

Epilogue

This study has addressed the need to reconsider the music of the *ars subtilior* as embodied in its notation from the perspective of its reception by musicians and scribes on the Italian peninsula during the earliest years of the fifteenth century. This focus was in part dictated by the dating and origins proposed for CH 564 and MOe5.24, which concluded that these principal sources of the *ars subtilior* were produced by scribes active in Italian centres. Both these manuscripts clearly represent local receptions of the *ars subtilior* style, but each from a very different perspective. CH 564, most likely the product of a Florentine professional workshop, represents for the most part a retrospective anthology of the masterpieces of the *ars subtilior* as it was cultivated in France at its height during the 1380s and 1390s. MOe5.24 on the other hand is a monument to the reception, assimilation and extension of the *ars subtilior* style and techniques by Italian masters. In this manuscript, the influence of French masters remains acknowledged through the presence of a select number of their works alongside early Italian proponents of the style, specifically Philipoctus de Caserta.

I have identified in CH 564 revisions made subsequent to this source's completion which suggest a knowledge, however general, of the *ars subtilior* style which extends beyond the ineptitudes (and hamstringing on the part of his exemplars) of this manuscript's principal scribe (Scribe β). This aspect itself attests to this style's cultivation in Florentine circles, perhaps under the auspices of the Augustinians of Santo Spirito, in the early fifteenth century. Conversely, the scribes (α & β) of MOe5.24 represent musician-scribes whose knowledge of *ars subtilior* techniques was extensive and plausibly based upon personal and professional experience. Scribe α appears to have had special access to the works of Matheus de Perusio, a fact that is also attested to by the presence of newly composed Cts by Matheus in another fragment (PAas 75) copied by this same scribe. The alterations made by Scribe β (Layers I and II) in MOe5.24 also suggest a continuing musical currency for the repertoire copied. The careful recasting of semiotic devices by this scribe, as with many scribes from this period, betrays an understanding of the semantics of this style. Such an understanding could only reside in continued cultivation.

The use of various semiotic devices is central to our understanding of the development, or at times plurality, of notational styles in this period. In the case of special note shapes and mensuration signs, I have concluded that practices can be delineated along

ethnographic lines (which also reside in chronological frameworks). The significance of these ethnographically oriented explanations is ultimately their contribution to our appreciation of the culture that fostered the *ars subtilior* style and the social contexts in which it resided. The development of a unique system of note shapes in Lombardy, distinct from proportional systems of notes shapes and coloration witnessed elsewhere, indicates the importance of the *ars subtilior* style and its reception/adaptation by composers in this region. The notated works of Matheus de Perusio remain central witnesses to this tradition, although its practice appears to have extended as far as Rome.

On a broader level, I have argued that musical notation, still a vibrant and new symbolic language, was subject to the influence of other aspects of intellectual culture during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The role of metalinguistic theory (evolved from Aristotelean doctrine) was a discernible influence upon musical notation, both theoretically and practically, which resulted in the increased use of extrinsic modes of signification in addition to, or in preference to, intrinsic modes. In relation to the development of extrinsic modes of signification, I identify the advent of algorism in music and its notation in the years around 1400. Importantly, I ask for a revision of received views by demonstrating that algorithmic processes exist in music of the late fourteenth century in advance of the actual use in musical notation of the sign-system central to algorism, namely Indo-Arabic numerals. Even in the earliest uses of Indo-Arabic numerals in the musical notation of *ars subtilior* works, composers and scribes appear more often concerned with their novel appearance than their implicit meaning. This situation, nonetheless, highlights the freshness of Indo-Arabic numerals to medieval scribes, a freshness that is obscured today by this sign-system's mundane dominance.

The symbiosis of music and culture is central to this study's claims. The view that the semiotic system directly associated with the music of the *ars subtilior* contains elements which link it to innovative movements of intellectual culture permits the conclusion that the *ars subtilior* itself was progressive and innovative. Nowhere is this more significant than in the case of MOe5.24. By proposing that this source contains in part a chanson repertoire associated with individuals connected to proto-humanistic circles in northern Italy, I demonstrate a newly acquired role for this genre and the *ars subtilior* style. An endurance of a set of stylistic elements, whose context originally resided in the courts and social institutes of France but in turn were adapted/developed in parallel in proto-humanistic circles in Italy, is apparent. The register of this flamboyant polyphonic style is as apt for nobility as it is for

the aspiring patrician or mercantile classes in the context of their emergent humanism. The enduring nature of the *ars subtilior* style possibly resides in its intellectual accomplishment and the necessity for the most accomplished performers in its execution.

The calibre of the performer of this repertoire remains central to this style's continued cultivation in Italy during a period of great upheaval and political instability in France, as were developments on the Italian peninsula, which resulted in the transplantation of French and Franco-Flemish musicians and composers into Italian centres. Even then, those ultramontanes no doubt encountered Italians whose knowledge of French techniques and performance abilities must have rivalled even the best French polyphonist. Although only one aspect of Italian musical culture, the strong presence of the *ars subtilior* in Italy among native practitioners, surely facilitated the arrival of the next generation of French composers. When Guillaume Du Fay penned his *Resvellies vous* (Ob 213, f. 126v) in 1423 for the wedding of Carlo Malatesta to Vittoria di Lorenzo Colonna at Rimini, he employed a late form of the *ars subtilior* style for the pleasure of his Italian patron. But nowhere else in his chansons from this same period does Du Fay employ this same style. *Resvellies vous* appears to be a response to the requirements of culture and circumstance wherein the suitability of the *ars subtilior* as a mode of musical celebration in the case of a noble wedding is maintained. The salient feature of this observation is that in at least the court of Carlo Malatesta, *ars subtilior* aesthetics remain viable and desirable as late as 1423.

The *ars subtilior* style represents a broad range of characteristic manipulations of musical elements. I have argued that representations of these stylistic elements are tied to concepts resident in the cultures of this period. The significance of this conclusion lies in its contribution to our understanding of this music. My ultimate goal is to inform the performer and listener of these cultural concepts that are often far removed from our own experiences. For, despite the fact that I have for the most part limited this study to palaeographic and semiotic issues, I desire more than anything to hear this repertoire performed in a manner which seeks to recreate those aspects of culture described herein. The actual means by which the re-creation of this style takes place is essentially a matter for performers. Although we can scarcely know how this music sounded from one place to the next, the reciprocal influence of scholarship and performance practice can lead to a carefully considered re-creation of one or more threads of the fabric of medieval culture. Ultimately, this informed position acts as a prism through which the dim light of the past is refracted onto the present. It serves to illuminate more fully our own experience and bridge the gap

between surviving artefacts and our own (post-)modern preconceptions. In this way, this study has sought to bring to light further knowledge that significantly contributes to our growing understanding of the music of the *ars subtilior*.

Addendum

During a conversation on 18th February 2001, Pedro Memelsdorff informed me in general terms that his study of manuscript accidentals in MOe5.24 was almost complete. Thus, it was much to my disappointment to learn that his findings¹ had been published too late to be considered in the body of this present study. I take this opportunity to respond here to his important study and to examine its conclusions regarding the creation of the outer gatherings of MOe5.24. Memelsdorff's study challenges several previous conclusions concerning the outer gatherings of MOe5.24. He largely overturns Pirrotta's theory that the two outer gatherings existed in the first instance as a protogathering. Instead, it is proposed that Gathering 1 was added to the inner gatherings as it began to be filled with works, but that Gathering 5 was not associated with this new compilation at this stage. Tantamount to this conclusion is that the freehand preparation of f. zr closely corresponds to the page layout of Gatherings 2 and 4 and, therefore, must have been associated at one time with either of these gatherings. But perhaps the most significant new conclusion arrived at by Memelsdorff concerns the possibility of multiple exemplars being used by the copyist of the outer gatherings. By proposing that certain segments of the outer gatherings demonstrate different scribal behaviours in the application of manuscript accidentals, Memelsdorff concludes that the outer gatherings depend on two or possibly three exemplars. He suggests that this scenario indicates that the outer gatherings must be distanced from Matheus de Perusio, again contrary to Pirrotta and more recently Stone.² In conjunction with keen observation of essentially three different pen and ink types, Memelsdorff arrives at an ingenious reconstruction of the order of copying and compilation of the outer gatherings. Memelsdorff's study is a bold and welcome contribution to the debate concerning the nature and origin of MOe5.24. Granted that he admits in his concluding remarks that it is a "first attempt to reconstruct the genesis and compilation process of the outer gatherings of ModA",³ there are, however, several questions raised by the conclusions drawn in his study. His conclusions impact minimally upon my discussion of the inner gatherings of MOe5.24. Instead, Memelsdorff seeks to answer several questions concerning the genesis of the outer gatherings not attempted in my own study of MOe5.24.

¹ Pedro Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign? The † and the copying process of a medieval manuscript: the Codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568)', *Studi Musicali*, vol. 30, 2001, pp. 255-79.

² See above, pp. 95 and 97-98.

³ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 297.

Although I do not dismiss Pirrotta's notion of a protogathering consisting of Gatherings 1 and 5 of the present manuscript, I do suggest that several works could have only been entered into their respective gatherings after the hypothetical protogathering had been split.⁴ It is inescapable that the outer gatherings were prepared in a uniform manner, although the absence of prick marks in the fifth gathering⁵ suggests in hindsight that the gatherings were not prepared as a single unit. Similar layout and presentation suggests a close proximity of each gathering to the other at an early stage. Whether each outer gathering represents a separate project, as proposed by Memelsdorff,⁶ is debatable. Pertinent to Memelsdorff's argument is the conclusion that f. z originally followed f. 40v and that the fifth gathering was commenced as a collection independent of the new compilation consisting of Gatherings 1-4. The dissociation of Gathering 5 from a Gatherings 1-4 project is useful in explaining the palimpsest of *Gratiosus fervidus* on f. 16r by Scribe α in preference of the copy of the same work on f. 50v and its replacement by *Pres du soloil*. Yet, the intermediate position of f. z is an obvious lynch-pin in Memelsdorff's argument concerning the late addition of Gathering 5.

Memelsdorff's conclusion that f. z originally followed either Gathering 2 or 4 is based upon the similar (vertical) dimensions of the writing space on f. zr. There are questions, however, over whether ff. 20v or 40v could have been used as a template for the ruling of staves without a rastrum (but evidently using a rule) on f. zr. Unfortunately, I was not in a position to examine Memelsdorff's findings by returning to the actual manuscript. However, using a technique of digital overlay of images of MOe5.24 scanned from microfilm (with correct scaling confirmed by staff and page widths), I was able to note certain discrepancies between the disposition of the staves (right side) of ff. 20v and 40v with the beginning of those on f. zr. Freehand lines on f. zr were clearly ruled from left to right, presumably using right end of staves on a facing page as a template. (There is a general lack of correspondence to the left end of staves on ff. 20v and 40r.) Staff dispositions on f. zr do not match for either the fifth and sixth staves of f. 20v or the 9th staff on f. 40v (that is the distance between staves 8 and 9 on f. 40v is smaller than on f. zr). These small observations leave some doubt over whether f. zr originally shared a relationship with the final leaves of either Gathering 2 or 4 when it was ruled with staves. Yet, it is curious that the disposition of

⁴ See above, p. 101.

⁵ See above, p. 100.

⁶ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 274.

staves on f. zr shows a near perfect correspondence to the disposition of staves on left-hand side of f. 11r. Further measurements, perhaps with the assistance of a life-size transparency of f. zr, need to be made on the actual manuscript before any definite proofs (if at all) are established.

Memelsdorff notes⁷ the inscription on the spine edge of f. zr discovered by Alessandra Fiori. My independent discovery of the same inscription is reported above in the body of this study⁸ wherein I arrived at a slightly different, perhaps more cautious, reading of the inscription as *Nota figurata. Sumite [lacuna] del çacara* rather than *Nota figurare Sumite Karissimi del Zacara* offered by Memelsdorff (Memelsdorff reports that Fiori reads *Hora figurate. Sumite Karissimi del Zacara*). Reading this inscription as a catchword to the second gathering, Memelsdorff's suggestion⁹ that f. z may have formed the rear flyleaf to the lost original first gathering is plausible. This situation may explain the lack of correspondence between staff positions on f. zr with ff. 20v and 40v if one was to speculate that the original first gathering was prepared similar to Gatherings 2 and 4, but with staff dispositions reflected by the position of staves on f. zr. In other words, zr was ruled using a template that consisted of the lost first gathering. This situation throws some doubt on the need to transpose f. zr to an intermediate position after f. 40v, as Memelsdorff requires in his reconstruction of MOe5.24's genesis.¹⁰ Some inconsistencies in Memelsdorff's account of the assembly of the manuscript are suggested by his association of the f. z flyleaf with the new first gathering (the one that presently survives) also. Here, he concludes that f. z is still empty when transposed to after f. 40v. Is Memelsdorff proposing that f. z was a flyleaf to both the old and new first gatherings? Memelsdorff also speculates that ff. a and z were joined at this point.¹¹ The slightly smaller dimensions of a and z certainly suggest that they formed a bifolio or were cut as single leaves simultaneously. There is some question, however, mainly due to the non-corresponding disposition of staves and the possibility of its association with a lost gathering, of whether ff. a and z were actually associated the new first gathering until after the copy process had begun in earnest. The leaves may have been simply appropriated from the discarded old first gathering with staves freshly ruled on f. zr.

⁷ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 271.

⁸ See above, p. 99.

⁹ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 272.

¹⁰ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 272.

¹¹ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 273.

Also crucial to Memelsdorff's reconstruction of the genesis of the outer gatherings are his meticulous observations concerning pen and ink types in them. His hypothesis concerning multiple exemplars is also brought to bear upon the discussion. The problem with the methods of establishing this hypothesis, however, is discussed below. On their own, pen and ink types are sufficient for demonstrating copying layers in the outer gatherings. Essentially, Memelsdorff identifies three copying layers in the outer gatherings with some incursions into the inner gatherings:

Layer I: ff. av, 1r-2r, 9v-10v, 41r-44r (broad nibbed writing implement, light to darker brown ink).

Layer II: ff. 2v-9r, 44v-50v, including Cts by Matheus de Perusio and manuscript accidentals in inner gatherings (broad nibbed writing implement, near black ink)

Layer III: ff. zr, 16r (palimpsest)¹²

The numbering of layers above reflects the order of copying Memelsdorff assigns to the outer gatherings. (Memelsdorff does not refer to copying layers as such, although this is clearly what he intends.) Of significance is Memelsdorff's view that *Dame que i'aym sour toutes* (ff. 10v-11r) and the motet *Ave sancta mundi* (ff. av-1r) are respectively the penultimate and ultimate entries in Layer I in the first gathering. Yet, there is little internal evidence (even in light of Memelsdorff's theory concerning multiple exemplars) to suggest that Layer I chronologically precedes Layer II. In my estimation, the copying of works onto the exterior pages of a gathering might suggest that Layer I actually post-dates Layer II. External faces of gatherings were often the last to be filled in music manuscripts of this period.¹³ This permits a reiteration of a former view that these gatherings may have already contained music (copied in Layer II) before their association with the inner gatherings of MOe5.24. This might have included the transmission of *Gratiosus fervidus* on f. 50v. This scenario might also paint a picture of a copying project consisting of both Gatherings 1 and 5 which commenced with Matheus' sacred works, but soon moved to incorporate his songs.

Memelsdorff considers the entry of alternative Cts into Layer II as a secondary and final element of this layer that depended on a third exemplar: a Contratenor-book (to use Memelsdorff's terminology). The conclusion that these Cts represent late entries is based the different form of "C" initial is used for their labels. I would question, however, this conclusion by noting the work of the same scribe in PAas 75. In those fragments, both

¹² Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', pp. 269-278. Layers described here are not to be confused with those described in the body of this study.

¹³ *Vid.* Nádas, 'The Reina Codex revisited', p. 102; *idem*, 'The structure of MS Panciatichi and the transmission of Trecento polyphony', p. 410.

forms of the “C” initial are used in alternative Cts by Matheus de Perusio.¹⁴ These additional voices appear to have been entered contemporaneously with the main portion of each respective work and their initials bear no specific significance. I am not convinced that a different form of initial indicates that Cts added to MOe5.24 are from a separate exemplar. Nor am I convinced that these Cts were copied after all other works using a “normal C” initial. Certainly, these Cts were copied after the main entries on the pages beneath which they appear.

Memelsdorff himself offers additional support for the conclusion that Layer II marks the initial phase in copying by observing¹⁵ that the coordination of manuscript accidentals between Machaut’s *Se vous n’estes* in the fourth gathering and its *Alius Ct* by Matheus de Perusio in Gathering 1 “would seem to confirm” the inner and outer gatherings remained separated and used independently from one another. This observation, however, seems inconsistent with the view that the Layer I entry of the Ct of *Dame que i’aym sour toutes* across both gatherings effectively ties Gathering 1 to Gathering 2 before the addition of Layer 2 entries. I see little reason to challenge the chronological position of Layer III that Memelsdorff situates in the final phase of the copying process. The following alternative scenario can be proposed: with the copying of Layers II (including alternative Cts) and I completed (in that order), Layer III continues to preserve Matheus de Perusio’s songs by copying *Dame de honour* onto the blank staves of f. zr taken from the old first gathering, and *Pres du soloil* over the palimpsest of *Gratiosus fervidus*, f. 16r.

I have left the aspect of Memelsdorff’s study I find the most problematic to last. This concerns his assessment of the use of manuscript accidentals in the outer layers. Observing that three types of manuscript accidentals are used in this portion of MOe5.24 (b, † and #),¹⁶ Memelsdorff attributes what is perceived as different behaviours in the use of these particular forms to the presence of at least two exemplars, each employing a different system for indicating pitch inflections and hexachord positions that is reproduced by the copying scribe. Memelsdorff uses this conclusion to distance the outer gatherings from the direct influence of

¹⁴ Matheus’ Cts for Ciconia’s *Lizadra donna* and Antonello Marot da Caserta’s *Più char che’l sole* use the “normal” (closed) “C”, while his Ct for Fontaine’s *Pour vous tenir* and Ct secundus (by Matheus?) of Bertrand Feragut’s *De yre et de dueyl* use the open “C”. The Ct of *Ayes pitie de moy belle* and *Je languis d’amer mort* both use the “normal C”.

¹⁵ Memelsdorff, ‘What’s in a sign?’, p. 277, fn. 67.

¹⁶ This is highlighted as a special feature of Scribe α on pp. 106-108 above. Memelsdorff attributes the same meaning to the † with and without internal, ornamenting dots, Memelsdorff, ‘What’s in a sign?’, p. 256,

Matheus de Perusio. This conclusion is significant. Although not stated by Memelsdorff, the compilation of an anthology of a composer's works outside his direct influence attributes a greater significance to this composer in terms of his influence and wider reception. This proposed revision, especially in conjunction with the discovery of Matheus de Perusio's works during last decade in a source (CH-BEsu) not directly related to MOe5.24 and PAas 75, requires future reconsideration of his role in the music of the early fifteenth century. However, while Memelsdorff's conclusions concerning multiple exemplars are innovative, I firmly believe that they are methodologically flawed.

Early in his study,¹⁷ Memelsdorff constructs a hierarchy of manuscript accidentals by proposing that all be divided into either accidentals written next to the clef (which he refers to as extrinsic signs) or accidentals written within the staff (which he refers to as intrinsic signs). In the first instance, I am curious to learn from whence does this terminology derive and what is the basis for making it (be it historical or empirical). Unfortunately, no further explanation of this terminology is provided, although it is clear that it is crucial to the ensuing discussion. I reject Memelsdorff's classification of manuscript accidentals on the following bases.¹⁸ In the first instance, Memelsdorff's model seems to invert the understanding of musical notation as might be construed from a historical perspective. One such historical perspective might take the ontological model of musical notation prevalent in

fn. 9.

¹⁷ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 259.

¹⁸ I must assume that the reader is acquainted with theories of manuscript accidentals and *musica ficta*. The following studies represents a selection of secondary literature that has significantly contributed (although I cannot explicitly indicate in the present context whether their contribution has been positive or negative in their effect) to my understanding of these issues: Richard H. Hoppin, 'Partial signatures and *musica ficta* in some early 15th-century sources', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1953, pp. 197-215; Margaret Bent, '*Musica recta* and *musica ficta*', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 26, 1972, pp. 73-100; *eadem*, 'Diatonic *ficta*', *Early Music History*, vol. 4, 1984, pp. 1-48; *eadem*, 'The grammar of early music: Preconditions for analysis', in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. C. C. Judd, New York and London, 1998, pp. 15-59; Karol Berger, *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padua to Gioseffo Zarlino*, Cambridge, 1987; Thomas Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson*, Cambridge, 1997; Andrew Hughes, *Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus 1350-1450*, Rome, 1972; Elizabeth Leach, 'Interpretation and counterpoint: The case of Guillaume de Machaut's *De toutes flours* (B 31)', *Music Analysis*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2000, pp. 321-351; Peter Urquhart, 'Three sample problems in editorial accidentals in chansons by Busnoys and Ockeghem', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, eds J. A. Owens and A. M. Cummings, Michigan, 1997, pp. 465-481. Many of Bent's important studies on manuscript and editorial accidentals are now contained in a single volume that consolidates her views on issues such as the significance of hexachords, *musica ficta* and *gammaut* transposition, *vid.* Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica Ficta*, New York and London, 2002. I also note, in light of the issues discussed herein, the article by Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Le grant desir": Verschlüsselte Chromatik bei Matteo da Perugia', in *Provokation und Tradition : Erfahrungen mit Alten Musik (Festschrift Klaus L. Neumann)*, eds H.-M. Linde and R. Rapp, Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 55-83. I further articulate my position on the interpretation of

music theory of the fourteenth century (as discussed in Chapter 4 of this present study in relation to mensural notation). According to this model, signatures (as indicators of the *recta gammaut*) can be equated with an intrinsic or essential nature. Departures from the intrinsic *recta gammaut* brought about by internal accidentals (in particular *ficta*) would be construed as *accidentia* and therefore operate extrinsically. Transpositions of the *gammaut* by internal manuscript accidentals may be regarded as intrinsic in their nature. Secondly, there is little to suggest that a manuscript accidental at the beginning of a staff functions in a significantly different way to a great number of manuscript accidents (especially *b*) occurring internally on a staff. It is frequently the case across collective transmissions of a work to witness the use of a signature at the beginning of the staff in one source and the same “signature” significantly delayed in another source. An example occurs in the Ct of Jacob de Senleches’ *En attendant esperance*, where the one flat signature occurring at the beginning of the Ct voice in CH 564 is delayed some six *tempora* until just before the first instance of the pitch-name *b* in MOe5.24. The use of accidentals at the beginning of a work represents a particular application of accidentals wherein the transposed *gammaut* is established in the first instance. Internal transposition functions in exactly the same manner although in the context of a previously established relative pitch hierarchy. In each case the function is identical – to establish a specific order of intervals residing in the meaning of accidentals in relation to the hexachordal system.

I am thus concerned that Memelsdorff’s model for different scribal behaviours as a reflection of different exemplars is based upon a false premise. I am also troubled that the false premise is used to suggest an empirical model for the use of “Marchettan” leading tones in the music of Matheus de Perusio. Marchettus’ division of the tone has aroused the curiosity of especially Jan Herlinger¹⁹ and several subsequent scholars/performers, and Memelsdorff’s curiosity is undoubtedly invoked by his worthy goal of bringing new understanding to the performance and listening of this music. There is, in my estimation, little to support his conclusion (whose argument is necessarily left incomplete to pursue the central issues of his paper) that manuscript accidentals in particular portions of the outer gatherings reflect a notational practice seeking to encode “Marchettan” leading tones. The following paragraphs will establish and articulate my rebuttal.

manuscript accidentals and provision of editorial accidentals in the introduction to Appendix A in Volume 2 of this present study.

Based upon his extrinsic/intrinsic categorisation of manuscript accidentals, Memelsdorff²⁰ concludes that the perceived behaviour exhibited by manuscript accidentals can be divided into two groups that reflect at least two different exemplars. These are labelled groups Alpha and Beta by Memelsdorff, wherein:

1. Alpha consists of entries on ff. (a), 1r-3r, 7v-10v(+11r), 41r-45v, 50r-v and z.
2. Beta consists of entries on ff. 3v-7r, 46r-49r.

Group Beta is evaluated to demonstrate a consistent behaviour wherein

1. ♯ appears only after an intrinsic ♭ and permanently cancels the ♭.
2. ♯ is not repeated unless another intrinsic ♭ occurs
3. An intrinsic ♭ is not cancelled by ♯.
4. Where ♯ cancels extrinsic ♭, ♯ “is used also for permutations and *paenultima*”.

Group Alpha is association with “Marchettan” leading tones, wherein:

1. ♯ cancels either intrinsic or extrinsic ♭.
2. ♯ can cancel intrinsic ♭.
3. ♯ may not be preceded by ♭, but cause a pitch inflection. This often occurs at the beginning of staves.
4. ♯ after ♯ on the same pitch may indicate a Marchettan leading tone.

The problem with Memelsdorff’s system of categories is that it unfairly differentiates between signatures (or extrinsic signs to use Memelsdorff’s false terminology) and internal accidentals. It also ignores some fundamental principles operating in the original. Foremost among these is the significance of the new staff. A new staff without any signatures can only indicate the relative location of pitch structures through its clef. *Gammaut* locators operating in the previous staff must be restated in the form of signature to indicate the continuation of the same *gammaut*. Also, Memelsdorff’s conclusions do not factor in the role of implicit solmisation in the relation to certain manuscript accidentals. The presence of a ♯ (as an indication of *mi*) midway through a work suggests that the same pitch-name was previously solmised to the syllable *fa*. Furthermore, if the sign ♯ appears in an unusual position, that is, in a position in the natural *gammaut* that cannot be solmised to the syllable *fa* in the *recta* system of hexachords, then one must ask whether the natural *gammaut* is operating at all, or whether a transposed *gammaut* is implied contextually by the subsequent use of this sign and the relationships exhibited contrapuntally between voices. My view is that the use of manuscript accidentals in the outer gatherings is wholly consistent with a single system of locating pitch structures. Rather than representing multiple exemplars,

¹⁹ Jan W. Herlinger, ‘Marchetto’s division of the whole tone’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1981, pp. 193-216.

²⁰ Memelsdorff, ‘What’s in a sign?’, p. 260.

accidentals reflect a single scribal intention, that for reasons set out below, originated with the scribe of the outer gatherings. I will now suggest another rationale for the usage of manuscript accidentals in the outer gatherings, and proceed to demonstrate the uniform application of these principles across Memelsdorff's Alpha and Beta groups. These conclusions pertain at this point of time only to the scribal behaviour of the outer gatherings of MOe5.24, and should not be extrapolated, for example, to the manuscript accidentals appearing in the inner gatherings copied by my Scribe β .

1. \sharp occurs on pitch names that can be explicitly or implicitly solmised *fa*. It possesses a significant degree of prescriptiveness and indicates either:
 - a. The hard hexachord of a *gammaut*.
 - b. A sharpwards transposition of the *gammaut*. It locates the hard hexachord in that *gammaut*.
 - c. It cancels the effect of a \flat but only in such a way that it indicates a preference for the hard hexachord over the soft in the established *gammaut*.
2. $\#$ indicates *musica ficta*, i.e. pitch inflection beyond *recta gammaut*. Its degree of prescriptiveness is relatively weak, usually limited to a single operation often delimited by a cadential function. It does not cause permanent transposition or mutation.
3. \flat occurs on pitch names that can be explicitly or implicitly solmised *mi*. It possesses a significant degree of prescriptiveness and indicates either:
 - a. The soft hexachord of the *recta gammaut*. The inflection remains in operation until cancelled explicitly by a manuscript accidental or implicitly by contrapuntal behaviours.
 - b. A flatwards transposition of the *gammaut*. It remains in effect until cancelled either implicitly by \sharp or contrapuntal relations between voices.
 - c. A cancellation of a hard hexachord or *gammaut* transposition, which may also entail additional transposition.
4. The effects of accidentals do not carry over from the previous staff. This explains why signatures are usually repeated at the beginning of staves. A new staff overrides all behaviours described above.
5. All *gammaut* positions are subject to *musica ficta*, both notated and implicit. Melodic behaviour and contrapuntal context form core determinants in the editorial application of implicit inflections.
6. Whether a "signature" appears at the beginning or within a staff is not significant apart from the recognition that a sign indicating a *gammaut* position at the very beginning of a work lacks the same context of an internal *gammaut* transposition.
7. As a coefficient of points 1 and 3, *gammaut* transpositions can only be indicated by \sharp or \flat .

To demonstrate the redundancy of Memelsdorff's classification of manuscript accidentals in the face of a equally competitive, if not more viable theory based on principles of solmisation, limitations placed upon the scope of this response require me to take one song from each behavioural group (Alpha and Beta) proposed by Memelsdorff. These are *Helas Avril* (MOe5.24, f. 45r) from Group Alpha and *Ne me chaut* (MOe5.24, f. 48r) from Group Beta.

Figure A.1 provides a transnotation of the first 42 BB of Matheus de Perusio's *Helas, Avril*. Manuscript accidentals are preserved in forms and relative positions that correspond to the original. Editorial accidentals are shown above the staff, including those inflections explicitly required by manuscript accidentals and those understood to operate implicitly. The sign // appearing above staves indicates the beginning of a new staff in the original. Additional details relating to editorial policy are explained in Volume 2 of this present study.

Figure A.1: Matheus de Perusio, *Helas Avril*, BB. 1-42.

I-MOeS.24, f. 45r. Matheus de Perusio

The image displays a musical score for three voices: Soprano (S), Contratenor (Ct), and Tenor (T). The score is divided into three systems, each with three staves. The lyrics are written below the Soprano staff. The first system covers measures 1-6, the second system covers measures 7-12, and the third system covers measures 13-18. The music features various accidentals, including sharps and naturals, and includes triplets and a double bar line (//) in the second system. The Tenor part is marked '1 Tenor' at the beginning of the first system. The Contratenor part is marked 'Contratenor' and 'MS' at the beginning of the first system. The Soprano part is marked '1. He' at the beginning of the first system. The lyrics are: '1. He las, A - vril, par ton doulz re - ve - nir J'ay de dou - lour plus que di - re ne say Quant si te voy io -'.

S
1. He las, A - vril, par ton doulz re - ve -

Ct
Contratenor
MS

T
1 Tenor

nir J'ay de dou - lour plus que di - re ne

7

say Quant si te voy io -

13

Figure A.1 (cont.)

li no - vel et gay de flours ves - tus en ioy - e

19

sans es - may plain d'o - dours, de ly - esse

25

et ie n'en ay que de - sir

31

so - ve - nir, plaindre et ler - mir.

37

Ct and T of *Helas Avril* lack signatures or transposing accidentals. The unsuitability of $\flat\flat$ in these voices (i.e. soft hexachord in natural *gammaut*) suggests that all voices operate in a once sharpward transposed *gammaut* located on G. The use of the hard and soft hexachords is not prescribed but is implied contrapuntally. *Musica ficta* on c and G is implied

or specified (eg. T 6.2, Ct 15). The beginning of the S (1.1-3.1) contains no indication of *gammaut* location other than the clef that suggests a natural *gammaut*. Yet, a degree of ambiguity must exist in this initial passage with the notation of $\natural g$ at S 3.2. The presence of this accidental suggests retrospectively that a *gammaut* on d operates before this sign. This suggests that from the outset, voices in this work exhibit a relationship that is common to the majority of works noted in conflicting or differentiated signatures in this period.

The sign $\natural g$ at S 3.2 signals that the syllable *mi* must now be sung at this position in place of a former *fa* syllable and results in an inflection of g by a chromatic semitone. At the same time, its capacity as a hard hexachord effects a further sharpwards transposition of the *gammaut* to one based on A. This requires the editorial inflection of several subsequent pitch names in response to the new hierarchy of intervals. The occurrence of $\flat d$ in S 6 marks a particular form of accidental also occurring in Matheus de Perusio's *Le grant desir* found in the 4th gathering of MOe5.24. Unlike *Le grant desir*, the context for the interpretation of this accidental is clearly established by the $\natural g$ in S 3. As a *gammaut* is already operating where the pitch name d is already solmised *fa*, the use of \flat on this syllable does not inflect the pitch it precedes, but it establishes a soft hexachord on a (in preference to a hard hexachord on b), and effectively indicates a *gammaut* based on E. The recurrence of $\natural g$ at the beginning of S 10 is necessary after the beginning of a new staff and acts to re-establish the location of the *gammaut* (on a). The $\flat d$ at S 16.1 functions exactly as when it last occurred in S 6 and ensures a prolonged cadential figure that Memelsdorff aptly refers to as the *clausula peruscina*.²¹ Because g in the E-*gammaut* is already sung to the syllable *mi*, the $\flat g$ at S 16.3 establishes the soft hexachord of the a-*gammaut*. The $\flat c$ at S 19.1 enables the d-*gammaut* briefly before a return to the soft hexachord of the a-*gammaut*. The occurrence of a new staff at S 23 causes a reversion to the natural *gammaut*. This explains the $\sharp f$ at S 26.1 that represents a one-off instance of *musica ficta* in the context of the natural *gammaut*. (S 28.2 is inflected editorially as *ficta* in acknowledgment of implicit contrapuntal behaviours in lower voices.)

An a-*gammaut* is established briefly at S 30, but $\flat c'$ and $\flat f$ quickly shift the pitch organisation back to a g-*gammaut* via the d-*gammaut*. The g-*gammaut* is in operation in S 34 when $\sharp g$ is employed to indicate a once-off *ficta* inflection. Because the melodic line descends after the cadential figure in S 34, the soft hexachord is favoured editorially (hence f-natural at the end of S 34). The $\flat c$ in S 35 establishes a d-*gammaut* temporarily, but this is

quickly cancelled by the beginning of a new staff. Again, the natural *gammaut* is operating and #c is used to indicate a single precadential inflection. This situation possible betrays an exemplar where there was no staff break between 35 and 36. Memelsdorff does not attribute any significance to the staff break at this point when he observes²² that the same phrase repeated in the third part of this work uses only the sign ♯ in the same location as in S 35. There is no staff break in the second occurrence of this passage. It is perhaps notable that bf appears in the second statement in a position corresponding to S 36.3 in its first occurrence. If nothing else, comparison of these two readings confirms once again that new staves wipe the slate clean in relation to previous *gammaut* transpositions. Transpositions are only restored at the beginning of a new staff by restating the pertinent signs (i.e. as signatures). But my reading further highlights certain inadequacies in Memelsdorff's reading. The #c is required in the first instance of this passage at S 36 because the inflection is *ficta* in a natural *gammaut*. It is not required in the second statement because the ♯c continues to operate until bf signifies the soft hexachord of a new *gammaut*. Both statements contain only one further manuscript accidental: #c indicating a precadential instance of *musica ficta*. While there is a degree of ambiguity in relation to which *gammaut* is operating in this final portion of the first and last section of the S (the natural *gammaut* in the first section, the *g-gammaut* with soft hexachord in the second), their pitch structures are identical.

This brief analysis of manuscript accidentals and their meaning in *Helas Avril* confirms that this work from Memelsdorff's Group Alpha exhibits the seven principles of behaviours set out above. Significantly, it demonstrates that *ficta* signs are construed in a manner consistent with the operating *gammaut*. It also confirms that new staves cancel the effect of manuscript accidentals in the previous staff. Finally, it undermines the pretext used by Memelsdorff to propose a system of Marchettan inflections in Group Alpha. The logic that Memelsdorff searches for²³ in the use of these signs is evident in the behavioural principles established here. The sign ♯ indicates a strongly prescriptive hard hexachord position over a soft hexachord position (either implicit or explicit) which often effects a particular *gammaut* in light of which subsequent accidentals are interpreted. The sign #, on the other hand, is short lived in its effect and signals a *ficta* relationship. There is no need to

²¹ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 267.

²² Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 267.

²³ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 268.

resort to an explanation based on microtonally adjusted inflections. I would be the first to hesitate in denying that the Marchettan system of inflections may have a place in the performance practice of this music. I, however, see no justification for its practice in the behaviour of manuscript accidentals in this particular work. With these points in mind, I now turn to *Ne me chaut*, a song situated by Memelsdorff among the Group Beta works.²⁴

Figure A.2 (See p. 335 below) provides a complete transnotation of the two-voice virelai *Ne me chaut*. Again, it reproduces the form and location of all manuscript accidentals, indicating their meaning editorially. Staff breaks are again indicated by //. *Ne me chaut* exhibits none of the complex system of inflections present in *Helas Avril*, but contains sufficient manuscript accidentals to analyse their behaviour. The T operates with a one-flat signature throughout. Aside from bb used twice in signature positions, only two other manuscript accidentals are found in T 8 and 16, both #b. In both instances, the sign # clearly indicates a once-off inflection in response to a cadential function. It overrides the effect of b for only one pitch. (I have chosen to inflect editorially bb in T 18 as a continuation of a cadential function. It is possible that the # in T 16 is actually an indication of this cadential inflection at the end of a phrase.) Because #b is judged an instance of *musica ficta*, I have read the T in an f-gammaut. An editorial preference for the soft hexachord explains the choice of an e-flat inflection for the first six BB of this work. The hard hexachord is implied by rising melodic lines and cadential structures (eg. B 40) from B. 19 onwards.

The S of *Ne me chaut* commences with a bb' sign. In light of subsequent use of kb' and the lack of bb' repeated at the beginning of staves, I read this sign as an indication of the soft hexachord in the natural gammaut. Thus, once again from the outset, this work demonstrates a behaviour consistent with most compositions of this period which is inherent in the use of differentiated signatures in that upper voices are located in a gammaut one transposition higher than the lower voices. The occurrence of be at S 7.3 indicates a transposition to the f-gammaut. The effect of the soft hexachord is immediately cancelled in favour of the hard hexachord by ke at the beginning of S 9. This initiates a two BB cadential function that Memelsdorff might also refer to as a *clausula peruscina*.

²⁴ Memelsdorff, 'What's in a sign?', p. 261.

Figure A.2: Matheus de Perusio, *Ne me chaut.*

I-MOe5.24, f. 48r. Matheus de Perusio

Soprano (S) and Tenor (T) parts with lyrics:

1.5. Ne me pour chaut vos - tre
 4. Quar ma foy i'ay

mau - par - ler di -
 tres plus - chier Que

tes au - piz que vous sa - ves
 vous au - tres tels me blas - mer

Car ie vueil bien - que vous sa - ches
 Quar hom co - nois - tra bien as - ses

Que ie ne vous pris
 Que ie ne suy pas

un di - ner. 2. Vous au - tres lo - che -
 vos tre per. 3. Ne me tres lo - ues

tif mes - dis - sant de tou - tes ver - tus
 pas tant ne quant Car ie ne suy

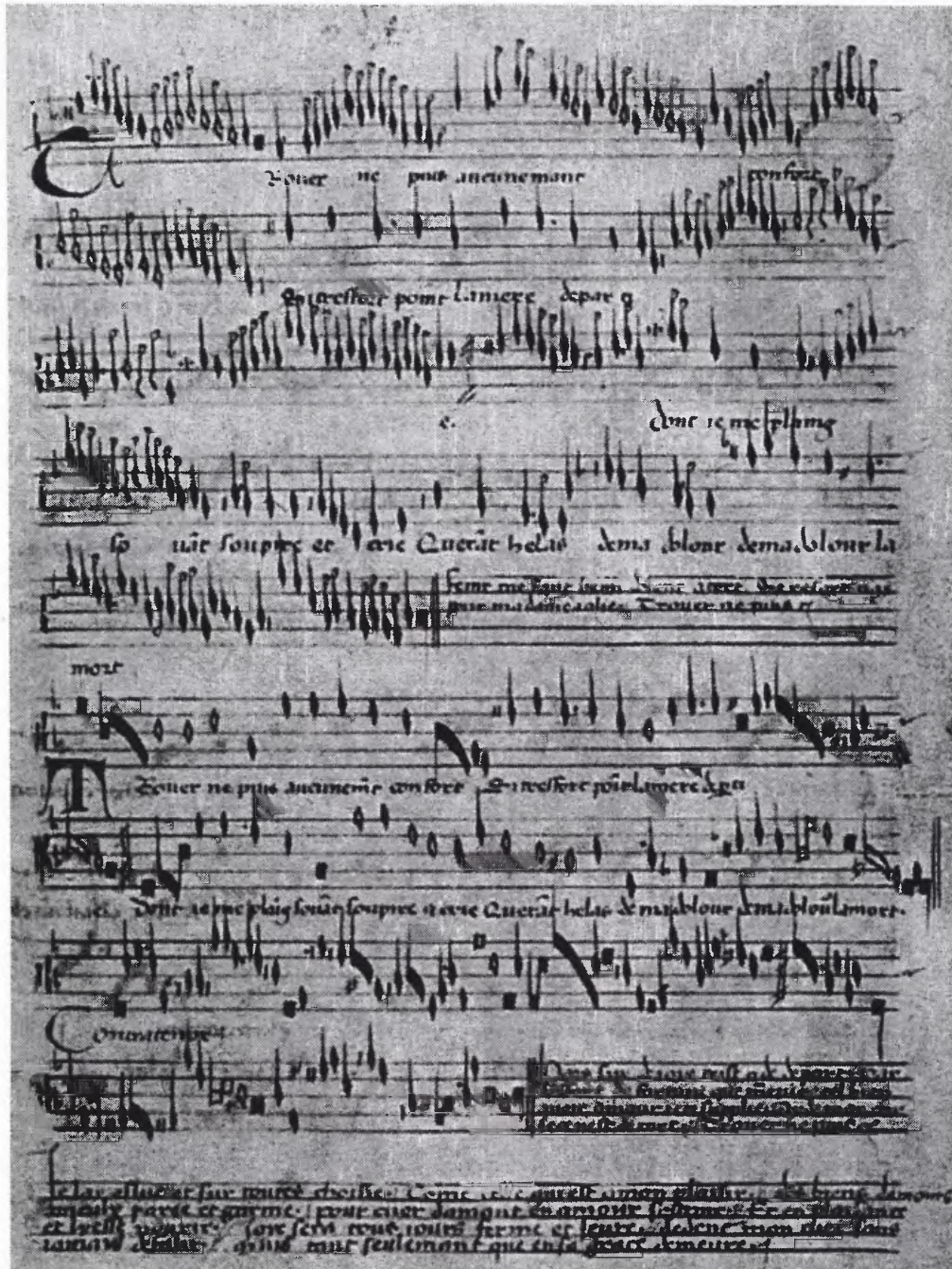
e - ne - mis. pas vostre a - mis.

The $\flat e$ at S 15 continues to locate pitch names in a *f-gammaut* after the beginning of a new staff, but again the soft hexachord is cancelled in favour of the hard hexachord at S 16. The $\flat\flat'$ at S 21 marks a return to the natural *gammaut*. The natural *gammaut* continues to operate for the rest of this work, although the composer's/scribe's preference for hard or soft hexachords of this *gammaut* is clearly indicated by $\flat\flat'$ at S 29 and S 40 and $\flat\flat'$ at S 31 and S 41. Because the natural *gammaut* operates from B. 21 onwards, cadential *ficta* inflections on *f* and *c'* are indicated by \sharp . Unfortunately, the position of manuscript accidentals in the S of *Ne me chaut* contributes little to proving that new staves cancel previous accidentals. However, it is clear that a consistent operation of manuscript accidentals identical to those in *Helas Avril* can be identified.

Indeed, the model proposed here explains many of the difficulties encountered by Memelsdorff in his categorisation of the behaviour of manuscript accidentals in the outer gatherings of MOe5.24. In a footnote at the bottom of page 261 of his study, Memelsdorff notes that, in relation to the use of the sign \flat in *Trover ne puis* and *Già da rete d'amor libera et sciolta*, "the difficulty lies in deciding whether some of their flats <i.e. \flat > are intrinsic or not." In *Trover ne puis* (*vid.* Figure A.3 on page 337), the occurrence of $\flat e$ at the beginning of the fourth staff and after the 29th note in the same staff without any in interpolating $\flat e$ is considered problematic by Memelsdorff. However, I observe that the melodic line descends to E on the 21st note of this same staff which sounds as E-natural (i.e. as the hard hexachord) in anticipation of the same inflections in the Ct and T voice in subsequent BB. This implicit operation of the hard hexachord would seem to warrant the re-confirmation of the soft hexachord when the melodic line again ascends to the octave above. The \sharp on the *e* just after the second instance of $\flat e$ on the fourth staff does not cancel the effect of $\flat e$ (as Memelsdorff suggests) but it effects a once-off *ficta* inflection in relation the $\flat\flat$ -*gammaut* briefly established beforehand by $\flat a'$ before the last pair of *minime pause* of the staff. The instance of $\flat e$ at the beginning of the fourth staff is problematic in Memelsdorff's categorisation as the only sign occurring before this one is also $\flat e$ above the ninth note of the third staff. If anything, the restatement of $\flat e$ at the beginning of the fourth staff vindicates my view that a new staff cancels the effect of previous signs. Much of the subsequent remarks made by Memelsdorff concerning the use of \flat and \sharp in the lower voice of *Trover ne puis* can be consistently explained as either indicating the soft or hard hexachord of the current or new *gammaut* (note especially the end of the 7th staff) or the placement of *ficta* tones on the 4th and 7th degrees of the B \flat -*gammaut* operating this voice. Memelsdorff's

choice not to include this work in Group Beta, however, mitigates these conclusions to a lesser status. The instances of flats Memelsdorff also puzzles over in *Già da rete* as well as *Ne me chaut* (discussed above), in both cases involve the use of flats at the beginning of a staff to indicate a preference for the soft hexachord in relation to the established *gammut*.

Figure A.3: Matheus de Perusio, *Trover ne puis*, MOe5.24, f. 46r (trimmed).



By now referring back to Memelsdorff's groups (*vid.* p. 328 above), the following rebuttals are proposed:

1. A new staff cancels the effect of previous manuscript accidentals. A *gammut* is re-established by a signature or subsequent accidentals on the staff.

2. There is no significant difference in the meaning of \flat and \natural either at the beginning of a staff or within a staff. Both signs merely indicate a soft or hard hexachord position respectively, which in turn might establish a particular *gammaut* of pitch relationships. Context, however, is critical in determining whether the signs cause permutation or transposition. Both signs possess a significant degree of prescription that contrasts sharply with the once-off inflection caused by \sharp .
3. \flat can appear after \natural whenever a continued shift from the soft to hard hexachord is required. It may also appear on a pitch-name that is implicitly solmised *mi* in the hard hexachord beforehand. Alternatively, it may establish the hexachord from the onset when implicit indications of not sufficiently evident.
4. \natural can appear after \flat whenever a continued shift from the soft to hard hexachord is required. It may also appear on a pitch-name that is implicitly solmised *fa* in the soft hexachord beforehand. On the other hand, it may establish the hexachord from the onset when a degree of ambiguity exists.
5. \sharp indicates a once-off *ficta* inflection. The effect of a previous \natural or \flat continues to operate after this *ficta* inflection.
6. \sharp after \natural on the same pitch indicates a *gammaut* shift has occurred between the signs and that the second sign indicates a one-off instance of *musica ficta*.

As such, the uniform system of manuscript accidentals across Memelsdorff's Groups Alpha and Beta distinguishes between the operation of *recta* signs (I include those that cause transposed *gammauts*) and *ficta* signs. It embodies a degree of precision that is often lacking in the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 (only \sharp and \flat are used) and in CH 564 (which prefers \natural to \sharp). Exceptions to this observation occur in works in the inner gathering of MOe5.24 like *Le grant desir*, but the binary system of manuscripts accidentals cannot be compared in a simple way to the ternary system used in the outer gatherings. The notational practice in the outer gatherings, particularly in *Helas Avril*, represents yet another aspect of notational *subtilitas* that is shared with those works in the inner gatherings which seems to respond to new stylistic demands placed upon contrapuntal and rhythmic language.

Returning, however, to the task at hand, I make the following assessments concerning the significance of Memelsdorff's study in relation to this present study. The protogathering theory, while considerably diminished in the present study, is dismissed by Memelsdorff. Memelsdorff and I, however, reach a similar conclusion that the outer gatherings were formed as quinions before the copying process was commenced, although I leave open the option that some works were already copied into the outer gatherings before their association with the inner gatherings. In doing so, I question the order of copying layers attributed to the outer gatherings by Memelsdorff, although I do not disagree with his excellent account of ink and pen types in them. I have demonstrated here that a reasonable degree of uncertainty exist in relation to Memelsdorff's conclusion that *f. z* original followed

ff. 20 or 40. This throws some doubt on the conclusion that Gathering V remained separated from the collection until late in the compilation process.

Finally, I have questioned an aspect introduced in Memelsdorff's study that explores the possibility of multiple exemplars being used for the outer gatherings based on the use of manuscript accidentals. The premise that accidentals at the beginning of a staff are in some way different to those encountered in the midst of a staff is employed without any articulation of its basis. If its basis is a purely empirical one, then my provision of a model that is based on historical grounds (solmisation practice, somewhat informed by modern views on *gammaut* transposition) and confirmed by empirical data suggests its non-exclusivity and fallibility. At the same time, the alternative model I have provided demonstrates that exceptions noted by Memelsdorff under his categorisation of manuscript accidentals are unexceptional under the model proposed here. The model I have provided here actually argues from the strong hand of a scribe who has a particularly precise manner of controlling pitch-organisation according to held conventions (like the cancelling effect of new staves). Internal variation, such as that found in *Helas Avril*, suggests the scribe is in control of these conventions and adjusts his text accordingly. This view is also borne out by several accidentals erased by this scribe in recognition of these principles. One notes, for example, the erased \natural in the fourth staff of *Ave sancta mundi* (f. 1r). The sign is unnecessary here because the same strongly prescriptive sign already occurs earlier in the staff. Again, this might suggest the correction of a reading made in the first instance by the scribe of the outer gatherings from an exemplar (formed using similar conventions for manuscript accidentals) wherein the second instance of \natural corresponded to the beginning of a new staff.

The burden of proof rests upon the ability of the scholar to articulate an effective argument and the methods used to establish a hypothesis. Because the basis of Memelsdorff's methodology is flawed and the behaviours of manuscript accidentals he observes can be readily explained using another method (as I have done above), I do not think that the case for multiple exemplars has been proven. Although framed as a preliminary study, I believe that further steps could have been taken by Memelsdorff to explain why he arrived at a certain copying order (or at least refute any other reasonable possibilities) and why the fifth gathering should have been dissociated from the collection of songs in Gatherings 2-4 of MOe5.24. Questions of how the inner gatherings became associated with the outer ones, as well as of where the manuscript was compiled and its early provenance remain unanswered. I have provided some speculative answers to these

questions in Chapter 3 of this present study, but I also acknowledge (as I believe Mr Memelsdorff might also) that definitive answers to these questions reside in a continuing, careful re-evaluation of this important manuscript from the perspective of sound methodologies.

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