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THE RHYMED OFFICE FOR ST THOMAS OF LANCASTER: POETRY, POLITICS AND LITURGY IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

By CHRISTOPHER PAGE

The kings and magnates of medieval England knew how to exploit - and how to suppress - the influences of topical songs, and many medieval English chronicles contain scraps of verse that quicken as we read the violent narratives that enfold them. Yet hardly any topical poetry - either within the chronicles or elsewhere - is preserved with the music that may often have added its own quality of wit to satire and of zest to eulogy.¹ Some of the surviving verse must have been sung; Langtoft relates that one of the English topical rhymes embedded in his *Chronicle* was *chaunté* by the Scots; two poems on the death of Piers Gaveston in a fifteenth century manuscript at Cambridge are contrafacta of hymns by Fortunatus whose melodies they are presumably intended to share.² Yet this is a small body of material with which to explore the kind of questions we wish to ask: how were the associations of pre-existent melodies harnessed to new political causes? How complex was the meaning that such songs could generate? What kinds of subject matter attracted this form of creation? What techniques can we use to recover tunes for poems preserved without music? We need more material to investigate these issues and fortunately more is now at hand: an office for "St" Thomas of Lancaster (d 1322) in British Library MS Royal 12 C. xii.³ The poems of this office are preserved without music (see plate 1) but the melodies can be recovered in all save two cases; the search reveals how a poet (or poets, the distinction matters little here) exploited the liturgy for a purpose in which propaganda and hagiography were inextricably mixed, turning old melodies saturated with liturgical meaning to the service of a controversial new cult.

One of the most dramatic events in the devotional life of medieval England took place on 22 March, 1322, when Thomas earl of Lancaster was led from his own hall at Pontefract and beheaded for his part in the armed baronial opposition to Edward II:⁴

Do sette þai oppon his heued in scorn an olde chapelet,
al-to rent and torn, þat was nouȝt worþ an halpeny;
and after þai sette him oppon a lene white palfray,
ful vnsemeliche and ek al bare, wiþ an olde bridel;
and wiþ an horrible noyse þai drow him out of þe
castel toward his dep, and caste on him meny balles of
snowe . . . anone a ribaude went to him, and smote of his
heuede . . . Allas þat euer soche a gentil blode shulde
ben don to dep with-outen cause and resoun!

The execution was possibly illegal; it was definitely a mistake.⁵ Edward consented that Thomas should be buried by the monks of St John's priory at Pontefract and almost immediately a cult developed centering upon the tomb near the main altar.⁶ This devotion certainly had a political element - prayer and pilgrimage masked protest - yet the emblematising drive of medieval devotion to the saints must soon have turned the Thomas of 1322 into an image, eroding the pragmatism of the cult.⁷ Many pilgrims may have recognised that Thomas's claim to sainthood lay as much in his kin as in his conduct; it was royal blood that was spilled at Pontefract: *Vas regale trucidatur*, says Thomas' Office, *regni pro remedio*, and royalty enjoyed a privileged relationship with the king of Heaven.⁸ On Earth, nobility of blood allied to greatness of station and honour were a "grand spur to love amongst the laity" as the author of the *Vita Beati Thome Comitis Lancastrie* affirms.⁹ The pilgrims flocked to Pontefract and news of the cult was carried to Edward at the York parliament of 1322; his investigators found "the whole country" testifying to the miracles according to one pro-Lancastrian continuator of the *Brut Chronicle*.¹⁰ Edward commanded the priory doors to be closed but the cult broke out at St Paul's in London where there was a plaque which Lancaster had put up to commemorate Edward's affirmation of the Ordinances.¹¹ Miraculous cures were effected in the building and on 28 June, 1323, Edward wrote to bishop Stephen of London about this "certain plaque . . . on which there are likenesses, images or diverse pictures including, amongst others, a figure of Thomas, formerly earl of Lancaster", emphasising that the miracles were a "diabolic deception" and the cult *absque auctoritate ecclesie Romane*.¹² He had the plaque removed but we do not need the testimony of the *Cronique de London* to surmise that this did little to weaken Lancaster's hold over the people's minds.¹³ It seems that many other commemorative objects existed in private hands - plaques showing scenes from his life, bowls engraved with his image - that Edward could not suppress and the moment he fell there ceased to be anything subversive about them. The official status of Thomas's cult changed at once. A matter of days after Edward's deposition Henry of Lancaster wrote to the Archbishop of York, William Melton, seeking the establishment of a commission to investigate Thomas's miracles; Melton duly wrote to the Holy See testifying to the importance he attached to the question.¹⁴

Thomas's cult inspired poetry as well as piety; no doubt poets with Lancastrian sympathies were quick to see the potential of events at Pontefract and London. The remains of what must have been a large quantity of Latin verse in Thomas's honour are scattered here and there, some of it unpublished like the following stanzas - a fragment, perhaps, from a liturgical Office:¹⁵

Thomas de Lancastria comes commendatus,
 Miles ex malicia morti iudicatus,
 I[u]stus pro iusticia fuit decollatus,
 F[u]it mors mesticia cuncti comitatus.

Ab etate tenera devotus degebat,
 Pietatis viscera pauperi pandebat,
 Miserorum misera pondera pollebat,
 Vir verax, vera, varia virtute verebat.

The most extensive series of poems in Lancaster's praise appears in a manuscript dating from the first half of the fourteenth century: British Library MS Royal 12 C. xii. The legends which accompany three of the poems - *Antiphona*, *Prosa* and *Sequentia* - suggest that we are dealing with texts intended for liturgical use. There are no melodies but the poems encode a secret: the incipits refer the singer to chants he already knows.

The poem *Pange lingua gloriosi comitis martirium* (Appendix 5) provides a clear example. The incipit points us to Fortunatus's famous hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* for Easter; we think at once - as we are surely intended to do - of Lancaster's execution in the liturgical time of *Quadragesima, ante Passionem*.¹⁶ Fortunatus's hymn celebrates Christ's battle with his adversary, the Devil, and thus the liturgical associations of the melody nourish the hagiographer's effort. He makes much of his model poem, copying not only the syllable-count and verse-form but also internal pieces of text which he either borrows or echoes:¹⁷

FORTUNATUS

<i>Pange lingua gloriosi / comitis . . .</i>	<i>Pange lingua gloriosi proelium</i>
<i>De parentis utriusque . . .</i>	<i>De parentis protoplasti</i>
<i>Dux fidelis suum gregem . . .</i>	<i>Crux fidelis inter omnes</i>

These relationships are clearly not accidental. The metrical and formal identity, graced by verbal affinity then carried to a sub-verbal level of perception - and persuasion - by the melody, establishes an implicit comparison between Thomas and Christ (at one point the author is almost explicit: Lancaster becomes a "victor on the third day in line 11).¹⁸ The aim of the poem is to glorify and emblematised Thomas in a way that is endorsed by historical reference; he becomes an image of the "pious earl" and the "royal flower of knights" amongst the characters and scenes of his earthly drama. The framework is almost chronological, each stanza embodying a critical moment in a static grasp that resists narrative. The real world is close at hand; the name of Lancaster's betrayer, pointed by the musical logic, lingers between stanzas:

.
 dum dolose defraudatur
 per sudam Hoylandie. (Appendix 5, stanza 5)

The search for more "liturgical meaning" in Lancaster's Office is rewarded. *Copiose caritatis* (Appendix 7) proves to be a contrafactum of an antiphon for St Nicholas, while *Sospitati dat egrotos* (Appendix 3) is based upon a *prosa* for the same saint interpolated into the ninth respond at Matins.¹⁹ This poem attempts a systematic exploitation of its model:²⁰

Nicholas *Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio*
 Thomas *Sospitati dat egrotos precum Thome fusio*

Nicholas *Nicholaus naufragantum affuit presidio*
 Thomas *Comes pius mox languentum adest in presidio*

There are several reasons why our poet should have wanted to link Thomas with St Nicholas. The celebration of miraculous healing *ex eius tumba* forms an important element in the liturgy for Nicholas and few personal names were more appropriate to Thomas than that of this saint; John Myrk interprets it as "praysyng of þe pepull" and there are related etymologies in the *Legenda Aurea*, including *victor populi*.²¹

So far we have seen our poet at work with well-known materials but the solution to two further puzzles - the music of *Summum regem honoremus* (Appendix 4) and *O iam Christi pietas* (Appendix 6) reveals him at work with more recondite sources that throw much light on Lancaster's office and the circumstances in which it was composed. The answer suggested itself to me when I noticed the following stanza in a sequence contained in University College Oxford MS 78a, a missal according to the use of Hereford:²²

O miranda sanctitas
 per quam [Christi] pietas
 sic mundo profecit;
 nam mutus et cecitas,
 gutta, claudus, surditas
 et gibbus defecit.

Lancaster's poem begins:

O iam Christi pietas
 atque Thome caritas
 palam elucessit.
 Heu! nunc languet equitas
 viget et impietas,
 veritas vilessit.

The schemes of metre and rhyme are the same (this is a close relative of the Middle English tail-rhyme stanza) and the rhymes are identical. There is the shared clause *Christi pietas* (where *Christi* can be confidently restored to the imperfect text of the first poem on the authority of a reading in an early-sixteenth century printed Hereford Breviary).²³ If this stanza was the model for our poem then its subject matter is exactly what is required for it relates the miracles of St Thomas of Hereford.

Important details now fall into place. It is established that the scribe who copied our Office was the main scribe of the celebrated miscellany, British Library MS Harley 2253; he appears to have been active in Ludlow.²⁴ A little searching with this provenance in mind reveals that the poem for Lancaster entitled *Summum regem honoremus* (Appendix 4) is a contrafactum of *Summi regis in honore*, a sequence which exists (with varying content but with the same incipit and form) in three versions: one for St Thomas of Hereford, one for St

Ethelbert of Hereford and one for the Virgin (to whom, together with St Ethelbert, Hereford cathedral is jointly dedicated).²⁵ When clerics familiar with the use of Hereford sang Lancaster's piece a wealth of liturgical meaning would be released and channelled into the new cult; Thomas would be implicitly compared with St Ethelbert, a martyr of royal blood said to have been murdered by a king - the parallels would assuredly not be seen as accidental; he would also be assimilated to his namesake, Thomas of Hereford, canonised in 1320 or only two years before Lancaster's execution. Thomas of Hereford had been Simon de Montfort's chancellor - a fact hardly likely to be forgotten at a time when Lancaster was apt to be compared with Simon.²⁶ Yet there may be a closer link between the two men. The anonymous author of the *Vita Beati Thome Comititis Lancastrie* relates that it was Thomas of Hereford who baptised Lancaster; he even claims that the bishop made a prophetic speech during the ceremony about Lancaster's destiny, capitalising upon the traditional symbolic relationship between baptiser and baptised by claiming Lancaster as his *filius spiritualis*.²⁷ We cannot assess the truth of these stories as no other source deals with Lancaster's youth;²⁸ perhaps it was fabricated by a pro-Lancastrian author who, like the compiler of our office, wished to establish and then to exploit a link between Lancaster and the renowned bishop of Hereford only recently canonised.

Where might this have happened? The evidence points strongly to the diocese of Hereford. The three sequences beginning *Summi regis in honore* do not appear, as far as I am aware, outside of books conforming to the use of Hereford. Certainly our copy of Lancaster's office, which exploits these sequences, seems to come from the Herefordshire-Shropshire area. It was doubtless copied by someone who recognised the peculiarly localised liturgical meaning it was trying to exploit. There were numerous clerics in the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester pursued after 1322 for their pro-baronial sympathies;²⁹ our poet could well have been such a man, perhaps one wishing to make an impression on Adam of Orleton, bishop of Hereford until 1327, whose household was not without a pro-baronial element and who, arraigned in 1324 for not following the king north in the campaign which led to Lancaster's death, conceived an *inexorabile odium contra regem et eius amicos* according to the chronicler le Baker.³⁰

How were these pieces used? We do not know for certain that they were ever performed liturgically - or, indeed, that they were ever performed at all. It was quite in order for poets to write Offices for "saints" before they were officially canonised but it does not follow that it was always permissible to sing them.³¹ Yet we do possess a fifteenth century polyphonic setting of a text in honour of Thomas and it must seem unlikely that such a piece would have been composed without the prospect of a performance.³² As far as the years after Edward's deposition are concerned liturgical performance remains a possibility for our office. But it is also possible that they were intended for use as political songs. We remember that two Latin poems on the death of Gaveston survive (one praises Thomas in its first line) which are contrafacta of hymns by Fortunatus including *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis*;

these topical poems were certainly not intended for liturgical use. The idea of hymn-melodies torn from their liturgical setting and set adrift in a world of domestic and public performance need not surprise us; John Stevens pointed out long ago that some plainsong hymns had currency as popular songs in later-medieval England.³³

We have some evidence that Lancaster's downfall caused a stir amongst singers. In 1323 Edward II made a progress to the north that brought him to Pickering in August. Whilst there he took seisin of Thomas's confiscated manors. He then proceeded to Whorlton castle where two women, perhaps minstrels, named Alianore le Rede and Alice de Whorlton sang songs of Simon de Montfort for which they were subsequently paid three shillings.³⁴ It seems almost inconceivable that Edward, finding himself in the north only a year after Boroughbridge, would relax with stories of this great rebel to whom Lancaster was often compared. It seems more likely that the songs, clearly circulating in the area, were such that Edward would wish to hear to sense the temper of the region. Perhaps some popular feeling and lore about Thomas was finding expression? There was certainly more such feeling in the halls and refectories of Herefordshire clerics where our songs may have been delivered.³⁵

NOTES

- ¹ Two familiar instances of the influence of song are: Roger of Hoveden's story of the (French) *cantores et jocolatores* hired to sing the praises of Richard I (*Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, Rolls Series 51, III, p.143), and the story of Lucas de Barre, blinded by Henry I for his songs, told by Orderic Vitalis (*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1972-80) VI, pp.352-5). As far as I am aware no political poetry appears with music in any medieval English chronicle source, although it is interesting to find one Latin topical song, *Vulneratur karitas*, laid out for music (which was never supplied) in British Library MS Harley 746, ff.103v-4, a miscellany of legal and documentary materials. A later reader (?s.xiv) has scribbled the opening words of the poem and some musical notes on f.107.
- ² *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft* (RS 47) II, p.234; the songs on the death of Gaveston, *Vexilla regni prodeunt* and *Pange lingua necem Petri* are preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O. 9. 38, f.64r/v. They have been printed (without music) by T. Wright, *The Political Songs of England*, Camden Society 6 (London, 1839) pp.258-61. I have edited the poems with their music for a forthcoming edition to be published by Antico Editions.
- ³ The text of this office is printed in Wright, *Political Songs*, pp.268-72. For a description of this manuscript and an inventory of its contents see G. Warner and J.B. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 5 vols. (London, 1921) II, pp.26-9. The office is also printed in W. Sparrow Simpson, *Documents illustrating the History of St Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society n.s. 26 (1880) pp.12-14. I have resisted Sparrow Simpson's emendation of the MS *sudam Hoylandie* (in *Pange lingua gloriosi comititis martirium*, Appendix 5) to *Judam Hoylandie* which I do not find entirely convincing, even though I have no explanation to offer for the mysterious *sudam*.
- ⁴ *The Brut*, ed. F.W.D. Brie, EETS OS 131 and 136 (1906 and 1908) I, p.223. For an account of the circumstances leading up to this event see J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970). As the dates in his title reveal, Maddicott is not concerned with the development of Thomas's cult in his book (although it is briefly discussed on pp.329-30); most of the studies of the subject date from the nineteenth century. They include Lord Houghton, "Observations on the History of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 20 (1864) pp.16-18; Richard Holmes, *Pontefract* (Pontefract, 1878) pp.152f; Alex D.H. Leadman, "The Battle of Boroughbridge", *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal* 7 (1881-2) pp.330-60. See also H. Tait, "Pilgrim-signs and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster", *The British Museum Quarterly* 19 (1954) pp.39-46.
- ⁵ The judgement against Thomas was annulled in the first parliament of Edward III (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, pp.3-5, where Henry of Lancaster claims that his brother *noun resonablement estoit jugee a la morte par un proces erroynne contre lui adonques fait*). See M.H. Keen, "Treason Trials under the Law of Arms", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 12 (1962) p.102.
- ⁶ Various chronicles mention the location of the tomb (e.g. *Flores Historiarum*, RS 95, III, p.206) but it had not been traced when C.V. Bellamy's excavation report was published ("Pontefract Priory Excavations 1957-61", *Thoresby Society* 49 (1962-4)). Janet Walker informs me, on the basis of her examination of the late C.V. Bellamy's as yet unpublished notes, and following consultation with the members of the excavation group, that there is no evidence to connect any of the burials excavated

in the priory church with the tomb of Thomas of Lancaster.

- 7 The cult lasted well into the fifteenth century - and indeed until the Reformation - when its political impetus must have been spent. There is, for example, a rubricated obit for *Sancti thome martiris comitis Lancastrie* in the calendar of a fifteenth century Missal from St John's, Pontefract, now Cambridge, King's College MS 31 (the entry covers two lines for 22 and 23 March). There was a guild of St Thomas in Pontefract at this time dedicated to preserving and improving commemorative sites and monuments. Miracles continued well into the century. Blood flowed from Thomas's tomb in 1466 (as it had done in 1359) according to an *Abbreviata Chronica* (ed. J.J. Smith in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications* 1 (1840-6) p.10); this event is said to have caused *maxima fama* in England and allusion is made to other miracles of *beatus Thomas (loc.cit.)*. Relics were still kept in the fifteenth century. See Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1979) II, pp.637 and 858-9.
- 8 This is the most complex issue surrounding Lancaster's cult and one that must be studied by a qualified historian. It does not bear directly upon the issues raised here.
- 9 *Anecdota ex codicibus hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans* (Brussels, 1895) p.94. This *Vita* is preserved in a manuscript now Vienna Nationalbibliothek Ser. nov. 12708; there it is divided into nine sections and it is just possible that this ninefold division is connected with the readings of Matins.
- 10 V.H. Galbraith, "Extracts from the *Historia Aurea* and a French 'Brut', (1317-47)", *English Historical Review* 43 (1928) p.216. Very few of Lancaster's miracles are documented. Some are listed in the *Vita* (pp.98f) and several in the *Brut*. A passage in the *Flores Historiarum*, III, p.214, promises a separate treatment of Lancaster's miracles in another work. I have found no evidence that this was ever undertaken.
- 11 *Croniques de London*, ed. G.J. Aungier, Camden Society 28 (1844) p.46. This same chronicle reports that the plaque was later replaced.
- 12 *Foedera*, II, part 1, p.525. According to the *Cronique de London* Edward had the *tabula* and the accompanying wax images removed on the feast of the translation of St Thomas of Canterbury, Lancaster's celebrated namesake with whom he was sometimes compared (as in the first poem of our office, Appendix 1). The *Flores Historiarum*, III, pp.213f, confirms that the plaque contained an image of Thomas in armour. For a painting of a *vir armatus*, probably Thomas, see Bodleian Library MS Douce 231, f.1.
- 13 *Cronique de London*, p.46.
- 14 Both Letters are printed in *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. J. Raine (RS 61) pp.339-42. The modern MS reference and foliation is: York, Borthwick Institute Reg. 9A, ff.205v-6. Lancaster was never actually canonised, despite the assertion to the contrary in Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (RS 28) II, p.195.
- 15 MS e Mus. 139, f.85r. I have omitted: a hypermetric *cuius* in line 4; a redundant compendium (?pra) before *pondera* in line 7. Line 8 as it stands has one syllable too many; perhaps it should read *Homo verax, varia virtute verebat*. *Homo* might easily have been changed to *vir* by a scribe over-zealous for alliteration and word-play.
- For other "liturgical" material in honour of Lancaster see the note by T. Taylor and J.T. Micklethwaite in *Archaeological Journal* 36 (1879)

- pp.103-4, which incorporates material from a fourteenth-century English Book of Hours now Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W.105, f.13v (compare Cambridge, Clare College MS 6, f.144). For *Ave Thoma, gemma milicie* and *Miles Christi gloriose* from Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Cod. W.28, ff.84v and 146r, see *Analecta Hymnica*, 13, p.7, and 28, p.321. For a fifteenth century English polyphonic setting of the latter see *Fifteenth Century Liturgical Music*, ed. Andrew Hughes, Early English Church Music 8 (London, 1964) pp.10-11.
- 16 *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum* (RS 93) p.36 and p.280.
- 17 Fortunatus's poem is quoted from MGH *Auctorum Antiquissimorum* IV, part 1 (Berlin, 1881) pp.27-8.
- 18 *Agonista fit invictus/statim die tertia*. An association between Thomas and Christ seems to linger in a passage of the *Flores Historiarum*, III, p.206, where Lancaster, led to execution, *non contendit neque clamavit* (cf. Matthew xii 19).
- 19 The texts of the ninth respond and its verse could scarcely be more appropriate: *R Ex eius tumba marmorea sacrum resudat oleum quo liniti sanantur ceci, surdis auditus redditur et debilis quisque sospes regreditur. V Cateruatim ruunt populi cernere cupientes que per eum fiunt mirabilia*. Our author clearly capitalises not only upon the liturgical meaning of the prosa but also of its context.
- 20 Here is the full text, transcribed from the Hereford Antiphoner (Hereford Cathedral Library MS P. 9. vii, f.229v; for the choice of source see below): *Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio/Nicholaus naufragantum affuit presidio/Releuauit a defunctis defunctum in biuo/Baptizatur auri uiso iudeus inditio/Uas in mari mersum patri redditur cum filio/O quam probat sanctum Dei farris augmentacio/Ergo laudes Nicholao concinat hec concio/Nam qui corde poscit illum propulsato uicio/Sospes regreditur*.
- 21 *Mirk's Festial*, ed. T. Erbe, EETS ES 96 (1905) p.11, and *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850) p.22.
- 22 F.188r. This is part of the sequence *Magne lucem caritatis* for St Thomas of Hereford (text in *Analecta Hymnica*, 40, p.302); unfortunately there seems to be no copy of this sequence in existence with music. For details of this manuscript see S.J.P. van Dijk, "Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford", 1 (1957) p.150 (typescript handlist), where the MS is said to be from St Dubricius', Whitchurch (Monmouthshire).
- 23 See the text in *Analecta Hymnica*, *loc.cit.*
- 24 Carter Revard, "Three more Holographs in the Hand of the Scribe of MS Harley 2253 in Shrewsbury", *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 28 (1981) pp.199-200. The scribe is known to have been active in the period 1314-49.
- 25 The texts for Ethelbert and Thomas of Hereford are in *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. W.H. Frere and L.E.G. Brown, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1903, 1910 and 1915) II, pp.174 and 351. The version for the Virgin is in *Analecta Hymnica* 40, p.82. The music for Ethelbert's sequence is preserved in the Hereford Gradual (British Library MS Harley 3965, f.113r/v) and this appears to be the only complete surviving melody for any of these three poems. It has been used to restore music to Lancaster's sequence (Appendix 4). The version for the Virgin also appears in the manuscript but with blank staves; possibly it was intended for the same melody as Ethelbert's

version but the absence of music at the close of the preceding sequence suggests rather some hiatus in the copying (ff.127v-8). It is certain, however, that the version for Thomas was associated - at least in some centres - with a different tune. I am grateful to Andrew Wathey for drawing my attention to a bifolium of an antiphonal in Gloucester Diocesan Records Office (numbered 14 in N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2, *Abbotsford-Keele* (Oxford, 1977) p.971); f.1-1v contains the last section of Thomas of Hereford's sequence with music different from that associated with Ethelbert in the Hereford Gradual.

- ²⁶ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (RS 43) II, p.131.
- ²⁷ *Vita*, pp.93 and 98.
- ²⁸ As pointed out by Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p.3.
- ²⁹ R.M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton c1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978) p.140.
- ³⁰ *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, ed. E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889) p.16.
- ³¹ A particularly interesting case is provided by the Office for John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln, who was never canonised. This Office (Lincolnshire County Records Office Dj/20/2) has been systematically compiled and is elaborate (there is full provision for three Nocturns at Matins each with three psalms and three Great Responsories); there is rubrication. Yet the hand is a cursive one and the leaves were clearly never intended to be bound into a liturgical book. They represent a kind of liturgical document often mentioned in inventories - the unbound quire or bundle of leaves - but very rarely encountered. Lancaster's Office in Royal 12 C. xii may well have been taken from some more systematic, yet transient and informal source.
- ³² Edited in Hughes, *op.cit.*, pp.10-11.
- ³³ John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, Corrected edition (Cambridge, 1979) p.50.
- ³⁴ J.W. Walker, "Robin Hood Identified", *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 36 (1944-7) p.30.
- ³⁵ I am most grateful to Dr Peter Newton, FSA, of the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York, to Mr Andrew Wathey, of Merton College, Oxford, and to Mr Edward Wilson, of Worcester College, Oxford, for their help in the preparation of this article.

APPENDIX

THE OFFICE OF THOMAS OF LANCASTER

BRITISH LIBRARY, MS ROYAL 12 C.XII

TEXT The manuscript spellings have been retained, save that the scribe's consonantal *u* is everywhere reproduced as *v*. Punctuation and capitalisation are mostly mine.

MUSIC Ligatures are indicated by slurs.

1 Antiphona GAUDE THOMA, DUCUM DECUS (Music Unidentified)

Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastrie
Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuarie
Cuius capud conculcatur pacem ob ecclesie
Atque tuum detruncatur causa pacis Anglie;
Esto nobis pius tutor in omni discrimine.

2 Oratio

Deus, qui pro pace et tranquillitate regnicolarum Anglie beatum Thomam martirem tuum atque comitem gladio persecutoris occumbere voluisti, concede propicius, ut omnes qui eius memoriam devote venerantur in terris premia condigna cum ipso consequi mereantur in celis, per Dominum nostrum.

Sos--pi--ta--ti dat e-gro-tos pre-cum Tho--me fu--si--o;

Co--mes pi--us mox lan-guen-tum a-dest in pre--si--di--o;

Re--le--van--tur ab in-fir-mis in-fir-mi suf-fra-gi--o;

Sanc-ti Tho-me quod mon-stra-tur sig-no-rum in-di--ci--o

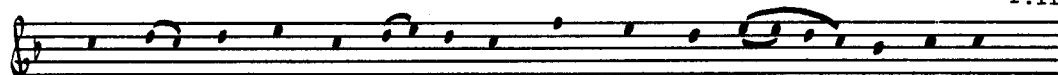
Vas re--ga--le tru--ci--da--tur reg-ni pro re--me--di--o.

O quam pro--bat sanc-tum du-cem mor-bo-rum cu-ra-ti-o!

Er-go lau-des Tho--me sanc-to ca-na-mus cum gau-di--o,

Nam de-vo-te pos-cens il-lum sta-tim pro--cùl--du--bi--o

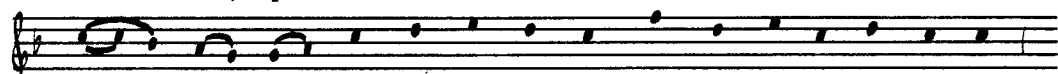
Sos-----pes re-----gre-----di-----tur.



Sum--mum re--gem ho--no--re--mus dul--cis pro me-----mo--ri--a



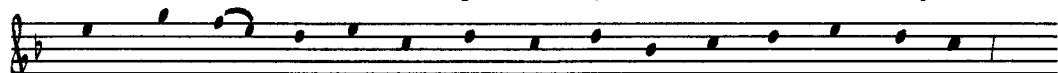
Mar--ti--ris, quem col--lau---de--mus sum--ma re--ve--ren-----ci--a.



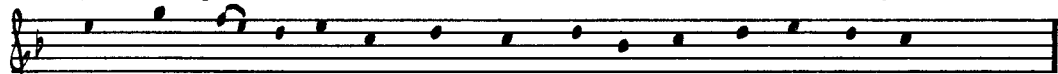
Tho-----mas co---mes ap--pel--la--tur ste--ma--te e--gre--gi--o;



Si-----ne cau---sa con--demp--na--tur, na--tus tho--ro re--gi--o.



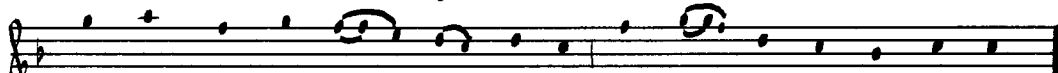
Qui cum ple--bem to--tam cer--nit la--bi sub nau--fra--gi--o,



Non pro iu--re mo--ri sper--nit le--ta--li com--mer--ci--o.

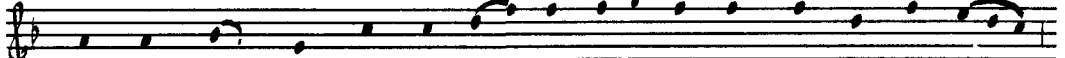


O flos mi--li--tum re--ga--lis, tu--am hanc fa--mi--li--am

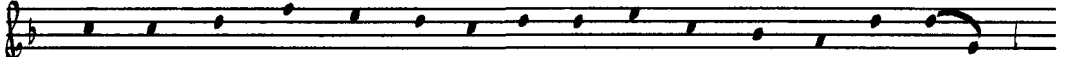


Sem--per con--ser--ves a ma--lis, per--du--cens ad glo--ri--am. AMEN

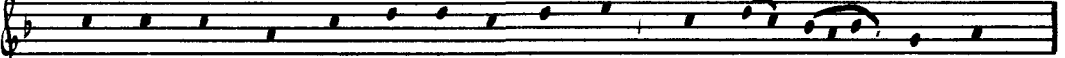
5 [Hymnus] PANGE LINGUA Music: Hereford Cathedral, MS P.9.VII f.94^v



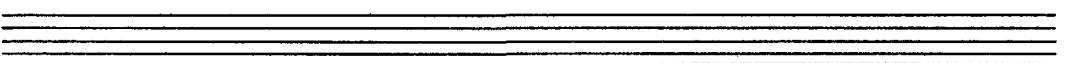
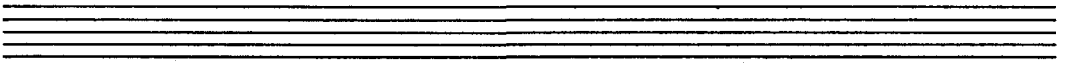
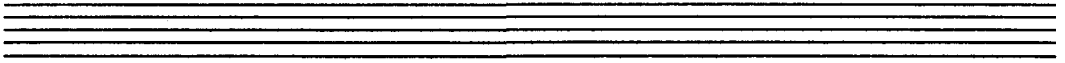
Pan--ge lin---gua glo--ri--o---si co---mi--tis mar--ti--ri--um,



San--gui--nis--que pre--ci--o---si Tho--me flo--ris mi--li--tum,



Ger--mi--nis--que ge--ne--ro--si lau--dis, lu--cis co---mi--tum.



De parentis utriusque
regali prosapia
prodit Thomas, cuius pater
proles erat regia,
matrem atque sublimavit
reginam Navarra.

Dux fidelis suum gregem
dum dispersum conspicit,
emulumque suum regem
sibi motum meminit,
mox carnalem iuxta legem
in mirum contremuit.

Benedicti Benedictus
capitur vigilia;
agonista fit invictus
statim die tertia;
dire neci est addictus,
ob quod luget Anglia.

Proh dolor! azephalatur
plebis pro iuvamine,
suorumque desolatur
militum stipamine,
dum dolose defraudatur
per sudam Hoylandie.

Ad sepulcrum cuius fiunt
frequenter miracula;
ceci, claudi, surdi, muti,
membra¹ paralitica,
prece sua consequuntur
optata presidia.

Trinitati laus et honor,
virtus et potencia
patri, proli, flaminique
sacro sit per secula,
que nos salvat a peccatis
Thome per suffragia. Amen

¹ MS: menbra

- 6 O IAM CHRISTI PIETAS (Music untraced, but almost certainly taken from a section of the sequence MAGNE LUCEM CARITATIS for St Thomas of Hereford)

O iam Christi pietas
atque Thome caritas
palam elucessit.
Heu! nunc languet equitas
viget et impietas,
veritas vilessit.
Nempe Thome bonitas
eius atque sanctitas
indies acressit,
Ad cuius tumbam sospitas
egris datur, ut veritas
cunctis nunc claressit.

Co---pi--o-----se ca--ri--ta--tis Tho--ma pu-----gil stre--nu--e,
Qui pro le---ge li--ber---ta-----tis de--cer---tas--ti An--gli--e,
in--ter--pel--la pro pec--ca--tis nos--tris pat--rem glo--ri--e,
Ut as--cri---bat cum be---a--tis nos ce--les-----tis cu--ri--e. AMEN

The image shows a musical score for a Latin antiphona. It consists of four staves of music with lyrics underneath. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "Co---pi--o-----se ca--ri--ta--tis Tho--ma pu-----gil stre--nu--e,". The second staff continues with: "Qui pro le---ge li--ber---ta-----tis de--cer---tas--ti An--gli--e,". The third staff continues with: "in--ter--pel--la pro pec--ca--tis nos--tris pat--rem glo--ri--e,". The fourth staff concludes with: "Ut as--cri---bat cum be---a--tis nos ce--les-----tis cu--ri--e. AMEN". Below the fourth staff, there are three additional blank staves.

X

Unde Thomam ducem de Lincania hincasse qd p hanc m...
vobis Thomam conuincit / cui inquit. anallat pacem obtemperat
annu deditur / causa pacis anglicae qd vobis pl curat in omni
distinctione / etc.

Item qui pro pace et tranquillitate regni anglie hinc Thomam
interuenit tunc aqne comite / obadio pfectoris decembris doo
institit concedere quia dicitur omnes qui ei memoriam deuote uenerunt
sunt in certis / premia condignis cum ipso confecti mentis incho...

proff. **H**oc natus dicitur vocatus fiam Thomae filio / Comite
more languentem adest in p... / Felicitate ab infirmitate infir
mi sustulit / Est Thomae quod inouit signor indio / Was
regale tunc regni pro remedio / Quam proleu fiam dicit
maior curatio / Pro laudes Thomae f... / amant in gando /
fiam deuote possens illustrem pulchro / sicut regda

Expositio. **H**oc natus regem honorem dulas p memoria m...
vobis quem collaudam p... / veneranda Thomae comes qd
pellat p... / tunc causa condempnat n... / tho
ro regio / Quam plebem totam certis labi ob uen... /
ipso pro in... / lectali comento / P... /
regalis / tunc hanc p... / Temp... / a malis per
suocens ad... / amen

Daige lingua graui / comitis mar... / p... /
Thomae f... / d... / q... /
ad p... / regali p... / Thomae / in p... /
los est... / a... /

... f... /
regem /
... /
... /
... /
... /

... /
... /
... /
... /

Den proleu... /
... /

Lumler 2