

## APPENDIX I: ALTIERI, *LI NUPTIALI*

When a man first begins to think about giving his daughter in marriage, he should (1) celebrate a Mass of the Holy Spirit. This is followed by (2) “discreet bargaining” with the father of the young man who has been chosen as the groom. The discussions are supervised by a priest or by “someone who is respected by all.” At this meeting the bride’s father (2a) presents a written list of how much will be offered as a dowry. After a few days the interested parties meet each other (3) in a nearby church, along with three or four relatives; the agreement (3a) becomes ratified by a handshake and a kiss between the fathers. [Altieri terms this meeting the *Abbocamento*, after the kiss that seals the fathers’ agreement.]

The dowry is paid (4) within 8 to 15 days, following which all the relatives reconvene in the presence of their neighbors. At this reunion a notary stipulates the act of the future marriage (5) in which the dowries are registered, and specifying “the clothes, jewelry, gifts, cash allowance (*donativo*) for the honeymoon and the wedding chest.” The notary also records what would happen in the case that the wedding does not come to completion. At this occasion the father gives to the groom “the established sum, or access to an equivalent amount” (5a). This meeting is concluded (5b) by the exchange of rings and another kiss. Altieri terms this meeting the *Fidanze*, the pledging of faith. The bride is not present for this ceremony.

Eight days later (“but the term can be lengthened by communal accord”), an elaborate ceremony termed *l’arraglio*<sup>1</sup> is held at the bride’s house (6), attended by relatives, friends, and neighbors. The groom sits to the right of the bride. The notary is present, and a sword is held over the heads of the betrothed couple. The notary summons the witnesses and invites them to make the sign of the cross. He then addresses the bride and groom, repeating three times the formula: “As such, do you legitimate your bride and honor her as is commanded by the mother church? And will you do the same to legitimate your husband as such?” When they answer in the affirmative, the notary takes the left hand of

the bride and hands it to the groom, so that he can slide a ring “with the seal of the family arms” onto her ring finger; the notary then adds “that which God brings together let no man separate.” The groom takes his bride by the hand and makes her a gift of two other rings; the relatives closest to the groom offer her little gifts. A luncheon follows (7), “mostly of seasonal fruit.” At the end of the luncheon the mother of the bride gives to her son-in-law “a silver washbowl and a large jug with the arms of the two families on it” (7a). Everyone who offered gifts to the couple are rewarded (7b) with pieces of embroidered fabric. Finally, the groom gets up, signals to the bride by touching her hand, and goes away together with the other guests.

The date of the religious wedding is decided (8) in the house of the bride, by the women of the two families who establish which Sunday to choose, excluding those in February and March [presumably to avoid Lent]. Ten to fifteen days before that date, invitations are made out (9) “to relatives, gentlemen, honored citizens, friends and people of the neighborhood.” The women also choose 30 to 40 bridesmaids/mistresses to take part in the preparations, which include “baking cookies, ring-shaped cakes, sweet ravioli and *mostaccioli* [a baked pasta dish].”

On Thursday before the religious wedding there is a banquet (10) at which the *Signore* (Lord) of the wedding is chosen. The Signore decides how many people he needs to help him, appointing “the *bargello* [the captain of justice], the advisors, the master of the house, the servants, the master of dance, and determining how many are delegated to the kitchen, how many to the pantry, how many to the dishes and how many to the *cantina* [wine cellar].” In some cases a Mass (10a) is also celebrated in the house of the bride.

On Friday many guests are invited to a luncheon (11), “rich above all in pasta,” while the rest of the day is “busy with arranging the house with tapestries, tables and sideboards.” A town crier is sent across town (12) inviting everybody to the wedding procession.

On Saturday there is another luncheon (13) and dancing and songs until very late at night. Gifts are given to the groom and in addition, food is sent to the house, “especially fish, in proportion to how many guests are invited to dinner.” In the evening the groom, in procession with music and torches (14) carries “the wedding clothing and ornaments to the bride’s house in a basket balanced on the head of a woman (*pronta di lingua*) in which are the dresses, the necklace, the tiara, the underclothes, and the slippers.” The participants in the procession gather together in dance, music, and song. They have dinner (14a), and then they leave each other with kisses and hugs, to return to the house of the groom where they will find the lords of the ceremony in celebration (15). Then begins

the “dance of the *Giaranzana*” (15a); “it lasts a long time. The *maestri* of dance arrange relatives and in-laws according to their relationships and in order of a man and a woman, and then begins the dances during which everybody touches each other’s hand and bows to each others.” Thus ends Book One of *Li Nuptiali*.

Book Two of *Li Nuptiali* details the concluding ceremonies. On Sunday morning (16) the brigade of relatives and friends of the husband go in procession to bring the bride, already dressed in the wedding clothes, her ornaments: “the gold tiara with gems, lilies and flowers, earrings, necklace and a gem in the form of a pendant.” The brigade leads a white horse for the bride to ride, harnessed with gold cloth. Her father, “who will not accompany her to the church,” wraps his arms around her and blesses her. She sets out, joining the procession, “preceded by six or eight *straffieri* and by music, passing through the most known and frequented places in the city, avoiding streets with arched underpasses.” Arriving in church (17) she finds her husband waiting for her. He takes her by the hand and accompanies her to the altar. “The church is decorated with myrtle and flowers, the altar is illuminated by candles in uneven numbers, and incense is burned. Two pieces of fabric in silver tubs are offered to the betrothed, one coated with silver, the other with gold; two lit torches are carried, then some water and some wine.” Mass is celebrated (18). At the end of the Mass the celebrant blesses the betrothed (18a) and orders abstinence from intimate relations for three days.

After Mass, the groom takes his wife by the hand and together they set off (19) toward the house [it is unclear as to whose house is meant here], protected by a baldachin of gold fabric. The door [of the house] is “ornate with streamers, cornucopias and some banners with signs of the two families. A jug is offered to the betrothed with honey and chopped celery from which each of them must take three times. From the windows grain and legumes are thrown, and lascivious remarks are shouted.” The father of the husband greets the bride (19a) with a hug and accompanies her into the room among the women. The bride goes up into the apartment “to lighten her dress.” She then goes back down to the hall where everything has been prepared for the banquet (20). She is offered perfumed water for her hands, as are the other women of importance, in rigorous order of social importance. The bride is seated in a *scranno* [a high-backed chair] covered with gold fabric, and she is offered food, among which is “a mullet dressed with pinenuts, herbs and cinnamon, from which she nibbles just a little bit.” Music, songs, and perfume accompany the banquet, which is followed by a dance during which all the women present (in order of importance) pay homage and offer congratulations to the bride. Fruits and sweets follow: *mostaccioli*, sugared confetti, glazed cookies, and

sugared almonds [presumably prepared by the women chosen in step 9 above]. Dances and songs last until the evening, when yet another dinner (21) is offered. The bride is finally accompanied to her room (22), where the bridal chamber is prepared, decorated with ornaments, green plants, and perfumes. In the meantime, the groom has been sequestered by the lord of the party, who lets him go "so long as he promises a dinner for all who were occupied in the production of the wedding." The last to leave the house is the lord of the party, who leaves the party in a brigade between lit torches.

The next morning other women pay homage to the bride and are invited, along with other guests, to a luncheon (23) "based on frittatas." The rest of the day passes (24) with "the recitation of verses and comedies, music and dances, until evening after dinner." On the third day, the bride receives a visit from her mother (25) and on this occasion the wedding chests are opened "to make sure that they contain what they are supposed to contain, according to the dowry." In the next days the bride is presented (26) to all the people related to the groom's family, and receives little gifts from them. The following Sunday the father of the bride receives the father of the groom accompanied by some relatives, for "a sumptuous luncheon" (27).

## APPENDIX II: SELECTED CLEFFINGS IN OX213

### A. Gathering VIII of Ox213, arranged by ensemble

[# in Ox213. Composer, Incipit, Gathering/bifolio, folio#(s)]

#### C1 Cantus

##### **C1, C1 [no tenor]**

299. Zacharie, Già per gran nobeltà trihumpho et fama, VIII/2b<sup>v</sup>, 125<sup>v</sup>

##### **C1, C1, C3 (tenor), C4 (contratenor)**

272. Cesaris, A virtutis ignicio/ Ergo beata nascio/ Tenor: Benedicta filia tua a domino, VIII/4a<sup>v</sup>-5a, 116<sup>v</sup>-117

##### **C1, C1, C3<sup>b</sup> (contratenor)**

271. Cordier, Dame excellent ou sont bonté scavoir, VIII/4a, 116

##### **C1, C1, F3 (tenor), C4 (Contratenor), C4 (Tenor *ad longam*)**

274. [ascr. cut off], Clarus ortus clarior opera/ Gloriosa mater ecclesia/ Tenor: Justus non conturbabitur, VIII/5a<sup>v</sup>-6a, 117<sup>v</sup>-118 [nb: a Wedding motet!]

##### **C1, C2, C4, C4**

275. Antonio da Cividale, Strenua quem duxit/ Gaudeat et tanti, VIII/6a<sup>v</sup>-7a

277. Ciconia, Ut te per omnes celitum/ Ingens alumnus padue, VIII/7a<sup>v</sup>-7b, 119<sup>v</sup>-120

##### **C1, C3<sup>b</sup>, C1**

265. [anon.], Regardés de {cuer} piteux, VIII/1a<sup>v</sup>/113<sup>v</sup>

##### **C1, C3<sup>b</sup>, C3<sup>b</sup>**

266. [anon.], Se j'ay perdu toute ma part, VIII/2a, 114

276. DU FAY (47), Belle, vueilliés vostre mercy donner, VIII/6a<sup>v</sup>-7a, 118<sup>v</sup>-119

287. [Hasprois], Ma douce amour je me doy bien complaindre, VIII/4b, 123

290. [anon.], Ma douce amour et tout mon vray desir, VIII/4b<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>

292. [anon.], Tant plus vous voy tant plus me samblés belle, VIII/3b, 124

293. [anon.], En cest moys de may gracieux, VIII/3b, 124

301. DU FAY (11), Resvelliés vous et faites chiere lye, VIII/1b<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup>

**C1, C4, C4 [nb: C1 has low ledger lines]**

288. Cordier, Amans amés secretement, VIII/4b, 123

**C1, C4<sup>b</sup>, C4**

298. Binchois, Tant plus ayme tant plus suy mal amé, VIII, 2b<sup>v</sup>, 125<sup>v</sup>

**C1, C4<sup>bb</sup>, C4<sup>bb</sup>**

296. [anon.], Humble pitié plaisant et de bon ayre, VIII/3b<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>

**C2 Cantus****C2, C1, C5, C5**

279. Grenon, Prophetarum fulti suffragio/ Ave virtus virtutum caritas/

Tenor: Infelix propera, VIII/7b<sup>v</sup>–6b, 120<sup>v</sup>–121

**C2, C2, C3 (Tenor), F3 (Contratenor)**

269. [anon.], Confort d'amours humblement, VIII/3a<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>

**C2, C4, C1**

268. [anon.], Pour deleissier tristesse et joye avoir, VIII, 2a<sup>v</sup>–3a, 114<sup>v</sup>–115

**C2, C4, C4**

273. [anon.], Medee fu en amer veritable, VIII/4a<sup>v</sup>–5a, 116<sup>v</sup>–117

278. Francus de Insula, Amours n'ont cure de tristesse, VIII/7a<sup>v</sup>–7b, 119<sup>v</sup>–120

280. G. Libert, De tristesse de dueil de desplaysance, VIII/6b<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>

281. Raulin de Vaux, Savés pour quoy suy sy gay, VIII/6b<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>

283. Cardot, Pour une fois et pour toute ma vye, VIII/5b, 122

285. Lebertoul, Depuis un peu un joyeux parlement, VIII/5b<sup>v</sup>, 122<sup>v</sup>

286. [anon.], Toute biaulté et toute honneur, VIII/5b<sup>v</sup>, 122<sup>v</sup>

289. Malbecque, Quant de la belle me parti, VIII/4b<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>

291. [anon.], Quant la douce jouvencelle, VIII/3b, 124

300. DU FAY (13), J'ay mis mon cuer et ma pensee, VIII/1b, 126

**C2, F3, C2**

267. Billart, Salve virgo virginum/Vita via veritas/ Tenor: Salve regina

misericordie, VIII/2a<sup>v</sup>–3a, 114<sup>v</sup>–115

**C2<sup>b</sup>, C2<sup>b</sup>**

270. [anon.], Esperance mi fait vivre en doulour, VIII/3a<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>

295. [anon.], Pour ce que je ne puis veir, VIII/3b<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>

**C2<sup>b</sup>, C4<sup>bb</sup>, C4<sup>bb</sup>**

282. Fontaine, Pastourelle en un vergier, VIII/6b<sup>v</sup>–5b, 121<sup>v</sup>–122

**C3 Cantus****C3, C3, F3**

284. Cesaris, Mon seul vouloir ma souveraine joye/ Certes m'amour

c'est ma vye et ma joye, VIII/5b, 122

**C3<sup>b</sup>, C3<sup>b</sup>**

264. Chierisy, Patrem omnipotentem, VIII/1a–1a<sup>v</sup>, 113–113<sup>v</sup>

**C3<sup>b</sup>, F3<sup>bb</sup>, F3<sup>bb</sup>**

294. [anon.], Je vueil vivre au plaisir d'amours, VIII/3b<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>

297. [anon.], Espris d'amours l'autre jour me trouway, VIII/2b, 125

**B. Du Fay works in *Ox213*, arranged by ensemble**

[# in *Ox213*. (# in Du Fay edition), Incipit, Gathering/bifolio, folio #(s)]

**C1 Cantus (26 works, 9 different ensemble combinations)****C1, C1, C1, C4**

325. DU FAY (44), Ma belle dame souverainne, X/1b<sup>v</sup>, 140<sup>v</sup> voices  
in order: iii, ii, i, iv

**C1, C1, C3**

50. DU FAY (12), La belle se siet au piet de la tour, II/4b, 31

**C1, C1 (Triplum), C3, C3**

25. DU FAY (54), Mon cuer me fait tous dis penser, II/3a<sup>v</sup>-4a, 19<sup>v</sup>-20

**C1, C2, C4**

113. DU FAY (19), Se la face ay pale, III/4b<sup>v</sup>-3b, 53<sup>v</sup>-54

**C1, C3, C2**

176. DU FAY (33), Pouray je avoir vostre mercy, IV/80

**C1, C3, C3 (14 works)**

19. DU FAY (19), Ce moys de may soyons lies et joyeux, II/1a<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>

28. DU FAY (58), Estrinez moy, je vous estrineray, II/4a<sup>v</sup>-5a, 20<sup>v</sup>-21

38. DU FAY (CMM1/1, no.2), Flos florum fons ortorum [motet],  
II/9a<sup>v</sup>-9b, 25<sup>v</sup>-26

104. DU FAY (42), J'atendray tant qu'il vous playra, III/7b<sup>v</sup>, 51

107 DU FAY (36), Je ne suy plus tel que souloye, III/5b, 52

116. DU FAY (16), C'est bien raison de devoir essaucier (2nd part),  
III/2b<sup>v</sup>-2b, 55<sup>v</sup>-55

137. DU FAY, (53) Se ma damme je pous veir, IV/66<sup>v</sup>

157. DU FAY, (6) Dona i ardent rai, IV/73

166. DU FAY, (52) Je donne a tous amoureux, IV/77

172. DU FAY (34), Navré je sui d'un dart penetrative, IV/78<sup>v</sup>

204. DU FAY, (40), Belle plaisant et gracieuxse, VI/1a<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>v</sup>

276. DU FAY (47), Belle, vueilliés vostre mercy donner, VIII/6a<sup>v</sup>-7a,  
118<sup>v</sup>-119

301. DU FAY (11), Resvelliés vous et faites chiere lye, VIII/1b<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup>

313. DU FAY (3), Passato è il tempo omaj di quei pensieri, IX/2b<sup>v</sup>-1b,  
134<sup>v</sup>-134

**C1, C3, C4**

56. DU FAY (45), Helas, ma dame, par amours, II/2b<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>

**C1, C3, [canonic voice a fifth lower]**

59. DU FAY (50), Bien veignéés vous, amoureuse liesse, II/1a<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>  
(2vv notated, third canonic)

60. DU FAY (26), Entre vous, gentils amoureux, II/1a<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>

**C1, C4, C4 (three variants via flats)**

75. DU FAY (1), L'alta belleza tua, virtute, valore, III/6a<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>

173. DU FAY (18), Ce jour le doibt aussy fait la saison, IV/79

85. DU FAY (59), Bon jour, bon mois, bon an et bonne estraine,  
III/10a<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>

323. DU FAY (31), Ma belle dame, je vous pri, X/2b<sup>v</sup>, 139<sup>v</sup>

**C2 Cantus (22 works, 8 different ensemble combinations)****C2, C2, C2**

21. DU FAY (14), Je me complains piteusement, II/2a, 18

**C2, C2, C3**

156. DU FAY (7), Quel fronte signorille in paradise, IV/73

**C2, C2, C4, C4**

23. DU FAY (43), Par droit je puis bien complaindre et gemir, II/2a<sup>v</sup>-3a,  
18<sup>v</sup>-19

NB: notated in 3vv; cantus canonic at the unison

51. DU FAY (CMM1/1, no.8), O Sancte Sebastiane/ O martir Sebastiane  
[motet], II/4b<sup>v</sup>-3b, 31<sup>v</sup>-32

310. DU FAY (I/7), Vasilissa ergo gaude, IX/3b<sup>v</sup>-2b, 132<sup>v</sup>-133

**C2, C2, F3 (tenor), C4 (contra)**

308. DU FAY (I/9), O gemma lux et speculum/ Sacer pastor  
Barensum/ Tenor: Beatus Nicolaus, IX/4a<sup>v</sup>-4b, 130<sup>v</sup>-131

**C2, C3, C3**

4. DU FAY (6I), Craindre vous vueil douce damme de pris, I/5a, 5

**C2, C4, C4 (12 works; 4 variants via flats)**

17. DU FAY (38), Ce jour de l'an voudray joye mener, II/1a, 17

22. DU FAY (41), Pour ce que veoir je ne puis, II/2a<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>

55. DU FAY (37), Je veuil chanter de cuer joyeux, II/2b<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>

124. [DU FAY], Et in terra pax, IV/59<sup>v</sup>-60

129. DU FAY (CMM I/5, no. 49), Ave regina celorum, IV/63

151. DU FAY (60), Or pleust a dieu qu'a son plaisir, IV/71<sup>v</sup>

153. DU FAY (69), Las que feray ne que je devenray, IV/72

300. DU FAY (13), J'ay mis mon cuer et ma pensee, VIII/1b, 126

312. DU FAY (5), Vergene bella, che di sol vestita, IX, 2b<sup>v</sup>-1b,  
133<sup>v</sup>-134

314. DU FAY (15), Mon chier amy, qu'avés vous empensé, f.134<sup>v</sup>

318. DU FAY (48), Pour l'amour de ma douce amye, X/1a<sup>v</sup>-2a,  
135<sup>v</sup>-136

324. DU FAY (27), Adieu ces bons vins de Lannoys, X/1b, 140



**C2, C4, F3**

139. DU FAY (32), Je require a tous amoureux, IV/67

**C2, F3, C4**

58. DU FAY (28), Resvelons nous, resvelons, amoureux/Alons ent bien  
tos ay may, II/1av, 34<sup>v</sup>

117. DU FAY (29), Je ne puis plus ce que y'ai peu/Unde veniet auxilium  
mihi?, III/2b<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>

**C3 Cantus (4 works, 4 different ensemble combinations)****C3, C3, C4**

42. DU FAY (46), Anima mea liquefacta est [motet], II/8b<sup>v</sup>-7b, 27<sup>v</sup>-28

**C3, C4, F4, C4 ("Concordans en omnibus")**

57. DU FAY (49), He, compaignons, resvelons nous, II/1a, 34

**C3, C5, C5 (tenor), F3 (2nd tenor)**

304. DU FAY (2), Invidia nimicha de zaschum virtuoxo, IX/21<sup>v</sup>-3a,  
128<sup>v</sup>-129

**C3, F3, F3**

102. DU FAY (30), Belle, veulliés moy retenir, III/7b<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>v</sup>

## NOTES

### Introduction

1. Published descriptions of this manuscript include Gilbert Reaney, ed., “Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320–1400),” *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales / International Inventory of Musical Sources* [RISM], Series B IV 2 (1969), 128–160; Ursula Günther, “Sources, MS, VII, 1, 3: French Polyphony 1300–1400, Principal Individual Sources,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980, 2nd edition, 2000), vol. 17, 661–665. On the history of this manuscript see Elizabeth Randell Upton, “The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564),” *Studi Musicali* [publication forthcoming]; Upton, “Inventing the Chantilly Codex,” *Studi Musicali*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2003), 181–231; and Upton, *The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001). A photographic color facsimile of the manuscript has recently been published: Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564, Fac-simile* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008).
2. Published descriptions of this manuscript include Gilbert Reaney, “The Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc.213,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 9 (1955), 73–104; and Hans Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (Bern: P. Haupt, 1971). The most complete description of the contents, with a photographic facsimile of the manuscript, is David Fallows, ed., *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc. 213, Late medieval and early Renaissance music in facsimile*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
3. Not only must the material to be copied be chosen and collected by someone, but the design of the page must be planned and executed. For a concise demonstration of the stages of preparation and copying involved in producing an illuminated manuscript in the fifteenth-century, see Robert G. Calkins, “Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours,” *Gesta*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1978), 61–70.
4. Pages from books of polyphonic music reused for other purposes have been discovered. The San Lorenzo song manuscript was scraped and reused as an account book. See John Nádas, “Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some

- Further Observation,” *L’Europa e la musica del Trecento: Congresso IV: Certaldo 1984* [*L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento*, vi (Certaldo, 1992)], 145–168; and “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages,” PhD dissertation, New York University, 1985, 459–486. The Lucca leaves are the remains of a manuscript that was taken apart so that individual bifolios could be used as file folders. See John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca codex (codice Mancini): Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale “Augusta,” MS 3065: Introductory Study And Facsimile Edition*, Ars Nova, vol. 1 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1989). Only a single bifolio survives from what is known as the “Trémoille MS” (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Frç 23190): see Margaret Bent, “A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript,” *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, edited by Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkeley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1990), 217–241.
5. On book production, and particularly the lavishly illustrated volumes prepared for the French monarchy and others during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1550* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), especially Part Two, 131–189 and Part Three, 191–257. The best-known examples of luxury books containing musical notation are the manuscripts that collect the complete works of Guillaume de Machaut: see Lawrence M. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995). The most luxurious Italian manuscript from this period is the Squarcialupi codex; its elaborate beauty can be experienced by means of a facsimile, published in 1992. The Chantilly codex (*F-CH 564*) seems to have been planned to be such a volume, but work stopped after the words and music were copied, before the pages received their painted initials: see Upton, “The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (*F-Ch 564*)” and “Chantilly Codex (*F-CH 564*).”
  6. On the editorial work of scribes see Anne Stone, “Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.M.5.24,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1994.
  7. Marginal drawings on folios 25 and 37 may have been added as late as a century after the copying of the words and musical notes. See Upton, “The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (*F-Ch 564*).”
  8. A photographic facsimile of *Ox213* has been published, with an introductory study by David Fallows: Fallows, ed., *Oxford, Bodleian Library*. See also Charles Hamm, rev. Jerry Call, “Sources, MS, §IX, 2: Renaissance Polyphony: 15th-Century Sources from Northern Italy (& Southern Germany)” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  9. One rondeau, Arnold de Lantins, *Se ne prenés de moy pité*, is copied twice, as #64 in gathering III and as #307 in gathering IX; the two versions are not identical. I include both versions independently in my analysis of the manuscript.

10. The issue of whether or not these songs, when new, were performed by singers alone or with instruments may never be settled to everyone's satisfaction. That they may have been performed by all-vocal ensembles seems to me to have been demonstrated. These singers were likely all men; there is no evidence for the participation of female singers in the performance of these polyphonic songs, and the absence of G clefs argues against their participation. On (male) singers and the *Ox213* repertoires see [chapter 2](#) below.
11. These divisions are noted in the fifteenth-century index to this manuscript, now bound with it as folios 9v and 10. No header identifies the first group of songs, but the works of the current fourth gathering are headed by the description "Balades a iiii chans" and those of the fifth gathering are labeled "Motes." The original first gathering of the manuscript was lost before the index was prepared, and there is no way of knowing what it may have contained. See Upton, "The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (*F-CH 564*)."
12. Sir John Stainer, "A Fifteenth Century MS. Book of Vocal Music in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 22nd session (1895–1896), 1–22.
13. Henri d'Orleans, duc d'Aumale, Chantilly, *Les Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits, Tome Deuxième, Belles-Lettres* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1900), 277–303. The entry is numbered 564, but the book itself is identified as "N° 1047," its original volume number in the duke's library. This essay was long ascribed in the musicological literature to the catalogue's editor, Léopold Desliles, but I was able to prove otherwise through my discovery of the duke's own handwritten notes and fair copy of his draft of the essay. Before its inclusion in the 1900 catalogue, the duke's essay was copied on vellum and bound with the manuscript itself. See Upton, "Inventing the Chantilly Codex," 181–231.
14. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).
15. See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
16. Important studies include Stanley Boorman, ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval And Renaissance Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992); and Ross W. Duffin, ed., *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).
17. A notable exception was the 1997 symposium *Music as Heard: Listeners and Listening in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1300–1600)*, organized at Princeton University by Rob Wegman. For a description of the conference, see Shai Burstyn, "Music as Heard," *Early Music*, vol. 26, no. 3

- (August, 1998), 515, 517–518. Selected papers from the symposium were published in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 82, nos. 3/4, Special Issue: “Music as Heard” (Autumn–Winter, 1998). Also in 1997 the journal *Early Music* celebrated its 25th anniversary with an issue devoted to listening practices; see especially Christopher Page, “Listening to the Trouvères,” *Early Music*, vol. 25, no. 4, 638–659, and Tess Knighton, “Spaces and Contexts for Listening in 15th-Century Castile: The Case of the Constable’s Palace in Jaén,” *Early Music*, vol. 25, no. 4, 661–677.
18. Cynthia Cyrus discussed this point in her paper “We Call Them Sources . . .,” presented at a conference that I organized: “Music and the Technology of the Written Text: A New Codicology for the Middle Ages,” University of California, Los Angeles, November 6–7, 2009.
  19. On recent debates within archaeology as to the best use of material evidence, see Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 2008); on current approaches to the study of material culture see especially 505–508.
  20. Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman, *Rules of Play: Game Design Fundamentals* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 304.
  21. I thank my colleague Mitchell Morris for this observation.
  22. I note with pleasure three books discussing ancient descriptions of natural history that have strongly influenced my approach to the study of medieval manuscripts and the people who created them: Mott T. Greene, *Natural Knowledge in Preclassical Antiquity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters: Paleontology in Greek and Roman Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Elizabeth Wayland Barber and Paul T. Barber, *When They Severed Earth from Sky: How the Human Mind Shapes Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). These writers all demonstrate that making hypotheses about unrecorded cultural practice based on the close observation of fragmentary physical evidence is not only central to scholarly work in other disciplines but also extremely productive. I find this encouraging.
  23. Marco Antonio Altieri, *Li nuptiali*, ed. E. Narducci (Rome, 1873). Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 178–212 and 247–282. The original publications are as follows: “Zacharie ou le père évincé: Les rituels nuptiaux toscans entre Giotto et le Concile de Trente,” *Annales, E.S.C.* 34, no. 6 (1979), 1216–1243; and “Une ethnologie du mariage au temps de l’humanisme,” *Annales, E.S.C.* 36, no. 6 (1981), 1016–1027.
  24. Upton, “The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564).” In this book I now label these works as “dedicatory,” which better fits a group of songs that include two laments for the death of their dedicatees.
  25. Gilbert Reaney, “The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 8 (1954), 59–113; vol. 10 (1956), 55–59. Ursula Günther,

“Datierbare Balladen des späten 14. Jahrhunderts.” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 15 (1961), 39–61; vol. 16 (1962), 151–174.

## 1 History and Evidence

1. There is no doubt that Du Fay’s motet *Nuper Rosarum Flores* was written to celebrate the rededication of the cathedral by Pope Eugenius IV, but it is still unclear when it would have been performed, or under what circumstances. See [chapter 5](#) for specific discussion of this motet and its performance. It has been proposed that Du Fay’s motet *Lamentatio sanctae matris ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* was performed at the Feast of the Oath of the Pheasant, first brought to modern attention by Johan Huizinga in *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919). F. Alberto Gallo describes the feast but suggests that Du Fay’s motet was written a year later, in 1455. See *Music of the Middle Ages II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 104.
2. Christopher Page, “The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France: A New Source,” *Early Music*, vol. 10 (1982), 441–450.
3. See Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*.
4. See many articles by Alejandro Planchart, summarized in his biography of Du Fay in Grove: Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Du Fay, Guillaume,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001. Earlier, David Fallows reconstructed a narrative for Du Fay’s life from such documents in his study of the composer’s life and works: *Dufay* (New York: Vintage, 1982).
5. The most up-to-date summary of Du Fay’s career can be found in Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Du Fay, Guillaume, §1: Life,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford music online*, 2001, updated 2004. Du Fay was in Cambrai from December 1439 through March 1450. After that he traveled for two years, spent six years in Savoy. He returned to Cambrai for good in 1458, remaining there until his death on November 24, 1474.
6. Richard Taruskin draws a distinction between improvised music that leaves no historical trace, and literate music that survives in notation throughout the first volume, “Music From the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century,” of his *Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford University Press, 2005). See especially the Introduction, “The History of What?” and [Chapter 1](#), “The Curtain Goes Up.”
7. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Pamela M. Potter, “Wolf, Johannes,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, , 2001. David Hiley, “Ludwig, Friedrich,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001. See also Anna Maria Busse-Berger, “Prologue: The First Great Dead White Male Composer,” *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). John Haines discusses Ludwig’s intellectual background in the political context of late nineteenth-century Germany in *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of*

- Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 212. See also John Haines, “Friedrich Ludwig’s “Musicology of the Future”: A Commentary and Translation,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* vol. 12 (2003), 129–164.
8. Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904). Friedrich Ludwig, Review of *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460* by Johannes Wolf, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vol. 6 (1904–1905), 597–641.
  9. Cynthia Cyrus problematized musicological practice of seeing musical manuscripts only as the sources (for us) of the works they transmit in her paper, “We Call Them Sources . . .”
  10. Charles Hamm, “A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Du Fay, Based on a Study of Mensural Practice,” PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1960.
  11. Heinrich Bessler, ed. *Guillaume Du Fay: Opera Omnia*. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 1. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951–1966). vol. 6, *Cantiones* (1964).
  12. Ox213, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>. Edited in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* I, vi, 25–26.
  13. It is copied in Gathering 8, a gathering in which only three songs by Du Fay appear. The structure of the manuscript is discussed in [chapter 2](#).
  14. Planchart, “Du Fay, Guillaume.”
  15. The use of these sorts of easily decoded puzzles in music will be discussed further in [chapter 3](#). See also Michael Long, “Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child’s Play and Learning in Medieval Italy,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 61, no. 2 (Summer 2008), 253–306.
  16. Sir John Stainer (1840–1901) had been the organist at St. Paul’s Cathedral for 16 years before returning to Oxford University as professor of music. He was a composer in addition to his work as performer and musicologist. See Jeremy Dibble, *John Stainer: A Life in Music* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2007).
  17. Proceedings of the Musical Association, 22nd session (1895–1896), 1–22.
  18. Edmond de Coussemaker, *Les harmonistes du 14e siècle* (Lille: Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1869). The reference to Du Fay in Martin le Franc’s poem has been the subject of a great deal of musicological speculation; the most recent discussion is Rob Wegman, “New Music for a World Grown Old: Martin Le Franc and the ‘Contenance angloise’,” *Acta musicologica*, vol. 75 (2003), 201–241.
  19. *Ibid.*, 4. The second work is the ballade “C’est bien raison de devoir essaucier;” Stainer writes “The other song is in honour of Nicholas the Third of Ferrara, born 1393, died 1441; it contains a reference to the peace between Florence and Venice on the one side and the Duke of Milan on the other, which was brought about by his mediation in 1443.”
  20. As we shall see, the date of June 17 for the wedding is in Cesare Clementini and Clementino Clementini, *Raccolto storico della fondazione de’ Rimini*,

- e dell' origine e vite de' Malatesti* (Rimini, 1617–1627), 105. Yriarte cites Clementini several times, but not this specific passage. I have not been able to see Litta's earlier study, so I cannot tell what information is there to have been seen by Yriarte (or anyone else). The year 1416 must come from a careless reading of Clementini, as the dates given in the margins identify the events on page 105 (including the wedding notice) as occurring between 1416 and 1427. Besseler sorted this confusion out in 1952, see below.
21. Yriarte, *Rimini* (1882). The confused information about the two wives appears on pages 57–58, that about the popes and the golden rose is on page 59.
  22. On the Clementinis, see below, fn. 29.
  23. Anna Falcioni, *La signoria di Carlo Malatesta* (Rimini: Bruno Gigli Editori, 2001).
  24. Heinrich Besseler, "Neue Dokumente zum Leben und Schaffen Du Fays," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 9. Jahrg., H. 3./4., (1952), 159–176. The discussion of documents relating to *Resveillies vous* is on pages 162–163.
  25. Ironically, the latest consensus is that Du Fay was indeed born before 1400. Alejandro Planchart worked out a birthday of August 5, 1397, for Du Fay; see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's benefices and his relationship to the court of Burgundy," *Early Music History*, vol. 8 (1988), 123.
  26. For a discussion of the rules regarding degrees of consanguinity see Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, translated by Barbara Bray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). For a summary of current research on medieval marriage in general, see Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, A History: From Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Viking, 2005), particularly Chapter 6 "Playing the Bishop, Capturing the Queen: Aristocratic Marriages in Early Medieval Europe," 88–103 and Chapter 7 "How the Other 95 Percent Wed: Marriage Among the Common Folk of the Middle Ages," 104–122.
  27. Besseler, "Neue Dokumente," 162.
  28. I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his help in translating this passage.
  29. An unsigned obituary of Litta published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 193 (1853), 203, gives the date of the start of the project as 1819, in the context of this description and assessment of Litta's publication:
 

His magnificent work on the genealogies of the most distinguished Italian families, both existing and extinct, was commenced in 1819. It was published in parts, to the extent of about five large folios. [a footnote adds: "Qu?—We have looked at the copy in the British Museum, and it consists of twelve fasciculi, which are all bound in *one folio volume*—Edit. G. M."] It is copiously illustrated with figures of the tombs and monumental effigies of such families as Sforza, Castiglione, Visconti, Medici, Giuccardini,



and Piccolomini; with medals and portraits carefully coloured by the hand, from pictures in the principal galleries. The author thus renders an inestimable boon to art, even for purposes of identification, against the process of spoliation and removal going on in Italian galleries—the result of the gradual decay and increasing poverty of a nobility that refuses to recruit itself from the resources of commercial enterprise and alliance.

- By 1911, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* entry for “Nobility” can cite “the eight magnificent folio volumes of Count Pompeo Litta, *Celebri famigli italiani* [sic], continued by various editors (1819–1907),” vol. 19, 730.
30. Cesare Clementini (1561–1624) wrote Volume I, and then died before completing Volume II. Clementino Clementini (likely Cesare’s son) finished Volume II.
  31. Bessler, “Neue Dokumente,” 163. For the English translation, see above, 12.
  32. On nonliturgical motets, see Julie E. Cumming, “Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1987, and Robert Nosow, *Ritual meanings in the fifteenth-century motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
  33. Mosco Carner and Gabriele Eder, “Adler, Guido,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001. Adler first described his approach in his book *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911; 2nd edition, 1929).
  34. Guido Adler, “Style-Criticism,” *The Musical Quarterly*, translated by W. Oliver Strunk, vol. 20, no. 2 (April, 1934), 172–176.
  35. *Ibid.*, 173.
  36. *Ibid.*, 174.
  37. Arthur Mendel summarized the discoveries of German musicologists in the 1950s for English speakers in 1960; see his “Recent Developments in Bach Chronology,” *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 46 (1960), 283–300.
  38. John Reeves White and John Caldwell, “Apel, Willi,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  39. About this heading, Apel writes, “The term mixed notation is introduced here chiefly for purposes of general classification, without making special claim to historical significance.” Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Cambridge, MA: Mediævel Academy of America, 1942, rev. 5/1961; German translation revised 1970), 385. None of the material on fourteenth-century notation was changed at all in any of the revisions of the English edition.
  40. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, “Günther, Ursula,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001, updated 2008.
  41. Ursula Günther, *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der Ars Nova* (Hamburg: Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, 1959); Günther, “Datierbare Balladen des späten 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 15, 39–61; vol. 16, 151–174.

42. Further discussion of Apel and Günther's scholarship may be found in [Chapter 3](#) of my dissertation, "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564)."
43. "The International Inventory of Musical Sources—Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM)—is a cross-country non-profit joint venture which aims at comprehensive documentation of the worldwide existing musical sources." [http://rism.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/index1\\_e.htm](http://rism.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/index1_e.htm). The volumes documenting manuscripts of polyphonic music are in the series B/IV.
44. On fourteenth- and fifteenth-century forms of fixed poetry, including the ballade and rondeau, see Leonard W. Johnson, *Poets as Players: Theme and Variation in Late Medieval French Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990). For an overview of the ballade in the context of medieval music, see Howard Mayer Brown, David Fallows, Richard Freedman, and Nigel Wilkins, "Chanson," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001, revised 2008; and Nigel Wilkins. "Ballade (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
45. I use "verse" to mean a single line of poetry. I reserve "line" for lines of music on the page, to avoid excessive confusion when discussing the material evidence of music recorded in notation.
46. I follow Graeme Boone in reading *vascule* in this verse as *vassal*. See Graeme M. Boone, *Patterns in Play: A Model for Text Setting in the Early French Songs of Guillaume Du Fay* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1999), 284. Boone's fn. 73 reads "In verse 7 [of the second stanza], I have emended the nonsensical 'vascule' (from the Latin 'vasculum,' 'little vase') to 'vassale'."
47. See Boone, *Patterns in Play*. Boone discusses this song's poetry, 67–71, and its musical rhythm, 91–92.
48. The inclusion of words in the two lower parts of the song has been interpreted to mean that only these words are to be sung, and it is so presented in editions. When recording this song for their *Complete Secular Dufay* (L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980), the Medieval Ensemble of London chose a singer for the Cantus accompanied by two instruments playing the lower parts, except at the beginning of the refrain, when two other singers replace the instruments for only four syllables. More likely, the inclusion of words in lower parts may mean that the scribe was concerned about the clear placement of those words. Partial texting in *Ox213* is discussed further in [chapter 2](#).
49. The question of evidence for clerical participation in marriage ceremonies is laid out and examined in a recent article by David d'Avray, "Marriage Ceremonies and the Church in Italy after 1215," *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650*, edited by Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107–115. For a general survey of marriage customs and practices, both global and historical, see Coontz, *Marriage, a History*.
50. *Ibid.*, 79–80.
51. On French Christian marriage law and ritual, see Georges Duby, ed., *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge,

- MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 124–136; also Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-century France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). On English marriage and weddings, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975).
52. Erwin Panofsky, “Jan van Eyck’s ‘Arnolfini’ Portrait,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 64, no. 372 (March, 1934), 117–119 and 122–127.
  53. Edwin Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck’s Double Portrait* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
  54. Altieri, *Li nuptiali*. A new edition was published in 1995, with an Introduction by Massimo Miglio and an Appendix of Documents and Index of Names by Anna Modigliani. .
  55. Francesco Brandileone, *Saggi sulla storia della celebrazione del matrimonio in Italia* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1906). Reference from Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 181.
  56. I am indebted to Ellie Emslie Stevens, my research assistant in the Fall of 2008, for her translations of *Li Nuptiali* and other Italian documents. The narrative in Appendix I is based on Dr. Stevens’ translation, with her permission.
  57. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 178–212 and 247–282. The original publications are as follows: “Zacharie ou le père évincé,” 1216–1243; and “Une ethnologie du mariage au temps de l’humanisme,” 1016–1027.
  58. For France, see especially Duby, *Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*. (Less so, Duby, *Medieval Marriage*). Stephanie Coontz summarizes much recent research on medieval attitudes to marriage in her fascinating survey *Marriage, a History*. Chapter 5 “Something Borrowed: The Marital Legacy of the Classical World and Early Christianity,” 70–87; Chapter 6 “Playing the Bishop, Capturing the Queen: Aristocratic Marriages in Early Modern Europe,” 88–103; and Chapter 7 “How the Other 95 Percent Wed: Marriage Among the Common Folk of the Middle Ages,” 104–122.
  59. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 179.
  60. Anthony F. D’Elia, “Marriage, Sexual Pleasure, and Learned Brides in the Wedding Orations of Fifteenth Century Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 55 (2002), 379–433.
  61. Andrea Bayer, ed. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 68–69, 1222–1123.
  62. Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 15–16.
  63. Images and discussions of two complete *cassone* and five detached *cassone* panels can be found in the catalogue *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 129–138. For further discussion of imagery in *cassone* panels, see

- Jacqueline Musacchio, "The Rape of the Sabine Women on Quattrocento Marriage-Panels," Dean and Lowe, eds., *Marriage in Italy*, 66–82.
64. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 133–135.
  65. Elizabeth Eva Leach briefly raises the interesting question of how form became the only interesting category for songs, in *Sung Birds: Music, Nature and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). I will return to this question later in [chapter 4](#).
  66. See Thomas Kelly, ed., *Plain-song in the Age of Polyphony*, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), especially the chapters by Rebecca A. Baltzer, "The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris," 45–64 and Anne Walters Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims," 100–139.
  67. See in particular Christopher Page, "The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France," 441–450; and Nora Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento*, (Innsbruck: Studien Vlg.; Lucca: LIM Ed., 1998). For a later period, Elizabeth Morgan's dissertation, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780–1820," UCLA, 2009, demonstrates how aesthetic discussion of musical works can be deepened by understanding the social conventions of entertainment.
  68. On Boccaccio's panel as bedroom decoration, possibly made for a Vespucci family marriage, see Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace*, 112–115. Primavera, too, is a *spalliera* once attached to a daybed, this time belonging to the Medici.
  69. The working hypothesis is that Du Fay met the Malatesta at the Council of Constance (1414–1418), while in the entourage of the Bishop of Cambrai. See Fallows, *Dufay*, and Alejandro Planchart, "The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 46 (1993), 341–368. Alejandro Planchart now suspects that Du Fay's contact among the Malatesta was more likely Cleofe's brother Pandolfo Malatesta, later archbishop in Patras (private communication).

## 2 The Singers' Voices

1. See Graeme M. Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons: Chronology and Style in the Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1988; and Hans Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (Bern: P. Haupt, 1971). For a concise discussion of the assembly of this manuscript, see David Fallows's introduction to the facsimile: *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, Late medieval and early Renaissance music in facsimile; vol. 1, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
2. The organum repertory is transmitted by the earliest manuscript sources identified with the Saint-Martial monastery in Limoges, and the three central manuscripts preserving the "Notre Dame"

- organum repertory: Florence, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, *Plut.29.1* [F]; *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek*, *Guelf.628 Helmst.* (Heinemann catalogue 677; fig. 30) [W1]; and *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek*, *Guelf.1099 Helmst.* (Heinemann catalogue 1206; fig. 31) [W2]. For bibliography, see David Hiley, “Sources, MS, §IV: Organum and Discant,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001. For bibliography on what is now called “Aquitanian polyphony,” see Alejandro Enrique Planchart and Sarah Fuller, “St Martial,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
3. The chief motet manuscripts are *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, *n.a.fr.13521* (“La Clayette”) [Cl], *Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine*, *H196* [Mo], and *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek*, *Lit.115* (formerly *Ed.IV.6*) [Ba]. For bibliography, see Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, “Sources, MS, §V: Early Motet,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001. On the organization and mise-en-page of thirteenth-century manuscripts, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), especially 46–80.
  4. On the layout and copying of the Machaut manuscripts, see Lawrence M. Earp, “Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut,” PhD dissertation, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 1983; Earp, “Machaut’s Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 42 (1989), 461–503; and Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*.
  5. Note that in this context the labels “Tenor” and “Contratenor” refer to these voices’ structural role in polyphonic composition; they are not yet functioning as labels for particular vocal ranges. On the transition in use of the word “tenor,” from designating a voice part to designating a voice type, see John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), especially [Chapter 1](#), “The Prehistory of the Voice.” Several exceptions to this general practice may be found in the *Ox213* manuscript. On folio 87<sup>v</sup>, all three voice parts, Cantus, Tenor, and Contratenor, of Grenon’s, *La plus jolie et la plus belle* are labeled in the left margin, at right angles to the lines of text and music. The words to the song are underlaid in all three voices, and each part features a large decorated initial “L” to begin the line. Similarly, on folio 97<sup>v</sup> the scribe underlaid text to all three voices of Francus de Insula’s *L’aultre jour juer m’aloye* (#228), with the initial “L” drawn larger at the start of each part. The scribe then labeled the voices “Cantus,” “Tenor,” and “Contratenor” in the margin to the left of the initials, written perpendicularly. The same situation is found on folio 98<sup>v</sup> for Rosso’s two-voiced work, *El nom mi val pensar* (#232): the initial “E” is drawn larger at the start of each part and the voices are labeled “Cantus” and “Tenor” in the left margin. A fourth identical example is found on folio 100<sup>v</sup>, for Antonio Zacara’s two-voiced *Nuda non era preso altro vestito* (#237). In one other instance the Tenor and

- Contratenor (written “9 tenor”) parts are labeled vertically in the margin of folio 49, while the Cantus part remains unlabeled; all three voices bear the text of the song, Malbecque’s *Ouvrés vostre huys a cest foys* (#97), with the initial “O” decorated at the start of all three voices.
6. Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 14; 16–23.
  7. *Ibid.*, 17.
  8. J. F. R. Stainer and C. Stainer, *Dufay and his Contemporaries: Fifty Compositions (ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440)*, transcribed from MS. Canonici misc. 213, in the Bodleian Library, (Oxford and London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1898), 15.
  9. Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 26. Fn. 38 (not included above) provides information about the Ludwig *Nachlass*.
  10. Eleven works in *Ox213* have canonic voices, that is, voices derived by written instructions rather than notated. They are as follows: Gathering II: 23, 40, 58, 59, 60; Gathering IV: 128; Gathering V: 188; Gathering VIII: 191; 293, 294 (these two are problematic, see Fallows, facs. p. 55); Gathering X: 316.
  11. See Elizabeth Randell Upton, “Aligning Words and Music: Scribal Procedures for the Placement of Text and Notes in the Chantilly Codex,” *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, edited by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 115–132. In this article I demonstrate how editors have been misled by seeing visual elements of page layout as meaningful for musical performance in the Chantilly codex.
  12. The tenor voice is marked with a large decorated initial “T” in the left margin by the sixth line on the page, followed by “Enor” in the space ruled for words. A dot after the word “Tenor” separates the voice label from the first two words of the ballade, “Resveilliés vous,” with the word “vous” abbreviated as “vo9.” The incipit words are followed by another dot, and then by one of the pen-flourish punctuation signs—Schoop’s Punctuation Type 5—that indicate “et cetera” in this manuscript. On the punctuation signs in *Ox213*, see Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*; see also Boone, “Dufay’s Early Chansons,” 22, and [chapter 1](#) section 5, 47–54 (on fascicle 8).
  13. Heinrich Bessler did not perceive the significance of the scribe’s copying these words twice, perhaps because they have no intelligible meaning in the context of a modern score. Bessler saw the words entered in the tenor staff, and dutifully included them in his edition, measures 7–8. For the refrain, Bessler made it clear that the words “Charle gentil” were to be sung: he separated the syllables of each word with hyphens, the standard way of signaling to singers that these words were lyrics to be sung. But Bessler included the Tenor’s words in measures 7–8 without hyphens. Either Bessler didn’t realize that these words could be sung (they fit perfectly with the notes immediately above them), or he was unwilling to commit himself to seeing them as lyrics. Lawrence Earp

- argues that the tenor's words are a joke, "waking up" the Cantus singer who then takes over the lyrics; in his view, the singer of the tenor part should sing only words entered by the scribe. See Earp, "Texting in 15th-Century French Chansons: A Look Ahead from the 14th Century," *Early Music*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1991), 207.
14. Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing," *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1958), 184–195.
  15. Issues concerning the meaning and nature of musical scores have been discussed as well by scholars concerned with larger issues of performance practice and early music. See John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially "Negotiating between Work, Composer and Performer: Rewriting the Story of Notational Progress," 96–122 and Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Anne Stone cites Seeger's formulation and cites earlier discussion of the concept in relation to Trecento and Quattrocento music by Nino Pirrotta and James Haar in "Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition in Some 'Ars Subtilior' Works," *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 50 (1996), 59–93, especially 62–64. On issues involved in making modern editions of early music see Margaret Bent, "Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation," *Early Music*, vol. 22, no. 3 (August, 1994), 373–374 and 376–392.
  16. Staves prepared for recording the older chant repertoires make do with only four staff lines; liturgical chant tends to use a more limited melodic range.
  17. Forty-eight voice parts are notated with the F3 clef, while just 11 use C5. The scribe used the C4 clef for 260 parts, but even so used F2 4 times.
  18. See Potter, *Tenor*, to see how, historically, specific individual singers successively changed the definition of one voice type's character.
  19. This statement should not surprise anyone familiar with later solo vocal music, in particular operatic roles written with specific singers in mind. On the ways in which Handel considered vocal range in tailoring music for particular singers, see C. Steven LaRue, *Handel and His Singers: the Creation of the Royal Academy Operas, 1720–1728* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). On Mozart's tailoring of music for specific singers, see Patricia Lewy Gidwitz, "Mozart's Fiordiligi: Adriana Ferrarese del Bene," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 8, no. 3 (November, 1996), 199–214. Gidwitz writes: "Operatic roles often turned on a singer's characteristic features: the outer limits of the vocal range, the weight of the voice, the *tessitura* and the specific subset of favourite figurations gleaned from the contemporary repertory of vocal gestures. Mozart proved a particularly effective tailor. His boast to his father—'I like an aria to fit the singer like a well-made garment'—was both a *conditio sine qua non* of his operatic

- writing and standard practice.” Gidwitz’s footnote to the last sentence of this passage reads: “The metaphor was at least a century old. For example, Sacrati in describing his composition for Michele Grasseschi in the role of Bellerofonte: ‘I made the part to his measure’ (‘Holli fato la parte a suo dosso’); see Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley, 1991), 221nl.” See also Butt, “Notation as a ‘Fitted Suit,’” *Playing with History*, 107–109.
20. For a discussion of the physics behind singing, see Ingo R. Titze, “The Human Instrument,” *Scientific American*, vol. 298, no. 1 (January 2008), 94–101.
  21. Dong Woo Han, Yon Hee Shim, Cheung Soo Shin, Youn-Woo Lee, Jong Seok Lee, and So Woon Ahn, “Estimation of the Length of the Nares-Vocal Cord,” *Anesthesia and Analgesia*, vol. 100, no. 5 (2005), 1533–1535. For male and female vocal fold averages, see Su Mao-Chang, Te-Huei Yeh, Ching-Ting Tan, Chia-Der Lin, Oan-Che Linne, Shiann-Yann Lee, “Measurement of Adult Vocal Fold Length,” *The Journal of Laryngology & Otology*, vol. 116 (June 2002), 447–449.
  22. Richard H. Steckel, “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages’: The Remarkably Tall Stature of Northern European Men during the Medieval Era,” *Social Science History*, vol. 28, no. 2, special issue: Recent Research in Anthropometric History (Summer, 2004), 211–229. Steckel examined skeletons, but the body sizes of people from the past can also be determined from surviving clothing, or the even more durable armor. A 2009 exhibit at the Tower of London of armor made for (and worn by) Henry VIII at different points of his life, titled “Henry VIII: Dressed to Kill,” showed the 6’1” monarch growing in girth as he grew older. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2009/apr/01/heritage-monarchy-henry-viii>.
  23. Leech-Wilkinson quotes Sir John Stainer, from his 1895 paper: “I had great difficulty in finding out how to let you hear some of Dufay’s compositions. It would have been a hopeless task to try to find three or four good singers who were sufficiently advanced philologists to sing the old French words; it would require a vocal quartet of Max Müllers!” Leech-Wilkinson identifies Müller in his fn. #32: “F. Max Müller, Taylorian professor of modern European languages at Oxford 1854–68, professor of comparative philology 1868–1900, was at the time of Stainer’s lecture the outstanding authority on the history of languages.” *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 24 and 264.
  24. The literature on “bel canto” singing and pedagogy is enormous. For a survey of historical singing and pedagogy, see James Stark, *Bel Canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), as well as the review of this book by John Potter in *Music & Letters*, vol. 82, no. 3 (August, 2001), 445–448.
  25. The modern pitch standard of A=440 cycles per second dates back to 1925 in America; it was adopted as the international standard only in 1955. The problem of inconsistent pitch standards had first been addressed by



- a commission of the French government in 1858. The French commission recommended setting A=435, and most European countries (Great Britain was the notable holdout) adopted that pitch in the nineteenth century, but even then, local standards varied from place to place. The surprisingly tumultuous history of changing pitch standards is narrated by George Martin in Chapter 8 “Tuning A—The Problem of Pitch” of his book *The Opera Companion* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961, reprinted New York: Amadeus Press, 2008), 87–94. For an exhaustive survey of pitch standards, see Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of “A”* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).
26. See Bruce Haynes and Peter Cooke, “Pitch.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  27. Important collections include the thirteenth-century estampies of the *Manuscrit du Roi* (*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr.844*), and the fourteenth-century dances recorded in *London, British Library, Add.29987*. The surviving melodies identified as dance tunes are collected, transcribed, and discussed in Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).
  28. David Fallows, with Owen Jander, “Tenor. 3. The Voice Up To C1600,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001. I want to make it clear that in the discussion that follows, I am not disagreeing with Fallows but rather with what he is reporting. I am grateful that he summarized consensus views so succinctly. Fallows has updated his discussion of medieval pitch standards; see his article “Zacara’s Voice Ranges,” *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Istituto Abruzzese di Storia Musicale—Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 2004), 55–65.
  29. The tuning fork would not be invented until 1711. See L. S. Lloyd and Murray Campbell, “Tuning-fork,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  30. The very real possibility that particular works were added later to already-copied gatherings complicates the situation.
  31. John Haines discusses evidence for medieval rastra, the tools for ruling pages for copying musical notes, as well as much else of interest concerning staff lines, in his magisterial “The Origins of the Musical Staff,” *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 91, nos. 3–4 (2008), 327–378.
  32. Photographs of the watermarks can be seen in the facsimile, 9–12.
  33. Fallows, ed., *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, 26. In a note below table 4, Fallows writes: “The gatherings are given in their approximate copying order as established above.”
  34. David Fallows, “Zacharie, Nicolaus,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  35. On motets written for ensembles featuring 2 equal voices as the highest parts transmitted by 12 different manuscripts, including *Ox213*, see Robert Nosow, “The Equal-Discantus Motet Style after Ciconia,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 45 (1991), 221–275. Nosow’s discussion focuses on abstract compositional details rather than personnel.

36. John Nádas noted the hiring of only four men to sing polyphony at the Duomo in Florence in his paper, “The 1438 Creation of a Polyphonic Cappella in Florence Cathedral and Its Role in the City’s Musical Culture,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, 2009. In his abstract for this paper, Nádas describes the hiring of the four singers as “long known.” On the number of people involved in performing music in the fifteenth century, see also Boorman, ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, especially David Fallows, “Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474,” 109–160 and Roger Bowers, “The Performing Ensemble for English Church Polyphony, c. 1320–c. 1390,” 161–192. Leech-Wilkinson discusses Fallows’s article in *Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 108–111.

### 3 Polyphonic Music in Performance

1. Historical documents tend to mention that singers or instrumentalists were present on some occasion, but rarely give any useful details about their performances. For a survey of historical documentation of music-making at English and French courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, see Nigel Wilkins, “Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages,” in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, edited by V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1983), 183–204.
2. Fallows, “Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474,” 133–138.
3. Page, “The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France,” 441–450. Gaston Zink, ed. *Clériadus et Méliadice: roman en prose du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1984).
4. Bonnie Blackburn provides terminology for different languages: “The Italian term for this sign is ‘fermata,’ which is also used in American English, German (‘Fermate’), and Dutch (‘fermaat’); the English term is ‘pause,’ the French term ‘point d’orgue’; and it is called ‘corona’ in other languages.” Bonnie J. Blackburn, “The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450–1650*, edited by Anne–Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d’histoire de l’art et d’archéologie, Collège Érasme, 2001), 13, fn. 31. Charles W. Warren discussed theoretical discussions of this sign and its performance meaning in 1974; see his “Punctus Organi and Cantus Coronatus in the Music of Dufay,” *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6–7, 1974*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (Brooklyn, NY: Dept. of Music, School of Performing Arts, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1976), 128–143. Warren’s interpretation of the performance implications of the sign has been disputed by Robert Nosow and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, among others; see Planchart, “Guillaume Du Fay, Nuper Rosarum Flores,” *Opera Omnia 02/09* (Santa Barbara, CA: Marison Press, 2011).

5. In discussing the meaning of the sign, Blackburn provides this quotation, from a writer who died in 1367: See e.g. Johannes Boen, *Ars (musicae)*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Corpus scriptorium de musica, 19; n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 42: “Inveniuntur etiam sincope, videlicet note quadrata habentes in capite tractulum uncatum a dextra parte versus sinistram, ut hic: [example of a long and a breve to which small semicircles, without dot, are attached]. Et tales note taliter coronate important pausant generalem ipsa pronuntiata sub uno anhelitu totiens quotiens inventa fuerit.” Boen’s use of the term “sincope” in this sense seems to be unique; normally it indicates syncopation, or displacement of the measure. Blackburn, “The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” 17. Her footnote 36 reads: “Sincope are also found set upon the head of the square note. . . . This kind of note thus crowned denotes a general pause.”
6. See David Fuller, “Organ point,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001, and Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 107.
7. Johannes Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms (Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium)*, translated and annotated by Carl Parrish (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe; and London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1963).
8. Blackburn, “The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” 17.
9. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut’s Mass: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35.
10. *Ibid.*, 37.
11. Blackburn, “The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” 18. Blackburn found 30 instances of chordal “Amens”: “Up to mid-century, the Amen is a prime location for fermata passages. After Dufay chordal Amens are very rare.”
12. See Cumming, “Concord out of Discord,” 187–189. Cumming includes a table listing all Latin-texted motets from fourteenth-century France (including the ten Latin-texted motets of *Ch564*), categorized as to subject matter, 124–126. She classifies “Motets in which the subject is a person” as either Laudatory (seven), Advisory (three), or Condemnatory (six, including the three *Fauvel* motets that have been identified as opposing Enguerrand de Marigny).
13. As noted by Blackburn, “The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” 18, fn. 37.
14. Warren, “Punctus organi,” argued that different-shaped signs should be seen as representing different performance instructions in fifteenth-century music. I disagree.
15. Fallows’ introduction to the Facsimile of *Ox213* gives information as to modern editions of these works.

16. To correct Reaney's transcription, listed in the *Ox213* facsimile, see Robert D. Reynolds, "'Tres Douchement' by Grossin," *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 35 (1981), 199–201.
17. *Resveillés vous* contains both types of identification. Carlo Malatesta's name is presented directly, while Vittoria Colonna's name is presented indirectly, through easily understood puns.
18. All these hypotheses drew on the fact that most of the named dedicatees were related to each other, so what evidence there is can be used to support choosing any of them as central. See Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (*F-CH* 564)," 294–297.
19. Greene's edition of this ballade is extremely problematic for both the music and the text placement. Reinhard Strohm has significantly reedited the refrain line (only) of this ballade, and retexted it much more sensibly (following the *ModA* version, ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–15) in *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 56.
20. Apel chose to transcribe the ballade entirely in triple meter (3/4), to enhance the effect of syncopation in the cantus part:
 

The Cantus of this ballade exemplifies the most advanced stage of 14th-century syncopation, since this device is used here, not for passages of shorter or greater length, but for the entire part except for the exclamation *Puisque perdu avons* (meas. 43–46), which thus stands out in an effective contrast. Naturally the amount of syncopation could be reduced by using different meters (3/4, 2/4, 6/8) in the transcription, a method that has been recommended by U. Günther (*Musica Disciplina* XV, 43). After considerable deliberation I have retained the "through-syncopation," since it also occurs in Senleches' *En ce gracieux tamps* (No. 91; to a lesser extent also in No. 90), and therefore must be regarded as a characteristic trait of his style. *CMM* 53, 1, XL.
21. A concordance for this piece presents a fascinating variant in the poetry: instead of reading "Par le souverain pape . . ." this copy's refrain reads "Par le souverain antipape qui s'apelle Clement." This alteration is discussed further on page 81. See Agostino Ziino, ed., *Il codice T. III. 2*, 111. The leaf in question is folio 5<sup>v</sup>, visible on page 146 of the facsimile.
22. Only two of the four have surviving concordances: *Fuions de ci* has concordances in Modena, Bibl. Estense *α.M.5,24* [RISM *I-MOe* 5.24, *ModA*] (folios 14<sup>v</sup>–15) and the Reina codex [RISM *F-Pn n.a.f.* 6771: Paris, BN, MS nouv. acq. frç. 6771] (folio 61<sup>v</sup>), and *Par les bons Gedeon* has a concordance in *ModA* (folio 31). Both *S'aincy estoit* and *Armes, Amours* are unique to the Chantilly codex.
23. The text placement in all editions of this work is misleading, but the syllabic opening of the melodic lines is easily recoverable. On the alignment of words and notes on the manuscript page and its implications for

- editing Chantilly chansons in general, see Upton, “The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564),” 197, fn. 12. On the misguided and misleading texting of Chantilly chansons in general, see Upton, “Aligning Words and Music,” 115–132.
24. Deschamps is identified as Machaut’s nephew in the anonymous *Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, but current literary scholarship throws doubt on any blood relationship between the two men. See I. S. Laurie, “Eustache Deschamps: 1340(?)–1404,” in *Eustache Deschamps, French Courtier Poet: His Works and His World*, edited by Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1998), 2–3. “Nephew” could be understood as meaning “heir,” generalized from the many childless men in religious orders whose heirs would have been their sister’s sons. See also Christopher Page on the relationship between Deschamps and Machaut, “Machaut’s ‘Pupil’ Deschamps on the Performance of Music,” *Early Music*, vol. 5 (1977), 484–491. The first stanza of this poem is discussed in Catherine A. Jewers, “*L’Art de musique et le gai sentement*: Guillaume de Machaut, Eustache Deschamps and the Medieval Poetic Tradition,” in Sinnreich-Levi, ed., *Eustache Deschamps*, 163–179, especially 165.
  25. See Agostino Ziino, ed., *Il codice T. III. 2, Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria: studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile* (Ars Nova, 3. Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994), 111. The leaf in question is folio 5<sup>r</sup>, reproduced on page 146 of the facsimile.
  26. The 27 breves of the refrain almost match the 28 breves of section B, even as the B music sets three verses to the refrain’s one. The A sections are 30 and 32 breves long, each setting two verses. While the musical sections are roughly the same length, the various number of verses in each means that the density of melodic declamation will vary from section to section.
  27. “Nomen querens huius magnifici/ Tam illustris confestim didici/ Quod is erat potens ille Phebus.” Text edited and translated by David Seward for the Huelgas Ensemble recording, “Febus Avant! Music at the Court of Gaston Febus (1331–1391)” (Sony Classical: Vivarte SK 48195, 1992).
  28. Michael Long discusses an earlier example of an easy (that is, simple-to-solve) riddle serving as the point of interest in a musical work. Previously assumed, mistakenly, to be much more complicated, Long interprets the famous *L’Antifana* to be a comic work written to amuse boys at choir school. Long, “Singing Through the Looking Glass,” 253–306.
  29. See Ursula Günther, “Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 19 (1965), 69–81.
  30. “Various candidates have been proposed, including Charles III of Navarre (reigned 1387–1425) and Juan I of Aragon (1387–96), but the latter can probably be eliminated since the text sets its scene in May when ‘Jupiter makes his . . . stay in the palace of Gemini’; this astronomical event occurs only every 12 years and during this period it fell in 1384, 1396 and

1408. The song may have been intended for Juan's brother and successor, Martin of Aragon (1396–1410)." Yolanda Plumley, "Trebore," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* 2001.
31. Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus De Caserta (C1360?–C1435) with the Ballade Texts and An Edition of the Regule Contrapuncti," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 8 (1964), 118–124.
  32. In earlier fourteenth-century ballades, including Machaut's ballades, the A music is shorter than the B music, so that in performance of a single stanza the two repetitions of A are approximately equal in length to the single B section.
  33. "In certain types of verse, a caesura, or *coupe*, occurs at a regular spot. The most conspicuous instance in medieval tradition is that of the ten-syllable line, or *décasyllable*, in which the *coupe* usually falls immediately after (or at) the fourth syllable, creating a distinct articulation." Boone, *Patterns in Play*, 46.
  34. Ursula Günther decoded the text of this ballade, identifying the clues to various members of Olivier's family, in her article "Zwei Balladen auf Bertrand und Olivier du Guesclin," *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 22 (1968), 15–45.
  35. The cantus part is notated with both C2 and C1 clefs. The pitches that begin the refrain descend stepwise from c. The cantus singer gets to sing this high c 20 times (out of 294 pitches) in the piece, and the pitch d one step higher only twice, first in the opening melisma and again in the middle of the A section.
  36. Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia," *In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday* (Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies [The University of Western Australia], 2), edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki), 198, 65–74. See also Strohm, "'La Harpe de Melodie,' oder das Kunstwerk als Akt der Zueignung," *Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by H. Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), 305–316.
  37. See Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564)," 100–106.
  38. Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of Ars Subtilior," PhD dissertation, University of New England, Australia, 2003.
  39. For a facsimile, see Craig Wright, *Maze and the Warrior*, 240.
  40. "La Maison Dedalus" (the House of Dedalus) was a medieval name for a maze, used for both pavement mazes such as that in Amiens cathedral and garden mazes. A famous Maison Dedalus, so called, was constructed by Mahaut of Artois near her palace at Hesdin, see Anne Hagopian Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," *Medieval Gardens* [9th Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture], edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, DC: Meridian Steinhour, 1986), esp. 122–123. On maze symbolism in this ballade, see Craig M. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

- Press, 2001), 239–242; also Anna Zayaruznaya, “‘She has a Wheel that turns . . .’: Crossed and Contradictory Voices in Machaut’s Motets,” *Early Music History*, vol. 28, 185–240, esp. 200–203.
41. Eric Jager attests that the Chantilly heart is the earliest known example of a written text in the form of a heart. See Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 82. Elizabeth Eva Leech discusses all four pictures as “visual music,” and includes clear black-and-white photographs of them: Leech, *Sung Birds*, 114–119.
  42. Dulong and Sultan announced their solution at the Novacella conference in 2003, and included it in their 2009 article: Gilles Dulong and Agathe Sultan, “Nouvelles lectures des *chansons notées* dans le Codex Chantilly,” Plumley and Stone, eds. *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, see pages 112–113.
  43. Virginia Newes mentions this detail in a parenthetical remark in her dissertation: “(There is also an allusion to the composer’s profession in the Chantilly version of the virelai in the small harp-like ornament inserted between the initials of his name.)” “Fuga and Related Contrapuntal Procedures in European Polyphony ca. 1350–ca. 1420,” PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1987, 419.
  44. *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 18, 66–70; *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae* 53, vol. 1, 181–185.
  45. PMFC 19, 102–105; CMM 53, 1, 179–181. Greene alters the first line to read “Calectone, qui fut dame *terrouse*” [emphasis mine], while Apel interprets the manuscript’s “darouse” to read “d’Arouse,” glossing this name as a corruption of “Artemis.” Perhaps the mystery could be resolved by finding a fourteenth-century retelling of the story of Callisto and Jupiter.
  46. See Upton, “The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564),” 274–283.
  47. The identity of this “Cathelline” has been the subject of a great deal of scholarly speculation. Gilbert Reaney identified her with Jeanne of Boulogne, the second wife of Jean, Duke of Berry, because Solage also wrote *S’aincy estoit*, discussed above, which includes Jean’s name and title. Ursula Günther agreed with the Berry connection, but suggested that the acrostic’s Cathelline was instead Catherine of France, the sister of King Charles VI, who in 1386 was married to a son of the Duke of Berry. Maria-Carmen Gomez has proposed the identification of Cathelline with Yolande de Bar, and Yolanda Plumley adds another Catherine, this one the granddaughter of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to the list of candidates. Reaney, “The Manuscript Chantilly,” 76; Ursula Günther, “Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 17 (1963), 87; Maria del Carmen Gomez Muntane, “La musique a la maison royale de Navarre a la fin du moyen-âge et le chantre Jehan Robert,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 41 (1987), 109–151; Yolanda Plumley, “Solage,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001, rev. 2009.
  48. *Calectone* presents an incomplete appearance on the page. Not only is there no text residuum but the last stave bears only the word [T]riplum, with no music entered.

#### 4 The Listeners' Experience

1. See Nigel Wilkins, "Ballade (i)," "Rondeau (i)," and "Virelai" in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001, as well as David Fallows, trans. Stefan Weiss, "Ballade (mehrstimmig)," in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [MGG], 2nd edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008), vol. 1, 1130–1134; Fallows, trans. Helga Beste, "Rondeau (mehrstimmig)," MGG, vol. 8, 542–550; and Jehoash Hirshberg, trans. Helga Beste, "Virelai," in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008), vol. 9, 1711–1722. For musicological bibliography on all three forms, see Howard Mayer Brown and David Fallows. "Chanson: 1. Origins to about 1430; 2. 1430 to about 1525," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001. In his textbook on medieval music, Richard H. Hoppin describes the three song forms within his chapter on Guillaume de Machaut, see Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978), 396–432. In his textbook on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music, Allan W. Atlas discusses the ballade and rondeau in the context of Du Fay, see Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998), 57–76. On the lyrics of these songs as poetry, see Jane H. M. Taylor, "Lyric poetry of the later Middle Ages," in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 153–166.
2. The treatises discussing late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century poetry and music include Eustache Deschamps' *L'Art de Dictier* (1392), and the anonymous treatise *Les règles de la seconde rhétorique* (1411–1432). See Ardis T. B. Butterfield. "Arts de seconde rhétorique," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn, eds. (New York: Garland Publishers, 1995), 77. Butterfield writes: "The majority of the treatises are simply manuals of lyric versification." Deschamps explicitly excludes the music of songs from his discussion of their poetry, see Taylor, "Lyric poetry," 153–154.
3. It is not possible to produce absolutely accurate counts, due to the survival of fragmentary works that are difficult to categorize. See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). No similar listing exists for fourteenth-century European song, but see Schrade, Leo, Frank L. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer, eds. *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vols. III (songs of Guillaume de Machaut, ed. Leo Schrade), IV (works of Francesco Landini, ed. Leo Schrade), VI–XI (Italian Secular Music, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco, and vols. XVIII–XXII (French Secular Music, ed. Gordon Greene), (Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–1991).
4. It is dangerous to draw facile conclusions from the numbers of surviving works. The vicissitudes of manuscript survival to the present day can affect repertory totals in a very real way, while having nothing whatsoever to do with artistic choices or popularity with audiences in the medieval



- past. Michael Scott Cuthbert demonstrates interesting approach to the estimation of repertory size, based on ecological models for estimating numbers of animals in the wild; see his article “Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 54 (2009): 39–74. Songs aren’t animals, but Cuthbert’s work suggests the possible magnitude of the problem. On the interrelationship between popularity and transmissions in manuscripts, see especially Cuthbert, “Tipping the Iceberg,” 49–51. Lastly, it must also be remembered that the criteria scribes used in choosing which songs to include in a manuscript, an element that also has a real effect on the total counts of surviving musical works, is also unknowable.
5. See Leech, *Sung Birds*, for a discussion of the bird-song virelais of the late fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, the multistanza virelai seems to have become the single-stanza bergerette. For information on treatises discussing this change, see Robert W. Linker and Gwynn S. McPeck, “The Bergerette Form in the Laborde Chansonier: A Musico-Literary Study,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer, 1954), 113–120.
  6. Leonard W. Johnson begins his discussion of late medieval lyric poetry with a related discussion, a demonstration of the conceptual distance between a modern edition of a poem by Charles d’Orléans and the poem as it appears in a medieval manuscript. Johnson, *Poets as Players*, 16–19.
  7. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study in the Play-Elements in Culture*, translated by R. F. C. Hull (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1955), 1–27. In English, the first chapter is titled “Nature and Significance of Play as a Cultural Phenomenon.” Huizinga’s book was translated into German and published in Switzerland in 1944, and first published in English in London in 1950. This English translation was first published in the United States in 1955.
  8. On the history of video games, see Steven L. Kent, *The Ultimate History of Video Games* (Roseville, CA: Prima Publishing, 2001). For video game studies, see Mark J. P. Wolf and Bernard Perron, eds., *The Video Game Theory Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), and Bernard Perron and Mark J. P. Wolf, eds., *The Video Game Theory Reader 2* (New York: Routledge, 2009).
  9. For examples of this narrative-focused approach, see Janet H. Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), and Marie-Laure Ryan, *Avatars of Story*, *Electronic Mediations*, 17 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
  10. For an overview of the conflict between those who emphasize the narrative aspects of video games (the “narratologists”) and those who emphasize the interactive aspects (the “ludologists”), see Espen Aarseth, “Genre Trouble: Narrativism and the Art of Simulation,” *First Person: New Media as Story, Performance and Game*, edited by Noah Wardrip-Fruin and Pat Harrigan (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 45–55; in the same volume see also Celia Pearce, “Towards a Game Theory of Game,”

- Wardrip-Fruin and Harrigan, eds., *First Person*, 143–157. The collection *First Person* can be seen as a response to the conflict between ideologies for discussing video games. Jesper Juul attempts to mediate between the two approaches: Jesper Juul, *Half-Real: Video Games between Real Rules and Fictional Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005). Published work on games as games (rather than discussion of the ways games can be interpreted) tends to be more practical than theoretical; for example, see Jesse Schell, *The Art of Game Design: A Book of Lenses* (Burlington, MA: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers, 2008).
11. Eric Zimmerman, “Narrative, Interactivity, Play, and Games,” Wardrip-Fruin and Harrigan, eds., *First Person*, 159. Zimmerman elaborates his ideas in *The Rules of Play, Game Design Fundamentals* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).
  12. Juul, *Half-Real*, 59.
  13. Brian Upton, *The Aesthetic of Play*, work in progress (2013). Brian Upton is a professional video game designer as well as a theorist of games and play. He is also my husband, and I am grateful to him for sharing his ideas and insights with me, and for our ongoing discussions of games and play.
  14. That is, of course, the point of John Cage’s notorious ‘4’33’.
  15. The common complaint that new genres or styles of music with which a particular listener is unfamiliar contain works that “all sound the same” reflects a failure of understanding which elements allow for play in the new genre. Such listeners expect all music to “play by the same rules” as the genres or styles they like best, as if a baseball fan were to fault soccer players for using the wrong kind of ball.
  16. Janet M. Levy, “Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music,” *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Winter, 1987), 3–27. On modern literary scholars’ similar difficulty with addressing medieval poetry that does not fit later aesthetics, see Leonard W. Johnson, “*Nouviaux dis amoureux plaisans*: Variation as Innovation in Guillaume de Machaut,” *Le Moyen Français*, vol. 5 (1980), 11–28.
  17. Christopher Page touched on this point in *Discarding Images*: “First, have scholars sometimes used Huizinga’s vision of a declining Middle Ages to legitimize their own reluctance to admire musical compositions which work on a relatively small scale *and which do not develop?*” (italics in the original). Christopher Page, “Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, and the Chanson,” **Chapter 5** of *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 187. In valuing one musical element over another, analysts who cannot comprehend the play in strophic song forms are the exact equivalent of listeners who think that all new popular dance music “sounds the same.”
  18. Don Michael Randel, “Dufay the Reader,” *Studies in the History of Music I: Music and Language* (New York: Broude Brothers Ltd., 1983), 38–78.
  19. *Ibid.*, 46.
  20. *Ibid.*

21. The play inherent in rondeau form for poetry alone is well known, especially in that poets' varied responses to the constraints of the form is seen as play. See Howard M. Garey, "The Fifteenth Century Rondeau as Aleatory Polytext," *Le Moyen Français*, vol. 5 (1980), 193–236.
22. As an example, imagine a performance of the song "Ninety-nine bottles of beer on the wall," perhaps the simplest strophic song ever composed. While the generative material is extremely short and simple, the full work is one of the longest and most complicated songs that children can sing.
23. Page, *Discarding Images*, 142–143. Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds. *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), vol. 2, 1–2.
24. I suspect that the phenomenon of becoming sick of a song through over-repeated listening, well known to listeners today, was far less common an experience before the invention of sound recording.
25. Rhyme's ability to punctuate poetry has long been known. I suspect that rhyme's use as a clue to future verses, that is, rhyme's ability to generate predictive play, is no less important in its longstanding success as a literary device in both poetry and song lyrics.
26. On the coordination between words and melody in Du Fay's text setting see Boone, *Patterns in Play*.
27. Measure numbers refer to Bessler's edition of this piece: Heinrich Bessler, ed. *Guillaume Du Fay: Opera omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 1, Vol. 6, Cantiones (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 25–26.
28. My edition of the poem again follows Boone, *Patterns in Play*, 69–71.
29. Allan W. Atlas, "Gematria, Marriage Numbers, and Golden Sections in Du Fay's 'Resvellies vous'" *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 59, Fasc. 2 (May–August, 1987), 111–126.
30. See Fallows, "Rondeau-rondo (mehrstimmig)," trans. Helga Beste, in Ludwig Finscher, editor, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008, Vol.8, 542–550. I thank Prof. Fallows for sending me a typescript of his article in the original English.
31. For other analyses of the ways in which rondeau form can be understood to work, see Fallows, "Rondeau"; Page, *Discarding Images*; and Johnson, *Poets as Players*.
32. Gothic Voices, *A Song for Francesca: Music in Italy, 1330–1430* (Hyperion Records, 1993), track 15. Alto Margaret Philpot sings the cantus part while Christopher Page, the group's director, plays the rondeau's lower two voices on harp. In contrast, another *Ox213* rondeau on this same recording, Hugo de Lantini's *Plaindre m'estuet* (Gathering III, folio 46<sup>v</sup>), is over twice as long in performance, lasting 4'33".
33. Three songs, two rondeaux and a virelai, are ascribed variously to "Harcourt," "Acourt," or "Jo. de Alte Curie." Yolanda Plumley asserts that all three songs are the work of the same man, a French chaplain under both (anti-)Pope Clement VII and Benedict XIII. David Fallows

- disagrees on musical stylistic grounds, and does not believe that the composer of *Je demande ma bienvenue* composed the Chantilly rondeau and the virelai ascribed to “Haucourt” in *Ox*. Yolanda Plumley, “Haucourt, Johannes,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001; David Fallows, “Acourt,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* 2001.
34. Stainer and Stainer, *Dufay and His Contemporaries*, 51.
  35. The nature of the “half refrain” changes mid-century. Instead of understanding a shortened incipit of the half refrain in stanza two or the final refrain as standing in for the entire refrain, some poets seem to have intended that the poem be read as recorded on the page, with only the first part of the refrain included. This variation causes a problem for musical performance that has yet to be understood or resolved. See Garey, “The Fifteenth Century Rondeau as Aleatory Polytext”.
  36. The contratenor’s final pitch is notated as a ligated octave, both A and a. This could indicate that more than one singer should sing the contratenor part (to present both pitches simultaneously), or it may mean that a single contratenor had a choice of pitch. A third possibility, not my choice, is that the contratenor part, untexted except for its incipit, was played on an instrument that could produce both pitches at once.
  37. David Fallows noted that each of the three upper voices gets to sing the high *d''* once in each half of this rondeau. I noticed that each voice similarly gets to sing the lowest pitch, *a'*, the cantus once in each half of the song, the tenor and the triplum in the first half only.
  38. In *Ox213* the voices are entered on the page in the order cantus, tenor, and triplum. Besseler saw fit to reverse the voices in his edition, which presents the triplum as the highest voice in the score and the cantus as lowest.
  39. While rare, the texture is not unknown in later music. If my readers can forgive me yet another anachronistic comparison, I will point out that Du Fay’s vocal ensemble in *Ma belle dame souveraine* is exactly the same as the lineup of the Beatles, even if the young John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and George Harrison never used this particular three-lead vocal texture.

## 5 Reframing the Sacred/Secular Divide

1. Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). See Part I: The Status of the Early Polyphonic Mass, [Chapter 1: “Enlightenment and Beyond,”](#) 1–25.
2. I am thinking especially of the work of the French “Annales school” historians associated with the journal *Annales d’Histoire Economique et Sociale* founded in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. For an overview of this approach to the study of medieval history, see Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929–1989* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2nd edition, 1991). In his *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford University Press, 1993),

Christopher Page shows how musicologists' uncritical acceptance of the analytical frameworks of historians and cultural historians has distorted our discussion of surviving musical works.

3. The shift in attitude can be said to derive from the work of sociologist Norbert Elias (1897–1990), particularly his study *The Civilizing Process* (first published in German in 1939; translated into English as *The Civilizing Process, Vol. I: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), and *The Civilizing Process, Vol. II. State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Elias's work has been challenged: see Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994). For courts in our period see especially Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), which focuses specifically on courts of England, the Netherlands, and Northern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Other recent studies of medieval court life especially useful to musicologists include Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Burke, eds., *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Gerard Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Nijsten's book is of particular interest for the way he productively and explicitly combines historical, anthropological, and art-historical methodological approaches to his subject.
4. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse, "Introduction: New Histories of the Court," *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, edited by Gunn and Janse (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006), 1.
5. *Ibid.*, 2.
6. *Ibid.*, 3.
7. Johannes Ciconia is documented as having been a member of the *familia* of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon, a papal legate, by a letter from Pope Boniface IX dated April 27, 1391. See Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Ciconia, Johanne. 1. Life," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001, updated 2009. Dufay was recruited to become a member of the *familia* of Cardinal Louis Aleman (also a papal legate) in Bologna in 1426. See Planchart, "Du Fay, Guillaume."
8. The uncritical identification of songs, composers, and even the entire manuscript with the home territory of a single dedicatee mars much scholarship on the Chantilly codex. The worst offender was an unfortunately-influential article by Terence Scully, "French Songs in Aragon: The Place of Origin of the Chansonier Chantilly, Musée Condé 564," *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context. Selected Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 1986*, edited by Keith Busby and Erik Kooper (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins B. V. 1990), 509–521. Scully's article has been definitively rebutted by Maricarmen Gómez, "French songs in Aragon de Terence

- Scully Révisé,” in Plumley and Stone, eds., *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 245–262.
9. See Pierre de Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Febus, prince des Pyrenees, 1331–1391* (Pau: Editions Deucalion, 1991). A new biography of Gaston has been published in English: Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Febus, Count of Foix (1331–1391)* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2008).
  10. On gift-giving in late medieval court society, see Brigitte Buettner, “Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400,” *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 4 (December, 2001), 598–625. As an art historian, Buettner focuses on objects and images as gifts in her analysis of the performative context of gift-giving. The direct parallel may be presentation manuscripts of music, but I think it will be useful to consider songs in this way as well, to see the commissioning, composing, and performance of songs as elements in the exchange of power at courts. The performance of a song can itself be seen as an element of display in Buettner’s terms.
  11. It could be argued that study of the music of the troubadours and trouvères forms the only real exception to this generalization. See John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
  12. The fourth-century merging of the secular authority of empire with the religious authority of Christianity makes this focus inevitable. For the shifting definitions of the “Middle Ages,” see Toby Burrows, “Unmaking ‘The Middle Ages,’” *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 7 (1981), 127–134. Burrows demonstrates how people in successive centuries redefined the “Middle Ages” to be the period between themselves and whatever they valued in the past, be it literature, religion, or scientific inquiry.
  13. See Kirkman, *Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, especially Part I: The Status of the Early Polyphonic Mass, **Chapter 1** “Enlightenment and Beyond,” 1–25, as well as his earlier articles “‘Under Such Heavy Chains’: The Discovery and Evaluation of Late Medieval Music before Ambros,” *Nineteenth Century Music*, vol. 24 (2000), 89–112, and “The Invention of the Cyclic Mass,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Spring, 2001), 1–47.
  14. On the nineteenth-century revival of Gregorian chant, see Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
  15. Their footnote #1 reads: “Regarding the inconsistency of modern, Western notions of sacred and profane with concepts prevalent in other cultures, see J. R. Goody, ‘Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem,’ *British Journal of Sociology*, 12/2 (1961): 142–64, esp. pp. 150–51 and 155–7.”
  16. Their footnote #2 reads: “Anthony Cutler, ‘Sacred and Profane: The Locus of the Political in Middle Byzantine Art,’ in Antonio Iacobini and Enrico Zanini (eds), *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio* (Rome, 1995), pp. 315–38, esp. p. 317.”
  17. There is an enormous bibliography exploring the use of secular chansons in music for mass. For the most recent discussion, see Kirkman,

- Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, Part II: The Ritual World of the Early Polyphonic Mass, especially [Chapter 3](#), “‘Faisant Regretz Pour Ma Dolente Vie’: Piety, Polyphony and Musical Borrowing,” 39–76 and [Chapter 6](#), “The Profane Made Sacred: Outside Texts and Music in the Mass,” 135–164. Kirkman draws heavily on David Rothenberg’s doctoral dissertation “Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs in Medieval Polyphony: Studies in Musical Symbolism,” unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2004, now revised and published as *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
18. Modern unwillingness to criticize religious attitudes is particularly strong in America, where for several decades now religious divides have been used politically, driving the so-called culture wars.
  19. Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster, “Introduction: Mapping the Heavens and Treading the Earth: Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art,” *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 2.
  20. John Caldwell, “Relations between Liturgical and Vernacular Music in Medieval England,” *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, edited by Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 285–299.
  21. Walker and Luytens, “Introduction,” 3.
  22. *Ibid.*, 4.
  23. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992; second edition 2005).
  24. For a demonstration of how greater sensitivity to the cultural fallout of the Reformation can illuminate the meanings that artworks could have had for their first audiences, see Stephen Greenblatt’s rereading of Hamlet through the change from a Catholic to a Protestant concept of the afterlife in [Chapter 10](#) of his *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004), 288–322.
  25. Elizabeth Eva Leach’s critique of a recent tendency for musicologists to view the music of Guillaume de Machaut primarily through the lens of his religious identity is most welcome. See her *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), especially 279–283.
  26. Richard Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 13.
  27. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Du Fay, Guillaume.”
  28. Amadeus (1383–1451) was a great-grandson of King Jean II of France (1319–1364, king from 1350). Amadeus VIII’s mother was Bonne of Berry (d.1435), daughter of Jean Duke of Berry (1340–1416) and Joanna of Armagnac (1346–1387); Bonne herself was named for Jean’s mother Bonne of Luxembourg (1315–1349). Bonne is famous to musicologists as a patron of Guillaume de Machaut’s; see Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3.

- Amadeus married his mother's first cousin, Mary (1386–1422); Mary, a daughter of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1342–1404) and his wife Margaret III, Countess of Flanders (1350–1405), was through her father a granddaughter of King Jean II of France.
29. My numbers come from Planchart's Work List in Grove. Not all the motets are liturgical.
  30. Planchart, "The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay," 341–368, quotation from page 342.
  31. See Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History*, vol. 8 (1988), 124–125 and notes 31–32.
  32. On the authorship of Du Fay's motet texts see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet? Problems in the Texts of His Motets," *Early Music History*, vol. 16 (1997), 97–165.
  33. "There is among his songs an unusually high number of May Day and New Year pieces, with texts that because of their calendric references make a conceit of their ephemeral nature, pieces that could be called 'Hallmark-card songs.' It is not that other composers wrote no such pieces, but that Du Fay's surviving canon has a larger number of them than that of any other composer of the 15th century, with texts that draw attention to their function." Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Du Fay and the Style of Molinet," *Early Music*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2009), 61–72, 63.
  34. For modern editions see Bessler, ed., *Guillaume Du Fay*, vol. 1, no. 16; and Guglielmus de Van, ed., *Guillaume Du Fay: Opera omnia* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology in Rome, 1947).
  35. This motet is labeled an "isorhythmic" motet in the literature, but this label is misleading. Alejandro Planchart writes: "The motet is not an isorhythmic motet but rather a mensural transformation motet, where the single rhythmic pattern, which includes the introductory rests and is coextensive with the color in both tenors, is sung under four different mensurations." *Du Fay Opera Omnia*, vol. 02, no. 09 (Santa Barbara, CA: Marisol Press, 2011), 10. I am grateful to Professor Planchart for sharing his new edition with me in advance of publication. Margaret Bent discusses the ways in which the term "isorhythmic" is both ahistorical and misleadingly applied to musical works in her entry "Isorhythm," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, 2001.
  36. The most extensive discussion of the events of March 25, 1436, can be found in Robert Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 100–104.
  37. Craig Wright, "Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1994), 395–441.
  38. *Ibid.*, 429–430; these accounts are listed in his footnote 64.
  39. *Ibid.*, 430. His footnote 67 provides the Latin: "In cuius quidem sacratissimi corporis elevatione tantis armoniarum symphoniis / tantis insuper diversorum instrumentorum consonationibus omnia basilicae loca



- resonabant: ut angelici ac prorsus divini paradise sonitus cantusque demissi caelitus ad nos in terries divinum nescio quid ob incredibilem suavitatem quondam in aures nostras insurrare non inmerito viderentur' (Manetti, *Oratio*, ed. Battisti, 319)."
40. Text and translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens, from Planchart's edition of this motet, "Guillaume Du Fay: *Nuper Rosarum Flores*," 9.
  41. The prominence of the pope's name is the most important musical feature to Dale Kent, who writes: "The hymn addressed the Virgin and her people Florence, but only once did the polyphonic harmonies converge in a single line of melody and song, and that was in audible tribute to the name of Eugenius." In the footnote to this sentence Kent writes: "I thank William F. Prizer for this point and for his advice on music in this period." Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 126; 441 n.136.
  42. See also Robert Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), [Chapter 4](#): "The Motet as Ritual Embassy," 84–104.
  43. Craig Wright cites Sabine Zak's thinking as to the opportunities for performing the motet during the mass of dedication: "Sabine Zak ('Die Quellenwert,' 29) suggests that *Nuper rosarum flores* may have been performed at any one of four moments during the ceremony: (1) at the Introit of the Mass, (2) at the dedication of the high altar, (3) after the Credo, or (4) during the elevation of the Host. The members of the papal chapel, presumably including their magister Guillaume Dufay, were positioned across from Pope Eugenius IV and on the Epistle (north) side of the chancel, according to the account of Vespasiano di Bisticci cited by Zak." Wright, "Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*," 430–431. Sabine Zak, "Die Quellenwert von Giannozzo Manetti's Oratio über die Domweihe von Florenz 1436 für die Musikgeschichte," *Die Musikforschung*, vol. 40 (1987), 2–32.
  44. See Frank d'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
  45. On the elevation of the host in the fifteenth century, see Kirkman, Chapter 8 "Counterpoint of Images, Counterpoint Of Sounds," *Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, especially 177–185.
  46. J. S. Bach famously wrote the initials *S. D. G.* (for *Soli Deo Sit Gloria*) at the end of his manuscript scores of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I and the *Inventions*. See John Butt, "Bach's Metaphysics of Music," *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46–59, esp. 52.
  47. Wright, "Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*," 434. I accept Wright's demonstration, in this section of his article, of Dufay's likely familiarity with the *figurae* of "Temple as Church and of Mary as Temple of Christ." But I would really like to learn what Wright thinks he knows of Dufay's "spiritual activities," and how he can justify his confidence in making such a statement.

48. Wright, “Dufay’s *Nuper rosarum flores*,” 439.
49. The two musical sources of this motet are Trent, Museo provincial d’arte, Catello del Buonconsiglio, 1379 (*Trent92*), ff. 21<sup>v</sup>–23; and Modena, Biblioteca estense universitaria, a.X.1.11 (*ModB*), ff. 67<sup>v</sup>–68<sup>v</sup> (new 69<sup>v</sup>–70<sup>v</sup>). The Trent codices have been published in facsimile, and color photographs of the pages are available online at <http://www1.trentinocultura.net/> (NB: on the website, the pages containing this motet appear labeled 23<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>r</sup>). For a plate of the first opening of the *Mod B* version, see Charles W. Warren, “Brunelleschi’s Dome and Dufay’s Motet,” *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 1 (January, 1973), 100. There is one further source for the words alone: Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Conv. Sop. 388, f. 204<sup>v</sup>.
50. Alejandro Planchart, personal communication, March 17, 2011.
51. See note 31 above.
52. Verses 3 and 5 have eight syllables rather than the expected seven, adding two syllables to the total count for these verses.
53. Measures 33–34 in Planchart’s edition, Guillaume Du Fay: *Nuper Rosarum Flores*. Planchart cites J. Michael Allsen for pointing out this function of the motettus divisi; see Allsen, “Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet, 1400–1440,” PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1992, 468.
54. Setting the word “successor” with imitation may be a mimetic move: the imitation acts out the meaning of the word. As is well known, this kind of dramatization of individual words was to become popular later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Planchart notes this moment as well, and is convinced that the word/music connection is deliberate: “The motet has one of Du Fay’s clear instances of word painting, when the word ‘successor’ is set in imitation between cantus and contratenor (measures 44–46). That this was probably deliberate is confirmed by the absence of imitation at the corresponding places in sections 2 and 3, and the elimination of the two minim figure when the imitation returns in section 4, which renders the imitation almost imperceptible.” (Planchart, “Du Fay, Guillaume,” 10).
55. Wright, “Dufay’s *Nuper rosarum flores*,” 429. Wright gives the original Italian in his footnote 62, cited from Ildefonso di San Luigi, ed., *Istorie di Giovanni Cambi cittadino fiorentino*, vol. 20 of *Delizie degli erudite Toscani* (Florence: Gaetano Cambiagi, 1785), 209–210.
56. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, personal communication, November 2006.

### Appendix I: Altieri, *Li Nuptiali*

1. “A term which Altieri discerns, somewhat tortuously, the old meaning of *arra sponsalicia*, a down payment on the marriage, and which he attributes, with some embarrassment, to the dowry itself as ‘a pledge for the future marriage.’” Klapisch-Zuber, 186, the footnote reads: Altieri, *Li nuptiali*, 53.

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