester Fragments, or in the remainder of the extant thirteenth and early fourteenth-century insular repertory. Equally, some of the initials preserved in Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 925 [*F-TO* 925] – a source that undoubtedly preserves music from the insular repertory, but whose provenance is questionable – are unusual by insular standards. They consist of very narrow letters surrounded by bottom-heavy, narrow, teardrop-like-shaped filigree. The filigree is fairly simple and modest, and the letters themselves are plainly coloured. No other insular music source of the same period contains initials of this specific sort. This might be considered part of an argument for non-insular origin, but it is not clear whether there are similarly styled initials preserved elsewhere.

4.2.2 Empty Stave Decoration

Although insular music manuscripts do not share many of the decorative features included in French sources of the same period, there is a particular form of decoration that appears to be almost uniquely insular – decorative figures inserted into the spare space in unused staves (for

[58] The host manuscript is a mid-sixteenth century printed book (printed in Paris). It was given to the library by William Latymer, Dean of Peterborough, 1559-1583, and Prebendary of Westminster, 1560-1583 (d. 1583). He was a well-connected man, serving as chaplain to both Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth I. The manuscript probably came from his personal collection in his house at Westminster. Nothing further is known of its origin, however. See Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, RISM B/IV/1-2 supp., pp. 60-61.

instance, at the end of a voice part). It is certainly scarcely found, with only 10 surviving insular examples, but yet a systematic search of French *ars antiqua* sources has revealed only a single example.[59] In insular sources stave decorations generally consist of a large shape, which is made up of a pattern of much smaller shapes, with no apparent intended meaning. For example, in *GB-AB* 22857E on f. 4r, the tenor part *Regnum tuum* ends half way along the final stave system on the page. The remainder of the staves are filled with two decorative patterns that consists of black, breve-shaped squares arranged in a large diamond shape, and with a small diamond consisting of just four breve shapes in the middle (see figure 4. 10). They are decorated with green and red ink, and black, green and red vertical lines separate the two diamonds from one another and from the previous notation.[60] In some cases it is possible that the patterns were drawn later, some time after the notation (perhaps, for instance, in *GB-Onc* 362), but in most cases the ink colours suggest that they were executed along with the rest of the contents of the folio(s). The Chansonnier du Roi sometimes includes decoration in the blank space under staves, after the text has finished and as part of the textual line, but there is no decoration on the staves themselves. The Madrid Codex, a Spanish-made manuscript transmitting the Notre-Dame repertory, has one decorated double-bar line on an empty stave, but this does not really compare to the stave decoration in insular sources, which rarely performs any sort of notational function.[61]

Figure 4.10: Empty stave decoration in *GB-AB* 22857 (E) – *Image removed: embargoed*

[59] *GB-AB* 22857E; *GB-Cgc* 512/543; *GB-Cjec* QB1; *GB-DRc* C.I.20; *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210; *GB-LIc* 52; *GB-Ob* e mus. 7; *GB-Onc* 362; *S-U* C.233; and in an unknown number of the original sources that together form the Worcester Fragments.

[60] Only *GB-Cjec* QB1 (Frag. A) and *S-U* C.233 have decoration that serves a notational function. Both include decoration of the vertical lines that are used to indicate the end of a piece or voice part.

[61] See f. 138r of *Ma*.

The only source where a comparable form of decoration can be found is the Montpellier Codex, where it appears in just two compositions (nos 296 and 297). Decoration is written in the spare stave space at the end of the *triplum* and *motetus* parts of *MO* 296 (*L'autre jour me chevauchoie / L'autrier joiant et joli doi compaignon / Vilain, lieve sus o*) and in an entirely blank accolade of staves after the *triplum* and *motetus* of *MO* 297 (*Diex! Comment puet li cuers durer / Vo vair oel m'ont espris, bele / Tenor*), above the end of the tenor part. The design is the same on all three occasions, consisting of a geometric shape (rather similar to the silhouette of a person) made up of a number of small breve-like shapes. That the only instance of this type of decoration in a continental source should be found in the 8th fascicle of *MO* is particularly interesting. Handschin, Sanders and others have discussed the possibility of English influence upon certain compositions in the codex, and even the possibility that some of the pieces are of English origin.[62] Much of their discussion has focused on the 4th, 7th and 8th fascicles *MO*, and the most frequently analysed pieces in terms of insular origin are *MO* 339-341, in the 8th fascicle. Perhaps the use of an otherwise exclusively insular form of decoration in fascicle 8 is further evidence of English influence. However, the two compositions that include this stave decoration (296-7) are French double motets and neither composition has featured in discussions of insular influence and origin. Had this form of decoration been applied to pieces such as *Balaam inquit vaticinans* (no. 340), found later in the fascicle, there might be more grounds to suggest that the decoration had been copied from an insular exemplar, by an insular scribe, or was simply symptomatic of insular influence. That it appears in two French motets, one of which (296) shares concordances with four other continental sources, casts significant doubt upon this theory. Moreover, one textual scribe, and probably one notational scribe were responsible for the copying of all of the 8th fascicle.[63] It is somewhat of a mystery as to why stave decoration is found here, but in only three instances. Further analysis and study would be required in order to attempt to clarify this issue, but it may be that an answer is not forthcoming.

4.2.3 Melisma Decoration and Stave Separation Lines

Two other types of decoration are found commonly in insular sources: melisma decoration and stave separation lines. Melisma decoration is by no means an exclusively insular decorative tool – it occurs in manuscripts from across Europe, and was almost certainly a feature carried over from the decoration and presentation of chant manuscripts. It often consists simply of a wavy line between syllables of a word, or between words, in the space usually taken with the text

[62] See Handschin, "The Summer Canon and its Background", and Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century".
[63] With thanks to Sean Curran for sharing his current research on this fascicle with me.

underneath the stave line, and when more than one note or ligature is sung to a syllable. Generally, the wavy line is drawn in the same colour(s) as the ink(s) used for flourishing the initials. However, sometimes the decoration is more elaborate, with various chains and patterns found across the sources (see figure 4.10). Perhaps surprisingly, melisma decoration in French and Notre-Dame sources is almost three times less common – just 9 French or Notre-Dame sources contain melisma decoration, in comparison with 26 insular sources (plus an unknown number of original sources in the Worcester Fragments). Moreover, on the whole, the designs and patterns used for melisma decoration in French and Notre-Dame are not as elaborate as those found in some insular sources. Interestingly, in fact, the only sources that include a range of ornate melisma decorations are the Las Huelgas Codex and the Montpellier Codex.[64] Although Las Huelgas contains Notre-Dame repertory, it was written in Spain, and is therefore one of the few peripheral sources of central works. It is also later than the main Notre-Dame sources, and includes later motets and concordances with the Montpellier Codex, too. The melisma decoration found in the Montpellier Codex is mostly in fascicle 5. The three-part *In seculum* setting that opens fascicle 5, in particular, includes melisma decoration that is elaborate, and comparable to the examples found in insular sources. Colourful designs such as chain patterns, waves, patterned squares and chains of fish-like shapes all feature on this single folio (f. 111), and all closely resemble designs found in insular sources. Perhaps melisma decoration is more common in peripherally made manuscripts, or perhaps it is found more often in later sources, such as motet books and chansonniers. A much more widespread search of surviving sources from across Europe would be necessary to investigate further. However, of the French and Notre Dame sources currently under consideration, it might be fair to say that melisma decoration is more common in later sources (often well-executed motet books and chansonniers) since the majority of sources with extant examples probably originate from the second half of the thirteenth-century and into the early fourteenth century.[65]

Figure 4.11: Melisma decoration in *GB-Ctc* O.2.1 – *Image removed: embargoed*

[64] *E-BUlh* s/n and *F-MO* H 196.
[65] Although, two sources date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively, and chansonniers and motet books are not particularly common, so surviving examples are not abundant.

Horizontal lines between staves, presumably with the function of visibly separating staves when in score notation, are found in 12 insular,[66] and five French or continental sources.[67] Of the 12 insular sources, two are not of definite insular origin.[68] With such a small difference between the numbers of sources using this feature, it seems unlikely that provenance has much to do with its inclusion in a source. Interestingly, all five of the French or continental sources are peripheral and early (mostly pre-1200), and it seems likely that lines to separate individual group of staves in score were an early invention to aid the reading of unfamiliar, and relatively new polyphonic notation and score format. To some extent, the same is true of the insular sources that use this feature. Six of the twelve sources mostly likely date from the very beginning of the thirteenth century (perhaps even the late twelfth century in some cases). Three are service books and three are miscellanies, and all contain unmeasured notation, some in stroke notation or neumes. All six sources contain one polyphonic piece preserved alongside monophony.

Of the remaining six sources, one is probably from the mid-thirteenth-century and the other five appear to date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Four of these six sources are also service books or miscellanies, with just two sources that appear as though they

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[66] *F-Pn* 25408; *GB-BER* Sel. roll 55; *GB-Lbl* Add. 28598; *GB-Lbl* Add. 36929; *GB-Lbl* Harley 524; *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1580; *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 892; *GB-Occ* 134; *GB-Lbl* Add. 50120; *S-U* C.233; *F-Pn* 11411; *US- NYpm* 978.
[67] *F-Pn* lat. 3549; *GB-Lbl* Add. 36881; *CH-SGS* 383; *E-CO* s.s.; *I-RVat* Rossi 205.
[68] *F-Pn* 11411 may be a French source (see Dittmer, *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts IV: Paris 13521 and 11411* (1959); Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/1, pp. 414-416), and *S-U* C.233 may be either Scottish or Norse (see Rev. J Beveridge, "Two Scottish Thirteenth Century Songs' *Music & Letters,* Vol. 20 (1939), pp. 352-364 and Helen Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources, 1150-1300: An Edition of the Surviving Songs in British Manuscript Sources Dated Between c.1150 and 1300, Many of them Only Recently Discovered, and Over Half Never Before Edited,* Musica Britannica Vol. 95, (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013), pp. 159-160).

are from purpose-built books of polyphony (they contain several polyphonic compositions in measured notation, and no monophony). All of the other 10 sources contain just one or two pieces of polyphony alongside monophony (with the exception of Berkeley Castle, Castle Archive, select roll 55 [*GB-BER* Select roll 55], which has four pieces of polyphony), and it could be that the use of wavy lines to separate parts in score in these cases was firstly to distinguish the piece as different from the monophony, and secondly to help to clarify how to read the notation in polyphonic format. There is no other obvious function. In service books and miscellanies, polyphony is much less common, and so scribes may have felt it necessary to be particularly clear. It is interesting to note that although the two later sources employ measured notation, and partly measured notation, all of the others are unmeasured. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that, for the most part, wavy (or otherwise) horizontal lines used to separate staves in score are most common in early miscellaneous or service manuscripts, which preserve one or two pieces of polyphony alongside monophony.

In some sources, vertical lines have been drawn through all of the staves of pieces in score in order, presumably, to clarify the alignment of the notation and the text. This bears no particular relation to the use of horizontal lines, and is found almost equally as commonly in both French and insular sources. Almost all of the sources, French, continental and insular, date from before 1200 or from very early in the thirteenth century, and only three sources (out of 23) might date from as late as the mid- or late-thirteenth century. Clearly then, vertical lines of alignment are a feature most commonly found in earlier sources. However, it is not always clear whether the lines are contemporary with the rest of the notation, and it is quite possible that they were added at some time later in the life of the manuscript. Indeed, this may even be the case with the three later, anomalous sources mentioned above. Regardless, it is clear that this feature cannot be attributed to a geographical area or particular style.

4.2.4 Mis-en-page

In general, the scribe's choice of layout for each leaf or fascicle is influenced by the intended contents; literary, musical or otherwise. Throughout the medieval period, scribes experimented with the layout and ruling of manuscripts in order to find the most efficient, practical and aesthetically pleasing methods for copying an array of different contents, many with different presentational requirements – service books, glosses, commentaries, music, theoretical writing, etc.. Polyphonic music is most commonly found written in a single written block, across the page, but it is not uncommon to find monophony, especially chant, written in two columns since the literary contents of service books are so often copied in this way. Therefore some polyphonic additions to service books are presented in two columns. The same is true of some

polyphony included in miscellanies, when the music is copied to conform to the two-column format of the other contents of the source.

Two-column writing is also frequently found in French thirteenth-century motet books and chansonniers. In fact, some of the most significant surviving sources of these genres, and of this period, are copied in this way (see, for example, the Roman de Fauvel (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 146) and the Montpellier Codex (*F-MO* H. 196)). The reason for choosing this format for motets is not difficult to surmise. Motets commonly feature different texts for different voice parts. As a result, the use of score format would be inappropriate, as it would inevitably result in a somewhat chaotic mass of text and notation. Equally, copying in separate parts, one after the other across the page, is not the most practical means of reading and performing the piece, which would cover at least a whole opening, and possibly more. Copying in two columns allows the performers of each part not only to follow the entire piece from one folio, but it allows each voice part to follow the polyphony in other parts, as well as the textual phrasing, which is useful given that there is often interplay, musically and textually, between parts in motets. Ease of use in performance may also explain why chansonniers were copied in this way. Even a brief search through thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century French sources reveals that 31 are arranged in a two-column format. Of these, at least 17 appear to have been purpose-built books of polyphony, where the scribe was essentially free to choose the mise-en-page. Many are trouvère chansonniers, motet volumes, or large volumes of polyphony.

Conversely, two-column writing in insular sources of polyphony is extremely rare. Of the extant sources from the "long thirteenth century", only seven contain polyphony written in two columns. Of these seven sources, the polyphony in one – London, British Library, Additional 28598 [*GB-Lbl* Add. 28598] – has been likened to that of two German sources, potentially casting some doubt upon its origin.[69] However, the main the codex is a Sarum Missal undoubtedly from England, and Lefferts feels that the polyphony on f. 14r. "was directly entered in the main hand", which must therefore have been English. He suggests that it may have been copied at York.[70] Of the other six examples, just two clearly came from purpose-built books of polyphony that employed a two-column format, at least in part (*GB-Lwa* 33327 and Cambridge, St John's College, 23 [B.1] [*GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1]]). Both fragments appear to have belonged to larger manuscripts, possibly motet books, whose format and presentation was influenced by a continental presentational style. Certainly, *GB-Lwa* 33327 consists of both insular and continental motets, suggesting exposure to an exemplar, which may well have been presented in the typical

[69] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, pp. 515-6.
[70] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*, Faculty Publications: School of Music. Paper 45 (2012) http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/musicfacpub/45.

continental motet book style. All of the other four manuscripts only employ a two-column mise-en-page for a single composition, or folio.[71]

The standard format for two-column writing in continental sources is to present an entire piece on a single side of a folio. The *triplum* occupies the first column, the *motetus* is copied into the second column, and the tenor is copied across the bottom of the page. It seems strange that insular scribes did not make use of this format more often, especially given the large number of motet-like compositions in the repertory (although chansons and trouvere songs are not found in insular sources from this period). Perhaps insular scribes were, for the most part, unfamiliar with two-column writing, or perhaps they simply preferred to write polyphony in a single written block. However, the relative rarity of two-column writing in sources of insular polyphony may also be due to the fact that insular motets are typically distinct from continental motets in character and compositional design.[72] Whereas the majority of continental motets are written for three parts, insular composers wrote a much higher proportion of four-part compositions.[73] Continental use of the two-column format for three-part compositions seems very appropriate, and it could be applied to an entire manuscript or fascicle(s) of two- and three-part motets. But a two-column format is not practical for copying insular four-part motets. Although an alternative four-part format is used in *F-MO* H. 196, fascicle 2, which consists of four-part motets arranged in four vertical columns across an entire opening (the largest single collection of surviving continental four-part motets), the infrequency with which four-part pieces appear in other continental sources suggests that insular composers and copyists may never have seen a continental four-part exemplar of this sort.

Certainly, the scribe of *GB-Lwa* 33327 does not seem to have been familiar with the four-column format used for the continental four-part compositions in *F-MO* H. 196. There are eight motets preserved on the bifolium. The scribe has successfully copied the final, three-part continental motet, *Psallat chorus in novo carmine/ Eximie pater, egregie rector/ [T. Aptatur]*, into

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[71] *GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1] only uses two-column format on the recto of the single remaining folio and *GB-Ob* Bodley 343 only for the polyphonic sequence (no. 2). *F-Pn* fonds fr. 11411, a source which may be insular or French in origin, only uses a two-column format in the final composition on the extant folios, and the miscellany *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248 has four compositions copied on folios with a two-column layout (nos 1, 2, 3 and 12). The music in this source is undoubtedly copied in adherence with the layout of the other items in the source, but it should be noted that although four pieces are copied on pages arranged in a two-column format, only numbers 2 and 3 are actually copied in both columns. Numbers 1 and 12 only inhabit one of the two columns on their respective folios.

[72] There are no extant chansons in insular manuscripts from this period.

[73] Not only do these insular motets vastly outnumber continental motets in four parts, but they generally behave very differently, too. Rather than writing for three upper parts and a single tenor, more often, insular composers wrote for equal forces with two parts acting as upper parts and two tenors. See pp.

the typical two-column continental format.[74] However, he has also attempted to fit the previous seven four-part insular compositions into the same format. The result is that the *quartus cantus* is forced into the only available space after the upper parts and above the tenor (see figure 4.12 below) – often written partly in the columns (especially, for instance, if one of the two upper parts takes up more space in one column than the other), and partly across the page (when the column with less content has been filled to the same level as the other, fuller column). This is neither a practical way to read the music (although the high quality of *GB-Lwa* 33327 suggests that it was not designed for performance use), nor does it look as neat, legible and attractive as the three-part composition copied in the standard continental format on f. 2v of the same source. Given that the cost of producing such a beautifully decorated and high quality manuscript would have been very high indeed, we might assume that, had the scribe been aware of a more aesthetically pleasing and efficient manner of copying the four-part pieces, he would probably have employed it here. The two-column copying format for three-part pieces is not really appropriate for four-part composition, so it is not surprising that very few three-part insular motets are copied this way either. With the popularity of four-part motets in insular sources and the likelihood that, at least in a complete original source, there would have been three- and four-part motets preserved alongside one another (not necessarily in different fascicles), it would be impractical to use a format for one that could not neatly be applied to the other. A change of format from score to parts on a single folio is not uncommon in insular sources, but a change from a single written block to two columns would appear extremely chaotic.

Figure 4.12: The mis-en-page of *GB-Lwa* 33327, f.2r – *Image removed: embargoed*

[74] This composition is also found in: *F-MO* H.196, f. 98v (no. 51); *D-BAs* lit. 115 (no. 30); *D-DS* 882 (no. 4); *E-BUlh* s/n (no. 102); *F-Pn* fr. 11411 (no. 5). It is likely that the final three-part motet was followed by other three-part motets, possibly also of French origin, in the original source.

In the case of *GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1], the remains of four motets are preserved on a single folio, cut and folded and inserted into another manuscript as a flyleaf. Only two voice parts of each piece survive, and Andrew Wathey feels that all four compositions originally consisted of four parts.[75] The arrangement of the columns and voices on the page is much different to both the usual continental column format appropriate for three-part pieces, and the attempts to squeeze four-parts into that same format in *GB-Lwa* 33327. The mise-en-page of *GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1] also does not resemble the four-part, four-column-per-opening format of *F-MO* H. 196, fascicle 2. Instead, the columns are uneven. The wider of the two columns contains the upper parts, written in *cum littera* mensural notation, and with text underlaid, which naturally requires more space on the page. In the narrower column are the two lower parts written in ligatures and mostly textless apart from some incipits. The surviving fragment has been cut away significantly, and the recto of what remains has the contents of a page from the host source offset on the music, which make it less legible. However, it seems that this source is the only surviving example of a scribe attempting to adapt the two-column format for the neat and legible copying of four-part motets, and it works rather efficiently. The format for the four-part motets in fascicle 2 of *MO* is two columns per page, one piece per opening, with each of the four voices in the four columns.

[75] Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, RISM B/IV/1-2 supp., pp. 15-16.

However, they are evenly spaced columns, and as a result the column for the tenor part is sparsely notated and half empty, and it seems a waste of space (although wastage was clearly not important to the scribes of the wide-margined *MO*).

Later in *MO*, though, in fascicle 7, some motets are copied with two columns per side of each folio, but with the second column narrower than the first. The first motet in this fascicle, *S'Amours eust point de poer /ie men deusse bien aperceuoir/Au renouueler du ioli tans mestuet co[m]* (the music by Petrus de Cruce) is written with the wider column used only for the *triplum*, and the narrower column occupied by the *motetus*, for the most part, with the tenor occupying the last one or two systems of that column for each side of the relevant folios. The *triplum* occupies significantly more space than the other parts because the *motetus* text is around a third of the length of the *triplum* text and the tenor is untexted.[76] In this case, then, the format has been adjusted to suit the length of the *triplum* text in relation to the other parts. The following composition (*Aucun ont troveit chan par usage / Lonc tens me sui tenus de chanteir / Annuntiantes*) is copied in the same way, except that on the final folio (275r) the remainder of the tenor occupies two stave lines in the *triplum* column, with only the *motetus* in the second column. In this case, too, the *triplum* text is by far the longest, with a *motetus* around half of its length. One further complete composition is written in this style (*J'ai mis tote ma penseie lonc tens en amur / Je n'en puis mais se je ne chans sovent / Puerorum caterva*), and it also has a *triplum* text that is around three times the length of the *motetus* (although this piece is not by Petrus de Cruce). The following composition, *Entre Copin et Borgoi, Hanikot et Charlot / Je me quidoie tenir desoresmais de chanteir / Belle Izabelos m'at mort, belle Izabelos,* is copied in uneven columns for the first two folios, with the scribe changing to equal columns part way through. After this composition, unequal columns are found only sporadically throughout the remainder of the manuscript.

Whether a consequence of the high proportion of four-part motet-like compositions in insular sources or not, the use of a two-column format is very rare in insular sources of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Since a fair number of the continental sources with a two-column format appear to have been written towards the end of the "long thirteenth century", we might argue that the insular appropriation of this style occurred later. However, a review of the extant sources of the period proves this not to be the case, since no purpose-built polyphonic sources from the mid- to late- fourteenth century appear in a two-column format.

[76] See Tischler, *The Montpellier Codex: Texts and Translations*, p. 82.

4.3 Four-Part Composition

It is difficult to quantify exactly how frequently four-part writing was employed in insular composition. A vast amount of polyphony has been lost and only a few scattered leaves survive, at best, from sources that appear to have originally been several hundred pages long. As a result, a significant portion of the pieces in the extant repertory are fragmentary and the original number of voices cannot be ascertained. However, it is possible to gain a sense of the popularity of four-part writing by comparing the proportion of identifiable four-part pieces in insular sources to those in French sources, which generally survive in a much better condition. The proportionally larger repertory of four-part motets in the extant insular repertory (compared to the extant French repertory) has already been discussed above.[77] Given that many of the sources associated with the Notre-Dame school survive in an almost complete condition, and a number of large chansonniers and motet volumes are similarly in tact, it is particularly revealing that there are significantly fewer four-part compositions surviving in French sources, and fewer sources contain music in four parts.

Just fewer than 60 insular four-part compositions (of any genre) survive in approximately 20 original sources.[78] The vast majority of these compositions are motets, but there are also troped chant settings, and motet-like troped chant settings. All of these sources are highly fragmentary. In fact, if all of the surviving folios from all of the 20 insular sources containing four-part compositions are added together, there are only 63 fragmentary folios remaining, plus around 65 fragmentary folios in what remains of the sources that constitute the Worcester Fragments. We might only imagine how many folios there originally were in each case, but suffice to say that for each surviving four-part composition there may have been several more that have been lost. The situation on the continent is somewhat different. Despite the survival of several large manuscripts in near complete condition, only nine manuscripts contain four-part compositions, of which there are only 30 in total.[79] These nine sources with just 30 four-part compositions constitute over 1600 folios when added together, compared to just 63 fragmentary

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[77] See pp. 66-67.

[78] 18 of the 20 sources mentioned are distinct and discreet. However, the remaining 2 represent the 11 compositions found in the Worcester Fragments. The folios on which these 11 pieces are found are from two original sources.

[79] One of these nine sources is the St Andrews source W_1. The inclusion of this source with continental manuscripts in this case is due to the fact that fascicles 1-10 contain (apart from additions to ends of fascicles) repertory solely from the Notre-Dame school. Only fascicle 11 and the other additions are insular, and none of these compositions is in four parts. The single four-part composition in W_1 is a *clausula* with concordances in *F*, W_2, and *Ma*. As a result, it makes more sense in this context to discuss the source along with the continental manuscripts, despite the fact that it was copied in Scotland, and should normally be considered an insular source.

folios containing 58 four-part pieces in the insular repertory.[80] As in insular sources, the majority of the pieces are motets, but there are also some *organa* and *clausulae*. While there are surely manuscripts that have been lost over time, and there are other sources that have not survived in such a well-preserved state, it seems unlikely that a vast number of existing continental four-part pieces have been lost.

While there is a need to be cautious about assuming too much in terms of the music that has not survived to the present day, the above figures undoubtedly demonstrate the popularity of four-part composition in what now constitutes Great Britain. Furthermore, they suggest a convincing disparity between the numbers of four-part compositions composed insularly and on the continent. It does not, therefore, seem incautious to suggest that four-part composition was significantly more popular insularly, and that it therefore might be considered a legitimate facet of an insular style. When we consider the differences in the way a large proportion of these pieces are composed, compared to their continental counterparts, it seems clear that a uniquely insular four-part style emerged towards the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.[81]

4.4 *Rondellus* and Voice Exchange

Rondellus and voice exchange are techniques that appears to be closely linked, but it is not clear whether whether *rondellus* and voice exchange are actually synonymous terms used to describe the same technique, or whether they are two techniques that would have been considered distinct from one another. If the latter, there is no clear evidence for where one technique ends and the other begins. In modern scholarship, both terms are used interchangeably and in different ways by different scholars. Unfortunately, the only surviving contemporary literature where *rondellus* is discussed – Walter of Evesham's *De speculatione musicae* – does not help to clarify the situation.

There are various ways in which composers chose to share and exchange melodic material between parts. We are used to discussing them now in terms of voice exchange, *rondellus*, or both. However, the confusion regarding these terms and their meanings overshadows discussions of the varieties and methods of exchange. In order to understand either term, it is important to first establish the range of extant exchange techniques independent of terminology. Exchange appears most commonly in motets and troped chant settings, and could be applied to any

[80] Non-music folios are not included in this figure, and the folios in W_1 containing (solely) insular additions have also been omitted along with the entire eleventh fascicle.
[81] See pp. 66-67 for a discussion of the insular style of composing for four-parts.

polyphonic composition regardless of the number of voices. Two-part compositions use the simplest form of exchange, and are generally constructed as follows:

Figure 4.13: Two-part exchange structure

DU: A B C D…

T : B A D C…

Sometimes, periods of exchange are interspersed with periods where no exchanges take place, creating an episodic exchange structure. Sometimes the sections in the overall structure coincide with changes between *sine* and *cum littera* writing.

Three-part exchanges can take a variety of forms. In the simplest form, three-part exchanges are expanded versions of the two-part exchange example above.

Figure 4.14: Three-part exchange structure

TR: A B C

DU: B C A

T: C A B

This, too, might be part of a larger structure where sections of exchange are aligned or interspersed with syllabic and melismatic writing. In some cases, the music of the exchanges is melismatic (textless), occasionally it is fully texted, and sometimes one of the phrases only carries the text (see figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15: Texted three-part exchange structure (* indicated a texted part)

TR: A* B C

DU: B C A*

T: C A* B

An excellent example of the complex structural workings of three-part exchange pieces of this nature is the *conductus Salve mater misericordie*.[82] Its structure is arranged as follows:

Figure 4.16: The exchanges in *Salve mater misericordie* (*GB-Occ* 489/9, f. 1v; *GB-Ob* Wood 591, ff. 1-1v)

Texted homophonic opening

Melismatic exchange section (2 complete rounds of 1 group of melodies):

c b a c b a'

b a c b a c'

a c b a c b'

Texted exchange section (2 groups of melodies):

f *d e i* g h

e f* d h i* g

d e f* g h i*

Short cauda (no exchange)

Fully-texted exchange section (same text in all parts at all times). Only 2 melodies – not a full round:

l k'

k j'

j l'

Melismatic exchange section (2 complete rounds of 1 group of melodies, plus 1 extra statement):

o n m o n m o

n m o n m o n

[82] See Appendix G.9 for an edition of this piece. See Appendix B for another example of a particularly complex *rondellus* composition.

m o n m o n m

Short cauda (no exchange)

Although the structural use of exchange is very common, there are compositions that almost entirely consist of exchanges. An example of this is *Stella Maris nuncaparis/ Stella Maris nuncaparis/ Stella Maris nuncaparis*, from *US-Cum* 654 app.:[83]

Figure 4.17: Exchanges in *Stella Maris nuncaparis*

Staggered, imitative entries (1 perfection apart)

Texted exchange from 2nd perfection (first note of Du and before T begins) – 2 rounds:

c a b c' a' b'

b c a b' c' a'

a b c a' b' c'

Short homophonic texted *cum littera* passage

Texted exchange, consisting of three groups of melodies, the second of which is stated twice:

f d e I g h I g h' I j k

e f d h I g h' I g k I j

d e f g h I g h' I j k I

Short homophonic *cum littera* passage.

However, complete and cyclic exchange between all parts is not the only means by which exchange is applied to compositions in three parts. Instead of a rule of three, some are constructed around a rule of two. The two upper parts exchange pairs of phrases, while the tenor complements each pair with a single phrase repeated, like so:[84]

Figure 4.18: Exchanges in upper parts over multiple, repeated phrases in the tenor

[83] f. 2v. For an edition of this piece see Appendix G.5.
[84] For example, see *Ex-, excelsus in numine tue/ Be-, benedictus dominus universitatis/ Tenor* from *GB-Onc* 362, no. 6.

TR: a b c d e f

DU: b a d c f e

T : A A B B C C

In this instance, there are still three individual phrases per group, but they are not exchanged between all parts. Instead, two-fold exchanges in the upper parts are supported by repeating, different phrases in the tenor. Despite a different form of exchange, these pieces, like the three-fold exchange compositions, may also use exchange as part of a larger overall structure. Sometimes just a single section of exchange appears, often functioning as a climactic end section, or sometimes several exchange sections are interspersed with sections of *sine* or *cum littera* writing. Exchanges may be texted or untexted, too. In a small number of cases, though, the tenor simply repeats the same musical phrase underneath each and every pair of exchanges in the upper parts:[85]

Figure 4.19: Exchanges in upper parts over a single, repeated phrase in the tenor

b a d c f e h g

a b c d e f g h

A A A A A A A A

In a few cases, the two above forms of three-part exchange are mixed within a single composition. Typically, these pieces are some of the most structurally complex of all exchange compositions. *In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terris* (*US-Cum* 654 app., no. 4; WF no. 93) provides an excellent example.[86]

Figure 4.20: Structure of *In excelsis gloria, in terris*

Melismatic two-fold exchange (*sine littera*) with a repeated tenor:

b a

a b

[85] For example, see *Virgo regalis fidei/pes*, WF no. 12 (Recon. I), a three-part motet from fragment XXVIII 1v of the Worcester Fragments. Only two voices survive, but the third can be reconstructed through the exchanges between upper parts. The repeating tenor is labeled "*Pes*" in the source.

[86] See Appendix G.4 for an edition of this piece.

A A

Texted homophonic section

Texted three-fold exchange (with unusual text distribution):

e d c

d c e

c e d

Short texted homophonic section

Melismatic three-fold exchange (*sine littera*):

h f g

g h f

f g h

Texted homophonic section

Texted three-fold exchange (2 groups of phrases):

k l j n l m

j k l m n l

l j k l m n

Short homophonic texted ending.

Whilst each of the five pieces that mix these different forms of exchange do so in a uniquely interesting manner, all contain similar sections and structural composition.[87] Exchanges applied to four-part compositions in insular sources are probably the most varied of all. However, one form common to both two- and three-part compositions is conspicuously absent from compositions in four parts. There are no instances of complete and cyclic exchanges of all phrases between all

[87] The other four compositions are: [*Quem trina polluit*]*…orbum domino../..veri iudicio...* in *GB-DRu* Bamburgh sel. 13, no. 1 & WF no. 69; *Christi cara mater, ave* in *US-Cum* 654 app., no. 10; *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus* in *GB-Ob* Rawlinson C. 400*, no. 7 (Fragment B) (see Appendix G.10 for an edition of this piece); *Ka-; Karisma conserat a patre* in *GB-Onc* 362, no. 14 (see Appendix G.7 for an edition of this piece).

parts. In a handful of cases, exchange consists of two pairs of voices exchanging material. This form of exchange complements the four-part writing in equal forces that is common in insular motets, with two lower parts acting against two upper parts. *Ave, miles celentis curie/ Ave, rex patrone patrie/ T. Ave, rex [gentis]/ Tenor ii* (*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, no. 8) provides a good example of this sort of exchange structure:

Figure 4.21: Double voice exchange in four-part writing

Tr: A 1' B II' C III'

Du: 1 A II B III C

Q: i a ii b iii c etc..

T: a i' b ii' c iii'

This is not symptomatic of all four-part exchange, though. Some four-part pieces do not strictly exchange material between parts, but rather repeat sections with entire parts swapped (*triplum* becomes *motetus*, and *motetus* become *triplum*; tenor becomes *quartus cantus* and *quartus cantus* becomes tenor).[88] However, this exchange is perhaps more comparable with exchanges used in polyphonic sequences than the techniques of voice exchange and *rondellus*.

A solis, A solis ortus cardine latentem/ Tenor ("recita") from *GB-Ob* Hatton 81 is uniquely different to the two examples above.[89] It is an extended, four-part version of the form of many three-part exchange pieces, whereby two upper parts exchange over a repeating, often patterned, tenor. The fourth part acts as a second tenor, repeating different musical phrases under each of the upper part exchanges, but without exchanging any material with the tenor:

Figure 4.22: An extended version of voice exchange over a repeating tenor for four-part pieces

TR: a b c d

MO: b a d c

QC: A A C C

[88] See, for example, *Virgo Maria patrem parit/ O stela marina nos a/ Virgo Maria, flos divina/ Flos genuit regina qui* (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, no.3 and *GB-Cpc* 228) and *Tu civium primas per imperium/ O cuius vita fulsit ita/ Tu celestium primas civium/ Congaudens super te fundata* (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, no.4).
[89] No. 1, f. 1r.

T: B B D D

Not all exchanges in four-part compositions involve all four parts. One composition in *GB-Onc* 362, *O homo depulvere, surge, propere/ O homo, considera que vite/ Filie Ierusalem/ Quartus [cantus],* has two upper parts that exchange material, with different, repeated tenor phrases under each exchange (like *A solis ortus cardine*). However, the *quartus cantus* is not involved in the exchanges, and does not mirror the tenor part either. Instead, it consists only of a series of similar melodies and rhythms. This might indicate that the piece has been reworked from a three- into a four-part composition, with the additional part inspired by the pre-existing material, but this is purely speculation. The fact that *GB-Onc* 362 also preserves one of the few early *solus* tenor motets, with the option for three- or four-part performance, might add weight to this theory, however.

There are two four-part pieces that only employ exchange in two parts – between the tenor and *quartus cantus*, or the *triplum* and *motetus*. However, *Ovet mundus letabundus..... Ante partum virgo mansit mater/ Ovet mundus letabundus....Ante partum/ Quadruplex/ Tenor* (*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, no. 2) only employs exchanges in the two upper parts between repeated sections. In other words, individual phrases are not exchanged in turn but, rather, the *triplum* and *motetus* material from each section is swapped upon repeat. We might not, therefore, consider this piece to employ a strict exchange technique. Equally, *Triumphat hodie Christi miles/ Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme/ T. [Si que la nuit vus preigne]* (*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, no. 7; *GB-Onc* 362, no. 3), which includes exchanges between the lower parts, may have also included exchanges in the upper parts. If this were the case, the piece should be considered a double exchange piece (see above). Unfortunately, in both sources the *motetus* is fragmentary and not enough remains to determine whether it includes exchanges of material with the *triplum*. In any case, the two lower parts exchange a *cantus prius factus* from French secular song, with the form a a b b a a b b a a. New material is also included in the exchange:

Figure 4.23: Exchanges in *Triumphat hodie Christi miles*

T1: i a ii b

T2: a i b ii

As well as the above listed compositions, which include various forms of strict exchange, there are a number of other compositions that include exchange and interplay between parts, but not according to the rigid structures usually applied in strict exchange techniques. *Barrabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitur in merito/ Babilonis flumina* (*GB-DRu* C.I.20, 6; *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11; *GB-BER* Select roll 55, 4) is described by Harrison in *Polyphonic music of the Fourteenth Century* as a "flexibly-constructed *rondellus*-motet".[90] However, the use of the term "*rondellus*" to describe this three-part motet seems to overstate the case, somewhat. The tenor is formed of three isorhythmic *talea*, repeated twice in full and then once to the end of the first *talea*. There is an obvious relationship between the two upper parts, with use of interplay, imitation, repetition and some exchange. However, there is no formal structure to this dialogue between voices, and the piece cannot be described as using a strict exchange technique. Equally, *Thomas gemma Cantuarie/ Thomas cesus in Doveria/ T./ T.* (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 6; WF no. 67; *US-PRu* Garrett 119, 4) has a repetitive nature, but does not include strict isorhythms. Lefferts describes the piece as "an irregularly proportioned, five-section form framed by a short introduction and a coda and subdivided by a hocketing refrain", but the material in the two upper parts is certainly similar and their relationship is repetitive.[91]

While it is relatively easy to observe and outline the various forms of exchange in the surviving insular repertory, trying to interpret them in terms of contemporary perception, terminology and theory is much more challenging. Sanders refers to *rondellus* as a technique only applied to three-part compositions, either by way of a complete three-part exchange, or two-part voice-exchange with a repeated tenor part.[92] His description seems to imply that he considers voice exchange to be different from *rondellus*, but that it forms an integral part of *rondellus* technique ("The technique [*rondellus*] is rooted in the compositional device known as voice-exchange").[93] It is not clear, however, quite how he would differentiate between voice-exchange and *rondellus*, apart from his suggestion that *rondellus* is only found in three-part compositions.[94]

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[90] Harrison (ed.), *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century: Motets of English Provenance,* Vol. XV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, c1980), p. 164.

[91] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 72, n. 23. A further example is *Barbara simplex animo/ Barbara simplex animo/ Tenor* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 9), which is often considered to include voice-exchange between the two upper parts (see Appendix G.1 for an edition of this piece). The tenor consists of one phrase sung twice, and while there are also repetitions and interplay between the upper parts in this piece, they have no clear form or structure.

[92] Ernest H. Sanders, "Rondellus," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23785 [Accessed 23 March 2016].

[93] *Ibid*.

[94] Sanders does address this difference in his article, "Tonal Aspects", where he states in the first footnote that "for purposes of definition *rondellus* is considered as involving all three voices of a composition." He continues, "the term *stimmtausch* [voice-exchange] is restricted to the application of the same technique of voice-exchange to two voices." (See, Sanders, "Tonal Aspects", p. 19).

At no point does he clarify exactly why he interprets *rondellus* as applying only to pieces in three parts. Sanders also states, "apart from the Sumer canon, which can be regarded as a potential multi-part *rondellus*, there are no *rondelli* in existence for more than three voices".[95] The famous *Sumer is icumen in* (*GB-Lbl* Harley 978, 11) is commonly discussed in these terms. However, although it includes exchange, it is not a multi-part *rondellus* and, moreover, it does not adhere to Sanders previously discussed two forms of *rondellus* construction. The (up to) four upper parts engage in what can only be described as a canon, in modern terms (or a *rota*, as it is labeled in the manuscript). Each part sings each phrase in turn, but in a round rather than by exchanging material. The two tenor parts labeled "*pes*" in the manuscript do exchange material. Both parts consist of the same two phrases, which are swapped after each statement, throughout the entire piece. There is no multi-voice exchange, but rather a two-voice exchange between the two tenor parts. Therefore, the Sumer Canon does not qualify in terms of Sanders' description of *rondellus*.

Unlike Sanders, Frank Ll. Harrison does not differentiate between *rondellus* and voice-exchange in his detailed discussion of exchange.[96] Instead, he uses the term *rondellus* to describe any sort of structured exchange within a composition. Therefore, he includes all two-part exchange compositions in his discussion of *rondellus*, and traces its first use to the two-part versions of *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus* found in many early sources. Lefferts is much more explicit in his descriptions and interpretations of exchange. He states that he insists "on the distinction between *rondellus* and voice-exchange, and [would] not use the term "*rondellus*" or "*rondellus*-motet" to describe a *rota*".[97] He also provides the following diagram, which provides examples of his interpretations of all three forms:[98]

Figure 4.24: Lefferts' exchange diagram – *Image removed: embargoed*

[95] Sanders, "Rondellus," *Grove Music Online.*
[96] Frank Ll. Harrison, "Rota and Rondellus in English Medieval Music", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 86 (1959-60), pp. 98-107.
[97] Lefferts "The Motet in England", p. 56, n. 9.
[98] *Ibid*., p.55.

Lefferts feels that *rondelli* can be constructed for two, three, or four parts, but that "all voices begin together and proceed through periods of exchange".[99] Voice exchange, he says, "occurs when two voices alternately present the same music over a double-versicle tenor".[100] Presumably this would also include four-part compositions with either two or three upper voices engaging in exchange, or else two upper voices with two double-versicle tenors. He further describes voice exchange as "a *rondellus* in two parts imposed on a repeating tenor" but clarifies that "a true *rondellus* is a self-contained entity whose counterpoint is complete in and of itself".[101] *Rota*, he says – a genre often confused with *rondellus* and voice exchange due to its close relationship with these techniques – "is a round canon at the unison in which all voices participate".[102]

Perhaps indicative of the confusion surrounding the interpretation of exchange techniques in modern literature is Falck's much earlier article "'*Rondellus*', Canon and Related types before 1300".[103] Falck explores the idea that rondeau composition (often referred to as "*rondelli*" when texts are in Latin), might have more in common with *rondellus* technique than just the use of the same descriptive term. He focuses on the repetitive form of the music, and the metre of the poetry in French rondeau but, instead of also discussing examples of English *rondelli*, he discusses a number of pieces in the Florence manuscript that use the same form and metre, but which might be read as canons/*rotas*. There is, in fact, almost no discussion of *rondellus* as an exchange technique throughout the article. Moreover, the examples called upon are in fact canonic pieces.

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[99] *Ibid.,* p. 68.
[100] *Ibid.,* p. 56.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.,* p. 56.
[103] Robert Falck, "'*Rondellus*", Canon, and Related Types before 1300", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 25 (1972), pp. 38-57.

The article is misleading, and it lacks clear descriptions and distinctions between these genres and techniques.

In her much more recent study, Losseff interprets exchange a little differently again. She refrains from discussing voice exchange in detail, but clearly outlines *rondellus* so that we might understand voice-exchange, presumably, as any other form of structured exchange. She explains,

> *Rondellus* can be seen as a development or sub-species of voice-exchange technique; but whereas voice-exchange is an activity for two voices, albeit one which sometimes takes place over a *pes*, *rondellus* is not viable without at least three voices, and is associated exclusively with the three-part repertory.[104]

This interpretation of *rondellus* appears similar to that of Sanders. Like Sanders, Losseff does not attribute this thinking to either modern or contemporary literature, however, and it is unclear where the idea of a "rule of three" originates. Losseff further explains that *rondellus* is "a manifestation of the perfect number, three. Three voices sing a phrase three times. Sometimes three voices sing the phrase twice three times."[105] This format is certainly very common in extant exchange compositions (as demonstrated above), and the theory is not an unreasonable one, but it appears to be one not easily reconcilable with extant contemporary literature.

Only two theorists discuss the use of repetition – Walter of Evesham and Johannes de Garlandia.[106] John of Garland is now thought to have only edited or compiled the treatise, *De*

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[104] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p.105.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 106. Losseff states that "it is virtually unheard of for a *rondellus* segment not to be stated in a multiple of three" (p. 106). A detailed list of the compositions that follow this rule can be found on p. 107. There are two anomalous compositions included in this list, however, that do not conform to Losseff's "rule of three" - *Salve mater misericordie* (*GB-Ob* Wood 591, 3; *GB-Occ* 489, 2b (see Appendix G.9 for an edition of this piece)) and *Flos regalis virginalis* (*GB-Occ* 489, 1). It is particularly interesting that both of these pieces can be found in the same manuscript. For more information, see Losseff, pp. 106-114.

[106] It has been argued that there are other treatises and chronicles that discuss *rondellus* or voice exchange, but the passages in question are notoriously ambiguous in meaning. The reliability of a number of these sources is highly questionable, anyway, and they often significantly pre- or postdate the thirteenth century. It is only Evesham and Garlandia who appear to have been writing at a time roughly contemporary with the thirteenth-century repertory. Gerald of Wales' comments about music in his chronicle, *Descriptio Kambriae* (1194), are often associated with *rondellus*. However, the text is very unspecific, and could refer simply to singing in parts rather than in unison: "When they make music together, they sing their songs not in unison, as is done elsewhere, but in parts, with many [simultaneous] modes and phrases, so that in a crowd of singers … you would hear as many songs and different intervals as you could see heads; yet, they all accord in one consonant polyphonic song, marked by the enchanting delight of B♮ [?F major]" (this translation is taken from Sanders, "Rondellus," *Grove Music Online*). There are some theorists who, it has been argued, mention *rondellus* or exchange in passing. For instance, Johannes de Grocheo says, "*Cantilena* is frequently called *rotunda* or *rotundellus* by many people, because it turns back upon itself like a circle and begins and ends in the same way. However, we call only those songs *rotunda* or *rotundellus* whose parts have no music other than that of the response or refrain." Equally, Franco of Cologne comments, "Discant is made either with text, or with and without text, in two ways: with the same or with different [texts]. Discant with the same text is found in *cantilenae*, *rondelli*, and in some ecclesiatical chant". Neither of these statements,

mensurabili musica, around the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and not written it, as was previously thought.[107] However, regardless of authorship, the treatise includes a short passage that appears to discuss exchange:

> Repetition in the same voice is a color which makes unknown sound known, through which recognition the sense of hearing is pleased. And [repetition] by this means is used in *rondelli* and vernacular songs. Repetition in different voices is the same sound repeated at a different time in the different voices. And [repetition] by this means is found in three- and four-voice compositions, *conductus* and many others.[108]

However, this passage is of little assistance in understanding thirteenth-century exchange. Garland discusses *rondelli* here as a form of repetition found in monophonic composition. It is therefore generally believed that Garland uses the term "*rondellus*" to refer to rondeau, either when writing in Latin, or as a reference to rondeau compositions with Latin instead of French texts. It seems highly unlikely that Garland is referring to the insular *rondellus* genre/technique.[109] All that Garland's discussion reveals is that it is common to find repetition of melodic material in both monophonic and polyphonic composition. In the case of the former, it is simply repetition; the latter, exchange.[110]

Evesham's treatise, *De Speculatione Musices,* is thought to have been written c.1300.[111] He first discusses notation, notational practices and rhythmic modes in great detail before moving

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however, helps us to define *rondellus* as a genre or technique, and there serious doubt over whether they are actually referring to the insular genre/technique, to polyphonic *rondeau,* or to some other form of exchange. See Falck, "'Rondellus'", Canon, and Related Types before 1300".

[107] There is some conjecture over whether Garland was actually responsible for the composition of this treatise, or whether it was the work of another, anonymous theorist and was later compiled or revised by Garland. There is also an argument that perhaps John of Garland lived and worked earlier in the thirteenth century, and therefore may have been the composer of the treatise. See Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Johannes de Garlandia", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14358 [Accessed 23 March 2016].

[108] "Repetito eiusdem vocis est color faciens ignotum sonum esse notum, per quam notitian audibus suscipit placentium. Et isto modo utimur in rondellis et cantilenis vulgaribus. Repetito diversae vocis est idem sonus repetitus in tempore diverso a diversis vocibus. Et iste modus reperitur in triplicibus, quadruplicibus et conductis et multis aliis". Johannes de Garlandia, *Concerning Measured Music (De Mensurabili Musica),* trans. Stanley H. Birnbaum (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1978), p.54.

[109] Falck, "'Rondellus'", Canon, and Related Types before 1300", p. 42.

[110] Falck uses this passage in particular, as evidence that the rondeau and *rondellus* are related forms. He feels that "without being explicit, Garland strongly suggests that the two phenomena are related". He feels that the repetition in a monophonic rondeau – described here as a *rondellus* – was essentially seen as the same technique as the repetition in a polyphonic *rondellus* found in insular sources in the thirteenth century. See Falck, "'Rondellus'", Canon, and Related Types before 1300", p. 41.

[111] For a detailed study of Walter of Evesham, see Elina Hamilton, "Walter of Evesham Abbey and the Intellectual Milieu of Fourteenth-century English Music Theory" (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Bangor, 2014).

on to descriptions of genre. Initially he considers part music in general, and then specifically *organum purum*, followed by a small section headed "*Rondellus*", and a three-part example.[112] Despite the clarity of the subject matter, the detail of his discussion is open to a number of different translations and interpretations – all of which may or may not be a correct reading of his text. Scholars have undertaken various modern translations of Evesham's treatise, but each translation of the text implies a slightly different meaning. It is clear that Evesham's text is instructional, and it rather unequivocally begins "*Rondelli* are to be composed as follows: Think of the most beautiful melody possible, and put it in one of the abovementioned modes, either with or without text…".[113] From this point onwards, however, the text is much more ambiguous. J. A. Huff's translations continues:

> …and let this melody be repeated by each voice in turn, accompanied by two or three other melodies harmonizing with it in such a way that if the first descends the second or third descends, not all ascending or descending at the same time, unless it happens that they can produce a more beautiful effect by so doing. Then let the melody of each part be repeated by all the others one by one, thus:[114]

This translation suggests that *rondelli* should be constructed in three or four parts. Sanders does not state the full passage in his translation, missing out the section regarding ascending and descending intervals, but his reading of the text suggests that *rondelli* should be constructed in two or three parts:

> To this tune, with or without text, and sung by one group, should be fitted one or two others consonant with it… Each group thus sings the others' parts (sc. in alternation).[115]

This interpretation somewhat contradicts Sanders' restriction of the term to three-part compositions only. The question is whether Evesham meant that *rondelli* appear in both three and four parts, or two and three. Given that there are no surviving *rondelli* that employ exchange

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[112] The piece is a three-part *rondellus* with the incipit 'Ave Mater domini' – see *GB-Ccc* 410.
[113] "Rondelli sic sunt componendi: excogitetur cantus pulchrior qui possit, et disponatur secundum aliquem modorum predictorum, cum littera vel sine…" (Frederick F. Hammond (ed.), *Walter Odington. Summa de speculatione musicae,* Corpus Scriptorum Musicae *14* (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), p. 144). The above translation is from J. A. Huff (ed.), *Walter Odington (born c.1278): A Translation of Part IV of De Speculatione Musica,* Musicological Studies and Documents 31 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), p. 29.
[114] "… et ille cantus a singulis recitetur cui aptentur alii cantus in duplici aut triplici procedendo per consonantias ut dum unus ascendit alius descendit vel tertius, ita ut non simul descendant vel ascendant nisi forte causa maioris pulchritudinis. Et a singulis singulorum cantus recitentur, sic:" (Hammond (ed.), *Walter Odington*, p. 144). The above translation is from Huff (ed.), *Walter Odington,* p. 29.
[115] This translation is from Sanders "Medieval English Polyphony", p. 79.

between all four parts, the former seems less likely. However, there is room for an alternative translation here, which takes a more literal and less interpretive stance:

> *Rondelli* are to be composed as follows: the most beautiful song possible is to be thought out and arranged according to one of the afore-mentioned modes, *cum littera* or *sine*, and this song is to be sung by each (?group/?singer), to which the other songs are to be adapted in duplex or triplex, proceeding through harmonies (?consonantias)... and the parts of each (?group/?singer) is sung by each (?group/?singer).[116]

This translation demonstrates the ambiguity of Evesham's use of the words "duplici aut triplici". In this wider context, the text could be understood in a number of ways, perhaps referring to intervals and harmonies, or rhythmic mode.[117] In any case, it would seem that a definitive reading of this aspect of the passage is not possible, and the ambiguity of the statement should be more explicitly reflected in the choice of translation.

Two further queries should be considered: Is the term *rondellus* only reserved for pieces that use all available voices in their exchanges? And, should we consider *rondellus* a technique applied to particular genres, or a genre in its own right? There is a short sentence in a previous section of Evesham's treatise, headed "types of part music", which appears to go some way towards answering these questions: "…if all voices repeat the same thing in succession, the piece is called a *rondellus*, that is, moving in a circle or rotating, and it may be with or without text".[118] Firstly, Evesham is quite clear here that "all voices repeat the same thing in succession", and, moreover, in his subsequent discussion he states "let the melody of each part be repeated by all the others one by one".[119] If this is so, then there are several surviving instances of exchange that clearly do not fall under this category. Compositions where two upper voices engage in exchange above one or more patterned tenors, for instance, should not be referred to as *rondellus* according to Evesham. There are, in fact, only two surviving types of composition to which this term might be applied: Three- and two-part compositions where all parts exchange the same material. The pieces could have exchanges throughout, or for one or more section(s). Presumably, those pieces without exchanges in all voices should be referred to as employing voice exchange.

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[116] With thanks to Dr Lena Wahlgren-Smith, University of Southampton, for this alternative translation.
[117] It is argued that Evesham, earlier in his treatise, along with other theorists such as Anonymous IV discuss third mode in such a manner that suggests there is an alternative third mode that enables notation in duple, rather than triple, rhythm. Could Evesham be referring to composing in either duple or triple time, here? Can we be certain that he discussing the number of parts in a *rondellus*? See Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode", Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm" and Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music", p. 50.
[118] "Et si quad unus cantat omnes per ordinem recitent, vocatur hic cantus Rondellus, id est rotabilis vel circumductus" (Hammond (ed), *Walter Odington*, pp. 139-140). The above translation is from Huff (ed.), *Walter Odington (born c.1278),* p. 27.
[119] *Ibid.*

While this would appear a reasonable categorisation, it seems a little illogical that two-part exchange, on its own, should be referred to as *rondellus*, and two-part exchange over a patterned tenor, as voice exchange. Perhaps it was this conundrum that led both Losseff and Sanders to consider only three-part compositions with full exchanges as *rondelli*/employing *rondellus*. Unfortunately, elucidating the confusion regarding two-part exchange compositions is not possible unless further clarification of Evesham's text is achieved.

Secondly, Evesham quite clearly implies that *rondellus* can be a generic term. It would appear, though, that this taxonomy applies only if the piece is entirely constructed in this way – "moving in a circle or rotating".[120] There are, in accordance with this theory, a handful of insular compositions that – with the exception of short introductions, codas, or intervals – entirely consist of *rondellus*.[121] However, when we consider all of the surviving exchanges involving three parts, the suggestion that a *rondellus* can also be considered a technique, when applied to only one or more sections of a composition, appears accurate. A number of insular *conducti* contain sections of *rondellus* that complement the exchanges of *cum* and *sine littera* in the overall construction. There can be no doubt that these pieces are *conducti*, but it is also clear that a *rondellus* technique has been applied.[122]

Evesham provides an example of *rondellus* in his treatise. *Ave mater domini* is a three-part, partially texted *rondellus* consisting of two sets of three melodies repeated once in all parts.[123] This is the only surviving composition to be definitively categorised as a *rondellus,* and perhaps its use here is part of the reason why Sanders and Losseff define *rondellus* by a "rule of three". There can be little doubt that this particular exchange format should always be referred to as a *rondellus*, but can we really assume that this example is indicative of exactly how all *rondelli* should appear, even in terms of the number of voices? In any case, the only definition that we can safely draw from Evesham's writing is that *rondellus* must involve all available parts. It may or may not be a term that was applied to two-part compositions with exchanges. Although it would have been entirely possible to construct a four-part *rondellus*, there are no surviving four-part examples. Perhaps *rondelli* were simply not cultivated in four parts, but we cannot rule out the possibility that all examples have been lost. We can be clear, however, that partial exchanges, unstructured exchanges, and those which only include some of the available voice parts, are not *rondelli* but, rather, simple voice exchange. While voice exchange can be found in compositions

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[120] *Ibid.*
[121] See for example, *Stella maris nuncuparis/ Stella maris nuncuparis/ Stella maris nuncuparis (US-Cum* 654 app., no. 6). See Appendix G.5 for an edition of this piece.
[122] See for example, the *conducti* in *GB-Ob* Wood 591 – *O (o) laudanda virginitas, etas, sexus, condition* and *[Sal]ve, mater misericordie, stella maris.*
[123] This piece can be found in a copy of Evesham's treatise in *GB-Ccc* 410, f. 34v.

from across the continent, *rondellus* as Evesham describes it, with all voices participating in the exchange of all of the musical phrases, is a uniquely insular technique. There are a number of examples of pieces surviving where more than one forms of exchange is employed. In all cases the pieces are divided into a number of musical sections, which often run alongside and complementary to a *sine* and *cum littera conductus* structure. Both three-part *rondellus* sections and those with two-part exchanges with repeating tenor figures can be found in these pieces, with exchange-free sections separating them, and various different text distributions.[124] This complex *rondellus* and exchange structure is also uniquely insular.

Only four two-part compositions with exchanges survive, and all but one are sequences. Most sequences in insular sources are typically constructed as one line of music stated twice, under two textual phrases (see figure 4.25), or each textual phrase is repeated – with the same music (see figure 4.26). The three exchange sequences, however, which are structured in the manner of figure 4.26 – with one repeat of each textual (and musical) phrase – are written with their tenors and *duplum*s swapping parts upon each repeat. This method of exchange is somewhat different to a typical *rondellus* (and to Evesham's example), where short musical phrases are exchanged, all in quick succession, and within textual phrases. We might therefore consider the sequences to be voice-exchange sequences, rather than *rondelli*, since the voices simply swap upon repeat rather than embarking on a more complex exchange structure.

Figure 4.25: Typical sequence structure 1

T & Du: AABBCCDDEE…

Text: ABCDEFGHIJ…

Figure 4.26: Typical sequence structure 2

T &Du: AABBCCDDEE…

Text: AABBCCDDEE…

The one remaining two-part exchange composition behaves somewhat differently, however. *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit* is clearly a *conductus*, which would seem to be an insular pastiche

[124] Five identifiable pieces of this nature survive: [*Quem trina polluit*]*…orbum domino../..veri iudicio...*, WF. 69 and *GB-DRu* Bamburgh sel. 13, no. 1; *In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terries*, WF no. 93 and *US-Cum* 654 app., no. 4 (see Appendix G.4 for an edition of this piece); *Christi cara mater, ave, US-Cum* 654 app., no 10; *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus, GB-Ob* Rawlinson C. 400* (Frag B), no. 1 (see Appendix G.10 for an edition of this piece); *Ka-; Karisma conserat a patre, GB-Onc* 362, no. 14 (see Appendix G.7 for an edition of this piece).

addition to a collection of Notre-Dame *conducti*.[125] Unlike the three sequences, where a very simple form of exchange occurs throughout, *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit* only includes passages of exchange, varying in length. It is a typical *conductus*, consisting of sections of both *sine* and *cum littera* writing. During some, but not all of the melismatic *caudae,* the two parts exchange musical phrases. The piece begins with a fairly substantial opening *cauda*, followed by a short texted section. The last syllable of "resplenduit" marks the beginning of a long melisma where one exchange takes place, followed by new material. Another short texted section is then followed by a breif melisma on "claruit", and a third short texted phrase, which has a long melisma on the last syllable with three phrases exchanged once each, followed by new material. After this, the writing is mostly *cum littera*, interspersed with short melismas until the final, long melisma. Here, there are two sets of two phrases, each exchanged once, with the final part of the melisma constructed from new material. The form of this piece, and the methods of exchange, are much more akin to the three-part *rondellus-conducti* in *GB-Ob* Wood 591, than to the aforementioned two-part sequences.[126] *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit* is therefore the only two-part composition including exchange that we might legitimately refer to as employing *rondellus* technique. This being the case, it is perhaps not surprising that Losseff and Sanders consider *rondellus* to apply only to three-part compositions. It is clear, also, that *rondellus* itself is a uniquely insular trait, and typical of the insular style, which includes a high proportion of compositions that employ fairly complex forms of exchange in various guises. Only *rondellus*, however, is a conclusive indicator of insular origin.

4.5 Two-Part Composition

There are comparatively very few surviving two-part pieces in the insular repertory compared to the continental and, particularly, Notre-Dame repertories. In the entire insular repertory, there are just 65 two-part compositions. This figure is in stark contrast to continental sources. For instance, the largest of the Notre Dame sources, *I-Fl* plut. 29, contains 130 two-part *conducti* and 40 two-part motets alone. A further 25 continental two-part compositions are preserved in insular sources, 24 of which are either motets or *conducti*. Of the 65 insular compositions, just eight are definitively *conducti* or *conductus*-like compositions. A further six are motets or motet-like compositions, three are *cantilenae* and six are vernacular songs. The remaining 41 compositions are all either chant settings, troped chant settings or sequences. Only eight sources in total contain two-part insular motets or *conducti.* The three Worcester Fragments

[125] *GB-Cjec* QB 1 (source A), 19.
[126] *Rondellus-conductus* is perhaps another misleading term used in modern scholarship to refer to *conducti* that employ *rondellus* technique. It has the same meaning as "*conductus* with *rondellus*".

reconstructions contain half of these compositions – four of the six motets and three of the eight *conducti*. A single two-part chant setting is found in Reconstruction II and three two-part motets in Reconstruction I, which are considered by both Dittmer and Sanders to have been written c.1280. The remaining two-part motet and the three two-part *conducti* (along with a troped chant setting and two sequences) are preserved on leaves considered to be later in date than the majority of the fragments.[127] Four of the other six sources of two-part motets or *conducti* are miscellaneous manuscripts. Apart from the Worcester Fragment reconstructions, only *GB-Llp* 752 and *GB-Cjec* QB 1 appear to have been purpose-built books of polyphony. Both preserve two-part insular *conducti* alongside two-part continental examples, in a pastiche style.

Even accounting for the huge losses the insular repertory has suffered through time, the proportions of two-, three- and four-part compositions in the insular *conductus* repertory are markedly different to those of the continent. The repertory of continental polyphonic *conducti* amounts to 200 two-part, 110 three-part and 10 four-part compositions.[128] In insular sources, however, as few as eight two-part *conducti* survive, with 54 three-part pieces, and there are no surviving four-part compositions.[129] Given that modern scholarship often takes the view that the *conductus* was very popular in England, and that the lack of early motets suggests a reluctance to accept this new genre (probably due to a preference for *conducti*) it seems strange that there should be so few two-part compositions. Moreover, four-part writing was clearly much more popular with insular composers than it was on the continent, and so it is particularly strange that no four-part versions survive. There are also 380 monophonic *conducti* preserved in continental sources, but none of the surviving monophonic compositions from insular sources have ever been referred to as *conducti*. In fact, many of the extant two-part and monophonic insular sequences and *conducti* are often described as simple Latin songs in modern scholarship. Essentially, though, they are no different in nature to a *conductus sine caudae*, and to many of the pieces found in fascicle 10 of *F.* It is not clear why these pieces are described in a different manner to simple

[127] Dittmer suggests that these fragments date from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and Sanders suggests a date circa 1295-1315. Both rely on a number of factors to determine these dates, including the text hand style and the notational development, but there is very little in terms of conclusive evidence for the accurate dating of these compositions or, indeed, almost all insular compositions. It might be said with a little more confidence, though, that these leaves are later than those in Reconstructions I and II, as would seem to be the case. See Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription*, Musicological Studies and Documents 2 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1957), and Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony".

[128] As well as ten four-part and 380 monophonic examples.

[129] It should be noted that, due to the hybrid and unusual forms that some pieces take within the insular repertory, it is not always possible to classify every piece according to continental generic principles. Therefore, these pieces should be considered either as (in some cases) *conducti*, or else as *conductus*-like settings.

continental two-part and monophonic *conducti*, but this practice implies a generic difference that may not be reflective of contemporary attitudes.

The disparity between the figures of extant insular and continental *conducti* (over 700 continental examples compared to around 62 insular examples) may well be explained by losses to the insular repertory, but the huge differences in the proportions of the pieces according to the number of voice parts is harder to qualify. It is possible that the preference for writing for a particular number of voices was due to the predilection for the use of certain techniques. *Rondellus* was often incorporated into *conducti* and the most complex compositions (whatever the definition of *rondellus*) are in three parts. Equally, voice exchange and dance forms can be employed with more potential for complexity in three- and four-part pieces. Sanders has also argued that two-part motets are rare due to the English love for "full chordal sound involving the third".[130] There may be some truth in this statement, but the extent to which a preference for thirds really is identifiable in insular sources, and how this compares to continental composition, has never been quantified and remains subject to conjecture.

4.6 *Pes* Tenors

The term *pes* is perhaps even more ambiguous than *rondellus*, and it is not described in any contemporary literature. In fact, it only appears sporadically among insular sources as a label for a tenor part, most commonly in motets. Modern scholarship has assigned a definition to this term, but it does not reflect the various, often conflicting ways in which the term is applied in insular sources. Therefore while *pedes* might be considered typically and uniquely insular in style, it is not clear how the term should be defined. Moreover, the varied use of the term in modern literature only exacerbates the problem. Like *rondellus*, *pedes* are considered indicative of insular origin. It is certainly true that "*pes*" is a tenor designation only found in insular sources, but since no contemporary literature mentions the term or its meaning, it is not exactly clear whether the technique itself is uniquely insular. Various definitions have been deduced through modern study, and consequently the term has been used to describe certain tenor parts that do not have the designation "*pes*" in their manuscript source(s). For example, Sanders comments that motets in England

[130] Sanders, "Medieval motet", p. 538.

> differ in a fundamental respect from their continental counterparts, since they are not based on a patterned *cantus firmus*, but on a tonally unified *pes*, which in many cases accommodates *stimmtausch* in the two upper voices.[131]

In fact, this statement significantly overstates the case since just 20 insular pieces have tenors labelled *pes* in one or more of their original sources.[132] Sanders clearly uses the term to refer to pieces that do not have the "*pes*" descriptor, but it is questionable whether any modern interpretation of the meaning of the term has enough evidence to support this assumption. Equally Losseff states that there are 33 motets on a *pes*, but she does not clarify how she decided upon this figure.[133] For a detailed list of the pieces with tenors labelled *"pes*", the sources in which they appear and descriptions of the tenor parts, see Appendix C. The meaning of the term "*pes*" is only determinable, if at all, by examining and comparing these tenor parts, some of which appear in numerous sources.[134] We might speculate that since "*pes*" translates from Latin as "foot", "fundament" or "ground", it may be that the term is simply synonymous with tenor. However, "*pes*" can also be translated to mean "sheet", "verse", or "measure", which may imply the repetitive use of a particular melodic phrase of unchanging length.

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[131] *Ibid.*

[132] The following compositions have tenors labelled "*pes*" in one or more sources (those sources that do not include the term are in brackets): 'Sumer is icumen in/ Sing cu-cu' – *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, 11; *Senator regis curie* - WF 11, *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 2; *Barrabas dimittitur in merito* – *GB-BER* Sel. roll 55, 1; (*GB-DRc* C.I.20, 6 – but "*recita*" has been written at the end of the piece to indicate necessary repeats); *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11 (no tenor designation at all, and symbol included – possible added later – to indicate repeats); *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum* – *GB-BER* Sel. roll 55, 1 (may have been added later); *Prolis aeternae genitor/Psallat mater gratiae/ Pes super prolit and Psallat* – WF 6; *Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ (Quem non capit)….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit* – WF 7; *Virgo regalis fidei/ Pes* – WF 12; *Quam admirabili et venerabilis/ Pes* – WF 16; *Sol in nube tegitur/ (…….-tur disciplina caeditur)/ Pes* – WF 17; *Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V Pes* – WF 27; *……./ Fons ortorum Riga morum/ Pes* – WF 30; *Pro beati Pauli gloria/ O pastor patris summi/ O praeclara patris/ Pes de pro…..O Pastor et O praeclara* – WF (40) & 70, (*GB-Lwa* 33327 – too fragmentary); *Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum* – WF 71; *Virginis Mariae laudamus/ Salve gemma virginum/ Pes super Virginis….et Salve* – WF 72; *O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis* – WF 73; *(Fulgens stella…..) qui quid homo/ Pes de fulgens stella* – WF 74; *O dulcis Jesu memoria/ Pes de Dulcis Jesu memoria* – WF 75; *Puellare gremium mundo/ Purissima mater domina/ Pes super Puellare et Purissima* –WF 76, [Alleluya] *Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus* – *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, 1 (see Appendix G.10 for an edition of this piece); *[Adoremus ergonatum...Alleluya V. Vidimus stellam]/ [A-, Adoremus ergo natum...Alleluya V. Vidimus] stellam eius qui natus/ A- pes, Adoremus ergo natum...[Alle]luya V. Vidimus [stellam*] - *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, 3.

[133] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 22.

[134] Unfortunately, however, due to the fragmentary nature of insular sources, it is not always possible to determine whether each occurrence of a particular composition includes the term "*pes*". By the same logic, it is not unlikely that other surviving pieces with missing or fragmentary tenors may have originally included this term.

15 of the above 20 compositions are found in the Worcester Fragments. In fact, all of the pieces fall within Reconstruction I, and it is clear that quite a few of the pieces share the same textual hands, style of initial, and similar notational features (see Appendix D). Given that "*pes*" does not appear in any of the other Worcester reconstructions, or miscellaneous fragments, the majority of instances of this term come from a single source – Reconstruction I. This might add weight to the theory that "*pes*" has no stylistic meaning but, rather, is a local term or particular to a scribe or group of scribes. It would seem highly peculiar that, if the term "*pes*" were a well-used term to describe a particular style or technique, only a tiny handful of sources other than the Worcester Fragments make use of the term.

Only two of the 15 pieces in the Worcester Fragments have concordances elsewhere – in one concordance the tenor is also labeled "*pes*", and in the other the source is too fragmentary to determine the tenor designation or incipit. Given that *Senator regis curiae/ secundus pes/ primus pes* is the only piece out of 15 with a concordance also labeled "*pes*" (*D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 2), there is reason to be cautious.[135] The recurrence of the term "*pes*" in both sources might indicate that the sources were copied from common exemplars, or even that there was a relationship between the two sources. Perhaps it is simply coincidence, or maybe there is something about the tenor of this piece that led both scribes to apply the term "*pes*" to the incipit, independently. *Senator regis curie* is the only composition in *D-Gs* Theol. 220g to use "*pes*" as a tenor designation, but that may be because it is the only piece to which the term was considered to apply. The two tenor parts each consist of a short phrase, which requires several repeats, although this differs to the tenors in the version in Reconstruction I (where the upper tenor is the same short phrase as found in this source, and the lower tenor part has been extended beyond the short phrase used here, written out in full without any internal repetition). It is hard to determine whether any of the other tenors in this source are similar, since it is extremely fragmentary. However, the first piece, *[O mores perditos…] agant inferi sinister,* looks as though it has a short tenor part, entirely unlabelled, but which must require several repeats. It may be, then, that the designation "*pes*" would be as appropriate here as for *Senator regis curie.* If the scribe used "*pes*" here as a technical term, we might question why was it not also applied to *[O mores perditos…] agant inferi sinister.* If "*pes*" was a local or geographical term for a tenor, though, and both scribes were aware of the other source (or a source common to both), it might explain the recurrence of "*pes*" in both sources, and its absence for *[O mores perditos…] agant inferi sinister*.

[135] It should be pointed out, however, that an extremely large proportion of insular compositions are *unica*. It is therefore not surprising that only two of the 15 compositions have concordances. It is even less surprising that one of these concordances is quite fragmentary, since most insular sources (and therefore a large number of the pieces) are.

One of the five compositions not found in the Worcester fragments, *Barrabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitu in merito/ Pes de Barrabas dimittitur [T. Babilonis flumina],* is the only other composition of the 20 discussed to have concordances. It is found in *GB-BER* Select roll 55, 4, *GB-DRc* C.I.20, 6, and *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11. The term "*pes*" is only applied to the tenor in the first of these sources, however. In *GB-DRc* C.I.20 the tenor has no designation – just an incipit – but the word "*recita*" is written at the end of the piece to indicate repeats. Similarly, in *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, there is no designation, but also no incipit. However, there is a symbol at the end of the piece in this source that may well function as an indicator of the required repeats. Since both of these concordances use indicators for repeats, it might be that "*pes*" merely indicates that a tenor requires repeat, or consists of a repetitive structure. The tenor in this case is a short musical phrase, in 3 isorhythmic *talea*, repeated twice in full and then once to the first *talea*: A1,A2,A3, B1,B2,B3, C1,C2,C3, D (see figure 5.25 below).

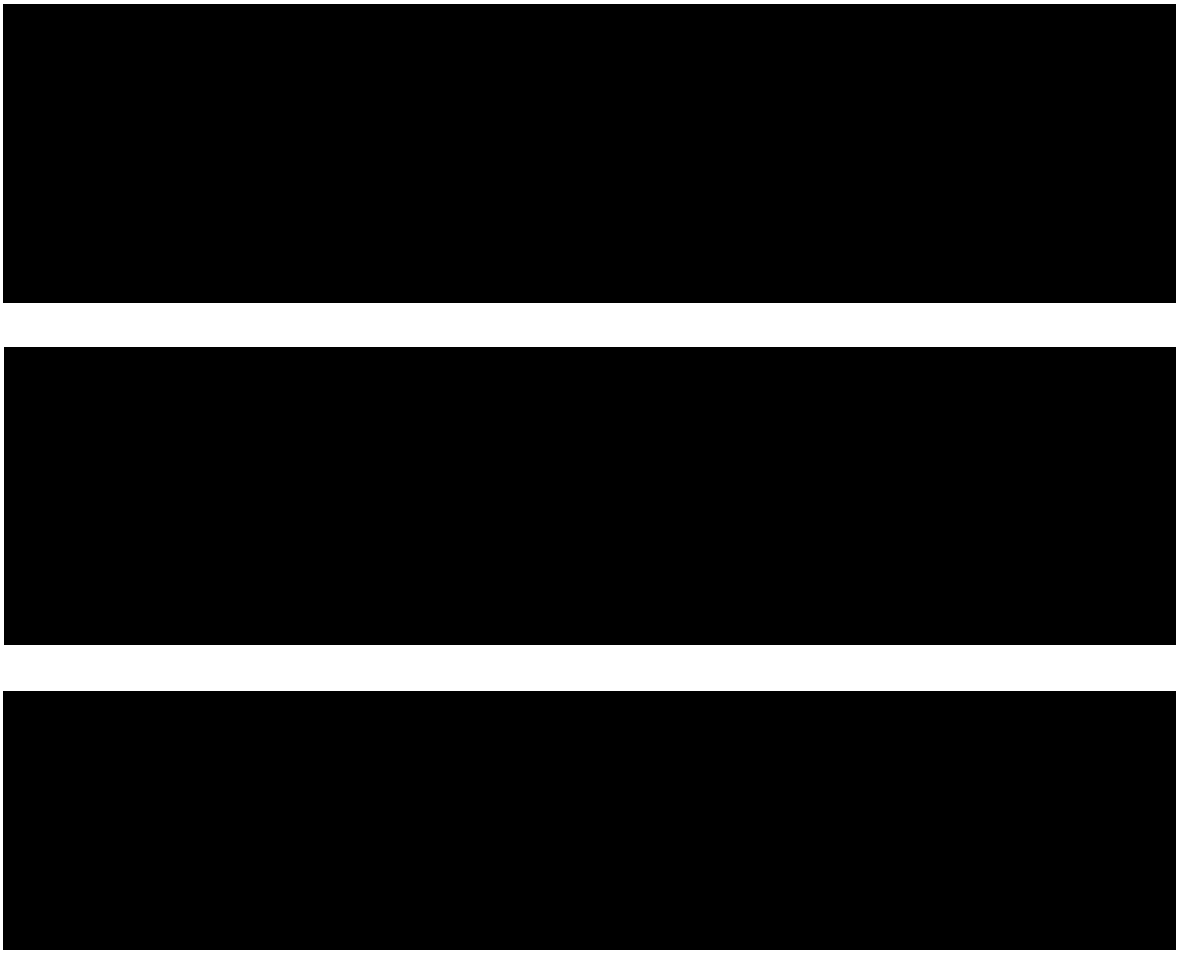
No compositions in *GB-DRc* C.I.20 or *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 have tenors designated "*pes*", but *GB-BER* Select roll 55 does have one other unique composition where the term has been applied.[136] *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum* (no. 1) has a tenor consisting of a repeated short phrase, which itself is made up of four shorter phrases with the form ABA'A'. The similarities between the tenor part of this piece and that of *Barrabas dimittitur* – a repetitive phrase that can be divided into a number of smaller phrases – might support the theory that the term "*pes*" indicates a repetitive style of tenor (see figure 5.25 below). Lefferts has argued that "the term "*pes*" is mainly found in thirteenth-century sources; the reference to the "*pes* de alma mater" in *GB-BER* Select roll 55, 1, referring to what seems to be an untexted rondeau, is an interesting exception".[137] It is true that this is most likely the latest of the sources containing the term "*pes"*, but Lefferts does not comment on *Barrabas dimittitur,* which is also labelled "*pes"* in this source. It would seem likely that it is an older composition than *Alma mater* given its concordances in earlier sources, but the collocation "*pes*" does not appear in either of those sources. Only these three pieces of the 20 with the term "*pes*" have any concordances, so this particular line of investigation cannot be pursued further. *GB-DRc* C.I.20 does however have another composition with "*recita*" written at the end – *Orto sole serene*

[136] It is worth noting, however, that a number of the pieces found in *GB-DRc* C.I.20 (front flyleaves) might also have legitimately been labeled "*pes*" (or "*recita*") due to their structured and repetitive tenors, as well as their isorhythms, but indications of repeats are only provided for two of the pieces in this source – see for example *Herodis in pretorio fit emulatio/ Herodis in atrio rabidi/ Hey, lure, lure, hey, hor pendoy* whose secular tenor has the form AAB and requires three repeats. The same is true of *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, where there are a number of isorhythmic compositions although fewer with repeats. If the symbol following *Barrabas dimittitur* in this source is intended to indicate necessary repeats, it is certainly absent from the tenor part of *De flore martirum modum militie/ Deus, tuorum militum/ T. Ave, rex gentis*, which has to be stated twice to accommodate the upper parts.

[137] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p.7 n.7.

novitatis/ Origo iuri iam propalatus/ Virga Iesse que stas in signum/ T.. The tenor is disposed in four isorhythmic talea, although "the first resembles the other three phrases rhythmically, but is not part of their isorhythmic pattern".[138] The entire statement is repeated three times (see figure 4.27 below). Given the similar nature of this tenor to that of *Barrabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitu in merito/ Pes de Barrabas dimittitur [T. Babilonis flumina]* also in this source (and labelled "*pes*" in its concordance in *GB-BER* Select roll 55), we might wonder whether the term "*pes*" has been used in concordances of this piece. However, in the only concordance (*GB-Cgc* 512/543) the tenor has been partially cut away, and it is not possible to deduce what was written.

Figure 4.27: "*Pes* de alma mater et ante thorum" and "*Pes* de Barrabas dimittitur" as they appear in *GB-BER* Select roll 55, and the tenor of *Orto sole serene novitatis/ Origo iuri iam propalatus/ Virga Iesse que stas in signum/ T.* in *GB-DRc* C.I.20 – *Image removed: embargoed*



Of the five pieces that employ the term "*pes*", and that are not found in the Worcester Fragments, *Barrabas dimittitur in merito* and *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum* have already been discussed. Two of the remaining three examples

[138] Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance,* PMFC Vol. XV, pp. 164-165.

are unique motet-like troped chant settings preserved in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, fragment B (see figure 4.28). Rather than "*pes*" appearing at the very beginning of the tenor part (either replacing or preceding the incipit), in these cases "*pes*" appears in the text after the first melisma (on the first textual syllable), and before the second syllable of the text (*A- pes, Adoremus ergo natum...*). It has been noted by Reaney, among others, that these compositions are "closely akin" to some of those in the Worcester Fragments.[139]

Figure 4.28: Alleluia settings in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Fragment B, with "*pes*" tenors – *Image removed: embargoed*

The famous *rota* "Sumer is icumen" in is the last in the group of five "*pes*" compositions not found in the Worcester Fragments. It is found in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978; a miscellany thought to have come from the Reading or Leominster areas. Both tenor parts consist of the same short musical phrase, which is itself made up of two distinct sections (A B). While one tenor part begins with the first section (A), the second begins with section B (see figure 4.29). Thus the tenor parts exchange the same material, which is repeated many times over, while the upper parts are in canon. This is the only example where two tenors designated "*pes*" engage in voice exchange, and where the upper parts are in canon. Performance instructions have been written next to the piece in the manuscript, but they unfortunately do not shed any significant light upon how we should define a "*pes*". The scribe wrote:

> This round can be sung by four companions, but must not be performed by fewer than three, or at least two, apart from those performing the *pes*. It is sung as follows: While the

[139] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, pp. 570-571.

> others remain silent, one begins together with those who have the *pes*, and when he shall have come to the first note after the cross, another begins, and so on with the rest…[140]

It is interesting, though, that the scribe should write "those performing the *pes*" rather than "those performing the *pedes*". We might speculate that if the term "*pes"* was considered to be another term for describing a tenor part, the scribe might rather have written "those performing the *pedes*", since there are two tenor parts. The use of "*pes*" (singular) suggests that "*pes*" refers to the single musical phrase shared by both tenor parts.

Figure 4.29: The two tenors of "Sumer is icumen in" – *Image removed: embargoed*

Pedes have been often defined and characterised in modern scholarship, but no one description fits all of the surviving examples. Sanders suggests that the term, at first, "seems to have designated the supporting voice of motets whose upper two voices engage in voice-exchange."[141] It is not quite clear where Sanders' sense of chronology is founded. If we argue that the *pedes* of "Sumer is icumen in" are supporting a canon or *rota*, rather than voice-exchange, there are just four pieces of the 20 labelled "*pes*" that include voice exchange in their upper parts, and there is no evidence to suggest that any of the respective sources are particularly early or late in comparison to the others.[142] Three of the pieces are from the Worcester Fragments, and the fourth is from *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (fragment B). In terms of their use of notation, these sources appear roughly contemporary, but it is not possible to accurately gauge the chronological relationship between these two sources and the others. With only four of the 20 extant examples using this technique, it might be a little incautious to assume that this was the early definition of

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[140] Lisa Colton, "Sumer is icumen in", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27110 [Accessed 22 March 2016].
[141] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21402 [Accessed 22 March 2016].
[142] *[Adoremus ergonatum...Alleluya V. Vidimus stellam]/ [A-, Adoremus ergo natum...Alleluya V. Vidimus] stellam eius qui natus/ A- pes, Adoremus ergo natum...[Alle]luya V. Vidimus [stellam], GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Fragment B, no. 3; *Sol in nube tegitur/ (…….-tur disciplina caeditur)/ Pes,* WF no. 17; *Quam admirabilis et venerabilis/ Pes,* WF no. 16; *Virgo regalis fidei/ pes,* WF no. 12.

the term "*pes*". Sanders describes the structure of voice-exchange motets with *pedes* – with very short phrases repeated under each exchange of the upper parts. In his example, the structure is as follows:[143]

CBED

BCDE

AAAA

However, it may also be that the tenor phrases change with each new phrase exchanged in the upper parts, like so:[144]

BADCFE

ABCDEF

aa bb cc

Sanders further defines "*pes*" as a "term [that] generally denotes a strict or varied melodic ostinato, in contrast to the purely rhythmic ostinatos into which continental motet composers fashioned their *cantus firmi*."[145] He also states, "almost all of the freely-composed motets without *stimmtausch* also exhibit features of repetition, some with variation, some without".[146] Lefferts comments similarly that "tonal closure, phrase regularity and repetitiveness" are typical of *pes* tenors.[147] In some respects, these statements are reasonably fair descriptions of the majority of cases as, of the 20 surviving pieces, 14 definitely have regular repetition and form, of some description. Four of these are the voice-exchange examples discussed above. The remaining 10 without voice exchange generally have more complicated forms and repetitions. Many have

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[143] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online.*

[144] Many pieces structured in these two ways have already been mentioned above, in relation to the discussion of voice exchange and *rondellus*. It should be noted that there are many more than four compositions composed and structured in these ways, but only the four pieces mentioned here include the collocation "*pes*". Other examples not labeled "*pes*" include: *Patris superni gratia fraus/ Patris superni gratia fraus/Pia pacis inclita, US-Cum* 654 app., 7 (see Appendix G.2 for an edition of this piece); *Ave, credens baiulo…, GB-Ob* Bodley, 257, 4; *Regis aula regentis omnia, GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 3 & *US-PRu* Garrett 119, Fragment A, 1 (see Appendix G.6 for an edition of this piece); *Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium/ Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium*, *GB-Onc* 362, 21; *Ex-, excelsus in numine tue/ Be-, benedictus dominus universitatis/ Tenor, GB-Onc* 362, 6; *Salve, virgo, tonantis solium*, *GB-Ob* Rawl. Litug. d. 3, 3. It should be noted that several of these sources are concordant with the Worcester Fragments and have similar musical styles. Whilst the style itself may have been widespread, it would appear that the term "*pes*" was not.

[145] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online.*

[146] Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony", pp. 104-5.

[147] Lefferts "The Motet in England", p. 7, fn 7.

"*pedes* with rather long repeated elements, which are, however, generally subdivisible into variant segments".[148]

In fact, the compositions that do feature repetition and ostinati in their tenors do so in a wide variety of ways; there is no standard formula or technique. Apart from the two forms of *pes* found in compositions employing voice-exchange (described above), there are three other common forms of repetition and form in tenors labelled "*pes*". The first is the use of a single phrase, fairly short in length, which must be stated multiple times but which cannot be subdivided into smaller phrases. In other words, the phrase has no internal form or structure. Four of the 20 compositions have tenors composed in this manner.[149] A further seven compositions have tenors consisting of a phrase requiring multiple statements, but which can be subdivided into smaller phrases revealing an internal structure.[150] For example, the tenor of *Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum* (WF 71) consists of a phrase requiring five repeats. However, the phrase itself can be subdivided and has the form ABA'B'.

However, seven of the 20 examples do not appear to have any strict melodic or rhythmic phrases or ostinati in their tenor parts.[151] In a couple of cases, it may be that the fragmentary remains of the tenor parts do not reveal enough to show existent repetitive forms. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the seven pieces in question partly comprise of all four pieces with liturgical tenors.[152] The other three compositions apparently without forms in the tenor are *(Fulgens stella…..) qui quid homo/ Pes de fulgens stella* (WF no. 74), *O dulcis Jesu memoria/ Pes de Dulcis Jesu memoria* (WF no. 75), and *……./ Fons ortorum Riga morum/ Pes*, (WF no. 30). The first of

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[148] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online.*

[149] *Senator regis curie/pes/ii*, WF no. 11 & *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 2; *Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ (Quem non capit)….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit*, WF no. 7; *Virginis Mariae laudamus/ Salve gemma virginum/ Pes super Virginis….et Salve*, WF no. 72; *O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis*, WF no. 73.

[150] *Sumer is icumen in/ Sing cu-cu*, *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, 11; *Barrabas dimittitur in merito/pes de Barrabas dimittitur*, *GB-BER* Sel. roll 55, 1, *GB-DRc* C.I.20, 6 & *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11; *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum, GB-BER* Sel. roll 55, 1; *Prolis aeternae genitor/Psallat mater gratiae/ Pes super prolit and Psallat*, WF no. 6; *Virgo regalis fidei/ pes,* WF. 12; *Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum*, WF no. 71; *Puellare gremium mundo/ Purissima mater domina/ Pes super Puellare et Purissima,* WF. no. 76.

[151] Sanders concludes that there are just two *pedes* that have no structural repetition or variation (WF 74 and 75), but I consider this statement to be erroneous.

[152] *Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V Pes (Pascha nostrum?),* WF no. 27; *Pro beati Pauli gloria/ O pastor patris summi/ O praeclara patris/ Pes de pro…..O Pastor et O praeclara*, WF nos 40 & 70, *GB-Lwa* 33327, 4; *[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus*, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, no. 1 (see Appendix G.10 for an edition of this piece); *[Adoremus ergonatum...Alleluya V. Vidimus stellam]/ [A-, Adoremus ergo natum...Alleluya V. Vidimus] stellam eius qui natus/ A- pes, Adoremus ergo natum...[Alle]luya V. Vidimus [stellam]*, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, no. 3.

these compositions preserves a complete tenor part. It is a motet, with two voices surviving of a probable three. The tenor is written out in full and occupies around four whole stave systems. Although the tenor part consists of similar melodic and rhythmic shapes throughout, there is no direct repetition or form, and it is clear that the part as it is written does not need to be repeated. *O dulcis Jesu memoria/ Pes de Dulcis Jesu memoria* is similar. The tenor also appears to have originally been written out in full, but the end is missing where it continued onto the next (now lost) folio. Like *Fulgens stella*, the tenor of *O dulcis Jesu memoria* consists of a number of similar melodic and rhythmic shapes, but no direct form or repetition can be found in the surviving section of the voice part, nor are any repeats of the tenor part required, as far as can be deduced. It is interesting to note that these two pieces were copied next to one another in their original source and, although the original collation of the leaves cannot be determined entirely at this point in the reconstruction, they were copied among many of the other pieces with *pes* collocations for tenors that do feature repeats and/or internal structures.[153] Furthermore, according to Wibberley, all of these pieces are copied in the same textual and notational hands.[154] The third and final piece in this group, *……/ Fons ortorum Riga morum/ Pes*, is harder to assess with any certainty, since the folio has been torn vertically and only around half of the tenor part remains intact. It would, however, seem to be written out in full, and there is no direct repetition visible in what remains. With these compositions in mind it is clear that, although the use of ostinati and repetitive forms are clearly common in tenors labelled "*pes*", 35% of those extant are not composed in this manner.

Sanders also describes the term "*pes*" as "the usual designation for the untexted non-Gregorian tenor of certain motets; it was freely invented or, more rarely, borrowed from a song or a dance-tune."[155] This statement is a little misleading. Of the 20 extant examples, four pieces *are* based on Gregorian *cantus firmi*. They appear in both the Worcester Fragments, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and in *GB-Lwa* 33327 (although the term "*pes*" is not included in this last concordant source). Whilst this is less than a quarter of the surviving examples, it is the same proportion as those with voice exchange in upper parts, which Sanders deemed relevant enough to include in his description. It is simply not correct to say that a non-Gregorian tune is a defining feature of a *pes* tenor. Moreover, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether any of the other *pes* tenors are in fact borrowed melodies as yet unidentified. Lefferts states "in later motets, the use

[153] For instance, see *Puellare gremium mundo/ Purissima mater domina/ Pes super Puellare et Purissima,* WF. no. 76; *Virginis Mariae laudamus/ Salve gemma virginum/ Pes super Virginis….et Salve*, WF no. 72; and *O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis*, WF no. 73.
[154] See Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", pp. 18-20.
[155] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online.*

of the term "*pes*" to identify the tenor may hide a *cantus firmus*" but he adds that "in general, terms such as "*Pes* de" or "Tenor de" indicate that the tenor is non-Gregorian."[156] This is a more reasonable description than Sanders', although the date of the four pieces in question in relation to other examples is subject to conjecture, and at least three of the four pieces might not be described as motets at all but, rather, as motet-like troped chant settings.[157] Regardless of these factors, it does not seem accurate to define pieces with *pedes* as non-Gregorian, since this is not universally the case.

Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V Pes (Pascha nostrum?), probably originally consisted of a setting of the Easter verse *Pascha nostrum* in the tenor part but this is not clear since large portions of the piece are lost after the initial alleluia, and the tenor is simply labelled *"Alleluia V. Pes*". Sanders believes that the upper voices have texts with no substantive tropic relationship to the text of the verse and comments:

> It seems significant, therefore, that, while the respond part of the tenor is designated "alleluia", the remainder is simply labelled "*pes*"… the word "*pes*" is evidently used here to indicate that the composition, though based on a Gregorian *cantus firmus*, is not a liturgically appropriate tropic elaboration of the chant.[158]

Without confirmation that the tenor part is derived from the verse *Pascha nostrum* it seems incautious to assume that the text of the upper parts has no relationship to the text of the chant used in the tenor. Sanders' theory is an interesting one, though, and perhaps more investigation of the *cantus-firmus pedes* and their tropic textual relationships might yield results.

It is possible that *pes* tenors have their origins in borrowing from secular song. Some have structures that are reminiscent of dance rhythms, or contain a refrain-like passage, which might be indicative of the appropriation of secular melodies. When considering the fully-texted, vernacular and secularly-themed tenor of *Salve mater gratie, stella claritatis/ Dou way, Robin* (not labeled "*pes*" but consisting of similarly repetitive and structured units to many of the extant examples) Sanders states "just as a dance phrase could be the source of a *pes*, a popular song or refrain could serve the same purpose."[159] Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether this is the case, since very few secular songs survive, and no *pes* tenor has been successfully identified as such. If this were the case, however, we might expect to find textual incipits that betray the

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[156] Lefferts "The Motet in England", p. 7, fn 7.
[157] Bukofzer, too, is a little more careful in his description stating, "*pes* **often** designates a motet that is not based on a Gregorian melody." See Manfred Bukofzer, "'Sumer is icumen in': A Revision", University of California Publications in Music 2 (Berkeley, 1944), p. 101.
[158] Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony", p. 170.
[159] Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony", p.121.

source of the *pes*, but Lefferts feels this is not necessarily the case. He suggests that, if the *pes* tenors were borrowed from "popular stock", the appropriate textual incipit would have been recognised, and was therefore not recorded.[160] Whilst this is a reasonable suggestion, without further evidence the question of a connection between *pedes* and secular song is purely a speculative one.

The exact way in which tenors titled "*pes*" are labeled is noteworthy. Four forms are extant: "*pes* super [incipit(s)]"; "*pes* de [incipit(s)]"; "*pes*" (including "*primus*" and "*secundus*" prefixes) and "Alleluia V. *Pes*". The first and second of these collocations essentially read the same way and they are either followed by a single (*triplum*) incipit (e.g. *"Pes de Barrabas dimittitur"*), or include the incipits of both the *triplum* and *motetus* (e.g. "*Pes super prolit et psallat*") if the piece is polytextual. The collocation "Alleluia V. *Pes*" is sometimes followed by the verse text, but two of the three extant examples are fragmentary and it is not clear whether or not this was always the case. This last example is clearly only applicable to Alleluia settings, and so its use is quite obviously defined.

It might not seem peculiar to find these four different descriptors if they were spread across different sources – we might speculate, for instance, that different scribes, establishments or geographical areas chose to label their *pes* tenors differently. However, all four forms of collocation are found in Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments. A logical explanation might be that different scribes within that single volume chose to label *pes* tenors in different ways. However, Wibberley's analyses of scribal hands in the fragments show no correlations between the text or notational scribe and the choice of collocation.[161] Losseff takes issue with a number of Wibberley's deductions but analysis on a basic level shows that, regardless of individual attributions, the collocations are not exclusive to particular hands. The most prolific text hand (labelled "a" by Wibberley) is apparently responsible for copying the texts of nine of the fifteen pieces with *pes* tenors in the Fragments. However, scribe "a" employs all four types of *pes* collocation across those nine pieces. Four other texts hands are detected by Wibberley for the remaining six pieces – b, d, e and h. Hand "d" only copied two pieces, both of which use the collocation "*pes super […]*". Hand "e" also copied two pieces, both of which use the collocation "*pes*", and hands "b" and "h" copied only one piece each, both of which also have the collocation

[160] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 381, n. 84.
[161] See Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", pp. 18-20. Of course, we cannot be sure that Wibberley's analysis of the scribal hands is correct. Losseff certainly takes issue with a number of his deductions, for instance. However, analysis on a basic level shows that, regardless of individual attributions, the collocations are not exclusive to particular hands. See Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 152-153.

"*pes*".[162] There is little evidence, therefore, that scribal choice is a factor here. The texts of the various compositions have no clear bearing upon the use of tenor label either, it would seem. In terms of Reconstruction I, "*pes de*" appears twice in pieces where there is only one text in the upper parts (e.g. "*pes de fulgens stella*" and "*pes de dulcis Jesu memoria*"). However, it also appears in the four-part composition *Pro beati Pauli gloria/ O pastor patris summi/ O praeclara patris/ Pes de pro…..O pastor et O praeclara*, where three different texts are used in the three upper parts, and all three incipits are mentioned in the *pes* collocation.

"*Pes super…*" is used often when there are two or more texts in the upper parts (e.g. "*pes super prolit et psallat*" and "*pes super puellare et purissima*"), but this is not exclusively the case. In fact, half of the "*pes super…*" collocations in Reconstruction I seem slightly anomalous on this basis. *Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ (Quem non capit)….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit* (WF no. 7) is a fragmentary piece that appears to have originally consisted of three voices. The two upper parts apparently began with the same incipit, but it is not clear whether the text diverged afterwards. Potentially, "*pes super*" is applied here to a piece with homotextual upper parts. *O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis* is a three-part composition with two tenor parts and a single upper part. "*Pes super*" is used here with the incipit of the single upper part to name both tenors. Finally, the tenor of *Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum* has the unique collocation "*pes super de*" and includes the incipits of both upper parts. It is not clear why this tenor is labelled differently.

The use of "*pes*" alone as a collocation seems more common in pieces where there is a single text in the upper parts. Of the four pieces in Reconstruction I to use this label, all are monotextual. However, outside of Reconstruction I (and putting to one side the three alleluias with *pes* collocations), the remaining three compositions are not labelled in a manner consistent with the above suggestions and trends. In *GB-BER* Select roll 55, *Barrabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitu in merito/ Pes de Barrabas dimittitur* is a polytextual three-part piece but with the collocation "*pes de*" and the same is true of *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/[Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum* - erased] *Tenor de Alma mater* (although the "*pes*" label for the tenor has been erased and replaced with "*Tenor de*"). Finally, *Sumer is icumen in/ Sing cu-cu* is completely different again. The two tenors are fully texted throughout – the only piece to include full texts for tenors labelled "*pes*". At the beginning of the piece, a bracket in the margin joins the two parts together with the term "*pes*" written only once.

[162] Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", pp. 18-20.

That the choice and wording of *pes* labels has no relationship with the text or the type of piece, and is not dependent on different scribes or volumes, is not unusual in terms of what we typically find in insular sources. It is common to find various different means of labelling tenor and *quartus cantus* parts, even within the same source. For instance, in *GB-Onc* 362 there are tenors without any form of incipit or designation at all, those which are simply labelled "tenor", fully-texted tenor parts, and those with textual incipits. Equally both "*quartus cantus*" and "*quadruplum*" are used to label the fourth voice in four-part compositions. There appears to be no clear reason why this should be the case, and perhaps we should also assume that this is true of *pes* collocations.

There are two compositions where a single upper voice is accompanied by two tenors labelled "*pes*".[163] Sanders feels they represent a "special kind of accompanied song".[164] Given, though, that insular composers were experimenting with four-part motets with equal ratios of upper to lower parts, it is perhaps not surprising that we find some examples where a composer has turned a typical three-part setting on its head. Both pieces are found in Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments and appear to have been copied by the same notational hand, at least. What is interesting, however, is that neither of these two Worcester Fragment settings contain repetitive forms in both tenor parts. The two tenors of *Senator regis curie* are labelled "*primus pes*" (lower tenor) and "*secundus pes*" (upper tenor). Those of *O debilis o flebilis* are labelled "*pes* super O debilis" (upper tenor) and "primus *pes* super O debilis" (lower tenor). In both cases, the lower of the two tenor parts requires repetition. In *O debilis o flebilis*, one quite long phrase is repeated just once, and in *Senator regis curie* a much shorter phrase is repeated three times. In both instances, the phrase is only written out once, with no indication of necessary repeats. The upper tenor parts, however, are written out in full. Whilst there is some repetitive material in both these upper tenor parts, along with the *motetus*, neither have any repetitive forms or ostinato-like features. As Sanders notes, "*pes* repetitions often produce partial repetitions in upper voices", but it seems peculiar that two tenor parts in the same piece and labelled the same way should behave so differently (see figure 4.30).[165]

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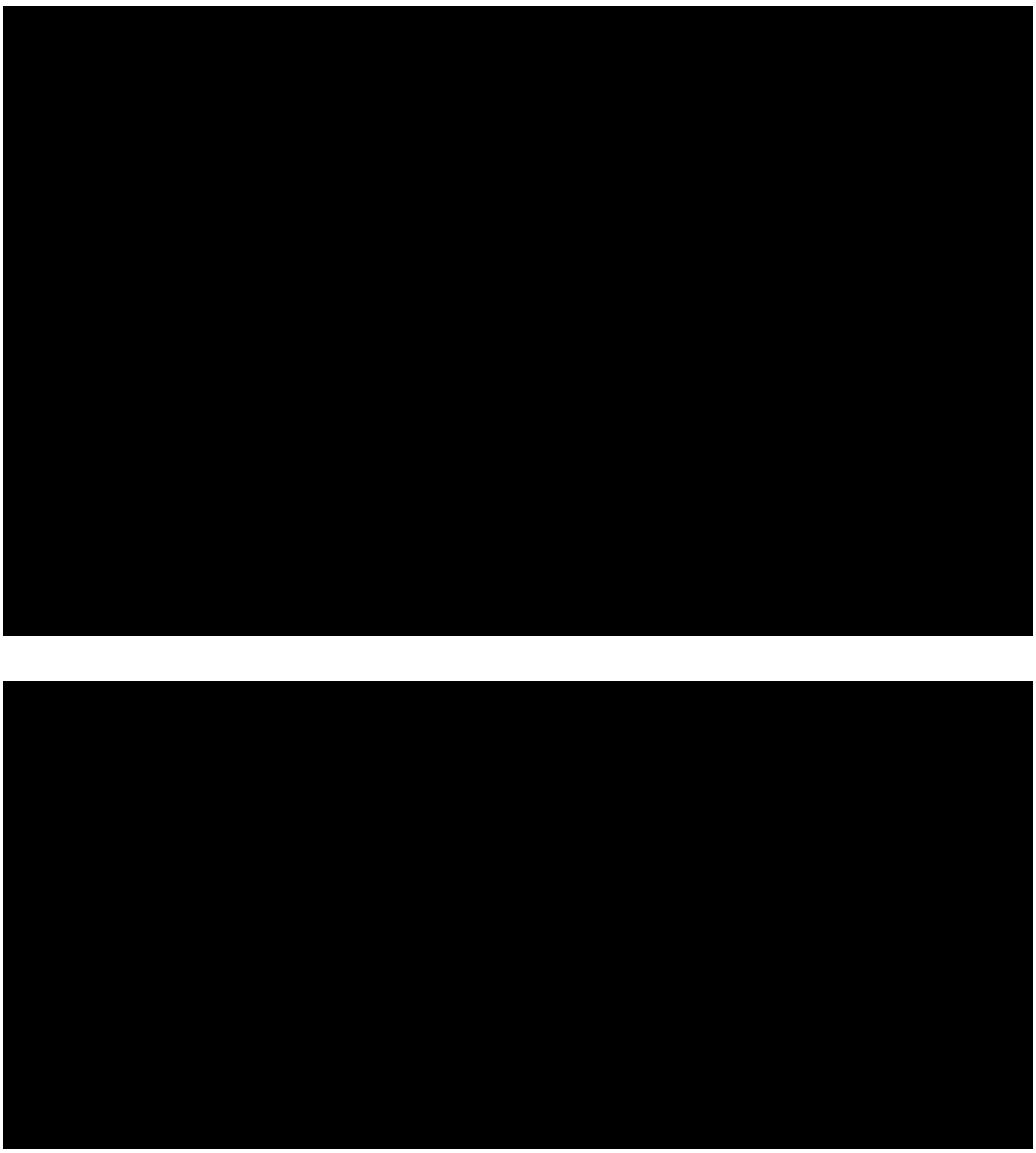
[163] *Senator regis curie/pes/ii* (WF 11 & *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 2) and *O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis* (WF 73).
[164] Sanders, "Pes (i)", *Grove Music Online.*
[165] Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony", p. 109

Figure 4.30: Pieces with two *pes* tenors that behave differently to one another (*Senator regis curie/Primus pes/Secundus pes* and *O debilis, o flebilis/Pes super o debilis/Primus pes super o debilis*) – *Image removed: embargoed*



It is perhaps also relevant that the only two examples of compositions of this nature with tenors labelled "*pes*" should be constructed in exactly the same way. However, the situation is complicated by a concordance for *Senator regis curie* in *D-Gs* Theol. 220g (no. 2) where the parts are labelled "*pes*" (lower tenor) and "ii" (upper tenor). The lower *pes* tenor is written the same way as the Worcester Fragments version, with no indication of repeat. The upper *pes* is not actually labelled "*pes*" at all, although we might assume that "ii" refers to a second *pes*, since no other terminology is used here. This tenor part is quite different to the Worcester Fragments version. Instead of being a through-composed part, written out in full with no necessary repeats or form, here a short phrase only is provided. It corresponds exactly to the beginning of the "*secundus pes*" of WF 11, but stops at the same point as the end of the first statement of the

primus pes (see figure 4.31). No further music from this part is copied into *D-Gs* Theol. 220g (nor was it intended to be, since the other tenor part follows it immediately, on the same stave system) and no indication of repeat is provided. Clearly, though, in this case both tenor parts would require three, identically timed repeats. It seems particularly strange, therefore, that although both parts behave identically in this source, they are labelled differently (in comparison to WF 11, where they behave differently but are labelled in the same way). In any case, it would appear that at some point a composer/scribe either added music to the upper tenor of *Senator regis curie* to make it through composed (perhaps to match with *O debilis flebilis* in the same source), or else removed large portions of it in order that it match the other tenor part.

Figure 4.31: *Senator regis curie/ii/pes* as it appears in *D-Gs* Theol. 220g with two tenors of equal length subject to repetition – *Image removed: embargoed*

Whilst most of the patterned *pes* tenors rely on the repetition of melodic and rhythmic phrases – some with internal structures – there are three pieces with phrases that have internal isorhythmic structures. The tenor of *Barrabas dimittitur in merito/pes de Barrabas dimittitur* consists of a short musical phrase that may be divided into three isorhythmic *talea*. The whole phrase is repeated twice, with a third repeat to the first *talea* only. Similarly *Prolis aeternae genitor/Psallat mater gratiae/ Pes super prolit et psallat* (WF 6) has a tenor part consisting of a short musical phrase, which requires 11 repeats. The phrase itself is isorhythmic in two *talea* "with an extra repetition of the previous two notes at the end of the second *talea*".[166] Finally, the tenor of *Virgo regalis fidei/ pes* is a short repeated phrase in three simple *talea*. Isorhythmic motets were particularly popular on the continent and appear to have been assimilated into insular styles of motet composition by some time around the end of the thirteenth and beginning

[166] Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. XIV (Monaco: l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979), p. 242.

of the fourteenth centuries (to the best of our current understanding of chronology). This may indicate that these three *pes* motets are a little later in date than some of the others, but this cannot be confirmed.

The only sources to preserve the descriptor "*pes*" are *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (fragment B), *GB-BER* Select roll 55 and *D-Gs* Theol. 220g. There would appear at first to be little to connect any of these five sources together but, in fact, all but *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 share concordances with the Worcester Fragments. However, at the rear of *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 is an index to another, lost volume of polyphony where several of the incipits listed match incipits of pieces preserved in the Worcester Fragments and *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*. Whilst we cannot confirm that the music (as well as the text) was concordant, it seems likely that at least some settings were the same. Some of the pieces in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and *D-Gs* Theol. 220g are remarkably similar to those preserved in the Worcester Fragments, too. *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (fragment B) is the only other extant source to preserve quadripartite, motet-like troped alleluia settings and Reaney comments of *D-Gs* Theol. 220g that "the notation and script is typical of Worc".[167] Although all of the pieces labelled "*pes*" in the Worcester Fragments are from Reconstruction I, it is clear that numerous scribes were responsible for the copying of this volume. While the notation and script might be similar in some cases, there is no evidence that any of these scribes were also responsible for the copying of *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, *GB-BER* Select roll 55 or *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*.

It is perhaps noteworthy that both *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 and *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* are thought to have originated either from Reading Priory or its cell in Leominster. Perhaps *D-Gs* Theol. 220g and Recostruction I were originally from this general area too. Unfortunately, very little is known about *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, and apart from observed similarities to the Worcester Fragments and the Reading sources, there is no evidence to connect it with the other four sources of the term "*pes*". We have no information about the provenance or history of the source. *GB-BER* Select roll 55 is clearly later than the other sources mentioned here, but connected to them in terms of its contents. Its origin can be partially traced. It is a *rotulus*, and one side of the roll is an account of building work at the Bretby home of John, second Lord Segrave, between March 1302 and January 1303. It is thought that the roll stayed at Bretby until John's death in 1324.[168] His son and heir, Stephen, died the following year, leaving the title and estate to his 10-year-old son John (II), fourth Lord Segrave. Between 1327 and 1337 Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, son of Edward I and brother of Edward II, held all lands and muniments in wardship. His main residence

[167] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, RISM B/IV/I, p. 83.
[168] Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400,* RISM B/IV/1-2 supp., pp. 8-9.

was Framlingham Castle in Suffolk and it is generally believed that the music was copied onto the roll during this period, possibly by one of Brotherton's chaplains or clerks.[169] Both Framlingham castle and Bretby are a long way from Reading or Leominster, but the Segrave's had an enormous estate with land in Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Rutland, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire.[170] Moreover, the Earl of Norfolk's estate was naturally vast, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, but also included land in Oxfordshire, Essex and Surrey. Perhaps the Earl of Norfolk visited some of these estates during his ten year wardship, taking with him a clerk, cleric or scribe associated with either household, who may have been exposed to musical exemplars that employed what we might consider was a local term, "*pes*".

Numerous other connections between *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and the Worcester fragments have been suggested, mostly on the basis of a "W. de Wycombe" who's name appears in the rear index, alongside a group of four-part Alleluia settings, apparent concordances of which can be found in the Worcester Fragments and in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*. Moreover, the majority of the pieces listed in the *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 Index that have any sort of extant concordance are most commonly found in the Worcester fragments, or a shared concordance or cognate of those fragments. Wycombe, it has been suggested, was a scribe at Leominster Priory, who was resident there for around four years towards the end of the thirteenth century (c.1270) and may originally have been a monk of Reading or Worcester. References to this scribe, and a list of associated works can be found in *GB-Ob* Bodley 125, ff. 98v and 99r. He supposedly copied, among various other works, a "collectarium according to Reading

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[169] *Ibid.*

[170] Part of the Segrave estate included a manor at North Piddle in Worcestershire, less than 40 miles from Leominster and eight miles from Worcester. There is no evidence that the Earl of Norfolk visited the estate during his 10-year wardship but, during this time, the ownership of the property was in dispute. The widows of John I and Stephen fought over the property from 1325 onwards and it is possible that Brotherton and some of his staff had to visit the area in an attempt to reach a settlement. In 1337, when John, fourth Lord Segrave assumed control of his affairs upon his majority, Segrave married Thomas de Brotherton's daughter, Margaret. By 1344 they had settled the dispute and North Piddle became part of John and Margaret's estate. Shortly after the dispute settlement, the property was granted to Thomas de Ferrars for life (who is an ancestor of Henry Ferrers, a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, and his son, Edward, whose name appears all over the musical flyleaves of *GB-Ob* Wood 591). The records for the manor at North Piddle are also held at Berkeley Castle, as listed by the National Archives, London (under the reference BCM/D/5/94). See A. J. Musson, "Seagrave , John, second Lord Seagrave (1256–1325)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25038 [Accessed 24 March 2016]; "Parishes: North Piddle", in *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 4*, ed. William Page and J W Willis-Bund (London, 1924), pp. 177-180, *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/worcs/vol4/pp177-180 [Accessed 24 March 2016].

use", a "summary together with a treatise on music", and two *rotuli* containing polyphony.[171] It has been suggested that these two *rotuli* may be identified as those that amount to fragments B and C of *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and which contain Alleluia settings that appear concordant with those in the Reading index, but this is disputed.[172] Sanders feels that this list of works was compiled by Wycombe himself who "made it clear that for part of those four years he occupied the priory's leading musical position."[173] Whether Wycombe was composer or simply scribe is unclear, and his relation to any of the extant music under discussion is subject to conjecture, but it is clear that in content and style the Worcester Fragments, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 are closely linked sources. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that they represent three of the five extant uses of the tenor designation "*pes*".

It is still very difficult to define exactly what a *pes* really is. It is likely to describe some sort of repetitive form, but this may be in various different forms and could include voice-exchange or isorhythms. It is probably not derived from Gregorian chant, but not necessarily so. On this basis, it seems incautious to appropriate the term into modern scholarship and to apply it to pieces not labelled this way in their manuscript sources. But numerous modern scholars have applied the term "*pes*" to many other motets, despite the fact that no single formula, style or trend unites all the 20 labelled *pes* tenors in existence. This is not to say, though, that there are not pieces within the repertory that behave in the same way as some of those with tenors labelled "*pes"*. Losseff states there are 33 motets with *pedes*.[174] However, in her catalogue at the end of "Insular Sources" she lists 34 pieces that make use of a *pes,* and in a further list after this catalogue she lists 32 pieces.[175] All of these pieces are motets. Of the 20 examples where *pes* is written in the manuscript she only mentions 15. She does not include mentions of the term "*pes*" for the three alleluias (WF 27 and *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, 1 & 3), and she completely omits *GB-BER* Select roll 55 because it is a fourteenth-century source (and she only deals with thirteenth-century sources), despite the fact that it transmits some thirteenth-century material. Therefore, there are

[171] See Sanders, "Wycombe, W. de", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30632 [Accessed 22 March 2016].
[172] See Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 8 (1954); Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background II", *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song", *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Vol. 15 (2006), p. 17 (n. 31); Christopher Holher, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing Thirteenth-Century Polyphony", *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society,* Vol. 1 (1978), pp. 2-38; Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (Ph.D Dissertation, Trinity College, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 64-65.
[173] Although, given that Leominster was a cell, and therefore probably had a relatively small number of personnel, this is not necessarily any great achievement. Sanders, "Wycombe, W. de", *Grove Music Online.*
[174] Losseff, "Insular Sources", p. 22.
[175] This is including those with tenors labelled "*pes"* in the source, and those that Losseff terms *pes* tenors. Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 211-246, and 248.

no mentions of *Barrabas dimittitur in merito/pes de Barrabas dimittitur* or *Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum.* Lefferts similarly omits the use of the term "*pes"* for the two alleluias from *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* and the two motets in *GB-BER* Select roll 55, but he does mention WF 27.[176] In addition to the 16 pieces he mentions that have a *pes* descriptor, he also discusses a further 16 pieces, 12 of which are included in the 17 additional *pes* pieces discussed by Losseff. Although Sanders does not provide an exhaustive list of pieces that he considers include *pedes*, he does state that "there are others [pieces] where "*pes*" seems appropriate but is absent" and he cites WF nos 10, 15 and 65 as examples.[177]

As Table 3 shows, the difference in opinion between just two modern studies is quite striking. While a number of the same pieces are considered *pes*-like by both scholars, there are thirteen instances where this is not the case. Regardless of the relevance and appropriateness of applying the collocation "*pedes*" to these compositions, differing opinions and conflicting taxonomies only create confusion and misunderstanding. Moreover, it gives the impression that these interpretations of the term have some sort of authority, and those examples from the 20 surviving labelled compositions that seem anomalous in comparison become overshadowed and are not given the proper consideration.

Table 3: Scholarly application of the term "*pes*"

Incipits and sources	Losseff	Lefferts
O quam glorifica luce/O quam beata domina/ O quam felix femina/ T. (WF 10)	✓	
O venie vena spes seculi/…../ Illumina, morti…../ TER (WF 13)	✓	✓
Eterne virgo memorie/ Eterne virgo mater/ T. (WF 15)	✓	✓
Loquelis archangeli/…./Quartus cantus/…. (WF 18/66)	✓	
….(melisma)/ Amor patris presentatur (melisma)/….(melisma) (WF 20)	✓	
O regina celestis curie flos virginum/ O regina celistis curie Consolare/…… (WF 22)	✓	✓
……/ Sanctorum ominum/ T. (WF 23)	✓	

[176] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*
[177] Sanders, "Medieval English Polyphony", p. 104

……recolat ecclesia Katerine/ Virgo sancta Katerina, tam humana quam/ T. (WF 32)	✓	✓
……./ O regina gloriae/ T. (WF 36)	✓	✓
Dulciflua tua memoria/Precipua michi da gaudia/ Tenor de Dulciflua (WF 41)	✓	✓
Peregrina moror errans/……../ T. (WF 47)	✓	
Candens crescit lilium/ Candens lilium columbina/ Quartus cantus/ (primus pes) (WF 53)	✓	
Conditio nature/ (O natio nephandi)/ T. (WF 65)	✓	
Thomas gemma cantuariae/ T(homas cesus in doveria)/ Secundus tenor/ P(rimus tenor) (WF 67)	✓	✓
Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ T. (*GB-Cgc* 512/543)		✓
Orto sole serene novitatis/ [O] virga Iesse qui stas in signum/ T. (*GB-Cgc* 512/543)		✓
[O sancte Bartholomee plebs fideles hodie] gratulatur et letatur per te/ [O sancte Bartholomee plebs devota dignas tue lau]-des dat memorie ydola/ O Bartholomee miseris nobis (*GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1])		✓
Miles Christ gloriose Symon/ Plorate, cives Anglie, magnaninum Lecestrie (*GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1])		✓
[Salve Symonis quia hic]/S[alve Symon Montisfortis]. . . prostratu gentis anglie . . . in terris extiteris/Tenor de Salve Symonis quia hic (*GB-Cjec* QB 5)	✓	✓
Stilla mellis, vellus rorifluum (*GB-Ctc* O.2.1)	✓	
V[eni], mater gratie, stella claritatis/ [Dou way, Robin] (*GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX & *US-PRu* Garrett 119)		✓
Campanis cum cymbalis/ Onoremus dominam dignam/ Campanis/ Onoremus (*GB-Ob* c mus. 60, frag. A)	✓	✓

O Maria, stella maris, medicina/ Ihusu, fili summi patris/ T. (*GB-Occ* 497)	✓	✓
[T]ota pulcra es, amica mea/ [A]nima mea liquefacta est/ T. (*US-PRu* Garrett 119)	✓	
[*Alleluia celica rite]/ [A]lleluia celica rite/……..* (*US-PRu* Garrett 119)	✓	

While the use of the term "pes" might seem appropriate in many of the above cases, various descriptors and taxonomies could be applied. There are so many mixes and blends of techniques across the repertory that it is impossible to separate compositions (and specifically motets) on the basis of compositional devices. Descriptions can be somewhat long-winded. For instance, Lefferts describes *Thomas gemma cantuariae/ T(homas caesus in doveria)/ Secundus tenor/ P(rimus tenor)* and *Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum*, which are very similarly constructed compositions, as "varied voice-exchange-motets with additive structures based on varied voice-exchange within a static *pes* harmony".[178] Some of the melodic material and the versions of the *pes* occur together, although there is no strict exchange but, rather, hocketing and recurring formulas. Not only are these two pieces very similar (the latter with and the former without the *pes* label), but Lefferts also identifies that the *pedes* of these pieces are closely related to *[T]ota pulcra es, amica mea/ [A]nima mea liquefacta est/ T.* and *Sol in nube tegitur/ (…….-tur disciplina caeditur)/ Pes* (the former without and the latter with *pes* written in the manuscript).[179] It is important to keep in mind, though, that although these two *pes* motets have close relationships to two motets without *pes* tenors, they do not have close relationships with all of the 20 surviving examples of *pes* motets.

What is perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the disparity between the contemporary labelling of certain types of tenor or composition in manuscript sources is that there are various pieces in Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments that might legitimately be labelled "*pes*", some of which are copied next to or within a few folios of pieces with labelled *pes* tenors. This is most evident from WF 9 to 19, where only three original folios are missing. WF 9 to 13 are on contiguous leaves, followed by a two-folio gap, WF 14 to 17 are contiguous, and a single folio is missing before WF 18 and 19. Within this group of compositions are four pieces with tenors labelled "*pes*" (WF 11, 12, 16, and 17), four pieces that Losseff feels should be referred to as *pes*

[178] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 84
[179] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 92.

motets (WF 10, 13, 15, and 18) and in two of those cases Lefferts agrees (WF 13 and 15). The distribution of genres is interesting here – we have a troped chant setting followed by four motets, a second troped chant setting followed by another four motets and a final troped chant setting (WF 19). Of the four motets in each group between the chant settings, two have *pes* tenors. *O quam glorifica luce/O quam beata domina/ O quam felix femina/ T. (pes)* (WF 10) has an unlabelled tenor with no incipit, which consists of a short phrase requiring nine repeats (not indicated). The phrase itself has the form AA'. The similarity between this and the *pes* tenors is clear, but yet the descriptor has been omitted here by the scribe, despite the fact that it has been included for the following two compositions, the first of which (according to Wibberley) was written by the same textual and notational scribes. The fourth motet of this contiguous group, *O venie vena spes seculi/…../ Illumina, morti…../ TER* (WF 13), also does not include the "*pes*" label – instead the part is labelled with equally spaced capital letters, reading "T E R" (an abbreviation for "tenor"). It consists of a short phrase without any internal form that must have required several repeats to accommodate the upper parts. This piece is written in the same two hands as WF 12.[180]

After a two-leaf gap (and another troped chant setting) is *Eterne virgo memoriae/ Eterne virgo mater/ T.* (WF 15). This tenor is rather long, unlabelled and without a textual incipit, but it does require one repeat (not indicated). The phrases itself consists of two very similar halves, which might be considered to have the form AA'. It is immediately followed by *Quam admirabili et venerabilis/ Pes* (WF 16), which has a tenor labelled "*pes*". It is quite unlike any of the previous surviving *pes* tenors in that it has a form designed to complement the voice exchange in the upper voices (AABBCCDDEE), and has been written out in full across the bottom of the opening. Equally, *Sol in nube tegitur/ (…….-tur disciplina caeditur)/ Pes* (WF 17) has a tenor with the form AA'A'BBCC, which has also been written out in full. Unfortunately a page containing (probably) a motet is missing here, but is followed by one further motet and then a troped chant setting. The final motet, *Loquelis archangeli/…./Quartus cantus/……* (WF 18) is also preserved in Reconstruction II. In both sources, however, only the *triplum* and the *quartus cantus* survive. The *quartus cantus* is labelled in Reconstruction I but there is no label or incipit for this part in Reconstruction II. The suspicion that a "*pes*" label would be appropriate for the missing tenor is apparent from the structure of the music in the *quartus cantus*, which indicates that the piece included voice exchange. Unfortunately, though, we can never know whether the missing tenor of Reconstruction I was originally labelled "*pes*" or not. Although several different text hands are responsible for the copying of WF 9-19, they overlap enough that this cannot be the explanation for the inconsistent application of the term. According to Wibberley, the same scribe is

[180] Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", pp. 18-20.

responsible for the text of WF 9-11, then another scribe for WF 12-14, 16 and 19, and WF 15 and 17-18 were written by two further scribes.[181] Three of these four scribes are responsible for the copying of at least one piece where the descriptor "*pes*" is present, as well as at least one piece where it is absent but seems appropriate. The scribe responsible for WF 15 is the only exception.

That similarly constructed tenors can be found without "*pes*" descriptors in other sources, from different areas, and written by different scribes is one thing, but it seems extremely unusual that pieces copied side-by-side should be labelled differently. It is impossible to understand why the term is so inconsistently applied here. It is enough to question whether, in fact, modern interpretations of the term are even remotely close to medieval understanding and use. This in itself should caution modern scholars against an appropriation of it. In terms of an insular style, it is not the term "*pes*", nor its application or lack thereof that is important. The structures and the techniques employed in motets and some motet-like troped chant settings are far more relevant. All of these forms of motet composition are extremely closely related, and styles and techniques appear in various different combinations and forms throughout the repertory. Patterned tenors are common in insular motets, and are very frequently accompanied by isorhythms, isomelism, hocketing, exchange, imitation, and dance forms. These features are what mark insular motets and motet-like compositions apart from their continental counterparts. There is nothing that stands out as strikingly different when the 20 pieces with *pes* tenors are compared to the rest of the motet repertory. Those *pes* tenors that might be considered similar to one another, are macro-rhythmically similar, generally requiring repeat and/or consisting of repetitive forms, but these structures are applied in a variety of ways and there is no standard formula. There can be little argument that the term itself only appears in insular sources. However, it is clear that "*pes*" was not a well-known or universally used term for a tenor (of any sort), but was rather a term known and used by a small proportion of the musical and scribal community, and, more specifically, in a small and closely-linked repertory of songs.

In this chapter, I have outlined features of both style and presentation commonly associated with the insular repertory, and determined whether or not these features are unique to insular sources (and therefore whether or not they provide definitive evidence of origin). I have also attempted to quantify, where possible, how frequently the most common or unique features can be found in the extant repertory, and whether or not it is reasonable to consider them "typical" or insular style. *Rondellus* (defined here as a complete exchange of material between all available parts) is certainly exclusively insular, and so is voice-exchange over a patterned tenor. While *rondellus* itself is not as prevalent in the insular repertory as previous scholarly literature

[181] Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music", pp. 18-20.

might imply, strict exchange (of any type) is found in a significant portion of the extant repertory, and might legitimately be considered "typical" of insular style. This is not to say that strict exchange in general is uniquely insular, however. In terms of notational and presentational practice, "English *conjuncturae*" are not found exclusively in insular sources, and cannot be considered "typical" of insular style because they do not appear extensively throughout the repertory. However, rhomboid breves are only found in insular sources, and while they are not particularly prevalent (mostly found in pieces copied in simple long-breve notation), their appearance in a source provides conclusive evidence of insular origin.

Analysis in this chapter has enabled a number of more general observations. Firstly, there are no surviving miniatures, historiated initials or elaborate border designs surviving in insular sources. However, the use of empty stave decoration is almost uniquely insular (although there are relatively few extant examples). It would also appear that melisma decoration and, more specifically, decoration associated with exchange and *rondellus* are found more frequently in insular sources than those on the continent. Furthermore, while two-part writing seems to be less common, comparatively, in insular sources, four-part writings appears to have been significantly more popular. In terms of the mis-en-page of the manuscript sources, two-column formats are particularly rare in surviving insular sources.

Finally, the use of the term "*pes*" is certainly unique to insular manuscripts. However, only 20 pieces in the entire repertory have tenors labelled in this manner. Furthermore, only a proportion of those tenor parts share similarities in their style and construction, and even in these cases the structures are applied in a variety of ways. With no conclusive or precise interpretation of the contemporary meaning of the term, it is difficult to determine how typical the use of *pes* tenors are in the insular style. We might say that, in general, the use of structured and repetitive tenors is common in insular composition, and that in itself may be considered a prevalent feature of the insular style, but it is by no means exclusive to the insular repertory, and numerous French compositions make use of this same technique.

Chapter 5: The Homogeneity of Insular Sources

The difficulty in defining genres and categorising pieces in insular sources has already been discussed above, and it is clear that the approach to composition in thirteenth-century England was very different to that of the French. Whereas French composition focussed on developing distinct genres and subgenres (motet, *conductus*, *organum*, *clausula*, etc.), insular composition apparently focussed more on experimentation with already-established genres, in many cases to the point where categorising according to continental principles of genre becomes impossible. As a result of this experimentation, a much wider range of insular compositional forms survive.

French sources are generally organised by genre and number of voices, with contents separated into different fascicles. A small number of sources are alphabetically organised according to the incipit of the highest voice, and some sources of polyphonic liturgical music are organised according to the liturgical calendar. In many cases, insular sources do not seem to conform to any of these organisational methods, but no study as yet has explored exactly how often this is the case. However, deciphering the methods of construction and organisation in insular sources is very difficult (given the number of missing sources and leaves), and it may be that this interpretation of the organisation of some sources is a direct result of their highly fragmentary nature – perhaps their organisation would be more comparable to continental sources were they better preserved. On the other hand, perhaps some scribes used a system of organisation that we cannot decipher according to our current understanding of the repertory, or perhaps a somewhat haphazard approach to organisation is a direct result of a more fluid approach to the idea of genre. This chapter will attempt to clarify, examine and quantify, where possible, the sources that appear to conform to continental organisational methods, and those which seem heterogeneously organised in comparison. Furthermore, I will discuss various factors which may have influenced the organisation of insular sources, including provenance, function, genre and exposure to continental exemplars.

Study of source organisation in the extant repertory is limited. Firstly, only purpose-built manuscripts of polyphony are relevant to a discussion of organisation. Service books tend to preserve only one or two polyphonic compositions, often added as an afterthought on a previously blank folio, or else appearing at their appropriate place in the liturgy. Miscellanies, by their very nature, are not conducive to a study of organisation. They are usually constructed over a longer period of time, sometimes by several different individuals, and polyphony appears haphazardly in among literary items, letters, recipes, medical cures, histories, and more. The same applies to non-musical manuscripts that are not miscellaneous, but to which music has been

added to a blank folio. In none of these cases was the scribe faced with a significant number of pieces for copying, and a blank booklet or quire on which to do so. The sources that reveal the most about the method of organisation applied by the scribe are those purpose-built manuscripts with the most extant surviving leaves. As a result, special attention will be given to Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments below – the source with the most surviving folios of all insular sources from this period.

5.1 Single Folio Sources

In several cases, only a single folio survives of what was once a large, purpose-built manuscript of polyphony, and sometimes only a single piece of polyphony is preserved on the leaf. In these instances no information regarding organisation can de gleaned. In other cases, single folio sources preserve a small handful of compositions. Appendix E.1 lists all such surviving sources. While we must be cautious not to assume too much on the basis of a single folio, it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions in cases where the evidence strongly suggests that the contents were ordered alphabetically (such as London, British Library, Additional 5958 (source B) [*GB-Lbl* Add. 5958 (source B)] and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 22857E [*GB-AB* 22857E]), and when a single leaf preserves different formats and genres together in a manner unlikely to be found in continental sources (such as Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Select 13 [*GB-DRu* Bamburgh Sel. 13] ; London, British Library, Cotton Fragment XXIX [*GB-Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX] ; Oxford, Merton College, 248 [*GB-Omec* 248] and Wisbech, Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Town Library, [pr. bk.] C 3. 8 [*GB-WHwfm* C 3. 8].[1] *GB-DRu* Bamburgh Sel. 13, for instance, has the appearance of a purpose-built manuscript, with proficiently copied notation and the use of good quality decoration in the form of both large initials, and multi-coloured melisma decoration to highlight the use of *rondellus.* Lefferts describes [*Quem trina polluit]…orbum domino../..veri iudicio...* as a double-texted *rondellus-conductus*, which seems an appropriate descriptor, given the structure of the piece.[2] The second composition on the verso, *[Tu capud ecclesie, tu celice…]-e o Petre cuius…./ Tu es Petrus a petra/T. [Veritatem]*, is best described as a motet, which has the beginning of the Gradual for the feast of the Assumption as its *cantus firmus*. Both pieces are in three parts, but the motet is copied in parts and *the rondellus-conductus* is a mixture of score and texted score (when *rondellus* is applied to *cum littera*

[1] Cases where anomalous genres and formats have been added later are not included here.
[2] However, whether it was always intended to be a double-texted piece is unclear. The scribe has not left enough space between the staves for the second line of text. Either this was a mistake, or it was encountered and added subsequently, albeit by the same scribe. In any case, the second line of text has been crammed in under the first. See Peter Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 1983), p. 58.

sections). Perhaps the contents were ordered thematically, since both pieces are for St Peter. However, even if this were so, the grouping of these two very different pieces together, written in entirely different formats, would be considered unusual in a continental source.

On the basis of the contents of the surviving leaf only, of the 20 sources listed in Appendix E.1, only nine show signs of organisation in a manner akin to that of French manuscripts. Another six sources are difficult to assess in their surviving states. The remaining 5 sources appear heterogeneously organised according to continental methods. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 803/807 [*GB-Cgc* 803/807] is one of the more obviously homogeneous folios. It contains three Agnus dei tropes, all of which are monotextual, and alternate between sections of monophonic chant and polyphony. All three pieces are in two-part score and all texts are in Latin. We might speculate, therefore, that the manuscript from which it came was organised (at least in part) in a similarly homogeneous manner.

Some single folio sources are more difficult to interpret – such as Cambridge, Clare College, arch. acc. 1988/17 [*GB-Cclc* arch. acc. 1988/17], and London, National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), LR 2/261 [*GB-Lpro* LR 2/261] – either because they are in such a fragmentary state, or because they cannot be fully interpreted.[3] In *GB-Cclc* arch. acc. 1988/17, only one fragmentary part of the first composition survives and it is hard to compare it to the only other piece preserved on the folio. Cambridge, St John's College, 138 [F.1] [*GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1]], however, has two motets copied in parts and in two columns on one side of the leaf, but on the other side a motet is copied alongside what appears to be a *Benedicamus domino* setting, and the page is laid out in a single written block. The motet has been copied in a very unusual format, with two upper parts written on alternate stave lines, in a format akin to score, but texted separately and with more significant gaps between staves (the *motetus* has been notated, but the *triplum* staves remains blank). The tenor follows underneath. One upper part has a Latin text and the other is in Anglo-Norman. It is possible that the parchment leaf once came from a *rotulus*. In any case, two separate hands are responsible for the dorse and face, or recto and verso, respectively, and the quality of the scribal work is not particularly high. It may be, therefore, that this *rotulus*/manuscipt was not a purpose-made source, dedicated to the copying of a specific collection of songs, but rather consisted of a number of separate, more miscellaneous entries.

Canterbury, Cathedral Archive, Additional 128/8 and 128/71 [*GB-CA* Add. 128/8 & Add. 128/71] contains two alleluia settings both of which are monotextual, in three parts, and copied

[3] See also London, National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), LR 2/261 [*GB-Lpro* LR 2/261]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 25 [*GB-Ob* Savile 25]; and]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, c mus. 60 [*GB-Ob* c mus. 60], all of which are very fragmentary and difficult to assess.

in score. Both settings appear to have required the insertion of plainchant, and all texts are in Latin. However, Lefferts asserts that the two pieces are written by different hands, and may have been copied separately and at different times.[4] Furthermore, at the top of the verso (labelled recto by Sandon), is an isolated line of text that is written directly above (and almost on top of) the top line of staves ("*transcendens Maria"*).[5] There are no traces of staves or notation, however. It is clear that the piece on the recto, *Alleluia V. Ave rosa generosa*, has been left incomplete, as there is a ruled and texted accolade of staves at the bottom of the recto, but the notation has not been copied onto it. The end of the text at the bottom of the recto appears not to be the end of the textual setting either, and so it seems quite plausible that the text at the top of the verso belongs to *Alleluia V. Ave rosa generosa*. It may be, then, that the large amount of blank space above the text at the top of the verso was reserved for the remainder of the previous piece, but the layout is not clear.[6]

5.2 Sources with Several Surviving Leaves, but no Consecutive Folios

Purpose-built sources with several leaves or bifolia surviving provide more opportunity for study than the above single folio sources. However, if we cannot ascertain the original collation of the leaves or their relationship to one another, we cannot make too many assumptions about the organisation of the source. It is also very difficult to assess any sense of the organisation of contents into fascicles. The contents of certain surviving bifolia suggest that either side of the double page were originally located in different fascicles of the source, but it is difficult to prove this conclusively.

Appendix E.2 lists the sources without contiguous leaves, but with contents that appear to have been homogeneously organised if we assume that the surviving leaves came from more than one original fascicle. There are only two such sources – Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, ii. 266 [*B-Br* ii. 266] and London, British Library, Additionl 38651 (E) [*GB-Lbl* Add. 38651 (E)]. The third source listed here is the index, preserved at the rear of London, British Library, Harley 978 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 978], for a volume now lost. It clearly shows that the pieces within were grouped

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[4] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*, Faculty Publications: School of Music. Paper 45 (2012) [http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/musicfacpub/45] [Accessed 27 March 2016].

[5] See Nicholas Sandon, "Fragments of Medieval Polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 30 (1976), pp. 37-39.

[6] Vertical pencil marks for the written block can be seen on the left-hand edge of the verso and, above the text, it appears there is another, faint horizontal pencil line. This may have either been to mark the top of the written block, suggesting that the space above was originally a large margin (although it would be significantly larger than the top margin on the recto as here only the very top part of the top system of staves (plus the margin) has been cut away), or to mark the top of the space reserved for the text underneath the intended above accolade of staves (this would appear to be the more likely scenario).

and organised according to genre and number of voices (the headings for each section are provided in the index). The first group consists of troped chant settings, and this is followed by a large group of alleluia settings, and then 38 *conducti*. After this are numerous motets grouped according to the number of voices and texts. Appendix E.3 lists sources without contiguous leaves, but with contents that appear to have been homogeneously organised as part of the same fascicle, or a source entirely dedicated to one genre. There are 11 sources listed here, all of which appear to have been organised in a manner comparable with continental sources. However, if it were possible to interpret the relationships between the surviving leaves, or to see the contents of the folios that originally separated them, it is possible that our conclusions would be different.

There are a number of sources with non-contiguous leaves in a particularly fragmentary state. In these cases it is not always possible to deduce the method of organisation, or whether a definable method existed at all. In order to assess the organisation of surviving leaves in comparison to continental sources with any certainty, we must be relatively confident of the formats, genres and numbers of voices. Appendix E.4 lists those sources with non-contiguous leaves where one or more of these criteria cannot be determined. Finally, Appendix E.5 lists five sources with non-contiguous leaves with contents that appear to have been heterogeneously organised in comparison to continental organisation.The sources here appear heterogeneous in a number of ways. It is certainly possible that the first two leaves of Cambridge, Pembroke College, 228 [*GB-Cpc* 228] came from a fascicle of motets in a larger source, and the other leaves were from a different fascicle of the same source. However, the presence of both a Credo setting and a *cantilena* on a single leaf is not usually something we would expect to find in a French manuscript, and suggests that the contents were not as rigidly ordered. Equally, while the pieces in Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 5 [*GB-Cjec* QB 5] all appear to have been polytextual and in parts, the pieces on the rectos of both folios are copied in a single column format and those on the versos are copied in a double column format.[7] The pieces are fragmentary, but appear to have been motets and motet-like troped chant settings. Oxford, Bodleian Library, arch. Selden B. 14 [*GB-Ob* arch. Sel. B. 14], like *GB-Cjec* QB 5, preserves both motet-like troped chant settings and troped chant settings, but it also includes untroped chant settings. The first flyleaf preserves both troped and untroped Kyrie settings, whereas the following page includes Kyrie tropes, and two tropic settings of the *Spiritus et alme* from the Gloria. *GB-Lbl* Harley 3132, includes both a *cantilena* and a motet on one side of the surviving bifolium.

[7] The piece on f. 139v (*[Sospitati dedit egros] . . . sospes regreditur*) has no music entered on the staves, however. Text and staves are copied into the left hand column, but the right hand column is entirely blank. It would seem as though copying was abandoned for some reason.

Although we do not know the collation of the leaves, in several of the above cases the sources preserve mixtures of *cantilenae*, motets, troped chant settings, untroped chant settings, and motet-like troped chant settings. In some cases, two or more of the genres are preserved on a single leaf without any form of break between them. While motet-like troped chant settings are uniquely insular compositions of a hybrid nature (in comparison to French genres), so much of the style, the general compositional techniques and the structures of motets, troped chant settings, motet-like troped chant settings and untroped chant settings are interchangeable that their grouping together seems quite appropriate. The use of devotional or paraliturgical texts and *cantus firmi* in some insular motets causes the lines between genres to be significantly blurred. However, the motive for the change of format in *GB-Cjec* QB 5 during the copying of what appear to be compositions of the same or a very similar genre is more perplexing. A change from one format to another is usually only necessary with a change of genre or number of voices, and therefore most frequently occurs at the beginning of new fascicles in French sources. This would not seem to be the case here, however.

5.3 Sources that Preserve Contiguous Leaves of the Original Manuscript

In some sources it is possible to determine that at least some of the surviving leaves were originally contiguous. However, there are four cases where the leaves are too fragmentary to assess conclusively. These are listed in Appendix E.6. In these cases, it is simply not clear whether there was an attempt to order the contents because too little of the source survives, and/or the relationship between some of the leaves is indeterminable. In one particular instance, music leaves have been inserted into a host source as both front and rear flyleaves, and it is unclear what the original relationship was between the two sets of leaves – they may even come from different manuscript sources. *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 contains three- and four-part motets in parts, except for a single Kyrie in score on the rear leaves. If the two sets of flyleaves are from a different original source, then we might consider that the front flyleaves are homogeneously organised, and the rear flyleaves are not, but if they came from the same source, then the homogeneity of the source is questionable due to the appearance of the anomalous Kyrie. However, even if we consider that the front flyleaves are from a separate source, the contents are still not quite ordered as we would expect to find them in a continental manuscript. The motets are not organised by number of parts, and so three- and four- part pieces are copied side-by-side and in no particular order. Moreover, some employ *cantus firmi*, some include isorhythms, voice-exchange and patterned tenors. As a result, the range of techniques and styles found in a small section of the original source is far wider than we would expect to find in a continental motet source.

There are seven sources with contiguous leaves that appear to have been organised homogeneously. They are listed in Appendix E.7. In two cases the contents seem to have been ordered alphabetically.[8] Only a small number of insular sources appear to have been organised this way, and there is no way of knowing whether the entire source was organised alphabetically, or whether pieces were arranged into fascicles, which were in turn arranged alphabetically.[9] It seems that in some cases, however, insular alphabetical ordering was not necessarily applied to sections arranged according to genre but, rather, pieces of different genres were grouped together alphabetically.[10] Therefore, while the source might show signs of identifiable means of organisation, the end result is somewhat different to what we would expect to find in a continental source.

Like *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, the music leaves of *GB-DRc* C.I.20 have been inserted into a host source as both front and rear flyleaves, and the original relationship between them in unclear. There is no anomalous piece or format included here, however. All of the pieces are motets copied in parts and, where the number is determinable, pieces appear to have been in three parts. However, also like *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, the motets (especially those on the front leaves) employ a range of techniques and styles, as well as the use of different languages, without any attempt to group these features together. Whereas we would expect to find in a continental source, for instance, all motets with both French and Latin texts to be preserved together in a fascicle, and away from Latin motets, here no such clarity of organisation exists. While we might consider this source homogeneous for the most part, there are features that still mark it apart from manuscript preserved on the continent. Interestingly, too, the rear flyleaves of both *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 and *GB-DRc* C.I.20 appear to be a little later in date than the front flyleaves, and the pieces on the rear leaves show much more prominent French influence.[11]

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[8] See *GB-LIc* 52 and *GB-Owc* 3.16 (A)*.

[9] It is unusual to find genres other than motets copied in alphabetical order in French sources. Motet fascicles in sources from the earlier thirteenth century are typically ordered liturgically (see *MO*), but as the French motet lost its association with the liturgy, becoming secular in theme and with freely composed tenors (or those borrowed from secular song), alphabetical ordering became more common. In *Ba* and W_2, for instance, motet fascicles are arranged alphabetically according to the incipit of the *triplum* (or highest voice). It is rare to find contents ordered entirely alphabetically, as opposed to on a fascicle-by-fascicle basis – the Chansonnier Cangé (*F-Pn* fr. 846) is the only source from this period arranged in this way. This is particularly interesting, since chansons are almost always grouped according to author. However, since the Chansonnier Cangé only contains chansons, alphabetical ordering does not disturb the distribution of different genres. Such a disturbance would be unusual according to French practice.

[10] *GB-Lbl* Harley 5958 (Source B), for instance, a single folio of a polyphonic manuscript, preserve the incipits of five pieces, all of which begin with the letter "B", suggesting that pieces were arranged alphabetically. The first piece is a four-part *Benedicamus domino* setting copied in score followed by a single, fragmentary voice part, which may have belonged to a motet copied in parts. After this is what appears to be a three-part monotextual motet, with two upper parts in score, followed by a tenor.

[11] The rear leaves of *GB-Ob* e mus. 7 contain two pieces with French texts (as opposed to only Latin on the front leaves). Two pieces also have continental concordances. One of these is a motet that appears here

Perhaps the most homogeneous remains are those of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 81 [*GB-Ob* Hatton 81].[12] This source consists of two surviving bifolia, which originally sat inside one another, and the innermost was the centre of the gathering (four consecutive leaves). Five motets are preserved, all copied in parts. The first four motets are written for four voices, while the fifth is for three voices (which is possible evidence of grouping according to the number of voices, too). Three of the five pieces (nos 1, 3 and 4) have tenors that paraphrase chant. The first four pieces, all in four parts, have liturgically themed texts in their upper parts, with themes of Advent and Christmas Time (St Nicholas, the Nativity, Epiphany). However, the text of the fifth, three-part motet is homiletic. The manuscript was clearly of relatively good quality. The decoration is fairly intricate and well executed, the scribes were clearly experienced, and the parchment is of better quality than the codex of the host source. However, there are also several additions and amendations in later hands, which might suggest that it was a working book, actually used by singers (particularly since some of the additions seem directional, such as "recita" added to indicate necessary repeats). Perhaps, then, the contents were ordered according to genre, voice parts, but also according to the liturgical calendar, so that appropriate pieces for performance might be easily located.[13]

Cambridge , St John's College, 84 [D.9] [*GB-Cjc* 84 [D.9]] is also homogeneously organised on the basis of the surviving leaves. It appears to solely preserve *cantilenae* copied in three-part score, but the two surviving bifolia are fragmentary and badly worn in places. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1980/47 [*GB-Cfm* 1980/47] preserves three pieces that appear to have been motet-like troped chant settings on two leaves (originally a bifolium that was not the centre of the gathering). A textless *cantilena* was added later in three-part score. All of the motet-like troped

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with a Latin *contrafactum*, but which can be found in the Ivrea Codex (*I-IV* 115) with a French text by Philippe de Vitry. The rear leaves of *GB-DRc* C.I.20 have three pieces with French texts (as opposed to only one piece with an Anglo-Norman tenor on the front leaves). There are six continental concordances, and two of these pieces have texts by Philippe de Vitry. In both sources, the front flyleaves only contain unique pieces and pieces with insular concordances.

[12] As well as *D-Gs* Theol. 220g (three-to-four-part motets in parts on a bifolium that was the middle of the gathering); the Harleian Index in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 (incipits ordered into fascicles according to genre and voices); and *I-Bdc* unnamed fragment (four three-part motets copied in parts).

[13] There is no evidence to indicate the provenance of the music leaves, but the host source contains Statutes of England from Henry IV to Henry VI, which may suggest a link to London or Westminster. However, the tradition of copying private collections of statutes into books, often with writs and other legal literature, became particularly popular in the late thirteenth century, and it is likely that this book was a copy rather than an official document (which were usually entered onto rolls). These books were probably purchased by professional lawyers. Statutes were usually copied in the language in which they were originally recorded (which varied between French and Latin), since the exact wording was important. However, lawyers would generally have been more familiar with French, and that is perhaps why some copies, like *GB-Ob* Hatton 81, are copied entirely in French (see also *US-Ws* Va. 256 and *US-HLS* 12). Interestingly, *GB-Ob* Douce 139, a miscellany that also contains polyphony, preserves an "attempt to turn on of the major Edwardian statutes (Westminster II) into Anglo-Norman doggerel verse" (see D. A. Trotter, *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 74-76).

chant settings are in three parts and copied in score. The nature of the pieces themselves – somewhere between a motet and a troped chant setting – renders the manuscript quite different to a contemporary French source. However, the copying of these pieces together here presents a relatively homogeneous group.

Other sources seem to preserve homogeneous groupings of more than one consistent category of pieces, perhaps from originally separate fascicles of the music source (see Appendix E. 8). Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Collge, 334/727 [*GB-Cgc* 334/727] has six surviving folios; two inserted as flyleaves at the beginning of the host source, and four at the end. The first two leaves do not appear to have been originally contiguous. Of the four at the rear, the first two leaves and the last two leaves were originally contiguous (ff. 119-200 and 201-202 of the host source), but it is unclear whether all four leaves originally sat next to one another (*Includimur nube caliginosa* occupies ff. 199v-200v, with a new piece beginning on the recto of f. 201). The front leaves contain three chant settings (two Sanctus settings and a Te Deum), and the rear leaves contain seven *cantilenae*, all of which are in three-part score. The first of the front flyleaves preserves two Sanctus settings for the Ordinary of the Mass, and the second flyleaf preserves a Te Deum, for use at Matins. Since these settings do not appear on contiguous leaves, they may have been ordered liturgically, or according to the number of voices. The three-part *cantilenae* occupying all of the four rear flyleaves may represent a different section of the manuscript dedicated entirely to *cantilenae* in three parts, suggesting a method of organisation not unlike that of contemporary French sources. Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1 [*GB-Cjec* QB 1], Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591 [*GB-Ob* Wood 591], and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 497 [*GB-Occ* 497] present similar situations.

All three of these sources are of high quality – *GB-Ob* Wood 591, in particular, includes initials with gold leafing – and all three contain one or more pieces with continental concordances. *GB-Ob* Wood 591 preserves high insular *conducti* (four three-part pieces) on one side of the two bifolia, alongside some of the most well-disseminated *conducti* in the Notre-Dame repertory (three two-part pieces) on the other side of the two bifolia. The pieces may have been separated into both three-part and two-part sections or fascicles, but also according to the origin of the compositions (insular and Notre Dame). *GB-Cjec* QB 1 preserves 15 continental *conducti* that appear to have been separated into two- and three-part fascicles, with the addition of two insular three-part *conductus*-like pieces (which have been texted but the staves are blank) and a single two-part insular *conductus* which is a pastiche of the Notre-Dame style. *GB-Occ* 497 only includes one continental *conductus*, but it would appear as though three-part Kyrie tropes were grouped together, followed by three-part *conducti*. All three sources appear to have been copied by skilled scribes and would have been expensive to make. It is likely that they would have been

made or commissioned by large, rich, and well-connected ecclesiastical establishments or individuals. We might therefore suggest that the continental-like organisation here is a result of knowledge of continental methods of organisation, and/or of exposure to continental exemplars.[14]

One final group of sources to discuss are perhaps the most important in determining the overall homogeny of insular source organisation – sources with surviving contiguous leaves, which appear to have been copied in an entirely heterogeneous manner. This group includes many of the insular sources that have a higher proportion of surviving pieces and leaves. The highly unusual nature of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8 [*GB-Ccc* 8] has been discussed in detail elsewhere, but it is important to state that it is probably the most heterogeneous source surviving from thirteenth-century England.[15] However there are another eight sources that might be considered similarly heterogeneous.

London, British Library, Sloane 1210 [*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210] was clearly created in a number of different stages of copying. Various different hands and styles can be observed, with a major change in style and written block at f. 141v. We might expect there to be a lack of continuity, therefore, to a certain extent. It is not possible to determine the original relationship between all of the surviving leaves but of the eight surviving folios, ff. 1-1*, 138-141 and 142-143 were originally contiguous. However, the heterogeneous nature of the contents surpasses both the different stages of copying and the contiguity of the surviving leaves. Folios 1-1* contain four compositions – a Credo setting in three-part score, a motet in three parts and copied in parts, and two two-part *cantilenae* in score. The next group of contiguous leaves (ff. 138-141) contain a Gloria setting in three-part score, a troped Kyrie in three-part score, a *cantilenae* in two-part score, a hymn, a motet-like and a *conductus*-like composition, all in three-part score, and an Alleluia setting in two-part score. The Alleluia setting, however, is the first piece copied by completely different hands and was possibly copied at a later stage than the other pieces on these four contiguous leaves. The final two contiguous leaves, ff. 142-143, contain a *cantilena* in three-part score, a motet in three parts and in parts format, and another *cantilena* in three-part score. Despite the different copying stages and the difficulty in establishing the contiguity of all of the leaves, it is clear that *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210 contained a diverse selection of contents that show no detectable form of organisation. Not only do the genres differ, but so do the numbers of voices

[14] See Appendix E. 8 for more information.
[15] For further and more detailed discussion of this source see Amy Williamson, "English Polyphonic Music around 1300: Genre and Repertory in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Ms 8", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 58 (2013), pp. 373-392.

and formats.[16] The different stages of copying evident in the leaves, and the lack of any decoration for the most part (with just an occasional penwork capital), may suggest that this book was a collection of works gathered over some time, perhaps used for performance, and not intended to be a high-quality source. However, the indents at the beginnings of some pieces for the insertion of large initials may suggest otherwise. The provenance of the source is unknown.

The order of the contents of Chicago, University Library, 654 appendix [*US-Cum* 654 app.] is easier to determine since all of the surviving leaves were originally contiguous. Although all of the pieces are copied in the same format (parts), the number of original voices is unclear for some of the compositions, as the four extant folios have been cut into 16 fragments leaving some pieces incomplete. However, Lefferts feels that it is likely that all of the pieces were originally in three parts.[17] Although we might suppose that the pieces copied here were grouped together as three-part compositions, the order of the pieces shows a lack of generic consideration.[18] There are also several pieces which are difficult to discuss in terms of genre.[19] The source is good quality, although it is not particularly richly decorated. It is most likely from Meaux Abbey, a large and rich Cistercian house in Yorkshire.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 978 [*US-NYpm* 978] also consists of an entirely contiguous set of leaves. There are four extant bifolia, which together form a complete gathering of eight folios. The first five pieces are *cantilenae* in three-part score, followed by five Mass Ordinary settings. The first is a Sanctus setting, but with only the first letter ("S") as an incipit and no further text. It is in three parts, with the two upper parts in score, followed by the tenor. The other four Mass Ordinary settings (two Credos, a Deo gratias, and another Sanctus) are all in three-part score. They are followed by a *cantilena* in three-part score, and then a four-part Latin motet, which "has an internal refrain structure and an overall five-part form in the *duplum*, which

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[16] Furthermore, some of the compositions use similar techniques but are not grouped together: The motet on f. 1v-1*r, *[T[riumphus patet hodie letitie/ [……]….[ending]..et illuc quiescere/ T.*, has a tenor deposed in three isorhythmic periods, repeated twice; the motet on ff. 140v-141r, *Quare fremuerunt gentes insane quorum fiunt/ Quare fremuerunt gentes insane quorum fiunt/ T.*, has a *medius cantus*, also in three isorhythmic periods, "followed by a retrograde form, in notes and rhythm, of the third isorhythmic period" (stated twice); the alleluia on ff. 141v has a tenor with the form ABA'B'; and the motet on ff. 142v-143 has a *medius cantus* in eight isorhythmic periods, which is stated four times (Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XV (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, c1980), pp. 160-161).

[17] See Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*

[18] See Appendix E. 9.

[19] See pp. 52-55 and 157-159 for information about *In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terris/ In excelsis gloria, in terris* (see Appendix G.4 for an edition of this piece)*; Stella maris nuncuparis/ Stella maris nuncuparis/ Stella maris nuncuparis* (see Appendix G.5 for an edition of this piece)*; Patris superni gratia fraus/ Patris superni gratia fraus/ Pia pacis inclita* (see Appendix G.2 for an edition of this piece)*; Orbis pium primordium natum/ [Orbis pium primordium natum].....hominem/ O bipartitum partum* (see Appendix G.3 for an edition of this piece) and *Christi cara mater, ave*.

the other voices reflect".[20] It is copied in parts. There are then two more Mass settings – an Agnus dei and a Gloria – both of which are in three-part score, and the first is to be performed as a canon. The final piece, which appears here without text, can also be found in the Fountains Fragments (*GB-Lbl* add 62132A). It employs a *cantus firmus* - *Victime paschali laudes* – that is an Easter sequence for use at Mass on Easter Day, found in the *duplum*. The free tenor consists of two main sections, the second of which is a retrograde of the first.[21] It is copied in three-part score. It might logically be described simply as a chant setting, but since it is textless it seems less likely that this was its intended function. Despite the fact that the majority of the pieces in *GB-NYpm* 978 are Mass settings, there is no obvious or detectable method of organisation. Although the source appears homogeneous at first, with *cantilenae* grouped together followed by Mass settings, the inclusion of another cantilena and then more Mass settings either side of an anomalous motet, is heterogeneous in comparison to French manuscript organisation. The source is of a mediocre quality, with very simple decoration. Its origin is unknown.

The 10 surviving leaves of Oxford, New College, 362 [*GB-Onc* 362] have an old foliation in the top right margin that shows their original proximity to one another (see figure 5.1).[22] The pieces on the first two consecutive leaves consist of three motets. The first is in three parts and the second has a *solus* tenor part, so either three- or four-part performance is possible. It has a *cantus firmus* in the tenor. The third motet, *Triumphat hodie Christi miles/ [Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme]/ Si, si qe la nuit vus preigne*, has a French secular tenor with the form: a a b b a a b b a a. It is in four parts, and the tenor melody is swapped between the two tenor parts in voice-exchange. Four folios after this in the original source are another five motets. The first, *[Balaam*

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[20] *Candens crescit lilium/ Candens lilium columbina/ [Quartus cantus]/ [Tenor primus].* See Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XIV (Monaco: l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979), pp. 242-243.

[21] Ernest H. Sanders, Frank Ll. Harrison and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Music for Mass and Offices (II) and Music for Other Ceremonies: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVII (Monaco: l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989), p. 176.

[22] Understanding the original order of the leaves and their relationship to one another is difficult without first-hand examination of the source (which has been beyond the scope of the current study). Only RISM B/IV/1 catalogues the source, but Reaney is a little unclear in his description of the leaves (Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/1 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), p. 588). It is clear that the leaves are bifolia, and that one of the bifolia has been misbound in the composite modern source. Taking into account Reaney's description, the original foliation, and the pieces that run across originally consecutive leaves, it seems as though the leaves come from two different, adjacent, original gatherings. The first gathering consists of the bifolium f. 84 and 87, inside of which sits the bifolium f. 85 and 86. These leaves were originally numbered (on the left side of the bifolium) ff. LXX-LXXI and (on the right side) ff. LXXVI-LXXVII. Therefore, there were two further bifolia originally inside these two, forming the centre of the gathering. The outermost bifolium surviving from the second gathering is f. 88 and 91. Inside of this was f. 89 and 90, and then f. 82 and 83. They are originally number (on the left side of the bifolia) ff. LXXXI-LXXXII-LXXXIII and (on the right side) ff. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX-XC. Therefore a further two bifolia originally sat inside of these surviving leaves, forming the middle of the gathering.

de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam], is a three-part *cantus-firmus* motet-like composition with voice exchange in the upper parts. It sets a whole chant in the tenor – a feature more typical of chant settings. The next motet (*Civitas nusquam conditur que supra/ Tu es celestis curie leti fiunt hodie/ Cibus esurientum salus*) has a *medius cantus* with an isoperiodic tenor. A three-part Latin motet with a free tenor follows, and after this is another motet with a French secular tenor that can also be found in Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 925 [*F-TO* 925]. The last piece on these leaves also sets a whole chant in the tenor part and, in this case, the text of the upper parts trope the chant. It was originally in four parts.

Figure 5.1: The original relationships between the surviving folios of *GB-Onc* 362

ff. 84-85 (LXX-LXXI)

Gap of 4 folios

ff. 86-87 (LXXVI-LXXVII)

Gap of 3 folios

ff. 88-89-82 (LXXXI-LXXXII-LXXXIII)

Gap of 4 folios

ff. 83-90-91 (LXXXVIII-LXXXIX-XC)

The next set of three contiguous leaves come after a gap of three missing folios. The first two pieces here are motets in three and four parts respectively. Both motets contain the same *cantus firmus* – a French secular song entitled "*Mariounette Douche*". In the first motet the *cantus firmus* appears in the *motetus* part with a Latin *contrafactum* (*Virgo mater et filia regis*). In the second motet, it is used with its original text as the tenor part. These two motets are followed by another three-part Latin motet with a *cantus firmus*, the first statement of which is isoperiodic. After this is another piece that may be best described as a motet-like troped chant setting. The tenor is the Gloria trope *Regnum tuum solidum* with the *prosula O rex glorie*, and the upper parts trope the text. It is in three parts. Despite the use of different techniques and compositional styles, of different numbers of voices, and different languages, up until this point in the source the genres seem relatively homogeneous and all of the pieces are copied in parts. However, the next composition on f. 82v is an expansion of the Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme,* copied in three-part score. It is monotextual and is not motet-like.

A gap of another four missing folios follows this piece. The first piece on the next set of three contiguous leaves (ff. 83, 90 and 91 or LXXXVIII, LXXXIX and XC) is *Ka-; Karisma conserat a*

patre (see Appendix G.7). It is fragmentary with only one surviving voice, but the use of *rondellus* enables some reconstruction. Despite it being monotextual and *conductus*-like it is copied here in parts. It is followed by a motet with a variant concordance in the Montpellier Codex, in three parts and probably with a *cantus firmus* in the missing tenor part. This is followed by another three-part Latin motet (*Ful- fulget celestis curia Petro/ O, o Petre, flos apostolorum/ Ro-, Roma gaudet de tali*), and then a four-part Latin motet with a *cantus firmus* in three identical statements, and both have complex internal structures.[23] The following piece is a motet-like whole chant setting with a *medius cantus*. A textless piece follows, added to the lower margin sometime after the other pieces. It is in three-part score. Also added later is the composition in the bottom margin of f. 91v. It is in three-part score, and it is "assumed that this is a setting of a troped form of the formula *Iube, domne* [here apparently "*domine*"]*, benedicare*." [24] The final composition, on f. 91v, is of questionable genre. It is copied in parts, with only the two upper parts remaining. Both parts begin and end with long melismas. Lefferts refers to the piece as a "*conductus*".[25] This may be the case, but the use of parts format is misleading.

Although *GB-Onc* 362 is perhaps not as obviously heterogeneous as *US-Cum* 654 app. or *US-NYpm* 978, and it is often known as a surviving insular motet source, the contents are relatively diverse. Motets and motet-like chant settings occupy most of the extant leaves, alongside a few anomalous later additions. However, the appearance of a Gloria trope in score, another troped chant setting next to it in parts, and two *conductus*-like compositions in parts, presents quite a heterogeneous picture in the space of just twenty leaves of the original source. Not only do different formats appear together, but so do different numbers of voices. Moreover, several different compositional techniques including exchange, *rondellus*, isorhythms and internal structures appear mixed together and without any form of order, and although many of the pieces have close liturgical ties, with rubrics identifying the various pieces according to theme, the pieces show no sign of any sort of liturgical ordering. Lefferts feels that the pieces were "drawn upon for the celebration of certain feasts", which is a plausible suggestion, but for which there is little evidence in terms of the source organisation.[26]

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[23] *O homo depulvere, surge, propere/ O homo, considera que vite/ Filie Ierusalem/ Quartus [cantus].* Harrison states that "the form of the *Duplum* may be represented as a x b' x'' a'', that of the *Triplum* as b x' a' x''' b'', where the beginning of each a or b section coincides with the beginning of each Tenor statement" (Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English Provenance,* PMFC Vol. XV, p. 160).

[24] Frank Ll Harrison, Ernest Sanders and Peter Lefferts (eds), *English Music for Mass and Offices (I): Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. XVI (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983), pp. 271-272.

[25] *Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium/ Sanctorum, sanctorum gloria, laus et refugium.* See Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 59; and Harrison, Sanders, Lefferts, *English Music for Mass and Offices (I)*, PMFC Vol. XVI, pp. 252-257, 279.

[26] Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p. 317. However, the "attitude towards organisation may be indicative of the transitory nature of the collection in the contemporary view" (Lefferts, "The Motet in England", p.

5.4 The Organisation of Reconstruction I

The final sources to discuss in terms of organisation are the original sources identified within the collection of leaves known as the Worcester Fragments. The first reconstructed source (Reconstruction 1), which Hughes described as the "motet book" has the most surviving folios of any extant insular source of polyphony, and Reconstruction II is also relatively sizable.[27] Furthermore, a large number of contiguous leaves can be identified, particularly in the first reconstruction. These sources, then, provide some of the best and most extensive views of methods of insular manuscript organisation. Perhaps tellingly, though, they are also some of the most obviously heterogeneous extant sources, when compared with French manuscript organisation. It is beyond the scope of the current project to discuss all three reconstructions in full here, so special focus will be given to Reconstruction I.[28]

Reconstruction I consists of 31 surviving folios, in various states of preservation. Some of the folios are essentially complete, and others consist of a single remaining strip. The original foliation can be found on most of the surviving leaves in the middle of the top margin space, written in red roman numerals. From this, we can glean that the original manuscript was considerable in size, with at least 140 folios. The 31 folios, recovered from the bindings of various Worcester manuscripts, come from different locations in the original source, but some contiguous folios do survive. Gaps of missing leaves between the surviving groups of fragments range in size from just a single missing leaf, to 35 missing leaves. Some fragments have been discovered since Dittmer and Hughes originally catalogued the leaves and they consequently contain compositions that do not have a "Worcester Fragment number".[29] These pieces are referred to here as "N/A" followed by a number assigned according to their chronological position in the source. So, the first such two leaves (the first foliated XXXVI and the second without surviving foliation), contain four compositions, which are listed here as N/A 1 to N/A 4. These two leaves are perhaps the most isolated of all of the surviving leaves. WF 8, the previous surviving composition (chronologically), is on f. XVI, and WF 9, the next composition surviving after N/A 4, is on f. LXXIII. Therefore, there

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320). Indeed, a number of different notational forms are preserved here and there were clearly a few different copying stages (as erasures and additions demonstrate).

[27] Reconstruction II consists of 13 folios, and Reconstruction I has 31 surviving folios. For more information about Reconstructions II and III, see Appendix F.

[28] For information about the organisation of the other two reconstructions see Appendix F. See also the Worcester Fragments Reconstructions Catalogue document on the accompanying CD.

[29] These numbers are part of an old cataloguing system by Hughes and adopted by Dittmer. See Luther Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription*, Musicological Studies and Documents 2 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1957) and Anselm Hughes (ed.), *Worcester Medieval Harmony of the Thirteenth & Fourteenth Centuries* (Publication of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1928).

are 19 missing folios from the original source before f. XXXVI, and (if we assume that the leaf without foliation was probably f. XXXVII, or another folio in between) there are approximately 35 missing folios between N/A 4 on the unfoliated leaf, and WF 9 on f. LXXIII. Given that these two folios are so fragmentary that we cannot even determine any text or format, they are of no use to the current enquiry. Furthermore, after folio CI the manuscript becomes harder to reconstruct as folio numbers are missing, for the most part. For this reason these leaves will not be given the same consideration at those up to folio CI here.[30]

Figure 5.2: The original relationship between the surviving leaves of Reconstruction I up to folio CI

Folios VI to VII – WF 1-3

[Gap of 5 missing folios]

Folios XIII to XVI – WF 4-8

[Gap of 19 missing folios]

Folio XXXVI – N/A 1 and 2

Folio ????? – N/A 3 and 4

[Gap of c.35 missing folios]

Folios LXXIII to LXXIIII – WF 9-13

[Gap of 1 missing folio]

Folios LXXVI to LXXVII – WF 14-17

[Gap of 1 missing folio]

Folio LXXIX – WF 18-19

[Gap of 2 missing folios]

Folios LXXXII to LXXXIII – WF N/A 5 and 20-22

[Gap of 4 missing folios]

Folios LXXXVIII to LXXXIX – WF 23-25 and N/A 6

[30] For more information about the leaves after CI and their potential reconstruction in the original source, see the Worcester Fragments Reconstructions Catalogue document on the accompanying CD.

[Gap of 2 missing folios]

Folios LXXXXIII to LXXXXIIII – WF 26-29

[Gap of 4 missing folios]

Folios LXXXXIX to CI – WF 30-33

The first group of two consecutive leaves are ff. VI and VII, preserving three compositions catalogued as WF 1-3. All three compositions are troped chant settings (two Kyrie tropes followed by a Gradual trope), at least one of which appears to have motet-like qualities. WF 2, *…..refulgens animae fit/ Lux et gloria regis coelici/Kyrie*, survives in a more complete state than WF 1 or 3.[31] It is a three-part composition, copied in parts, with polytextual upper parts and a tenor with just the incipit of the chant for each section of the piece. The *cantus firmus* consists only of the first two phrases of the chant, as well as part of the fifth phrase, and the sixth phrase. These phrases are used to create a three-part structure, with each section stated three times, to reflect the nine-fold repetitions of the Kyrie chant (*Kyrie eleison/Christe eleison/Kyrie eleison*). As a result, the tenor has a structure AAABBBCCC. The upper parts do not exchange material and are relatively independent of one another. The texts of the *duplum* and *triplum* trope the text of the *cantus firmus* (Kyrie *Lux et origio*), not provided in the tenor part. There is some hocketing at the end of the piece. The other pieces may have similarly motet-like, but they are too fragmentary to assess in detail. However, it seems likely that all three pieces were in three parts and copied in parts format. We might consider that, so far, the source seems reasonably homogeneous.

After a gap of five missing folios are four more extant consecutive pages – ff. XIII, XIV, XV and XVI. The first piece on these leaves, *……./Felix namque Maria/……* (WF 4), is another troped chant setting; this time an Offertory. It is copied in parts and only one voice survives.[32] Although there are five missing leaves between WF 3 and 4, we might be tempted to suggest that the missing leaves also contained troped chant settings, but the other compositions preserved on ff. XIII-XVI cast serious doubt upon this assumption. WF 4 is followed immediately by what

[31] WF 1, *….Christe lux mundi/…/…*, is an adaptation of the trope *Kyrie Orbis factor* but only one fragmentary voice survives. It is unclear whether the piece had the same or different texts in the upper parts, and whether the tenor was untexted, texted or provided with an incipit. However, its original nine-part form, to reflect the form of the Kyrie chant, allows for some reconstruction. It seems possible that this Kyrie setting may have been similar to WF 2. Unfortunately, WF 3 only has a single upper voice surviving. It is a troped setting of a Gradual, but little else can be gleaned.

[32] With only one part surviving it is difficult to comment on the nature of the piece. However, it should be noted that the surviving voice alternates sections of *cum littera* writing with small sections of *melisma*, which gives it a *conductus*-like appearance.

Lefferts considers to be a *rondellus-conductus* in three parts, copied in parts.[33] We might rather consider *De supernis sedibus* (WF 5) simply as a *rondellus,* since there are only two relatively short sections without *rondellus*. However, the alternation between *sine* and *cum littera* writing, as well as alternation between texted and untexted sections of *rondellus* makes Lefferts' classification a reasonable one. The remaining three pieces on these leaves (WFs 6, 7, and 8) are all motets. The first two were clearly in three parts, but the final motet is fragmentary (although probably also in three parts). All three pieces are copied in parts. The first two motets, which have at least some of all three parts surviving, are motets on a *pes*.[34]

After these six leaves, surviving from the first sixteen leaves of the original manuscript, are two large gaps of missing leaves with only two very fragmentary leaves surviving in between (containing pieces N/A 1-4). Seven groups of consecutive leaves follow, with gaps of only 1-4 missing folios. Therefore, between ff. LXXIII and CI (originally 28 folios) 14 folios are missing. While this would be considered a poor rate of survival on the continent, in terms of insular preservation, and in terms of the overall surviving portions of Reconstruction I, this section of the manuscript is relatively complete. It certainly provides the most detailed view of the contents of this, or any insular source and the order in which the pieces were copied.

The first surviving piece on folios LXXIII and LXXIIII is written in a different format to the pieces on the earlier leaves. This is not surprising in itself, since we could imagine that this was part of the organisation of the source. However, this is clearly not the case. *Salve sancta parens virgo/ Salve sancta parens virgo/T.* (WF 9) is a troped Introit setting. It is in three parts and copied with the upper parts in score, and the textless tenor copied separately afterwards. The use of this format is probably symptomatic of the fact that the upper parts share the same text. There is no other reason why this piece should be copied in this format given that the troped chant settings earlier in the source were copied in parts.

WF 10 is copied differently again. It is a four-part motet in parts, but written across an opening rather than down the page. It has a tenor consisting of a short phrase requiring nine repetitions. The following three compositions are also motets and are copied in the same format as WF 10. WF 11 is unusual in that it consists of a single upper part with two tenor parts (labelled *"primus pes"* and "*secundus pes*"). While the *secundus pes* has repetitive elements, it is only the

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[33] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*

[34] The term "*pes*" is actually used to label the tenor parts in both cases. The tenor of WF 6, *Prolis aeternae genitor/Psallat mater gratiae/ Pes super prolit and Psallat*, consists of a short phrase repeated nine times. WF 7, *Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ [Quem non capit]….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit*, has a *pes* which is stated five times. The third motet is very fragmentary, with only one surviving voice. It would seem likely that it was a motet rather than any other genre, but there is little else that can be said.

primus pes that consists of a short repeated phrase (stated four times, in this case). The following motet was originally in three parts, but only the *motetus* and tenor survive. The *triplum* is can be reconstructed, however, due to extensive voice-exchange in the two upper parts. The tenor part is also labelled "*pes"*, and consists of a short phrases stated nine times. The final motet on this group of consecutive leaves (WF 13) may have been in three or four parts (three survive, but only on a single side of the opening, suggesting that perhaps another part was copied on the other side). The surviving upper parts engage in voice-exchange over a tenor that consists of a short phrase requiring several repetitions.

After a gap of just a single folio are four more compositions (WFs 14-17) on folios LXXVI and LXXVII. Unlike the last group of pieces, all four of these compositions are copied in the same format and were likely all in three parts. It is possible that no pieces have been lost entirely through the loss of this single folio.[35] Assuming this to be the case, these two groups of leaves contain nine consecutive compositions from the original manuscript. The first piece is a troped Gradual setting. Only one upper part and a fragmentary tenor part survive.[36] This piece is followed by four motets, all in three parts. The first motet (WF 15) is polytextual with a completely untexted tenor. The tenor consists of two identical sections – i.e. one phrase repeated once. The second motet (WF 16) has a tenor labelled "*pes*", consisting of five different phrases, each stated twice (AABBCCDDEE). The upper parts engage in voice exchange throughout. The fourth and final motet on this group of leaves (WF 17) also includes a tenor labelled "*pes*". It is similar to the previous composition, with a patterned tenor and voice exchange in the upper parts (ABBCCDD). However, this piece is not copied across the opening, but rather on a single side of a folio (f. LXXVIIv).

A single missing folio separates the above group of compositions from the next group on f. LXXIX. WF 18 is copied in parts across an opening.[37] It is a motet with voice exchange, although its fragmentary state prevents deeper analysis. The following composition, *Ave Magnifica - Ave*

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[35] Since the pieces on these leaves are all copied in parts across an opening, the missing leaf certainly contained the lost voices of WF 13 on the recto, and the lost voices of WF 14 on the verso. It seems unlikely therefore, that another composition could have occupied this leaf without having been identified from the adjacent leaves.

[36] The tenor is texted with a different text to the surviving upper part. Despite the texted tenor, it appears somewhat motet-like, and no monophonic chant insertions are necessary since the *cantus firmus* is built into the tenor.

[37] Since WF 17 would appear to only have occupied the verso of f. LXXVII, then there must have been a composition, now missing, on the recto of the missing leaf. It was probably in three parts and laid out similarly to WF 17. It cannot have continued onto the verso of the missing leaf, though, and nor can there have been more than one missing composition on that leaf. This is because WF 18 occupies the recto of f. LXXIX, but only two of its four voices survive (an upper part, possibly the *triplum*, and the *quartus cantus*). Since the missing parts cannot be found on the verso of f. LXXIX, they must have occupied the lost f. LXXVIIv.

Mirifica - Alleluya V. Post Partem (WF 19), is a three-part setting found in three other manuscripts.[38] All three voices are fragmentary, here. Although the tenor is texted, the polytextual nature of the piece, with patterns in the tenor (AABBCC etc.) and voice-exchange in the upper parts (as far as can be seen from those sections of the piece that can be fully reconstructed) give the piece the appearance of a motet-like troped chant setting.

A gap of two missing folios follows f. LXXIX, after which are two more adjacent folios (LXXXII and LXXXIII) containing four more compositions. It is not possible to comment on the first composition at all. Only a strip from the original folio survives and only a fragment of notation is visible. The interpretation of the next piece (WF 20) is subject to some conjecture. Lefferts refers to it as a *rondellus-conductus*, but Hughes considers it a motet.[39] Only the *motetus* and tenor remain. The *motetus* has some short melismas, which may be an indication of voice exchange. The tenor is copied out separately (in parts) and is entirely textless and, as a result, it seems doubtful that the piece was intended as a *rondellus-conductus*. The following composition, *Mun….da Maria mater/ Munda Maria mater militiae/ Vitae via velis vere valentiae* (WF 21), is an example of a canon, or *rota*, with imitative entries two perfections apart. As Sanders notes, "only one voice of this *rota*, with the indicated Roman numerals, is notated in the manuscript; the strophic repeats are written out consecutively".[40] The fourth and final composition on this group of leaves is a motet. Two upper parts survive of what was probably a three-part piece. The *triplum* can be found in full, but only a fraction of the *motetus* survives. Lefferts refers to it as a *pes* motet, but the tenor part is missing.[41]

There is a gap of four missing folios after f. LXXXII. It is unclear how many pieces are missing here since the format changes again from parts, to parts copied across an opening. The first two compositions preserved on f. LXXXVIII are very fragmentary. The first piece, WF 23, consists of just the *motetus* (almost complete) and part of the tenor part (although it is not possible to see an incipit, or whether there was one). The tenor clearly contained repetition, since the structure of

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[38] It is found as a text-only version (space has been left for music that was never added) in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Fragment A; it appears in Reconstruction II but it has been transposed and adapted to fit a different alleluia; and it is also preserved in the eighth fascicle of the Montpellier Codex with the *contrafactum* "*Alle-psallite-cum-luya*". Despite its appearance in the Montpellier Codex, this piece is generally considered to be of insular origin, along with its adjacent composition in that source (*Balaam inquit vaticinans*), and possibly others. For more information about this composition and its origin see: Elizabeth Boos, "Alleluia Cum Psallite", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 25 (1971), pp. 93-98; Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background", 2 vols, *Musica Disciplina*, I: Vol. 3 (1949), pp. 55-94; II: Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; See Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58.

[39] *A[……]…….(melisma)/ Amor patris praesentatur (melisma)/ …….(melisma).* See Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*, and Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony*, p. 89 (WMH no. 36).

[40] Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,* PMFC Vol. XIV, p. 241.

[41] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*

the first visible section is ABCABC. The second piece, WF 24, has only a single, fragmentary surviving voice. It is an upper part, probably from a motet, but we cannot be sure. The voice part surviving on f. LXXXVIII originally continued onto the next folio, as can be seen from the red wavy line drawn across the inner margin. However, only a strip from the very top of f. LXXIX survives.[42] *Ave virgo mater dei* (WF 25) has two fragmentary surviving voices, both of which are upper parts. They share a single text, with parts that alternate between singing a melismatic section while the other sings a phrase of text. Lefferts feels that the piece is a *rondellus*.[43] However, it seems that the parts only swap phrases between one another, and not a third part. Given that there must have been a tenor part, now missing, the piece might be better described as a motet, with voice exchange in the upper parts (probably over a patterned tenor). The final piece of this group is on the other side of the strip f. LXXIXv. Only a fragmentary stave line from the top of the page survives, and the text underneath is not visible. However, an initial "A" can be seen in the right-hand margin. This piece is not included in Dittmer's catalogue since f. LXXXIX is one of the leaves discovered more recently. It is referred to here, therefore, as N/A 6.

Folios LXXXX, LXXXXI and LXXXXII are lost, but LXXXXIII and LXXXXIIII survive. They contain four compositions, all copied in parts but not across an opening (as at least some of the last group of compositions were). All four pieces are motet-like troped chant settings – a Gradual, two Alleluias and a Kyrie. All of the pieces are polytextual and in three parts. While all four of these consecutive pieces seem relatively homogeneous, each of the settings differ from the others in terms of their compositional features. The Gradual, *……./Beata supernorum….V Virga Jesse floruit/ (Benedicta)…….V (Virgo) dei genitrix* (WF 26), has a fully-texted tenor, and does not require the insertion of sections of monophonic chant. *Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V. Pes* (WF 27) does require insertions of monophonic chant, but it has a tenor labelled simply "*Alleluia V. Pes*" and so it is not clear which chant was originally included. *Alma iam ad gaudia V Per te dei genitrix/ Almae matris dei V Per te, o beata, semper/ Alleluia V Per te dei genitrix* (WF 28) also requires the insertion of monophonic sections of chant. The tenor is fully-texted, but the syllables are very spaced out creating augmentation

[42] The strip actually includes a small portion of the top margin (and a tiny section of worn notation) from the other side of the original bifolium, but nothing there is legible. The wavy line seems to suggest that the voice part continued onto the third stave system of f. LXXIX, so it is not quite clear which piece the notation visible on the strip belongs to (from the first stave system). It would appear not to be a new voice part, though, since there is no initial visible. It is possible that it belongs to the following composition, *Ave virgo mater dei* (WF 25), part of which is copied on f. LXXXVIII underneath the surviving voices of WF 24. In more recent catalogues that include the leaves discovered since Dittmer's catalogue, the fragmentary voice part is listed as a separate composition (see Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*). It is simply impossible to tell. As a result, there is no entry for a separate composition included here, but it should be made clear that it may be a separate composition to those preserved on f. LXXXVIII.

[43] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*

much like Notre Dame *organa*. WF 28 also includes assonance on the first syllables of all voice parts, and the upper parts share the same first word. Finally, the Kyrie trope, *Kyrie fons pietatis/ [Kyrie pater venerande]/ [Kyrie Fons bonitatis]* (WF 29), is very fragmentary. It has a concordance in *GB-Ob* c mus. 60 (Fragment A), where it is also fragmentary, but the last stave system on f. 82r shows an untexted voice that is clearly the tenor. Since the beginning is not visible it is not possible to detect whether there was an incipit or whether the part was textless. In any case, it was apparently not fully texted and it is possible that the same untexted version of the tenor was originally part of the setting in Reconstruction I.

A final gap of three missing folios separates ff. LXXXXIII and LXXXXIIII from the final group of consecutive leaves from this portion of the manuscript. Four pieces are preserved – two in parts across an opening and two in parts, one after the other. Although the first and last pieces of these four (WFs 30 and 33) do not have all voices surviving, it seems likely that all of the pieces were originally in three parts. *…….../ Fons ortorum Riga morum/ Pes* (WF 30) is a motet. It is followed by *(F)ulget coelestis curia/ O Petre flos apostolorum/ Roma gaudet de tali Praesule* (WF 31), which is polytextual, and begins with a long melisma, followed by a texted *rondellus* (but the arrangement of text and the exchanges of voices are more complex and ambitious than most *rondelli*).

WF 31 is followed by *……recolat ecclesia Katerine / Virgo sancta Katerina, tam humana quam/ T.*. It is a motet, probably with a tenor requiring repetition since it only occupies a single stave or less (the leaf has been cut away vertically on the left-hand side). The motet is catalogued by Lefferts as being in three parts, but it may actually be in four.[44] The final composition in this group is *…….decus virginitatis/ ……../(Salve virgo virginium: M)aria virgo* (WF 33). It is a troped setting of a Marian version of the Gloria trope *Regnum tuum*. Only part of an upper part, probably the *triplum*, and part of the tenor survive. After this point, determining the placement of the remaining leaves in their original order becomes more difficult. However, Losseff feels that the group of contiguous leaves containing WFs 70-77 where the foliation has been cut away were originally on folios CIX to CXVI. She also feels that three further leaves now containing WFs 38-40 were originally folios CXXV – CXXVII.[45] Outlines of the contents of Reconstructions II and III, which are similarly heterogeneous, can be found in Appendix F.

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[44] It would seem that a textless tenor part is copied underneath both the remains of the *triplum* on f. Cr and underneath the *motetus* on f. CIr. It would not appear to be the same part copied across the page since the end of the voice on f. Cv has several vertical lines drawn at the end of the stave to mark the end of the part. It might be explored, therefore, as to whether this piece may actually be in four parts. See Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*.

[45] The first of these groups, WFs 70-77, are all motets, copied in parts, but the number of voices varies from two to four. All of the pieces except for WF 77 have tenors labelled "*pes*" (WF 77 has no surviving tenor).

The layout and organisation of Reconstruction I seems, at times, to be organised relatively homogeneously but when the whole source is studied and the contiguity and proximity of the original leaves are deduced, it clearly lacks any consistency of organisation. As Losseff states,

> …while clutches of pieces of the same genre occur in places, these do not seem to coincide with breaks in the gatherings. Bearing in mind the ascertainable gaps in Reconstruction I, barely a single section contains only one type of piece. Between folios vi and vii' there are only troped chant settings, and even if these continued to folio viii, with a troped Offertory setting, on the same side there is a *conductus* in part format, *De supernis sedibus* – and this is next to a motet on a *pes*. Between folios lxxiii and lxxiiii', motets on a *pes* follow a troped Introit setting. Between folios lxxvi and lxxvii, a troped Gradual setting precedes motets on a *pes*. The single folio lxxix contains a four-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes* and a troped Alleluia setting. This pattern continues throughout Reconstruction I, with chant settings, alternating with free polyphony in no apparent order, generic, liturgical, alphabetical or stylistic.[46]

More than this, though, there are differing numbers of voices for pieces within the same contiguous sections, different techniques and styles employed for pieces of the same genre, and regular and inexplicable changes in format. With all of this in mind, the organisation of the source seems even more chaotic. There is no room for supposing that organisation worked on an alphabetical or liturgical level, either. Although the first chant settings are Kyries, they are followed by a Gradual setting, which is followed by an Offertory. Later in the original source there are two Alleluias that follow a Gradual setting, but a Kyrie setting follows the Alleluias. Although a number of scribes were responsible for the copying of Reconstruction I, they were clearly working alongside one another and at the same time. However, changes in format, style and genre do not appear to coincide with the changes of hands identified by either Sanders or Wibberley.[47]

Study of the other surviving insular sources from this period has shown that a significant portion of the surviving repertory may have been heterogeneously organised. If we take into account all of the sources listed in Appendix E (71 sources) then nearly a third would appear to

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Not all require repetition or consists of patterns or sections, as is sometimes the case with tenors labelled this way. Of the other small group of pieces, WFs 38 and 39 are extremely fragmentary, with only a single part remaining for each piece. WF 40 is also in a fragmentary state but it is the same piece as WF 70. It is likely that WFs 38 and 39 were originally in three parts, whereas WF 70 is in four parts. See Nicola Losseff, "Insular Sources of Thirteenth-Century Polyphony and the Significance of Notre Dame" (Ph.D Dissertation, Kings College, London, 1993), pp. 157-158.

[46] Losseff, "Insular Sources", pp. 153-154.

[47] Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late-thirteenth and Early-fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary", 2 vols. (D.Phil. Diss., University of Oxford, 1976).

have been heterogeneously organised. If we omit single folio sources from the discussion, as well as those whose contents are too fragmentary to assess with confidence, the proportion of heterogeneous sources is much the same (13 out of 40 sources). There are a number of potential reasons as to why some sources were not arranged homogeneously.

Firstly, a large number of sources apparently mix free and liturgical polyphony, side-by-side, and the similarities in the insular approach to the composition of certain genres appears to have encouraged their preservation together, regardless of the organisational criteria used to compile sources on the continent. For instance we find motets, troped chant settings, motet-like troped chant settings, untroped chant settings and *cantilenae* copied together in no apparent order in insular sources. We might question why insular copiers adopted an approach to manuscript construction so different to their highly influential continental counterparts. Of course, there is no way of answering this question with any certainty. However, there would appear to be two obvious potential explanations. It is possible that a coherent form of manuscript arrangement was essentially abandoned as a result of the difficulties in fitting insular compositions and styles into a French format that differentiates by genre, voices and formats. The hybridisation of the insular repertory, and the experimentation that led to the blurring of generic boundaries works directly against French compositional models and it is hardly surprising that organising a group of insular compositions according to the same principles was likely to cause a number of problems for the scribe. However, as we have seen in Reconstruction I, there is often no attempt whatsoever to group pieces generically. It would not, necessarily, have been difficult to copy more of the similar compositions together and, while not quite like a French manuscript, the result would have been much more homogeneous.

We might assume that those sources without any discernable form of organisation were made at smaller, less well connected, and less wealthy institutions, perhaps by less experienced scribes. We might expect the sources to be of a lesser quality, too, or compiled over time, from various different exemplars, in a haphazard manner. Alternatively, perhaps a mistake was made in the copying process and the leaves were discarded, or the endeavour was abandoned. These explanations may be relevant in cases such as *GB-Cjec* QB 5, where a piece has been left without notation, or *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210, where various different hands are detectable, and indentations have been left for initials that were never copied in. However, this would appear not to have been the case in a number of the most heterogeneous examples. *GB-Ccc* 8, for instance, was clearly a very large volume (as the pagination shows) with good quality parchment and workmanship. *US-Cum* 654 app. is also of good quality, although not particularly richly decorated, and is likely to have originated at Meaux Abbey, one of the largest and wealthiest Cistercian houses in England. Equally, both *GB-Onc* 362 and *GB-Cpc* 228 are good quality sources that were clearly purpose

built, with very good scribal work and ornate decoration. *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14 is perhaps the most beautifully decorated of the heterogeneous sources. It was clearly a high quality, purpose built source, with large initials decorated with very ornate filigree, and minor initials in the text. It may have connections to the royal household or Chapel Royal. The host source is a copy of the Canterbury Tales and the music leaves have been added as flyleaves along with leaves from a Sarum calendar of the fifteenth century. The Mass settings on the music leaves preserve texts and chants of Sarum Use, and may have the same origin as the calendar. The Chapel Royal, among a number of large institutions and cathedrals, followed Sarum Use. Although the music leaves provide no evidence of a royal connection an obit has been added to the calendar for William Heed (on 10th September 1510) who may be identifiable with a William Heed who was Clerk of the Chancery in the late fifteenth century. Furthermore, the book was in the possession of Edmund Clarke in the sixteenth century, who describes himself as the queen's footman in an *ex libris* in the main corpus.[48] The binding may have been from the London area, which may support the theory that it was connected with the royal court.[49] Unfortunately, it is not known where a large portion of the surviving insular manuscripts originated, so discussions of provenance are somewhat limited.

Clearly, there are insular manuscripts that appear to have been homogeneously organised, in a manner akin to surviving continental manuscripts. A small number are organised in a manner essentially indistinguishable from continental sources, and others are homogeneously organised when compared to other insular sources, but are not quite so rigidly organised as continental examples (such as *GB-Lwa* 33327, where the scribe has used the two-column format used for copying three-part motets on the continent, for the copying of four-part motets resulting in a somewhat chaotic mis-en-page). It may be in some cases that exposure to a continental exemplar influenced the organisation of an insular source.[50] This might lead us to speculate that heterogeneously organised insular manuscripts were written by scribes ignorant of French organisational methods, but this seems unreasonable given the fact that some of the heterogeneously organised sources were clearly purpose-built manuscripts of polyphony that

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[48] Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/2 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1969), pp.267-268.

[49] Herbert Craster and Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Which Have not Hitherto been Catalogued in the Quarto Series with References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts). Volume II, Part I: Collections Received Before 1660 and Miscellaneous MSS. Acquired During the First Half of the 17th Century, Nos 1-3490* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 618.

[50] There are specific incidences where this would appear to be the case. W_1 is the most obvious example, but sources such as *GB-Ob* Wood 591 and *GB-Cjec* QB 1 also appear to have been influenced by continental organisational methods, perhaps as a direct result of the inclusion of pieces from the continental repertory. It is not possible to include my research on these, and other sources with potentially influenced organisational methods, in the current study, but I hope to publish my findings in the near future.

came from large, wealthy and well-connected ecclesiastical and monastic establishments (*GB-Ccc* 8; *GB-Onc* 362; *GB-Cpc* 228; *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14). Equally, there are a number of homogeneously organised sources of a mediocre or poor quality (*GB-Ob* Barlow 55; *GB-Cfm* 1980/47; *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (Sources A and B)). However, 11 of the 13 most heterogeneous sources do not contain any continental concordances on their surviving leaves. Of the two sources that do, *GB-Onc* 362 contains only one variant concordance with a piece in the continental repertory and *GB-Ccc* 8 contains what appears to be the tenor of *Mellis stilla*, a motet so well disseminated that it may have been copied into this source from another insular source. While we have to be careful here to emphasise that many sources may have contained continental compositions on folios that have not survived, these observations seem relevant and worthy of further exploration. Furthermore, of the most homogeneously organised sources identified in appendices E. 7 and E. 8, just over a third contain pieces with continental concordances – a significantly higher proportion than the heterogeneously organised manuscripts. Some of the most homogeneous examples appear to have been expensive display copies, and preserve some of the most popular insular and continental pieces of the time (*GB-Ctc* O.2.1; *GB-Cjec* QB 1; *GB-Cu* ff. ii. 29; *GB-Lwa* 33327; *GB-Ob* Wood 591). Perhaps some scribes reserved continental, genre-based methods of organisation for only the very best and most expensive volumes.

It might be suggested, on the other hand, that some insular scribes took no care to organise manuscripts in any particular order. However, great care was clearly taken when copying some of the more high quality, purpose-built, heterogeneously organised manuscripts, which would have been written by a team of scribes and decorators, and produced within a short timeframe. It seems improbable that such carefully executed work would have entirely lacked any organisational planning. Why, then, might some insular sources appear to have no discernable form of organisation identifiable with continental practice? Given that liturgical, generic and alphabetical orderings were clearly not implemented in Reconstruction I, nor in several other similar sources, it seems plausible that the ordering of the pieces could have been determined by their function. We know very little of the performance contexts of many of the genres in the insular repertory. However, the reluctance to adopt emerging French secular themes (particularly in motets) and the frequent use of liturgical and quasi-liturgical texts as well as devotional and religiously moralistic texts (and the use of *cantus firmi*), suggests that many of the surviving compositions were more frequently performed in monastic and religious, as opposed to secular, milieus. The fact that motets and *cantilenae* shared such a close relationship with chant settings and tropes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries would appear to support this assumption. *Cantilenae* in England almost always have Marian texts, and Lefferts has speculated that the genre emerged in response to a requirement for music for the new Marian devotions,

such as a Lady Masses.[51] Julie Cumming states that *cantilenae* were "used originally as sequences and Offertory substitutes, but also as hymn substitutes, and, later, as processional and votive antiphons for the Salve services, where they joined predominantly prose antiphon texts in honour of the Virgin".[52] Furthermore, Sanders has suggested that *cantilenae* may also have functioned as a type of clerical chamber music.[53] Although motet texts in the thirteenth century were wide ranging in theme, particularly in French or French and Latin motets, insular motet themes were less varied. For the most part, they were liturgically themed, and motets in the vernacular or with secular themes are rare. French texts also appear infrequently, and there are very few examples of double French motets surviving in insular sources. It is probable that textual themes determined the performance setting or, rather, the performance setting determined the appropriate textual themes. Insular motets may, therefore,

> …have functioned paraliturgically, like *conductus*: they may have been sung during processions, at moments of great solemnity in the Mass (such as the elevation of the host), or to fill in during the communion or offertory. Others, both French and Latin, with sacred and secular texts, may have functioned as a kind of clerical chamber music, performed by and for the singers of a cathedral or collegiate church, or as entertainment for meals and other gatherings for bishops and high ecclesiastics.[54]

The most likely connection between chant settings, tropes, motets and *cantilenae* would therefore appear to be a functional relationship revolving around paraliturgical and religious performance contexts. The grouping together of these pieces on this basis therefore seems less peculiar. However, that said, we might still expect to find a discernable order to the pieces preserved in sources such as Reconstruction I, perhaps according to preferred position of performance in and around the liturgy, or according to genre or number of voices. No such order can be determined. Perhaps further, future investigation into the order and function of the pieces in these sources might reveal a coherent theory as to organisational methods by insular scribes. This investigation should attempt to determine whether it is possible that some the manuscripts were working books (and not display copies made to demonstate and enhance the wealth and

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[51] Peter Lefferts, "*Cantilena* and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England", *Current Musicology*, Vol. 45-47 (1990), pp. 247-282.
[52] Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 88.
[53] Ernest H. Sanders, "Cantilena (i)", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04773 [Accessed 27 March 2016]. See also, Sanders, "Cantilena and Discant in Fourteenth-Century England", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 19 (1965), pp. 7-52; Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay,* pp. 87-88; Lefferts, "Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England", *Current Musicology,* Vol. 45-47 (1989), pp. 247-282; Julie E. Cumming, "Motet and Cantilena", *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music,* Publication of the Early Music Institute, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 66-67.
[54] Cumming, "Motet and Cantilena", *A Performers Guide to Medieval Music*, p. 56.

importance of the owner), and also whether the pieces they preserve would have been performable by all voices, as written in their manuscript source. Perhaps the fact that, apart from *GB-Ob* Arch sel. b. 14, none of the more heterogeneous sources contain particularly ornate or elaborate decoration is symptomatic of the intended use of the source. In fact, perhaps the lack of historiated initials, minatures, or border decoration in surviving insular sources in general indicates that the sources were intended for functional roles, rather than decorative ones.

Despite the Worcester Fragments holding a particularly prominent position in the historiography of English thirteenth-century polyphony, the heterogeneous nature of the reconstructed sources is not often discussed. However, in this instance, the insight that Reconstructions I and II provide into manuscript organisation is particularly important. Reconstruction I certainly has the largest extant portion of any insular original manuscript of this period. Losseff discusses the difficulty in interpreting the organisation of the pieces, but because there was no such study for the rest of the insular repertory available at the time of her writing, it was not possible to link the genres included in the reconstructions with the genres commonly found together in other sources.[55] Regardless, the fact that Reconstructions I and II, and several of the other sources with larger numbers of extant leaves and compositions, reveal what can only be described as heterogeneously ordered compositions (when compared to contemporary French sources), is evidence enough that, at least in some cases, insular source organisation worked on different principles to continental methods of organisation – just as insular attitudes towards genre in general were apparently less rigid, and more experimental than their continental counterparts. It may be that the lack of a distinct or detectable form of organisation in some cases is a direct result of a more fluid approach to genre, but the frequency with which certain genres are grouped together suggests that there may be a more functional element to the organisation of some heterogeneous sources.

[55] Losseff, “Insular Sources”, pp. 156-159.

Conclusion

It should be clear that many insular compositions can not be directly compared generically to their continental counterparts. The approach to composition in thirteenth-century England was very different to that of the French. Insular genres appear not to conform to the same rules as the carefully constructed continental genres of the period and insular composers apparently had a much more fluid approach to genre. Therefore, while French composers were occupied with the creation and then perfection of a small number of specific forms of composition, insular composers seem to have been far more open to experimentation. As a result, a much wider range of insular compositional forms survive.

Insular composers were not afraid to adapt continental genres to suit their own tastes and preferences. While the French influence on the insular repertory is clear, insular composers and insular musical style were not reliant upon French composition but, rather, composers could pick and choose what features they appropriated for their own use. Therefore, while the *conductus* was clearly adopted by insular composers, it was quickly adapted (to include *rondellus,* or its features were appropriated into other forms of composition). However, genres such as *organum* and *clausula* appear to have had little currency in the British Isles (with the exception of W_1 and a small handful of other isolated examples), with insular composers focussing instead on the composition of troped chant settings (which do not feature the sustained-note style of Notre-Dame *organa*). The consequence of the experimental nature of the insular repertory is that compositional success is more variable. In some cases, the idea behind the experimentation in a composition shows intelligent and sophisticated compositional thought, but the end product does not quite work in practice. In other cases, however, compositional experimentation results in a piece that could rival some of the most sophisticated compositions on the continent.

Insular manuscript organisation shows, in some cases, signs of French influence. While it would appear that a good number of sources were homogeneously organised, significantly, several of the sources that seem homogeneously organised when compared to the rest of the extant insular sources, do not quite adhere to the same strict organisational methods in use on the continent.[1] Therefore, not all of these homogeneously organised sources are truly comparable

[1] For instance, the copying format for certain pieces might not be the format we would expect to find such a piece in on the continent, or the mis-en-page may not be as expected (see *GB-Lwa* 33327 and the use of a two-column format for four-part motets), or the scribe may have mixed pieces of different numbers of voices together.

to continental source organisation. Furthermore, there are several extant souces where organisation cannot be determined because they are too fragmentary.

A significant number of sources do not seem to have been organised with any form of taxonomy in mind. Many of the sources that appear to be heterogeneously organised are some of the largest surviving collections of leaves from original sources. It is significant that all of the most richly decorated, very high quality sources are homogeneously organised, from large and rich institutions, and contain some continental concordances. It would also appear that homogeneously organised manuscript sources in general are more likely to contain continental concordances, but there are many that do not, and we are unable to make assumptions about the contents of an entire source on the basis of a few surviving leaves. Furthermore, there are numerous other very good quality sources from large and rich institutions that are heterogeneously organised, and some of the homogeneously organised sources are of a relatively poor quality. Therefore, the exposure to continental exemplars may have had an influence upon manuscript organisation, but there are several heterogeneously organised sources that appear to have been written at large establishments, probably with more experienced scribes, a greater budget, and a much greater capacity for exposure to continental musical culture. Perhaps the most richly decorated sources, like *GB-Ob* Wood 591, *GB-Lwa* 33327, and *GB-Cjec* QB 1, demonstrate a particular type of expensive, prestigious display manuscript preserving only the very best of both continental and insular composition, and organised with great care and attention. If this is the case, then what purpose did the large quantity of other good quality, purpose-built, less homogeneously organised sources serve?

Motets and chant settings were the most popular insular genres, and their features were frequently blended with one another, as well as with features from genres such as *conducti* and *organa*. This results in a number of common styles and practices in insular composition – namely, the use of *cantus-firmi*, complex exchange techniques, internal structures, close relationships between voices, and liturgical or quasi-liturgical texts (often with assonant incipits between parts). Insular music is predominantly sacred in theme and, as a result of the experimentation with pre-existing continental genres, insular composers created a significant repertory of motets, motet-like troped chant settings, troped chant settings, untroped chant settings and *cantilenae*, all of which either included liturgical or quasi-liturgical texts, and/or Gregorian *cantus firmi*.[2]

[2] It would appear non-Gregorian tenors were popular in England before they became popular in France. While MO contains hardly any motets without detectable *cantus-firmi*, there are several, apparently roughly contemporary insular sources that preserve a much higher proportion of motets with free tenors (or with tenors that may have been borrowed from secular song). However, the textual themes are almost always sacred or moralistic, and therefore could still have served some sort of function in an ecclesiastical

These genres are often found copied alongside one another in some of the more heterogeneously organised sources. This demonstrates a lack of contemporary distinction between the pieces themselves in terms of their taxonomy. However, it is also possible that these sources, and others that are heterogeneously organised, were not intended as display copies but, rather, were working copies compiled for use in performance, and the music they preserve served a common function. Given the close liturgical ties in so many of the compositions, it is likely that their function was within ecclesiastical or monastic milieus.

In order to understand the function of the music preserved in extant insular sources, we must examine the environments in which the music was cultivated, copied and transmitted. Unfortunately, many insular sources reveal very little information about their provenance. Of those that do, a significant number do not provide us with conclusive evidence of a particular provenance. For example, many insular manuscript fragments are found bound into newer volumes as flyleaves, pastedowns and binding strips. The host source may have an *ex libris* or a stamp on the binding that reveals its provenance, and we might therefore assume that the music manuscript was dismembered and rebound into the newer volume in that place. While it is probable that, in some cases, the manuscript originated in the same place as the host source, there is often no evidence to confirm this, and it could just as easily have changed hands before it was rebound at that particular location. However, it is clear that insular manuscripts were overwhelmingly produced and kept in monastic or ecclesiastical milieus – monasteries, cathedral chapters, and priories.[3] The manuscripts that are thought to have come from private collections (noble families, for instance), or from secular environments, are very small in number. This perhaps supports the suggestion that insular polyphony had an inherently sacred function. When we briefly consider the establishments in question, a number of observations can be made. These observations are made possible through the use of the Catalogue of Insular Sources that accompanies this study.

Firstly, the vast majority of suggested provenances are concentrated on the eastern half of the country. Apart from a pocket of potential provenances in the West Midlands, and a couple of sources that appear connected to Dublin, there are almost no suggested provenances in the west of the country. This is likely due to the fact that the largest and richest ecclesiastical institutions were mostly concentrated on the east half of the country, including both archbishoprics

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milieu. In France, however, many of the motets with free or secular tenors have secular-themed texts (which would serve little function in monastic or ecclesiastical instiutions)

[3] Only in the fifteenth century did the focus of polyphonic composition and cultivation shift from the monasteries to the secular foundations (see Frank Ll. Harrison, "English Church Music in the Fourteenth Century", in *New Oxford History of Music III: Ars Nova and the Renaissance 1300-1540,* ed. Gerald Abraham and Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 82.

(Canterbury, York, Durham, Bury, Westminster, and further inland, Oxford, Reading and Salisbury), as well as many of the major settlements (London, Cambridge, Canterbury, York). This side of the country was also geographically much closer to the continent, and perhaps cultural connections were stronger there. However, the topography of insular provenances does reflect, in general, the distribution of the monastic orders during this period.[4]

Furthermore, the prevailing number of suggested provenances are Benedictine houses.[5] This would suggest that the Benedictine order was particularly important in the cultivation and dissemination of insular sources. This is perhaps unsurprising, though, given that Benedictine establishments were the largest in size and personnel during the thirteenth century, and the Benedictines were the wealthiest monastic order.[6] Records suggest that they also had the largest monastic libraries.[7] The establishments with the largest libraries of this period are thought to be the provenances of multiple manuscript sources (Durham, Bury, Reading, Canterbury and Westminster).[8] The revived culture of learning during this period was embraced by the Benedictines, and learning within the cloister as well as at university, was encouraged. It was considered that study, and the copying, amending and exchange of books was an extremely important part of cloister life.[9] This was not the case with the more conservative Cistercians and Cluniacs, which is likely why so few sources seem to be connected with these orders.[10] Monks at university were in a unique position in terms of the capacity for cultural exchange. Oxford and Paris were cultural centres, with important book trades, and access to a large amount of academic

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[4] The Benedictines were most prevalent in East Anglia, the fenlands and the Severn Valley, but Benedictine institutions were scarcer in the midlands and the north. Augustinian institutions, however, were most common in the midlands. Cistercian houses were smaller in overall number. They could be found in most counties in England and Wales, but were isolated and generally quite far from one another. See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 21.

[5] For instance, Bury St Edmunds Abbey; Canterbury Cathedral Priory; Westminster Abbey; Reading Abbey; Durham Cathedral Priory; Ely Cathedral Priory; Ramsey Abbey; Wareham Priory; St Albans Abbey; Spalding Priory; Norwich Cathedral Priory. See the 'Catalogue of Insular Sources' on the accompanying CD for more information about sources and their provenances.

[6] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 258-261 and Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 713-714.

[7] See Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. II, p. 341.

[8] St Edmund's Abbey, Bury (4 sources), Priory of St Cuthbert, Durham (3 or 4 sources), Reading Abbey (4 sources), Christ Church, Canterbury (5 or 6 sources), and Westminster Abbey (3 sources). Through study of the few surviving library catalogues from large Benedictine establishments, David Knowles is able to estimate that Canterbury had c.600 volumes c.1170, Durham had around 400 books, Rochester had 300 c.1202, Reading had 230 and Leominster had over 100 books at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is unclear how many volumes were in the libraries of Bury, Norwich and St Albans during the long thirteenth century, but 260 sources from this period are have survived from Bury, and 100 from both Norwich and St Albans. The library at Westminster Abbey has suffered great losses, but around 60 manuscripts, most of which are medieval, do survive. See Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, p. 525, and Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. II, p. 344.

[9] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 21.

[10] *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 304.

material. Oxford also had a strong French influence. Monks would collect many books while at university, which were often taken back to the cloister upon completion of their studies and monks would often donate the collections to the institution upon their death.[11] The exchange of music, and of musical culture must have occurred in these environments.

Transmission between the Benedictines, other insular establishments, and foreign establishments would also be of interest to a discussion about insular musical function. There are many identifiable means through which transmission may have taken place. We know that French pieces were transmitted to England and Scotland, at least, but there are very few pieces in continental sources that may have been composed by insular composers.[12] The fact that insular composers were clearly influenced by the French, but quickly adapted their compositional practices to suit their own tastes, is perhaps partly responsible for this lack of evident insular influence on the French (we might imagine that the French were not interested in what they may have seen as the bastardisation of their carefully perfected compositional styles). However, this can hardly be the sole cause of the disparity between the number of continental pieces in insular sources and the number of insular pieces in continental sources (despite the fact that they are much better preserved and in a more complete state). Perhaps the intended function of the insular compositions differed from the performance context of much of the continental repertory, and this is part of the reason why so few insular compositions seem to have been popular on the continent. Moreover, the majority of the compositions in continental sources that are thought to be of insular origin can be found in *MO*, and are motets.[13] The motet was very popular c.1300 and perhaps continental musicians found insular motets were more identifiable and transferrable in terms of their use than other insular genres.

The contact between England and France during the fourteenth century was particularly close. This is partly due to the on-going struggle over land in France, and the English occupation of large portions of the country. This meant that many English nobles and royals were present with their retinues, and they would rely on the hospitality of other noble families and monasteries during their time in France. There were numerous royal marriages between French and English

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[11] *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 332-3 and Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Review: Bryan Gillingham 'Music in the Cluniac Ecclesia: A Pilot Project'", *Speculum*, Vol. 84 (2009), pp. 438-439.

[12] The manuscript W_1, which was written at St Andrew's Cathedral, Scotland, preserves music from Notre Dame in Paris. Several sources thought to have originated in England contain small numbers of continental pieces. Only a small number of pieces in continental sources are thought to either have originated in England or else show signs of insular influence.

[13] For information about pieces preserved in continental sources that are thought to have been of insular origin, see Elizabeth Boos, "Alleluia Cum Psallite", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. 25 (1971), pp. 93-98; Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background", 2 vols, *Musica Disciplina*, I: Vol. 3 (1949), pp. 55-94; II: Vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; See Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-58.

royalty and nobility, too, arranged to strengthen the English position and claim. As Andrew Wathey states, when referring to events leading up to the Hundred Years War in the early fourteenth century, "here, in the missions of ambassadors to France and the expedition of English kings to render homage, there lay a potent source of contacts between English and French musical cultures".[14] In fact, Wathey has attempted to identify one surviving manuscript source as the volume presented to Edward III and Philippa of Hanault on their marriage.[15] It is likely that insular exposure to French culture was significant during this time, but perhaps the French were less interested in the culture of their alien invaders.

However, probably more relevant to the transmission of music is the contact between England and France through the monastic orders and the clergy. A number of modes of transmission could be examined here. For example, General or Provincial Chapter meetings, Papal visits and ecumenical councils would have required travel, large gatherings of personnel, and hospitality at other institutions along the way, as well as at the location of the meeting.[16] Once at the meeting, attendees would eat and worship together.[17] We might suppose that – especially as the host institution would likely wish to impress – polyphony would have been performed in some of the services. Moreoever, Benedictine chapter meetings usually took place during the Feast of the Holy Cross, a semiduplex feast that might warrant the performance of polyphony.[18] Several of the suggested provenances of insular sources were locations of chapter meetings in the thirteenth century.[19] Furthermore, extensive networks of visitation were put in place during the thirteenth century (particularly after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215), including episcopal

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[14] Andrew Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 45 (1992), p. 1.

[15] See *F-Pn* fr. 571 and Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England", p. 14.

[16] See Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. I, pp. 78-82; William Able Pantin (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*, Vol. II, Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, Vol. 47 (Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1933), pp. 236-245 (for a list of recorded visitations surviving from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), and pp. 224-232; Christopher Robert Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 142-3, and Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. I, pp. 85-8 and 106-8. For further information regarding visitations, see G. G. Coulton, "The Interpretation of Visitation Documents", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 29 (1914), pp. 16-40, and R. Graham, "Papal Visitation of Bury St Edmunds and Westminster in 1234", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 27 (1912), pp. 728-739.

[17] See Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks,* Vol. II, p. 224.

[18] See Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris (500-1500),* Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 70-81.

[19] For instance, Osney Abbey, Durham Cathedral Priory, St Mary's Priory, York, St Alban's Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Reading Abbey. For a list of all known and suspected meetings of Benedictine chapter meetings between 1218 and 1329 see William Able Pantin (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*, Vol. I, Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, vol. 45 (Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1931), pp. 293-296.

visitations, metropolitan visitations, and visitation by Papal Legates or the head of a mother house (to a dependency), which increased contact between individual establishments.[20]

The alien houses in the British Isles during the thirteenth centry must have provided opportunities for contact between the monastic orders in England and France. Alien houses were monastic houses in England dependent on large French mother houses.[21] The alien dependencies were often headed by a prior from the mother house and, in some cases, several of the inmates were from the mother house.[22] Books and other possessions often accompanied the relatively frequent rotation of personnel between mother and daughter houses.[23] Two manuscripts have been associated with alien priories: *GB-Lbl* Harley 5393 may have been copied at Spalding Priory, a dependency of St Nicholas, Angers, and it solely transmits a Notre-Dame *conductus*.[24] Equally, *F-EV* 17 is a manuscript surviving from the library of the Abbey of Lire, Normandy. It consists of four originally distinct sections, all of which show evidence of a connection to Wareham Priory, a dependency of Lire. The polyphonic piece is preserved in the second gathering, along with documents related to Wareham Priory.[25] Therefore, although the main codex is clearly from Lire, the source spent some time at Wareham (where additions were made), and was at some point then returned to Lire. These sources would benefit from closer analysis, and there are other extant sources that show signs of having crossed the channel on at least one occasion (see, for example, *F-TO* 925), that would benefit from similar examination.

The senior clergy were perhaps best placed for cultural exchange, and the dissemination and transmission of (musical) material, both within the British Isles and beyond. Bishops, archbishops and heads of large houses were well-educated and skilled administrators. They frequently had personal connections with royalty, and many held other offices alongside their

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[20] See Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. I, pp. 78-82, Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1984), and Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004) (for information about the relationships between mother and daughter houses).

[21] For a list of the priories and cells owned by foreign houses, see Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1940), pp. 124-135.

[22] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. II, pp. 161-162.

[23] "A book-list from Lyre's dependent cell at Carisbrooke, dated 1260, gives evidence for the circulation of books between the two houses, the donation of books by individual monks, the possession of books by priors of the cell, as well as the presence in their collection of booklets (quaternos), and theological and hagiographical miscellanies." See Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song", *Plainsong and Medieval Music,* Vol. 15 (2006), p. 17, and Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004), p. 79.

[24] This *conductus, Quid tu vides Ieremiah*, is found in three of the four main Notre-Dame sources (W_1, W_2, *F*) as well as in the text-only source *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510.

[25] See Deeming, *Music in English Miscellanies,* pp. 75-79, and *The Song and the Page*, for more information about this source.

episcopal office (for instance, many bishops held important positions in the King's Council).[26] They were also required to travel a lot (partly on the King's business, and partly in their roles as clergy), and to conduct visitations on the houses in their See, all of which would require them to rely on the hospitality of monastic houses and cathedral chapters along the way.[27] They also attended the Royal Court, and are frequently listed on the surviving Witness Lists from this period.[28] Bishops, archbishops, and even the heads of large houses, had their own retinues, often referred to as their *familias*, who would travel with them and work closely alongside them.[29] They would also be responsible for transporting the bishop's *capella* – a collection of beautiful, often expensive items that accompanied the bishop and enhanced his status. Beautifully executed manuscripts of music that included the most recent developments in style, genre and notation may certainly have had a place within this collection. Mark Everist has argued convincingly that the *familia* of Bishop Mauvoisin of St Andrews were responsible for the transmission of a Parisian exemplar to St Andrews, used for the copying of W_1.[30] The party were in Paris during the Christmas season just a few years after the decree of Bishop Odo de Sully, which allowed for the performance of *organum* in two, three or four parts for particularly important feasts, such as that of St Stephen and the Octave of the Nativity. The likelihood therefore is that Mauvoisin and probably some of his *familia* would have heard this music in performance in Paris, early in the thirteenth century.[31] Although the discovery of this sort of evidence is rare, the transmissions of very few insular manuscripts

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[26] See, for instance, Eustace of Fauconberg, Bishop of London, and William Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who both served as Chancellor of the Exchequer during their bishoprics, Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, who served as Lord Chancellor, and John Sawtry (1285-1316), abbot of Ramsey, who had a personal friendship with the king and queen, and was godfather to one of their sons, the Prince. See 'Houses of Benedictine Monks: The Abbey of Ramsey,' in *A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 1*, ed. William Page, Granville Proby and H E Norris (London: Victoria County History, 1926), 377-385. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol1/pp377-385 [Accessed December 4, 2016].

[27] For example, the king would often ask John Sawtry to embark upon trips on his behalf (one such trip was to Gascony). See *ibid.*.

[28] For transcriptions of the witness lists, as well as further general information, see Richard Huscroft (ed.), "The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272-1307), *List and Index Society,* Vol. 279 (Kew: List and Index Society, 2000) and Marc Morris (ed.), "The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office", Vol. 1, *List and Index Society,* Vol. 291 (Kew: List and Index Society, 2001). Morris states, for instance, that of the 1632 witness lists written during the reign of Edward I, only seventeen percent were not witnessed by any bishops.

[29] A bishop's *familia* was an entourage of canons and persons who had close relationships with the bishop, who travelled with him, occupied various roles within his household, advised him, and looked after his interests in general. The members of the *familia* of a bishop or archbishop would typically include some of the most brilliant men of the day, and in some cases family members who were also members of the clergy joined them. For more information regarding the *familia* of an archbishop, and general information about *familias*, see Kathleen Major, "The 'Familia' of Archbishop Stephen Langton", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 48 (1933), pp. 529-533. For information about a bishop's *familia*, see Kathleen Major, "The 'Familia' of Robert Grossesteste", in *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop,* ed. A. P. Daniel (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 216-241.

[30] See Mark Everist, "From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W1", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 43 (1990), pp. 1-42.

[31] *Ibidem*", p. 25.

and/or pieces have been researched to this level. More in-depth study could reveal further information about manuscript function, organisation and genre.

Finally, we might also consider the concordances within the insular repertory and what they tell us about the popularity of certain compositions and, in turn, how the pieces are preserved in their various sources. Some sources, for instance, that contain several pieces with concordances elsewhere might have been conceived as collections of popular compositions. Pieces with multiple concordances may also tell us about the features most valued in insular composition, as well as the contemporary value and perception of certain genres or manuscripts. This could, is turn, help to reveal connections and networks between institutions, as well as information about popular performance contexts and intended functions. The two most well disseminated pieces in the extant repertory are the troped chant setting, *Spiritus procedens a patre*, and the *cantilena*, *Mutato modo geniture* (which can be found in five and four different sources each, respectively).[32] Study of these pieces and the sources in which they are preserved reveals a network of similar compositions and common sources, which suggest the existence of a popular canon c.1300, which was still being transmitted well into the fourteenth century.[33] The compositions are ambitious and skilled, and some appear to have been written in duple metre, which possibly accounts for their longevity. A number of the sources in this "network" preserve several pieces with concordances elsewhere, and these sources are therefore strong candidates for having been conceived as popular collections.[34]

There is so much yet to be gleaned from the remains of the insular repertory in the long thirteenth century, and the potential for further study is considerable. While we cannot be clear about the function or performance culture of insular polyphony, we are able to note the close liturgical ties of most of the surviving repertory, and the few examples of secularly themed pieces. Even in the fourteenth century, when French polyphonic composition was mostly focussed on secularly themed motets, chansons, and the music of the trouvères, the English seem to have remained focussed on music that is sacred in theme, for the most part. The cultivation and performance of polyphony in France was gradually shifting from religious milieus to royal and noble courts, but this would appear not to have been the case in fourteenth-century England. Perhaps, also, French religious establishments were becoming more liberal in their attitude to the

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[32] *Mutato modo geniture* can be found in *GB-Cgc* 512/543, *GB-Cgc* 334/727, *B-Br* ii. 266, *GB-Lbl* 38651 (E) (source B). *Spiritus procedens a patre* can be found in *GB-GLr* D.149, *GB-Ob* Arch. Selden B. 14, *GB-Onc* 362, WF 43 (recon. II), *B-Br* ii. 266.

[33] See, for instance, *[Spiritus almifice] Maria sine crimine; Salve virgo singularis; Thomas gemma Cantuarie/ Thomas cesus in Doveria/ T./ T.; Includimur nube caliginosa; Salamonis inclita mater,* and several others. For more information, see the chart entitled "A Possible Medieval Popular Canon?" on the accompanying CD.

[34] Reconstruction I has the most concordant compositions, followed by Reconstruction II and *GB-Cgc* 512/543.

performance of secularly themed music, and insular establishments remained conservative in their approach. This is particularly difficult to explore, however. Whatever the case, though, this study has demonstrated insular composers' distinctly unique approach to composition, copying and genre, which deserves to be viewed and assessed not by its relationship (or lack thereof) to the continental music of this time but, rather, as a separate endeavour, with different aims and agendas, resulting in the creation of a repertory quite different in nature to other contemporary repertories. If medieval musicological scholarship can detach itself from the view that the insular repertory is nothing more than a peripheral subordinate to the Notre Dame repertory, then there is a wealth of information still to be gleaned from the scraps and fragments that constitute the remains of musical life in thirteenth-century England.

Appendices

Appendix A: Assonant Textual Incipits

Appendix B: The Structure of *[F]ulget celestis curia/ O Petre flos apostolorum/ Roma gaudet de tali praesule*

Appendix C: Pieces with Tenors Labelled "*Pes*" in their Manuscript Source(s)

Appendix D: *Pes* Tenors in Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments

Appendix E: The Homogeneity of Insular Sources

Appendix F: The Generic Groupings of Reconstructions II and III of the Worcester Fragments

Appendix G: Modern Editions

Appendix A Assonant Textual Incipits

Incipit	Source
Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ (Quem non capit)….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit	WF 7
O quam glorifica luce/O quam beata domina/ O quam felix femina/ (pes)	WF 10
……../ Virgo Paris filium/ (virgo dei) genitrix	WF 14
Eterne virgo memoriae/ Eterne virgo mater/ (pes)	WF 15
O regina celistis curie flos virginum/ O regina celistis curie Consolare/……	WF 22
(Pro beati Pauli……) qui prostratus/ O pastor patris summi/ (O praeclara patriae coelestis)/(Pes)	WF 40 WF 70 *GB-Lwa* 33327, 4
Candens crescit lilium/ Candens lilium columbina/ Quartus cantus/ (primus pes)	WF 53 *GB-Cpc* 228, 4 *US-NYpm* 978, 12
Thomas gemma cantuariae/ T(homas caesus in doveria)/ Secundus tenor/ P(rimus tenor)	WF 67 *US-PRu* Garrett 119, 4 *GB-Cgc* 512, 6
Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum	WF 71
Puellare gremium mundo/ Purissima mater domina/ Pes super Puellare et Purissima	WF 76
Sanctus et aeternus deus/ Sanctus	WF 77 WF 61

Inter choros paradiscolarum/ Invictis pueris inter flammas	WF 79
Ianuam quam clauserat fructus/ Ia-, iacinctius in saltibus/ Iacet granum/ Tenor per se de Iacet granum/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Onc* 362, 2
Triumphat hodie Christi miles/ [Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme]/ Si, si qe la nuit vus preigne	*GB-Onc* 362, 3 *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 7
[Balaam de quo vaticinans]/ Balaam de quo vaticinans/ [T. Balaam]	*GB-Onc* 362, 3 (*MO*, 323)
Civitas nusquam conditur que supra/ Tu es celestis curie leti fiunt hodie/ Cibus esurientum salus	*GB-Onc* 362, 5
Ade finit perpete nephas/ Ade finit misere delictum/ A definement d'este lerray	*GB-Onc* 362, 7 *F-TO* 925, 9
O homo depulvere, surge, propere/ O homo, considera que vite/ Filie Ierusalem/ Quartus [cantus]	*GB-Onc* 362, 17
R]osa delectabilis spina carens/ [R[egalis exoritur mater decoris/ [T. Regali ex progenie]	*GB-Onc* 362, 18
Regina celi letare alleluya/ Ave, regina celorum, ave, domina/ Ave	*F-Pa* 135, 8
Beatus] . . . nobis filium carnem sumens . . . reddidit ut morte mortem solveret carne carnem redi . . . quos condidit/T. Beata visce[ra marie virginis que porta]	*GB-Lbl* Harley 5958, 5
O nobilis nativitas virgo/ O mira dei misericordia/ O decus virgineum casta parit/ Tenor. Apparuit	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 2
O mores, moreris, mors, tu converteris/ O vita veradans gaudia/ Tenor. Mors/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 3
...-e ineffabilis potentie/ Dona celi factor, domine/ Tenor. Doce/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 5

Ave, miles, de cuius militia/ Ave, miles, o Edwarde/ Tenor. Ablue/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Lwa* 33327, 7
Mirabilis deus/ Ave Maria/ Ave Maria	*GB-Ob* Rawl C. 400* frag C, 1
Exulta Syon filia/ Exulta Syon filia/ Exulta Syon filia/ T. En ai ie bien trouvé	*F-TO* 925, 3
[Erased] H...../H...edis excell-../....	*F-TO* 925, 4
S…./ Syderea celi cacumina/ T. Se iavoie a plaingant/ Tii. [tenor cont.] Si javoie	*F-TO* 925, 5
Vide miser et iudica/ Vide miser et cogita/ T. Wynter	*F-TO*, 925, 8
O crux ave spes unica spiritus/ O crux ave spes unica spiritus.. / T. Or sus alouete	*F-TO* 925, 9
Valde mane diluculo/ Valde mane diluculo/ T. Va dorenlot	*F-TO* 925, 10
Corona virginum/ Columba prudencie/ T. Cui proclamant	*F-TO* 925, 12
Mons olivarum ecce rumpitur/ Mors amari moritur/	*F-TO* 925, 13
Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum	*GB-BER* Select roll 55, 1
Barrabas dimittitur dignus/ Barrabas dimittitu in merito/ Pes de Barrabas dimittitur [T. Babilonis flumina]	*GB-BER* Select roll 55, 4 *GB-DRc* C.I.20, 6 *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11
Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ Tenor	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 1
Virgo Maria patrem parit/ O stela marina nos a/ Virgo Maria, flos divina/ Flos genuit regina qui	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 3 *GB-Cpc* 228, 2
Patrie pacis lucide gubernatrix/ Patria gaudentium cum regina/ Tenor	*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 12

[Salve Symonis quia hic]/S[alve Symon Montisfortis]. . . prostratu gentis anglie . . . in terris extiteris/Tenor de Salue Symonis quia hic	*GB-Cjec* QB 5, 7
Laus, honor vendito sit Christo/ Laus, honor Christo vendito	*GB-Cpc* 228, 3
[O sancte Bartholomee plebs fideles hodie] gratulatur et letatur per te/ [O sancte Bartholomee plebs devota dignas tue lau]-des dat memorie ydola/ O Bartholomee miseris nobis	*GB-Cjc* 138 [F.1], 3
Spectabili de genere/ Speciosa facta..	*GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1], 2
[S…..] Quis queso precabilium/ S-….[Quis?]/ S-….[Quis?]/ [S…..] Quis queso	*GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1], 3
Crucifixus surrexit….Dicant nunc judei/ Crucifixus surrexit….Dicant nunc judei/	*GB-Cjc* 23 [B.1], 4
Herodis in pretorio fit emulatio/ Herodis in atrio rabidi/ Hey, lure, lure, hey, hor pendoy	*GB-DRc* C.I.20, 1
Iesu fili dei patris/ Iesu lumen viritatis/ T. Ihesu fili virginis	*GB-DRc* C.I.20, 2
Orto sole serene novitatis/ Origo iuri iam propalatus/ Virga Iesse que sras in signum/ T.	*GB-DRc* C.I.20, 7 *GB-Cgc* 512/543, 9
Virginalis concio virginis/ Contratenor/ [Virgo sancta Katerina]/ [T.]	*GB-DRc* C.I.20, 10
Rosa versaulis Orbis dominatio vertitur in rota/ Rosa versaulis	*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 1
Trinitatem veneremur unitate/ Trinitas et deitas atque divinitas/ Trinitatis vox, fons ecclesie/ Tenor	*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 5
Te domina regina pariendo/ Te domina Maria Iesse virgula/ Tenor	*GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 6

Quare fremuerunt gentes insane quorum fiunt/ Quare fremuerunt gentes insane quorum fiunt/ [Tenor]	*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210, 9
Ovet mundus letabundus/ Ante partum virgo mansit mater/ Ovet mundus letabundus/ Tenor	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 2
Hostis Herodes impie/ Hostis. Hic princeps ubi nascitur/ Quartus cantus/ Tenor	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 3
Salve, cleri speculum, antistes/ Salve, iubar presulum/ [Quartus cantus]/ [tenor]	*GB-Ob* Hatton 81, 4
Zorobabel abigo clam palam/ Zorobabus actibus abrenuntio/ [Tenor]	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 2
Petrum Cephas ecclesie/ Petrus pastor potissimus/ T. Petre [amas me?]/ Quartus cantus	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 3
Rex visibilium, invisibilium/ Rex invictissime regnorum/ T. Regnum t[uum] solidum	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 4
Frondentibus florentibus silvis/ T. Floret	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 7 *GB-Ob* Laud Misc. 594, 1
De flore martirum modum militie/ Deus, tuorum militum/ T. Ave, rex gentis	*GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 9
Campanis cum cymbalis/ Onoremus dominam dignam/ Campanis/ Onoremus.	*GB-Ob* c mus. 60, 13
Maiori vi leticie/T.----/Maiorem intelligere	*I-Bdc* unnamed flyleaf [LOST], 2
Candor vestis in hiis festis/Candet sine spina rosa/T.	*I-Bdc* unnamed flyleaf [LOST], 3
Celum mercatur hodie/T. Cesus in gregis medio	*I-Bdc* unnamed flyleaf [LOST], 4
Patris superni gratia fraus/ Patris superni gratia fraus/	*US-Cum* 654 app., 7

Orbis pium primordium natum/ [Orbis pium primordium natum].....hominem/ O bipartitum partum	*US-Cum* 654 app., 8
Barbara simplex animo/ Barbara simplex animo/ Tenor	*US-Cum* 654 app., 9
[Alleluia celica rite]/ [A]lleluia celica rite/…….	*US-PRu* Garrett 119, 3

Appendix B The Structure of [F]ulget celestis curia/ O Petre flos apostolorum/ Roma gaudet de tali praesule

There are six *rondellus* phrases, split into two main sections. Phrases A to C are swapped between all three parts, followed by phrases D to F in all three parts, and a short coda at the end. Phrases A and D, B and E and C and F share the same structures in terms of their melismatic and textual phrases (although the phrases themselves differ melodically). Each voice part has its own text, but they are closely related to one another. By the end of a single rotation of three phrases in three parts, the number of poetic lines stated are the same.

A: Melisma Text

B: Melisma Text Melisma

C: Text ----

D: Melisma Text

E: Melisma Text Melisma

F: Text ----

TR:	C	L1-3	A	L4	B	L5	F	L6-8	D	L9
DU:	B	L1	C	L2-4	A	L5	E	L6	F	L7-9
T:	A	L1	B	L2	C	L3-5	D	L6	E	L7

TR:	E	L10	L11-12
DU:	D	L10	-------
T:	F	L8-10	L11

Appendix B

Line	Triplum	Duplum	Tenor	Line in other text part
1	Fulget celestis curia	O Petre flos apostolorum	Roma gaudet de tali presule	TR1=DU3
2	Petro sedente preside	o pastor celestis curie	dato divino munere	TR2=T4 T2=TR5
3	sub poli principe	oves pasce melliflue	fulget celestis curia	TR3=T5 DU3=TR1
4	Roma gaudet de tali presule	ducens ad supera	Petro sedente preside	TR4=T1 T4=TR2
5	Dato divino munere	nostra corda fove Leticia	sub poli principe	TR5=T2 T5=TR3
6	plaudat orbis cum gloria	prebe presidia	solvendi crimina	TR6=T8 Du6=T7
7	Petro privilegia	nostrorum scelerum tolle maliciam	prebe presidia	TR7=T9 T7=Du6
8	portante cuncta a mortali crimine	a summo principe	plaudat orbis cum gloria	TR8=T10 T8=TR6
9	solvendi sordida	nobis implora veniam	Petro privilegia	T9=TR7
10	Petre tu nobis respice	Nos deduc ad summa gaudia	portante cuncta a mortali crimine	T10=TR8
11	ea a nobis deice	N/A	nos erue	N/A
12	que sunt obnoxia	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix C Pieces with Tenors Labelled "*Pes*" in their Manuscript Source(s)

Incipit	Source(s)	Description of tenor(s)
Sumer is icumen in/ Sing cu-cu	*GB-Lbl* Harley 978, 11	Two tenor parts. They share the same two musical phrases, in different orders – AB/BA. The complete phrase is short and requires several repetitions. Fully texted.
Senator regis curie/pes/ii	WF 11 – Recon. 1, 16 *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 2	Tenor labelled "*pes*" in both sources, although tenors of WF 11 are labelled *primus* and *secundus pes*. The tenors each consist of a single musical phrase, repeated three times to accommodate the upper parts. The two musical phrases are unrelated. No text.
Barrabas dimittitur in merito/pes de Barrabas dimittitur	*GB-BER* Select roll 55, 1 *GB-DRc* C.I.20, 6 *GB-Ob* e mus. 7, 11	Not labelled "*pes*" in C.I.20, but the word "*recita*" is written at the end to indicate necessary repeats. In *BER*, the tenor is labelled "*pes* de Barrabas dimittitur". A symbol is written afterwards – indicating repeat? There is no tenor designation in *Ob* e. 7, but there is a symbol at the end of the stave line, which may have been added later to indicate repeats. Tenor unidentified. A short phrase in 3 isorhythmic *talea*, repeated twice in full and then once to the first *talea*: A1,A2,A3, B1,B2,B3, C1,C2,C3, D.
Alma mater digna virgula/Ante thorum virginis/Pes de Alma mater et Ante thorum	*GB-BER* Select roll 55, 1	Tenor notation is in a different ink and possibly hand, too. Added later? A short phrase, consisting of four smaller phrases (ABA'A'). No indication of required repeats.
Prolis aeternae genitor/Psallat mater gratiae/ Pes super prolit and Psallat	WF 6 – Recon 1, 7	Phrase requiring 11 repeats. It is isorhythmic in two *talea*,. There is no indication of necessary repeats.
Quem non capit fabrica magnifica/ (Quem non capit)….hoc munera debuit/ Pes super Quem non capit	WF 7 – Recon.1, 8	A short phrase that appears through composed. No indication of necessary repeats.

Virgo regalis fidei/ pes	WF 12 – Recon. 1, 17	*Pes* consists of a short isorhythmic phrase of three very simple *talea*.
Quam admirabilis et venerabilis/ Pes	WF 16 – Recon. 1, 21	The upper parts engage in voice exchange, but each exchange occurs only once before moving on to two new phrases. Thus, the tenor must change to accommodate those new phrases. Therefore, the tenor has the form AABBCCDDEE(coda). All of these phrases have the same, or very similar, rhythmic patterns. The tenor part is written out in full in the manuscript (including repeats).
Sol in nube tegitur/ (…….-tur disciplina caeditur)/ Pes	WF 17 – recon. 1, 22.	This piece is very similar to *Quam admirabilis*. The upper parts engage in voice exchange, with new phrases after each repetition, and the tenor accommodates this with the form AA'A'BBCC(cad). The music and repeats are written out in full. The tenor part begins with the beginning of the processional Responsory for St Catherine, but it is clearly not liturgical in theme.
Alleluia canite V Parens alma redemptoris/ Alleluia canite V Parens almae civitatis/ Alleluia V Pes	WF 27 – Recon. 1, 38	Motet-like troped chant setting. Chant unidentified due to the missing alleluia verse text – no text after "*pes*" at the beginning of the verse. No repetition necessary. However, each *ordo* has identical rhythms. Written out in full.
……/ Fons ortorum Riga morum/ Pes	WF 30 – Recon. 1, 41	Cut away. The tenor is long – about two whole stave lines. It is unclear whether any repetitions or forms exist since it is fragmentary. Seems as though it might be through composed.
Pro beati Pauli gloria/ O pastor patris summi/ O praeclara patris/ Pes de pro…..O Pastor et O praeclara	WF 70 – Recon. 1, 55 WF 40 – Recon. 1, 54 *GB-Lwa* 33327	WF 70- Tenor labelled "*pes* de" WF 40- Tenor not labelled at all 33327 - Tenor incipit is visible but the rest has been cut away – it was probably labelled "Tenor. Pro patribus". This is another liturgical tenor labelled "*pes*". It seems as though there are no repetitions – just a short, through-composed Tenor part (from chant).

Te domine laudat angelicus/ Te dominum clarat angelicus/ Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum	WF 71 – Recon. 1, 57	A phrase that is repeated five times. The phrase itself has the form ABA'B'. It is written out in full.
Virginis Mariae laudamus/ Salve gemma virginum/ Pes super Virginis….et Salve	WF 72 – Recon.1, 58	No specific form in the tenor, but the phrase consists of repeating rhythms and similar melodic movements. It requires two and a half repetitions. It is written out in full. The first repetition is a little varied.
O debilis o flebilis/ Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis	WF 73 - Recon.1, 59	Two parts labelled "*pes".* The "*primus pes"* is written out once, but requires one repetition (not indicated). The other *pes* seems to be written out in full because there is no specific form to the part, despite repetitive melodic and rhythmic ideas. It therefore does not require repetition.
(Fulgens stella…..) qui quid homo/ Pes de fulgens stella	WF 74 - Recon.1, 60	A very long and active tenor part. It is difficult to identify whether any specific repeats take place, but there are certainly similar melodic and rhythmic ideas throughout the music of the tenor.
O dulcis Jesu memoria/ Pes de Dulcis Jesu memoria	WF 75 - Recon.1, 61	As above. The end of the tenor is missing.
Puellare gremium mundo/ Purissima mater domina/ Pes super Puellare et Purissima	WF 76 - Recon.1, 62	A short phrase that requires three repetitions, which are not indicated in the source. The phrase itself has an internal structure of AABB.
[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus	*GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, 1	Tenor appears to have been written out in full, and there do not seem to be any recurring phrases or repeats. Part appears fully texted throughout. Opening alleluia section begins with *rondellus*. The remainder of the piece has sections of voice exchange; during which the tenor repeats some phrases.
[Adoremus ergonatum...Alleluya V. Vidimus stellam]/ [A-, Adoremus ergo natum...Alleluya V. Vidimus] stellam eius qui natus/ A-pes, Adoremus ergo natum...[Alle]luya V. Vidimus [stellam]	*GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B, 3	There are clearly some repetitions of phrases. However, there does not appear to be a formal structure throughout the part, and it is written out in full. It is also fully texted. The tenor is liturgical – from the Communion for Epiphany.

Appendix D *Pes* Tenors in Reconstruction I of the Worcester Fragments

WF no.	Incipit	Original foliation	Fragment name	Host source	Position in Recon. 1	Voices	No. of texts	Text hand	Notational hand	*Pes* label
6	*Prolis aeternae*	XIVv & XVv	XIV & XV	*GB-Lbl* Add. 25031	7	3	2	d	C	*Pes super prolit et Psallat*
7	*Quem non capit*	XV	XV	*GB-Lbl* Add. 25031	8	3	2?	d	C	*Pes super Quem non capit*
11	*Senator regis curie*	LXXIIIIr	XXVIII 1r	F34	16	3	1	a	A	*Primus pes; secundus pes*
12	*Virgo regalis fidei*	LXXIIIIv	XXVIII 1v	F34	17	3 (1 lost)	1	e	D	*Pes*
16	*Quam admirabilis*	LXXVIv & LXXVIIr	XXVIII 2 & XXVIII 3	F34	21	3	1	e	E	*Pes*
17	*Sol in nube tegitur*	LXXVIIv	XXVIII 3v	F34	22	3	1?	h	E	*Pes*

27	*Alleluia Canite*	LXXXXII & LXXXXIII	N/A	*GB-Ob* Auct. F inf. 1, 3	38	3	2	a	A	*Alleluia V. Pes*
30	*Fons ortorum*	LXXXXIX	N/A	*GB-Ob* Auct. F inf. 1, 3	41	3? (1 lost)	? (1 lost)	b	A	*Pes*
70	*Pro beati Pauli*	Cut away	XIII 1	?	55	4	3	a	A	*Pes de Pro beati Pauli et de o pastor patris et o preclara patrie*
71	*Te domine laudat*	Cut away	XIII 1 & 2	?	57	3	2	a	A	*Pes super de Te domine et de Te dominum*
72	*Virginis Marie*	Cut away	XIII 1 & 2	?	58	3	2	a	A	*Pes super Virginis….et Salve*
73	*O debilis, o flebilis*	Cut away	XIII 2v	?	59	3	1	a	A	*Pes super O debilis/ Primus pes super O debilis*
74	*Fulgens stella*	Cut away	XIII 3	?	60	2	1	a	A	*Pes de fulgens stella*
75	*O dulcis jesu memoria*	Cut away	XIII 3v	?	61	2	1	a	A	*Pes de Dulcis Jesu memoria*

76	*Puellare gremium*	Cut away	XIII 4	?	62	3	2	a	A	*Pes super Puellare et Purissima*

Appendix E The Homogeneity of Insular Sources

E.1 Single Folio Sources Preserving a Small Handful of Compositions:

GB-AB 22857E	Three polytextual troped chant settings copied in parts (motet-like). The original number of voices is unclear (3-4?). All pieces begin with 'R' and so the source may have been ordered alphabetically. There are two different hands at least. All of the texts are Latin. It may have been copied over time.[1] Unknown provenance. Mediocre/good quality.
GB-Cclc arch. acc. 1988/17	Two motet-like Kyrie tropes? The first piece is very poorly preserved. The second piece is polytextual. Both are copied in parts, and were probably both originally in three parts. All texts are in Latin. High quality. Unknown provenance.
GB-Cgc 803/807	Three pieces similar in style. They are probably best described as Agnus dei tropes, but the third piece is *conductus*-like. They are all in two-part score, monotextual, and exchange polyphonic and monophonic passages. Several different hands can be detected. All of the texts are in Latin. Unknown provenance. High quality.
GB-Cjc 138 (F.1) *Rotulus*?	Four pieces. The first piece is probably a Benedicamus domino setting copied in parts. Underneath is a motet copied in a peculiar score arrangement. Both pieces on the other side of the parchment are also motets, copied in parts, but in two columns. There are possibly two different hands. The leaf may be from a *rotulus*. Texts are in Latin and Anglo-Norman. From Bury? Mediocre/good quality.

[1] The notation of the second and third compositions is essentially Franconian, and later than the English mensural notation used for the first composition. Furthermore, the text hand, and the colour and spacing of the staves changes after the *triplum* of no. 2.

GB-Cjc 23 [B.1]	Four similar compositions. They are motet-like but the texts paraphrase Responsories – motet-like troped chant settings? All written in parts, in two columns that are unevenly spaced. The upper parts are given wider columns and the tenors are given narrower columns. They may have all originally been in four parts. All texts are in Latin. Unknown provenance. High quality.
GB-Cjec QB 1 (Frag B)	Two troped chant settings, copied in parts but with a concluding alleluia for the first setting in score. Both are in two parts. Good/mediocre quality. From Bury?
GB-CA 128/2	Four pieces. Apparently all motets, and probably originally in four parts. All written in parts with Latin texts. The leaf is now lost. From Canterbury?
GB-CA 128/8 & 128/71	Two alleluia settings in three-part score and with Latin texts. The settings are monotextual and alternate between polyphony and sections of monophonic chant. However there is an anomalous piece of text at top of recto, and the original layout is unclear. The two pieces were possibly copied by different hands. From Canterbury? Very high quality.
GB-DRc C.I.8	Two free, monotextual Kyrie tropes in three-part score. From Durham? Good/mediocre quality.
GB-DRu Bamburgh Sel. 13	A *rondellus* and a *cantus firmus* motet, both in three parts. The *rondellus* is copied in score and the motet in parts. Both pieces are for St Peter, so it is possible that the source was organised thematically, or perhaps according to the Sanctorale. Unknown provenance. Good quality.
GB-GLro D. 149	Two Gloria tropes. Both pieces are monotextual and in three-part score. Unknown provenance. Mediocre/poor quality.
GB-Lbl Add. 5958 (Source A)	A three-part Continental motet with a texted tenor, followed by an insular three-part motet. Both are copied in parts. Unknown provenance. Good quality.

GB-Lbl Add. 5958 (Source B)	Two fragments that together form a single folio containing five pieces. The first is a Benedicamus setting in four-part score, followed by a motet. It is copied with the upper parts in score and the tenor afterwards, as are the subsequent compositions on this leaf. They are probably monotextual motets. The music here may have been arranged alphabetically (all pieces begin with B) and the numbers provided for each piece in the margin are probably the numbers of pieces beginning with that letter (so the Benedicamus is the tenth piece beginning with B). Very high quality. Unknown provenance.
GB-Lbl Cotton Frag. XXIX	A motet in parts (possibly two-part) and a two-part Latin song (that appears elsewhere with an English *contrafactum*) in score. The leaf is very damaged from the Cotton fire. Mediocre quality. From Durham?
GB-Lpro LR 2/261	Possibly from a *rotulus*, and very fragmentary. Three pieces preserved, some with visible texts in Latin but other texts are now illegible/missing. The pieces are possibly all chant settings copied in parts. The numbers of original voices are unclear. From Augustinian priory of Thurgarton?
GB-Lwa 101	Two three-part Gloria tropes. The first is copied in parts, but the second has upper parts in score with tenor written afterwards. The texts are in Latin. It is a good quality source with initials similar to *initiales champies* and gold leafing. High quality. From Westminster area?
GB-Ob c mus. 60 (frag B)	Very fragmentary. A *conductus cum caudis* in three-part score, plus two further fragmentary compositions that seem to use *rondellus* technique – possibly also *conducti*, but copied in parts. The numbers of original voices are unclear. From Reading/Salisbury? Mediocre quality.
GB-Ob Savile 25	Four pieces – A mixture of troped chant settings, and motet-like troped chant settings (which are polytextual). The numbers of original voices are unclear. All pieces are copied in parts and all texts are in Latin. The folio is badly damaged – one corner is torn away, there are holes elsewhere, and it is damaged from the binder's glue. No decoration survives and some parts are illegible. Unknown provenance.

GB-Omec 248	A monotextual motet and a *conductus* with *rondellus*. The former is notated with the upper parts in score and the tenor separately underneath. The latter is written in score, but with text under all parts when *rondellus* is employed. The first piece is in three-parts, and it would appear that the second piece is in two parts, unless it also had a tenor afterwards now lost. The leaf is highly fragmentary with just a vertical strip remaining. Unknown provenance.
GB-Onc 57	Two motets, possibly both originally in four parts, copied in parts, with Latin texts. A good quality source, but without very rich decoration. Probably from Christ Church, Canterbury.
GB-WHwfm C 3. 8	An untexted *cantilena*(?) and three motets. The numbers of original voices are unclear. The *cantilena* is in score, and the other pieces are in parts. Tenor texts are in red and there are some penwork capitals, but no other decoration. Different hands appear to have been responsible for the recto and verso. Texts are in Latin and French. One piece is for St Peter and the other for St Paul. From Canterbury?

E.2 Sources without surviving consecutive leaves, but with contents that appear to have been homogeneously organised, and which may preserve leaves from more than one fascicle:

B-Br ii. 266	Three tropes and three *cantilenae*, all in three-part score. A single bifolium - unclear whether it was the middle of the gathering. The tropes are on one side, and the *cantilenae* are on the other – possibly from two different fascicles. Good quality source.
GB-Lbl Add. 38651 (E) (Source A)	The five horizontal strips come together to form almost two complete bifolia, but they are quite badly worn and faded. Some parts are almost illegible. The relationship of each folio and bifolium to one another is not clear. No pages are obviously contiguous. It would appear that nos 1-3 are *cantilenae*, and nos 4-8 are chant settings. All would appear to have been in three-part score. Nos 1-3 are all on one side of the two bifolia, while nos 4-8 are on the opposite side – possibly from two different fascicles. From St Albans?
Harleian Index	A list of contents at the end of *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 for a lost volume of music, which according to an inscription here belonged to "W. de Wintonia".[2] The name "R. de Burgate" occurs at the top of the first column, and the eight pieces listed are chant settings and troped chant settings.[3] This is followed by a further list with an attribution to 'W. de Wic' (usually interpreted as W. de Wycombe), and the pieces listed are 37 alleliua settings, of which the last four are Marian.[4] The incipits of 38 *conducti* follow in the second column. On f. 161, in the first column are motets with one text and two parts. This is followed by a list of motets with more than one text, after which are two pieces listed as "*Item moteti cum duplici nota"* and the final column contains "*item cum duplici littera*". Reading/Leominster?

[2] According to Sanders, Wintonia was, "by 1281, sub-prior of Leominster Priory in Herefordshire. In the 1280s he carried out at least two assignments at its parent house in Reading, where he had probably begun his monastic career, and to which he may well have returned for an unknown period". See Sanders, "Wintonia, W. de", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30427 [Accessed 27 March 2016].

[3] The name R. de Burgate is "probably to be identified with the R. de Burgate who was abbot of Reading from 1268 to 1290". See Sanders, "Burgate, R. de", *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04356 [Accessed 27 March 2016].

[4] It is unclear whether the names included in the index are attributions of authorship or not, or whether they have been correctly identified in records. Furthermore, the name "W. de Wynton" also occurs in *F-EV* 17, but Deeming doubts that this refers to the same person. See Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 8 (1954), pp. 19-

E.3 Sources without surviving consecutive leaves, and contents that appear to have been homogeneously organised, which may preserve leaves from part of the same fascicle:

D-W 499	Five pieces? All pieces are motet-like troped chant settings. All can be performed in either three or four parts. All pieces are copied in parts. Two single folios, not contiguous. From Arbroath? Good quality.
GB-NWr Flitcham 299	Eight Mass settings in three-part score on a bifolium that was not the middle of the gathering. Flitcham/Walsingham Priory? Good quality scribal work but no decoration.
GB-Ob Barlow 55	Ten Mass Proper and Ordinary settings. All in three-part score. Two individual pages (rather than a bifolium). It is unclear how these relate to one another. None of the pieces seem to span more than one side of one folio. Unknown origin. Mediocre quality with almost no decoration and large amounts of text written in red ink (not tenors).
GB-Ob Bodley 257	Two bifolia, neither of which are from the middle of the gathering. The relationship between the two bifolia is also unclear. Six *conducti* in three-part score, some with *caudae*. One piece has a form in the tenor (which is reflected in the upper parts with exchange). Probably from Reading.
GB-Occ 489/9	Four *conducti cum caudae*, three of which use *rondellus*. All in three-part score, but those using *rondellus* have all three parts texted during those relevant *cum littera* sections. A single bifolium that was not the middle of the gathering. Possibly both sides were of the same fascicle in the original source. Good quality. Unknown provenance.

58; Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background II", *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 5 (1951), pp. 65-113; Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song", *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Vol. 15 (2006), p. 17 (n. 31); Christopher Holher, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing Thirteenth-Century Polyphony", *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society,* Vol. 1 (1978), pp. 2-38; Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (Ph.D Dissertation, Trinity College, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 64-65.

GB-Ctc O.2.1	Two bifolia, neither of which are the centre of a gathering, and the leaves were not adjacent in the original gathering. All of the ten pieces preserved are monotextual motets in three parts. They are all written with the upper two parts in score and the tenor copied afterwards. The first seven compositions are believed to be insular. The last three are Continental pieces. Two of these are found in the same form in *F*. The other is a Continental motet that has been adapted here to appear as a monotextual motet with an added *triplum*. It would appear that all pieces were probably from within the same fascicle, structured much like a Notre Dame source. Probably from Ely Cathedral Priory. High quality.
GB-Cu ff. ii. 29	Two flyleaves, not originally contiguous. The first folio contains a chant setting, containing one *clausula* that is concordant with a Notre Dame *organum* setting. It is copied in three-part score. On the second leaf are two highly fragmentary Sanctus tropes of the Sarum rite. Both are also in three-part score. It would appear that at least this part of the original source was dedicated to troped and untroped chant setting in three-part score. Probably from Bury St Edmunds. Very high quality with wide margins.
GB-Lbl Add. 24198	Three leaves, not contiguous. It is possible to determine that the source was originally alphabetically organised. The first three pieces have incipits beginning with the letter “R”, the following composition has an incipit beginning with “S”, and the final three pieces have incipits beginning with “T”. The relevant letter is copied in red ink at the top of the verso of each folio, and a number, possibly referring to the number of folios for each letter, is copied at the top of the recto of each folio, also in red ink. Probably from Church of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin. It is very poorly preserved, but looks as though it was of a good quality.
GB-Llp 752	A bifolium, not the middle of the gathering. It seems possible that the two sides were in close proximity to one another. On one side are two insular *conducti* in two-part score. On the other side are three Continental *conducti* in two-part score. Perhaps the original source ordered two-part *conducti* together, listing insular and Continental pieces separately. Good quality. Unknown provenance.

GB-Lwa 33327	A bifolium. Not the middle of the gathering, but work numbers(?) next to the pieces, and the spacing of the compositions on the surviving bifolium, suggest that only a single bifolium sat inside this one. All arranged in two columns like a Continental motet book, but as the pieces are in four parts it does not quite work in the same way. The first seven pieces are insular *cantus-firmus* motets in four parts, copied in parts. The top of the folio has the heading "quadruplices". The final piece is a Continental motet in three-parts, which fits more tidily into the two-column format. Probably from Westminster Abbey. Very high quality.
IRL-Dtc 519	All of the pieces are motet-like troped alleluia settings. All originally in three parts and copied in parts. Between the existing leaves was probably a single folio with the completions of nos. 2 and 3 (for Sept. 29 and Nov. 1) and one similar setting before nos. 3 and 4 (Nov. 11 and Nov. 30). Liturgical ordering? The headings "In die" (fol. 222v) and "Martino" (fol. l), and an "s" are written at the foot of each of these pages in red ink.[5] From Dublin? High quality.

[5] Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), No. B/IV/1-2 suppl. (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), pp. 27-28.

E.4 Sources without surviving consecutive leaves that are too fragmentary to assess:

GB-Lbl Add. 40011B (Strips only)	Four pieces that all appear to be motets, and seem to have been copied in parts, but the source is very fragmentary. Possibly all in three to four parts. Strips 1-3 and 8 belong to one original page; 6, 7, 4 and 5 to another, but it is not clear how the pages relate to one another. Apparently not adjacent folios, however. From Fountains Abbey. Good quality?
GB-Lbl Harley 3132	Extremely fragmentary strips possibly from one bifolium. Six compositions. The first piece is *cantilena*-like, copied in three-part score, but it includes a *cantus firmus* from a sequence, so it is perhaps better described in those terms. Lefferts believes it to be a later addition. [6] The other pieces are motet fragments. The numbers of original voices are unclear, but all are copied in parts. Unknown Provenance. Good quality?
GB-Lwa 12185	Very fragmentary. All five pieces seem to be motets copied in parts. The number of original voices is unclear and the bifolium was not the middle of the gathering. From Surrey area? Good quality.
GB-A 2379/1	A strip from the bottom of a bifolium that was not the middle of the gathering, but may have been the outermost bifolium. On one side of the bifolium (A) is the very end of a voice part (ending "nos") – probably a tenor. On the other side of A, is an *organum* from the Notre Dame repertory in three parts, although it looks as though it may have been copied in parts here. On side B of the bifolium is a fragmentary voice part from the trope *Kyrie rex virginum amator*. It would appear to be in three parts, and copied in parts. All pieces may have been chant settings of various sorts, but it is not possible to ascertain the number of voice parts and it is very fragmentary. Unknown provenance.

[6] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*

GB-Ob Bodley 271*	Seven small parchment fragments that together form two or more incomplete leaves (frags. 1-3 form fol. A; frags 5-6 from fol. B; frag. 4 possibly from fol. B; frag. 7 illegible).[7] It is almost impossible to ascertain the proximity of these folios to each other originally. Significant portions are illegible. Folio A preserves a three-part Continental motet in parts, followed by two isolated motet voice parts. The other folio preserves another motet, which also appears to have been in three parts. It is not possible to ascertain the number of voice parts in all cases, however. From Christ Church, Canterbury? Good quality?

[7] Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100- 1400*, RISM B/IV/1-2 supp., pp. 66-67.

E.5 Sources without surviving consecutive leaves, but which appear to have been heterogeneously organised in comparison to continental methods of organisation:

GB-Cpc 228	Four single folios remain, one of which has been torn in half vertically. The collation of the leaves is unclear. It would seem as though none were originally contiguous. Pieces 1-4 are motets, no.5 appears to be a Credo setting, and pieces 6 and 7 are *cantilenae*. Pieces seem to be in a mix of three and four parts – nos 5-7 were definitely in three-parts, but nos 1-4 could have been in three or four parts. Nos 1-4 are copied in parts and the others are in score. Nos 1 and 2 are on the same folio, as are 3 and 4. Nos 5 and 7 are also on the same folio (credo and *cantilena*) and no.6 is alone on a folio. High quality. Unknown Provenance.
GB-Cjec QB 5	The remains of two bifolia cut down significantly. Neither is the centre of a gathering nor they do not appear to have originally been adjacent to one another. Eight separate folios. The compositions are very fragmentary. However, it would seem that all are motets except for no. 4, which is perhaps best described as a motet-like troped-chant setting with a whole-chant *cantus firmus* in the tenor. The number of original voices is unclear. All of the pieces appear to have been polytextual and copied in parts, but some are in two columns and some are not (on the same leaf). From Durham? High quality.
GB-Ob Arch Selden B. 14	Two bifolia, but their original relationship to one another is unclear. None of the eight pieces appear to exceed a single folio, so adjacent leaves cannot be detected. Pieces are quite fragmentary as the pages have been cut down. Contents are chant settings, troped chant settings, and motet-like troped chant settings. All in three-part score. From London? Royal Court? Very high quality.

GB-Ob Bodley 652	Pieces 1 -5 appear to be motets, but no. 6 is a Benedicamus setting. The motets are copied in parts, but no.6 is in score (?). Between three and four original parts. Two single pages. Relationship between them unclear. Problematic format: Voices II and IV presented on the same opening followed by the start of a different composition. If voices I and III were presented similarly, it would produce a format without precedent in a polyphonic manuscript of this period. This strongly suggests therefore that the leaves are membranes from a roll. It would seem as though the membranes were stuck together horizontally rather than vertically (as is usually the case). It is possible that this source may have been organised alphabetically. Good quality. Unknown provenance.
F-Pn 11411	A bifolium. The pieces do not span more than a single side, so it is not known whether this was the middle of the gathering or not. On one side of the bifolium is a Sanctus and Benedictus setting in two-part score, followed by an Agnus dei in three-part score. On the other side is a on a *cantus firmus* with the incipit "Sustine". It is otherwise entirely melismatic.[8] It also contains hocketing and is in three-part score. After this, is a piece in three parts with just three lines of music (one per part) underlaid with three lines of text. The text is from an Agnus dei trope. Dittmer feels the piece is a *rondellus*. It could be that each part was to sing all three lines in different orders, and with different texts, which would equate to a typical *rondellus*.[9] However, it could just as easily have been intended to be repeated three times, to accommodate all the text, but without swapping of parts. Moreover, its appearance on the page is not typical of insular copying styles for *rondelli*. The final piece is a three-part *cantus-firmus*. motet. It is well known from Continental sources, but it is also found in the insular source *GB-Lwa* 33327 (a collection of insular and French motets). A peculiar arrangement, regardless of the difficulties in establishing original collation. English or French? Unknown provenance.

[8] The melody resembles, and is related to, the melisma of the two-part motet in *MO, Douce dame suspitie/Sustine[re]* (no. 188). The chant melisma is actually from alleluia *dulce lignum dulces clavos*, where the word "portare" is substituted for "sustinere" although the rest of the melody and text is almost the same (for use at the Feast of the Assumption). This is also the case in the Missal *F-Pn* lat. 1112. (See Dolores Pesce, *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 29).
[9] Luther Dittmer: *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts IV: Paris 13521 and 11411* (1959). See also Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm, Musical Theory and the Worcester Fragments", *Musica Disciplina,* vol. 7 (1953), pp. 39-57.

E.6 Sources with some surviving consecutive leaves that are too fragmentary to assess:

F-TO 925	Two bifolia, of which bifolium 165-166 originally sat inside bifolium 1- 2. 165-166 is not the middle of a gathering. All pieces are motets copied in parts (some with vernacular texts and song forms) except for a piece on f. 1r, which is in score.[10] It appears to have been textless apart from an incipit. Lefferts feels that it is a hocket, but this side of the folio was originally stuck down to the board and is therefore barely legible.[11] It has a liturgical tenor, in part. Many of the motets have patterned tenors, with complementary forms in the upper parts. Some tenors are probably secular. Various languages, specifically for tenor texts. The pieces seem to have been in three and four parts. In France by mid-fifteenth century, and may have come from an establishment with a connection to the abbey of Marmoutier. High quality. Unknown provenance.
D-Gs Theol. 220g	Two folios that were originally consecutive, preserving four pieces.[12] Three are fragmentary motets in mensural notation – one has a *cantus firmus* and another has two tenors labelled "*pes*". The fourth piece may be a monophonic sequence in undifferentiated longs, but it is too fragmentary to be certain. All pieces are copied in parts. The host source and the provenance of the leaves are unknown.

[10] The first three accolades on f. 1r are notated and texted in a part format, and probably belonged to an upper part. The following stave begins with a clef positioned much higher on the staves, and its general character suggests that it is a tenor part belonging to the same piece, probably a motet. Underneath this is the textless piece in score.
[11] For more information about the source see the "Catalogue of Insular Sources" on the accompanying CD, and in particular the fields for "(insular) Genre" and "Source of Tenor". See also Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*
[12] RISM lists five pieces here, but Lefferts has since demonstrated that RISM no. 5 is actually part of RISM no. 2, and that the order of RISM nos 1 and 2 should be reversed. See Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions*.

GB-Lrcp 777/65	It is unclear whether or not the leaves of this source were originally contiguous. Just a strip from the top of a bifolium survives. It may have been the middle of a gathering. The source preserved four untexted pieces in score (possibly all in three parts). Provenance unknown.
GB-Ob e mus. 7	Two sets of four leaves preserved as front and rear flyleaves in the host source. The front flyleaves are bound in so tightly that is impossible to see whether they are single sheets or part of bifolia. They preserve ten motets, in a mix of three and four parts, and all copied in parts. Isorhythms and voice exchange feature. The rear flyleaves are both bifolia preserving motets and a Kyrie trope. Two of the motet texts are French and another has a concordance in the Ivrea Codex (*I-IV* 115). Pieces seem to be in either three or four parts and copied in parts, except for the Kyrie in score. Folios 3-4 and 5-6 are consecutive as are 266-267, 267-268 and 268-269 (central bifolium of a quire). The relationship between the front and rear leaves is unclear. They could be from more than one original source as there are some differences between them.[13] Pieces are not arranged according to the number of voice parts, and so both three- and four-part compositions are copied side-by-side and in no particular order on both sets of flyleaves. From Bury St Edmunds?

[13] For more information about the differences between the front and rear flyleaves, see the "Catalogue of Insular Sources" on the accompanying CD, in particular the fields for "Decoration/Quality", "Size of Written Block", and "Notation".

GB-Ob c mus. 60 (Source A)	Six leaves. Fols. 82-85 are two nested bifolia from the centre of a gathering. Fols 79 and 80 are single leaves from the same source.[14] Fol. 80v is blank. Fols 82-85 preserve a motet-like troped Kyrie, a Gloria setting and two troped Glorias (the first of which is very fragmentary, and the second is motet-like in the use of the *cantus firmus*) followed by two motets. The first three are in three parts, the second troped Gloria and the first motet are in four parts, and the second motet is just an isolated voice part. The Kyrie, first troped Gloria, and both motets are in parts, and the untroped Gloria and second Gloria trope are in score. Fol. 79 contains two troped Introits copied in parts (both very fragmentary but motet-like). The first is in three parts, but the second is indeterminable. Fol. 80 contains a troped Responsory (Lefferts states that the two pieces listed in RISM are actually one), followed by a free troped Kyrie.[15] The first is in parts but the number of voices is unclear; the second is in three-part score. If we assume that folio 79 originally came before folio 80, there may be some indication of liturgical ordering, with a Kyrie setting following the introits. The booklet also contains chant settings: another troped Kyrie, a setting of the Gloria and two Gloria tropes. These pieces may also adhere to a liturgical ordering, since the Gloria follows the Kyrie in the Mass. F. 85v may mark the beginning of a new section dedicated to motets.

[14] Lefferts, *Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions.*
[15] *Ibid.*

E.7 Sources with some surviving consecutive leaves that appear to have been homogeneously organised, and which may preserve leaves from part of the same fascicle:

GB-Cfm 1980/47	A bifolium that was not the centre of a gathering. A textless *cantilena* in score appears to have been added later, as it is not in line with the rest of the written block. The other three pieces are motet-like troped chant settings. Two of the settings use sections of chant repeated several times in the tenor. All three pieces are copied in parts with Latin texts. The bifolium may originate from the Augustinian priory of Coxford, since it was used as a wrapper for a rental of lands held by the priory in the early sixteenth century.
GB-Cjc 84 [D.9]	Two adjacent bifolia, not from the centre of a gathering. Although this source is quite fragmentary, it would appear to preserve six *cantilenae*, all double texted, in three parts, and written in score. Unknown provenance. Good quality.
GB-DRc C.I.20	The front and rear flyleaves may either represent different sections/stages of copying of the original manuscript, or are from two original sources.[16] They are very similar, but there are some presentational differences. Nos 8 and 9 are later additions. All of the other pieces are motets, copied in parts. A number of those on the rear leaves have texts by Phillip de Vitry, some have French texts, and most have French concordances.[17] Those on the front flyleaves do not have any Continental concordances. All of the motets where the original number of voices can be established appear to have been in three parts, but some are too fragmentary and may have been in four. The motets on the front flyleaves use a range of techniques – most are isorhythmic, some use exchange, some have song forms in their tenors. The motets on the rear leaves do not use as wide a range of compositional techniques. The contiguity of some pages is not clear, but ff. 3-4, 336-337 and 338-339 were originally contiguous folios. From Durham? High quality.

[16] For more information about the differences between the front and rear flyleaves, see the "Catalogue of Insular Sources" on the accompanying CD, in particular the fields for "Decoration/Quality", "Size of Written Block", and "Notation".

GB-LIc 52	One folio and 10 strips of a bifolium survive from the centre of a gathering, possibly from the beginning of an alphabetically arranged book. It preserves a motet alongside a motet-like troped chant setting (Alleluia) and an isolated untexted voice part – possibly a tenor part. All pieces are copied in parts across an opening. Number of original voices probably three and/or four parts. It seems likely, given that a long tenor-like voice part appears underneath an upper part on the left-hand side of the original opening, that *[A]sunt Augustini* was originally a four-part piece, with another upper voice and a second tenor on the missing following page. All three *triplum* incipits begin with the letter "A" and it seems likely that this source was arranged alphabetically. Unknown provenance. Good quality.
GB-Ob Hatton 81	Two bifolia, which form four consecutive leaves of the original source (the inner bifolium was originally the centre of a gathering). There five motets preserved, three of which paraphrase sections of chant in their tenors. Isorhythms and voice exchange feature. The first four pieces were originally in four parts, and the final fifth piece was in three parts (perhaps grouped by number of voices here, too?). All pieces are copied in parts, and all texts are Latin. In one piece the fourth voice is labelled "Quartus cantus" but in another it is labelled "Quadruplex". However, the hands are clearly different to one another, and both differ from the main text hand. In fact, all of the labelling in the tenors appears to have been added later by a series of different hands. The same is true of "recita" written in some parts to indicate necessary exchanges, and a symbol used in other pieces to denote the same thing. Perhaps this was a working book? There are other additions and amendments, most notably in the bottom margin of f.2v. The first four texts are related to Christmas Time (St Stephen, the Nativity, Epiphany), but the fifth is homiletic. Unknown provenance. High quality.

[17] Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), B/IV/2 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1969), p. 218.

GB-Ob Rawl. C. 400* (Source A)	A booket of two bifolia, the innermost of which was the centre of the gathering (four consecutive leaves). All the pieces have been ruled and texted, but no notation has been entered. All of the pieces are troped Alleluia settings copied in parts and probably all had three voices. Connection to the Reading or Salisbury areas. Mediocre quality.
GB-Ob Rawl. C 400* (Source B)	Four fragments from a rotulus, which fit together to form a section with six (fragmentary) motet-like troped Alleluia settings, all written in parts, and probably with three voices. The source is not of particularly good quality, and decoration is simple. Connection to Reading or Salisbury areas. Mediocre quality.
GB-Owc 3.16 (A)*	Four *conducti cum caudae* in three-part score. All pieces begin with "Ave", and may have been organised in alphabetical order. Two single folios remain, but it is not clear whether they were originally adjacent. From Reading? High quality.
I-Bdc unnamed fragment	Two leaves, originally adjacent. Four motets are preserved on the leaves. Two (nos 1 and 3) carry *cantus firmi* (one as a *medius cantus*), but a third piece may also have an identified *cantus firmus* in the *duplum* (no. 2). The pieces are all copied in parts across an opening. Nos 2, 3 and include isoperiodicity. It seems likely that all of the pieces were originally in three parts. Provenance unknown.

E.8 Sources with some surviving consecutive leaves, and with contents that appear homogeneously organised into more than one fascicle:

GB-Cgc 334/727	Six flyleaves – two at the front and four at the rear of the host source. The relationship between the front and rear leaves is unclear. The two front leaves are not contiguous, but the rear flyleaves consist of two sets of two contiguous leaves (and all four may even be consecutive). The front leaves contain two Sanctus settings (on one leaf) and a Te deum (on the other) in three-part score. The rear flyleaves contain seven three-part *cantilenae* copied in score and double texted. If all of the leaves belonged to the same original source, then it would appear that the rear leaves come from a section of three-part *cantilenae*, and the front leaves from a section of chant settings (which could have been liturgically ordered). This would suggest that the scribe(s) used a method of organisation not unlike that of contemporary French sources, with genres separated into fascicles. If the leaves are from two separate sources, then the remains of both indicate some form of homogeneous ordering. Unknown provenance. Good quality.
GB-Cjec QB 1	Three flyleaves (none consecutive) and 33 binding strips inserted into a host source. The strips form eight fragmentary folios (A-H) of which five were originally contiguous (C-H). The first two flyleaves (1a and 1c) contain five fragmentary three-part Notre-Dame *conducti.* A further two pieces, on f.1b, have texts and staves drawn, but no music has been entered, which may indicate that this leaf was the end of a fascicle in the original source. Both pieces reveal alternations between melismatic and syllabic writing, not unlike that of a *conductus* (perhaps insular *conductus*-like pieces appended to the end of the fascicle of three-part Notre Dame *conducti*?). The third flyleaf (f. 1c) contains two further Notre-Dame *conducti* in three parts, which might suggest that f. 1c preceded f. 1b in the original manuscript. All of the pieces on the reconstructed flyleaves are two-part Notre-Dame *conducti* and it seems likely that folios A and B, and C-H were originally all part of the same fascicle of two-part pieces. The last of these pieces on f. H is a *unica* in two-part score, and it may be an insular pastiche of the Notre Dame style, added to the end of the collection of French two-part pieces. All pieces in score with Latin texts. Very high quality manuscript. From the Abbey of St Edmund, Bury.

GB-Ob Wood 591	The surviving music leaves consist of two originally adjacent bifolia, but the innermost is not the middle of the gathering. The two different sides (consisting of two adjacent folios), may have originally belonged to different fascicles. On one side of the two bifolia (now labelled ff. i-ii) are four insular *conducti* in three-part score. Two of these settings employ *rondellus* technique. On the other side of the bifolia (now ff. iv-iii in their correct original order) are three two-part Notre Dame *conducti* in score. Not only, therefore, does this source appear to have been organised so that *conducti* are grouped according to the number of voices, but it also seems that it may have even separated the pieces according to their provenance, with insular and Notre Dame compositions grouped separately. It may even be possible that a further layer of organisation is detectable from these surviving leaves. Although the incipits of the Notre Dame pieces appear not to have been copied in a particular order, it is interesting that of the insular pieces the first two begin "*Salve*" and the final two pieces begin "*O*". In any case, it seems probable that *GB-Ob* Wood 591 was originally organised in the same manner as most contemporary French sources. It is of a very high quality with use of gold leafing. Re-bound in London in the late sixteenth century, and later in Oxford.
GB-Occ 497	Seven folios. The first is a single leaf and only a strip remains. It is not clear whether it was originally adjacent to the other leaves, which are preserved in the form of three bifolia. The bifolia form a small booklet, but the innermost was not the middle of the gathering. The single leaf preserves fragments of two Kyrie tropes in three-part score. The first three leaves of the bifolia preserve two further Kyrie tropes, followed by four *conducti*, also all in three-part score (a motet is found in the margin space but this is a later addition). On the other three leaves are five *conducti* in three-part score. Although the genres appear not to have been separated into different fascicles (since the changeover from Kyrie tropes to *conducti* is preserved on one of the surviving folios), they do appear to have been grouped homogeneously. Perhaps the pieces were organised according to format and number of voices in this source, with further subgroupings according to genre. It is of a relatively high quality. Unknown provenance.

E.9 Sources with some surviving consecutive leaves that appear to have been heterogeneously organised:

GB-Ccc 8	The source consists of a single bifolium, not the middle of the gathering, plus two strips and a stub. Pagination shows that only 10 pages originally separated the two sides of this bifolium. On one side are *clausula*e, but they are copied with mensural ligatures, and in parts. On p. 557 the opening of the first *clausula* (“*A nobis”*) is missing on the now lost previous folio. The rest of the *clausula* is preserved here. Underneath looks to be the beginning of a new *clausula*, but the other voice parts are not on the following page. This voice seems peculiarly isolated. Perhaps the leaves were cut down more than previously supposed. On p. 558 is another three-part *clausula* (“*fecit do”*). This is also followed by a voice from a different *clausula*. However, unlike the isolated voice of the second *clausula* on the previous page (which is an upper part), the isolated voice here is a tenor part (with text in red). It is very odd that a tenor part should be copied before the upper parts. It seems possible that the *clausulae* were copied across the opening, but this layout does not seem to exactly fit the layout of the surviving voices. On the other side of the bifolium is, on page 547, the end of a two-part song with English text, copied in score. Immediately after this is a two-part motet with a liturgical tenor and an English text in the upper part, copied in parts. Over the page, on p. 548, is a three-part Anglo-Norman song copied in score. Underneath is a tenor part labelled “*primus* pes”. Half way through this part is what looks to be a double bar line, possibly marking the beginning of the second tenor part. It does not belong to the Anglo-Norman song. Just above, after the end of the song, are three notes and text that seems to read “*secundus* le pius de” with a hand pointing to the missing next page. It seems to have been erased, at least in part. The strips and stub show evidence of further motet-like pieces, but this time in French. One of the tenors on the strips has been identified as that of *Mellis stilla* but it could be that this same tenor was used here in a different polyphonic setting. Unknown provenance. High quality.

GB-Lbl Sloane 1210	Eight folios – ff. 1-1*, 138-141 and 142-143 were originally contiguous. Different stages of copying – various different hands and styles and a major change in style and written block at f. 141v. Even accounting for this, the source was still heterogeneously organised. Folios 1-1* contain a Credo in three-part score, a motet in three parts and copied in parts, and two two-part *cantilenae* in score. Ff. 138-141 contain a Gloria setting in three-part score, a troped Kyrie in three-part score, a *cantilenae* in two-part score, a hymn, a motet-like and a *conductus*-like composition, all in three-part score, and an Alleluia setting in two-part score (the latter probably added later). Ff. 142-143, contain a *cantilena* in three-part score, a motet in three parts and in parts format, and another *cantilena* in three-part score. Provenance unknown. Very little decoration included.
US-Cum 654 app.	Four folios cut into 16 fragments, all originally contiguous. The first three pieces are *cantus-firmus* motets, followed by a *conductus*-like monotextual piece with *rondellus* technique copied in parts, and a motet-like troped chant setting with a free tenor and a *cantus firmus* in the *triplum* part. Another monotextual *conductus*-like composition follows, with extensive use of *rondellus*, and then two monotextual-motet-like compositions. These two pieces are followed by a *cantus-firmus* motet with a patterned tenor part. The final piece, *Christi cara mater, ave*, is difficult to categorise. It begins with a long melisma, with upper parts engaging in voice exchange over a patterned tenor, which ends with a short section of freely composed material. After this is a texted *rondellus* section, followed by a short melisma with voice exchange over a repeated tenor. The piece ends with another section of texted *rondellus*. The number of voices is unclear for some pieces. A number of the compositions are difficult to categorise in terms of genre. The leaves are probably from Meaux Abbey. The leaves and scribal work are of good quality, although not particularly richly decorated.

US-NYpm 978	A complete gathering of eight folios – all contiguous (4 bifolia). There are five *cantilenae* in three-part score, followed by five Mass Ordinary settings: A three part Sanctus, with two upper parts in score followed by the tenor written separately; and two Credos, a Deo gratias, and another Sanctus in three-part score. They are followed by a *cantilena* in three-part score, and then a four-part Latin motet in parts. There is then an Agnus dei (to be performed as a canon) and a Gloria in three-part score. The last piece is textless, with Easter sequence for use at Mass on Easter Day in the *duplum*. It is of a mediocre quality, with simple decoration. Provenance unknown.
GB-Onc 362	10 folios, with original foliation preserved (5 bifolia). Ff. 84-85, ff. 86-87, ff. 88-89-82, and ff. 83-90-91 were all originally contiguous. Ff. 84-85 have a three-part, a motet with a *solus* tenor (three- or four-part performance), and a four-part motet. Ff. 86-87 contain another five motets: a three-part motet with a whole chant in the tenor, a three-part motet with a *medius cantus*, a free three-part motet, and a four-part motet with a secular French tenor. Ff. 88-89-82 contain a three-part motet with a secular *cantus firmus* in the *motetus*, and a four-part motet with the same *cantus firmus* in the tenor. This is followed by a three-part Latin motet and a motet-like troped chant setting, and on f. 82v is an expansion of the Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme,* copied in three-part score. It is monotextual and is not motet-like. Ff. 83-90-91 include a monotextual, *conductus*-like piece in parts, a three-part motet with a variant concordance in MO, a three-part Latin motet, a four-part Latin motet with *cantus firmus*, a motet-like whole chant setting with *medius cantus*, and a troped setting in three-part score. The final composition, on f. 91v, is of questionable genre. It is copied in parts, with only the two upper parts remaining. Both parts begin and end with long melismas. Lefferts refers to the piece as a "*conductus*". The source is of a good quality, but the decoration is not particularly rich. Provenance unknown.

Appendix F The Generic Groupings of Reconstructions II and III of the Worcester Fragments

F.1 Reconstruction II

Reconstruction II consists of 32 pieces on 13 surviving fragments. Unlike Reconstruction I, the leaves do not preserve an original foliation, so it is impossible to determine how many missing leaves were originally in between the groups of surviving contiguous leaves. Furthermore, with only the size of the leaves to determine their inclusion in Reconstruction II, there is no way of knowing for certain that the current accepted ordering of the fragments is correct. According to this order, "the beginning of the volume was written by several different people" (ff. 23-24). Seven groups of contiguous leaves remain. All but three of the pieces (two *conducti* and an indeterminable composition) are motets or troped chant settings. However, a number of the pieces are palimpsests. Therefore, after the initial two folios the remains of the source contains only chant settings, until f. 33. After this point, there are four further pieces (excluding the palimpsests) – two motets and two *conducti*. Although this source would appear, therefore, to have been more homogeneously organised than Reconstruction I, "it scarcely approaches the homogeneity of French copying practice".

WF no.	Recon. no.	Dittmer ff.	Genre	No. voices	Format	Other
41	1	23	Motet (v/e)	3	Parts	
42	2	23/24	Troped chant setting	3	Parts	Sequence/ Antiphon
43	3	24	Troped chant setting	3	Parts	Gloria (PALIMPSEST)

44	4	25	Motet (c.f.)	3	Parts across an opening	(PALIMPSEST)
45	5	25/26	Troped chant setting	3	Parts across an opening	Alleluia
46	6	25/26	Troped chant setting	3	Parts across an opening	Alleluia
47	7	26	Motet	3?	Parts across an opening	(PALIMPSEST)
48	8	26	Motet	3?	Parts across an opening	(PALIMPSEST)
49	9	27	Troped chant setting	3?	Parts across an opening	Alleluia
50	10	27/28	Troped chant setting	?	Parts across an opening	Alleluia
51	11	27/28	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Alleluia
52	12	27/28	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Alleluia
53	13	28	Motet (refrain)	4?	Parts	(PALIMPSEST)
54	14	29	Troped chant setting	3?	Parts	Alleluia
55	15	29	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Alleluia

56	16	29/30	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Alleluia
57	17	30	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Alleluia
58	18	31	Troped chant setting	3?	Parts	Sanctus
59	19	31	Troped chant setting	3	Parts	Sanctus
60	20	31/32	Troped chant setting	3	Parts	Sanctus & Benedictus
60a	21	32	Troped chant setting	?	Parts	Sanctus & Benedictus
61	22	32	Troped chant setting	3	Parts	Sanctus
62	23	32	Troped chant setting	2	Parts	Sanctus
63	24	32	Troped chant setting	3?	Parts	?
64	25	33	Troped chant setting	4	Parts	Introit
65	26	33	Motet	3	Parts	ABAB tenor

66	27	33	Motet (v/e)	4?	Parts	
N/A 7	28	34	?NO TEXT?	?	?	(PALIMPSEST)?
67	29	34/35	Motet (v/e)	4	Parts	(PALIMPSEST)
68	30	35	*Conductus*	3	Score	
69	32	35	*Conductus (rondellus)*	3	Score	

F.2 Reconstruction III

Reconstruction III has the smallest number of extant leaves. Just seven fragments are thought to have come from this third original source. Three of these fragments do not appear to have been originally contiguous with any of the other surviving leaves. They are single, isolated leaves, but fragment XIX a1 preserves two compositions, and fragments XIX a2 and XXXII each preserve three compositions. Apart from these leaves only two groups of two contiguous leaves survive – fragments XIX c2 and b2, and fragments XIX b1 and b2. The latter preserves the most consecutive compositions, with five compositions in their original order. All of the surviving pieces are copied in three-part score. Reconstruction III would also appear to be later in date than the other two sources. This is partly noticeable in terms of the genres included, with untroped chant settings and *cantilenae* making up a significant portion of the surviving compositions.

Many of the leaves of Reconstruction III survive only in part (often with large portions of the original leaf torn away), or else are damaged – some to the point of being almost illegible. As a result, it is not always easy to examine individual compositions. From the remains of the compositions, however, it would seem that they ranged in complexity from relatively simple three-part polyphony, to more melismatic settings with the use of exchange techniques.

WF no.	Recon. no.	WF fragment names	Genre	No. voices	Format	Other
87	1		*Conductus*	3	Score	
88	3		Chant setting	3	Score	Gloria
89	4	XIX c2 and b2	*Conductus*	3	Score	
90	5		*Conductus*	3	Score	
91	6		*Conductus*	3	Score	
92	7	XIX a2	*Conductus*	3	Score	

82	8		*Cantilena*	3	Score	
82a	10	XIX a1	Chant setting	3	Score	Gloria
N/A 13	11		Chant setting	3	Score	Sanctus & Benedictus
83	12		Chant setting	3	Score	Sanctus
84	13		Chant setting	3	Score	Agnus dei
85	14		Chant setting	3	Score	Gloria
86	15	XIX b1 and c1	Chant setting	3	Score	Gloria
107	16		*Conductus*	3	Score	
108	17		Chant setting	3	Score	Sanctus
109	18	XXXII	*Cantilena*	3	Score	

Appendix G Modern Editions

G.1 *Barbara simplex animo/Barbara simplex animo/Tenor* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 9)

[redacted]

G.2 *Patris superni gratia fraus/Patris superni gratia fraus/Pia pacis inclita* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 7)

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.3 *Orbis pium primordium/Orbis pium primordium/O bipertitum peccatum* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 8)

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.4 *In excelsis gloria/In excelsis gloria/In excelsis gloria* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 4; WF 93)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.5 *Stella maris nuncuparis/Stella maris nuncuparis/Stella maris nuncuparis* (*US-Cum* 654 app., 6)

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.6 *Regis aula regentis omnia* (*US-PRu* Garrett 119, Frag. A, 1; *GB-Lbl* Add. 24198, 3)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.7 *Ka- Karisma conserat a patre* (*GB-Onc* 362, 14)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.8 *Doleo super te/Absolon fili mi/T.* (*GB-Cgc* 512/543, 7)

[redacted]

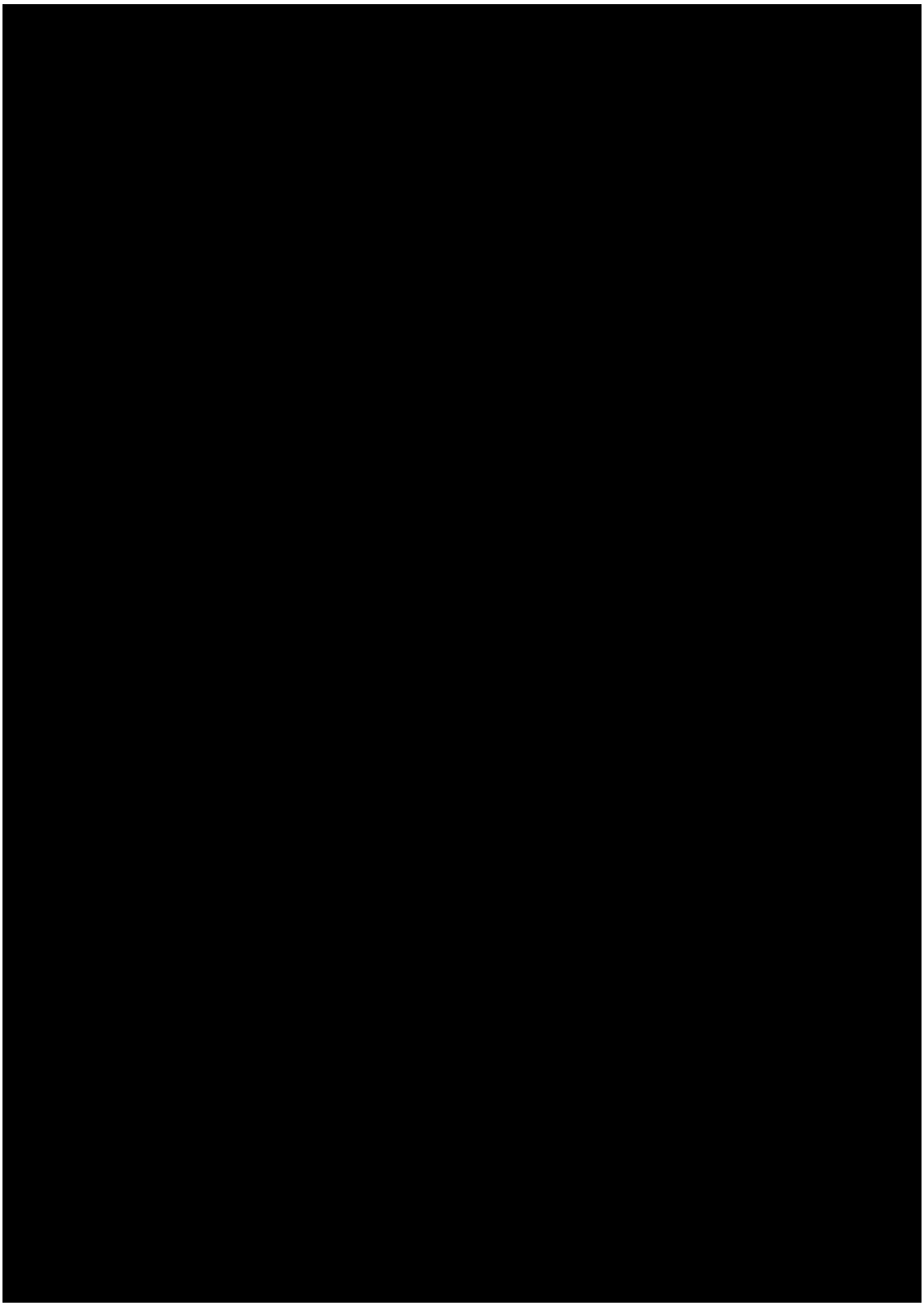
[redacted]

G.9 *Salve mater misericordie* (*GB-Ob* Wood 591, 3; *GB-Occ* 489/9, 2b)

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.10 ***[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ [Alleluya Christo iubilemus]….Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus/ Al- pes Alleluya Christo iubilemus…Alle[luya V. Di]es sanctificatus*** **(*GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, Frag. B., 7)**



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GB-DRu Bamburgh Sel. 13	Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Select 13
GB-GLro D.149	Gloucester, County Record Office, D. 149
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