

SCRIBAL PRACTICE, MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION AND THE  
TRANSMISSION OF MUSIC IN LATE MEDIEVAL FRANCE:  
THE MANUSCRIPTS OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

Lawrence Marshburn Earp

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For my Mother and Father

5-25-13

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the seven principal MSS transmitting the musical works of Guillaume de Machaut. The first chapter refines our knowledge of the complex of musical and textual MSS, and the theoretical citations that witness Machaut's works, as well as the evidence of lost MSS.

In chapter two, new observations about the structure and internal organization of the contents of the larger MSS have revised the current picture. MS Par. fr. 1584 (A) has an index prescriptive of an order not consistently carried out as the MS was copied, usually due to spacing requirements. The index order is compelling chronologically for a group of rondeaux, supporting Hoepffner's thesis that Machaut's works follow each other more-or-less chronologically in the MSS. On art historical grounds, François Avril has recently placed the MS Par. fr. 1586 (C), formerly thought to be from the 15th century, in the early 1350s. The early date helps to bridge the chronological gap in sources for the polyphonic chanson. Scribal indications and literary evidence now suggest that polyphonic chansons by Machaut were first composed in the 1340s.

Chapter three focuses on the copying of text and music in the MSS. Regardless of the style of the music, text was always entered first. This was a guiding principle in French MSS throughout the 14th and early 15th century, and bears upon questions of texting in 15th-century sources.

Chapter four considers aspects of the transmission of the works, both evidence from the texts of the narrative poems, and readings for musical

works. Mechanical copying errors are distinguished from notational problems. Some notational irregularities can be tied to chronological developments, others seem to be designed to facilitate performance by less literate musicians. Particularly interesting are variants in many lais in the MS Par. fr. 9221 (E), copied in the 1390s. Radical rearrangement of the disposition of text and music suggests the intervention of someone actively interested in their performance.

An appendix supplies information on the physical makeup of the principal MSS, and information on the disposition of miniatures among the MSS.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any work as long in the making as this one has been will have incurred many debts. I owe the original stimulus (though they were not aware of it and this work bears little relation to that first conception) to Professor Arthur Mendel and Thomas B. Hall. Professor Kenneth Levy has supervised the writing from the beginning; his vigilant criticism has removed many a blunder. I have also had some very distinguished colleagues working around me during the years who, by their examples, left deep impressions on me: Anthony Cummings, Linda Ferguson, Michael Long, Michael Tusa, and Paula Higgins. I am particularly indebted to discussions with Michael Long on all manners of medieval questions, Michael Tusa on questions of textual transmission, and Paula Higgins, who interrupted her own work in Paris to check several points for me at the Bibliothèque nationale. In questions relating to Romance philology, I owe much to stimulating discussions and references supplied by Kevin Brownlee and Silvia Huot.

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her critical comments, have saved me from many embarrassments and palpably improved the final product. Faults that remain are my own.

Lawrence Earp

Princeton, New Jersey

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS.

- AcM. Acta musicologica. 1928- .
- AMw. Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 1918-26; 1952- .
- CMM. Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 1947- .
- CS. Edmond de Coussemaker. Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series. 4 vols. Paris, 1864-76; rpt. Hildesheim, 1963.
- CSM. Corpus scriptorum de musica. 1950- .
- DAI. Dissertation Abstracts International.
- GS. Martin Gerbert. Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra. St. Blasien, 1784; rpt. Hildesheim, 1963.
- HMT. Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie. 1972- .
- JAMS. Journal of the American Musicological Society. 1948- .
- Lo... Number in the Loange des dames (Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques).
- MD. Musica disciplina. 1946- .
- Mf. Die Musikforschung. 1948- .
- MGG. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 1949-79.
- MQ. Musical Quarterly. 1915- .
- Musikalische Werke. Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke. Ed. Friedrich Ludwig. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1926-29; Vol. IV ed. Heinrich Besseler. Leipzig, 1954.
- New Grove. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Ed. Stanley Sadie. London, 1980.
- Oeuvres. Guillaume de Machaut Oeuvres poétiques. Ed. Ernest Hoepffner. 3 vols. Paris, 1908-21.
- PMFC. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century. 1956- .
- Poésies lyriques. Guillaume de Machaut Poésies lyriques. Ed. Vladimir Chichmaref. 2 vols. Paris, 1909.

- Rayn. •••. Number in Spanke, ed., G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes. (Leiden, 1955).
- RBM. Revue belge de musicologie. 1946- .
- RdM. Revue de musicologie. 1917- .
- Repertorium. Friedrich Ludwig. Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi styli. Vol. I, 1: Halle, 1911; rpt. Hildesheim, 1964. Vol. I, 2: Assen, 1978.
- RISM. Répertoire internationale des sources musicales.  
Series B III2: The Theory of Music: From the Carolingian Era up to 1400. Vol. II of 2 vols. Ed. Pieter Fischer (Munich, 1968).  
Series B IV1: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th-Early 14th Century. Ed. Gilbert Reaney. (Munich, 1966).  
Series B IV2: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400). Ed. Gilbert Reaney. (Munich, 1969).  
Series B IV3 and B IV4: Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Ed. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf. 2 vols. (Munich, 1972).
- RMS. Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550. Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I. Vol. I: A-J (American Institute of Musicology, 1979). Vol. II: K-O (American Institute of Musicology, 1982).
- SIMG. Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft. 1899-1914.
- ZMw. Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft. 1918-35.



Machaut's musical works are cited by the numbering of the edition of Friedrich Ludwig, Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke. For those with more ready access to the edition of Schrade, the following table gives the differences.

Ludwig   Schrade

Rem1 = L19  
 Rem2 = PMFC, II, 106  
 Rem3 = PMFC, II, 107  
 Rem4 = B41  
 Rem5 = B42  
 Rem6 = V33  
 Rem7 = R22  
 V21 = --  
 V22 = --  
 V23 = V21  
 V24 = --  
 V25 = V22  
 V26 = V23  
 V27 = V24  
 V28 = V25  
 V29 = V26  
 V30 = V27  
 V31 = V28  
 V32 = V29  
 V33 = --  
 V34 = --  
 V35 = --  
 V36 = V30  
 V37 = V31  
 V38 = V32

Ludwig   Schrade

L4 = --  
 L5 = L4  
 L6 = L5  
 L7 = L6  
 L8 = --  
 L9 = --  
 L10 = L7  
 L11 = --  
 L12 = L8  
 L13 = --  
 L14 = L9  
 L15 = L10  
 L16 = L11  
 L17 = L12  
 L18 = L13  
 L19 = L14  
 L20 = --  
 L21 = L15  
 L22 = L16  
 L23 = L17  
 L24 = L18

## LIST OF MSS CITED

### AUSTRIA

- A-KR 149. Kremsmünster. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 149
- A-Wn 883. Vienna. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 883
- A-Wn 3244. Vienna. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 3244

### BELGIUM

- B-Ba 758. Brussels. Archives du Royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques. MS 758  
(RISM, B IV2, 41-42)
- B-Br 5557. Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 5557 (BrusBR 5557) (RISM, I/1,  
92-93)
- B-Br 19606. Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 19606 (Br; Brussels rotulus)  
(RISM, B IV2, 43-45)

### SWITZERLAND

- CH-BEsu A 95. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS A 95 (Machaut MS L)
- CH-BEsu 218. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS 218 (Machaut MS K; CH-BEb 218)  
(RISM, B IV2, 52-53)
- CH-BEsu A 421. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS A 421 (CH-BEb 421; BernA) (RISM,  
B IV2, 53-55)
- CH-Fcu 260. Fribourg. Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire. MS Z 260  
(CH-Fc 260; Frib) (RISM, B IV2, 60-61)
- CH-LAcu 350. Lausanne. Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire. MS 350  
(Neuchâtel; formerly in the possession of Arthur Piaget)

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- CS-Pu XI E 9. Prague. Státní knihovna ČSSR. Universitní knihovna. MS XI E 9  
(Pr; Pg) (RISM, B IV3, 255-62)

WEST GERMANY

- D-Bk 78 C 2. Berlin(West). Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Kupferstichkabinett. MS 78 C 2 (formerly Hamilton 214).
- D-BAs Lit. 115. Bamberg. Staatliche Bibliothek. MS Lit. 115 (Ba) (RISM, B IV1, 56-74)
- D-DS 521. Darmstadt. Stadtbibliothek. MS 521
- D-Mbs Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362
- D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4775. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Mus. ms. 4775 (MüA) (RISM, B IV1, 87-93)
- D-Nst III 25. Nuremberg. Stadtbibliothek. MS III, 25 (RISM, B IV2, 82-84)
- D-W 677. Wolfenbüttel. Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmst. 628 (Heinemann catalogue 677) (W1) (RISM, B IV1, 97-171)
- D-W 1206. Wolfenbüttel. Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmst. 1099 (Heinemann catalogue 1206) (W2) (RISM, B IV1, 171-205)

EAST GERMANY

- D-Bds lat. 2o 49. Berlin(East). Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. MS lat. 2o 49
- D-Ju 105. Jena. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Buder 4o 105
- D-ROu 100. Rostock. Universitätsbibliothek. MS phil. 100/2 (RISM, B IV3, 383-84)

SPAIN

- E-Bc 8. Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 8
- E-Bc 853. Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS M 853 (E-Bcen 853; Barca) (RISM, B IV2, 89-90)
- E-BULh. Burgos. Monasterio de Las Huelgas. (Las Huelgas; Hu) (RISM, B IV1, 210-37)
- E-E V.III.24. Escorial. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música. MS V.III.24 (EscA; EscSL V.III.24) (RMS, I/1, 212-13)
- E-Mn 20486. Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. MS 20486 (Ma) (RISM, B IV1, 245-56)
- E-Tc. Tarragona. Archivo Episcopal. (RISM, B IV2, 102-03)

FRANCE

- F-APT 16bis. Apt. Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre. MS 16bis (Apt; AptSA 16bis) (RISM, B IV2, 104-15; RMS, I/1, 8)
- F-AS 657. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 249 (trouvère chansonnier A; chansonnier d'Arras)
- F-AS 897. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 587 (897)
- F-AS 983. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 983 (766)
- F-CA 6. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 6 (Ca 6; CambraiBM 6) (RMS, I, 121-22)
- F-CA 11. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 11 (Ca 11; CambraiBM 11) (RMS, I, 122)
- F-CA 1328. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS B.1328 (CaB) (RISM, B IV2, 119-28)
- F-CF 249. Clermont-Ferrand. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 249
- F-CH 485. Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Musée Condé. MS 485
- F-CH 564. Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Musée Condé. MS 564 (Ch; ChantMC 564) (RISM, B IV2, 128-60; RMS, I/1, 147-48)
- F-Dm 2837. Dijon. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 2837 (DijBM 2837) (RMS, I/1, 169)
- F-La 134. Lille. Archives départementales du Nord. MS 134
- F-MQ 196. Montpellier. Bibliothèque du Faculté de Médecine. MS H 196 (Mo) (RISM, B IV1, 272-369)
- F-Pa 683. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS 683 (Machaut MS Ars)
- F-Pa 3517-3518. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MSS 3517-3518 (ArsB; Gautier MS D) (RISM, B IV1, 371-73)
- F-Pa 5203. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS 5203 (Machaut MS J)
- F-Pn fr. 146. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 146 (Fauv; F-Pn 146) (RISM, B IV2, 163-72)
- F-Pn fr. 167. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 167 (Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon)
- F-Pn fr. 843. Paris. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 843 (Machaut MS M)
- F-Pn fr. 844. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 844 (chansonnier du Roi; trouvère chansonnier M) (RISM, B IV1, 374-79)

- F-Pn fr. 845. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 845  
(trouvère chansonnier N)
- F-Pn fr. 846. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 846 (Cangé;  
trouvère chansonnier O) (RISM, B IV1, 379-80)
- F-Pn fr. 847. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 847  
(trouvère chansonnier P)
- F-Pn fr. 881. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 881 (Machaut  
MS H)
- F-Pn fr. 994. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 994
- F-Pn fr. 1109. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1109  
(trouvère chansonnier Q)
- F-Pn fr. 1149. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1149
- F-Pn fr. 1584. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1584  
(Machaut MS A) (RISM, B IV2, 174-78)
- F-Pn fr. 1585. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1585  
(Machaut MS B) (RISM, B IV2, 178-79)
- F-Pn fr. 1586. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1586  
(Machaut MS C) (RISM, B IV2, 179-82)
- F-Pn fr. 1587. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1587  
(Machaut MS D)
- F-Pn fr. 1591. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1591  
(trouvère chansonnier R)
- F-Pn fr. 1595. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1595
- F-Pn fr. 2165-2166. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français  
2165-2166
- F-Pn fr. 2201. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 2201
- F-Pn fr. 2230. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 2230  
(Machaut MS R)
- F-Pn fr. 9221. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 9221  
(Machaut MS E) (RISM, B IV2, 182-92)
- F-Pn fr. 9346. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 9346 (chan-  
sonnier de Bayeux)
- F-Pn fr. 12615. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 12615  
(trouvère chansonnier T; chansonnier de Noailles) (RISM, B IV1,  
381-93)

- F-Pn fr. 12744. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 12744
- F-Pn fr. 15397. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 15397  
(Bible of Jean de Sy)
- F-Pn fr. 20026. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 20026
- F-Pn fr. 22543. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 22543  
(troubadour chansonnier R)
- F-Pn fr. 22545-22546. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français  
22545-22546 (Machaut MS F-G) (RISM, B IV2, 192-97)
- F-Pn fr. 24287. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 24287  
(Polycratique of Charles V)
- F-Pn fr. 24391. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 24391
- F-Pn fr. 25566. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 25566  
(trouvère chansonnier W and W') (RISM, B IV1, 395-401)
- F-Pn it. 568. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds italien 568 (Pit; P;  
ParisBNI 568) (RISM, B IV3, 436-85; RMS, I/3, forthcoming)
- F-Pn lat. 3343. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds latin 3343
- F-Pn lat. 7378 A. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds latin 7378 A
- F-Pn lat. 11266. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds latin 11266 (Y)
- F-Pn lat. 14741. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds latin 14741
- F-Pn lat. 18514. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds latin 18514
- F-Pn fr. 4379. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS nouvelles acquisitions  
françaises 4379 (PC; ParisBNN 4379) (RMS, I/3, forthcoming)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 6221. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS nouvelles acquisitions  
françaises 6221
- F-Pn n.a.f. 6771. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS nouvelles acquisitions  
françaises 6771 (PR; R; Faina codex) (RISM, B IV3, 485-549)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 23190. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS nouvelles acquisitions  
françaises 23190 (Trém; F-SERRANT; MS of the Duchess de la Trémoille)  
(RISM, B IV2, 205-06)
- F-Pn n.a.l. 2444. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS nouvelles acquisitions  
latines 2444 (RISM, B IV2, 199-200)
- F-Pn pic. 67. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS collection de Picardie 67  
(Pic) (RISM, B IV2, 197-99)

F-Pn Rés. Vmc MS 57. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. Département de la musique. Rés. Vmc MS 57 (Chansonnier Nivelles de La Chaussée; Niv)

F-Pn Rothschild 2973. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS collection de Rothschild 2973 (Cordiforme; chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu)

F-Sm 222. Strasbourg. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 222.C.22 (Str) (RISM, B IV3, 550-92)

#### GREAT BRITAIN

GB-Cmc 1594. Cambridge. Magdalene College, Pepysian Library. MS 1594 (Machaut MS Pep) (RISM, B IV2, 210-11)

GB-DRc 20. Durham. Cathedral Library. MS C.I.20 (Dur) (RISM, B IV2, 218-22)

GB-Lbl Add. 28550. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 28550 (LoR; Robertsbridge Codex) (RISM, B IV2, 236-38)

GB-Lbl Add. 21455. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 21455

GB-Lbl Add. 29987. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 29987 (Lo) (RISM, B IV4, 631-53)

GB-Lbl Add. 40011 B. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 40011 B (Fountains fragment; LoF; LonBL 40011) (RISM, B IV4, 653-59; RMS, I/2, 77-78)

GB-Lbl Add. 41667 I. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 41667 I. (McV; McVeah fragment) (RISM, B IV2, 240-41)

GB-Lbl Add. 57950. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 57950 (Old Hall MS; OH; LonBL 57950) (RISM, B IV4, 675-725; RMS, I/2, 82-83)

GB-Lbl Tit. A.xxvi. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Cotton Titus A.xxvi (Tit; LonBL Titus A.xxvi) (RMS, I/2, 84-85)

GB-Lbl Harl. 4431. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Harleian 4431 (Christine de Pisan MS B)

GB-Lbl Tib. B.VIII. London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Cotton Tiberius B.VIII (Coronation Book of Charles V)

GB-Lwa 21. London. Westminster Abbey. MS 21 (Westm)

GB-Ob 213. Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Canonici Miscellaneous 213 (Ox; O; OxfBC 213) (RMS, I/2, 275-76)

GB-Ob 229. Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Canonici Latin Patristic 229 (PadA; OxfBC 229) (RISM, B IV4, 668-71; RMS, I/2, 277)

GB-Ob Douce 308. Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Douce 308 (trouvère chansonnier I; Oxford chansonnier)

GB-Onc 362. Oxford. New College. MS 362 (GB-ONC) (RISM, B IV1, 588-93).

#### ITALY

I-Bc 15. Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q 15 (BL; BolC Q15) (RMS, I/1, 69-70)

I-Bu 2216. Bologna. Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 2216 (BU; BolU 2216) (RMS, I/1, 88)

I-Fl Plut. 29.1. Florence. Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Pluteus 29,1 (F) (RISM, B IV1, 610-788)

I-Fn 26. Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Panciatichiano 26 (FP; Fl; Panc; FlorBN Panc. 26) (RISM, B IV4, 835-96)

I-FZc 117. Faenza. Biblioteca Comunale, MS 117 (Fa; FaenBC 117) (RISM, B IV4, 898-920; RMS, I/1, 215-16)

I-IV 115. Ivrea. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS CXV (115) (Iv; I-IV; Ivrea Codex) (RISM, B IV2, 282-304)

I-MOe 5.24. Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS  $\alpha$ .M.5.24 (Mod; ModA; ModE M.5.24) (RISM, B IV4, 950-81; RMS, I/2, 168-69)

I-MOe 1.11. Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS  $\alpha$ .x.1.11 (ModB; ModE M.1.11-2) (RMS, I/2, 166-67)

I-OS. Ostiglia. Opere Pia Greggiati. MS without shelfmark (Ostiglia fragment, belongs with I-Rvat 215) (RISM, B IV4, 981-84)

I-Pu 1475. Padua. Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1475 (PadA; PadU 1475) (RISM, B IV4, 998-1002; RMS, I/3, forthcoming)

I-Rvat 215. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Rossi 215 (Rossi; belongs with I-OS) (RISM, B IV4, 1020-27)

I-Rvat Reg. 1490. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Reg. lat. 1490 (trouvère chansonnier a) (RISM, B IV1, 798-99)

I-Rvat Barb. 307. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Barbarini 307

I-Rvat lat. 5325. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS latino 5325

I-Sc L.V.30. Sienna. Biblioteca Comunale MS L.V.30



I-Tn 9. Torino. Biblioteca nazionale. MS J.II.9 (TuB) (RISM, B IV4, 1041-1105)

I-Tr Vari 42. Torino. Biblioteca Reale. MS Vari 42 (Tu) (RISM, B IV1, 801-07)

#### NETHERLANDS

NL-DHms 10 B 23. The Hague. Musee Meermanno-Westreenianum. MS 10 B.23 (Bible of Jean de Vaudetar)

NL-Lu 342A. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS L.T.K. 342A (RISM, B IV2, 309-10)

NL-Uu 37. Utrecht. Universiteitsbibliotheek. MS 6 E 37 (Utr) (RISM, B IV2, 317-25)

#### POLAND

PL-WRu Ak 1955 / KN 195. Wrocław. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. MS Ak 1955 / KN 195 (k. 1 & 2) (olim "Handschriftenfragmente 82 aus Cod. MS. I.Q.411")

#### UNITED STATES

US-NYhpk. New York. H. P. Kraus. MS Phillipps 6740.

US-NYpm Glazier 52. New York. Pierpont Morgan Library. MS Glazier 52

US-NYpm 396. New York. Pierpont Morgan Library. MS M 396 (Machaut MS Morg) (RISM, B IV2, 341-42)

US-NYw. New York. Wildenstein Galleries. MS without shelfmark (Vg; V; formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Vogüé, Paris) (RISM, B IV2, 342-68)

US-PHu Fr. 15. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Library. MS Fr. 15 (Machaut MS Pen; Pennsylvania chansonnier)

US-Wc 14. Washington, D. C. Library of Congress. M 2.1. C 6a.14 (RISM, B IV2, 371-72)

#### SWEDEN

S-Sk Vu 22. Stockholm. Kungliga Biblioteket. MS Vu 22 (Villon MS F)

## LIST OF LETTER SIGLA

a. I-Rvat Reg. 1490  
A. F-AS 657  
A. F-Pn fr. 1584  
Apt. F-APT 16bis  
Ars. F-Pa 683  
B. F-Pn fr. 1585  
Ba. D-BAs Lit. 115  
BL. I-Bc 15  
Br. B-Br 19606  
BU. I-Bu 2216  
C. F-Pn fr. 1586  
CaB. F-CA 1328  
Ch. F-CH 564  
D. F-Pn fr. 1587  
E. F-Pn fr. 9221  
F. I-Fn Plut. 29.1  
F-G. F-Pn fr. 22545-22546  
Fauv. F-Pn fr. 146  
H. F-Pn fr. 881  
I. F-Pn n.a.f. 6221  
Iv. I-IV 115  
J. F-Pa 5203

- Jard. Le jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Retoricque.  
Paris: Vérard, [1501].
- K. CH-BESu 218
- M. F-Pn fr. 843
- M. F-Pn fr. 844
- Maggs. London, Maggs Bros. Cat. 512, No. 3 (1928). Untraced MS.
- Mo. F-MO 196
- Mod. I-MOe 5.24
- Morg. US-NYpm 396
- N. F-Pn fr. 845
- OH. GB-Lbl Add. 57950
- P. F-Pn fr. 847
- PadA. I-Pu 1475 and GB-Ob 229
- Pen. US-PHu Fr. 15
- Pep. GB-Cmc 1594
- Q. F-Pn fr. 1109
- R. F-Pn fr. 1591
- R. F-Pn n.a.f. 6771
- Stockh. S-Sk Vu 22
- T. F-Pn fr. 12615
- Trem. F-Pn n.a.f. 23190
- TuB. I-Tn 9
- Vg. US-NYw
- W. F-Pn fr. 25566
- W'. F-Pn fr. 25566
- W1. D-W 677
- W2. D-W 1206
- Westn. GB-Lwa 21

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT . . . . .	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	iv
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS. . . . .	vi
LIST OF MSS CITED . . . . .	ix
LIST OF LETTER SIGLA . . . . .	xvii

Chapter

page

1. THE MACHAUT MSS AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MS TRADITIONS FOR MUSIC AND TEXT . . . . .	1
Contemporary MS Traditions for Music . . . . .	4
Components of Machaut's Complete-Works MSS . . . . .	26
Categories of Machaut MSS: The Complete Tradition . . . . .	31
2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MSS . . . . .	49
MS A (F-Pn fr. 1584) . . . . .	51
The Index . . . . .	52
The <u>Dit</u> Section, Including the <u>Loange des Dames</u> . . . . .	58
The <u>Lai</u> Section . . . . .	62
The Motet Section . . . . .	65
The Mass and Hocket . . . . .	67
The Ballade Section . . . . .	68
The Rondeau Section . . . . .	69
The Virelai Section . . . . .	80
The <u>Remede</u> Section . . . . .	82
The <u>Prologue</u> . . . . .	83
The Structure of MS A . . . . .	87
MS M (F-Pn fr. 843) . . . . .	93
MS F-G (F-Pn fr. 22545-22546) . . . . .	97
MSS Vg (US-NYw) and B (F-Pn fr. 1585) . . . . .	102
MS D (F-Pn fr. 1587) . . . . .	119
MS E (F-Pn fr. 9221) . . . . .	120
MS H (F-Pn fr. 881) . . . . .	130
MS C (F-Pn fr. 1586) . . . . .	131
Summary . . . . .	142

**3. SCRIBAL PRACTICE AND MS PRODUCTION: THE COPYING OF TEXT  
AND MUSIC IN THE MACHAUT MSS . . . . . 150**

The Question of Genre . . . . .	156
The Polyphonic Chanson . . . . .	160
Stages in the Production of the Machaut MSS . . . . .	170
Ruling . . . . .	173
Entry of Text . . . . .	177
Ruling of Staves . . . . .	186
Entry of Music . . . . .	190
Scribes in MS B . . . . .	196
The Copying of Music in the Remede Section . . . . .	216
Text-Setting and Machaut's Musical Style . . . . .	219
Text Placement in the Ludwig and Schrade Editions of Machaut . .	222
The Copying of MSS of Secular Music in the Thirteenth Century .	227
I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvère chansonnier a) . . . . .	234
The chansonniers F-Pn fr. 844 (M) and F-Pn fr. 12615 (T), F-Pn fr. 845 (N) and GB-Ob 308 (I) . . . . .	240
The Copying of Musical MSS in the Fifteenth Century . . . . .	247
Some Remarks on Gb-Ob 213 (Ox) . . . . .	250
Some remarks on I-Bc 15 (BL) . . . . .	257
Music Copying in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century . .	260
Examples of Scribal Practice in the Machaut MSS . . . . .	266

**4. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT 271**

Introduction . . . . .	271
External Evidence: Documentation Supplied by the Narrative Poems	275
The <u>Remede de fortune</u> . . . . .	276
The <u>Jugement dou Roy de Navarre</u> and the <u>Lay de plour</u> . . . .	283
The <u>Fonteinne amoureuse</u> and the <u>Voir Dit</u> . . . . .	289
Internal Evidence: Scribal Error and the Mechanics of Copying	
Music . . . . .	295
Musical Variants in the Machaut MSS . . . . .	300
Mechanical Copying Errors in Machaut's Music . . . . .	301
Notational Variants I: Alteration and Imperfection . . . . .	305
Notational Variants II: The Transmission of the Lais in MS E	309
Notational Variants III: The Transmission of Motet 8 . . . . .	327

Appendix

	<u>page</u>
<b>A. GATHERING STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MANUSCRIPTS . . . . .</b>	<b>343</b>
<b>B. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MINIATURES . . . . .</b>	<b>380</b>

C. CONCORDANCE OF MINIATURES . . . . .	390
WORKS CITED . . . . .	424

### LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
1.1. Transmission of Motets Currently Attributed to Philippe de Vitry .	8
1.2. Transmission of the Musical Works of Machaut Outside the Main Machaut MSS . . . . .	14
2.1. The Ordering of the Lais . . . . .	64
2.2. The Ordering of the Rondeaux . . . . .	79
2.3. The Ordering of Virelais 32 - 38 . . . . .	81
2.4. The Gathering Structure of A . . . . .	88
2.5. The Gathering Structure of M . . . . .	96
2.6. The Gathering Structure of F-G . . . . .	100
2.7. Signatures in B . . . . .	110
2.8. The Gathering Structure of D . . . . .	120
2.9. The Gathering Structure of E . . . . .	123
2.10. The Motet-Rondeau Section in E . . . . .	129
2.11. The Gathering Structure of C . . . . .	133
2.12. The Ordering of Musical Works From the Lais to the End of MS C .	139
3.1. Scribes in MS B . . . . .	211
3.2. The Distribution of Motets in Chansonnier a . . . . .	239
4.1. Special Notation of Lais in MS E . . . . .	323
4.2. Variants in Repeated Notes in M8 . . . . .	329
4.3. Conjunctive Variants in M8 . . . . .	333

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
2.1. F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 477v-478r . . . . .	71
2.2. F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 474v-475r . . . . .	73
2.3. US-NYw, fols. 317v-318r . . . . .	75
3.1. I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols. 164v-165r . . . . .	154
3.2. I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 201r . . . . .	155
3.3. F-MO 196, fol. 372r (No. 322) . . . . .	161
3.4. F-Pn fr. 1584, fol. 367r . . . . .	172
3.5. F-Pn fr. 1584, fol. 444r . . . . .	181
3.6. F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 479v-480r . . . . .	183
3.7. F-Pn fr. 22545-22546, fol. 153r . . . . .	184
3.8. F-Pn fr. 9221, fol. 136r . . . . .	185
3.9. F-MO 196, fol. 71r . . . . .	193
3.10. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 8r (Scribe R) . . . . .	198
3.11. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 44v (Scribe A) . . . . .	199
3.12. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 15r (Scribe B) . . . . .	201
3.13. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 158r (Scribe C) . . . . .	203
3.14. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 75r (Scribe D) . . . . .	204
3.15. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 124v (Scribe E) . . . . .	206
3.16. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 232v (Music scribe 1, text scribes H and F)	207
3.17. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 116v (Scribe G) . . . . .	208
3.18. F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 312r (Scribe 2) . . . . .	215

3.19.	US-NYw, fols. 109v-110r . . . . .	218
3.20.	F-Pn fr. 1586, fols. 148v-149r . . . . .	221
3.21.	D-W 1206, fols. 144v-145r . . . . .	232
3.22.	I-F1 Plut. 29.1, fols. 399v-400r . . . . .	233
3.23.	F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fols. 103v-104r . . . . .	252
3.24.	GB-Ob 213, fol. 17r . . . . .	253
4.1.	F-Pn fr. 1586, fol. 188v . . . . .	286
4.2.	Strophe I of L1 in the Main MSS . . . . .	312
4.3.	The Second Half-strophe of L1 in MS E . . . . .	314
4.4.	Strophe I of Rem1 . . . . .	316
4.5.	Strophe II of Rem1 . . . . .	317
4.6.	Strophe III of L10 in MS E . . . . .	319
4.7.	Strophe III of L10 in the Main MSS . . . . .	320
4.8.	Strophe IV of L10 in MS E . . . . .	321
4.9.	Strophe IV of L10 in the Main MSS . . . . .	322
4.10.	M8, mm. 54-56. . . . .	338
4.11.	M8, mm. 48-52. . . . .	340



## Chapter 1

### THE MACHAUT MSS AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MS TRADITIONS FOR MUSIC AND TEXT

Medieval music has come down to us in handwritten sources, each one a unique entity, adapted to an individual purpose. Among music historians, Heinrich Bessler was perhaps the first to emphasize basic characteristics that distinguish medieval MSS of polyphonic music.<sup>1</sup> Bessler focused on three aspects of the sources: format, ordering, and destination. Concerning format, he presented a hypothesis that changes in the outward appearance of a MS were synchronous with changes in musical style. Merely by considering the size and format of a musical source, he was able to make general observations about the contemporary musical practice.<sup>2</sup> Concerning MS ordering, he drew a line of connection between the relative order exhibited by the con-

<sup>1</sup> "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts" (henceforth "Studien-I"), *AMw*, 7 (1925), 170. Bessler, a student of Friedrich Ludwig at Göttingen, followed his teacher's practical approach to the sources, epitomized in Ludwig's review of *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation 1250-1460*, by Johannes Wolf, *SIMG*, 6 (1904-05), 597-641, esp. p. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Central to his thesis is the demonstration that changes in MS repertory occur at points where the musical style and notation change ("Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: II. Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry" [henceforth "Studien-II"], *AMw*, 8 [1927], 214). Bessler traced the stages of development from the Notre-dame MSS, to the thirteenth-century motet MSS, to fourteenth-century anthologies, to fifteenth-century choir-books and chansonniers in "Studien-I," pp. 171-76. His hypothesis was later refined, especially for early fifteenth-century sources. Compare his *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon* (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 139-44 (pp. 125-29 in 2nd rev. ed., Leipzig, 1974). Further discussion may be found in three of Bessler's articles for *MGG*, II (1952): "Bologna, Kodex BL," "Bologna, Kodex BU," and "Chorbuch."

tents of a codex and the centrality of the source in the MS tradition.<sup>3</sup> As for destination, Bessler claimed a special value for practical sources as opposed to deluxe presentation MSS for the establishment of a critical text.<sup>4</sup>

More recently, an important hypothesis on principles of order in musical MSS of the fifteenth century was contributed by Charles Hamm.<sup>5</sup> Hamm contends that groups of individual pieces and works in several movements, such as the Mass ordinary, circulated in small "fascicle-MSS" (a single bifolio or binio), and that larger MSS were copied from collections of these fascicle MSS. The scribe played the central role in ordering the works in the larger MS. Works that descended from closely-related fascicle-MSS might appear widely separated or in a fundamentally different order in the new MS.

Finally, while Margaret Bent accepts the tenet that at least some music circulated in such fascicle-MSS, ". . . we no longer need to posit their autonomous and plentiful existence in order to explain how manuscripts were compiled"—the order in which a MS was copied did not necessarily depend on the shape of the exemplar.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "Studien-I," p. 176. Unless a MS could be shown to have a logical order, it could not be considered a central source; only a knowledgeable collector or circle of musicians would be capable of sensibly ordering the music at their disposal. Compare Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," *MD*, 6 (1952), 44, regarding the MS I-Bu 2216: "It has now become apparent that there is a basic plan, an arrangement thoroughly thought out and quantitatively calculated. This manuscript constitutes therefore one of the principle [sic] sources of the period. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> "Studien-I," p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *AcM*, 34 (1962), 166-84. Further examples are adduced by Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213 (Bern, 1971), pp. 47, 69, 76-77.

<sup>6</sup> "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe:

The purpose of this dissertation is to study what might be termed the "character of the transmission" (aspects of MS format, ordering of works, scribal practice, and MS readings) for a group of late medieval French MSS, the sources for the complete works of Guillaume de Machaut. The several collections of his text and music, as uniform a group of sources as one could expect for a diverse oeuvre, were produced over a fairly short time interval. Most are deluxe presentation MSS, and all contain essentially the same repertory. Although their initial destination remains a mystery, one can surmise that these MSS were copied for the house libraries of affluent princes, rather than as practical collections for use by the chapel musicians.<sup>7</sup> They do not resemble surviving fourteenth-century musical anthologies, and the bulk of the repertory contained in the Machaut MSS is not shared by other extant fourteenth-century MSS.

Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), p. 303. The question of the fascicle-MS is discussed on pp. 299-304. An excellent recent general overview of the qualities of the medieval MS as a musical source is Stanley Boorman, "Sources, MS, §I, New Grove (although I would take exception to the discussion on the priority of staff-ruling, text entry and music entry, pp. 595-97).

<sup>7</sup> An inventory of the Burgundian library drawn up at the beginning of the reign of Philip the Good, published by Georges Doutrepont, Inventaire de la "librairie" de Philippe le Bon (1420) (Brussels, 1906), separates books belonging to the "Chappelle" from those in the "Librairie" ("estans en son [Philip's] hostel à Dijon," p. 29). See Doutrepont, p. xxii, n. 2 and xxviii-xxix on this division. Items 212 [Burg1] and 243 [Burg3] are Machaut MSS among the books in the librairie, and presumably were not used by chapel musicians. Cf. Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History (Henryville, Pa., 1979), p. 160: "Evidently, the pieces in the manuscripts devoted to the works of Guillaume de Machaut served at the secular entertainments of the court because they were housed outside the confines of the ducal chapel." For the sigla [Burg1] and [Burg3], see below, pp. 35 and 38.

Only the destination of F-Pn fr. 9221 is known, see below, n. 224.

## CONTEMPORARY MS TRADITIONS FOR MUSIC

Authorial attribution, clear and circumscribed for the works of Machaut because several MSS contain his works exclusively, is a very difficult way of approaching other French music of the fourteenth century. A sample problem will serve to dramatize the unique position of the large "complete-works" MSS of Machaut in the overall source tradition, and at the same time will provide a general introduction to the varieties of sources transmitting French music of the Ars nova.

For the first half of the fourteenth century in France, the names of only two important composers have been associated with specific works of music: Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut. Reports of Vitry's fame, and of the excellence of his works, contrast with the meagre surviving corpus.<sup>8</sup> Owing to the French practice of leaving motets unattributed in the sources (unlike the practice for the grand chant courtois), it is difficult to ascertain Vitry's authorship for a given work. Vitry left his works to the vagaries of the normal channels of circulating music in fourteenth-century France, while Machaut went to great lengths to insure the uniform transmission of his entire oeuvre. The motets attributed by some modern scholars to Vitry appear, usually anonymously, in large musical anthologies, alongside works of similar genre. There are no MSS transmitting Vitry's "complete works" as there are for Machaut, nor is there any such MS for any other com-

<sup>8</sup> Leo Schrade, "Vitry, Philippe de," Riemann Musik Lexikon, 12th ed. (1961), contains a large collection of contemporary references to Vitry's renown. Source citations for most of these references are in Alfred Coville, "Philippe de Vitri: Notes biographiques," Romania, 59 (1933), 520-47, supplemented by two articles of Edmond Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques de Jean de Le Mote, Philippe de Vitri, Jean Campion," Humanisme et renaissance, 5 (1938), 385-417, and "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitri et ses amis," Humanisme et renaissance, 6 (1939), 48-55. See also D. W. Robertson, Jr., "The 'Partitura Amorosa' of Jean de Savoie," Philological Quarterly, 33 (1954), 2, n. 4 and p. 7.

poser-poet of the Vitry-Machaut generation. What is left is a diverse group of musical and textual sources, with their repertoires overlapping in various ways, and several citations in the treatises of music theorists.

Table 1.1 provides an overview of the full range of sources for the group of motets attributed to Vitry by Ernest Sanders, arranged according to Sanders' chronology.<sup>9</sup>

In Table 1.1, information on the transmission of each motet is divided into three categories: music MSS, citations of theorists, and text MSS. An "x" indicates the appearance or citation of the motet in the indicated source. An "o" in the column for the MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 [Trem] shows pieces that appear only in the surviving index. "A" indicates either that the motet is attributed in the source, or, in the case of the theory citations, that Philippe is specifically cited as the author. The single "P" in the column for Vitry's treatise *Ars nova* in connection with motet No. 11 indicates that the citation appears only in the F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction of that treatise.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *JAMS*, 28 (1975), 24-45, and "Vitry, Philippe de," *New Grove*. Sanders revises the tabulation of Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," *MQ*, 42 (1956), 352-54, and *PMFC, Commentary to Volume I* (hereafter: *PMFC Commentary I*), (Monaco, 1956), pp. 29-53, as well as the latest view of Besseler, "Vitry, Philippe de," *MGG*, XIII (1966); two of the motets counted by Schrade and Besseler are thrown out, while a further motet (No. 2 in Table 1.1 below), which Schrade considered "very likely" Philippe's, is more definitively attested by Sanders. Of the remaining motets, Besseler considered motet No. 9 in my Table 1.1 inauthentic on the basis of poor text accentuation, "Falsche Autornamen in den Handschriften Strassburg (Vitry) und Montecassino (Dufay)," *AcM*, 40 (1968), 201-02. The tabulation in Sanders' "Vitry, Philippe de," *New Grove*, XX, 27, lists reasons for attributions, although it leaves out some conflicting evidence. For instance, according to Jean Maillard and André Gilles, "Note sur trois motets fantômes de l'ars nova de Philippe de Vitry," *RdM*, 38 (1956), 150, "Vos quid/ Gratissima" is possibly cited in the I-Rvat Barb. 307 source of the *Ars nova*, which would call for a new dating of the motet before c. 1322/23. The main logical difficulty has been Besseler's assumption ("Studien-II," p. 192) that Vitry cited only his own works in the *Ars nova* (even after the publication of Besseler's "Studien-I" and "Studien-II," Ludwig regarded only Nos. 5, 8 and 11 in Table 1.1 as "die 3 bisher Philipp mit Sicherheit zuzuschreibenden Motetten": *Musikalische Werke*, II, 18a\*, n. 1). The logical difficulties in attributing any work at all to Vitry are emphasized by Ludwig Finscher, "Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten': zum Problem Komponisten- Individualität und Individualstil in der Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 6 (1975), 29-45. On Vitry, pp. 32-33 and 140; on Machaut, pp. 33-34 and 141. See also n. 21 below.

The "\*" indicates incomplete copying of a work. Only the triplum of motet No. 2 appears in F-Pn fr. 146, as the prosa "Carnalitas, luxuria," (Sanders, "The Early Motets," pp. 24ff; 31ff). Only the triplum text of motet No. 6, and only the motetus of motet No. 8 appears in D-Ju 105. Motet No. 9 is a later addition in B-Br 19606, and only the contratenor and a solus tenor were copied.<sup>11</sup> Only the triplum text of motet No. 12 is transmitted by Paris, F-Pn lat. 3343, with the attribution "hunc motetum fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente." No musical source is known for motet No. 13.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles and Jean Maillard, Philippi de Vitriaco: Ars nova, CSM, VIII (1964), 13-32. Conflicting citations among three sources of Vitry's Ars nova (I-Rvat Barb. 307, F-Pn lat. 14741, F-Pn lat. 7378 A) are listed in Maillard and Gilles, "Note sur trois motets," pp. 148-49. (The brief compendium I-Sc L.V.30 [CSM, VIII, 80-81], not listed in their table, cites only "In arboris" and "In nova fert animus"; GB-Lbl Add. 21455 cites no examples.) Other motets cited in F-Pn lat. 14741 are given in CSM, VIII, 32 (reconstruction of the context from this edition is difficult: in the MS this passage is followed immediately by the text of the note on p. 27); see also n. 18 below. Reaney concludes (CSM, VIII, 79): "All these factors show that the theoretical work of Vitry must have been imparted mainly by word of mouth, for it is exceptional to find a treatise in such widely differing forms." Editions for the other theorists cited in Table 1.1 are: Ars perfecta, ed. CS, III, 28-35 (motet citation on p. 33); another version of this treatise ed. H. Anglès, "Dos tractats medievals de música figurada," in Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag (Berlin, 1929), pp. 6-12 (motet citation on p. 10); Oliver B. Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript (olim Phillipps 4450): A Compendium of Fourteenth-Century Music Theory" (Diss. Berkeley 1969), II, 133, views the Ars perfecta as a condensation of Muris' Libellus (ed. CS, III, 46-58); anon. Erfurt Compendium totius artis motetorum ed. J. Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars nova,'" Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 21 (1908), 33 (dated c. 1340 by Wolf); anon. De musica mensurabili, formerly attributed to Theodoricus de Campo or Theodonus de Capua or Caprio (Raffaele Casimiri, "Teodono de Caprio non Teodorico de Campo, teorico musicale italiano del sec. XV: un suo trattato inedito," Note d'archivio per la storia musicale, 19 [1942], 38-42; 93-98), ed. Cecily Sweeney, CSM, XIII (1971); anon. Quatuor principalia, formerly attributed to Simon Tunstede, ed. CS, IV, 200-98 (shortened version CS, III, 334-64; motet citation is CS, IV, 268 = CS, III, 347); Johannis Boen, Ars (musicae), ed. F. Alberto Gallo, CSM, XIX (1972).

<sup>11</sup> A new interpretation of the use of the solus tenor is M. Bent, "Some Factors in the Control of Consonance and Sonority: Successive Composition and the Solus Tenor," in International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977 (Kassel, 1981), pp. 625-34. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries" (Diss. Cambridge, 1983), pp. 61-67 and 81-82, discusses some specific cases in which he disagrees with Bent.

<sup>12</sup> The tenor ("Iacet granum oppressum palea") is the third respond at

The tabular form is retained only for the principal sources. Letters in parentheses placed to the right of each of the categories of sources refer to additional isolated sources for some motets. For example, for motet No. 1, "(a)" appearing to the right of the column for text MSS refers to note (a) on the following page, listing an additional source for the text of this motet.

Three chronological stages or layers in the source tradition can be differentiated on the basis of Table 1.1. The transmission in music MSS is divided sharply into two groups (Nos. 1-4; 5-12), while the theory citations overlap the first group of music MSS, and subdivide the second group (Nos. 1-7; 8 and following).

Motets 1-4 comprise the first layer of works, found in the MSS F-Pn fr. 146 (before c. 1316) and B-Br 19606. F-Pn fr. 146, a deluxe copy of the popular Roman de Fauvel, is the basic source for the early motets commonly attributed to Vitry.<sup>13</sup> Schrade argued that no conclusions about the contemporary repertory can be made from F-Pn fr. 146; the recent works that appear in the MS do not present a fair sample of the modern style of c. 1316, but only served the purpose of illustrating the Roman.<sup>14</sup> While the special character of the Roman did influence the choice of interpolations (older works were revised and adapted to fit the context), it does not necessarily follow that the repertory of modern works served too specialized a purpose to form a representative sample. Gervais du Bus, the author of the Roman, and

matins in the office of St. Thomas of Canterbury (an English motet on this tenor is "Ianuam/ Iacintus/ Iacet granum," ed. Frank Ll. Harrison in PMFC, XV, 1; the plainsong is ed. p. 166). I thank Prof. Margaret Bent for this identification.

<sup>13</sup> Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus, ed. Arthur Långfors (Paris, 1914-19). Facs. ed. Pierre Aubry, Le Roman de Fauvel (Paris, 1907). F-Pn fr. 146 is described in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 682-84. His catalogue raisonné follows, pp. 684-97.

<sup>14</sup> Leo Schrade, "The Chronology of the Ars Nova in France," Les Colloques de Wégimont, II, 1955 (Paris, 1959), 45-46, and PMFC Commentary I, p. 22.

TABLE 1.1

## Transmission of Motets Currently Attributed to Philippe de Vitry

Motets	Music MSS										Theory citations					Text MSS			
	F-Pn fr. 146	B-Br 19606	F-CA 1328	I-IV 115	F-Pn n.a.f. 23190	F-APT 16 bis	B-Br 758	GB-DRc 20	GB-lbl Add. 28850	F-Sm 222	Ars nova	Ars nova Erfurt perf.	Ps.-Theod. Quatuor princ.	Boen	F-Pn lat. 3343	D-Ju 105			
1. Firmissime/Adesto Alleluya	x	x							x		x	x							(a)
2. Floret/Florens Neuma	*	x	x																
3. Garrit gallus/In nova Neuma	x										(b)	x	x	x					
4. Tribum quem/Quoniam Merito	x	x							x	x	(c)		x				(d)		
5. Douce playsance/Garison Neuma quinti toni				x	o							x	x	x					(e)
6. Colla iugo/Bona condit Libera me			x	x	x	x			x		(f)	x					*		(g)
7. Tuba sacre/In arboris Virgo sum				x	o							x	x	x	x	x	(h)		
8. Cum statua/Hugo Magister invidie			x	x	o									A			A	*	(i)
9. Impudenter/Virtutibus Alma redemptoris	*		x		x	x			A		(j)				x		(k)		(l)
10. O canenda/Rex quem Rex regum				x	o			x			(m)				x				
11. Vos quid/Gratissima Gaude gloriosa			x	x	o		x	x				P		A					
12. Petre clemens/Lugentium Tenor				x	o												A	*	
13. Phi millies/O creator Jacet granum (ct.) Quam sufflabit																	A		



## Notes to Table 1.1

- (a) Text of triplum appears in D-DS 521 (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 751).
- (b) Also appears in F-Pn pic. 67.
- (c) Also appears in D-ROu 100 (motetus and texted tenor), and D-Mbs Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362 (frag.).
- (d) Also cited in Philippus de Caserta, Tractatus de diversis figuris, ed. CS, III, 118. The Pisa anon. (ed. A. de La Fage, Essais de diphthérogaphie musicale [Paris, 1864; rpt. Amsterdam, 1964], p. 386) is actually an additional source for Philippus' treatise (see RISM, B III2, ed. Pieter Fischer, p. 83). On the citation in the anon. Erfurt, see W. Frobenius, "Prolatio," HMT (1972), p. 4a.
- (e) Also cited by Gace de La Buigne, with attribution (Le Roman des deduits, ed. A. Blomqvist [Karlshamn, 1951], p. 316).
- (f) Also appears in E-Tc, F-AS 983, and PL-WRu Ak 1955 / KN 195 (Fritz Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien [Breslau, 1938, rpt. Aalen, 1973], p. 126, and Charles E. Brewer, "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," Studia musicologica, 24 (1982), 5-19.
- (g) Texts appear in A-Wn 3244 and D-Bds lat. 2o 49; A-KR 149 has the triplum only (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 18b\*, n. 2).
- (h) Also cited by anon. Wrocław (ed. Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts", AMw, 1 [1919], 336b).
- (i) Cited by Jehan de le Mote in a ballade (F-Pn lat. 3343 and US-PHu Fr. 15), which seems to attribute the motet to Vitry.
- (j) Also appears in NL-Lu 342a (triplum only); CH-BEsu A 421 (unique ct. only, incomplete).
- (k) Also cited in the anon. Penn-Harburg treatise, ed. Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," AMw, 31 (1974), 239.
- (l) Texts appear in A-Wn 883 (see Analecta Hymnica, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, XXXII [Leipzig, 1899], 112-13, 232).
- (m) Also appears in CH-Fcu 260 (with attribution), and F-Pn n.a.l. 2444. Only the mot. and ten. survive in GB-DRc 20.

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Chaillou de Pesstain, responsible for the interpolations in F-Pn fr. 146, were both active at the French Royal Court.<sup>15</sup> Probably the greater part of

<sup>15</sup> Literature in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 682-83. On the author, the interpolator, and the "circle," see Charles-Victor Langlois, La vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1911), pp. 278-79 and 283-90, and Sanders, "Fauvel, Roman de," New Grove.

Vitry's activity as a musician at this time was connected with the circle that produced the Roman, and it is likely that the most recent music in F-Pn fr. 146 is work by the creators of the Parisian Ars nova.<sup>16</sup>

The sharp break that marks the second layer of the musical transmission (Nos. 5-7 in Table 1.1), including motets contained in I-IV 115 and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, suggests a chronological "gap" in the transmission, since no music MS contains works that appear both in F-Pn fr. 146 and in I-IV 115.<sup>17</sup> But the theoretical citations bridge the repertorial break; the three motets in this layer are cited in Vitry's Ars nova of 1322/23 (Nos. 5, 6, and 7 in Table 1.1), and are found in both I-IV 115 and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.<sup>18</sup> In par-

<sup>16</sup> It should be added that documentation of Vitry at the court first appears in the 1320s, in the reign of Charles IV (r. 1322-28) (Coville, "Philippe de Vitri," p. 524). Vitry's father was possibly a notary in the royal chancery (Coville, "Philippe de Vitri," p. 522). I cannot find support for Sanders' statement ("Fauvel, Roman de," New Grove, VI, 433a) that Vitry was a notary in the royal chancery before the completion of the second book of Fauvel (i.e., before 1314; cf. Coville, "Philippe de Vitri," p. 522). Further, the hypothesis of André Gilles ("Contribution à un inventaire analytique des manuscrits intéressant l'Ars Nova de Philippe de Vitry," RBM, 10 [1956], 150), that Vitry's association with the Collège de Navarre is supported by the fact that F-Pn lat. 18514 originated there, has been weakened. It is now believed that the first fourteen chapters of the Ars nova (contained in I-Rvat Barb. 307), which borrow heavily from Lambertus, are not authentic, not only because this section is not represented in F-Pn lat. 7378 A and GB-Lbl Add. 21455, but also because these chapters, which do not treat any aspect of the notational advances of the Ars nova, appear independently in F-Pn lat. 18514 (the Collège de Navarre MS) and in I-Rvat lat. 5325 (see Reaney, CSM, VIII, 3, and Gallo, "Tra Giovanni di Garlandia e Filippo da Vitry: Note sulla tradizione di alcuni testi teorici," MD, 23 [1969], 14).

<sup>17</sup> Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils," AMw, 5 (1923), 282, n. 1; Besseler, "Studien-I," pp. 180 and 184-85; "Studien-II," pp. 187-88; Leo Schrade, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Roman de Fauvel," Miscelánea en homenaje a monseñor Higinio Anglés (Barcelona, 1958-61), II, 844.

<sup>18</sup> On the date of Vitry's Ars nova, see Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 55.

The index of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 contains a reference to another motet cited in the Ars nova, "Thoma tibi," No. 41 in the inventories of Besseler ("Studien-II," p. 237) and Wright (Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 152).

ticular, the French MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, which probably contained a part of the repertory of the French Royal Court under Charles V,<sup>19</sup> can be considered an anthology of the musical output of the period stretching from before 1320 to 1375, comprising the active careers of both Vitry and Machaut.

The third layer in the transmission (Nos. 8-13 in Table 1.1), is a break articulated not only by the musical sources (later MSS enter into the picture), but also by the different pattern of the theoretical citations.

Those works attributed in the anon. Quatuor principalia of c. 1351 fall into this layer,<sup>20</sup> as well as the group of works in the text MS F-Pn lat. 3343.

In general, the groupings of sources appear to uphold the broad outline of Sanders' chronology.<sup>21</sup>

Over half of the extant works attributed to Vitry were composed by about 1320 (Nos. 1-7 in Table 1.1), before Vitry was thirty years old. If the musical activity of this period is an accurate representative sample of his lifelong rate of musical composition, one would think that much work is lost. Another thirty years passed before his nomination to the position of

This motet is the only practical example ever cited by Johannes de Muris: Compendium musicae practicae (ed. U. Michels, Johannes de Muris: Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae, CSM, XVII [1972], 105 and 118); the theoretical citations in GS, III, 306, and CS, III, 106, follow the Compendium (see Michels, Die Musiktraktate, pp. 26 and 49). The redaction of the Ars nova preserved in F-Pn lat. 14741 cites, besides the Vitry motet No. 11 in Table 1.1, three other motets that appear in both I-IV 115 and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190: "Zolomina zelus/Nazarea que decora" (also in E-Bc 853), "Mon chant/Qui dolereus" (also in GB-DRc 20), and Machaut's "Qui es/Ha Fortune" [M8] (see Table 1.2 for further concordances).

<sup>19</sup> Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, pp. 147-58.

<sup>20</sup> The Quatuor principalia is dated c. 1380 by Cecily Sweeney, CSM, XIII (1971), 9.

<sup>21</sup> One might place No. 11 nearer to No. 8. The absence of witnesses to No. 2, the motet added by Sanders, both in the theoretical literature and in non-musical MSS also seems unsatisfying. An important new work on chronology and attribution is Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure," Chap. 1.

Bishop of Meaux in 1351.<sup>22</sup> But one must recall the admonition of Nino

Pirrota:

We may be handicapped in our attempts to establish the biographies of musicians by a mental habit of seeing them too exclusively as musicians. . . . [Rather, they were] high court or church officers who added the refinement of musical skills to the cultural training that enabled them to be employed in administrative, political, or diplomatic tasks.<sup>23</sup>

And further:

. . . my purpose is to portray the greater and better part of the polyphonists of this time [fifteenth century], either singers or composers, not as the mercenary professionals they became at later times, but as ecclesiastical dignitaries who had received academic training, and combined their musical skills and gifts with many other talents, capacities, and ambitions. They were still the successors of Philippe de Vitry—a royal officer and later a bishop—who had strong cultural ties with the university; and of Machaut—a royal secretary and later a canon—who would have styled himself a rhétoriqueur rather than a musician. They belong to a broad cultural type, the product of an educational pattern especially designed to prepare for an ecclesiastical career, and represented at its best by the curriculum of the University of Paris.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, Vitry's career corresponds to a typical pattern:

Les clercs du roi sont, dans un sens général, tous les personnages qui sont entrés dans l'église pour acquérir l'instruction nécessaire à leur carrière et qui, à un titre ou à un autre, ont reçu du roi, soit directement, soit sur son intervention et sur sa recommandation auprès de l'autorité ecclésiastique, des revenus pour assurer leur existence. . . . Les clercs du roi sont, pour la plupart, de formation juridique et leurs études doivent normalement durer environ neuf

<sup>22</sup> Schrade made this point repeatedly. See, for example, "Philippe de Vitry," pp. 330-33, and "Vitry, Philippe de," Riemann Musik Lexikon, 12th ed., p. 859b. Even if the last ten years are left out, we are left with only fourteen motets (by Schrade's count) spread over a creative period of more than forty years. It would indeed seem reasonable to leave out the last ten years: the letter congratulating Vitry on his appointment as bishop of Meaux ". . . is in effect one of Petrarch's most emphatic statements of his conviction that the responsibilities of high ecclesiastical office involve well-nigh intolerable burdens" (Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch [Cambridge, Mass., 1955], p. 113).

<sup>23</sup> Nino Pirrota, "Musical and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy," JAMS, 19 (1966), 131.

<sup>24</sup> "Music and Cultural Tendencies," p. 134.

ans, ce qui, sauf dispense, les conduit vers la trentaine dans les emplois royaux.<sup>25</sup>

. . . . .  
Les prébendes canoniales, et l'épiscopat pour les meilleurs, sont la carrière normale des clercs du roi, la récompense habituelle de leurs services. S'ils restent dans l'administration après leur nomination, ils obtiennent des dispenses de résidence du pape. . . .<sup>26</sup>

Certainly it would not be fair to consider the writing of motets as Philippe's main preoccupation. The powerful stimulus of the group associated with the Roman de Fauvel that led to the production of F-Pn fr. 146 was perhaps not found again (no doubt Vitry was still in his student days at the time), and only isolated occasions prompted the writing of other works. But the wide variety of sources for Vitry's motets—the present list of attributions can never be regarded as conclusive—attests to his fame as a musician. The number of sources for several of the motets attributed to Vitry is greater than that exhibited by any of the Machaut motets. Unfortunately, the nature of musical sources in France at this time precludes a satisfactory answer to the question of authorship.

Comparison of the musical works of Machaut that appear in the three categories of sources—textual, musical, and theoretical (Table 1.2)—together with the works attributed to Vitry (Table 1.1) shows a very different pattern of transmission.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Raymond Cazelles, La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois (Paris, 1958), p. 319. Recall that Vitry was just over thirty when the first extant document of his career in royal service appears.

<sup>26</sup> Cazelles, La société politique, p. 385. Vitry did retain an hôtel at Paris after his nomination, see Coville, "Philippe de Vitry," pp. 538-40.

<sup>27</sup> Table 1.2 omits the music in the complete-works Machaut MSS, as well as the musical works appearing in the MSS CH-BESu 218 [K], F-Pa 5203 [J], GB-Cmc 1594 [Pep], and US-NYpm 396 [Morg]. These literary MSS, not comparable with the musical anthologies, theory treatises, and text collections that concern us here, will be treated below.

The only musical MSS discovered since Ludwig's edition that contain works

TABLE 1.2

Transmission of the Musical Works of Machaut Outside the Main  
Machaut MSS

Works	Music MSS												Theory citations	Text MSS				
	F-CA 1328	I-IV 115	F-Pn 115	F-CH n.a.f. 23190	F-Pn n.a.f. 564	F-Pn n.a.f. 6771	I-Fn It. 568	I-MOe 26	I-FZc 5.24	I-Pu 117	NL-Uu 1475/GB-Ob 229	CS-Pu 37			F-Sm XI E 9			
M8 Qui es/Ha Fortune Et non est	x	x	x											x	A			
M15 Amours/Faus Vidi Dominum			x	x														
M19 Martyrum/Diligenter A Christo			x	o														
(a)																		
B4 Biaute qui				o										x			x	x
B18 De petit po (b)	x		o	A	x	x	x							x		x	x	x
B21 Se quanqu'amours																x	x	
B22 Il m'est avis					x													
B23 De Fortune			o	x	x											x		x
B25 Honte, Paour			o			x		x									x	x
B27 Une vipere																	x	x
B28 Je puis trop bien																	x	x
B29 De triste cuer (c)																	x	x
B31 De toutes flours			o		x	x	x	x	x					x				
B32 Ploures dames (VD1)														x				x
B34 Quant Theseus (VD7) Ne quier veioir				A	x												x	x
B35 Gais et iolis					x			x									x	x

Ars nova  
P-H

S-Sk Vu 22  
US-PHu 15  
F-Pn n.a.f.  
GB-Lwa 21  
Jard. 6221

Music MSS

Theory citations  
Text MSS

Works

F-CA 1328  
I-IV 115  
F-Pn n.a.f. 23190  
F-CH 564  
F-Pn n.a.f. 6771  
I-Fn it. 568  
I-MOe 5.24  
I-Fzc 117  
I-Pu 1475/GB-Ob 229  
NI-Uu 37  
CS-Pu XI E 9  
F-Sm 222  
Ars rova  
P-H  
S-Sk Vu 22  
US-Phu 15  
F-Pn n.a.f.  
GB-Lwa 21  
Jard. 6221

B38 Phiton			2															x			
B39 Mes esperis Rem4 En amer a (ball.)			o	x	x	x													x		x
Rem5 Dame de qui (ball.)			o	x														x			x

R7 Se vous n'estes	x						x	x						x	x				x							x				x
R9 Tant doucement (d)			o																							x				
R14 Ma fin est mon												x																		
R15 Certes, mon oeuil (e)																										x				x
R17 Dix et sept			x																											
R20 Douce dame																										A	x			

Mass Ite missa est (f)												x																		
------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Maggs  
F-La 134

L3 Pour ce qu'on			x								(g)
L10 Amis t'amour											
L11 Se quanque dieus											
L12 Un mortel lay			x								

F-pa 683  
Chartier

		x	x
		x	
		x	

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## Notes to Table 1.2

- (a) The MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 contained a total of perhaps nine Machaut motets, six of which have no further concordances outside the main MSS, and were thus omitted from the Table: "Fons/ O livoris/ Fera" [M9], "Hareu/ Helas/ Obedians" [M10] "Maugre/ De ma/ Quia" [M14], "Las/ Se i'aim/ Pourquoi" [M16], "Trop/ Biaute/ Je ne suis" [M20], and perhaps "Felix/ Inviolata/ Ad te" [M23] (only "Inviolant" appears in the index; Ludwig (*Musikalische Werke*, II, 20a\*) and Bessler ("Studien-II," p. 238) suggested that the reference may have been to M23, although this was rejected by Schrade, *PMFC, Commentary to Volumes II and III* (Monaco, 1956), p. 50.
- (b) B18 also appears in D-Nst III 25.
- (c) All three texts "De triste/Quant vrais/Certes" in US-PHu Fr. 15; only "De triste" in Jard.
- (d) R9 is also transmitted with music in GB-Cmc 1594, a MS containing the Remede, in lieu of "Dame; mon cuer" [Rem7] (see n. 504 below).
- (e) A category omitted from the Table is the use of Machaut poems as examples in treatises of the seconde rhétorique. See below, pp. 45-47.
- (f) A concordance for the Machaut Mass in a lost MS was pointed out to me by Professor Lawrence Gushee of the University of Illinois, who kindly gave me permission to use it here. See Leopold Devillers, *Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut*, Tome 6, pt. 1 (Brussels, 1896), 630: "Et un grand livre de chant, couvert de cuir vert à ii clowans de laiton, commençant par une table: la messe de Machault, la messe Vaillant, la messe Rouillart, et fine: le Firmament qui long tamps a esté, tout notté." The reference is from a list of books borrowed 16 Feb. 1431 (N.S.) by Marguerite of Burgundy from the château de Que<sup>u</sup>snoy. A MS of a comparable sort does not exist for this period. Of course, no Mass of Vaillant or "Rouillart" is extant. Michael Long, of the Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, suggested that this latter composer may be the Philippus Royllart cited by F-Sm 222 as the composer of the motet "Rex Karole/ Leticie pacis" (ed. Günther, *CMM*, XXXIX, 17-22, and Harrison, *PMFC*, V, 141-48); Günther (p. XXX) dates the motet 1375. Royllart's motet was copied in 1423 or 1424 for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch, see A. Smijers, "De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. II. Rekeningen van Sint Jan 1399 tot Sint Jan 1425," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziek-geschiedenis*, 12 (1926), 59.
- (g) On F-La 134, see David Fallows, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Lai: a New Source," *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 477-83.

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Both motets and chansons are represented, with the chansons distinctly in the majority. F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 again stands as the central witness. Certain MSS transmitting motets now attributed by Sanders to Vitry (F-CA 1328, I-IV 115, F-Sm 222) transmit primarily secular pieces of Machaut; based on the surviving sources, it would appear that the motets of Machaut did not have the wide appeal of some of the motets that may be Vitry's.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, four of Machaut's chansons were very widely circulated in MSS copied in France, Italy, and the Empire (B18, 23, 31, and R7).

The texts of many of Machaut's chansons for which he provided music also circulated without their music, attesting to his reputation as a poet.

Lyrics appear in text chansonniers dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (see the third large column of Table 1.2).<sup>29</sup> Text MSS con-

of Machaut are D-Nst III 25, F-La 134, and NL-Uu 37. As in Table 1.1, an "o" indicates the presence of a work in the index of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, and "A" indicates attribution in the source. The "2" in the col. for B38 Phiton indicates that the work appears twice in the index (one of these citations may refer to the ballade "Phiton" by Magister Franciscus in F-CH 564, fol. 20v and F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 56r).

<sup>28</sup> The several Machaut motets in F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 may indicate that Machaut enjoyed a particularly local popularity at the French Royal Court (Charles V was a patron of Machaut), or perhaps an accident of transmission has made it seem so.

<sup>29</sup> GB-Lwa 21 contains another ballade text of Machaut ("J'aim mieux" [B7]), omitted from the table because it appears singly, without further concordances. For the text chansonnier US-PHu Fr. 15, see Charles Roswell Mudge, *The Pennsylvania Chansonnier, a Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, (Diss. Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind. 1972). This MS contains the texts of a large selection of Machaut's lyrical poetry: sixty lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais that appear in the music sections of the main MSS, and forty-eight lyrics that appear in the *Loange* or *Voir Dit*. Concordances for the many lyrical poems that Machaut never set to music in these and other text MSS is given by *La Louange des dames*, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 26-43. The only text of Machaut known to have been set by another composer (Machaut never set it to music) is Lol40, "Biauté parfaite et bonté souverainne," preserved in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 46v, and I-MOe 5.24, fol. 14r (Anthonello da Caserca), ed. Willi Apel, *CMM*, LIII/1, 5-6.

taining motets that have been attributed to Vitry are of a different character, miscellanies belonging to students (see Table 1.1, p. 8 above).

Perhaps the enduring capacity of some of these motet texts can be considered as testimony to their authority, and strengthens the case for attribution to Vitry.<sup>30</sup> An exception to this kind of transmission is the single lyrical poem attributed to Vitry, the ballade "De terre en Grec Gaulle appelle," which has a concordance in a text chansonnier of a normal sort, US-PHu Fr. 15.<sup>31</sup> Further indications of the diffusion of Machaut's chansons are the anonymous chansons parodying the text and music of his ballades, including B15, 23 and 38. Some Machaut chanson texts were imitated in lyrics by Froissart, and in lyrics set to music by Philippus da Caserta.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> F-Pn lat. 3343 is a student's miscellany of very diverse contents according to Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques," p. 386, n. 1. See the Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, t. V (Paris, 1966), 236-48. Except for some small additions by later hands, the entire collection, "composé de 1193 pièces et fragments divers," is in a single hand. On the German MSS, see Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 18b\*, n. 2 (with addendum on p. 70\*), and p. 36a\*. The monograph by Bertalot on the Jena MS cited in Ludwig's note on p. 19a\* is reprinted in Ludwig Bertalot, Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller (Rome, 1975), I, 83-161.

<sup>31</sup> Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonnier," did not recognize the concordance. His diplomatic transcription of the poem, p. 153 (the reply of Jehan de le Mote is transcribed p. 154), differs in many readings from the version printed by Pognon.

<sup>32</sup> On the parodies of B15, 23 and 38, see U. Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars nova und Ars subtilior," MD, 26 (1972), 55-58. To the motés entés listed by Günther, add "Qui plus aime plus endure" [M5], cf. Rayn. 2095 (Thibaut de Navarre). Jehoash Hirshberg, "The Music of the Late Fourteenth Century: A Study in Musical Style" (Diss. Univ. of Pa. 1971), pp. 167-70, argues for the priority of the ballade "Phiton, beste" by Magister Franciscus (F-CH 564, fol. 20v and F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 56r) over Machaut's "Phyton, le merueilleus" [B38]. The argument is unconvincing.

On P. da Caserta, see Reaney, "Philippus da Caserta," New Grove.

Machaut is not well represented by citations of specific works in extant theory treatises, perhaps due to the limited circulation of his motets, the only genre that theorists cited by title until later in the century. Only two theoretical works cite specific works by Machaut: for M8, the F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction of Vitry's Ars nova, formerly in the library of the Abbey of St.-Victor in Paris, and for the widely circulated chansons B18, 31 and R7, the copies of an anonymous early fifteenth-century south or southwest German treatise now preserved at the University of Pennsylvania and Schloss Harburg [P-H].<sup>33</sup> Similar treatises from German areas also rely on the citation of specific practical examples of secular works.<sup>34</sup>

Many theorists quoted motets that have been attributed to Vitry, but Vitry was himself the source for an influential branch of the notational theory. Of the motets now attributed to Vitry (Table 1.1), later theorists

<sup>33</sup> Ed. Martin Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," AMw, 31 (1974), 237-42.

<sup>34</sup> The similar treatises include the Wrocław anon. (Johannes Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts," AMw, 1 [1919], 329-45), and the Melk anon. (Anonymus Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, CSM, XVI [1971]). The Compendium totius artis motetorum or Erfurt anon. (Johannes Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars nova,'" Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 21 [1908], 33-38) cites earlier works (primarily motets), although there are two concordances between the Wrocław and the Erfurt anonymi. The many Latin titles cited by these German treatises, including many pieces that cannot be traced, recall the Latin contrafacta of known French chansons that the burned MS F-Sm 222 contained. For instance, Machaut's B23 appeared in F-Sm 222 with the contrafact text "Rubus ardens." Possibly some of the untraced Latin citations in the Wrocław anon. include untraced contrafacta of well-known French chansons. A clear case of this is the identification of the French ballade "A discort" with the contrafact text "Virginem mire pulchritudinis" (identified by Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele," p. 240, n. 10). However, some of the Latin texts are undoubtedly works of Central European origin, see Tom R. Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274," in Early Music History I: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 325-43.

cite only those works that had already appeared as exempla in Vitry's own Ars nova, except in isolated instances.<sup>35</sup> It is therefore possible that Vitry's prestige as a teacher and authority led to the large number of citations by later theorists of those works that he had cited as exempla in his lectures (which of course indicates nothing about attribution).

A different branch of the theoretical tradition, one that does not cite specific titles, suggests that theorists were acquainted with a certain notational practice of Machaut, possibly through its use in the popular ballade "De petit peu" [B18], his most widely diffused chanson. The Libellus cantus mensurabilis of Johannes de Muris mentions Machaut ("Guilielmus de Mascandio") in connection with the imperfection of a perfect breve in minor prolation by a single minim, and the imperfection of an imperfect breve in major prolation by two successive minims, both before or both after the breve—in modern terms, changing between the meters 6/8 and 3/4 in the course of a single composition.<sup>36</sup> Similar discussions appear in later treatises.

<sup>35</sup> Motets in Table 1.1 not cited in Vitry's Ars nova are: No. 8, cited as a work of Vitry in the anon. Quatuor principalia (CS, III, 347 = CS, IV, 268); No. 9, cited in the Anon. P-H (attributed to Vitry in F-Sm 222); and No. 11, cited in the F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction of the Ars nova, and also attributed to Vitry by the anon. Quatuor principalia.

For treatises based on Vitry's theory, see R. Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis: Zur Entstehung der Mensuraltheorie der Ars nova," Mf, 16 (1963), 3-21.

<sup>36</sup> Ulrich Michels counts the Libellus among the authentic works of Johannes de Muris, see Die Musiktraktate, pp. 27-40. The passage concerning Machaut in the Libellus is ed. CS, III, p. 50a (the first punctus on the second line of the musical example should be struck). A clear discussion of the theoretical distinctions involved (imperfection quo ad partes) is Oliver B. Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript," pp. 146-48. Cf. also Michels, Die Musiktraktate, p. 93. Machaut's practice is discussed by Wolf, Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250-1460 (Leipzig, 1904), I, 170-72, and Hoppin, "Notational Licences of Guillaume de Machaut," MD, 14 (1960), 13-14 and 20-22. The number of the examples of the patterns [C] ■ ↓↓ and [O] ■ ↓ cited by Wolf (B18, R10, B1) can be increased: cf. "Tels rit au main" [Rem2], m. 5 [m. 8 in Schrade ed.] (MSS C and Pep only); "En amer a douce vie" [Rem4] cantus m. 2 (C and Pep); "Se vous n'estes" [R7] new ct. m. 11 E;

tises based on the Libellus.<sup>37</sup> The practical example of Machaut's usage is of some interest in this case, because speculation about this feature of the new notational system seems to have significantly antedated the practical examples.<sup>38</sup>

The most striking aspect of the Machaut MS tradition concerns attribution. A few external attributions, coupled with internal stylistic and textual evidence, have been used to delineate the Vitry canon of thirteen works, which nevertheless remains tentative. By contrast, if the MSS exclusively transmitting works of Machaut did not exist, only four pieces of music could be attributed to him: B18 and 34 (attributions in F-CH 564), and M8 and R20 (attributions in the text MS S-Sk Vu 22; no music would be known

"He las! et comment" [V18] m. 10 (this work also has an interesting rest in m. 5, [C] ♣ ♣, maybe to signal a change to tempus perfectum. The pattern [C] ♣ ♣ is seen in R9 m. 14 [34] (the dot called for by Ludwig in his note, Musikalische Werke, I, 59, is present in MSS C and E), and in B23, ct. m. 6 [12] in F-Pn fr. 9221 [E] and F-Pn n.a.f. 6771. The contratenor in this example, however, is probably not Machaut's.

<sup>37</sup> These include the 1375 revision of the Libellus by the Parisian Goscalcus (Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript," I, Latin p. 51, trans. p. 122, commentary Vol. II, 153-55; on the date and provenance of the treatise, cf. Michels, Die Musiktraktate, pp. 29-30, and K.-J. Sachs, Der Contrapunctus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert [Wiesbaden, 1974], pp. 184-85); the anon. Ars cantus mensurabilis (Anon. V, CS, III, 395, cf. Michels, Die Musiktraktate, p. 31); Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris (1404), (ed. Gallo, Beldemandis, Prosdocimus, Opera, I [Bologna, 1966], 83); Ugolino, Declaratio musicae disciplinae (c. 1440), (ed. A. Seay, CSM, VII/2 [1960], Bk. III, Chap. 18); Gaffurius, Practica musicae, Bk. II (facsimile ed. of Milan, 1496 ed. Gregg Press, 1967). See also Irwin Young's translation, The Pratica musicae of Franchinus Gaffurius (Madison, Wi., 1969), n. 29, pp. 98-99 and n. 14, p. 78. Ludwig refers to a Spanish treatise of 1410 in Musikalische Werke, II, 32b\*.

<sup>38</sup> See Johannes de Muris, Notitia artis musicae (1321), ed. U. Michels, CSM, XVII, 84, discussed in Michels, Die Musiktraktate, pp. 36 and 88, and Philippe de Vitry, Ars nova, CSM, VIII, 31, §5, and, from the St.-Victor redaction, p. 52, §8-9. Michaël Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (Diss. Princeton 1981), pp. 54ff, adduces some early practical examples from the Italian side.

for R20). Erroneous attributions to Machaut in two other MSS (F-Sm 222 and CH-Fcu 260) would confuse matters.<sup>39</sup> The different emphasis is easily seen with regard to the theory citations. Because the works of Machaut are known, one can pick out those few works cited by theorists. With Vitry, the theory citations themselves have been used to establish the canon.

Vitry moved in the highest circles of the university, government, and church. Most of Vitry's texts are topical; specific occasions, which can often be reconstructed, lay behind their composition.<sup>40</sup> His works were not written to please a seigneur, but for members of his clique.<sup>41</sup> In contrast,

<sup>39</sup> The works attributed to Machaut in these two MSS do not appear in the complete-works MSS of Machaut. F-Sm 222, fol. 48r ("Jour a jour") is ascribed to Machaut only in this MS. There are conflicting ascriptions for F-Sm 222, fol. 65v ("Par maintes foys") and F-Sm 222, fol. 36v ("Che qui vol") in F-CH 564, to Jo. Vaillant and P. des Molins, respectively. The motet in CH-Fcu 260 is an unicum. It should be noted that F-Sm 222 and CH-Fcu 260, two musical MSS unreliable in their attribution to Machaut, are also the only musical sources with attributions to Vitry (Nos. 9 and 10 in Table 1.1).

<sup>40</sup> This is true most significantly for the few lyrical texts of Vitry that have come down to us. Cf. Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques" and "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry"; Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," pp. 341-42, and PMFC Commentary I, pp. 34-35.

<sup>41</sup> Some of Vitry's associates are known from F-Pn lat. 3343; see the two articles of Pognon cited above, n. 8. He remained in favorable repute into the fifteenth century. Deschamps mentioned Vitry (Ball. 1474, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, ed. G. Raynaud, VIII [Paris, 1893], 178), and the anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique (between 1411 and 1432, ed. E. Langlois, Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique [Paris, 1902], p. 12) gives a very detailed and authoritative account of his accomplishments (quoted below, p. 46). In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Pierre d'Ailli (1350-1420), bishop of Cambrai, parodied Vitry's Dit de Franc Gontier. Printed editions of 1490 (and 1591!) transmit the two texts, side by side, and both poems are attributed. Vitry's dit is ed. M. Löpelmann, Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (Göttingen, 1923), No. 40, pp. 56-58; d'Ailli's parody is No. 39, pp. 54-56. At the end of the fifteenth century, Villon made a debased parody of Vitry's dit in the Testament, vv. 1473-1506, in a ballade entitled "Les Contredis de Franc Gontier." The poem is reproduced with discussion of Vitry and d'Ailly in Pierre Champion, François Villon: sa vie et son temps (Paris, 1913; rpt. 1967), II, 56-60. Vitry's poem is also discussed in J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), pp. 117-18 (see also pp. 118-19 for imitations by

the lyrical texts of the works of Machaut are most often not topical and polemical enough (with the exception of some of the complaintes) to permit speculation as to the author and the circumstances that occasioned them.

Machaut's musical works thus would not have fared well under the rigors of transmission were it not for a particular group of MSS. With its collections containing only the works of a single author, the Machaut MS tradition appears anomalous when compared to the "normal" patterns of musical transmission in the fourteenth century. However, Machaut's collections are not wholly new; they may be considered developments of a thirteenth-century tradition, the collections of individual trouvères in chansonniers. Most of the chansonniers of grand chant courtois hand down groups of works of several authors, and are organized in a variety of ways, whether by alphabet, genre, or, most significantly, by author.

In particular, the MS tradition of Adam de la Halle is in many respects comparable to Machaut's. Like Machaut, Adam cultivated many genres, including dits, motets, chansons, and rondeaux. The most widely transmitted genre, the chanson, appears in fifteen extant MSS, seven of which contain his chansons in closed groups.<sup>42</sup>

Deschamps). For source citations, reference must be made to the German edition, Herbst des Mittelalters (Munich, 1928), pp. 182-84; p. 190 on Villon's "Contredit." An anon. ballade further parodying Vitry is "J'ay meilleur temps que n'eust oncq Franc Gontier," fol. 6v in S-Sk Vu 22, an important Villon source, see A. Piaget and E. Droz, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon. I. Le manuscrit de Stockholm," Romania, 58 (1932), 241, No. 11.

<sup>42</sup> The best discussion of the transmission of Adam's musical works, though over seventy years old, has only recently been published: Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 467-71. In the following, single-letter sigla are from Schwan, Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften (Berlin, 1886). MSS with ordered groups of Adam's chansons include W (F-Pn fr. 25566), W' (an independent quaternion bound onto the beginning of MS W); P (F-Pn fr. 847; the final fascicle has the first fourteen chansons in the same order as W and W'); T (F-Pn fr. 12615 [Noailles], final fascicle, a completely independent

One MS, F-Pn fr. 25566 [W], contains a complete collection of the works of Adam, in a rational order organized by genre. However, a MS consisting solely of the works of a single trouvère was not desired by the compiler; the miscellaneous character of the rest of MS W contrasts sharply with the uniform appearance of the MSS that transmit only Machaut's works.<sup>43</sup> W contains about thirty items besides Adam's complete works, including the well-known bestiary of Richart de Fournival and the Renart le nouvel (dated 1289) of Jacquemart Gielée de Lille, copied in W with music for the refrains.<sup>44</sup>

Closer examination of the structure of W indicates that its contents were not originally quite as miscellaneous. The MS was executed in two stages. As first planned, the end of Renart le nouvel (fol. 177) was to be the end

section. see Repertorium, I, 1, 286); Q (F-Pn fr. 1109, music fascicle); a (I-Rvat Reg. 1490, twenty chansons in a row); A (F-AS 657, comparable to MS a, but incomplete at ends of groups due to gaps in the MS); R (F-Pn fr. 1591). For the texts of the chansons, the critical edition of J. H. Marshall, The Chansons of Adam de la Halle (Manchester, 1971) is preferable to the texts in the edition of Nigel Wilkins, The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle, CMM, XLIV (1967), which is based on a single MS. Further reference to the MSS transmitting groups of Adam's chansons is John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1981), pp. 29-64.

An example of a collection of the works of a single author closer to Machaut is the alphabetically-ordered collection (incomplete, extending only from A-G) of the works of Jehannot de l'Escurel that forms a later addition to the end of the MS F-Pn fr. 146. Jehannot's works appear in no other extant source. Ed. Nigel Wilkins, The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, CMM, XXX (1966). In the generation before Adam, figures that need investigation are Richart de Fournival and Thibaut de Navarre.

<sup>43</sup> A list of the diverse contents of W can be found in the edition by Cesare Segere of Richart de Fournival's Li Bestiaires d'amours (Milan, 1957), pp. xxxiii-xxxvii.

<sup>44</sup> Ludwig, "Quellen," pp. 217-18 (Item No. 25). For musical concordances for the refrains in Renart, see Maria Vedder Fowler, "Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives" (Diss. Yale University 1979), Table 15, pp. 103-04 (=pp. 336-37); pp. 263-69 for more information, notes pp. 331-35, transcriptions pp. 464-91.



of the MS.<sup>45</sup> This would have encompassed the works of Adam as well as the other works with lyrical-musical interpolations, and suggests that the inclusion of music was a major factor in the original planning and disposition of the contents of W. Slightly later, a new series of works was added. None of the works in this second series involve the copying of music. Even with this adjustment, however, the original anthology would have included seven items besides the collection of the works of Adam.

With his carefully ordered collections, Machaut can be seen to stand at the end of the tradition of textual/musical MSS represented by the trouvère chansonniers. In another sense, however, Machaut's complete collections are innovative, because they are devoted to the works of a single author.<sup>46</sup> The production of such MSS was continued by Machaut's immediate poetic heirs, in

<sup>45</sup> Fol. 177v (old fol. 169v) is blank except for a catchword leading to the new section. The original-style catchwords, with Roman-numerals at the end of each gathering, end here. The breaking-point in the MS is set off by the insertion of a bifolio containing two full-page illuminations:

171v: no catchword

172

173

174

175 r: full-page painting, v: blank

176

177 r: Renart expl., v: blank(\*)

178 r: blank, v: full-page painting

179 new beginning: Les Quatre Evangelistes

180

181

(\*) except catchword: "Chi 9mce des iiiij Euŋgelistres."

The expansion of the MS occurred not too long after the completion of the original layer. François Avril of the Bibliothèque nationale informed me that both parts of the MS were decorated at about the same time, in Arras.

<sup>46</sup> Kevin Brownlee, "The Poetic Oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut: The Identity of Discourse and the Discourse of Identity," in Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century, ed. M. P. Cosman et al., Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 314 (1978), 219-33. Sylvia Huot, "Lyric Poetics and the Art of Compilatio in the Fourteenth Century" (Diss. Princeton 1982), pp. 55-56, 108, et passim.

the text MSS of Froissart, Deschamps, and Christine de Pizan.<sup>47</sup> But in France, no such MSS with music come after those of Machaut.

Probably the last poet-musician to have deluxe presentation copies of his entire oeuvre prepared during his creative career was Oswald von Wolkenstein, who was active at about the same time as an interest in French music in south German areas (some fifty years behind the times) is witnessed by such MSS as F-Sm 222 and CS-Pu XI E 9, and by the anonymous treatises P-H, Melk, and Wrocław.<sup>48</sup>

### COMPONENTS OF MACHAUT'S COMPLETE-WORKS MSS

To list the contents of the collected-works MSS of Machaut is to catalogue every genre cultivated by fourteenth-century poets and musicians. The largest-scale works are the narrative poems, called "dits" by Machaut, the longest of them written in the traditional octosyllabic rhyming couplets.<sup>49</sup> Examples are the Dit dou Vergier, the Dit dou Lyon (dated April 2, 1342 in

<sup>47</sup> Daniel Poirion, Le Poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans (Paris, 1965), pp. 206, 218, 238 and Huot, "Lyric poetics," Chaps. 3, 4 and 6.

<sup>48</sup> The standard work on the transmission of Oswald's works is Erika Timm, Die Ueberlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein (Lübeck, 1972), supplemented by Hans Moser, "Wie sorgt ein spätmittelalterlicher Dichter für die Erhaltung seines Werks? Nachlese zur Oswald-Ueberlieferung," in Oswald von Wolkenstein: Beiträge der philologisch-musikwissenschaftlichen Tagung in Neustift bei Brixen 1973, ed. Egon Kühlebacher (Innsbruck, 1974), pp. 85-120.

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of what is meant by the term "dit" in the fourteenth century, see Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Débats", ed. A. Fourrier (Geneva, 1979), pp. 12-22. Discussions of literary aspects of Machaut's poetry may be found in the introductions to the editions of Hoepffner, Oeuvres, and Chichmaref, Poesiés lyriques, and in some recent books: Poirion, Le poète; William Calin, A Poet at the Fountain: Essays on the Narrative Verse of Guillaume de Machaut (Lexington, Ky., 1974); Douglas Kelly, Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love (Madison, Wisc., 1978); Kevin Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity: The Example of the Dits amoureux" (Diss. Princeton 1979, to be published soon).

11. 32-33), and the Dit de l'Alerion<sup>50</sup>.

Some of the dits incorporate lyrical poetry (poems in clear-cut strophic forms) at various points in the course of the narrative. Machaut's earliest work of this type is the Remede de Fortune, which includes his own music for the lyric interpolations. Each piece of music is copied where it belongs in the narrative.<sup>51</sup> The Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse (datable 1360-61 on the basis of historical references and an anagram) has a smaller number of interpolated poems, none of which were set to music.<sup>52</sup> The Livre dou Voir Dit, a purportedly autobiographical work datable 1362-65 on the basis of historical references, incorporates not only lyrical poetry, but also many prose letters.<sup>53</sup> Of the sixty-one lyrical poems in the work, Machaut set only eight to music, which was not copied with the narrative in the reliable MSS A [F-Pn fr. 1584] and F-G [F-Pn fr. 22545-22546], but must be sought in the music section of these MSS. Owing to a more rationalized editorial policy, the music was copied in its appropriate locations in the third complete source for the poem, MS E [F-Pn fr. 9221].<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The dits will be cited by single-word titles. Vergier (1293 vv.) is ed. Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, 13-56; Lyon (2204 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, II, 159-237; l'Alerion (4814 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, II, 239-403.

<sup>51</sup> The Remede (4298 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, II, 1-157. The music of the lyrical interpolations was edited by Ludwig for Oeuvres, II, following p. 413 (other editions of the music are listed in n. 63 below). A recent study of this genre is the dissertation of Maria Vedder Fowler, cited in n. 44 above.

<sup>52</sup> Fonteinne (2848 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, III, 143-244. On the historical events bearing on the plot and the anagram in vv. 40-41, see Oeuvres, III, xxiv-xxx.

<sup>53</sup> Voir Dit (ca. 8750 vv.) is ed. Paulin Paris, Le Livre du Voir Dit (Paris, 1875; rpt. Geneva, 1969). The forty-five prose letters are not included in the verse count. An error in Paris' verse count was rectified by Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 167, n. 1. The actual number of lines is still uncertain, because Paris occasionally left out groups of lines.

Two of Machaut's works belong to the tradition of the love-debate,<sup>55</sup> the Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne (datable before 1346, the year in which the dedicatee died), and the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre (dated November 9, 1349 in ll. 24-25).<sup>56</sup>

The eight dits listed above treat amorous topics. Two other lengthy narratives do not fit into this category. The Confort d'Ami (datable 1357 based on historical references), is a work giving instruction to a prince (in this case, to Charles the Bad, King of Navarre), while the Prise d'Alexandrie (datable after 1369, the year of the death of the hero of the poem, Pierre de Lusignan) is a chronicle.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> A further complication in the transmission is the appearance of the musical interpolations in the music section in MSS Vg [US-NYw] and B [F-Pn fr. 1585], though the Voir Dit itself does not appear in these MSS.

<sup>55</sup> Machaut thus carried on the tradition of the trouvère debate-poem, the jeux-parti, although this was a much more modest form. See Oeuvres, I, lx.

<sup>56</sup> Behaingne (2079 vv., ed. Oeuvres, I, 57-135) is the only larger dit that is not written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. It is composed of four-line stanzas in the pattern a10a10a10a10b4 -- b10b10b10b10c4 -- c10c10c10c10d4, etc. (masc. or fem. rhymes). On imitations of Behaingne, Machaut's most popular dit if the number of extant sources is a fair criterion for judgement, see n. 86 below. Navarre (4212 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, I, 137-282. Some MSS append the Lay de plour [L22], with its music, onto the end of Navarre. Text ed. Oeuvres, I, 283-91, and Poésies lyriques, II, 459-66; music ed. Musikalische Werke, IV, 74-76, and PMFC, II, 90-93. A recent article on Machaut and Charles of Navarre is Jacques Chailley, "Du cheval de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles II de Navarre," Romania, 94 (1973), 251-58. See also the final section of the paper by U. Günther, "Contribution de la musicologie à la biographie et à la chronologie de Guillaume de Machaut," in Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque-Table ronde organisé par l'Université de Reims. .19-22 Avril 1978 (Paris, 1982).

<sup>57</sup> The Confort (4004 vv.) is ed. Oeuvres, III, 1-142. The Prise (8886 vv.), is ed. Mas Latrie, La Prise d'Alexandrie (Geneva, 1877). Three prose letters are not included in the verse count. An error in Mas Latrie's verse count is rectified by Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 203, n. 1.

Finally, there are four shorter narrative poems, the Dit de la Harpe, the Dit de la Marguerite (datable c. 1366 on historical grounds), the Dit de la Rose, and the Dit de la Fleur de lis et de la Marguerite (datable 1369, for the marriage of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders).<sup>58</sup>

The lyrical poetry in formes fixes that was not set to music is contained in a collection of texts usually called the Loange des Dames, made up largely of ballades, but including also rondeaux, chansons royales, and a single virelai.<sup>59</sup> A distinction between the collection of lyrics not set to music and the section of musical works in formes fixes is not always maintained: sometimes works appear in both sections. Machaut apparently wrote some poems specifically for a musical setting, while others were chosen for musical setting perhaps years later, from the group of poems already written.

Another type of lyrical poem, often polemical or topical in nature, is the complainte. Earlier MSS place the complaintes in the Loange section. In later MSS, the larger group of complaintes forms a separate group.

<sup>58</sup> Harpe (354 vv., decasyllabic rhyming couplets) is ed. K. Young, "The Dit de la Harpe of Guillaume de Machaut," in Essays in Honor of Albert Feuillerat, ed. Henri M. Peyre (New Haven, Conn., 1943), pp. 1-20. Marguerite (208 vv., poetic form like Behaingne, but each stanzaic pattern repeated) and Rose (106 vv.) are ed. Fourrier, Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Débats", pp. 277-84 and pp. 285-88. Lis et Marguerite (416 vv.) is ed. Wimsatt, The Marguerite Poetry of Guillaume de Machaut (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1970), pp. 15-26, and Fourrier, Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Débats", pp. 289-301. On the evidence for the date of Marguerite and Lis et Marguerite, see Wimsatt, The Marguerite Poetry, pp. 47-49 and p. 55.

<sup>59</sup> The collection of lyrics not set to music in MS F-G has the rubric Ci commence la loange des dames (fol. 45r). The editors of Machaut's works have applied this name to the comparable text collections of chansons in the other MSS. The collection is ed. Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques, and Wilkins, La Louange des dames.

Last among the lyrical works is the short "Vez ci les biens que ma dame me fait/ pour amender moy m'onneur et mon fait," in which all lines have the same rhyme.<sup>60</sup> It is not placed in the Loange, but is tacked onto the end of the text section of MS A. It may have been composed quite soon before its inclusion in the MS, since it is not in the index of MS A.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, late collections of Machaut's poetry and music are introduced by a Prologue, which consists of lyrical poetry followed by a short narrative section.<sup>62</sup>

The musical component of the complete-works MSS is just as diverse. Machaut set to music an example of virtually every poetic and musical genre of his time. Motets, chaces, the movements of the Mass ordinary, lyrical poems in formes fixes, the instrumental hoquet (a genre apparently anachronistic in the fourteenth century), are all represented.<sup>63</sup> The varieties of formes fixes set to music include lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, as well as a single example of the chanson royale and complainte, both interpolations to the Remede.

<sup>60</sup> Les biens (64 vv., hexasyllabic lines) is ed. by Chichmaref, Poesies lyriques, I, 273-75.

<sup>61</sup> In the later MS F-G, it occurs towards, but not at, the end of the text section.

<sup>62</sup> Four ballades (the first pair 27 vv. each, the second pair 30 vv. each) make up the section of lyrical poetry; 184 vv. in rhyming couplets follow. The complete work is ed. Poesies lyriques, I, 3-13, and Oeuvres, I, 1-12.

<sup>63</sup> There are two complete scholarly eds. of the musical works, Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke, 3 vols. ed. Friedrich Ludwig (Leipzig, 1926-29); Vol. IV ed. Heinrich Besseler from the Ludwig Nachlass (Leipzig, 1954), and The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, ed. Leo Schrade, PMFC, II-III.

## CATEGORIES OF MACHAUT MSS: THE COMPLETE TRADITION

The transmission of Machaut's music has been characterized above in terms of the three types of sources—textual, musical, and theoretical—that witness musical works in the fourteenth century; but the works of Machaut also include a far larger group of purely textual components, both narrative and lyrical. Thus, to form a complete picture of the sources transmitting Machaut's works, we must also deal with the ways in which the textual as well as the musical components were transmitted in the fourteenth century.

The most thoroughgoing classification of the sources to date is that undertaken by Schrade in the notes to his edition.<sup>64</sup> He was first concerned with the musical side of the transmission. Like Ludwig, he distinguished the "Machaut MSS" from the "repertory MSS."<sup>65</sup> The former are those "supervised by Machaut himself" (PMFC Commentary II-III, p. 19), while the latter are those that "include individual compositions of Machaut alongside the work of other composers" (ibid., pp. 19-20). The distinction is between sources whose shape Machaut directly (or indirectly) influenced, and those over whose shape he exercised no control.<sup>66</sup>

Schrade considered the musical repertory MSS to be of particular importance. Compositions that reappear in several repertory MSS were better known; the appearance of works in repertory MSS provided a yardstick of

<sup>64</sup> PMFC, Commentary to Volumes II and III (Monaco, 1956) (hereafter: PMFC Commentary II-III).

<sup>65</sup> PMFC Commentary II-III, pp. 10-11. "Repertory MS" is Schrade's term, translating what Ludwig and Besseler expressed with "Sammelhandschrift." See Schrade, PMFC Commentary II-III, esp. p. 39. "Musical anthologies" might be a more descriptive term.

<sup>66</sup> The question of what form Machaut's "supervision" might have taken and what this could realistically mean for a medieval MS has not been considered. We will attempt to deal with this problem in subsequent chapters.

their relative popularity in the entire contemporary repertory. For example, because no MSS containing *lais* and *virelais* outside the Machaut MSS were known to Schrade except for a single *lai* in a rotulus,<sup>67</sup> he thought Machaut's contemporaries were "indifferent" towards the *virelais* and *lais*:

Not one *virelai* is represented in any of the repertory manuscripts; and as for the *lais* there is but one exception: the "Lay mortel" which appears outside the Machaut manuscripts only once, and even there in a form that does not fit the usual character of a repertory manuscript. It is the rotulus Maggs (London) where the *lai* was copied, and it appears that the "Lay mortel" was the only composition that had been entered on the rotulus. Although we do not know the purpose for which the rotulus was commissioned, we can safely assume that it was not planned to present a musical repertory, not even the segment of a repertory. Consequently, despite the appearance of the "Lay mortel" in the rotulus Maggs, we still may be justified in saying that neither the *lais* nor the *virelais* became part of the general musical repertory.<sup>68</sup>

But in the Voir Dit, Machaut speaks of brisk circulation of individual pieces, and certainly this was the most fundamental and widespread level of transmission, although the one least witnessed by surviving sources.<sup>69</sup> Maggs

<sup>67</sup> The rotulus is known only through a partial facsimile published in Maggs Brother's catalogue No. 512 Music: Early Books, Manuscripts, Portraits and Autographs (London, 1928), Item No. 3, p. 4 and pl. 3 (it also appears in the 1926 catalogue No. 476, see Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 14b\*). The whereabouts of Maggs since its sale in the late 1920s is not known.

<sup>68</sup> PMFC Commentary II-III, pp. 20-21; see also p. 39 and esp. p. 46. *Lais* with music transmitted outside the main corpus of MSS are given in Table 1.2 above, p. 15. A hitherto unrecognized lost text MS that opened with Machaut's "Aus amans" [L4] is [Burg6], see p. 45 below. Further evidence of the diffusion of Machaut's *lais* is the citation of 5 ll. of "Se quanque dieus" [L11] at the point where "parla Mexaut" in the "Tant mon voler" of Pere Toroella (ed. Pedro Bach y Rita, The Works of Pere Toroella [New York, 1930], p. 105, ll. 147-51, and n., p. 125). The *lai* "Amors, qui tost fer, quant li play" of Andreu Feber is modeled on Machaut's "Loyaute que point" [L1] (Amédée Pagès, La Poésie française en Catalogne du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVe, [Paris, 1936], pp. 274-83). Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," (Diss. Berkeley 1970), Chap. 3, traces the stylistic development of the fourteenth-century chanson on the basis of the extant MS repertories. She concludes that "the *virelai* was the most popular form in the early-to-mid century repertory" (p. 111), though to be sure the types most cultivated were types not cultivated by Machaut: polytextual *virelais*, and realistic (e.g., "bird call") *virelais*.



is a survivor of what must have been one of the most common means of circulating music in the medieval period, as an individual work in the form of a roll, or folded sheet.

When Schrade proceeded to descriptions of the individual MSS, he adopted a more precise system of classification. "Machaut Manuscripts" now comprised three subdivisions: "The Machaut Manuscripts" proper included only the largest and most complete MSS.<sup>70</sup> "Secondary Machaut Manuscripts" have "a more or less substantial part of Machaut's work, but were not written under Machaut's direct or indirect influence"; only a small amount of the music is present, along with literary works of other authors.<sup>71</sup> "Machaut Text Manuscripts" is a category that combines not only MSS which contain texts of Machaut's works exclusively, but also anthologies with the texts of several authors.<sup>72</sup> Finally, opposed to the large group of "Machaut Manuscripts" Schrade distinguished the "Musical Repertory Manuscripts," containing a "segment of the [musical] repertory of the 14th century," including some compositions of Machaut.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Further discussion of the Voir Dit will be found below, Chap. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Six MSS: F-G [F-Pn fr. 22545-22546], A [fr. 1584], Vg [US-NYw], B [F-Pn fr. 1585], C [fr. 1586] and E [fr. 9221] (PMFC Commentary II-III, pp. 24-30).

<sup>71</sup> Four MSS: Morg [US-NYpm 396], K [CS-BEu 218], J [F-Pa 5203] and Pep [GB-Cmc 1594] (PMFC Commentary II-III, pp. 31-34).

<sup>72</sup> Eight MSS: M [F-Pn fr. 843], D [fr. 1587], H [fr. 881], Ars [F-Pa 683], Pen [US-PHu Fr. 15], I [F-Pn fr. 6221], Westm [GB-Lwa 21] and Stockh [S-Sk Vu 22]; and two prints: Jard. de Plais. [Le Jardin de plaisance (Paris, c. 1501)], and Chartier [Les faits d'Alain Chartier (Paris, 1489-1617), various editions] (PMFC Commentary Notes II-III, pp. 35-38).

<sup>73</sup> The French MSS (Trem [F-Pn n.a.f. 23190], CaB [F-CA 1328], Ch [F-CH 564], Fr [CH-Fcu 260] and Maggs, pp. 39-46) are separated from the Italian MSS (R [F-Pn n.a.f. 6771], PadA [I-Pu 1475 and GB-Ob 229], Mod [I-MOe 5.24] Fl [I-Fn 26], P [F-Pn it. 568] and Faenza [I-FZc 117], pp. 46-52), and from "other" MSS, both from Strasbourg (Pr [CS-Pu XI E 9] and Str [F-Sm 222],

. . . . .

A more comprehensive breakdown of the Machaut sources is offered below to illustrate the various ways in which both music and poetry circulated in the fourteenth century.<sup>74</sup> To the text MSS listed by Ludwig and Schrade, seven extant sources have been added, as well as nine references to specific lost MSS.

1. MSS CONTAINING THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MACHAUT: DITS, LYRICAL POETRY, AND MUSIC.
  - a) Containing both texts and music.
    - i) F-G. F-Pn fr. 22545-22546.
    - ii) A. F-Pn fr. 1584.
    - iii) E. F-Pn fr. 9221.
    - iv) Vg. New York, Wildenstein Galleries, without shelfmark.
    - v) B. F-Pn fr. 1585.
    - vi) C. F-Pn 1586.
    - vii) [Savoy]. Untraced "roman" given to Amadeus VI, for which Machaut was given 300 francs d'or.<sup>75</sup>

PMFC Commentary II-III, pp. 53-54).

<sup>74</sup> The standard reference work for the MSS, listing most relevant MS catalogs and secondary material (up to 1928) is Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 7\*-17\*; the chart on p. 43\* gives a complete overview of the MSS known to Ludwig that contain works of Machaut. Schrade, PMFC Commentary II-III, gives more complete information only for US-NYpm 396 and US-PHu Fr. 15. The breakdown offered here may be compared with Schrade's categories, given in nn. 70-72 above. The bibliography is updated; only materials not known to Ludwig or Schrade are given in the notes. Further bibliographical information on the MSS in category 1a) will be found in Chap. 2. Note 27 above lists the three musical MSS discovered since Ludwig's and Schrade's editions.

<sup>75</sup> Eugene L. Cox, The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century (Princeton, N.J., 1967), pp. 248-49. The document is published in Jean Cordey, Les comtes de Savoie et les rois de France pendant la guerre de cent ans (1329-1391) (Paris, 1911), p. 185, n. 3: "Item que Messier a fait doner a monsieur Guillaume de Machaut pour I

viii) [Burgl]. Lost MS.<sup>76</sup>

ix) [Aragon]. Untraced MS.<sup>77</sup>

b) Containing texts only.

i) M. F-Pn fr. 843.

ii) D. F-Pn fr. 1587.

roman, qu'il avoit doné a Monseigneur, IIIc frans d'or." This seems like a considerable sum for a single dit. For instance, the 1413 inventory of the books of Jean de Berry records that the duke gave Christine de Pizan 200 écus (= c. 225 francs) for one of her illuminated complete works MSS, containing several dits (Léopold Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V (Paris, 1907), II, 269, No. 291).

Poirion, Le poète, p. 195, identifies [Savoy] with K. This seems extremely unlikely, since K contains miscellaneous material not by Machaut.

<sup>76</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 40\*, Burgundian MS No. 1; Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 146, No. 34. This MS can be traced as late as 1797 (J. Marchal, Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne (Brussels, 1842), I, ccliv (Viglius No. 200). Like Vg(B), it contained the hocket as the penultimate work in the music section. Like M, it began with Vergier (and not the Loange, as in Vg[B]). [Burgl] could be the MS (which contained music) from which the fifteenth-century text MS M was copied, except that this MS ended with V36 (like Vg[B]), and M ends with V37.

<sup>77</sup> See the 1417 inventory of the books of Alfonso V at Valencia published by Ramon d'Alós, "Documenti per la storia della biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo," Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, V (Rome, 1924), 397, No. 17. The presence of music is not indicated, only that the MS began with the Loange ("ci commencent les balades ou il na punt de chant") and ended with the Prise. I would identify this book with the Machaut MS owned by Juan I of Aragon (r. 1387-96), a great amateur of poetry and music. In 1380, Juan married Yolande de Bar, whose father, Robert, duc de Bar, visited Machaut during the composition of the Voir Dit (Letter XXXV, Paris ed., p. 262). Yolande asked the duchess of Bar (sister of Charles V) for "lo romanç de Mexaut" (probably the Voir Dit) in 1380 (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 32a\*), and in 1387 Yolande thanked the Count of Foix for "lo libre molt belle bo de Guillem de Maixaut" (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 32a-b\*). For more on Juan I of Aragon, see U. Günther, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior," AMw, 21 (1964), 172-73 and nn. 1-10, and U. Günther, "Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix," MD, 19 (1965), 71-73. Further, it is not inconceivable that this gift MS of 1387 was Vg. A possibly dubious link between Vg and Foix is the partially effaced or incomplete motto noted by Ludwig (Musikalische Werke, II, 10a\*): "J'ai belle dame assouvie / t. . . ." "J'ai belle dame" was the motto taken by Jean de Grailli, Count of Foix (r. 1412 [N.S.]-1436).

- iii) [Burg4]. Lost MS.<sup>78</sup>
- iv) [Dunois]. Untraced MS owned by Jean, the Bastard of Orléans, Count of Dunois (1403-68). (Not known if it contained music.)<sup>79</sup>
- v) [Turquan]. Untraced MS.<sup>80</sup>

This group of MSS contains only works of Machaut; it is the essential and unique part of Machaut's MS tradition. Earlier MSS contain fewer works than later ones (the earliest, MS C, is now securely dated), but the intention that each MS would offer the complete works is unmistakable; this is the only category including extant MSS whose production was possibly supervised by Machaut. Their copying, along with several lost MSS, can be traced chronologically: MS C (dated 1350-56 on art historical grounds); [Burg4] (mid 1360s); MS Vg, except for the Prise (late 1360s); [Burg1] (late 1360s); the exemplar of MS M (late 1360s); the Prise in MS B (early 1370s); the Prise in MS Vg (early 1370s); MS A (early 1370s-1377). MSS E and F-G have recently

<sup>78</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 41\*, Burgundian MS No. 4. This MS can be traced as far as a 1643 inventory of Brussels MSS; it is lacking in the 1731 inventory (Marchand, Catalogue des manuscrits, p. cclvi, Viglius No. 274). It began with the Loange and ended with the Fonteinne.

<sup>79</sup> Item No. 12 in the 1468 (N.S.) inventory at Châteaudun of the library of Dunois lists "Ung livre appellé le livre de Machault" (L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, III [Paris, 1881], 194; also mentioned in Pierre Champion, La librairie de Charles d'Orléans [Paris, 1910], p. 126; cf. Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, 41\*b-42\*a).

<sup>80</sup> Michael Long supplied this reference from the unpublished library inventory of Turquan (1519) in A. H. Schutz, "Gleanings from Parisian Private Libraries of the Early Renaissance (1494-1558)," Romance Philology, 5 (1951), 29. The reference is not specific enough to attach it to an extant MS, but it appears that the MS, whether extant or lost, contained music: Machaut's Prise d'Alexandrie "avecques plusieurs autres livres, balades et chansons." The comment on p. 34 of this article ("... the verse of Machaut and Christine [de Pizan] is found in the collection of a certain Louis de Bruges, a noble"), refers not to the above item, but to MS A, which in 1519 was already at Blois with the rest of the library of Louis de Bruges (see n. 135 below). The Pizan MS, copied for Isabeau de Bavière, is now GB-Lbl Harl. 4431.

been placed in the 1390s on art-historical evidence.<sup>\*1</sup>

The identification of [Burg4] in inventories as "Le livre du Temps Pastour [sic] et plusieurs Balades et Laiz" is further testimony to the popularity of Behaingne, which was sometimes known as Le Temps Pascour from the first line of the poem, "Au temps pascour que toutes riens n'esgaie."<sup>\*2</sup> [Burg4] contained the poetical texts of Machaut at the stage of about 1361, the date of Fonteinne. This disposition suggests an interesting possibility. Such a MS could well have formed the first half, containing only the texts, of a Machaut MS completed by a second volume containing motés et chansons notées, not otherwise distinguished as a book of Machaut in early inventories. The present state of MS Vg confirms this as a possibility: Fonteinne in Vg is the penultimate dit of the text portion of the MS, which closes with the short Harpe, taking up approximately the last two folios of the gathering. The first folio of the music section of Vg, opening as usual with the lais, appears dirty and worn, suggesting that Vg was once bound as two separate volumes. The practical advantages of such a layout (cf. n. 7 above) are great: one volume with texts and miniatures, a second volume with the music.

2. MSS CONTAINING PORTIONS OF A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF MACHAUT'S WORKS, ALONG WITH WORKS BY OTHER AUTHORS.

- a) Containing some music, or laid out to contain some music.

\*1 See Chap. 2.

\*2 For example, this is the heading in Vg(B). (The opening rubrics of the important MSS are listed in Appendix C below, section on Behaingne.) This title apparently became even more popular than Machaut's original title. "Le Temps Pasquour" is cited as if everyone would immediately know the reference ("Une autre taille avons qui est de 3 et 1, sy comme le Temps Pasquour. . .") in the Anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique, ed. E. Langlois, p. 33.

- i) Morg. US-NYpm 396.<sup>83</sup>
  - ii) K. CH-BEsu 218 (contains music for the two ballades in the Remede).
  - iii) J. F-Pa 5203 (empty staves or space for staves for the two ballades of the Remede).<sup>84</sup>
- b) Containing texts only.
- i) H. F-Pn fr. 881.
  - ii) [Burg3]. Lost MS.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> This MS, copied by one scribe, also contains La Belle Dame sans Merci (1424) of Alain Chartier. See J. C. Laidlaw, ed., The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier (hereafter: Chartier) (Cambridge, 1974), p. 73 (siglum Gf). On the date of this poem (which provides a terminus after which the MS was copied), see Chartier, pp. 7 and 39. Laidlaw indicates that the text of Chartier's poem contains some northeastern dialect forms. The Machaut section of Morg was copied from MS A c. 1425-30, see François Avril, "Les Manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut: Essai de chronologie," in Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque-Table ronde organisé par l'Université de Reims. .19-22 Avril 1978 (Paris, 1982), pp. 129-30. Conjunctive variants with MS A in the few musical works in Morg support Avril's thesis of direct copy.

<sup>84</sup> Short description in Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date de lieu ou de copiste, I (Paris, 1959), 408 (No. 130), and Pl. clxxxvii (part of Vergier, fol. 29). Fourrier, Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Debats", pp. 76-77, attaches the note at the end of MS J ("Cest livre est a mon tres redoubté seigneur monseigneur le conte du Perche, et fut escript a Bellesme") to Robert d'Alençon, Count of Perche from 1361 to his death in 1377. His projected marriage in 1371 to Jeanne de Navarre, sister of the traitorous pretender Charles le Mauvais, was successfully opposed by Charles V. Perhaps this political circumstance explains the fact that Machaut's Jugement dou Roi de Navarre does not appear in the MS, though later dits do. The question of the relationship of this MS to K, dated 1371, still needs clarification. On the dates of Charles' patronage of Machaut, see the article of Chailley cited in n. 56 above.

<sup>85</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 40\*-41\*, Burgundian MS No. 3; Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 146, No. 35. This MS can be traced as far as 1797 (Marchand, Catalogue des manuscrits, p. ccliv, Viglius No. 199). It began with the Loange; the beginning of the last folio ("dont j'ay en ce romant traictie") is unidentified.

In these collections, the order of the portion containing Machaut's works corresponds to the authoritative order of one or more of the main MSS. But the category is ambiguous: individual examination is necessary to determine whether the non-Machaut works were included as part of the MS from the outset, or whether a fragment of an originally larger Machaut MS was subsequently bound with other fragments to form a miscellany. MSS H and [Burg3] are possibly such miscellanies. The others, Morg, K and J, are integral sources.

For two of the MSS in this category, there are some problems of attribution. Several works in MSS K and J that appear in none of the extant MSS in category 1. above have been edited as if they were works of Machaut.<sup>86</sup>

3. ANTHOLOGIES OF WORKS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS, WITH ISOLATED WORKS BY MACHAUT, ALMOST ALWAYS ANONYMOUSLY TRANSMITTED.<sup>87</sup>

a) Containing both narrative poems and lyrical poetry.

i) Stockh. S-Sk Vu 22. Contains Behaingne, M8 and R7, all with attribution.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques, I, cii, n. 1 (siglum M=J, R=K), with edition, Vol. II, 637-53. A dit at the end of J is ed. Fourrier, Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Débats", 302-29. Fourrier's grounds for attributing the work to Machaut are discussed in his introduction, pp. 79-86. The argument is not convincing. The Dit du Cerf blanc, with its "trois et un" strophic structure (see n. 82 above), is no doubt an early imitation of the popular Behaingne—later imitations, in the same verse pattern, include the Dit de Poissy and the Debat des Deux Amans of Christine de Pizan, and the Debat des Deux Fortunés d'Amours of Alain Chartier. Eight MSS containing Machaut's Behaingne, anonymously transmitted in all but one MS, are listed below, category 3a-b).

<sup>87</sup> The seven MSS listed as 3a) ii) and iv), and as 3b) iii), iv), vii), viii), and ix) are briefly discussed by Ludwig in Musikalische Werke, II, 7\*, n. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Datable about 1480 or a little later. See A. Piaget and E. Droz, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon," pp. 238-54, and Laidlaw, Chartier, pp. 96-97 and 117 (siglum Om).

- ii) R. F-Pn fr. 2230. Contains Behaingne, "Jugement d'amours" (anon.) among works of Alain Chartier.<sup>89</sup>
- iii) F-Pn fr. 20026. Contains Behaingne, "Jugement d'amours" (anon.) among works of Alain Chartier.<sup>90</sup>
- iv) F-CF 249. Contains Harpe (anon.).<sup>91</sup>
- v) I. F-Pn n.a.f. 6221. Includes several ballades of Machaut (all anon.).<sup>92</sup>
- vi) Westm. GB-Lwa 21. Includes many ballades (all anon.).
- vii) Les faits d'Alain Chartier (Paris: Pierre Le Caron, 1489). Includes "Amis t'amour" [L10] (among works of Alain Chartier).<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> This MS has the arms of Marguerite de Rohan, wife of Jean d'Angoulême (married 1445). For the several signatures and devices, see Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 108 (siglum Pf).

<sup>90</sup> L. Auvray and H. Omont, Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue général des manuscrits français, Pt. 3, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1900), 463-64. This MS has the arms of Marie de Clèves, wife of Charles d'Orléans, and is closely related to F-Pn fr. 2230, which belonged to Marie's sister. The several signatures and mottos on the flyleaves are discussed in Pierre Champion, "Un 'liber amicorum' du XVe siècle: Notice d'un manuscrit d'Alain Chartier ayant appartenu à Marie de Clèves, femme de Charles d'Orléans (Bibl. Nat., ms. français, 20026)," Revue des bibliothèques, 20 (1910), 320-36. See also Laidlaw, Chartier, pp. 56, and 111-12 (siglum Pj).

<sup>91</sup> C. Couderc et al., Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Vol. XIV (Paris, 1890), 82-88. Laidlaw, Chartier, pp. 80-81 (siglum Nh), gives watermark information.

<sup>92</sup> The poems are listed in Deschamps, Oeuvres, II, xvii-xliv. The first work in the MS (fol. 1) is Machaut's Lay mortel [L12], listed by Raynaud (Deschamps Oeuvres, II, xxiv) as a work of Chartier. Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 77 (siglum Ne). The MSS F-Pn n.a.f. 6220-6224 were originally one MS, of very diverse contents.

<sup>93</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke II, 17\*. printed eds. of Chartier from 1489 to 1617 (ed. André du Chesne, Paris: Thibost) contained the text of Machaut's "Amis t'amour" [L10] erroneously attributed to Chartier as a "Complainte." The entire series of editions is discussed, with relevant bibliography, in C. J. H. Walravens, Alain Chartier: études biographiques, suivies de pièces justificatives, d'une description des éditions et d'une édition des ouvrages inédits (Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 222-30. On the 1489 edition, see Laidlaw, Chartier, pp. 142-44. Oddly, F-Pn fr. 833 is a MS copied from le Caron's second printed edition (1489) of Chartier's works. It of course also contains Machaut's L10 (fol. 176v). See Chartier, pp.



viii) Jard. Jardin de Plaisance (Paris: Vérard, [1501]). Includes several ballades (all anon.).<sup>94</sup>

b) Containing narrative poems only.

- i) F-Pn fr. 1149. Contains Behaingne (anon.).<sup>95</sup>
- ii) F-Pn fr. 1595. Contains Behaingne (frag., anon.).<sup>96</sup>
- iii) P. F-Pn fr. 2165-2166. Contains Behaingne (anon.).
- iv) F-AS 897 (anc. 587). Contains Behaingne (anon.).<sup>97</sup>
- v) US-NYhpk (formerly Phillipps 6740). Contains Behaingne (anon.).<sup>98</sup>
- vi) [Lion]. Lost MS of Lion.<sup>99</sup>

99-101 (siglum Pa).

<sup>94</sup> Facs. ed. E. Picot, Le Jardin de Plaisance (Paris, 1910); Notes et introduction, ed. E. Droz and A. Piaget (Paris, 1925). See also Walravens, Alain Chartier, pp. 234-37. Later editions, 1501-c. 1530, have more or less reduced contents, see Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, p. 17\*.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur Långfors, Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1917; rpt. New York, 1970), p. 30.

<sup>96</sup> Långfors, Les incipit, p. 30. A short description is in Léopold Hervieux, Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge, I, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1893), 528-30.

<sup>97</sup> Recent description in Mariantonia Liborio, "Una versione piccarda inedita della 'Visio Philiberti,'" Cultura neolatina, 33 (1973), 105-07.

<sup>98</sup> Långfors, Les incipit, p. 30. Sold at Sotheby's, 29 November 1966. See Bibliotheca Phillipica. Medieval Manuscripts: New Series: Second Part, lot 56, pp. 53-57. The MS was then advertised in H. P. Kraus's Catalogue 117: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts Selected for the Beauty of Their Illumination and the Significance of Their Text. . . (New York, [1968?]), No. 30, pp. 97-98. A letter from H. P. Kraus dated 21 October 1982 informs me that the MS is still in the possession of that firm.

<sup>99</sup> See Elisabeth Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle (Paris, 1955), p. 271, Item A. 889 (inventory of 1426): "Liber unus in gallico in versibus parvi et grossi voluminis qui incipit: Quant la ceson diver decline et finitur: mon bien ma pars ma souffisance et est cum assidibus et copertura corii nigri." I am indebted to Michael P. Long for this reference. The explicit has not been identified; it is apparently not a work of Machaut.

- vii) L. CH-BESu A 95. Contains Confort (with attribution, fragment).<sup>100</sup>
  - viii) F-Pn fr. 994. Contains Confort (anon.).<sup>101</sup>
  - ix) F-CH 485. Contains Confort (anon.).
- c) Containing lyrical poetry.
- i) F-Pn fr. 2201. Contains L10 (anon.) as "Complainte d'amour."<sup>102</sup>
  - ii) Pen. US-PHu Fr. 15. Contains rondeaux, virelais, ballades, chansons royales, and complaintes (all anon.).<sup>103</sup>
  - iii) CH-LACu 350. Contains several ballades of the Loange, none of which were ever set to music (all anon.).<sup>104</sup>
  - iv) E-Bc 8. Contains fragments (all anon.).<sup>105</sup>
- d) Musical anthologies (listed in Table 1.2 above, pp. 14 ff).

<sup>100</sup> Hoepffner, Oeuvres, III, xix, mentions this and the following two MSS containing the Confort.

<sup>101</sup> L. Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, I (Paris, 1868), 479, Item 1849.

<sup>102</sup> This MS contains mostly poetry, with one prose work. See Arthur Piaget, Oton de Grandson: sa vie et ses poésies (Lausanne, 1941), pp. 109-12.

<sup>103</sup> See Catalog of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800, comp. Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 57, and Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonnier."

<sup>104</sup> Formerly library of Arthur Piaget, see Laidlaw, Chartier, pp. 86-87 (siglum Np). Also described in Arthur Piaget, Oton de Grandson, pp. 112-14, which contains an edition of part of the MS. To the works of Macnaut identified by Piaget, his Nos. V [Lo18], VII [Lo5], VIII [Lo11], IX [Lo40], XI [Lo52], XII [Lo30], XXXV [Lo29], XXXVI [Lo6] and XXXVII [Lo55], add VI [Lo37], identified in Wilkins, La Louange, pp. 30-31, No. 83 (siglum Neuchâtel).

<sup>105</sup> Includes the first strophe of Lo220, and the end of Complainte 5, among the works of Oton de Grandson. Ed. Amédée Pagès, La Poésie française en Catalogne, pp. 173-244.

Anthologies of various genres by various authors, often anonymous, form a primary link in the transmission of both poetry (narrative and lyrical) and music in late fourteenth century France, and this channel continued through the fifteenth century. For authors such as Oton de Grandson and Alain Chartier, who did not insure that their oeuvre would remain intact by the preparation of large complete MSS, this is the primary channel by which works were transmitted. Chartier's works remained so popular that a printed edition of his "complete works" was prepared posthumously. But since it reproduced the works in MSS of the present category, many spurious works (among them Machaut's L10) were included. Items ii), iii) and vii) in 3a) place works of Machaut with works of Alain Chartier. Items i) ii) iii) and iv) in 3c) place Machaut among works of Oton de Grandson (who in turn was not recognized and confused with Chartier). The largely anonymous transmission in musical anthologies (category 3d) is discussed above in connection with Table 1.2.

#### 4. MSS TRANSMITTING INDIVIDUAL WORKS.

##### a) Containing a single narrative poem.

- i) Pep. GB-Cmc 1594. Originally contained the Remede only. An unidentified second work by another scribe was later bound on.<sup>106</sup>
- ii) D-Bk 78 C 2. Contains Lion (anon.).<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Iain Fenlon, ed., Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700 (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 100-03; a facs. of Rem4 (fols. 23v-24r) is given there on p. 102.

<sup>107</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 7a\*, n. 2. Paul Wescher, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen--Handschriften und Einzelblätter--des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin (Leipzig, 1931), p. 40. L. Olschki, Manuscrits français à peintures des bibliothèques d'Allemagne (Geneva, 1932), p. 39 and Taf. XLV. In an unpublished paper for the 1978 Machaut conference at Reims, "Guillaume de Machaut et ses illustreurs," François Avril dates the miniatures around 1390. The

- iii) [Fonteinne]. Lost MS of the Fonteinne ("Morpheus").<sup>108</sup>
  - iv) [Voir Dit1]. Lost MS of the Voir Dit, taken in 1375(?) by Eustache Deschamps to Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders.<sup>109</sup>
  - v) [Voir Dit2]. Lost MS, probably of the Voir Dit, given by the duchess of Bar (sister of Charles V) to Juan I of Aragon in 1380.<sup>110</sup>
  - vi) [Burg5]. Lost paper MS of Prise.<sup>111</sup>
- b) Containing lyrical poetry, with or without music.
- i) F-La 134. Contains L3 (anon.) with music.<sup>112</sup>
  - ii) Maggs. Rotulus, present whereabouts unknown. Contains fragment of "Un mortel lay" [L12 Le lay mortel], with music (anon.).<sup>113</sup>

artist collaborated with Remiet, the miniaturist of Machaut MS F-G, in a copy of the Pèlerinages of Guillaume de Digulleville, now F-Pn fr. 829, a MS copied in 1393. See Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits, I, 37 and n. 6, and III, 310-11; Avril and Lafaurie, La librairie de Charles V (Paris, 1968), Avril's commentary p. 90, and notes to Nos. 195 and 203.

<sup>108</sup> Referred to in the Voir Dit, Paris ed., p. 53 (letter VI), and p. 69 (letter X).

<sup>109</sup> See Raynaud, ed. Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps, XI (Paris, 1903), 22 and 224, in reference to Ball. 127 (Oeuvres. . . Deschamps, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, I [Paris, 1878], 248-49). Raynaud thus rejects the possibility mentioned by Saint-Hilaire (Vol. I, 377), that the ballade may have been written for the marriage of Philippe the Bold and Margaret of Flanders (19 June 1369). In the ballade, Deschamps says he read the passage on Fortune before Louis de Mâle and many knights. This is of interest because MSS K and J contain only this passage excerpted from the Voir Dit (cf. Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 14a\*-b\* and n. 3). Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 22, and p. 147, n. 6, is in error in asserting that a copy of the Voir Dit would necessarily have included music for the lyrical interpolations. For other references in Deschamps to Machaut, see Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 17b\*, n. 1, and Poirion, Le poète, pp. 225-26.

<sup>110</sup> See n. 77 above. Juan I or Yolande thus may have owned Vg, as well as a separate MS of the Voir Dit, lacking in Vg.

<sup>111</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 41a\*.

<sup>112</sup> Described by David Fallows, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Lai," pp. 477-83.

<sup>113</sup> See n. 67 above.

- iii) Ars. F-Pa 683. Fragment, contains three lais.
- iv) [Burg6]. Untraced MS that opened with "Aus amans pour exemplaire" [L4].<sup>114</sup>
- v) [several lost MSS]. References in the Voir Dit to such transmission at the court.<sup>115</sup>

This group includes the witnesses to the important lower level of transmission. Some are presentation copies (D-Bk 78 C 2 and possibly also GB-Cmc 1594), others are early copies, perhaps quite close to the author, of individual works. No doubt once the most numerous group, it is now represented largely by references to lost MSS.

#### 5. TREATISES THAT CITE WORKS OF MACHAUT AS EXAMPLES.

##### a) Rhetorical treatises.

- i) Eustache Deschamps, L'art de dictier (1392).<sup>116</sup>
- ii) Anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique (between 1411 and 1432).<sup>117</sup>
- iii) Baudet Herenc, Le doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique (1432).<sup>118</sup>

##### b) Musical treatises.

<sup>114</sup> J. Barrois, Bibliothèque protypographique, ou librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berry, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens (Paris, 1830), p. 201, No. 1379 (inventory of Bruges, c. 1467). The beginning of the last folio, "dont sans votre honneur," is unidentified.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Sarah Jane Williams, "An Author's Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut's 'Livre ou je met toutes mes choses,'" Romania, 90 (1969), 437-38. Cf. also Champion, La librairie de Charles d'Orléans, p. xxviii, No. 44: "Item quatre feuillets ou [sont] plusieurs Chansons notées."

<sup>116</sup> Ed. Raynaud, Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps, VII (Paris, 1891), 266-92.

<sup>117</sup> Ed. Langlois, Recueil, pp. 11-103.

<sup>118</sup> Ed. Langlois, Recueil, pp. 104-98.

- i) Philippe de Vitry, Ars nova. (F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction).<sup>119</sup>
- ii) P-H. Anon. Pennsylvania-Schloss Harburg.<sup>120</sup>

The rhetorical treatises that cite Machaut's poetry attest to the continued viability of his verses long after his death. Perhaps by chance, all of the examples are works that were set to music by Machaut. Deschamps, who may have been Machaut's pupil, cited "Vos doulz" [R8] and "Certes mon oueil" [R15] in their entirety as examples of rondeaux. No specific comment accompanies the works, and no attribution was supplied. R15 is transmitted in the text chansonniers US-PHu Fr. 15 and Jard, but R8 is otherwise known only from the music sections of the main Machaut MSS. The passing mention, also without attribution to Machaut, in the anon. Règles (between 1411 and 1432) of the narrative poem Behaingne (as "Au temps pascour") is mentioned above, nn. 82 and 86. In his oft-cited introductory remarks, the author places Machaut right after Vitry:

Après vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motès, et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique trouva les .iiij. prolacions, et les notes rouges, et la noveleté des proporcions.

Après vint maistre Guillaume de Machault, le grant rethorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les parfaits lays d'amours.<sup>121</sup>

The mention of lais is important. Machaut himself had high regard for this genre, as will be seen below in Chap. 4. As late as 1432, the treatise of Baudet Herenc cited three lais of Machaut, the first strophe of "Par trois raisons" [L6], the first strophe of "Amours doucement" [L7] (with many substantive variants in the text), and the first strophe of "Qui bien aime"

<sup>119</sup> Ed. given in n. 10 above.

<sup>120</sup> Ed. given in n. 33 above.

<sup>121</sup> Langlois, Recueil, p. 12.

[L22]. By 1432, the lai form, quite complex metrically, was all but extinct.

All of the works cited in musical treatises were widely diffused. "Qui es promesses" [M8] is cited only in the St.-Victor redaction of the Ars nova, along with some other examples of motets apparently slightly posterior to the motets cited in the Vatican redaction of the Ars nova.<sup>122</sup> Machaut's motet is the example cited for tempus imperfectum minor, otherwise a rare mensuration for motets in the fourteenth century.<sup>123</sup> Finally, P-H, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century treatise, cited works in the widest general circulation, "De petit peu" [B18] and "De toutes flours" [B31] as examples of ballades, and "Se vous n'estes" [R7] as an example of a rondeau. Johannes de Muris, in his discussion of mutatio qualitas in the Libellus, may have had B18 in mind (see pp. 20ff above). The rondeau "Rose, lis" [R10] is a better example, but the work does not appear to have been widely circulated.

. . . . .

The classification of the sources of Machaut's works, both extant sources and those traceable from indirect clues, indicates the wide variety of ways in which his works circulated. Outside of the large Machaut collections, the separate components circulated individually. Frequently, long narrative poems circulated as works bound singly, or several were included in one vol-

<sup>122</sup> These include "Qui doloureux," also cited in the anon. Erfurt treatise, preserved in I-IV 115, fols. 22v-23r, GB-DRc 20, fol. 339v, and the index F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 (No. 99 in the inventories of Bessler, "Studien-II," p. 239, and Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 156), and "Gratissima," motet No. 11 in Table 1.1 above.

<sup>123</sup> The hypothesis of W. Frobenius, "Prolatio," HMT (1972), p. 4a, that some Fauvel motets notated with unsigned semibreves were conceived as works in minor prolation, later changed to major prolation when stems were added, needs further study; cf. Long, "Musical Tastes," p. 74, n. 131.

ume. It will be seen that the physical structure of some of the larger MSS mirrors the separable nature of individual narrative poems.

A second component is the collection of lyrical poems. The Loange des dames is a heterogenous collection of lyrical poetry, bound into the main Machaut MSS, similar in appearance to the anthologies of lyrical poetry that commonly circulated as separate MSS.

The third component of the text portion of the MSS is the narrative dit with lyrical interpolations, sometimes copied with music. Poems of this sort had a long tradition in French literature, indeed, they are microcosms of the main Machaut MSS. Friedrich Ludwig's description of MSS containing such narratives could serve as well for any of the large Machaut collections:

. . . indes sind gerade in der französischen Ueberlieferung die Handschriften immerhin ganz zahlreich, in denen Dichtung, Musik und Bildschmuck gleichmässig sorgfältig bedacht sind und so die oft wundervollen kleinen Gesamtkunstwerke entstehen, die für das 13. und 14. Jahrhundert so charakteristisch sind.<sup>124</sup>

It is such deluxe MSS, combining miniatures, narrative poetry, and lyrical interpolations with music, that are the forerunners of the complete-works MSS of Machaut, the last and richest manifestations of this art.

<sup>124</sup> Ludwig, "Quellen," p. 216, and cf. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," SIMG, 4 (1902-03), 34.



## Chapter 2

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MSS

The most influential hypothesis guiding musical research on Machaut in the twentieth century has been Hoepffner's assertion that the MSS present the works in different chronological stages.

Il existait donc du vivant même du poète des manuscrits qui ne contenaient qu'une partie de ses oeuvres, partie plus ou moins considérable selon l'époque où ils furent écrits; d'après l'état plus ou moins avancé de l'original de Guillaume. Ces copies présentaient les oeuvres de Machaut dans les différentes phases de leur développement, et les manuscrits que nous possédons encore aujourd'hui reproduisent en quelque sorte quelques-unes au moins de ces étapes dans le progrès de l'oeuvre du poète.<sup>125</sup>

Hoepffner's conclusions about the relationships between the MSS were based only on the works in Vol. I of his edition.<sup>126</sup> His promise of a complete study of the MSS, and of Machaut's orthography and language was never fulfilled, and there is still no thoroughgoing study of these aspects of Machaut's poetry by a competent philologist.<sup>127</sup> Ludwig, in the commentary volume to his edition of the musical works, accepted the notion of a basic

<sup>125</sup> Hoepffner, *Oeuvres*, I, xlix. He also argued that the complete-works MSS of the poetry of Machaut's younger contemporary Froissart were arranged chronologically, see Hoepffner, "La chronologie des 'Pastourelles' de Froissart," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, II (Paris, 1913), 27-42.

<sup>126</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, xlv. The first volume comprises the *Prologue*, *Vergier*, *Behaigne*, *Navarre*, and the *Lay de plour*.

<sup>127</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, xlv and li. It is to be hoped that the gap will be filled by the long-awaited new edition by Paul Imbs of the *Voir Dit* (although this poem appears only in MSS A, E, and F-G). A modern lexicographical study is Gilles Roques and Noël Musso, "Etude du vocabulaire de Guillaume de Machaut: Projet d'un lexique de ses oeuvres," in *Etudes de syntaxe du moyen français*, ed. Robert Martin (Metz, 1978), 189-92.

corpus of works, gradually augmented by additional works in later MSS.<sup>128</sup> The premise was taken up later in the writings of Sarah Jane Williams and Gilbert Reaney, and finally Ursula Günther was able to separate the different genres into rough chronological categories.<sup>129</sup> She explored each genre for stylistic characteristics corroborating the overall chronology, and also isolated stylistic characteristics common to different genres. More recently, however, the assumptions underlying Hoepffner's statement have been contested.<sup>130</sup>

It seems risky indeed to speak in terms of Machaut's "growing contents" when a manuscript may not be complete, or when a supposedly late manuscript has omitted more than it has added [reference to F-G, a late MS containing a gap of some forty poems in the Loange]. And given that one could agree with the suggested dates of the narrative poems, pinpointing the terminus of a group of compositions by the presence or absence of a certain narrative poem is risky because the

<sup>128</sup> "Der Umfang der Gruppen variiert ein wenig, so dass für alle Gattungen ein grosses, zur Zeit der Niederschrift der ältesten Handschrift bereits abgeschlossenes Korpus zu erkennen ist, das in der Folgezeit dann noch weitere grössere oder geringere Erweiterungen erfuhr" (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 7\*).

<sup>129</sup> Sarah Jane Williams, "The Music of Guillaume de Machaut" (Diss. Yale University 1952). Gilbert Reaney, "A Chronology of the Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais Set to Music by Guillaume de Machaut," MD, 6 (1952), 33-38. Ursula Günther, "Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an Virelais, Balladen und Rondeaux von Machaut sowie datierbaren Kantilenensätzen seiner Zeitgenossen und direkten Nachfolger," (Diss. Hamburg 1957). The section dealing with the chronology and style of the works of Machaut was later extracted and condensed somewhat as "Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts," AcM, 35 (1963), 96-114. Reaney's later article, "Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works," MD, 21 (1967), 87-96, profits from the presentation of Günther, as well as the datings in Armand Machabey, Guillaume de Machaut 130?-1377: La vie et les oeuvres musicales, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955).

<sup>130</sup> Sarah Jane Williams, "An Author's Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production," pp. 433-54, and Elizabeth A. Keitel, "A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut Based on a Study of Fascicle-Manuscript Structure in the Larger Manuscripts," (Diss. Cornell 1976). Keitel's work draws on the inferences of Williams' article, and on the work of Charles Hamm on fifteenth-century musical anthologies ("Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era").

poems were often copied in fascicles, and their exclusion may not indicate that they did not yet exist. By the same token, their inclusion need not indicate that they were copied immediately after they were composed.<sup>131</sup>

Nevertheless, a systematic exposition of the physical structure of the Machaut MSS, and a study of the conclusions that may be drawn from such information, is still lacking.<sup>132</sup>

In this chapter, the physical layout of each of the principal MSS, and of some of those of lesser importance, will be considered. Although most of the principal Machaut MSS are beautifully-prepared presentation copies, it will be seen that each exhibits different structural characteristics. Eventually, one may hope to derive some general traits of scribal practice and MS production from the consideration of several sources transmitting basically similar material.

#### MS A (F-PN FR. 1584)

Several features of MS A recommend it as a point of departure. Since A contains virtually the complete works, it provides a sample of the difficulties encountered in collecting several genres into a single book. MS F-G has a few extra works and in most genres is more complete; however, research on the illuminations of the principal MSS has placed F-G in the early 1390s, while MS A can be dated within Machaut's lifetime (1370s).<sup>133</sup> MS A also includes a contemporary index of considerable interest. That the heading

<sup>131</sup> Keitel, "A Chronology," p. 35.

<sup>132</sup> Many of Keitel's observations are not borne out by examination of the MSS. Her application of Hamm's theory of the 'fascicle-MS' to the Machaut MSS depends to a great extent on MS B's independence from, even priority to, MS Vg, an assertion that cannot be sustained. The evidence of lost MSS (see Chap. 1) supports Hoepffner's view.

<sup>133</sup> The research of François Avril will be discussed below.

("here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have") is significant is well known.<sup>134</sup> However, a close examination of the index and the order it specifies raises several questions about the compilation of the codex. Finally, the physical makeup of MS A is extraordinarily varied, and several questions of MS structure can be raised based on this MS.<sup>135</sup>

### The Index

The index of MS A is entered on an unnumbered bifolio at the front of the MS.<sup>136</sup> Curiously, the order of the works given by the index is not always the same as the order found in the body of the MS. The evidence is strong, in fact, that the index was drawn up before the MS itself was copied, and

<sup>134</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 9a\*.

<sup>135</sup> Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 130, indicates that A was still in France c. 1430, when it served as the exemplar for MS Morg. In the late fifteenth century, MS A belonged to Louis of Bruges, sire of Gruthuyse (1422-92) (L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits, I, 144). Some writing in English on the last guard leaves of the MS may be a hint that MS A had the same history as many of the MSS formerly belonging to the library of Charles V and Charles VI: making its way to England after the death of the Duke of Bedford (1435), where it was purchased by Louis of Bruges and taken back to the continent. See Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, I, 138-41 (cf. also pp. 283-84), and Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380) (New York, 1978), commentary to pl. 29 and 30, p. 36 (my copy erroneously lists 1586 as the shelf mark of the MS). For instance, on fol. 505v, the following two inscriptions are in the same hand: "ne me metes enoblyance / [] ye de vos sovena[n]ce" (below:) "of me ensvryd may ye be / to love beste tyl that I dye." (Of course the English does not necessarily prove that the MS was in England, given the contemporary political events.) On Louis' death, most of his MSS went to the library of Louis XII at Blois. MS A appears in the 1518 inventory of the royal library, see H. Omont, Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale, Tome I: La librairie royale à Blois, Fontainebleau et Paris au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1908), p. 15, No. 108. It must be added, however, that the original owner of MS A is unknown; the MS does not appear in any of the inventories (1373-1424) of the library of Charles V or Charles VI published by Delisle.

<sup>136</sup> There is a modern foliation, A-B. For the physical structure of this part of the MS, see the appended chart of the collation of MS A, gathering A.

that only the rubricated folio numbers and a few corrections were entered in accordance with the locations of works in the completed MS. The index of A is in effect a "Table of Contents" for the MS. It does not reorder the components of the MS into an alphabetical order (as do the indices of F-Pn n.a.f. 6771 and F-Pn it. 568) or into an order by genre (as do the indices of F-Pn fr. 146 and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190); it is merely supposed to reflect the order of the MS. It is all the more surprising, then, that it does not. The index of MS E, the only other Machaut MS with an original index, does reflect the final disposition of that codex, and was copied after its final organization. For purposes of discussion, a transcription of the index of MS A follows.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Folio numbers have been changed to their Arabic equivalents and placed in even columns. Where the folio number does not correspond to the recto or verso of the indicated number, the correct folio number is given in brackets. All abbreviations have been expanded. The spaces between individual series of items represent the extent of these spaces in the codex itself. Musical works are identified according to their number in Ludwig, Musikalische Werke.

Vesci l'ordenance que  
.G. de machau wet  
qu'il ait en son livre

Premiers

Le dit dou vergier	.1.	
Le iugement dou roy de beheingne	.10.	
Le iugement dou roy de navarre	.23.	
Remede de fortune	.50.	
Le dit dou lyon	.81.	
Le dit de l'alerion	.97.	
Confort d'amy	.127.	
La fonteinne amoureuse	.154.	
Le dit de la harpe	.174.	
Les balades ou il n'a point de chant	.178.	
Les chansons roiaus et les complaints	.215.	
Le dit de la marguerite	.214.	Le voir dit
La prise d'alixandre	.309.	(221
Le dit de la rose	.366.	
<u>Ci commencent les lays</u>		[Ludwig ed.]
Loyaute que point ne delay	.367.	L1
J'aim la flour	.370.	L2
Pour ce qu'on puist mieus retraire	.371.	L3
Aus amans pour exemplaie	.374.	L4
Nuls ne doit avoir merueille	.375.	L5
Par trois raisons	.377.	L6
Qui n'aroit autre deport		Rem1
Amours doucement me tente	.379.	L7
On parle de richesses	.382.	L8
Amours se plus demandoie	.383.	L9
Amis t'amour me contraint	.384.	L10
Se quanque dieus en monde	.386.	L11
Un mortel lay weil	.388.	L12
Qui bien aime a tart oublie		L22
Maintes fois oy recorder	.390.	L13
Ne say comment commencer	.392.	L14
Contre ce dous mois de may	.394.	L15
Je ne cesse de prier	.396.	L16
S'onques dolereusement	.399.	L17
Longument me sui tenus	.402.	L18
Maugre fortune	.404.	L19
Je ne me say conforter	.407.	L20
Pour vivre ioliement	.409.	L21

Les notes

Quant en moy vint premierement	.415.	M1
De souspirant cuer	.416.	M2
Fine amour	.417.	M3
Puis que la douce rousee	.418.	M4
Qui plus aime plus endure	.419.	M5
S'amours tous amans ioir	.420.	M6
Lasse ie sui en aventure	.421.	M7
Ha fortune	.422.	M8
O livoris feritas	.423.	M9
Helas ou sera pris confors	.424.	M10
Fins cuers dous	.425.	M11
Corde mesto	.426.	M12
Eins que ma dame d'onnour	.427.	M13
De ma douleur confortez doucement	.428.	M14
Faus samblant	.429.	M15
Se i'aim mon loyal amy	.430.	M16
O series	.431.	M17
Bone pastor guillerme	.432.	M18
Diligenter	.433.	M19
Biaute paree	.434.	M20
Veni creator	.435.	M21
Plange regni	.436.	M22
Inviolata	.437.	M23

La messe .439.les balades

S'amours ne fait par sa grace	.454.	B1
Helas tant ay douleur	.455.	B2
On ne porroit penser ne	.455.	B3
Biaute qui toutes autres pere	.456.	B4
Riches d'amours & mendiens d'amie	.456.	B5
Dous amis oy mon complaint	.457.	B6
J'aim mieus languir	.457.	B7
De desconfort	.458.	B8
Sans cuer m'en vois	.459. [=458]	} B17
Amis dolens tous [sic] mas	.458.	
Dame par vous me sens reconfortez	.459. [=458v]	
Dame ne resgardez pas	.450. [=459r]	B9
Ne pensez pas dame que ie recroie	.460.	B10

N'en fait n'en dit n'en pensee	.460.	B11	
Pour ce que tous mes chans fais	.461.	B12	
Esperence qui m'asseure	.461.	B13	
Je ne cuit pas qu'onques	.462.	B14	
Se ie me pleing je n'en puis mais	.462.	B15	
Dame comment qu'amez de vous	.463.	B16	
De petit po de niant volente	.463.	B18	
Amours me fait desirer & amer	.464.	B19	
Je sui einsi com cis qui est ravis	.464.	B20	
Se quanqu'amours puet donner	.475.	B21	
Il m'est avis	.465.	B22	
De fortune me doy pleindre et loer	} .466.	B23	
Tres douce dame que i'aour		B24	
Honte paour	} .467.	B25	
Donnez seigneurs		B26	
Une vipere	.468.	B27	
Ie puis trop bien ma dame comparer	.468.	B28	
De triste cuer	} .469.	} B29	
Quant vrais amans			
Certes ie di			
Pas de tor	} .470.	B30	
De toutes flours	} .471.	B31	
Plourez dames		B32	
Nes qu'on porroit	} .472.	B33	
Quant theseus .472. Ne quier veoir.*		B34	
Gais et iolis	} .473.	B35	
Se pour ce muir	} .474.	B36	
Dame se vous m'estes lontaine		B37	
Phyton	} .475.	B38	

### Les Rondeaus

Dous viaire gracieus	} .476.	R1
Helas pour quoy se demente	} .477.	R2
Merci vous pri ma douce dame		R3
Sans cuer dolens	} .477.	R4
Quant i'ay lespart		R5
Cinq .i.xiiij.viiij.ix	} .478.	R6
Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon		R7
<del>Tant doucement</del> +	} .475.	R9
Rose lis printemps		R10
Tant doucement*		R9

\*: Added, different ink. +: On the deletion, see below, pp. 69ff.



Vo dous regart	.480.	R8
Comment puet on <amer> miex*	}	R11
Ce qui soustient		.469. [=478v]
Dame se vous n'avez aperceu	.479.	R13
Dis & .vii.v.	.476.	R17
Ma fin et mon commencement [sic]		R14
Certes mon oueil richement vīsa bel	.480.	R15
Puis qu'en oubli sui	.481.	R18
Quant ma dame les maus d'amer	}	R19
Douce dame tant com vivray		.481.

<u>Chansons baladees</u>			
He dame de vaillance	}	.482.	V1
Loiaute weil tous iours maintenir		V2	
Einmi dame de valour	}	.483.	V3
Douce dame iolie			V4
Comment qu'a moy lonteinne	}	.484.	V5
Se ma dame m'a guerpi			V6
Puis que ma douleur agree	}	.484.	V7
Dou mal qui m'a longuement			V8
Dame ie weil endurer	}	.485.	V9
De bonte de valour			V10
He dame de valour	}	.486.	V11
Dame a qui m'ottri			V12
Quant ie suis mis au retour	}	.486.	V13
J'aim sans penser laidure			V14
Se mesdisans en a tort	}	.487.	V15
C'est force faire le weil			V16
Dame vostre dous viaire	}	.488.	V17
Helas et comment aroie			V18
Dieux.biaute.douceur nature	}	.488.	V19
Se d'amer me repentoie			V20
Dame le dous souvenir	}	.489.	V21
Se loyaute m'est amie			V22
Je vivroie liement	}	.480. [=489v]	V23
Cis a bien fole pensee			V24
Foy porter honneur garder	}	.491.	V25
Tres bele & bonne mi oueil [sic]			V26
En mon cuer a .j. descort	.491.	V27	
Tuit mi penser sont sans cesser	.490.	V28	

\*: "amer" cancelled.

Mors sui se ie ne vous voy	.491.	V29
Lient me deport	}	V30
Plus dure que un dymant		V31
Dame mon cuer en portez		V32
Se ie souspir parfondement	}	V36
Ie ne me puis saouler		V33
L'ueil qui est le droit archier	}	V34
Plus bele que le biau iour		V35
Moult sui de bonne heure nee		V37
De tout sui si confortee	.495.	V38

Ces choses qui sensuivent trouverez en Remede de fortune  
lay

Qui n'aroit autre deport	.52.	Rem1
<u>Complainte</u>		
Tels rit au main qui au soir pleure	.56.	Rem2
<u>Chanson royal</u>		
Ioie plaissance & douce norriture	.64.	Rem3
<u>Balade</u>		
En amer a douce vie	.69.	Rem4
<u>Balade</u>		
Dame de qui toute ma ie vient [sic]	.71.	Rem5
<u>Chanson baladee</u>		
Dame a vous sans retollir	.74.	Rem6
<u>Rondel</u>		
Dame mon cuer en vous remaint	.79.	Rem7

The Dit Section, Including the Loange des Dames

An inconsistency appears in the index listing for the Loange. The two separate collections suggested by the index, "Les balades ou il n'a point de chant" and "Les chansons roiaus et les complaintes" (fol. Ac, tenth and eleventh entries) indicate a division not fully carried out in the finished MS, in which the chansons royales are still found combined with the ballades and rondeaux of the Loange, as in earlier MSS. The complaintes, however,

have been extracted from the main body of the Loange, and are separated from the other lyrical poems by the Dit de la marguerite (the order in the actual MS can be followed from the folio numbers given in the transcription of the index). It cannot be ascertained exactly why Marguerite was copied before its prescribed position, but perhaps the condition of the exemplar was in some way confusing to the scribe due to the separation of the complaintes from the Loange section. After setting aside the complaintes (in earlier redactions, they had been copied in the middle of the Loange section), they were temporarily forgotten.

Two other curiosities appear in the dit-section of the index. The short final poem, Les biens, was not included at all. Les biens was added at a late stage to MS A, and perhaps had not yet been composed at the time the index was written.<sup>138</sup> The later, extralinear addition of the Voir Dit is less easily dealt with. But a small area of the index has been effaced here—three items were erased and other items entered in their place. The erasure is evident in the MS as a surface scraped beyond the point that is normal for the preparation of the parchment. It clearly shows up as an area of greater translucence when the page is held up to light. The following diagram, more accurate than the above transcription of the index with regard to incidental details, indicates the extent of the erasure:

L e dit de la harpe. .C.lxxiiij.  
L es ballades ou il na point de chât. .C.lxxviiij.  
L es chasons roiaus & les cōplaites. .CCxv.  
L e dit de la marguerite CC.xiiiij. Le voir dit  
 L a prise dalixandre .CCCix. (CCxxj)  
 L e dit de la rose .CCC.lxxvj.  
Ci commencent les lays

<sup>138</sup> See n. 183 below.

The erasure was unfortunately complete, and none of the original reading is revealed by an examination of the area in question with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. Only indirect means are available to determine the significance of the erasure.

Blank lines were left between the rubrics of succeeding sections of the index, except between the text-section and the *lais* on fol. Ac.<sup>139</sup> Thus, entries were probably added here after the initial redaction of the index, and the Voir Dit was added later to the right of the entry for Marguerite. The Dit de la rose, and possibly the Prise as well, are narrative works that may have been added onto the end of the original listing. Perhaps also the breaking up of the Loange into two components, that is, the separation of the ballades from the chansons royales and complaintes, not present in previous redactions of the Loange, was a late idea. It is not clear whether the Voir Dit was included originally and then erased, or whether it too was added later.

By considering the extent of the scraped portions of the index (the boxed-off area in the above diagram), it is possible to infer what may have been changed. A comparison of the order of works in the text MS M (F-Pn fr. 843), which has only a slightly smaller number of works than MS A (though in a fifteenth-century copy), provides clues to the original state of this part of the index:

<sup>139</sup> See the transcription of the index above. Two spaces occur between the motets and the Mass, three spaces between the ballades and rondeaux, three spaces between the rondeaux and virelais, and several spaces between the virelais and the listing of the lyrical-musical interpolations to the Remede.

1. As in MS M, the Marguerite probably followed Harpe in MS A. This is corroborated by the length of the first erased line in the index, exactly enough space for "Le dit de la marguerite."
2. Since the poems of the Loange follow Marguerite in M, one might have expected the same procedure for A. However, the rubric for this section ("Les balades ou il na point de châ") is too long to fit in the erased area. A shorter indication, such as "Les balades," is too abbreviated. The answer may be inferred by working backwards from the music section. Since the Loange immediately precedes the lais in M, perhaps the original design in A was to withhold the Loange, the chansons not set to music, until immediately before the musical chansons, as was carried out in MSS C, M, and F-G.
3. Judging from the lengths of the erased portions, the last item in the index may have been the Voir Dit, followed by two blank spaces before the opening of the lais. In this disposition, the indication for the Loange was originally left out, and the Prise preceded the Voir Dit.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>140</sup> The thought that the Loange was originally forgotten is not inadmissible. Although M provides evidence of an earlier MS in which the Loange has been moved from its previous initial position, as in MSS Vg(B)DEHJK, the difficulty with A was that several new narrative poems were available, and that the complaintes were to form a separated section for the first time. Perhaps the intention was to use blank space before the lais for the new narratives, then to place the Loange immediately before the rubric for the lai section. Thus, the original disposition of index at the end of the text section may have been as follows:

Le dit de la marguerite  
 La prise dalixandre  
 Le voir dit

Ci commencent les lays

It cannot be ascertained when the index was corrected, only that the correction was carried out before the copying of the MS proper, since not even the altered order of pieces in the index reflects the finished MS, either with regard to the ordering of pieces, or with regard to the proper designation of the Loange section. The ink and handwriting for the titles written over the erased area are the same as those of the body of the index. Although certain other changes, in other hands, were made to bring the index into line with the order of the finished MS, the entries associated with the erasure are not alterations of this kind.

#### The Lai Section

From a listing of twenty-three items, two are inconsistent with the final order of the MS. The two works in question are easy to locate in the index because folio numbers were never entered for them. The lai "Qui n'aroit autre deport," in seventh position in the index, is the lai of the Remede [Rem1]. This is the only time in any of the Machaut MSS that this lai, or for that matter any of the lyrical interpolations to the Remede, is grouped with other works of the same genre. Perhaps this indicates something about the chronology of the lai; on stylistic grounds, its placement as number seven in the series is not unreasonable. No doubt Rem1 was not copied into the MS proper in the prescribed position because it was lacking in the exemplar, and it was not clear to the scribe where the missing lai was to be found.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>141</sup> It may be that Machaut was aiming towards including the lyrical interpolations in the Remede within the regular music sections, as was done for the later Voir Dit. However, this was not carried out for any of the other musical pieces in the Remede, and there is some question as to where the unique settings of the complainte and chanson royale could have been taken up. In any case, the idea is implicitly rejected in the final section

In A, the lai "Qui bien aime," the Lay de plour [L22], does not take its place after Navarre as in MSS Vg(B)E, but rather is indexed within the larger section of the MS devoted exclusively to lais. It was not copied in the MS at the position prescribed by the index, however. As was the case with Rem1, it is probable that since the exemplar did not contain the lai in this new position, it was initially forgotten when MS A was copied.<sup>142</sup> The lai was subsequently entered by a different scribe in some extra folios ruled with blank staves that fill out the gathering at the end of the section of lais.<sup>143</sup>

As was the case in the relocation of the Loange section into the central portion of the codex, nearer to the musical formes fixes, the usage of MS A resembles the order of the earlier MS C. In C also, L22 follows "Un mortel lay" [the Lay mortel, L12], although the arrangement of the succeeding lais is slightly different in C due to the organizational plan of grouping lais with music before those not set to music. The placement of L22 prescribed in the index of A is also close to the arrangement of MS M.

Table 2.1 will serve to clarify these relationships. The order of pieces presented in the table follows the order of the index of MS A. For each MS there are two columns: the lais set to music appear in the first column, while those for which there is only text appear in the column headed by an

of the index, where each of the lyrical interpolations in the Remede is listed separately.

<sup>142</sup> The same intention probably held for F-G; L22 is completely lacking there.

<sup>143</sup> The numbering of this lai in Ludwig's edition as No. 22 thus has no chronological significance. Cf. Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 100: "Ein gesichertes Datum existiert nur für den Lai de plour (1349), der in den Editionen eine hohe Nummer hat [Nr.22 (16)], weil er in A offenbar zunächst vergessen und dann als letzter Lai angehängt wurde."

TABLE 2.1  
The Ordering of the Lais

index A		codex							
		A	*	M	*	C	*	E	*
1. L1	Loyaute que point	1		1		1		1	
2. L2	J'aim la flour	2		2		2		5	
3. L3	Pour ce qu'on	3		3		3		8	
4. L4	*Aus amans		4		4		4		2
5. L5	Nuls ne doit	5		5		5		6	
6. L6	Par trois raisons	6		6		6		15	
7. Rem1	<u>Qui n'aroit</u>	Rem1		Rem1		Rem1		Rem1	
8. L7	<u>Amours doucement</u>	7		7		7		7	
9. L8	*On parle de		8		8		14		17
10. L9	*Amours se plus		9		9		15		3
11. L10	Amis t'amour	10		12		8		9	
12. L11	*Se quanque dieus		11		13		12		4
13. L12	Un mortel lay	12		10		9		10	
14. L22	<u>Qui bien aime</u>	22		11+		10		(Nav.)	
15. L13	*Maintes fois		13		14		13		18
16. L14	Ne say comment	14		15		11		11	
17. L15	Contre ce dous	15		18		--		12	
18. L16	Je ne cesse	16		16		--		14	
19. L17	S'onques doleureusement	17		17		--		13	
20. L18	Longuement me sui	18		19		--		<u>Voir</u>	
21. L19	Maugre fortune	19		20		--		--	
22. L20	*Je ne me say		20		--	--	--	--	--
23. L21	Pour vivre ioliement	21		--		--		--	--

\*: indicates a lai not set to music.

+: L22 also after Navarre in M

L18 appears only with the Voir Dit (with its music) in E.

No. 16 in E is "Pour ce que plus" [L23].

No. 19 in E is "En demantant" [L24].

asterisk. MS C's rational division between lais with music (L1-3; 5-11) and lais without music (L12-15; L4 is an exception) is thereby clarified. The other MSS make no rational division between lais with music and those without.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>144</sup> On the position of L4 in C, see below, n. 265. The MSS F-GVg(B) need not appear in the chart. F-G corresponds exactly to the order of MS A, except that L22 is lacking. Vg(B) corresponds to the order in MS A, but



Perhaps the removal of L22 in MS A to a position similar to its location in MS C strengthens the notion of a chronological rearrangement, and suggests that the position of Rem1 in the index has chronological significance as well. One has the impression that Machaut was trying definitively to order the works for MS A. The addition of a Prologue to A, and the relocation of the Loange also form part of this tendency.

### The Motet Section

The motets listed in the index appear in exactly the same order in MSS A, Vg(B), and F-G. Indeed, the motets are the only works of Machaut that retain this degree of orderliness among several MSS.<sup>145</sup> This particular genre never presents problems in MS planning, since the only motet that is sometimes too long to fit into a single verso-recto opening is the last, "Felix/ Inviolata/ Ad te" [M23].

Except in two instances, the works are designated in the index by their motetus voice. This was generally the case in the musical MSS of the period and may indicate a certain degree of musical knowledge on the part of the scribe who drew up the index.<sup>146</sup>

Bessler states that the isorhythmic motet was generally designated by the motetus voice until the end of the form, "Studien-II," pp. 235-36 (Dufay's testament of 1474 as possibly the last example of the practice of citing the motet by the motetus voice), and p. 237, n. 8.

contains only the first eighteen lais; L22 appears after Navarre, as in MSS M and E.

<sup>145</sup> The nineteen motets in MS C correspond to this order except that M4 is lacking. This exception, as well as the very different order in MS E, will be discussed below in the sections concerning these MSS.

<sup>146</sup> In the music section of A, the initials for the motetus voice are generally twice as large as those for the triplum and tenor. The motetus text was the first copied in MS A, though this was not a universal copying principle.

Besseler's statement is not entirely accurate. Already in the fourteenth century there were many theoretical citations of motets by the triplum voice. While theorists closest to the northern French centers of motet production generally cited motets by the motetus voice, treatises from outlying areas, such as Germany and Italy, and treatises from later in the century, tended to cite motets by the triplum voice. In Vitry's *Ars nova* (see n. 10 above for editions), all motets that can be traced in extant sources are cited by the motetus voice except "Orbis orbatus" (F-Pn fr. 146, cited only in the I-Rvat Barb. 307 redaction of the treatise), and, in the F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction of the treatise, "Qui aux promesses" (Machaut's M8). In the Anon. Erfurt *Compendium totius artis motetorum*, the Anon. *Ars perfecta*, the Anon. *De musica mensurabili* (formerly attributed to Theodoricus de Campo), and in the Anon. *Quatuor principalia* (formerly attributed to Simon Tunstede), all traceable motets are cited by their motetus voice. The same is true of the *Ars (musicae)* of Johannes Boen, excepting the last citation, found only in a reworked version of the treatise, which cites the triplum "Rex Karole" (F-CH 564, F-Sm 222 and US-Wc 14). (On this version of the treatise, see Gallo, *CSM*, XIX [1972], 12-14.) The following treatises, all with either Italian or German connections, or from the latter part of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, cite all traceable motets by their triplum voice: Philippus de Caserta (?) *Tractatus de diversis figuris*, Anon. 5 *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (a second reference to one motet cites both voices: "Portio nature vel Ida capillorum" [ed. CS, III, 397], the Anon. *Notitia del valore* (ed. A. Carapetyan, *CSM*, V [1957]), the Anon. Penn-Harburg, the Anon. Melk *Tractatulus de cantu mensurali*, and the Anon. Wrocław (for editions, see nn. 33 and 34 above). As for contemporary indices of MSS, F-Pn fr. 146 (c. 1316) cites only one of the 24 motets with three or four voices by its triplum, "Zelus familie" (fol. 44r). F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 (1376) cites at least two tripla: No. 3 "Yda capillorum" and No. 17 "Organizanter." No. 43 "O Philippe" may have referred to a work surviving in F-Pn fr. 146 fol. 10v, a motetus, or to I-IV 115 fol. 1v, a triplum. Following this tendency, the scribe who drew up the index of Machaut MS E (copied in the early 1390s) listed the motets by their triplum voice. M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, forthcoming), notes that an English Chronicle of 1415, as well as the index of I-MOe 1.11 list motets by their tripla. Two further fifteenth-century accounts may be of interest: the triplum text of motet No. 12 in Table 1.1 above appears in F-Pn lat. 3343, but "Hunc motetus fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente" is noted. Cf. also the account from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch listed in n. (f) to Table 1.2 above: it states that motets were copied, but "Rex Karole/Letice pacis" is named by its triplum.

The two exceptions in the index of MS A can be explained to some degree of satisfaction. The first text of the entire section is the triplum "Quant en

moy vint premierement" [M1]. It may be by virtue of the reference to "coming first" that M1 retains first place in all the collections. The other motet whose triplum is cited by the index, "Bone pastor guillerme" [M18], is exceptional in that all three voices begin "Bone pastor." The triplum specifically designates the dedicatee.<sup>147</sup>

The fixed order of the motets among several MSS suggests that their disposition had been decided long before their inclusion in the MSS; only the last three were composed after the copying of MS C.<sup>148</sup>

### The Mass and Hocket

The indication for the Mass in the index of A is not a rubric; it was entered by the text scribe, then underlined in red by the rubricator.

It is curious that in this section of the index, the hocket is not specified (in the narrative portion of the Prologue, v. 13, Machaut took care to mention the hocket as a musical form he cultivated). Because it was textless, it appears that the position of the hocket was variable, perhaps left to the convenience of the scribe.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> M18 was possibly composed for the promotion of Guillaume de Trie as archbishop of Reims in 1324 (Oeuvres, I, xv).

<sup>148</sup> The omission of "De Bon Espoir/Puisque/Speravi" [M4] in MS C can be explained; see below, pp. 140ff.

<sup>149</sup> See Chap. 3, pp. 179ff below, on the ramifications of entering a textless piece in a MS of this period.

### The Ballade Section

There is one inconsistency between the order of ballades in the index and their order in MS A. "Se quanqu'amours" [B21] does not appear until the very end of the section of ballades in the MS, where it is clearly a later addition. U. Günther has already recognized that the different order was due to external reasons: "Die Umstellung der Ballade 21, die in A erst als Nr.38 erscheint, könnte durch eine vom Schreiber erst spät entdeckte Auslassung entstanden sein."<sup>150</sup> The statement is true as far as it goes, but it can be shown further that the omission of this ballade as number 21 in the series was due to purely technical problems in copying. B21 can be fitted on a single side of an opening—it is so copied in Vg(B), though the four voices appear crowded—but the following four-voice ballade "Il m'est avis" [B22] is so long that it must be copied across an opening. Because the ballades in A begin on a recto (fol. 454r), it happened that B20 ("Je sui aussi," two-voice) falls on a recto as well (fol. 464r). The scribe was then faced either with entering B21 on the following verso, leaving insufficient room for B22, or with delaying the entry of B21 for a more propitious moment. He evidently forgot it entirely, and the error was not rectified until after the rondeaux and virelais were entered in the MS (fols. 474v-475v had been left blank before the beginning of the rondeau section, fol. 476r). When faced with a problem of the layout of the MS—surely another solution would have been to spread B21 over an entire opening, leaving a great deal of blank space—the scribe upset the order prescribed by the index. Similar difficulties did not recur in the ballade section, since all the other ballades in A, with the exception of "Quant Theseus/ Ne quier

<sup>150</sup> "Chronologie und Stil," p. 102; see also Reaney, "A Chronology," p. 36.

veoir" [B34], which falls correctly on a verso-recto opening, are for three voices, and so present no problem.<sup>151</sup> It is a general rule in the Machaut MSS that the separate voices of a polyphonic composition—voices that sound together—are never split across a recto-verso page-turn by the scribe.

### The Rondeau Section

Most of the difficulties encountered by the scribe in ordering the musical works occurred in the rondeau section. For the first time, the pieces were short enough so that several—in the case of the two-voice pieces, as many as four—could be entered across an opening. When larger works were encountered, care had to be taken that successive voices were not divided across page turns.

The music section containing the rondeaux in A begins as usual with "Dous viaire" [R1],<sup>152</sup> though the beginning of the section is masked by the later addition of the rondeaux "Tant doucement" [R9] and "Dis et sept" [R17] on

<sup>151</sup> In MSS A and F-G, the canonic triple ballade "Sans cuer/Amis dolens/Dame par" [B17, i.e., No. 17 in Vg] appears in position nine (G. Reaney, "A Chronology," p. 36, and U. Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 102). The order noted by the index of A was carried through in the body of the MS without confusion. The significance of the difference is unclear. In MS C, B1-16 correspond in order to Vg(B)M, and form a closed group. B17 is copied in the unordered layer of ballades, virelais, and rondeaux in C [Günther's CII], a group of works stylistically in advance of those in CI. In Vg(B)M, then, the unusual canonic B17 comes at the break between an earlier and a later group of ballades. For MS A, the order was changed, and B17 is placed where it divides B1-8 from B9-16. Perhaps this points up a chronological subdivision of B1-16 into an earlier and a later group (for instance, the ballades with iambic rhythms in major prolation fall in the group B1-8); B18 ("De petit peu") opens a third series of works. In any case, the order of the ballades in the index of A should be respected as Machaut's final decision on the ordering of these works.

<sup>152</sup> R1 has only two voices in MS A. The explanation of the missing triplum posited by Dömling, *Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais von Guillaume de Machaut* (Tutzing, 1970), p. 78, n. 18, calling on the blank staves available on the preceding verso, cannot be accepted, since this folio had no staves when R1 was first copied (see below, Chap. 3).

the preceding folio (fols. 475r-v). These were entered later, in a layer of correction that also includes the additions of B21 and L22.<sup>153</sup> Again, the error can be plausibly explained. After a series of seven two-voice rondeaux to open the section, the index calls for two four-voice works: "Tant doucement" [R9] and "Rose, lis" [R10]. Since the normal disposition of the two-voice rondeaux is two works per page, the odd number seven made for difficulties. Here is the order originally called for by the index, and the number of voices for each rondeau:

R7	Se vous n'estes	2v
R9	Tant doucement	4v
R10	Rose, lis	4v
R8	Vo dous regart	3v
R11	Comment puet on	3v
R12	Ce qui soustient	2v

The actual disposition of R7, 9 and 10 in the MS can be seen in Figure 2.1.

The process of copying began with the texts. After copying the text of R7, the text scribe began R9, exactly as the index prescribed. Realizing that space would be tight, the scribe dispensed with the triplum entirely. He then indicated the space for the tenor of R9 at the bottom of the verso, and the space for the contratenor at the top of the recto, followed by the text of the cantus of R10 (again omitting the triplum), and labeled the spaces intended for the tenor and contratenor below. Thus, the text scribe planned to reduce the number of voices of these two rondeaux because they

<sup>153</sup> In A, there is no separate rubric announcing the different genres of the formes fixes, as there is in most of the other MSS, nor is there a physical break in the gathering structure before the beginning of the rondeaux or virelais. A blank folio (fol. 475) was left after the end of the ballade section (within the gathering; see the appended chart of the collation of A, gath. LX), and the rondeaux were begun on a fresh recto. A blank side (fol. 481v, see chart of gath. LXI) was left before the beginning of the virelais.



would not otherwise fit in the opening.<sup>154</sup> Saving R10 for the next opening was also not considered, for that would have left an unprofessional-looking and wasteful blank spot on the bottom half of the previous recto. Later, the music scribe began to copy these pieces, working from an exemplar with four voices for the two rondeaux. He entered the cantus and tenor of R9, and then realized that not enough space would be left for its other two voices, let alone all four voices of R10. The specification for the voice at the top of the recto was then altered from "Contra[te]nor" (of R9) to "Triplum" (of R10), and all four voices of R10 were entered on the recto.<sup>155</sup> In this manner, at least one of the two rondeaux was given its full complement of four voices. At the time, however, R9 was left with only cantus and tenor. Probably the music scribe intended for the entire R9 to be added subsequently to the rondeau section itself, and indeed this was later carried out by a different scribe, who entered all four voices of R9 in the blank space that had been left before the rondeau section, which he had already used for the later entry of B21 (see Figure 2.2).

Here again, the corrector began with the cantus, since he was not sure all four voices would fit in the available space; the triplum, the last voice in structural importance, was the last voice to be entered in the MS.<sup>156</sup> The subsequent correction in the index (different hand, different

<sup>154</sup> A similar omission of the triplum for space considerations can be observed in the addition of B21 on fol. 474v. The scribe considered the triplum voice optional.

<sup>155</sup> The different text hand for the word "Triplum" is one bit of evidence suggesting that the text and music scribes were different people.

<sup>156</sup> This presentation may appear to take too much for granted that the text was entered before the music, and that the text and music scribes were different people. Yet there appears to be no other way to explain the change of plan in the copying, as well as the different hand of the word "Triplum," which contradicts the text scribe's catchword "Contratenor" (fol.



Et quelque amours  
quelque dame  
puec donner a amy  
y porteur meisme aussi.

et quelque cuer  
de bien de pais  
d'ain puer desirer  
par loy n'iment  
amer. estoient entrecement  
en un seul cuer je say certainement  
seuoir que l'instee et chiny  
contre le bien et la voie que l'ay

**E**nnoz

**Q**uatrenoz

**C**ar nulle fois de riens ne me desir  
ne riens ne puer mon cuer desirer  
en un temps si bon et si onni  
que se ne puis a nulle riens penser  
a l'ore seulement. Et ce me fait  
d'ore si liecement. q'leste n'a  
cuer riens ne par  
contre le bien et la voie q' l'ay  
Et tout po ce q' l'ay  
condis en moy. l'impur  
fid de ma vame sans per.  
qui est empuece et ligure  
en moy. me l'oual cuer q'  
l'aine sans souffrir. Et fait  
et si fermant. q' des la voy  
vis a vis p'premet. Et  
le puer riens comparer  
ba le say. Contre le bien et

ant don ce ment me sens  
cuer son  
nes quon  
ques amans

not si douce prison  
j'ams ne quer estre desprisoner.  
Car douc met me sens  
empuome. Car tous bies met  
en ce prison n'a. que riens  
puec donner sans prison.  
Car douc met me sens  
empuome. Car tous bies met  
en ce prison n'a. que riens  
puec donner sans prison.

**E**nnoz

**Q**uatrenoz

**A**plum. De tant douc met

Figure 2.2: F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 474v-475r

ink) indicates that the two-voice version was considered incomplete; the reader is referred to fol. 475.

That is not the end of the story. The order of this series of rondeaux as prescribed in the index of MS A is the order realized not only in the text MS M, but also in the late MS F-G (see Table 2.2 below, p. 79). However, Ludwig's numeration, retained by Schrade, follows the slightly different ordering of the rondeaux seen in MS Vg:

R7	Se vous n'estes	2v
R8	Vo doulz regars	3v
R9	Tant doucement	4v
R10	Rose, liz	4v
R11	Comment puet on	3v
R12	Ce qui soustient	2v

Although Vg has no index, I believe that the ordering laid out in A's index was the one Machaut himself desired at the time of the copying of Vg, but considerations of page-planning led the scribe of Vg to substitute the three-voice R8, "Vo doulz regars." It happens that in Vg, the rondeau section begins on a verso (fol. 316v), and not on a recto, as in A (fol. 476r). Given the disposition of two rondeaux per side, R7 thus fell at the top of a recto in Vg (fol. 318r, see Figure 2.3).

If the intention was for R9 to follow R7, as called for by the index of A and as carried out by MSS M and F-G, this order was not feasible for Vg unless the greater part of fol. 318r was to be left completely blank. R9 was far too large a piece to fit the available space. Therefore, the scribe simply shifted the three-voice "Vo doulz regars" [R8] to a new position in the MS. Even so, signs of crowding are obvious on this page in Vg. In a MS otherwise unusually generous with parchment, even the space before the text

477v). Further discussion of the precedence of text entry over music entry will be presented in Chap. 3.



residuum of R7 was used, a sure sign of crowding.

Thus, the difficulties encountered by the scribes at this point in the series of rondeaux in MS A has allowed the identification of a similar problem in Vg, though one would probably not otherwise have suspected the difficulty. Still further corroboration that R8 is out of order is found in the much earlier MS C, copied in the early 1350s. This MS contains only nine rondeaux, R1-7, 9 and 10. R8 can thus be considered chronologically to begin a new series—the order in the index of A, and the order of the rondeaux in M and F-G is the correct ordering of the first nine rondeaux.<sup>157</sup>

External stylistic evidence supports the notion of a chronological separation here. The two four-voice works (R9 and 10) form a pair, each in its own way more rhythmically experimental than R1-7, while the later R8 and 11 are more mature in their rhythmic treatment. An arrangement of this group of rondeaux (R9, 10, 8, and 11) according to the various stylistic criteria of Günther supports this point.<sup>158</sup> The group is set off by a striking textural difference, the appearance of the four-voice R9 after six two-voice rondeaux.<sup>159</sup> In all four cases, the first half of the strophe is longer than the second half; the tendency towards equal refrain-halves is a later style characteristic.<sup>160</sup> Of the four rondeaux in question, only R10 has some

<sup>157</sup> One further remark on Ludwig's order. Besides relying on Vg's order for R8-11, he used the added and misbound fol. 309 in B, containing three rondeaux, to establish the order of R14-17. The folio is lacking in Vg, but may have been inserted as fol. 321; thus B fol. 309 contains the last rondeaux in the MS. This addition was probably tied to the very difficult problem of copying "Ma fin est mon commencement" [R14] (see Chap. 3, pp. 182ff below.

<sup>158</sup> Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 108.

<sup>159</sup> R10 appears with only three voices in C, with room for the triplum staves, as well as a second contratenor (unique to this MS) crudely added later.

melodic correspondence between the ends of the refrain halves, though only in the cantus voice. The real area of experimentation, rather than the area of overall formal balance, is rhythmic in nature. R9 may be the earliest of Machaut's pieces to experiment with chains of syncopations in minor prolation—in this respect it is certainly the most modern piece in MS C.

However, the use of syncopation in the repetition and development of distinct melodic figures, a hallmark of the most mature polyphonic style of Machaut (typified by R17 and 21, for instance), is notably lacking in R9. R10, "Rose, lis," is rhythmically experimental in its mixture of tempus perfectum minor and tempus imperfectum major (modern 3/4 against 6/8), and it makes extensive use of displacement syncopation as well.<sup>161</sup> R8, which can now be placed chronologically after R9 and 10, is more systematic in its treatment of syncopation. The simple syncopated pattern in the tenor, usually arpeggiated and accompanying the faster syncopations in the contratenor and cantus, delineates a single rhythmic cell:



Syncopation is of importance for phrase definition, and cadences are very regular. In R8, this tenor motive overlaps with the same rhythmic motive in the cantus, as Ludwig's barring makes clear. This technique (without the overlap as in R8) is used in many later rondeaux, including R13, 14, 17, and

<sup>160</sup> This tendency leads eventually to isorhythmic rondeaux. Cf. especially "Quant ma dame" [R19] and the discussion by Günther in "Die Mensuralnotation der Ars nova in Theorie und Praxis," AMw, 19-20 (1962-63), 18-20.

<sup>161</sup> R10 is discussed by Richard Hoppin, "Notational Licences," pp. 22-23. See also above, pp. 20-21.

21, as well as B35.<sup>162</sup> In R11, the work we place immediately after R8, short rhythmic motives, with characteristic syncopations, are sequentially developed:



A comparison with R7, in many ways a similar piece, accentuates the striking difference effected by the syncopations. R7 also contains melodic-rhythmic motives, though these are minimized by the even rhythmic flow. In R11, on the other hand, the melodic-rhythmic play is made quite explicit by means of the syncopation. In this instance then, Machaut's desired order also seems stylistically satisfactory as a chronological order.

The above example is symptomatic of the difficulties encountered by the scribe of A in realizing the predetermined organization of the index. To facilitate an overview, Table 2.2 compares the order of rondeaux prescribed by the index of A with the order of the other MSS.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> On R8, see Wolfgang Dömling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais, pp. 37-47; on rhythmic motives, esp. pp. 38-40. Cf. also pp. 58-59.

<sup>163</sup> Ludwig's chart, Musikalische Werke, II, 50\*, wrongly indicates the appearance of R16 on fol. 480v in MS A. R16 is lacking both in the index and in the rondeau section proper. An explanation of the inclusion of the text of this rondeau in the music section of MSS MF-GVg(B)E is given in Richard Hoppin's review of the Schrade Machaut ed., Notes, Ser. 2, 15 (1958), 472, and by Poirion, Le Poète, p. 197, n. 19.

TABLE 2.2

## The Ordering of the Rondeaux

index	A	actual					
		A	M	F-G	Vg(B)	C	E
1. R1	Dous viaire	1	1	1	1	5	12
2. R2	Helas pour quoy	2	2	2	2	1	13
3. R3	Merci vous pri	3	3	3	3	7	7
4. R4	Sans cuer	4	4	4	4	8	19+ <u>Voir</u>
5. R5	Quant i'ay	5	5	5	5	3	9
6. R6	Cinq, un, treise	6	6	6	6	6	18
7. R7	Se vous n'estes	7	7	7	7	2	4
8. R9	Tant doucement	8(1)	8	8	9	4	3
9. R10	Rose lis	9	9	9	10	9	1
10. R8	Vo dous regart	13	10	10	8	--	11
11. R11	Comment puet on	10	11	11	11	--	17
12. R12	Ce qui soustient	11	12	12	12	--	2
13. R13	Dame se vous	12	13	13	13	--	15+ <u>Voir</u>
14. R17	Dis et sept	(2)	14	14	14	--	<u>Voir</u>
15. R14	Ma fin est mon	14	15	15	(1)	--	8
16. R15	Certes mon oueil	15	16	16	(2)	--	5
17. R18	Puis qu'on oubli	16	20	18	--	--	14
18. R19	Quant ma dame	17	18	19	--	--	10
19. R20	Douce dame tant	18	19	20	--	--	--

"Quant je ne voy" [R21] is No. 21 in F-G and No. 16 in E.

( ) indicates displaced position in the MS: in A, the works are on fols. 475r-475v; in Vg, the works are lacking; in B, the works are on the displaced fol. 309.

MF-G: No. 17 = "Dame qui wet" [R16] (text only)

Vg: No. (3) = R16

E: No. 6 = R16

The final state of the rondeau section in A presents further problems. It is not clear why R8 was not copied until after R13. Perhaps the scribe was alerted to problems of page-planning after he encountered difficulties with R9 and 10, and the longer work R8 was left for an opportune later moment.<sup>164</sup> The omission of R17, added later by the same corrector who

<sup>164</sup> Michael Long has suggested that if A's exemplar resembled the layout of Vg, this would explain the omission of R8—the scribe turned to enter R9 and 10 as called for by the index, and then continued with R11.

entered L22, B21 and R9, remains unexplained unless it was related to difficulties in copying "Ma fin est mon commencement" [R14].<sup>165</sup>

### The Virelai Section

Practical problems of MS execution similar to those encountered for the rondeaux are also found in the virelai section of MS A. Here again, the scribe was dealing with rather short works. Where possible, a disposition of more than one piece per page was found most efficient.

The first discrepancy between index and MS occurs with "En mon cuer" [V27] and "Tuit mi penser" [V28]. After copying the three-voice "Tres bonne et belle" [V26], the remaining space on the recto of fol. 490 was not adequate for both voices of V27. The scribe thus substituted the next available shorter work, the monophonic V28. From the scribe's point of view, a simple transposition in the order prescribed by the index was of no significance, since Machaut's desired sequential order was still indicated by the index. Again, splitting successive voices of a polyphonic composition across a page turn to maintain the desired order was not considered a practical alternative.

The only other such transposition occurs between "Dame mon cuer" [V32] and "Se ie sospir" [V36]. Since in this case the order of the index is different from Ludwig's (that is, Vg's), a closer look is warranted (see Table 2.3 below).

<sup>165</sup> On R14, see Chap. 3, pp. 182ff below. Note that the pairing of R13 and R17 groups the two new rondeaux compositions used in the Voir Dit (the other Voir Dit rondeau, R4, is an older work).



TABLE 2.3  
The Ordering of Virelais 32 - 38

index A	actual						
	A	M	F-G	Vg(B)	E		
32. V32	Dame mon cuer	33	32	32	32	20	
33. V36	Se ie souspir	32	36	33	36	--	
34. V33	*Ie ne me puis	34	33	34	33	*	
35. V34	*L'ueil qui est	35	34	35	34	*	
36. V35	*Plus bele que	36	35	36	35	*	
37. V37	Moult sui	37	37	37	--	--	
38. V38	De tout sui	38	--	38	--	--	

\*V33-35 were not set to music: they appear in the Voir Dit in MSS AF-GE, and do not reappear in the music section of E.

Proceeding from the order indicated in the index of A, the actual order of works in the MSS is compared in Table 2.3. In A, V32 and 36, which follow each other in the index, are reversed in the codex proper. The exchange was effected for the same reasons as the earlier exchange of V27 and 28.<sup>166</sup> The three virelais not set to music (V33-35), are grouped together in all MSS.<sup>167</sup> Sometimes V36 appears before, sometimes after this group. In Vg(B), the hoquet is copied into the final opening before the end of the virelais; the last musical virelai in the MS, V36, then occupies the final verso after the hoquet. Again, it is possible that the order of A's index was desired for Vg as well, but the special problem of dealing with the hoquet (it was left until the last possible moment) upset this order. In MS F-G, closely related to A, the virelais follow the order witnessed by the index of A. In

<sup>166</sup> Proof that space was a consideration is seen on fol. 492v: the text residuum of V36 is copied exceptionally at the end of the first line of music for V32.

<sup>167</sup> They appear in the Voir Dit in the order 34, 35, 33 (ed. Paris, pp. 37-41).

F-G however, the hocket was added to the very end of the MS, while in A, the hocket was added in space left after the Mass. The order of the virelais in M (where the position of V36 corresponds to Vg) indicates that this MS was probably copied from a MS containing not only the hocket (in the same position as in Vg), but also, of course, the rest of the music.<sup>168</sup>

#### The Remede Section

The final section of the original index in A (fol. Bc) lists the genre and location of the lyrical-musical interpolations to the Remede de fortune. This suggests special intervention by the author. The Remede had already been counted in its correct position among the other narrative poems. By separately listing the lyrics set to music, the pieces of the Remede take their place alongside the other musical works. In addition, individual enumeration in the index of A substantiates the argument advanced by Hoepffner concerning the didactic purpose of these pieces as models of their respective genres.<sup>169</sup>

. . . . .

To sum up, the bifolio index at the head of MS A is in several respects independent of the body of the MS. The several inconsistencies between the index and the codex indicate that the index was initially copied as a set of directions prescribing the order in which works were to be copied into the MS. Significantly, the index preserves what seems to be a chronologically plausible arrangement for an entire group of rondeaux. Changes in the index

<sup>168</sup> The lost MS [Burgl] also contained V36 and the hocket in the same disposition as Vg(B); see n. 76 above.

<sup>169</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, *Oeuvres*, II, xxxv, and "Les poésies lyriques du Dit de la panthère de Nicole de Margival," *Romania*, 46 (1920), 227.

order occur only where the physical disposition of the MS made it impossible to copy a piece in its correct order. At the root of these small transpositions was the rule carefully adhered to by the copyists of the MS: the splitting of successive polyphonic voices of a composition was not allowed across a page turn. Whatever the relationship of a MS to performance, it is striking that even a deluxe presentation MS such as A was copied so that all voices of a single work were simultaneously visible to the reader. Virtually any irregularity in order can be traced to the desire to respect this rule. The heading can be taken at its word—it truly is the order (and with respect to the narrative poems, the revised order) that Guillaume de Machaut wanted his MS to have.

### The Prologue

Of the five MSS containing all or part of the Prologue,<sup>170</sup> only MS A exhibits structural irregularities. The Prologue is divided into two distinct sections, the first made up of a bifolio containing four ballades, liberally spaced, one to a side. An illumination occupies the top half of each recto, depicting the scene described by the long rubric (undoubtedly Machaut's own prose) that introduces each pair of ballades.<sup>171</sup> In a subsequent binding, the bifolio was folded in the wrong direction, since the third and fourth ballades precede the first two.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>170</sup> See MSS A, F-G, E, H, Morg. The use of the term "Prologue" to describe this introduction to the works is employed here, like the term "Loange" for the chansons not set to music, because it is the traditional term. Only the index of the late MS E uses the designation "Prologue."

<sup>171</sup> See Appendix C, miniatures A2, F1 and E1a (introducing the first two ballades), and A1, F3 and E1b (introducing the second two ballades).

<sup>172</sup> The proper order is clear not only from the order in which the ballades are recalled in the second, narrative portion of the Prologue, but

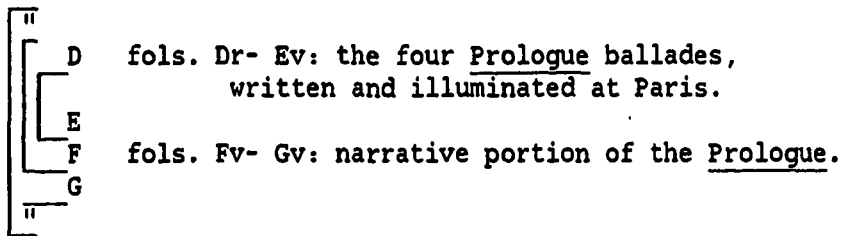
The ruling pattern, style of writing, and secondary decoration of the bifolio are found nowhere else in the MS, and are products of a Parisian workshop. The two large miniatures of the bifolio were illuminated by one of the best-known illuminators at the court of Charles V, the master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. They are only slightly posterior to the 152 illuminations filling out the rest of the MS, which were done by a provincial artist known only from MS A.<sup>173</sup>

also by the order found in the other sources transmitting the ballades. The bifolio was still bound correctly in the year 1518, according to the citation in Omont, Anciens inventaires et catalogues, p. 15, No. 108.

<sup>173</sup> François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," pp. 126-27. On the Bible of Jean de Sy (F-Pn fr. 15397), see Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, black-and-white figure XI (to the bibliography on p. 33, add pp. 404-10 to the Delisle citation). The complete folios E and D of MS A, with the two Prologue miniatures, are reproduced by Avril as Pl. 29 and 30. Avril sets himself against the view, currently very widespread, of identifying this style of miniatures with Jean Bondol and his followers. The style, found in many books that belonged to Charles V, was first isolated and described by Henri Martin, La miniature française du XIIIe au XVe siècle (Paris, 1923), Chap. 4, who coined the appellation "Maitre aux boqueteaux" (p. 44; traits of the style are described pp. 52-53). Since then, a few more MSS have been signaled, but the Bible of Jean de Sy has always been considered the earliest example. In 1953, Erwin Panofsky, in Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 38ff, suggested that Bondol, painter of a full-page illustration of Charles V for the 1371 Bible of Jean de Vaudetar (now NL-DHmw 10 B 23, repro. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 36), was the chef d'atelier for the miniatures elsewhere in the Bible, which are in the style of the Maitre aux boqueteaux. This view was accepted and further developed by Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," Art Bulletin, 38 (1956), 190, and by Harry Bober, whose study of the Gotha Missal is the basis for William D. Wixom, "A Missal for a King: A First Exhibition: An Introduction to the Gotha Missal and a Catalogue to the Exhibition Gothic Art 1360-1440 held at The Cleveland Museum of Art, August 8 through September 15, 1963," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, 50 (1963). (Machaut MS A is mentioned in this study on p. 168.) See also Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke (London, 1967), I, 20-23 and n. 98, p. 365. Avril's view attaches to the review by L. M. J. Delaissé of Panofsky's book, "Enluminure et Peinture dans les Pays-bas: A propos du livre de E. Panofsky, 'Early Netherlandish Painting,'" Scriptorium, 11 (1957), 109-18. In his discussion of the Bible of Jean de Vaudetar (pp. 110-11), Delaissé emphasized that Bondol was a painter, not a MS illuminator. This view is affirmed by Avril, Manuscript Painting at the

The second section of the Prologue, a narrative passage of 184 vv. in rhyming couplets, concludes with a transition leading directly into the Vergier, the first of the narrative poems in MS A.<sup>174</sup> This narrative portion is in the hand of the scribe of the rest of the codex, and its opening illumination is by the provincial artist.

The gathering structure of the narrative section is irregular. It is made up of two separate sheets, (modern fols. F-G), both of which are cut:



Both fol. F and fol. G are glued to a parchment strip that surrounds the entire gathering. (In the diagram, ["] indicates where glue was applied.) Since the recto of fol. F is blank, it is unlikely that the four ballades originally appeared in finished form on the original conjugates of fols. F and G. Perhaps these contained the text of the ballades in rough form so

Court of France, p. 110: "there is, in our opinion, an insurmountable gap in quality between this genuine painter and the contemporary French illuminators who have often been linked with him (especially the Maitre aux Boqueteaux)"; cf. also pp. 28 and 30. Further exposition of the position of Avril is in his La librairie de Charles V, pp. 89-90, and commentary to Nos. 136, 166, 168, 169, 173, 177, 187, 189, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203, and 208. Behind Avril's rejection of Bondol, besides his stylistic judgment, lies his earlier proof that the northerner Bondol is no longer necessary as a source for the new naturalist-empirical direction in Parisian miniatures evident with the Bible of Jean de Sy of 1356: these currents were anticipated by a different artist (Avril's artist K) in the Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon (F-Pn fr. 167), which antedates the Bible of Jean de Sy (Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon: La Bible Moralisée manuscrit français 167 de la Bibliothèque nationale," Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot, 58 [1973], p. 116).

<sup>174</sup> "Et pour ce vueil, sans plus targier, / Commencier le Dit dou Vergier" (vv. 183-84); Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, 12.

that they could be recopied in Paris with the large illuminations (it is clear from the diagram that the sheets have been cut). In any case, the special illustrations were probably planned from the outset: the elaborate rubric introducing the ballades of Nature and Amours would seem to make illustration obligatory.

The complete Prologue appears only in MSS A(Morg) and F-G. Two MSS, E and H, transmit just the four ballades. Logically, the "short" Prologue would antedate the complete version, but the question is actually more complex. MSS beginning with the "short" Prologue exhibit a basically different arrangement of works. Of the MSS containing the complete works or a large proportion of them,<sup>175</sup> there are two basic orderings of the contents: one group begins with the Loange section (Vg[B]E, as well as the more fragmentary MSS HJK); the other group begins with the large narrative poems (CMA[Morg]F-G). With the exception of M and the early MS C, the MSS that open with the narrative poems are prefaced by the complete Prologue. In this manner, MSS A(Morg)F-G actually begin with lyrical poems, the four Prologue ballades composed expressly for this purpose. The narrative portion of the Prologue introduces the first narrative poem, Vergier. Evidence from MS A suggests that the ordering of the complete works was revised by the author himself, hence the necessity of a prescriptive index making the "new" order of the complete Machaut MS perfectly clear. The majority of the long narrative poems appear first in the new ordering, followed by the lyrical poems, the chronicle (the Prise d'Alexandrie), and rounded off by the Dit de la rose.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Categories 1) and 2) of the classification of sources in Chap. 1.

<sup>176</sup> See Kevin Brownlee, "The Poetic Oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut, p. 230. As argued above (pp. 60 ff), it is quite possible that the Loange was

Nevertheless, a remnant of the earlier order remains, with lyrical poems—the four Prologue ballades—standing at the head of the MS. A more forceful and focused opening is gained by placing the lengthy works at the front, without sacrificing the capital importance (to the author) of the lyrical forms.

### The Structure of MS A

Table 2.4 provides a summary of the gathering structure of MS A. Physical evidence for the layout, in so far as it could be ascertained, is included: the foliation (translated here into Arabic numerals) is original; signatures (col. 3) and the presence of catchwords at the end of a gathering (col. 4) are also noted. Column 5 indicates the collation by means of a Roman numeral, for instance, "IV" indicates a quaternion. Lastly, the disposition of the contents in the MS and the locations of blank folios are given.<sup>177</sup> A glance at the table will confirm that there are essentially three methods by which a given work was taken up in the codex:

1. Several poems may be copied in a continuous series, each beginning immediately after the preceding work, with no account taken of separate gatherings. In MS A, this technique was used through fol. 126, gathering XVI, comprising the first six narrative poems. After a break (a blank

to immediately precede the music, as in MSS C, M, and F-G.

<sup>177</sup> The signature markings may stand for a complete set in a gathering or merely for one surviving mark. An "x" in the column "catch." indicates the presence of a catchword; irregularities are noted. (More complete information on signatures and catchwords is found in the diagram of the gathering structure in Appendix A.) When the opening of a work corresponds with the top recto of a new gathering, the work is placed at the edge of the column. Such structural breaks are also marked by a dotted horizontal line on the chart. When a work begins within a gathering, its opening folio number is specifically indicated.

TABLE 2.4

## The Gathering Structure of A

gath.	fol.	sig.	catch.	coll.	contents
A	A		-	II	fol. Av: Index
B	D	c	x	irr.III	<u>Prologue</u>
I	1	a	x	IV	<u>Vergier</u>
II	9	b	x	III	fol. 9v: <u>Behaingne</u>
III	15	c	x	IV	fol. 22v: <u>Navarre</u>
IV	23	d	x	IV	
V	31	e	x	IV	
VI	39	f	x	IV	
VII	47	g	x	IV	fol. 49v: <u>Remede</u>
VIII	55	h	x	IV	
IX	64	i	x	IV	
X	71	k	x	IV	
XI	79	l	x	IV	fol. 80v: <u>Lyon</u>
XII	87	m	x	IV	
XIII	95	n	x	IV	fol. 96v: <u>l'Alerion</u>
XIV	103	o	x	IV	
XV	111	p	x	IV	
XVI	119	q	x(*)	IV	fol. 126v: BLANK
XVII	127	r	x(+)	IV	<u>Confort</u>
XVIII	(135)	s	x	IV	
XIX	143	t	x	IV	
XX	151	v	x	IV	fol. 154r: <u>Fonteinne</u>
XXI	159	w	x	IV	
XXII	167	--	x	IV	fol. 174r: <u>Harpe</u>
XXIII	175	--	--	IV	fol. 177v: <u>Loange</u>
XXIV	183	p	x	IV	
XXV	191	i	x	IV	
XXVI	199	b	x	IV	
XXVII	207	--	x	IV	fol. 213v: <u>Marguerite</u> , fol. 214v: <u>Complaintes</u>
XXVIII	215	--	--	III	fol. 220: BLANK
XXIX	221		x	IV	<u>Voir Dit</u>
XXX	229	f(?)	x(*)	IV	
XXXI	237		x	IV	
XXXII	245	h(?)	x	IV	
XXXIII	253	--	x	IV	
XXXIV	261	?	x	IV	
XXXV	269	i(?)	x	IV	
XXXVI	277	--	x	IV	
XXXVII	285	n	x	IV	
XXXVIII	293	o	x	IV	
XXXIX	301	p	--	IV	fol. 306v: BLANK, fol. 307-308: BLANK



gath.	fol.	sig.	catch.	coll.	contents
XL	309	q̄	x	IV	<u>Prise</u>
XLI	317	r̄	x	IV	
XLII	325	s̄	x	IV	
XLIII	333		x	IV	
XLIV	341		x	IV	
XLV	(349)	x̄	x	IV	
XLVI	357	ȳ	(*)	IV+II	fol. 365v: <u>Rose</u> , fol. 366r: <u>Les biens</u>
XLVII	367	z̄	x	IV	<u>Lais</u>
XLVIII	375	--	x	IV	
XLIX	383	--	x	IV	
L	391	b	x	IV	
LI	399	c	x	IV	
LII	407	d	x(+)	irr.IV	fol. 413: BLANK + stub.
LIII	414	e	x(*)	IV	fol. 414v: Motets
LIV	422	f(?)	x	IV	
LV	430	g	x(+)	IV	
LVI	438	h	x(•)	IV	fol. 438r: BLANK, fol. 438v: Mass
LVII	446	i	x(+)	IV	fol. 451v: Hocket, fol. 453: BLANK
LVIII	454	k	x(*)	IV	<u>Ballades</u>
LIX	462	l	x	IV	
LX	470	n(?)	x	IV	fol. 476r: orig. begin- ning of Rondeaux
LXI	478	--	x	IV	fol. 481v: BLANK, fol. 482: <u>Virelais</u>
LXII	486	--	x	IV	
LXIII	494 (=new 502)	i	-	1	

494-501: 18th century(?) paper index.

503-506 binio, 494 (new 502) connected to 506 by paper strip.

(\*): faint

(+): new hand

(•): error in catchword

folio, a different style of catchword), the next twelve gatherings

(XVII-XXVIII) form a second continuous series, reaching to fol. 220.<sup>178</sup> One

<sup>178</sup> The first few dits in A come close to forming a regular disposition of contents and gatherings. Vergier fills a quaternion approximately,

could expect this technique of "through-copying" (in contrast with the copying of works into separate fascicles) to obtain whenever a scribe was more or less certain of the order of the pieces he was copying. Either the order of separate components was carefully set in advance, or the exemplar itself already manifested the desired order. Once a group of poems was copied in this way, the order could not be readily changed. As can be seen from Table 2.4, a new series begins at gathering XVII with the Confort, though the rationale for this particular dividing point is not readily apparent. It may have been done to allow the illustrator to work with a complete, self-contained unit, or it may indicate something about the structure of the exemplar. It is notable that the works in gatherings I-XVI are those composed before 1350, and the break appears at just the point where the chronological order is disturbed by the placement of the latest work in the series, Navarre (1349), immediately following Behaingne, due to the complementary stories of these two dits.<sup>179</sup>

2. The beginning of a new poem may coincide with the beginning of a new gathering. In A, such separable fascicles are formed by the Voir dit (gatherings XXIX-XXXIX in Table 2.4), and by the section of lais, motets, and the Mass with hocket (gatherings XLVII-LII, LIII-LV, and LVI-LVII, respectively). These groups are all clearly set off by blank folios at the end of the final gathering of each unit. As for the Voir dit, many factors

Behaingne fills a ternion and a quaternion. The exceptional use of a ternion (gath. II) indicates that this was probably intentional, and that lengths were estimated before copying. A large overlap is first encountered between Navarre and Remede.

<sup>179</sup> In other words, the first division comprises all the narrative poems in MS C, with the exception of Navarre, which was being composed around the same time as the compilation of C. On the break in the chronology, see Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, lxiv-lxvi.

may have contributed to its disposition in the MS as a separate section. It is the longest of Machaut's poems, filling almost eleven gatherings. A recent composition at the time of the compilation of MS A, it was most likely transmitted in an individual exemplar.<sup>180</sup> Here again, there is a strong reason to believe that this unit was kept separate to allow for a division of labor. The extensive program of miniatures in the Voir Dit required the special intervention of the author, and great care was taken with this section of the MS.<sup>181</sup>

The music section was copied in the same manner, with groups of works separated according to genre. This allowed the music scribe to work on separate units, making for an efficient division of labor.<sup>182</sup> The final section of the MS (gath. LVIII-LXIII in Table 2.4) lumps together all of the formes

<sup>180</sup> See Chap. 1, category 4a), items (v) and v ) for evidence of individual transmission of this popular dit.

<sup>181</sup> F. Avril closes his essay "Les manuscrits enluminés" with some remarks about Machaut's possible role in planning the programs of illustrations for his MSS. One bit of evidence Avril adduces is the section of the Voir Dit that describes Fortune according to Titus Livius (this is the portion Deschamps chose to read aloud to the audience of Louis de Mâle of Flanders in 1375, see n. 109 above): ". . .la Fortune est représentée accompagnée de la roue traditionnelle mais avec quatre cercles plus petits à l'intérieur de cette dernière. Dans son poème Machaut donne le libellé de ces inscriptions en français. Or les inscriptions de l'illustration sont toutes rédigées en latin; celles-ci n'ont pu, en aucun cas être inventées par l'illustrateur. La seule conclusion qui s'impose est que Machaut avait fourni des indications précises pour l'exécution de l'image" (pp. 131-32).

No description of MS A known to me has remarked on the Roman-numeral through-numbering of the miniatures, occasionally visible to the left of the miniature. See Appendix C.

<sup>182</sup> Less obvious, but decisive for MS production, is that each genre had to be ruled in a distinctive manner. The lais demanded two text lines below single staves, with occasional incursion of sections of text only, in a two-column format. The motets required single text lines in two columns, with room for a staff above each line of text. The Mass ruling, in the case of MS A, was the same as the motet ruling. This ruling was slightly modified for the addition of the hocket by connecting the two columns to make a single column format. Details of these ruling patterns will be discussed below in Chap. 3.

fixes. Blank folios were left after each genre, but the divisions occur within the gatherings and the genres are therefore not physically separable.

3. Later revisions may involve the insertion of works. Physical characteristics give clues for such additions, such as a change in the ruling pattern or scribal hand. Two examples from MS A involve different techniques. At fol. 365, a bifolio containing two short works was tipped-in to the end of the Prise. The Rose probably came first, and the short Les biens (lacking in the index), was an even later addition.<sup>183</sup> As discussed above, the Index and Prologue are also later additions.

Insertions of a different sort occur elsewhere in the MS, where works were added in space originally left blank. This is true of the Lai de plour [L22], added in staves originally blank at the end of the lai section; the hocket, added at the end of the Mass section; and one ballade and two rondeaux added at the end of the ballade section.

As other MSS are discussed, these three methods of copying will be encountered again. Ultimately, it will be necessary to determine what can be learned about a MS by isolating the use of these different means of copying.

One incidental observation before leaving MS A: the strip of parchment that attaches the bifolio (see the appended chart of the gathering structure, gath. XLVI) has some barely visible writing on it: "Il nest douleur, [d]esconfort, ne tristeste anui griete ne / pensee dolente, ffierte deurete pointure s chief durement..." (?) This is the opening of the ballade L0194

<sup>183</sup> This inference is corroborated by a different handwriting and lighter shade of ink. An extra folio was needed for the Prise at this point, but this could have been realized with a stub wrapped around the last gathering. There was no reason to add a bifolio unless more than the end of the Prise was to be copied. It is also possible that the revision entailed recopying the end of the Prise onto this bifolio.

(Poésies lyriques, I, 175-76), which also appears in the Voir Dit (attributed to Peronne, ed. Paris, p. 187): "Il n'est dolour, desconfort ne tristesse, / Anuy grieté ne pensée dolente, / Fierté, durté, pointure ne aspresse, / N'autre meschief d'amour, que je ne sente." The crudeness of the writing, and the unfinished aspect give this strip the appearance of a sketch or draft: perhaps it is an author's sketch, due to the roughness, and especially due to the non-observance of the poetical lineation. This is further indirect evidence placing MS A squarely in Machaut's workshop.<sup>1837</sup>

### MS M (F-PN FR. 843)

MS M, though it contains no music, is of interest because of the ordering of the works. As in MS A (prefaced there by the Prologue), the narrative poems open the MS; the Loange has been shifted to a position after the narrative works, immediately before the collection of poems set to music. Lacking are the Prologue, Voir Dit, Prise, as well as some of the late, smaller dits. The Loange in M comprises 271 texts, almost as many as A with its 276 texts. The eight complaintes in MS A form a group apart; M contains the first seven of these complaintes, but copied into the Loange. This is similar to the disposition in Vg, which, with a total of 256 texts in its Loange, contains the first six of these complaintes. Also as in Vg, B17 is copied as No. 17 in the series of Ballades, not as No. 9, in A and G. Thus, although M itself was copied in the fifteenth century, the stage of the collection of works falls between Vg and A, and the physical disposition of the works commands some interest.

M is of use to corroborate details of the order of works in other MSS, but unfortunately it cannot be expected to reveal physical evidence of dif-

<sup>1838</sup> I was unable to verify the reading of the strip after discovering its identity; I cannot at present explain the variant endings.

faculties possibly encountered by the new positioning of the Loange, since M is through-copied from beginning to end by a single scribe. No section after the opening of the MS falls on the top right recto of a new gathering, nor is any section physically separable from the rest of the MS.<sup>184</sup> M is complete as it stands. Except for the last gathering, whose final blank sheet was cut (there is a stub after fol. 255), the final verso of each gathering is numbered (I through XXXI) below the catchword.<sup>185</sup> The MS remained unfinished, however. Rubrics were entered, but initials and illuminations were never penned (room had been left for a miniature to open each larger division, including the Lai de plour but not the complaintes, from Vergier to the Lais). Still, the MS saw some use, as is shown by corrections in a new hand in the Fonteinne.

Ludwig observed that those lyrics for which music was composed are usually indicated by a special rubric, "y a chant," or "il a chant."<sup>186</sup> This is also true in M in the Remede, where rubrics introduce each of the lyrical interpolations set to music, e.g., fol. 52v, "lay et y a chant." Taken with the evidence of the placement of V36 (see the commentary to Table 2.3, pp. 80f above), it appears that M was copied from a MS containing both text and music, one prepared between the copying of Vg and A (see above, n. 76).

<sup>184</sup> In Table 2.5, this is also true of Behaingne (gath. II) and Confort (gath. XVI): these dits begin in mid-column.

<sup>185</sup> As the through-copied nature of the MS would indicate, the gatherings were copied strictly in order—indeed, on f. 224v (the end of gathering XXVIII), the catchwords "Main et soir" were entered (Lai No. 11 in Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques, II, 365, l. 96). At the top of f. 255r, however, the scribe simply continued with the following line, "A dire voir."

<sup>186</sup> Musikalische Werke, II, 13a\*.

Some room was left at the end of each group of formes fixes set to music. After a final rubric "Balade," enough space was left for the later entry of about two ballades (of the complete set of ballades set to music, the last two are lacking in M); after "Rondel," enough space was left for approximately ten rondeaux (one is lacking in M); after the rubric "Chancon baladee," there is more than enough space for one virelai (one is lacking from M). It cannot be determined if some clue to leaving this space was indicated in the exemplar for M; in any case, no additions were ever made.

Table 2.5 shows the overall disposition of the contents of the codex.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>187</sup> No detailed diagram of the structure is appended, since the MS was regularly assembled from quaternions. No signatures were visible to me.

TABLE 2.5

## The Gathering Structure of M

gath.	fol.	contents
I	1-8	<u>Vergier</u>
II	9-16	9r: <u>Behaingne</u>
III	17-24	21v: <u>Navarre</u>
IV	25-32	
V	33-40	
VI	41-48	48v: <u>Lay de plour</u>
VII	49-56	50r: <u>Remede</u>
VIII	57-64	
IX	65-72	
X	73-80	77r: <u>Lion</u>
XI	81-88	
XII	89-96	91r: <u>l'Alerion</u>
XIII	97-104	
XIV	105-112	
XV	113-120	
XVI	121-128	121r: <u>Confort</u>
XVII	129-136	
XVIII	137-144	
XIX	145-152	146r: <u>Fonteinne</u>
XX	153-160	
XXI	161-168	164r: <u>Harpe</u> ; 166v: <u>Marg.</u> ; 168r: <u>Loange</u>
XXII	169-176	
XXIII	177-184	
XXIV	185-192	
XXV	193-200	198r: <u>Complaintes</u>
XXVI	201-208	207v: <u>Lais</u>
XXVII	209-216	
XXVIII	217-224	
XXIX	225-232	
XXX	233-240	237r: <u>Ballades</u>
XXXI	241-248	244r: <u>Rondeaux</u> ; 245v: <u>Virelais</u>
XXXII	249	
	250	
	251	
	252	
	253	
	254	
	255	
	....stub	



## MS F-G (F-PN FR. 22545-22546)

MS F-G was the first of the Machaut MSS to be rediscovered and described.<sup>188</sup> In most respects, F-G is the most complete of the large Machaut MSS. At the end of almost every group of works in the MS (narrative poems, Loange, Ballades, etc.), F-G contains unique works.<sup>189</sup> As the most complete MS, it was considered by modern philologists superior from the point of view of text. For instance, Chichmaref, the first editor of the lyrical texts of Machaut, took F-G as his basic text.<sup>190</sup>

The same assumptions were made by the first music historians to examine the works of Machaut. F-G was the main MS utilized by Johannes Wolf, who listed the rubrics of the narrative portions and the text incipits of the musical pieces.<sup>191</sup> Ludwig's study of the Machaut sources also began with F-G: his working copy of Machaut's complete musical works was made from this

<sup>188</sup> It was first signaled in 1746 by Abbé Lebeuf in a meeting of the Academy. See Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 8b\* for references and a history of the earliest descriptions. That the present two MSS were once bound as one is attested by the faint image at the end of F of the miniature which opens G.

<sup>189</sup> Lo187-220 are missing in F-G, for unknown reasons. Their absence may be connected with the separation of the complaintes from their former position within the Loange. The complaintes begin exactly after the end of this series of pieces in Vg(B)DEM. Perhaps their relocation involved a physical disturbance in F-G's exemplar. In any case, F-G has unique (and presumably more recent) works at the end of the Loange, and at the end of the separate section of complaintes. With regard to music, F-G lacks the Lai de plour [L22] and "Pas de tor" [B30]. The only other of the main MSS with unique works is MS E, which contains two unica among its lais. Their meaning is ambiguous; see below, Chap. 4.

<sup>190</sup> Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies lyriques (Paris, 1909). Hoepffner, who edited most of the narrative works, put the MSS into clearer perspective with regard to readings; see Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, xliv-li.

<sup>191</sup> Geschichte der Mensuralnotation 1250-1460, I, 157-62. Wolf's listing, as well as the brief discussion of the other principal MSS, is unusable without the corrections given by Ludwig in his review of Wolf's Geschichte, SIMG, 6 (1904-05), 610-11.

MS in 1901. Later, Ludwig's collation of readings from other MSS convinced him that both A and Vg generally offered better musical texts.<sup>192</sup>

Until quite recently, the general opinion of musical scholars was that F-G, though not as good in its readings as some other MSS, was nevertheless a source of primary importance, certainly prepared within Machaut's lifetime, under his "supervision." The presumed date of the corpus of works in F-G (a little later than 1371) was carried over as the date of the MS itself.<sup>193</sup> More recently, François Avril has suggested on the basis of the style of the illuminations that F-G is from the 1390s, crafted by the Parisian illuminator Perrin Remiet (or Remy). Like the master of the Polycratique of Jean de Salisbury (the first of the two miniaturists in MS E), Remiet was an artist slightly behind the times, who followed the usages of Charles V's day.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 45a\*.

<sup>193</sup> Reaney, "Towards a Chronology," p. 88.

<sup>194</sup> François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 129. On the master of the Polycratique [Pn fr. 24287], see n. 228 below in connection with MS E. The coat of arms included in several of the miniatures in F-G is still unidentified.

A matching of some of the images left by the paint when still wet dramatically demonstrates the disorder a MS could pass through during production. The following matching patterns provide a sample, and indicate that these sides were touching when the paint was not quite dry: shadows of F fol. 113r on G fol. 8v; G 1r on F 8v; G 45r on G 121v and on G 68v for a different part of the page; F 16v on G 162r; G 74r on G 69r. The images incidentally also confirm that the music was entered before the illuminator set to work. Unlike the case with musical anthologies, such traces of the production process do not indicate anything about the order of entry. The order of works in the Machaut MSS was set, and copying proceeded piece by piece in order. Besides the unidentified coat of arms, other unidentified clues may be of use in determining the MS's destination or an early owner. Several items in the Voir Dit are specially marked. Of the forty-six prose letters, all except the following thirteen are marked off to the left with the sign .;. (No. 1, fol. 140r; No. 2, 140r [Paris ed. No. 4]; No. 7, 147r [Paris ed. No. 3]; No. 9, 148r; No. 14, 156v; No. 23, 167r [in verse]; No. 25, 167v; No. 34, 179v; No. 36, 180v; No. 38, 182v; No. 39, 183r; No. 41, 189r; and No. 44, 195r). Four ballades are marked by the initials .y.p. near the flourish

As would be expected in a later, more complete source, F-G is strikingly uniform in its gathering structure. Table 2.6 summarizes the principal characteristics.

Except for the Prise (gath. XXVI-XXXI) and Loange (gath. XXXII-XXXV), the dit section is copied as one unit, as is the entire music section. Thus, most of the problems related to ordering had been settled before the MS was begun. The irregularities in the position of the Prise and Loange can possibly be traced to the exemplar—perhaps some of the problems seen in MS A with regard to the placement of the final dits had not been resolved.

One irregularity is striking. In gathering XXV (corresponding to the end of the modern MS F), a signature system is visible that begins with the letter 'e' and proceeds in alphabetical order back at least through gathering XXII.<sup>195</sup> The inference is, of course, that four gatherings should follow the one marked 'e' (d, c, b, a). Though no signature markings are presently visible, it appears that the Loange is the only section with the necessary four gatherings to begin such a series:

initial for the first line of the poem; some of these appear to have been written before the flourish initial was painted (fol. 154r, "Le plus grant bien"; fol. 162r, "Gent corps"; fol. 170v, "Hui ha .i. mois"; fol. 181v, "Quant Theseus" [B34]). Finally, the monogram 'R' appears in two places: below col. 1 on fol. 172r, and near the bottom of fol. 181v. It is to be hoped that more details of the dating of this MS will someday appear. Dozens of details attest to its close relation to MS A; perhaps it was prepared from the same exemplar material. (Could the miniatures have been added to a MS completed much earlier?)

<sup>195</sup> The exact location of the signatures can be seen in Appendix A, MS F, gath. XXII, XXIV and XXV.

TABLE 2.6  
The Gathering Structure of F-G

## MS F:

gath.	fol.	sig.	catch.	coll.	contents
I	1	a	XV	IV	<u>Prologue</u>
II	9	b	XV	IV	9v: <u>Behaingne</u>
III	17	c	01	IV	19v: <u>Navarre</u>
IV	25	d	01	IV	
V	33	e	XV	IV	40r: <u>Remede</u>
VI	41	f	XV	IV	
VII	49		01	IV	
VIII	57		01	IV	63v: <u>Lyon</u>
IX	65		01	IV	
X	73	//	XV	IV	75v: <u>l'Alerion</u>
XI	81		01	IV	
XII	89	-	01	IV	
XIII	97	-	01	IV	98v: <u>Confort</u>
XIV	105		01	IV	
XV	113		XV	IV	119v: <u>Fonteinne</u>
XVI	121		01	IV	
XVII	129		01	IV	135r: <u>Harpe</u>
XVIII	137		01	IV	137v: <u>Voir Dit</u>
XIX	145		01	IV	
XX	153	-	01	IV	
XXI	161		01	IV	
XXII	169	h	01	IV	
XXIII	177		XV	IV	
XXIV	185	f	01	IV	
XXV	193	e	01	IV	198v: <u>Marg.</u> , 199v: <u>Rose</u> 200r: <u>Les biens</u>

## MS G:

XXVI	1	a	-	IV	<u>Prise</u>
XXVII	9	-	02	IV	
XXVIII	17		-	IV	
XXIX	25		02	IV	
XXX	33	v or b	02	V	
XXXI	43		XV	I	
XXXII	45		01	IV	<u>Loange</u>
XXXIII	53		01	IV	
XXXIV	61		01	IV	67v: <u>complaintes</u>
XXXV	69		XV	II+1	71v: <u>Lis et Marg.</u>
XXXVI	74		01	IV	<u>Lais</u>
XXXVII	82		01	IV	
XXXVIII	90		01	IV	
XXXIX	98		01	IV	102v: <u>Motets</u>

gath.	fol.	sig.	catch.	coll.	contents
XL	106		01	IV	
XLI	114		01	IV	
XLII	122		01	IV	125v: Mass
XLIII	130	-	01	IV	134r: Ballades
XLIV	138		01	IV	
XLV	146		01	IV	150r: Rondeaux
XLVI	154		01	IV	154v: Virelais
XLVII	162		-	II	163v: Hocket

gath.	sig.	
XXII	h	
XXIII	[g]	
XXIV	f	
XXV	e	
XXXII	[d]	<u>Loange</u>
XXXIII	[c]	
XXXIV	[b]	
XXXV	[a]	

Either the Loange once preceded the Prise, or (more likely) the Prise was inserted, and the Loange was moved to maintain its position before the music section. Otherwise, the Prise would have followed as the last poem before the lai section. A separate stint of copying for the Prise (in any case by the same scribe) is suggested by its catchwords, different in style from the original catchwords in use through the rest of the MS.<sup>196</sup> Note also that the Prise starts a new series of signature markings.

<sup>196</sup> Original catchwords are labelled "01" in Table 2.6, those of the Prise, "02." Certain catchwords were apparently part of a fifteenth-century(?) restoration campaign after water damage (labeled "XV" in the table). Most heavily damaged were the first six gatherings or so (the signatures a-f were probably entered at this time, before the MS was rebound). No doubt also dating from this time are certain faint mirror images (visible on many folios at various places throughout the MS) which come from documents placed between folios to aid the drying process.

## MSS VG (US-NYW) AND B (F-PN FR. 1585)

A second group of sources (Vg[B]DEHJK) is marked by the similarity of the disposition of their contents. All begin with the Loange. Vg is placed at the head of the group because of the quality of its execution and text.<sup>197</sup>

MS B, for the most part a direct copy of Vg, will be considered here as well.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> A photograph of the first opening of the Mass in MS Vg is in A. Beverly Barksdale, "On the Planning and Arranging of Music Exhibitions," Music Library Association: Notes, Ser. 2, 10 (1953), 564.

<sup>198</sup> Friedrich Ludwig first presented the argument that B amounts to nothing more than a direct copy of Vg, in his 1911 ed. of the musical interpolations in the Remede. See Oeuvres, II, 409, and Musikalische Werke, II, 9b\*, n. 2 and 10\* and n. This view was challenged by the dissertation of E. Keitel, based principally on the different layout of the Prise between the two MSS, and on the assertion that the variety of hands and papers throughout B indicated the "possibility that B was not copied beginning-to-end from any pre-existing source. . ." (Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 114-15). But such changes in hands surely have to do with the haste with which the copy was prepared from Vg, while the latter was in any case still in unbound form. This view was affirmed by Margaret Bent in a paper delivered at the 1978 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, "Another Bite at Machaut, or Too Many Sources Spoil the Stemma" (unpublished). The absolute similarity of the layout of B is due to the manner in which it was copied. Since Vg was handed over in non-consecutive fascicles or parts of fascicles, the layout of the copy had to correspond to the exemplar for the copy to be assembled properly subsequently. A very similar problem is discussed in A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, "The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century," in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Kerr, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Wilson (London, 1978), pp. 163-210. As for the Prise, Ludwig had already noted that the strict correspondence between the two MSS breaks down in this final section. Bent's paper reinterprets this in a surprising way, presenting evidence that the Prise of Vg was copied from that of B.

The last folio of the Prise in B (fol. 395v) is signed "Guyon" in what is probably a fifteenth-century hand, thus not the eighteenth-century bibliophile Guyon de Sardières, whose library was bought by the Duc de la Vallière. Also unidentified is the motto on the same folio, "Cum bono bonus eris / Cum perverso perverteris" (paraphrase of 2 Reg. xxii.27 and Ps. xvii.27: "Cum electo electus eris, et cum perverso perverteris"). Unpublished is Elizabeth Keitel, "The Importance of Machaut's Paper Manuscript," American Musicological Society Convention, Washington, D.C., 1976.

The relationship between the MSS is perplexing, for, by all appearances, MS B was itself copied to serve as an exemplar. Its script was hastily executed, the level of decoration remained rudimentary and incomplete. Judging from the several marginal notes, text corrections, etc., it was well-used at one time. Several fifteenth-century folios replace leaves that presumably had become worn (all of these are outer sheets of gatherings), indicating that the MS lay in an unbound state for a long time. Margaret Bent recently presented evidence that B served as an exemplar for substantial portions of MS E,<sup>199</sup> and that the poor quality of certain texts in E can be attributed to the poor state of the exemplar. Surely many more MSS must also have been copied from B.

The idea that a MS destined to serve as an exemplar was hastily copied from a deluxe MS may seem unusual. But an exemplar copied from a MS already planned from beginning to end provided a ready-made solution to the very difficult aspect of the mise en page in a new MS, and the copy therefore could have been made very quickly.<sup>200</sup> Further, it was possible to prepare several similar MSS from the newly-made exemplar at reduced expense.<sup>201</sup> This

<sup>199</sup> See the paper cited in the previous note.

<sup>200</sup> Doyle and Parkes, "The Production of Copies," p. 167, n. 13, cite two examples of decorated MSS that served as exemplars for other MSS. Three passages in this article are especially suggestive of what may have been the situation for MS B: "A priori if the scribes copied page for page, then the resulting correspondence between the quires of the copy and those of the exemplar would facilitate both simultaneous copying and also the subsequent coordination of the stints completed by the different copyists" (p. 165); ". . . the pattern of the distribution of the exemplar among so many scribes suggests that the exemplar may have been available only in instalments for comparatively short periods, and that these instalments were allotted to those scribes who were available at the time" (p. 204); "The procedure of simultaneous copying would thus have been determined by the need to accelerate the production of a copy from an exemplar which was in demand, perhaps because it was regarded as having special authenticity" (p. 205).

<sup>201</sup> Doyle and Parkes, "The Production of Copies," p. 200, use the term

may help to explain the proliferation of the "Machaut MS" in corners far from Machaut's center of activity. And the order of the contents preserved by Vg(B) remained influential long after it was superseded, presumably with the express desire of the author, by the new order first presented in MS A, and later in F-G.<sup>202</sup>

On the other hand, there is evidence that the physical arrangement of B was not altogether appropriate to an exemplar. There are only three internal breaks in the structure of Vg and B; within these three sections, the two MSS are through-copied:

Gatherings I - XVII	<u>Loange</u> <u>Vergier</u> <u>Behaingne</u> <u>Navarre + Lay de plour</u> <u>Remede</u> <u>Lyon</u> -----
Gatherings XVIII - XXVII	<u>l'Alerion</u> <u>Confort</u> <u>Fonteinne</u> <u>Harpe</u>

"'standardized' exemplar" for something similar to this phenomenon. However, they warn against the idea that a stationer would retain an exemplar for copying (p. 203).

<sup>202</sup> It is possible, given the poor quality of the text, that the copying of a source such as B forms a tradition outside of the one controlled by the desires of the author. It may be due to B that so many MSS later than A preserve an ordering of works which seems anachronistic. Exemplars that served for the other central Machaut MSS cannot have been prepared in the haphazard manner B was, since their musical texts are extremely accurate in ways that the musical texts of B are not.



Gatherings XXVIII - XLII

-----  
 Lais  
 Motets  
 Mass  
 Ballades  
 Rondeaux  
 Virelais + Hocket  
 -----

B: 6 gath., XLIII-XLVIII  
 Vg: 8(?) gath., XLIII-LI  
     one of which is three  
     separate leaves.

Prise

The appended comparative chart of the overall structure of each gathering in Vg and B gives details on the disposition of contents within the gathering structure. In three cases, additional subdivisions of the structure could have been made, but were not:

1. Fol. 90 could have been left blank, separating Navarre from the Remede.
2. Fol. 122 could have been left blank, separating the Remede from Lyon.
3. Fol. 170 (=B fol. 169) could have been left blank, separating l'Alerion from Confort.

That these subdivisions were not utilized suggests that final decisions on ordering had been made even before Vg was copied. Such fixity is perhaps less desirable in a source intended to serve primarily as an exemplar (as I believe B was, whereas Vg was not), for if more than one scribe was to be copying a new MS in a different format, a division of labor could not be carried out as readily. Again, B follows Vg exactly because this convenience greatly reduced responsibilities with regard to MS planning—the copy, B, could therefore be made very quickly. That the resulting exemplar was still not as flexible as later copyists desired, however, can be inferred from the fact that at least in one instance, the gathering structure of B was altered to profit from one of the three subdivisions described above. The following diagram illustrates how this was accomplished.



The single structural irregularity in the text section of the MSS, common to both Vg and B, is the addition of a bifolio to accommodate the copying of the Lai de plour [L22] after Navarre. Through the addition of this bifolio, the lai was kept within the last gathering of Navarre. It cannot be maintained that the L22 is a fortuitous later addition.<sup>205</sup> The addition of the bifolio was connected perhaps to the decoration of the lai, or (more likely) to the convenience of copying the music. In this manner, the scribe responsible for the entry of the music could limit his work to a single gathering, instead of having to keep two unbound gatherings in order.

In MS B, the text scribes generally did not copy the text of the musical pieces. This can be seen clearly throughout the Remede, where spaces were originally left blank for the musical interpolations (owing to exactness of the copy of Vg, the extent of these spaces was easy to calculate). The musical pieces, including their text, were left for later entry by a different hand. The same is true of the entry of L22 after Navarre—the text scribe left the requisite space blank, and continued his copying with the text of the Remede.<sup>206</sup>

. . . . .

<sup>205</sup> The argument of Keitel, "The Musical Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut," Early Music, 5 (1977), 471, is not convincing. Considering the lai as an originally unplanned addition would require fol. 87v to have been left blank. A fortuitous blank folio within a gathering is an unlikely occurrence in a MS copied like Vg. The statement in her "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," MQ, 68 (1982), 310, n. 16, concerning the added bifolio "containing the Lai de plour. . . , which certainly would not exist had B been copied from a complete Vg," cannot be sustained. There is an added bifolio here in Vg. B follows Vg exactly. Therefore, there is an added bifolio here in B as well.

<sup>206</sup> Scribes in MS B are discussed below, Chap. 3, pp. 196ff. The copying of music in the Remede is discussed pp. 216ff.

MS Vg has quite recently been dated by François Avril. As with A and C, the first owner is unknown, but was probably connected with the court of Charles V (see n. 77 above on a possible early owner of Vg). Avril distinguished at least five hands among the illuminators, including the master of the Livre du Sacre of Charles V, who also collaborated in the illustration of MS C (see below, n. 257), and the master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, who illuminated the two famous Prologue miniatures in A.<sup>207</sup> The datable MSS associated with these artists and the stage of the development of their style can be placed in the early 1370s.<sup>208</sup>

A detailed examination of the structure of Vg is presently impossible. No signature markings can be made out on a microfilm.<sup>209</sup> Fortunately, owing to his need to establish the relationship between Vg and B, Ludwig's notes on the physical evidence of the structure of the two MSS are more thorough than for any of the other MSS.<sup>210</sup> Although the signature system of Vg does not parallel that of B, in both instances a separate alphabet was used for the text and music sections (see Appendix A). No signature markings were noted by Ludwig for the Prise in Vg. By beginning a new alphabet specifically with the lais, when a continuation of the first alphabet would have

<sup>207</sup> Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," pp. 124-25.

<sup>208</sup> Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 125. Two of the five artists associated with Vg first appear in MSS datable 1372. As Avril notes, (p. 126), this dating corresponds nicely with the dates of the watermarks in B noted by Keitel (1370-72, see n. 198 above).

<sup>209</sup> Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 37-38, notes an "x" for fol. 334 (surely it is "x" and not "4").

<sup>210</sup> In the critical notes of Ludwig's edition, only the large-scale correspondences between the two MSS were noted (Musikalische Werke, II, 9b\*, n. 2); some of his unpublished notes on their structure are the basis for the signature markings entered in the chart of the gathering structure of Vg in Appendix A.

been possible, the complete independence of the music section of the MS is established. The fact that the signature markings in Vg were visible to Ludwig almost in their entirety for the music section leads one to suspect that they were differently placed or differently entered from those in the text section of the MS. In this regard, Ludwig's statement that the first gathering of *lais* looks very worn in Vg is significant: probably the music section was originally bound separately, and only more recently bound together as one volume.<sup>211</sup>

. . . . .

Table 2.7 supplies an overview of the various signature systems presently visible in MS B, and will allow a preliminary consideration of the various ways in which the codex has been bound at various times:

1. As can be seen from the modern foliation given in the second column, gatherings XXII and XXVII are presently bound out of order between gatherings II and III.
2. The red system of signatures at the beginning of the MS (a-1, with Roman numerals) follows this misbound order, and was probably entered shortly before the gatherings were sewn together for binding. The style of numbers and letters, as well as certain marginal cues and directions, suggests that the misbinding dates from the fifteenth century.

<sup>211</sup> *Musikalische Werke*, II, 9b\*: "Eine . . . wie die starken Gebrauchsspuren gerade im Musikfaszikel zeigen, einstmals eifrig benutzte Gesamths. des 14. Jahrhunderts. . ." (and cf. *Oeuvres*, II, 408n). One of Ludwig's comparative diagrams of the gathering structure of Vg (he used Hoepffner's siglum V at the time) and B has a note doubly underlined next to the opening folio numbers of the *lai* gatherings: "diese Lay Lage in V stark abgenutzt stark abgegriffen." Further down, after the ballades begin, a note is boxed in: "auch die Ballade in V stark benutzt" (I cannot read a word entered in pencil above this note). See also Chap. 1, p. 37 above.

TABLE 2.7  
Signatures in B

	gath.	mod. fol.	red Rom.	bl. Rom.	bl. Arab.	other	
Text:	I*	1	a				
	II*	9	b		b		
	III	34	e	a		iiii	z
	IV	42	f	b		iii	v
	V	50	g	c		ii	
	VI	58	h	d			zz
	VII	66	i	e		iiii	z
	VIII	74	k	f		iiii	z
	IX	82	l	g			b
	X	90		h			b
	XI	98		i			b
	XII	108		k		vii	zzz
	XIII	116		l		cor ii	
	XIV	124		m			zzzz
	XV	132		n		iiii	z
	XVI	140		o		cor iiiii	
	XVII	148		p			
	XVIII	155		q		cor ii	
	XIX	163		r		cor iii	zzz
	XX	171		s		cor iiiii	
	XXI	179		t		cor	
	XXII*	25	d				
	XXIII	186		v		cor viii	z
	XXIV	194		x		vi	
	XXV	202		y		cor iiiii	zz
	XXVI	210		z		ii	
	XXVII*	17	c		a/g		
Music:	XXVIII	218	/	r		iii	zzz
	XXIX	225	//		a	iiii	z
	XXX	233	///	d	b	C ii	
	XXXI	241	///		c	ii	
	XXXII	249	v		d	ii	
	XXXIII	257	vi	o	e	iiii	zz
	XXXIV	265	vii		f	v ii	zz
	XXXV	273	viii		g	iiii	
	XXXVI	281	ix		h	ii	z
	XXXVII	289	x		i	ii	
	XXXVIII	297	xi		k	iii	
	XXXIX	305	xii		l	iiii	
	XL	314	xiii	o	m	iiii	
	XLI	322	xiiii		n	iiii	
	XLII	330			o	i	

	gath.	mod. fol.	red Rom.	bl. Rom.	bl. Arab.	other
<u>Prise:</u>	XLIII	332		a	p	iii
	XLIV	343		b	q	iii
	XLV	353		c	r	vi
	XLVI	365			s	I iiii
	XLVII	379			t	v
	XLVIII	389			v	

(\*): gatherings with outer sheets replaced.

3. The black system of signatures (a-z, also with Roman numerals), begins with gathering III and continues through the entire text section, but does not include gatherings XXII and XXVII. The red and black systems are therefore interdependent.

Both the incorrect order of the signatures and the resulting misbinding can be related directly to the copying of the several replacement folios. All of these (bifolia 1 and 8 in gathering I; 9 and 16 in gath. II; 17 and 24 in gath. XXVII, and the single fol. 33 in gath. XXII) form outer sheets of gatherings which had become worn.<sup>212</sup> The gatherings requiring replacement sheets were separated from the others, and were provided prematurely with signatures (all in preparation for binding). When the replacement copies were completed, the gatherings were not restored to their proper places, but were all placed at the head of the MS. The red system of signatures, which stops at gathering IX, was continued only long enough to assure the proper dovetailing with the black/Roman system. Thus, the misbinding was prompted by purely external considerations. It will be seen below that the MS was

<sup>212</sup> The rearrangement of gathering XXII (see p. 106 above) must have occurred before the copying of the replacement folios, since fol. 26 (old 170) was not recopied, indicating that this rearrangement was made at a fairly early stage.

also assembled wrongly at an earlier point in its history.

4. In the music section, one of the signature systems (black, in Arabic numerals) begins only with the second gathering, No. XXIX.<sup>213</sup> The black/Arabic signatures of the music section, which continue through the Prise, complement the black/Roman signatures of the text section; therefore, a complete system of signatures verifies the present binding.

5. Earlier, the Prise had, at least in part, its own independent system of signatures, confirming other evidence (paper, watermarks, hands, etc.) that the Prise was originally independent.<sup>214</sup>

6. The music gatherings include a wholly independent set of signatures, a consecutive numbering of the first sheet of each quire with red slashes or Roman numerals on the bottom right recto. Gathering XLII, probably originally a binio as in Vg, has lost its first sheet, and this number is therefore presently lost.<sup>215</sup>

7. In addition to the signatures, several other marks whose specific meaning is unknown were made on the final verso of several gatherings. Possibly they are notations by various scribes who had finished copying their gatherings (that is, while the MS was serving as a copyist's exemp-

<sup>213</sup> The first gathering of *lais*, lacking its outer sheet, was not counted. Perhaps this gathering too was supposed to receive a replacement folio, and was at one point separated from the other music quires.

<sup>214</sup> See Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 113-14, and the paper of Bent referred to in n. 198 above.

<sup>215</sup> See Keitel, "A Chronology," p. 38, and J. Widaman, "The Structure of Machaut's MS 'B': A Preliminary Study and Some Inferences," seminar paper for Brandeis University, May 1979, p. 13. This first sheet was lost before E was copied; it contained the music necessary to complete the tenor of "Mors sui" [V29], now incomplete in both B and E (see Bent, "Another Bite," p. 8). Since the number is missing, probably this system of signatures predates the copying of E (1390s). Otherwise, the red number would be visible on the second sheet, presently fol. 330.



lar).<sup>216</sup> To summarize the above points, it seems that the signatures are essentially binder's marks entered in anticipation of the binding of the MS.

In the text portion of MS B, there are two old foliations, one at the top of the recto and one at the bottom. The lower foliation is the earlier one, since it takes account of a blank folio present in Vg (as fol. 138), but now lacking in MS B.<sup>217</sup> The foliation at the top of the rectos is continuous, and does not take account of the lost blank folio. The only difference between the lower and upper foliations, then, is that fols. 49-136 (bottom) correspond to fols. 50-137 (top). After that point, the older lower foliation skips a page (the lost fol. 137), while the top foliation continues; fols. 138ff are the same in both foliations to the end of the text section. An original foliation is lacking for the music section. The nineteenth-century Arabic foliation at the top right recto is continuous throughout the entire MS, including the misbound folios.

There are indications at several places in MS B of other problems in keeping the MS in order. A tabulation follows of the various cues to the reader of the MS, listed here in order according to the present misbound

<sup>216</sup> The indication "cor" at the ends of several gatherings (only in the text section) is a common abbreviation for "correctum" (J. Destrez, La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVE siècle [Paris, 1935], p. 52), or for "corrigitur" (Graham Pollard, "The pecia System in the Medieval Universities," in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries, p. 153), that is, an indication that a scribe had proofread the gathering in question. See also E. Reimer, Johannes de Garlandia: De Mensurabili musica, (Wiesbaden, 1972), I, 25, and his reference to S. Cserba, Hieronymus de Moravia O.P. Tractatus de musica (Regensburg, 1935), p. lxxxiiif, and p. lxxix. "Cor" was used primarily with MSS that were to serve as exemplars.

<sup>217</sup> The lost folio was numbered 137 in B. There is a difference of 1 between the old lower foliation of B and the old foliation of Vg because the old lower foliation in B used the number 49 twice. Probably the practice of counting by twenties, used in the lower system of foliation in MS B, but not in the upper, should not be considered as a factor relating to chronology. In the lower system, the only use of the Roman "C" is from fols. 100-120.

disposition. Parentheses indicate additions in lighter ink. Abbreviations are expanded.

gath. fol.

---

- a) I 16v (old 16v): ou xvije fueillett ensuite
- b) XXII 25v (old 169v): ~~Si que noble don~~
- c) XXII 33v (old 177v): fault allez au feullet cy apres  
marque en teste C lxxviiij
- d) III 34r (old 17r): ou xviie fueillett precedant
- e) XX 178v (old 161v): Et quant (~~madame~~)  
Et quant elle fu hors yssue  
a tel signe ~~¶~~ xlij feull[et]
- f) XXI 179r (old 162r): ~~¶~~
- g) XXI 185r (old 168r): fault retourner cy devant  
au feullet marque en teste  
C lxix
- h) XXI 185v (old 168v):  
Au feullet cy devant marque  
C lxix et le commencement de lystoire  
cy apres qui sapelle le confort dany  
et commancant / Ainsi / Amis a toy donner confort  
Ay maintes foys pense moult fort  
et y en a ix feulletz / avant S[i] q[ue] [ilz] v[i]soy
- i) XXV 209v (old 201v):  
~~Et quant (elle fu)~~  
Et quant ma dame etc. ci devant a  
xl feuilles  
  
(Et quant ma dame)
- j) XXVI 217v (old 209v):  
~~Si que il visoient~~  
~~Si que (il visoient)~~  
doit auoir si que noble don te present present  
Si que noble don te present  
pour auoir si petit present  
Apres ~~¶~~ xlij feullet si auant  
marque C  
ij x

Some of these cues can relate to the present misbinding of the MS, in which gatherings XXVII and XXII appear between gatherings II and III. Indication a), fol. 16v, informs the reader to skip ahead in the book until fol. 17 is found, the beginning of the true gathering III. Indication d) is the answering mark. Indications g) and h) send the reader back towards the beginning of the book to pick up with gathering XXII, the second of the two misbound gatherings, for the opening of the Confort d'ami. Indication c) moves the reader back up in the book for gathering XXIII after the misbound gathering XXII is passed. Indication j) is a note that the next gathering, No. XXVII, is to be found in the front of the MS, after fol. 16.<sup>218</sup> The identification by Jean Widaman of the scribe of indications g), h), c) and the very last part of j) with one of two scribes of the upper foliation indicates that the purpose of the top foliation was to aid the reader in following the improperly bound MS.<sup>219</sup>

Other cues cannot be reconciled with the order exhibited by the present misbinding. For instance, b), e), i), and j) record several catchword problems. The difficulty can be linked to the exemplar, Vg, where by chance two different gatherings have identical catchwords:

Et qñt: gatherings XX and XXV  
Si que: gatherings XXI and XXVI.

If the unbound MS were assembled on the basis of these catchwords alone, the redundancies could cause errors (it is of course completely fortuitous that each set occurs in consecutive gatherings in the MS). MS B originally had

<sup>218</sup> There is no indication on old fol. 217v, presently fol. 24v, to skip ahead to the beginning of the music section. This is the end of the text section of the MS; the catchword is for the lost first folio of the *lais*. This is a further indication of the independence of the text section from the music section.

<sup>219</sup> Jean Widaman, "The Structure."

catchwords identical to Vg's, and both of these instances were occasions for misassembly of MS B, as can be traced from the additions and deletions of words to the catchwords in question (parentheses delineate lighter, later additions to catchwords that were originally in the shorter form of Vg):

Indication e):

Et quant (madame) erroneously associates gathering XX with gathering XXVI. This was later corrected to Et quant elle fu hors yssue.

Indication i):

Et quant (elle fu) erroneously associates gathering XXV with gathering XXI. This was later corrected to Et quant ma dame.

Indication b):

Si que noble don (that the last two words are later additions cannot be verified in this case) erroneously associates gathering XXI (before the detachment of fol. 25[169]) with gathering XXVII. Since this was never corrected to Si que ilz visoient, the rearrangement of gatherings XXI and XXII (see above, p. 106) was probably effected about the same time as the subsequent corrections to the order of the gatherings. Since the gathering structure was now altered, no corrected catchword was necessary.

Indication j):

Si que (il visoient) erroneously associates gathering XXVI with gathering XXII. The improper catchwords were later written out again in full above the old ones, but finally corrected to:

Si que noble don te present  
Por avoir si petit present

If MS B were to be reassembled according to the order suggested by the incorrect catchwords, the following disposition of gatherings would obtain:

gath. fol.  
-----

	}	171 (old 154)
XX		.
		.
	}	178 (old 161) "Et quant (madame)" (later corrected to "Et quant elle fu")
	}	210 (old 202) beginning: "Et quant ma dame ara bien perceu"
		.
XXVI		.
		.
	}	217 (old 209) "Si que il vis" (later corrected to "Si que noble don")

- XXII { 26 (old 170) beginning: "Si que ilz visoient sans seiour"  
       .  
       .  
       33 (old 177) "de son mal"
- XXIII )  
       ) these gatherings remained in order.  
 XXIV )
- XXV { 202 (old 194)  
       .  
       .  
       209 (old 201) "Et quant (elle fu)" (later corrected to "Et quant mad-  
           ame")
- XXI { 179 (old 162) beginning: "Et quant elle fu hors yssue"  
       .  
       .  
       25 (old 169) "Si que noble don" (later crossed out completely, after  
           the folio was cut out to go with beginning of Confort).
- XXVII { 17 (old 210) beginning: "Si que noble don te present"  
       .  
       .  
       24 (old 217)

XXVIII ff: (remaining gatherings in order)

The MS was in this state when the curious signs in indications e) and f) were added. When the signs are entered in their proper places in the order reconstructed above, the following disposition is obtained:

gath: XIX, XX ~~41~~, XXVI, XXII-XXV, ~~41~~ XXI, XXVII

The "42 feuilles" in indication e) works out perfectly if one counts both ends of the series, since exactly five gatherings (XXVI, XXII-XXV) separated gatherings XX and XXI.<sup>220</sup> The 40 folios of indication i) ("ci devant a 40

<sup>220</sup> 8 (folios/gathering) x 5 (gatherings) = 40 folios + fol. 178 (old 161) + fol. 179 (old 162) = 42. If gathering XXII included fol. 25 (with the beginning of the Confort taken from the end of gath. XXI), the same number works if either the beginning or the ending of the series is not

feuilles") is also explained by this new order.<sup>221</sup>

. . . . .

The abundance of cues, signature systems, and other indications discussed above bear witness to at least three different stages in the history of the text section of MS B:

1. Redisposition of two gatherings to allow the Confort to begin a fascicle.
2. A mistaken arrangement of gatherings with similar catchwords, resulting in the following arrangement: I-XX; XXVI; XXII-XXV; XXI; XXVII. Because of the elaborate directions indicating the various skips necessary to read the MS consecutively, the MS was bound at this point. (This stage was possibly prior to the above.)
3. Plans for a new binding allowed the restoration of the correct order of gatherings through most of the MS. However, those gatherings receiving replacement sheets were set aside before the addition of the signatures presently visible. The gatherings with their replaced folios were then all mistakenly bound at the front of the MS. The text section of B remains to this day misbound in the order:

I-II; XXVII; XXII; III-XXI; XXIII-XXVI.

counted. Thus, one can perhaps not prove that gathering XXII was in its original condition at the time of the error in ordering.

<sup>221</sup> Since the count is now backwards, only the end of a complete gathering to the beginning of a complete gathering is counted, hence  $42 - 2 = 40$ . It should be remarked that none of the presently visible signature systems correspond to the intermediate order of MS B presented above, nor does this order apparently aid in the interpretation of the mysterious "other" marks at the ends of gatherings.

Judging from the handwriting of the signatures and cues, the changes were made over a relatively short period of time. The stormy career of MS B, perhaps a witness to the use of B as an exemplar, was probably over by the first quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>222</sup>

#### MS D (F-PN FR. 1587)

MS D is related to the Vg(B) family. It begins with the Loange, containing exactly the same poems as Vg and B, and in the same order. François Avril's dating of the miniatures places D very late among collections of Machaut's works. "Il est dû à un des nombreux émules parisiens du maître du duc de Bedford et est datable des environs de 1430."<sup>223</sup> Table 2.8 gives the essentials of its structure.

It is not impossible to imagine that MS D has lost some later gatherings, since the blank folio at the end could have marked a division before the following section. No conclusive proof can be offered one way or the other.

<sup>222</sup> MS B was most recently restored sometime within the last twenty years. The Bibliothèque nationale has no dossier on this restoration, nor is the new binding dated. I was assured by a conservateur that those in charge of restoration do not in any way change the structure of the MS, that the gatherings are reinforced as they are found, so perhaps a restoration campaign prior to this caused the damage. Unfortunately, the misbound gatherings have still not been returned to their correct positions, since the nineteenth-century Arabic foliation was followed in the reassembly. Because the microfilm was made before this recent and also possibly damaging restoration, one can occasionally observe the gathering structure on the basis of the film alone. The binding was loose enough that the folios are displaced at each page turn. Curiously, in one of Ludwig's notes on B (Niedersächsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek, Göttingen, Nachlass Ludwig, Kasten XXVII) he remarked: "fester Einband." See n. 203 above.

<sup>223</sup> François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 130. On the Master of the Duke of Bedford, see E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, esp. n. 3, pp. 384-85.

TABLE 2.8

## The Gathering Structure of D

gath. fol.	contents
I	1-8 <u>Loange</u>
II	9-16
III	17-24
IV	25-32
V	33-40
VI	41-48 48r: <u>Vergier</u>
VII	49-56
VIII	57-64 58v: <u>Behaingne</u>
IX	65-72
X	73-80 74v: <u>Navarre</u> (*)
XI	81
	82 (glued)
	83
	84 (sewn)
	85
	86
	87 (glued)
	88
XII	89-96
XIII	97-104
XIV	105
	106
	107
	108 (108v: BLANK)

(\*) Although there is a new miniature (D9 in Appendix C) at the beginning of Navarre, no explicit or identifying rubric sets off the end of Behaingne from the beginning of Navarre.

## MS E (F-PN FR. 9221)

MS E is the only surviving MS for which the original owner is securely known: Jean, duc de Berry.<sup>224</sup> Since Jean had been a patron of Machaut as

<sup>224</sup> His secretary Flamel made an elaborate statement of ownership on the flyleaf fol. Br, and the Duke's autograph *ex libris* (effaced) appears at the end of the volume, fol. 238r. On the possible motto relating Vg to Jean de Grailli (who in any case was not the original owner) see *Musikalische Werke*, II, 10a\*. I suggested above (n. 77) that Yolande of Bar, wife of Juan I of Aragon, may have been an early owner of Vg, a gift from Gaston



early as the beginning of the 1360s, it does not seem unreasonable to expect a MS to have been prepared for him within the lifetime of the poet.<sup>225</sup> The dating of the MS is important also for historians of music. Several compositions in E contain additional voices not found in any other main Machaut MS; some of these additional voices reappear in musical collections copied well outside Machaut's purview.<sup>226</sup> Finally, there are two *lais* unique to MS E, for which Machaut's authorship has not been unequivocally established.<sup>227</sup> The dating of François Avril, based on the miniatures, places the MS c. 1390. Two artists collaborated in its illustration, the first of whom is the master of the Polycratique of Jean de Salisbury. This artist's hand appears in the first two gatherings (the Prologue and Loange only).<sup>228</sup>

Fébus in 1387. B is signed "Guyon" (unidentified) on the last folio of the Prise, see n. 198 above.

<sup>225</sup> Jean is the protagonist of the Dit de la fonteinne amoureuse, a story which is set shortly before Jean left for his service as a hostage of the English in October 1360, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Brétigny. Machaut states in the Voir Dit that an individual copy of the Fonteinne, his most recent work at the time, was being prepared for Jean at the time of the composition of the Voir Dit (1363-65). E is listed in inventories of Jean's library beginning with the inventory of 1402 (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 11a\*, n. 1). Poirion, Le poète, p. 195, is incorrect in dating E 1371. The only evidence for this assertion is that Jean de Berry owed Machaut money that year.

<sup>226</sup> For instance, F-Pn n.a.f. 6771 and F-CH 564.

<sup>227</sup> See below, Chap. 4.

<sup>228</sup> François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 128. Millard Meiss also dated the MS ca. 1390, see French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, I, 315. Meiss counts E among "examples of mediocre illuminations" belonging to the Duke (ibid., p. 403, n. 12). On the master of the Polycratique of Charles V (F-Pn fr. 24287), see Avril and Lafaurie, La Librairie de Charles V (the cover of this catalogue is a color reproduction of a miniature by this artist), Avril's commentary to No. 206 (the first artist of MS E is also the first artist of the Polycratique).

Among the large Machaut MSS, E presents an extreme example of a certain structural type. No other MS is as consistent in the physical separation of each section. Except for a group of poems near the beginning copied as a single unit (Prologue-Loange-Vergier-Remede-Behaigne),<sup>229</sup> and the joining of the Confort and the short poem Harpe, all parts of the MS are separable from one another. The final order of the parts was open to the greatest possible flexibility; indeed, there are no catchwords between poems. Further, an irregular number of leaves appear in some gatherings, and blank pages were even bound into the MS at the ends of sections, without being cut. These blanks were later foliated. Thus, decisions about the overall order of the MS were left to a very late stage.<sup>230</sup> Table 2.9 and the chart of the gathering structure in Appendix A will serve to clarify the above points. Irregularities in the gathering structure always occur at the end of a section, as do blank folios and missing catchwords.<sup>231</sup>

Normally, it would be impossible to determine in what way or to what degree the sectional independence of a MS was tied to the condition of the exemplar used in the copying of the source. However, in this instance, recent research by Margaret Bent on the music section of E has made it possible to speculate on its compilation history.<sup>232</sup> Judging purely from a comparison of the contents, Ludwig stated that the repertory contained in E was

<sup>229</sup> Fol. 17v is blank (within the gathering), after the end of the Loange. This, no doubt, was to allow for the eventual addition of more poems.

<sup>230</sup> The index was copied from the final order of the MS; it did not in any sense determine the order of the components, as was the case for MS A.

<sup>231</sup> In Table 2.9, "x" indicates the presence of a catchword (col. 3) or of a blank folio at the end of a gathering (col. 4).

<sup>232</sup> See the paper cited in n. 198 above.

TABLE 2.9

## The Gathering Structure of E

gath.	fol.	catch.	blank	coll.	contents
A	A	-	x	I	
B	C	-	x	II	Index
I	1	x		IV	<u>Prologue</u> , 1v: <u>Loange</u>
II	9	x		IV	13r: <u>Compl.</u> , 16r: <u>Rond.</u>
III	17	x	x	IV	18r: <u>Vergier</u> , 22r: <u>Remede</u>
IV	25	x		IV	
V	33	x		IV	37r: <u>Behaigne</u>
VI	41	-	x	II	
VII	45			IV	<u>Navarre</u>
VIII	53	-	x	IV	
IX	61	-	x	IV	<u>Lyon</u>
X	69	x		IV	<u>l'Alerion</u>
XI	77	-		III	
XII	83	x		IV	<u>Fonteinne</u>
XIII	91	-	x	I	
XIV	93	x		IV	<u>Confort</u>
XV	101	-	x	III	105r: <u>Harpe</u>
XVI	107	x		IV	<u>Lais</u>
XVII	115	x		IV	
XVIII	123	-	x	IV	
XIX	131	x		IV	<u>Motets</u> and <u>Rondeaux</u>
XX	139	-	x	IV	
XXI	147	x		IV	<u>Ballades</u>
XXII	155	-	x	II	
XXIII	159	x		IV	<u>Virelais</u> , 164v: <u>Mass</u>
XXIV	167	-	x	II	
XXV	171	x		IV	<u>Voir Dit</u>
XXVI	179	x		IV	
XXVII	187	x		IV	
XXVIII	195	x		IV	
XXIX	203	x		IV	
XXX	211	-	x	I	

gath.	fol.	catch.	blank	coll.	contents
XXXI	213	x		IV	<u>Prise</u>
XXXII	221	x		IV	
XXXIII	229	x		IV	
XXXIV	237	-	x	I	

comparable to that of Vg(B).<sup>233</sup> Bent has shown that certain parts of the music section of E derive directly from B.<sup>234</sup>

A complete MS of the Machaut works was commissioned, and indeed an exemplar was on hand or became available (surviving today as MS B). It was known, however, that B was incomplete in some respects. But separate MSS of certain large works not contained in B (such as the Voir Dit) were on hand. In addition, copies of certain smaller works not contained in B, such as the Prologue ballades and some musical works written after the compilation of B, were available, grouped either in small fascicle-MSS, or, in the case of the musical works, perhaps in individual copies or rotuli. Furthermore, there were duplicate copies of certain works already contained in B, contemporary copies of various pieces of Machaut's music that had remained vital into the 1390s.<sup>235</sup> It is likely that the smaller MSS represent the repertory ini-

<sup>233</sup> Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 11a\*.

<sup>234</sup> "The lais and mass seem not to have been taken from B, but rather more than half of the motets, ballades, rondeaux and virelais do seem to have been so copied." (Bent, "Another Bite"). And further: ". . . my impression is that [the scribe of] E had most if not all of B2 [the music section of B] available at the same time, together with other sources. This is the only way of accounting for E's arrangement of pieces, which include, where E has several shorter pieces throughcopied on one opening, pieces taken from B and pieces not taken from B in various orders and combinations, and moreover pieces taken from different gatherings of B in adjacent positions" (Bent, "Another Bite").


<sup>235</sup> Though sometimes not without changes. Voices were added, variants in the musical readings and in certain aspects of the notation (e.g., ligature usage and dot placement) had been introduced. Cf. Bent: "In all the

tially available to the scribe of E, the Machaut pieces then popular at the court. When a more recent redaction of this or that work was available, it was incorporated into the new MS. The irregular picture obtained by Bent from her examination of the musical fascicles appears to be explicable in no other manner.

In this connection, two ballades in E are of interest, both with their tenor voices marked: "Tenor. G. de mascandio." These are "Phyton, le merveilleus serpent" [B38] (the last ballade of the ballade section, fol. 157r), and "Nes que on porroit" [B33] (copied with the Voir Dit, fol. 178r). The extra ascription in the tenor is the single curious detail in the notation of this latter ballade.<sup>236</sup> Much is unusual, however, about the notation of B38. As Ludwig noted (Musikalische Werke, I, 46), the ballade was a later addition to the ballade section, though not by much, since it appears in the index. (Fol. 157v and all of fol. 158 are blank, to finish the gathering.) The tenor has the above voice indication, but there is no separate indication for the contratenor, nor are there any of the familiar "or or or" markings below the staves (this practice will be discussed in Chap. 3). As for the music itself, a great many non-standard ligature patterns are found throughout the cantus voice. Seven c.o.p. ligatures appear in E that do not appear in A or G. All but one of these is in the pattern dotted semibreve-semibreve, a pattern that Machaut apparently did not use, since it appears

cases where E preserves extra triplum or contra parts not in B, the entire piece, not just the additional part, is copied from a source other than B" ("Another Bite"); ". . . but it is not only in the case of such obvious difference as the presence of added parts, or an entirely different version of a piece (e.g., R18, Puis qu'en oubli) that [the scribe of] E chose to use other sources in preference to B" (ibid.). In the case of the lais, radically different variant notations were available (see below, Chap. 4).

<sup>236</sup> There is no separate clef when the contratenor begins mid-line, but this also happens in B21, fol. 151v.

in none of the central sources CAF-GVg(B).<sup>237</sup> Of course there were many opportunities to use this kind of ligature, perhaps most obviously at the opening of B18, which is indeed notated with such a ligature (  ) in F-Pn it. 568.<sup>238</sup> B38 is the only work in E with extensive use of this notation.<sup>239</sup> All this suggests to me that this piece was taken from a small, individual rotulus or a loose sheet, in which the work was individually attributed to Machaut. Perhaps B33, with a similar attribution in the tenor, was also available in this shape.<sup>240</sup>

. . . . .

The compilation history of one section of MS E, that containing the rondeaux and motets, can be fairly readily followed. In the MSS AMF-GVg(B)E, the various genres of musical works are strictly separated in the order *lais*, motets, Mass, ballades, rondeaux, and *virelais*.<sup>241</sup> The single exception is

<sup>237</sup> At the level of the breve, this rhythm in ligature is quite common. See B1 (beginning of ca.), B8 (beginning), B27 (beg. of refrain), B31 (beg. of ca.), B34 (beg. of final melisma of "Ne quier"), V38 (beg. of B-section ten.), and R17 (beg. of ca., etc.).

<sup>238</sup> Fol. 124v; also twice in ten. Cf. also B31 ct., F-Pn it. 568, fol. 120v. Other examples of this rhythm, always noted by Machaut with separate semibreves, are B22 (tr.), R8 (ct.), R21 (ca. and ct.), B21 (tr.), B24 (ca.), R15 (ca., ten. and ct.), Agnus 1 (tr.), Agnus 2 (tr. and mot.), Agnus 3 (tr.), Ite (tr.), Rem5 (tr.; sb. notation retained in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771). The opposite pattern, semibreve-dotted semibreve in ligature, is conspicuous at the beginning of the ct. of B21, but in B25 (ca.), this notation is probably an error in MS A: the other main MSS do not use it.

<sup>239</sup> The ligature is seen elsewhere in E in the tenor of B34 and the ct. of B39. In B34 in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, there is inconsistent use in the ca. "Ne quier": the end of the A-section is notated with individual semibreves, the end of B-section is notated in ligature.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), p. 325: "We can say with some confidence that a scribe who unexpectedly, or occasionally, breaks his normal habit is likely to be reflecting a feature of his exemplar."

<sup>241</sup> M has no motet texts. Motet poetry is only rarely found divorced

MS E, in which the rondeaux are copied in the section of motets. Ludwig pointed out that the reason for the unusual mixture of genres in this section, as well as the different order in which the rondeaux appear, must have been the unusually large format of the MS.<sup>242</sup> Had the motets been copied one per opening as in the other Machaut MSS (the normal manner throughout most of the fourteenth century), a large blank space would have been left, covering the lower portion of each opening.<sup>243</sup> In order to minimize the waste of space, a different means of copying motets was used in E. The motets were copied continuously in long lines (not columns) beginning at the top of the

from its musical setting; the only example among Machaut's works is the case of "Qui es promesses/Ha Fortune" [M8], found in the text MS S-Sk Vu 22 (c. 1480). Examples from the motets attributed to Vitry were discussed in Chap. 1 (Table 1.1, pp. 8f). The location of the hocket is variable for reasons discussed in Chap. 3 below (pp. 179-80). The order of the genres in the music section of the earliest of the MSS, C, differs sharply from the order of the other MSS.

<sup>242</sup> Ludwig, *Musikalische Werke*, II, 11b\*. At approximately 41 x 31 cm, E is about 11 cm. larger in both height and width than Vg, B, A, and C, and about 5 cm. larger in both dimensions than F-G, itself a large codex (ca. 36 x 26 cm.).

<sup>243</sup> Triplum on the verso, motetus on the recto, or in columns, as in A, F-G and C. Some MSS containing repertoire from the first half of the century still employed the typical thirteenth-century layout, with a motet entered on a single page (F-CA 1328, I-IV 115, CH-Fcu 260). F-Pn fr. 146, again due to the extraordinary size of the codex (462 x 330 mm., according to *RISM*, B IV2, 163), must be left out of consideration. In another French motet collection of large format, the MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 (452 x 325 mm., according to *RISM*, B IV2, 205), a similar problem of accommodating motets to the large format had been handled in a manner consistent with other fourteenth-century motet collections. The surviving portions of this MS (see E. Droz and G. Thibault, "Un chansonnier de Philippe le bon," *RdM*, 7 (1926), plates) suggest that the normal procedure was to copy one motet from the top half of the verso to recto, and a second from the bottom half of the recto to the previous verso, thus staggering the longer triplum voice. If any more fragments of the MS are ever discovered, it would be of some interest to observe the skill of the scribe in judging the lengths of motets that were copied in this manner—were extra staves sometimes needed? Judging from some of the interpolated secular songs, occasionally whole lower halves of pages must have been left blank, where several secular pieces were entered. In the case of E, the technique chosen was probably easier for the scribe to control.

verso, which frequently left a large part of the facing recto blank. Occasionally, if the motet was entirely or almost entirely accommodated on the verso, a motet of similar proportions was found to occupy the recto of the opening. Otherwise, the resulting blank spaces were filled by rondeaux.<sup>244</sup> In the final MS, since secular rondeaux fill in odd space on the recto side of the opening, the original order in which the pieces were entered is masked.<sup>245</sup> Table 2.10 shows the disposition of the motet-rondeau section in E. Taking the verso of each opening as a point of reference, the order of copying can be partially reconstructed,<sup>246</sup> earlier entries in the leftmost columns, later entries towards the right. In general, motets were copied in order. When a shorter motet came up (as first with M8), a recto was filled. When all were copied,<sup>247</sup> the rondeaux were entered, generally the largest and longest first, the shorter ones later. The works underlined in the Table are those determined by Bent not to have derived from the readings in B, or are later works not contained in B. This illustrates well the "various orders and combinations" (see n. 234 above) of readings available

<sup>244</sup> It is no accident that rondeaux were chosen for this purpose. Of the secular songs, only the rondeaux have a ruling pattern that is compatible with that of the motets, an important consideration in a deluxe MS. The ballade requires two lines of text beneath the first section of music, the virelai two lines beneath the second section. In a section of the MS uniformly ruled for motets (12 staves per page), only the rondeaux could be accommodated with no adjustment to the ruling pattern.

<sup>245</sup> The layout in E matches in this respect the layout seen in certain fifteenth-century MSS of very different kinds, e.g., GB-Ob 213 (cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 18).

<sup>246</sup> The basic orderliness of the procedure was recognized long ago by Ludwig, see Musikalische Werke, II, 11\*b, n. 1: "Der Folge der 15 auf den verso-Seiten beginnenden Motetten (Nr.1-6, 16, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18 und 21) ist deutlich die übliche Anordnung zugrunde gelegt."

<sup>247</sup> No room in the gathering remained for M23, and the scribe—a mark of his professional status—silently left the work out rather than attempting to tip-in the extra folio that would have been necessary to contain it.



to the copyist of MS E.

TABLE 2.10

## The Motet-Rondeau Section in E

	Motets:	Rondeaux:	
131	r M20		
	v M1		
132	r <u>M8</u>		
	v M2		
133	r	R10	R12
	v M3		
134	r	<u>R9</u>	<u>R7</u>
	v M4		
135	r	<u>R15</u> , *R16	R3
	v M5		
136	r	<u>R14</u>	R5
	v M6 M17		
137	r		+ <u>R19</u>
	v <u>M16</u>		
138	r	<u>R8</u>	
	v <u>M7</u>		
139	r	R1; R2	+ <u>R18</u>
	v M9		
140	r M11		
	v M10		
141	r	•R13	+ <u>R21</u>
	v M12		
142	r	R11	R6
	v M13		
143	r <u>M14</u>		
	v <u>M15</u>		
144	r <u>M19</u>		
	v M18		
145	r M22		
	v M21		
146	r		•R4
	v BLANK		

\*: R16 has text only, see n. 163 above.

+: Rondeaux not in B.

•: Rondeaux also copied with Voir Dit.

(R17 is copied only in the Voir Dit).

Considering the entire corpus of Machaut rondeaux,  
only R20 is lacking in E (also lacking in B).

## MS H (F-PN FR. 881)

For the sake of completeness, a few comments are offered here on the structure of the fragmentary text MS H. The three items contained in the MS, which includes two translations from Ovid in addition to the section of Machaut, are described by Ludwig.<sup>248</sup> All three works are physically separate from one another, though all appear to be by the same scribe, thus the parts probably originally belonged together.<sup>249</sup> The two translations each comprise six regular quaternions (fols. 1r-48v; 49r-96v). The fragmentary section containing only Machaut's Prologue (in the "short form" of four ballades) and 96 texts of the Loange occupies two regular quaternions, fols. 97r-112v. At the opening of the Machaut section, there is space left unfilled for a miniature. The Prologue is somewhat truncated, since Guillaume's ballade in response to Dame Nature lacks the third strophe, evidently to keep the scene with Nature on one page. The Prologue as a whole occupies only the recto and verso of fol. 97. At the opening of the Loange, there is the following rubric<sup>250</sup>:

"Ci commence guillaume de machaut  
son livre Et premierement commen  
cent les balades et les rondeaulx"

<sup>248</sup> Musikalische Werke, II, 15\*.

<sup>249</sup> The name on a flyleaf, "Ce livre est a Jehan martel" (last name effaced) is unidentified (Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits, II, 382).

<sup>250</sup> Rubrics are used liberally throughout the book; initials are penned in alternating colors.

## MS C (F-PN FR. 1586)

François Avril has demonstrated that MS C was copied in the early 1350s, overturning the old view that C was a fifteenth-century copy of a fourteenth-century source.<sup>251</sup> It is thus quite securely the earliest of the extant large collections of Machaut's works and provides a firm terminus before which a large body of music was written. Indeed, it is possible that MS C is the earliest datable musical MS to contain music for formes fixes after that sumptuous copy of the Roman de Fauvel, F-Pn fr. 146, of c. 1316. In any case, it is the earliest extant MS to contain polyphonic formes fixes in the new style of the fourteenth century. We will return in Chap. 3 to the implications of this dating for the development of musical style in the fourteenth century.<sup>252</sup>

As with MS E (cf. above, Table 2.9, p. 123), the narrative poems in C are physically independent of one another. Table 2.11 below demonstrates that the techniques employed in E to insure separate units were used in C as well. Gatherings at the ends of sections are of variable numbers of bifo-

<sup>251</sup> "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon." In the course of this brilliant study of the 5112 illuminations in F-Pn fr. 167, the Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon, Avril's "Artist N" of fr. 167 is identified with the principal artist of Machaut MS C (pp. 112-13). Very probably the Bible was made during the years 1349-53 (pp. 121-22). In addition, Avril signaled US-NYpm Glazier 52 as a companion MS to Machaut C: it has the same format (Glazier 52: 305 x 220 mm., Paris 1586: 300 x 218 mm.), the same disposition on the page (both MSS have two columns with thirty-eight lines per column), the same copyist, and the same style of secondary decoration (p. 99, n. 1; p. 100, and n. 2). Avril concludes that the two MSS were executed at close intervals, and for the same patron. See also Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, pp. 26-28; Pl. 19, 21, 22, 23-26, and, most recently, "Les manuscrits enluminés," pp. 118-24. On the Morgan Library MS, see John Plummer, Manuscripts from the William S. Glazier Collection (New York, 1959), pp. 21-22 and Pl. 25.

<sup>252</sup> A date attached by Günther to R6 (1352 marriage of Jean de Valois and Charles III, roi de Navarre) is in line with Avril's dating and answers an objection of Williams to Ludwig's old date of 1360 (see "Contribution de la musicologie").

lia, and catchwords are never indicated between poems. This procedure breaks down after the beginning of the Loange, however, and the second half of the MS, comprising the Loange and the entire music section, appears at first glance to be through-copied.

Two things are striking about MS C: the dramatically smaller number of works it contains, and their irregular ordering.<sup>253</sup> The different order of works, as well as the idea that it was a fifteenth-century copy, seems to have justified the avoidance of a detailed consideration of the MS, including its musical aspects.<sup>254</sup> Since C has now been shown to be the earliest extant Machaut MS, possibly the earliest of what might be termed the genre "Machaut MS," its smaller number of works is readily explained on chronological grounds. As for the irregular ordering, the new date indicates that modern views as to what is or is not "normal" are derived from MSS postdating C by more than ten years. Because the large poems in C were copied in physically independent units, great variation in their order was possible up to the point of the final binding. Any number of factors could have influenced the ordering at this stage in Machaut's career.

Ursula Günther has plausibly explained the most striking feature of the order in C, the fact that the Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne appears as the first work in the MS: perhaps the MS was destined for Bonne of Luxembourg,

<sup>253</sup> Because of the reduced number of works, and ambiguous dating, the MS had once been considered possibly only an anthology, rather than a "complete" Machaut MS. See Hoepffner, Oeuvres, II, xlvii-xlviii, and the discussion by Williams, "An Author's Role," pp. 448 and 451-52.

<sup>254</sup> That the MS was a copy of an earlier fourteenth century MS was a necessary added assumption, owing to the reduced contents. The MS was assigned to the fifteenth century in the Bibliothèque Impériale Département des manuscrits Catalogue des manuscrits français, Tome I (Paris, 1868), 259. Compiled during the Second Empire, this remains the current catalog for the MSS of the ancien fonds français.

TABLE 2.11  
The Gathering Structure of C

gath.	fol.	sig.	catch.	coll.	contents
I	1	a	x	IV	<u>Behaingne</u>
II	9	b	x	IV	
III	17	c	-	III	
IV	23	d	-	IV	<u>Remede</u>
V	31	e	x	IV	
VI	39	f	x	IV	
VII	47	g	x	IV	
VIII	55	h	-	II	
IX	59	i "a"	x	IV	<u>l'Alerion</u>
X	67	k "b"	x	IV	
XI	75	l	-	IV	
XII	83	m	-	V	
XIII	93	n "e"	-	V	<u>Vergier</u>
XIV	103	o	x	IV	<u>Lion</u>
XV	111	p	-	V	
XVI	121	q	x	IV	<u>Loange</u>
XVII	129	r	x	IV	
XVIII	137	r' (*)	x	V	
XIX	147	s	x	IV	148v: <u>Virelais</u>
XX	155	s' (*)	x	IV	157v: <u>Ballades</u>
XXI	163	t	x	IV	165r: <u>Lais</u>
XXII	171	v	x	IV	
XXIII	179	u(+)	x	IV	186v: B19 added
XXIV	187	x	x	IV	187r: <u>Lai de plour</u>
XXV	195	y	x	IV	
XXVI	203	z	x	irr.VI	206v: <u>Motets</u>
XXVII	211	z' (*)	x	IV	
XXVIII	219	z" (*)	-	IV	226: BLANK

(\*): variant forms of the letter, evidently used to keep the sig. system within one alphabet.

(+): not an error, since it was usual to omit the 'u'; 'v' would normally come first.

daughter of the King of Bohemia, and wife of Jean, the duke of Normandy, the future Jean II, king of France. Machaut mentions in the Prise that he served Bonne, and perhaps she insisted that the dit dedicated to her father should appear at the head of the collection. She died of the plague in 1349, which may have interrupted the work of the scribes. The collection then must have been completed for some other member of the royal family.<sup>255</sup> In any case, there is no reason to fault the ordering of MS C merely because it does not agree with the order adopted in the later, larger MSS.

Recently, a completely original criterion for judging the state of the works in an illuminated MS has been proposed. François Avril believes that Machaut himself took an active role in the planning and distribution of the programs of illustrations for his MSS:

"Machaut était un poète trop visuel et un auteur trop préoccupé de la diffusion de ses oeuvres (ainsi qu'en témoignent maints passages du Voir Dit) pour s'être désintéressé de cet aspect important de la présentation matérielle de ses manuscrits."<sup>256</sup>

MS C in general is strikingly different from the other MSS both in the number of miniatures painted for each poem and in their distribution (see Appendices B and C). The most important work in the MS according to this standard of judgement is without a doubt the Remède:

Trois artistes distincts ont collaboré, me semble-t-il, à l'illustration de C: le meilleur, et visiblement le chef de file, s'est réservé les illustrations du dit du Remède de Fortune, oeuvre qui contient le cycle le plus développé de tout le manuscrit (34 miniatures dont 5 occupent la largeur de la surface écrite, format exceptionnel normalement réservé au début de chaque dit, ce qui souligne sans doute l'importance que Machaut attachait à cette oeuvre au moment où fut exécuté

See "Contribution de la musicologie";

<sup>255</sup> Günther attaches a royal pay document of 1353 for the decoration of some books in gallico to MS C. See Delisle, Recherches, I, 333 and 404-05. The documents primarily concern the Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon, and are discussed in Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," pp. 120-23. The Bible was copied 1349-53.

<sup>256</sup> "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 131.

le manuscrit ),<sup>257</sup>

Avril believes that the Remede was unquestionably the work most occupying Machaut's mind at the time of the preparation of the MS. Besides the fact that the best artist illustrated the Remede, other characteristics physically separate it from the rest of the MS. The style of the flourish initials used throughout the Remede is different from the style of the rest of the MS.<sup>258</sup> Titles (in blue ink, thus not properly "rubrics") are much more consistently and thoroughly supplied in the Remede (titles explicate or prescribe each miniature, see Appendix C) than anywhere else in the MS. Avril's inference may have implications for the dating of this poem.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>257</sup> "Les manuscrits enluminés, p. 119. The artists involved have been identified by Avril. In the order of the poems in the MS, they are the following:

Behaigne: First collaborator of the master of the Remède de Fortune.

Remede: Master of the Remède de Fortune. Other MSS illuminated by him are given in Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," pp. 112-13. Most are assignable to the period 1350-56. See also Avril, Manuscript Painting, p. 26.

l'Alerion: Second collaborator of the master. Avril identifies him with an artist prominent throughout the reign of Charles V, the master of the Livre du Sacre of Charles V (GB-Lbl Tib. B.VIII). On this artist, see Avril and Lafaurie, La Librairie de Charles V, p. 89 and commentary to Nos. 167, 170, 177, 196, 200, 203, and 205; Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," p. 114, n. 1; Avril, Manuscript Painting, pp. 28-29 and Pl. 27-28, and bibliography, p. 32.

Vergier: Second collaborator.

Lyon: First collaborator. A color reproduction of the opening illumination of Lyon is in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 26.

Loange: Second collaborator.

Lais: Second collaborator.

No other MS has a miniature at the opening of each lai. The achievement of illustrating lyric poetry visually is discussed by Silvia Huot in "The Illuminated Series of Lays in Machaut's Manuscript C" (unpublished paper).

<sup>258</sup> Folios 31 and 38 (conjugate leaves) contain some initials in the style of the rest of the book, suggesting that the Remede was finished when this flourisher went through and found a sheet with initials omitted by the other flourisher.

<sup>259</sup> Hoepffner's date for the Remede is before 1342. It is certainly

The division of the artistic work might also explain a fragmentary set of signature-numbers in the MS (compare Table 2.11 above, gatherings IX-XIII). In her dissertation, Elizabeth Keitel noted the signatures "aiii" on fol. 62r, and "eiiii" on fol. 97r.<sup>260</sup> Keitel indicated that the presence of signature markings not consistent with the final layout of the MS could mean that the MS was rearranged at one point. However, the full set of signature markings at the tops of folios probably dates from the original fourteenth-century binding. Particularly notable is the fact that only one alphabet is used for the entire MS. There are two forms of "r," two of "s," use of both "v" and "u," and three forms of "z." It appears more likely that the other signature system is tied to the decoration of the l'Alerion and Vergier. Although they were copied by different text scribes, the painting of the illustrations was undertaken by the same artist, the second collaborator of the master of the Remède de Fortune.<sup>261</sup> The carefully planned program of illustrations may explain why the narrative poems were copied as separate units. The text was divided between two scribes, while the illuminations

from before 1357, the date of Confort, for Remede is referred to there. Hoepffner placed it before 1342 because Lyon is dated that year and Remede precedes Lyon in the chronologically-ordered MSS (Oeuvres, II, ii; cf. also p. xv). Poirion places it about 1350 (Le poète, p. 201 and n. 28; he does not mention Hoepffner's date), but his argument connecting the poem to the death of Bonne of Luxembourg, based on the refrain "Qui bien aime, a tart oublie" (Remede v. 4256), may not be apposite, since this refrain is found in thirteenth-century MSS (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 33b\*-34a\*). This refrain also is the opening line of the Lai de plour [L22], which is attached to the end of Navarre (cf. below, Chap. 3, pp. 284ff). Perhaps the Remede was revised around 1350; in any case, it is the most important work in MS C.

<sup>260</sup> Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 32-34, and Table V. The chart of the gathering structure in Appendix A shows the location of three more signatures belonging to the same system, on fols. 68r, 70r, and 94r.

<sup>261</sup> The text scribes are identified by Keitel, "A Chronology," Table V, p. 33, and Table VIII, p. 42.



were divided among three artists. Thus, the narrative poems were copied separately to allow an artist to decorate one whole poem at a time.

As noted above, there are no obvious structural divisions shared by the contents and the gathering structure after the beginning of the Loange. There are irregularities, however. The third gathering of this section (gathering XVIII in Table 2.11) is a quinternion. Elsewhere, the use of a gathering larger or smaller than the normal quaternion signaled the end of section, since each poem was carefully planned to fit into the gathering provided. In this instance, however, the MS continues, seemingly without break, for several gatherings, through the whole of the music section. This irregularity may indicate that the Loange was originally smaller than it is now, and that it was supposed to end somewhere near the end of this quinternion. In the MS as it was finally copied, the music section is not separated from the Loange; nothing lies between the last ballade of the Loange and the first musical virelai (see below, Pl. 3.20, p. 221). Perhaps Machaut, at this early stage in the collections of his works, considered the complete body of lyrics, whether set to music or not, as forming a whole.<sup>262</sup>

Unlike the other MSS containing "complete" collections of music, MS C begins with the virelais. Ursula Günther has made an observation that is well kept in mind: "Le grand nombre de virelais, . . . qui occupent la première place dans le manuscrit C, prouve que ce genre simple, toujours noté en courtes valeurs, était cher au jeune Machaut."<sup>263</sup> In fact, this "simple" genre (actually extremely refined and complex) is very well trans-

<sup>262</sup> As demonstrated above, there was a return to this general layout in MS F-G, and it was perhaps originally intended for A as well (see Table 2.6, pp. 100f, and pp. 61f above).

<sup>263</sup> "Contribution de la musicologie." Machaut was presumably about fifty years old at the time of the compilation of the MS.

mitted by MS C. With the exception of the motets, a genre already quite familiar to the scribe, and perhaps to a degree the *lais*, the care taken in the entry of these pieces in the MS is extraordinary (see below, pp. 219ff).

The most striking irregularity in the music section, the occurrence of an extra, unordered series of pieces after works of a given genre have already appeared, has been much discussed by scholars of music.<sup>264</sup> Following a series of *virelais*, ballades and *lais* in closed groups, the *lais* are interrupted by the addition of a ballade, "Amours me fait desirer" [B19] at the end of gathering XXIII. Gathering XXIV begins with "Qui bien aime" [Lai de plour, L22], and finishes off with a group of *lais* not set to music (see Table 2.12 below; cf. also Table 2.1, p. 64 above, on the ordering of the *lais* in MS C).

The rational grouping of *lais* set to music before *lais* with no music indicates that probably not all of the *lais* after B19 are later additions. More will be said about this below.<sup>265</sup> The unordered section then follows, although note that there are closed groups of five ballades and five ron-

<sup>264</sup> Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 100, following Ludwig (*Musikalische Werke*, II, 10b\*), put the opening of the disordered section ("CII") at fol. 186v, with B19. Keitel, "A Chronology," p. 43, rejects this. We can agree that B19 served to fill the blank space left after L12 on fol. 186v; L22 begins a new gathering. But surely it is with this new gathering that a second stage of the copying began, though some works in the second stage (the *lais* not set to music) were no doubt recopied.

<sup>265</sup> The apparent irregularity of the placement of L4, which has no music, has been neatly explained by Silvia J. Huot: "Perhaps 'Aus amans pour exemplaire' [L4] has been associated with 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire' [L5] on the basis of their complementary rhyme schemes: 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire' uses the rhymes -aire and -ort, in the order abbbba, in its opening and closing stanzas; while 'Aus amans pour exemplaire' opens with the same rhymes, in the order aaaaab. The opening line, 'Aus amans pour exemplaire,' also echoes the closing line of 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire.' These verbal associations have been exploited in the manuscript arrangement, so that the two poems form a nearly continuous pair" ("The Illuminated Series of Lays").

TABLE 2.12

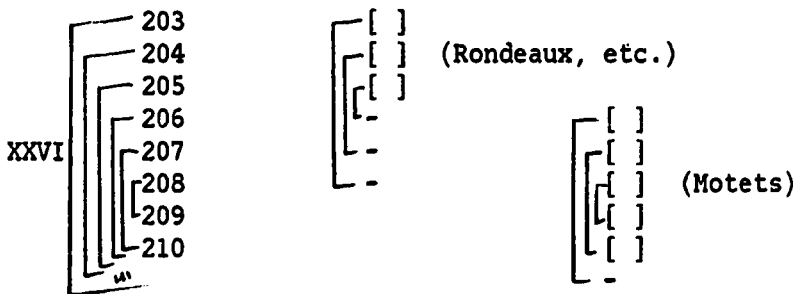
## The Ordering of Musical Works From the Lais to the End of MS C

fol.	lais	ball.	vir.	rond.	motets
-----					
165r	L1				
168v	L2				
170r	L3				
173r	*L4				
174r	L5				
176v	L6				
179r	L7				
181v	L10				
184r	L12				
186v		B19			
-----					
187r	L22				
189r	L14				
191r	*L11				
192v	*L13				
194v-	*L8				
-----					
195r					
196r	*L9				
197v			V25		
198r			V28		
198r		B17			
199r		B18			
199v		B20			
200r		B23			
200v		B21			
201v				R2	
201v		B24			
202r				R7	
202r				R5	
202v-				R9	
-----					
203r					
203r				R1	
203r				R6	
203v			V16		
204r		B22			
204v				R3	
204v				R4	
205r			V30		
205v			V29		
205v				R10	
206v-					M1-20 (M4 lacking)
224v					

(\* ) indicates a lai not set to music.

deaux, which are the first of the rondeaux set to music by Machaut. At the very end of the MS, the motets appear in a closed section.

A structural irregularity in this last section of the MS bears on a question of chronology. Gathering XXVI is an irregular senio.<sup>266</sup> Since it is within this gathering that the series of secular works in mixed order gives way to the uniform series of motets, it is possible to view this irregularity as having arisen from the "grafting" together of two originally separate gatherings:

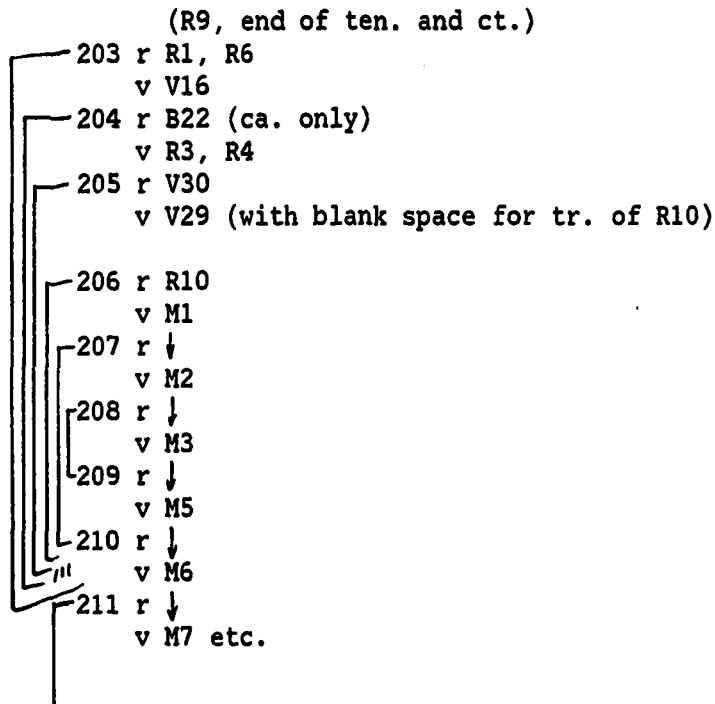


The nineteen motets transmitted by MS C correspond to the order in the other MSS, except that "De Bon Espoir/ Puis que la douce/ Speravi" [M4] is lacking.<sup>267</sup> As the final, mixed group of chansons was being entered, few or no more works were left to be copied, although the gathering (perhaps a ternion) was only about half filled. By this time, the corpus of motets had already been copied independently of the secular works, no doubt to take their place after gathering XXIII, at the end of the ordered part of the music section in C. The copyist was then faced with joining the motets to the end of the new series of secular works. "Rose, lis" [R10] still

<sup>266</sup> The diagram of this gathering in Keitel, "A Chronology," p. 42, Table VIII, "Layout of the Music Sections in C," is in error.

<sup>267</sup> On the absence of this motet, cf. Reaney, "Towards a Chronology," pp. 92-93, and Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," pp. 100 and 113.

remained to be entered, or became available rather late, and so this piece spans the two sections, copied onto the blank first recto of the motet section. The current disposition of the works in this part of the MS is as follows:



Apparently when the splice was made, the first gathering of motets was recopied, and M4 was mistakenly omitted. Even if the motets, a closed corpus, originally followed gathering XXIII, it is apparent that they did not necessarily open the next gathering. In the original disposition, the *lais* lacking music (L8, 9 and 11) perhaps fell at the beginning of the first motet gathering.<sup>268</sup> With the insertion of several new chansons, this first motet gathering had to be recopied. Since the present gatherings XXVII and XXVIII of motets were already copied, the scribe of the replacement gathering was, in a sense, aiming towards M6 on fol. 211r, because the first half of M6 had to fall on the last verso to allow the gatherings to mesh properly. Only a

<sup>268</sup> This still does not explain why fol. 186v was left half blank.

small error in recopying would require the subsequent omission of an entire motet. While it is not clear why this particular motet was left out, it is significant that there is clearly a structural irregularity at just this point in the MS; an anomaly like this in a MS as carefully copied as C is a vestige of dramatic reorganization here.<sup>269</sup> Thus, it is probable that the omission of M4 in the series of motets was an accident, and that M1-20 are all works dating from before c. 1350.

### SUMMARY

In the discussion of the gathering structure of MS A and the disposition of its contents, three general working procedures were isolated:

1. A series of works could be through-copied.
2. Works could be copied in physically separate units, each beginning a new gathering.
3. Subsequent revisions involving the later insertion of works could be accomplished either by tipping in folios, or by filling space originally left blank.

In the ensuing discussion of other MSS, the same three procedures were noted. At one extreme, MS M was completely through-copied; at the other, E and the narrative poems in C were copied in structurally separate components. MSS A and F-G represent mixtures of the two possibilities. In MS B,

<sup>269</sup> There is no stub visible to the casual observer between fols. 210 and 211: the stub from fol. 203 was glued and carefully scraped, making a seamless (though not invisible) joint. The other stubs were glued together behind the joint—every effort was made not to spoil the appearance of the MS by unsightly stubs or blank folios. Cf. M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study" (Diss. Cambridge 1968), pp. 192-93 on the section of isorhythmic motets in GB-Lbl Add. 57950: the location of the last two motets was set, fixing the number of motets in the section. The others were possibly copied backwards to insure this arrangement.

there was a rearrangement of a gathering to change two through-copied poems into separable units. In C, there was revision of the layout by means of grafting gatherings together. MSS Vg(B) and F-G were each probably originally in two parts, which were later bound together to form single volumes. F-G is today again bound in two parts. In Vg(B), this would have allowed the text and music sections to remain distinct.

One important factor influencing the relative separateness of the individual parts of a MS is the degree to which the MS was planned before the copying was begun. If the components of a MS are highly separable, a carefully preconceived plan probably did not lie behind its organization, or at least a plan was not yet established at the beginning of the copying process. The possibility that the contents of the MS could subsequently be reorganized was left open.<sup>270</sup> This eventual extra flexibility also had to be balanced against a more difficult (or more wasteful) copying procedure; either the length of a poem had to be carefully calculated to fill the proper-sized gathering (if the work were a long one, this adjustment might be postponed until the last gathering or two), or blank folios had to be left at the end of the last gathering (such blank folios could be cut off, leaving stubs).<sup>271</sup> MSS C (the section of narrative poems only) and E are of this

<sup>270</sup> The destination of the MS is also a factor. It is possible to imagine a through-copied MS in which the final order of the contents was given no thought at all, for instance, an anthology collected over a long period of time. But the Machaut MSS are carefully planned MSS containing a great diversity of material, highly decorated, no doubt prepared over fairly short periods of time, in which the ordering of the contents is an important consideration.

<sup>271</sup> Estimating the number of gatherings required to copy a given work may have been a commonly cultivated skill, judging from a remark of Machaut in the *Voir Dit*: "Et tenra environ .xii. quahiers de .xl. poins. Et quant il sera parfaïs, je la feray escrire et puis si le vous envoieray." (P. Paris ed., p. 363, letter X, quoted in S. J. Williams, "An Author's Role," p. 441. ["And it will take up about twelve gatherings at 40 (or 39?)

type.

Conversely, if a deluxe MS is completely through-copied, the chances are that the problems of organization were solved in advance. The preplanning allowed a simplified job of copying, since the lengths of works and the lengths of gatherings did not have to be estimated or synchronized. In addition, a large number of uniformly prepared (pricked and ruled) gatherings could be made ready ahead of time. MS M is through-copied, from a complete MS now lost.

Several different layers of activity were involved in the preparation of a deluxe MS. The principal scribe himself may have been responsible for the ruling, the entry of the text and perhaps even the rubrication, but most usually, others would then have been entrusted with the entry of the flourish initials and borders, and still others with the illuminations. Complex programs of illustration and decoration required a division of labor, and in a MS involving music, still another stage of activity was added. The separation of the components of the MS, allowing work on one group of gatherings at a time, was therefore more economical. A MS could have been well-planned from the outset, with the location of the sections with respect to each other known, but occasional divisions might have been introduced into the copy to make production more efficient. This pattern holds for MSS A, F-G, and Vg.

lines/col. (with 2 cols.). And when it is finished, I shall have it copied and then I shall send it to you." Cf. also Christine de Pizan, who, in 1405, boasting of the completion since 1399 of ".xv. volumes principaulx," further commented on having written smaller dits that all together contained "environ .lxx. quayers de grant volume" (Lavisson-Christine, ed. Sister Mary Louis Towner [Washington, D.C., 1932], p. 164, quoted in Huot, "Lyric poet-ics," p. 216; new ed. by C. Reno forthcoming).



Another factor bearing on the same point is the amount of time allowed for the preparation of a book.<sup>272</sup> If it was a large one, several scribes could have been involved in the copying, with different sections entrusted to different copyists. Inferences concerning this factor can be made from a consideration of purely physical data, such as changes of scribal hand. Two scribes tidily divided the work of copying MS C, while the hastily-copied MS B was divided (sometimes haphazardly) among more than five scribes (see below, Chap. 3).<sup>273</sup>

It is more difficult to determine the ways in which the disposition of the finished copy was dependent upon the shape of the exemplar. Machaut himself supplied us with valuable information on this detail. In the Voire Dit, mention is made in letter X that a MS was being prepared from Machaut's

<sup>272</sup> Calculating from information in Doyle and Parkes, "The Production of Copies," p. 208, n. 120, a possible rate of production for a professional scribe would seem to be 200-400 folios a year. In two copies of the works of Christine de Pizan, complete works MSS in many ways comparable to the large Machaut MSS, there is the following rubric: "Cy commencent les rebriques de la table de ce present volume, fait et compilé par Cristine de Pizan, demoiselle, commencié l'an de grace mil .ccc. IIIIxx xix, eschevé et escript en l'an mil quatre cens et deux, la veille de la nativité saint Jehan Baptiste" (quoted in Hicks, Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose [Paris, 1977], p. lix). Perhaps this indicates that three years (1399-1402) were required to manufacture the book. It has recently been discovered that Christine herself was active as a scribe in her own MSS, see Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," Scriptorium, 34 (1980), 221-38. Apparently four years were required for the production of the Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon (F-Pn fr. 167), 1349-53; see Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," pp. 121-22.

<sup>273</sup> The changes of scribe in MS B are due to very different reasons from the changes in C. MS B, probably copied to serve as an exemplar, is not a MS for which finish of execution was a factor in the production process; B depends directly on Vg for all details of its layout, and the work did not therefore have to be divided logically—a change of hand can occur almost anywhere. MS C on the other hand depends upon a different kind of exemplar, and uniformity and beauty of execution were primary considerations, although time may well have been a factor, given the manifold division of labor seen in this MS. In C however, the division of labor is always logical.

personal exemplar for an unnamed patron.

Ma tres-souveraine dame, je vous eusse porté mon livre pour vous esbattre, où toutes les choses sont que je fis onques: mais il est en plus de .xx. pieces; car je l'ay fait faire pour aucun de mes seigneurs; si que je le fais noter, et pour ce il convient que il soit par pieces. Et quant il sera notés, je le vous porteray ou envoieray, s'il plaist à Dieu.<sup>274</sup>

We may conclude that the central Machaut MSS VgAF-G were not copied from diverse individual collections, but from a reasonably uniform exemplar.

Indeed, the similarity of order observed among the main MSS depends on just this situation.

Besides this reference from the Voir Dit, there is the concrete example of a relationship between exemplar and copy among the MSS discussed above. For much of the music of MS E, MS B provided the readings.<sup>275</sup> Given the line of reasoning presented above, one might expect that E would exhibit a disposition of contents more through-copied than B. That is not at all the case—MS E is more thoroughly divided into sections than any other MS.

<sup>274</sup> P. Paris ed., p. 69, quoted in Williams, "An Author's Role," p. 442; also quoted in Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 55a\*. ["My very sovereign lady, I would have brought you my book to amuse you, which contains everything I've ever made: but it is in more than twenty pieces, because I have had it made for one of my lords; and since I am having it notated, for this it suffices for it to be in pieces. And when it has been notated, I shall carry or send it to you, God willing."] It is not possible to be certain about what Machaut meant by "par pieces." Williams, "An Author's Role," pp. 442-43, refers to Destrez, La Pecia. As Williams points out, twenty gatherings are too few for a complete MS. For example, MS Vg, suggested logically as the MS possibly referred to by Machaut (Vg has now been dated too late to be considered), contains 42 gatherings (not counting the Prise, an addition made to the MS in the mid 1370s). Poirion, Le poète, p. 203, n. 43, says that E has nineteen "chapters," but E also contains the Voir Dit, the Prise, and several smaller dits that did not exist when Machaut supposedly wrote this letter. Of course, "par pieces" means separable units of some kind, no doubt in the form of gatherings. Machaut specifically connects this state of affairs with the notation of music. (The exemplar must be "in parts" in order that the copy may be easily notated.) Clearly, the reference here implies a division of labor for efficiency in the copying of music.

<sup>275</sup> See the paper of M. Bent referred to in n. 198 above.

However, E (unlike the central MSS) was not prepared from a single, uniform exemplar. While the basic corpus of E is comparable to that of B, it was greatly supplemented by other sources. It seems possible that the collection of the material for the MS may have proceeded first from the collection of such "other sources." The somewhat imperfect exemplar B then filled-in the rather considerable gaps; other sources were even used for some items that were already present in B. Since so many exemplars, probably of the most diverse nature, were brought together to produce MS E, almost every section of E was kept separate to allow for a final ordering of the material after the true extent of the MS came into view.<sup>276</sup> The overall extent of the MS was not apparent from the beginning, and the arrangement of the parts was left open until the last moment. In the end, the index of works, copied after the final arrangement, lent a certain authority to the final organization of the MS, even though it is not Machaut's order. Nothing serves to separate E more from the other MSS than this haphazard way in which it was collected; the author had no part in the collection of the MS. On the other hand, nothing dramatizes the situation with F-G, also a MS of the 1390s, as much as its close relation to A. The same exemplar material probably served for both MSS.

It is difficult to determine how these various factors interact and intersect. Most of the large Machaut MSS were copied as presentation MSS, and one can expect that economic factors, efficiency of production, and division of labor were important in their production.<sup>277</sup> As we have seen,

<sup>276</sup> E of course was very carefully planned, as is indicated by the editing that the Loange underwent (pieces that appear elsewhere with music were weeded out, the rondeaux were separated from the ballades, etc.), and by the appearance of the musical works for the Voir Dit within the Voir Dit itself.

the MSS are generally ordered very similarly. Unless the author was constantly available for consultation, however, the only means of controlling this factor was with an authoritative exemplar whose order is set by through-copying to some extent, eliminating the possibility of easy rearrangement of the gatherings. In general, the MSS support this impression: some parts of most of the MSS are through-copied. The order of the pieces was thus confirmed at the outset, but breaks were occasionally made to make the production process more efficient. Succeeding MSS were not always divided at the same place. Still, the layout of the exemplar could have influenced the selection of these dividing points. In later years, the earlier works would have been recopied perhaps in more fixed order, while recent works would not yet be fixed as to location in the MS.<sup>278</sup>

On the other hand, MSS A Vg(B)C were produced during the lifetime of the poet, and, surely for C and A, to some extent under his control. The possibility of the subsequent addition of recent works to the corpus must be considered, works that would not yet have become fixed in the exemplar.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>277</sup> B is not a presentation MS, but was copied after such a MS, presumably to allow easier proliferation of a successful MS. M was through-copied by a single scribe, but was left unfinished. The team that was required to finish the MS (initials and illumination) never set to work. Only one person was involved, and a team effort was not necessary.

<sup>278</sup> Some of the works would have been twenty or more years old at the time of the copying of the larger MSS—older pieces would probably tend to be recopied into miniature through-copied MSS, thus guaranteeing their order. In this regard, it is perhaps significant that the first large division in MS A occurs after the pieces dating basically from before 1350.

<sup>279</sup> This does not mean to imply that an addition to a MS indicates that the piece added is therefore necessarily chronologically later. Compare the music section of MS A: there are later additions, but these pieces were part of the original corpus. Evidence of a real change of plan is seen in the text section with the erasures in the index. In MS C, the change of layout near the end of the MS probably is related to a change in the nature of the exemplar material. The motets are set in their order, therefore they belong with the original layer of the MS. This is corroborated by physical irregu-

Thus, it is logical that the presumed later works of Machaut are structurally separable in the MSS.<sup>280</sup> And since many of the MSS are virtually contemporary with the production of new works by the author, it is to be expected that irregularities in ordering appear at the ends of sections: a group of earlier through-copied works is distinct from a group of physically separate later works. In sum, individual MSS were not collected and written with uniform ease throughout. Though the Machaut MSS are to a great extent similar, a broad cross-section of solutions to problems encountered in medieval bookmaking is seen.

larities at this point in the codex.

<sup>280</sup> Perhaps it is only because the two later large dits (Voir Dit and Prise) are so long, but these tend to be copied independently of the rest of the MS, and are variable in order with respect to the other poems. An "official" order had not yet been established.

### Chapter 3

#### SCRIBAL PRACTICE AND MS PRODUCTION: THE COPYING OF TEXT AND MUSIC IN THE MACHAUT MSS

The conviction that modern Western musical notation is ideally suited to the representation of music written before the consolidation of that system is an idea long since fallen from fashion. Unavoidably, a modern critical edition of a medieval work masks many potentially significant characteristics of the original source.<sup>281</sup>

Inquiry into the significance of MS presentation for works of polyphonic music—particularly the study of physical aspects of preparing or copying MSS—has, until fairly recently, not been a concern of music historians.<sup>282</sup>

In 1956, van Dijk was able to state that

. . . we are faced with a problem which so far has not had the attention of palaeographers, namely the question of medieval musical notation and, more particularly, of how a medieval scribe planned his

<sup>281</sup> The original MS presentation of a work of medieval literature can actually suggest an interpretation of the work. John V. Fleming, The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton, 1969), pp. 13-14, begins with an interpretation of the Roman on the basis of illustrations in the MSS. The paper of Sylvia Huot ("The Illuminated Series of Lays") is such a literary study based on the illustrations for the lais in MS C. A similar approach would be possible for many of the Machaut narrative poems as well. The raw material in App. B and C below may be viewed as a starting point for such an undertaking. An excellent collection of essays treating this question with regard to musical notational symbols was published in 1971, Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewusstseins, ed. Thrasybulos G. Georgiades (Kassel, 1971). The essays of Eggebrecht and Dahlhaus are of special interest.

<sup>282</sup> Aspects of MS size and format were studied by Heinrich Bessler, see above, n. 2. Far more wide-ranging and thorough are the more recent studies by M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, and John Nadas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," JAMS, 34 (1981), 393-427.

ruling for both text and music.<sup>283</sup>

He proceeded to outline various practices for ruling and writing text in MSS of liturgical music from the adiastematic notation of the tenth century through the staff notation of the thirteenth.<sup>284</sup>

In the mid-thirteenth century, the Franciscans and Dominicans promulgated rules for the copying of MSS of liturgical music. As the reform was codified and practiced by the Franciscans, the major development was the use of a staff, drawn as a solid unit in red or black, with lines that stood independent from the lines of the text ruling. In addition, greater care was exercised in leaving proper spaces between syllables to allow for the entry of melismas when the music was copied.<sup>285</sup> In the older style of copying music, the MS was ruled usually in two columns with dry-point lines.<sup>286</sup> Texts not set to music were ruled in the same manner as chanted texts, and were written in the same size script, but three ruling lines were skipped between texts to serve as a staff; in other words, the lines of the text ruling doubled as the staff lines. Such a staff appears tightly packed, since the top staff-line coincides with the ruling for the line of text above, or, alternatively, the bottom staff-line coincides with the ruling

<sup>283</sup> S. J. P. van Dijk, "An Advertisement Sheet of an Early Fourteenth-Century Writing Master at Oxford," Scriptorium, 10 (1956), 59.

<sup>284</sup> Van Dijk, "An Advertisement Sheet," figure on p. 61. The same figure is reprinted in S. J. P. van Dijk and J. H. Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Westminster, Md., 1960), p. 216.

<sup>285</sup> The prescriptions of the Franciscans were drawn up in greater detail than those of the Dominicans. Both sets of rules are printed in a manner convenient for comparison in Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag (Kassel, 1967), pp. 124-25.

<sup>286</sup> S. J. P. van Dijk, Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy, (Leiden, 1963), I, 111-13.

that defines the upper limits of the space for the line of text below. This technique had some weaknesses:

vertically the lineae spissae [close ruling lines] leave insufficient space for accurate placing of neumes, and in melodies with some range the neumes come too near or even between the words of the text. Horizontally, the small, condensed text of neumatic chants often causes the neumes to be cramped or placed inaccurately.<sup>287</sup>

Nevertheless, the technique had served adequately for the copying of liturgical music since Guido. In the newer style, four instead of three lines of ruling were skipped for a staff, now usually drawn in red. It stood free from interference with the text above and below, since the lines of the staff no longer coincided absolutely with the lines of the ruling.<sup>288</sup>

In monophonic chanson MSS as well, the text was entered first, and sufficient vertical space was left between lines of text for later entry of the staff.<sup>289</sup> Significantly, it appears possible that it was the notation of polyphonic music, specifically the notation of the Parisian organa, that had worked a reform in the notation of all types of music, reaching monophonic liturgical music even in Italy by the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>290</sup> The scale of the Parisian development was even further reaching in that for the first

<sup>287</sup> Van Dijk, Sources, I, 112-13.

<sup>288</sup> Van Dijk, Sources, I, 113-15. On the rarity of black staves, see Huglo, "Règlement du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," p. 126, n. 21.

<sup>289</sup> An example is discussed in Johann Schubert, Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R (Frankfurt a. M., 1963), pp. 18-19.

<sup>290</sup> Van Dijk, Origins, pp. 142-43 and n. 4, pp. 331-33; Sources, I, 114-15 and 118-19. For a further Parisian connection, see Huglo, "Règlement du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," pp. 130-33: the idea of a central, corrected and controlled exemplar, adopted to prevent contamination of liturgical books, recalls the system of peciae perfected at the University of Paris (1225-35). Graham Pollard, "The pecia System in the Medieval Universities," pp. 147-48, disagreed with the thesis of the Parisian origin of the pecia, and placed its origin at the University of Bologna c. 1200.



time, a highly melismatic musical style necessitated the prior entry of music. An incomplete clausula ("Pa") in the fifth fascicle of I-F1 Plut. 29.1 [F], fols. 164v-165r, illustrates the manner in which the clausulae, and no doubt the organa as well, were copied (see Figure 3.1).<sup>291</sup>

The music for the duplum breaks off in the second system on fol. 165r, and the tenor was not entered at all on this folio. No text syllables were entered later. The spacing of the notes in the melismatic voices is very regular, and there are no special difficulties in the spacing at points where syllables change.

For the conductus and motet sections of MSS of the Magnus Liber, the opposite holds. The gaps evident between music in textless or melismatic sections and the following syllabic sections indicate that the scribe was skipping space between entries of stretches of text. For instance, at the opening of the fascicle of three-voice conductus in I-F1 Plut. 29.1 (fol. 201r, Perotin's "Salvatoris hodie"), the scribe allowed too much space before the syllable "-tur" on the third system, and the music appears to jump ahead to the syllable (see Figure 3.2).

Similar examples appear repeatedly in the following folios.<sup>292</sup> The words, as one would expect, were the factor determining the layout of the MS. The music was entered last. Only for the extremely melismatic organa is there evidence that the music of the duplum was entered before the text.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>291</sup> Bibliographical details on this clausula are in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 83.

<sup>292</sup> The conductus on fols. 252v-254v were entered music first, with gaps between notes left for syllabic sections; no text was ever entered. These are later additions and do not reflect the notation of the preceding conductus (see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 100).

<sup>293</sup> There are also sources of organum in which text was uniformly entered first. An excellent example is the Vatican source discussed by

no ban

Dona te

ca bus

D

D

Figure 3.1: I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols. 164v-165r

CC. 3.

Cinguis pinguis  
 vir. In quo Gou fite  
 sola cuncta

Figure 3.2: I-F1 Plut. 29.1, fol. 201r

By the late thirteenth century in France, no form of vocal music called for the prior entry of music in a MS. Nevertheless, the term "text underlay" is a common one, and it would seem to carry with it tacit assumptions about the procedures followed in copying MSS.<sup>294</sup> Approaching the question through a study of the practice followed in the Machaut MSS, the techniques of copying music in France in the fourteenth century will be sketched below, and the development will be traced to a point in the fifteenth century where a change in the practice (i.e., music copied before text) can be ascertained. In the broadest terms, we are dealing with stylistic changes in poetry and its musical setting as mirrored in contemporary MS production.<sup>295</sup>

#### THE QUESTION OF GENRE

Probably the single most important consideration in the study of this change is genre. A monophonic or polyphonic musical setting, a text which is set syllabically or melismatically, the number of texted voices, the nature of the accompanying voices, the characteristics of the poetic form: these properties varied depending upon genre, and different genres were dealt with in different ways by contemporary scribes.

Frieder Zamminer, Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat (Ottob. lat. 3025) (Tutzing, 1959), pp. 31-32 (facs. pp. 175-84).

<sup>294</sup> In a modern sense, "text underlay" is a term used to describe the editorial practices involved in associating a specific syllable with a specific note in a modern edition. The term is misleading in this sense and will not be retained here. It seems that too many modern editors truly believe that the text was, physically, underlaid in the sources. "Text setting," "text placement," or even "texting" are clearer terms.

<sup>295</sup> The way the music was entered into the Machaut MSS is fully typical of the period. Scribes did not use different practices in copying MSS of different destinations.

One of the outstanding qualities of Machaut as a composer is that he demonstrated mastery of several genres. Not surprisingly, some of these forms were copied in different formats in the MSS. The diversity of the forms cultivated by Machaut precluded ruling the MS in advance in a uniform manner from beginning to end.

There was an established tradition guiding the copying of two of the genres: the motet and the monophonic chanson. Basic to the contemporary motet style was the simultaneous presentation of two texts over a structured supporting voice. All parts of the text were written out in the musical setting; internal poetical repetitions that might have allowed the repetition of the same music with only the cadences differentiated (using, say, the ouvert-clos notational shorthand), were not so composed.<sup>296</sup> In addition, residual stanzas of text do not appear.<sup>297</sup> The long note-values of the untexted supporting voice resulted in comparatively short musical parts. In fourteenth-century MSS, motets were easily and efficiently copied by employing a single opening for the entire work.<sup>298</sup> By this means, all parts were

<sup>296</sup> On the poetical form of the Machaut motets as mirrored by the musical structure, see Georg Reichert, "Das Verhältnis zwischen musikalischer und textlicher Struktur in den Motetten Machauts," AMw, 13 (1956), 197-216, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Machauts Motette Nr. 9," AMw, 19-20 (1962-63), 281-93 and AMw, 25 (1968), 173-95, A. Ziino, "Isoritmia musicale e tradizione metrica mediolatina nei motetti di Guillaume de Machaut," Medioevo Romano, 5 (1978), 438-65, A. Wernli, "La percettibilità delle strutture isoritmiche. Osservazioni sui Motetti di Guillaume de Machaut," Studi musicali, 6 (1977), 13-25, and M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Works," (forthcoming).

<sup>297</sup> There are a few examples of strophic motets in the thirteenth century (see below, n. 415).

<sup>298</sup> Frequently the polyphonic chanson, a less predictable form with regard to layout, was copied into a motet MS, to be used as a space filler at the bottom of an opening. Examples are in I-IV 115, GB-Lbl Add. 41667 I [McV], and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190. Sometimes, as in F-CA 1328 and occasionally in I-IV 115, one page-side only was employed, see Besseler, "Studien-I," pp. 173-74.

simultaneously visible to the performers.<sup>299</sup> It made for a generally uniform ruling pattern in the motet section of the Machaut MSS.

Apart from the motet, the other genre copied in MSS long before Machaut's time was the monophonic chanson. Two general types are found in the chansonniers: the chanson in which all strophes are set to the same melody (the vast majority), and the chanson in which each strophe receives a separate setting (the lai and descort). This latter type is cultivated by Machaut in the form of the lai, while the former type is represented by the several monophonic virelais (three-fourths of the group of virelais set to music: V1-20, 23, 25, 28, 30), as well as a single monophonic ballade [B37], and two of the musical interpolations in the Remede, the complainte [Rem2] and the chanson royale [Rem3]. From the standpoint of MS copying, the difference is clear. In chansons with only the first strophe set to music, the text of succeeding strophes, usually copied in columns, was entered after the provision for the musical notation. In the lais, since each strophe had its own separate musical setting, there was much more music and no residual text.<sup>300</sup> In contrast to polyphonic works, neither type presented problems of planning page-turns.<sup>301</sup>

<sup>299</sup> Regardless of destination, MSS of polyphonic music were copied since the mid-thirteenth century to allow simultaneous visibility of the voices.

<sup>300</sup> Machaut's strophic lai "Loyaute que point" [L1] excepted. It would seem then that uniform ruling could have been undertaken for monophonic sections of the MSS. However, whole gatherings were not uniformly ruled in advance, since a single long-line format was employed for the lais with music, but the normal two-column text format was preferred when lais not set to music intervened.

<sup>301</sup> There are some polyphonic lais or parts of lais, but these are either canonic (one voice only is notated), or they are notated in a manner indistinguishable from monophony, in the "successive notation" described by Sarah Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony—A Reappraisal," JAMS, 24 (1971), 169-92. The two specially-notated lais in Machaut MS E are discussed in Fuller's

While most of the copying procedures dealing with motets and monophonic chansons were the traditional ones in the Machaut MSS, there was one new procedure used in the copying both of monophonic and polyphonic music that had not been practiced previously in musical works with texts. In the new usage, verses equivalent in meter and rhyme, which called for the repetition of a musical phrase with differentiation only of the cadence, commonly had their music notated only once. The text was copied in double lines one above the other for the two statements, and a single line of music entered above served both texts. The cadences were differentiated by means of an "ouvert-clos" ending, much like the modern first and second endings of a repeated section. In the earlier usage, which extended through the period of the Roman de Fauvel (F-Pn fr. 146, c. 1316), any successive repetition in a poetic scheme entailed the literal repetition of an entire phrase of music, even though only the cadence was differentiated.<sup>302</sup>

article on pp. 188-90.

<sup>302</sup> The notation of ouvert-clos cadences in chansons developed in the early part of the fourteenth century; at least its application to works with text cannot be traced before Machaut MS C (see below, n. 338, for a discussion of copying problems in MS C at just this point in the music; the rotulus Maggs may antedate MS C). The music of the lais, as well as of all lyrics in formes fixes intercalated into the Roman de Fauvel, was written out in full. One line of text was entered, and the music was entered above, regardless of the number of internal repetitions this necessitated in the music. The earliest use of an ouvert-clos notational shorthand occurred in purely instrumental pieces, such as the estampies added probably within the first quarter of the fourteenth century to the first part of the Chansonier du Roi (F-Pn fr. 844, trouvère chansonnier M, facs. ed. Jean and Louise Beck, Philadelphia, 1938), fol. 7r [Beck facs. fol. 5r]; 176v [103v], and 177r-v [104r-v]; also Pierre Aubry, Estampies et dances royales (Paris, 1907, rpt. Geneva, 1975). The shorthand notation used in the three estampies in GB-Lbl Add. 28550 (Robertsbridge codex) is probably slightly later, see Reaney, "Robertsbridge Codex," MGG, XI (1963), also H. Vanderwerf, "Estampie," New Grove, J. Handschin, "Estampie," MGG, III (1954), and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Punctus," HMT (1974). Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 16 n. 29, suggests that the Robertsbridge Codex could be connected to the French King John II, an organ enthusiast, in captivity in England from 1357-60. The question of the development of the shorthand

## The Polyphonic Chanson

The most important factor influencing the outward appearance of the musical MS in the fourteenth century was the development of a polyphonic chanson style. The largest number of problems in planning a well-executed music MS were encountered in the copying of the polyphonic formes fixes. In the new polyphonic chanson, a tenor lengthier and rhythmically more lively than any motet tenor supported the cantus. The melismatic character of the upper voice should also be considered one of the truly innovative aspects of the new fourteenth-century style.<sup>303</sup>

The florid cantus style, as well as the addition of an active tenor, profoundly affected the techniques of MS copying. Henceforth, the scribe entering the text had to take care to leave sufficient space between text syllables so that the scribe entering the music would have room to copy the extended melismas. He also had to allow room for the untexted tenor, and, on occasion, even an untexted triplum or contratenor. Finally, residual stanzas of text had to be accommodated. Depending on the number of voices and the ornateness of the lines, there was a large difference in the size of individual works. By Machaut's time, the size of the poems themselves was

notation used in Italian cacce (first seen in I-Rvat 215/I-OS, mid- to late fourteenth century) is unresearched.

<sup>303</sup> Melismas were rare in thirteenth-century motets. In the so-called Petronian motet style, the increasing subdivision of the breve "was more often syllabic than melismatic" (Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, I [Bern, 1973], 551). More extended melismas begin to appear in the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196, see Ludwig Repertorium, I, 2, 552 (No. 314), 554 (No. 322), 557 (No. 328), 561 (No. 340), 561f (No. 341), 563 (Nos. 343, 344). Numbers in parentheses also refer to the edition of Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle, Vol. III (Paris, 1936), and Hans Tischler, The Montpellier Codex, Vol. III (Madison, Wi., 1978). Figure 3.3 gives an example, No. 322. Ludwig was not aware that F-MO 196 Nos. 340-41 ("Balam") form a single English composition, the duplum of which is preserved in GB-Onc 362, fol. 86r. Ed. Harrison, Motets of English Provenance, PMFC, XV, No. 2.



372

Mare assumptio at  
Humil chorulace  
fiat gaudio fili  
mica saluatori mat  
Lnor.

The image shows a page of medieval musical notation. At the top center, the number '372' is written. The page is dominated by a large, ornate initial letter 'M' that spans across the musical staves. The 'M' is decorated with intricate floral and scrollwork patterns. The musical notation consists of square neumes on four-line red staves. Below the staves, there are several lines of Latin text in a Gothic script. The text is arranged in two columns, with the 'M' initial overlapping both. The text includes 'Mare assumptio at', 'Humil chorulace', 'fiat gaudio fili', 'mica saluatori mat', and 'Lnor.'. The page is framed by a decorative border at the bottom and sides, also featuring floral motifs.

Figure 3.3: F-MO 196, fol. 372r (No. 322)

far more predictable (with regard to the number of strophes required for each form), than in the thirteenth century, but the specific requirements of each of the three formes fixes were different. Ballades generally received the most ambitious settings, and demanded the greatest amount of space in the MS. The rondeaux were shorter poems, with the smallest amount of residual text, but rondeau settings soon became more florid, with longer melismas than the majority of the ballades, no doubt in an effort to extend the musical setting of this otherwise modest poetic form.<sup>304</sup> Since all voices of a polyphonic work had to be simultaneously visible to the reader, careful planning was required in this portion of the codex.

. . . . .

An account of the early development of the polyphonic chanson in the fourteenth century must remain speculative, given the state of the extant source material.<sup>305</sup> The single polyphonic rondeau of Jehannot de l'Escurel ("A vous, douce debonnaire") from the beginning of the century cannot be considered a direct forerunner of the style of polyphonic chanson as it finally developed.<sup>306</sup> Indeed, the manner in which this rondeau is entered into the

<sup>304</sup> Daniel Poirion, Le Poète, p. 433, notes that rhymes are richer in Machaut's rondeaux than in his ballades. The more florid poetry is thus paralleled by a more florid musical setting (see below, n. 384). In addition, the first polyphonic rondeaux settings of Machaut are chronologically later than the first lais, ballades, and virelais, because they first appear in the later, unordered series of works in MS C (cf. above, Table 2.12, p. 139).

<sup>305</sup> Concrete evidence of the immediate musical roots of the style of the fourteenth-century polyphonic chanson before the first examples of Machaut is totally lacking. A recent article by W. Arlt gives the historiography of the research into this question, tracing the development from Ludwig to Hasselman and Dömling: "Aspekte der Chronologie und des Stilwandels im französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts," in Aktuelle Fragen der Musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung (Basel Colloquium 1975), Forum Musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte, Bd. 3 (Winterthur, 1982), pp. 196ff.

MS mirrors the essential characteristics of its style. The three voices are copied "in score," with text below only the lowest voice.<sup>307</sup> The melody of the principal voice (the middle voice) determines the shape of the accompanying voices.<sup>308</sup>

The secular song as developed by Machaut represents an entirely different conception. Here, the cantus has melismatic sections alternating with syllabic sections, and is supported by accompanying voices in contrasting textures. Although Jehannot died presumably in 1303,<sup>309</sup> his single polyphonic rondeau remains the most musically advanced chanson setting in a forme fixe until the 1340s, when Machaut's serious production of polyphonic chansons evidently began. From the 1320s, there is an oft-quoted statement of Jacob de Liège, that his contemporaries practice little else but motets and can-

<sup>306</sup> Ed. Wolf, Geschichte der Mensuralnotation, III, 26-27; Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen, I (Dresden, 1921), 307-08; Wilkins, The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. 1, and Willi Apel, French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, CMM, LIII/1 (1970), 95. None of the transcriptions seem satisfactory rhythmically.

<sup>307</sup> This arrangement attaches directly to the tradition of the rondeaux of Adam de la Halle, F-Pn fr. 25566, fols. 32v-34v. Four rondeaux with identical layout appear among the fragments F-CA 1328 (RISM, B IV2, 121, Nos. 9, 10, 7, 8). Finally, there are two more examples of this format in the fragment F-Pn pic. 67, fol. 68 (facs. of the first in F. Gennrich, "Mittelalterliche Lieder mit textloser Melodie," AMw, 9 [1952], opp. 126). See also Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 696. Ludwig considered it likely that if the 37 rondeaux in the text chansonnier I (GB-Ob Douce 308) had been composed polyphonically, they too would most likely have been three-voice works of the type composed by Adam de la Halle (Repertorium, I, 1, 312).

<sup>308</sup> Independent appearance of the middle voice of L'Escurel's rondeau as a monophonic setting, the third work in the collection, proves that it is the principal voice. This is also true of the polyphonic rondeaux of Adam; the middle voice of Adam's "Dame or sui" appears alone at the end of the eighth gath. of I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvère chansonnier a), fol. 60v (new 55v). Aspects of L'Escurel's songs are analyzed in Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 209-27.

<sup>309</sup> Ch.-V. Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel, poète français," in Histoire littéraire de la France, XXXVI (Paris, 1927), 110.

tilenae.<sup>310</sup> But the only works of secular polyphony clearly traceable from the period between F-Pn fr. 146 and the Machaut MSS are the chaces appearing in F-Pn pic. 67, later witnessed by B-Br 19606 and I-IV 115.<sup>311</sup>

Fifteenth-century testimony gives credit to Philippe de Vitry for "finding the [new] style of writing ballades,"<sup>312</sup> and it has been presumed that he was instrumental in the development of the polyphonic chanson.<sup>313</sup> But not a single specimen is extant.<sup>314</sup> Even if some of the secular works interpo-

<sup>310</sup> The passage is cited by Besseler, "Studien-II," p. 140, and by Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 554. Ed. CS, II, 428, col. b, and R. Bragard, CSM, III/7 (1973), 89: "Moderni nonne quasi solis utuntur motetis et cantilenis nisi quod in motetis suis hoketos interserunt?" ["Do not the moderns use motets and chansons almost exclusively, except for introducing hockets in their motets?" tr. O. Strunk, Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1950), p. 185]. Concerning this quotation, Besseler commented: "Unter cantilenae sind zweifellos die (ein- oder mehrstimmigen) Balladenformen, daneben vielleicht auch die Kanons der beginnenden Ars nova zu verstehen" ("Studien-II," p. 140).

<sup>311</sup> Besseler, "Studien-I," pp. 193-94. On the chace, see Nino Pirrotta, "Per l'origine e la storia della 'caccia' e del 'madrigale' trecentesco," Revista Musicale Italiana, 48 (1946), 305-23, and Hasselman, "The French Chanson," pp. 137-43.

<sup>312</sup> "Après vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motès, et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique trouva les .iiij. prolacions, et les notes rouges, et la noveleté des proporcions" (Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique, ed. E. Langlois p. 12). Langlois, p. xxviii, dates the treatise after the death of Froissart (1411), and before 1432, when parts were borrowed by Baudet Herenc for his Doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique.

<sup>313</sup> Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 555, in reference to Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," p. 332, notes that "it has been assumed quite properly that in the field of chansons [Vitry's] innovations must have concerned the formulation of a new polyphonic style." See also Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de" New Grove, XX, 25b-26a.

<sup>314</sup> The only surviving lyrical poetry of Vitry, a "mythological" ballade, is described and edited in E. Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques," 385-417. Pognon, p. 391, dates the ballade of Vitry 1339 at the latest. It already conforms to all of the rules of what was becoming the fourteenth-century ballade forme fixe. Such a poem would, however, not have been set to music, see Schrade, PMFC Commentary I, 40-41. Vitry's ballade has a hitherto unrecognized concordance in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century text chansonnier, see p. 18 and n. 31 above.

lated into the Roman de Fauvel (F-Pn fr. 146) were written by Vitry, the question remains open, since the only polyphonic compositions contained in the Roman are motets.<sup>315</sup>

The young Vitry was a member of the circle involved in the production of the Roman and its interpolations. Since the latest and most modern motets included in the MS are possibly his—indeed, judging from the topical texts, they were written expressly for this circle—it is likely that if Vitry had also composed polyphonic chansons at this time, some would have been included in the Roman. It appears that the development of the new chanson style postdates the mid 'teens of the fourteenth century.<sup>316</sup>

. . . . .

A primary development in the musical style of the chanson in this interim period was the melismatic treatment of the text. The essential factor from the copyist's point of view was the spacing of the words. Indeed, if a MS were set up to receive music, preliminary conclusions about the melismatic

<sup>315</sup> Possible contributions of Vitry to the monophonic songs contained in the Roman are discussed in Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," pp. 349-51. Schrade (p. 350) also points out a specific link between l'Escurel and a ballade in the Roman. The possibility that some of the ballades and rondeaux in the Roman itself may be by l'Escurel is further developed by Gilbert Reaney in "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 424-25.

<sup>316</sup> Important and suggestive new material on the style change as discussed by Lawrence Gushee, Leo Treitler and Wulf Arlt is printed after Gushee's paper "Two Central Places: Paris and the French Court in the Early Fourteenth Century," Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974 ed. Hellmut Kühn and Peter Nitsche (Kassel, 1980), pp. 153-57. See also Gushee, "Analytical Method and Compositional Process in Some Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Music," in Aktuelle Fragen der Musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung, pp. 165-91. Gushee's thesis concerns the "possible derivation of some tenors from ostinato patterns as an expression of the meeting of professional minstrels with court poet in the arena of the three-voiced rondeau and ballade" ("Analytical Method," p. 167). See also the article of Arlt cited in n. 305 above. The full exposition of Gushee's ideas on this question is awaited.

style of the chanson could be made, even if the music itself had never been copied. The principal source of the Prise amoureuse (F-Pn fr. 24391, dated 1332) of Jehan Acart de Hesdin would seem to be such a MS. In the preface to his edition of the poem, Ernest Hoepffner noted that the text of each of the lyrical interpolations was copied in a manner allowing the entry of music, but that no music had ever been entered. Nonetheless, Hoepffner believed it probable that the copyist worked from an exemplar that included music.<sup>317</sup> Later, after the discovery of four more MSS, none of which contained music, Hoepffner decided that the music must never have existed, because otherwise at least one MS with music would have surfaced.<sup>318</sup>

In the MS itself, the number of blank lines left for the later entry of staves varies from one to three; most often, the space is hardly adequate even for a four-line staff (Hoepffner's "breiter Zwischenraum" is hardly accurate). More to the point, there are no spaces left between words, nor are any syllables separated. Such music would have been simpler even than the settings of Jehannot de l'Escurel. Music never existed for the poems.

<sup>317</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, La Prise amoureuse von Jehan Acart de Hesdin (Dresden, 1910), p. vii: "Der Text der lyrischen Einlagen ist in Prosazeilen niedergeschrieben, nicht metrisch gegliedert. Zwischen den einzelnen Zeilen ist jedesmal ein breiter Zwischenraum frei geblieben, der zur Aufnahme von Musik bestimmt war. Diese selbst ist aber nicht eingetragen worden. Es ist fraglich, ob sie überhaupt existiert hat. Doch das Freilassen eines Zwischenraumes zwischen den Textzeilen und die Art und Weise, wie der Text niedergeschrieben ist, machen es wahrscheinlich, dass der Kopist eine Vorlage benützt hat, die die musikalische Begleitung bereits enthielt" (emphasis mine). In 1902, Ludwig had already noted that space had been left in this MS for the entry of monophonic compositions, "Die mehrstimmige Musik," p. 34.

<sup>318</sup> Hoepffner, "Zur 'Prise amoureuse' von Jehan Acart de Hesdin," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 38 (1917), 516: "Unter fünf Abschriften hätte wenigstens die eine oder andere die musikalische Begleitung mitgeteilt."

While sources containing evidence for the musical development of polyphonic formes fixes between l'Escurel and Machaut are apparently lost, sources attesting to poetic developments are plentiful. There are three major sources of lyrical poetry from this period, all in the form of interpolations into longer narrative poems. The first is the Dit de la panthère of Nicole de Margival.<sup>319</sup> Hoepffner dated the work within the rather broad boundaries of 1290 and 1328, and indeed the work is somewhat equivocal in that it bridges two eras.<sup>320</sup> In one sense, the poem looks distinctly back to the former age: in the dit itself, eight of the nine interpolated poems are by Adam de la Halle. Nicole is careful to give credit to his source, naming Adam seven times in the course of the poem as an authority on love poetry. In another sense, however, the poem looks distinctly ahead to the developments of the fourteenth century. The six interpolated lyrics by Nicole himself are all reserved for an epilogue to the dit. Hoepffner notes that Nicole's terminology designating each of his own poems is extremely exact and careful. Indeed, the tendency towards more precise terminology is characteristic of the fourteenth century. Except for the technically difficult lai, all of the principal genres of fourteenth-century formes fixes are represented. In this sense, the Dit de la panthère is a direct model for Machaut's more methodical treatment in his Remede de fortune.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>319</sup> Ed. Henry Todd, Le Dit de la Panthère d'amours (Paris, 1883). See Huot, "Lyric poetics," pp. 93-94, and Gilbert Reaney, "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms," pp. 421-27.

<sup>320</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, "Les Poésies lyriques du Dit de la panthère," pp. 204-30.

<sup>321</sup> Hoepffner, "Les Poésies lyriques," pp. 226-27.

The lyrics of Jehan Acart de Hesdin's Prise amoureuse of 1332, discussed above with respect to their supposed musical layout in F-Pn fr. 24391, mark a further stage in the development of formes fixes. Hoepffner thoroughly treated the formal aspects of the nine ballades and nine rondeaux in the introduction to his edition.<sup>322</sup> But the earliest examples of the style of lyrical poetry consolidated by Machaut (in this case, ballades only) is not found until Li Regret Guillaume (dated 1339) of Jehan de Le Mote.<sup>323</sup> In his study of the thirty ballades, Hoepffner traces the formal development between the Prise of 1332 and the Regret of 1339. The new departures are clear-cut enough that Hoepffner distinguishes the practitioners of the older style, including Acart, Nicole de Margival, l'Escurel and the ballades in the collections F-Pn fr. 146 and GB-Ob Douce 308 (trouvère chansonnier I; Oxford chansonnier), from those of the new style, which include Jehan de Le Mote, Philip de Vitry, Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps. Significantly, Jehan is a figure that can be connected to both Vitry and Machaut.<sup>324</sup> The date of the Regret of Jehan, 1339, provides the earliest date that can be associated with a secular chanson in the new style by Machaut, since the first ballade of the Regret is related to Machaut's early ballade "On ne

<sup>322</sup> Hoepffner, La Prise amoureuse, pp. xlviii-li on the rondeaux; pp. lvi-lxii on the ballades.

<sup>323</sup> Li Regret Guillaume, Comte de Hainaut, ed. A. Scheler (Louvain, 1882). See the article of E. Hoepffner, "Die Balladen des Dichters Jehan de le Mote," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 35 (1911), 153-66. Hoepffner's discussion of the development of the ballade style in the years 1332-39 is still well worth consulting.

<sup>324</sup> On the exchange of ballades between Vitry and Jehan, see Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques," passim. Gilles li Muisis (d. 1353), writing in 1350, mentions all three authors in close succession in his Meditations (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove [Louvain, 1882], I, 88-89). See also N. Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages," in English Court Culture in the Late Middle Ages (London, 1982), pp. 190-94.



porroit penser" [B3 = Lo7].<sup>325</sup> The possibility suggested by Hoepffner, that Machaut wrote virtually no lyric poetry at all before his permanent settlement in Reims in 1340, cannot be rejected.<sup>326</sup> And since it appears that the new style of the ballade was not set until shortly before this time (archaic traits no longer found in the poetry of Machaut and his followers still appear in some of the ballades of Jehan), it cannot be ruled out that Machaut's polyphonic chansons were indeed quite early examples of a new style of secular polyphony in the fourteenth century, and that the new poetic form developed hand-in-hand with new musical procedures.<sup>327</sup>

<sup>325</sup> Cf. Reaney, "The Poetic Form of Machaut's Musical Works I: The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais," *MD*, 13 (1959), 26, and U. Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior," pp. 53f. The priority of borrowing for this ballade is not certain, but in another case, in which the late *Chanson royale* 254 borrows from the *Regret*, Machaut's dependence on Jehan is clear. Further, Jehan's use in his *Regret* of a series of allegorical figures, each giving a series of *exempla* in turn, may have been imitated by Machaut in his *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* of 1349 (Hoepffner, "Die Balladen," p. 165). Cf. also Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court," p. 194.

<sup>326</sup> Hoepffner, "Die Balladen," pp. 165-66. Williams believes Machaut was already composing lyrics in the 1320s and 1330s ("The Music of Guillaume de Machaut," p. 198).

<sup>327</sup> The dissertation of Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," contains a very important stylistic categorization of the fourteenth-century chanson, beginning with the works in F-CA 1328, probably the earliest extant source for chansons in the new polyphonic style (outside of Machaut MS C). Her thesis is that "the musical style of the fourteenth-century chanson grew out of the motet and chace, far more directly than from the earlier chansons" (I, 102). Particularly, the polytextual virelai with folksong tenor "seems to be a very early class of chanson" (I, 112), and is connected to the earlier chace. Her views are summarized pp. 236-41: on Machaut's role, see I, 241-43. I do not feel that her chronological scheme is supported by the very meagre surviving evidence. The importance of geographical distinctions in chanson types is ignored. Rhythmically, even the earliest-looking chansons given are quite distinct from the motet. Most are two- or three-voice works with a single texted voice, a type Hasselman rather weakly derives from the motet (I, 192ff). None can be placed before Machaut's early chansons. Nevertheless, her stylistic treatment of the mid-century chanson is excellent if one does not insist on looking for origins; her emphasis on the virelai at mid-century is completely supported by the extant MS evidence. The dissertation includes

## STAGES IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE MACHAUT MSS

Some of the factors influencing the copying of the music in the Machaut MSS, particularly genre, have been described above. Direct examination of the sources suggests that the following procedure was followed in preparing the Machaut codices to receive text and music.<sup>32\*</sup>

1. Guide-lines for the text were ruled. The pattern varied depending on whether long lines or a two- or three-column format was planned.

Each of the main Machaut MSS has a variety of formats.

2. The text was entered. For the music sections, the requisite space between ruling lines (usually equivalent to three or four of these lines) was left for the entry of the staves. Sometimes unnecessary text lines were not ruled, but they were usually pricked nevertheless; the music blocks occupy a regular number of text lines.

Horizontal gaps were left for the longer melismas and, where necessary, for the notation of the clos ending. Residual strophes of text, if present, were most often copied in columns, even when the strophe set to music was entered in long lines. In addition, voice

transcriptions of several fragmentary works unavailable elsewhere, and the discussion of F-CA 1328 is an essential revision to the information in RISM, B IV2, 119-28, now further supplemented by several new fragments of the same MS discovered by David Fallows, see "L'Origine du Ms. 1328 de Cambrai," RdM, 62 (1976), 275-80. A dozen or more untranscribed fourteenth-century chansons, some unica, some complete, still await restoration of these fragments.

Dömling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais von Guillaume de Machaut, contains a close study of Machaut's chansons that indicates a few points of contact and several divergences between motet and chanson (pp. 67-74, 86ff). A review and evaluation of the theories of Hasselman and Dömling is in Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 202-06.

<sup>32\*</sup> Consult figures 2.1-2.3, 3.4-3.8, 3.19-3.20, and 4.1 as illustrations. A general account of all aspects of MS preparation and copying practices, especially useful for its bibliographical notes, is James D. Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," in Sandra Hindman and James D. Farquhar, Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing ([College Park, Md.], 1977), pp. 11-99.

names for the triplum, tenor and contratenor were entered as necessary.

3. The staves were ruled. Depending upon the MS, entry of the decorated initials might precede or follow the ruling of the staves.<sup>329</sup>
4. Finally, the music was entered above the words. Here, as in the thirteenth century MSS, the text continued to determine the MS layout.

<sup>329</sup> In MS A, the grisaille initial "L" for the lai "Loyaute qui point" [L1, fol. 367r] was drawn before the entry of the music (see Figure 3.4). The initial extended into the entire space that had been left for the staff. As a result, the text had to be erased and recopied somewhat lower (the word "seur" was added to the end of the previous line) to provide enough space for a three-line staff. Other hints in A indicate that the decoration preceded the entry of the music, e.g., M21 mot. (fol. 434d): the leaf on the "U" for the word "Veni" was drawn before the entry of the clef on the sixth staff. Apparently the same order holds for MS G, e.g., B36 (fol. 147d): the space left blank for a melisma by the text scribe before the syllable "-mours" at the beginning of the second staff was ignorantly decorated with a flourish initial "A-".

By entering the music last, account could be taken of the decorations for the placement of clefs and stems, etc. In C, the opposite is true: music was entered before the initials were painted; the filigree of the initials occasionally cuts across staves or clefs. M. Bent draws some interesting conclusions from the entry of initials in GB-Lbl Add. 57950: some initials were painted after the first scribe's stint of copying, and this scribe left catch letters for further initials that indicate the specific compositions that were to be copied subsequently by this first scribe; he did not return to the MS, however ("The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 70 and 198); see also her "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript," Music and Letters, 47 (1966), 234-38. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 20, cites an example from GB-Ob 213, fol. 30v, of an initial painted before the music was copied.



## Ruling

Preparatory to the copying of text or music in a MS, the leaves had to be ruled, that is, guidelines were drawn to delimit the area occupied by the text. Vertical lines divided the text area into one or more columns, while horizontal lines guided the even copy of the text.<sup>330</sup> Due to the heterogeneous contents of the Machaut MSS, in which poetry, music, and, sometimes even prose appear, a variety of ruling patterns are exhibited in a single MS. Nevertheless, a few basic lines of the ruling formed the frame for all formats, and a change in format actually involved nothing more than employing a greater or lesser number of secondary lines over one basic page justification. In texted portions of the MS, the same layout was used for both narrative and lyrical poetry.<sup>331</sup> Besides the principal division of the page into two columns (the extraordinary size of MS E made a

<sup>330</sup> In the Machaut MSS, three means of ruling are seen: dry-point lines drawn by a stylus (in the paper MS B), lines ruled in lead (F-G and most of A), and ink lines (C, E, and parts of A). There is apparently no chronological significance to the differing practices, which include all three varieties described in L. W. Jones, "Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and Their Significance," *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 389-403. However, within a single MS, the use of different ruling tools can be informative. For instance, in MS A, the ink ruling (same color as the text) was possibly changed to lead so as not to interfere with the illustrations. Penned lines are quite noticeable in some earlier illuminations; the lead lines in later illuminations were easily effaced. Ink ruling lines were used until fol. 15, which starts with ink and finishes with lead. Ink is again used for text residua in the music section, beginning with the *lais* (fol. 367r). The use of lead ruling in the narrative (provincial) part of the Prologue (fols. Fv-Gv) is further suggestive that it was a later addition, along with the foliation (fol. 1 is the opening of *Vergier*) and the 18 mm. gutter between columns, as in *l'Alerion* and *Voir-Dit*. A gutter of 12 mm. was ruled in the earlier parts of the MS.

<sup>331</sup> The ruling pattern given by Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," top of p. 47, is the basic variety seen with some variation in the majority of the central MSS, including AF-GVgBC. MS E uses this pattern as well, but in three columns.

three-column format desirable), the distinguishing characteristic of this pattern is the inclusion of an extra vertical line (or even a pair of closely-spaced lines, as in C) to set off the capital letter that begins each line of poetry. In sections of prose, such as the letters in the Voir Dit, only the principal division into two columns was necessary.<sup>332</sup> As would be expected, irregularities in the MSS are often corroborated by changes in the ruling pattern. For instance, in MS B, the replacement folios, set apart from the rest of the MS on several other criteria, are distinct in ruling pattern as well—no attempt was made to imitate the general pattern of the rest of the gathering.<sup>333</sup> In MS A, the specially-decorated four ballades of the Prologue also exhibit ruling patterns found nowhere else in the MS.

Preparing the MS for music did not fundamentally alter the ruling procedure. The increase in distance between successive lines of text, necessary to accommodate the staves, was handled in the simplest manner possible: the size of the horizontal ruling lines remained constant, and a set number of these were skipped between lines of text.<sup>334</sup> By the use of regular units of measure, a regular appearance on the page resulted. In sections ruled uniformly for music (such as motet sections), superfluous horizontal lines could be omitted, but the distances between lines can still be seen as multiples of a basic line-unit.<sup>335</sup> Indeed, it would otherwise have been

<sup>332</sup> The ruling pattern for prose is equivalent to the figure in Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," p. 46, right-hand pattern.

<sup>333</sup> Moreover, the rest of the MS B shows a very wide variation in ruling.

<sup>334</sup> The principle of leaving blank lines for later inclusion of music was well-known to contemporaries, compare Froissart, L'Espinette amoureuse, vv. 1046-47: "Ce virelay fis en otant / D'espasse qu'on l'iroit notant" (quoted in Poirion, Le Poète, p. 216) ["I made this virelay and left space so that someone might notate it"].

extremely difficult to combine large stretches of both text and music in the same MS. Thus, for the various formats required for the different genres of music (long lines or two columns), the same basic ruling pattern was retained; just as with the different formats in the text section, lines were merely added or subtracted at will to result in a usable pattern. The following table shows the various layouts employed for the different genres of music:

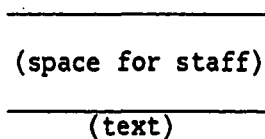
<sup>335</sup> In a figure in van Dijk, Origins, p. 330, the prick-marks guiding the ruling lines appear unevenly spaced. However, measurement shows the smaller space to be four units tall, while the wider space is five units tall. This pattern is similar to the lai section of Vg, where only the marks needed to rule the principal guide-lines were pricked (the holes are clearly visible on the film). According to Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," p. 62 and n. 64, p. 92, work is presently being done to record the rulings of a large number of MSS. Craftsmen used multiples of the local unit of measure in their MSS, and comparison may allow a more exact localization of MSS than has been possible up until now.

<u>genre</u>	<u>text disposition</u> <u>below music</u>	<u>page justification</u>	<u>number of</u> <u>texted voices</u>
LAIS	2 or 4 lines	usu. 1-col., occas. 2-col.	entire voice(s) with text (only L1 is strophic), monophonic.
MOTETS	1 line	1- or 2-col.	two voices with text except tenor and, when present, ct. (tenor of M16 and 20 texted).
MASS	1 line	1- or 2-col.	all voices with text in most movements. (except MS E).
HOCKET	(textless)	1- or 2-col.	all voices textless except voice names.
BALLADES	2, then 1 line	1- or 2-col.	} 1 voice with text textless ten. (tr., ct.) text-residuum.
RONDEAUX	1 line	1- or 2-col.	
VIRELAIS	1, then 2, then 1 line	1- or 2-col.	

The changing formats allow the possibility of determining how much of the MS was ruled in advance. For instance, in MS A, the lais with music are copied in one column, but frequently the superfluous vertical rules marking a two-column justification had already been ruled. This also explains the change of format in the music section of MS C. The older part of the music section (CI) is in a two-column format, which could be written on folios already mostly prepared for text entry (that is, with the two-column format ruled; all of the horizontal text rules were not yet made, however). This format extends to the end of L1 (fol. 168v). In the new series of chansons (CII), a one-column format was employed, and the copy was planned a line at a time.



The most difficult works to plan for in these MSS were the ballades and virelais. These two genres required a change between one and two texted lines (see column two of the above chart). There were at least four different ways of dealing with these sections. At one extreme, the MS could be planned a line at a time. This would require the scribe to rule each line of text as it came up, skipping room for staves where necessary. This appears to have been the case for CII and the ballades in A. At the other extreme, the MS was uniformly ruled for two lines of text below each line of music, leaving one blank where necessary. This was done in E. In F-G (ballades) and A (virelais), the MS was pre-ruled for one line of text below each line of music, and the scribe ruled an extra line in ink where he needed it (some staves thus have more space between them than others). For the virelais in F-G, an ingenious solution was found. Note that the ruling for one line of text actually involves two lines, one for the text to rest on, and one to delineate the top of the vertical space:



In F-G, the first line of the double text was merely copied on top of the upper line delimiting the text, thus no extra line was needed (this technique was also used for Rem1 in B).

### Entry of Text

In completed MSS, only careful examination of the spacing of notes and text can reveal the order of their entry. The primary indication that notes were entered later than words is the clear attempt to place the notes accurately

over the syllable or word in question; notes entered over text are unevenly placed.<sup>336</sup>

Illustrative examples from Machaut MSS are easily found. Spaces had to be left between words, adequate for the proper entry of melismatic portions by the music scribe. In largely syllabic pieces, the disposition of the text is quite regular, while the notes above will expand or contract to fit over the syllables. In melismatic pieces, often there are instances where gaps occur between notes, in order to reach the next text syllable.<sup>337</sup> A special difficulty faced by the scribe copying texts of chansons was the ouvert-clos ending, which for the ballade and virelai (but not necessarily for the lai) involved a change from double to single lines of text.<sup>338</sup> When

<sup>336</sup> Prompted by a discussion of the Italian Madrigal, Ludwig commented in his review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensuralnotation that groupings of notes have rhythmic significance (SIMG, 6 [1904-05], 607). Certainly groupings of notes in textless passages are rhythmically significant, e.g., in the upper voice of the Christe in MS A. M. Bent discusses several instances in which the spacing of notes functions as a point of division, see "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 110, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." In texted sections, however, these groupings more often are a function of the clear setting of the text below. Groupings become particularly important when text is too crowded for melismatic music. For instance, in B21 C (fol. 200v-201r), unavoidable non-alignment of text and melisma is clarified by the grouping of notes. Cf. the practice in GB-Ibl Add. 57950 (M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 115-16).

<sup>337</sup> Almost any page of music in a Machaut MS provides examples (cf. above, Figure 2.1, p. 71). See, for instance, the Amen of the Gloria (fols. 285v-286r) and of the Credo (fols. 289v-290r) in the facs. of MS B, Messe de Nostre Dame, ed. Friedrich Gennrich (Darmstadt, 1957). Gennrich incorrectly states that the MS reproduced is F-Pn fr. 1584 [A], although, incredibly, it truly was Gennrich's intention to reproduce MS B, since it is a copy of the best MS, Vg.

<sup>338</sup> There are occasional corruptions at these points. For instance, V4 A (fol. 482v): music of the clos is lacking; B4 C (fol. 159r) is also corrupt. The most common problem, however, is in the entry of the text. V10 C (fol. 152c) is a typical case. Since the text of the clos was incorrectly placed directly below that of the ouvert, no room was left for the music; cf. also Rem4 C (fol. 46r), V4 C (fol. 150a), V19 C (fol. 155v) and B6 C (fol. 160b). It is possible that the scribe of C was unaware of the structure of V17 (fol. 154c-155a), with its very long ouvert and clos. The writ-

copying double texts, the text scribe was unconcerned with their exact vertical relationship; only the upper part was to be overlaid with music, and since the second line was identical in syllable-count and rhyme scheme to the first text, particulars of its setting could be derived from the clear setting of the first text.<sup>339</sup> At the clos section, the second text is to be overlaid, thus its proper spacing is important only at that point.

The primacy of text entry as a guiding principle in MS production in Machaut's time is supported by a study of pieces partially or wholly textless. In many cases, there are errors or problems in the MSS. The hocket is wholly textless, except for the identifying voice names. Music not carrying a text was difficult to plan for; for the text scribe, the task of copying music meant the copying of its text. Since the scribe entering the text was responsible for the large-scale layout of a given MS, a work lacking this primary constituent was ambiguous in nature, and the position of

ing of the clos text directly under the ouvert text is a frequent problem in MS E. In V23 Vg (fol. 329v) [= B fol. 327v], both ouvert and clos have a very long melisma, and the text scribe did not properly separate the opening syllables of the clos ("dire aimi").

Very few of these errors were corrected by the text scribe. In B7 G (fol. 136a), the syllable "-te" for the clos was erased and moved; in B28 A (fol. 468r), the underlined portion of "medee iason" was erased and moved to the right for the clos; in V25 A (fol. 489v), the text scribe originally wrote the first two words of the clos, "de vous", under the ouvert, but erased them and moved them to the right. See n. 359 below for corrections made by the music scribe in B34 G and B39 G.

Texts left incomplete in C are probably due to unclear passages in the exemplar, cf. B10 C (fol. 162a): there is no ruling for the second text in the first section, but the clos pitch is indicated; also five blank staves are left for the contratenor, possibly a space filler for the lacking second and third strophes; B14 C (fol. 163d-164a), and several virelais in C are also incomplete.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 63, for double lines of text in ballades in GB-Ob 213. M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 127, discusses double-texted canonic settings of the Gloria and Credo in GB-Lbl Add. 57950. This form, which is rather clearly texted for both lines, is further discussed in her "Text Setting in Sacred Music."

the hocket is thus variable in the MSS.<sup>340</sup> A similar problem for the text scribe is provided by the beginning of "Christe/ Veni/ Tribulatio" [M21], the only motet whose untexted opening melisma is labeled Introitus.<sup>341</sup> Thus it is that in MS G, the copying of M21 began at the top of the folio with the texted portion of the motet (fol. 122v). The music scribe, finding no room for the Introitus, had to relegate it to the bottom of the opening.<sup>342</sup> Even voices with opening rests were troublesome, as in the motetus of "Martyrum/ Diligenter/ A Christo" [M19], and the tenor and contratenor at the opening of the Patrem (see Figure 3.5).

The text, of course, begins at the edge of the column, headed by a large initial. However, the space occupied by the rests makes the relation of the opening pitches to their text ambiguous. The word "Patrem" was not even supposed to be set to music in the tenor and contratenor, but the scribe of A incorrectly began to overlay music. Later, lines were drawn to clarify that the notes were intended for the word "omnipotentem."<sup>343</sup>

<sup>340</sup> That the hocket was left to the end in MSS F-GVg(B) is suggested by the fact that it is placed near, but not quite at, the end of the virelai section. It was among the last pieces to be copied. In A, the hairline indication "sequentur balades" occurs at the end of the Ite (fol. 451r). But the hocket, added later, actually follows.

<sup>341</sup> In A, the voice-name "Introitus" was added by the same corrector who added L22. Motets that open with texted melismas are M9, 19, 22 and 23.

<sup>342</sup> In MS Vg(B), the texted triplum and motetus begin respectively on the second full staff allotted to each, at the very edge. One full staff had been allotted by the text scribe for the later entry of the untexted voice. An example from the eighth fasc. of F-MO 196 shows how an extended opening melisma was handled (cf. above, Figure 3.3, p. 161). The scribe entered the opening syllable, and then skipped four staves in both triplum and motetus, before continuing with the text, although a different amount of music was involved in each voice.

<sup>343</sup> In MS Vg (fol. 289r) and MS G (fol. 129r), the music scribe intelligently left the word "Patrem" with no notes above it. As usual, MS B (fol. 287r) is inaccurate. MS E (fol. 166v) is partially corrupt. The contratenor is correct, but the tenor is supplied with music, moving in

(retouched)

atrem omnipotentem factorem  
celi et terre. Visibilem omnium et  
invisibilem. Et unum dominum Iesum  
Christum filium dei unigenitum. Et ex  
patre natum ante omnia secula.  
Deum de deo lumen de lumine dei  
verum de deo vero. Genitum non fa-  
ctum consubstantialem pa- tri per  
quem omnia facta sunt.

atrem omnipotentem.  
factorem celi et terre. Visibilem  
omnium et invisibilem. Et unum  
dominum Iesum Christum  
filium dei unigenitum. Et ex  
patre natum ante omnia secula.  
Dei de deo lumen de lumine dei  
verum de deo vero. Genitum non  
factum consubstantialem pa-  
tri per quem omnia facta sunt.

Figure 3.5: F-Pn fr. 1584, fol. 444r

The most unusual problem in entering text for a work of music was encountered in connection with "Ma fin est mon commencement" [R14]. In this work, the MS presentation was intended to mirror the structure of the work. The cantus, to be read in retrograde (i.e., beginning at the end), is notated with the text written upside-down, starting at the end.<sup>344</sup> Ludwig's statement that the underlay is completely exact and reasonable (Musikalische Werke, I, 64) needs some qualification. The unprecedented layout of the work caused severe problems in copying. In MSS A, G, and E, the original text setting was completely erased and changed.<sup>345</sup> In both A and G, the text was originally entered right-side-up in the normal manner, and the space reserved for the initial "M" is clearly visible in both (see Figure 3.6 and 3.7; R14 in MS G is also illustrated in New Grove, XVII, 664).

Perhaps the exemplar had been copied in this manner for the sake of clarity, and a verbal direction explained the desired manner of copying. In any case, it was necessary for the music scribe to set the matter straight.<sup>346</sup> In MS E, the layout of the voice was correctly understood by the text scribe (the erased text is upside-down), but this too presented problems (see

octaves with the triplum for the first two notes, and in octaves with the motetus for the third note.

<sup>344</sup> Ursula Günther, in "Die Mensuralnotation der Ars nova in Theorie und Praxis," pp. 13-15, was the first to correctly interpret the directions in the poem—the voice designations in both Ludwig's and Schrade's edition are incorrect.

<sup>345</sup> R14 is missing in Vg. In B, no error of entry occurred (had there been problems, these of course would have appeared in Vg), but the text-music relationship is hopelessly corrupted in B.

<sup>346</sup> MS A further suggests that the decoration preceded the ruling of the staves. The original catch letter for the contratenor ("C") was realized as an initial (fourth line, fol. 480r), while the catch letter on the previous line for the unusual upside-down "M" was overlooked by the flourisher.

vous ref gars dou ce dame ma  
 mort. Sa mours ne fait que  
 w gen nis ciers miant. **D** enoz  
**D** ontatenoz  
 nant en nant a vous amer ma mort. vos dous regars douce dame  
 ma mort. Car ie congnois en sa douceur ma mort. pour la parfaite amo  
 qu en moy nant. vos dous regars douce dame ma mort. sa mours ne fait  
 que vos gens la ciers niant

Est teneur vrayement. va fin et non commencement. mes vers chang m. fois  
 seulement. se retrograde. et ensi tm. va fin et non commencement. et non commencement  
 ma fin.  
**D** ontatenoz  
 richement vist bel. quant premiers vi ma da  
 me bonne et belle **D** enoz  
**D** ontatenoz

Figure 3.6: F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 479v-480r

mon onel  
 richement visa bel. Quant  
 premiers vi ma da  
 me bonne et belle.  
 Quant fleur des fleurs tous li mondes lapet  
 Certes mon onel richement visa bel.  
 Quant premiers vi ma dame bonne et belle.  
 Randel

**C**ertains  
**Q**uant fleur des fleurs tous li mondes lapet  
 Certes mon onel richement visa bel.  
 Quant premiers vi ma dame bonne et belle.  
 Randel

**E**t tenue vraiment.  
 ya fin est mon commencement.  
 ces tres chaus. uij. fois seulement  
 Se retrograde: et ainsi fin  
 ya fin est mon commencement  
 Et mon commencement ma fin. 7 c

Figure 3.7: F-Pn fr. 22545-22546, fol. 153r



C. 136r

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation is dense and somewhat obscured by heavy black ink blotches, particularly on the right side and in the lower half. The staves contain various musical symbols including notes, stems, and beams. There are some faint, illegible markings between the staves, possibly representing lyrics or performance instructions. The overall appearance is that of an aged, heavily used manuscript page.

Figure 3.8: F-Pn fr. 9221, fol. 136r

Figure 3.8). Since the text was written upside-down and backwards, the text scribe began copying from the end of the space allotted for the piece (with the folio upside-down), while the music scribe would of course have started at the beginning (with the folio right-side-up). After the music scribe copied the contratenor and tenor, a large gap was left before the first text syllable, the upside-down "fin." He did not skip to that syllable, but began his copying immediately after the end of the tenor; the text fell badly out of phase, and had to be erased and reset. The odd ruling pattern below the rondeau shows the space originally intended for the upside-down "M" and for the text-residuum.

### Ruling of Staves

The next step was the ruling of the staves. All of the Machaut MSS were staff-ruled with a rastrum. It was completely unnecessary for the craftsman charged with this task to have access to the exemplar: staves were simply entered wherever blank spaces occurred above lines of text.<sup>347</sup> The text scribe could continue copying texted portions while earlier sections were being prepared for the entry of music. This practice explains otherwise superfluous markings in the tenor and contratenor voices in many MSS, where the indications "or or or or" may be understood as signals to the staff-ruler that staves are to be drawn above these spaces as well.<sup>348</sup> Ruling the

<sup>347</sup> In B23 C (fol. 200v, st. 2), the fourth line of text extends further than normal, and the staff is accordingly drawn extra long. In V24 E (fol. 162v) and V21 E (fol. 163v), both virelais that have no music, a staff appears above the first line of text. The text scribe had only intended to set off the text from the preceding piece, but the staff-ruler, not having access to the exemplar, drew a staff in the blank space.

<sup>348</sup> In C, the cantus of B15 (fol. 164c) ends with a melisma. The curious marks below the staff at the end of the piece can be understood simply as the "text" over which the staff-ruler had to extend the staff. (A simi-

staves independently of the exemplar also explains the appearance in MS B of extra staves on certain folios—the staff-ruler was ignorantly filling in blank space on the page.<sup>349</sup>

In MS G, the staff-ruling was not finished for large stretches at once. This is apparent from a detail in the lai section. For the lais, the usual practice was to set off each new strophe with an initial larger than the others. Except in MS C, these initials are not flourish initials, nor do they begin at the edge of a new line. Rather, they are simply large initials penned by the text scribe at the beginning of each successive strophe.<sup>350</sup> The intention, clearly and consistently carried out in MS A, was for the staff to be stopped before each of these tall initials, and continued thereafter.<sup>351</sup> In this manner, the beginnings and endings of the suc-

lar-looking space filler is in F-MO 196, fol. 116r.) In R8 A (fol. 479v), music of the tenor is clearly stretched out to fill the staff ruled over "or or or." There are many examples of blank staves with "or or or" below in MS G, especially among the ballades; in B20 ten. (fol. 141a), there is a short space before the text residuum with the "or" underlaid to a blank space (it had been overlooked by the staff-ruler); in R14 ct. (fol. 153a), the blank staff over the "or" has a clef (see Figure 3.7 above). The practice is less consistent for textless tripla in chansons, perhaps because the extent of an upper voice was clear from the area left before the cantus. Markings occasionally occur in Vg(B), e.g., the Hocket has "m m m m," "um plum," etc. In the Remede in GB-Cmc 1594, "plum," etc., is found, see the facs. referred to in n. 106 above. Cf. also the Kyrie in Vg(B): "e e e e e," and the tripla of some of the ballades in Vg(B).

<sup>349</sup> Blank staves appear in MS B below the text-residua of B6, 7, 8, etc. (fols. 297 and following). An extra staff after R1 (fol. 315v) caused an error when the music of R2 was copied (see below, n. 374). Keitel ("A Chronology," p. 113), is incorrect in adducing these empty staves as an indication that B does not depend on Vg. There is no reason to suppose that the person in charge of ruling the staves in B required access to the exemplar Vg.

<sup>350</sup> MS A shows a division of labor for the large initials at the beginning of the lais—some of these were actually penned by the text scribe.

<sup>351</sup> A rare example in A of the staff drawn through the initial is in L18 (fol. 403v, st. 7), at the opening of strophe XII.

ceeding strophes of the poem were made clearly visible to the reader. In MS G, however, the staff-ruler began by cutting through the large initials, spoiling the appearance of the page. A few folios later, towards the middle of L6 (fol. 81r, last st. and following), the staff ruler was evidently informed of his error, no doubt by the text scribe. For at this point, not only do the continuous staves drawn over the large initials cease, but the initials increase in size as well, providing a clear picture of the exchange that went on between the two craftsmen.

The practice of ruling the staves after the entry of the text also helps to explain several other characteristics of the sources. Blank staves at the ends of the lai, motet, and Mass sections of MS A were added to fill blank folios through the ends of gatherings, as well as to provide room for eventual additions or corrections, and are not to be viewed as typical ruling patterns for the rest of the MS. In several instances, these staves were put to use to correct omissions found in proofreading the MS, after the music for the rest of the sections had been entered. For instance, at the end of the lai section in A (fol. 410v), the Lay de plour, "Qui bien aime" [L22] was added. Besides the difference in script (a hand that added several works to MS A), the addition is clear from the large initial at the opening of the lai, drawn over the staves, and by the internal initials that begin each succeeding strophe, also drawn over the staves. Normally initials and staves elsewhere in the MS do not overlap.

In a blank opening left in the final gathering of the Mass, the textless hocket was added to staves ruled in the two-column pattern used for the motets and Mass. In this instance, however, the double columns of staves were joined (in red) to make long lines for this instrumental work. When it was

necessary elsewhere for the music scribe to join staves originally ruled in double columns, or to extend the staves, the lines are usually lengthened in the black or brown ink of the music scribe, rather than in the red ink available to the staff-ruler.<sup>352</sup>

Although the openings of the rondeau- and virelai sections in MS A do not correspond with the beginnings of new gatherings (see n. 153 above), blank folios were nevertheless left between sections, and subsequently ruled with blank staves. The first section of blank folios provided space for the late entry of B21, R9, R14, and R17.<sup>353</sup> Again, the additions are apparent not only from the difference in script (which is the same as the scribe who entered L22), but also by the way in which the text residua are treated. For these three pieces only, the texts are entered on and between already-existing staves, just as was the practice for the purely musical MSS from Italy in the fourteenth century, in some purely musical Gebrauchshandschriften from France in the fourteenth century, as well as for

<sup>352</sup> There are many examples of such staff extensions drawn in the brown or black ink of the music scribe, apparently since the red of the staves was no longer readily available. In A, Rem5 ct. (fol. 71r); B18 tr. (fol. 463r): staff extended 5 cm. in black ink; B32 (fol. 470v): ct. staff extended in brown ink at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next; M13 tr. (fol. 427r): staves connected in the middle by brown ink. In G, M3 tr. (fol. 105r) and M6 tr. (fol. 108r), the columns of staves were later connected in red ink, but the staff lines do not correctly correspond; a new clef was necessary in each case. Cf. also problems in M4 (fol. 106r), M16 (fol. 118r), M21 (fol. 123r), and M23 (fol. 125r). The staff-ruler was obviously confused by the prominent ruling in two-column format, and was sometimes loath to cut through the gutter. Similar problems in A are in M2 (fol. 416r), M3 (fol. 417r), M5 (fol. 419r), M8 (fol. 422r), M9 (fol. 423r), M13 (fol. 427r), M18 (fol. 432r), M20 (fol. 434r), M23 ct. (fol. 437r and 437v). From the practice in MS B, it can be stated that the staff-ruling process was independent of the rubrication. Many pages of the MS became damp at one time; the red of the rubrics and initials has run, while the different red used for the staves has remained intact.

<sup>353</sup> The text ruling pattern in A for fols. 474v-475r is 2, 2, 1, 1, etc. (like the previous ballades). Fol. 475v is ruled 1, 1, 1, etc. (like the facing rondeaux). See above, Figure 2.2, p. 73).

virtually all musical MSS of the fifteenth century. Since these MSS were purely music MSS from the start, the staves were ruled before the entry of the text or music.<sup>354</sup> In the Machaut MSS, except for corrections made after the body of the MS was copied, all of the text was entered before any staves were ruled, including the blank staves at ends of gatherings.

### Entry of Music

As demonstrated above, the layout of the Machaut MS was determined by the text scribe. Perhaps less obviously, the ultimate accuracy of the music itself depended upon the work of the text scribe. Although the music scribe was often able to manage with rather large variations in the amount of space provided, and even to correct minor slips of the text scribe,<sup>355</sup> at other

<sup>354</sup> The example of I-Fn 26 is discussed in J. Nadas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26," pp. 398-401. Most of the first-layer work in fourteenth-century French MSS seems to have involved entry of text before the ruling of the staves, judging from the spaces left by the staff ruler for initial letters (at beginnings of lines and internally). This practice is seen in B-Br 19606, most of F-CA 1328, and the surviving musical portion of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.

<sup>355</sup> In MS A, I believe that the music scribe added the following bits of text: L12 (fol. 388r, below st. 7): "que"; M17 tr. (fol. 431a): a whole line of the exemplar was left out by the text scribe, and was entered below the triplum by the music scribe; M18 tr. (fol. 432r, below st. 8): "qui" added at line end; M20 ten. (fol. 434r): added tenor canon indication; Hocket hoquetus (fol. 451v, below st. 8): voice indication "David hoquetus"; B10 (fol. 459v, l. 1): "dame"; B23 ca. (fol. 465v, l. 1): "et loer"; V20 (fol. 488r), l. 2: "amer" (but grey ink), l. 3: "v-" and "ie."

In MS G: L19 (fol. 98r, st. 3): "me."

In MS C: M7 tr. (fol. 211d, st. 8): "ie."

In MS B: V7 (fol. 322v, l. 1): "nee" added by music scribe (no error in Vg).

An excellent example of this type of correction is seen in I-Fn 26, a MS with music overlaid to text, fol. 9v, st. 6 (facs. ed. by F. Alberto Gallo, Il Codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze [Florence, 1981]): a missing word of text was added by the scribe when he was copying the music. Lines were added to clarify the reading. See Kurt von Fischer, "Zum Wort-Ton Problem in der Musik des italienischen Trecento," Festschrift Arnold Geering zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Victor Ravizza (Bern, 1972), p. 53.

times the accuracy of the music scribe was limited by the layout provided.<sup>356</sup>

Since the process of copying the musical sections of the MSS involved two passes through the exemplar, and from two essentially different standpoints, some extra insight into the readings of the exemplar is gained. The careful entry of the music over the syllables of text involved also a careful proof-reading of the portion of the text immediately set to music, something that would not occur if the text were merely haphazardly spread out beneath the music. Text errors left uncorrected by the music scribe (and an error corroborated by a musical error) may well have been corrupt in the exemplar.<sup>357</sup>

Several means were employed by music scribes to clarify and adjust the positions of notes above syllables of text. At the extreme, whole syllables or words were erased and rewritten by the music scribe in their proper places under the notes.<sup>358</sup> When a new piece of text is clearly not in the hand of the main text scribe, and when the new text has the same color of ink as that employed by the music scribe, my conclusion is that such altera-

<sup>356</sup> See n. 338 above on corruption at ouvert and clos cadences due to poor placement of text. In addition, in several motets there are many hocket passages for which inadequate space or poor syllable-distribution was left, cf. M12 A mot. (fol. 425d) and M12 C mot. (fol. 217b); M13 C tr. (fol. 217c-218a); M19 C tr. (fol. 223c-224a). Poor text layout detracts from the accuracy of MS C, cf. Rem5 (fol. 47v) and B22 (fol. 204r).

<sup>357</sup> Cf. the example of M17 in A, n. 355 above. The music scribe is of course not infallible: in L12 A (fol. 389v, st. 3), he skipped a whole phrase.

<sup>358</sup> This practice is noted by M. Bent for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, in which the text and music scribes are usually the same person ("The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 119-20). Later revisions of texting by different scribes are discussed pp. 174-77. On I-Bc 15, cf. her "Text Setting in Sacred Music." On GB-Ob 213, cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 61.

tions were made by the music scribe.<sup>359</sup> I would interpret a correction in F-MO 196 (fol. 71r, st. 6, see Figure 3.9) as this sort of correction.

Only the music scribe had the requisite detailed knowledge of the way the text and music should be correlated, since he was working directly from the exemplar on just this aspect, and proofreaders evidently did not concern themselves with what are often only very minute details. This situation is quite different from that described by M. Bent for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, by Schoop for GB-Ob 213, and by Nádas for I-Fn 26, in which text and music scribe are usually the same. There, identity of the scribes allows a theory that possibly a different copying procedure was followed in melismatic vs. syllabic musical settings, a kind of give-and-take being possible in copying the melismatic style.<sup>360</sup> This is not the case for the Machaut MSS: all text,

<sup>359</sup> Note 355 above treats text added by the music scribe, i.e., correction of omissions made by the text scribe. The present note treats adjustments by the music scribe of texts faultily placed by the text scribe.

In A: Kyrie I ten. (fol. 438c): "-son" crossed out, put at end of preceding line; Gloria ten. (fol. 442b): "-tris" put at end of preceding line, original syllable left on last staff; Sanctus tr. (fol. 447c): original disposition of "-us sa- -ba" changed; Sanctus mot. (fol. 447d): "-ctus" of second Sanctus moved to left, longa f above erased, while "sa-" moved from beginning of fifth line to end of fourth line; Ite tr. (fol. 451r): "-sa est" along with the text immediately below, "-ci- -as," crossed out and reset by music scribe; B30 (fol. 469v): "contratenor" indication moved up a line, original indication stands below; V3 (fol. 482v): first syll. of clos added; V38 (fol. 494v): "-e" crossed out and reset in the ouvert.

In G: M10 tr. (fol. 111c): "la" erased from beginning of fourth line and put at end of third line; Ite ten. (fol. 133c): "-sa est" along with the text immediately below, "-ci- -as," moved up a line; B34 ca. "Quant Theseus" (fol. 146d): "-de" syl. for both ouvert and clos erased and moved to correspond to music; B39 ca. (fol. 149a): last syl. of refrain "-cort" added by music scribe at end of line (original syll. at beginning of the next staff erased, staff left blank); V7 (fol. 156a): at the end of the third line, text scribe had written "cu- -er" split over two lines. The music scribe erased "-er" at beginning of fourth line and put it at the end of the third line.

In C: Rem6 (fol. 51v): "vous doy tenir" at line end entered by music scribe.

<sup>360</sup> Cf. n. 465 below.



ce spiritibus mater gratia Stella la-  
 dio ca nubes pluviosa lumen po-  
 catous spon ca ...  
 o ca ...  
 na ...  
 nus ...  
 ...  
 ...

Figure 3.9: F-MO 196, fol. 71r

regardless of the style of the music, was entered first.

In MS G, there are a few instances in which text is erased and reset to clarify the relationship of text and music, but the new syllables are in the hand of the main text scribe, in contradistinction to the account offered here. Close examination of such corrections, however, reveals traces of a hairline script indicating where the syllables were to be reset.

Apparently, the music scribe erased an improperly-set syllable (the length of a melisma had not been successfully estimated by the text scribe), and indicated in hairline script where the syllable should fall; the text scribe then returned to make the correction, and the uniform appearance of the text was not spoiled by the different script of the music scribe.<sup>361</sup>

A means of correcting the text-music relationship much more common than the erasure of text syllables is the erasure of musical symbols, usually individual rather than whole series of notes. This was no doubt easier for the music scribe to control, and moreover did not spoil the appearance of the text. It often seems as if the scribe had been copying a melismatic passage, perhaps by memorizing a few notes at a time, when he realized that the note just copied should have been written over a specific syllable of text, and so erased and rewrote the note in its proper place.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>361</sup> Osanna I G tr. (fol. 131c): entire text "-sanna in excelsis" erased and reset with the aid of hairline guide script; R9 G ca. (fol. 151b): "-nes quonques amans" reset (a hairline "quô" is visible under "quon-"). Details of this sort are visible in the original; on a microfilm, not even the existence of erasures can be ascertained, and there is no trace of the hairline script. In the Sanctus tr. (fol. 131c), the underlined portion of "Dominus deus sabaoth" was reset, possibly by the same means; no guide script is visible, however. Cf. also Christe tr. (fol. 125c): reset by text scribe, but no hairline guides visible. The tenor originally began one staff earlier, but the last "eleyson" of the tr. and the beginning of the ten. were moved down one staff.

A recent study of texting in the Mass is Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure," pp. 286-89.

Another common means of clarification is at the same time the simplest. In this technique, lines were drawn to indicate directly the relationship of a particular note or ligature to a particular syllable or word.<sup>363</sup>

A final means of clarifying the setting of text and music was employed by a music scribe when the reading he was to copy appeared to him to be inconsistent or nonsensical. In this case, notes were broken up or combined to fit the text disposition better. This of course usually involved the intentional introduction of an error into the musical text.<sup>364</sup> In sum, a large

<sup>362</sup> In MS A the scribe most often crossed out the unwanted note, intending to return later to erase it. Several of these were erased (traces of the hairline crossing out the note are often still visible on either side of the erased symbol), others were never erased. In either case, of course, the intended cancellation is clear. Examples from MSS AGCBE are given in the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 266-68. Three examples from GB-Lbl Add. 57950 are given in Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 110. An example from GB-Ob 213 is given by Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 61.

<sup>363</sup> Again, examples from Machaut MSS are given in the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 268-69. M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 119 n. 1, indicates that the practice is more common for paper MSS, because they are more easily damaged by erasure. This is true for GB-Ob 213, see Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 61. In other MSS, this expedient is sometimes used when text is truly underlaid, that is, added to a line of music that is entered first. For instance, see Michael Long's discussion of GB-Lbl Add. 29987 in "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," pp. 168-70. This explanation was also adduced by J. Nádas in the verbal discussion following the reading of his unpublished paper "The Codex Reina Revisited," delivered at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Ann Arbor, November, 1982.

Further, the line of music to which text is thus added, with the setting clarified by means of lines, may originally have been a textless line in the exemplar, and the text adapted by the scribe to this line.

<sup>364</sup> For examples, see the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 269-70. As M. Bent points out ("Another Bite," p. 8), the corrupt overlay of MS B is often sensitively clarified by MS E (cf. B13, B11, and especially B2), although the correction does not always bring the passage in question into line with Machaut's intention. For instance, the music of the clos in B8 (fol. 154v, l. 2) is lacking in BE, but at least the music scribe of E correctly overlaid the ouvert music and left the clos syllable blank.

A different kind of correction in E is the extension of a musical setting merely to fill out the line. See B7 (fol. 154v, st. 4): lig. broken in tenor to fill line; B9 (fol. 155r, st. 3): different ligature to fill line. In MS G: B6 (fol. 135d, st. 3), last three notes erased and stretched-out to

proportion of the erasures and corrections in the texts and music of the main Machaut MSS were made specifically to clarify the correlation between words and notes. Despite the different formatting demands imposed by the melismatic polyphonic chanson, the procedure of entering text before music remained unchanged in the fourteenth century, and can be observed in a number of fourteenth-century Gebrauchshandschriften, such as the MSS F-CA 1328, I-IV 115, F-APT 16bis, and the preserved portion of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.

. . . . .

It has been emphasized by Margaret Bent that the practice of a scribe in setting the text did not necessarily result in a perfect vertical alignment of note to syllable.<sup>365</sup> The need carefully to study the scribe's practice in this regard is clear also from the Machaut MSS. For instance, the music scribe of MS A would often place a note slightly to the right of the syllable to which it belonged.

#### Scribes in MS B

Discussion of the scribal hands that copied MS B has been postponed until now, because it was first necessary to consider the steps followed in copying text and music in the Machaut MSS. We have been primarily interested in the way musical portions of the MSS were copied, and the scribes involved in the copying of MS B seem to have divided their labor carefully between the text and the music sections. The scribe who copied most of the text for the

fill the line. M. Bent noted this practice for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, fols. 25v-26r, see "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 114, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships," p. 311, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." The problem of filling out blank space is severe in some of the motet formats in F-MO 196: cf. Figure 3.9, p. 193 above.

<sup>365</sup> "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 115; "Text Setting in Sacred Music."

musical works did not copy any of the lyrics or narrative poems in the text section. His only concern was with texts set to music, or, in isolated cases, with *lais* or *virelais* set to music but which appear in the music section of the MS. On the other hand, some of the scribes involved primarily with the text section also copied short stretches of text in the music section, and it will therefore be necessary to identify the scribes throughout the entire codex.<sup>366</sup> The following discussion proceeds in the order that the hands appear.<sup>367</sup>

Scribe R (Figure 3.10) copied only the fifteenth-century replacement sheets surrounding gatherings I, II, XXVII, and the final folio of gathering XXII (the scribal analysis is entered on the chart of the gathering structure of MS B in Appendix A). This scribe is so clearly chronologically later than the other scribes of the codex that little comment need accompany Figure 3.10. The bâtard traits are clear, e.g., the very thick pointed descenders on minuscule f and s; the very pointed lower left tip of the d, and the sharply concave downward finishing stroke of the e.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>366</sup> Consideration of the Prise is not necessary for this presentation. The relationship between the Prise in Vg and B has been laid out by Margaret Bent, "Another Bite," p. 3. Although it seems that most of the Prise was copied by a different hand from those seen in the rest of the MS (it also has different paper and different-sized gatherings), I believe the last two gatherings were copied by the scribe whom I designate below as Scribe A (fol. 383 is a replacement folio). I am also not concerned here with the various later corrections seen throughout MS B (see Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, xlvi-xlvii).

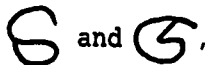
<sup>367</sup> S. Harrison Thompson, Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages 1100-1500 (Cambridge, 1969), esp. Pl. 16-27 and the accompanying commentary, is particularly useful for its descriptions of script characteristics in this period.

<sup>368</sup> Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 111-12, first signaled this scribe's work.





**Scribe A** (Figure 3.11). The last stroke of his minuscule e is always a convex downward stroke, and so does not join with the following letter. The final r is often deeply forked, with a long, straight finishing stroke. Final s is drawn in two steps, a (-shaped stroke combined with a 3; usually the 3 touches at all three points on the left. Initial minuscule d is usually not pointed at the lower left corner. Usually l is not noticeably looped, though a light line forming the loop is sometimes visible. Note also a, with its rounded loop, and the separate flourish above the y.

Especially prominent in a MS of poetry are the majuscule letters. Note for comparative purposes the simple shape of the N, the angular D, the S with its two basic shapes: , and finally the looped A. Scribe A copied the first half of gathering I, and gatherings III-IV, VII, XVII, XX, XXVI, and XXVII (except the replacement sheets), which is the final gathering of the text section. In addition, Scribe A copied the texts for a single gathering of lais, XXXII.

**Scribe B** (Figure 3.12) copied more of the text than any other scribe. His minuscule e, in contrast to that of Scribe A, always has a concave downstroke, or one tending towards the concave. Final r has a rounded tip on the right. The 3-shaped stroke of the final s is closed at the ends, but the middle peak usually does not touch. Initial minuscule d is often pointed at the lower left. The top loop on l is closed. Very characteristic of this scribe is the peak on the left side of the a in initial position, and the distinctive flourish over y, drawn without taking up the pen. This flourish loops up and finishes off to the right of the letter.

Majuscule N often has a prominent angular break at the bottom of the first stroke. The rounded D is easily distinguished from Scribe A's favored



**S** Dame mery  
 D'amoür me tient en sa pson iouste  
 Je me vens plus s'as se nul contie  
 Et de seür qui tait me fait deüme  
 A nul me couüer trembler fremur aüme  
 De cuer nery nony  
 Que vous ne me vultz faüme

**A**ins plus de vous plus de me pas piteuse  
 Que vous un de fin cuer s'as messe  
 Sans mas ion mille si suoumeuse  
 De pas deür qui tait me feust plus  
 Con vous fures restönce deüme  
 Sans rüme  
 Amour et vous pour attüre  
 Dame mery

**V**oudeau  
 La grant aüme de mo plus de seür  
 Ne mourelaüst force pour ne vore  
 Par que soupir, ne fait vüme apali  
 La grant aüme de mo plus de seür  
 Et si me fait le cuer si fort fremur  
 Que tout le corps me trüde ausi melior  
 La grant aüme de mo plus de seür  
 Ne mourelaüst force pour ne vore

**D**ame de un tresoume amee  
 Sans repenti de cuer et de vüme  
 De grant l'oe de beaute sauouree  
 De noble corps de grace et de sauou  
 A nee amee font q'as deüme  
 Je sui de seür amee qui me aüme  
 Que de vüme de mo nery deüme  
 Que de vüme de mo l'oe cest en seüme  
 Deüme mon cuer et seüme son mayou  
 Et me ce si noble deüme  
 Deüme amee adous me fure adou  
 Pen le amee et deüme qui vüme  
 A nee nery ou moüme q'as deüme

**S**ür l'oe plume de mo nery deüme  
 Humble beaute q'as deüme  
 De conte homene deüme  
 Onge courtoise amoumeuse et seüme  
 Et tresplüme je ne me sui deüme  
 Nulleme q'as deüme q'as deüme  
 De mo gauri de mal q'as deüme  
 Que vous plume de mo nery deüme  
 Balade

**Q**ue de vous deüme  
 Plus deüme deüme simple et core  
 Pour mo nulleme l'oe  
 A me vüme me deüme  
 Ne fier ne moüme  
 Et nulleme deüme deüme  
 A deüme et mo martine

**O**las ausi languine  
 Deüme que plus deüme et seüme  
 Et en deüme seüme  
 Deüme qu'on l'oe ne seüme  
 Las cest ce qui me deüme  
 Et qui deüme amee  
 A deüme et mo martine  
 Que seüme en q'as deüme  
 Par nulleme ne pour deüme  
 Deüme les maüme q'as  
 De deüme seüme nauoie  
 Mais se moüme ne deüme  
 Bien deüme deüme  
 A deüme et mo martine

**D**ame pour mo deüme  
 Deüme de deüme  
 C'est pour mo moüme  
 Dame pour mo deüme  
 Et plus de deüme et deüme  
 Queüme bien a. tout maüme  
 Dame pour mo deüme  
 Deüme de deüme  
 Balade

Figure 3.12: F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 15r (Scribe B)

style. Again, S has more than one shape, but ④ is most frequent. The looped A seems to tilt to the left; alternative forms are a and sl.

This scribe often worked with others. He copied the last half of gathering I, and all of gatherings II, IX, and XI (except the Lai de plour), XII (except Rem1 and 2), part of gathering XIII, all of gathering XV (except Rem6 and 7), most of gathering XVI and XIX, all of gatherings XXI and XXII (except replacement fol. 33), and most of gathering XXIII. In the music portion of the codex, he copied the text for the first gathering of lais, XXVIII.


**Scribe C** (Figure 3.13). The final downward stroke of minuscule e is convex if a separate letter, concave when joined (as "en," "-elle"). Final r is deeply forked, but then often hooked at the tip on the right. The 2-shaped r is occasionally used in odd places, and not only after b, d, o, or p (not illustrated in Figure 3.13). The 3-shaped stroke of the final s often does not touch in the middle. Sometimes this stroke is closer to a 2 and does not touch at the bottom either. The d is rounded, and l is often not noticeably looped, though it has a thick curve at the top. The a is a single rounded loop, and the y is usually topped with a separate flourish, although the type with a continuous flourish is occasionally seen, but unlike Scribe B's, it loops back to the left and over the y.

Majuscule N is distinctive, made of two separate strokes. The D sometimes resembles that of Scribe A (not illustrated in Figure 3.13). The two forms of S are not used with much consistency; and although alternative forms appear, ⑥ is the most common. Scribe C copied all of gatherings V-VI, part of gathering VIII, and all of gatherings X, XVIII, and XXIV-XXV.





Scribe D (Figure 3.14) appears only in gathering VIII, only for a short stint. His hand is calligraphically superior to the others associated with MS B.

Scribe E (Figure 3.15). His work first appears in gathering VIII. The last ten lines of fol. 80r are occasions for a new pen or new session for Scribe C. But on fol. 80v, after l. 22, to the end of the gathering (fol. 81v), a hand appears that is distinct from Scribe C's. His final minuscule s is sometimes a looped form drawn in a single clockwise stroke: . In particular, note the distinctive majuscule Q, made with two strokes, first a C-shaped stroke, then a looped stroke resembling somewhat a cursive l. The T is also distinctive.

Scribe F wrote the text for almost all of the musical works. Figure 3.16 (lower portion) provides enough material to see unique characteristics of his hand. Note the cursive flourish under every h, y, and z, and under every final m and n (there is no flourish over the y). The flourish at the end of the final t is a dependable trait.<sup>369</sup>

Scribe F's majuscule letters are the most ornate of any of the scripts in MS B. He filled in the texts for the eight musical works in the text section (L22 and Rem1-7, gatherings XI-XV), and most of the text in the music fascicles. Only gathering XXVIII, most of XXIX, all of XXXII, part of XXXIV, and part of XLI were copied by other scribes.

Scribe G (Figure 3.17) is distinctive for the style of his majuscule Q and the dot in the middle of the S. He relieves Scribe B for four brief stints in gatherings XIII, XVI, XIX, and XXIII.

<sup>369</sup> Cf. Thompson, Pl. 17 and 22. The flourish is mostly lacking on fols. 241r-242r.









Scribe H (Figure 3.16, upper portion), with his thick pen and messy script, is associated like Scribe F only with the texts for musical works. He copied the text for almost all of the lai gathering XXIX, for a few lines at the beginning of gathering XXXIV, and for a small part of gathering XLI.<sup>370</sup>

The relationship between these text scribes and the music hands in the codex is unclear. I distinguish only two music hands in the entire codex. Except gathering XXXIX (fols. 305-313, including B21 through the first opening of B34) and gathering XLI (fols. 322-329v, including V6-29; fols. 323-328v were written with a broader pen), all the music was copied by the first music scribe. More will be said below about a correction in the Kyrie II; it appears possible that the script of some words entered by the music scribe to correct a copying error in that section is identical to the script of the text Scribe H. The small script sample of this correction in the Kyrie II makes conclusive identification difficult.<sup>371</sup>

<sup>370</sup> This scribe had difficulties with the special requirements of texts to be set to music. In gathering XXIX, in the first lai copied by this scribe, "Nul ne doit" [L5], there are several errors. On fol. 225v, beneath the third staff, the second line of text was originally copied first, then crossed out and the correct text entered above. A similar, shorter, error in the second text occurs on fol. 226r, beneath st. 3. On fol. 226v, he originally forgot to skip space for the fourth staff, and began entering text. On fol. 227r, he began to enter the text at the top of the folio without skipping space for the first staff; the text was then blotted out. In "Par trois raisons" [L6], fol. 227v, he left out two words of the second text on the last staff (fol. 227v); the line was cancelled and the full line rewritten above. On fol. 229v below st. 1, the beginning of the first line of text was entered twice, then the second line was crossed out and the correct text entered.

<sup>371</sup> The catchword "doluz amis" [sic] on fol. 296v was entered by scribe H, perhaps after copying the music.

Table 3.1 summarizes the distribution of scribes by gathering in MS B. Generally, scribes set out to copy a whole gathering (an even division of labor in a single gathering is seen only for gathering I). Gatherings copied by several scribes are divided haphazardly, as if a scribe took over immediately from another, and copied until by chance the original scribe returned. Put another way, the bulk of the copying was carried out by scribes A, B and C, but a few others were occasionally available to further speed up the copying process. The division of labor between scribes who copied text for music pieces and scribes who copied only text was in general quite rigorously maintained. The principal scribe for the texts set to music, Scribe F, may have begun his task while the other scribes concerned themselves with text portions of the codex, though if this was the case, he did not begin with the first gathering of the music section, but in media re. Two complete gatherings of texts set to music were copied by the main text scribes A and B.

Although a detailed paleographical examination of B in conjunction with Vg is still needed, the preliminary conclusion from the analysis above is that B was copied after Vg lay complete (lacking the Prise), though unbound (or disbound). The pattern of copy is too regular, proceeding either by gathering or by continuously interlocking parts of gatherings (gatherings of Vg were not dismembered and farmed out to different scribes), to allow conclusions as to chronology.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>372</sup> A minute study of the scripts might allow the construction of a chronological order by which B was copied. Perhaps some of the scripts differentiated above could be conflated, seen as developments of one or another scribe (although the apparent speed with which B was copied must be borne in mind).

TABLE 3.1

## Scribes in MS B

Gath.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Mus.	Gath.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Mus.
I	A	B								XXII	B								
II		B								XXIII	B						G		
III	A									XXIV		C							
IV	A									XXV		C							
V			C							XXVI	A								
VI			C							XXVII	A								
VII	A									XXVIII	B								1
VIII			C	D	E					XXIX						F		H	1
IX		B								XXX						F			1
X			C							XXXI						F			1
XI		B				F			1	XXXII	A								1
XII		B				F			1	XXXIII						F			1
XIII		B				F	G		1	XXXIV						F		H	1
XIV					E	F			1	XXXV						F			1
XV		B				F			1	XXXVI						F			1
XVI		B					G			XXXVII						F			1
XVII	A									XXXVIII						F			1
XVIII			C							XXXIX						F			2 (*)
XIX		B						G		XL						F			1
XX	A									XLI						F		H	2
XXI	B									XLII						F			1

(\*) fol. 309: Scribe 1.

The irregular entry of the music over the words in MS B is one of the primary reasons that B is such a poor source for music.<sup>373</sup> Purely by considering the relationship between text and music, it is possible to differentiate the two different music scribes: scribe one is often indifferent and negligent about the relationship of text and music; scribe two is concerned and careful.

The shapes of scribe one's notational symbols are adequate (semibreve and minim noteheads characteristically lean to the left), and at first, the overlay of the notes was carried out with reasonable care (see Figure 3.16). Later, however, his haste becomes apparent; the entry of music proceeded without any regard for the relationship of notes to syllables (several examples may be seen in the Gennrich facs. ed. of the Mass). There are many sections of MS B in which the music overlay is badly corrupted, simply because this music scribe was following nothing more than the line-lengths prescribed by the exemplar Vg, without attention to the placement of specific notes with relation to syllables of text. Such irregularities, due to extreme haste, are further proof of the priority of Vg.

On occasion, irregularities or errors in the entry of the text left by the text scribe were not recognized by the music scribe, who then compounded the error. In "Contre ce doulz" [L15] (fol. 246), several lines of text were entered in the wrong order. The correct reading was cued by means of letters (a, c, b) indicating the proper order of lines. The music scribe, however, quickly copying lines of music in the order of the exemplar, remained unaware that two of the lines of text he was overlaying with music were not even the corresponding texts. A similar error is found at the end

<sup>373</sup> Other factors include errors in the notational symbols themselves (dots that look like rests, etc.), and the omission of notes.

of "Je ne cesse de prier" [L16]. The penultimate line of music was copied twice, so that the last line of notes is senselessly overlaid to the canon "iterum sine pausa."<sup>374</sup>

An error in the Kyrie II in MS B (fol. 282v) has important consequences for the identification of scribes in the MS. Before the staves were entered, the text scribe copied the names of the voices and the text of the movement one line lower than in the model Vg.<sup>375</sup> (Note that even for these highly melismatic voices, the page was laid out in advance by the text scribe.) Later, the entire page was ruled with staves. The music scribe then copied the model without realizing that there was a slight irregularity here in B, and began the music in the first staff. The end of the music for the triplum then fell on the second staff—where the text scribe had indicated the beginning of the triplum—and the one-staff error continued. In an attempt to correct the labeling of the voices, the music scribe entered a new text incipit for the opening of the motetus, as well as for the tenor. The contratenor was left with the original indication for the opening of the

<sup>374</sup> At the top of L3 B (fol. 224r, st. 1), the music scribe copied seventeen notes of L16, just as it appears at the top of fol. 249r. Thus, instead of copying from the beginning of gathering XXIX (fol. 225r), he copied from the beginning of gathering XXXII (fol. 249r). The error was erased and corrected; clearly, the scribe had not been paying attention to the text. In R2 (fol. 315v), the music scribe began the cantus on an extra staff (not in Vg) below the text residuum of R1, which has no text below it. He broke off after fourteen notes and began again on the next staff. The only similar case in the main MSS is in L21 A (fol. 409v, st. 1): at the start of strophe VII ("Comment peut estre"), the scribe entered the two ligatures and a note (i.e., five pitches) that open L19, strophe V ("Comment est sa douceur") from fol. 405r, st. 3. But in this instance, only the music setting the word "Comment" (lacking the final pitch) was copied—the scribe was quite aware of the text, and caught the error immediately. On the Agnus I and II in B (overlay of an entire wrong movement), see M. Bent, "Another Bite."

<sup>375</sup> See the facs. ed. by Gennrich of the Mass, Guillaume de Machaut Messe de Nostre Dame.

tenor, and the line intended for the contratenor by the text scribe was simply left blank at the bottom of the folio.<sup>376</sup>

It is unfair uniformly to condemn the notation of MS B. The second music scribe, in complete contrast to the first, is careful with the overlay of the music. However, the shapes of his notational symbols are crude, and the gain in accuracy in one respect is somewhat offset by a loss of accuracy in another (see Figure 3.18). Nevertheless, some works are quite legibly copied by this second music scribe. He copied B21-34 ("Ne quier" and ten. only), and V6-29. This second music scribe of B may have been one of the text scribes, since he was concerned with following the text and yet not well practiced in the formation of the symbols of musical notation.<sup>377</sup>

<sup>376</sup> See the endnotes to this chapter, p. 270, for more examples of major miscalculations on the part of the first music scribe.

A similar problem with the Mass in MS G was handled more elegantly: *Christe ten.* (fol. 125c, st. 11): *ten.* of the *Christe* was originally to begin here. The end of the *tr.* took this line, so that the *ten.* was copied on st. 12-13. The new labeling of the voice is by the text scribe.

<sup>377</sup> In the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 267-68, note that almost all the erasures and corrections of notes to correct or clarify the text setting in MS B are due to music scribe 2.

De toutes fleurs na uoir et de tous fins en moy longier sur une seule  
 tes es tout li simple et de fruis par frui ne qui d'aucunes es  
 se. Conax este douce fleur pour amati  
 courou et courou mais de courou le by ou sechier. autr apres li iama a  
 ne quer. **Conax**  
**Constantencz**

Figure 3.18: F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 312r (Scribe 2)

Quand vint mes ymaquer ne puis. que la dent ou ma rose est encluse. Don que par ce pecc  
 Sans condus. eme est deus done natuue si suppo. qui n'amae u' longier. d'aucun. se par et  
 En balour. lay le moy donc. qu'ailleurs en moy longier. autr apres et c.  
 Je fortune des gouffes et puis. se engoutir tout homme q'atne of. ta fausse by ou t'ama  
 De bien ne t'ama. ne de beu. trop es de ceus d'ose. ton ne t'ama t'ama. ne font q' plou.  
 tristesse et de homou. Et a faire tou. font ma rose sechier. autr apres et c.

### The Copying of Music in the Remede Section

Outside the music section, the narrative poem Remede de fortune includes seven chansons, of which three are polyphonic, interpolated between stretches of narrative verse.<sup>378</sup> Such occasional inclusion of music affected the way the text was copied. In MS B, as we have seen, the scribe who entered the poetic texts for the musical pieces in the Remede is not the same as the scribe of the surrounding narrative text. It appears that the scribe of the narrative portion simply skipped enough space (sometimes amounting to several lines, even several columns) to accommodate each piece of music, and continued copying the narrative text.<sup>379</sup> It is true that this practice was particularly adaptable to MS B, since the Remede was copied directly from MS Vg. The exact extent of the spaces for the chansons could be literally counted from the exemplar.

However, the occurrence of this practice in B suggests that other MSS should be examined for evidence of a similar method. It is possible that the same procedure of initially leaving blank spaces for musical interpolations was followed in Vg. Owing to the uniform hand, however, the practice is less easily recognized there. Indeed, in Vg, the first ballade of the Remede, "En amer" [Rem4] is copied in a curious manner. Perhaps initially

<sup>378</sup> The Voir Dit in MS E is also copied with the interpolated lyrics set to music copied into the narrative with their music. Space for the subsequent entry of the music and prose letters was probably initially left blank (on fol. 194v, the catchword does not account for a half-page prose letter at the top of the following recto).

<sup>379</sup> The omission of the sections of music may be viewed as tacit recognition of the special care demanded by a scribe copying the text for a musical work. Such a scribe had to be very careful to skip spaces between each line of text. Cf. n. 370 above on errors of just this kind made by Scribe H of MS B.



far too much room had been left for the work, and it was subsequently necessary to stretch out the disposition of the voices to fill the space. Of course, this stretching was done by the text scribe (see Figure 3.19). Perhaps the exemplar split the work across a recto-verso page turn, requiring all four voices of the A-section on the recto, followed by all four voices of the B-section on the verso.

In MS K, the difference in script between the text of the narrative and the text for the music makes it clear that again the practice was to enter the text of the narrative poetry first; the area filled later by the chansons was initially blank. In MS C, the setting for the first strophe of the complainte [Rem2] occupies an entire recto; the verso is completely filled by a pair of miniatures of unusually large format.<sup>380</sup> Apparently an entire blank folio had been set aside for the copying of the first strophe of the complainte with its music. Finally, in MS A, the difference in the size of the script between the text of the music and the surrounding narrative text may indicate that the division of labor applied to this MS as well, although of course a difference in the size of the script alone is not conclusive as evidence. Perhaps only in MS F was the text for the music pieces of the Remede copied with the surrounding text. The manner in which the lai [Rem1] reverts from long lines to a two-column format on its final folio (fol. 43v), in order that the narrative text could take up again if necessary, indicates this. As it happened, the entire page was needed for the lai.

It appears then that the effort involved in copying text MSS with interpolations of polyphonic music added several stages to the copying process. The relatively large number of thirteenth-century MSS with poems including

<sup>380</sup> See Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 1.

1. C. quoniam tu solus sanctus  
 2. tu solus sanctus  
 3. tu solus sanctus  
 4. tu solus sanctus  
 5. tu solus sanctus  
 6. tu solus sanctus  
 7. tu solus sanctus  
 8. tu solus sanctus  
 9. tu solus sanctus  
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 90. tu solus sanctus  
 91. tu solus sanctus  
 92. tu solus sanctus  
 93. tu solus sanctus  
 94. tu solus sanctus  
 95. tu solus sanctus  
 96. tu solus sanctus  
 97. tu solus sanctus  
 98. tu solus sanctus  
 99. tu solus sanctus  
 100. tu solus sanctus

Figure 3.19: US-NYw, fols. 109v-110r

musical settings for lyrical interpolations were more easily copied. Since the chansons or refrains were always monophonic, their entry by the main text scribe did not involve a large expenditure of time or planning. With the new melismatic-polyphonic style, however, not only the skill of the composer, but, on the purely practical level, the skill of the MS copier, had to be greater.<sup>381</sup> The Machaut MSS were the last in the French sphere to include large narrative poems with lyrical interpolations set to music.<sup>382</sup>

### Text-Setting and Machaut's Musical Style

The relationship between text and music is clearly set in the Machaut MSS; large-scale differences in text setting are infrequent. For those few cases with major differences in text setting between MSS, the question of possible authorial revision is raised. The comparison of the early MS C with the later MSS is interesting in this regard.

A genre with rather dramatic differences of text setting is the melismatic rondeau. In C, some rondeau texts have combined groups of syllables that are widely separated in A and other MSS.<sup>383</sup> It should be recalled that

<sup>381</sup> Elsewhere in the Remede, the text scribe shows a sensitivity to the problem of copying polyphonic music. For instance, in MS F, on fol. 56r, one and one-third columns were left blank, so as to leave plenty of room for Rem5 by starting on the next verso. (As it turned out, too little room was left for untexted voices—the triplum runs across to the opposite column, taking the last line intended for the tenor; as a result, the tenor is quite compressed.) Also, half a column was left blank on the recto before Rem7, again so that all voices of the polyphonic rondeau would be visible to the reader.

<sup>382</sup> Cf. above, pp. 25f.

<sup>383</sup> The short staff length of C (14 cm. for the opening rondeaux) may have been a factor, since it allowed much less room for the long melismas typical of the rondeau style. There are particularly rather large differences in the text-setting for the following works: R3 (fol. 204v), R4 (fol. 204v), R6 (fol. 203r), and R7 (fol. 202r). Syllables are combined at the end of the A-section in R2, 3 and 9. These differences are not confined to

the rondeaux did not form part of the original corpus of MS C, and thus had not been long cultivated by Machaut. But since the rondeau style in general is a melismatic one, it was perhaps less familiar to the copyists of this early MS.<sup>384</sup>

A stylistic judgment of a different sort could be made in cases where the setting in a MS is not actually changed, but dramatically clearer for a specific genre. For instance, the text-music relationship of the simple virelai is far more clearly notated in MS C than in MS A. Although it is true that the earlier virelais are virtually syllabic, the representation of the complex relationship between normal speech rhythm and the often conflicting musical rhythm calls for very exact notation in the MS (note the spacing of notes on Figure 3.20). This may indicate that the style was fresher, more familiar to the scribe of C than to the scribe of A, working ten years later, when the small number of new virelais set to music conformed more to the stylistic norms of the ballade and rondeau.<sup>385</sup>

the rondeaux, however. The settings in C and A, cf. B12 C (fol. 163a-b) and B12 A (fol. 460v), are very different, but neither seems satisfactory. It is possible that the differences relate to the rhythm of this work. Cf. also B8 C (fol. 161a-b) and A (fol. 457v): end of line 4; B17 C (fol. 198r-199r) also has noticeably less syllable-division than A (fol. 458r); B22 C (fol. 204r) and A (fol. 464v); B23 C (fol. 200r-v) and A (fol. 465v): different solutions for the opening.

<sup>384</sup> Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 107, notes that "ganz frühe Rondeaux offensichtlich fehlen." Cf. p. 108: "Die Beziehung der Texte zu den musikalischen Details ist im allgemeinen lockerer als bei den anderen Liedformen, da die wenigen Silben einer einzigen Zeile meist einer ausgedehnten Melodie untergelegt sind. . . ."

<sup>385</sup> See Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," Table on p. 99 (of the 32 virelais set to music, 25 appear in MS C), and the discussion on pp. 109f. Some specific examples of corruption in A are in V3 (fol. 482v): l. 2 ("vo fine") and l. 3 ("me tenez en langour"); V4 (fol. 482v): l. 1 (pensez mie. que nulle ait signorie"). An attempt was made to rectify the error by means of three lines drawn between syllables and notes. Cf. also l. 2 ("tricherie chiere vous"). The overlay of these passages in the late MS G, however, is clear. The errors in the virelais in C that do occur (mostly stems lacking)



The extraordinary care exercised by the scribes of C for the virelais (and motets) contrasts greatly with the situation for the polyphonic chansons. Successive voices of polyphonic chansons are sometimes split across page turns. Furthermore, the layout of the text residuum is sometimes rather confusing, often appearing as if even the textless tenor is underlaid.<sup>386</sup> Is it possible that the techniques of copying, so unconsciously exercised in later MSS, had not yet become part of the basic equipment of scribes of the late 1340s? While we cannot be sure that Machaut's early polyphonic chansons are actually quite early examples of their genre, it is nevertheless striking that the copying habits of otherwise skilled notators are so dramatically out-of-phase with current musical advances.

#### TEXT PLACEMENT IN THE LUDWIG AND SCHRADE EDITIONS OF MACHAUT

The text placement in the exemplars for the large Machaut MSS was apparently indicated very clearly. But when copies were made, external considerations not necessarily under the control of the music scribe could affect the accuracy of his placement of notes over text syllables. For instance, the column-width of the MS, dependent on the size of the MS and the choice of one- or two-column format, influenced the work of the text scribe in spacing syllables. In MS C, for example, the comparatively small size of the page and frequent use of two-column format makes for rather short staves for many pieces.<sup>387</sup> The text scribe had to leave spaces for melismas, and when it was


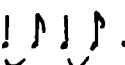
are not substantive—they could easily have been corrected with a single proofreading.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. B18 (fols. 199r-v), B20 (fols. 199v-200r), and B23 (fols. 200r-v).

<sup>387</sup> In the motets in C, each column is about 6.7 cm. wide. For the motet "Lasse/Se i'aim/Pourquoy" [M16], a wider second col. was ruled (col.

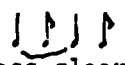
necessary to begin a new line, frequently the space estimates were not always easy for the music scribe to deal with subsequently. When inadequate space was left for a melisma or for an untexted hocket passage, unclear text setting results.

The two principal editions of the music differ in details of text placement in almost every individual piece. In the majority of cases, Ludwig's texting is truer to the sources (and since the sources are in general clear, truer to the author's intention) than Schrade's. The Ludwig edition is much closer to a critical edition. For the most part, Schrade does not mention questions of text placement in his notes, while a section on "Textunterlage" is a normal part of the enumeration of variants in Ludwig's notes.<sup>388</sup>



In the motets, an important distinction in the word setting is for the most part correctly indicated in the Ludwig edition, and changed in the Schrade edition. In the popular motet mensuration tempus imperfectum major (our modern 6/8), the rhythmic pattern  was often used by Machaut to set two words or syllables, and was clearly indicated as such in the MSS by grouping the notes over the proper syllables. In almost all cases, Schrade changed the pattern to .<sup>389</sup> The distinction is important for the

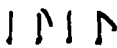
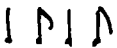
1: 6.9 cm., col. 2: 7.2 cm.), to allow room for this long motet with its fully texted tenor (fols. 220v-221r). Cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 15-18 and 30-31, for adjustments in the ruling patterns in GB-Ob 213.

<sup>388</sup> Ludwig's critical text usually presents the text placement in Vg, and frequently readings from G are given in the notes. In most cases, where Ludwig notes something about the "Textunterlage" of G, it holds for A as well. G is sometimes clearer than A with regard to the overlay of music, although they are very close, and probably descended from the same exemplar material. MS C is also very careful in its attention to texting, although, as stated above, the narrow column-width of C sometimes caused difficulties for the music scribe.


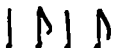
<sup>389</sup> In M12 tr. m. 77, Schrade correctly indicated , although the MSS in this particular spot are neither more nor less clear than they

declamatory rhythm. The original is more forceful and rhythmically vital than Schrade's emendation.

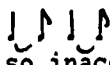
Almost all motets in tempus imperfectum major have an example or two of this declamation pattern. Some motets with several examples include M6 (there are three examples in the mot. mm. 9-11 alone), and M10. In some cases, the two versions are clearly distinguished. The setting  is more common, but examples of  are found in M14, M17, and the opening of M20. In M18 mot. mm. 54-55 both are employed:

   
-me      te    de- cen-

Schrade prints the following:

   
-me    te        de- cen-

Other passages reaffirm the correctness of the text placement in Ludwig's edition, such as M9 tr. mm. 27-29, 42-44, 57-59, 72-74, 87-89, 102-04, 116-18, and 132-34, which are all parallel passages. Ludwig's edition reflects the sources; these passages are all emended by Schrade.<sup>390</sup> And

are in all the other instances in which he prints . Schrade's edition of the motets in F-Pn fr. 146 (PMFC, I) is also inaccurate in this respect.

<sup>390</sup> I thus disagree with the interpretation of Eggebrecht ("Machauts Motette Nr. 9," pp. 181-82). The sources do not divide as tidily as Eggebrecht indicates (Vg, which he could not consult, sides with CGE, making his claim for B superfluous)—there are some inconsistencies, but it seems to me crucially important that the scribe of the early source C went to extra lengths to make the setting clear (fol. 213d, beg. of st. 9). The passage occurs at the beginning of a staff, and the music scribe placed the clef in the margin and the textless semibreve at the edge of the staff so as to overlay the following two consecutive semibreves unambiguously to the text "virgo." The text placement in the parallel passage in the previous three taleae is also quite clear (fol. 213d, st. 2, 4 and 6). Thus, the semibreve at the end of the talea is an example of a textless upbeat, a very common occurrence in the motets. On this manner of text setting, see M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 122, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music."

In M9 mot. mm. 30-32, 45-46, 75-77, 90-92, 105-06, and 136-37, the same holds: correct in Ludwig, emended in Schrade.



despite some inconsistencies, it is clear from the sources that the intent of the text placement in parallel passages in M19 (tr. mm. 27-30, 48-51, 69-72, 90-93, and 111-115), corresponds to Ludwig's edition.<sup>391</sup>

There are occasionally errors in Ludwig's edition because of his application of a dotted tie to some repeated pitches, for example, M6 tr. m. 62 and M13 tr. m. 58. But Schrade was too quick to emend text placement to avoid repeated pitches on a single syllable, for example, M7 mot. mm. 54-55 and M12 mot. mm. 109-110 (on B6, see below). In both cases, Ludwig's text placement is correct.<sup>392</sup>

The same assessment is in general true for the ballades. The Ludwig edition is more accurate; it also indicates the variants in text placement that Ludwig was aware of. One difference between the editions bears on an important stylistic issue. Schrade often eliminated final melismas at cadence points, and placed the final syllable of text below the final note of the phrase.<sup>393</sup> In "Dous amis" [B6], a duplex ballade, Schrade eliminated the three-note melismas found throughout this work (mm. 6 [Schrade ed. mm. 6f], 8 [8f], 10-11 [11f], 12-13 [13f], 19-20 [20f], 21[22], 23-24 [24f], and 25-26 [26f]). Ludwig's text placement follows the MSS.<sup>394</sup> There are in sum

<sup>391</sup> In M19 mot., the passages noted by Ludwig in his critical report as unclear (Musikalische Werke, III, 70) remain problematic: mm. 29 ff, 50 ff, 71 ff, 92 ff.

<sup>392</sup> From a detailed study of the practice in GB-Lbl Add. 57950, M. Bent notes that untexted repeated notes in melismas occur frequently in that repertory. See "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 122, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music."

<sup>393</sup> One of the few such melismas he retained is in "Honte, paour" [B25], clos.

<sup>394</sup> Transcription errors in both editions were corrected by Richard Hoppin, "Notational Licences," MD, 14 (1960), 24. Hoppin's transcription of B6 in his Anthology of Medieval Music (New York, 1978), No. 62, pp. 140-41, however, perpetuates most of Schrade's incorrect text placement. Only the

several ballades with the final syllable of a phrase melismatically extended, both internally and at the final cadence, that are altered in the Schrade edition, enough to give a misrepresentation of a characteristic of Machaut's style that was variable.<sup>395</sup> These include B2 (correct until the end), B6, B9, B10,<sup>396</sup> B12, B15,<sup>397</sup> B16 (this case is ambiguous in the MSS), B19, B20, B33. For the rondeaux, a similar instance can be seen in R5 mm. 10-11 [21-23], and 20-21 [43-45].<sup>398</sup>

Thus, in general, a performing group without access to films of the sources should, if using the Schrade edition, alter the placement of the text syllables to conform to the Ludwig edition. If a performer has access to films of one or more of the sources CAF-GVg, particular care should be taken with the comparison of text placement (or, strictly speaking, of note placement) at the line-endings of each source. In many instances, a setting slightly ambiguous in one source is clarified in another due to the place-

first instance ("-pleint" in Hoppin's m. 6) is correct.

<sup>395</sup> A text correction in MS A bears on this distinction: in B3 (fol. 455r, st. 4), "creature" was changed to "creatu- -re."

Hirschberg's analysis of the text-music relationships in the ballades ("The Music of the Late Fourteenth Century," pp. 63ff), very useful and suggestive otherwise, is occasionally marred merely because he used Schrade's inaccurate edition.

<sup>396</sup> On the interpretation of the clos phrase, see Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600, 5th rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 354. Apel's correction was not taken into Schrade's edition.

<sup>397</sup> Cf. above, n. 348, on B15 C. Special marks guarantee the continuation of the staff for the final melisma.

<sup>398</sup> Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 62-63, discusses text placement at the ends of phrases in GB-Ob 213. Although the scribal practice in the MS varies, he would have all final syllables separated and placed below the last note of the phrase. Even if his analysis is accepted, it should be emphasized that this is a feature of style that was variable in chansons two generations earlier, and further that MSS of two generations earlier were explicit and reliable in their indication of it.

ment of the syllables and notes with respect to the line-ending.

. . . . .

In the discussion above, an attempt has been made to trace some specific characteristics of the copying process in the Machaut MSS. In order to put these MSS in their proper historical perspective, it will be useful to trace something of the history of the copying of musical MSS in the period before and after Machaut.

### THE COPYING OF MSS OF SECULAR MUSIC IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In the latter half of the thirteenth century in France, there were but two categories of secular music, *chanson* and *motet*. The one was a monophonic genre, the other, polyphonic. Generally speaking, the two styles have come down to us in different MSS.<sup>399</sup> In explaining the distinction between the collections, Ludwig stated that

. . . fast überall in dieser Zeit die Sammlungen ein- und mehrstimmig komponierter französischer Lieder (ganz im Gegensatz zu den Sammlungen der lateinischen Lieder), scharf getrennt sind, offenbar weil es sehr verschiedene Kreise waren, die diese beiden sehr verschiedenen Kunstgattungen pflegten. . . .<sup>400</sup>

<sup>399</sup> Cf. Heinrich Bessler, "Studien-II," pp. 139-40: "Von der Handschrift Mo an, die nur noch einen kleinen Faszikel mit Kondukten, Hocketen und dreistimmigen Organa enthält, überliefern alle planmässigen Sammlungen mehrstimmiger Musik ausschliesslich Motetten. . . . Neben diesen Quellen sind nur noch die Trouvèrehandschriften und verwandte geistliche Sammlungen erhalten. . . ." An important modern literary study of the several genres grouped here under "chanson" is Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au moyen âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977). On the motet, see Vol. I, 214-20.

<sup>400</sup> *Repertorium*, I, 2, 569-70. [" . . . at this time, collections of monophonic and polyphonic French songs (in contrast to the collections of Latin songs) are almost universally sharply separated, apparently because very different circles cultivated these two very different art forms. . . ."] See also Poirion, *Le Poète*, p. 163. The little of what is known about these circles is discussed by Bessler, "Studien-II," pp.

A further expression of these "very different circles" is seen in the practice of attributions. Generally speaking, chansonniers contain very complete attributions, while motet collections contain none at all. Even the few collections transmitting both genres uphold this distinction. For instance, in I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvère MS a), the grands chants courtoises are usually attributed twice: once in the index, and again for each individual song. The motets, however, when they appear together in one section, remain unattributed.<sup>401</sup>

184-85, who opts for the sharp line of distinction implied by Grocheo and Jacob de Liège. See also Georg Kuhlmann, Die zweistimmigen französischen Motetten des Kodex Montpellier (Würzburg, 1938), I, 92-96.

Ludwig, "Quellen," n. 2, pp. 284f, lists fourteenth-century sources with mixed genres. The situation for the fourteenth century noticed by Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 528, n. 120 misses the mark: "[the motet's] prestige is attested by the many musical manuscripts that are devoted more or less exclusively to the motet of the thirteenth century; musical sources of the fourteenth century, most of which mix the genres, as a rule place the motets at the beginning." This can be explained on grounds of convenience. Secular pieces, now polyphonic and difficult to plan for, were added in the space left over.

<sup>401</sup> "Es scheint, dass die Komponisten auch der französischen Motette nach wie vor nicht unter den bekannteren Trouvères, sondern in andern Kreisen zu suchen sind, wie z.B. ja auch Adam de la Hale nur eine sehr kleine Zahl von Motetten schrieb" (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 588). The few known names of thirteenth-century motet composers are listed by Ludwig, "Quellen," p. 195, n. 2; the attributions appear in the body of collections that contain both chansons and motets, such as M, T, and a. Where motets are transmitted as a group in separate sections, the attributions are lacking. The few studies of thirteenth-century music that deal with the question of the relationship between the poet-composers of motets and chansons have approached the problem from different directions. Raynaud, Recueil de motets français des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, I (Paris, 1881), xxxii-xxxiii, pointed out some borrowings in texts of nine motets from chansons of nine different troubadours and trouvères; Gennrich, "Trouvèrelieder und Motettenrepertoire," ZMw, 9 (1926-27), 8-39 and 65-85, studied in detail the motets that are transmitted as monophonic chansons, many of which are attributed (only one of these overlaps with Raynaud's group). Some of these trouvères (most notably Richart de Fournival) are known to have been clerics. Almost half of the fourteen names listed between Raynaud and Gennrich can be linked to Arras, recalling a poem (with empty staves for music) mentioned by Ludwig (Repertorium, I, 1, 297), which immediately follows the motet section in F-Pn fr. 12615 (trouvère chansonnier T; Noailles). The poem describes how God came to Arras to learn to write motets. Several

Yet if different circles cultivated the motet and courtly chanson, obvious links relate the genres. One need only recall the pervasive use of refrains from chansons in motet poetry.<sup>402</sup> It is not clear whether the genres were as segregated in practice as they appear from the MSS.<sup>403</sup> In any case, the most efficient means of MS presentation of the two distinct musical styles necessitated a particular format for each. The chanson was exclusively monophonic, and appeared in what was primarily a text MS. To leave space for the musical staff, the scribe needed only to skip two of the ruled text guidelines in the course of copying the words of the first strophe. The remaining strophes then were entered in columns below the specially-formatted first strophe, as in any text MS. Since the settings were monophonic, the songs with their succeeding strophes could be entered without regard to page-turns. The staves were entered later. And finally, the music, when and if it was available, was entered last.<sup>404</sup> The question of

names are listed in the poem (ed. Alfred Jeanroy and Henry Guy, Chansons et dits artésiens du XIIIe siècle [Bordeaux, 1898], 33-34), including some known trouvères.

<sup>402</sup> Cf. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533. A recent bibliography of motets with refrains, more serviceable than Gennrich's Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen, is Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains: du XIIe siècle au début du XIVE (Paris, 1969), pp. 299-312. Hendrik van der Werf, rev. of Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères, ed. by Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, JAMS, 35 (1982), 539-54, emphasizes the problem of the relationship between genres.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. Frank Ll. Harrison, "Tradition and Innovation in Instrumental Usage 1100-1450," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, (New York, 1966), p. 323.

<sup>404</sup> Unfilled staves are commonly met with. It appears likely that the music was not always present in the exemplar, and perhaps the intention was to have the music entered when it became available. H. J. Chaytor, "Publication and Circulation," Chap. 6 of his From Script to Print (Cambridge, 1945), esp. p. 128, discusses questions of "copyright" in this period. Perhaps the author did not want to release the tune, and the place for the music was left blank in the event that someone could later enter it from memory after hearing a performance. This theory is particularly

leaving space for an untexted accompanying voice rarely arose. When it did, the accompanying voice more closely resembled a motet tenor than a fourteenth-century-style chanson tenor, and consisted only of a small number of long note-values, requiring a minimum of space.<sup>405</sup> A more common kind of polyphonic secular song was even simpler to deal with, namely, the three-voice rondeau of Adam de la Halle and others. The three voices are entered "in score" above each line of text. Such a MS was prepared in the same manner as the monophonic chansonniers, by skipping ruling lines of text for the later insertion of the three staves of music.<sup>406</sup>

By contrast, in the motet MS, since all text was set to music, every bit of text written out had to have space left above for the entry of the staff. Sometimes, the MS was ruled with staves before the text was entered. This was possible because there were never any residual text strophes; the accompanying tenor was so short that it could easily be dealt with in the remaining space. The practice in D-W 1206 [W2] was to separate the last syllable of the indication for the tenor, and place it at the end of the allotted space (see Figure 3.21). A different practice is frequently seen in I-F1 Plut. 29.1. There, the last syllable of the tenor indication was often left off completely, with the intention to enter it later, after the full extent

attractive for troubadour MS R (F-Pn fr. 22543); the problem of "copyright" was particularly acute for the troubadours.

<sup>405</sup> In "Die mehrstimmige Musik," p. 35, Ludwig referred to a single chanson in the chansonnier Cangé (F-Pn fr. 846, chansonnier O), fol. 21 [facsimile edition by Jean Beck (Paris and Philadelphia, 1927)], that has a short tenor in long note-values: ". . . freilich zeigt er [der Tenor] in seiner modalen Ausprägung, die dem Modus der Oberstimme einfach folgt, noch einen innigeren Zusammenhang mit dem Motetten-Tenor, der der Ballade des 14. Jahrhunderts durchaus fehlt. . . ." Ludwig went on to speculate that the addition of a simple tenor to chansons of the trouvères may have occurred in performance, but was not notated in the sources.

<sup>406</sup> See n. 307 above.

of the music came into view (see Figure 3.22 and n. 464 below).

Such preruling of staves was not always carried out in practice. Examples in F-MO 196, where staves expand or contract to fit the lengths of the text line (e.g., fols. 216r, 245r) indicate that the entry of the text preceded the ruling of the staves.<sup>407</sup> For D-W 1206, there are clear instances in the motet fascicles proving that the entry of the text preceded the ruling of the staves (see Figure 3.21).

On the other hand, at the opening of the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196 (fol. 350r), residual text for the conductus "Deus in adiutorium" is written on the staves, indicating that they were ruled before the entry of the text. Throughout the rest of the eighth fascicle, the pre-ruled pattern called for staves in two columns, with one continuous staff on the bottom reserved for the tenor. When necessary, other columns were subsequently connected in the middle.

Detailed research remains to be done on this question, but it appears that in thirteenth-century France, the entry of the text determined the layout of both the chansonnier and the motet MS. Practical grounds dictated the most efficient means of notating the genres motet and chanson, each of which had its own MS format. The musical MS ruled with staves from the outset was not common until the fifteenth century, when even deluxe musical MSS such as the small-format chansonniers of the later fifteenth century were so prepared.

<sup>407</sup> The appearance in earlier fascicles of ruled staves at the ends and first rectos of gatherings (e.g., fols. 61v-62v; 63r; 228v-230v) does not necessarily prove the priority of the staves—compare the practice in Machaut MS A (see pp. 188ff above).

145

Dueniam perueniam si ueniam  
 cum oleo quod scitis si cause sciti  
 ut oculis ne ueniam sompni ep delictam. si  
 pcedi ammoniam & uigil aperiam uiam  
 riuu ad f ueniam quam consequor ad gra-  
 si ueniam obuiam ornatu non caues rui-  
 tis regis incholes. Lam  
 epiam.  
 Benedicta regia iugo uenerabilissima  
 Quir. vi. l. uol

iudex amuenens inueniet uisorem coronam  
 cur.  
 D  
 mini pene omis pcedent inauri pcedet  
 uultae reue u iudicij pios ligantur impie ad sol  
 unatur impij nec dant loam uenit si fore puij

Figure 3.21: D-W 1206, fols. 144v-145r



purificat. hinc fuit. unanimes leguas. p. h. e. a. l. r. e. n. t.  
 copiat. hinc in capiat. hinc in a. p. a. l. a. s. d. e. u. a. s. p. h. e. f. i. g. u. r.  
 al. ar. t. e. s. f. i. a. t. u. t. t. o. n. i. l. p. a. r. i. a. s. f. r. u. c. t. u. m. i. n. d. o. c. e. m. In  
**D**o. e. r. n. o. s. h. o. d. i. e. u. a. m. p. r. u. d. e. n. t. i. e. s. t. a. b. i. l. e. x. p. o. u. e. r. t. a. s.  
 et qui luce habuit inaccessibile pelle gra spie domus no  
 as. t. e. d. i. a. r. e. m. e. d. i. a. m. e. r. u. u. s. g. e. n. t. i. b. u. s. i. n. t. u. s. g. e. n. t. i. b. u. s. i. b. u. e.  
 tue gregi pascae da spiritum amonit. ut redit gra. et eli  
 gar. ar. d. u. e. u. e. s. e. n. t. a. s. n. e. f. o. u. i. s. i. t. u. t. u. i. r. o. f. a. t. u. a. s.

uania liquous. et exuncta uasa gemitu uis q. r. e. n. t. i. d. i. c. t. u.  
 i. a. n. c. i. a. n. i. a. i. a. n. i. a. I. g. n. a. r. e. u. o. c. i. s. s. u. p. p. l. i. a. b. p. i. e. r. o. x. g. i. t. e.  
 p. e. c. c. a. t. i. s. p. q. u. e. f. i. g. u. r. a. u. s. t. e. n. e. b. r. a. l. e. r. r. u. i. s. a. d. r. e. s. p. i. r. i. t. u. a. b.  
 d. a. s. p. i. r. i. t. u. p. a. r. a. c. t. a. t. i. c. u. i. u. s. u. n. d. i. o. u. t. u. i. u. s. a. r. t. e. b. u. r. e. t. c. o. r. t. i. s. t. o.  
**D**uo de uirtutibus nos docuit. Deo  
 occat. h. a. c. d. i. e. u. i. a. p. a. r. t. e. f. o. u. i. g. r. e.  
 s. p. e. u. e. u. s. t. e. r. u. n. u. s. u. e. i. h. u. p. i. e. m. e. d. e. s. t. a. t. i. u. a. n. e. s. o. l. u. a. s.  
 e. h. u. m. a. n. e. t. a. r. n. u. l. c. a. r. r. e. r. e. q. u. e. s. u. b. l. e. g. e. u. b. e. t. d. e. g. o.  
 r. e. s. i. n. e. l. i. u. o. t. u. a. d. u. e. r. u. s. h. i. p. s. y. p. r. e. s. u. a. g. e. r. u. m. d. e. t.

Figure 3.22: I-FI Plut. 29.1, fols. 399v-400r

## I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvère chansonnier a)

Motets and chansons were generally transmitted in separate collections. However, certain chansonniers do contain motets, and it will be necessary to consider these apparent exceptions to the rule.<sup>408</sup> The most instructive example is a MS from Arras, trouvère chansonnier a, which comprises an ordered collection of practically all genres of poetry: chansons, pastourelles, motets and rondeaux, chansons to the Virgin, and "partures" (jeux-partis). Motets are not confined to their separate section, however. Other motets occur, usually singly, at the end of groups of chansons by individual trouvères.

Virtually all the motets are incomplete. Of the total of seventeen motets, the music was copied for only six; none of the seventeen appears with its tenor. In the section devoted exclusively to motets and rondeaux, only two of the seven motets include space and indications for the tenor, and one of these is incorrect.<sup>409</sup> Even the three motets that do appear with more than a single voice cannot be performed polyphonically due to text omissions and errors.<sup>410</sup> Although two of the stylistically later motets were copied from a mensural source, the notation was badly corrupted by the scribe of a.<sup>411</sup> Turning to the ten motets scattered throughout the collection of chan-

<sup>408</sup> F-Pn fr. 25566, the complete collection of the works of Adam de la Halle, along with texts by many other authors, was mentioned in Chap. 1, pp. 23f. It is ruled throughout as a text MS, which allows any genre to be copied, whether monophonic chanson, three-voice rondeau, or motet.

<sup>409</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 578-79, 588 (siglum V). Ludwig summarized his findings on MS a in "Quellen," p. 208.

<sup>410</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569; 588-89.

<sup>411</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569; 579-588. In other instances, even

sons, music was entered for only two. All are incomplete in that text for only one voice was copied; there are no tenor indications, not even blank spaces were left for their tenors.

Besides these peculiarities, the scribe shows a lack of understanding or interest in the physical layout of the motet. Although the collection of the repertory must date at the earliest from the time of the seventh fascicle of F-MO 196,<sup>412</sup> the mise en page recalls an earlier usage: triplum and motetus are not notated in columns but are written one after the other, as in the motet collections in D-W 1206 and I-F1 Plut. 29.1. Moreover, the pages are not uniformly laid out. The variable number of staves per page (normally eleven, but anywhere from eight to twelve appear), and the variable number of lines per staff (4-6) are irregularities of a degree not met with in pure motet collections. Finally, the original index shows a further anomaly. Instead of listing the three-voice motets by their motetus voices, both triplum and motetus are listed—as if the scribe were unaware that the two voices were meant to sound together.

Given the poor state of the motet in a, it is necessary to ask why motets were included at all in the MS. Ludwig's presentation of the disposition of the contents of the MS in relation to the gathering structure provides us with the key. The MS comprises twenty-five gatherings, plus an unfoliated binio at the front containing the index, and an added, likewise unfoliated, defective quaternion after gathering XIX.<sup>413</sup> Gatherings XX through XXV con-  
  
stylistically later motets appear in non-mensural (square) notation.

<sup>412</sup> Given the number of works of Adam de la Halle, as well as a concordance with a motet in the seventh fascicle of F-MO 196, see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569 and 589.

<sup>413</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 272. This added gathering contains text only, except for a chanson entered at the very end of the gathering, with

tain the section of jeux-partis, which includes no motets. For our purposes, then, only gatherings I-XIX are of interest.

Outside their own section, the motets (and in some instances a rondeau or ballade) occur only as additions at ends of collections of chansons of the individual poets, sometimes corresponding to ends of gatherings. Thus, they occur only at major dividing points in the MS. In a, all major divisions begin on rectos. It is here that the large miniatures signaling the opening of each important trouvère's collection were painted (a vandal has cut many of these out). In a sense, then, the motets (and rondeaux as well) function merely as space fillers, preventing an unsightly gap before the beginning of the following section.<sup>414</sup> And it is not difficult to see why the motet should have been chosen to serve in this way: the motet (and, in a, the rondeau and the ballade) has no residual text, and thus in practical terms is the only form that can fill a small space in the MS.<sup>415</sup>

room for staves. No staves or music were entered. A detailed, gathering-by-gathering discussion is found in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 573-82.

<sup>414</sup> At the smaller level, this horror vacui, the mark of a professional scribe, is expressed by the use of decorative line-finishings. Each successive strophe of the residual texts of the chansons begins on a new line, and the space left at the end of the preceding line is decorated. A striking contrast in the general appearance of chansonniers a and M [F-Pn fr. 844, chansonnier du Roi] is evident: in M, spaces were also left before each new section, and these were later used for quite extensive additions over a long period of time. The scribe of chansonnier a carefully filled-in such blank spaces.

<sup>415</sup> Each of the eight lines of each rondeau in MS a is entered with its music above, leaving no residual text. The ballade at the end of gathering IV (fol. 32v, Rayn. 1602) lacks its final four strophes. There are a few examples of strophic motets (in the sense of setting a new stanza of poetry to the same music, not in the sense of the small-scale verse structure of the text), see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 514 and nn. 57-61. See also n. 441 below.

The general procedure of copying was as follows. Chansons were entered for each trouvère. If they did not fill a gathering, the songs of another could begin in the middle of a gathering, but only on a fresh recto. The scribe later went back and filled-in the resulting spaces by means of convenient forms—the single motet voice or the rondeau. In some cases, there was enough space for the later insertion of a whole chanson (to be sure, one not connected with the preceding group) or, in one instance, two motets. The extended section of motets and rondeaux in a sense serves the same purpose, to fill-in space before the new gathering of chansons to the Virgin. The motet was thus chosen for purely material considerations. In addition, the different genre may have served to help "articulate" the new division in the MS. (This function was, of course, primarily fulfilled by the miniatures, which always appeared on rectos).<sup>416</sup> Table 3.2 serves to summarize the function of the internal motets in MS a.<sup>417</sup>

No room or indication was left for the entry of the tenor in these internal motets. Indeed, according to the rubric at the head of each section of the index, they are all "canchons." The motet at the end of gathering X (Rayn. 498) attributed to "Maistre Richars" (Richard de Fournival) is notable for its extra strophes. According to Ludwig (Repertorium, I, 1, 208 and I, 2, 588), it is a chanson made into a motet (ed. Gennrich, "Trouvère-Lieder," pp. 16-20). The "chanson" at the end of gathering XIII (Rayn. 1736) is also somewhat ambiguous as to genre: "Der Text ist..sonst nicht nachweisbar. Da 5 Strophen hier überliefert sind, ist der Text wohl eine Chanson, keine Motette."

<sup>416</sup> It is possible that this "articulative" function is also a primary one for the motets in F-Pa 3517-3518 (Ars B, Gautier MS D). Music marks major divisions between sections of this book; it is a means of finding one's place in the MS. A similar situation for the Italian trecento source I-Fn 26 is reported by Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," pp. 180-81. French works articulate genre separations in the original layout of the MS. Richard H. Hoppin, The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9, CMM, XXI/4, vii, notes the use of a canon to end a gathering in I-Tn 9 and I-MOe 5.24.

<sup>417</sup> The table is based on information in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 573-81, which see for details of gathering structure and folios presently cut out.

(Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 577; and cf. p. 573).

The works listed in the Table as lacking in the index were not necessarily late additions to the MS. Ludwig indicates that the script is that of the main hand, and the initials are of the same size, with the exception of only two rondeaux, one at the end of gathering XII, and one forming the internal division in gathering XVII before the pastourelles begin. These works are either an oversight on the part of the index writer, or else these pieces were added to the MS after the index was copied and before the entry of the initials, that is, when the work of copying was practically over (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 573). (It is not at all apparent from the film that the motet on fol. 40v and the chanson on fol. 98v were added to the index, as stated in Repertorium, I, 2, 573, 575, 577.) In any event, the filling-in of the gatherings can be seen as part of a specific plan in the preparation of the MS.

Folio numbers are given according to the old Roman foliation at top center recto.

TABLE 3.2

## The Distribution of Motets in Chansonnier a

Gath.	Location of motets
I	Fifteen chansons of the Roi de Navare entirely fill the gathering.
II	Motet at end (fol. 16v), following the chansons of the Chastelain de Couci and Gautier de Dargies. No music, not in index.
III	Motet at end (fol. 24v) following chansons of several trouvères. No music, not in index (same motet appears with music in the separate motet collection).
IV	Ballade at end (fol. 32v) following the chansons of several trouvères. First strophe only; music added in a different hand; not in index.
V	Motet at end (fol. 40v), following the chansons of Guillaume li Vinier. No music, in index.
VI	Chansons overlap with gathering VII.
VII	Motet (fol. 50v) attrib. to "Mounios" [Monoit d'Arras] as an internal division before the chansons of Adam de la Halle. With music, in index.
VIII	Rondeau (fol. 60v) attrib. to Adam at end, after group of twenty of his chansons. With music, in index.
IX	Chansons overlap with gath. X. Motet at end (fol. 60v), attrib. to "Maistre Richars" [Richart de Fournival]. Has two residual strophes; not in index.
XI	Two successive motets (fol. 82v) as internal division following the chansons of Colart le Boutellier. Neither with music, both in index. The following chansons overlap with gath. XII.
XII	Rondeau at end (fol. 92v). Text and music added later in a different hand. Not in index.
XIII	Otherwise unknown chanson at end (fol. 98v), with four residual strophes. No music, in index.
XIV	Motet at end (fol. 106v). Unattributed in codex, but by Adam de la Halle. According to index, could be taken as a work of Gillebert de Berneville. No music.

- XV Chansons overlap with gath. XVI.
- XVI Motet enté (fol. 113v) as internal division before the chansons of Martin le Beguin de Cambrai. Attributed in codex to "Maistre Richars"; no music, in index.  
Chanson (fol. 116v) as internal division before the chansons of Jehan Erart d'Arras, with four residual strophes, fills gath. to end of verso. Not in index.
- XVII Rondeau (fol. 123v) as internal division at the end of the collection of chansons. Text and music added later in a different hand. Not in index. Pastourelles begin, continue in gath. XVIII.
- XVIII Section of pastourelles ends cleanly on a verso, section of seven motets, nine rondeaux and a virelai begins (fol. 131r). Rondeau section opens with attribution to Guillaume d'Amiens Paignour (not in index). Last rondeau of the section not in the index, only the beginning copied by the main scribe; the rest of the text and all of the music in a different hand.
- XIX 15 Chancons de Nostre Dame. Motet at end (fol. 144v), no music, in index.
- XIXbis Added after gath. XIX (all text), at end a chanson to fill out the gath. No staves or music. Same chanson appears in gath. XIII with chansons of Guillaume d'Amiens.

The chansonniers F-Pn fr. 844 (M) and F-Pn fr. 12615 (T), F-Pn fr. 845 (N) and GB-Ob 308 (I)

Because of the extensive overlap in their contents, chansonniers M (Roi) and T (Noailles) may be considered together.<sup>418</sup> Both contain separate motet collections, and in each case these form separate fascicles.<sup>419</sup> As was the case

<sup>418</sup> M has 375 concordances with T, according to Jean and Louise Beck, Le Manuscrit du Roi: fonds français No. 844 de la Bibliothèque nationale (Philadelphia, 1938), II, 12.

<sup>419</sup> In M, the motet fascicle is a single quaternion, now lacking one folio (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 286). Fol. 210a marks the end of the original motet section, to which later additions were made. In T, the larger motet section fills two quaternions (179-86; 187-94), plus the beginning of a third (fols. 195-202; fol. 197 is the last folio of motets, which is followed by later additions of poetry (some with empty staves, cf. end of n. 401 above).



with a, the motets in M and T are transmitted anonymously, even though attributions for the chansons in these codices are quite complete.<sup>420</sup> The transmission of the motets again leaves much to be desired. By and large, the reasons that held for chansonnier a are valid here as well. To some extent in T, and to a far greater extent in M, the motets are imperfectly transmitted in that the musical notation of the tenor voice is either incomplete, corrupt, or entirely lacking, though at least the indication of the name of the voice may be present.<sup>421</sup> This last characteristic indicates that greater care was given to the copying of motets in M and T than in a, where space generally was not even left for the tenor. However, even though the attempt was made, the tenors are incompletely notated in over twenty instances.<sup>422</sup> Most often, the rhythmic notation of the tenors is corrupt as well.

There are points of contact between these motets and the earlier stages of the development of this form, nevertheless 51 of the 91 works in T (27 of the 48 works in the original corpus of M) are unica. The majority of the unique works are those involving the use of refrains, such as the rondeau

<sup>420</sup> There are four exceptions, in some (presumed) motet voices scattered throughout the chanson collections of M and T, see Repertorium, I, 1, 335-36, and below. These four works are monophonic, without tenor, but with attributions. They do not have the space-filling function of the motets added to chansonnier a.

<sup>421</sup> Ludwig Repertorium, I, 1, 302. The music for the tenor is lacking in M for 17 of the 39 extant motets. In T, there are five cases where no room was left for the tenor, and five others with space left, of which two have no tenor indication, but no voice was ever entered (thus, notes are lacking for 10 of the 91 motets). On the general problem of the notation of tenors in French motets, see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 206 (cited in Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533).

<sup>422</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 287-97 enumerates the individual examples.

motets,<sup>423</sup> works with clearer connections to the circles of chanson writers.

The motets are entered in a disposition that often precludes performance from the MS. This is characteristic of the earliest motet collections, and was not shared by motet MSS contemporary with M and T. Ludwig's discussion of the notation and disposition of voices in motets might be recalled.<sup>424</sup> The tenors of the six Latin motets transmitted in D-W 677 were not copied with their tenors. Either the tenor could be sought in the section of organa, or had to be remembered for performance. The notation served to record the work, which however was not intended to be performed from the notation in the MS.<sup>425</sup> Likewise for the early group of MSS, performance is rendered impossible from the disposition of the music in the MSS. The tenor was usually notated at the end, while the upper voices followed each other in the MS, ". . . unbekümmert darum, ob die gleichzeitig vorzutragenden Stimmen auch von dem oder den Vortragenden gleichzeitig zu übersehen sind."<sup>426</sup> In other words, succeeding voices could extend across recto-verso

<sup>423</sup> See the conclusions of Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 298-301 and 304-05, that the repertoire of M and T "nur ein Nebenzweig der Entwicklung bildet" (p. 305); also "Quellen," p. 190. Ludwig's assessment of chansonnier a is in Repertorium, I, 2, 569-70. On rondeau-motets, see Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen, I, 15-23 [Nos. 28-35]; II, 20-28.

<sup>424</sup> Repertorium, I, 1, 301.

<sup>425</sup> Sanders asserts that these works in D-W 677 are "particularly revealing of the early tendency to view motets as conducti. . ." ("The Medieval Motet," p. 515), and rejects Ludwig's position: "W1 does not recognize the motet as a species; Ludwig's argument that the tenors were added from the fourth fascicle or from memory (Repertorium, 501) seems most improbable" ("The Medieval Motet," p. 515, n. 63). Early motets apparently viewed as "conducti" in E-Mn 20486 [Ma] are discussed in Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533, n. 143. The question of the incomplete notation in D-W 677 is taken up again on p. 540 and n. 176.

<sup>426</sup> [" . . . unconcerned as to whether the voices to be performed simultaneously are also simultaneously visible to the performer or performers"] (Repertorium, I, 1, 301). I-F1 Plut. 29.1, D-W 1206 and D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4775 [MüA] and the chansonniers M and T are the MSS listed by Ludwig.

page turns. In later MSS, whatever sounded simultaneously in performance was notated so that it was simultaneously visible in the MS, though the details of voice-disposition differ.<sup>427</sup> With M and T, it appears that the main interest of the collector or scribe was the upper voices of the motets with their French texts.<sup>428</sup>

. . . . .

Distinct copying practices characterize each of the chansonniers. The copyist of M was generous with parchment. As in a, the tendency was to begin copying the works of each new trouvère at the head of a recto—at the top of the first column for important or well-born figures, and mid-column for those of second order.<sup>429</sup> The scribe was apparently unconcerned at the resulting waste of parchment. Indeed the notation of the MS shows an unusual freedom in this respect; occasionally, a folio was added to a gathering to allow the entry of a small remaining text residuum, in order to complete the last chanson of a group.<sup>430</sup> Thus, the scribe went to unusual lengths to

<sup>427</sup> F-MO 196, F-Pn lat. 11266 [Ψ], D-BAs Lit. 115 [Ba], and I-Tr Vari 42 [Tu] are listed by Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 301. Sanders discusses the change from performance by memory to performance by reading in "The Medieval Motet," p. 508, n. 42. Performance was first possible from the MSS D-BAs Lit. 115, E-BULh [Las Huelgas], and the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196. Whether or not the MSS were actually performed from is still a debated question. See, for instance, Nino Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony Apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, N.J., 1968), p. 126, on the relation of the written work to performance. To some extent the point is moot, however, in that the change to a MS that is consciously copied so that it nevertheless could be performed from is a significant development.

<sup>428</sup> Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 301 and 304, §2. The chansonniers contain only French and Provençal texts.

<sup>429</sup> See Beck, *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, I, x. Beck rearranged the order of the trouvères to reflect the hierarchical ordering; cf. the objections of Hans Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du Roi," *Romanische Forschungen*, 57 (1943), 41 and *et passim*.

<sup>430</sup> Beck, *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, II, 3-4. Cf. the remarks of Spanke,

complete each group of works as a separate unit. Perhaps the blank space was to allow for subsequent entry of further works by a given trouvère, as they became available. Of course the blank space was tempting to subsequent owners or users of the MS, and a large number of additions to the corpus, unrelated to the original contents, were made by various later hands.<sup>431</sup> In chansonnier M, as in a, the primary "articulation" (that is, the setting-off of each succeeding section of chansons) of the works of each trouvère is the appearance of a new miniature usually at the head of the new section, set off by a preceding blank space.<sup>432</sup> In a, such blanks were scrupulously filled-in by works of a convenient size, mostly motets and rondeaux. This usage may have been foreign to the scribe of M, or perhaps the space was purposefully left for the eventual entry of further chansons.

In chansonnier T, the scribe wished to conserve parchment. This may also explain the unusual format, in long lines, rather than columns.<sup>433</sup> The problem of "articulation" encountered by the scribes of a and M never arose.<sup>434</sup>

. . . . .

"Der Chansonnier," p. 40.

<sup>431</sup> On the later additions, see the discussions by Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 2, 621-26, and "Quellen," p. 213. Spanke, "Der Chansonnier," pp. 92-102, cites more recent literature and editions.

<sup>432</sup> As in MS a, each succeeding strophe of text residua in MS M begins at the edge of the column and painted line-finishings decorate the blanks.

<sup>433</sup> Only fols. 199-223, mostly containing only text, are in a two-column format.

<sup>434</sup> A possible exception is Motet No. 1 in T, fol. 61v. This motet contains only one strophe, and occurs immediately before a lai. As in other instances, the proximity of the motets and lais in chansonniers may be due to their similar disposition on the page; neither normally has residual stanzas of text.

Only two other MSS contain separate motet sections: F-Pn fr. 845 (chansonnier N) and the text MS GB-Ob Douce 308 (chansonnier I).<sup>435</sup> In N, all fifteen are motets entés, i.e., are based on refrains. The majority of the sixty-four motets in I, a text MS, are also so constructed. In chansonnier N, the motets again form a group at the end of the MS, although they do not begin a new gathering (fol. 184b).

Like the other motet sections in chansonniers, the one in N is anomalous. With respect to their musical transmission, all the motets are monophonic and unica in N. The only known concordances (4 of the 15) occur with the text MS I.<sup>436</sup>

Due to a lacuna, the original extent of the motet collection in N has been unknown. Although the folios in this part of the MS have been transposed, it appears possible to reconstruct the original structure of the MS, assuming that all leaves are bifolia. A single leaf was lost between fols. 189 and 186, and a single bifolio 187-188, originally at the end of the MS, was moved up to fill the incomplete gathering. Other bifolia were folded backwards in order to make what appeared to be a logical order of pieces.<sup>437</sup>

<sup>435</sup> These collections are described in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 305-13.

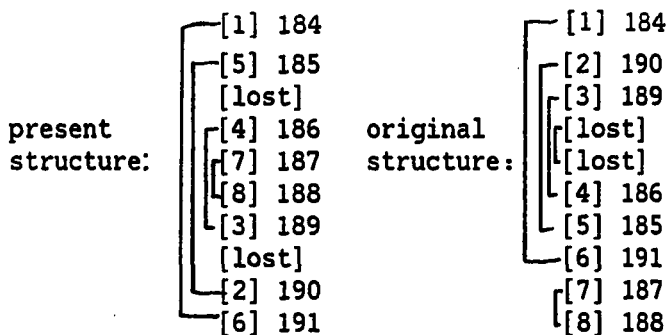
<sup>436</sup> The motet-rondeau section in I (which is apparently not a part of the original conception, since it is not listed in the index, nor does it have a separate rubric) is far more comprehensive than the motet section of N, containing works from all periods of the development (see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 308 and I, 2, 586f). Even so, 44 of the 64 texts in I are unica.

<sup>437</sup> If the correct order of folios (184, 190, 189 [lacuna after 189 and before 186]; 186, 185, 191, 187, 188), which can be ascertained because of the overlapping of works on succeeding folios (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 306), is assigned the numerical sequence 1, 2, 3; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, then the order of folios in the present misbinding becomes 1, 5 (gap before 4); 4, 7, 8, 3 (gap after 3); 2, 6. An original structure is then easily posited. Schematically, this can be represented as follows:

If, as appears likely, only the center bifolio of the gathering is lacking, then no complete lai is lost, only the opening of the lai finishing on fol. 186.<sup>438</sup> Thus, at most, one or two motets may be lost. Indeed, it is not unlikely that only the end of the motet beginning on fol. 189v is missing, along with the beginning of the lai that finishes on fol. 186. A single bifolio ends the MS, accommodating the end of the third lai, the relatively short note, and a final motet voice (again, no tenor is notated). This final motet (not a motet enté), copied on fol. 188d, functions to fill-in the space to the end of the MS, in a manner comparable to the practice in *chansonnier a*.

Among the other *chansonniers*, only a small number of motets are transmitted. All of these are unusual in that they are monophonic and attributed to composers in the sources; most are transmitted with several strophes.<sup>439</sup> Their locations in the MSS do not appear to have any significance for the "articulation" of the contents.

In sum, the manner in which the "motets" are transmitted in the *chansonniers* poses a problem.<sup>440</sup> Given the lack of musical concordances or tenor



<sup>438</sup> The other three lais each require more than one folio each (this figure is for the note—the lais proper each require more than two folios), thus most of the missing bifolio would have been taken by the lai that presently finishes on fol. 186.

<sup>439</sup> See Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 336-37.

<sup>440</sup> See Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 301: "Gewiss sind oft die

indications in N and I, even the assignment of these pieces to the genre "motet" is tenuous.<sup>441</sup> Thus, only in rare exceptions was what one might loosely term a "motet" taken into a chansonnier, and the firm distinction between the polyphonic motet collection and the monophonic chansonnier was strictly upheld in the thirteenth century.

### THE COPYING OF MUSICAL MSS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Between the latter part of the thirteenth century and the latter part of the fifteenth century, the procedures followed by French scribes in copying music changed. The turnabout in the steps followed by scribes—the order in which the notes and words were entered—has not been carefully studied from a chronological standpoint, although in recent years important studies of individual MSS have been made.<sup>442</sup>

Motetus-Stimmen auch isoliert vorgetragen worden; dass das aber nicht häufig stattfand, zeigt deutlich der Umstand, dass nur in ganz wenigen Sammlungen französischer Motetten die T[enor].-Aufzeichnung oder wenigstens die T.-Bezeichnung fehlen. . . ."

<sup>441</sup> "Welches die musikalische Originalform der nur 1st. oder ohne Melodien überlieferten Werke ist, die ich im folgenden im Anschluss an G. Raynaud vermutungsweise als Motetten hier nenne, ist vorläufig unbekannt" (Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 335-36). See also Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533: "Just as the earliest motets were at times misunderstood as *conducti*, motets, frequently studded with refrains, were now regarded as *chansons*." In this connection he cites Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," *AcM* 4 (1932), 10n., who observed that the opening of the two-voice motets in D-W 1206 has an illumination of a solo singer—the tenor was thus possibly regarded as dispensable (see above, Figure 3.21). Cf. also Sanders, p. 533, on instances in which motets were adapted into strophic songs, and n. 147. Ludwig argued (*Repertorium*, I, 2, 305-06) that since some motets in the text chansonnier I appear elsewhere as parts of polyphonic motets, and since all theorists agree that the motet is a polyphonic form (the rubrics in the MSS name the works in these sections as "motets"), then all may be considered incomplete; thus, that all motets entés in MS N and all texts in MS I have unidentified tenors.

<sup>442</sup> See the works cited in n. 282 above. Working from the practice of the later fifteenth century, the problem of texting is treated by David Fallows in the introduction to his forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of

The "text underlay" in the works of Machaut is extremely clear, because the text was not actually underlaid to the music. Rather, the music was "overlaid"—entered above the syllables of text, which had been laid out in advance. Before the fifteenth century, the problem of "text underlay" rarely occurs in the way it is understood by many modern music historians.<sup>443</sup>

Early discussions of the problem by music historians of this century have used the term "text underlay," which incorrectly implies that decisions of syllabic division were to be made by a scribe apportioning the text below the music. For instance, Ludwig discussed the matter in his review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensuralnotation. He thought the principles of "Textunterlage" unclear for certain genres of fourteenth-century music, including many of the hocket passages in Machaut's and later motets, Machaut's rondeaux, all fourteenth-century French music after Machaut, and a few genres of Italian works. For other genres, including the Fauvel motets, later motets aside from the hocket passages, Machaut's ballades and virelais, as well as the vast majority of Italian works, the principles are clear, just as the text underlay for all music from before 1300 is strictly regulated.<sup>444</sup> Those genres or sections of works in which the relationship

Jean de Montchenu, F-Pn Rothschild 2973 (Cordiforme).

<sup>443</sup> See n. 294 above.

<sup>444</sup> Ludwig rev. of Wolf, pp. 627-28: "Aus den Wolf'schen Uebertragungen muss man den Schluss ziehen, dass Wolf über die Prinzipien der Textunterlage der damaligen Zeit zu keiner Klarheit gekommen ist. Für viele Gattungen der Kunst des 14. Jahrhunderts ist das allerdings auch unmöglich; dazu gehören viele hoquetierende Abschnitte in Machault's und den späteren Motetten, Machault's Rondeaux, die ganze französische Kunst nach Machault und einige Gattungen italienischer Werke. Für die anderen, also Fauvel-Motetten, die späteren Motetten abgesehen von den hoquetierenden Abschnitten, Machault's Balladen und Virelais und die ganz überwiegende Zahl der italienischen Werke, liegen diese Prinzipien aber klarer zu Tage, ebenso wie die



between the notes of music and the syllables of text was indicated as doubtful by Ludwig are precisely the cases in which extended melismas are involved. Given the clarity of the relationship of notes to words in some of the Machaut MSS (e.g., C), it appears likely that this composer actually indicated the exact setting of syllables even in the hocket sections of his motets. Doubtful passages are due to inaccurate copying (which, as we have seen, may mean infelicitous prior copying of the text). As for the rondeaux, this is a genre characterized by the longest melismas and the loosest relationship between the text and the music. Indeed, it is arguable that one of Machaut's basic contributions to musical style, fruitful in later developments, was precisely this highly melismatic setting of text practiced in certain genres in his mature style period.

In recent discussions of text underlay, the subject has been viewed from the standpoint of the late fifteenth or sixteenth century back to earlier centuries. Some Renaissance music historians have held that for pre-Renaissance music, relationships between word and tone represent a state of chaos that was gradually put in order during the fifteenth and sixteenth century.<sup>445</sup> In many sources of the fifteenth century, including the large collections I-Bc 15 and especially GB-Ob 213, the relationship between text

Textunterlage der gesamten Kunst vor 1300 streng geregelt ist."

<sup>445</sup> Cf., for instance, Don Harrán, "In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest Writing on Text Underlay (c. 1440)," *AcM*, 50 (1978), 217-40. It cannot be denied that some medieval music displays a rather loose treatment of our concept of proper declamation. Concerning the thirteenth-century motet of the style of Petrus de Cruce, Sanders notes that the "declamation, whose concern with prosody is anything but vital, is rapid in the triplum . . ." ("The Medieval Motet," p. 562). But the actual correlation between the text and the notes is always absolutely clear. M. Bent has studied the problem of text declamation in early fifteenth century sources in "Text Setting in Sacred Music" (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, 1980, forthcoming). Some specific examples from GB-Lbl Add. 57950 are given in "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 117-19.

and music is often clearly indicated. Indeed, it appears that in many cases the text was entered first, which is, as we have seen, the prerequisite for a clear indication of the relationship between text syllables and notes.

A closer look at some fifteenth-century collections will provide an overview of problems peculiar to the musical sources of that century. A detailed study is desirable; here, it will be possible only to sketch some preliminary observations.

### Some Remarks on Gb-Ob 213 (Ox)

Indigenous French sources are largely lacking from the first third of the fifteenth century.<sup>446</sup> The large collections from that period, GB-Ob 213, I-Bc 15, and I-Bu 2216, contain primarily music by French composers, though they were copied in northern Italy. For the purposes of this brief introduction to the problem, it will be sufficient to confine our comments largely to the collection that was thoroughly studied by Hans Schoop, GB-Ob 213.<sup>447</sup> Schoop expressly states that the notes are entered over the text in the MS,<sup>448</sup> though he retains the term "Textunterlegung," which makes for some confusion.

<sup>446</sup> Cf. "Sources, MS, §IX, 4," New Grove, XVII, 678.

<sup>447</sup> See his Entstehung und Verwendung. A thoroughgoing study of the MS I-Bc 15 by M. Bent is in preparation.

<sup>448</sup> Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 62: "In einigen Fällen erfolgte auch aus Platzgründen keine genaue Textunterlegung, oder richtiger ausgedrückt, die Noten wurden nicht mehr über die entsprechenden Worte gesetzt." Compare p. 88, however, where he states that the notes are stretched out so that the syllables can be carefully placed under the notes. It should be emphasized that one of Schoop's major contributions is his presentation of paleographical evidence that text and music for the entire MS, copied over an extended period, were entered by a single scribe.

In general, the setting of the text in the MS is careful, even to the extent that lines ["Textzuordnungsstriche"] clarifying the relationship of notes and syllables of text were added in many places.<sup>449</sup> The spacing of notes makes it clear that the general practice was to enter the words first.

Some stylistic features that are not found in Machaut's works characterize the secular music in GB-Ob 213 and in other MSS of the first third of the fifteenth century. Frequently, secular works open with a melismatic section, devoid of text. Texted portions of musical works had long been prefaced by a large initial, but one would expect that in these instances the piece is to begin with a text syllable. When this was not the intention, the text-music relationship appears ambiguous.<sup>450</sup> But by the early fifteenth century, the untexted opening melisma had become a very common stylistic feature and with it a new manner of presentation in the MSS is occasionally seen. The initial is now clearly set in, and the textless nature of the opening melisma is unequivocal.<sup>451</sup>

<sup>449</sup> See the discussion by Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 61-63, and my n. 363 above. A few of his examples are available in facsimile: fol. 69v in Stainer, Dufay and His Contemporaries (London, 1898), Pl. 5, and fol. 77v in Jean Marix, Les Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle (1420-1467) (Paris, 1937), frontispiece.

<sup>450</sup> There are questions already in the eighth fasc. of F-MO 196 (fol. 392v), at the opening of "Balam inquit" (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 561, No. 340). The opening melisma is set to "Ba-," but the text syllable is repeated when the texted portion begins. The same practice occurs in other motets in this fascicle (cf. No. 322, Figure 3.3). On fol. 395v, at the opening of "Virginis eximie/Nostra salus" (Repertorium, I, 2, 563, No. 343), the letters "os" were erased at the opening of the melisma, leaving only the initial "N." The texted portion then begins with the full word "Nostra." Such situations were also ambiguous in the works of Machaut, for example, the opening of the Credo, ten. and ct. (p. 180 and Figure 3.5 above). (Of course the same copying practice is seen in English MSS for rondellus compositions.)

For I-Tn 9, see Richard H. Hoppin, The Cypriot-French Repertory, CMM, XXI/4, ix. Five of the 102 ballades, seven of the 43 rondeaux, and five of the 21 virelais in this repertory have a textless opening melisma.

Q'noys de may s'oyons lys z. joyeuz  
 e. chymies d'ans l'ens  
 de no'ostons ma'n.oly e. ch'ios d'ans l'ens' humanis ch'ies  
 e. p' d'ans l'ens' cas filons en may

Q'noys de may s'oyons lys z. joyeuz  
 e. chymies d'ans l'ens  
 de no'ostons ma'n.oly

Figure 3.23: F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fols. 103v-104r

Guillaume de Machaut

C'eour deluy vouldray' poie mener / chanter dancier & mener  
 siere lie. pour maintenir la costume noble / q'ay amas font toyz de garder.

C'eour deluy vouldray' poie mener / chanter dancier & mener siere lie.  
 pour maintenir la costume noble / q'ay amas font toyz de garder.

D'interior. C'eour deluy vouldray' poie mener / chanter dancier & mener siere lie.  
 pour maintenir la costume noble / q'ay amas font toyz de garder.

*Et si par certain tant me vouldray' porter / q' je puisse avoir nouvelle amice / C'est ad.  
 de la quelle je puisse presenter / car je ne puis en avoir plus de celle / que dieu  
 m'a donnée / de ma part / que je ne puis plus attendre /*

S'interior.  
 Demande noble venue / je la long temps q' ne ay / diez si j'ay plus vostre amy.  
 plus de vostre / venue &

D'interior.

Figure 3.24: GB-Ob 213, fol. 17r

Questions concerning textless performance of melismas at internal cadences can also usually be answered unequivocally from the layout of the music and text in the source. As Schoop has made clear, the point where the texting of the double lines in ballades breaks off indicates when the passages are intended as textless ("instrumental") transitions.<sup>452</sup>

Finally, there is the question of whether the final syllable of text was sung before the final melisma, which was then a textless extension, or whether the penultimate syllable was sung to the final melisma, with the final syllable occurring on the last note. Schoop observes that if there is a short melisma, the "text underlay" is either exact, or lines are drawn to clarify the relationship. If there is a long melisma, the practice seems to change, depending upon the age of the fascicle. In the older fascicles five through eight, but then often again in the fourth and first fascicles (the youngest according to Schoop), the last syllable is separated and "set

<sup>451</sup> In the fifteenth-century section of F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, the initials are clearly set in, indicating that the opening melismas are textless. This last section of F-Pn n.a.f. 6771 has music very clearly overlaid to text. One has the impression that even if the scribe's exemplar was unclear, he was determined to leave a single solution to text placement in his MS (Figure 3.23). In GB-Ob 213, the initial is usually at the head of the piece, e.g., the Rond. of Dufay "Ce jour de l'an," fol. 17r (Figure 3.24), or the following work, the Dufay Rond. "Ce moy de may," fol. 17v. The text placement in ten. and ct. is clear because the voice indications take up the space of the melisma. Each MS indication of such a situation should be unambiguous in an edition of the work. Performance suggestions made by the editor remain open; what is clear is that the opening melisma was intended to be performed so that it was textless.

Vocalization of wordless passages (in this case, lower voices) was urged by Frank Harrison, "Tradition and Innovation," pp. 328-29. Evidence of this practice has been adduced by Christopher Page, "Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music: Voices or Instruments in the 14th-Century Chanson," *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 484-91, by Margaret Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music," and by David Fallows, "Specific Information on the Performance of Sacred Polyphony, 1400-1474," a paper presented 2 Oct. 1981 at the New York University conference "Expanding Horizons for Research into Performance Practice" (Proceedings forthcoming).

<sup>452</sup> Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 63.

under" the last note of the phrase.<sup>453</sup> In the second and third fascicles, chronologically at about the midpoint in the copying history of the codex, the syllable is divided relatively less often. According to Schoop, this situation does not depend on the original source. The scribe is careful enough in the setting of the text, however, that one might suggest that the stylistic distinctions in the music should be maintained.<sup>454</sup>

The practice of entering text first throws some light on the question of partial texting—that is, short stretches of primarily syllabic texting occurring within an otherwise textless lower voice.<sup>455</sup> Partial texting often

<sup>453</sup> Cf. n. 464 below.

<sup>454</sup> "Sicherlich ist die Schlussilbe auch dort, wo sie nicht vom Wortstamm getrennt steht, entsprechend den exakt notierten Beispielen, unter die letzte Note der Phrase zu setzen, d.h. das Melisma ist in den meisten Fällen auf der vorletzten Silbe auszuführen. . ." (p. 63). Schoop notes further that in those cases where there are rests before the final syllable, it is possible that the continuation is "instrumental" (i.e., textless): "Ist das Melisma einer Phrase aber durch Pausen oder Kadenzten unterteilt, so ist die Fortsetzung ebensogut instrumental denkbar. . ." (p. 63). In support of Schoop is the Dufay rond. "Bon jour bon an," copied with the final syll. separated in F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC II], fols. 52v-53r, but written as one word in GB-Ob 213, fol. 44v, and F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC III], fol. 64r (cf. above, n. 398).

<sup>455</sup> See Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 87-91. "Es zeigt sich, dass dort wo partielle Textierung beabsichtigt ist, die Noten meistens weiter auseinandergerückt sind, um sie—da es sich durchwegs um syllabische Partien handelt—genau über die einzelnen Silben plazieren zu können" (*ibid.*, p. 88). Schoop seems to be speaking here of true text underlay, in which the words were entered later under the notes of music. In a later passage, however, he indicates an example of true music overlay: "Deutlich ist hier [fol. 21v] die partielle Textierung, im Unterschied zum Contra, daran erkenntlich, dass die Noten erst über den Worten beginnen, was ein starkes Einrücken zur Folge hatte" (p. 89). Partial texting in the fourteenth century is discussed in the dissertation of Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson," pp. 113, 147, n. 1, pp. 157ff, Table XXXII, pp. 162 and 178. Partial texting is found in some realistic virelais, at places where there is imitation in an otherwise non-texted instrumental part. Such points of imitation are imitative of bird calls, or trumpets, etc. See also Virginia Newes, "The Relationship of Text to Imitative Technique in 14th-Century Polyphony" (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, Proceedings forthcoming). The term has also been applied to incompletely texted parts in sacred music, see, most recently, A. E. Planchart, "Texted and Untexted Parts and the

occurs in brief imitative stretches or in passages of coronatae. One direction to be taken in a study of partial texting in GB-Ob 213 is suggested by Schoop (Entstehung, p. 91), in connection with the ballade by Paullet(?) "J'aim qui vous moi" (fol. 108v). In this instance, the partial text of the contratenor part was probably added after the copying of the music, following the texting of the tenor. It appears then that the extra texting of the contratenor was added by the scribe of GB-Ob 213.<sup>456</sup> A study of other instances of partial texting from this point of view is necessary. In cases where the music appears to be overlaid to a text, one might surmise that the correlation between the two was fairly clear in the exemplar, and that for the continued clear expression of this relationship, the text was entered before the music in the new MS.<sup>457</sup>

In cases of partial texting where the disposition of syllables is unclear in the new MS, that is, where the text seems in the true sense to have been underlaid, one might surmise that the text was probably not found in the exemplar of the piece in question, but was added after the music was copied, reflecting either the preferences of the scribe or a local tradition of performance.<sup>458</sup> The care and effort expended by scribes on clear texting in the

Evidence for Polytextual Masses in the 15th Century," a paper presented 2 Oct. 1981 at the New York University conference "Expanding Horizons for Research into Performance Practice" (proceedings forthcoming).

<sup>456</sup> The concordance (anon.) in the much earlier MS F-CA 1328 has no text. The ascription in GB-Ob 213 was added later (Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 48).

<sup>457</sup> Virginia Newes gives an example the Senleches virelai "En ce gracieux" ("The Relationship to Text to Imitative Technique"), in which space was left in the triplum for a "cocu," present in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 58v, that was never entered in I-MOe 5.24, fol. 25v.

<sup>458</sup> Attention to the issue of partial texting was urged by G. Reaney, "Text Underlay in Early Fifteenth-Century Musical Manuscripts," in Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday, ed. G. Reese



first half of the fifteenth century makes it unlikely that the setting of the text of the upper voice to the lower voices, by breaking up ligatures, etc., was left to performance practice.<sup>459</sup>

#### Some remarks on I-Bc 15 (BL)

No discussion of early fifteenth-century music would be complete without mention of the MS I-Bc 15. Again, a single scribe was responsible for the entry of both text and music.<sup>460</sup> With this MS, the focus shifts to the procedures used in copying the polyphonic Mass ordinary.<sup>461</sup> For the highly syllabic movements, the Glorias and Credos, it seems that the text was entered first, followed by the placing of notes over the words. In the case of more melismatic movements, particularly the Kyries, the music was entered

(Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 245-51. M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 123, adduces an example from GB-Lbl Add. 57950, the Zacar Gloria, fol. 28v [No. 33]: the contratenor is textless with the usual ligatures in the English source, but broken up and texted in the four Continental concordances. Nádas, "The Structure of Manuscript Panciatici 26," pp. 422-26, indicates the texting preferences among the scribes of I-Fn 26. Schoop gives examples of differences between GB-Ob 213 and I-Bc 15, indicating that the variants are probably due to different scribal preferences (Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 90).

<sup>459</sup> The opposite is suggested in M. Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," Studi musicali, 9 (1980), 174: she wonders whether singers were expected to be able to adapt text to ligated, textless parts.

<sup>460</sup> M. Bent, forthcoming study.

<sup>461</sup> In the secular additions to I-Bc 15, text was still copied first. The 3v. Rond. of H. de Lantins, "Mon doulx espoir," fols. 54v-55r, provides a good example of three voices with the same text, each text copied with the proper spacing for melismas. A detail concerning the entry of music in I-Bc 15 is visible from the 3v. Rond. of P. Fontaine, "De bien amer," fols. 98v-99r: void notes were entered with a different pen, after the entry of the black notes. M. Bent has noted this practice for red notes in GB-Lbl Add. 57950, "Text Setting in Sacred Music." This was no doubt the practice throughout the fourteenth century as well, cf. an incomplete tenor in I-IV 115, Bessler No. 73 ("Studien-I," p. 186, reconstructed in "Studien-II," pp. 210-11).

first.<sup>462</sup> This statement must be qualified depending on the nature of the lower voices. Even in the syllabic *Glorias* and *Credos*, the lower voices are normally textless, except for text incipits that serve to identify the larger divisions of the movements. The music of such long textless voices must have been entered first, and the incipits identifying the internal sections supplied later.<sup>463</sup> There are instances, however, particularly for the final Amen of a *Gloria* or *Credo*, in which apparently only the first syllable was entered by the scribe, who then waited until the full extent of the melisma was clear before entering the last syllable. There may be an "A-" at the beginning of a section, without an answering "-men" at the end.<sup>464</sup> The

<sup>462</sup> The *Kyrie* fascicle after fol. 120 provides many examples. Troped *Kyries*, such as the 3v. *Kyrie* of *Lymburgia*, No. 128bis, and the 3v. *Kyrie* of *Ar. de Lantins*, fols. 149v-151r, had their text entered first. *Ciconia's* 3v. *Gloria* with three texted voices (essential in this work because of the repetitions of the word "pax"—see M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music") is a good example of careful spacing of notes above a text. The *Gloria* "Rosetta" of *Zacar*, for three texted voices, fols. 66v-68r, may have called for some give-and-take for the opening melisma. A work possibly with true text underlay is the 3v. *Gloria* of *Binchois*, fols. 130v-132r. Clear evidence of overlay of music is in the 4v. *Gloria* "Ad ogni vento" of *Zacar*, fols. 154v-156r. On fol. 154v, last staff, notes are low enough on the staff to obscure words. In one instance, "nostrâ" was erased and moved down to allow room for the entry of notes. A 3v. *Credo* of *Antonius Romanus*, fols. 28v-30r, has some clear examples near the opening of music squeezed to fit poorly spaced words. For *Dufay's* *Missa Sancti Jacobi*, fols. 121r-129r, it appears that only in the *Gloria* and *Credo* were the texts entered first (each has only one voice texted). The *Sanctus* and *Agnus* are approximately equal in their melismatic density, falling between the highly melismatic *Kyries* and the highly syllabic *Glorias* and *Credos*. For melismatic *Sanctus* settings in *GB-Lbl Add. 57950*, either the music was entered first, or music and text entry alternated, according to M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music."

<sup>463</sup> This practice seems to be verified by the different characteristics of the script of the incipits. The same practice is seen in fourteenth century MSS that contain Mass movements, e.g., I-IV 115, F-APT 16bis, E-Bc 853, etc.

<sup>464</sup> For example, the end of the cantus of a 3v. *Credo*, fol. 105v; *Reson Gloria*, fol. 136v. This is a frequent practice in *GB-Lbl Add. 57950*, see M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 114-15, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." The same copying procedure is found in motets back to the

two manners of copying were thus not strictly separated in practice.<sup>465</sup> The single MS opening determined the copying procedure.<sup>466</sup> After the staves were ruled, a syllabic movement was copied by first writing the text of the cantus at the top of a verso and then entering the music of this cantus. The music of the normally textless tenor was added below on the bottom of the verso, and continued onto the recto as necessary, followed by the music of the contratenor. Eventually the scribe went back and entered the text incipits that served to identify the larger divisions of the movement.<sup>467</sup> For movements with a more melismatic style, a certain amount of give-and-take may have been necessary, with long musical melismas being written out entirely before the next text syllable was entered. In syllabic passages within the melismatic movements, the music may have been spaced out in advance to allow for later entry of the text syllables.

Notre-Dame MS I-F1 Plut. 29.1, where the last syllable of a tenor indication was commonly left off for later entry (see Figure 3.22, p. 233 above). Closer to the period of I-Bc 15, Gordon Greene has noted this procedure in F-CH 564 (French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 First Part: Nos. 1-50, PMFC, XVIII, xv). As has been made amply clear above, this sort of thing never occurs in the Machaut MSS, in which the music and text were entered by two separate scribes.

<sup>465</sup> An example pointed out by M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 204-05, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." from an incomplete piece in GB-Lbl Add. 57950 (fol. 57v), shows a practice of writing a few lines of music before adding text, with occasional gaps in the music to allow later entry of coloration.

<sup>466</sup> Boorman, "Sources, MS §I, 4: Introduction," New Grove, XVII, 598, indicates that differences in page layout are due to national differences or preferences. The Dunstable motet he mentions (p. 599) does not necessarily show an English influence on the layout of the parts, however, since the arrangement is the normal French motet arrangement in use at least since the second third of the fourteenth century.

<sup>467</sup> It is also possible that the cantus music was entered after the music of the lower voices.

In movements with texted tenor and contratenor, the practice in I-Bc 15 often recalls the partial texting of some of the Oxford chansons. I-Bc 15 contains some Mass movements in which the music of the cantus voice was overlaid to text, while the texts in the tenor and contratenor appear to have been underlaid to music. This indicates that the voices that were underlaid may not have been texted in the exemplar, and that the scribe, following local or personal preference, adapted the text to the lower voices after the music was copied, using the cantus voice as a model.<sup>468</sup>

### Music Copying in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

In sources of French music of the latter part of the fifteenth century, text was underlaid to music. Even in the monophonic chansonniers of the late fifteenth century, the text does not determine the layout.<sup>469</sup> In musical MSS, the staves were uniformly ruled first, and residual text was entered between unused staff lines. Leeman Perkins, in the commentary volume to his edition of the Mellon chansonnier, makes an illuminating statement about the preparation of the deluxe chansonniers:

<sup>468</sup> In a 3v. Gloria of Lantins, fols. 150v-151r, the indication "Tenor" (fol. 151r) was not written off to the side, but directly below the first notes, indicating that this part was not originally to carry the text. Compare the next piece, a 3v. Credo of Ar. de Lantins, fols. 151v-153r, with tenor music clearly overlaid to the text—here, the indication "Tenor" is written off to the side, and thus the text setting may have been clear in the exemplar. Fol. 141 has a very cramped tenor text, with no attempt at a sensible disposition of the words. The 3v. Kyrie and Gloria of Dufay, fols. 164v-165r, provide good examples of typical procedures. The Kyrie text is underlaid to music in all voices. For the Gloria, the music was overlaid to the text in the cantus, text was underlaid to music in the contratenor, while the tenor is textless except for an incipit and Amen. Note also the Binchois "Asperges me," No. 143, on the last fol. of the extra fascicle before 121r. Texting in the lower parts of GB-Lbl Add. 57950 is discussed in M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 126-28 and 177.

<sup>469</sup> F-Pn fr. 9346 (Bayeux); F-Pn fr. 12744.

Because the declamation of the poetry was essentially the prerogative of the singer, it cannot be assumed that a trained calligrapher, such as the one who penned the texts in the Mellon Chansonnier, was familiar with the principles by which it was done. Moreover, the exigencies of his own specialized task of writing the verse elegantly in a relatively cramped space would have allowed him little freedom to follow the singer's procedures of syllable distribution even if he understood them and—what is even less likely—thought it important to do so.<sup>470</sup>

The assumptions underlying this statement provide a clear contrast to those governing the copying of music prior to the late fifteenth century. The exemplar was no longer of consequence in setting out the relationship between music and text. The realization of this relationship was left to the individual performance—indeed there is no reason to suppose that a single correct rendition was possible or desired. David Fallows has noted that analysis of the melodic lines makes the broad outline of the texting clear. Details were less important and were left to the singer.<sup>471</sup> The manner in which music was copied in late fifteenth century MSS can be contrasted with the procedures followed a century earlier in the Machaut MSS (see above, pp. 170f).

1. Ruling. The ruling process now involved the entry of the staves before anything else. Genre and text determined the layout of the MS only insofar as lengthy works were copied into MSS of larger formats, while chansons were copied into MSS of very small format. The question of layout for the polyphonic chansons—works of modest dimensions—was solved by copying them into books of reduced format. The

<sup>470</sup> Leeman Perkins, The Mellon Chansonnier (New Haven, Conn., 1979), II, 139.

<sup>471</sup> Fallows, "Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century" (Diss. Berkeley 1978), Chap. 1. See also the section on texting in the forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu.

complete opening became the focal point for the copy, just as it always had been in larger MSS, when motets or Mass movements filled an opening.

2. Entry of music. The most striking characteristic of the new manner of copying is the tendency to set notes equidistantly.
3. Entry of text. Perkins' statement above leaves many questions open. It is indeed possible that the text scribe of the later fifteenth century could not be expected to have any musical knowledge. Nevertheless, it was not necessarily true of the preceding century, since the text scribe was responsible for leaving the spaces for the melismas, and for laying out the voices so that they were performable polyphonically. In the earlier fifteenth century, the text was written by the same scribe as the music in the large extant sources.<sup>472</sup>

We have traced a reversal in scribal practice, but have not yet answered the question of why such a large-scale change took place, or indeed exactly when it occurred. At this stage of the study, only a few random observations can be made.

Daniel Poirion has noted that the great poets of the fifteenth century were no longer musicians. He discusses this issue in his Le Poète et le prince, the only full-scale study of lyrical poetry in the period from Machaut to Charles d'Orléans. Poirion emphasizes the growing specialization among members of the courtly entourage. Poets became increasingly interested in their texts as poetry to be recited, while musicians became

<sup>472</sup> The destination of the MS is not necessarily a consideration. Deluxe MSS of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have clear text disposition, as do the Gebrauchshandschriften; deluxe MSS of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are not clear in this regard, nor are the Gebrauchshandschriften.

increasingly interested in music for the sake of music.<sup>473</sup> The changing technique of copying the MSS can in fact be viewed as a documentation of this process.<sup>474</sup>

The details and timing of the change in scribal practice are difficult to pinpoint. It is possible that so many sources have disappeared that a definitive answer will remain elusive. One need only recall, for example, that the sources transmitting French music in the first third of the fifteenth century originated almost exclusively in Italy.<sup>475</sup>

It appears that at least two musical style tendencies made it more practical in the late fifteenth century to enter the notes of the music before the words of the text. First, settings of the Mass ordinary, in which an increasingly melismatic upper voice was accompanied by as many as three untexted lower voices, became more and more popular. At least for the Gloria and Credo movements, the text was entered first in the MSS up until the middle of the fifteenth century. But the textless lower voices, with their relatively long stretches of music, were entered before their identifying text incipits even as early as the Ivrea Codex. Thus, for certain

<sup>473</sup> Poirion, *Le Poète*, pp. 164-65: "Cependant il faut insister sur un fait important pour l'évolution du lyrisme: rares sont qui, après Machaut, composent encore la musique et le texte de leurs chansons." See also pp. 91-92, 146, 147, 163, 166. Of course, the question of the poets of the fifteenth-century chansons is far from settled. Some new information on this problem is in David Fallow's book *Dufay* (London, 1982), pp. 54 and 70, and in Paula Higgins' introduction to the facs. of F-Pn Rés. Vmc MS 57 (Niv, chansonnier Nivelles de La Chaussée) (Geneva: Minkoff, forthcoming).

<sup>474</sup> The ideal of the Machaut MS, an author's complete works MS, was taken up by the poets, not by the musicians, of the generation after Machaut: by Froissart, not directly by Deschamps, but by his posthumous collector, and by Christine de Pizan. Cf. above, pp. 25 f.

<sup>475</sup> My preliminary assessment of the French chansonnier E-E V.III.24 (EscA), from about 1430, indicates that the first scribe overlaid music to text, while the second scribe underlaid text to music. Facs. ed. Wolfgang Rehm, *Codex Escorial* (Kassel, 1958).

styles, there was a tradition for the prior entry of at least a part of the music.

A second important style tendency that made it more practical to enter the music first was the development of a predominantly melismatic texture. We have noted above that the copying of the more melismatic Mass movements in I-Bc 15 may have involved alternation of overlay and underlay, a situation that may be true also for F-CA 6 and F-CA 11. Later in the century, by the time of B-Br 5557, prior entry of music appears to have been the exclusive practice in France.

Of course, the change in procedure greatly facilitated the production of musical MSS. The scribe entering music no longer had to pay heed to the location of text syllables and thus could copy music much faster. The change from music overlay to text underlay relates ultimately to the increasing demand for and circulation of music evident throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>476</sup>

In practical terms, the difference in copying procedures means that the modern editor of, say, Dufay chansons is left with sources in which the clarity of the relationship between text and music varies from extremely clear, with the music overlaid (for example, the last part of the F-Pn n.a.f. 6771), to extremely unclear, with the text underlaid (for example, the late fifteenth-century chansonniers). One wonders where Dufay stood. Do the MSS scribes prepared reflect changes in Dufay's clarity in indicating

<sup>476</sup> H. S. Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," The Library, 5th ser., 1 (1946-47), 169, discusses the great increase in the number of fifteenth-century MSS in the vernacular. (In his forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu, David Fallows warns against this view.) In agreement with an increase in book production is George R. Keiser, "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe," Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), 158-79. See also Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 49.



the exact relationship of text and music, or were Dufay's "autographs" pretty much uniform at all periods, and reproduced in different ways by different scribes in different countries in different parts of the century? Such questions cannot be answered authoritatively. But an inquiry into the practices of a single composer, such as Dufay, whose career spans the period in which the change from music overlay to text underlay seems to have occurred, may be fruitful. A study of the text placement in MSS that exhibit a careful expression of the relationship between words and music, that is, those in which the music was overlaid to the text, might turn up a series of practices acceptable for pieces in similar style by the same composer in later, less clear sources. Of course, we cannot know if this relationship reflects the intention of the composer, or if it is even realistic to speak of "intention" in this context. Perhaps a scribe carefully setting the notes over the music was adjusting them to conform to his own ideas of proper text-setting. But the scribal procedure did change. The question of its relationship to a style change and the part played by external factors is still open.

## EXAMPLES OF SCRIBAL PRACTICE IN THE MACHAUT MSS

### I.

Additions to n. 362 (cancellation or erasures of notes to correct or to clarify text setting).

#### In MS A

**Remede:** Rem1 (fol. 53v, st. 2-3): major error, with line to clarify relationship; Rem5 (fol. 70c-d): two notes at col. change, and another note at the beg. of col. d, st. 3).

**Lais:** L10 (fol. 384r, st. 1): cancelled, not erased; L10 (fol. 384v, st. 2); L14 (fol. 393v, st. 2); L16 (fol. 398r, st. 4); L17 (fol. 400r, st. 2); L21 (fol. 409r, st. 1); L21 (fol. 409v, st. 5); L22 (fol. 411v, st. 7): elision.

**Motets:** M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 1-2): at line end; M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 10-fol. 423b, st. 1): at line end between pages; M12 tr. (fol. 425c, st. 4): cancelled at line end; M14 mot. (fol. 427d, st. 10): at line beginning; M16 mot. (fol. 429d, st. 3): at line beginning; M20 tr. (fol. 433c, st. 9): at line end; M21 mot. (fol. 434d, st. 9): later corrections in grey ink; M23 mot. (fol. 437d, st. 5): at line end.

**Mass:** Osanna II mot. (fol. 448d, st. 6): lig. at end of Bened. copied at beg. of Os.; Patrem [Qui propter] ten. (fol. 445a, st. 4): many corrections, includes line to clarify "et homo factus" as a later correction; Agnus III tr. (fol. 450c, st. 2); Agnus III tr. (fol. 450c, st. 3): at line end.

**Ballades:** [in the following, st. = st. of ca.] B2 (fol. 454v, st. 4); B3 (fol. 455, st. 1): later correction in grey ink; B27 (fol. 467v, st. 1); B34 (fol. 471v, st. 1).

**Rondeaux:** R10 (fol. 478r, st. 1); R14 see above, pp. 182ff; R19 (fol. 480v, st. 1).

**Virelais:** V2 (fol. 482r, st. 3): large error, corrections also include a line drawn; V3 (fol. 482v, st. 4): at line beginning; V6 (fol. 483v, st. 2); V7 (fol. 483v, st. 1): at line end, cancelled, not erased (Ludwig, *Musikalische Werke*, I, 73, is incorrect) V19 (fol. 487v, st. 3): at line end; V30 (fol. 491v, st. 1): cancelled, not erased, though A's overlay remains poor, cf. MS C (fol. 205r).

#### In MS G

**Lais:** L5 (fol. 79v, st. 3); L18 (fol. 96v, st. 6): at line end.

**Motets:** M1 tr. (fol. 103r, st. 9); M4 mot. (fol. 105d, st. 8): ligature; M5 tr. (fol. 107r, st. 10); M6 mot. (fol. 107d, st. 2); M7 tr. (fol. 109a, st. 1); M7 tr. (fol. 109a, st. 4): at line end, due to elision; M7 tr. (fol. 109r, st. 10): ligature; M8 mot. (fol. 109d, st. 6): at line end; M9 tr. (fol. 110c, st. 7): br. rest erased, moved to squeeze in sb.'s for "tuo";

M10 mot. (fol. 111d, st. 2); M12 mot. (fol. 113d, st. 8): ligature; M21 tr. (fol. 123r, st. 5).

Mass: Patrem [Crucifixus] ten. (fol. 130a, st. 3); Patrem [Confiteor] ten. (fol. 131a, st. 4); Osanna II tr. (fol. 131c, st. 12); Agnus II ten. (fol. 133a, st. 1).

Ballades: B1 (fol. 134a, st. 6-7): excellent example, three words corrected at line end and beginning; B4 (fol. 135b, st. 3): at line beginning; B5 (fol. 135c, st. 7); B13 (fol. 138d, st. 3): setting of elision and 2nd couplet text clarified; B17 "Amis dolens" (fol. 137a, st. 6); B29 "De triste" (fol. 144c, st. 5): elision.

Rondeau: R14 see above, pp. 182 ff.

Virelais: V15 (fol. 157d, st. 4); V17 (fol. 158b, st. 2): at line end; V31 (fol. 161c, st. 1); V32 (fol. 162a, st. 8); V37 (fol. 163b, st. 6).

#### In MS C

Remede: Rem6 (fol. 51v, st. 1): at line end. End of line is a point of elision between "toute autre": minim a at line end erased, placed over "au-" at beginning of the next line. (Note that MS C consistently places notes over the second syllable of an elision.)

Lais: L6 (fol. 178, st. 5): possible case; L14 (fol. 190v, st. 7).

Motets: M2 tr. (fol. 208a, st. 3): elision clarified; M6 tr. (fol. 210d, st. 4): at line end; M10 tr. (fol. 214c, st. 8); M16 tr. (fol. 220c, st. 5); M17 tr. (fol. 221c, st. 1); M17 tr. (fol. 222a, st. 2): elision clarified; M18 tr. (fol. 222c, st. 8).

Ballades: B6 (fol. 160b, st. 2): at line end; B7 (fol. 160d, st. 3); B15 (fol. 164c, st. 4): clarifies elision; B16 (fol. 164d, st. 2); B18 (fol. 199v, st. 1).

Virelais: V15 (fol. 154b, st. 3); V19 (fol. 155d, st. 1).

#### In MS E

Lais: L7 (fol. 112v, st. 10); L10 (fol. 116r, st. 7); L12 (fol. 117v, st. 10): at line end.

Rondeau: R14 see above, pp. 182 ff.

#### In MS B

Remede: Rem5 (fol. 128c, st. 1); Rem5 (fol. 128c, st. 2). Note the two examples from the Remede are by Scribe 1. He began by trying to be careful with the placement of the notes over the words, but soon had to work faster.

Motets: M1 tr. (fol. 258v, st. 3): above "mercy".

**Ballades:** (all exx. by music scribe 2) B26 (fol. 308, st. 3); B29 "Quant" (fol. 310v, st. 3).

**Virelais:** (all exx. by music scribe 2) V6 (fol. 322, st. 1 and st. 2); V13 (fol. 324v, st. 2); V14 (fol. 324v, st. 1 and st. 2); V15 (fol. 324v, st. 1): note blotted out, not erased; V19 (fol. 326v, st. 3); V20 (fol. 326v, st. 1); V26 (fol. 328v, st. 1);

## II.

To n. 363 (lines drawn to clarify text setting).

### In MS A

**Remede:** Rem1 (fol. 53v): see the additions to n. 362 above, p. 266.

**Lais:** L3 (fol. 373, st. 2); L7 (fol. 381, st. 6); L19 (fol. 406, st. 1); L22 (fol. 410v, st. 1).

**Motets:** M1 tr. (fol. 415a, st. 2) NB!; M1 tr. (fol. 415r, st. 9); M1 mot. (fol. 414d, st. 5); M4 mot. (fol. 417d, st. 5); M6 mot. (fol. 419d, st. 2, at line end); M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 3); M10 tr. (fol. 424r, st. 7): three lines drawn; M12 tr. (fol. 426r, st. 4); M12 tr. (fol. 426r, st. 8); M13 tr. (fol. 426c, st. 6): two lines drawn; M13 mot. (fol. 426d, st. 7) NB!; M15 tr. (fol. 428c, st. 2); M15 mot. (fol. 428d, st. 3); M17 tr. (fol. 430c, st. 3); M17 tr. (fol. 431a, st. 3); M21 tr. (fol. 434c, st. 10); M21 tr. (fol. 435a, st. 6).

**Mass:** Credo ten. (fol. 444a, st. 1): see Figure 3.5 above, p. 181; Credo ct. (fol. 444b, st. 1): see Figure 3.5 above; Patrem [Qui propter] ten. (fol. 445a, st. 4); Patrem [Et in spir.] tr. (fol. 445c, st. 9); Patrem [Et in spir.] ten. (fol. 446a, st. 7); Agnus III mot. (fol. 450d, st. 2).

**Ballades:** B2 (fol. 454v, st. 1); B5 (fol. 456r, st. 1); B6 (fol. 456v, st. 2); B7 (fol. 457r, st. 3); B8 (fol. 457v, st. 4): two lines drawn; B9 (fol. 459r, st. 3): many variants in B9; B10 (fol. 459v, st. 4): two lines drawn; B11 (fol. 460r, st. 3): two lines drawn; B15 (fol. 462r, st. 2); B16 (fol. 462v, st. 1); B18 (fol. 463r, st. 1): A's overlay poor for B18; B20 (fol. 464r, st. 1); B35 (fol. 472v, st. 2).

**Rondeau:** R9 (fol. 477v, st. 2): two lines drawn.

**Virelais:** V1 (fol. 482r, st. 4); V2 (fol. 482r, st. 3): also with extensive erasure, see the additions to n. 362 above, p. 266; V4 (fol. 482v, st. 1): three lines drawn; V5 (fol. 483r, st. 3); V29 (fol. 491r, st. 1): two lines drawn. Note also that a line clarifies the tenor correction in st. 4-5.

### In MS C

**Motets:** M7 mot. (fol. 109b, st. 2): apparently a stray line? overlay clear and correct.

**Mass:** Sanctus tr. (fol. 131c, st. 3) NB!; Agnus III mot. (fol. 132d, st. 4): for penultimate syll.

**Ballade:** B2 (fol. 134c, st. 7).

**Virelai:** V17 (fol. 158b, st. 6).

#### In MS Vg

**Lais:** L7 (fol. 234r, st. 4): Bessler notes two lines, Musikalische Werke, IV, 34 (224); L14 (fol. 247v, st. 3): Bessler notes four lines, Musikalische Werke, IV, 42 (232).

**Motets:** M12 mot. (fol. 272r, st. 5): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, III, 48 (152); M13 tr. (fol. 272v, st. 3): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, III, 51 (155).

**Ballade:** B10 (fol. 301r, st. 3): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, I, 9.

#### In MS B

**Virelai:** V7 (fol. 322v, st. 1): see above, n. 355.

#### In MS C

**Motet:** M19 mot. (fol. 224b, st. 1).

**Virelai:** V23 (fol. 156c, st. 1): slash clarifies notes for syll. "roie," not the same kind of line.

#### In MS E

**Lais:** L12 (fol. 118r, st. 5, at line-end): two lines added by music scribe due to unnecessary clos ending.

### III.

To n. 364 (notes split or combined to clarify text setting).

#### in MS G

**Motets:** M9 tr. (fol. 110c, st. 11): "infernis" read as "inferius," minim added for extra syllable.

#### In MS B

**Lais:** L16 (fol. 250v, st. 6): added minim (but second minim is smudged—cancellation intended?).

**Motets:** M7 tr. (fol. 265r, st. 2): two extra minims for end of tr.; M13 tr. (fol. 270v, st. 7).

#### In MS E

**Motet:** M6 tr. (fol. 136v, st. 3): extra minim.

**Ballade:** B38 ca. (fol. 157r, st. 2): breve changed to two sb.

#### In MSS BE

**Motets:** M3 mot. B (fol. 261, st. 6), E (fol. 133v, st. 12): long instead of two breves, also in Vg (fol. 263r, st. 6), therefore overlay variants {CAG:VgBE}; M5 tr. B (fol. 262v, st. 6), E (fol. 135v, st. 5): extra minim for feminine syllable; M10 tr. B (fol. 267v, st. 4), E (fol. 140v, st. 3): extra note; M17 B (fol. 274v, st. 3), E (fol. 136v, st. 12): breve changed to two semibreves.

#### IV.

To n. 376 (large errors in copying music above text in MS B (all exx. by music scribe 1)).

**Motets:** M5 tr. (fol. 262v, st. 9): copied seven notes of st. 8 [note that this error indicates that even in B, stems were put directly on the notes; the scribe did not go back in a second pass to add them]; M9 tr. (fol. 266v, st. 8) copied half of the music for st. 9 before discovering that it did not match the text [note that the scribe of E, M9 (fol. 139v, st. 6), copied a sharp from the imperfectly erased underwriting of B]; M9 ten (fol. 267r, st. 6): part of st. 5 copied over the tenor text, erased; M14 tr. (fol. 271v, st. 8): several notes recopied from st. 7.

**Mass:** Patrem [Crucifixus] mot. (fol. 287v, st. 8-9): scribe unwittingly skipped a line in the exemplar and went on to copy two complete lines of music and the beginning of a third (fol. 288, st. 1 has the first note of the Qui propter) before he discovered the error. All wrong notes were then erased.

**Rondeaux:** R17 (fol. 320 st. 3): whole first line of ten. (st. 4) entered as the last line of the ca. Error erased.

Eyeskips also occurred in other MSS, e.g., in MS G: B2 (fol. 134c, st. 5): in setting music to the syllable "de-", the scribe's eye skipped to the music of "de" two lines above. It is possible that the exemplar itself was in long lines, and that the two texts were physically closer there.

## Chapter 4

### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

#### INTRODUCTION

As Georg von Dadelsen has observed, there is no long tradition for textual criticism in music.<sup>477</sup> Only more recent musicological studies of certain repertoires offer procedures for dealing with the transmission of musical works.<sup>478</sup> But since the textual problems of every period are unique, indeed,

<sup>477</sup> Georg von Dadelsen, "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben, ed. Georg von Dadelsen (Kassel, 1967), pp. 10ff. Fortunately, many philologists and editors of texts have stated their ideas in a form sufficiently abstract to suggest a means of proceeding when dealing with music. The works of Paul Maas, Textual Criticism, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford, 1958), and Leighton D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars (London, 1968; 2nd rev. ed. Oxford, 1974), are the studies most frequently cited by musicologists. The article "Textual Criticism" by Edward J. Kenney in New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia, 15th ed. (1974-) is extremely helpful. Excellent overviews and bibliographies are found in the articles "Textual Criticism" by Paul Maas in The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. Max Carey et al. (Oxford, 1949), and in the same article by Alexander Hugh McDonald in the new ed. of the same dictionary (Oxford, 1970). For a medieval French emphasis, see the annotated bibliography in Edward B. Ham, "Textual Criticism and Common Sense," Romance Philology, 12 (1959), 211-15, the bibliography in Christopher Kleinhenz, "The Nature of an Edition," in Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1976), pp. 280-83, and Alfred L. Foulet and Mary B. Speer, On Editing Old French Texts (Lawrence, Kan., 1979). Other works will be cited in the course of this chapter.

<sup>478</sup> For example, see Allan Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I (Brooklyn, 1975), and, more recently, M. Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late Medieval Polyphony," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, pp. 295-317, and S. Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, pp. 319-46 (with excellent annotated bibliography). An overview of the specific problems encountered with musical sources is Boorman, "Sources, MS, §I, 6: Introduction," New Grove, XVII, 604-09. For

the identity of a period depends to an extent on peculiarities of transmission, the premises established for the study of one repertory (for instance, in what constitutes a "significant" variant) are often too specific to be of much help when other repertories are considered. Therefore, in considering the transmission of Machaut's music, rather than advocating one method over another, the problem will be attacked here from several directions. The goal is not to produce and defend a critical text for any work of Machaut, rather, to characterize the transmission, to discuss variables that affect it—in other words, to sketch background material that might precede an editorial attempt.

Both internal and external evidence are taken into account. "Internal evidence" is the study of a text's readings. "External evidence" refers to any of several varieties of documentary material that can be brought to bear on the textual history of an author's works. Such material is most usually scanty for the medieval period; for many repertories, music historians have no clear idea of how the extant music was put to use or what purpose lay behind the copying of a given MS.<sup>479</sup>

printed works, Stanley Boorman, "The 'First' Edition of the Odhecaton A," JAMS, 30 (1977), 183-207, and Boorman, "Petrucci's Type-setters and the Process of Stemmatics," in Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Munich, 1981), pp. 245-80.

<sup>479</sup> For the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, much important work has been done. For example, Lewis Lockwood has recently been concerned with the transmission and diffusion of music through the patronage system. As examples, see "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," JAMS, 32 (1979), 191-246, and "Dufay and Ferrara," in Papers read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference (Brooklyn, 1976), pp. 1-25. For fourteenth-century Italy, see Michael P. Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," Chap. 6. For the period of the troubadours and trouvères, see H. J. Chaytor, From Script to Print (Cambridge, 1945). Despite its age, this is an important work; a multitude of external factors that influenced the shape of the texts are treated.



Machaut is different in this regard, since the complete works survive solely because the author considered the copying of complete MSS a function of his artistic activity.<sup>480</sup> Some of Machaut's narrative poems refer to the written transmission of his works, such that a knowledge of the poems themselves supplies external evidence on the textual transmission. External aspects will be considered at the outset, because a picture of the "character" of the transmission can provide clues to the interpretation of the readings.

If the aim of textual criticism is to present the author's intended text,<sup>481</sup> the question then is determining what this may mean for the works of a fourteenth-century French poet. Are there several versions that might be considered "authentic," or if the evidence admits of only one, where does this text stand in time and space in relation to the author? Such questions bear on what may be termed the "integrity" of the work.

<sup>480</sup> It is of course also true that patrons demanded lavishly illuminated, readable texts in French, and certainly Machaut was answering this demand. This question of the public is broached by Poirion, Le Poète, Chap. 1: "Le public aristocratique: Le Prince et la Cour." His characterization of the intellectual activity at the court of Charles V (for instance, p. 26 on translations ordered by the king), should have indicated that the roots of this process lay in the reign of his father, Jean II. Günther, "Contribution," p. 5, links MS C to a pay document (dated Ascension day, 1353) for copying books in gallico, indicating a demand for works in French. See above, n. 255.

<sup>481</sup> This is a classic definition, see J. P. Postgate, "Textual criticism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1936), XXII, 6b: "The aim of the 'textual critic' may then be defined as the restoration of the text, as far as possible, to its original form, if by 'original form' we understand the form intended by its author." Fredson Bowers, without formally alluding to this definition, points out in his revision of the article the insufficiency of the notion of "intention": the form intended by the author does not necessarily remain constant, see "Textual Criticism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1958), XXI, 918-19. See also James Thorpe, Principles of Textual Criticism (San Marino, Calif., 1972), p. 50.

James Thorpe uses the notion of "publication" to control the difficulties inherent in the nature of the author's intended text. Whatever an author released for publication, i.e., whenever he allowed the dissemination of a text to his usual public, this could be considered the author's "intended" text, regardless of the number of versions it might entail.<sup>482</sup> Such a provision avoids the pitfall of considering the latest version as the only object worthy of interest. One might therefore endeavor to determine what constituted the step analogous to "publication" for Machaut, and what the nature of the author's public was.<sup>483</sup> It is also necessary to consider the manner in which his works were circulated to the public, and, if more than one means was used, whether the different means affected the integrity of the work.

Finally, having characterized the transmission by means of the external evidence, there is the question of the MS readings themselves—the internal evidence. How are the variants to be classified and evaluated? It is clear why a consideration of the external aspects of transmission must precede this step. For example, a scholar studying the transmission of the lyrical texts and music of the trouvères might set out to establish, by means of judicious comparison of MS sources, a text as close as possible to the poet's autograph. But the external evidence indicates that such a goal is

<sup>482</sup> Thorpe, Principles, p. 38.

<sup>483</sup> On medieval "publication," see H. J. Chaytor, From Script to Print, p. 133, and H. S. Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," The Library, 5th ser., 1 (1946-47), 167-78. Chaytor considered the production of illuminated presentation MSS (frequently the opening illustration depicts the author presenting his work to the patron) as the medieval equivalent of publication. For the Machaut MSS, see the following miniatures in Appendix C: Vg1, G143 and D1 (to the beginning of the Loange), A1 (to the Prologue), E11 (to the beginning of Navarre), F14 (to the beginning of Remede), A78 and E22 (to the beginning of Fonteinne).

illusory: there was the possibility of multiple authorial versions, of contamination due to several sources being available to the copyist, of variation due to oral transmission, as well as the possibility that the poetry in the chansonniers was subject to thought and conjecture on the part of the scribe of the MS.<sup>484</sup>

#### EXTERNAL EVIDENCE: DOCUMENTATION SUPPLIED BY THE NARRATIVE POEMS

Of Machaut's ten lengthy and four short narrative poems, five contain evidence pertinent to the transmission of his works: Behaingne, Remede, Navarre, Fonteinne, and the Voir Dit. In the early Behaingne (before 1346), for instance, various characters refer to the poem itself as a book, to material already written and found at an earlier point in the story.<sup>485</sup> Such a reference emphasizes the self-conscious nature of the author's style in the narrative poems, bringing out Machaut's pride, at an early stage of his career, in books of his own creation. The role of the poet-author is not masked; he occasionally steps forward to remind the reader, in a humorous

<sup>484</sup> István Frank, "The Art of Editing Lyric Texts," in Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, p. 135. Documentary evidence from the poems themselves is presented in Chaytor, From Script to Print, pp. 120ff. See also John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation," pp. 32-33, citing H. Van der Werf, The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems (Utrecht, 1976), Chap. 2.

Theodore Karp, in "The Chansons of the Chatelain de Coucy," (Diss. New York Univ. 1960), pp. 114-70, and "The Trouvère MS Tradition," in Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962) (New York, 1964), pp. 25-52, emphasizes that the chansonniers transmit written traditions of the chansons. But the chansonniers are retrospective collections which appeared after intense local circulation of the works; in other words, a rather large interval of time often separated the first composition of a work from its first extant copy in a chansonnier.

<sup>485</sup> In vv. 1595-96, and v. 1782. Cf. Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 48.

manner, who is really pulling the strings.<sup>486</sup>

### The Remède de fortune

In the Remède, the circulation of lyrical poetry (with its music) is an integral and indispensable part of the plot. This extremely refined work can be read on a number of levels. Beyond the outward story line of Machaut and his lady, taking place in the courtly sphere,<sup>487</sup> the work may also be read as a didactic treatise.<sup>488</sup> The lyrics interpolated into the story line provide examples of the principal poetic forms practiced by Machaut, including a lai, a complainte, a chanson royale, a duplex ballade (overall form AABB), a conventional ballade, a virelai, and a rondeau.<sup>489</sup> The appearance of one each of these forms already implies a didactic design. Their arrangement is quite artfully carried out. It has been suggested that the seven poems are presented in order of decreasing complexity, and this is apparently the case.<sup>490</sup>

<sup>486</sup> See n. 521 below.

<sup>487</sup> A recent discussion of Machaut and "courtly love" is Douglas Kelly, Medieval Imagination, Chap. 6.

<sup>488</sup> Called "traitie" by Machaut (v. 4257), the work begins "Qui veult aucune art apprendre. . . ." Machabey suggested that the lyrics could be considered a kind of method in poetry for Machaut's students, among whom Deschamps would be counted (Machabey, Guillaume de Machault, I, 50-51). Deschamps wrote an actual poetical treatise, the "Art de dictier"; Machaut accomplished something of the same thing with his Remède. Machaut not only instructs by means of example how to write in each form, but, by its inclusion in the poem, how to use it.

<sup>489</sup> The term "duplex ballade" follows the terminology of Egidius, "De motettis componendis," CS, III, 128b.

A further poetic interpolation, the prière (vv. 3205-348), was not set to music. Its form, AAAAAbAAAAAb CCCCCbCCCCCb DDDDDbDDDDDb, etc. (five 8-syll. lines followed by 4+) does not lend itself to a musical setting.

<sup>490</sup> Hoepffner, Oeuvres, II, liv.

The lai, the first of the forms illustrated, was considered a particularly intricate form in the fourteenth century, requiring a different metrical scheme, and therefore different music, for each strophe except the last (usually the twelfth). Machaut was "sentenced" to write one at the end of Navarre, and then another one in the middle episode of the Voir Dit. In the latter case, the lai is set up as a virtuoso piece of work. Because Machaut has not yet said anything in particular about Dame Esperance in the poem,<sup>491</sup> Machaut must pay an amende. Confort d'ami, one of Esperance's retainers, suggests that Machaut be made to pay with the composition of a chanson, rondeau, ballade, or virelai.<sup>492</sup> Instead, Esperance demands a lai, suggesting that this is the ultimate punishment. In his Prison amoureuse (c. 1369), Froissart is quite explicit on this point.<sup>493</sup>

The lai of the Remede, "Qui n'aroit autre deport" [Reml] is perfectly integrated into the forward movement of the poem, indeed, it is central to the action at the opening of the story. Machaut, afraid to openly avow his

<sup>491</sup> "Ne tu n'as encor de moy dit / Rien d'especial en ton dit / Ne rendu graces ne loenge" (Voir Dit, vv. 4015-17). ["Nor have you said anything special about me in your dit, nor have you rendered me thanks or praise."]

<sup>492</sup> "Et qu'il en paie une chanson, / Rondel, balade ou virelay" (Voir Dit, vv. 4058-59). ["And let him pay with a chanson, rondel, balade or virelai."]

<sup>493</sup> On the date, see Anthime Fourrier, ed., L'Espinette amoureuse, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1972), pp. 33-34. Fourrier discusses the lai on p. 45 of his introduction: "Ce genre lyrique passait au XIVe siècle pour le plus difficile, ainsi que l'affirme notre poète lui-même [i.e., Froissart] en sa Prison amoureuse: D'un lay faire c'est .I. grans fes, / Car, qui l'ordonne et rieule et taille / Selonc ce que requiert la taille, / Il y faut, ce dient li mestre, / Demi an ou environ mettre." (vv. 2199-203) ["To make a lay is a great burden, because he who orders and arranges and shapes it according to that which the shape requires needs to devote, so say the masters, half a year or thereabouts to it."] Cf. also Deschamps, "Art de dic-tier," in Gaston Raynaud, ed., Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps, VII (Paris, 1891), 287-88. A further citation of Froissart is given in Fallows, "Lai," New Grove, X, 367b.

love for his lady, expresses his anguished inner state by writing the lai.<sup>494</sup> Later, she asks to hear the lai read aloud. When asked who wrote it, Machaut, narrator and principal character, is unable to answer, and runs away shamefully without a word. To confess his authorship would be tantamount to an avowal of love; to deny authorship would be lying. The embarrassing outcome of the dilemma is in character with the comical narrator figure found in the majority of Machaut's large narrative poems.<sup>495</sup>

His miserable state sets the stage for the complainte "Tels rit au main" [Rem2], the second of the lyrical interpolations.<sup>496</sup> Like the lai, the complainte requires an extraordinary richness of rhymes (all but two of the thirty-six strophes has different rhyming syllables), but unlike the lai, all strophes are metrically equivalent and thus each can be sung to the same melody.<sup>497</sup>

The ensuing sequence with Dame Esperance—designed to give Machaut enough courage to return to the château—provides the occasion for the next three interpolations, the chanson royale, the duplex ballade, and the conventional ballade. These three works easily fit into the schema of decreasing com-

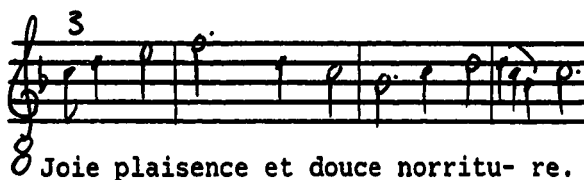
<sup>494</sup> According to the theoretical definition of "discordia," this is the proper form to have chosen here. See Ursula Aarburg, "Lai, Leich," MGG, VIII (1960), col. 86.

<sup>495</sup> James Wimsatt, "Chaucer and French Poetry," in Writers and their Background: Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Derek Brewer (Athens, Oh., 1974), p. 122, comments that since Machaut was not of noble birth, the narrator figure was made comical, so as not to compete with his noble audience. Otherwise, it would have been considered presumptuous to use a first-person narrator.

<sup>496</sup> The presentation of the lyrics Rem2-5 occurs in an enclosed garden, with birds singing, the traditional locus amoenus suitable to the composition of lyric poetry, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953/1973), pp. 195ff.

<sup>497</sup> If all thirty-six strophes were sung, it would take over an hour to perform the work once.

plexity. Although the chanson royale is formally very similar to the ballade (in Machaut's works, it has five strophes as against three for the ballade, lacks the refrain of the ballade, and ends with an envoy), it was considered a more exalted form.<sup>498</sup> In fact, the manner in which "Joie, plaisance et douce norriture" [Rem3] is presented in the narrative may be interpreted as a humorous reference to the pretentiousness of the form, the cantus coronatus of Grocheo.<sup>499</sup> The work is attributed to, and sung by, Dame Esperance (later, v. 2039, she brags about her song). With its stumbling declamation, one can easily imagine a very haughty, ostentatious performance:



One wonders how accurate is this parody of the art of the grand chant courtois, which was giving way at the time of the Remede to the more long-winded, alternately quick and slow (but correct) declamation seen in Machaut's polyphonic ballades and rondeaux. But in the context of the poem, the narrator's reaction to the work is to fall asleep.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>498</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, "Les poésies lyriques," p. 217. Hoepffner further states (pp. 217-19) that the old chanson courtoise of the thirteenth century was transformed by a severe regimentation of form practiced by the puys of northern France into the genre chanson royale. He notes that all of the "chansons roiaus amoureuses" of Froissart (except no. 1) have indications that they won prizes ("étaient couronnées") at Valenciennes, Abbeville, Lille, or Tournai. This heading appears only with the chansons royales, and not for the lais, pastourelles, ballades, or rondeaux.

<sup>499</sup> See H. Vanderwerf, "Cantus coronatus," New Grove.

<sup>500</sup> V. 1980; printed in Ludwig, ed., Musikalische Werke, I, 97.

Near the end of this sequence, Dame Esperance sings the duplex ballade "En amer a douce vie" [Rem4], initiating the series of lyrics in the more popular formes fixes. This is a work that the narrator pays close attention to, and he is so intent on memorizing it that he does not notice the departure of the allegorical figure. Machaut learns his poetic lessons well, and a short time later he is able to compose a ballade of his own, "Dame, de qui toute ma joie vient" [Rem5]. The two remaining formes fixes are also composed and performed by the narrator.

When Machaut finally reaches the château, he finds the courtiers (including his Lady) outside dancing. The narrator is asked to join in, and he contributes for his part the virelai "Dame a vous sans retollir" [Rem6]. The virelai is thus placed between the more elegant ballade and the smallest and most repetitive form, the rondeau. Throughout the history of the formes fixes, the virelai remained the most flexible formally, the one with the closest tie to the original dance-influenced forms.<sup>501</sup> And the virelai's association to dance makes for the excellent integration of Rem6 into the action of the poem. Finally, the narrator makes a lyrical exit at the end

Machaut set no other chansons royales to music. In this connection, see Ludwig, "La musique des intermèdes lyriques dans le Remede de Fortune," in Ernest Hoepffner, ed., Oeuvres, II, 411: Rem3 is characterized by an archaic declamation and false accentuation of the feminine endings. Arlt analyzes Rem3 in his recent "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 273-76.

<sup>501</sup> See Hoepffner, "Virelais et ballades dans le Chansonnier d'Oxford (Douce 308)," Archivum Romanicum, 4 (1920), 37-38. Cf. also Navarre, vv. 4184-88, in which—without naming the form—the virelai is described: ". . . une chanson / De trois vers et un refrain / —Oéz, comment je le refrain— / Qui par le refrain se commense, / Si comme on doit chanter a danse. [". . . a chanson with three verses and a refrain—hear how I describe it—which begins with the refrain, just as one ought to sing to dance by"] See also Dömling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, p. 17, n. 39, in reference to Froissart, Prison amoureuse, vv. 401ff, and Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 263.



of the poem, singing the rondeau "Dame, mon cuer" [Rem7].<sup>502</sup>

. . . . .

The carefully-controlled structure of the poem is striking. Compare Daniel Poirion: "Le travail de mise en ordre et de classement répond d'abord à ce souci didactique qui caractérise la création littéraire de Machaut dans presque toutes ses manifestations. . . ."<sup>503</sup> The same mind that calculated the organization of the components of this poem conceived the organization of the large MSS of his works.

In microcosm, the early Remede displays characteristics that were brought to fruition only with the later complete MSS, in which each component of the MS is as carefully ordered as the elements of the individual narrative and lyrical poems. The arrangement of the Remede actually gives clues to an understanding of the organization Machaut later adopted for the musical sections in the MSS. It is not surprising that the lais were given first place in the series, since his cultivation of this demanding poetic form set him on a plane well above other poets of the time. Thus, the musical parts of the MSS begin with the lai, establishing Machaut's poetic preeminence, followed by the motet, the most important form of expression among the musical savants. The other lyrical forms follow in the order, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, slightly different from the disposition of ballade, virelai, and rondeau found in the Remede. The reason for the difference may lie in the changed prominence of virelai and rondeau (in Machaut's chanson produc-

<sup>502</sup> Another "exit rondeau" (without music) appears as the Duc de Berry departs at the end of the Fonteinne, vv. 2825-32. Cf. also Dömling's discussion of Christine's Dit de la rose, in Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, pp. 18-19.

<sup>503</sup> Poirion, Le Poète, p. 203, quoted in Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 70, n. 7.

tion, at least) after the middle of the century. The virelai was cultivated more by Machaut at the earlier period, while the rondeau became important later.<sup>504</sup>

In summary, the lyrical interpolations in the Remede bear on two aspects of the external evidence for the transmission of Machaut's work. In integrating the works into the poem, Machaut has given us, first, hints about the function that the various forms of poetry served in their original milieu. The veracity of the actual situations in the Remede is unimportant: the story is presented as if it were a real occurrence in the contemporary society. For example, the lai appears to fulfill a definite role in the courtly ethic, as a work that is supposed to mirror "die zereissende Lage des unglücklich Verliebten. . . ."<sup>505</sup> Second, Machaut provides hints about his own perception of the relative merit and complexity of the interpolated poems. That the lai is the most demanding of the lyrical forms cultivated by the poet is corroborated by its prime position in the large MSS of the author's works; it explains why polyphonic pieces were not placed first in the MSS. In addition, the Remede underlines the importance of the fixed, written form of Machaut's art. The illustrations in MS C, the earliest of the MSS containing the Remede, enhance this impression, for in several illustrations, Machaut or Esperance is seen reading from a horizontal roll of parchment.<sup>506</sup> Machaut's art is not depicted as improvisatory: the written

<sup>504</sup> Cf. Günther's chart on p. 99 of her "Chronologie und Stil," and the discussion on pp. 107-10. Note also the relative crudeness of the Remede rondeau [Rem7] compared to the mature style of Machaut's rondeaux. This may explain the replacement of the rondeau in the GB-Cmc 1594 Remede with a more representative rondeau, "Tant doucement" [R9], one more acceptable to later tastes. Not a single virelai of the later Voir Dit was set to music, although Machaut was urged repeatedly by his correspondent.

<sup>505</sup> Ursula Aarburg, "Lai, Leich," MGG, VIII (1960), col. 86.

artifact is visible from the start.

### The Jugement dou Roy de Navarre and the Lay de plour

In Navarre, Machaut is explicit in indicating his personal interest in the presentation of his works. The allegorical figure Dame Beneürté (Lady Happiness) rebukes the author for an unkind reference he made to her in Behaingne. He answers her as follows:

J'ay bien de besoingnes escriptes  
 Devers moy, de pluseurs manieres,  
 De moult de diverses matieres,  
 Dont l'une l'autre ne ressamble.  
 Consideré toutes ensamble,  
 Et chascune bien mise a point,  
 D'ordre en ordre et de point en point,  
 Dès le premier commencement  
 Jusques au darrein finement,  
 Se tout voloie regarder  
 —Dont je me vorray bien garder—  
 Trop longuement y metteroie;  
 Et d'autre part, je ne porroie  
 Trouver ce que vous demandez,  
 S'a vos paroles n'amendez<sup>507</sup>.

One can imagine Machaut at a desk covered with voluminous writings. They are not in great disarray, but form a well-ordered whole—they should be "considered," as he explains, "all together, from the first beginning to the

<sup>506</sup> In the Remede, in connection with the lai [Rem1], the complainte [Rem2], and the ballade [Rem5], he is shown sitting on the ground, writing out the newly-composed work. See Appendix C, Remede miniatures C12-14, C23, C31-33, C35, C42, and C92. Miniature C33, directly preceding Rem5 in MS C, is repro. in New Grove, XI, 433. In Vg12 (before v. 3013, the ballade Rem5), Guillaume is depicted kneeling before Lady Hope with an open book in his hands.

<sup>507</sup> Oeuvres, I, 167-68 (vv. 884-98). ["I have much written matter before me, of various kinds, on many and diverse subjects, of which the one doesn't resemble the next. Considered all together, and each well arranged, from one part to the next and from one instant to the next, from the first beginning up to the last end. If I wanted to look at everything—which I'd well like to avoid—I would take too long; and besides, I couldn't find what you ask, unless you make amends for your words."]

last ending"—just as the works would be presented in one of the complete MSS.<sup>508</sup> Even allowing for the obvious comic element in the passage, it is clear that the shape of his complete oeuvre had already begun to occupy the consciousness of the author at the mid-point of his career.

Machaut the narrator is later put on trial for offending statements made in Behaingne, and defends his writings himself. The judgment goes against him, and he must write a lai as punishment. Again, the self-conscious nature of Machaut's art, in which the author proudly calls attention to his own craft and virtuosity, is evident.

The appended Lay de plour [L22] is more loosely connected to Navarre than the lyrical interpolations in the Remede. Indeed, the manner in which L22 is presented in the MSS has given rise to speculation on the date and genesis of both the narrative poem Navarre and the MS C.

In MS C, after a collection of virelais, ballades, and lais, an unordered series of works, comprising further examples of each of these three forms along with several rondeaux, appears before the closed collection of motets. L22 appears at the opening of the "unordered" series.<sup>509</sup> Günther has argued that since L22 is placed after Navarre (dated 1349 in vv. 24-25) as part of the narrator's amende in MSS Vg(B)ME, a terminus of 1349 is provided, before which the unordered section of MS C must have been written.<sup>510</sup> But some MSS

<sup>508</sup> In Appendix C, see the miniatures cited in n. 483 above, and A80 (to the Fonteinne).

<sup>509</sup> See above, pp. 138ff.

<sup>510</sup> Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 100, following Hoepffner, Oeuvres, lxxxviii. The unordered series of the MS corresponds to a literal copy of Eric Hicks' "stage 2" of the transmission of poetical works: that of a dossier of works, before they passed into an ordered recueil, see Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1977), p. lviii.

do not specifically associate L22 with Navarre.<sup>511</sup> Furthermore, Navarre itself does not appear in C, only L22. Because of this apparent loose association of the lai with the larger poem, Williams has argued that it is illogical to believe that the lai was composed at the same time as the poem.<sup>512</sup>

However, the lai is specifically associated with the narrative complex Behaingne-Navarre by its subject matter. The lai is written for a lady grieving over her lover's coffin, precisely the character "wronged" in the earlier Behaingne. L22 perfectly atones for Machaut's earlier judgment against the lady. The lai may antedate somewhat the composition of Navarre, but surely its composition is connected to the artistic decision to reverse the judgment of the earlier dit.<sup>513</sup> Though Navarre does not appear in C, other evidence places the date of the MS at about the same time as the composition of Navarre, that is, about 1349.<sup>514</sup>

<sup>511</sup> MSS AF-G; in M it appears in two places—not only after Navarre, but also separately in the section of lais.

<sup>512</sup> Williams, "The Music of Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 106-07, and "An Author's Role," p. 452. Williams' proposed revisions to the datings of Hoepffner do not stand up in view of the corrected dating for MS C.

<sup>513</sup> Perhaps Machaut's situation was parallel to that of Alain Chartier seventy-five years later. Letters document the demands of the ladies at court that Chartier answer for the Belle Dame sans Merci. In response, he wrote the Excusacion aux Dames (Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 7).

<sup>514</sup> See above, p. 131. It has not been pointed out that one of the miniatures associated with the lais in MS C (miniature C101 in Appendix C), portraying a man hiding behind bushes spying on the conversation of a noble and a lady, exactly recalls the situation of the narrator at the opening of Behaingne. This miniature (fol. 184r) actually appears before "Un mortel lai" [L12], the last lai of the "ordered" series in the MS, immediately preceding L22 (B19 was added later, between gatherings). A similar illustration appears with many MS presentations of Behaingne [MSS CJFE (lost in K)], and one wonders if the illustration should have been placed with L22, or whether this is a clue to the association of L12 (see miniatures F10, E10, C1, J3 and A9 in Appendix C).

taur a martur. et de moztel paine. Et tant duc. qu'auoir duc cōmal ue p  
 q: d'auoir et d'auoir. la son d'ueu de maunne. I a l'ad'ure. de m'ine. la se nuistur

rou deure creature humaine. **D**uls amis tant au gendat tant n'y  
 et de l'ue qui au mozt p'annie. **E**n roy estoit uel'p'annie tant ?

gret coustance. tant ap' d'ueu tant ap' p'annie. quat' u'auais ne ce d'erray  
 ma fiance. ma ioc ma soustenance. l'aste ce. oz p'udis les ap

**Q**ue douleur me pour et lance. de si moztel lance. au cuer que de l'esperance. p'  
 Bien perit a ma concenance. et a ma loquene. car ma uerx et puistance n'au

roy uies iours aueray. **A** cuer p'udis regter et de vis. ton haut pris  
 tant me d'ueu et enlay. **A** mes espris. et mes paradis. estoit mis

que tant pris einsi le couuueur. Et vis a vis ce roy ce uent vis. doulz amis  
 et al' as. en roy sapieut. Que soit deus uies cuers ? pris. q'at d'ens

et d'ouid de roy me couuueur. **A** vis se fuste moult lie deus cuer p'  
 et remis. quant vie le cuer. **D**ouat nuer u'auais a mō esgart. q'  
**Q**ue uolent a l'indie. **E**n mort tant me coutralie  
**M**ais l'ouneur. et ualeric **E**t tant de maulx me repart  
**E**t ces uens qui se part **A** nus que li cuers me part  
**P**le monde en meure par **M**ais a ceoys que se de vie  
**N**ut fait de uous la repne. **L**u' u'ient mes cuers supple.

Figure 4.1: F-Pn fr. 1586, fol. 188v

An irregularity in the musical text of L22 in C may indicate that it was a very recent composition at the time it was copied into the MS. Most of the music for the last strophe is lacking, because the text scribe entered only the first few words in a manner that allowed room above for the staff (that is, only those words that fall in the MS at the end of the last line of the penultimate strophe have music, see Figure 4.1). The rest of the final strophe was entered as a text residuum. No other lai in any Machaut MS is notated in this manner, which on the face of it would seem to be a sensible notational shorthand, since the music of the last strophe is identical to that of the first, except for the transposition of the music up a fifth. All this implies a clear knowledge of the way the lai as a form operated, and one could speculate that this is evidence of a copy from an early redaction, perhaps even from the composer's "autograph." By the standards of the other lais, the text scribe of C should have entered all of the final strophe in a manner that would have allowed the drawing of the staves and the entry of music. When he did not do this, the error became impossible to rectify.<sup>515</sup> The argument then that L22 is an early work attached to Navarre as an afterthought appears weaker; it probably dates from the same period as Navarre.

<sup>515</sup> The musical incipit for strophe XII may have been added later. Thus, it is possible that the copy from which the lay was entered in the MS lacked all of the music for the final section. Perhaps knowledge of the normal transposition of a fifth was assumed. The last strophe of all of the lais are transposed up a fifth, except L7, which is transposed up a 4th; L24, down a 4th; and L1, 2, 3, 12, 17, and 23, in which the first and last strophes are at the same pitch level. But the exceptions are fewer: L23 and L24 are possibly not authentic (see below); L1 is exceptional in that music for only one strophe is notated at all; L17 is canonic; thus, L2, 3, and 12 (early works?) are the only true exceptions to the normal practice.

MSS that do not associate L22 with Navarre [MSS AF-G] represent later stages of the collection of the works.<sup>516</sup> I have argued above that the relocation of the lai is an example of the same rationalization of the order of the works that brought about the reorganization and relocation of the lyrical poems of the Loange (see above, pp.59 f and 86f). In MS A, the removal of L22 into the complete collection of lais is indicated by the index, though the lai does not appear in its prescribed position, and had to be added subsequently onto the end of the lai section. It is likely that the exemplar for A did not contain L22 in the place listed by the index, and the intention to relocate it can be considered a late authorial revision, not wholly successfully carried out by the scribe.

To summarize, it appears that the the first extant MS of Machaut's oeuvre, MS C, arose at about the same time as the first suggestion that Machaut was occupied with the composition of a narrative poem (Navarre) complementing an earlier work, and a connection between the author having a complete-works MS prepared and the writing of a poem that demanded knowledge of an earlier work for its proper understanding, is suggested. We are thus granted a brief glimpse at what, besides his avowed service to li Dieus d'amours, influenced Machaut in the composition of poetry.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>516</sup> This is another respect in which the late MS E can be regarded as derivative of the Vg(B) MS-type, see above, p. 102.

<sup>517</sup> A very interesting idea of Silvia Huot (private communication) should be aired here as well, namely, that the stimulus to make the collection of Machaut's first complete-works MS is owed to the outbreak of the plague (1349). (An historically important description of the plague opens Navarre.) Further, the Lai de plour may be linked to Machaut's own feeling of impending death.



### The Fonteinne amoureuse and the Voir Dit

In the Fonteinne, as with the Remede, a long lyrical work presented near the opening of the poem (in this instance an 800-line complainte, vv. 235-1034), is carefully integrated into the story line, and again Machaut the author-narrator places himself in an interesting relationship with his poetry. One evening he overhears a noble lover in the next room lamenting an impending separation from his beloved,<sup>518</sup> and the narrator copies down the complainte from dictation. Later in the story, when the lover asks the narrator to compose a lai or complainte for him, Machaut is able to hand over his copy of the lover's lucubration.<sup>519</sup> Such contrived situations again demonstrate Machaut's preoccupation with the written transmission of his lyrics.<sup>520</sup>

. . . . .

Machaut shows himself in the Voir Dit to be concerned with all aspects of his métier.<sup>521</sup> Several passages bearing on external aspects of the transmission of the works are discussed in the important article of Sarah Jane Williams cited earlier.<sup>522</sup> Since many of the issues she raises relate

<sup>518</sup> He will later be recognized as Jean, future duc de Berry, about to set off for England as a hostage in fulfillment of the conditions of the treaty of Brétigny (1361).

<sup>519</sup> l. 1504, cf. Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, pp. 164f.

<sup>520</sup> See Appendix C, miniatures E22 and A80.

<sup>521</sup> Compare Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," p. 25: "In both the Voir Dit and the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, Machaut consistently portrays himself as above all a professional writer, for whom the activity of composing poetry and music is closely linked with the physical aspects of the writer's craft: the transcription and circulation of manuscripts and the business of patronage. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of Machaut's self-presentation as a poet in the Voir Dit is his explicit concern with the supervision of the arrangement and copying of 'editions' of his collected works—i.e., with the making of codices."

<sup>522</sup> "An Author's Role."

directly to this discussion, a review of her argument is in order.<sup>523</sup>

Williams divides the discussion into three main parts. First, she treats references from the poem that mention both small and large forms of Machaut's work (including letters, lyrics with and without music, book-length dits, and large comprehensive MSS) and the manner in which these forms were dictated or written, copied, and diffused. Letters were dictated to a readily-available secretary; neither Guillaume nor Peronne (Machaut's teenage admirer whom he would call "Toute belle") were accustomed to writing down their own letters.<sup>524</sup> Similar statements are made about the lyrics, although Williams is less prone to believe accounts of impromptu dictation of rondeaux and ballades. But it is clear that written texts of lyrical poems, and a smaller number of written musical settings, circulated in wide circles, and in multiple copies. There was a constant demand for new lyrics and music, so much so that Machaut complained that his ability to work was disturbed.<sup>525</sup> Machaut also received similar small pieces from other authors.<sup>526</sup> In contrast to the chansons of the trouvères, the work of art in

<sup>523</sup> References to specific passages in the Voir Dit may be found in William's article.

<sup>524</sup> According to the Voir Dit, at least. But it must be recalled that Guillaume was for many years secretary to Jean of Luxembourg. Other instances in which letters were exchanged in medieval poetry are cited in Chaytor, From Script to Print, App. B, pp. 144-47.

<sup>525</sup> Paris ed., letter XXXV, p. 262. Toute belle's requests for pieces to be set to music were so insistent that Machaut not only passed off old works as new (e.g., she already knew R4), but also never set several pieces (esp. V33-35), in spite of her importuning. Such situations of course have ramifications for the perceived "truth" of the story, see Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," Chap. 4. Note further that before their correspondence, Peronne did not know Machaut's narrative works, only his lyrical poetry.

<sup>526</sup> The text "Quant Theseus" was written by one Thomas Paien; Machaut composed "Ne quier veoir" on the same rhymes, and set both to music [B34].

Machaut's time was fixed and communicated in written form.

Several passages in the Voir Dit relate to larger narrative poems, which also circulated in individual copies, but in more limited numbers. It may be significant that it is only Machaut's most recently completed dit, the Fonteinne (c. 1361), that is mentioned in the Voir Dit as circulating individually. Here again, there is an emphasis on what is most recent, at least in the circles immediately surrounding the author. Otherwise, references to larger poems are limited to the Voir Dit, concerning matters such as the rate of composition of the work, or the ordering of the letters.

Indeed, it has been argued that the principal subject matter of the Voir Dit is the composition of the Voir Dit itself.<sup>527</sup> Estimates of the final length of the poem (in numbers of gatherings) before its completion indicate the author's professional interest in technical matters of MS copying.<sup>528</sup> An occasion on which the incomplete work is sent to Peronne demonstrates how an author retained control over unauthorized copies of unfinished poems. Machaut had repeatedly refused to have a copy made of the incomplete work. Finally, the only existing copy (the copy supposedly dictated by Machaut to his secretary), though still unfinished, was itself sent, after being carefully wrapped in cloth and sealed with wax. It appears that Machaut wanted to avoid the potential danger of an incomplete, and therefore, in a sense, corrupt copy of the work from entering into circulation.<sup>529</sup>

<sup>527</sup> Cf. Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 200.

<sup>528</sup> See above, n. 271.

<sup>529</sup> This provides an important clue to Machaut's sense of the integrity of his work. Thorpe, Principles, p. 40, gives an account of an early fourteenth-century French author, Guillaume de Digulleville, whose text was "published" in an incomplete state without his consent. On this and a similar example, see Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts," p. 173. In a previous age, other means were used to prevent

A second area discussed by Williams concerns the "physical circumstances" of book production, based on references to Machaut's "livre ou je met toutes mes choses," aptly defined by Williams

as his personal copy (perhaps partly autograph) of his works, left unbound, to which he added new works as he finished them, grouping new lyrics with other lyrics, a musical composition or narrative poem with others of its kind, and from time to time supervising an "edition" of a single copy to be made for one of his patrons.<sup>530</sup>

Machaut's statement that this collection exists "par pieces" is linked to the "pecia" discussed by Destrez.<sup>531</sup> The poet states that the advantage of the unbound disposition is for ease of copying text and music. The important lesson here is that complete MSS derive from more unified exemplar material than musical anthologies, which derive from several exemplars.<sup>532</sup>

The third area discussed by Williams focuses on Machaut's statements in the Voir Dit concerning the separable nature of his personal exemplar and how this helps interpret aspects of the extant principal Machaut MSS.<sup>533</sup> As she notes, the author's exemplar could well explain the shape of the extant MSS, in which works are generally added onto the end of each larger subdivi-

unwanted or premature "publication": for several examples, such as the use of complex rhyme schemes to prevent interpolation, etc., see Chaytor, From Script to Print, pp. 119ff.

<sup>530</sup> Williams, "An Author's Role," p. 445. See above, p. 145f.

<sup>531</sup> La Pecia. On p. 84f, Destrez goes so far as to suggest an association between several common expressions in modern French involving the word "pièce" and the practice he described for medieval universities. Destrez' Pl. 16 shows usage of the term "piece" in a MS. See his explication of p. 95 and the discussion on p. 14. More recent studies are Pollard, "The pecia System in the Medieval Universities," and P. R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet,' a Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," Codicologica, 3 (1980), 46-69.

<sup>532</sup> Cf. M. Bent, "Some Criteria," pp. 298-99.

<sup>533</sup> See Chap. 2 above, Summary. I believe that the speculation linking the supposed condition of the exemplar to the shape of the surviving MSS is more limited than what is suggested by Williams, and what was later attempted in the dissertation of E. Keitel.

sion. This exemplar was unbound for convenience in copying and to facilitate the addition of new works within the MS. The personal copy was supposedly subject to rearrangement at each copying. But it was not necessary for the exemplar's order to reflect the exact shape of the derivative copy—a prior written plan (as the index to MS A) could have guided the ordering of the works. And, as Margaret Bent has shown, the order of MS B has little discernible influence on the order of works in its partial copy, MS E.<sup>534</sup> Finally, it is also not clear what role purely external factors played in the final ordering of the parts of a MS. For instance, consideration of the desires of the patron may have been a factor in the assembly of MS C.<sup>535</sup>

. . . . .

To summarize, Machaut's self-consciousness about his writing begins with the early Behaingne, with its reference to the written poem as the poem itself unfolds, and continues in Navarre of the middle period, in which the author calls attention now to several books and their arrangement. Further, the relationship of a self-standing lyrical poem to the larger narrative framework of which it is a part, for example, the lai of the Remede, or the complainte of the Fonteinne, was a matter of great concern and artistry on the part of the poet.<sup>536</sup> In each case, the lyrics are presented in the story

<sup>534</sup> See the paper cited above in n. 198.

<sup>535</sup> See Günther, "Contribution de la musicologie," cited above, p. 132f. A general discussion of the role of the patron is H. S. Bennett, "The Author and His Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," Essays and Studies by Members of The English Association, 23 (1938), 7-24, esp. pp. 9-18.

<sup>536</sup> Kevin Brownlee treats this aspect, the relationship between the local narrator figure within the poem and Machaut the author of the whole,

line as independent written works; it is as if they were not composed by the character on the spot, but were already parts of a written tradition.

From the Remede, an early work, Machaut's interest in the arrangement of large collections of poetry and music is seen in microcosm, for the Remede is itself a miniature version of a complete-works MS. A kind of treatise providing models of all the forms of lyric poetry cultivated by Machaut, graded according to their difficulty, the poem integrates the lyrics into a complementary narrative story line, thereby providing clues to the function of the lyrics in the courtly society for which they were composed.

The late Voir Dit concerns itself almost completely with the transmission of poetry and music; we follow the growth of the poem during its composition. At the same time, MSS are being copied, not only other single narrative poems, individual lyrics and music pieces, but also MSS containing the complete works (cf. the categories of MSS given above in Chap. 1, pp. 34 ff). The "publication" of Machaut's works was very varied, and much was overseen to some extent by the author. Recent datings of the miniatures in Vg and A indicate that the copying of complete-works MSS continued unabated through the 1370s. Pushing the copying of the main part of Vg (without the Prise) into the 1370s also indicates the active interest Machaut took in the order his works appeared in. For very soon after the MS Vg was underway, the conception of a new order for the text portion of the codex took hold, documented by the composition of the Prologue and the prescriptive index for MS A. The collection, arrangement, and the program of illustrations accompanying his works were major occupations for Machaut in the last decade or so of his life.

in "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," passim.

## INTERNAL EVIDENCE: SCRIBAL ERROR AND THE MECHANICS OF COPYING MUSIC

According to James Thorpe, one of the most difficult problems in textual analysis "is the essential difficulty in distinguishing the reasons for variants."<sup>537</sup> Certainly the interpretation of variants becomes more secure if one can determine the most common errors in the transmission, and the ways in which these errors could have come about.<sup>538</sup> A basic distinction emphasized by many editors is the separation of purely mechanical errors (unintentional changes) from deliberate alteration of the copy (intentional changes).<sup>539</sup>

Edward J. Kenney suggests further refinements to distinguish between variants:

"Variation can occur in several ways: through mechanical damage or accidental omission; through misunderstanding due to changes in fashions of writing; through ignorance of language or subject matter; through inattention or stupidity; and through deliberate efforts at correction."<sup>540</sup>

<sup>537</sup> Principles, p. 119.

<sup>538</sup> See Bruce Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, (Oxford, 1964), p. 158. A list of the kinds of errors that occur in the texts that concern him is on pp. 186ff. Also George Kane, Piers Plowman: The A Version (London, 1960), pp. 115ff.

<sup>539</sup> The terminology "unintentional changes : intentional changes" is borrowed from Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, p. 158. The distinction between these two categories is seen in most studies. Cf. Kane, Piers Plowman, pp. 116f (mechanical errors : deliberate alteration of the copy), or Fredson Bowers, "Textual Criticism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1968), XXI, 920a (spontaneous variations : determined variation). See also the analysis of "the mechanism of transcription" in Eugène Vinaver, "Principles of Textual Emendation," in Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to Prof. Mildred K. Pope, (Manchester, 1939), pp. 351-69; rpt. in Kleinhenz, ed. Medieval Manuscripts, pp. 139-59. Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions," pp. 326-28, rejects the importance of the distinction between "editorial" and "accidental" change.

<sup>540</sup> "Textual Criticism," p. 189b.

He would have us separate "psychological" errors (due to "tired or inattentive copyist," errors common to any period) from errors "contingent on the period and the medium of transmission."<sup>541</sup> And of course these factors must be placed in the context suggested by the external history of the tradition. In the case of Machaut, the composition of the works stretches over relatively wide chronological boundaries for a single author, thus, a greater or lesser period of time separates the original redaction from its earliest surviving copy. Furthermore, although the texts were copied and circulated widely as individual pieces, the texts of the main MSS themselves derive from collections: the MSS do not (with the exception of parts of MS E) reflect wholly new stints of collecting individual pieces, open to editing and rearrangement by anonymous scribes. The texts in the main MSS were respected, and were not subject to interpolation. Interpolations (e.g., new voices) in the music appear only in MSS copied out of the purview of the author (as F-CA 1328), or reflect additions made after the death of the author, perhaps due to changing tastes (as with MS E).<sup>542</sup> Finally, the MSS were copied by professional scribes. Accuracy was important, but it could be sacrificed at times for the sake of evenness of page appearance.

A thoroughgoing study of the types of variants to which verbal texts were subject is found in the introductions to the editions of the first and second versions of Piers Plowman.<sup>543</sup> George Kane found that all of the MSS were corrupt, thus the Lachmannian technique of classification of MSS by shared

<sup>541</sup> Kenney, "Textual Criticism," p. 192a.

<sup>542</sup> Exceptions are some new works in MS C, copied before Machaut had completed them (B22, R10, V29). Rem5 was later filled-out to four voices (it appears with two voices in C).

<sup>543</sup> Piers Plowman: The A Version; Piers Plowman: The B Version, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London, 1975).



errors was not practicable. For the same reason, it was not possible to use the technique that Joseph Bédier had restored to currency, the reliance on a single base MS as the authority.<sup>544</sup> "The sole source of authority is the variants themselves, and among them, authority, that is originality, will probably be determined most often by identification of the variant likeliest to have given rise to the others."<sup>545</sup> Each case is judged on its own merits and the resulting text is eclectic. Kane was able to isolate certain general tendencies of substitution, distinct from mechanical errors of transmission, some deliberate and careful, others undoubtedly unconscious. In other words, the same context suggested the same alteration to several scribes independently.<sup>546</sup>

With texts, a freer prose form can be distinguished from a more strictly regulated poetic form. The temptation for scribal substitution or emendation was greatest with vernacular prose texts, which the scribe may have been actively understanding and interpreting as he wrote.<sup>547</sup> Indeed, Kane

<sup>544</sup> For a basic presentation of the controversy, Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, pp. 159-61. The article of Vinaver cited in fn. 539 above demonstrates the approach of one of Bédier's students. For a modern view of the repercussions among scholars of Romance languages, see Foulet, On Editing Old French Texts, pp. 19-39.

<sup>545</sup> Kane, Piers Plowman, p. 115. According to Kenney, "Textual criticism," p. 192a, the principle giving priority to the reading most likely to have given rise to the other readings is traceable to eighteenth-century textual critics.

<sup>546</sup> A parallel with music can be seen. Did the scribe of a certain region around 1480 make a change in a cadence figuration (an emendation, a substitution) deliberately, or was it unconscious, that is, to him, was the form he wrote considered equivalent to the form he saw in the source being copied?

<sup>547</sup> It is false to think that a scribe necessarily set out to copy the text exactly as it stands. See Elspeth Kennedy, "The Scribe as Editor," Mélanges . . . Frappier, (Geneva, 1970), I, 523-37. Kennedy determined that the epic traditions of the thirteenth century were treated loosely by scribes. Changes were made ('editing') for several reasons: to modernize

notes that the large number of variants and the chaotic nature of the MS readings in Piers Plowman is in part due to the aspect of the poetry: it is not composed in rhyming lines of fixed syllable length, but in flexible alliterative lines of uneven length.

Several characteristics of music, particularly its physical presentation in the MSS prior to the fifteenth century, made dealing with it very different from dealing with texts. Music was inherently less open to scribal alteration. Even monophonic works were copied in two separate passes. After the text was laid out in the proper disposition, its formal structure had to remain untouched, or the music could not be fitted to it. If, as was generally the case, the work was strophic in structure, alteration of a structural aspect of the single strophe set to music would render performance of the residual strophes senseless. Thus, large variation between copies would not be expected.<sup>548</sup>

the language, to fill in gaps in the sources, to rectify inconsistencies, to cater to certain patrons (Kennedy, pp. 524 and 531). Kane, Piers Plowman, p. 128, states that "in general scribes set out to produce what seemed to them a more correct, or more easily intelligible, or a more emphatic, or a more elegant text."

<sup>548</sup> An interesting collision between the urge of the modern philologist to reconstruct an "authoritative" or "original" text and the limits that music places on a text is seen in the new ed. by E. J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison, Medieval English Songs (New York, 1979). There are examples in which Dobson has altered a text to make it conform to a reconstructed original state. This "original" however, no longer fits with the music in the MS, thus, the music is adjusted to fit the reconstructed text. See the review by John Stevens of this book in Music and Letters, 62 (1981), 461-66. Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968), II, 406-10, has an important commentary on Vitry's motet "Vos quid/ Gratissima," showing that the poem of the motetus was probably altered when it was fit to the music: would a philologist ask that we change the music of the motet? And if Vitry was the author of both text and music?

In polyphonic music, the opportunity for creative emendation by the scribe during the copying process was even more limited. In a texted voice, the scribe had to follow two variables: both text and music. If the music was copied without careful attention to its correspondence with the text, the parts soon fell out of phase. Extreme care and caution had to be exercised in this respect, which explains the frequency with which just this aspect of the music is corrected in the Machaut MSS: it was the aspect most likely to go awry. This also explains how quickly "text underlay" became corrupted in late or derivative sources. Because music was copied in parts, and the portion of one voice accompanying the corresponding section of another voice was not immediately apparent to the eye, an entire work could become unperformable if the musical text was tampered with. Music copying in the fourteenth century demanded more literalness on the part of the music scribe, and there was less tendency to add purely musical innovations—the text as well as the music had to be respected. Any evidence of "creative emendation," substantive changes in the musical structure, must be considered seriously, because it suggests the intervention of performances and the assertion of distinct preferences on the part of an emendator.<sup>549</sup>

Details of the musical moment, such as performing forces, etc., are of course variable, and are only matters of speculation for the medieval work, given its shape in the MS.<sup>550</sup> Thus we are not really at odds with Dadelsen, who contends that music admits of free adaptation, and is much more variable

<sup>549</sup> Cf. the Fauvel adaptations, explicit reworking of text and its music. Examples of scribal emendations in GB-Lbl Add. 57950 are noted and discussed by M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 149 and 154ff, and M. Bent, "Some Criteria," p. 304.

<sup>550</sup> But external evidence could be brought to bear, such as the knowledge that a certain codex was used at a given institution, the members of which are known.

than texts in this respect.<sup>551</sup> The kind of precision von Dadelsen would have in the texts that concern him is unattainable for the medieval period. The antithesis was perfectly well recognized and neatly expressed by Machaut:

Si vous suppli que vous le daigniez oÿr, et savoir la chose ainsi comme elle est faite, sans mettre ne oster; et se veut dire de bien longue mesure; et qui la porroit mettre sus les orgues, sus cornemuses ou autres instruments, c'est sa droite nature. <sup>552</sup>

The musical work of which he speaks, "Nes que on porroit" [B33], is at once fixed (with respect to its musical structure) and variable (with respect to the details of the instrumentation).

### Musical Variants in the Machaut MSS

There are two general categories of musical variants in the Machaut MSS: 1) mechanical copying errors (Kenney's "psychological" errors), ranging from small oversights to large omissions, and 2) variants that have to do with notational problems. While variants appearing in the first category may be counted as unintentional changes, variants appearing in the second category are less easily classed. These may include "accidental" differences, that is, matters that according to the contemporary thinking would not have materially changed the text, and matters of notation that reflect regional or modernizing tendencies.<sup>553</sup> A third category of variant, large-scale

<sup>551</sup> Georg von Dadelsen, "Ueber den Wert musikalischer Textkritik," in Quellenstudien zur Musik: Wolfgang Schmieder zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Kurt Dorfmueller with Georg von Dadelsen (Frankfurt a. M., 1972), p. 43. He is speaking primarily of flexibility in performance. See also the remarks in Bent, "Some Criteria," pp. 296-97.

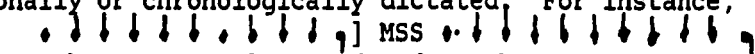
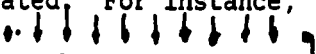
<sup>552</sup> Voir Dit, letter X. ["If you desire that you should deign to hear it, and to know it just as it is made, without adding or taking away; and it is best performed to very long measures; and whoever can perform it on the organ, on crumhorn or other instruments, that is its true nature."] This passage is discussed by Handschin, "Ueber Estampie und Sequenz I," ZMw, 12 (1929), 10, note.

intentional emendation of a voice or passage, does not generally occur in Machaut, except by adding newly-composed voices to a given chanson. Existing voices are generally not reworked melodically.<sup>554</sup> The MS situation in most cases supports a view that there is one correct version of each piece. Small differences of cadence embellishment, seen especially in fifteenth-century chansonniers, simply do not occur.

### Mechanical Copying Errors in Machaut's Music

Mechanical errors in the copying of music common to any period include the omission of individual notes, dittography (erroneous repetition of a note or small pattern of notes), and the erroneous writing of a musical notational symbol, analogous to writing a wrong letter in a word. For instance, in the Machaut MSS, a semibreve was very frequently corrected to a breve (or, less often, to a long). Such errors appear to have been corrected very shortly after the act of commission, indicating that the scribe checked over what he wrote. Or, since the difficulty of copying texted music involved the constant passage of the eye back and forth between model and copy to avoid the very easy error of the text becoming out-of-phase, the error was caught right after it was made. Other common errors include the simple interchanging of musical symbols, and the simple rest error (↗ for ↘ and the various

<sup>553</sup> In one case (the issue of repeated notes), the two broad categories overlap, that is, a matter of copying may have influenced a development in notation (see below, pp. 329ff).

<sup>554</sup> Some outside MSS introduce rhythmic differences. While in some cases these may be corruptions, in others they may represent intentional rhythmic changes, regionally or chronologically dictated. For instance, "Gais et iolis" [B35]:  MSS  I-MOe 5.24 (fol. 29v), at the ouvert, clos, and end. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 56-57, notes some erasures and changes in GB-Ob 213, especially at cadences, which he relates to performances.

permutations), indicating that the symbols were mixed up at the point of passing back to the copy (almost all of these occur in MSS B or E, or in both).

The most frequent copying error (often corrected) is the simple pitch error; one, two, or three notes appear a step too low or too high in the copy.<sup>555</sup> Some of these errors (no doubt the ones that were corrected) may have been due to an "anticipation of copy,"<sup>556</sup> and may give clues as to the amount of music remembered by the scribe as he was writing.

As with the copying of text, the possibility for the most critical, though again unintentional, errors occurs as the scribe attempts to find his place back in the exemplar after copying a passage. With a texted musical voice, the problem of such eyeskips is compounded by the question of what cue was remembered by the scribe—a notational symbol, or a piece of text, or, in some cases, both.<sup>557</sup>

In the main MSS, cases that I was able to identify as eyeskip to an earlier point in the copy are few, and are divided evenly among texted and untexted voices. Most involve the eye skipping up a line of music.<sup>558</sup>

<sup>555</sup> Curiously, wrong notes have been considered prime choices for "significant variants" in music. See Wolfgang Dömling, "Zur Ueberlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts," *Mf*, 22 (1969), 191. In my view, this is a typical case of a similarity of context resulting in the same alteration by several scribes independently. Bent, "Some Criteria," p. 304, notes that MSS with errors still could have been used to learn from, and the errors corrected in rehearsal.

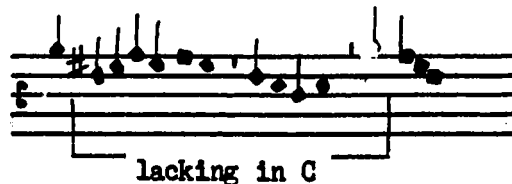
<sup>556</sup> That is, the scribe wrote what he thought was to follow before actually referring to the exemplar. See Kane, *Piers Plowman*, p. 122.

<sup>557</sup> Only MSS BE have conjunctive variants.

<sup>558</sup> For instance, Hocket hoquetus A (fol. 451v, st. 10): skipped up a staff to the point of the similar ligature (♭); ten notes and rests copied before the error was discovered.

By contrast, the eyeskip ahead is quite a common scribal error in the copying of music in the Machaut MSS.<sup>559</sup> Several serious errors involve a whole line of music, several other examples are many notes long. The longest occurred in MS B, in the Qui propter section of the Credo (mot. fol. 287v, st. 8/9-fol. 288r, st. 1): a full line of the exemplar Vg was skipped. In this instance, the scribe of B finally looked at the text he was supposed to overlay—this is how the error was discovered. By the time he noted the error, however, he had copied two full lines and the beginning of a third at the top of the recto. All wrong notes were erased and corrected. Cf. also R17 ca. B (fol. 320r, st. 3): a whole line of the tenor was entered as the final line of the ca., then erased and corrected. B often ignored the help of the text below, a sure sign of hasty copying. The most egregious errors committed in MS B arose from the scribe's failure to follow this principle.

Small errors can occur in the *lais*, usually a completely syllabic music, with a one-to-one correspondence between text syllables and notational symbols, even in MS A.<sup>560</sup> It is possible that the text-music relationship was less carefully attended to in syllabic pieces, because the relationship of notes to words is easy to derive. A simple example of eyeskip in a textless voice is R9 tr. C (fol. 202v):



<sup>559</sup> An important eyeskip in the copying of the text to be set to music was discussed above, M17 tr. A (fol. 431r, st. 1): a caret insertion by the music scribe, st. 10, was necessary, because the text scribe skipped from "-ee" to "-ee" in the poetry.

<sup>560</sup> Ex. of Rem1, (fol. 53v, st. 2-3): two notes left out at the beginning of a passage, the rest moved up to fit in. Cf. also L12 A (fol. 389v, st. 3): the music scribe skipped ahead exactly one phrase. Since the first seven verses are isometric, each phrase could be perfectly overlaid to words; the error was erased and corrected.

There are such eyeskips in all three voices of the Hocket in G, which also lacks the last half of the tenor. Perhaps the professional scribe just skipped the entire end of the tenor, since it would not have fit in the available space anyway; but the last note notated is at the same pitch as the last note of the piece, and eyeskip is conceivable. These errors are frequent enough that a pattern emerges: it further supports my thesis that the presence of a text was of great importance as a guidepost to the copier of music. Eyeskips are more frequent, and less often corrected, in textless voices.

The incorrect placing of musical symbols with respect to syllables of text is an error principally determined by the manner in which texted voices were copied. Because it was difficult to remember the relationship of a specific syllable to a specific note, or to a series of notes (melisma), the possibility for error was large, and errors of this sort often occurred, as is indicated by the large number of overlay corrections in the MSS (see Chap. 3). That the Machaut MSS exhibit to varying degrees attempts to correct overlay errors during the copying process makes them rise quite high in our estimation of their accuracy in reflecting their exemplars.

By contrast, the copying of an untexted voice is as uncomplicated as copying any verbal text, and was not open to the complex errors (text and music out-of-phase) that texted voices were prone to. Perhaps because of the exigencies of music overlay, dramatic melodic variants are not met with in the fourteenth century. It was the fifteenth-century practice of underlaying text to an initially textless line of music that gave greater freedom to the scribe writing the music, now unfettered by considerations of following every syllable of the text.



## Notational Variants I: Alteration and Imperfection




Mechanical errors that can occur in the copying of music have been discussed above. The focus moves now to selected notational variants, instances in which the scribe made a conscious choice in copying a passage. A major problem is to isolate features of notational and scribal practice that are in flux, either chronologically or regionally. At the level of the individual variant, it is difficult to distinguish what may be local usages (that is, in a sense, the "dialect" of the notation for a certain geographical area) from the features that are actually modernizing tendencies, which replace outdated notational usages. Alteration will be discussed specifically here because notational variants of several kinds bear on it. Two other notational questions, the development of chains of syncopations in imperfect time and the use of the punctus additionis, will be discussed below in connection with the transmission of M8.

Ursula Günther has emphasized that the theorists devoted a disproportionate amount of space to triple time and prolation as compared to duple.<sup>561</sup> The practical sources indicate that scribes as well went to extra lengths to clarify difficult aspects of the notation. Very frequently, dots in themselves unnecessary were added to make the reading of the rhythm absolutely clear.<sup>562</sup>





<sup>561</sup> Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," pp. 11-12.

<sup>562</sup> For instance, the dots in the tenor of R8 (MSS VgBGE only), separating groups of notes in the rhythm  $\blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge . \blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge$ , prevent unwary alteration of semibreves, even though the piece is in tempus imperfectum. There are also several superfluous dots in R11 ct.; R15 ct.; R19 G ca.; many helpful puncti present in other MSS are missing in the virelais in A.

Alteration, at all levels, was a particularly difficult problem. Especially in the late MS E, the rhythmic notation of many pieces was changed to do away with alteration, most often in monophonic pieces. It is possible, taken with the other evidence about the lai section in MS E (see below), that the elimination of alteration has to do with performance requirements.<sup>563</sup>

M16  E; Rem1  E; there are many similar examples among the lais. B22 ct.  E; the new ct. in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 69v, eliminates all of the alteration.

Nevertheless, there are some examples of adding alteration: the new ct. of R7 in E has much alteration.<sup>564</sup>

Machaut's notational practice with regard to alteration was briefly discussed by Hoppin in connection with Schrade's edition.<sup>565</sup> A basic precept emphasized by Hoppin is that alteration is only acceptable before a note of the next higher value. But irregularities do occur in the sources, not before notes of lesser or equal value as Schrade had done, but at the other extreme. Many examples require alteration of a semibreve before a long or maxima. Most often, this usage appears in a lower voice at the end of a major division in a chanson, in ligature:  or . At the same time, other sources may employ the theoretically correct form:  or .<sup>566</sup>

<sup>563</sup> Cf. Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*, pp. 55 and 75-76 for some passages notated in GB-Ob 213 to eliminate alteration, perhaps for the convenience of less skilled performers.

<sup>564</sup> In L14 E, the sb. alterations are retained; one is even added. This suggests that the scribe of E was not the one to introduce these changes, and that he was copying from exemplars which varied in their use of alteration.

<sup>565</sup> Hoppin, "Notational Licences," pp. 18-20.

<sup>566</sup> Some theorists of the early fourteenth century recognized this as a possibility. Cf. the GB-Lbl Add. 21455 version of Vitry's *Ars nova*: ". . . quando duae semibreves inter duas breves de tempore perfectō vel inter brevem et longam inveniantur, prima unum tempus habebit et secunda





The error is too common to be due to chance; scribes seem to have been genuinely puzzled as to the correct notation. Perhaps the rule of similis ante similem was not uniformly applied in the first half of the century at the prolation level. Certainly there must have been a time of indecision and transition between the Vitry prescriptions for resolving strings of unsigned semibreves and the clear reemergence of the old "second mode" iambic rhythm, but now at the prolation level, witnessed in the earliest ballades and virelais of Machaut. Only the emergence of pieces that clearly differentiate syncopated notation from the non-syncopated notation made observance of the similis ante similem rule necessary at the prolation level, i.e., when chains of syncopations in major prolation were desired.<sup>569</sup>

#### Notational Variants II: The Transmission of the Lais in MS E

The section of MS E devoted to the lai contains two lais that appear in no other MS. Although each is notated monophonically, a combination of sections produces polyphony. In "Pour ce que plus" [L23, Un lay de consolation], the two halves of each strophe combine in two-part polyphony.<sup>570</sup> In "En demantant" [L24], three successive entire strophes combine in three-part polyphony. The twelve strophes yield four three-voice sections.<sup>571</sup>

<sup>569</sup> See Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis," pp. 10-13. Cf. also Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," pp. 98-101.

<sup>570</sup> The polyphony was signaled by Richard Hoppin, "An Unrecognized Polyphonic Lai of Machaut," *MD*, 12 (1958), 93-104. Hoppin's edition of the reconstructed polyphony is on pp. 96-104.

<sup>571</sup> Margaret Hasselman and Thomas Walker, "More Hidden Polyphony in a Machaut Manuscript," *MD*, 24 (1970), 7-16. An edition of the reconstructed polyphony is on pp. 9-16. The three-voice L24 is much more satisfactory musically than the two-part L23. Fallows, "Lai," *New Grove*, X, 371b, brings up the esthetic question of such polyphonic lais: "if each voice was sung and texted the cumulative effect of the poem would presumably be

Scholars have voiced differing opinions concerning the authenticity of these works. Richard Hoppin considered them genuine, since they appeared in a MS that contains only works of Machaut. They do not appear in the earlier Machaut MSS, and are thus late works.<sup>572</sup> Margaret Hasselman and Thomas Walker considered it possible that the *lais* are spurious: "the doubt arises because the polyphonic structure of the two pieces is not characteristic of the *lai* repertory, and because both survive only in the often unreliable manuscript E."<sup>573</sup>

Examination of the entire *lai* section in E turns up several aspects at variance with the central sources, which raises the possibility of regional or modernizing tendencies, even of large-scale intentional emendation. The two polyphonic *lais* should be assessed in the context of the whole picture of the transmission of the *lais* in E.

Machaut's first *lai*, "Loyaute que point" [L1] is an exceptional piece in that music is provided only for the first half of the first strophe. It is the only *lai* that has the same poetic and musical content for all twelve strophes. The element of contrast necessary to the *lai* form is assured by

lost. . . ," and suggests that the polyphony can only be considered as a suggestion for an instrumental accompaniment to a single singing voice.

<sup>572</sup> Hoppin, "An Unrecognized Polyphonic *Lai*," pp. 93-95, and *Medieval Music* (New York, 1978), pp. 407-09. See also Fallows, "*Lai*," p. 371b and table, p. 374.

It should be remembered that the above articles on these *lais* predate the assertion that MS E dates from the early 1390s, approximately fifteen years after the death of Machaut.

<sup>573</sup> Hasselman and Walker, "More Hidden Polyphony," p. 8. Both *lais* are ascribed to Machaut in the MS: L23 is announced on fol. 125r: Item un lay de consolation Guillame Machaut, and after L24 (fol. 129r), the *lai* section ends: Explicit. Cy fine un autre lay de Guillaume Machaut. Deo gracias. Of the nineteen *lais* in MS E, seven are specifically ascribed in the above or in similar manners (following the order in the MS): L1, L11, L3, L10, L23, L13, L24.

the choice of rhymes: forty-seven different rhyming syllables are employed in the course of the work.<sup>574</sup> And at the level of the individual strophe, the metrical scheme, thus the melody, of L1 is more complex to begin with than for the other lais. Schematically, the meter and rhyme of the first strophe can be represented as follows (capital letters denote masculine rhymes, lower-case letters, feminine rhymes, the latter counted here without the weak final syllable):

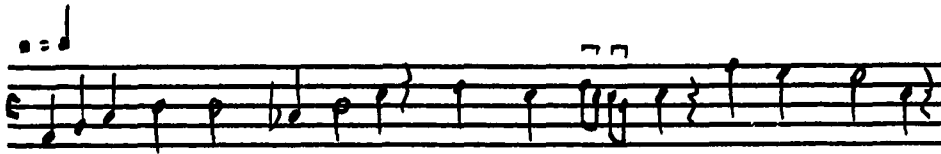
AAAAb AAAb / bbbba bbbA // ccccd cccD / DDDdc DDDc //.  
84448 8448 84448 4448 84448 8448 84448 4448

Figure 4.2 represents the notation of the first strophe in the main MSS. The first half-strophe appears with music, while the text for the second half is laid out below in columns.<sup>575</sup>

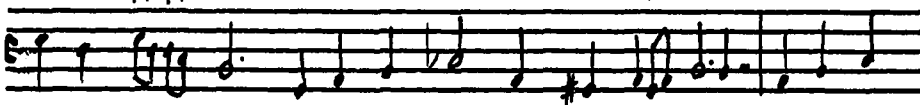
The MS notation appears to be most efficient and economical. The second half of the strophe is to be sung to the same music, as is each half of the succeeding strophes. But the second half of the text cannot be fit to the music provided without adjustments. As the above schematic diagram of the form of the strophe indicates, the rhyme scheme for the second half of the strophe is varied in that feminine and masculine rhymes are exchanged, mak-

<sup>574</sup> Strophe I: -ay, -ie / -aire, -ait; II: -ient, -nir / -ente, -ent; III: -pris, -ure / -ure, -mer; IV: -eint, -eindre / -our, -és; V: -ueil, -ire / -ort, -oir; VI: -age, -vis / -my, -iere; VII: -rée, -art / -las, -lasse; VIII: -saut, -té / -gier, -ance; IX: -roi, -endre / -einne, -ains; X: -oint, -ointe / -oing, -eure; XI: -it, -ert / -oie, -euse; XII: -eü, -üe / -ine, -in. Strophe III, on "-ure," is the only case of reuse of a rhyme. It can be seen that masculine and feminine rhymes fall in different places in each strophe, see n. 576 below.

<sup>575</sup> In the following musical examples, the text and music are not written in the modern manner, with proportionally equal distances between notes of the same rhythmic value, and with words of the text divided into syllables. Rather, closer to the manner of the original sources, the text is first written out in lines that are easy to scan, and the musical notes are spaced as necessary to fall above, or a little to the right of, the syllable set. Occasionally, a word is divided to accommodate melismas above. The examples do not aim to reproduce the layout of any particular MS.



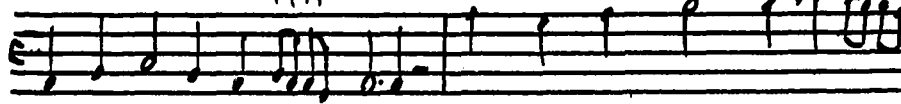
Loyaute que point ne delay. Vuet sans de- lay. Que face un lay.



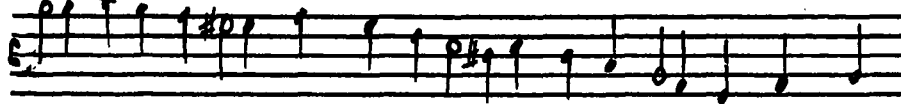
Et pour ce l'ay. Commencié seur ce qu'il me lie. En amours



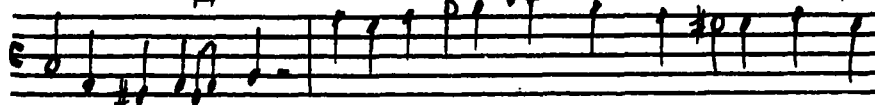
dont si me navray. Que mon vivre ay. Tant com vivray. Mis



sans oster en sa bail- lie. Mais vos cuers point ne s'amol-



lie. Dame iolie. Eins contralie. A chiere lie. Le mien dont



iamais ie n'avray. Joieuse vie. Car mors m'envie. Dont ie



devie. S'en vo gentil corps cuer n'a-vray.

Si ne say de quele part traire  
Puis que contraire  
Pour moy detraire  
M'estes n'attraire

Ne puis de vo plaisant attrait  
Riens qui ne soit pour moy deffaite  
Qui sans meffaite  
Weil toudis faire

Vo service en dit et en fait  
Las einsi de voloir parfait

Vos cuers qui fait  
M'a me deffait  
Sans nul forfait  
Mais pour ce n'en verréz  
retraire.

Le mien que trait  
Aves d'un trait  
Qui le detraire  
Si qu'à la mort m'en  
convient traire

Figure 4.2: Strophe I of L1 in the Main MSS



ing it necessary to add or subtract an extra note at the end of each phrase.<sup>576</sup> Only in MS E (fols. 107r-108v), is the music for the second half-strophe written out in full, and the adjustments for the subtly different syllabic scheme made. Instead of merely repeating a pitch to set the feminine rhyme, descending seconds are used to link those musical phrases whose last note is the same as the first note of the following phrase. Where the original melody sets the feminine syllables with steps of a second, the extra music in E retains these in ligature for the masculine syllable in the corresponding position in the line.<sup>577</sup> The descending second links the musical phrases, and therefore had to be retained. What was left to the conventions of performance practice in the Machaut-supervised sources is explicitly notated in MS E.<sup>578</sup>

L1 is an unusual lai, and it is understandable that the notation for its proper performance was made as explicit as possible in a later source; the revision probably also indicates that the work was actually performed at the later date.

. . . . .

<sup>576</sup> For the succeeding strophes, the pattern of masculine and feminine rhymes changes between every strophe except between IV and V, and between VI and VII: I) *Mf/fM*, II) *MM/fM*, III) *Mf/fM*, IV) *Mf/MM*, V) *Mf/MM*, VI) *fM/Mf*, VII) *fM/Mf*, VIII) *MM/Mf*, IX) *Mf/fM*, X) *Mf/Mf*, XI) *MM/ff*, XII) *Mf/fM*.

<sup>577</sup> Compare, in the fifth line of Figure 4.2, the setting of the syllables "[contra]-lie" and "lie" with the setting of the syllables "[de]-fait" and "[for]-fait" in the fifth and sixth lines of Figure 4.3.

<sup>578</sup> Certain lais of the thirteenth century are notated in such a way as to require large-scale reconstruction on the part of the performer. An example is "En entente curieuse" (*Lai de Notre-Dame*) of Ernoul le Vieux. A facsimile of the opening of the lai from *F-Pn fr. 12615* (Noailles) is printed before p. V of the edition of Alfred Jeanroy, Louis Brandin and Pierre Aubry, *Lais et descorts français du XIIIe siècle: texte et musique* (Paris, 1901).

Si ne say [de] quele part traire. Puis que contraire. [Pour  
 moy detraire.] M'estes n'atraire. Ne puis de vo plaisant  
 atrait. Riens qui ne soit pour moy deffaire. Qui tous iours  
 faire. Vueil sans meffaire. Vo service en dit et en fait. Las  
 ainsi de vouloir parfait. Vo cuers qui fait. M'a me deffait.  
 Sans nul forfait. Mais pour ce n'en verres retraire. Le mien  
 que trait. Aves d'un trait. Qui le detrait. Si qu'a la mort  
 m'en convient traire.

Figure 4.3: The Second Half-strophe of L1 in MS E

Among the other lais in MS E, there are several instances in which large-scale alterations are made in the layout of the music and text. There are but two common forms for the strophe in Machaut's lais. The simplest

design, used about thirty-five percent of the time (66 of 187 cases),<sup>579</sup> is bipartite. A single metrical pattern is stated twice. The first strophe of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" [Rem1] is an example:

ABBCCAAABBCCCA / ABBCCAAABBCCCA.  
73447434474344 73447434474344

Musically, each half-strophe proceeds without internal repetitions. Of course, both halves are set to exactly the same music.

The MS notation is simple. Since the melody is through-composed, the entire text for the first half-strophe is set below the music. The text for the second half-strophe is written on the line below the text for the first. The performer sings through the top line of the text, then returns to the beginning and sings the bottom line through to the same music (Figure 4.4).

More common than this bipartite design is a four-part design for the strophe, found over sixty percent of the time (116 of 187 cases).<sup>580</sup> Each half of the strophe is subdivided, and the same metrical pattern is stated four times. The second strophe of Rem1 provides an example:

AAAAb AAAAb / AAAAb AAAAb.  
84488 84488 84488 84488

All four stanzas are identical in rhyme, meter, and melody, except that the melody for stanzas one and three ends with a half-cadence (ouvert), while stanzas two and four end with a full cadence (clos).<sup>581</sup>

<sup>579</sup> The sample does not include the special case of L1, nor the *lais* not set to music. Rem1 is included.

<sup>580</sup> Treatises of the *seconde rhétorique* always call for a four-part design. Jean Maillard, *Evolution et esthétique du lai lyrique des origines à la fin du XIVE siècle* (Paris, 1961), pp. 363ff, has excerpts from many treatises.

<sup>581</sup> To maintain a consistent terminology, "stanza" refers here to one unit of the four-part strophe. "Half-strophe" refers either to a single unit of the bipartite design, or two stanzas of the four-part design.

Qui n'aroit autre deport. En amer. Fors dous penser. Et  
En- cor y a maint ressort. Ramembrer. Y- ma- giner. En  
sou- venir. Avec l'Espoir de joir. S'aroit il tort. Se le  
dous plaisir. Sa dame ve-oir oir. Son gentil port. Le re-  
port. D'autre confort. Voloit rouver. Car pour un cuer  
cort. Dou bien qui sort. De son parler. Et de son dous  
sa-ouler. Et sous- te-nir. Plus querir. Ne doit merir.  
regarder. Dont l'entrouvrir. Puet garir. Et ga-rentir.

Qui aime fort.  
A-mant de mort.

Figure 4.4: Strophe I of Remède

To the modern musician, the most obvious and economical means of notating such a disposition would be to place all four text lines below a single melody, with the cadential phrase of the first and third lines under the ouvert, or first ending, and the cadential phrase of the second and fourth lines under the clos, or second ending. This is the layout found in the modern editions of the lais. But among the main MSS of the works of Machaut, this disposition appears only once, in the lai of the Remède in MS C (fols. 26r-28r). It is also found in the rotulus Maggs, an individual

Et qui vorroit plus souhaidier. Je n'os cuidier. Si fol  
Car on ne les puet espresier. Ne trop prisier. Quant de  
cuidier. Que cils aim-me de cuer entier. Qui de tels biens  
legier. Puelent de tous mauls a- legier. Et faire par  
n'a sou- fisan- ce. Car qui plus quiert il vuet trichier.  
leur grant puissan- ce. Un cuer na- vre sain et legier.  
S'Amours tant chier. L'a que fichier. Deingne par l'ueil de  
Sans nul dan- grier. Et es- logier. De mal et de joie  
son archier. En son cuer d'eaus la cognoissan- ce.  
a- prochie. Seu- lement de leur ramembran- ce

Figure 4.5: Strophe II of Reml

copy of Machaut's L12.<sup>582</sup>

In the central Machaut sources CAF-GVg(B), except for the single example of MS C cited above, the texts for stanzas one and two are always written out continuously in one line of text, with stanzas three and four written out on the line of text immediately below, exactly analogous to the notation of half-strophes in the bipartite structure. The complete music for both the ouvert-phrase and the clos-phrase is then written in one continuous line

<sup>582</sup> See above, n. 67.

above, one phrase after the other. The performer sings the first two stanzas as a single unit, and then returns to the beginning to sing the second text-line (stanzas three and four) to the same music. The same musical phrase was notated twice, though only the cadence at the end of each half was differentiated. Schematically, the pattern can be represented as follows:

1-o 2-c  
3-o 4-c //.

The need to write out a large amount of music twice was not a cause for concern to the scribe. This layout was easier for the text scribe to notate, since the long lines of text could be written out continuously, without adjustments in the spacing of words for the ouvert and clos cadences.<sup>583</sup> Since this is the disposition found in the complete MSS prepared during Machaut's lifetime (with the exception of Reml in MS C), he must have preferred it. It is even in appearance and clear to read. Figure 4.5 is an example of such notation.

MS E is again the exception. In several of the four-part strophes, the text of the second stanza is written below the text of the first stanza and the ouvert/clos notation employed. The procedure is repeated in the second half-strophe for stanzas three and four:

1-o      3-o  
2 -c / 4 -c //.

The third strophe of "Amis t'amour" [L10, Le lay des dames] in E is as an example of this format (Figure 4.6).<sup>584</sup> Compare the notation of the same

<sup>583</sup> In any case, the disposition eliminates the need for the ouvert/clos. Compare the notation of the lais in F-Pn fr. 146.

<sup>584</sup> See New Grove, XVII, 596 for a facs. of an opening of "Pour ce qu'on" [L3] E (fols. 114v-115r), demonstrating the MS appearance of this notation.

strophe in the main MSS (Figure 4.7).



Se ie ne voy tem-pre-ment. Ton faitis corps gent. Car  
 Pour desir qui si griefment. M'assaut et es-prent. Qu'en  
 vrai-ement. Lon-gue-ment. En ce point durer ne puis.  
 mon dolent. Cuer souvent. Morte m'es-peren- ce truis.  
 Car souvenirs ne me rent. Nul al-le-gement. Fors grief  
 Et ie de toy fre-me-ment. Croy que nullement. D'es-ba-  
 tourment. Qui m'aprent. Ha-ir mes jours et mes nuis.  
 tement. N'as talent. Et qu'en riens ne te de- duis.

Figure 4.6: Strophe III of L10 in MS E

A third strophe design employed by Machaut is bipartite, but partakes of the four-part design in that a partial repetition of a metrical pattern within the half-strophe allows for partial repetition of music, while the remainder is through-composed. This design occurs only five times in the 187 strophes in the sample.<sup>585</sup> An example is the fourth strophe of L3:

AaB AaB Ba aB aB / AaB AaB Ba aB aB.  
 775 775 77 77 77 775 775 77 77 77

<sup>585</sup> L3, str. IV; L5, str. III and XI; L6, str. VII; L10, str. IV.



Se ie ne voy temperament. Ton faitis corps gent. Car  
Quant souvenirs ne me rent. Nul ali-ge-ment. Fors  
vrai-e-ment. Lon-guement. En ce point du-rer ne puis.  
grief torment. Qui m'aprent. Hair mes iours et mes nuis.  
Pour desir qui si griefment. M'assaut et esprent. Qu'en  
Et ie de toy fer-me-ment. Croy que nullement. D'es-  
mon dolent. Cuer souvent. Mor-te m'es-pe-rence truis.  
ba-tement. N'as talent. Et qu'en riens ne te deduis.

Figure 4.7: Strophe III of L10 in the Main MSS

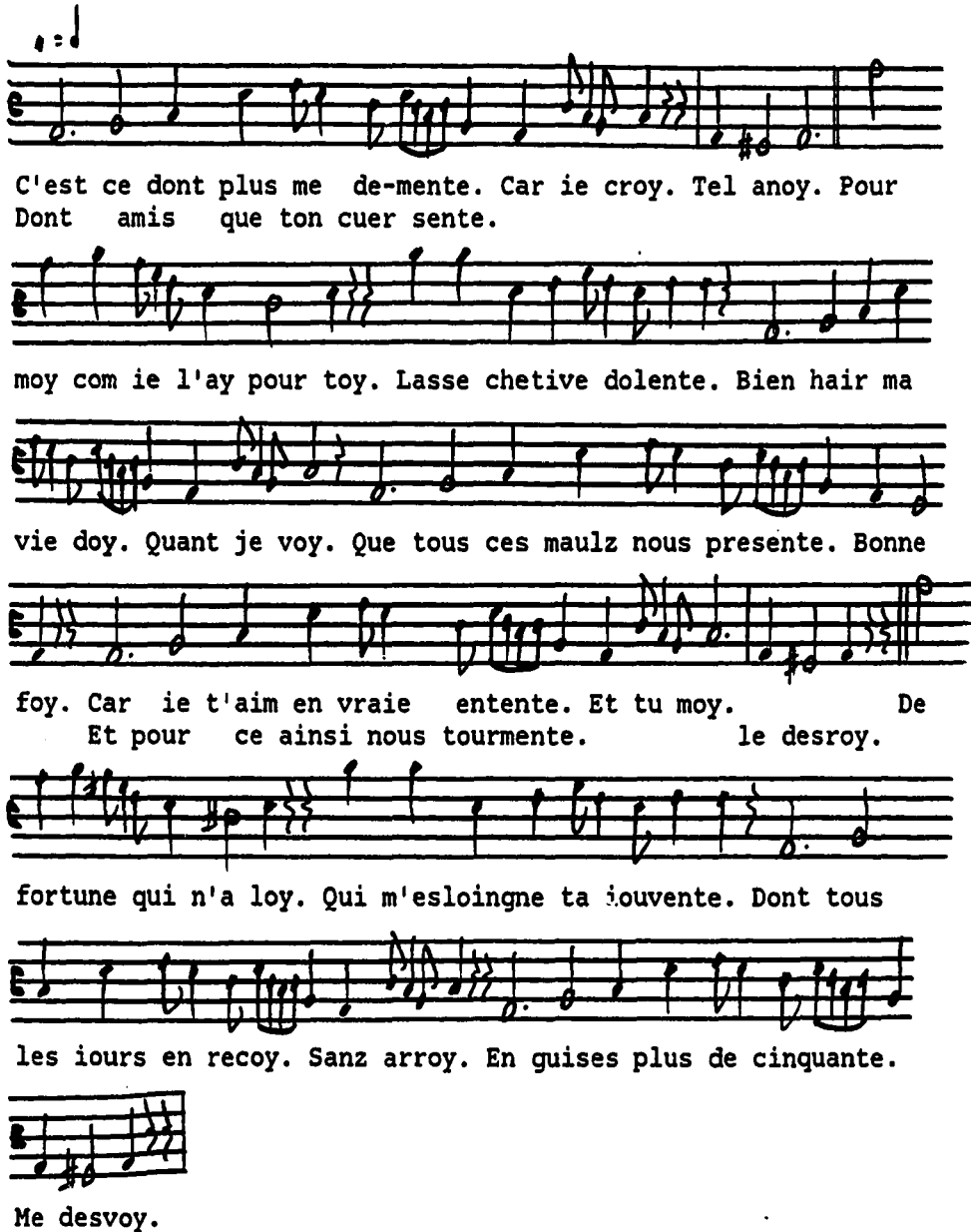
Within each half, a melodic phrase is repeated for the first two segments; repetition of another phrase serves for the last two segments. In this instance, the ouvert/clos distinction in the cadence is maintained only for the last two segments.

In the central Machaut MSS, the notation of such irregular strophes offers no problems, since the complete music for each half was written out without recourse to the shorthand ouvert/clos notation. In MS E, however, three of the five instances of irregular strophes are recast to allow use of ouvert/clos endings. The result is similar to the way these strophes appear in the modern editions.



Each of the four other cases of irregular strophe designs is formally distinct. For example, strophe IV of "Amis t'amour" [L10, Le lay des dames] has the following metrical scheme:

aB aB BaBBaB / aB aB BaBBaB.  
73 73 777373 73 73 777373



C'est ce dont plus me de-mente. Car ie croy. Tel anoy. Pour  
Dont amis que ton cuer sente.

moy com ie l'ay pour toy. Lasse chetive dolente. Bien hair ma  
vie doy. Quant je voy. Que tous ces mauz nous presente. Bonne  
foy. Car ie t'aim en vraie entente. Et tu moy. De  
Et pour ce ainsi nous tourmente. le desroy.

fortune qui n'a loy. Qui m'esloingne ta iouvente. Dont tous  
les iours en recoy. Sanz arroy. En guises plus de cinquante.  
Me desvoy.

Figure 4.8: Strophe IV of L10 in MS E

The layout employed by MS E (Figure 4.8) should be compared with the notation in the other MSS (Figure 4.9).

C'est ce dont plus me demen- te. Car ie croy. Dous a- mis  
Car ie t'aim en vraie\_enten-te. Et tu moy. Et pour ce\_

que tes cuers sen-te. Tel anoy. Pour moy quen ie lay pour  
einsi nos tourmen- te. Le desroy. De for- tune qui na

toy. Lasse che- ti-ve dolente. Bien ha- ir ma vi- e  
loy. Que mes long ne ta iouvente. Dont tous les iours en re-

doy. Quant ie voy. Que tous ces maus nous presen-te. Honne  
quoy. Sans arroy. En qui- ses plus de cinquan-te. Me des-

foy.  
voy.

Figure 4.9: Strophe IV of L10 in the Main MSS

Table 4.1 summarizes the various strophe designs and their notation in MS E.

The different layout on the pages and the intelligence displayed in simplifying and embellishing the stereotyped melodic elements of the Machaut lais in E presupposes some skill on the part of the revisor. In some cases,

TABLE 4.1

## Special Notation of Lais in MS E

## Rem1.

As MSS: I                    V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII  
 Special: II III IV

Strophe II: disposition as in MSS, but ouvert-clos endings indicated in the music, although no clue for this given by the disposition of the text. Thus, if str. II were performed by observing the ouvert-clos notation, the order of the verses would be changed. Strophes III-IV: text disposition for ouvert-clos notation, but space for clos not left by the text scribe. There are substantive musical variants in E in strophes II, (V), IX and X. In MS C, all strophes but I and XII are written with ouvert-clos endings. The shortest possible notation is used, with four lines of text below each line of music. In MS C, the scribe correctly notated the text for the ouvert-clos endings. The notation of the irregular strophe XI (still in symmetrical halves) in C is unique:

aaB	aaB
888	888
aa aB / aa aB //	
88 88	88 88

## L1.

The addition of a performance solution in MS E for the changing patterns of feminine and masculine rhymes is discussed above.

## L2.

As MSS: I                    VII  
 Special: II III IV V VI

## L3.

As MSS: I                    VI        VII                    XII  
 Special: II III IV V        VII                    IX X XI

Strophe IV has an irregular disposition:

AaB-o		AaB-o	
775		775	
AaB -c Ba aB-o		AaB -c Ba aB-o	
775	77 77	775	77 77
	aB -c /		aB -c //.
	77		77

The text disposition of Strophe XII is as in MSS, but it is notated with a final ouvert-clos, even though the two endings are exactly the same.

## L5.

As MSS: VI VIII IX X XI XII  
Special: I II III IV V VII

Strophe III has an irregular disposition:

AaB-o		AaB-o	
775		775	
AaB -c BaaBaB /		AaB -c BaaBaB //.	
775	777777	775	777777

## L6.

Text disposition as in MSS, including the irregular Strophe VII.

## L7.

Text disposition as in MSS.

## L10.

As MSS: X XI  
Special: I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX XII

Strophe II is corrupt in E, with the entire second half left out (can this be an example of the scribe unsuccessfully making the alteration in disposition?).

Strophe IV has an irregular disposition:

aBaBBa		aBaBBa	
737377		737377	
aBaB /		aBaB //.	
7373		7373	

## L12.

As MSS:                    V VI                    IX X  
 Special: I II III IV       VII VIII           XI XII

Even though the text scribe did not lay out the text for ouvert-clos notation, the music scribe copied the music in that manner for the eight strophes listed above. Performance would of course have changed the intended order of the verses.

## L14.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

## L15.

As MSS: I                    V                    X XI XII  
 Special: II III IV       VI VII VIII IX

## L16.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

## L17.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

## L19.

Not in MS E.

## L21.

Not in MS E.

## L22.

Text disposition is as in MSS. See pp. 284ff above for a discussion of the special notation used for this lai in MS C.

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the transformation could conceivably have been realized by a scribe copying from an exemplar with a format similar to that of the central sources. In other cases, the reworking was probably independent and prior to the copying of the MS. The lack of uniformity in the lai collection (some transformed in one way, some in another) indicates that the collection derived from several exemplars, not from a single, uniform collection. There are several examples of intentional emendation of the original shape of the musical texts; someone was actively understanding and interpreting the notation. Far from being outmoded, the lais of Machaut were still cultivated in the late fourteenth century.

Returning to a consideration of the two polyphonic lais, unica in E, Machaut's authorship appears doubtful. Anyone with the ability to recast the page disposition and melodic characteristics of Machaut's lais would necessarily be keenly aware of their sectional musical and metrical properties.<sup>586</sup> Perhaps the same person could have written new lais involving the innovative sectional combinations necessary for the performance of the two polyphonic lais. Alongside the complex music of the ars subtilior, probably not performable except by a few well-trained musicians, it would seem that the simplicity of the lai found its adherents. 587

<sup>586</sup> To complete the information in the above Table, L23 is notated in E with all strophe-halves employing the ouvert-clos notation; L24 has no strophe with special notation.

<sup>587</sup> A simple lai of the early fifteenth century is found in a MS (F-Dm 2837) discovered by Craig Wright in Dijon: "A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon," JAMS, 27 (1974), 306-15. Wright states (pp. 310-11): "While it would be premature to claim 'De cure je soupire' as the latest surviving lai presently known, it seems apparent that the lai was a viable musical form well into the 15th century."

### Notational Variants III: The Transmission of Motet 8

The process of establishing the text for a work provides a focus for questions that range far beyond that individual work.<sup>588</sup> A single motet will serve here as an example. "Qui es/Ha Fortune/Et non est" [M8] appears in all six of the main Machaut MSS (CAF-GVg[B]E), and is also complete in I-IV 115 and F-CA 1328. The triplum and tenor are transmitted in the preserved portion of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.<sup>589</sup>

M8 was a popular work in its day. It appears in more extant sources than any of the other Machaut motets. Further, the texts alone of the triplum and motetus—with attribution—appear in a MS of French poetry now conserved in Stockholm (S-Sk Vu 22).<sup>590</sup> Chaucer apparently knew the piece; several verses of his early Book of the Duchess (1369) were modeled on verses of the triplum text of M8.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>588</sup> Cf. Georg von Dadelsen, "Ueber den Wert musikalischer Textkritik," p. 44.

<sup>589</sup> Modern editions are Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, III, 30-32; Schrade, PMFC, II, 134-36; Hoppin, Anthology of Medieval Music, No. 61, pp. 134-39.

<sup>590</sup> See Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 16a\*, and Piaget and Droz, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon," No. 84-84 bis, p. 251. The text of R20 and all but the first 152 vv. of Behaingne are also found in this MS. M8 is the only motet of Machaut to come down to us in a MS containing texts only.

<sup>591</sup> See George L. Kittredge, "Guillaume de Machaut and The Book of the Duchess," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 30 (1915), 10-12. Kittredge also found evidence of Chaucer's indebtedness to Machaut's motets 3, 7, and 9. A complete bibliography up to 1928 of Chaucer's use of Machaut's works is in Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 33\*. A more recent study is the book by James Wimsatt, Chaucer and the French Love Poets (Chapel Hill, 1968). Williams, "The Music of Guillaume de Machaut," p. 174, n. 1, points to the popular subject matter as a reason for the motet's popularity.

There are other clues to the motet's wide popularity. A copy of Vitry's Ars nova, formerly belonging to the library of the abbey of St.-Victor in Paris, cites the motet as an example of tempus imperfectum minor, our modern 2/4 time.<sup>592</sup> Indeed, M8 may be quite an early example of the use of duple time with duple prolation. Of the more than fifty isorhythmic motets listed by Besseler in his article of 1927, only four use this mensuration, two of which are by Machaut, M7 and 8.<sup>593</sup> Discoveries made since Besseler confirm the impression that the isorhythmic motet in tempus imperfectum minor is rare, its place no doubt usurped by the emerging polyphonic secular song.<sup>594</sup> A second widely transmitted motet in duple mensuration, "Degentis vita/ Cum vix artidici" (not listed by Besseler), may provide further evidence of the compelling qualities of M8. It seems to be directly modeled on Machaut's motet, with a similar opening motif, similar melodic figures, and similar use of syncopated sections in lieu of hocket to signal the ends of isorhythmic periods.<sup>595</sup>

. . . . .

<sup>592</sup> Ed. Reaney, CMM, VIII, 32.

<sup>593</sup> "Studien-II," pp. 222-24.

<sup>594</sup> See the following motets published by Harrison, PMFC, V: No. 3, "Febus/ Lanista/ Cornibus"; No. 6, "Post missarum"; No. 23, "Degentis vita/ Cum vix" (F-CH 564 version); No. 23a, idem. (E-Bcen 971 version) No. 25 "Alpha vibrans/ Cetus." Günther, "The 14th-Century Motet and its Development," MD, 12 (1958), p. 34, has a chart with comparative statistics for prolation, as well as other rhythmic data, among the Machaut motets, the Machaut chansons, the Ivrea motets, the Chantilly motets, and the Chantilly chansons. Figures for tempus are not included; nevertheless, the tabulation brings out the "predominance of duple pr[olation] among the chansons and its relative absence in the motets" (p. 35). Further refinement of the position of Frobenius (see above, n. 123) may add to the picture.

<sup>595</sup> Ed. Harrison, PMFC, V, No. 23, pp. 116ff, and no. 23a, pp. 124ff.



The notation of minor prolation underwent two main developments in the second quarter of the century. These include the ability to notate chains of syncopation simply, and the point of addition.<sup>596</sup> M8 contains practical testimony for both (see Table 4.2, as well as variants 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10 in Table 4.3 below).<sup>597</sup>

TABLE 4.2

## Variants in Repeated Notes in M8

Mot. 32/1-32/4  
(Trem: lacking)

Tr. 32/1-34/3

Mot. 42/1-43/1  
(Trem: lacking)

Tr. 50/4-53/1

\*: E with Bb in signature.

<sup>596</sup> Syncopation is treated in Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," pp. 25-26. Little study has been made of the dot of addition, but see the brief mention in an article of M. Bent cited below (n. 601).

<sup>597</sup> Bessler's shorter sigla are employed in the table.

Some variants show a conflict between the employment of repeated notes on a single pitch, as opposed to a syncopated reading. Ursula Günther has pointed out that pitch repetition used where a syncopated reading was possible is characteristic of early works,<sup>598</sup> and she defends Ludwig's editorial practice of connecting two repeated pitches with a dotted tie. This practice highlights places where repeated notes might be indications of an embryonic form of syncopation, and interpreted as such by the performers.<sup>599</sup> It has not been emphasized, however, that the sources themselves show great variety in the notation of such passages. Variants from M8 include many examples of scribes interchanging the forms, and not in a uniform direction between the sources. Only a single instance in M8 involves a question of text setting—the other cases occur in settings of single syllables. One cannot be sure, of course, whether such variants truly reflect a stage of development of the notation, or whether later scribes were modernizing the rhythm.

The argument can be taken a step further. As noted above, p. 302, the most frequent mechanical error in copying Machaut's music is the placement of one or a small group of notes a step too high or a step too low. Such errors often occur in passages involving repeated notes, and the tendencies of the scribe can be studied. Frequently, the scribe's copying

<sup>598</sup> Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," p. 25: "Derartige Tonwiederholungen in der textierten Stimme sind bei späten Werken Machauts ausgesprochen selten. Sie scheinen in weitem Masse durch synkopierte Rhythmen ersetzt zu sein."

<sup>599</sup> In some instances, notes which in the source occur as repeated notes are combined in modern editions to form syncopations or dotted notes. This happens especially frequently in the volume of *lais* prepared by Bessler. In all cases, whenever either Ludwig or Bessler did this, the emendation was mentioned in the critical report; it is always possible for the scholar to restore the original reading. Schrade uniformly restored the MS readings in his edition.

error has the effect of reducing the number of repeated pitches. But since a syncopated notation made the use of two notes on the same pitch unnecessary, increased usage of syncopation facilitated the copying of music by reducing the possibility of error. Thus, the question of variants involving repeated notes provides a curious overlap between compositional practice and scribal practice.<sup>600</sup>

The variants in one source transmitting M8 raise questions about the development of the dot of addition. It is not certain when this notational feature was generally accepted and understood by practicing musicians.<sup>601</sup> In F-CA 1328 however, minim rests are clearly and consistently used in every instance where the other MSS have the dot of addition. This usage may reflect a regional peculiarity—perhaps a certain group of performers or a certain scribe was not yet familiar with the new employment of the dot. Or, the representation of the rhythm with the minim rest may represent a kind of

<sup>600</sup> The question of possible ties between repeated pitches is raised for a much later repertory (GB-Ob 213) in Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*, p. 55. See also Schoop, p. 81: long notes were broken up in F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC III], apparently for performing purposes. Also, GB-Lbl Tit. A.xxvi offers some interesting parallels in regard to the rhythmic breaking-up of longer note values (Schoop, p. 82).

<sup>601</sup> Most fourteenth-century theorists do not admit the term punctus additionis, distinguishing only the punctus divisionis and the punctus perfectionis. This is true of the various treatises of Johannes de Muris, see Ulrich Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, pp. 36 and 117-18. Following this practice also is the Tractatus practice de musica mensurabili of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, CS, III, 213b: "punctus perfectionis perficit figuram cui additur tam in imperfectione sue mesure quam in ipsius perfectione." M. Bent emphasized the ambiguous nature of the punctus additionis in "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations," *L'Ars nova italiana del trecento*, IV (Certaldo, 1978), 65-66. The Vitry motets make no use of it, nor is it known in fourteenth-century English music before the GB-Lbl Add. 40011 B and GB-Lbl Add. 57950. Apparently the use of the punctus additionis belongs to a stylistic evolution in France in the first third of the century, as yet undocumented, in which Machaut may have played a central role.

"embryonic form" of the rhythm represented later by the dot of addition.<sup>602</sup>

. . . . .

By examining the variants of M8 in a systematic way, it is possible to explain the relationship between some of the MSS on genealogical ("stemmatic") grounds.<sup>603</sup> Variants with significant shared differences ("conjunctive errors"), in which two or more MSS agree on a different reading, can be reduced to ten.<sup>604</sup> Two variants separate a group of four MSS from the main group: {CAF-GVgB:ETremCaIv} (Tr. 7 and Tr. 8, see Table 4.3).<sup>605</sup> The remaining eight variants subdivide the three peripheral MSS into three different pairings. The firmest grouping, based on five variants, is {CaIv} (Tr. 3, Tr. 5, Tr. 9, Tr. 10, Mot. 6). The group {TremIv} is supported by two variants (Tr. 1, Tr. 2). Finally, a single variant provides the grouping {TremCaB} (Tr. 4). Such patterns are clear enough to be represented schematically:

1. On the basis of variants Tr. 7 and Tr. 8, a common ancestor ["x"] containing these readings is postulated. In other words, two errors distinguish "x" from the exemplar of the main MSS, two errors that were in turn transmitted to the group {ETremCaIv}.

<sup>602</sup> The scribal error of .] r or + is frequent in MS B.


<sup>603</sup> See the works cited in n. 477 above. Bruce Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, pp. 159-75, has a good critical survey of developments in textual criticism. See also Thorpe, Principles, pp. 113ff, and the bibliography there. An excellent overview of the presuppositions inherent in the genealogical method is Eric Hicks, ed., Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose, p. lvi, prefacing a study of some texts (some of which are holograph) of Christine de Pizan.

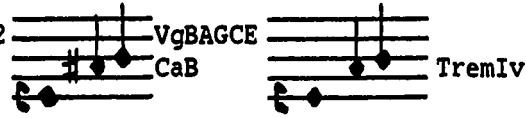
<sup>604</sup> The preliminary study was based on variants of pitch and rhythm only. Variants such as clef changes, ligatures, accidental placement, etc., are left aside for the moment.


<sup>605</sup> For convenience, Besseler's shorter sigla are employed here.


TABLE 4.3


## Conjunctive Variants in M8

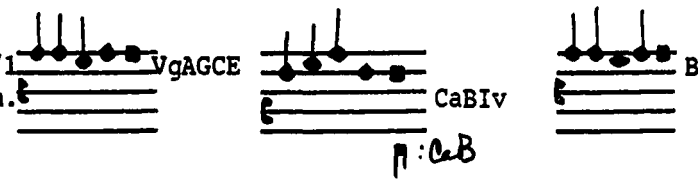
1. Tr. 8/3-9/1  *VgBAGCE*  
*CaB* *TremIv*

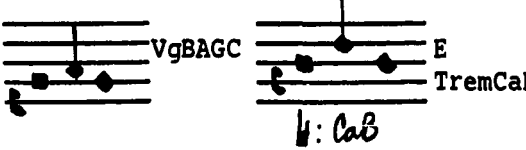
2. Tr. 29/3-30/2  *VgBAGCE*  
*CaB* *TremIv*

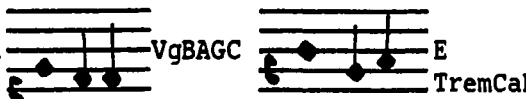
3. Tr. 32/1-34/3  *VgBAGCE*  
*Trem* *CaIv*  
*F#: CaB*

4. Tr. 40/4-41/3  *VgBAGCE*  
*Iv* *TremCaB*

5. Tr. 46/2-47/1  *VgBAGCE*  
*Trem* *CaIv*

6. Mot. 48/2-50/1  *VgAGCE*  
*Lacking: Trem.* *CaIv* *B*  
*F#: CaB*

7. Tr. 48/1-49/2  *VgBAGC* *E*  
*TremCaIv* *F#: CaB*

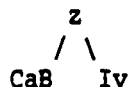
8. Tr. 49/2-50/1  *VgBAGC* *E*  
*TremCaIv*

9. Tr. 94/1-94/3

10. Tr. 104/2-105/2

2. Since the remaining eight variants do not include MS E (E agrees in each case with the main sources), these represent eight further ("separative") errors introduced by the common ancestor of TremCaBIv. Therefore, MS E may be extracted from the rest of the group: {(E)TremCaBIv}.

3. Five variants establish a termination for CaB and Iv. A second hypothetical MS ["z"] introducing these five differences is therefore postulated.



4. Since Trem does not contain any of the five variants relating CaB to Iv, it stands at a stage before the introduction of these errors, and we would expect that all three MSS would be linked in this middle stage. However, the position of Trem in the scheme is ambiguous. At one point it is associated with Iv only, at another with CaB only. Either Iv corrected Tr. 4—not impossible, even without access to a better MS—or CaB corrected Tr. 6 and left out the sharp in Tr. 2. This latter might be accepted, but independent correction of Tr. 1 appears a remote possibility unless one allows correction from a source not containing the error,<sup>606</sup> suggesting one

<sup>606</sup> Known as contamination. See Maas, "Textual Criticism," p. 889. The definition of Kenney is useful: ". . . more than one textual state may coexist in a single witness" ("Textual Criticism," p. 191b).

or the other of the following schemes:

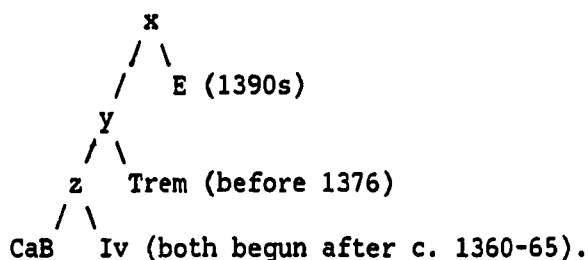


The genealogical arrangement of the sources indicates that {ETremCaIv} ultimately derive from a single source (not extant), and that this source ["x"] was not a source for MSS CAF-GVg(B).<sup>607</sup> Though geographically widely distributed, the transmission is restricted: MSS from the north (CaB), from Ile-de-France (Trem), and from the south (Iv) all have related readings.<sup>608</sup> The two MSS genetically closest (CaB and Iv), though related through agreement of repertory, and probably also chronologically, are not related geo-

<sup>607</sup> Essentially the same results can be derived from information in Wolfgang Dömling's discussion, "Zur Ueberlieferung," pp. 191-92. Dömling notes six conjunctive errors linking CaB and Iv (probably the five noted above, i.e., Tr. 3, Tr. 5, Tr. 9, Tr. 10 and Mot. 6; in addition, a text variant is included, mm. 11-12). One conjunctive error links {ETremCaIv} (probably the variant Tr. 7 was not included because of the plica in CaB). One conjunctive error links {TremIv} (Tr. 2 not included?). The conjunctive error Tr. 4, linking {TremCaB}, is not noted. Taken with the statement, p. 192, that "die Machaut-Ueberlieferung dieser drei Quellen [TremCaIv] scheint auf die Vorlage für E zurückzugehen," we see that the leftmost stemma proposed above is derivable from Dömling's list of variants.

<sup>608</sup> Dömling's initial statement ("Zur Ueberlieferung," p. 191) about the three sources is misleading: "Diese Quellen aus dem letzten Viertel des 14. Jhs. überliefern, dem Stil des Repertoire von Avignon folgend, dem sie angehören, vor allem Motetten von Machaut. . . ." They do not all date from the last quarter of the fourteenth century, nor do they all follow the Avignonese repertory. On CaB, see David Fallows, "L'Origine du Ms. 1328 de Cambrai," p. 277 (Cambrai as the place of origin of the MS), and Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," p. 15-35. On Trem, see Droz and Thibault, "Un chansonnier de Philippe le bon," Besseler, "Studien-II," pp. 235-41, and Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, pp. 147-58. On Iv, see Besseler, "Studien-I," and Günther, "Problems of Dating in Ars Nova and Ars Subtilior," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, 3 (Certaldo, 1975), 293. Also Günther, "Sources, MS, §VII, 3," *New Grove*, XVII, 663b. Besseler tied Iv to the repertory of Avignon; Günther associates it with Gaston Fébus.

graphically.<sup>609</sup> When tentative dates are attached to the MSS, the results of the genealogical analysis may seem surprising. The presumed dates fall in inverse order on our family tree of sources:



This is possible because the proposed stemma makes no claims about the intervening number of sources.<sup>610</sup> The version of the piece in MS E might easily have derived from a less error-ridden source, since it was copied for a patron close to Machaut, at a court where some works of Machaut were still actively performed, even long after Machaut's death.<sup>611</sup> In spite of the span of years between the sources, the genealogical analysis indicates that the transmission of M8 is remarkably uniform and consistent—no changes were wrought upon the motet at the outlying centers that mask the ultimate derivation of the readings.

. . . . .

<sup>609</sup> Günther in *New Grove* places the corpus of Iv at c. 1365; see also Günther, "Problems of Dating." CaB can be placed at about the same time or earlier, see Arlt, *Aspekte der Chronologie*, pp. 206-07.

<sup>610</sup> Note that it is crucial that all MSS are shown to derive from a lost original. Otherwise, chronologically earlier MSS could not derive from chronologically later MSS (see Maas, *Textual Criticism*, p. 52). Put another way, it is not possible to draw a tree without the posited sources due to dates of the surviving sources.

<sup>611</sup> The state of the text does not depend on the date it was copied: late sources could have been copied from a MS nearer to the common ancestor, cf. Bowers, "Textual Criticism," p. 921a-b ("recentiores non deteriores").



The analysis of shared errors has provided a theoretical picture of the familial relationships among the peripheral sources: these sources should be ignored for establishing the text of the motet. A central goal of the application of the genealogical method, the elimination of derivative sources, has therefore been attained.<sup>612</sup> Recension has eliminated the need even to examine any of the readings in these MSS. But the two modern critical editions of the work print musical readings deriving solely from F-CA 1328, the source most distant from the earliest textual state according to the stemma, and it will therefore be necessary for us to consider some readings unique to this MS. To a large extent, the real interest of the transmission lies in these unique readings. One can thereby catch glimpses of local practices and interpretations of the musical notation. The genealogical method was designed to gloss over individualities, because the local usages of medieval scribes were of no interest to those scholars of Classical literature who developed the method. Their real object of concern lay centuries removed from the dates of the MSS. In the repertory concerning us here, however, these local usages, contemporary evidence of local practice and chronological developments, are of primary concern. It is not surprising that it took a medievalist, the Romance philologist Joseph Bédier, to raise serious objections to the application of the stemmatic method to medieval vernacular poetry.<sup>613</sup>

Ludwig's edition is chiefly based on the text of a single MS (Vg), one he judged to be the best because it had the fewest errors. Only the obvious

<sup>612</sup> Cf., inter alia, Dadelsen, "Vorwort," p. 15.

<sup>613</sup> Joseph Bédier, ed., Le lai de l'ombre par Jean Renart (Paris, 1913). Cf. Bent, "Some Criteria," p. 297.

errors are corrected in this basic text.<sup>614</sup> M8 provides the single example of a reading from a MS outside the main group taken into the printed text of the edition.

In the motetus at m. 55, both the main MSS and the peripheral source I-IV 115 have a breve a' on the downbeat, making a dissonant seventh with the b in the tenor.

CAGVgBIVTrem  
(mot. lacking  
in Trem)

Tr.  
Ten.

Mot.

CaB  
Mot.  
E

Figure 4.10: M8, mm. 54-56.

Two other readings ameliorate the dissonance. MS E has a breve g', while F-CA 1328 has a b', filling in the third before the following g' with a descending plica (Figure 4.10). It is the version of F-CA 1328 that is printed in the two principal modern editions of the motet. On stylistic grounds, Ludwig and Schrade preferred the consonant reading of the Cambrai MS.<sup>615</sup> The implication is that the peripheral MS F-CA 1328 transmits a read-

<sup>614</sup> Ludwig thus followed the precepts of Joseph Bédier, who argued against genetic editing. Compare how Bédier typifies the base MS in the introduction to his 1913 edition of the *Lai de l'Ombre*, p. xlii: "[the base MS is] celui qui présente le moins souvent des leçons individuelles, celui par conséquent qu'on est le moins souvent tenté de corriger. ¶ L'ayant une fois choisi, nous avons pris le parti d'en respecter autant que possible les leçons." It is clear that today, seventy years later, Bédier's tenets remain valid for most editors of music from MS sources. In MS Vg, there are no substantive unique readings, and very few errors. S. Boorman raises objections to Bédier in "Limitations and Extension," p. 322, n. 9.

ing superior to that of any of the main MSS, thus that the version of F-CA 1328 descends from a better exemplar. But investing the readings of F-CA 1328 with authority runs directly counter to the findings of the genealogical method. However, evidence of corruption was turned up; the tradition is not a simple one.<sup>616</sup>

In the phrase immediately preceding the one discussed above, F-CA 1328 and other MSS contain a reading in which another dissonance transmitted by the main MSS is ameliorated (variant Tr. 7, one of the variants used above in the determination of the genetic relationships between the MSS). In this passage, the motetus has a g on the downbeat of m. 49, while the tenor rests (Figure 4.11).

The reading of the main MSS, with the dissonant f, is conceivable, although the second reading appears stronger on stylistic grounds if the corresponding passages in the other rhythmic periods are compared. Of the dissenting group of MSS {ETremCaBIV}, it is only F-CA 1328 that fills in the third g-b with a plica, here an ascending one.<sup>617</sup>

<sup>615</sup> Ludwig states in his critical report to the motet that the plica-reading of F-CA 1328 ". . . die einzige Ueberlieferung der anscheinend besten Lesart zu sein scheint. . ." [*Musikalische Werke*, III, 32 (136)]. Schrade, *PMFC Commentary II-III*, p. 80, follows Ludwig: "the CaB version seems to be correct." Wolfgang Dömling, "Zur Ueberlieferung," p. 194, n. 12, argues for the main reading (" . . . der frei einsetzende Terz-Sept-Klang ist bei Machaut nichts Ungewöhnliches"). Finally, Hoppin, following MS A (though silently correcting many corruptions in other places), prints the dissonant a' of the main MSS.

<sup>616</sup> Kenney, "Textual Criticism," p. 194b: "for the editor of a contaminated tradition—and most traditions are probably contaminated—the lesson of recent research is that authoritative evidence may survive even in late and generally corrupt or interpolated sources." F-CA 1328 does contain a few errors, though not serious ones. MS A by comparison is uncharacteristically corrupt for this motet.

<sup>617</sup> Curiously, Schrade adopts the plica, though without the note to which it leads.

Tr.



Tr.

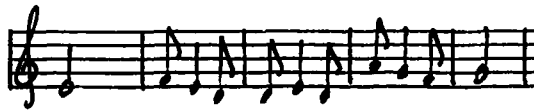
Mot.  
Ten.

Figure 4.11: M8, mm. 48-52.

An answer to the question of priority or author's "intention" will not be proposed here. With Schrade and Ludwig, I would prefer the reading of F-CA 1328, but, as E. Talbot Donaldson states, ". . . nothing on earth can equal the torment of a genetic editor facing the prospect of having to admire and perhaps introduce into his text a reading from a MS which could not possibly have come by it through honest inheritance. . . ." <sup>618</sup> Perhaps F-CA 1328, with its many plicas, only preserves a local performance tradition. On the other hand, perhaps the main MSS reflect a tradition that was early corrupted in this passage. One must not forget that the majority evidence of the main Machaut MSS is not necessarily decisive. If the main MSS derive from a single exemplar, or from copies at various stages of an evolving exemplar, the fact that several MSS support a reading is of no consequence. It only indicates multiple transmission of the same error. <sup>619</sup> As Bowers

<sup>618</sup> "The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts," in Speaking of Chaucer (London, 1970), p. 110. Donaldson elsewhere argued for the adoption of a reading of a line in Chaucer witnessed by no MS. See "The Psychology," p. 104, and cf. also p. 118. See Donaldson, "The Manuscripts," in Writers and their Background, p. 105 for references.

<sup>619</sup> Several works contain major errors in several or all of the main MSS, e.g., M18, B30, V26, etc. Elizabeth Keitel is to be praised for her possible paleographical explanation of the corrupt B30, see Series EM31,

points out, ". . . authority and correctness are not necessarily synonymous".<sup>620</sup> On the other hand, no evidence exists that the intervention in the text of F-CA 1328 was authoritative; if the reading of the main MSS is rejected as corrupt, the passage may be emended in some other way if desired. Thus we face the central difficulty of editing the medieval work. Our knowledge of style is not always well-developed enough to distinguish variants from errors. (Were the usages themselves so well-defined?) This is the reason that the method of editing by reproducing a single MS rather than producing a "critical" text is still a viable procedure in editing medieval works.<sup>621</sup> One is left with uncertainty: ". . . it is not demonstrable that we can always identify the best, nor that the author always writes his work in the way that would strike us as the best, nor that the author is always capable of the best or even of his best."<sup>622</sup>

supplement to Early Music, 5 (1977). By the time MS A was copied, some of the works would have been forty and more years old. It is conceivable that Machaut's exemplar had been sent around several times, copied from, parts were replaced as it became worn, etc. Corruptions could have been introduced along the way, especially in older works which probably would not have been much performed when the main MSS were copied. Recall that in the Voir Dit, there is an emphasis on the most recent works.

<sup>620</sup> Bowers, "Textual Criticism," p. 918b; cf. also Thorpe, Principles, pp. 124-25.

<sup>621</sup> Cf. Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford, "The Introduction to the Lai de l'Ombre: Half a Century Later," in Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, ed. C. Kleinhenz, p. 111: "It is perhaps the realisation that the critical edition [i.e., one produced by the stemmatic method of editing] of an Old French text need not necessarily result in a product which is aesthetically more satisfying than the version contained in any single manuscript that disgusted Bédier with what seemed to him an elaborate and pointless procedure." Compare also Kenney, "Textual Criticism," p. 194b: "The linguistic and stylistic canons of classical Greek and Latin are relatively strict and well defined, whereas the vocabulary, grammar, and usage of many medieval authors . . . is often not certain enough to allow reliable discrimination between variant and error."

<sup>622</sup> Thorpe, Principles, p. 106.

. . . . .

Machaut was an author actively involved with the dissemination of his own works. As a composer, his case is unique, and remained unique for several generations. No other comparably large repertory is as demonstrably close to an author, and at the same time as widely diffused. Since the Machaut MS tradition is not refracted through layers of unknown density, this may help to explain why few alternative versions of his pieces exist. His are texts which are authoritative, for which all substantive readings survive.<sup>623</sup> The Machaut MSS present "formal" texts, copied by professional scribes who were less prone to edit texts according to their sense. Quite possibly the MSS even preserve many of the author's "accidentals"—for instance, the ligatures are consistent throughout the main MSS—though occasionally, changes were introduced during the copying process in order to preserve the uniformity of the page. Machaut's are not "living" texts, whose contents would have been of concern to scribes and educated amateurs,<sup>624</sup> and the wide latitude of variants characteristic of, for example, the fifteenth-century chansonniers, is not met with in Machaut.

<sup>623</sup> But bear in mind Eric Hicks, *Le débat*, p. lxiv, on the text of Christine de Pizan: "malgré la surveillance exercé par l'auteur, le texte des volumes préfacés par Christine n'est pas toujours sûr." This is true even to the present day, cf. Fredson T. Bowers: ". . . approval by an author of a non-autograph copy can under no circumstances bestow on that copy the authority inherent in a true autograph original; nor can authorial revision extend specific autograph authority further than the autograph revisions themselves" ("Textual Criticism," p. 918a).

<sup>624</sup> By contrast, cf. the scribes of GB-Lbl Add. 57950 or I-Bc 15 or GB-Ob 213.

## Appendix A

### GATHERING STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MANUSCRIPTS

Appendix A provides gathering-by-gathering diagrams of the physical structure of MSS A, F-G, Vg, B, E, C, J and K. Foliation, signatures, catchwords, and contents are given. A diagonal slash indicates a trimmed signature or catchword; [" ] indicates glue or stitching between stubs and strips; if two foliations are given, those in parentheses are modern. MSS Vg and B are given side-by-side for comparison (signatures in Vg are supplied from information in Ludwig's notes at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek, Göttingen. MSS J and K are also diagramed side-by-side; although I did not specifically discuss these two MSS, it is hoped that the data may be helpful in establishing the still somewhat obscure relationship between these codices.

	<u>page</u>
F-Pn fr. 1584 (A)	344
F-Pn fr. 22545 (F)	350
F-Pn fr. 22546 (G)	353
US-NYw and F-Pn fr. 1585 (Vg and B)	355
F-Pn fr. 9221 (E)	368
F-Pn fr. 1586 (C)	371
F-Pa 5203 and CH-BEsu 218 (J and K)	374

MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

<p>A</p> <p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>—</td><td>A</td><td>Vo: <u>INDEX</u></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>B</td><td>x</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>C</td><td></td></tr> </table> </p>	—	A	Vo: <u>INDEX</u>	—	B	x	—	C		<p>III</p> <p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>—</td><td>15</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>16</td><td>cii</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>17</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>18</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>19</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>20</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>21</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>22</td><td>Or voy Vo: <u>NAVARRE</u></td></tr> </table> </p>	—	15		—	16	cii	—	17		—	18		—	19		—	20		—	21		—	22	Or voy Vo: <u>NAVARRE</u>	<p>VII</p> <p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>—</td><td>47</td><td>gi</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>48</td><td>gii</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>49</td><td>gii/</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>50</td><td>gi/</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>51</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>52</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>53</td><td>&lt;orig. 68&gt;</td></tr> <tr><td>—</td><td>54</td><td>Einsi laissay</td></tr> </table> </p> <p>Vo: <u>REMEDE</u></p>	—	47	gi	—	48	gii	—	49	gii/	—	50	gi/	—	51		—	52		—	53	<orig. 68>	—	54	Einsi laissay															
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MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

XI  
 79 ii  
 80 iii Vo: LYON  
 81 ii  
 82 ii  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86 Et s'ii amēt

XII  
 87 mi  
 88 mii  
 89 miii  
 90 miiii  
 91  
 92  
 93  
 94 Si que ces

XIII  
 95 ni  
 96 nii Vo: L'ALERION  
 97 ni  
 98 ni  
 99  
 100  
 101  
 102 au plumage

XIV  
 103 oi  
 104 oii  
 105  
 106 oi/  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110 en quoy

XV  
 111 pi  
 112 pii  
 113 piii  
 114 piii/  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118 Tele cōme

XVI  
 119 qi  
 120 qii  
 121 qi/  
 122 qii/  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126 amis a toy Vo: BLANK  
 (very faint)

-----  
 XVII  
 127 ri CONFORT  
 128 rii  
 129 riii  
 (130) riii/  
 (131)  
 132  
 133  
 134 daniel  
 (new hand)  
 (old catch, erased)

XVIII  
 (135)  
 136 sii  
 137 siii  
 138 s  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 (142) a l'entree

XIX  
 143 ti  
 144 tii  
 145  
 146 tiii  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150 De fol

XX  
 151 v  
 152  
 153  
 154 FONTEINNE  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158 d ieus de dormir

XXI  
 159  
 160 w  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166 Qu'elle

XXII  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174 Force ne scens HARPE

MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

XXIII

175	
176	
177	Vo: <u>LOANGE</u>
178	
179	
180	
181	
182	

XXIV

183	pi
184	/
185	/
186	pii
187	
188	
189	(orig. 190)
190	Sans cuer

XXV

191	
192	
193	
194	
195	
196	
197	
198	en grief

XXVI

199	bi
200	b
201	biii
202	biii/
203	
204	
205	
206	Cômêt vit il

XXVII

207	
208	
209	
210	
211	
212	
213	
214	Puis q̄ ma da

Vo: MARGUERITE  
Vo: COMPLAINTES

XXVIII

215	
216	/
217	/
218	
219	
220	BLANK

XXIX

221	<u>VOIR DIT</u>
222	
223	
224	
225	
227	[sic]
227	
228	Quôq̄s

XXX

229	
230	f<?>
231	
232	/
233	
234	
235	
236	ma souer <sup>3</sup>

XXXI

237	
238	/
239	
240	
241	
242	
243	
244	einsois

XXXII

245	
246	
247	
248	ñ/<?>
249	
250	
251	
252	Li sergens

XXXIII

253	
254	
255	
256	
257	
258	
259	
260	Ne pooient

XXXIV

261	
262	
263	iii
264	ti/ <?>
265	
266	
267	
268	Que ire

MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

XXXV

269	
270	f
271	
272	nn <?>
273	
274	
275	
276	sui qu'il vo9

XXXVI

277	
278	
279	
280	
281	
282	
283	
284	Se vostre

XXXVII

285	n
286	/
287	
288	/
289	
290	
291	
292	garder

XXXVIII

293	o
294	
295	
296	
297	
298	
299	
300	de a vous

XXXIX

301	p
302	
303	
304	
305	
306	Vo: BLANK
307	BLANK
308	BLANK

XL

309	<u>PRISE</u>
310	q/
311	q/
312	q/
313	
314	
315	
316	d'estre ensamble

XLI

317	
318	ri/
319	
320	
321	
322	
323	
324	q'ii sarrazin

XLII

325	si/
326	si/
327	
328	/
329	
330	
331	
332	Et qu'il

XLIII

333	
334	^
335	
326	<catch no. correct>
327	
338	
339	
340	De ceus

XLIV

341	
342	/
343	
344	
345	
346	
347	
348	Largement

XLV

(349)	
350	
(351)	xiii
352	/ ,
353	
354	
355	
356	pont

XLVI

<stub glued to 357>	
357	y
358	y
359	
360	y
361	
362	
363	
364	Si come
365	Vo: <u>ROSE</u>
366	<u>LES BIENS</u>
<stub glued to 365-366>	

MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

XLVII

367	<u>LAIS</u>
368	Zii
369	/
370	/
371	
372	
373	
374	chose

XLVIII

375	
376	
377	
378	
379	
380	
381	
382	En foy. de vray

XLIX

383	
384	
385	
386	
387	
388	
389	
390	Folour feroit

L

391	b
392	
393	
394	
395	
396	
397	
398	puist

LI

399	
400	
401	
402	ci/
403	
404	
405	
406	Je ne me say confort'

LII

407	di
408	
409	
410	
(411)	
(412)	
(413)	Motes Qnt en moy BLANK
<stub>	(diff. hand)

LIII

414	ei	Vo: MOTETS
415		
416		
417		
418		
419		
420		
421	tre cure	

LIV

422	
423	/
424	
425	/
426	
427	
428	
429	truis. si bō
	Or mepret

LV

430	gi
431	
432	
433	/
434	
435	
436	
437	missa
	(diff. hand)

LVI

438	/	Ro: BLANK Vo: MASS
439	/	
440	hiiii	
441	/	
442		
443		
444		
445	Amen.iiii.	

LVII

446		
447		
448	i/	
449	i/	
450		
451	seq balad,	Vo: HOCKET
452		Vo: BLANK
453	S'amours	BLANK (r+v)
	ne fait	

LVIII

454	BALLADES
455	
456	
457	kiii/
458	
459	
460	
461	Se ie me

MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

LIX

	462	i
	463	/
	464	/
	465	/
	466	
	467	
	468	
	469	de toutes flours

(modern paper quatern here, with modern index, foils. "494-501")

LXIII

	494	(502) i (red)
	(503)	BLANK
	(504)	BLANK
	(505)	BLANK
	(506)	BLANK
	<paper strip>	

LX

	470	
	471	n
	472	
	473	n
	474	
	475	RONDEAUX (orig. blank)
	476	
	477	Contenor

(final three folios with various later pen tries)

LXI

	478	
	479	
	480	
	481	Vo: BLANK
	482	VIRELAIS
	483	<orig. 484>
	484	
	485	ont mis

LXII

	486	
	487	
	488	
	489	
	490	
	491	
	492	
	493	Moult sui

MS F

F-Pn fr. 22545

I  
 1 a PROLOGUE  
 2 ai  
 3 aii VERGIER  
 4 aiii  
 5 x  
 6  
 7  
 8 Or toy je dit  
 (xv)

II  
 9 Vo: BEHAIGNE  
 10 bii  
 11 biii  
 12  
 13 x  
 14  
 15  
 16 Qu'elle souloit  
 (xv)

III  
 17 ci  
 18 cii Vo: NAVARE  
 19 ciii  
 20 ciiii  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24 Côme por  
 voit mieux

IV  
 25 di  
 26 dii  
 27 diii  
 28 diiii  
 29 x  
 30  
 31  
 32 Il les char  
 ga en sa

V  
 33  
 34 eii  
 35 eiii  
 36 eiiii  
 37 x  
 38  
 39  
 40 Servir obeir REMEDE  
 (xv)

VI  
 41 f  
 42 fii  
 43 fiii  
 44 fiiii  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48 Car pitez est  
 (xv)

VII  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56 Car einsi  
 cō ie le fer

VIII  
 57 t <?>  
 58  
 59  
 60  
 61  
 62  
 63 Vo: LYON  
 64 may qui  
 siens sui

IX  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72 Et aussi/

X  
 73  
 74 II Vo: I'ALERION  
 75  
 76 III  
 77  
 78 IIII  
 79  
 80 Pour le gibier  
 (xv)

XI  
 81  
 82  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88 Qnt au cuer  
 fait e amouner

XII  
 89 -  
 90 =  
 91 =  
 92 =  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96 Q' vo9 irioie  
 ie cōptent

MS F

F-Pn fr. 22545

XIII

97	—
98	≡
99	≡≡
100	≡≡≡
101	
102	
103	
104	q <sup>7</sup> chascuns

Vo: CONFORT

XIV

105	
106	
107	
108	
109	
110	
111	
112	q <sup>7</sup> Paris a la guerre

XV

113	
114	
115	
116	
117	
118	
119	
120	douce dame (xv)

Vo: FONTEINNE

XVI

121	/
122	
123	
124	
125	
126	
127	
128	Maisem <sup>et</sup> s <sup>o</sup> (maestre) cela

XVII

129	
130	
131	
132	
133	
134	
135	
136	Après la <u>HARPE</u>

XVIII

137	
138	
139	
140	
141	
142	
143	
144	Et to9 dis si auiuera

Vo: VOIR DIT

XIX

145	
146	
147	
148	
149	
150	
151	
152	v <sup>re</sup> biaire q <sup>7</sup> toudis ebelist

XX

153	
154	
155	
156	≡≡≡
157	
158	
159	
160	Paier est tres devotem <sup>et</sup>

XXI

161	
162	
163	
164	
165	
166	
167	
168	ne chans <sup>o</sup>

XXII

169	hi
170	hii
171	hiii
172	iiii
173	
174	
175	
176	Ne dido de Cartage enee

XXIII

177	
178	
179	
180	
181	
182	
183	
184	Or regardes (xv)

XXIV

185	fi
186	fii
187	fiii
188	iiii
189	x
190	
191	
192	Autrem <sup>et</sup> ne di il en mon dit

MS F

F-Pn fr. 22545

XXV

┌───┐	193	ei	
├───┤	194	eif	
├───┤	195	eiii	
├───┤	196	eiiii	
├───┤	197	x	
├───┤	198		Vo: <u>MARGUERITE</u>
├───┤	199		Vo: <u>ROSE</u>
└───┘	200	oñt ii dieu	<u>VESCI</u>

-----



MS G

F-Pn fr. 22546

XXVI

1	ai	<u>PRISE</u>
2	aii	
3	aiii	
4	aiiii	
5		
6		
7		
8	<Li roys?>	

XXVII

9	—	
10	—	
11	—	
12	—	
13		
14		
15		
16	Car de vo9	

XXVIII

17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		

XXIX

25		
26		
27		
28		
29		
30		
31		
32	y li avoit	

XXX

33	bi <or "v"?>	
34	bi	
35	bii	
36	biii	
37	biiii	
38	x	
39		
40		
41		
42	passa	

XXXI

43		
44	Cy commence la Vo: BLANK	
	En haut penser	
	(xv)	

---

XXXII

45	<u>LOANGE</u>	
46		
47		
48		
49		
50		
51		
52	Q <sup>3</sup> de p vo9	
	gringneur	

XXXIII

53		
54		
55		
56		
57		
58		
59		
60	Ne il n'est	
	riēs a ne lui	
	de mō pleît	

XXXIV

61		
62		
63		
64		
65		
66		
67		
68	A toy hēri	

XXXV

(stub glued to 69)		
69		
70		
71		Vo: <u>FLEUR DE LIS</u>
72		
73	Qu'elle est de ci (!)	
	Cy commencent les lays	
	Loyaute que point	

---

XXXVI

74	<u>LAYS</u>	
75		
76		
77		
78		
79		
80		
81	ne qu'aillours	
	pour s'amour	

XXXVII

82		
83		
84		
85		
86		
87		
88		
89	De des	
	confort	

MS G

F-Pn fr. 22546

XXXVIII

90.
91
92
93
94
95
96
97

me pleinderay  
et nommeray

XXXIX

98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105

Vo: MOTETS

car ie sui  
pres de

XL

106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113

cōquis mort

XLI

114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121

toute la

XLII

122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129

Vo: MASS

Crucif'ix9

XLIII

130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137

Vo: BALLADES

ne. le  
nor

XLIV

138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145

ne plus  
cieremēt

XLV

146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153

Vo: RONDEAUX

d ouce

XLVI

154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161

Vo: VIRELAIS

Dame mō

XLVII

162
163
164
165

Vo: HOCKET

MS Vg US-NYw

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

I

1	<u>LOANGE</u>
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	qñt pour

1 (1)	black red	<u>LOANGE</u>	R
2 (2)		aii	A
3 (3)		aiii	↓
4 (4)		aiiii	B
5 (5)		x	↓
6 (6)			R
7 (7)			
8 (8)			

II

9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	einsi me done

9 (9)			R
10 (10)	b1	bii	B
11 (11)	b2	biii	↓
12 (12)	b3	biiii	
13 (13)	b4	x	
14 (14)			↓
15 (15)			R
16 (16)	Einsi me donne		

III

17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	N'encor

17 (34)	a1	ei	A
18 (35)	aii	eii	↓
19 (36)	aiii	eiii	
20 (37)	aiiii	eiiii	
21 (38)	x	x	
22 (39)			
23 (40)			
24 (41)	N'en cor		

IV

25	
26	
27	
28	
29	
30	
31	<u>COMPLAINTES</u>
32	Et dou pape

25 (42)	bi	fi	
26 (43)	bii	fii	
27 (44)	biii	fiii	
28 (45)	biiii	fiiii	
29 (46)	x		
30 (47)			
31 (48)			
32 (49)	Et dou pape	<u>COMPLAINTES</u>	↓

MS Vg US-NYW

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

V

33	
34	
35	
36	
37	
38	
39	<u>VERGIER</u>
40	de scens

33	(50)	ci	gi	
34	(51)	cii	gii	
35	(52)	ciii	giii	
36	(53)	ciiii	giiii	
37	(54)	x	x	
38	(55)			
39	(56)		<u>VERGIER</u>	
40	(57)	de scens		

C

VI

41	
42	
43	
44	
45	
46	
47	<u>Vo: BEHAINGNE</u>
48	Si doucemt

41	(58)	di	hi	
42	(59)	dii	hii	
43	(60)	diii	hiii	
44	(61)	diiii	hiiii	
45	(62)	x	x	
46	(63)			
47	(64)		<u>Vo: BEHAINGNE</u>	
48	(65)	Si doucement		

↓

VII

49	
50	
51	
52	
53	
54	
55	
56	pfonde

49	(66)	ei	li	
50	(67)	eii	lii	
51	(68)	eiii	liii	
52	(69)	eiiii	liiii	
53	(70)		x	
54	(71)			
55	(72)			
56	(73)	pfondemēt		

A

VIII

57	
58	
59	
60	<u>Vo: NAVARRE</u>
61	
62	
63	
64	di celle prt

57	(74)	fi	hi	
58	(75)	fii	hii	
59	(76)	fiii	hiii	
60	(77)	fiiii	hiiii	<u>Vo: NAVARRE</u>
61	(78)	x	x	
62	(79)			
63	(80)			
64	(81)	di celle part		

C D <74v, 1.26  
↓  
-75v>

C

↓

E <80v, 1.23  
↓  
-81v>

	MS Vg	US-NYw	MS B	F-Pn fr. 1585	
IX	65		65 (82) gi	ii	B
	66		66 (83) gii	iii	
	67		67 (84) giii	iiii	
	68		68 (85) giiii	iiiii	
	69		69 (86) x	x	
	70		70 (87)		
	71		71 (88)		
	72	mais que	72 (89) mais que		↓
X	73	"k"	73 (90) hi		C
	74		74 (91) hii		
	75		75 (92) hiii		
	76		76 (93) hiiii		
	77		77 (94) x		
	78		78 (95)		
	79		79 (96)		
	80	Nulle si	80 (97) Nulle si		↓
present:					
XI	81	"k"	81 (98) li		B
	82		82 (99) lii		
	83		83 (100) liii		
	84		84 (101) liiii		
	85		85 (102) liv	x	
	86		86 (103) livi		
	87		87 (104) livii	cuier qui	↓ F <L22, 104v -106v>
	88		88 (105) liviii		
	89		89 (106)		
	90	Me venoit <u>REMEDE</u>	90 (107) Me venoit <u>REMEDE</u>		B
XII	91		91 (108) ki		B
	92		92 (109) kii	iii	
	93		93 (110) kiii	iii	↓ F <Rem1, 109d -112b, l. 8>
	94		94 (111) kiiii		
	95		95 (112)		
	96		96 (113)		
	97		97 (114)		
	98	Qnt mo	98 (115) Qnt mon		↓ B ↓ B ↓ F <Rem2, 113d, l. 19 -114a, l. 7>

	MS Vg	US-NYw	MS B	F-Pn fr. 1585	
XIII	<p>99 100 101 102</p> <p>103 104 105 106</p> <p>pdre.ou</p>		<p>99 (116) ii 100 (117) iii 101 (118) iiii 102 (119) iiii</p> <p>103 (120) 104 (121) 105 (122) 106 (123) perdre ou</p>		<p>G B G ↓</p> <p>B &lt;119v-120d&gt; F &lt;Rem3, 120d -121a&gt; ↓ B ↓</p>
XIV	<p>107 108 109 110</p> <p>111 112 113 114</p> <p>doing</p>		<p>107 (124) mi 108 (125) mii 109 (126) miii oiii 110 (127) miiii</p> <p>111 (128) 112 (129) 113 (130) 114 (131) doing</p>	red	<p>E ↓</p> <p>F &lt;Rem4, 126c -127r&gt; ↓</p> <p>E ↓</p> <p>F &lt;Rem5, 128v -129a, l.6&gt; ↓</p> <p>E ↓</p> <p>F &lt;Rem6, 131d, -132b, l.1&gt; ↓</p>
XV	<p>115 116 117 118</p> <p>119 120 121 122</p> <p>Mais en <u>LYON</u></p> <p>Vo: BLANK</p>		<p>115 (132) ni 116 (133) nii 117 (134) niii 118 (135) niiii</p> <p>119 (136) 120 (137) 121 (138) 122 (139) mais en la pfin</p>		<p>B ↓</p> <p>B ↓</p> <p>F &lt;Rem7, 136c-d&gt; <u>LION</u></p>
XVI	<p>123 124 125 126</p> <p>127 128 129 130</p> <p>Et sambloit</p>		<p>123 (140) oi 124 (141) oii 125 (142) oiii 126 (143) oiiii</p> <p>127 (144) x 128 (145) 129 (146) 130 (147) Et sambloit</p>		<p>↓</p> <p>G &lt;146v, l.20? -147v&gt; ↓</p>

MS Vg

US-NYw

MS B

F-Pn fr. 1585

present:

XVII

131	
132	
133	
134	
135	
136	
137	
138	En tout le m <sup>o</sup> de

BLANK

131	(148)	pi
132	(149)	p <i>ii</i>
133	(150)	p <i>iii</i>
134	(151)	p <i>iiii</i>
135	(152)	x
136	(153)	
137	(154)	
		[138 lost]

A

XVIII

139	
140	
141	
142	
143	
144	
145	
146	Mais my

L'ALERION

138	(155)	q <i>i</i>
139	(156)	q <i>ii</i>
140	(157)	q <i>iii</i>
141	(158)	q <i>iiii</i>
142	(159)	x
143	(160)	
144	(161)	
145	(162)	Mais my

L'ALERION

C

XIX

147	
148	
149	
150	
151	
152	
153	
154	C <sup>o</sup> me mien

146	(163)	r <i>i</i>
147	(164)	r <i>ii</i>
148	(165)	r <i>iii</i>
149	(166)	r <i>iiii</i>
150	(167)	x
151	(168)	
152	(169)	
153	(170)	Come mien

B

G <170c, 1.22>

XX

155	
156	
157	
158	
159	
160	
161	
162	Et q <sup>u</sup> nt

154	(171)	s <i>i</i>
155	(172)	s <i>ii</i>
156	(173)	s <i>iii</i>
157	(174)	s <i>iiii</i>
158	(175)	x
159	(176)	
160	(177)	
161	(178)	Et quant <u>madame</u>

A

MS Vg US-NYW

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

XXI  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170 Sique CONFORT  
 Vo: BLANK

XXII  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178 De son mal

XXIII  
 179 "y"  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183 [stub]  
 184  
 185  
 186 Aye diex

XXIV  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194 Mais tuit

present:

black red  
 162 (179) ti  
 163 (180) tii  
 164 (181) tiii  
 165 (182) tiiii  
 166 (183) x  
 167 (184)  
 168 (185)  
 169 (25) di Si que noble don CONFORT

170 (26) ii dii  
 171 (27) iii diiii  
 172 (28) iiii diiiii  
 173 (29) v  
 174 (30)  
 175 (31)  
 176 (32)  
 177 (33) de son mal

178 (186) vi  
 179 (187) vii  
 180 (188) viii  
 181 (189) viiii  
 182 (190) x  
 183 (191)  
 184 (192)  
 185 (193) Aye diex

186 (194) xi  
 187 (195) xii  
 188 (196) xiii  
 189 (197) xiiii  
 190 (198)  
 191 (199)  
 192 (200)  
 193 (201) Mais tuit

B

R

B

B

C

G <189c, l. 15  
 -190a, l. 19>



MS Vg US-NYw

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

XXV

195	
196	
197	<u>Fonteinne</u>
198	
199	
200	
201	
202	e t qñt

194 (202)	yi		C
195 (203)	yii		
196 (204)	yiii	<u>Fonteinne</u>	
197 (205)	yiiii		
198 (206)	x		
199 (207)			
200 (208)			
201 (209)	<u>Et quant</u>	Et qñt ma dame	

XXVI

203	
204	
205	
206	
207	
208	
209	
210	Si que

202 (210)	zi		A
203 (211)	zii		
204 (212)	ziii		
205 (213)	ziiii		
206 (214)	x		
207 (215)			
208 (216)			
209 (217)	<u>Si que il</u>		

XXVII

211	
212	
213	
214	
215	
216	<u>Harpe</u>
217	
218	

210 (17)		red		R
211 (18)	a2			A
212 (19)		ciii		
213 (20)		ciiii		
214 (21)		x		
215 (22)		<u>Harpe</u>		
216 (23)				
217 (24)		Loyaute que point	R	

XXVIII

219	<u>Lais</u>
220	
221	
222	
223	
224	
225	
226	Q <sup>1</sup> deport

[218 lost]			B	<mus. 1>
219 (218)	pi			
220 (219)	pii			
221 (220)	piii			
222 (221)	x			
223 (222)				
224 (223)				
225 (224)	Q <sup>1</sup> deport			

MS Vg

US-NYw

MS B

F-Pn fr. 1585

XXIX

227	"B"
228	
229	
230	
231	
232	
233	
234	s i weil

XXX

235	"C"
236	
237	
238	
239	
240	
241	
242	le mortel se ce nest

XXXI

243	"D"
244	
245	
246	
247	
248	
249	
250	puis puet

XXXII

251	"E"
252	
253	
254	
255	
256	
257	
258	car ie car il

(225)	a1	red
(226)	a2	=
(227)	a3	
(228)	a4	
(229)	x	
(230)		
(231)	Si weil	
(232)		

(233)	b1 di	≡
(234)	b2 dii	
(235)	b3 diii	
(236)	b4 diiii	
(237)	x	
(238)		
(239)		
(240)	le mortel se ce n'est	

(241)	c1	≡
(242)	c2	
(243)	c3	
(244)	c4	
(245)	x	
(246)		
(247)		
(248)	puis puet	

(249)	d1 v	
(250)	d2	
(251)	d3	
(252)	d4	
(253)	x	
(254)		
(255)		
(256)	car ie car il	

H







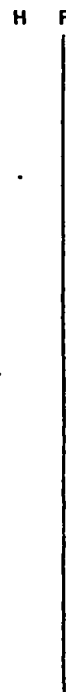




↓

F <232v l.18>

A

↑

<mus. 1>

	MS Vg	US-NYw		MS B	F-Pn fr. 1585		
XXXIII		259 "F"	Vo: <u>MOTETS</u>		(257) oi e1 vi 		<mus. 1>
		260			(258) oii e2		
		261			(259) oiii e3		
		262			(260) oiiii e4		
		263			(261) x		
		264			(262)		
		265			(263)		
		266 pfaite			(264) pfaite		
XXXIV		267 "G"			(265) f1 vii		<265r, 1.5, 2nd word>
		268			(266) vii f2		
		269			(267) viii f3		
		270			(268) viiii f4		
		271			(269) x		
		272			(270)		
		273			(271)		
		274 et dâgiers			(272) et dangiers		
XXXV		275 "H"			(273) g1 viii		
		276			(274) g2		
		277			(275) g3		
		278			(276) g4		
		279			(277) x		
		280			(278)		
		281			(279)		
		282 Inviolata			(280) Inviolata		
XXXVI		283 "I" Vo: <u>MASS</u>			(281) h1 ix Vo: <u>MASS</u>		
		284			(282) h2		
		285			(283) h3		
		286			(284) h4		
		287			(285) x		
		288			(286)		
		289			(287)		
		290 eT in spm̂			(288) Et in spiritum		

MS Vg US-NYw

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

XXXVII

291	"K"
292	
293	
294	
295	
296	Vo: <u>BALLADES</u>
297	
298	doluz amis [sic]

(289)	11 x
(290)	12
(291)	13
(292)	14
(293)	x
(294)	
(295)	
(296)	doluz amis [sic]

Vo: BALLADES

F

<mus. 1>

XXXVIII

299	"L"
300	
301	
302	
303	
304	
305	
306	Triplum
	Se quanque

(297)	k1 xi
(298)	k2
(299)	k3
(300)	k4
(301)	x
(302)	
(303)	
(304)	Triplum
	Se quanque

present:

XXXIX

307	
308	
309	
310	
311	
312	
313	
314	Qnt theseus

(305)	11 xii
(306)	12
(307)	13
(308)	14
(309)	
(310)	x
(311)	
(312)	
(313)	quant theseus

<mus. 2, =F?>

<mus. 1>

<mus. 2>

XL

315	"N"
316	Vo: <u>RONDEAUX</u>
317	
318	
319	
320	
321	
322	Dame de g <sup>ce</sup> Vo: <u>VIRELAIS</u>

(314)	o1 m1 xiii
(315)	oii m2
(316)	oiii m3
(317)	oiiii m4
(318)	x
(319)	
(320)	
(321)	dame de g <sup>ce</sup> Vo: <u>VIRELAIS</u>

<mus. 1>

F

MS Vg US-NYW

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

XL I  
 324 "o"  
 325  
 326  
 327  
 328  
 329  
 330  
 331 or or  
 Car tāt

(322) n1 xiii  
 (323) n2  
 (324) n3  
 (325) n4  
 (326) x  
 (327)  
 (328)  
 (329) or or  
 Car tant

H  
 ↓  
 F

<mus. 2>

XLII  
 332 "p"  
 333  
 334 'x' Vo: HOCKET  
 335

[lost]  
 (330)  
 (331) of n{<?>  
 [lost]

<mus. 1>

-----  
 XLIII  
 336 PRISE  
 337  
 338  
 339  
 340  
 341  
 342  
 343 Car par sa

-----  
 XLIII  
 (332) p1 ai x PRISE  
 (333) p2 aii  
 (334) p3 aiii  
 (335) p4 aiiii  
 (336) p5 av  
 (337) p6 avi  
 (338) x  
 (339)  
 (340)  
 (341)  
 (342) mais d'un drap d'or fait a damas

XLIV  
 344  
 345  
 346  
 347  
 348  
 349  
 350  
 351 Et se nustrent

XLIV  
 (343) q1 bi  
 (344) q2 bii  
 (345) q3 biii  
 (346) q4 biiii  
 (347) q5 bv  
 (348)  
 (349)  
 (350)  
 (351)  
 (352) Que ie voy

MS Vg US-NYw

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

XLV

┌───	352	
├───┬───	353	
├───┬───┬───	354	
├───┬───┬───┬───	355	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	356	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	357	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	358	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	359	Et se vous

XLVI

┌───	360	
├───┬───	361	
├───┬───┬───	362	Vo: PARTIALLY BLANK

-----

XLVII

┌───	363	
├───┬───	364	
├───┬───┬───	365	
├───┬───┬───┬───	366	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	367	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	368	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	369	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	370	Et les ont

XLVIII

┌───	371	
├───┬───	372	
├───┬───┬───	373	
├───┬───┬───┬───	374	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	375	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	376	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	377	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	378	En belle & ou bone

XLIX

┌───	379	
├───┬───	380	
├───┬───┬───	381	
├───┬───┬───┬───	382	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	383	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	384	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	385	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	386	Qui ne fremise

XLV

┌───	(353)	r1	ci
├───┬───	(354)	r2	cii
├───┬───┬───	(355)	r3	ciii
├───┬───┬───┬───	(356)	r4	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(357)	r5	cv
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(358)	r6	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(359)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(360)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(361)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(362)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(363)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(364)	mais	diex

XLVI

┌───	(365)	s1	/	red
├───┬───	(366)	s2	//	
├───┬───┬───	(367)	s3	///	
├───┬───┬───┬───	(368)	s4	////	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(369)	s5	v	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(370)	s6	vi	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(371)	s7	vii	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(372)	x	x	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(373)			
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(374)			
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(375)			
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(376)			
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(377)			
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(378)	Or	renemay	

XLVII

┌───	(379)	t1	
├───┬───	(380)	t2	
├───┬───┬───	(381)	t3	
├───┬───┬───┬───	(382)	t4	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(383)	t5	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(384)	x	
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(385)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(386)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(387)		
├───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───┬───	(388)	li	rois

MS Vg US-NYw

MS B F-Pn fr. 1585

L

	387
	388
	389
	390
	391
	392

XLVIII

	(389) v1	<present structure not original>
	(390) v2	
	(391) v3	
	(392) v4	
	(393) v5	
	(394) v6	
	(395)	

LI

	393	BLANK
	394	

MS E

(F-Pn fr. 9221)

A  
 A BLANK  
 B Flame1 vo: BLANK

B  
 C INDEX  
 D  
 E Vo: BLANK  
 F BLANK

IV  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32 & en ton

VIII  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57 LAI DE PLOUR  
 58 Vo: BLANK  
 59 BLANK  
 60 BLANK

I  
 1 PROLOGUE; vo: LOANGE  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8 e t se vo douce

V  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37 BEHAIGNE  
 38  
 39 <stub>  
 40 Alons n~~o~~ ent

IX  
 61 LYON  
 62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67 Vo: BLANK  
 68 BLANK

II  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13 COMPLAINTES  
 14  
 15  
 16 Se p ambs n'aimes RONDEAUX

VI  
 41  
 42  
 43 BLANK  
 44 BLANK

X  
 69 4 OYSIAULX [l'Alerion]  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74  
 75  
 76 Com de la destre

III  
 17 Vo: BLANK  
 18 VERGIER  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22 L'ECU BLEU [Remede]  
 23  
 24 Qui fust froie

VII  
 45 NAVARRRE  
 46 <fi ?>  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52

XI  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82



MS E

(F-Pn fr. 9221)

XII MORPHEUS [Fonteinne]  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88  
 89  
 90 Prist a chanter

XIII 91 Vo: BLANK  
 92 BLANK

XIV CONFORT  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98  
 99  
 100 Dieux teust fait

XV 101  
 102  
 103  
 104 Vo: BLANK  
 105 HARPE  
 106 Vo: BLANK

XVI LAYS  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110  
 111  
 112  
 113  
 114 d'amoureux  
 ma ioie

XVII 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122 en ioieux  
 veuit

XVIII 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130 Vo: BLANK  
 BLANK

XIX MOTETS and RONDEAUX  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138 Mais bonne amour

XX 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146 Vo: BLANK

XXI BALADES  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154 amour. Resgardez

XXII 155  
 156  
 157 Vo: BLANK  
 158 BLANK

XXIII VIRELAIS  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166 Qui propter nos  
 Vo: MASS

MS E

(F-Pn fr. 9221)

XXIV [ 167 BLANK  
 [ 168  
 [ 169  
 [ 170 Vo: BLANK

---

XXV [ 171 VOIR DIT  
 [ 172  
 [ 173  
 [ 174  
 [ 175  
 [ 176  
 [ 177  
 [ 178 Cilz a bien fole

XXVI [ 179  
 [ 180  
 [ 181  
 [ 182  
 [ 183  
 [ 184  
 [ 185  
 [ 186 Qui ml<sup>7</sup>t dure

XXVII [ 187  
 [ 188  
 [ 189  
 [ 190  
 [ 191  
 [ 192  
 [ 193  
 [ 194 Balade la dame  
 (NB: half-page of prose not  
 accounted for by catchw.)

XXVIII [ 195  
 [ 196  
 [ 197  
 [ 198  
 [ 199  
 [ 200  
 [ 201  
 [ 202 Qui en cuer

XXIX [ 203  
 [ 204  
 [ 205  
 [ 206  
 [ 207  
 [ 208  
 [ 209  
 [ 210 En bonne foy

XXX [ 211 Vo: BLANK  
 [ 212 BLANK

---

XXXI [ 213 PRISE  
 [ 214  
 [ 215  
 [ 216  
 [ 217  
 [ 218  
 [ 219  
 [ 220 Lors dit chascun

XXXI [ 221  
 [ 222  
 [ 223  
 [ 224  
 [ 225  
 [ 226  
 [ 227  
 [ 228 I i quars poins

XXXIII [ 229  
 [ 230  
 [ 231 / <red traces  
 [ 232 / of sigs.>  
 [ 233 /  
 [ 234  
 [ 235  
 [ 236 De li metre en

XXIV [ 237  
 [ 238 Vo: BLANK

MS C

(F-Pn fr. 1586)

I BEHAINGNE

1	a1
2	a2
3	a3
4	a4
5	x
6	
7	
8	Estre loyal amant

II

9	b1
10	b2
11	b3
12	b4
13	x
14	
15	
16	li iurai

III

17	c1
18	c2
19	c3
20	x
21	
22	"Ci feunist le temps pascour"

---

IV REMEDE

23	d1
24	d2
25	d3
26	d4
27	x
28	
29	
30	

V

31	e1
32	e2
33	e3
34	e4
35	
36	
37	
38	Joye

VI

39	f1
40	f2
41	f3
42	f4
43	x
44	
45	
46	fors moy

VII

47	g1
48	g2
49	g3
50	g4
51	x
52	
53	
54	Qui les

VIII

55	h1
56	h2
57	
58	"Ci fenist remede de fortune"

---

IX L'ALERION

59	i1
60	i2
61	i3
62	i4 aiii
63	x
64	
65	
66	quante

X

67	k1
68	k2 bi
69	k3
70	k4 biii
71	x
72	
73	
74	Car mêt ve

XI

75	l1
76	l2
77	l3
78	l4
79	x
80	
81	
82	

XII

83	m1
84	m2
85	m3
86	m4
87	m5
88	x
89	
90	
91	
92	

---

MS C

(F-Pn fr. 1586)

XIII

93	n1	<u>VERGIER</u>
94	n2	ei
95	n3	
96	n4	
97	n5	eiii
98	x	
99		
100		
101		
102		

XIV

103	o1	<u>LION</u>
104	o2	
105	o3	
106	o4	
107	x	
108		
109		
110		Qu'il les a

XV

111	p1	
112	p2	
113	p3	
114	p4	
115	p5	
116	x	
117		
118		
119		
120		

XVI

121	q1	<u>LOANGE</u>
122	q2	
123	q3	
124	q4	
125	x	
126		
127		
128		et se ie

XVII

129	r1	
130	r2	
131	r3	
132	r4	
133	x	
134		
135		
136		mais de vray

XVIII

137	a1	
138	a2	
139	a3	
140	a4	
141	a5	
142	x	
143		
144		
145		
146		Se fortune

XIX

147	f1	
148	f2	Vo: <u>VIRELAIS</u>
149	f3	
150	f4	
151	x	
152		
153		
154		d/ (e tous)

XX

155	s1	
156	s2	
157	s3	Vo: <u>BALLADES</u>
158	s4	
159	x	
160		
161		
162		Pour

XXI

163	t1	
164	t2	
165	t3	<u>LAIS</u>
166	t4	
167	x	
168		
169		
170		mais de ce

XXII

171	v1	
172	v2	
173	v3	
174	v4	
175	x	
176		
177		
178		Quis faus lance

XXIII

179	u1	
180	u2	
181	u3	
182	u4	
183	x	
184		
185		
186		Qui bien aime
		Vo: B19 added

XXIV

187	x1	<u>L22</u>
188	x2	
189	x3	
190	x4	
191	x	
192		
193		
194		Fors d'un

MS C

(F-Pn fr. 1586)

XXV

—	195	y1
—	196	y2
—	197	y3
—	198	y4
—	199	x
—	200	
—	201	
—	202	Conttenor

XVI

—	203	z1
—	204	z2
—	205	z3
—	206	z4
—	207	z5
—	208	z6
—	209	x
—	210	Courtoisie

XXVII

—	211	z1
—	212	z2
—	213	z3
—	214	z4
—	215	x
—	216	
—	217	
—	218	qui me vau

XXVIII

—	219	z1
—	220	z2
—	221	z3
—	222	z4
—	223	x
—	224	
—	225	
—	226	BLANK

MS J F-Pa 5203

I

1	<u>LOANGE</u>
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	.De toute.

II

9 x	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	.Dont. i.

III

17 x	
18	
19	
20	

IV

21	<u>VERGIER</u>
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	.Qnt/

MS K CS-BEsu 218

I

1 (1)	<u>LOANGE</u>
2 (2)	
3 (3)	
[ ]	
[ ]	
6 (4)	
7 (5)	
8 (6)	Car par

[fols. 9-20 lacking]

II

21 (7)	I	<u>VERGIER</u>
22 (8)	I	
23 (9)	I	
24 (10)	iiii	
25 (11)	x	
26 (12)		
27 (13)		
28 (14)	au temps pascour	
	(diff. style catch.)	

MS J F-Pa 5203

V  
 29  
 30 Vo: BEHAINGNE  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36 .loie.

VI  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44

-----  
 VII  
 45  
 46 Vo: LAI DE PLOUR  
Chanson desesperee  
REMEDE  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52 .Riens. (to: Rien)

VIII  
 53  
 III (stub)  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60 .En gestant.

MS K CS-BEsu 218

III  
 [ ] (BEHAINGNE)  
 30 (15)  
 31 (16)  
 32 (17)  
 33 (18)  
 34 (19)  
 35 (20)  
 III 36 (21) Sire sausaingne

IV  
 37 (22)  
 38 (23)  
 39 (24)  
 40 (25) e  
 [ ] (Lai de plour)  
 42 (26) Vo: Chanson desesperee  
REMEDE  
 43 (27)  
 44 (28) En douiz penser en

V  
 45 (29)  
 46 (30)  
 47 (31) fiii (?)  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 50 (32)  
 51 (33)  
 52 (34) Quelle li a par sa puis

MS J F-Pa 5203

IX

61	
62	
63	
64	
65	
66	
67	
68	Si dois e/[stre]

X

69	
70	
71	
72	
73	
74	
75	
76	Vo: BLANK

XI

77	<u>LYON</u>
78	
79	
80	
80	bis
81	
82	
83	Sen y avoit (cursive, cf. cue for rubric on fol. 86)

XII

84	
85	
86	
86	bis
87	
88	
89	
90	confort dami (cursive)

MS K CS-BEsu 218

VI

53	(35)	
54	(36)	
55	(37)	gii/
56	(38)	giii/
57	(39)	
58	(40)	
59	(41)	
60	(42)	Et quont espoir qui en

[fols. 61-68 lacking]

VII

69	(43)	ki	<u>LION</u>
70	(44)	/	
[ ]			
72	(45)	k	
73	(46)	x	
74	(47)		
75	(48)		
76	(49)	Veillent en lien de l'terne	

VIII

77	(50)	
78	(51)	
79	(52)	I
[ ]		
81	(53)	
82	(54)	
[ ]		
84	(55)	Quant au lieu de conseil (CONFORT)



MS J F-Pa 5203

XIII

	91	<u>CONFORT</u>
	92	
	92 bis	
	93	
	94	
	95	
	96	
	97	.Niquie/ (to: Ne quier)

XIV

	98 c	(below 1st col.)
	99	
	100	
	101	
	102	
	103	
	104	
	105	.Droit.

XV

	106	
	107	
	108	
	109	
	110	
	111	
	112	
	113	Q' march/

XVI

	114	
	115	
	116	
	117	
	118	(stub, glued to fol. 118)
	119	<u>FONTAINE</u>
	120	.Car iay lai /

MS K CS-BEsu 218

IX

	85	(56)
	86	(57)
	87	(58)
	88	(59)
	89	(60)
	90	(61)
	91	(62)
	92	(63) Car sa mesure ne vivo/

X

	93	(64)
	[ ]	(stub)
	95	(65)
	96	(66) Yiii
	97	(67) x
	98	(68)
	99	(69)
	100	(70) Mais il ne prist en la

XI

	101	(71)
	102	(72)
	<u>III</u>	103 (73)
	104	(74) oiiii
	105	(75)
	106	(76)
	[ ]	
	108	(77) Perdre du tout.et la

[ FONTAINE ]

MS J F-Pa 5203

XVII  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128 .Et bon.

XVIII  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136 Mais ad/[es]

XIX  
 137  
 (stub) (HARPE)  
 138  
 139 Vo: L12  
 140  
 141 Vo: L17  
 142  
 143 Chascun. L9

XX  
 144 Vo: L10  
 145  
 146 Vo: CHASTEL  
 147 Vo: VOIR DIT (frag.)  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151 Davo/[ir] Vo: COQ-A-l'ANE

MS K CS-BEsu 218

XII  
 109 (78)  
 110 (79)  
 111 (80)  
 112 (81) piii  
 113 (82) x  
 114 (83)  
 [ ]  
 116 (84) Et priaus.et tuit

XIII  
 117 (85)  
 118 (86)  
 119 (87)  
 120 (88)  
 121 (89)  
 122 (90)  
 123 (91)  
 [ ] (HARPE)

XIV  
 125 (92)  
 [ ] [L12]  
 128 (93) L17  
 127 (94)  
 [129] [L9]  
 130 (95) Vo: L10  
 131 (96)  
 132 (97) CHASTEL D'AMOURS *quant*

XV  
 133 (98) VOIR DIT (frag.)  
 134 (99)  
 135 (100)  
 136 (101) Dame Vo: [miscellaneous]

XVI  
 137 (102)  
 138 (103)

MS J F-Pa 5203

MS K CS-BESu 218

XXI

152	
153	<u>ROSE</u>
154	Vo: BLANK
155	Mais de lui <u>CERF</u> <u>BLANC</u>

XXII

156	
157	
158	
159	
160	
161	
[162]	BLANK

## Appendix B

### COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MINIATURES

Appendix B provides a quick overview of the number and location of miniatures in the MSS C, Vg, A, K, J, F-G, E and D (representing their approximate chronological order; perhaps the position of F-G and E should be reversed.<sup>1</sup> For each work, the leftmost column identifies the location of the miniature by the line number, or, in the case of the Prologue, Loange and musical works, the individual poem before which the miniature appears. Remaining columns identify the MS and the sequential number of the miniature within that MS (F and G are through-numbered: G142 is the first miniature in MS G). The order of the works in the table follows MS F-G, the last of the MSS with an order that is probably authentic. The order of the works in the other MSS can be discovered by following their numbers in sequence.

Appendix B is designed to be used in conjunction with Appendix C, where the miniatures are arranged again in the same order, first indicating the line before which the miniature appears, and the sequential number of the miniature within a given MS. In Appendix C, the central column identifies the scene, gives any rubrics present immediately above or below the miniature, and the rightmost column gives the folio number on which the miniature is found. When more than a single miniature appears on a folio side, the column (a-d) is also indicated. By using Appendix B, one can readily note, for instance, not only the remarkable similarity in the locations of minia-

<sup>1</sup> MS Morg (c. 1425-30) follows A, and is not included here. See Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 129.

tures in MSS A and F-G (two MSS we have already seen to be closely related on other grounds), but also the independence of the illustration programs for MSS C and Vg. Nevertheless, one occasionally sees an internal division in a poem that is unanimously chosen as a point to be marked by an illumination. For instance, Appendix B shows such a division first for Behaingne, before v. 1185: MSS C, A, F-G and D all have a miniature, indicating that this is an important juncture in the poem. Appendix C may then be consulted. When miniatures C6, A10, F11 and D6 are located in the Behaingne section of Appendix C for v. 1185, a brief description of the miniatures, any rubrics if present, and the folio number of the miniature is given.

Recourse to Oeuvres, II, 102 (Behaingne v. 1185) shows that this is the point where the narrator picks up after an extended section of dialogue between the knight and the lady. The narrator here decides to come out from his hiding place behind a bush in order to help the pair have their love-debate judged. Further, we see that the scene in both F11 and D6 are anticipating the story a little, while A10 is far in advance of the story line. C6 is the most accurate representation of the local situation in the story. An extended analysis of this sort would demonstrate interesting aspects concerning how contemporaries articulated these poems, how carefully the program of illustrations in a given MS was synchronized with the story line, and how a MS with few illustrations chooses its scenes over one that is richly illustrated (the illustrator of MS D in particular was skilled at summing up large portions of the poems with a single miniature), etc.

I thank Mr. Bernard Bailly de Surcy for generously supplying me with a film of the inaccessible MS Vg. My descriptions of the miniatures in Vg are based only on this film, and are offered with due reservations.

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Prologue</i>	1Bal		2			1	1a	
	2Bal					2		
	3Bal		1			3	1b	
	4Bal					4		
	Nar.		3			5		
<i>Vergier</i>	1	62	7	4	2	2	6	7
	109			5			7	4
	159	63						
	207			6			8	
	245	64						
	247			7			9	
	377	65						
	1039	66						
	1195	67						
<i>Behaingne</i>	1	1	8	8		3	10	10
	41			9			10	5
	81	2						
	257	3						
	881	4						
	973	5						
	1185	6		10			11	6
	1381							7
	1465	7						8
	1509			11			12	
	1609	8						
	1941	9						
<i>Navarre</i>	1		9	12			13	11
	465							9
	541							10
	548							11
	1475							12

C Vg A K J F-G E D

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Remede</i>	1	10	10	13	3	5	14	8
	135	11						
	431	12						
	693	13						
	771		11	14	4	6	15	
	921	14 <sub>a,b</sub>						
	1001	15		15		7		
	1193	16						
	1273	17						
	1401	18						
	1481	19						9
	1671	20						
	1821	21						
	1863			16	5	8		
	1881	22						
	1977	23						
	2039	24						
	2097			17				
	2148	25						
	2287	26						
	2289			18				
	2353	27						
	2403	28						
	2522	29						
	2685	30						
	2857	31						
	2893	32		19				
	3013	33	12					
	3077	34		20				
	3181	35						
	3205			21		9		
	3349			22				
	3451	36						
	3573	37						
	3729	38						
	3847	39						
	3947	40						
	4077	41						
	4107	42						
	4115			23				
	4217	43		24				
	4275			24				

C Vg A K J F-G E D

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Lyon</i>	1	68	13	25	6	10	16	13
	107		14					
	151	69	15	26			17	
	175	70	16	27			18	
	279	71	17	28			19	14
	325	72	18					
	433	73	19	29			20	15
	442					11		
	453		20	30			21	
	515	74	21	31			22	
	535				7	12		
	591		22	32			23	
	625	75	23	33			24	
	709		24	34			25	
	747	76	25					
	767		26	35			26	16
	923	77	27	36			27	
	989	78	28	37			28	
	1119	79	29	38	8	13	29	
	1213	80	30	39			30	
	1345	81	31	40				
	1505	82	32	41			31	
	1523	83	33				32	
	1545				9	14		
	1587	84	34	42				
	1607		35	43			33	
	1621	85	36	44				
	1635	86	37	45				
	1657	87	38	46				
	1667	88	39	47				
	1773	89						
	1801		40	48				
	1810					15		
	1845	90	41	49				
	1975		42	50				
	2077		43					
	2129	91						

C Vg A K J F-G E D



	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>I'Alerion</i>	1	44	44	51		34	17	
	477	45					18	
	775	46						
	863		45					
	945	47	46					
	1015		47					
	1111	48	48					
	1151		49					
	1307	49						
	1495	50						
	1511		50					
	1819	51						
	2091	52						
	2181	53						
	2401	54						
	2471		51				19	
	2761	55						
	3029	56					20	
	3401	57						
	3803	58						
	3987						21	
	4209	59						
	4341	60						
	4569	61						

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Confort</i>	1	52	52		16	35	26	
	57	53	53			36		
	73	54						
	83	55	54			37		
	135	56						
	161	57	55			38		
	181	58	56			39		
	199	59						
	221	60						
	253	61	57			40		
	273	62	58			41		
	329	63				42		
	330		59					
	351	64						
	357		60			43		
	393	65						
	481	66	61			44		
	513	67	62			45		
	545	68						
	565	69	63			46		
	583	70				47		
	619		64			48		
	624	71						

(Confort cont.)

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
633								27
671		72						
719								28
753		73	65			49		
943		74						
955		75						
1045		76						
1057		77	66			50		
1089		78	67			51		
1131		79	68			52		
1155		80						
1157			69					
1193		81	70			53	29	
1225		82				54		
1245		83				55		
1257			71					
1421		84	72			56		
1979					17			
2277		85	73			57		
2517		86	74			58		
2535		87	75			59		
2645		88	76			60		
2683		89	77			61		
3979		90						

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C Vg A K J F-G E D

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Fonteinne</i>	1	91	78		18	62	22	
	55	92	79			63		
	235	93	80			64		
	539	94	81			65		
	555	95				66		
	571	96	82			67		
	587	97	83	10	19	68		
	603	98	84			69		
	619	99	85			70		
	651	100	86			71		
	667	101	87			72		
	811		88			73		
	1075	102	89			74		
	1135	103	90			75		
	1205	104						
	1313		91		20	76		
	1333	105	92			77		
	1371	106	93			78	23	
	1511	107	94			79		
	1609	108	95			80		
	1715	109	96			81		
	1851	110	97			82		
	2125	111	98			83		
	2145	112	99			84		
	2207	113	100			85	24	
	2527	114				86		
	2745	115	101			87	25	
	2789	116	102			88		
<i>Harpe</i>	1	117	103			89	30	
	31		104			90		
	83					91		
	111		105			92		
	129		106			93		
	143		107			94		
	157		108			95		
	165		109			96		
	175		110			97		
	187		111			98		
	197		112			99		
	207		113			100		
	221		114			101		
	233		115			102		
	285		116			103		

C Vg A K J F-G E D

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Voir Dit</i>								
		1			119		104	32
		169					105	
		315			120		106	
		571					107	
		637			121		108	
		1003			122		109	
		1228			123		110	
		1250			124		111	
		1384			125		112	
		1503			126		113	
		2245			127		114	
		2623			128		115	
		2891			129		116	
		3712					117	
		3760			130		118	
		3947					119	
		4362			131		120	
		4563			132		121	
		4814			133		122	
		4910					123	
		4990			134		124	
		5124					125	
		5244					126	
		5468			135		127	
		5536			136		128	
		5907			137		129	
		6063			138		130	
		7070			139		131	
		7292			140		132	33
		7616			141		133	
		7719			142		134	
		7773			143		135	
		7863			144		136	
		8111			145			
		8147					137	
		8179			146		138	
		8239			147	12	24	139 34
		8652			148	13	25	140 35

C Vg A K J F-G E D

	C	Vg	A	K	J	F-G	E	D
<i>Marguerite</i>	1		118			141		
<i>Rose</i>	1		150					
<i>Les biens</i>	1		151					
<i>Prise</i>	1 5004 7896		118	149		142	36 37 38	
<i>Loange</i>	Lo1 Lo27 Lo67 Lo94 Lo109	92 1 2 3 4	117	1	1	143	6	1
<i>Complaintes</i>	C1 C3 C4 C6	5 6				144	2 3 4 5	2 3
<i>Lays</i>	L1 L2 L3 *L4 L5 L6 L7 L10 L12 L22 L14 *L11 *L13 *L8 *L9	93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107	152			145	31	
<i>Motets</i>	M1		153					
<i>Ballades</i>	B1		154			146		
<i>Rondeaux</i>	R1					147		
<i>Virelais</i>	V1					148		

C Vg A K J F-G E D

\*: Lai without music.

## Appendix C

### CONCORDANCE OF MINIATURES

One important characteristic of Machaut's *dits* is the part the author plays in them; he is usually a character. Thus, I have often identified a character in an illustration as "G." ["Guillaume"], instead of, say, "*amant*." F. Avril has pointed out the changing costumes of the poet, depending upon the date of the MS. A middle-aged, often bearded courtier dressed *a la mode* depicts the author in MS C, while a tonsured, clean-shaven monk appears in A and F-G.

Several of the miniatures in MS A (beginning with A14) have a Roman-numeral through-numbering in the MS. The first visible is number "xi" for the miniature on fol. 54v, and the numbers continue occasionally to be visible through "xl" (fol. 91v). The next visible number, "liiii" (fol. 128v) is one less than required (perhaps the single miniature at the opening of *l'Alerion* was left off). The last number visible before the *Voir Dit* (which begins fol. 221) is "lviii" (fol. 130v). The numbers are three less than the total number of miniatures, that is, the two Parisian miniatures of the *Prologue* ballades, and the provincial miniature of the narrative portion of the *Prologue* are not included. This further attests to the separate nature of the *Prologue*. Probably the numbers were keyed to a list of directions indicating the subject matter of the miniature (cf. Destrez, *La pecia*, p. 97, commentary to Pl. 21), perhaps prepared by the author himself. For the *Voir Dit*, there is an independent numbering system, first visible with "viii" on fol. 259v (actually the thirteenth miniature of the *Voir Dit*). Perhaps this indicates that the program of miniatures for the *Voir Dit* was more recently thought out.

The numeral "iii" is visible above the frame of miniature C70 (miniature no. three of *Lyon*).

#### Prologue

- 1Ba1 A2 Nature, Sens, Rhétorique, Musique, and G. *Comment nature, voulant orendroit plus que onques mes reveler et faire essaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours, vient a Guillaume de Machaut et li ordene et encharge a faire sur ce nouveaux dis amoureux et li baille pour li conseillier et aidier a ce faire trois de ses enfans. C'est a savoir Sens Rhetorique et Musique et li dit par ceste maniere.*<sup>1</sup> f. E

<sup>1</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 29, and "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 11.

- F1 = A2. *Comment nature voulant orendroit plus que onques mais Reveler et faire essaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours. vient a Guillaume de Machaut. Et li ordene et encharge a faire seur ce nouviaux dis amoureux. Et li baille pour lui consillier et aidier ad ce faire trois de ses enfans. C'est a savoir. Sens Rhetorique et Musique. Et li dit par ceste maniere.* f. 1
- E1a = A2. (first scene of two-col.-wide illustration.)  
*Comment nature voulant orendroit plus que onques mais reveler et faire exaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours vient a Guillaume de Machaut. Et lui ordenne et encharge a faire sur ce nouveaux dis amoureux et li baille pour lui conseiller et adviser a ce faire .iii. de ces enfans. C'est a savoir sens. rhetorique. musique. Et lui dist par ceste maniere.*<sup>2</sup> f. 1
- 2Bal F2 G. and Nature. *Comment Guillaume de Machau respont a Nature.* f. 1v
- 3Bal A1 Amour, Doux Penser, Plaisance, Esperance, and G.  
*Comment Amours qui a ouy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et li amaine trois de ses enfans c'est a savoir doux penser plaisance et esperance. pour li donner matere a faire ce que nature li a enchargie. et li dit par ceste maniere.*<sup>3</sup> f. D
- F3 = A1. *Comment Amours qui a oy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et li amaine trois de ses enfans. C'est assavoir. Dous penser plaisance et esperance. Pour lui donner voie a faire ce que nature li a enchargie. et li dit par cest maniere.* f. 1v
- E1b = A1. (second scene of two-col.-wide illustration.)  
*Comment amours qui a oy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et lui amaine .iii. de ses enfans c'est assavoir dous penser, plaisance, et esperance pour lui donner matere a faire ce que nature lui a enchargie.* f. 1
- 4Bal F4 G. and Amour. *Comment Guillaumes de machau Respont a amours.* f. 1v
- Nar. A3 G. at desk, writing in book; pen in right hand, scraper in left. f. Fv
- F5 = A3. f. 2

<sup>2</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 30, and "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 12.

## Dit dou Vergier

before  
line:

1	A4	G. at wall of garden; birds in trees. (f. Gv:) <i>Ci apres commence le dit dou vergier.</i>	f. 1
	F6	G. inside wall of garden; birds, cistern. <i>Ci commence le dit dou vergier.</i>	f. 3
	Vg7	G. (monk with beard); birds in trees. <i>Ci commence le dit dou vergier.</i>	f. 39
	E7	Winged God of Love sits in tree. Six people in circle, hands joined; G. off to side, looks at tree. <i>Cy commence le dit du vergier.</i>	f. 18
	C62	(two-col.) G. looks at bower of flowers.	f. 93
	D4	(two-col.) G. asleep on hill; God of Love with others dance in circle. <i>Comment le dieu d'amours est assis sur .i. abre et ne wit goute et tient en sa main .i. dart et en l'autre .i. brandon de feu et .vi. demoiselles et .vi. escuriers qui dancent et l'atteur se dort sos un abre.</i>	f. 48
	J2	God of Love descending from tree with arrow and torch. G. sits below tree, gestures to kings.	f. 21
	K2	= J2.	f. 21[new 7]
109	A5	God of Love with torch and arrow sits in tree; people below look on.	f. 1v
	F7	G. sits within wall near cistern, looking dejected.	f. 3v
159	C63	God of Love with torch and arrow in tree. Four women and five men look up to him.	f. 94
207	A6	God of Love sits on tree, G. looks on.	f. 2
	F8	= A6, others also present.	f. 4a
245	C64	Others look on as G. kneels to God of Love in tree.	f. 95
247	A7	God of Love in tree talks, G. kneels with hands clasped.	f. 2v
	F9	= A7.	f. 4b
377	C65	Similar to C64, but God of Love on stone bench.	f. 96
1039	C66	Similar to C64 and C65, but people behind G.	f. 100v
1195	C67	God of Love in tree; G. sitting on ground looks over right shoulder at him.	f. 102
1293:		End of poem	
totals:	A	4	
	F	4	
	Vg	1	



E 1  
 C 6 (2nd collaborator)  
 D 1  
 J 1  
 K 1

### Jugement dou roy de Behaingne

- 1 A8 G. next to stream, looks at tree with bird, all within wall with tower. (f. 9:) *Ci apres commence le jugement dou Roy de behaingne.* f. 9c
- F10 (two-col.) Lady, girl, and dog; knight, birds in trees; G. hides behind tree. *Ci commence le jugement du bon Roy de behaigne.* f. 9v
- Vg8 Man looks up at birds in tree. *Ci commence le temps pascour.* f. 47v
- E10 Knight talks to lady and girl; dog there also; G. on ground behind trees, observing. Tower in back. *Ci commence le iugement du roy de behangne.* f. 37
- C1 (two-col.) Knight talks to lady. G. looks on from behind trees. f. 1
- D5 (two-col.) Walled garden. G., lady, girl, knight, dog. *Ci commence le iugement du roy de behanie comme l'acteur est en .i. jardin et d'une autre part .i. cheualer et d'autre une dame. & une pucelle une dame. & .i. petit chien.* f. 9
- J3 King gestures to kneeling knight; lady, girl, dog. G.'s face in bush. f. 30v
- 41 A9 Lady, girl, knight, dog all angry at G., who is hiding behind bush. f. 9d  
 [F10 two-col. wide, serves here also] f. 9v
- 81 C2 Knight talks to lady; dog and girl nearby. f. 1v
- 257 C3 Lady appears weak; knight holds lady's arm to support her. Girl plays with dog. f. 3
- 881 C4 Lady talks to knight. f. 9
- 973 C5 Knight talks to lady. f. 10
- 1185 A10 King of Bohemia on throne, knight and lady on either side of him. f. 16v
- F11 Knight and lady; G. holds dog. f. 15
- C6 G. comes out of hiding with dog barking at him; lady and knight have not yet noticed him. f. 12v
- D6 G. talks to knight and lady. *Comment l'acteur parle au chevalier et a la dame dedens le iardin.* f. 67v

- 1381 D7 G. shows chateau to knight and lady. *Comme le chevalier et la dame et l'acteur regardent durbin le chastel.* f. 69
- 1465 C7 Lady, girl, knight and G. before steps of chateau. f. 16  
 D8 (two-col.) Lady and knight are welcomed to the chateau. Many ladies there with the king. Another knight sits next to king. *Comme il sont assis a .ii. costes du bon roy et sont et les compaignent plusieurs dames.* f. 70
- 1509 A11 King on throne, knight and lady before him. f. 18v  
 F12 Knight and lady kneel to king on throne. Two women and man behind king. f. 16v
- 1609 C8 G. stands behind lady and knight as they kneel to king. Several courtiers stand behind the king. Gables of the chateau frame the top of the illustration.<sup>4</sup> f. 17v
- 1941 C9 Scene = C8. King holds hands of kneeling knight and lady. f. 21
- 2079: End of poem.
- totals: A 4  
 F 3  
 Vg 1  
 E 1  
 C 9 (1st collaborator)  
 D 4  
 J 1

### Jugement dou roy de Navarre

- 1 A12 G. looking out of his window in tower, appears sad. (f. 22:) *Ci apres commence le jugement dou roy de navarre contre le jugement dou roy de behaingne.* f. 22v  
 F13 G. in his bedroom. *Le iugement du Roy de navarre Contre le iugement du bon Roy de behaingne.* f. 19v  
 Vg9 G.(?) standing. *Ci commence le iugement dou roy de navarre.* f. 60v  
 E11 G. inside house, at writing desk with book. *Cy commence le iugement du roy de navarre. machaut.* f. 45  
 D9 G. stands in his room; book is on table. *Comment l'acteur se meict amer en colier pour le temps qui*

<sup>4</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 7.

- se change.*<sup>5</sup>
- 465 D10 G. watches feast, dog chews bone. *Comment l'acteur regarde les noce qui se sont apres la grant morie.* f. 74v
- 541 E12 Hunt: three dogs; three men and one woman on horses. f. 78
- 548 D11 (two-col.) G. leads the hunt. *Comment guillaume chevauche grisart et court apres le lievre et la dame chevauche a grant compaignie et fait venir guillaume De loris et argue a lui.* f. 46v
- 1475 D12 (two-col.) King and queen, G., nine ladies *Comment le roy de navarre se siet et la royne et les .xii. demoisselles en estant devant Le roy desputantes alencontre de guillaume de Loris.* f. 79
- 4212: End of poem f. 86v
- totals: A 1  
F 1  
Vg 1  
E 2  
D 4

### Remede de Fortune

- 1 A13 Man with beard sits and talks to young man. *Ci commence Remede de fortune.* f. 49v
- F14 (cf. F34, opening of *l'Alerion*) G. at desk, reads from book to group. *Ci commence Remede de fortune.* f. 40
- Vg10 G. standing; woman holding child's hand. *Ci commence remede de fortune.* f. 90
- E8 Man walking in wild forest holding flower. *Ci commence l'ecu bleu.* f. 22
- C10 (two-col.) G. with arms crossed, looks on with young man towards chateau. Three ladies look up towards lady with pink hat standing on steps, who points finger at G.<sup>6</sup> f. 23
- J5 Similar to A17. Hope hands G. a ring. He stands, holding out hand. Girl behind him. f. 47
- K3 = J5. f. 43[27]

<sup>5</sup> This miniature is the only separation between the two *jugements* in MS D.

<sup>6</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 23, and "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 2.

- 135 C11 The Goddess of Love talks to G. *Comment amours chastie l'amant.* f. 24
- [before lai, Rem1]
- 431 C12 (two-col.) G. sits outside among trees, writing on long roll. *Comment l'amant fait un lay de son sentement.* f. 26
- [after Rem1]
- 693 C13 G. holds long roll. Lady with pink hat holding dog directs him to read. Off to the side, king sits on hill talking to people. *Comment la dame fait lire A l'amant le lay qu'il a fait.* f. 28v
- 771 A14 [xi] G. taking leave of lady, going into Parc de Hesdin.<sup>7</sup> f. 54v
- F15 Man washing hands at fountain. f. 44
- Vg11 King and courtiers seated on bench. f. 95v
- J6 G. and lady; trees. *Comment l'amant se depart de sa dame.* f. 51v
- K4 = J6. f. 46v[30v]
- [after music for strophe I of *complainte*, Rem2]
- 921 C14a,b (two-col., two large miniatures) At top: G. sits in walled garden, writing *complainte*. At bottom: Lady Fortune blindfolded, turns wheel with three people on it: king on top, man on side falling off; other man on other side on the way up. *Comment l'amant fait une complainte de fortune et de sa roe.*<sup>8</sup> f. 30v
- [Nebuchadnezzar's dream: Daniel ii.31-35]
- 1001 A15 Black statue with gold hair, wild appearance. f. 56v
- C15 King asleep in bed. Black statue with gold head off to side. (f. 31:) *Comment nabugodonosor Songa qu'il veoit Vne figure Qui se claimme statua.* f. 31v
- J7 Nebuchadnezzar in bed. Statue stands on bed. *Le songe du Roy. nabugodonosor.* f. 53

<sup>7</sup> See introductory remarks to this appendix for the Roman-numeral numbering system in MS A.

<sup>8</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 1. See also Alan H. Nelson, "Mechanical Wheels of Fortune, 1100-1547," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), 227: "The rim of Fortune's wheel is supplied with cogs which are engaged by corresponding cogs on a second, adjacent wheel. Both wheels are supported on double bearings. Fortune turns her wheel not directly, but by turning a crank on the secondary wheel. A count of the cogs on the two wheels reveals that Fortune has gained a mechanical advantage of approximately 4:3. The secondary wheel has no apparent symbolic function, but rather betrays the artist's fascination with the marvels of technology." The miniature is reproduced as Pl. 23a.

- 1193 C16 G. sits, points to blindfolded Lady Fortune. *Comment l'amant Se plaint de fortune.* f. 32v
- 1273 C17 G. sees lady with pink hat entering chateau; girl holds train of dress. *Comment l'amant entrevit sa dame.* f. 33v
- 1401 C18 G. sits on hill, dejected. (f. 34:) *Comment l'amant Se complaint a lui meismes.* f. 34v
- [after text of *complainte*]
- 1481 E9 G. and Hope reclining in walled garden (room left for rubric). f. 27
- C19 Hope, with scarf in hair, holds hand of G. *Comment esperance vint Conforter l'amant.* f. 35
- 1671 C20 G. listens to Hope. (f. 36:) *Comment esperance Ensaigne et aprent l'amant.* f. 36v
- 1821 C21 Hope stands scolding G. *Comment esperance chastie l'amant.* f. 37v
- 1863 A16 [xiii] Blue escutcheon with heart, arrow through heart. f. 62  
 J8 = A16, blue escutcheon with white spots. *Les droites armes des amans l'escu bleu.* f. 59  
 K5 = J8. *les droites armes des amans: l'escu bleu.* f. 53[35]
- 1881 C22 G. and Hope sit on either side of escutcheon, which is hanging from a tree. *Comment esperance moustre les droites armes d'amours a l'amant.* f. 38
- 1977 C23 Hope sits with long scroll, singing through it; G. asleep. *Commant l'amant s'en dort En ooiant chanter esperance.* f. 38v
- 2039 C24 Hope strokes G.'s hair, puts ring on his finger. *Comment esperance demande A l'amant s'elle a bien chante.* f. 39v
- 2097 A17 [xiiii] Hope places ring on G.'s finger, who is falling asleep on hillside. f. 63v
- 2148 C25 Hope talks to G. (f. 40:) *Comment esperance dit A l'amant quel pouer elle a.* f. 40v
- 2287 C26 G. talks, Hope with back turned. *Comment l'amant parle a esperance.* f. 41v
- 2289 A18 Hope has just named herself to G. f. 65
- 2353 C27 G., cape in hand, bows to thank Hope. *Commant l'amant mercie esperance.* f. 42

- 2403 C28 G. and Hope talk. *Comment esperance parle A l'amant de fortune.* f. 42v
- 2522 C29 G. talks to Hope. *Comment l'amant parle a esperance.* f. 43
- 2685 C30 G. and Hope talk, gesture to each other. *Comment esperance parle a l'amant.* f. 44v
- [before ballade Rem4]
- 2857 C31 Hope with another scroll; G. *Comment esperance baille a l'amant Une chancon et la chante devant li.* f. 45v
- [after Ballade Rem4]
- 2893 A19 G. listens to Hope sing ballade. f. 69v  
 C32 Hope above the trees, G. holds scroll. *Comment esperance Se depart de l'amant.* f. 46v
- [before ballade Rem5]
- 3013 Vg12 G. kneeling before Hope with open book. f. 111  
 C33 G. sits with legs crossed, writing on scroll draped across knee. *Comment l'amant Fait une balade.* f. 47v
- 3077 A20 Hope reassures G. before he goes to find his lady. (f. 71:) *l'amant.* f. 71v  
 C34 Hope leads G. to the chateau. *Comment esperance tient l'amant par la main et le mainne veoir le manoir sa dame.* f. 48
- 3181 C35 Hope's head above the trees, chateau nearby. G. with pen and scroll. *Comment l'amant s'agenoille En la saute devant le manoir sa dame.* f. 49
- [before the priere]
- 3205 A21 [xviii] G. praying to chateau. *l'amant.* f. 72  
 J9 Guill thanks winged God of Love. *Les graces et mercis que l'amant rent a amours.* f. 69
- [after the priere]
- 3349 A22 [xix] G. welcomed by lady and courtiers onto grounds of chateau. f. 73
- [before virelai Rem6]
- 3451 C36 (two-col.) Round dance next to chateau. Lady with pink hat has her eyes on G., who approaches with squire. *Comment l'ament chante empres Sa dame.*<sup>9</sup> f. 51
- 3573 C37 Three couples returning to chateau. Last couple is G. with his lady; they talk. *Comment l'amant parle a sa dame.* f. 52

<sup>9</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 24.

- 3729 C38 G. and his lady talk face to face. Girl holds lady's train. *Comment la dame parle a l'amant.* f. 53v
- 3847 C39 Guill kneels to his lady. Three other ladies look on. (f. 54v:) *Comment l'amant mercie sa dame.* f. 54
- 3947 C40 (two-col.) Large banquet, G. and lady present. *Comment l'amant fu Au disner sa dame.*<sup>10</sup> f. 55
- 4077 C41 G. and lady exchange rings. Hope with scarf has each hand on the backs of the couple. *Comment la dame et l'amant changent d'aniaux.* f. 56
- [before rondeau Rem7]
- 4107 C42 (two.-col.) Tournament with knights in armor jousting. G. on horse near the back, sings from scroll. Ladies in spectator's box, behind. *Comment l'amant S'en va chantant.* f. 56v
- [after rondeau Rem7]
- 4115 A23 [xx] G. on horseback leaving lady. f. 78v
- 4217 C43 G. and lady talk. *Comment l'amant parle a sa dame.* f. 58
- 4275 A24 [xxi] G. pays homage to God of Love, who is sitting in tree (cf. *Vergier*, A7). f. 80
- 4298: End of poem
- totals: A 12  
F 2  
Vg 3  
E 2  
C 34 (Master of the *Remede de fortune*)  
J 5  
K 3

### Dit dou Lyon

- 1 A25 G. inside wall with trees surrounded by stream. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.* f. 80v
- F16 (double scene) G. in bedroom, looks out to trees, stream. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.* f. 63v
- Vg13 Lion to right of seated figure. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.* f. 122

<sup>10</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 25; "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 3.

- E13 G. in bed, looks out to trees. *Ci commence le dit du Lyon.* f. 61
- C68 Landscape; animals in forest, stream in foreground, chateau behind.<sup>11</sup> f. 103
- J10 G. greets lion, who enters from behind trees. f. 77[43]
- K6 = J10. f. 69
- 107 Vg14 G. next to large ring (stream surrounding the garden?). f. 122v
- 151 A26 G. in boat, fish in stream. f. 81c
- F17 G. gets in boat at forest's edge. f. 64c
- Vg15 G. in boat at edge of forest. f. 123a
- C69 G. rowing boat. f. 104
- 175 A27 G. ties boat to tree. f. 81d
- F18 = A27. f. 64c
- Vg16 G. in forest next to stream. f. 123b
- C70 [iii] G. on shore, boat in stream; birds and animals around.<sup>12</sup> f. 104v
- 279 A28 Lion with part of G.'s cloak in its mouth. f. 82v
- F19 = A28, but cloak in lion's claw. f. 65
- Vg17 G. in forest. f. 124a
- E14 = A28. Other beasts look on. *Comment le lyon prist l'amant par le giron.* f. 61v
- C71 G. standing, lion comes out from behind bush. f. 105v
- 325 Vg18 G. in forest, lion behind tree. f. 124b
- C72 Lion has G. by the cloak, leading him. Many ferocious beasts behind him, he looks back in horror. f. 106
- 433 A29 Lion leads G. to fountain, G.'s cloak still in its mouth. f. 83c
- F20 Lion and G. drink at cistern. f. 66a
- Vg19 Lion drinks at fountain, G. watches. f. 125a
- E15 G. kneels to lady, who is sitting before tent. Lion in front, other beasts in background. *Comment le lyon mena l'amant devant la dame.* f. 62
- C73 G. and lion drink from stream.<sup>13</sup> f. 106v
- 442 J11 Lion drinks from cistern, G. stands beside; trees behind. f. 80
- 453 A30 G. at fountain, two men and two ladies come by. f. 83d
- F21 G. with lion at cistern; man, queen, and two women now there as well. f. 66a
- Vg20 Queen and G. f. 125b

<sup>11</sup> Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, Pl. 26.

<sup>12</sup> See introductory note to this appendix for the Roman-numeral iii.

<sup>13</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 8.



- 515 A31 Lady and lion. f. 84  
 F22 Lady petting lion. Other beasts behind. f. 66v  
 Vg21 Queen pets lion. f. 125v  
 C74 G. before tent of lady, who is on throne. Lion sits  
 beside her, followers behind; ferocious beasts to  
 left of G. f. 107v
- 535 J12 Lady pets lion. f. 80v  
 K7 = J12. f. 72[45]
- 591 A32 [xxix] Lady with lion, beasts around. f. 84v  
 F23 G., lady, and lion; beasts around.<sup>14</sup> f. 67a  
 Vg22 Queen. f. 126
- 625 A33 [xxx] Lady and lion. f. 85  
 F24 Lady and lion, beasts. f. 67a  
 Vg23 = A33. f. 126v  
 C75 G. and three ladies and lion under canopy. Beasts  
 threaten from the right. f. 108
- 709 A34 G. kneels to lady, asks about all the strange events. f. 85v  
 F25 Lady, lion; G. kneeling. f. 67v  
 Vg24 G. and lion. f. 127a
- 747 Vg25 G. kneeling to queen. f. 127b  
 C76 Old knight talks to G. Lady is in bower. Ladies  
 chatter on the side. f. 109
- 767 A35 Knight tells G. the story of the lion. f. 86  
 F26 Lady, G. and courtier, who is talking. f. 68  
 Vg26 Queen and G. sit next to each other. f. 127v  
 E16 Man comes out from behind tent; similar to E15, but  
 stream present, lion and beasts absent. *Comment la*  
*dame araisona l'amant.* f. 63
- 923 A36 Three women and three men tell their stories. f. 87  
 F27 Three women and group of men. f. 68v  
 Vg27 Queen and man standing. f. 128v  
 C77 Old knight talks to G.; scene to right has king  
 surrounded by nobles and others, including a bishop. f. 110v
- 989 A37 Three women and three men still discussing cases. f. 87v  
 F28 = A36. f. 69  
 Vg28 Two men kneel before two women. f. 129  
 C78 Three noble couples talk. f. 111
- 1119 A38 Three women, three men still talking. f. 88v  
 F29 Three women, two men still talking. f. 69v  
 Vg29 Man and monk. f. 130  
 C79 Two men bow to two women. f. 112

<sup>14</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 15.

- J13 G. and lady, three trees. (No rubric.) f. 83v  
 K8 = J13. *des faus amens.* f. 75v[48v]
- 1213 A39 Knight in full armor mounted on charging horse. f. 89  
 F30 Two knights in armor, each with shields, approach  
 three women. f. 70  
 Vg30 Two knights in armor charge. f. 130v  
 C80 Joust. Three women observe from behind screen. f. 113
- 1345 A40 [xxxvii] Six knights mounted on horses. f. 90  
 Vg31 Four men seated, three women talking. f. 131v  
 C81 Five knights on horses bid farewell to two women  
 watching from chateau. f. 114
- 1505 A41 Man, two women. f. 91  
 F31 Two men, three women. f. 71v  
 Vg32 Three monks, three nuns. f. 132c  
 C82 Man seated between two women; another women stands to  
 right. f. 115
- 1523 F32 Five peasants eating. f. 72a  
 Vg33 Two couples (peasants?). f. 132d  
 C83 Six peasant couples in circle, hunter couple and dog. f. 115v
- 1545 J14 Robin hands Marote a purse. *De Robin et de marote*  
*ensochas.* f. 86bis  
 K9 = J14. f. 78[51]
- 1587 A42 Man and woman embrace. f. 91d  
 Vg34 Woman kneels to man. f. 133b  
 C84 Bearded man points to group of five people. f. 116a
- 1607 A43 [xl] Two lovers. Third man being dismissed. f. 91d  
 F33 Man kneels to woman. She puts his hat on his head. f. 72b  
 Vg35 Two monks kneel to two women. f. 133b
- 1621 A44 Four couples in round dance. f. 92a  
 Vg36 Three men and two women dancing. f. 133c  
 C85 Three men and two women dancing. Fourth man plays  
 bagpipes. f. 116b
- 1635 A45 Woman between two trees. f. 92b  
 Vg37 Several knights on horses, jousting; woman looks on. f. 133d  
 C86 Two pairs of knights on horses, in hand-to-hand  
 combat. Three women look on from castle wall. f. 116c
- 1657 A46 Man giving garland to woman. f. 92c  
 Vg38 Woman kneels to man. f. 133d  
 C87 Man bends for woman to place garland on his head. f. 116d
- 1667 A47 Man and woman. f. 92c  
 Vg39 Man and woman seated, talking. f. 134  
 C88 Man and woman stand; she holds his hand. f. 117

1773	C89	G. stands next to stream with boat in it.	f. 117v
1801	A48	G., tree, stream, lion; lady on cushion pets lion.	f. 93c
	Vg40	Man, lion, lady.	f. 134v
1810	J15	Lady and G. sit on grass under tree, lady pets lion.	f. 87v
1845	A49	Mirror image of A48.	f. 93d
	Vg41	Man and lady.	f. 135
	C90	G. sits by lady, lion is next to her; two men look on, beasts behind them.	f. 118
1975	A50	Lady feeds the lion the leg of a deer.	f. 94v
	Vg42	Man kneeling before lady; lion beside her.	f. 136
2077	Vg43	G. and lion, next to stream.	f. 136v
2129	C91	G. in boat with oars. Lion looks on from the bank.	f. 120
2204:		End of poem	
totals:			
	A	26	
	G	18	
	Vg	31	
	E	4	
	C	24 (1st collaborator)	
	J	6	
	K	4	

### Le Dit de l'Alerion

1	A51	Man on horse with hunting bird. <i>Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.</i>	f. 96v
	F34	= F14. <i>Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.</i>	f. 75v
	Vg44	Noble talking to monk holding child's hand (compare Vg10). <i>Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.</i>	f. 139
	E17	G. with sword; birds in trees. <i>Cy commance le dit des .iiii. oysiaulx.</i> <sup>15</sup>	f. 69
	C44	(two-col.) Forest. Man sits with bird in hand, keeps other bird at bay. Nest with birds on ground behind. In foreground, two men catching butterflies with a net; third man has a sling. <sup>16</sup>	f. 59
477	C45	G. walks by forest, appears sad.	f. 62

<sup>15</sup> Facs. Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 9.

- E18 G. with sword before tree with sparrow-hawk. Four birds fly; fifth, small bird is in sparrow-hawk's claws. *Comment l'amant s'en amoura de l'espervier.* f. 70
- 775 C46 G. with stick, looks up at four birds in tree. f. 64v
- 863 Vg45 (2/3-col) Man looks up at bird in tree. f. 144
- 945 Vg46 (2/3-col.) Sparrow-hawk, bird, G. f. 145a  
C47 Bird sits in one tree, G. climbs another. f. 65v
- 1015 Vg47 (2/3-col.) G. with sparrow-hawk. f. 145b
- 1111 Vg48 (2/3-col.) Two men talk. f. 146a  
C48 G. with bird in hand. f. 66v
- 1151 Vg49 (2/3-col.) Man, woman, Amours. f. 146b
- 1307 C49 Large sparrow-hawk has smaller blue bird in claws, stands on pole between two trees. Bird handler's glove also across pole. f. 68
- 1495 C50 Woman (Amours) talks to G. f. 69v
- 1511 Vg50 (2/3-col.) Two men with birds; seated man. f. 148v
- 1819 C51 Three women. Venus accepts golden apple from Paris? f. 71v
- 2091 C52 St. Louis and knights on horses. (Expedition of Guillaume Longue-Epee.)<sup>17</sup> f. 73v
- 2181 C53 St. Louis on throne. Three knights, one in armor, talk. f. 74
- 2401 C54 Lady with eagle on gloved hand. Man, also with glove, kneels to accept bird. Three ladies, two with red apples (Amours and Raison?), look on. f. 76
- 2471 Vg51 (2/3-col.) Lady with eagle, man. f. 154v  
E19 Man with alerion on glove, hands bird to G., who has sword. *Comment amours envoia l'alerion a l'amant.* f. 75v
- 2761 C55 Man on horse scares off six birds. He has sling? f. 78v
- 3029 C56 Woman (Amours) talks to G. f. 80  
E20 Man, G. with sword, eagle. G. has finger in eagle's beak. *Comment l'amant s'en amoura de l'aigle.* f. 77v

<sup>17</sup> See Hoepffner. *Oeuvres*, II, lxix, and Calin, *A Poet at the Fountain*, pp. 96-97.

- 3401 C57 King and others, all on horseback, watch as large blue falcon attacks brown eagle, which is cowering on bush with its wings open. f. 82v
- 3803 C58 Woman (Raison) holding apple hits G. with stick as two women (Courtoisie and Amours) look on. f. 85v
- 3987 E21 G. with sword; two other men, one in green, one in blue with gyrfalcon. *Comment l'amant demanda le gerfaut.* f. 80
- 4209 C59 G. with gyrfalcon in hand. About to strike at four birds on hill (one is attacking another?). Same object, sling or whip, appears in C55. f. 88
- 4341 C60 Woman (Raison) talks to G. f. 89
- 4569 C61 G. standing with bird in each hand, one large (the alerion) and one small. f. 91
- 4814: End of poem
- totals: A 1  
F 1  
Vg 8  
E 5  
C 18 (2nd collaborator)

### Le Confort d'ami

- 1 A52 King Charles of Navarre looks out of tower, G. talks to him. *Ci apres commence Confort d'amy.* f. 127a
- F35 King Charles of Navarre seated, with two men. Receives book from messenger. G. stands off to the right. *Ci commence Confort d'ami.* f. 98v
- Vg52 G., kneeling, presents book to King Charles of Navarre; two retainers stand behind the king. *Ci commence confort d'amy.* f. 170a
- E26 Elder points to nude woman (Susanna) in stream. Both look at second elder. All is within garden wall. *Cy commance le confort d'amy.* f. 93
- J16 = A52. f. 91
- 57 A53 God in heaven, holds globe. f. 127b
- F36 Lady and bearded man kneeling. God is in upper right-hand corner. f. 99a
- Vg53 (3/4-col.) G., kneeling in front of king with his retainers, praying to God, who looks on, outside the upper-left frame of the miniature. f. 170b

- [vv. 73-410: Story of Susanna]
- 73 Vg54 (3/4-col.) Susanna between two men. f. 170c
- 83 A54 Three women watch as two women bathe in stream; fourth woman is undressing. f. 127v  
 F37 Two elders hide; stream; Susanna with two maids, one going into chateau. f. 99b  
 Vg55 Susanna, Ioachim and three others(?). f. 170c
- 135 Vg56 Susanna and two maids. f. 171a
- 161 A55 Two elder judges and Susanna. f. 128b  
 F38 Elder talks to Susanna. Other elder goes into chateau. f. 99c  
 Vg57 (3/4-col.) Two elders, Susanna. f. 171b
- 181 A56 Two elder judges watch as Susanna prays to God, who is in upper right of picture. f. 128b  
 F39 Two men sit on chest. One man presents Susanna, others gathered around. f. 99d  
 Vg58 Susanna, elders and courtiers(?). f. 171b
- 199 Vg59 Susanna kneels, four men stand over her. f. 171c
- 221 Vg60 Two elders and Susanna before judges on bench. f. 171d
- 253 A57 [liii] Susanna stands among judges. f. 128v  
 F40 Group; Susanna in white, kneeling and praying to hill. Two men behind. f. 100b  
 Vg61 (3/4-col.) Susanna prays to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. f. 172a
- 273 A58 [liiii] Two men about to toss Susanna into fire; elder judges look on. f. 129  
 F41 Group; one woman holds baby Daniel. Susanna in white has hands tied, led by a man. f. 100b  
 Vg62 Groups look on from both sides; Susanna with hands tied. f. 172a
- 329 F42 Group, child Daniel, man. f. 100d  
 Vg63 Elders, two men (one is Daniel?). f. 172c
- 330 A59 Group to left. Woman holds child Daniel. Two elder judges look on. f. 129c
- 351 Vg64 Group of men talk to Daniel(?). Angel with sword about to strike group. f. 172d
- 357 A60 Group joins woman and child Daniel, against the two elder judges. f. 129d  
 F43 Elder on left. Group and child talk to elder on right. Angel with sword is about to strike the elder on the right. f. 100d
- 393 Vg65 Group looks up to God. f. 173

[vv. 451-646: The fiery furnace. Daniel iii]

- 481 A61 Nebuchadnezzar and bearded Daniel. f. 130c  
 F44 Nebuchadnezzar and group point to naked gold statue. f. 101c  
 Vg66 Group speaks to King Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel(?) sits behind king. f. 173c
- 513 A62 [lviii] Musicians (two harps and two trumpets) play to statue. Other people worship it. f. 130d  
 F45 Musicians (vielle, harp, trumpet) play to golden statue. f. 101d  
 Vg67 Group prays to nude statue. f. 173d
- 545 Vg68 King talks to group of three men (Sidrach, Misach, Abdenago). Nude statue behind. f. 174a
- 565 A63 Three men in furnace. Two men fan flames with bellows. f. 131  
 F46 King Nebuchadnezzar directs as three men are thrown into firey pit. f. 102a  
 Vg69 King points as three men led away. f. 174b
- 583 F47 Three calm men in furnace, with angel. Three outside suffer. f. 102b  
 Vg70 Three men in furnace. f. 174c
- 619 A64 Three men in furnace with angel. f. 131v  
 F48 = A64; Fire is out, king and two men approach. f. 102c
- 624 Vg71 Three men and king kneel to God. f. 174d
- 633 E27 Two men and king in fire, while King Nebuchadnezzar and two men watch. Angel above. *Comment nabugodonosor fist mettre les .iii. juis en la fornaise ardant.* f. 94v
- [vv. 661-954: Baltasar's vision. Daniel v.1-30]
- 671 Vg72 King and men at banquet table. Two strange men look on from behind. f. 175
- 719 E28 King, queen and man at banquet table. Hand is writing on wall with pen. *Comment le roy balthasar vit la main qui escrisoit.* f. 95
- 753 A65 Baltasar with scepter, Daniel. f. 132v  
 F49 = A65. f. 103  
 Vg73 King Baltasar rejects words of bearded man, while group looks on. f. 175v
- 943 Vg74 Men wielding swords (the rest illegible). f. 177a
- [vv. 955-1287: Daniel in the lions' den. Daniel vi]
- 955 Vg75 Daniel(?), King Darius and three men. f. 177a
- 1045 Vg76 Three men kneel to King Darius. f. 177d
- 1057 A66 King Darius; three bearded men accusing Daniel. f. 134c

- F50 Three bearded men kneeling to King Darius, pointing to two men in background. One of these (Daniel) is being accused. f. 104c  
 Vg77 Daniel praying to God; two men inform King Darius. f. 177d
- 1089 A67 Daniel in pit, unharmed, with six lions. f. 134d  
 F51 Daniel, naked, dropped into pit with two lions, while king and two men look on. f. 104d  
 Vg78 Daniel in tower (with lion?). f. 178a
- 1131 A68 King and man cover mouth of pit containing Daniel (no lions visible.) f. 135  
 F52 Nude Daniel and lions happy. Angel carrying by the hair a bearded man (Habakkuk) holding a pot. f. 105c  
 Vg79 Angel carries Habakkuk by the hair. f. 178b
- 1155 Vg80 Daniel in tower with lions; Habakkuk offers jug. f. 178c
- 1157 A69 Angel flying, carrying Habakkuk by his hair. He has stew pot. f. 135c
- 1193 A70 Angel lets Habakkuk with his pot down by the pit containing Daniel. f. 135d  
 F53 King Darius comes up to the pit, finding nude Daniel and lions happy. f. 105c  
 Vg81 King, Daniel, lion. f. 178d  
 E29 Cf. F53; King points to semi-nude Daniel. *Comment li roys daries vit daniel en la fosse au lyons.* f. 96
- 1225 F54 Darius directs as man with rope and pulley frees Daniel from the pit. f. 105d  
 Vg82 King Darius points to bearded man; lions behind. f. 179a
- 1245 F55 King Darius points as another man throws Daniel's accusers to lions. Lions eat men. f. 105d  
 Vg83 King points as Daniel's accusers are eaten by lions. f. 179b
- 1257 A71 King Darius watches as lions eat Daniel's accusers. f. 136
- [vv. 1353-1548: Manasseh. 2 Paralipomenon xxxiii]
- 1421 A72 Manasseh sitting in tower, irons on ankles. f. 137  
 F56 King Manasseh in tower, praying. f. 106v  
 Vg84 = F56. f. 180v
- 1979 J17 God looks down from corner, smiling. *Comment le Roy salemon requeroit a dieu qu'il le gardast de grant richesse et de grant povrete.* f. 103v
- [vv. 2277-2352; 2517-2632: Orpheus and Eurydice]
- 2277 A73 Man bends and looks at bearded man inside tower. f. 142v  
 F57 Orpheus with harp plays for Eurydice, who is held by two devils coming from hell. f. 111



- Vg85 Tonsured Orpheus plays harp; Orgueil, Envie and Tricherie comb their hair. f. 185v
- [vv. 2353-2516: Rape of Proserpina]
- 2517 A74 Pluto, as king devil, galloping away on horse holding Proserpina. f. 144
- F58 Harpist; nude Tantalus in water with tree. f. 112b
- Vg86 Harpist; two other men sit, one next to stream. f. 187
- 2535 A75 = F57, but only one devil. f. 144v
- F59 Three women (Danaides) with buckets next to river.<sup>18</sup> f. 112
- Vg87 Orpheus looks at Euridice with mirror(?). Three women (Danaides?) look on, one is queen. f. 187v
- 2645 A76 Orpheus cudgelled and stoned by five Maenads. f. 145
- F60 Paris holds arm of Helen leaving temple. f. 112v
- Vg88 Orpheus holds Eurydice's arm. Gates of hell behind. f. 188
- [vv. 2683-2742: Hercules' combat with Achelous]
- 2683 A77 Knights in boat with Paris help Helen on board; she has come from castle. f. 145v
- F61 Knight (Hercules) hits bull (Achelous) on the head. f. 113
- Vg89 Women watch as bearded Hercules strikes at Achelous with his sword. f. 188v
- 3979 Vg90 (Min. only six text-lines tall) Man in bed. f. 196v
- 4004: End of poem
- totals: A 26  
F 27  
Vg 39  
E 4  
J 2

#### Dit de la Fonteinne amoureuse

- 1 A78 G. at desk, writing with pen in left hand, scraper in right. *Le livre de la fonteinne amoureuse.* f. 154a
- F62 G. looks at fountain. *Ci commence le dit de la fonteinne amoureuse.* f. 119v
- Vg91 Man sits and looks at fountain. *Ci commence le dit de la fonteinne amoureuse.* f. 197a
- E22 G. at desk, writing. Pen case and ink well on desk. *Cy commance le livre morpheus.* f. 83

<sup>18</sup> See Hoepffner, *Oeuvres*, III, ix, n.

- J18 Next to cistern, Paris kneels and gives apple to one (Venus) of three women. Man with bird perched on hand looks on. f. 118
- 55 A79 G. asleep in fancy bed. f. 154b  
 F63 G. in bed. f. 120  
 Vg92 Bearded man (duke?) in bed, lady looks on. f. 197b
- [before the *Complainte d'amant*]
- 235 A80 G. in his room taking dictation of *complainte* from duke, who is outside. *La complainte de l'amant*. f. 155v  
 F64 G. with arms crossed, in forest. f. 121  
 Vg93 Man takes leave of woman. *Vecy la complainte de l'amant*. f. 198v
- [vv. 543-698: Ceyx and Alcyone]
- 539 A81 Man alone (duke brooding?).<sup>19</sup> f. 157c  
 F65 Queen (Juno or Alcyone) in bedroom, holds mouth. f. 122c  
 Vg94 Ceyx under water. f. 200c
- 555 F66 Alcyone kneels to Queen Juno. f. 122c  
 Vg95 = F66 f. 200d
- 571 A82 King Ceyx drowned in lake. Queen Alcyone supplicates Juno.<sup>19</sup> f. 157d  
 F67 Juno, Alcyone; Iris (angel) kneels. f. 122d  
 Vg96 King (God of Sleep?) sits. Angel (Iris?) kneels to him. f. 200d
- 587 A83 Iris (angel) flys over Juno (queen) in bed, accepts message to take to God of Sleep.<sup>20</sup> f. 158a  
 F68 Iris (angel) flies over lake. f. 122d  
 Vg97 Iris (angel) flies over building. f. 201a  
 J19 God of Sleep asleep on grass. *Le massage venus fait au dieu de sommeil*. f. 122  
 K10 = J19. f. 110v[79v]
- 603 A84 Iris (angel) flies over God of Sleep, who is sleeping in castle next to river.<sup>20</sup> f. 158b  
 F69 Iris (angel) standing in king's bedroom. King (God of Sleep) is asleep. f. 123a  
 Vg98 Angel kneels to dozing God of Sleep; courtiers look on. f. 201a
- 619 A85 G. half asleep, sitting on bed.<sup>20</sup> f. 158b  
 F70 God of Sleep wakes up and sees Iris. Little sprites under bed. f. 123a  
 Vg99 God of Sleep in bed. Spirits fly overhead. f. 201b

<sup>19</sup> Facs. of A81-82 (fol. 157v) in Roger Sherman Loomis, *A Mirror of Chaucer's World* (Princeton, 1965), Pl. 45.

<sup>20</sup> Facs. of A83-85 (fol. 158r) in Loomis, *A Mirror*, Pl. 46.

- 651 A86 Morpheus comes in the shape of Ceyx to Alcyone, who  
is asleep.<sup>21</sup> f. 158v  
F71 God of Sleep sits up in bed, talks to son. (Morpheus). f. 123b  
Vg100 Morpheus kneels to his father, the God of Sleep. f. 201c
- 667 A87 King Ceyx and Queen Alcyone standing to right of  
water, two sea birds above the water.<sup>21</sup> f. 158v  
F72 Morpheus in the shape of Ceyx in boat floats next to  
Queen Alcyone, who is sitting up in bed. f. 123v  
Vg101 Queen Alcyone in bed, Morpheus in the shape of Ceyx  
kneels to her. f. 201d
- 811 A88 Man (G.?) puts garland on another man's head  
(duke's?), who is sitting on bed asleep. f. 159v  
F73 Duke kneels to God of Love. f. 124
- 1075 A89 Duke with hunting bird; G. points to entry of building. f. 161v  
F74 Lady, duke with bird and G. in bedroom. f. 125c  
Vg102 Duke with bird, G. facing him. f. 204
- 1135 A90 Chateau and two courtiers; duke approaches with boy,  
dog, horse and sparrow hawk; G. behind. f. 162  
F75 Duke presents horse, sparrow hawk and dog to lady. f. 125d  
Vg103 Duke with bird; G. points to dog and horse. f. 204v
- 1205 Vg104 G. kneeling to duke(?). f. 205
- 1313 A91 G. and duke before fountain. f. 163  
F76 = A91. f. 126v  
J20 Man and woman aboard boat in water. *La maniere et  
les contenance de la fontaine.* f. 127
- 1333 A92 Detail of fountain shows mythological figures on it. f. 163c  
F77 G. and duke; fountain with twelve-headed dragon on it. f. 127a  
Vg105 Knights mounted on horses, fighting with swords. f. 206a
- 1371 A93 Fountain with figures on it, trees around. f. 163d  
F78 = F77, but men sitting. f. 127b  
Vg106 G. and duke look into well. f. 206b  
E23 Fountain. G. talks to duke. *Comment l'amant et l'amy  
regardent la fontaine.* f. 86v
- 1511 A94 Well-dressed duke talking to G. f. 164v  
F79 Duke receives written-out *complainte* from G. f. 128  
Vg107 Duke receives scroll from G. f. 207
- 1609 A95 G. and duke asleep next to fountain. Duke is covered  
by G.'s robe. f. 165v

<sup>21</sup> Facs. of A86-87 (fol. 158v) in Loomis, *A Mirror*, Pl. 47.

- F80 Duke asleep, lying with G. and wrapped with G.'s robe, next to fountain. Queen Venus holds golden apple, lady stands behind her. f. 128v  
 Vg108 G. and duke asleep next to fountain; Venus looks on. f. 208
- [vv. 1633-2144: Judgement of Paris]
- 1715 A96 Four queens at table. Discord presents golden apple "a la plus bele." f. 166  
 F81 Three queens (Pallas, Juno, Venus) at banquet table. Discord holds golden apple, courtier looks on. f. 129  
 Vg109 Three women (Pallas, Juno, Venus) sit, Discord looks on. f. 208v
- 1851 A97 Woman in tower, man in basket hung from tower. Two men with torches, one sets fire to woman's dress. f. 167  
 F82 Three queens. Mercury offers golden apple to shepherd Paris. Cows and sheep round about. f. 129v  
 Vg110 Three women stand before shepherd Paris. f. 209v
- 2125 A98 Paris with dog gives apple labeled "pulchriori dei" to one of three queens. f. 169a  
 F83 Paris gives golden apple labeled "belle" to first of three queens. f. 131a  
 Vg111 Paris and three women. f. 211
- 2145 A99 Fountain; G. and duke still asleep. f. 169a  
 F84 Venus with lady come to duke asleep on hill. f. 131b  
 Vg112 Man asleep. Woman talks to another man. f. 211v
- [before the *Confort de l'amant et de la dame*]
- 2207 A100 Two women, fountain, duke. *Le confort de l'amant et de la dame*. f. 169v  
 F85 Lady holds hand of duke as Venus looks on. *Le confort de venus. Et de la dame*. f. 131v  
 Vg113 Duke is awake. Venus and lady talk. f. 212  
 E24 Venus and lady stand at fountain. G. asleep across lap of duke. *Comment venus et la dame reconfortent l'amant*. f. 89
- [after *Confort de l'amant et de la dame*]
- 2527 F86 G. and duke wash hands at fountain. f. 133  
 Vg114 Two men at fountain, duke washes hands. f. 214
- 2745 A101 G. and duke at fountain. f. 173a  
 F87 G., duke; knight kneels to duke. f. 134  
 Vg115 Knight kneels to G. and duke. f. 215c  
 E25 Duke and G. seated next to fountain. *Comment l'amy conforte l'amant*. f. 90v
- 2789 A102 Three men in boat, one of whom (duke) bids farewell to G. on horse. f. 173b  
 F88 G. riding on horse with duke next to water. f. 134v  
 Vg116 Duke gives out money before leaving. f. 215d
- 2848: End of poem

totals: A 25  
 F 27  
 Vg 26  
 E 4  
 J 3  
 K 1

### Le dit de la harpe

- 1 A103 King David plays harp, woman listens. (f. 173v:) *Ci  
 apres commence le dit de la harpe.* f. 174a  
 F89 Man plays harp for queen. *Ci commence le dit de la  
 harpe.* f. 135a  
 Vg117 Man(?) plays harp. f. 216  
 E30 Woman plays harp next to cistern, three birds in trees. f. 105
- 31 A104 = A75, but three devils, hell with crenelations,  
 Eurydice more distant. f. 174b  
 F90 = F57, Orpheus; Eurydice held by two devils, hell  
 behind castle wall. f. 135a
- 83 F91 King David plays harp. f. 135c
- 111 A105 King David playing harp for God, who has halo and  
 ball-shaped sceptre. f. 174v  
 F92 Two courtiers, queen. f. 135c
- 129 A106 Woman avoided by three men. f. 175a  
 F93 Man with scourge galloping on horse with red straps. f. 135d
- 143 A107 Man on horse with red straps. f. 175a  
 F94 Lady plays harp for another lady (Debonnaireté and  
 her sister Humilitéé). f. 135d
- 157 A108 Two women talk (Debonnaireté and her sister Humilitéé). f. 175b  
 F95 Two women shake hands (Honesté and her sister Veritéé). f. 136a
- 165 A109 Two women again (Honesté and Veritéé), smaller and  
 cruder. f. 175b  
 F96 Two ladies passing out loaves of bread from basket to  
 beggars (Charité and her sister Pité). f. 136a
- 175 A110 Two women (Charité and Pité) handing out alms to the  
 poor and infirm. f. 175c  
 F97 Three ladies (Jeunesse and her sisters Dedit and  
 Leësse). f. 136b
- 187 A111 Man in middle holds hands of two ladies (Jeunesse and  
 Dedit or Leësse) (cf. F97). f. 175c  
 F98 Crippled rich man walking with crutch. f. 136b

- 197 A112 Three women (Pais, Santé, Richesse) admire  
curly-headed fourth woman (Jeunesse). f. 175d  
F99 Noblesse and sisters Franchise and Gentillesse; one  
holds harp. f. 136c
- 207 A113 Hooded woman between two men, one has hunting bird (=  
Franchise, Gentillesse and Noblesse?). f. 175d  
F100 Two women (Richesse and Largesse) hold hands. f. 136c
- 221 A114 Queen with hooded woman who displays her set of small  
gold balls on strings. (Richesse and Largesse). f. 176a  
F101 Man kneels to four women who are seated (Simplese,  
Doubtance de meffaire, Honte, and Amour). f. 136c
- 223 A115 Four women, one with hood, one with wild hair  
(Simplese, Doubtance de meffaire, Honte, and Amour). f. 176b  
F102 Five women (Avis, Congnoissance, Grace, Maintieng,  
and Maniere); minstrel plays harp. f. 136d
- 285 A116 Hooded woman sits on throne. f. 176v  
F103 Queen stands, G. kneels. f. 137
- 354: End of poem

totals: A 14  
F 15  
Vg 1  
E 1

#### Voir Dit

- 1 A119 Messenger doffs hat and hands message "*a Guillem*" to  
G. *Ci commence le livre dou Voir dit.* f. 221  
F104 G. and messenger out of doors, hold out hands to each  
other. *Ci commence le livre du voir dit.* f. 137v  
E32 G. in blue with skullcap, reclining in garden.  
Bearded messenger has message. *Cy commance le livre  
du voir dit.* f. 171
- [before Peronne's Rond.]
- 169 F105 G. accepts message from messenger. *Rondel. la dame.* f. 138v
- [after G.'s reply Rond.]
- 315 A120 Messenger bids farewell to G. *l'asant.* f. 223v  
F106 G. looks at messenger; holds message. (f. 139r:)  
*L'asant.* f. 139v
- [before B32]

- 571 F107 G. in bed, accepts message from man. *L'amant*.  
*.Balade et y a chant.* f. 141
- [after Peronne's Rond.]
- 637 A121 G. in bed, accepts message "a Guillaume" from  
messenger. *l'amant.* f. 227
- F108 Toute belle, in bed, reads message; messenger also  
present. f. 142
- [after letter II (IV in Paris ed.)]
- 1003 A122 Three men on horses. G.'s has no red straps. f. 230v  
F109 G. on horse. f. 144v
- [after letter IV (VI in Paris ed.)]
- 1228 A123 Messenger gives message "a ma dame" to Toute belle. f. 233  
F110 Toute belle standing next to bed reading message.  
Girl there too. f. 146c
- [before Complainte]
- 1250 A124 Toute belle, hand over breast, sits in bed. *la dame*  
*.. Complainte.* f. 233v  
F111 Toute belle stands next to bed, hands clasped, looks  
at girl. *La dame. Complainte.* f. 146d
- 1384 A125 Messenger gives image of Toute belle to G. f. 235v  
F112 G. kneels next to bed, hands clasped towards image of  
Toute belle. f. 148
- [after letter X]
- 1503 A126 = A122, Group approaches castle. f. 237  
F113 G. on horseback, approaches church. *L'amant.* f. 149
- 2245 A127 Toute belle stands, G. sits with pen and ballade with  
music, labeled "*balade.*" f. 242  
F114 G. sits, Toute belle asleep across his lap, secretary  
there. f. 153
- [after Rond.]
- 2623 A128 Three women approach on horseback. G. looking out of  
church, frightened. *l'amant.* f. 245  
F115 Two women (including Toute belle) approach on  
horseback. Secretary points to them for G., who  
stands surprised at the door of the church. *l'amant.* f. 155
- [after Rond.]
- 2891 A129 G., Toute belle, and G.'s secretary, outside. *l'amant.* f. 248  
F116 Toute belle and G. sit far apart on bench, messenger  
peeks. f. 157v
- 3712 F117 Toute belle nude in bed, girl at side. G. at end of  
bed, kneeling with hands clasped. f. 162c

- 3760 A130 G. and Toute belle on bed, queen (Venus) to the side  
envelops them in a blue cloud of smoke. f. 255  
F118 G. embraces Toute belle under tree. Queen in heaven  
(Venus) looks on. *L'amant*. f. 162d
- [after Rond.]
- 3947 F119 Four women and Toute belle approach G., all on  
horseback. *L'amant*. f. 164
- 4362 A131 [viii] Three women and Toute belle approach three  
men, all on horses. Toute belle and G. touch  
hands. *L'amant*. f. 259v  
F120 G. hands book (lai) to messenger. *L'amant*. f. 166
- [after letter XXVI]
- 4563 A132 [ix] Queen Semiramis. Man talking to Queen on  
throne. *Vostre loyal amie* (added in grey ink, by  
different scribe). f. 264  
F121 Queen Semiramis stands next to bed. Man with spear  
kneels, three men stand. f. 169
- [after Ball.]
- 4814 A133 Messenger gives G. a message: "*a Guil.*" f. 267v  
F122 G. stands with open box that has gold things in it.  
*L'amant*. f. 171
- 4910 F123 G. sleeping, image of Toute belle has its back turned  
to him. f. 172a
- [the game of *le roi qui ne ment*]
- 4990 A134 Five people being lectured by king. *Le Roy qui ne ment*. f. 268v  
F124 Four people gathered around king, G. apart, petitions  
king. f. 172b
- 5124 F125 G. approaches king on throne.<sup>22</sup> f. 173
- 5244 F126 King talks to G. *Le roy respont*. f. 173v
- 5468 A135 King talks to G. *L'amant*. f. 271v  
F127 [cf. F112] G. kneels next to bed, hands clasped  
toward image of Toute belle; messenger also  
present. (f. 175:) *L'amant*. f. 174v
- [after letter XXXI]
- 5536 A136 Toute belle sits on bed. *L'amant*. f. 274v  
F128 = A136. *L'amant*. f. 176v
- [Assassination of Julius Caesar]

<sup>22</sup> Hairline writing below col. a: "Ung roy assis et Machaut agenoulx  
devant li." This is the only visible written direction to an illuminator I  
have found in any of the Machaut MSS.



- 5907 A137 Three men with knives attack and kill Caesar, another  
looks on. [erasure of earlier sketch is visible] f. 278  
F129 G. gives message to messenger. *L'amant.* f. 179
- [Hero and Leander]
- 6063 A138 Nude Leander swimming in water, Hero in tower looks  
on. [erasure]. f. 281v  
F130 G. dictates to secretary, who writes. f. 181
- [Acis and Galatea]
- 7070 A139 [xv] Polyphemus on shore sinks sailboat in lake.  
[erasure: figures left out?]. f. 285v  
F131 Polyphemus on shore with hook tips boat on lake. Acis  
and Galatea aboard. f. 184
- 7292 A140 Woman dressed in green points to heart. Labels:  
*hiens et ectas* (head) *longe et prope* (heart) *mors*  
*et vita* (feet). *L'ymage de vraie amour.* f. 289  
F132 Woman in green points to her heart (dress open):  
*L'ymage de vraie amour.* f. 186v  
E33 Woman with cloak with gold writing on it ("*a mort et*  
*a vie*"). *Comment li ancien paignoient l'ymage du*  
*dieu d'amours.* f. 202v
- 7616 A141 G. putting image of Toute belle into trunk. *Comment*  
*l'amant emprisonna l'image de toute bele.* f. 291  
F133 G. locking trunk. *Comment l'amant emprisonna L'ymage*  
*de toute bele.* f. 188
- 7719 A142 Image of Toute belle. *Comment l'image de toute belle*  
*se complainte a l'amant.* f. 293  
F134 G. in bed, image of Toute belle wringing its hands at  
foot of bed. *Comment l'ymage de toute belle Se*  
*complaint a l'amant.* f. 189c
- [Story of the raven]
- 7773 A143 [xix] Black raven and white raven. *Comment li*  
*corbiaus blans fu muez en plume noire.* f. 293v  
F135 Coronis and page embrace. Two black birds fly  
overhead. *Comment li corbiaus blans Fu mues en*  
*plume noire.* f. 189d
- 7863 A144 Two black birds; crow flies up at the raven. (f.  
294a:) *Comment la corneille reprimet et chastia le*  
*corbel.* f. 294v  
F136 Black bird in tree. Woman (Aglanros) opens a trunk,  
finds two-headed monster (Erichthonius). f. 190
- 8111 A145 Bearded man (Apollo) shakes finger at black bird,  
which flies off. f. 296
- 8147 F137 G. asleep in bed, image of Toute belle at foot of  
bed. *L'ymage de toute bele.* f. 191v

- 8179 A146 G. with trunk open, holds image of Toute belle.  
*Comment l'amant desprisona l'image de toute belle.* f. 296v
- F138 G. opening trunk, image of Toute belle inside.  
*Comment l'amant desprisonna L'ymage de toute belle.* f. 192
- 8239 A147 [xxiii(?)] (two-col., large format) Lady Fortune with  
four small wheels inside large wheel. *Comment*  
*Titus livius descript l'ymage de fortune.*<sup>23</sup> f. 297
- F139 Fortune with large gold wheel and four small wheels;  
people look on. (192r:) *Comment tytus livius*  
*descript L'ymage de Fortune.* f. 192v
- E34 = A, but writing on wheels in French. (206r:)  
*Comment tytus lyvius descript l'ymage de fortune.* f. 206v
- J24 Lady Fortune in large wheel, surrounded by three  
small wheels. *Comment titus livius figure l'ymage*  
*de fortune.* f. 147v
- K12 = J24. *Comment titus liuius figure l'ymage de fortune.* f. 133[98]
- 8652 A148 [xviii?] (two-col., large format) Two-headed Fortune  
with wheel. Five women stand above five cisterns.  
*Comment li paien figuroient l'ymage de fortune.*<sup>24</sup> f. 301v
- F140 = A, but crude. *Comment li paien figuroient l'ymage*  
*de toute bele.* f. 195v
- E35 Two-headed Fortune (man and woman) with wheel. Five  
streams open below. (208r:) *Comment li paien*  
*figuroient l'ymage de fortune.* f. 208v
- J25 Two-headed Fortune inside wheel. *Coment les paiens*  
*contrefirent l'ymage de fortune a .ij. visages.* f. 150
- K13 = J25. *Coment les paines figurent l'ymage de fortune.* f. 135
- 9037: End of poem (P. Paris's count)
- totals: A 30  
F 37  
E 4  
J 2  
K 2

<sup>23</sup> Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 10 (cf. Fig. 16 for MS Morg). Latin inscriptions are in P. Paris ed., pp. 334-35 nn.

<sup>24</sup> A different hand has added the Latin inscriptions to the bottom margin, translating what is given in French in the text: "Primum signum erat si aqua foncium inciperet movere. Secundum si inciperet affluere. Tertium si inciperet tumescere. Quartum si inciperet clarescere. Quintum si inciperet totalo evanescere. Avril believes that the Latin inscriptions for A147 and A148 could not have been furnished by the illuminator, that the exact indications must have been supplied by the author ("Les manuscrits enluminés," pp. 131-32), see n. 181 above, p. 91.

## Le Dit de la Marguerite

- 1 A118 King (Peter I de Lusignan, King of Cyprus) kneels to seated woman with flowers painted on her dress. (f. 213:) *Ci commence le dit de la marguerite.* f. 213v  
 F141 Well-dressed man offers rose to woman. *Ci commence le dit de la marguerite.* f. 198v

## Le Dit de la Rose

- 1 A150 G. finds rose in middle of thorny bush. f. 365v

## Vezci les biens, etc.

- 1 A151 Man talks to woman. *Vez ci les biens que ma dame me fait Pour amender moy m'onner et mon fait.* f. 366

## La Prise d'Alexandrie

- 1 A149 (two-col.) Knights come from ships, attack castle. *Ci commence li livre de la prise d'alexandre.*<sup>25</sup> f. 309  
 G142 Queen angel (Amour), surrounded by lady angels and knight. Heavens shown. f. 1  
 E36 Woman in childbed. Two women wash baby in wooden tub, third woman looks on (birth of King Peter I de Lusignan). *Cy commance la prise d'alexandre* f. 213  
 Vg118 = A149 (but one-col.). f. 336  
 5004 E37 Battle of knights against Moslems. Knights hold banner with image of queen (Notre Dame) with child. *Comment les crestiens desploierent une baniere de notre dame.* f. 226v  
 7896 E38 Two kings on thrones (Peter I and the Pope), bearded man with sword kneeling (Florimont, sire de Lesparre). Three look on. *Comment l'acort fu du roy de chipre et de l'esparre.* f. 235v  
 8886: End of poem (Mas Latrie's count)

totals: A 1  
 G 1

<sup>25</sup> Facs. in Loomis, *A Mirror*, Pl. 103.

Vg 1  
E 3

### La Loange des Dames

Lo1	A117	Lady seated on hill, G. kneeling and praying to her. <i>Les Balades ou il n'a point de chant.</i>	f. 177v
	G143	G. at writing desk, pointing to open book. <i>Ci commence la loange des dames.</i>	f. 45
	Vg1	= G143, G. looking out at reader. <i>Ci commence les Balades ou li n'a point de chant.</i>	f. 1
	C92	G. sitting under tree, writing on narrow scroll. Four other scrolls scattered on ground.	f. 121
	J1	Man with arms crossed walks beside three trees.	f. 1[1]
	K1	= J1, only two trees.	f. 1
	D1	G. seated at writing desk, writing in book. <i>Ci commence le livre de mestre Guillaume De loris.</i>	f. 1
Lo67	Vg2	Man giving something to woman. <sup>26</sup>	f. 11
Lo94	Vg3	= Vg2, same figures, different attitudes.	f. 14
Lo109	Vg4	Woman holding dog, man looks on.	f. 16

totals:	A	1
	G	1
	Vg	4
	C	1 (2nd collaborator)
	J	1
	K	1

### Complaintes

No.1	G144	G. kneels to queen angel (Amours). <i>Ci commence les complaintes.</i>	f. 67
	Vg5	G. holding scroll, Amours holds out hand towards it.	f. 31
	E2	G. kneels to queen angel (cf. Amour of Prologue). After miniature: <i>Complainte d'amant.</i>	f. 13
	D2	G. kneels to queen angel, who holds three arrows. <i>Comme l'acteur se complaint au dieu d'amours et est agenouz devant lui.</i>	f. 38v

<sup>26</sup> This and the following two miniatures in Vg fill in small blanks left by lacking third strophes of some ballades. Two similar blanks later in the *Loange* were not filled, in Lol36 and l64.

No.3	Vg6	Two men by castle, one bearded (Henry and G?).	f. 32v
	E3	G. kneeling to man (Henry). <i>Complainte de Guillaume machaut.</i>	f. 13v
	D3	G. points to his hand, talks to knight. <i>Comment l'atteur se complaint du temps qu'il voit.</i>	f. 40v
No.4	E4	Woman sitting next to cistern watching white dog with bone. <i>Complainte de dame.</i>	f. 14a
No.6	E5	Man kneeling, hat doffed to lady. <i>Complainte d'asant.</i>	f. 14b
totals:			
	G	1	
	Vg	2	
	E	4	
	D	2	

#### Rondeaux in Loange (MS E only)

Lo27	E6	<i>Rondiau.</i> Group of six people standing around barrel, singing from <i>rotulus</i> (cf. A154, to Motets). <sup>27</sup>	f. 16
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#### Dit de la Fleur de lis et de la Marguerite

G Not illustrated.

#### Lays

L1	A152	Noble in supplicating pose to woman. <sup>28</sup>	f. 367
	G145	G. at desk, writing lay. Text given in book: " <i>Loyaute que point ne delay wet sans delay que fa[ce].</i> " <i>Ci commence les lays.</i> "	f. 74
	E31	Group of five singing from book, in garden.	f. 107
	C92	Lady points to G., who is seated on the ground, writing on long scroll. <sup>29</sup>	f. 165

<sup>27</sup> Color repro. on back cover of *Early Music*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Oct. 1977). Black and white figure in same issue, p. 472.

<sup>28</sup> See Figure 3.4above, Chap. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Silvia Huot, "The Illuminated Series of *Lays*," points out that the lady in this illustration wears a scarf fluttering in the air, recalling the similar depiction of the allegorical Lady Hope in several illustrations in the *Remede* in MS C. It seems possible to me that the scarf motif serves to mark her as an allegorical figure, in this case, *Loyaute*.

L2	C94	Man standing in valley between two flowery hills.	f. 168v
L3	C95	G. sitting on ground, writing on long scroll.	f. 170
*L4	C96	Group of ladies and nobles. One lady points to G., who is holding long roll with the lai.	f. 173
L5	C97	Man stands next to tree.	f. 174
L6	C98	Man stands and points to the text with one finger.	f. 176v
L7	C99	Man stands next to tree.	f. 179
L10	C100	Lady stands alone, arms crossed.	f. 181v
L12	C101	Bearded man looks at bush: another man hiding in it. <sup>30</sup>	f. 184
L22	C102	Man gestures to lady, she holds out her hands.	f. 187
J4		Funeral. Woman in black robe with black hood, sits on small wooden bench next to black-draped coffin.	f. 45
L14	C103	Lady stands alone with arms crossed. Man out of frame of miniature, to the right of the text residuum for L22, points to her. He is holding a blue flower.	f. 189
*L11	C104	Inverse design of C103. Man holds blue flower. Lady in right margin, out of frame of miniature, points to him.	f. 191
*L13	C105	Man standing before group of four ladies and a man.	f. 192v
*L8	C106	G. sits on ground, writing on a scroll. Woman observes from behind castle wall.	f. 194v
*L9	C107	Lady addresses a group of three other ladies.	f. 196

(\*: lai without music)

totals:   A 1  
          G 1  
          E 1  
          C 15 (2nd collaborator)

### Motets

<sup>30</sup> See n. 514 above.

- M1 A153 Drunken group gathered around barrel, drinking and  
singing from roll (cf. E6, to Rondeaux in *Loange*). f. 414v  
G--- [room was left for min., two staves entered instead.] f. 102v

### Ballades

- B1 A154 Man and woman embracing inside 'S' of "S'amours" f. 454  
G146 Man gestures to lady. (f. 133v:) *Ci commence les  
balades notees.* f. 134

totals: A 1  
G 1

### Rondeaux

- R1 G147 Woman seated outdoors, man gestures to her. (f.  
149v:) *Ci commencent li Roneaulz.* f. 150

### Virelais

- V1 G148 Man gestures to lady. (f. 154:) *Ci commencent les  
chansons baladees.* f. 154v

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