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Papal Polyphony during the Great Western Schism (1378–1417):

How Music Dedicated to Popes Absorbed and Reflected a Time of Crisis

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

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Manuscript Sigla and Abbreviations

Manuscript Sigla

Aachen14	Aachen, Öffentliche Bibliothek (Stadtbibliothek), Beis E 14
Agostino34	Roma, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Agostiniani in S. Agostino, busta 34
Ang1067	Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, 1067
Ao	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, 15 ('Aosta Codex')
Apt	Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, 16bis ('Apt Codex')
AscoliPiceno142	Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato Ascoli Piceno, Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino, 142
Atri17	Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Frammento 17 (*olim* Archivio Capitolare, Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento no. 5)
Au64	Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ES 64
Barc971	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M. 971
BaStQ1	Basel, Staatsarchiv, Fragmente Klosterarchiv St. Clara Q 1
BAV1419	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1419
Ba71	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F.IX Nr 71 (*olim* Musikfragment I)
Ba72	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, N.I.6 Nr 72 (*olim* Musikfragment II)
Be	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. A 471 (host volume: Cod. A 421) ('Berner Chansonnierfragment')
Belf	Belfast, Queen's University Library Special Collections, 1/21(1)
BL3988	London, British Library, Harley 3988
BresciaC.VI.5	Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, C.VI.5
CaB	Cambrai, Le Labo (*olim* Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai and Bibliothèque municipale/Bibliothèque communale), B 1328
CaB447	Cambrai, Le Labo (*olim* Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai and Bibliothèque municipale/Bibliothèque communale), B 447 (mirror image offsets of **CaB**)
Casanatense522	Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 522
Ch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, 564 (*olim* 1047) ('Chantilly Codex')
Cividale63/98	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LXIII and XCVIII (possibly from the same manuscript as **Udine22**; see Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments': 272, and Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 59)
Cividale79	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LXXIX
Cortona1/2	Cortona, Archivio Storico del Comune, Frammenti Musicali 1&2
Cu5943	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 5943

Egidi	Formerly in Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, without shelfmark (lost) ('Egidi Fragment')
EscA	San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Palacio Real, Monasterio de San Lorenzo, V.III.24
Foligno	Foligno, Archivio di Stato (*olim* Biblioteca Comunale, Sala A), without shelfmark
FP	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26
Fribourg	Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, LE 15/3 (*olim* Z260)
Frosinone	Frosinone, Archivio di Stato, Collezione delle pergamene 266 (31) and 267 (38)
Gdańsk2315	Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (*olim* Stadtbibliothek), 2315 (lost)
Groningen70	Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Inc. 70
GRss	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, without shelfmark
Gr133	Gent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, 133
GR219	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 219 (*olim* 374 or E.β.XVI)
GR224	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (*olim* 197), and Hanover (NH), Dartmouth College Library, Rauner Special Collections 2387
Gr3360	Gent, Rijksarchief, Varia D.3360 A ('Ter Haeghen')
Guardiagrele	Guardiagrele, Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, 2 and 3 (volumes two and three of a three-volume Gradual) (both lost)
GudI/Mons	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, St Gudule I, and Mons (Belgium), Collection privée F. Leclercq, MS s.s. (**Mons** is the lower folio half of the fragment **GudI**)
Hei	Heiligenkreuz, Archiv des Zisterzienserstifts (Bibliothek des Zisterzienserstifts), without shelfmark
Hel215	Helmond**,** Gemeentearchief, Rechterlijk Archief Helmond 1396–1810, Inv. no. 215
Houghton122	Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ 122
Iv	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115 ('Ivrea Codex')
Lei2515 (1)	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 2515 (1)
Lei2720	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 2720
Lei342A	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, L.T.K. 342A
Lo	London, British Library, Add. 29987
LoF	London, British Library, Add. 40011 B ('Fountains Fragments')
LoT	London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxiv
Ltna	London, The National Archives, E 163/22/1/24
Lu	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 184, and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ('Mancini Codex' or 'Lucca Codex')
Melk391	Melk, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, 391
Melk749	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 749 (*olim* 542 and K12, and others)

Melk950	Melk, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, 950
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24
Mons	See **GudI**
MuEm	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14274 (‘Codex Sankt Emmeram’)
Mu15611	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15611
Mu3223	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. 3223
Nur9	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9 (from Centurio V, 61)
Nur9a	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9a (from Centurio III, 25)
Ox213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 213
Ox229	See **PadA**
Ox56	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 56 (*olim* S.C.19042)
PadA	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684, 1475 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 229 (‘PadA’)
PadD	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 675, 1106, 1225, and 1283 (‘PadD’)
Paris4917	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 4917
Parma	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75, n. 26 ex convento LXXXV (S. Servino di Piacenza) reg. n. 52
Perugia2	Perugia, Biblioteca della Sala del Dottorato dell’Università degli Studi di Perugia, Inc. 2 (*olim* Cas. 3, Incunabulo inv. 15755 N.F.) (‘Cialini Fragment’)
Pg9	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, XI.E.9
Pg12	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, I.E.12
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, italien 568
PR	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr 6771 (‘Reina Codex’)
Q.1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.1
Q.15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15 (*olim* Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q.15; *olim* Liceo Musicale 37)
Siena207	Siena, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti Musicali busta n. 1, ins. n. 11 (*olim* 326 and 327 a.k.a. Frammenti Musicali N. 207) (‘Siena Fragments’)
SL2211	Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (‘San Lorenzo Palimpsest’)
Sq	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87 (‘Codex Squarcialupi’)
Str	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Ville), 222 C.22 (destroyed in 1870)
TodiCarità	Todi, Biblioteca Comunale Lorenzo Leoni, Fondo Congregazione di Carità Istituto dei Sartori (*olim* ex. O. p. Sarti n. 83)
Tongeren490	Tongeren, Stadtsarchief, Fonds begijnhof 490
Trastevere4	Roma, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Fondo S. Maria in Trastevere, Arm. I, Cell. A, n. 3, ord. IV (lost)

Trém	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190 (‘Trémoïlle’) (index of lost manuscript)
Tr1563	Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1563
Tr87	Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1374 (*olim* 87) (‘Trent 87’)
TurinJ.II.9	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 (‘Cypriot-French’)
Turin2	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (‘Boverio Codex’)
Udine22	Udine, Archivio di Stato, Frammento 22 (possibly from the same manuscript as **Cividale63/98**; see Cuthbert, ‘Trecento Fragments’, 272, and Di Bacco/Nádas, ‘The Papal Chapels’, 59)
Utr37	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846) (= Utr37.I–III; see Fankhauser, ‘Recycling Reversed’, 11)
VatS42	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capp. Sist. 42
VB8b	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cisterciáckého kláštera, 8b (‘Hohenfurter Liederbuch’)
Ven145	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IX. 145 (*olim* 1120/128; 280; 7554)
Vienna15	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 15.494
Vienna1953B	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 1953.B
Vienna406	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragm. 406 Han
Vorau380	Vorau, Bibliothek des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts, Vorau, 380
Wash	Washington, Library of Congress, M.2.1 C6 1400 Case
Wa378	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, lat.F.I.378 (destroyed in 1944)
WolkA	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777 (‘Wolkenstein A’)
WolkB	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, without shelfmark (‘Wolkenstein-Rodeneck Codex’, ‘Wolkenstein B’)

Non-musical Sources

Altercatio	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 688
Arundel 117	London, British Library, Arundel 117
Ascende calve prophecies	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13648
Baldana	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 1194
Grandes Chroniques	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2813
Graz Notary treatise	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 708
Host volume Ba71	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, FA VIII 28
Host volume Ba72	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Frey-Gryn O VIII 11
Host volumes Lei2720	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1407 D 6-8
Papal Miscellany	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14643
Philadelphia15	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, French 15

Abbreviations

CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae; specific volume numbers are referenced within the text or a footnote. Complete information is provided in the bibliography. CMM 11.1= Reaney 1955 CMM 11.2 = Reaney 1959 CMM 11.5 = Reaney 1975 CMM 11.6 = Reaney 1977 CMM 11.7 = Reaney 1983 CMM 35.2 = Mixter 1971 CMM 39 = Günther 1965 CMM 53.1 = Apel 1970 CMM 53.3 = Apel 1972
Ct	Contratenor
CtcumST	Contratenor cum Solo Tenore
DIAMM	Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (https://www.diamm.ac.uk/)
Mot	Motetus
PMFC	Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century; specific volume numbers are referenced within the text or a footnote. Complete information is provided in the bibliography. PMFC 5 = Harrison 1968 PMFC 8 = Marrocco 1972 PMFC 10 = Marrocco 1977 PMFC 12 = von Fischer/Gallo 1976 PMFC 13 = von Fischer/Gallo 1987 PMFC 19 = Greene 1981 PMFC 20 = Greene 1982 PMFC 23 = Cattin/Facchin 1989 PMFC 24 = Bent/Hallmark 1985
ST	Solus Tenor
T	Tenor
Tr	Triplum

Further Notes

Incipits of compositions follow the spelling in CMM and PMFC. When referring to editions of the research corpus, I give only the CMM and PMFC editions unless a particular piece is only edited elsewhere (see Chapter 2, *Tables 1* and *2*).

If not stated otherwise, all translations are mine.

Specific pitches are referred to by using the Guidonian gamut in italics: *A B C D E F G a b c d e f g a′ b′ c′ d′ e′*, in which *c* corresponds to C4 (middle c).

Index of Figures, Examples, Tables, and Plates

Introduction

In his article on Matteo da Perugia's three-voice motet *Ave sancta mundi*/*Agnus Dei*, Benjamin Brand provides an apparently comprehensive description of the so-called papal motet:

> The papal motet—motets composed for, and often at the behest of the popes—constituted a small yet distinctive repertory. […] While these works were written with a variety of purposes in mind, they were a primary vehicle by which the papacy reinforced its authority within the rarefied circles of the papal court. By the first decade of the 15th century, the tradition of the papal motet was well established.[1]

Brand thereby draws on Margaret Bent's influential 1998 article 'Early Papal Motets', in which she identifies a number of compositions from the fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries under the label 'papal motet'.[2] However, with Bent's definition in mind, Brand must admit that *Ave sancta mundi* is apparently an outlier. He remarks that 'if *Ave sancta mundi* was a papal motet, it was certainly a peculiar one. Unlike most ceremonial works of the period, the piece sets a devotional rather than laudatory text.'[3]

Brand's assessment of *Ave sancta mundi* already provides the foundation for several research questions, to be addressed shortly, pertaining to papal music. Above all, however, his work shows that while identifying music as 'papal' may be an important and necessary starting point, the parameters of such a classification can never be categorical – they obviously leave room for interpretation. What, then, *is* papal music, and what caused the genesis of a repertory that is at once 'distinctive' but yet resistant to an absolute definition?

Why Papal Polyphony? Aims and Research Objectives

First and foremost, papal music qualifies as such by referring to the papacy, mostly by means of its poetic texts – written 'at the behest of popes', as Brand puts it – but also judging from its composers and manuscript transmission. Bent's study concentrates on the identification of papal compositions with poetic texts referring to the papacy, resulting in a list of some forty

[1] Benjamin, Brand, '*Viator ducens ad celestia*: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet', *The Journal of Musicology*, 20/2 (2003), 250–84, at 275.

[2] Margaret Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 1998), 5–43. Bent's corpus of papal compositions is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.2.

[3] Brand, '*Viator ducens ad celestia*', 276.

compositions between ca. 1330 and 1430 (outlined in detail in Chapter 2.2). Despite its slightly misleading title, however, her study also encompasses musical genres other than the motet: French- and Latin-texted chansons, Italian ballate, and a handful of troped Ordinary settings. Furthermore, the majority of these compositions dates from the time of the Great Western Schism, that is, to the period between 1378 to 1417. During the schismatic period, the Western Church was divided between two – at times even three – competing popes. These popes occupied three so-called obediences, connected to the location where they were elected and/or resided: Avignon, Rome, and (from 1409) Pisa. This constellation led to a choosing of sides among Europe's secular powers and thus caused a political crisis of international scope. Apparently, these times bear witness to an increased cultivation of papal music.

Against this backdrop, I chose the Great Western Schism as a chronological framework for this dissertation – assuming that the societal impact of the papacy in this period was linked to the accelerated production of papal music. Considering the multiplicity of musical genres contained in Bent's survey, I termed the repertory in question 'papal polyphony'. By analysing the core repertory of an institution that prominently influenced political developments in the decades around 1400, the incentive of this dissertation is to go beyond a mere identification of relevant papal compositions but to shed light on their engagement with and influence on particular schismatic debates. What does papal polyphony of the Great Western Schism tell us about its protagonists, its production and consumption, and about the intellectual climate in which it was created?

Bent's research corpus of papal polyphony excludes *Ave sancta mundi* because the motet sets a devotional text rather than a laudatory poem in honour of a specific pope. Brand, by contrast, convincingly argues for an occasional context of the motet during the Council of Pisa in 1409 (during which Cardinal Pietro Filargo was elected Pope Alexander V in order to depose the two competing popes, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII – leading to a threefold schism instead). By employing an Agnus Dei chant as the motet's tenor melody and featuring a devotional text (extolling the Eucharist) in the upper voices, the motet 'offered a pointed embellishment to the ritual of the mass', therefore appropriating the piece for a liturgical context.[4] Further interpreting the motet's poetic text within the context of Franciscan piety, Brand suggests that Pietro Filargo – himself a prominent member of the Franciscan order – was involved in the conception of the poem and created the motet in cooperation with the composer Matteo da Perugia. The motet text underlines Franciscan aspirations to solve the

[4] Ibid. 273.

schism, and would have been a fitting vehicle to express these beliefs during a council from which Filargo ultimately emerged as the new pope.[5]

In fact, the opposition of liturgical music on the hand and laudatory polyphony on the other creates a twofold dilemma. First, while liturgical music was certainly performed at the papal court, it does not set laudatory texts and as such cannot be unequivocally identified as papal music. In functioning as an Agnus Dei substitute, *Ave sancta mundi* thus poses a unique case. Second, laudatory music – obviously a means of papal legitimisation – lacks concrete indices as to its occasional contexts: it was not part of the liturgy, thus confining it to the rather obscure realm of 'rarefied', private, circles in the papal orbit. As Brand has pointed out, the 'papal' (laudatory) motet consolidated its ceremonial function only in the early fifteenth century, relegating earlier papal motets as well as other genres of papal polyphony to a grey area as regards their performance contexts and the circumstances of their use.

The case of *Ave sancta mundi* has shown that looking beyond the 'papal motet' in the narrow sense of the term indeed enriches our understanding of the schismatic debates. On the one hand, music that played a role in the papal controversy does not necessarily have to address popes or mention the schism directly. On the other, the concrete propagandistic and occasional function of compositions that do refer explicitly to the papacy or the schism are not always clear. In short, both 'kinds' of papal polyphony demand further performative, historical, and intellectual contextualisation. By whom were these pieces composed? What inspired their poetic texts? Who listened to this music? How did different polyphonic genres function within and express the schismatic debates? How might particular genres and languages or linguistic registers themselves have carried a particular signification? What does the repertory's manuscript transmission reveal about its genesis, consumption, and reception? The following section explains the methodological framework that will be employed to engage with these questions.

Methodology: Manuscript Cultures and Rhetorical Strategies

So far, I have introduced the existence of an abstract corpus of papal compositions, identifiable primarily by the subject matter of its poetic texts. Identification, however, has detached these compositions from their closest material contexts, namely the manuscripts in which they are preserved. The methodological framework of this dissertation now integrates these material contexts into the study, resulting in two different angles from which to examine papal

[5] Ibid., esp. 277–83.

polyphony: first, the consideration of the music manuscripts that contain the papal compositions, and second, the analysis of the papal compositions themselves.

The first methodological vantage point, evaluating the nature of the musical sources, is inspired by the term 'manuscript cultures', which has been employed by Bent to describe different kinds of manuscripts. Dividing a number of manuscripts from early fifteenth-century Italy into two groups (retrospective Trecento manuscripts and 'international' anthologies respectively), she remarks that 'these are different kinds of books, collected for different reasons, and differently organised'.[6]

Asking about the different kinds of manuscripts that preserve papal polyphony, several questions come to mind. When and where were these manuscripts compiled and what other (musical) repertories do they contain? What do these sources reveal about where and by whom this music was composed, performed, and received? What are the relationships between different kinds of sources?

These questions are primarily addressed in the initial chapters of the thesis (outlined below), and they take as their starting point the music manuscripts which contain the repertory Bent has identified as papal polyphony. I also suggest a number of further potentially papal compositions, employing tools of contextualisation similar to those used by Brand in the case of *Ave sancta mundi*. Moreover, when asking about the composers, performance contexts, and reception of papal polyphony, the available information about the identities and numbers of papal musicians must be taken into consideration. In this regard, my study of the broader 'material' evidence of the papal orbit also incorporates the thorough archival studies conducted by Giuliano Di Bacco and John Louis Nádas, who engaged with the employees of the papal and secular chapels during the schism as well as with the music manuscripts of the Roman obedience. Furthermore, a survey of the Avignon side of the schism was provided by Andrew Tomasello, whilst the transition to the post-schismatic period was investigated by Alejandro Enrique Planchart.[7] In sum, the manuscript cultures approach of this dissertation provides

[6] Margaret Bent, 'Continuity and Transformation of Repertory and Transmission in Early 15th-Century Italy: The Two Cultures', in Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman, and Alba Scotti (eds.), *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due-und Quattrocento* (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, 2007), 225–46, at 230.

[7] Giuliano Di Bacco and John Louis Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale" della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): Il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège', in Adalbert Roth (ed.), *Collectanea I*, Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta, 3 (Città del Vaticano, 1994), 1–74; eid., 'The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 1998), 44–92; John Louis Nádas, 'Secular Courts during the Period of the Great Schism: Documentation in the Archivo Segreto Vaticano', in Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni, and Annunziato Pugliese (eds.), *"Et facciam*

insights into the production, transmission, and contemporary reception of papal music amongst other musical repertories. It therefore paves the way for the second methodological angle that characterises the succeeding chapters of the thesis, that is, focusing on the papal compositions themselves.

As papal polyphony is generally regarded as a musical means of reinforcing – or potentially denigrating – papal authority, a close evaluation of the rhetorical strategies employed in the music's poetic texts forms the counterpart to the study of its manuscript transmission. These rhetorical strategies are by their nature intertwined with the overall conception of the respective compositions, be it their musical genre, their poetic language, or their interplay of music and text.

I approach the rhetorical strategies at work in papal polyphony in the form of selective case studies, that is, by identifying specific (groups of) compositions that are particularly promising for shedding light on the ways in which polyphony dealt with the schismatic debates. Contemporary literary works naturally occupy a crucial role for enquiries about the rhetoric in the music's poetic texts: not only do they help us to get a grasp of the period's intellectual climate in general, but they are also potential sources of inspiration for the verbal texts of the musical pieces. By tracing how composers and poets (re-)used material from different poetic and literary genres, and in what light historical events appear through these rhetorical devices, the case studies automatically address the repertory's target groups and audiences. Asking who might have understood the supposed layers of meaning within the poetic texts of papal polyphony has the potential also to illuminate the currently obscure performance contexts of strictly 'papal', non-liturgical compositions.

Lastly, purely textual considerations of papal polyphony are complemented by musical analyses, especially when it is evident that musical re-working or re-texting is in play; the ways in which music and text interact, as well as the choice of musical genre itself, are important factors for these investigations. When relevant, these features are also scrutinised in other polyphonic repertories from the decades around 1400.

In conclusion, the two different methodological approaches of this dissertation draw on a variety of methods from historiography, music analysis, codicology, philology, and literature

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dolçi canti": Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65º compleanno (Lucca, 2003), 183–206; id., 'The Internationalization of the Italian Papal Chapels in the Early Quattrocento', in Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (eds.), *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del Rinascimento, atti del convegno (Camaiore, 21–23 ottobre 2005)* (Firenze, 2007), 247–69; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Music for the Papal Chapel in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians*, 93–121; and Andrew Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403', PhD diss., Yale University, 1982 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983).

studies. By working in dialogue with each other – thus allowing for specific pieces to be placed in a broader social and literary context whilst at the same time being viewed as to their manuscript transmission and circulation – they aim to situate papal polyphony within the intellectual climate of the schismatic period.

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of the Great Western Schism, using the concept of 'papal performance' which has been advanced by the historian Joëlle Rollo-Koster.[8] In addition to deploying Rollo-Koster's concept to describe the schismatic period from a historiographical point of view, in this chapter I also transfer her methodology to the realm of cultural history. Thus by combining the perspectives of historiography and cultural history, analytical strategies are developed for a holistic contextualisation of papal polyphony.

Chapter 2 is based on the extant musicological scholarship on the schismatic period. In it I examine the performance contexts and manuscript transmission of papal polyphony, drawing on Di Bacco's, Nádas's, and Tomasello's archival studies on the papal chapels on the one hand and Bent's research corpus of specifically 'papal' compositions on the other. This chapter brings together these scholars' different methodologies for tracing the cultivation of papal music for the first time and thereby establishes a new and integral source picture of papal polyphony. This source picture reveals an obedience divide in the transmission of papal music – between Avignon and Pisa on the one hand and Rome on the other – which is explored in the following chapter.

In Chapter 3 I contextualise the source picture of papal polyphony within the broader context of repertory transmission in the early fifteenth century, arguing that the Low Countries play a central role in the joint manuscript preservation of different polyphonic repertories. The chapter commences with a detailed case study on a neglected, differently-texted, concordance to the papal ballade *Courtois et sages* (preserved in **ModA** and **PR**) in the Low Countries fragment **Lei2720**. By proposing different scenarios of why and how *Courtois et sages* might have been reworked, this case study raises broader questions about the treatment and preservation of musical repertories in the Low Countries around 1400. Proceeding from sources of Netherlandish origin as a whole, I then establish the 'Low Countries manuscript network': I trace concordances between the Low Countries fragments and other manuscript cultures, and reach conclusions about the transmission directions of the repertory by analysing the

[8] Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism, 1378–1417* (Cambridge, 2022).

appearance and manner of its reworkings. These transmission channels are exemplified by a cluster of short case studies on different polyphonic – partially papal – compositions. Finally, by superimposing the Low Countries manuscript network on the source picture of papal polyphony, I offer explanations as to why there is an obedience divide in the transmission of papal music.

In Chapter 4 I analyse two hitherto unresearched fourteenth-century manuscript fragments, both kept at the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel: **Ba71** and **Ba72**. These independent fragments preserve parts of the same, otherwise unique, papal motet. By unravelling the conception, reworking, and creative processes at work within the 'Basel motet', I demonstrate how polyphony could serve as a vehicle for propagandistic needs: through its unusually unstable and draft-like state, this motet highlights in particular how musical and poetic creativity were shaped by current events and how they could serve to promulgate particular political agendas.

In Chapter 5 I investigate different rhetorical strategies in the poetic texts of papal music. Through a series of case studies, I explore the apocalyptic role of the schismatic papacy and argue that this eschatological mindset worked hand in hand with political propaganda. Finally, I ask how and where apocalyptic thought and matters of politics came to meet, ultimately to crystallise in polyphonic music. Within this context, I present primary research results on the Franciscan miscellany **Pg9**. The chapter concludes by suggesting prospects on how a mutually informing study of the manuscript transmission of different cultural outputs – be it polyphonic music or visions of the end of time – can help further to enlighten our understanding of the intellectual climate of the schismatic period.

In sum, in this thesis I aim to contextualise papal polyphony not only within the schismatic debates – asking how papal music was performed, where, and what kind – but also to view the schismatic debates through the lens of music: how did the melodies and texts of papal polyphony perform the events and political events of the schism?

Chapter 1

The Great Western Schism through the Lens of Historiography, Cultural History, and Musicology

Musicologists have studied the musical products of the schismatic period in great detail and from various angles, and their findings will be considered in the following chapters. But when it comes to the historic events, the same scholars describe the Great Western Schism as a crisis of almost unfathomable scope – a complex network of events that can apparently only be grasped if summarised briefly. John Louis Nádas, for instance, joined accustomed musicological narratives on the subject by beginning his article on the Italian papal chapels as follows: 'The schism dividing the Roman Church in the years 1378–1417 was by all accounts extraordinarily complicated politically and culturally, a period of turmoil of truly massive proportions.'[9] Nádas continues with a short account of the successive and competing popes – providing the historical and political background, so to speak – before quickly moving *in medias res* to assess the archival evidence on the papal singers. Marginally, however, he raises a very important point: the papal schism of 1378 caused a crisis that affected *both* international politics and the cultural output of the time.

In her recent monograph on the Great Western Schism, the historian Joëlle Rollo-Koster interprets the establishment of two new Marian feasts – one in Rome and one in Avignon – shortly after 1378 as a form of 'papal performance'.[10] Though aptly explaining how each obedience expressed its claim for legitimacy by means of liturgy, she proposes to 'leave to specialists the task of comparing the music'.[11] Nevertheless, her evocation of 'performance' in a historiographical narrative remains striking.

Both approaches – the musicologist's, whose work requires a profound historical background in order to focus on musical detail, and the historian's, whose extensive historical enquiries inevitably touch upon musical matters at some point – are valid by the definition of their disciplines. Equally, however, these approaches constitute a methodological gap between 'music specialists' on the one hand and historians on the other. Ideally, this gap between the

[9] Nádas, 'The Internationalization', 247.

[10] Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 90, and *passim* (on Rollo-Koster's idea of 'performing the papacy', see below).

[11] Ibid. 94. She broadly refers to Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', without noting that these scholars indeed thematise the Roman feast (ibid. 73). The feasts are discussed in section 1.3 below.

disciplines should be bridged; that it may not be as substantial as it seems has already been demonstrated both by Nádas – acknowledging the inseparability of politics and cultural production – and Rollo-Koster, focusing on performance.

In this chapter I argue that the notion of papal performance holds more potential than Rollo-Koster anticipated: in building on and expanding her idea of 'performing the papacy' through the lens of musicology, I show that a holistic perspective on performance might in fact bridge the methodological gap between musical detail and historiographical breadth. Ultimately, targeting this gap between musicology and historiography helps to develop a toolkit for analysing and contextualising papal polyphony.

1.1 What is (Papal) Performance?

Although Rollo-Koster's approach is founded in historiography – three chapters of her book constitute a detailed account of the schism – she goes a step further by 'incarnating' this historiography through 'grounding the analysis of the Schism's events within the framework of cultural anthropology'.[12] In other words, in practising cultural anthropology on the basis of historical evidence, she views the development of the schismatic debates through the eyes of the people: performances, therefore, are people's actions within and reactions to the ever-evolving crisis.

Rollo-Koster's focus on personal agency is based on a theory of social drama by Victor W. Turner, who argued that 'social dramas […] can be aptly studied as having four phases. These I label breach, crisis, redress, and either reintegration or recognition […] Social dramas occur within groups of persons who share values and interests and who have a real or alleged common history.'[13] That those four stages – breach, crisis, redress, and, in the case of the Great Western Schism, reintegration – inherently coincide with historiographical periodisations of the schism makes them all the more suitable for a fusion of different disciplinary approaches. Therefore, they guide both historiographical and performance-oriented discussions in this chapter.

In sum, the participants of the schismatic debates can be regarded as actors on the stage of social drama. Whenever a performance on that stage aims to emphasise or contest papal legitimacy, it can thus be called 'papal performance'. Rollo-Koster exemplifies witnesses to papal performance through representative papal architecture (for instance, the Tour

[12] Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 8.

[13] Victor W. Turner, 'Social Dramas and Stories about Them', *Critical Inquiry*, 7/1 (1980), 141–68, at 149. For a further development of this theory, see id., *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York, 1986).

Quiquengrogne in Avignon and Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome), the establishment of the above-mentioned Marian feasts, and the Golden Rose, which as symbol of the papacy's power was granted to personages of international importance. In short, these examples are sensory (accessible, audible, and olfactory) manifestations of papal legitimacy, immediately tangible for people exposed to them.[14]

Subsequently, Rollo-Koster opposes those expressions of papal performance with a section entitled 'Images and Responses'. This section features Antonio Baldana's illustrated poetic narrative of the schism (*De magno Schismate*), Ulrich Richenthal's illuminated chronicle of the Council of Constance, and the Apocalypse Tapestry of Angers.[15] As can be gleaned from Rollo-Koster's title, these items are discussed for the sake of their visual representations: by depicting the schism, they engage with its history and therefore with the role of the papacy. Furthermore, they constitute a response to performative actions such as the ones discussed above: Ulrich Richenthal's chronicle, for instance, features among its illustrations the ceremony of granting the Golden Rose to Emperor Sigismund. The chronicle thus *recreates* a moment of papal performance through the eyes of its author.

Evidently, Rollo-Koster applies a subliminal divide between direct sensory experiences of performance on the one hand and sensory engagement with retrospective literary/artistic products that themselves respond to performance on the other. This, in turn, implies different groups of audiences with different preconditions: people directly exposed to, or involved in, performance are at the same time audiences of this performance; they might respond to it by producing any kind of textually fixed account of their experience – which is thereafter perceptible to other, secondary audiences. In short, the notion of performance and response functions like a snowball system, creating a complex web of potential actors and audiences which the historian has to disentangle in order to reconstruct historic events: who gave what kind of account of specific events or topics, under what premises, and with what intentions?

Ultimately, the challenge of reconstructing history boils down to the question of what kinds of sources are consulted, and to what end. Therefore, the following section focuses on different kinds of sources of the schismatic period to investigate how they might reflect papal performance. It explores why Rollo-Koster's methodology – although centred around

[14] See esp. ibid. 69–110.

[15] Ibid. 111–44. Baldana's work (uniquely preserved in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 1194) is discussed in more detail below; see section 1.3. Discussing Ulrich Richenthal's chronicle and its various extant sources would go beyond the scope of this thesis; Rollo-Koster (ibid. 122–48) gives a comprehensive overview of the scholarship on this subject. The Apocalypse Tapestry of Angers depicts the visions of St John in the Book of Revelation, but Rollo-Koster (ibid. 137–47) argues convincingly for reading it in the context of apocalyptic views on the schism.

'performance' – almost entirely leaves out *musical* performance as well as poetry, arguing that both music and poetry must be added in as historical sources, not only to complete the picture of papal performance, but also to bridge the gap between musicology and historiography.

In her concluding remarks, Rollo-Koster again emphasises how performances attract the audiences' senses, stating that 'Things were seen, heard and discussed, touched, and smelled. Legitimacy was understood with one's entire body, and legitimacy was sensorially embodied.'[16] In order to reconstruct sensory engagement with performances, she draws on theories developed by literary scholars that she summarises as 'performative reading' – basically imagining what kinds of interaction and reaction reading, hearing, touching, and smelling could have evoked.[17]

Yet, while tracing the impact of and reactions to performance within the historical framework of the schism, Rollo-Koster leaves out the substance, the very subject matter of these performances – namely their texts. For instance, she thematises the Marian feasts in Rome and Avignon with regard to the historical fact that they were established as a means to counterbalance the rival pope's claim for legitimacy; she aptly describes the performative act of liturgy as 'the backbone of the political'– but the 'political' is not approached from the actual musical and textual content of the liturgy but from the historical circumstances.[18] Likewise, Rollo-Koster discusses Antonio Baldana's recounting of papal performance, *De magno Schismate*, through the impact its illustrations had on the spectator, thereby drawing on the theories of performative reading. The content, however, of the prose and poetry accompanying these illustrations is left aside.

Apparently, we are, again, confronted with the methodological gap between historiography and musicology, only that the latter side needs to be accompanied by literary scholarship: music as well as poetry and other literary genres require a particular expertise in interpreting layers of meaning that refract the (socio-cultural, political) context in which they were conceived. In their specific details, these layers of meaning are missing in Rollo-Koster's

[16] Ibid. 359.

[17] Ibid. 111. Regarding terminology, Rollo-Koster especially draws on Karlyn Griffith, 'Performative Reading and Receiving a Performance of the Jour du Jugement in MS Besançon 579', *Comparative Drama*, 45/2 (2011), 99–126, and further mentions Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theater* (Philadelphia, 2014), and ead., 'Tracing Medieval Performance: The Visual Archive', in Mark Cruse (ed.), *Performance and Theatricality in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2018), 93–109. These can be supplemented with contributions by Christina Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes: Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet* (Chicago, 2015); Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2007); and Andrew Albin, 'Aural Space, Sonorous Presence, and the Performance of Christian Community in the Chester Shepherds Play', *Early Theatre*, 16/2 (2013), 33–57. The latter three scholars develop different terminology to describe similar phenomena.

[18] Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 71.

notion of papal performance because they are often not factual – tangible – enough to fit a historical narrative.

Rollo-Koster, in turn, acknowledges scholars of the literary and artistic outputs of the schism, labelling them 'the few historians who adopted the "cultural turn" in their analyses of the Schismatic papacy', that is, cultural historians, literary scholars, and, by extension, musicologists.[19] Instead of leaving cultural history to the footnotes, as Rollo-Koster does, I argue that it must be integrated into the exploration of papal performance. Moreover, as Rollo-Koster correctly observed, sources like Baldana's *De magno Schismate* are multimedia sources: they *combine* historical narrative, poetry, imagery, and sometimes music. Therefore, they can only be evaluated as to their sensory, performative aspects when viewed as a whole, and from different disciplinary angles.[20]

In similar fashion, musical sources of the schism – in particular papal polyphony, featuring newly composed poetic texts that refer to the papacy – are of a versatile, multimedia nature that must be fully contextualised in order to evaluate how they performed the papacy. From a sensory perspective, it is not only important that this music was performed and received by audiences, it also matters *what* was performed. I, therefore, consider the theory of papal performance an adequate means of investigating papal polyphony because it opens up traditional historiographical approaches by embodying them socially, aiming at the music's audiences. Grounded chiefly in the discipline of musicology, in this thesis I aim to augment Rollo-Koster's concept of papal performance by bringing musical sources (and their poetry) closer to historical narratives of the schism.

In order to enable an analysis of papal polyphony that is informed by a profound historical background *and* the approaches of cultural history, the remaining part of this chapter is divided in two sections: the first part provides a historical account of the Great Western Schism, guided by Victor Turner's theory of social drama. Accordingly, this part presents an essential legal, political, and institutional history of the Great Western Schism. Subsequently, the second part addresses the field of cultural history by way of example. It summarises the main topics that socio-cultural scholarship on the schism has engaged with, and lays out its basic methodological concepts, with the prospect of using them for musicological enquiries. The chapter concludes by setting the stage for the analyses and contextualisation of papal polyphony undertaken in this thesis.

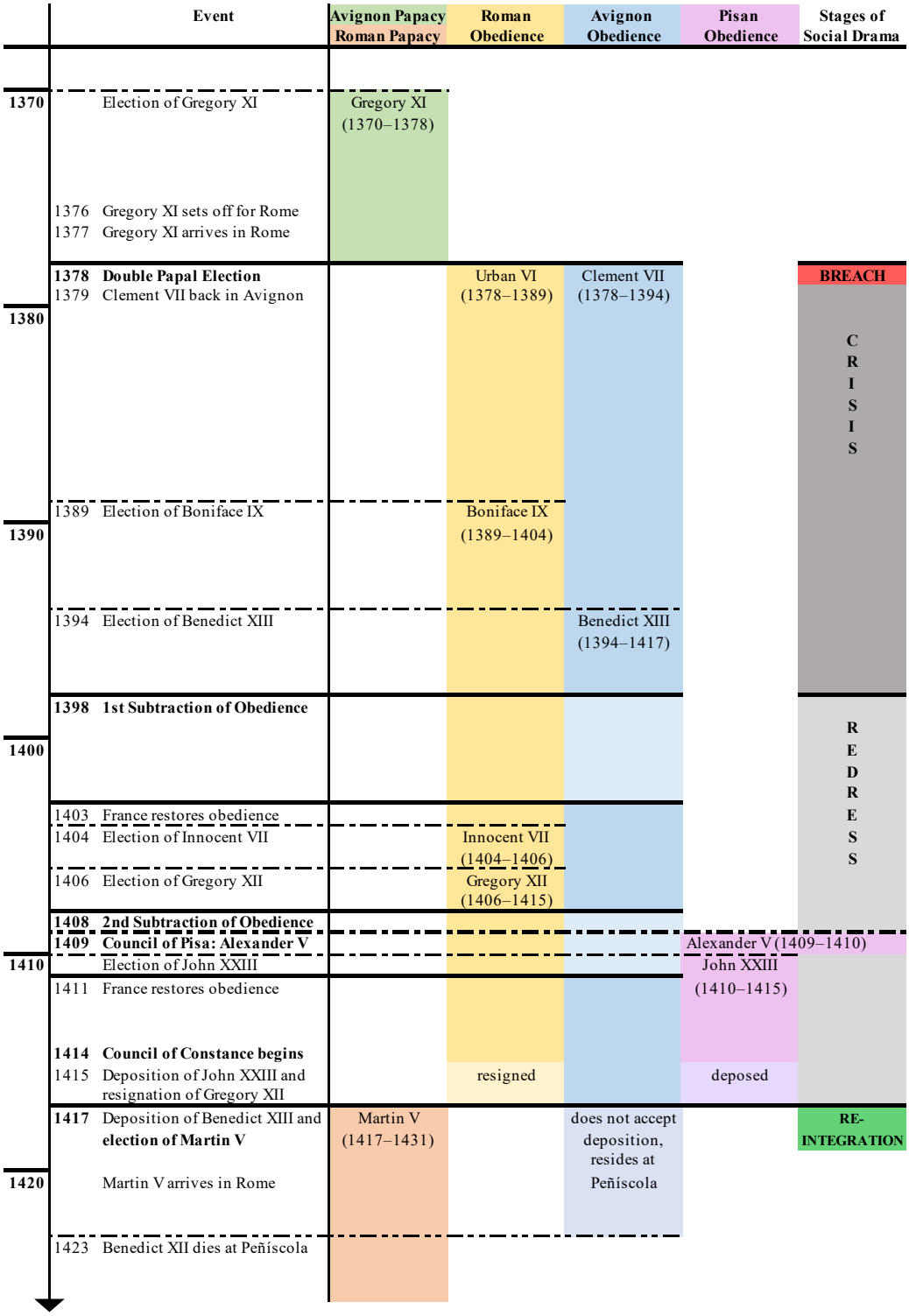
[19] Ibid. 69.
[20] See, for instance, ibid. 115.

1.2 Historiography

The timeline of historical events presented in *Fig. 1* provides the four stages of social drama established by Turner – breach, crisis, redressive action, and reintegration – as orientation points for a historiography of the Great Western Schism. Superimposed with an idea of the *zeitgeist* that influenced political and societal developments of the respective period, this timeline will now be further illustrated.[21]

[21] Apart from Rollo-Koster's recent treatment of the topic, fundamental work on the schismatic period in its entirety is provided by Walter Brandmüller, *Papst und Konzil im Großen Schisma (1378–1431): Studien und Quellen* (Paderborn, 1990), and Hélène Millet, *L'Église du Grand Schisme, 1378–1417* (Paris, 2009). A multi-disciplinary introduction can be found in Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Leiden, 2009).

Fig. 1 Timeline surrounding the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)



1.2.1 Breach – The Double Papal Election of 1378

From 1309, the papacy resided in Avignon. This residency was caused by a disastrous clash with the Roman aristocracy in the early fourteenth century which subsequently led to the election of the French pope Clement V (born Raymond Bertrand de Got), who was strongly influenced by the French crown.[22] In order to escape the so-called 'Babylonian captivity' of the Church and the long-lasting influence of French royalty, Pope Urban V (1362–70) temporarily returned to Rome in 1367, but retreated to Avignon shortly before his death in 1370. Urban's successor – Gregory XI, the first pope in the timeline in *Fig. 1* – renewed this attempt in 1376 and finally reached Rome in 1377. But Gregory died prematurely on 27 March 1378, only about one year after his return to the Holy City, and his plans to achieve a smooth re-establishment of Rome as the traditional papal See came to a sudden end. Gregory's largely French college of cardinals was then pressured by the Roman nobility and people to vote for an Italian as the new pope.[23] The choice fell upon Bartolomeo da Prignano, archbishop of Bari, who was elected pope on 8 April 1378 and chose the name Urban VI. But when it became clear that the curial reforms pursued by Urban VI would deprive the French cardinals of their former privileges within the college, thirteen French cardinals left Rome for the nearby Fondi. On 20 September of the same year, they elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva – thereafter Clement VII – as 'rightful successor' of Gregory XI. This act initiated the Great Western Schism.[24] From a legal perspective, it is remarkable that it was the *same* college of cardinals that elected two popes within a short period of time. There had been schisms in the Church before (and there would be schisms after), but never before had rival popes been installed by the very same faction. This is one of the main reasons why the schism of 1378 became so entrenched – it was legally unknown territory. As Walter Ullmann stated: 'Such action starkly demonstrated a

[22] On the Avignon papacy (from its establishment in 1309), see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and Its Papacy, 1309–1417: Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham, MD, 2015). A slightly outdated but very extensive account of the Avignon papacy from the early fourteenth century until the schism is provided by Guillaume Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon (1305–1378)* (Paris, 1912). See also Bernard Guillemain, *La Cour pontificale d'Avignon: Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1962).

[23] The identities and backgrounds of the cardinals are summarised in Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 25.

[24] Concerning, in particular, the dynamics in the college of cardinals that led most of them to abandon Urban VI, see Daniel Williman, 'Schism within the Curia: The Twin Papal Elections of 1378', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 59/1 (2008), 29–47. In the view of the cardinals, Clement VII was no *anti*pope since the cardinals argued that they had been pressured to elect his rival Urban VI and thus declared the latter's election invalid. In general, I shall refrain from using the term antipope in this thesis: the medieval Church never used it, and thus never took an unequivocal stand as to the legal legitimacy of one pope or the other. 'Antipope' was only later applied by the Catholic Church to exclude the popes of the Avignonese and Pisan obediences from the official census of Roman pontiffs. On this topic, see Hélène Millet, 'Great Schism of the West (1348–1417)', in Philippe Levillain and John O'Malley (eds.), *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2002), 632–8. When the term 'antipope' appears in medieval accounts, it expresses the preference of a specific party (see my discussion of *Par les bons Gedeons* in Chapter 5.1).

serious defect in the law of the Church, which provided no constitutional means of dealing with an obviously unsuitable pope.'[25] This unprecedented situation also promoted an abundance of contemporary accounts of the situation, the so-called *Libri de Schismate*. Among other things, these books record depositions taken from laymen and clergy alike and mirror initial reactions from the Roman population on recent events.[26] When it became clear that Clement VII would not be able to prevail in Rome – after a siege, Urban VI managed to claim the Roman papal premises for himself – he decided to return to Avignon.[27] He finally reached the city on 20 June 1379. Now there was one pope residing in Rome and another in Avignon.

1.2.2 Crisis – A Choosing of Sides

Zooming out from the local developments in Rome and Avignon, all of Europe had to decide which of the two popes it should recognise as legitimate. This large-scale formation of opposing factions introduced a crisis on international level, rendering the entirety of Europe the stage of Turner's social drama. For the most part, decisions were not founded on legal premises but along the political lines of the Hundred Years War.[28] Whilst France followed the Avignon obedience – after all, the pope had returned to France – England chose Urban VI.[29] Urban VI was also supported by the Holy Roman Empire, Portugal, Scotland, Hungary, Rome, and the Italian city-states. Siding with France and therefore with Clement VII, were Spain, Luxembourg, Lorraine, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.[30] The Low Countries remained a particularly contested territory throughout the schismatic period, especially since Philip the Bold of Burgundy would add the county of Flanders to his dominion by marriage in 1384, thus creating close dynastic ties between the Flemish and French nobility.[31] Although it would push

[25] Walter Ullmann, 'Western Schism', in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn. vol. 14 (New York, 2003), 691–4, at 692.

[26] These documents are inventoried in Francis X. Blouin Jr., *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (Oxford, 1998), and Leonard E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* rev. edn. (Toronto, 2001).

[27] On the details of the two popes' fight for Rome, see Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 247–51.

[28] Among the vast literature on the Hundred Years War, see, for instance, the recent publication by Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years' War: 1337–1453* (Oxford, 2014).

[29] On English relations during the schism, see Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362–1460: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge, 1999), and ead., *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes, 1378–1409* (St. Ottilien, 1983). See also Karsten Plöger, *England and the Avignon Popes: The Practice of Diplomacy in Late Medieval Europe* (London, 2005). The recent work of Barbara Bombi, *Anglo-Papal Relations in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (Oxford, 2019), focuses especially on petitions as a tool of political performance. This form of archival evidence is also thematised in Patrick N. R. Zutshi, 'Petitions to the Pope in the Fourteenth Century', in Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd, and Anthony Musson (eds.), *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge, 2009), 82–98.

[30] The standard account of French politics during this period remains Noël Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902).

[31] This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.1.

the boundaries of this survey to explain the numerous political developments of the years following the 'breach' of 1378, it remains to be noted that the schism could not just end with the death of one of the papacy's claimants. When Urban VI died in October 1389, the stakes of admitting that they might have adhered to an illegitimate pope were too high for each party involved: the choosing of sides had affected matters of pan-European politics that reached far beyond the matters of ecclesiastical unity. Instead, Boniface IX (born Pietro Tomacelli) was elected only shortly after Urban VI's death, on 2 November 1389, as a replacement for the Roman pope.

1.2.3 Redressive Action: The Subtractions of Obedience and the Councils of Pisa and Constance

In principle, the death of the Avignon claimant Clement VII on 16 September 1394 was no different. Indeed, a successor was found quickly in Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna) on 28 September. Yet, the University of Paris and by extension the French royal court (represented by the leading figures of Gilles Deschamps, Jean Gerson, and Pierre Plaoul) had increasingly pleaded for a solution to the schism by way of a council.[32] Shortly after Clement VII's death, envoys were sent from Paris to Avignon in order to stop the cardinals from convening a conclave. But they arrived too late. In the following years, Benedict XIII continuously pretended to consider the plea for a council and received numerous ambassadors to discuss these matters. After endless and fruitless negotiations, France finally nullified its support for the Avignon pope in 1398, thus initiating the first French subtraction of obedience.

The First Subtraction of Obedience (1398–1403)

Hélène Millet divides the schismatic period into two 'ages', the second of which is initiated by this first subtraction of obedience. By actively withdrawing its support to one of the schismatic popes, France made realistic, for the first time, an end to the schism.[33] To adopt Turner's concept, redressive action – effort in finding a solution to the crisis – was set in motion.

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[32] On the position of the University of Paris, see Robert Norman Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 2002). The rise of the conciliarist movement is treated in Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition* (Oxford, 2008), and, most recently, in Bénédicte Sère, *Les Débats d'opinion à l'heure du Grand Schisme: Ecclésiologie et politique* (Turnhout, 2016).

[33] Millet, *L'Église du Grand Schisme*, 14. The different possibilities of resolving the schism are also often referred to as the four *viae* (ways): *facti* (war), *cessionis* (resignation of both popes), *concilii* (council), and *compromissi* (compromise through negotiators). Since these standpoints were promoted by different factions at different times and in overlapping fashion, I decided to leave them aside in this discussion since it is aimed at a general periodisation of the historic events. On the *viae*, see, for instance, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism (1378–1417)* (University Park, PA, 2006), 8.

The French king Charles VI and the cardinals decided to capture the pope in order to force him to abdicate – Benedict XIII was from then on besieged in Avignon. Supported by Louis of Orléans (King Charles's brother), the pope was able to hold the papal palace and negotiate a truce. Put under arrest, he finally managed to escape on 12 March 1403. Benedict's escape made the French motivation to continue the conflict run dry: France already restored its obedience to the pope in May 1403. Benedict XIII renewed his promises to aim for an end of the schism and a meeting between him and the Roman pontiff Boniface IX was planned. However, the negotiations of the popes' envoys in Rome were overshadowed by Boniface's death on 1 October 1404. The Avignon envoys were imprisoned while the conclave elected Boniface's successor, Innocent VII (Cosimo de' Migliorati). It suffices to say that no agreement could be reached until Innocent VII died in 1406, and Gregory XII (Angelo Correr) was elected in yet another Roman conclave in November of the same year.

The Second Subtraction of Obedience (1408–1411) and the Council of Pisa (1409)

The two rival pontiffs, now Benedict XIII in Avignon and Gregory XII in Rome, continued to negotiate about a potential meeting between 1407 and 1408. Yet, in the end, they never met. Eventually, the cardinals of both obediences decided to convene without the popes, anticipating that the two claimants to the papal See would never put their promises into action. Under the influence of several European powers, a meeting in Pisa was arranged. In the meantime, France had renewed its break with Benedict XIII and withdrawn its obedience to the Avignon pope in May 1408, an act that ultimately precipitated the developments in Pisa. After it had deposed both Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, the Council of Pisa elected Pope Alexander V (Cardinal Pietro Filargo) on 26 June 1409.[34] Unsurprisingly, both popes rejected the council's decision, initiating a period of war and instability in Avignon and Rome through their respective supporters. Moreover, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII held (poorly attended) parallel councils in Cividale del Friuli and Perpignan respectively, deposing each other as well as the new pope Alexander. After the end of the Pisan Council on 7 August 1409, Alexander V left for Bologna. He died shortly after, in 1410, and his successor, John XXIII (Baldassare Cossa) was elected in Bologna. In 1411, John XXIII managed to regain the Roman papal palace supported by military actions of John of Anjou and Louis of Anjou and in that course promised to strengthen his efforts towards solving the schism. To reinforce his position, John XXIII created several

[34] Comprehensive accounts of this council are provided by Aldo Landi, *Il Papa deposto (Pisa 1409): L'idea conciliare nel Grande Schisma* (Torino, 1985), and recently, Hélène Millet, *Le Concile de Pise: Qui travaillait à l'union de l'Église en 1409?* (Turnhout, 2010).

new cardinals – among them Francesco Zabarella, Pierre d'Ailly, and Gilles de Champs – and attempted to convene a council in Rome. The council of Rome failed, due to a lack of attendees. Instead, the call for a council that included broader European powers grew louder.

The Council of Constance (1414–1418)

Following an agreement with Emperor Sigismund in 1413, the Council of Constance held its first session – opened by Pope John XXIII – in November 1414.[35] Unlike prior attempts to solve the schism through the *via consilii*, this assembly was one of international scope and accordingly enormous dimensions. As Rollo-Koster aptly summarises:

> Three popes were deposed, one pope elected, and two heretics burned. Discussions lasted some four years; the council was attended by some 400 fathers, hundreds of *petite mains* (little hands), 50,000–70,000 visitors, 4 nations, a king of the Romans, 189 scribes, 330 bakers, 365 trumpets, 700 prostitutes, and 73 bankers. […] For a few years, Constance was truly the capital of Christendom, a rival to Rome and Avignon.[36]

John XXIII, who remained the only schismatic pope to have attended the council, was – after an attempt to flee – deposed and imprisoned in 1415 (he would recognise the new pope in 1418). Likewise, Benedict XIII was deposed, but never accepted his deposition – he resided at Peñíscola (Spain) until his death in 1423. Gregory XII, on the other hand, resigned voluntarily in 1415. In 1417, Martin V (Oddo Colonna) was unanimously elected the new – and only – pope of the Western Church. Of vital importance for the conciliarist movement and therefore for the future relationship between pope and council were two decrees, both presented to the council by Jean Gerson: *Haec Sancta* (6 April 1415) and *Frequens* (9 October 1417). While the former rendered the council's power under certain circumstances superior to that of the pope, the latter obliged any future pontiff regularly to call a council. Ultimately, these mechanisms aimed at preventing a breach like the one of 1378 from happening again.

1.2.4 Reintegration – One Pope, Martin V

After Martin V's 1417 election initiated the end of the Great Western Schism – the stage of reintegration – it took the new pope two years to reach the Holy City. On his travels, he spent

[35] A representative example of the many studies on the Council of Constance is Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz, 1414–1418*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1991–7). Focused on conciliarist developments, see Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Christopher M. Bellitto (eds.), *The Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, DC, 2008), and C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York, 1977).

[36] Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 62.

some nineteen months in Florence, from February 1419 to September 1420 (where he might have been presented with Antonio Baldana's *De magno Schismate*). Although Christianity was reunited, the Roman papacy struggled to regain its power, and the institutional crisis between papacy and council would evolve in the following years. Promulgating the decree *Frequens*, Martin V summoned the next council in 1423. However, this council, which met first at Pavia and later at Siena, was poorly attended and therefore dissolved. After a prorogation of seven years, Martin V convened the Council of Basel in February 1431, shortly before his death. This council was continued by Martin V's successor, Eugene IV (1431–47).

This account of the Western Schism shows that it was indeed a social drama, played out in many scenes on many different stages. Yet, a few general observations crucial for the contextualisation of papal music can be drawn here. The 'residential' conditions, so to speak, were very different in the respective obediences. Avignon, on the one hand, was an example of stability in the early years of the schism – Clement VII merely reinhabited a well-equipped fortress and enjoyed the full support of the French royalty – while in the later years, amidst siege and subtractions of obedience, it must have been difficult to keep up a court culture. Rome, on the other hand, first struggled to re-establish a court that had been abandoned for decades, and especially the decades after 1400 were characterised through upheaval and war. Pisa, though called an 'obedience', was only the location of a short council. Pope Alexander V resided in Bologna during his short papacy, while his successor John XXIII waged war to regain Rome and afterwards travelled to Constance, eventually to be deposed and imprisoned as a result of that council. Finally, calling Constance 'the capital of Christendom' introduces yet another centre of politics and cultural production. In short, the schismatic papacy was necessarily itinerant and this, in turn, influenced its music cultivation. How musicologists have traced these movements and what impact itineracy might have had on papal polyphony is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Before that, however, I set out the traces left by the schism in poetry, visual arts, and music.

1.3 Cultural History

The output of cultural historians, some of which has found its way into Rollo-Koster's footnotes, is to a large extent concerned with the apocalyptic and prophetic literature of the schismatic period (including poetry), as exemplified by the work of Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Robert E. Lerner, Bernard McGinn, Hélène Millet, Marjorie Reeves, and Roberto

Rusconi.[37] From the perspective of art history, Cathleen A. Fleck scrutinises artworks and manuscripts which emanated under the patronage of the schismatic Avignon popes, while Francesca Manzari discusses manuscripts of the schismatic period as items of legitimisation, among them Clement VII's luxury illustrated Bible and the illuminations in the Chantilly Codex, a manuscript whose musical contents are discussed at length in the following chapters.[38] Both Paola Guerrini and Renata Pieragostini have researched Antonio Baldana's *De magno Schismate*, the former from the perspective of art history (drawing on the apocalyptic allusions in its illustrations) and the latter through the lens of musicology – thus complementing Rollo-Koster's view on Baldana's work as sketched in the introduction.[39]

In sum, these different disciplinary approaches – founded in literary studies, art history, and musicology – draw on a variety of sources whose multimedia nature often leads to overlapping scholarly interests. It is therefore likely that the means through which these sources perform and respond to the schism overlaps as well. In the following, I exemplify the two methodological angles for the analysis of papal performance established in the Introduction – manuscript cultures and rhetorical strategies – demonstrating that the work of cultural historians is vital to their understanding.

The outbreak of the schism specifically expedited the production and circulation of writings engaging with its spiritual effects on Christianity such as apocalyptic prophecies, but also of so-called *Libri de Schismate* – treatises employing canon law in order to find a legitimate, practical, solution to the papal schism – which were produced in large number. Rich testimony to the everyday concerns of the intellectual elite in the papal orbit is usually provided

[37] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*; Robert E. Lerner and Orit Schwartz, 'Illuminated Propaganda: The Origins of the "Ascende calve" Pope Prophecies', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20/2 (1994), 157–91, Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, 1996); and id., 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist', *Church History*, 47/2 (1978), 155–73; Hélène Millet, *"Il Libro delle immagini dei papi": Storia di un testo profetico medieval*.(Roma, 2002); and ead., *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours: Histoire d'un livre prophétique médiéval illustré (Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*) (Turnhout, 2004); Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969); and Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Roma, 1979).

[38] See Cathleen A. Fleck, 'Seeking Legitimacy: Art and Manuscripts for the Popes in Avignon from 1378 to 1417', in Rollo-Koster/Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism*, 239–302; Francesca Manzari, 'The International Context of Boniface IX's Court and the Marginal Drawings in the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château, Ms. 564)', *Recercare*, 22/1–2 (2010), 11–33; and ead., 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma durante lo Scisma: Miniatori, copisti e calligrafi attivi tra fine Trecento e inizio Quattrocento', in Giordana Mariani Canova and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (eds.), *Il codice miniato in Europa: Libri per la chiesa, per la città, per la corte* (Padova, 2014), 401–23.

[39] Paola Guerrini, 'Le illustrazioni nel *de Magno Schismate* di Antonio Baldana', in Maria Chiabò, Giusi d'Allessandro, Paola Piacentini, and Concetta Ranieri (eds.), *Alle origini della nuova Roma: Martino V (1417–1431)* (Roma, 1992), 383–417; ead., *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo Medioevo* (Napoli, 1997); and Renata Pieragostini, 'Unexpected Contexts: Views of Music in a Narrative of the Great Schism', *Early Music History*, 25 (2006), 169–207.

by miscellanies, collections containing writings of various natures – such as correspondences, treatises, or devotional texts – which were assembled by their owners for similarly manifold purposes.

One example of a miscellany connected to the schismatic papacy is the manuscript Paris, BnF lat. 14643.[40] This source, counting 396 folios and written by several scribes, contains texts dating from as early as 1351 (fols. 330r–331r, Pierre de Ceffons, *Epistola Luciferi*) until the time of the Council of Constance (for instance, several council reports at the end of the volume). It was compiled in the environs of the University of Paris, and some scholars believe one of its scribes and its compiler to be Jean Gerson (1363–1429), chancellor of the University of Paris and one of the leading theologians of the Council of Constance.[41] Notwithstanding Gerson's debated authorship of parts of the volume, its contents provide a multiplicity of different textual genres: correspondences of the schismatic popes Clement VII, Benedict XIII, and Boniface IX, the University of Paris, or the French royals, several treatises that can be summarised under the term *Libri de Schismate* (for instance, fols. 77r–87v and 102r–112v, Jean de Legnano, *De fletu Ecclesie*; fols. 88r–101r, Conrad of Gelnhausen, *Epistola concordiae*; fols. 223r–241r, Henry de Langenstein, *Epistola concilii pacis*; fols. 269r–283v, Honoré Bouvet, *Somnium super materia Schismatis*; fols. 331v–332v, Pierre d'Ailly, *Epistola Leviathan*), prophetic writings (prophecies by Telesphorus da Consenza, fols. 283v–284r), and the above-mentioned council reports.

The rich number of correspondences and reports provided by BnF lat. 14643 enables historians to reconstruct actual historic events; more importantly, however, the overall combination of different textual materials is representative of the stance of the University of Paris during the schism. Bénédicte Sère terms the miscellany a 'witness to a precise ecclesiological vision' ('le témoin d'une vision ecclésiologique precise') and explains how the university's plea for the *via cessionis* (a deposition of all popes) is supported through a mutually informing reading of the manuscript's contents.[42] In consequence, that means that not only letters and reports shape our picture of the schism, but also prophetic writings (Telesphoros da Cosenza) as well as the rhetorically highly stylised *Libri de Schismate*. Pierre d'Ailly's 1381 short treatise *Epistola Leviathan* (fols. 331v–332v), for instance, has the Devil as its protagonist: it speaks exactly the opposite of what is to be expressed through the text, as d'Ailly

[40] The most recent manuscript description and summary of previous scholarship is provided by Sère, *Les Débats d'opinion*, 69–93 (with an inventory of the manuscript on pp. 73–82). The manuscript can be consulted online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067124w (last accessed 2 August 2023).

[41] The scholarly debate about Gerson's authorship is discussed by Sère, *Les Débats d'opinion*, 69–73.

[42] Ibid. 92.

was against the French king's support of Clement VII (and rather for a deposition of the schismatic popes). By having the Devil advocate for the opposite of his beliefs, d'Ailly managed to express his standpoint without openly confronting the royal support for the Avignon papacy.[43]

The next example in this section concerns the records of the Council of Pisa. They bear witness to what Margaret Harvey calls a 'tissue of nonsense', albeit a telling one: accusations of witchcraft against the papacy.[44] In May 1409, a number of new charges against the Roman pope Gregory XII and especially the Avignon pope Benedict XIII were brought before the council, apparently in order to amplify the weight of earlier accusations and ensure the popes' deposition. While Gregory XII was accused of having consulted a Jewish doctor to have him foretell his future as Roman pope, the list of heretical acts conducted by Benedict XIII is even longer. He was said to have employed 'necromancers, fortune-tellers, and magicians' and to have commissioned books from them ('libros nigromancie et alios perquiri mandavit'). Furthermore, the pope was alleged to have acquired one book from Saracens ('et ipsum librum ab ipsis Sarracenis habuit') and to have spent a substantial amount of money on it ('circa mille francos').[45]

Harvey surmises two close associates of Benedict XIII – the Carthusian lay-brother Francisco Aranda and the Franciscan Francesco Eximenis – to have been the real-life figures behind these 'necromancers, fortune-tellers, and magicians' as they evidently had an interest in alchemy and prophetic writings. Benedict's library, moreover, is not known to have contained books on 'magic' but instead featured several volumes about alchemy and prophetic writings by Joachim de Fiore (whom I will discuss in Chapter 5.2).

This episode is significant in two respects. First, it reveals that accusations drawn from the realm of superstition were actively employed as legal bodies of evidence during a church council and thus found their way into its official records. Second, it shows that the popes themselves (and their advisers) apparently showed a certain degree of interest in prophecy and alchemy – and that this interest could be turned into a political weapon against them. As Harvey

[43] On the *Epistola Leviathan*, see Irving W. Raymond, 'D'Ailly's "Epistola Diaboli Leviathan"', *Church History*, 22/3 (1953), 181–91.

[44] Margaret Harvey, 'Papal Witchcraft: The Charges against Benedict XIII', *Studies in Church History*, 10/1 (1973), 109–16.

[45] Quoted after ibid. 109–10. 'Item, ut ipse posset per phas et nephas papatum retinere, et que sibi circa papatum ipso vivente ventura erant prescire valeret, **multos nigromanticos, divinatores, magicos et libros nigromancie et alios perquiri mandavit et perquisivit ac habuit**, et multociens malignos demoniorum spiritus tam per se quam per alios invocavit et consuluit ac invocari et consului fecit, ac eciam quondam librum nigromancie in terris Sarracenorum perquiri fecit, quoniam alibi ipsum reperite non poterat, **et ipsum librum ab ipsis Sarracenis habuit, et pro ipso perquirendo et habendo exposuit circa mille francos**.' Bold type mine.

summarises, this anecdote 'illuminates a little the shadowy area where religion shades into politics, and prophecy is a political matter as well as a religious one'.[46] That the cultivation of music also overlapped with this 'shadowy area' is demonstrated in Chapter 5.

Antonio Baldana's *De magno Schismate*, which has been discussed by Rollo-Koster in the context of the performative reading of its illustrations, is in fact much more than a stylised illustrated chronicle of the schism.[47] As Pieragostini points out, the pictured narrative that spans in the course of thirty illustrations from Pope Clement VII's election in 1378 to Pope Martin V's arrival in Florence in 1419 is characterised by a gradual evolving of the poetic language. The poetry develops in seven stages: 1. Italian prose, 2. Italian poetry, 3. Latin prose, 4. Latin poetry, 5. Latin poetry in elegiac couplets, 6. Latin poetry in hexameters only, 7. poetry with alternating Latin metres and Italian verse forms (the latter stage called *finaliter comptus cantus*).[48] The seventh poetic stage is reserved for the final, thirtieth, illustration of *De magno Schismate*, depicting the reconciliation between the new pope Martin V and Baldassare Cossa (the former Pisan pope John XXIII) in Florence in 1419, thus combining the work's poetic climax with the historical one.

Pieragostini further traces similarities between the poems' language – deliberately obscure, and in future tense throughout – and illustrated papal prophecies, the so-called *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*.[49] These prophecies, which comprise thirty illustrations, are each attributed to a single pope and accompanied by a cryptic poetic text in the future tense. They underwent an expedited production and remodelling during the schismatic period and are subject of Chapter 5.2.

As mentioned above, the seventh and last poetic style of Baldana's poem is called *finaliter comptus cantus* – and music is directly associated with the end of the schism, and therefore with the seventh poetic style employed in the poetic narrative. Baldana himself states in the preface of his work:

> In this book indeed […] you will also find […] Music, because of the melody composed upon the seventh style, to which it has been provided as something [naturally] suitable, since this style concerns the ultimate events of the reunification of the Church and the

[46] Ibid. 116.
[47] On the illustrations, see also Guerrini, 'Le illustrazioni'.
[48] Pieragostini, 'Unexpected Contexts', 180–1.
[49] Ibid. 177–8. Only the last poem of *De magno Schismate*, accompanying illustration 30, is composed in the past tense, thus indicating the end of the schism – the end of a need for prophecy – on yet another level.

> formal installation of the legitimate pontiff, and since it invites everyone to rejoice – all things which music indeed suits most properly.[50]

In sum, for Baldana, music appears to be the ultimate element that, beyond poetry, suffices to signal the reunification of Christianity. Even if music is not visible through notation or heard in a sounding performance, it is therefore still inherent in and intertwined with the rhetorical nature of *De magno Schismate*.

The feasts of the Presentation and Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, thematised by Rollo-Koster as a means of papal performance, lead to the sounding aspects of the papacy's attempts to resolve the crisis. Both Clement VII and Urban VI hoped for the Virgin to intercede on their behalf to end the schism in their favour; Mary was seen as a universal remedy against the rift in Christianity.

The Office of the Visitation had its origins in Prague in 1385, instated by the archbishop Jan of Jenštejn. In 1386, Jenštejn asked Urban VI to establish the feast for all of Christianity. The pope, who had just been freed of his Neapolitan enemy Charles of Durazzo (who had been murdered), interpreted the latter event as an instance of divine intervention and thus agreed to the request. After three years of discussion at the curia, the office was finally instated in 1389, and 2 July declared as its feast day. The papal chaplain Henricus de Latinia finally composed music specifically for the office.[51]

The feast of Mary's Presentation to the Temple was celebrated on the Avignon side in 1385 but never entered the papal ceremonials. Its basis was a liturgical drama composed by Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), the former chancellor of the king of Cyprus and counsellor of Charles V and Charles VI of France. Accompanied by a solemn papal mass and attended by the entire population of Avignon, the 1385 event was a large public demonstration of papal legitimacy, albeit a singular one.[52]

Despite differences in their endurance, both Marian feasts had in common that their establishment was suggested to the popes by collaborators or advisers; the feasts were not

[50] Cited after ibid. 186. Pieragostini also gives the Latin text of this passage. To date, *De magno Schismate* is not available in a modern edition.

[51] Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 73–4. Ruben Ernest Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein (1348–1400): Papalism, Humanism and Reform in Pre-Hussite Prague* (The Hague and Paris, 1968), 87–91 and 127–30.

[52] See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 87–90.

introduced on the initiative of the popes themselves. It appears as if the pontiffs followed a larger trend outside the papal orbit and fashioned it to the means of papal performance.[53]

The last example of this section does not stem from an illuminated chronicle or collection of official letters, yet the subtlety with which it refers to the outbreak of the 1378 breach allows it to join the ranks of papal performance. A miscellany which was compiled at the Avignon court in 1382 contains a fictious disputation, entitled *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem*.[54] The dispute of the two popes, Urban and Clement, begins as follows:

> Urban: 'You bear the name Clement, but you cannot be clement, | you should give up for the sake of resolution because you have no power.'
> Clement: 'You are called Urban, but you have been expelled from the city: | you should either change your name or return to the city.'[55]

Although this text seems faithfully to recount the 1378 situation, it strikingly does not refer to the competing popes Urban VI and Clement VII, but rather reproduces word for word a centuries-old dispute between their two namesakes that took place in 1091. Pope Urban II and Antipope Clement III belonged to the different parties of the Investiture Controversy, in which the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century papacy fought with the monarchies of the (later) Roman Empire over the customary prerogative to invest and instal bishops and abbots with the

[53] An extraordinary case of Marian devotion (not explicitly connected to the schism but composed around 1390) are the *Marienlieder* – a 5,280-line sequence of German poems – by the little-known poet Bruder Hans. This work has recently been studied by Steven Rozenski, '"Ave Ave Ave [Ave]": The Multilingual Poetics of Exuberance in Bruder Hans', *New Medieval Literatures*, 20 (2020), 107–42. Although they cannot be viewed in the context of papal performance, the *Marienlieder* are certainly an expression of the increased veneration of the Virgin in the decades around 1400. Hans, who describes himself in his poem as a lay brother of an unknown monastery, also provides a preface to his work (which is transmitted in one of its four surviving sources). This 180-line preface deploys what Rozenski (ibid. 113) calls 'the most extreme and even excessive uses of language to be found in the fourteenth century', a multilingual rhyme in German, Latin, French, and English which also produces the Latin acrostic *Ave Maria* with the first words of each of the fifteen stanzas.

[54] The manuscript is at present housed in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 688. For an edition of the text, accounting for the several manuscripts in which the *Altercatio* is transmitted, see Ernest Sackur (ed.), 'Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem', in Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi (ed. Ernst Dümmler), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores. Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum Saeculis XI. et XII. Conscripti*, Tomus 2 (Hannover, 1892), 170–2. The miscellany Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 688 is also discussed as a 'literary source of musical interest' in Gianluca D'Agostino, 'Some Musical Data from Literary Sources of the Late Middle Ages', in Francesco Zimei (ed.), *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento VII. "Dolci e Nuove Note". Atti del Quinto Convegno Internazionale in ricordo di Federico Ghisi (1901–1975). Certaldo, 17–18 Dicembre 2005* (Lucca, 2009), 209–36, at 210–28.

[55] Sackur, *Altercatio*, 171: 'Urbanus. Nomen habes Clemens, sed Clemens non potes esse, | Tradita solvendi cum sit tibi nulla potestas. | Clemens. Diceris Urbanus, cum sis proiectus ab urbe: | Vel muta nomen vel regrediaris ad urbem.'

symbols of their office. Clement III had been installed as antipope by the pro-royal party in 1080, and supported the secular claim to the right of investiture.[56]

The fact that this dialogue was recopied in Avignon either suggests that this was done in defence of the Avignon side, or that the copyist simply liked the analogy. Although in the eleventh-century debate Clement III had been the antipope, his papacy outlasted four successive Roman popes (Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II, and Paschal II) who did not succeed in having him deposed. Perhaps the Avignon copyist of 1382 hoped for a similarly successful pontificate for Clement VII?

To conclude, these contrasting examples show that it is possible to draw historical information from a variety of sources: we gained insights into parallels between the 1378 schism and the investiture controversy, learned about the University of Paris's stance during the schism, and heard about peculiar charges of witchcraft against two popes during the Council of Pisa. Some of these sources reflect an interest in preserving, recopying, and reusing older materials that in one way or another responded to schism, while other sources exhibit an engagement with the situation through the means of music and poetry. The mechanisms behind the production and purpose of these different kinds of sources and their rhetorical strategies (or the strategies they report) are only fully graspable if viewed in conjunction with their performative background, that is, the way the creators of these sources recorded and used historical events for specific purposes and thus constructed our view of history. The following chapter explores the manuscript transmission of papal polyphony, to elucidate what this source material reveals about a particularly musical engagement with the schismatic debates.

[56] On the investiture controversy, see, for instance, Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988).

Chapter 2
The Performance Contexts and Manuscript Transmission of Papal Polyphony

The exploration of different stages and actors of the schism's social drama offered in Chapter 1 demonstrates that the competing popes were by default itinerant, at times even at war or in prison. Musical performance spaces and conditions associated with the rival papacies were, therefore, subject to constant change: musicians travelled – and so did their music. This chapter builds on the considerable work already undertaken by musicologists, primarily in the 1980s and 1990s, but which has not been the subject of musicological enquiry in more recent decades. It profits from and develops previous research in tracing singers and composers in the papal orbit, in identifying specifically 'papal' compositions, and in establishing a network of musical sources connected with the papacy.

Using the methodological lens of papal performance established in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 I aim to achieve a differentiated source picture of papal polyphony, amalgamating, for the first time, the extant ground-breaking studies on papal music. Giuliano Di Bacco, John Nádas, Alejandro Enrique Planchart, and Andrew Tomasello conducted extensive archival research to identify composers and singers among the curial personnel. The results of their archival research convey an impression of the musicians' directions of movement, their numbers, and identities.[57] As indicated in the Introduction, Margaret Bent provided a primary handlist of papal polyphony in her 1998 article 'Early Papal Motets', whose diachronic approach led her to identify papal compositions reaching from Pope John XXII (1316–34) up to Pope Eugene IV (1431–47). This study, which she has recently updated, is the foundation for the research corpus of 'papal polyphony' analysed in this thesis.[58] Finally, as a result of their study on the papal singers and the transmission of their compositions, Di Bacco and Nádas were able to segregate a group of Italian manuscripts of polyphony which they situated in the environs of the Italian papal courts.[59]

[57] Di Bacco/Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale"'; Nádas, 'The Internationalization'; Planchart, 'Music for the Papal Chapel'; and Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual'.

[58] Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', and ead., *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, forthcoming). I thank Margaret Bent for sharing with me several chapters of her book prior to publication.

[59] Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels'.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to the performance spaces of polyphony at the papal courts. As mentioned above, it is difficult concretely to localise music that was not part of established liturgical practice. However, evaluating the development of the spatial situation for liturgical polyphony in the competing obediences might bear insights also for music that was probably not performed in these premises.

The second section presents Bent's corpus of 'Early Papal Motets', explaining and supplementing her selection of papal compositions of the schismatic period. The resulting, redefined, research corpus is then consulted in two ways: first, the composers of papal polyphony that emerge in this list of compositions are collated with the evidence of papal singers that has been gathered through archival research. Second, the patterns of manuscript transmission as displayed by the research corpus are then read against the manuscript evidence that Di Bacco and Nádas present concerning surviving polyphonic sources from the Italian papal chapels.

This joint manuscript evidence of papal compositions (Bent) on the one hand and Italian papal sources (Di Bacco/Nádas) on the other will reveal different manuscript cultures that characterise the transmission of papal polyphony: the three obediences pursued different strategies of dealing with the schism, as can be gleaned from the choice of genre, style, and language, and from the manuscript transmission of the compositions relating to them.

2.1 Performance Spaces of Polyphony at the Papal Courts

Leaving aside for a moment the fact that from 1376 we are dealing with itinerant pontiffs, the first performance space that comes to mind when thinking of polyphony connected to the papacy is, naturally, the papal court. Already the very premises where the popes resided had to accommodate different spatial preconditions in Avignon and Rome. From the time the papacy had moved its residency to Avignon in 1309, it faced basically two problems: that of legitimising Avignon as the new centre of Christianity ('ubi papa, ibi Roma') and that of adapting the Roman ceremonial to the different, much smaller, facilities in Avignon. Over the years, these issues were approached in a number of ways – through enlarging the palace in the course of several building initiatives and through adapting the Roman liturgy to Avignon conditions. As a result, much of the original station liturgy and topography which previously had taken place in the streets of Rome (in the form of processions) in Avignon was now placed inside the palace. That in turn led to a privatisation of liturgical practice in general. When Gregory XI returned to Rome in 1377, a reverse process was set into motion: the Roman

pontifical palace was now adjusted to the French model, establishing there a much more intimate form of music cultivation than had existed prior to the Avignon period.[60] In short, while the Avignon papacy had to adapt the performance of the liturgy to restricted premises, the Roman papacy initially tended to adopt – despite an unchanged spatial situation – the Avignonese model of performance. In fact, considering the notion of a travelling papal court, a privatisation of liturgical practices could have proven practical en route as well, regardless of the obedience to which a pope belonged. Yet, a potential for the musical repertories of both sides to evolve in different directions remains inherent in this situation: Rome was the larger city with the – spatially – larger papal court. Finally, the Marian feasts that were established in each of the two competing obediences shortly after 1378 (see Chapter 1.3) show that both sides first sought to display their legitimacy on a liturgical – public – space, regardless of their spatial conditions.

While concrete performance spaces for liturgical music had to accommodate the changing conditions and locations of the papal court(s), non-liturgical polyphony is even more difficult to trace. Because of its highly sophisticated status, however, this polyphonic music must at least have originated in learned circles such as the papal court. Bent classifies papal polyphony as 'edifying and politically charged chamber music in private and semi-private contexts' and as 'not inaugural' (not for papal coronations), the latter revealing a significant difference from many compositions that extolled magnates of secular courts.[61] Like compositions dedicated to secular rulers, an inaugural context would have placed papal polyphony within a specific occasional framework, even without a liturgical connotation. Fabian Kolb reiterated Bent's list by examining the repertory under the premise of 'majestas papalis' but acknowledged that the instances of 'legitimation, retention of power, and panegyric' he asserted through textual and musical analysis remain in a hypothetical space. A crucial observation of his study is that the representation of papal power reaches a completely different level with Guillaume Du Fay's compositions for Eugene IV in the 1430s, namely through a known and concrete liturgical and representative function of the music.[62] Therefore,

[60] These processes are explained in detail in Melanie Brunner, 'Rom in Avignon: Imitation und Adaption im Papstpalast', in Andreas Büttner, Birgit Kynast, Gerald Schwedler, and Jörg Sonntag (eds.), *Nachahmen im Mittelalter* (Köln, 2018), 135–51. See also Elizabeth Monti, 'Locating Legitimacy: The Great Schism and Architectural Patronage in Avignon', in Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (eds.), *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture* (London, 2012), 123–35.

[61] Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 39, as well as ead., *The Motet*.

[62] Fabian Kolb, 'Klingende "maiestas papalis" zwischen Hermeneutik und Präsenz: Raum-, Zeit- und Medialitätskonzepte papstbezogener Kompositionen um 1400', in Jürgen Heidrich, Klaus Pietschmann, and Nicole Schwindt (eds.), *Musikalische Performanz und päpstliche Repräsentation in der Renaissance* (*troja, Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 11, 2012) (Kassel, 2014), 91–137, esp. 102–3.

papal polyphony apparently developed a decidedly occasional character a couple of decades later than dedicatory motets for secular rulers. A similar point of view is expressed by Bent, who observes that the contexts for the Du Fay pieces are 'well-trodden ground and more certain anchorage'. This apparent watershed in the function of papal polyphony around the time of Du Fay is only mentioned briefly at the end of both Bent's and Kolb's articles – but it strengthens the impression that, as an institution that needed to relocate and reconfigurate its liturgical spaces several times within only a couple of years, the papacy focused on promulgating its function as a sacred, not a secular institution.[63] The 'papal' pieces to be analysed in this thesis remain in a grey area between sacred (honouring popes) and secular (non-liturgical) representation, a notion that needs to be further contextualised through the analysis of specific compositions in the following chapters.

2.2 The Research Corpus of Papal Polyphony

In her 1998 article, Bent established a corpus of thirty-one surviving papal compositions. As mentioned above, these span the pontificate of Pope John XXII (1316–34) to the papacy of Eugene IV (1431–47). The defining feature of these compositions is that they refer to a specific pope or to the papacy/the schism in a more general way.[64] Therefore, the definition of 'papal' polyphony in its narrow sense is based on concrete topical relationships to the papacy within the text of a musical composition. In the revised version in her 2023 book, Bent retains her earlier list and tentatively adds one further composition: the Kyrie *Rex Angelorum* (**Apt**, fols. 1r–2r; **Barc971**, fol. 1r; **Iv**, fols. 53v–54v), which in its motetus trope text *Clemens pater conditor syderum* might allude to the pre-schismatic Avignon pope Clement VI (1342–52), possibly paired with the Gloria '*Clemens deus Artifex*' (**Iv**, fol. 28r).[65]

The focus of this thesis is confined to papal compositions from the schismatic period, excluding three examples prior to this period and a total of six compositions by Guillaume Du Fay dedicated to the post-schismatic Pope Eugene IV. The corpus of papal polyphony between 1378 and 1417 (also counting compositions for Gregory XI and Martin V respectively) thus amounts to twenty-two pieces. The compositions in honour of Martin V – as they date from after the end of the schism – will be part of the source analysis, but not investigated as to their topical content. All pieces are listed in *Tables 1* and *2* and have been supplemented by eight further compositions (totalling thirty compositions), as outlined below.

[63] Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 39. Kolb, 'Klingende "maiestas papalis"', 134–7.
[64] These compositions are listed in Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 41–3.
[65] Bent, *The Motet*.

Bent's most significant 2023 updates pertain to the motets *Per grama protho paret* (John XXII?) and *Petre Clemens* (Clement VI), which are not part of this study, since the pontiffs to whom they might refer pre-date the schism.[66] Bent's analysis of Johannes Ciconia's motet *O Petre Christi discipule* (*Table 1*, no. 7, in honour of Alexander V) has been expanded significantly in her separate chapter on Ciconia's motets in the same 2023 book, which is why this composition here informs the discussion of other, less well researched pieces instead of being analysed anew.[67] In general, the column labelled 'Comments' in *Tables 1* and *2* provides an overview as to where and in what contexts compositions have been discussed, either by other scholars or in the course of this thesis. Naturally, some pieces will be explored in much greater detail than others; the space devoted to them is determined by the amount of already extant scholarship on them as well as by the potential they bear for contributing to specific questions under discussion.

I add eight pieces to Bent's established corpus of papal polyphony.[68] The motet *Ave sancta mundi*/*Agnus dei* (*Table 1*, no. 9) enters the list based on a possible origin at the court of Pietro Filargo (later Alexander V) convincingly proposed by Benjamin Brand, as discussed in the Introduction.[69] The Latin-texted ballades *Angelorum psalat tripudium* (*Table 2*, no. 20) and *Sumite karissimi* (*Table 1*, no. 13) are thematised in Chapter 3, in the framework of its thesis that Latin-texted vernacular song forms are a specific phenomenon of the papal curia.[70] *Girand' un bel falcon* (*Table 2*, no. 24) and *Le temps verra tan toust* (*Table 2*, no. 25) qualify as papal polyphony through their poetic texts, which rather obviously refer to the schism.[71] The troped Gloria '*Spiritus et alme*' (*Table 2*, no. 23), as well as the bilingual (Latin-Italian) ballata *Deus deorum Pluto* and its parody Credo '*Deus deorum*' (*Table 1*, no. 14), are worth considering in the context of papal polyphony because their composers, Magister Egardus and Antonio Zacara da Teramo respectively, featured prominently as papal singers (see below). Furthermore, the manuscript transmission of the Gloria '*Spiritus et alme*' (which does not refer to the schism in a narrower sense) as well as the poetic text of *Deus deorum* both strengthen

[66] Ibid. Anna Zayaruznaya argues for a dedication of *Per grama* to Clement VI because the motet's 'Petrus' acrostic could (instead of Peter, the first pope) refer to Pierre Roger, which is the Christian name of Pope Clement VI. Bent only dates the motet later in John XXII's pontificate (due to stylistic features) and 'tentatively restored that motet to John XXII'.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *Deus deorum Pluto* and its parody Credo '*Deus deorum*' are counted as one piece (no. 14).

[69] Brand, '*Viator ducens ad celestia*'.

[70] Crawford Young, 'Antiphon of the Angels: *Angelorum psalat tripudium*', *Recercare*, 20/1 (2008), 5–23, also proposed papal connections for *Angelorum psalat*. *Angelorum psalat* is also discussed in Chapter 5.2.2.

[71] *Le temps verra* has been analysed in a schismatic context by Lucia Marchi, '*Le temps verrà tamtoust après*: Una proposta di attribuzione ad Antonio Zacara da Teramo', *Studi musicali* 30/1 (2001), 3–32.

this impression. Finally, the motet *Alma polis religio*/*Axe poli cum artica* (*Table 2*, no. 30) has been added tentatively to the list of papal pieces: it gives the names of singers it its poetic texts which, as suggested in Chapter 3, seem to link it to the papal chapel in Avignon.[72]

The ambiguity that especially surrounds the latter few pieces in qualifying as 'papal polyphony' in its narrowest sense demonstrates that any classification of polyphony as 'papal' or 'not papal' can never be categorical. My augmentation of the research corpus in this way is rather an attempt to broaden the horizon from more solid ground to the sphere of controlled speculation: while there must certainly exist pieces of papal polyphony (not to mention untroped liturgical compositions) whose 'papal' traces can no longer be discerned, it remains fruitful to consider all of the potential evidence for which plausible links to the papacy are indeed perceptible.

[72] See the discussion of the 'Egidius problem' in Chapter 3.2.2.

Table 1 Compositions related to specific popes

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
1	Gregory XI	(Avignon → Rome)	*Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis*	**Ch**, fols. 63v–64r	Motet	CMM 39, no. 9; PMFC 5, no. 2	Analysis of poetic text (Ch. 5.2.1)
2	Urban VI	Rome	*Alme pater* (Tr)	**LoF**, fol. 14v	Motet	—	Laments the suppression of Urban VI during the siege of Nocera in 1384
3	Clement VII vs. Urban VI	Avignon vs. Rome	… *Papam querentes* (Tr)/*Gaudeat et exultet* (Mot); {*Novum sidus orientis* (Tr)}	**Ba71**; {**Ba72**, verso}	Motet {alternative poetic text in **Ba72**}	Transcription in Chapter 4	Detailed case study (Ch. 4); analysis of poetic text (Ch. 5.1)
4	Clement VII	Avignon	*Inclite flos* [Matheus de Sancto Johanne]	**Ch**, fol. 41r ('Mayhuet de Joan'); **ModA**, fol. 15r	Latin-texted ballade	CMM 53.3, no. 296; PMFC 19, no. 62	Latin-texted chansons as phenomenon of the papal court (Ch. 3.4.4); analysis of poetic text (Ch. 5.1)

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
5	Clement VII	Avignon	*Courtois et sages* [Egidius]; {*S'elle mot lie*}	**ModA**, fol. 35r ('Magister Egidius'); **PR**, fol. 54r; {**Lei2720**, fol. 12v}	Ballade, {alternative poetic text in **Lei2720**}	CMM 53.1, no. 21; PMFC 20, no. 11	Detailed case study (Ch. 3.2), analysis of poetic text (Ch. 5.1); Low Countries Network
6	Clement VII	Avignon	*Par les bons Gedeons* [Philipoctus de Caserta]	**Ch**, fol. 45v; **ModA**, fol. 31r ('Phylipoctus de Caserta'); **Turin2**[73], fol. 5v (= fol.1av)	Ballade	CMM 53.1, no. 82; PMFC 19, no. 71	Analysis of poetic text (Ch. 5.1); **Turin2** with refrain variant describing Clement VII as 'sonbray antipape' instead of 'souverayn pape'

[73] For the foliations of **Turin2**, see Agostino Ziino (ed.), *Il Codice T.III.2. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile* / *The Codex T.III.2. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition by Agostino Ziino*, Ars Nova, 3 (Lucca, 1994). A recent edition of the manuscript is announced in Lucia Marchi and Angelica Vomera, 'L'edizione del codice Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2: Osservazioni sui criteri metodologici per l'analisi comparata di testo e musica', *TEXTUS & MUSICA*, 3 (2021), 1–25, but was not available to me.

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
7	Alexander V	Pisa	*O Petre Christi discipule* [Johannes Ciconia]	**Q.15**(I),[74] fols. R259v–260r ('Jo ciconie')	Motet	PMFC 24, no. 23	Discussed in Bent, *The Motet*; two or three Peters? – Pietro Filargo, Pietro Emiliani, St Peter
8	Alexander V	Pisa	*Dime, Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti* [Antonio Zacara da Teramo(?)]	**Turin2**, fol. 2r (= fol. 1bv)	Ballata	Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2*, 105 (music) and 121 (poetic text)	Zacara as connecting point between Roman and Pisan side; attributed on stylistic grounds in Ziino, *Il codice T.III.2*, 47–9
9	Alexander V	Pisa	*Ave sancta mundi*/*Agnus Dei* (T) [Matteo da Perugia]	**ModA**, fols. av–1r ('M. de Perusio')	(Italian) motet (Agnus Dei substitute)	PMFC 13, no. 46	Connecting point between liturgical and topical polyphony (Introduction)
10	Alexander V or John XXIII	Pisa	*Veri almi pastoris* [Corrado da Pistoia]	**ModA**, fol. 36v ('Frater Coradus de	Latin-texted ballade	CMM 53.3, no. 304; PMFC 20, no. 10	Latin-texted chansons as phenomenon of the papal court (Ch. 3.4.4)

[74] For the different foliation systems and compilation stages (I–III) of **Q.15**, see Margaret Bent (ed.), *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition by Margaret Bent*, Ars Nova Nuova serie II, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2008).

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
				Pistorio ordinis heremitarum')			
11	Alexander V or John XXIII	Pisa	*Arte psallentes* [Bartolomeo da Bologna]	**ModA**, fols. 37v–38r ('Frater Bartholomeus de Bononia ordinis sancti Benedicti')	Latin-texted ballade	CMM 11.5, no. 23; CMM 53.3, no. 294; PMFC 20, no. 7	Latin-texted chansons as phenomenon of the papal court (Ch. 3.4.4)
12	John XXIII	Pisa	*Argi vices Poliphemus*/*Tum Philemon rebus* [Nicolaus (music); Guillermus (text)]	**Ao**, fols. 4v–7r	(Italian) Motet	PMFC 13, no. 49	Topical piece as addition in a 'conciliar' source
13	John XXIII	Pisa	*Sumite karissimi* [Antonio Zacara da Teramo]	**ModA**, fol. 11v ('Magister Zacharias')	Latin-texted ballade	CMM 11.6, no. 34; CMM 53.3, no. 303;	Latin-texted chansons as phenomenon of the papal court (Ch. 3.4.4); latest Latin-texted ballade and outlier among Zacara's compositions

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
						PMFC 13, no. 45	
14	John XXIII	Pisa	*Deus deorum Pluto* (+ Credo '*Deus deorum*') [Antonio Zacara da Teramo]	**Lu**,[75] fols. LVIIIv–LIXr = fols. [P]5v–[P]6r (ballata) ('Çachara de Teramo'); **Q.15**(I), fols. R73v–76r (Credo) ('Zacar'); **Turin2**, fol. 8r (= fol. 6br) (ballata) and	Latin-Italian ballata and parody Credo	Ballata: CMM 11.6, no. 3; PMFC 10, Zacara, no. 2; Credo: CMM 11.6, no. 15; PMFC 13 'A. Zacharias', no. 3	Zacara as connecting point between Roman and Pisan side; Latin poetry and multilingualism, connecting point between liturgical and topical polyphony

[75] Roman folio numbers reflect the original foliation and Arabic folio numbers the modern foliation of **Lu**. Folio numbers preceded by '[P]' designate leaves of **Lu** now in Perugia. See John Nádas and Agostino Ziino (eds.), *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini. Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta", MS 3065. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, Ars Nova,) (Lucca, 1990). For the contents of two further newly discovered leaves of this manuscript, see eid., 'Two Newly Discovered Leaves of the Lucca Codex', *Studi musicali*, 34/1 (2005), 3–23.

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
				fol. 14r–v (= fols. 8br–8av) (Credo)			
15	Martin V	—	*Clarus ortus*/*Gloriosa mater*/*Iustus non conturbabitur* [Antonio da Cividale]	**Ox213**, fols. 117v–118r	Motet	*Polyphonia Sacra*, no. 23[76]	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years
16	Martin V	—	*Te dignitas presularis* [Johannes Brassart]	**Q.15**(II), fols. R266v–267r ('Jo brasart'); **Tr87**, fols. 77v–78r ('Jo. brassart')	Motet	CMM 35.2, no. 6	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years
17	Martin V	—	*Magne deus potentie*/*Genus*	**Q.15**(I), fols. R253v–	Motet	CMM 35.2, no. 10	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years

[76] Charles van den Borren (ed.), *Polyphonia Sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park, PA, 1932; repr. 1963).

No.	Pope(s)	Obedience(s)	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
			regale [Johannes Brassart]	254r ('Jo. brasart')			
18	Martin V	—	*Gia per gran nobeltà* [Nicolaus Zacharie]	**Ox213**, fol. 125v ('N. zacharie')	Ballata	PMFC 10, 'Nicholaus Zacharie', no. 1	Italian propaganda only from and with the council of Pisa, unlike contemporary motets
19	Martin V	—	*Mirar non posso* [Hugo de Lantins]	**Ox213**, fol. 26r ('H. d. Lantins')	Ballata/ rondeau		Italian propaganda only from and with the council of Pisa, unlike contemporary motets

Table 2 Compositions related to the papacy/the schism in general

No.	Topic	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
20	Schism, *fera pessima*	*Angelorum psalat tripudium* [Rodericus]	**Ch**, fol. 48v ('S. Uciredor')	Latin-texted ballade	PMFC 19, no. 77	Latin-texted chansons as phenomenon of the papal court (Ch. 3.4.4); case study on the *fera pessima* (Ch. 5.2.2)
21	Schism	Gloria '*Suscipe trinitas*' [Johannes Ciconia]	**GRss**, fol. Bv; **GR224**, fols. 9v–10v; **Ox56**, front pastedown r–v;	Troped Gloria	PMFC 24, no. 7	Liturgical polyphony on the Roman side (together with Zacara, Salinis, Ciconia) (Ch. 3.4.5)

No.	Topic	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
			PadD(675)[77], fol. 2r–v ('M. Jo. Ciconia'); **Wa378,** fols. 25v–27r			
22	End of the schism (as assumed in 1409?)	Gloria '*Jubilatio*' [Hubertus de Salinis]	**Q.15**(I), fols. R62v–64r ('H de salinis'); **Utr37.I**,[78] fol. 1v**;** **Ven145**, fols. 15v–19	Troped Gloria	CMM 11.7, Salinis, no. 1	Liturgical polyphony on the Roman side (together with Zacara, Salinis, Ciconia) (Ch. 3.4.5); Low Countries manuscript network vs. Roman source picture; Salinis as only 'Roman' composer in **Ch** (only *En la sa saison* – with conflicting ascriptions)
23		Gloria '*Spiritus et alme*' [Egardus]	**GR224**(Dartmouth2387)**,** fol. 1v; **PadA**(1475),[79] fol. 43r ('Engardus');	Troped Gloria	Strohm, 'Magister Egardus'[80]	Liturgical polyphony on the Roman side (together with Zacara, Salinis, Ciconia) (Ch. 3.4.5); Low Countries manuscript network vs. Roman source picture; together

[77] The Biblioteca Universitaria in Padua holds four fragments – shelfmarks 675, 1106, 1225, and 1283 – which were originally part of the same manuscript and are now known as 'PadD'.

[78] The subdivision of **Utr37** is adapted from that in Eliane Andrea Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries around 1400', PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2018, 11, 'The fragment collection in Utrecht, moreover, can be subdivided into three groups: (i) a group consisting of Mass settings, motets, and Dutch-texted songs (*Uu 37.I*); (ii) a set of fragments of French-, Dutch-, and Latin-texted songs (*Uu 37.II*); and (iii) a single fragment of liturgical chant (*Uu 37.III*). In short, the three groups stem from different manuscripts. Nevertheless, both Utr37.I and Utr37.II originated in the Low Countries, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.2.

[79] The three fragments – shelfmarks Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684, 1475 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 229 – were originally part of the same manuscript and are now known as 'PadA'.

[80] Reinhard Strohm, 'Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento VI: Atti del Congresso Internazionale "L'Europa e La Musica del Trecento", Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19–20–21 luglio 1984* (Certaldo, 1993), 41–68.

No.	Topic	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
			PadD(1225), fol. 1r; **Utr37.I**, fol. 17v			with *Furnis reliquisti quare*; **ModA**; and Latin 'nonsense' poetry
24	Hostility of Florence to Gregory XII (Rome) and the Florentine support for the Council of Pisa	*Girand' un bel falcon* [Paolo da Firenze]	**SL2211**[81], fols. CXXXIIIv–CXXXIIIIr = fols. 101v–102v); **Pit**, fols. 138v–139r; [**Sq**, fol. 55v][82]	Ballata	PMFC 8, no. 14	Italian propaganda only from and with the council of Pisa, unlike contemporary motets
25	Yearning for the end of the schism	*Le temps verra tan toust* [Antonio Zacara da Teramo?]	**Turin2**, fols. 24v–25r (= fols. 9ar–4br)	Motet?	Marchi, '*Le temps verrà*'	Zacara as connecting point between Roman and Pisan side (Ch. 3.4.5); attributed in Marchi, '*Le temps verrà*'
26	Schism, Virgin birth	*Benedicta viscera*/*Ave*	**Ox213**, fols. 102v–103r ('Gilet Velut')	Motet	CMM 11.2, Gilet	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years

[81] Roman folio numbers reflect the original foliation and Arabic folio numbers the modern foliation of **SL2211**. See Andreas Janke and John Louis Nádas (eds.), *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211. Introductory Study and Multispectral Images edited by Andreas Janke and John Nádas*, 2 vols., Ars Nova Nuova serie, IV (Lucca, 2016).

[82] The piece was intended (as can be judged from the border decoration, depicting a falcon) but never entered. See Franco Alberto Gallo (ed.), *Il Codice Squarcialupi: MS Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze* (Firenze, 1992), 103.

No.	Topic	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
		mater/*Ora pro nobis* [Gilet Velut]			Velut, no. 7	
27	Prayer to the Virgin for an end of the schism	*Eya dulcis*/*Vale placens* [Johannes Tapissier]	**Ox213**, fols. 139v–140r ('Jo Tapssier')	Motet	CMM 11.1, Johannes Tapissier, no. 3	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years, thematically related to *Benedicta viscera* (no. 26)
28	Schism, God, and Trinity	*Venite adoremus*/*Salve sancta* [Johannes Carmen]	**Ox213**, fols. 138v–139r; **Q.15**(I, III), fols. R224v–225r/A341v–342r ('carmen'), and fols. A253v–254r [R224v–225r]	Motet	CMM 11.1, Johannes Carmen, no. 1	Fading out of openly polemical content in the later schism years
29	Threefold schism?	…*de qua cordis*/*Trinitatem*	**Houghton122**	Motet	—	Added to the list tentatively since very fragmentary; source also contains a Patrem by Salinis (see Cuthbert, 'Hidden in Our Publications'[83])

[83] Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Hidden in our Publications: New Concordances, Quotations, and Citations in Fourteenth-Century Music', paper given at the conference of the International Musicological Society, Tokyo, 21 March 2017.

No.	Topic	Composition [composer]	Manuscript(s)	Genre	Edition(s)	Comments/where discussed
30	Musicians at papal court in Avignon?	*Alma polis religio*/*Axe poli cum artica*	**Ch**, fols. 67v–68r (Egidius de Aurolia and J. de Porta named in motetus text)	Motet	CMM 39, no. 10; PMFC 5, no. 28	'Egidius problem', discussed together with *Portio nature*/*Ida capillorum* (Ch. 3.3.1)

2.2.1 Papal Singers, Cardinals, and their *Familiae*

The breach of 1378 not only initiated a choosing of sides on the level of competing European powers, but also of direct associates with the curia: cardinals and their *familiae* (households) as well as employees of the papal court. The cardinals often had private chapels, which is why their *familiae* also included singers. Consequently, there is evidence of singers who were active at the papal curia and at the same time were employed in the cardinalate chapels. This documentation is of course incomplete and sketchy, and it is probable that the number of unreported cases is much higher. The movement towards Rome had two crucial effects on the musical practice at the multiple papal courts: first, a tremendously increased itineracy of the papal curia and its musicians (already initiated by Gregory XI through his return to Rome), and second, the consequent internationalisation of papal personnel, prominently launched through the establishment of the new court in Rome, which marked the first noticeable presence of northern musicians in Italy in the fourteenth century.[84]

While Di Bacco and Nádas investigated the papal and cardinalate singers at the Italian courts of the schism, Tomasello's study complements their research by tracing the singers of the Avignon popes from the beginning of the Avignon papacy until shortly before the Council of Pisa.[85] Planchart's survey of the papal singers in the early fifteenth century largely concerns evidence from after the end of the schism (and its data is therefore not consulted here), but he made important observations about the development of the papal personnel in general.[86] The following statements conflate information given by Di Bacco, Nádas, and Tomasello, supplemented by a number of expert studies.[87]

The itineracy and internationalisation of the papal entourage mentioned above can be demonstrated concretely through the numbers and nationality of the musicians and cardinals: for instance, out of the seventeen French cardinals and their retinues which had travelled to Rome with Gregory XI, thirteen cardinals and their *familiae* left Rome for the nearby Fondi

[84] Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 46. See also Nádas, 'The Internationalization'.
[85] Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual'.
[86] Planchart, 'Music for the Papal Chapel'.
[87] These expert studies include Ursula Günther, 'Composers at the Court of the Antipopes in Avignon: Research in the Vatican Archives', in Barbara Haggh, Franck Daelemans, and André Vanrie (eds.), *Musicology and Archival Research*, Atti del Convegno, Bruxelles, 22–23.4.1993 (Bruxelles, 1994), 328–37; Agostino Ziino, 'Gli "ultramontani" in Italia e la nascita dello "stile internazionale"', in Mara Lacchè (ed.), *Il mondo cortese di Gentile da Fabriano e l'immaginario musicale: La cultura musicale e artistica nel Quattrocento europeo e la sua riscoperta in epoca moderna e contemporanea*, Atti del congresso internazionale di studi, Fabriano, 30 giugno–1 luglio, 2006) (Roma, 2008), 15–27; Giuliano Di Bacco, 'Documenti Vaticani per la storia fella musica durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417)', *Quaderni storici*, 32/2 (1997), 361–86; and Evan A. MacCarthy, 'New Light on Recruiting Singers during the Papal Schism: A Letter from Pope Urban VI', in Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (eds.), Qui Musicam in Se Habet: *Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart* (Middleton, WI, 2015), 225–9.

and were involved in the election of Clement VII in September 1378; they finally returned with him to Avignon in 1379. As the first schismatic Avignon pope, Clement VII still nourished (probably more so than his successors) the hope of proving his legitimacy as the one and only pope. In principle, the dispute could still have been resolved through canon law, although this was never to happen in practice. An important factor in this power play was to accumulate as many supporters as possible and demonstrate authority through the sheer size of the papal court. As mentioned earlier, Clement VII could still draw on the pre-existent facilities of his Avignon predecessors – a circumstance he exploited with great success, since most tellingly, during his pontificate (1378–94), the papal chapel reached a hitherto unprecedented size. The French composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne (*Inclite flos*; *Table 1*, no. 4) was already serving Robert of Geneva (later Pope Clement VII) when the latter was still a cardinal. Matheus is further recorded as *cantor capelle* in Clement's Avignon chapel from 1382 to 1387.[88]

In the light of these developments, the identities and numbers of musicians in papal and cardinalate service discovered by the studies at hand show the following tendencies: at the beginning of the schism, nine out of fourteen musicians from Gregory XI's retinue transferred to Clement VII's chapel and ten new musicians (partly from his own chapel as cardinal) were employed.

Only one singer changed sides from the French to the Roman retinue and three more musicians, two of them familiars of Italian cardinals, joined Urban VI's chapel. Urban VI, therefore, had to start from scratch with the employment of personnel in the papal curia, including musicians: he created twenty-five new cardinals, which in consequence attracted numerous native Italian and foreign musicians to the new Roman chapel. As Di Bacco and Nádas summarise: 'From the earliest years of the Schism and in the following decades Italian singers were attracted to the [Roman] papal curia from areas more or less proximate to the Holy City, and there they mixed with French and Flemish musicians bound through their native dioceses to the Roman obedience.'[89]

In general, the Avignon chapel remained the larger and more prolific, but mainly French-dominated, institution in the early years of the schism, while the Roman side gradually

[88] On Matheus, see Andrew Wathey, 'Matheus de Sancto Johanne', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uio.no/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018061 (last accessed 1 March 2023). I argue that three of the four compositions dedicated specifically to Clement VII mirror his representative ambitions and exhibit a consistent political agenda through the thematic coherence of their poetic texts (see chapter 5.1). Two of them (see chapters 3.2. and 4) further provide unique insights into contemporary modelling and the genesis of 'papal' polyphony.

[89] Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 48. On this topic, see also Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), 41.

gained influence and grew larger through its international make-up: though the records of Urban VI's chapel are mainly lost, this impression is confirmed by the retinues of the Italian cardinals, chief among them the influential cardinal and papal legate Philippe d'Alençon, whose *familia* counted some seventy members by the late 1380s, around a third of them from the Low Countries, and around half of them reported as being in papal service.[90]

Johannes Ciconia (*O Petre*; *Table 1*, no.7; Gloria '*Suscipe trinitas*'; *Table 2*, no. 21) was born the illegitimate son of a canon in Liège in 1370. He is reported in d'Alençon's service in 1391 and, therefore, must have left his hometown in the Low Countries around 1390, accompanying the cardinal to Rome. He worked in the papal orbit for a couple of years before his career led him to the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti in Pavia. From 1401, he was active in Padua until his premature death there in 1412.[91]

Magister Egardus (Gloria '*Spiritus et alme*'; *Table 2*, no. 23), born in the southern Low Countries, is probably identical with the papal scriptor Eckardus, who was also active in the Roman papal chapel in the 1390s. Like Ciconia, he obviously went south after 1378 (it is not clear when exactly) and thus contributed to the internationalisation of the Roman papal chapels.[92]

Twelve more cardinals in Italy are known to have had a private chapel; the scope of their retinue counts between two and eight singers – even if many names may be lost, these *familiae* must have been much smaller than d'Alençon's chapel.[93] Lastly, when observing the

[90] On Philippe d'Alençon, see Hans Jürgen Brandt, 'Kardinal Philippe d'Alençon (1338/39–1397): Zur Biographie eines päpstlichen Legaten römischer Obedienz für Deutschland während des Großen abendländischen Schismas', in Karl Amon et al. (eds.), *Ecclesia Peregrinans; Josef Lenzenweger zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wien, 1996), 119–41.

[91] On Ciconia's time as *clericus capelle* of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon and therefore in the environs of the Roman papal court in the 1390s, see Di Bacco/Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale"'. On Ciconia in general, see Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Johannes Ciconia: Musicien de la Transition* (Turnhout, 2003). Among d'Alençon's entourage, a Johannes Vavassoris is reported as papal *scriptor* from 1389/90 (Di Bacco/Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale"', 56, and Nádas, 'The Internationalization', 259). I propose that he is identical with the composer of the motet *Ferre solet* transmitted in the recently discovered Douai fragment (F-DOU Ms 1105/3, fragment 74.4/1). This motet is exceptional in terms of its isorhythmic planning and the make-up of its poetic texts, which encode the year of composition (1373) as well as the name of its composer. See Manon Louviot, 'Uncovering the Douai Fragment: Composing Polyphony and Encoding a Composer in the Late Fourteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 40 (2021), 85–166. Moreover, Vavassoris might have joined the cardinal's *familia* together with Johannes Ciconia since both have connections to Liège and appear in the records for an overlapping timeframe.

[92] See Reinhard Strohm, 'Magister Egardus'. Another northern composer who went south around 1400 is Thomas Fabri, a student of Johannes Tapissier in Paris. In 1412, he became succentor at St. Donatian in Bruges, the same church where Magister Egardus had been appointed earlier. Egardus and Fabri are connected through two Latin-texted canons in which they apparently greet each other; see Chapter 3.4.4. On Fabri, see Craig Wright, 'Thomas Fabri', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uio.no/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000009185 (last accessed 1 March 2023), and Strohm, 'Magister Egardus', 47.

[93] Nádas, 'The Internationalization', 253–4.

pattern of northern representation in the Italian chapels over the course of the schism, it seemingly went through a shift from being wholly international at the beginning, through becoming largely Italian ca. 1400, to having an international character during the Pisan obedience, to finally consist largely of northerners under Pope Martin V.

Of the seventy-four papal singers in Italy (this number covers the entire schismatic period), forty-five are reported in the Roman obedience and twenty-three in Pisa. Six singers transferred from the Roman to the Pisan obedience, thus showing the decreasing support for the Roman (and Avignon) obediences on the eve of the Council of Pisa.[94] The Frenchman Hubertus de Salinis (Gloria '*Jubilatio*'; *Table 2*, no. 22) is one of the six singers who switched sides: he is first documented in the chapel of Boniface IX in Rome in 1403, and later transferred to the Pisan obedience, as he is reported as papal singer in 1409, shortly after the inauguration of Alexander V.[95]

Antonio Zacara da Teramo (*Dime, Fortuna* (?); *Table 1*, no. 8; *Sumite karissimi*; *Table 1*, no. 13; *Deus deorum Pluto* and Credo '*Deus deorum*'; *Table 1*, no. 14; *Le temps verra* (?); *Table 2*, no. 25) is the only known singer (and composer) who served in more than three papal chapels; he is also an example for the transfer from the Roman to the Pisan obedience. Zacara might have stayed in Rome until 1407, to serve in the entourage of three successive Roman popes: Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and finally Gregory XII. We lack documentation about his whereabouts for some five years, until in 1412–3 Zacara is documented in the chapel of John XXIII at Bologna.[96]

Lastly, Matteo da Perugia (*Ave sancta mundi*; *Table 1*, no. 9) is assumed to have been in the chapel of Pope Alexander V, but he already served Cardinal Pietro Filargo before his

[94] The singers are listed ibid. 260–1. On the Avignon singers during the schism, see Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual', 63–75. In general, the chapel size under Benedict XIII (the only Avignon pope after Clement VII) is characterised by this pope's itineracy and (military) conflicts: the number of singers fluctuated, usually counting only about half the size of Clement's chapel.

[95] Robert Nosow, 'Hymbert [Hubertus, Hubertys, Humbertus, Ubertus] de Salinis', *Grove Music Online, 2001,* https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uio.no/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013646 (last accessed 1 July 2023). On Salinis's motets, see recently Margaret Bent, 'The Motet Collection of San Lorenzo 2211 (SL) and the Composer Hubertus de Salinis', in Antonio Calvia et al. (eds.), *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories* (Firenze, 2020), 43–70.

[96] The most comprehensive volume on this composer is Francesco Zimei (ed.), *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo* (Lucca, 2004). See also id., 'Zacara and his Oeuvre in the Schismatic Context', in Stefan Morent, Silke Leopold, and Joachim Steinheuer (eds.), *Europäische Musikkultur im Kontext des Konstanzer Konzils*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, XLVII (Ostfildern, 2017), 193–204. Zacara is thematised in more detail in Chapter 3.4.5.

election at the Pisan council. The manuscript **ModA** transmits all of Matteo's works and is therefore thought to have originated under Filargo's patronage (see section 2.3 below).[97]

2.2.2 Composers of Papal Polyphony: Documented as Papal Singers?

Six composers whose works feature in the research corpus of papal polyphony are known to have been part of the papal chapel and have therefore been mentioned above: Ciconia, Egardus, Matheus de Sancto Johanne, Matteo da Perugia, Salinis, and Zacara.

The Italian composers Philipoctus da Caserta, Corrado da Pistoia, Bartolomeo da Bologna, and Paolo da Firenze are not documented as papal singers. No substantial corpus of compositions is preserved for Philipoctus, Corrado, and Bartolomeo, nor are their biographies well documented.[98] Paolo da Firenze, born in Florence in the mid-fourteenth century and a Benedictine friar from around 1380, was one the most prolific Italian composers of the late fourteenth century. Most of his some sixty works survive in the Florentine source **Pit**, as does *Girand' un bel falcon* (*Table 2*, no. 24). Paolo worked in and around Florence most of his life and probably supervised the compilation of the Squarcialupi Codex (**Sq**) there in the first decade of the fifteenth century.[99]

Lastly, the identity of S. Uciredor/Rodericus (*Angelorum psalat tripudium*; *Table 2*, no. 20, the only piece ascribed to this composer), Nicolaus and Guillermus (*Argi vices Poliphemus*/*Tum Philemon rebus*; *Table 1*, no. 12), and Egidius remains obscure. In the case of Egidius, there are a number of possible 'Egidiuses' known from the decades around 1400, but it is neither clear whether they (or some of them) are the same person. There is one papal singer with the first name Egidius – Egidius de Lens (from Liège), who had first been *cantor capelle* under Urban VI and is later documented in the chapel of Boniface IX. Furthermore, an

[97] On Pietro Filargo's patronage of Matteo da Perugia, see Anne Stone and Federica Toniolo, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24: Commentary* (Lucca, 2005), 66–9.

[98] On Philipoctus's biography as well as the question whether he can be identified with the music theorist associated with the *Tractatus figurarum* (named as 'Philipoctus da Caserta' as well as 'Magister Phillipotus Andreas' in different sources), see Giuliano Di Bacco, 'Original and Borrowed, Authorship and Authority: Remarks on the Circulation of Philipoctus de Caserta's Theoretical Legacy', in Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (eds.), *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564*) (Turnhout, 2009), 329–64. Di Bacco also doubts that Philipoctus was Italian. Corrado da Pistoia's compositional output is only known through two pieces in **ModA**, among them *Veri almi pastoris* (*Table 1*, no. 10). His name surfaced in two Florentine documents, indicating that he was an Augustinian friar. See Stone/Toniolo, *The Manuscript Modena*, 71. On Bartolomeo da Bologna, probably a Benedictine monk, see Hans Schoop, 'Bartolomeo da Bologna', *Grove Music Online, 2001*, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uio.no/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000002170 (last accessed 1 July 2023).

[99] David Fallows, 'Paolo [di Marco] da Firenze', *Grove Music Online, 2001,* https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uio.no/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020842 (last accessed 1 July 2023).

Egidius Ledouille from Amiens is documented in the *familia* of Phillippe d'Alençon between 1386 and 1390; he was apostolic scriptor and abbreviator, as well as *archidiaconus* at Liège Cathedral.[100]

Combining the records of papal singers on the one hand and the survey of composers documented in papal retinue on the other leads to two conclusions. First, only a tiny number of the singers documented in the papal chapels were active as composers – even if some of the names which appear in these records could be matched to compositions which are transmitted anonymously, we have many more names than compositions to attribute. Confirming this impression, Margaret Bent points out that 'the emphasis […] was on a team of singing clerks who brought multiple general skills to the curia, rather than on a choir as such, let alone a team of composer-singers, an image fostered by a line of composers from Du Fay onwards'.[101] The papal singers who do surface as composers – such as Ciconia, Egardus, Salinis, and Zacara – are all represented in the research corpus through liturgical compositions (*Table 2*, nos. 21, 22, 23, 25). That does not mean that they did not compose secular pieces, but it suggests that their important function at the papal court was enhanced by the representative, liturgical, nature of their sacred works.

Second, and conversely, a number of named composers cannot be traced back to the papal court. These, as well as several anonymous composers, are often associated with topical papal pieces, that is, secular songs and motets. This is, for instance, the case for Rodericus (*Angelorum psalat*), Egidius (*Courtois et sages*; *Table 1*, no. 5), Philipoctus de Caserta (*Par les bons Gedeons*; *Table 1*, no. 6), and even the prolific composer Paolo da Firenze (*Girand'un bel falcon*). In addition to the difficulty of localising these papal compositions in specific performance contexts, it seems that their composers were also not necessarily based at the papal court. I propose, therefore, that this constellation of composer ascription, genre, and biographical data (as sketchy as they might be) indicates a crystallisation of papal propaganda in topical polyphony *outside* the papal court.

[100] This constellation is discussed as the 'Egidius problem' in Chapter 3.2.2. For Egidius de Lens, see Nádas, 'The Internationalization', 252, 253, 260. For Egidius Ledouille, see ibid. 258.

[101] Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 5.

2.3 Manuscripts of Papal Polyphony Read against the 'Central Italian Source Picture'

When considered as a whole, the extant corpus of topical papal polyphony offers a rather one-sided view. While the polytextual motet *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis* (*Table 1*, no. 1) refers to the last pre-schismatic pope, Gregory XI (and apparently talks about his return to Rome), four compositions (*Table 1*, nos. 3–6) survive whose poetic texts unambiguously defend the pontificate of Clement VII against his Roman opponent. Yet only one topical composition, the fragmentary motet *Alme pater* (*Table 1*, no. 2), represents the Roman papacy, here Urban VI.

This general, and one-sided, picture continues throughout the schismatic period: the Roman obedience after Urban VI (Boniface IX, Innocent VII, Gregory XII) left no traces at all in terms of compositions dedicated to them. However, several compositions (mainly Latin-texted ballades; *Table 1*, nos. 7–14) are associated with the Pisan popes, Alexander V and John XXIII. *Girand' un bel falcon* (*Table 2*, no. 24) can additionally be counted among the pro-Pisan compositions, as it supports the efforts of the Pisan council against the Roman claimant Gregory XII. Furthermore, a number of compositions dating to the early fifteenth century lament the circumstances of the schism in general (*Table 2*, nos. 21, 22, and 25–29).

This curious source situation raises several research questions: why is it that the Roman obedience is so scarcely represented in topical music of this period? What other musical output of the Roman side can be detected instead? What kinds of manuscripts transmit these repertories, and how are the competing obediences represented in them?

The majority of surviving compositions whose poetic texts explicitly concern the papacy from the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries pertain to the schismatic period. As mentioned above, they address almost exclusively the Avignon and Pisan sides of the schism or refer only to the situation in general. By far the majority of those pieces are contained in a particular group of sources: **Ch** (five compositions), **ModA** (seven compositions), **Ox213**, and **Q.15** (six compositions each).

The Chantilly collection comprises one hundred songs and thirteen motets and was compiled in Italy in the 1410s. **Ch** features a purely French repertory, but its concrete place of compilation (in Italy) remains disputed in scholarship, mainly because its music can be linked to several distant courts such as Avignon and Paris, as well as Aragon and Foix.[102] **ModA**

[102] See Plumley/Stone, *A Late Medieval Songbook*, and Plumley/Stone (eds.), *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564: Introduction* (Turnhout, 2008).

consists of two layers (**ModA**I/V, fols. av–11r and fols. 41r–zr, and **ModA**II–IV, fols. 11r–40v) which were compiled in Italy in the 1410s and 1420s respectively. As proposed convincingly by Anne Stone, the manuscript might have originated in the cardinalate chapel of Pietro Filargo, Matteo da Perugia's patron, who at the Council of Pisa was elected pope and took the name Alexander V.[103] It provides a combination of French polyphony from before the turn of the century (**ModA**II–IV) and mass settings and secular songs largely by Matteo da Perugia, dating to after 1400 (**ModA**I/V). Accordingly, most papal pieces (*Table 1*, nos. 4–6, 10, 11, and 13, honouring Clement VII or the Pisan popes) are copied in **ModA**II–IV, whereas Matteo's *Ave sancta mundi* (*Table 1*, no. 9, discussed in the introduction) is to be found at the very beginning of **ModA**I/V (fols. av–1r). The two Veneto sources **Ox213** and **Q.15** are similar (or bigger) in scope to **Ch** and **ModA** and were compiled from the 1420s onwards. They are, chronologically, the latest sources in this survey and also contain papal polyphony from after 1400 (concerning the Pisan obedience and Martin V).[104]

Furthermore, several manuscripts containing up to as many as three papal compositions – **Ao**, **Lu**, **PR**, and **Turin2** – also originated in Italy in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Yet another group of, very fragmentary, Italian sources (**GRss**, **GR224**, **Ox56**, **PadA**, **PadD**, **Wa378)** preserves the two troped Glorias '*Suscipe trinitas*' (*Table 2*, no. 21) and '*Spiritus et alme*' (*Table 2*, no. 23), while further fragments, also from Italy (**SL2211**, **Pit**, and **Ven145**) feature the Gloria '*Jubilatio*' (*Table 2*, no. 22).

The only exceptions to this accumulation of Italian manuscripts are the fragments **Ba71** and **Ba72**, which contain parts of the same motet (*Table 1*, no. 3), for which I propose in Chapter 4 a likely French origin and a date in the late fourteenth century.[105] In their non-Italian provenance, they are accompanied by the early fifteenth-century Low Countries fragments **Lei2720** and **Utr37** (the former transmitting a ballade on Clement VII and the latter preserving

[103] The main study of **ModA**, also presenting the hypothesis that the manuscript originated at Pietro Filargo's chapel, is provided by Stone/Toniolo, *The Manuscript Modena*, *passim*. See also Pedro Memelsdorff, 'What's in a Sign? The [Natural Chromatic Sign] and the Copying Process of a Medieval Manuscript: The Codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24 (OLIM LAT. 568)', *Studi musicali*, 30/2 (2001), 255–80; Appendix, and Jason Stoessel, 'The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c. 1378–1411) and Politics of Repertoire in Mod A: New Hypotheses', *Journal of Music Research Online*, 5 (2014). A recent edition of **ModA**, intended for performers, is provided by Jos Haring and Kees Boeke (eds.), *The Manuscript αM.5.24. Modena Codex. New, Complete Edition with Commentary. Including All Known Works Written or Expanded by Matheus de Perusio*, Olive Music I (Dordrecht/Arezzo, 2019).

[104] On **Ox213**, see David Fallows (ed.), *Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 213. With an Introduction and Inventory by David Fallows*, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile, I (Chicago and London, 1995). On **Q.15**, see Bent, *Bologna Q15*.

[105] Chapter 4 offers a detailed case study of this composition, … *Papam querentes* (Tr)/*Gaudeat et exultet* (Mot) with the alternative Tr text *Novum sidus orientis* in **Ba72**.

the troped Glorias '*Jubilatio*' and '*Spiritus et alme*'), as well as the English source **LoF** (containing *Alme pater* in honour of Urban VI; see above).

So far, it can be observed that, somewhat paradoxically, polyphony referring to the Avignon and Pisan papal courts is to be found largely in Italian manuscripts of the early fifteenth century, while topical papal polyphony concerning the Roman papacy is almost entirely absent. Furthermore, the extant Avignon and Pisan compositions were compiled in a retrospective fashion, sometimes mingled with contemporary Italian repertory (as in the case of **ModA**).

By contrast, the possibly French fourteenth-century fragments **Ba71** and **Ba72**, preserving a motet in honour of the French pope Clement VII, remain exceptional.[106] Lastly, the small amount of liturgical polyphony that can (because of its textual tropes and/or composer) be connected to the papacy – the three troped Glorias by Magister Egardus, Johannes Ciconia, and Hubertus de Salinis – is apparently confined to a group of very fragmentary Italian sources, distinct from the often large-scale Italian manuscripts mentioned above. Two of these Ordinary settings are also preserved in the Low Countries manuscript **Utr37**.

Bearing in mind that there is an extensive Italian manuscript tradition that transmits polyphony of the Avignon and Pisan courts, but with a complete absence in these sources of topical pieces honouring the Roman papacy, it is all the more intriguing that Di Bacco and Nádas were able to establish a 'Central Italian source picture', that is, sources centred around the *Roman* papal orbit.[107] They describe their methodology as follows:

> On the basis of our suggestions of Rome as the initial area of compositional activity not only of Zacara but also of Ciconia, we wish to claim that at least some of their works must have initially entered the written tradition in the Roman papal orbit during the 1390s and early 1400s – that is, as part of the repertory of the papal chapels.[108]

In short, they draw their evidence from the biography of two composers well-documented in papal service – Johannes Ciconia and Antonio Zacara da Teramo – and not from the textual characteristics of specific 'papal' compositions, as Margaret Bent has done. I believe that these

[106] The only surviving music manuscript of Avignon provenance, whose several layers can be dated from the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, is **Apt**, though it contains almost exclusively liturgical repertory in the form of mass settings – whereas its only four motets stem from the early fourteenth century, thus introducing another degree of retrospectivity. The codex is discussed in Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual', 123–50.

[107] For the term 'Central Italian source picture', see Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', *passim.*

[108] Ibid. 58.

two contrasting approaches – and their apparent paradoxical outcome – *together* will shed light on the source picture of papal polyphony as a whole. Therefore, the final step of this chapter is to join together these disparate bodies of evidence that have not previously been correlated, in order to provide explanations for the source picture of papal polyphony.

In *Tables 3* and *4* below, I reproduce the list of Italian fragments that resulted from Di Bacco's and Nádas's investigations and supplement them with the findings of Michael Scott Cuthbert, whose 2006 dissertation provides more detailed and often updated information on several of the fragments in question. Cuthbert's study further corroborates Di Bacco's and Nádas's preliminary assessment of these sources, for instance, regarding their Italian provenance.[109] The evidence which Di Bacco and Nádas termed a Central Italian source-picture is divided in two phases: first, 'sources that may be associated with contacts made by foreign and native musicians in Rome during the early decades of the Great Schism' (*Table 3*) and second, 'sources whose contents may be associated with the repertory of the papal chapels during their travels, 1407–1414' (*Table 4*). Although these two categories cannot be mutually exclusive, they reflect a divide between an itineracy of musicians towards the curia *in* Rome in the early schism years and an itineracy of the Roman papal court as whole after 1400, thus representative of the musician movements outlined in section 2.2.1.

[109] Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex', PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006. See also id., 'Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of the Schism', *Musica Disciplina*, 54 (2009), 39–74, where he argues that around 75% of the Italian polyphony of the schismatic period survives.

General notes on *Tables 3* and *4*:

Manuscript sigla have been updated but the order of sources has been retained. Therefore, *Tables 3* and *4* sometimes deviate from the originally alphabetical order of the sources in Di Bacco and Nádas. The column labelled 'Comments' provides a short summary of the respective source's contents and scope and further relevant information, if applicable.

Cortona1/2, **Egidi**, **Foligno**, **GR224**, and **Wa378** are explicitly discussed as papal sources by Di Bacco and Nádas; the remaining fragments have been added to the source picture by them on the basis of concordances. Sources underlaid in green also feature in the research corpus of papal polyphony as established by Bent and which I have supplemented (see *Tables 1* and *2* above).

Bibliographical abbreviations: Cuthbert = Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments'; DBN = Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels'.

Table 3 Sources that may be associated with contacts made by foreign and native musicians in Rome during the early decades of the Great Schism (after Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 59)

Source	Comments
Atri17	One parchment folio, containing Zacara's Gloria '*Micinella*' and one polyphonic lauda.
Cortona1/2	**Cortona1**: three sacred motets, one secular work (Cuthbert, 59; inventory at DBN, 82). **Cortona2**: Gloria and Sanctus (largely illegible, Cuthbert, 50; inventory at DBN, 84). DBN, 86: 'It seems to us that the Cortona fragments are a fine new example of the collection of ultramontane polyphonic mass music in central Italy, repertories that must have first been brought to Italy by musicians in papal and cardinalate chapels.'
Egidi (lost)	Three motets: *Marce Marcum imitaris* (also in **GR224**), *Leonarde pater* (DBN, 67: Referring to 'Leonardo de Rossi da Giffonio, leader of the Franciscan order, upon his appointment as cardinal by Clement VII in December 1378'; Leonardo was deprived of his benefices by Urban VI as soon as he was appointed by Clement VII); *Florencia mundi speculum* (DBN, 68: further Franciscan connections; second cantus in **SL2211**); Zacara caccia *Cacciando per gustar*. Inventory at DBN, 65. The motets appear as space fillers.

Source	Comments
Foligno	One parchment bifolio with three polyphonic Glorias, the first one English (concordance with **GR224** and **LoT**), the other two French (but everything copied by an Italian scribe). Inventory at DBN, 60; see also Janet Palumbo, 'The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40/2 (1987), 169–209. DBN, 61: 'We suggest that English music must have first been brought to Italy with the French papal and cardinalate chapels of Pope Gregory XI, or with the Flemish musicians who subsequently joined the Roman chapels […], not to mention direct contacts with English musicians during this period.'
Frosinone	Four virelais, one ballade, three ballate (Cuthbert, 27), doubtlessly copied in Italy because of notation (Cuthbert, 321, also with inventory).
GR224	Ten sacred, three secular pieces, including one celebratory motet (Cuthbert, 28); inventory at DBN, 62. Liturgical polyphony by Zacara, Ciconia, Egardus, and one English Gloria concordant with **Foligno**; Vaillant, *Par maintes foys*; motet *Marce Marcum imitaris* (concordance with **Egidi),** Filippotto da Caserta, *En attendant*. Secular works appear as space fillers. DBN, 63: These might be 'works that must have been brought to Rome in the years surrounding the start of the Schism and then circulated to other musical centres on the peninsula'.
Guardiagrele (stolen)	Three liturgical compositions (Cuthbert, 59).
Agostino34	Polyphony cited in the 1431–2 inventory of the library (DBN, 59).
Trastevere4 (lost)	Contained a fragmentary Marian antiphon 'Salve regina', written in mid-14th century Italian style (Cuthbert, 21).
BAV1419	Non-music manuscript with no other contents relating to music; music as later additions: eight sacred, three secular; see Cuthbert, 431–42 (inventory at 432). Concordance with **Pg9**; see Chapter 5.

Source	Comments
Wa378 (destroyed in 1944)	Twelve pieces: liturgical polyphony by Zacara, Ciconia, and Nicolaus de Radom. Polish source; the repertory might have been collected during Radom's visit in Rome (DBN, 79).

Table 4 Sources whose contents may be associated with the repertory of the papal chapels during their travels, 1407–1414 (after Di Bacco/Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels', 59)

Source	Comments
Q.1	Contains Zacara's Gloria '*Micinella*' and one Gloria by Salinis.
Cividale63/98 + **Udine22**	**Cividale63**: front and rear flyleaves; back flyleaf two Glorias (Cuthbert, 254–71). **Cividale98**: liturgical music by Zacara, Philipotto da Caserta, and Sortes; and Alain *Fuys de moy* (Cuthbert, 230–72). **Udine22**: single folio, recto (Cuthbert, 250–3). Recto contains Egardus Gloria, PMFC 12, no. 7 (see concordances at Cuthbert, 253), verso contains a Gloria by Rentius de Ponte Curvo, a singer of Pope Gregory XII (DBN, 49). Based on codicological evidence, it is likely that all three fragments stem from the same original manuscript (Cuthbert, 272). The manuscript might have been compiled at the Council of Cividale (Gregory XII's parallel council to the Council of Pisa) in 1409.
Cividale79	Flyleaves with Ordinary settings, one by Antonio da Cividale.
SL2211	Cuthbert, 38, n. 59: 'The palimpsest San Lorenzo 2211 serves as a bridge between the fragmentary and nearly-complete [Italian] sources because of its large size contrasted with the difficulty of reading it.' See in detail Janke/Nádas (eds.), *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.
Sq	Complete luxury manuscript, ordered by composer; contains one section with works by Zacara (Gallo, *Il Codice Squarcialupi*).
GRss	Two parchment folios with four incomplete Glorias (Cuthbert, 261–2 brief description); scribal similarities with **Cividale98** (Cuthbert, 271).
Lo	Large collection with eleven fascicles, each with four bifolios; Italian secular polyphony; one Gloria by Zacara, concordance with **Cortona2**. See Giuliano di Bacco, 'Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (British Library, MS Additional 29987)', *Studi musicali*, 20/4 (1992), 181–234.

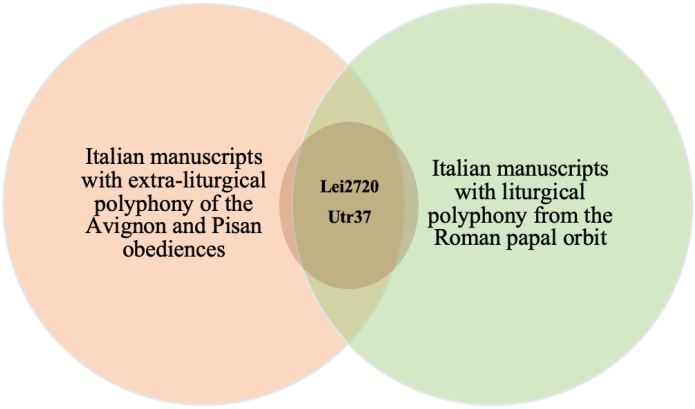
Source	Comments
Mu3223	One bifolio, three motets, one of which (*Deo gratias conclaremus*) concordant with **Cortona1** (Cuthbert, 130).
Siena207	Three ballate, four liturgical compositions (all by Zacara); copied in Italy.
Str (destroyed in 1870)	Most likely not copied in Italy but in Strasbourg, although with many concordances regarding Italian sacred polyphony. Possible connections to the Council of Constance. See Lorenz Welker, 'Musik am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter: Die Handschrift Strasbourg, olim Bibliothèque de la ville, C.22', Habilitationsschrift Basel University, 1993, and Charles van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XVe siècle) brulé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker* (Anvers, 1924). Albert Vander Linden (ed.), *Le Manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg XV^{e} siècle*, facsimile, Thesaurus Musicus II (Bruxelles, 1977).
Tr1563	Rear flyleaf with one Credo by Zacara, originally a liturgical manuscript, copied in Italy.
Turin2	See Ziino (ed.), *Il Codice T.III.2*.

When setting these two lists of Italian manuscripts in *Tables 3* and *4* in relation to the characteristics of the manuscripts with papal polyphony outlined above, several features stand out. *Table 3* comprises manuscripts from the early years of the schism, mostly fragmentary and almost coeval with the composition date of their music. Secular polyphony (motets as well as Italian and French secular song forms) appears alongside liturgical polyphony, but the former is mostly a space filler (see **Egidi** and **GR224**).

The second, later, category (*Table 4*) falls into the timeframe of manuscript compilation I observed for the largely retrospective manuscripts with Avignon/Pisa repertory. However, the manuscripts in *Table 4* do not overlap significantly with the Italian manuscripts containing Avignon/Pisa compositions with papal polyphony. Yet, the sources of the 'Central Italian source picture' show overlaps with the manuscripts I identified above as sources of troped Gloria settings by Ciconia and Egardus: **GRss**, **GR224**, and **Wa378**.

Briefly speaking, there is apparently a segregation of Italian manuscripts in the early fifteenth century: one group (**Ch**, **ModA**, **Q.15**) conserves papal topical compositions of the Avignon and Pisan obediences retrospectively, whilst the other transmits liturgical polyphony of the Italian papal courts. This apparent divide between sources of extra-liturgical polyphony where the text treats the historical situation of the schismatic papacy on the one hand and liturgical polyphony on the other is only bridged in manuscripts from the Low Countries: **Utr37** contains two troped Glorias belonging to the research corpus of papal polyphony whereas **Lei2720** transmits several French secular song forms, among them a ballade on Pope Clement VII (*Table 1*, no. 5). Therefore, it is *only* the Low Countries sources that preserve repertory connected to both the French and Italian papal courts (See *Fig. 2*).

Fig. 2 Joint manuscript evidence of papal polyphony and polyphony from the Roman papal orbit



Building on this observation, in the following chapter I seek to explain why and how polyphonic music of both the Italian and French papal courts exceptionally came to meet, and exactly in this region. Implicitly, this approach also asks what is absent from the source picture, and why: by investigating the transmission of polyphony from the French courts proceeding from its transmission in the Low Countries fragments, it also addresses the question why any French source tradition of papal polyphony is (with the exception of **Ba71** and **Ba72**, analysed in Chapter 4) entirely absent. Further aspects to be elucidated are the influence of northern, Low Countries, composers (Ciconia, Egardus) on the source transmission, as well as the curious absence of other known composers of papal polyphony (Filippotto da Caserta, Egidius) from the records of the papal chapels. How did the careers and movements of these musicians affect the production and transmission of polyphony in the papal orbit?

Chapter 3

The Low Countries Manuscript Network

In his article on the Nuremberg and Melk fragments (**Nur9, Nur9a,** and **Melk749**), Michael Scott Cuthbert asked three central questions about the manuscript transmission of polyphony in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that correspond particularly well to the manuscript evidence Chapter 2 has revealed for the transmission of papal polyphony:[110]

1. 'Why is there so much sacred music in the Italian fragments when the intact codices contain almost entirely secular music?'

   This question mirrors the divide between Di Bacco's and Nádas's (sacred) repertory of the Italian papal chapels and the transmission of papal topical pieces in large Italian anthologies such as **Ch** and **ModA**.

2. 'Why is there so much music in French but so few manuscripts from France?'

   With the exception of **Ba71** and **Ba72**, there are no manuscripts with French origin in my research corpus of papal polyphony.

3. 'Why are the "French" pieces in German, Austrian, Bohemian, and other Central European sources so often more connected to Italian than to French sources?'

   My research corpus (almost) lacks manuscripts from France as well as sources from the German-speaking lands. But manuscripts from the Low Countries (**Lei2720**, **Utr37**) obviously bridge the divide between the 'Italian fragments' and 'intact codices' introduced in question 1. If 'Italian sources' (Cuthbert does not clarify which kind(s) of Italian sources, but thinks of 'French' repertory) have close connections to sources in the German-speaking lands, and both groups of Italian sources are united through the Low Countries manuscripts, what is the relationship between the Low Countries manuscripts and sources from the German-speaking lands?

Cuthbert further states that 'the answers to these questions will fundamentally alter our view of fourteenth-century music' but hardly returns to them in the course of his article. Instead, his study presents the concordances of the Nuremberg and Melk fragments and related manuscripts, in one instance observing that 'the three sources [**Gr133**, **Ox229**, **Gdańsk2315**]

[110] Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars Nova', *Studi musicali nuova serie* 1 (2010), 7–51, at 8.

for this Gloria – one Flemish, one Northern Italian, and one Germanic – point to a flowering and interchange of polyphonic music independent of France, the land often thought of as the main strand of compositional development in the *Ars nova*'.[111]

Apparently, there is a source from the Low Countries (**Gr133**) that transmits liturgical music not from that region and that is concordant with a Germanic and an Italian source.[112] This constellation confirms a connection between sources from Italy, the German-speaking lands, *and* the Low Countries, and it therefore underlines the importance of the research question stated above. I argue that evaluating the role of the Low Countries in the transmission channels of different repertories is the key to understanding the divided source situation of (papal) polyphony, thus approaching all three of Cuthbert's (and my own) questions. Taking these observations and the outcome of Chapter 2 as point of departure, Chapter 3 contextualises papal polyphony – proceeding from the fragments of polyphony extant from the Low Countries – within the broader context of manuscript transmission in the early fifteenth century.

With regard to the Low Countries manuscripts, Reinhard Strohm stated that the scribes in the Low Countries were 'working at the extreme margins of the central tradition'.[113] Yolanda Plumley underlined the importance of **Ch** and **ModA** for the transmission of (central) 'Ars Subtilior' polyphony (thus implicating papal topical polyphony), but designated the pieces found in Netherlandish sources as 'isolated exceptions'.[114] Rob Wegman, on the other hand, used the close dynastic relations of the courts of Holland and Burgundy in the early fifteenth century to argue that the preservation of Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' polyphony was part of a French 'taste' cultivated in this region.[115] Strohm also recognised the importance of this political constellation and noted that 'apart from the effects of the Schism, it was surely the Flemish-Burgundian culture which chained the lateral traditions of music together'.[116]

All of these findings are indeed valuable for understanding the transmission channels of polyphony and, amongst it, papal polyphony. But there has been a tendency to view these manuscripts and their repertories as opposing entities, for instance, centre versus periphery, or compositions from the French courts as outliers in compilations of local music. Moreover, these

[111] Ibid. 14.

[112] It is not clear whether this Gloria is 'Italian', 'French', or 'English' – Cuthbert (ibid. 13–4) seems to favour the latter two options. The editors of PMFC 13 (no. A5) surmise that the piece could be by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, whereas PMFC 23 (no. A6) suggests a French or English origin.

[113] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (*Cambridge, 1993*), 73.

[114] Yolanda Plumley, 'An "Episode in the South"? Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 103–68. at 103–4, esp. n. 2.

[115] Rob Wegman, 'New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam Fragments', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117/2 (1992), 181–207, esp. 190–1.

[116] Strohm, *The Rise*, 75.

various kinds of manuscripts – 'central' and 'marginal' – were compiled around the same time but often contain multiple internal chronological layers as well as different genres of music. This observation poses the question how these repertories reached certain geographical areas in the first place and how the reception of older repertory influenced the compilation of contemporary pieces (and *vice versa*). Briefly speaking, where did the music come from and where did it go?

This chapter commences with an introduction to the Flemish-Burgundian court culture which, as evident in Wegman's and Strohm's remarks quoted above, has already crystallised as an essential point for understanding the Low Countries manuscripts. Secondly, it presents a case study of a papal ballade that may have undergone reworking within the court culture of the Low Countries. The hitherto neglected piece *S'elle mot lie* in the early fifteenth-century Leiden chansonnier fragment **Lei2720** provides a differently texted version of Egidius's ballade *Courtois et sages* (the latter honouring Pope Clement VII, and preserved in **ModA** and **PR**). As such, the case of *S'elle mot lie* sets the stage for enquiries about experimentation with and reworkings of polyphony from the French orbit in the Low Countries and beyond.

The next, third, section of this chapter contextualises *S'elle mot lie* among the repertory of **Lei2720**, accompanied by a palaeographical assessment of the fragment. This analysis is followed by a survey of the extant fragments of polyphony that originated in the Low Countries as well as an overview of manuscripts that contain Dutch-texted polyphony but were compiled outside that area. Lastly, I follow the directions and nature of repertory reworkings, especially contrafaction, in the Low Countries manuscripts and related sources. These traces establish the Low Countries manuscript network and thus enable first considerations as to the transmission channels of polyphony in the early fifteenth century.

Building on this network, this chapter's fourth section comprises a cluster of short case studies that illustrate the supposed transmission channels of polyphony. In providing a broad range of genres, styles, and languages – and including papal polyphony – these case studies integrate my research corpus into the broader context of repertory transmission and by extension provide the tool to understanding the nature of its preservation.

The fifth and final section of this chapter superimposes the Low Countries network on the source picture of papal polyphony established in Chapter 2 and, therefore, aims at approaching Cuthbert's questions posed in the introductory remarks. It argues that the tendencies in repertory transmission that can be observed for late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyphony at large were strongly influenced by the movements of musicians and changes of obedience during the Great Western Schism. Therefore, the repertory of the

papal chapels not only mirrors the developments of the very institution that caused a great deal of these changes, but can also be further contextualised against the evidence of music that is not specifically 'papal'.

3.1 The Flemish-Burgundian Court Culture in the Schismatic Context

The courtly 'Francophilia' in the Low Countries, touched upon in Wegman's remark above, was already initiated in the late fourteenth century. In 1369, Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1342–1404) married Margaret of Male (1340–1405), daughter of Louis II of Flanders (1330–84). These dynastic ties between the Flemish and French nobility were further consolidated in 1384, upon the death of Philip's father-in-law, through which the duke gained the county of Flanders for his dominion. One year later, at the double wedding of Cambrai, the Flemish-Burgundian court established dynastic links also further north, to Holland: the eldest of Philip's daughters, Margaret of Burgundy (1374–1441), married William of Bavaria (1365–1417), the eldest son of Duke Albert I of Straubing-Holland (1336–1404). Margaret's brother, the later Duke John the Fearless (1371–1419), married William's sister, Margaret of Bavaria (1363–1423).[117]

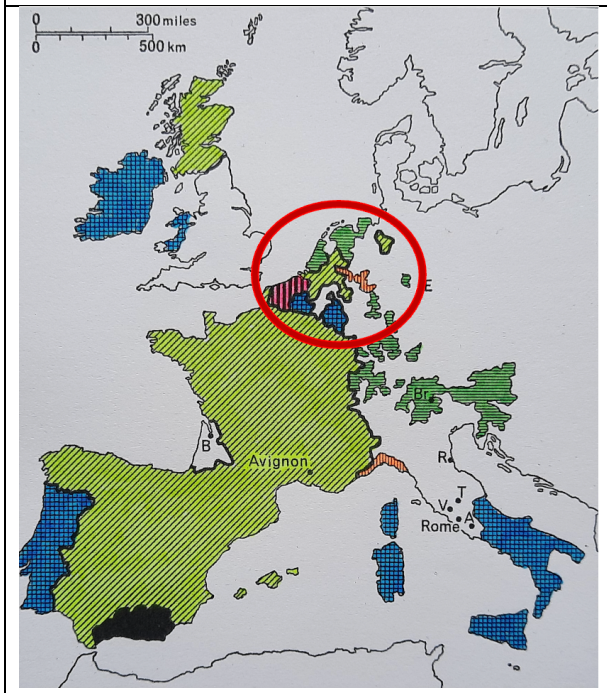
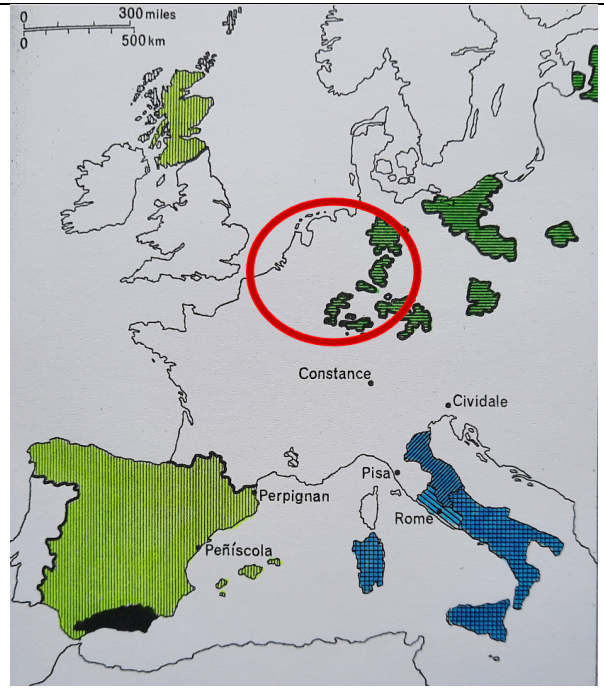
As has been explained in Chapter 1, the papal schism of 1378 also caused a divide in the network of sacred institutions (see the first map in *Fig. 3* below). The territories of the Avignonese obedience (France, Spain, and Scotland) were opposed to the countries acknowledging the Roman pope (Italy, England, and the German-speaking lands). The Low Countries, however, constituted a complicated patchwork of different and sometimes shifting loyalties, interspersed with areas loyal to the Roman pope. After the Council of Pisa in 1409 (see the second map in *Fig. 3* below), the Low Countries supported the Pisan pope, as did most of Europe.

Crucially for the purpose of this investigation, the Low Countries were never loyal to the French papacy. Moreover, Chapter 2 has demonstrated that northern musicians moved south to Italy to obtain musical appointments and benefices in areas of the Roman – and later the Pisan – obedience and that their presence in the Italian chapels remained strong long into

[117] A good summary of the political alliances in the Low Countries in this period can be found in Walter Prevenier, 'The Low Countries, 1290–1415', in Michael Jones (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6: *c. 1300-c. 1415* (Cambridge, 2000), 570–94. I use here the term 'Low Countries' to refer to the region encompassed by the present-day nation states of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg, as well as directly adjacent parts of Germany and northern France. When speaking of the 'Northern Low Countries', I do so in distinction to Flanders (in the south). For an explanation of the different but partially overlapping geographical, political, and historical designations of this region, see Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed', 4–6.

the fifteenth century. Apparently, the Low Countries formed a hybrid political environment that by extension must have influenced the cultural production in this area: the juxtaposition of Francophilia in secular politics on the one hand and the loyalty towards the Roman, and later, the Pisan pope on the other was unique in Europe.

Fig. 3 Obedience changes in Europe during the Great Western Schism with focus on the Low Countries[118]

Outbreak of the Great Western Schism until Council of Pisa (1378–1409)	**Council of Pisa until Council of Constance (1409–17)**
	
Avignon obedience (yellow): France, Spain, Scotland **Roman obedience (white):** Northern Italy, England, German-speaking lands **Blue, orange, green**: switching and contested obediences **Pink**: neutral territory **Low Countries**: closely-meshed patchwork of different obediences	**Avignon obedience (yellow):** France and Scotland **Pisan obedience (white):** most of Europe, including the **Low Countries** **Roman obedience:** dark green **Italy (blue)**: switching and contested obediences

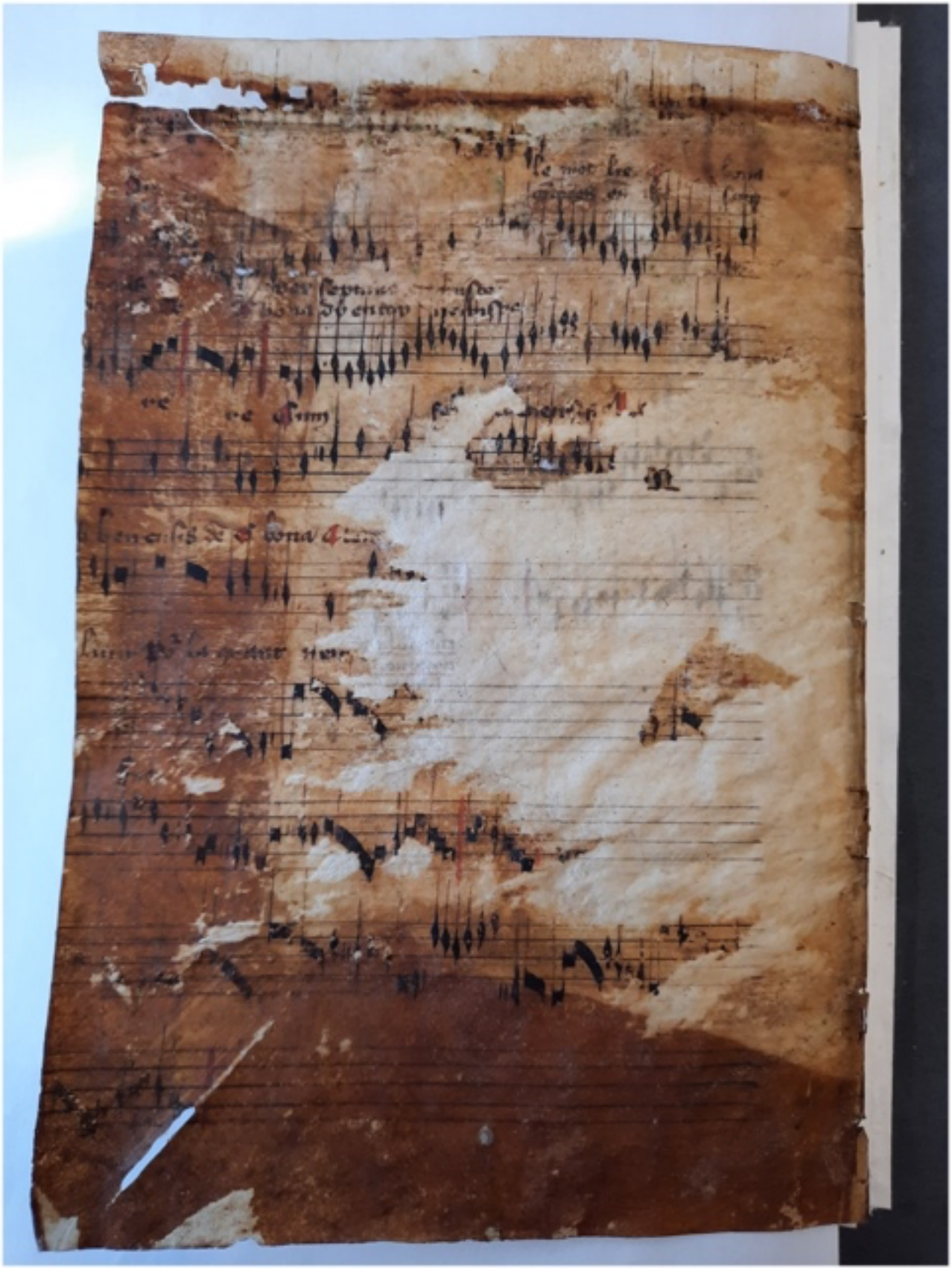
[118] The maps, to which I have added colours and annotations, are taken from Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*: XII–XIII.

3.2 *Courtois et sages* (Egidius) and its Musical Concordance *S'elle mot lie* in Lei2720

The early fifteenth-century manuscript fragment **Lei2720** contains on fol. 12v an anonymous – and, with the incipit *S'elle mot lie*, differently texted – concordance to Egidius's ballade *Courtois et sages* (**ModA**, fol. 35r and **PR**, fol. 54r), which honours Pope Clement VII. In the Leiden fragment (reproduced below), this ballade is transmitted directly adjacent to the contratenor of the ballade *Roses et lis* on fol. 12r, a composition which is ascribed to 'Magister Egidius Augustinus' in **Ch** (fol. 22r).[119] I explore here the relationship between the two poetic texts *Courtois et sages* and *S'elle mot lie*, the manuscript transmission of the papal ballade, and the implications for both Clement VII and Egidius.

[119] The ballade's musical concordance in **Lei2720** has been identified independently by Carola Hertel and Michael Scott Cuthbert (Cuthbert, 'Hidden in Our Publications'). Hertel simply includes **Lei2720** in a list of concordances without mentioning the different French text of the highly fragmentary version. See Carola Hertel, *Chansonvertonungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Norditalien: Untersuchungen zum Überlieferungsbestand des Codex Reina*, PhD diss., Saarbrücken University, 1999 (Hildesheim and New York, 2002), 232. A transcription of the tenor incipit has been provided and an attempt to transcribe the poetic text conducted by Jan van Biezen and Johan Peter Gumbert, though they did not detect the connection to *Courtois and sages* and their transcription of the 'very puzzling' poetic text differs in many respects from mine: Jan van Biezen, and Johan Peter Gumbert (eds.), *Two Chansonniers from the Low Countries: French and Dutch Polyphonic Songs from the Leiden and Utrecht fragments (Early 15th Century)*, Monumenta Musica Neerlandica, 15 (Amsterdam, 1985), 121–2. See my transcription and discussion of the poetic text below. The digitised manuscript is available online: http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1609188 (last accessed 15.09.2021). A short description and facsimile of the Leiden fragment can also be found in Eugeen Schreurs, *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen (Middeleeuwen-Renaissance): Polyfonie, monodie en leisteenfragmenten in facsimile = An Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries (Middle Ages–Renaissance). Polyphony, Monophony and Slate Fragments in Facsimile* (Leuven, 1995), XIX and 45–56. For the dating and provenance of the fragment see my discussion below.

Plate 1 S'elle mot lie (**Lei2720**, fol. 12v)



Since *Courtois et sages* is a ballade, it could be possible that *S'elle mot lie* is another stanza of this piece – although it would be rather unusual to find two different stanzas of the same composition, each surviving separately as the 'first' and 'only' stanza. Yet, juxtaposing the two poetic texts according to their musical settings reveals two clear indications that one of the two poems is a contrafact, that is, an independent new text for the same musical setting:[120] first, a Clement-acrostic is formed only in *Courtois et sages*, and second, the two ballade texts have different refrains (line 7):[121]

Table 5 Comparative transcription of the poetic texts *Courtois et sages* and *S'elle mot lie*

***Courtois et sages* (ModA, fol. 35r; PR, fol. 54r)**[122]		**(Tentative) Transcription of Lei2720, fol. 12v**
Courtois et sages et a tous doit plaisir	1	S'elle mot lie G… bona …mis
Le droit signour qui par eleccion	2	…fex septime en miscere
Et non par force, mes par comun sentir,	3	Quiconques es ihesum …ciquis
Mis est en siege de benediccion.	4	De G bona dy en toy hemispere
Est rendoné a tous en union.	5	Cum fe…ensis
Nulz contradire ne le puet par droiture:	6	J … (h?) benensis de G bona Clem … lurir
Sains peres est qui de tous a la cure.	7	Pour la grant mer…
Letters which are rubricated in **Lei2720** are shaded in grey. Apparently, rubrication indicates both the start of a new poetic line as well as the mention of a name (the only exception being '*ihesum*', which is not rubricated, in line 3).		

[120] The phenomenon of contrafaction will be explored in more detail in section 3.3.3 below.

[121] In the following, 'line' designates the poetic line according to my text transcription in the table above. A comparative transcription of the cantus of the ballade in **ModA**, **PR**, and **Lei2720** – adhering to the original text underlay and marking out musical differences between the voices – can be found in *Ex. 1* below. The incipit 'S'elle' of the **Lei2720** poem is problematic because its very beginning, 'S'el-', is neither visible on the digital reproduction nor when examining the fragment in the flesh. However, it is given in the DIAMM inventory of the Leiden fragment. As a consistent translation of the poetic text is impossible anyway, I chose to retain the incipit for the time being.

[122] 'Courtly and wise, and pleasing to all, | the rightful lord who by election | and not by force, but by common agreement, | has been placed in the seat of blessing, | and restored to all in unity. | No-one can rightfully gainsay him: | he is the Holy Father who has care for all.' The transcription and translation are taken from Orlando Consort (Robert Harre Jones, Charles Daniels, Angus Smith, Don Greig), *Popes & Antipopes: Music for the Courts of Avignon & Rome*. Metronome 1008, 1995: CD booklet without pagination. See also my interpretation of the poetic texts of all four compositions in honour of Clement VII in Chapter 5.1.

Comparing the text underlay of the music as well as syllable count of the two different poems in the three manuscripts which transmit the ballade (**ModA**, **PR**, and **Lei2720**) leads to the following observations: the beginning of new poetic lines – consistently rubricated in **Lei2720** but not in either **ModA** or **PR** – marks the same musical instance in each of the three sources.[123] Moreover, the evaluation of word distribution and *lacunae* within the poetic lines of the newly-established **Lei2720** stanza proves that *S'elle mot lie* had lines of between nine and eleven syllables each, just like *Courtois et sages*.

In sum, both poems are so similar in the way they are connected to the music that it is likely that whoever composed a new text took the layout of the original one seriously. Consequently, this makes it difficult to identify the contrafact version of the ballade from the original. Furthermore, a complete translation of the very fragmentary poem *S'elle mot lie* hardly seems possible, but a number of legible keywords at least allow for contextual speculation. What sticks out at first glance is the occurrence of the words 'G bona' and '(benensis) de G bona' in lines 1, 4, and 6:

Fig. 4 'G bona' appearances in *S'elle mot lie*

'G bona', line 1

'De G bona', line 4

'G bona', line 6

[123] The only exception is line 6 – but this is a problematic passage in general: the text beginning is corrupt in **ModA** but in the same musical instance as in **Lei2720** (bar 44) while **PR** begins with 'Nulz' in bar 46; on the other hand, **Lei2720** and **PR** are musically congruent while **ModA** differs. In any case, **Lei2720** is close to the other two manuscripts in one point each (texting and musical layout respectively), and the rubrication clearly marks the beginning of its poetic line. For a discussion of the musical differences between the three sources, including a comparative transcription of the ballade's cantus in all three sources (*Ex. 1*), see below.

In accordance with the rubrication pattern on the page (marking not only poetic lines, but names as well), it can be assumed that 'G bona' marks a name, and that the first name of that person, 'G…', has been abbreviated at least in the second and third instance. The empty space in the first passage might suggest that the name was originally written in full, before damage to the parchment made the other letters illegible.[124] As yet, I have not been able clearly to identify 'G. Bona', but based on the noticeable frequency of the name in this short poem, I suspect that the person in question was either the author of the text or a dedicatee. However, a close match for the surname 'Bona' can be found with a Theodericus *dictus* Bona who was part of the entourage of Cardinal Petrus Flandrini and served as *magister capelle* at Fondi in 1378, where Robert of Geneva was elected pope and took the name Clement VII.[125] After all, the fact that Theodericus was 'dictus' Bona – that is, Bona was his nickname – could mean that he was 'G. Bona' after all: in analogy to Antonio (*dictus*) Zacara da Teramo who was never called Antonio, but Zacara instead, one could speculate that the 'G.' of 'G. Bona' stands for another nickname of Theodericus that is now unknown.

With the background knowledge that *Courtois et sages* refers to Clement VII, a reading of the Leiden text with the pope in mind is indeed tempting: the incomplete phrase '…fex septime' (line 2) as well as the broken-off word 'Clem…' (line 6) render it quite probable that the pope – 'Clemens, pontifex septime' – appears in the **Lei2720** poem as well. Moreover, the word '*benensis*' in line 6 could well be resolved as the genealogical adjective *Gebenensis* (as the directly preceding passage is hardly legible). *Gebenensis* means 'of Geneva', thus referring to Robert of Geneva – Clement VII.

Given the case that 'G. Bona' and the pope are the protagonists of the Leiden text, their role in the poem can be further contextualised. It starts with 'mot lie', 'the joyful word', directly before naming 'G bona' in line 1, then continuing (after a *lacuna* of at most two syllables) with 'mis | [ponti]fex septime in miscere' (lines 1–2). Apparently, the pope has been 'set into misery' – maybe by the 'joyful words' of G. Bona?

The legible beginning of line 3 reads 'Quiconques es ihesum' ('whoever you are, Jesus …') before the following *lacuna* leaves the concrete context obscure. 'Ihesum' is the only name not to be rubricated, but it appears that the position of names in the poem follows a well thought-through pattern: since the music of the first part of the ballade is repeated, the first mention of 'G Bona' and 'ihesum' as well as '[ponti]fex' and the second 'G bona' each

[124] The practice of abbreviating names in poetic texts is used extensively in the so-called musician motets. Yet, *S'elle mot lie* is the only case in which the same name appears multiple times.

[125] See Di Bacco/Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale"', 43.

underlay the same musical passage (bars 13–14 and 19–21 respectively; see my transcription in *Ex. 1* below).

Only line 4 is complete, reading 'De G bona dy en toy hemispere'. It is still difficult to make sense of its meaning, but the passage 'en toy hemispere' ('in your hemisphere') at first glance evokes an astrological or astronomical context. Still, this association remains uncertain because as yet, I have not been able to identify any instance of the word *hemisphere* in contemporary poetic texts (whether set to music or not).[126] On balance, this puzzling expression could also metaphorically refer to the two sides of the papal schism.

Line 5 is largely illegible, while line 6 contains the name cluster 'benensis de G bona Clem[ent]' but lacks the surrounding context. Finally, the refrain (line 7) begins 'Pour la grant mer…' before breaking off. It could reasonably be completed to 'Pour la grant mérite' – leaving open the question what happened to whose 'great benefit'. Judging from the syllable count of the refrain line in *Courtois et sages*, at least five syllables would still be missing after the word *mérite*.

To sum up, the fragmentary picture of the Leiden poem gives the impression that this is a topical – if not even political, directly schism-related ('hemispere') – text, once again referring to Clement VII. The vocabulary from opposed word fields – 'lie' and, possibly, 'mérite', versus 'miscere' – points to a more controversial message, maybe even one that is deliberately opposite to the laudatory *Courtois et sages.* Whether or not Theodericus *dictus* Bona is the right candidate for the shadowy 'G. Bona' in the Leiden poem, future searches for a 'G. Bona' in the papal orbit might prove fruitful.

3.2.1 Cantus Comparison of *S'elle mot lie* and *Courtois et sages*

A comparison of the papal ballade's surviving musical material (**Lei2720** only transmits the cantus and tenor whereas **ModA** and **PR** also preserve a contratenor) suggests that **Lei2720** and **PR** are directly related. One the one hand, there are a couple of minor, mostly rhythmical, differences between the three sources (bars 12–13 and 46–50), in which **Lei2720** and **PR** are always very close, if not identical, and **ModA** differs. Passages in which the sources deviate from each other are marked in purple in the comparative transcription of the cantus in *Ex. 1*

[126] Noteworthy examples for motet texts featuring vocabulary connected to astronomy are *Apollinis eclipsatur*/*Zodiacum signis* (which also appears in **Lei2515(1)** on fol. 1r), *Febus mundo oriens* (**Iv**, fols. 3v–4r), and the anonymous *Novum sidus orientis* (for the latter, see Chapter 4.3.2).

below.[127] Moreover, one passage in particular strengthens the connection between **Lei2720** and **PR**:

Fig. 5 The ballade's *ouvert* and *clos* endings in **PR** (fol. 54r), **Lei2720** (fol. 12v), and **ModA** (fol. 35r)

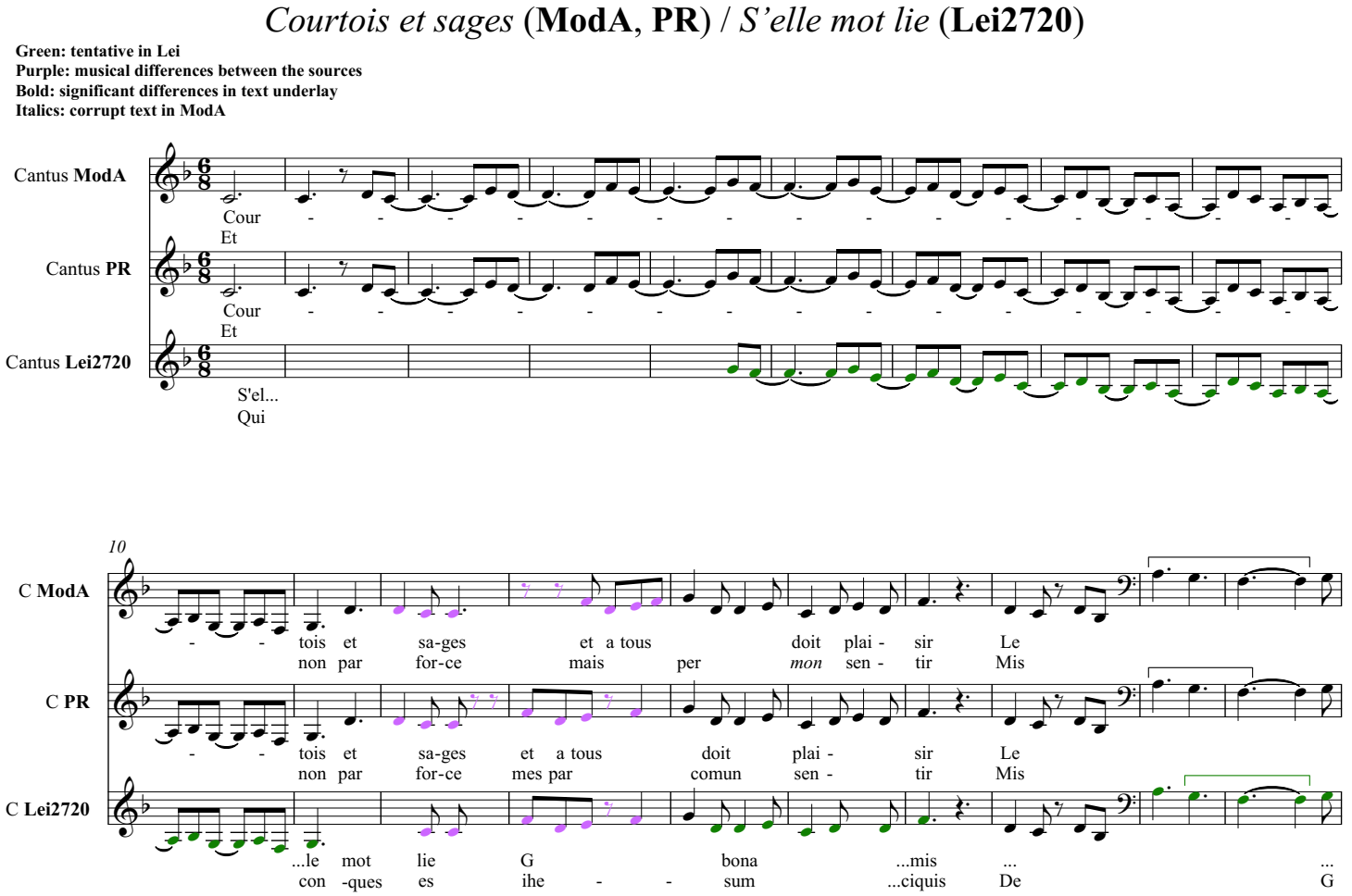
PR: **Lei2720**: **ModA**:

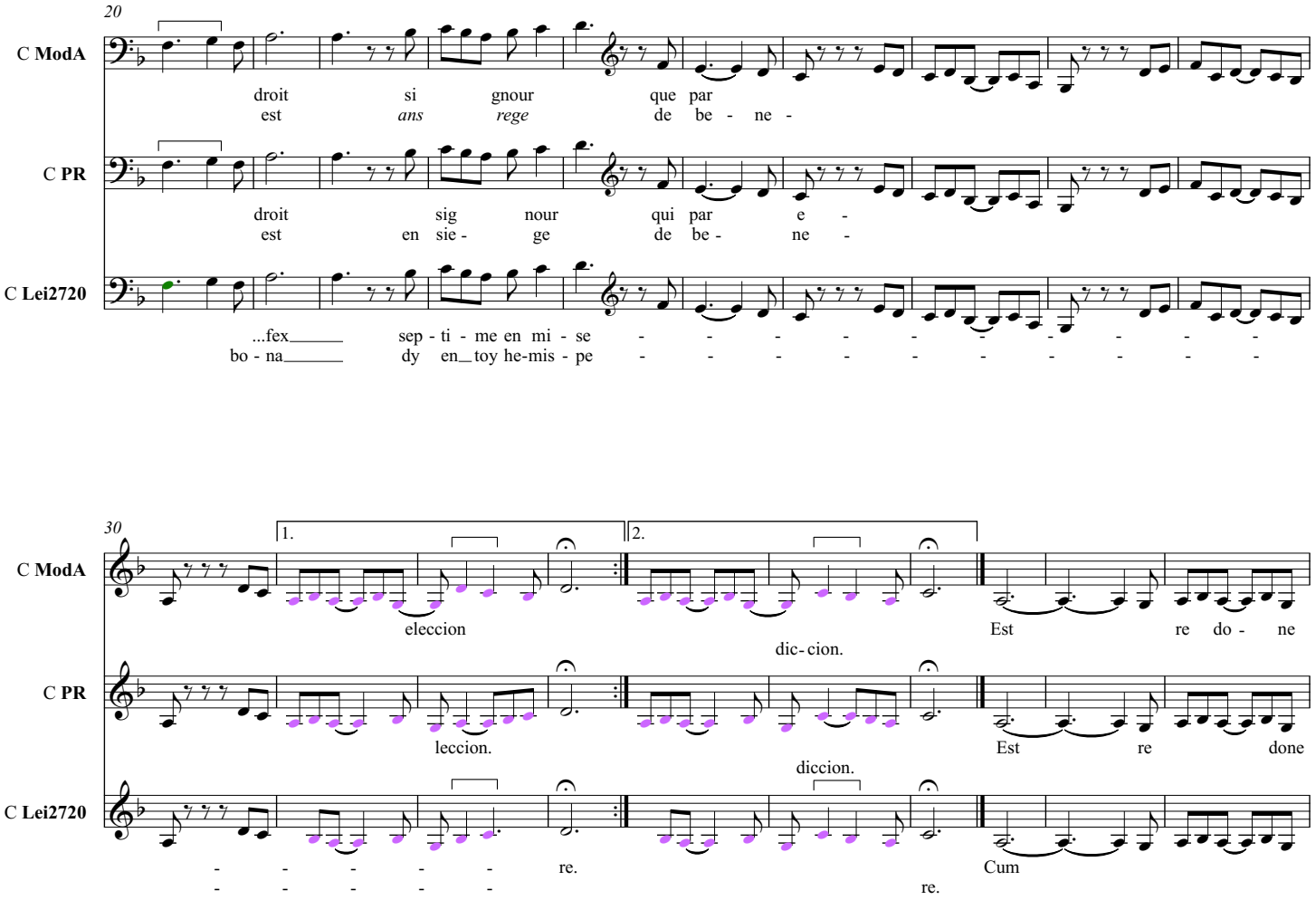
Here it becomes clear that **Lei2720** and **PR** must stem from the same manuscript tradition because their *ouvert* ending of the first part (bars 31–32) features an upward motion towards the final *d* and is thus strikingly different from the **ModA** version, which goes downwards.

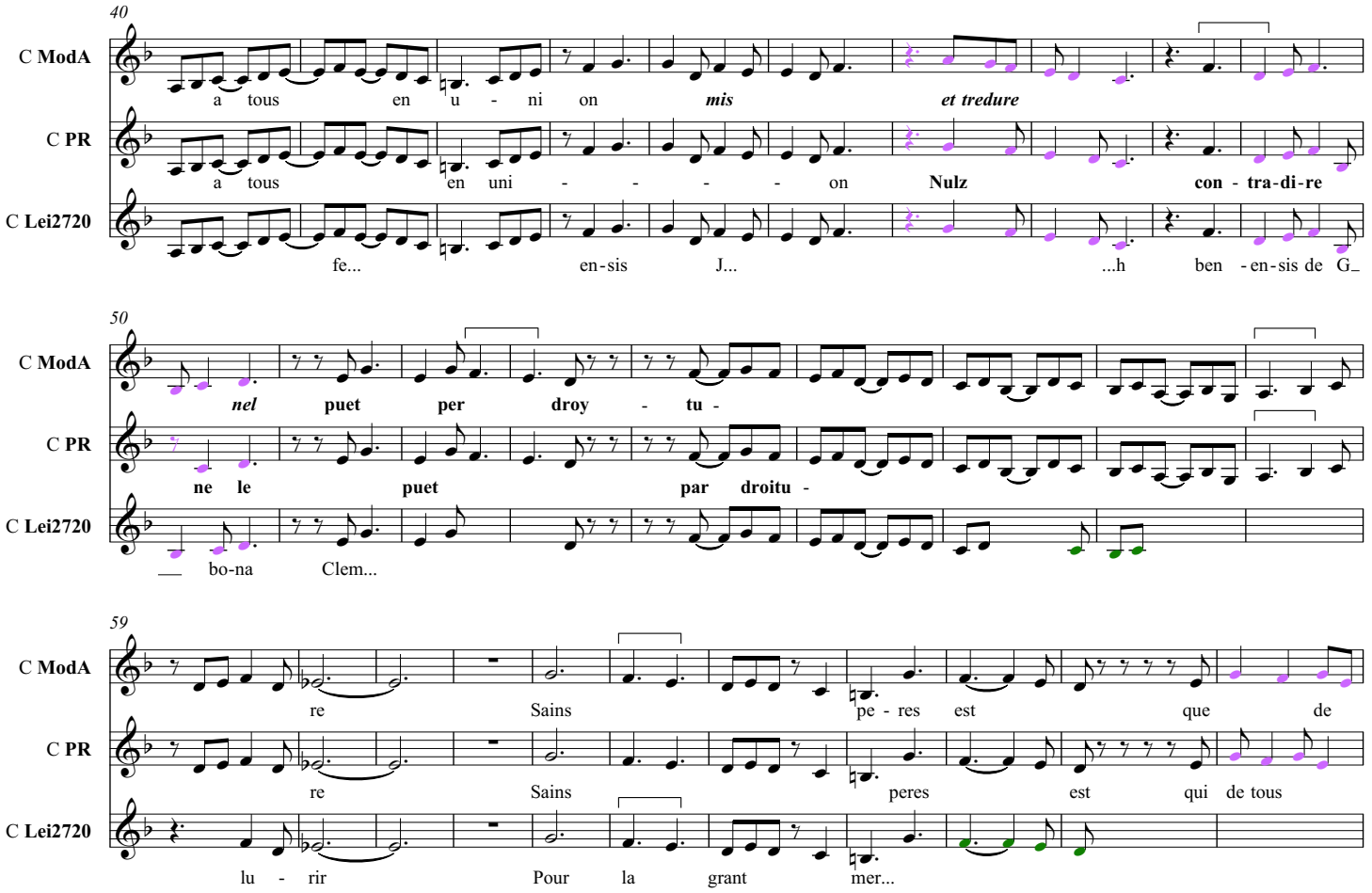
So far, the analysis of *Courtois et sages*/*S'elle mot lie* in this section has revealed an enigmatic contrafact ballade, either version probably referring to the same pope. From the perspective of manuscript transmission, the Low Countries source **Lei2720** is obviously closer to **PR** than to **ModA**. In the final part of this section I now investigate how the composer Egidius is attested in the source picture.

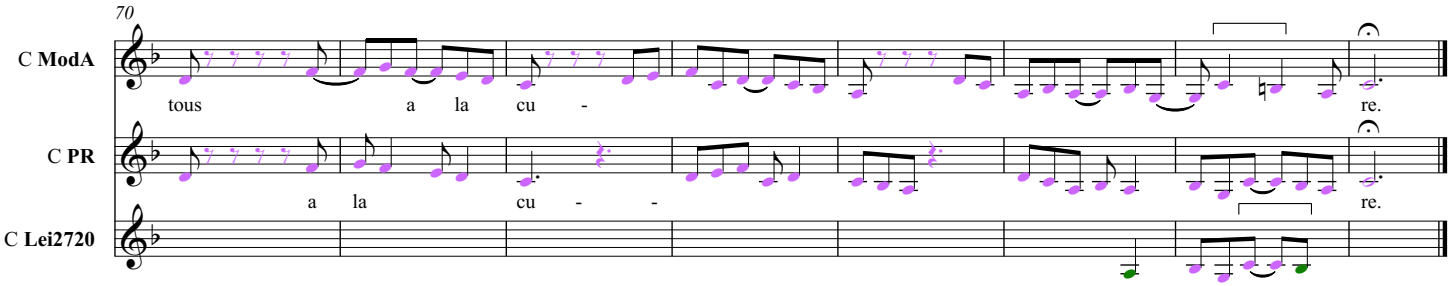
[127] The final passage (bars 69–77) also differs between **ModA** and **PR** because of the absence of *punctus divisionis* in the latter manuscript, resulting in a different rhythmical reading of otherwise homographic passages. Only a tiny portion of this passage is preserved in **Lei2720** (bar 76) but is seems like **Lei2720** and **PR** were closely related in this case as well.

Ex. 1 Comparative transcription of the cantus of *Courtois et sages* in **ModA** and **PR**, and *S'elle mot lie* in **Lei2720**




20
C ModA
droit si gnour que par
est *ans* *rege* de be - ne -
C PR
droit sig nour qui par e -
est en sie - ge de be - ne -
C Lei2720
...fex sep - ti - me en mi - se - - - - - - - - - -
bo - na dy en toy he-mis - pe - - - - - - - - - -
30
1.
2.
C ModA
eleccion
dic- cion.
Est re do - ne
C PR
leccion.
diccion.
Est re done
C Lei2720
- - - - - re.
- - - - - re.
Cum


40
C ModA
a tous en u - ni on mis et tredure
C PR
a tous en uni - - - - on Nulz con - tra-di-re
C Lei2720
fe... en-sis J... ...h ben - en-sis de G_
50
C ModA
nel puet per droy - tu -
C PR
ne le puet par droitu -
C Lei2720
__ bo-na Clem...
59
C ModA
re Sains pe - res est que de
C PR
re Sains peres est qui de tous
C Lei2720
lu - rir Pour la grant mer...


70
C ModA
tous a la cu - re.
C PR
a la cu - - re.
C Lei2720

3.2.2 The 'Egidius-Problem'

The thematic closeness of the two poetic texts hints at the contrafaction being almost coeval with the original version of the ballade. If *S'elle mot lie* were the contrafact, it would have made little sense for the **Lei2720** scribe to compose a contrafact text still referring to Clement VII in the early fifteenth century. Moreover, *S'elle mot lie* appears in **Lei2720** next to another piece by Egidius, *Roses et lis* (both copied by the same scribe; see section 3.3.1 below). Did both pieces, therefore, come down to the **Lei2720** scribe adjacent to each other because they were originally known to be 'by Egidius'? But what then about *Courtois et sages*, ascribed in **ModA** to 'Magister Egidius'? Are both versions of the ballade by the same 'Egidius'? *Courtois et sages* and *Roses and lis* do not, however, appear in the same manuscript together since *Roses et lis* is otherwise only transmitted in **Ch**, a manuscript in which *Courtois et sages* does not appear.

'Egidius' is arguably one of the most controversial and ubiquitous composer identities of the late fourteenth century, and quite a few 'Egidiuses' are traceable within reach of the papal court. Since the 'Egidius-problem' was proposed by Richard H. Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx, many assumptions on stylistic grounds have been made to solve this issue;[128] they conclude that the same Egidius is the composer of the three ballades *Courtois et sages* (**Lei2720**, fol. 12v; **ModA**, fol. 35r; **PR,** fol. 54r), *Roses et lis* (**Ch**, fol. 22r; **Lei2720**, fol. 12r, contratenor only) and *Franchois sunt nobles* (**ModA**, fol. 11r).

From a codicological point of view, identifying the musical material of *Courtois et sages* in **Lei2720** next to the contratenor of *Roses et lis* corroborates the theory that the 'Egidius' in **Ch**, **Lei2720**, **ModA**, and **PR** is the same composer, because all four manuscripts are now interconnected through more than one piece and/or an ascription: 'Magister Egidius' is given as the composer of *Courtois et sages* in **ModA**, while **PR** does not provide an ascription. **Lei2720** also lacks a composer ascription (or it is lost due to the illegibility and/or fragmentary state of the manuscript) for both *S'elle mot lie* and *Roses et lis*, but for the latter an ascription to 'Magister Egidius Augustinus' is to be found in **Ch**. Furthermore, **ModA** names 'Magister Egidius ord[in]is her[m]itarum Sancti Agustini' as composer of the unique

[128] The so-called 'Egidius-problem' – that is, the uncertainty in scholarship whether the several 'Egidiuses' surfacing as composers of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century compositions are the same person – was first stated by Richard H. Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx in 1959: Richard H. Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx, 'Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens français du XIV^{e} siècle', in *L'Ars Nova: Recueil d'études sur la musique du XIV^{e} siècle (Colloque international tenu à Wégimont du 19 au 24 septembre 1955)* (Paris, 1959), 63–89, at 83–8.

ballade *Franchois sunt nobles* (in praise of the French nobility), therefore most likely pointing to the same 'Magister Egidius' referred to for *Courtois et sages*.

In sum, I think it probable that the composer of all the above-mentioned compositions is the same Egidius. When considering the occasional context for *Roses et lis*, this assumption becomes further corroborated. *Roses et lis* is a marriage ballade – referring to the bride – and has therefore been connected in scholarship to many possible royal weddings in the late fourteenth century: the wedding of Violant of Bar (1380), of Joan of Boulogne (1389), and the above-mentioned double wedding of Cambrai (1385, Margaret of Burgundy as well as Margaret of Bavaria).[129] I deem Yolanda Plumley's theory most likely. Plumley established a group of five ballades, among them *Roses et lis*, which are all connected to the 1389 wedding of Joan of Boulogne. Interconnections between the five compositions are accomplished by means of shared heraldic imagery in the poetic texts as well as musical quotations between certain pieces. Furthermore, four out of five pieces are transmitted in **Ch** in very close proximity (fols. 20–22).[130] In 1389, Joan of Boulogne (1378–1424) became the second wife of John of Berry (1340–1416), a brother of Philip the Bold of Burgundy. Joan's father was John, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne (died 1404) – a cousin of Clement VII. Therefore, it could be possible that the political and thematic relation of *Courtois et sages* and *Roses et lis* to Clement VII promoted the circulation and preservation of exactly these two 'Egidius ballades' in the Low Countries.

The two 'papal' Egidiuses – Egidius de Ledouille and Egidius de Lens (see Chapter 2.2.2) – are unlikely candidates as composers for pro-Avignonese compositions as they were both active in the Roman papal orbit: Egidius de Ledouille as part of the *familia* of Philippe d'Alençon, and Egidius de Lens as *cantor capelle* under Urban VI.

Finally, there are two motets which can be connected to an Egidius: first, the musician motet *Alma polis*/*Axe poli cum artica* (uniquely transmitted in **Ch**, fols. 67v–68r, *Table 2*, no. 30) in whose motetus poem an 'Egidius de Aurolia' is named as the poet of the motet's texts. If it were to be a papal *collegium musicorum* that is named in the motet's poetic texts, this composition could in theory be connected to the Egidius of the papal ballades. The second motet is the widely transmitted piece *Portio nature*/*Ida capillorum* (**Ch**, fols. 61v–62r; **Iv**,

[129] These hypotheses have been proposed by Maricarmen Gómez, 'French Songs in Aragon de Terence Scully révisé', in Plumley/Stone (eds.), *A Late Medieval Songbook,* 245–61; Plumley, 'An "Episode in the South"?', as well as Frits P. van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer: Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400* (Amsterdam, 1987), 122, and Antheunis Janse, 'Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358–1404) in Den Haag', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 36 (1986), 136–57, at 143.

[130] Plumley, 'An "Episode in the South"?', 130 and 144–58.

fols. 6v–7r; **Lei342A**, fol. 2v; **Str**, fols. 74v–75r; **Trém** index), which is attributed to 'Magister Henricus' (the composer of the music?) and 'Egidius de Pusiex' (the composer of the poetic text?) in **Str**. Richard H. Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx proposed an Egidius de Puiseus (d. 1348), chaplain to Hughes Roger de Beaufort (nephew of Pope Clement VI) as a possible candidate.[131] However, Emily Zazulia has recently pointed out that this motet could stylistically date to the 1370s as well; its appearance in the **Trém** index gives the motet a *terminus ante quem* of composition of 1376.[132] If *Portio*/*Ida* were to be composed in the early 1370s (then by another Egidius than the one proposed by Hoppin and Clercx), it could as well refer to the influential Avignon cardinal Guy de Boulogne (1313–73) – or to Robert of Geneva (the later Pope Clement VII), as both are descendants of St Ida de Boulogne, who is honoured in the poetic text of the motetus voice. This hypothesis demands a closer dating of the Low Countries fragment **Lei342A**, probably the earliest source for this motet. Lastly, even if *Portio*/*Ida* was initially not composed in honour of the first schismatic pope, it could well have been recopied for him, as a reminiscence to the pope's saintly ancestor.[133]

Viewed individually, all these 'Egidius appearances' only facilitate speculations on little solid ground. However, when considered in conjunction, a pattern emerges that often revolves around the same entities: an 'Egidius', connections to Robert of Geneva/Pope Clement VII (either textually or politically), and connections to the Low Countries (either through manuscript transmission or politics). Whether this pattern is pure coincidence or not, it exemplifies how much the strength of political alliances could influence the transmission of 'French' music – even in honour of the Avignon pope Clement VII – into an area of largely anti-French papal obedience.

[131] Hoppin/Clercx, 'Notes Biographiques', 83–8.

[132] Emily Zazulia, 'A Motet Ahead of its Time? The Curious Case of *Portio nature*/*Ida capillorum*', in Jared Hartt (ed.), *A Critical Companion to Medieval Motets* (Woodbridge, 2018), 341–54.

[133] Two more Egidiuses of less likely papal connection must be named here: 'Egidius de Thenis', named in the destroyed codex **Str** as the composer of the song *Sy liefstich is der mey* and of a Sanctus setting (copied twice in the source); these pieces probably date from the early fifteenth century, which renders a connection to the papal Egidius unlikely. An 'Egidius des Burces' is named as a musician in the 14th-century motet *Musicalis scientia* – Hoppin/Clercx, 'Notes Biographiques', 83–8, put forward three possible identifications from around 1350.

3.3 Lei2720 and the Low Countries Manuscript Network

3.3.1 Provenance, Palaeographical Analysis, and Contents of Lei2720

The provenance of **Lei2720** can most likely be traced back to the court of The Hague in the early fifteenth century.[134] Under Albert I, Duke of Bavaria (1336–1404), this court constituted the wealthiest and culturally most prolific environment in the Low Countries.[135] As mentioned above, the situation regarding the papal schism was ambiguous: officially, the Low Countries belonged to the Roman obedience, but opposed and changing allegiances were often the case, also down to the level of counties and cities.[136] The composers Martinus Fabri and Hugo Boy, both from the Low Countries and known only from this fragment, were employed as singers at the Holland court. Fabri died there in 1400.[137]

Lei2720 comprises six biofolios (300×220 mm) whose contents and palaeographical features are summarised in *Tables 6* to *8* below.[138] The parchment folios were all previously used as paste-downs and are therefore severely damaged; each recto has been cut off by a few millimeters on the right side. Yet, an examination of the fragment in the flesh has revealed one instance of original foliation, namely the digit '6…' on the modern fol. 4r. Therefore, the Leiden fragment must have been part of a substantial collection that counted at least sixty folios before it was dismantled.

Black mensural notation with red coloration has been entered on nine brown five-line staves, within a writing block of 188×128 mm. Two scribes can be identified in the fragment, one writing an early fifteenth-century French-style *littera cursiva* and a second hand, writing a *textualis formata*. Pieces entered by the second scribe are marked yellow in the tables below.

The three host volumes (*Repertorium totius summe re|uerendissimi in Christo patris | ac domini: domini Antonino archiepiscopi | florentinum ordinis predicatorum*, printed in Basel, 1511) were situated at the convent of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Culemborch, 15 km south of Utrecht. The convent was founded in 1430 and demolished during the Reformation.

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[134] The first study of **Lei2720** was conducted by Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius, 'De Leidse fragmenten: Nederlandse polifonie uit het einde der 14de eeuw', in Jozef Robijns (ed.), *Renaissance-Muziek 1400–1600: Donum natalicum René Bernard Lenaerts* (Leuven, 1969), 303–15. The most recent study and good overview of the previous scholarship on the Dutch fragment collections is provided by Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed'. On **Lei2720**, see esp. 11–5.

[135] Regarding courtly music, see Antheunis Janse, 'Het muziekleven', and van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer,* esp. 87–92.

[136] See Hélène Millet, 'Le Grand Schisme d'Occident (1378–1417)', in *Le Midi et le grand schisme d'Occident*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 39 (Toulouse, 2004), 21–37.

[137] See Wegman, 'The Amsterdam Fragments', 192–4, and Janse, 'Het muziekleven', 142–3.

[138] A palaeographical study (pp. 6 and 11–13), including an edition, of the fragment has already been conducted by van Biezen/Gumbert (eds.), *Two Chansonniers from the Low Countries.* However, my observations expand on their earlier study as I was able to examine **Lei2720** on-site at the University Library of Leiden in May 2022.

Of the sixteenth-century binding (for which the parchment bifolios were used as front and rear paste-downs) only the front cover of volume 1 and the rear cover of volume 2 survive; the books were rebound (into four volumes) and are now housed at the University Library of Leiden under the shelfmark 1407 D 6-8. Nothing is known about the earlier provenance of the fragments and how and when they (or the manuscript) reached the convent.

Table 6 **Lei2720**, fols. 1r–6v, gathering 1

Composition, Modern Foliation	**Annotations and Special Features**	**Glued/Not Glued**
L1, 1r *Le dieu d'amours*		Glued to host volume 1, front cover; wooden board survives, wrongly designated as 'achterplat bd.1' – should be 'voorplat bd. 1'
L2, 1v *Letificans tristantes*	Discussed in Chapter 3.4.4	not glued
L3, 2r *Sans jamais faire*		Glued to host volume 2, rear cover; wooden board survives, wrongly designated as 'voorplat bd.2' – should be 'achterplat bd. 2'
L4, 2v *Pour vous server*		Not glued
L5, 3r *Aux estrines*		Glued to host volume 2, front cover; wooden board lost
L6, 3v *N'ay je cause*	'Contratenor Martinus Fabri'; concordances: **WolkA** *Fröleichen so wel wir* (cantus: fol. 18r, tenor: fol. 17r), **WolkB** *Fröleichen so wel wir* (fol. 20r, cantus only); discussed in Chapter 3.4.1	Not glued
At least one central bifolio lost		

Composition, Modern Foliation	Annotations and Special Features	Glued/Not Glued
L7, 4r bottom *Hoge martunille* (text only) **L8, 4r top** *Renouveler me feist*	 original foliation '6…', resembles the foliation of **Utr37.II**	Not glued
L9, 4v *Ho ho ho*	Discussed in Chapter 3.4.2	Glued to host volume 2, front cover; wooden board lost
5r top *Ho ho ho* continued **L10, 5r bottom** *Hu Hula hu/ Au debot*		Not glued
L11, 5v top *Cheulz qui volent* **L12, 5v bottom** *Je suys tousjours* (contratenor on the last stave)		Glued to host volume 2, rear cover; wooden board survives, wrongly designated as 'voorplat bd.2' – should be 'achterplat bd. 2'
6r top *Cheulz qui volent* continued **6r bottom** *Je suys tousjours* continued		Not glued
L13, 6v top *Adieu vous di* **L14, 6v bottom** *En sospirant* (contratenor only)	Concordance *En sospirant*: **Paris4917**, fols. 5v–6r	Glued to host volume 1, front cover; offset visible on 'achterplat bd.1'

Fol. 4r could have been in the centre of the gathering, fitting with the assumption that *Hoge martunille* (text only, fol. 4r bottom) began on a previous lost folio. It is, however, also possible that more bifolios were inserted in or folded around this hypothetical quaternion.

Table 7 **Lei2720**, fols. 7r–10v, gathering 2[139]

Composition, Modern Foliation	**Annotations and Special Features**	**Glued/Not Glued**
L15, 7r *O…*	Ascribed to 'Sale'	Glued to host volume 1, rear cover; wooden board lost
L16, 7v *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*	Discussed in Chapter 3.4.3	Not glued
L17, 8r *Des vasten avonds*		Glued to host volume 3, rear cover; wooden board lost
L18, 8v top *Au tamps que* **L19, 8v bottom** *Or se depart* (tenor)		Not glued
9r *Or se depart*	Ascribed to 'Martinus Fabri'; discussed in Chapter 3.4.2	Not glued
L20, 9v *Er eende lof*	'danc hebt'[140]; ascribed to 'Martinus Fabri'	Glued to host volume 3, rear cover; wooden board lost
10r *Er eende lof* continued	'danc hebt'	Not glued
L21, 10v *Een cleyn parabel*	'Een vriendelic aensien'; ascribed to 'Martinus Fabri'	Glued to host volume 1, rear cover; wooden board lost

These two bifolios belonged to the centre of a gathering. The centre is marked by the successive voices of *Or se depart* (fols. 8v–9r). That fols. 9v–10r belong in that order is confirmed by the successive voices of *Eer ende lof* and an ink smudge connecting the bottom of these two folios.

[139] For the sake of simplicity, I call this gathering 'gathering 2', although it did not necessarily follow the folios described in the previous gathering.

[140] The phrases marked in blue indicate potential second-level meanings in the poetic texts of the respective compositions, to be discussed below.

Table 8 **Lei2720**, fols. 11r–12v, belonging to another unfinished (?) gathering

Composition, Modern Foliation	**Annotations and Special Features**	**Glued/Not Glued**
11r blank	Not ruled	Glued to host volume 3, front cover; wooden board lost
L22, 11v *Genade Venus*, cantus and beginning of contratenor	'Een vriendelic aensien'; ascribed to 'Hugo Boy Monachus'	Not glued
L23, 12r *Roses et lis*, contratenor only	Concordance: **Ch**, fol. 22r	Not glued
L24, 12v *S'elle mot*, cantus and tenor only	Contrafact of Egidius's *Courtois et sages*; **'G Bona'**; musical concordances: **ModA**, fol. 35r; **PR**, fol. 54r; discussed Chapter in 3.2.	Glued to host volume 3, front cover; wooden board lost

This bifolio is not from the centre of a gathering since all three pieces are unfinished.[141] It could have been the outer bifolio of gathering 2 (also according to flesh and hair sides). That fol. 11r is blank (not even ruled) might indicate that the gathering was not yet finished; there is also a lot of free space (four staves) beneath the contratenor of *Roses et lis*.

Given that the music manuscript was dismembered in order to serve as paste-down material – or had already been dismembered and then used as such – it is probable that the extant bifolios of **Lei2720** were in close proximity to each other in the manuscript. In that regard, the fact that bifolios 11–12 and 8–9 were both used as paste-downs in host volume 3 might strengthen the assumption that they belonged to the same gathering.

The *textualis* scribe was active at the end of gathering 1 (modern fols. 5v–6v), where this scribe added pieces at the bottom of the page. The same hand copied most of the pieces in gathering 2; only the compositions on fol. 7r–v were entered by the *cursiva* scribe. The majority of gathering 1 as well as all the music on bifolio 11–12 was executed by the *cursiva* scribe. Since both scribes notated music in primary position, I refrain from calling the *cursiva* scribe

[141] *S'elle mot lie* (fol. 12v) is also performable without the absent contratenor. Therefore, it is possible that the scribe only had a two-voice version at hand.

the main scribe (as did van Biezen and Gumbert, although it is true that the *cursiva* scribe never added pieces on the bottom of pages). It is more likely that they both worked together.

The question about the chronology and interaction of scribal hands in **Lei2720** is complicated by the fact that composer ascriptions were supplied in both *textualis* and *cursiva.* All instances are summarised in *Table 9* below. Ascriptions in *textualis* were added to pieces of both music scribes (*textualis* scribe: 'Martinus Fabri', *cursiva* scribe: 'Sale' and 'Hugo Boy Monachus'). These ascriptions are in different inks – 'Martinus Fabri' in red, 'Hugo Boy Monachus' in blue, and 'Sale' in brown ink. Another ascription to Fabri – referring to the contratenor only – is also found on fol. 3v, this time in *cursiva* (brown ink) and most likely by the same hand that notated most of the pieces on the extant folios.

Table 9 Ink colours and script of composer ascriptions in **Lei2720**

'Martinus Fabri', fols. 9r, 9v, 10v (in all three instances with fa-pun, here fol. 9r) (*Er eende lof*, *Een cleyn parabel*)	 red ink, *textualis*
'Hugo Boy Monachus', fol. 11v (*Genade Venus*)	 blue ink, *textualis*[142]
'Sale', fol. 7r (*O*…)	 brown ink, *textualis*
'Contratenor Martinus Fabri', fol. 3v (*N'ay je cause*)	 brown ink, *cursiva*

With regard to Martinus Fabri and Hugo Boy, it is particularly striking that not only are compositions ascribed to them, but they also seem to have greeted each other in the poetic texts of these compositions. In Fabri's *Een cleyn parabel* (fol. 10v) as well as in Boy's *Genade Venus* (fol. 11v) the phrase 'Een vriendelic aensien' (Dutch for 'a kind regard', marked in blue in *Tables 7* and *8*) is integrated in the poems and marked through rubrication. These two pieces are written by the *textualis* scribe and the *cursiva* scribe respectively; *textualis* ascriptions are made to Fabri in red ink and to Boy in blue ink. Fabri's *Een cleyn parabel* and Boy's *Genade Venus* are also musically very similar, indicating that they were composed as a pair, or rather in response to each other. This observation also strengthens the hypothesis that the bifolios 7–10 and 11–12 belonged to the same gathering.

[142] That this ink is actually blue – and thus looks strikingly different from the ink of the ascription to 'Sale' of fol. 7r – is only visible when examined in daylight.

Therefore, one could speculate that Fabri and Boy were indeed the two scribes of **Lei2720**, identified through special ink colours (as opposed to the brown ink used for 'Sale') and greeting each other through the rubrication pun. In that case, Fabri could be identified with the *textualis* scribe (who also added the blue ascription to Boy on fol. 7r and the brown ascription to 'Sale' on fol. 7r), and Boy with the *cursiva* scribe. This impression is confirmed by the fact that three of the four pieces ascribed to Martinus Fabri have been added by the *textualis* scribe, adjacent to each other (fols. 8v–10v); conversely, the ascription to Fabri solely of the contratenor on fol. 3v (*N'ay je cause*) is written in *cursiva* instead of *textualis*: Boy, the *cursiva* scribe (who also copied the music of *N'ay je cause*), probably added a reference to the single contratenor composed by his colleague.[143]

Furthermore, another instance where a second layer of meaning might be indicated in the poetic text is Fabri's *Er eende lof* (fols. 9v–10r). The phrase 'Danc hebt' (Dutch for 'have thanks') is also marked through rubrication in all three voices. The poetic text refers to a lady, possibly a woman at court.

Finally, in the light of these hidden references in the Leiden fragment, I believe it equally possible that *S'elle mot lie* falls into the same category: *S'elle mot lie* – also highlighting 'G. Bona' through rubrication – could after all be a newly composed text from around 1400, in which a Netherlandish musician (G. Bona?) created a pun which would only have been understandable to insiders at court. Possibly, the author retained a loose connection to Clement VII as a reminiscence of the ballade's original version. The seemingly nonsensical nature of the Leiden poem, which, even if completed, seems to bear little syntactical coherence, further strengthens this supposition.

After the interactions of the scribal hands (and their possible identification with Fabri and Boy) have been established, the repertory they compiled must be evaluated. *Fig. 6* below shows a summary of the Leiden fragments's contents, which comprises a mixture of different compositional styles and languages. Compositions marked in orange have either Dutch poetic texts and/or are ascribed to either Fabri, Hugo Boy, or 'Sale'. These pieces certainly originated in the Low Countries.

The remaining compositions in **Lei2720**, all anonymous, can be divided in three further categories: first, the Latin-texted rondeau *Letificans tristantes* (fol. 1v, marked in green).[144] Second, a couple of compositions of a simple, convivial, nature, which are provided with

[143] *N'ay je cause* is discussed in section 3.4.1 below.
[144] Chansons with Latin poetic texts, among them *Letificans tristantes*, are thematised in section 3.4.4 below.

French texts (marked in yellow). Third, French-texted chansons thematising courtly love (not coloured in the table). The latter compositions, among them *Roses et lis* and *S'elle mot lie*, are most likely to be repertory that was imported from France. However, apart from *N'ay je cause* (fol. 3v, preserved in a contrafact version by Oswald von Wolkenstein; see below), *En sospirant* (fol. 6v, also preserved in the early fifteenth-century Veneto source **Paris4917**, fols. 5v–6r), and the two Egidius ballades, the entire repertory of **Lei2720** consists of unique pieces.[145]

Fig. 6 Contents of **Lei2720**[146]

No.	Modern fol.	Composition [Composer]
1	1r	*Le dieu d'amours*
2	1v	*Letificans tristantes*
3	2r	*Sans jamais faire*
4	2v	*Pour vous servir*
5	3r	*Aux estrines*
6	3v	*N'ay je cause* ['contratenor Martinus Fabri']
7	*–4r	*Hoge martunille* (text only)
8	4r	*Renouveler me feist*
9	4v–5r	*Ho ho ho / Faites chi verser*
10	5r	*Hu hula hu / Se ma chanchon + Au debot*
11	5v–6r	*Cheulz qui volent retourner*
12	5v–6r	***Je suys tousjours***
13	6v	*Adieu vous di*
14	6v–*	***En sospirant***
15	7r	*O* ... [Sale]
16	7v	*Tsinghen van der nachtegale*
17	8r	***Des vasten avonts***
18	8v	***Au tamps que je soloye amer***
19	8v–9r	***Or se depart*** [Martinus Fabri]
20	9v–10r	***Eer ende lof*** [Martinus Fabri]
21	10v–*	***Een cleyn parabel*** [Martinus Fabri]
	11r blank	
22	11v–*	*Genade Venus* [Hugo Boy Monachus]
23	*–12r	*Roses et lis* (contratenor only)
24	12v–*?	*S'elle mot lie = Courtois et sages*

[145] On **Paris4917**, see Christian Berger (ed.), *Ein Venezianisches Liederbuch aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts: Die Handschrift Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 4917. Edition und Kommentar*, Musikalische Denkmäler, 12 (Mainz, 2016).

[146] Lines in the table show divisions between the (not necessarily consecutive) gatherings. Dotted lines indicate (an unknown number of) missing bifolios within gatherings. Pieces in bold (marked in yellow in *Tables 6–7* above) were notated by the *textualis* hand (Martinus Fabri?).

The absence of concordances *and* composer ascriptions in the Leiden fragment blurs the edges between repertory that is obviously of French origin and compositions that merely have a French text. When looking at manuscripts that originated in the Low Countries more broadly, it appears that **Lei2720** is in good company: in all extant fragments from that area (discussed in the following section), composer ascriptions refer exclusively to local musicians, whereas the supposedly 'imported' repertory – like the pieces by Egidius – is transmitted anonymously.[147] Apart from the question as to whether the Netherlandish scribes did not know the identities of these composers or simply did not care to record them, this circumstance makes it difficult to localise many of the anonymous unica in **Lei2720**. In short: which pieces are by local composers? Which pieces are local, but composed in 'international style', that is, imitating the repertory which was known from France? Which pieces are truly imported from France? In any case, if *S'elle mot lie* is indeed the product of contrafaction by a Netherlandish scribe and if only the contratenor of *N'ay je cause* was composed by Martinus Fabri (as the ascription suggests), we already know two examples of hybrid, French-Netherlandish compositions. In order to illuminate how these characteristics situate **Lei2720** in the source picture of the Low Countries around 1400, the following section introduces all manuscript sources that have obvious connections to the Low Countries, either by their origin/and or by the fact that they contain Dutch-texted polyphony.

3.3.2 Manuscripts Originating in the Low Countries and Sources for Dutch-Texted Polyphony around 1400

To the present day, five collections of polyphony from around 1400 are kept in the Netherlands: **Au64**, **Lei2515(1)**, **Lei2720**, **Lei342A**, and **Utr37**.[148] Three of them – **Au64**, **Lei2720**, and **Utr37.I/II** – are not only codicologically close to each other, but also each contain a collection of Dutch, French- and Latin-texted pieces. They therefore represent the practice of importing older, international repertory and mingling it with contemporary, vernacular compositions of the Low Countries around 1400.[149] The very fragmentary source **Lei342A** (comprising two parchment leaves), contains Ars Nova motets: among them is *Portio nature*/*Ida capillorum*, discussed above in connection with 'Egidius', as well as Philippe de Vitry's widely transmitted

[147] In **Utr37.II**, the 'ascription' of *Des dont que part de moi* (fol. 27r) reads 'Clericus de Landis bone memorie', indicating that the piece was composed in memory of a local cleric.

[148] All sources discussed in this section (3.3.2) and the following section (3.3.3) are summarised in *Table 10* at the end of section 3.3.3.

[149] For the codicological analysis of the three related fragment collections, see Wegman, 'The Amsterdam Fragments', 188–90. See also Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed', 12 and 187.

motet *Impudenter*/*Virtutibus*. **Lei2515(1)** is often mentioned in connection with the Low Countries manuscripts, due to its present location. However, this fragment is probably of Italian origin, which is why it is excluded from this survey.[150]

To the sources that preserve both Dutch-texted polyphony and Ars Nova polyphony and are at present kept in the Low Countries, one can also add around twenty Dutch-texted compositions surviving largely in **Pg9** and **Str**, accompanied by a few pieces in **CaB**, **EscA**, **Gr3360**, **Hei**, and **PR**.[151] **CaB**, **Gr3360**, and **Hei** stem from Flanders (**Gr3360**, **Hei**) and northern France (**CaB**) around 1400 respectively, while **Pg9** and **Str** were most likely compiled in the Strasbourg area in the early fifteenth century. **PR** originated in northern Italy in the same time-frame. The slightly later source **EscA** (after 1430) contains largely repertory by Binchois and Du Fay, as well as one Dutch-texted piece (*Al eerbaerheit weinche ic voort an*, fols. 30v–31r). Lastly, **Belf**, **Gr133**, and **GudI/Mons** – like **Lei342A** – originated in the northern Low Countries and Flanders/northern France, but do not preserve Dutch-texted polyphony.[152]

Lei2720 obviously belongs to a closely connected group of manuscripts which originated in the Low Countries or themselves provide testimony to the import of repertory from that area; **PR** with its northern Italian provenance (and only one Dutch-texted work out of more than two hundred pieces) seems to stand somewhat outside of this group.[153] However, **PR**'s marginal affiliation with the Low Countries sources apparently strengthens my earlier palaeographical observations on *S'elle mot lie*/*Courtois et sages* which established a connection between **Lei2720** and **PR** based on the transmission of the papal ballade's musical material.

Finally, as sources from the upper Rhine area, **Pg9** and **Str** introduce a strand of repertory transmission connected to the German-speaking lands. This chapter's introductory remarks have identified the repertory transmission between this area and the Low Countries, as well as Italy, as crucial for understanding the transmission channels of (papal) polyphony in the decades around 1400. Against this background, **Pg9** and **Str**, together with the Italian

[150] This impression is confirmed by Fankhauser (ibid.: 14).

[151] For a list of the pieces, see ibid. 147.

[152] Reinhard Strohm, 'The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 34/2 (1984), 109–31, esp. 109. Regarding **PR**, see Nigel Wilkins, 'The Codex Reina: A Revised Description (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. n.a.fr. 6771)', *Musica Disciplina*, 17 (1963), 57–73, and Hertel, *Chansonvertonungen*, *passim.*

[153] The only Dutch-texted composition in **PR**, the unique and anonymous song *En wiiflijc beildt ghestadt van sinne* (fols. 56v–57r) is transmitted in the same repertorial layer of the manuscript as *Courtois et sages* (fascicle 5, fol. 54r) and was copied by the same scribe ('scribe W'). This observation strengthens my initial impression that the two, albeit differently texted, versions of the papal ballade in **PR** and **Lei2720** indeed belong to a directly related manuscript tradition. Fascicle 5 of **PR** was copied mostly by the same scribe and contains a number of topical chansons; see Hertel, *Chansonvertonungen*, 76–82.

source **PR**, are key sources for establishing a manuscript network that proceeds from the Low Countries. The following section demonstrates that these three sources (**PR**, **Pg**, **Str**) are interconnected through multiple concordances as well as the practice of contrafaction. By investigating the transmission directions between 'original', French-texted, compositions and their contrafacts in combination with the emergence of Dutch-texted repertory within the source picture, the next section establishes the Low Countries network.

3.3.3 Tracing Contrafaction: Establishing the Low Countries Network

After sources with Dutch-texted polyphony have been identified in order to contextualise **Lei2720** and its contents, manuscripts that contain French-texted repertory – whether in its 'original' form or as a contrafact – are connected to the Low Countries sources. All sources in this survey as well as a diagram visualising their interconnections can be found in *Table 10* and *Fig. 7* at the end of this section.

The Italian manuscript **PR** is the starting point of the network: with its connection to the Low Countries through *Courtois et sages* (*S'elle mot lie*) and its own Dutch-texted work on the one hand and a large number of French-texted chansons on the other, it constitutes a key element for further network considerations.

Through its French-texted chansons, **PR** contains multiple concordances with **Ch** and **ModA**, therefore integrating the main repertory collections of compositions from the French courts, including the papal curia, into the network. On the other hand, the repertory preserved in **PR** (fascicle 5) was obviously a frequent basis for contrafact compositions: most tellingly, twelve out of the twenty contrafacts in **Str** feature a concordance (with the original, French, texting) in **PR**, and in most cases only in this manuscript. The contrafacts in **Str** are mostly Marian contrafacts, and all in Latin. Contrafaction appears here as part of a later process, that is, contemporary to the time of the manuscripts' compilation.[154] **Str**, as well as **Pg9**, are at the same time the main sources for Dutch-texted polyphony that were compiled *outside* the Low Countries. **PR**'s connection to the Low Countries is further strengthened on an intermediate level. It appears that the influence of Dutch-texted polyphony decreases the further south a source has been compiled: whereas the Italian source **PR** itself contains only one Dutch-texed composition, its French repertory has obviously been received – and contrafacted – within sources that themselves display a stronger influence from the Low Countries, **Str** and **Pg9**, compiled in the German-speaking lands.

[154] See van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical*, *passim.*

Lastly, I broaden the perspective to contrafact production in further manuscripts from the German-speaking realm – the southern German/Austrian manuscripts **MuEm**, **WolkA**, and **WolkB**. These are the latest manuscripts of this survey: **WolkA** is dated after 1425, **WolkB** to 1432 (the latter according to its colophon), and **MuEm** to 1440–50. Here, as in **Str,** the process of later contrafaction always involves a change of purpose for the composition at hand, including a change of language in all cases. In **MuEm**, contrafaction of French-texted chansons also results in a new Latin text. In **WolkA** and **WolkB**, conversely, French originals were given German contrafact poems.[155] Through intermediate sources like **PR**, the manuscripts from the German-speaking lands contain concordances with most sources mentioned previously, even with **Ch** and **ModA**. In the latter sources, as well as in Italian manuscripts of the early fifteenth century more broadly, the pheonmenon of contrafaction does not appear at all, at least when the same genre is retained. Even if the genre is changed (as happens with a couple of compositions by Ciconia), a change of language always takes place as well.[156]

When viewing the issue of *S'elle mot lie* in the light of the Low Countries network, it becomes clear that this piece – providing a *French* contrafact of a *French* text – is a phenomenon thus far unprecedented in this period and repertory. I propose two scenarios: first, if the now fragmentary **Lei2720** poem did intend to honour Clement VII, then it was likely coeval with the text *Courtois et sages* and apparently retained its occasional function. In that case, Leiden would record a different practice of contrafaction, independent of the later practice in the German-speaking lands. As almost no French sources exist from the late fourteenth century, the Leiden example could just be a rare witness to a phenomenon that is otherwise unknown due to the loss of its primary sources. This, in turn, would speak for a preservation of French repertory in the Low Countries that is close to the now lost French exemplars.

Second, if *S'elle mot lie* was a Netherlandish reworking, intended as an inside 'joke' at the Holland court, it would further hint at a multiplicity of styles and a wide range of

[155] On **MuEm**, see Ian Rumbold, Peter Wright, Martin Staehelin, and Lorenz Welker (eds.), *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram: Faksimile der Handschrift Clm 14274 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, 2 vols., Elementa Musicae (Wiesbaden, 2006). The standard introduction on **WolkA** and **WolkB** is provided by Ivana Pelnar (ed.), *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, Münchner Editionen zur Musikgeschichte (Tutzing, 1981). More recent literature is discussed in section 3.4.1 below.

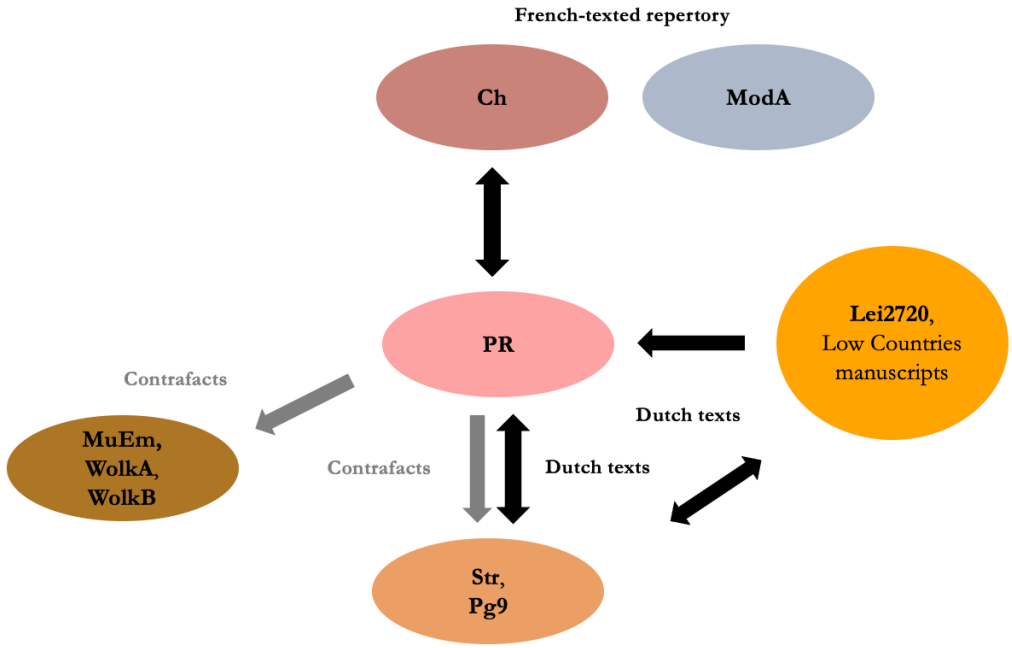
[156] The contrafact issue for the late fourteenth and very early fifteenth centuries, especially regarding French and Italian sources, has been treated very little. A first attempt for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been made by Martin Staehelin, who mentions Wolkenstein and the younger Trent codices, and only regarding Latin contrafaction of French pieces: see Martin Staehelin, 'Zur Begründung der Kontrafakturpraxis in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts', in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (ed.), *Florilegium Musicologicum: Hellmut Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1988), 389–96. The recent anthology by Agnese Pavanello (ed.), *Kontrafakturen im Kontext*, Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis, 40 (Basel, 2020), prominently features Oswald von Wolkenstein, to be discussed in section 3.4.1 below. An example for a Latin contrafact of either a virelai or ballata is Ciconia's *Regina gloriosa* (PMFC 24, no. 24).

engagement with French repertory in the Low Countries sources. As exemplified in the case studies below, this scenario is eminently possible as well. In sum, *S'elle mot lie* must remain an obscure outlier, not only in the corpus of papal polyphony, but apparently also in the larger corpus of polyphony around 1400. As long as no further examples like *S'elle mot lie* come to the surface and offer new evidence, the two solutions outlined here remain equally possible.

Table 10 The manuscripts of the Low Countries network

Manuscript(s)	**(Relevant) Contents**	**Presumed Origin and Dating**
Ch, **ModA**	Main repertory collections of Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' works, among them papal pieces	Italy, early 15th century
PR	One layer with Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' repertory, one Dutch-texted piece in this layer	Italy, early 15th century
Au64, **Lei2720**, **Utr37.I**	Collections of local contemporary Dutch-texted pieces, interspersed with Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' repertory	Low Countries (The Hague?), early 15th century
Belf, Gr133, **GudI/Mons**, **Lei342A**	Very fragmentary sources with Ars Nova repertory	Low Countries (**Belf**, **Gr133**, **Lei342A**)/northern France (**GudI/Mons**), late 14th/early 15th century
CaB, **Gr3360, Hei**	Contain Ars Nova repertory and Dutch-texted pieces	Flanders (**Gr3360**, **Hei**) and northern France **(CaB**), late 14th/early 15th century
EscA	Contains polyphony largely by Du Fay and Binchois, as well as one Dutch-texted compositon	Flanders, 1430–45
Pg9, **Str**	Contain (contrafacts of) Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' repertory and Dutch-texted pieces	Strasbourg, early to mid-15th century
MuEm, WolkA, **WolkB**	Contain (contrafacts of) Ars Nova and 'Ars Subtilior' repertory	Southern Germany/Austria, around mid-15th century

Fig. 7 The Low Countries manuscript network: source relationships



3.4 Case Studies Proceeding from the Low Countries Fragments

As the development of the Low Countries manuscript network has already revealed certain directions of repertory movement, this section exemplifies certain points within this network through concrete case studies. Always proceeding from at least one example in a Low Countries source, prominently **Lei2720**, these case studies explore the apparent grey area between 'local' and 'international' repertory cultivated in the Low Countries around 1400.

3.4.1 Oswald von Wolkenstein and the 'Central European Reception Filter'

A composition that above has already raised questions about its status as 'French' is the three-voice ballade *N'ay je cause* in **Lei2720 (**fol. 3r). Only this ballade's contratenor is ascribed to Martinus Fabri, who was active as a musician at the Holland court around 1400. Ivana Pelnar has identified a contrafact version of this composition, *Fröleichen so wel wir*, in both **WolkA** (cantus: fol. 18r, tenor: fol. 17r) and **WolkB** (fol. 20r, cantus only).[157]

Of Oswald's seventeen known contrafacts, *N'ay je cause* is the only piece that has a 'foreign model', as Reinhard Strohm calls it, in a Low Countries manuscript.[158] All other pieces

[157] Ivana Pelnar, 'Neu entdeckte Ars-Nova-Sätze bei Oswald von Wolkenstein', *Die Musikforschung*, 32/1 (1979), 26–33, at 28–9.

[158] For a table of Wolkenstein's contrafacts and the sources of their models, see Strohm, *Rise*, 120. Strohm, however, lists only eleven contrafacts; for a complete list, see Marc Lewon, '"Den Techst vber das geleŷemors

are preserved in their French-texted form in Italian sources, particularly **PR**, and survive in further (contrafact) copies in manuscripts I have mentioned as sources of contrafact production: **MuEm**, **Pg9**, and **Str**. For instance, the song *Je vois mon cuer* (**PR**, fol. 73v) is also copied in **Pg9** (*Se voy mon cuer*, fol 262r, incipit only) and well as in **WolkA** and **WolkB** (*Du ausserweltes schöns mein Herz*, fols. 13v–14r and fols. 20v–21r respectively) and **Str** (fol. 83r, *Cen mon chier*). In these manuscripts, the French song goes through different kinds of reworking.

Whereas we have French originals for all of Oswald's other contrafacts, *N'ay je cause* survives otherwise only in the Leiden fragment and has thus been assumed to be the 'French original' to the Wolkenstein adaptation. Neither Pelnar nor Reinhard Strohm, who edited and analysed the song in detail, take into account that only the ballade's contratenor is ascribed to Martinus Fabri.[159]

Strohm, however, notes several peculiarities in the Leiden version of the ballade which I summarise here. The ballade's tenor is texted, which is very unusual for a French-style chanson. Moreover, the tenor's melodically repetitive structure resembles a song tune, rather than the lower voice of a French-style chanson. The text underlay of the ballade in Leiden, in the upper voice and the tenor, fits the music quite well, but there are several untexted passages throughout the piece which have to be vocalised and are interrupted by rests. The contratenor voice appears in neither of the two later Wolkenstein manuscripts. Briefly speaking, the Leiden song *N'ay je cause* is very unlikely to be a French-style chanson; yet, it could have been the 'ballade' which Wolkenstein knew and reworked again – without keeping the contratenor by Fabri (which might, among what were originally several sources of this piece, only have been added in **Lei2720**, a source in whose production Fabri himself was involved).

Lorenz Welker has previously proposed that Wolkenstein chose as models for his contrafacts pieces that had already been reworked. He calls these supposed stages of prior reworking a 'mitteleuropäischer Rezeptionsfilter' ('Central European reception filter').[160] But

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Wolkenstainer": Investigating the Workshop of a Professional Contrafactor', in Pavanello (ed.), *Kontrafakturen im Kontext*, 183–210, at 204.

[159] For Strohm's analysis and discussion of *N'ay je cause*, see Strohm, *Rise*, 70–3.

[160] Lorenz Welker, 'Die Überlieferung französischer Chansons in der Handschrift 2777 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Wolkenstein-Handschrift A)', in Birgit Lodes (ed.), *Wiener Quellen der älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht: Eine Ringvorlesung*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte, 1 (Tutzing, 2007), 311–30, at 320. See also id., 'New Light on Oswald von Wolkenstein: Central European Traditions and Burgundian Polyphony', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), 187–226. Carola Hertel-Geay suggests as well that Oswald knew the pieces he contrafacted in already reworked form: Carola Hertel-Geay, 'Oswalds Vorlagen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a.f. 6771', in Christian Berger (ed.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400*. Rombach Wissenschaften, Reihe Voces, 14 (Freiburg i. Br., 2011), 33–44.

this kind of reception has in mind reworkings that are found, for instance, in **Str**, **Pg9**, and **MuEm**. **Lei2720** is around thirty years older than these sources and already features a composition that apparently shows a 'distorted' version of a French chanson. Wolkenstein's version, on the other hand, seems to have known this new composition rather than the French piece that originally inspired it.

I propose, therefore, that even before we can speak of a 'Central European reception filter' witnessed by manuscripts in the German-speaking lands, French repertory reached the Low Countries around 1400 and in this region underwent all kinds of reworking. Concretely, *N'ay je cause* in Leiden seems to be a composition made up of components with different provenances: perhaps a pre-existing song tenor, a newly-composed upper voice with the rather ill-fitting text of a French chanson, and then a contratenor added by a local composer. If my hypothesis is correct, only the ballade's French text would attest to the French heritage of this composition. Conversely, in *S'elle mot lie*, possibly only the ballade's music bears a resemblance to its French original.

3.4.2 Between 'Ars Subtilior' and Drinking Songs

As stated in the introduction, the Low Countries manuscript are often regarded as containing 'isolated exceptions' of compositions in Ars Nova or 'Ars Subtilior' style, that is, when we know of concordances with which to compare them in the large Italian anthologies. However, two examples of an experimentation with and adaptation of **'**Ars Subtilior' style are evident in **Lei2720** and **Au64** respectively.

Martinus Fabri's three-voice rondeau *Or se depart* (**Lei2720**, fols. 8v–9r) looks – judging from its notation – like a classic 'Ars Subtilior' composition: it has frequent mensural changes, red hollow notation, and a verbal canon in Latin. However, its counterpoint creates several unusual dissonances. Likewise, a piece with the outward musical appearance of a French-style composition is preserved in the Amsterdam fragment **Au64**. There, we find the Dutch-texted song *Blijfs mi doch bi* (fol. 1r) which has a solus tenor and verbal canon. Normally, solus tenors are found as the conflation of tenor and contratenor in French-style isorhythmic motets. Here, the voice is indeed a conflation of tenor and contratenor, but the contratenor of the piece must first be derived canonically from the tenor voice. In this regard,

the Amsterdam composition combines a traditional French compositional device, the solus tenor, with a canon technique which originated in the Burgundian-French area around 1400.[161]

By contrast, the French-texted drinking song *Ho ho ho* (**Lei2720**, fols. 4v–5r) – with its syllabic text declamation and monotonous rhythm in all three voices – stands apart from the conventional courtly idiom of 'Ars Subtilior' polyphony. Yet, I propose that it is equally uncertain to assume that this is a local, Netherlandish, composition only because of its simpler style. A song with exactly the same rhyme scheme and a similar textual content (*Hé, hé, la bonne vine*), is found in the English manuscript **BL3988**. This manuscript does not contain musical notation, but the poetic text *Hé, hé, la bonne vine* is part of a so-called *Manière de langage*, a treatise to teach English readers the French language.[162] More research needs to be done in this regard, but I believe that the emergence of a similar, French-texted, composition in both an English and Netherlandish manuscript – again – blurs the edges of where this kind of repertory actually originated. Just as 'Ars Subtilior'-style compositions were known and subject to reworking in the Low Countries, also 'low style' drinking compositions could have been imported from a French-speaking area, or even have made their way over England to the Low Countries.

3.4.3 Birdsong Virelais

Another defined group of French-texted compositions that apparently originated in the Low Countries and northern France in the mid-fourteenth century are the so-called realistic, or birdsong virelais. Only eight such pieces survive.[163] In accordance with elite courtly love poetry (and therefore in line with the majority of French chansons in general), these compositions resonate with the *topos* of the lover's longing for his lady. The avian actors – most prominently the nightingale as virtuoso songbird and the cuckoo as his antipode – are usually part of a spring scene where the lover courts his lady, the birdcalls being depicted through distinctive musical

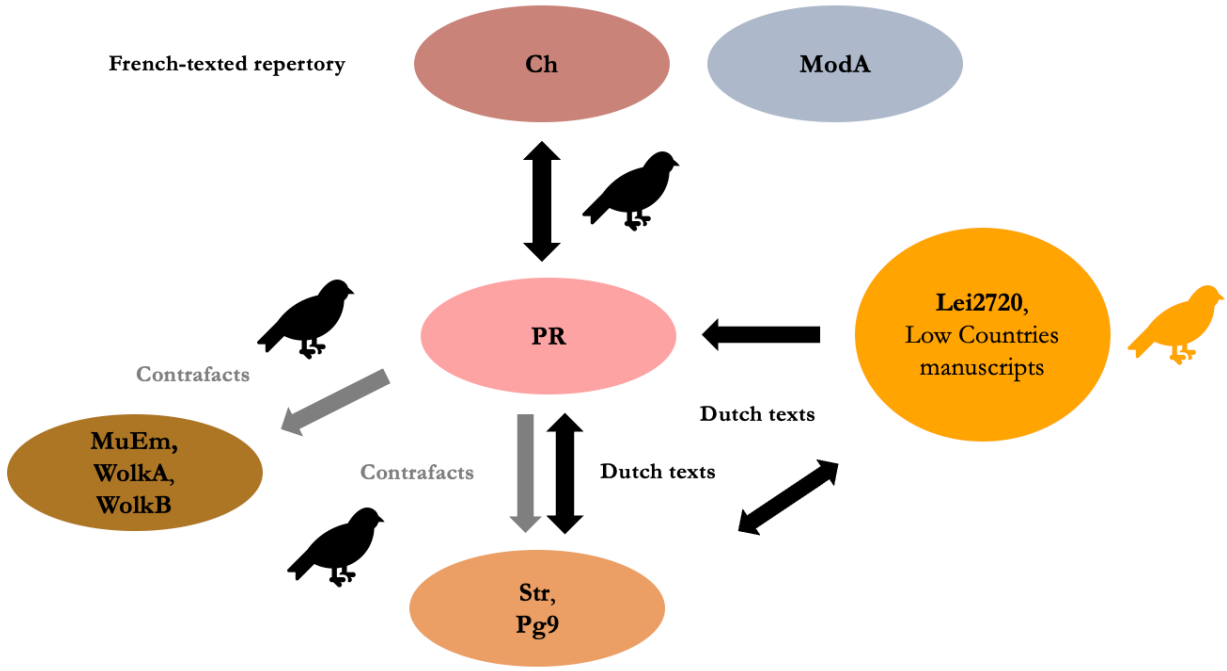
[161] Rob Wegman, 'The Amsterdam Fragments', 196–7, attempted to reconstruct the fragmentary piece but could not make sense of the unusual 'solus tenor' of this composition.

[162] This genre is discussed in connection with a *manière* concordance of the song *Tres dous regart* (otherwise preserved in **ModA**) by Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Learning French by Singing in 14th-Century England', *Early Music*, 33/2 (2005), 253–70.

[163] The standard study of this repertory is Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2007), 108–74. Willi Apel (ed.), *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), at 3, 16–7, 20 coined the term 'realistic virelai' for compositions that feature a musical imitation of avian utterances (the eight birdsong virelais) as well as pieces that enact an amorous call to arms by mimicking non-linguistic *vox confusa* (two more compositions). The most recent contribution on this topic, including the two 'realistic' virelais that do not depict birdsong, is Davide Checchi and Michele Epifani, 'Remarks on Some Realistic Virelais of the Reina Codex', in Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti, and John Nádas (eds.), *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories* (Firenze, 2020), 163–215.

passages. As Leach pointed out, the birdsong virelais were – as confirmed by their relatively extensive manuscript dissemination – popular and accordingly prone to a degree of reworking and transformation, be it contrafaction, changes in voice disposition, or instrumental arrangements.[164] German and Latin contrafacts of the repertory appear exclusively in sources from the German-speaking lands – **MuEm**, **Str**, **WolkA**, **WolkB** – all of which have already surfaced as part of the Low Countries network. Moreover, the early fifteenth-century Italian anthologies – **Ch**, **ModA**, and **PR** – always transmit the virelais with their original French poetic texts (see *Fig. 8* below).

Fig. 8 The Low Countries manuscript network and the transmission of birdsong virelais



So far, one can observe that these compositions follow the same 'rules' of contrafaction that I have established for French repertory more broadly. But despite their origin in the Low Countries and their transmission into the large Italian repertory collections (**PR** contains seven out of the eight known birdsong virelais) they seem to have 'returned' to the Low Countries after 1400 as well.

Not a virelai, but a ballade, the anonymous Leiden piece *Tsinghen van der nachtegale* on fol. 7v immediately signals the birdsong tradition in its incipit. The Leiden ballade also shares rhythmic characteristics of the birdsong passages found in realistic virelais. Its composer was apparently aware of the older realistic virelai tradition but transferred it to another song

[164] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 109. The different manifestations of the compositions are specified ibid. 302–6.

form, the ballade, and provided its poetic text in the Dutch vernacular. Furthermore, the French-texted ballade *En un gardin* in **Utr37** (fols. 21v–22r) which features the eagle as king of birds, shows the same characteristic musical passages as the earlier birdsong virelais. In the latter case, one wonders, again, if the French text of the composition speaks for the ballade's origin in France or if its stylistic features situate it in the Low Countries after 1400.

3.4.4 Secular Songs with Latin Texts around 1400

The final connection of **Lei2720** to musical repertories outside the Low Countries I present here is the Latin-texted rondeau *Letificans tristantes* (**Lei2720**, fol. 1v). It is one of only two surviving Latin-texted rondeaux; its poetic text thematises the art of music-making. As will be demonstrated in this section, chansons with Latin poetic texts display a strong connection to the Avignon and Pisan papal courts. There are five compositions which refer to a pope or a papal *collegium musicorum*; several further pieces relate to the art of music-making in their poetic texts (just as in *Letificans tristantes*). Therefore, an overview of all thirteen surviving Latin-texted chansons is given in *Table 11* below. I return to *Letificans tristantes* at the end of this section.

Apart from *Inclite flos*, honouring Avignon pope Clement VII and likely the earliest Latin-texted papal ballade (*Table 11*, no. 4, discussed in Chapter 5.1), four further ballades – *Veri almi pastoris*, *Arte psallentes*, *Sumite karissimi,* and *Ore Pandulfum* – can be connected to the Pisan popes Alexander V and/or John XXIII (*Table 11*, nos. 13, 2, 12, and 8). The two-voice ballade *Angelorum psalat tripudium* (*Table 11*, no. 1) whose upper voice text as well as its tenor feature the *fera pessima*, the 'ultimate beast', might express apocalyptic views that were propelled by and especially associated with the outbreak of the schism in 1378 (see Chapter 5.2.2). Although a papal connection has been proposed for individual pieces of this group by Anne Stone, Crawford Young, and Jason Stoessel, it has never been scrutinised as a phenomenon on its own terms.[165]

These ballades reflect – once again – only the Avignon and Pisan side of the schism. In addition to the impression that the phenomenon of Latin chansons seems to have strong links to papal circles and, therefore, to be part of a specific rhetorical agenda (one thinks of Latin as

[165] Young, 'Antiphon of the Angels'; Stone/Toniolo, *The Manuscript Modena*, 69–78. Jason Stoessel, 'French-Texted Songs at the Council of Constance: Influences, Paths of Transmission, and Trends', in Stefan Morent, Silke Leopold, and Joachim Steinheuer (eds.), *Europäische Musikkultur im Kontext des Konstanzer Konzils*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, 47 (Ostfildern, 2017), 205–24, at 209, only accepts a papal connection for four Latin-texted chansons (*Arte psallentes*, *Inclite flos, Sumite karissimi, Veri almi pastoris*). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, the connection of *Angelorum psalat* to the schismatic papacy is very likely due to its tenor, texted 'retro mordens ut fera pessima'.

the official language of the papal court), it is also worth mentioning that these pieces appear exclusively in **Ch** and, to the greatest extent, in **ModA** (eight out of thirteen pieces). Moreover, the only extant Latin virelai, *Laus detur multipharia*, is also to be found uniquely in **Ch** (fol. 16v). Its composer, Petrus Fabri, whose name has been added at the bottom of the page, next to the triplum, can likely be identified with the cardinalate singer Petrus Fabri, who was active on the Avignon side of the schism shortly after 1378. Fabri's identity was uncovered by Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas, but a connection to the Chantilly composer has, to date, never been established.[166]

Moreover, this group of almost exclusively unique pieces is not only characterised through concrete textual links to papal circles, but also features a striking presence of (northern) papal composers: Johannes Ciconia, Magister Egardus, and Hubertus de Salinis.[167]

The two 'brother' pieces *Furnis reliquisti quare / Equum est salutare* by Egardus and *Sinceram salutem care* by Thomas Fabri both formulate their greetings towards a certain 'frater Buclarus' and use the end-rhyme '-are' throughout the entire Latin poem. With Thomas Fabri (not to be confused with Martinus Fabri in **Lei2720** and Petrus Fabri, associated with *Laus detur multipharia*, *Table 11*, no. 5 below), another composer with Flemish origin can be identified within the group of Latin-texted chansons.[168]

Although the chansons with papal connections are of a decidedly different musical style than the compositions by Egardus and (Thomas) Fabri, namely that of the 'Ars Subtilior', a striking focus on the act of music-making is evident in almost all of the thirteen Latin-texted chansons. They are further characterised through self-reflexiveness and/or first-person speech and focus on the execution of the composition itself. The latter feature is especially evident in the rondeau *Musicorum inter collegia* (no. 7) and in the Leiden rondeau *Letificans tristantes*.[169]

Letificans tristantes is of a much simpler musical style than the papal ballades. Again, it is unclear whether this observation renders the rondeau a Low-Countries adaptation of a phenomenon that became associated with the papal court; equally, it could be reminiscent of

[166] Fabri is documented in the chapel of the pro-Clementine cardinal Jean de Cros. See Nádas, 'The Internationalization', 253. On Jean de Cros in particular, see Patrick N. R. Zutshi, 'Jean de Cros and the Papal Penitentiary on the Eve of the Great Schism', *Francia*, 37 (2010), 335–51.

[167] See my discussion in Chapter 2.2.1–2.2.2.

[168] Strohm, 'Magister Egardus', 46 has suggested that the two Flemish composers Egardus and Fabri actually greet each other, using the 'code-name' Buclarus, and that the younger Fabri was Egardus's student (before he went to Paris). Moreover, the **ModA** transmission of Magister Egardus's Latin canon *Furnis reliquisti quare* – whose brother piece by Thomas Fabri is in the Flemish fragment **Hei** – establishes a repertorial connection between the Low Countries tradition and the papal pieces in **ModA**.

[169] On the topic of self-reflexiveness in fourteenth-century chansons, see Anne Stone, 'Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late 14th Century', *Early Music*, 31/2 (2003), 181–94.

the compositions by Egardus and Fabri. The fact that composers with northern connections feature so prominently in the corpus of Latin-texted chansons and that this repertory's 'Ars Subtilior' manifestations are transmitted largely in a manuscript with papal connections, **ModA**, rather speaks for a cross-fertilisation between different regions (the Low Countries and France) and repertories that was facilitated by the musician movements after 1378. Ultimately, this hypothesis strengthens the connection of **ModA** and **Ch** to the cultivation and preservation of French-style music in the Low Countries during the schismatic period.

Table 11 Secular songs with Latin texts around 1400

No.	Incipit	Ascription	Form / [Number of Voices]	Topic / Dedicatee	Source(s)
1	*Angelorum psalat tripudium*	'S. Uciredor' (Rodericus)	Ballade [2 vv]	Avignon vs. Rome? singing of the angels vs. Lucifer = perfect vs. imperfect note values; *fera pessima* tenor (see Ch. 5.2.2)	**Ch**, fol. 48v
2	*Arte psallentes anexa dulcori*	'Idem frater' (i.e., Bartolomeo da Bologna)	Ballade [3 vv]	Papal *collegium musicorum* addresses itself (Pisa?)	**ModA**, fols. 37v–38r
3	*Furnis reliquisti quare* / *Equum est a salutare*	'Egardus'	Canon, bi-textual caccia style [2+1vv: two canonic voices over a free-composed lower voice]	First-person speech; greeting a Frater Buclarus by singing; canon entry at sung solmisation syllables	**ModA**, fols. 35v–36r
4	*Inclite flos orti gebenensis*	'Mayhuet de Joan' (Ch)	Ballade [3vv]	Avignon pope Clement VII; addresses the pope (not about music-making)	**Ch**, fol. 41r; **ModA**, fol. 15r
5	*Laus detur multipharia*	Petrus Fabri (Tr only)	Virelai	St Catherine of Alexandria	**Ch**, fol. 16v
6	*Letificans tristantes*	Anonymous	Rondeau	Eulogy of music, the lover's comfort	**Lei2720**, fol. 1v

No.	Incipit	Ascription	Form / [Number of Voices]	Topic / Dedicatee	Source(s)
7	*Musicorum inter collegia*[170]	Anonymous	Rondeau (Str: 'Rex Rondelorum') [3vv]	*Collegium musicorum* (text incomplete)	**Str**, fol. 94v
8	*Ore Pandulfum modulare dulci*	(Blasius)	Ballade [3vv + alius Ct by Matteo da Perugia]	Pandolfo Malatesta's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1399; composer Blasius names himself in first-person speech; Pandolfo was connected to the events that led to the Council of Pisa, and a close confidant of Pietro Filargo	**ModA**, fol. 33r
9	*Que pena maior agitanda menti*	'Frater Bartholomeus de Bononia ordinis sancti Benedicti etc'	Virelai [3vv]	Musician's self-pity in first-person speech	**ModA**, fol. 37r
10	*Quod jactatur*	'J. Ciconia'	Canon [1+2vv]	Riddle as to the polyphonic resolution of the single notated voice	**ModA**, fol. 20v
11	*Sinceram salutem care*	Thomas Fabri	Canon [3vv]	First-person speech; explanation how to perform the canon; greeting a Frater Buclarus by singing	**Hei**, fol. 2r
12	*Sumite karissimi*	'Magister Zacharias'	Ballade [3vv]	Anagram 'recomendatione' spelled out by instructions in the poetic text; possibly 'job interview' composition for	**ModA**, fol. 11v

[170] Despite it being copied by Edmond de Coussemaker before the destruction of **Str**, this composition lacks most of its text. It reads: 'musicorum inter collegia… musica nobilis… praxi melos musa theoria… vox variabilis'. See van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical*, 158.

No.	Incipit	Ascription	Form / [Number of Voices]	Topic / Dedicatee	Source(s)
				the papal chapel (Pisa); *collegium musicorum* is being exhorted to greet Zacara	
13	*Veri almi pastoris musicale collegium*	'Frater Coradus de Pistorio ordinis heremitarum'	Ballade [3vv]	Papal *collegium musicorum* addresses itself (Pisa?)	**ModA**, fol. 36v

3.4.5 Liturgical Music from the Roman and Pisan Obediences and its Low Countries Connections

In Chapter 2 an overlap was detected between the Roman source picture of Di Bacco and Nádas on the one hand and the source picture of papal polyphony on the other: the troped Glorias by Salinis ('*Jubilatio*') and Egardus ('*Spiritus et alme*') are both preserved in the Low Countries fragment **Utr37.I** as well as in (fragmentary) Italian sources (see *Table 2*, nos. 22 and 23 respectively). Moreover, Salinis's Gloria alludes to the schism in its poetic text and is therefore a rare example of a liturgical composition that can be counted among the corpus of papal polyphony in the narrow sense of the term. Salinis transferred from the Roman (Boniface IX) to the Pisan (Alexander V) obedience, the Gloria being thought to refer to the (supposed) end of the schism after the Council of Pisa in 1409.

Egardus was active in the Roman papal chapel in the 1390s and – like Ciconia – had come south from the Low Countries after the outbreak of the schism to obtain benefices in the Roman papal orbit. Furthermore, although Ciconia's papal troped Gloria '*Suscipe trinitas*' (*Table 2*, no. 21) is not preserved in a Low Countries manuscript, it is transmitted in the same group of fragmentary Italian sources as the other two Ordinary settings; for instance, both '*Suscipe trinitas*' and Egardus's '*Spiritus et alme*' survive in **Gr224** and **PadD**.

In short, a pattern emerges that connects each of these compositions to at least one of the following features: a composer from the Low Countries (Ciconia, Egardus), preservation in a Low Countries manuscript (Gloria '*Jubilatio*' and '*Spiritus et alme*'), transmission in an Italian fragment (all three), and connections to the Roman curia (all three). Despite their preservation of French musical culture such as the papal pieces from the Avignon obedience and several other pieces discussed in the previous sections, the Low Countries fragments testify to a transmission of liturgical music from the Roman obedience; this effect was probably expedited by the north–south channel between the Netherlands and Italy. The musicians themselves may have travelled south, but it is probable that an exchange of musical repertory happened, at least to a certain extent, in the reverse direction as well.

Conclusions: The Source Picture of Papal Polyphony Read against the Low Countries Manuscript Network

The analysis in this chapter of **Lei2720** and the Low Countries manuscripts more broadly has demonstrated that the transmission of (papal) polyphony in the early fifteenth century must be

viewed from the (seemingly peripheral) Low Countries as the starting point of further repertory circulation.

The unique political situation in this region – being at the same time pro-French but not loyal to the French papacy – facilitated its preservation of French repertory. The manuscripts from France were preserved longest in the Low Countries, but why the French sources themselves are lost cannot be answered with certainty. The movements of musicians transported the French repertory south, to Italy.

In Italy, this French repertory was compiled in the Italian anthologies, but it had not gone through the 'reception filter' of the German-speaking lands: the Central-European sources, at the same time, took the same French repertory – as transmitted from the Low Countries, not from Italy – as models for (further) contrafaction and reworking, as demonstrated with *N'ay je cause*.

An initially Netherlandish phenomenon – that of the birdsong virelais – found its way back to this region through importation and readaptation of French models, and the latter were, again, reworked in Central Europe.[171] Furthermore, seemingly 'local' adaptions of French style often render difficult the distinction between model and the actual degree of reworking. These kinds of musical repertory seemingly disguise the transmission direction of polyphony in the early fourteenth century, as they often seem like random, local adaptations. Nevertheless, these pieces, as, for instance, the birdsong corpus, display patterns of contrafaction and reworking that are shown in the Low Countries network at large.

Strikingly, Italian secular music has not emerged in the discussion of the Low Countries manuscript network. Despite its absence, its cultivation can nonetheless be explained in the light of this chapter's findings. First, the Italian language was – unlike French – not cultivated in the Low Countries. Therefore, Italian secular repertory was not imported into this region, but cultivated in Italy. The Italian secular repertory was then recorded in large anthologies and occasionally mingled with the French repertory that had been imported from the Low Countries (as, for instance, in **ModA**).

Lastly, the sacred music in the Italian chapels (unveiled by the source picture of Di Bacco and Nádas) represents the repertory of a community, which, around 1400, was almost exclusively staffed by Italians. If French/secular music does appear (and it does, occasionally), it only serves as a space filler because it was not the principal repertory cultivated at these

[171] The fact that **Ch** contains four realistic virelais, the largest number of these pieces after **PR**, might suggest a closeness of the former manuscript to exemplars from the Low Countries.

courts. The sacred repertory of the Italian chapels only reached the Low Countries through the movement and obedience changes of (northern) papal composers (Ciconia, Egardus, Salinis, Zacara) from the Roman to the Pisan obedience. Furthermore, unlike the Italian secular repertory, sacred Latin texts did not pose a language barrier, a fact that facilitated the transmission of this repertory outside Italy. Ultimately, this is the reason why sacred compositions by these composers, also preserved in Low Countries sources, bridge the obedience divide in the source picture of papal polyphony.

Chapter 4
Unusual Manifestations of a Papal Motet in the Basel Fragments **Ba71** and **Ba72**

Distinctive transmission patterns of papal polyphony in different groups of Italian manuscripts have been outlined in Chapter 2, and special conditions for the preservation and transfer of papal polyphony alongside other repertories in the Low Countries around 1400 are proposed in Chapter 3. Overall, the account of papal performance is largely retrospective in nature, particularly with regard to compositions from the early years of the schism. As a complement to these larger-scale repertory surveys, this chapter focuses on **Ba71** and **Ba72** – two independent manuscript fragments which are now housed at the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, and reproduced in *Plates 2* to *6* below. In this chapter I argue for a likely late fourteenth-century French provenance for these fragments, which are thereby outliers in the established source picture of papal polyphony. As such, they offer a new and chronologically more proximate view of musical cultivation connected to the papacy shortly after the breach of 1378.

As has been noted by Margaret Bent and Lorenz Welker, **Ba71** must be investigated in conjunction with **Ba72**, because both fragments contain parts of the same anonymous, and otherwise unique, motet. The triplum and motetus texts in **Ba71** (… *Papam querentes/Gaudeat et exultet*) honour Avignon pope Clement VII and condemn his Roman opponent Urban VI as the Antichrist. **Ba72** provides an alternative poetic text for the motet's triplum, *Novum sidus orientis*, celebrating the instalment of St Francis as the leader of the Franciscan order. In the absence of a distinct incipit that accounts for both the **Ba71** and **Ba72** versions of the motet, this composition is henceforth called the 'Basel motet'. **Ba71** and **Ba72** still await detailed study, as Bent's and Welker's preliminary observations concerning their musical connection remain to date the only accounts of these fragments.[172]

To this end, the first part of this chapter is devoted to a palaeographical assessment of **Ba71** and **Ba72**, which elucidates the complex voice transmission of the Basel motet. Having established how the extant voices fit together, the following section offers a complete

[172] Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 20–1, ead., *The Motet*, and Lorenz Welker,'Musik am Oberrhein', 77. After both fragments were discovered by Wulf Arlt and Martin Steinmann in the early 1990s, an edition was announced but has never been published.

transcription and an analysis of the motet's musical structure. Building on these insights into the musical layout of the composition, in the third part of this chapter I investigate the different poetic texts in **Ba71** and **Ba72**. Through a consideration of aspects such as poetic structure, text underlay, and textual content, I develop scenarios concerning the chronology of this apparently unique witness to motet contrafaction in the fourteenth century. Finally, in this chapter's fourth section I seek an explanation for the remarkable interrelations between the alternative versions of the same motet in **Ba71** and **Ba72**, on the premise that the poetic texts … *Papam querentes*/*Gaudeat et exultet* (**Ba71**) and *Novum sidus orientis* (**Ba72**) are thematically related and *together* constitute an effort to legitimise Clement VII's pontificate, proposing a historical context for the genesis and contrafaction of the Basel motet.

4.1 The Fragments Ba71 and Ba72

Ba71 and **Ba72** were both used as book covers and have been detached from their host volumes, leading to their current poor state of preservation. Although the fragments originate from different manuscripts – as can be gleaned from their layout, dimensions, and scribal hands, outlined below – and served as covers for different books, their preservation in the Basel library is not their only common feature. In fact, the nature of the books for which **Ba71** and **Ba72** served as covers as well as the social circles in which these books were used might attest to a common history of the fragments in seventeenth-century theologist circles of Basel University.

Ba71 was a cover for a Hebrew printed anthology, at present kept at Basel University Library under the shelfmark FA VIII 28.[173] The four individual prints that constitute this anthology were printed in Basel in 1603 (FA VIII 28:1), and in Venice in 1605 or 1606 (FA VIII 28:2), 1546 (FA VIII 28:3), and 1566 (FA VIII 28:4) respectively. Bound together and wrapped in the fragment **Ba71** (which was detached in 1946), these prints belonged to the library of the Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), who was professor of Hebrew at Basel University from 1591 until his death.[174] As the print date of FA VIII 28:2 provides a *terminus*

[173] On **Ba71**, see https://swisscollections.ch/Record/9972428235705504 (last accessed 23.05.2023). This entry in the library catalogue also includes a digital copy of the fragment. On the host volume whose four constituents have also been digitised, see https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991129517569705501 (FA VIII 28:1, last accessed 29.05.2023), https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991140476199705501 (FA VIII 28:2, last accessed 29.05.2023), https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991025460419705501 (FA VIII 28:3, last accessed 29.05.2023), and https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991144988009705501 (FA VIII 28:4, last accessed 29.05.2023).

[174] On Buxtorf, see https://d-nb.info/gnd/119354780 (last accessed 10.07.2023). An *ex libris* on page 1 of FA VIII 28:I attests to Buxtorf's ownership.

post quem of 1605, the anthology – along with its manuscript wrapper **Ba71** – must have entered Buxtorf's library sometime between 1605 and its owner's death in 1629. Among Buxtorf's colleagues and mentors at Basel University was the cleric Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1540–1617), who served as professor of theology from 1575 until his death in 1617 (with a two-year interim stay at the University of Heidelberg from 1584 to 1586).[175] Grynaeus was a descendant of a famous family of scholars which had been resident in Basel since the late fifteenth century and whose ancestry can be traced until the eighteenth century.[176] Buxtorf's close acquaintance with a member of the Grynaeus family is striking in connection with the known provenance of **Ba72**, as is shown in the following.

Before it was detached from its host volume in the second half of the twentieth century, **Ba72** served as cover for a book that to date is held at Basel University Library under the shelfmark Frey-Gryn O VIII 11.[177] This volume contains two posthumous prints of Latin works by the Jesuit priest, professor of theology, and composer of Latin plays Jacob Bidermann (1578–1639), printed in Munich 1654 (Frey-Gryn O VIII 11:1) and the other in Cologne in 1649 (Frey-Gryn O VIII 11:2). In 1665, the volume – including its manuscript wrapper **Ba72** – belonged to Johann Rudolph Battier (1637–81), who attended Basel University from 1651 to 1654 (in theology from 1653 to 1654).[178] Therefore, **Ba72** must have found a use as book cover some time after 1654, the date of print of the latest Bidermann work. Furthermore, the shelfmark containing the abbreviation 'Frey-Gryn' denotes the volume as belonging to the Frey-Grynaeisches Institut, a private theological endowment founded by the Basel theology professor Johann Ludwig Frey (1682–1759) in 1747, which still exists today.[179] Frey made the endowment in remembrance of his close friend and colleague Johannes Grynaeus (1705–44), the latter himself a theology professor at Basel University who had bequeathed his entire property to Frey. Possibly therefore, the volume with the **Ba72** manuscript wrapper entered the institute's library already at the time of its foundation, as part of the bequest of Professor Grynaeus.

[175] On Grynaeus, see https://d-nb.info/gnd/119048957 (last accessed 10.07.2023).

[176] For a family tree of the Grynaeus family, see Carl Roth, 'Stammtafeln einiger ausgestorbener Basler Gelehrtenfamilien (Fortsetzung)', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 16 (1917), 393–403, at 398–401.

[177] On **Ba72**, see https://swisscollections.ch/Record/9972432452205504 (last accessed 23.05.2023). On the host volume, see https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991112265439705501 (Frey-Gryn O VIII 11:1, last accessed 29.05.2023) and https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991125055339705501 (Frey-Gryn O VIII 11:2, last accessed 29.05.2023).

[178] On Battier, see https://d-nb.info/gnd/129267384 (last accessed 10.07.2023).

[179] The history of the Frey-Grynaeisches Institut is summarised on its website: https://freygrynaeum.unibas.ch/de/ (last accessed 29.05.2023).

In sum, both manuscript fragments display striking connections with the theology faculty of Basel University, possibly even with the same family, **Ba71** through the acquaintance of its last known owner with a member of the Grynaeus family, and **Ba72** through the founding history of its current institutional owner. Obviously, this evidence is at present not strong enough to reconstruct the concrete provenance of the fragments in the seventeenth century, let alone their early history, but it suggests that future research in these collections might bring to light further manuscript fragments of this kind. Lastly, while **Ba71** was reused as a book cover already between 1605 and 1629, **Ba72** might have been extant as waste parchment or attached to further folios of its original manuscript codex as late as the mid-seventeenth century. Therefore, it is hard to tell whether both fragments were ever in possession of the same person. Nevertheless, it seems more than coincidental that two musical fragments – and with parts of the same unique motet – should share a history at the same institution. The idea that **Ba71** and **Ba72** were connected already in their early – perhaps even medieval – history will be substantiated by unveiling further interdependencies of the two fragments in the course of this chapter.

Ba 71 (*Plates 2–4* below) comprises one parchment bifolio, measuring 185×265 mm. 185 mm is the bifolio's original height, while it has been trimmed at the edges and on the sides. If foliation was extant, it is likely to have been lost through the trimming of the edges. An offsetting of fols. 1v–2r (see *Plate 4*) also allows for a transcription of the music on fol. 2r. The bottom area around the fold of fols. 2v–1r (where the parchment wrapped the spine of the book) shows remnants of Hebrew letters in brown ink (the titles of the works in the printed anthology). The stitch marks on both sides of the fold result from attaching the fragment as a book cover. Apart from these stitch marks from the time of its reuse, **Ba71** shows no signs of having been bound into a manuscript, as is confirmed by Welker.[180] The writing block measures 100×145 mm, with French black mensural notation on eight red five-line staves on every page. Individual voices are distinguished by red lombards. The script, executed by the same hand throughout, can be identified as *Textualis formata* with Variant II-use of a, that is, round a at the beginnings of words and box-a in all other instances. Judging from this script type and with a close match in a mid-fourteenth-century French manuscript, **Ba71** has a probable origin in fourteenth-century France.[181]

[180] Welker, 'Musik am Oberrhein', 77.

[181] See Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, 5th edn. (Cambridge, 2012), 85 and Plate 29. The example Derolez gives (Plate 29) is a copy of the *Roman de la rose* that dates to 1355–62, with its origin in Paris. It closely resembles the script in **Ba71**.

Plate 2 **Ba71**, fols. 2v–1r

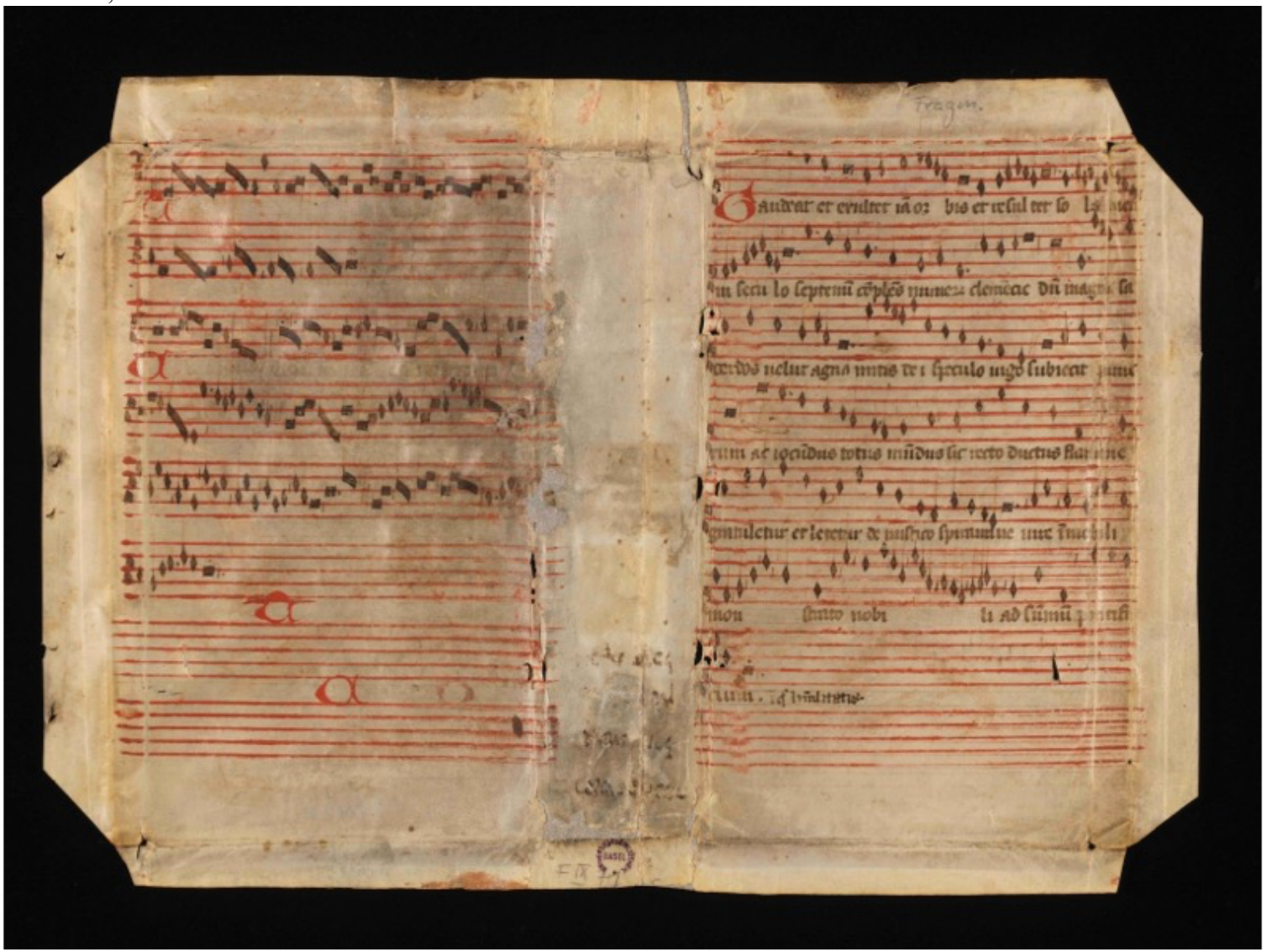


Plate 3 **Ba71**, fols. 1v–2r

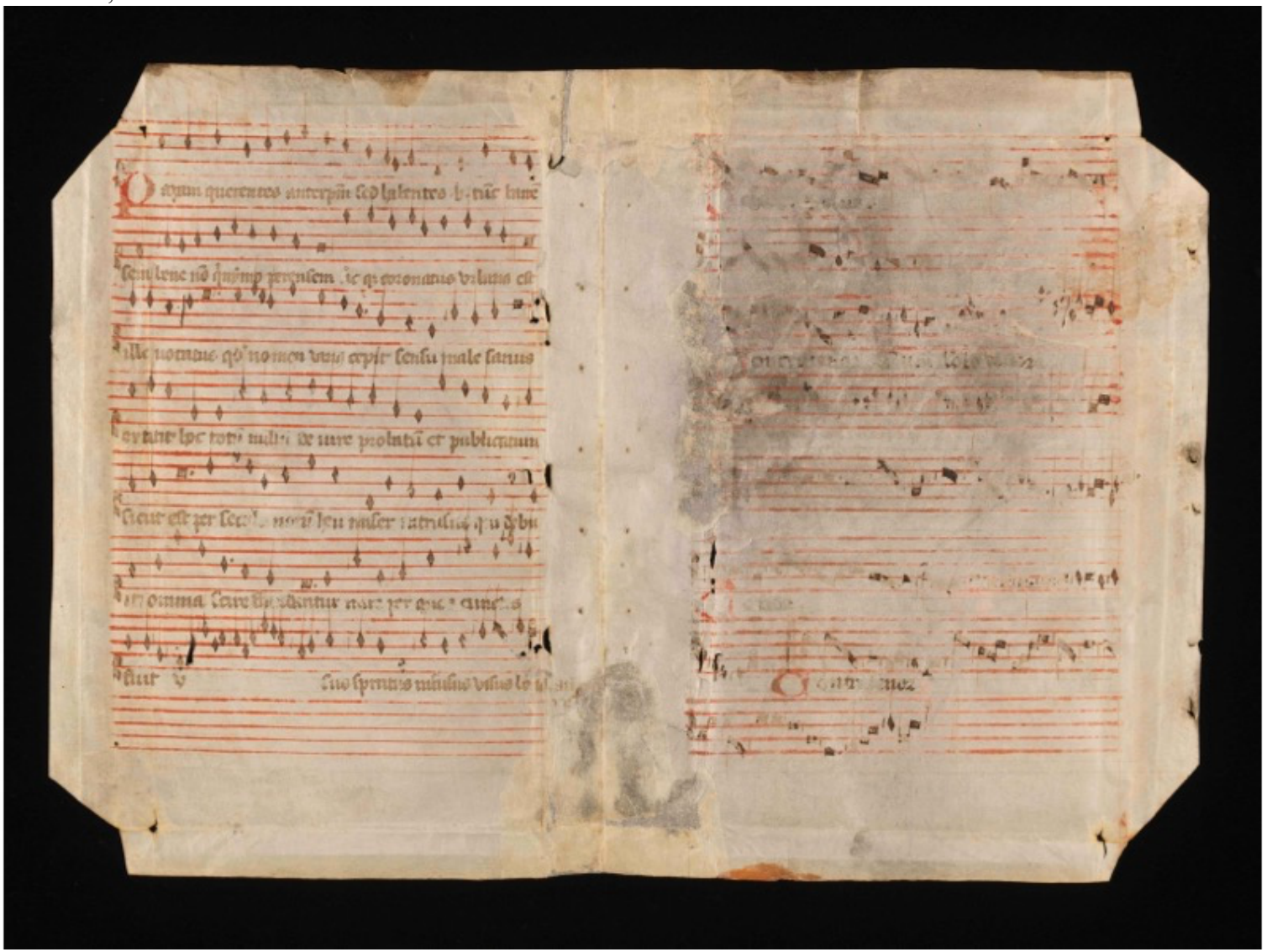
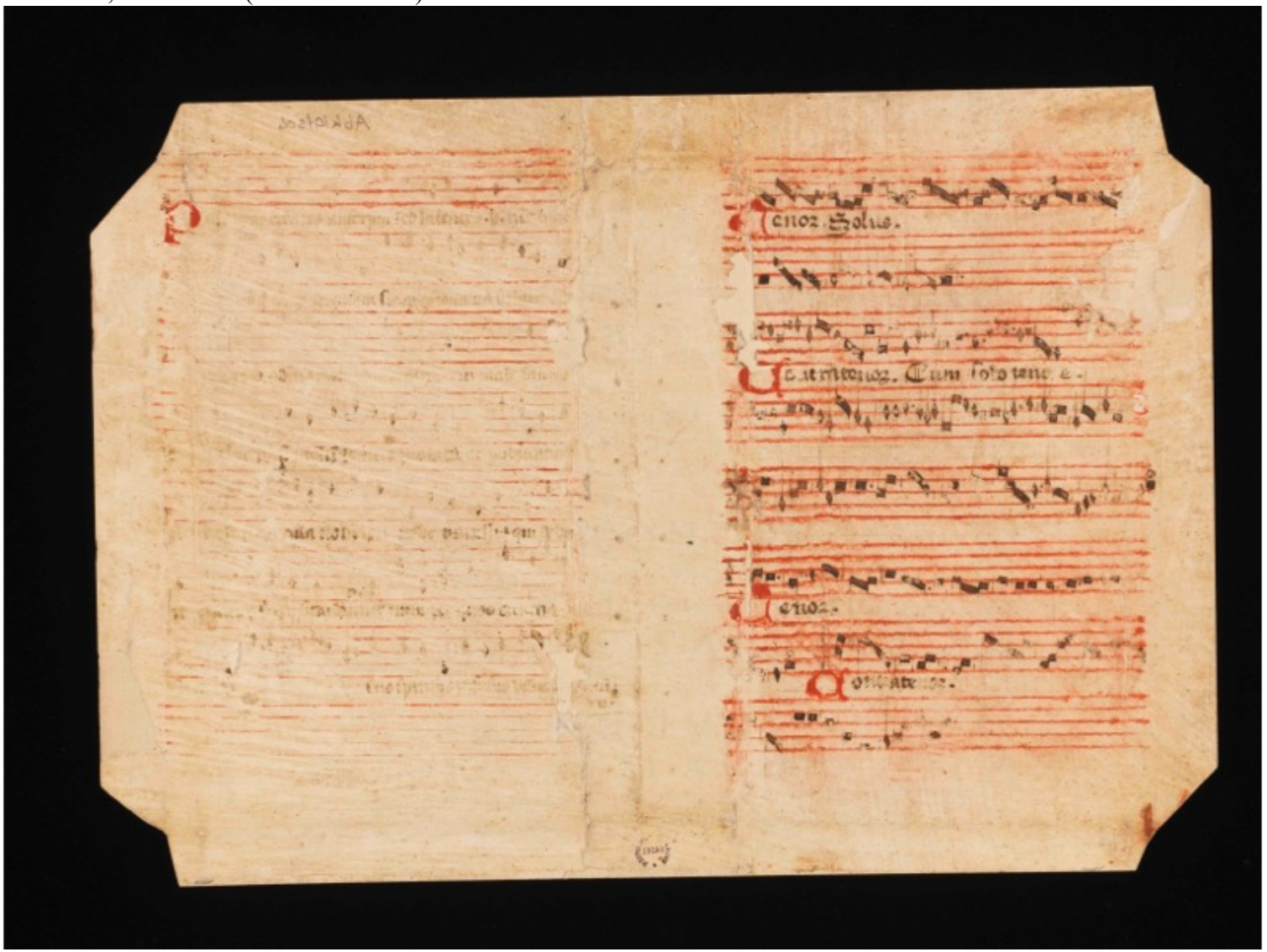
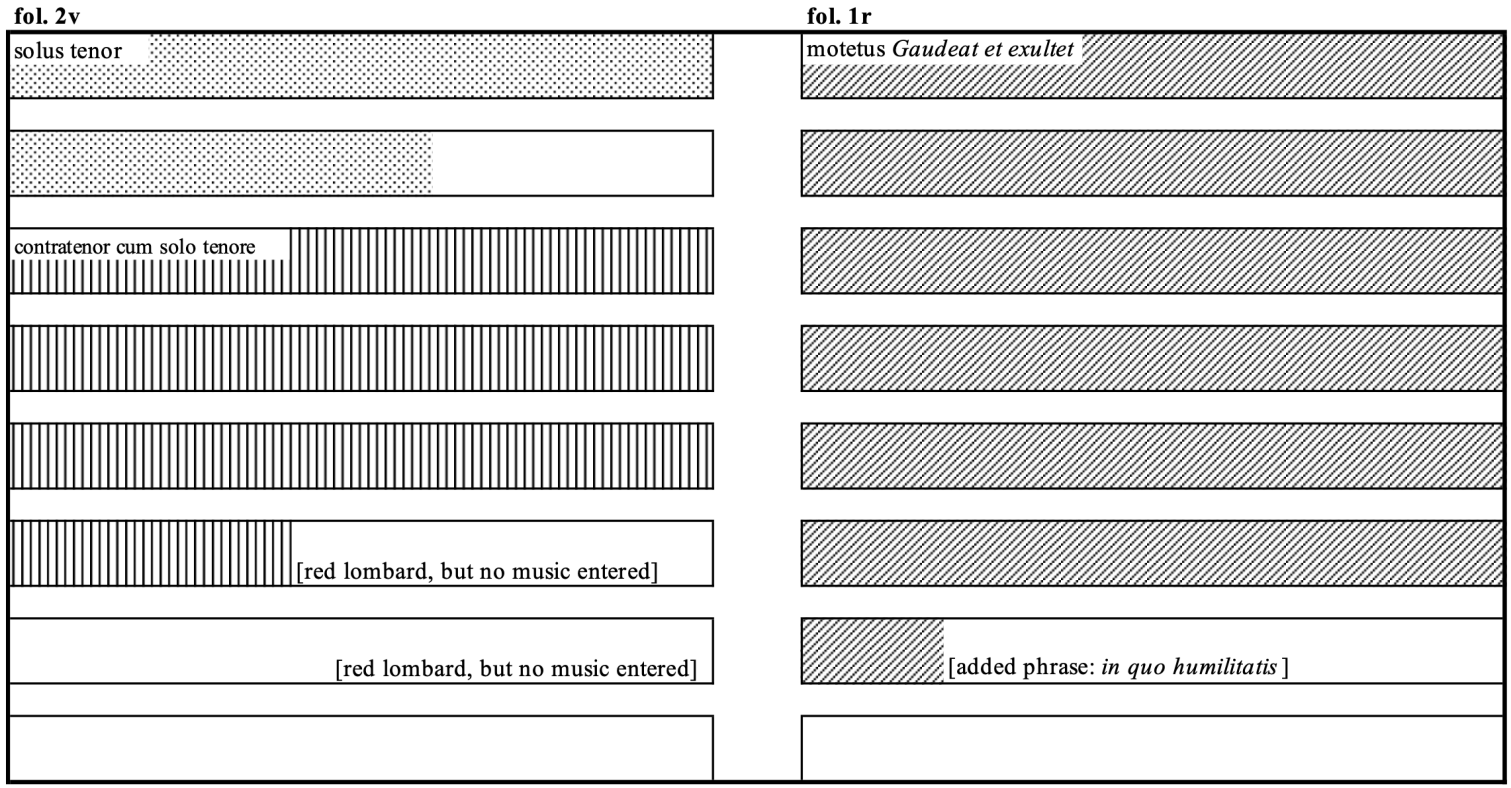


Plate 4 **Ba71**, fols. 1v–2r (mirrored offset)



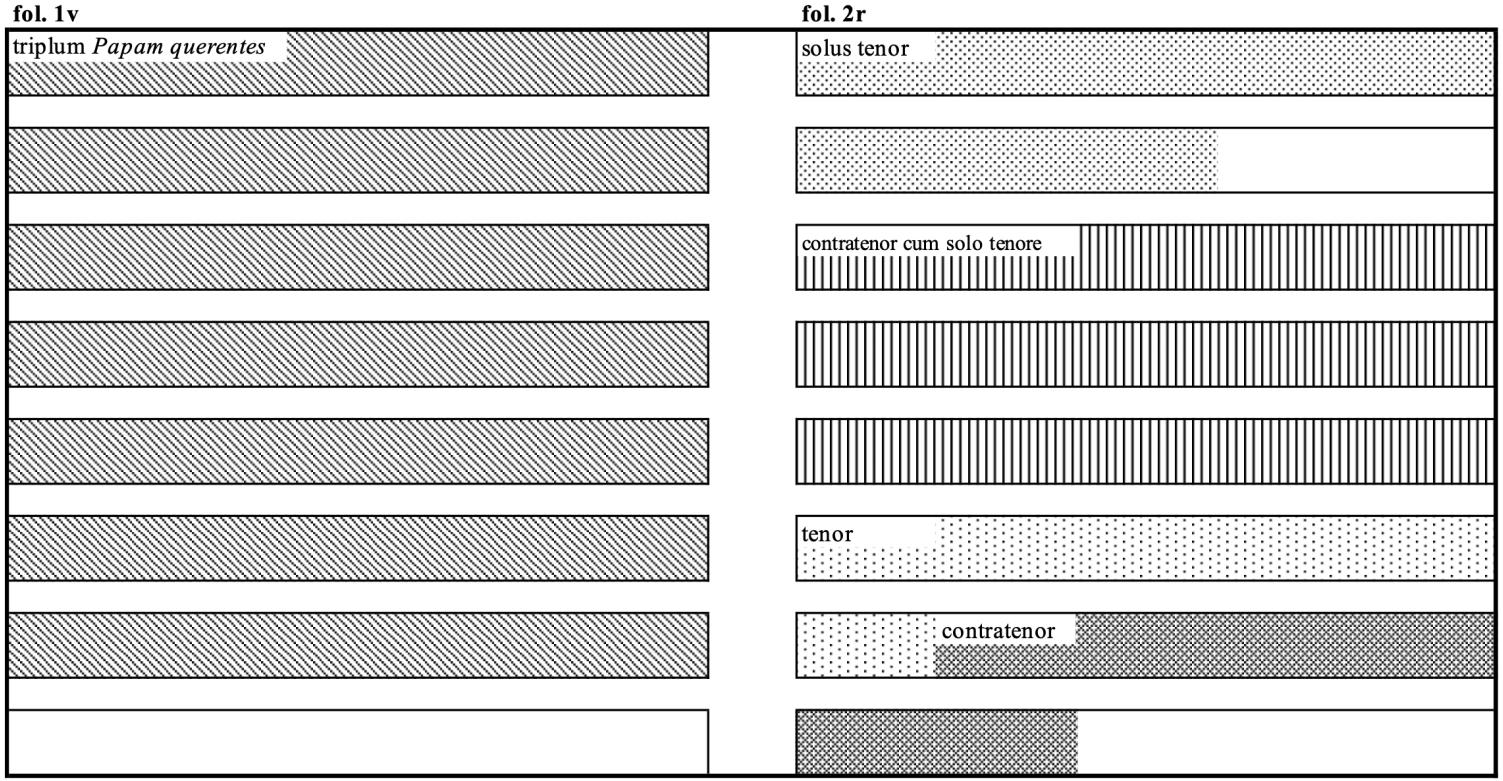
Fol. 1r contains the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* with its corresponding solus tenor and contratenor cum solo tenore on the facing fol. 2v (see *Fig. 9* below). The latter two voices are (apart from their empty red lombards) both unlabelled, while two further lombards appear below staves 6 and 7 of fol. 2v, without any music or text entered. Directly after the end of the motetus's text and music on fol. 1r, the highly abbreviated phrase *i*[*n*] *q*[*uo*] *hu*[*m*]*ilitatis* has been added with a thinner quill and in slightly darker ink. The letters are smaller, and it is hard to tell whether they are by the same hand that executed the remainder of the text.

Fig. 9 Layout of **Ba71**, fols. 2v–1r



Fol. 1v of **Ba71** (see *Fig. 10* below) contains the triplum *Papam querentes*, while fol. 2r features, in that order, a solus tenor, contratenor cum solo tenore, tenor, and contratenor. All voices fit polyphonically with the triplum *Papam querentes*.

Fig. 10 Layout of **Ba71**, fols. 1v–2r



The single-folio parchment fragment **Ba72** (*Plates 5* and *6* below) measures 250×155 mm and has been trimmed on the bottom and at the edges: the left side has been trimmed by circa 25 mm, causing a loss of at least two bars per stave. Musical notation (French black mensural notation with red coloration) has been entered on eleven red five-line staves per page. The eleventh stave is barely visible, as most of it has been trimmed off horizontally. Originally, each page might have contained up to thirteen staves in total (see below). The verso contains two red lombards. The script, executed by one scribe, can be classified as *Textualis libraria*/*formata* with Variant III-use of a (that is, only box-a), probably to date to late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century France.[182]

The recto of **Ba72** (see *Fig. 11* below) contains the final passage of the motetus (from [*s*]*uperi Rogo supplex ut*) and a corresponding solus tenor portion of the dedicatory motet *Rex Karole*/*Leticie pacis*/*Virgo prius*, in honour of King Charles V of France. Below the end of the solus tenor, staves 7–11 are left blank. With seven concordant sources (**Ba72**, **Ch**, **Ltna**, **Perugia2**, **SL2211**, **Str**, and **Wash**) as well as its appearance as an *exemplum* in theoretical treatises of the period, *Rex Karole* is one of the most widely transmitted motets of the fourteenth century. It is discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.4 below.

The verso of **Ba72** (see also *Fig. 11*) transmits the triplum *Novum sidus orientis* (staves 1–8), along with its solus tenor (labelled 'Tenor Novum sidus orientis') on staves 9 and 10. The remnants of the trimmed-off stave 11 show only a couple of note stems from the beginning of the contratenor cum solo tenore, also belonging to the triplum and solus tenor on this page.

That the extant note stems on the bottom of the verso can indeed be identified with the contratenor cum solo tenore is demonstrated in *Fig. 12* below, by means of a comparison with the same voice in **Ba71**.

[182] Ibid. 85 and Plate 36. The example in Derolez dates to Angers, 1410, and resembles the script in **Ba72** in most features. Identifying a closer palaeographical match for **Ba72** will be the subject of future research.

Plate 5 **Ba72**, recto

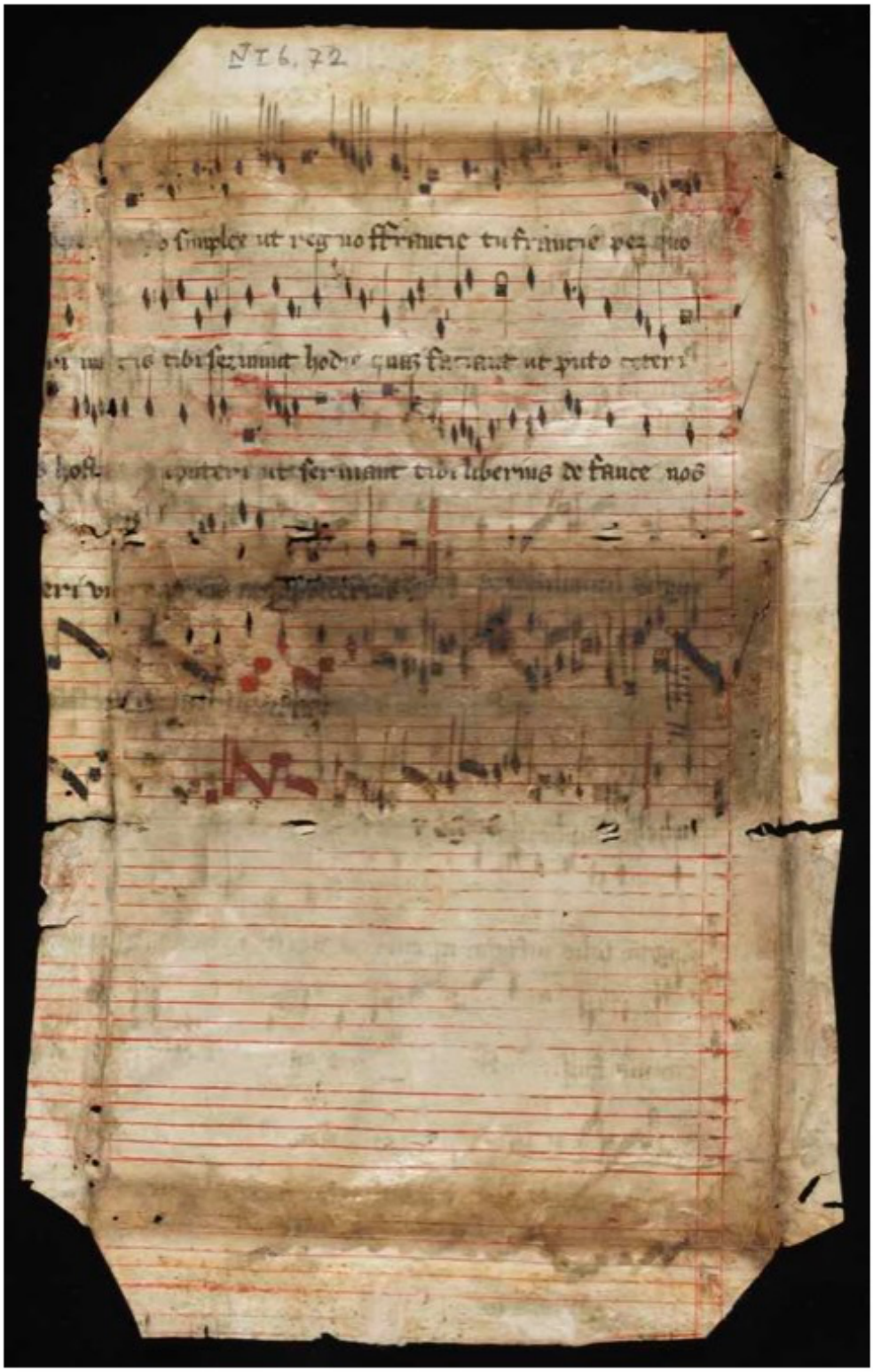


Plate 6 **Ba72**, verso

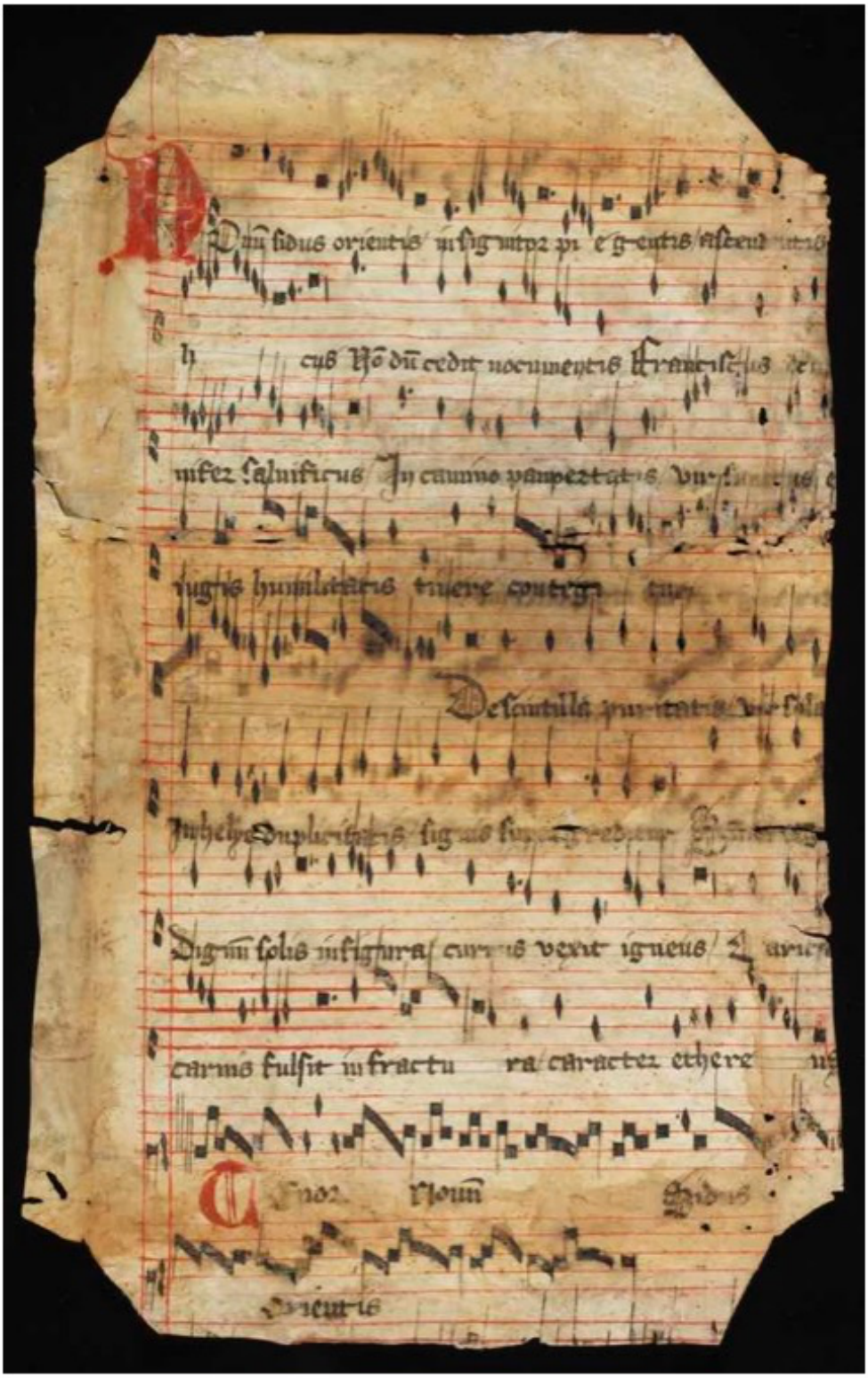


Fig. 11 Layout of **Ba72**

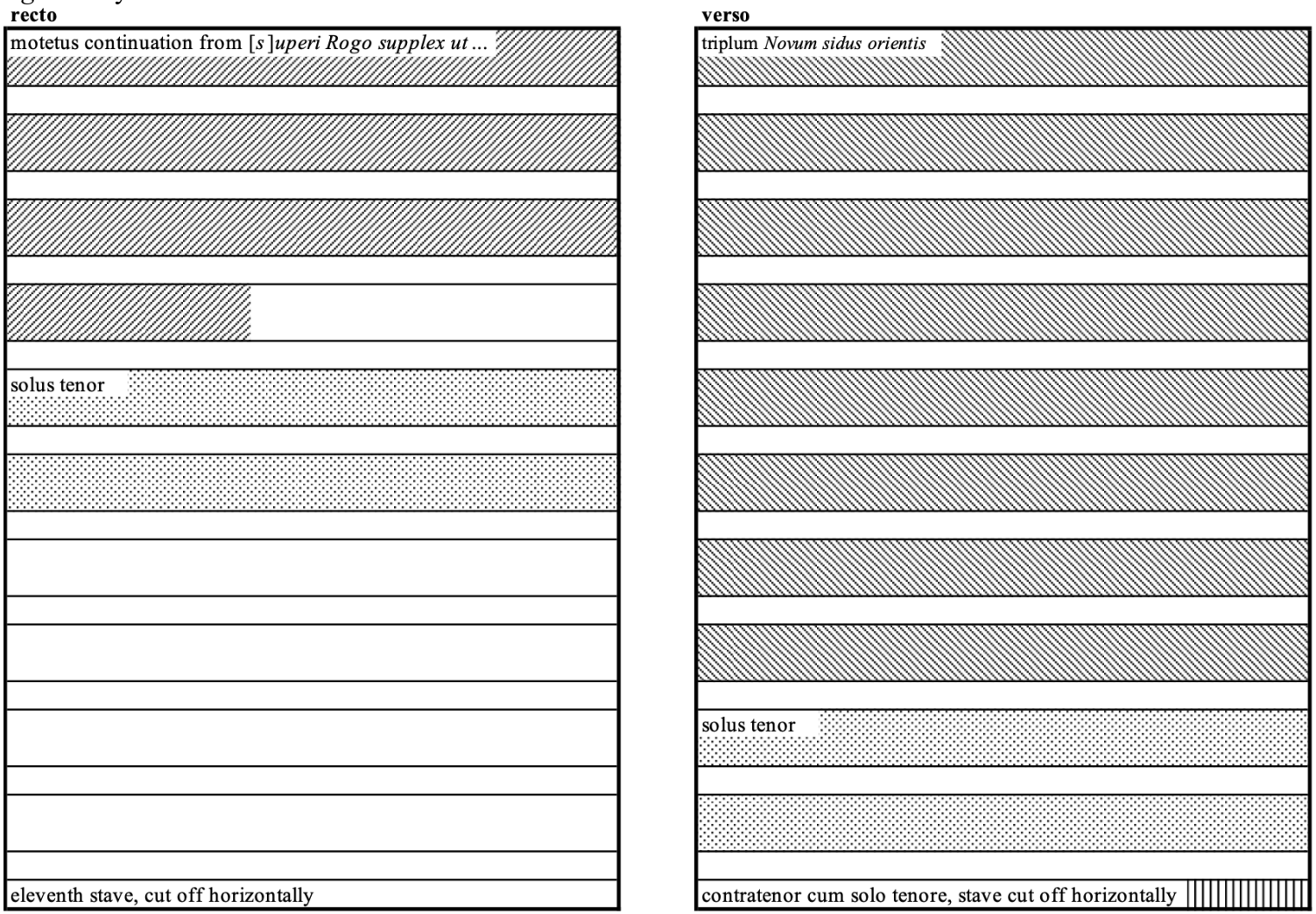
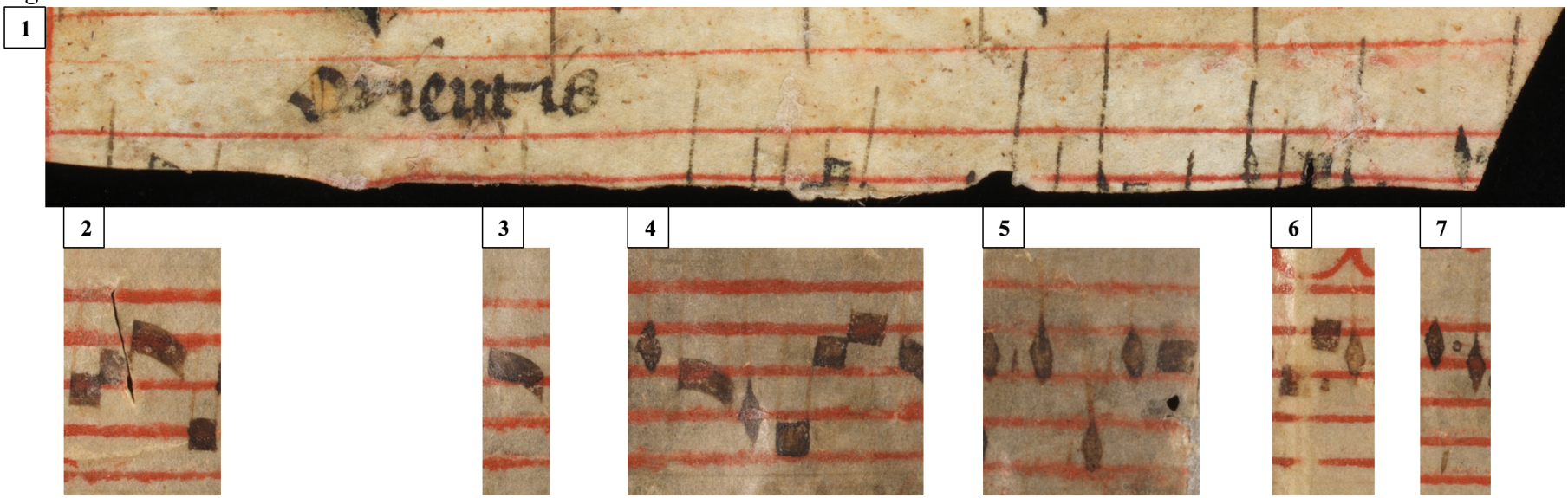


Fig. 12 Identification of the contratenor cum solo tenore in **Ba72**



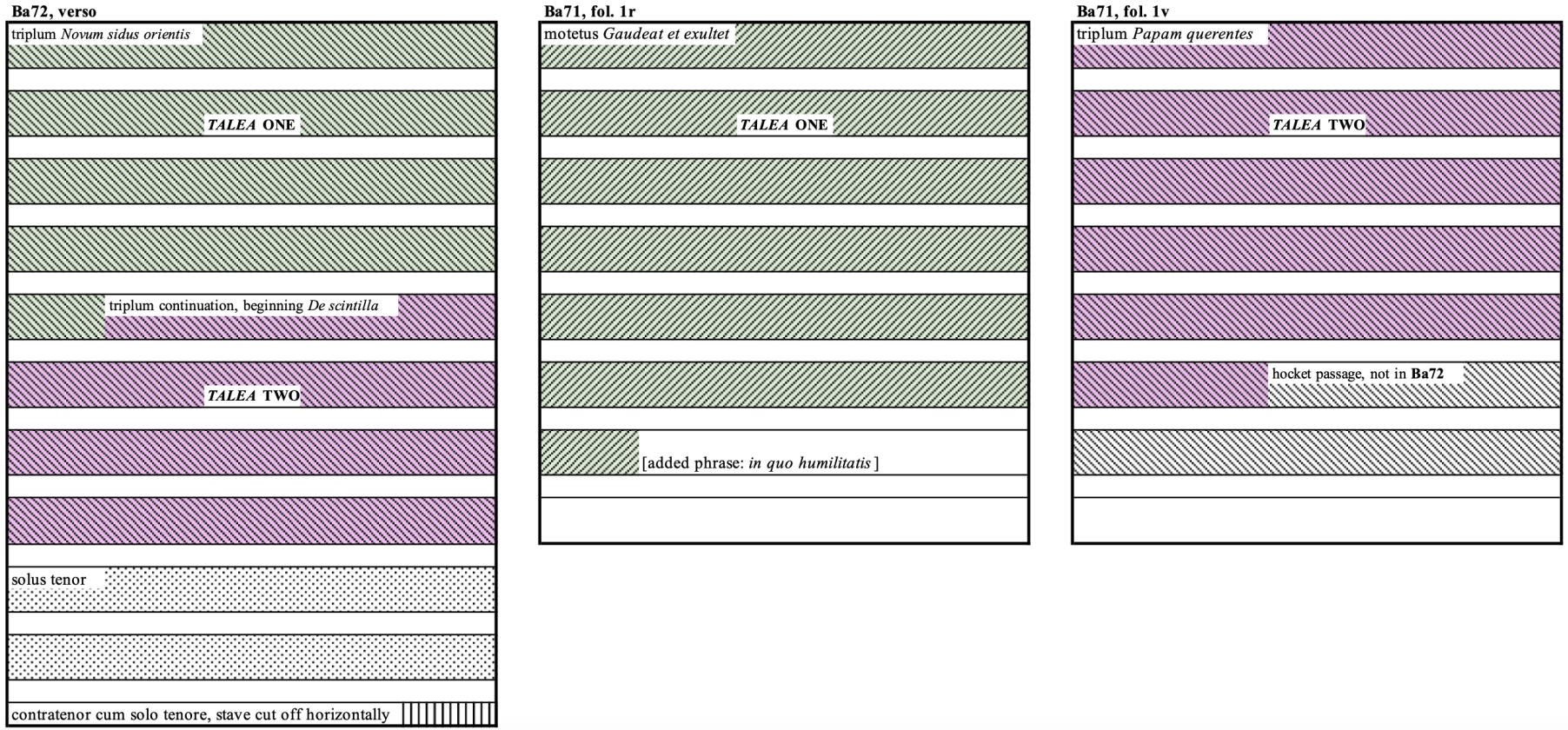
Snippet **1** shows the very bottom of **Ba72** verso. The red line beneath *Orientis* is the uppermost line of stave 11, which contained the beginning of the contratenor cum solo tenore. Snippets **2**–**7** are taken from this voice as it is preserved in **Ba71** (fol. 2v) and show the passages corresponding to the discernible upward stems and notes in **Ba72**. The inbetween passages in **Ba71** further corroborate this reconstruction because there are no more notes whose stems could have been visible in **Ba72** in its present state. Both voices are notated in the same clef (C3). Whereas **Ba71** uses this clef for all lower voices, **Ba72** must have changed the clef (from F2 in the solus tenor) to accommodate the higher pitch range of the contratenor cum solo tenore (*F*–*g*). The lesser number of upward-stems compared to snippet **4** suggests that **Ba72** notated the *cop* ligature *c*–*B* as separate semibreves instead. In snippet **6**, **Ba71** has a *lacuna* and a scribal error (missing minima *e*, followed by the dotted and binary breves *c* and *e*). The passage is correct in **Ba72** (minima *e*, followed by the two semibreves *c* and *e* as *cop* ligature). The last discernible note in **Ba72** (**7**) is the dotted semibreve *f* which sounds shortly after the middle of *talea* 1 (bar 26/1). Judging from the *lacuna* at the end of stave 11 (at least two bars) and the fact that *talea* 2 apparently does not have a final hocket section in this copy of the motet (as discussed further below) – and by extension no preceding introitus – the contratenor cum solo tenore as corresponding with triplum and solus tenor would have fit onto staves 11–13.

4.1.1 The Voice Transmission Structure of the Basel Motet

Now that the palaeographical features and layout of **Ba71** and **Ba72** have been established, in this section I build on Welker's and Bent's observation about the musical correlation between the two fragments, starting with the correspondence of the motet's upper voices (see *Fig. 13* below).[183] Welker identified *Novum sidus orientis* in **Ba72** as the triplum corresponding to the **Ba71** motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* (both marked in green below). This motetus – most tellingly and as is more common for a middle than for a top voice – features an initial rest of six *tempora*, resulting in a solo introduction for the triplum *Novum sidus orientis*. Bent recently elaborated on Welker's observation, pointing out that the musical setting of *Papam querentes* in **Ba71** and the second section of the upper voice *Novum sidus orientis* – beginning with the words *De scintilla* – are identical (marked in purple below). The triplum *Papam querentes*, however, features a final hocket section that is absent in *De scintilla*. Apart from this difference (to be considered later), *Papam querentes* in **Ba71** is actually a differently texted version of the same triplum portion beginning *De scintilla* in **Ba72**; the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* on the previous recto of **Ba71** belongs to a different section of the same motet. Building on the observations by Welker and Bent, I propose that these obviously different 'sections' represent, in fact, the two *taleae* of the Basel motet, which is fully isorhythmic in the lower voices (demonstrated in the musical analysis below). Section 1 (in green) comprises an introitus and *talea* 1 – for which we have a triplum and a motetus – while section 2 (in purple) equates to *talea* 2 – for which two differently texted versions of the triplum survive.

[183] The following refers, as stated in the introduction above, to the preliminary remarks in Bent, 'Early Papal Motets', 20–1, ead., *The Motet*, and Lorenz Welker, 'Musik am Oberrhein', 77.

Fig. 13 Upper voice correspondence between **Ba71** and **Ba72**



When arranging the upper voices as extant in **Ba71** and **Ba72** together with their corresponding lower voices in a hypothetical score, *talea* 1 and 2 of the Basel motet are transmitted as shown in *Fig. 14*.

Fig. 14 Hypothetical score of the Basel motet

***talea* 1**	***talea* 2**
triplum *Novum sidus* **Ba72**	triplum *De scintilla* **Ba72**
	triplum *Papam* **Ba71**
motetus *Gaudeat* **Ba71**	no motetus in either fragment
solus tenor **Ba71**, 'tenor' **Ba72**	solus tenor **Ba71**, 'tenor' **Ba72**
contratenor cum solo tenore **Ba71** (and **Ba72**)	contratenor cum solo tenore **Ba71** (and **Ba72**)
no tenor in either fragment	tenor **Ba71**
no contratenor in either fragment	contratenor **Ba71**

Boxes highlighted in green indicate voices only present in **Ba71**, while orange highlights voices unique to **Ba72**. Yellow boxes indicate voices transmitted in both manuscripts. Among them, '=' implies that the voice is preserved identically in both sources while 'and' indicates differences between them. The voice labelled *Tenor* in **Ba72** is actually a solus tenor (as it is labelled in *talea* 2 of **Ba71**). For the identification of the contratenor cum solo tenore in **Ba72**, see *Fig. 12* above. Concerning the contrafact tripla of *talea* 2, *De scintilla* is shorter than the triplum *Papam querentes* as the former is missing its final hocket section. The same applies to the solus tenor of **Ba72** for *talea* 2, which is why the final passage of this voice, only extant in **Ba71**, is marked in light yellow. Although the contratenor cum solo tenore in **Ba72** has been trimmed off almost entirely, the fragment's layout (discussed below) suggests that this voice was present on the verso in a polyphonically corresponding fashion to the triplum and solus tenor. Therefore, it was probably copied for the entirety of *talea* 1 and 2, minus the final hocket passage in *talea* 2.

This curious voice transmission of the Basel motet invites several questions that guide the further course of this study. First, the successive copying of voices in **Ba72**, in contrast to the *talea*-wise presentation of voices in **Ba71**, raises the question about the practicability and copying process of each of the fragments. Hypotheses about the position and format of potential further voices of the motet in now lost parts of the respective manuscripts are, therefore, advanced in the following section.

Second, the inconsistent labelling of the lower voices and the absence of the motet's tenor and contratenor in most instances (except for *talea* 2 in **Ba71**) demands an explanation. That a solus tenor should become labelled as tenor (as is the case in **Ba72**) is quite common: it could either mean that the scribe was not aware of the function of the voice, or did not care and/or did not intend to add the actual tenor. It is, therefore, an open question as to whether **Ba72** ever contained the tenor and contratenor of the motet.

Lastly, that both the triplum and solus tenor of **Ba72** (and probably also the contratenor cum solo tenore which has been cut off) lack the final hocket passage of *talea* 2 fuels considerations about the end of the motet and its musical (hence isorhythmic) symmetry. Did the piece continue on a subsequent, now lost, opening in **Ba72**?

4.1.2 Layout Considerations and Copying Process of Ba71 and Ba72

In theory, the voice disposition in **Ba71** could facilitate performance of the motet from the source since the corresponding voices of each *talea* are presented on facing pages (fols. 2v–1r and fols. 1v–2r respectively). Yet, two things are puzzling: first, the inconsistent approach of giving only the motetus of *talea* 1 and then only the triplum of *talea* 2 (whereas **Ba72** at least presents a successive reading of the triplum); second, a switch in the presentation of voices, with the lower voices once on the left and once on the right side of an opening. That the **Ba71** bifolio was never bound into a book suggests that the music may have been copied in a less fixed or final state than would have been intended for presentation in a codex. In the following, I provide further evidence that **Ba71** is an informal record of this composition.

First, the overall execution of **Ba71** is simple in style, with plain red lombards. Moreover, the position of the lombards on the page gives the impression that the bifolio served to provide a kind of 'template'. The lower-voice lombards appear on both pages (fols. 2r and 2v) at the same junctures, namely one each below staves 1, 3, 6, and 7. The first two (meant for the solus tenor and contratenor cum solo tenore) clearly leave a space of two and three staves respectively for the two successive voices, no matter if one of them actually requires less space. The lower two lombards, on the other hand, result in the tenor and contratenor being squeezed together and sharing stave 7. Furthermore, the lombards designated for the solus tenor and tenor (see the one on stave 6 of fol. 2v in *Fig. 15*) have a shape resembling a *t* (for *tenor*?) at the top, distinct from the round ones (perhaps resembling a c?) signifying the contratenor cum solo tenore or contratenor (see below for the lombard on stave 7 of fol. 2v).

Fig. 15 Different lombard shapes in **Ba71**

't-shaped' red lombard on stave 6 of **Ba71**, fol. 2v

'c-shaped' red lombard on stave 7 of **Ba71**, fol. 2v

In short, the function of the voices could have been defined and almost planned out *before* the piece was even entered on the page. The fact that the tenor and contratenor of the first section were not entered at all – but their lombards were – also corroborates this

hypothesis. Yet, the Basel motet is the only known case where a motet features two pairs of lower voices; in fact, apart from one isolated example in **Be**, the contratenor cum solo tenore of the Basel motet (extant in both Basel fragments) is the sole witness to this phenomenon.[184] Against this background, the template-like, *talea*-wise layout of **Ba71** gives the strong impression that it was specifically designed for this particular motet.

Moreover, the motet's *talea* structure as well as passages within it were of particular importance to the **Ba71** scribe, as can be proven palaeographically. First, all voices in **Ba71** show a fermata in the end: in most cases, the final breve has a fermata attached, followed by a dotted semibreve rest (see *Fig. 16*, no. 1 below). The contratenor of the second *talea* (see *Fig. 16*, no. 2) even shows a final breve rest with fermata. Furthermore, the end of the introitus is marked in all three voices, again with a fermata and a dotted semibreve rest, even if the particular voice is not resting (*Fig. 16*, no. 3). That this fermata pattern can be observed also for *talea* 2 raises the question whether the motet is actually finished after two *taleae*: why would one need explicitly to mark out the end of a section if it were the final one?

Fig. 16 Structural markers in the Basel motet in **Ba71**

1: End of the contratenor cum solo tenore in *talea* 1 (**Ba71**, fol. 2v)

2: End of the contratenor in *talea* 2 (**Ba71**, fol. 2r)

3: Beginning of *talea* 1 after the introitus in the contratenor cum solo tenore (**Ba71**, fol. 2v)

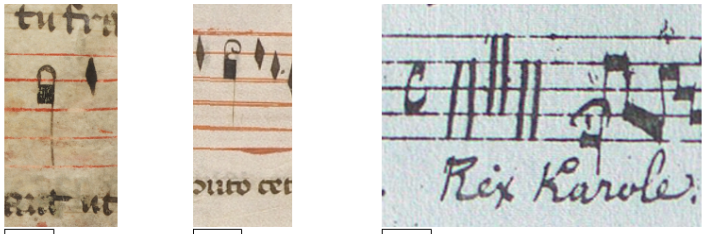
Along with the template-like layout and the *talea*-wise organisation of **Ba71**, these structural markers are yet another feature that is unique to the Basel motet, with the exception of just one other case: the motet *Rex Karole* (see *Fig. 17* below). Among the motet's seven surviving sources, **Ba72**, **Ch**, and **Str** show fermatas at *talea* ends in all voices present. In the

[184] The solely (and incompletely) transmitted *Contratenor de Virtutibus* in **Be** (fol. XVIIIr) constitutes an additional contratenor to the solus tenor of the widely transmitted motet *Impudenter*/*Virtutibus*. This case is thematised in Adrian von Steiger, 'Das Berner Chansonnier-Fragment: Beobachtungen zur Handschrift und zum Repertoire', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1991), 43–65, at 51 (facsimile) and 57–60. On the contratenor cum solo tenore, see also n. 189 below.

music treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (Anonymous V, last quarter of the fourteenth century), *Rex Karole* is also given as an exemplary motet for the definition of 'talla' (*talea*), a fact that gives the rigorous marking out of the motet's *taleae* in the sources a pedagogical overtone: 'First conclusion: That it is said to be talla when the same notes are repeated with the same note-shapes but different pitches, as can be observed in the tenor of the motet Rex Johannes.'[185]

Moreover, the application of structural markers not only establishes a cross-connection between **Ba71** and **Ba72** (as the markers appear in the Basel motet and in *Rex Karole* respectively) but might also indicate a related exemplar for the copies of *Rex Karole* in **Ba72**, **Ch**, and **Str**. *Rex Karole* and the Basel motet also have a similar musical layout (as will be discussed in section 4.2) – therefore, the unusual appearance of structural markers in exactly these two motets might be more than purely coincidental.

Fig. 17 Structural markers in *Rex Karole*/*Leticie pacis*/*Virgo prius*



1 2 3

1: Fermata marking the end of *talea* 4 in the motetus *Leticie pacis* (**Ba72**, recto)

2: Fermata marking the end of *talea* 4 in the motetus *Leticie pacis* (**Ch**, fol. 66r)

3: Fermata marking the beginning of the solus tenor after the introitus (**Str**, fol. 7v, transcription by Edmond de Coussemaker)

Lastly, the switch in voice presentation in **Ba71** (the lower voices once on the verso and once on the recto) invites the speculation that further loose bifolios, containing corresponding voices as well as potentially subsequent *taleae*, existed alongside it, or were at least planned. If one imagines that the scribe had another loose page on which to copy the triplum of *talea* 1 or the motetus of *talea* 2, the **Ba71** layout would have facilitated the copying process: the scribe could have observed the (isorhythmic) structure of the respective voice in previous/following

[185] 'Prima conclusio: Quod talla dicitur quando repetuntur eedem note sub eisdem figuris sub diversis tamen vocibus, ut apparet in tenore illius motecti Rex Iohannes.' This passage is discussed in Anna Zayaruznaya, *Upper-Voice Structures and Compositional Process in the Ars Nova Motet,* Royal Musical Association Monographs (London and New York, 2018), 25–9 and 118 (edition and translation). For a complete edition of the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, see C. Matthew Balensuela (ed.), *Ars cantus mensurabilis per modos iuris*, Greek and Latin Music Theory, 10 (Lincoln, NE, 1994).

taleae at the same time as the harmonic progression of the *talea* being copied. For instance, the scribe could have created the motetus of *talea* 2 whilst following the corresponding passages of the motetus in *talea* 1 but then would have been able to turn the single bifolio **Ba71** and consider the harmonic and melodic progression of the other voices in *talea* 2. In short, I believe that **Ba71** provided the scribe with enough musical material to (re-)create a full set of the motet's voices at a later point in time; therefore, this fragment attests to a time- and perhaps space-saving way of preserving a motet informally or 'on the go'. Against this backdrop, the fact that the tenor and contratenor of the motet are missing in *talea* 1 – despite their lombards having been added – could also mean that having copied these voices only for *talea* 2 was sufficient for the **Ba71** scribe. In sum, I would now refrain from calling **Ba71** a fragment in the strict sense of the term, because it might never have been part of a larger, now lost, entity.

In contrast to **Ba71**, it is very likely that **Ba72** did once belong to a more formal book. The decorated lombard on its verso and the frequent use of red ink already hint at **Ba72** stemming from a more carefully copied and higher-grade collection of pieces. Moreover, the single folio **Ba72** was considerably larger than one page of **Ba71**: whilst the former measures 250 mm in its already trimmed state with approximately three staves missing at the bottom, the original page height of **Ba71** is only 185 mm.

All voices present on the verso of **Ba72** (first the triplum, followed by the solus tenor and the contratenor cum solo tenore) allow for performance of both consecutive *taleae* of the Basel motet. That the scribe aimed to present the extant voices in a single visual unit is also evident in the final passages of the motetus and solus tenor of *Rex Karole*, which appear in exactly corresponding fashion on the recto. Furthermore, that *Rex Karole* is missing its facing verso and *Novum sidus orientis* its facing recto renders it possible that the absent triplum and motetus respectively were present on those pages, resulting in a complete set of corresponding upper and lower voices on every opening of the lost codex.[186]

The scribe's endeavour to fit all voices of *Novum sidus orientis* (except the motetus) on the verso is also documented palaeographically: the final note of the hocket passage in the *talea* 2 triplum *De scintilla* has been changed from a breve into a long – with a fermata and a cauda

[186] *Rex Karole*, with its 55 modus units plus introductory section, is a motet of considerable length. Therefore, it must have occupied two openings in total, the first one presenting the beginning of triplum, motetus, and solus tenor, followed by a second opening, giving the end of all three voices (whose recto is preserved in **Ba72**). This hypothesis also renders it unlikely that the tenor and contratenor of the piece were extant in **Ba72**: if so, they would probably have occupied the – here empty – staves below the motetus and solus tenor. The musical structure of *Rex Karole* is discussed in section 4.2 below.

added in red ink (see *Fig. 18*, no. 1 below). This finding suggests that the scribe knew that the hocket passage would follow, but deliberately left it out.

Whether the motet was finished after a single opening in the manuscript remains ambiguous. On the one hand, the final breve before the hocket section is turned into a long and the addition of a fermata signals a *finalis*. On the other, the solus tenor does not show any sign of an ending, especially when compared to the voice endings of *Rex Karole* on the previous recto, which are explicitly marked with red double bars (see *Fig. 18*, no. 2 for the ending of *Rex Karole*'s motetus). In principle, the absent hocket passage and potential further *taleae* of the motet could have followed on subsequent openings. In the case of the hocket passage, that would have been necessary in order to retain the motet's musical symmetry. This question remains to be further evaluated in combination with the text underlay, discussed below.

Fig. 18 Red ink indicating the end of a voice/musical section in **Ba72**

1: Red fermata and cauda added to the final note of the hocket passage of the *talea* 2 triplum section *De scintilla* (**Ba72**, verso)
2: End of the motetus of *Rex Karole* (**Ba72**, recto)

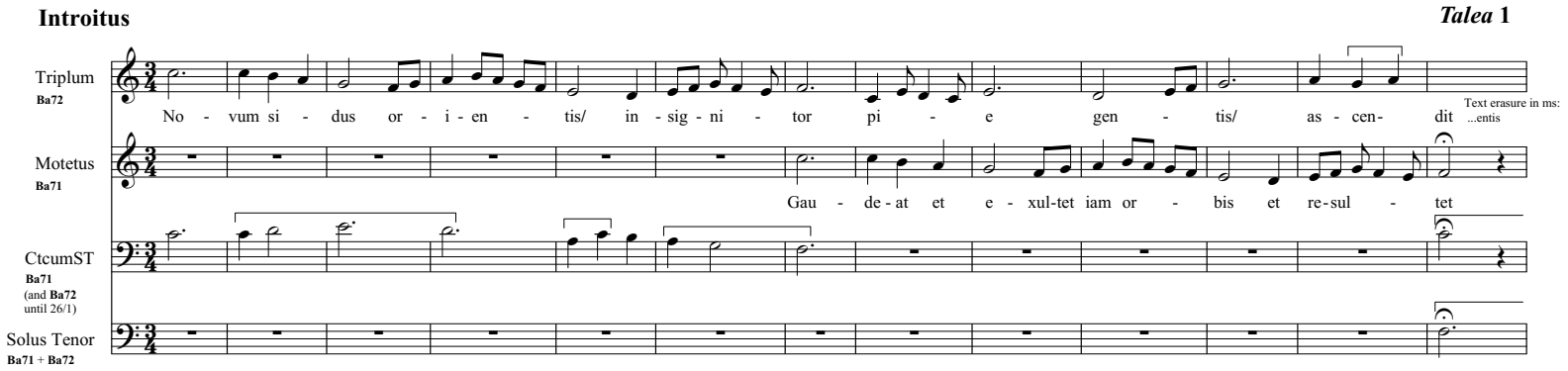
4.2 The Musical Structure of the Basel Motet

Comparing the overall musical structure of the motet's two *taleae* reveals that the lower voices are fully isorhythmic, as are the upper voices in the second half of each *talea*. A full transcription of the motet can be found in *Ex. 2* below.[187]

[187] I thank Michael Scott Cuthbert for sharing with me his preliminary transcription of the fragments, which differs in several respects from my own interpretation. My transcription applies *ficta* as given in the fragments (*ficta* in brackets are unclear in the respective source); definitive *ficta* decisions and assimilations would be part of an edition.

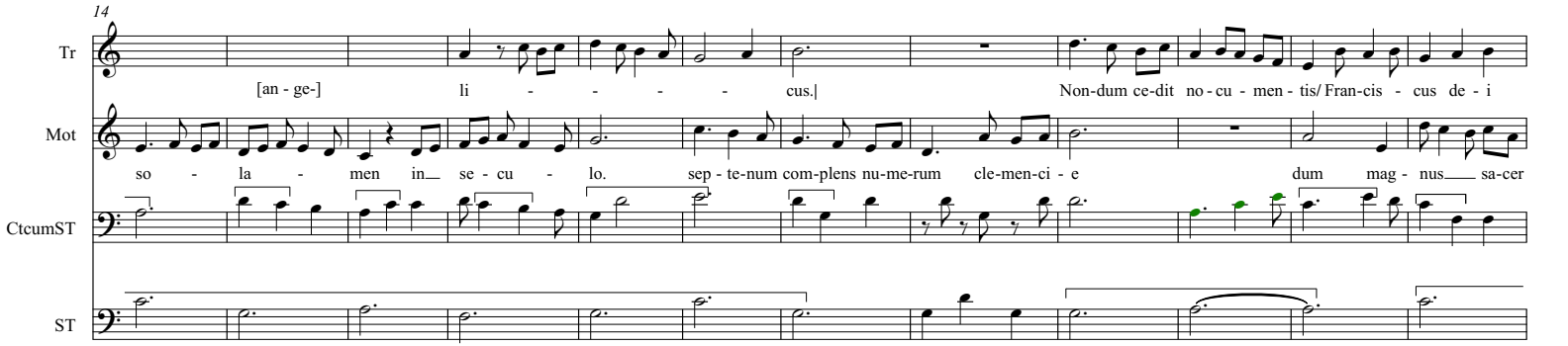
Ex. 2 Composite transcription of the Basel motet from **Ba71** and **Ba72**

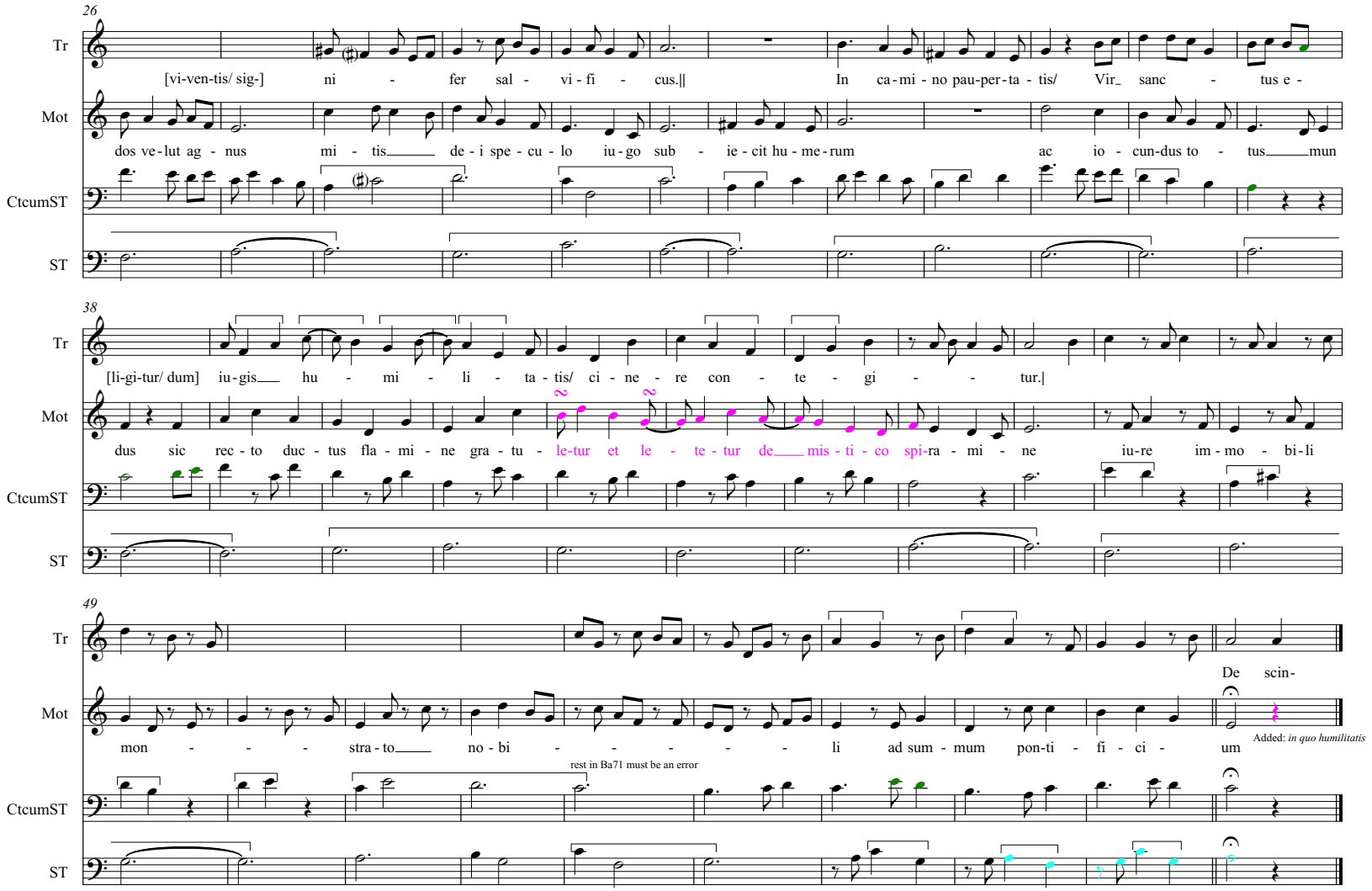
Novum sidus orientis (Tr#1, **Ba72**) - *Gaudeat et exultet* (Mot#1, **Ba71**)
De scintilla (Tr#2, **Ba72**) = *Papam querentes* (Tr#2, **Ba71**)



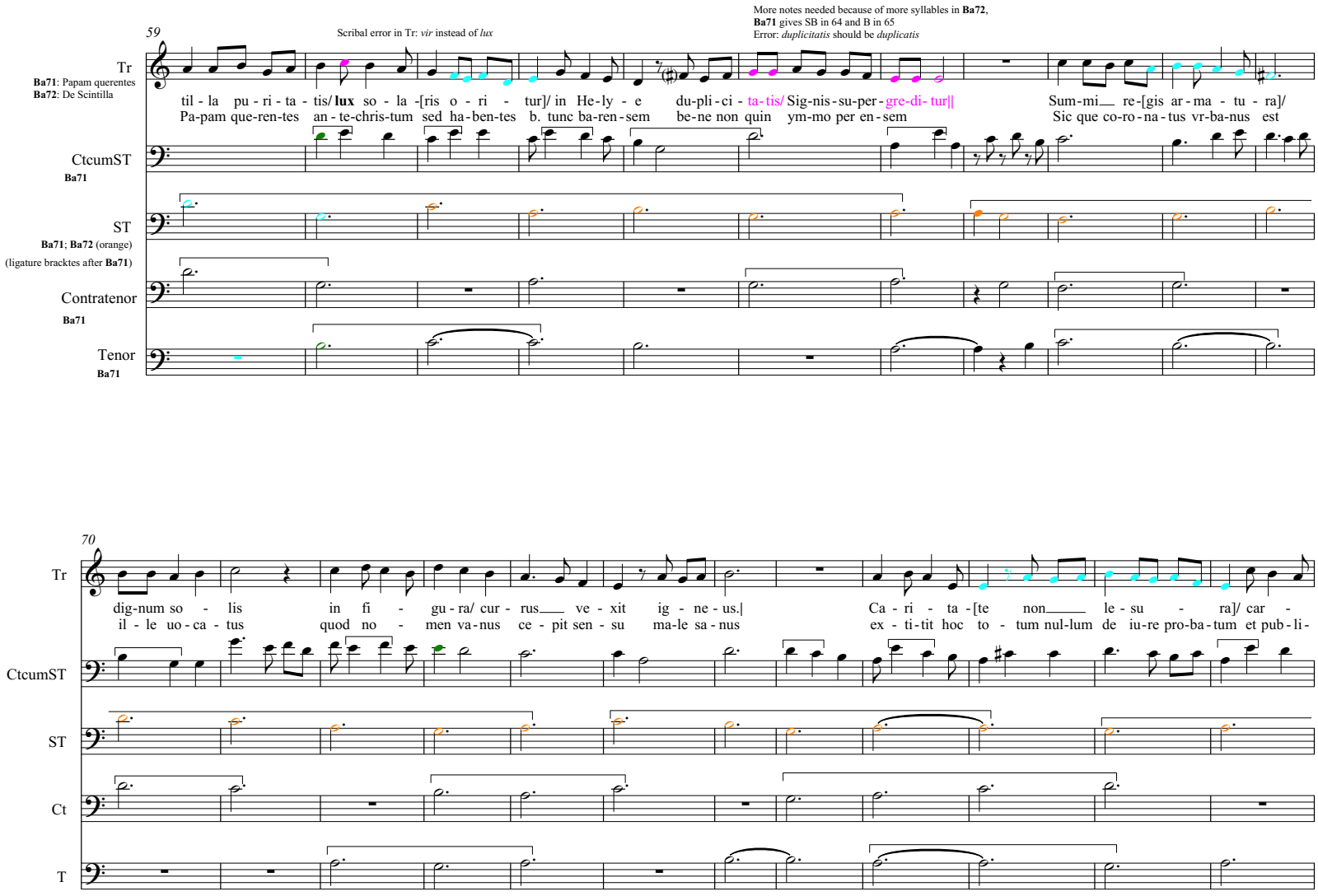
(Ligature brackets after **Ba71**)

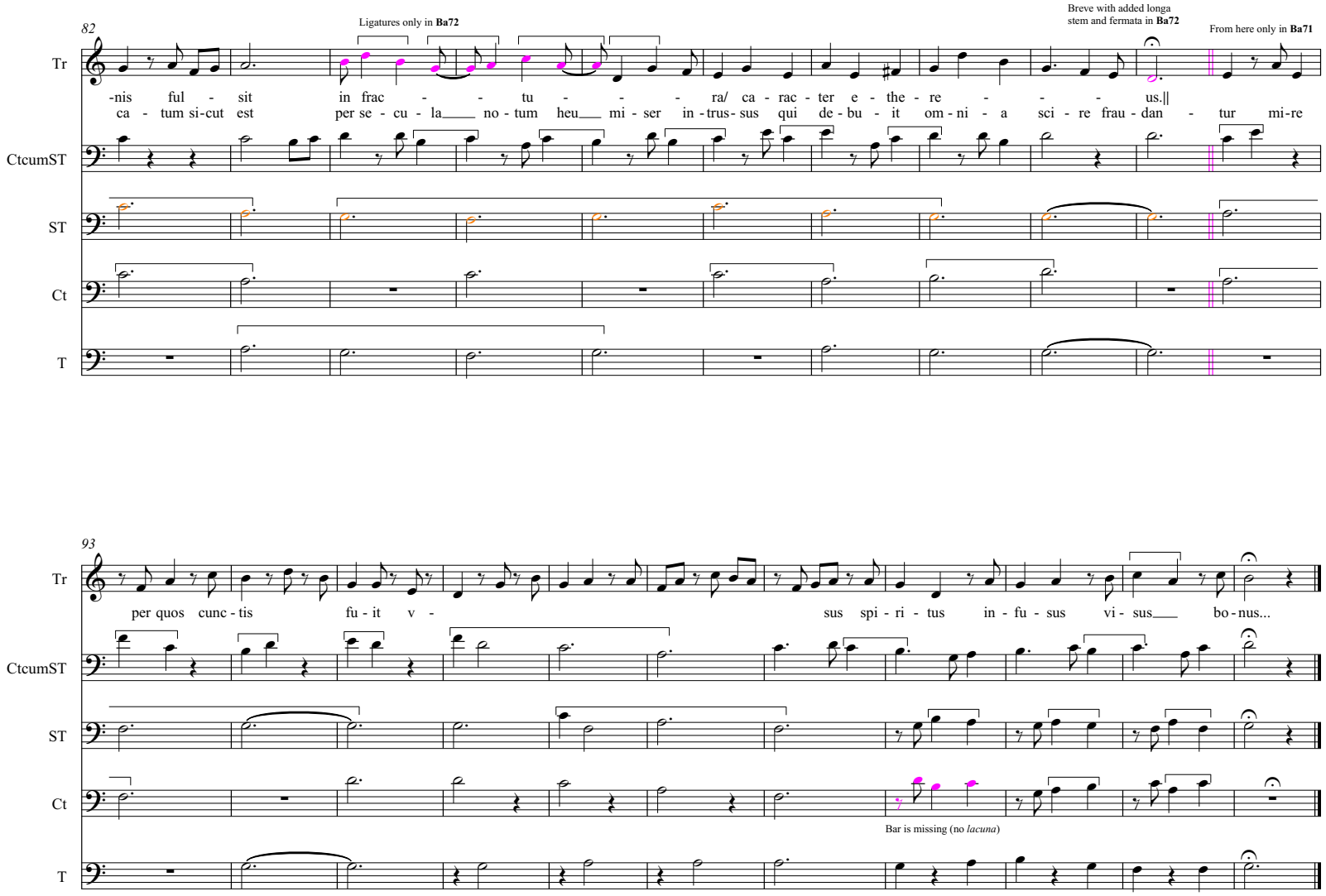
Dark green notes/passages are barely legible in the fragments or were added tentatively.
Blue passages indicate *lacunae.*
Pink passages have their comments attached.




26
Tr
[vi-ven-tis/ sig-] ni - fer sal - vi - fi - cus.|| In ca-mi-no pau-per-ta-tis/ Vir_ sanc - tus e -
Mot
dos ve-lut ag - nus mi - tis de-i spe-cu-lo iu-go sub - ie-cit hu-me-rum ac io - cun-dus to - tus mun
CtcumST
ST
38
Tr
[li-gi-tur/ dum] iu-gis hu - mi - li - ta-tis/ ci-ne-re con - te - gi - tur.|
Mot
dus sic rec-to duc-tus fla-mi-ne gra-tu- le-tur et le - te-tur de mis-ti-co spi-ra-mi-ne iu-re im-mo-bi-li
CtcumST
ST
49
Tr
De scin-
Mot
mon - stra-to no-bi - li ad sum-mum pon-ti-fi-ci- um
Added: in quo humilitatis
rest in Ba71 must be an error
CtcumST
ST

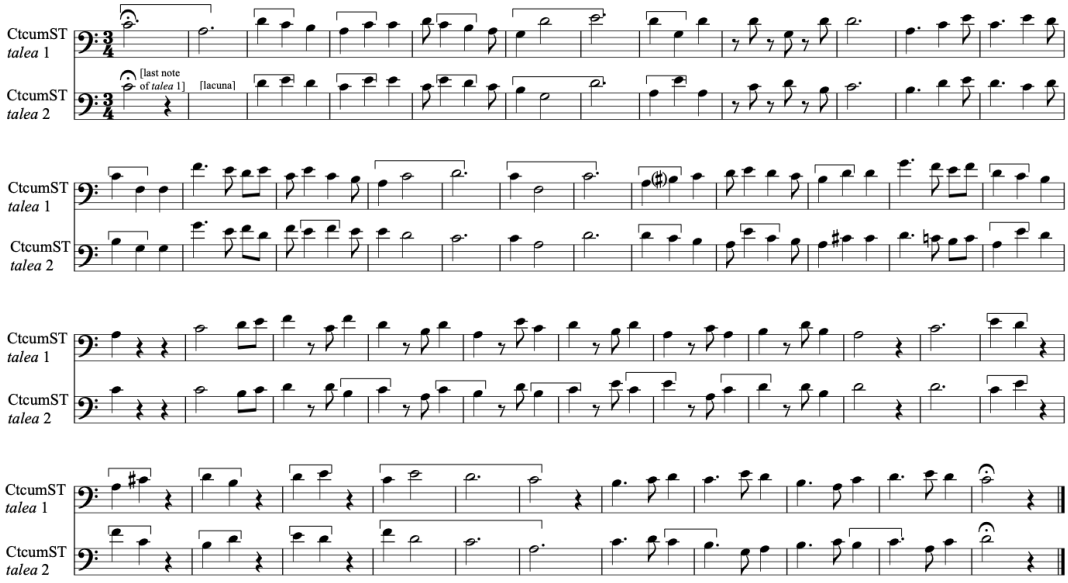
***Talea* 2**


59
Scribal error in Tr: *vir* instead of *lux*
More notes needed because of more syllables in **Ba72**,
Ba71 gives SB in 64 and B in 65
Error: *duplicitatis* should be *duplicatis*
Tr
Ba71: Papam querentes
Ba72: De Scintilla
til - la pu - ri - ta - tis/ **lux** so - la -[ris o - ri - tur]/ in He-ly - e du-pli-ci - ta-tis/ Sig-nis-su-per-gre-di- tur|| Sum-mi re-[gis ar-ma - tu - ra]/
Pa-pam que-ren-tes an - te-chris-tum sed ha-ben-tes b. tunc ba-ren-sem be-ne non quin ym-mo per en-sem Sic que co-ro-na-tus vr-ba-nus est
CtcumST
Ba71
ST
Ba71; **Ba72** (orange)
(ligature bracktes after **Ba71**)
Contratenor
Ba71
Tenor
Ba71
70
Tr
dig-num so - lis in fi - gu-ra/ cur - rus ve - xit ig - ne - us.| Ca - ri - ta -[te non le - su - ra]/ car -
il - le uo - ca - tus quod no - men va-nus ce - pit sen - su ma-le sa-nus ex - ti-tit hoc to - tum nul-lum de iu-re pro-ba-tum et pub-li-
CtcumST
ST
Ct
T


82
Ligatures only in Ba72
Breve with added longa stem and fermata in Ba72
From here only in Ba71
Tr
CtcumST
ST
Ct
T
-nis ful - sit in frac - - tu - - - ra/ ca - rac - ter e - the - re - - - us.||
ca - tum si-cut est per se - cu - la____ no - tum heu___ mi - ser in - trus- sus qui de - bu - it om - ni - a sci - re frau - dan - tur mi-re
93
per quos cunc - tis fu - it v - sus spi - ri - tus in - fu - sus vi - sus___ bo - nus...
Bar is missing (no *lacuna*)

The motet begins with an introitus outside the isorhythmic structure, comprising a six-bar triplum introduction, followed by a six-bar imitation in the motetus. The two subsequent *taleae* count 45 perfect breves each (bars 13–58 and 58–102 respectively), the mensuration being *tempus perfectum prolatio minor* throughout.[188] The complete isorhythmic repetition of the lower voices in *talea* 2 is only visible in the contratenor cum solo tenore as it is extant in **Ba71** for both *taleae*. This finding corroborates the designation and function of this voice, unlabelled in *talea* 1. The contratenor cum solo tenore also accompanies the introductory passage of the triplum in bars 1–6 while the motetus is still silent.[189] *Ex. 3* shows *talea* 1 (without the introitus) and *talea* 2 of the contratenor cum solo tenore on top of each other to elucidate the isorhythmic organisation of this voice because this structure is difficult to discern in the successive transcription of all voices (*Ex. 2*).

Ex. 3 Isorhythmic organisation of the contratenor cum solo tenore in *talea* 1 and 2



[188] In the following, bar numbers refer to the transcription in *Ex. 2.* The final bar of section two (bar 103) is, as I will argue, the first bar of another – absent – *talea*. This kind of transition from one *talea* to the next also happens at the beginning of *talea* 2 (bar 58), where it features a scribal error; see below.

[189] The introitus of Vitry's *Petre Clemens*/*Lugentium* (**Aachen14**, fol. 2r; **Iv**, fols. 37v–38r; **Trém** index) is in the motet's copy in **Iv** accompanied by the solus tenor. It is therefore possible that Vitry's motet – which honours Pope Clement VI – provided some kind of a model for the later Basel motet on Clement VII, in featuring an upper-voice introduction that is (unusually) accompanied by a lower voice. On the voice transmission of *Petre Clemens*, see Anna Zayaruznaya, 'New Voices for Vitry', *Early Music*, 46/3 (2018), 375–92. As mentioned above (see n. 184), the phenomenon of the contratenor cum solo tenore is very rare and therefore, to date, very little studied. In his account of the *Contratenor de Virtutibus* in **Be**, von Steiger ('Das Berner Chansonnier-Fragment', 60) argues on the one hand that the contratenor cum solo tenore creates dissonances with the upper voices, but states on the other hand that the voice creates a new 'Form der Vierstimmigkeit' by adding to the three-voice structure triplum – motetus – solus tenor. Since the contratenor cum solo tenore seems to have an important function in the structure of the Basel motet (and not least is preserved in both its surviving sources), an evaluation of its status in the compositional process and comparing it with the (non-isorhythmic) one of *Impudenter*/*Virtutibus* constitutes a starting point for future research.

On the other hand, the second extant lower voice of *talea* 1 – unlabelled in **Ba71** and labelled *Tenor* in **Ba72** – must be the solus tenor: as a conflation of tenor and contratenor, it never has rests because it always gives the lowest note of the harmony.[190] For this reason, the solus tenor obscures the isorhythmic conception of the lower voices since it features longer note values when combining successive notes of equal pitch derived from each the tenor and contratenor.

The tenor and contratenor of *talea* 1 are not preserved and therefore cannot be compared to their counterparts in *talea* 2. At the moment, this circumstance also makes it impossible to tell whether the tenor was freely composed or derived from a chant, and it further prevents the identification of possible tenor *colores* that did not coincide with the *talea* progression. That the **Ba71** scribe chose to copy the tenor and contratenor of *talea* 2 but not of *talea* 1 might suggest that he derived these two lower voices for *talea* 1 directly from the solus tenor on the page. That bar 100 in the contratenor – a passage at the beginning of a sequence-like progression in that voice – is omitted can also be explained as part of this copying process: there is a line break in this instance in the contratenor, which might have led the scribe to continue copying from the wrong place in the solus tenor.

The triplum and motetus, which feature an equal pitch range and similar overall tessitura (*c–d'*) throughout, are also isorhythmic in the final twenty breves of each *talea* (bars 39–58 and 84–103 respectively): these twenty bars each comprise an eight-bar syncopation dialogue between them, followed by a twelve-bar hocket passage in all voices.[191] Although the motetus of *talea* 2 is missing in both fragments, this becomes clear through the triplum, whose rhythmic progression is congruent in the final twenty breves of both *talea* 1 and 2. Furthermore, when comparing the two syncopation passages, the motetus of *talea* 1 and the triplum of *talea* 2 turn out to be rhythmically *and* melodically identical in bars 42–44 and 84–86 respectively. The first twenty-five breves of each *talea* are not isorhythmic in the upper voices but are instead characterised by rhythmic and melodic exchanges.

[190] A solus tenor only exists when both the tenor and contratenor play an essential role in the musical structure (for instance, to avoid unsupported fourths in the upper voices). It is still subject to scholarly debate whether the solus tenor was solely a performance aid and/or a means to save space on the page or played a role in the compositional process of a piece (and, therefore, existed prior to the contratenor and tenor). The most influential contribution on this topic is Margaret Bent, 'Some Factors in the Control of Consonance and Sonority: Successive Composition and the Solus Tenor', *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977* (Kassel, 1981), 625–34, reprinted in ead., *Counterpoint, Composition, and* Musica Ficta (New York and London, 2002), 358–77. The introduction to the latter volume also gives an updated view on the phenomenon of the solus tenor.

[191] In this passage, also the solus tenor reveals the isorhythmic conception of the lower voices (bars 55–57 and 100–102 respectively).

Lastly, the final sonorities of each section (*a* and *G* respectively) indicate once again that we might be dealing with the first two *taleae* of a still unfinished piece: both contain a third, very rare for a *finalis* but not unusual for *talea* endings.[192] Furthermore, these two chords each also constitute the beginning of the following section. Consequently, the *finalis* following the unknown number of absent *taleae* must have been outside the isorhythmic structure of the motet.[193]

Several of the Basel motet's musical features noted above are reminiscent of Italian style: these are imitation in the introductory duet, equality of the upper voices regarding pitch range and rhythmic motion, and the use of *tempus perfectum prolatio minor*.[194] In fact, one of only a few fourteenth-century motets in the French repertory with this mensuration is *Rex Karole*.[195] That it is now accompanied by another piece – adjacent to it in **Ba72** – is particularly striking. Indeed, *Rex Karole* shares several Italian features with the Basel motet, a fact which caused Bent to call the former composition a 'French favourite in Italy'.[196] But as it turns out, its isorhythmic features also closely resemble the Basel piece.

Rex Karole has a long introitus characterised by upper-voice imitation, taking place outside the isorhythmic structure.[197] Its five *taleae* (comprising each of 18 perfect plus 15 imperfect breves, equalling two *colores*) are fully isorhythmic in the lower voices. Here, too, the presence of a solus tenor proves that both tenor and contratenor are essential for the harmony. The triplum and motetus are also of equal pitch range (*c–d'*); indeed, the very same pitch range as observed in the Basel motet's upper voices. Furthermore, isorhythm in all voices is confined to the end of each *talea*, where a short, syncopated dialogue between the upper

[192] Usually, the final sonority is a fifth.

[193] The *talea* 2 tenor in **Ba71** is notated in *modus perfectus*. Its *modus* units also follow the *talea* pattern in which the final chords of each *talea* already make up the first note of the next one: the tenor's first two breves (bars 59–60) constitute a unit with the (here absent) final breve of the previous *talea* and its final breve (bar 103) is the beginning of a new *modus* unit which presumably continued in the subsequent *talea* 3.

[194] *Tempus imperfectum prolatio minor* would have been the common mensuration for a 'French-style' motet with a structured tenor. On the defining features of the Italian motet, see Margaret Bent, 'The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Della Vecchia (eds.), *Atti del Congresso internazionale "L'Europa e la musica del Trecento" (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19–21 luglio 1984)*, L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI (Certaldo, 1992), 85–125. An updated and extended version of this article can be found in ead., *The Motet*.

[195] For the statement about the mensuration of *Rex Karole*, see recently Bent, 'The Motet Collection of San Lorenzo 2211 (SL)', 47 and 51, n. 15. Other examples for motets in perfect time minor prolation include Machaut M19 (*Martyrum gemma latria*/*Diligenter inquiramus*/*A Christo honoratus*), *Li enseignament*/*De tous*/tenor (**Fribourg**, fol. 86r; **Iv**, fol. 26v; **Trém** index), *Trop ay dure*/*Par sauvage retenue*/Tenor/Contratenor (**Iv**, fols. 57v–58r), and a fragmentary motet with the motetus incipit *Non eclipsis atra ferrugine* (**Lei2515 (1)**, fol. 1v).

[196] Bent, 'The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet', 107. This is also attested by the motet's preservation in **SL2211**, an anthology of largely Italian secular music with only a few motets, most of them international pieces.

[197] The piece is edited in Günther, CMM 39, XXIX–XXXIII (commentary) and 17–22, as well as in Harrison, PMFC 5, 141–8.

voices is succeeded by a hocket passage under participation of the lower voices – just as in the Basel motet. Lastly, all *talea* endings of *Rex Karole* contain a third and already mark the beginning of the following *talea*; the *finalis* is therefore outside the isorhythmic structure.

There are, of course, also differences between the two pieces, and features that cannot (yet) be compared. *Rex Karole* changes its mensuration in each *talea* and its *taleae* are somewhat shorter. The motet's tenor melody is drawn from the antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* and gets repeated twice in the course of the composition's five *taleae.* It also does not have a contratenor cum solo tenore in either of the seven extant sources; but since the existence of such a voice is hardly attested anywhere in the repertory and its function in the compositional process still awaits exploration, it cannot be definitely excluded that the motet once possessed such a voice. *Rex Karole* features different texts for triplum and motetus (as is usual for a motet in the French repertory), but due to the incomplete voice-transmission status of the Basel motet – and the obvious contrafaction of its triplum – neither mono- nor polytextuality can currently be excluded for the latter (see below). As mentioned above, insights about a possible chant origin as well as the *color* structure of the Basel tenor presupposes its reconstruction for *talea* 1.

Judging from the musical material preserved in **Ba71** and **Ba72** (which itself may preserve even more material than may have been available to the scribe of **Ba71**), such a reconstruction should be possible, and is planned as a future project. First, the pitches of the missing tenor and contratenor of *talea* 1 are already outlined through the harmonies given by the solus tenor, contratenor cum solo tenore, and two upper voices, whilst their rhythms are visible in *talea* 2. Moreover, the motetus rhythm of the syncopation and hocket passages in *talea* 2 is already established through their parallel execution in *talea* 1; here, as well, the harmonic clues for the whole *talea* are provided by the harmonic progression of the other voices as well as by the fixed pitch range of the motetus itself. That the Basel motet is stylistically closely related to *Rex Karole* may also aid in the reconstruction of the former; in any case, this connection proves significant when investigating the historical context of the Basel motet below.

4.2.1 Excursus: The Voice Transmission of *Rex Karole*/*Leticie pacis*/*Virgo prius*

The previous sections have revealed close connections between the Basel motet and *Rex Karole* – musically, as well as through the use of structural markers. On top of that, it is worth pointing out that *Rex Karole* exhibits a curious voice transmission that is also reflected in the Basel piece, namely the seeming tendency to notate the solus tenor instead of the tenor and

contratenor. **Ba72** only gives *Rex Karole*'s solus tenor, and the at least five empty staves beneath this voice further indicate that no more lower parts were planned.

Among *Rex Karole*'s seven surviving sources (**Ba72**, **Ch**, **Ltna**, **Perugia2**, **SL2211**, **Str**, and **Wash**), five transmit the motet's lower voices: **Ba72**, **Ch**, **Ltna**, **Perugia2**, and **Str**.[198] In most cases, the solus tenor is notated (**Ba72**, **Ch**, **Perugia2**, **Str**). When a contratenor is given as well, there is no tenor (**Ch**, **Perugia2**). In **Ch**, the contratenor has later been labelled as such, by a different hand. **Str** gives the solus tenor (erroneously designated as tenor) and the tenor (erroneously designated as contratenor), but no contratenor. The mostly illegible source **Ltna**, in turn, suggests that the **Ch**/**Perugia2** contratenor is a supplementary/additional voice because this contratenor is here labelled *tercius tenor* and appears below another, unique, contratenor. Whether the unique contratenor in **Ltna** is the 'original' one must be left to future research; however, there is – again – no tenor.

Overall, the voice transmission of *Rex Karole* strongly suggests that the solus tenor of this motet took precedence over the contratenor(es) and the one surviving tenor. This is also corroborated by the fact that the motet's solus tenor does not provide a conflation of the **Ch**/**Perugia2** contratenor and the **Str** tenor.

With a likely late fourteenth-century French provenance, **Ba72** is also the earliest source for *Rex Karole.* Strikingly, and exceptionally, the solus tenor in this fragment shows traces of scribal revision (see *Fig. 19* below). First, the last note of *talea* 4 in this voice has been corrected from a *finalis* (a long with a red fermata, *Fig. 19*, no. 1) to a breve – by resolutely crossing out the long's stem. It seems that the scribe first ended the solus tenor after *talea* 4, then reconsidered, and continued with *talea* 5.[199] This is somehow the reverse from what happened in *Novum sidus orientis*, where the hocket passage was cut (or left for the next opening).

Second, the **Ba72** solus tenor presents a unique case of catchwords from the upper voices (*Fig. 19*, nos. 2 and 3). In stave 5, the word *mag*[i]*s* marks the end of the red passage in

[198] **SL2211** and **Wash** are very fragmentary, but certainly contained lower voices in their original form. On **Perugia2**, see Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (eds.), *Frammenti musicali del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N.F. della Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia* (Firenze, 2004). **Wash** has recently been scrutinised by Margaret Bent, 'Washington, Library of Congress, M.2.1 C6 1400 Case: A Neglected English Fragment', in Jared C. Hartt, Tamsyn Mahoney-Steel, and Benjamin L. Albritton (eds.), *Manuscripts, Music, Machaut: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Earp* (Turnhout, 2022), 529–52.

[199] *Rex Karole* needs five *taleae* in its final stage, because only then is the tenor chant executed twice. However, the last stanza of the motetus (equalling the final *talea* 5) is redundant in its textual content: it basically repeats the meaning of the previous stanza. That, in turn, would speak to an addition of more text during the conception of the motet.

talea 4 of the solus tenor. The motetus sings 'magis' in the same instance, just before the beginning of the hockets in *talea* 4. Another word, this time in stave 6, could be read as 'regis' – and the penultimate word of the triplum in *talea* 5 (not preserved in **Ba72**), sounding at the same time, is 'regni'.

Fig. 19 Scribal activity in the solus tenor of *Rex Karole* (**Ba72**, recto)

1: Crossed-out cauda of the final breve of *talea* 4 (**Ba72**, recto, stave 5, solus tenor)

2: Catchword *mag*[*i*]*s*(?), corresponding to the musical moment of 'magis' in the motetus (**Ba72**, recto, stave 5, solus tenor)

3: Catchword *regis*(?) , corresponding to the musical moment of 'regni' in the triplum (**Ba72**, recto, stave 6, solus tenor)

In sum, I propose that *Rex Karole* – similarly to the Basel motet – is preserved here in an early stage that gives a glimpse of the scribe's notational process for the piece. That the solus tenor plays such an important role in the conception of the piece, and is obviously dominant in its further transmission, requires closer scrutiny of this phenomenon in subsequent research. After all, the unique case of a contratenor cum solo tenore in the Basel motet might also help enlighten us about the role of these supposedly 'additional' or 'supplementary' voices in general. But as far as the conception of the Basel motet is concerned, its musical structure must now be examined in terms of its relationship to the papal texts … *Papam*/*Gaudeat* and to *Novum sidus orientis*.

4.3 The Poetic Texts of the Basel Motet

The poetic texts of the Basel motet are of very different nature: the poems that mention the two first schismatic popes Clement VII and Urban VI (the *talea* 2 triplum text *Papam querentes* and the *talea* 1 motetus text *Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71**) are uniquely known from this motet, while the triplum text that commences *Novum sidus orientis* in **Ba72** is actually drawn from a

sequence for St Francis. This use of a sequence text is again a phenomenon only to be witnessed in the Basel motet, and it still leaves open the question which poetic text – the papal poems or the sequence text – was used first to underlay the music of the motet. Furthermore, the incomplete voice-transmission status of the motet established above demands scrutiny with regard to the question whether the motet is mono- or polytextual. In the following, the poetic structure and music–text correlation of the motet's poetic texts are analysed separately (first **Ba71**, then **Ba72**) before different scenarios for the direction of contrafaction and chronology are considered. Lastly, the obscure phrase 'in quo humilitatis' which has been added directly after the end of the motetus text *Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71** is the subject of further considerations about possible interrelations between the papal and sequence texts of the Basel motet.

4.3.1 The Papal Poems in Ba71

The poetic texts *Gaudeat et exultet* and *Papam querentes* (see their transcription and translation in *Tables 12* and *13* below) are each devoted to one pope: the motetus text *Gaudeat et exultet* honours Clement VII and the triplum text *Papam querentes* condemns Urban VI as the Antichrist.[200] Urban VI is identified as *B. tunc Barensem* (= *Bartolomeum tunc Barensem*), referring to his former status as archbishop of Bari.[201]

The *talea* 2 triplum text *Papam querentes* has 121 syllables and is thus slightly longer than the *talea* 1 motetus poem *Gaudeat et exultet* (110 syllables). The additional length of the *Papam querentes* triplum at least does not contradict the usual text ratio between a motet's two upper voices, where the triplum generally features the much longer poem. However, one would expect the difference between the two **Ba71** texts to be even more substantial. The Latin poems are grammatically largely correct and there are no major orthographical issues. *Gaudeat et exultet* does not show any discernible stanzas with a rhyme pattern, fixed syllable count or similar, which is why its transcription in *Table 12* is organised according to units of meaning. The poem *Papam querentes* (see *Table 13*), in contrast, comprises rhymed hexameters throughout.[202] Its last line, *spiritus infusus visus bonus*, is missing its last two metrical feet: that not only renders a translation of this phrase difficult, but it also – and more importantly – proves

[200] I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens, who not only significantly improved my initial transcription and translation of the motet's texts (including the complete sequence text *Novum sidus orientis*) but also made me aware of the rhymed hexameters in *Papam querentes*, to be discussed below.

[201] The textual content of the papal poems and the sequence will be discussed in section 4.3.4 below as well as in Chapter 5.

[202] Motet texts in hexameters are quite rare. Another example is the motetus poem of *Inter densas deserti*/*Imbribus irriguis*/*Admirabile est nomen tuum* (**Ch**, fols. 68v–69r, in honour of Gaston Fébus).

that this poem is unfinished. Since *Papam querentes* underlays *talea* 2 of the Basel motet, this observation could either mean that the motet as a whole is not finished (as is also indicated by the structural markers in **Ba71** discussed in section 4.1.2 and by the motet ending on a third rather than on a fifth, demonstrated in section 4.2) or it exposes the papal poems as a misplanned contrafaction.

Both poetic texts in **Ba71** are set to the music in almost entirely syllabic fashion (outside the hocket sections). As this leaves little room for flexibility in word setting, it turns out that both texts are rather ill-fitted to their music: for instance, words are split up by rests in the triplum *Papam querentes*, bars 79 and 82. In addition, the hocket texting in both *talea* 1 (motetus *Gaudeat et exultet*, bars 47–58) and 2 (triplum *Papam querentes*, bars 92–103) is irregular and splits words along the way. The word *fraudantur* (already starting in bar 90) even bridges the beginning of the hocket passage in *talea* 2.[203]

In general, it can be observed that the papal texts *Papam querentes* and *Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71** are highly irregular in their musical setting, and in the case of *Gaudeat et exultet* the text is also poetically irregular. The texts were evidently not planned to accommodate hockets, and the fact that their words get split through rests even outside the hocket sections renders the quality of text-setting questionable overall.[204] Finally, if more parts of the motet once existed with a papal text, the motet must have been polytextual: the *talea* 2 triplum is set in metrical verse whereas the *talea* 1 motetus is not – therefore, it is likely that the triplum poem was also set in hexameters in the absent *talea* 1 and that the motetus poem lacked a rhyme pattern in the missing *talea* 2.

Table 12 First *talea* of the Basel motet, motetus text *Gaudeat et exultet* (**Ba71**, fol. 1r)

Gaudeat et exultet
iam orbis et resultet
solamen in seculo
septenum complens numerum clemencie

[203] A similar case of misplanned text underlay appears in the motet *Deo gracias papales*/*Deo gracias fidelis*, uniquely preserved in **Nur9**, fol. 2v. Michael Scott Cuthbert ('The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments', 12) notes: 'The two voices were obviously composed with an ear towards interaction between parts (hocket, sequence, etc.), but it is unclear to what extent they were composed with their texts in mind. Words often must be split across rests (even outside the hocketting sections) and unimportant words receive much of the musical emphasis.'

[204] On the texting of hockets, see especially Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Singing the Hiccup – on Texting the Hocket', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 225–76, and Anna Zayaruznaya, 'Hockets as Compositional and Scribal Practice in the ars nova Motet – A Letter from Lady Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, 30/4 (2013), 461–501. Zayaruznaya states (p. 491): 'Usually, hockets either have words or they do not. When they do, it is often obvious because the poetry is written to accommodate them.'

dum magnus sacerdos uelut agnus mitis
dei speculo iugo subiecit humerum
ac iocundus totus mundus
sic recto ductus flamine
gratuletur et letetur
de mistico spiramine
iure immobili monstrato nobili
ad summum pontificium. **[added: in quo humilitatis]**

Table 13 Second *talea* of the Basel motet, triplum text *Papam querentes* (**Ba71**, fol. 1v)

Papam querentes antechristum sed habentes
.b. tunc barensem bene non quin ymmo per ensem
sic que coronatus vrbanus est ille uocatus
quod nomen vanus cepit sensu male sanus
extitit hoc totum nullum de iure probatum
et publicatum sicut est per secula notum
heu miser intrusus qui debuit omnia scire
fraudantur mire per quos cunctis fuit vsus
spiritus infusus visus bonus… **[two metrical feet missing]**

4.3.2 The Sequence *Novum sidus orientis*

Recent research conducted by Hana Vlhová-Wörner has shown that the triplum text *Novum sidus orientis* found in **Ba72** belongs to a sequence honouring St Francis which is preserved in two manuscripts with origins in Bohemian Franciscan communities. One of them, **Pg12**, can be dated around 1400, while the second, **Vienna15**, was executed between 1499 and 1500 for a Franciscan monastery in southern Bohemia.[205] Since the sequence melody cannot be found in connection with other chants and also supports the meaning of the poetic text musically, she

[205] Hana Vlhová-Wörner, '*Novum sidus orientis*: New Identification Perspectives', in Martin Kirnbauer (ed.), *Beredte Musik: Konversationen zum 80. Geburtstag von Wulf Arlt*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 8 (Basel, 2019), 457–66, *passim*. For palaeographical reasons, **Pg12** is now thought to date around 1400 (against previous assumptions that it was created in the late fourteenth century). Furthermore, it might also have connections to the Poor Clares community, not only to the Franciscan community, in Prague. I thank Hana Vlhová-Wörner for this information (private communication, October 2021). The digitised version of **Pg12** can be found here, the sequence *Novum sidus orientis* being on fols. 62r–64v:
http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=RASTIS-NKCR__I_E_12_____1YHIZ83-cs#search (last accessed 04.11.2021). The source **Vienna15** is described in Robert Klugseder et al. (eds.), *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien,* Codices, Manuscripti & Impressi. Zeitschrift für Buchgeschichte. Supplementum 10 (Purkersdorf, 2014), 281–5. The sequence is copied on fols. 204r–207r, the digitised version of **Vienna15** is at http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/5449514 (last accessed 12.07.2023).

concludes that melody and text were newly composed as one unit. Furthermore, she points out the regularity of the rhyme scheme as well as the proficiency of the Latin poetry, which is unusual for this kind of everyday repertory, where new texts often had to be composed rather hastily.[206] From that point of view, it can be concluded that the sequence text *Novum sidus orientis* was prior to the triplum text *Novum sidus orientis* because the poem was initially conceived as a sequence text with an accompanying plainchant melody.[207]

Regarding the connection with **Ba72**, Vlhová-Wörner remarks: 'The way this Franciscan sequence […] became subject of the polyphonic elaboration documented in the Basel fragment, is, as yet, unresolved.'[208] Her statement does not, however, consider the existence of the second fragment – **Ba71** – which features the same music as in **Ba72** but with a different text. Moreover, assuming a 'polyphonic elaboration' might imply that there is a *musical* connection between the sequence and the motet. In consequence, the *Novum sidus orientis* version of the motet would have priority as the 'original' which was contrafacted with the papal texts *Papam querentes* and *Gaudeat et exultet.* However, the motet's tenor, discussed in section 4.2, does not bear any resemblance to the sequence melody, nor can any other musical connection between the sequence and the motet be established.[209] Therefore, the following section examines the text underlay of the *Novum sidus orientis* poem in the Basel motet's triplum in **Ba72** in order to shed more light on the chronology of the original and contrafact texting of the composition.

The portion of the sequence which successively provides the triplum text for both *taleae* in **Ba72** comprises one and a half double stanzas (76 syllables) for each section.[210] Therefore, *De scintilla* marks the beginning of the motet's second *talea* as well as the second half of the text portion drawn from the sequence (see *Fig. 20*).

[206] Vlhová-Wörner, '*Novum sidus orientis*', 461 and 464. For a complete transcription of the sequence as it is found in **Pg12**, see ibid. 462–3.

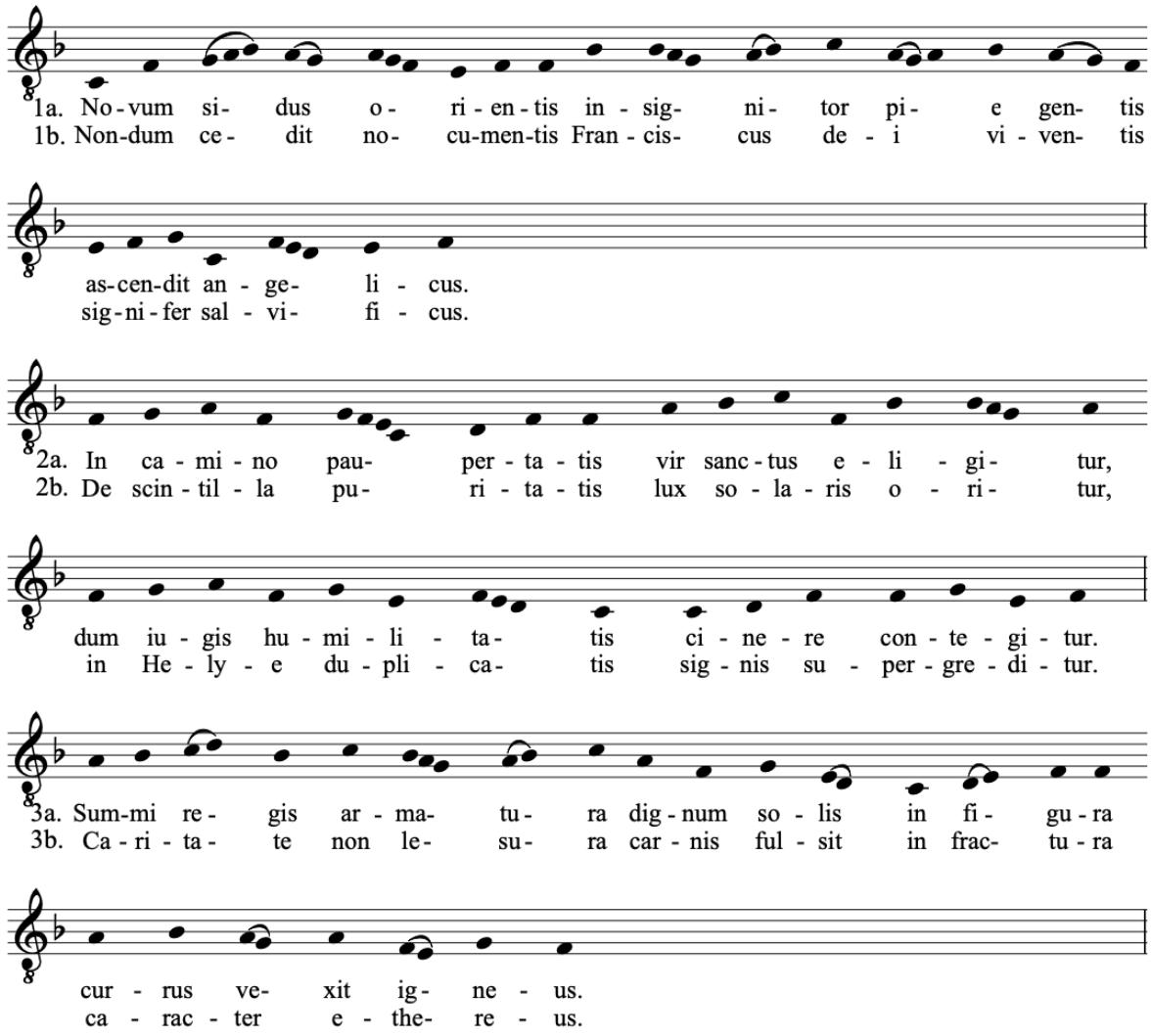
[207] That **Pg12** is now likely to date around 1400 still does not help significantly with the dating of **Ba72** since the sequence could have existed in other manuscripts already in the late fourteenth century.

[208] Ibid. 464–5.

[209] This picture could still change when reconstructing the tenor of *talea* 1.

[210] The sequence has eleven stanzas, all transcribed in Vlhová-Wörner, 'Novum sidus orientis', 462–3.

Fig. 20 Transcription of the sequence *Novum sidus orientis* (the portion of text appearing in **Ba72**). *De scintilla* starts at 2b (after Vlhová-Wörner, 'Novum sidus orientis', 462).



The **Ba72** scribe was obviously aware of copying a sequence text underneath the triplum melody: first, the scribe indicated the beginning of each new poetic line in the original sequence with '/' – whereas there is no such punctuation at all in the surviving motetus passage of *Rex Karole* on the previous recto. Second, the scribe consistently highlighted the beginning of each single stanza with more elaborate initials, which are not elsewhere found within stanzas. In general, the orthography is very good; there is no indication that the **Ba72** scribe did not understand what was being copied.

In the following, I demonstrate that the triplum text *Novum sidus orientis* was copied directly from the sequence (from either a notated plainchant or a text-only exemplar) and that

Fig. 21 Sequence text portion set to music in the **Ba72** triplum

1a	Novum sidus orientis insignitor pie gentis ascen[dit ange]licus.
1b	Nondum cedit nocumentis Franciscus dei [viventis] [sig]nifer salvificus.
2a	In camino paupertatis vir sanctus e[ligitur], [dum] iugis humilitatis cinere contegitur.
2b	De scintilla puritatis lux sola[ris oritur]. In Helye ***duplicitatis*** signis supergreditur.
3a	Summi re[gis armatura] dignum solis in figura currus vexit igneus.
3b	Carita[te non lesura] carnis fulsit in fractura caracter ethereus.

the scribe carefully aligned text and music whilst copying them into **Ba72**.[211] In order to distribute the sequence text equally in the music, highlighting stanza beginnings with more elaborate initials was part of a visual orientation strategy: the words *Nondum* and *Summi* (marked in green in *Fig. 21*, bars 22 and 67) as well as *In* (*camino*) and *Caritate* (marked in pink in *Fig. 21*, bars 33 and 78) each constitute the same musical moments in their respective *taleae*. In consequence, stanzas 1b and 3a, as well as stanzas 2a and 3b, are set to equivalent parts of the motet; in fact, the beginning of stanzas 2a and 3b marks the mid-point of each *talea*. Moreover, each new stanza can easily be found on the page because the triplum always (and exclusively in these instances) features a breve plus breve rest before its beginning. The text-setting also explains why the absence of the hocket passage in *talea* 2 does not do any damage to the stanza pattern: in *talea* 1, the hockets remain untexted, leaving a noticeable gap on the manuscript page between *contegitur* and the new stanza, beginning *De scintilla*. The fact that the hocket section in **Ba72** is untexted also explains the reduced length of the sequence portions (76 syllables per *talea*) in comparison to the syllable count of the papal poems. If the hocket section of *talea* 2 followed on a now lost subsequent opening, the hockets are very likely to have remained untexted as well.

The only corresponding stanzas which are problematic in terms of distributing them in the music are 1a (*Novum sidus orientis*) and 2b (*De scintilla*). This is because stanza 1a also has to accommodate to the 12-bar introitus of the triplum in *talea* 1.[212] Moreover, stanza 2b has thirty syllables whereas stanza 1a only has twenty-three. For both stanzas, the scribe's strategies (and struggles) to deal with these unequal conditions can be observed in music and text.

Stanza 1a was distributed rather unevenly in the introitus and the following *talea* portion: only its last few syllables underlay the latter, meaning that *-dit angelicus* occupies the same amount of music as the whole text of stanza 2b (see marked in yellow in *Fig. 21*). It

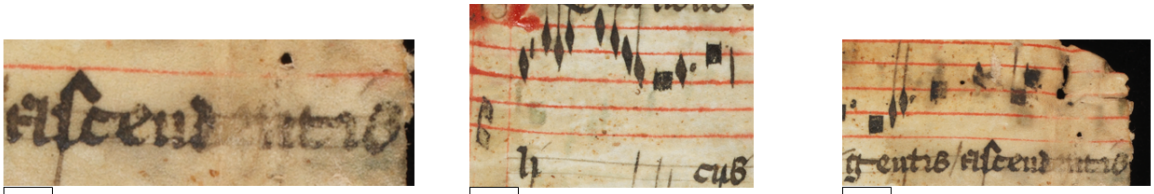
[211] Words in square brackets mark *lacunae* in **Ba72** which are supplemented by the sequence text as extant in **Pg12**.

[212] This manner of distributing equal portions of text to each *talea* – without providing more text for the introitus – is another feature this version of the motet shares with *Rex Karole*.

appears that the scribe was initially not sure about this distribution because the final line of stanza 1a, *ascendit angelicus*, appears in connection with an erasure on the page.

In stave 1, this poetic line reads as follows (see *Fig. 22*, no. 1): instead of *ascendit angeli-* the trace of an erased *-entis* can be discerned after the beginning *ascend-* – as if the scribe wrote *ascendentis*.[213] Although the following syllables, *-dit angeli-*, are lost in a *lacuna* at the end of stave 1 because the page was trimmed there (bars 14–17), the ending syllables *-licus* of *angelicus* appear in stave 2 (*Fig. 22*, no. 2).

Fig. 22 Erasure in sequence stanza 1a (beginning of the triplum *Novum sidus orientis* in **Ba72**, verso)



1: The beginning of the word *ascendit* (*ascend-*), immediately followed by the erased word snippet *-entis* (**Ba72**, verso, stave 1)

2: Continuation of the sequence text in stave two after the *lacuna*: melisma on *-licus* (**Ba72**, verso, stave 2)

3: Context of the passage with the erasure: *gentis* / *ascend* ~~*entis*~~ (**Ba72**, verso, stave 1)

I propose the following scenario: the scribe first planned line 2 of the stanza, ending on *gentis* (marked in blue in *Fig. 21*), which is the word *before ascendit* (see the context in *Fig. 22*, no. 3). In order to feature a melisma on *gentis* between bar 10 and the end of the introitus in bar 13, the scribe wrote the syllables *-entis* in the place where the erasure is now visible on the page, far away from the initial *g-*. The scribe then reconsidered, erased *-entis*, and wrote *gentis* as one coherent word without a gap for a melisma, as it appears now in the manuscript (see *Fig. 22*, no. 3). Instead, the scribe distributed the following phrase, *ascendit angelicus*, in the remaining musical passage: the erasure was not overwritten, the now absent syllables *-dit ange-* are lost in the *lacuna*, and the scribe ended up with a long melisma on *-licus* in stave 2.

By contrast, the scribe faced difficulties in fitting all of the syllables of stanza 2b to the few available notes. A scribal error in poetic line 3, leading to more syllables (*duplicitatis*, marked in bold type in *Fig. 21*, instead of *duplicatis*), exacerbated this problem. This situation

[213] At first glance, the letter before *-tis* rather resembles an *a*, but the scribe never uses round a, only box-a. Compare, for instance, the beginning of *ascend-*.

not only resulted in an almost syllabic setting of this stanza but also caused the scribe to divide long notes into shorter ones, repeating notes of the same pitch. The scribe's solution becomes apparent when comparing this passage in **Ba72** to its equivalent in **Ba71**. This is the only point where the two sources differ in the musical setting of the triplum. In bar 64, **Ba71** gives a semibreve *g* which the **Ba72** scribe divided into two minims, whilst in bar 65, the perfect breve *e* in **Ba71** has been replaced by two minims and a binary breve in **Ba72** (the latter being a rather unusual rhythm for the final bar of a stanza).

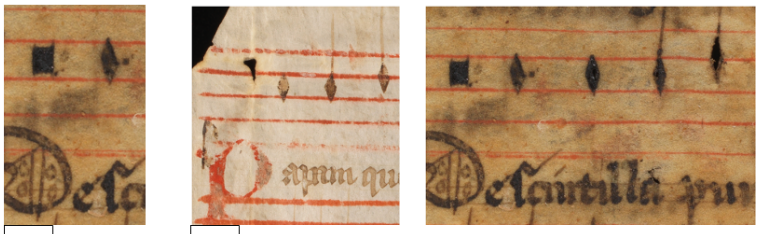
Apart from this obviously thought-through alignment of sequence stanzas and music, it can also be observed that the scribe aimed at enhancing the meaning of the text through the music: for instance, by setting the syncopated passage in bars 84–87 to the word *fractura*, 'fracture'. In addition to its layout, further indication that *Novum sidus orientis* was copied from an actual sequence exemplar can be found in a scribal error which apparently remained undetected: the beginning of *talea* 2, *De scintilla puritatis* | *lux*… features the word *vir* instead of *lux* (stanza 2b; see both *vir* and *lux* marked in grey in *Fig. 21* above). In this case, it is clear that the word derives from the parallel instance in sequence stanza 2a. When imagining that the scribe was copying the text from a sequence exemplar, line-skipping could have happened easily because the words *vir* and *lux* would have been set to the same music. It also remains possible that the scribe copied the sequence text from a text-only manuscript, deprived of any reference point by the absence of musical notation. That the mistake happened whilst copying from another motet exemplar, on the other hand, is unlikely because *vir* and *lux* appear at different musical moments of *taleae* 1 and 2 respectively.

In sum, it is obvious that the *Novum sidus orientis* text-setting of the Basel motet was anything but an unconsidered or random contrafaction. The question as to whether the motet was complete in **Ba72** cannot be answered with certainty: adhering to the musical symmetry of the piece, the textless hockets must have followed on a subsequent page, but finishing the motet without them would at least not have compromised the scribe's texting strategy. That the motet indeed continued on the next opening is also eminently possible because the sequence *Novum sidus orientis* has eight more stanzas that could have been set to music. Due to the complete absence of a motetus voice in **Ba72**, it is hard to tell whether this voice would have featured the same text portions as its corresponding triplum or instead have been set to different stanzas of the sequence (or possibly even a completely different text).

What can be observed, however, is that *taleae* 1 and 2 were only joined by the **Ba72** scribe in the process of copying the piece (see *Fig. 23*, no. 1 below): the breve *A* which coincides with the final note of the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71** (bar 58) exhibits an

obviously erased dot of division, whereas the dotted semibreve *A* following it marks the two notes as a new *tempus* unit. This initially dotted breve is reminiscent of the final notes with an additional fermata which appear in **Ba71** at both *talea* ends. Therefore, I propose that the breve *A* changed its function – from the *finalis* of an initially separately conceived *talea* to the first note of a *subsequent talea*. This suspicion is corroborated by the observation that the voice *Papam querentes* in **Ba71**, which is the contrafact triplum to *De scintilla*, starts after that passage (see *Fig. 23*, no. 2 below).

Fig. 23 Joining of *taleae* in **Ba72**



1: Erased dot of division at the juncture of *talea* 1 and 2 (**Ba72**, verso, stave 5)

2: The beginning of the triplum *Papam querentes* (**Ba71**, fol. 1v, stave 1) compared to the beginning of the musically corresponding triplum portion *De scintilla* (**Ba72**, verso, stave 5)

In conclusion, I believe that the sequence text *Novum sidus orientis* and the musical material of the Basel motet were joined in **Ba72** for the first time, the text being copied successively, together with the music, rather than the **Ba72** copy reproducing a pre-existing motet exemplar. Whether or not these circumstances give the **Ba72** version of motet the status of an original – as opposed to a contrafact – remains open to discussion.

4.3.3 Questions of Chronology: Interim Conclusion

As a sequence text, *Novum sidus orientis* inherently invites a musical setting (and its structured conception was definitely exploited by the **Ba72** scribe), whereas the non-metrical poem *Gaudeat et exultet* as well as the metrical, but unfinished, poem *Papam querentes* do not. Therefore, if it were for the 'quality' of text-setting, *Novum sidus orientis* would definitely be the original and … *Papam*/*Gaudeat* the contrafact. But the musical and palaeographical analysis of the Basel motet has also revealed that the transmission of voices and even voice parts of the piece is unstable – as if the musical material of this motet was especially subject to, or somehow invited, experimentation. Especially the analysis of the *talea* juncture in **Ba72**

suggests that the successive (ad hoc) texting of the motet's *taleae* with the sequence text might be the very reason why those two parts were attached to each other in that specific instance.[214]

When comparing the textual content of the sequence poem and the papal texts, it could also be argued that … *Papam*/*Gaudeat* was the original text-setting of the Basel motet through its engagement with current political matters of the Great Western Schism, a text that later went out of fashion and was contrafacted with a more 'neutral' sequence text.[215] However, if following this purely topical strand of argumentation, it remains puzzling as to why the neutral *Novum sidus orientis* text (rather than the papal poems) appears adjacent to a copy of *Rex Karole*, a political motet that honours Charles V of France, an ardent defender of the Avignon cause and therefore of Pope Clement VII.

Despite an absence of a definite conclusion, it can be argued, however, that there is a reason why the Basel motet survives with these two text-settings in particular: the poetic texts … *Papam*/*Gaudeat* and *Novum sidus orientis* are *thematically* related, and it seems – as outlined below – that at least the **Ba71** scribe might have been aware of this relationship.

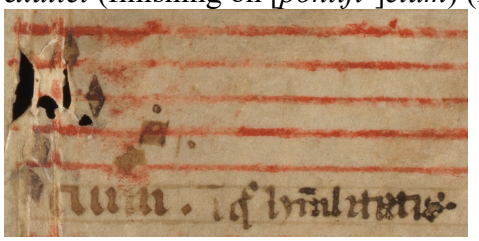
4.3.4 'In quo humilitatis'

As mentioned above, the phrase 'in quo humilitatis' (see *Fig. 24* below) has been added directly following the end of the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71**. The fact that the phrase is abbreviated and literally squeezed after the final words of the motetus poem, although there are two more blank staves on the page, indicates that the scribe was following the convention of giving a cue, thus showing that these words were not to be sung. Due to the sparsity of sample letters, it is hard to tell whether the smaller and slightly darker script of 'in quo humilitatis' was executed by the **Ba71** scribe. Nevertheless, whoever added this cue might have given a contextual hint to the connection between the two text-settings of the Basel motet because the subject *humilitas* – humility – is of central importance in both *Novum sidus orientis* and the papal poems.

[214] One could argue that the musical enhancement of the word *fractura* through syncopation points to the music being composed specifically for the sequence text, but on balance, I regard this as a case of clever text distribution in an already melismatic passage.

[215] This is argued in Bent, *The Motet*.

Fig. 24 Addition of the phrase 'in quo humilitatis' after the end of the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* (finishing on [*pontifi*-]*cium*) (**Ba71**, fol. 1r)



On the same page where the phrase was added, the motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* reads

> 'dum magnus sacerdos velut **agnus mitis** dei speculo **iugo** subiecit humerum'
> 'Now that the mighty priest like a **mild lamb** in the presence of God has put his shoulder under the **yoke'**,

thereby referring to Pope Clement VII when he took the 'burden' of the papacy.[216] Stanza 7b of the sequence (not set to music in **Ba72**) also uses the image of the yoke and reads

> 'Dulce **iugum**, lex amoris | signa renovant splendoris | Francisco viro minoris | **in sublimi posito**.'
> 'The sweet **yoke** (and) the law of love | renew the signs of splendour, | now that Francis, a man of less price | **has been set on high**.'

Furthermore, the sequence text (sequence stanza 2a, triplum bars 33–46), directly emphasises the notion of humility associated with the instantiation of St Francis as prior of the Franciscan order:

> 'In camino paupertatis | vir sanctus eligitur | dum **iugis humilitatis** | cinere contegitur.'
> 'In the furnace of poverty | the holy man is elected | while he gets covered with ashes | **of perpetual humility**.'[217]

[216] See also my discussion of this passage, drawn from Matthew 11:29, in Chapter 5.1. All emphases in bold type are mine.

[217] The image of St Francis as 'humble leader' is reiterated in stanza 9b of the sequence ('Regias per semitas | rex ad turmas inclitas | ducem duxit humilem.' – 'By royal paths | the king has led the humble leader | to the renowned troops.') but has not been set to music in **Ba72**.

At this point, it can be observed that both poetic texts refer to the inauguration of their protagonists in a similar way – and not at least, the election of Pope Clement VII was the initial event of the schismatic debates. Identifying Clement VII's election with the instantiation of St Francis would have been a powerful means of legitimising the former's pontificate. Therefore, the motivation to connect one Christian leader with another could have been the key reason to compose a (papal) contrafact for the *Novum sidus orientis* version of the motet. Moreover, a detail that is often overlooked in scholarship is the fact that the young Robert of Geneva (the later Clement VII) had himself been a member of the Franciscan order. As Roger Ch. Logoz mentions in passing: 'Robert de Genève choisit modestement de devenir franciscain et il rappellera plus tard son appartenance aux Frères Mineurs.'[218]

Furthermore, the reference explicitly to 'humilitatis' – instead of 'humilitas' – could indicate that the author of the cue was giving reference specifically to the text passage of *Novum sidus orientis* in **Ba72** by stating its location. This hypothesis would provide a possible translation for the odd genitive 'humilitatis' in the phrase 'in quo humilitatis' – now meaning 'in the place where *humilitatis* [is]'.

The triplum text 'In camino paupertatis | vir sanctus eligitur | dum iugis humilitatis | cinere contegitur' equates to stanza 2a of the sequence. As stated above, the stanza's beginning marks the second half of *talea* 1, up until the start of the hocket passage which is untexted in **Ba72** (bars 33–46). As it turns out, the **Ba71** scribe gave several clues on the page to circumscribe important moments in that second half of the *talea*. These can now be read in connection with 'in quo humilitatis', and its place in the music.

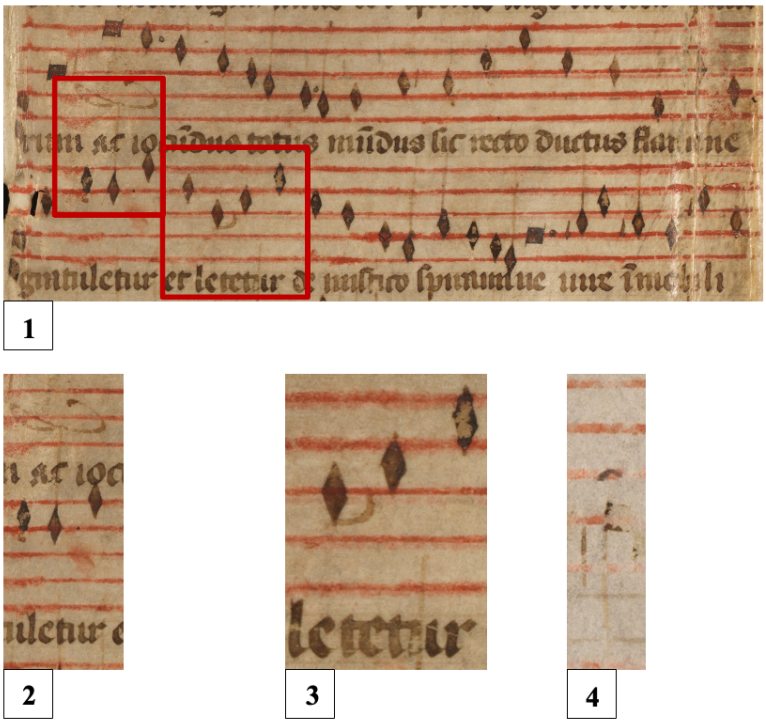
The second half of *talea* 1 (beginning in bar 35) is also the section with isorhythm in the upper voices. Isorhythm begins slightly after the *talea*'s mid-point in both triplum and motetus, namely in bar 39. The triplum passage from bar 39 is texted with the words 'iugis humilitatis' in **Ba72** – and the **Ba71** scribe narrowed down the location of the word *humilitatis* with signs of congruence, making use of the rhythmic interrelationship of the two upper voices.

The isorhythmic passage from bar 39 constitutes a syncopated dialogue between triplum and motetus (bars 39–44; see an extract from my transcription in *Ex. 4* below). It can be divided into two halves in which the two voices swap roles in the duet. When reading the **Ba72** triplum *Novum sidus orientis* and the **Ba71** motetus *Gaudeat et exultet* in score, a first sign of congruence in **Ba71** marks the first minima of the voice swap in the motetus (see

[218] Roger Ch. Logoz, *Clément VII (Robert de Genève): Sa chancellerie et le clergé romand au début du Grand Schisme (1378–1394)* (Lausanne, 1974), 11.

Fig. 25, nos. 1 and 2). A second sign of congruence signals exactly the rhythmic point in the motetus where the word *humilitatis* began in the **Ba72** triplum, namely the first syllable of the word *letetur* in **Ba71** (*Fig. 25*, nos. 1 and 3). Since the tenor of *talea* 1 was not copied, the exact starting point of this passage has been marked instead in the **Ba71** tenor of *talea* 2 (bar 83). Most tellingly, the tenor features a breve rest before the start of this passage, and the following breve is marked with a fermata (*Fig. 25*, no. 4).[219]

Fig. 25 Signs of congruence in **Ba71**



1: Signs of congruence in **Ba71**, fol. 1r (details in nos. 2 and 3)

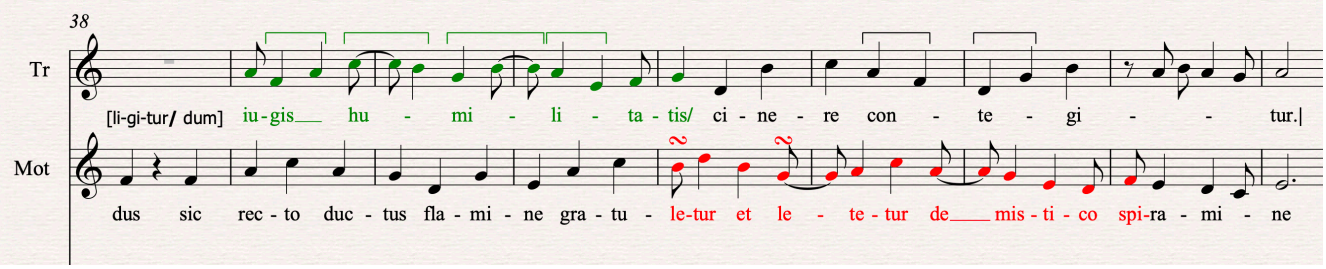
2: Sign of congruence marking the first minima of the syncopation passage in *talea* 1 (**Ba71**, fol. 1r, stave 5, motetus *Gaudeat et exultet*)

3: Sign of congruence marking the musical moment of the first syllable of the word *letetur* (**Ba71**, fol. 1r, stave 5, motetus *Gaudeat et exultet*)

4: Fermata in the tenor of *talea* 2 (**Ba71**, fol. 2r, stave 6)

[219] This passage is, unfortunately, illegible in the contratenor cum solo tenore of *talea* 1, where it would potentially have been marked because the voice features two minima rests before its beginning; the equivalent location in *talea* 2 does not bear a sign.

Ex. 4 Triplum and motetus in *talea* 1, bars 39–44: the musical passage around the motetus word *letetur* in **Ba71**, marked with signs of congruence (in red) and the rhythmically identical triplum passage around the word *humilitatis* in **Ba72** (in green)



All these connections could, of course, only have been made if the scribe who copied the cue in **Ba71** had the *Novum sidus orientis* version of the motet to hand: perhaps this scenario would also explain why the triplum of the motet's first *talea* was not copied in **Ba71**? If my hypotheses are correct, they would indicate that the scribe (or at least the 'in quo humilitatis' scribe) regarded *humilitas* as a significant common thread between those two versions of the Basel motet. Therefore, I believe that the thematic correlation of both … *Papam*/*Gaudeat* and *Novum sidus orientis* cannot be purely coincidental. In the following, I propose a possible context for this kind of poetic creativity – namely a historical connection to the other motet transmitted in **Ba72**, *Rex Karole*/*Leticie pacis*/*Virgo prius*. This last connection, in turn, brings my argument full circle to explain why *Rex Karole* and the Basel motet are stylistically closely related.

4.4 Historical Connections to *Rex Karole*/*Leticie pacis*/*Virgo prius*

The triplum incipit *Rex Karole* as well as further references in the poetic texts of the motet's two upper voices refer to King Charles V of France and praise the political stability of his reign. The original occasion and consequent dating of the piece, to 1375, have ever since been taken as a fixed point for stylistic comparison of late fourteenth-century motets. As first proposed by Ursula Günther and Reinhard Strohm, the most likely occasional context for this composition is provided by the peace treaty negotiations in Bruges in 1375–76 which led to a one-year truce between England and France.[220] This dating is largely dependent on the international importance of this event, since concrete clues corroborating this hypothesis cannot be found in the motet's poetic texts themselves. The fact, however, that King Charles V never attended

[220] Günther, CMM 39, pp. XXIX–XXXI; Strohm, *The Rise*, 67.

those peace negotiations in person was already acknowledged by both Günther and Strohm.[221] This circumstance has recently been taken as point of departure by Carolann Elena Buff in order to propose an alternative dating and initial occasion for the motet – one the king attended personally.[222]

The occasion Buff now suggests for *Rex Karole* was an event of supranational importance, namely the visit of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (accompanied by his son, King Wenceslas IV) to his nephew Charles V in Paris in 1378. The meeting of the monarchs was celebrated with a number of ceremonial and semi-official events. Central to Buff's argument is the ambiguous – and, as it turns out, well thought-through – nature of the introductory section of the motet *Rex Karole*, because it plays well within the king's strategy. The initial passage *Rex Karole Johannis genite* (King Charles, son of John), texting the solo part of the triplum voice before the motetus and the lower voices enter the musical performance, can refer to both kings – Charles V was the son of John the Good of France (1350–64) while Charles IV was the son of John the Blind of Luxembourg (1310–46). This initial statement, addressing both kings on an equal basis, then shifts to an honorary composition in favour of Charles V, though disguised in a polytextual performance, and thus fitting the representative and political agenda of the French king.

Although the emperor's visit was overall a diplomatic success, a similar case of subliminal demonstration of power on the French side can be observed in Charles V's personal copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Français 2813).[223] The royal visit to Paris is reported in the most lavishly illuminated sections of this manuscript. On fol. 470r, the three monarchs (Charles V, Charles IV, and Wenceslas IV) are depicted on horseback – Charles V on a white horse, and his visitors on black horses. According to etiquette, however, a white horse would have been reserved for the emperor alone. Breaking with this tradition and putting the French king in this

[221] Günther (CMM39, pp. XXIX–XXX) writes: 'The French king left the details of the treaty of Bruges to his brother, duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy, remaining in Paris himself. For this reason the motet may have originated at the kings' court after the first stage of the negotiations, at a time when real hopes for a conclusive peace were still entertained. It is possible that the work became so well-known owing to the grandiose festivities organised during the winter 1375/6 during the second meeting of the negotiations in Bruges.'

[222] Carolann Elena Buff, 'Ciconia's Equal-Cantus Motets and the Creation of Early Fifteenth-Century Style', PhD diss., Princeton University, 2015, 142–151. Buff's dating would also explain the absence of this widely transmitted motet from the **Trém** index, whose 1376 dating gives a *terminus ante quem* for most of the pieces mentioned, including the motet fascicle. On **Trém**, see Margaret Bent, 'A Note on the Dating of the Trémoïlle Manuscript', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer* (Ottawa, 1990), 217–42. For an updated assessment of **Trém**, see ead., *The Motet*.

[223] The digitised manuscript BnF fr. 2813 can be found here: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84472995 (last accessed 12.07.2023).

position – at least in writing – corroborates the interpretation of the ambiguous, not openly insulting, nature of the *Rex Karole* incipit.[224] In sum, the principal purpose of the *Chroniques* and especially the format and transmission of the 1378 visit was to demonstrate the superiority and political success of the French king, in this concrete case in contrast to the Holy Roman Emperor. Composing a motet with a similar rhetoric would have fitted well into this agenda.

That Vlhová-Wörner now proposes the origin of the sequence *Novum sidus orientis* within a Franciscan community in Bohemia is therefore particularly striking when considered in conjunction with the relocation and dating of *Rex Karole* to Paris, 1378: the sequence could have come to France from Bohemia together with the entourage of Emperor Charles IV.

Given this possible historical connection, I propose the following hypothetical timeline: Emperor Charles IV visited Paris in January 1378, thereby importing the sequence *Novum sidus orientis* from Bohemia to France. The occasional motet *Rex Karole* was composed for his visit. It may well be that the text of the sequence was underlaid to a motet (or to parts of a motet) which was compiled together with a copy of *Rex Karole*. A fragment of this manuscript survives as **Ba72**.[225] Clement VII was elected pope on 20 September 1378, whereafter the French royalty was one of the first parties to take his side. The polyphonic *Novum sidus orientis* and/or the monophonic sequence could still have been known in French royal circles at that time. This sparked the creation of a further motet text reacting to pressing political matters – in favour of Clement VII – namely … *Papam/Gaudeat*, preserved in **Ba71**. Finally, the scribe who added the 'in quo humilitatis' cue in **Ba71** had both versions of the Basel motet to hand and deliberately highlighted their connection. This would suggest that the fragments were circulating in the same environment already in the fourteenth century and might explain how they both came to be preserved at Basel University.

4.5 Conclusions and Further Directions

Notwithstanding this historical timeline, I believe that when considering all pieces of the Basel motet puzzle – palaeographical, musical, poetic, and historical features – there are three scenarios that cannot completely rule out one another. First, *Novum sidus orientis* could have

[224] This episode is analysed in Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley, 1991), 128–33. Moreover, Christine de Pizan recounts Charles V's departure for the meeting, also picturing the king on a white horse: 'Le roi quitta son palais, monté sur un grand palefroi blanc, somptueusement revêtu des armes de France. Le roi portait un grand manteau d'écarlate fourré d'hermine et, sur la tête, un chapeau pointu abondamment couvert de perles.' See Christine de Pizan, *Livre des faits et bonnes mœurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Paris, 2013), chapter 36.

[225] This theory also coincides with my observation that **Ba72** is likely to be one of the earliest sources for *Rex Karole*.

been the original version of the Basel motet because the sequence text was set very carefully to the music and could have reached French royal circles in the entourage of Emperor Charles IV already before the outbreak of the schism. Second, however, the musical material of the Basel motet seems to have been joined together in **Ba72** for the first time, a fact that could give the *talea*-wise notation in **Ba71** – along with its ill-fitting poetic texts – chronological priority as a first, unfinished and unpolished version of the motet. Third, the very fact that the musical material of the Basel motet appears to be very unstable (considering the conundrum of the missing hocket passage in **Ba72** and the structural markers and final sonorities containing a third even in *talea* 2 in **Ba71**) could also mean that the music pre-dated *both* of the text settings currently extant, *Novum sidus orientis* as well as the papal texts. *Novum sidus orientis* might be better tailored to the music, but the sequence text existed prior to its emergence as motet text anyway.

Circling back to the outset of this chapter, it is striking that **Ba71** and **Ba72** in particular constitute a rare exception to the source picture of (papal) polyphony in dating from the late fourteenth century and probably originating in France. That **Ba71** and **Ba72** testify to an apparently experimental state of the same motet could also indicate that this motet was for some reason not successful and therefore did not endure sufficiently to be incorporated in the Italian retrospective anthologies of the fifteenth century (or simply did not come down to us). Especially the fact that the Basel motet shares the application of structural markers with *Rex Karole* and closely resembles the latter motet in its musical layout could also mean that the Basel motet was specifically modelled on *Rex Karole*. In that case, I would go as far as considering the Basel fragments drafts of the same motet, both unfinished, and not (yet) determined as to their final text setting – perhaps the work of students? This scenario would still conform to the supposition that *Novum sidus orientis* provided the inspiration for … *Papam/Gaudeat*, and that the scribe of 'in quo humilitatis' in **Ba71** was aware of this connection.

The idea that **Ba71** never belonged to a formal book has already been proposed because of the fragment's exceptional layout. Moreover, it is only the layout of **Ba72** that suggests the fragment's belonging to a formal music collection – but it is impossible to say what this collection looked like. It could well have been a loose gathering of folios, never meant to be bound in a codex. In short, both fragments might have been *disiecta membra* from their inception, which is in turn in line with the draft character of the Basel motet – and would also explain the correction and catchwords in *Rex Karole*'s solus tenor.

Finally, it is in itself remarkable that *Novum sidus orientis* is a Franciscan sequence text: as mentioned above, the Basel motet is the only known instance where this kind of textual material has been used for the upper voice of a motet. This specific case might be a witness to musical creativity in a Franciscan context, related to the royal court in Paris as well as the Avignon papacy. In this regard, it is noteworthy that apocalyptic key words like Antichrist and *mysticum spiramen* appear also in the papal motet texts. This aspect is explored in the following chapter, connected with other references to the Franciscan Spiritual milieu and within the broader context of apocalyptic thought. Taking the poetic texts of the Basel motet as point of departure, Chapter 5 ultimately returns to traces of papal performance to be found in literary texts and poetry of the schismatic period.

Chapter 5
Papal Polyphony as Mirror of the Intellectual Climate of the Schismatic Period

In July 1412, the Dominican preacher Vincent Ferrer (c. 1350–1419) sent a report to the Avignon pope Benedict XIII, giving various reasons for his conviction that the end of time was near. One such reason was an alarming eyewitness account:

> The conclusion stands through another clear revelation which I [Ferrer] heard in Piedmont by the report of a Venetian merchant very worthy of faith, I believe. He said when he was overseas in a Franciscan monastery he heard Vespers on a feast day. At the end of the service, when they usually say "Benedicamus Domino", two small novices of the monastery were immediately and visibly put in a trance before the eyes of all for a long space of time. Then they cried out together in a terrible voice: "Today, in this hour, Antichrist, the destroyer of the world, is born." When I inquired and asked about the time of this vision, I found out that it was only nine years ago.[226]

Rhetorically, Ferrer frames this anecdote quite carefully: by embedding the proclamation of the Antichrist in a liturgical context, he depicts an assault on Christian faith within the heart of a sacred space. This image is exacerbated by the fact that the event takes place explicitly on a feast day, and at a crucial moment of Vespers that is normally reserved for the joyful blessing of the Lord: the 'Benedicamus Domino' is literally superseded by the voice of the Antichrist. Moreover, by quoting an authoritative – 'faithful' – eyewitness, and lending the innocent voice of 'small novices' to the terrible announcement, Ferrer confers credibility on his report. Finally, in stating that all this already happened almost a decade ago, he emphasises the urgency of the matter.

Historically, this event is of course difficult to prove. More important, however, is the role these kinds of reports (both in their oral and written form) played in society. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, the breach of 1378 not only initiated a social drama on a political and administrative level, but it also shook Christian belief to the very foundations – it was thus

[226] McGinn, *Antichrist*, 179–80. A selection of Ferrer's sermons is transcribed in id., *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), 256–8. Vincent Ferrer preached the end of time throughout Europe in the early fifteenth century. Although he was a supporter of the Avignon papacy, he was canonised in 1455. On Ferrer, see Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, 221–33.

obvious that apocalyptic thought became tied more than ever to the grievances of the Church, or even the pope himself. As Bernard McGinn puts it:

> The Christian understanding of history is fundamentally teleological in structure—events receive their meaning because they partake in a single great process aiming towards a specific goal. […] As long as the Christian view of history remained teleological, major changes in the structure of society needed apocalyptic validation to show that they were part of God's plan and not ephemeral accidents.[227]

In short, this papal schism was unprecedented, and the end of time was thus closer than ever before. In accordance with these societal anxieties, Ferrer's report is one of many examples for the ubiquity of apocalyptic and prophetic writings in the decades around 1400.[228] Ferrer's refined rhetoric was also successful because the people wanted to believe it – it helped them to make sense of the current situation and hope for a better future.

Furthermore, the news about the imminent end of time permeated *all* classes of society and influenced their beliefs and concerns: from a commoner who listened to penitential preachers like Ferrer on the market square of his home village, to a friar in a remote monastery, to the pope himself, who was informed about such matters of hearsay through official reports. Unlike sophisticated papal polyphony – whose initial performance contexts are obscured by the overwhelming retrospectivity of the surviving sources and the sparsity of knowledge about music cultivation outside a liturgical context – the engagement with the apocalyptic topics was an inherent part of people's lives.

The papacy was not only involved in this public discourse, but also subject to it. In the case of Ferrer's report, a pope is informed about the advent of the Antichrist, and possibly called to action (we know nothing about Benedict's reaction); in other instances, a particular pope is denounced as the Antichrist, for example Urban VI in the triplum text of the Basel motet (to be discussed below).

Against this background, I argue in this chapter that reminiscences of an apocalyptic mindset can be traced in the poetic texts of papal polyphony: music that engaged with the papacy in one way or another must have absorbed this mindset to some extent. More importantly, as we are dealing with a public phenomenon, uncovering the mechanisms that led to a crystallisation of these thoughts in papal polyphony opens up new ways to reflect on the genesis and performance spaces of this music – even outside of the papal court.

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[227] McGinn, 'Angel Pope', 157.
[228] The standard reference on this topic is Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, esp. 293–508.

As discussed in Chapter 1, analysing prophetic materials falls within the field of cultural history. Although they are less factual and tangible as research objects, prophecy and also poetry constitute – together with the cultivation of music itself – a necessary complement to the largely historical and material contextualisation of papal performance which has been presented in the previous chapters.

Yet, not all literary and poetic output of the schismatic period is concerned with visions of the apocalypse, nor is it separate from political and historically traceable layers of meaning; poetic works and their potential apocalyptic narratives are rather embedded in their historical and material contexts. Just as Chapter 3 has considered papal polyphony against the broader transmission of polyphony around 1400, in this chapter, therefore, I analyse apocalyptic thought not only in polyphony – and polyphony not solely with a connection to apocalyptic thought and/or the schismatic papacy. I demonstrate how apocalyptic narratives and their inherent potential for reinterpretation build bridges between different musical and poetic genres. Regarding the schismatic papacy, this might also have led to parallels in the manuscript transmission of papal polyphony and apocalyptic prophecy.

The initial section focuses on the first schismatic popes Clement VII and Urban VI to unveil rhetorical tools that reinforce or denigrate papal authority. I trace the *topos* of *humilitas* (humility) in the narrative of the English poet John Gower and in three compositions that honour Clement VII, among them the Basel motet. Alongside their allusions to humility, Gower's poetic criticism of the papacy and the Basel motet integrate views of the apocalypse in their narratives: they both depict the Roman pope Urban VI as the Antichrist. In sum, the texts analysed in this section demonstrate a juxtaposition of political, biblical, and apocalyptic references to the schism that adds up to a strikingly similar rhetoric across different genres, poetic languages, and musical forms.

The second part of this chapter delves into the subject of prophetic thought during the schismatic period. In particular, I investigate a genre specifically tailored to the papacy: the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*, a set of thirty illustrated prophecies in which each prophecy refers to one pope. In the light of these prophecies, this section presents two case studies. The first one analyses the only motet in honour of the last pre-schismatic pope, Gregory XI, *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis*. I argue that the poetic texts of this motet borrow – alongside clear allusions to political issues and historic events – from the rhetorical strategies of the *Vaticinia*, rendering this piece a sounding prophecy that foreshadows the papal schism and the advent of the Antichrist. The second case study traces the image of the *fera ultima* or *fera pessima* – a monster that symbolises the Antichrist in the *Vaticinia* – in

the Latin-texted ballade *Angelorum psalat tripudium*, in Machaut's motet 9, and in the later motet *Sola caret monstris* by Loyset Compère (1445–1518). As it turns out, the *fera pessima* has many faces; therefore, this case study highlights not only the ambiguity but also the longevity of the image of the ultimate beast.

The final section of the chapter steps back from textual close readings of specific compositions and returns to the broader source picture of papal polyphony. It presents provisional research results on the Franciscan miscellany **Pg9**, proposing ways to bring together hypotheses about the circulation of cultural knowledge and its actual manifestation and crystallisation in manuscript form – be it polyphony or visions of the end of time.

In sum, the various analyses of poetic texts in this chapter do not claim to provide 'corrected' or 'correct' readings of the passages in question, but instead, they aim to add another level of meaning that brings the cultivation of papal polyphony closer to the *zeitgeist* of the schismatic period. The flexible interpretation of current events to which prophetic thought provided a key tool must be considered on equal terms with the manuscript evidence to obtain a holistic picture of papal performance.

5.1 The Humble Clement and Urban the Antichrist

Zachary E. Stone has analysed works of the fourteenth-century English poets John Gower (the *Mirour de l'Omme* and *Vox Clamantis*) and William Langland (*Piers Plowman*), which both constitute English responses to the events of the Great Western Schism. Through comparison and (re-)dating of the poems' extant copies, Stone argues convincingly that both poets revised and/or supplemented their poetic narratives to reflect the twists and turns in the drama of the schism.[229] For this editorial effort that stands in dialogue with recent events, he coins the term 'vernacular ecclesiology', defining it as a 'religious writing about religion' that emerged in a 'body of vernacular literature'.[230] Briefly speaking, Gower and Langland criticised the state of the clergy and the Church, embedded in the rhetoric of their poems. Once the situation changed, so did the rhetoric. In the following, I focus on Gower's *Mirour*, a work that is concerned with the vices of the world and in which the papacy features as a prominent example of hypocrisy

[229] Zachary E. Stone, 'Towards a Vernacular Ecclesiology: Revising the *Mirour de l'Omme*, *Vox Clamantis*, and *Piers Plowman* during the Western Schism', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 33 (2019), 69–109.
[230] Ibid. 103 and 102.

and pride. I argue that Gower's narrative is echoed in three compositions in favour of Pope Clement VII, which will be discussed shortly.

The last four stanzas of Gower's poem (*MO* 18793–840) thematise the coming of the Antichrist. While the initial version of the *Mirour* (finished in 1377) ends with line 18816, lines 18817–40 were supplemented by the poet shortly after the breach of 1378.[231] These last four stanzas read as follows:[232]

> [*MO* 18793–816, finished 1377]
> What does one say about Antichrist coming? Holy scripture says that the name **Antichrist signifies anyone who does the contrary of Christ**. What do you think about whether such a one has yet come? Yes, rightly speaking, **pride surmounts humility**, and so every other vice that our Lord hated on earth is mounting. So at the present time it is putting down the faith in our court, for no one pays attention to keeping the law that He established. Just as the Scribes and the Pharisees in olden days mounted on the seat of Moses and preached the law of God to others but did not follow it in their own deeds, nowadays in our affairs the situation is the same, for a man climbs up and assumes the dignity of St Peter – along with the diadem and the vestment – but **does not do his duty (for the rest) any more than a chimera**.
>
> [*MO* 18817–40, c. 1378]
> Whenever a monster of any kind is born, you should expect some ill to come, **for it is a prognostication**. Nowadays he who wants to look into the matter will see how Pride by fornication with Envy engenders the monster of damnation. From this monster come the doubt and uncertainty that derive from **two heads on one body**, with one trying to prevail over the other in various countries. **At Rome such a monster now exists**, and he is unwelcome to good people; for Holy Church has only one head before God, but now two have grown up, so that the beauty of the Church is disfigured and ruined. Unless God renders judgment that one head be removed, the body, which bears the burden, cannot stand for long in its virtue.

In the pre-schismatic version of Gower's poem, the Antichrist is still 'anyone who does the contrary of Christ' – therefore, it has not yet been identified. Above all other vices, the fact that 'pride surmounts humility' is central to Gower's argument, and exactly the same phrase appears also early on in the poem where Gower recounts the misgovernment of the Church

[231] Ibid. 76–7.
[232] Cited after ibid. 75–6. Stone also gives the French original. All bold emphases are mine, to be discussed in detail.

through the papacy (*MO* 18433–41).[233] Because of his prideful way of leading the Church, the pope is compared to a hybrid monster ('chimera') that paves the way for the coming of the Antichrist – but yet, the latter has not risen.

The 1378 supplement of the poem directly begins with the birth of such an apocalyptic monster. Moreover, the monster's rise is deliberately equated with a 'prognostication' that worse will happen, a statement that finds a strong echo in the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*, as it defines the very essence of this genre (to be discussed below). Gower clearly describes the outcome of the double papal election of 1378 – the pivotal event for the birth of the Antichrist – as the Church having 'two heads on one body'. And lastly, he makes clear which one of the 'two heads' he considers the monster: with Urban VI, 'at Rome such a monster now exists'.

Returning to the root of all evil – the loss of humility – I argue that three compositions in honour of Pope Clement VII prominently employ the *topos* of *humilitas*: the incomplete motet …*Papam querentes/Gaudeat et exultet* in **Ba71** (whose textual content has already been discussed briefly in the previous chapter), the Latin-texted ballade *Inclite flos orti Gebenensis* (Matheus de Sancto Johanne – **Ch**, fol. 41r; **ModA**, fol. 15r), and the ballade *Par les bons Gedeons* (Philipoctus de Caserta – **Ch**, fol. 45r; **ModA**, fol. 31r; **Turin2**, fol. 5v).

Of the two known composers of these three compositions, only Matheus de Sancto Johanne is documented in the service of Robert of Geneva/Clement VII, whereas the identity and whereabouts of Philipoctus de Caserta remain obscure (see the summary in Chapter 2.2.2). Scholars propose various occasions and datings for the Clement compositions, all of them in the early years of Clement's pontificate.[234] I refrain here from adding to these suppositions; notwithstanding their original occasional context, my point is that the same rhetorical tool is used by different composers – and across genre and language boundaries. The three musical works consistently and consciously depict Clement VII as a humble leader to emphasise his authority as the true and only pope. His government leaves behind the hypocrisy and pride of his predecessors, so he must be the righteous pope, and Urban VI must be the Antichrist. That, in turn, corroborates the impression that the *topos* of humility was indeed a powerful and

[233] 'I believe firmly that the rights of the head of Holy Church under God, if that man conducts himself rightly, are placed above all others. But this position is now changed, **for what was humility is now pride**, and one can see that what used to be liberality has now turned into covetousness.' (ibid. 78; emphasis mine).

[234] The most recent account and summary of previous scholarship about the compositions in honour of Clement VII is provided by Gianluca D'Agostino, 'Music, Texts, and Musical Images at the Court of Angevin Naples, before and during the Schism', in Calvia et al. (eds.), *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy*, 253–87, at 281–6.

widely used means of constructing legitimacy. Gower's *Mirour* is thus a slightly earlier contribution to this common narrative.[235]

As has been discussed in Chapter 4, the **Ba71** version of the Basel motet, *Papam/Gaudeat*, not only depicts Clement VII as a humble leader by means of its motetus text, but its cue 'in quo humilitatis' also establishes a thematic correlation and a possible musical connection to the differently texted version of the motet in **Ba72**. The seemingly unfinished state of the Basel motet in **Ba71** and **Ba72** further introduces a notion of poetic experimentation and reworking that is reminiscent of the adjustments that Gower and Langland made to their poems after the outbreak of the schism.

Moreover, the Basel motet's poetic texts in **Ba71** (given with their translation in *Tables 14* and *15* below) integrate the emphasis on the pope's *humilitas* with apocalyptic imagery, and they build their narrative on biblical citations – in a manner that closely connects them to *Inclite flos* and *Par les bons Gedeons*.

The motetus passage 'dum magnus sacerdos velut agnus mitis dei speculo iugo subiecit humerum' ('the mighty priest like a mild lamb in the presence of God has put his shoulder under the yoke') is drawn from Matthew 11:29: 'Take up my yoke upon you, and learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart: And you shall find rest to your souls.' It puts Pope Clement VII in the role of the saviour of Christianity by taking on the burden of the papacy. The pope's humble sacrifice sparks rejoicing and jubilation all around the world: the initial 'Gaudeat et exultet' and the exhortation 'gratuletur et letetur' to the world in its entirety (line 9) create an almost forcefully joyful atmosphere ('iocundus totus mundus') that stands in stark contrast to the motet's triplum text, concerned with Urban VI.

Commencing with the words 'Papam querentes antechristum sed habentes' ('searching for a pope but having an Antichrist'), the **Ba71** triplum could not be clearer in its allusion to the end of time. Furthermore, Joëlle Rollo-Koster has identified a propagandistic keyword that was specifically coined to refer to Urban VI: *intrusus*, usurper. The word *intrusus* appears for the first time in a *vita* of Urban's predecessor Gregory XI, in a passage where Gregory's death and the subsequent election of the new Roman pope are described.[236] This initial mention, 'Ille

[235] The fourth surviving composition in honour of Clement VII, *Courtois et sages* (analysed in detail in Chapter 3.2, transcription and translation taken from Orlando Consort, *Popes & Antipopes*) is more straightforward than the three compositions discussed here. It focuses on and emphasises the validity of Clement's pontificate by stressing the unity with which the election was accomplished ('… par eleccion | et non par force, mes par comun sentir |…| Est rendoné a tous en union' – '… by election | and not by force, but by common agreement, |…| restored to all in unity'). However, the passage 'a tous doit plaisir' ('and he [the pope] is pleasing to all') depicts an overall happy community, similar to the phrase 'iocundus totus mundus' in the Basel motet, outlined below.

[236] This is discussed in detail in Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 151–9.

non esset papa, sed intrusus' – 'he should not be a pope, but a usurper' – constitutes only the first instance in a long line of such references to Urban VI, in official letters, *vitae*, and in the Basel motet.[237] The **Ba71** triplum passage 'heu miser intrusus qui debuit omnia scire' ('alas, the miserable usurper, who should have known all these things') constitutes a worldly, political, contrast to denigrating the pope as a mystical monster: by stating that Urban VI is a usurper, the legal correctness of his election is called into question. This accusation also resonates with the previous lines ('it is evident that this has been approved and published by no right') and thus confirms the argumentation of the Avignon cardinals which survives in legal documents of the period: the election itself was illegal.

In sum, the Basel motet's poetic texts superimpose a variety of images to propagate Clement VII's cause: the notion of a papal humility that is emulated by biblical characters, the beastly attributes of the true pope's adversary, and the legal background of a historically attested election. In the following, I shall trace further Pope Clement's *humilitas* in *Inclite flos* and *Par les bons Gedeons*.

Table 14 Triplum *Papam querentes*, *talea* 2 of the Basel motet (**Ba71**, fol. 1v)

1	Papam querentes antechristum sed habentes	Searching for a pope but having an Antichrist,
	.b. tunc barensem bene non quin ymmo per ensem	B., then of Bari, not well but rather through the sword;
	sic que coronatus vrbanus est ille uocatus	and so crowned; he was called Urban,
	quod nomen vanus cepit sensu male sanus	which name the vain one has taken, unsound in his mind.
5	extitit hoc totum nullum de iure probatum	It is evident that this has been approved
	et publicatum sicut est per secula notum	and published by no right, as has been known for centuries.
	heu miser intrusus qui debuit omnia scire	Alas, the miserable usurper, who should have known all these things!
	fraudantur mire per quos cunctis fuit vsus	They are wondrously deceived by those through whom it was
9	spiritus infusus visus bonus…	necessary that the Holy Spirit be seen to have been infused…

[237] The following passage is drawn from a *vita* of Clement VII. It recounts the outbreak of the schism ('totus namque mundus divisus fuit') and laments the initial support for Urban VI ('Sed, proth dolor, multo major pars obedivit et adhesit memorato Bartholomeo intruso'). In this short paragraph only, the adjective *intrusus* (and the noun *intrusio*) feature three times to refer to the Roman pope: 'Fuit enim ortum scisma pestiferum in Ecclesia, adeoque horrendum et detestabile quod vix legitur alias gravius extitisse. Totus namque mundus divisus fuit. Sed, proth dolor, multo major pars obedivit et adhesit memorato **Bartholomeo intruso**, ymo pro tunc quasi totus, et hoc propter ignoratiam veritatis eorum que contigerant in **intrusione** memorata. Que, licet notoria extitissent, tamen propter malitiam Romanorum et **intrusi**, fuerunt multimode palliata, occultata, et aliter quam extitissent recitata et divulgata.' Cited after Étienne Baluze (ed.), *Vitae paparum avenionensium hoc est Historia pontificum romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi MCCCV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV. Nouvelle édition revue d'apres les manuscrits et complétée de notes critiques par G. Mollat,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1914), 471. Emphasis mine.

Table 15 Motetus *Gaudeat et exultet*, *talea* 1 of the Basel motet (**Ba71**, fol. 1r)

1	Gaudeat et exultet	Let the world now rejoice and exult
	iam orbis et resultet	and let consolation
	solamen in seculo	echo in the world,
	septenum complens numerum clemencie	completing the sevenfold number of clemency,
5	dum magnus sacerdos uelut agnus mitis	now that the mighty priest like a mild lamb
	dei speculo iugo subiecit humerum	in the presence of God has put his shoulder under the yoke,
	ac iocundus totus mundus	and let all the world, happy
	sic recto ductus flamine	at being governed by this righteous priest,
	gratuletur et letetur	be joyful and glad,
10	de mistico spiramine	that through the Holy Spirit,
	iure immobili monstrato nobili	the noble man has by unshakable right been presented
	ad summum pontificium. [added: in quo humilitatis]	to the sublime papacy.

The Latin ballade *Inclite flos orti Gebenensis* identifies Pope Clement VII in the first poetic line through his Genevan origins (see *Table 16* below). The tenor voice of the piece, texted 'pro papa Clemente', also leaves no doubt as to the ballade's protagonist. The composition must date from the early 1380s since the support of the Spanish for the Avignon obedience (II, 1 'Tibi favet ortus hispanensis' – 'the Spanish garden favours you') was only then consolidated.[238] As discussed in Chapter 3, the piece is also the earliest extant instance of a ballade featuring a Latin instead of a French text. Superimposing Latin – the official language of the papal court – onto a genre reserved for vernacular French courtly love song was itself a powerful means of legitimisation, and thus fits well with the strong apologetic character in the Clement compositions.

Table 16 Inclite flos orti Gebenensis – Matheus de Sancto Johanne (**Ch**, fol. 41r; **ModA**, fol. 15r)

	I	**I**
1	Inclite flos orti gebenensis,	Renowned flower of the garden of Geneva,
	Cuius odor balsamis dulcior:	whose scent is sweeter than balsam,
3	Prestantibus roribus immensis	loftier than the others,
	Orbem reple ceteris altior.	fill the world with huge outstanding dews.
5	Salueque iocundare!	Hail and rejoice!
	Nec ad terram velis declinare	And do not turn the ship in shore
7	Propter paucum ventum. Nam dicitur:	for want of wind. For it is said:
R	In aduersis virtus perficitur.	Virtue is perfected in adversities.

[238] See Ursula Günther, 'Datierbare Balladen des späten 14. Jahrhunderts, II', *Musica Disciplina*, 16 (1962), 151–74, at 156–61.

	II	**II**
1	Tibi fauet ortus hispanensis	The Spanish garden
	Gallorumque uirgultus carior,	and the dearer French thicket favour you,
3	Ortolanum producens extensis	[you are] yielding a gardener with extended
	Brachiis qui videris potior.	arms, you, who are considered the mightier.
5	Pro ruinis obseruare	To look out in front of the ruins
	Te satagit. Idcirco letare,	busies you. Therefore, be joyful,
7	Nam te si quis turbat evincitur.	for if anyone disturbs you, he gets constrained.
R	In aduersis virtus perficitur.	Virtue is perfected in adversities.
	III	**III**
1	Pro te flores celaferus ensis	For you, the heaven-bearing sword yields flowers,
	Fert namque iustis hic iustior.	for it is more just than the just.
3	Viriditas certat pro te frondis	The green of the branches fights for you;
	Quo fauente quisque velocior.	any that it favours is swifter.
5	Tuo ductus iubare	Led by your brightness
	Se prosternet tuis pedibus. Quare	it will prostrate itself at your feet. Wherefore
7	Si leteris sapit quod subditur.	if you rejoice it is wise to submit.
R	In aduersis virtus perficitur.	Virtue is perfected in adversities.

The refrain of the ballade, 'In adversis virtus perficitur', is drawn from 2 Corinthians 12:9. It provides an interpretative backbone for the whole piece, since its biblical context mirrors the situation of Pope Clement, and – again – creates the image of a humble leader.[239] The biblical passage reads as follows:

> 'Each time he said: "My grace is all you need because **power works best in weakness**." So now I am glad to boast about my weaknesses, so that the power of Christ may work through me.'[240]

[239] This biblical parallel is also mentioned in Jason Stoessel, 'The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of the Ars Subtilior', in Plumley/Stone (eds.), *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context,* 179–202, at 194–5. But the contextualisation of the biblical passage is largely dependent on a correct translation of the corrupt third stanza of the piece. In this regard, Stoessel states in id., 'The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the Ars subtilior', PhD diss., The University of New England (Australia), 2003, p. 268: 'The stanza is unfortunately too corrupt to provide any specific additional meaning, although some may be salvaged from the text', and ibid. 269: 'While it can be said that the third strophe refers to an advocate of Clement, no certain indications of this person's identity can be gleaned from the text in its present state.' His 2009 publication also provides no update regarding this issue. For my emendation of the third stanza and discussion of the protagonist, see below.

[240] 'Et dixit mihi sufficit tibi gratia mea nam **virtus in infirmitate perficitur**. Libenter igitur gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi.' Emphasis mine.

This short excerpt is the central argument from the so-called 'letter of tears', where the apostle Paul defends his status as proclaimer of Christian doctrine in the presence of the apostate Corinthian community. After outlining his weaknesses as a human and by nature a sinful being, a pivotal point in his argument is that by embracing and even rejoicing in those weaknesses which gave rise to the hostilities, he will prove himself the rightful representative of Christ on earth.[241]

By transferring this scene to the schismatic context, Clement can be identified with the apostle Paul himself, because the pope had to stand up against the 'apostate' community of Roman supporters. Moreover, the central aspect of 'boasting' about one's weaknesses in the biblical passage is discernible in each of the three stanzas of the ballade, where the pope is directly addressed and exhorted to rejoice: 'Salveque iocundare!' ('Hail and rejoice!' – I,5), 'Idcirco letare' ('Therefore, be joyful' – II,6), and 'Si leteris' ('If you rejoice' – III,7). Lastly, the emphasis on having a joyful attitude towards the situation is also reminiscent of the 'Gaudeat et exultet' of the **Ba71** motetus poem.

The poet of *Inclite flos* apparently retained his rhetorical means over the course of the three successive stanzas. This strategy also helps to make sense of the corrupt third stanza, in which the agent of the verb is ambiguous. In the second stanza, the poem reads (bold type mine):

> '**Ortolanum** producens **extensis brachiis** qui videris potior.'
> '[You are] yielding a **gardener with extended arms**, you, who are considered the mightier.'

It continues in the third stanza as follows:

> 'Pro te flores **celaferus ensis** fert namque iustis hic iustior. **Viriditas certat pro te frondis** quo fauente quisque velocior.'
> 'For you, the **heaven-bearing sword** yields flowers, for it is more just than the just. **The green of the branches fights for you**, any that it favours is swifter.'

Clement, mentioned in the incipit of the first stanza as 'renowned flower of the garden of Geneva', is apparently supported by a 'gardener with extended arms' (stanza 2). The metaphor of the 'extended arms' is then taken up in stanza 3, where this 'arm extension' takes the form

[241] On the interpretation of this passage, see in particular Lisa M. Bowens, *An Apostle in Battle: Paul and Spiritual Warfare in 2 Corinthians 12:1–10* (Tübingen, 2017), and Erich Gräßer, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther Kapitel 8,1–13,13* (Gütersloh, 2005).

of a 'heaven-bearing sword'. Finally, when considering that Clement is a 'flower' whose gardener 'fights' for him – it can only mean that God (i.e., the 'gardener'), and with him canon law (God's 'extended arms' in the form of a 'heaven-bearing sword'), takes sides with the pope and encourages him to resist his weaknesses.

Finally, the ballade *Par les bons Gedeons* (*Table 17*), the last Clement composition of this survey, also uses biblical imagery to advocate the pope's humble attitude and his righteous reign.[242]

Table 17 Par les bons Gedeons – Philipoctus de Caserta (**Ch**, fol. 45v; **ModA**, fol. 31r; **Turin2**, fol. 5v)

	I	**I**
1	Par les bons Gedeons et Sanson delivré	By the good Gideon and Samson
	Fu le peuple de Dieu de tous ses enemis	God's people was delivered from all its enemies,
3	De mourtel servitud' auquel estoit livré	from mortal slavery into which it had been given
	Pour la iniquite que il avoit comis.	for the iniquity it had committed.
5	Ainsi sera le monde de bas en haut remis	So, the world will be restored from bottom to top
	En la sainte vertu de celi qui ne ment	by the holy virtue of him who does not lie,
R	Par le [souverayn pape][243] qui s'apelle Clement.	by the sovereign pope whose name is Clement.
	II	**II**
1	Ire, devision et partialité,	Wrath, division, and partiality,
	Inordine desir desus orgueil assis	inordinate desire resting on pride,
3	Sunt cause de la sisme per quoy humilité,	are the causes of the schism, by which humility,
	Union, karite et la foy sont jus mis.	unity, charity, and faith have been brought low.
5	Le mondes est jus mis, se Diex par sum avis	The world is brought low, unless God in His wisdom
	Ne le remet en vie de vray sentiment	restores it to a life of true opinion
R	Par le souverayn pape qui s'apelle Clement.	by the sovereign pope whose name is Clement.

The protagonists of the ballade poem are the Old Testament judges Gideon and Samson ('Par les bons Gedeons et Samson delivré | Fu le peuple de Dieu de tous ses enemies' – 'By the good Gideon and Samson God's people was delivered from all its enemies'). In the biblical context, a judge is a person who was chosen by God to protect or rescue the people of Israel from its enemies. Gideon, a military as well as spiritual leader, is deemed the mightiest hero of the book of Judges. Yet, after saving the Israelites he refused to become their king, telling them that God alone was their leader. Thereafter, the Israelites turned again to worship false gods.

[242] The transcription and translation of the ballade's text is taken from Orlando Consort, *Popes & Antipopes*.
[243] Variant in **Turin2**: *sonbray antipape* (see discussion below).

Samson, the last of the Old Testament judges, eventually found death in his role as God's servant: with himself, however, he killed 3,000 Philistines by bringing down their temple.[244]

Through the combined mention of Gideon and Samson, the poet creates a twofold intersection of strength and weakness in these two protagonists: Gideon was strong as a military leader, but ultimately weak, as he could not keep the Israelites from the wrong way; Samson was strong as a hero, but weak in losing his life in the course of his actions. When projecting these images onto Clement VII as the *chosen one*, it becomes clear that the pope's task would be to combine strength with weakness, namely by being the conveyor of God's will on earth – by saving Christianity from the schism.

That the actions of the pope would have an impact on all Christian people is again expressed through mentioning the world in its entirety: 'Ainsi sera le monde de bas en haut remis' – 'So, the world will be restored from bottom to top'. Furthermore, through the application of the future tense in the latter passage, the hopeless situation of the schism ('Ire, devision et partialité, | Inordine desir desus orgueil assis | sunt cause de la sisme' – 'Rage, discord, and partiality, uncontrolled desire resting on pride, are the causes of the schism') is set in stark contrast to the consolation which the eventual recognition of Clement as the rightful pope would bring for Christianity.

The **Turin2** copy of *Par les bons Gedeons* presents a different reading of its refrain, namely one that explicitly designates Pope Clement as 'sonbray antipape' (instead of 'souverayn pape'). To address Clement as the 'antipope of the first ploughing' might refer to him being the first 'antipope' of the Great Western Schism (suggesting an anti-French impetus behind this formulation).[245]

This kind of emendation is in itself a singular case of poetic reframing in a musical composition.[246] As the Turin manuscript is – like most sources for papal polyphony – a manuscript that dates to the early fifteenth century, the question remains as to when the retexting of the refrain took place. I propose two scenarios: first, the retexting could have

[244] On Gideon and Samson, see James D. Martin, *The Book of Judges: Commentary* (Cambridge, 1975), esp. 32–180.

[245] Marchi/Vomera, 'L'edizione del codice Torino', 7–14, discuss the 'antipape' variant, but read 'son vray antipape' instead of 'sonbray antipape'. They presume that 'son vray' is a corrupt reading of 'souverayn' in the original (ibid. 13: 'Nel codice di Torino il suo riconoscimento ufficiale cambia infatti da "par le souverain pape qui s'appelle Clement" a "par le son vray ANTIPAPE qui s'appelle Clement", dove son vray potrebbe essere una corruzione di souverain.'). I plead for the reading 'sonbray', although on balance, we could also be dealing with a faulty orthography due to the scribe's poor French.

[246] Although the retexting of the ballade's text with the 'antipape' variant destroys the alexandrine verse structure of the poem, the fluent, not strictly syllabic, setting of the text allows for a performance of the additional syllables in 'sonbray antipape'.

happened already in the late fourteenth century, close to the time of the ballade's composition. In that case, 'antipape' would reflect a partiality towards the Roman side of the schism. Second, it is equally possible that the retexting happened in the early fifteenth century, thus reflecting the strong Pisan connections of the repertory preserved in **Turin2** – to which *Dime, Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti*, *Deus deorum Pluto* (plus the Credo '*Deus deorum*'), and *Le temps verra tan toust* provide ample reference.

In sum, the overall rhetorical strategies of the three compositions in honour of Clement VII constitute a 'political' agenda aimed at legitimising the pope through Christian doctrine itself – by identifying him with biblical figures. The ideal situation of a righteous pope, governing a united Christian world in accordance with canon law as depicted in these poems, was of course far from the political and ecclesiastical reality. Therefore, the subject matter of the poems remains in an idealistic space, which is maintained not only by different composers and across the boundaries of language and musical genre, but also throughout a period from at least the late 1370s to the early 1380s (suggested by the dating of *Inclite flos*). Yet, the poem's overarching rhetorical consensus hints at a political discourse in the papal orbit of which musical creativity was only a small part. Finally, this kind of universal rhetoric might also explain why the pieces were still attractive to other musical communities in the early fifteenth century – when their original moment had long passed.

5.2 The Emergence and (Musical) Contexts of the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*

Bernard McGinn observed in his discussion of the papal Antichrist that 'an unusual feature about the apocalyptic role of the papacy in medieval religious history is that it was never adopted as a part of official papal propaganda'.[247] McGinn, however, does not elaborate on the question as to what kind of 'propaganda' apocalyptic texts provided instead. But when thinking of Ferrer's report presented at the outset of this chapter, prophetic thought was evidently within reach of the schismatic papacy. In this section I discuss a genre that is particularly concerned with the late medieval papacy, the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*. By unveiling rhetorical strategies in a papal motet that are clearly borrowed from the *Vaticinia*, I question the

[247] McGinn, 'Angel Pope', 156.

presumption that the genesis of papal polyphony was necessarily confined to composers within the papal curia.

Already in the early fourteenth century, the illustrious and avaricious attitude of the Avignon papacy led to an increasing demand for a *renovatio ecclesiae*, especially on behalf of the Franciscan Spirituals – the conservative strand of the Franciscan order who refused any kind of worldly goods. In the poverty controversy, the Spirituals were opposed to the conventual Franciscans, and the papacy (famously Pope John XXII with his bull *Cum inter nonnullos*) condemned the former as heretical due to their insistence on absolute poverty.[248] In their fear that the end of time was near, the Spirituals promoted and developed the teachings of the Calabrese abbot Joachim de Fiore (1130–1202). Central to Fiore's doctrine is the theory of the three ages, or three 'status' – the Age of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The latter, the Age of the Holy Ghost, would be initiated by the rise of the Antichrist, who would then be defeated by a church authority, thus inducing a new Golden Age.[249]

Within this mindset, the Spiritual Franciscans promoted the circulation of a set of apocalyptic prophecies that foreshadow the coming of the Antichrist and his conquest by a so-called 'angel pope' ('papa angelicus'), the latter returning to the ideal of Franciscan poverty. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, these prophecies were misattributed to Joachim de Fiore, which explains their connection to the Spirituals.[250]

A first set of fifteen Franciscan prophecies, called *Genus nequam* (after the incipit of the first prophecy), was probably composed in southern France in the early 1300s (see *Fig. 26*).[251] It constitutes a series of fifteen images, each accompanied by a short prophetic text (mostly of a rather pessimistic nature, condemning the pope in question) and motto. The images depict fifteen successive popes, starting with Pope Nicholas III (1277–80) and ending with Urban VI (1378–89). Fittingly, but obviously not anticipated in the early fourteenth century, Urban VI was to become the first Roman pope of the Great Western Schism.[252] In case a

[248] On the poverty controversy, see Malcolm Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210–1323*, rev. and expanded edn. (New York, 1998).

[249] See Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 1–133.

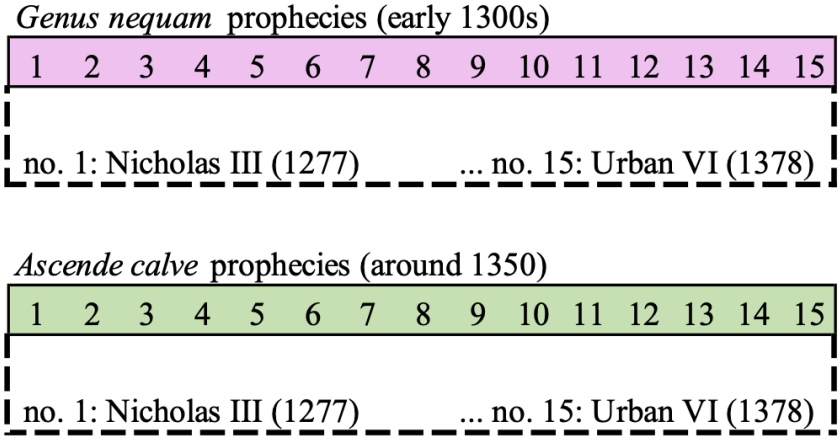
[250] The model for the Franciscan prophecies is provided by a similar set of prophecies attributed to the ninth-century Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise. However, the mechanisms through which these texts reached Europe remain obscure. See Cyril Mango, 'The Legend of Leo the Wise', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 6 (1960), 59–93.

[251] This set of prophecies is edited in Martha H. Fleming (ed.), *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The* Genus nequam *Group* (Tempe, AZ, 1999). The initial study about papal prophecies in general is provided by Herbert Grundmann, 'Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 19/1 (1929), 77–138.

[252] See esp. Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours.* A brief summary of the prophecies and their connection to the schism is given in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 166–78.

prophecy was *ante eventum* by the time it was copied, the name of the respective pope would be added to the respective prophecy as soon as he had been installed. Around mid-century, a new series of fifteen prophecies, called *Ascende calve* (again, after the incipit of the first prophecy), emerged (see also *Fig. 26*).[253] Confusingly, it covers the same fifteen popes, but provides new prophetic texts and images.

Fig. 26 Two sets of papal prophecies, both starting with Nicholas III and ending with Urban VI

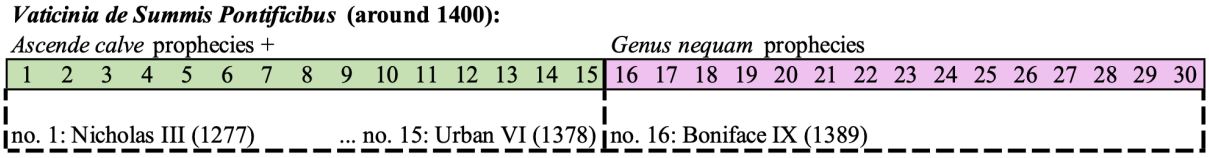


With the outbreak of the Great Western Schism in 1378, the two original series of fifteen papal prophecies were 'exhausted' through real-life protagonists: both series – *Genus nequam* as well as *Ascende calve* – attribute their final prophecy, number 15, to Urban VI. Thereafter, the two sets of fifteen prophecies began to be merged (several hybrid versions exist), until, around 1400, they were combined into a set of thirty prophecies, called *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus* (see *Fig. 27*). The more recent *Ascende calve* group is usually put ahead of the earlier *Genus nequam* group, the latter of which now covers the Roman schismatic popes from Boniface IX before switching to the Pisan popes from 1409 (prophecy 19, Alexander V).[254]

[253] When exactly these prophecies first appeared remains contested in scholarship: Lerner/Schwartz, 'Illuminated Propaganda', 184, propose a date as early as the 1320s, whereas Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours*, 75–81, argues for their formation around mid-century. However, both agree on an origin of the prophecies within a Franciscan Spiritual context.

[254] The process of merging is analysed in Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours*.

Fig. 27 Combination of the *Ascende calve* and *Genus nequam* prophecies in the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*



The imagery of the papal prophecies remained in use during the whole schismatic period and beyond; printed versions survive even from the sixteenth century. For instance, the imagery of the *Vaticinia* surfaces in Antonio Baldana's 1419 poetic narrative of the schism, *De magno Schismate* (discussed in Chapter 1). That Baldana employs visual content of the *Vaticinia* even to celebrate the end of the schism through the election of Martin V attests to their wide transmission and propagandistic impetus. Overall, these prophecies constitute a medium of intriguing versatility: on the one hand, their poetic texts circulated over a long period of time (despite their origin in the seemingly condemned and restricted milieu of the Spirituals), but on the other, by being rearranged and reattributed, they spoke to current events, as similarly in Gower's *Mirour*. Lastly, the fact that the poetic/prophetic material of the *Vaticinia* was in some cases almost a century old is reminiscent of the recopying of the *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem* discussed in Chapter 1: there seemed to be an interest in the longue durée of the papacy, urging poets to find echoes of the past in the present.

5.2.1 A Prophetic Motet? *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis* (Ch, fols. 63v–64r)

The motet *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis*, uniquely preserved in **Ch** (fols. 63v–64r), was composed in honour of Pope Gregory XI (1370–78), the last pre-schismatic Avignon pope, who returned to Rome in 1377 and whose premature death roughly one year later led to the controversial election of Urban VI (see *Tables 18–19*). Accordingly, Gregory XI is pope number 14 in the two sets of fifteen prophecies explained above, and his depiction in the mid-fourteenth century *Ascende calve* group would also remain the one in the later *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*. I argue that the widely circulated apocalyptic image of this pope is crucial for understanding the impetus behind the papal motet, as prophecy 14 provided inspiration for the motet's composer.

Table 18 Triplum poem of *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis* (**Ch**, fols. 63v–64r)

1	Pictagore per dogmata	By Pythagoras' teachings
	fit virgo septenarius	the number seven is made a virgin;
3	librat dies et climata	it balances the days and climes,
	quorum effectus varius	whose effect is various,
5	et illa magna sidera	and those great stars:
	sic iupiter primarius.	Thus, Jupiter is first,
7	Alter mavortis opera	the second performed the duties of Mars,
	gessit exinde tertius	then a third,
9	nova dans mundo foedera	giving the world new covenants,
	surgit ut phoebi radius	even as Phoebus' ray rises,
11	post dulcis ut citerea	then the sweet Venus,
	quam sequitur cilenius.	followed by Mercury,
13	Cinthia reddit trophea	the Moon restores her trophies.
	mirari neptunum cogit	Neptune is compelled to wonder,
15	sorte sumpta cum aenea	having drawn the lot with Aeneas,
	hic almus qui modo surgit	by this life-giver who is only just rising.
17	iam consummato spatio	Now, having completed the distance,
	capiat quicumque legit	let understand whoever reads this –
19	Ut facta dicta ratio	the reasoning is no sooner said than done –
	ubi caput fuit orbis	where the head of the world was.
21	sedem firmabit latio	He will consolidate his seat in Latium,
	mentis ponet finem morbis	put an end to diseases of the mind,
23	nam tertia fert saecula	for he bears the golden chains
	auri que nectunt vincula.	that the third ages weave.

Table 19 Motetus poem of *Pictagore per dogmata*/*O terra sancta*/*Rosa vernans caritatis* (**Ch**, fols. 63v–64r)

1	O terra sancta supplica	O holy land, pray
	summo pastori gentium	to the supreme pastor of the nations;
3	tuum adi Gregorium	approach thy Gregory
	et fletus tales explica	and pour forth such laments as these:
5	nunc sancte pater aspicis	'Now, holy father, you see,
	ecce conculcor misera	look, wretched I am trampled;
7	Christus hic lavit scelera	here Christ washed away crimes

	et foedor ab arabicis	and I am violated by Arabs.
9	Junge leones liliis	Join the lions with the lilies
	et rosas cum serpentibus	and the roses with the serpents;
11	indulge penitentibus	have mercy with the penitent,
	pacem det pater filiis	let the father give peace to the sons.
13	Crucem in classe syria	Let Syria see the cross on the fleet
	agar cognoscat aquilas	and the Arabs recognise the eagles
15	farfar delphini pinulas	Farfar the fins of the dolphin
	et arma mittat stiria.	and let Styria send arms.

The rhetorical strategies of the composition are mostly summarised in scholarship through the political agenda of the pope. The poetic texts exhort Gregory XI to undertake a crusade to the Holy Land, which is occupied by the Arabs (motetus, line 8: 'et foedor ab arabicis'), unite the competing parties of the Hundred Years War (motetus, line 9: 'junge leones liliis' – i.e., England and France), and finally return the papacy to Rome (triplum, line 21: 'sedem firmabit latio'). Therefore, the motet is also thought to precede Gregory's return to Rome, and be dated around 1375. The tenor text 'Rosa vernans caritatis' ('verdant rose of charity') alludes to Gregory's heritage: he – as well as his uncle and namesake, Pierre Roger de Beaufort (from 1342 until his death in 1352 Pope Clement VI) – came from the town of Rosiers-d'Égletons (100 km south-east of Limoges), the families' coat of arms bearing six red roses.[255] Frank Ll. Harrison further points out that the passage 'Rosa vernans caritatis' can be found in the *Alleluya* of a mass in honour of St Louis of Toulouse (1274–97), although no matching chant melody has yet been identified.[256]

Apart from the openly political issues of Gregory's pontificate which are addressed mostly in the motetus poem – and in which he succeeded at least in returning to Rome – I

[255] See Tomasello, 'Music and Ritual', 29.

[256] Harrison, PMFC V, 198. The *topos* of the rose as foundation of the motet's message can also be attested on another level since the mystic St Catherine of Siena, who was in close contact with the pope, still encouraged him to undertake a crusade and *renovatio ecclesiae* after his return to Rome. A letter from St Catherine to the pope, dated 16 April 1377, reads, emulating the rose with the crusade: 'Chè tra le spine nasce la rosa, e tra le molte persecuzioni ne viene la reformazione della santa Chiesa, la luce che fa levare la tenebra de' Christiani e la vita degli' Infedeli, e la levazione della santa croce.' – 'For from the thorns grows the rose and from all these persecutions the renewal of the Holy Church, the light that liberates the Christians from the darkness, the life for the unbelievers and the elevation of the Holy Cross.' Edited in G. Barbera (ed.), *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena: Ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte / con Proemio e Note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, vol. 3 (Firenze, 1860), 462.

propose that the motet bears yet another layer of meaning. The triplum text has the function of a prophecy *post eventum*, foreshadowing the papal schism and the advent of the Antichrist.

The triplum poem *Pictagore per dogmata* plays on astronomical imagery by naming the first six of the seven planets of the medieval planetary system, in the correct order: Jupiter (line 6), Mars (line 7), Phoebus (i.e., the Sun, line 10), Citerea (i.e., Venus, line 11), Cilenius (Mercury, line 12), and Cinthia (i.e., the Moon, line 13). Leaving out the seventh planet, Saturn, indirectly identifies it with Pope Gregory. Observing this, Ursula Günther correctly draws a connection to the Saturn legend which is used to describe Gregory's return to Rome. She states:

> Saturn, the greatest God of the Gods during the Golden Age, was driven out by Jupiter and landed by boat on the coast of Latium, where he was received with kindness by king Janus, and taught the people the art of agriculture. Janus was so grateful that he made Saturn co-ruler of his kingdom. When Paradise was everywhere lost and the moral downfall of mankind began, due to the overthrow of Saturn, he was nevertheless able to create in Latium a new Golden Age which was free from sin […]. In the present text this period is described in a rather unusual way as *tertia secula*.[257]

Günther's mention of the 'rather unusual' *tertia secula* – the whole passage reads 'nam tertia fert saecula | auri que nectunt vincula', 'for he [Gregory] bears the golden chains | that the third ages weave' – provides the starting point of my argument. I propose that the 'tertia secula' are a reference to the so-called 'three status', or 'three ages', of Spiritual Franciscan ideology. Of the 'three ages' – the ages of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost – the Age of the Holy Ghost is the third and Golden Age. It would be preceded by the advent of the Antichrist, who would be defeated by a church authority (the 'angel pope'). In short, Günther is correct in identifying a Golden Age metaphor in the triplum poem, but it is the 'Golden Age' of Spiritual Franciscan theology, intermingled with the one of Greek mythology.

[257] Günther, CMM 39, p. XLI. The Golden Age metaphor in *Pictagore per dogmata* is also discussed, here in connection with number symbolism, by Michael Long, '*Arma virumque cano*: Echoes of a Golden Age', in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford, 1999),133–54, from 146.

Ascende calve prophecy number 14, concerning Gregory XI, reads as in *Fig. 28* (including the motto in bold type).[258]

Fig. 28 Ascende calve prophecy 14 (London, British Library, Arundel 117, fol. 143v)

Obscuratum est aurum mutatus est color optimus. Rubigo | te consumet dulce principium inuenisti sed finem tribulantem. | ve primum abijt et ecce ve secundum fugiamus a facie eius. Clama | in fortitudine quia iam incipiunt vltimi cruciatus ha ha ubi | est lucifer quo abierunt stelle curramus et non aspiciamus retro | quia ab aquilone pandetur omne malum. Obsecro domine dimitte quem missurus es.	The gold has become dark; the beautiful colour has changed; Rust | will consume you | You have experienced a mild beginning | but a painful end [you will suffer]. The first evil has passed but see the second evil. Let us flee from his countenance | scream with courage because the last torments are already about to begin. Ah, ah, where is Lucifer? Where did the stars go? | Let us run and not look back | from the north all evil will spread. I implore you, Lord, send the one you want to send.
Flores rubei aquam odoriferam distillabunt.	**Red flowers are dripping with fragrant water.**

When considered in connection with the motet text, several parallels come to light: first, the motto – mentioning 'red flowers' – could as well refer to Gregory's heraldic imagery and therefore add another layer of meaning to the motet's tenor (or rather, a source of inspiration for the motet's composer when choosing the tenor chant). Moreover, St Louis of Toulouse, from the mass in whose honour the passage 'rosa vernans caritatis' might be taken, is known to be an ardent supporter of the Franciscan Spiritual cause and close confidant of the Spiritual

[258] The manuscript Arundel 117 contains a whole set of the *Vaticinia* and originated in Alzey (near Mainz), probably between 1409 and 1415, as the last pope to whom a prophecy is attributed is John XXIII; see Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours*, 43–4.

Peter John Olivi (1248–98). After his canonisation in 1317, St Louis became a role model of poverty to later generations of Spiritual Franciscans.[259]

Second, Gregory as bearer of 'the golden chains that the third ages weave' can be associated with the gold that 'has become dark' in the prophecy: with his return to Rome, Gregory would *end* the current age and therefore lay the foundation of the coming of the Golden Age. His coming back to the Holy City would result in the coming of the Antichrist – Urban VI – who would then be defeated by the following generation, leading to the third age, namely the age of the Holy Ghost. The disappearance of the stars in the prophecy, succeeded by the arrival of Lucifer ('ha ha ubi | est lucifer quo abierunt stelle?' – 'Ah, ah, where is Lucifer? Where did the stars go?') is further foreshadowed in the triplum text by the absence of Saturn. Lastly, the illustration of the prophecy – depicting the pope as he is threatened by a soldier – strongly points to military action, be it the war between England and France or a crusade to reconquer the Holy Land.

To sum up, I believe that the poetic texts of *Pictagore per dogmata* function as a prophecy *post eventum* by describing events that had already happened. Most tellingly, the only political event mentioned in the text which actually took place is the pope's return to Rome – and, therefore, it is the only passage stated in future tense. The other issues, in turn, stay in a hypothetical sphere and are formulated instead as a plea. If this hypothesis is accepted, the motet could have been composed slightly later, perhaps after the outbreak of the schism. But more important than pushing the dating of this motet forward by a couple of years is the fact that a prophetic genre that existed somehow 'in between' official propaganda and superstitious hearsay could apparently meet and merge with the cultivation of polyphonic music.

After all, similar mechanisms of poetic inspiration could be at work in the remaking/modelling process of the Basel motet, as several features of the motet's two versions can be connected to the Franciscans. First, the **Ba72** version of the motet uniquely sets a Franciscan sequence text to the music; second, Pope Clement VII (who is honoured in **Ba71** and possibly equated with St Francis) had himself joined the Franciscans as a young man; third, the **Ba71** triplum text explicitly names Urban VI as the Antichrist (in accordance with prophecy 15, to be discussed below); finally, the recurrent mention of the Holy Ghost in **Ba71** ('spiritus infusus', triplum *Papam querentes*, line 9; 'mysticum spiramen', motetus *Gaudeat et exultet*,

[259] See A. Vauchez, Art. 'Ludwig, 51. L. v. Anjou, Bf. v. Toulouse', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart, 1999), 2202–3.

line 10) could also be reminiscent of the Spiritual Age of the Holy Ghost, especially the idiosyncratic wording '*mysticum* spiramen'.

On an overarching level, the prophetic and apocalyptic traces in papal polyphony proposed here presuppose a cross-fertilisation between the mindsets of the Conventual and Spiritual Franciscan parties (for instance, when thinking of the origin of *Novum sidus orientis* in a Bohemian Franciscan convent). To what extent this was the case must be subject to future research. However, I believe that a subliminal permeation of apocalyptic thought into the Conventual party is eminently possible – Ferrer's report at the outset of this chapter explicitly took place in a Franciscan friary. Moreover, my discussion of the miscellany **Pg9** (section 5.3.1 below) offers preliminary evidence that points in the same direction.

5.2.2 Allusions to the *fera pessima*

In her analysis of Machaut's ballades 27 and 38, Karen Desmond traces the attributes of a 'beastly woman' who tortures her lover by resisting his advances in two different spheres: the secular and the sacred.[260] The woman is identified with a terrible beast, and her 'refusal' of the lover – equated with the secular vice 'refus', and enacted through the women's sense organs (ears, mouth, eyes) – is incarnated by actual beasts that harm the lover physically, as they are described in courtly bestiaries. Moreover, through an identification of the secular vice 'refus' with the biblical sins pride and envy, Desmond unveils a parallel sacred component in Machaut's rhetoric. She concludes:

> Perhaps both of these compositions (and with echoes in some of Machaut's other compositions […]) are parallel expressions of the desire of the lover/Christ to vanquish the beloved/Devil (the beasts who reside within our senses), who both resists and is the embodiment of the vice of refusal/pride.[261]

Desmond's study demonstrates masterfully how the image of the beast can symbolise two sides of the same coin: that of the beloved and that of the Devil. In this section, I add another nuance to the diabolic, biblical interpretation of the beast: that of the papal Antichrist. I do not claim that allusions to the papacy are evident in Machaut's ballades, but rather that a similar technique of double association can potentially be at work or inherent in other compositions that mention a 'terrible beast'. These compositions are Machaut's motet 9 (also noted by Desmond for its

[260] Karen Desmond, 'Refusal, The Look of Love, and the Beastly Woman of Machaut's Balades 27 and 38', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 71–118.
[261] Ibid. 113.

beastly qualities), the Latin-texted ballade *Angelorum psalat tripudium* (**Ch**, fol. 48v), and the motet *Sola caret monstris* by Loyset Compère. By tracing how these compositions use the image of the *fera pessima*, I show how the earliest of these pieces, Machaut's motet 9, could have inspired later, apocalyptic interpretations of its biblical imagery. Furthermore, I consolidate the hypothesis that *Angelorum psalat* is indeed an (anti-)papal ballade, and I explain how the *fera pessima* was employed in an explicitly papal motet referring to Pope Julius II (1503–13) approximately a century later.

Considering the fact that the deadly sins pride and envy are identified with the Devil – the opponent of Christ – and metaphorically translated into an evil monster, the rhetorical agenda of Clement VII, explored earlier in this chapter, becomes even more apparent. By emphasising Clement's own *humilitas* (the opposite of *superbia*) over and over again, the identification of Urban VI with pride, and therefore the Antichrist, becomes inevitable. This association, in turn, brings us back to the papal prophecies.

Ascende calve prophecy 15, referring to Urban VI by the time he had been installed, identifies the pope with the '*fera ultima*' (the ultimate beast), depicted as a hybrid monster. It reads as in *Fig. 29* (including the motto in bold type).[262]

Fig. 29 Ascende calve prophecy 15 (London, British Library, Arundel 117, fol. 144r, and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13648, fol. 8v)

Hec est fera ultima aspectu terribili que detrahet stellas tunc fugiant aues et reptilia. nil tantum modo | remanebit. o fera crudelis uniuersa consumens infernus te expectat. **Terribilis es quis resistet tibi.**	This is the ultimate beast, of terrible sight, which will pull down the stars. Then the birds and creepers will flee and nothing | will remain. O terrible beast, you who devours all, hell awaits you. **You are terrible, who will resist you?**

[262] The source Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13648 can be dated between 1350 and 1378; it is a copy of the *Ascende calve* prophecies only. Available online at http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13950379 (last accessed 13 July 2023). The text of the prophecy in *Fig. 29* is transcribed after Arundel 117.

This short prophecy and its illustration not only take up many attributes from the previous prophecy, but also resonate in the motet on Gregory XI and, as we shall see, the compositions on the *fera pessima.* The seven stars, here pulled down by the tail of the 'most evil beast' (and in most illustrations, it is exactly the biblical number of seven stars) could have provided the inspiration for the composer of *Pictagore per dogmata* to establish a metaphorical connection between the seven stars of the prophecy and the seven planets of the medieval planetary system. More importantly, the motto of prophecy 15 ('Terribilis es quis resistet tibi' – 'You are terrible, who will resist you?') employs the image of resistance. By exhorting the reader to resist the beast – the entity who is itself the incarnation of pride, that is, resistance – the prophecy addresses the only morally adequate version of resistance, the refusal of refusal itself.

Guillaume de Machaut, M9 (*Fons tocius superbie*/*O livoris feritas*/*Fera pessima*)

In Machaut's motet *Fons tocius superbie*/*O livoris feritas*/*Fera pessima*, pride and envy are the protagonists of the triplum and motetus respectively.[263] The triplum commences with the words 'Lucifer, source of all pride and | all evil', thus recounting the most famous drama caused by pride – the fall of Lucifer. The motetus opens with the phrase 'O savage envy, who seek the | heights but lie in the depths'; Lucifer's envy of humans' goodness, ultimately, caused the fall of humanity. Later on, envy is identified with a beast, a scorpion that 'stings very savagely from behind'; musically, this phrase is marked by the only passage in the entire motet where the two upper voices have the same rhythm.

Most importantly, the motet's tenor, set to the words *fera pessima*, alludes to the biblical passages Genesis 37:20 and 33, where the phrase 'most evil beast' features twice. In the context of fraternal betrayal and envy, Joseph's brothers sell him into slavery, and, to conceal their crime, tell their father that Joseph has been devoured by a *fera pessima*. The liturgical setting of this biblical passage is a Matins responsory for the third Sunday of Lent (*Jacob vestimentam Joseph*), and the motet's tenor employs the *fera pessima* passage of this responsory as its melody.[264]

[263] The primary study on this motet, analysing all is musical, textual, and symbolical intricacies, is Margaret Bent, 'Words and Music in Machaut's Motet 9', *Early Music*, 31/3 (2003), 363–88. All subsequent text and translation excerpts of M9 are taken from Bent's article (pp. 366–7). Another study of Machaut 9, focusing on the dating and occasional context of the motet, is Kurt Markstrom, 'Machaut and the Wild Beast', *Acta Musicologica*, 61/1 (1989), 12–39, at 17–26.

[264] For the liturgical context, see Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. 308.

The rhetoric of Machaut's motet is clearly sacred, based on a biblical passage, a liturgical chant, and alluding to the deadly sins. However, its application of beastly attributes (for instance, that of the scorpion, who 'stings backwards') to the incarnation of these sins was also used in other contexts. The *fera pessima* of the papal prophecy is embodied in a similar way: the Vienna version of prophecy15, for instance, even depicts a scorpion, symbolising the envy of the *fera pessima*, directly next to it (see *Fig. 29* above). In sum, the image of the *fera pessima* was not only confined to its biblical context and its association with the deadly sins, but the same image was already merged with apocalyptical overtones – in our case, with the papal prophecies. After the breach of 1378, the association of the *fera pessima* with the papacy became more obvious than ever, and it probably gave the impetus for the next composition in this survey, *Angelorum psalat tripudium*.

***Angelorum psalat tripudium* ('Rodericus' –** Ch**, fol. 48v)**

The two-voice Latin-texted ballade *Angelorum psalat tripudium* (*Table 1*, no. 10), uniquely preserved in the Chantilly Codex, is one of the most rhythmically intricate compositions of the 'Ars Subtilior' and as such it has already attracted ample scholarly attention.[265]

As proposed in Chapter 3, the very language of the ballade's poetic text – Latin – already strongly suggests that this ballade alludes to the papacy. However, which pope (if any) is the subject of the poetic text of the ballade remains obscure. The ballade's initially joyful first stanza, *Angelorum psalat tripudium* ('Let the dance of angels sing [or play] psalms'), quickly proceeds to depict the fallen angel, Lucifer, who is incarnated by pride herself ('She performs the part of Lucifer', stanza 3). Finally, it is pride who in the final fourth stanza is 'biting backwards like an evil beast' – 'retro mordens ut fera pessima'. This poetic phrase is also reiterated in the ballade's tenor voice, and it obviously plays on the apocalyptic subject.

It is also striking that in this ballade, everything seemingly 'goes backwards'. First, the relationship between red and black notation is reversed: in order to perform the piece correctly, one has to read black notes as red and red notes as black. Second, the roles of the upper voice and tenor are reversed, such that the typically lowest voice (tenor) no longer provides the structural foundation for the composition's upper voice. Here, the meaning of the complex

[265] It was first studied by Nors S. Josephson, 'Rodericus, "Angelorum Psalat"', *Musica Disciplina*, 25 (1971), 113–26. The most recent studies are Young, 'Antiphon of the Angels', and Uri Smilansky, 'Rethinking *Ars Subtilior*': Context, Language, Study and Performance', PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2010, 206–26. Text excerpts are taken from ibid. 208. See also id., 'A Labyrinth of Spaces: Page, Performance and Music in Late Medieval French Culture', in Frances Andrews (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2011), 130–47.

tenor structure and the correct execution of its notation has to be deduced from the metrical organisation of the upper voice. In general, the extensive use of different note shapes and red notation in *Angelorum psalat* presents the reader/singer with every intricacy of musical notation that this period had to offer. Finally, the name of the composer Rodericus, given in the top margin of the page (S. Uciredor), has to be read in retrograde as well.

I agree with Uri Smilansky, who first suggested convincing papal connections for this composition and noted the possible allusion to the *fera pessima* of the papal prophecies.[266] He proposes that the text – again – refers to the beginning of the schism in 1378, and that the female protagonist – pride – is the city of Rome herself, who propagated the election of the Italian pope. This chapter has demonstrated that the prominent position of beastly pride – and its antipode, *humilitas* – is permeating *all* compositions that concern the first two schismatic popes. Therefore, *Angelorum psalat* is, despite its seemingly vague poetic text, in good company. The final part of this section discusses how the image of the *fera pessima* lived on in the fifteenth century – not only in its liturgical function, but possibly also with an apocalyptic background, again connected to the papacy. After all, the Antichrist had not appeared, and the schism was solved in 1417. Nevertheless, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the singers of the papal chapel still voiced sounding allusions to the *fera pessima* – in the form of a dedicatory motet, addressing Pope Julius II.

Sola caret monstris (Loyset Compère)

Loyset Compère's five-voice motet *Sola caret monstris*/*Fera pessima* survives uniquely in **VatS42** (fols. 78v–80v).[267] This manuscript was copied by Jean Orceau (fl. 1497–1512), the chief papal scribe of Pope Julius II (1503–13), most likely between 1503 and Orceau's death in 1512. Among its forty-five compositions (twenty-six motets and nineteen Marian antiphon settings), **VatS42** contains three motets by Compère, and his motet *Ad honorem tuum*

[266] See Smilansky, 'Rethinking *Ars Subtilior*', 207–11. Young, 'Antiphon of the Angels': 15, surmises a pun on the name Innocent, identifying the Roman pope Innocent VII in 1403: the cantus's final line reads 'ante blandis ut faus Innocui' – 'thou fawnest afore like the face of one innocent'. A composer named 'Rogerii' was working at the chapel of the Avignon pope Benedict XIII at this time; thus, according to Young, the ballade could have originated in Avignon, created as anti-Roman propaganda. However, Innocent VII was only elected in 1404, rendering an establishment of such a pun *before* the actual election of the respective pope impossible. See also Smilansky, 'Rethinking *Ars Subtilior*', 210 n. 549.

[267] The most recent and extensive study on this motet is provided by Naomi Gregory, 'Rethinking and Contextualizing the "French Court Motet": Five and Six-Voice Motets during the Reign of Louis XII (1498–1515)', PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2020, 236–349. Other important studies include Richard Sherr, 'What Were They Thinking? *Sola caret monstris* at the Papal Court', in Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel (eds.), *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows*: *Bon Jour, Bon Mois et Bonne Estrenne* (Woodbridge, 2011), 163–9, and Jeffrey J. Dean, 'The Occasion of Compère's "Sola Caret Monstris": A Case Study in Historical Interpretation', *Musica Disciplina*, 40 (1986), 99–133.

(fols. 15v–19r) specifically asks God to save 'our pope Julius' ('ut nostrum Juliam conservare digneris').

Sola caret monstris has a two-voice canon in the tenor voices which is derived from the same responsory cantus firmus as Machaut's motet 9: 'Fera pessima devoravit filium meum Joseph' ('an evil beast hast devoured my son Joseph'), sung at the third Sunday of Lent. As the motet collection in **VatS42** is arranged according to the order of the liturgical year, it seems like *Sola caret monstris* was indeed sung in the papal chapel on that very occasion. However, the poetic text of the motet poses a conundrum in that occasional context. Saturated with numerous mentions of the 'evil beast', it seemingly deliberately condemns the pope, addressing him with the words 'tu fera pessima':[268]

Table 20 Sola caret monstris – Loyset Compère (**VatS42**, fols. 78v–80v)

I	**I**
'Sola caret monstris si Gallia, cur modo, Juli. dentibus hoc nostrum torquet **fera pessima** regnum?' rex ait, et 'Deus est pro nobis; Francia vincet.' '**Tu fera pessima**; tu frigus pluviasque nivesque congeris in clerum populumque; sed ibis ut umbra.'	'If Gaul alone is free from monsters, Julius, why then is **an evil beast** tormenting our kingdom with its teeth?' says the king, and 'God is for us; France will prevail'. **You are the evil beast**; you shower cold and rain and snow upon clergy and people; but you will pass like a shadow.
II	**II**
'Ut retrahat fixos **fera pessima** quos facit hostes, exora natum, Virgo Maria, tuum, quesumus. Ecce, Jacob clamat '**Fera pessima**!' plorans, et novus est crebro venditus arte Joseph.	That he withdraw those whom **the evil beast** is making implacable enemies, pray to your son, Virgin Mary, we beseech. Behold, Jacob cries weeping, '**An evil beast**!', and repeatedly a new Joseph has been sold by fraud.
Si facias quo erit, **fera pessima**, ventus eodem, nostra sit in celo publica causa quies. Amen.	If you should betake yourself, **evil beast**, to the same place where the wind will be, the peace of our people would be sued in heaven. Amen.

The protagonists of the text are the aforementioned Pope Julius II, and the king of France, Louis XII (1498–1515), who ruled during Julius's papacy. As the pope is condemned in the poetic text, and France ('Gallia') apparently suffers under the influence of the pope, the historical context of the motet is thought to be a revolt in Genoa in 1507. Genoa, at that time under French rule, had stirred up a rebellion, supported by Pope Julius II.

[268] The motet's poetic text and its translation are taken from Gregory, 'Rethinking and Contextualising', 242.

Scholars have sought different explanations for the curious case of a papal motet that apparently addresses the pope as the *fera pessima*. Jeffrey J. Dean proposes that *Sola caret monstris* indeed condemns the pope, acting as opponent of the French royalty and its territorial ambitions. But, according to Dean, the pope never heard the motet and was unaware of its existence (saying that polyphony was not part of papal masses but rather a private matter of the papal singers, similarly to the issue we have with papal polyphony of the schismatic period).[269] However, as Richard Sherr points out, there is plenty evidence from the mid-sixteenth century that motets were indeed a standard component of papal masses.[270]

Sherr, conversely, claims that the motet was performed at the papal court, as suggested by its manuscript transmission and liturgical context (as outlined above, I agree that this is likely). He remarks that the *fera pessima* in the poetic text is not necessarily the pope, as 'tu fera pessima' is syntactically not clear about its subject. It could also be translated as 'You, evil beast, you shower cold rain and snow…'. Ultimately, Sherr pleads for a case of reverse psychology: the text is rather addressing the king of France, functioning as a veiled warning to the pope as to the political ambitions of the king.

Lastly, Naomi Gregory focuses on the opening phrase of the motet's text and its similarity to a phrase from St Jerome's *Contra Vigilantium*:[271]

> *Sola caret monstris*: 'Sola caret monstris si Gallia' – 'If Gaul alone is free from monsters'
> *Contra Vigilantium*: 'Sola Gallia monstra non habuit' – 'Gaul alone has no monsters [of heresy]'

Gregory argues that the *fera pessima* symbolises the clergy in general. She states that

> Persistent, instead, was a sense that the integrity of the Gallican church was greatly threatened by clerical abuses and constitutional deformation. These corruptions endangered the souls of the faithful and the nation of France alike. Chief among the clerical abuses decried by French authors was simony, the corrupt acquisition of clerical position and advantage by financial means. The papacy and its fiscal mechanisms were frequently blamed for this situation.[272]

[269] Dean, 'The Occasion of Compère's "Sola Caret Monstris", 128–33.
[270] Sherr, 'What Were They Thinking?'.
[271] Gregory, 'Rethinking and Contextualizing', 23.
[272] Ibid. 282. Gregory also draws attention to the fact that the *fera pessima* was apparently a common sermon trope, and deliberately opposed to *humilitas*. She gives a sermon excerpt of Jean Gerson that addresses the state of the clergy (ibid. 296): 'It remains to speak of the solemn estate that expels *obedient Humility.* The estate, by itself, is good, because it speaks of stability or fixedness or firmness. But when the estate is injured, a very bad

I agree with Sherr that 'tu fera pessima' is not directly (or exclusively) addressing Pope Julius II, and I believe that his argument works well with Gregory's supposition that the behaviour of the clergy in general – and the rumblings of the conciliarist movement – was subject to ongoing debate which was then raised at the papal court.

However, none of the above-mentioned scholars has considered the *fera pessima* of the papal prophecies – and their frequent reuse, recopying, and reprinting up until the sixteenth century. As Hélène Millet points out, the controversy between Pope Julius II and King Louis XII promoted a reissue of the *Vaticinia* in Venice in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Upon the initiative of the French king, another council met in Pisa in 1511 – with the objective of deposing Julius II, but without success.[273] In short, the ongoing struggles between the papacy and secular rulers facilitated – literally invited – a reinterpretation and reuse of old prophetic material.

Integrating this finding into the current debates on *Sola caret monstris*, I propose that the prophetic overtones of the *fera pessima* in this motet are a warning that the coming of the Antichrist was at all times potentially imminent – after all, the Antichrist had not appeared in 1378, and the Western Schism had been solved in 1417. Potentially, the persistent pride and simony of the papacy, in combination with the territorial ambitions of the French king, could have caused another schism. In that regard, *Sola caret monstris* functions as a moral reminder of the past, not particularly addressing the pope at whose court it was likely performed, but speaking to the papacy in general. In sum, this motet has to be viewed in the light of all the components the *fera pessima* has to offer, and thus provides another nuance to the versatile nature of the 'most evil beast'.

5.3 The Source Picture of Papal Polyphony Read against the Dissemination of Apocalyptic Thought around 1400

The initial sections of this chapter have shown how the pride and simony of the clergy – and of the papacy in particular – inspired a multiplicity of apocalyptic beliefs which were further fuelled by the outbreak of the Great Western Schism in 1378. A recurring protagonist of this intellectual climate is the *fera pessima*, which was – along with all its biblical and moral

outcome ensues; **this is Fera pessima: it is an evil beast, a whirlpool in the sea, a rapacious wolf in all conditions; in the estate of the clergy: simony, pretence, hypocrisy, schism, and division**; in the estate of the bourgeoisie: ferment, plunder, fraud, perjury, usury, barratry, and great deception; In the estate of knights or the seigniory: violence, robbery, tyranny, and then sedition.' Emphasis mine.

[273] Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours*, 192.

implications – prominently present in the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*, and which permeates the poetic texts of polyphonic music as well. The final part of this chapter returns to the question of how and if this prophetic genre, chiefly propagated in Franciscan circles, could have come into contact with the cultivation of polyphonic music.

The previous chapters have revealed the 'shadowy area where religion shades into politics' (as Margaret Harvey put it) not only as a cultivation point of prophecy but also of a locus of papal polyphony. Moreover, prophecy was not an official means of papal propaganda – in fact, it existed in a realm of hearsay that reached papal circles but was, if used officially, apparently to the detriment of papal authority. Papal polyphony is also 'shadowy' as to its performance contexts, as long as it does not occupy a liturgical function.

The meeting point between the grey area of music cultivation on the one hand and the cultivation of prophecy on the other seemingly lies in religious contexts: first, the composers of papal topical polyphony are often not traceable at the curia but instead were reported to be monks or friars (one thinks of 'Egidius Augustinus', for instance).[274] Second, the papal associates of whom we know that they had come into contact with prophecy (Vincent Ferrer, Francisco Aranda, and Francesco Eximenis) were all friars as well.

When returning to the Franciscan brethren in particular – as they were especially connected to the apocalyptic mindset of the *Vaticinia* – the question arises how these people were represented in the papal orbit in general. Among the papal singers reported in Chapter 2, there is not a single one with a known Franciscan background. Moreover, Franciscans are virtually absent from the papal entourage in general: among approximately 200,000 people within a time-frame of over forty years, there are only a handful of Franciscans.[275]

However, among the few 'exceptions' are in fact two popes: as mentioned in Chapter 4, Clement VII joined the minorite brothers in his youth – if only to appear 'humble' despite his kinship with the French royal family. Strikingly, however, the *topos* of (Franciscan) humility is extraordinarily present in the compositions in his honour. The second Franciscan pope is Alexander V (Pietro Filargo), whom we have encountered in the Introduction not only as a prominent member of his order but also as potentially involved in the poetic conception of *Ave sancta mundi*.

[274] Of course, there are friars reported in papal service; this phenomenon is not mutually exclusive.

[275] I thank Giuliano Di Bacco for sharing with me these insights, drawn from his private database of papal employees.

Lastly, Urban VI (himself not a Franciscan) employed a number of Franciscan honorary chaplains (people without specific duties within the curia, but allowed to participate in private functions) in 1382, the same year in which a Samperinus from Pesaro – possibly a minorite brother – was employed as *cantor capelle*.[276] Furthermore, Urban VI's call for poverty in the church and among the cardinals was one of the reasons why the French cardinals elected Clement VII in the first place. One could argue, then, that Urban VI is condemned as the Antichrist so explicitly (in the Basel motet, and in the *Vaticinia*) to create a particularly strong form of counter-propaganda.

In sum, although the evidence is at present not strong enough to make definite claims about the Franciscans and the cultivation of polyphony at the curia, it seems like an engagement with apocalyptic topics is especially traceable within the poetic texts of the repertory when the respective popes were relatively close to the Franciscan community as well.

As this dissertation has also traced the manuscript transmission of papal polyphony – and revealed an obedience divide between Avignon/Pisa and Rome respectively as well as an intersection point of sources in the Low Countries – it stands to reason not only to ask about the make-up and rhetoric of the *Vaticinia* but also about their circulation.

Among around one hundred sources that preserve the *Vaticinia*, I could not identify any of French origin. Many sources that survive from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries originated in Italy and the German-speaking lands – and therefore show a similar transmission as does polyphony of the Avignon and Pisan side of the schism.[277] In the light of the 'choosing of sides' after 1378, therefore, the *Vaticinia* show a tendency similar to the manuscript evidence of 'papal' polyphony: while the manuscripts with topical repertory from the schismatic period preserve almost exclusively compositions in honour of the Avignon, later the Pisan side, the prophecies in particular defend the Avignon popes. The Roman papacy, by contrast, seemingly did not rely on this propagandistic fight for legitimacy: just as with its preferred cultivation of liturgical polyphony, it apparently felt less the need to defend itself by means of prophetic propaganda. In the final section of this chapter I discusses the Franciscan miscellany **Pg9**: this manuscript is not only one of the major sources for Dutch-texted polyphony outside the Low Countries (and therefore a witness to the culturally and politically hybrid environment of the Netherlands) but also contains a hitherto neglected set of the papal prophecies.

[276] This is also a database finding by Giuliano Di Bacco. The identity of Samperinus is not entirely clear.
[277] The manuscripts are listed in Millet, *Les Successeurs du pape aux ours*, 213–6.

5.3.1 Initial Findings and Research Objectives for the Miscellany Pg9

The early fifteenth-century miscellany **Pg9** was probably compiled in Franciscan circles in Strasbourg in the early decades of the fifteenth century. The book, measuring 215×150 mm, comprises 340 paper folios; only the first fascicle (a calendar of Franciscan use) was copied on parchment (see below).

The miscellany's fascicles which contain music treatises and polyphony (fascicles 15 and 16; see *Table 21* below) have already attracted ample scholarly attention. A first detailed description and edition of the polyphonic items was conducted by Friedrich Kammerer in the early twentieth century, and a new study and edition was published by Kees Boeke and Jos Haring in 2021.[278] Boeke and Haring provide significant updates to the concordances of the musical repertory in **Pg9**, and their edition (intended for performers) is informed by this new information. Zsuzsa Czagány edited the unique music treatise by Henricus de Zeelandia (fols. 243r–247r), whereas Franz Xaver Mathias and Christian Meyer studied the German chronicler Jacobus Twinger de Königshofen (1346–1420), whose music treatise appears on fols. 229r–242r (visualised in *Table 21* below).[279]

All these studies tend to cherry-pick the musical items of this large collection without investigating the material and institutional context of the book itself. However, as my examples of the papal miscellany BnF lat. 14643 and the Avignon miscellany with the *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem* in Chapter 1.3 have shown, the material contexts in which specific items appear are crucial for understanding their intellectual backgrounds.[280] Accordingly, one should ask how and for what purpose a collection of polyphony ended up in a Franciscan miscellany.

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[278] Friedrich Kammerer (ed.), *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI E 9: mit einer vollständigen Übertragung von Dr. Friedrich Kammerer* (Augsburg/Brünn, 1931); Kees Boeke and Jos Haring (eds.), *Musica Sine Littera*, vol. 1, *The Textless Works of the Prague Manuscript CZ-Pu XI E 9: New Edition with Commentary*, Olive Music III (Arezzo/Dordrecht, 2021). The manuscript can be consulted online: https://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XI_E_9_____0DETU23-cs (last accessed 15 August 2023). Unfortunately, all images are in the wrong order: all rectos belong to the opening which follows the one in which they are presented and according to which the images are numbered (i.e., the image named 'fol. 247r' is actually fol. 248r, etc.). The verso numbers are correct.

[279] Zsuzsa Czagány, 'Der *Tractatus de cantu perfecto et imperfecto* des Henricus de Zeelandia', in Michael Bernhard (ed.), *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters II* (München, 1997), 109–17; Franz Xaver Mathias, *Der Straszburger Chronist Königshofen als Choralist: Sein Tonarius wiedergefunden von Martin Vogeleis, ehem. Musiklehrer am bischöfl. Progymnasium in Zillisheim* (Graz, 1903); Christian Meyer, *Le Tonaire de Jacobus Twinger de Königshofen*. HAL open science hal-01192713, 2015.

[280] The newly recognised status of the medieval miscellany as a 'whole book' has prompted a more holistic study of its constituent parts. In this regard, my study is inspired by contributions such as those by Lucie Doležalová and Kimberly Rivers (eds.), *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use* (Krems, 2013), and Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds.), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspective on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbour, MI, 1996).

In the first part of this section, I present preliminary research results on the contents and materiality of **Pg9**, enabled by an examination of the manuscript in the flesh. In that regard, the fact that a set of *Ascende calve* prophecies has been inserted in the music fascicle is surely a coincidence, but perhaps a telling one: at the very least, it proves physically – through manuscript evidence – the coexistence of music cultivation and apocalyptic thought which I have proposed in earlier chapters.

Pg9 does not contain any musical repertory that could be designated as papal polyphony. Yet, its important role in the Low Countries manuscript network as source for Dutch-texted polyphony outside the Netherlands renders the manuscript a vital source for understanding the transmission channels of music that were affected by the schism. In this section's second part, therefore, I explore the repertory in **Pg9** as to its concordances and potential overlaps with the source picture of papal polyphony. Thereby, I develop methods for future research that will enable investigations of the cultivation of music during the schismatic period that look beyond the limited framework papal polyphony.

Pg9 comprises twenty-two fascicles (some of them counting multiple gatherings) of various content.[281] The collection begins with a calendar (fols. 1–6) that by its special feasts suggests a Franciscan use. Scholars propose, therefore, that it stems from one of the two Poor Clares convents in Strasbourg.[282] The calendar is the manuscript's only constituent made of parchment; it is slightly smaller in dimensions than the remaining fascicles and shows traces of heavy use. Furthermore, it is the only fascicle not bearing a parchment sewing guard in the fold of the centre bifolio, and it is not mentioned in the contemporary table of contents (which follows after it, on fol. 7r). At present, this finding indicates that the calendar entered the collection as an afterthought, although it is bound within the book.

The table of contents on fol. 7r reflects the contents of the manuscript in its present order (leaving out the calendar, which precedes it). The texts include (in consecutive order) writings by Bonaventura, theological treatises, a (hitherto unresearched) *Tractatus de informacione notule* (fols. 105r–111r), treatises about gardening and viticulture, medical treatises, letters directed at (the Franciscan) Pope Nicholas IV (1288–92), the musical items and papal prophecies to be discussed below, and various further medical treatises from fol. 264r to the end of the book. The titles of most medical treatises at the end of the collection (from

[281] The gatherings and fascicles exhibit different numbering systems which indicate a shared early history of certain parts of the book. This aspect is subject of ongoing research.
[282] See, for instance, Meyer, *Le Tonaire*, 2.

fol. 312r) have apparently been added later to the of table contents (as indicated by the darker ink and slightly larger script) but probably by the same hand as the remainder of the list.

Most gatherings in **Pg9** comprise between three and six bifolios, one gathering counting seven bifolios. All gatherings are reinforced with a parchment sewing guard in the fold of their central bifolio; most sewing guards probably stem from the same manuscript. The only outlier is fascicle 16 (see *Table 21* below), which in its original state counted twelve bifolios: it contains the *Tractatus de cantu perfecto et imperfecto* by Henricus de Zeelandia (fols. 243r–247r), polyphonic music (fols. 247r–251v), the papal prophecies (fols. 252v–257r; fols. 252r and 257v are blank), a treatise on notaries on fol. 258r which has been crossed out, and a continuation of the musical items on fols. 258v–262r (fols. 262v–263r are blank, and the three last folios are missing).[283] All folios of fascicle 16 were trimmed in order to fit the size of the manuscript. This observation confirms that all entries – music treatise, polyphony, prophecies – had already been notated on these folios at the time of trimming, as text and music are all slightly cut off at the outer margins.

Apart from its unusual number of bifolios, fascicle 16 is obviously composed of two initially separate gatherings: the papal prophecies, now in the centre of the fascicle, comprise a separate gathering of three bifolios; these bifolios were purpose-pricked to serve the layout of the prophecies (leaving space for illustrations which were never entered) and are made of slightly thicker paper than the remainder of fascicle 16.

As the music starts directly underneath the end of the treatise on fol. 247r, it is likely that it was added as an afterthought (but before trimming). The treatise alone comprised five bifolios (of which the three last pages are now missing). It is probable that whoever started the music collection added a further quaternion (fols. 248–251/258–261), reusing spare paper – which, in turn, explains the crossed out (and unfinished) notary treatise on fol. 258r and the unusual size of the gathering in general. However, there was not enough music to be copied, as the last pages of this composite music gathering, counting nine bifolios, remain empty.

Nevertheless, prophecies and musical contents are bound together on purpose, as is indicated by the parchment sewing guard visible in the central opening of the prophecy gathering (fols. 254v–255r), that is, the centre of fascicle 16 as a whole. The *Tractatus de cantu perfecto et imperfecto* and the prophecies also appear successively in the table of contents. The polyphonic items are not mentioned. At present, I have not been able to determine why the

[283] In all accounts of **Pg9**, this fascicle is counted as number 13 as the first three constituents of the miscellany (the calendar, the fascicle with the table of contents, and the writings by Bonaventura) are not numbered. I refer to each fascicle according to its actual position in the manuscript.

prophecies and the music have been bound together on purpose – they are separate entities, and assembling them successively in the manuscript would not have made a difference.

However, the prophecies give an indication as to the last year in which they were in use: the last pope to whom a prophecy is attributed (prophecy 17, fol. 256v) is the Roman pope Innocent VII (1404–6), two subsequent prophecies remain without attribution.[284] Innocent's attribution was evidently added by the prophecy scribe by the time this pope was installed, as is indicated by an offset of the still wet ink on the facing page – only for this single name. It is likely, therefore, that the prophecies were copied before 1404 (Innocent VII's election), the latter pope's name was then added between 1404 and 1406, and the prophecies came out of use before Gregory XII's election in 1406.

Another date is given in fascicle 15 (also displayed in *Table 21* below). The treatise by Jacobus Twinger de Königshofen (fol. 229r–242r) has, on the gathering's final verso (fol. 242v), a list of prebendaries from St Thomas's Church in Strasbourg, dated to 1415.[285] Jacobus is mentioned in the list, which strengthens the connection of his treatise and possibly the entire miscellany to Strasbourg. The 1415 list, being the last page of the gathering, is significantly more worn than the inner folios of this gathering, suggesting that the fascicle was circulating as a separate booklet for some time before its integration in **Pg9**.

In sum, although **Pg9** is usually referred to as a 'Franciscan miscellany, possibly compiled in Strasbourg', the evidence remains to date inconclusive. Its overall contents, comprising medical writings and theological treatises, indeed suggests a religious agenda. The calendar, the papal prophecies, and possibly the letters to a Franciscan pope in particular, might suggest a Franciscan context. **Pg9**'s collection of music treatises and polyphony, and its connection to Strasbourg Cathedral might show influences from the realm of music-making which are now recorded in a manuscript with a religious, probably conventual, background. The supposed *terminus ante quem* of 1404 as copying date of the papal prophecies (indicated by the later addition of the last pope name) pre-dates the 1415 prebendary list by more than a decade. These two dates suggest that the manuscript's constituents circulated separately for quite some time before they were assembled in **Pg9**. Further investigation of the remaining fascicles of the miscellany might shed light on this topic. After all, the seemingly inexplicable fusion of the music fascicle and papal prophecies might indicate a shared early history for these

[284] After prophecy 15, the last one of the *Ascende calve* group, the prophecies do not continue with the *Genus nequam* set (as usual in the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*) but instead with four different prophecies.
[285] This observation has already been made by previous scholars. See, for instance, Boeke/Haring (eds.), *The Textless Works of the Prague Manuscript*, 4.

two very different entities; the compiler of **Pg9** might have wanted to keep them as a unit. As I demonstrate in the following section, the music recorded in **Pg9** was to a large extent composed in the fourteenth century; in this regard, **Pg9** constitutes a retrospective anthology.

When Kammerer first transcribed and analysed the repertory in **Pg9**, he divided the pieces contained in the manuscript into several categories. He differentiated between French, French-Italian, French-Netherlandish, Italian, Italian-French, Italian-Netherlandish, Netherlandish, and German compositions.[286] Above all, these numerous categories show that the repertory in **Pg9** exhibits influences from multiple cultural orbits. But instead of pigeonholing the musical compositions like this, I provide here examples of how these pieces fit into the Low Countries manuscript network, and possibly into the source picture of papal polyphony (see the inventory of compositions in *Table 21* below).

In general, **Pg9** preserves only two-voice versions of 'imported' polyphony, and it only gives incipits of their poetic texts. As mentioned above, the miscellany does not contain papal polyphony. However, music of the 'Ars Subtilior' did at least play a marginal role in the compilation of the music collection, as is suggested by the partial copy of *Sans joye avoir ne puet* (also preserved in **Ch** and **Pit**) on fol. 248v. The copy breaks off after the A-part of the cantus only, suggesting that the scribe lost interest or reconsidered the inclusion of the piece.

Pg9 further contains several contrafacts of French repertory, many of which have concordances with **Str**, such as *Table 21*, nos. 15, 18, 30, and 40. The widely transmitted birdsong virelai *Talent m'a pris* (no. 16, fol. 249v) is in **Pg9** with its French incipit, but survives in three different contrafact versions in **Str**, **VB8b**, and **WolkA**/**WolkB**.

Unlike the Low Countries manuscripts, **Pg9** does contain an Italian secular composition, *Poiché partir* by Francesco Landini (no. 8, fol. 248r). Remarkably, this is the only composition transmitted with a contratenor in **Pg9**, as if the scribe intended to preserve this composition more carefully or extensively than others. Furthermore, if the music fascicle of **Pg9** were to be dated in the first decade of the fifteenth century (together with the papal prophecies), this would speak for a moderate transmission of Italian secular polyphony to the German-speaking lands before the Council of Constance.

Many compositions in **Pg9** also have connections to the source picture of the Italian papal chapels, often in connection with concordances in the Low Countries manuscripts: these are nos. 1, 2, 11=12, 15, and 25. This observation corroborates the transmission channels between the Low Countries, the German-speaking lands, and Italy, as proposed in Chapter 3.

[286] Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI E 9*, 25–111.

Composition no. 19, *O sinne min* (fol. 250v, also preserved with the same incipit in **Str**) presents a curious case. As has been identified by Michael Scott Cuthbert, this two-voice piece has a concordance in a parody Credo tentatively attributed to Johannes Ciconia.[287] Again, as suggested in Chapter 3, sacred music (probably by northern composers in particular) was one of the few exports from the Italian realm of the schism that reached the Low Countries; therefore, the presence of a Credo contrafact (and reworking) in **Pg9** corroborates this impression and suggests a further stage of reception in the early fifteenth century.

Lastly, **Pg9** contains several 'isolated tenors', as Boeke and Haring term them (nos. 4–7 and 35–39). These voices, furnished with German or Dutch incipits, remain largely unique. Only for no. 35 (fol. 261v, *Scheiden wie verwisztu mich sogar*) has the original French-texted chanson (*J'ay en vos toute ma fiance*) been identified, which, in turn, confirms the origin of this voice. The preservation of these tenors, divorced from their original polyphonic contexts, as well as of presumably four more abbreviated tenors at the end of the music fascicle (notated in white and stroke notation, no. 41, fol. 262r), still demands contextualisation as to its purpose and performative context. With regard to the stroke notation, it might be a starting point for future research to compare the evidence in **Pg9** to Dutch song and poetry collections such as the Gruuthuse manuscript.[288]

In sum, **Pg9** exhibits an extraordinary variety of polyphonic repertories, one that attests to the miscellany's further digestion of musical styles in comparison to the Low Countries manuscripts on the one hand, and to a closer proximity to Italian musical culture on the other. The almost complete absence of 'Ars Subtilior' polyphony is obviously due to the manuscript's position at the outer margin of the Low Countries manuscript network. This finding, in turn, strengthens the main transmission channels of papal polyphony outlined in the previous chapters. For now, the question remains open as to why the repertory in **Pg9** only provides incipits of the poetic texts (as **Str** also does): within the Low Countries network, repertory 'with Dutch texts' outside the Netherlands apparently served different functions.

The presumably Franciscan context of **Pg9** further complicates this picture. To what extent the make-up of the miscellany is induced by its institutional context needs to be explored

[287] Cuthbert, 'Hidden in our Publications'. For details, see *Table 21* below.

[288] A complementary approach, seeking to interpret the stroke notation in Gruuthuse through the lens of polyphonic repertories, has been proposed by Ita Hijmans, 'The polyphonic potential of Gruuthuse melodies from a Central European perspective: an experimental musicological exploration', in Frank Willaert, Adrianus Maria Koldeweij, and Johannes Bernardus Oosterman (eds.), Het Gruuthusehandschrift: Literatuur, muziek, devotie rond 1400 (Gent, 2015), 145–59.

in future research.[289] However, **Pg9**'s influences from both the cultivation of music at Strasbourg Cathedral and the Franciscan orbit falls within the 'grey area' of composition and poetic inspiration that I have detected for the genesis of papal polyphony. In this regard, the preservation of papal prophecies in **Pg9** may be a lucky coincidence, but it bears witness to the longevity of prophetic thought – even in conventual Franciscan contexts – as well as to the reception of polyphonic repertories in the same intellectual environment.

[289] Apart from their preservation of repertory with Dutch incipits, another similarity between **Pg9** and **Str** is the fact that **Str** also contained music treatises and an Augustinian rule, the latter suggesting a connection to a monastic environment.

Table 21 **Pg9**, fascicles 15 (fols. 229IVr–242v) and 16 (fols. 243r–263v)

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
229IVr–v		Loose leaf	
229r–242r		*Incipit Tonarius seu libellus de octo tonis* [Jacobus Twinger de Königshofen]	Jabobus Twinger mentions himself in first-person speech as author of the treatise (fol. 229r, emphasis mine): '**ego Iacobus Twinger, canonicus ecclesie sancti Thome Argentinensis**, licet insufficiens et minimus sim, **collegi et scripsi hunc tractatulum** de cognoscendo cuius et qualis toni sit quisque cantus secundum consuetudinem dicte ecclesie.'[290]
242v		*Intitulacio dominorum s. Thome ad cantoriam secundum introitum eorum ad prebendas suas anno domini 1415*	List of canons from St Thomas's Church in Strasbourg, dated to 1415; Jacobus Twinger de Königshofen is listed among them
243r–247r		*Gaudent musicorum discipuli quod H. de Zeelandia aliqua brevia tractat de musica…*	*Tractatus de cantu perfecto et imperfecto* (Henricus de Zeelandia)
247r	1	*Je porta my ablement* [Donatus][291]	**BAV1419**, **Hel215** (stroke notation tenor only), **Lo**; music starts in **Pg9** directly underneath the music treatise

[290] The treatise is edited in Meyer, *Le Tonaire*, 10–61.
[291] All composer ascriptions given in this table are known from concordant sources; **Pg9** does not bear any ascriptions.

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
247r	2	*Espirante*	**Ang1067**, **AscoliPiceno142**, **Cu5943** (English Carthusian miscellany), **Groningen70** (keyboard intabulation, transposed up a fourth), **Gr133**, **Hel215** (stroke notation tenor only), **Philadelphia15** (text only), **Pit**, **Str**, **Tongeren490**, **Vorau380** (Augustinian miscellany); see Cuthbert, '"Esperance"' [292]
247v	3 =17	*Vaer ruwe in dander huys*	Canonic tenor and verbal canon
247v	4=7	*Min heil, min trost*	Isolated tenor with Dutch incipit
247v	5	*Ic prise altoes gostadecheit*	Isolated tenor with Dutch incipit
247v	6	*Die orlof*	Isolated tenor with Dutch incipit
247v	6a	[Without incipit]	Another (untitled) isolated tenor
247v	7=4	*Myn heil, min trost*	Isolated tenor with Dutch incipit
248r	8	*Poche partier* [Francesco Landini]	**FP**, **PadA**(684), **Pit**, **SL2211**, **Sq**; only piece in **Pg9** that is transmitted with a contratenor
248r	9=33	*In vrouden willen*	
248v	10	[*Sans joye avoir ne puet*]	**Ch**, **Pit**; only untitled cantus line of the A-part in **Pg9**[293]
248v	11=12	[*Je languis*]	**BaStQ1**, **FP**, **Gr3360**, **Melk950** (mentioned in theoretical treatise), **Parma** (contratenor fragment), **Pit**, **PR**, **SL2211**, **Str**, **Vienna406**, **Vienna1953B**
248v	12=11	*Je languis*	See no. 11 (again the cantus of *Je languis*, by a different hand)

[292] Michael Scott Cuthbert, '"Esperance" and the French Song in Foreign Sources', *Studi musicali*, 36/1 (2007), 3–19.
[293] Marc Lewon, 'Marc's Milk Carton: A New Source for "Sans joie avoir"!', https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2013/07/05/marcs-milk-carton-a-new-source-for-sans-joie-avoir/ (last accessed 13 July 2023).

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
249r	13	*Soylies*	**SL2211** (*Soyes lies et menes joie*), **Str** nos. 76 (*Soyes lies*) and 112 (*Zogles lies*)
249r	14	*Je fortune*	**Gr3360**, **Pit** (also untexted), **Str** (incipit only)
249v	15	*Fies de moy* [Alain]	**Cividale98**, **Melk391**(melody copied in the margin, without any text), **PR**, **Str** (*Quam pulchra es*), **TodiCarità**, **Trém**, **TurinJ.II.9**, **WolkA** and **WolkB** (both *Wolauff, Gesell, wer jagen will*)
249v	16	*Talent mes prus de santerpt comme li coccu coccu coccu lacoccu*	**Iv** nos. 15a and 65, **Str** (*Der Sumer kumt*), **VB8b** (*Es is geporn ain kindelein*) [294], **WolkA** and **WolkB** (both *Die Minne füget nymand*)
250r	17=3	*Vaer rouwe in dander huys*	See no. 3
250r	18	*Soytart tempre*	**ModA**, **PR** (with Ct and Tr), **SL2211**, **Str** (*O pulchra inter mulieres*), **Vorau380** (Augustinian miscellany)
250v	19	*O sinne miin*	**Str** (*O zinime min*); concordance in parody Credo setting (Ciconia *opus dubium*; PMFC 24 no. 11), identified in Cuthbert, 'Hidden in our Publications'; Boeke/Haring (39–40) propose Egardus as composer and note that the parody Credo might be a parody of a three-part (maybe French?) original, the two-voice version in **Pg9** being itself a contrafact
251r	20	*Di molen van pariis* [Pierre de Molins]	**Cortona1**, **GR219**, **Iv**, **Pit**, **Str** nos. 33 and 134, **Trém**; **Pg9** gives a garbled reading of the composer's name, the incipit of the piece is *Amis tout dous vis*

[294] Marc Lewon, 'A New Contrafact on "Talent m'est pris"', https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/05/05/talent-mest-pris-contrafact/ (last accessed 17 August 2023). As Lewon states correctly, the initial finding of the contrafact is announced in Jaromír Cerný et al. (eds.), *Historicka antologie hudby v ceských zemích (do cca 1530) / Historical anthology of music in the Bohemian lands (up to ca 1530)*, (Praha, 2005), 122–3.

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
251r	21	Textless virelai at the bottom of the page	
251v	22	*Por vous*	**CaB**
251v	23	*Tant plus vos voye*	Composition with almost identical incipit in **Ox213** (fol. 124r) is a different piece
252r		blank	
252v		*Ac* prophecies[295] 1+2	Nicholas III (1277–80) + Martin IV (1281–85)
253r		*Ac* prophecies 3+4	Honorius IV (1285–87) + Nicholas IV (1288–92)
253v		*Ac* prophecies 5+6	Celestine V (1294) + Boniface VIII (1294–1303)
254r		*Ac* prophecies 7+8	Benedict XI (1303–4) + Clement V (1305–14)
254v		*Ac* prophecies 9+10	John XII (1316–34) + Benedict XII (1334–42)
255r		*Ac* prophecies 11+12	Clement VI (1342–52) + Innocent VI (1352–62)
255v		*Ac* prophecies 13+14	Urban V (1362–70) + Gregory XI (1370–78)
256r		*Ac* prophecy 15+ unknown prophecy 1	Urban VI (1378–89) + Boniface IX (1389–1404)
256v		Unknown prophecies 2+3	Innocent VII (1404–6), prophecy 3 without attribution (should be Gregory XII, 1406–9)
257r		Unknown prophecy 4[296]	Without attribution (should be the Pisan pope Alexander V, 1409–10)

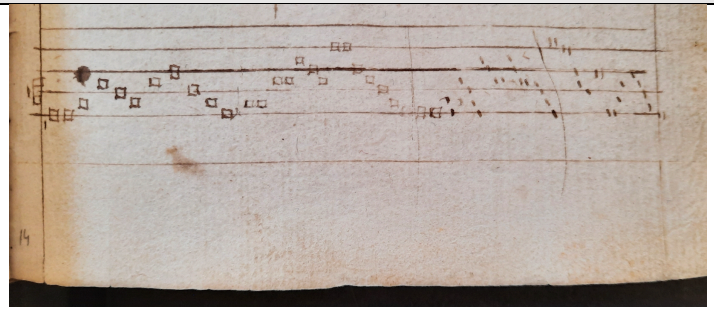
[295] *Ac* prophecies = *Ascende calve* prophecies.

[296] A concordance to these four prophecies can be found in the Italian manuscript **BAV lat. 1264**, fol. 237r–v. This manuscript also contains the *Ascende calve* prophecies, followed by two more unknown prophecies, finally succeeded by the four prophecies to be found in **Pg9**. All prophecies in **BAV lat. 1264** are copied without images, no space

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
257v		blank	
258r		*Sciendum est quod officium notariatus est ars scribendi et dictandi*	Treatise on notaries, crossed out in **Pg9**; also known from Graz UB Ms. 708 (dating from 1403), to be found here: https://resolver.obvsg.at/urn:nbn:at:at-ubg:2-30773 (last accessed 17 April 2023); the Graz version is complete, whereas the **Pg9** copy breaks off halfway through
258v	24	*Ja falla*	
258v	25	*Se vous nestes* [Guillaume de Machaut]	Machaut manuscripts, **CaB**, **FP**, **Gr3360**, **ModA** nos. 7a and 66, **SL2211**, **Str**, **Tongeren490**
259r	26	*Het dunct mi wesen verre*	
259r	27	*Scone es si bouen allen vrouwen*	**Gr133** (*Dame par vos*), **PR** (*Dame per le douce plaisir*), **Str** (*Dame plaisir*)
259v	28	*Voer mi toent si een stoen ghelaet*	
260r	29	*Een meysken dat te werke gaet*	
260v	30	*Ich sach den mey met bloeuen benaen*	**Gr3360**, **Str** (*Ich sach den meygen*)

being left for them. **BAV lat. 1264** is the only known *Ascende calve* copy that attributes prophecy 15 (the *fera pessima*) to Clement VII instead of Urban VI. **BAV lat. 1264** can be consulted online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1264 (last accessed 15 August 2023).

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
260v	31	*Siint doecht moest arghelist ontsien*	
260v-261r	32	*De petit peu* [Guillaume de Machaut]	Machaut manuscripts, **BresciaC.VI.5**, **CaB**, **CaB447**, **Ch**, **FP**, **Gr3360**, **ModA** (with unique contratenor), **Nur9**, **Pit**, **SL2211**, **Trém**
261r	33=9	[*In vrouden willen*]	See no. 9; here without incipit
261v	34	*Her Conrat laszent uwern gugken sin*	Isolated tenor with Dutch incipit
261v	35	*Scheiden wie verwisztu mich sogar*	Isolated tenor with German incipit; **Cu5943** (English Carthusian miscellany): tenor of the virelai *Ieo hayen vos tote may fiance* (English corrupt for *J'ay en vos toute ma fiance*); identified in Cuthbert, 'Hidden in our Publications'
261v	36	*Zwor min hertz*	Isolated tenor with German incipit
261v	37	*Vor aller der welt*	Isolated tenor with German incipit
261v	38	*Quatter cosse in vne lette*	Isolated tenor with French incipit
261v	39	*In alreley*	Isolated tenor with German incipit
262r	40	*Se voy mon cuer*	**Casanatense522** (corrupt text), **PR** (*Je vois mon cuer*), **Str** (*Cen mon chier*), **WolkA** and **WolkB** (both *Du ausserweltes schöns mein Herz*)
262r	41	[Without incipits]	Four tenors (?) on one stave at the bottom of the page, the first two in white notation, the other two in stroke notation: saving space?

Foliation Pg9	**Composition no.**	**Contents**	**Comments, Concordances**
			
262v–263v		blank	Three folios are missing after fol. 263v

Conclusion

This study has shown that papal polyphony of the Great Western Schism provided a versatile means of engaging with and responding to current events. Moreover, tracing the manuscript transmission and reception of papal compositions has also amplified our understanding of musical repertories around 1400 more broadly.

Proceeding from an abstract corpus of papal compositions and their protagonists as historical figures, it has been demonstrated in Chapter 1 that any historical evidence – be it the identification of the papal compositions' addressees or the larger political contexts of the schismatic debates – has to be evaluated in conjunction with the creative and performative processes behind the genesis of poetry and music.

In Chapter 2, I focused on the material evidence of music cultivation at the papal courts, scrutinizing the extant music manuscripts as well as their known composers, compilers, and performers. Only through a solid historical and material context could the phenomenon of papal polyphony be evaluated. The resulting evidence revealed that the different papal obediences indeed deployed different strategies of music cultivation, partially influenced by differing and changing spatial situations, but mainly induced by different understandings of legitimacy. The Roman papacy – in the tradition of the Western Church the 'legitimate' papal see – obviously confined itself mainly to liturgical polyphony, whereas the other obediences were prone to propaganda by means of secular polyphony.

Chapter 3 unveiled the crucial role of the Low Countries as meeting, reception, and transmission point of different polyphonic repertories. This cross-fertilisation was only made possible through the different interests in sacred and secular politics, triggered by the schismatic debates, and uniquely manifest in the Netherlands. By extension, I demonstrated the influence of this political climate on the transmission and cultivation of polyphonic repertories other than papal polyphony within a network of manuscripts from or linked to the Low Countries. Therefore, as papal polyphony by its nature reflects different factions of the schismatic debates, this chapter has established the role of this repertory as the main indicator for larger trends in music cultivation around 1400.

In Chapter 4, I analysed two 'outliers' in the source picture of papal polyphony, **Ba71** and **Ba72**. These two motet fragments of probable fourteenth-century French provenance demonstrate the manifestation of political propaganda in polyphony on several levels – for instance, through the composition of the Basel motet's poetic texts or the mechanisms behind

the motet's musical conception. More broadly, these fragments provided a glimpse of musical working processes and creativity in late-fourteenth century France that has largely fallen into oblivion due to the loss of its sources. That the Basel motet features a papal topic is not surprising, given the backdrop of the schismatic debates; however, one could also imagine the existence of further, now lost, 'draft versions' of non-papal compositions that might even survive today in the form of later, 'finished', copies.

In the final chapter, I first examined the rhetorical strategies behind the propagandistic poetic texts of papal compositions. In these poetic texts, I detected numerous references to the apocalyptic role of the schismatic papacy, a feature which has to date been neglected in musicology. Moreover, the obscure realm of hearsay, in which apocalyptic thought was apparently promulgated, seems to have blended into Franciscan contexts – an area in which it could have come into contact with the composers of papal polyphony.

The remainder of Chapter 5 aimed at interweaving the various strands of historical evidence, source study, individual musical work studies, and literary studies. The particular case of the papal prophecies indicates that they enjoyed a transmission similar to the source picture of papal polyphony. If their broader transmission was indeed comparable to the transmission of papal pieces, a study of the preservation of papal prophecies might reveal larger trends in the schismatic debates, just as the identification of papal music and its transmission has done. Therefore, joining the manuscript evidence and historical contexts of these different kinds of sources might offer significant new insights into the intellectual climate of the decades around 1400.

By taking advantage of the joint transmission of polyphony and apocalyptic prophecies in the miscellany **Pg9** – a prominent member of the Low Countries manuscript network – the final section of Chapter 5 generates several points of enquiry for future research. First, the case study of **Pg9** has shown that musical sources or musical items within heterogenous manuscripts cannot be analysed as isolated phenomena; they must instead be considered within their broader material and intellectual contexts. Studying miscellanies such as **Pg9** as 'whole books' therefore has a special potential to broaden the source picture of the schismatic period more generally.

Second, that **Pg9** was presumably compiled in a Franciscan environment (as is also indicated by its preservation of papal prophecies) brings the preservation of polyphony closer to religious, non-courtly, contexts. This topic demands further research, especially in the realm of the Franciscans and the status of music in the opposed branches of the order.

Lastly, the extraordinary amount of different musical repertories and their reworkings present in **Pg9** has not only strengthened the ties of the Low Countries network, but also integrated a miscellany within the transmission trends of largely music-only sources. The status of **Pg9** as an important source of the Low Countries manuscript network stands as representative for the cultural cross-fertilisation that not only enabled a reworking of multiple musical repertories but it also makes visible the hidden ways of inspiration that had permeated the cultivation of papal polyphony in the previous decades. In short, although we do not find papal polyphony in **Pg9**, this manuscript in itself constitutes a meeting point of musical knowledge and prophetic thought outside the European courts.

In conclusion, all of the above-mentioned approaches are only effective when used in dialogue with each other. This thesis began by focusing on papal polyphony, a confined corpus of musical compositions; it ended with a heterogenous manuscript source with varied contents, including polyphony but not a single 'papal' composition. After all, **Pg9** is as much a manifestation of music cultivation in the schismatic context as are the manuscripts of papal polyphony themselves: **Pg9** just requires different tools to identify and decipher its meaning. As such, it usefully encapsulates the methodological aims of this thesis, opening possible avenues for future research.

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