

WE WITH MERTH MOWE SAVELY SYNGE:
HENRY V, ROYAL MUSICIAN

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Abstract

King Henry V of England, his battle prowess aside, was a well-acclaimed musician and musical patron. Thus, this thesis first examines the role of music in defining the reign of Henry, through his patronage of the Chapel Royal and its various composers, and his founding of Syon Abbey in 1415. Music was an essential component in defining the relationship between God and monarch, to which end, Henry both composed and promoted music.

This royal creative, and political process is discernible in two extant Mass movements, which are preserved in the Old Hall Manuscript, and whose authorship is given as, “Roy Henry.” Earlier scholarly consensus identified “Roy Henry” as King Henry IV; current views suggest his son, Henry V. This thesis aligns “Roy Henry” with Henry V, by way of comparative and stylistic analysis of the two Mass movements within the context of fifteenth-century English sacred music, Henry’s own reputation as an able musician, and through visual evidence in the manuscript. This analysis leads to only one conclusion – that Henry V is the “Roy Henry” of the Old Hall Manuscript.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all those who have a passion and love for early music. Additionally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family who have been my greatest support throughout my graduate studies: my mother, Deborah Maurer; my sister, Meaghan Dass; my uncle, Dr. Nirmal Dass, and my grandmother, Jasmine Dass.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Henry V and his Relationship with Music from his Earliest Years to Agincourt	4
Chapter Two: The Old Hall Manuscript.....	21
Chapter Three: The “Roy Henry” Folios in the Old Hall Manuscript.....	32
Chapter Four: Which “Roy Henry”?.....	55
Chapter Five: The Chapel Royal.....	62
Conclusion.....	71
Bibliography.....	73

List of Figures

Figure 1: Roy Henry <i>Gloria</i> (Add. MS 57950, f.12v)	48
Figure 2: Syon Abbey Seal.....	49
Figure 3: Roy Henry <i>Sanctus</i> (Add. MS 57950, f.80v)	50
Figure 4: John Lydgate Presenting <i>The Siege of Troy</i> to Henry V..... (MS English 1, The John Rylands University Library, f. 1r)	51
Figure 5: Thomas Hoccleve Presenting <i>The Regiment of Princes</i> to Henry V..... (Royal MS 17 D VI, f.40r)	52
Figure 6: Henry V Presenting Hoccleve's <i>The Regiment of Princes</i> to John Mowbry.. (Arundel 38, f. 37)	53
Figure 7: Anonymous <i>Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie</i> (Add. MS 57950, f.109v)	54

Introduction

Royalty and music have had a long-standing relationship throughout European history. For as long as music history has been recorded, there is evidence that monarchs have employed musicians at royal courts to provide entertainment and accompaniment to both religious and ceremonial function. Moreover, there have been instances of monarchs contributing substantially, through their personal talent for composition, towards the development of musical repertoire. It is well known that in the nineteenth-century, Prince Albert was an accomplished composer, producing nearly forty chorales, hymns, and additional miscellaneous works, many of which were celebrated for their musical prowess. A few centuries earlier, Henry VIII was much acclaimed for his musical abilities and his excellent singing voice, as well as his skill in playing the lute, the organ, and the virginal. Four hundred years prior to Henry VIII, King Richard the Lionheart was well known as a troubadour, with two of his compositions still extant.¹

Much scholarly endeavor has been exerted in establishing the three aforementioned monarchs' musical contribution, with a firm ascription of authorship to them for their various compositions. However, there is evidence of an additional, less recognized, English royal musician and composer on the throne, namely, King Henry V. Although largely remembered for his victory at the battle of Agincourt on October 25, 1415, Henry was a musician himself and actively promoted the use of music to promote and enrich the court and his own personal and spiritual life.

Music also served to glorify the deeds of Henry V, as evident in the *Agincourt Carol*, from which this thesis earns its title. "We with merth mowe savely syng"

¹ John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 254.

translates into modern English as “we with mirth may safely sing”, expressing – through music - the joy of the English people in celebrating Henry’s victory.

Indeed, it can be said that music served to define Henry’s role as king, much as Louis XIV of France, a few centuries, would deploy music as an integral component of kingship. Further, Henry’s patronage not only shaped the evolution of late medieval English music, but it also brought England to the very forefront of musical innovation – something that would never happen again in the history of music.

This thesis, therefore, will explore the musical life of Henry V from his childhood to the end of his rule, in order to first provide a clear context for his important influence on mid-15th century English music, and second to chart the role of music in aiding, enhancing and defining his kingship. Thus, the thesis will examine Henry’s enhancement and patronage of the Chapel Royal and its various composers, and his founding of Syon Abbey in 1415 - the first Bridgettine order in England (which introduced an innovative new liturgy to English sacred music). Next, the definitive role that music played in defining the relationship between monarch and God will be examined. This will also serve as context for Henry as musician and composer.

The thesis will then turn to the two extant pieces that are said to be compositions by Henry, which are preserved in the Old Hall Manuscript, in the British Library. These compositions, which are Mass movements, in the manuscript tradition, ascribe the authorship to “Roy Henry” (*roy* being Old French for *roi*, or “king”). First, the scholarly debate concerning royal authorship will be summarized, which largely seeks to determine whether these two compositions are by Henry V, or his father, Henry IV.

This thesis will take the stance that both the Old Hall Manuscript compositions ascribed to “Roy Henry” are the work of Henry V. This will be done by focusing on the

illustrations found on the two folios which contain the two royally designated compositions and compare them to other manuscript illustrations which depict Henry V, which are markedly different from those used illustrations used for Henry IV. This work of comparison has not been previously done and will be first of its kind. Furthermore, the stylistic components of the compositions themselves will be carefully examined, and then understood within the context of those musical pieces that are adjacent to the “Roy Henry” pieces in the Old Hall Manuscript in order to understand the style of sacred music in late 15th century England. Thus, it will be shown that stylistically both compositions properly belong to the reign of Henry V, and not to that of his father, Henry IV. This will further support the likelihood that Henry V was the composer of the two mass movements, rather than his father. Additionally, this will demonstrate that Henry V was not only involved in the patronage of the musical arts, but he was also involved, first hand, in the development and creation of new musical works.

Although much research has been dedicated to the political and martial achievements of Henry V, there has not yet been extensive research focused solely on his musical endeavors or his contribution to the development of late medieval English polyphony, or the effect that music had on his religious and political outlook. Any current discussion of Henry V’s music has largely centered upon the “Roy Henry” debate, and his extensive patronage of the Chapel Royal. However, there has, to-date, not been a full examination of the musical life of Henry V and his deep influence on 15th century English music. By conducting this research, the additional intent of this thesis is to begin the process of exploring and understanding Henry V’s contributions to 15th century English music, both as royal patron and as royal composer.

Chapter 1: Henry V and his Relationship with Music from his Earliest Years to
Agincourt

“He [Henry V] was in the days of his youth a diligent follower of idle practices, much given to instruments of music...” Thus states Thomas Elmham, a contemporary biographer and chaplain of Henry V.²

Remembered primarily for his triumphant victories on the battlefield, Henry V was certainly an innovator and reformer in many other aspects of his reign apart from his martial conquests. As suggested by Elmham’s quote, music played an integral role throughout the life of one of England’s most memorable monarchs.

Although born to nobility, Henry V was not in the line of royal succession or heir apparent, and thus, little information survives regarding his youth; however, of that which does survive, it can be deduced that music was just as important to the young Henry as it was during his subsequent reign, and played a principle role in defining the relationship between kingship and God.

In this initial chapter, a brief biography of Henry V will be provided, and the relationship between Henry and music will be examined from his earliest days at the court of Richard II to the end of his reign. As will be discussed, music was a foundational expression that not only emphasized and glorified Henry’s royal authority, but also supported his ascent to throne and his notion that the divine supported his endeavors on the battlefield. Thus, music is intertwined in the reign and philosophy of Henry extending from his coronation, to his patronage of the arts, to introducing a new and innovative liturgy into England, and even during his

² Alfred John Church, *Henry the Fifth* (London: MacMillan, 1891), 44.

miraculous victory at Agincourt in 1415. Additionally, Henry was an incredibly devoted patron of the arts; not only did his patronage extend to the creation of new music, he was also a great patron of literature which will be discussed subsequently.

Although he is one of England's most memorable monarchs, Henry V was not born into the royal succession like most of England's kings. Born on August 9, 1387 as Henry of Monmouth, the young Henry's father, Henry of Bolingbroke was not king when his son was born; however, he was a nobleman and served as a soldier to King Richard II. Due to the political discord and corruption stemming from Richard's governance, Henry of Bolingbroke, along with his fellow lords, aided in abolishing the absolute power of Richard II. Subsequently following the demise of Richard II, Henry of Bolingbroke ascended the throne as Henry IV, thus solidifying the royal future of Henry V.³

Like all boys with noble parentage, Henry of Monmouth was raised with the essential education indicative of his social standing; that is, he was provided with instruction in the sciences, language, literature, and the arts – most notably, music.⁴ Another aspect of his education, which is important to mention, was his instruction in religious doctrine and practice, as this will later intertwine with Henry's philosophy towards music. Medieval England, as well as continental Europe, was incredibly religious, whereby the majority of society's laws were governed by Christian principles and the word of the Church.⁵ It was customary for a nobleman

³ Brian Bevan, *Henry IV* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 67.

⁴ Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of Henry V* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd and Book Club Associates, 1972), 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pg. 28.

to have a private chapel in his household; therefore, the young Henry would have received religious instruction from the clergyman of his father's chapel.⁶

Throughout his youth, Henry V was noted as being intensely devoted to his faith, attending mass daily and possessing conviction that exceeded that of his father.⁷ This religious devotion would be a constant throughout his life and would eventually affect much of his political ambitions as well as his musical endeavors.

Undoubtedly, as a young boy, Henry would have certainly been exposed to musical instruction and repertory, as his father was cited to be an excellent musician, as well as his mother, Mary.⁸ According to an anonymous contemporary, Henry IV and his wife Mary, often spent much of their time together engaged in music making; Henry IV played the harp and recorder, and Mary played the harp and sang.⁹ However, a great deal of Henry V's musical aptitude may have been fostered in the years of his adolescence, while he was living in the court of Richard II during his father's exile.

Richard II ascended the throne at only ten years of age. From the time of his coronation, Richard was instilled with a sense of his natural right to absolute power in his kingdom.¹⁰ As Richard reached adulthood, the nobility, who were incredibly powerful and wealthy due to success in the French wars, increasingly frowned upon Richard's autocratic government. Consequently, plans were made among the nobility to remove Richard's power by way of coup d'état, or civil war.¹¹ Among the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ian Mortimer, *1415: Henry V's Year of Glory* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2009), 138.

⁹ Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2007), 46.

¹⁰ Brian Bevan, *Henry IV* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 52.

¹¹ Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2007), 12.

nobility, Henry Bolingbroke (father of Henry V) rose to a natural role as leader in the opposition against Richard.¹²

As cousins through their grandfather, Edward III, Henry of Bolingbroke and Richard had an affinity for each other as children. However, as adults, Henry Bolingbroke and Richard possessed drastically differed political beliefs – Henry believed a king should be a leader to his people, who were his equals in every respect. On the contrary, Richard believed that his power was a natural gift from God, and as a result, his role was to function as God in his realm, with his power absolutely unquestioned.¹³ This conflict in political outlook led to civil war in England with Richard and his courtiers fighting against the noblemen who were called the Lords Appellant. Henry and his troops were victorious, however Richard still maintained the title of King and worked slowly to regain his power.

In 1397, ten years after Henry of Bolingbroke had prevailed against the king's soldiers, Richard had gained sufficient support and resources to exact revenge upon the nobility who had betrayed him.¹⁴ This resulted in executions on the basis of treason as well as exile. Among those exiled was Henry of Bolingbroke, who was sentenced to exile for ten years in Paris, when his son Henry V, was only twelve years old.¹⁵ It is surprising, however, that Richard did not execute Henry of Bolingbroke, even though he was at the forefront of the nobility's rebellion. Perhaps, Richard still felt a certain kinship and compassion for his childhood friend.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of Henry V* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd and Book Club Associates, 1972), 31.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.,34.

Regardless, once Henry of Bolingbroke's father, John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, died, Richard increased his exile from ten years to a life sentence. Due to owning a large amount of land, and in turn estates, John of Gaunt had managed to increase the wealth and power of the Lancastrian house to a level that almost rivaled that of King Richard himself.¹⁶

While his father was in exile, the young Henry V resided in the court of Richard II, where he was not treated unkindly for the deeds of his father. On the contrary, it is unknown how Henry would have felt regarding his father's exile, as one's loyalty to his king and that of his father must have certainly created a conflict of interest. Throughout Henry V's youth, his father was often absent due to frequent travel, and was not present at Henry's birth. However, Richard had bestowed a fair amount of affection on Henry in the absence of his father.¹⁷

During his time at the court of Richard II, Henry was exposed to an English court that differed significantly from the households of previous monarchs; whereas, previous English courts were primarily focused on martial endeavors, Richard's court was very focused on artistic development.¹⁸

Although Richard's autocratic political ideologies were met with much resistance and opposition, his court was the center of many artistic developments in his time. Within his palace walls, the composition of literature flourished in the writings of the great poet, Chaucer. Additionally, there were also advancements in the making of manuscript illuminations, tapestry work, and the culinary arts. Most

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.,31.

¹⁸ Ibid.,34.

importantly, Richard encouraged the development of new music and song, something which the young Henry would have been exposed to during his time at Richard's court.¹⁹ Richard was one of the great patrons of the arts, and in time, Henry too, would prove to be a patron of arts – both literary and musical.

In 1399, at the age of twelve, the young Henry V accompanied Richard II to Ireland where he was enamored by the clairseach (a medieval harp), and subsequently became devoted to mastering the instrument as well as the organ. Furthermore, he was also praised for his exceptional understanding of music theory.²⁰

In the same year, Henry of Bolingbroke rose up against Richard, to fight for his inheritance. At his side, he had the support of the Northern Earls. Once again, Henry was victorious in the fight against Richard II, however, this time he did not allow the king to keep his crown; his intention was to take the position of king for himself.²¹ Henry claimed the throne through his ancestor Henry III, and it is believed that he facilitated the death of Richard II by starving him while he was in prison at Pontefract Castle. Due to his weak claim to the throne, consecutive challengers for the crown continued to threaten Henry's newfound reign.²²

Soon thereafter, Henry IV was stricken with a debilitating skin disease, which many said was a form of divine punishment for his false claim to the throne. While

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of Henry V* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd and Book Club Associates, 1972), 24

²¹ Ibid., 44.

²² Brian Bevan, *Henry IV* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 66.

Henry IV's reign was riddled with uncertainty and skepticism, his son, Henry V ascended the throne without opposition.²³

On March 20, 1413, Henry IV died as a result of his poor health, and was succeeded by Henry V. Although Henry's coronation did not take place until April 9, 1413, he had already been exposed to the world of politics by being at the forefront of the English government since 1410.²⁴ While his father was experiencing the worst of his illness and unable to rule, Henry had assumed control of the kingdom with the help of his uncles Thomas and Henry Beaufort.²⁵

Of the coronation ceremony itself, rather little is known or was recorded of the event. What is known is that Henry was anointed with the oil of Thomas Becket, which was believed to have been miraculously delivered by the Virgin Mary. It was an unusual practice to be anointed by this oil, and seems to have been an exclusive feature of Lancaster coronations – Henry IV used it as did Henry V's son, Henry VI.²⁶ Although it may seem irrelevant, it is important to mention the oil of Thomas Beckett, as Henry's affinity for the Saint will be given a musical context in Chapter 3. Musical practices of the Coronation were not recorded, however knowing that Henry was passionate about music and employed the best musicians at every large event in his life, one can only imagine how spectacular the music must have been at the ceremony celebrating his ascent to the throne.

Henry's coronation not only ushered in a new era of political stability in English history, it also saw the emergence and development of 15th-century English

²³ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 64.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 65.

music.²⁷ As one of Henry's greatest passions, music was always at the center of his life both personally and spiritually. He proved himself to be a great patron of the arts and a liturgical innovator, as well as a composer himself.

Music was Henry's lifelong passion. Not only did he enjoy playing music himself, but also he also fervently supported the artistic endeavors of professional musicians in England.²⁸ It was not uncommon for royalty to be dedicated patrons of the arts, however Henry's involvement in music would contribute to the development of a new English style.

Henry was incredibly devoted to the national pride and cultural independence of England from continental Europe. He was the first English king to encourage the use of the English language for use in political documents – contrary to the traditional use of French and Latin.²⁹ Furthermore, Henry commissioned English translations of great literary works such as *Troy Book* by great English poets and authors such as Lydgate and Hoccleve. The development and expansive use of English can be credited to Henry V, who saw himself as a true, English monarch.³⁰

Due to his belief that England should be its own independent culture, Henry's patronage of music and the literary arts was focused on furthering the artistic endeavors of his English subjects.

One of his greatest acts of musical patronage in England can be seen in his involvement with the great Chapel Royal. Although Henry V did not initially found

²⁷ David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy* (London: BBC Digital, 2013), 5.

²⁸ W.H. Grattan Flood, "The Chapel Royal, Windsor, Under King Henry V," *The Musical Times*, 82.816 (1911): 89.

²⁹ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 425.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

the Chapel Royal, he contributed to developing it to its greatest potential and consequently helped it to become the largest and most enviable choir England had ever seen.³¹ The Chapel Royal saw the development of distinctly English musical styles and made England a paramount influence in the world of late medieval art music.³²

The Chapel Royal was first established in the late 13th-century, sometime overlapping the reigns of Edward I and Edward II.³³ It was created to perform the Latin Liturgy for English royalty, and thus consisted of clerks, boy choristers, and priests. By 1318, the Chapel Royal, under the rule of Edward II, consisted of the Dean (who was the head chaplain), four choristers, six clerks, and five priests. Although the Chapel Royal was in existence long before Henry IV ascended the throne, it did not earn its outstanding reputation until Henry V turned his attention toward the choir.³⁴

As previously mentioned, Henry V had a great affinity for music throughout his youth; however, upon attaining the crown he now had the authority to shape the Chapel Royal to suit his needs politically, spiritually, and personally.

Although the word “chapel” implies a physical institution, the Chapel Royal was indeed nothing of the sorts. In fact, the Chapel Royal was highly nomadic as it was not an architectural design of any form - It was a group of travelling boy and men

³¹ David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy* (London: BBC Digital, 2013), 27.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

choristers, composers, and clergymen who accompanied Henry during all of his travels, as well as providing the daily liturgical duties in his royal household.³⁵ As Henry was devoutly religious, it was important for him to give thanks to God on a daily basis, and Henry saw no greater way to achieve this than through music. The great King David of the Old Testament was known to give thanks to God through composing and singing his psalms while accompanying himself on the lyre. Perhaps Henry saw himself as a leader similar to King David, as he also saw his reign as divinely advocated and also played the harp and sang.

The Chapel Royal was so important to Henry that it accompanied the king on all his campaigns, ceremonial events, and even onto the battlefield. Most notably, the Chapel Royal was present on the battlefield at the famous Battle of Agincourt in 1415.

After Henry ascended the throne, one of his first priorities was to claim the French crown, which he felt was his rightful inheritance through his great-grandfather, Edward III.³⁶ Although he initially intended to go to war with the French, Henry was persuaded by his council to negotiate diplomatically as opposed to going to war as long as the French would grant him 1.6 million crowns and ownership of Aquitaine, Normandy, Anjou, Brittany, Touraine, and Flanders.³⁷ These provinces were lost to the French when Edward III and John II of France signed the Treaty of Brétigny. Through the signing of this treaty, the English gained power over many other French territories, however Edward III renounced his claim to the

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 144.

³⁷ Ibid.

French throne in addition to relinquishing power of the aforementioned geographical areas. In addition, Henry proposed to marry the French princess, Katherine of Valois and receive a dowry of 2 million crowns, which would further solidify his claim to French lands.³⁸ He believed that his coronation provided him with the right to reclaim the kingdom of France, which had been lost by Edward III.

Charles VI, king of France agreed to different terms than what Henry had proposed: he agreed to the marriage of his daughter and Henry, and to a dowry of only 600,000 crowns. Furthermore, he agreed to allow the English occupancy of Aquitaine.³⁹ Henry was displeased by this offer, claiming that the French had mocked him. Consequently, he turned to his council asking if they would support him in war against France; the council readily agreed that this was the best course of action.⁴⁰

Thus, Henry led his armies into France to face the most memorable battle in English history: the battle of Agincourt. This battle is most notable as the French significantly outnumbered the English. According to the chronicler, Edmond de Dwynter, for each English soldier, there were ten French soldiers.⁴¹ An English victory would have certainly seemed most unlikely, however Henry believed that God was on the side of the English and that fortune would align in his favour.⁴²

On Saint Crispin's Day, October 25, 1415, Henry rose early at dawn to celebrate mass three times before the historic battle was to take place. One would expect that

³⁸ Ibid.,143.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ian Mortimer, *1415: Henry V's Year of Glory* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2009), 436-437.

⁴² David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy* (London: BBC Digital, 2013), 19.

masses taking place on battlegrounds would be anything less than glorious, however, Henry ensured that these masses were not subpar. These masses were performed by Henry's Chapel Royal, which he brought on to the battlefield with him.⁴³

The Chapel Royal was a glorious display during the battle. Many priests and choristers chanted and sang at Agincourt while fully enrobed in their vestments. The Chapel Royal was present on the battlefield to glorify the king of Heaven and the king of England. Indeed, the miraculous victory at Agincourt affirmed the importance of music as that special bond between the sacred and the English monarchy.⁴⁴

After the victory, the Chapel Royal was expanded – three antiphons were appended to the daily mass, and six antiphons were added to evening services. Furthermore, the choir was increased by fifty singers, whereas there had traditionally only been a dozen. Consequently, the Chapel Royal was transformed into the most majestic choir England had known up to that time.⁴⁵

The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (a contemporary biography of Henry V written by an anonymous courtier) provides us with a detailed, eyewitness account of Henry's reign and also the happenings at the Battle of Agincourt. The author notes that he was, in fact, present at Agincourt, seated on a horse next to the baggage at the end of the battlefield alongside the priests.⁴⁶ According to the author, subsequently

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ David Starkey, "Music and Monarchy," episode 1, directed by Peter Sweasey and Christopher Walker, (October 15, 2013; London: Acorn Media), DVD.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Frank Taylor, *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 85.

following the battle of Agincourt, Henry wanted to offer thanks to God with music, as that is how the biblical patriarchs displayed thanksgiving. Music was the most appropriate and highest form of thanks that a monarch could offer to God. The author of the *Gesta* states:

And then the king, being mindful that, in the histories of the patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets, God's chosen people had sung praise to the laud and blessing of the Most High whenever He had prospered them with some act of grace or victory, ordained that from that time forward, to God's praise and in glorification of His marvelous doings, every day before the solemn Mass following the customary procession and litany with which he had long been wont to invoke divine aid, there should solemnly be begun by the clergy of his chapel a respond of the Trinity, to be followed by the psalm....⁴⁷

Musically speaking, Henry was the most dedicated to his Chapel Royal's development more than any other musical institution in England, as will be further discussed in Chapter 5. However, he was still known to offer patronage to musicians outside the Chapel Royal, including court musicians, minstrels, and instrument makers.⁴⁸

According to the King's Issue Roll from 1420, there is an order on September 4th indicating that the king purchased a harp from a London harp maker named John

⁴⁷ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁸ W.H. Grattan Flood, "The Chapel Royal, Windsor, Under King Henry V," *The Musical Times*, 82.816 (1911): 89.

Bore. In addition, the purchase of dozens of harp strings, and an instrument case are also noted.⁴⁹

It should also be noted that even upon creating the terms of his last will and testament, Henry stated that 200 pounds should be distributed among the singers of his chapel royal.⁵⁰ This demonstrates that Henry's musicians were of great importance to him.

In addition to proving himself to be an accomplished musician and patron of music, Henry was also a musical innovator as he introduced a new liturgy onto English soil by erecting the country's first and only Bridgettine Order: Syon Abbey.

In 1415, prior to the Battle of Aginourt, Henry founded three monastic houses referred to as "the king's great work": the Carthusian house of Sheen, an unnamed Celestine monastery (which was soon dissolved due to the monks' affinity towards the French), and Syon Abbey. Syon Abbey was the second of these monasteries to be constructed, but it is most unique among the three due to its liturgical affiliation with Saint Bridget of Sweden.⁵¹

Construction began on Syon Abbey on February 22, 1415, at which time Henry V himself laid the foundation stone of the structure.⁵² There is no mention of Henry having laid the foundation stone for the other two monasteries he founded; hence, he must have had a special interest and personal investment in this new and innovative institution.

⁴⁹ Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1841), 143.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 274.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 275.

The Bridgettine liturgy was extremely new during Henry's reign – Queen Bridget of Sweden created it only forty years prior to Syon Abbey's construction and it had not yet received papal approval⁵³. What inspired Henry to introduce a new liturgy to England? It cannot be ignored that Henry's decision in selecting the Bridgettine liturgy may have partially been influenced by the marriage of his youngest sister, Phillipa, to the king of Denmark and Sweden⁵⁴; but it is possible that there were additional reasons for his affiliation with this new order - perhaps he related to Queen Bridget as she too, was a monarch but also incredibly devoted to her faith, as was Henry. There is also a possibility that Henry's affinity for the Virgin Mary may have also influenced his decision to establish this Bridgettine monastery. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Henry's faith was one of the defining aspects of his life. Specifically, he had a well-known, particular devotion towards the Virgin Mary, and was noted to have attributed much of his success to her intervention. Coincidentally, the Bridgettine Order focused on the veneration of Mary, and also incorporated a new set of musical traditions into its liturgy – something that would have likely intrigued a musical monarch like Henry.

Born in 1303, Queen Bridget of Sweden was widowed by her early forties. At this time, Bridget was said to have received divine visions that detailed the new order which she was to establish. According to her apparitions, her order was to include sixty nuns, thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brothers, from who

⁵³ Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 204.

⁵⁴ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 274.

musical praise was to be constantly emerging.⁵⁵ Additionally, the new liturgy was supposed to have been granted to Bridget by an angel who provided her with twenty-one instructions (applicable to each day of the week) that offered instructions in Marian veneration.⁵⁶

Surprisingly, many manuscripts are extant from Syon Abbey unlike other convents throughout England, and what is interesting is that many of the surviving documents are written in both Latin and Middle English, as opposed to only the former. This was done so that spiritual writings were accessible to lay people who did not understand Latin.⁵⁷ The use of English is in alignment with Henry's dedication to furthering the use of his native language in literature.

The Bridgettines were dedicated to the performance of beautiful music for the glory of God, as long as one did not become enthralled with his or her own musical talents or abilities.⁵⁸

In contrast to other monastic orders, the Bridgettines included newly composed and troped chants dedicated to Mary. Existing chants from the Roman Rite were also modified to suit the Marian focus of the Bridgettines. Many of the chants used were taken from other monastic traditions; however, among the newly composed works were chants composed specifically for St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine of Sweden.⁵⁹ Additionally, three new chants, exclusive to the Bridgettines, were

⁵⁵ Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 204.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁵⁸ Anne Bagnall Yardley, "Bridgettine Spirituality and Musical Practices at Syon Abbey", *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order* (1993): 202.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 210.

composed to commemorate the Feast of St. Anne.⁶⁰ As the mother of the Virgin Mary, St. Anne was given special prominence and reverence in the Bridgettine liturgy.

As a Bridgettine Order, Syon Abbey employed these new musical and liturgical additions to Catholic repertory in England. The introduction of this new repertoire must be credited to Henry V. With his support, Henry helped to make Syon Abbey into one of the most prominent monasteries in England until the rule of Henry VIII.⁶¹

Although there is currently no evidence that supports Henry's involvement in composing music for use at Syon Abbey, his continual engagement with music points to not only his important role as patron and musician, but also as a composer of two enigmatic pieces in the Old Hall Manuscript.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 211.

⁶¹ Ibid., 199.

Chapter 2: The Old Hall Manuscript

Prior to the mid-16th century, one can only imagine the vast number of medieval manuscripts that existed in England's monasteries, chapels, and academic institutions. There were likely hundreds of musical manuscripts, breviaries, liturgical books, and literary works. Unfortunately, the majority of these manuscripts are no longer available for study as they perished under the reign of Henry VIII, during his Dissolution of the Monasteries. It is known that between the years 1536 and 1541, Henry VIII conducted a tyrannical rampage with the intent to destroy the Catholic traditions of England's academic and liturgical institutions. In turn, he hoped this would further strengthen the principles of his reformation.⁶²

To date, only a select few manuscripts survive, of which a small percentage are representative of England's medieval musical tradition. Among the extant musical manuscripts, the most important and influential source that survives is The Old Hall Manuscript. The importance of this manuscript is paramount, as it is the best-preserved collection of English sacred music from the late Middle Ages.⁶³ Additionally, this work serves to provide us with more insight into the musical contributions and influence of Henry V, as the manuscript was compiled during his life and reign, contains works dedicated to his accomplishments, and was also in the possession of his Chapel Royal. Additionally, as will be later discussed, there are two

⁶² Margot Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West: Western Music in Context* (New York: W.W Norton Company & Inc, 2014), 235.

⁶³ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 2.

mass movements within the Old Hall Manuscript, which will be attributed to Henry V.

The Old Hall manuscript is thought by musicologists to have been compiled in the early 15th-century, and to have taken approximately twenty years to reach its completion.⁶⁴ Within it survive one hundred and forty-eight well-preserved choral compositions, many of which form the ordinary of the Catholic mass. Each of the mass movements are organized by section, meaning that the Sanctus movements are found together, as well as the Gloria, Agnus Dei, and Credo movements which are also grouped together.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the first section of the manuscript, which may have contained the Kyrie movements, is missing. In addition to the aforementioned mass movements, there are also motets influenced by French isorhythm and pieces written in the conductus style.⁶⁶

Although its name “Old Hall” implies a grandeur, antiquated place of origin, it is simply named after St. Edmund’s College at Old Hall Green, the place in which it was housed after a banker named E.W. Tordiffe donated it in 1893. Previously, the manuscript is thought to have been in the possession of James Strangeman (d.1595/6) of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, and then purchased in 1813 by John Stafford Smith. It was then sold to E.W. Tordiffe, transferred to St. Edmund’s College, and then purchased by the British Library in 1973 where it currently resides (Add MS 57590).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 139.

⁶⁵ Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1950), 35.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶⁷ Margaret Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study* (PhD Dissertation, University of

When browsing through folios of the Old Hall Manuscript, there is a noticeable peculiarity that arises, notably, that the names of the composers are given for almost all of the pieces. This small, yet significant feature is innovative for its time, as composers (as well as artists) were commonly anonymous throughout medieval Europe - the name of the patron or the purpose that it was written for the glory of God was often deemed to be of more critical importance than the musician who penned the work.⁶⁸ Thus, the Old Hall Manuscript shows us the first instance in medieval English music in which composers began to be acknowledged for their talent, and to also gain recognition in their own right.⁶⁹ Further, stylistic differences between composers could now be studied and analyzed, compared and contrasted. Because the compilation of the Old Hall Manuscript spans from the early to the mid 15th-century, we are able to see the stylistic changes of medieval English music, and the musical ideas that evolved from composer to composer.

In its entirety, the manuscript itself is incredibly well preserved. Many of the initials throughout the manuscript are pigmented with gold leaf, red, green, and also with shades of blue – an extremely expensive pigment in the medieval era.⁷⁰ The use of such ornate materials to adorn the manuscript folios indicates that the Old Hall Manuscript was indeed created for use in the household of nobility and royalty – the members of Henry V's court. As previously mentioned, the names of the composers appear on their works with some being written in the left margin of the first page of their movements, and with others appearing at the top of their

Cambridge, 1968), 2-3.

⁶⁸ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Michel Pastoureau, *Blue the History of a Color* (Paris: Princeton University Press, 2001), 49.

respective pieces. Though there are some names written in black ink, many of the names appear in red ink, in keeping with the medieval manuscript tradition of headings written with red pigmentation. This practice originated in late Antiquity, and became a common idiom in manuscript production from around the 5th century⁷¹. As is evident from the folios in the Old Hall Manuscript, the practice of red headings was still prominent in mid-15th century England.

The manuscript is thought to have begun compilation around 1415, due to the inclusion of compositions by Leonel Power who was known to be an active composer from around 1410; however the compositions included cover a broader time period, extending as far back as 1350-1360, as indicated by stylistic diversity.⁷² Its initial purpose for construction is still unknown, although it can be assumed that the manuscript was meant to provide polyphonic movements for the mass ordinary due to the abundant presence of these liturgical works. Additionally, the Old Hall Manuscript has been notated by at least eight scribes, and it is divided into two distinct layers.⁷³

The first layer of the manuscript began compilation in approximately 1415 and continued until 1421. Its paleography indicates that it was notated by the hand of a single scribe during the aforementioned dates; however, later compositions added in the early 1420s indicate the hand work of several other scribes (these later compositions form the second layer of the Old Hall Manuscript). From studying the

⁷¹ Christopher de Hamel *British Library Guide to Illuminated Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 16.

⁷² Margaret Bent and Andrew Hughes *The Old Hall Manuscript Volume 1 Score* (Middlton: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), IX.

⁷³ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 4.

manuscript, it is apparent that the scribe was incredibly precise, and was attentive to perfecting each detail as thoroughly as possible. This is evident as it is possible to see his self-corrections on the folios, in which he strived for meticulous text alignment with the musical notation. According to the leading expert on the Old Hall Manuscript, Dr. Margaret Bent, text underlay in many manuscripts is quite often erratic, whereas the first-layer scribe of the Old Hall Manuscript (referred to as “Scribe A” by Bent) was attentive to ensure the correct positioning of music related to text.⁷⁴

Within the first layer, the names of several recurring composers appear, notably: Leonel Power, Pycard, Typp, Byttering, Oliver, Chirbury, Excetre, Cooke, Roy Henry, Queldryk, Tyes, Aleym, Fonteyns, Gervays, Lambe, Pennard, Rowland, Swynford, and Mayshuet and Zacar.

The second layer was formed by the addition of separate folios that were inserted into the manuscript in the early 1420s. As opposed to the first layer of the Old Hall Manuscript, one scribe did not create the second layer. This is evident beginning in folio 59v, in which differing hand writing appears for the text of varying movements, as well as the manner in which notation is written. From the differences in penmanship, it appears that the second layer was penned by several different scribes, those of which are presumed to be notated by some of the composers themselves including Damett, Sturgeon, Burrell, and Cooke.⁷⁵ Since many of the pieces found in the second layer were written by members of Henry’s

⁷⁴ Margaret Bent and Andrew Hughes *The Old Hall Manuscript Volume 1 Score* (Middlton: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), IX.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapel Royal, the Old Hall Manuscript was most likely an essential component of the Chapel Royal's liturgical practices in the mid-15th century, solidifying it as one of the most important musical documents in England at the time. Henry's involvement with the Chapel Royal will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Since the Old Hall Manuscript is the earliest existing compilation of late medieval English polyphony, the presence of the composers' names allows us to become acquainted with those who were most prevalent in the upper echelons of English art music. One would have to possess a great deal of recognition for his music to appear in such an elaborate compilation, and especially a compilation that was used by the King's prized Chapel Royal. Although there are a number of anonymous pieces throughout the manuscript, the names that are provided allow us to familiarize ourselves with the varying stylistic attributes and idioms indicative of each composer, as well as to understand which composers were most prominent in their time, most notably Leonel Power and John Dunstable.⁷⁶

One of the most heavily featured composers in the Old Hall Manuscript is Leonel Power (d.1445). In the manuscript's first layer, Power's compositions appear twenty-three times – more than any other composer appearing in the Old Hall Manuscript. Although much of Power's life is undocumented, it is known that he provided instruction to the choristers belonging to the Chapel of Thomas, Duke of Clarence (Henry V's brother), and subsequently joined the fraternity of Christ Church, Canterbury on May 14, 1423.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 139.

⁷⁷ Margaret Bent. "Power, Leonel." Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (October 3, 2015).

Stylistically, Power's contributions to the Old Hall Manuscript display a variety of English descant as well as isorhythm. Overall, Power's works can be described as an amalgamation of traditional English sonorities, the *Ars Subtilior*, as well as the rhythmic influence of the French *Ars Nova*. Furthermore, Power is notably recognized for developing the unified mass cycle, along with his younger contemporary, John Dunstable.⁷⁸

Like Leonel Power, John Dunstable was highly revered for his musical aptitude in the 15th-century. Recognized throughout continental Europe for his skill, Dunstable's works can be found among manuscript collections in Trent, Aosta, Bologna, and Modena. More relevant to Henry V, however, Dunstable's contribution to the Old Hall Manuscript can be seen in the form of a glorious four-voice motet called *Veni Sancti Spiritus*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Henry V was also a great patron of Dunstable, and contributed to the development of the *contenance angloise* through his patronage. The *contenance angloise* serves as an important style in English music history, as it is a technique that is English in origin. This style relied less heavily on the rhythmic complexities of the French *Ars Nova*, and instead, emphasized rich sonorities, timbre, intricate melodies, and consonance as opposed to the stressing of dissonances.⁷⁹ In addition, the interval of a third was heavily used as opposed to large, open fifths as indicative of the earlier continental style. The incorporation of the third in harmonies foreshadows the birth of Renaissance harmonies, in which the sound of open fifths would greatly diminish. This was a

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy* (London: BBC Digital, 2013), 28.

time in which England was at the forefront of musical innovation and continental Europe was striving to imitate the English sound.⁸⁰

In its entirety, many of the composers in the Old Hall Manuscript display a strong sense of medieval English musical tradition, strongly rooted in English descant, but also showing influence from the French Ars Nova through rhythmic complexities as evidenced in the isorhythmic motets. The majority of the compositions display complex polyphonic lines, whereas continental Europe was beginning to move towards simplicity.⁸¹

Although the Old Hall Manuscript does employ foreign influences from that of the French, and the rest of continental Europe, the English succeeded in improving upon their techniques and fusing it into a distinctly English hybrid. From this amalgamation of styles and contrast between continental Europe and England, we can see a strong and developed sense of English nationalism – something that Henry firmly advocated.

Included among the motets in the second layer of the Old Hall Manuscript, are two that may have been written in honour of Henry's victory at Agincourt, and also a motet to commemorate his marriage to the French princess, Katherine of Valois written by Byttering.

Almost no information survives regarding the life of Byttering. Musicologists believe that he may have been an individual known as Thomas Byteryng, who lived in London as a rector circa 1414. In the Old Hall Manuscript, Byttering's surname is

⁸⁰ Margot Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West: Western Music in Context* (New York: W.W Norton Company & Inc, 2014), 239.

⁸¹ Ibid.

attached to five pieces of which there are three mass movements (a Credo and two Glorias), and two motets, one of which is the complex isorythmic motet, *En Katherine Solennia* (folio 110v-111), which was written to be performed at the wedding of Henry V to Katherine of Valois on June 2, 1420.⁸² Inclusion of such works certainly aligns the manuscript with the patronage of Henry V in 1415 and in subsequent years. Additionally, according to a contemporary chronicler named Thomas Elmham, the motet by Dunstable, *Veni Sancti Spiritus*, is said to have been performed on the grand occasion of Henry meeting with the Emperor Sigismund to commemorate England's French victories (August 21, 1416).

Furthermore, the Old Hall Manuscript contains two foreign composers: Mayshuet and Zacar. Mayshuet was most likely of French ancestry, and Zacar is believed to be Zacara da Teramo, a well-known Italian composer whose style crossed between Trecento and the Ars Subtillior.⁸³

Although each composer in the Old Hall Manuscript provides interesting insight into the manuscript's history and the development of English choral music, there is one composer in particular whose name stands-out among the rest: Roy Henry.

Among musicologists, there has been an unresolved debate regarding the identity of the composer, Roy Henry. His name does not appear on any other known surviving compositions, however his two folios appear at the head of their respective sections of the manuscript, implying a highly esteemed position.

⁸² Margaret Bent. "Byttering." Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (October 3, 2015).

⁸³ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 4.

His pieces appear on folios 12v and 80v of the manuscript, in which two mass movements are attributed to him: a *Gloria* and *Sanctus* respectively. The two mass movements are very well written in the polyphonic style indicative of the time period; however they feature what appears to be newly composed tenor lines, as opposed to those that derive from plainchant. The composition of new tenor lines was a more common practice in England, whereas much of continental Europe still maintained its traditional affinity towards plainchant tenors.⁸⁴

As for his royal affiliation, it is widely accepted by musicologists that Roy Henry was indeed a monarch as the word “roy” is Old French for “king”; it was not uncommon for an English monarch to receive a French title due to the residual influence of the Norman conquest in 1066. However, it must be mentioned that in the 15th- century, it was also common for Roy to be used as given name, and also as a nickname for an individual who displayed regal attributes in his demeanor.⁸⁵ How then, can one be certain that Roy Henry was in fact a king of England, and not simply a court subject named “Roy”? The answer lies within the visual facets of the manuscript itself. A thorough examination of the illuminated border of the Roy Henry folios will provide insight into its royal authorship, as well as link the compositions to the hand of Henry V himself.

In the next Chapter, the illuminations found in the borders of the Roy Henry folios will be analyzed and compared with other manuscripts containing images of Henry V. This examination will be discussed to prove royal authorship of the two

⁸⁴ David Fenwick Wilson, *Music of the Middle Ages: Style and Structure* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 275.

⁸⁵ Iseabail Macleod and Terry Freedman, *The Wordsworth Dictionary of First Names* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1995), 200.

Roy Henry mass movements and their connection to Henry V. Additionally, the mysterious, anonymous work, *Carubunculus Ignitus Lilie*, found on folio 109v, will be introduced as a possible composition of Roy Henry due to its similarities with the two known Roy Henry compositions.

Chapter 3: The “Roy Henry” Folios in the Old Hall Manuscript

In this chapter, the various initial letters, illuminations, and colours of the Old Hall Manuscript will be examined, especially in relation to the Roy Henry compositions found on folios 12v and 80v. This original analysis and research also serves to prove the royal identity of Roy Henry, as well as to associate his folios to Henry V.

Like many medieval manuscripts, the Old Hall Manuscript contains initial letters – enlarged, decorative letters at the beginning of a paragraph - which are vibrantly coloured in gold, red, blue, and occasionally green. Illuminations and colour choices in medieval manuscripts contained symbolic meaning, and the colour choices found in the Old Hall Manuscript are likely no exception.⁸⁶

Beginning with the first folio in the Old Hall Manuscript, an anonymous *Gloria*, the initial is coloured blue, with a black and white acanthus watermark. This watermark accompanies many of the initials in the manuscript, however, it is the colours of the initials which appear to provide the most insight into royal association. The colour appearing most frequently is blue, appearing on 130 of the initials. Gold initials often alternate with the blue, and they also occur very frequently, appearing on 76 initials in the manuscript. Two other colours are present among the initials: red and green, appearing 5 and 3 times respectively. According to medieval art scholars, the colour blue held great importance for

⁸⁶ Christopher de Hamel *British Library Guide to Illuminated Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 13.

various reasons in the Middle Ages.⁸⁷ Blue was a prized pigment, and was incredibly expensive; therefore, it was attributed to wealth and royalty.⁸⁸ In addition, the colour blue held religious significance, as it was associated with the purity of the Virgin Mary, and officially became symbolic of her in the 12th century.⁸⁹

The next featured colour – gold - has always held an esteemed position in European history. This was the colour of wealth and power, and was the ultimate representation of nobility in the visual arts.⁹⁰

The frequent incorporation of these royal colours – blue and gold - throughout the manuscript is certainly indicative of royal association.

Red and green are featured the least amount among the initials, however the presence is still significant. Together, blue, gold, and red form the colours of the Lancaster coat of arms. The smallest presence of green connects all colours of the manuscript initials together and shows resemblance to the colours found in the manuscript, *Nova Statuta* (created approximately 30-40 years after the Old Hall Manuscript). Interestingly, *Nova Statuta* features the lineage of Lancaster Kings as well as Richard II and Edward III.

More importantly, it is imperative to take note of the illuminated borders appearing on a select few folios in the Old Hall Manuscript, of which two are attributed to the composer, Roy Henry. The presence of the border encasing the

⁸⁷ Michel Pastoureau, *Blue the History of a Color* (Paris: Princeton University Press, 2001), 49.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁹⁰ Christopher de Hamel *British Library Guide to Illuminated Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 64.

initials found on Roy Henry's folios will help to establish the folios' royal authorship, as well as specifically relate the folios to King Henry V himself.

As previously mentioned, each of the Old Hall Manuscript folios are ornamented with vibrantly coloured initials as well as decorative frames that encompass the initials; however, when one arrives to folio 12v, there is a very noticeable peculiarity which distinguishes this folio from the rest of its predecessors in the manuscript – the folio is noticeably more ornamented than those preceding it, and it is also the first composition ascribed to Roy Henry, or “King Henry”.

Folio 12v is a mass movement, specifically, a *Gloria*. It is at the beginning of the section in which it appears, that is, a compilation of all *Gloria* movements belonging to the mass ordinary. As the most majestic movement of the mass cycle, it serves to reason that a *Gloria* may have a more vibrant, illuminated appearance than the other mass movements surrounding it. However, the section's subsequent *Glorias*, written by differing composers, are presented as uniformly as the preceding folios in the Old Hall Manuscript. Therefore, there is perhaps a more plausible explanation for the regal ornamentation found on Roy Henry's *Gloria*, namely the association to royalty.

It is important to begin by comparing the illuminations found on Roy Henry's *Gloria* to its surrounding folios in order to understand its anomalies.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the initial of Roy Henry's *Gloria* features an ornate duochrome border of medieval royal colours – blue and gold. In contrast, the initials of all other compositions in the Old Hall Manuscript do not possess this feature; they consist of solely monochrome initials, and although they do often feature the colours

blue and gold, the two colours are never combined together as found in Roy Henry's compositions.

Even more significance can be found in the detail of the duochrome border, for when examined closely, it becomes evident that the images attached to these alternating colours are of lilies, ready to bloom. This presents an elegant, yet majestic, floral border framing Roy Henry's work.

Floral and botanical symbolism was a common practice that originated in the mythology of classical antiquity. Examples of this can be seen in Greek and Roman literature, in which gods and goddesses are represented by various plants and fruits, such as Dionysius' association with grapes and wine.⁹¹

The practice of botanical symbolism in the visual arts continued into the Middle Ages, with biblical characters adopting floral and foliate symbols to represent their virtues and struggles.⁹²

Symbolic of the purity and the Virgin Mary, the artistic depiction of lilies in medieval manuscripts has held significance since the 13th-century, when a Sieneese painter named Duccio di Buoninsegna began to assimilate them into his works.⁹³ Roy Henry's *Gloria* and *Sanctus* both feature a unique distinguished border of lilies, though the lilies of each folio are slightly varied – the first of his folios, 12v, contains blue Madonna lilies, whereas his second folio, 80v, contains white and blue Calla lilies. Both of these hold significance and help to establish a connection between the Roy Henry compositions and Henry V's faith.

⁹¹ Celia Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Celia Fisher, *The Medieval Flower Book* (London: The British Library, 2007), 74.

Folio 12v, is certainly the most visually stimulating folio in the entire manuscript, as it was almost inevitably intended to be. The presence of the royal colours, blue and gold, present on the lilies, and the fact that they are encasing the gold initials of Roy Henry's *Gloria*, could presumably be symbolic of the purity and messianic image associated with Henry's reign, as opposed to the autocratic government of Richard II and the constant uncertainty that plagued the legitimacy of his father's reign. This would not be an irrational viewpoint to consider, given that there is symbolism inherently found in the illuminations and colours of many medieval manuscripts.⁹⁴

The floral border then extends away from the blue and gold lilies of the initials. Emerging from both the upper and bottom corners of the duochrome border is more delicate illuminated ornamentation: the presence of a vine with what appear to be blue lilies in full bloom. As seen in Figure 1, the vine and the flowers continue along the left hand border towards the end of the folio, and also continue along the top, extending to the right side of page.

Though the lilies may be symbolic of Henry's purity, they are most likely more associated to his devotion to the Virgin Mary.

As a man of such strong religious conviction, a conviction which influenced his musical endeavors, it stands to reason that the illuminations featured in the Old Hall Manuscript, particularly on Henry's own compositions, would bear testimony to his faith. He dedicated music performed on the battlefield to God; therefore, it is plausible that he would dedicate his own compositions to his faith.

⁹⁴ Celia Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 5.

It was well known that in addition to Henry's dedication to St. George, he was especially devoted to the Virgin Mary, and during his military campaigns as well as battles, his army carried banners dedicated to Mary.⁹⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1, Henry also established the first Bridgettine order in England, Syon Abbey – a liturgy that was centred on Marian devotion and praise.

It is interesting to note that the original seal of the Abbess of Syon Abbey depicted an engraving of the Virgin Mary, with the infant Jesus seated on her (Figure 2). In her left hand, the Virgin holds a stem of lilies, the same flowers appearing on Roy Henry's compositions. Beneath her is an image of Henry V, himself kneeling and praying to her, with the figure of St. Bridget standing beside him. On the lower right hand side of the seal is the Lancaster coat of arms, and on the opposite side of the seal is the emblem of St. George's cross which also features lilies (Figure 2).

The lilies on Roy Henry's Gloria are likely symbolic of Henry's devotion to Mary, and the fact that they are coloured blue is not only a testament to royalty, but also symbolic of Mary, as blue was her representative colour. Thus, the combination of blue and gold lilies could possibly be a heraldic reference to royal authorship by the King of England, as well as a tribute to the Queen of Heaven – Mary. The symbolism of Mary in the Old Hall Manuscript is not a foreign presence, as there are many Marian antiphons included throughout. Thus, the presence of the Marian symbol of the lily on the Roy Henry folios, as well as the abundance of Marian compositions in the Old Hall Manuscript, are a direct link to the theological convictions of Henry V.

Attention must also be given to folio 80v - a *Sanctus* written by Roy Henry.

⁹⁵ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 127.

Like folio 12v, Roy Henry's *Sanctus* is visually distinguishable from the works of other composers in the Old Hall Manuscript.

Folio 80v, also has a gold initial, but instead of a black and white acanthus watermark, it has a vibrant underlay of green, red, and blue. It is interesting to note that combined with the gold of the initial, this particular folio features the colours of all the initials in the manuscript combined together.

More importantly, Folio 80v, is the second composition in the manuscript to feature a border of lilies. The lilies on this folio are slightly more detailed (although less vividly pigmented due to aging) than those found on folio 12v, and there is also a white lily featured in the midst of the three surrounding blue lilies (Figure 3). In medieval manuscripts, white lilies, known as Calla lilies, specifically represented the purity of the Virgin Mary. The Calla lily is often featured in images of the annunciation, in which the angel Gabriel informs Mary that she is to bear the Christ child.⁹⁶ Thus, the combination of white and blue present in this floral border are also a likely tribute to Mary and Henry's corresponding devotion to her. The lilies are also attached to the exact same border found on folio 12v; however, instead of gold, partially closed lilies surrounding the initial, there are now, what appear to be, gold laurel leaves. Laurel leaves were symbolic of heraldry, creativity, and of victory in battle.⁹⁷ The presence of laurel leaves on the Roy Henry *Sanctus* would certainly align with the triumphant victories that Henry experienced at the time that the folios were copied by the scribe. The composition of a *Gloria* and *Sanctus* is also in alignment with Henry's theological perspective: The *Gloria* is the most majestic

⁹⁶ Celia Fisher, *The Medieval Flower Book* (London: The British Library, 2007), 75.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

movement of the mass cycle, and refers to God and his role as the King of Heaven as evidenced in the Latin text of the *Gloria*: “Lord God, heavenly King, God the Almighty Father”.⁹⁸ Henry would have likely been able to identify with the text of the *Gloria* through his own role as King.

Furthermore, the text of the *Sanctus* would have also been a likely choice for the pious Henry to compose. The text of the *Sanctus* refers to those that represent the name of the Lord through their righteousness, as can be seen in the Latin text of the Roman Rite: “Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini”. This translates to “blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord”.⁹⁹ Henry was described as being a messianic figure and a messenger of God, as demonstrated by the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*. He saw himself as representative of God on earth, and as one who executed the will of God in his realm. His messianic association is in alignment with the text of the *Sanctus*, as Henry saw himself as the deliverer of God’s will.

Returning to the visual components of folios 12v and 80v, the composer Roy Henry must have been held in particularly high esteem, as he is the only composer who has such an ornate design associated with his folios in the Old Hall Manuscript. The presence of the same border of lilies on both of his compositions, suggests a type of personal insignia – an emblem which may be seen in sources other than the Old Hall Manuscript, and which may prove the association between Roy Henry and Henry V.

Further evidence of Roy Henry and Henry V being synonymous may be discerned by placing the religious and royal symbolism of the folios in the context of

⁹⁸ The Roman Missal (Philadelphia: Eugene Cumiskey, 1867), 19.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

other manuscript illuminations that depict Henry V. Four such illuminations show the same blue flowers adorning the images of Henry V. Perhaps this regal border was a type of insignia to denote the synthesis between the king's artistic involvement and patronage, and his religious conviction. If the floral border is representative of Henry's involvement with the arts, it is interesting to note that the additional images in which it is included are those that display Henry offering artistic patronage or acting as an ambassador for the arts. The presence of the floral border may also represent enduring life of the arts with Henry V providing that endurance through his patronage.

The first image is found in folio 1r of the English MS 1 at the University of Manchester Library, and depicts the poet John Lydgate presenting his work, *The Siege of Troy*, to Henry V (figure 4). Henry had commissioned Lydgate to translate the Greek story of the Trojan War so that it might be more widely known in English.¹⁰⁰ The second image shows the poet Thomas Hoccleve presenting his manuscript, *The Regiment of Princes*, to Henry V (figure 5). This illumination, once again, features the king in a position of artistic patronage. The image is found in folio 40r of Royal MS 17 D VI at the British Library, and features the same Lancaster colours as depicted in the Roy Henry folios. Two more images of Henry involving a similar border of flowers can be seen in MS Arundel 38, f.37 and MS Yates Thompson 48, f.172v, also at the British Library. The former once again depicts Henry V involved with the arts - he is shown presenting Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes* to Sir John Mowbray (figure 6). The latter image depicts a historiated initial

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 414.

of Henry V, surrounded by the same blue flora as found in the Roy Henry folios. It is interesting to note that this border seems to be exclusive to royal images depicting Henry V, further solidifying a connection between Henry V and Roy Henry.

Folios 12v and 80v are the only two compositions attributed to a composer that feature a decorative border in the Old Hall Manuscript, specifically, the aforementioned floral border. However, upon further examination of the Manuscript, it becomes evident that there is one other curious piece that features a floral border, very similar to the flowers featured on Roy Henry's two compositions. Could this anonymous work possibly be another composition by Roy Henry? The possibility of this scenario will be explored.

The composition can be found on folio 109v, and is anonymous due to its initial and the name of the composer having been removed by possible acts of vandalism. The textual content of the composition itself is strikingly different in contrast to the surrounding works in the Old Hall Manuscript.

The title of the piece is *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie*, and literally translates to mean "precious stone, fire of the lily", which is explicative of the lily border. The text concerns a subject matter which is not seen elsewhere in the manuscript, and is neither a mass movement or Marian devotion, nor is it a work to commemorate an event in the life of Henry V. The text of the piece focuses on the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket.

Born c.1118 in Westcheap, England, very little is known about the early life of Thomas Becket. In his youth, he is known to have studied the standard education of

the time, involving the trivium and the quadrivium, or the Seven Liberal Arts. In his early twenties, he earned a position under the Archbishop, Theobald of Bec.

Theobald's affinity for Becket led to a new, elevated position as Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1154, and his proficiency in the role eventually earned him the coveted position of Lord Chancellor to King Henry II in 1155.¹⁰¹

In 1162, Henry wished to appoint Becket as the new Archbishop of Canterbury, to which Becket was reluctant to accept. This was due to Becket's belief that man was unable to simultaneously serve God and King, and combine the matters of state and the church.¹⁰²

Inevitably, the strong relationship between Henry and Becket imploded, and Becket left for Paris, where he remained for six years. Henry and Becket eventually reconciled, which led to Becket returning to England. However, Becket's return was not silent – he publicly claimed that “the more potent and fierce the prince is, the stronger stick and harder chain is needed to bind him”.¹⁰³ Becket subsequently proceeded to excommunicate clergymen who had chosen allegiance to Henry's principles as opposed to upholding the principles of the church. Consequently, this was met with an angry and frustrated response from Henry who stated: “What miserable drones and traitors have I nurtured within my household, that they let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low born cleric”? Four

¹⁰¹ Simon Jenkins, *A Short History of England* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), 57.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 60.

knights overheard these words of frustration, and interpreted Henry's words as a command to execute Becket.¹⁰⁴

On December 29, 1170, the four knights confronted Becket at his cathedral and insisted that he accept the policies and the will of the king, however Becket refused to submit to this demand. As he turned to face the altar, the knights struck him on the back of his head with their swords, removing part of his skull.¹⁰⁵ Edward Grim, a clerk who witnessed the murder of Becket, wrote his biography entitled *Vita S. Thomae*, which translates to mean "The Life of Thomas Becket". In his account of Becket's murder, Grim gives a chilling account of the events surrounding his death. He states: "But the third knight inflicted a grave wound on the fallen one; with this blow he shattered the sword on the stone and his crown, which was large, separated from his head so that the blood turned white from the brain yet no less did the brain turn red from the blood; it purpled the appearance of the church with the colours of the lily and the rose, the colors of the Virgin and Mother and the life and death of the confessor and martyr."¹⁰⁶

Grim's reference to the purpled appearance of the church with colours of the lily and the rose, correspond to the visual facets found in the illuminated border of Folio 109v. As can be seen in Figure 7, the illuminated border surrounding the score of *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie* contains a very similar vine as found in the Roy Henry folios 12v and 80v. It also noticeably displays similar lilies, although the colouration differs. Blue lilies, similar to the Roy Henry lilies, are present, however a darker,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 61.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Edward Grim, *The Murder of Thomas Becket*. Medieval Sourcebook.

<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/Grim-becket.asp> (October 20, 2015).

reddish-brown, and light red lily are also visible. This is likely a reference to the title's meaning "fire of the lily", which may be a testament to Grim's description of Becket's blood staining the altar with "colours of the lily and the rose".¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, the text of the piece, translated by Margaret Bent, provides us with the story of Becket's murder:

O precious stone, fire of the lily, most vibrant flame of light in the hiding places of night, splendor of England, a lamp of beauty of the church, radiant jewel of Canterbury, radiance of the continual orbit of memory. Thomas, constellation of Heaven bleeding because of his virtue and constancy: the splendor of whose excellence distinction and whose true standard of justice remains the mirror of the conscience, but only to those who clergy who are present today, Behold, on account of his witness for Christ, the archbishop, hardy dignitary and also pious zealot of the church, bears with equanimity the disgrace, the bitter mortification of mind, his own exile as well as that of his family. The prohibition of the prayers, the decision the changeable mind, his own exile as well as that of his family, never returning on account of the annoyance of the injustices to him. Until in the nave of Mother church, the martyr of martyrs, giving his brain to be scattered by the sword, thus ends his life. This worthless act carried out by false men for worldly considerations was added to the saint's griefs. And the heavenly bodies are increasing greatly, by which means he is magnified, he who, gladly carrying back into the glory of the saints the worthy rewards of his services to the victims of chance, is crowned with victory by the court of Heaven.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Edward Grim, *The Murder of Thomas Becket*. Medieval Sourcebook.
<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/Grim-becket.asp> (October 20, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Bent and Andrew Hughes, *The Old Hall Manuscript Volume 2 Score* (Middlton:

The question surrounding this anonymous piece though, involves the similar border to Roy Henry's compositions. Since the two Roy Henry mass movements and *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie* are the only pieces within the manuscript to depict a floral border, it stands to reason that there must be some kind of significance for the border appearing on folio 109v. Could Henry V have possibly written this piece? Is there a connection between Thomas Becket and Henry V? What about the musical style of the composition itself? Does it contain similarities to Roy Henry's extant works? Possible answers to these questions will be explored. If a connection between Becket and Henry V can be established, Henry may be a candidate for the composer of folio 109 v, in addition to the two Roy Henry mass movements.

While Henry V was well known to have a special devotion to the Virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward, the question remains regarding whether there is any evidence to support a particular reverence for Thomas Becket. As one of the most beloved saints of England at the time, Henry must have also paid homage to Becket.

During his coronation, Henry's ceremony is said to have differed from previous coronations due to the fact that he was anointed with the miraculous oil of Thomas Becket. The oil is said to have originated from the Virgin Mary, who appeared to Becket, offering him the oil which she said she be used to coronate English kings. While Henry IV was crowned using the oil, no kings prior to the Lancasters are known to have made use of this oil. Henry IV used the oil to support his uncertain ascent to the throne, but Henry V, who already had a strong claim, and whose

religious devotion was praised, may have had other motives for its use – his reverence for Thomas Becket, supported by his fervent beliefs.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, at the vigil for his father's death, Henry paid 160 pounds for a golden head, encrusted with jewels to be given as an offering to the shrine of Thomas Becket.¹¹⁰

On November 16th, 1415, weeks after the Battle of Agincourt, Henry and his men sailed home to England. However, on their return, Henry intentionally visited Canterbury to offer praise at the shrine of Thomas Becket for his victory. According to historian Ian Mortimer, Henry may have also stopped to make pilgrimage at the Shrine of Thomas Becket, much like previous English kings.¹¹¹

The reverence for Thomas Becket would certainly align with the composition of a work dedicated to him, especially given Henry's religious convictions.

Like the Roy Henry folios, folio 109v appears at the head of its respective section with a similar floral border. It is the first among a section devoted to isorhythmic motets. Among the pieces following *Carbunculus Ignitus* Lilie is Bittering's *En Katerine Solemnia*, written to commemorate the marriage of Henry V to Katherine of Valois.

Regarding the musical structure of folio 109v, it is difficult to analyze the piece in its entirety as only the triplum survives (the whereabouts of the corresponding vocal lines are currently unknown). However, according to Dr. Margaret Bent, the piece is isorhythmic and upon analysis of the score, the text is clearly syllabic.

¹⁰⁹ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 65.

¹¹⁰ Anne Curry, *Henry V: From Playboy Prince to Warrior King* (London: Penguin UK, 2015), 5.

¹¹¹ Ian Mortimer, *1415: Henry V's Year of Glory* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2009), 90.

What is interesting about this piece is that the surviving triplum line is carefully composed with great skill to compliment the text, and rests are carefully placed to ensure that words are not interrupted by rests.¹¹²

A high level of skill is also apparent in the Roy Henry compositions. Although the two compositions attributed to Roy Henry are not isorhythmic, they also demonstrate great attention to detail in the construction of melodic lines and textual placement. Unfortunately, due to the lack of surviving voice parts in folio 109v, an in-depth analysis and comparison between the Roy Henry compositions and *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie* is not possible; however, the subject of Thomas Becket, the folio's position at the head of its section, as well as the floral border shared between Roy Henry's compositions and folio 109, suggest that *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie* may have also been written by Roy Henry. This viewpoint is also shared and supported by Margaret Bent in her article, *Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript*. Although Dr. Bent does agree that Roy Henry may be the composer of *Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie* due to similar borders, she does not explore the connection between Thomas Becket and Henry V, nor does she indicate that folio 109v is at the head of its respective section like the Roy Henry compositions.¹¹³

Although much evidence suggests that Roy Henry was in fact Henry V, there are still musicologists and scholars who support Henry IV and even Henry VI as candidates for this composer's identity. In the next chapter, the various opinions regarding the identity of Roy Henry will be discussed, and Henry V will be further supported as the primary candidate for this role.

¹¹² Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 291.

¹¹³ Margaret Bent, "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript," *Music & Letters*, 47.3 (1966): 229.

Roy Henry

In ter ra pro ho mibus so ne uolun ta tis In
 ni mus te leu di a mus te adoru mus te glo ri a mus te gra ti as
 a gimus ti bi pro pter ma gnam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne de us rex ce
 les tes de us pa ter om ni pa tris do mi ne si li um ge ni te ri um a si se do mi
 ne de us a gnus de i fi li us pa tris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di
 mi se re re no bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca tionem
 no stram. Qui se des ad dex te ram pa tris mi se re re no bis.
 Quoniam tu so lus sanc tus. Tu so lus do mi nus. Tu so lus al ti ssimus
 The si us qui cum san cto spi ri tu in glo ri a se di pa tris. A

Figure 1: Roy Henry "Gloria" Folio 12v, Old Hall Manuscript
 (Add. MS 57950, f.12v)

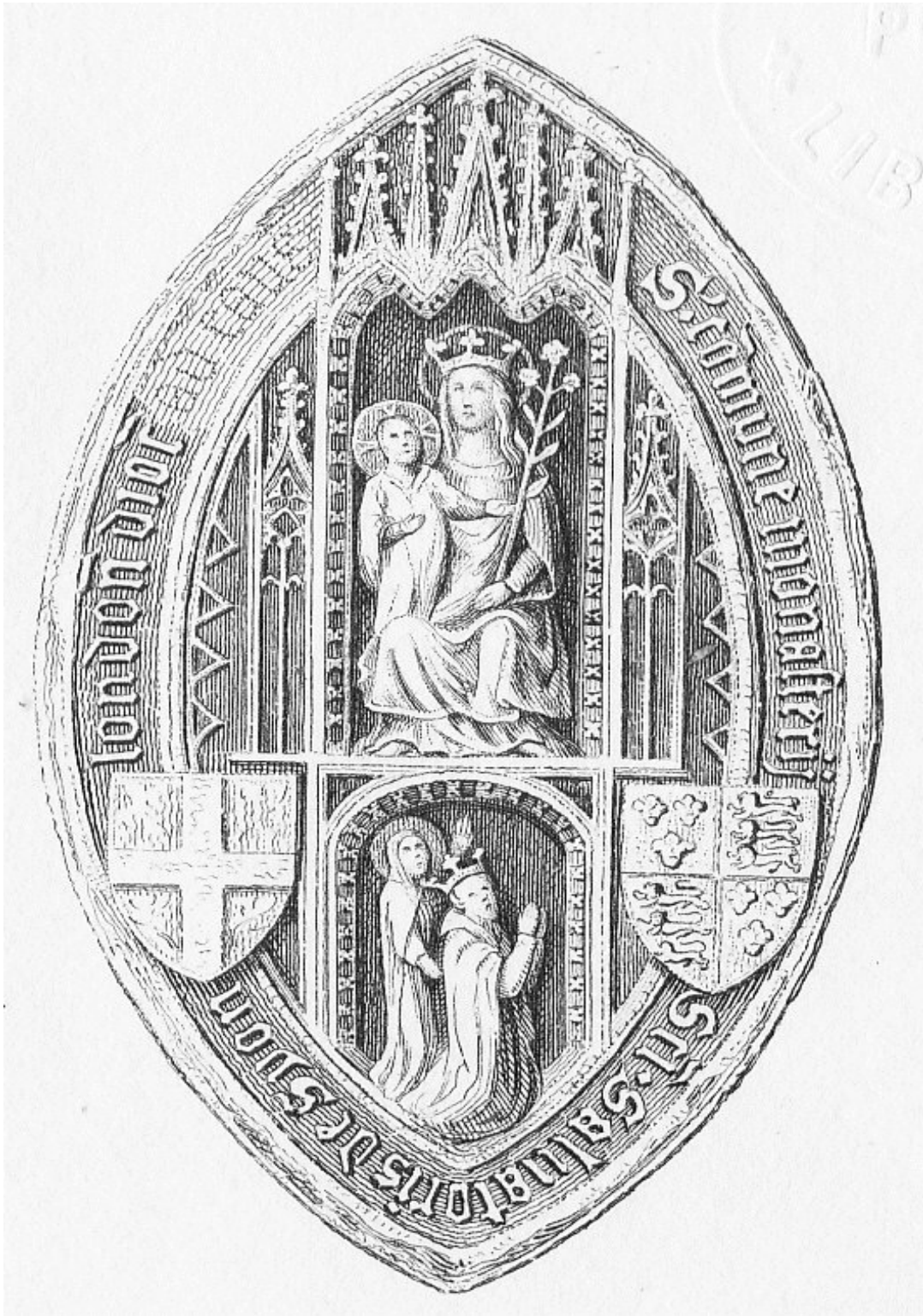


Figure 2: Seal of Syon Abbey featuring the Virgin Mary, Christ, St. Bridget, and Henry V

A page from a medieval manuscript, folio 80v, featuring musical notation and Latin text. The page is decorated with a large, ornate initial 'S' in gold and blue, surrounded by floral and vine motifs. The text is written in a Gothic script, and the musical notation consists of square neumes on red four-line staves. The text includes: *Roy. Henry.*, *anc tus. sanc tus. sanc tus. domi' de*, *sa*, *laoth) Pleni sunt caeli & terra gloria tua. A-*, and *gnus dei qui uenit in nomine*. The page is numbered 80v in the top right corner.

Figure 3: Roy Henry "Sanctus", Folio 80v, Old Hall Manuscript (Add. MS 57950, f.80v)



Figure 4: John Lydgate presenting *The Siege of Troy* to Henry V
 (English MS 1, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester,
 f.1r)



Figure 5: Thomas Hoccleve presenting *Regement of Princes* to Henry V (Royal MS 17 D VI, f.40r)



Figure 6: Henry V presenting Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes* to Sir John Mowbray (Arundel 38, f. 37)

Carbunculus ignitus liliæ flammis intrens lincæ cernit noctis latetris fulgore
 anglicæ lucerna æque cæcæ gema radians cunctisq; orbis intar ingens me
 inone thomas cæcæ sidus patre virtute. rutilans confemac dantans an' exergit splendu
 vera norma iustitæ sed & spiritum confemac sed hys qui dero plunt hodie. En ppter
 ep̄i testimoniu cæcæ quoq; vetum p̄m durum castigui obpobni arripit mentis ab
 sanctum tam cognationis quã p̄m sit equaminter cæcæ p̄cã phidat iustigam ma
 quam animi cæcæ uariã ppter munax redit coner in gentias gremiũ quertum dms
 redit iustigam se quertum

Figure 7: Anonymous, "Carbunculus Ignitus Lilie", Folio 109v, Old Hall Manuscript (Add. MS 57950, f.109v)

Chapter 4: Which Roy Henry?

Although it can be clearly established that Roy Henry was a king of England, the next challenge lies in determining exactly which Roy Henry or “King Henry” he was. Stylistically, the two mass movements of Roy Henry can be dated to approximately 1410, which places them at the end of Henry IV’s reign and only three years shy of Henry V’s ascent to the throne.¹¹⁴ Musicologists are still unable to unanimously agree upon which King Henry composed the *Sanctus* and *Gloria*. Both Henry IV and Henry V were known to be gifted musicians, and both were known to have been great patrons of the arts.¹¹⁵ However, although Henry IV was notably gifted in music, there is more evidence supporting Henry V’s synonymy with Roy Henry of the Old Hall Manuscript. By 1410, Henry IV’s health was failing, which would likely render him physically incapable of undertaking musical composition. Further, Henry V’s intense involvement in developing the Chapel Royal and its choir (where the Old Hall Manuscript was housed), and his deep religious convictions certainly align him with the composition of sacred music, such as Roy Henry’s two mass movements. Lastly, there are extant accounts from the Lancastrian court which indicate that Henry V was more skilled a musician than his father – a capacity necessary to compose complex works of polyphony such as the two mass movements composed by Roy Henry.

Though Henry IV was known to be a proficient harpist and recorder player, it is highly unlikely that he would have composed the Roy Henry mass movements

¹¹⁴ Margaret Bent, “The Old Hall Manuscript,” *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 13.

¹¹⁵ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 138.

because of the late date of composition. As previously mentioned, the two mass movements are stylistically consistent with the musical practices of the year 1410 – namely, the progressive polyphonic style that ventured away from English discant. At this time, Henry IV was gravely ill and nearing the end of his reign. The exact diagnosis of his condition is unknown; however, it is likely that he was afflicted by a type of cardiovascular disease in addition to a severe and debilitating skin ailment.¹¹⁶ According to Henry IV's physicians, his illness involved recurring, extended periods of excruciating pain, which often confined the king to his chambers. His most notable periods of malady occurred in June 1405, April 1406, June 1408, and most importantly for this study, in the winter of 1408 to 1409 – near the time that Roy Henry's compositions were written.¹¹⁷ With the noted severity of his health and the pain that he endured, it is highly unlikely that Henry IV would have been in any mental or physical condition to compose intricate and rich works of polyphony as evidenced by the two Roy Henry pieces. However, in 1410, Henry V was in the prime of his youth and already gaining much authoritative power from his father. Additionally, Henry V was not yet immersed in his military endeavors, which would have given him ample time and needed reflection to compose complex polyphonic lines.¹¹⁸

Henry IV continued to experience periods of agony from his illness that resurfaced with greater intensity in 1412, and ultimately caused his death in

¹¹⁶ Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV: The Life of England's Self-Made King* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2014), 301.

¹¹⁷ Peter McNiven, "The Problem of Henry IV's Health, 1405-1413," *The English Historical Review*, 100. 397 (1985): 747.

¹¹⁸ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 14.

1413.¹¹⁹ His son, Henry V, then succeeded him. The fact that Henry V was not yet a king when Roy Henry's pieces were composed does not automatically designate them to the reign of his father. On the contrary, it is the identity of the monarch who was reigning during the compilation of the Old Hall Manuscript that the scribe would have designated as "Roy" or "King." The title "Roy" would be designated to a living monarch as opposed to one who had previously reigned; since the Old Hall Manuscript was compiled between 1415 to 1421, it clearly emerges in the reign of Henry V.¹²⁰

Further, graphology clearly indicates that the same hand notated Roy Henry's compositions alongside works by Leonel Power and John Dunstable, both musicians associated with Henry V's Chapel Royal.¹²¹ Roy Henry's compositions are also surrounded by three motets that are thought to have been composed in honour of Henry V's victory at the battle of Agincourt. Additionally, there is also found a motet, composed by Byttering, and written to celebrate the marriage of Henry V to the French princess, Catherine of Valois.¹²² These various compositions dedicated to Henry V's defining moments, provide further context to establish the authorship of the two Roy Henry pieces as being written by Henry V.

As formerly outlined, there is abundant evidence supporting the identity of Henry V as Roy Henry. Henry's passion and talent as a musician is undeniable;

¹¹⁹ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 58.

¹²⁰ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 13.

¹²¹ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 139.

¹²² Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 4.

however, it is important to explore and be well versed in literature that supports varying opinions on Roy Henry's identity.

As previously mentioned, one of the leading experts in the study of the Old Hall Manuscript is Margaret Bent. Among her works dedicated to the Old Hall Manuscript are her dissertation, *The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study*, as well as an article titled *The Old Hall Manuscript*, and an in-depth study, *The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves from a Royal English Choirbook*. Furthermore, Bent has also written an essay, titled, *The Earliest Fifteenth Century Transmission of English Music to the Continent*. She has also provided a short biography and discussion of Roy Henry and the Old Hall Manuscript which is accessible through Grove Music Online. In her dissertation, Bent initially supported Henry IV as Roy Henry; however, her view has since changed to support Henry V when it was discovered that many composers from Henry V's Chapel Royal were included in the Old Hall Manuscript. In addition, the fact that four of the Old Hall Manuscript composers (Cook, Damet, Burell, and Sturgeon) were part of his army in 1415, further supports Henry V's identification with Roy Henry.¹²³ Although Bent's resources are valuable in understanding the history and components of the Old Hall Manuscript in its entirety, the focus of her work does not solely revolve around Roy Henry. Thus, it is necessary to explore more complete biographies of Henry IV and Henry V in order to gain a thorough understanding of the monarchs in question.

In addition to Bent, David Starkey has recently released a documentary titled *Music and Monarchy* (2013), which features a discussion of Roy Henry's music. In

¹²³ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 139.

the documentary's first episode, Starkey introduces the Old Hall Manuscript, and consequently delves into the identity of Roy Henry. Starkey states that Henry V was indeed Roy Henry without even alluding to the possibility that Henry IV may have been a likely candidate. He continues to discuss Henry's involvement with the Chapel Royal and also discusses his strong musical talent. In Starkey's discussion, there is no doubt that Henry V was in fact Roy Henry.

Christopher Allmand, who teaches medieval history at the University of Liverpool, has done extensive research on Henry V, which includes a thorough biography of the monarch. In his research, Allmand provides an excellent perspective on the personal and religious life of Henry V, in addition to his life on the throne and the battlefield. Through Allmand's work, it is evident that Henry's faith was at the forefront of his reign, which influenced his profound involvement with music.

Though many musicologists currently support Henry V as Roy Henry, there are some who prefer Henry IV. Ian Mortimer is one such scholar who favours Henry IV as the more likely candidate. In his book, *The Fears of Henry IV: The Life of England's Self-Made King*, Mortimer proposes that Henry IV was more musically capable than his son, due to varying accounts supporting Henry's enjoyment of music, including his skill in performing. However, Mortimer fails to provide sufficient evidence that would make Henry V less of a musician than his father and therefore not Roy Henry. Mortimer does not provide reasons, besides Henry IV's great skill as a musician, to fully validate his support for Henry IV. Indeed, as already discussed, Henry V was also widely acclaimed as a great musician. Furthermore, Mortimer states that

because Henry IV was still alive at the time the Roy Henry mass movements were written, it is evidence enough to support his identity as the elusive royal composer, since Henry IV could still claim the title of “King.” However, as previously discussed, Roy Henry’s mass movements appear to have been notated by the same scribe as compositions written by members of his Chapel Royal, placing the works rather firmly in the reign of Henry V. Although Mortimer does not provide convincing evidence in support of Henry IV as Roy Henry, his work does offer important details that elucidate Henry IV’s relationship with his son and to music.

Though the debate of Roy Henry’s identity primarily oscillates between Henry V and Henry IV, there have been opinions in support of a much younger candidate: Henry VI (Henry V’s son).

Currently, the view that Henry VI is synonymous with Roy Henry is deemed to be archaic; however, he was considered to be a likely prospect at one point in time. Musicologist, Barclay Squire, was among those who supported Henry VI. According to Margaret Bent, Squire believed Henry VI to be Roy Henry due to the dates corresponding to Damett and Sturgeon’s canonries during his reign – composers featured in the Old Hall Manuscript. However, when John Harvey unearthed that six composers featured in the Old Hall Manuscript were also members of Henry V’s Chapel Royal, opinions began to wane in favour of Henry V.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the dates of the surrounding compositions of the Old Hall Manuscript’s second layer, most certainly align the compositions prior to the birth of Henry VI, when Henry V was actively involved with the Chapel Royal.

¹²⁴ Margaret Bent. “Roy Henry.” Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (April 10, 2015).

Manfred Bukofzer analyzes the identity of Roy Henry by comparing the possibilities of Henry V and Henry VI in his book *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (1950). Interestingly, he does not include Henry IV in this discussion, and his reasons for this exclusion are not indicated. Bukofzer readily discredits the possibility of Henry VI being Roy Henry due to the link between the Old Hall Manuscript and Henry V's Chapel Royal.¹²⁵

As evidenced by the literature contributed by the aforementioned scholars, most opinions are in favour of Henry V's synonymy with Roy Henry largely due to his involvement with the Chapel Royal. Though the Chapel Royal has been discussed intermittently throughout this thesis thus far, it will be explored more in-depth in the following chapter.

¹²⁵ Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1950), 78-80.

Chapter 5: The Chapel Royal

Further evidence of Henry V's musical aptitude is solidified by his heavy and almost obsessive involvement with the development of the Chapel Royal.

Furthermore, at the beginning of Henry V's reign, the Old Hall Manuscript was kept within the Chapel Royal.

Although the chapel royal had been in existence for centuries prior to the mid-15th century, and it continued during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, only Henry V took an intense and personal interest in the development of this royal musical institution.¹²⁶ It is in music that Henry fully located his profound faith, for in the Middle Ages, the body of the king was also the conduit through which God bestowed His favour upon the people.¹²⁷ Henry's religiosity was not simply an expression of personal faith – it was rather a deep expression of the bond that existed between God and the people, through the body and the person of the king.¹²⁸

For Henry V, sacred music was a perpetual reminder of this seamless unity between the king and God – in that one ruled in Heaven, and the other ruled an earthly realm. It was in the process and structure of rulership that the two kings, one human and the other divine, united as one. In other words, at the time of anointing, the human king mirrored the great majesty of God, and for Henry, the bond that united the earthly with the heavenly was music.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ David Starkey. "Music and Monarchy," episode 1, directed by Peter Sweasey and Christopher Walker, (October 15, 2013; London: Acorn Media), DVD.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

According to Henry's beliefs, involvement with the Chapel Royal was an important tool for communicating with God, as he believed that music was the most effective way to glorify God in the hopes that the divine would acknowledge his efforts. As a result, Henry hoped that God would reward his musical praise with victories on the battlefield.¹³⁰ It was important for Henry V to be surrounded by music so that he could give due praise whenever it was necessary, and ultimately keep himself perpetually in God's favour. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Henry was known to bring the Chapel Royal with him everywhere he travelled, including on to the battlefield. After his victory at the battle of Agincourt, the Chapel was expanded to be larger and more majestic than it had ever been, earning the title of the greatest and largest choir in Europe. Chapel services were expanded to be held four times daily, and Henry was known to be in attendance for almost all of these daily services.¹³¹ As the Chapel Royal accompanied the king on his campaigns, they consequently spread the sound of the distinct *contenance angloise* into continental Europe.¹³²

In addition to performing abroad with the king, the Chapel Royal also had the responsibility of singing the daily musical repertoire of the mass, and to also act in ceremonial function with the intent to bring further glory to the English crown.¹³³

Soon after Henry won the battle of Agincourt, his outstanding military triumph became known throughout Europe. Consequently, in 1416, the German Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund, requested a meeting with Henry V to discuss the establishment

¹³⁰ David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy* (London: BBC Digital, 2013), 28.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 26.

¹³² *Ibid*, 28.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 25.

of peace between France and England. However, contrary to his original intentions, Sigismund and Henry signed a treaty of alliance between England and Germany at Canterbury Cathedral. During the signing of the treaty, the Chapel Royal was there to provide a stunning soundtrack to the monumental occasion.¹³⁴ Although Sigismund would have been well versed in the musical styles of continental Europe, he would not have heard anything as magnificent as what the Chapel Royal was presenting on that day.¹³⁵

Thus far, the purpose and liturgical responsibilities of the Chapel Royal have been outlined, however there is still the question of which men were selected to participate in the Chapel Royal as composers, clergy, and choristers. For the remainder of this chapter, the composers associated with the Chapel Royal will be discussed, as well as the music specifically associated with Chapel Royal and the Old Hall Manuscript which will further solidify Henry's influence on the compositions within, as opposed to the influence of his father. Furthermore, the clergy associated with the Chapel Royal and their relationship to Henry V will be specified.

Even after 600 years, modern scholars are aware of the specific individuals who participated in the Chapel Royal at the time of Henry V's reign. This is partially due to the Agincourt campaign of 1415.

On June 6, 1415, two hundred and fifty-six men, who had been commissioned to serve in the impending war against France, were given their advanced wages. Due to the detailed issue roll that still currently exists from that day, it is possible to see

¹³⁴ Ibid, 26.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

the names of the men who were paid.¹³⁶ Among these names are thirty men who were members of Henry's Chapel Royal. Four of the men who are known to have been in Henry's Chapel Royal during Agincourt are also named as composers in the Old Hall Manuscript. These men are four of the six composers associated with Henry's Chapel Royal in the second layer of the Old Hall Manuscript: John Cooke, Thomas Damett, Nicholas Sturgeon, and Burell.¹³⁷ These four composers were among the elite in English society, especially to warrant placement in the Old Hall Manuscript. Thus, the music heard at Agincourt must have been of the highest quality, suitable for a conquering king, and to win the favor of God. Additionally, these four men must have had strong relationships with Henry V in order to participate in his Chapel Royal during the battle of Agincourt.

Although the Old Hall Manuscript lists a composer named "Cooke" or "J. Cooke", without a first name, he is most likely the John Cooke who is listed in the Agincourt campaign. His compositions appear nine times throughout the manuscript and he is one of only two composers whose name appears in both the first and second layers of the manuscript. Cooke was a common name in 15th-century England, so there does exist a possibility that there were multiple composers named "Cooke" attributed to the Old Hall pieces. However, it is more likely that Cooke was synonymous with John Cooke of Agincourt, as he is known to have been a composer, chorister, and clerk of the Chapel Royal.¹³⁸

Even though his compositions appear nine times throughout the Old Hall

¹³⁶ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 131-132.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

Manuscript, it appears that there was an attempt to remove at least two of his pieces from the compilation. The exact reason for this is currently unknown.¹³⁹

In his youth, Cooke is known to have studied at King's Hall at Cambridge. In 1413, he was admitted to be a chaplain of the Chapel Royal. As previously mentioned, he also accompanied Henry V to Agincourt in 1415, suggesting a form of camaraderie between the two men.¹⁴⁰

In July 1419, an unusual event occurred: Cooke suddenly left his position at the collegiate church of Hastings, a position that had been granted to him in 1417 by Henry V, and the reason for his dismissal is suspiciously unrecorded. If his leave was due to resignation or death, there would have been a written record to corroborate this. This may be due to a loss of favor from Henry V, as there was an attempt to remove his pieces from the Old Hall Manuscript.¹⁴¹

Along with Leonel Power, Cooke is the only composer to appear in both the first and second layers of the Old Hall Manuscript. Between the two composers, there is a great deal of stylistic similarities, suggesting that Cooke may have very well been a student of Power.¹⁴²

The next Chapel Royal composer to appear at the Agincourt campaign is Thomas Damett. There is a general consensus among scholars that Damett was the illegitimate son of a nobleman, whose name he inherited. In contrast to his

¹³⁹ Ibid., 140.

¹⁴⁰ Margaret Bent and Roger Bowers. "Cooke, J." Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (September 29, 2015).

¹⁴¹ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 140.

¹⁴² Ibid.

noble paternal lineage, Damett was considered to be a commoner, and was known to have attended Winchester College until 1406, at possibly the same time as his future fellow Chapel Royal member, Sturgeon.¹⁴³ In 1413, Damett's name begins to show on the accounts belonging to Henry V's household. Subsequently, his name appears in the records from the Agincourt campaign.¹⁴⁴

In the Old Hall Manuscript, nine of Damett's compositions are present, all of which appear in the second layer of the manuscript. It is also believed that Damett's compositions were written by his own hand, as opposed to a scribe. This is also applicable to the other composers of Henry's Chapel Royal present at Agincourt.¹⁴⁵

Damett's only isorhythmic motet in the manuscript is thought to have been associated with the celebrations in London following the Agincourt battle, further relating the Old Hall Manuscript to Henry. The text of this motet contains references that compliment Henry's achievements, in addition to including prayers dedicated to Mary and St. George (to whom Henry was devoted). The text of the triplum offers prayers of thanksgiving to Mary, while additionally imploring that she bestows good fortune on Henry V¹⁴⁶. The text of the motetus is a prayer to St. George asking that he safeguard England, and that he also be present during

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Bent. "Damett." Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (April September 29, 2015).

¹⁴⁵ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974): 4.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Henry's martial endeavors.¹⁴⁷

The next Chapel Royal composer to appear on the Agincourt battlefield was Sturgeon. Due to his uncommon surname, there is little doubt among musicologists that the compositions attributed to Sturgeon in the Old Hall Manuscript are all written by a single individual, whose career was well recorded during the reign of Henry V.¹⁴⁸

Sturgeon was known to have held the position of "canon" at various, prestigious institutions including Westminster and St. Stephen's castles, and St. Paul's Cathedral. From 1413 to 1452, Sturgeon was included in the Chapel Royal.¹⁴⁹

Seven of Sturgeon's compositions are extant, all of which are found in the second layer of the Old Hall Manuscript. Like Damett, he is thought to have written his compositions by hand, without the use of a scribe.¹⁵⁰

English polyphony in the mid-15th century was less dependent upon the use of plainchant tenors, and many composers sought to incorporate newly composed tenor lines into their polyphonic works, such as motets. In Sturgeon's compositions, there is no evidence that plainchant tenors have been used, with the exception of the tenor line found in his only surviving motet. The lack of plainchant tenors in Sturgeon's works is in alignment with Henry's initiative to promote the English style, especially since Roy Henry's compositions also contain

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 140.

¹⁴⁹ Margaret Bent. "Sturgeon, N." Oxford Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (September 29, 2015).

¹⁵⁰ Gwilym Dodd, *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2003), 140.

newly composed tenor lines. Sturgeon's motet is also believed to have been composed for the Agincourt celebrations in London. Although the motet is written using French isorhythmic techniques, there is a particularly English treatment of the composition, namely, as is evidenced by the text and the lack of plainchant association.

The fourth Chapel Royal composer who was present at Agincourt was Burell. Burell is only known by his surname, and to him are credited two compositions in the Old Hall Manuscript's second layer: a Credo and Gloria. His career also included positions as a canon at York, Chichester, and Hereford, and he also had a position at Meaux Abbey in approximately 1416.¹⁵¹

Like Sturgeon's compositions, Burell's two mass movements lack plainchant tenors, indicative of the English style. His compositions are noted for their stylistic simplicity, yet still possess the exquisiteness necessary to warrant a placement in the Old Hall Manuscript.

In addition to the choristers and composers of the Chapel Royal, there were clergymen who were especially well noted and favoured by Henry V. Given his intense religious dedication, he was particularly close with his confessor, Stephen Patrington, who Henry named as one of his beneficiaries in his will.¹⁵²

Considering the intense religious devotion that Henry fostered throughout his life, his dedication and involvement with the Chapel Royal came as a natural result

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 139-140.

¹⁵² Ibid., 142.

from his equal passion for music. His faith and his love of music were synonymous with one another, and both continued to influence his political and personal life. This defining relationship between music and religion further substantiates Henry's connection to the Roy Henry compositions, as his religious devotion would have most likely influenced his decision to compose sacred music. After all, if Henry felt that music was the most effective means to win the approval of the divine, then he would have likely felt obliged to offer his own music to God (especially considering that he possessed the musical skill to do so).

Ultimately, Henry's dedication to the development of the Chapel Royal, and its associated composers, was paramount in the propagation of late medieval English music and also supports the importance of music to his role as king.

Conclusion

Though Henry V is often associated with martial deeds, this thesis provides an in-depth account of his musical achievements which have thus far been underrepresented in modern historical accounts. Henry's contribution to the development of 15th-century English music was paramount because of his role as a great patron of composers who elaborated the *contenance angloise*. Additionally, Henry's patronage and musical engagement expanded and solidified the outstanding reputation of the Chapel Royal, so that England came to play a leading role in European musical innovation in the 15th-century.

The importance of music in Henry's life is evident in his own skillful polyphonic composition and his contribution to the various works found in the Old Hall Manuscript. Further, a newer insight into manuscript illuminations provides support that Henry V was indeed synonymous with the composer, Roy Henry.

The strongest factor in Henry's love of music was his deep religious conviction, which served as his motivation for enhancing the growth of English music. Although Henry believed that music served to please God and consequently brought English victories on the battlefield, his intertwined relationship with music and religious devotion (and the importance of music to his role as king) served as the catalyst that propelled late medieval English music to unprecedented recognition within the larger musical context of Europe.

Through exploration of Henry V's musical life and contributions, it is important to see this renowned monarch in a new perspective, a perspective that is pertinent to understanding Henry V fully as a monarch and as a musician, and as a man whose

life was greater than his political agendas. While his martial victories can be interpreted as either positive or negative depending on one's political and cultural affiliations, Henry V's musical life and contributions allow for an appreciation of his great artistic passion and merit, qualities which can be embraced regardless of political outlook.

By conducting this research on Henry V's musical involvement, this thesis will serve as an additional resource to researchers interested in comprehending the artistic facet of Henry V's reign, as well as to musicians and the general public interested in the development of 15th-century English music.

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