

A music roll in Princeton and its origins in thirteenth-century Yorkshire

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Abstract. *This article reconsiders the polyphonic music fragments used within in an English manuscript copy of Walter of Châtillon’s Alexandreis, now Princeton University Library, Garrett 119. Extensive reuse of parchment characterises this manuscript: in addition to three music rolls, a chronicle roll and multiple account rolls were systematically repurposed to assemble the parchment used as the manuscript’s endleaves and also internally, when some of the rolls were erased and overwritten with the Alexandreis text. Through a close analysis of all these materials, the specific local contexts of the manuscript’s production is considered. The article demonstrates that this occurred in two stages, begun*

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This research was funded by the European Research Council (Consolidator Grant no. 101088317) as part of the project ‘BROKENSONG: Polyphonic Singing and Communities of Music Writing in Medieval Britain and Ireland, c. 1150 to c. 1350’. I had the opportunity to present some of this research at the Annual Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (Granada, July 2024), and at the Royal Musical Association 150th Anniversary Conference (London, September 2024). I am especially grateful to Jane Burton, Michael Carter, Edward Cheese, Lisa Colton, Jerome Gasson, Eric Nemarich, Teresa Webber and the two anonymous readers for this journal. My thanks also to the librarians and staff at Princeton University Library. The following manuscript sigla are used:

Ber Select Roll 55	Castle Archive, Berkeley, Select Roll 55
BL add. 36579	London, British Library, Additional 36579
BL add. 40011 A	London, British Library, Additional 40011 A
BL add. 40011 B	London, British Library, Additional 40011 B
BL add. 62132 A	London, British Library, Additional 62132 A
BL Arundel 248	London, British Library, Arundel 248
BL Cotton Fragment xxix	London, British Library, Cotton Fragment xxix
BL Cotton Titus A. xviii	London, British Library, Cotton Titus A. xviii
BL Egerton 2104 A	London, British Library, Egerton 2104A
Cjc 23 (B.1)	St John’s College, Cambridge, 23 (B.1)
Cu 654	University of Chicago, 654
DOdhc FSI acc.10959	Dorset History Centre, D-FSI acc.10959
Lna E 149/7/23	London, The National Archives, E 149/7/23
Oas 56	Oxford, All Souls College, 56
PRu Garrett 119	Princeton University Library, Garrett 119
Tours 925	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 925
W1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst
WOr 705	Worcester, Hereford and Worcestershire Record Office, 705:349 BA 5117/1 (xiv)/1

in the early thirteenth century and completed in the fourteenth century. While previous scholarship had located the host manuscript and music fragments in Lincolnshire, a Yorkshire location and a Cistercian institution is proposed here, possibly Rievaulx Abbey, at least for the initial compilation of the host manuscript and the copying of at least one of the music fragments. This opens up new possibilities for a flourishing network of written polyphony in this region.

A medieval English manuscript of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* now in the collection of Princeton University Library is a fascinating example of the paradox Rosalind McKitterick noted of palimpsest manuscripts: 'their most striking feature ... is ... that they represent evidence preserved by destruction'.¹ The thrifty producer of the manuscript now catalogued as Garrett 119 (hereafter PRu Garrett 119) systematically cut up, erased and then repurposed a chronicle roll, multiple account rolls and three music rolls in order to assemble the parchment used to copy the *Alexandreis* text and for the volume's binding materials. But, as proof of McKitterick's paradox, if these materials had not been mutilated, this set of important sources of medieval polyphony might have been forever lost to history. Well known to medieval musicologists, the music fragments transmit twelve fragmentary polyphonic compositions, the most famous of which is the jaunty voice-exchange motet *Thomas gemma/Thomas cesus*, written in honour of Thomas Becket and the lesser-known Thomas of Dover. Also recorded on one of these fragments is the evocative two-voice motet *Veni mater gracie/T. Dou way Robin*, which is one of only two extant medieval motets that has a texted tenor in Middle English.²

The survival of three rolls of late medieval polyphony reused within this one manuscript codex is a significant number, given that in total just over 140 (mostly fragmentary) sources of any type survive from the British Isles from c.1200 to c.1350. Twenty music rolls, including these three, are extant from this time period.³ Kenneth Levy's 1951 article-length study introduced the music fragments of PRu Garrett 119, and is an inventory and discussion of the music compositions in terms of their notation, style and compositional structures.⁴ The specific local contexts of their original production and subsequent reuse have yet to be examined in depth, with the exception of Don Skemer's comprehensive 2009 study of the repurposed chronicle

¹ Rosalind McKitterick, 'Palimpsests: Concluding Remarks', in *Early Palimpsests: Proceedings of the Workshop Early Medieval Palimpsests*, ed. G. Declercq (Turnhout, 2007), 145–51, at 145.

² The other is the motet *Vide miser et iudica/Vide miser et cogita/Wynter* in the Tours 925 fragment; however, only the incipit of the tenor, the single word 'Wynter', is underlaid.

³ Ten thirteenth-century rolls, including two of the PRu Garrett 119 rolls, are listed in 'Table 2: Thirteenth-century rolls of polyphony' of Karen Desmond, 'Medieval Music Rolls, Scribes and Performance: The Extant Rolls of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony', in *Manuscripts and Performances in Religions, Arts, and Sciences*, ed. Antonella Brita et al. (Berlin, 2024), 189–210, at 198. Adding to these thirteenth-century rolls are others that are clearly from the first half of the fourteenth century – namely, Ber Select Roll 55, Cjc 23 (B.1), DODhc FSI acc.10959 (the Dorset rotulus), BL add. 40011 A (the strips), BL add. 36579, BL Egerton 2104 A, Lna E 149/7/23, Oas 56, WOr 705 and the third PRu Garrett 119 roll – which brings to twenty the total number of rolls from the period c.1200 to c.1350. For a detailed listing of late medieval music rolls, Insular and continental, see Tables 8.2 and 8.3 of Margaret Bent, Jared C. Hartt and Peter M. Lefferts, *The Dorset Rotulus: Contextualizing and Reconstructing the Early English Motet* (Woodbridge, 2021), 308, 313.

⁴ Kenneth Levy, 'New Material on the Early Motet in England: A Report on Princeton Ms. Garrett 119', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1951), 220–39.

roll.⁵ However, there are significant inaccuracies in previous descriptions of PRu Garrett 119 that relate to its dating, place of copying and production process. Based on new evidence gleaned from one of the account rolls bound with PRu Garrett 119 and a codicological and palaeographical examination of the host volume, I propose the possibility of a Yorkshire location and a Cistercian institution at least for the initial compilation of the host volume and the copying of at least one of the music fragments. If this hypothesis is correct, the fragmentary sources of PRu Garrett 119 would join a small but important collection of polyphonic sources linked to Yorkshire, several of which have connections to Cistercian abbeys in that region.

Prior descriptions and datings of Princeton University Library, Garrett 119

PRu Garrett 119 has a one main text, the twelfth-century medieval Latin poem *Alexandreis* by Walter of Châtillon (fols. 8r–50r), which was a popular school text in the later Middle Ages, with more than 200 copies surviving today.⁶ The binding is modern, described in the Princeton University Library catalogue as follows: ‘England, 17th century. Calf over pasteboard, with gold-stamped and blind-embossed panels; gilt edges; red, blue, and ochre marbled endpapers’.⁷ Table 1 lists the complete contents of the manuscript, including the fragmentary contents of the other manuscripts that were repurposed for this copy of Walter’s poem. The music endleaves were removed from the host volume at some point after Levy published his article and are now stored in a separate envelope under the same shelfmark (labelled ‘Container 2 of 2’).⁸

The front and rear endleaves of PRu Garrett 119 have fragments from a chronicle roll that transmit the story of Engle and Scardynge in Anglo-Norman (the bifolios that were originally rolls are fols. Xr and 7v at the front, and 64r and 69v at the rear) and with portions of the Melrose chronicle in Latin in another hand on the reverse of the roll (bifolios are fols. Xv and 7r at the front, and 64v and 69r at the rear). The contents of contexts of both these texts are discussed in detail by Skemer. Two music rolls (Garrett rotulus no. 1 and Garrett rotulus no. 2) were also used as front endleaves, one of which

⁵ Don C. Skemer, ‘The Story of Engle and Scardynge: Fragment of an Anglo-Norman Chronicle Roll’, *Viator*, 40 (2009), 255–75.

⁶ Skemer, ‘The Story of Engle and Scardynge’, 272. The main codex has two modern pencil foliations: the uppermost top-right foliation was crossed out after the music endleaves (fols. 1–6) were removed, and a newer pencil foliation written directly under this foliation begins with the numeral ‘1’ below the crossed-out ‘7’ (in the following, to avoid confusion, I will refer to the leaves in the main codex using the crossed-out foliation; for reference, both foliations are given in Table 1). An unfoliated stub, that is still bound within the main volume and that directly precedes fol. 7 is referred to here as fol. X, following the labelling given to it by Levy; Levy gives Fragment C the foliation ‘YZ’ (Levy, ‘New Material’, 221n10).

⁷ The catalogue entry is available online at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99113439393506421>. The complete manuscript (including the music endleaves) has now been digitised and is available at this link. The online catalogue description of the manuscript references the entry in the printed catalogue, *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, ed. Don C. Skemer, 2 vols. (2013), 1: 265–7.

⁸ Levy described the music endleaves as part of the first quire of the manuscript and mentions only one pencil foliation, which implies that the removal and the new pencil foliation occurred after he wrote his article; he also includes a diagram of the arrangement of the music leaves in this first quire (‘New Material’, 221n10).

Table 1. The complete contents of PRu Garrett 119

Folios (older pencil foliation; crossed out in main codex)	Newer pencil foliation	Contents	Comments
1r–6v	–	Polyphonic music Accounts	mostly music contents (= Garret rotulus nos. 1 and 2), but with accounts on fols. 1v and 6r, see Table 2; these are now removed and stored in the same shelfmark as ‘Container 2 of 2’
[X]r	–	Anglo-Norman chronicle (Engle and Scardynge)	fol. X [unfoliated] is a stub; makes bifolio with fol. 7
Xv	–	Melrose chronicle	
YZr–YZv	–	Polyphonic music	fol. YZ [unfoliated] is a parchment strip (= Fragment C, see Table 2)
7r	1r	Melrose chronicle	fol. 7 makes bifolio with fol. X; fol. 7r mostly erased except for left margin
7v	1v	Anglo-Norman chronicle (Engle and Scardynge)	fol. 7v text erased around and within medallions
8r–50r	2r–44r	Walter of Châtillon, <i>Alexandreis</i>	palimpsest folios begin at fol. 33r and continue to fol. 63v, all from Revesby accounts rolls, except fols. 35–36, which are from a roll of polyphony (= Garrett rotulus no. 3; see Table 2)
50v–63v	44v–57v	blank	ruled for text
64r	58r	Anglo-Norman chronicle (Engle and Scardynge)	makes bifolio with fol. 69
64v	58v	Melrose chronicle	
65r–68v	59r–62v	Revesby accounts	fol. 68 is a stub; makes bifolio with fol. 65
69r	63r	Melrose chronicle	fol. 69 is a stub; makes bifolio with fol. 64
69v	63v	Anglo-Norman chronicle (Engle and Scardynge)	

has accounts on one side (fols. 6r and 1v). A strip from a music codex (Fragment C) was used as a reinforcement strip (see Table 2 for more details on the music fragments).⁹ Along with the chronicle fragment that is at the rear, account rolls are found

⁹ Note there is some discrepancy between the labelling of the fragments in the musicological literature versus the actual cataloguing of the music leaves in Princeton University Library. The fragments are stored in three plastic envelopes labelled A, B, and the third has the labels C, D. The bifolio comprising fols. 3 and 4 has a pencil annotation on the parchment that labels them as ‘Fragment A’ (sides 1 and 2 are also indicated in this pencil annotation); the bifolio comprising fols. 2 and 5 are labelled as ‘Fragment B’ (‘side 1’ specified but not ‘side 2’); the single strip is labelled as Fragment C (sides 1 and 2 labelled, but no pencil foliation); and the bifolio comprising fols. 1 and 6 is labelled as Fragment D (only side 1 labelled). As Levy recognised, two bifolios (fols. 3 and 4 and fols. 2 and 5) come from the same original roll, with fols. 3 and 4 as the top of the roll and directly above fols. 2 and 5, and with no missing parchment between them (‘New Material’, 221). He thus named the two fragments from this roll as ‘Fragment A’ (i.e., the two fragments that are labelled as A and B in pencil by the Princeton librarian). Levy’s Fragment B is Princeton’s Fragment D. Fragment C is the same in both. William Summers and Peter Lefferts adopted Levy’s labelling; however, to add further confusion, they identified a new music fragment that they labelled ‘Fragment D’, which is a palimpsest bifolio that is now bound in the main manuscript in the middle of quire 5 (fols. 35 and 36). See Levy, ‘New Material’; and William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition* (London, 2016), 43.

Table 2. Music fragments in PRu Garrett 119

	Pencil foliation ^a	Pencil label on fragment	Levy/Summers and Lefferts labels	Measurements (H x W); gauge	Scribe	Contents
Garrett rotulus no. 1, side 1	3[r], [4v]	'Fragment A, side 1'	Fragment A	257 x 295 mm; 17–18 mm	A	[Regis aula]/[Regis aula]/Regis aula regentes omnia [Tota pulchra es]/[A]nima mea/T. [Alleluia celica]/[A]lleluia celica/T. Alleluia celica [cont.]
Garrett rotulus no. 1, side 2	[2v], 5[r] 4[r], [3v] [5v], 2[r]	'Fragment B, side 1' 'Fragment A, side 2' 'Fragment B'		247 x 187 mm; 17–18 mm 257 x 295 mm 247 x 187 mm	A B B	[Thomas gemma]/[Thomas cesus]/[Primus Tenor]/[Secundus Tenor] Thomas gemma [cont.] [Si lingua]/[Mors animar ...] 'three voice parts of motets' (Summers and Lefferts) 'three voice parts of motets' (Summers and Lefferts)
Fragment C, side 1 Fragment C, side 2 Garrett rotulus no. 2, side 1	– – 1[r], [6v]	'Fragment C, side 1' 'Fragment C, side 2' 'Fragment D, side 1'	Fragment C Fragment B	257 x 51 mm; 14.5–16 mm 257 x 191 mm; 13.5 mm	C C D	[Veni mater gracie] ... gaudii post hoc peperisti/T. Dou way Robin [...]-scit ortu solis naturalis/[...]-ibate floruit integritate/[Tenor] Manorial accounts (Yorkshire) from years 1255–7
Garrett rotulus no. 2, side 2 Garrett rotulus no. 3, side 1	6[r], [1v] [35v], 36[r]	– –	Fragment D (Summers and Lefferts only, not listed in Levy)	257 x 298 mm	E F	'Double-texted cantilena' 'Double-texted cantilena' 'One upper voice and tenor of motet' (Summers and Lefferts) Staves only, no music notation visible
Garrett rotulus no. 3, side 2	[36v], 35[r]	–			–	

^aNumbers were only placed on the recto side of the folios: since the recto and verso sides not indicated, these are enclosed in square brackets here.

as rear endleaves (fols. 65r–68v). In addition (and relatively unusually) the latter half of the manuscript (fols. 33r–63v) was made from palimpsest parchment, mostly from the same account rolls that were used as the rear endleaves, but one of the palimpsest parchment bifolios (fols. 35 and 36) has portions of staves, passages of *Ars nova* notation, and some underlaid text visible to the naked eye and under ultraviolet light (Garrett rotulus no. 3).¹⁰

Levy, writing in 1951, gave the dating of the main part of the manuscript as late fourteenth century.¹¹ He assigned all the music endleaves to the ‘last quarter of the 13th century or the very early 14th’, and did not localise them, beyond their copying in England.¹² He described the monastic accounts that are found on the back of Garrett rotulus no. 2 as dating from the ‘fourth or fifth decade of the 14th century’ (thus after the copying of the music).¹³

Like Levy, Skemer – writing in 2009 – dated the main contents (the *Alexandreis*) to the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ The volume’s provenance, he wrote, ‘as a whole is somewhat confusing, though it can be localised to Lincolnshire’, since the accounts used as endleaves have expenses and receipts for the years 1332 to 1333 recorded by Robert de Ratheby (now Raithby), cellarer of Revesby Abbey, a Cistercian abbey in Lincolnshire.¹⁵ Skemer proposed, however, mostly based on circumstantial evidence, that the main text of the manuscript and the fragments of the chronicle roll may have originated or at least been later present in a different Lincolnshire abbey, the Benedictine Abbey of Croyland (Crowland).¹⁶

¹⁰ As noted by Skemer, ‘The Story of Engle and Scardying’, 268n58. Unfortunately, recent multispectral imaging of fols. 35 and 36 did not improve the legibility of the music or text of this music roll (Will Noel, personal communication, 7 February 2024). Given the consistent use of rolls in the production of this manuscript, and the projected dimensions of the original writing surface of this palimpsest, it seems highly likely that the overwritten music that is now fols. 35–36 was originally a roll. Skemer does not specify whether the fragment Garrett rotulus no. 3 is from a roll: of all music fragments, Skemer simply writes that they are ‘five fragments from two or more sheets or rolls’. He also observed that a certain portion of text is visible by ultraviolet light. In their catalogue, Summers and Lefferts describe Garrett rotulus no. 3 (their ‘Fragment D’) as a ‘bifolium’ not from the centre of a quire (*English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 42); however, more recently, Lefferts, along with his co-authors, Bent and Hartt, recognise Garrett rotulus no. 3 as a roll (*The Dorset Rotulus*, 313; although there misidentified as ‘Garrett 119/C’).

¹¹ Levy wrote that the music endleaves were bound with ‘a late 14th-century English copy of Walter of Lille’s Latin *Alexandreis*’ (‘New Material’, 220).

¹² *Ibid.*, 221.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁴ Skemer, ‘The Story of Engle and Scardying’, 267.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 267n56. I have also come across a 1329 date in these same accounts.

¹⁶ Skemer offered the following in support of his proposal: 1) an erased late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century inscription that Neil Ker read as ‘Croyland W. de Burgh’ (the manuscript does not have the usual Croyland *ex libris*, however); 2) the chronicle roll fragment reused in PRu Garrett 119 has portions of the Melrose chronicle copied on its dorse, and the original manuscript of the Melrose chronicle, probably one of the most important sources for the history of Scotland and northern England, which was copied at the Melrose Abbey in Scotland, ended up at the Benedictine Priory of Deeping St James, 10 miles from Croyland, from the fourteenth century until the Dissolution; and 3) that the first identified owner of PRu Garrett 119, the Elizabethan statesman William Cecil, Lord Burgley (1520–98), owned at least one other Croyland manuscript (*ibid.*, 268–70). None of these arguments prove definitive links to Croyland, however.

William Summers and Peter Lefferts, in their 2016 catalogue entry for the Princeton fragments, reproduce Levy's and Skemer's assertions that the *Alexandreis* was copied in the fourteenth century. Given Skemer's Croyland hypothesis, they indicate caution with the question mark 'Written for Revesby?' under the 'History' section of the catalogue entry.¹⁷ They also introduce some new errors; namely, that the palimpsest accounts from Revesby are thirteenth-century accounts, and that Garrett rotulus no. 2 also has accounts from Revesby on the verso.¹⁸

The account copied on Garrett rotulus no. 2 has a completely different layout, however, and is in a different hand to the cellarer's accounts of Revesby Abbey that serve as the rear endleaves of PRu Garrett 119, a fact that had gone unnoticed (or at least unremarked) in all prior studies. Close examination of this account's handwriting and contents suggests an earlier date and different place of copying for Garrett rotulus no. 2. In the following, I lay out this evidence and consider the implications of the redating and 're-placing' of this fragment. But first, a physical examination of the manuscript as a whole indicates that it too must be redated, and furthermore, that there was a significant break in its production, which supports the hypothesis of a different date and origin for Garrett rotulus no. 2. It is a fascinating story of the creative and practical ways manuscript compilers worked with their materials, including discarded music manuscripts. It fits well with the emerging picture of the wide range of activities in the purview of the monastic precentor, which along with their music role, also included custody and care of the monastery's books.¹⁹

A century-long break in production?

Pace the datings in all previous scholarship, the *Alexandreis* manuscript is in fact an early thirteenth-century manuscript that was later completed in the fourteenth

¹⁷ *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 43.

¹⁸ Within the specific description of Garrett rotulus no. 2, which Summers and Lefferts label as 'Fragment B', they write that 'it contains fourteenth-century monastic granger's accounts from Revesby Abbey'; and then within the 'History' section (describing all the music leaves), they write that the 'manuscript is partly palimpsest over thirteenth-century erased accounts from Revesby Abbey and polyphonic music (D). Fragment B also has accounts from Revesby on the verso' (*English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 43). The palimpsest accounts and rear endleaves from Revesby are from the fourteenth century, and, as will be demonstrated later, the granger's account on one side of Garrett rotulus no. 2 is not from Revesby.

¹⁹ For a recent collection of essays that focuses on the important role of the precentor (cantor) in medieval institutions, see Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel and Margot E. Fassler, eds., *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500* (Woodbridge, 2019). There is substantial evidence of composer W. de Wicambe's book-related activities as precentor in the middle of the thirteenth century: see Karen Desmond, 'W. de Wicambe as a Composer of Alleluia Rondelli', in *Composers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne and Gaël Saint-Cricq (Woodbridge, 2024), 195–221; and Karen Desmond, 'W. de Wicambe's Rolls and Singing the Alleluia ca. 1250', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 73 (2020), 639–707. For important earlier examples, see Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 29–51 and James Grier, 'Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St Martial, Limoges', *Early Music History*, 14 (1995), 53–119. In the late fourteenth century, several precentor's accounts for Worcester Cathedral document the purchase of equipment for bookbinding. See Rodney Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, 2001), xlvii–xlviii.

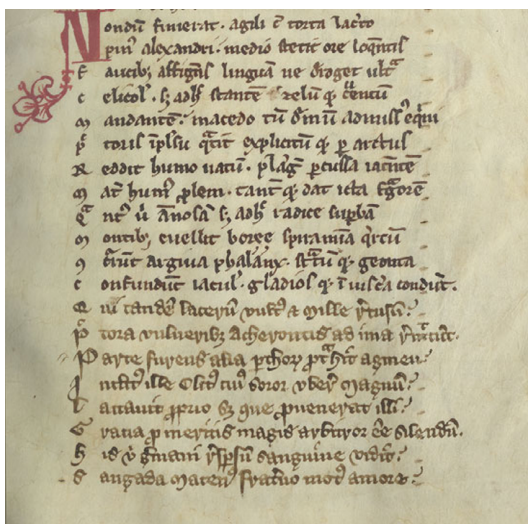


Figure 1. Change of scribe on fol. 31r, eight lines from the bottom. Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Manuscripts, Garrett 119 (detail). Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

century. This can be seen quite clearly on the first page of the poem (fol. 8r), which is copied in a semi-formal smaller gothic bookhand of the first half of the thirteenth century.²⁰ This same hand continues until fol. 31r in the fourth quire. For the last eight lines of fol. 31r a new scribe takes over and continues the copying of *Alexandreis* until fol. 50r: this is a mid-fourteenth-century hand (the switch between the two hands can be seen in Figure 1). Thus, a thirteenth-century scribe began the copying of this poem, and more than a century later a fourteenth-century scribe continued it, mid-text.

The palimpsest portion of the manuscript mentioned earlier (fols. 33r to 63v) begins in quire 5, just two folios after this change in hand.²¹ The mid-fourteenth-century scribe, therefore, finished the incomplete quire left by the thirteenth-century scribe and fashioned recycled parchment into quires to finish the copying of the *Alexandreis*. Most of these palimpsest bifolios were thoroughly scraped, although the underwriting is somewhat more visible on fols. 50v–63v since these fourteen folios were left blank and have no overwriting.²² Apart from the single palimpsest music roll Garrett rotulus no. 3 (fols. 35 and 36), the palimpsest bifolios that begin at fol. 33 appear to be account rolls from the same set of accounts as those found in the rear endleaves, cut up and turned at ninety degrees to make bifolios. Their layout and hand suggest that these accounts are also by Robert de Rathby of Revesby, thus

²⁰ I thank Teresa Webber for her discussion of the hands in PRu Garrett 119 (personal communication, 29 May 2024).

²¹ Skemer noted the location of the palimpsest folios ('The Story of Engle and Scardying', 267). Hannah Ryley describes in detail the various methods for making palimpsests (scraping, polishing, and washing), in *Re-using Manuscripts in Late Medieval England: Repairing, Recycling, Sharing* (Woodbridge, 2022), 97–8.

²² They were ruled for the entry of text.

strengthening the links of this fourteenth-century stage of production of the *Alexandreis* manuscript to Revesby Abbey (i.e., it is not only the accounts of the rear endleaves that have the Revesby links, but the also the underwritten parchment of the main manuscript).²³

The collation of PRu Garrett 119 as given in Figure 2 reflects this significant break in the production.²⁴ The first stage proceeded according to a carefully regularised production plan. The text of *Alexandreis* begins in quire 2, and quires 2–4 are all consistently quaternions, and catchwords are present at the end of each of these quires. But from quire 5 on, catchwords are no longer present. The palimpsests begin in quire 5, which is also a significantly irregular quire.²⁵ With quires 6 and 7, whoever was now in charge of directing the production of this manuscript began to form the quires with consistency, but now as quinternions. Quire 8 is again irregular (two bifolios and a single leaf), and quires 1 and 9 are the endleaf quires.

The decorated initials that occur in the earlier part of the manuscript appear to be later additions (both those in brown and those in red), most likely added in the fourteenth century during this second stage of production. Again, their deployment is not consistent, and quire 5 is a moment of transition where the compiler tweaks their practices: the style of the major initials changes within quire 5, on fol. 35v, and the red ink that had been used up to fol. 36r to decorate the first letter of each line of text is no longer used from fol. 37v on.

This change in the availability of materials and/or institutional resources and book production processes (catchwords, decoration, use of red ink, the number of folios per quire and the type of parchment used) indicate either a significant change in the workplace practices, or an actual change of workplace between the earlier and later stages of the compilation of this manuscript. This makes a lot of sense given the century or more that separates the two stages of production. The fourteenth-century stage was more ad hoc. Hannah Ryley describes a similar process in the production of an English fourteenth-century copy of Chaucer's *Pricke of Conscience* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 35), where fifty of its 118 folios can be identified as palimpsests, including palimpsest leaves with music underwriting: she suggests that although it

²³ The account rolls used for fols. 66r–69v have a three-column ruling on one side and a two-column ruling on the other side, and the same three-column and two-column formats are also visible on some of the palimpsest leaves.

²⁴ I used the online tool Viscoll to generate this collation diagram. Figure 2 outlines the manuscript as it existed in 1951 when the ternion of music leaves and the parchment music strip was still in place. There are seventy-three leaves in total; however, seven of these are stubs, and one is a strip 51 mm wide with music notation that was pasted between two of the front endleaves (Fragment C). Of the six front endleaves with music notation, two are stubs (fols. 1 and 2). The two rearmost stubs are fols. 68 and 69. The quire structure is as follows: 1³⁺² (leaves 1, 2 and 7 are stubs, leaves 1 and 2 were at some point glued together, and, as will be described later, leaf 8 is a standalone strip that was once partially glued to the left margin of the recto of leaf 9, 2–4⁴, 5⁵ (one missing leaf that likely was conjoined to leaf 34; leaf 37 is a stub glued to leaf 36, leaf 41 is a stub glued to leaf 40), 6–7⁵, 8³ (there is one missing leaf, probably attached to leaf 67), 9³ (leaves 72 and 73 are stubs).

²⁵ Fol. 32 is not a palimpsest leaf, but is a single tipped-in leaf, and the palimpsest leaves made from the account rolls begin at fol. 33r. Stubs between fols. 34 and 35 and between fols. 37 and 38 indicate missing leaves.

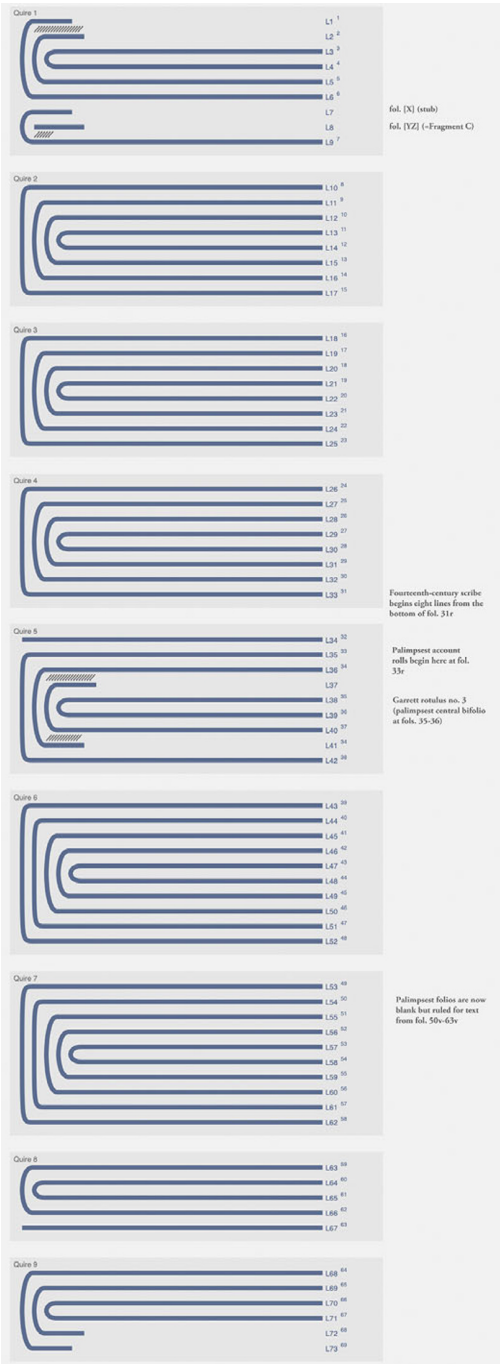


Figure 2. Collation of P.Ru Garrett 119. Since there are unfoliated stubs, leaf numbers are included (indicated by 'L') and to the right of these in superscript are the numbers of the older pencil foliation.

'might sound fanciful ... scraping was undertaken on demand as the project proceeded'.²⁶ In the case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 35, Ryley hypothesised that it became 'expedient' to resort to palimpsest parchment, including palimpsest leaves with music notation, near the end of the book's production, and that the scraping was done as needed to accommodate the new text.²⁷ Ryley also discusses a manuscript of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* (Cambridge, St John's College, E.2) that also uses palimpsest music leaves: this manuscript has at least six palimpsest leaves that were cut down from an antiphonal, and like the cut-up account rolls of PRu Garrett 119, reoriented ninety degrees and used as bifolios.²⁸

What evidence do the 'endleaf quires' (quires 1 and 9) contain that supports this hypothesis of a creative and opportunistic use of repurposed materials? One thing the repurposed parchment immediately suggests is an individual who had a particular enthusiasm for the scraping knife. How this individual engaged with this 'waste' parchment, however, first requires a consideration of how the endleaves were used in the original medieval binding.

Since PRu Garrett 119 was rebound in the seventeenth century, and the front endleaves removed by Princeton Library in the twentieth century, deciphering details of the original medieval binding is difficult. Figure 3 reconstructs how the endleaves were used in the seventeenth-century binding (before the removal of the front endleaves after 1951, aided by Levy's description and the modern pencil labelling and foliation).

In this early modern binding (Figure 3), the music leaves formed a ternion (fols. 1–6), mirrored in the arrangement of the chronicle and account rolls at the back of the codex (fols. 64–69), which is also a ternion. Fols. 1, 2, 68 and 69 are stubs, and offsets and glue stains on the four stubs indicate fols. 1 and 2 were pasted together and similarly fol. 68 was pasted to fol. 69. Note that the stubs have diagonal cut-outs at the top and bottom outer corners: this may be seen in the image of fols. 1 and 6 in Figures 5 and 7. Fols. 3 and 4 and fols. 66 and 67 are the bifolios that were located at the centre of these ternions (Figure 3).²⁹

An additional fragment from the chronicle roll upsets this symmetry, however. Fol. 7 is conjoined to a stub that has not been given a pencil foliation (Levy labelled this fol. X). I would propose the current position of fol. 7 is an artefact of the original medieval binding. Fols. 7 and the conjoined stub (fol. X) possibly functioned as a quire

²⁶ Ryley, *Re-using Manuscripts in Late Medieval England*, 99.

²⁷ Ryley (ibid.) observes that: 'Legible traces of undertext can always be explained away as lacklustre scraping. However, upon close examination, there is a pattern: on scraped leaves, the most intact undertext is typically present in upper and lower margins, towards the fore-edge, and in the gutter crease, confirming the idea that the scraping was undertaken to fulfil only what was required for the new text'. On this manuscript, see also Daniel Wakelin, *Designing English: Early Literature on the Page* (Chicago, 2017), 38–40. Daniel Sawyer describes another manuscript of the *Pricke of Conscience* (Bodleian Library, Ashmole 52), which also has palimpsests from a liturgical book with music notation, in *Reading English Verse in Manuscript c.1350–1500* (Oxford, 2020), 98.

²⁸ Ryley, *Re-using Manuscripts in Late Medieval England*, 98.

²⁹ In the early modern binding, the bifolios that are now fols. 1 and 6 and fols. 3 and 4 were upside-down within this ternion; while the bifolio that is fols. 2 and 5 was the right way up. The position of the pencil foliations confirms this arrangement and also concurs with the diagram of the leaves' arrangement that Levy provided in his 1951 article ('New Material', 221n10).

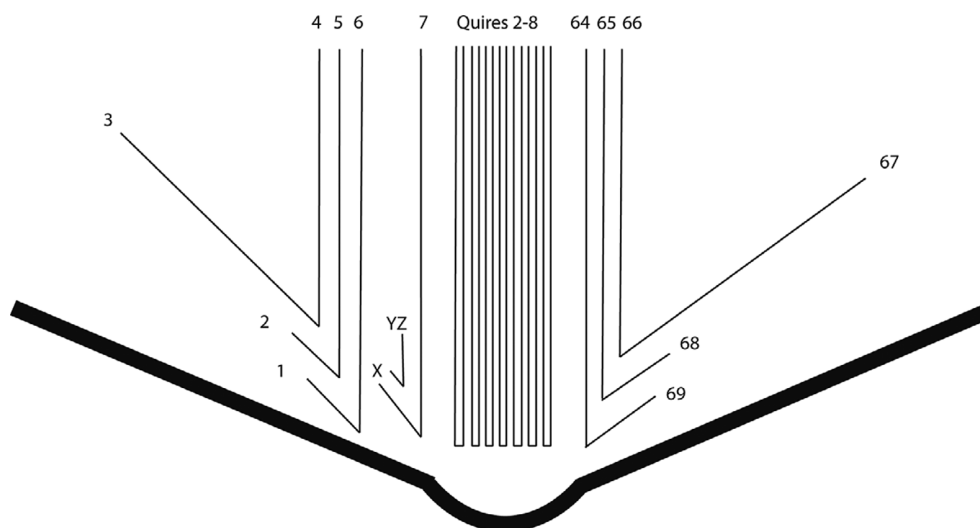


Figure 3. Reconstruction of endleaf use in the early modern binding.

guard, with fol. X wrapped around the first quire, although there are no obvious offsets of the stub fol. X in between quires 2 and 3 (neither fol. 15v nor fol. 16r). The medieval compiler likely purposefully selected fol. 7v for this prominent position – directly facing the beginning of the *Alexandreis* text – in order to preface the main text with the three tinted medallion portraits of rulers from the Anglo-Norman chronicle (Figure 4b).³⁰ The compiler scraped off the text of the Anglo-Norman chronicle around these medallions and erased the rulers' names within the medallions and copied new names over them. They also scraped the text of fol. 7r leaving a mostly blank page (Figure 4a).

Ink offsets of staves, clefs and notation now visible the left margin of fol. 7r indicate that two-thirds of the Fragment C strip (the 'Z' of Levy's 'YZ' label for this strip) was pasted on top of fol. 7r, probably as a reinforcement strip.³¹ Because Fragment C has now been removed, the Melrose chronicle text is visible in the left margin where Fragment C was originally pasted (i.e., it was never scraped), as are ink offsets of the verso of the 'Z' portion of Fragment C on top of the Melrose text (Figure 4a). This indicates it was the medieval compiler who pasted Fragment C as a reinforcement strip *before* the text was scraped.³² In other words, the scraping of the parchment was

³⁰ Skemer dates style of the medallions to 1321–7 ('The Story of Engle and Scardying', 257n8).

³¹ The side now marked in pencil as 'Fragment C side 2' is what was on the pasted side. The gauge of the staves (16 mm) offset onto fol. 7r matches the gauge of Fragment C, and several letters and clefs offset can be matched up. Levy also commented that only 'part' of Fragment C was pasted onto fol. 7r: 'Part of folio Zb is pasted onto folio 7a', 'New Material', 221n10).

³² It is notable that there is no offset of the music of the Fragment C 'Y' verso onto the verso of the stub fol. X, again implying that the stub fol. X was tucked into the binding somewhere, possibly as a quire guard. It is actually unclear which folio was attached to fol. 7r by the reinforcement strip (Fragment C). It would be expected that the verso of the 'Y' portion of Fragment C would have left offsets somewhere, but I could not see obvious offsets of this portion on any of the front endleaves.

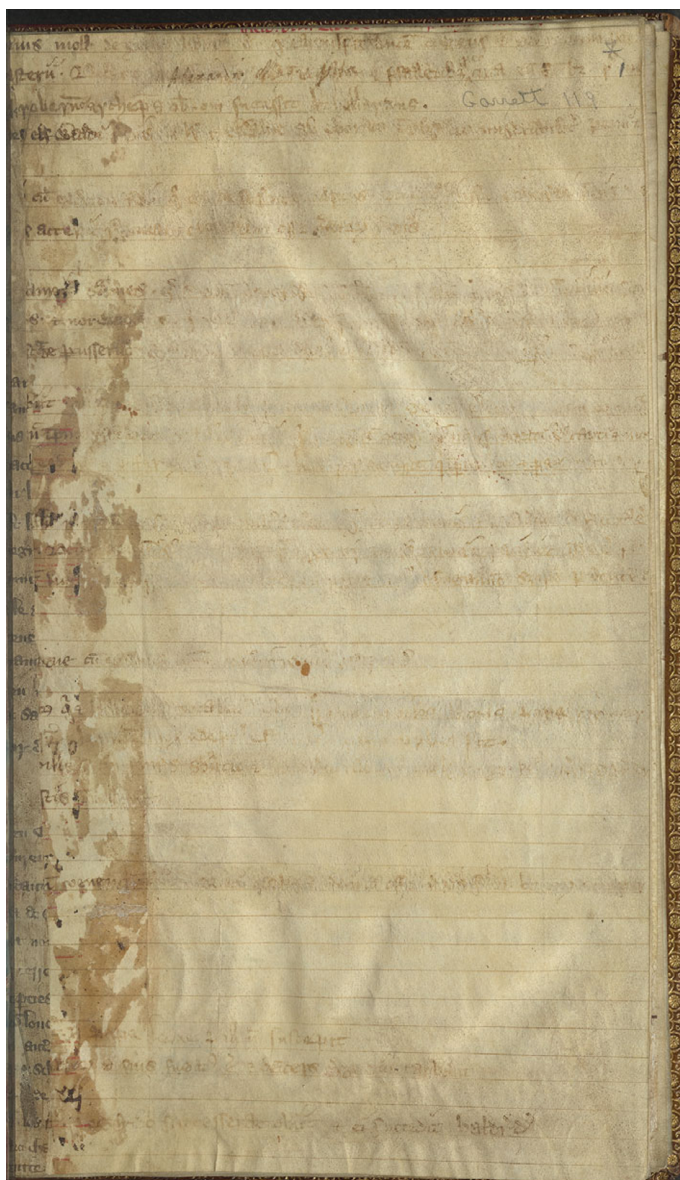


Figure 4a. PRu Garrett 119, fols. Xr, 7r, with area where Fragment C was pasted in the left margin of fol. 7r visible. Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Manuscripts, Garrett 119. Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

occurring contemporaneously with the assembly process of the book (its copying *and* its binding), reflective of the sorts of ad hoc production processes hypothesised by Ryley for other English manuscripts.

While it is difficult to say with certainty how the remainder of the endleaves (now quires 1 and 9) were used in any bindings prior to the early modern binding, ink



Figure 4b. PRu Garrett 119, fol. 7v, showing the erasures around the illustrated medallions of the Anglo-Norman chronicle roll. Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Manuscripts, Garrett 119. Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

offsets, glue stains, other wear and the cut-outs on the stubs offer some clues.³³ There would have been no reason for the pasting together of the stubs (fol. 1v pasted to 2r, fol. 68v

³³ In PRu Garrett 119, offsets and glue stains indicate that fols. 1v and 2r were pasted together, and fol. 1r has glue stains (but no offsets) that indicate it may have been in direct contact with the leather cover. In addition, fol. 3 and probably fol. 67 were also likely tucked into this turn-in: fol. 3v is stained around its

pasted to fol. 69r), nor the diagonal cut-outs on these stubs within the context of the early modern binding: these must be artefacts of an earlier binding. Diagonal cut-outs such as these are often found on stubs that were pasted to the inside spine edge of wooden binding boards, leaving the conjoint leaves to serve as free endleaves.³⁴ The stains and damage on fols. 1r and 69v indicate these were the sides that were glued to the boards.

The final question is why were several staves at the top of fol. 4r–v scraped (i.e., the top staves of the actual music roll)? Possibly the compiler considered completely scraping the musical contents of these pages, as they did with fol. 7r–v (apart from the medallions), in order to have another blank flyleaf. They began to scrape off the music staves on both sides but then decided against it. Or perhaps they had momentarily considered using the music roll as a bifolio for use within the main text (as they did with fols. 35–36) but then changed their mind (perhaps it was more difficult to completely scrape off the red stave lines?), and instead used mostly the account rolls as palimpsests, and the music rolls for binding materials.

Given the predilection of this manuscript's compiler for scraping and erasure, I would propose that the erasure of the chronicle roll occurred contemporaneously with the copying and compilation of the manuscript in the middle of the fourteenth century. Consequently, I would also propose that the medieval binding, including the use of all the 'binding waste', is contemporaneous with this scraping activity. This all suggests that the fragments used here in the medieval binding were collected at an early stage in this manuscript's history. Indeed, it is also possible that some materials that ended up in PRu Garrett 119's mid-fourteenth-century binding were first used as a temporary wrapper for the four-quire unfinished thirteenth-century *Alexandreis* and travelled with them when the manuscript project was completed in the second half of the fourteenth century. In any case, all these materials were gathered and available to the fourteenth-century compiler as the compiler made ad hoc decisions in the process of copying and producing the final bound book. In possibly adverse or changed circumstances, this compiler was particularly resourceful in sourcing parchment for the second phase of copying (the use of the palimpsest parchment), and in choosing the facing illustrations for the *Alexandreis* text from a recycled roll. This dating – mid-fourteenth century – provides a *terminus ante quem* for when the music rolls were discarded (and obviously also for the copying and composition of the music compositions on them).

But was the initial thirteenth-stage of this project begun at Revesby, or somewhere else, and what more can these binding materials tell us? Multispectral imaging of the palimpsest account rolls of quires 5–8 might reveal more dates and further localisation information on the later stage of compilation: such analysis of this quantity of account rolls is beyond the scope of the current article.³⁵ However, an analysis of the accounts

three exterior edges, indicating that this side may have faced out with the cover wrapped around these three edges (although there are no signs of glue stains).

³⁴ I thank Edward Cheese for his discussion of the binding evidence with me (personal communication, 19 June 2025).

³⁵ Skemer, 'The Story of Engle and Scardying', 267n56, notes that the palimpsest accounts in the main manuscript are 'thoroughly erased' and 'generally unreadable' under ultraviolet light. However, some folios, especially where there is no overwriting, look like they could be readable. The music

copied on one side of Garrett rotulus no. 2 suggests a different date and origin for that roll than the fourteenth-century Revesby or Croyland origins for PRu Garrett 119 asserted in previous scholarship.³⁶ This opens up new possibilities for the creative environment in which at least one of the music rolls originated.

Garrett rotulus no. 2 and Yorkshire

An incomplete manorial account is found on one side of Garrett rotulus no. 2 (Figure 5). Owing to the trimming at the top, the text that began the year's account of the manor's harvest (e.g., flour, oats) is missing.³⁷ The section on the harvest is followed by the livestock check that begins with the centred heading 'Compotus Instauri'.³⁸ The livestock check is incomplete since the bottom part of the roll was trimmed, probably when it was repurposed as binding material. The fragment has also been trimmed at the right margin; very little text is missing at this margin, however, just the ends of some words, and most of the sentences make sense grammatically.

The account contains these dates: 'anno xxxix', 'anno xl' and 'anno xli'. Following common accounting practice of the time, these dates most likely refer to the regnal year, rather than the calendar year. Given that the references are to the 39th, 40th and 41st regnal year, the only two possibilities for the reign referenced would be either Henry III (1207–72), or Edward III (1312–77). Thus, because of the different dates of these two kings' accessions, the latest date referenced in this account fragment is either 21 September 1257,³⁹ or 25 December 1367.⁴⁰

Palaeographical features of the cursive script, however, suggest that a late 1360s date is too late for this account. In particular, the forked ascenders on *b*, *h*, and *l* present in this document, and which are characteristic of Anglicana in the second half of the thirteenth century, had largely disappeared by the early fourteenth century.⁴¹ Thus

leaves, as mentioned earlier (n 10), have had multispectral imaging, which did not render the music any more readable than it currently is under natural light.

³⁶ See pp. 6–7 above on the previous assertions regarding the date and origin of this fragment.

³⁷ In addition, the music composition on the other side of the roll is missing most of the motetus voice: according to editions of this motet, seventy-two perfections of the motetus are missing. The number of staves required to accommodate this missing voice and the consecutive notation of the following motet confirms this parchment fragment was originally a roll.

³⁸ Jerome Gasson, personal communication, 13 March 2024. I am very grateful to Jerome Gasson for his discussion of this account fragment with me, including its dating, and for his corrections to my transcription of this account.

³⁹ 'a festo sancti Michaelis anno .xl. usque festum sancti Matheis proximo sequente', which is 29 September in the 40th regnal year (1256) to the following 21 September 1257.

⁴⁰ 'Ad festum natalis domini xli', which is 25 December of the 41st regnal year. Of Edward III's reign this is 25 December 1367.

⁴¹ M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969), xv. The heavy diagonal stroke in the looped ascender on *d*, present here, had also disappeared by the fourteenth century, when the handwriting appears more vertical (ibid., xv–xvi). Early features of the Anglicana script present here include the thin connecting stroke that rises to the head of the letter *f* and long *s*. Other features of the script include the two-compartment *a* with the large upper lobe ascending above the other letters (ibid., xiv), and the long-tailed *r*, with the shoulder stroke connecting to the subsequent letter. See Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006), 138. Teresa Webber describes this hand to me as a 'copper-bottomed mid-thirteenth-century hand' (personal communication, 29 May 2024).

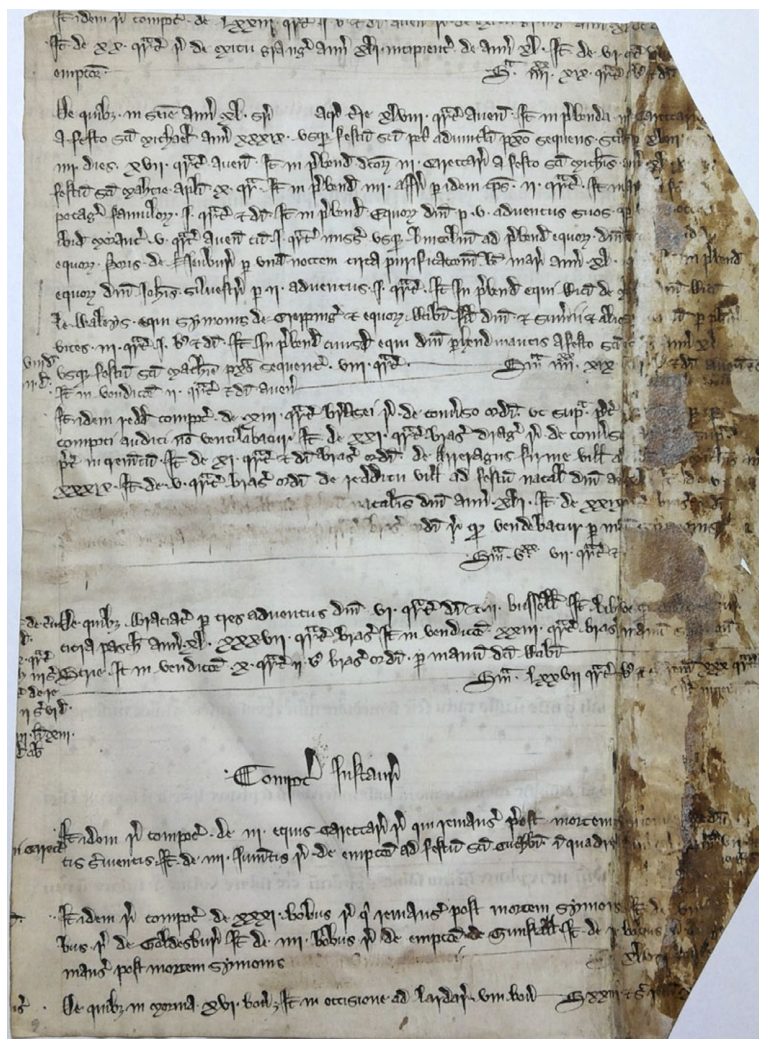


Figure 5. PRu Garrett 119, fols. 6r–1v, the manorial account. Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Manuscripts, Garrett 119. Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

the dates must refer to Henry III's regnal years. The copying of this account on this roll was completed in or shortly after the latter part of 1257.⁴²

Several visitors to the manor over the period 29 September 1256 to 21 September 1257 are mentioned in this account, due to the provision of oats and transport for their horses, including for the Prior of Newburgh (probably of Newburgh Priory, an Augustinian foundation in Yorkshire); the other visitor names mentioned are Lord

⁴² The normal period for accounts to run is from Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas, so this account was likely written shortly after 29 September 1257.

Richard le Waleys, Richard de M., Symon de Crepping and Lord Johannes Silvester.⁴³ In addition, a 'Robert' is mentioned as the son of the Lord (of the manor). The death of a 'Symon' is also referenced twice in the 'Compotus Instauri'.

References to these names can be found in other medieval records. A Symon de Crepping is mentioned as a king's clerk in chancery rolls of the 1260s and 1270s.⁴⁴ Symon de Creping is also mentioned as receiving part of the manor at Mekil Hall, Norfolk, from Aymer de Valence (c.1275–1324), although it is unclear whether this is the same individual.⁴⁵ A later Symon de Crepping, but possibly of the same family, is mentioned in a 1335 document relating to the Middleton estate in Yorkshire; various references to Symon de Crepping relating to this estate go back to the year 1300.⁴⁶ Richard le Waleys is also found frequently in the chancery rolls: he is mentioned in 1256,⁴⁷ and possibly is the same Richard le Waleys who is mentioned as having been killed in 1269 by Robert de Suningwell in self-defence, although with the caveat that 'Le Waleys' was a relatively common name.⁴⁸ This Richard le Waleys held land in Lancashire and York: references are made to the family's gift of land to Fountains Abbey, and to St Mary's, Monkton.⁴⁹ Finally, there are mentions of Johannes Silvester

⁴³ The 'Prior of Newburgh' may have been the unnamed prior against whom Archbishop Godfrey de Ludham (1258–65) issued a sentence of deposition, and who was eventually removed as prior. This Prior of Newburgh was accused of various wrongdoings, including keeping an extravagant household and of entering into a conspiracy against the archbishop's visitation of the house. The prior is unnamed in this deposition, but he may have been Prior John whose name occurs 1252–3. See William Pailey Baildon, *Notes on Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire, Vol. 1*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, xvii (1895), 145, digitised at www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/vol3/pp226-230 (accessed 18 March 2024).

⁴⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III. Volume 13: 1264–1268*: Close Rolls, October 1265, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen3/vol13/pp132-141; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III. Volume 5: 1258–1266*: 1266, membranes 27, 26, 25, 24, 23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-pat-rolls/hen3/vol5/pp557-590; *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I. Volume 1: 1272–1279*: Close Rolls, Edward I, January 1275, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw1/vol1/pp224-228; *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I. Volume 1: 1272–1279*: Close Rolls, Edward I, July 1276, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw1/vol1/pp345-350 (accessed 18 March 2024).

⁴⁵ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 6 (Norfolk, 1807) 497–8, available at Historic England Research Records, www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=132037&resourceID=19191. Further afield, a Symon de Crepping is listed as a sheriff in Gloucestershire in 1265. See Christopher Erlington, 'Lists of Sheriffs in Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 128 (2010), 207–27.

⁴⁶ See *The Survey of the County of York, taken by John de Kirkby, commonly called Kirkby's inquest* (Durham, 1867), 225. For the other references see 'Friends of Middleton Park: The Crepping Family', available at www.fomp.co.uk/history/jn_crepping.html (accessed 12 June 2025).

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III. Volume 4: 1247–1258*: 1256, membranes 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-pat-rolls/hen3/vol4/pp455-482 (accessed 18 March 2024).

⁴⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III. Volume 6: 1266–1272*: 1269, membranes 26d, 25d, 24d, 23d, 22d, 21d, 20d, 19d, 18d, 16d, 14d, 13d, 10d, 9d, 8d, 7d, 6d, 5d, 4d, 3d, 2d, available at www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-pat-rolls/hen3/vol6/pp375-388 (accessed 19 March 2024). There is another fourteenth-century Richard le Waleys, a knight, whose name occurs frequently in chancery rolls of the 1320s and 1330s.

⁴⁹ *Great Britain. Public Records. Deputy Keeper Report, 1840–1908*, vol. 36 (London, 1875), 198. These references date from 1260 to 1272; in the record of 1272–86 reference is made to Diana, the widow of Richard.

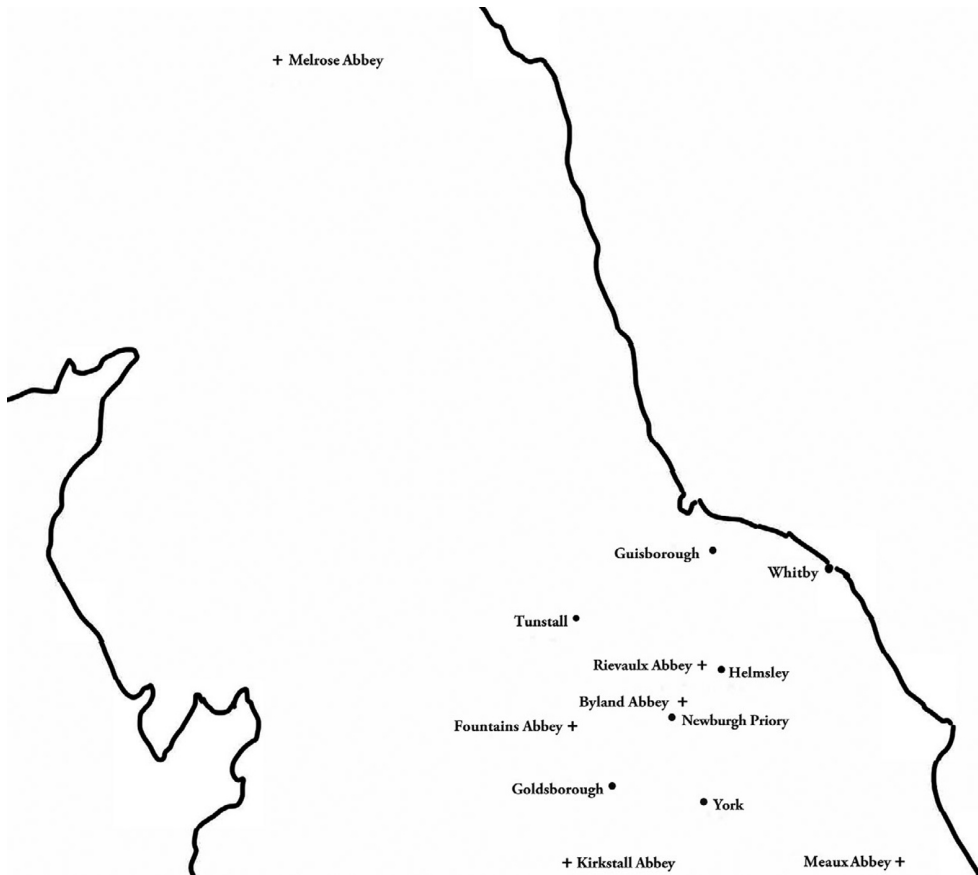


Figure 6. Map of place names referenced in the manorial account roll, and selected religious houses in Yorkshire and Scotland (Cistercian abbeys marked with +) .

in the chancery rolls of 1263 and 1264.⁵⁰ It is therefore possible to locate all these names within a decade of the date proposed for this fragmentary account roll (1257), and to locate perhaps three of them (the Prior of Newburgh, and possibly Richard Le Waleys and the Crepping family) in Yorkshire.

Place names mentioned in the manorial account are of more help in narrowing down where it was written, which was almost certainly in north Yorkshire. Figure 6 provides a map of the place names referenced in the manorial account roll, including the above-mentioned monastic institutions and others that will be discussed in the next section. In addition to the connections of Richard le Waleys and the Prior of Newburgh to Yorkshire, three place names feature. Mention is made of oats being sent to Lincoln, cattle received from Goldesborough, and cattle received from a purchase in

⁵⁰ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III. Volume 12: 1261–1264*: Close Rolls, August 1263, available at British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen3/vol12/pp243-257 (accessed 20 March 2024).

Tunstall. There are multiple places with these names, but the Goldesborough near Knaresborough and the Tunstall near Richmond are more likely as they are closer together and nearer to Newburgh priory.

Numerous large abbeys in North Yorkshire could have been the source of this account (such as Whitby or Guisborough); however, the mention of Goldesborough and Tunstall here (in addition to Newburgh Priory) suggests the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx as a good possibility. The transfers of grain and stock to and from Goldesborough make it unlikely that the manor in question was much more than 25 miles or so distant: Rievaulx is 30 miles from Tunstall, and 28 miles from Goldesborough.⁵¹ Newburgh Priory was within a 15-mile radius. It had close connections with Rievaulx and specific instances of cooperation between Prior John of Newburgh and Rievaulx in the 1250s are reported, including charters of Rievaulx witnessed by Prior John.⁵²

Rievaulx, described by modern historians as the most important Cistercian abbey in England, was one of the most wealthy religious institutions in Yorkshire and held twenty granges by the early fourteenth century, although its fortunes declined as the century progressed.⁵³ Revesby in Lincolnshire, the source of the account on the rear endleaves, was a daughter house of Rievaulx, as was Melrose Abbey in Scotland, the Cistercian institution where the Melrose Chronicle was written, fragments of which are also found bound with PRu Garrett 119.

It is possible to speculate further: if Rievaulx is feasible, then perhaps Helmsley is the particular manor to which these accounts refer (granted by the Ros family, who were patrons of Rievaulx since the twelfth century), given the mention of 'Robert, the son of the Lord' in the manorial account: in 1257, the Anglo-Norman William de Ros was head of the family, and Robert de Ros (III) was his son (Robert then became Lord from 1258 to 1285). Fountains Abbey is another possibility, as it is also very close geographically to Tunstall, Goldesborough and Newburgh Priory, and has the possible connection to Richard Le Waleys mentioned earlier. Byland Abbey is also a possibility, further from Tunstall and Goldesborough, but just five miles from Newburgh.

Did the copying of the music originate in the court of the manor to which these accounts refer, or was the parchment roll recycled in the institution to which this manorial landholding belonged? Directly bearing on this question is whether the account or the music was copied first. Physical aspects of the roll suggest the account was copied first. While it is difficult to distinguish between the hair and flesh side as the parchment

⁵¹ In addition, Monkton is 26 miles from Rievaulx, if the connection to the above-mentioned Richard le Waleys is correct.

⁵² See Emilia Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and Its Social Environment, 1132–1300', PhD diss., University of Leeds (2001), 166–7.

⁵³ On the importance of Rievaulx, see Peter Fergusson and Stuart Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture and Memory* (New Haven and London, 1999), vii, and Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and Its Social Context, 1132–1300* (Turnhout, 2005), 2–18. For a discussion of its art and architecture, and the role of patrons in the life of the abbey, see Michael Carter, 'Art, Architecture, Piety and Patronage at Rievaulx Abbey c.1300–1539', in *Monastic Life in the Medieval British Isles: Essays in Honour of Janet Burton*, ed. Karen Stöber, Julie Kerr and Emilia Jamroziak (Cardiff, 2018), 89–104. For detailed analysis of Rievaulx's estates, see Janet Burton, 'The Estates and Economy of Rievaulx Abbey', *Cîteaux*, 49 (1998), 29–93.

was quite carefully prepared, some knife marks in the left margin of the music side suggest the music side may have been the hair side, and the knife marks made when the hair was removed from the skin in the initial preparation of the parchment. In addition, the music side is slightly yellower and more worn, suggesting that it may have served as the blank exterior of the roll when rolled up, with the accounts on the inside of the roll.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the account is cut off mid-sentence at the bottom of the extant parchment, whereas there is considerable blank space left at the end of the composition at the bottom of the music side, with no further staves added (see Figure 7). Perhaps the music copyist cut off the bottom of the roll when they were finished copying the music composition, cutting off the text of the waste accounts on the reverse. I propose that music compositions were copied after the account, which gives the *terminus post quem* for their copying as 21 September 1257.

Palaeographical evidence might also point to the priority of the accounts side over the music side, although it is difficult to make definitive arguments based on the palaeography alone. Since the music text is written in a Textualis script there are fewer features that can point to a specific date, but it is probably late thirteenth century.⁵⁵ The account would have been submitted to the institutional landholder soon after the account was compiled, and this indicates that the re-use of the roll for music copying was likely at the landholding institution, that is, at one of the abbeys in Yorkshire suggested earlier, when the account was no longer needed.

What does it mean to redate and relocate the accounts copied on Garrett rotulus no. 2, and thus to place the copying of the music in Yorkshire, probably in the last quarter of the thirteenth century? While Skemer had assembled circumstantial evidence associating the chronicle roll with Lincolnshire, in fact, some of that evidence also points to Yorkshire; for example, the Engle and Scardying story appears to have circulated equally widely in Yorkshire as in Lincolnshire.⁵⁶ As for the Melrose chronicle, between the years 1291 and 1322 its sole copy was removed from Scotland

⁵⁴ Usually, rolls were copied on the flesh side, with the hair side outermost when they were rolled up (i.e., keeping the writing on the inside). Of the rolls that are copied with music, Bent, Hartt and Lefferts state that most of those surviving were purpose-made music rolls, that is, that the music was copied first, with the Berkeley rotulus (Ber 55) the 'sole outlier' serving first as an account roll, and its music side copied at a later date (*The Dorset Rotulus*, 312). For a discussion of the order of copying of Ber 55, see Andrew Wathey, ed., *Berkeley Castle, Select Roll 55: Motets and Sequences from the Early Fourteenth Century* (Newton Abbott, 1991). Garrett rotulus no. 2 would then be a second example of an account roll being repurposed to copy music.

⁵⁵ Teresa Webber, personal communication, 29 May 2024. The open-compartment *a*, the long *s* in all positions, and the general lack of decorative hair strokes, and the complete lack of a vertical-shaft *d* (the uncial *d* is ubiquitous here) all indicate a date in the second half of the thirteenth century. Derolez observes a shift from the open-compartment *a* to the closed-compartment *a* (where the headstroke meets the lower lobe) from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, with the former rarely found in the fourteenth century (*Palaeography*, 86–7). The long *s* at the ends of words disappears in the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, 92–3).

⁵⁶ From his analysis of the text, Skemer concludes that the textual source of the Engle and Scardying story transmitted in the Anglo-Norman chronicle roll of PRu Garrett 119 is not Mannyng, but likely based on an unknown earlier source: 'Whether based on oral tradition or written text, the story of Engle and Scardying seems to have lived on in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire until the end of the Middle Ages' ('The Story of Engle and Scardying', 260).



Figure 7. PRu Garrett 119, fols. 1r–6v, the motets. Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Manuscripts, Garrett 119. Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

and ended up in Lincolnshire; whether it might have passed through Yorkshire, however, and other copies or redactions made there, is unknown.⁵⁷ Melrose Abbey itself was founded by monks from Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire. Thus, it is entirely possible, but unfortunately still speculative, that, along with the manorial account fragment, the chronicle roll fragment may also have originated in Yorkshire, and perhaps even Garrett rotulus no. 1, the roll that transmits the Thomas Becket motet. For now, however, I will consider the case of Garrett rotulus no. 2 in some detail and

⁵⁷ On the removal of the Melrose Chronicle to Lincolnshire, see Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, eds., *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey. A Stratigraphic Edition. Vol. i: Introduction and Facsimile Edition* (Woodbridge, 2007), 174.

explore the implications of its Yorkshire and possible Cistercian provenance. Interestingly, the only concordance for the *Dou way Robin* motet, one of only two motets to survive with an English-texted tenor, is also on a fragment from Yorkshire (BL Cotton Fragment xxix).

The motets of Garrett rotulus no. 2, and other Yorkshire music fragments and their Cistercian connections

Two compositions are partially preserved on Garrett rotulus no. 2 (Figure 7). The very end of the motetus voice and the entire tenor survive for the two-voice motet *Veni mater Gracie/T. Dou way Robin*.⁵⁸ The second composition is a three-voice double Latin motet, [...]scit ortu solis naturalis/[...]ibate floruit integritate/[Tenor], with an unidentified tenor. Both are copied in English mensural notation: breves are notated as lozenge shapes, the English *conjunctura* is occasionally used, and the interpretation of ligatures follows the overriding rhythmic patterning rather than a following strict Franconian mensural interpretation.

Since there is no printed critical edition of [...]scit ortu solis naturalis/[...]ibate floruit integritate/[Tenor] I provide a transcription as Example 1 in the Appendix.⁵⁹ For some reason, the majority of the tenor (the end of the sixth and seventh staves in Figure 7) has been erased: it is unclear whether these erasures were carried out by the compiler of the host volume in the middle of the fourteenth century, who, as we have seen, made frequent use of the scraping knife, or whether the scribe or user of the original music roll was responsible.⁶⁰ The tenor is rhythmically repetitive (a six-perfection rhythm is repeated, and then an eight-perfection rhythm is likely repeated); if it is based on pre-existent material this has not yet been identified. A noteworthy feature of the motet is the repetitive use of a short triadic motif in an almost imitative manner (but which is not strict voice-exchange) between the motetus and triplum (see perfections 39–40 and 43–44 in the triplum and perfections 41–42, 49–50 and 53–54 in the motetus in Example 1 in the Appendix), especially given the predominance of voice exchange compositions in Garrett rotulus no. 1.

⁵⁸ The top of the fragment has a line of underlaid text where the stave and music notation are now missing; this motetus voice continues for one half stave further, with both music and text surviving. The tenor is copied on the second half of this stave, and its final four pitches are copied at the end of the second stave.

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the fold in the parchment that was made for its reuse as a turn-in has rendered the first two syllables of the triplum text illegible. The beginning of the motetus is also illegible, where glue stains obscure the first three or four pitches and text syllables. After perfection 20, the tenor has been erased. Manipulations of natural light images using image processing software renders some of the ligature shapes visible through the erasure, and this has informed my reconstruction of this voice (given in Example 1 in the Appendix in small noteheads). Some passages (e.g., between perfections 51 and 59 in the tenor) are almost completely illegible, however.

⁶⁰ On the reverse of the roll, a portion of the accounts is also erased in the middle of the folio (perhaps testing the thickness of the parchment, and whether making a palimpsest was viable). This is possible evidence that the erasures on this roll were again (like those erasures on Garrett rotulus no. 1) the beginnings of a scraping by the fourteenth-century compiler to make a palimpsest, but then abandoned.

The *Dou way Robin* motet has a concordance in BL Cotton Fragment xxix, a single burnt fragment leaf that is part of a nineteenth-century collection of miscellaneous burnt fragments. The music on the fragment has been localised and given a *terminus ante quem* due to added text at the bottom of the recto side that mentions the dates 1348 and 1349 and the church in Adel, Yorkshire: Reaney dates the music folio to c.1300 on his assessment of the notation (no minim stems); on the other hand, Summers and Lefferts give a mid-thirteenth-century date.⁶¹ Two compositions are notated on this leaf: on the recto is the concordance of the two-voice *Dou way Robin* motet, and on the verso is a three-voice setting of *Angelus ad virginem*.⁶² The modern editions of the *Dou way Robin* motet use the Cotton fragment as their base text, since the motet is preserved in its entirety there.⁶³ The tenor of the *Dou way Robin* motet is most likely a refrain from a lost popular song in the vernacular: 'Dou way Robin, the chile will wepe, dou way Robin' ('Stop it, Robin, the child will weep; stop it, Robin').⁶⁴ This tenor statement is notated just once in Garrett rotulus no. 2, with a red text underlay, and three times in the Cotton fragment (the tenor text is not underlaid here), but must be sung thirteen times in all over the course of the motet. Lisa Colton observes that the final 'O' gesture of 'filio' relates the motet to carols and other medieval genres that gloss the *Benedicamus Domino* and posits a clerical or monastic milieu for the origins and performance contexts of this Cotton fragment.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, B/IV/1: *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th–early 14th century*, ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich-Duisburg, 1966), 494. Summers and Lefferts note that the leaf was likely a flyleaf for BL Cotton Titus A. xviii, an early fourteenth-century Durham miscellany (*English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 20). The RISM description of BL Cotton Fragment xxix mentions the 1349 date; however, a date of 1348 may also be read in the added text, as can the mention of the rector of Adel Church. The two rectors at Adel in this time frame were Galfredus de Langeton (d. 1348), and in 1349 Willelmus de Winterton. It is also possible 'Langeton' is mentioned in the added text, and a name that begins 'Magister W' might be 'Willelmus', but these names are somewhat illegible. The annotation appears to be a list of obits or anniversary arrangements in the church, including one commemorating the rector of Adel. I would like to thank Lisa Colton for her discussion of this annotation with me.

⁶² Chaucer mentions this song (*Angelus ad virginem*) in *The Miller's Tale*. On this song, see most recently, Lisa Colton, 'Song in Space and Space in Song: Physical and Conceptual Boundaries in English Devotional Music, 1250–1500', in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and Its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Forster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Leiden, 2018), 208–38. See also Christopher Page, 'Angelus ad virginem: A New Work by Philippe the Chancellor?', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), 69–70, and John Stevens, 'Angelus ad virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett, aetatis suae LXX*, ed. P.L. Hayworth (Oxford, 1981), 297–328.

⁶³ Editions are in: *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Vol. XVII: *English Music for Mass and Offices (II) and Music for Other Ceremonies*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders, Frank Ll. Harrison and Peter M. Lefferts (Monaco, 1986), 128–30; *Medieval English Songs*, ed. E.J. Dobson and F.Ll. Harrison (London and Boston, 1979), 272–3; and Colton, 'Song in Space', 232–4.

⁶⁴ Colton, 'Song in Space', 231. Colton writes that it is most likely a reference to the Robin and Marion tradition since the stories of Robin Hood were not written down until the late fourteenth century. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton notes that the same phrase 'Dou way' is used by Alison in Chaucer's *The Miller's Tale*, 'when Nicholas first takes an aggressive approach to wooing'. See Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *The Clerical Proletariat and the Resurgence of Medieval English Poetry* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 205. As mentioned, *The Miller's Tale* also contains the song *Angelus ad virginem*, which follows the *Dou way* motet in the Cotton fragment: Colton lists the scholarship on the citation of *Angelus ad virginem* in Chaucer ('Song in Space', 227n35).

⁶⁵ Colton, 'Song in Space', 231. The performance possibilities for *Benedicamus* substitutes, with some examples from Insular plainchant books, are outlined in Frank Ll. Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source', *Acta musicologica*, 37 (1965), 35–48, at 36–7.

Four other significant sets of fragments dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been linked to Yorkshire, and specifically to Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire (Meaux, Fountains and Kirkstall). Richard L. Greene convincingly argued the Meaux Abbey provenance of the four fragmentary bifolios used as binding materials for a manuscript now at the University of Chicago (Cu 654), which has an inscription of ownership by the abbey ('Liber Beate Marie de Mensa'). Cu 654 still has its original library pressmark ('Y xviiiij') and is listed in the Meaux library catalogue of 1396.⁶⁶

Three sets of polyphonic fragments are linked to Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, the mother house of Meaux Abbey, although one of these dates from the fifteenth century, and so is outside the period under consideration here. Bertram Schofield discovered two sets of fragments in the binding of a fifteenth-century accounts book of Fountains (BL Add. 40011 A).⁶⁷ Eight strips of parchment remain with the accounts book and have an earlier repertoire of fourteenth-century motets copied in Franconian mensural notation: these strips have recently been reassessed as likely originating as a roll rather than from a codex.⁶⁸ A third set of fragments is found in BL Add. 62132 A, another Fountains Abbey book, whose final folios (fols. 228–331) transmit eleven fourteenth-century liturgical polyphonic compositions in English *Ars nova* notation.⁶⁹

Finally, perhaps more tentative, but also worth mentioning, are the links between the important thirteenth-century source of Anglo-Norman, Latin and Middle English song, BL Arundel 248, to Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds, also in Yorkshire. BL Arundel 248 is a miscellaneous manuscript that includes three Middle English songs.⁷⁰ It also has an English contrafact (*Gabriel fram even King*) for *Angelus ad virginem*, also in the Yorkshire BL Cotton fragment xxix described earlier (but with a different melody). The names of later owners of the manuscript, who had connections to Kirkstall Abbey, are noted in BL Arundel 248.⁷¹ Networks of exchange – in music books, rolls and

⁶⁶ Richard L. Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7 (1954), 1–34, at 28. Greene notes that the exact location of the book in the medieval library is known from the catalogue; it was stored in the common cupboard of the cloister (*ibid.*, 30). On the Meaux Abbey fragment, see also Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), 113–75.

⁶⁷ Margaret Bent, *The Fountains Fragments* (facsimile with introduction) (Clarabricken, 1987). See also Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, 86–112; and more recently, Bent, Hartt and Lefferts, *The Dorset Rotulus*, 184–7. The notation of the BL add. 40011 B strips is described in DIAMM as 'early 14th century full black mensural notation', www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/398/#/.

⁶⁸ Bent, Hartt and Lefferts, *The Dorset Rotulus*, 19n17. Fols. 9–14 are mostly Mass ordinary settings, copied in white mensural notation of the fifteenth century, and have seven concordances with the Old Hall Manuscript: these folios were the original cover for the account book, and have now been removed and kept separately under the call number BL add. 40011 B.

⁶⁹ See also Hilda K. Andrews and Thurston Dart, 'Fourteenth Century Polyphony in a Fountains Abbey MS Book', *Music and Letters*, 39 (1958), 1–12, and Denis W. Stevens, 'The Second Fountains Fragment: A Postscript', *Music and Letters*, 39 (1958), 148–53.

⁷⁰ *The milde lomb* and *Worldes blis ne last no throwe* are monophonic, while *Jesu Christes milde moder* is polyphonic.

⁷¹ Eric J. Dobson, and Frank Llewellyn Harrison, eds., *Medieval English Songs* (New York and London, 1979), 162. On the other hand, Nicky Losseff expresses doubts about the Leeds provenance in *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1994), 38–9, since the owner names with links to Kirkstall appear in the first fascicle of the manuscript, and the music in the fourth.

repertoire – can be envisaged between these centres, and provide a context for the possible Rievaulx origins for Garrett rotulus no. 2 proposed here.

Conclusions

Over sixty years ago, in an essay titled ‘The Topography of English Mediaeval Polyphony’, Dom Anselm Hughes mapped out the origins of the manuscript sources of English polyphony (as understood at that time), and found that almost half were linked to institutions located towards the west of England.⁷² The extensive fragments that survive from the Benedictine Cathedral at Worcester of course support Hughes’s hypothesis of a flourishing polyphonic tradition in the ‘westcuntre’.⁷³ More recent musicological scholarship has broadened out from this initial focus on the west of England, most explicitly in the work of Nicky Losseff, who analysed the significant cluster of fragmentary manuscript codices, many with high production value, associated with East Anglian centres.⁷⁴ Yet the north does not figure in Losseff’s narrative, and, indeed, Yorkshire is mentioned by name just once in her monograph. Sources with connections to the north are, of course, far fewer than those that can be associated with the east or west: other than those Yorkshire possibilities outlined earlier, the best known is the connection of W1 with St Andrews in Scotland, but there are also Insular fragments associated with Orkney, Abroath and Durham Cathedral. In addition, the prevailing narrative has been that most Insular polyphony – or at least that which survives from the written tradition – originated in wealthy Benedictine institutions.⁷⁵

This study has opened up the possibility of a flourishing network of written polyphony in the Cistercian houses of Yorkshire. Documentary evidence outlined by Greene attests to the facilities available at these institutions: the extensively detailed chronicle for Meaux Abbey, dated 1396, lists two sets of organs for its church, many bells in the abbey buildings and grounds and ample provision of choir stalls.⁷⁶ The production context uncovered here for PRu Garrett 119 suggests an individual who had access to parchment used in two neighbouring regions: Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. As described earlier, changed and possibly adverse circumstances may have had an impact on the production of the second half of the host volume. Relocation of the manuscript to a daughter house – from Rievaulx to Revesby – offers a compelling hypothesis for the change in the production process and the combination of materials used for binding the volume in the middle of the fourteenth century, and I

Dobson and Harrison proposed that the English songs in BL Arundel 248 were composed in London and East Anglia, although they do find some northern features in their texts (*Medieval English Songs*, 20, 162).

⁷² Dom Anselm Hughes, ‘The Topography of English Mediaeval Polyphony’, in *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higinì Anglès (Strasbourg, 1962), 127–39.

⁷³ Not counting the exceptional W1 codex, just under a quarter of the surviving polyphonic fragments from the period c.1200 to c.1350 are linked to Worcester Cathedral.

⁷⁴ See Losseff’s chapter ‘East is East ... and West is West’, in *The Best Concords*, 53–94.

⁷⁵ For a recent counter argument to this prevailing narrative, see James R. Tomlinson, ‘The Production and Transmission of Polyphony in Late Medieval England: Manuscript Sources and Their Contexts’, PhD diss, University of Oslo (2025).

⁷⁶ Greene, ‘Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts’, 23.

have outlined previously why Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire is a good candidate for the origins of Garrett rotulus no. 2. Indeed, Rievaulx Abbey experienced a series of unfortunate events from the late thirteenth century, which prompted the temporary dispersals of both the monks, *and* their goods, as described by Michael Carter:

In the 1270s and 1280s its flocks were devastated by epidemics of sheep scab, leaving the abbey badly in debt and even causing the temporary dispersal of the community. The abbey's woes were compounded by warfare between England and Scotland in the early fourteenth century. On 14 October 1322, the Scots defeated the army of Edward II at the battle of Shaws or Scawton Moor, near Rievaulx. The victorious Scots sacked the abbey. A largely overlooked contemporary annotation in a manuscript from the monastery, a beautifully decorated thirteenth-century copy of Roger of Howden's *Historia Anglorum*, records this event, noting that the Scots despoiled the abbey and carried off 'books, chalices and the sacred ornaments' of the monastery.⁷⁷

Whether or not the other fragments – Garrett rotulus no. 1 and Fragment C and the chronicle roll – also originated in Yorkshire and were then later brought to Lincolnshire (along with Garrett rotulus no. 2), possibly during this temporary dispersal of the Rievaulx community in the 1320s, remains unclear. Further study of the connections between the Yorkshire polyphonic sources (and their host volumes and institutional connections) outlined earlier should bring more aspects of this regional activity into focus.

⁷⁷ Carter, 'Art, Architecture, Piety and Patronage at Rievaulx Abbey', 91. Carter describes the similar impact of the Scottish invasion on another northern abbey – Furness Abbey – where goods were stolen and the community temporarily dispersed. The situation is described in the Furness copy of *Polychronicon* by Ranulph Higden (d. 1364), a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester: 'The Furness manuscript provides additional detail, recording that the Scots sacked the monastery itself, that most of the abbey's farms and barns were destroyed by fire and that large numbers of people, both religious and secular, were taken into captivity, and that some were killed. The abbey's moveable possessions, including those used for religious observance, were also stolen. The Scots, we are told, remained for four days. So severe was the damage, which destroyed the monastery's resources to sustain itself, that the community was compelled to disperse for two years.' See Carter, 'An Unexplored 14th-century Source for the History of Furness Abbey', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, 22 (2022), 95–102, at 98–9.

Appendix

triplum

[...] scit or-tu so-lis na-tu-ra-lis re-gu-la qui in par-tu stel-le pro-lis re-primunt mi-ra-cu-la

motetus

[...] i-ba-te flo-ru-it in-te-gri-ta-te pre-clu-sa vir-gi-ni-tas dum pro-ces-sit [...]

tenor

17

dum nu-bit [...] fi-li-o non re-so-lu-to gre-mi-o stel-la so-la-ri ra-di-o O mi-ran-da de-i-tas

[n]a-li ge-mi-ne non ul-lo tac-tu se-mi-ne sed me-di-an-te nu-mi-ne. Fons mis-er-i-cor-di-e qui

34

o mi-ra vir-gi-ni-tas perqua[m] [...] b[...] cas-ti-ta-tis in-du-it hu-ma-ni-ta-tis for-mam u-ni-ge-ni-tus ut sic mer

hu-ma-ne mi-se-ri-e mi-se[...] lo-gam as-sump-sit car-ne-am et mor-tem pas-sus mi-ser-am ut se pro

50

ca-lis fi-e-ret que po-pu-lum re-di-me-r[et] [...] [s]ub-di-tus cum pe-ti-it sed trac-ta-ri sup

ba-ret ho-mi-nem non hor-ru-it in vir-gi-nem sol [...] di-um ut re-pro-ba-ret ho-mi-nem sa-lu-tem sus-pi-ran-ci-

Example 1. [...]scit ortu solis naturalis/[...]ibate floruit integritate/[Tenor] in Garrett rotulus no. 2.

67

pli - ci - is di - vi - sis ex - er - ci - ci - is sub mis - so mor - tis po - cu -
um cru - cem su - bi - re vo - lu - it quam su - bi - re non me - ru - [i]t et
-lo san - gui - [] la fu - it re - demp - ti - o. []

76

[]

Example 1. (Continued).