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

Lawrence Marshburn Earp

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Principal Readers for this Dissertation were Kenneth Levy and Margaret Bent
For my Mother and Father
ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

During my ten months abroad (1978/79), François Avril, conservateur in the Département des manuscrits at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, was very generous. I particularly thank Professor Doktor Ursula Günther of the Georg-August Universität, Göttingen, for her hospitality during my stay in Göttingen, and on other occasions in Paris.

Professor Margaret Bent took on the task of reading this dissertation in 1981, when it lay in a preliminary draft. Her generosity in lending me countless films and relevant researches, many not yet published, as well as
her critical comments, have saved me from many embarrassments and palpably improved the final product. Faults that remain are my own.

Lawrence Earp
Princeton, New Jersey
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS.

AcM. Acta musicologica. 1928-.

AMw. Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 1918-26; 1952-.

CM. Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 1947-.


CSM. Corpus scriptorum de musica. 1950-.

DAI. Dissertation Abstracts International.


HMT. Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie. 1972-.

JAMS. Journal of the American Musicological Society. 1948-.

Lo... Number in the Loange des dames (Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques).

MD. Musica disciplina. 1946-.

MF. Die Musikforschung. 1948-.

MG. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 1949-79.

MQ. Musical Quarterly. 1915-.


PMFC. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century. 1956-.


RBM. Revue belge de musicologie. 1946-.

RdM. Revue de musicologie. 1917-.


RISM. Répertoire internationale des sources musicales.


SIMG. Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft. 1899-1914.

ZMW. Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft. 1918-35.
Machaut's musical works are cited by the numbering of the edition of Friedrich Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke*. For those with more ready access to the edition of Schrade, the following table gives the differences.

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LIST OF MSS CITED

AUSTRIA


A-Wn 883. Vienna. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 883

A-Wn 3244. Vienna. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 3244

BELGIUM

B-Ba 758. Brussels. Archives du Royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques. MS 758
   (RISM, B IV2, 41-42)

B-Br 5557. Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 5557 (BrusBR 5557) (72, I/1, 92-93)

B-Br 19606. Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 19606 (Br; Brussels rotulus)
   (RISM, B IV2, 43-45)

SWITZERLAND

CH-BEsu A 95. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS A 95 (Machaut MS L)

CH-BEsu 218. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS 218 (Machaut MS K; CH-BEb 218)
   (RISM, B IV2, 52-53)

CH-BEsu A 421. Bern. Burgerbibliothek. MS A 421 (CH-BEb 421; BernA)
   (RISM, B IV2, 53-55)

CH-Fcu 260. Fribourg. Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire. MS Z 260
   (CH-Fc 260; Frib) (RISM, B IV2, 60-61)

   (Neuchâtel; formerly in the possession of Arthur Piaget)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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


D-BAs Lit. 115. Bamberg. Staatliche Bibliothek. MS Lit. 115 (Ba) (RISM, B IV1, 56-74)

D-DS 521. Darmstadt. Stadtbibliothek. MS 521

D-Mbs Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362

D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4775. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Mus. ms. 4775 (MiA) (RISM, B IV1, 87-93)

D-Nst III 25. Nuremberg. Stadtbibliothek. MS III, 25 (RISM, B IV2, 82-84)

D-W 677. Wolfenbüttel. Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmst. 628 (Heinemann catalogue 677) (W1) (RISM, B IV1, 97-171)

D-W 1206. Wolfenbüttel. Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmst. 1099 (Heinemann catalogue 1206) (W2) (RISM, B IV1, 171-205)

EAST GERMANY

D-Bds lat. 2o 49. Berlin(East). Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. MS lat. 2o 49

D-Ju 105. Jena. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Buder 4o 105

D-ROu 100. Rostock. Universitätsbibliothek. MS phil. 100/2 (RISM, B IV3, 383-84)

SPAIN

E-Bc 8. Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 8

E-Bc 853. Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS M 853 (E-Bcen 853; BarcA) (RISM, B IV2, 89-90)

E-BULh. Burgos. Monasterio de Las Huelgas. (Las Huelgas; Hu) (RISM, B IV1, 210-37)

E-E V.III.24. Escorial. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música. MS V.III.24 (EscA; EscSL V.III.24) (RISM, I/1, 212-13)

E-Mn 20486. Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. MS 20486 (Ma) (RISM, B IV1, 245-56)

E-Tc. Tarragona. Archivio Episcopal. (RISM, B IV2, 102-03)
FRANCE

F-APT 16bis. Apt. Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre. MS 16bis (Apt; AptSA 16bis) (RISM, B IV2, 104-15; RMS, I/1, 8)

F-AS 657. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 249 (trouvére chansonnier A; chansonnier d'Arras)

F-AS 897. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 587 (897)

F-AS 983. Arras. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 983 (766)

F-CA 6. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 6 (Ca 6; CambraiBM 6) (RMS, I, 121-22)

F-CA 11. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 11 (Ca 11; CambraiBM 11) (RMS, I, 122)

F-CA 1328. Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MS B.1328 (CaB) (RISM, B IV2, 119-28)

F-CF 249. Clermont-Ferrand. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 249

F-CH 485. Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Musée Condé. MS 485

F-CH 564. Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Musée Condé. MS 564 (Ch; ChantMC 564) (RISM, B IV2, 128-60; RMS, I/1, 147-48)

F-Dm 2837. Dijon. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 2837 (DijBM 2837) (RMS, I/1, 169)

F-La 134. Lille. Archives départementales du Nord. MS 134

F-MQ 196. Montpellier. Bibliothèque du Faculté de Médecine. MS H 196 (Mo) (RISM, B IV1, 272-369)

F-Pa 683. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS 683 (Machaut MS Ars)

F-Pa 3517-3518. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MSS 3517-3518 (ArsB; Gautier MS D) (RISM, B IV1, 371-73)

F-Pa 5203. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS 5203 (Machaut MS J)

F-Pn fr. 146. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 146 (Fauv; F-Pn 146) (RISM, B IV2, 163-72)

F-Pn fr. 167. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 167 (Historiated Bible of Jean le Bon)


(trouvère chansonnier N)

trouvère chansonnier O) (RISM, B IV1, 379-80)

F-Pn fr. 847. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 847
(trouvère chansonnier P)

F-Pn fr. 881. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 881 (Machaut
MS H)


F-Pn fr. 1109. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1109
(trouvère chansonnier Q)

F-Pn fr. 1149. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1149

F-Pn fr. 1584. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1584
(Machaut MS A) (RISM, B IV2, 174-78)

F-Pn fr. 1585. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1585
(Machaut MS B) (RISM, B IV2, 178-79)

F-Pn fr. 1586. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1586
(Machaut MS C) (RISM, B IV2, 179-82)

F-Pn fr. 1587. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1587
(Machaut MS D)

(trouvère chansonnier R)

F-Pn fr. 1595. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 1595

2165-2166

F-Pn fr. 2201. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 2201

F-Pn fr. 2230. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 2230
(Machaut MS R)

F-Pn fr. 9221. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 9221
(Machaut MS E) (RISM, B IV2, 182-92)

F-Pn fr. 9346. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 9346 (chans-
sonnier de Bayeux)

F-Pn fr. 12615. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds français 12615
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GB-Ob Douce 308. Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Douce 308 (trouvère chansonnier I; Oxford chansonnier)


ITALY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I-Moe 1.11. Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS a,M.1.11 (ModB; ModE M.1.11-2) (RMS, I/2, 166-67)

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

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


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


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

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

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

NETHERLANDS

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

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

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

POLAND


UNITED STATES


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


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

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


SWEDEN

S-Sk Vu 22. Stockholm. Kungliga Biblioteket. MS Vu 22 (Villon MS F)
LIST OF LETTER SIGLA

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

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Jard.  Le jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Retoricque.
Paris: Verard, [1501].

K.  CH-BEsu 218
M.  F-Pn fr. 843
W.  F-Pn fr. 844


No.  F-MO 196
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Chapter 1

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

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


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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

Only the destination of F-Pn fr. 9221 is known, see below, n. 224.
CONTEMPORARY MS TRADITIONS FOR MUSIC

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

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

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

Table 1.1 provides an overview of the full range of sources for the group of motets attributed to Vitry by Ernest Sanders, arranged according to Sanders' chronology.8

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

Ernest H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," JAMS, 28 (1975), 24-45, and "Vitry, Philippe de," New Grove. Sanders revises the tabulation of Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," MQ, 42 (1956), 352-54, and PMFC, Commentary to Volume I (hereafter: PMFC Commentary I), (Monaco, 1956), pp. 29-53, as well as the latest view of Besseler, "Vitry, Philippe de," MGG, XIII (1966); two of the motets counted by Schrade and Besseler are thrown out, while a further motet (No. 2 in Table 1.1 below), which Schrade considered "very likely" Philippe's, is more definitively attested by Sanders. Of the remaining motets, Besseler considered motet No. 9 in my Table 1.1 inauthentic on the basis of poor text accentuation, "Falsche Autornamen in den Handschriften Strassburg (Vitry) und Montecassino (Dufay)," AcM, 40 (1968), 201-02. The tabulation in Sanders' "Vitry, Philippe de," New Grove, XX, 27, lists reasons for attributions, although it leaves out some conflicting evidence. For instance, according to Jean Maillard and André Gilles, "Note sur trois motets fantômes de l'ars nova de Philippe de Vitry," RdM, 38 (1956), 150, "Vos quid/ Gratissima" is possibly cited in the I-Rvat Barb. 307 source of the Ars nova, which would call for a new dating of the motet before c. 1322/23. The main logical difficulty has been Besseler's assumption ("Studien-II," p. 192) that Vitry cited only his own works in the Ars nova (even after the publication of Besseler's "Studien-I" and "Studien-II," Ludwig regarded only Nos. 5, 8 and 11 in Table 1.1 as "die 3 bisher Philipp mit Sicherheit zuzuschreibenden Motetten": Musikalische Werke, II, 18a*, n. 1). The logical difficulties in attributing any work at all to Vitry are emphasized by Ludwig Finscher, "Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten': zum Problem Komponisten- Individualität und Individualstil in der Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, 6 (1975), 29-45. On Vitry, pp. 32-33 and 140; on Machaut, pp. 33-34 and 141. See also n. 21 below.
The *" indicates incomplete copying of a work. Only the triplum of motet No. 2 appears in F-Pn fr. 146, as the prosa "Carnalitas, luxuria," (Sanders, "The Early Motets," pp. 24ff; 31ff). Only the triplum text of motet No. 6, and only the motetus of motet No. 8 appears in D-Ju 105. Motet No. 9 is a later addition in B-Br 19606, and only the contratenor and a solus tenor were copied. Only the triplum text of motet No. 12 is transmitted by Paris, F-Pn lat. 3343, with the attribution "hunc motetum fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente." No musical source is known for motet No. 13.

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


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

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

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

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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motets</th>
<th>Music MSS</th>
<th>Theory citations</th>
<th>Text MSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Firmissime/Adesto Alleluya</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Floret/Florens Neuma</td>
<td>* x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Garrit gallus/In nova Neuma</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(b) x x x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tribum quem/Quoniam Merito</td>
<td>x x x</td>
<td>(c) x</td>
<td>(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Douce playsance/Garison</td>
<td>x o</td>
<td>x x x</td>
<td>(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuma quinti toni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Colla iugo/Bona condit</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
<td>x (f) x</td>
<td>* (g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libera me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tuba sacre/In arboris Virgo</td>
<td>x o</td>
<td>x x x x x</td>
<td>(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Cum statua/Hugo Magister</td>
<td>x x o</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A* (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Impudenter/Virtutibus</td>
<td>* x x x</td>
<td>A (j)</td>
<td>x (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma redemptoris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. O canenda/Rex quem Rex</td>
<td>x o x</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Vos quid/Gratissima</td>
<td>x x o x x</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaude gloria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Petre clemens/Lugentium</td>
<td>x o</td>
<td></td>
<td>A*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Phi millies/O creator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacet granum (ct.) Quam sufflabit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Table 1.1

(a) Text of triplum appears in D-DS 521 (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 751).
(b) Also appears in F-Pn pic. 67.
(c) Also appears in D-ROu 100 (motetus and texted tenor), and D-Mbs Kasten D IV ad (31), Clm 5362 (frag.).
(e) Also cited by Gace de La Buigne, with attribution (Le Roman des deduits, ed. A. Blomqvist [Karlshamn, 1951], p. 316).
(g) Texts appear in A-Wn 3244 and D-Bds lat. 20 49; A-KR 149 has the triplum only (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 18b*, n. 2).
(i) Cited by Jehan de le Mote in a ballade (F-Pn lat. 3343 and US-FHu Fr. 15), which seems to attribute the motet to Vitry.
(j) Also appears in NL-Lu 342a (triplum only); CH-BEsu A 421 (unique ct. only, incomplete).
(m) Also appears in CH-Fcu 260 (with attribution), and F-Pn n.a.l. 2444. Only the mot. and ten. survive in GB-DRc 20.

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

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

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

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


\textsuperscript{18}On the date of Vitry's Ars nova, see Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 55.

The index of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 contains a reference to another motet cited in the Ars nova, "Thoma tibi," No. 41 in the inventories of Besseler ("Studien-II," p. 237) and Wright (Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 152).
ticular, the French MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, which probably contained a part of
the repertory of the French Royal Court under Charles V, can be considered
an anthology of the musical output of the period stretching from before 1320
to 1375, comprising the active careers of both Vitry and Machaut.

The third layer in the transmission (Nos. 8-13 in Table 1.1), is a break
articulated not only by the musical sources (later MSS enter into the pic-
ture), but also by the different pattern of the theoretical citations.
Those works attributed in the anon. Quatuor principalia of c. 1351 fall into
this layer, as well as the group of works in the text MS F-Pn lat. 3343.
In general, the groupings of sources appear to uphold the broad outline of
Sanders' chronology.

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

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

19 Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, pp. 147-58.

20 The Quatuor principalia is dated c. 1380 by Cecily Sweeney. CSM,

21 One might place No. 11 nearer to No. 8. The absence of witnesses to
No. 2, the motet added by Sanders, both in the theoretical literature and in
non-musical MSS also seems unsatisfying. An important new work on chronol-
ogy and attribution is Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure," Chap. 1.
Bishop of Meaux in 1351. But one must recall the admonition of Nino Pirrotta:

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

And further:

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

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

Les clercs du roi sont, dans un sens général, tous les personnages qui sont entrés dans l'église pour acquérir l'instruction nécessaire à leur carrière et qui, à un titre ou à un autre, ont reçu du roi, soit directement, soit sur son intervention et sur sa recommandation auprès de l'autorité ecclésiastique, des revenus pour assurer leur existence. ... Les clercs du roi sont, pour la plupart, de formation juridique et leurs études doivent normalement durer environ neuf...
Les prêbendes canoniales, et l'épiscopat pour les meilleurs, sont la carrière normale des clercs du roi, la récompense habituelle de leurs services. S'ils restent dans l'administration après leur nomination, ils obtiennent des dispenses de résidence du pape. ... 

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

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

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


27 Table 1.2 omits the music in the complete-works Machaut MSS, as well as the musical works appearing in the MSS CH-BÉsu 218 [K], F-Pa 5203 [J], GB-Cmc 1594 [Pep], and US-NYpm 396 [Morg]. These literary MSS, not comparable with the musical anthologies, theory treatises, and text collections that concern us here, will be treated below. The only musical MSS discovered since Ludwig's edition that contain works
### TABLE 1.2

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Music MSS</th>
<th>Theory citations</th>
<th>Text MSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qui es/Ha Fortune Et non est</td>
<td>x x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amours/Faus Vidi Dominum</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martyrum/Diligenter A Christo</td>
<td>x o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biaute qui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De petit po</td>
<td>o A x x x x x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se quanqu'amours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il m'est avis</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Fortune</td>
<td>o x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honte, Paour</td>
<td>o x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une vipere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je puis trop bien</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De triste cuer (c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De toutes flours</td>
<td>o x x x x x x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploures dames (VD1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quant Theseus (VD7) Ne quier veoir</td>
<td>A x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gais e' iolis</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works</td>
<td>Music MSS</td>
<td>Theory citations</td>
<td>Text MSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B38 Phiton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B39 Mes esperis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem4 En amer a (ball.)</td>
<td>o x x x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem5 Dame de qui (ball.)</td>
<td>o x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R7  Se vous n'astes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x x x</td>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R9  Tant doucement (d)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R14 Ma fin est mon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R15 Certes, mon oeuil (e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R17 Dix et sept</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20 Douce dame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Ite missa est (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSS F-11a 134</th>
<th></th>
<th>F-14a 69a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L3  Pour ce qu'on</td>
<td>x (g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L10 Amis t'amour</td>
<td></td>
<td>x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L11 Se quanque dieus</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L12 Un mortel lay</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 15 -
Notes to Table 1.2

(a) The MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 contained a total of perhaps nine Machaut motets, six of which have no further concordances outside the main MSS, and were thus omitted from the Table: "Fons/ O livoris/ Fera" [M9], "Hareu/ Helas/ Obedians" [M10] "Maugre/ De ma/ Quia" [M14], "Las/ Se i'aim/ Pourquoi" [M16], "Trop/ Biaute/ Je ne suis" [M20], and perhaps "Felix/ Inviolata/ Ad te" [M23] (only "Inviolant" appears in the index; Ludwig (Musikalische Werke, II, 20a*) and Besseler ("Studien-II," p. 238) suggested that the reference may have been to M23, although this was rejected by Schrade, PMFC, Commentary to Volumes II and III (Monaco, 1956), p. 50.

(b) B18 also appears in D-Nst III 25.

(c) All three texts "De triste/Quant vrais/Certes" in US-PHu Fr. 15; only "De triste" in Jard.

(d) R9 is also transmitted with music in GB-Cmc 1594, a MS containing the Remede, in lieu of "Dame mon cuer" [Rem7] (see n. 504 below).

(e) A category omitted from the Table is the use of Machaut poems as examples in treatises of the seconde rhétorique. See below, pp. 45-47.

(f) A concordance for the Machaut Mass in a lost MS was pointed out to me by Professor Lawrence Gushee of the University of Illinois, who kindly gave me permission to use it here. See Leopold Devillers, Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut, Tome 6, pt. 1 (Brussels, 1896), 630: "Et ung grant livre de chant, couvert de cuir vert à ii clowans de laiton, commenchant par une table: la messe de Machault, la messe Vaillant, la messe Rouillart, et fine: le Firmament qui long tamps a esté, tout notté." The reference is from a list of books borrowed 16 Feb. 1431 (N.S.) by Marguerite of Burgundy from the château de Quétsnoy. A MS of a comparable sort does not exist for this period. Of course, no Mass of Vaillant or "Rouillart" is extant. Michael Long, of the Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, suggested that this latter composer may be the Philippus Royllart cited by F-Sm 222 as the composer of the motet "Rex Karole/ Leticie pacis" (ed. Günther, CMM, XXXIX, 17-22, and Harrison, PMFC, V, 141-48); Günther (p. XXX) dates the motet 1375. Royllart's motet was copied in 1423 or 1424 for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch, see A. Smijers, "De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. II. Rekeningen van Sint Jan 1399 tot Sint Jan 1425," Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis, 12 (1926), 59.

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

The texts of many of Machaut's chansons for which he provided music also circulated without their music, attesting to his reputation as a poet. Lyrics appear in text chansonniers dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (see the third large column of Table 1.2). Text MSS contain of Machaut are D-Nst III 25, F-La 134, and NL-Uu 37. As in Table 1.1, an "o" indicates the presence of a work in the index of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, and "A" indicates attribution in the source. The "2" in the col. for B38 Phiton indicates that the work appears twice in the index (one of these citations may refer to the ballade "Phiton" by Magister Franciscus in F-CH 564, fol. 20v and F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 56r).

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

29 GB-Lwa 21 contains another ballade text of Machaut ("J'aim mieux" [B7]), omitted from the table because it appears singly, without further concordances. For the text chansonnier US-PHu Fr. 15, see Charles Roswell Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonnier, a Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary," (Diss. Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind. 1972). This MS contains the texts of a large selection of Machaut's lyrical poetry: sixty lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais that appear in the music sections of the main MSS, and forty-eight lyrics that appear in the Loange or Voir Dit. Concordances for the many lyrical poems that Machaut never set to music in these and other text MSS is given by La Louange des dames, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 26-43. The only text of Machaut known to have been set by another composer (Machaut never set it to music) is Lol40, "Biauté parfaite et bonté souveraine," preserved in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 46v, and I-Moe 5.24, fol. 14r (Anthonello da Caserca), ed. Willi Apel, CMM, LIII/1, 5-6.
taining motets that have been attributed to Vitry are of a different character, miscellanies belonging to students (see Table 1.1, p. 6 above). Perhaps the enduring capacity of some of these motet texts can be considered as testimony to their authority, and strengthens the case for attribution to Vitry. An exception to this kind of transmission is the single lyrical poem attributed to Vitry, the ballade "De terre en Grec Gaulle apelle," which has a concordance in a text chansonnier of a normal sort, US-PHu Fr. 15. Further indications of the diffusion of Machaut's chansons are the anonymous chansons parodying the text and music of his ballades, including B15, 23 and 38. Some Machaut chanson texts were imitated in lyrics by Froissart, and in lyrics set to music by Philippus da Caserta.


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

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

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

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


34 The similar treatises include the Wrocław anon. (Johannes Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts," AMw, 1 [1919], 329-45), and the Melk anon. (Anonymus Tractatus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, CSM, XVI [1971]). The Compendium totius artis motetorum or Erfurt anon. (Johannes Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars nova,'" Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 21 [1908], 33-38) cites earlier works (primarily motets), although there are two concordances between the Wrocław and the Erfurt anony. The many Latin titles cited by these German treatises, including many pieces that cannot be traced, recall the Latin contrafacta of known French chansons that the burned MS F-Sm 222 contained. For instance, Machaut's B23 appeared in F-Sm 222 with the contrafact text "Rubus ardens." Possibly some of the untraced Latin citations in the Wrocław anon. include untraced contrafacta of well-known French chansons. A clear case of this is the identification of the French ballade "A discort" with the contrafact text "Virginem mire pulchritudinis" (identified by Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele," p. 240, n. 10). However, some of the Latin texts are undoubtedly works of Central European origin, see Tom R. Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274," in Early Music History I: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 325-43.
cite only those works that had already appeared as exempla in Vitry's own Ars nova, except in isolated instances. It is therefore possible that Vitry's prestige as a teacher and authority led to the large number of citations by later theorists of those works that he had cited as exempla in his lectures (which of course indicates nothing about attribution).

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

41 Some of Vitry's associates are known from F-Pn lat. 3343; see the two articles of Pognon cited above, n. 8. He remained in favorable repute into the fifteenth century. Deschamps mentioned Vitry (Ball. 1474, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, ed. G. Raynaud, VIII [Paris, 1893], 178), and the anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique (between 1411 and 1432, ed. E. Langlois, Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique [Paris, 1902], p. 12) gives a very detailed and authoritative account of his accomplishments (quoted below, p. 46). In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Pierre d'Ailli (1350-1420), bishop of Cambrai, parodied Vitry's Dit de Franc Gontier. Printed editions of 1490 (and 1591!) transmit the two texts, side by side, and both poems are attributed. Vitry's dit is ed. M. Löpelmann, Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (Göttingen, 1923), No. 40, pp. 56-58; d'Ailli's parody is No. 39, pp. 54-56. At the end of the fifteenth century, Villon made a debased parody of Vitry's dit in the Testament, vv. 1473-1506, in a ballade entitled "Les Contredis de Franc Gontier." The poem is reproduced with discussion of Vitry and d'Ailly in Pierre Champion, François Villon: sa vie et son temps (Paris, 1913; rpt. 1967), II, 56-60. Vitry's poem is also discussed in J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), pp. 117-18 (see also pp. 118-19 for imitations by
the lyrical texts of the works of Machaut are most often not topical and polemical enough (with the exception of some of the complaintes) to permit speculation as to the author and the circumstances that occasioned them.

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

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

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

42 The best discussion of the transmission of Adam’s musical works, though over seventy years old, has only recently been published: Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 467-71. In the following, single-letter sigla are from Schwan, Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften (Berlin, 1886). MSS with ordered groups of Adam’s chansons include W (F-Pn fr. 25566), W′ (an independent quaternion bound onto the beginning of MS W); P (F-Pn fr. 847; the final fascicle has the first fourteen chansons in the same order as W and W′); T (F-Pn fr. 12615 [Noailles], final fascicle, a completely independent
One MS, F-Pn fr. 25566 [W], contains a complete collection of the works of Adam, in a rational order organized by genre. However, a MS consisting solely of the works of a single trouvère was not desired by the compiler; the miscellaneous character of the rest of MS W contrasts sharply with the uniform appearance of the MSS that transmit only Machaut's works. W contains about thirty items besides Adam's complete works, including the well-known bestiary of Richart de Fournival and the Renart le nouvel (dated 1289) of Jacquemart Gielée de Lille, copied in W with music for the refrains.

Closer examination of the structure of W indicates that its contents were not originally quite as miscellaneous. The MS was executed in two stages. As first planned, the end of Renart le nouvel (fol. 177) was to be the end section. see Repertorium, I, 1, 286); Q (F-Pn fr. 1109, music fascicle); a (I-Rvat Reg. 1490, twenty chansons in a row); A (F-AS 657, comparable to MS a, but incomplete at ends of groups due to gaps in the MS); R (F-Pn fr. 1591). For the texts of the chansons, the critical edition of J. H. Marshall, The Chansons of Adam de la Halle (Manchester, 1971) is preferable to the texts in the edition of Nigel Wilkins, The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle, CHM, XLIV (1967), which is based on a single MS. Further reference to the MSS transmitting groups of Adam's chansons is John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1981), pp. 29-64.

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

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

Ludwig, "Quellen," pp. 217-18 (Item No. 25). For musical concordances for the refrains in Renart, see Maria Vedder Fowler, "Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives" (Diss. Yale University 1979), Table 15, pp. 103-04 (pp. 336-37); pp. 263-69 for more information, notes pp. 331-35, transcriptions pp. 464-91.
of the MS. This would have encompassed the works of Adam as well as the other works with lyrical-musical interpolations, and suggests that the inclusion of music was a major factor in the original planning and disposition of the contents of W. Slightly later, a new series of works was added. None of the works in this second series involve the copying of music. Even with this adjustment, however, the original anthology would have included seven items besides the collection of the works of Adam.

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

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

171v: no catchword
172
173
174
175 r: full-page painting, v: blank
176
177 r: Renart expl., v: blank(*)
178 r: blank, v: full-page painting
179 new beginning: Les Quatre Evangelistes
180
181

(*) except catchword: "Chi 9mce des iiij Euñgelistes."

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

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

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

COMPONENTS OF MACHAUT'S COMPLETE-WORKS MSS

To list the contents of the collected-works MSS of Machaut is to catalogue every genre cultivated by fourteenth-century poets and musicians. The largest-scale works are the narrative poems, called "dits" by Machaut, the longest of them written in the traditional octosyllabic rhyming couplets.

Examples are the Dit dou Vergier, the Dit dou Lyon (dated April 2, 1342 in


** For a discussion of what is meant by the term "dit" in the fourteenth century, see Jean Froissart: "Dits" et "Débats", ed. A. Fourrier (Geneva, 1979), pp. 12-22. Discussions of literary aspects of Machaut's poetry may be found in the introductions to the editions of Hoepffner, Oeuvres, and Chichmaref, Poesies lyriques, and in some recent books: Poirion, Le poète; William Calin, A Poet at the Fountain: Essays on the Narrative Verse of Guillaume de Machaut (Lexington, Ky., 1974); Douglas Kelly, Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love (Madison, Wisc., 1978); Kevin Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity: The Example of the Dits amoureux" (Diss. Princeton 1979, to be published soon).
11. 32-33), and the Dit de l'Alerion.

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

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

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

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

Voir Dit (ca. 8750 vv.) is ed. Paulin Paris, Le Livre du Voir Dit (Paris, 1875; rpt. Geneva, 1969). The forty-five prose letters are not included in the verse count. An error in Paris' verse count was rectified by Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 167, n. 1. The actual number of lines is still uncertain, because Paris occasionally left out groups of lines.
Two of Machaut's works belong to the tradition of the love-debate, the 
*Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* (datable before 1346, the year in which the 
dedicatee died), and the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* (dated November 9, 1349 
in 11. 24-25).

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

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

Machaut thus carried on the tradition of the trouvère debate-poem, 
the *jeux-parti*, although this was a much more modest form. See *Oeuvres*, I, 
1x.

*Behaingne* (2079 vv., ed. *Oeuvres*, I, 57-135) is the only larger dit 
that is not written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. It is composed of 
four-line stanzas in the pattern a10a10a10a10b4 -- b10b10b10b10c4 -- 
c10c10c10c10d4, etc. (masc. or fem. rhymes). On imitations of *Behaingne*, 
Machaut's most popular dit if the number of extant sources is a fair cri­
terion for judgement, see n. 86 below. *Navarre* (4212 vv.) is ed. *Oeuvres*, 
I, 137-282. Some MSS append the *Lay de plour* [L22], with its music, onto 
the end of Navarre. Text ed. *Oeuvres*, I, 283-91, and *Poesies lyriques*, II, 
recent article on Machaut and Charles of Navarre is Jacques Chailley, "Du 
cheval de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles II de Navarre," *Romania*, 94 (1973), 
251-58. See also the final section of the paper by U. Günther, "Contribution 
de la musicologie à la biographie et à la chronologie de 
Guillaume de Machaut," in *Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque-Table ronde 

*The Confort* (4004 vv.) is ed. *Oeuvres*, III, 1-142. The *Prise* (8886 
vv.), is ed. *Mas Latrie, La Prise d'Alexandrie* (Geneva, 1877). Three prose 
letters are not included in the verse count. An error in *Mas Latrie's* verse 
count is rectified by Calin, *A Poet at the Fountain*, p. 203, n. 1.
Finally, there are four shorter narrative poems, the Dit de la Harpe, the Dit de la Marguerite (datable c. 1366 on historical grounds), the Dit de la Rose, and the Dit de la Fleur de lis et de la Marguerite (datable 1369, for the marriage of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders).  

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

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

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59 The collection of lyrics not set to music in MS F-G has the rubric Ci commence la loange des dames (fol. 45r). The editors of Machaut's works have applied this name to the comparable text collections of chansons in the other MSS. The collection is ed. Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques, and Wilkins, La Louange des dames.
Last among the lyrical works is the short "Vez ci les biens que ma dame me fait/ pour amender moy m'on neur et mon fait," in which all lines have the same rhyme.\textsuperscript{60} It is not placed in the Loange, but is tacked onto the end of the text section of MS A. It may have been composed quite soon before its inclusion in the MS, since it is not in the index of MS A.\textsuperscript{61}

Finally, late collections of Machaut's poetry and music are introduced by a Prologue, which consists of lyrical poetry followed by a short narrative section.\textsuperscript{62}

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

\textsuperscript{60} Les biens (64 vv., hexasyllabic lines) is ed. by Chichmaref, Poesies lyriques, I, 273-75.

\textsuperscript{61} In the later MS F-G, it occurs towards, but not at, the end of the text section.

\textsuperscript{62} Four ballades (the first pair 27 vv. each, the second pair 30 vv. each) make up the section of lyrical poetry; 184 vv. in rhyming couplets follow. The complete work is ed. Poésies lyriques, I, 3-13, and Œuvres, I, 1-12.

\textsuperscript{63} There are two complete scholarly eds. of the musical works, Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke, 3 vols. ed. Friedrich Ludwig (Leipzig, 1926-29); Vol. IV ed. Heinrich Besseler from the Ludwig Nachlass (Leipzig, 1954), and The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, ed. Leo Schrade, PMFC, II-III.
CATEGORIES OF MACHAUT MSS: THE COMPLETE TRADITION

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

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

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

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


66 The question of what form Machaut's "supervision" might have taken and what this could realistically mean for a medieval MS has not been considered. We will attempt to deal with this problem in subsequent chapters.
their relative popularity in the entire contemporary repertory. For example, because no MSS containing lais and virelais outside the Machaut MSS were known to Schrade except for a single lai in a rotulus, he thought Machaut's contemporaries were "indifferent" towards the virelais and lais:

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

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

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

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

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

Further discussion of the Voir Dit will be found below, Chap. 4.


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


The French MSS (Trem [F-Pn n.a.f. 23190], CaB [F-CA 1328], Ch [F-CH 564], Fr [CH-Fcu 260] and Maggs, pp. 39-46) are separated from the Italian MSS (R [F-Pn n.a.f. 6771], PadA [I-Pu 1475 and GB-Ob 229], Mod [I-MOe 5.24] Fl [F-Pn 26], P [F-Pn it. 568] and Faenza [I-FZc 117], pp. 46-52), and from "other" MSS, both from Strasbourg (Pr [CS-Pu XI E 9] and Str [F-Sm 222],...
A more comprehensive breakdown of the Machaut sources is offered below to illustrate the various ways in which both music and poetry circulated in the fourteenth century. To the text MSS listed by Ludwig and Schrade, seven extant sources have been added, as well as nine references to specific lost MSS.

1. MSS CONTAINING THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MACHAUT: DITS, LYRICAL POETRY, AND MUSIC.

   a) Containing both texts and music.

      i) F·G. F·Pn fr. 22545-22546.
      ii) A. F·Pn fr. 1584.
      iii) E. F·Pn fr. 9221.
      iv) Vg. New York, Wildenstein Galleries, without shelfmark.
      v) B. F·Pn fr. 1585.
      vi) C. F·Pn 1586.
      vii) [Savoy]. Untraced "roman" given to Amadeus VI, for which Machaut was given 300 francs d'or.

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

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

viii) [Burgl]. Lost MS.\textsuperscript{76}

ix) [Aragon]. Untraced MS.\textsuperscript{77}

b) Containing texts only.

i) M. F-Pn fr. 843.

ii) D. F-Pn fr. 1587.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{77} See the 1417 inventory of the books of Alfonso V at Valencia published by Ramon d'Alòs, "Documenti per la storia della biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo," Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, V (Rome, 1924), 397, No. 17. The presence of music is not indicated, only that the MS began with the Loange ("ci commencent les balades ou il na punt de chant") and ended with the Prixe. I would identify this book with the Machaut MS owned by Juan I of Aragon (r. 1387-96), a great amateur of poetry and music. In 1380, Juan married Yolande de Bar, whose father, Robert, duc de Bar, visited Machaut during the composition of the Voir Dit (Letter XXXV, Paris ed., p. 262). Yolande asked the duchess of Bar (sister of Charles V) for "1o romanç de Mexaut" (probably the Voir Dit) in 1380 (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 32a\textsuperscript{b}b*), and in 1387 Yolande thanked the Count of Foix for "1o libre molt belle bo de Guillem de Maixaut" (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 32a-b\textsuperscript{a}). For more on Juan I of Aragon, see U. Günther, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior," AMW, 21 (1964), 172-73 and nn. 1-10, and U. Günther, "Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix," MD, 19 (1965), 71-73. Further, it is not inconceivable that this gift MS of 1387 was Vg. A possibly dubious link between Vg and Foix is the partially effaced or incomplete motto noted by Ludwig (Musikalische Werke, II, 10a\textsuperscript{a}): "J'ai belle dame assouvie / t. . . ." "J'ai belle dame" was the motto taken by Jean de Grailli, Count of Foix (r. 1412 [N.S.]-1436).
iii) [Burg4]. Lost MS.  

iv) [Dunois]. Untraced MS owned by Jean, the Bastard of Orléans, Count of Dunois (1403-68). (Not known if it contained music.)  

v) [Turquan]. Untraced MS.  

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

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

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

80 Michael Long supplied this reference from the unpublished library inventory of Turquan (1519) in A. H. Schutz, "Gleanings from Parisian Private Libraries of the Early Renaissance (1494-1558)," Romance Philology, 5 (1951), 29. The reference is not specific enough to attach it to an extant MS, but it appears that the MS, whether extant or lost, contained music: Machaut's Prise d'Alexandrie "avecques plusieurs aultres livres, ballades et chansons." The comment on p. 34 of this article ("... the verse of Machaut and Christine [de Pizan] is found in the collection of a certain Louis de Bruges, a noble"), refers not to the above item, but to MS A, which in 1519 was already at Blois with the rest of the library of Louis de Bruges (see n. 135 below). The Pizan MS, copied for Isabeau de Bavière, is now GB-Lbl Harl. 4431.
been placed in the 1390s on art-historical evidence.\textsuperscript{11}

The identification of [Burg4] in inventories as "Le livre du Temps Pastour [sic] et plusieurs Balades et Laiz" is further testimony to the popularity of Behaingne, which was sometimes known as Le Temps Pascour from the first line of the poem, "Au temps pascour que toutes riens n’esgaie."\textsuperscript{12} [Burg4] contained the poetical texts of Machaut at the stage of about 1361, the date of Fonteinne. This disposition suggests an interesting possibility. Such a MS could well have formed the first half, containing only the texts, of a Machaut MS completed by a second volume containing motés et chansons notées, not otherwise distinguished as a book of Machaut in early inventories. The present state of MS Vg confirms this as a possibility: Fonteinne in Vg is the penultimate dit of the text portion of the MS, which closes with the short Harpe, taking up approximately the last two folios of the gathering. The first folio of the music section of Vg, opening as usual with the lais, appears dirty and worn, suggesting that Vg was once bound as two separate volumes. The practical advantages of such a layout (cf. n. 7 above) are great: one volume with texts and miniatures, a second volume with the music.

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

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

\textsuperscript{11} See Chap. 2.

\textsuperscript{12} For example, this is the heading in Vg(8). (The opening rubrics of the important MSS are listed in Appendix C below, section on Behaingne.) This title apparently became even more popular than Machaut's original title. "Le Temps Pasquour" is cited as if everyone would immediately know the reference ("Une autre taille avons qui est de 3 et 1, sy comme le Temps Pasquour. . .") in the Anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique, ed. E. Langlois, p. 33.
i)  Morg. US-NYpm 396.**

ii)  K. CH-BEsu 218 (contains music for the two ballades in the Remede).

iii) J. F-Pa 5203 (empty staves or space for staves for the two ballades of the Remede).**

b) Containing texts only.

i)  H. F-Pn fr. 881.

ii)  [Burg3]. Lost MS.**

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

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

** Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 40*-41*, Burgundian MS No. 3; Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 146, No. 35. This MS can be traced as far as 1797 (Marchand, Catalogue des manuscrits, p. cclxiv, Viglius No. 199). It began with the Loange; the beginning of the last folio ("dont j'ay en ce roman traittie") is unidentified.
In these collections, the order of the portion containing Machaut's works corresponds to the authoritative order of one or more of the main MSS. But the category is ambiguous: individual examination is necessary to determine whether the non-Machaut works were included as part of the MS from the outset, or whether a fragment of an originally larger Machaut MS was subsequently bound with other fragments to form a miscellany. MSS H and [Burg3] are possibly such miscellanies. The others, Horg, K, and J, are integral sources.

For two of the MSS in this category, there are some problems of attribution. Several works in MSS K and J that appear in none of the extant MSS in category 1. above have been edited as if they were works of Machaut. 16

3. ANTHOLOGIES OF WORKS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS, WITH ISOLATED WORKS BY MACHAUT, ALMOST ALWAYS ANONYMOUSLY TRANSMITTED. 17

a) Containing both narrative poems and lyrical poetry.

i) Stockh. S-Sk Vu 22. Contains Behaingne, H8 and R7, all with attribution. 18

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

17 The seven MSS listed as 3a) ii) and iv), and as 3b) iii), iv), viii), and ix) are briefly discus by Ludwig in Musikalische Werke, II, 7*, n. 2.

ii) R. F-Pn fr. 2230. Contains Behaingne, "Jugement d'amours" (anon.) among works of Alain Chartier.

iii) F-Pn fr. 20026. Contains Behaingne, "Jugement d'amours" (anon.) among works of Alain Chartier.

iv) F-CF 249. Contains Harpe (anon.).

v) I. F-Pn n.a.f. 6221. Includes several ballades of Machaut (all anon.).

vi) Westm. GB-Lwa 21. Includes many ballades (all anon.).


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

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


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

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

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

b) Containing narrative poems only.

i) F-Pn fr. 1149. Contains Behaingne (anon.).

ii) F-Pn fr. 1595. Contains Behaingne (frag., anon.).

iii) P. F-Pn fr. 2165-2166. Contains Behaingne (anon.).

iv) F-AS 897 (anc. 587). Contains Behaingne (anon.).

v) US-NYhpk (formerly Phillipps 6740). Contains Behaingne (anon.).

vi) [Lion]. Lost MS of Lion.


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


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

** See Elisabeth Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza duces de Milan, au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1955), p. 271, Item A. 889 (inventory of 1426): "Liber unus in gallico in versibus parvi et grossi voluminis qui incipit: Quant la ceson diver decline et finitur: mon bien ma pars ma souffisance et est cum assidibus et copertura corii nigri." I am indebted to Michael P. Long for this reference. The explicit has not been identified; it is apparently not a work of Machaut.
vii) L. CH-BEsu A 95. Contains Confort (with attribution, fragment).\textsuperscript{100}

viii) F-Pn fr. 994. Contains Confort (anon.).\textsuperscript{101}

ix) F-CH 485. Contains Confort (anon.).

c) Containing lyrical poetry.

i) F-Pn fr. 2201. Contains L10 (anon.) as "Complainte d'amour."\textsuperscript{102}

ii) Pen. US-PHu Fr. 15. Contains rondeaux, virelais, ballades, chansons royales, and complaints (all anon.).\textsuperscript{103}

iii) CH-LAcu 350. Contains several ballades of the Loange, none of which were ever set to music (all anon.).\textsuperscript{104}

iv) E-Bc 8. Contains fragments (all anon.).\textsuperscript{105}

d) Musical anthologies (listed in Table 1.2 above, pp. 14 ff).

\textsuperscript{100} Hoepffner, Oeuvres, III, xix, mentions this and the following two MSS containing the Confort.

\textsuperscript{101} L. Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, I (Paris, 1868), 479, Item 1849.

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


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

\textsuperscript{105} Includes the first strophe of Lo220, and the end of Complainte 5, among the works of Oton de Granson. Ed. Amédée Pâges, La Poesie française en Catalogne, pp. 173-244.
Anthologies of various genres by various authors, often anonymous, form a primary link in the transmission of both poetry (narrative and lyrical) and music in late fourteenth century France, and this channel continued through the fifteenth century. For authors such as Oton de Grandson and Alain Chartier, who did not insure that their oeuvre would remain intact by the preparation of large complete MSS, this is the primary channel by which works were transmitted. Chartier's works remained so popular that a printed edition of his "complete works" was prepared posthumously. But since it reproduced the works in MSS of the present category, many spurious works (among them Machaut's L10) were included. Items ii), iii) and vii) in 3a) place works of Machaut with works of Alain Chartier. Items i) ii) iii) and iv) in 3c) place Machaut among works of Oton de Grandson (who in turn was not recognized and confused with Chartier). The largely anonymous transmission in musical anthologies (category 3d) is discussed above in connection with Table 1.2.

4. MSS TRANSMITTING INDIVIDUAL WORKS.

a) Containing a single narrative poem.

i) Pep. GB-Cmc 1594. Originally contained the Remede only. An unidentified second work by another scribe was later bound on.106

ii) D-Bk 78 C 2. Contains Lion (anon.).107

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

iii) \([\text{Fonteinne}]. \text{Lost MS of the Fonteinne }("\text{Morpheus})\).\textsuperscript{118}

iv) \([\text{Voir Dit}1]. \text{Lost MS of the Voir Dit, taken in 1375(?) by Eustache Deschamps to Louis de Male, Count of Flanders}\).\textsuperscript{108}

v) \([\text{Voir Dit}2]. \text{Lost MS, probably of the Voir Dit, given by the duchess of Bar (sister of Charles V) to Juan I of Aragon in 1380}\).\textsuperscript{110}

vi) \([\text{Burg}5]. \text{Lost paper MS of Prise}\).\textsuperscript{111}

b) \text{Containing lyrical poetry, with or without music.}

i) \([\text{F-La} 134]. \text{Contains L3 (anon.) with music}\).\textsuperscript{112}

ii) \([\text{Maggs. Rotulus, present whereabouts unknown. Contains fragment of }"\text{Un mortel lay}" [L12 Le lay mortel], with music (anon.)]\).\textsuperscript{113}

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

\textsuperscript{118} \text{Referred to in the Voir Dit, Paris ed., p. 53 (letter VI), and p. 69 (letter X).}

\textsuperscript{108} \text{See Raynaud, ed. \textit{Oeuvres complètes d’Eustache Deschamps}, XI (Paris, 1903), 22 and 224, in reference to Ball. 127 (Oeuvres...Deschamps, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, I [Paris, 1878], 248-49). Raynaud thus rejects the possibility mentioned by Saint-Hilaire (Vol. I, 377), that the ballade may have been written for the marriage of Philippe the Bold and Margaret of Flanders (19 June 1369). In the ballade, Deschamps says he read the passage on Fortune before Louis de Male and many knights. This is of interest because MSS K and J contain only this passage excerpted from the Voir Dit (cf. Ludwig, \textit{Musikalische Werke}, II, 14a*-b* and n. 3). Wright, \textit{Music at the Court of Burgundy}, p. 22, and p. 147, n. 6, is in error in asserting that a copy of the Voir Dit would necessarily have included music for the lyrical interpolations. For other references in Deschamps to Machaut, see Ludwig, \textit{Musikalische Werke}, II, 17b*, n. 1, and Poirion, \textit{Le poète}, pp. 225-26.

\textsuperscript{112} \text{Described by David Fallows, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Lai," pp. 477-83.}

\textsuperscript{118} \text{See n. 77 above. Juan I or Yolande thus may have owned Vg, as well as a separate MS of the Voir Dit, lacking in Vg.}

\textsuperscript{111} \text{Ludwig, \textit{Musikalische Werke}, II, 41a*.}

\textsuperscript{113} \text{See n. 67 above.}
iii) Ars. F-Pa 683. Fragment, contains three lais.

iv) [Burg6]. Untraced MS that opened with "Aus amans pour exemplaire" [L4].

v) [several lost MSS]. References in the Voir Dit to such transmission at the court.

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

5. TREATISES THAT CITE WORKS OF MACHAUT AS EXAMPLES.

a) Rhetorical treatises.

i) Eustache Deschamps, L'art de dictier (1392).

ii) Anon. Règles de la seconde rhétorique (between 1411 and 1432).

iii) Baudet Herenc, Le doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique (1432).

b) Musical treatises.

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


117 Ed. Langlois, Recueil, pp. 11-103.

118 Ed. Langlois, Recueil, pp. 104-98.
The rhetorical treatises that cite Machaut's poetry attest to the continued viability of his verses long after his death. Perhaps by chance, all of the examples are works that were set to music by Machaut. Deschamps, who may have been Machaut's pupil, cited "Vos doulz" [R8] and "Certes mon oueil" [R15] in their entirety as examples of rondeaux. No specific comment accompanies the works, and no attribution was supplied. R15 is transmitted in the text chansonniers US-PHu Fr. 15 and Jard, but R8 is otherwise known only from the music sections of the main Machaut MSS. The passing mention, also without attribution to Machaut, in the anon. **Règles** (between 1411 and 1432) of the narrative poem **Behaingne** (as "Au temps pascour") is mentioned above, nn. 82 and 86. In his oft-cited introductory remarks, the author places Machaut right after Vitry:


**Après vint maistre Guillaume de Machault, le grant retthorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les par-fais lays d'amours.**

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

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119 Ed. given in n. 10 above.

120 Ed. given in n. 33 above.

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

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

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

123 The hypothesis of W. Frobenius, "Prolatio," HNT (1972), p. 4a, that some Fauvel motets notated with unsigned semibreves were conceived as works in minor prolation, later changed to major prolation when stems were added, needs further study; cf. Long, "Musical Tastes," p. 74, n. 131.
It will be seen that the physical structure of some of the larger MSS mirrors the separable nature of individual narrative poems.

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

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

... indes sind gerade in der französischen Ueberlieferung die Handschriften immerhin ganz zahlreich, in denen Dichtung, Musik und Bildschmuck gleichmassig sorgfältig bedacht sind und so die oft wundervollen kleinen Gesamtkunstwerke entstehen, die für das 13. und 14. Jahrhundert so characteristisch sind. 12a

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

Chapter 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MSS

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

Il existait donc du vivant même du poète des manuscrits qui ne contenaient qu’une partie de ses œuvres, partie plus ou moins considérable selon l'époque où ils furent écrits; d'après l'état plus ou moins avancé de l'original de Guillaume. Ces copies présentaient les œuvres de Machaut dans les différentes phases de leur développement, et les manuscrits que nous possédons encore aujourd'hui reproduisent en quelque sorte quelques-unes au moins de ces étapes dans le progrès de l'œuvre du poète. ¹²¹

Hoepffner's conclusions about the relationships between the MSS were based only on the works in Vol. I of his edition. ¹²² His promise of a complete study of the MSS, and of Machaut's orthography and language was never fulfilled, and there is still no thoroughgoing study of these aspects of Machaut's poetry by a competent philologist. ¹²³ Ludwig, in the commentary volume to his edition of the musical works, accepted the notion of a basic

¹²¹ Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, xlix. He also argued that the complete-works MSS of the poetry of Machaut's younger contemporary Froissart were arranged chronologically, see Hoepffner, "La chronologie des 'Pastourelles' de Froissart," in Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot, II (Paris, 1913), 27-42.

¹²² Oeuvres, I, xlv. The first volume comprises the Prologue, Vergier, Behaigne, Navarre, and the Lay de plour.

¹²³ Oeuvres, I, xlv and li. It is to be hoped that the gap will be filled by the long-awaited new edition by Paul Imbs of the Voir Dit (although this poem appears only in MSS A, E, and F-G). A modern lexicographical study is Gilles Roques and Noël Musso, "Etude du vocabulaire de Guillaume de Machaut: Projet d'un lexique de ses œuvres," in Études de syntaxe du moyen français, ed. Robert Martin (Metz, 1978), 189-92.
corpus of works, gradually augmented by additional works in later MSS. 121

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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


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

¹³³ The research of François Avril will be discussed below.
"here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have") is significant is well known. However, a close examination of the index and the order it specifies raises several questions about the compilation of the codex. Finally, the physical makeup of MS A is extraordinarily varied, and several questions of MS structure can be raised based on this MS.

The Index

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

134 Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 9a*

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

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

 Folio numbers have been changed to their Arabic equivalents and placed in even columns. Where the folio number does not correspond to the recto or verso of the indicated number, the correct folio number is given in brackets. All abbreviations have been expanded. The spaces between individual series of items represent the extent of these spaces in the codex itself. Musical works are identified according to their number in Ludwig, Musikalische Werke.
Vesci l'ordonance que
.G. de machau wet
qu'il ait en son livre
Premiers
Le dit dou vergier .1.
Le jugement dou roy de beheingne .10.
Le jugement dou roy de navarre .23.
Remede de fortune .50.
Le dit dou lyon .81.
Le dit de l'alario .97.
Confort d'amyr .127.
La fonteinne amoureuse .154.
Le dit de la harpe .174.
Les balades ou il n'a point de chant .178.
Les chansons roiaus et les complaintes .215.
Le dit de la marguerite .214. Le voir dit
La prise d'alexandre .309. (221)
Le dit de la rose .366.
Ci commencent les lays
Loyaute que point ne delay .367. [Ludwig ed.]
J'aim la flour .370. L1
Pour ce qu'on puist mieux retraire .371 L2
Aus amans pour exemplaire .374. L3
Nuls ne doit avoir merveille .375. L4
Par trois raisons .377. L5
Qui n'aroit autre deport .379. L6
Amours doucement me tente Rem1
On parle de richesses .382. L7
Amours se plus demandoie .383. L8
Amis t'amour me contraint .384. L9
Se quanque dieus en monde .386. L10
Un mortel lay weil .388. L11
Qui bien aime a tart oublie .389. L12
Maintes fois oy recorder .390. L13
Ne say comment commencer .392. L14
Contre ce dous mois de may .394. L15
Je ne cesse de prier .396. L16
S'onques dolereusement .399. L17
Longument me sui tenus .402. L18
Maugre fortune .404. L19
Je ne me say conforter .407. L20
Pour vivre ioliement .409. L21
Les motes
Quant en moy vint premierement .415. M1
De soupirant cuer .416. M2
Fine amour .417. M3
Puis que la douce rousee .418. M4
Qui plus aimme plus endure .419. M5
S'amours tous amans ioir .420. M6
Lasse ie sui en aventure .421. M7
Ha fortune .422. M8
O livoris feritas .423. M9
Heles ou sera pris confors .424. M10
Fins cuers dous .425. M11
Corde mesto .426. M12
Eins que ma dame d'onnour .427. M13
De ma dolor confortez doucement .428. M14
Faus samblant .429. M15
Se i'aim mon loyal amy .430. M16
O series .431. M17
Bone pastor guillerme .432. M18
Diligenter .433. M19
Biaute paree .434. M20
Veni creator .435. M21
Plange regni .436. M22
Inviolata .437. M23

La messe .439.

les balades
S'amours ne fait par sa grace .454. B1
Heles tant ay doleur .455. B2
On ne porroit pensez ne .455. B3
Biaute qui toutes autres pere .456. B4
Riches d'amours & mendians d'amie .456. B5
Dous amis oy mon complaint .457. B6
J'aime mieux languir .457. B7
De desconfort .458. B8
Sans cuer m'en vois .459. B17
Amis dolens tous [sic] mes .458. B17
Dame par vous me sens reconfortez .459. B9
Dame ne regardez pas .450. B9
Ne pensez pas dame que je recroie .460. B10
N'en fait n'en dit n'en pensee
Pour ce que tous mes chans fais
Esperence qui m'asseure
Je ne cuit pas qu'onques
Se ie me pleing je n'en puis mais
Dame comment qu'amez de vous
De petit po de niant volente
Amours me fait desirer & amer
Je sui einsi com cis qui est ravis
Se quanqu'amours puert donner
Il m'est avis
De fortune me doy pleindre et loer
Tres douce dame que j'aour
Honte paour
Donnez seigneurs
Une vipere
Je puis trop bien ma dame comparer
De triste cuer
Quant vrais amans
Certes ie di
Pas de tor
De toutes flourus
Fliourez dames
Nes qu'on porroit
Quant theseus .472. Ne quier veoir.*
Gais et iolis
Se pour ce muir
Dame se vous m'estes lontoinne
Phyton

Les Rondeaus

Dous viaire gracieus
Helas pour quoy se demente
Merci vous pri ma douce dame
Sans cuer dolens
Quant i'ay lespart
Cinq .i.xiij.viiij.ix
Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon
Tant douecment +
Rose lis printemps
Tant douecment*

*: Added, different ink. +: On the deletion, see below, pp. 69ff.
Vo dous regart
Comment puet on miex*
Ce qui soutient
Dame se vous n'avez aperceu
Dis & .vi.v.
Ma fin et mon commancement [sic]
Certes mon oueil richement visa bel
Puis qu'en oublie sui
Quant ma dame les maus d'amer
Douce dame tant com vivray

Chansons baladées
He dame de vaillance
Loiaute weil tous iours maintenir
Eimmi dame de valour
Douce dame iolie
Comment qu'a moy lontaine
Se ma dame m'a guerpi
Puis que ma dolue agree
Dou mal qui m'a longuement
Dame ie weil endurer
De bonte de valour
He dame de valour
Dame a qui m'ottri
Quant ie suis mis au retour
J'aim sans penser laidure
Se mesdisans en a tort
C'est force faire le weil
Dame vostre dous viaire
Helas et comment aroie
Dieux, biaute, douceur nature
Se d'amer me repentoie
Dame le dous souveneur
Se loyauite m'est amie
Je vivroie liement
Cis a bien folle pensee
Foy porter honneur garder
Tres bele & bonne mi oueil [sic]
En mon cuer a .j. descort
Tuit mi penser sont sans cesser

*: "amer" cancelled.
Mors sui se ie ne vous voy .491. V29
Liement me deport } V30
Plus dure que un dymant } V31
Dame mon cuer en portez } .492. V32
Se ie souspir parfondement } V36
Te ne me puis saouler } V33
L'ueil qui est le droit archier } .493. V34
Plus bele que le biau iour .494. V35
Moult sui de bonne heure nee .495. V37
De tout sui si confortee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ces choses qui sensuivent trouverez en Remede de fortune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui n'aroit autre deport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complainte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tels rit au main qui au soir pleure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ioie plaisence &amp; douce norriture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En amer a douce vie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dame de qui toute ma ie vient [sic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson baladeee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dame a vous sans retollir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dame mon cuer en vous remaint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dit Section, Including the Loange des Dames

An inconsistency appears in the index listing for the Loange. The two separate collections suggested by the index, "Les balades ou il n'a point de chant" and "Les chansons roiaus et les complaints" (fol. Ac, tenth and eleventh entries) indicate a division not fully carried out in the finished MS, in which the chansons royales are still found combined with the ballades and rondeaux of the Loange, as in earlier MSS. The complaints, however,
have been extracted from the main body of the Loange, and are separated from the other lyrical poems by the Dit de la marguerite (the order in the actual MS can be followed from the folio numbers given in the transcription of the index). It cannot be ascertained exactly why Marguerite was copied before its prescribed position, but perhaps the condition of the exemplar was in some way confusing to the scribe due to the separation of the complaintes from the Loange section. After setting aside the complaintes (in earlier redactions, they had been copied in the middle of the Loange section), they were temporarily forgotten.

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

```
Le dit de la harpe. C.lxxiiij.
Les ballades ou il na point de chût. C.lxxvij.
Les chasons roiaus & les coplaites. CCxv.
Le dit de la marguerite CC.xiiij. Le voir dit
La prise d'alexandre CCCix. (CCxxj
Le dit de la rose CCC.lxxvj.
Ci commencent les lays
```

See n. 183 below.
The erasure was unfortunately complete, and none of the original reading is revealed by an examination of the area in question with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. Only indirect means are available to determine the significance of the erasure.

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

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

139 See the transcription of the index above. Two spaces occur between the motets and the Mass, three spaces between the ballades and rondeaux, three spaces between the rondeaux and virelais, and several spaces between the virelais and the listing of the lyrical-musical interpolations to the Remede.
1. As in MS M, the Marguerite probably followed Harpe in MS A. This is corroborated by the length of the first erased line in the index, exactly enough space for "Le dit de la marguerite."

2. Since the poems of the Loange follow Marguerite in M, one might have expected the same procedure for A. However, the rubric for this section ("Les balades ou il na point de chât") is too long to fit in the erased area. A shorter indication, such as "Les balades," is too abbreviated. The answer may be inferred by working backwards from the music section. Since the Loange immediately precedes the lays in M, perhaps the original design in A was to withhold the Loange, the chansons not set to music, until immediately before the musical chansons, as was carried out in MSS C, M, and F-G.

3. Judging from the lengths of the erased portions, the last item in the index may have been the Voir Dit, followed by two blank spaces before the opening of the lays. In this disposition, the indication for the Loange was originally left out, and the Prise preceded the Voir Dit.144

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

Le dit de la marguerite
La prise dalixandre
Le voir dit

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

The Lai Section
From a listing of twenty-three items, two are inconsistent with the final order of the MS. The two works in question are easy to locate in the index because folio numbers were never entered for them. The lai "Qui n'aroit autre deport," in seventh position in the index, is the lai of the Remede [Reml]. This is the only time in any of the Machaut MSS that this lai, or for that matter any of the lyrical interpolations to the Remede, is grouped with other works of the same genre. Perhaps this indicates something about the chronology of the lai; on stylistic grounds, its placement as number seven in the series is not unreasonable. No doubt Reml was not copied into the MS proper in the prescribed position because it was lacking in the exemplar, and it was not clear to the scribe where the missing lai was to be found.\(^1\)

\(^1\) It may be that Machaut was aiming towards including the lyrical interpolations in the Remede within the regular music sections, as was done for the later Voir Dit. However, this was not carried out for any of the other musical pieces in the Remede, and there is some question as to where the unique settings of the complainte and chanson royale could have been taken up. In any case, the idea is implicitly rejected in the final section.
In A, the lai "Qui bien aimme," the Lay de plour [L22], does not take its place after Navarre as in MSS Vg(B)E, but rather is indexed within the larger section of the MS devoted exclusively to lais. It was not copied in the MS at the position prescribed by the index, however. As was the case with Reml, it is probable that since the exemplar did not contain the lai in this new position, it was initially forgotten when MS A was copied. The lai was subsequently entered by a different scribe in some extra folios ruled with blank staves that fill out the gathering at the end of the section of lais.

As was the case in the relocation of the Loange section into the central portion of the codex, nearer to the musical formes fixes, the usage of MS A resembles the order of the earlier MS C. In C also, L22 follows "Un mortel lay" [the Lay mortel, Ll2], although the arrangement of the succeeding lais is slightly different in C due to the organizational plan of grouping lais with music before those not set to music. The placement of L22 prescribed in the index of A is also close to the arrangement of MS M.

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

The same intention probably held for F-G; L22 is completely lacking there.

The numbering of this lai in Ludwig's edition as No. 22 thus has no chronological significance. Cf. Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 100: "Ein gesichertes Datum existiert nur für den Lai de plour (1349), der in den Editionen eine hohe Nummer hat [Nr.22 (16)], weil er in A offenbar zunächst vergessen und dann als letzter Lai angehängt wurde."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>index</th>
<th>The Ordering of the Lais</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. L1</td>
<td>Loyaute que point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. L2</td>
<td>J'aim la flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. L3</td>
<td>Pour ce qu'on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. L4</td>
<td>*Aus amans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. L5</td>
<td>Nuls ne doit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. L6</td>
<td>Par trois raisons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reml</td>
<td>Qui n'aroit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. L7</td>
<td>Amours doucement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. L8</td>
<td>*On parle de</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. L9</td>
<td>*Amours se plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. L10</td>
<td>Amis t'amour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. L11</td>
<td>*Se quanque dieus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. L12</td>
<td>Un mortel lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. L22</td>
<td>Qui bien aime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. L13</td>
<td>*Maintes fois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. L14</td>
<td>Ne say comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. L15</td>
<td>Contre ce dous</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. L16</td>
<td>Je ne cesse</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. L17</td>
<td>S'ongues doleureusement</td>
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<td>20. L18</td>
<td>Longuement me sui</td>
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<td>21. L19</td>
<td>Maugre fortune</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. L20</td>
<td>*Je ne me say</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. L21</td>
<td>Pour vivre ioliement</td>
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**Table 2.1**

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<tr>
<th>codex</th>
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*: indicates a lai not set to music.  
+: L22 also after Navarre in M  
L18 appears only with the Voir Dit (with its music) in E.  
No. 16 in E is "Pour ce que plus" [L23].  
No. 19 in E is "En demantant" [L24].

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

\textsuperscript{144} On the position of L4 in C, see below, n. 265. The MSS F-GVg(B) need not appear in the chart. F-G corresponds exactly to the order of MS A, except that L22 is lacking. Vg(B) corresponds to the order in MS A, but
Perhaps the removal of L22 in MS A to a position similar to its location in MS C strengthens the notion of a chronological rearrangement, and suggests that the position of Reml in the index has chronological significance as well. One has the impression that Machaut was trying definitively to order the works for MS A. The addition of a Prologue to A, and the relocation of the Loange also form part of this tendency.

The Motet Section

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

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

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

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

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

In the music section of A, the initials for the motetus voice are generally twice as large as those for the triplum and tenor. The motetus text was the first copied in MS A, though this was not a universal copying principle.
Besseler's statement is not entirely accurate. Already in the fourteenth century there were many theoretical citations of motets by the triplum voice. While theorists closest to the northern French centers of motet production generally cited motets by the motetus voice, treatises from outlying areas, such as Germany and Italy, and treatises from later in the century, tended to cite motets by the triplum voice. In Vitry's Ars nova (see n. 10 above for editions), all motets that can be traced in extant sources are cited by the motetus voice except "Orbis orbatus" (F-Pn fr. 146, cited only in the I-Rvat Barb. 307 redaction of the treatise), and, in the F-Pn lat. 14741 redaction of the treatise, "Qui aux promesses" (Machaut's M8). In the Anon. Erfurt Compendium totius artis motetorum, the Anon. Ars perfecta, the Anon. De musica mensurabili (formerly attributed to Theodoricus de Campo), and in the Anon. Quatuor principalia (formerly attributed to Simon Tunstede), all traceable motets are cited by their motetus voice. The same is true of the Ars (musicae) of Johannes Boen, excepting the last citation, found only in a reworked version of the treatise, which cites the triplum "Rex Karole" (F-CH 564, F-Sm 222 and US-Wc 14). (On this version of the treatise, see Gallo, CSM, XIX [1972], 12-14.) The following treatises, all with either Italian or German connections, or from the latter part of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, cite all traceable motets by their triplum voice: Philippus de Caserta (?) Tractatus de diversis figuris, Anon. 5 Ars cantus mensurabilis (a second reference to one motet cites both voices: "Portio nature vel Ida capillorum" [ed. CS, III, 397], the Anon. Notitia del valore [ed. A. Carapetyan, CSM, V [1957]), the Anon. Penn-Harburg, the Anon. Melk Tractatulus de cantu mensurali, and the Anon. Wroclaw (for editions, see nn. 33 and 34 above). As for contemporary indices of MSS, F-Pn fr. 146 (c. 1316) cites only one of the 24 motets with three or four voices by its triplum, "Zelus familie" (fol. 44r). F-Pn n.a.f. 2390 (1376) cites at least two tripla: No. 3 "Yda capillorum" and No. 17 "Organizanter." No. 43 "O Philippe" may have referred to a work surviving in F-Pn fr. 146 fol. 10v, a motetus, or to I-IV 115 fol. 1v, a triplum. Following this tendency, the scribe who drew up the index of Machaut MS E (copied in the early 1390s) listed the motets by their triplum voice. M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications," in Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, forthcoming), notes that an English Chronicle of 1415, as well as the index of I-Moe 1.11 list motets by their tripla. Two further fifteenth-century accounts may be of interest: the triplum text of motet No. 12 in Table 1.1 above appears in F-Pn lat. 3343, but "Hunc motetus fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente" is noted. Cf. also the account from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch listed in n. (f) to Table 1.2 above: it states that motets were copied, but "Rex Karole/Letice pacis" is named by its triplum.

The two exceptions in the index of MS A can be explained to some degree of satisfaction. The first text of the entire section is the triplum "Quant en
moy vint premierement" [M1]. It may be by virtue of the reference to "coming first" that M1 retains first place in all the collections. The other motet whose triplum is cited by the index, "Bone pastor guillerme" [M18], is exceptional in that all three voices begin "Bone pastor." The triplum specifically designates the dedicatee. 147

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

The Mass and Hocket

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

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

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

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

149 See Chap. 3, pp. 179ff below, on the ramifications of entering a textless piece in a MS of this period.
The Ballade Section

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

\(^{150}\) "Chronologie und Stil," p. 102; see also Reaney, "A Chronology," p. 36.
voir" [B34], which falls correctly on a verso-recto opening, are for three voices, and so present no problem. It is a general rule in the Machaut MSS that the separate voices of a polyphonic composition—voices that sound together—are never split across a recto-verso page-turn by the scribe.

The **Rondeau Section**

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

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

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

152 R1 has only two voices in MS A. The explanation of the missing triplum posited by Dömling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais von Guillaume de Machaut (Tutzing, 1970), p. 78, n. 18, calling on the blank staves available on the preceding verso, cannot be accepted, since this folio had no staves when R1 was first copied (see below, Chap. 3).
the preceding folio (fols. 475r-v). These were entered later, in a layer of correction that also includes the additions of B21 and L22. \footnote{In A, there is no separate rubric announcing the different genres of the formes fixes, as there is in most of the other MSS, nor is there a physical break in the gathering structure before the beginning of the rondeaux or virelais. A blank folio (fol. 475) was left after the end of the ballade section (within the gathering; see the appended chart of the collection of A, gath. LX), and the rondeaux were begun on a fresh recto. A blank side (fol. 481v, see chart of gath. LXI) was left before the beginning of the virelais.} Again, the error can be plausibly explained. After a series of seven two-voice rondeaux to open the section, the index calls for two four-voice works: "Tant doucement" [R9] and "Rose, lis" [R10]. Since the normal disposition of the two-voice rondeaux is two works per page, the odd number seven made for difficulties. Here is the order originally called for by the index, and the number of voices for each rondeau:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R7</th>
<th>Se vous n'estes</th>
<th>2v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R9</td>
<td>Tant doucement</td>
<td>4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10</td>
<td>Rose, lis</td>
<td>4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R8</td>
<td>Vo doux regart</td>
<td>3v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R11</td>
<td>Comment puet on</td>
<td>3v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R12</td>
<td>Ce qui soustient</td>
<td>2v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual disposition of R7, 9 and 10 in the MS can be seen in Figure 2.1. The process of copying began with the texts. After copying the text of R7, the text scribe began R9, exactly as the index prescribed. Realizing that space would be tight, the scribe dispensed with the triplum entirely. He then indicated the space for the tenor of R9 at the bottom of the verso, and the space for the contratenor at the top of the recto, followed by the text of the cantus of R10 (again omitting the triplum), and labeled the spaces intended for the tenor and contratenor below. Thus, the text scribe planned to reduce the number of voices of these two rondeaux because they
would not otherwise fit in the opening.\textsuperscript{154} Saving R10 for the next opening was also not considered, for that would have left an unprofessional-looking and wasteful blank spot on the bottom half of the previous recto. Later, the music scribe began to copy these pieces, working from an exemplar with four voices for the two rondeaux. He entered the cantus and tenor of R9, and then realized that not enough space would be left for its other two voices, let alone all four voices of R10. The specification for the voice at the top of the recto was then altered from "Contra\[te\]nor" (of R9) to "Triplum" (of R10), and all four voices of R10 were entered on the recto.\textsuperscript{155} In this manner, at least one of the two rondeaux was given its full complement of four voices. At the time, however, R9 was left with only cantus and tenor. Probably the music scribe intended for the entire R9 to be added subsequently to the rondeau section itself, and indeed this was later carried out by a different scribe, who entered all four voices of R9 in the blank space that had been left before the rondeau section, which he had already used for the later entry of B21 (see Figure 2.2).

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{154} A similar omission of the triplum for space considerations can be observed in the addition of B21 on fol. 474v. The scribe considered the triplum voice optional.
\item \textsuperscript{155} The different text hand for the word "Triplum" is one bit of evidence suggesting that the text and music scribes were different people.
\item \textsuperscript{156} This presentation may appear to take too much for granted that the text was entered before the music, and that the text and music scribes were different people. Yet there appears to be no other way to explain the change of plan in the copying, as well as the different hand of the word "Triplum," which contradicts the text scribe's catchword "Contratenor" (fol.
Figure 2.2: F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 474v-475r
ink) indicates that the two-voice version was considered incomplete; the reader is referred to fol. 475.

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

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

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

If the intention was for R9 to follow R7, as called for by the index of A and as carried out by MSS M and F-G, this order was not feasible for Vg unless the greater part of fol. 318r was to be left completely blank. R9 was far too large a piece to fit the available space. Therefore, the scribe simply shifted the three-voice "Vo doulz regars" [R8] to a new position in the MS. Even so, signs of crowding are obvious on this page in Vg. In a MS otherwise unusually generous with parchment, even the space before the text (fol. 477v). Further discussion of the precedence of text entry over music entry will be presented in Chap. 3.
residuum of R7 was used, a sure sign of crowding.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{158} Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 108.

\textsuperscript{159} R10 appears with only three voices in C, with room for the triplum staves, as well as a second contratenor (unique to this MS) crudely added later.
melodic correspondence between the ends of the refrain halves, though only in the cantus voice. The real area of experimentation, rather than the area of overall formal balance, is rhythmic in nature. R9 may be the earliest of Machaut's pieces to experiment with chains of syncopations in minor prolation—in this respect it is certainly the most modern piece in MS C. However, the use of syncopation in the repetition and development of distinct melodic figures, a hallmark of the most mature polyphonic style of Machaut (typified by R17 and 21, for instance), is notably lacking in R9. R10, "Rose, lis," is rhythmically experimental in its mixture of tempus perfectum minor and tempus imperfectum major (modern 3/4 against 6/8), and it makes extensive use of displacement syncopation as well.161 R8, which can now be placed chronologically after R9 and 10, is more systematic in its treatment of syncopation. The simple syncopated pattern in the tenor, usually arpeggiated and accompanying the faster syncopations in the contratenor and cantus, delineates a single rhythmic cell:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\hline
\text{D} & \text{R} & \text{R} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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


21, as well as B35.\footnote{162} In R11, the work we place immediately after R8, short rhythmic motives, with characteristic syncopations, are sequentially developed:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example.png}
\caption{Example figure description.}
\end{figure}

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

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

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{table.png}
\caption{Table example description.}
\end{figure}


\footnote{163} Ludwig's chart, Musikalische Werke, II, 50*, wrongly indicates the appearance of R16 on fol. 480v in MS A. R16 is lacking both in the index and in the rondeau section proper. An explanation of the inclusion of the text of this rondeau in the music section of MSS MF-GVg(B)E is given in Richard Hoppin's review of the Schrade Machaut ed., Notes, Ser. 2, 15 (1958), 472, and by Poirion, Le Poète, p. 197, n. 19.
## TABLE 2.2

The Ordering of the Rondeaux

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

"Quant je ne voy" [R21] is No. 21 in F-G and No. 16 in E.  
( ) indicates displaced position in the MS: in A, the works are on fols. 475r-475v; in Vg, the works are lacking; in B, the works are on the displaced fol. 309.  
MF-G: No. 17 = "Dame qui wet" [R16] (text only)  
Vg: No. (3) = R16  
E: No. 6 = R16

The final state of the rondeau section in A presents further problems. It is not clear why R8 was not copied until after R13. Perhaps the scribe was alerted to problems of page-planning after he encountered difficulties with R9 and 10, and the longer work R8 was left for an opportune later moment.  

164 Michael Long has suggested that if A's exemplar resembled the layout of Vg, this would explain the omission of R8—the scribe turned to enter R9 and 10 as called for by the index, and then continued with R11.
entered L22, B21 and R9, remains unexplained unless it was related to difficulties in copying "Ma fin est mon commencement" [R14].

The Virelai Section

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

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

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

\[165\] On R14, see Chap. 3, pp. 182ff below. Note that the pairing of R13 and R17 groups the two new rondeaux compositions used in the Voir Dit (the other Voir Dit rondeau, R4, is an older work).
### TABLE 2.3

The Ordering of Virelais 32 - 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>index</th>
<th>actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. V32</td>
<td>Dame mon cuer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. V36</td>
<td>Se ie souspir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. V33</td>
<td>*Je ne me suis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. V34</td>
<td>*L'ueil qui est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. V35</td>
<td>*Plus bele que</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. V37</td>
<td>Mouluit sui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. V38</td>
<td>De tout sui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

---

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

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

The Remede Section

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

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

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

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

The Prologue

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

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

\textsuperscript{171} See Appendix C, miniatures A2, F1 and E1a (introducing the first two ballades), and A1, F3 and E1b (introducing the second two ballades).

\textsuperscript{172} The proper order is clear not only from the order in which the ballades are recalled in the second, narrative portion of the Prologue, but
The ruling pattern, style of writing, and secondary decoration of the bifolio are found nowhere else in the MS, and are products of a Parisian workshop. The two large miniatures of the bifolio were illuminated by one of the best-known illuminators at the court of Charles V, the master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. They are only slightly posterior to the 152 illuminations filling out the rest of the MS, which were done by a provincial artist known only from MS A.173

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

173 François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," pp. 126-27. On the Bible of Jean de Sy (F-Pn fr. 15397), see Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, black-and-white figure XI (to the bibliography on p. 33, add pp. 404-10 to the Delisle citation). The complete folios E and D of MS A, with the two Prologue miniatures, are reproduced by Avril as Pl. 29 and 30. Avril sets himself against the view, currently very widespread, of identifying this style of miniatures with Jean Bondol and his followers. The style, found in many books that belonged to Charles V, was first isolated and described by Henri Martin, La miniature française du XIIIe au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1923), Chap. 4, who coined the appellation "Maitre aux boqueteaux" (p. 44; traits of the style are described pp. 52-53). Since then, a few more MSS have been signaled, but the Bible of Jean de Sy has always been considered the earliest example. In 1953, Erwin Panofsky, in Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 36ff, suggested that Bondol, painter of a full-page illustration of Charles V for the 1371 Bible of Jean de Vaudetar (now NL-DHmw 10 B 23, repro. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 36), was the chef d'atelier for the miniatures elsewhere in the Bible, which are in the style of the Maitre aux boqueteaux. This view was accepted and further developed by Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," Art Bulletin, 38 (1956), 190, and by Harry Bober, whose study of the Gotha Missal is the basis for William D. Wixom, "A Missal for a King: A First Exhibition: An Introduction to the Gotha Missal and a Catalogue to the Exhibition Gothic Art 1360-1440 held at The Cleveland Museum of Art, August 8 through September 15, 1963," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, 50 (1963). (Machaut MS A is mentioned in this study on p. 168.) See also Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke (London, 1967), I, 20-23 and n. 98, p. 365. Avril's view attaches to the review by L. M. J. Delaissé of Panofsky's book, "Enluminure et Peinture dans les Pays-bas: A propos du livre de E. Panofsky, 'Early Netherlandish Painting,'" Scriptorium, 11 (1957). 109-18. In his discussion of the Bible of Jean de Vaudetar (pp. 110-11), Delaissé emphasized that Bondol was a painter, not a MS illuminator. This view is affirmed by Avril, Manuscript Painting at the
The second section of the Prologue, a narrative passage of 184 vv. in rhyming couplets, concludes with a transition leading directly into the Vergier, the first of the narrative poems in MS A. This narrative portion is in the hand of the scribe of the rest of the codex, and its opening illumination is by the provincial artist.

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

```
D     fols. Dr-Ev: the four Prologue ballades, written and illuminated at Paris.
E
F     fols. Fv-Gv: narrative portion of the Prologue.
G
```

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

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

174 "Et pour ce vœu, sans plus targar, / Commencer le Dit dou Vergier" (vv. 183-84); Hoepffner, Œuvres, I, 12.
that they could be recopied in Paris with the large illuminations (it is clear from the diagram that the sheets have been cut). In any case, the special illustrations were probably planned from the outset: the elaborate rubric introducing the ballades of Nature and Amours would seem to make illustration obligatory.

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

\[175\] Categories 1) and 2) of the classification of sources in Chap. 1.

\[176\] See Kevin Brownlee, "The Poetic Oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut, p. 230. As argued above (pp.60 ff), it is quite possible that the Loange was
Nevertheless, a remnant of the earlier order remains, with lyrical poems—the four Prologue ballades—standing at the head of the MS. A more forceful and focused opening is gained by placing the lengthy works at the front, without sacrificing the capital importance (to the author) of the lyrical forms.

The Structure of MS A

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

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

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

177 The signature markings may stand for a complete set in a gathering or merely for one surviving mark. An "x" in the column "catch." indicates the presence of a catchword; irregularities are noted. (More complete information on signatures and catchwords is found in the diagram of the gathering structure in Appendix A.) When the opening of a work corresponds with the top recto of a new gathering, the work is placed at the edge of the column. Such structural breaks are also marked by a dotted horizontal line on the chart. When a work begins within a gathering, its opening folio number is specifically indicated.
# TABLE 2.4

The Gathering Structure of A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gath.</th>
<th>fol. sig.</th>
<th>catch.</th>
<th>coll.</th>
<th>contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>fol. Av: Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>D c x</td>
<td></td>
<td>irr. III</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>i</td>
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</table>

494-501: 18th century(?), paper index.
503-506 binio, 494 (new 502) connected to 506 by paper strip.

(*): faint
(+): new hand
(*): error in catchword

'folio, a different style of catchword), the next twelve gatherings
(XVII-XXVIII) form a second continuous series, reaching to fol. 220.17 The first few dits in A come close to forming a regular disposition of contents and gatherings. Vergier fills a quaternion approximately,
could expect this technique of "through-copying" (in contrast with the copying of works into separate fascicles) to obtain whenever a scribe was more or less certain of the order of the pieces he was copying. Either the order of separate components was carefully set in advance, or the exemplar itself already manifested the desired order. Once a group of poems was copied in this way, the order could not be readily changed. As can be seen from Table 2.4, a new series begins at gathering XVII with the Confort, though the rationale for this particular dividing point is not readily apparent. It may have been done to allow the illustrator to work with a complete, self-contained unit, or it may indicate something about the structure of the exemplar. It is notable that the works in gatherings I-XVI are those composed before 1350, and the break appears at just the point where the chronological order is disturbed by the placement of the latest work in the series, Navarre (1349), immediately following Behaingne, due to the complementary stories of these two dits.\textsuperscript{179}

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

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

\textsuperscript{179} In other words, the first division comprises all the narrative poems in MS C, with the exception of Navarre, which was being composed around the same time as the compilation of C. On the break in the chronology, see Hoepffner, \textit{Œuvres}, I, lxiv-lxvi.
may have contributed to its disposition in the MS as a separate section. It is the longest of Machaut's poems, filling almost eleven gatherings. A recent composition at the time of the compilation of MS A, it was most likely transmitted in an individual exemplar. Here again, there is a strong reason to believe that this unit was kept separate to allow for a division of labor. The extensive program of miniatures in the Voir Dit required the special intervention of the author, and great care was taken with this section of the MS.

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

See Chap. 1, category 4a), items iv) and v) for evidence of individual transmission of this popular dit.

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

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

Less obvious, but decisive for MS production, is that each genre had to be ruled in a distinctive manner. The lais demanded two text lines below single staves, with occasional incursion of sections of text only, in a two-column format. The motets required single text lines in two columns, with room for a staff above each line of text. The Mass ruling, in the case of MS A, was the same as the motet ruling. This ruling was slightly modified for the addition of the hocket by connecting the two columns to make a single column format. Details of these ruling patterns will be discussed below in Chap. 3.
fixes. Blank folios were left after each genre, but the divisions occur within the gatherings and the genres are therefore not physically separable.

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

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

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

One incidental observation before leaving MS A: the strip of parchment that attaches the bifolio (see the appended chart of the gathering structure, gath. XLVI) has some barely visible writing on it: "Il est douler, [d]esconfort, ne tristeste anui griete ne / pensee dolente, ffierte deurete pointure s chief durement..." (?) This is the opening of the ballade Lo194

\(^{183}\) This inference is corroborated by a different handwriting and lighter shade of ink. An extra folio was needed for the Prise at this point, but this could have been realized with a stub wrapped around the last gathering. There was no reason to add a bifolio unless more than the end of the Prise was to be copied. It is also possible that the revision entailed recopying the end of the Prise onto this bifolio.
(Poésies lyriques, I, 175-76), which also appears in the Voir Dit (attributed to Peronne, ed. Paris, p. 187): "Il n'est dolour, desconsort ne tristesse, / Anuy griété ne pensée dolente, / Fierté, durté, pointure ne aspresse, / N'autre meschief d'amour, que je ne sente." The crudeness of the writing, and the unfinished aspect give this strip the appearance of a sketch or draft; perhaps it is an author's sketch, due to the roughness, and especially due to the non-observance of the poetical lineation. This is further indirect evidence placing MS A squarely in Machaut's workshop.

MS M (F-PN FR. 843)

MS M, though it contains no music, is of interest because of the ordering of the works. As in MS A (prefaced there by the Prologue), the narrative poems open the MS; the Loange has been shifted to a position after the narrative works, immediately before the collection of poems set to music. Lacking are the Prologue, Voir Dit, Prise, as well as some of the late, smaller dits.

The Loange in M comprises 271 texts, almost as many as A with its 276 texts. The eight complaintes in MS A form a group apart; M contains the first seven of these complaintes, but copied into the Loange. This is similar to the disposition in Vg, which, with a total of 256 texts in its Loange, contains the first six of these complaintes. Also as in Vg, B17 is copied as No. 17 in the series of Ballades, not as No. 9, in A and G. Thus, although M itself was copied in the fifteenth century, thestage of the collection of works falls between Vg and A, and the physical disposition of the works commands some interest.

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

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

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

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

185 As the through-copied nature of the MS would indicate, the gatherings were copied strictly in order—indeed, on f. 224v (the end of gathering XXVIII), the catchwords "Main et soir" were entered (Lai No. 11 in Chichmaref, Poésies lyriques, II, 365, 1. 96). At the top of f. 255r, however, the scribe simply continued with the following line, "A dire voir."

186 Musikalische Werke, II, 13a*.
Some room was left at the end of each group of formes fixes set to music. After a final rubric "Balade," enough space was left for the later entry of about two ballades (of the complete set of ballades set to music, the last two are lacking in M); after "Rondel," enough space was left for approximately ten rondeaux (one is lacking in M); after the rubric "Chancon bala-dee," there is more than enough space for one virelai (one is lacking from M). It cannot be determined if some clue to leaving this space was indicated in the exemplar for M; in any case, no additions were ever made.

Table 2.5 shows the overall disposition of the contents of the codex. No detailed diagram of the structure is appended, since the MS was regularly assembled from quaternions. No signatures were visible to me.
## TABLE 2.5

The Gathering Structure of M

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<td>254</td>
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<td></td>
<td>255</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

188 It was first signaled in 1746 by Abbé Lebeuf in a meeting of the Academy. See Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 80n for references and a history of the earliest descriptions. That the present two MSS were once bound as one is attested by the faint image at the end of F of the miniature which opens G.

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

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

191 Geschichte der Mensuralnotation 1250-1460, I, 157-62. Wolf's listing, as well as the brief discussion of the other principal MSS, is unusable without the corrections given by Ludwig in his review of Wolf's Geschichte, SIMG, 6 (1904-05), 610-11.
MS in 1901. Later, Ludwig's collation of readings from other MSS convinced him that both A and Vg generally offered better musical texts.\(^{192}\)

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

\(^{192}\) Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 45a*.

\(^{193}\) Reaney, "Towards a Chronology," p. 88.

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

A matching of some of the images left by the paint when still wet dramat­ically demonstrates the disorder a MS could pass through during production. The following matching patterns provide a sample, and indicate that these sides were touching when the paint was not quite dry: shadows of F fol. 113r on G fol. 8v; G 1r on F 8v; G 45r on G 121v and on G 68v for a different part of the page; F 16v on G 162r; G 74r on G 69r. The images incidentally also confirm that the music was entered before the illuminator set to work. Unlike the case with musical anthologies, such traces of the production process do not indicate anything about the order of entry. The order of works in the Machaut MSS was set, and copying proceeded piece by piece in order. Besides the unidentified coat of arms, other unidentified clues may be of use in determining the MS's destination or an early owner. Several items in the Voir Dit are specially marked. Of the forty-six prose letters, all except the following thirteen are marked off to the left with the sign . . .

(No. 1, fol. 140r; No. 2, 140r [Paris ed. No. 4]; No. 7, 147r [Paris ed. No. 3]; No. 9, 148r; No. 14, 156v; No. 23, 167r [in verse]; No. 25, 167v; No. 34, 179v; No. 36, 180v; No. 38, 182v; No. 39, 183r; No. 41, 189r; and No. 44, 195r). Four ballades are marked by the initials .y.p. near the flourish
As would be expected in a later, more complete source, F-G is strikingly uniform in its gathering structure. Table 2.6 summarizes the principal characteristics.

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

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

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

195 The exact location of the signatures can be seen in Appendix A, MS F, gath. XXII, XXIV and XXV.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gath.</th>
<th>fol.</th>
<th>sig.</th>
<th>catch.</th>
<th>coll.</th>
<th>contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Prologue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>9v: Behaingne</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>19v: Navarre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>40r: Remede</td>
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<td>VI</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>63v: Lyon</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>75v: l'Alerion</td>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>81</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>98v: Confort</td>
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<tr>
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<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>XV</td>
<td>113</td>
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<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>119v: Fonteinne</td>
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<tr>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>135v: Harpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>137v: Voir Dit</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
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<td>XX</td>
<td>153</td>
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<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>XXIV</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>198v: Marg., 199v: Rose</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>200r: Les biens</td>
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<td>MS G:</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Prise</td>
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<td>XXX</td>
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<td>v or b</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>XXXI</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>XV</td>
<td>I</td>
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<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
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<td>XXXIV</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>67v: complaintes</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXXV</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>II+1</td>
<td>71v: Lis et Marg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Lais</td>
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<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>102v: Motets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Either the Loange once preceded the Prise, or (more likely) the Prise was inserted, and the Loange was moved to maintain its position before the music section. Otherwise, the Prise would have followed as the last poem before the lai section. A separate stint of copying for the Prise (in any case by the same scribe) is suggested by its catchwords, different in style from the original catchwords in use through the rest of the MS.\cite{196} Note also that the Prise starts a new series of signature markings.

\cite{196} Original catchwords are labelled "01" in Table 2.6, those of the Prise, "02." Certain catchwords were apparently part of a fifteenth-century(?) restoration campaign after water damage (labeled "XV" in the table). Most heavily damaged were the first six gatherings or so (the signatures a-f were probably entered at this time, before the MS was rebound). No doubt also dating from this time are certain faint mirror images (visible on many folios at various places throughout the MS) which come from documents placed between folios to aid the drying process.
MSS VG (US-NYW) AND B (F-PN FR. 1585)

A second group of sources (Vg[B]DEHJK) is marked by the similarity of the disposition of their contents. All begin with the Loange. Vg is placed at the head of the group because of the quality of its execution and text.197 MS B, for the most part a direct copy of Vg, will be considered here as well.198

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

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

The last folio of the Prise in B (fol. 395v) is signed "Guyon" in what is probably a fifteenth-century hand, thus not the eighteenth-century bibliophile Guyon de Sardières, whose library was bought by the Duc de la Vallière. Also unidentified is the motto on the same folio, "Cum bono bonus eris / Cum perverse perverteris" (paraphrase of 2 Reg. xxii.27 and Ps. xvii.27: "Cum electo electus eris, et cum perverso perverteris"). Unpublished is Elizabeth Keitel, "The Importance of Machaut's Paper Manuscript," American Musicological Society Convention, Washington, D.C., 1976.
The relationship between the MSS is perplexing, for, by all appearances, MS B was itself copied to serve as an exemplar. Its script was hastily executed, the level of decoration remained rudimentary and incomplete. Judging from the several marginal notes, text corrections, etc., it was well-used at one time. Several fifteenth-century folios replace leaves that presumably had become worn (all of these are outer sheets of gatherings), indicating that the MS lay in an unbound state for a long time. Margaret Bent recently presented evidence that B served as an exemplar for substantial portions of MS E, and that the poor quality of certain texts in E can be attributed to the poor state of the exemplar. Surely many more MSS must also have been copied from B.

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

199 See the paper cited in the previous note.

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

201 Doyle and Parkes, "The Production of Copies," p. 200, use the term
may help to explain the proliferation of the "Machaut MS" in corners far from Machaut's center of activity. And the order of the contents preserved by Vg(B) remained influential long after it was superseded, presumably with the express desire of the author, by the new order first presented in MS A, and later in F-G.202

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gatherings I - XVII</th>
<th>Gatherings XVIII - XXVII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loange</td>
<td>1'Alerion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vergier</td>
<td>Confort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaingne</td>
<td>Fonteinne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre + Lay de plour</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

202 It is possible, given the poor quality of the text, that the copying of a source such as B forms a tradition outside of the one controlled by the desires of the author. It may be due to B that so many MSS later than A preserve an ordering of works which seems anachronistic. Exemplars that served for the other central Machaut MSS cannot have been prepared in the haphazard manner B was, since their musical texts are extremely accurate in ways that the musical texts of B are not.
The appended comparative chart of the overall structure of each gathering in Vg and B gives details on the disposition of contents within the gathering structure. In three cases, additional subdivisions of the structure could have been made, but were not:

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

That these subdivisions were not utilized suggests that final decisions on ordering had been made even before Vg was copied. Such fixity is perhaps less desirable in a source intended to serve primarily as an exemplar (as I believe B was, whereas Vg was not), for if more than one scribe was to be copying a new MS in a different format, a division of labor could not be carried out as readily. Again, B follows Vg exactly because this convenience greatly reduced responsibilities with regard to MS planning—the copy, B, could therefore be made very quickly. That the resulting exemplar was still not as flexible as later copyists desired, however, can be inferred from the fact that at least in one instance, the gathering structure of B was altered to profit from one of the three subdivisions described above. The following diagram illustrates how this was accomplished.
Fol. 25 (old 169) was detached from its original gathering and attached to the following one. The new structural disposition allows the Confort to begin a gathering, which is advantageous from a copyist's standpoint. The two signature systems that correspond to the new disposition are also indicated in the above example (underlined signatures are red). The catchword on fol. 25v, now unnecessary, was crossed out.

In several places, (modern?) restoration has falsified the original gathering structure of MS B. By means of reinforcing strips, folios that were not originally conjunct have been joined. Following the original gathering structure, and not the present misbound order, the affected gatherings are: 1) XI, with the Lai de plour [L22]; 2) XVII and XVIII, with the missing (old) fol. 138; 3) XXI and XXII, discussed above; 4) XLII-XLIII are especially confused, where the Prise was joined to the end of the MS. These discrepancies can be seen in the schematic representation of the entire MS, Appendix A, and in Table 2.7 (see the discussion below).

The text on fol. 26 (170) actually begins "Si que ilz visoient." The error will be discussed below.
The single structural irregularity in the text section of the MSS, common to both Vg and B, is the addition of a bifolio to accommodate the copying of the Lay de plour [L22] after Navarre. Through the addition of this bifolio, the lai was kept within the last gathering of Navarre. It cannot be maintained that the L22 is a fortuitous later addition. The addition of the bifolio was connected perhaps to the decoration of the lai, or (more likely) to the convenience of copying the music. In this manner, the scribe responsible for the entry of the music could limit his work to a single gathering, instead of having to keep two unbound gatherings in order.

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

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

Scribes in MS B are discussed below, Chap. 3, pp. 196ff. The copying of music in the Remede is discussed pp. 216ff.
MS Vg has quite recently been dated by François Avril. As with A and C, the first owner is unknown, but was probably connected with the court of Charles V (see n. 77 above on a possible early owner of Vg). Avril distinguished at least five hands among the illuminators, including the master of the Livre du Sacre of Charles V, who also collaborated in the illustration of MS C (see below, n. 257), and the master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, who illuminated the two famous Prologue miniatures in A. 207 The datable MSS associated with these artists and the stage of the development of their style can be placed in the early 1370s. 208

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


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

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

210 In the critical notes of Ludwig's edition, only the large-scale correspondences between the two MSS were noted (Musikalische Werke, II, 9b*, n. 2): some of his unpublished notes on their structure are the basis for the signature markings entered in the chart of the gathering structure of Vg in Appendix A.
been possible, the complete independence of the music section of the MS is established. The fact that the signature markings in Vg were visible to Ludwig almost in their entirety for the music section leads one to suspect that they were differently placed or differently entered from those in the text section of the MS. In this regard, Ludwig's statement that the first gathering of lais looks very worn in Vg is significant: probably the music section was originally bound separately, and only more recently bound together as one volume.211

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

1. As can be seen from the modern foliation given in the second column, gatherings XXII and XXVII are presently bound out of order between gatherings II and III.

2. The red system of signatures at the beginning of the MS (a-l, with Roman numerals) follows this misbound order, and was probably entered shortly before the gatherings were sewn together for binding. The style of numbers and letters, as well as certain marginal cues and directions, suggests that the misbinding dates from the fifteenth century.

211 Musikalische Werke, II, 9b*: "Eine ... wie die starken Gebrauchsspuren gerade im Musikfaszikel zeigen, einstmals eifrig benutzte Gesamths. des 14. Jahrhunderts. ..." (and cf. Oeuvres, II, 408n). One of Ludwig's comparative diagrams of the gathering structure of Vg (he used Hoepffner's siglum V at the time) and B has a note doubly underlined next to the opening folio numbers of the lai gatherings: "diese Lay Lage in V stark abgenutzt stark abgegriffen." Further down, after the ballades begin, a note is boxed in: "auch die Ballade in V stark benutzt" (I cannot read a word entered in pencil above this note). See also Chap. 1, p. 37 above.
TABLE 2.7

Signatures in B

gath. | mod. | red | bl. | bl. | other
|------|------|-----|-----|-----|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text:</th>
<th>I*</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>a</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>b</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td></td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| XVIII | 155 | q   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XIX   | 163 | r   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XX    | 171 | s   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXI   | 179 | t   |     |     |     |

| XXII* | 25  | d   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXIII | 186 | v   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXIV  | 194 | x   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXV   | 202 | y   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXVI  | 210 | z   |     |     |     |
|       |     |     |     |     |     |
| XXVII* | 17  | c   |     | a/g |     |

| Music: | XXVIII | 218  | /   | r   |     |
|        |        |      |     |     |     |
| XXIX  | 225  | //   | a   |     |     |
| XXX   | 233  | ///  | d   |     |     |
| XXXI  | 241  | ///  | c   |     |     |
| XXXII | 249  | v    | d   |     |     |
| XXXIII| 257  | vi   | o   |     |     |
| XXXIV | 265  | vii  | f   |     |     |
| XXXV  | 273  | viii | g   |     |     |
| XXXVI | 281  | ix   | h   |     |     |
| XXXVII| 289  | x    | i   |     |     |
| XXXVIII| 297 | xi   | k   |     |     |
| XXXIX | 305  | xii  | l   |     |     |
| XL    | 314  | xiii | o   |     |     |
| XLI   | 322  | xiii | n   |     |     |
| XLII  | 330  |     | o   |     |     |
3. The black system of signatures (a-z, also with Roman numerals),
begins with gathering III and continues through the entire text section, but
does not include gatherings XXII and XXVII. The red and black systems are
therefore interdependent.

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

\(^{212}\) The rearrangement of gathering XXII (see p. 106 above) must have
occurred before the copying of the replacement folios, since fol. 26 (old
170) was not recopied, indicating that this rearrangement was made at a
fairly early stage.
also assembled wrongly at an earlier point in its history.

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

5. Earlier, the Prise had, at least in part, its own independent system of signatures, confirming other evidence (paper, watermarks, hands, etc.) that the Prise was originally independent.\textsuperscript{214}

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

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

\textsuperscript{213} The first gathering of lais, lacking its outer sheet, was not counted. Perhaps this gathering too was supposed to receive a replacement folio, and was at one point separated from the other music quires.

\textsuperscript{214} See Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 113-14, and the paper of Bent referred to in n. 198 above.

\textsuperscript{215} See Keitel, "A Chronology," p. 38, and J. Widaman, "The Structure of Machaut's MS 'B': A Preliminary Study and Some Inferences," seminar paper for Brandeis University, May 1979, p. 13. This first sheet was lost before E was copied; it contained the music necessary to complete the tenor of "Mors sui" [VZ29], now incomplete in both B and E (see Bent, "Another Bite," p. 8). Since the number is missing, probably this system of signatures predates the copying of E (1390s). Otherwise, the red number would be visible on the second sheet, presently fol. 330.
lar).\textsuperscript{216} To summarize the above points, it seems that the signatures are essentially binder's marks entered in anticipation of the binding of the MS.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{217} The lost folio was numbered 137 in B. There is a difference of 1 between the old lower foliation of B and the old foliation of Vg because the old lower foliation in B used the number 49 twice. Probably the practice of counting by twenties, used in the lower system of foliation in MS B, but not in the upper, should not be considered as a factor relating to chronology. In the lower system, the only use of the Roman "C" is from fol. 100-120.
disposition. Parentheses indicate additions in lighter ink. Abbreviations are expanded.

a) I 16v (old 16v): ou xvije feuillett ensuite
b) XXII 25v (old 169v): si que noble don
c) XXII 33v (old 177v): fault allez au feullet cy apres marque en teste C lxxviiij
d) III 34r (old 17r): ou xviiie feuillett precedent
e) XX 178v (old 161v): Et quant (madame) Et quant elle fu hors yssue a tel signe $\mathcal{M}$ xlij feullet[et]
f) XXI 179r (old 162r): $\mathcal{M}$
g) XXI 185r (old 168r): fault retourner cy devant au feullet marque en teste C lxix
h) XXI 185v (old 168v):
Au feullet cy devant marque C lxix et le commancement de lysterie cy apres qui sapelle le comfort damy et commancant / Ainsi / Amis a toy donner confort Ay maintes foys pense moul saint fort et y en a ix feulletz / avant S[i] q[ue] [ilz] v[i]soy
i) XXV 209v (old 201v):
\begin{itemize}
  \item Et quant (elle fu)
  \item Et quant ma dame etc. ci devant a x1 feuilles
\end{itemize}
\[(Et quant ma dame)\]
j) XXVI 217v (old 209v):
\begin{itemize}
  \item Si que il viseient
  \item Si que (il viseient)
\end{itemize}
doit auoir si que noble don te present present Si que noble don te present pour auoir si petit present Apres $\mathcal{M}$ xlij feulet si auant marque C
\[ij x\]
Some of these cues can relate to the present misbinding of the MS, in which gatherings XXVII and XXII appear between gatherings II and III. Indication a), fol. 16v, informs the reader to skip ahead in the book until fol. 17 is found, the beginning of the true gathering III. Indication d) is the answering mark. Indications g) and h) send the reader back towards the beginning of the book to pick up with gathering XXII, the second of the two misbound gatherings, for the opening of the Confort d’ami. Indication c) moves the reader back up in the book for gathering XXIII after the misbound gathering XXII is passed. Indication j) is a note that the next gathering, No. XXVII, is to be found in the front of the MS, after fol. 16.218 The identification by Jean Widaman of the scribe of indications g), h), c) and the very last part of j) with one of two scribes of the upper foliation indicates that the purpose of the top foliation was to aid the reader in following the improperly bound MS.219

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

\begin{align*}
\text{Et q\^{e}t: gatherings XX and XXV} \\
\text{Si que: gatherings XXI and XXVI.}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item[218] There is no indication on old fol. 217v, presently fol. 24v, to skip ahead to the beginning of the music section. This is the end of the text section of the MS; the catchword is for the lost first folio of the lais. This is a further indication of the independence of the text section from the music section.
\item[219] Jean Widaman, "The Structure."
\end{itemize}
catchwords identical to Vg's, and both of these instances were occasions for misassembly of MS B, as can be traced from the additions and deletions of words to the catchwords in question (parentheses delineate lighter, later additions to catchwords that were originally in the shorter form of Vg):

Indication e):

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

Indication i):

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

Indication b):

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

Indication j):

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

Si que noble don te present
Por avoir si petit present

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gath. fol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171 (old 154)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178 (old 161) &quot;Et quant (madame)&quot; (later corrected to &quot;Et quant elle fu&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210 (old 202) beginning: &quot;Et quant ma dame ara bien perceu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217 (old 209) &quot;Si que il vis&quot; (later corrected to &quot;Si que noble don&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The MS was in this state when the curious signs in indications e) and f) were added. When the signs are entered in their proper places in the order reconstructed above, the following disposition is obtained:

- gath: XIX, XX ¼M, XXVI, XXII-XXV, ¼M XXI, XXVII

The "42 feuilles" in indication e) works out perfectly if one counts both ends of the series, since exactly five gatherings (XXVI, XXII-XXV) separated gatherings XX and XXI. The 40 folios of indication i) ("ci devant a 40
The abundance of cues, signature systems, and other indications discussed above bear witness to at least three different stages in the history of the text section of MS B:

1. Redisposition of two gatherings to allow the Confort to begin a fascicle.

2. A mistaken arrangement of gatherings with similar catchwords, resulting in the following arrangement: I-XX; XXVI; XXII-XXV; XXI; XXVII. Because of the elaborate directions indicating the various skips necessary to read the MS consecutively, the MS was bound at this point. (This stage was possibly prior to the above.)

3. Plans for a new binding allowed the restoration of the correct order of gatherings through most of the MS. However, those gatherings receiving replacement sheets were set aside before the addition of the signatures presently visible. The gatherings with their replaced folios were then all mistakenly bound at the front of the MS. The text section of B remains to this day misbound in the order:

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

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

Since the count is now backwards, only the end of a complete gathering to the beginning of a complete gathering is counted, hence 42 - 2 = 40. It should be remarked that none of the presently visible signature systems correspond to the intermediate order of MS B presented above, nor does this order apparently aid in the interpretation of the mysterious "other" marks at the ends of gatherings. 
Judging from the handwriting of the signatures and cues, the changes were made over a relatively short period of time. The stormy career of MS B, perhaps a witness to the use of B as an exemplar, was probably over by the first quarter of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{222}

MS D (F-PN FR. 1587)

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

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

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

### TABLE 2.8

The Gathering Structure of D

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

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

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

MS E is the only surviving MS for which the original owner is securely known: Jean, duc de Berry.\(^{22*}\) Since Jean had been a patron of Machaut as

\(^{22*}\) His secretary Flamel made an elaborate statement of ownership on the flyleaf fol. Br, and the Duke's autograph ex libris (effaced) appears at the end of the volume, fcl. 238r. On the possible motto relating Vg to Jean de Grailli (who in any case was not the original owner) see Musikalische Werke, II, 10a*\(^{a}\). I suggested above (n. 77) that Yolande of Bar, wife of Juan I of Aragon, may have been an early owner of Vg, a gift from Gaston
early as the beginning of the 1360s, it does not seem unreasonable to expect
a MS to have been prepared for him within the lifetime of the poet. The
dating of the MS is important also for historians of music. Several compo-
sitions in E contain additional voices not found in any other main Machaut
MS; some of these additional voices reappear in musical collections copied
well outside Machaut's purview. Finally, there are two lais unique to MS
E, for which Machaut's authorship has not been unequivocally established.
The dating of François Avril, based on the miniatures, places the MS c.
1390. Two artists collaborated in its illustration, the first of whom is
the master of the Polycratique of Jean de Salisbury. This artist's hand
appears in the first two gatherings (the Prologue and Loange only).

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

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

For instance, F-Pn n.a.f. 6771 and F-CH 564.

See below, Chap. 4.

François Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 128. Millard Meiss
also dated the MS ca. 1390, see French Painting in the Time of Jean de
Berry, I, 315. Meiss counts E among "examples of mediocre illuminations"
belonging to the Duke (ibid., p. 403, n. 12). On the master of the
Polycratique of Charles V (F-Pn fr. 24287), see Avril and Lafaurie, La
Librairie de Charles V (the cover of this catalogue is a color reproduction
of a miniature by this artist), Avril's commentary to No. 206 (the first
artist of MS E is also the first artist of the Polycratique).
Among the large Machaut MSS, E presents an extreme example of a certain structural type. No other MS is as consistent in the physical separation of each section. Except for a group of poems near the beginning copied as a single unit (Prologue- Loange-Vergier-Remede-Behaigne), and the joining of the Confort and the short poem Harpe, all parts of the MS are separable from one another. The final order of the parts was open to the greatest possible flexibility; indeed, there are no catchwords between poems.

Further, an irregular number of leaves appear in some gatherings, and blank pages were even bound into the MS at the ends of sections, without being cut. These blanks were later foliated. Thus, decisions about the overall order of the MS were left to a very late stage. Table 2.9 and the chart of the gathering structure in Appendix A will serve to clarify the above points. Irregularities in the gathering structure always occur at the end of a section, as do blank folios and missing catchwords.

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

---

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

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

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

232 See the paper cited in n. 198 above.
### TABLE 2.9

The Gathering Structure of E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gath.</th>
<th>fol.</th>
<th>catch.</th>
<th>blank</th>
<th>coll.</th>
<th>contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Prologue, lv: Loange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>13r: Compl., 16r: Rond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>18r: Vergier, 22r: Remede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>37r: Behaigne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Navarre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1’Alerion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Fontinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Confort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>105r: Harpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Lais</td>
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<td>115</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Motets and Rondeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Ballades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Virelais, 164r: Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Voir Dit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
comparable to that of Vg(B). 233 Bent has shown that certain parts of the music section of E derive directly from B. 234

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gath. fol.</th>
<th>coll.</th>
<th>contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXXI 213</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV Prise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII 221</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII 229</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV 237</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

233 Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 11a*.

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

235 Though sometimes not without changes. Voices were added, variants in the musical readings and in certain aspects of the notation (e.g., ligature usage and dot placement) had been introduced. Cf. Bent: "In all the
ially available to the scribe of E, the Machaut pieces then popular at the court. When a more recent redaction of this or that work was available, it was incorporated into the new MS. The irregular picture obtained by Bent from her examination of the musical fascicles appears to be explicable in no other manner.

In this connection, two ballades in E are of interest, both with their tenor voices marked: "Tenor. G. de mascandio." These are "Phyton, le merveilleus serpent" [B38] (the last ballade of the ballade section, fol. 157r), and "Nes que on porroit" [B33] (copied with the Voir Dit, fol. 178r). The extra ascription in the tenor is the single curious detail in the notation of this latter ballade.\textsuperscript{236} Much is unusual, however, about the notation of B38. As Ludwig noted (\textit{Musikalische Werke}, I, 46), the ballade was a later addition to the ballade section, though not by much, since it appears in the index. (Fol. 157v and all of fol. 158 are blank, to finish the gathering.) The tenor has the above voice indication, but there is no separate indication for the contratenor, nor are there any of the familiar "or or or" markings below the staves (this practice will be discussed in Chap. 3). As for the music itself, a great many non-standard ligature patterns are found throughout the cantus voice. Seven c.o.p. ligatures appear in E that do not appear in A or G. All but one of these is in the pattern dotted semibreve-semibreve, a pattern that Machaut apparently did not use, since it appears in cases where E preserves extra triplum or contra parts not in B, the entire piece, not just the additional part, is copied from a source other than B" ("Another Bite"); "... but it is not only in the case of such obvious difference as the presence of added parts, or an entirely different version of a piece (e.g., R18, Puis qu'en oublie) that [the scribe of] E chose to use other sources in preference to B" (ibid.). In the case of the lais, radically different variant notations were available (see below, Chap. 4).

\textsuperscript{236} There is no separate clef when the contratenor begins mid-line, but this also happens in B21, fol. 151v.
in none of the central sources CAF-GVg(B).\textsuperscript{237} Of course there were many opportunities to use this kind of ligature, perhaps most obviously at the opening of B18, which is indeed notated with such a ligature (\textsuperscript{238}) in F-Pn it. 568.\textsuperscript{238} B38 is the only work in E with extensive use of this notation.\textsuperscript{239} All this suggests to me that this piece was taken from a small, individual rotulus or a loose sheet, in which the work was individually attributed to Machaut. Perhaps B33, with a similar attribution in the tenor, was also available in this shape.\textsuperscript{240}

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{241} M has no motet texts. Motet poetry is only rarely found divorced
MS E, in which the rondeaux are copied in the section of motets. Ludwig pointed out that the reason for the unusual mixture of genres in this section, as well as the different order in which the rondeaux appear, must have been the unusually large format of the MS.\textsuperscript{242} Had the motets been copied one per opening as in the other Machaut MSS (the normal manner throughout most of the fourteenth century), a large blank space would have been left, covering the lower portion of each opening.\textsuperscript{243} In order to minimize the waste of space, a different means of copying motets was used in E. The motets were copied continuously in long lines (not columns) beginning at the top of the

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

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

\textsuperscript{243} Triplum on the verso, motetus on the recto, or in columns, as in A, F-G and C. Some MSS containing repertoire from the first half of the century still employed the typical thirteenth-century layout, with a motet entered on a single page (F-CA 1328, I-IV 115, CH-Fcu 260). F-Pn fr. 146, again due to the extraordinary size of the codex (462 x 330 mm., according to RISM, B IV2, 163), must be left out of consideration. In another French motet collection of large format, the MS F-Pn n.a.f. 23190 (452 x 325 mm., according to RISM, B IV2, 205), a similar problem of accommodating motets to the large format had been handled in a manner consistent with other fourteenth-century motet collections. The surviving portions of this MS (see E. Droz and G. Thibault, "Un chansonnier de Philippe le bon," RdM, 7 (1926), plates) suggest that the normal procedure was to copy one motet from the top half of the verso to recto, and a second from the bottom half of the recto to the previous verso, thus staggering the longer triplum voice. If any more fragments of the MS are ever discovered, it would be of some interest to observe the skill of the scribe in judging the lengths of motets that were copied in this manner—were extra staves sometimes needed? Judging from some of the interpolated secular songs, occasionally whole lower halves of pages must have been left blank, where several secular pieces were entered. In the case of E, the technique chosen was probably easier for the scribe to control.
verso, which frequently left a large part of the facing recto blank. Occasionally, if the motet was entirely or almost entirely accommodated on the verso, a motet of similar proportions was found to occupy the recto of the opening. Otherwise, the resulting blank spaces were filled by rondeaux. In the final MS, since secular rondeaux fill in odd space on the recto side of the opening, the original order in which the pieces were entered is masked. Table 2.10 shows the disposition of the motet-rondeau section in E. Taking the verso of each opening as a point of reference, the order of copying can be partially reconstructed. Earlier entries in the leftmost columns, later entries towards the right. In general, motets were copied in order. When a shorter motet came up (as first with M8), a recto was filled. When all were copied, the rondeaux were entered, generally the largest and longest first, the shorter ones later. The works underlined in the Table are those determined by Bent not to have derived from the readings in B, or are later works not contained in B. This illustrates well the "various orders and combinations" (see n. 234 above) of readings available

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

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

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

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

TABLE 2.10
The Motet-Rondeau Section in E

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

*: R16 has text only, see n. 163 above.
+: Rondeaux not in B.
*: Rondeaux also copied with Voir Dit.
(R17 is copied only in the Voir Dit).
Considering the entire corpus of Machaut rondeaux, only R20 is lacking in E (also lacking in B).
For the sake of completeness, a few comments are offered here on the structure of the fragmentary text MS H. The three items contained in the MS, which includes two translations from Ovid in addition to the section of Machaut, are described by Ludwig. All three works are physically separate from one another, though all appear to be by the same scribe, thus the parts probably originally belonged together. The two translations each comprise six regular quaternions (fols. 1r-48v; 49r-96v). The fragmentary section containing only Machaut's Prologue (in the "short form" of four ballades) and 96 texts of the Loange occupies two regular quaternions, fols. 97r-112v. At the opening of the Machaut section, there is space left unfilled for a miniature. The Prologue is somewhat truncated, since Guillaume's ballade in response to Dame Nature lacks the third strophe, evidently to keep the scene with Nature on one page. The Prologue as a whole occupies only the recto and verso of fol. 97. At the opening of the Loange, there is the following rubric:

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

248 Musikalische Werke, II, 15*.

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

250 Rubrics are used liberally throughout the book; initials are penned in alternating colors.
MS C (F-PN FR. 1586)

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

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

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251 "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon."

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

252 A date attached by Günther to R6 (1352 marriage of Jean de Valois and Charles III, roi de Navarre) is in line with Avril's dating and answers an objection of Williams to Ludwig's old date of 1360 (see "Contribution de la musicologie").
lia, and catchwords are never indicated between poems. This procedure breaks down after the beginning of the Loange, however, and the second half of the MS, comprising the Loange and the entire music section, appears at first glance to be through-copied.

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

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

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

254 That the MS was a copy of an earlier fourteenth century MS was a necessary added assumption, owing to the reduced contents. The MS was assigned to the fifteenth century in the Bibliothèque Impériale Département des manuscrits Catalogue des manuscrits français, Tome I (Paris, 1868), 259. Compiled during the Second Empire, this remains the current catalog for the MSS of the ancien fonds français.
TABLE 2.11

The Gathering Structure of C

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

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

(+): not an error, since it was usual to omit the 'u'; 'v' would normally come first.
daughter of the King of Bohemia, and wife of Jean, the duke of Normandy, the future Jean II, king of France. Machaut mentions in the Prise that he served Bonne, and perhaps she insisted that the dit dedicated to her father should appear at the head of the collection. She died of the plague in 1349, which may have interrupted the work of the scribes. The collection then must have been completed for some other member of the royal family. In any case, there is no reason to fault the ordering of MS C merely because it does not agree with the order adopted in the later, larger MSS.

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

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

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

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

See "Contribution de la musicologie";

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

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

Avril's inference may have implications for the dating of this poem.

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

1. Behaigne: First collaborator of the master of the Remède de Fortune.
2. Remede: Master of the Remède de Fortune. Other MSS illuminated by him are given in Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," pp. 112-13. Most are assignable to the period 1350-56. See also Avril, Manuscript Painting, p. 26.
3. Alerion: Second collaborator of the master. Avril identifies him with an artist prominent throughout the reign of Charles V, the master of the Livre du Sacre of Charles V (GB-Lbl Tib. B.VIII). On this artist, see Avril and Lafaurie, La Librairie de Charles V, p. 89 and commentary to Nos. 167, 170, 177, 196, 200, 203, and 205; Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," p. 114, n. 1; Avril, Manuscript Painting, pp. 28-29 and Pl. 27-28, and bibliography, p. 32.

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

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

259 Hoepffner's date for the Remede is before 1342. It is certainly
The division of the artistic work might also explain a fragmentary set of signature-numbers in the MS (compare Table 2.11 above, gatherings IX-XIII). In her dissertation, Elizabeth Keitel noted the signatures "aiii" on fol. 62r, and "eiivi" on fol. 97r. Keitel indicated that the presence of signature markings not consistent with the final layout of the MS could mean that the MS was rearranged at one point. However, the full set of signature markings at the tops of folios probably dates from the original fourteenth-century binding. Particularly notable is the fact that only one alphabet is used for the entire MS. There are two forms of "r," two of "s," use of both "v" and "u," and three forms of "z." It appears more likely that the other signature system is tied to the decoration of the l'Alerion and Vergier. Although they were copied by different text scribes, the painting of the illustrations was undertaken by the same artist, the second collaborator of the master of the Remède de Fortune. The carefully planned program of illustrations may explain why the narrative poems were copied as separate units. The text was divided between two scribes, while the illuminations from before 1357, the date of Confort, for Remede is referred to there. Hoepffner placed it before 1342 because Lyon is dated that year and Remede precedes Lyon in the chronologically-ordered MSS (Oeuvres, II, ii; cf. also p. xv). Poirion places it about 1350 (Le poète, p. 201 and n. 28; he does not mention Hoepffner's date), but his argument connecting the poem to the death of Bonne of Luxembourg, based on the refrain "Qui bien aime, a tart oublie" (Remede v. 4256), may not be apposite, since this refrain is found in thirteenth-century MSS (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 33b*-34a*). This refrain also is the opening line of the Lai de plour [L22], which is attached to the end of Navarre (cf. below, Chap. 3, pp. 284ff). Perhaps the Remede was revised around 1350; in any case, it is the most important work in MS C.

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

261 The text scribes are identified by Keitel, "A Chronology," Table V, p. 33, and Table VIII, p. 42.
were divided among three artists. Thus, the narrative poems were copied separately to allow an artist to decorate one whole poem at a time.

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

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

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

\footnote{263} "Contribution de la musicologie." Machaut was presumably about fifty years old at the time of the compilation of the MS.
mitted by MS C. With the exception of the motets, a genre already quite familiar to the scribe, and perhaps to a degree the lais, the care taken in the entry of these pieces in the MS is extraordinary (see below, pp. 219ff).

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

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

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

265 The apparent irregularity of the placement of L4, which has no music, has been neatly explained by Silvia J. Huot: "Perhaps 'Aus amans pour exemplaire' [L4] has been associated with 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire' [L5] on the basis of their complementary rhyme schemes: 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire' uses the rhymes -aire and -ort, in the order abbbba, in its opening and closing stanzas; while 'Aus amans pour exemplaire' opens with the same rhymes, in the order aaaaab. The opening line, 'Aus amans pour exemplaire,' also echoes the closing line of 'Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire.' These verbal associations have been exploited in the manuscript arrangement, so that the two poems form a nearly continuous pair" ("The Illuminated Series of Lays").
**TABLE 2.12**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fol.</th>
<th>lais</th>
<th>ball.</th>
<th>vir.</th>
<th>rond.</th>
<th>motets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>165r</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168v</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170r</td>
<td>L3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173r</td>
<td>*L4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174r</td>
<td>L5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176v</td>
<td>L6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179r</td>
<td>L7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181v</td>
<td>L10</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184r</td>
<td>L12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186v</td>
<td>B19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187r</td>
<td>L22</td>
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<td>189r</td>
<td>L14</td>
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<td>191r</td>
<td>*L11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>192v</td>
<td>*L13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194v-</td>
<td>*L8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>195r</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>196r</td>
<td>*L9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>197v</td>
<td>V25</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>200v</td>
<td>B23</td>
<td></td>
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<td>201v</td>
<td>R2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>R7</td>
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<td>203r</td>
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<td>203v</td>
<td>V16</td>
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<td>205v</td>
<td>V30</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205r</td>
<td>V29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205v</td>
<td>R10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206v-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>224v</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) indicates a lai not set to music.
deaux, which are the first of the rondeaux set to music by Machaut. At the very end of the MS, the motets appear in a closed section.

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

\[ \begin{align*}
    \text{XXVI} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
        203 \\
        204 \\
        205 \\
        206 \\
        207 \\
        208 \\
        209 \\
        210
    \end{array} \\
    & \quad \begin{array}{c}
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
        [ ] \\
    \end{array} \\
    & \quad \begin{array}{c}
        (Rondeaux, etc.) \\
        (Motets)
    \end{array}
\end{align*} \]

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

---

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

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

(R9, end of ten. and ct.)

203 r R1, R6
v V16

204 r B22 (ca. only)
v R3, R4

205 r V30
v V29 (with blank space for tr. of R10)

206 r R10
v M1

207 r \n
v M2

208 r \n
v M3

209 r \n
v M5

210 r \n
v M6

211 r \n
v M7 etc.

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

\[\text{This still does not explain why fol. 186v was left half blank.}\]
small error in recopying would require the subsequent omission of an entire
motet. While it is not clear why this particular motet was left out, it is
significant that there is clearly a structural irregularity at just this
point in the MS; an anomaly like this in a MS as carefully copied as C is a
vestige of dramatic reorganization here. Thus, it is probable that the
omission of M4 in the series of motets was an accident, and that M1-20 are
all works dating from before c. 1350.

SUMMARY

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

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

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

269 There is no stub visible to the casual observer between folios 210
and 211: the stub from fol. 203 was glued and carefully scraped, making a
seamless (though not invisible) joint. The other stubs were glued together
behind the joint—every effort was made not to spoil the appearance of the
MS by unsightly stubs or blank folios. Cf. M. Bent, "The Old Hall
Manuscript: A Paleographical Study" (Diss. Cambridge 1968), pp. 192-93 on
the section of isorhythmic motets in GB-Lbl Add. 57950: the location of the
last two motets was set, fixing the number of motets in the section. The
others were possibly copied backwards to insure this arrangement.
there was a rearrangement of a gathering to change two through-copied poems into separable units. In C, there was revision of the layout by means of grafting gatherings together. MSS Vg(B) and F-G were each probably originally in two parts, which were later bound together to form single volumes. F-G is today again bound in two parts. In Vg(B), this would have allowed the text and music sections to remain distinct.

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

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

271 Estimating the number of gatherings required to copy a given work may have been a commonly cultivated skill, judging from a remark of Machaut in the Voir Dit: "Et tenra environ .xii. quanhiers de .xl. poisins. Et quant il sera parfait, je la feray escrire et puis si le vous envoieray." (P. Paris ed., p. 363, letter X, quoted in S. J. Williams, "An Author's Role," p. 441. ["And it will take up about twelve gatherings at 40 (or 39?)"
Conversely, if a deluxe MS is completely through-copied, the chances are that the problems of organization were solved in advance. The preplanning allowed a simplified job of copying, since the lengths of works and the lengths of gatherings did not have to be estimated or synchronized. In addition, a large number of uniformly prepared (pricked and ruled) gatherings could be made ready ahead of time. MS M is through-copied, from a complete MS now lost.

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

Cf. also Christine de Pizan, who, in 1405, boasting of the completion since 1399 of "xv. volumes principaulx," further commented on having written smaller dits that all together contained "environ .lxx. quayers de grant volume" (Lavision-Christine, ed. Sister Mary Louis Towner [Washington, D.C., 1932], p. 164, quoted in Huot, "Lyric poetics," p. 216; new ed. by C. Reno forthcoming).
Another factor bearing on the same point is the amount of time allowed for the preparation of a book. A If it was a large one, several scribes could have been involved in the copying, with different sections entrusted to different copyists. Inferences concerning this factor can be made from a consideration of purely physical data, such as changes of scribal hand. Two scribes tidily divided the work of copying MS C, while the hastily-copied MS B was divided (sometimes haphazardly) among more than five scribes (see below, Chap. 3).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besides this reference from the Voir Dit, there is the concrete example of a relationship between exemplar and copy among the MSS discussed above.

For much of the music of MS E, MS B provided the readings.²⁷⁵ Given the line of reasoning presented above, one might expect that E would exhibit a disposition of contents more through-copied than B. That is not at all the case—MS E is more thoroughly divided into sections than any other MS.

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

²⁷⁵ See the paper of M. Bent referred to in n. 198 above.
However, E (unlike the central MSS) was not prepared from a single, uniform exemplar. While the basic corpus of E is comparable to that of B, it was greatly supplemented by other sources. It seems possible that the collection of the material for the MS may have proceeded first from the collection of such "other sources." The somewhat imperfect exemplar B then filled-in the rather considerable gaps; other sources were even used for some items that were already present in B. Since so many exemplars, probably of the most diverse nature, were brought together to produce MS E, almost every section of E was kept separate to allow for a final ordering of the material after the true extent of the MS came into view. The overall extent of the MS was not apparent from the beginning, and the arrangement of the parts was left open until the last moment. In the end, the index of works, copied after the final arrangement, lent a certain authority to the final organization of the MS, even though it is not Machaut's order. Nothing serves to separate E more from the other MSS than this haphazard way in which it was collected; the author had no part in the collection of the MS. On the other hand, nothing dramatizes the situation with F-G, also a MS of the 1390s, as much as its close relation to A. The same exemplar material probably served for both MSS.

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

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276 E of course was very carefully planned, as is indicated by the editing that the Loange underwent (pieces that appear elsewhere with music were weeded out, the rondeaux were separated from the ballades, etc.), and by the appearance of the musical works for the Voir Dit within the Voir Dit itself.
the MSS are generally ordered very similarly. Unless the author was constantly available for consultation, however, the only means of controlling this factor was with an authoritative exemplar whose order is set by through-copying to some extent, eliminating the possibility of easy rearrangement of the gatherings. In general, the MSS support this impression: some parts of most of the MSS are through-copied. The order of the pieces was thus confirmed at the outset, but breaks were occasionally made to make the production process more efficient. Succeeding MSS were not always divided at the same place. Still, the layout of the exemplar could have influenced the selection of these dividing points. In later years, the earlier works would have been recopied perhaps in more fixed order, while recent works would not yet be fixed as to location in the MS.277

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

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

278 Some of the works would have been twenty or more years old at the time of the copying of the larger MSS—older pieces would probably tend to be recopied into miniature through-copied MSS, thus guaranteeing their order. In this regard, it is perhaps significant that the first large division in MS A occurs after the pieces dating basically from before 1350.

279 This does not mean to imply that an addition to a MS indicates that the piece added is therefore necessarily chronologically later. Compare the music section of MS A: there are later additions, but these pieces were part of the original corpus. Evidence of a real change of plan is seen in the text section with the erasures in the index. In MS C, the change of layout near the end of the MS probably is related to a change in the nature of the exemplar material. The motets are set in their order, therefore they belong with the original layer of the MS. This is corroborated by physical irregu-
Thus, it is logical that the presumed later works of Machaut are structurally separable in the MSS. And since many of the MSS are virtually contemporary with the production of new works by the author, it is to be expected that irregularities in ordering appear at the ends of sections: a group of earlier through-copied works is distinct from a group of physically separate later works. In sum, individual MSS were not collected and written with uniform ease throughout. Though the Machaut MSS are to a great extent similar, a broad cross-section of solutions to problems encountered in medieval bookmaking is seen.

Perhaps it is only because the two later large dits (Voir Dit and Prise) are so long, but these tend to be copied independently of the rest of the MS, and are variable in order with respect to the other poems. An "official" order had not yet been established.
Chapter 3

SCRIBAL PRACTICE AND MS PRODUCTION: THE COPYING OF TEXT AND MUSIC IN THE MACHAUT MSS

The conviction that modern Western musical notation is ideally suited to the representation of music written before the consolidation of that system is an idea long since fallen from fashion. Unavoidably, a modern critical edition of a medieval work masks many potentially significant characteristics of the original source.\textsuperscript{211}

Inquiry into the significance of MS presentation for works of polyphonic music—particularly the study of physical aspects of preparing or copying MSS—has, until fairly recently, not been a concern of music historians.\textsuperscript{212}

In 1956, van Dijk was able to state that

\ldots we are faced with a problem which so far has not had the attention of palaeographers, namely the question of medieval musical notation and, more particularly, of how a medieval scribe planned his

\textsuperscript{211} The original MS presentation of a work of medieval literature can actually suggest an interpretation of the work. John V. Fleming, The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton, 1969), pp. 13-14, begins with an interpretation of the Roman on the basis of illustrations in the MSS. The paper of Sylvia Huot ("The Illuminated Series of Lais") is such a literary study based on the illustrations for the lais in MS C. A similar approach would be possible for many of the Machaut narrative poems as well. The raw material in App. B and C below may be viewed as a starting point for such an undertaking. An excellent collection of essays treating this question with regard to musical notational symbols was published in 1971, Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewusstseins, ed. Thrasybulos G. Georgiades (Kassel, 1971). The essays of Eggebrecht and Dahlhaus are of special interest.

\textsuperscript{212} Aspects of MS size and format were studied by Heinrich Besseler, see above, n. 2. Far more wide-ranging and thorough are the more recent studies by M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, and John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," JAMS, 34 (1981), 393-427.
ruling for both text and music.283

He proceeded to outline various practices for ruling and writing text in MSS of liturgical music from the adiastematic notation of the tenth century through the staff notation of the thirteenth.284

In the mid-thirteenth century, the Franciscans and Dominicans promulgated rules for the copying of MSS of liturgical music. As the reform was codified and practiced by the Franciscans, the major development was the use of a staff, drawn as a solid unit in red or black, with lines that stood independent from the lines of the text ruling. In addition, greater care was exercised in leaving proper spaces between syllables to allow for the entry of melismas when the music was copied.285 In the older style of copying music, the MS was ruled usually in two columns with dry-point lines.286 Texts not set to music were ruled in the same manner as chanted texts, and were written in the same size script, but three ruling lines were skipped between texts to serve as a staff; in other words, the lines of the text ruling doubled as the staff lines. Such a staff appears tightly packed, since the top staff-line coincides with the ruling for the line of text above, or, alternatively, the bottom staff-line coincides with the ruling


285 The prescriptions of the Franciscans were drawn up in greater detail than those of the Dominicans. Both sets of rules are printed in a manner convenient for comparison in Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag (Kassel, 1967), pp. 124-25.

that defines the upper limits of the space for the line of text below. This technique had some weaknesses:

vertically the lineae spissae [close ruling lines] leave insufficient space for accurate placing of neumes, and in melodies with some range the neumes come too near or even between the words of the text. Horizontally, the small, condensed text of neumatic chants often causes the neumes to be cramped or placed inaccurately. 287

Nevertheless, the technique had served adequately for the copying of liturgical music since Guido. In the newer style, four instead of three lines of ruling were skipped for a staff, now usually drawn in red. It stood free from interference with the text above and below, since the lines of the staff no longer coincided absolutely with the lines of the ruling. 288

In monophonic chanson MSS as well, the text was entered first, and sufficient vertical space was left between lines of text for later entry of the staff. 289 Significantly, it appears possible that it was the notation of polyphonic music, specifically the notation of the Parisian organa, that had worked a reform in the notation of all types of music, reaching monophonic liturgical music even in Italy by the mid-thirteenth century. 290 The scale of the Parisian development was even further reaching in that for the first

time, a highly melismatic musical style necessitated the prior entry of
music. An incomplete clausula ("Pa") in the fifth fascicle of I-Fl Plut.
29.1 [F], fols. 164v-165r, illustrates the manner in which the clausulae,
and no doubt the organa as well, were copied (see Figure 3.1).291

The music for the duplum breaks off in the second system on fol. 165r,
and the tenor was not entered at all on this folio. No text syllables were
entered later. The spacing of the notes in the melismatic voices is very
regular, and there are no special difficulties in the spacing at points
where syllables change.

For the conductus and motet sections of MSS of the Magnus Liber, the
opposite holds. The gaps evident between music in textless or melismatic
sections and the following syllabic sections indicate that the scribe was
skipping space between entries of stretches of text. For instance, at the
opening of the fascicle of three-voice conductus in I-Fl Plut. 29.1 (fol.
201r, Perotin's "Salvatoris hodie"), the scribe allowed too much space
before the syllable "-tur" on the third system, and the music appears to
jump ahead to the syllable (see Figure 3.2).

Similar examples appear repeatedly in the following folios.292 The words,
as one would expect, were the factor determining the layout of the MS. The
music was entered last. Only for the extremely melismatic organa is there
evidence that the music of the duplum was entered before the text.293

291 Bibliographical details on this clausula are in Ludwig,
Repertorium, I, 1, 83.

292 The conductus on fols. 252v-254v were entered music first, with
gaps between notes left for syllabic sections; no text was ever entered.
These are later additions and do not reflect the notation of the preceding
conductus (see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 100).

293 There are also sources of organum in which text was uniformly
entered first. An excellent example is the Vatican source discussed by
By the late thirteenth century in France, no form of vocal music called for the prior entry of music in a MS. Nevertheless, the term "text underlay" is a common one, and it would seem to carry with it tacit assumptions about the procedures followed in copying MSS. Approaching the question through a study of the practice followed in the Machaut MSS, the techniques of copying music in France in the fourteenth century will be sketched below, and the development will be traced to a point in the fifteenth century where a change in the practice (i.e., music copied before text) can be ascertained. In the broadest terms, we are dealing with stylistic changes in poetry and its musical setting as mirrored in contemporary MS production.

THE QUESTION OF GENRE

Probably the single most important consideration in the study of this change is genre. A monophonic or polyphonic musical setting, a text which is set syllabically or melismatically, the number of texted voices, the nature of the accompanying voices, the characteristics of the poetic form: these properties varied depending upon genre, and different genres were dealt with in different ways by contemporary scribes.


294 In a modern sense, "text underlay" is a term used to describe the editorial practices involved in associating a specific syllable with a specific note in a modern edition. The term is misleading in this sense and will not be retained here. It seems that too many modern editors truly believe that the text was, physically, underlaid in the sources. "Text setting," "text placement," or even "texting" are clearer terms.

295 The way the music was entered into the Machaut MSS is fully typical of the period. Scribes did not use different practices in copying MSS of different destinations.
One of the outstanding qualities of Machaut as a composer is that he demonstrated mastery of several genres. Not surprisingly, some of these forms were copied in different formats in the MSS. The diversity of the forms cultivated by Machaut precluded ruling the MS in advance in a uniform manner from beginning to end.

There was an established tradition guiding the copying of two of the genres: the motet and the monophonic chanson. Basic to the contemporary motet style was the simultaneous presentation of two texts over a structured supporting voice. All parts of the text were written out in the musical setting; internal poetical repetitions that might have allowed the repetition of the same music with only the cadences differentiated (using, say, the ouvert-clos notational shorthand), were not so composed.296 In addition, residual stanzas of text do not appear.297 The long note-values of the untexted supporting voice resulted in comparatively short musical parts. In fourteenth-century MSS, motets were easily and efficiently copied by employing a single opening for the entire work.298 By this means, all parts were


297 There are a few examples of strophic motets in the thirteenth century (see below, n. 415).

298 Frequently the polyphonic chanson, a less predictable form with regard to layout, was copied into a motet MS, to be used as a space filler at the bottom of an opening. Examples are in I-IV 115, GB-Lbl Add. 41667 I [McV], and F-Pn n.a.f. 23190. Sometimes, as in F-CA 1328 and occasionally in I-IV 115, one page-side only was employed, see Besseler, "Studien-I," pp. 173-74.
simultaneously visible to the performers. It made for a generally uniform ruling pattern in the motet section of the Machaut MSS.

Apart from the motet, the other genre copied in MSS long before Machaut's time was the monophonic chanson. Two general types are found in the chansonniers: the chanson in which all strophes are set to the same melody (the vast majority), and the chanson in which each strophe receives a separate setting (the lai and descort). This latter type is cultivated by Machaut in the form of the lai, while the former type is represented by the several monophonic virelais (three-fourths of the group of virelais set to music: V1-20, 23, 25, 28, 30), as well as a single monophonic ballade [B37], and two of the musical interpolations in the Remede, the complainte [Rem2] and the chanson royale [Rem3]. From the standpoint of MS copying, the difference is clear. In chansons with only the first strophe set to music, the text of succeeding strophes, usually copied in columns, was entered after the provision for the musical notation. In the lais, since each strophe had its own separate musical setting, there was much more music and no residual text. In contrast to polyphonic works, neither type presented problems of planning page-turns.

Regardless of destination, MSS of polyphonic music were copied since the mid-thirteenth century to allow simultaneous visibility of the voices.

Machaut's strophic lai "Loyaute que point" [L1] excepted. It would seem then that uniform ruling could have been undertaken for monophonic sections of the MSS. However, whole gatherings were not uniformly ruled in advance, since a single long-line format was employed for the lais with music, but the normal two-column text format was preferred when lais not set to music intervened.

There are some polyphonic lais or parts of lais, but these are either canonic (one voice only is notated), or they are notated in a manner indistinguishable from monophony, in the "successive notation" described by Sarah Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony—A Reappraisal," JAMS, 24 (1971), 169-92. The two specially-notated lais in Machaut MS E are discussed in Fuller's
While most of the copying procedures dealing with motets and monophonic chansons were the traditional ones in the Machaut MSS, there was one new procedure used in the copying both of monophonic and polyphonic music that had not been practiced previously in musical works with texts. In the new usage, verses equivalent in meter and rhyme, which called for the repetition of a musical phrase with differentiation only of the cadence, commonly had their music notated only once. The text was copied in double lines one above the other for the two statements, and a single line of music entered above served both texts. The cadences were differentiated by means of an "ouvert-clos" ending, much like the modern first and second endings of a repeated section. In the earlier usage, which extended through the period of the Roman de Fauvel (F-Pn fr. 146, c. 1316), any successive repetition in a poetic scheme entailed the literal repetition of an entire phrase of music, even though only the cadence was differentiated.\textsuperscript{302}

\textsuperscript{302} The notation of ouvert-clos cadences in chansons developed in the early part of the fourteenth century; at least its application to works with text cannot be traced before Machaut MS C (see below, n. 338, for a discussion of copying problems in MS C at just this point in the music; the rotulus Maggs may antedate MS C). The music of the lais, as well as of all lyrics in formes fixes intercalated into the Roman de Fauvel, was written out in full. One line of text was entered, and the music was entered above, regardless of the number of internal repetitions this necessitated in the music. The earliest use of an ouvert-clos notational shorthand occurred in purely instrumental pieces, such as the estampies added probably within the first quarter of the fourteenth century to the first part of the Chansonnier du Roi (F-Pn fr. 844, trouvère chansonnier M, facs. ed. Jean and Louise Beck, Philadelphia, 1938), fol. 7r [Beck facs. fol. 5r]; 176v [103v], and 177r-v [104r-v]; also Pierre Aubry, Estampies et danses royales (Paris, 1907, rpt. Geneva, 1975). The shorthand notation used in the three estampies in GB-Lbl Add. 28550 (Robertsbridge codex) is probably slightly later, see Reaney, "Robertsbridge Codex," MGG, XI (1963), also H. Vanderwerf, "Estampie," New Grove, J. Handschin, "Estampie," MGG, III (1954), and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Punctus," HMT (1974). Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 16 n. 29, suggests that the Robertsbridge Codex could be connected to the French King John II, an organ enthusiast, in captivity in England from 1357-60. The question of the development of the shorthand
The Polyphonic Chanson

The most important factor influencing the outward appearance of the musical MS in the fourteenth century was the development of a polyphonic chanson style. The largest number of problems in planning a well-executed music MS were encountered in the copying of the polyphonic *formes fixes*. In the new polyphonic chanson, a tenor lengthier and rhythmically more lively than any motet tenor supported the cantus. The melismatic character of the upper voice should also be considered one of the truly innovative aspects of the new fourteenth-century style.32

The florid cantus style, as well as the addition of an active tenor, profoundly affected the techniques of MS copying. Henceforth, the scribe entering the text had to take care to leave sufficient space between text syllables so that the scribe entering the music would have room to copy the extended melismas. He also had to allow room for the untexted tenor, and, on occasion, even an untexted triplum or contratenor. Finally, residual stanzas of text had to be accommodated. Depending on the number of voices and the ornateness of the lines, there was a large difference in the size of individual works. By Machaut's time, the size of the poems themselves was

notation used in Italian *cacce* (first seen in I-Rvat 215/I-OS, mid- to late fourteenth century) is unresearched.

Melismas were rare in thirteenth-century motets. In the so-called Petronian motet style, the increasing subdivision of the breve "was more often syllabic than melismatic" (Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, I* [Bern, 1973], 551). More extended melismas begin to appear in the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196, see Ludwig Repertorium, I, 2, 552 (No. 314), 554 (No. 322), 557 (No. 328), 561 (No. 340), 561f (No. 341), 563 (Nos. 343, 344). Numbers in parentheses also refer to the edition of Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle*, Vol. III (Paris, 1936), and Hans Tischler, *The Montpellier Codex, Vol. III* (Madison, Wi., 1978). Figure 3.3 gives an example, No. 322. Ludwig was not aware that F-MO 196 Nos. 340-41 ("Balâm") form a single English composition, the duplum of which is preserved in GB-Onec 362, fol. 86r. Ed. Harrison, *Motets of English Provenance, PMFC, XV*, No. 2.
Figure 3.3: F-MO 196, fol. 372r (No. 322)
far more predictable (with regard to the number of strophes required for each form), than in the thirteenth century, but the specific requirements of each of the three formes fixes were different. Ballades generally received the most ambitious settings, and demanded the greatest amount of space in the MS. The rondeaux were shorter poems, with the smallest amount of residual text, but rondeau settings soon became more florid, with longer melismas than the majority of the ballades, no doubt in an effort to extend the musical setting of this otherwise modest poetic form. Since all voices of a polyphonic work had to be simultaneously visible to the reader, careful planning was required in this portion of the codex.

An account of the early development of the polyphonic chanson in the fourteenth century must remain speculative, given the state of the extant source material. The single polyphonic rondeau of Jehannot de l'Escurel ("A vous, douce debonnaire") from the beginning of the century cannot be considered a direct forerunner of the style of polyphonic chanson as it finally developed. Indeed, the manner in which this rondeau is entered into the

Daniel Poirion, Le Poète, p. 433, notes that rhymes are richer in Machaut's rondeaux than in his ballades. The more florid poetry is thus paralleled by a more florid musical setting (see below, n. 384). In addition, the first polyphonic rondeaux settings of Machaut are chronologically later than the first lais, ballades, and virelais, because they first appear in the later, unordered series of works in MS C (cf. above, Table 2.12, p. 139).

Concrete evidence of the immediate musical roots of the style of the fourteenth-century polyphonic chanson before the first examples of Machaut is totally lacking. A recent article by W. Arlt gives the historiography of the research into this question, tracing the development from Ludwig to Hasselman and Dömling: "Aspekte der Chronologie und des Stilwandels im französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts," in Aktuelle Fragen der Musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung (Basel Colloquium 1975), Forum Musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte, Bd. 3 (Winterthur, 1982), pp. 196ff.
MS mirrors the essential characteristics of its style. The three voices are copied "in score," with text below only the lowest voice.\textsuperscript{107} The melody of the principal voice (the middle voice) determines the shape of the accompanying voices.\textsuperscript{108}

The secular song as developed by Machaut represents an entirely different conception. Here, the cantus has melismatic sections alternating with syllabic sections, and is supported by accompanying voices in contrasting textures. Although Jehannot died presumably in 1303,\textsuperscript{109} his single polyphonic rondeau remains the most musically advanced chanson setting in a \textit{forme fixe} until the 1340s, when Machaut's serious production of polyphonic chansons evidently began. From the 1320s, there is an oft-quoted statement of Jacob de Liège, that his contemporaries practice little else but motets and can-


\textsuperscript{107} This arrangement attaches directly to the tradition of the rondeaux of Adam de la Halle, F-Pn fr. 25566, fols. 32v-34v. Four rondeaux with identical layout appear among the fragments F-CA 1328 (RISM, B IV2, 121, Nos. 9, 10, 7, 8). Finally, there are two more examples of this format in the fragment F-Pn pic. 67, fol. 68 (facsimile of the first in F. Gennrich, "Mittelalterliche Lieder mit textloser Melodie," AMw, 9 [1952], opp. 126). See also Ludwig, \textit{Repertorium}, I, 2, 696. Ludwig considered it likely that if the 37 rondeaux in the text chansonnier I (GB-Ob Douce 308) had been composed polyphonically, they too would most likely have been three-voice works of the type composed by Adam de la Halle (\textit{Repertorium}, I, 1, 312).

\textsuperscript{108} Independent appearance of the middle voice of l'Escurel's rondeau as a monophonic setting, the third work in the collection, proves that it is the principal voice. This is also true of the polyphonic rondeaux of Adam; the middle voice of Adam's "Dame or sui" appears alone at the end of the eighth gath. of I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvère chansonnier a), fol. 60v (new 55v). Aspects of L'Escurel's songs are analyzed in Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 209-27.

tilenae. But the only works of secular polyphony clearly traceable from the period between F-Pn fr. 146 and the Machaut MSS are the chaces appearing in F-Pn pic. 67, later witnessed by B-Br 19606 and I-IV 115.

Fifteenth-century testimony gives credit to Philippe de Vitry for "finding the [new] style of writing ballades," and it has been presumed that he was instrumental in the development of the polyphonic chanson. But not a single specimen is extant. Even if some of the secular works interpo-

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"Aprèz vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motès, et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique trouva les .iiiij. prolacios, et les notes rouges, et la noveleté des proporciions" (Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique, ed. E. Langlois p. 12). Langlois, p. xxviii, dates the treatise after the death of Froissart (1411), and before 1432, when parts were borrowed by Baudet Herenc for his Doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique.

Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 555, in reference to Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," p. 332, notes that "it has been assumed quite properly that in the field of chansons [Vitry's] innovations must have concerned the formulation of a new polyphonic style." See also Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de" New Grove, XX, 25b-26a.

The only surviving lyrical poetry of Vitry, a "mythological" ballade, is described and edited in E. Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques," 385-417. Pognon, p. 391, dates the ballade of Vitry 1339 at the latest. It already conforms to all of the rules of what was becoming the fourteenth-century ballade forme fixe. Such a poem would, however, not have been set to music, see Schrade, PMFC Commentary I, 40-41. Vitry's ballade has a hitherto unrecognized concordance in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century text chansonnier, see p. 18 and n. 31 above.
lated into the Roman de Fauvel (F-Pn fr. 146) were written by Vitry, the question remains open, since the only polyphonic compositions contained in the Roman are motets. 115

The young Vitry was a member of the circle involved in the production of the Roman and its interpolations. Since the latest and most modern motets included in the MS are possibly his—indeed, judging from the topical texts, they were written expressly for this circle—it is likely that if Vitry had also composed polyphonic chansons at this time, some would have been included in the Roman. It appears that the development of the new chanson style postdates the mid 'teens of the fourteenth century. 116

A primary development in the musical style of the chanson in this interim period was the melismatic treatment of the text. The essential factor from the copyist's point of view was the spacing of the words. Indeed, if a MS were set up to receive music, preliminary conclusions about the melismatic

115 Possible contributions of Vitry to the monophonic songs contained in the Roman are discussed in Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," pp. 349-51. Schrade (p. 350) also points out a specific link between l'Escurel and a ballade in the Roman. The possibility that some of the ballades and rondels in the Roman itself may be by l'Escurel is further developed by Gilbert Reaney in "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 424-25.

style of the chanson could be made, even if the music itself had never been copied. The principal source of the Prise amoureuse (F-Pn fr. 24391, dated 1332) of Jehan Acart de Hesdin would seem to be such a MS. In the preface to his edition of the poem, Ernest Hoepffner noted that the text of each of the lyrical interpolations was copied in a manner allowing the entry of music, but that no music had ever been entered. Nonetheless, Hoepffner believed it probable that the copyist worked from an exemplar that included music. Later, after the discovery of four more MSS, none of which contained music, Hoepffner decided that the music must never have existed, because otherwise at least one MS with music would have surfaced.

In the MS itself, the number of blank lines left for the later entry of staves varies from one to three; most often, the space is hardly adequate even for a four-line staff (Hoepffner's "breiter Zwischenraum" is hardly accurate). More to the point, there are no spaces left between words, nor are any syllables separated. Such music would have been simpler even than the settings of Jehannot de l'Escurel. Music never existed for the poems.

317 Ernest Hoepffner, La Prise amoureuse von Jehan Acart de Hesdin (Dresden, 1910), p. vii: "Der Text der lyrischen Einlagen ist in Prosazeilen niedergeschrieben, nicht metrisch gegliedert. Zwischen den einzelnen Zeilen ist jedesmal ein breiter Zwischenraum frei geblieben, der zur Aufnahme von Musik bestimmt war. Diese selbst ist aber nicht eingetragen worden. Es ist fraglich, ob sie überhaupt existiert hat. Doch das Freilassen eines Zwischenraumes zwischen den Textzeilen und die Art und Weise, wie der Text niedergeschrieben ist, machen es wahrscheinlich, dass der Kopist eine Vorlage benutzt hat, die die musikalische Begleitung bereits enthielt" (emphasis mine). In 1902, Ludwig had already noted that space had been left in this MS for the entry of monophonic compositions, "Die mehrstimmige Musik," p. 34.

While sources containing evidence for the musical development of polyphonic *formes fixes* between l'Escurel and Hachaut are apparently lost, sources attesting to poetic developments are plentiful. There are three major sources of lyrical poetry from this period, all in the form of interpolations into longer narrative poems. The first is the *Dit de la panthère* of Nicole de Margival. Hoepffner dated the work within the rather broad boundaries of 1290 and 1328, and indeed the work is somewhat equivocal in that it bridges two eras. In one sense, the poem looks distinctly back to the former age: in the *dit* itself, eight of the nine interpolated poems are by Adam de la Halle. Nicole is careful to give credit to his source, naming Adam seven times in the course of the poem as an authority on love poetry. In another sense, however, the poem looks distinctly ahead to the developments of the fourteenth century. The six interpolated lyrics by Nicole himself are all reserved for an epilogue to the *dit*. Hoepffner notes that Nicole's terminology designating each of his own poems is extremely exact and careful. Indeed, the tendency towards more precise terminology is characteristic of the fourteenth century. Except for the technically difficult *lai*, all of the principal genres of fourteenth-century *formes fixes* are represented. In this sense, the *Dit de la panthère* is a direct model for Machaut's more methodical treatment in his *Remede de fortune*.

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The lyrics of Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *Prise amoureuse* of 1332, discussed above with respect to their supposed musical layout in F-Pn fr. 24391, mark a further stage in the development of formes fixes. Hoepffner thoroughly treated the formal aspects of the nine ballades and nine rondeaux in the introduction to his edition. But the earliest examples of the style of lyrical poetry consolidated by Machaut (in this case, ballades only) is not found until *Li Regret Guillaume* (dated 1339) of Jehan de Le Mote. In his study of the thirty ballades, Hoepffner traces the formal development between the *Prise* of 1332 and the *Regret* of 1339. The new departures are clear-cut enough that Hoepffner distinguishes the practitioners of the older style, including Acart, Nicole de Margival, l'Escurel and the ballades in the collections F-Pn fr. 146 and GB-Ob Douce 308 (trouvère chansonnier I; Oxford chansonnier), from those of the new style, which include Jehan de Le Mote, Philip de Vitry, Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps. Significantly, Jehan is a figure that can be connected to both Vitry and Machaut. The date of the *Regret* of Jehan, 1339, provides the earliest date that can be associated with a secular chanson in the new style by Machaut, since the first ballade of the *Regret* is related to Machaut's early ballade "On ne

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324 On the exchange of ballades between Vitry and Jehan, see Pognon, "Ballades mythologiques," passim. Gilles li Muisis (d. 1353), writing in 1350, mentions all three authors in close succession in his *Meditations* (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove [Louvain, 1882], I, 88-89). See also N. Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages," in English Court Culture in the Late Middle Ages (London, 1982), pp. 190-94.
porroit penser" [B3 = Lo7].

The possibility suggested by Hoepfner, that Machaut wrote virtually no lyric poetry at all before his permanent settlement in Reims in 1340, cannot be rejected. And since it appears that the new style of the ballade was not set until shortly before this time (archaic traits no longer found in the poetry of Machaut and his followers still appear in some of the ballades of Jehan), it cannot be ruled out that Machaut's polyphonic chansons were indeed quite early examples of a new style of secular polyphony in the fourteenth century, and that the new poetic form developed hand-in-hand with new musical procedures.


327 The dissertation of Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," contains a very important stylistic categorization of the fourteenth-century chanson, beginning with the works in F-CA 1328, probably the earliest extant source for chansons in the new polyphonic style (outside of Machaut MS C). Her thesis is that "the musical style of the fourteenth-century chanson grew out of the motet and chace, far more directly than from the earlier chansons" (I, 102). Particularly, the polytextual virelai with folksong tenor "seems to be a very early class of chanson" (I, 112), and is connected to the earlier chace. Her views are summarized pp. 236-41 on Machaut's role, see I, 241-43. I do not feel that her chronological scheme is supported by the very meagre surviving evidence. The importance of geographical distinctions in chanson types is ignored. Rhythmically, even the earliest-looking chansons given are quite distinct from the motet. Most are two- or three-voice works with a single texted voice, a type Hasselman rather weakly derives from the motet (I, 192ff). None can be placed before Machaut's early chansons. Nevertheless, her stylistic treatment of the mid-century chanson is excellent if one does not insist on looking for origins; her emphasis on the virelai at mid-century is completely supported by the extant MS evidence. The dissertation includes
Some of the factors influencing the copying of the music in the Machaut MSS, particularly genre, have been described above. Direct examination of the sources suggests that the following procedure was followed in preparing the Machaut codices to receive text and music.  

1. Guide-lines for the text were ruled. The pattern varied depending on whether long lines or a two- or three-column format was planned. Each of the main Machaut MSS has a variety of formats.

2. The text was entered. For the music sections, the requisite space between ruling lines (usually equivalent to three or four of these lines) was left for the entry of the staves. Sometimes unnecessary text lines were not ruled, but they were usually pricked nevertheless; the music blocks occupy a regular number of text lines. Horizontal gaps were left for the longer melismas and, where necessary, for the notation of the close ending. Residual strophes of text, if present, were most often copied in columns, even when the strophe set to music was entered in long lines. In addition, voice transcriptions of several fragmentary works unavailable elsewhere, and the discussion of F-CA 1328 is an essential revision to the information in RISM, B IV2, 119-28, now further supplemented by several new fragments of the same MS discovered by David Fallows, see "L'Origine du Ms. 1328 de Cambrai," RDM, 62 (1976), 275-80. A dozen or more untranscribed fourteenth-century chansons, some unica, some complete, still await restoration of these fragments.

Demling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais von Guillaume de Machaut, contains a close study of Machaut's chansons that indicates a few points of contact and several divergences between motet and chanson (pp. 67-74, 86ff). A review and evaluation of the theories of Hasselman and Dömling is in Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 202-06.

names for the triplum, tenor and contratenor were entered as neces-
sary.

3. The staves were ruled. Depending upon the MS, entry of the decorated initials might precede or follow the ruling of the staves. 329

4. Finally, the music was entered above the words. Here, as in the thirteenth century MSS, the text continued to determine the MS lay-
out.

329 In MS A, the grisaille initial "L" for the lai "Loyaute qui point" [L1, fol. 367r] was drawn before the entry of the music (see Figure 3.4). The initial extended into the entire space that had been left for the staff. As a result, the text had to be erased and recopied somewhat lower (the word "seur" was added to the end of the previous line) to provide enough space for a three-line staff. Other hints in A indicate that the decoration pre­ceded the entry of the music, e.g., M21 mot. (fol. 434d): the leaf on the "U" for the word "Veni" was drawn before the entry of the clef on the sixth staff. Apparently the same order holds for MS G, e.g., B36 (fol. 147d): the space left blank for a melisma by the text scribe before the syllable "-mours" at the beginning of the second staff was ignorantly decorated with a flourish initial "A-".

By entering the music last, account could be taken of the decorations for the placement of clefs and stems, etc. In C, the opposite is true: music was entered before the initials were painted; the filigree of the initials occasionally cuts across staves or clefs. M. Bent draws some interesting conclusions from the entry of initials in GB-Lbl Add. 57950: some initials were painted after the first scribe's stint of copying, and this scribe left catch letters for further initials that indicate the specific compositions that were to be copied subsequently by this first scribe; he did not return to the MS, however ("The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 70 and 198); see also her "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript," Music and Letters, 47 (1966), 234-38. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 20, cites an example from GB-Ob 213, fol. 30v, of an initial painted before the music was copied.
Ruling

Preparatory to the copying of text or music in a MS, the leaves had to be ruled, that is, guidelines were drawn to delimit the area occupied by the text. Vertical lines divided the text area into one or more columns, while horizontal lines guided the even copy of the text. Due to the heterogeneous contents of the Machaut MSS, in which poetry, music, and, sometimes even prose appear, a variety of ruling patterns are exhibited in a single MS. Nevertheless, a few basic lines of the ruling formed the frame for all formats, and a change in format actually involved nothing more than employing a greater or lesser number of secondary lines over one basic page justification. In texted portions of the MS, the same layout was used for both narrative and lyrical poetry. Besides the principal division of the page into two columns (the extraordinary size of MS E made a

338 In the Machaut MSS, three means of ruling are seen: dry-point lines drawn by a stylus (in the paper MS B), lines ruled in lead (F-G and most of A), and ink lines (C, E, and parts of A). There is apparently no chronological significance to the differing practices, which include all three varieties described in L. W. Jones, "Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and Their Significance," Speculum, 21 (1946), 389-403. However, within a single MS, the use of different ruling tools can be informative. For instance, in MS A, the ink ruling (same color as the text) was possibly changed to lead so as not to interfere with the illustrations. Penned lines are quite noticeable in some earlier illuminations; the lead lines in later illuminations were easily effaced. Ink ruling lines were used until fol. 15, which starts with ink and finishes with lead. Ink is again used for text residua in the music section, beginning with the lais (fol. 367r). The use of lead ruling in the narrative (provincia) part of the Prologue (fols. Fv-Gv) is further suggestive that it was a later addition, along with the foliation (fol. 1 is the opening of Vergier) and the 18 mm. gutter between columns, as in l'Alerion and Voir-Dit. A gutter of 12 mm. was ruled in the earlier parts of the MS.

331 The ruling pattern given by Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," top of p. 47, is the basic variety seen with some variation in the majority of the central MSS, including AF-GVgBC. MS E uses this pattern as well, but in three columns.
three-column format desirable), the distinguishing characteristic of this pattern is the inclusion of an extra vertical line (or even a pair of closely-spaced lines, as in C) to set off the capital letter that begins each line of poetry. In sections of prose, such as the letters in the *Voir Dit*, only the principal division into two columns was necessary. As would be expected, irregularities in the MSS are often corroborated by changes in the ruling pattern. For instance, in MS B, the replacement folios, set apart from the rest of the MS on several other criteria, are distinct in ruling pattern as well—no attempt was made to imitate the general pattern of the rest of the gathering. In MS A, the specially-decorated four ballades of the Prologue also exhibit ruling patterns found nowhere else in the MS.

Preparing the MS for music did not fundamentally alter the ruling procedure. The increase in distance between successive lines of text, necessary to accommodate the staves, was handled in the simplest manner possible: the size of the horizontal ruling lines remained constant, and a set number of these were skipped between lines of text. By the use of regular units of measure, a regular appearance on the page resulted. In sections ruled uniformly for music (such as motet sections), superfluous horizontal lines could be omitted, but the distances between lines can still be seen as multiples of a basic line-unit. Indeed, it would otherwise have been

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332 The ruling pattern for prose is equivalent to the figure in Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," p. 46, right-hand pattern.

333 Moreover, the rest of the MS B shows a very wide variation in ruling.

334 The principle of leaving blank lines for later inclusion of music was well-known to contemporaries, compare Froissart, *L'Espinette amoureuse*, vv. 1046-47: "Ce virelay fis en otant / D'espasse qu'on l'iroit notant" (quoted in Poirion, *Le Poète*, p. 216) ["I made this virelay and left space so that someone might notate it"].
extremely difficult to combine large stretches of both text and music in the
same MS. Thus, for the various formats required for the different genres of
music (long lines or two columns), the same basic ruling pattern was
retained; just as with the different formats in the text section, lines were
merely added or subtracted at will to result in a usable pattern. The fol-
lowing table shows the various layouts employed for the different genres of
music:

335 In a figure in van Dijk, Origins, p. 330, the prick-marks guiding
the ruling lines appear unevenly spaced. However, measurement shows the
smaller space to be four units tall, while the wider space is five units
tall. This pattern is similar to the lai section of Vg, where only the
marks needed to rule the principal guide-lines were pricked (the holes are
clearly visible on the film). According to Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a
Book," p. 62 and n. 64, p. 92, work is presently being done to record the
rulings of a large number of MSS. Craftsmen used multiples of the local
unit of measure in their MSS, and comparison may allow a more exact locali-
zation of MSS than has been possible up until now.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>genre</th>
<th>text disposition below music</th>
<th>page justification</th>
<th>number of texted voices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAIS</td>
<td>2 or 4 lines</td>
<td>usu. 1-col., occas. 2-col.</td>
<td>entire voice(s) with text (only L1 is strophic), monophonic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTETS</td>
<td>1 line</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>two voices with text except tenor and, when present, ct. (tenor of M16 and 20 texted).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASS</td>
<td>1 line</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>all voices with text in most movements. (except MS E).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOCKET</td>
<td>(textless)</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>all voices textless except voice names.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALLADES</td>
<td>2, then 1 line</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>1 voice with text textless ten. (tr., ct.) text-residuum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RONDEAUX</td>
<td>1 line</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>1 voice with text textless ten. (tr., ct.) text-residuum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIRELAIS</td>
<td>1, then 2, then 1 line</td>
<td>1- or 2-col.</td>
<td>most virelais monophonic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The changing formats allow the possibility of determining how much of the MS was ruled in advance. For instance, in MS A, the lais with music are copied in one column, but frequently the superfluous vertical rules marking a two-column justification had already been ruled. This also explains the change of format in the music section of MS C. The older part of the music section (CI) is in a two-column format, which could be written on folios already mostly prepared for text entry (that is, with the two-column format ruled; all of the horizontal text rules were not yet made, however). This format extends to the end of L1 (fol. 168v). In the new series of chansons (CII), a one-column format was employed, and the copy was planned a line at a time.
The most difficult works to plan for in these MSS were the ballades and virelais. These two genres required a change between one and two texted lines (see column two of the above chart). There were at least four different ways of dealing with these sections. At one extreme, the MS could be planned a line at a time. This would require the scribe to rule each line of text as it came up, skipping room for staves where necessary. This appears to have been the case for CII and the ballades in A. At the other extreme, the MS was uniformly ruled for two lines of text below each line of music, leaving one blank where necessary. This was done in E. In F-G (ballades) and A (virelais), the MS was pre-ruled for one line of text below each line of music, and the scribe ruled an extra line in ink where he needed it (some staves thus have more space between them than others). For the virelais in F-G, an ingenious solution was found. Note that the ruling for one line of text actually involves two lines, one for the text to rest on, and one to delineate the top of the vertical space:

| (space for staff) | (text) |

In F-G, the first line of the double text was merely copied on top of the upper line delimiting the text, thus no extra line was needed (this technique was also used for Reml in B).

Entry of Text

In completed MSS, only careful examination of the spacing of notes and text can reveal the order of their entry. The primary indication that notes were entered later than words is the clear attempt to place the notes accurately
over the syllable or word in question; notes entered over text are unevenly placed.\textsuperscript{336}

Illustrative examples from Machaut MSS are easily found. Spaces had to be left between words, adequate for the proper entry of melismatic portions by the music scribe. In largely syllabic pieces, the disposition of the text is quite regular, while the notes above will expand or contract to fit over the syllables. In melismatic pieces, often there are instances where gaps occur between notes, in order to reach the next text syllable.\textsuperscript{337} A special difficulty faced by the scribe copying texts of chansons was the ouvert-clos ending, which for the ballade and virelai (but not necessarily for the lai) involved a change from double to single lines of text.\textsuperscript{338}

\textsuperscript{336} Prompted by a discussion of the Italian Madrigal, Ludwig commented in his review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensuralnotation that groupings of notes have rhythmic significance (SIMG, 6 [1904-05], 607). Certainly groupings of notes in textless passages are rhythmically significant, e.g., in the upper voice of the Christe in MS A. M. Bent discusses several instances in which the spacing of notes functions as a point of division, see "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 110, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." In texted sections, however, these groupings more often are a function of the clear setting of the text below. Groupings become particularly important when text is too crowded for melismatic music. For instance, in B21 C (fol. 200v-201r), unavoidable non-alignment of text and melisma is clarified by the grouping of notes. Cf. the practice in GB-Lbl Add. 57950 (M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 115-16).

\textsuperscript{337} Almost any page of music in a Machaut MS provides examples (cf. above, Figure 2.1, p. 7]). See, for instance, the Amen of the Gloria (fols. 285v-286r) and of the Credo (fols. 289v-290r) in the facs. of MS B, Messe de Nostre Dame, ed. Friedrich Gennrich (Darmstadt, 1957). Gennrich incorrectly states that the MS reproduced is F-Pn fr. 1584 [A], although, incredibly, it truly was Gennrich's intention to reproduce MS B, since it is a copy of the best MS, Vg.

\textsuperscript{338} There are occasional corruptions at these points. For instance, V4 A (fol. 482v): music of the clos is lacking; B4 C (fol. 159r) is also corrupt. The most common problem, however, is in the entry of the text. V10 C (fol. 152c) is a typical case. Since the text of the clos was incorrectly placed directly below that of the ouvert, no room was left for the music; cf. also Rem4 C (fol. 46r), V4 C (fol. 150a), V19 C (fol. 155v) and B6 C (fol. 160b). It is possible that the scribe of C was unaware of the structure of V17 (fol. 154c-155a), with its very long ouvert and clos. The writ-
copying double texts, the text scribe was unconcerned with their exact vertical relationship; only the upper part was to be overlaid with music, and since the second line was identical in syllable-count and rhyme scheme to the first text, particulars of its setting could be derived from the clear setting of the first text. 339 At the clos section, the second text is to be overlaid, thus its proper spacing is important only at that point.

The primacy of text entry as a guiding principle in MS production in Machaut's time is supported by a study of pieces partially or wholly textless. In many cases, there are errors or problems in the MSS. The hocket is wholly textless, except for the identifying voice names. Music not carrying a text was difficult to plan for; for the text scribe, the task of copying music meant the copying of its text. Since the scribe entering the text was responsible for the large-scale layout of a given MS, a work lacking this primary constituent was ambiguous in nature, and the position of the clos text directly under the ouvert text is a frequent problem in MS E. In V23 Vg (fol. 329v) [= B fol. 327v], both ouvert and clos have a very long melisma, and the text scribe did not properly separate the opening syllables of the clos ("dire aimi").

Very few of these errors were corrected by the text scribe. In B7 G (fol. 136a), the syllable "-te" for the clos was erased and moved; in B28 A (fol. 468r), the underlined portion of "medee iason" was erased and moved to the right for the clos; in V25 A (fol. 489v), the text scribe originally wrote the first two words of the clos, "de vous", under the ouvert, but erased them and moved them to the right. See n. 359 below for corrections made by the music scribe in B34 G and B39 G.

Texts left incomplete in C are probably due to unclear passages in the exemplar, cf. B10 C (fol. 162a): there is no ruling for the second text in the first section, but the clos pitch is indicated; also five blank staves are left for the contratenor, possibly a space filler for the lacking second and third strophes; B14 C (fol. 163d-164a), and several virelais in C are also incomplete.

339 Cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 63, for double lines of text in ballades in GB-Ob 213. H. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 127, discusses double-texted canonic settings of the Gloria and Credo in GB-Lbl Add. 57950. This form, which is rather clearly texted for both lines, is further discussed in her "Text Setting in Sacred Music."
the hocket is thus variable in the MSS. A similar problem for the text scribe is provided by the beginning of "Christe/ Veni/ Tribulatio" [M21], the only motet whose untexted opening melisma is labeled Introitus. Thus it is that in MS G, the copying of M21 began at the top of the folio with the texted portion of the motet (fol. 122v). The music scribe, finding no room for the Introitus, had to relegate it to the bottom of the opening.

Even voices with opening rests were troublesome, as in the motetus of "Martyrum/ Diligenter/ A Christo" [M19], and the tenor and contratenor at the opening of the Patrem (see Figure 3.5).

The text, of course, begins at the edge of the column, headed by a large initial. However, the space occupied by the rests makes the relation of the opening pitches to their text ambiguous. The word "Patrem" was not even supposed to be set to music in the tenor and contratenor, but the scribe of A incorrectly began to overlay music. Later, lines were drawn to clarify that the notes were intended for the word "omnipotentem."

That the hocket was left to the end in MSS F-GVg(B) is suggested by the fact that it is placed near, but not quite at, the end of the virelai section. It was among the last pieces to be copied. In A, the hairline indication "sequentur balades" occurs at the end of the Ite (fol. 451r). But the hocket, added later, actually follows.

In A, the voice-name "Introitus" was added by the same corrector who added L22. Motets that open with texted melismas are M9, 19, 22 and 23.

In MS Vg(B), the texted triplum and motetus begin respectively on the second full staff allotted to each, at the very edge. One full staff had been allotted by the text scribe for the later entry of the untexted voice. An example from the eighth fasc. of F-MO 196 shows how an extended opening melisma was handled (cf. above, Figure 3.3, p. 16f). The scribe entered the opening syllable, and then skipped four staves in both triplum and motetus, before continuing with the text, although a different amount of music was involved in each voice.

In MS Vg (fol. 289r) and MS G (fol. 129r), the music scribe intelligently left the word "Patrem" with no notes above it. As usual, MS B (fol. 287r) is inaccurate. MS E (fol. 166v) is partially corrupt. The contratenor is correct, but the tenor is supplied with music, moving in
Figure 3.5: F-Pn fr. 1584, fol. 444r
The most unusual problem in entering text for a work of music was encountered in connection with "Ma fin est mon commencement" [R14]. In this work, the MS presentation was intended to mirror the structure of the work. The cantus, to be read in retrograde (i.e., beginning at the end), is notated with the text written upside-down, starting at the end.\textsuperscript{344} Ludwig's statement that the underlay is completely exact and reasonable (Musikalische Werke, I, 64) needs some qualification. The unprecedented layout of the work caused severe problems in copying. In MSS A, G, and E, the original text setting was completely erased and changed.\textsuperscript{345} In both A and G, the text was originally entered right-side-up in the normal manner, and the space reserved for the initial "M" is clearly visible in both (see Figure 3.6 and 3.7; R14 in MS G is also illustrated in New Grove, XVII, 664).

Perhaps the exemplar had been copied in this manner for the sake of clarity, and a verbal direction explained the desired manner of copying. In any case, it was necessary for the music scribe to set the matter straight.\textsuperscript{346} In MS E, the layout of the voice was correctly understood by the text scribe (the erased text is upside-down), but this too presented problems (see octaves with the triplum for the first two notes, and in octaves with the motetus for the third note.

\textsuperscript{344} Ursula Günther, in "Die Mensuralnotation der Ars nova in Theorie und Praxis," pp. 13-15, was the first to correctly interpret the directions in the poem—the voice designations in both Ludwig's and Schrade's edition are incorrect.

\textsuperscript{345} R14 is missing in Vg. In B, no error of entry occurred (had there been problems, these of course would have appeared in Vg), but the text-music relationship is hopelessly corrupted in B.

\textsuperscript{346} MS A further suggests that the decoration preceded the ruling of the staves. The original catch letter for the contratenor ("C") was realized as an initial (fourth line, fol. 480r), while the catch letter on the previous line for the unusual upside-down "M" was overlooked by the flowerisher.
Figure 3.6: F-Pn fr. 1584, fols. 479v-480r
Figure 3.8). Since the text was written upside-down and backwards, the text scribe began copying from the end of the space allotted for the piece (with the folio upside-down), while the music scribe would of course have started at the beginning (with the folio right-side-up). After the music scribe copied the contratenor and tenor, a large gap was left before the first text syllable, the upside-down “fin.” He did not skip to that syllable, but began his copying immediately after the end of the tenor; the text fell badly out of phase, and had to be erased and reset. The odd ruling pattern below the rondeau shows the space originally intended for the upside-down “vy“ and for the text-residuum. 

Ruling of Staves
The next step was the ruling of the staves. All of the Machaut MSS were staff-ruled with a rastrum. It was completely unnecessary for the craftsman charged with this task to have access to the exemplar; staves were simply entered wherever blank spaces occurred above lines of text. The text scribe could continue copying texted portions while earlier sections were being prepared for the entry of music. This practice explains otherwise superfluous markings in the tenor and contratenor voices in many MSS, where the indications “or or or“ may be understood as signals to the staff-ruler that staves are to be drawn above these spaces as well. In C, the cantus of B15 (fols. 164v) ends with a melisma. The curious marks below the staff at the end of the piece can be understood simply as the “text” over which the staff-ruler had to extend the staff, as the “text” of the preceding piece ends normal, and the staff is accordingly drawn extra long. In V21 E (fol. 165v), both virelais have no music, yet a staff appears above the first line of text, both virelais having text. This practice explains otherwise superfluous markings in the tenor and contratenor voices in many MSS, where the indications “or or or” may be understood as signals to the staff-ruler that staves are to be drawn above these spaces as well. In C, the cantus of B15 (fols. 164v) ends with a melisma. The curious marks below the staff at the end of the piece can be understood simply as the “text” over which the staff-ruler had to extend the staff, as the “text” of the preceding piece ends normal, and the staff is accordingly drawn extra long. In V21 E (fol. 165v), both virelais have no music, yet a staff appears above the first line of text, both virelais having text. This practice explains otherwise superfluous markings in the tenor and contratenor voices in many MSS, where the indications “or or or” may be understood as signals to the staff-ruler that staves are to be drawn above these spaces as well. In C, the cantus of B15 (fols. 164v) ends with a melisma. The curious marks below the staff at the end of the piece can be understood simply as the “text” over which the staff-ruler had to extend the staff, as the “text” of the preceding piece ends normal, and the staff is accordingly drawn extra long. In V21 E (fol. 165v), both virelais have no music, yet a staff appears above the first line of text, both virelais having text. This practice explains otherwise superfluous markings in the tenor and contratenor voices in many MSS, where the indications “or or or” may be understood as signals to the staff-ruler that staves are to be drawn above these spaces as well.
staves independently of the exemplar also explains the appearance in MS B of extra staves on certain folios—the staff-ruler was ignorantly filling in blank space on the page.348

In MS G, the staff-ruling was not finished for large stretches at once. This is apparent from a detail in the lai section. For the lais, the usual practice was to set off each new strophe with an initial larger than the others. Except in MS C, these initials are not flourish initials, nor do they begin at the edge of a new line. Rather, they are simply large initials penned by the text scribe at the beginning of each successive strophe.350 The intention, clearly and consistently carried out in MS A, was for the staff to be stopped before each of these tall initials, and continued thereafter.351 In this manner, the beginnings and endings of the sucl-
ceeding strophes of the poem were made clearly visible to the reader. In MS G, however, the staff-ruler began by cutting through the large initials, spoiling the appearance of the page. A few folios later, towards the middle of L6 (fol. 81r, last st. and following), the staff ruler was evidently informed of his error, no doubt by the text scribe. For at this point, not only do the continuous staves drawn over the large initials cease, but the initials increase in size as well, providing a clear picture of the exchange that went on between the two craftsmen.

The practice of ruling the staves after the entry of the text also helps to explain several other characteristics of the sources. Blank staves at the ends of the lai, motet, and Mass sections of MS A were added to fill blank folios through the ends of gatherings, as well as to provide room for eventual additions or corrections, and are not to be viewed as typical ruling patterns for the rest of the MS. In several instances, these staves were put to use to correct omissions found in proofreading the MS, after the music for the rest of the sections had been entered. For instance, at the end of the lai section in A (fol. 410v), the Lay de plour, "Qui bien aime" [L22] was added. Besides the difference in script (a hand that added several works to MS A), the addition is clear from the large initial at the opening of the lai, drawn over the staves, and by the internal initials that begin each succeeding strophe, also drawn over the staves. Normally initials and staves elsewhere in the MS do not overlap.

In a blank opening left in the final gathering of the Mass, the textless hocket was added to staves ruled in the two-column pattern used for the motets and Mass. In this instance, however, the double columns of staves were joined (in red) to make long lines for this instrumental work. When it was
necessary elsewhere for the music scribe to join staves originally ruled in double columns, or to extend the staves, the lines are usually lengthened in the black or brown ink of the music scribe, rather than in the red ink available to the staff-ruler.\textsuperscript{352} 

Although the openings of the rondeau- and virelai sections in MS A do not correspond with the beginnings of new gatherings (see n. 153 above), blank folios were nevertheless left between sections, and subsequently ruled with blank staves. The first section of blank folios provided space for the late entry of B21, R9, R14, and R17.\textsuperscript{353} Again, the additions are apparent not only from the difference in script (which is the same as the scribe who entered L22), but also by the way in which the text residua are treated. For these three pieces only, the texts are entered on and between already-existing staves, just as was the practice for the purely musical MSS from Italy in the fourteenth century, in some purely musical Gebrauchshandschriften from France in the fourteenth century, as well as for

\textsuperscript{352} There are many examples of such staff extensions drawn in the brown or black ink of the music scribe, apparently since the red of the staves was no longer readily available. In A, Rem5 ct. (fol. 71r); B18 tr. (fol. 463r); staff extended 5 cm. in black ink; B32 (fol. 470v); ct. staff extended in brown ink at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next; M13 tr. (fol. 427r); staves connected in the middle by brown ink. In G, M3 tr. (fol. 105r) and M6 tr. (fol. 108r), the columns of staves were later connected in red ink, but the staff lines do not correctly correspond; a new clef was necessary in each case. Cf. also problems in M4 (fol. 106r), M16 (fol. 118r), M21 (fol. 123r), and M23 (fol. 125r). The staff-ruler was obviously confused by the prominent ruling in two-column format, and was sometimes loath to cut through the gutter. Similar problems in A are in M2 (fol. 416r), M3 (fol. 417r), M5 (fol. 419r), M9 (fol. 422r), M13 (fol. 427r), M18 (fol. 432r), M20 (fol. 434r), M23 ct. (fol. 437r and 437v). From the practice in MS B, it can be stated that the staff-ruling process was independent of the rubrication. Many pages of the MS became damp at one time; the red of the rubrics and initials has run, while the different red used for the staves has remained intact.

\textsuperscript{353} The text ruling pattern in A for fols. 474v-475r is 2, 2, 1, 1, etc. (like the previous ballades). Fol. 475v is ruled 1, 1, 1, etc. (like the facing rondeaux). See above, Figure 2.2, p. 73).
virtually all musical MSS of the fifteenth century. Since these MSS were purely music MSS from the start, the staves were ruled before the entry of the text or music. In the Machaut MSS, except for corrections made after the body of the MS was copied, all of the text was entered before any staves were ruled, including the blank staves at ends of gatherings.

Entry of Music
As demonstrated above, the layout of the Machaut MS was determined by the text scribe. Perhaps less obviously, the ultimate accuracy of the music itself depended upon the work of the text scribe. Although the music scribe was often able to manage with rather large variations in the amount of space provided, and even to correct minor slips of the text scribe, at other

The example of I-Fn 26 is discussed in J. Nadas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26," pp. 398-401. Most of the first-layer work in fourteenth-century French MSS seems to have involved entry of text before the ruling of the staves, judging from the spaces left by the staff ruler for initial letters (at beginnings of lines and internally). This practice is seen in B-Br 19606, most of F-CA 1328, and the surviving musical portion of F-Fn n.a.f. 23190.

In MS A, I believe that the music scribe added the following bits of text: L12 (fol. 388r, below st. 7): "que"; M17 tr. (fol. 431a): a whole line of the exemplar was left out by the text scribe, and was entered below the triplum by the music scribe; M18 tr. (fol. 432r, below st. 8): "qui" added at line end; M20 ten. (fol. 434r): added tenor canon indication; Hocket hoquetus (fol. 451v, below st. 8): voice indication "David hoquetus"; B10 (fol. 459v, l. 1): "dame"; B23 ca. (fol. 465v, l. 1): "et loer"; V20 (fol. 488r), l. 2: "amer" (but grey ink), l. 3: "v-" and "ie."

In MS G: L19 (fol. 98r, st. 3): "me."
In MS C: M7 tr. (fol. 211d, st. 8): "ie."
In MS B: V7 (fol. 322v, l. 1): "nee" added by music scribe (no error in Vg).

An excellent example of this type of correction is seen in I-Fn 26, a MS with music overlaid to text, fol. 9v, st. 6 (facsim. ed. by F. Alberto Gallo, Il Codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze [Florence, 1981]): a missing word of text was added by the scribe when he was copying the music. Lines were added to clarify the reading. See Kurt von Fischer, "Zum Wort-Ton Problem in der Musik des italienischen Trecento," Festschrift Arnold Geering zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Victor Ravizza (Bern, 1972), p. 53.
times the accuracy of the music scribe was limited by the layout pro-
vided.\textsuperscript{356}

Since the process of copying the musical sections of the MSS involved two
passes through the exemplar, and from two essentially different standpoints,
some extra insight into the readings of the exemplar is gained. The careful
entry of the music over the syllables of text involved also a careful
proof-reading of the portion of the text immediately set to music, something
that would not occur if the text were merely haphazardly spread out beneath
the music. Text errors left uncorrected by the music scribe (and an error
corroborated by a musical error) may well have been corrupt in the exempl-
lar.\textsuperscript{357}

Several means were employed by music scribes to clarify and adjust the
positions of notes above syllables of text. At the extreme, whole syllables
or words were erased and rewritten by the music scribe in their proper
places under the notes.\textsuperscript{338} When a new piece of text is clearly not in the
hand of the main text scribe, and when the new text has the same color of
ink as that employed by the music scribe, my conclusion is that such altera-

\textsuperscript{356} See n. 338 above on corruption at ouvert and clos cadences due to
poor placement of text. In addition, in several motets there are many
hocket passages for which inadequate space or poor syllable-distribution was
left, cf. M12 A mot. (fol. 425d) and M12 C mot. (fol. 217b); M13 C tr. (fol.
217c-218a); M19 C tr. (fol. 223c-224a). Poor text layout detracts from the
accuracy of MS C, cf. Rem5 (fol. 47v) and B22 (fol. 204r).

\textsuperscript{357} Cf. the example of M17 in A, n. 355 above. The music scribe is of
course not infallible: in L12 A (fol. 389v, st. 3), he skipped a whole
phrase.

\textsuperscript{358} This practice is noted by M. Bent for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, in which
the text and music scribes are usually the same person ("The Old Hall
Manuscript," pp. 119-20). Later revisions of texting by different scribes
are discussed pp. 174-77. On I-Bc 15, cf. her "Text Setting in Sacred
tions were made by the music scribe. I would interpret a correction in F-MO 196 (fol. 71r, st. 6, see Figure 3.9) as this sort of correction.

Only the music scribe had the requisite detailed knowledge of the way the text and music should be correlated, since he was working directly from the exemplar on just this aspect, and proofreaders evidently did not concern themselves with what are often only very minute details. This situation is quite different from that described by M. Bent for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, by Schoop for GB-Ob 213, and by Nadas for I-Fn 26, in which text and music scribe are usually the same. There, identity of the scribes allows a theory that possibly a different copying procedure was followed in melismatic vs. syllabic musical settings, a kind of give-and-take being possible in copying the melismatic style. This is not the case for the Machaut MSS: all text,
Figurae III.9: F-HO 196, fol. 71r
regardless of the style of the music, was entered first.

In MS G, there are a few instances in which text is erased and reset to clarify the relationship of text and music, but the new syllables are in the hand of the main text scribe, in contradistinction to the account offered here. Close examination of such corrections, however, reveals traces of a hairline script indicating where the syllables were to be reset. Apparently, the music scribe erased an improperly-set syllable (the length of a melisma had not been successfully estimated by the text scribe), and indicated in hairline script where the syllable should fall; the text scribe then returned to make the correction, and the uniform appearance of the text was not spoiled by the different script of the music scribe.\(^{361}\)

A means of correcting the text-music relationship much more common than the erasure of text syllables is the erasure of musical symbols, usually individual rather than whole series of notes. This was no doubt easier for the music scribe to control, and moreover did not spoil the appearance of the text. It often seems as if the scribe had been copying a melismatic passage, perhaps by memorizing a few notes at a time, when he realized that the note just copied should have been written over a specific syllable of text, and so erased and rewrote the note in its proper place.\(^{362}\)

\(^{361}\) Osanna I G tr. (fol. 131c): entire text "-sanna in excelsis" erased and reset with the aid of hairline guide script; R9 G ca. (fol. 151b): "-nes quonques amans" reset (a hairline "qua" is visible under "quon-\(\)\)\). Details of this sort are visible in the original; on a microfilm, not even the existence of erasures can be ascertained, and there is no trace of the hairline script. In the Sanctus tr. (fol. 131c), the underlined portion of "Dominus deus sabaeth" was reset, possibly by the same means; no guide script is visible, however. Cf. also Christe tr. (fol. 125c): reset by text scribe, but no hairline guides visible. The tenor originally began one staff earlier, but the last "aleyson" of the tr. and the beginning of the ten. were moved down one staff.

Another common means of clarification is at the same time the simplest. In this technique, lines were drawn to indicate directly the relationship of a particular note or ligature to a particular syllable or word.363

A final means of clarifying the setting of text and music was employed by a music scribe when the reading he was to copy appeared to him to be inconsistent or nonsensical. In this case, notes were broken up or combined to fit the text disposition better. This of course usually involved the intentional introduction of an error into the musical text.364 In sum, a large

362 In MS A the scribe most often crossed out the unwanted note, intending to return later to erase it. Several of these were erased (traces of the hairline crossing out the note are often still visible on either side of the erased symbol), others were never erased. In either case, of course, the intended cancellation is clear. Examples from MSS AGCBDE are given in the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 266-68. Three examples from GB-Lbl Add. 57950 are given in Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 110. An example from GB-Ob 213 is given by Schoop, **Entstehung und Verwendung**, p. 61.

363 Again, examples from Machaut MSS are given in the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 268-69. M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 119 n. 1, indicates that the practice is more common for paper MSS, because they are more easily damaged by erasure. This is true for GB-Ob 213, see Schoop, **Entstehung und Verwendung**, p. 61. In other MSS, this expedient is sometimes used when text is truly underlaid, that is, added to a line of music that is entered first. For instance, see Michael Long's discussion of GB-Lbl Add. 29987 in "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," pp. 168-70. This explanation was also adduced by J. Nadas in the verbal discussion following the reading of his unpublished paper "The Codex Reina Revisited," delivered at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Ann Arbor, November, 1982.

Further, the line of music to which text is thus added, with the setting clarified by means of lines, may originally have been a textless line in the exemplar, and the text adapted by the scribe to this line.

364 For examples, see the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 269-70. As M. Bent points out ("Another Bite," p. 8), the corrupt overlay of MS B is often sensitively clarified by MS E (cf. B13, B11, and especially B2), although the correction does not always bring the passage in question into line with Machaut's intention. For instance, the music of the clos in B8 (fol. 154v, l. 2) is lacking in BE, but at least the music scribe of E correctly overlaid the ouvert music and left the clos syllable blank.

A different kind of correction in E is the extension of a musical setting merely to fill out the line. See B7 (fol. 154v, st. 4): lig. broken in tenor to fill line; B9 (fol. 155r, st. 3): different ligature to fill line. In MS G: B6 (fol. 135d, st. 3), last three notes erased and stretched-out to

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proportion of the erasures and corrections in the texts and music of the main Machaut MSS were made specifically to clarify the correlation between words and notes. Despite the different formatting demands imposed by the melismatic polyphonic chanson, the procedure of entering text before music remained unchanged in the fourteenth century, and can be observed in a number of fourteenth-century Gebrauchshandschriften, such as the MSS F-CA 1328, I-IV 115, F-APT 16bis, and the preserved portion of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.

It has been emphasized by Margaret Bent that the practice of a scribe in setting the text did not necessarily result in a perfect vertical alignment of note to syllable. The need carefully to study the scribe's practice in this regard is clear also from the Machaut MSS. For instance, the music scribe of MS A would often place a note slightly to the right of the syllable to which it belonged.

Scribes in MS B

Discussion of the scribal hands that copied MS B has been postponed until now, because it was first necessary to consider the steps followed in copying text and music in the Machaut MSS. We have been primarily interested in the way musical portions of the MSS were copied, and the scribes involved in the copying of MS B seem to have divided their labor carefully between the text and the music sections. The scribe who copied most of the text for the fill the line. M. Bent noted this practice for GB-Lbl Add. 57950, fols. 25v-26r, see "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 114, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships," p. 311, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." The problem of filling out blank space is severe in some of the motet formats in F-MO 196: cf. Figure 3.9, p. 193 above.

"The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 115; "Text Setting in Sacred Music."
musical works did not copy any of the lyrics or narrative poems in the text section. His only concern was with texts set to music, or, in isolated cases, with lais or virelais set to music but which appear in the music section of the MS. On the other hand, some of the scribes involved primarily with the text section also copied short stretches of text in the music section, and it will therefore be necessary to identify the scribes throughout the entire codex.\textsuperscript{366} The following discussion proceeds in the order that the hands appear.\textsuperscript{367}

Scribe R (Figure 3.10) copied only the fifteenth-century replacement sheets surrounding gatherings I, II, XXVII, and the final folio of gathering XXII (the scribal analysis is entered on the chart of the gathering structure of MS B in Appendix A). This scribe is so clearly chronologically later than the other scribes of the codex that little comment need accompany Figure 3.10. The \textit{bânard} traits are clear, e.g., the very thick pointed descenders on minuscule \textit{f} and \textit{s}; the very pointed lower left tip of the \textit{d}, and the sharply concave downward finishing stroke of the \textit{e}.\textsuperscript{368}

\textsuperscript{366} Consideration of the Prise is not necessary for this presentation. The relationship between the Prise in Vg and B has been laid out by Margaret Bent, "Another Bite," p. 3. Although it seems that most of the Prise was copied by a different hand from those seen in the rest of the MS (it also has different paper and different-sized gatherings), I believe the last two gatherings were copied by the scribe whom I designate below as Scribe A (fol. 383 is a replacement folio). I am also not concerned here with the various later corrections seen throughout MS B (see Hoepffner, Oeuvres, I, xlvi-xlvii).

\textsuperscript{367} S. Harrison Thompson, Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages 1100-1500 (Cambridge, 1969), esp. Pl. 16-27 and the accompanying commentary, is particularly useful for its descriptions of script characteristics in this period.

\textsuperscript{368} Keitel, "A Chronology," pp. 111-12, first signaled this scribe's work.
Figure 3.11: F-Pn fr. 1595, fol. 44v (Scribe A)
Scribe A (Figure 3.11). The last stroke of his minuscule e is always a convex downward stroke, and so does not join with the following letter. The final r is often deeply forked, with a long, straight finishing stroke. Final s is drawn in two steps, a 3-shaped stroke combined with a ~; usually the 3 touches at all three points on the left. Initial minuscule d is usually not pointed at the lower left corner. Usually l is not noticeably looped, though a light line forming the loop is sometimes visible. Note also a, with its rounded loop, and the separate flourish above the y.

Especially prominent in a MS of poetry are the majuscule letters. Note for comparative purposes the simple shape of the N, the angular D, the S with its two basic shapes: 6 and 5, and finally the looped A. Scribe A copied the first half of gathering I, and gatherings III-IV, VII, XVII, XX, XXVI, and XXVII (except the replacement sheets), which is the final gathering of the text section. In addition, Scribe A copied the texts for a single gathering of lais, XXXII.

Scribe B (Figure 3.12) copied more of the text than any other scribe. His minuscule e, in contrast to that of Scribe A, always has a concave downward stroke, or one tending towards the concave. Final r has a rounded tip on the right. The 3-shaped stroke of the final s is closed at the ends, but the middle peak usually does not touch. Initial minuscule d is often pointed at the lower left. The top loop on l is closed. Very characteristic of this scribe is the peak on the left side of the a in initial position, and the distinctive flourish over y, drawn without taking up the pen. This flourish loops up and finishes off to the right of the letter.

Majuscule N often has a prominent angular break at the bottom of the first stroke. The rounded D is easily distinguished from Scribe A's favored
Dame ne ruy
D'amour me tient en un long manteau
Le temps puis que me tu m'a trouvé
D'un cuivre n'a de mon cuer d'honneste
A me coûter trésors, formes à braver
De cuire n'empêche que sans
Lorsque ne doutez pas

Dame nue,

Ainsi se fit bonne pensée pour sa
Et se bannit le fin cruel fêmi
Cinq mois sans mille et deux mille
De la plus bonne ma fille sans

Dame nue,

En t'aimant je m'ais plu afin de
Et te bannir de mon cuer et de mes
Lors que tu t'as laissé haïre

Dame nue,

La grace indien de ma plus sol ne
Les mains de l'eau et de mille
Pour qu'il puisse se rendre gracieux
La grace indien se mille sol ne

Dame nue,

De ton cœur l'amour semé
Que dans ma main m'ait mille des
La grace indien de mon cuer ne

Dame nue,

Dame nue,.
style. Again, $<$ has more than one shape, but $\exists$ is most frequent. The looped $\Delta$ seems to tilt to the left; alternative forms are $\Delta$ and $\partial$.

This scribe often worked with others. He copied the last half of gathering I, and all of gatherings II, IX, and XI (except the Lai de plour), XII (except Rem1 and 2), part of gathering XIII, all of gathering XV (except Rem6 and 7), most of gathering XVI and XIX, all of gatherings XXI and XXII (except replacement fol. 33), and most of gathering XXIII. In the music portion of the codex, he copied the text for the first gathering of lais, XXVIII.

**Scribe C** (Figure 3.13). The final downward stroke of minuscule $e$ is convex if a separate letter, concave when joined (as "en," "-elle"). Final $r$ is deeply forked, but then often hooked at the tip on the right. The 2-shaped $r$ is occasionally used in odd places, and not only after $b$, $d$, $o$, or $p$ (not illustrated in Figure 3.13). The 3-shaped stroke of the final $s$ often does not touch in the middle. Sometimes this stroke is closer to a 2 and does not touch at the bottom either. The $d$ is rounded, and $l$ is often not noticeably looped, though it has a thick curve at the top. The $a$ is a single rounded loop, and the $y$ is usually topped with a separate flourish, although the type with a continuous flourish is occasionally seen, but unlike Scribe B's, it loops back to the left and over the $y$.

Majuscule $N$ is distinctive, made of two separate strokes. The $D$ sometimes resembles that of Scribe A (not illustrated in Figure 3.13). The two forms of $S$ are not used with much consistency; and although alternative forms appear, $\exists$ is the most common. Scribe C copied all of gatherings V-VI, part of gathering VIII, and all of gatherings X, XVIII, and XXIV-XXV.
Figure 3.13: F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 158r (Scribe C)
Scribe D (Figure 3.14) appears only in gathering VIII, only for a short stint. His hand is calligraphically superior to the others associated with MS B.

Scribe E (Figure 3.15). His work first appears in gathering VIII. The last ten lines of fol. 80r are occasions for a new pen or new session for Scribe C. But on fol. 80v, after l. 22, to the end of the gathering (fol. 81v), a hand appears that is distinct from Scribe C's. His final minuscule s is sometimes a looped form drawn in a single clockwise stroke: \( \varepsilon \). In particular, note the distinctive majuscule \( \Omega \), made with two strokes, first a \( \zeta \)-shaped stroke, then a looped stroke resembling somewhat a cursive \( \lambda \). The \( \tau \) is also distinctive.

Scribe F wrote the text for almost all of the musical works. Figure 3.16 (lower portion) provides enough material to see unique characteristics of his hand. Note the cursive flourish under every \( h \), \( y \), and \( z \), and under every final \( m \) and \( n \) (there is no flourish over the \( y \)). The flourish at the end of the final \( t \) is a dependable trait.\(^{369}\)

Scribe F's majuscule letters are the most ornate of any of the scripts in MS B. He filled in the texts for the eight musical works in the text section (L22 and Reml-7, gatherings XI-XV), and most of the text in the music fascicles. Only gathering XXVIII, most of XXIX, all of XXXII, part of XXXIV, and part of XLI were copied by other scribes.

Scribe G (Figure 3.17) is distinctive for the style of his majuscule \( \Omega \) and the dot in the middle of the \( S \). He relieves Scribe B for four brief stints in gatherings XIII, XVI, XIX, and XXIII.

\(^{369}\) Cf. Thompson, Pl. 17 and 22. The flourish is mostly lacking on fols. 241r-242r.
Figure 3.15: F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 124v (Scribe E)
Figure 3.16: F-n fr. 1585, fol. 232v (music scribe 1, text scribes Hand H and F)
Figure 3.17: F-Pn fr. 1585, fol. 116v (Scribe G)
Scribe H (Figure 3.16, upper portion), with his thick pen and messy script, is associated like Scribe F only with the texts for musical works. He copied the text for almost all of the lai gathering XXIX, for a few lines at the beginning of gathering XXXIV, and for a small part of gathering XLI.  

The relationship between these text scribes and the music hands in the codex is unclear. I distinguish only two music hands in the entire codex. Except gathering XXXIX (fols. 305-313, including B21 through the first opening of B34) and gathering XLI (fols. 322-329v, including V6-29; fols. 323-328v were written with a broader pen), all the music was copied by the first music scribe. More will be said below about a correction in the Kyrie II; it appears possible that the script of some words entered by the music scribe to correct a copying error in that section is identical to the script of the text Scribe H. The small script sample of this correction in the Kyrie II makes conclusive identification difficult.  

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370 This scribe had difficulties with the special requirements of texts to be set to music. In gathering XXIX, in the first lai copied by this scribe, "Nul ne doit" [L5], there are several errors. On fol. 225v, beneath the third staff, the second line of text was originally copied first, then crossed out and the correct text entered above. A similar, shorter, error in the second text occurs on fol. 226r, beneath st. 3. On fol. 226v, he originally forgot to skip space for the fourth staff, and began entering text. On fol. 227r, he began to enter the text at the top of the folio without skipping space for the first staff; the text was then blotted out. In "Par trois raisons" [L6], fol. 227v, he left out two words of the second text on the last staff (fol. 227v); the line was cancelled and the full line rewritten above. On fol. 229v below st. 1, the beginning of the first line of text was entered twice, then the second line was crossed out and the correct text entered.  

371 The catchword "doluz amis" [sic] on fol. 296v was entered by scribe H, perhaps after copying the music.
Table 3.1 summarizes the distribution of scribes by gathering in MS B. Generally, scribes set out to copy a whole gathering (an even division of labor in a single gathering is seen only for gathering I). Gatherings copied by several scribes are divided haphazardly, as if a scribe took over immediately from another, and copied until by chance the original scribe returned. Put another way, the bulk of the copying was carried out by scribes A, B and C, but a few others were occasionally available to further speed up the copying process. The division of labor between scribes who copied text for music pieces and scribes who copied only text was in general quite rigorously maintained. The principal scribe for the texts set to music, Scribe F, may have begun his task while the other scribes concerned themselves with text portions of the codex, though if this was the case, he did not begin with the first gathering of the music section, but in media re. Two complete gatherings of texts set to music were copied by the main text scribes A and B.

Although a detailed paleographical examination of B in conjunction with Vg is still needed, the preliminary conclusion from the analysis above is that B was copied after Vg lay complete (lacking the Prise), though unbound (or disbound). The pattern of copy is too regular, proceeding either by gathering or by continuously interlocking parts of gatherings (gatherings of Vg were not dismembered and farmed out to different scribes), to allow conclusions as to chronology.372

372 A minute study of the scripts might allow the construction of a chronological order by which B was copied. Perhaps some of the scripts differentiated above could be conflated, seen as developments of one or another scribe (although the apparent speed with which B was copied must be borne in mind).
TABLE 3.1
Scribes in MS B

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XXIV  C
XXV   C
XXVI  A
XXVII A
XXVIII B 1
XXIX  F H 1
XXX   F 1
XXXI  F 1
XXXII A 1
XXXIII F 1
XXXIV F H 1
XXXV  F 1
XXXVI F 1
XXXVII F 1
XXXVIII F 1
XXXIX F 2 (*)
XL     F 1
XLI    F H 2
XLII   F 1

(*) fol. 309: Scribe 1.
The irregular entry of the music over the words in MS B is one of the primary reasons that B is such a poor source for music.\footnote{Other factors include errors in the notational symbols themselves (dots that look like rests, etc.), and the omission of notes.} Purely by considering the relationship between text and music, it is possible to differentiate the two different music scribes: scribe one is often indifferent and negligent about the relationship of text and music; scribe two is concerned and careful.

The shapes of scribe one's notational symbols are adequate (semibreve and minim noteheads characteristically lean to the left), and at first, the overlay of the notes was carried out with reasonable care (see Figure 3.16). Later, however, his haste becomes apparent; the entry of music proceeded without any regard for the relationship of notes to syllables (several examples may be seen in the Gennrich facs. ed. of the Mass). There are many sections of MS B in which the music overlay is badly corrupted, simply because this music scribe was following nothing more than the line-lengths prescribed by the exemplar Vg, without attention to the placement of specific notes with relation to syllables of text. Such irregularities, due to extreme haste, are further proof of the priority of Vg.

On occasion, irregularities or errors in the entry of the text left by the text scribe were not recognized by the music scribe, who then compounded the error. In "Contre ce doulez" [L15] (fol. 246), several lines of text were entered in the wrong order. The correct reading was cued by means of letters (a, c, b) indicating the proper order of lines. The music scribe, however, quickly copying lines of music in the order of the exemplar, remained unaware that two of the lines of text he was overlaying with music were not even the corresponding texts. A similar error is found at the end
of "Je ne cesse de prier" [L16]. The penultimate line of music was copied twice, so that the last line of notes is senselessly overlaid to the canon "iterum sine pausa."  

An error in the Kyrie II in MS B (fol. 282v) has important consequences for the identification of scribes in the MS. Before the staves were entered, the text scribe copied the names of the voices and the text of the movement one line lower than in the model Vg.  

(Note that even for these highly melismatic voices, the page was laid out in advance by the text scribe.) Later, the entire page was ruled with staves. The music scribe then copied the model without realizing that there was a slight irregularity here in B, and began the music in the first staff. The end of the music for the triplum then fell on the second staff—where the text scribe had indicated the beginning of the triplum—and the one-staff error continued. In an attempt to correct the labeling of the voices, the music scribe entered a new text incipit for the opening of the motetus, as well as for the tenor. The contratenor was left with the original indication for the opening of the 

374 At the top of L3 B (fol. 224r, st. 1), the music scribe copied seventeen notes of L16, just as it appears at the top of fol. 249r. Thus, instead of copying from the beginning of gathering XXIX (fol. 225r), he copied from the beginning of gathering XXXII (fol. 249r). The error was erased and corrected; clearly, the scribe had not been paying attention to the text. In R2 (fol. 315v), the music scribe began the cantus on an extra staff (not in Vg) below the text residuum of R1, which has no text below it. He broke off after fourteen notes and began again on the next staff. The only similar case in the main MSS is in L21 A (fol. 409v, st. 1): at the start of strophe VII ("Comment peut estre"), the scribe entered the two ligatures and a note (i.e., five pitches) that open L19, strophe V ("Comment est sa douceur") from fol. 405r, st. 3. But in this instance, only the music setting the word "Comment" (lacking the final pitch) was copied—the scribe was quite aware of the text, and caught the error immediately. On the Agnus I and II in B (overlay of an entire wrong movement), see M. Bent, "Another Bite."

375 See the facs. ed. by Gennrich of the Mass, Guillaume de Machaut Messe de Nostre Dame.
tenor, and the line intended for the contratenor by the text scribe was simply left blank at the bottom of the folio.\textsuperscript{376}

It is unfair uniformly to condemn the notation of MS B. The second music scribe, in complete contrast to the first, is careful with the overlay of the music. However, the shapes of his notational symbols are crude, and the gain in accuracy in one respect is somewhat offset by a loss of accuracy in another (see Figure 3.18). Nevertheless, some works are quite legibly copied by this second music scribe. He copied B21-34 ("Ne quier" and ten. only), and V6-29. This second music scribe of B may have been one of the text scribes, since he was concerned with following the text and yet not well practiced in the formation of the symbols of musical notation.\textsuperscript{377}

\textsuperscript{376} See the endnotes to this chapter, p. 270 , for more examples of major miscalculations on the part of the first music scribe.

A similar problem with the Mass in MS G was handled more elegantly: Christe ten. (fol. 125c, st. 11): ten. of the Christe was originally to begin here. The end of the tr. took this line, so that the ten. was copied on st. 12-13. The new labeling of the voice is by the text scribe.

\textsuperscript{377} In the endnotes to this chapter, pp. 267-68, note that almost all the erasures and corrections of notes to correct or clarify the text setting in MS B are due to music scribe 2.
The Copying of Music in the Remede Section

Outside the music section, the narrative poem Remede de fortune includes seven chansons, of which three are polyphonic, interpolated between stretches of narrative verse. Such occasional inclusion of music affected the way the text was copied. In MS B, as we have seen, the scribe who entered the poetic texts for the musical pieces in the Remede is not the same as the scribe of the surrounding narrative text. It appears that the scribe of the narrative portion simply skipped enough space (sometimes amounting to several lines, even several columns) to accommodate each piece of music, and continued copying the narrative text. It is true that this practice was particularly adaptable to MS B, since the Remede was copied directly from MS Vg. The exact extent of the spaces for the chansons could be literally counted from the exemplar.

However, the occurrence of this practice in B suggests that other MSS should be examined for evidence of a similar method. It is possible that the same procedure of initially leaving blank spaces for musical interpolations was followed in Vg. Owing to the uniform hand, however, the practice is less easily recognized there. Indeed, in Vg, the first ballade of the Remede, "En amer" [Rem4] is copied in a curious manner. Perhaps initially

378 The Voir Dit in MS E is also copied with the interpolated lyrics set to music copied into the narrative with their music. Space for the subsequent entry of the music and prose letters was probably initially left blank (on fol. 194v, the catchword does not account for a half-page prose letter at the top of the following recto).

379 The omission of the sections of music may be viewed as tacit recognition of the special care demanded by a scribe copying the text for a musical work. Such a scribe had to be very careful to skip spaces between each line of text. Cf. n. 370 above on errors of just this kind made by Scribe H of MS B.
far too much room had been left for the work, and it was subsequently necessary to stretch out the disposition of the voices to fill the space. Of course, this stretching was done by the text scribe (see Figure 3.19). Perhaps the exemplar split the work across a recto-verso page turn, requiring all four voices of the A-section on the recto, followed by all four voices of the B-section on the verso.

In MS K, the difference in script between the text of the narrative and the text for the music makes it clear that again the practice was to enter the text of the narrative poetry first; the area filled later by the chansons was initially blank. In MS C, the setting for the first strophe of the complainte [Rem2] occupies an entire recto; the verso is completely filled by a pair of miniatures of unusually large format. Apparently an entire blank folio had been set aside for the copying of the first strophe of the complainte with its music. Finally, in MS A, the difference in the size of the script between the text of the music and the surrounding narrative text may indicate that the division of labor applied to this MS as well, although of course a difference in the size of the script alone is not conclusive as evidence. Perhaps only in MS F was the text for the music pieces of the Remede copied with the surrounding text. The manner in which the lai [Rem1] reverts from long lines to a two-column format on its final folio (fol. 43v), in order that the narrative text could take up again if necessary, indicates this. As it happened, the entire page was needed for the lai.

It appears then that the effort involved in copying text MSS with interpolations of polyphonic music added several stages to the copying process. The relatively large number of thirteenth-century MSS with poems including

388 See Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 1.
musical settings for lyrical interpolations were more easily copied. Since the chansons or refrains were always monophonic, their entry by the main text scribe did not involve a large expenditure of time or planning. With the new melismatic-polyphonic style, however, not only the skill of the composer, but, on the purely practical level, the skill of the MS copier, had to be greater. The Machaut MSS were the last in the French sphere to include large narrative poems with lyrical interpolations set to music.

Text-Setting and Machaut's Musical Style

The relationship between text and music is clearly set in the Machaut MSS; large-scale differences in text setting are infrequent. For those few cases with major differences in text setting between MSS, the question of possible authorial revision is raised. The comparison of the early MS C with the later MSS is interesting in this regard.

A genre with rather dramatic differences of text setting is the melismatic rondeau. In C, some rondeau texts have combined groups of syllables that are widely separated in A and other MSS. It should be recalled that

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311 Elsewhere in the Remede, the text scribe shows a sensitivity to the problem of copying polyphonic music. For instance, in MS F, on fol. 56r, one and one-third columns were left blank, so as to leave plenty of room for Rem5 by starting on the next verso. (As it turned out, too little room was left for untexted voices—the triplum runs across to the opposite column, taking the last line intended for the tenor; as a result, the tenor is quite compressed.) Also, half a column was left blank on the recto before Rem7, again so that all voices of the polyphonic rondeau would be visible to the reader.

312 Cf. above, pp. 25f.

313 The short staff length of C (14 cm. for the opening rondeaux) may have been a factor, since it allowed much less room for the long melismas typical of the rondeau style. There are particularly rather large differences in the text-setting for the following works: R3 (fol. 204v), R4 (fol. 204v), R6 (fol. 203r), and R7 (fol. 202r). Syllables are combined at the end of the A-section in R2, 3 and 9. These differences are not confined to
the rondeaux did not form part of the original corpus of MS C, and thus had not been long cultivated by Machaut. But since the rondeau style in general is a melismatic one, it was perhaps less familiar to the copyists of this early MS.384

A stylistic judgment of a different sort could be made in cases where the setting in a MS is not actually changed, but dramatically clearer for a specific genre. For instance, the text-music relationship of the simple virelai is far more clearly notated in MS C than in MS A. Although it is true that the earlier virelais are virtually syllabic, the representation of the complex relationship between normal speech rhythm and the often conflicting musical rhythm calls for very exact notation in the MS (note the spacing of notes on Figure 3.20). This may indicate that the style was fresher, more familiar to the scribe of C than to the scribe of A, working ten years later, when the small number of new virelais set to music conformed more to the stylistic norms of the ballade and rondeau.385

the rondeaux, however. The settings in C and A, cf. B12 C (fol. 163a-b) and B12 A (fol. 460v), are very different, but neither seems satisfactory. It is possible that the differences relate to the rhythm of this work. Cf. also B8 C (fol. 161a-b) and A (fol. 457v): end of line 4; B17 C (fol. 198r-199r) also has noticeably less syllable-division than A (fol. 458r); B22 C (fol. 204r) and A (fol. 464v); B23 C (fol. 200r-v) and A (fol. 465v): different solutions for the opening.


385 See Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," Table on p. 99 (of the 32 virelais set to music, 25 appear in MS C), and the discussion on pp. 109f. Some specific examples of corruption in A are in V3 (fol. 482v): 1. 2 ("vo fine") and 1. 3 ("me tenez en langour"); V4 (fol. 482v): 1. 1 (pensez mie. que nulle ait signorie"). An attempt was made to rectify the error my means of three lines drawn between syllables and notes. Cf. also 1. 2 ("tricherie chiere vous"). The overlay of these passages in the late MS G, however, is clear. The errors in the virelais in C that do occur (mostly stems lacking)
The extraordinary care exercised by the scribes of C for the virelais (and motets) contrasts greatly with the situation for the polyphonic chansons. Successive voices of polyphonic chansons are sometimes split across page turns. Furthermore, the layout of the text residuum is sometimes rather confusing, often appearing as if even the textless tenor is underlaid. Is it possible that the techniques of copying, so unconsciously exercised in later MSS, had not yet become part of the basic equipment of scribes of the late 1340s? While we cannot be sure that Machaut's early polyphonic chansons are actually quite early examples of their genre, it is nevertheless striking that the copying habits of otherwise skilled notators are so dramatically out-of-phase with current musical advances.

TEXT PLACEMENT IN THE LUDWIG AND SCHRADE EDITIONS OF MACHAUT

The text placement in the exemplars for the large Machaut MSS was apparently indicated very clearly. But when copies were made, external considerations not necessarily under the control of the music scribe could affect the accuracy of his placement of notes over text syllables. For instance, the column-width of the MS, dependent on the size of the MS and the choice of one- or two-column format, influenced the work of the text scribe in spacing syllables. In MS C, for example, the comparatively small size of the page and frequent use of two-column format makes for rather short staves for many pieces. The text scribe had to leave spaces for melismas, and when it was are not substantive—they could easily have been corrected with a single proofreading.

Cf. B18 (fols. 199r-v), B20 (fols. 199v-200r), and B23 (fols. 200r-v).

In the motets in C, each column is about 6.7 cm. wide. For the motet "Lasse/Se i'aim/Pourquoi" [M16], a wider second col. was ruled (col.
necessary to begin a new line, frequently the space estimates were not always easy for the music scribe to deal with subsequently. When inadequate space was left for a melisma or for an untexted hocket passage, unclear text setting results.

The two principal editions of the music differ in details of text placement in almost every individual piece. In the majority of cases, Ludwig's texting is truer to the sources (and since the sources are in general clear, truer to the author's intention) than Schrade's. The Ludwig edition is much closer to a critical edition. For the most part, Schrade does not mention questions of text placement in his notes, while a section on "Textunterlage" is a normal part of the enumeration of variants in Ludwig's notes.\

In the motets, an important distinction in the word setting is for the most part correctly indicated in the Ludwig edition, and changed in the Schrade edition. In the popular motet mensuration tempus imperfectum major (our modern 6/8), the rhythmic pattern \( \frac{j}{j} \) was often used by Machaut to set two words or syllables, and was clearly indicated as such in the MSS by grouping the notes over the proper syllables. In almost all cases, Schrade changed the pattern to \( \frac{j}{j} \). The distinction is important for the

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311 Ludwig's critical text usually presents the text placement in Vg, and frequently readings from G are given in the notes. In most cases, where Ludwig notes something about the "Textunterlage" of G, it holds for A as well. G is sometimes clearer than A with regard to the overlay of music, although they are very close, and probably descended from the same exemplar material. MS C is also very careful in its attention to texting, although, as stated above, the narrow column-width of C sometimes caused difficulties for the music scribe.

319 In M12 tr. m. 77, Schrade correctly indicated \( \frac{j}{j} \), although the MSS in this particular spot are neither more nor less clear than they
declamatory rhythm. The original is more forceful and rhythmically vital
than Schrade's emendation.

Almost all motets in tempus imperfectum major have an example or two of
this declamation pattern. Some motets with several examples include M6
(there are three examples in the mot. mm. 9-11 alone), and M10. In some
cases, the two versions are clearly distinguished. The setting \( \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \) is
more common, but examples of \( \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \) are found in M14, M17, and the opening
of M20. In M18 mot. mm. 54-55 both are employed:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \\
&-me \ te \ de- \ cen-
\end{align*}
\]

Schrade prints the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \downarrow \\
&-me \ te \ de- \ cen-
\end{align*}
\]

Other passages reaffirm the correctness of the text placement in Ludwig's
edition, such as M9 tr. mm. 27-29, 42-44, 57-59, 72-74, 87-89, 102-04,
116-18, and 132-34, which are all parallel passages. Ludwig's edition
reflects the sources; these passages are all emended by Schrade.390 And

are in all the other instances in which he prints \( \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \). Schrade's edi-
tion of the motets in F-Pn fr. 146 (PMFC, I) is also inaccurate in this
respect.

390 I thus disagree with the interpretation of Eggebrecht ("Machauts
Motette Nr. 9," pp. 181-82). The sources do not divide as tidily as
Eggebrecht indicates (Vg, which he could not consult, sides with CGE, making
his claim for B superfluous)—there are some inconsistencies, but it seems
to me crucially important that the scribe of the early source C went to
extra lengths to make the setting clear (fol. 213d, beg. of st. 9). The
passage occurs at the beginning of a staff, and the music scribe placed the
clef in the margin and the textless semibreve at the edge of the staff so as
to overlay the following two consecutive semibreves unambiguously to the
text "virgo." The text placement in the parallel passage in the previous
three taleae is also quite clear (fol. 213d, st. 2, 4 and 6). Thus, the
semibreve at the end of the talea is an example of a textless upbeat, a very
common occurrence in the motets. On this manner of text setting, see M.

In M9 mot. mm. 30-32, 45-46, 75-77, 90-92, 105-06, and 136-37, the same
holds: correct in Ludwig, emended in Schrade.
despite some inconsistencies, it is clear from the sources that the intent of the text placement in parallel passages in M19 (tr. mm. 27-30, 48-51, 69-72, 90-93, and 111-115), corresponds to Ludwig's edition.\footnote{In M19 mot., the passages noted by Ludwig in his critical report as unclear (Musikalische Werke, III, 70) remain problematic: mm. 29 ff, 50 ff, 71 ff, 92 ff.}

There are occasionally errors in Ludwig's edition because of his application of a dotted tie to some repeated pitches, for example, M6 tr. m. 62 and M13 tr. m. 58. But Schrade was too quick to emend text placement to avoid repeated pitches on a single syllable, for example, M7 mot. mm. 54-55 and M12 mot. mm. 109-110 (on B6, see below). In both cases, Ludwig's text placement is correct.\footnote{From a detailed study of the practice in GB-Lbl Add. 57950, M. Bent notes that untexted repeated notes in melismas occur frequently in that repertory. See "The Old Hall Manuscript," p. 122, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music."}

The same assessment is in general true for the ballades. The Ludwig edition is more accurate; it also indicates the variants in text placement that Ludwig was aware of. One difference between the editions bears on an important stylistic issue. Schrade often eliminated final melismas at cadence points, and placed the final syllable of text below the final note of the phrase.\footnote{One of the few such melismas he retained is in "Honte, paour" [B25], clos.}

In "Dous amis" [B6], a duplex ballade, Schrade eliminated the three-note melismas found throughout this work (mm. 6 [Schrade ed. mm. 6f], 8 [8f], 10-11 [11f], 12-13 [13f], 19-20 [20f], 21[22], 23-24 [24f], and 25-26 [26f]). Ludwig's text placement follows the MSS.\footnote{Transcription errors in both editions were corrected by Richard Hoppin, "Notational Licences," MD, 14 (1960), 24. Hoppin's transcription of B6 in his Anthology of Medieval Music (New York, 1978), No. 62, pp. 140-41, however, perpetuates most of Schrade's incorrect text placement. Only the...}
several ballades with the final syllable of a phrase melismatically extended, both internally and at the final cadence, that are altered in the Schrade edition, enough to give a misrepresentation of a characteristic of Machaut's style that was variable. These include B2 (correct until the end), B6, B9, B10, B12, B15, B16 (this case is ambiguous in the MSS), B19, B20, B33. For the rondeaux, a similar instance can be seen in R5 mm. 10-11 [21-23], and 20-21 [43-45].

Thus, in general, a performing group without access to films of the sources should, if using the Schrade edition, alter the placement of the text syllables to conform to the Ludwig edition. If a performer has access to films of one or more of the sources CAF-GVg, particular care should be taken with the comparison of text placement (or, strictly speaking, of note placement) at the line-endings of each source. In many instances, a setting slightly ambiguous in one source is clarified in another due to the place-

first instance ("pleint" in Hoppin's m. 6) is correct.

A text correction in MS A bears on this distinction: in B3 (fol. 455r, st. 4), "creature" was changed to "creatu- -re."

Hirschberg's analysis of the text-music relationships in the ballades ("The Music of the Late Fourteenth Century," pp. 63ff), very useful and suggestive otherwise, is occasionally marred merely because he used Schrade's inaccurate edition.


Cf. above, n. 348, on B15 C. Special marks guarantee the continuation of the staff for the final melisma.

Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 62-63, discusses text placement at the ends of phrases in GB-Ob 213. Although the scribal practice in the MS varies, he would have all final syllables separated and placed below the last note of the phrase. Even if his analysis is accepted, it should be emphasized that this is a feature of style that was variable in chansons two generations earlier, and further that MSS of two generations earlier were explicit and reliable in their indication of it.
ment of the syllables and notes with respect to the line-ending.

In the discussion above, an attempt has been made to trace some specific characteristics of the copying process in the Machaut MSS. In order to put these MSS in their proper historical perspective, it will be useful to trace something of the history of the copying of musical MSS in the period before and after Machaut.

**THE COPYING OF MSS OF SECULAR MUSIC IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY**

In the latter half of the thirteenth century in France, there were but two categories of secular music, chanson and motet. The one was a monophonic genre, the other, polyphonic. Generally speaking, the two styles have come down to us in different MSS. In explaining the distinction between the collections, Ludwig stated that

. . . fast überall in dieser Zeit die Sammlungen ein- und mehrstimmig komponierter französischer Lieder (ganz im Gegensatz zu den Sammlungen der lateinischen Lieder), scharf getrennt sind, offenbar weil es sehr verschiedene Kreise waren, die diese beiden sehr verschiedenen Kunstgattungen pflegten. . . .

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498 Repertorium, I, 2, 569-70. ["... at this time, collections of monophonic and polyphonic French songs (in contrast to the collections of Latin songs) are almost universally sharply separated, apparently because very different circles cultivated these two very different art forms..."] See also Poirion, Le Poète, p. 163. The little of what is known about these circles is discussed by Besseler, "Studien-II," pp.
A further expression of these "very different circles" is seen in the practice of attributions. Generally speaking, chansonniers contain very complete attributions, while motet collections contain none at all. Even the few collections transmitting both genres uphold this distinction. For instance, in I-Rvat Reg. 1490 (trouvere MS a), the _grands chants courtoises_ are usually attributed twice: once in the index, and again for each individual song. The motets, however, when they appear together in one section, remain unattributed.\footnote{184-85, who opts for the sharp line of distinction implied by Grocheo and Jacob de Liège. See also Georg Kuhlmann, _Die zweistimmigen französischen Motetten des Kodex Montpellier_ (Würzburg, 1938), I, 92-96.}

\footnote{Ludwig, "Quellen," n. 2, pp. 284f, lists fourteenth-century sources with mixed genres. The situation for the fourteenth century noticed by Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 528, n. 120 misses the mark: "[the motet's] prestige is attested by the many musical manuscripts that are devoted more or less exclusively to the motet of the thirteenth century; musical sources of the fourteenth century, most of which mix the genres, as a rule place the motets at the beginning." This can be explained on grounds of convenience. Secular pieces, now polyphonic and difficult to plan for, were added in the space left over.}

\footnote{Es scheint, dass die Komponisten auch der französischen Motette nach wie vor nicht unter den bekannten Trouvères, sondern in andern Kreisen zu suchen sind, wie z.B. ja auch Adam de la Hale nur eine sehr kleine Zahl von Motetten schrieb" (Ludwig, _Repertorium_, I, 2, 588). The few known names of thirteenth-century motet composers are listed by Ludwig, "Quellen," p. 195, n. 2; the attributions appear in the body of collections that contain both chansons and motets, such as M, T, and a. Where motets are transmitted as a group in separate sections, the attributions are lacking. The few studies of thirteenth-century music that deal with the question of the relationship between the poet-composers of motets and chansons have approached the problem from different directions. Raynaud, _Recueil de motets français des XIIe et XIIIe siècles_, I (Paris, 1881), xxxii-xxxiii, pointed out some borrowings in texts of nine motets from chansons of nine different troubadours and trouvères; Gennrich, "Trouvèrelieder und Motettenrepertoire," _ZMW_, 9 (1926-27), 8-39 and 65-85, studied in detail the motets that are transmitted as monophonic chansons, many of which are attributed (only one of these overlaps with Raynaud's group). Some of these trouvères (most notably Richart de Fournival) are known to have been clerics. Almost half of the fourteen names listed between Raynaud and Gennrich can be linked to Arras, recalling a poem (with empty staves for music) mentioned by Ludwig (Repertorium, I, 1, 297), which immediately follows the motet section in F-Pn fr. 12615 (trouvère chansonnier T; Noailles). The poem describes how God came to Arras to learn to write motets. Several
Yet if different circles cultivated the motet and courtly chanson, obvious links relate the genres. One need only recall the pervasive use of refrains from chansons in motet poetry. It is not clear whether the genres were as segregated in practice as they appear from the MSS. In any case, the most efficient means of MS presentation of the two distinct musical styles necessitated a particular format for each. The chanson was exclusively monophonic, and appeared in what was primarily a text MS. To leave space for the musical staff, the scribe needed only to skip two of the ruled text guidelines in the course of copying the words of the first strophe. The remaining strophes then were entered in columns below the specially-formatted first strophe, as in any text MS. Since the settings were monophonic, the songs with their succeeding strophes could be entered without regard to page-turns. The staves were entered later. And finally, the music, when and if it was available, was entered last. The question of names are listed in the poem (ed. Alfred Jeanroy and Henry Guy, Chansons et dits artésiens du XIIIe siècle [Bordeaux, 1898], 33-34), including some known trouvères.


Unfilled staves are commonly met with. It appears likely that the music was not always present in the exemplar, and perhaps the intention was to have the music entered when it became available. H. J. Chaytor, "Publication and Circulation," Chap. 6 of his From Script to Print (Cambridge, 1945), esp. p. 128, discusses questions of "copyright" in this period. Perhaps the author did not want to release the tune, and the place for the music was left blank in the event that someone could later enter it from memory after hearing a performance. This theory is particularly
leaving space for an untexted accompanying voice rarely arose. When it did, the accompanying voice more closely resembled a motet tenor than a fourteenth-century-style chanson tenor, and consisted only of a small number of long note-values, requiring a minimum of space. A more common kind of polyphonic secular song was even simpler to deal with, namely, the three-voice rondeau of Adam de la Halle and others. The three voices are entered "in score" above each line of text. Such a MS was prepared in the same manner as the monophonic chansonniers, by skipping ruling lines of text for the later insertion of the three staves of music.

By contrast, in the motet MS, since all text was set to music, every bit of text written out had to have space left above for the entry of the staff. Sometimes, the MS was ruled with staves before the text was entered. This was possible because there were never any residual text strophes; the accompanying tenor was so short that it could easily be dealt with in the remaining space. The practice in D-W 1206 [W2] was to separate the last syllable of the indication for the tenor, and place it at the end of the allotted space (see Figure 3.21). A different practice is frequently seen in I-Fl Plut. 29.1. There, the last syllable of the tenor indication was often left off completely, with the intention to enter it later, after the full extent attractive for troubadour MS R (F-Pn fr. 22543); the problem of "copyright" was particularly acute for the troubadours.

In "Die mehrstimmige Musik," p. 35, Ludwig referred to a single chanson in the chansonnier Cangé (F-Pn fr. 846, chansonnier O), fol. 21 [facsimile edition by Jean Beck (Paris and Philadelphia, 1927)], that has a short tenor in long note-values: "... freilich zeigt er [der Tenor] in seiner modalen Ausprägung, die dem Modus der Oberstimme einfach folgt, noch einen innigeren Zusammenhang mit dem Motetten-Tenor, der der Ballade des 14. Jahrhunderts durchaus fehlt. ..." Ludwig went on to speculate that the addition of a simple tenor to chansons of the trouvères may have occurred in performance, but was not notated in the sources.

See n. 307 above.
of the music came into view (see Figure 3.22 and n. 464 below).

Such preruling of staves was not always carried out in practice. Examples in F-MO 196, where staves expand or contract to fit the lengths of the text line (e.g., fols. 216r, 245r) indicate that the entry of the text preceded the ruling of the staves. For D-W 1206, there are clear instances in the motet fascicles proving that the entry of the text preceded the ruling of the staves (see Figure 3.21).

On the other hand, at the opening of the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196 (fol. 350r), residual text for the conductus "Deus in adiutorium" is written on the staves, indicating that they were ruled before the entry of the text. Throughout the rest of the eighth fascicle, the pre-ruled pattern called for staves in two columns, with one continuous staff on the bottom reserved for the tenor. When necessary, other columns were subsequently connected in the middle.

Detailed research remains to be done on this question, but it appears that in thirteenth-century France, the entry of the text determined the layout of both the chansonnier and the motet MS. Practical grounds dictated the most efficient means of notating the genres motet and chanson, each of which had its own MS format. The musical MS ruled with staves from the outset was not common until the fifteenth century, when even deluxe musical MSS such as the small-format chansonniers of the later fifteenth century were so prepared.

The appearance in earlier fascicles of ruled staves at the ends and first rectos of gatherings (e.g., fols. 61v-62v; 63r; 228v-230v) does not necessarily prove the priority of the staves—compare the practice in Machaut MS A (see pp. 188ff above).
Motets and chansons were generally transmitted in separate collections. However, certain chansonniers do contain motets, and it will be necessary to consider these apparent exceptions to the rule. The most instructive example is a MS from Arras, trouvére chansonnier a, which comprises an ordered collection of practically all genres of poetry: chansons, pastourelles, motets and rondeaux, chansons to the Virgin, and "partures" (jeux-partis). Motets are not confined to their separate section, however. Other motets occur, usually singly, at the end of groups of chansons by individual trouvéres.

Virtually all the motets are incomplete. Of the total of seventeen motets, the music was copied for only six; none of the seventeen appears with its tenor. In the section devoted exclusively to motets and rondeaux, only two of the seven motets include space and indications for the tenor, and one of these is incorrect. Even the three motets that do appear with more than a single voice cannot be performed polyphonically due to text omissions and errors. Although two of the stylistically later motets were copied from a mensural source, the notation was badly corrupted by the scribe of a. Turning to the ten motets scattered throughout the collection of chansons, the complete collection of the works of Adam de la Halle, along with texts by many other authors, was mentioned in Chap. 1, pp. 23f. It is ruled throughout as a text MS, which allows any genre to be copied, whether monophonic chanson, three-voice rondeau, or motet.

F-Pn fr. 25566, the complete collection of the works of Adam de la Halle, along with texts by many other authors, was mentioned in Chap. 1, pp. 23f. It is ruled throughout as a text MS, which allows any genre to be copied, whether monophonic chanson, three-voice rondeau, or motet.

Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 578-79, 588 (siglum V). Ludwig summarized his findings on MS a in "Quellen," p. 208.

Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569; 588-89.

Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569; 579-588. In other instances, even
sons, music was entered for only two. All are incomplete in that text for only one voice was copied; there are no tenor indications, not even blank spaces were left for their tenors.

Besides these peculiarities, the scribe shows a lack of understanding or interest in the physical layout of the motet. Although the collection of the repertory must date at the earliest from the time of the seventh fascicle of F-MO 196, the mise en page recalls an earlier usage: triplum and motetus are not notated in columns but are written one after the other, as in the motet collections in D-W 1206 and I-Fl Plut. 29.1. Moreover, the pages are not uniformly laid out. The variable number of staves per page (normally eleven, but anywhere from eight to twelve appear), and the variable number of lines per staff (4-6) are irregularities of a degree not met with in pure motet collections. Finally, the original index shows a further anomaly. Instead of listing the three-voice motets by their motetus voices, both triplum and motetus are listed—as if the scribe were unaware that the two voices were meant to sound together.

Given the poor state of the motet in a, it is necessary to ask why motets were included at all in the MS. Ludwig's presentation of the disposition of the contents of the MS in relation to the gathering structure provides us with the key. The MS comprises twenty-five gatherings, plus an unfoliated binio at the front containing the index, and an added, likewise unfoliated, defective quaternion after gathering XIX. Gatherings XX through XXV consist stylistically later motets appear in non-mensural (square) notation.

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412 Given the number of works of Adam de la Halle, as well as a concordance with a motet in the seventh fascicle of F-MO 196, see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 569 and 589.

413 Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 272. This added gathering contains text only, except for a chanson entered at the very end of the gathering, with
tain the section of *jeux-partis*, which includes no motets. For our purposes, then, only gatherings I-XIX are of interest.

Outside their own section, the motets (and in some instances a rondeau or ballade) occur only as additions at ends of collections of chansons of the individual poets, sometimes corresponding to ends of gatherings. Thus, they occur only at major dividing points in the MS. In a, all major divisions begin on rectos. It is here that the large miniatures signaling the opening of each important trouvère's collection were painted (a vandal has cut many of these out). In a sense, then, the motets (and rondeaux as well) function merely as space fillers, preventing an unsightly gap before the beginning of the following section. And it is not difficult to see why the motet should have been chosen to serve in this way: the motet (and, in a, the rondeau and the ballade) has no residual text, and thus in practical terms is the only form that can fill a small space in the MS.

room for staves. No staves or music were entered. A detailed, gathering-by-gathering discussion is found in Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 2, 573-82.

At the smaller level, this horror vacui, the mark of a professional scribe, is expressed by the use of decorative line-finishing. Each successive strophe of the residual texts of the chansons begins on a new line, and the space left at the end of the preceding line is decorated. A striking contrast in the general appearance of chansonniers a and M [F-Pn fr. 844, chansonnier du Roi] is evident: in M, spaces were also left before each new section, and these were later used for quite extensive additions over a long period of time. The scribe of chansonnier a carefully filled-in such blank spaces.

Each of the eight lines of each rondeau in MS a is entered with its music above, leaving no residual text. The ballade at the end of gathering IV (fol. 32v, Rayn. 1602) lacks its final four strophes. There are a few examples of strophic motets (in the sense of setting a new stanza of poetry to the same music, not in the sense of the small-scale verse structure of the text), see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 514 and nn. 57-61. See also n. 441 below.
The general procedure of copying was as follows. Chansons were entered for each trouvère. If they did not fill a gathering, the songs of another could begin in the middle of a gathering, but only on a fresh recto. The scribe later went back and filled-in the resulting spaces by means of convenient forms—the single motet voice or the rondeau. In some cases, there was enough space for the later insertion of a whole chanson (to be sure, one not connected with the preceding group) or, in one instance, two motets. The extended section of motets and rondeaux in a sense serves the same purpose, to fill-in space before the new gathering of chansons to the Virgin. The motet was thus chosen for purely material considerations. In addition, the different genre may have served to help "articulate" the new division in the MS. (This function was, of course, primarily fulfilled by the miniatures, which always appeared on rectos).  

416 Table 3.2 serves to summarize the function of the internal motets in MS a.  

No room or indication was left for the entry of the tenor in these internal motets. Indeed, according to the rubric at the head of each section of the index, they are all "canchons." The motet at the end of gathering X (Rayn. 498) attributed to "Maistre Richars" (Richart de Fournival) is notable for its extra strophes. According to Ludwig (Repertorium, I, 1, 208 and I, 2, 588), it is a chanson made into a motet (ed. Gennrich, "Trouvère-lieder," pp. 16-20). The "chanson" at the end of gathering XIII (Rayn. 1736) is also somewhat ambiguous as to genre: "Der Text ist...sonst nicht nachweisbar. Da 5 Strophen hier überliefert sind, ist der Text wohl eine Chanson, keine Motette."

417 It is possible that this "articulative" function is also a primary one for the motets in F-Pa 3517-3518 (Ars B, Gautier MS D). Music marks major divisions between sections of this book; it is a means of finding one's place in the MS. A similar situation for the Italian trecento source I-Fn 26 is reported by Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," pp. 180-81. French works articulate genre separations in the original layout of the MS. Richard H. Hoppin, The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nationale, J.II.9, CMM, XXI/4, vii, notes the use of a canon to end a gathering in I-Tn 9 and I-Moe 5.24.  

417 The table is based on information in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 573-81, which see for details of gathering structure and folios presently cut out.
The works listed in the Table as lacking in the index were not necessarily late additions to the MS. Ludwig indicates that the script is that of the main hand, and the initials are of the same size, with the exception of only two rondeaux, one at the end of gathering XII, and one forming the internal division in gathering XVII before the pastourelles begin. These works are either an oversight on the part of the index writer, or else these pieces were added to the MS after the index was copied and before the entry of the initials, that is, when the work of copying was practically over (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 573). (It is not at all apparent from the film that the motet on fol. 40v and the chanson on fol. 98v were added to the index, as stated in Repertorium, I, 2, 573, 575, 577.) In any event, the filling-in of the gatherings can be seen as part of a specific plan in the preparation of the MS.

Folio numbers are given according to the old Roman foliation at top center recto.
TABLE 3.2

The Distribution of Motets in Chansonnier a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gath.</th>
<th>Location of motets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Fifteen chansons of the Roi de Navare entirely fill the gathering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Motet at end (fol. 16v), following the chansons of the Chastelain de Couci and Gautier de Dargies. No music, not in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Motet at end (fol. 24v) following chansons of several trouvères. No music, not in index (same motet appears with music in the separate motet collection).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Ballade at end (fol. 32v) following the chansons of several trouvères. First strophe only; music added in a different hand; not in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Motet at end (fol. 40v), following the chansons of Guillaume li Vinier. No music, in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Chansons overlap with gathering VII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Motet (fol. 50v) attrib. to &quot;Mounios&quot; [M souvenir d'Arras] as an internal division before the chansons of Adam de la Halle. With music, in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Rondeau (fol. 60v) attrib. to Adam at end, after group of twenty of his chansons. With music, in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Chansons overlap with gath. X. Motet at end (fol. 60v), attrib. to &quot;Maistre Richars&quot; [Richart de Fournival]. Has two residual strophes; not in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Two successive motets (fol. 82v) as internal division following the chansons of Colart le Boutellier. Neither with music, both in index. The following chansons overlap with gath. XII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Rondeau at end (fol. 92v). Text and music added later in a different hand. Not in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Otherwise unknown chanson at end (fol. 96v), with four residual strophes. No music, in index.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Motet at end (fol. 106v). Unattributed in codex, but by Adam de la Halle. According to index, could be taken as a work of Gillebert de Bernevillle. No music.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XV Chansons overlap with gath. XVI.

XVI Motet enté (fol. 113v) as internal division before the chansons of Martin le Beguin de Cambrai. Attributed in codex to "Maistre Richards"; no music, in index. 

Chanson (fol. 116v) as internal division before the chansons of Jehan Erart d'Arras, with four residual strophes, fills gath. to end of verso. Not in index.

XVII Rondeau (fol. 123v) as internal division at the end of the collection of chansons. Text and music added later in a different hand. Not in index. Pastourelles begin, continue in gath. XVIII.

XVIII Section of pastourelles ends cleanly on a verso, section of seven motets, nine rondeaux and a virelai begins (fol. 131r). Rondeau section opens with attribution to Guillaume d'Amiens Paignour (not in index). Last rondeau of the section not in the index, only the beginning copied by the main scribe; the rest of the text and all of the music in a different hand.

XIX 15 Chancons de Nostre Dame. Motet at end (fol. 144v), no music, in index.

XIXbis Added after gath. XIX (all text), at end a chanson to fill out the gath. No staves or music. Same chanson appears in gath. XIII with chansons of Guillaume d'Amiens.

The chansonniers F-Pn fr. 844 (M) and F-Pn fr. 12615 (T), F-Pn fr. 845 (N) and GB-Ob 308 (I)

Because of the extensive overlap in their contents, chansonniers M (Roi) and T (Noailles) may be considered together.418 Both contain separate motet collections, and in each case these form separate fascicles.419 As was the case

418 M has 375 concordances with T, according to Jean and Louise Beck, Le Manuscrit du Roi: fonds français No. 844 de la Bibliothèque nationale (Philadelphia, 1938), II, 12.

419 In M, the motet fascicle is a single quaternion, now lacking one folio (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 286). Fol. 210a marks the end of the original motet section, to which later additions were made. In T, the larger motet section fills two quaternions (179-86; 187-94), plus the beginning of a third (fols. 195-202; fol. 197 is the last folio of motets, which is followed by later additions of poetry (some with empty staves, cf. end of n. 401 above).
with a, the motets in M and T are transmitted anonymously, even though attributions for the chansons in these codices are quite complete.\textsuperscript{420} The transmission of the motets again leaves much to be desired. By and large, the reasons that held for chansonnier a are valid here as well. To some extent in T, and to a far greater extent in M, the motets are imperfectly transmitted in that the musical notation of the tenor voice is either incomplete, corrupt, or entirely lacking, though at least the indication of the name of the voice may be present.\textsuperscript{421} This last characteristic indicates that greater care was given to the copying of motets in M and T than in a, where space generally was not even left for the tenor. However, even though the attempt was made, the tenors are incompletely notated in over twenty instances.\textsuperscript{422} Most often, the rhythmic notation of the tenors is corrupt as well.

There are points of contact between these motets and the earlier stages of the development of this form, nevertheless 51 of the 91 works in T (27 of the 48 works in the original corpus of M) are unica. The majority of the unique works are those involving the use of refrains, such as the rondeau.

\textsuperscript{420} There are four exceptions, in some (presumed) motet voices scattered throughout the chanson collections of M and T, see Repertorium, I, 1, 335-36, and below. These four works are monophonic, without tenor, but with attributions. They do not have the space-filling function of the motets added to chansonnier a.

\textsuperscript{421} Ludwig Repertorium, I, 1, 302. The music for the tenor is lacking in M for 17 of the 39 extant motets. In T, there are five cases where no room was left for the tenor, and five others with space left, of which two have no tenor indication, but no voice was ever entered (thus, notes are lacking for 10 of the 91 motets). On the general problem of the notation of tenors in French motets, see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 206 (cited in Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533).

\textsuperscript{422} Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 287-97 enumerates the individual examples.
motets,\textsuperscript{422} works with clearer connections to the circles of chanson writers.

The motets are entered in a disposition that often precludes performance from the MS. This is characteristic of the earliest motet collections, and was not shared by motet MSS contemporary with M and T. Ludwig's discussion of the notation and disposition of voices in motets might be recalled.\textsuperscript{424} The tenors of the six Latin motets transmitted in D-W 677 were not copied with their tenors. Either the tenor could be sought in the section of organa, or had to be remembered for performance. The notation served to record the work, which however was not intended to be performed from the notation in the MS.\textsuperscript{425} Likewise for the early group of MSS, performance is rendered impossible from the disposition of the music in the MSS. The tenor was usually notated at the end, while the upper voices followed each other in the MS, "... unbekümmert darum, ob die gleichzeitig vorzutragenden Stimmen auch von dem oder den Vortragenden gleichzeitig zu übersehen sind."\textsuperscript{428} In other words, succeeding voices could extend across recto-verso

\textsuperscript{422}See the conclusions of Ludwig, \textit{Repertorium}, I, 1, 298-301 and 304-05, that the repertoire of M and T "nur ein Nebenweg der Entwicklung bildet" (p. 305); also "Quellen," p. 190. Ludwig's assessment of chansonnier a is in \textit{Repertorium}, I, 2, 569-70. On rondeau-motets, see Gennrich, \textit{Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen}, I, 15-23 [Nos. 28-35]; II, 20-28.

\textsuperscript{424}Repertorium, I, 1, 301.

\textsuperscript{425}Sanders asserts that these works in D-W 677 are "particularly revealing of the early tendency to view motets as conducti..." ("The Medieval Motet," p. 515), and rejects Ludwig's position: "MI does not recognize the motet as a species; Ludwig's argument that the tenors were added from the fourth fascicle or from memory (Repertorium, 501) seems most improbable" ("The Medieval Motet," p. 515, n. 63). Early motets apparently viewed as "conducti" in E-Mn 20486 [Ma] are discussed in Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533, n. 143. The question of the incomplete notation in D-W 677 is taken up again on p. 540 and n. 176.

\textsuperscript{426} ["... unconcerned as to whether the voices to be performed simultaneously are also simultaneously visible to the performer or performers"] (Repertorium, I, 1, 301). I-Fl Plut. 29.1, D-W 1206 and D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4775 [HüA] and the chansonniers M and T are the MSS listed by Ludwig.
page turns. In later MSS, whatever sounded simultaneously in performance was notated so that it was simultaneously visible in the MS, though the details of voice-disposition differ. With M and T, it appears that the main interest of the collector or scribe was the upper voices of the motets with their French texts.

Distinct copying practices characterize each of the chansonniers. The copyist of M was generous with parchment. As in a, the tendency was to begin copying the works of each new trouvère at the head of a recto—at the top of the first column for important or well-born figures, and mid-column for those of second order. The scribe was apparently unconcerned at the resulting waste of parchment. Indeed the notation of the MS shows an unusual freedom in this respect; occasionally, a folio was added to a gathering to allow the entry of a small remaining text residuum, in order to complete the last chanson of a group. Thus, the scribe went to unusual lengths to

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\(^{427}\) F-MO 196, F-Pn lat. 11266 [W], D-BAs Lit. 115 [Ba], and I-Tr Vari 42 [Tu] are listed by Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 301. Sanders discusses the change from performance by memory to performance by reading in "The Medieval Motet," p. 508, n. 42. Performance was first possible from the MSS D-BAs Lit. 115, E-BULh [Las Huelgas], and the eighth fascicle of F-MO 196. Whether or not the MSS were actually performed from is still a debated question. See, for instance, Nino Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony Apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," in Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, N.J., 1968), p. 126, on the relation of the written work to performance. To some extent the point is moot, however, in that the change to a MS that is consciously copied so that it nevertheless could be performed from is a significant development.

\(^{428}\) Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 301 and 304, §2. The chansonniers contain only French and Provençal texts.

\(^{429}\) See Beck, Le Manuscrit du Roi, I, x. Beck rearranged the order of the trouvères to reflect the hierarchical ordering; cf. the objections of Hans Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du Roi," Romanische Forschungen, 57 (1943), 41 and et passim.

\(^{430}\) Beck, Le Manuscrit du Roi, II, 3-4. Cf. the remarks of Spanke,
complete each group of works as a separate unit. Perhaps the blank space was to allow for subsequent entry of further works by a given trouvère, as they became available. Of course the blank space was tempting to subsequent owners or users of the MS, and a large number of additions to the corpus, unrelated to the original contents, were made by various later hands. In chansonnier M, as in a, the primary "articulation" (that is, the setting-off of each succeeding section of chansons) of the works of each trouvère is the appearance of a new miniature usually at the head of the new section, set off by a preceding blank space. In a, such blanks were scrupulously filled-in by works of a convenient size, mostly motets and rondeaux. This usage may have been foreign to the scribe of M, or perhaps the space was purposefully left for the eventual entry of further chansons.

In chansonnier T, the scribe wished to conserve parchment. This may also explain the unusual format, in long lines, rather than columns. The problem of "articulation" encountered by the scribes of a and M never arose.

"Der Chansonnier," p. 40.

On the later additions, see the discussions by Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 621-26, and "Quellen," p. 213. Spanke, "Der Chansonnier," pp. 92-102, cites more recent literature and editions.

As in MS a, each succeeding strophe of text residua in MS M begins at the edge of the column and painted line-finishings decorate the blanks.

Only fols. 199-223, mostly containing only text, are in a two-column format.

A possible exception is Motet No. 1 in T, fol. 61v. This motet contains only one strophe, and occurs immediately before a lai. As in other instances, the proximity of the motets and lais in chansonniers may be due to their similar disposition on the page; neither normally has residual stanzas of text.
Only two other MSS contain separate motet sections: F-Pn fr. 845 (chansonnier N) and the text MS GB-Ob Douce 308 (chansonnier I).\textsuperscript{435} In N, all fifteen are motets entés, i.e., are based on refrains. The majority of the sixty-four motets in I, a text MS, are also so constructed. In chansonnier N, the motets again form a group at the end of the MS, although they do not begin a new gathering (fol. 184b).

Like the other motet sections in chansonniers, the one in N is anomalous. With respect to their musical transmission, all the motets are monophonic and unica in N. The only known concordances (4 of the 15) occur with the text MS I.\textsuperscript{436}

Due to a lacuna, the original extent of the motet collection in N has been unknown. Although the folios in this part of the MS have been transposed, it appears possible to reconstruct the original structure of the MS, assuming that all leaves are bifolia. A single leaf was lost between fols. 189 and 186, and a single bifolio 187-188, originally at the end of the MS, was moved up to fill the incomplete gathering. Other bifolia were folded backwards in order to make what appeared to be a logical order of pieces.\textsuperscript{437}

\textsuperscript{435} These collections are described in Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 305-13.

\textsuperscript{436} The motet-rondeau section in I (which is apparently not a part of the original conception, since it is not listed in the index, nor does it have a separate rubric) is far more comprehensive than the motet section of N, containing works from all periods of the development (see Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 308 and I, 2, 586f). Even so, 44 of the 64 texts in I are unica.

\textsuperscript{437} If the correct order of folios (184, 190, 189 [lacuna after 189 and before 186]; 186, 185, 191, 187, 188), which can be ascertained because of the overlapping of works on succeeding folios (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 306), is assigned the numerical sequence 1, 2, 3; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, then the order of folios in the present misbinding becomes 1, 5 (gap before 4); 4, 7, 8, 3 (gap after 3); 2, 6. An original structure is then easily posited. Schematically, this can be represented as follows:
If, as appears likely, only the center bifolio of the gathering is lacking, then no complete lai is lost, only the opening of the lai finishing on fol. 186. Thus, at most, one or two motets may be lost. Indeed, it is not unlikely that only the end of the motet beginning on fol. 189v is missing, along with the beginning of the lai that finishes on fol. 186. A single bifolio ends the MS, accommodating the end of the third lai, the relatively short note, and a final motet voice (again, no tenor is notated). This final motet (not a motet enté), copied on fol. 188d, functions to fill-in the space to the end of the MS, in a manner comparable to the practice in chansonnier a.

Among the other chansonniers, only a small number of motets are transmitted. All of these are unusual in that they are monophonic and attributed to composers in the sources; most are transmitted with several strophes. Their locations in the MSS do not appear to have any significance for the "articulation" of the contents.

In sum, the manner in which the "motets" are transmitted in the chansonniers poses a problem. Given the lack of musical concordances or tenor

```
[1] 184
[5] 185
[lost]
[4] 186
[7] 187
[lost]
[8] 188
[3] 189
[lost]
[2] 190
[6] 191

original structure:
```

```
[1] 184
[2] 190
[3] 189
[lost]
[lost]
[4] 186
[5] 185
[6] 191
[7] 187
[8] 188

structure:
```

438 The other three lais each require more than one folio each (this figure is for the note—the lais proper each require more than two folios), thus most of the missing bifolio would have been taken by the lai that presently finishes on fol. 186.

439 See Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 336-37.

440 See Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 301: "Gewiss sind oft die
indications in N and I, even the assignment of these pieces to the genre "motet" is tenuous. Thus, only in rare exceptions was what one might loosely term a "motet" taken into a chansonnier, and the firm distinction between the polyphonic motet collection and the monophonic chansonnier was strictly upheld in the thirteenth century.

THE COPYING OF MUSICAL MSS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Between the latter part of the thirteenth century and the latter part of the fifteenth century, the procedures followed by French scribes in copying music changed. The turnabout in the steps followed by scribes—the order in which the notes and words were entered—has not been carefully studied from a chronological standpoint, although in recent years important studies of individual MSS have been made.

Motetstimmen auch isoliert vorgetragen worden; dass das aber nicht häufig stattfand, zeigt deutlich der Umstand, dass nur in ganz wenigen Sammlungen französischer Motetten die T[enor]-Aufzeichnung oder wenigstens die T.-Bezeichnung fehlen..."01

01 "Welches die musikalische Originalform der nur 1st. oder ohne Melodien überlieferten Werke ist, die ich im folgenden im Anschluss an G. Raynaud vermutungsweise als Motetten hier nenne, ist vorläufig unbekannt" (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, 335-36). See also Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 533: "Just as the earliest motets were at times misunderstood as conducti, motets, frequently studded with refrains, were now regarded as chansons." In this connection he cites Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," ACH 4 (1932), 10n., who observed that the opening of the two-voice motets in D-W 1206 has an illumination of a solo singer—the tenor was thus possibly regarded as dispensable (see above, Figure 3.21). Cf. also Sanders, p. 533, on instances in which motets were adapted into strophic songs, and n. 147. Ludwig argued (Repertorium, I, 2, 305-06) that since some motets in the text chansonnier I appear elsewhere as parts of polyphonic motets, and since all theorists agree that the motet is a polyphonic form (the rubrics in the MSS name the works in these sections as "motets"), then all may be considered incomplete; thus, that all motets entès in MS N and all texts in MS I have unidentified tenors.

02 See the works cited in n. 282 above. Working from the practice of the later fifteenth century, the problem of texting is treated by David Fallows in the introduction to his forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of
The "text underlay" in the works of Machaut is extremely clear, because the text was not actually underlaid to the music. Rather, the music was "overlaid"—entered above the syllables of text, which had been laid out in advance. Before the fifteenth century, the problem of "text underlay" rarely occurs in the way it is understood by many modern music historians. Early discussions of the problem by music historians of this century have used the term "text underlay," which incorrectly implies that decisions of syllabic division were to be made by a scribe apportioning the text below the music. For instance, Ludwig discussed the matter in his review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensuralnotation. He thought the principles of "Textunterlage" unclear for certain genres of fourteenth-century music, including many of the hocket passages in Machaut's and later motets, Machaut's rondeaux, all fourteenth-century French music after Machaut, and a few genres of Italian works. For other genres, including the Fauvel motets, later motets aside from the hocket passages, Machaut's ballades and virelais, as well as the vast majority of Italian works, the principles are clear, just as the text underlay for all music from before 1300 is strictly regulated. Those genres or sections of works in which the relationship

Jean de Montchenu, F-Pn Rothschild 2973 (Cordiforme).

443 See n. 294 above.

between the notes of music and the syllables of text was indicated as doubt-
ful by Ludwig are precisely the cases in which extended melismas are
involved. Given the clarity of the relationship of notes to words in some
of the Machaut MSS (e.g., C), it appears likely that this composer actually
indicated the exact setting of syllables even in the hocket sections of his
motets. Doubtful passages are due to inaccurate copying (which, as we have
seen, may mean infelicitous prior copying of the text). As for the ron-
deaux, this is a genre characterized by the longest melismas and the loosest
relationship between the text and the music. Indeed, it is arguable that
one of Machaut’s basic contributions to musical style, fruitful in later
developments, was precisely this highly melismatic setting of text practiced
in certain genres in his mature style period.

In recent discussions of text underlay, the subject has been viewed from
the standpoint of the late fifteenth or sixteenth century back to earlier
centuries. Some Renaissance music historians have held that for
pre-Renaissance music, relationships between word and tone represent a state
of chaos that was gradually put in order during the fifteenth and sixteenth
century. In many sources of the fifteenth century, including the large
collections I-Bc 15 and especially GB-Ob 213, the relationship between text

Textunterlage der gesamten Kunst vor 1300 streng geregelt ist."

"Cf., for instance, Don Harran, "In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest
Writing on Text Underlay (c. 1440)," AcM, 50 (1978), 217-40. It cannot be
denied that some medieval music displays a rather loose treatment of our
concept of proper declamation. Concerning the thirteenth-century motet of
the style of Petrus de Cruce, Sanders notes that the "declamation, whose
concern with prosody is anything but vital, is rapid in the triplum ..."
("The Medieval Notet," p. 562). But the actual correlation between the text
and the notes is always absolutely clear. M. Bent has studied the problem
of text declamation in early fifteenth century sources in "Text Setting in
Sacred Music" (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, 1980, forthcoming). Some specific
examples from GB-Lbl Add. 57950 are given in "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp.
117-19."
and music is often clearly indicated. Indeed, it appears that in many cases
the text was entered first, which is, as we have seen, the prerequisite for
a clear indication of the relationship between text syllables and notes.

A closer look at some fifteenth-century collections will provide an over-
view of problems peculiar to the musical sources of that century. A
detailed study is desirable; here, it will be possible only to sketch some
preliminary observations.

Some Remarks on Gb-Ob 213 (Ox)

Indigenous French sources are largely lacking from the first third of the
fifteenth century. The large collections from that period, GB-Ob 213,
I-Be 15, and I-Bu 2216, contain primarily music by French composers, though
they were copied in northern Italy. For the purposes of this brief intro-
duction to the problem, it will be sufficient to confine our comments
largely to the collection that was thoroughly studied by Hans Schoop, GB-Ob
213. Schoop expressly states that the notes are entered over the text in
the MS, though he retains the term "Textunterlegung," which makes for
some confusion.

\[^{446}\text{Cf. "Sources, MS, §IX, 4," New Grove, XVII, 678.}\]

\[^{447}\text{See his Entstehung und Verwendung. A thoroughgoing study of the MS}
\text{I-Be 15 by M. Bent is in preparation.}\]

\[^{448}\text{Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 62: "In einigen Fällen erfolgte auch}
\text{aus Platzgründen keine genaue Textunterlegung, oder richtiger ausgedrückt,}
\text{die Noten wurden nicht mehr über die entsprechenden Worte gesetzt." Compare}
\text{p. 88, however, where he states that the notes are stretched out so that the}
\text{syllables can be carefully placed under the notes. It should be emphasized}
\text{that one of Schoop's major contributions is his presentation of paleographi-
\text{cal evidence that text and music for the entire MS, copied over an extended}
\text{period, were entered by a single scribe.}\}
In general, the setting of the text in the MS is careful, even to the extent that lines ["Textzuordnungsstriche"] clarifying the relationship of notes and syllables of text were added in many places. The spacing of notes makes it clear that the general practice was to enter the words first.

Some stylistic features that are not found in Machaut's works characterize the secular music in GB-Ob 213 and in other MSS of the first third of the fifteenth century. Frequently, secular works open with a melismatic section, devoid of text. Texted portions of musical works had long been prefaced by a large initial, but one would expect that in these instances the piece is to begin with a text syllable. When this was not the intention, the text-music relationship appears ambiguous. But by the early fifteenth century, the untexted opening melisma had become a very common stylistic feature and with it a new manner of presentation in the MSS is occasionally seen. The initial is now clearly set in, and the textless nature of the opening melisma is unequivocal.

449 See the discussion by Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 61-63, and my n. 363 above. A few of his examples are available in facsimile: fol. 69v in Stainer, Dufay and His Contemporaries (London, 1898), Pl. 5, and fol. 77v in Jean Marix, Les Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle (1420-1467) (Paris, 1937), frontispiece.

450 There are questions already in the eighth fasc. of F-MO 196 (fol. 392v), at the opening of "Balam inquit" (Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 2, 561, No. 340). The opening melisma is set to "Ba-," but the text syllable is repeated when the texted portion begins. The same practice occurs in other motets in this fascicle (cf. No. 322, Figure 3.3). On fol. 395v, at the opening of "Virginis eximie/Nostra salus" (Repertorium, I, 2, 563, No. 343), the letters "os" were erased at the opening of the melisma, leaving only the initial "N." The texted portion then begins with the full word "Nostra." Such situations were also ambiguous in the works of Machaut, for example, the opening of the Credo, ten. and ct. (p. 180 and Figure 3.5 above). (Of course the same copying practice is seen in English MSS for rondellus compositions.)

For I-Tn 9, see Richard H. Hoppin, The Cypriot-French Repertory, CMM, XX/4, ix. Five of the 102 ballades, seven of the 43 rondeaux, and five of the 21 virelais in this repertory have a textless opening melisma.
Figure 3.24: GB-Ob 213, fol. 17r
Questions concerning textless performance of melismas at internal cadences can also usually be answered unequivocally from the layout of the music and text in the source. As Schoop has made clear, the point where the texting of the double lines in ballades breaks off indicates when the passages are intended as textless ("instrumental") transitions.\textsuperscript{452}

Finally, there is the question of whether the final syllable of text was sung before the final melisma, which was then a textless extension, or whether the penultimate syllable was sung to the final melisma, with the final syllable occurring on the last note. Schoop observes that if there is a short melisma, the "text underlay" is either exact, or lines are drawn to clarify the relationship. If there is a long melisma, the practice seems to change, depending upon the age of the fascicle. In the older fascicles five through eight, but then often again in the fourth and first fascicles (the youngest according to Schoop), the last syllable is separated and "set

\textsuperscript{451} In the fifteenth-century section of F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, the initials are clearly set in, indicating that the opening melismas are textless. This last section of F-Pn n.a.f. 6771 has music very clearly overlaid to text. One has the impression that even if the scribe's exemplar was unclear, he was determined to leave a single solution to text placement in his MS (Figure 3.23). In GB-Ob 213, the initial is usually at the head of the piece, e.g., the Rond. of Dufay "Ce jour de l'an," fol. 17r (Figure 3.24), or the following work, the Dufay Rond. "Ce moy de mays," fol. 17v. The text placement in ten. and ct. is clear because the voice indications take up the space of the melisma. Each MS indication of such a situation should be unambiguous in an edition of the work. Performance suggestions made by the editor remain open; what is clear is that the opening melisma was intended to be performed so that it was textless.


\textsuperscript{452} Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 63.
under" the last note of the phrase. In the second and third fascicles, chronologically at about the midpoint in the copying history of the codex, the syllable is divided relatively less often. According to Schoop, this situation does not depend on the original source. The scribe is careful enough in the setting of the text, however, that one might suggest that the stylistic distinctions in the music should be maintained.

The practice of entering text first throws some light on the question of partial texting—that is, short stretches of primarily syllabic texting occurring within an otherwise textless lower voice. Partial texting often

Cf. n. 464 below.

"Sicherlich ist die Schlussilbe auch dort, wo sie nicht vom Wortstamm getrennt steht, entsprechend den exakt notierten Beispielen, unter die letzte Note der Phrase zu setzen, d.h. das Melisma ist in den meisten Fällen auf der vorletzten Silbe auszuführen. . ." (p. 63). Schoop notes further that in those cases where there are rests before the final syllable, it is possible that the continuation is "instrumental" (i.e., textless): "Ist das Melisma einer Phrase aber durch Pausen oder Kadenzen unterteilt, so ist die Fortsetzung ebensogut instrumental denkbar. . ." (p. 63). In support of Schoop is the Dufay rond. "Bon jour bon an," copied with the final syll. separated in F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC II], fol. 52v-53r, but written as one word in GB-Ob 213, fol. 44v, and F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC III], fol. 64r (cf. above, n. 398).

See Schoop, Entstehung und Uwendung, pp. 87-91. "Es zeigt sich, dass dort wo partielle Textierung beabsichtigt ist, die Noten meistens weiter auseinandergerückt sind, um sie—da es sich durchwegs um syllabische Partien handelt—genau über die einzelnen Silben plazieren zu können" (ibid., p. 88). Schoop seems to be speaking here of true text underlay, in which the words were entered later under the notes of music. In a later passage, however, he indicates an example of true music overlay: "Deutlich ist hier [fol. 21v] die partielle Textierung, im Unterschied zum Contra, daran erkenntlich, dass die Noten erst über den Worten beginnen, was ein starkes Einrücken zur Folge hatte" (p. 89). Partial texting in the fourteenth century is discussed in the dissertation of Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson," pp. 113, 147, n. 1, pp. 157ff, Table XXXII, pp. 162 and 178. Partial texting is found in some realistic virelais, at places where there is imitation in an otherwise non-texted instrumental part. Such points of imitation are imitative of bird calls, or trumpets, etc. See also Virginia Newes, "The Relationship of Text to Imitative Technique in 14th-Century Polyphony" (Symposium Wolfenbüttel, Proceedings forthcoming). The term has also been applied to incompletely texted parts in sacred music, see, most recently, A. E. Planchart, "Texted and Untexted Parts and the
occurs in brief imitative stretches or in passages of *coronatae*. One direction to be taken in a study of partial texting in GB-Ob 213 is suggested by Schoop (Entstehung, p. 91), in connection with the ballade by Paulet(?)
"J'aim qui vous moi" (fol. 108v). In this instance, the partial text of the contratenor part was probably added after the copying of the music, following the texting of the tenor. It appears then that the extra texting of the contratenor was added by the scribe of GB-Ob 213. A study of other instances of partial texting from this point of view is necessary. In cases where the music appears to be overlaid to a text, one might surmise that the correlation between the two was fairly clear in the exemplar, and that for the continued clear expression of this relationship, the text was entered before the music in the new MS.

In cases of partial texting where the disposition of syllables is unclear in the new MS, that is, where the text seems in the true sense to have been underlaid, one might surmise that the text was probably not found in the exemplar of the piece in question, but was added after the music was copied, reflecting either the preferences of the scribe or a local tradition of performance. The care and effort expended by scribes on clear texting in the


A86 The concordance (anon.) in the much earlier MS F-CA 1328 has no text. The ascription in GB-Ob 213 was added later (Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 48).

A87 Virginia Newes gives an example the Senleches virelai "En ce gracieux" ("The Relationship to Text to Imitative Technique"), in which space was left in the triplum for a "cocu," present in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 58v, that was never entered in I-Moe 5.24, fol. 25v.

A88 Attention to the issue of partial texting was urged by G. Reaney, "Text Underlay in Early Fifteenth-Century Musical Manuscripts," in Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday, ed. G. Reese.
first half of the fifteenth century makes it unlikely that the setting of
the text of the upper voice to the lower voices, by breaking up ligatures,
etc., was left to performance practice.\textsuperscript{455}

Some remarks on I-Be 15 (BL)

No discussion of early fifteenth-century music would be complete without
mention of the MS I-Be 15. Again, a single scribe was responsible for the
entry of both text and music.\textsuperscript{456} With this MS, the focus shifts to the pro-
cedures used in copying the polyphonic Mass ordinary.\textsuperscript{461} For the highly syl-
labic movements, the Glorias and Credos, it seems that the text was entered
first, followed by the placing of notes over the words. In the case of more
melismatic movements, particularly the Kyries, the music was entered

\textsuperscript{455} The opposite is suggested in M. Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic
Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," Studi musicali, 9 (1980), 174: she
wonders whether singers were expected to be able to adapt text to ligated,
textless parts.

\textsuperscript{456} M. Bent, forthcoming study.

\textsuperscript{461} In the secular additions to I-Be 15, text was still copied first.
The 3v. Rond. of H. de Lantins, "Mon doux espoir," fols. 54v-55r, provides
a good example of three voices with the same text, each text copied with the
proper spacing for melismas. A detail concerning the entry of music in I-Be
15 is visible from the 3v. Rond. of P. Fontaine, "De bien amer," fols.
98v-99r: void notes were entered with a different pen, after the entry of
the black notes. M. Bent has noted this practice for red notes in GB-LBl
Add. 57950, "Text Setting in Sacred Music." This was no doubt the practice
throughout the fourteenth century as well, cf. an incomplete tenor in I-IV
pp. 210-11).
first. This statement must be qualified depending on the nature of the lower voices. Even in the syllabic Glorias and Credos, the lower voices are normally textless, except for text incipits that serve to identify the larger divisions of the movements. The music of such long textless voices must have been entered first, and the incipits identifying the internal sections supplied later. There are instances, however, particularly for the final Amen of a Gloria or Credo, in which apparently only the first syllable was entered by the scribe, who then waited until the full extent of the melisma was clear before entering the last syllable. There may be an "A-" at the beginning of a section, without an answering "-men" at the end. The Kyrie fascicle after fol. 120 provides many examples. Troped Kyries, such as the 3v. Kyrie of Lymburgia, No. 128bis, and the 3v. Kyrie of Ar. de Lantins, fols. 149v-151r, had their text entered first. Ciconia's 3v. Gloria with three texted voices (essential in this work because of the repetitions of the word "pax"—see M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music") is a good example of careful spacing of notes above a text. The Gloria "Rosetta" of Zacar, for three texted voices, fols. 66v-68r, may have called for some give-and-take for the opening melisma. A work possibly with true text underlay is the 3v. Gloria of Binchois, fols. 130v-132r. Clear evidence of overlay of music is in the 4v. Gloria "Ad ogni vento" of Zacar, fols. 154v-156r. On fol. 154v, last staff, notes are low enough on the staff to obscure words. In one instance, "nostrā" was erased and moved down to allow room for the entry of notes. A 3v. Credo of Antonius Romanus, fols. 28v-30r, has some clear examples near the opening of music squeezed to fit poorly spaced words. For Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi, fols. 121r-129r, it appears that only in the Gloria and Credo were the texts entered first (each has only one voice texted). The Sanctus and Agnus are approximately equal in their melismatic density, falling between the highly melismatic Kyries and the highly syllabic Glorias and Credos. For melismatic Sanctus settings in GB-Lbl Add. 57950, either the music was entered first, or music and text entry alternated, according to M. Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music." This practice seems to be verified by the different characteristics of the script of the incipits. The same practice is seen in fourteenth century MSS that contain Mass movements, e.g., I-IV 115, F-APT 16bis, E-Bc 853, etc.

For example, the end of the cantus of a 3v. Credo, fol. 105v; Reson Gloria, fol. 136v. This is a frequent practice in GB-Lbl Add. 57950, see M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 114-15, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music." The same copying procedure is found in motets back to the
two manners of copying were thus not strictly separated in practice. After the staves were ruled, a syllabic movement was copied by first writing the text of the cantus at the top of a verso and then entering the music of this cantus. The music of the normally textless tenor was added below on the bottom of the verso, and continued onto the recto as necessary, followed by the music of the contratenor. Eventually the scribe went back and entered the text incipits that served to identify the larger divisions of the movement. For movements with a more melismatic style, a certain amount of give-and-take may have been necessary, with long musical melismas being written out entirely before the next text syllable was entered. In syllabic passages within the melismatic movements, the music may have been spaced out in advance to allow for later entry of the text syllables.

Notre-Dame MS I-Fl Plut. 29.1, where the last syllable of a tenor indication was commonly left off for later entry (see Figure 3.22, p. 233 above). Closer to the period of I-Bc 15, Gordon Greene has noted this procedure in F-CH 564 (French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 First Part: Nos. 1-50, PMFC, XVIII, xv). As has been made amply clear above, this sort of thing never occurs in the Machaut MSS, in which the music and text were entered by two separate scribes.

An example pointed out by M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 204-05, and "Text Setting in Sacred Music," from an incomplete piece in GB-Lbl Add. 57950 (fol. 57v), shows a practice of writing a few lines of music before adding text, with occasional gaps in the music to allow later entry of coloration.

Boorman, "Sources, MS §I, 4: Introduction," New Grove, XVII, 598, indicates that differences in page layout are due to national differences or preferences. The Dunstable motet he mentions (p. 599) does not necessarily show an English influence on the layout of the parts, however, since the arrangement is the normal French motet arrangement in use at least since the second third of the fourteenth century.

It is also possible that the cantus music was entered after the music of the lower voices.
In movements with texted tenor and contratenor, the practice in I-Be 15 often recalls the partial texting of some of the Oxford chansons. I-Be 15 contains some Mass movements in which the music of the cantus voice was overlaid to text, while the texts in the tenor and contratenor appear to have been underlaid to music. This indicates that the voices that were underlaid may not have been texted in the exemplar, and that the scribe, following local or personal preference, adapted the text to the lower voices after the music was copied, using the cantus voice as a model.

Music Copying in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

In sources of French music of the latter part of the fifteenth century, text was underlaid to music. Even in the monophonic chansonniers of the late fifteenth century, the text does not determine the layout. In musical MSS, the staves were uniformly ruled first, and residual text was entered between unused staff lines. Leeman Perkins, in the commentary volume to his edition of the Mellon chansonnier, makes an illuminating statement about the preparation of the deluxe chansonniers:

* In a 3v. Gloria of Lantins, fols. 150v-151r, the indication "Tenor" (fol. 151r) was not written off to the side, but directly below the first notes, indicating that this part was not originally to carry the text. Compare the next piece, a 3v. Credo of Ar. de Lantins, fols. 151v-153r, with tenor music clearly overlaid to the text—here, the indication "Tenor" is written off to the side, and thus the text setting may have been clear in the exemplar. Fol. 141 has a very cramped tenor text, with no attempt at a sensible disposition of the words. The 3v. Kyrie and Gloria of Dufay, fols. 164v-165r, provide good examples of typical procedures. The Kyrie text is underlaid to music in all voices. For the Gloria, the music was overlaid to the text in the cantus, text was underlaid to music in the contratenor, while the tenor is textless except for an incipit and Amen. Note also the Binchois "Asperges me," No. 143, on the last fol. of the extra fascicle before 121r. Texting in the lower parts of GB-Lbl Add. 57950 is discussed in M. Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," pp. 126-28 and 177.

* F-Pn fr. 9346 (Bayeux); F-Pn fr. 12744.
Because the declamation of the poetry was essentially the prerogative of the singer, it cannot be assumed that a trained calligrapher, such as the one who penned the texts in the Mellon Chansonnier, was familiar with the principles by which it was done. Moreover, the exigencies of his own specialized task of writing the verse elegantly in a relatively cramped space would have allowed him little freedom to follow the singer's procedures of syllable distribution even if he understood them and—what is even less likely—thought it important to do so. 470

The assumptions underlying this statement provide a clear contrast to those governing the copying of music prior to the late fifteenth century. The exemplar was no longer of consequence in setting out the relationship between music and text. The realization of this relationship was left to the individual performance—indeed there is no reason to suppose that a single correct rendition was possible or desired. David Fallows has noted that analysis of the melodic lines makes the broad outline of the texting clear. Details were less important and were left to the singer. 471 The manner in which music was copied in late fifteenth century MSS can be contrasted with the procedures followed a century earlier in the Machaut MSS (see above, pp. 170f).

1. Ruling. The ruling process now involved the entry of the staves before anything else. Genre and text determined the layout of the MS only insofar as lengthy works were copied into MSS of larger formats, while chansons were copied into MSS of very small format. The question of layout for the polyphonic chansons—works of modest dimensions—was solved by copying them into books of reduced format. The


471 Fallows, "Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century" (Diss. Berkeley 1978), Chap. 1. See also the section on texting in the forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu.
complete opening became the focal point for the copy, just as it always had been in larger MSS, when motets or Mass movements filled an opening.

2. Entry of music. The most striking characteristic of the new manner of copying is the tendency to set notes equidistantly.

3. Entry of text. Perkins' statement above leaves many questions open. It is indeed possible that the text scribe of the later fifteenth century could not be expected to have any musical knowledge. Nevertheless, it was not necessarily true of the preceding century, since the text scribe was responsible for leaving the spaces for the melismas, and for laying out the voices so that they were performable polyphonically. In the earlier fifteenth century, the text was written by the same scribe as the music in the large extant sources.472

We have traced a reversal in scribal practice, but have not yet answered the question of why such a large-scale change took place, or indeed exactly when it occurred. At this stage of the study, only a few random observations can be made.

Daniel Poirion has noted that the great poets of the fifteenth century were no longer musicians. He discusses this issue in his Le Poète et le prince, the only full-scale study of lyrical poetry in the period from Machaut to Charles d'Orléans. Poirion emphasizes the growing specialization among members of the courtly entourage. Poets became increasingly interested in their texts as poetry to be recited, while musicians became

472 The destination of the MS is not necessarily a consideration. Deluxe MSS of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have clear text disposition, as do the Gebrauchshandschriften; deluxe MSS of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are not clear in this regard, nor are the Gebrauchshandschriften.
increasingly interested in music for the sake of music. The changing technique of copying the MSS can in fact be viewed as a documentation of this process.

The details and timing of the change in scribal practice are difficult to pinpoint. It is possible that so many sources have disappeared that a definitive answer will remain elusive. One need only recall, for example, that the sources transmitting French music in the first third of the fifteenth century originated almost exclusively in Italy.

It appears that at least two musical style tendencies made it more practical in the late fifteenth century to enter the notes of the music before the words of the text. First, settings of the Mass ordinary, in which an increasingly melismatic upper voice was accompanied by as many as three untexted lower voices, became more and more popular. At least for the Gloria and Credo movements, the text was entered first in the MSS up until the middle of the fifteenth century. But the textless lower voices, with their relatively long stretches of music, were entered before their identifying text incipits even as early as the Ivrea Codex. Thus, for certain

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473 Poirion, Le Poète, pp. 164-65: "Cependant il faut insister sur un fait important pour l'évolution du lyrisme: rares sont qui, après Machaut, composent encore la musique et le texte de leurs chansons." See also pp. 91-92. 146, 147, 163, 166. Of course, the question of the poets of the fifteenth-century chansons is far from settled. Some new information on this problem is in David Fallows book Dufay (London, 1982), pp. 54 and 70, and in Paula Higgins' introduction to the facs. of F-Pn Ré. Vmc MS 57 (Niv, chansonnier Nivelle de La Chausée) (Geneva: Minkoff, forthcoming).

474 The ideal of the Machaut MS, an author's complete works MS, was taken up by the poets, not by the musicians, of the generation after Machaut: by Froissart, not directly by Deschamps, but by his posthumous collector, and by Christine de Pizan. Cf. above, pp. 25 f.

475 My preliminary assessment of the French chansonnier E-E V.III.24 (EscA), from about 1430, indicates that the first scribe overlaid music to text, while the second scribe underlaid text to music. Facs. ed. Wolfgang Rehm, Codex Escorial (Kassel, 1958).
styles, there was a tradition for the prior entry of at least a part of the music.

A second important style tendency that made it more practical to enter the music first was the development of a predominantly melismatic texture. We have noted above that the copying of the more melismatic Mass movements in I-Bc 15 may have involved alternation of overlay and underlay, a situation that may be true also for F-CA 6 and F-CA 11. Later in the century, by the time of B-Br 5557, prior entry of music appears to have been the exclusive practice in France.

Of course, the change in procedure greatly facilitated the production of musical MSS. The scribe entering music no longer had to pay heed to the location of text syllables and thus could copy music much faster. The change from music overlay to text underlay relates ultimately to the increasing demand for and circulation of music evident throughout the fifteenth century.476

In practical terms, the difference in copying procedures means that the modern editor of, say, Dufay chansons is left with sources in which the clarity of the relationship between text and music varies from extremely clear, with the music overlaid (for example, the last part of the F-Pn n.a.f. 6771), to extremely unclear, with the text underlaid (for example, the late fifteenth-century chansonniers). One wonders where Dufay stood. Do the MSS scribes prepared reflect changes in Dufay's clarity in indicating

476 H. S. Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," The Library, 5th ser., 1 (1946-47), 169, discusses the great increase in the number of fifteenth-century MSS in the vernacular. (In his forthcoming edition of the chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu, David Fallows warns against this view.) In agreement with an increase in book production is George R. Keiser, "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe," Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), 158-79. See also Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 49.
the exact relationship of text and music, or were Dufay's "autographs" pretty much uniform at all periods, and reproduced in different ways by different scribes in different countries in different parts of the century? Such questions cannot be answered authoritatively. But an inquiry into the practices of a single composer, such as Dufay, whose career spans the period in which the change from music overlay to text underlay seems to have occurred, may be fruitful. A study of the text placement in MSS that exhibit a careful expression of the relationship between words and music, that is, those in which the music was overlaid to the text, might turn up a series of practices acceptable for pieces in similar style by the same composer in later, less clear sources. Of course, we cannot know if this relationship reflects the intention of the composer, or if it is even realistic to speak of "intention" in this context. Perhaps a scribe carefully setting the notes over the music was adjusting them to conform to his own ideas of proper text-setting. But the scribal procedure did change. The question of its relationship to a style change and the part played by external factors is still open.
EXAMPLES OF SCRIBAL PRACTICE IN THE MACHAUT MSS

I.

Additions to n. 362 (cancellation or erasures of notes to correct or to clarify text setting).

In MS A

Remede: Reml (fol. 53v, st. 2-3): major error, with line to clarify relationship; Rem5 (fol. 70c-d): two notes at col. change, and another note at the beg. of col. d, st. 3).

Lais: L10 (fol. 384r, st. 1): cancelled, not erased; L10 (fol. 384v, st. 2); L14 (fol. 393v, st. 2); L16 (fol. 398r, st. 4); L17 (fol. 400r, st. 2); L21 (fol. 409r, st. 1); L21 (fol. 409v, st. 5); L22 (fol. 411v, st. 7): elision.

Motets: M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 1-2): at line end; M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 10-fol. 423b, st. 1): at line end between pages; M12 tr. (fol. 425c, st. 4): cancelled at line end; M14 mot. (fol. 427d, st. 10): at line beginning; M16 mot. (fol. 429d, st. 3): at line beginning; M20 tr. (fol. 433c, st. 9): at line end; M21 mot. (fol. 434d, st. 9): later corrections in grey ink; M23 mot. (fol. 437d, st. 5): at line end.

Mass: Osanna II mot. (fol. 448d, st. 6): lig. at end of Bened. copied at beg. of Os.; Patrem [Qui propter] ten. (fol. 445a, st. 4): many corrections, includes line to clarify "et homo factus" as a later correction; Agnus III tr. (fol. 450c, st. 2); Agnus III tr. (fol. 450c, st. 3): at line end.

Ballades: [in the following, st. = st. of ca.] B2 (fol. 454v, st. 4); B3 (fol. 455, st. 1): later correction in grey ink; B27 (fol. 467v, st. 1); B34 (fol. 471v, st. 1).

Rondeaux: R10 (fol. 478r, st. 1); R14 see above, pp. 182ff; R19 (fol. 480v, st. 1).

Virelais: V2 (fol. 482r, st. 3): large error, corrections also include a line drawn; V3 (fol. 482v, st. 4): at line beginning; V6 (fol. 483v, st. 2); V7 (fol. 483v, st. 1): at line end, cancelled, not erased (Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, I, 73, is incorrect) V19 (fol. 487v, st. 3): at line end; V30 (fol. 491v, st. 1): cancelled, not erased, though A's overlay remains poor, cf. MS C (fol. 205r).

In MS G

Lais: L5 (fol. 79v, st. 3); L18 (fol. 96v, st. 6): at line end.

Motets: M1 tr. (fol. 103r, st. 9); M4 mot. (fol. 105d, st. 8): ligature; M5 tr. (fol. 107r, st. 10); M6 mot. (fol. 107d, st. 2); M7 tr. (fol. 109a, st. 1); M7 tr. (fol. 109a, st. 4): at line end, due to elision; M7 tr. (fol. 109r, st. 10): ligature; M8 mot. (fol. 109d, st. 6): at line end; M9 tr. (fol. 110c, st. 7): br. rest erased, moved to squeeze in sb.'s for "tuo";

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M10 mot. (fol. 111d, st. 2); M12 mot. (fol. 113d, st. 8); ligature; M21 tr. (fol. 123r, st. 5).

Mass: Patrem [Crucifixus] ten. (fol. 130a, st. 3); Patrem [Confiteor] ten. (fol. 131a, st. 4); Osanna II tr. (fol. 131c, st. 12); Agnus II ten. (fol. 133a, st. 1).

Ballades: B1 (fol. 134a, st. 6-7): excellent example, three words corrected at line end and beginning; B4 (fol. 135b, st. 3): at line beginning; B5 (fol. 135c, st. 7); B13 (fol. 138d, st. 3): setting of elision and 2nd couplet text clarified; B17 "Amis dolens" (fol. 137a, st. 6); B29 "De triste" (fol. 144c, st. 5): elision.

Rondeau: R14 see above, pp. 182 ff.

Virelais: V15 (fol. 157d, st. 4); V17 (fol. 158b, st. 2): at line end; V31 (fol. 161c, st. 1); V32 (fol. 162a, st. 8); V37 (fol. 163b, st. 6).

In MS C

Remede: Rem6 (fol. 51v, st. 1): at line end. End of line is a point of elision between "toute autre": minima at line end erased, placed over "au" at beginning of the next line. (Note that MS C consistently places notes over the second syllable of an elision.)

Lais: L6 (fol. 178, st. 5): possible case; L14 (fol. 190v, st. 7).

Motets: M2 tr. (fol. 208a, st. 3): elision clarified; M6 tr. (fol. 210d, st. 4): at line end; M10 tr. (fol. 214c, st. 8); M16 tr. (fol. 220c, st. 5); M17 tr. (fol. 221c, st. 1); M17 tr. (fol. 222a, st. 2): elision clarified; M18 tr. (fol. 222c, st. 8).

Ballades: B6 (fol. 160b, st. 2): at line end; B7 (fol. 160d, st. 3); B15 (fol. 164c, st. 4): clarifies elision; B16 (fol. 164d, st. 2); B18 (fol. 199v, st. 1).

Virelais: V15 (fol. 154b, st. 3); V19 (fol. 155d, st. 1).

In MS E

Lais: L7 (fol. 112v, st. 10); L10 (fol. 116r, st. 7); L12 (fol. 117v, st. 10): at line end.

Rondeau: R14 see above, pp. 182 ff.

In MS B

Remede: Rem5 (fol. 128c, st. 1); Rem5 (fol. 128c, st. 2). Note the two examples from the Remede are by Scribe 1. He began by trying to be careful with the placement of the notes over the words, but soon had to work faster.

Motets: M1 tr. (fol. 258v, st. 3): above "mercy".

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Ballades: (all exx. by music scribe 2) B26 (fol. 308, st. 3); B29 "Quant" (fol. 310v, st. 3).

Virelais: (all exx. by music scribe 2) V6 (fol. 322, st. 1 and st. 2); V13 (fol. 324v, st. 2); V14 (fol. 324v, st. 1 and st. 2); V15 (fol. 324v, st. 1): note blotted out, not erased; V19 (fol. 326v, st. 3); V20 (fol. 326v, st. 1); V26 (fol. 328v, st. 1);

II.

To n. 363 (lines drawn to clarify text setting).

In MS A

Remede: Reml (fol. 53v): see the additions to n. 362 above, p. 266.

Lais: L3 (fol. 373, st. 2); L7 (fol. 381, st. 6); L19 (fol. 406, st. 1); L22 (fol. 410v, st. 1).

Motets: M1 tr. (fol. 415a, st. 2) NB!; M1 tr. (fol. 415r, st. 9); M1 mot. (fol. 414d, st. 5); M4 mot. (fol. 417d, st. 5); M6 mot. (fol. 419d, st. 2, at line end); M9 mot. (fol. 422d, st. 3); M10 tr. (fol. 424r, st. 7); three lines drawn; M12 tr. (fol. 426r, st. 4); M12 tr. (fol. 426r, st. 8); M13 tr. (fol. 426c, st. 6): two lines drawn; M13 mot. (fol. 426d, st. 7) NB!; M15 tr. (fol. 428c, st. 2); M15 mot. (fol. 428d, st. 3); M17 tr. (fol. 430c, st. 3); M17 tr. (fol. 431a, st. 3); M21 tr. (fol. 434c, st. 10); M21 tr. (fol. 435a, st. 6).

Mass: Credo ten. (fol. 444a, st. 1): see Figure 3.5 above, p. 181; Credo ct. (fol. 444b, st. 1): see Figure 3.5 above; Patrem [Qui propter] ten. (fol. 445a, st. 4); Patrem [Et in spir.] tr. (fol. 445c, st. 9); Patrem [Et in spir.] ten. (fol. 446a, st. 7); Agnus III mot. (fol. 450d, st. 2).

Ballades: B2 (fol. 454v, st. 1); B5 (fol. 456r, st. 1); B6 (fol. 456v, st. 2); B7 (fol. 457r, st. 3); B8 (fol. 457v, st. 4): two lines drawn; B9 (fol. 459r, st. 3): many variants in B9; B10 (fol. 459v, st. 4): two lines drawn; B11 (fol. 460r, st. 3): two lines drawn; B15 (fol. 462r, st. 2); B16 (fol. 462v, st. 1); B18 (fol. 463r, st. 1): A's overlay poor for B18; B20 (fol. 464r, st. 1); B35 (fol. 472v, st. 2).

Rondeau: R9 (fol. 477v, st. 2): two lines drawn.

Virelais: V1 (fol. 482r, st. 4); V2 (fol. 482r, st. 3): also with extensive erasure, see the additions to n. 362 above, p. 266; V4 (fol. 482v, st. 1): three lines drawn; V5 (fol. 483r, st. 3); V29 (fol. 491r, st. 1): two lines drawn. Note also that a line clarifies the tenor correction in st. 4-5.

In MS C

Mass: Sanctus tr. (fol. 131c, st. 3) NB!; Agnus III mot. (fol. 132d, st. 4): for penultimate syll.

Ballade: B2 (fol. 134c, st. 7).

Virelai: V17 (fol. 158b, st. 6).

In MS Vg

Lais: L7 (fol. 234r, st. 4): Besseler notes two lines, Musikalische Werke, IV, 34 (224); L14 (fol. 247v, st. 3): Besseler notes four lines, Musikalische Werke, IV, 42 (232).

Motets: M12 mot. (fol. 272r, st. 5): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, III, 48 (152); M13 tr. (fol. 272v, st. 3): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, III, 51 (155).

Ballade: B10 (fol. 301r, st. 3): Ludwig notes line, Musikalische Werke, I, 9.

In MS B

Virelai: V7 (fol. 322v, st. 1): see above, n. 355.

In MS C

Motet: M19 mot. (fol. 224b, st. 1).

Virelai: V23 (fol. 156c, st. 1): slash clarifies notes for syll. "roie," not the same kind of line.

In MS E

Lais: L12 (fol. 118r, st. 5, at line-end): two lines added by music scribe due to unnecessary clos ending.

To n. 364 (notes split or combined to clarify text setting).

In MS G

Motets: M9 tr. (fol. 110c, st. 11): "infernis" read as "inferius," minim added for extra syllable.

In MS B
Lais: L16 (fol. 250v, st. 6): added minim (but second minim is smudged—cancellation intended?).

Motets: M7 tr. (fol. 265r, st. 2): two extra minims for end of tr.; M13 tr. (fol. 270v, st. 7).

In MS E

Motet: M6 tr. (fol. 136v, st. 3): extra minim.

Ballade: B38 ca. (fol. 157r, st. 2): breve changed to two sb.

In MSS BE

Motets: M3 mot. B (fol. 261, st. 6), E (fol. 133v, st. 12): long instead of two breves, also in Vg (fol. 263r, st. 6), therefore overlay variants (CAG:VgBE); M5 tr. B (fol. 262v, st. 6), E (fol. 135v, st. 5): extra minim for feminine syllable; M10 tr. B (fol. 267v, st. 4), E (fol. 140v, st. 3): extra note; M17 B (fol. 274v, st. 3), E (fol. 136v, st. 12): breve changed to two semibreves.

IV.

To n. 376 (large errors in copying music above text in MS B (all exx. by music scribe 1).

Motets: M5 tr. (fol. 262v, st. 9): copied seven notes of st. 8 [note that this error indicates that even in B, stems were put directly on the notes; the scribe did not go back in a second pass to add them]; M9 tr. (fol. 266v, st. 8) copied half of the music for st. 9 before discovering that it did not match the text [note that the scribe of E, M9 (fol. 139v, st. 5), copied a sharp from the imperfectly erased underwriting of B]; M9 ten (fol. 267r, st. 6): part of st. 5 copied over the tenor text, erased; M14 tr. (fol. 271v, st. 8): several notes recopied from st. 7.

Mass: Patrem [Crucifixus] mot. (fol. 287v, st. 8-9): scribe unwittingly skipped a line in the exemplar and went on to copy two complete lines of music and the beginning of a third (fol. 288, st. 1 has the first note of the Qui propter) before he discovered the error. All wrong notes were then erased.

Rondeaux: R17 (fol. 320 st. 3): whole first line of ten. (st. 4) entered as the last line of the ca. Error erased.

Eyeskips also occurred in other MSS, e.g., in MS G: B2 (fol. 134c, st. 5): in setting music to the syllable "de-," the scribe's eye skipped to the music of "de" two lines above. It is possible that the exemplar itself was in long lines, and that the two texts were physically closer there.
Chapter 4

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

INTRODUCTION

As Georg von Dadelsen has observed, there is no long tradition for textual criticism in music. Only more recent musicological studies of certain repertories offer procedures for dealing with the transmission of musical works. But since the textual problems of every period are unique, indeed,


478 For example, see Allan Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I (Brooklyn, 1975), and, more recently, M. Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late Medieval Polyphony," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, pp. 295-317, and S. Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, pp. 319-46 (with excellent annotated bibliography). An overview of the specific problems encountered with musical sources is Boorman, "Sources, MS, §I, 6: Introduction," New Grove, XVII, 604-09. For
the identity of a period depends to an extent on peculiarities of transmission, the premises established for the study of one repertory (for instance, in what constitutes a "significant" variant) are often too specific to be of much help when other repertories are considered. Therefore, in considering the transmission of Machaut's music, rather than advocating one method over another, the problem will be attacked here from several directions. The goal is not to produce and defend a critical text for any work of Machaut, rather, to characterize the transmission, to discuss variables that affect it—in other words, to sketch background material that might precede an editorial attempt.

Both internal and external evidence are taken into account. "Internal evidence" is the study of a text's readings. "External evidence" refers to any of several varieties of documentary material that can be brought to bear on the textual history of an author's works. Such material is most usually scanty for the medieval period; for many repertories, music historians have no clear idea of how the extant music was put to use or what purpose lay behind the copying of a given MS.\textsuperscript{479}

\textsuperscript{479} For the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, much important work has been done. For example, Lewis Lockwood has recently been concerned with the transmission and diffusion of music through the patronage system. As examples, see "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," JAMS, 32 (1979), 191-246, and "Dufay and Ferrara," in Papers read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference (Brooklyn, 1976), pp. 1-25. For fourteenth-century Italy, see Michael P. Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," Chap. 6. For the period of the troubadours and trouvères, see H. J. Chaytor, From Script to Print (Cambridge, 1945). Despite its age, this is an important work; a multitude of external factors that influenced the shape of the texts are treated.
Machaut is different in this regard, since the complete works survive solely because the author considered the copying of complete MSS a function of his artistic activity. Some of Machaut's narrative poems refer to the written transmission of his works, such that a knowledge of the poems themselves supplies external evidence on the textual transmission. External aspects will be considered at the outset, because a picture of the "character" of the transmission can provide clues to the interpretation of the readings.

If the aim of textual criticism is to present the author's intended text, the question then is determining what this may mean for the works of a fourteenth-century French poet. Are there several versions that might be considered "authentic," or if the evidence admits of only one, where does this text stand in time and space in relation to the author? Such questions bear on what may be termed the "integrity" of the work.

It is of course also true that patrons demanded lavishly illuminated, readable texts in French, and certainly Machaut was answering this demand. This question of the public is broached by Poirion, Le Poète, Chap. 1: "Le public aristocratique: Le Prince et la Cour." His characterization of the intellectual activity at the court of Charles V (for instance, p. 26 on translations ordered by the king), should have indicated that the roots of this process lay in the reign of his father, Jean II. Günther, "Contribution," p. 5, links MS C to a pay document (dated Ascension day, 1353) for copying books in gallico, indicating a demand for works in French. See above, n. 255.

This is a classic definition, see J. P. Postgate, "Textual criticism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1936), XXII, 6b: "The aim of the 'textual critic' may then be defined as the restoration of the text, as far as possible, to its original form, if by 'original form' we understand the form intended by its author." Fredson Bowers, without formally alluding to this definition, points out in his revision of the article the insufficiency of the notion of "intention": the form intended by the author does not necessarily remain constant, see "Textual Criticism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (1958), XXI, 918-19. See also James Thorpe, Principles of Textual Criticism (San Marino, Calif., 1972), p. 50.
James Thorpe uses the notion of "publication" to control the difficulties inherent in the nature of the author's intended text. Whatever an author released for publication, i.e., whenever he allowed the dissemination of a text to his usual public, this could be considered the author's "intended" text, regardless of the number of versions it might entail. Such a provision avoids the pitfall of considering the latest version as the only object worthy of interest. One might therefore endeavor to determine what constituted the step analogous to "publication" for Machaut, and what the nature of the author's public was. It is also necessary to consider the manner in which his works were circulated to the public, and, if more than one means was used, whether the different means affected the integrity of the work.

Finally, having characterized the transmission by means of the external evidence, there is the question of the MS readings themselves—the internal evidence. How are the variants to be classified and evaluated? It is clear why a consideration of the external aspects of transmission must precede this step. For example, a scholar studying the transmission of the lyrical texts and music of the trouvères might set out to establish, by means of judicious comparison of MS sources, a text as close as possible to the poet's autograph. But the external evidence indicates that such a goal is

\[\text{\textsuperscript{482} Thorpe, Principles, p. 38.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{483} On medieval "publication," see H. J. Chaytor, From Script to Print, p. 133, and H. S. Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," The Library, 5th ser., 1 (1946-47), 167-78. Chaytor considered the production of illuminated presentation MSS (frequently the opening illustration depicts the author presenting his work to the patron) as the medieval equivalent of publication. For the Machaut MSS, see the following miniatures in Appendix C: Vg1, Gl43 and Dl (to the beginning of the Loange), Al (to the Prologue), E11 (to the beginning of Navarre), F14 (to the beginning of Remede), A78 and E22 (to the beginning of Fontoine).}\]
illusory: there was the possibility of multiple authorial versions, of contamination due to several sources being available to the copyist, of variation due to oral transmission, as well as the possibility that the poetry in the chansonniers was subject to thought and conjecture on the part of the scribe of the MS.***

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE: DOCUMENTATION SUPPLIED BY THE NARRATIVE POEMS

Of Machaut's ten lengthy and four short narrative poems, five contain evidence pertinent to the transmission of his works: Behaingne, Remede, Navarre, Fonteinne, and the Voir Dit. In the early Behaingne (before 1346), for instance, various characters refer to the poem itself as a book, to material already written and found at an earlier point in the story.** Such a reference emphasizes the self-conscious nature of the author's style in the narrative poems, bringing out Machaut's pride, at an early stage of his career, in books of his own creation. The role of the poet-author is not masked; he occasionally steps forward to remind the reader, in a humorous


manner, who is really pulling the strings. 

The Remede de fortune

In the Remede, the circulation of lyrical poetry (with its music) is an integral and indispensable part of the plot. This extremely refined work can be read on a number of levels. Beyond the outward story line of Machaut and his lady, taking place in the courtly sphere, the work may also be read as a didactic treatise. The lyrics interpolated into the story line provide examples of the principal poetic forms practiced by Machaut, including a lai, a complainte, a chanson royale, a duplex ballade (overall form AABB), a conventional ballade, a virelai, and a rondeau. The appearance of one each of these forms already implies a didactic design. Their arrangement is quite artfully carried out. It has been suggested that the seven poems are presented in order of decreasing complexity, and this is apparently the case.

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**See n. 521 below.**

**A recent discussion of Machaut and "courtly love" is Douglas Kelly, Medieval Imagination, Chap. 6.**

**Called "traitie" by Machaut (v. 4257), the work begins "Qui veut aucune art apprendre •••• Machabey suggested that the lyrics could be considered a kind of method in poetry for Machaut's students, among whom Deschamps would be counted (Machabey, Guillaume de Machault, I, 50-51). Deschamps wrote an actual poetical treatise, the "Art de dictier"; Machaut accomplished something of the same thing with his Remede. Machaut not only instructs by means of example how to write in each form, but, by its inclusion in the poem, how to use it.**

**The term "duplex ballade" follows the terminology of Egidius, "De motettis componendis," CS, III, 128b. A further poetic interpolation, the prière (vv. 3205-348), was not set to music. Its form, AAAAAabAAAAAb CCCCCbCCCCCb DDDDDbDDDDDb, etc. (five 8-syll. lines followed by 4+) does not lend itself to a musical setting.**

**Hoepffner, Oeuvres, II, liv.**
The lai, the first of the forms illustrated, was considered a particularly intricate form in the fourteenth century, requiring a different metrical scheme, and therefore different music, for each strophe except the last (usually the twelfth). Machaut was "sentenced" to write one at the end of Navarre, and then another one in the middle episode of the Voir Dit. In the latter case, the lai is set up as a virtuoso piece of work. Because Machaut has not yet said anything in particular about Dame Esperance in the poem, Machaut must pay an amende. Confort d'ami, one of Esperance's retainers, suggests that Machaut be made to pay with the composition of a chanson, rondeau, ballade, or virelai. Instead, Esperance demands a lai, suggesting that this is the ultimate punishment. In his Prison amoureuse (c. 1369), Froissart is quite explicit on this point.

The lai of the Remede, "Qui n'aroit autre deport" [Rem1] is perfectly integrated into the forward movement of the poem, indeed, it is central to the action at the opening of the story. Machaut, afraid to openly avow his

491 "Ne tu n'as encor de moy dit / Rien d'especial en ton dit / Ne rendu graces ne loenge" (Voir Dit, vv. 4015-17). ["Nor have you said anything special about me in your dit, nor have you rendered me thanks or praise."]

492 "Et qu'il en paie une chanson, / Rondel, balade ou virelay" (Voir Dit, vv. 4058-59). ["And let him pay with a chanson, rondeau, balade or virelai."]

493 On the date, see Anthime Fourrier, ed., L'Espinette amoureuse, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1972), pp. 33-34. Fourrier discusses the lai on p. 45 of his introduction: "Ce genre lyrique passait au XIVe siècle pour le plus difficile, ainsi que l'affirme notre poète lui-même [i.e., Froissart] en sa Prison amoureuse: D'un lay faire c'est...Grands fes, / Car, qui l'ordonne et rieule et taille / Selon ce que requiert la taille, / Il y faut, ce dient li mestre, / Demi an ou environ mettre." (vv. 2199-203) ["To make a lay is a great burden, because he who orders and arranges and shapes it according to that which the shape requires needs to devote, so say the masters, half a year or thereabouts to it."] Cf. also Deschamps, "Art de dictier," in Gaston Raynaud, ed., Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps, VII (Paris, 1891), 287-88. A further citation of Froissart is given in Fallows, "Lai," New Grove, X, 367b.
love for his lady, expresses his anguished inner state by writing the lai.\textsuperscript{494} Later, she asks to hear the lai read aloud. When asked who wrote it, Machaut, narrator and principal character, is unable to answer, and runs away shamefully without a word. To confess his authorship would be tantamount to an avowal of love; to deny authorship would be lying. The embarrassing outcome of the dilemma is in character with the comical narrator figure found in the majority of Machaut's large narrative poems.\textsuperscript{495}

His miserable state sets the stage for the complainte "Tels rit au main" [Rem2], the second of the lyrical interpolations.\textsuperscript{496} Like the lai, the complainte requires an extraordinary richness of rhymes (all but two of the thirty-six strophes has different rhyming syllables), but unlike the lai, all strophes are metrically equivalent and thus each can be sung to the same melody.\textsuperscript{497}

The ensuing sequence with Dame Esperance—designed to give Machaut enough courage to return to the château—provides the occasion for the next three interpolations, the chanson royale, the duplex ballade, and the conventional ballade. These three works easily fit into the schema of decreasing com-

\textsuperscript{494} According to the theoretical definition of "discordia," this is the proper form to have chosen here. See Ursula Aarburg, "Lai, Leich," MGG, VIII (1960), col. 86.

\textsuperscript{495} James Wimsatt, "Chaucer and French Poetry," in Writers and their Background: Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Derek Brewer (Athens, Oh., 1974), p. 122, comments that since Machaut was not of noble birth, the narrator figure was made comical, so as not to compete with his noble audience. Otherwise, it would have been considered presumptuous to use a first-person narrator.

\textsuperscript{496} The presentation of the lyrics Rem2-5 occurs in an enclosed garden, with birds singing, the traditional locus amoenus suitable to the composition of lyric poetry, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953/1973), pp. 195ff.

\textsuperscript{497} If all thirty-six strophes were sung, it would take over an hour to perform the work once.
plexity. Although the chanson royale is formally very similar to the ballade (in Machaut's works, it has five strophes as against three for the ballade, lacks the refrain of the ballade, and ends with an envoy), it was considered a more exalted form. In fact, the manner in which "Joie, plaisance et douce norriture" [Rem3] is presented in the narrative may be interpreted as a humorous reference to the pretentiousness of the form, the cantus coronatus of Grocheo. The work is attributed to, and sung by, Dame Esperance (later, v. 2039, she brags about her song). With its stumbling declamation, one can easily imagine a very haughty, ostentatious performance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Joie plaisance et douce norriture.}
\end{align*}
\]

One wonders how accurate is this parody of the art of the grand chant courtois, which was giving way at the time of the Remede to the more long-winded, alternately quick and slow (but correct) declamation seen in Machaut's polyphonic ballades and rondeaux. But in the context of the poem, the narrator's reaction to the work is to fall asleep.

Ernest Hoepffner, "Les poésies lyriques," p. 217. Hoepffner further states (pp. 217-19) that the old chanson courtoise of the thirteenth century was transformed by a severe regimentation of form practiced by the 

puys of northern France into the genre chanson royale. He notes that all of the "chansons roiaux amoureuses" of Froissart (except no. 1) have indications that they won prizes ("étiaient couronnées") at Valenciennes, Abbeville, Lille, or Tournai. This heading appears only with the chansons royales, and not for the lais, pastourelles, ballades, or rondeaux.


Near the end of this sequence, Dame Esperance sings the duplex ballade "En amer a douce vie" [Rem4], initiating the series of lyrics in the more popular formes fixes. This is a work that the narrator pays close attention to, and he is so intent on memorizing it that he does not notice the departure of the allegorical figure. Machaut learns his poetic lessons well, and a short time later he is able to compose a ballade of his own, "Dame, de qui toute ma joie vient" [Rem5]. The two remaining formes fixes are also composed and performed by the narrator.

When Machaut finally reaches the château, he finds the courtiers (including his Lady) outside dancing. The narrator is asked to join in, and he contributes for his part the virelai "Dame a vous sans retollir" [Rem6]. The virelai is thus placed between the more elegant ballade and the smallest and most repetitive form, the rondeau. Throughout the history of the formes fixes, the virelai remained the most flexible formally, the one with the closest tie to the original dance-influenced forms. And the virelai's association to dance makes for the excellent integration of Rem6 into the action of the poem. Finally, the narrator makes a lyrical exit at the end Machaut set no other chansons royales to music. In this connection, see Ludwig, "La musique des intermèdes lyriques dans le Remede de Fortune," in Ernest Hoepffner, ed., Œuvres, II, 411: Rem3 is characterized by an archaic declamation and false accentuation of the feminine endings. Arlt analyzes Rem3 in his recent "Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 273-76.

See Hoepffner, "Virelais et ballades dans le Chansonnier d'Oxford (Douce 308)," Archivum Romanicum, 4 (1920), 37-38. Cf. also Navarre, vv. 4184-88, in which—without naming the form—the virelai is described: "... une chanson / De trois vers et un refrein / —Oez, comment je le refrein— / Qui par le refrein se commense, / Si comme on doit chanter a danse. ["... a chanson with three verses and a refrain—hear how I describe it—which begins with the refrain, just as one ought to sing to dance by"] See also Dömling, Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, p. 17, n. 39, in reference to Froissart, Prison amoureuse, vv. 401ff, and Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 263.
of the poem, singing the rondeau "Dame, mon cuer" [Rem7].

The carefully-controlled structure of the poem is striking. Compare Daniel Poirion: "Le travail de mise en ordre et de classement répond d'abord à ce souci didactique qui caractérise la création littéraire de Machaut dans presque toutes ses manifestations. . ." The same mind that calculated the organization of the components of this poem conceived the organization of the large MSS of his works.

In microcosm, the early Remede displays characteristics that were brought to fruition only with the later complete MSS, in which each component of the MS is as carefully ordered as the elements of the individual narrative and lyrical poems. The arrangement of the Remede actually gives clues to an understanding of the organization Machaut later adopted for the musical sections in the MSS. It is not surprising that the lais were given first place in the series, since his cultivation of this demanding poetic form set him on a plane well above other poets of the time. Thus, the musical parts of the MSS begin with the lai, establishing Machaut's poetic preeminence, followed by the motet, the most important form of expression among the musical savants. The other lyrical forms follow in the order, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, slightly different from the disposition of ballade, virelai, and rondeau found in the Remede. The reason for the difference may lie in the changed prominence of virelai and rondeau (in Machaut's chanson produc-

502 Another "exit rondeau" (without music) appears as the Duc de Berry departs at the end of the Fonteinne, vv. 2825-32. Cf. also Dömling's discussion of Christine's Dit de la rose, in Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, pp. 18-19.

503 Poirion, Le Poète, p. 203, quoted in Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, p. 70, n. 7.
tion, at least) after the middle of the century. The virelai was cultivated more by Machaut at the earlier period, while the rondeau became important later.\textsuperscript{555}

In summary, the lyrical interpolations in the Remede bear on two aspects of the external evidence for the transmission of Machaut's work. In integrating the works into the poem, Machaut has given us, first, hints about the function that the various forms of poetry served in their original milieu. The veracity of the actual situations in the Remede is unimportant; the story is presented as if it were a real occurrence in the contemporary society. For example, the lai appears to fulfill a definite role in the courtly ethic, as a work that is supposed to mirror "die zereissende Lage des unglücklich Verliebten..."\textsuperscript{555} Second, Machaut provides hints about his own perception of the relative merit and complexity of the interpolated poems. That the lai is the most demanding of the lyrical forms cultivated by the poet is corroborated by its prime position in the large MSS of the author's works; it explains why polyphonic pieces were not placed first in the MSS. In addition, the Remede underlines the importance of the fixed, written form of Machaut's art. The illustrations in MS C, the earliest of the MSS containing the Remede, enhance this impression, for in several illustrations, Machaut or Esperance is seen reading from a horizontal roll of parchment.\textsuperscript{556} Machaut's art is not depicted as improvisatory; the written

\textsuperscript{555} Cf. Günther's chart on p. 99 of her "Chronologie und Stil," and the discussion on pp. 107-10. Note also the relative crudeness of the Remede rondeau [Rem7] compared to the mature style of Machaut's rondeaux. This may explain the replacement of the rondeau in the GB-Cmc 1594 Remede with a more representative rondeau, "Tant doucement" [R9], one more acceptable to later tastes. Not a single virelai of the later Voir Dit was set to music, although Machaut was urged repeatedly by his correspondent.

\textsuperscript{556} Ursula Aarburg, "Lai, Leich," MGG, VIII (1960), col. 86.
artifact is visible from the start.

The Jugement dou Roy de Navarre and the Lay de plour

In Navarre, Machaut is explicit in indicating his personal interest in the presentation of his works. The allegorical figure Dame Beneürte' (Lady Happiness) rebukes the author for an unkind reference he made to her in Behaingne. He answers her as follows:

J'ay bien de besoingnes escriptes
Devers moy, de plusieurs manieres,
De moul de diverses matieres,
Dont l'une l'autre ne ressamble.
Consideré toutes ensamble,
Et chascune bien mise a point,
D'ordre en ordre et de point en point,
Dès le premier commencement
Jusques au darrein finement,
Se tout voloie regarder
—Dont je me vorray bien garder—
Trop longuement y metteroie,
Et d'autre part, je ne porroie
Trouver ce que vous demandez,
S'a vos paroles n'amendez.557

One can imagine Machaut at a desk covered with voluminous writings. They are not in great disarray, but form a well-ordered whole—they should be "considered," as he explains, "all together, from the first beginning to the

556 In the Remede, in connection with the lai [Rem1], the complainte [Rem2], and the ballade [Rem5], he is shown sitting on the ground, writing out the newly-composed work. See Appendix C, Remede miniatures C12-14, C23, C31-33, C35, C42, and C92. Miniature C33, directly preceding Rem5 in MS C, is repro. in New Grove, XI, 433. In Vgl2 (before v. 3013, the ballade Rem5), Guillaume is depicted kneeling before Lady Hope with an open book in his hands.

557 Oeuvres, I, 167-68 (vv. 884-98). ["I have much written matter before me, of various kinds, on many and diverse subjects, of which the one doesn't resemble the next. Considered all together, and each well arranged, from one part to the next and from one instant to the next, from the first beginning up to the last end. If I wanted to look at everything—which I'd well like to avoid—I would take too long; and besides, I couldn't find what you ask, unless you make amends for your words."]
last ending"—just as the works would be presented in one of the complete MSS. Even allowing for the obvious comic element in the passage, it is clear that the shape of his complete oeuvre had already begun to occupy the consciousness of the author at the mid-point of his career.

Machaut the narrator is later put on trial for offending statements made in Behaingne, and defends his writings himself. The judgment goes against him, and he must write a lai as punishment. Again, the self-conscious nature of Machaut's art, in which the author proudly calls attention to his own craft and virtuosity, is evident.

The appended Lay de plour [L22] is more loosely connected to Navarre than the lyrical interpolations in the Remede. Indeed, the manner in which L22 is presented in the MSS has given rise to speculation on the date and genesis of both the narrative poem Navarre and the MS C.

In MS C, after a collection of virelais, ballades, and lais, an unordered series of works, comprising further examples of each of these three forms along with several rondeaux, appears before the closed collection of motets. L22 appears at the opening of the "unordered" series. Günther has argued that since L22 is placed after Navarre (dated 1349 in vv. 24-25) as part of the narrator's amende in MSS Vg(B)ME, a terminus of 1349 is provided, before which the unordered section of MS C must have been written. But some MSS

588 In Appendix C, see the miniatures cited in n. 483 above, and A80 (to the Fonteinne).

589 See above, pp. 138ff.

510 Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil," p. 100, following Hoepffner, Oeuvres, lxxxviii. The unordered series of the MS corresponds to a literal copy of Eric Hicks' "stage 2" of the transmission of poetical works: that of a dossier of works, before they passed into an ordered recueil, see Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1977), p. lviii.
do not specifically associate L22 with Navarre.\textsuperscript{511} Furthermore, Navarre itself does not appear in C, only L22. Because of this apparent loose association of the lai with the larger poem, Williams has argued that it is illogical to believe that the lai was composed at the same time as the poem.\textsuperscript{512}

However, the lai is specifically associated with the narrative complex Behaingne-Navarre by its subject matter. The lai is written for a lady grieving over her lover's coffin, precisely the character "wronged" in the earlier Behaingne. L22 perfectly atones for Machaut's earlier judgment against the lady. The lai may antedate somewhat the composition of Navarre, but surely its composition is connected to the artistic decision to reverse the judgment of the earlier dit.\textsuperscript{513} Though Navarre does not appear in C, other evidence places the date of the MS at about the same time as the composition of Navarre, that is, about 1349.\textsuperscript{514}

\textsuperscript{511} MSS AF-G; in M it appears in two places—not only after Navarre, but also separately in the section of lais.

\textsuperscript{512} Williams, "The Music of Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 106-07, and "An Author's Role," p. 452. Williams' proposed revisions to the datings of Hoepffner do not stand up in view of the corrected dating for MS C.

\textsuperscript{513} Perhaps Machaut's situation was parallel to that of Alain Chartier seventy-five years later. Letters document the demands of the ladies at court that Chartier answer for the Belle Dame sans Merci. In response, he wrote the Excusacion aux Dames (Laidlaw, Chartier, p. 7).

\textsuperscript{514} See above, p. 131. It has not been pointed out that one of the miniatures associated with the lais in MS C (miniature Cl01 in Appendix C), portraying a man hiding behind bushes spying on the conversation of a noble and a lady, exactly recalls the situation of the narrator at the opening of Behaingne. This miniature (fol. 184r) actually appears before "Un mortel lai" [L12], the last lai of the "ordered" series in the MS, immediately preceding L22 (B19 was added later, between gatherings). A similar illustration appears with many MS presentations of Behaingne [MSS CJFE (lost in K)], and one wonders if the illustration should have been placed with L22, or whether this is a clue to the association of L12 (see miniatures F10, E10, C1, J3 and A9 in Appendix C).
Que douleur me pour et lauré, tea moart lant, au cœu que débîran pour
Bien part aus conmentu et à malquelle air nuait et puissance na
rois aies tous fucre.

A euer prins rageer et te buis roin haur por
A lices eperres et ies pires-dueur aus

que euer pus eus lecouver. Je buis buis ce topce wort bid aum
et acus en rey capteur. Que lour fees ais euror por-jeu dans

et allous de rey une souveteur et remi quar vie le roya.
ne volteur à courte,
A vos lourer cirélateur
et est troy que départ
le monde en Newt par
ne fait de vous la reine.

Figure 4.1: F-Pn fr. 1586, fol. 188v.

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An irregularity in the musical text of L22 in C may indicate that it was a very recent composition at the time it was copied into the MS. Most of the music for the last strophe is lacking, because the text scribe entered only the first few words in a manner that allowed room above for the staff (that is, only those words that fall in the MS at the end of the last line of the penultimate strophe have music, see Figure 4.1). The rest of the final strophe was entered as a text residuum. No other lai in any Machaut MS is notated in this manner, which on the face of it would seem to be a sensible notational shorthand, since the music of the last strophe is identical to that of the first, except for the transposition of the music up a fifth. All this implies a clear knowledge of the way the lai as a form operated, and one could speculate that this is evidence of a copy from an early redaction, perhaps even from the composer's "autograph." By the standards of the other lais, the text scribe of C should have entered all of the final strophe in a manner that would have allowed the drawing of the staves and the entry of music. When he did not do this, the error became impossible to rectify. The argument then that L22 is an early work attached to Navarre as an afterthought appears weaker; it probably dates from the same period as Navarre.

The musical incipit for strophe XII may have been added later. Thus, it is possible that the copy from which the lay was entered in the MS lacked all of the music for the final section. Perhaps knowledge of the normal transposition of a fifth was assumed. The last strophe of all of the lais are transposed up a fifth, except L7, which is transposed up a 4th; L24, down a 4th; and L1, 2, 3, 12, 17, and 23, in which the first and last strophes are at the same pitch level. But the exceptions are fewer: L23 and L24 are possibly not authentic (see below); L1 is exceptional in that music for only one strophe is notated at all; L17 is canonic; thus, L2, 3, and 12 (early works?) are the only true exceptions to the normal practice.
MSS that do not associate L22 with Navarre [MSS AF-G] represent later stages of the collection of the works.\textsuperscript{516} I have argued above that the relocation of the lai is an example of the same rationalization of the order of the works that brought about the reorganization and relocation of the lyrical poems of the Loange (see above, pp. 59 f and 86 f). In MS A, the removal of L22 into the complete collection of lais is indicated by the index, though the lai does not appear in its prescribed position, and had to be added subsequently onto the end of the lai section. It is likely that the exemplar for A did not contain L22 in the place listed by the index, and the intention to relocate it can be considered a late authorial revision, not wholly successfully carried out by the scribe.

To summarize, it appears that the first extant MS of Machaut's oeuvre, MS C, arose at about the same time as the first suggestion that Machaut was occupied with the composition of a narrative poem (Navarre) complementing an earlier work, and a connection between the author having a complete-works MS prepared and the writing of a poem that demanded knowledge of an earlier work for its proper understanding, is suggested. We are thus granted a brief glimpse at what, besides his avowed service to li Dieus d'amours, influenced Machaut in the composition of poetry.\textsuperscript{517}

\textsuperscript{516} This is another respect in which the late MS E can be regarded as derivative of the Vg(B) MS-type, see above, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{517} A very interesting idea of Silvia Huot (private communication) should be aired here as well, namely, that the stimulus to make the collection of Machaut's first complete-works MS is owed to the outbreak of the plague (1349). (An historically important description of the plague opens Navarre.) Further, the Lai de plour may be linked to Machaut's own feeling of impending death.
The Fonteinne amoureuse and the Voir Dit

In the Fonteinne, as with the Remede, a long lyrical work presented near the opening of the poem (in this instance an 800-line complainte, vv. 235-1034), is carefully integrated into the story line, and again Machaut the author-narrator places himself in an interesting relationship with his poetry. One evening he overhears a noble lover in the next room lamenting an impending separation from his beloved,\(^{518}\) and the narrator copies down the complainte from dictation. Later in the story, when the lover asks the narrator to compose a lai or complainte for him, Machaut is able to hand over his copy of the lover's lucubration.\(^{519}\) Such contrived situations again demonstrate Machaut's preoccupation with the written transmission of his lyrics.\(^{520}\)

Machaut shows himself in the Voir Dit to be concerned with all aspects of his métier.\(^{521}\) Several passages bearing on external aspects of the transmission of the works are discussed in the important article of Sarah Jane Williams cited earlier.\(^{522}\) Since many of the issues she raises relate

\(^{518}\) He will later be recognized as Jean, future duc de Berry, about to set off for England as a hostage in fulfillment of the conditions of the treaty of Brétigny (1361).

\(^{519}\) l. 1504, cf. Calin, A Poet at the Fountain, pp. 164f.

\(^{520}\) See Appendix C, miniatures E22 and A80.

\(^{521}\) Compare Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," p. 25: "In both the Voir Dit and the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, Machaut consistently portrays himself as above all a professional writer, for whom the activity of composing poetry and music is closely linked with the physical aspects of the writer's craft: the transcription and circulation of manuscripts and the business of patronage. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of Machaut's self-presentation as a poet in the Voir Dit is his explicit concern with the supervision of the arrangement and copying of 'editions' of his collected works—i.e., with the making of codices."

\(^{522}\) "An Author's Role."
Williams divides the discussion into three main parts. First, she treats references from the poem that mention both small and large forms of Machaut's work (including letters, lyrics with and without music, book-length dits, and large comprehensive MSS) and the manner in which these forms were dictated or written, copied, and diffused. Letters were dictated to a readily-available secretary; neither Guillaume nor Peronne (Machaut's teenage admirer whom he would call "Toute belle") were accustomed to writing down their own letters. Similar statements are made about the lyrics, although Williams is less prone to believe accounts of impromptu dictation of rondeaux and ballades. But it is clear that written texts of lyrical poems, and a smaller number of written musical settings, circulated in wide circles, and in multiple copies. There was a constant demand for new lyrics and music, so much so that Machaut complained that his ability to work was disturbed. Machaut also received similar small pieces from other authors. In contrast to the chansons of the trouvères, the work of art in

References to specific passages in the Voir Dit may be found in Williams's article.

According to the Voir Dit, at least. But it must be recalled that Guillaume was for many years secretary to Jean of Luxembourg. Other instances in which letters were exchanged in medieval poetry are cited in Chaytor, From Script to Print, App. B, pp. 144-47.

Paris ed., letter XXXV, p. 262. Toute belle's requests for pieces to be set to music were so insistent that Machaut not only passed off old works as new (e.g., she already knew R4), but also never set several pieces (esp. V33-35), in spite of her importuning. Such situations of course have ramifications for the perceived "truth" of the story, see Brownlee, "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," Chap. 4. Note further that before their correspondence, Peronne did not know Machaut's narrative works, only his lyrical poetry.

The text "Quant Theseus" was written by one Thomas Paien; Machaut composed "Ne quier vœoir" on the same rhymes, and set both to music [B34].
Machaut's time was fixed and communicated in written form.

Several passages in the Voir Dit relate to larger narrative poems, which also circulated in individual copies, but in more limited numbers. It may be significant that it is only Machaut's most recently completed dit, the Fonteinne (c. 1361), that is mentioned in the Voir Dit as circulating individually. Here again, there is an emphasis on what is most recent, at least in the circles immediately surrounding the author. Otherwise, references to larger poems are limited to the Voir Dit, concerning matters such as the rate of composition of the work, or the ordering of the letters.

Indeed, it has been argued that the principal subject matter of the Voir Dit is the composition of the Voir Dit itself.\textsuperscript{527} Estimates of the final length of the poem (in numbers of gatherings) before its completion indicate the author's professional interest in technical matters of MS copying.\textsuperscript{528} An occasion on which the incomplete work is sent to Peronne demonstrates how an author retained control over unauthorized copies of unfinished poems. Machaut had repeatedly refused to have a copy made of the incomplete work. Finally, the only existing copy (the copy supposedly dictated by Machaut to his secretary), though still unfinished, was itself sent, after being carefully wrapped in cloth and sealed with wax. It appears that Machaut wanted to avoid the potential danger of an incomplete, and therefore, in a sense, corrupt copy of the work from entering into circulation.\textsuperscript{529}

\textsuperscript{527} Cf. Calin, \textit{A Poet at the Fountain}, p. 200.

\textsuperscript{528} See above, n. 271.

\textsuperscript{529} This provides an important clue to Machaut's sense of the integrity of his work. Thorpe, \textit{Principles}, p. 40, gives an account of an early fourteenth-century French author, Guillaume de Digulleville, whose text was "published" in an incomplete state without his consent. On this and a similar example, see Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts," p. 173. In a previous age, other means were used to prevent
A second area discussed by Williams concerns the "physical circumstances" of book production, based on references to Machaut's "livre ou je met toutes mes choses," aptly defined by Williams as his personal copy (perhaps partly autograph) of his works, left unbound, to which he added new works as he finished them, grouping new lyrics with other lyrics, a musical composition or narrative poem with others of its kind, and from time to time supervising an "edition" of a single copy to be made for one of his patrons.530

Machaut's statement that this collection exists "par pieces" is linked to the "pecia" discussed by Destrez.531 The poet states that the advantage of the unbound disposition is for ease of copying text and music. The important lesson here is that complete MSS derive from more unified exemplar material than musical anthologies, which derive from several exemplars.532

The third area discussed by Williams focuses on Machaut's statements in the Voir Dit concerning the separable nature of his personal exemplar and how this helps interpret aspects of the extant principal Machaut MSS.533 As she notes, the author's exemplar could well explain the shape of the extant MSS, in which works are generally added onto the end of each larger subdivi-


531 La Pecia. On p. 84f, Destrez goes so far as to suggest an association between several common expressions in modern French involving the word "pièce" and the practice he described for medieval universities. Destrez' Pl. 16 shows usage of the term "pièce" in a MS. See his explication of p. 95 and the discussion on p. 14. More recent studies are Pollard, "The pecia System in the Medieval Universities," and P. R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet,' a Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," Codicologica, 3 (1980), 46-69.


533 See Chap. 2 above, Summary. I believe that the speculation linking the supposed condition of the exemplar to the shape of the surviving MSS is more limited than what is suggested by Williams, and what was later attempted in the dissertation of E. Keitel.
sion. This exemplar was unbound for convenience in copying and to facilitate the addition of new works within the MS. The personal copy was supposedly subject to rearrangement at each copying. But it was not necessary for the exemplar's order to reflect the exact shape of the derivative copy—a prior written plan (as the index to MS A) could have guided the ordering of the works. And, as Margaret Bent has shown, the order of MS B has little discernible influence on the order of works in its partial copy, MS E. Finally, it is also not clear what role purely external factors played in the final ordering of the parts of a MS. For instance, consideration of the desires of the patron may have been a factor in the assembly of MS C.

To summarize, Machaut's self-consciousness about his writing begins with the early *Behaïngne*, with its reference to the written poem as the poem itself unfolds, and continues in *Navarre* of the middle period, in which the author calls attention now to several books and their arrangement. Further, the relationship of a self-standing lyrical poem to the larger narrative framework of which it is a part, for example, the *lai* of the *Remède*, or the *complainte* of the *Fontinne*, was a matter of great concern and artistry on the part of the poet. In each case, the lyrics are presented in the story

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534 See the paper cited above in n. 198.


536 Kevin Brownlee treats this aspect, the relationship between the local narrator figure within the poem and Machaut the author of the whole,
line as independent written works; it is as if they were not composed by the character on the spot, but were already parts of a written tradition.

From the Remede, an early work, Machaut's interest in the arrangement of large collections of poetry and music is seen in microcosm, for the Remede is itself a miniature version of a complete-works MS. A kind of treatise providing models of all the forms of lyric poetry cultivated by Machaut, graded according to their difficulty, the poem integrates the lyrics into a complementary narrative story line, thereby providing clues to the function of the lyrics in the courtly society for which they were composed.

The late Voir Dit concerns itself almost completely with the transmission of poetry and music; we follow the growth of the poem during its composition. At the same time, MSS are being copied, not only other single narrative poems, individual lyrics and music pieces, but also MSS containing the complete works (cf. the categories of MSS given above in Chap. 1, pp. 34 ff). The "publication" of Machaut's works was very varied, and much was overseen to some extent by the author. Recent datings of the miniatures in Vg and A indicate that the copying of complete-works MSS continued unabated through the 1370s. Pushing the copying of the main part of Vg (without the Prise) into the 1370s also indicates the active interest Machaut took in the order his works appeared in. For very soon after the MS Vg was underway, the conception of a new order for the text portion of the codex took hold, documented by the composition of the Prologue and the prescriptive index for MS A. The collection, arrangement, and the program of illustrations accompanying his works were major occupations for Machaut in the last decade or so of his life.

in "Guillaume de Machaut's Concept of Poetic Identity," passim.
INTERNAL EVIDENCE: SCRIBAL ERROR AND THE MECHANICS OF COPYING MUSIC

According to James Thorpe, one of the most difficult problems in textual analysis "is the essential difficulty in distinguishing the reasons for variants."537 Certainly the interpretation of variants becomes more secure if one can determine the most common errors in the transmission, and the ways in which these errors could have come about.538 A basic distinction emphasized by many editors is the separation of purely mechanical errors (unintentional changes) from deliberate alteration of the copy (intentional changes).539

Edward J. Kenney suggests further refinements to distinguish between variants:

"Variation can occur in several ways: through mechanical damage or accidental omission; through misunderstanding due to changes in fashions of writing; through ignorance of language or subject matter; through inattention or stupidity; and through deliberate efforts at correction."

537 Principles, p. 119.


540 "Textual Criticism," p. 189b.
He would have us separate "psychological" errors (due to "tired or inattentive copyist," errors common to any period) from errors "contingent on the period and the medium of transmission." And of course these factors must be placed in the context suggested by the external history of the tradition. In the case of Machaut, the composition of the works stretches over relatively wide chronological boundaries for a single author, thus, a greater or lesser period of time separates the original redaction from its earliest surviving copy. Furthermore, although the texts were copied and circulated widely as individual pieces, the texts of the main MSS themselves derive from collections: the MSS do not (with the exception of parts of MS E) reflect wholly new stints of collecting individual pieces, open to editing and rearrangement by anonymous scribes. The texts in the main MSS were respected, and were not subject to interpolation. Interpolations (e.g., new voices) in the music appear only in MSS copied out of the purview of the author (as F-CA 1328), or reflect additions made after the death of the author, perhaps due to changing tastes (as with MS E). Finally, the MSS were copied by professional scribes. Accuracy was important, but it could be sacrificed at times for the sake of evenness of page appearance.

A thoroughgoing study of the types of variants to which verbal texts were subject is found in the introductions to the editions of the first and second versions of Piers Plowman. George Kane found that all of the MSS were corrupt, thus the Lachmannian technique of classification of MSS by shared
errors was not practicable. For the same reason, it was not possible to use the technique that Joseph Bédier had restored to currency, the reliance on a single base MS as the authority. "The sole source of authority is the variants themselves, and among them, authority, that is originality, will probably be determined most often by identification of the variant likeliest to have given rise to the others." Each case is judged on its own merits and the resulting text is eclectic. Kane was able to isolate certain general tendencies of substitution, distinct from mechanical errors of transmission, some deliberate and careful, others undoubtedly unconscious. In other words, the same context suggested the same alteration to several scribes independently.

With texts, a freer prose form can be distinguished from a more strictly regulated poetic form. The temptation for scribal substitution or emendation was greatest with vernacular prose texts, which the scribe may have been actively understanding and interpreting as he wrote. Indeed, Kane

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Footnotes:

544 For a basic presentation of the controversy, Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, pp. 159-61. The article of Vinaver cited in fn. 539 above demonstrates the approach of one of Bédier's students. For a modern view of the repercussions among scholars of Romance languages, see Foulet, On Editing Old French Texts, pp. 19-39.

545 Kane, Piers Plowman, p. 115. According to Kenney, "Textual criticism," p. 192a, the principle giving priority to the reading most likely to have given rise to the other readings is traceable to eighteenth-century textual critics.

546 A parallel with music can be seen. Did the scribe of a certain region around 1480 make a change in a cadence figuration (an emendation, a substitution) deliberately, or was it unconscious, that is, to him, was the form he wrote considered equivalent to the form he saw in the source being copied?

547 It is false to think that a scribe necessarily set out to copy the text exactly as it stands. See Elspeth Kennedy, "The Scribe as Editor," Mélanges ... Frappier, (Geneva, 1970), I, 523-37. Kennedy determined that the epic traditions of the thirteenth century were treated loosely by scribes. Changes were made ('editing') for several reasons: to modernize
notes that the large number of variants and the chaotic nature of the MS readings in Piers Plowman is in part due to the aspect of the poetry: it is not composed in rhyming lines of fixed syllable length, but in flexible alliterative lines of uneven length.

Several characteristics of music, particularly its physical presentation in the MSS prior to the fifteenth century, made dealing with it very different from dealing with texts. Music was inherently less open to scribal alteration. Even monophonic works were copied in two separate passes. After the text was laid out in the proper disposition, its formal structure had to remain untouched, or the music could not be fitted to it. If, as was generally the case, the work was strophic in structure, alteration of a structural aspect of the single strophe set to music would render performance of the residual strophes senseless. Thus, large variation between copies would not be expected.

the language, to fill in gaps in the sources, to rectify inconsistencies, to cater to certain patrons (Kennedy, pp. 524 and 531). Kane, Piers Plowman, p. 128, states that "in general scribes set out to produce what seemed to them a more correct, or more easily intelligible, or a more emphatic, or a more elegant text."

An interesting collision between the urge of the modern philologist to reconstruct an "authoritative" or "original" text and the limits that music places on a text is seen in the new ed. by E. J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison, Medieval English Songs (New York, 1979). There are examples in which Dobson has altered a text to make it conform to a reconstructed original state. This "original" however, no longer fits with the music in the MS, thus, the music is adjusted to fit the reconstructed text. See the review by John Stevens of this book in Music and Letters, 62 (1981), 461-66. Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968), II, 406-10, has an important commentary on Vitry's motet "Vos quid/ Gratissima," showing that the poem of the motetus was probably altered when it was fit to the music: would a philologist ask that we change the music of the motet? And if Vitry was the author of both text and music?
In polyphonic music, the opportunity for creative emendation by the scribe during the copying process was even more limited. In a texted voice, the scribe had to follow two variables: both text and music. If the music was copied without careful attention to its correspondence with the text, the parts soon fell out of phase. Extreme care and caution had to be exercised in this respect, which explains the frequency with which just this aspect of the music is corrected in the Machaut MSS: it was the aspect most likely to go awry. This also explains how quickly "text underlay" became corrupted in late or derivative sources. Because music was copied in parts, and the portion of one voice accompanying the corresponding section of another voice was not immediately apparent to the eye, an entire work could become unperformable if the musical text was tampered with. Music copying in the fourteenth century demanded more literalness on the part of the music scribe, and there was less tendency to add purely musical innovations—the text as well as the music had to be respected. Any evidence of "creative emendation," substantive changes in the musical structure, must be considered seriously, because it suggests the intervention of performances and the assertion of distinct preferences on the part of an emendator.549

Details of the musical moment, such as performing forces, etc., are of course variable, and are only matters of speculation for the medieval work, given its shape in the MS.550 Thus we are not really at odds with Dadelsen, who contends that music admits of free adaptation, and is much more variable.


550 But external evidence could be brought to bear, such as the knowledge that a certain codex was used at a given institution, the members of which are known.
than texts in this respect. The kind of precision von Dadelsen would have in the texts that concern him is unattainable for the medieval period. The antithesis was perfectly well recognized and neatly expressed by Machaut:

Si vous suppli que vous le daigniez oîr, et savoir la chose ainsi comme elle est faite, sans mettre ne oster; et se veut dire de bien longue mesure; et qui la porroit mettre sus les orgues, sus cornemuses ou autres instruments, c'est sa droite nature.

The musical work of which he speaks, "Nes que on porroit" [B33], is at once fixed (with respect to its musical structure) and variable (with respect to the details of the instrumentation).

Musical Variants in the Machaut MSS

There are two general categories of musical variants in the Machaut MSS: 1) mechanical copying errors (Kenney's "psychological" errors), ranging from small oversights to large omissions, and 2) variants that have to do with notational problems. While variants appearing in the first category may be counted as unintentional changes, variants appearing in the second category are less easily classed. These may include "accidental" differences, that is, matters that according to the contemporary thinking would not have materially changed the text, and matters of notation that reflect regional or modernizing tendencies.

A third category of variant, large-scale

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552 Voir Dit, letter X. ["If you desire that you should deign to hear it, and to know it just as it is made, without adding or taking away; and it is best performed to very long measures; and whoever can perform it on the organ, on crummhorns or other instruments, that is its true nature." ] This passage is discussed by Handschin, "Ueber Estampie und Sequenz I," ZMW, 12 (1929), 10, note.
intentional emendation of a voice or passage, does not generally occur in
Machaut, except by adding newly-composed voices to a given chanson.
Existing voices are generally not reworked melodically. The MS situation
in most cases supports a view that there is one correct version of each
piece. Small differences of cadence embellishment, seen especially in fif-
teenth-century chansonniers, simply do not occur.

Mechanical Copying Errors in Machaut's Music
Mechanical errors in the copying of music common to any period include the
omission of individual notes, dittography (erroneous repetition of a note or
small pattern of notes), and the erroneous writing of a musical notational
symbol, analogous to writing a wrong letter in a word. For instance, in the
Machaut MSS, a semibreve was very frequently corrected to a breve (or, less
often, to a long). Such errors appear to have been corrected very shortly
after the act of commission, indicating that the scribe checked over what he
wrote. Or, since the difficulty of copying texted music involved the con-
stant passage of the eye back and forth between model and copy to avoid the
very easy error of the text becoming out-of-phase, the error was caught
right after it was made. Other common errors include the simple interchang-
ing of musical symbols, and the simple rest error ( for and the various

553 In one case (the issue of repeated notes), the two broad categories
overlap, that is, a matter of copying may have influenced a development in
notation (see below, pp. 329ff).

554 Some outside MSS introduce rhythmic differences. While in some
cases these may be corruptions, in others they may represent intentional
rhythmic changes, regionally or chronologically dictated. For instance,
"Gais et iolis" [B35]: I-Moe 5.24 (fol. 29v), at the ouvert, clos, and end. Schoop, Entstehung und
Verwendung, pp. 56-57, notes some erasures and changes in GB-Ob 213, espe-
cially at cadences, which he relates to performances.
permutations), indicating that the symbols were mixed up at the point of passing back to the copy (almost all of these occur in MSS B or E, or in both).

The most frequent copying error (often corrected) is the simple pitch error; one, two, or three notes appear a step too low or too high in the copy. Some of these errors (no doubt the ones that were corrected) may have been due to an "anticipation of copy," and may give clues as to the amount of music remembered by the scribe as he was writing.

As with the copying of text, the possibility for the most critical, though again unintentional, errors occurs as the scribe attempts to find his place back in the exemplar after copying a passage. With a texted musical voice, the problem of such eyeskips is compounded by the question of what cue was remembered by the scribe—a notational symbol, or a piece of text, or, in some cases, both.

In the main MSS, cases that I was able to identify as eyeskip to an earlier point in the copy are few, and are divided evenly among texted and untexted voices. Most involve the eye skipping up a line of music.

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555 Curiously, wrong notes have been considered prime choices for "significant variants" in music. See Wolfgang Dömling, "Zur Ueberlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts," Mf, 22 (1969), 191. In my view, this is a typical case of a similarity of context resulting in the same alteration by several scribes independently. Bent, "Some Criteria," p. 304, notes that MSS with errors still could have been used to learn from, and the errors corrected in rehearsal.

556 That is, the scribe wrote what he thought was to follow before actually referring to the exemplar. See Kane, Piers Plowman, p. 122.

557 Only MSS BE have conjunctive variants.

558 For instance, Hocket hoquetus A (fol. 451v, st. 10): skipped up a staff to the point of the similar ligature (); ten notes and rests copied before the error was discovered.
By contrast, the eyeskip ahead is quite a common scribal error in the copying of music in the Machaut MSS. Several serious errors involve a whole line of music, several other examples are many notes long. The longest occurred in MS B, in the Qui propter section of the Credo (mot. fol. 287v, st. 8/9-fol. 288r, st. 1): a full line of the exemplar Vg was skipped. In this instance, the scribe of B finally looked at the text he was supposed to overlay—this is how the error was discovered. By the time he noted the error, however, he had copied two full lines and the beginning of a third at the top of the recto. All wrong notes were erased and corrected. Cf. also R17 ca. B (fol. 320r, st. 3): a whole line of the tenor was entered as the final line of the ca., then erased and corrected. B often ignored the help of the text below, a sure sign of hasty copying. The most egregious errors committed in MS B arose from the scribe's failure to follow this principle.

Small errors can occur in the lais, usually a completely syllabic music, with a one-to-one correspondence between text syllables and notational symbols, even in MS A. It is possible that the text-music relationship was less carefully attended to in syllabic pieces, because the relationship of notes to words is easy to derive. A simple example of eyeskip in a textless voice is R9 tr. C (fol. 202v):

\[\text{\textbf{Ex. of Reml, (fol. 53v, st. 2-3): two notes left out at the beginning of a passage, the rest moved up to fit in. Cf. also L12 A (fol. 389v, st. 3): the music scribe skipped ahead exactly one phrase. Since the first seven verses are isometric, each phrase could be perfectly overlaid to words; the error was erased and corrected.}}\]
There are such eyeskips in all three voices of the Hocket in G, which also lacks the last half of the tenor. Perhaps the professional scribe just skipped the entire end of the tenor, since it would not have fit in the available space anyway; but the last note notated is at the same pitch as the last note of the piece, and eyeskip is conceivable. These errors are frequent enough that a pattern emerges: it further supports my thesis that the presence of a text was of great importance as a guidepost to the copier of music. Eyeskips are more frequent, and less often corrected, in textless voices.

The incorrect placing of musical symbols with respect to syllables of text is an error principally determined by the manner in which texted voices were copied. Because it was difficult to remember the relationship of a specific syllable to a specific note, or to a series of notes (melisma), the possibility for error was large, and errors of this sort often occurred, as is indicated by the large number of overlay corrections in the MSS (see Chap. 3). That the Machaut MSS exhibit to varying degrees attempts to correct overlay errors during the copying process makes them rise quite high in our estimation of their accuracy in reflecting their exemplars.

By contrast, the copying of an untexted voice is as uncomplicated as copying any verbal text, and was not open to the complex errors (text and music out-of-phase) that texted voices were prone to. Perhaps because of the exigencies of music overlay, dramatic melodic variants are not met with in the fourteenth century. It was the fifteenth-century practice of underlaying text to an initially textless line of music that gave greater freedom to the scribe writing the music, now unfettered by considerations of following every syllable of the text.
Notational Variants I: Alteration and Imperfection

Mechanical errors that can occur in the copying of music have been discussed above. The focus moves now to selected notational variants, instances in which the scribe made a conscious choice in copying a passage. A major problem is to isolate features of notational and scribal practice that are in flux, either chronologically or regionally. At the level of the individual variant, it is difficult to distinguish what may be local usages (that is, in a sense, the "dialect" of the notation for a certain geographical area) from the features that are actually modernizing tendencies, which replace outdated notational usages. Alteration will be discussed specifically here because notational variants of several kinds bear on it. Two other notational questions, the development of chains of syncopations in imperfect time and the use of the punctus additionis, will be discussed below in connection with the transmission of M8.

Ursula Günther has emphasized that the theorists devoted a disproportionate amount of space to triple time and prolation as compared to duple.\textsuperscript{561} The practical sources indicate that scribes as well went to extra lengths to clarify difficult aspects of the notation. Very frequently, dots in themselves unnecessary were added to make the reading of the rhythm absolutely clear.\textsuperscript{562}

\textsuperscript{561} Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," pp. 11-12.

\textsuperscript{562} For instance, the dots in the tenor of R8 (MSS VgBGE only), separating groups of notes in the rhythm $\bullet \bullet \bullet \cdot \bullet \bullet \bullet$, prevent unwary alteration of semibreves, even though the piece is in tempus imperfectum. There are also several superfluous dots in R11 ct.; R15 ct.; R19 G ca.; many helpful puncti present in other MSS are missing in the virelais in A.
Alteration, at all levels, was a particularly difficult problem. Especially in the late MS E, the rhythmic notation of many pieces was changed to do away with alteration, most often in monophonic pieces. It is possible, taken with the other evidence about the lai section in MS E (see below), that the elimination of alteration has to do with performance requirements.\textsuperscript{563}

M16 \(\text{\textsuperscript{x}E}\); Rem1 \(\text{\textsuperscript{y}E}\); there are many similar examples among the lais. B22 ct. \(\text{\textsuperscript{z}E}\); the new ct. in F-Pn n.a.f. 6771, fol. 69v, eliminates all of the alteration.

Nevertheless, there are some examples of adding alteration: the new ct. of R7 in E has much alteration.\textsuperscript{564}

Machaut's notational practice with regard to alteration was briefly discussed by Hoppin in connection with Schrade's edition.\textsuperscript{565} A basic precept emphasized by Hoppin is that alteration is only acceptable before a note of the next higher value. But irregularities do occur in the sources, not before notes of lesser or equal value as Schrade had done, but at the other extreme. Many examples require alteration of a semibreve before a long or maxima. Most often, this usage appears in a lower voice at the end of a major division in a chanson, in ligature: \(\text{\textsuperscript{a}E}\) or \(\text{\textsuperscript{b}E}\). At the same time, other sources may employ the theoretically correct form: \(\text{\textsuperscript{c}E}\) or \(\text{\textsuperscript{d}E}\).\textsuperscript{566}

\textsuperscript{563} Cf. Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, pp. 55 and 75-76 for some passages notated in GB-Ob 213 to eliminate alteration, perhaps for the convenience of less skilled performers.

\textsuperscript{564} In L14 E, the sb. alterations are retained; one is even added. This suggests that the scribe of E was not the one to introduce these changes, and that he was copying from exemplars which varied in their use of alteration.

\textsuperscript{565} Hoppin, "Notational Licences," pp. 18-20.

\textsuperscript{566} Some theorists of the early fourteenth century recognized this as a possibility. Cf. the GB-Lbl Add. 21455 version of Vitry's Ars nova: "... quando duae semibreves inter duas breves de tempore perfecto vel inter brevem et longam inveniantur, prima unum tempus habebit et secunda..."

Such a "license" might be excused in this context because the theoretically correct form is impossible to notate as a three-note ligature if a final longa or maxima is desired; the alteration applies causa necessitatis. But this usage is not confined to figures in ligature. Examples occur in several virelais. The problems in notating the virelais may be tied to the rhythm of the text declamation.

The following are tempus imperfectum major: V3 C, very end only [AB] GB E C; V5 CGvGb, end A-section [AB] AE GCGvGb; V5 CGvGb, end B-section [AG] AB CB CB; V14 end C [E] A; V16 E: note the correction; (V16 throughout: ends of all sections correct | or |: note the correction in E, V16 fol. 160, st. 3, over "re-" | |; L18 [Schrade L13] m.41 [m.80]: | | | | | | | A. The following are tempus perfectum minor: V26 ouvert: sbl B V26 clos: sbl B V27, end B-section: sbl E sbl BE; R10 ca. end: sbl C; M11 mot. (mm. 34-35): | | | | | | |; L14 A (fol. 492r, st. 7): semi-breve corrected into a breve in this rhythm: | | | | | | L16 E (fol. 122v): sbl sbl E.

At the end of the refrain in the tenor of "Dame mon cuer" [V32], the notation | r | q appears to express the rhythm [p] q . In the version of "Degentis vita/Cum vix" [M19] transmitted by I-IV 115, the same rhythm appearing in the tenor is notated in the same curious fashion. Six Machaut MSS (CAF-GvG[B]E) indicate the rhythm by means of a ligature [r q]; an erit altera, sic n n n n n ." (ed. Reaney, CSM, VIII, 75). At a higher level, it is recognized by Anon. III (CS, III, 184a): "Tamen inveniuntur breves alterate per duplices longas, ut in tenore de 'Presidentes'; et in veteribus motetis inveniuntur semibreves alterate per longas quod non mihi videtur consonum rationi, quia semibreves non dividuntur immediate a longis, sed a brevibus, et ideo non sunt de genere longarum, sed brevium." (The example cited is preserved in F-Pn fr. 146, fol. 1v.)
altered semibreve followed by an isolated long is employed only in I-IV 115. Just as it fell at the end of the refrain in V32, the exceptional reading of I-IV 115 may be considered as a signal for the end of a section; each of the four appearances of this notation in I-IV 115 falls at the end of the talea. It provides an interesting example of a scribe seeming to understand the periodic structure of the motet tenor—the use of the altered semibreve before the long signals the end of an isorhythmic period.567

The application of the rule *similis ante similem* in connection with imperfection and alteration is slightly more equivocal in the sources than the discussions of Hoppin and Günther seem to allow.568 Apparently, the contemporary scribes, for a time, were not altogether clear about the "rules."

In the contratenor of R10 ("Rose, lis") a passage occurs that has not been noted. Mm. 18-21 have the following notation in all sources but one: T . The breve syncopation that would result from a reading by the rules is out of place here. In MS C, the earliest source for the rondeau, the passage is notated in the theoretically correct manner: T .

Judging from the large number of stem errors bearing on the question of imperfection and alteration at the prolation level, the short note values of the early virelais caused problems for scribes:

The following are in tempus imperfectum major: V2, near end of a-section, A-section is correct); [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] (Vg is possibly wrong too, cannot verify); V3, B-section: [ ]; V6, A-section and a-section: [ ]; also B-section ouvert: ; V8 A-section wrong AG; V8 a-section wrong BE; V10 C 3rd line only has ; V10 A err at end too; V11 C stem error A: end A-section error a-section with many errors; V12 A with stem error, 1st line.

567 Cf. the example of Dufay's *Sebastiane* motet in GB-Ob 213 (fol. 31v-32r): the ligature at the end of each talea in the tenor is marked with an especially long tail (cited in Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*, p. 54).

The error is too common to be due to chance; scribes seem to have been genuinely puzzled as to the correct notation. Perhaps the rule of *similis ante similem* was not uniformly applied in the first half of the century at the prolation level. Certainly there must have been a time of indecision and transition between the Vitry prescriptions for resolving strings of unsigned semibreves and the clear reemergence of the old "second mode" iambic rhythm, but now at the prolation level, witnessed in the earliest ballades and virelais of Machaut. Only the emergence of pieces that clearly differentiate syncopated notation from the non-syncopated notation made observance of the *similis ante similem* rule necessary at the prolation level, i.e., when chains of syncopations in major prolation were desired. 569

**Notational Variants II: The Transmission of the Lais in MS E**

The section of MS E devoted to the lai contains two lais that appear in no other MS. Although each is notated monophonically, a combination of sections produces polyphony. In "Pour ce que plus" [L23, *Un lay de consolation*], the two halves of each strophe combine in two-part polyphony. 570 In "En demantant" [L24], three successive entire strophes combine in three-part polyphony. The twelve strophes yield four three-voice sections. 571


570 The polyphony was signaled by Richard Hoppin, "An Unrecognized Polyphonic Lai of Machaut," *MD*, 12 (1958), 93-104. Hoppin's edition of the reconstructed polyphony is on pp. 96-104.

571 Margaret Hasselman and Thomas Walker, "More Hidden Polyphony in a Machaut Manuscript," *MD*, 24 (1970), 7-16. An edition of the reconstructed polyphony is on pp. 9-16. The three-voice L24 is much more satisfactory musically than the two-part L23. Fallows, "Lai," *New Grove*, X, 371b, brings up the ethetic question of such polyphonic lais: "If each voice was sung and texted the cumulative effect of the poem would presumably be
Scholars have voiced differing opinions concerning the authenticity of these works. Richard Hoppin considered them genuine, since they appeared in a MS that contains only works of Machaut. They do not appear in the earlier Machaut MSS, and are thus late works. Margaret Hasselman and Thomas Walker considered it possible that the lais are spurious: "the doubt arises because the polyphonic structure of the two pieces is not characteristic of the lai repertory, and because both survive only in the often unreliable manuscript E."  

Examination of the entire lai section in E turns up several aspects at variance with the central sources, which raises the possibility of regional or modernizing tendencies, even of large-scale intentional emendation. The two polyphonic lais should be assessed in the context of the whole picture of the transmission of the lais in E.  

Machaut's first lai, "Loyaute que point" [L1] is an exceptional piece in that music is provided only for the first half of the first strophe. It is the only lai that has the same poetic and musical content for all twelve strophes. The element of contrast necessary to the lai form is assured by lost... and suggests that the polyphony can only be considered as a suggestion for an instrumental accompaniment to a single singing voice.  


It should be remembered that the above articles on these lais predate the assertion that MS E dates from the early 1390s, approximately fifteen years after the death of Machaut.  

Hasselman and Walker, "More Hidden Polyphony," p. 8. Both lais are ascribed to Machaut in the MS: L23 is announced on fol. 125r: Item un lay de consolation Guillaume Machaut, and after L24 (fol. 129r), the lai section ends: Explicit. Cy fine un autre lay de Guillaume Machaut. Deo gracias. Of the nineteen lais in MS E, seven are specifically ascribed in the above or in similar manners (following the order in the MS): L1, L11, L3, L10, L23, L13, L24.
the choice of rhymes: forty-seven different rhyming syllables are employed in the course of the work. And at the level of the individual strophe, the metrical scheme, thus the melody, of L1 is more complex to begin with than for the other lais. Schematically, the meter and rhyme of the first strophe can be represented as follows (capital letters denote masculine rhymes, lower-case letters, feminine rhymes, the latter counted here without the weak final syllable):

\[
\text{AAAAb AAAb} / \ bbbA bbbA / ccccD cccD / DDDDc DDDc //.
\]

Figure 4.2 represents the notation of the first strophe in the main MSS.

The first half-strophe appears with music, while the text for the second half is laid out below in columns.

The MS notation appears to be most efficient and economical. The second half of the strophe is to be sung to the same music, as is each half of the succeeding strophenes. But the second half of the text cannot be fit to the music provided without adjustments. As the above schematic diagram of the form of the strophe indicates, the rhyme scheme for the second half of the strophe is varied in that feminine and masculine rhymes are exchanged, mak-

\[574\] Strophe I: -ay, -ie / -aire, -ait; II: -ient, -nir / -ente, -ent; III: -pris, -ure / -ure, -mer; IV: -eint, -eindre / -our, -és; V: -ueil, -ire / -ort, -oir; VI: -age, -vis / -my, -iere; VII: -ée, -art / -las, -lasse; VIII: -saut, -té / -gier, -ance; IX: -roi, -endre / -inne, -ains; X: -oint, -ointe / -oing, -eure; XI: -it, -ert / -eue, -euse; XII: -eü, -ue / -ine, -in. Strophe III, on "-ure," is the only case of reuse of a rhyme. It can be seen that masculine and feminine rhymes fall in different places in each strophe, see n. 576 below.

\[575\] In the following musical examples, the text and music are not written in the modern manner, with proportionally equal distances between notes of the same rhythmic value, and with words of the text divided into syllables. Rather, closer to the manner of the original sources, the text is first written out in lines that are easy to scan, and the musical notes are spaced as necessary to fall above, or a little to the right of, the syllable set. Occasionally, a word is divided to accommodate melismas above. The examples do not aim to reproduce the layout of any particular MS.
Loyaute que point ne delay. Vuet sans de-lay. Que face un lay.

Et pour ce l'ay. Commencie seur ce qu'il me lie. En amours

dont si me navray. Que mon vivre ay. Tant com vivray. Mis,
sans oster en sa bail-lie. Mais vos cuers point ne s'amol-
lie. Dame iolie. Eins contralie. A chiere lie. Le mien dont
iamais ie n'avray. Joieuse vie. Car mors m'envie. Dont ie
devie. S'en vo gentil corps cuer n'a-vray.

Si ne say de quele part traire Vos cuers qui fait
Puis que contraire M'a me defait
Pour moy detraire Sans nul forfait
M'estes n'attraire Mais pour ce n'en verréz
Ne puis de vo plaisant attrait retraire.
Riens qui ne soit pour moy deffaire Le mien que trait
Qui sans meffaire Aves d'un trait
Weil toudis faire Qui le detrait
Vo service en dit et en fait Si qu'à la mort m'en
Las einsi de voloir parfait convient traire
ing it necessary to add or subtract an extra note at the end of each phrase. Only in MS E (fols. 107r-108v), is the music for the second half-strophe written out in full, and the adjustments for the subtly different syllabic scheme made. Instead of merely repeating a pitch to set the feminine rhyme, descending seconds are used to link those musical phrases whose last note is the same as the first note of the following phrase. Where the original melody sets the feminine syllables with steps of a second, the extra music in E retains these in ligature for the masculine syllable in the corresponding position in the line. The descending second links the musical phrases, and therefore had to be retained. What was left to the conventions of performance practice in the Machaut-supervised sources is explicitly notated in MS E.

L1 is an unusual lai, and it is understandable that the notation for its proper performance was made as explicit as possible in a later source; the revision probably also indicates that the work was actually performed at the later date.

576 For the succeeding strophes, the pattern of masculine and feminine rhymes changes between every strophe except between IV and V, and between VI and VII: I) ME/EM, II) MM/EM, III) ME/EM, IV) ME/MM, V) ME/MM, VI) EM/ME, VII) EM/ME, VIII) MM/ME, IX) ME/EM, X) ME/ME, XI) MM/EM, XII) ME/EM.

577 Compare, in the fifth line of Figure 4.2, the setting of the syllables "[contra]-lie" and "lie" with the setting of the syllables "[de]-fait" and "[for]-fait" in the fifth and sixth lines of Figure 4.3.

578 Certain lais of the thirteenth century are notated in such a way as to require large-scale reconstruction on the part of the performer. An example is "En entente curieuse" (Lai de Notre-Dame) of Ernoul le Vieux. A facsimile of the opening of the lai from F-Pn fr. 12615 (Noailles) is printed before p. V of the edition of Alfred Jeanroy, Louis Brandin and Pierre Aubry, Lais et descorts français du XIIIe siècle: texte et musique (Paris, 1901).
Figure 4.3: The Second Half-strophe of L1 in MS E

Among the other lais in MS E, there are several instances in which large-scale alterations are made in the layout of the music and text. There are but two common forms for the strophe in Machaut's lais. The simplest
design, used about thirty-five percent of the time (66 of 187 cases), is bipartite. A single metrical pattern is stated twice. The first strophe of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" [Reml] is an example:

\[ ABBCCAAABBCCCA \] / \[ ABBCCAAABBCCCA \].

73447434474344 73447434474344

Musically, each half-strophe proceeds without internal repetitions. Of course, both halves are set to exactly the same music.

The MS notation is simple. Since the melody is through-composed, the entire text for the first half-strophe is set below the music. The text for the second half-strophe is written on the line below the text for the first. The performer sings through the top line of the text, then returns to the beginning and sings the bottom line through to the same music (Figure 4.4).

More common than this bipartite design is a four-part design for the strophe, found over sixty percent of the time (116 of 187 cases). Each half of the strophe is subdivided, and the same metrical pattern is stated four times. The second strophe of Reml provides an example:

\[ AAAAb AAAAb \] / \[ AAAAb AAAAb \].

84488 84488 84488 84488

All four stanzas are identical in rhyme, meter, and melody, except that the melody for stanzas one and three ends with a half-cadence (ouvert), while stanzas two and four end with a full cadence (clos).

The sample does not include the special case of L1, nor the lais not set to music. Reml is included.


To maintain a consistent terminology, "stanza" refers here to one unit of the four-part strophe. "Half-strophe" refers either to a single unit of the bipartite design, or two stanzas of the four-part design.
To the modern musician, the most obvious and economical means of notating such a disposition would be to place all four text lines below a single melody, with the cadential phrase of the first and third lines under the ouvert, or first ending, and the cadential phrase of the second and fourth lines under the clos, or second ending. This is the layout found in the modern editions of the lais. But among the main MSS of the works of Machaut, this disposition appears only once, in the lai of the Remede in MS C (fols. 26r-28r). It is also found in the rotulus Maggs, an individual
Et qui vorroit plus souhaitier.
Car on ne les puet esperier.
Ne trop prisier.
Quant de
n'a soufian
cuir entier.
Qui de tels biens
leur grant puissance.
Un cuer sain et legier.
S'Amours tant chier.
L'a que fichier.
Deigne par l'oeil de
Sans nul danger.
Et es-logier.
De mal et de joie
son archier.
En son cuer d'eau la coignossance.
a-prochier.
Seulement de leur remembran
cuir.

Figure 4.5: Strophe II of Remi

In the central Machaut sources CAF-GVg(B), except for the single example of MS C cited above, the texts for stanzas one and two are always written out continuously in one line of text, with stanzas three and four written out on the line of text immediately below, exactly analogous to the notation of half-strophes in the bipartite structure. The complete music for both the ouvert-phrase and the clos-phrase is then written in one continuous line.

See above, n. 67.
above, one phrase after the other. The performer sings the first two stanzas as a single unit, and then returns to the beginning to sing the second text-line (stanzas three and four) to the same music. The same musical phrase was notated twice, though only the cadence at the end of each half was differentiated. Schematically, the pattern can be represented as follows:

1-o 2-c
3-o 4-c //

The need to write out a large amount of music twice was not a cause for concern to the scribe. This layout was easier for the text scribe to notate, since the long lines of text could be written out continuously, without adjustments in the spacing of words for the ouvert and clos cadences.\footnote{In any case, the disposition eliminates the need for the ouvert/clos. Compare the notation of the lais in F-Pn fr. 146.} Since this is the disposition found in the complete MSS prepared during Machaut's lifetime (with the exception of Rem1 in MS C), he must have preferred it. It is even in appearance and clear to read. Figure 4.5 is an example of such notation.

MS E is again the exception. In several of the four-part strophes, the text of the second stanza is written below the text of the first stanza and the ouvert/clos notation employed. The procedure is repeated in the second half-strophe for stanzas three and four:

1-o 3-o
2 -c / 4 -c //.

The third strophe of "Amis t'amour" [L10, Le lay des dames] in E is as an example of this format (Figure 4.6).\footnote{See New Grove, XVII, 596 for a facs. of an opening of "Pour ce qu'on" [L3] E (fols. 114v-115r), demonstrating the MS appearance of this notation.} Compare the notation of the same
A third strophe design employed by Machaut is bipartite, but partakes of the four-part design in that a partial repetition of a metrical pattern within the half-strophe allows for partial repetition of music, while the remainder is through-composed. This design occurs only five times in the 187 strophes in the sample. An example is the fourth strophe of L3:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{AaB AaB Ba aB aB / AaB AaB Ba aB aB.} \\
\text{775 775 77 77 77 77 77 77 77 77.}
\end{align*}
\]

*** L3, str. IV; L5, str. III and XI; L6, str. VII; L10, str. IV.
Se ie ne voy temprement. Ton faitis corps gent. Car
Quant souvenirs ne me rent. Nul ali-ge-ment. Fors
vrai-e-ment. Lon-guement. En ce point du-rer ne puis.
grief torment. Qui m'aprent. Hair mes iours et mes nuis.

Pour desir qui si griefment. M'assaut et esprent. Qu'en
Et ie de toy fer-me-ment. Croy que nullement. D'es-
mon dolent. Cuer souvent. Mor-te m'es-pe-rence truis.
ba-tement. N'as talent. Et qu'en riens ne te deduis.

Figure 4.7: Strophe III of L10 in the Main MSS

Within each half, a melodic phrase is repeated for the first two segments; repetition of another phrase serves for the last two segments. In this instance, the ouvert/clos distinction in the cadence is maintained only for the last two segments.

In the central Machaut MSS, the notation of such irregular strophes offers no problems, since the complete music for each half was written out without recourse to the shorthand ouvert/clos notation. In MS E, however, three of the five instances of irregular strophes are recast to allow use of ouvert/clos endings. The result is similar to the way these strophes appear in the modern editions.
Each of the four other cases of irregular strophe designs is formally distinct. For example, strophe IV of "Amis t'amour" [L10, Le lay des dames] has the following metrical scheme:

aB aB BaBBaB / aB aB BaBBaB.
73 73 777373 73 73 777373

C'est ce dont plus me de-mente. Car ie croy. Tel anoy. Pour
Dont amis que ton cuer sente.

moy com ie l'ay pour toy. Lasse chetive dolente. Bien hair ma
vie doy. Quant je voy. Que tous ces maulz nous presente. Bonne
foy. Car ie t'aim en vraie entente. Et tu moy. De
Et pour ce ainsi nous tourmente. le desroy.

fortune qui n'a loy. Qui m'esloinge ta souvente. Dont tous
les iours en recoy. Sanz arroy. En guises plus de cinquante.

Me desvoy.

Figure 4.8: Strophe IV of L10 in MS E
The layout employed by MS E (Figure 4.8) should be compared with the notation in the other MSS (Figure 4.9).

![Musical notation](image)

C'est ce dont plus me demen-te. Car ie croy. Dous a-mis Car ie t'aim en vraie enten-te. Et tu moy. Et pour ce_

que tes cuers sen-te. Tel anoy. Pour moy quen ie lay pour ainsi nos tourmen-te. Le desroy. De for-tune qui na
toy. Lasse che-ti-ve dolente. Bien ha-ir ma vi-e loy. Que mes long ne ta iouvente. Dont tous les iours en re-
doy. Quant ie voy. Que tous ces maus nous presen-te. Honne quoy. Sans arroy. En gui-ses plus de cinquan-te. Me des-

foy.

vo-y.

Figure 4.9: Strophe IV of L10 in the Main MSS

Table 4.1 summarizes the various strophe designs and their notation in MS E.

The different layout on the pages and the intelligence displayed in simplifying and embellishing the stereotyped melodic elements of the Machaut lais in E presupposes some skill on the part of the revisor. In some cases,
TABLE 4.1
Special Notation of Lais in MS E

Rem1.

As MSS: I V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII
Special: II III IV

Strophe II: disposition as in MSS, but ouvert-clos endings indicated in the music, although no clue for this given by the disposition of the text. Thus, if str. II were performed by observing the ouvert-clos notation, the order of the verses would be changed. Strophes III-IV: text disposition for ouvert-clos notation, but space for clos not left by the text scribe. There are substantive musical variants in E in strophes II, (V), IX and X. In MS C, all strophes but I and XII are written with ouvert-clos endings. The shortest possible notation is used, with four lines of text below each line of music. In MS C, the scribe correctly notated the text for the ouvert-clos endings. The notation of the irregular strophe XI (still in symmetrical halves) in C is unique:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{L1.} \\
\text{The addition of a performance solution in MS E for the changing patterns of feminine and masculine rhymes is discussed above.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{L2.} \\
\text{As MSS: I VII} \\
\text{Special: II III IV V VI}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{L3.} \\
\text{As MSS: I VI VII XII} \\
\text{Special: II III IV V VII IX X XI}
\end{align*}
\]

Strophe IV has an irregular disposition:
The text disposition of Strophe XII is as in MSS, but it is notated with a final ouvert-clos, even though the two endings are exactly the same.

L5.

As MSS: VI VIII IX X XI XII
Special: I II III IV V VII

Strophe III has an irregular disposition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AaB-o</th>
<th>AaB-o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>775</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AaB -c Ba aB-o</td>
<td>AaB -c Ba aB-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>775 77 77</td>
<td>775 77 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aB -c /</td>
<td>aB -c //</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L6.

Text disposition as in MSS, including the irregular Strophe VII.

L7.

Text disposition as in MSS.

L10.

As MSS: X XI
Special: I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX XII

Strophe II is corrupt in E, with the entire second half left out (can this be an example of the scribe unsucessfully making the alteration in disposition?).

Strophe IV has an irregular disposition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aBaB Ba</th>
<th>aBaB Ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>737377</td>
<td>737377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aBaB / aBaB //</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7373 7373</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
L12.

As MSS:      V VI     IX X
Special:   I II III IV VII VIII XI XII

Even though the text scribe did not lay out the text for ouvert-clos notation, the music scribe copied the music in that manner for the eight strophes listed above. Performance would of course have changed the intended order of the verses.

L14.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

L15.

As MSS:   I      V       X XI XII
Special:   II III IV VI VII VIII IX

L16.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

L17.

Text disposition is as in MSS.

L19.

Not in MS E.

L21.

Not in MS E.

L22.

Text disposition is as in MSS. See pp. 284ff above for a discussion of the special notation used for this lai in MS C.
the transformation could conceivably have been realized by a scribe copying from an exemplar with a format similar to that of the central sources. In other cases, the reworking was probably independent and prior to the copying of the MS. The lack of uniformity in the lai collection (some transformed in one way, some in another) indicates that the collection derived from several exemplars, not from a single, uniform collection. There are several examples of intentional emendation of the original shape of the musical texts; someone was actively understanding and interpreting the notation. Far from being outmoded, the lais of Machaut were still cultivated in the late fourteenth century.

Returning to a consideration of the two polyphonic lais, *unica* in E, Machaut's authorship appears doubtful. Anyone with the ability to recast the page disposition and melodic characteristics of Machaut's lais would necessarily be keenly aware of their sectional musical and metrical properties.\(^{516}\) Perhaps the same person could have written new lais involving the innovative sectional combinations necessary for the performance of the two polyphonic lais. Alongside the complex music of the *ars subtilior*, probably not performable except by a few well-trained musicians, it would seem that the simplicity of the lai found its adherents. \(^{517}\)

\(^{516}\) To complete the information in the above Table, L23 is notated in E with all strophe-halfs employing the *ouvert-clos* notation; L24 has no strophe with special notation.

\(^{517}\) A simple lai of the early fifteenth century is found in a MS (F-Dm 2837) discovered by Craig Wright in Dijon: "A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon," *JAMS*, 27 (1974), 306-15. Wright states (pp. 310-11): "While it would be premature to claim 'De cure je soupiras' as the latest surviving lai presently known, it seems apparent that the lai was a viable musical form well into the 15th century."
Notational Variants III: The Transmission of Motet 8

The process of establishing the text for a work provides a focus for questions that range far beyond that individual work. A single motet will serve here as an example. "Qui es/Ha Fortune/Et non est" [M8] appears in all six of the main Machaut MSS (CAF-GVg[B]E), and is also complete in I-IV 115 and F-CA 1328. The triplum and tenor are transmitted in the preserved portion of F-Pn n.a.f. 23190.

M8 was a popular work in its day. It appears in more extant sources than any of the other Machaut motets. Further, the texts alone of the triplum and motetus—with attribution—appear in a MS of French poetry now conserved in Stockholm (S-Sk Vu 22). Chaucer apparently knew the piece; several verses of his early Book of the Duchess (1369) were modeled on verses of the triplum text of M8.

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590 See Ludwig, Musikalische Werke, II, 16a*, and Piaget and Droz, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon," No. 84-84 bis, p. 251. The text of R20 and all but the first 152 vv. of Behaingne are also found in this MS. M8 is the only motet of Machaut to come down to us in a MS containing texts only.

There are other clues to the motet's wide popularity. A copy of Vitry's 
Ars nova, formerly belonging to the library of the abbey of St.-Victor in 
Paris, cites the motet as an example of tempus imperfectum minor, our modern 
2/4 time. Indeed, M8 may be quite an early example of the use of duple 
time with duple prolation. Of the more than fifty isorhythmic motets listed 
by Besseler in his article of 1927, only four use this mensuration, two of 
which are by Machaut, M7 and 8. Discoveries made since Besseler confirm 
the impression that the isorhythmic motet in tempus imperfectum minor is 
rare, its place no doubt usurped by the emerging polyphonic secular song. 
A second widely transmitted motet in duple mensuration, "Degentis vita/ Cum 
vix artidici" (not listed by Besseler), may provide further evidence of the 
compelling qualities of M8. It seems to be directly modeled on Machaut's 
motet, with a similar opening motif, similar melodic figures, and similar 
use of syncopated sections in lieu of hocket to signal the ends of iso-
rhythmic periods.

592 Ed. Reaney, CMH, VIII, 32.


594 See the following motets published by Harrison, PMFC, V: No. 3, 
"Febus/ Lanista/ Cornibus"; No. 6, "Post missarum"; No. 23, "Degentis vita/ 
Cum vix" (F-CH 564 version); No. 23a, idem. (E-Bcen 971 version) No. 25 
"Alpha vibrans/ Cetus." Günther, "The 14th-Century Motet and its 
Development," MD, 12 (1958), p. 34, has a chart with comparative statistics 
for prolation, as well as other rhythmic data, among the Machaut motets, the 
Machaut chansons, the Ivrea motets, the Chantilly motets, and the Chantilly 
chansons. Figures for tempus are not included; nevertheless, the tabulation 
brings out the "predominance of duple prolation" among the chansons and its 
relative absence in the motets" (p. 35). Further refinement of the position 
of Frobenius (see above, n. 123) may add to the picture.

595 Ed. Harrison, PMFC, V, No. 23, pp. 116ff, and no. 23a, pp. 124ff.
The notation of minor prolation underwent two main developments in the second quarter of the century. These include the ability to notate chains of syncopation simply, and the point of addition. MS contains practical testimony for both (see Table 4.2, as well as variants 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10 in Table 4.3 below).

**TABLE 4.2**

Variants in Repeated Notes in MS

Mot. 32/1-32/4
(Trem: lacking) VgBAGCE Iv CaB

Tr. 32/1-34/3
VgBAGCE Trem IvCaB

Mot. 42/1-43/1
(Trem: lacking) VgBAGCE* Iv CaB

Tr. 50/4-53/1
VgBAGCE Iv CaB Trem

*: E with Bb in signature.

Syncopation is treated in Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," pp. 25-26. Little study has been made of the dot of addition, but see the brief mention in an article of M. Bent cited below (n. 601).

Besseler's shorter sigla are employed in the table.
Some variants show a conflict between the employment of repeated notes on a single pitch, as opposed to a syncopated reading. Ursula Günther has pointed out that pitch repetition used where a syncopated reading was possible is characteristic of early works, and she defends Ludwig's editorial practice of connecting two repeated pitches with a dotted tie. This practice highlights places where repeated notes might be indications of an embryonic form of syncopation, and interpreted as such by the performers. It has not been emphasized, however, that the sources themselves show great variety in the notation of such passages. Variants from MS include many examples of scribes interchanging the forms, and not in a uniform direction between the sources. Only a single instance in MS involves a question of text setting—the other cases occur in settings of single syllables. One cannot be sure, of course, whether such variants truly reflect a stage of development of the notation, or whether later scribes were modernizing the rhythm.

The argument can be taken a step further. As noted above, p. 302, the most frequent mechanical error in copying Machaut's music is the placement of one or a small group of notes a step too high or a step too low. Such errors often occur in passages involving repeated notes, and the tendencies of the scribe can be studied. Frequently, the scribe's copying

\


In some instances, notes which in the source occur as repeated notes are combined in modern editions to form syncopations or dotted notes. This happens especially frequently in the volume of lais prepared by Besseler. In all cases, whenever either Ludwig or Besseler did this, the emendation was mentioned in the critical report; it is always possible for the scholar to restore the original reading. Schrade uniformly restored the MS readings in his edition.
error has the effect of reducing the number of repeated pitches. But since a syncopated notation made the use of two notes on the same pitch unnecessary, increased usage of syncopation facilitated the copying of music by reducing the possibility of error. Thus, the question of variants involving repeated notes provides a curious overlap between compositional practice and scribal practice.

The variants in one source transmitting MS raise questions about the development of the dot of addition. It is not certain when this notational feature was generally accepted and understood by practicing musicians. In F-CA 1328 however, minim rests are clearly and consistently used in every instance where the other MSS have the dot of addition. This usage may reflect a regional peculiarity—perhaps a certain group of performers or a certain scribe was not yet familiar with the new employment of the dot. Or, the representation of the rhythm with the minim rest may represent a kind of

The question of possible ties between repeated pitches is raised for a much later repertory (GB-Ob 213) in Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung, p. 55. See also Schoop, p. 81: long notes were broken up in F-Pn n.a.f. 4379 [PC III], apparently for performing purposes. Also, GB-Lbl Tit. A.xxvi offers some interesting parallels in regard to the rhythmic breaking-up of longer note values (Schoop, p. 82).

Most fourteenth-century theorists do not admit the term punctus additionis, distinguishing only the punctus divisionis and the punctus perfectionis. This is true of the various treatises of Johannnes de Muris, see Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris, pp. 36 and 117-18. Following this practice also is the Tractatus practice de musica mensurabili of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, CS, III, 213b: "punctus perfectionis perfecta figuram cui additur tam in imperfectione sui mensura quam in ipsius perfectione." M. Bent emphasized the ambiguous nature of the punctus additionis in "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, IV (Certaldo, 1978), 65-66. The Vitry motets make no use of it, nor is it known in fourteenth-century English music before the GB-Lbl Add. 40011 B and GB-Lbl Add. 57950. Apparently the use of the punctus additionis belongs to a stylistic evolution in France in the first third of the century, as yet undocumented, in which Machaut may have played a central role.
"embryonic form" of the rhythm represented later by the dot of addition.\textsuperscript{632}

By examining the variants of MS in a systematic way, it is possible to explain the relationship between some of the MSS on genealogical ("stemmatic") grounds.\textsuperscript{633} Variants with significant shared differences ("conjunctive errors"), in which two or more MSS agree on a different reading, can be reduced to ten.\textsuperscript{634} Two variants separate a group of four MSS from the main group: \{CAF-GVgB:ETremCaBIV\} (Tr. 7 and Tr. 8, see Table 4.3).\textsuperscript{635} The remaining eight variants subdivide the three peripheral MSS into three different pairings. The firmest grouping, based on five variants, is \{CaBIV\} (Tr. 3, Tr. 5, Tr. 9, Tr. 10, Mot. 6). The group \{TremIV\} is supported by two variants (Tr. 1, Tr. 2). Finally, a single variant provides the grouping \{TremCaB\} (Tr. 4). Such patterns are clear enough to be represented schematically:

1. On the basis of variants Tr. 7 and Tr. 8, a common ancestor \("x"\] containing these readings is postulated. In other words, two errors distinguish \("x"\] from the exemplar of the main MSS, two errors that were in turn transmitted to the group \{ETremCaBIV\}.

\textsuperscript{632} The scribal error of \(\text{[}\) or \(\text{]}\) is frequent in MS B.

\textsuperscript{633} See the works cited in n. 477 above. Bruce Metzger, \textit{The Text of the New Testament}, pp. 159-75, has a good critical survey of developments in textual criticism. See also Thorpe, \textit{Principles}, pp. 113ff, and the bibliography there. An excellent overview of the presuppositions inherent in the genealogical method is Eric Hicks, ed., \textit{Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose}, p. lvi, prefacing a study of some texts (some of which are holograph) of Christine de Pizan.

\textsuperscript{634} The preliminary study was based on variants of pitch and rhythm only. Variants such as clef changes, ligatures, accidental placement, etc., are left aside for the moment.

\textsuperscript{635} For convenience, Besseler's shorter sigla are employed here.
TABLE 4.3

Conjunctive Variants in M8

1. Tr. 8/3-9/1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGCE} & \quad \text{CaB} \\
\text{Trem} & \quad \text{Iv}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Tr. 29/3-30/2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGCE} & \quad \text{CaB} \\
\text{Trem} & \quad \text{Iv}
\end{align*}
\]

3. Tr. 32/1-34/3

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGCE} & \quad \text{Trem} \\
\text{CaBiv} & \quad \text{Fr: CaB}
\end{align*}
\]

4. Tr. 40/4-41/3

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGCE} & \quad \text{Iv} \\
\text{TremCaB}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Tr. 46/2-47/1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGCE} & \quad \text{Trem} \\
\text{CaBiv}
\end{align*}
\]

6. Mot. 48/2-50/1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgAGCE} & \quad \text{CaBiv} \\
\text{Fr: CaB}
\end{align*}
\]

7. Tr. 48/1-49/2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGC} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{TremCaBiv} & \quad \text{Fr: CaB}
\end{align*}
\]

8. Tr. 49/2-50/1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VgBAGC} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{TremCaBiv}
\end{align*}
\]
2. Since the remaining eight variants do not include MS E (E agrees in each case with the main sources), these represent eight further ("separative") errors introduced by the common ancestor of TremCaBiv. Therefore, MS E may be extracted from the rest of the group:

\{(E)TremCaBiv\}.

3. Five variants establish a termination for CaB and Iv. A second hypothetical MS ['z'] introducing these five differences is therefore postulated.

```
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{CaB} & \text{Iv} \\
\end{array}
\]
```

4. Since Trem does not contain any of the five variants relating CaB to Iv, it stands at a stage before the introduction of these errors, and we would expect that all three MSS would be linked in this middle stage. However, the position of Trem in the scheme is ambiguous. At one point it is associated with Iv only, at another with CaB only. Either Iv corrected Tr. 4—not impossible, even without access to a better MS—or CaB corrected Tr. 6 and left out the sharp in Tr. 2. This latter might be accepted, but independent correction of Tr. 1 appears a remote possibility unless one allows correction from a source not containing the error.\footnote{Known as contamination. See Maas, "Textual Criticism," p. 889. The definition of Kenney is useful: "... more than one textual state may coexist in a single witness" ("Textual Criticism," p. 191b).}
or the other of the following schemes:

```
X
/ \     / \
/ E     / E
Y
/ : Trem / : z Trem
z: Trem
/ : CaB
/ : Iv
```

The genealogical arrangement of the sources indicates that \{ETremCaBiv\} ultimately derive from a single source (not extant), and that this source ["x"] was not a source for MSS CAF-GVg(B). Though geographically widely distributed, the transmission is restricted: MSS from the north (CaB), from Ile-de-France (Trem), and from the south (Iv) all have related readings. The two MSS genetically closest (CaB and Iv), though related through agreement of repertory, and probably also chronologically, are not related geo-

---

667 Essentially the same results can be derived from information in Wolfgang Dömling's discussion, "Zur Ueberlieferung," pp. 191-92. Dömling notes six conjunctive errors linking CaB and Iv (probably the five noted above, i.e., Tr. 3, Tr. 5, Tr. 9, Tr. 10 and Mot. 6; in addition, a text variant is included, mm. 11-12). One conjunctive error links \{ETremCaBiv\} (probably the variant Tr. 7 was not included because of the plica in CaB). One conjunctive error links \{TremIv\} (Tr. 2 not included?). The conjunctive error Tr/\Lf, linking \{TremCaB\}, is not noted. Taken with the statement, p. 192, that "die Machaut-Ueberlieferung dieser drei Quellen \{TremCaBiv\} scheint auf die Vorlage für E zurückzugehen," we see that the leftmost stemma proposed above is derivable from Dömling's list of variants.

When tentative dates are attached to the MSS, the results of the genealogical analysis may seem surprising. The presumed dates fall in inverse order on our family tree of sources:

```
x
/ \
/   E (1390s)
Y
/ \
z  Trem (before 1376)
/ \nCaB  Iv (both begun after c. 1360-65).
```

This is possible because the proposed stemma makes no claims about the intervening number of sources. The version of the piece in MS E might easily have derived from a less error-ridden source, since it was copied for a patron close to Machaut, at a court where some works of Machaut were still actively performed, even long after Machaut's death. In spite of the span of years between the sources, the genealogical analysis indicates that the transmission of MS is remarkably uniform and consistent—no changes were wrought upon the motet at the outlying centers that mask the ultimate derivation of the readings.

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609 Günther in New Grove places the corpus of Iv at c. 1365; see also Günther, "Problems of Dating." CaB can be placed at about the same time or earlier, see Arlt, Aspekte der Chronologie," pp. 206-07.

610 Note that it is crucial that all MSS are shown to derive from a lost original. Otherwise, chronologically earlier MSS could not derive from chronologically later MSS (see Maas, Textual Criticism, p. 52). Put another way, it is not possible to draw a tree without the posited sources due to dates of the surviving sources.

611 The state of the text does not depend on the date it was copied; late sources could have been copied from a MS nearer to the common ancestor, cf. Bowers, "Textual Criticism," p. 921a-b ("recentiores non deteriores").
The analysis of shared errors has provided a theoretical picture of the familial relationships among the peripheral sources; these sources should be ignored for establishing the text of the motet. A central goal of the application of the genealogical method, the elimination of derivative sources, has therefore been attained. Recension has eliminated the need even to examine any of the readings in these MSS. But the two modern critical editions of the work print musical readings deriving solely from F-CA 1328, the source most distant from the earliest textual state according to the stemma, and it will therefore be necessary for us to consider some readings unique to this MS. To a large extent, the real interest of the transmission lies in these unique readings. One can thereby catch glimpses of local practices and interpretations of the musical notation. The genealogical method was designed to gloss over individualities, because the local usages of medieval scribes were of no interest to those scholars of Classical literature who developed the method. Their real object of concern lay centuries removed from the dates of the MSS. In the repertory concerning us here, however, these local usages, contemporary evidence of local practice and chronological developments, are of primary concern. It is not surprising that it took a medievalist, the Romance philologist Joseph Bédier, to raise serious objections to the application of the stemmatic method to medieval vernacular poetry.

Ludwig's edition is chiefly based on the text of a single MS (Vg), one he judged to be the best because it had the fewest errors. Only the obvious

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612 Cf., inter alia, Dadelsen, "Vorwort," p. 15.

errors are corrected in this basic text. MS provides the single example of a reading from a MS outside the main group taken into the printed text of the edition.

In the motetus at m. 55, both the main MSS and the peripheral source I-IV have a breve a' on the downbeat, making a dissonant seventh with the b in the tenor.

![Musical notation](https://example.com/motet.png)

Figure 4.10: M8, mm. 54-56.

Two other readings ameliorate the dissonance. MS E has a breve g', while F-CA 1328 has a b', filling in the third before the following g' with a descending plica (Figure 4.10). It is the version of F-CA 1328 that is printed in the two principal modern editions of the motet. On stylistic grounds, Ludwig and Schrade preferred the consonant reading of the Cambrai MS. The implication is that the peripheral MS F-CA 1328 transmits a read-

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614 Ludwig thus followed the precepts of Joseph Bédier, who argued against genetic editing. Compare how Bédier typifies the base MS in the introduction to his 1913 edition of the Lai de l'Ombre, p. xlii: "[the base MS is] celui qui présente le moins souvent des leçons individuelles, celui par conséquent qu'on est le moins souvent tenté de corriger. "J'ayant une fois choisi, nous avons pris le parti d'en respecter autant que possible les leçons." It is clear that today, seventy years later, Bédier's tenets remain valid for most editors of music from MS sources. In MS Vg, there are no substantive unique readings, and very few errors. S. Boorman raises objections to Bédier in "Limitations and Extension," p. 322, n. 9.
ting superior to that of any of the main MSS, thus that the version of F-CA 1328 descends from a better exemplar. But investing the readings of F-CA 1328 with authority runs directly counter to the findings of the genealogical method. However, evidence of corruption was turned up; the tradition is not a simple one.616

In the phrase immediately preceding the one discussed above, F-CA 1328 and other MSS contain a reading in which another dissonance transmitted by the main MSS is ameliorated (variant Tr. 7, one of the variants used above in the determination of the genetic relationships between the MSS). In this passage, the motetus has a g on the downbeat of m. 49, while the tenor rests (Figure 4.11).

The reading of the main MSS, with the dissonant f, is conceivable, although the second reading appears stronger on stylistic grounds if the corresponding passages in the other rhythmic periods are compared. Of the dissenting group of MSS (ETremCaBIV), it is only F-CA 1328 that fills in the third g-b with a plica, here an ascending one.617

615 Ludwig states in his critical report to the motet that the plica-reading of F-CA 1328 "...die einzige Überlieferung der anscheinend besten Lesart zu sein scheint..." [Musikalische Werke, III, 32 (138)]. Schrade, PMFC Commentary II-III, p. 80, follows Ludwig: "the CaB version seems to be correct." Wolfgang Dömling, "Zur Überlieferung," p. 194, n. 12, argues for the main reading ("...der frei einsetzende Terz-Sept-Klang ist bei Machaut nichts Ungewöhnliches"). Finally, Hoppin, following MS A (though silently correcting many corruptions in other places), prints the dissonant a' of the main MSS.

616 Kenney, "Textual Criticism," p. 194b: "for the editor of a contaminated tradition—and most traditions are probably contaminated—the lesson of recent research is that authoritative evidence may survive even in late and generally corrupt or interpolated sources." F-CA 1328 does contain a few errors, though not serious ones. MS A by comparison is uncharacteristically corrupt for this motet.

617 Curiously, Schrade adopts the plica, though without the note to which it leads.
An answer to the question of priority or author's "intention" will not be
proposed here. With Schrade and Ludwig, I would prefer the reading of F-CA
1328, but, as E. Talbot Donaldson states, "... nothing on earth can equal
the torment of a genetic editor facing the prospect of having to admire and
perhaps introduce into his text a reading from a MS which could not possibly
have come by it through honest inheritance..." Perhaps F-CA 1328,
with its many plicas, only preserves a local performance tradition. On the
other hand, perhaps the main MSS reflect a tradition that was early cor-
rupted in this passage. One must not forget that the majority evidence of
the main Machaut MSS is not necessarily decisive. If the main MSS derive
from a single exemplar, or from copies at various stages of an evolving
exemplar, the fact that several MSS support a reading is of no consequence.
It only indicates multiple transmission of the same error. As Bowers

618 "The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts," in Speaking of
of a reading of a line in Chaucer witnessed by no MS. See "The Psychology,"
and their Background, p. 105 for references.

619 Several works contain major errors in several or all of the main
MSS, e.g., M18, B30, V26, etc. Elizabeth Keitel is to be praised for her
possible paleographical explanation of the corrupt B30, see Series EM31,
points out, "... authority and correctness are not necessarily synonymous". On the other hand, no evidence exists that the intervention in the text of F-CA 1328 was authoritative; if the reading of the main MSS is rejected as corrupt, the passage may be emended in some other way if desired. Thus we face the central difficulty of editing the medieval work. Our knowledge of style is not always well-developed enough to distinguish variants from errors. (Were the usages themselves so well-defined?) This is the reason that the method of editing by reproducing a single MS rather than producing a "critical" text is still a viable procedure in editing medieval works. One is left with uncertainty: "... it is not demonstrable that we can always identify the best, nor that the author always writes his work in the way that would strike us as the best, nor that the author is always capable of the best or even of his best." 

supplement to Early Music, 5 (1977). By the time MS A was copied, some of the works would have been forty and more years old. It is conceivable that Machaut’s exemplar had been sent around several times, copied from parts were replaced as it became worn, etc. Corruptions could have been introduced along the way, especially in older works which probably would not have been much performed when the main MSS were copied. Recall that in the Voir Dit, there is an emphasis on the most recent works.


Cf. Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford, "The Introduction to the Lai de l'Ombre: Half a Century Later," in Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, ed. C. Kleinhenz, p. 111: "It is perhaps the realisation that the critical edition [i.e., one produced by the stemmatic method of editing] of an Old French text need not necessarily result in a product which is aesthetically more satisfying than the version contained in any single manuscript that disgusted Bédier with what seemed to him an elaborate and pointless procedure." Compare also Kenney, "Textual Criticism," p. 194b: "The linguistic and stylistic canons of classical Greek and Latin are relatively strict and well defined, whereas the vocabulary, grammar, and usage of many medieval authors ... is often not certain enough to allow reliable discrimination between variant and error."

Thorpe, Principles, p. 106.
Machaut was an author actively involved with the dissemination of his own works. As a composer, his case is unique, and remained unique for several generations. No other comparably large repertory is as demonstrably close to an author, and at the same time as widely diffused. Since the Machaut MS tradition is not refracted through layers of unknown density, this may help to explain why few alternative versions of his pieces exist. His are texts which are authoritative, for which all substantive readings survive. The Machaut MSS present "formal" texts, copied by professionals scribes who were less prone to edit texts according to their sense. Quite possibly the MSS even preserve many of the author's "accidentals"—for instance, the ligatures are consistent throughout the main MSS—though occasionally, changes were introduced during the copying process in order to preserve the uniformity of the page. Machaut's are not "living" texts, whose contents would have been of concern to scribes and educated amateurs, and the wide latitude of variants characteristic of, for example, the fifteent-century chansonniers, is not met with in Machaut.

623 But bear in mind Eric Hicks, Le débat, p. lxiv, on the text of Christine de Pizan: "malgré la surveillance exercé par l'auteur, le texte des volumes préfécés par Christine n'est pas toujours sûr." This is true even to the present day, cf. Fredson T. Bowers: "... approval by an author of a non-autograph copy can under no circumstances bestow on that copy the authority inherent in a true autograph original; nor can authorial revision extend specific autograph authority further than the autograph revisions themselves" ("Textual Criticism," p. 918a).

624 By contrast, cf. the scribes of GB-Lbl Add. 57950 or I-Bc 15 or GB-Ob 213.
Appendix A

GATHERING STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCIPAL MACHAUT MANUSCRIPTS

Appendix A provides gathering-by-gathering diagrams of the physical structure of MSS A, F-G, Vg, B, E, C, J and K. Foliation, signatures, catchwords, and contents are given. A diagonal slash indicates a trimmed signature or catchword; [" ] indicates glue or stitching between stubs and strips; if two foliations are given, those in parentheses are modern. MSS Vg and B are given side-by-side for comparison (signatures in Vg are supplied from information in Ludwig's notes at the Niedersachsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek, Gottingen. MSS J and K are also diagramed side-by-side; although I did not specifically discuss these two MSS, it is hoped that the data may be helpful in establishing the still somewhat obscure relationship between these codices.

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**MS A**

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MS A

(F-Pn fr. 1584)

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481 Vo: BLANK

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482 VIRELAIS
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193 194 195 196

XXV

197 x

198 Vo: MARGUERITE

199 Vo: ROSE

200 Ont li dieu VESGI
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Et se vous

Et les ont

En belle & ou bone

Qui ne fremise
Balade la dame
(NB: half-page of prose not accounted for by catchw.)

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[fols. 61-68 lacking]

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97. Niquie/ (to: Ne quier)

98 c (below 1st col.)

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100

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102

103

104

105. Droit.

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107

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109

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111

112

113 Q' march/

114

115

116

117

(stub, glued to fol. 118)

118. FONTAINE

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120. Car iay lai /

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98 (63) Car sa mesure ne vivo/

100 (70) Mais il ne prist en la

101 (71)

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Appendix B

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MINIATURES

Appendix B provides a quick overview of the number and location of miniatures in the MSS C, Vg, A, K, J, F-G, E and D (representing their approximate chronological order; perhaps the position of F-G and E should be reversed. For each work, the leftmost column identifies the location of the miniature by the line number, or, in the case of the Prologue, Loange and musical works, the individual poem before which the miniature appears. Remaining columns identify the MS and the sequential number of the miniature within that MS (F and G are through-numbered: G142 is the first miniature in MS G). The order of the works in the table follows MS F-G, the last of the MSS with an order that is probably authentic. The order of the works in the other MSS can be discovered by following their numbers in sequence.

Appendix B is designed to be used in conjunction with Appendix C, where the miniatures are arranged again in the same order, first indicating the line before which the miniature appears, and the sequential number of the miniature within a given MS. In Appendix C, the central column identifies the scene, gives any rubrics present immediately above or below the miniature, and the rightmost column gives the folio number on which the miniature is found. When more than a single miniature appears on a folio side, the column (a-d) is also indicated. By using Appendix B, one can readily note, for instance, not only the remarkable similarity in the locations of minia-

1 MS Morg (c. 1425-30) follows A, and is not included here. See Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," p. 129.
tures in MSS A and F-G (two MSS we have already seen to be closely related on other grounds), but also the independence of the illustration programs for MSS C and Vg. Nevertheless, one occasionally sees an internal division in a poem that is unanimously chosen as a point to be marked by an illumination. For instance, Appendix B shows such a division first for Behaingne, before v. 1185: MSS C, A, F-G and D all have a miniature, indicating that this is an important juncture in the poem. Appendix C may then be consulted. When miniatures C6, A10, F11 and D6 are located in the Behaingne section of Appendix C for v. 1185, a brief description of the miniatures, any rubrics if present, and the folio number of the miniature is given.

Recourse to Oeuvres, II, 102 (Behaingne v. 1185) shows that this is the point where the narrator picks up after an extended section of dialogue between the knight and the lady. The narrator here decides to come out from his hiding place behind a bush in order to help the pair have their love-debate judged. Further, we see that the scene in both F11 and D6 are anticipating the story a little, while A10 is far in advance of the story line. C6 is the most accurate representation of the local situation in the story. An extended analysis of this sort would demonstrate interesting aspects concerning how contemporaries articulated these poems, how carefully the program of illustrations in a given MS was synchronized with the story line, and how a MS with few illustrations chooses its scenes over one that is richly illustrated (the illustrator of MS D in particular was skilled at summing up large portions of the poems with a single miniature), etc.

I thank Mr. Bernard Bailly de Surcy for generously supplying me with a film of the inaccessible MS Vg. My descriptions of the miniatures in Vg are based only on this film, and are offered with due reservations.
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*: Lai without music.
Appendix C

CONCORDANCE OF MINIATURES

One important characteristic of Machaut's *dits* is the part the author plays in them; he is usually a character. Thus, I have often identified a character in an illustration as "G." ["Guillaume"], instead of, say, "amant." F. Avril has pointed out the changing costumes of the poet, depending upon the date of the MS. A middle-aged, often bearded courtier dressed *a la mode* depicts the author in MS C, while a tonsured, clean-shaven monk appears in A and F-G.

Several of the miniatures in MS A (beginning with A14) have a Roman-numeral through-numbering in the MS. The first visible is number "xi" for the miniature on fol. 54v, and the numbers continue occasionally to be visible through "xl" (fol. 91v). The next visible number, "liii" (fol. 128v) is one less than required (perhaps the single miniature at the opening of *l'Alerion* was left off). The last number visible before the *Voir Dit* (which begins fol. 221) is "lx" (fol. 130v). The numbers are three less than the total number of miniatures, that is, the two Parisian miniatures of the *Prologue* ballades, and the provincial miniature of the narrative portion of the *Prologue* are not included. This further attests to the separate nature of the *Prologue*. Probably the numbers were keyed to a list of directions indicating the subject matter of the miniature (cf. Destrez, *La pecia*, p. 97, commentary to Pl. 21), perhaps prepared by the author himself.

For the *Voir Dit*, there is an independent numbering system, first visible with "viii" on fol. 259v (actually the thirteenth miniature of the *Voir Dit*). Perhaps this indicates that the program of miniatures for the *Voir Dit* was more recently thought out.

The numeral "iii" is visible above the frame of miniature C70 (miniature no. three of *Lyon*).

Prologue

1Bal A2  Nature, Sens, Rhetorique, Musique, and G. Comment
nature, voulant orendroit plus que enques mes
reveler et faire essaucier les biens et honneurs
qui sont en amours, vient a Guillaume de Machaut et
li ordene et encharge a faire sur ce nouveaux dis
amoureux et li baille pour li conseillier et aidier
a ce faire trois de ses enfans. C'est a savoir Sens
Rhetorique et Musique et li dit par ceste maniere.¹ f. E

¹ Facs. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 29, and "Les manuscrits
enluminés," Fig. 11.

- 390 -
F1 = A2. Comment nature voulant orendroit plus que onques mais Reveler et faire exaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours. vient a Guillaume de Machaut. Et li ordene et encharge a faire seur ce nouvius dis amoureus. Et li baille pour lui consilier et aider ad ce faire trois de ses enfans. C'est a savoir. Sens Rhetorique et Musique. Et li dit par ceste maniere.

E1a = A2. (first scene of two-col.-wide illustration.) Comment nature voulant orendroit plus que onques mais reveler et faire exaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours vient a Guillaume de Machaut. Et lui ordene et encharge a faire sur ce nouveaux dis amoureux et li baille pour lui conseiller et adviser a ce faire .iii. de ces enfans. C'est a savoir sens. rhetorique. musique. Et lui dit par ceste maniere.²


3Bal A1 Amour, Doux Penser, Plaisance, Esperance, and G. Comment Amours qui a ouy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et li amaine trois de ses enfans c'est a savoir doux penser plaisance et esperance. Pour li donner matere a faire ce que nature li a enchargie. et li dit par ceste maniere.³

F3 = A1. Comment Amours qui a oy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et li amaine trois de ses enfans. C'est assavoir. Doux penser plaisance et esperance. Pour lui donner voie a faire ce que nature li a enchargie. et li dit par cest maniere. f. 1

E1b = A1. (second scene of two-col.-wide illustration.) Comment amours qui a oy nature vient a Guillaume de Machaut et lui amaine .iii. de ses enfans c'est assavoir doux penser, plaisance, et esperance pour lui donner matere a faire ce que nature lui a enchargie.

4Bal F4 G. and Amour. Comment Guillaumes de machau Respont a amours.

Nar. A3 G. at desk, writing in book; pen in right hand, scraper in left.

F5 = A3.

² Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 13.

³ Facs. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 30, and "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 12.
Dit dou Vergier

before
line:

1 A4 G. at wall of garden; birds in trees. (f. Gv:) Ci après commence le dit dou vergier.
F6 G. inside wall of garden; birds, cistern. Ci commence le dit dou vergier.
Vg7 G. (monk with beard); birds in trees. Ci commence le dit dou vergier.
E7 Winged God of Love sits in tree. Six people in circle, hands joined; G. off to side, looks at tree. Cy commence le dit du vergier.
C62 (two-col.) G. looks at bower of flowers.
D4 (two-col.) G. asleep on hill; God of Love with others dance in circle. Comment le dieu d'amours est assis sur .i. abre et ne wit goute et tient en sa main .i. dart et en l'autre .i. brandon de feu et .vi. demoiselles et .vi. escuriers qui dansent et l'atueur se dort sos un abre.
J2 God of Love descending from tree with arrow and torch. G. sits below tree, gestures to kings.
K2 = J2.

109 A5 God of Love with torch and arrow sits in tree; people below look on.
F7 G. sits within wall near cistern, looking dejected.

159 C63 God of Love with torch and arrow in tree. Four women and five men look up to him.

207 A6 God of Love sits on tree, G. looks on.
F8 = A6, others also present.

245 C64 Others look on as G. kneels to God of Love in tree.

247 A7 God of Love in tree talks, G. kneels with hands clasped.
F9 = A7.

377 C65 Similar to C64, but God of Love on stone bench.

1039 C66 Similar to C64 and C65, but people behind G.

1195 C67 God of Love in tree; G. sitting on ground looks over right shoulder at him.

1293: End of poem

totals: A 4
        F 4
        Vg 1
Jugement dou roy de Behaingne

1 A8 G. next to stream, looks at tree with bird, all within wall with tower. (f. 9:) Ci apres commence le jugement dou Roy de behaingne.
F10 (two-col.) Lady, girl, and dog; knight, birds in trees; G. hides behind tree. Ci commence le jugement du bon Roy de behaigne.
Vg8 Man looks up at birds in tree. Ci commence le temps pascour.
E10 Knight talks to lady and girl; dog there also; G. on ground behind trees, observing. Tower in back. Ci commence le jugement du roy de behangne.
C1 (two-col.) Knight talks to lady. G. looks on from behind trees.
D5 (two-col.) Walled garden. G., lady, girl, knight, dog. Ci commence le jugement du roy de behanie comme l'acteur est en .i. jardin et d'une autre part .i. chevalier et d'autre une dame. & une pucelle une dame. & .i. petit chien.
J3 King gestures to kneeling knight; lady, girl, dog. G.'s face in bush.

41 A9 Lady, girl, knight, dog all angry at G., who is hiding behind bush.
[F10 two-col. wide, serves here also]
81 C2 Knight talks to lady; dog and girl nearby.
257 C3 Lady appears weak; knight holds lady's arm to support her. Girl plays with dog.
881 C4 Lady talks to knight.
973 C5 Knight talks to lady.
1185 A10 King of Bohemia on throne, knight and lady on either side of him.
F11 Knight and lady; G. holds dog.
C6 G. comes out of hiding with dog barking at him; lady and knight have not yet noticed him.
D6 G. talks to knight and lady. Comment l'acteur parle au chevalier et a la dame dedens le iardin.
1381 D7 G. shows chateau to knight and lady. Comme le chevalier et la dame et l'acteur regardent durbin le chastel. f. 69

1465 C7 Lady, girl, knight and G. before steps of chateau. f. 16
1465 D8 (two-col.) Lady and knight are welcomed to the chateau. Many ladies there with the king. Another knight sits next to king. Comme il sont assis a .ii. costes du bon roy et sont et les compaignent plusieurs dames. f. 70

1509 A11 King on throne, knight and lady before him. f. 18v
1509 F12 Knight and lady kneel to king on throne. Two women and man behind king. f. 16v

1609 C8 G. stands behind lady and knight as they kneel to king. Several courtiers stand behind the king. Gables of the chateau frame the top of the illustration. f. 17v

1941 C9 Scene = C8. King holds hands of kneeling knight and lady. f. 21

2079: End of poem.

totals: A 4
F 3
Vg 1
E 1
C 9 (1st collaborator)
D 4
J 1

Jugement dou roy de Navarre

1 A12 G. looking out of his window in tower, appears sad. (f. 22:) Ci apres commanche le jugement dou roy de navarre contre le jugement dou roy de behaingne. f. 22v

F13 G. in his bedroom. Le jugement du Roy de navarre Contre le jugement du bon Roy de behaingne. f. 19v

Vg9 G.(?) standing. Ci commence le jugement dou roy de navarre. f. 60v

E11 G. inside house, at writing desk with book. Cy commence le jugement du roy de navarre. machaut. f. 45

D9 G. stands in his room; book is on table. Comment l'acteur se meict amer en colier pour le temps qui

* Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 7.
se change.  

465 D10 G. watches feast, dog chews bone.  
Comment l'atteur regarde les noce qui se sont apres la grant morie.  

541 E12 Hunt: three dogs; three men and one woman on horses.  

548 D11 (two-col.) G. leads the hunt.  
Comment guillaume chevauche grisart et court apres le lievre et la dame chevauche a grant compaignie et fait venir guillaume De loris et argue a lui.  

1475 D12 (two-col.) King and queen, G., nine ladies  
Comment le roy de navarre se siet et la royne et les .xii. demoisselles en estant devant Le roy desputantes alencontre de guillaume de Loris.  

4212: End of poem  

totals:  
A 1  
F 1  
Vg 1  
E 2  
D 4  

Remede de Fortune  

1 A13 Man with beard sits and talks to young man.  
Ci commence Remede de fortune.  

F14 (cf. F34, opening of l'Alerion) G. at desk, reads from book to group.  
Ci commence Remede de fortune.  

Vg10 G. standing; woman holding child's hand.  
Ci commence remede de fortune.  

E8 Man walking in wild forest holding flower.  
Ci commence l'ecu bleu.  

C10 (two-col.) G. with arms crossed, looks on with young man towards chateau. Three ladies look up towards lady with pink hat standing on steps, who points finger at G.  

J5 Similar to A17. Hope hands G. a ring. He stands, holding out hand. Girl behind him.  

K3 = J5.  

This miniature is the only separation between the two jugements in MS D.  

Fac. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 23, and "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 2.
135 C11 The Goddess of Love talks to G. Comment amours chastie l’ament.

[before lai, Rem1]

431 C12 (two-col.) G. sits outside among trees, writing on long roll. Comment l’amant fait un lay de son sentiment.

[after Rem1]

693 C13 G. holds long roll. Lady with pink hat holding dog directs him to read. Off to the side, king sits on hill talking to people. Comment la dame fait lire A l’amant le lay qu’il a fait.

771 A14 [xi] G. taking leave of lady, going into Parc de Hesdin.7

F15 Man washing hands at fountain.

Vgl11 King and courtiers seated on bench.

J6 G. and lady; trees. Comment l’amant se depart de sa dame.

K4 = J6.

[after music for strophe I of complainte, Rem2]

921 C14a,b (two-col., two large miniatures) At top: G. sits in walled garden, writing complainte. At bottom: Lady Fortune blindfolded, turns wheel with three people on it: king on top, man on side falling off; other man on other side on the way up. Comment l’amant fait une complainte de fortune et de sa roe.8

[Nebuchadnezzar’s dream: Daniel ii.31-35]

1001 A15 Black statue with gold hair, wild appearance.

C15 King asleep in bed. Black statue with gold head off to side. (f. 31:) Comment nabugodonosor Songa qu’il veoit Vne figure Qui se claimme statua.

J7 Nebuchadnezzar in bed. Statue stands on bed. Le songe du Roy. nabugodonosor.

7 See introductory remarks to this appendix for the Roman-numeral numbering system in MS A.

8 Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 1. See also Alan H. Nelson, "Mechanical Wheels of Fortune, 1100-1547," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 43 (1980), 227: "The rim of Fortune’s wheel is supplied with cogs which are engaged by corresponding cogs on a second, adjacent wheel. Both wheels are supported on double bearings. Fortune turns her wheel not directly, but by turning a crank on the secondary wheel. A count of the cogs on the two wheels reveals that Fortune has gained a mechanical advantage of approximately 4:3. The secondary wheel has no apparent symbolic function, but rather betrays the artist’s fascination with the marvels of technology." The miniature is reproduced as Pl. 23a.
1193 C16 G. sits, points to blindfolded Lady Fortune. Comment l'amant Se plaint de fortune.

1273 C17 G. sees lady with pink hat entering chateau; girl holds train of dress. Comment l'amant entrevit sa dame.

1401 C18 G. sits on hill, dejected. (f. 34:) Comment l'amant Se complaint a lui meismes.

[after text of complainte]

1481 E9 G. and Hope reclining in walled garden (room left for rubric).

C19 Hope, with scarf in hair, holds hand of G. Comment esperance vint Conforter l'amant.

1671 C20 G. listens to Hope. (f. 36:) Comment esperance Ensigne et aprent l'amant.

1821 C21 Hope stands scolding G. Comment esperance chastie l'amant.


K5 = J8. les droites armes des amans: l'escu bleu.

1881 C22 G. and Hope sit on either side of escutcheon, which is hanging from a tree. Comment esperance moustre les droites armes d'amours a l'amant.

1977 C23 Hope sits with long scroll, singing through it; G. asleep. Comment l'amant s'en dort En ooyant chanter esperance.

2039 C24 Hope strokes G.'s hair, puts ring on his finger. Comment esperance demande A l'amant s'elle a bien chante.

2097 A17 [xiii] Hope places ring on G.'s finger, who is falling asleep on hillside.

2148 C25 Hope talks to G. (f. 40:) Comment esperance dit A l'amant quel pouer elle a.

2287 C26 G. talks, Hope with back turned. Comment l'amant parle a esperance.

2289 A18 Hope has just named herself to G.

2353 C27 G., cape in hand, bows to thank Hope. Comment l'amant mercie esperance.
2403 C28 G. and Hope talk. *Comment esperance parle A l'amant de fortune.*

2522 C29 G. talks to Hope. *Comment l'amant parle a esperance.*

2685 C30 G. and Hope talk, gesture to each other. *Comment esperance parle a l'amant.*

[before ballade Rem4]

2857 C31 Hope with another scroll; G. *Comment esperance baille a l'amant Une chancon et la chante devant li.*

[after Ballade Rem4]

2893 A19 G. listens to Hope sing ballade.

C32 Hope above the trees, G. holds scroll. *Comment esperance Se depart de l'amant.*

[before ballade Rem5]

3013 Vg12 G. kneeling before Hope with open book.

C33 G. sits with legs crossed, writing on scroll draped across knee. *Comment l'amant Fait une balade.*

3077 A20 Hope reassures G. before he goes to find his lady. (f. 71:) *l'amant.*

C34 Hope leads G. to the chateau. *Comment esperance tient l'amant par la main et le mainne veoir le manoir sa dame.*

3181 C35 Hope's head above the trees, chateau nearby. G. with pen and scroll. *Comment l'amant s'agenoille En la saute devant le manoir sa dame.*

[before the prière]


J9 Guill thanks winged God of Love. *Les graces et mercis que l'amant rent a amours.*

[after the prière]

3349 A22 [xix] G. welcomed by lady and courtiers onto grounds of chateau.

[before virelai Rem6]

3451 C36 (two-col.) Round dance next to chateau. Lady with pink hat has her eyes on G., who approaches with squire. *Comment l'amant chante empres Sa dame.*

3573 C37 Three couples returning to chateau. Last couple is G. with his lady; they talk. *Comment l'amant parle a sa dame.*

* Facs. in Avril, Manuscript Painting, Pl. 24.
3729 C38 G. and his lady talk face to face. Girl holds lady's train. *Comment la dame parle a l'amant.*

3847 C39 Guill kneels to his lady. Three other ladies look on. *(f. 54v:)* *Comment l'amant merce sa dame.*

3947 C40 (two-col.) Large banquet, G. and lady present. *Comment l'amant fu Au disner sa dame.*

4077 C41 G. and lady exchange rings. Hope with scarf has each hand on the backs of the couple. *Comment la dame et l'amant changent d'aniaus.*

[before rondeau Rem7]

4107 C42 (two-col.) Tournament with knights in armor jousting. G. on horse near the back, sings from scroll. Ladies in spectator's box, behind. *Comment l'amant S'en va chantant.*

[after rondeau Rem7]


4217 C43 G. and lady talk. *Comment l'amant parle a sa dame.*


4298: End of poem

totals: A 12
       F 2
       Vg 3
       E 2
       C 34 (Master of the Remede de fortune)
       J 5
       K 3

Dit dou Lyon

1 A25 G. inside wall with trees surrounded by stream. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.*

F16 (double scene) G. in bedroom, looks out to trees, stream. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.*

Vg13 Lion to right of seated figure. *Ci commence le dit dou lyon.*

18 Facs. in Avril, *Manuscript Painting,* Pl. 25; "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 3.
E13 G. in bed, looks out to trees. *Ci commance le dit du lyon.*

C68 Landscape; animals in forest, stream in foreground, chateau behind. 11

J10 G. greets lion, who enters from behind trees.

K6 = J10.

107 Vg14 G. next to large ring (stream surrounding the garden?).

151 A26 G. in boat, fish in stream.

F17 G. gets in boat at forest's edge.

Vg15 G. in boat at edge of forest.

C69 G. rowing boat.

175 A27 G. ties boat to tree.

F18 = A27.

Vg16 G. in forest next to stream.

C70 [iii] G. on shore, boat in stream; birds and animals around. 12

279 A28 Lion with part of G.'s cloak in its mouth.

F19 = A28, but cloak in lion's claw.

Vg17 G. in forest.

E14 = A28. Other beasts look on. *Comment le lyon prist l'amant par le giron.*

C71 G. standing, lion comes out from behind bush.

325 Vg18 G. in forest, lion behind tree.

C72 Lion has G. by the cloak, leading him. Many ferocious beasts behind him, he looks back in horror.

433 A29 Lion leads G. to fountain, G.'s cloak still in its mouth.

F20 Lion and G. drink at cistern.

Vg19 Lion drinks at fountain, G. watches.

E15 G. kneels to lady, who is sitting before tent. Lion in front, other beasts in background. *Comment le lyon mena l'amant devant la dame.*

C73 G. and lion drink from stream. 13

442 J11 Lion drinks from cistern, G. stands beside; trees behind.

453 A30 G. at fountain, two men and two ladies come by.

F21 G. with lion at cistern; man, queen, and two women now there as well.

Vg20 Queen and G.


12 See introductory note to this appendix for the Roman-numeral iii.

13 Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enlumines," Fig. 8.
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<td>F22 Lady petting lion. Other beasts behind.</td>
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<td>Vg21 Queen pets lion.</td>
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<td>C74 G. before tent of lady, who is on throne. Lion sits beside her, followers behind; ferocious beasts to left of G.</td>
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<tr>
<td>535</td>
<td>J12 Lady pets lion.</td>
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<td>K7 = J12.</td>
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<td>591</td>
<td>A32 [xxix] Lady with lion, beasts around.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>F23 G., lady, and lion; beasts around.¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>625</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>F24 Lady and lion, beasts.</td>
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<td>Vg23 = A33.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C75 G. and three ladies and lion under canopy. Beasts threaten from the right.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A34 G. kneels to lady, asks about all the strange events.</td>
</tr>
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<td>F25 Lady, lion; G. kneeling.</td>
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<td>Vg24 G. and lion.</td>
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<td>747</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C76 Old knight talks to G. Lady is in bower. Ladies chatter on the side.</td>
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<td>767</td>
<td>A35 Knight tells G. the story of the lion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F26 Lady, G. and courtier, who is talking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vg26 Queen and G. sit next to each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E16 Man comes out from behind tent; similar to E15, but stream present, lion and beasts absent. <em>Comment la dame araisona l'amant</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923</td>
<td>A36 Three women and three men tell their stories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F27 Three women and group of men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vg27 Queen and man standing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C77 Old knight talks to G.; scene to right has king surrounded by nobles and others, including a bishop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>989</td>
<td>A37 Three women and three men still discussing cases.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>F28 = A36.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vg28 Two men kneel before two women.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C78 Three noble couples talk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1119</td>
<td>A38 Three women, three men still talking.</td>
</tr>
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<td>F29 Three women, two men still talking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vg29 Man and monk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C79 Two men bow to two women.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴ Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 15.
J13 G. and lady, three trees. (No rubric.)
K8 = J13. des faux amens.

1213 A39 Knight in full armor mounted on charging horse.
F30 Two knights in armor, each with shields, approach three women.
Vg30 Two knights in armor charge.
C80 Joust. Three women observe from behind screen.

1345 A40 [xxxvii] Six knights mounted on horses.
Vg31 Four men seated, three women talking.
C81 Five knights on horses bid farewell to two women watching from chateau.

1505 A41 Man, two women.
F31 Two men, three women.
Vg32 Three monks, three nuns.
C82 Man seated between two women; another woman stands to right.

1523 F32 Five peasants eating.
Vg33 Two couples (peasants?).
C83 Six peasant couples in circle, hunter couple and dog.

1545 J14 Robin hands Marote a purse. De Robin et de marote ensochas.
K9 = J14.

1587 A42 Man and woman embrace.
Vg34 Woman kneels to man.
C84 Bearded man points to group of five people.

1607 A43 [xl] Two lovers. Third man being dismissed.
F33 Man kneels to woman. She puts his hat on his head.
Vg35 Two monks kneel to two women.

1621 A44 Four couples in round dance.
Vg36 Three men and two women dancing.
C85 Three men and two women dancing. Fourth man plays bagpipes.

1635 A45 Woman between two trees.
Vg37 Several knights on horses, jousting; woman looks on.
C86 Two pairs of knights on horses, in hand-to-hand combat. Three women look on from castle wall.

1657 A46 Man giving garland to woman.
Vg38 Woman kneels to man.
C87 Man bends for woman to place garland on his head.

1667 A47 Man and woman.
Vg39 Man and woman seated, talking.
C88 Man and woman stand; she holds his hand.
1773 C89 G. stands next to stream with boat in it.

1801 A48 G., tree, stream, lion; lady on cushion pets lion. 
     Vg40 Man, lion, lady.

1810 J15 Lady and G. sit on grass under tree, lady pets lion.

1845 A49 Mirror image of A48.
     Vg41 Man and lady.
     C90 G. sits by lady, lion is next to her; two men look on, 
          beasts behind them.

1975 A50 Lady feeds the lion the leg of a deer.
     Vg42 Man kneeling before lady; lion beside her.

2077 Vg43 G. and lion, next to stream.

2129 C91 G. in boat with oars. Lion looks on from the bank.

2204: End of poem

totals: A 26
        G 18
        Vg 31
        E 4
        C 24 (1st collaborator)
        J 6
        K 4

Le Dit de l'Alerion

1  A51 Man on horse with hunting bird. Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.
     F34 = F14. Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.
     Vg44 Noble talking to monk holding child's hand (compare 
          Vg10). Ci commence le dit de l'alerion.
     E17 G. with sword; birds in trees. Cy commance le dit des 
          .iili. oysiaulx.15
     C44 (two-col.) Forest. Man sits with bird in hand, keeps 
          other bird at bay. Nest with birds on ground 
          behind. In foreground, two men catching 
          butterflies with a net; third man has a sling.16

477 C45 G. walks by forest, appears sad.

15 Facs. Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 14.
16 Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 9.
E18 G. with sword before tree with sparrow-hawk. Four birds fly; fifth, small bird is in sparrow-hawk's claws. Comment l’amant s’en amoura de l’espervier. f. 70

775 C46 G. with stick, looks up at four birds in tree. f. 64v

863 Vg45 (2/3-col) Man looks up at bird in tree. f. 144

945 Vg46 (2/3-col.) Sparrow-hawk, bird, G. C47 Bird sits in one tree, G. climbs another. f. 145a f. 65v

1015 Vg47 (2/3-col.) G. with sparrow-hawk. f. 145b

1111 Vg48 (2/3-col.) Two men talk. C48 G. with bird in hand. f. 146a f. 66v

1151 Vg49 (2/3-col.) Man, woman, Amours. f. 146b

1307 C49 Large sparrow-hawk has smaller blue bird in claws, stands on pole between two trees. Bird handler's glove also across pole. f. 68

1495 C50 Woman (Amours) talks to G. f. 69v

1511 Vg50 (2/3-col.) Two men with birds; seated man. f. 148v

1819 C51 Three women. Venus accepts golden apple from Paris? f. 71v

2091 C52 St. Louis and knights on horses. (Expedition of Guillaume Longue-Epee.)17 f. 73v

2181 C53 St. Louis on throne. Three knights, one in armor, talk. f. 74

2401 C54 Lady with eagle on gloved hand. Man, also with glove, kneels to accept bird. Three ladies, two with red apples (Amours and Raison?), look on. f. 76

2471 Vg51 (2/3-col.) Lady with eagle, man. E19 Man with alerion on glove, hands bird to G., who has sword. Comment amours envoia l’alerion a l’amant. f. 75v

2761 C55 Man on horse scares off six birds. He has sling? f. 78v

3029 C56 Woman (Amours) talks to G. E20 Man, G. with sword, eagle. G. has finger in eagle's beak. Comment l’amant s’en amoura de l’aigle. f. 77v

3401 C57 King and others, all on horseback, watch as large blue falcon attacks brown eagle, which is cowering on bush with its wings open.

3803 C58 Woman (Raison) holding apple hits G. with stick as two women (Courtoisie and Amours) look on.

3987 E21 G. with sword; two other men, one in green, one in blue with gyrfalcon. Comment l’amant demanda le gerfaut.

4209 C59 G. with gyrfalcon in hand. About to strike at four birds on hill (one is attacking another?). Same object, sling or whip, appears in C55.

4341 C60 Woman (Raison) talks to G.

4569 C61 G. standing with bird in each hand, one large (the alerion) and one small.

4814: End of poem

totals: A 1
        F 1
        Vg 8
        E 5
        C 18 (2nd collaborator)

Le Confort d’ami

1 A52 King Charles of Navarre looks out of tower, G. talks to him. Ci aprèes commence Confort d’amy.

F35 King Charles of Navarre seated, with two men. Receives book from messenger. G. stands off to the right. Ci commence Confort d’ami.

Vg52 G., kneeling, presents book to King Charles of Navarre; two retainers stand behind the king. Ci commence confort d’amy.

E26 Elder points to nude woman (Susanna) in stream. Both look at second elder. All is within garden wall. Cy commence le confort d’amy.

J16 = A52.

57 A53 God in heaven, holds globe.

F36 Lady and bearded man kneeling. God is in upper right-hand corner.

Vg53 (3/4-col.) G., kneeling in front of king with his retainers, praying to God, who looks on, outside the upper-left frame of the miniature.
73  Vg54  (3/4-col.) Susanna between two men.

83  A54  Three women watch as two women bathe in stream; fourth woman is undressing.
    F37  Two elders hide; stream; Susanna with two maids, one going into chateau.
    Vg55  Susanna, Ioachim and three others(?).

135  Vg56  Susanna and two maids.

161  A55  Two elder judges and Susanna.
    F38  Elder talks to Susanna. Other elder goes into chateau.
    Vg57  (3/4-col.) Two elders, Susanna.

181  A56  Two elder judges watch as Susanna prays to God, who is in upper right of picture.
    F39  Two men sit on chest. One man presents Susanna, others gathered around.
    Vg58  Susanna, elders and courtiers(?).

199  Vg59  Susanna kneels, four men stand over her.

221  Vg60  Two elders and Susanna before judges on bench.

253  A57  [liii] Susanna stands among judges.
    F40  Group; Susanna in white, kneeling and praying to hill.
         Two men behind.
    Vg61  (3/4-col.) Susanna prays to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

273  A58  [liii] Two men about to toss Susanna into fire; elder judges look on.
    F41  Group; one woman holds baby Daniel. Susanna in white has hands tied, led by a man.
    Vg62  Groups look on from both sides; Susanna with hands tied.

329  F42  Group, child Daniel, man.
    Vg63  Elders, two men (one is Daniel?).

330  A59  Group to left. Woman holds child Daniel. Two elder judges look on.

351  Vg64  Group of men talk to Daniel(?). Angel with sword about to strike group.

357  A60  Group joins woman and child Daniel, against the two elder judges.
    F43  Elder on left. Group and child talk to elder on right. Angel with sword is about to strike the elder on the right.

393  Vg65  Group looks up to God.

[vv. 73-410: Story of Susanna]

[vv. 451-646: The fiery furnace. Daniel iii]
481 A61 Nebuchadnezzar and bearded Daniel.  
F44 Nebuchadnezzar and group point to naked gold statue.  
Vg66 Group speaks to King Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel(?) sits behind king.

513 A62 [lviii] Musicians (two harps and two trumpets) play to statue. Other people worship it.  
F45 Musicians (vielle, harp, trumpet) play to golden statue.  
Vg67 Group prays to nude statue.

545 Vg68 King talks to group of three men (Sidrach, Misach, Abdenago). Nude statue behind.

565 A63 Three men in furnace. Two men fan flames with bellows.  
F46 King Nebuchadnezzar directs as three men are thrown into fiery pit.  
Vg69 King points as three men led away.

583 F47 Three calm men in furnace, with angel. Three outside suffer.  
Vg70 Three men in furnace.

619 A64 Three men in furnace with angel.  
F48 = A64; Fire is out, king and two men approach.

624 Vg71 Three men and king kneel to God.

633 E27 Two men and king in fire, while King Nebuchadnezzar and two men watch. Angel above. Comment nabugodonosor fist mettre les .iii. juis en la fornaise ardant.

[vv. 661-954: Baltasar's vision. Daniel v.1·30]

671 Vg72 King and men at banquet table. Two strange men look on from behind.

719 E28 King, queen and man at banquet table. Hand is writing on wall with pen. Comment le roy balthasar vit la main qui escrisoit.

753 A65 Baltasar with scepter, Daniel.  
F49 = A65.  
Vg73 King Baltasar rejects words of bearded man, while group looks on.

943 Vg74 Men wielding swords (the rest illegible).  
[vv. 955-1287: Daniel in the lions' den. Daniel vi]

955 Vg75 Daniel(?), King Darius and three men.

1045 Vg76 Three men kneel to King Darius.

1057 A66 King Darius; three bearded men accusing Daniel.
F50 Three bearded men kneeling to King Darius, pointing to two men in background. One of these (Daniel) is being accused. 
Vg77 Daniel praying to God; two men inform King Darius. 

1089 A67 Daniel in pit, unharmed, with six lions. 
F51 Daniel, naked, dropped into pit with two lions, while king and two men look on. 
Vg78 Daniel in tower (with lion?). 

1131 A68 King and man cover mouth of pit containing Daniel (no lions visible.) 
F52 Nude Daniel and lions happy. Angel carrying by the hair a bearded man (Habakkuk) holding a pot. 
Vg79 Angel carries Habakkuk by the hair. 

1155 Vg80 Daniel in tower with lions; Habakkuk offers jug. 

1157 A69 Angel flying, carrying Habakkuk by his hair. He has stew pot. 

1193 A70 Angel lets Habakkuk with his pot down by the pit containing Daniel. 
F53 King Darius comes up to the pit, finding nude Daniel and lions happy. 
Vg81 King, Daniel, lion. 
E29 Cf. F53; King points to semi-nude Daniel. Comment le roys daries vit daniel en la fosse au Lyons. 

1225 F54 Darius directs as man with rope and pulley frees Daniel from the pit. 
Vg82 King Darius points to bearded man; lions behind. 

1245 F55 King Darius points as another man throws Daniel's accusers to lions. Lions eat men. 
Vg83 King points as Daniel's accusers are eaten by lions. 

1257 A71 King Darius watches as lions eat Daniel's accusers. 

[vv. 1353-1548: Manasseh. 2 Paralipomenon xxxiii] 
1421 A72 Manasseh sitting in tower, irons on ankles. 
F56 King Manasseh in tower, praying. 
Vg84 = F56. 

1979 J17 God looks down from corner, smiling. Comment le Roy salomon requeroit a dieu qu'il le gardast de grant richesse et de grant povrete. 

[vv. 2277-2352; 2517-2632: Orpheus and Eurydice] 
2277 A73 Man bends and looks at bearded man inside tower. 
F57 Orpheus with harp plays for Eurydice, who is held by two devils coming from hell.
Vg85 Tonsured Orpheus lays harp; Orgueil, Envie and Tricherie comb their hair.  

[vv. 2353-2516: Rape of Proserpina]

2517 A74 Pluto, as king devil, galloping away on horse holding Proserpina.  
F58 Harpist; nude Tantalus in water with tree.  
Vg86 Harpist; two other men sit, one next to stream.  

2535 A75 F57, but only one devil.  
F59 Three women (Danaides) with buckets next to river.  

Vg87 Orpheus looks at Euridice with mirror(?). Three women (Danaides?) look on, one is queen.  

2645 A76 Orpheus cudgeled and stoned by five Maenads.  
F60 Paris holds arm of Helen leaving temple.  
Vg88 Orpheus holds Eurydice's arm. Gates of hell behind.  

[vv. 2683-2742: Hercules' combat with Achelous]

2683 A77 Knights in boat with Paris help Helen on board; she has come from castle.  
F61 Knight (Hercules) hits bull (Achelous) on the head.  
Vg89 Women watch as bearded Hercules strikes at Achelous with his sword.  

3979 Vg90 (Min. only six text-lines tall) Man in bed.  

4004: End of poem

totals: A 26  
F 27  
Vg 39  
E 4  
J 2

Dit de la Fonteinne amoureuse

1 A78 G. at desk, writing with pen in left hand, scraper in right. Le livre de la fonteinne amoureuse.  
F62 G. looks at fountain. Ci commence le dit de la fonteinne amoureuse.  
Vg91 Man sits and looks at fountain. Ci commence le dit de la fonteinne amoureuse.  
E22 G. at desk, writing. Pen case and ink well on desk. Cy commence le livre morpheus.  

18 See Hoepffner, Oeuvres, III, ix, n.
Next to cistern, Paris kneels and gives apple to one (Venus) of three women. Man with bird perched on hand looks on.  
55 A79 G. asleep in fancy bed.  
F63 G. in bed.  
Vg92 Bearded man (duke?) in bed, lady looks on.  

[before the Complaince d'amant]  
Vg93 Man takes leave of woman. *Vecy la complainte de l'amant.*  

[f. 155v]  
235 A80 G. in his room taking dictation of complainte from duke, who is outside. *La complainte de l'amant.*  
F64 G. with arms crossed, in forest.  

[vv. 543-698: Ceyx and Alcyone]  
Vg94 Bearded man (duke?) in bed, lady looks on.  

[f. 157c]  
539 A81 Man alone (duke brooding?).  
F65 Queen (Juno or Alcyone) in bedroom, holds mouth.  
Vg94 Ceyx under water.  

[f. 122c]  
555 F66 Alcyone kneels to Queen Juno.  
Vg95 = F66  

[f. 200c]  
571 A82 King Ceyx drowned in lake. Queen Alcyone supplicates Juno.  
F67 Juno, Alcyone; Iris (angel) kneels.  
Vg96 King (God of Sleep?) sits. Angel (Iris?) kneels to him.  

[f. 157d]  
587 A83 Iris (angel) flys over Juno (queen) in bed, accepts message to take to God of Sleep.  

[f. 122d]  
F68 Iris (angel) flys over lake.  
Vg97 Iris (angel) flys over building.  
J19 God of Sleep asleep on grass. *Le massage venus fait au dieu de sommeil.*  
K10 = J19.  

[f. 201a]  
603 A84 Iris (angel) flys over God of Sleep, who is sleeping in castle next to river.  
F69 Iris (angel) standing in king's bedroom. King (God of Sleep) is asleep.  
Vg98 Angel kneels to dozing God of Sleep; courtiers look on.  

[f. 158b]  
619 A85 G. half asleep, sitting on bed.  
F70 God of Sleep wakes up and sees Iris. Little sprites under bed.  
Vg99 God of Sleep in bed. Spirits fly overhead.  

20 Facs. of A83-85 (fol. 158r) in Loomis, A Mirror, Pl. 46.
651 A86 Morpheus comes in the shape of Ceyx to Alcyone, who is asleep.  
F71 God of Sleep sits up in bed, talks to son. (Morpheus).  
Vg100 Morpheus kneels to his father, the God of Sleep.  

667 A87 King Ceyx and Queen Alcyone standing to right of water, two sea birds above the water.  
F72 Morpheus in the shape of Ceyx in boat floats next to Queen Alcyone, who is sitting up in bed.  
Vg101 Queen Alcyone in bed, Morpheus in the shape of Ceyx kneels to her.  

811 A88 Man (G.?) puts garland on another man's head (duke's?), who is sitting on bed asleep.  
F73 Duke kneels to God of Love.  

1075 A89 Duke with hunting bird; G. points to entry of building.  
F74 Lady, duke with bird and G. in bedroom.  
Vg102 Duke with bird, G. facing him.  

1135 A90 Chateau and two courtiers; duke approaches with boy, dog, horse and sparrow hawk; G. behind.  
F75 Duke presents horse, sparrow hawk and dog to lady.  
Vg103 Duke with bird; G. points to dog and horse.  

1205 Vg104 G. kneeling to duke(?).  

1313 A91 G. and duke before fountain.  
F76 = A91.  
J20 Man and woman aboard boat in water. La maniere et les contenances de la fontaine.  

1333 A92 Detail of fountain shows mythological figures on it.  
F77 G. and duke; fountain with twelve-headed dragon on it.  
Vg105 Knights mounted on horses, fighting with swords.  

1371 A93 Fountain with figures on it, trees around.  
F78 = F77, but men sitting.  
Vg106 G. and duke look into well.  
E23 Fountain. G. talks to duke. Comment l'amant et l'amie regardent la fontaine.  

1511 A94 Well-dressed duke talking to G.  
F79 Duke receives written-out comp||ainte from G.  
Vg107 Duke receives scroll from G.  

1609 A95 G. and duke asleep next to fountain. Duke is covered by G.'s robe.  

21 Facs. of A86-87 (fol. 158v) in Loomis, A Mirror, Pl. 47.
F80 Duke asleep, lying with G. and wrapped with G.'s robe, next to fountain. Queen Venus holds golden apple, lady stands behind her. f. 128v
Vg108 G. and duke asleep next to fountain; Venus looks on. f. 208

[vv. 1633-2144: Judgement of Paris]

1715 A96 Four queens at table. Discord presents golden apple "a la plus bele." f. 166
F81 Three queens (Pallas, Juno, Venus) at banquet table. Discord holds golden apple, courtier looks on. f. 129
Vg109 Three women (Pallas, Juno, Venus) sit, Discord looks on. f. 208v

1851 A97 Woman in tower, man in basket hung from tower. Two men with torches, one sets fire to woman's dress. f. 167
F82 Three queens. Mercury offers golden apple to shepherd Paris. Cows and sheep round about. f. 129v
Vg110 Three women stand before shepherd Paris. f. 209v

2125 A98 Paris with dog gives apple labeled "pulchriori dei" to one of three queens. f. 169a
F83 Paris gives golden apple labeled "belle" to first of three queens. f. 131a
Vg111 Paris and three women. f. 211

2145 A99 Fountain; G. and duke still asleep. f. 169a
F84 Venus with lady come to duke asleep on hill. f. 131b
Vg112 Man asleep. Woman talks to another man. f. 211v

[before the Confort de l'amant et de la dame]

2207 A100 Two women, fountain, duke. Le confort de l'amant et de la dame. f. 169v
F85 Lady holds hand of duke as Venus looks on. Le confort de venus. Et de la dame. f. 131v
Vg113 Duke is awake. Venus and lady talk. f. 212
E24 Venus and lady stand at fountain. G. asleep across lap of duke. Comment venus et la dame reconfortent l'amant. f. 89

[after Confort de l'amant et de la dame]

2527 F86 G. and duke wash hands at fountain. f. 133
Vg114 Two men at fountain, duke washes hands. f. 214

2745 A101 G. and duke at fountain. f. 173a
F87 G., duke; knight kneels to duke. f. 134
Vg115 Knight kneels to G. and duke. f. 215c
E25 Duke and G. seated next to fountain. Comment l'amy conforte l'amant. f. 90v

2789 A102 Three men in boat, one of whom (duke) bids farewell to G. on horse. f. 173b
F88 G. riding on horse with duke next to water. f. 134v
Vg116 Duke gives out money before leaving. f. 215d

2848: End of poem
totals: A  25
       F  27
       Vg 26
       E  4
       J  3
       K  1

Le dit de la harpe

1  A103  King David plays harp, woman listens. (f. 173v:) Ci après commence le dit de la harpe.
      F89  Man plays harp for queen. Ci commence le dit de la harpe.
      Vg117  Man(?) plays harp.
      E30  Woman plays harp next to cistern, three birds in trees.

31  A104  = A75, but three devils, hell with crenelations, Eurydice more distant.
      F90  = F57, Orpheus; Eurydice held by two devils, hell behind castle wall.

83  F91  King David plays harp.

111  A105  King David playing harp for God, who has halo and ball-shaped sceptre.
       F92  Two courtiers, queen.

129  A106  Woman avoided by three men.
       F93  Man with scourge galloping on horse with red straps.

143  A107  Man on horse with red straps.
       F94  Lady plays harp for another lady (Debonnaireté and her sister Humilité).

157  A108  Two women talk (Debonnaireté and her sister Humilité).
       F95  Two women shake hands (Honnesté and her sister Verité).

165  A109  Two women again (Honnesté and Verité), smaller and cruder.
       F96  Two ladies passing out loaves of bread from basket to beggars (Charité and her sister Pité).

175  A110  Two women (Charité and Pité) handing out alms to the poor and infirm.
       F97  Three ladies (Jeunesse and her sisters Deduit and Leèssé).

187  A111  Man in middle holds hands of two ladies (Jeunesse and Deduit or Leèssé) (cf. F97).
       F98  Crippled rich man walking with crutch.
197  A112  Three women (Pais, Sante, Richesse) admire
   curly-headed fourth woman (Jeunesse).
   Noblesse and sisters Franchise and Gentillesse; one
   holds harp.

207  A113  Hooded woman between two men, one has hunting bird (=
   Franchise, Gentillesse and Noblesse?).
   Two women (Richesse and Largesse) hold hands.

221  A114  Queen with hooded woman who displays her set of small
   gold balls on strings. (Richesse and Largesse).
   Man kneels to four women who are seated (Simplesse,
   Doubtance de meffaire, Honte, and Amour).

223  A115  Four women, one with hood, one with wild hair
   (Simplesse, Doubtance de meffaire, Honte, and Amour).
   Five women (Avis, Congnoissance, Grace, Maintieng,
   and Maniere); minstrel plays harp.

285  A116  Hooded woman sits on throne.
   Queen stands, G. kneels.

354:  End of poem

totals:  A  14
        F  15
        Vg  1
        E  1

Voir Dit

1  A119  Messenger doffs hat and hands message "a Guillem" to
   G.  Ci commence le livre dou Voir dit.
   G. and messenger out of doors, hold out hands to each
   other.  Ci commence le livre du voir dit.
   G. in blue with skullcap, reclining in garden.
   Bearded messenger has message.  Cy commance le livre
   du voir dit.

   [before Peronne's Rond.]

169  F105  G. accepts message from messenger.  Rondel. la dame.

   [after G.'s reply Rond.]

315  A120  Messenger bids farewell to G.  l'aman.
   G. looks at messenger; holds message.  (f. 139r:)
   l'aman.

   [before B32]
571 F107 G. in bed, accepts message from man. L’amant.
   .Balade et y a chant.
   [after Peronne’s Rond.]

637 A121 G. in bed, accepts message "a Guillaume" from
   messenger. L’amant.
   F108 Toute belle, in bed, reads message; messenger also
   present.
   [after letter II (IV in Paris ed.]

1003 A122 Three men on horses. G.’s has no red straps.
   F109 G. on horse.
   [after letter IV (VI in Paris ed.)]

1228 A123 Messenger gives message "a ma dame" to Toute belle.
   F110 Toute belle standing next to bed reading message.
   Girl there too.
   [before Complainte]

1250 A124 Toute belle, hand over breast, sits in bed. la dame
   .. Complainte.
   F111 Toute belle stands next to bed, hands clasped, looks
   at girl. La dame. Complainte.

1384 A125 Messenger gives image of Toute belle to G.
   F112 G. kneels next to bed, hands clasped towards image of
   Toute belle.
   [after letter X]

1503 A126 = A122, Group approaches castle. L’amant.
   F113 G. on horseback, approaches church. L’amant.

2245 A127 Toute belle stands, G. sits with pen and ballade with
   music, labeled "balade."
   F114 G. sits, Toute belle asleep across his lap, secretary
   there.
   [after Rond.]

2623 A128 Three women approach on horseback. G. looking out of
   church, frightened. L’amant.
   F115 Two women (including Toute belle) approach on
   horseback. Secretary points to them for G., who
   stands surprised at the door of the church. L’amant.
   [after Rond.]

2891 A129 G., Toute belle, and G.’s secretary, outside. L’amant.
   F116 Toute belle and G. sit far apart on bench, messenger
   peeks.
   [after Rond.]

3712 F117 Toute belle nude in bed, girl at side. G. at end of
   bed, kneeling with hands clasped.
G. and Toute belle on bed, queen (Venus) to the side envelops them in a blue cloud of smoke.  
F118 G. embraces Toute belle under tree. Queen in heaven (Venus) looks on. *L'amant.*

[after Rond.]

Four women and Toute belle approach G., all on horseback. *L'amant.*


G. hands book (lai) to messenger. *L'amant.*

[after letter XXVI]

Queen Semiramis. Man talking to Queen on throne. *Vostre loyal amie* (added in grey ink, by different scribe).

Queen Semiramis stands next to bed. Man with spear kneels, three men stand.

[Messenger gives G. a message: "a Guil."  
G. stands with open box that has gold things in it. *L'amant.*

G. sleeping, image of Toute belle has its back turned to him.

Five people being lectured by king. *Le Roy qui ne ment.*  
Four people gathered around king, G. apart, petitions king.

G. approaches king on throne.  
King talks to G.  
King talks to G. *l'amant.*  
G. kneels next to bed, hands clasped toward image of Toute belle; messenger also present. (f. 175:) *l'amant.*

Toute belle sits on bed. *l'amant.*  
=A136. *l'amant.*

[Assassination of Julius Caesar]

*Hairline writing below col. a: "Ung roy assis et laches chaut agenouix devant li." This is the only visible written direction to an illuminator I have found in any of the Machaut MSS.*
Three men with knives attack and kill Caesar, another looks on. [erasure of earlier sketch is visible]

G. gives message to messenger. L'amant.

Nude Leander swimming in water, Hero in tower looks on. [erasure].

G. dictates to secretary, who writes.

Polyphemus on shore sinks sailboat in lake. [erasure: figures left out?]

Polyphemus on shore with hook tips boat on lake. Acis and Galatea aboard.

Woman dressed in green points to heart. Labels:
biens et eects (head) longe et prope (heart) mors et vita (feet). l'ymage de vraie amour.

Woman in green points to her heart (dress open):
L'ymage de vraie amour.

Woman with cloak with gold writing on it ("a mort et a vie"). Comment li ancien paignoient l'ymage du dieu d'amours.

G. putting image of Toute belle into trunk. Comment l'amant emprisonna l'image de toute bele.

G. locking trunk. Comment l'amant emprisonna L'ymage de toute bele.

Image of Toute belle. Comment l'image de toute belle se complaime a l'amant.

G. in bed, image of Toute belle wringing its hands at foot of bed. Comment l'ymage de toute belle Se complaint a l'amant.

Black raven and white raven. Comment li corbiaus blans fu muez en plume noire.

Coronis and page embrace. Two black birds fly overhead. Comment li corbiaus blans Fu mues en plume noire.

Two black birds; crow flies up at the raven. (f. 294a:) Comment la corneille reprist et chastia le corbel.

Black bird in tree. Woman (Aglanros) opens a trunk, finds two-headed monster (Erichthonius).

Bearded man (Apollo) shakes finger at black bird, which flies off.

G. asleep in bed, image of Toute belle at foot of bed. L'ymage de toute bele.
8179 A146  G. with trunk open, holds image of Toute belle.
   Comment l'amant desprinoa l'image de toute belle.  f. 296v

F138 G. opening trunk, image of Toute belle inside.
   Comment l'amant desprisonna l'image de toute belle.  f. 192

8239 A147  [xxiii(?)] (two-col., large format) Lady Fortune with
   four small wheels inside large wheel.  Comment
   Titus livius descrips  l'ymage de fortune.  f. 297

F139  Fortune with large gold wheel and four small wheels;
   people look on.  (192r:)  Comment tytus livius
   descrips  L'ymage de Fortune.  f. 192v

E34 = A, but writing on wheels in French.  (206r:)
   Comment tytus livius descrips  l'ymage de fortune.  f. 206v

J24  Lady Fortune in large wheel, surrounded by three
   small wheels.  Comment titus livius figure
   l'ymage de fortune.  f. 147v

K12 = J24.  Comment titus livius figure l'ymage de fortune.  f. 133[98]

8652 A148  [xviii?] (two-col., large format) Two-headed Fortune
   with wheel.  Five women stand above five cisterns.
   Comment li paien figuroient l'ymage de fortune.  f. 301v

F140 = A, but crude.  Comment li paien figuroient l'ymage
   de toute bele.  f. 195v

E35  Two-headed Fortune (man and woman) with wheel.  Five
   streams open below.  (208r:)  Comment li paien
   figuroient l'ymage de fortune.  f. 208v

J25  Two-headed Fortune inside wheel.  Comment les paiens
   contrefirent l'ymage de fortune a .ij. visages.  f. 150

K13 = J25.  Comment les paiens figurent l'ymage de fortune.  f. 135

9037:  End of poem (P. Paris's count)

totals: A 30  
      F 37  
      E 4  
      J 2  
      K 2  

23  Facs. in Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés," Fig. 10 (cf. Fig. 16 for

24  A different hand has added the Latin inscriptions to the bottom
   margin, translating what is given in French in the text:  "Primum signum erat
   si aqua foncium inciperet movere.  Secundum si inciperet affluere.  Tertium
   si inciperet tumestere.  Quartum si inciperet clarescit.  Quintum si
   inciperet totalo evanesceire.  Avril believes that the Latin inscriptions for
   A147 and A148 could not have been furnished by the illuminator, that the
   exact indications must have been supplied by the author ("Les manuscrits
   enluminés," pp. 131-32), see n. 181 above, p. 91.
Le Dit de la Marguerite

1 A118 King (Peter I de Lusignan, King of Cyprus) kneels to seated woman with flowers painted on her dress. *(f. 213:) Ci commence le dit de la marguerite.*

F141 Well-dressed man offers rose to woman. *(ci commence le dit de la marguerite.)*

Le Dit de la Rose

1 A150 G. finds rose in middle of thorny bush.

Vezci les biens, etc.

1 A151 Man talks to woman. *Vez ci les biens que ma dame me fait Pour amender moy m’onner et mon fait.*

La Prise d’Alexandrie

1 A149 (two-col.) Knights come from ships, attack castle. *(Ci commence li livre de la prise d’alexandre.)*

G142 Queen angel (Amour), surrounded by lady angels and knight. Heavens shown.

E36 Woman in childbed. Two women wash baby in wooden tub, third woman looks on *(birth of King Peter I de Lusignan).* 

Vg118 = A149 (but one-col.).

5004 E37 Battle of knights against Moslems. Knights hold banner with image of queen (Notre Dame) with child. *(Comment les cretisien desploierent une beniere de notre dame.)*

7896 E38 Two kings on thrones (Peter I and the Pope), bearded man with sword kneeling *(Florimont, sire de Lesparre).* Three look on. *(Comment l’acort fu du roy de chipre et de l’esparre.)*

8886: End of poem *(Mas Latrie’s count)*

totals: A 1
        G 1

*25* Facs. in Loomis, *A Mirror*, Pl. 103.
La Loange des Dames

Lo1  A117 Lady seated on hill, G. kneeling and praying to her.  
     *Les Balades ou il n’a point de chant.*
     f. 177v

G143 G. at writing desk, pointing to open book.  
     *Ci commence la loange des dames.*
     f. 45

Vg1  = G143, G. looking out at reader.  
     *Ci commence les Balades ou li n’a point de chant.*
     f. 1

C92  G. sitting under tree, writing on narrow scroll.  
     Four other scrolls scattered on ground.
     f. 121

Jl   Man with arms crossed walks beside three trees.
     f. 1[1]

K1   = Jl, only two trees.
     f. 1

D1   G. seated at writing desk, writing in book.  
     *Ci commence le livre de mestre Guillaume De loris.*
     f. 1

Lo67 Vg2 Man giving something to woman.²⁶
     f. 11

Lo94 Vg3 = Vg2, same figures, different attitudes.
     f. 14

Lo109 Vg4 Woman holding dog, man looks on.
     f. 16

totals:  A 1
         G 1
         Vg 4
         C 1 (2nd collaborator)
         J 1
         K 1

Complaintes

No.1 G144 G. kneels to queen angel (Amours).  
     *Ci commence les complaintes.*
     f. 67

Vg5  G. holding scroll, Amours holds out hand towards it.
     f. 31

E2   G. kneels to queen angel (cf. Amour of Prologue).  
     *After miniature: Complainte d’amant.*
     f. 13

D2   G. kneels to queen angel, who holds three arrows.  
     *Comme l’atteur se complaint au dieu d’amours et est agenouz devant lui.*
     f. 38v

²⁶ This and the following two miniatures in Vg fill in small blanks left by lacking third strophes of some ballades. Two similar blanks later in the *Loange* were not filled, in Lo136 and 164.
No. 3 Vg6
E3 G. kneeling to man (Henry). *Complainte de Guillaume machaut.*
D3 G. points to his hand, talks to knight. Comment l'atueur se complaint du temps qu'il voit.

No. 4 E4
Woman sitting next to cistern watching white dog with bone. *Complainte de dame.*

No. 6 E5
Man kneeling, hat doffed to lady. *Complainte d'amant.*

totals:
G 1
Vg 2
E 4
D 2

**Rondeaux in Loange (MS E only)**

Lo27 E6 *Rondiau.* Group of six people standing around barrel, singing from *rotulus* (cf. A154, to Motets).27

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**Dit de la Fleur de lis et de la Marguerite**

G Not illustrated.

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**Lays**

L1 A152 Noble in supplicating pose to woman.28 f. 367
G145 G. at desk, writing lay. Text given in book: "Loyaute que point ne delay wet sans delay que fe[ce]." Ci commence les lays." f. 74
E31 Group of five singing from book, in garden. f. 107
C92 Lady points to G., who is seated on the ground, writing on long scroll.29 f. 165


28 See Figure 3.4 above, Chap. 3.

29 Silvia Huot, "The Illuminated Series of Lays," points out that the lady in this illustration wears a scarf fluttering in the air, recalling the similar depiction of the allegorical Lady Hope in several illustrations in the *Remede* in MS C. It seems possible to me that the scarf motif serves to mark her as an allegorical figure, in this case, Loyaute.
L2 C94 Man standing in valley between two flowery hills.  f. 168v
L3 C95 G. sitting on ground, writing on long scroll.  f. 170
*L4 C96 Group of ladies and nobles. One lady points to G., who is holding long roll with the lai.  f. 173
L5 C97 Man stands next to tree.  f. 174
L6 C98 Man stands and points to the text with one finger.  f. 176v
L7 C99 Man stands next to tree.  f. 179
L10 C100 Lady stands alone, arms crossed.  f. 181v
L12 C101 Bearded man looks at bush: another man hiding in it.  f. 184
L22 C102 Man gestures to lady, she holds out her hands.  f. 187
J4 Funeral. Woman in black robe with black hood, sits on small wooden bench next to black-draped coffin.  f. 45
L14 C103 Lady stands alone with arms crossed. Man out of frame of miniature, to the right of the text residuum for L22, points to her. He is holding a blue flower.  f. 189
*L11 C104 Inverse design of C103. Man holds blue flower. Lady in right margin, out of frame of miniature, points to him.  f. 191
*L13 C105 Man standing before group of four ladies and a man.  f. 192v
*L8 C106 G. sits on ground, writing on a scroll. Woman observes from behind castle wall.  f. 194v
*L9 C107 Lady addresses a group of three other ladies.  f. 196

(*: lai without music)

totals:  A 1
         G 1
         E 1
         C 15 (2nd collaborator)

Motets

\[30 \text{ See n. } 514 \text{ above.} \]
M1 A153 Drunken group gathered around barrel, drinking and
singing from roll (cf. E6, to Rondeaux in Loange). f. 414v
G--- [room was left for min., two staves entered instead.] f. 102v

Ballades

B1 A154 Man and woman embracing inside 'S' of "S'amours"
G146 Man gestures to lady. (f. 133v:) *Ci commence les
balades notees.* f. 454

totals: A 1
G 1

Rondeaux

R1 G147 Woman seated outdoors, man gestures to her. (f.
149v:) *Ci commencent li Ronesaulz.* f. 150

Virelais

V1 G148 Man gestures to lady. (f. 154:) *Ci commencent les
chansons baladees.* f. 154v
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