

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: *THE ART OF MUSIC* IN GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911:
A CASE FOR ROBERT CARVOR AS THE
ANONYMOUS SCOT

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GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, the sole source of an anonymous music treatise, *The Art of Music*, is among the few manuscripts to have survived the Scottish Reformation. In answer to the puzzle of its authorship, masters of song schools in Edinburgh or Aberdeen have been proposed. A new reading of the text places the date of its creation between 1559 and 1567 and leads to a revised profile of the author, which, as is demonstrated here, the Scottish composer Robert Carvor (1487/8 – c. 1568) uniquely matches. Further supporting Carvor as the author of the treatise is its inclusion of a section of Carvor's *Missa L'homme armé* and of a caricature strikingly similar to one found in the Carvor Choirbook (GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15), where Carvor's compositions bear his signature. An Appendix includes the first English translation of the rules of faburden, which are unique to *The Art of Music* (f.94r-f.112r).

THE ART OF MUSIC IN GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911:
A CASE FOR ROBERT CARVOR AS THE ANONYMOUS SCOT

By

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Dedication

To my parents, in loving memory and gratitude

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Abbreviations and Permissions

D-W MS 628 Helmstedt	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 628 Helmstedt
GB-A MS 28	Aberdeen, University Library, MS 28
GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15	<i>Scone Antiphonary; Carvor Choirbook</i> . Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5.1.15, digital images in the public domain
GB-Eu MS 64	<i>Dunkeld Antiphonary</i> , Edinburgh, University Library, MS 64
GB-Eu MS Dk.5.14-15	<i>St. Andrews Psalter or Wode Partbooks</i> , Edinburgh, University Library, Dk.5.14-15
GB-Eu MS La III. 483 (a)-(c)	<i>St. Andrews Psalter or Wode Partbooks</i> , Edinburgh, University Library, MS La III. 483 (a)-(c)
GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911	<i>The Art of Music Collecit Out of All Ancient Doctouris of Music</i> . London, British Library, Add. MS 4911, ©British Library, digital images used with permission
GB-Lbl Add. MS 33933	<i>Wode Partbooks</i> , London, British Library, Add. MS 33933
GB-WRec MS 178	Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 178
I-La MS 238	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238
IRL-Dtc MS 412	<i>St. Andrews Psalter or Wode Partbooks</i> , Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 412
US-Wgu MS 10	<i>St. Andrews Psalter or Wode Partbooks</i> , Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Library, MS 10
VC-Vbc MS 14	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14
VC-Vbc MS 19	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 19

Introduction

The history of sixteenth-century Scottish sacred music suffers from a lack of sources of music and musicians' names, and of the uneven survival of archival documentation. In 1501, James IV of Scotland reorganized the Chapel Royal at Stirling by establishing sixteen canonicates and six boy clerics "trained in song."¹ Presumably, this chapel was expected to sing polyphony regularly, but only two manuscripts of Scottish origin, the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks,² GB-Eu MS 64, and the Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, provide us with examples of pre-Reformation sacred polyphony. The fact that most of this repertory was composed by Continental musicians suggests that Scottish sacred music was current with musical trends in France and the Low Countries.

Only through post-Reformation manuscripts can we learn the names of composers with surviving compositions who were working in Scotland in the mid sixteenth century, the period of concern of this study. The Wode Partbooks³ are a collection of metrical psalm tunes harmonized in four parts, composed in the early 1560s. In addition to a few English composers, the Scottish composers represented in these partbooks include:

- John Angus (fl. 1543 – 1595) – taught at the song school in Dunfermline
- Andrew Blackhall (b. 1535 or 1536 – 1609) – Canon of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh

¹ Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, xxxii.

² This manuscript will be referred to as the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks except when appearing in quotation as the Dowglas/Fischear Part-books.

³ GB-Eu MS Dk.5.14-15, GB-Eu MS La III. 483 (a)-(c), GB-Lbl Add. MS 33933, IRL-Dtc MS 412, and US-Wgu MS 10. Each partbook contains music for a single voice.

- John Buchan (fl. 1562 – 1608) – master of the song schools in Haddington and Glasgow, and prebendary of the Chapel Royal
- Sir John Fethy (c. 1530 – 1568) – canon at the Chapel Royal, master at Aberdeen and Edinburgh song schools
- Andrew Kemp (fl. 1560 – 1570) – master of the song school in St. Andrews
- James Lauder (c. 1535 – after 1592) – musician to Mary Queen of Scots and King James VI.
- David Peebles (fl. 1530 – 1576) – Augustinian canon at the priory of St. Andrews

Only one further manuscript with polyphony, in musical examples, exists from the period of the Scottish Reformation, but it is anonymous, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911. The only extant Scottish music treatise, it offers insight into compositional practices near the time of the Reformation. With only these few manuscripts with polyphony by a small number of named pre- and post-Reformation Scottish composers, and only this treatise as a witness to the transitional period, the problems of its authorship, date, and assessment of its content take on considerable importance.

The major scholarship on GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911 is in Judson Maynard's two-volume PhD dissertation, which was made available in 1961. Volume 1 includes six chapters:

- Chapter 1 explores the history of the manuscript. Maynard traces the ownership from Sir Francis Kynaston in 1635 through unknown hands to Sir John Hawkins, who presented it to the British Museum in 1778. Maynard also

provides a literature survey, noting references to the manuscript in a variety of books, articles, and dissertations. As Maynard explains, the treatise was consulted for its countering and faburden sections by the musicologists Manfred Bukofzer, Heinrich Besseler, and Ernest Trumble.

- Chapter 2 discusses the language of the treatise as it appears in the manuscript, explaining some idiosyncrasies of Scottish spelling and handwriting, as well as the choices Maynard made for his transcription of the text in Volume 2. He offers a region of origin of the text through linguistic analysis.
- Chapter 3 provides commentary on the section of the treatise on mensural music, ff.1r-45v.
- Chapter 4 discusses the counterpoint, countering, and faburden sections of the treatise, ff.46r-112r.
- Chapter 5 provides commentary on the final section of the treatise, concerning proportions, ff.112v-129r.
- In his summary and conclusions, Chapter 6, Maynard explores the textual and musical sources for the text of the treatise, and the possibility that it is incomplete in its current form. He concludes that, because the faburden examples were based on chants of the Sarum use, rather than the Roman use, they represented Scottish and English practice, not Continental practice. Maynard also casts the author as an older man trained in the Catholic church, longing for the old church. As to the question of the purpose of the treatise, Maynard associates the treatise with the newly-created post-Reformation song

schools, dating it to 1579 and offering the masters of the Edinburgh or Aberdeen song schools as possible authors.

Volume 2 of Maynard's dissertation contains his edition of the entire treatise in its original Scots. Maynard was able to find attributions for approximately 20 percent of the music examples. The majority of these were excerpted from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century works of leading composers from the Low Countries and France. Also represented were works by Scottish and English composers of the sixteenth century, as well as late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Italian and German theorists. In 1967, Maynard published an English translation of the section on countering, ff.85-93.

In 2000, a posthumous collection of chapters based on the dissertation, previous publications, and unpublished notes of Isobel Preece was published.⁴ Included were chapters on the biography of Robert Carvor,⁵ the physical characteristics and the contents of the Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, and the "Scottish Anonymous," the latter first published in 1988. There, Preece explored a possible place of origin for the treatise, examining historical events which occurred in the only year appearing in the treatise, 1558.⁶ Since Preece's assessments, there has been no further work on the Carvor Choirbook or on the treatise.

The life of Robert Carvor has been the subject of more recent publications. In 1988, Preece published an article detailing the life of Carvor, which subsequently appeared in the

⁴ Preece, Edwards, and Munro, *Our Awin Scottis Use*.

⁵ The spelling 'Carvor' is used throughout this thesis except where it appears in a quote as 'Carver.'

⁶ Preece, "A Note on 'Scottish Anonymous.'"

2000 collection.⁷ Further information came to light in 1991, when mention of Carvor was found in the Aberdeen City Archive, which spawned further discussion of Carvor's possible Chapel Royal connection.⁸ Most recently, in 2005, D. James Ross published a further account of Carvor's life, using newly discovered documents dating from 1538 – 1566 and relating to Scone Abbey that are now kept at the Mansfield Muniments at Scone Palace and in the National Archives of Scotland, which contain more than 50 references to Carvor.⁹

In the chapters to follow, I argue that Robert Carvor (1487/8 – 1568 or later) should be considered the probable author of *The Art of Music*. In chapter one, I present the contents of GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911 and place it in the context of the history of the Reformation in Scotland and surviving manuscripts. In chapter two, I present facets of the treatise which provide insight into the character of its author. I also offer visual and musical evidence associating GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911 and the Carvor Choirbook. In chapter three, I deduce that Carvor is the author of the treatise, based on the common features of decoration and some common content between the treatise and the Carvor Choirbook, as well as the alignment of what is known of Carvor's biography with the profile I have developed from my analysis of the treatise. In making my arguments, I situate the treatise in the context of the Scottish Reformation and surviving manuscripts, suggesting that it might have been kept at Stirling, where Carvor would have had access to a library with the music treatises that Maynard had identified as some of his sources, and resituate Robert Carvor's known

⁷ Preece, "Towards a Biography of Robert Carvor."

⁸ See Ross, "New Roots," Bowers, "Robert Carver," and Ross, "Robert Carvor in Stirling."

⁹ Ross, "Robert Carver, Canon of Scone."

biography as it would relate to his composition of the treatise and the copying of its sole manuscript source, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911.

Chapter 1 The Scottish *Art of Music* between Destruction and Survival

1.1 GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911

The British Library holds in its collection Additional MS 4911, consisting of 129 folios and bearing the title, “The Art of Music Collecit Out of All Ancient Doctouris of Music.”¹⁰ The treatise consists of three books, concerning mensural music (f.1-f.112v), counterpoint (f.46-f.112), and mensural music (f.112v-f.129). As the title implies, much of the material presented is compiled from other sources. In 1961 Maynard found that much of the text was translated from the works of Andreas Ornithoparchus (b. c. 1490), Sebald Heyden (1499 – 1561), and Franchinus Gaffurius (1451 – 1522). Material from Nicolaus Wollick (c. 1480 – after 1541), Hermann Finck (1527 – 1558), Georg Rhau (1488 – 1548), Martin Agricola (1486 – 1556), and Nikolaus Listenius (b. c. 1510) is also included. In contrast, Maynard states that the discussions of counterpoint and *faburden* found in this treatise are “unique in music literature.”¹¹ However, *faburden* and *gymel* techniques are presented in two other known treatises, but only in these two, to our knowledge, and neither is cited in *The Art of Music*. As Eulmee Park explains, Guilielmus Monachus’ *De Preceptis artis musicae*, dating from the end of the fifteenth century,¹² splits the topic of “*gymel*,” which he attributes to the English, between chapters IV and VI, and discusses

¹⁰ *The Art of Music Collecit Out of All Ancient Doctouris of Music*, GB-Lbl-Add MS 4911, British Library. https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_4911&index=0

¹¹ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 159.

¹² Park, “De Preceptis Artis Musicae,” 3.

“faulxbordon” in chapter VI.¹³ “Gymel” is only discussed in passing by the Anonymous of Tegernsee II.¹⁴ Because of the rarity of surviving theoretical writings on countering and faburden techniques, *The Art of Music* has been a significant resource for musicologists such as Manfred F. Bukofzer, Brian Trowell, Ernest Trumble, and, more recently, Jessica Lynn Chisholm in their study of the development of these techniques.¹⁵ Maynard has published an English translation of the Countering section, ff.85r-93r.¹⁶ An English translation of the types and rules of faburden set forth in *The Art of Music* (ff.94r-112r), “Heir Beginniss Faburdun,” is provided in the Appendix. Maynard provides a detailed analysis of the examples accompanying the faburden section of the treatise. He also compares the rules specified by Monachus with those found in *The Art of Music*.¹⁷

The music examples in *The Art of Music* are taken from a wide range of sources, often differing from those from which the accompanying text is derived. Composers represented hail from Scotland, England, and the Continent, and include Andrew Blackhall (1535 or 1536 – 1609), Robert Fayrfax (1464 – 1521), Henricus Isaac (c. 1450-55 – 1517), Robert Johnson (c. 1500 – c. 1560), Josquin des Prez (c. 1450-55 – 1521), Pierre de La Rue (c. 1452 – 1518), Jean Mouton (before 1459 – 1522), Jacob Obrecht (1457/8 – 1505),

¹³ Park, “De Preceptis Artis Musicae,” 322. Cf. Bernhard, ed., Bower, trans., *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, s.v. “gymel” and “faulxbordon”: http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=LmL Consulted April 3, 2020.

¹⁴ Bernhard, ed., Bower, trans., *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, s.v. “gymel”: http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=LmL Consulted April 3, 2020

¹⁵ See Bukofzer, “Fauxbourdon Revisited,” Trowell, “Faburden and Fauxbourdon,” Trumble, “Authentic and Spurious Faburden,” and Chisholm, “Upon the Square.”

¹⁶ Maynard, “Heir Beginniss Countering.”

¹⁷ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 128-46.

Jean de Ockeghem (c. 1410 – 1497), and Thomas Tallis (c. 1505 – 1585).¹⁸ Maynard proposes that some of the examples may have been composed by the author of the treatise.¹⁹

Maynard cites three main sources for the text of *The Art of Music*: Gaffurius' *Practica musice* (1496), Heyden's *De arte canendi* (1537), and Ornithoparchus' *Musice active micrologus* (1517). He notes that the organization of the material closely corresponds to that of the last three books of *Practica musice*, with *The Art of Music*'s three books mirroring *Practica musice*'s books two through four. Often, subject order within the chapters is similar. Maynard provides a detailed comparison of topics between the two works.²⁰ *The Art of Music* introduces its subjects by question (e.g. "Tactus quhat is it?"²¹), in a manner similar to one of its sources, *De arte canendi*.

The Art of Music consistently refers to its sections in terms of both 'books' (three) and 'parts of music' (four), leading Maynard to explore the possibility that there may have been a fourth book planned or missing.²² The subject of book one is referred to as the second part of music: "Heir endis the first part of this buik, the secund part of music, and followis the thrid part with the secund buik."²³ For example, the second book, similarly, refers to its contents as the third part of music: "In this libell consequent the proces of the

¹⁸ Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.2, iv-xi.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 159.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 159-64, Table 7.

²¹ *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.24v.

²² Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 166-67.

²³ *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.45r.

secund buik and the thrid part of music ordorlie is extendit.”²⁴ The terminology becomes confused at the end of book two: “Heir endis thrid buik of music mensurall and follis the four buik of proporcionis.”²⁵ The situation is further clouded by a reference to a first book of simple music on f.123v: “Dyverss mudis ar proporcionat quhilk ar conte in the levnt chaipour of the first buk of sympill music...” This sentence is not simply a transcription from one of the source treatises, since Maynard notes that the subject does not match the eleventh chapter of any of those used for *The Art of Music*.²⁶ While the numbering may relate to an as yet unidentified further source, these inconsistencies may arise from author confusion, not a missing book, given that the text of *The Art of Music* is predominantly copied from other sources.

Without attribution and written in vernacular Scottish, the music treatise in GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911 is commonly referred to as the work of the “Scottish Anonymous.” The mystery of its origin invites closer scrutiny. Indeed, as will be demonstrated here, the possible motivation for the creation of this treatise, as well as a potential author, can be discerned through acquaintance with the events of its time, a period of upheaval in Scottish history associated with the Reformation, a new reading of the treatise, and its comparison with the Carvor Choirbook.

²⁴ *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.46r.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f.112r.

²⁶ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 166.

1.2 The Course of the Reformation in Scotland

Scotland has a long history of invasion with its attendant ruin. Not until the sixteenth-century, however, did the country witness such a thorough destruction of its cultural artifacts. This was accomplished, not by an invading army, but by the systematic efforts of its own kinsmen to eradicate Catholicism.

The Reformation arrived in Scotland gradually at first. The first indication that Protestant ideas had made their way to Scotland can be found in an act of the Scottish Parliament of 1525 forbidding the import and circulation of Lutheran works.²⁷ The influence of Lutheran thought continued to make inroads, despite that act of Parliament. Gordon Donaldson notes that Lutheranism was spreading beyond small groups of intellectuals, demonstrated by incidents “such as the decapitating of an image of the Blessed Virgin in the church of the Greyfriars of Ayr in 1533 and the hanging of an image of St. Francis in 1537.”²⁸ The year 1541 saw acts of Parliament against heresy and the ‘casting down’ of images.²⁹ David McRoberts describes what is meant by the phrase ‘cast down,’ which is frequently found in chronicles of the period:

The religious house is attacked; its altars, pictures, statues, stalls, vestments, books, and ornamental structure of tombs (and sometimes the actual graves) and also windows (presumably because they display images) are destroyed. Doors, screens and wooden furnishings are broken up to provide fuel for the bonfire in the *kirkyard*. Altar vessels and domestic furnishings are looted.³⁰

²⁷ Taylor, “The Conflicting Doctrines,” 245.

²⁸ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁰ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 420.

Only two years later, with negotiations underway to marry the infant Princess Mary to Prince Edward of England, the Scottish government passed an act allowing possession of Scripture in Scots and English.³¹

Attempts were made at reform within the Scottish Catholic Church as its administration became less subject to Rome and more to royal control. One of the most noted abuses of the Catholic Church hierarchy was King James V of Scotland's appointment of four of his illegitimate infant sons to head the richest houses during the 1530s, with the revenues passing directly to the crown.³² By 1547, the holding of a 'benefice' in the Scottish Catholic Church became hereditary.³³

At the same time, Protestant family and social networks developed. The extent of this growing network was demonstrated when, in 1555, Protestant leaders arranged a preaching tour for John Knox (c. 1514 – 1572), conducted in lairds' and merchants' houses.³⁴ From about 1555 onward, regular Protestant congregations formed 'privy kirks' in the towns of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, Linlithgow, Ayr, and others.³⁵ As 'privy kirks' evolved, they developed organizational structures to elect preachers and appoint elders and deacons. Alec Ryrie reports that these 'privy kirks' were more than prayer or study groups, they formed a "congregation with all the attributes of a self-regulating Reformed church, but which happens to operate in

³¹ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 30.

³² Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 14.

³³ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 37.

³⁴ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 188.

³⁵ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 49.

secret.”³⁶ However, their organization was “more diverse, more disorganized, and more doctrinally untidy”³⁷ than the Protestant Church that took shape in Scotland after 1560. So, we find that as the old church system was crumbling, a new system had “arisen alongside it, and it would not be too much to say that by the end of 1559 there were already two ecclesiastical structures in Scotland.”³⁸

A group of Protestant Scottish noblemen rebelled against the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. Called the Lords (Lairds) of the Congregation, their early members included the fourth Earl of Argyll, the fourth Earl of Glencairn, the fourth Earl of Morton, Lord Lorne, and Lord John Erskine.³⁹ The Lords of the Congregation and their followers would spread the reformation by traveling in force around the country, assisting local Protestants in “the task of ‘cleansing’ the churches and instituting reformed worship.”⁴⁰ While they would play a pivotal role in bringing about reform, the name most associated with Scotland’s transformation into a Protestant nation was Knox.

Heartened by the accession of Queen Elizabeth I to the English throne in 1558 and the repatriation of exiled English Protestants, Knox left exile in Geneva. His arrival in Leith, the port of Edinburgh, on May 2 marked the beginning of a period of violence and devastation that would eradicate nearly all physical traces of Catholicism in Scotland over the following years. Knox made his way to Perth, where, on May 11, his sermon at St.

³⁶ Ryrie, “Congregations, Conventicles and the Nature of Early Scottish Protestantism,” 46.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁸ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 51.

³⁹ Dawson, “Lords of the Congregation.”

⁴⁰ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 205.

John's Kirk ignited the wave of destruction that spread rapidly across the region. After the service, the crowd cast down St. John's Kirk, then moved on to the Blackfriars (Dominican) and Greyfriars (Franciscan) churches and monasteries, and then the Carthusian monastery.⁴¹ The destruction spread to the Cistercian nuns at Elcho near Perth, as well as the Carmelite friars at Tullilum. After Perth, the Protestants persuaded Lord James Stewart and Argyll to abandon the Queen Regent and join the Lords of the Congregation, weakening Mary of Guise's power.⁴² From Perth, the vandalism continued in Fife, Anstruther, and on to St. Andrews. Knox's sermon in St. Andrews again triggered destruction: the churches, Blackfriars and Greyfriars monasteries, the cathedral, and the college chapels, including the Bishop's chapel of St. Salvator, were all ransacked.⁴³ Even during a truce, the Abbey of Lundores was destroyed. Scone was the next target, where the abbey and other religious houses were burned to the ground.⁴⁴

Argyll and Lord James next marched south, taking the town of Stirling after a secret overnight march. The next three days were spent overthrowing the monasteries and purging the other churches "within and about the town, including ... the abbey of Cambuskenneth."⁴⁵ Cambuskenneth, an Augustinian Abbey 1.5 miles from Stirling by ferry across the Forth, was destroyed despite its storied history.⁴⁶ There the barons swore

⁴¹ McRoberts, "Material Destruction," 430.

⁴² Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 205.

⁴³ McRoberts, "Material Destruction," 430.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, *Sconiana*, 6.

⁴⁵ McRoberts, "Material Destruction" 433.

⁴⁶ Walcott, *Scoti-Monasticon*, 300.

to defend the title of Robert Bruce, and the first Scottish Parliament assembled. Edward I visited twice and Richard II, prisoner of Stirling Castle, probably worshipped there. James II and Queen Margaret of Denmark were buried there. The three-day raid ended Catholic worship in Stirling. Protestant ministry would be formally established in Stirling in October 1560, with an order in November of that year prohibiting the taking of stones belonging to the town – presumably from dismantled friaries.⁴⁷ The Chapel Royal was not attacked at this point, but would be purged in 1567 after Queen Mary’s abdication.⁴⁸

The Lords of the Congregation and their army moved on to Edinburgh, destroying friaries and churches as they went. In Edinburgh, the Blackfriars and Grayfriars houses were cast down, altars and images in St. Giles and Kirk o’ Field were destroyed and burned, as were those at Holyrood Abbey and the Kirk of Leith. Although a truce was attempted at Leith on July 24, the “orgy of destruction went on, nevertheless, during the remainder of that year,”⁴⁹ sweeping westward and then north to Aberdeen.

The Great Council met on April 29, 1560, and commissioned the Protestant ministers to put into writing their view of the reformation of religion.⁵⁰ Their report formed the basis of the *First Book of Discipline*, within which was a call to destroy all idolatry.

The third head touching the abolishing of Idolatrie.

As We require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly ministred, so can not cease to require Idolatry, with all monuments and places of

⁴⁷ Slonosky, “Burgh Government,” 55.

⁴⁸ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 433, N82.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 434.

⁵⁰ Whytock, *Continental Calvinian Influences*, 13.

the same, as Abbeyes, Monkeries, Frieries, Nonries, Chappels, Chanteries, Cathedrall Churches, Chanonries, Colledges, others then presently are Parish Churches or Schooles, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of the Realme (except onely Palaces, Mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with Orchards and Yards of the same) as also that idolatrie may be removed from the presence of all persons of what estate or condition that ever they be within this Realme.

For let your Honours assuredly be perswaded, that where idolatry is maintained, or permitted, where it may be suppressed that there shall Gods wrath raigne, not onely upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God have armed their hands with power to suppress such abomination.

By idolatry we understand, the Masse, invocation of Saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same. And finally all honouring of God, not contained in his holy word.⁵¹

After the Queen Regent died on June 10, 1560, power transferred to the Protestants who, being more focused on eradicating Catholicism than establishing Protestantism,⁵² continued the destruction. After 1560, “the greater buildings, cathedrals, abbeys and priories are unroofed and, in many cases, the actual fabric is extensively damaged.” By about 1580, “almost all of the larger churches and (especially in the east-central lowlands) a proportion of parish churches”⁵³ were in complete or partial ruin. Arthur Herman summarizes the devastation:

He [John Knox] and his followers scoured away not only Scottish Catholicism but all its physical manifestations, from monasteries and bishops and clerical vestments to holy relics and market-square crosses. They smashed stained-glass windows and saints’ statues, ripped out choir stalls and roodcreens, and overturned altars. All these symbols of a centuries-old tradition of religious culture, which we would call great works of art, were for Knox marks of “idolatry” and “the synagogue of Satan,” as he called the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Church of Scotland, *The First and Second Booke of Discipline*, 26–27.

⁵² Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 84.

⁵³ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 429.

⁵⁴ Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, 16.

1.3 Surviving Pre-Reformation Music Manuscripts

Ironically, it was an avowed reformer who was responsible for providing some clue as to what may have been lost in the Reformation and rescuing one of the great music treasures of Scotland. He was the Lutheran, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520 – 1575), who was born in what is now Croatia and moved to Wittenberg in 1541. A disciple of Luther, he became professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg at age 24. In 1549 he moved to Magdeburg and became leader of the “gnesio- (or ultra-) Lutheran movement.”⁵⁵ Flacius planned a two-part church history consisting of a compilation of sources testifying to the continued resistance of the true Catholic Church and a Protestant church history. He sent emissaries, the so-called “Centurions of Magdeburg,” to church libraries across Europe to collect documents for this project, which was published as *Ecclesiastica historia, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam ... secundum singulas Centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens ... ex vetustissimis historicis ...congesta: Per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica* (1559–1574).

One of Flacius’s scouts, Marcus Wagner, travelled to Scotland, arriving at St. Andrews in 1553. In Scotland, he visited several abbeys including those in Dundee, Perth, Scone, and Edinburgh.⁵⁶ One significant Scottish manuscript in the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel that was brought to Flacius by Wagner is the “Magnus Liber Organi” known as “W1,” D-W MS 628 Helmstedt, which apparently joined the collection through the sale of Flacius’s library in 1597. It is associated with St. Andrews by the inscription on folio 56r which reads: “liber monasterii s. Andree in Scotia.” Edward Roesner concludes

⁵⁵ Lyon, “Baudouin, Flacius, and the Plan for the Magdeburg Centuries,” 257.

⁵⁶ Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book*, x.

that W1 was prepared for St. Andrews in the early fourteenth century.⁵⁷ The significance of other Scottish manuscripts collect by Wagner is not fully known. He reported that, on his return from Scotland, he left several “goodly volumes” in Copenhagen. These were presumably lost when the royal library was destroyed by fire in 1728.⁵⁸

Wagner described finding great libraries in Edinburgh and in the monasteries of Scone, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, and St. Andrews.⁵⁹ He praised the books he found, claiming that “neither Germany, Italy nor Denmark can boast of such manuscripts as are to be found at Scone, Cambuskenneth, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews,” while noting that the conditions of the libraries revealed neglect. James Baxter notes that those now in Wolfenbüttel all show signs of decay and many are badly damp-stained.⁶⁰ McRoberts posits that several thousand liturgical books may have existed in Scotland before the Reformation, with perhaps less than 200 surviving, as whole libraries were thrown into the streets and burned.⁶¹ Although it is unknown precisely what was lost, an 1807 account of the history of Scone speaks of its destruction on June 27, 1559:

This abbacy, with other religious houses at Scone, were burnt to the ground ... many valuable historical documents were destroyed throughout the kingdom; those committed to the flames at Scone were particularly important.⁶²

⁵⁷ Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel,” Vol.1, 145.

⁵⁸ Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book*, xi.

⁵⁹ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 458.

⁶⁰ Baxter, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, xxix.

⁶¹ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 458.

⁶² Anonymous, *Sconiana*, 6.

The purge continued for decades. That the choirbook⁶³ of the composer Robert Carvor (1487/8 – c. 1568) remained safe after his death is extraordinary. Archbishop Spottiswoode reports that he, himself, removed and burned popish copes, chalices, pictures, and more, from Abbot Gilbert Brown’s abbey lodgings in 1609, 50 years after Knox’s return to Scotland.⁶⁴

Several fragments of ecclesiastical music survived the Reformation in Scotland. Among them are four leaves of plainsong from the “Inchcolm Antiphoner.”⁶⁵ Dating from around 1340, the fragments contain parts of services for the feasts of St. Columba and Corpus Christi.⁶⁶ The fifteenth-century “Inverness Fragments,” Fort Augustus, Scotland, Fort Augustus Abbey, Archives, MS A.1, originally formed the binding material of a sixteenth-century manuscript with *Regiam Majestate*, a comprehensive digest of Scottish law. Along with music for Lent and Holy Week, the fragments include “six polyphonic faburden settings of the Vesper psalm *Laudate pueri Dominum*,” which was sung during the procession to the font at Second Vespers on Easter Sunday. The faburden settings are thought to come from a parish school.⁶⁷

⁶³ GB-En Adv. 5.1.15. See Preece, Edwards, and Munro, *Our Awin Scottis Use*.

⁶⁴ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 458.

⁶⁵ Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections Repository, MS 211/IV. MS 211 is comprised of several fragments of possible Scottish origin dating from the 9th–15th centuries.

⁶⁶ Fragment of the Inchcolm Antiphoner, MS 211/IV. Digital image at: The University of Edinburgh Archives Online, archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/168668. Accessed January 22, 2020.

⁶⁷ Allenson, “The Inverness Fragments,” 1–2.

A more complete surviving manuscript is the “Dunkeld Antiphony,” of which five of the original set of six partbooks reside in the collection of the Edinburgh University Library, GB-Eu 64. Ross makes the case that “Dunkeld” is a mis-reading of the Latin contraction of “Lincluden,” a collegiate church some 90 miles south of Stirling with ties to the Scottish Chapel Royal.⁶⁸ He proposes that the work may better be described as “Dowglas/Fischear Part-books,” in reference to an inscription in the manuscript, “ROBERT DOWGLAS with my hand at the pen – William Fischear.”⁶⁹ In support of the association with Lincluden, it is noteworthy that Robert Douglas became Provost of Lincluden in 1547. Ross dates the manuscript to the early 1550s and notes that the contents represent the current Scottish musical taste for “tautness of phrase.”⁷⁰ Its contents include nineteen motets, a fragment of a mass by Thomas Ashwell (c. 1478 – after 1518) and two anonymous masses, *Missa Felix namque* and *Missa Cantate Domino*. Most of the motets have been identified, and include works by Pierre Certon (d. 1572), Claudin de Sermisy (c. 1490 – 1562), Jacquet of Mantua (1483 – 1559), Josquin, Johannes Lupi (c. 1506 – 1539), Philip Van Wilder (c. 1500 – 1553), and Adrian Willaert (c. 1490 – 1562). The texts of the motets are “mainly Mass propers for Marian and Petrine feasts.”⁷¹

The authorship of the two anonymous Masses in the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks has been disputed. Ross suggested that the anonymous *Missa Felix namque* exhibited

⁶⁸ Ross, “Robert Carver, Canon of Scone,” 98. Ross describes the Collegiate Church of Lincluden as “in 1506, had been subordinated to the Chapel Royal.” Documents signed at the College of Lincluden included Bishop David Arnot’s signature.

⁶⁹ Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 75–76.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷¹ Warwick, “Dunkeld Music Book: Chapter 2.” The Dunkeld Music Book was the subject of Warwick’s 1998 Masters’ Thesis at the University of Surrey.

stylistic similarities to the mature work of David Peebles, but also found similarities between it and the anonymous *Missa Cantate Domino*.⁷² Ross also observed a similarity between the latter and another Carvor mass, writing “such are the similarities in style and even in material between Carver’s Mass *Fera pessima* and the anonymous Mass *Cantate Domino* in the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks, that there seems little doubt that it too is the work of Robert Carver.”⁷³ Kenneth Elliott also contends that the *Missa Cantate Domino*, is directly related to Carvor’s five-part *Missa Fera pessima*, because it shares thematic material with it, but includes the former as an anonymous mass in his edition of Carvor’s works.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most impressive collection to survive can be found in the National Library of Scotland’s GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, a manuscript referred to as the “Carvor Choirbook.”⁷⁵ It consists of 180 leaves, seven pairs of which are stuck together (6/7, 15/16, 36/37, 51/52, 69/70, 108/109, and 135/136). In 1950, Denis Stevens made an inventory of the unfoliated manuscript, which was bound in 1957.⁷⁶ Along with Stevens’s study, the manuscript was the subject of a 1980 Ph.D. dissertation by Isobel Woods [Preece] and of

⁷² Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 77.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷⁴ Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott. *Fera pessima* is a responsory with Cantus ID 007109.

⁷⁵ Also referred to as the “Scone Antiphony,” although it is not an antiphoner. A digital image of GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15 is available at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1757/#/>

⁷⁶ Stevens, “The Manuscript Edinburgh,” 155–56. A digital copy of the manuscript is available at DIAMM (the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music) diamm.ac.uk.

her posthumous book published in 2000.⁷⁷ Ross analyzed Carvor's works,⁷⁸ and a transcription of them by Elliott is available.⁷⁹

Preece's study of the watermarks suggests that the paper originated in the late fifteenth century in Burgundian land now in Northern France.⁸⁰ With Scotland actively trading with the Low Countries, one cannot determine whether the paper was acquired on the Continent or as an import in Scotland. Opinions as to the nature of the handwriting vary. Elliott concluded the entire Choirbook was the work of a single person, with three distinct forms of the same handwriting.⁸¹ Preece finds five discernible types of handwriting, however, which she labels A-E: she notes four are similar, but the fifth, E, appears completely different. Preece also discusses the caricatures. She notes that all appear in the sections written in handwriting C, and are of three types: with pointed ears, with leaves at the back of the drawings of heads, and with neither ears nor leaves. Analysis of hair and clothing in the drawings suggests a style from northwest Europe dating from the early sixteenth century.⁸²

The Carvor Choirbook contains 24 compositions: nine masses, nine motets, and six settings of the Magnificat. Seven of the works have missing folio(s), and because they

⁷⁷ Preece, Edwards, and Munro, *Our Awin Scottis Use*.

⁷⁸ Ross, *Music Fyne*.

⁷⁹ Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott.

⁸⁰ Preece, "The Physical Characteristics of the Carvor Choirbook," 131.

⁸¹ Elliott, "The Carver Choir-book," 354.

⁸² Preece, "The Physical Characteristics of the Carvor Choirbook," 139, 142, 144.

are the only extant copies of these pieces, they are impossible to reconstruct.⁸³ Fifteen compositions are unidentified, including two Masses, four Magnificats, five motets, and various fragments.⁸⁴ The Carvor Choirbook contains three works in common with the Eton Choirbook (GB-WRec MS 178), the latter which dates from a few years prior to the Carvor Choirbook.⁸⁵ Most significantly, the only known compositions signed by Robert Carvor are found in the Choirbook: five masses and two motets.

English composers represented in the Choirbook are John Nesbet (d. 1488) (Magnificat), Walter Lambe (c. 1450 – c. 1504) (Magnificat), William Cornyshe (d. 1523) (*Salve regina*), and Robert Fayrfax (1464 – 1521) (*Eterne laudis fillum* and *Ave Deis patris filiai*). Apart from the Carvor Choirbook, these works can only be found in English sources.⁸⁶ Preece explores ways in which Carvor may have acquired these English pieces. One way may have been through Sir John Clerk alias “Inglisman,” an Augustinian friar. Preece discovered that he is recorded as a chaplain to the altar of the Holy Blood in Stirling in August 1502, and described as a canon of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth in May 1531 and as Prior of Scone in November 1544.⁸⁷ Another source may have been English musicians travelling with Princess Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, when she arrived in Scotland in 1503 to marry King James IV.⁸⁸

⁸³ Stevens, “The Manuscript Edinburgh,” 158.

⁸⁴ Preece, “The Physical Characteristics of the Carvor Choirbook,” 130.

⁸⁵ Stevens, “The Manuscript Edinburgh,” 158–59. Grove Online, “Sources, MS, IX, 19”, places the copy date for the Eton Choirbook as 1490 – 1502.

⁸⁶ Preece, “The Contents of the Carvor Choirbook,” 152.

⁸⁷ Preece, “Towards a Bibliography of Robert Carvor,” 124.

⁸⁸ Preece, “The Contents of the Carvor Choirbook,” 154.

The Choirbook includes Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé*, which can also be found in two Vatican manuscripts: VC-Vbv, Cappella Sistina MS 14 and MS 49 and I-La MS 238. Preece notes that Alejandro Planchart suggested that it could have been brought to England by John Hothby and would then have arrived in Scotland with the other English compositions. She notes that it may also have arrived through direct contacts between Scotland and England.⁸⁹ Again Sir John Clerk, chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood in Stirling, may provide a link. The relic of the Holy Blood was in Bruges, where Du Fay had a canonicate. Many Burgundian festivities were held in Bruges, including a wedding and meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468.⁹⁰ Another possibility is that it may have been acquired by Carvor himself during his stay in the Low Countries as a student at the University of Leuven in 1503. What is especially noteworthy about the appearance of Du Fay's mass in the Choirbook is that, apart from Carvor's own works, it is the only piece with a composer's name attached to it. Preece believes that the work had special meaning for Carvor and suggests that he "had been in contact with a group of people for whom Dufay was still a venerable memory."⁹¹

⁸⁹ Preece, "The Contents of the Carvor Choirbook," 155.

⁹⁰ Barbara Hagg-Huglo, private communication, February 3, 2020.

⁹¹ Preece, "The Contents of the Carvor Choirbook," 156.

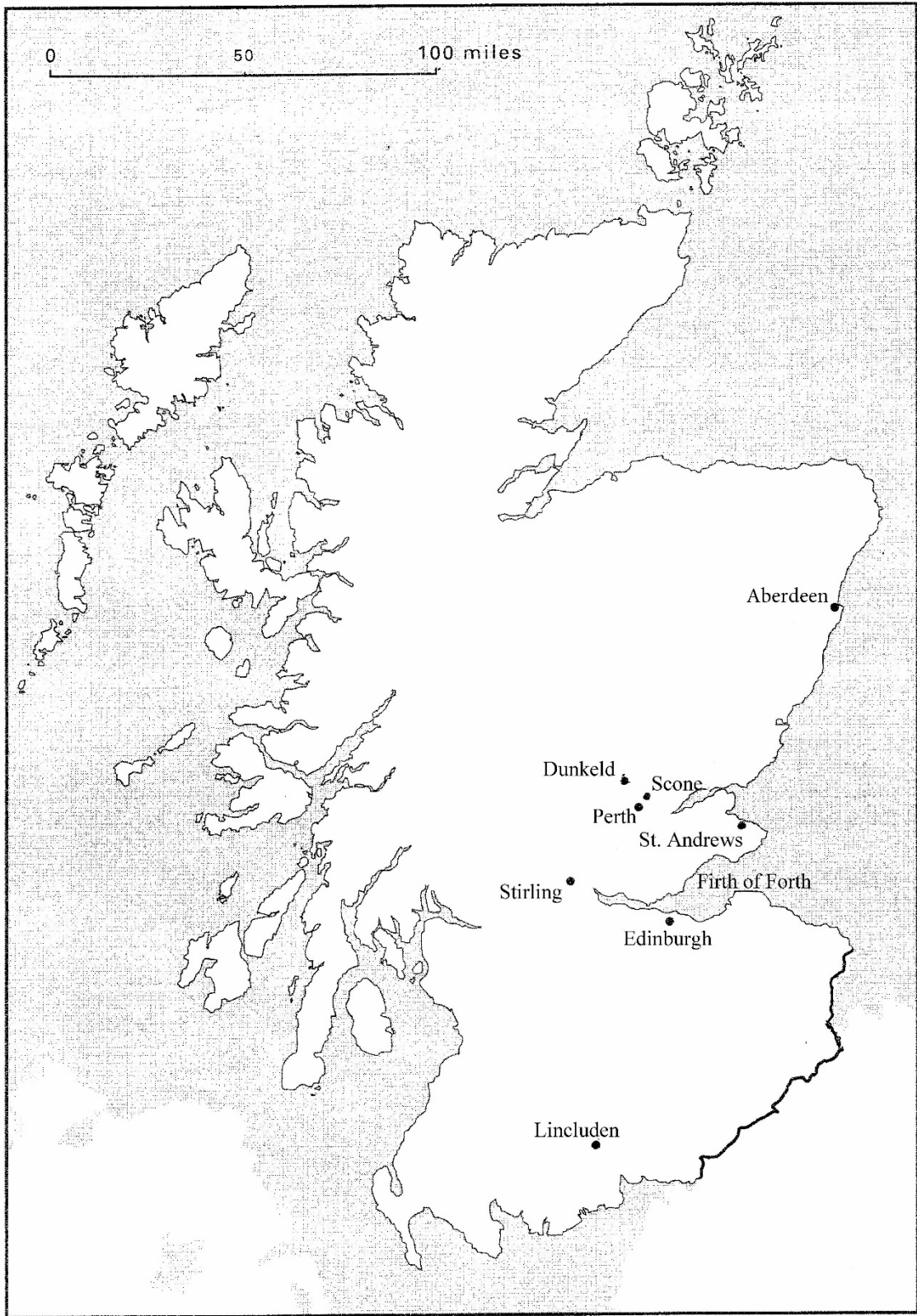


Figure 1 Map of Scotland

Chapter 2 *The Art of Music*: Origin and Authorship

2.1 Locating *The Art of Music*'s Origin

The most extensive research on *The Art of Music* was undertaken by Maynard.⁹² Along with providing commentary on the theoretical and musical content, Maynard explored the possible location, date, and authorship of the treatise.

Maynard consulted with Harold Whitehall⁹³ for assistance with linguistic analysis, which determined that *The Art of Music* was written in a “Scots dialect” spoken as far south as mid-Yorkshire. Comparison of the treatise with excerpts of burgh records of the middle and later sixteenth century from various towns in Scotland confirmed that the spelling matched the Scots dialect falling within the St. Andrews – Edinburgh area. He concludes that *The Art of Music* originated in an area around the Firth of Forth, encompassing the region between St. Andrews and Edinburgh, where the same dialect was spoken (see Figure 1 above), with Edinburgh most likely,⁹⁴ but mentions that Elliott finds the language more related to the dialect of the area around Aberdeen.⁹⁵

⁹² Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise.”

⁹³ Harold Whitehall (1905 – 1986) was a professor at Indiana University 1941 – 1986, serving as department chair 1949 – 1959. He was also Linguistic Director, dictionary division World Public Company, Cleveland, 1941 – 1951, and Linguistic and Etymological Editor New World Dictionary, 1951, 1953.

⁹⁴ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 19.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 172.

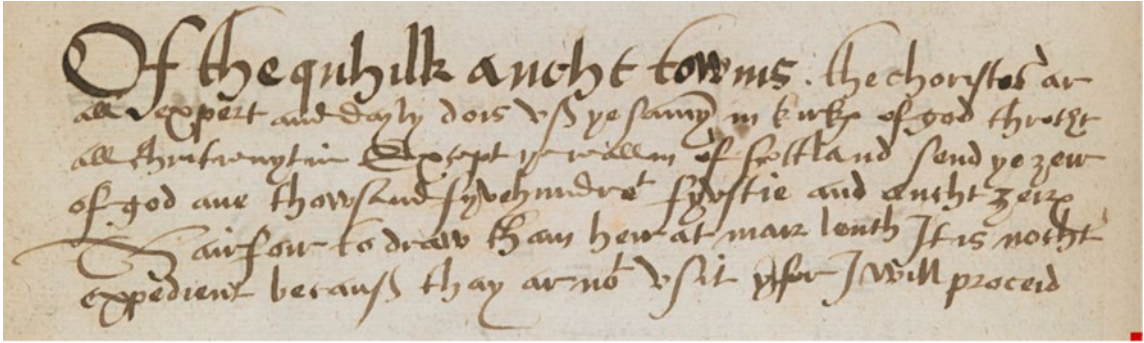


Figure 2 *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.102v

A single date appears in the manuscript within the text in GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.102v (see Figure 2). It reads:

Of the quhilk aucht tounis, the choristeris ar all expert and dayly dois use the samyn in kirkis of God throu[gh]out all Christianytie except the reallm of Scotland send ye zew of god ane thousand fyve hundret fyvftie and aucht zeyris. Theirfoir, to draw tham heir at mair lenth it is nocht expedient because thay ar nocht usit, th[air]for I will proceid.

Concerning the eight tones, the choristers are all expert and daily use the same in churches of God throughout all Christianity except the realm of Scotland since the year of God one thousand five hundred fifty and eight years. Therefore, to draw them here at more length is not expedient because they are not used, therefore I will proceed.

This statement fixes the earliest possible date of the creation of the treatise in 1558. In an effort to identify a possible town for the treatise's origin, Preece searched for significant events in the region that year. One such event took place in Edinburgh on September 1, when St. Giles Cathedral celebrated its patron saint's day. During the procession, attended by the Queen Regent and the prominent leaders of the Church, a riot broke out and the

statue of St. Giles was destroyed.⁹⁶ Given this event, Preece, like Maynard, favors an Edinburgh origin within the dialect region.⁹⁷

One could interpret the passage on f.102v as indicating that 1558 was the last year before a significant change. The St. Giles incident that Preece noted appears to be only one in an escalating pattern of violence, rather than a seminal event. For example, in autumn 1556 in Edinburgh, images of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady, and St. Francis were smashed,⁹⁸ and before the 1558 St. Giles Day festivities, a statue of St. Giles had been “drowned in North Loch (and) after burnt.”⁹⁹ However, only in 1559 would events force a change in religious observances. With the whole region in upheaval that year, the date in the treatise may not be of much assistance in pinpointing a specific town, but it certainly supports Maynard’s contention that, based on linguistic indicators, it was a product of the region surrounding the Firth of Forth. McRoberts notes that the “immemorial round of public monastic prayer ceased in the border abbeys either in July 1559, or later, as a result of the legislation of August 1560.”¹⁰⁰ One can conclude this to be the circumstance referred to by the manuscript passage.

⁹⁶ Knox and Laing, *The Works of John Knox*, I, Appendix XV, 560.

⁹⁷ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 198.

⁹⁸ McRoberts, “Material Destruction,” 428.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 428.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 448.

2.2 Dating the Manuscript: Clues to the Author's Religion and Age

The text of the manuscript refers to students in several places, leading Maynard to conclude that it may have been written for singing schools. Although, as Maynard notes, the structure of *The Art of Music* includes sections on countering and faburden that are not present in Gaffurius's *Practica Musica*, it is noteworthy that they were part of the curriculum for training choristers. Pre-Reformation skills taught in song schools could include plainsong, pricksong, figuration, faburden, descant, square-note, counter, and organ. Although not every school taught every subject, Jane Flynn notes that the skills are always listed in the same order, which appears to indicate a progression of degree of difficulty. Flynn notes that a sixteenth-century Aberdeen song school taught the skills of plainsong through descant.¹⁰¹

Students began their education with the study of Latin grammar and chant. After studying plainsong, learning solmization, mutations of hexachords, and how to read music, students would advance to pricksong, or mensural music. This involved learning to read ligatures, memorizing tables of prolation, and singing canons. After learning pricksong, the students would undertake the more challenging subjects of figuration and faburden, involving improvising one or more voices against a chant,¹⁰² and eventually moving on to descant. Flynn describes 'square-note' as improvisation against mensural melodies rather than against chant melodies, with the lowest part being derived from a polyphonic composition. 'Countering' involved improvising a melody below the chant, a skill more

¹⁰¹ Flynn, "The Education of Choristers," 182.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 183.

suiting to older singers with a lower vocal range.¹⁰³ The subjects discussed in *The Art of Music* include mensural music, with a chapter on canons (GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.30r-45r), counterpoint (ff.46r-67v), setting of songs (ff.68r-112r), which included countering (f.85r) and faburden (f.94r), and proportions (ff.112v-129r). These parallel the skills taught in the singing schools, supporting the premise that *The Art of Music* was written with the education of choristers in mind.

When the Mass was abolished in Scotland, polyphonic church music was eliminated, and singing schools to train choristers were no longer necessary. Nearly all closed in 1560, but those in St. Andrews and Edinburgh.¹⁰⁴ Aberdeen revived their singing school in 1570, appointing Andrew Kemp as master. Only in 1579, upon King James VI's orders, did most new singing schools open. Given the presumed purpose of the treatise and the resurgence of singing schools, Maynard places its creation near the year 1580.¹⁰⁵ By 1580, however, there was no need for a treatise explaining countering and faburden techniques and with music examples appropriate only for the Catholic liturgy.

The purpose of the manuscript may have been to provide a guide for the instruction of choristers, but the destruction of Catholic institutions beginning in 1559 may have provided a more pressing motivation for writing this treatise than the resurgence of singing schools. With so many books lost to flames, *The Art of Music* may have been an effort to preserve pre-Reformation knowledge that was being cast aside. If this was the case, rather

¹⁰³ Flynn, "The Education of Choristers," 188.

¹⁰⁴ Munro, "'Sang Schwylls' and 'Music Schools,'" 65.

¹⁰⁵ Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 170, 172.

than dating the manuscript to the resurgence of song schools, around 1580, one could justify a date closer to 1559.

Maynard and Preece focused on the year 1558 and did not explore the phrase “throughout all Christianity” found in the passage of text on f.102v. In essence, the passage states that choristers are experts in the eight church tones and use them daily throughout Christianity (that is, throughout the Catholic world), except in Scotland (a Catholic nation by its inclusion in “all Christianity”) where the eight tones had not been sung since 1558. That statement that the eight tones are sung in all Christianity equates Christianity with Catholicism, and indicates that the author remained firmly Catholic since the Protestants did not sing the Catholic psalmody. Although an Act of Parliament was drawn up in 1560 pronouncing Scotland officially Protestant, it was not until 1567 that the resolution passed.¹⁰⁶ Prior to 1567, Scotland was still officially Catholic with a Catholic monarch, despite the fact that the Latin Office was replaced with a daily service consisting of prayers and scriptural readings in the new church.¹⁰⁷ These events and the wording of the statement on f.102v of the treatise indicate, therefore, that the treatise would have been written by an avowed Catholic between the years 1559 and 1567.

Perhaps most noteworthy, the manuscript can be construed as a private act of defiance. Given the provisions of the First Book of Discipline, the setting of Latin Mass texts in the music examples is a subversive act. That no lyrics are provided for the

¹⁰⁶ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 196–97.

¹⁰⁷ Munro, “The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,” 275.

Protestant music examples and that the emphasis is on ornate compositional techniques further casts this as a stand against the Reformation.

Maynard notes that Elliott, in an unpublished document, offers the theory that this copy of the treatise, with its frequent corrections, was copied from an earlier manuscript.¹⁰⁸ The first book of the treatise contains two fourth chapters. The third chapter of the first books ends by introducing the Ferd (fourth) “So endis the pause and beginnis ye ferd chaptur” on f.5r. The Ferd chapter is followed by “The fourt (fourth) chaptur – tym” on f.6r. Later in the first book there are two Nynt chapters, one on imperfection (f.15v) and one on points (f.20v). Given these numbering inconsistencies, an alternate view is that perhaps the corrections and numbering errors indicate that *The Art of Music* is a draft rather than the effort of a professional scribe, and possibly the work of an older author, as noted in Section 1.1 above.

2.3 Exploring Significant Characteristics of the Music Examples

Music examples in the treatise draw heavily on Latin church music, with *cantus firmi* coming from Sarum tenors, and some of the techniques presented relating only to plainchant. This led Preece to conclude that the compiler “therefore must have lived long enough under the old regime to have regarded plainsong as his vernacular.”¹⁰⁹ An indication of comfort with older compositional techniques can be found in the canon section, where examples exhibit fifteenth or early sixteenth century style, with Landini

¹⁰⁸ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 167.

¹⁰⁹ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 195.

cadences and works by Josquin and La Rue. Further indications of an author comfortable with older techniques can be found in the countering and faburden sections, which appear to be original¹¹⁰ and Preece believes may be associated with the Chapel Royal.¹¹¹

Significantly, the canon section of *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.30r-45r, contains both direct and indirect references to the *L'homme armé* tune. Maynard notes that the tenor of the eighth canon, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.32v, Figure 3, is a setting of that tune.¹¹² He could not find a connection between any known composition and the directions provided in the inscription, “Yield to the major [prolation].”¹¹³



The image shows a page from a manuscript titled "The aucht canon". The title is written in a large, decorative Gothic script. Below the title is a block of handwritten text in a cursive hand, which appears to be a Latin inscription. The text reads: "In this pnt example. The sing of perfect of the left is Justitu- before to be placit. Quibille beand zemoit. The sing of ye perfect of the main thzaw strength of this pzecept Canon dois ye supie place occipie". Below the text are two staves of musical notation. The first staff is labeled "Cede maiori" and the second is labeled "Resolucio". Both staves contain a single line of music with square notes on a four-line staff, typical of early printed or handwritten music notation.

Figure 3 “The aucht canon,” *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.23v

¹¹⁰ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 102.

¹¹¹ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 1, 98.

¹¹² Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 58.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 58–59.

Both the tenth and eleventh canons (GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.33r), Figure 4, present very similar tenor parts, whose first six notes are a variation of the *L'homme armé* tune. The inscriptions for these two canons, “Clama ne cesses” and “Gaude cum gaudentibus,”¹¹⁴ can be found in Josquin’s *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, although Maynard notes that there appears to be no musical connection between the treatise examples and Josquin’s canons. The author of *The Art of Music* would have had access to the Josquin canons through one of the sources proposed by Maynard, Finck’s *Practica musica*.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Des Prez, “*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*,” ed. Rodin, New Josquin Edition, vol. 6. See “Tenor. *Clama ne cesses*” in the *Agnus Dei*, p. 66, and “Tenor. *Osanna Gaude cum gaudentibus*” in the *Sanctus*, p. 61.

¹¹⁵ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 60.

fol 33 33

The tent canon

In this tenor suppos divers parts be content, Nocht yeles in
 form of the parsis ye modulator is no forbiddin his sãne to copy.
 So ye parts fynde a-f-z ufrat admittin and to non thing redreie
 The auctor in this waye supetrat

clama ne cesses

distantus
superhymn
tenorem

Canon the levent

Suppos in this present tenor no forme of proportio
 is content. Nocht yeles ye skiznich of Canon deis committ ye
 modulator singand ye tenor. Thathc maist consult with vther
 modulat in canticis proportioat. Da zis mauidat deis prore

gande
tmy gande
dentibus

altus

bassus

Figure 4 “The tent canon” and “Canon the levent,” *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.33r

The inclusion of music examples of the *L'homme armé* tune in the treatise may be significant, because the tune enjoyed its height of popularity during the second half of the fifteenth century. More than 40 polyphonic Mass cycles employing the tune were composed between 1450 and the end of the seventeenth century,¹¹⁶ the majority of which were composed before 1500.¹¹⁷ They have been linked with the Burgundian court, the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the call to Crusade.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the *L'homme armé* tune itself may have been composed for the Order of the Golden Fleece as a sort of “informal marching song.”¹¹⁹ Many interpretations of the allegorical meaning of “the armed man” have been offered: Christ, saintly or temporal warriors, Crusading knights armed both physically and spiritually, the Priest in the performance of the Mass, and even the humble Christian, armed with righteousness.¹²⁰

As is well known, the use of *L'homme armé* as a *cantus firmus* was a compositional challenge undertaken by leading fifteenth-century composers. Heinrich Glarean (1488 – 1563), in his 1547 *Dodecachordon*, noted that Josquin used his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* and *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* to display his compositional skill.¹²¹ It is noteworthy that Robert Carvor is the lone Scot, indeed the only composer in

¹¹⁶ Fallows, “*L'homme armé*.”

¹¹⁷ Haar, “Palestrina as Historicist.”

¹¹⁸ Fallows, “*L'homme armé*.”

¹¹⁹ Planchart, “The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*,” 312.

¹²⁰ Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 198-202; Kirkman, *The Cultural Life*, 98-134; Hagg, “The Mystic Lamb,” 33-34.

¹²¹ Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*. III:441. ‘Ad ostentationem autem artis haud dubie duas illas Missas instituit Lhomme arme.’

the British Isles, who set this tune. While Maynard acknowledges the singularity of a Scottish composer of a *Missa L'homme armé*, he erroneously attributes the Scottish *Missa L'homme armé* in passing to Robert Johnson,¹²² who fled to England in 1528. Authorship of the *Missa L'homme armé* is established by Carvor's signature, which appears at the end of the composition. In Walter Frere's 1932 description of the contents of GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, the *Missa L'homme armé* is unnamed, but was one of what Frere called "Four Masses in 4 parts, the last signed."¹²³ Stevens' more comprehensive inventory of 1950 identified this mass by name and attributed it to Carvor. That the *L'homme armé* tune is also included in a Scottish music treatise written more than 50 years after the height of the tune's popularity and in a culture removed from the Burgundian Court offers potential ties between *The Art of Music* and Carvor's work.

2.4 Linking *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook

The Art of Music is directly linked to the Carvor Choirbook through one revealing music example. Maynard notes that the *L'homme armé* tune appears as a tenor in a composition in the final section of *The Art of Music* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.127v),¹²⁴ Figure 5. The referenced tenor is a direct citation of Carvor's *Missa L'homme armé* in GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.62v, its only source (see Figure 6).

¹²² Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 59.

¹²³ Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, 53.

¹²⁴ Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 59.



Figure 5 *The Art of Music* example, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.127v

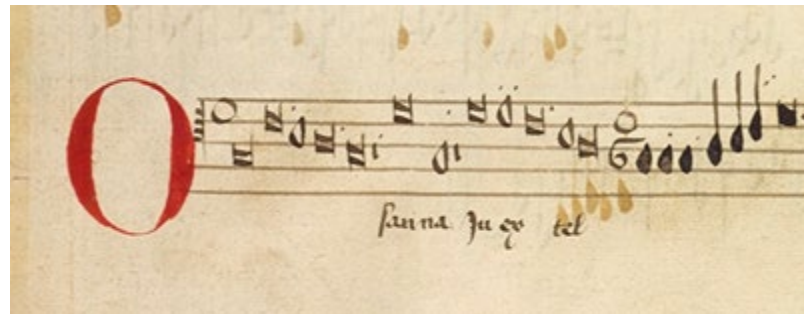


Figure 6 *The Carvor Choirbook*, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.62v

The voices accompanying the example in *The Art of Music* are different from those found in the Choirbook, supporting the premise that the author of the treatise was a composer in his own right who was familiar enough with the Choirbook to extract a section and re-set it in order to illustrate a given topic.

Preece notes another direct link between *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook in the presentation of countering. At the top of f.175 of GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, there is a fragment of a psalm-tune setting. Preece explains that it is significant, because it is “a perfect example of the process of countering as described in GB-Lbl MS Add. 4911 and is the only known example of this technique other than in the treatise.”¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 198.

One final link between *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook can be found not in its music but in its artwork. Preece separates the caricatures found in the Carvor Choirbook into three categories: “those with pointed ears, those with leaves drawn against the backs of their heads, and those with neither pointed ears nor leaves.”¹²⁶ Using the style of dress and hair represented in these drawings, she attempts to date the manuscript. She concludes that the styles represented by the figures come from northwest Europe and date from the early sixteenth century.¹²⁷

The Art of Music contains only a few embellished letters. These appear to be amateur flights of fancy, including frontal faces (GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.5r and 14r) and a rabbit (f.46r), Figure 7).



Figure 7 Embellished letters from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.5r, 14r, and 46r

Neither Maynard nor Preece, in their discussions of *The Art of Music*, make reference to its artwork,¹²⁸ but one particular character in the treatise is noteworthy. This character drawn in profile in the letter “S” on GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.23v, bears a remarkable similarity to many of the characters found in the Carvor Choirbook, particularly that in the

¹²⁶ Preece, “The Physical Characteristics of the Carvor Choirbook,” 142.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹²⁸ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous.’”

bottom margin of GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.96r (Figure 8). Both faces are in full profile, with a ridged bump on the forehead and an angular nose and chin. Both heads are tilted back at roughly 45-degree angles, and both have what appears to be a tongue protruding from their mouths, which may represent singing.¹²⁹ An initial search did not reveal similar drawings in other manuscripts from the period.



The Art of Music,
GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.23v

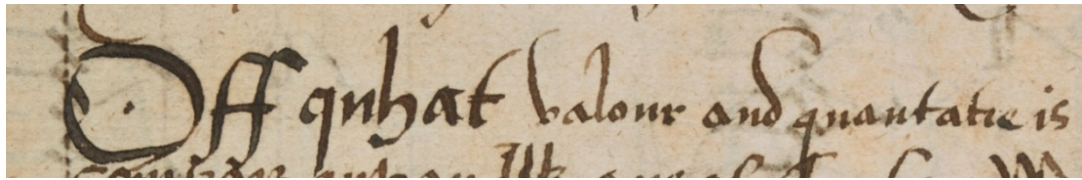


Carvor Choirbook
GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.96r

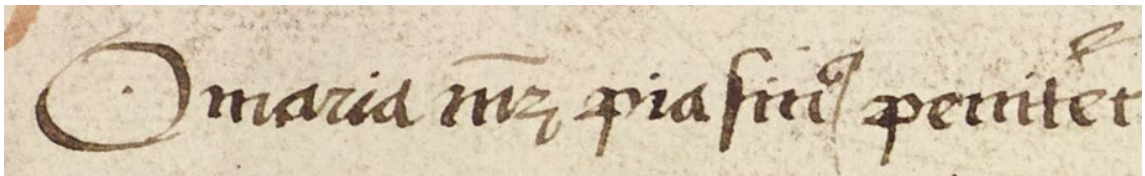
Figure 8 Comparison of faces in *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook

Although the caricature in the Carvor Choirbook is larger than the one in the treatise, seems to have been drawn with a finer pen, and contains more detail, there is an undeniable resemblance between the drawings in the two manuscripts. This supports the argument that the author of *The Art of Music* had earlier laid pen to the Choirbook.

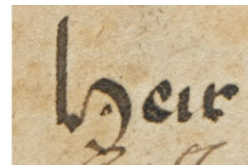
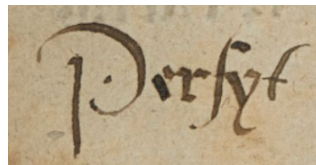
¹²⁹ The protruding tongue is also reminiscent of carved gargoyles. Patrick Allies, private communication,, April 3, 2020.



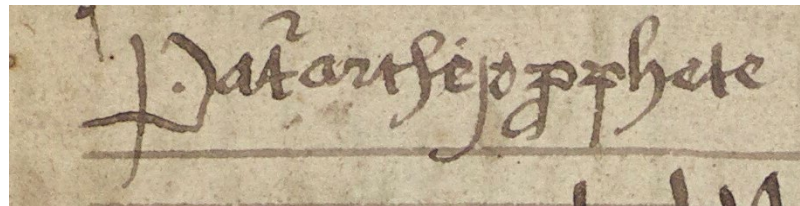
The Art of Music, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.9v.



Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.180v.



The Art of Music, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.1v and 3v.



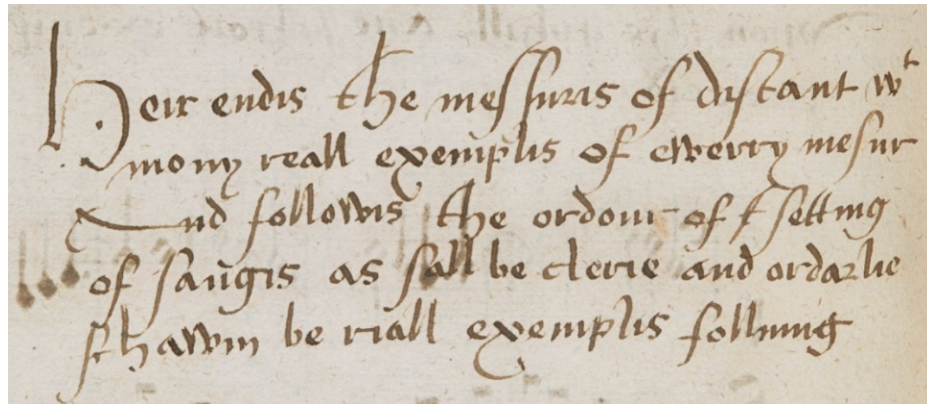
Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.1r.

Figure 9 Comparison of embellished letters

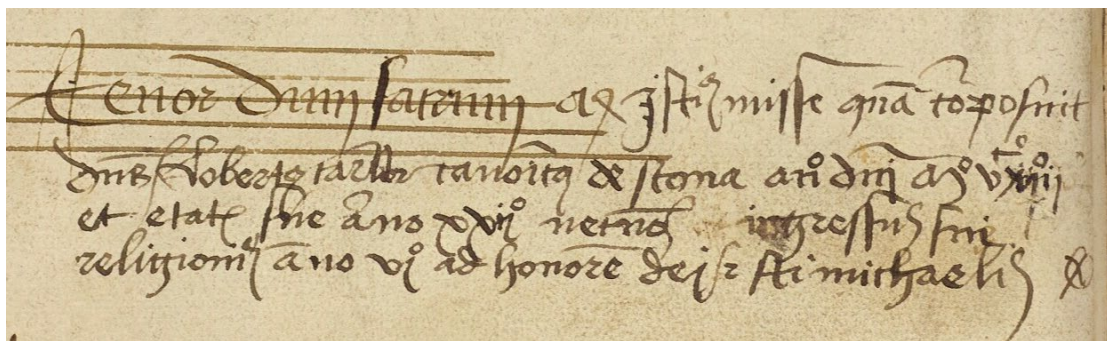
Another shared characteristic between *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook is the occasional embellishment of capital letters in the text. The embellishment takes the

form of a dot placed in the center of the letter, most frequently in an “O,” but other letters such as “H,” “P,” or “Q” may also appear dotted.

Figure 9 shows a comparison between an “O” and a “P” from *The Art of Music* and from the Carvor Choirbook, as well an “H” from the treatise.



The Art of Music, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.67v



Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, f.71v

Figure 10 Comparison of handwriting

An initial comparison of the handwriting in these two manuscripts can be made using the samples in Figure 10, taken from a paragraph on f.67v of *The Art of Music*, GB-

Lbl Add. MS 4911, and from Carvor's inscription in the Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, on f.71v. When considering the differences in the handwriting, it should be noted that the Carvor Choirbook was created over a span of several decades and is written in Latin rather than Scots. Expert analysis would be required to offer an opinion as to whether the texts of the two manuscripts were penned by the same individual. A cache of more than fifty documents relating to Scone Abbey during Carvor's lifetime were found at the Scone Palace and are now in the National Archives of Scotland, and many include Carvor's signature. These would offer further handwriting examples for comparison.¹³⁰ A sample of the letters, Table 1, illustrates that, while not all letters are formed in the same way, there are many similarities. For example, the stem of the "d" slopes to the left, the tail of the "h" hooks left, and the letter "x" is made without lifting the pen from the page.

¹³⁰ Ross, "Robert Carver, Canon of Scone," 96.



















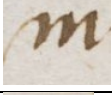




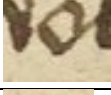


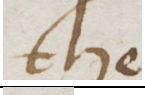



Letter	<i>The Art of Music</i> GB- Lbl Add. MS 4911	<i>Carvor Choirbook</i> GB- En MS Adv. 5.1.15
a	 f.67v	 f.71v
b	 f.67v	 f.71v
c	 f.67v	 f.71v
d	 f.67v	 f.71v
e	 f.67v	 f.71v
g	 f.67v	 f.71v
h	 f.67v	 f.71v
i	 f. 67v	 f.71v
l	 f.67v	 f.71v
m	 f.67v	 f.71v
n	 f.67v	 f.15r
o	 f.67v	 f.71v
r	 f.67v	 f.71v
t	 f.67v	 f.71v
x	 f.67v	 f.71v

Figure 11 Comparison of letters

2.5 Proposing Candidates for Authorship of *The Art of Music*

From this exploration, we conclude that the author of *The Art of Music* was:

1. Scottish – he wrote in the vernacular, and Maynard provided Whitehall’s linguistic analysis determined that the author was living in the St. Andrews-Edinburgh region, or possibly in Aberdeen.
2. He lived between 1559 – c. 1580, or perhaps the even between 1559 – 1567.
3. He may have been associated with a song school or the education of choristers.
4. He was raised in the Catholic Church and was probably a recusant.
5. He was a person of some years, and comfortable with pre-Reformation compositional techniques.
6. He was possibly associated with the Chapel Royal.
7. He was familiar with the *L’homme armé* tune that had been popular on the Continent 50-100 years earlier.
8. He was a composer who created music examples rather than borrowing them from the sources of his texts
9. He was familiar with and had access to the Carvor Choirbook, as well as to several published music treatises, so must have had a library that survived the Reformation purges.
10. The scribe of penned initials of *The Art of Music* appears to have had a hand in the Choirbook.

Flynn discusses *The Art of Music* when explaining training in faburden of the choristers, but offers no opinion as to authorship.¹³¹ Maynard, having isolated the origins to Edinburgh-St. Andrews region by studying linguistic characteristics, considered Edinburgh more likely. Edinburgh was a cultural center with a song school. Maynard noted the revival of the song school in 1579, with Andrew Buchan named as master. Andrew Buchan was also a canon of the Chapel Royal, making him one of Maynard's candidates as author of *The Art of Music*. Little is known of his life, and no compositions by Buchan are known to exist.¹³²

Maynard notes that Elliott, in an unpublished document, finds the language to be related to north-east Scotland and the Aberdeen region. With Aberdeen being another Scottish cultural center, Elliott offers John Black as a possible author. Maynard identified at least two works by John Black in the music examples of *The Art of Music*. Black, master of the Aberdeen song school from 1556 – 1560, was re-appointed master when he returned to Aberdeen in 1575. Black was alive during the period when the treatise was written, dying in 1587, making him another possible candidate as author. Maynard makes the case that both Buchan and Black would have been old enough to have been trained in the music of the Catholic church.¹³³ Maynard equivocates between the two choices, noting that if more music examples of the two were to be found, a stylistic comparison could offer a clue as to which is the more likely author.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Flynn, "The Education of Choristers," 185–86.

¹³² Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 170–71.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 91, 172, 173–74.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 174.

Preece, based on the events of 1558, favors Edinburgh as the origin of the treatise. She also suggests Andrew Buchan as a possible author, noting that, given the lack of evidence, it may have been someone professionally close to him. She favors Buchan not only because he was master of the song school in Edinburgh, but also since as a witness to a 1551 instrument, Buchan was described as a canon of the Chapel Royal. She further notes that the *faburden* and *countering* techniques described in the treatise may represent the practice at the Chapel Royal.¹³⁵ Additionally, the document Buchan witnessed was drawn up in Stirling in the room of Robert Arnot. Although Robert Arnot may be synonymous with Robert Carvor, Preece makes no connection between Carvor and the treatise.

Preece provides a further link to Aberdeen. *The Art of Music* contains an inscription on the bottom of f.1r, which reads “Liber Colegij Musei Mineruae ex dono Francis Kinaston Regentis 1635.” Sir Francis Kynaston (Kinaston) (1586/7–1642) founded the Musaeum Minervae in 1635.¹³⁶ Located in his house in London, it was an academy of learning for the nobility and gentry.¹³⁷ The seven-year course of study at Kynaston’s institution included the subjects of coins, fencing, antiquities, and music.¹³⁸ *The Art of Music* was part of a collection of “books, manuscripts, musical and mathematical instruments, paintings, statues, etc.”¹³⁹ Quoting Elliott, Preece notes that the book “was

¹³⁵ Preece, “A Note on ‘Scottish Anonymous,’” 198.

¹³⁶ Smuts, “Sir Francis Kynaston.”

¹³⁷ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 1.

¹³⁸ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 8.

¹³⁹ Maynard, “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” Vol.1, 2.

probably part of Andro Melvill's library, listed under the title 'ane grytt book written of the airt of music.'"140 Kynaston had a link with Aberdeen, having provided English translations for Arthur Johnston's book of Latin poetry published in London in 1635. Johnston was Principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen, and would have been in a position to help locate some gems for Kynaston's collection.¹⁴¹

Given the profile developed here of the author of *The Art of Music*, it will be shown that Robert Carvor is the one person whose known biography corresponds to all of its criteria.

¹⁴⁰ Preece, "A Note on 'Scottish Anonymous,'" 196, N5.

¹⁴¹ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 8.

Chapter 3 The Case for Robert Carvor

3.1 Robert Carvor's Biography

Over the years, scholars have pieced together a biography of Robert Carvor using information from inscriptions in the Choirbook, university rolls, wills, and other official documents. As a result, we have a clearer picture of Carvor's life than we have of the other men offered as possible authors of *The Art of Music*.

The first keys to Carvor's biography are found in two inscriptions in the Carvor Choirbook. Through comparison with Carvor's signature in several Scone Abbey documents, Preece verified that these inscriptions are in Carvor's hand. The first inscription appears on *Missa Pater creator omnium*, f.5v, and translates to "The mass made by Master Robert Carvor in the year of the Lord 1546, and in his fifty-ninth year, also forty-three years after entering holy orders."¹⁴² From this one learns that Carvor was born in 1487 or 1488 and entered religious life in 1503 or 1504. Preece notes that these dates are consistent with the custom in Scotland for a novice monk to enter the monastery at about age 16.¹⁴³

The second inscription appears on f.70v and translates to "The Tenor, *Dum sacrum mysterium*, of the mass which Master Robert Carvor composed in honor of God and St. Michael; canon of Scone in the year of Our Lord 1513 and aged twenty-two; or in the sixth year after entering holy orders."¹⁴⁴ This inscription confirms that Carvor took holy orders

¹⁴² Preece, "Towards a Bibliography of Robert Carvor," 102.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

at around age 16, but would place the date at about 1509 rather than 1513, given a birth year of 1487/8. The date 1513, however, shows evidence of alteration. Preece reports that it appears to have originally been written as 1511, and subsequently changed to 1506 and then 1513.¹⁴⁵ Preece notes that the “statutory age for becoming a canon was twenty-four,” and adds that, upon closer inspection, the date at one point may have been intended as 1508, aligning better with a 1587/8 birth year.

More information about Carvor’s life came to light when Preece discovered a student “Robertus de S[anc]to Johanne in Scotia” in the University of Leuven matriculation rolls of 1503/4, whom she thinks may be Robert Carvor.¹⁴⁶ St. John’s was the sixteenth-century name for Perth, the town two miles from Scone. She notes that monasteries of twenty or more were instructed to “keep about five percent of them at some university,”¹⁴⁷ and it was the practice to send musicians and students in general to the Low Countries for their education.¹⁴⁸ This would place Carvor on the Continent at a time when distinguished composers were still displaying their skill in mass settings of the *L’homme armé* tune. Carvor’s name is associated with the *L’homme armé* tune, not only for his own *Missa L’homme armé*, but also for having a copy of Du Fay’s *Missa L’homme armé* in his Choirbook. A sign of Carvor’s reverence for this work by Du Fay, which was some 50

¹⁴⁵ Preece, “Towards a Bibliography of Robert Carvor,” 103.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

years old when Carvor was in Leuven, may be the fact that it is the only composition in the Choirbook with an attribution other than to Carvor's own pieces.

In 1998, Ross published an article adding significantly to the Carvor biography.¹⁴⁹ The Aberdeen Council Register contains an entry for March 31, 1505, concerning the inheritance of land belonging to Andrew Gray by his nephew, “dompnus Robertus Kervour ... canonicus de Skona.”¹⁵⁰ Andrew Gray, Carvor's maternal uncle, was perpetual chaplain of the altar of St. Michael in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, one of the largest parish churches in the country.¹⁵¹ Gray instituted a Mass of the Name of Jesus there, which Elliott suggests may be noteworthy when considering Carvor's motet *O bone Jesu* “with its constantly recurring fermata-marked settings of the name ‘Jesu.’”¹⁵² The use of fermata, particularly to emphasize a name in masses and motets, was a technique frequently employed in the late fifteenth century. Carvor's use of fermatas may be an indication of Du Fay's influence. Bonnie Blackburn notes that “of all the composers in the fermata repertory, the composer by far the best represented is Dufay: no fewer than twenty of his compositions have fermata passages: ten masses, eight motets, and two chansons.”¹⁵³

While not proof of Carvor's birth in Aberdeen, he had family roots there, and records indicate that his mother married in Aberdeen in 1478/9. The inscription on f.70v in the Choirbook, on the ten-voice *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium* honoring St. Michael

¹⁴⁹ Ross, “New Roots.”

¹⁵⁰ Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott, xi.

¹⁵¹ Ross, “New Roots,” 8.

¹⁵² Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott, xi.

¹⁵³ Ceulemans, *Théorie et analyse musicales*, 25-26.

may relate to Carvor's uncle's position, rather than to the chapel at Stirling. The modifications of date may indicate that it was composed over a period of time, and Elliott proposes that it may have been begun in Aberdeen and completed in Stirling.¹⁵⁴ If Carvor were born and raised in Aberdeen, this could also account for the possible Aberdeen speech patterns in *The Art of Music* noted by Elliott.¹⁵⁵ Ross further explains that in Aberdeen, Carvor would have had access to excellent musical training.¹⁵⁶

This inheritance record adds some confusion to the date of Carvor's birth. If he was canon of Scone in 1505, he was either born earlier than the believed 1487/8 and the inscription dates are incorrect, or Carvor became canon at a younger age than was customary. Elliott explains that the term 'dompnus' referred to canons in the "early post-novitiate stage."¹⁵⁷ Ross makes a case for Carvor being born in 1484/5, giving a possible timeline that includes his taking religious orders in 1500/1.¹⁵⁸ Ross would later conclude that 1487/8 is generally accepted as his birthyear.¹⁵⁹

Roger Bowers, in a 1999 response to Ross's article, makes the case that Carvor's birthyear was, indeed, 1487/8. He interprets the first inscription's reference to "forty-three years after entering holy orders" as an indication that he "took his final vows as a canon of

¹⁵⁴ Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott, xi.

¹⁵⁵ Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 172.

¹⁵⁶ Ross, "New Roots," 9.

¹⁵⁷ Carvor, *The Complete Works of Robert Carver*, ed. Elliott, xi.

¹⁵⁸ Ross, "New Roots," 10.

¹⁵⁹ Ross, "Robert Carver, Canon of Scone," 95.

the Augustinian order – before the end of 1504, when in his 16th year,”¹⁶⁰ which would support the Aberdeen Council Register referral to him as canon of Scone in 1505. While this would make him unusually young to take his final vows, Bowers notes that there were other youthful canons in the Augustinian order, citing a 13-year-old becoming canon of the abbey of St. Osyth in 1525.¹⁶¹ In the end, the first inscription, being in Carvor’s hand with no evident erasures, seems to be the most reliable for fixing Carvor’s birthyear.

Robert Carvor lived until at least 1568, his last known signature on an official document being dated from August that year.¹⁶² He signed some of his compositions “Robert Carvor alias arnat,”¹⁶³ which has led to some controversy since the name Robert Arnot¹⁶⁴ appears in both Chapel Royal records and burgh records in Stirling. Preece makes the case that Carvor is the same person as Robert Arnot, canon of the Chapel Royal, and also possibly Robert Arnot, a prominent member of the burgh council. Bowers explains that it is possible for an Augustinian canon to be granted leave of absence from his home monastery to serve elsewhere, so it is indeed possible Carvor was both canon at Scone and serving in Stirling.¹⁶⁵ Bowers further notes that upon entry into a religious order, men would adopt a new surname to symbolize their departure from the secular life. While often a name of a place or a saint, it is not unheard of to take the name of a patron. In this case,

¹⁶⁰ Bowers, “Robert Carver,” 8.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶² Elliott, “Carvor [Carver, Arnot], Robert.”

¹⁶³ See Carvor Choirbook, GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, ff.8r, 15r, 66r, and 69r.

¹⁶⁴ The spelling ‘Arnot’ is used throughout this thesis except where ‘Arnat’ appears in a quotation.

¹⁶⁵ Bowers, “Robert Carver,” 9.

that would most likely have been Bishop David Arnot.¹⁶⁶ Bowers, however, does not equate Carvor with the Stirling townsman Robert Arnot, stating that it is not possible for a priest and member of a religious order “to be identified with the Robert Arnat who from 1516 to 1550 occurs in the borough and parish church records as a townsman of Stirling in frequent occupation of high civic office; that must have been a different individual with the same name.”¹⁶⁷

Ross does not associate Carvor with canon Robert Arnot, contending that Carvor remained in Scone his entire adult life.¹⁶⁸ He notes more recent discoveries of more than 50 administrative documents from the abbey referring to Carvor that range in years from 1538/9 to 1568.¹⁶⁹ As Ross describes it: “This creates a convincing picture of a monk dedicating lifelong service to his monastery and thereby his monarch and his God.”¹⁷⁰ Ross provides a table of said documents.¹⁷¹ It may be noteworthy that, while they do span that period, they include one from 1538/9, 2 from October and November 1541, one from April 1542, and four from the fall of 1542, with the rest dating from August 1543 onward.

Bowers explains the possibility that Carvor and Robert Arnot at the Chapel Royal, some 35 miles and two days journey from Scone, are one and the same. He states that Carvor may have worked at the Chapel Royal for 35 years as one of the ten minor canons

¹⁶⁶ Bowers, “Robert Carver,” 9–10.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶⁸ Ross, “New Roots,” 10.

¹⁶⁹ Ross, “Robert Carver, Canon of Scone,” 96.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix 2, 107–10.

prior to his promotion to full canon on July 13, 1543, “returning to the more relaxed existence of the cloister at Scone only as he reached his later 50s.”¹⁷² Note that the Scone documents place Carvor permanently at the abbey beginning in August of that year. Bowers suggests that Carvor, during his tenure at the Chapel Royal, may have served as “Master of the Bairns,”¹⁷³ *i.e.* educating choristers. Bowers notes that receiving a full canonry would have “provided him with a residence inside of or in the vicinity of Stirling Castle”¹⁷⁴ which could explain how *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook, if they were in his Stirling lodgings, would have survived the burning of Scone in 1559 and the subsequent years of continued destruction. Elliott also ties Carvor to Stirling, noting that being a canon of Scone would not necessarily require residency there.¹⁷⁵ With efforts to establish a musical college in the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle, Elliott notes that it “may have well housed the Carvor [*sic*] Choirbook.”¹⁷⁶

Ross develops a timeline of Carvor’s works, in part based on stylistic changes. He dates the motets *O bone Jesu* and *Gaude flore virginali* and the *Missa L’homme armé* to 1506 – 8, while Carvor may still have been on the Continent. He dates *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium* to 1508 and Carvor’s possible return to Scotland. Ross notes that Carvor could combine both a highly decorative and a more austere style, as found in *Missa Pater Creator omnium* and *Missa Fera pessima*, and his style appears to evolve with the trend away from

¹⁷² Bowers, “Robert Carver,” 10.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Elliott, “The Carver Choir-book,” 356.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

the highly ornate with the masses found in the Dowglas-Fishear Partbooks.¹⁷⁷ Ross notes that one of the last compositions in the Choirbook is a simple two-part setting of Psalm 1 (f.175), which may represent “some attempt by the ageing composer to understand the very latest developments in music being written for the New Church.”¹⁷⁸

From this information the following timeline of Carvor’s life can be constructed:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1487/8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• born, probably in Aberdeen, subsequently attending one of the song schools there |
| 1503/4 | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• takes religious orders, becoming a canon regular of the Abbey of Scone• enters University of Leuven and gains exposure to the <i>L’homme armé</i> tradition |
| 1505 | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• inherits property in Aberdeen from his maternal uncle, Sir Andrew Gray, chaplain at St. Nicholas in Aberdeen• is noted as a canon of Scone in the Aberdeen Council Register |
| 1506 – 1508 | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• possibly still on the Continent• composes motets <i>O bone Jesu</i> and <i>Gaude flore virginali</i>• composes <i>Missa L’homme armé</i> |
| 1508 | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• composes <i>Missa Dum sacrum mysterium</i>¹⁷⁹ in his 22nd year |

¹⁷⁷ Ross, “Robert Carver, Canon of Scone,” 102, 106.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁷⁹ The earliest date on the transcription associated with *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium* has also been interpreted as 1506.

- 1543 • becomes full canon of the Chapel Royal, securing a residence in Stirling
- 1546 • composes *Missa Pater creator omnium* in his 59th year
- 1543 – 1568 • composes *Missa Fera pessima* and possibly *Missa Felix namque* and *Missa Cantate Domino*, found in the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks
- 1568 • latest known Carvor signature

3.2 Robert Carvor as the Anonymous Scot

None of the scholarship suggests Robert Carvor as a possible author of *The Art of Music*. Maynard, incorrectly identifying Johnson as the composer of the Scottish *Missa L'homme armé*, may have been unfamiliar with Carvor's works. When searching for a candidate for authorship, Bowers, Elliott, Preece, and Ross were guided by two conclusions that would have eliminated Carvor. First, their association of the treatise with the re-emergence of song schools limited the choices to candidates who were known affiliates of song schools, which Carvor was not, and favored a date of creation nearer 1580, when Carvor would have been in his 90s. Since we know that not all song schools ceased operation during the period, even if the treatise were written for the purpose of educating choristers, its date may realistically fall well before 1580. Second, limiting the location of authorship to the cities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, or Aberdeen excludes Carvor, who is not known to have lived in any of these locations, from consideration. An interpretation of the phrase "send the year of God ane thousand five hundred fyvftie and aucht yeiris" on f.102v of the treatise as "after 1558" or "from 1559 onward," renders 1558 events irrelevant

and places the focus on events of 1559. This would expand the possible area of origin from Edinburgh to the whole region surrounding the Firth of Forth.

How does what has been pieced together here about Carvor's life match the profile developed here of the author of *The Art of Music*? As a canon of Scone and later Stirling, Carvor would have spent his adult life in the St. Andrews-Edinburgh region identified as using the same dialect as the treatise. His having grown up in Aberdeen may account for some of the more Northern linguistic traits in the treatise that Elliott noted.

Carvor was born in 1487/8 and lived until at least 1568. The paragraph on f.102v of the manuscript, by casting Scotland as a Christian – *i.e.* Catholic – nation, limits the time span of creation. Perhaps more significant than the passage of the resolution making Scotland Protestant in December 1567 is Queen Mary's forced abdication on July 14 of that year. As long as Scotland had a Catholic monarch, it could reasonably be considered a Catholic nation. With Queen Mary's abdication in 1567, the nine-year time span of 1559 – 1567 falls completely within Carvor's lifetime.

Although Carvor is not known to have been affiliated with any song schools, as a canon of the Chapel Royal he would have had contact with young singers during his perhaps 35-year tenure there.

Folio 102v of the treatise gives indications that the author less than fully embraced Protestantism. This conclusion is supported by the fact that only Latin liturgical texts accompany music examples in the treatise. Both Maynard and Preece make note of this fact, concluding that the author longed for the old religion. Given the tenets of the First Book of Discipline, writing such a document in this period would have been more than

merely nostalgic: the treatise itself can be construed as a personal and perhaps dangerous act of defiance. Coming from a family with a prominent chaplain and having spent his life in the service of the Catholic Church, Carvor may have been less than receptive to the changes of the Reformation. Composers active after 1560 who turned their talents to Protestant hymns or accepted positions in song schools would have at least publicly accepted the new religion and have been less likely to write a treatise such as this. While many found it convenient to embrace Protestantism, Ross notes that

After some sixty years devoted to a monastic life which facilitated the composition of lavish church music, and belonging to a Church which provided the liturgical context and choral resources to permit its performance, it seems unlikely that the aged Carver [*sic*] should consider the Reformation as anything but a comprehensive catastrophe.¹⁸⁰

Carvor would have been about 72 years old when the Lords of the Congregation began their sweep through the region. Some of his works in the Choirbook date to as early as 1506 or 1508 and illustrate a mastery of late fifteenth-century polyphonic style. A man of some years, Carvor was clearly comfortable with pre-Reformation compositional techniques.

While there are no records of the Chapel Royal naming Carvor, there are indications of his association with it. His signature in the Choirbook identifying himself as ‘Robert Carvor alias arnat’ has led to the possibility that Carvor was also Robert Arnot, a canon of the Chapel Royal.

Having been a student at the University in Leuven, on the Continent, Carvor could have come into contact with the *L’homme armé* tradition: the Carvor Choirbook contains

¹⁸⁰ Ross, “Robert Carver, Canon of Scone,” 103.

a copy of Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé*. Carvor is the only known composer in the British Isles to have composed a *Missa L'homme armé*, or, indeed, to have set the tune in any form outside of the snippets found in *The Art of Music*.

Carvor's works in the Choirbook show him to be a gifted composer. As such, he would be more than capable of creating music examples rather than borrowing them from the sources of his texts.

With Scone destroyed at the time of the writing of *The Art of Music*, the author must have been elsewhere with access to a library of music treatises. As a canon of the Chapel Royal, Carvor may have enjoyed such a library at Stirling. As the owner of the Choirbook, he would have had access to and been familiar with its contents, and have been able to copy music example for *The Art of Music* directly from the Choirbook. A direct link between *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook can be found in the artwork. The remarkable similarities in marginal caricatures between the two manuscripts support the proposition that the author of *The Art of Music* had a hand in the Choirbook.

Given these conclusions, Robert Carvor, as owner and scribe of the Carvor Choirbook, stands out as the best, indeed the only, candidate for the Anonymous Scot who prepared GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, *The Art of Music*.

3.3 The Survival of *The Art of Music*

The Chapel Royal was initially spared in 1559, but purged in 1567 after Queen Mary's abdication.¹⁸¹ The Earl of Mar had his actions indemnified by Parliament in August

¹⁸¹ McRoberts, "Material Destruction," 433, N82.

1571 with their instruction that “Johnne Erle of Mar, Lord Erskin, Captaine of the said Castell of Striuling that he suld caus the said chapel w^tout delay be purgit and reformit...”¹⁸² The author of *The Art of Music* clearly had access to a significant library of music treatises as well as Carvor’s Choirbook after the burning of Scone in 1559. One such library in the region could have been found in Stirling before the “purgation of its [the Chapel Royal’s] vestments, organs and other effects”¹⁸³ in 1567.

The only pre-Reformation polyphonic music manuscripts known to have survived the Scottish Reformation – a choirbook, a music theory treatise, and a set of partbooks – have something in common: they are all associated with Robert Carvor in some manner. As what was presumably the result of Carvor’s life-long collecting of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century compositions, the Choirbook is the main source of Carvor’s works, signed by his own hand. *The Art of Music*, although compiled by an anonymous author proposed here to have been Carvor himself, has direct links to Carvor’s Choirbook. The Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks, known to have been transcribed by William Fischear by virtue of an inscription, contain two anonymous masses believed to have been composed by Carvor. Because of the direct ties between the Choirbook and *The Art of Music*, one can conclude that the two manuscripts were in the same place while *The Art of Music* was being compiled. Could the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks have found their way to the same library and likewise survived the Reformation there?

There is some evidence that all three manuscripts may have been part of a library in Aberdeen by c. 1636. Helena Shire explores a list of books compiled by Andro

¹⁸² Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, lxxvi.

¹⁸³ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 9.

Melvill,¹⁸⁴ Master of the Song School of St. Nicholas, made some time before 1637. Melvill's original commonplace-book containing this inventory was believed lost, but resurfaced at a Sotheby's auction in July 1959 and was acquired by the Library of King's College of Aberdeen University. It proved to contain a significant work, a transcription of William Bathe's *Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke* from 1584. Being the only known copy of the work, it is unknown whether the transcription is complete. Copies are available of Bathe's subsequent revision of the treatise, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: concerning the practice, set forth by William Bathe, gentleman*.

Melvill's list also includes brief descriptions of a variety of music books, including psalm books, lute books, and theory books. Shire consulted with Thurston Dart¹⁸⁵ who wrote of Melvill's that it was a "hoard of valued volumes saved, some of them, from a period of destruction."¹⁸⁶ Shire attempted to identify the volumes. For example, there are six theory books:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Item 1 | ane grytt book writtin of the airt of musick |
| Item 9 | ane litl Book of the airt of musick |
| Item 11 | ane frenche book of the airt of musick |
| Item 18 | prick singing |
| Item 21 | Ane briefe Introduction to Musick |

¹⁸⁴ GB-A MS 28: "A small quarto commonplace book, of ballads, proverbs and poems, in a single hand. Compiled by Andrew Melville (1593 – 1640), Doctor in the Song School of Aberdeen in 1621 – 36."

¹⁸⁵ Hendrie, "Dart, (Robert) Thurston. Thurston Dart (1921 – 1971) was an English musicologist specializing in early music, especially English music of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, harpsichordist, and conductor. Dart taught at the University of Cambridge and King's College of the University of London.

¹⁸⁶ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 9.

Item 22 The definitions and divisions of moods, tymes, prolationes in
measurable musick, by Thomas Ravenscroft, Batchelor of Music

Shire proposes that Item 1, ‘ane grytt book writtin of the airt of musick’, is GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, the only known ‘grytt’ book of music theory, being a large volume of 20 by 33 centimeters, and the subject of this thesis. Shire offers either Campian’s *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts* or Butler’s *Principles of Musick* as the book referenced by Item 9. For Item 11, Shire suggests either Mersenne’s *Harmonic universelle* or Ballard’s *Traicté de la musique*.¹⁸⁷ Shire proposes Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* as the book referenced by Item 18 because pricksong is mentioned in its full title. Item 21 includes the transcription of Bathe’s *Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke*,¹⁸⁸ and Item 22 is clearly identified by author.

Two other items in Melvill’s list are noteworthy:

Item 8 stand of 6 Pts Jon duncanes

Item 15 gloria pateris

Dart proposes that Item 15 (*gloria pateris*) may “refer in a somewhat cautious manner” to a book such as the Carvor Choirbook. While this phrase does not appear in the Choirbook in its current format, the notation clearly indicates a Catholic liturgical book. Dart suggests

¹⁸⁷ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 6, 8.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7, 11.

that Item 8 may refer to the Dowglas-Fischear Partbooks,¹⁸⁹ a six-book stand, or set, of which we now only have five. Dart posits that “some wording such as ‘Jon duncanes’ now missing, as is the sixth partbook, may have been responsible for the attribution to Dunkeld.”¹⁹⁰ Shire submits that, given an item of such importance, “Jon duncanes” may refer to John Duncanson, a former Catholic who had willingly embraced Protestantism.¹⁹¹

John Duncanson’s book-collecting may be the reason for the survival of *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook. An exploration of Duncanson’s career reveals his strong ties with both St. Andrews and Stirling. David Irving published a communication from John Lee¹⁹² concerning Duncanson’s affiliation with St. Leonard’s college in St. Andrews. An Augustinian, Duncanson was appointed principal of the college in 1556, a position he held for ten years, retaining it through his conversion to Protestantism, and retiring in 1566.¹⁹³ His appointment in St. Andrew’s overlapped his tenure in Stirling. In October 1560, the Stirling Town Council assigned him a manse as a minister of the burgh, and in March 1567 he became Vicar of the Chapel Royal.¹⁹⁴

Duncanson had an appreciation of books. Upon his retirement from St. Leonard’s, he made donations to the college amounting to 200 pounds. More significantly, Duncanson

¹⁸⁹ Shire, *Court Song in Scotland*, 9.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, lxxv.

¹⁹² Rev. John Lee, M.D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in New College, and Rector of the University of St. Andrews.

¹⁹³ Irving, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, 375.

¹⁹⁴ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 317.

also left a gift of “all his books, both great and small” to the college, which Lee describes as appearing “to have been much more valuable” than his other donations.¹⁹⁵

With Duncanson in Stirling at the time that *The Art of Music* was being compiled, do we have him to thank for the survival of both *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook? As a minister at Stirling from 1560, and as King James VI’s chaplain and tutor between 1567 and 1580, Duncanson was in Stirling during the time *The Art of Music* was written. As Vicar at the Chapel Royal from 1567 and a collector of books, Duncanson may have been in a position to both appreciate and protect Carvor’s manuscripts. It is unknown how these works came to be in Melvill’s library, some 120 miles from Stirling. Gordon Munro notes that “after the Chapel Royal, the most prestigious musical center was Aberdeen.”¹⁹⁶ As a music center with a song school known to be active in 1570 when Andrew Kemp was appointed master and as a city where Carvor had family ties, it is perhaps not so extraordinary for the manuscripts to have made their way to Aberdeen.

¹⁹⁵ Irving, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, 375.

¹⁹⁶ Munro, “Scottish Church Music and Musicians,” 26.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

Much of the content of *The Art of Music* is a compilation of existing Latin treatises. The countering and faburden sections, which are unique, however, have proven to be a valuable resource for scholars such as Bukofzer, Bessler, and Brian Trowell, among others. Leofranc Holford-Strevens views *The Art of Music*, in Scots dialect, as part of the movement toward humanism, with other vernacular music treatises being written in Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch, German, and English.¹⁹⁷ The text is of value as an example of the Scots language of the period, serving as a source document for language examples in “A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (up to 1700).”¹⁹⁸ *The Art of Music* also provides its author’s individual perspective on the upheaval of the Scottish Reformation, as well as clues to who he was.

The Scottish Reformation had a devastating effect on Church manuscripts. Only three manuscripts documenting pre-Reformation musical practice in Scotland survive: the Carvor Choirbook, the Dowglas-Fishear Partbooks, and the sole manuscript source of the anonymous treatise that is the subject of this thesis. As demonstrated above, although possible authors have been proposed by others, their arguments suggested dates too late with respect to the content of the treatise.

To the contrary, abundant evidence presented here points to the Scottish composer Robert Carvor was the author, if not the scribe, of the anonymous treatise. First, the dates

¹⁹⁷ Holford-Strevens, “Humanism and the language of music treatises,” 445.

¹⁹⁸ Online resource <https://dsl.ac.uk/bibliography/dost/db122> for William A. Craigie, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue: From the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

customarily offered for the creation of *The Art of Music* are bounded by a year supplied within the treatise itself, after 1558, and the resurgence of singing schools in Scotland, c. 1580. Yet even though the earlier date is unequivocal and places the compilation of *The Art of Music* squarely in the years of the Scottish Reformation, here it is argued, based on the contents of the treatise, that it originated before Queen Mary's abdication in 1567. Second, the profile of the author of *The Art of Music* developed here, when compared with the known details of Robert Carvor's life, is an excellent match. Further supporting the argument that Carvor is the anonymous Scot are direct links between *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook. Music examples in the treatise can be found in the Choirbook. There is also a striking similarity between the artwork and letter embellishments that are found within the two manuscripts. And, while further study of the handwriting is needed, an initial comparison finds similarities in the letter forms of their scripts.

In light of what was concluded here, the *The Art of Music* itself offers possibilities for further exploration. It has been 60 years since Maynard investigated sources for the text of this treatise and sought to identify the music examples. There may be further identifications to be made, given that Maynard did not recognize the concordances in the Carvor Choirbook or even mention Carvor. The inconsistencies in the numbering of sections in the treatise, discussed above, might find better explanations if more source texts or manuscripts, or even fragments, were located. Further investigation of public records may help trace the journey of both *The Art of Music* and the Carvor Choirbook to their current repositories. Also, the examples of Carvor's handwriting in the documents from Scone Abbey may aid in the paleographic analysis of the treatise and the choirbook.

The personal perspective on the Scottish Reformation of the author of *The Art of Music* and the direct links between the treatise and the Carvor Choirbook that were recognized and explored here have led to a new solution to the question of authorship of GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, one of the few manuscripts to have survived the Scottish Reformation. Carvor scholars such as Bowers, Elliott, Ross, and Preece were familiar with Carvor's *Missa L'homme armé*, but Carvor's name is often missing from *L'homme armé* comparative studies. Although he lived and worked in Scotland, he was enough of a skilled and confident composer to undertake setting the *L'homme armé* tune, a traditional display of compositional prowess in the late fifteenth and early sixteen centuries. That Robert Carvor, whose life was reassessed here, should have written an extensive treatise at the end of his life that recalls his many years of teaching places him in the even more rarified company of earlier Continental theorists, including Anonymous IV (fl. 1270 – 80), Jacobus de Ispania (1260 – 1330), Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1430-35 – 1511), and Franchinus Gaffurius (1451 – 1522).

The Art of Music also confirms that Carvor was a leading Scottish thinker, with access to continental learning about music in substantial Scottish libraries that were destroyed. And the treatise as well as the few surviving music manuscripts confirm that Scottish churches were filled with the singing of polyphony, improvised and written, before the Reformation, thereby explaining why Carvor would have wanted to record its practice for posterity. As one of Scotland's few well-documented composers, whose works include the *Missa L'homme armé*, and as the anonymous Scot, Carvor should take his rightful place among the leading composers of his generation.

Appendix: English Translation of the Rules of Faburden in *The Art of Music*

The “Heir Beginniss Faburdun” section in *The Art of Music* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, ff.94r–112r) presents the rules for four types of faburden, which I have translated into modern English below. The manuscript provides many examples to aid in understanding the various faburden techniques. It may be viewed online among the British Library’s digitized manuscripts.¹⁹⁹ The Scots from *The Art of Music*, as it appears in Maynard’s “An Anonymous Scottish Treatise,” is copied from the website “Texts on Music in English,”²⁰⁰ with permission from its editor, Peter Lefferts.

Scots from <i>The Art of Music</i>	English Translation
<p>[GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.94r] The rewlis of countering beand all rehersit, with the exemplis of the samyn, now consequently it is necessar to discryve the process and ordor of faburdoun be rewlis and exemplis ostensyve, quhairthrow studentis be speculation ma recev understanding and information of the samyn. Thairfor, it is to be requirit: Quhat is faburdoun? Ffaburdoun is ane melodiou kynd of harmony quhilk dois transmūt and brek sympill noittis in figuris colorat be numeris trinar and bynar conform to the way of music mensurall.</p>	<p>The rules of countering, all rehearsed, with the examples of the same: now, consequently, it is necessary to describe the process and order of faburden by rules and extensive examples, whereby students by speculation may receive an understanding of and information about the same. Therefore, it is to be asked: What is faburden? Faburden is a melodious kind of harmony which changes and ornaments simple notes (i.e., plainsong) in duple or triple colored figures conforming to the procedures of mensural notation.</p>

¹⁹⁹ https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_4911_fs001r#.

²⁰⁰ http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tme/16th/SCOTA3B3_TEXT.html Consulted on March 5, 2020.

<p>Quhow mony kyndis of fabur[doun] ar nemmit? Four. Quhilk four? The first, the second, thrid, and the ferd.</p>	<p>How many kinds of faburden are named? Four. Which four? The first, the second, third, and the fourth.</p>
<p>Quhow sall the first kynd of faburdoun be knawin? Be rewills and exemplis. Be rewillis--quhow? The first rewill is that the plane sang notis of all mesuris ma be uprasit fro the propir seit and modulat in diapason ascendent. Bot this rewill is nocht ay observit, for this causs--quhan the plane sang is seit in C fa-ut, D sol-re, E la-me, Ff fa-ut, G sol-re-ut in the scherp and in A la-me-re, B[rob][sqb] fa-be-me, [f.94v] C sol-fa-ut, etc. above the scherip, than the noittis sall nocht be transportit in diapason ascendent bot thay salbe in the propir seitis modulat.</p>	<p>How shall the first kind of faburden be understood? By rules and examples. By rules – how? The first rule is that all the notes of the plainsong in all rhythms may be raised from the proper pitch and performed an octave higher. But this rule is not always observed, for this cause -- when the plainsong’s pitch is C fa-ut, D sol-re, E la-me, F fa-ut, G sol-re-ut in the acute²⁰¹ range and in A La-me-re, B\sharp fa-be-me, C sol-fa-ut, etc. above the acute range, then the notes shall not be raised an octave higher but shall be performed at the original pitch.</p>
<p>The second rewill is that the baratonantis of the forsaid rewill, quhan quhan [sic] the plane sang is uprasit, salbe all set in thriddis abov the propir sett of the plan sang quhilkis salbe all saxtis beneth the upresit noittis. Bot this rewill is nocht ay observit, for this causs--quhan the plan sang is seitt in C fa-ut, D, E, F, G, in the scherp and in A la-me-re, B[rob], C, C, etc., above the scherp, than the nottis of the barratonant sall nocht be sett in thriddis abov the propir seit bot in saxtis beneth the plane sang and siclyk quhen it is sett in the propir seit modulat.</p>	<p>The second rule is that the baritone of the previous rule, when the plainsong has been raised an octave, shall all be set in thirds above the proper pitch of the plainsong, which shall be all in sixths below the raised notes. But this rule is not always observed, for this cause – when the plainsong is in C fa-ut, D, E, F, G, in the acute²⁰² range and in A la-me-re, B\flat, C, C, etc., above the acute range, then the notes of the baritone shall not be set in thirds above the original setting, but in sixths below the plainsong, as before, when it is performed at the original pitch.</p>

²⁰¹ Note: C fa-ut, D sol-re, etc. are an octave below the acute range. The notes in the acute range should read c sol-fa-ut (middle c), d la-sol-re, etc. In other words, if the plainsong is set at ‘middle c’ or higher, do not transpose up an octave.

²⁰² See above.

<p>The thrid rewill is: Suppois the plane sang descend or ascend, all the closing punctis of the tribill salbe maid ascendent and never descent, quhilkis to the rewillis of countering ar all contrarry.</p>	<p>The third rule is: Suppose that the plainsong descends or ascends, then the treble shall ascend at the cadence and never descend, contrary to the rules of countering.</p>
<p>The ferd rewill is: Suppois the plane sang ascend or discend, all the closing punctis of the baritonant sall never ascend, bot fro the saxt in the octav immediatlie sall descend.</p>	<p>The fourth rule is: Suppose that the plainsong ascends or descends, then the baritone shall never ascend at the cadence, but immediately descend from the sixth to the octave.</p>
<p>The fyvft rewill is: Suppois the plane sang be uprasit fro the proprie seit or modulat in the propir seit, the thrid part of faburdon--callit the counter--sall ay be sett in ferdis beneth the plane sang and [in] the thriddis abov the baritonant, except quhan the baritonant makkis the closing punctis down in the octav beneth the plane sang, than the closing punctis of the said counter sall cloiss in the fyvft above the baritonant. Of the quhilk counter the modulaturis sall sing nan uthr noittis bot the same noittis of the plan sang all in ferdis beneth the same, as it is befoir in the thrid chaptour of the thrid part of music at mair lynth declarit.</p>	<p>The fifth rule is: Suppose that the plainsong is raised above its proper pitch or performed in the proper pitch, then the third part of the faburden – called the counter – shall always be set in fourths beneath the plainsong and in thirds above the baritone, except when the baritone cadences down within the octave beneath the plainsong, then the cadence of the counter shall close at the fifth above the baritone. The performer of the counter shall sing no other notes but the same notes of the plainsong, all in fourths beneath the same, as it is [explained] before at length in the third chapter of the third part of music.</p>

<p>The saxt rewill is: Gif the finall noit of ony verss, hyme, antiphon or respond be nocht flexable to resa[r]ve ane plesand c[l]oiss it is admittit be all musicians [f.95r] to augment the finall with ane sympill noit eftir the last noit of the plane sang for the making of the last closing punct plesand, the quhilk augmentation at the finall ending of versis, hymnis and antiphonis oftand dyverss tymes reilie dois occur in sindrie realmes, apone the quhilkis rewlis forsaidis diverss reall exemplis.</p>	<p>The sixth rule is: If the final note of any verse, hymn, antiphon, or respond be not flexible enough to resolve to any pleasing cadence, all musicians may enhance the final with a simple note after the last note of the plainsong in order to make the last tone pleasing, which enhancement at the final ending of verses, hymns, and antiphons frequently occurs in various cases, upon which aforesaid rules there are a variety of real examples.</p>
<p>The sevnt rewill is that all nounis barbar[ous] or [H]ebrew, as Israell, Syon, Jacob, David, Affrata, Jherusalem, or monosillabis--sum, es, est, me, te, se, fac, nos, voc--makand the punctis uprasit to cloiss in the mid verss sall discend fro the uprasit nottis and punct in semiditono als weill in binary as trinary and in alls weill corrupt pausis as in [punct crossed out] product paussis or in schort psalmony. The baritonant sall descend fro the meid punct and cloiss in diapenthe; the counter sall descend fro the mid punct in semiditono and sall ascend agane and cloiss up in pleno tono quhilkis perfectly be thir exemplis followand ma be fully understand and persavit:</p>	<p>The seventh rule is that all ‘barbarous’ or Hebrew nouns, [such] as Israel, Zion, Jacob, David, Ephrata, Jerusalem, or monosyllables – <i>sum, es, est, me, te, se, fac, nos, voc</i> – formed by a raised tone to cadence in the middle of the verse [of the psalm or canticle] shall descend from the raised note or flex to a minor third both in duple as well as triple [groupings of notes] and likewise at unexpected pauses as in correctly produced pauses or in short psalmody. The baritone shall descend from the median tone and cadence at the fifth; the counter shall descend a minor third from the median tone and then shall ascend again and close up a whole step, which may be fully observed and perceived by these examples:</p>



Figure 12 Illustration of Rule 7, Faburden Type 1, from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.95r

Heir for de[c]oring of the finall cloiss thrie sympill noittis ar to the finall noit augmentit.

Here for decorating the final cadence, three simple notes are added to the final note.

[f.95v] The first exempill is that the plane sang is all extendit and modulat in diapason abouv the propir seit and the baritonant is sett and modulat all in saxtis beneth the extendit plane sang, except that all the closing punctis of the same dois to the octave descend, to the quhilkis eftir the finall noit of the plane sang for decoring of the closing punct ane sympill noit is augmentit. Heir followis the plane sang:

The first example is that the plainsong is entirely performed an octave above the proper pitch, and the baritone is set and performed in sixths beneath the raised plainsong, except that the closing notes of the same [baritone] descend to the octave, to which after the final note of the plainsong, for embellishing the cadence, a simple note is added. Here follows the plainsong:

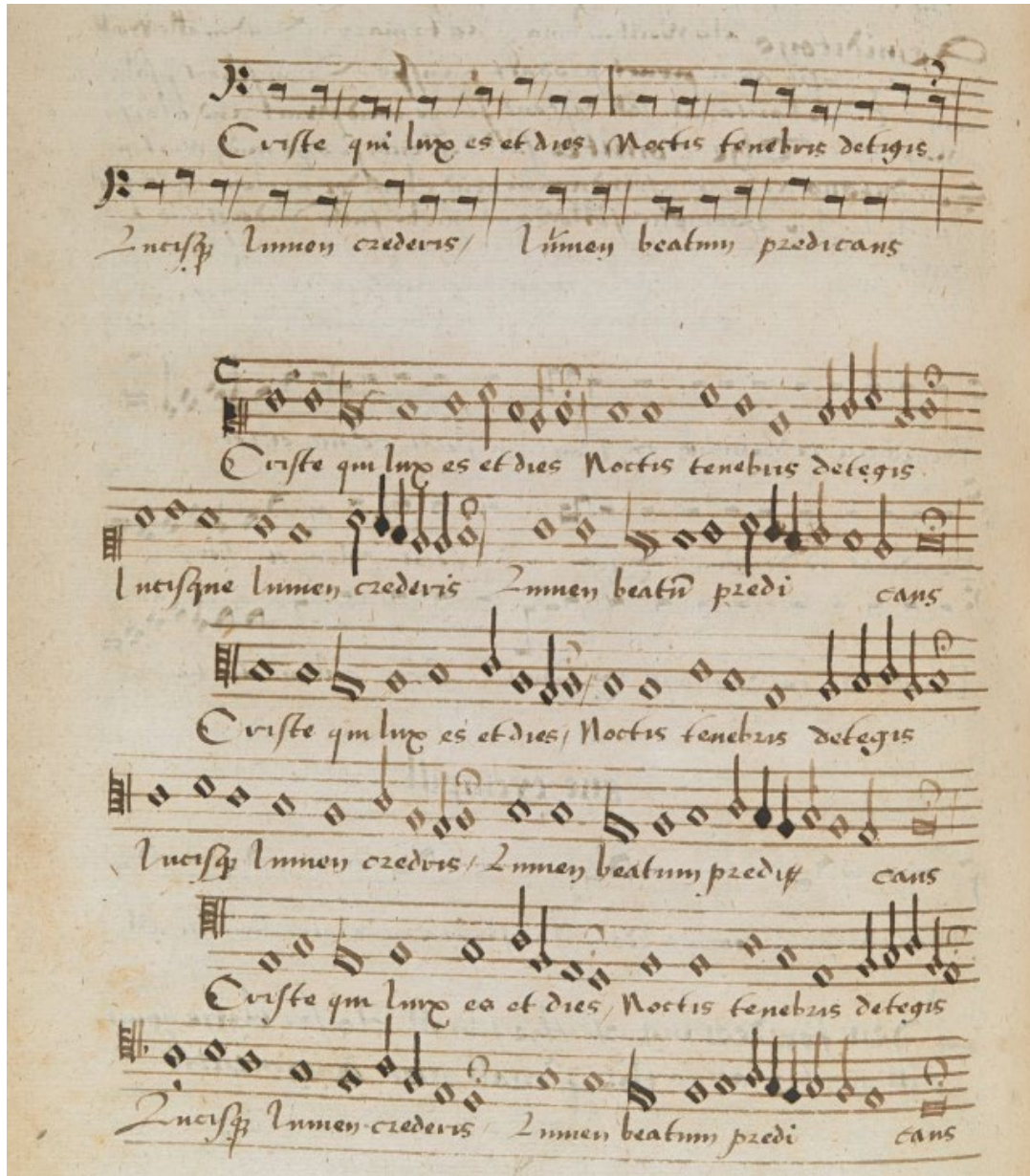


Figure 13 Example of Faburden Type 1 from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.95v

The second kynd of faburdoun is quhair the tribill and the tenor keipis the just way of fabourdoun; the counter and the barritonant ar partis artificiall to tham annexit as be this exampill upon the first toun of Magnificat is planly demonstret:

The second kind of faburden is where the treble and the tenor keep the true way of faburden; the counter and the baritone are freely composed parts added to them as is plainly demonstrated in this example upon the first tone of Magnificat:



Figure 14 Example of Faburden Type 2 from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.103r

[f.103v] The thrid kynd of faburdun is quhair the plane sang is modulat in saxtis above the [~~plane~~] propir seit; the baritonant is modulat in thridis beneth the propir seit and the counter in ferdis beneth the plane sang, of the quhilk kynd we find tua rewillis. The first rewill is that the haill sang beand transponit beneth the propir seit, it is all modulat in just faburdoun conform to the first kynd except the sang is put in ane uthe[r] key in this wayiss:

The third kind of faburden is where the plainsong is performed in sixths above its proper pitch; the baritone is performed in thirds beneath the proper pitch and the counter in fourths beneath the plainsong, of which kind we find two rules. The first rule is that whole song being transposed beneath the proper pitch,²⁰³ is all performed in just faburden conforming to the first kind, except that the song is put in another key in this way:



Figure 15 Illustration of Rule 1, Faburden Type 3, from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.103v

²⁰³ Maynard, "An Anonymous Scottish Treatise," Vol.1, 138-39, explains that this would produce parallel octaves. He explains that once the *cantus firmus* is transposed up a sixth, the faburden tenor, not the hymn melody, is used as the *cantus firmus*.

The second rewill is that the tenor is put down to be modulat in thridis beneth the propir seit of the plane sang and thrie artificiall partis thairto annexit--quhilk is fro the rycht way of faburdoun excludit. The exempill followis in this wayis quhilk is be Doctor Fairfax compysit and is haldin autentic:

The second rule is that the tenor is put down to be performed in thirds beneath the proper pitch of the plainsong, and three freely composed parts are added thereto – which is forbidden in correct faburden. The example follows in this way, which is composed by Doctor Fairfax and is deemed to be authentic:

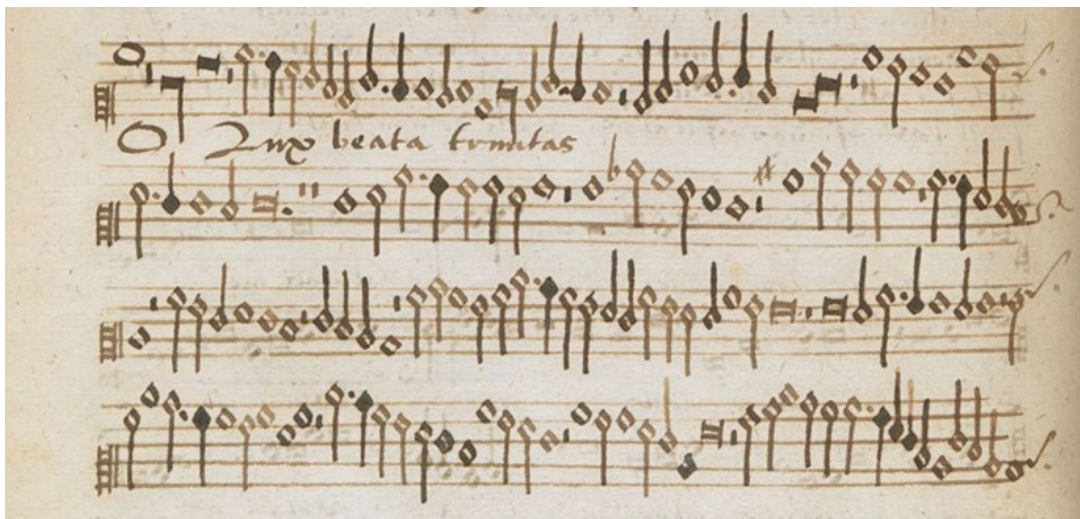


Figure 16 Example of Faburden Type 3 from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.103v



Figure 17 Example of Faburden Type 3 from *The Art of Music* (cont.), GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.104r

[f.104v] The ferd kynd of faburdoun is of four partis quhair the baritonant is sett in thridis, fyvftis, octavis beneth the plane sang or in unison with the plane sang; the tribill is sett all in saxttis above the plane sang; the counter is all sett in ferdis above the plane sang and the plane sang is modulat in the propir seitt, as be thir exemplis followand the way and process of this present kynd of faburdoun may perfytyly be understand.

The fourth kind of faburden consists of four parts, where the baritone is set in thirds, fifths, and octaves below the plainsong, or in unison with the plainsong; the treble is set entirely in sixths above the plainsong; the counter is entirely set in fourths above the plainsong, and the plainsong is performed at its proper pitch, as in the following examples from which the way and process of this present kind of faburden may be perfectly understood.



Figure 18 Beginning of an example of Faburden Type 4 from *The Art of Music*, GB-Lbl Add. MS 4911, f.104v

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