

Chapter 2 : *A source made in Italy? Observations of scribal process and filiation in Codex Chantilly*

The manuscript now in the possession of the Bibliothèque du Musée Condé at the Château de Chantilly with the catalogue number 564, has been known to musicology since before 1900.¹ As it is the only musical manuscript of importance at the Musée Condé, musicology generally refers to it as Codex Chantilly (hereafter CH 564). It contains 112 musical works² from the late fourteenth and possibly early fifteenth centuries. Its importance to the history of western music lies in the high proportion of *unica* it possesses (many of which are notated using special note forms and coloration to convey proportional relationships), the high level of ascription of works to composers (many of whom remain unknown beyond this source), and the unique nature of its contents. As a witness to a highly developed secular, polyphonic music, its absence would leave musicology with a much poorer picture of musical development at the end of the fourteenth century, even in light of the rich, but predominantly northern Italian tradition preserved in the other principal source of this style, Modena, Biblioteca estense e universitaria, ms α. M.5.24 (=MOe5.24).³

The present chapter, in treating the nature of CH 564, provides observations concerning its physical structure, contents and scribal processes. A discussion of the nature of the contents of CH 564 examines relationships evident between works and proposes theories to describe the ordering of works. A description of scribal process explores not only the manner of each scribal contribution to this manuscript, but also discusses scribal activity as an editorial process over time. This facet of CH 564 is discussed further in an examination of the transmission of works in this manuscript. Here, the process of filiation is brought to bear on extant readings of works concordant with CH 564. This interpretive

¹ The first published description of the manuscript and edition of its texts occurs in Léopold Delisle, (ed.), *Institut de France, Le Musée Condé, Chantilly, Le Cabinet des Livres*, vol. 2, Paris, 1900, pp. 277-303. The description of the manuscript mostly follows that which appears at the front of the present manuscript and which was prepared by Henri d'Orleans, Duc d'Aumale. In his essay, d'Aumale synthesises the views of three scholars who were among the first to consult the manuscript: Paulin Paris (literary historian), Léopold Delisle (medievalist) and Henri Lavois fils (music historian). Delisle was responsible for the edition of texts found in the Institut de France catalogue, *vid.* Elizabeth Randell Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception", Ph. D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 2001, pp. 9-39.

² There are 113 items in this manuscript, however items 13 and 81 are identical for the greatest part.

³ See the following chapter.

process is useful in providing limits for any considerations pertaining to the dating and origin of CH 564. For example, the subsequent discussion establishes that CH 564 is a parent in part of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 26 (henceforth Fn 26). This conclusion imposes a limit upon our understanding of the transmission of these manuscripts with the result that any previous hypotheses concerning the origin of either manuscript must be brought to bear upon the present discussion. This chapter concludes with a reconsideration of the present manuscript's origins and dating.

The origin of Codex Chantilly is a subject that fuelled much scholarly debate during the twentieth century. The earliest published description of CH 564 in the *Institut de France* catalogue (1900) briefly describes its physical aspects and the nature of its texts and notation. The entry is almost identical to the report now found added as ff. 2-5 in CH 564 and is undoubtedly by Henri d'Orleans, Duc d'Aumale (1822-1897), the former owner of the manuscript who bequeathed it, along with the entire Château de Chantilly, to the Institut de France in his will of 1884.⁴ The duke's description of the manuscript is both a document of its times and a reflection of French national sentiment, which expresses several opinions that were to influence musicology over the next century.⁵ Of greatest importance to the present discussion is the view present in the catalogue entry stating that CH 564 was an early fifteenth century Italian copy of a French original copied during the reign of Charles VI.⁶

In 1902, Friedrich Ludwig published a brief description of Codex Chantilly in which he repeated the opinion that it was an Italian copy made at the beginning of the fifteenth

⁴ The duke acquired CH 564 in 1861 through the agency of his associate and sculptor Henri Triqueti from the private collection of a P. Bigazzi, Secretary of the Accademia della Crusca of Florence. In a letter to Triqueti dated 24 April 1861, the duc d'Aumale concludes with the following request: *Si vous pouvez m'envoyer de Florence une description détaillée du manuscrit de Chansons du 14.e Siècle que vous a signalé M. Robinson, et y joindre quelques indications sur son prix probable, vous me ferez grand plaisir.* (If you could send me from Florence a detailed description of the manuscript of fourteenth century chansons that you reported to Mr Robinson, and attach some indication of its likely price, you would make me very happy.). The letter survives as Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, File 155f1: Duc d'Aumale au Baron de Triqueti, Document 3. Triqueti's response (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, File 115f2, Document 19) on the 2 May 1861 leaves little doubt that the Florentine volume in question is the manuscript being presently discussed.

⁵ I do not intend to discuss the reception of the manuscript during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as its is beyond the scope of the present work. Rather I direct the reader to Elizabeth Randell Upton's dissertation "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception."

⁶ *Tout y est bien français, hors d'exécution, qui est italienne. La France est sa patrie d'origine, l'Italie sa patrie d'adoption. Le manuscrit original doit avoir été compilé en France dans les premières années du règne de Charles VI; notre copie a dû être faite au commencement du XV^e siècle par un Italien qui ne comprenait guère le texte qu'il transcrivait. Entre autres indices de la nationalité du copiste, on peut citer la cédille qu'il a employé en beaucoup endroits (grimaçe, f. 53, puissance, f. 33 v^o); Delisle, *Institut de France: Musée Condé: Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits*, vol. 2, p. 278.*

century from a French exemplar.⁷ Johannes Wolf also supported this hypothesis in 1904.⁸ Later (1926), in his commentary to his edition of the works of Machaut, Ludwig maintained his original view on the origin of CH 564.⁹ Nino Pirrotta suggested that CH 564 was essentially the principal collection of the repertoire from Avignon “fatto in Italia”.¹⁰ Pirrotta goes on to suggest in the broadest terms a *settentrionale* origin for this manuscript.¹¹ In an early attempt to locate CH 564 precisely, Guillaume de Van argued in 1948 that CH 564 was a fifteenth century pedagogic manuscript made in Naples.¹² In his brief notes pertaining to the sources for his edition, Apel was convinced by the palaeographic assessment of B. L. Ullman that CH 564 is a French original *circa* 1400.¹³ Heinrich Bessler, in an entry for the manuscript in the first edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, rejected Apel’s hypothesis primarily based on the well established position that the level of textual corruption in CH 564 precluded the participation of a French scribe. He largely followed the established Italian-copy theory combined with De Van’s Naples hypothesis, although he suggested its exemplar was a French original copied in the 1390s.¹⁴

It was not until 1954 that a new description, discussion and inventory of CH 564 by Gilbert Reaney was published.¹⁵ Reaney incorporates recent archival findings pertaining to the composers named in the manuscript, summarises textual references and provides a hypothesis of its origins. In re-examining the assumption of its Italian provenance, Gilbert Reaney stated that despite the links with south-west France as suggested by some texts, it was difficult to determine whether the copy was made in France or Italy, although he suggested

⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, ‘Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts’, *Sammelbände des Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vol. 4, 1902/03, pp. 42-43.

⁸ Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte de Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 328.

⁹ Ludwig describes CH 564 as: *eine im Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts in Italien geschriebene Pergamenthandschrift* (“A parchment manuscript written at the start of the 15th century in Italy”), in Friedrich Ludwig, (ed.), *Guillaume de Machaut Musicische Werke*, Leipzig, 1926, vol. 2: Einleitung zu 1. Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelai - II. Moteten - III. Messe und Lais, p. 22*.

¹⁰ Nino Pirrotta, ‘Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del ‘400’, *Atti della Reale Accademia de Scienze, lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Serie IV, vol. 5, part II, 1944-45, pp. 125-126. This article was also published as an extract in Palermo, 1946. The present study refers to the earlier publication of this article.

¹¹ Pirrotta, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

¹² Guillaume de Van, ‘Le pédagogie musicale à la fin du moyen âge’, *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 2, 1948, pp. 83-86.

¹³ Willi Apel, (ed.), *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1950, p. 3b.

¹⁴ Heinrich Bessler, ‘Chantilly’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1st edn, ed. F. Blume, Kassel und Basel, 1952, vol. 2, coll. 1085-1090.

¹⁵ Gilbert Reaney, ‘The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047’, pp. 59-113; *q.v.* Gilbert Reaney, ‘A postscript to “The Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 1047”’, *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 10, 1956, pp. 55-59.

an Italian origin for CH 564 and gave it an approximate dating of 1400-1420, rather than 1390-1400.¹⁶

Subsequent scholarship continued to discuss CH 564's origins. Nigel Wilkins supported it being an original but from Barcelona.¹⁷ In his dissertation, Gordon K. Greene, following evidence put forward by Reaney,¹⁸ suggested that CH 564 may have been compiled from an earlier French source at Florence. He draws this conclusion on the following three bases: Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti, who is mentioned in an inscription dated 1461 on f. 9r of CH 564, was a member of the prominent Alberti family of Florence; the motet *Alma polis religio/Axe poli cum arctica* (108) refers to certain *Augustini de Florentia*; and Fn 26 was likely a direct copy of CH 564.¹⁹ Later, in his published edition of the works from Codex Chantilly, Greene expressed the revised view that the manuscript was in fact an original copied between 1393-1395 perhaps for Count Mathieu by a newly arrived Italian or Catalan scribe in Foix.²⁰ However, his explanation accounting for the presence of the Cordier inserts based on a chance meeting of the retinue of the Count of Foix with musicians of Philip the Bold at Avignon relies upon Wright's identification of Baude Cordier with Baude Fresnel (†1397-8).²¹ Problems with this hypothesis are examined in detail in Chapter 6. Furthermore, Greene appears to have treated circumstantial evidence, based around Günther's dating of item 38 in CH 564 to the period 1393-95, as a concrete indication of the manuscript's dating and origin. Although evidence such as Günther's dating is useful in a discussion of a repertoire's chronology, one must proceed with caution in using them in a discussion of the precise dates and origin of a physical object. The very existence of a great number of undatable works in CH 564 further begs appropriate

¹⁶ Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 81

¹⁷ Nigel Wilkins, 'Some notes on Philipoctus de Caserta (c.1360?-1435)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 7, 1964, pp. 89-91. A similar conclusion was also reached more recently by an editor of the Codex Chantilly's texts. Terence P. Scully concluded on the basis of references in its repertoire and oddities of orthography that CH 564 was from the court of John I of Aragón, in his 'French songs in Aragon: the place of origin of the *Chansonnier* Chantilly, Musée Condé 564', in *Courtly Literature - Culture and context: Select Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August 1986*, eds K. Busby and E. Kooper, Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature 25, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1990, p. 510.

¹⁸ Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 82.

¹⁹ Gordon K. Greene, 'The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)', Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1971, pp. 39f. Inexplicably, Greene also states that Florence is mentioned in *La harpe de melodie* (67). This is not the case.

²⁰ Gordon K. Greene, (music ed.), Terence P. Scully (text ed.) *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, First Part*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XVIII, Monaco, 1981, pp. X-XI.

²¹ Craig Wright, 'Tapissier and Cordier: New documents and conjectures', *Musical Quarterly*, 59, 1973, pp. 177-98.

investigative reserve. Greene's retraction of his earlier views, however, is a useful demonstration of the thorny issue of this manuscript's origin and date.

In 1984, Ursula Günther reconsidered this codex's origin predominantly through a discussion of its palaeographic features. Günther again focuses on the inscription found on f. 9v, which runs as follows:

A di xviii di luglio 1461 francesche daltobiancho degli alberti dono questo libro alle mie fanciulle care chollo lançalao suo figliolo Amen thomaso spinelly p<ro>p<ria> manu.²²

Two details are revealed by the inscription, the purpose of which is to indicate essentially a legal change of ownership. The first is that immediately prior to 18th July, 1461, the manuscript was in the ownership of Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti (14.VI.1401 – 9.XII.1461). Clearly, the inscription in CH 564 was written in Florence shortly before Francesco's death. Francesco's illegitimate son, Ladislao (†1463) acted on his father's behalf in giving the book to its new owners, the daughters of Tommaso Spinelli. After this date, the precise location of the manuscript remains unknown although it may have remained in the hands of one of Spinelli's daughters. The fact that the manuscript resurfaces in 1861 in Florence when it is purchased by Henri d'Orleans suggests nonetheless that the manuscript remained in Florence for the next four hundred years.

The ascription naturally leads to a consideration of the activity of the Alberti family before 1461. In January 1401, all adult male members of the Alberti family (Niccolaio's branch) were banished from Florence as a result of the conviction of Antonio di Niccolaio degli Alberti for conspiracy against the state.²³ Condemned along with Antonio to live for thirty years more than 300 miles distant from Florence, Francesco's father, Altobianco died in exile in Paris in 1417. Altobianco's brothers Diamante and Calcedonio, condemned to

²² The reading supplied here includes a correction of the previous reading found in Günther of "e a Rechollo" to "care chollo", as suggested James Haar and reported by Upton in her "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception", p. 91, fn. 70. Translation: "On the 18th July, 1461 Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti, gave this book to my <Spinelli's> dear daughters through his <Francesco's> son, Lançalao. Amen Tommaso Spinelli. with due process." The meaning of this passage has been obscured by the ambiguity of 'fanciulla', which can denote a young girl, a daughter, a girlfriend (in an amorous sense), or a prostitute, *vid.* Giorgio Barberi Squarotti (ed.), *Grande Dizionario della lingua Italiana*, 17 vols, Turin, 1968. In many ways it is similar to the modern colloquial usage of 'girl' in English. In this context, reading the plural as 'daughters', not 'girl friends', seems only appropriate. Ursula Günther gives the latter reading in 'Unusual Phenomena in the Transmission of Late Fourteenth Century Polyphony', p. 98. The reading proposed here suggests that the book was given to Tommaso Spinelli's daughters. Elizabeth Randell Upton ("The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception", p. 100) has tentatively proposed that the names BETISE .F. and LISA. A. on f. 9r refer to Spinelli's two unmarried daughters, documented as Bice and Lisabetta.

live for twenty years 180 miles or more from Florence, also died in exile in Paris in 1408 and 1414 respectively. Another of Francesco's uncles, Niccolò (Cristallo), who continued to administer their family's commercial business, died at Montpellier in 1420. Francesco d'Altobianco was born at the beginning of the exile that lasted until October 1428 when all statutes against the Alberti were annulled.²⁴

Based on this early association of CH 564 with the Alberti and their exile in Paris and Montpellier,²⁵ Ursula Günther proposes that CH 564 was either copied by an Italian scribe during the Alberti's sojourn in France, or more likely from a Parisian source or sources brought back to Florence by Francesco d'Altobianco after 1428.²⁶ Based on this hypothesis, Günther proposes a mode of transmission whereby Paris or Montpellier forms a link in the distribution of works associated with Paris and with centres in South-West France.

There are, however, inconsistencies in Günther's preference for CH 564's dating after 1428. While Günther does admit that an Italian may have copied the book in France, she believes that "on account of palaeographic data" it was copied after Francesco's return from exile.²⁷ However, the very opinions of palaeographer Robert Marichal reported by Günther appear to contradict this statement. Marichal stated that the *ductus* of the principal hand showed great similarities to manuscripts from Vicenza, and Florence, dated 1400 and 1406 respectively. Concerning the formation of majuscules in CH 564, Marichal felt that there were similarities with features exhibited by a manuscript written at the Council of Constance in 1415.²⁸

Finally, recent scholarship on the Alberti of Florence has shown that in the years immediately before his return to Florence, Francesco d'Altobianco was not in France, but by

²³ Passerini, *op.cit.*, pp. 83 & 89.

²⁴ For an assessment of the effect of exile of the Alberti family in general, *vid.* Susan Foster Baxendale, 'Exile in practice: The Alberti family in and out of Florence 1401-1428', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 44, 1991, pp. 720-756. It would appear that Francesco d'Altobianco, as well as other members of his family, prospered during this period of exile, *ibid.*, p. 739.

²⁵ Michael Long first explored the manuscript's connections to the d'Altobianco degli Alberti in his "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances", Ph.D thesis, Princeton University, 1981, pp. 386-389. Long, however, does not examine the manuscript's origin, but rather he focuses on CH 564 and Fn 26 as indications of musical tastes among the Florentine bourgeois.

²⁶ Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 107; *q.v.* Ursula Günther, 'Chantilly', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, ed. L. Finscher, Kassel, 1995, vol. 2, coll. 631.

²⁷ Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 100.

²⁸ Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', pp. 93-94, fn. 25.

1427 was working for a family bank in Rome.²⁹ Even after the exile of the Alberti was renounced and other family members began to return to Florence, Francesco d'Altobianco remained in Rome as head of his own business, possibly until shortly before his marriage to Giovanna di Bardo di Francesco de' Bardi in March 1432.³⁰ This situation throws doubt on Günther's proposal for the dating (and possibly origin) of CH 564 which relies on Francesco's period in France. The evidence of Francesco's time in Rome and further uncertainties of his location during the years of the Alberti family's exile from Florence suggests that the origin of this manuscript requires further reconsideration.³¹

2.1. *Physical and scribal characteristics*

This parchment manuscript consists of five sexterns, preceded by four inserted leaves, the first two containing the index (9v-10r) and the second two, which may have originally been a bifolium (on the basis of a clearly visible repair strip), containing two works ascribed to Baude Cordier (f. 11v & 12r).³² The dimensions of each folio are 387 x 286 mm.³³ The

²⁹ Susannah Kerr Foster, "The Ties that Bind: Kinship Association and Marriage in the Alberti Family 1378-1428", Ph. D thesis, Cornell University, 1985, p. 194.

³⁰ Foster, "The Ties that Bind", p. 402.

³¹ A proposition also supported by the varied views expressed at a recent conference held at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, 13-15th September 2001. Participants in a round table concerning transmission of works in and provenance of CH 564 were split between Pavia (Strohm), Florence or the papal circle (Stone and Plumley), with Avignon and Paris also mentioned, *vid.* Barbara Haggh, 'Conference Report: Contemplating the Chantilly Codex', *Early Music*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2002, pp. 267-68.

³² I was not granted access to the manuscript itself during my visit to the Musée Condé in February, 2001. As affirmed by my conversations with several leading scholars in this field, this reflects a general situation witnessed in recent years. During my conversations with Mme Emanuelle Toulet, Conservateur of the Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, it was ascertained that a concern for the artifact's conservation was the basis for the decision to severely restrict access to Codex Chantilly. In particular, Mme Toulet cited the tightness of the spine and difficulty in opening the Codex as the main concern in this manuscript's conservation. Dr Julia Craig-McFeely, noted in a personal communication (16th March, 2001) that the archivists at the Musée Condé were unable to open the manuscript more than 90° during its photographic digitisation conducted mid-2000. (This can be clearly seen in the digitisation.) I am greatly indebted to Elizabeth Randell Upton for sharing, in our lengthy correspondence, her observations concerning physical aspects of CH 564 made when she consulted this manuscript in 1992. Observations concerning scribal practices, however, were facilitated by my use of the new high resolution digitisation of the manuscript supplied upon the present author's visit to the Musée Condé. I thank the Conservateur of the Bibliothèque du Musée Condé for access to these images, as I also thank the library staff at that institute for their kind assistance in many matters. I also thank Dr Margaret Bent for allowing subsequent consultation of the same images while at Oxford. As stated above, the digitisations, which I had the opportunity of viewing, were made by Dr Julia Craig-McFeely in her role as Project Manager developing the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music Project, directed by Dr Margaret Bent and Dr Andrew Wathey, *vid.* Margaret Bent, Andrew Wathey (Directors) and Julia Craig-McFeely (Project Manager) <julia.craig-mcfeely@music.oxford.ac.uk>, 'The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music', [path: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/>]. This digitisation is the basis of a facsimile of Codex Chantilly published under the auspices of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (who commissioned the DIAMM to photograph the manuscript) by Philippe Vendrix with an introduction by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone. *Chantilly, Musée Condé 564, u Facsimile Edition with Introduction*, Paris, [in preparation]. I thank Drs Plumley

first gathering of six bifolia commences with the folio numbered *xiii* in an ancient hand (see Section 2.4). Folia 9-12 are foliated in a more recent, possibly nineteenth century hand employing Indo-Arabic numerals. In its present form, an essay on the manuscript proper by the manuscript's previous owner, Henri d'Orleans, and a frontispiece (drawn by the Henri de Triqueti, a nineteenth century sculptor and colleague of the duke, shortly after the manuscript's purchase) were added at the front of the manuscript when bound in 1880. An index of works has also been added at the end of the manuscript. The binding itself consists of scarlet velvet over timber boards, with four silver bosses in the form of a radiant sun front and back (one in the centre of each quarter of the boards) and the arms of the Duke d'Aumale in the centre of the front board. The same arms also appear on the frontispiece by Triqueti.

The size and preparation of this codex in relation to several other sources of chansons from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries suggests it was planned as a luxury item. A comparison of its dimensions with other sources of this period may be made by consulting Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Page dimensions of selected manuscripts from the late 14th and early 15th centuries.³⁴

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Page dimensions</i>	<i>Material</i>
Fl 87	405 x 285 mm	Parchment
CH 564	387 x 286 mm	Parchment
Tn J.II.9	377 x 270 mm	Parchment
Pu 1115	316 x 222 mm	Parchment
Tn T.III.2	300 x 218 mm	Paper
Ob 213	298 x 215 mm	Paper
Fn 26	285 x 220 mm	Paper
Pn 6771	271 x 213 mm	Paper
Pn 568	272 x 184 mm	Parchment
MOe5.24	272 x 180 mm	Parchment
Las 184	232 x 158 mm	Parchment

The parchment used in the original layer is of a high quality with the hair side prepared to resemble the flesh side for the most part.³⁵ As such, considerable expense was probably involved in obtaining and preparing the basic materials. Another indication that this book

and Stone for discussing this forthcoming publication with me during my visit to the University College Cork (Ireland) and the Villa I Tatti (Florence, during Dr Stone's fellowship at that institute) respectively.

³³ Delisle, *Institut de France: Musée Condé: Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits*, vol 2, p. 277. These measurements were confirmed by E. R. Upton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁴ Cf. Heinrich Bessler, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 7, 1925, p. 172, and Upton, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ I would like to thank Elizabeth Randell Upton for confirming the nature of the parchment in CH 564 in a personal communication, 3rd July, 2001.

was intended as an item of luxury resides in the fact that, aside from four instances (f. 25v, 36v, 40r, 43v), each page of the manuscript contains only one chanson (or voice part of a motet, which usually occupies two facing leaves) commencing at the top of the page, often with three or four blank staves remaining at the bottom of the page. This contrasts to the other central source of the *ars subtilior*, MOe5.24, which has every available space of the parchment filled with music. In this respect, the similarity of CH 564 to another early fourteenth century presentation anthology of works by *trecento* and early *quattrocento* composers, the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87, “Codex Squarcialupi” (=I-Fl 87),³⁶ does not go unnoticed.

There are three distinct layers of preparation. Layer I consists of the greatest part of the manuscript (ff. 13r-72v) and it appears to have been prepared together with 10 hexagrams (=6-line staves) per page. The hexagram can be considered a typically Italian trait,³⁷ although the pentagram is not unknown in Italian sources. Each staff was ruled in red ink by a rastrum 16.5 mm wide. The approximate writing area throughout Layer I is 280 cm x 225 mm.³⁸ As will be discussed at greater length below, Layer II consists of an index added at the front of the manuscript. Layer III consists of the two Cordier inserts between the index and body of the manuscript. This layer is typified by its preparation with pentagrams ruled in black ink. The lines of two upper staves of the heart-shaped *Belle, bonne, sage* and all staves of *Tout par compas* appear to have been drawn individually with a pair of compasses or a device closely resembling this implement. This resulted in staves of irregular width, which could not have been produced by a rastrum. The lower four staves on f. 11v, however, appear to have been drawn by such an instrument.

³⁶ Fl 87 is a Florentine source compiled in the second decade of the fifteenth century. A thorough discussion of nature and origin of this manuscript, *vid.* John L. Nádas, ‘The Squarcialupi Codex: An edition of Trecento songs’, in *Il Codice Squarcialupi MS. Mediceo palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: Studi raccolti*, ed. F. A. Gallo, Firenze and Lucca, 1992, pp. 20-86; *cf. idem*, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages”, Ph. D. thesis, New York University, 1985; For the full colour facsimile of this source, *vid.* F. Alberto Gallo, (ed.), *Il codice Squarcialupi : Ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana di Firenze*, Firenze, 1992.

³⁷ The following manuscripts, for example, also employ hexagrams (their place of origin shown in brackets): Pn 6771 (Padua), Fn 26 (Florence), Rvat 215 (Verona?), Pu 658 (Padua); pentagrams are employed in MOe5.24 (Pisa, Bologna & Florence), the remainder of the Paduan fragments (Padua) and Las 184 (Padua and Florence). All northern sources from 1350-c.1410, including the Machaut manuscripts and Lowland fragments, preserve pentagrams. The pentagram appears to have been fully adopted in Italy by the end of the second decade of the fifteenth century, as can be determined from the dating of Fl 87 (Florence). A late exception to these observations occurs in the manuscript Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, V.III.24 which contains hexagrams and was copied c. 1436-40 possibly at Bruges or Ghent – *vid.* Rob Wegman, ‘Review: Walter H. Kemp, *Burgundian Court Song in the Time of Binchois: The Anonymous Chanson of El Escorial, MS V.III.24*’, *Music and Letters*, vol. 72, 1991, pp. 264-8.

Codex Chantilly contains evidence of four text hands (A-D) and two music hands (I & II). Text Hand A wrote the index and foliated Layer I of the manuscript (including the now lost first gathering) with Roman numerals. This hand shares many features with Hand B in its use of a French *cancelleresca formata*, although it is not identical. Hand A will be discussed further in Section 2.5 in relation to the early provenance of this manuscript.

Text Hand B is found in the two Cordier inserts (Layer III) as well as three ascriptions on f. 34v (Hasprois), f. 35r (Matheus de Sancto Johanne) and f. 44v (J. Senleches). Its script may be described as a French-styled *cancelleresca formata* typified by the acute clubbing of the ascenders of b, h and l, the reverse clubbing of the ascenders of d and v and the use of a descending stroke on f and gothic s (except at the end of words) which extend below the base line. The height of ascenders may be accentuated. The typical trait of a gothic s (as an f without cross-bar) strengthened by a second stroke is a primary element. The hand is careful and neat in accordance with the general appearance of the two Cordier inserts. This hand uses a black ink. The scribe used a flat-nibbed writing implement angled at 45° clockwise from the vertical. It appears unquestionable, through the relatively precise alignment of syllables to notes on these unusual heart-shaped and circle staves, that this scribe practised text underlay, that is, the placement of text after the music had been copied.

Text Hand C belongs to the principal scribe.³⁹ It extends throughout the Layer I, which is presumably the oldest layer of the manuscript. Its script is a *gotthica rotunda* and, apart from the formation of ‘r’, it shows traits common to both the *littera gotthica textualis rotunda italiana* and *littera gotthica textualis rotunda bononiensis* scripts.⁴⁰ There are, however, additional *chancellaresca* features found in the clubbing of the ascenders of b, h and l. Furthermore, it is important to note that writing styles similar to the *rotunda italiana* were common in southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as in Italy.⁴¹ Decorated majuscules, with their prominent internal vertical dividers and tendrils looping

³⁸ Elizabeth Randell Upton, personal communication, 5th March, 2001.

³⁹ I cannot agree with Günther who states “the script of layers <read: fascicles> two and three differs very much from the type of script used in fascicles four...and one, which are similar”, in her ‘Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony’, p. 97. Apart from superficial elements, such as the decoration of majuscules and heightened ascenders, the scripts are identical and from the hand of the same scribe.

⁴⁰ q.v. B. Pagnin, ‘La littera bononiensis’, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. XCIII, no. 2/10, 1933-34, pp. 1593-1663.

⁴¹ Bernard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 131.

from upper serifs are typical especially of the northern Italian tradition.⁴² All other ascriptions not by Hand B can be attributed to Hand C, although the appearance of the script here is often carefully formalised and dominated by majuscules. Features of the majuscules in these ascriptions, however, largely concur with those closely associated with Hand C and are clearly by the same scribe. The ink in the work of this Scribe C is generally a dark brown colour. The copying of text beneath music staves by the scribe of Text Hand C clearly preceded the copying of music. As Gordon K. Greene and more recently and extensively Gilles Dulong have observed,⁴³ there are several instances which betray this fact, such as the erasure and re-positioning of the last syllable of the word *loyaute* in top line of *Toute clerte m'est obscure* (3), the extension of a line from the beginning of the *outrépasse*⁴⁴ to its subsequent music in Johannes Cuvelier's *Ne Geneive* (f. 41v), and the generally nonsensical underlay of items such as Guido's *Dieux gart* (f. 25r).

Text Hand D is a non-professional hand belonging to a scribe who made small alterations and additions in the first layer of the manuscript. The script is a semi-cursive typical of the fifteenth century, written using a very narrow nibbed implement whose ink is now a light brown colour. This scribe adds a *T* label on f. 49r, adds a *Ct* label on f. 65v, inserts text in the top line of *Rex Karole / Leticie pacis* on f. 66r, adds the label *Tenor admirabile est nomen tuam* under the solus tenor on f. 69r, and rewrites a canon directly below the voice it affects on f. 71r. The same hand is also most likely responsible for the addition of a *Ct* label on f. 32r, but here he employs a slightly wider nibbed writing implement. Text Hand D's role appears to be a late corrector or reader of the manuscript.

Music Hand I occurs in the Cordier inserts (Layer III). It contains several features that distinguish it from the musical script of the principal scribe, Music Hand II. A wider C-clef is employed. In the formation of note forms, I note small tails on either side of a *brevis simplex*, a slight convexity of the bottom-left side and rounding of the right corner in rhomboidal forms such as the *semibrevis*, *minima* and *semiminima* and a distinct form of the















⁴² The palaeographer M. Robert Marichal, who advised Günther writes : "...les majuscules sont très italiennes..." and proceeds to cite a comparable document from the Council of Constance, Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 93, fn. 25.

⁴³ Greene, "The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)", pp. 57-69; Gilles Dulong, "La ballade polyphonique à la fin du moyen âge: de union entre musique naturelle et musique artificielle", Doctoral thesis, Université François-Rabelais, 2000.

⁴⁴ The term *outrépasse* is used herein in deference to the term *Abgesang* to denote the lines in a strophe of a ballade which occur between the *clos* couplet and refrain. The earliest use of this term to describe this poetic structure is found in Jacques Legrand's early fifteenth century treatise *Des Rimes*, whose modern edition is found in M.E. Langlois, (ed.), *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902, p. 8.

semiminima flag which resembles the numeral two. Indeed, the formation of the Indo-Arabic numeral two is distinguished from those used by Music Hand II by the ascending otiose stroke at the end of the lower horizontal bar. Note stems are usually perpendicular to staff lines. Mensuration signs are geometric in that there is no horizontal extension of the upper element of C and C compared to when the same signs are used by Music Hand II. With regard to manuscript accidentals, *b-rotundum* is b-shaped, while the diesis sign (#) is preferred to the *b-quadratum*. A comparison of these various elements with those employed by Music Hand II may be found in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: A comparison of scribal traits in the writing of music in Codex Chantilly.⁴⁵

	C-Clef	Breves	Sbr and Min	Smin	Mensuration signs	Numerals	Accidentals
Music Hand I							
Music Hand II							

Music Hand II, rather than the black ink used by Music Hand I, employs a dark brown ink. This brown ink has often separated from the writing surface in the upper staves of many leaves in the first layer, possibly due to creeping moisture, leaving only shadowy impressions of the original. However, high quality digital reproduction or first hand inspection (as observed by Greene⁴⁶) reveals these portions legible. *Breves* are simply rectangular, and there is a slight ligature on the left of rhomboidal note forms. *Minima*- and related note-stems are at times elongated although they are regularly shortened to avoid text belonging to the staff above. These stems often slope to the right. This hand prefers to use the *b-quadratum* sign, and the *b-rotundum* is often elongated in its body. This elongation of the *b-rotundum* often lends itself to problematic interpretation of manuscript accidentals,

⁴⁵ Only significant elements which appear in both hands are able to be compared. Thus, the lack of F-clefs in the two works copied by Music Hand I makes comparison with F-clefs frequently found in the greater quantity of works copied by Music Hand II impossible.

⁴⁶ Greene, "The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564", p. 7.

especially in the case of the chromatic essays *Fumeux fume* by Solage and the anonymous *Le mont Aön de Trace*. In several other instances, notes, especially when part of ligatures, are ambiguously placed in terms of pitch indication.

Despite the distinction between music and text hands made above one may assume that Text Hand B and Music Hand I belong to a single scribe (Scribe α) who created the Cordier inserts (Layer III), while Text Hand C and Music Hand II appear to belong to the same scribe (Scribe β) responsible for the copying in Layer I. As the text, especially in the residuum of *Belle, bonne, sage* (1), is integral to the overall appearance of work whose music he copied, it can be assumed that Scribe α was also responsible for the preparation of Layer III, that is establishing their design and placing staff lines. As suggested by my examination of Text Hand B, Scribe α carefully copied out the music and then placed the text, often splitting words into their syllables to convey his precise intentions. See, for example, the underlay of *com-po-ses* in *Tout par compas* (2). Scribe β , on the other hand, copied out his text first and then copied the music. It is difficult to determine if Scribe β had any role in the preparation of his writing surface. However, the similarity of red ink used for ruling hexagrams and the same coloured ink used for coloration of note forms suggests that the leaves were prepared in the same workshop, not discounting the possibility that Scribe β may have contributed to this aspect.

2.2. Contents and repertorial considerations

Codex Chantilly contains 100 chansons, including the Cordier inserts: 70 ballades (items 13 and 81 are, however, identical), 13 virelais,⁴⁷ and 17 rondeaux (of which 4 are isorhythmic between their first and second section). Additionally, 13 isorhythmic motets are found in the last gathering.⁴⁸ There is also an unfinished, textless, and unidentified fragment on the seventh and eighth staves of f. 44v. Figure 2.1 gives a schematic representation of the gatherings of the manuscript showing the location of each item in the manuscript.

⁴⁷ I follow Richard Hoppin who regards *La harpe de melodie* as a virelai, Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, New York, 1978, p. 486.

⁴⁸ On the relation of the motets in CH 564 to the motet repertoire of the fourteenth century, *vid.* Ursula Günther, 'The fourteenth-century motet and its development', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 12, 1958, pp. 27-58.

Figure 2.1: Schematic inventory of Codex Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 564.⁴⁹

Inventory Number.	Title / Composer (voices)[comments] [Form]/folio number
Index:	<i>Betise F Lisa A</i> ; Title: <i>Musica: Inscription by Tommaso Spinelli</i> ⁵⁰
	<i>Index ff. xiii^r-lviii^r</i> 9
	<i>Index ff. lviii^v-lxxiii</i> 10
	[Blank]
Cordier Inserts:	[Blank]
	1. <i>Belle, bonne, sage</i> / Baude Cordier [Written in shape of a heart] (S, T, Ct) [R] 11
	2. <i>Tout par compas</i> / Baude Cordier [written on concentric circles] (C ¹ , C ² , T) [R] 12
	[Blank]
Gathering 1 (Old gathering II)	3. <i>Toute clerte m'est obscure</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B] 13
	4. <i>Un crible plein de eau [orible plein de afie MS]; T: Adieu vos comant baudor</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V] 14
	5. <i>Tres douce playsant</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V] 14
	6. <i>Ma dama, m'a congie doune</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B] 14
	7. <i>A mon povir garde</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V] 15
	8. <i>Se doit il plus en biau semblant</i> / Jo. de Alte curie (S, T, Ct) [isoR] 15
	9. <i>Je chante ung chant</i> / M<atheus>. de Sancte Jo<hanne> (S, T, Ct) [isoR] 16
	10. <i>Laus detur multifaria</i> / Trip: Petrus Fabri (S, T, Ct, Trip) [V] 16
	11. <i>Fuions de ci</i> / Senleches Jacob (S, T, Ct) [B] 17
	12. <i>Tres doulz amis; Ma dame ce que; Cent mille fois</i> / Jo. Vaillant (S, Ct, T) [R] 17
	13. <i>Tres gentil cuer</i> / Solage [vid. 81] (S, T, Ct) [V] 18
	14. <i>De petit peu</i> / G<uillaume> de Machaut (S, T, Ct) [B] 18
	15. <i>Se Zephirus; Se Jupiter</i> / Grimace (C ¹ , T, C ²) [doubleB] 19
	16. <i>De Narcissus</i> / Magister Franciscus (S, T, Ct) [B] 19
	17. <i>En l'amoureux vergier</i> / [Sol]age (S, T, Ct) [B] 20
	18. <i>Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse</i> / Magister Franciscus (S, T, Ct) [B] 20
	19. <i>Passerose de beaute</i> / Trebor (S, T, Ct) [B] 21
	20. <i>En seumeillant m'a vint une vesion</i> / Trebor (S, T, Ct) [B] 21
	21. <i>Roses et lis ay veu en une flour</i> / Mag<iste>r Egidius de Aug<ustinus> (S, T, Ct) [B] 22
	22. <i>Le mont Aön de Trace, doulz païs</i> / (Solage?) (S, T, Ct) [B] 22
	23. <i>Sans joye avoir ne puet longuement</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B] 23
	24. <i>Corps femenin</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct) [B] 23
	25. <i>Je ne puis avoir plaisir</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V] 24
	26. <i>Medee fu en amer veritable</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B] 24

⁴⁹The key to abbreviations used here is given at the beginning of this thesis. The names of composers containing portions enclosed by angle brackets <> are expanded abbreviations.

⁵⁰Traces also appear at the top of this leaf of an inscription which has been erased. Inspection of the original and the provision of an ultraviolet photograph of this page was not possible.

Figure 2.1 continued.

Gathering 2 (Old gathering III)

27. <i>Dieux gart qui bien le chantra</i> / Guido (S, T, Ct) [R]	25
28. <i>Or voit tout en aventure</i> / Guido (S, T, Ct) [B]	
29. <i>Robin muse</i> / Guido? (S, T) [R]	
30. <i>Pour ce que je ne say Gairez</i> / Jo. Vaillant (S, T) [isoR]	26
31. <i>Dame doucement trait</i> / Jo. Vaillant (C ¹ , C ² , T) [R]	
32. <i>Onques Jacob por la belle Rachel</i> / Jo. Vaillant (S, T, Ct) [B]	27
33. <i>Se je cudoie tous jours</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
34. <i>De quan qu'on peut belle et bonne estrener</i> / Anonymous (S, Ct, T) [B]	28
35. <i>Ung lion say de tots belle figure</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
36. <i>O bonne douce franse</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [R]	29
37. <i>Va fortune, trop as vers moy</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
38. <i>Se Alixandre et Hector fussent en vie</i> / Trebor (S, T, Ct) [B]	30
39. <i>Pictagoras, Jabol et Orpheüs</i> / Suzoy (S, T, Ct) [B]	
40. <i>Quant joyne cuer en may est amoureux</i> / Trebor (S, T, Ct) [B]	31
41. <i>Si con ci gist mon cuer</i> / Jo. Olivier (S, T, Ct) [B]	
42. <i>De ma dolour</i> / Ph<ilip>ot de Caserta (S, T, Ct) [B]	32
43. <i>En un peril doutous</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
44. <i>Plus ne put musique son secret taire</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	33
45. <i>En atendant souffrir m'estuet</i> / Jo. Galiot (but Philipoctus de Caserta) (S, T, Ct) [B]	
46. <i>Ma douce amour, je me doy bien complaindre</i> / Jo. Simonis de Haspre (S, T, Ct) [B]	34
47. <i>Puisque je sui fumeur</i> / Hasprios (S, T) [B]	
48. <i>Sans vous ne puis, tres douce creature</i> / Matheus de Sancto Johanne (S, T, Ct) [B]	35
49. <i>Prophiliias, un des nobles de Roume</i> / Jo. Susay (S, T, Ct) [B]	
50. <i>S'aincy estoit que ne feust la noblesce</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct) [B]	36
51. <i>Loyaute me tient en espour</i> / Garinus (S, T, Ct) [R]	
52. <i>Espoir dont tu m'as fayt partir</i> / Anonymous? (S, T, Ct) [R]	

Figure 2.1 continued.

Gathering 3 (Old gathering IV)

53. <i>Le sault perilleux</i> / J. Galiot (S, T, Ct) [B]	37
54. <i>Par le grant senz d'Adriane</i> / Ph<ilip>ot. <de Caserta> (S, T, Ct) [B]	
55. <i>Se Galaas et le puissant Artus</i> / Jo. Cunelier (but Cuvelier) (S, T, Ct) [B]	38
56. <i>Il n'est nulz homs in ce monde vivant</i> / Ph<ilip>ot <de Caserta> (S, T, Ct) [B]	
57. <i>En remirant vo douce pourtraiture</i> / Ph<ilip>ot <de Caserta> (S, T, Ct) [B]	39
58. <i>En nul estat</i> / Goscalch (S, T, Ct) [B]	
59. <i>En attendant d'amer la douce vie</i> / Galiot (S, T, Ct) [isoR]	
60. <i>Se vos me voles fayre outrage</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [R]	
61. <i>Lorques Arthus. Alixandre et Paris</i> / J<ohannes> C<uvelier?> (S, T, Ct) [B]	40
62. <i>Inclite flos orti gebenensis</i> / Mayhuet de Joan (S, T, Ct) [B]	
63. <i>Ne Geneive, Tristan, Issout, Helainne</i> / J<ohannes> C<uvelier?> (S, T, Ct) [B]	41
64. <i>Helas, pitie envers moy doit si fort</i> / Trebor (S, Ct, T) [B]	
65. <i>Se Dedalus en sa gaye mestrie</i> / Taillandier (S, Ct, T) [B]	42
66. <i>Se July Cesar, Rolant et Roy Artus</i> / Trebor (S, Ct, T) [B]	
67. <i>La harpe de melodie</i> / J<acob> Senleches (C ¹ , C ² , T) [V]	43
67a. Textless fragment	
68. <i>En attendant esperance conforte</i> / Galiot (but Jacob de Senleches) (S, T, Ct) [B]	44
69. <i>Je me merveil aucune fois</i> / Jacomi; Jacob de Senleches (C ¹ , T, C ²) [Double B]	
70. <i>Lamech, Judith et Rachel</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
71. <i>Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson</i> / (Philipoctus de Caserta) (S, T, Ct) [B]	45
72. <i>En la saison</i> / Hymbert de Salinis; T: Jo. Cunelier (S, T, Ct) [B]	
73. <i>La dieus d'Amours</i> / T: Johannes Cesaris (S, T, Ct) [B]	46
74. <i>Adieu vous di</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	
75. <i>En Albion de fluns environnee</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	47
76. <i>De tous les moys que sunt en sayson</i> / Anonymous (S, Ct, T) [B]	
77. <i>Angelorum psalat</i> / S. Uciredor (Rodericus?) (S, T) [B]	48

Figure 2.1 continued.

Gathering 4 (Old Gathering V): *Balades a iiii chans*

78. <i>Se fortune me doi plaindre</i> / (Guillaume de Machaut) (Trip, S, T, Ct) [B]	49
79. <i>Le basile de sa propre nature</i> / Solage (S, T, Trip, Ct) [B]	
80. <i>Calectone qui fut dame darouse</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct, Trip [label only]) [B]	50
81. <i>Tres gentil cuer</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct) [V]	
82. <i>Bien dire et sagement parler</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Trip, Ct) [B]	51
83. <i>Le home vray amour iugement</i> / J. Merucio (S, T, Trip, Ct) [B]	
84. <i>Armes, Amours, Dames, Chevalerie</i> / F. Andrieu (C ¹ , T, C ² , Ct) [B]	52
85. <i>A l'arbre sec puis estre compare</i> / Suzoy (S, T, Trip, Ct) [V]	
86. <i>Des que buisson me fu bontez d'enfance</i> / Grymace (S, T, Trip, Ct) [B]	53
87. <i>De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt</i> / P. des Molins (S, Ct, T) [B]	
88. <i>Quant Theseus / Ne quier veour</i> <Guillaume de> Machaut (C ¹ , T, C ² , Ct). [double B]	54
89. <i>He tres doulz roussignol ioly</i> / Borlet (S, Trip, Ct, T) [V]	
90. <i>Playsance or tost</i> / Pikyni (C ¹ , T, Ct, C ²) [R]	55
91. <i>Alarme, alarme sans sejour</i> / Grimace (C ¹ , T, C ² , Ct) [V]	
92. <i>Cine vermeil</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]	56
93. <i>Va t'en mon cuer</i> / Gacian Reyneau (S, T, Ct) [R]	
94. <i>Sience n'a nul annemi</i> / M<atheus> de S<ancto> Johan<ne> (Trip, S, T, Ct) [B]	57
95. <i>Helas ie voy mon cuer a fin venir</i> / Solage (S, T, Trip, Ct) [B]	
96. <i>Pluseurs gens voy</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct, Trip) [B]	58
97. <i>Joyeux dy cuer en seumellant estree</i> / Solage (S, T, Trip, Ct) [V]	
98. <i>Fumeux fume par fume</i> / Solage (S, T, Ct) [R]	59
99. <i>Fortune faulce parverse</i> / M<atheus> de Sancto Johanne (S, Trip, Ct, Ct) [R]	
100. <i>Par maintes foys ay oy recorder du rosignol</i> / Jo. Vaillant (S, T, Ct) [V]	60
<i>Motes</i>	
101. <i>Apta caro plumis ingenis; Flos virginium; T: Alma redemptoris <mater></i> / Anonymous (Trip, Ct) [isoMot]	

Figure 2.1 continued.

Gathering 5 (Old Gathering VI): Collection of Motets

<i>Apta caro plumis ingenis; Flos virginium; T: Alma redemptoris <mater> /</i> Anonymous (Mot, T)	61
102. <i>Ida capillorum; Portio nature; T: Ante thronum trinitatis /</i> (Henricus – Egidius de Pusiex) (Mot, T) [isoMot]	
<i>Ida capillorum; Portio nature; T: Ante thronum trinitatis /</i> (Henricus – Egidius de Pusiex) (Trip, Ct)	62
103. <i>Degentis vita quid prodest; Cum vix ardidici prompti sint T: Vera pudicicia /</i> Anonymous (Mot, Ct) [isoMot]	
<i>Degentis vita quid prodest; Cum vix ardidici prompti sint T: Vera pudicicia /</i> Anonymous (Trip, T)	63
104. <i>Pictagore per dogmate; O terra sancta; T: Rosa vernans caritatis /</i> Anonymous (Mot, T) [isoMot]	
<i>Pictagore per dogmate; O terra sancta; T: Rosa vernans caritatis /</i> Anonymous (Trip, Ct)	64
105. <i>Alpha vibrans; Cetus venit; T: Amicum querir /</i> Anonymous (Mot, T) [isoMot]	
<i>Alpha vibrans; Cetus venit; T: Amicum querir /</i> Anonymous (Trip, Ct)	65
106. <i>Rex Karole Johannis genite; Leticie pacis concordie; T: [Virgo prius ac posterius] /</i> (Philippe Royllart) (Mot, Ct) [isoMot]	
<i>Rex Karole Johannis genite; Leticie pacis concordie; T: [Virgo prius ac posterius] /</i> (Philippe Royllart) (Trip, Solus T)	66
107. <i>L'ardure qu'endure; Tres dous espoir; T: Ego rogavi deum /</i> Anonymous (Mot) [isoMot]	
<i>L'ardure qu'endure; Tres dous espoir; T: Ego rogavi deum /</i> Anonymous (Trip, T, Ct)	67
108. <i>Alma polis religio; Axe poli cum artica /</i> (Egidius de Aurelia) (Mot) [isoMot]	
<i>Alma polis religio; Axe poli cum artica /</i> (Egidius de Aurelia) (Trip, T, Ct)	68
109. <i>Inter densas deserti meditans; Imbribus irriguis; T: Admirabilem est /</i> Anonymous (Mot) [isoMot]	
<i>Inter densas deserti meditans; Imbribus irriguis; T: Admirabilem est /</i> Anonymous (Trip, Ct, Solus T)	69
110. <i>Multipliciter amando; Favore habundare; T: Letificat juventutem /</i> Anonymous (Mot, T) [isoMot]	
<i>Multipliciter amando; Favore habundare; T: Letificat juventutem /</i> Anonymous (Trip)	70
111. <i>Sub Arturo plebs vallata; Fons citharizantium; T: [In omnem terram] /</i> (Johannes Alanus) (Mot) [isoMot]	
<i>Sub Arturo plebs vallata; Fons citharizantium; T: [In omnem terram] /</i> (Johannes Alanus) (Trip, T)	71
112. <i>Tant a soustille pointure; Bien pert qu'en moy; T: Cuius pulcritudinem /</i> Anonymous (Mot) [isoMot]	
<i>Tant a soustille pointure; Bien pert qu'en moy; T: Cuius pulcritudinem /</i> Anonymous (Trip, T)	72
113. <i>D'ardant desir; Refus d'amer; T: Nigra est set formosa /</i> Anonymous (Mot, Trip, T) [isoMot]	

As Gilbert Reaney has noted,⁵¹ the scribe who compiled the index to the manuscript imparts a somewhat informed, but nonetheless arbitrary, organisation when he inserts into the index a separate heading for *Balades a iiii chans* and *Motes* with respect to works in the fourth and fifth gatherings. The contents of Gathering 4 are not always four-part works as demonstrated by three-part textures in items 81, 87, 92, 93, 98 and 100, nor are they strictly ballades. As G. K. Greene observes, the appearance of the ballade *Tres gentil cuer* by Solage twice (13 & 81) suggests that the scribe had intended to supply a fourth part to several works in this section, but did not, perhaps due to the lack of space or the temporary lack of an available fourth part of which the scribe may have had knowledge.⁵² Greene's hitherto unsubstantiated hypothesis may have gained strength with the subsequent discovery of yet another concordance with item 100, *Par maintes foys* by Johannes Vaillant, which includes a fourth part.⁵³ Elsewhere,⁵⁴ *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt* (87) by P. des Molins which appears in three parts in CH 564, is also transmitted in a four-part form.

The collection as a whole is notable for the large proportion of works (27 of 112) bearing texts that refer to persons or events from the late fourteenth century. Datable references to person and events in this period are listed in Table 2.3, while works referring to persons of this period but without any indications of exact dates are found in Table 2.4.

⁵¹ Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 60.

⁵² Greene, "The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564", p. 115.

⁵³ Fernand Leclercq, 'Questions à propos d'un fragment récemment découvert d'une chanson du XIVe siècle: une autre version de "Par maintes fois ai owi" de Johannes Vaillant', in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds U. Günther and L. Finscher, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10, Kassel, 1984, pp. 197-228.

⁵⁴ Pn 6771, 71v; F-CA B 1328, f. 16, (#23); F-CA B 1328, ff.17-18, fol. 18v (#15) (different Trip.). The transmission of this work is discussed below.

Table 2.3: Datable works in CH 564.

Work	Composer	Date	Textual references
<i>Dame doucement trait</i> (31)	Vaillant	1369	<i>Compilatum fuit Parisius anno domini .MCCC. sexag<esimo> nono</i>
<i>Rex Karole Johannis genite;</i> <i>Leticie pacis concordie; T:</i> <i>[Virgo prius ac posterius]</i> (106)	Philippus Royllart (only in Sm 222)	1375	Charles V, with references to the Peace of 1375 in the Hundred Years War. ⁵⁵
<i>Armes, amours, dames,</i> <i>chevalerie</i> (84)	F. Andrieu	after 1377	Eustache Deschamps' eulogy of the deceased Machaut set to music. ⁵⁶
<i>Par les bons Gedeon et</i> <i>Sanson</i> (71)	Philipoctus de Caserta	1378? no later than 1394.	Gideon and Samson saved the people of God from mortal servitude and iniquity. So too it is fitting that the world look to the sovereign pope, Clement for salvation. Avignon papacy of Clement VII (1378-94). (May have been composed before Clement left Italy in 1379). ⁵⁷
<i>Roses et lis ay veu en une</i> <i>fleur</i> (21)	Magister Egidius de Anglia	before 1380	A rose and lily I have seen in one flower, in the garden of Engaddy. Intertextual and musical relationships with 19 suggestive of composition made before the marriage of Yolande of Bar to John of Aragón. ⁵⁸
<i>Passerose de beaute</i> (19)	Trebor	after 1380	Margarite, a flower whiter than a swan, is married to Jupiter in Engaddy. Intertextual relationship with ballade by Eustache Deschamps dedicated to Maria of Bar and textual reference may refer to her daughter, Yolande of Bar, after her marriage to John of Aragón. ⁵⁹
<i>Inclite flos orti gebenensis</i> (62)	Matheus de Sancto Johanne	1381- 83?	Clement VII with reference to French and Spanish obedience; <i>Tenor pro pape Clement</i>
<i>Par le grant senz d'Adriane</i> (54)	Philipoctus de Caserta	early 1382	References to Louis I d'Anjou (<i>O covert de lis</i>), Johanna of Naples (Ariadne) and Charles Durazzo (Theseus). Linked to Louis' campaign to establish his claim of the Kingdom of Naples (<i>un jouel de grant pris</i>) supported by Clement VII. ⁶⁰ Roland and Hector also used as devices.

⁵⁵ Ursula Günther, (ed.), *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly Musée Conde 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat 568)*, pp. xxix-xxxii.

⁵⁶ Delisle, *Institut de France: Musée Condé: Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits*, vol 2, p. 280.

⁵⁷ Reinhard Strohm, 'Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia', in *In cantu et in sermone: A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, eds F. della Seta and F. Piperno, Firenze, 1992, p. 69.

⁵⁸ Maria Carmen Gómez, 'La musique à la maison royale de Navarre à fin du moyen-âge et le chantre Johan Robert', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 41, 1987, pp. 139-141; Scully, *op.cit.*, p. 513. Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 76, opines that 19 and 21, like 50 (see below), refer to this wedding of Jean de Berry and Jeanne de Boulogne near Avignon on 25th May, 1389, although 21 was written before the event, 19 afterwards.

⁵⁹ Maria Carmen Gómez, 'La musique à la maison royale de Navarre à fin du moyen-âge et le chantre Johan Robert', pp. 139ff; Scully, *op.cit.*, p. 513.

⁶⁰ Nigel Wilkins, 'Some notes on Philipoctus de Caserta (c.1360?-1435)', pp. 84-86. For an early suggestion that the text refers to "le secours que Louis, duc d'Anjou, porta en 1380 à Jeanne, reine de Sicile..." *vid.* Delisle, *Institut de France, Le Musée Condé, Chantilly, Le Cabinet des Livres*, vol. 2, p. 280; *cf.* Nino Pirrotta, 'Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il sec. XIV: di un pretesa scuola napoletana', in *Collectanea Historiae Musicae*, vol. 1, Florence, 1953, pp. 11-18. Reaney had proposed this text was connected to Gaston III Phebus, Count of Foix, in Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 74. The historical elements of this work's text is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

<i>Fuions de ci</i> (11)	Jacob de Senleches	late 1382	References to the post-parturient death of Alionor, Queen of Castile.
<i>Corps femenin</i> (24)	Solage	1386	Catherine of France and her wedding to Jean, the youngest son of Jean de Berry in 1386. Contains acrostic: CATHELLINE LA ROYNE D'AMOURS. ⁶¹
<i>Calectone qui fut</i> (80)	Solage	1386	References to Jupiter's transformation of Callisto into a heavenly being. Extant strophe contains the acrostic CATHELLI.... ⁶²
<i>En seumeillant m'a vint une vesion</i> (20)	Trebor	1388	I dreamt of a Bat (<i>vespertilion</i>) who surpassed Alexander the Great in his conquests: Seril showed that bat to really be the king of great chivalry. The battle cry of Aragón shall cause all to fear since its king is most powerful on land and sea. Reference to John I of Aragón's Sardinian expedition of 1388. Contains intertextual relations with 84.
<i>Cine vermeil</i> (92)	Anon.	1389	Perhaps a clever reference to the wounded (white) swan which was a motif for Jean de Berry. Possibly composed for the wedding of Jean de Berry and Jeanne du Boulogne on 6 th June, 1389. ⁶³
<i>Se Alexandre et Hector</i> (38)	Trebor	1393-95	Like Alexander and Hector were renown for there prowess and strength, and even Achilles was regarded without envy by the Trojans whom he so grieved, above all the lords today so too should the lord of Foix and Bearn, Castelbon et Novailles, whose strength courage and valour is known in Europe and Armenia (The Holy Empire?). Refers to Mathieu de Castelbon, Count of Foix before hostilities with Armagnacs. ⁶⁴ (Provides <i>terminus post quem</i> for CH 564).

⁶¹ Ursula Günther, 'Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 17, 1963, pp. 87-88.

⁶² Günther, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 103.

⁶⁴ Ursula Günther, 'Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 19, 1965, pp. 69-81. Gilbert Reaney stated earlier that the work referred to Gaston III Phebus, in 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047', p. 78, while Willi Apel thought the reference was to Charles II of Navarre, in *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, p. 2b;

Table 2.4: Works in CH 564 without date containing textual references to persons of the period.

Work	Composer	References
<i>En Albion de fluns environnee</i> (75)	Anon.	Master Antheus leads a noble life in Albion, but Minos has condemned his court, exiling Lucidaire and Helie while Daedalus contrives against nature, and Zephirus has no sway. Possibly an oblique political statement whose meaning and subject is lost as are the last two strophes.
<i>En attendant souffrir m'estuet</i> (45)	Philipoctus de Caserta	Contains the motto of Bernabò Visconti, Count of Milan (†1385). ⁶⁵
<i>En la saison</i> (72)	Hybert de Salinis/ T: Jo. Cuvelier	References to Oliver du Guesclin (as an eagle) (†1397), seigneur de la Roberie, cousin of Bertrand du Guesclin (†1380), Count of Longueville, Constable of France. ⁶⁶ Oliver's heraldic device is also described.
<i>Inter densas deserti meditans/Imbribus irriguis/ T: Admirabilem est</i> (109)	Anon.	Gaston III Phebus, Count of Foix.
<i>Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse</i> (18)	Magister Franciscus	Python, the vile serpent slain by Phebus Apollo and described by Ovid, feasts on the delights of the world. Perhaps a reference to the Count of Armagnac, enemy of Count of Foix.
<i>Pictagore per dogmate/ O terra sancta/ T: Rosa vernans caritatis</i> (104)	Anon.	Implores Pope Gregory XI (1370-78) for help.
<i>Quant joyne cuer</i> (40)	Trebor	Refers to the colours (red and yellow) of the device of the House of Aragón, as a possible reference to John I. Also textual reference to Jupiter in the palace of Gemini. The Arthurian device of the Round table also occurs. ⁶⁷
<i>S'aincy estoit que ne feust la noblesce</i> (50)	Solage	Praises <i>Jhean duc gentilz de Berry</i> . ⁶⁸
<i>Se Galaas et le puissant Artus</i> (55)	Jo. Cuvelier	We hold the names Galahad, Arthur, Samson, Tristan, Ogier and Namon in such high regard, so too the name of the baron whose device bears the motto of Gaston III Phebus, Count of Foix: "Febus avant!".
<i>Se July Cesar, Rolant et Roy Artus</i> (66)	Trebor	Like Julius Caesar, Roland and King Arthur, Yvain, Lancelot, Tristan and Porus were of great honour and renown, so too is he whose banner bears the motto: "Febus avant!", in reference to Gaston III Phebus, Count of Foix.

⁶⁵ G. Thibault, 'Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du trecento', in *L'Arts nova italiana del trecento* III, 1970, pp. 152-158. Thibault also observes that the same phrase appears in three other works: two which use the same text *La fiera testa* by Bartolinus de Padua and Nicolò da Perugia, and *Sofrir m'estuet* by Paolo Tenorista da Firenze.

⁶⁶ Ursula Günther, 'Zwei Balladen auf Betrand und Oliver du Guesclin', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 22, 1968, pp. 24-38, also *eadem*, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 101.

⁶⁷ Gómez, 'La musique à la maison royale de Navarre à fin du moyen-âge et le chantre Johan Robert', p. 139.

⁶⁸ Reaney proposes that this work may have been written for the wedding of Jean de Berry and Jeanne de Boulogne in 1389 in 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 76. *Q.v.* fn 58 in this chapter.

<i>Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizantium / T: [In omnem terram]</i> (111)	Johannes Alanus	Contains the names of fourteen musicians working in England between 1340-80. Written possibly for gathering of Order of the Garter at Windsor in 1358. ⁶⁹
<i>Le mont Aön de Trace</i> (22)	Anon. (Solage?)	In a palace on Mount Parnassus, the nine Muses (<i>neuf dames</i>) make sweet harmony for Phebus whose refined musical culture is attendant to his pursuit of the love of ladies refined and virtuous. Possible reference to Gaston III Phebus.
<i>Lorques Arthus, Alixandre et Paris</i> (61)	Cuvelier	Compares an anonymous potentate, who has removed a deceitful toll from a particular road to legendary rulers of history. Neither King Arthur, Alexander the Great, Paris, Hector, King David, Macabe, Jason and Julius Caesar nor anyone of good sense would have ever suffered such a toll.

As shown in both Table 2.3 and Table 2.4, several works refer to events in the 1370s and 80s. There are miscellaneous references (45) to the motto of Bernabò Visconti (1323-1385) (*Souffrir m'estuet*),⁷⁰ the death of Guillaume de Machaut (†1377) in 84, and the death of Alionor of Aragón, Queen of Castile in 1382 (11). Two works (62, 71) are possibly associated with the early years of the rule of Avignonese Pope Clement VII (r. 1378-94). Is it merely coincidental that the same bifolium in gathering three contains both ballades referring to Pope Clement VII, Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Inclite flos orti gebenensis* and Philipoctus de Caserta's *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson*? Indeed, the associations between these two composers extend to textually related themes and similar notational vocabulary.⁷¹

Another four works (19, 20, 21, 40) are connected to King John I of Aragón (1350-95, king 1387) or his second queen Yolande of Bar (†1416, married to John 1380). The identification of the works (19 & 21) with Yolande of Bar is based upon the strength of Maria Carmen Gómez Muntané's argument concerning intertextual relationships between these works and another ballade written by Eustache Deschamps (c.1346-1406). Deschamps' ballade is dedicate to Yolande's mother, Maria, wife of Robert of Bar and sister

⁶⁹ Brian Trowell, 'A fourteenth century ceremonial motet and its composer', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 29, 1957, pp. 65-75; q.v. Günther, *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly Musee Conde 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat 568)*, pp. L-Lii.

⁷⁰ Thibaut, 'Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du trecento', p. 156 suggests these works employing Bernabò Visconti's motto were written in the period 1370-1385. For another interpretation that the works contain Bernabò's motto by Paolo Tenorista, Bartolinus de Padua and Niccolò da Perugia were a response to the threat of the invasion of Florence by the forces of Giangaleazzo Visconti at the beginning of the 15th century, *vid.* John Nádas, 'The songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: the manuscript tradition', in *In cantu et in sermone: A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, eds. F. della Seta and F. Piperno, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2, Firenze, 1992, pp. 57-59.

⁷¹ *Vid.* Chapter 5.

of Charles (Valois) V of France, who is described also in terms of a flower. The close association of items 19-21 may suggest an organisational principle in part of this collection.

Three works (55, 66, 109) and a possible fourth (22) are closely connected to the house of Foix and refer to the vibrant fourteenth century personality, Gaston III dit Phebus (1331-91), Count of Foix (from 1343), while a fifth work (38) refers to Gaston's successor Mathieu de Castelbon and must date from the years 1393-95.⁷² A further work, Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Science n'a nul ennemi* (94) criticises the ignorant who can only cry "Hay avant!" in their compositions, in what appears to be poking fun at the music (55 & 66) composed for Gaston Phebus.

As Yolanda Plumley has recently argued,⁷³ the isorhythmic rondeaux 8 and 9 are linked by more than their shared compositional process. Johannes de Alte Curie (or Jean Haucourt) and Matheus de Sancto Johanne, to whom these respective items are ascribed, were at various but not concurrent times, members of the papal chapel at Avignon during the Great Schism. Furthermore, their common origin from the diocese of Noyon and intertextual relationships between Matheus' *Je chante ung chant* and Haucourt's *Se j'etoie aseüree* found in Ob 213, f. 82v, suggest some form of an association between these composers.⁷⁴ If it is not a case of scribal association of items 8 and 9 in CH 564, it is possible that these two works circulated in tandem.

Other figures from the House of Valois also appear in this collection. The motet *Rex Karol* (106) refers to Charles V (1338-1380). Solage's *S'aincy estoit* (50) celebrates Charles' brother Jean (1340-1416), Duc de Berry, while anonymous item 92 describes a red swan, perhaps as an oblique reference to the symbol of a wounded (and therefore bloody) white swan adopted by the Duke. A further two works (24 & 80) refer to Catherine of France and her marriage to Jean de Berry's youngest son in 1386. Another of Charles' brothers, Louis I d'Anjou, is alluded to in relation to events in the Kingdom of Naples in 1381 by Philipoctus de Caserta's ballade *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* (54). This work has close associations with

⁷² Günther, 'Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix', pp. 69-81. "Phebus" is also referred to in Grimace's *Se Zephirus; Se Jupiter* (15). However, the use of the first person, the theme of "I suffer while I cannot see my lady" and the naming of several other conventional figures in the pantheon of *amour courtois*, suggest that this is not a dedicatory ballade. A reference to "Phebus" is found in the third strophe of Machaut's *Quant Theseüs/Nequier veour* (88), but this strophe is not transmitted in CH 564.

⁷³ Yolanda Plumley, 'Haucourt [Altacuria, de Alte curie], Johannes [Jehan de Hancour]', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol 11, pp. 133-4.

⁷⁴ Yolanda Plumley, 'Citation and allusion in the late *ars nova*: the case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* songs', *Early Music History*, vol. 18, 1999, p. 292; *q.v. eadem*, 'Intertextuality in the fourteenth century chanson: Crossing borderlines and borders', *Music and Letters*, vol. 84/3, 2003 [forthcoming].

ballade 62, ostensibly composed in Avignon.⁷⁵ Oliver du Guesclin, nephew of the one-time Constable of France, Bertrand du Guesclin, is named in 72.

Another connection with Paris, aside from the good probability that works written for Jean de Berry and Charles V originated there, occurs in the case of *Le sault perilleux*. The notes of an anonymous Hebrew student explicitly refer to it as a work used at Jean Vaillant's school of music at Paris to demonstrate the singing of the 9:8 proportion.⁷⁶ The association of Vaillant with Paris in both cases strongly argues that all four works ascribed to this composer originated in that city. Another connection with Paris appears in the two works (47, 98) which appear to refer to the Society of Fumeurs. Solage's apparent association with this Parisian society of poets/composers further strengthens his ties with the Duc de Berry, although archival documentation to suggest his employment at that court is lacking.⁷⁷

Finally, mention should be made of the musicians' motet *Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica* by Egidius de Aurelia, which Greene used in his earlier thesis proposing the origin of CH 564 at Florence. The text of this work suggests that the *Augustini de Florentia* include only J. Strutevilla and Johannes Desideri. Of the other musicians named (also Augustinians), patronyms of origin accompanying their names refer to Paris, Cyprus, Cologne, Berry and Orléans, while contemporary documentation indicates that several belonged to the households of northern cardinals or the papal court at Avignon from whence the motet might have originated.⁷⁸ While the Augustinians of Santo Spirito in Florence maintained significant cultural and political ties with France during the fourteenth century,⁷⁹ the presence of this motet alone is scarcely indicative of connections between CH 564 and Santo Spirito.

Textual references in CH 564 suggest that the content of this codex represents a broad range of musical activity which encompasses the courts of France (Charles V, Jean de Berry, Louis I d'Anjou, Oliver du Guesclin), Aragón (John of Aragón, Yolande of Bar), Foix (Gaston III Phebus, Mathieu de Castelbon), the Avignon papacy (Clement VII), the Visconti

⁷⁵ *Vid.* Chap. 5.

⁷⁶ Israel Adler, *Hebrew Writings concerning Music in manuscripts and printed books from Geonic Times up to 1800*, RISM BIX², Munich, 1975, pp. 55-76; also discussed by Ursula Günther, 'Problems of dating in the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior*', *L'Ars Nova Italiana de Trecento IV*, 1975, p. 300, fn. 64, and Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs: Origins and Evolution*, Oxford, 1993, p. 167.

⁷⁷ *vid.* Günther, 'Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry', pp. 79-95.

⁷⁸ Günther, *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly Musee Conde 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat 568)*, pp. xliii-xlv.

⁷⁹ Michael P. Long, 'Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite', *Early Music History*, vol. 3, 1983, pp. 95-96.

(Bernabò) in Lombardy, and Castile (Alionor of Aragón). Datable works encompass the period 1369-1395 and refer to the early years of the Great Schism of the West, the usurping of the Kingdom of Naples and struggle of the house of Anjou in this regard, the maintenance of the then-more-recent acquisitions of the Kingdom of Aragón and, at the height of its rule, the county of Foix's struggle with the Armagnacs.

Although these facts are essential for dating the repertoire contained in CH 564, it is difficult to reconcile their various references to notions of political coherence. Gaston Phebus largely opposed the Valois in the early stages of the Hundred Years War. Aragón remained neutral in this struggle, despite John's marriage alliance with the Valois (Yolande was Charles V's niece). The Visconti also formed marriage alliances with the Valois, although their support was more pro-active, especially if one considers their financial support for Anjou's Italian campaign to conquer Rome for Clement VII and reclaim his inheritance of the Kingdom of Naples. The political relations of these various courts to Avignon could have hardly formed a basis for the collection considering not only the ambiguity of the Visconti's attitude to Avignon, the late acceptance (1385) of Clement VII's authority by Aragón, but also the waning of fortunes for the Avignonesse parties from the mid-1390s. (Consider the attempt by the delegate consisting of the three regents of France, with the support of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, to persuade Benedict XIII to abdicate in 1395.⁸⁰)

There are, however, other principles of organisation apparent in the manuscript's contents. An observation hitherto absent from scholarship on this source is that the contents of the second and third gatherings are for the most part restricted to those works containing the most advanced notational techniques. The second and third gatherings are dominated by works which employ proportional coloration or signs, special note forms and/or verbal instructions to represent their complex rhythmic structures. The works of a leading master of the *ars subtilior* style, Philipoctus de Caserta, only appear in these two gatherings, although there is some confusion over ascriptions in the second gathering where his *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* is ascribed to a Jo. Galiot, while *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson* lacks any ascription whatsoever. Both works are ascribed to *Magister Filipoctus* and *Phylipoctus de Caserta* respectively in MOe5.24 (ff. 20r & 31r). The ascription of several

⁸⁰ Jean of Berry, Philip of Burgundy and Louis d'Orleans visited Avignon during May-July 1395, *vid.* François Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry: sa vie. son action politique (1340-1416)*, 3 vols, Paris, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 327-339.

works to Philipoctus de Caserta in Codex Chantilly is less than categorical with the apparent use of the abbreviation *Phot* to indicate Philipot. In fact, only item 42, *De ma dolour*, is ascribed to *Ph<ilip>ot de Caserta*, with all subsequent ascriptions restricted to the form *Phot*. In MOe5.24, *De ma dolour* (f. 26v) is clearly ascribed to *Filipoctus de Caserta*. It is likely that the ascription *Ph<ilip?>ot* and Magister Filipoctus found in the respective entries of Codex Chantilly and MOe5.24 indicate the same composer, Philipoctus de Caserta.⁸¹

Three works (55, 61, 63) and a tenor (72) possibly ascribed to Johannes Cuvelier also only occur in the third gathering. All works employ *ars subtilior* techniques. The ascriptions for these works, however, are plagued by uncertainty to an even greater extent than those ascribed to Philipoctus by aberrant orthographies (Cunelier) and excessive abbreviation (J.9 = Johannes Conelier?). The works ascribed to Cuvelier, however, show a high degree of similarity in notation and musical style using *ars subtilior* techniques.

The suggestion that the inner Gatherings 2 and 3 are representative of the *ars subtilior* style is strengthened by the separation of one work from the group of three works composed by Jacob de Senleches found in succession in the third gathering (67, 68, 69). *Fuions de ci* (11) appears in the first gathering, and contains a clear ascription to Senleches Jacob in the textual *residuum*. This work is also ascribed to *Senlesses* in MOe5.24 (ff. 14v-15r). In terms of notation and musical style, *Fuions de ci* is somewhat removed from the group of works in Gathering 3. It avoids all special note shapes and employs only the simplest coloration at the *tempus* level. *Fuions de ci* is representative of a syncopated style in

⁸¹ Possible confirmation that Philipoctus de Caserta is the composer of *En remirant*, *En attendant souffrir* and *De ma dolour* occurs in Johannes Ciconia's virelai *Sus une fontayne* which quotes all three works in what appears to be a homage to Philipoctus, *vid.* Ursula Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen de Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 26, 1972, pp. 53-68; Yolanda Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta', in *Johannes Ciconia, Musicien de la transition*, ed. P. Vendrix, Paris, [forthcoming] (I would like to offer my sincerest thanks to Dr Plumley for providing me with a copy of this paper prior to its publication); Anne Stone, 'A singer at the fountain: Homage and irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne'', *Music and Letters*, vol. 82, no. 3, 2001, pp. 361-390. The designation of Philippus de Caserta employed by certain scholars has no foundation with respect to extant musical sources. The doubtful ascription of the two copies of the treatise entitled the *Tractatus Figurarum* to an individual of this name appears to be the only reference to a Philippus de Caserta. A commentary on the *Tractatus Figurarum*, however, does ascribe the work to Philipoctus de Caserta. On the authorship of the *Tractatus Figurarum* *vid.* Schreier, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-9. The counterpoint treatise in Seville, Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 5.2.25, ff. 95v-96v begins: *Incipiunt regule contrapuncti secundum Magistrum Phylippottum de Caserta*: an edition can be found in Nigel Wilkins, 'Some notes on Philipoctus de Caserta (c.1360?-1435)', pp. 82-99. Wilkins also proposes a biography for Philipoctus which connects him to a document from the Court of Alfonso V of Aragón, dated 23 May, 1420, where the king requests the return of *Philipott, tenorista nostre*, *ibid.*, p. 86-87. Unfortunately, the remark occurring in Coussemaker's *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevii: novam seriem a Gerbertina altera*, vol. 3, which Wilkins uses in an attempt to strengthen his argument further, is less than categorical.

minor prolation which is also prevalent in the works of Trebor (especially 20, 38, 64⁸²). However, the assertion that the triad of works at the centre of Gathering 3 is by Jacob de Senleches is in itself not without difficulties. *La harpe de melodie* (67) bears a late ascription by Hand B. Its concordance in US-Cn 54.1 (f. 10r) is without ascription, despite this transmission representing the closest reading to a hypothetical autograph.⁸³ Item 68 is ascribed to the mysterious Galiot in CH 564, although transmission of the same work in MOe5.24 is ascribed instead to *Jacopinus Senlesses*, which is assumed to be another form of Jacob de Senleches.⁸⁴ Item 69 in CH 564 has the ascription *Jacomi* at the top of the page and *Jacob de Senleches* in the *residuum* of the ballade's text. There is a close association in terms of notational devices between the three works by Senleches in Gathering 3 and the last work (77) in that gathering, *Angelorum psalat* by S. Uciredor (=Rodericus). It appears that the ascription of Senleches' work to Galiot is, as also in the case of Philipoctus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*, erroneous. That *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* (59) is also ascribed to Galiot may suggest the shared first part of the title (*En at[t]endant*) engendered a confusion in the principal scribe of Codex Chantilly.⁸⁵

Works containing unique notational principles within the context of this manuscript appear only in the second and third gatherings. Johannes Olivier's *Si con ci gist* (41) in the second gathering is unparalleled in its use of the ballade's text itself to indicate how the interpretation of the notation should proceed (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 4). Hasprois' *Ma douce amour je me doy complaindre* (46), Cuvelier's *Lorques Arthus, Alixandre et Paris* (61) and *Ne Geneive, Tristan et Yssout* (63) contain the novel device of indicating proportions by Indo-Arabic numerals, although as discussed in Chapter 6, these numerals are still closely connected to verbal instructions which reveal their meaning. The occurrence of rare substitute mensuration signs in Goscalch's *En nul estat* (58) and related *modus-tempus* signs in Solage's *S'aincy estoit* (50) is also limited to the third and second gatherings respectively.⁸⁶

⁸² This work also employs special note shapes to denote proportional relationships. Its presence in Gathering 3 is perhaps significant under the present hypothesis.

⁸³ Nors S. Josephson, 'Die Konkordanz zu "en nul estat" und "La harpe de melodie"', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1972, p. 300.

⁸⁴ *Vid.* Prologue, fn. 1.

⁸⁵ Reinhard Strohm suggests that, in reference to this work's ties to Lombardy, the ascription to J. Galiot may be a mistranscription of "Jean-Galeas Visconti" (the French form of the name of the Duke of Milan), in Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 60.

⁸⁶ On the terms substitute mensuration signs and *modus-tempus* signs, *vid.* Chapter 6, pp. 293 & 296.

Notational devices in Gathering 1 are generally limited to sesquialteral relationships at the *semibrevis* level, syncopation and at times so-called *tempus perfectum diminutum*.⁸⁷ It is perhaps significant that the three ballades by Guillaume de Machaut (14, 78 & 88), with their classic *ars nova* notation and style, are only found in the first and fourth gatherings. Perhaps the only exceptions to the division being proposed, wherein the second and third gatherings are representative of the *ars subtilior* style while the first and fourth gatherings are representative of less ornate registers of composition, occurs in the case of *Se doit il plus en biau semblant* (8), *Je chante ung chant* (9), *Je ne puis avoir plaisir* (25) and the subsequent *Medee fu en amer veritable* (26). All these works are found in the first gathering and employ a musical style and notational devices that link them to works found in the next two gatherings. Close relationships between 8 and 9, and the conjunction of 25 and 26, might suggest that these works circulated as paired compositions in exemplars not necessarily the same as those that were used for the subsequent gatherings. The exemplars for the *ars subtilior*-styled works in Gathering 1 were possibly not available at the same time as those used for Gatherings 2 and 3. It is possible that the copying of these works into Gather 1 was trigger for the focus of Gatherings 2 and 3 (and for obtaining exemplars of these works), if such a temporal ordering can be proposed. Scarcely can it be said that Gathering 4 is typical of an older repertoire with the presence of Gacian Reyneau's *Va t'en mon cuer* (93) in a modern homophonic style suggesting closer ties to the early fifteenth century than the fourteenth.⁸⁸ Rather, notational and scoring issues are central to the grouping and placement of works in this gathering.

As noted above, the contents of Gathering 4 are partially unified by the high occurrence of works in four parts (a total of 15), with the possibility that at least three other three-part works present in this gathering were added with a view to supplying a fourth part at a later date. However, many of the fourth voices supplied for these works are clearly alternative parts to be exchanged with the Ct.⁸⁹ Generally the style of the works in

⁸⁷ Vid. Ursula Günther, 'Der Gebrauch des *Tempus perfectum diminutum* in der Handschrift Chantilly', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 17, 1960, pp. 277-297.

⁸⁸ Gacian Reyneau appears to have served in the royal chapel of Martin I of Aragón between the years 1389 and 1410, *vid. Gómez*, 'Musique dans les chapelles de la maison royale d'Aragon (1336-1413)', p. 75. The passing of Martin I without heirs saw the transfer of the crown of Aragón to Ferdinand of Castile. The subsequent reorganisation of the chapel of Aragón saw Gacian Reyneau in the chapel of prince Alphonse (later Alphonse V) in 1413; *vid. ibid.* pp. 76-77.

⁸⁹ Greene notes in his edition that the fourth part (i.e. Trip) in several chansons from CH 564 are alternative parts, usually with the omission of the Ct, in *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, First Part*, p. XIV. More recently Elizabeth E. Leach has employed dyadic analysis in her

Gathering 4 avoid the complex rhythmic relationships found in works in Gatherings 2 and 3, although chromatic complexity is present in the anonymous *Calextone* (80) and *Fumeux fume* by Solage (98). The four mimetic virelais from this manuscript are found only in Gathering 4 (89, 90, 91, 100).

The presence of item 101 written on the last *verso* leaf of Gathering 4 and first *recto* leaf of Gathering 5 suggests that these two gatherings had been arranged as such at a very early stage in the compilation of the manuscript. There appears to be no central organising principle within the collection of motets in Codex Chantilly apart from the commonality of genre. The styles represented by these motets are diverse, with older established works such as *Apta caro / Flos virginum / Alma redemptoris mater* (101) along side those such as *Multipliciter amando / Favore habundare/ T: Letificat iuventutem meam* (110) wherein styles closer to those in the preceding chansons, especially the use of a *sesquialtera* proportion at the *minima* level, occur.⁹⁰ Thus, while earlier observations suggest the availability of exemplars may have been a contributing factor to the compilation of CH 564, a clear ordering of works according to style, genre and scoring can be observed.

The collection of works in CH 564 is representative of a retrospective anthology of works, especially those using the most advance notational processes. The very nature of many of these works, with their diverse political content and references to specific events and potentates invalidates any notion that this collection was assembled for any particular court. Yet, the material nature of the manuscript itself suggests that no expense was spared in its preparation. This situation leads to the view that if CH 564 represents a

outstanding assessment of performance practices in relation to four part ballades by Guillaume de Machaut, 'Machaut's balades with four voices', *Plain-song and Medieval Music*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, pp. 47-79. Leach identifies three groups of four-voiced compositions. If one considers the non-Machaut four-part works in CH 564 employing Leach's methods of analysis, one concludes that 79, 82, 84, 85, 89, 91, 95 and 97 all contain *tripla* or *triplum*-equivalent voices which show no direct discant relations with the Ct. Of the aforementioned group, items 82 and 95 appear to be compendia wherein only a three-part rendition is possible using either Ct or Trip (thus it belongs to Leach's Group 3 were one to propose the extension of her classification to the late-fourteenth century repertoire) and the remainder can be performed in four parts or as three-voice renditions employing either Ct or Trip (=Leach's Group 2). The double ballade 84 (=Group 2b?) would require (similar but not identical to Machaut's ballade 34 [as it is assessed to belong to Group 1b in *ibid.*, pp. 49-58]) that the *triplum*-equivalent voice is never omitted on account of textual issues, i.e. the *Triplum*-equivalent voice (=C¹) bears part of the first three strophes of the double ballade whose last three strophes are found in the S voice (=C²). Items 82, 83, 86, 90?, 94, 96, 99 all have *tripla* which at times demonstrate discant relations with the Ct, especially when the Ct behaves in a T function as lowest voice. For this last group (=Group 1a), any performance including the Trip must be a four-voice rendition, although a three-part performance would be possible as T-Ct-S.

⁹⁰ Ursula Günther dates this work solely on stylistic grounds to the 1380s or 1390s in *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly Musée Conde 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat 568)*, p. xxvii.

commissioned work, its patrons were neither royal nor noble, but possibly of the mercantile or wealthy bourgeois classes. The relative merit of works included in CH 564 is dictated by both their intrinsic and associated worth. The noble register of a great number of works in CH 564 may have played upon, or seen fit to play upon, the aspirations of its patrons and its regard particularly for French culture. This culture in turn encompasses several musical styles (and their notation) which are represented throughout this manuscript. Gatherings 2 and 3, with some overflow into the surrounding gatherings, appear to be representative of works of the *ars subtilior*. The presence of a select set of Machaut's ballades along with other widely transmitted works (*De ce foul pense souvent remaynt*, *Par maintes foys*, *Playsance! Or tost*) suggests another aspect in the collection's compilation wherein Gatherings 1, 4 and 5 reflect a (sometimes recently) established repertoire whose presence was dictated by modes of transmission, which are further discussed below.

2.3. Evidence of editorial activity

In his brief examination of scribal practices in CH 564, Gordon K. Greene states performance from the manuscript is supported by the addition of manuscript accidentals,⁹¹ the retouching of previously written elements and the correction of errors. In particular, he notes the retouching of parts of the *Ct* of *Sans vous ne puis* (48),⁹² the addition of a *b-rotundum* signature to the *T* of *Se Dedalus* (65) and *La harpe de melodie*, the addition of the syllable "ma" to *De quan qu'on peut belle et bonne estrener* (34), and modifications of counterpoint in *En nul estat* (58).⁹³ In this section, I discuss several additional examples of editorial process in Chantilly not mentioned in Greene's thesis. The central concern of my discussion, however, is not whether this editing is indicative of performance from this manuscript, although it will be argued that the editor showed some concern for satisfactory readings of parts. On the other hand, the ineptitude of the editor-scribe in matters pertaining to the notation of *ars subtilior* is generally demonstrated by modifications of the musical text which are semantically inconsistent with the works as whole in which they

⁹¹ Additional manuscript accidentals are to be found throughout CH 564, and are distinct from those employed by the principal scribe. Rather than the *b-quadratum* and elongated *b-rotundum* favoured by the principal scribe, the editor-scribe uses a *diesis* and a small *b-rotundum* with a rounded body.

⁹² In the critical notes to his published transcriptions of the works of CH 564 in *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, Second Part*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XIX, Monaco, 1981, Greene notes that the stems of *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* have been retouched in the S (p. 182). *Le mont Aōn* also shows signs of extensive retouching and editing.

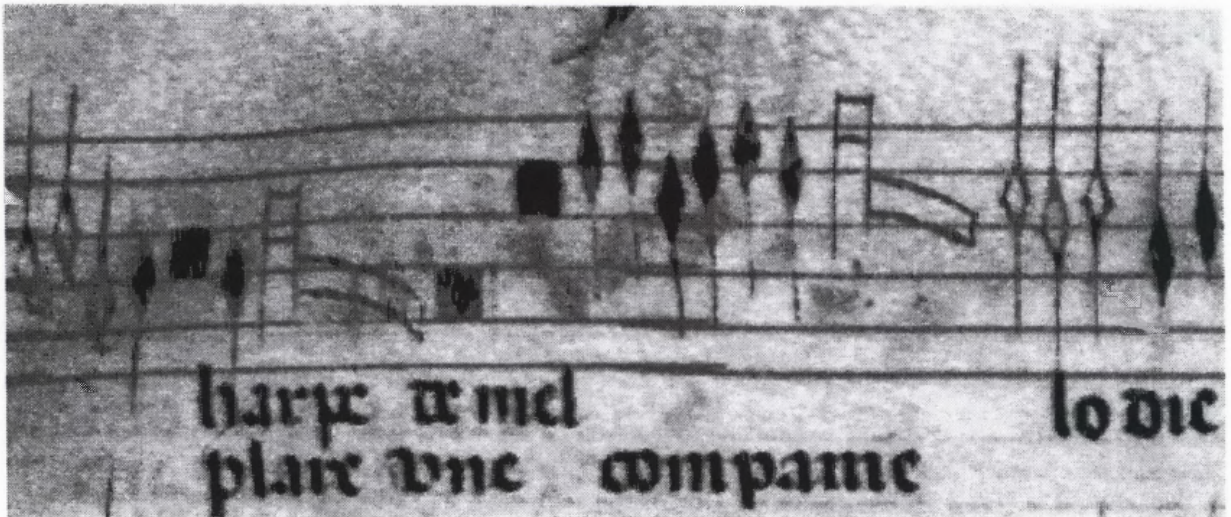
⁹³ Greene, "The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)", pp. 43-47.

occur. Moreover, my concern is with demonstrating an early phase in this manuscript's life that might be linked to other indicators suggesting ownership and purpose.

The data supplied by modifications in CH 564 is insufficient information for describing a third scribe, although his existence is highly probable through distinct features. For the purpose of this study, I would like to describe four instances of modification. Each instance is significant, as it appears to address errors or semantic difficulties in the notation, although in most instances the modifications actually fail to supply a correct reading.

Perhaps the most significant modification occurs in the first staff of *La harpe de melodie*, f. 43v, as shown in Figure 2.2:

Figure 2.2: Detail from first staff of *La harpe de melodie*, CH 564 f. 43v.



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There are clear signs of erasure over the six *semibreves caudate* shown in this example. One can easily note that the downward stems are very different, for example, from those found on the three subsequent void *dragme*. The stems on the *caudate* were added by a different hand, unsteady and less spontaneous than that of Music Scribe II. Their width is inconsistent and a different ink colour is evident. The erasure marks betray the former upward stems, from which it can be concluded that these six notes were originally written as *minime*.⁹⁴

Semibreves caudate occurring elsewhere in this transmission of Jacob de Senleches' *La harpe de melodie* are clearly from the hand of Music Scribe II. As discussed in Chapter 4, this note shape is here equal to two black *minime* and it indicates a 3:2 proportion in relation to the *semibrevis*. However, any attempt to read the notes of the modified passage, shown as

⁹⁴ I thank Dr Margaret Bent for her excellent suggestion that original notes were *minime* rather than *dragme*, private conversation 7th March, 2001.

the bracketed passage in Figure 2.3, with this meaning produces unsatisfactory results in terms of its subsequent counterpoint.

Figure 2.3: Reading of *La harpe de melodie* in CH 564, BB. 1-8.

The musical score consists of three systems of three staves each. The first system is labeled C1, C2, and T (Tenor). The second system is labeled C1, C2, and T. The third system is labeled C1, C2, and T. The lyrics are: "1.5.La 4.Pour har plare pe un de mel com lo pa di e fay - te com ni e pour a de mel com lo pa di ni". There are bracketed passages in the C1 and C2 staves of the first system, and a bracketed passage in the C1 staff of the second system. There are also bracketed passages in the C1 and C2 staves of the third system. The number 3 is written above some notes in the C1 and C2 staves. The number 1 is written below the T staff in the first system, and the number 6 is written below the T staff in the third system.

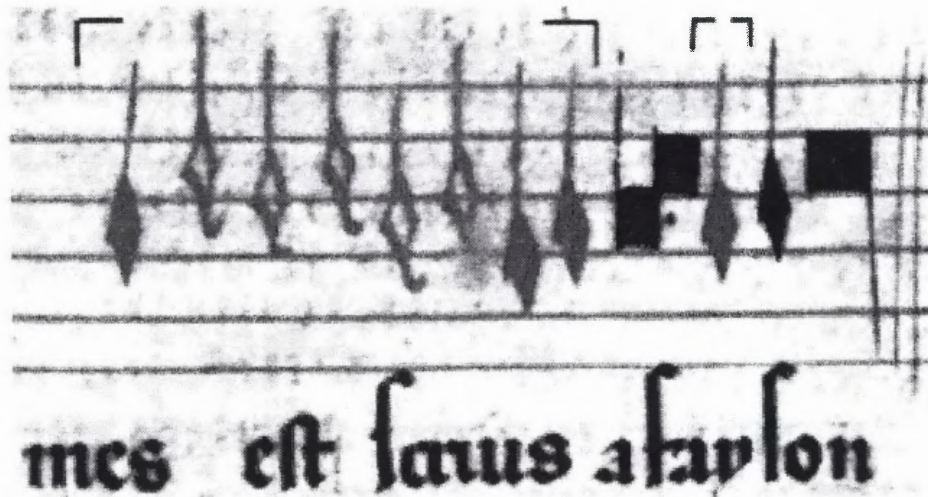
Rather than *caudate* in CH 564, the concordant reading found in Cn 54.1 has at this point *minime*, as was originally found in CH 564. The reading transmitted in Cn 54.1, as shown in Figure 2.4, is contrapuntally sound and contains no further complications in subsequent passages.

Figure 2.4: Reading of *La harpe de melodie* in Cn 54.1, BB. 1-8.

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system has three staves: C1 (Cantus I), C2 (Cantus II), and T (Tenor). The second system has three staves: C1, C2, and T. The third system has three staves: C1, C2, and T. The lyrics are: '1.5.La har pe de me - 4.Pour plaire un de e com - lo pai - di - e fai - te pour a - me com - lo pai - di - gni -'.

The reason why the editor-scribe modified the original and ostensibly correct reading of the C1 supplied by Music Scribe II in CH 564 resides in the erroneous variant reading (also copied by Music Scribe II) at T 6 (see Figure 2.3). The elongation of the original durations by the editor-scribe in C1 6 responds to this T-variant by attempting to improve the subsequent counterpoint between C1 and T. This solution, however, seems to have been advanced without due consideration of the counterpoint that would result from the sounding of C2. In light of the additional observation that the modifications by the editor-scribe in Codex Chantilly resulted in the same length of the C1 and T voices in this virelai's refrain (unlike in Cn 54.1), it might even be proposed that the solution of the editor-scribe arises from the assumption (which was based upon the appearance of only C1 and T in the manuscript and disregard/incomprehension of the French instructions for providing a third voice) that this is a two-, rather than a three-, part composition.

Another modification is found on the next page in CH 564 facing *La harpe de melodie* in *En attendant esperance*, also by Jacob de Senleches. Figure 2.5 is a detail from the middle of the fourth staff on f. 44r showing the erasure of a *virgula* from below the void red special note shape.

Figure 2.5: Detail of Jacob de Senleches' *En attendant esperance* in CH 564

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There is a question as to whether this erasure resulted from the same editorial activity that occurred in the previously discussed example, or if it was the initiative of Music Scribe II. Music Scribe II does take on an active role in the modification of his musical text, in that there are examples of modified passages clearly in his hand. At the beginning of the Ct of *Se vos me voles* (last staff of f. 40r), the erasures shown in Figure 2.6 are found.

Figure 2.6: Detail from beginning of Ct in Anonymous *Se vos me voles*, f. 40r.

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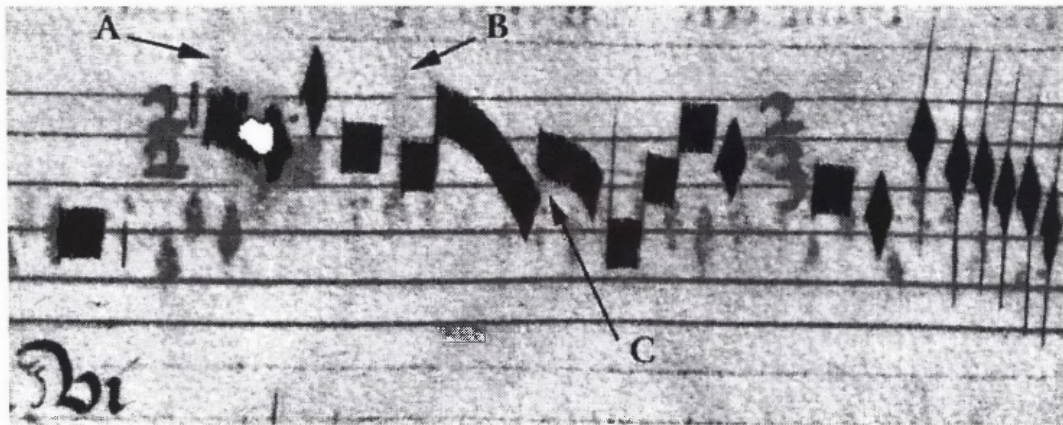
Traces of two erased red *semibreves* (pitches F and g) can be seen after the first red *semibrevis*, while after the second, still visible red *semibrevis*, there originally followed four red *minime* (pitches G, F, E, D) of which the first, second and fourth have been erased while the third red *minima*'s stem was erased to create a colorated *semibrevis*.

Good fortune has left musicology with a concordant transmission of *En attendant esperance* in MOe5.24, ff. 39v-40r. The MOe5.24-reading equivalent to the passage shown in Figure 2.5 consists of an identical pitch structure, but different durations. In MOe5.24,

knowledge of the repertoire, although the likelihood of him being a practising musician with knowledge of the style's notational intricacies seems remote.

Mention should also be made of scribal alterations found in *En nul estat*. As G. K. Greene has previously assessed, modification of the original reading in CH 564 appears to have been an attempt to improve contrapuntal structures.⁹⁶ The original reading, which can be recovered from CH 564, bears semblance with its concordance found in Pn 6771, ff. 79v-80r.⁹⁷ The most pointed example of modification occurs at BB. 18-21 in CH 564. A digitally enhanced reproduction of this portion of the transmission in CH 564 is shown in Figure 2.7. Significant erasures and changes made subsequent to the original copying are indicated in Figure 2.7 by arrows labelled A, B, and C.

Figure 2.7: Detail of editorial changes in CH 564-transmission of *En nul estat* (f. 39v).



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The change labelled with the letter A in Figure 2.7 consists of an erased *binaria c.o.p.* that is replaced by a *brevis* and *semibrevis*. (Note the erased stem and hole in the page cause by the vigorous erasure of the ligature's body.) The change labelled B consists of an erased upward stem at the beginning of a ligature that originally indicated *c.o.p.* Before the changes were made, this ligature consisted of five notes, but the erasure labelled C has split it into two ligatures of three and two notes respectively. All changes significantly modify the rhythm of this passage. In its original form, the reading in CH 564 is identical to the one preserved in the transmission of this work in Pn 6771. As can be seen in Figure 2.8 the contrapuntal relation to the lower voices in this original reading is totally disjunct and most likely the

⁹⁶ Greene, "The Secular Music of Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 564", p. 46.

⁹⁷ It is likely that the variation in the first word of this work in Pn 6771, i.e. *Car nul estat*, resulted from the omission of *En* and the placing of the first word of l. 3 at the beginning of the staff. There is some question whether *Car* can function as the first word of both ll. 1 and 3, although I am inclined to consider the reading in Pn 6771 as an error requiring emendation according to CH 564.

result of a common error inherited by both extant readings from a shared, but possibly distant, ancestor.

Figure 2.8: Transnotation of *En nul estat* as it occurs in Pn 6771, BB. 18-21.

The modifications that occur in CH 564 suggest that the editor-scribe recognised problems in this section. Figure 2.9 gives a reading found in CH 564 based on the corrections made by the editor-scribe.⁹⁸

Figure 2.9: Transnotation of *En nul estat* as it occurs in CH 564, BB. 18-21.

As far as it can be determined, the editor-scribe of CH 564 has re-conceptualised the meaning of the substitute mensuration sign $\frac{2}{2}$ at this point of the work to indicate a *sesquitercia* relation rather than a simple change of mensuration with *minima* equivalence. The problem with this apparent re-conceptualisation of the semantic significance of this sign, apart from the fact that it only solves some of the contrapuntal problems at this point in the work, is that it is internally inconsistent with the meaning of mensuration signs

⁹⁸ This reading coincides with Greene's edition of this work from CH 564 in *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, Second Part, # 58*. My transnotation of this work can be found in Vol.II, App. A, No. 5. The reading at S 18.3 largely restores the original reading and meaning of the mensuration sign at this point, although as will be noted in the accompanying Critical notes, several amendments are required in this passage and previously in lower voices. The solution, however, offers a more satisfactory contrapuntal framework.

elsewhere in this work. In the two other instances where the mensuration sign $\frac{2}{2}$ occurs (Ct 40 and 51; *vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 5), *minima* equivalence is necessary.

Table 2.5 identifies instances in the CH 564-transmission of *En nul estat* where alteration by a subsequent scribe is evident. The respective portions from the transmission in Pn 6771 is given in comparison. The semblance of the original readings in CH 564 to those transmitted in Pn 6771 is apparent.

Table 2.5: Readings of *En nul estat*: original and edited CH5 564-readings compared with Pn 6771-readings.

Location	Present reading in CH 564	Original reading in CH 564	Reading in Pn 6771	Comments concerning corrections in CH 564
S 18.3				Re-conceptualisation of mensuration sign.
S 25.1				Correction of original scribal error.
Ct 7.5	D	C	D	Corrects pitch ambiguity.
Ct 10.2				Transformation based on a shift in understanding from major to minor <i>modus</i> .
Ct 24.2				Edited on the basis that p.d. copied from exemplar prevents imperfection of first <i>brevis</i> . Pitch ambiguity on second note also corrected.
Ct 27bis	a	G	a	Corrects pitch ambiguity.
Ct 30 and 54.				Corrects duration of middle note.
Ct 36.1				Erroneous correction whose basis may lie in a disregard of rest Ct 34.5.
Ct 39.1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	Corrects common error shared by both sources, despite differing mensurations.
Ct 43.2 & 43.2+2	a	G	a	Corrects pitch ambiguity.
T 12.1				Corrects 4 th and 5 th durations.
T 21.1				Faint stem extending into residuum retraced.
T 36.3	a	b	a	Corrects pitch ambiguity.
T 39.5	a	b	a	Corrects pitch ambiguity.
T 41.1	 (aEGDaGD)	 (bEGDaGD)		Insignificant change, but last duration of group is incorrect in Pn 6771 as <i>maxima</i> .

Variants Ct 24.2 (added dot after the *brevis* in CH 564), Ct 39.1 and especially T 12.1 are notable differences, although it is impossible to determine whether these readings in CH 564 represent errors introduced by the principal scribe or inherited from an exemplar unlike the

one used by the scribe of Pn 6771. The editor-scribe introduces an element of contamination into CH 564, although the original readings clearly remove this complication. It is also evident that the editor-scribe misunderstands the need for *major modus* in sections of the Ct, although ambiguities do exist in this work where *modus* must be realised as minor.

As a last example of editorial intervention in Codex Chantilly, I turn to the work found on the first leaf of the Cordier inserts in CH 564, *Belle, bonne, sage* (f. 11v). As stated in Chapter 6 below, this work, written in the form of a heart in a clever reference to its text *le vous fais le don d'une chanson nouvelle / dedens mon \heartsuit [=cuer] qui a vous se presente*, demonstrates many similarities with the remaining *oeuvre* of Baude Cordier through its use of proportion signs and cut mensuration signs. At the end of the first staff (*cf.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 6, BB. 10-11), one finds a passage of white notes (void coloration relative to the normally black note forms) used to denote diminution in a *sesquialtera* relationship to the previous [2,3] *tripla*, that is $\heartsuit \blacklozenge = 3 \blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacklozenge = \diamond\diamond$. However, as shown in Figure 2.10, there are clear signs of erasure above this passage of white notes, indicating that the passage was originally written with the note forms $\diamond\diamond\diamond\diamond\blacklozenge\diamond$.

Figure 2.10: Detail from *Belle, bonne, sage*, CH 564, f. 11v.

(Reproduced with permission of Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, Chantilly.)

As such, this augmented notation would indicate a *subsesquialtera* proportion (2:3). Unlike its present form where there is an apparent proportioning of *semibreves* to *minime*,⁹⁹ this results in the proportioning of *minime* to *minime*. I will return to the implications of these “corrections” in Section 2.6.

2.4. *The index: clues to Codex Chantilly’s early provenance*

Another early episode in the provenance of this manuscript revolves around the loss of the first gathering and the addition of a new index. It is evident that, after the principal scribe (Scribe β) had completed the copying of works into the six gatherings (assuming that lost first gathering also contained musical works) and before the addition of the inscription by Spinelli, the incomplete manuscript came into in the possession of another individual.

This individual conceivably foliated all leaves of the original six gatherings with Roman numerals (including the lost first gathering), possibly rearranging their order beforehand. Several details argue for this individual being the same person who composed the extant index. This scribe is the owner of Text Hand A described above. Details of calligraphy are replicated in the Roman numerals in both locations, notably the use of a *v* with a clubbed vertical left ascender and the use of a circle to dot the third *i* of Roman numerals *xLviii* (49), *Liiii* (54), *Lxviii* (69) (unfortunately 64 is trimmed off in the last part on the page),¹⁰⁰ and the bowing under of the second stroke of 'x'. It follows, then, that the index as a whole was composed by the same scribe.

However, that the first gathering was already missing when the current index was composed, suggests that a period of time may have passed between the foliating of the manuscript and addition of the current index, during which the first gathering was lost or removed. The addition of the current index may itself be explained by the loss of the first gathering, in that it possibly contained the original index. An additional facet to this hypothesis may be proposed with respect to the different colour of the inks used for the folio numbers and the index.¹⁰¹ In subsequently composing the index, the owner of Hand A was unable to access the same type of ink due to a removal to another location, during which the first gathering was lost. Or it may be that several years passed between the foliation and the composing of an index, during which ink types gradually changed. Or perhaps the difference in ink colours is inconsequential. Nonetheless, it remains almost certain that the first gathering was lost while in the hands of the scribe who owned Text Hand A.

The identity of the owner of Text Hand A, however, must remain obscure. It is possible that he added "MVSICA" on f. 9r, especially if one considers the formation of *A* there and in the extant index. There is also some similarity in the formation of *M* in both locations, although its use in f. 9r is more decorative. One may speculate that this is the same individual whose editing of musical notation has been discussed above, although no evidence suggesting this is forthcoming. It appears that the Cordier inserts were added after the index had been completed, as these works are not contained in the index. Furthermore,

⁹⁹ It seems unlikely that this coloration indicates a *sesquitercia* relationship at the *minima* level when such a proportion is indicated by a fraction (4/3) in another of Cordier's works which faces *Belle, bonne, sage* in CH 564, namely *Tout par compas*. I discuss the notational aspects of this work at length in Chapter 6, p. 309.

¹⁰⁰ The dot above the third *i* in the foliation for folio 24 (i.e. xxiii) is lacking in the index.

¹⁰¹ Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception", p. 85. Upton goes to considerable effort to argue that the foliator and index scribes were different. I cannot agree, however, that the form of 'v' in Roman numerals is significantly different in its overall ductus.

the additional leaves were not foliated by any ancient hand, but by a nineteenth century hand employing Indo-Arabic numerals.

The following sequence of events may thus be proposed in the compilation of CH 564. After initial copying of the text and music by one individual, the manuscript came into the possession of another individual who foliated all gatherings. After losing or removing the first gathering, an index of all works in the remaining gatherings was compiled by this second individual. The task of re-foliating all five remaining gatherings may have been viewed as too difficult or a substitute first gathering may have been envisaged. If it is the case that the editor of the body of CH 564 is the same individual who edited the first of the Cordier inserts, then it is reasonable to presume that the next stage of compilation consisted of obtaining two immaculately presented copies of Cordier's *Belle, bonne, sage* and *Tout par compas* from a French musician-scribe and inserting them between the index and first gathering. Although the Cordier inserts are currently in the form of two separate leaves joined by a mending strip along the spine,¹⁰² I would suggest that they originally constituted a bifolium, which over time has separated into two leaves along an acute fold, as parchment is often wont to do. Only after the insertion of Cordier's works does it appear that CH 564 was edited, possibly by one further individual, and used as an exemplar for Fn 26.

Yet, CH 564 remains unfinished. Illuminated initials were not supplied, despite the presence of minute guide initials to the left of the uppermost staff on each page and the inseting of music on the topmost staves providing adequate space for this undertaking. Majuscules are also absent on voice labels. Only ff. 25r and 37r contain stencils made in preparation for what would appear to have been intended as truly magnificent illuminations consisting not only of initials, but also extensive decoration of left-hand and bottom margins with acanthus leaves and drolleries. Ursula Günther reports the results of her consultation of several leading scholars on the nature of these illustrations. Their opinions vary from definite Italian traits being observed to no specific indication of the draughtsman's nationality.¹⁰³ However, it remains to be proven that these have any relation to the

¹⁰² Elizabeth Randell Upton kindly informed me of the present state of these two leaves in a personal communication, 5th March, 2001.

¹⁰³ Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', pp. 92-93, 98. Elements suggesting an Italian origin to her include the use of *ignudi*, acanthus leaves, and a round shield. Günther also views the depiction of an *a cappella* performance as at odds with the repertoire in CH 564, although, the absence of text in lower voices cannot be used solely as a pretext for instrumental performance. Günther sees (*ibid.*, p. 100) the illustrated dragon biting itself on the tail on f. 25r as an heraldic symbolism referring to the coat of arms of Giovanna de Bernardo di Bardi (married Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti, 1432).

original preparation of the manuscript, or whether they are additions accrued to the manuscript during the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴ One additional aspect also discussed by Günther is the use of the *fleur-de-lis* to decorate the first of the Cordier inserts, *Belle, bonne, sage*. While the hand which drafted these monuments of musical notation in Layer III was likely French in its origin, the question of whether *fleur-de-lis* illustrating f. 11v is the French or Florentine form¹⁰⁵ is possibly inconsequential to any consideration of the origin of the Layer I of the manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ Günther throws some doubt on whether the illustrations bear any relation to the scribes, or even the commissioning patron's, original plans due to the displacement into the margin of the lower voice labels. Adequate space for these minor initials was left below the beginning of the staff, *vid.* Günther, 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 96. Günther also suggests that the gathering starting at f. 37 was originally intended to be the first in the manuscript, *ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁵ Günther notes that the Florentine *fleurs-de-lis* were frequently associated with the Alberti of Florence, in 'Unusual phenomena in the transmission of late fourteenth century polyphony', p. 99. The Florentine *fleur-de-lis* is distinguished from its French counterpart by its so-called *flory* aspects.

2.5. Relationships with other sources¹⁰⁶

Of the 112 works in CH 564, 49 works presently have known concordances. However, of these works, three consist of text-only double-concordances (that is the second reading is not set to music).¹⁰⁷ Two further double-concordances (to 6 and 107 in CH 564) occur only in relation to a lost manuscript, Pn 23190. Text-only concordances are omitted from the present discussion for the benefit of future philological examination. Three concordances involve works of Machaut¹⁰⁸ and a further six concern motets,¹⁰⁹ which in both cases have been treated elsewhere in the literature. This leaves a total of 35

¹⁰⁶ In the following discussion, where variants are cited only as a voice and measure location (e.g. Ct 10.2 = the second note [or rest] of measure 10 of the contratenor), the reader should refer to the critical apparatus for that particular work as well as its transnotation both found Appendix B in the second volume of this present study.

¹⁰⁷ The text of Eustaches Deschamps' *Armes, amours, dames, chevalerie* (no. 84) and Jehan Hasprois' *Puisque je sui fumeux plains de fume* (no. 47) also occur in the text manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 6221 (=Pn 6221), f. 15v. The text of Grimace's *Se Zephirus / Se Jupiter* (15) also occurs in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, French MS 15 (=US-PHu 15), f. 61b (France?, c. 1400). Aside from the works by Machaut, a textual concordance is also found for *Ma douce amour, je doi bien complayndre* (no. 46, musical concordance also MOe5.24, Ob 213) in the manuscript Turin, Archivio di Stato, ms. J.b.IX.10 (North western Italy, shortly after 1398). An edition of this textual transmission may be found in Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone, 'Recueil de Galanteries (Torino, Archivio di Stato, J.b.IX.10)', *Le Moyen Français*, vol. 6, 1980, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Any reconsideration of the collective transmissions of Machaut's works is outside the scope of this present study. With regard to the transmission of Machaut's works in the later, so-called Repertoire-manuscripts (which include CH 564, Pn 6771, Pn 568, Fn 26, MOe5.24, IV 115, CA B 1328), Wolfgang Dömling has proposed a hypothetical stemma whereby Pn 6771 and CH 564 draw on a common exemplar, which in turn draws on the exemplar used in part by Pn 9221 (Mach E), in Wolfgang Dömling, 'Zur Überlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. 22, 1969, pp. 189-95. More recently, Margaret Bent has argued that Mach E is in part a copy of Mach B (Pn 1585) which in turn is a near exact copy of Mach Vg (US-NYw). Bent convincingly argues that B and Vg show a direct relation in the first and second layers (1-2), while Vg 3 appears to be a copy of B 3. Mach E draws on all three layers of Mach B. Mach E draws upon a tradition outside Mach B which is also reflected in the Repertoire-MSS, suggesting that the scribe drew upon multiple exemplars. The importance of Bent's argument lies not only in the filiation of sources, but her hypothesis that E may in some way represent the wishes or preferences of Machaut, even if beyond the grave: *vid.* Margaret Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B and E', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 37, 1983, pp. 53-82. In relation to the compilation of Mach E, Lawrence Earp proposes an alternative theory where the works of Machaut in versions representative of the Repertoire-manuscripts were collected into Mach E first, with Mach B being used to fill in the gaps. On the basis that they could represent revised versions, Earp also emphasises the value of Machaut's works transmitted in the Repertoire-manuscripts in the case on Mot 8, whose reading in CA B 1328 is superior to versions found in the central-manuscripts: *vid.* Lawrence Earp, 'Machaut's role in the production of manuscripts of his works', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 42, no. 3, 1989, pp. 489-97. Mach E's role as witness to transmissions of Machaut's works in readings outside those in the so-called central Machaut manuscripts (Mach Vg, A, C, F-G) and the subsequent replication of this tradition in the Repertoire-manuscripts gives important clues to both the origin and motivating forces behind the transmission of these works by Machaut into the fifteenth century, especially on the Italian peninsula.

¹⁰⁹ Günther, *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly Musee Conde 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim iat 568)*.

concordances to be examined in the course of this chapter. Table 2.6 lists concordances in relation to sources.

Table 2.6: Concordances with CH 564.

Sources	No. of works concordant with CH 564	No. of works by Machaut also found in CH 564.	Total no. of Machaut's works in source.
<i>Machaut MSS:</i>			
Mach A, B, C, E, G, M, Vg.	3	3	n/a
Mach C, US-NYpm 396,	2	2	n/a
Mach F (Voir dit), Pn 1587 (text only)	1	1	n/a
<i>O:her, or so-called Repertoire, MSS:</i>			
MOe5.24	13	1	4 + 1 text ¹¹⁰
Pn 6771	11	2	7 + 1 text
[Pn 23190]	[9]	[2]	7
Fn 26	8	-	6
[Sm 222]	[8]	[1]	3
Pn 568	7	1	3
CA B 1328 fragments	5	1	2
IV 115	4	-	5
Pn 6221 (text only)	4	2	8
US-PHu 15 (text only)	4	3	107 + 4 attr.
NL-Ga VarD.3360, NL-Uu 1846 ² , GB-YOX, Ob 213, Tn T.III.2, Bc 15, Hungarian fragments	2	-	(2: NL-Ga VarD.3360, NL-Uu 1846 ²)
CZ-Pa 9, GB-DRc C.I. 20, GB-Lbm 41667 (McVeigh), D-Mbs lat. 15611, F-AUT 152, E-Bbc 971, B-Bar 758, D-Nst 9, GR 197 + US-Hdc 2387, GR 16, NL-Lu LTK 342A, US-Cn 54.1, I-Ta J.b.IX.10 (text), B-Bc 1, A-Iu ss, D-Mbs lat 14274, A-Wn 2777, B-Mleclercq, Us-Wc M 2, NL-Lu 2720, F-AS 983, I-Las 184. (also Paris, Musée des Arts, tapestry "Le concert").	1	(Machaut concordances: CZ-Pa 9, D-Nst 9)	(2: CZ-Pa 9, 1: D-Nst 9)

A comparison with Reaney's table of concordances reveals 21 sources (mostly fragments, often incomplete) either unknown, presumed lost¹¹¹, or omitted in his article of 1954.¹¹² Reaney also omits one concordance each with MOe5.24¹¹³ and Pn 6771.¹¹⁴ These 21 new concordances can be divided into three groups according to presumed geographical origins: northern French/Lowlands fragments, Italian sources (north and central), and Central European sources.

¹¹⁰ Machaut's ballade *Beaute parfaite* set to music by Anthonellus de Caserta is transmitted in MOe5.24, f. 13r and Pn 6771, f. 46v

¹¹¹ The US-Cn 54.1-transmission of *La harpe de melodie*, for example, was known to Reaney only through a reference in Coussemaker's *Scriptorum de musica medii aevii: novam seriem a Gerbertina altera* (Paris, 1864, vol III, pp. XV, XXIV), where it is reported to occur in a *codex cuiusdam ignoti bibliophili Vindobonensis* ("the manuscript of a certain anonymous book collector from Vienna"). The differences between readings are discussed above, p. 55.

¹¹² Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047', p. 80.

¹¹³ The three voiced *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* found in CH 564 appears as a two voice version (music identical) in MOe5.24 with the slight textual variation *En attendant d'avoir la douce vie*.

¹¹⁴ The work entitled *En nul estat* in CH 564 is also transmitted in Pn 6771 as *Car nul estat*.

The present section forms a basis for the last part of this chapter wherein the origins of CH 564 are reconsidered. While the following observations have come about through the application of an editorial process of stemmatic filiation, their importance to our understanding of the history of music in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries will soon become apparent. In this respect, I concur with James Grier when he writes in his *The Critical Editing of Music* that “Stemmatic filiation...provides insight into the history of a work and its transmission.”¹¹⁵ I argue that the observation and interpretation of variants, coupled with additional data such as evidence provided by scribal processes can contribute significantly to our understanding of the transmission of music from this period.

Before discussing examples from CH 564, I will give a summary of my methodology in relation to textual criticism and the determination of filiation. Stemmatic filiation has origins in the textual criticism first articulated by classical philologists and biblical scholars of the 19th century.¹¹⁶ However, my approach is coloured not only by developments in critical theory of the twentieth century but by the special nature of musical notation which embodies several levels of meaning. For me, the process of stemmatic filiation is one tool in the historian’s toolbox whose purpose is not only the development of a hypothesis concerning an authorial original or originals but also the development of hypotheses concerning the local reception of a work as reflected by each particular transmission. Not only does the very absence of anything resembling an autograph in this period warrant a careful approach, but our assumptions concerning the primacy of authorial intention must also be tempered by considerations of local reception. Extant sources not only carry forward elements of the authorial original, but they accrue additional aspects or values which beg the question of whether extant transmissions of a particular work are representative of one composition or of several compositions, which as a musical event in each case may have been audibly different in each circumstance. Transmissions are often ambivalent in terms of compositional intention coupled with local reception, and positive identification of the latter is the aspect that for me is of the greatest interest.

¹¹⁵ Cambridge, 1996, p. 69. Similar views are articulated by Reinhard Strohm in his consideration of the effective management of contamination of sources in the determination of filiation: ‘Does textual criticism have a future?’, in *L’edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario: Atti del convegno internazionale (Cremona 4-8 Ottobre 1992)*, eds R. Borghi and P. Zappalà, Studi e Testi Musicali Nuova serie 3, Lucca, 1995, pp. 193-211.

¹¹⁶ In relation to the principles of textual criticism (principally in relation to Classical Greek and Latin), the following titles continue to be fundamental to this methodology: Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower, Oxford, 1958; Marjūn L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart, 1973.

The nature of music and its notation requires a careful approach to the determination of filiation. Generally, the various readings transmitted for a work are categorised according to the usual model of good readings, plausible readings and clear errors.¹¹⁷ Good readings are common to all transmissions, and therefore serve as a basis for the determination of plausible readings and errors based on our stylistic understanding derived from them. Plausible readings are variants which, from our stylistic perception based on good readings, appear sound. They include rhythmic and melodic variation, substitution and semiotic variation (but semantic equivalence), i.e. ligatures, coloration, special note forms. Erroneous readings stem from one factor: scribal error. This includes the common copying errors such as dittography, lapsography, register errors and semantic inconsistencies. Plausible readings and errors may be described as conjunctive or separative.¹¹⁸ Conjunctive readings are shared by some extant witnesses, while separative readings distinguish one source or a collection of sources from other exemplars. Thus, separative errors may also be conjunctive if evidenced by more than one source, but not all sources.

James Grier insists that only the third category of readings, that is clear errors, can be used to determine stemmatic filiations.¹¹⁹ This ideological position, however, is simply insufficient when dealing with the sources of the *ars subtilior*. In this respect, I side with other scholars, particularly medievalists of the twentieth century, who felt that the second category of readings, plausible readings, were valuable tools for determining relationships between various texts.¹²⁰ This approach still admits the primacy of the common error, but in the many cases where common errors are too infrequent or nonexistent, I believe that one must turn to plausible readings instead. This approach, nonetheless, has one possibly serious flaw, in that one can argue that plausible readings may reflect authorial revision. Yet, the rebuttal for this argument is simply that if each transmission is also a social document, then it is also valid to identify a moment of revision which is inextricably linked to the composer's or scribe's socio-cultural circumstance.

Previous assessments of the transmission of the music of the late fourteenth century are poor in their content and demonstrate a reluctance to deal with notation in its original form (that is mensural notation). In discussing the relationships of Codex Reina with other sources, Kurt von Fischer appears to accept the presence of concordant readings as

¹¹⁷ Cf. Grier, *op.cit.*, pp. 31 & 62.

¹¹⁸ *Vid.* Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-49.

¹¹⁹ Grier, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

indications of “points of contact” between sources.¹²¹ Soon after the publication of von Fischer’s article, Ursula Günther took firmer steps in assessing the relationship of concordant readings with Codex Chantilly by including assessments of scribal process as determinants of the exemplar.¹²² However, Günther’s assessment of transmissions is coloured by the Chantilly-exemplar hypothesis. There are, however, several indicators, some of them already discussed above, which point to Codex Chantilly being an original anthology collected in Italy.

The Chantilly-exemplar hypothesis provoked Günther to consider that the collection of six concordant readings found in the last gathering (11th) of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 26 (henceforth Fn 26) was copied from the hypothetical exemplar rather than Chantilly itself.¹²³ However, several inconsistencies in the transmission of these works, which Günther views as indicative of the exemplar, may also be explained as the scribal initiatives or errors in Fn 26. Greene’s brief discussions of the relationship between Fn 26 and CH 564 are dominated by the phrase “(very) close relationship”,¹²⁴ although he avoids any suggestion of direct relationships.¹²⁵ Greene’s observations of the relationship between both sources are flawed by the omission of several significant variants and by his mild form of textual criticism. There are indications that several works in Fn 26 were copied directly from Chantilly, not an exemplar (which in my view probably never existed, at least in a form bearing resemblance to the extant codex).

As an introduction to an assessment of the relationship between Codex Chantilly and Fn 26, several observations made by John Nádas in his codicological and palaeographic study of the latter source should be noted.¹²⁶ In Fn 26, rather than using a rastrum to rule hexagrams, the outer vertical edges of bifolia were pricked (usually a whole

¹²⁰ *Vid. Grier, op.cit.*, p. 62-67.

¹²¹ Kurt von Fischer, ‘The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 6771’, *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 9, 1957, pp. 43-45.

¹²² Günther, ‘Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047’, pp. 1-21.

¹²³ The use of different ligatures between transmissions and omissions of accidentals in Panciatichi 26 prompted Günther to write: “Diese Tatsache allein schon läßt darauf schließen, daß auch FP die Werke keinesfalls aus Ch direkt übernommen haben kann” (This fact alone already suggests that the Fn 26-works could in no way have been copied directly from CH 564.) in ‘Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047’, p. 4.

¹²⁴ *vid. Greene, French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, First Part*, pp. 146, 154 and *idem, French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, Second Part*, pp. 182, 184 & 195.

¹²⁵ In his thesis, however, Greene does propose a direct relationship between CH 564 and Fn 26: Greene, “The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)”, p. 40. Gilbert Reaney assumes a direct relationship between CH 564 and Fn 26 in ‘The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Conde, 1047’, p. 76.

¹²⁶ John Nádas, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1981, pp. 393-427.

gathering at a time) at intervals to guide the ruling of individual staff lines. With regard to the 11th gathering, Nádas observed internally inconsistent preparation between the two outer bifolia (ff. 101/110, 102/109), which lacked any sign of pricking, and the three inner bifolia (ff. 103/108, 104/107 and 105/106), which were pricked as a unit.¹²⁷ This grouping, according to Nádas, was supported by the presence of two different watermarks corresponding to different preparation. The “three mounts surmounted by a cross” watermark (Nádas’ type 2 watermark) occurs in outer two bifolia of Gathering 11.¹²⁸ Gatherings 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and most of 5 employ paper bearing this water mark. The “three mounts in a circle surmounted by a cross” watermark (Nádas’ type 3 watermark) occurs in the inner ternion of Gathering 11, the whole of Gatherings 2 and 4 and the two outer bifolia of Gathering 5.¹²⁹

A point of contention, which arose from my own inspection of this source, concerns Nádas’ conclusion that the inner ternion of Gathering 11 predates its outer additions. While the outer two bifolia of Gathering 11 and a similar natured bifolium (ff. 55/56) occurring in the middle of Gathering 6 may suggest a later preparation through the absence of prick marks and differing demarcation of writing space, there exists a noticeable difference in the ink quality used to rule staff lines of the inner ternion of Gathering 11. Unlike the staff lines throughout most of the manuscript including the two outer bifolia of gathering 11, which employ a viscose ink that settles into the minute valleys of the paper’s chain-marks, the ink employed for the staves on ff. 103r-108v frequently only sits on the raised areas of the paper, indicating a less viscose ink, or the lighter application of the writing implement when ruling lines. As Nádas himself admits,¹³⁰ correspondence of prick marks between gatherings is usually absent. While the assumption that the lack of pricking is indicative of subsequent preparation is a fair one, there is nothing to suggest that the inner ternion of Gathering 11 was not prepared later as a unit using prick marks, possibly by a scribe other than the one responsible for the preparation of the bulk of the manuscript. The matter, however, is of relatively minor significance to the present discussion in light of the strong possibility that CH 564 concordances were entered after the gathering was already assembled. The work of Scribe F spans ff. 103v-109r.

¹²⁷ Nádas, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, p. 398.

¹²⁸ Plates showing water marks found in Fn 26 are found in Nádas, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, pp. 405-407.

¹²⁹ Nádas, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, pp. 396-97.

¹³⁰ Nádas, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, p. 401.

According to Nádás,¹³¹ palaeographic evidence and diversity of repertoires suggests that there exist at least four layers of copying in Fn 26: a collection of Italian *trecento* repertoire initiated by Scribe A which was continued by the collaborative efforts of Scribes B and C; Scribe D may have subsequently joined Scribe C; Scribe E was responsible for the addition of several mid-fourteenth century French works to the manuscript; Scribe F was mostly responsible for the Chantilly inserts (103v-109r), two *unica* inserted in the second gathering – an untexted work on f. 16v ascribed to Marcus and a *ballata* ascribed to “do” on f. 17r with the incipit *O lieta stella* – and the addition of a *La douce cere* by Bartolinus de Padua at the end of the manuscript¹³²; Scribe G adds two works at the beginning of Gathering 11. Hands H and I add a later repertoire, which includes works by the composers Du Fay, Cesaris, and Antonio da Civitate, to previously blank pages in Gatherings 2 and 4. However, it appears, based on the cross-relation of watermarks, that scribes initially responsible for the preparation of the writing material (Scribes A, B, C, and D) drew on a limited source of papers that were relatively uniform in their preparation, indicating all stages of its composition were carried out in the one vicinity, if not the one workshop. Nádás also proposes that the index was compiled by Scribe D “since the early days of the fifteenth century” before the entry of works such as Cesaris’ *Bonte bialte*, whose index entry appears not under the Letter B but at the end of the index.¹³³

In a recent re-examination of Fn 26, Stefano Campagnolo has proposed that a fifth scribe be added to Nádás’ principal Scribes A, B, C, and D.¹³⁴ He proposes that in the place of Nádás’ Scribe B, Scribe A2 is responsible for the oldest layer of Gathering 2 (10v-14r, 20r), the first part of Gathering 4 and an addition to Gathering 5. This scribe, he argues, was responsible for a group of less widely or uniquely-transmitted works by Landini (which might represent Landini’s final creative stage) added subsequent to a more widely circulated repertoire copied by Scribe A. Campagnolo also suggests that Scribe D is responsible for an addition to Gathering 4 and is present at the end of Gathering 5. Additionally,

¹³¹ Nádás, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, pp. 401, 409, 426.

¹³² Pierluigi Petrobelli proposes that this work refers to the arms of Masilio Papafava da Carrara, Lord of Padua 1390-1405, in ‘Some dates for Bartolino da Padova’, in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. H. Powers, Princeton, 1968, p. 104.

¹³³ Nádás, ‘The structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the transmission of Trecento polyphony’, p. 414.

¹³⁴ Stephano Campagnolo, ‘Il codice Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale de Firenze nella tradizione delle opere de Francesco Landini’, in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, eds A. Delfino and M. T. Rosa Barezzi, Studi e Testi Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale 2, Firenze, 1999, pp. 89-91.

Campagnolo challenges Nádas' hypothesis concerning Scribe D's authorship of the index based on palaeographic and orthographical features. Based upon these revisions, Campagnolo suggests the dating of the earliest layers of the manuscript to around 1390, similar to that previously proposed by Nino Pirrotta and Kurt von Fischer.¹³⁵ In turning to the later additions in Fn 26, Campagnolo sees similarities between the J initial of *Je prins conget* entered by hand G (and G') and the initials in the two Cordier inserts in Codex Chantilly. He sees this as indicative of a later dating of 1420-30. Based on this dating, the similarity of one initial, its Florentine (even Landinian) origin, and Michael Long's thesis concerning its connections to Florentine bourgeois,¹³⁶ Campagnolo proposes that Fn 26 was taken to Paris or Montpellier by the Alberti family during their exile from Florence, and the additions of Scribes F and G were "fatte direttamente in Francia".¹³⁷

Yet the fallibility of Campagnolo's hypothesis in relation to the late additions to Fn 26 resides in his acceptance of Günther's own hypothesis that CH 564 was copied from French exemplars in France before 1428 and that concordances with Fn 26 are copies of these exemplars and not CH 564 itself. The result is an historiographic house of cards. Campagnolo makes no mention of Scribe H's entry of Antonio de Civitate's *Long temps j'ay mis mon cuer* on f. 38r of Fn 26, which is also present in northern Italian I-Las 184, f. 37v.¹³⁸ The topicality of the text of motets ascribed to Antonio da Civitate with events in Italy circa 1412-21 tends to suggest that he was active in that region,¹³⁹ not in France. Antonio's connection with Florence in the second decade of the fifteenth century suggests the possibility that his works were already available at that time for copying into Fn 26 in that city.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the similarity of initials in the Cordier-inserts and the initial

¹³⁵ Campagnolo, *op.cit.*, pp. 92-111.

¹³⁶ Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances", p. 178.

¹³⁷ Campagnolo, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-114.

¹³⁸ It is argued that I-Las 184 originated in Padua, with associations with the Carrara, and contains elements from the Visconti court during the years c. 1390-1408. A final layer was added to the south-bound codex by a Florentine scribe, whose work is also evident in Pn 568 and Lowinsky fragment (now Chicago, Newberry Library, Case Lo96.P36); *vid.* John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini: Lucca, Archicico de Stato, MS 184. Perugia Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065*, *Ars Nova* 1, Lucca, 1990, pp. 48-49. On the Lowinsky fragment, *vid.* Nino Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova*, Palm Springs, 1961; Nádas, 'The songs of Don Paolo Tenorista', p. 51.

¹³⁹ *Vid.* Hans Schoop, revised Robert Nosow, 'Antonius de Civitate Austrie', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 766-7, where motets with references to Florence, Forlì, Trani and to the return of Martin V to Rome after his election at the Council of Constance are discussed.

¹⁴⁰ There are similar uncertainties regarding works copied by Hand I. The early transmission of Du Fay's *Invidia nimica* in Italy is attested to by its presence in Ob 213, copied in Venice 1428-36, *vid.* David Fallows,

found in *Je prins conget* copied by Hands G and G' is superficial at best. Finally, Campagnolo's dismissal of G. K. Greene's broad assessments of direct relationships between CH 564 and Fn 26 appears premature and begs further attention.

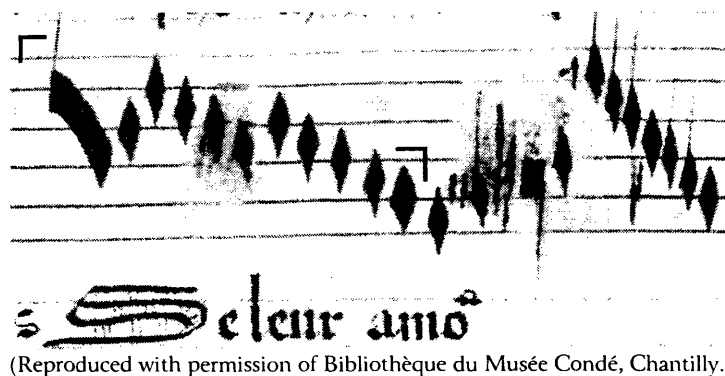
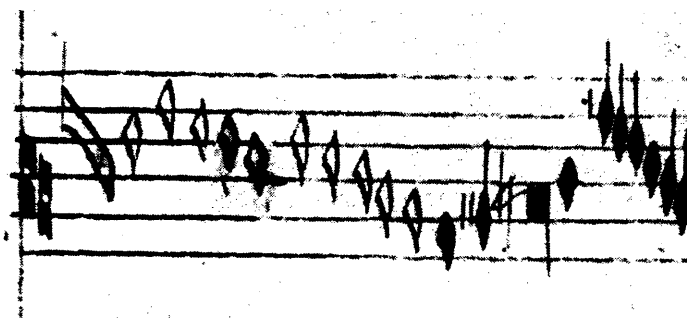
Collation of readings (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 2, *Variants*) transmitted in both sources reveals a low level of variation, particularly in the concordances copied by Scribe F. In terms of pitch and rhythmic variants between works copied by Scribe F with Codex Chantilly, the following observations apply. Compared with CH 564, the Fn 26 transmission of *Le mont Aön de Trace* (CH 564, ff. 22v; Fn 26, ff. 103v-104r) sees the omission of two p.d. (before S 18.1, after S 52.1), and the addition of one p.d. (before Ct 55.3). Although additional p.d. clarify readings, their absence is inconsequential if note groupings are considered. One further small variation occurs in the case of the last note of the Ct: in CH 564 it is written as a *longa*, in Fn 26 as a *brevis*.¹⁴¹

In addition to these simple variants, signs of modification suggesting a close relationship between these two transmissions. The most notable occurs in the S voice in the refrain where the fourth and fifth *semibreves* in both transmissions have been modified.¹⁴² In both cases the pitch of these two durations has been corrected by erasing the original colorated *semibrevis* (red in CH 564, void in Fn 26) on the pitches *d* and *c* and rewriting each note one pitch higher (*e* and *d*). The relative portions of both readings are shown in Figure 2.11 and Figure 2.12.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213 with an Introduction and Inventory by David Fallows, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile 1, Chicago and London, 1995, p. 19. It is possible that the copying of Ob 213 began as early as 1422. Invidia nimica also occurs in I-Bc 15, which also was copied c. 1420-1436 possibly in Padua and Vicenza, vid. Margaret Bent, 'A contemporary perception of early fifteenth century style: Bologna Q15 as a document of scribal editorial initiative', Musica Disciplina, vol. 41, 1987, pp. 183-201. Du Fay was likely at Rimini by 1423; in 1434 he was at Florence in the chapel of Martin V, vid. David Fallows, Dufay, London, 1982, pp. 22 & 44. Ob 213 also provides ample evidence of the transmission into Italy of the works of composers from the Sainte Chapelle de Bourges, including Johannes Cesaris, Pierre Fontaine, Guillaume Legrant, Johannes de Bosco and Mathieu Pullet, vid. Paula Higgins, 'Music and musicians at the Sainte-Chapelle of the Bourges Palace, 1405-1515', in Trasmissione e ricezione della forme di cultura musicale. Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, eds A. Pompilio, D. Restani, L. Bianconi & F. A. Gallo, Turin, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 689-701. This evidence is strengthened by the south-ward movement into Italy of several northern composers during the 1420s. Pierre Fontaine, Nicholas Grenon, and Guillaume Lenfant are documented as singers of Martin V's chapel from 1419/20, vid. Franz Xavier Haberl, op.cit., vol. I, pp. 57, 59; vol. II, p. 32. Nicholas Grenon soon joined them (before 1425), vid. Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History, Henryville, 1979, pp. 174-77.

¹⁴¹ It is even possible that this note is a *longa*, as the right hand side of the note is flush with the right hand vertical guide which might obscure the presence of the stem.

¹⁴² Greene, in the critical notes to his transnotation of this work in *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, First Part*, p. 153, states that "The argument for there having been a close relationship between CH 564 and Fn 26 is strengthened by observing a minor correction that occurred in both MSS. The two red SB ed (bars 68-69) are corrections added after something else was erased."

Figure 2.11: Detail of modifications in the refrain of the Superius voice of *Le mont Aön* in CH 564, f. 22v.Figure 2.12: Detail of modifications in the refrain of the Superius voice of *Le mont Aön* in Fn 26, f. 103v.

As can be seen in Figure 2.11, an additional correction appears only in CH 564 where the durations $\blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge$ have been erased and shifted a third lower. Although the original reading would have been contrapuntally acceptable, the corrected reading gives fuller three-part sonorities (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 2, BB. 71-77). In the Fn 26-transmission of *Le mont Aön*, the reading in question appears to have been copied in the first instance. Yet, it is difficult to ascertain whether the reading in CH 564 represents a scribal alteration or restoration of the original text. It appears, from the unsteadiness of note stems, that the alterations in the CH 564 transmission of *Le mont Aön* were made by the same individual who was responsible for the alterations discussed in Section 2.3. One might conclude that if *Le mont Aön* in Fn 26 is a copy of the CH 564 transmission of this work, then the editing of Chantilly must have occurred beforehand.

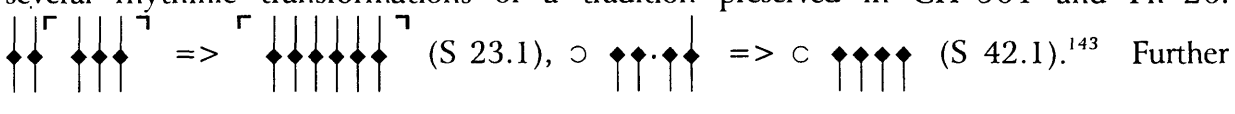
In the case of identical modifications in the first part of the refrain section of the S of *Le mont Aön*, in CH 564 there are indications that the corrections in a very similar red ink were not executed using the same writing process. The principal scribe (β) of CH 564 executes red notes as he would black notes by placing the broad nibbed writing implement at approximately 30° from the upright vertical and making a short movement in a direction approximately 150° from the upright vertical. The corrections, however, bear signs of the use of a smaller nib, or the corner of an implement that was used to draw the outline of the

note, which was then filled in with red ink. The bolder line of the corrections in Fn 26 may be due to a different writing implement, but are most likely due to the different nature of a paper writing surface after scraping.

The probability of the coincidence of these simultaneous corrections in both sources of *Le mont Aön* appears remote, even in light of each scribe's hypothetical aural knowledge of this repertoire. Evidence of a second correction in CH 564 and the appearance of this corrected reading in Fn 26 in the first instance, suggests multiple scenarios. Either it is a copy of the corrected reading in CH 564, or it represents another tradition. Much depends on when CH 564 was edited. The following hypothesis may be proposed. Scribe F copied from a hitherto uncorrected reading of *Le mont Aön* occurring in CH 564. Pausing at the end of the first phrase of the S refrain section, he sought to correct the fourth and fifth *semibreves* in his copy, also taking pains to modify his exemplar (notably, using red ink). In examining the next passage of his exemplar, the second correction was imposed, which was subsequently copied in Fn 26.

Yet, an apparent contradiction exists in the aforementioned hypothesis in that the corrections in CH 564 are not made with a broad nibbed implement. Scribe F of Fn 26 appears facile in the use of this implement and would have presumably employed it to correct the red notes in CH 564 if this was the case. It is also possible that the second correction existed in CH 564 before Scribe F copied the work into Fn 26, but Scribe F or a subsequent editor was responsible for the correction of both colorated *semibreves* in both sources. Both hypotheses remain mere conjectures limited by certain discrepancies, despite a higher level of probable association between sources. As such, notions of direct relations between the transmissions of *Le mont Aön* in CH 564 and Fn 26 alone are less than conclusive.

Je ne puis avoir plaisir sees little significant variation between the transmissions in Fn 26 (f. 104v-105r, copied by Scribe F) and in CH 564 (f. 24r) apart from slightly different ligature configurations (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 7, *Variants*). In fact, the greatest level of variation occurs between the CH 564-Fn 26 pair and the MOe5.24 (f. 20v) transmission of this work. The active nature of MOe5.24's scribe most likely resulted in several rhythmic transformations of a tradition preserved in CH 564 and Fn 26:



(S 23.1), ○ ◆◆◆◆ => ○ ◆◆◆◆ (S 42.1).¹⁴³ Further

¹⁴³ See my discussion of this work in terms of the transmission of mensuration signs in Chapter 5, p. 276.

comparison of the CH 564-Fn 26 pair and MOe5.24 yields one additional, but highly significant variant at S 27.4. Two dragma ($\downarrow\uparrow$) are found at this point in MOe5.24, whereas CH 564 and Fn 26 transmit two *semibreves*. Taking into account the context of each reading, in that the CH 564-Fn 26 reading is preceded by the mensural sign \circ and the MOe5.24 reading by C, the semantic inconsistency of the two *semibreves* in CH 564-Fn 26 clearly reveals a shared common error. Nowhere else in CH 564-Fn 26 do two *semibreves* after the sign \circ indicate the *subsésquialtera* at the *minima* level required for this reading. Instead, this signification is reserved to the *dragma* combined with the sign \circ .¹⁴⁴

Comparison of the two transmissions of *Toute clerte* (CH 564, f. 13r; Fn 26, 105v-106r; *vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 8, *Variants*) yields two significant variants: a p.d. is not present after S 11.3 in Fn 26, but is in CH 564, giving the correct rhythm of $\downarrow \cdot \uparrow$ rather than $\downarrow \uparrow$; at S 37.2 a *minima* appears on the pitch *e* in CH 564, while in Fn 26 it is *g'*. Both variants may be attributed to copying errors made by Scribe F in Fn 26 when copying from an exemplar exactly as CH 564.¹⁴⁵

Comparison of the two transmissions of *Pluseurs gens voy* (CH 564, f. 58r; Fn 26, f. 106v-107r; *vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 9, *Variants*) yields three significant variants. At S 22.1, CH 564 has two *minima* rests and Fn 26 has, erroneously, a *semibrevis* rest. At S 26.1, CH 564 lacks a necessary *semibrevis* rest that is found in Fn 26. The close proximity, almost touching, of the additional *semibrevis* rest in Fn 26 to the previous *semibrevis* suggests that it was inserted by Scribe F (or a subsequent reader) before the *minima* rest which is present in both transmissions of this work. Based on the assessment that the reading in Chantilly is an error, its transmission into and correction in Fn 26 argues strongly for the latter manuscript's direct descent from CH 564. Greene has previously noted a pitch correction in Fn 26 at Trip 25.4 where *e*, as read in CH 564, has been corrected to *g*.¹⁴⁶ Erasure of the binary ligature *c.o.p.*, whose first part is on the pitch in question, is clearly

¹⁴⁴ There is also the issue of mensural signs in the passage beginning at S 29.1. Again, CH 564 and Fn 26 are identical, while MOe5.24 sees a different configuration of signs that yields a reading no less satisfactory than in CH 564-Fn 26 pair.

¹⁴⁵ Greene, based on his incorrect reading of the music of *Toute clerte*, asserted that the transmission of S 9.2 as a *semibrevis* in both Fn 26 and CH 564, which he (and Apel) read as a *brevis*, was evidence of common error, in his *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, First Part*, p. 146. This is not the case as the Sbr is the correct duration, whose significance is thereby diminished. Ursula Günther demonstrates this transnotation error in 'Sinnbezüge zwischen Text und Musik in ars nova und ars subtilior', in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds U. Günther and L. Finscher, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10, Kassel, 1984, pp. 232-234.

¹⁴⁶ Greene, *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 564, Second Part*, p. 195.

visible in Fn 26. This second example of a shared but subsequently corrected error further argues for a direct relationship of Fn 26 to CH 564. One should also note that Scribe F crosses out the first part of a dittographic error in the Trip where he started copying the passage at 52.1 but then his eye wandered to the previous passage at 50.1 only to realise his error upon arriving again at the *brevis* in 51. Fn 26's status as a child manuscript relative to Chantilly is also suggested by the complete lack of text apart from an incipit in the works copied by Scribe F.

The most pointed evidence of direct copying is found in the anonymous ballade *Medee fu* (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 10, *Variants*). While the third transmission of this work occurring in Ob 213 presents numerous variants indicative of another tradition of transmission in northern Italy, the transmissions in Fn 26 (ff. 107v-108r) and CH 564 (f. 24v) agree to a high degree. Based on purely text-critical methods, it is impossible to determine any relationships between these transmissions based on two plausible readings (S 10.1 f CH 564, g Fn 26; Ct 14.1 $\downarrow\downarrow$ CH 564, $\diamond\downarrow$ Fn 26). Another curious variant exists at S 2.2 where the redundancy of p.p. in CH 564 ($\downarrow\downarrow$) is demonstrated by their absence in the transmission in Fn 26 (\downarrow). It seems plausible that Scribe F recognised this when copying from CH 564, and omitted the redundant dots.

However, the copying process in the Fn 26 transmission of *Medee fu* reveals much more. The Indo-Arabic numerals 2, 3 and 4 are used in this work to indicate proportions as explained by a canon (2=4:3, 3=3:2, 4=2:1). The canon is absent in Fn 26. In the third staff of the S voice commencing on f. 107v of Fn 26 (B. 39), one finds a figure that resembles the figure 8. The numeral 4 is written in the same relative location on the third staff in Chantilly, although in this instance only it is drawn in such a manner that the transversal merges with the descender. This numeral 4 was then misread from Chantilly as the numeral 8 by the scribe of Fn 26, providing evidence of a direct relationship between these transmissions.¹⁴⁷

The additional concordance with CH 564, *Cine vermeil* (CH 564, f. 56r; Fn 26 ff. 101v-102r), was copied by Scribe G into Fn 26. This concordance is unique among the works in Gathering 11 of Fn 26 due to the presence of the near-complete first strophe of

¹⁴⁷ The other significant variation in scribal process consists of C-clefs of the S in Fn 26 always on the third line from the bottom of the staff. CH 564, meanwhile, sees a C-clef on the third line from the bottom for the first stave and then on the second line for all other subsequent staves bearing this voice. However, it could be easily argued that the scribe of Fn 26 recasts his exemplar to a uniform clef usage.

the text as underlay beneath the S. The underlay in Fn 26 shows many similarities to that found in CH 564. The word *pris* in first line of the ballade is also unnecessarily repeated in both transmissions. Both transmissions of this work also are lacking the second and third strophes of the ballade. Variance between both readings is again small (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 11, *Variants*), most consisting of plausible readings. These include several instances where the configuration $\blacklozenge\blacksquare\blacksquare$ found in CH 564 (a type of written out alteration, but reliant on the incorrect imperfection of the first *brevis* by the preceding *semibrevis*) is rewritten more correctly in Fn 26 as $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacksquare$ (S 10.1, Ct 33.2, 54.1), where the second *semibrevis* is altered in the perfect *tempus*. That Scribe G is responsible for rewriting these portions is suggested by correction of the two instances in the Ct where there are visible signs of an erased *brevis* under the second *semibrevis* in the present reading. Similar rewriting may also be evidenced by the $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacksquare$ group in CH 564 (S 28.1), whose second *minima* must be arbitrarily altered, being correctly written as $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacksquare$ in Fn 26.

Additional differences are observable between transmissions of *Cine vermeil*. Scribe G appears to introduce an error by omitting the last *brevis* of the T. The mensural sign \odot is observed at the beginning of the Ct in Fn 26. It is absent in CH 564. Furthermore, where CH 564 has the sign O at Ct 10, Fn 26 transmits \odot . The prolation in both cases is major. However, the reading in CH 564 cannot be merely assigned to the status of an error. As I argue in Chapter 5, the status of this sign is less than categorical, often signifying *tempus* relationships only with prolation indicated through intrinsic signs. It is also possible that a variant found at the beginning of the T, which consists of a dotted *brevis* in CH 564 and a *brevis* imperfected by a subsequent *semibrevis* rest, is a copying error where the *punctus* has been copied as a rest. Both readings remain plausible.

Several observations in the previous paragraphs support the proposition that Fn 26 contains copies of works made from CH 564 in so far as the activity of Fn 26's Scribe F is concerned. Comparison of these concordances in the first instance reveals a significantly low level of variance suggestive of a close relationship. According to the principles of stemmatic filiation, the transmission and correction of a common error in *Pluseurs gens voy* from CH 564 to Fn 26 argues strongly for the child status of Fn 26 in relation to CH 564. This relationship would appear to be direct based on an error described above which is introduced in *Medee fu. Je ne puis avoir plaisir* also contains evidence of a distinct

tradition in the CH 564-Fn 26 pair when compared to MOe5.24. Finally, the transmissions of *Le mont Aön* argue for a close interaction between CH 564 and Fn 26.

While one can conjecture why certain works were copied from the CH 564 compendium to Fn 26 by Scribe F, it is perhaps significant that four works are found in the first gathering of CH 564 (13r, 22v, 24r, 24v), three of which are on the same bifolium (13-24). The fifth work copied by Scribe F, *Pluseurs gens voy*, is found in the fourth gathering. The proximity of this work to *Cine vermeil* in CH 564, copied into Fn 26 by Scribe G, may not be coincidental. Based on Scribe F's preference for void coloration in Fn 26, it is reasonable to conclude that several works (16 in total) were avoided in CH 564 which would necessitate the re-notation of several levels of coloration. Fifteen works employing this category of notation occur in the third (4) and fourth (11) gatherings. It is debatable whether any textual interrelations between these works were significant to Scribe F whose reluctance to preserve any more than the incipit of each work instead betrays an interest in the music.

All five works copied into Fn 26 from CH 564 are linked by the same tonal behaviour. According to the Lefferts' nomenclature,¹⁴⁸ the alpha minor tonal type is used throughout, untransposed (d) in *Pluseurs gens voy* and *Medee fu*, transposed flat-wards once (g) in *Le mont Aön* and transposed twice flat-wards (c) in *Je ne puis avoir plaisir* and *Toute clerte*. However, Yolanda Plumley has shown that this tonal type is present in 51% of the repertoire in CH 564, although she does suggest that an increase from 27% of Machaut's repertoire in this tonal type indicates a standardisation of tonal types which resulted in the lesser frequency of beta-tonal types.¹⁴⁹ While common tonal behaviour may explain the presence of these works in Fn 26, it only partially explains why certain works were chosen from CH 564. It may explain why works were not copied in the sequence that they occur in CH 564, as the works occur sequentially on g, c, c, d, d in Fn 26.

The copying of the Chantilly concordances into Fn 26 may be summarised as such: an assembled collection of *trecento* repertoire (copied by Scribes A-D) with earlier additions from the French repertoire by Scribe E came into the hands of Scribe F; Scribe F also had access to CH 564; based on a set of decisions limited by notational constraints and possible

¹⁴⁸ Peter M. Lefferts, 'Signature-systems and tonal types in the fourteenth-century French chanson', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1995, pp. 117-47.

¹⁴⁹ Yolanda Plumley, *The Grammar of 14th Century Melody: Tonal Organization and Compositional Process in the Chansons of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ars Subtilior*, New York & London, 1996, p. 20. Cf. Lefferts, 'Signature-systems and tonal types in the fourteenth-century French chanson', p. 147.

musical criteria such as tonal behaviour, Scribe F copied five works from CH 564, making small adjustments where he saw fit, onto blank folia at the end of Fn 26. In this scenario, there is scope to argue that Scribe F also made some changes to his exemplar. It seems probable based on the Florentine origin of works in its earlier gatherings and subsequent associations¹⁵⁰ that the Fn 26 never left Florence.¹⁵¹ I would also argue that the presence of works subsequently entered by Scribes H and I into Fn 26 using white notation, which are indicative of a repertoire dating before 1425 or earlier, suggests that the additions from CH 564 were copied before this date.

It has been proposed by previous scholars that the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 6771 (henceforth Pn 6771) has connections with CH 564. Kurt von Fischer sees “points of contact” between French-texted works copied by his Hand D into Pn 6771 and their concordances in CH 564 and MOe5.24.¹⁵² Similarly, he proposes that, in relation to the French works copied by his Hand E, Pn 6771 and CH 564 show evidence of common exemplars. Wolfgang Dömling, in his brief assessment of the transmission of Machaut’s works also proposes the hypothetical stemma wherein CH 564 and Pn 6771 share the same exemplar.¹⁵³ Dömling’s assessment, however, must

¹⁵⁰ John Nádas provides an overview of the later provenance of Fn 26 in his “The Transmission of trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages”, p. 57, fn. 108. The manuscript possibly came into the possession of Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635-1676), custodian of the Medici library in 1661. Panciatichi may have acquired the manuscript from the illustrious Florentine Benedictine Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80), although specific evidence of this ms is lacking in the inventories (and will) of the latter’s collection. The present manuscript came into possession of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence in 1859.

¹⁵¹ Aside from the presence of composers representative of the Florentine *trecento*, F. Alberto Gallo notes in the introduction to the facsimile edition of Fn 26 that the composer of the first entry by Scribe F (f. 16v) may be identified with Marcus, a singer documented at the S. Reparata in 1410, Florence, *Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze*, Studi et Testi per la storia della musica 3, Firenze, 1981, p. 8.

¹⁵² Kurt von Fischer, ‘The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 6771’, p. 45. Von Fischer observed the presence of 7 hands in Pn 6771: The first part of the collection was copied by Hands A (1r-39v, 43r-44r, 47v-52v), B (39v-41r, 45b-46r), and C (44v-45r); Scribe D (53r-62v, additions 12v-13r, 46v-47r, 65v-66r, 72v-73r, 77v, texts on 65r and 70r), who is for the most part identical with Nádas’ Scribe W; Scribe E (f. 63r-84v) who encompasses the additions of Nádas’ Scribe Y and Scribe T to Gatherings 6 and 7), and Scribe F, who corresponds to Nádas’ Scribe Z. Nigel Wilkins contested von Fischer’s assessment wherein he asserts von Fischer’s Scribes A and E are identical (=Wilkins’ Scribe I), as are Scribes C and D (=Wilkins’ Scribe III), while von Fischer’s Scribes B and F are relabelled as Scribes II and IV, in Nigel Wilkins, ‘The Codex Reina: A revised description (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale n.a.fr. 6771)’, *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 17, 1963, pp. 60-66. Wilkins’ conclusions are largely rebutted in John Nádas, ‘The Reina Codex revisited’, in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. S. Spector, Washington, 1987, pp. 69-114.

¹⁵³ Dömling, ‘Zur Überlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts’, p. 192. Nádas’ Scribe W is responsible for copying Machaut’s *Quant Theseus/ Ne quier* (ff. 54v-55r), while Scribe Y is responsible for copying into Gathering 6 *En amer la douce vie* (f. 63r), *De Fortune me doy pleindre et loer* (f. 64v), *Gais et jolis, lies, chantans et joieus* (f. 65r), *Dame, de qui toute ma joie vien* (f. 68v), *Il m'est avis qu'il n'est dons de Nature* (f. 69v), and *De toutes flours*, f. 72r.

be viewed within the context of the one-source exemplar hypothesis that was attributed to CH 564 by scholars in the early part of the twentieth century. Ursula Günther also maintained that concordances with CH 564 in Pn 6771 were in part descended from the “Chantilly exemplar”.¹⁵⁴

Pn 6771 contains nine non-Machaut works concordant with CH 564. In considering the transmission of works in Pn 6771, a recent codicological and palaeographic study of this source, also by John Nádas, forms a vital framework upon which the fabric of any assessment of the relation of individual layers and scribes to their exemplar can be overlaid.¹⁵⁵ Nádas’ examination of watermarks reveals that there are at least four different divisions in the present codex. Gatherings 1 to 3 form a distinct unit with a single paper type used throughout (watermarks 1a and its twin). Gatherings 4 and 5 show a mixture of two new paper types (watermarks 2a and 3) with papers from the first division, mostly the twin of 1a. Gatherings 6 and 7 are dominated by papers with a watermark similar to 1a, referred to as 1b by Nádas, although the use of an another paper type (4) as the outer bifolium of 6 and 7 and the innermost bifolium of 7, in addition to an orphaned catch word on 67v suggests a complex process of compilation. Gathering 8 and what has survived of 9 is in yet another paper type, and represents a late addition of French works composed by the young Du Fay and his contemporaries.

Nádas identifies seven scribes in Pn 6771. Scribes S and T collaborated for the first layer of the manuscript (Gatherings 1-3).¹⁵⁶ Copying in Gatherings 4 and 5, which represent a second layer of compilation, was continued by Scribe S who was joined by Scribe U.¹⁵⁷ Scribe W,¹⁵⁸ responsible for the most part of Gathering 5 (but also appearing in Gathering 4), also appears for the first time in this gathering and may have also been associated with Scribe U. Scribes U and W were also responsible for an addition each to

¹⁵⁴ Ursula Günther, in an assessment based on K. von Fischer’s analysis of scribal hands, states that *Playsance! Or tost, Phiton, Phiton, Quant Theseus/Ne quier*, and *Fuions de ci, Alarme, alarme, En remirant* and *En nul estat* can be feasibly linked to the a so-called Chantilly original in ‘Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047’, pp. 6-8.

¹⁵⁵ John Nádas, ‘The Reina Codex revisited’, pp. 69-114.

¹⁵⁶ According to Nádas, Scribe S is responsible for works copied on ff. 1r-12r, 14r, 16v-24v, 26r, 28r-36r, 48v-49v with additions to 15r, 26v-29r, 30v-31r, 33v-34r, 50v-51r; Scribe T= ff. 13r-13v, 14v-16r, 25r-25v, 26v-27v, 23r?, 81r-v?, 82r-84v with additions on ff. 14r, 17v-18r, 26r.

¹⁵⁷ Nádas’ Scribe U = ff. 38r-39v, 43r-44r, 47r (? = S?), 50r-v, 52r, 61v with additions to ff. 9v & 62r.

¹⁵⁸ Nádas’ Scribe W = ff. 44v-45r, 46v-47r, 53r-61r, 62r-v with additions on ff. 12v, 65v-66r, 72v-73r & 77v.

Gathering 1. Additions to the second layer were also made by scribes V and X.¹⁵⁹ In general, Scribes S, T, U, V and X were responsible for copying a *trecento* repertoire of works by Florentine and Paduan composers. Scribe W, although having a hand in some *trecento* works, shows a preference for French and even Flemish texted works in French *ars nova* notation. Gatherings 6 and 7 witness the presence of Scribe Y who was responsible for most of the French-texted works in French notation in gathering 6 (Scribe W also added some portions) and parts of Gathering 7.¹⁶⁰ Gathering 7, however, sees the return of a hand very like Scribe T, but in this case, this scribe was responsible for copying French works. It is also possible, based on the presence of different papers in this layer, that this portion of the manuscript represents a separate project brought into the collection by Scribe T, or Scribe W. The final layer in the collection (ff. 89v-119r) was copied by a single Scribe Z.

According to Nádas' assessment of scribal hands in Pn 6771, all concordances with CH 564 appear to be additions by later scribes. Scribe Y copied *Alarme, alarme sans sejour* (f. 69r) and *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt* (f. 71v). Although Nádas was reluctant to indicate the scribe responsible for the copying of the following works, it is also likely that *De Narcissus* (f. 81r), *En nul estat* (f. 79v) and *En remirant* (f. 80v) were also copied by Scribe Y. It is evident that Scribe Y was drawing on a tradition not immediately shared with CH 564 or its exemplars. Collation of the relatively numerous transmissions of *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt* reveals two separate traditions (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 12, *Variants*). The variant at S 5.1 (as shown in Figure 2.13) suggests an early bifurcation in the transmission of this work wherein CH 564 and Gr 3360 are representative of one branch, while CA B 1328, Lbm 41667 and, most importantly for any consideration of Italian transmission of this work, Fn 26 represent another branch.

Figure 2.13: Variant readings in the S of *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt*.

¹⁵⁹ Nádas'. Scribe V = ff. 36v-37v with an addition on f. 35v; Scribe X = ff. 40r-41r, 45v-46r with an addition on f. 39r.

¹⁶⁰ Nádas'. Scribe Y = ff. ff. 63r-72v, 73v-76v?, 77r-79r with additions on ff. 74v-76r & 84r. Scribe T = ff. 73r?, 81r-v?, 82r-84v [? denotes doubtful scribal attribution and is reflective of Nádas' own assessment]. A schematic representation of Codex Reina, showing gathering structure, scribes and paper types can be seen in John Nádas, 'The Reina Codex revisited', pp. 75-80.

The northern origin of Gr 3360, CA B 1328 and possibly Lbm 41667 suggests that the aforementioned variant was introduced before the works were transmitted southwards, if the simplest scenario obtains.

CH 564 occupies a unique position among the four extant transmissions of Magister Franciscus' *De Narcissus* by virtue of its transmission of a Ct not found in Pn 6771 and Fn 26. (Fragments of *De Narcissus* are also found in F-AUT 152, where only the S survives, and H-Bu Fr 298, where only a portion of the S is found.) Collation of the Ct transmitted in Pn 6771 and Fn 26 results in seven separate readings, two of which are erroneous in both transmissions with the remaining five being equally plausible readings (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 13, *Variants*). Variants S 18.1 and S 20.1 also separate these two sources but in a way that links them to a distant archetype also shared by CH 564. Fn 26 omits several p.d., while Pn 6771 lacks the mensuration signs found in all voices of Fn 26 and CH 564. None of these sources appears to have any direct relationship to one another. CH 564 transmits a fair reading of all three strophes of the text (one error-filled strophe in Pn 6771, incipit only in Fn 26), although there are some difficulties in ll. 13, 18 and 20. The presence of this work in the portion of the Pn 23190 index representative of the oldest layer of the lost manuscript suggests this work was circulating in Paris sometime before 1376.¹⁶¹

The CH 564 and Pn 6771 also share transmissions of *Alarme, alarme sans sejour* and *En nul estat* (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 14 and 5, *Variants*). However, any assessment of these double concordances is relatively weak. (*Alarme, alarme* was also present in Sm 222, a source destroyed by the burning of the Strasbourg municipal library in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War.) The transmissions of *Alarme, alarme* are significantly different at Ct 5.1 and Ct 15.1 and these variant readings may or may not be indicative of separate traditions.¹⁶² As already discussed above, small differences between the original (unedited) reading of *En nul estat* in CH 564 and the reading surviving in Pn 6771 are insufficient evidence for determining whether or not both sources share a common exemplar. The varied presence (often erroneous in Pn 6771) of substitute mensuration signs between

¹⁶¹ Based on her reassessment of the scribal "hands" in the surviving index Margaret Bent observes that only the works contained on the first 32 leaves of the MS can be said to be copied before 1376, the original date given in the erased portion of the heading, in 'A note on the dating of the Trémoille Manuscript', pp. 217-242.

¹⁶² *cf.* Ursula Günther, 'Bemerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire de Codex Reina', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 24, 1967, pp. 247-49. Günther judges the CH 564 transmission of this work to be superior.

sources might suggest different exemplars, but the case is far from conclusive.¹⁶³ On the other hand, the Pn 6771 transmission of *En remirant* (also found in MOe5.24, f. 35v-36r) demonstrates several aspects which suggest it is neither directly related to CH 564, nor the immediate exemplar of that source (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 15, *Variants*). Shared traits link MOe5.24 and Pn 6771 to the same tradition. Scribe T's copy of *En atendant souffrir m'estuet grief payne* in Pn 6771 also contains several variants which separate it from CH 564 and align it closer to MOe5.24 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 16, *Variants*). The transmission of both *En atendant souffrir m'estuet greif payne* and *En remirant* will be discussed further in the next chapter.¹⁶⁴

As far as can be determined through collation, the works copied by Scribe W into Pn 6771 witness a tradition separate from CH 564. The transmission of Jacob de Senleches' *Fuions de ci* in Pn 6771 contains variant readings consisting of two erroneous (Ct 1.1 and 33.1) and three plausible readings (13.2, 19.1, 46.1) which separate this source from CH 564 and MOe5.24 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 17, *Variants*). It remains to be ascertained whether this level of separation can be attributed to Scribe W alone, although the simplest explanation occurs if one considers Pn 6771 to be descended from a tradition slightly removed from that evidenced by CH 564 and MOe5.24. A collation of the triple concordance *Phiton, Phiton beste tres venimeuse* (CH 564, 20v; Pn 6771, f. 56r; H-Bu Fr 298) contains several separative readings and errors (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 18, *Variants*). As variants S 48.1 and Ct 46.3 demonstrate, there is no direct relation between the transmissions in CH 564 and Pn 6771. The variant at Ct 22.1 (repeated identically at Ct 62.1) suggests scribal intervention. Whether the separative reading occurred during the copying of the extant source or previously in its lost exemplar cannot be determined in the absence of any corroborating evidence, such as a complete third transmission.

The last concordance shared by CH 564 and Pn 6771 exists in a third version found in the fragment MLeclercq. It is also transmitted in CA B 1328, but is for the most part illegible. The reading in Pn 6771 of *Playsance! Or tost* contains several readings (C'

¹⁶³ See critical notes for *En nul estat* in this present study, Vol. II, App. B, No. 5. Q.v. Greene's graphical representation in "The Secular Music of Chantilly Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047)", p. 153. Another consideration of variants in *En nul estat* occurs in Josephson, *op.cit.*, pp. 292-300.

¹⁶⁴ Günther linked both *En remirant* and *En nul estat* to the Chantilly original, although she did not draw the same conclusion for *En atendant souffrir m'estuet grief payne* and *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt*, in 'Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047', pp. 7-8.

18.2, C¹ 25.3, C¹ 29.1,¹⁶⁵ C¹ 34.1, C¹ 40.1) which separate it from the tradition inherited by CH 564 and MLeclercq, although it is patently clear that MLeclercq introduces or is witness to a bifurcation in this work's filiation (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 19, *Variants*). The transmission in MLeclercq contains different music in the second section (mm. 29.1-41.4, also modification at T 3.1, T 13.1=T 30.1, T 18.1) and a different Ct. (The Ct, however, has been crossed out in MLeclercq and is perhaps representative of a failed attempt at scribal composition). It is possible that *Playsance! Or tost* originated in a Lowlands' court.¹⁶⁶

As it stands, this detailed collation of concordances between CH 564 and Pn 6771 suggests that some distance exists between their respective transmissions. It is especially significant that concrete evidence for a common (set of) exemplar(s) between CH 564 and Pn 6771 is not forthcoming although several works suggest a broader tradition that was brought to bear on the Italian peninsula, for example *En nul estat*, *Alarme alarme*, *Playsance! Or tost*.

In addition to aforementioned concordances with *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt* and *De Narcissus*, CH 564 shares a further four concordances with another early fifteenth century Florentine source Pn 568.¹⁶⁷ Unlike the aforementioned works (especially *De ce*

¹⁶⁵ Günther highlights the different readings between CH 564 and Pn 6771 in C¹ (with a transnotation of the first 5 measures of this section) in her article 'Bemerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire der Codex Reina', p. 247. I would tend to agree with her assessment that CH 564 presents a better reading at this point.

¹⁶⁶ Günther, 'Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars Subtilior', pp. 178-79 and Nigel Wilkins, 'The post-Machaut generation of poet musicians', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 12, 1968, p. 58 proposed that the textual reference to a *papegay* (parrot) concerns a pope. Remco Sleiderink, 'Pykini's Parrot: Music at the Court of Brabant', in *Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings*, eds B. Haggh, F. Daelemans and A. Vanrie, Brussels, 1994, pp. 387-90, proposes that the text might refer to King Wenceslas of Brabant and that the work was composed by this king's musician Nicholas de Picquigny.

¹⁶⁷ Based on textual references in Pn 568's works, the collective scholarship of Ursula Günther and John Nádas suggests that this manuscript was compiled in Florence between 1405 and 1409. Works central to their argument are Paolo Tenorista's *Godi Firenze*, which refers to Florence's victory over Pisa in 1406, and *Girand' un bel falcon*, which possibly describes sentiments against a schismatic pope during the Council of Pisa in 1409, *vid.* Ursula Günther, 'Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 24, 1967, pp. 99-119; Ursula Günther, John Nádas and John Stinson, 'Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New documentary evidence', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 41, 1987, p. 204, fn. 3; It has been proposed that Pn 568 and Fl 87 were products of the famous *scriptorium* at Santa Maria degli Angeli of Florence, *vid.* Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "'Don Silvestro de Gherarducci" e il "Maestro delle Canzoni"', *Rivista d'arte*, 32, 1957, pp. 3-37; Luciano Bellosi, 'Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: il "Maestro de Codice Squarcialupi" e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli', in *Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria de Mario Rotili*, eds Antonella Putaturo Muraro and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Napoli, 1984, pp. 307-314 and Plates CXXXVIII-CXLIV; *idem*, 'The Squarcialupi Codex Master', in *Il Codice Squarcialupi MS. Mediceo palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: Studi raccolti*, ed. F. A. Gallo, Firenze and Lucca, 1992, pp. 145-157. The work of Scribes D, H and E in Pn 568 is also evident in several other fragments containing the works of Paolo Tenorista, Landini and Ciconia, *vid.* Nádas, 'The songs of Don Paolo Tenorista', pp. 52-52. Of the six works discussed here, four were copied into Pn 568 by Scribe B (*De ce que foui pense*, *De Narcissus*, *Sans joye avoir*, *Se Zephirus/Se Jupiter*), *Loyaute me tient* possibly by Scribe A, and *Par*

foul pense whose transmission in CH 564 represents a tradition unconnected to any other Italian transmission), these last four concordances possess a remarkable level of similarity if one allows for scribal processes. Collation of the transmissions of *Loyaute me tient* (CH 564, f. 36v; Pn 568, f. 121r) yields one minor error in Pn 568 (omission of dots of division in the passage at T 16.1 and T 37.1 – it is possible that the scribe of Pn 568 saw this as equivalent to the reading transmitted in CH 564) and two separate readings both in the Ct (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 20, *Variants*).¹⁶⁸ At Ct 23.1, a *brevis* in CH 564 is written as two *semibreves* in Pn 568. The variant Ct 32.1 is rhythmically viable in both readings, although the reading in CH 564 at the beginning of B. 34 is more stylistically correct. This variant also appears to attest to no direct relationship of Pn 568 to CH 564. Pn 568 contains two more accidentals in the Ct of this work, but is otherwise identical in quantity of accidentals despite some different placement. While CH 564 preserves all eight lines of the text, Pn 568 preserves the incipit only. It is possible that both transmissions share the same exemplar.

Again, Pn 568 only preserves the incipit of the text of *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, while CH 564 maintains all three strophes of text but with two corruptions (both in line 19). Aside from small semantic differences in the notation (Pn 568 contains additional, auxiliary p.d. at S 39.1 and S 45.1; *semiminime* are written as solid red *minime* in CH 564, void red in Pn 568), three separate readings occur (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 21, *Variants*). Plausible variant readings at S 17.3 and S 70.1 represent small differences, which, when grouped with variant Ct 42.2, might suggest either previous branching inherited by each respective transmission or scribal intervention. The latter variant (as shown in Figure 2.14) is viable in both cases, although the Pn 568 reading ameliorates several dissonances, avoids the awkward leap to a dissonant fourth in the S and presents a better sonority at the end of the first *semibrevis* of B. 43.

le grant senz d'Adriane by Scribe D. Scribe D appears to have had access to Paolo Tenorista's works, especially those in an advanced style which was possibly influenced by the *ars subtilior* style cultivated by composers such as Philipoctus de Caserta (composer of the last work). For a full discussion of scribal contributions and their repertorial connections in Pn 568, *vid.* Nádas, "The Transmission of trecento Secular Polyphony", pp. 216-290 and *idem*, "The songs of Don Paolo Tenorista", pp. 50-57.

¹⁶⁸ Five significant (semiotic) variants occur at S 12.1=S 33.1, S 19.2=S 40.2, Ct 13.1. These appear to be dictated more by scribal process than manuscript tradition.

Figure 2.14: Variant readings in CH 564 and Pn 568 transmissions of *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* B. 42.

I propose that CH 564 represents a correction from an exemplar that omitted the *semibrevis* G found in Pn 568 at Ct 42.2. The scribe of CH 564 or its exemplar's copyist then rhythmically reorganised the retained pitches in an appropriate manner. The closer relationship of Pn 568 to the archetype may also be suggested by the presence of two additional manuscript accidentals in Pn 568 (S 32.4 and Ct 53) not found in CH 564. This statement must be tempered, however, by the observation that both additional accidentals occur at positions that would be frequently subject to *musica ficta*.

Sans joye avoir (CH 564, f. 23r; Pn 568, ff. 27v-28r) is transmitted in two very different forms in terms of their notational process, although they are for the most part semantically equivalent (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 22, *Variants*). Whereas the version in CH 564 employs red coloration to indicate *sesquialtera* at the *semibrevis* in [2,3] and, in the case of *minime*, as a frequent substitute for p.d. in *syncopa* passages, Pn 568 employs instead the *dragma* (♣) and maintains *syncopa* involving *minime* by using the p.d. In addition to these notational issues, four variants are found in the S, one consisting of an error in CH 564 (25.1), another of an error in Pn 568 (36.1), and a set of two equally plausible readings (28.1 and 46.1) between transmissions. One variant is found in T 13 where the duration occupied by two *semibreves* on E in CH 564 are written in Pn 568 as a *brevis*. The Ct is not transmitted in Pn 568. The plausible readings between parts found in both transmissions, however, are sufficient to suggest some degree of separation between the two extant transmissions, although both remain proximate to the same tradition. The question concerning which notational devices might be closer to the authorial original is an interesting one, although the transformation of the original notation in at least one of these transmissions may reflect the local reception of this particular work.

Collation of the transmissions of Grimace's double-ballade *Se Zephirus/Se Jupiter* (CH 564, f. 19r; Pn 568, f. 43r; H-Bu Fr 298) suggests that CH 564 and Pn 568 inherit slightly different traditions (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 23, *Variants*).¹⁶⁹ Eight significant musical variants occur between the transmissions of this work in CH 564 and Pn 568, although only one involves an error. In C² (not labelled in CH 564, but labelled as a Ct in Pn 568), a register error is found in Pn 568 at 25.1. The remaining variants between these two sources are plausible (C1 13.2, 21.1, 37.1, 52.3, 63.3, C2 44.3, 68), although all suggest some degree of separation between these sources.

The evidence which can be gleaned from a comparison of concordances between CH 564 and Pn 568 suggests that no direct relationship existed between these sources, but that their level of agreement supports the hypothesis that CH 564 drew in part on exemplars very similar to those used by Pn 568. At issue is whether the degree of separability between these two sources is significant enough to warrant the assumption that they represent different traditions. Scribal initiative is frequently difficult to discern in the works copied by the scribes of Pn 568, although one underlying assumption regarding the copying of works with French text and French *ars nova* notation comes into play. It consists of a parallel between the reluctance of the scribe to copy French text and the copying of a less familiar notational system. Several variant readings that occur between CH 564 and Pn 568 involve simple copying errors such as the substitution of a p.d. for a *minima pausa* or vice versa. However, the level of modification of passages in *Se Zephirus/Se Jupiter* and *De ce que foul pense souvent remaynt* belie a complex set of relationships caused by scribal intervention not evident in the case of particularly *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* and perhaps *Loyaute me tient*.

The goal of the present section has been to determine the relationships that exist between CH 564 and sources containing concordant readings, and develop theories concerning their filiation accordingly. The evidence of an early child relationship of Fn 26 to CH 564 is strongly suggested by a high level of agreement between sources as well as additional aspects of scribal process which can be understood as directly related to the exemplar. This observation has important implications for the chronology and origins of

¹⁶⁹ H-Bu Fr 298 is a single flyleaf and only preserves the end of the T and a different C² (or Ct) for this work, thus possessing small value in the collation process. The rest of the T and C¹ almost certainly occurred on the facing leaf of the manuscript from which this leaf was possibly removed, *vid.* Charles E. Brewer, "The Introduction of the Ars Nova into East Central Europe: A Study of Late Medieval Polish Sources", Ph. D. thesis, City University of New York, 1983, Appendix XX, pp. 543-44.

CH 564. The lack of co-ordination between CH 564 and Pn 6771 is not surprising in light of additional evidence which places the latter source at Padua as a partial exemplar to Pu 1115.¹⁷⁰ The slight divergence that exists between the traditions illustrated respectively by Pn 568 and CH 564 may reside in either chronological and/or geographic issues or the suggestion that multiple exemplars were employed in the compilation of either source.

2.6. Conclusions

In establishing the bases by which the origin of CH 564 can be demonstrated, this chapter has explored a wealth of issues which contribute circumstantially to the conclusion that this manuscript was located at an early stage in Florence. At the broadest level, textual corruption suggests that, while apparently influenced by the multiple traditions upon which the manuscript has drawn, the principal scribe (β) is not a native French speaker who is unable to thoroughly comprehend and/or correct problematic textual readings. Furthermore, problems with the transmission of notational aspects found throughout the work of Scribe β suggest that he is not grounded in the refinements of the *ars subtilior* style. Editing of problematic readings in this manuscript suggests that its subsequent owner had some, albeit imperfect, appreciation of the notational complexities of the *ars subtilior*. The opinions of Robert Marichal support the view that the main script in this manuscript demonstrates affinities to northern and upper central Italian hands in sources from 1400-1415. The same locality and dating is also suggested by the ruling of the first layer of the codex throughout with red hexagrams.

Several points suggest an early provenance for the manuscript in Florence. The first concerns the inscription found at the beginning of CH 564 which indicates that in 1461 it passed from the ownership of the Florentine banker Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti shortly before his death to Tommaso Spinelli's daughters through the agency of Francesco's illegitimate son. Before this time, I have proposed that CH 564 was used as an exemplar for the additions in the last gathering of Fn 26, which is most likely to have been copied at Florence. In view of the fact that additions entered into Fn 26 by Scribes H and I are representative of the activity of composer Antonio da Civitate and Guillaume Du Fay in Italy before 1425, the additions copied by Scribes F and G in Fn 26 from CH 564 were plausibly made in Florence before this time. This conclusion again excludes the participation of the then exiled Francesco d'Altobianco in the formation of CH 564. In addition to the

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 3.

direct relationship which exists between CH 564 and Fn 26, several works transmitted in the former manuscript betray traditions of transmission which are shared by the Florentine source Fn 26, but at the same time is distinct from the Paduan (and hence northern) traditions found in Pn 6771.

All indicators point to the creation of this manuscript no earlier than 1395, but possibly no later than 1415, in Tuscany or an adjacent region. The relationship CH 564 shares with Fn 26 certainly adds weight to the view that both sources draw on exemplars available at Florence. In light of the view that CH 564 demonstrates codicological and scribal habits that link it to professional scriptoria or workshops, I conjecture that this manuscript was commissioned within Florence. There is abundant evidence of a thriving book industry in that city at the beginning of the fifteenth century. CH 564 represents an imported repertoire, with a diversity of political content to suggest its context lay outside the court and in the wealthy households of gentry. Channels through which this repertoire might have become available have been already suggested by Long with respect to the Augustinians of Santo Spirito of Florence.¹⁷¹ Their contact with the papal curia at Avignon provides one route of transmission of the northern repertoire into Italy well before it was utilised in the compilation of CH 564. There is little evidence that the vibrant activity of music copying at Padua forms any direct basis for the transmission of this repertoire. Nor does the cultivation of the *ars subtilior* in Italy appear to have had any influence upon this manuscript except in the case of Philipoctus de Caserta. Rather, this manuscript marks a foreign eclecticism that favours French cultural tendencies prevalent at the time and location of production of the manuscript.

¹⁷¹ Long, 'Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite', pp. 83-99.