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Plainsong and Medieval Music, **31**, 1, 65–90 © The Author(s), 2022. Published by Cambridge University Press
doi: 10.1017/S0961137122000018

On dubious claims regarding the enigmatic Chilston

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ABSTRACT. *The earliest known treatise on Boethian proportions in Middle English is attributed to 'Chilston' in London, British Library, Lansdowne 763. Nothing is known of Chilston's biography, although his treatise also survives anonymously in two related sources (New York, Morgan Library, B.12 and Dublin, Trinity College, 516). In 1927, Irish musicologist William Henry Grattan Flood suggested an identification between the author of the proportion treatise and the scribe of British Library, Royal 5 A VI, a priest's handbook dated to 1446. English lexicographer Jeffrey Pulver was quick to dismiss Flood's identification, which apparently discouraged any further assessment of it. This article reconsiders Flood's suggestion, taking into account 1920s political and cultural biases that might explain Pulver's swift rejection. A contextual exploration of the evidence supports the connection of the proportion treatise to Royal 5 A VI and sheds light on the milieu in which Chilston may have worked. Long recognised for his significance in the vernacular history of music theory and music pedagogy, the proposed contextual framework has significant implications for understanding the multiple functions of music theory in fifteenth-century England. Most notably, it documents the use of speculative music theory among readers and audiences with limited knowledge of Latin. A variety of uses for music theory reveal themselves within the emerging vernacular pedagogical practices of late medieval England. These reflect the broader production of technical texts in Middle English and the increased vernacularisation of English society at a pivotal moment of ecclesiastic and musical history.*

For those interested in the history of music theory in England, the importance of the mid-fifteenth-century compilation now in the British Library, Lansdowne 763, has long been recognised.[1] Assembled by Johannes Wylde, precentor and preceptor of Waltham Abbey, the manuscript was later owned by the composer Thomas Tallis, who was employed at the same abbey at the time of its dissolution.[2] Described by Brian Trowell as 'a distinctly retrospective collection by a working choirmaster', Lansdowne 763 comprises twenty entries related to musical practice and theory.[3] As with many compilation manuscripts, scholarship has focused more on individual treatises than on the manuscript as a whole.[4] Its first section focuses on plainchant,

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[1] See British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, Lansdowne 763, www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7809&CollID=15&NStart=763.

[2] Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis* (Oxford, 2020), 21.

[3] Brian Trowell, 'Wylde, John', *Grove Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30637 (accessed 19 August 2020).

[4] The manuscript is widely cited, following extensive coverage in Sir John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776) and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages of the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (London, 1935). It is also cited in Michel Huglo, Christian Meyer and Nancy C. Phillips, *The Theory of Music: Manuscripts from the*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

solmisation and modal theory; mensural theory follows, then extemporised discant, and finally arithmetic proportions in the Boethian sense of *musica speculativa*, in which *musica* comprises the study of small whole-number proportions and thus found a home in the quadrivium.

The penultimate entry in Lansdowne 763 (fols. 117r–22v), which concerns proportions, is in Middle English.[5] This tract derives from the tradition of music theory transmitted in books one and two of Boethius's *De institutione musica*.[6] Although the Boethian tradition is represented in many late medieval Latin treatises, often as introductory material, there is no known direct Latin model for this Middle English tract in Lansdowne 763. The first section names and describes the five species of the proportions of inequality (multiplex, superparticular, superpartient, multiplex superparticular and multiplex superpartient). The second section lists the denominations of proportions and ends with two tables. The third section is concerned with the three manners of proportionality: geometric, arithmetic and harmonic. Each section begins with its own introductory rubric and ends with its own explicit, indicating their potential to stand independently.

The final entry in Lansdowne 763, a Latin proportion treatise, begins on a new leaf, with a five-line initial (fol. 123r).[7] The previous leaf ends with the acknowledgement, 'secundum Chilston'.[8] While 'secundum' is a term that can indicate authorship, it is not as definitive as the nearly synonymous 'quod'. A cautious reading therefore suggests that it be understood as an indication that the previous section was 'according to' Chilston. But how much of the previous section was Wylde associating with Chilston?

There are two distinct scholarly views of the entry in Lansdowne 763 on fols. 117r–22v. Meech understood these leaves to constitute a single treatise, which he attributed to Chilston.[9] This view was supported by Curt F. Bühler and Anne Heminger, among others.[10] The 'Texts on Music in English from the Medieval and Early Modern Eras'

Carolingian Era up to c.1500 in Great Britain and in the United States of America: Descriptive Catalogue B/III/4 (Munich, 1992). Its Latin treatises are all transcribed in the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* (TML), www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/ and the English treatises in the TME database, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/.

[5] Known to scholars since at least the eighteenth century, Hawkins included a transcription of this proportion treatise in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2: 229–35. Sanford B. Meech included a transcription in 'Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript', *Speculum*, 10 (1935), 235–69, at 265–9. It is divided into three files in TME, https://chmtl.indiana.edu/thesauri/tme/15th/DEPRPA1B_MLBLL763.html (corresponding to fols. 117r–118v), https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/DEPRPB1_MLBLL763.html (fols. 118v–120r) and https://chmtl.indiana.edu/thesauri/tme/15th/DEPRPC1B_MLBLL763.html (fols. 120v–122v).

[6] Calvin M. Bower trans. and Claude V. Palisca ed., *Boethius: Fundamentals of Music [De Institutione Musica]*, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven, 1989), 1–87.

[7] BL Lansdowne 763, fol. 123r, www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f123r.

[8] BL Lansdowne 763, fol. 122v, www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f122v.

[9] Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English', 236.

[10] Curt F. Bühler, 'A New Manuscript of the Middle English Tract on Proportions (sometimes attributed to Chilston)', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 229–33; Anne Heminger, 'Music Theory at Work: The Eton Choirbook, Rhythmic Proportions and Musical Networks in Sixteenth-Century England, *Early Music History*, 37 (2018), 141–82, at 147. It is not separately numbered in Huglo, Meyer and Phillips, *The Theory of Music*, 87–91 or in the British Library catalogue, www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Lansdowne_MS_763.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(hereafter TME) database separates out these folios into three treatises, attributing only the final one (fols. 120v–22v) to Chilston.[11] Theodor Dumitrescu and others follow this separation and attribution.[12]

This article argues that the combined evidence of *mise-en-page*, rubrication, initials and incipit support the view that fols. 117r–22v transmit one treatise with three distinct sections that had a common origin and were all transmitted through Chilston. In our view, the codicological and palaeographical evidence of Lansdowne 763 suggests a collective presentation, which gives weight to the possibility that the attribution to Chilston at the end of the entry (fol. 122v) can also be retroactively applied to the first two sections. Although each discrete section opens with its own elaborate initial, there is a hierarchy of spaces for initials. This is consistent with the pattern throughout Lansdowne 763, where Wylde allocated proportional spaces for decorated initials at the beginnings of entries and subsections. Treatises by Torkesey (fol. 90r), Johannes de Muris (fol. 95r), Thomas Walsingham (fol. 98v) and Leonel Power (fol. 105v) each have text indented to allow more space for the initials that were later added, as does the treatise on fols. 113v–16v, which immediately precedes the treatise in question. Wylde began this Middle English proportion treatise on a new leaf (fol. 117r), leaving space for an opening initial spanning four text lines.[13] There is no text break before the second section of the treatise, and Wylde only left space for a two-line initial (fol. 118v).[14] Although the third section begins with a four-line initial, its opening rubric, which is not inked in red, refers back to the previous material in a way that suggests further continuation:

> Thus ouerpassid the rwlis of Proporcions and of their Denominacions. nou shal ye vnderstonde that as Proporcion as a Comparison betwene diuerse quantiteis oythir numbris. So is Proporcionalitas a Comparison eythir a likenes be .2o. Proporcions in .3re. diuerse quantiteis atte last. the whech quantiteis or numbris been callid the Termis of that proporcionalite. And whan the ferst terme. passithe the .2de. than [it supra lin.] is callid the ferst excesse. And whan the .2de. terme passith the thirde. than it is callid the .2de. excesse.[15]
>
> (Thus having discussed the rules of proportions and of their denominations. Now shall ye understand that as proportion is a comparison between diverse quantities or numbers. So is proportionality a comparison or a likeness between two proportions in three diverse quantities at the end, which quantities or numbers are called the terms of that proportionality. And when the first term passes the second then it is called the first excess. And when the second term passes the third, then it is called the second excess.[16])

[11] TME, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/.
[12] Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot, 2007), 185–6.
[13] BL Lansdowne 763, fol. 117r, www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f117r.
[14] BL Lansdowne 763, fol. 118v, www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f118v.
[15] TME, https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/DEPRPC1B_MLBLL763.html.
[16] In translating the Middle English, help was generously provided by Ardis Butterfield.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The incipit (fol. 117r) before the treatise reads 'Here beginneth Tretises diuerse of musical proporcions. and of therre naturis. and denominacions. ferst in Englisshe. and than in latyne' ('Here begin separate treatises on musical proportions and their natures and denominations, first in English and then in Latin'). This does not unequivocally suggest that Wylde saw the text on fols. 117r–22v as separate treatises; it could be that his use of 'Tretises diuerse' is making a linguistic distinction between the English (fols. 117r–22v) and Latin (fols. 123r–24r) proportion treatises, potentially signifying a connection in Wylde's mind between the three treatises. The authors of this article seek to reconcile the two scholarly traditions, noting the potential independence of sections of the tract on fols. 117r–22v while suggesting that all are interconnected and associated with Chilston. We refer to them as Chilston A, B and C, respectively (Table 1).

Partial concordances

The first and the third sections of the Lansdowne Middle English proportion treatise (Chilston A and C) also survive together elsewhere (Table 2) as an anonymous text in a scientific/mathematical compilation now in New York (Morgan Library, B.12, fols. 63r–68v) and as fragments (fols. 129r–31v) in a collection of miscellaneous texts in Trinity College Dublin 516 (hereafter TCD 516).[17] The content related to proportions in these manuscripts only came to the attention of modern scholars after the Second World War. Bühler was the first to connect the treatise in Morgan B.12 with the Middle English proportion treatise in Lansdowne 763, building on the work of Sanford B. Meech.[18] Morgan B.12, comprising seventy-six folios, is highly organised: three astronomical texts are followed by a short invocation to angels and two treatises on musical proportions. The first of these corresponds to Chilston A and Chilston C (combined together) while the second, in Latin, is entitled 'Epistola de proporcionibus'.[19]

Assembled across the middle years of the fifteenth century, TCD 516 is a sizable manuscript of 219 folios that belonged to and was mostly transcribed by John Benet, vicar of Harlington, Bedfordshire.[20] It comprises a Latin chronicle (documenting events that occurred between 1399 and 1462), historical accounts, prophecies, political

[17] New York, Morgan Library, B.12; Dublin, Trinity College 516 (olim E.5.10). The versions in all three manuscripts are transcribed in the TME database, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/. Dumitrescu observed the common beginning of the three treatises in *The Early Tudor Court*, 185–6. John Scattergood published a codicological study of TCD 516 in 'Trinity College MS 516: A Clerical Historian's Personal Miscellany', in *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A.S.G. Edwards*, ed. Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 2014), 121–31. The broader context of the treatise is addressed in Lynsey Callaghan, 'Exploring Circulation: "þe proporcions" in a Fifteenth-Century English Miscellany and the Vernacularisation of Musica Speculativa', Ph.D. diss., Trinity College, Dublin (2021).

[18] Bühler, 'A New Manuscript', and Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English'.

[19] The Morgan Library catalogue simultaneously attributes the second treatise on proportions to Gerbertus and defines it as an anonymous extract in Latin on musical and harmonic theory (fols. 68v–76r). Photographs of Morgan B.12 fols. 2r–58r are viewable at http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/76798.

[20] Scattergood, 'A Clerical Historian's Personal Miscellany', 121. Photographs of TCD 516 are not yet publicly accessible online.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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Table 1. Contents of London, British Library, Lansdowne 763, fols. 105v–24r

'This treatis is contrived upon the Gamme for hem that wil be syngers, or makers, or techers'	Lyonel Power	fols. 105v–13r	POWERTR1 MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f105v
'Her folwith a litil tretise according to the ferst tretise of the sight of descant; and also for the sight of countir, and for the syght of the countirtenor, and of ffaburdon'	Commonly attributed to Pseudo-Chilston	fols. 113v–16v	HEREFOL1 MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f113v
	Chilston	fols. 117r–22v	
'Her beginneth tretises diverse of musical proporcions and of their naturis and denominacions, ferst in Englissh and than in Latyne'	A: the nature of proportion	fols. 117r–18v	DEPRPA1B MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f117r
'Here foluyth a. breue tretise of proporcions and of theire denominacions with a litil table folwing'	B: the denominations of proportion	fols. 118v–20r	DEPRPB1 MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f118v
'Thus ouerpassid the rwlis of Proporcions and of their Denominacions. nou shal ye vnderstonde that as Proporcion as a Comparison betwene diuerse quantiteis oythir numbris'	C: on the three manners of proportion	fols. 120v–22v	DEPRPC1B MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f120v
'*Proporcio est duarum rerum equalium vel inequalium*'		fols. 123r–24r	ANODUA_MLBLL763 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f123r

Table 2. Middle English proportion treatise in three manuscripts

	London, British Library, Lansdowne 763	Dublin, Trinity College 516	New York, Morgan Library B.12
Chilston A	fols. 117r–18v DEPRPA1B MLBLL763	fol. 129r–v [ends imperfectly] DEPRPA1C MDTC516	fols. 63r–65r DEPRPA1A MNYPMB12
Chilston B	fols. 118v–20r DEPRPB1 MLBLL763	absent	absent
Chilston C	fols. 120v–22v [ends 'secundum Chilston'] DEPRPC1B MLBLL763	fols. 129v–31r [begins imperfectly] DEPRPC1C MDTC516	fols. 65r–68v DEPRPC1A MNYPMB12

texts, Latin proverbs, lists of English kings and general religious writings. Although Lansdowne 763 is the only source to attribute the proportion treatise to Chilston, the version in TCD 516 ends with an ambiguous sign, which John Scattergood interprets as the letter 'C'.[21] This may suggest that the scribe of TCD 516 was making an oblique reference to Chilston.

Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney recognised Chilston's importance in the history of music theory on account of this early vernacular treatise on proportions. As very little is known of his biography, scholarship on Chilston has focused on his appearance in Lansdowne 763.[22] This manuscript contains two other treatises in Middle English, which precede the proportion treatise (see Table 1).[23] Following Leonel Power's discant treatise (fols. 105v–13r) is an anonymous discant and faburden treatise (fols. 113v–16v), which Hawkins attributed to Chilston.[24] This attribution was reinforced by Hugo Riemann in his history of music theory.[25] Burney, on the other hand, saw the second treatise as an extension of the preceding treatise and accordingly attributed it to Power.[26] In 1935, Meech asserted that there was no evidence to substantiate attributing this treatise either to Chilston or to Power.[27] Following Johannes

[21] John Scattergood was the first to suggest that the symbol might be a letter 'C' (private correspondence), rather than the number '6', as reported in earlier scholarship; see Peter M. Lefferts, ed., 'On the Three Manners of Proportions', in the TME database, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/DEPRPC1C_MDTC516.html (accessed 13 February 2020).

[22] See Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1905), 906; Eric Blom, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn, 10 vols. (London, 1954), 2: 214–15; Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English'; Cecily Sweeny, 'John Wylde and the Musica Guidonis', *Musica Disciplina*, 29 (1975), 43–59; Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, 'Chilston', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 21 vols. (Kassel, 2000), 4: 938–9; Andrew Hughes, 'Chilston', *Grove Music Online*, https://doi-org.elib.tcd.ie/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05593 (accessed 23 November 2019).

[23] www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lansdowne_ms_763_f105v.

[24] Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2: 227. Transcriptions are available in TME, https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/POWERTR1_MLBLL763.html and https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/HEREFOL1_MLBLL763.html.

[25] Hugo Riemann, *History of Music Theory: Polyphonic Theory to the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln, NE, 1962), 119.

[26] Burney, *A General History of Music*, 1: 685–95.

[27] Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English', 236. This is the view of Sachs, 'Chilton', 4: 939.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Wolf's use of the term in 1939, a consensus arose to attribute this second discant treatise to 'Pseudo-Chilston'.[28]

A gentlemanly dialogue?

In 1927, in the August issue of *The Musical Times*, the music scholar Jeffrey Pulver (1884–1984) implored:

> We should like to know more of Chilston, for in the present state of our knowledge we cannot even decide with certainty when he lived. We have no means of ascertaining whether the words used by John Wylde were Chilston's own, or a paraphrase made by the copyist from a still earlier manuscript now lost. But one thing is certain; and this is that Chilston was a musical savant.[29]

Nearly a century later, this early proponent of music theory in the English vernacular has attracted surprisingly little scholarship. Though Pulver's high estimation for Chilston rested in part on his belief that Chilston also authored the second of the three Middle English treatises in Lansdowne 763 (fols. 113v–16v, the one now generally assigned to Pseudo-Chilston), his recognition of Chilston's importance is striking. Particularly noteworthy is the suggestion Pulver makes, at the end of his article, that Chilston's writings 'were employed in the instruction of choristers and composers for many a generation'.[30]

A prolific English lexicographer, Pulver is best known for his work on the history of stringed instruments, particularly in England, a *Dictionary of Musical Terms* (eight editions published between 1913 and 1925), a *Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments* (1923, twelve editions), a *Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (1927, reprinted 1973), with books on Brahms (1926) and Paganini (1936) and numerous articles over a long period. His article on Chilston in *The Musical Times* came out in 1927, the same year that he published his *Biographical Dictionary*, in which he also included an article on Chilston.[31] Pulver had already referenced Chilston twice in his earlier *Dictionary of Old English Music* and so was aware of the dearth of biographical information available on Chilston's life.[32] Nonetheless, for Pulver, 'the little we know suffices to place him among the great men who helped to found this nation's art upon a basis of law and order'.[33]

Founded by J.A. Novello in 1844, as a continuation of *Mainzer's Musical Times and Singing Circular* (1842–44), *The Musical Times* is the oldest of all musical journals with a continuous record of publication. From the 1920s (to the 1990s) it had a special association with the Royal College of Organists, which contributed to a renewal of interest in

[28] Johannes Wolf, 'Early English Musical Theorists: From 1200 to the Death of Henry Purcell', *The Musical Quarterly*, 25 (1939), 420–9, at 422; Andrew Hughes, 'Pseudo-Chilston', *Grove Music Online*, https://doi-org.elib.tcd.ie/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.22503 (accessed 14 March 2020).
[29] Jeffrey Pulver, 'Chilston', *The Musical Times*, 68 (August, 1927), 699–701, at 701.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Jeffrey Pulver, *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927).
[32] Jeffrey Pulver, *A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments* (London, 1923), 77 and 182.
[33] Pulver, 'Chilston', 700.

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church music. Its monthly issues provided a wide readership for articles published in series. One such series, 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers', was published between 1924 and 1929 by the Irish scholar William Henry Grattan Flood (1859–1928). On the same page, and immediately following Pulver's article on Chilston, in the August 1927 issue of *The Musical Times* is Flood's biographical article on John Hilton Senior, the twenty-seventh entry in the series.[34]

Evidently, Flood read Pulver's article and responded to his call for attention to be paid to Chilston. In a letter to the editor in the October issue of *The Musical Times*, Flood wrote, 'Although I cannot say for certain I have solved the difficulty as to the identity of this brilliant English theorist, yet I feel tolerably safe in equating him with John Celston, who, in the year 1446, wrote a treatise […] found in the British Museum, Royal 5, A vi.'[35] Although a possible concordance and a plausible date would seem to be a significant find for scholars of fifteenth-century music history, worthy of further investigation, Pulver was quick to dismiss Flood's identification and to minimise the significance of the discovery. In the very next issue of *The Musical Times*, Pulver denied the importance of this biographical detail, stating that, 'I am afraid the added information that the learned Doctor gives takes us very little further in the history of Chilston'.[36]

Pulver was no doubt familiar with Flood's scholarship, which included various unsupported claims that certain English composers, such as Dowland, Campion and Purcell, had Irish ancestry.[37] As someone particularly interested in the music of his nation, Pulver would not have been sympathetic towards a scholar who had challenged the Englishness of the English canon. Flood's reputation among others has not fared much better over the last hundred years: almost all references to his name also refer to him as a dubious scholar.[38] According to Axel Klein's recently updated (2019) *Grove* dictionary article, Flood is 'regarded as unreliable for missing sources, his studies are characterized by an enthusiastic rather than thorough appreciation of detail. In some of his claims […], his patriotism led him to confuse clues with evidence.'[39] In the *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, Barra Boydell notes that Flood's

[34] W.H. Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers: XXVII. John Hilton, Sen', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), 701–2.

[35] W.H. Grattan Flood, 'Who Was Chilston?', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), 933.

[36] Jeffrey Pulver, 'Who Was Chilston?', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), 1026.

[37] William Henry Grattan Flood, 'Irish Ancestry of Garland, Dowland, Campion and Purcell', *Music and Letters*, 3 (1922), 59–65. In relation to Dowland, this argument has been refuted in Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (California, 1972), 21–5.

[38] For a critique of Grattan Flood's historiographical scholarship, see Harry White, 'The Invention of Irish Music: Remembering Grattan Flood', in *Franjo Ksavar Kuhač (1834–1911). Musical Historiography and Identity*, ed. Vjera Katalinić and Stanislav Tuksar (Zagreb, 2014), 207–15, at 210–16. See also Antoinette Baker, 'Chevalier William Henry Grattan Flood Mus. Doc. K.S.G.', Ph.D. diss., University College Dublin (1989); Barra Boydell, 'Flood, W[illiam] H[enry] Grattan Flood', in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, ed. Harry White and Barra Boydell, 2 vols. (Dublin, 2013), 1: 394–98. Michael Murphy, '"Irish" Musicology and Musicology in Ireland: Grattan Flood, Bewerunge, Harrison, White', in *Music Preferred: Essays in Musicology, Cultural History and Analysis in Honour of Harry White*, ed. Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Vienna, 2018), 307–22; Harry White, 'Music and the Perception of Music in Ireland', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 79 (1990), 38–44, at 40.

[39] Axel Klein, 'Flood, W(illiam) H(enry) Grattan', *Grove Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09843 (accessed 20 August 2020).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137122000018 Published online by Cambridge University Press

'information is frequently suspect, and […] his patriotic desire to place Ireland at the centre of European musical history in particular led him to make unfounded and sometimes fantastic claims and assumptions'.[40]

But Flood was not alone in his nationalistic tendencies. Is it possible that Pulver's own cultural biases prompted his swift and imperious response to Flood's suggestion? In the early years of the Irish Free State, with the 'Irish Question' undoubtedly in the recent memory of the educated British classes, it seems likely that Pulver could have harboured anti-Irish sentiments. For Pulver, English music and musicians reigned supreme, and remained at the centre of his musicological world. Like Flood, Pulver's nationalism came at the expense of other musical cultures. In his article 'What is Wrong with Welsh Music?', Pulver disregarded the musical landscape of Wales and proposed a 'possible cure', calling on Welsh musicians to 'follow the example now being set in England'.[41] His article is rife with the belief in the superiority of musical skills that were typically cultivated in English cathedral choirs over the aural and oral practices that were integral to Celtic folk culture. Pulver bemoaned 'the danger of too national a programme' in Welsh choral singing, arguing instead in favour of the 'universal' principles of music that, in reality, are those particular to English classical music.

Flood's suggested concordance and date reinforce Chilston's importance as an English music theorist, which could have further supported an Anglocentric view of music history, but instead, Pulver retorted:

> The questions that I put in my article, and which Dr. Flood has quoted in his letter to you, remains [*sic*] unanswered. […] We still do not know when and where he was born, when and where he died, or whether he composed or not. If Dr. Flood is right in his supposition, we have discovered one new thing – viz., that Chilston wrote something in 1446.[42]

Hawkins and others had dated Chilston's treatise to the late fourteenth century. Pulver evidently accepted this early dating in 1923, when his article on 'Quinible' in *A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments* explicitly dated the Chilston treatise to the end of the fourteenth century.[43] However, Pulver's 1927 article dates Chilston a little later, to the first half of the fifteenth century, with the qualification that 'we cannot even decide with certainty when he lived'.[44] Later scholars have tried to ascertain Chilston's dates of activity by dating the inclusion of his treatise in various manuscripts. Meech speculated, in 1935, that the treatise was created in the first half of the century, based on the dialectical features.[45] Bühler, in 1946, argued that the palaeographical evidence suggested a date of 1425 for Morgan B.12.[46] The

[40] Boydell, 'Flood', 395.
[41] Jeffrey Pulver, 'What is Wrong with Welsh Music?', *The Musical Times*, 65 (1924), 225–6.
[42] Pulver, 'Who Was Chilston?', 1026.
[43] Jeffrey Pulver, *A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments* (London, 1923), 183.
[44] Pulver, 'Chilston', 701.
[45] Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English', 230.
[46] Bühler, 'A New Manuscript'.

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consensus on the compilation date of Lansdowne 763 is now *c.*1450, and a *terminus post quem* for the inclusion of Chilston's treatise in TCD 516 is 1468.[47] If these dates are accurate, this protracted citation history attests to the longevity of Chilston's treatise but sheds no light on his biography.

Although Pulver did not know about the concordant sources for Chilston's treatise, his rejection of potential biographical information on Chilston is surprising. Flood had attributed the 'Regula sancti Bernardi de modo psallendi et cantandi in ecclesia' in Royal 5 A VI to Chilston, which Pulver rightly rejected. But with regard to fifteenth- and sixteenth- century music, Flood had considerable knowledge. Following the publication of the English Patent Rolls, he produced an extensive survey of entries relating to music in fifteenth-century England.[48] In addition to his work on late Tudor composers mentioned previously, Flood published biographical sketches of thirty-two early Tudor composers in *The Musical Times* between 1919 and 1924. In 1925, these were published as a book, with a preface by the musicologist, composer and educational reformer Sir William Henry Hadow.[49] Flood also included a prefatory 'Note' (dated September 1924), in which he hopes the biographies he has unearthed, 'based on independent research, carried out under much difficulty', will 'prove acceptable to those who would fain know something of the English school that developed naturally with the full-tide glory of the golden age of Taverner, Tallis'.[50] Flood acknowledges Hadow's role in the publication of *Tudor Church Music*, which 'must compel the admiration and gratitude of all lovers of Tudor music'.[51] This does not seem like the action or language of someone whose views of English music were constrained by Irish nationalism.

Pulver (and later scholars) could have followed Flood's suggestion to investigate the Celston/Chilston connection, to see what it might reveal about the music theorist's biography, intellectual milieu, roles and responsibilities, as well as his intellectual interests. But instead, Pulver's repudiation seems to have discouraged any further assessment of Flood's suggestion. Flood himself might have pursued the identification had he not died the following year. Consideration of Celston/Chilston in Royal 5 A VI seemed to die with Flood. As TCD 516 – a source not known to Pulver and Flood – sheds further light on the circulation of the treatise attributed to Chilston in

[47] Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, 178–9; Callaghan, 'Exploring Circulation', 107.

[48] Henry C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (London, 1897–1911); William Henry Grattan Flood, 'Entries Relating to Music in English Patent Rolls of the Fifteenth Century', *The Musical Antiquary*, 4 (1912–13), 225–35.

[49] W.H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers* (Oxford, 1925). It is usual for a preface to praise the author, but in the present context it is worth noting W.H. Hadow's high estimation for Flood: 'Among the scholars who have materially helped to elucidate this period, an honorable place has been won by Dr. Grattan Flood. He has occupied many years in researches, often difficult and remote, with a view to rescuing from undeserved oblivion many artists who advanced the cause of English music at the time of its highest renown […] for the list given in this volume we are highly indebted to Dr. Grattan Flood's wide knowledge and untiring industry […] his volume is a valuable contribution to musical biography; it will be indispensable to the musical historian of the future' (ibid., 9–10).

[50] Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, 7.

[51] Ibid.

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mid-fifteenth-century England, it is time to disentangle Flood's dubious reputation from this intriguing identification.

The scribe of Royal 5 A VI

British Library, Royal 5 A VI is a volume of eighty-six folios (in gatherings of eight leaves), measuring 230 × 160 mm.[52] Initial capitals are red with blue flourishes, and there are red and blue pilcrows. Work of a corrector is evident, and the manuscript has been heavily annotated in many hands.[53] The volume contains elementary didactic tracts, theological notes and other devotional extracts; the fly-leaves (fols. 85r and 86r) were taken from a grammatical treatise.[54] At least two mid-fifteenth-century hands can be discerned. Contents are listed at the beginning and end of the compilation. At the end of the final list, on fol. 84v, a colophon states that Johannes Celston wrote this volume ('Johannes Celston scripsit istud volumen') in the year 1446 (see Figure 1).[55]

Celston – a name with many variant spellings in the fifteenth century, including Chelston, Celstan, Shilston or Chilston – copied the first three and the last two items included in Royal 5 A VI. Items 4, 5 and 6 are in a different hand. A summary of the contents of Royal 5 A VI is given in Table 3.

Royal 5 A VI is a compilation of mostly theological writings that uphold the medieval belief that the failings of postlapsarian knowledge could be addressed through *sapientia* (wisdom), *virtus* (virtue), *eloquentia* (eloquence) and *necessitas* (necessity). Within ecclesiastical circles, writers drew on canonical writings for scholastic purposes, but also in the belief that such authorities offered moral guidance. Royal 5 A VI corresponds to the kind of compilation known as *pastoralia*, that is to say, a 'pastoral' or priest's manual.[56] Such books were intended to assist priests who had limited knowledge of Latin. Latin literacy was variable among the secular clergy and thus some priests' manuals contained Latin texts, as well as vernacular. Education varied greatly among parish priests and regular canons. The orders of Canons Regular, particularly those following the rule of St Augustine, played an explicit role in the cure of souls. In the twelfth century, the use of the adjective *religiosus* was not confined to those

[52] *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, ed. George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson (London, 1921), 96 and British Library Online, *Explore Archives and Manuscripts*, http://search-archives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-002106045 (accessed 26 May 2020). Photographs of Royal 5 A VI are not yet available for viewing online.

[53] A sixteenth-century memorandum, on fol. 84v, records that the volume had belonged to Sir Edmond Kellet who had given it to Sir John Baker of Solihull on condition that he pray for the soul of Robert Kellet. It subsequently passed to Robert Taylor, of Wick, 'curator', 9 Nov. 1623 (fol. 2r), who gave it to Robert Lark, 13 May, 1626, to Henry Jackson (fol. 84v), and John Theyer (fol. 2r).

[54] Lansdowne 763 has two unfoliated paper flyleaves at the beginning and at the end. Its decoration comprises large red and blue initials, with, respectively, lighter red and/or blue or brown foliate penwork decoration, or red penwork foliate decoration, extending into the margins. There are also small simple initials in red or blue or black, some with a yellow wash and highlighting of letters in red.

[55] Sincere thanks to Christopher Scobie, Curator of Music manuscripts at the British Library, who kindly provided the images of Royal 5 A VI for Figures 1 and 2 in this article.

[56] Vincent Gillespie, 'The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual with Particular Reference to the Speculum Christiani and Some Related Texts', Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford (1981), and *Looking in Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England* (Turnhout, 2011).

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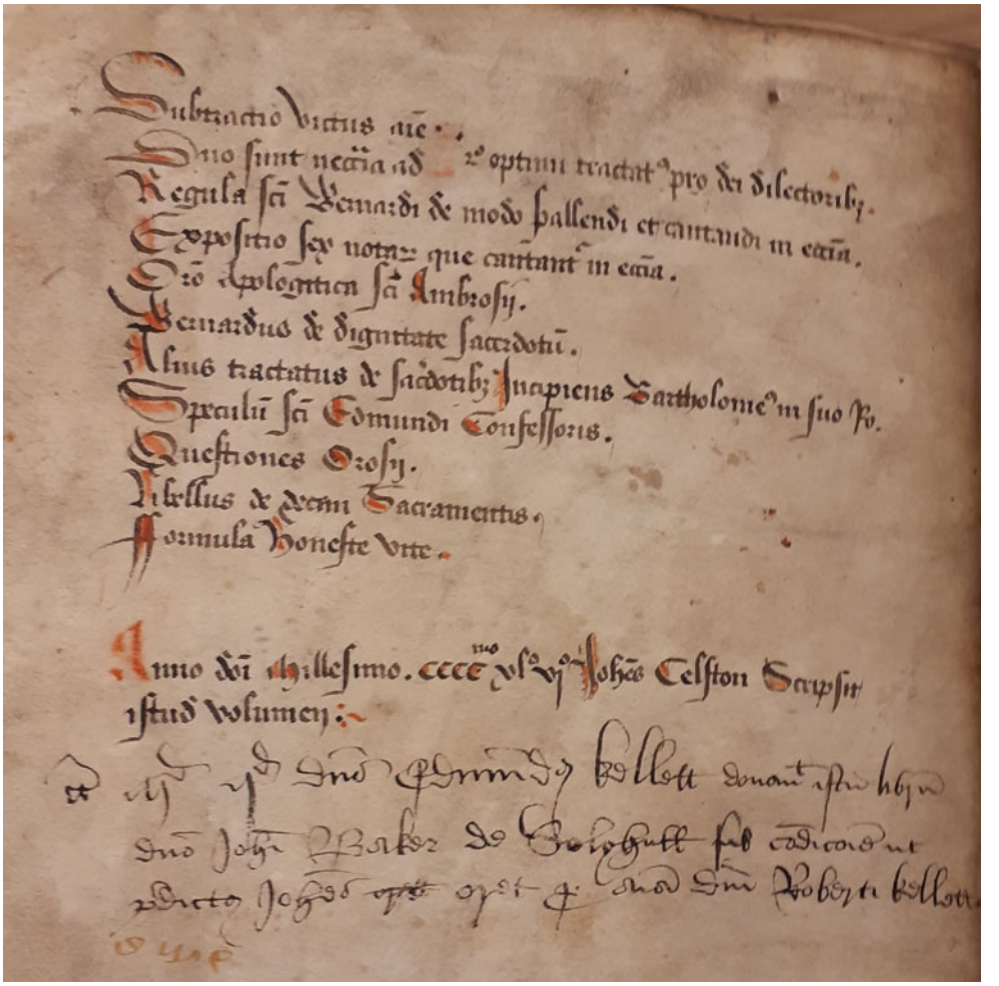


Figure 1. Contents and colophon, London, British Library, Royal 5 A VI, fol. 84v. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. (colour online)

who had taken religious vows. For example, in the Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis (1075–*c.*1142), *religiosus* is most often used to indicate 'men of religion' in the sense of monks or regular canons, but it was also used to refer to married women, parents and noblemen who were 'pious'; indeed, the term is used in the mid-twelfth-century Foundation of Waltham Abbey to describe a wife. While *pastoralia* were intended to support the development of a cleric's own morality, they may also have played a part in the wider community as a resource to support priests in the instruction of their parishioners, whose education and literacy was also highly variable. Synodal legislation required parish priests to teach the foundations of Christian faith: the Creed, Articles of Faith and the Paternoster. Catechetical books assisted in the instruction of the laity. In the fifteenth-century parochial context, a 'reader' was someone who interacted with a text in a variety of ways, from personal

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Table 3. Contents of London, British Library, Royal 5 A VI

Title/Description	Folios	Scribe
1. Anonymous treatise in Latin on the duties of priests, preceded by a table of the 17 chapters. The first chapter, entitled 'De subtractione victus anime', begins 'Subtractio victus anime est omissio predicationis verbi'. Among the authors quoted is 'Lincolniensis', i.e., Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (d. 1253). fol. 2r	2r–13r	Celston
2. Anonymous and untitled treatise in Latin on Christian duties and the path to salvation. It begins 'Duo sunt necessaria ad salutem' and is similar in style to the first treatise. Among the authors quoted is Richard [Rolle], hermit of Hampole (d. 1343) Colophon, 'Explicit quedam informatio bona, pro Dci dilectoribus breuiter tractata; qui uiam perfectionis libenter arripere uellent, si ueram cognitionem inde haberent' fol. 13v	13v–30r	Celston
3. Short theological treatises and notes: a) The 'Regula sancti Bernardi de modo psallendi et cantandi in ecclesia', which begins 'Venerabilis sanctus Bernardus constituit et precepit', fol. 30v b) A memorandum using hexachordal syllables, beginning 'Notandum quod sex note sunt', fol. 31r c) 'Oratorio apolegitica [*sic*] sancti Ambrosii', beginning 'Si tantum, Domine, reatum nostre delinquentie', fol. 31r d) Bernardus, de dignitate sacerdotum, beginning 'O quantam dignitatem contulit', fol. 31v e) Treatise without title, on the same subject, beginning 'Bartholomeus in suo rosario', fol. 32v	30v–37v	Celston
4. 'Speculum [ecclesie] Sancti Edmundi', by Edmund Rich of Abingdon, beginning 'Videte vocationem vestram', &c.: Verbum hoc precipue competit religiosis', preceded by a table of chapters, beginning 'In nomine Domini, &c., Incipiunt capitula…sive materie', fol. 38r	38r–52r	
5. 'Responsiones Augustini ad consulta Orosii', beginning 'Licet multi doctissimi et probatissimi' (Migne, *Patr. Lat*. xl. 733, among spurious works of St Augustine), fol. 52r	52v–67v	
6. Anonymous and untitled treatise in Latin on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, etc., beginning 'Quod Deus est in essentia'. Some English maxims are inserted on fol. 77v and four lines on the significance of the Paternoster on fol. 78r. Colophon (fol. 77v), 'Explicit bonus libellus', fol. 67r	68v–78r	
7. 'Formula honeste vite' (Rules for an Honest Life) by St Martin, abbot of Dumia and archbishop of Braga (d. 580), adapted from the work of Seneca the Younger. It begins 'Quatuor uirtutum species'. The author's dedicatory epistle is omitted, fol. 78v. On fol. 81v, a later hand has added English translations of Latin sentences, e.g. 'Aliquo pacto effectum reddam, Y woll brynge It abowȝt by hoke or by croke'	78v–81v	Celston
8. Miscellaneous notes, including one entitled 'Peccata Britonum', 'Negligentia prelatorum, rapina potentum, cupiditas iudicum, rabies periuriorum, inordinatus cultus uestimentorum, detestanda luxuria'; also a series of short Latin comments on English proverbial triplets, beginning 'Miȝt is riȝt', fol. 82r Ends with the date 1446 and the inscription 'Iohannes Celston scripsit istud volumen', fol. 84v	82r–84v	Celston

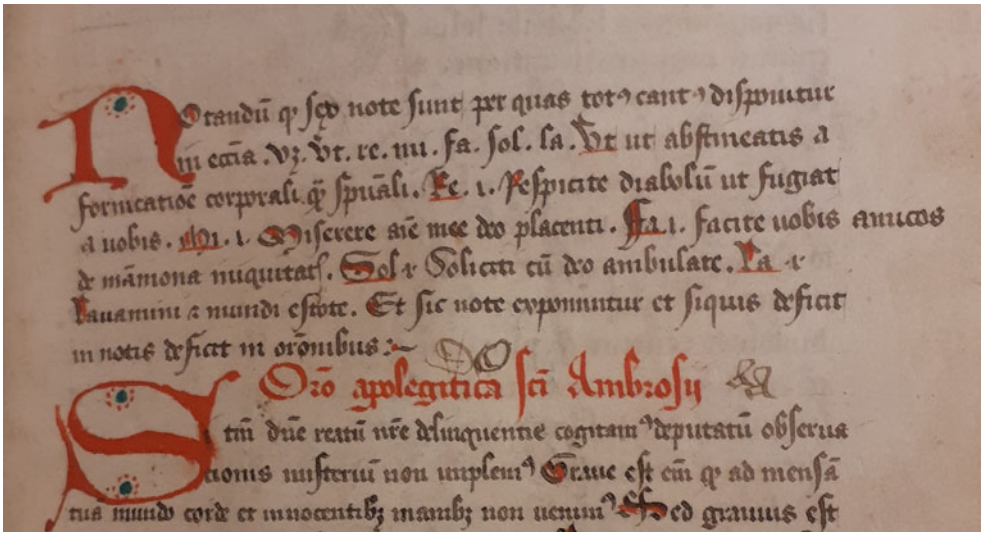


Figure 2. Solmisation memorandum, London, British Library, Royal 5 A VI, fol. 31r. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. (colour online)

to group practices and including both silent and aural reading.[57] As literacy expanded more broadly in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, there was a decisive move to take spiritual writings out of the cloister and into lay environments.[58]

The third section of Royal 5 A VI (fols. 30v–37v) includes the 'Regula sancti Bernardi de modo psallendi et cantandi in ecclesia' (fols. 30v–31r, item 3a in Table 3), a version of a text that derives from St Bernard of Clairvaux's pronouncements on singing in church.[59] Between this text and the 'Oratio apolegitica [*sic*] sancti Ambrosii' (on fol. 31r) Celston included a memorandum, beginning 'Notandum quod sex note sunt' (fol. 31r, item 3b in Table 3; see Figure 2). In the contents on fol. 84v, Celston refers to this hexachordal memorandum as an 'Expositio sex nota[rum] que cantant[ur] in ecc[lesi]a' (Figure 1) and it is indeed an account of the six solmisation syllables of the hexachord used in church singing.

The tradition of using the hexachord as an acrostic or mnemonic device is best known from the poem to St John the Baptist by Paul the Deacon that served as the model song for *Ut queant laxis*, attributed to Guido of Arezzo. The efficacy of the song derived from using the syllables that begin each line – *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la* – to correspond to the hexachord that constituted the main way of teaching the musical gamut.

[57] Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore, MD, and London, 1990); Claire Jones, 'Discourse Communities and Medical Texts', in *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*, ed. Päivi Pahta and Irma Taavitsainen, Studies in English Language 1 (Cambridge, 2004), 23–36.

[58] Vincent Gillespie, '1412–1534: Culture and History', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, ed. Samuel Fanous (Cambridge, 2011), 163–94.

[59] S.J.P. (incorrectly given as S.A. in *Musica Disciplina*) van Dijk, 'Saint Bernard and the "Instituta Patrum" of Saint Gall', *Musica Disciplina*, 2 (1950), 99–109 provides several concordances for this text.

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As these syllables also make use of all five vowels and six different consonants, they could have served multiple pedagogical purposes.

> Ut queant laxis, Resonare fibris, Mira gestorum, Famuli tuorum, Solve polluti, Labii reatum, Sancte Iohannes.
>
> (So that your servants can resound, with unrestrained voices, the miracles of your deeds, [to] absolve the sin of their polluted lips, O Saint John.)

The solmisation syllables of the hexachord are invoked as acrostics elsewhere, presumably because they were well known enough to serve a mnemonic function.[60] In an ecclesiastical and musical environment, they could also be used as meditative prompts.[61] This seems to be the function of the hexachordal memorandum in Royal 5 A VI (fol. 31r):

> Notandum quod sex note sunt per quas tot[us] cant[us] disponitur in ecc[les]ia. V [i]z [i.e., Videlicet] ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la. Ut ut abstineatis [vos] a fornication[n]e corporali qu[am] spi[ritu]ali. Re. i [i = id. est.]. Respicite diabolu[m] ut fugiat a vobis. Mi. i. Miserere a[nima]e meae deo placenti. Fa. i. Facite vobis amicos de ma[m]mona iniquitatis. Sol. i. Soliciti cu[ram] deo ambulate. La. i. Lavamini et mundi estote. Et sic note exponuntur et siquis deficit in notis deficit in or[atio]nibus
>
> (It should be observed that there are six notes by which a whole chant is composed in the church, that is, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la. Ut. To abstain from corporeal and spiritual fornication. Re. Keep watch on the devil so that he flees from you. Mi. Pity my soul being pleasing to God. Fa. Make friends for yourself from the mammon of iniquity. Sol. Diligently walk with God. La. Wash and be clean. The notes are explained in this way and anyone who is faulty in the notes is faulty in his prayers)

Notable in this memorandum is a phrase, 'totus cantus disponitur' (whole chant is composed), found verbatim in the anonymous Metrologus Liber, a theoretical tract rooted in Guidonian teaching that is transmitted in Lansdowne 763 (fol. 62r):[62]

> Sex sunt note vel sillabe. in quibus totus cantus disponitur scilicet Vt. Re. Mi. Fa. Sol. La. Cumque tam paucis notis vel sillabis tota armonia formetur. vtillimum est. alte eas memorie commendare.
>
> (There are six notes or syllables from which all song is composed, namely, ut, re, mi, fa, sol la. Since all harmony is formed from so few notes or syllables, it is most useful to commit them deeply to memory.)

[60] Joseph Smits van Waesberghe identified other texts linked to the ascending hexachord syllables, *tu rex mi fons sol laus*, and another with the series *tri pro de nos te ad*, the latter of which appears in later theorists, such as Theinred of Dover and Ramis de Pareia, in his edition of *Micrologus Guidonis Aretini*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4 (Rome, 1955).

[61] In translating the Latin in the following passages, considerable help was generously provided by Michael Roberts and Ruth DeFord.

[62] TML, https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/ANOMET_MLBLL763.

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Although fragmentary and of broad application, this phrase is not widely found. Its use in the context of memorisation may support the meditative use of the solmisation syllables in Royal 5 A VI. If Celston's source for the phrase was indeed the Metrologus Liber, it is noteworthy that Lansdowne 763 is its sole surviving source.

But Lansdowne 763 was not the source for Celston's memorandum in Royal 5 A VI. Rather, it seems to be based on a part of the treatise *Summa de speculatione musicae* attributed to Walter Odington (*fl.* 1298–1316), the most influential English authority on music theory from the fourteenth century. Walter's *Summa de speculatione musicae* is an encyclopaedic consideration of music theory that remained influential for over a century and a half. The complete treatise survives only in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 410, a manuscript apparently copied *c.*1425 in southern England; fragments survive in several other sources.[63] Logically arranged, Walter's *Summa de speculatione musicae* treats the mathematical basis of speculative music theory as a prerequisite for practical music. Walter drew on standard authorities, including Boethius, Isidore of Seville and Cassiodorus. He also referenced the work of Ibn Sīnā (also known in the West as Avicenna, *c.*970–1037), the twelfth-century English natural philosopher Adelard of Bath and the French music theorist Johannes de Garlandia (*fl. c.*1270–1320). The first four *partes* of the treatise are on speculative music theory (number in itself, number expressed in sound, number expressed in the construction of musical instruments and mathematical relationships expressed in time), while parts five and six address *musica prattica* (plainsong and polyphony).

The hexachordal memorandum in Royal 5 A VI relates to the fourth section of the fifth part of Walter's *Summa*, 'De harmonia simplici, id est de plano cantu' ('On simple harmony or plainsong').[64] This part is a tonary or theoretical guide to plainsong, intended for practising ecclesiastical musicians. Following sections on 'De signis vocum', 'De notis' and 'De clavibus', the fourth section, 'De nominibus vocum quae notis intimantur', describes the hexachordal syllables and their associations.[65] While it is possible that Celston did not draw directly from Walter's teaching but that they shared a common point of origin in another source, the readings in the surviving manuscripts are close enough to imply a direct relationship (see the comparison of both texts, with translations in Table 4).

The recontextualisation of Walter's hexachordal meditation in Celston's memorandum can be understood as an example of Paul Zumthor's notion of *mouvance*, whereby texts were 're-created over and over again as they were adapted to different audiences

[63] The treatise is transcribed in TML at https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/ODISUM_TEXT.html, based on the edition by Frederick Hammond, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 14 (Rome, 1970). A facsimile of the manuscript is now available at https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/wq027ng0617. The treatise is discussed and contextualised in Elina G. Hamilton, 'Walter of Evesham and "De Speculatione Musicae": Authority of Music Theory in Medieval England', *Musica Disciplina*, 58 (2013), 153–66.

[64] Hammond, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, 92–126.

[65] Ibid., 95–9, corresponding to Cambridge 410, fols. 21r–v.

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Table 4. Comparison and translations of Celston's memorandum and an extract from Walter's *De speculatione musicae* (with common citations in bold)

Hexachordal memorandum in BL Royal 5 A VI	Translation	Walter Odington, *Summa de Speculatione*	Translation
Notandum quod sex note sunt per quas tot[us] cant [us] disponitur in ecc[les] ia.	It should be observed that there are six notes by which a whole chant is composed in the church, that is, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la.	Important etiam nobis praedictae syllabae spiritualem quandam admonitionem, scilicet ut mens psallentis deo laudes concordet voci.	The above-mentioned syllables convey to us a spiritual message, that is, that the mind of someone singing praise to God should be in harmony with his voice.
V[i]z [i.e., Videlicet] ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la.		Prima, scilicet Ut, abstinentiam a malo importat qualem est illud,	The first note, that is Ut, conveys abstinence from evil as in, **to abstain from any kind of fornication, i.e., from carnal, spiritual, general, or special.**
Ut ut abstineatis [vos] a fornication[n]e corporali qu[am] spi[ritu]ali.	Ut. **To abstain from corporeal and spiritual fornication.**	**Ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione qualicumque, scilicet carnali, spirituali, generali, et speciali** [Thess I, 4.3].[a]	
Re. i. [id. est.] **Respicite diabolu[m] ut fugiat a vobis.**	Re. **Keep watch on the devil so that he flees from you.**	Secunda, scilicet Re, principalem discussionem unde illud Isaiae, Redite prevaricatores ad cor vel fortitudinem in bono. Illud Iacobi, **Resistite diabolo et fugiet a vobis** [James 4:7].[b]	The second, that is Re, conveys an important self-examination, about which there is that text of Isaiah, 'Return, sinners, to your heart' or to your resolution in goodness. Also that of James, '**Resist the devil and he will flee from you'.**
Mi. i. **Miserere a[nima]e meae deo placenti**.	Mi. **Pity my soul being pleasing to God.**	Tertia, scilicet Mi, misericordiam insinuat in affectum quale est illud, **Miserere animae tuae placens Deo** [Ecclus. 30:24].[c]	The third, that is Mi, conveys pity in emotion, as in, **pity your soul, being pleasing to God.**
Fa. i. **Facite vobis amicos de ma[m]mona iniquitatis.**	Fa. **Make friends for yourself from the mammon of iniquity.**	Quarta, scilicet Fa, misericordiam in effectum, unde illud, **Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis** [Luke 16:9],[d] id est de divitiis minus iuste adquisitis.	The fourth, that is Fa, pity in action, as in **Make friends for yourself from the mammon of iniquity**, that is, unjustly acquired wealth.
Sol. i. **Soliciti cu[ram] deo ambulate.**	Sol. **Diligently walk with God.**	Quinta, scilicet Sol, sollicitudinem perficiendi, unde illud, **Sollicitus ambula coram Deo tuo** [Micah 6:8].[e]	The fifth, that is Sol, diligence in achieving, as in, **Walk with diligence before God.**

(*Continued*)

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Table 4. Continued.

Hexachordal memorandum in BL Royal 5 A VI	Translation	Walter Odington, *Summa de Speculatione*	Translation
La. i. **Lavamini et mundi estote.** Et sic note exponuntur et siquis deficit in notis deficit in or[atio]nibus	La. **Wash and be clean.** The notes are explained in this way and anyone who is faulty in the notes is faulty in his prayers	Sexta, scilicet La, propositum perseverandi exhortatur, unde illud, **Lavamini, mundi estote** [Isaiah I:16].[f] Lavamini in baptismo et paenitentia mundi estote, id est perseverate in munditia eritque, ut reor, tantae concordiae laus Deo speciosa.	The sixth, that is La, exhorts to a resolution to be persistent, as in, **Wash, be clean.** Wash in baptism and be clean by penitence, that is, persist in cleanliness and, as I believe, [singing] praise with such harmony will be beautiful before God

[a]Thessalonicenses I, 4.3, 'Hæc est enim voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra : ut abstineatis vos a fornication'. This passage also related to Acts 15:29, 'ut abstineatis vos ab immolatis simulacrorum, et sanguine, et suffocato, et fornication'. This and following citations are from *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. Clementine Vulgate Project, http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/index.html.
[b]James 4:7, 'Subditi ergo estote Deo, resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a vobis'.
[c]Ecclesiasticus 30:24, 'Miserere animæ tuæ placens Deo'.
[d]Luke 16:9, 'Et ego vobis dico: facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis'.
[e]Micah 6:8, 'et sollicitum ambulare cum Deo tuo'.
[f]Isaiah I:16, 'Lavamini, mundi estote'.

at different periods'.[66] Walter begins his passage by asserting that the six solmisation syllables convey a spiritual message, treating the syllables as memory aids to offer readers music theory with an added spiritual dimension. The focus in Celston's memorandum is on the pedagogical history of the Guidonian solmisation syllables for the composition of chant. Whereas Walter's 'hexachordal contemplation' makes the theological context explicit by identifying each biblical quotation linked to hexachordal notes, Celston's more concise rendition draws on the same biblical knowledge but omits the explicit biblical references (e.g., 'illud Isaiae … illud Iacobi') included in Walter's *Summa*. Celston's direct pairing of the hexachordal syllables with the biblical quotes reframes spiritual associations into an elementary music-pedagogical context.

Celston's memorandum represents a simpler, abbreviated version of the hexachordal meditation in Walter's *Summa*. For Celston, music theory was still contemplative, but the function of the spiritual aphorisms is less overtly exegetical and more pedagogical. Thirteenth-century theorists such as Lambertus, the St Emmemeram Anonymous, Franco of Cologne and Anonymous IV linked musical examples to empirical reasoning. Walter does the reverse, recontextualising the gamut back into the spiritual domain. While Celston retains Walter's biblical references, his use of the mnemonic for the elementary instruction of music theory may reflect a context that was at least partly oral/aural. Although both authors cite the same biblical sources, there are further discrepancies that highlight the differences between their respective audiences. For example, Walter's meditation on 'Mi' conveys pity for 'your soul' whereas Celston's aphorism is in the first person, 'pity my soul being pleasing to God', which connects to the personal nature of *pastoralia*.

The inclusion of the hexachordal memorandum in Celston's pastoral manual attests to his knowledge of music theory; such knowledge was usual for those educated in medieval religious institutions. The fact that Celston copied the 'Regula sancti Bernardi de modo psallendi et cantandi in ecclesia' into Royal 5 A VI (item 3a in Table 3) suggests that he may have himself been responsible for the instruction of chant. Like the *Speculum cantancium sive psallencium* in Lansdowne 763 (fols. 59r–60v), based on the chant formulae of St Gregory, Augustine and Bernard, the tract in Royal 5 A VI offers Patristic authority as guidance for the correct performance of plainchant.

Other texts in Royal 5 A VI shed further light on the intended use of this manuscript. Its version of Edmund Rich of Abingdon's *Speculum* (item 4 in Table 3) was the one that Helen P. Forshaw called the *Speculum ecclesie*, which re-inscribed into Latin the popular Anglo-Norman translation, *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*.[67] This version

[66] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale* (Paris, 1972), Ch. 2; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor and Ruth Evans, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520* (University Park, PA, 1999), 110.

[67] Helen P. Forshaw, 'New Light on the *Speculum Ecclesie* of St. Edmund of Abingdon', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 38 (1971), 7–33, and eadem, 'St. Edmund's *Speculum*: A Classic of Victorine Spirituality', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 39 (1972), 7–40.

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is distinct from the earlier Latin version of Edmund's *Speculum*, which Forshaw called the *Speculum religiosorum*.[68] Edmund Rich of Abingdon, educated in Paris (*c.*1196–1202) and at Oxford (*c.*1214–22), was a secular canon, cathedral treasurer and preacher at Salisbury (*c.*1222–33), then archbishop of Canterbury (1233–40) and finally attached to the Cistercian house of Pontigny, where he was buried.[69] In Royal 5 A VI, the first eight chapters of Edmund's *Speculum* are taken from the *Speculum religiosorum*, and the rest from the later recension, the *Speculum ecclesie*.[70] Thus, Edmund's *Speculum* provides another instance of *mouvance*, and Forshaw's titles make explicit the relocation in the transmission of this text out of the monastic environment.[71] Nicholas Watson has argued that Edmund's audience, from the outset, was mixed religious, secular and lay. Proposing that the *Speculum* originated in the decade Edmund spent at Salisbury, the 1220s, Watson suggests it was intended for the cathedral's secular (but Latinate) canons.[72] The *Speculum*'s contemplative theology is Augustinian, drawing on Hugh of St Victor's *De arca morali* and *De arrha animae*.[73] If its goal was to make contemplative theology accessible through the tabulation of the ethical priorities that govern religious life, this would have made the work particularly relevant to pastoral orders such as the Augustinians. The work integrates Victorine contemplative thought with contemporary pastoral theology, which exhibited a secular emphasis on ethics, action and belief.[74] As Watson observed, the *Speculum* provided a 'meta-rule', to help shape the lives of readers living under a variety of rules.[75]

It seems likely that Celston was a clergyman, and the choice of several entries in Royal 5 A VI suggests that he may have been connected to the Augustinian Order. Lansdowne 763 originated in the Augustinian monastery of Waltham Abbey. John Wylde's ascription of the proportion treatise in this manuscript to 'Chilston' indicates that this writer was known in Augustinian circles. Like Celston, Chilston was familiar with Walter's *Summa de speculatione musicae*, drawing on the second part, a Boethian discussion of proportionality, to construct his Middle English version of these theories.[76]

[68] Nicholas Watson labels Forshaw's *Speculum religiosorum* L1 and her *Speculum ecclesie* L2, in 'The Original Audience and Institutional Setting of Edmund Rich's *Mirror of Holy Church*: The Case for the Salisbury Canons', in *Medieval and Early Modern Religious Cultures: Essays Honouring Vincent Gillespie on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Laura Ashe and Ralph Hanna (Cambridge, 2019), 21–42, at 23.

[69] Ibid., 21–2.

[70] Cate Gunn, 'Reading Edmund of Abingdon's Speculum as Pastoral Literature', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge, 2009), 100–14.

[71] Watson, 'The Original Audience', 24–5.

[72] This overturns the provenance, and date, suggested by C.H. Lawrence – that Edmund wrote the *Speculum* during the year he spent with the Augustinian canons at Merton, in 1213–14; see C.H. Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study of Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960), 230–2.

[73] Nicholas Watson, 'Middle English Versions and Audiences of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum Religiosorum*', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge, 2009), 115–31, at 117.

[74] Ibid., 120.

[75] Ibid., 121.

[76] The second part of Walter's treatise is transcribed in Hammond, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, 60–77.

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Assessing the implications of a shared identity

Catechetical materials associated with the laity were concerned with vernacular theology, following the belief that most religious instruction was for the benefit of those seeking salvation in the world, not in cloisters. Compilation texts often contain fragments of other kinds of knowledge – poetic meters, alphabetic cyphers for notation, and modality in plainchant. This may be the context for the inclusion of the hexachordal memorandum in Royal 5 A VI. It could have been intended for educated Latinate readers outside of religious communities. The scholastic element of Royal 5 A VI is reinforced by its inclusion of texts by writers who were themselves known to have received a broad education. Following his studies at the universities of Paris and Oxford before ordination, Edmund of Abingdon spent several years lecturing on mathematics and dialectics, helping to introduce the study of Aristotle to these two institutions. Similar breadth is found among Royal 5 A VI's other authors. Notably, the encyclopaedist and scholastic Bartholomaeus Anglicus studied with Robert Grosseteste at Oxford, before going to Paris; his *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (*On the Properties of Things*) was widely read in fifteenth-century England, following the pioneering translation by John Trevisa in 1398.[77] Celston also copied the *Formula honestae vitae* by the sixth-century Martin of Braga into Royal 5 A VI (item 7 in Table 3), a text based on a lost work of Seneca that helped ensure Seneca's high standing in later centuries. Seneca's pointed comments were especially well suited to inclusion in pastoral manuals.

The scholarly practice of adapting, reshaping and translating earlier learning characterises both the English translation of a proportion treatise, attributed to Chilston and included in Lansdowne 763, and Celston's inclusion of the hexachordal memorandum in Royal 5 A VI. That Chilston was catering to an audience who did not have advanced learning goes beyond his use of Middle English: his proportion treatise excludes the speculative elements of Boethius's *De institutione musica*. The tract names and describes ratios and proportions in a way that is consistent with Pythagorean harmonic theory, but it does not include the Neoplatonic speculative elements. In this sense, it vulgarises this vernacular version of Boethian music theory.[78]

Although far from conclusive, the circumstantial evidence supports the identification of Celston with Chilston. It makes sense to continue to call him Chilston, as this is the version of his name in Lansdowne 763. His role in compiling a pastoral manual supports Chilston's likely vocation, and – crucially – provides 1446 as a date for at least some of his scribal activities.[79] In terms of his whereabouts, the treatise offers some hints. The three versions of Chilston's proportion treatise were probably copied from a common source, or within the same geographical area (see Figure 3). All are in a

[77] John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Critical Text*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975–1988).
[78] Callaghan describes this as 'vernacular vulgate *musica speculativa*' in 'Exploring Circulation', 73.
[79] If Chilston was active in 1446, as the attribution in Royal 5 A VI suggests, this could call into question Bühler's early dating of Morgan B.12, to *c.*1425.

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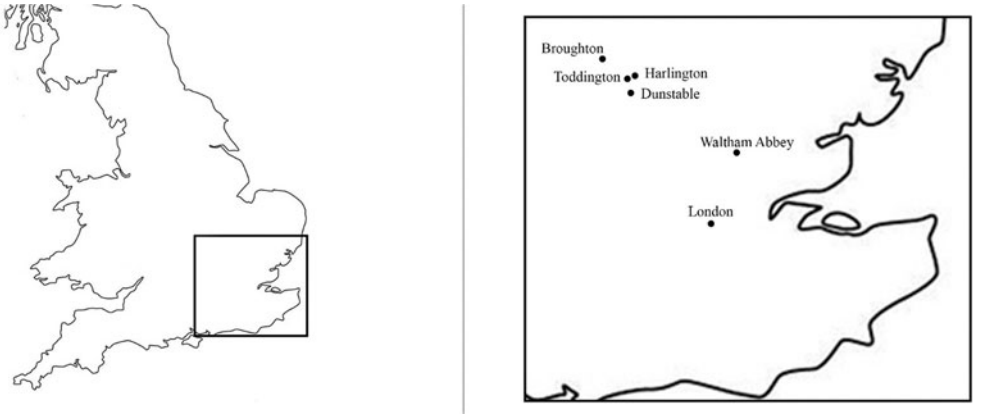


Figure 3. Map showing the circulation of manuscripts containing Chilston's treatise.

south-central East Midlands form of Middle English.[80] This suggests that Chilston was active in the area of the East Midlands between Broughton and Waltham Abbey in Essex.

Waltham Abbey was one of the most important Augustinian houses in England, the wealthiest religious house in Essex, and the last to be closed in the dissolution of monasteries (in 1540).[81] Situated in the Epping Forest district of Essex (now the outskirts of north-east London), Waltham Abbey is around 35 miles from Dunstable Priory, another important Augustinian centre. Chilston's proportion treatise could easily have travelled between the religious communities in this area.

The prior and convent of Dunstable presented John Benet, the compiler of TCD 516, as the resident vicar to Harlington (in present-day Bedfordshire), an appropriated parish.[82] Benet is likely to have maintained close contact with Dunstable Priory – a house with a considerable income, likely to have been rich in books.[83] Augustinian houses allowed parochial clergy to borrow from their libraries.[84] Thus, Benet could have acquired some of the exemplars in his miscellany (TCD 516) from Dunstable. Vernacular books in clerical environments generally served an instructional purpose. Chilston's proportion treatise was evidently among the vernacular texts that circulated in certain religious communities. Had Dunstable Priory wished to make a copy of this

[80] John Scattergood, email to Callaghan, 18 February 2019. For a map showing the five main dialect areas in Medieval England see Christopher Given-Wilson, *An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 1996), 128–9. For more on Middle English dialects, see James Milroy, 'Middle English Dialectology', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language: 1066–1476*, ed. Norman Blake, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1992), 2: 156–206.

[81] Rosalind Ransford, ed., *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230* (Woodbridge, 1989).

[82] Scattergood, 'A Clerical Historian's Personal Miscellany', 121.

[83] Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson, eds., *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998).

[84] Peter Lucas, 'Borrowing and Reference: Access to Libraries in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 2006), 1: 242–62, at 245.

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translation of a text on speculative music theory – a reasonable proposition for a significant Augustinian house – the version in Waltham Abbey (now Lansdowne 763) could have been their source.

Broader implications

By the fifteenth century, monastic houses possessed extensive collections of books, with subject matters extending far beyond the study of the religious rule and the rituals of daily services.[85] The best students received training in theology or canon law, and larger houses were encouraged to send a quota of members to universities after sufficient education within their own cloister schools.[86] The education offered in some abbeys included the seven liberal arts. Music could have been studied as a quadrivial subject by monks and canons, but the instruction of novices usually focused on the acquisition of the practical skills necessary for the liturgy more than on speculative music theory.[87]

Given Wylde's position as precentor and preceptor at Waltham Abbey, it is possible that he was involved in providing instruction in music. The inclusion in Lansdowne 763 of texts specifically concerned with unchanged (unbroken) treble voices and the application of the gamut to young hands suggests that Wylde may have worked with boys. Immediately before Leonel Power's treatise on the performance of discant by treble voices, Lansdowne 763 includes Thomas of Walsingham's *Regulae de figuris compositis et non compositis* (fols. 98v–105r), also intended for the use of boys and younger monks ('juvenilibus').[88]

Pedagogical breadth is evident in Lansdowne 763's inclusion of a brief theoretical treatise on the relationship between planets and modes or notes of the Gamut, *De octo tonis* (fols. 52r–v), and a speculative *tractatulus* on musical proportions and (heraldic) colours, *Distinccio inter colores musicales et armorum heroum* (fols. 88v–89r), in which musical colours are listed in ascending order of nobility.[89] A compilation within the compilation, *De origine et effectu Musice* (fols. 55v–59r) covers acoustics, chant and mensural music, borrowing heavily from the *Quatuor principalia musicae*.[90] In a series of glosses on several concepts in that treatise, Wylde indicates significant familiarity with earlier English music theory.[91] He may even have authored the 'Musica manualis

[85] Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, 2006), 273.
[86] Ibid., 270.
[87] Susan Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London and New York, 2000), 7–20, at 13.
[88] Sylvia Federico, *The Classicist Writings of Thomas Walsingham: 'Worldly Cares' at St Albans Abbey in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2016), 176–7. Walsingham's treatise is edited in Johannes Hothby, *Opera omnia de musica mensurabili*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 31 (Neuhausen, 1983), 74–98.
[89] Ronald Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory* (Oxford, 1993), 70.
[90] Gilbert Reaney, 'The Anonymous Treatise "*De Origine et Effectu Musicae*", an Early 15th Century Commonplace Book of Music Theory', *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), 101–19.
[91] Luminita Florea Aluas, 'The "Quatuor Principalia Musicae": A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Commentary', Ph.D. diss., Indiana University (1996), 180 and 184.

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cum Tonali' that appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 77, an early fifteenth-century English manuscript noted for its commentary on Boethius's *De musica*.[92]

The late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries witnessed a widespread vernacularisation and vulgarisation of scholarly texts, with the goal of making Latin academic discourse more accessible. Chilston's proportion treatise brought Boethian music theory to late medieval vernacular readers in England. Chilston retained Latin terminology alongside English explanations, to augment the translation. This provides evidence of an intended pedagogical role.

The Middle English treatise currently assigned to Pseudo-Chilston in Lansdowne 763 (fols. 113v–16v, see Table 1), which covers 'the sight of descant…the sight of countir, and for the syght of the countirtenor and of ffaburdon',[93] is the earliest surviving explanation of *faburden*.[94] The term is found in documents of indenture for English choirmasters from 1430 up to the Reformation, attesting to widespread use of the technique by professional choirs as well as by monks and canons in closed choirs.[95] In 1431, Richard Cliffe, a vicar in the parish church at Hemingbrough, Yorkshire, wrote recommending the appointment of a priest (William Watkinson) then serving at the secular cathedral of Lichfield, Staffordshire; the criteria for appointment included the ability to read and sing plainchant and 'to synge a tribull til [to] faburdun'.[96] The technique was evidently known in the Midlands and seems likely to have grown out of English discant practices. The flexibility allowed by the treatise – 'a man that hathe a low voyce may syng a countertenor in-stede of a mene, ffor whan the tenor is hye the countertenor may be low, and whan the tenor is low than the countertenor may be the mene'[97] – would have supported the use of *faburden* in environments of mixed voices.

The inclusion of musical-pedagogical texts in Lansdowne 763, Morgan B.12 and TCD 516 is echoed in Royal 5 A VI. Chilston's involvement in all of these texts provides a broader context for the dissemination of music pedagogy. This change in understanding Chilston's potential role as a pedagogue could lead to reconsidering his potential authorship of Pseudo-Chilston. Roger Bowers has argued that those in charge of singing boys would have offered instruction in other aspects of music, which could have included the principles of improvised discant.[98] It is possible that

[92] Matthias Hochadel edited Bodley 77 in *Commentum Oxoniense in musicam Boethii: Eine Quelle zur Musiktheorie an der spätmittelalterlichen Universität*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission, 16 (Munich, 2002), reproduced in TML, https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/ANOOXO_TEXT.html.

[93] Meech, 'Three Musical Treatises in English', 258.

[94] Brian Trowell, 'Faburden and Fauxbourdon', *Musica Disciplina*, 13 (1959), 43–78. For more recent discussion of this topic, see chapter 6, 'Fauxbourdon' of David Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413–1440* (London, 2018), 43–51.

[95] Roger Bowers, 'Choral Institutions within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development, 1340–1500', Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia (1975).

[96] Trowell, 'Faburden', 71.

[97] TME, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/15th/HEREFOL2_TEXT.html.

[98] Roger Bowers, 'The Almonry Schools of the English Monasteries, c.1265–1540', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 6, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford, 1999), 177–222, at 210.

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the Middle English texts in Lansdowne 763 would have assisted these readers. As the philosophical concepts of Boethius's text are omitted in the version of Chilston's treatise in Lansdowne 763, this reinforces the possibility that it was included to further practical goals.

Outside of religious institutions, the growth of literacy in late medieval England, and the emergence of English-reading audiences for technical texts, spurred the production of vernacular texts on a range of topics. This in turn led to a further rise in the number of readers of vernacular texts. These interconnected developments are explained by the French literary critic Pierre Macherey's principle that the construction of new readers and new types of reading materials are both manifestations of the same social process.[99] According to Macherey's theory of literary production, 'readers are made by what makes the book', and 'the conditions that determine the production of the book also determine the forms of its communication'.[100] Chilston's treatise may have facilitated the conveyance of music theory to new kinds of readers, as suggested by its inclusion in the quadrivial Morgan B.12. Although the vernacular presentation of Boethian theories broadened the reach of *musica speculativa*, English translations did not prevent its Latin transmission. This may have been because university statutes required English students to continue to read the Latin *De institutione musica* throughout the fifteenth century.[101]

It is almost a hundred years since Pulver dismissed Flood's suggested identification of Celston with Chilston:

> Personally, I see no more reason for connecting the Chilston we know with the writer of Royal MS. 5. A.vi. than for denying their identity. The date of the last-named manuscript is 1446, and it is thus close enough to John Wylde's transcript to give Dr. Flood reason for suspecting identity. […] But suspicion, although a good ingredient in the research worker, is a bad foundation for history.[102]

Pulver is certainly right that history cannot rely on suspicion alone. But the variability of spelling in the fifteenth century, the similarity of purpose and function of religious tracts that rely on Boethian music theory, and the likelihood that Royal 5 A VI was copied and used in a similar religious community to Lansdowne 763, during the same decades, constitutes more than suspicion. The confluence of circumstantial evidence may not definitively connect Celston to Chilston, but Flood's claim no longer seems 'dubious'. Furthermore, the consequence of the possible identification allows the separation of Pseudo-Chilston from Chilston to be called into question. Although Chilston's proportion treatise seemed to address a different kind of reader from the discant treatise currently assigned to Pseudo-Chilston, the pedagogical angle of Celston's memorandum could provide evidence of an overlap and shared authorship. Although seemingly opposed – a practical treatise followed by a

[99] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, ed. Geoffrey Wall (London, 1978).
[100] Ibid., 70.
[101] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK, 1958), 77 and 90.
[102] Pulver, 'Who Was Chilston?', 1026.

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speculative theoretical one – the pedagogical nature of Celston's memorandum in Royal 5 A VI highlights the implicit pedagogical function of both Chilston's and Pseudo-Chilston's treatises in Lansdowne 763. Writers and readers in the fifteenth century did not always separate speculative from practical music theory. Focusing on the larger cultural context rather than the apparent differences between these texts allows us to acknowledge the possibility that one figure – Chilston/Celston/Pseudo-Chilston – was responsible for various pioneering efforts to broaden the reach of music theory in the fifteenth century.

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