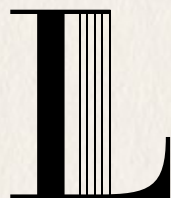


Il codice cipriota (I-Tn, J.II.9)

Origini, storie, contesto culturale

a cura di Elisabetta Barale,
Alberto Rizzuti e Angelica Staltari



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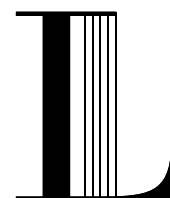
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Davide Croff

Presentazione

Con la presente pubblicazione si inaugura una nuova collana, *Libreria musicale*, diretta da Annarita Colturato e dedicata al libro di musica e sulla musica, manoscritto e a stampa.

Bello che si apra con una serie di contributi sul celebre “codice cipriota” di Torino, che fu oggetto di uno dei seminari di prassi esecutiva medievale che da molti anni tiene in Fondazione Claudia Caffagni, a conclusione dei suoi corsi all’Istituto di Musica Antica della Civica Scuola di Musica “Claudio Abbado” di Milano. Il seminario si conclude sempre con un concerto, che in questo caso nel 2021 fu replicato tra l’altro nel capoluogo piemontese in occasione di un convegno promosso dall’Università di Torino e dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria per far luce sull’origine del codice, sul contesto culturale della sua produzione, sulla forma della sua composizione, sulle vicende della sua trasmissione. In quella circostanza furono presentati molti diversi contributi, tutti assai stimolanti, sicché venne naturale pensare che un volume su J.11.9 fosse l’ideale per aprire la nuova collana, che continua così a dipanare il filo che lega la ricerca musicologica più avvertita al lavoro sulla prassi esecutiva, come tradizione per quanto sviluppato in Fondazione.

È sempre bello ospitare nel palazzo sede della Levi i giovani musicisti che si esercitano per giungere all’esecuzione, come i valorosi studiosi che esercitano la loro acribia su tanto importanti testimonianze musicali del passato: l’auspicio dei Fondatori, come espresso nei loro testamenti, trova così puntuale inveramento, mentre lo sviluppo della produzione editoriale concorre sempre più a qualificare il nostro Istituto come centro di ricerca.

Introduzione

Il volume, che inaugura la collana *Libreria musicale*, presenta gli esiti delle ricerche condotte da studiosi di diverse nazionalità, lingue e competenze su un manoscritto (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9) a cui la Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi dedicò nella primavera del 2019 un seminario di studi intitolato *Mottetti, rondeaux e virelais dal codice ‘franco-cipriota’ di Torino (1414-1420)*, frutto della collaborazione con l’Istituto di Musica Antica della Civica Scuola di Musica “Claudio Abbado” di Milano. Condotta da Claudia Caffagni, il seminario si concluse il 10 maggio con un concerto dell’Ensemble di Musica Medievale da lei diretto, concerto il cui programma prevedeva l’esecuzione di pagine non liturgiche tratte dal codice.

Il concerto fu replicato il 6 settembre dello stesso anno a Torino nell’ambito del festival *mrro – Settembre Musica*. In tale occasione alcuni degli autori degli articoli inseriti in questo volume ritennero opportuno far seguire al seminario veneziano, dedicato allo studio della prassi esecutiva basata su una selezione di pezzi ammontante a un ventesimo del totale, un convegno che facesse luce sulle origini del codice, sul contesto culturale che lo produsse e sulle ipotesi esegetiche susseguite in oltre un secolo di studi. Avvalendosi della collaborazione di diversi studiosi, esso si svolse fra il 30 settembre e il 1° ottobre 2021 alla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Anche in questo caso alle riflessioni storico-stilistiche seguì un momento performativo, affidato agli stessi interpreti di Venezia; ai quali fu però riservato, nell’occasione, il privilegio di eseguire una selezione di mottetti, rondeaux e virelais in presenza del codice che – unico – li tramanda, esposto in una teca collocata dinanzi al palco dell’Auditorium “Vivaldi” della biblioteca.

Il seminario veneziano del 2019 e il convegno torinese del 2021 erano stati preceduti da un convegno svoltosi al Centre d’Études Médiévales dell’Università di Montpellier il 3-4 novembre 2015.¹ Dedicato essenzialmente

1. Contributi disponibili in *Poésie et musique à l’âge de l’Ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), a cura di Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi e Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021.

alla struttura poetica del codice, ai generi musicali rappresentati al suo interno e ai testi verbali di alcune sue composizioni profane, esso costituì un secondo momento di riflessione collettiva a vent'anni esatti dalla pubblicazione degli atti delle giornate di studi svoltesi nel 1992 sull'isola da cui il codice proviene.² La disponibilità delle versioni scritte di molti fra gli interventi proposti nel 1992 a Paphos e nel 2015 a Montpellier ha costituito una base solida per l'allestimento dei programmi di Venezia e di Torino. Raccolti in due sedi editoriali dall'impatto limitato, tuttavia, tali contributi hanno goduto di una risonanza infinitamente minore rispetto all'articolo in cui, nel 2012, Karl Kügler – uno dei curatori dell'edizione in facsimile del codice, apparsa nel 1999³ – formulò, sulle pagine di un periodico di ben altra diffusione, un'ipotesi del tutto nuova in merito all'origine del manoscritto, al suo ruolo e al suo significato nella storia della cultura tardomedievale.⁴

Oltre alle versioni scritte di alcuni fra gli interventi proposti nel 2021 a Torino (in presenza, ma in molti casi a distanza: le restrizioni imposte dall'emergenza pandemica erano ancora sensibili), questo volume accoglie i contributi di alcuni studiosi impossibilitati allora a partecipare ai lavori ma nondimeno dedicatisi a indagare alcuni aspetti del codice e della sua fortuna critica. Ripresa in molti degli articoli proposti in queste pagine, la tesi avanzata da Kügler – secondo la quale il codice avrebbe avuto un committente bresciano e la sua musica un solo autore o quantomeno un autore largamente prevalente – ha avuto il merito di provocare un'ondata di studi orientati all'individuazione di alternative possibili. Ecco quindi profilarsi all'orizzonte, nei ruoli più diversi, una serie di figure mai considerate in precedenza: Antonio di Challant, arcivescovo di Tarantasia (Daniela Cereia), alcuni esponenti della famiglia saviglianese Beggiamo (Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone, Alberto Rizzuti), un unico compositore dall'identità sfuggente per la polifonia sacra (Robert J. Mitchell), Adam Grand (*faute de mieux*) per la messa aggiunta in epoca posteriore (Reinhard Strohm), un certo Jean Galiot o Galliot per alcuni mottetti (Anne W. Robertson), Antonello da Caserta per il *corpus* delle *ballades* (David Fallows); nonché, sul fronte degli studi critici, la messa a fuoco – grazie alla gentile messa a disposizione di diversi documenti

inediti custoditi in varie sedi italiane e tedesche – dell'attività di Wilhelm Meyer e Friedrich Ludwig al tempo della 'scoperta' del codice nei primissimi anni del Novecento (Alberto Rizzuti, Annarita Colturato). A tutto ciò si aggiungono, nella parte finale del volume, quattro contributi dedicati da altrettanti studiosi di lingua e letteratura francese rispettivamente all'architettura del codice (Gilles Polizzi), alla 'polifonia' rilevabile fra i testi verbali di un gruppo di *ballades* (Isabelle Fabre - Gilles Polizzi), alla rifunzionalizzazione di un celebre proverbio all'interno di un'altra *ballade* (Paola Cifarelli) e all'indagine sulle peculiarità linguistiche di alcuni testi volgari nel tentativo di ricondurne l'origine ad aree specifiche (Alice Colantuoni).

Una simile varietà di approcci è testimone della vivacità degli studi su un manoscritto i cui molti enigmi – in primis quello attinente all'identificazione del committente e degli autori dei testi poetici e musicali, tutti adespoti e privi di occorrenze in altre fonti – continuano ad alimentare la ricerca interdisciplinare schiudendo orizzonti sempre nuovi e affascinanti.⁵

E.B., A.R., A.S.

2. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), a cura di Ursula Günther e Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995.

3. *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, edizione in facsimile con introduzione a cura di Isabella Data e Karl Kügler, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999.

4. KARL KÜGLER, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690.

5. I curatori ringraziano per la collaborazione Guglielmo Bartoletti, direttore della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Fabio Uliana, responsabile della Sala Manoscritti e Rari, e Antonello Di Giorgio, fotografo della biblioteca. Un ringraziamento a Giorgio Busetto, direttore della Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, e Roberto Calabretto, presidente del comitato scientifico della stessa.

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I-Bca	Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio		
I-Bu	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria		
I-CF	Cividale del Friuli, Archivio capitolare del Duomo (S. Maria Assunta)		
I-Fas	Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca		
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Il codice cipriota (I-Tn, J.π.9)
Origini, storie, contesto culturale

Daniela Cereia

Fra Occidente latino e «Outremer»: Acaia, Cipro, Gerusalemme e il principato di Savoia nel xv secolo

Il termine ‘principato’ è usato dai medievalisti per designare gli Stati di Savoia;¹ indica infatti i territori soggetti alla giurisdizione di un principe e permette quindi di riferirsi sia alla contea sia al ducato senza tenere conto della cesura segnata dall’anno 1416, quando il re dei Romani Sigismondo eresse la contea in ducato.² Trattare di Cipro e dell’«Outremer» in relazione alla dinastia dei Savoia implica inevitabilmente risalire ai decenni che di poco precedettero l’erezione della contea in ducato e avanzare fino alla seconda metà del Quattrocento.

La fondazione dell’«Outremer» risale infatti alla metà del secolo XII a seguito della conquista cristiana di Gerusalemme e del Santo Sepolcro, che divenne anche il fulcro ideologico per una nuova configurazione della cultura occidentale basata proprio sull’occupazione della Terra Santa. Naturalmente la conquista dell’«Outremer» fornì da subito anche nuovi spazi alle ambizioni politiche ed economiche e i suoi territori furono presto considerati, non solo dai sovrani occidentali, ma anche da mercanti e ufficiali in cerca di nuove carriere, come luoghi da colonizzare.³

L’«Outremer» offrì ai sovrani occidentali anche una soluzione alternativa – e soprattutto lontana – al moltiplicarsi all’interno dei confini dei propri regni degli appannaggi destinati a cadetti, principi del sangue e famiglie dell’aristocrazia. Le conquiste dell’«Outremer» infatti permettevano di creare sia nuovi feudi sia nuovi regni di cui concedere investitura e governo, associandovi perfino titoli regi, proprio come avvenne nel caso di Cipro che, in origine feudo imperiale, nel 1197 fu eretta in regno dall’imperatore Enrico VI, il quale ne investì Amalrico di Lusignano.⁴

1. L’espressione «Stati di Savoia», ormai consolidata tra gli storici, descrive e comprende l’eterogeneità territoriale e amministrativa e il particolarismo giuridico dei molti domini che costituivano il principato; cfr. PAOLA BIANCHI – ANDREA MERLOTTI, *Storia degli Stati sabaudi (1416-1848)*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2017.

2. *La naissance du duché de Savoie (1416)*, actes du Colloque international (Chambéry, 18-20 février 2016), a cura di Laurent Ripart, Christian Guilleré e Pascal Vuillemin, Chambéry, Presses Universitaires Université de Savoie Mont Blanc, 2020.

3. CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN, *Le guerre di Dio*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012, pp. 169-170 (ed. orig. *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge (MA), The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).

4. Ivi, p. 750.

Gerusalemme fu presto perduta; la sua riconquista – o meglio l'ideale della sua riconquista – rimase strettamente collegata all'idea di «Outremer» fino alla fine del Duecento.⁵ Con la morte di Luigi IX, avvenuta nel 1270, tutti i principi occidentali erano però ormai consapevoli che i beni che erano stati eretti in feudo in «Outremer» non solo non costituivano più regni governabili, ma non potevano neppure assicurare quelle rendite economiche sulle quali i sovrani avevano fatto affidamento sia come introiti per la Corona sia per assegnare a cadetti e a principi del sangue terre e rendite al di fuori dei confini dei propri regni.

Anche la frammentazione politica e amministrativa dei territori dell'impero bizantino aveva offerto la possibilità di costituire nuovi principati latini sulla via di Gerusalemme, fornendo ulteriori opportunità di carriera ai cadetti delle famiglie delle aristocrazie occidentali, come avvenne nel caso dei Villehardouin, che nel corso della quarta Crociata ottennero il governo del principato di Acaia.⁶ Fu Goffredo di Villehardouin, cadetto di una famiglia comitale della Champagne, a ottenere per primo il governo dell'Acaia e a importarvi il modello amministrativo del regno di Francia, introducendo i balivi quali ufficiali di governo preposti sia all'amministrazione sia alla giustizia.⁷ Nel 1301 l'unione matrimoniale tra Isabella di Villehardouin, nipote di Goffredo, e Filippo di Savoia, portò in dote il titolo di principe di Acaia al ramo collaterale della famiglia Savoia; il titolo principesco fu rivendicato da tutti i discendenti del lignaggio Savoia-Acaia.⁸

Filippo si recò in Morea, dove soggiornò tra il 1301 e il 1304;⁹ le cronache coeve e locali lo ritraggono con tratti negativi, definendolo un principe avido, intento a organizzare il governo del principato assegnando ai membri del proprio *entourage* – e a scapito delle aristocrazie locali – cariche amministrative con il preciso e solo intento di trarre il maggior profitto possibile dalle rendite dei nuovi territori, come dimostrerebbero i circa 10.000 bisanti d'oro da lui riscossi nel 1303.¹⁰

5. Ivi, p. 171.

6. FLORIAN CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen. Les princes de la Maison de Savoie en Méditerranée orientale (XIV^e-XV^e siècle)*, tesi di dottorato, Université de Lausanne, Faculté de Lettres, a.a. 2020-2021, p. 23.

7. ANTONELLA PARMEGGIANI, *Le funzioni amministrative del principato di Acaia*, «Rivista di bizantinistica», 1/1, 1999, pp. 91-108: 95.

8. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 117; MARIE GUÉRIN, *Les dames de la Morée franque (XIII^e-XV^e siècle). Représentation, rôle et pouvoir des femmes de l'élite latine en Grèce médiévale*, tesi di dottorato, Université Paris-Sorbonne, Faculté d'Histoire, a.a. 2013-2014, p. 137.

9. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, pp. 26-27.

10. Ivi, p. 30. Le fonti contabili del principato di Acaia durante il governo di Filippo sono conservate in I-Ta, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei conti di Savoia*, Inventario 40, *Inventaires des comptes des trésoriers généraux des princes d'Achaïe*, f. 7 *Comptes de l'hôtel*, rotolo 1.

Filippo di Acaia fu uno dei pochi principi occidentali a trarre concreto vantaggio economico dai beni in Oriente. Perché dunque i principi occidentali compivano enormi sforzi bellici, politici, diplomatici e soprattutto economici per conservare, difendere e anche tentare di acquisire nuovi legami con i regni creati nell'«Outremer»? Per i principi e le famiglie aristocratiche occidentali l'interesse, oltre a quello commerciale, era determinato soprattutto dai titoli che, sebbene fossero ormai puramente nominali e privi di rendite effettive, non avevano perso quei valori non meno importanti e preziosi che servivano a rafforzare il prestigio familiare e l'antichità di lignaggio. Tali valori costituivano strumenti indispensabili, per le dinastie regnanti, per negoziare nuove alleanze dinastiche per mezzo di matrimoni prestigiosi. Per i Savoia, in particolare, l'interesse primario era l'acquisizione di un titolo regio riconosciuto anche da altri principati e potenze, soprattutto da Venezia, per quanto riguardava Cipro.¹¹

Dalla fine del Trecento i titoli di re di Cipro, di Gerusalemme, di principe di Acaia e di Morea si acquisivano soltanto per mezzo di unioni matrimoniali con i discendenti di quei lignaggi che un secolo prima avevano effettivamente – anche se brevemente – governato e amministrato i regni e i principati nati dalle spedizioni militari nell'«Outremer». Un'eccezione era costituita dai marchesi di Monferrato, che discendendo dai Paleologi, ancora all'inizio del secolo XV potevano rivendicare diritti sui resti dell'impero romano d'Oriente. Proprio alle discendenti femminili dei marchesi di Monferrato erano affidati i diritti dinastici sull'Oriente: nel 1421 infatti Sofia, figlia del marchese Teodoro II di Monferrato, era stata unita in matrimonio a Giovanni VIII Paleologo, figlio dell'imperatore Manuele II; oltre agli interessi dei marchesi di Monferrato, la speranza politica affidata a quell'unione era quella di un avvicinamento tra Oriente e Occidente.¹² A un'altra principessa occidentale, Margherita di Savoia figlia di Amedeo VIII, erano stati affidati i diritti di trasmissione del regno di Gerusalemme – e soprattutto del titolo di regina di Sicilia –, acquisiti nel 1432 a seguito del matrimonio con Luigi III d'Angiò.¹³ La prematura scomparsa dello sposo, morto pochi mesi dopo l'arrivo a corte di Margherita, rese la vedova, anche se solo nominalmente, regina di Gerusalemme e di Sicilia. Nel

11. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 9.

12. WALTER HABERSTUMPF, *La politica orientale di Teodoro II Paleologo, marchese di Monferrato tra Genova e Bisanzio*, «Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», 119/1, 2021, pp. 191-210: 206.

13. Su Margherita di Savoia e la negoziazione dei suoi tre matrimoni, in attesa della pubblicazione degli atti del convegno *Starke Frauen? Adelige Damen im Südwesten des spätmittelalterlichen Reiches*, tenutosi a Stoccarda il 15-16 ottobre 2020, si rinvia al catalogo della mostra, organizzata unitamente al convegno, *Die Tochter des Papstes: Margarethe von Savoyen*, a cura di Peter Rückert, Anja Thaller e Klaus Oschema, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2020 (si veda in particolare p. 11 per il matrimonio con Luigi III d'Angiò).

disegno politico di Amedeo VIII, infatti, il matrimonio della figlia doveva sia rafforzare i rapporti con la dinastia angioina, sia portare alla dinastia ducale un titolo regio.¹⁴ Il titolo di regina di Gerusalemme rimase comunque a Margherita ed entrò a far parte della dote della sposa nelle successive negoziazioni per il suo secondo e terzo matrimonio. L'elezione di Amedeo VIII al soglio pontificio divenne un ulteriore elemento a sostegno dei negoziati che ebbero luogo tra il 1444 e il 1445 per il secondo matrimonio di Margherita con uno dei principi più potenti dell'impero, cioè Ludovico IV del Palatinato.¹⁵ La dote della sposa, infatti, oltre alla somma di 125.000 fiorini, era arricchita dal titolo di regina di Gerusalemme e di Sicilia, che veniva accuratamente e sempre riportato in ogni atto relativo alla negoziazione del matrimonio.¹⁶ La corona acquisita da Margherita offriva ancora a metà Quattrocento un'opportunità per disporre di beni e rendite in Sicilia, ritenuti più redditizi e sicuri di quelli promessi nell'ormai lontano e perduto «Outremer». La Sicilia, inoltre, per un principe elettore con ambizioni di elezione al soglio imperiale, evocava le antiche spedizioni di Federico II e i fasti dell'impero romano germanico.

La politica del principato di Savoia si era già rivolta verso Oriente nel 1326, quando il conte Edoardo di Savoia aveva unito in matrimonio la figlia Anna con Andronico III Paleologo, figlio dell'imperatore d'Oriente.¹⁷ Pochi decenni più tardi la politica dei Savoia verso Oriente era divenuta militare. Tra il 1366 e il 1367 una spedizione comandata dal conte Amedeo VI era giunta fino a Gallipoli e aveva toccato anche alcuni porti del Mar Nero.¹⁸ Da quella spedizione, che era stata considerata vittoriosa anche se non era mai giunta a Bisanzio e si era conclusa con il rientro delle spoglie del conte Amedeo VI, morto durante il viaggio di rientro, la famiglia comitale aveva posto solide premesse per le future negoziazioni con i discendenti della dinastia dei Lusignano, re di Cipro. La scomparsa repentina del conte Amedeo VII, la minore età di Amedeo VIII e le vicissitudini del principato di Savoia fino all'incoronazione di Amedeo VIII non avevano permesso ulteriori trattative e negoziati per una politica di espansione sabauda a Oriente. Solo durante il regno di Amedeo VIII ripresero le trattative per negoziare l'unione matrimoniale di Amedeo, figlio primogenito di

Amedeo VIII, con la principessa Anna di Lusignano.¹⁹ La morte prematura del principe di Piemonte nel 1431 comportò lo spostamento dei negoziati su Ludovico, figlio cadetto del duca, destinato a seguito della morte del fratello sia a salire al soglio ducale di Savoia, sia a divenire lo sposo della principessa cipriota.²⁰ Nel 1432, nel pieno corso delle trattative, era morto anche il padre della sposa;²¹ Anna di Cipro giunse quindi a Chambéry soltanto nel mese di febbraio del 1433.²²

La storiografia, sia quella coeva ad Anna di Cipro, sia quella di fine Ottocento e della prima metà del Novecento, fondandosi in buona parte sulle cronache, si è concentrata soprattutto sugli aspetti negativi di Anna di Cipro, a cominciare dalla festa di nozze, passata quasi inosservata nelle cronache sabaude.²³ Anche la dote della sposa, che ammontava a 100.000 ducati d'oro, oltre al fardello e alle spese di viaggio, contribuiva alla costruzione negativa della fama della duchessa: la somma non fu mai pagata, come provano i numerosi carteggi tra le due corti.²⁴ Inoltre la dote, in termini economici, era considerata di modesto valore; erano invece ritenuti preziosi i diritti che la sposa poteva avanzare sul trono di Cipro, sui quali Amedeo VIII aveva fatto condurre i negoziati.

A incrementare le antipatie verso Anna contribuiva l'*entourage* di sudditi ciprioti che l'avevano seguita nel ducato di Savoia e che si erano stabiliti a corte, acquisendo influenza e potere. Quando Ludovico divenne duca nel 1440 i ciprioti ottennero cariche, beni e la gestione di territori – e soprattutto di rendite – che facevano parte del dovario di Anna di Cipro e dei quali avevano in precedenza beneficiato gli antichi lignaggi del ducato.²⁵ Il malcontento tra i sudditi di Savoia era assicurato e di conseguenza anche l'ostilità, tramandata dalla storiografia, verso i così detti «ciprioti». I documenti trascritti nei Protocolli ducali conservati nell'Archivio

14. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 79.

15. DANIELA CEREIA, *Far politica con l'assente. La vacanza del vicariato imperiale da Ludovico a Filippo II di Savoia* in *Stato Sabauda e Sacro Romano Impero*, a cura di Marco Bellabarba e Andrea Merlotti, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2014, pp. 195-212: 201.

16. I-Ta, Corte, *Matrimoni*, m. 13/1, fasc. 2.

17. HABERSTUMPF, *La politica orientale*, p. 201; CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 37.

18. FLORIAN CHAMOREL, «*Ad partes infidelium*». *La croisade d'Amédée VI de Savoie (juin 1366 – juillet 1367)*, Lausanne, Université de Lausanne, 2016.

19. FRANCESCO COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII*, Milano, Dall'Oglio, 1991, pp. 113-115.

20. *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i rapporti con l'Oriente latino in età medioevale e tardomedioevale*, atti del convegno internazionale (Château de Ripaille – Thonon-les-Bains, 15-17 giugno 1995), a cura di Francesco De Caria e Donatella Taverna, Torino, Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1997; si veda in particolare ELISA MONGIANO, *L'acquisizione del titolo regio. I Savoia e la corona di Cipro*, pp. 53-67.

21. JACQUES PAVIOT – EVA PIBIRI, *Voyages et missions de Jean de La Chapelle, poursuivant Faucon, héraut Savoie 1424-1444*, «Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», 106, 2008, pp. 239-285.

22. COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII*, p. 117.

23. *Chronica latina Sabaudiae*, a cura di Domenico Promis, in *Monumenta historiae patriae*, III: *Scriptores*, I, Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1840, coll. 599-670: 616. Si veda LUISA CLOTILDE GENTILE, *L'autunno della cavalleria: feste e cerimonie nelle cronache sabaude*, «Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», CXXVI/1, 2018, pp. 119-133: 122.

24. I-Ta, Corte, *Matrimoni*, m. 11/1, fasc. 10-13.

25. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 378. Anna di Cipro aveva elargito al proprio seguito anche oggetti preziosi e doni in denaro, come mostra il conto delle strenne natalizie pubblicato in EMANUELE BOLLATI DI SAINT-PIERRE, *Documenti inediti sulla Casa di Savoia*, «Miscellanea di storia italiana», XXII, 1884, pp. 297-376: 317-331.

di Stato di Torino attestano che le assegnazioni di beni e cariche a favore dei ciprioti erano reali e non un'invenzione storiografica.²⁶ Oltre a Ugo e Lancillotto di Lusignano noti alla storiografia con l'appellativo di «Cardinali di Cipro», i quali svolsero numerose missioni diplomatiche per conto del duca di Savoia,²⁷ ricevettero molti benefici i membri della famiglia Antiochia, in particolare Perrino che, oltre ad avere ricoperto la carica di vicario della città di Torino, fece parte del seguito che accompagnò Margherita di Savoia in Baviera in occasione delle sue seconde nozze con Ludovico IV.²⁸ Furono però soprattutto i membri della famiglia Denores a godere, per più generazioni, della posizione acquisita presso la duchessa di Savoia.²⁹ I Denores, infatti, dopo l'ascesa iniziata da Guiotino, giunto al seguito di Anna di Cipro, avevano acquisito un'influenza talmente durevole che nel 1460 Amedeo, figlio di Guiotino, era divenuto consigliere ducale, vescovo di Vercelli e tesoriere di quella città. Il potere di Guiotino era tale da potersi permettere di negare il pagamento della pensione assegnata dal duca Ludovico di Savoia al figlio cadetto Filippo di Bresse. Questi, nel 1462, durante l'irruzione al castello di Thonon, aveva fatto imprigionare proprio il vescovo Denores; aveva inoltre ordinato la confisca di una casa a Ginevra, assegnata ai Denores dal duca, e l'aveva donata al conte di Gruyère, che lo aveva fortemente sostenuto.³⁰ Si trattava certamente di un gesto che aveva un profondo significato politico: la restituzione ai lignaggi del ducato di Savoia dei beni assegnati agli stranieri, ai ciprioti.

Nel 1459 anche i Savoia ottennero finalmente il titolo regio a seguito del matrimonio di Ludovico, figlio secondogenito del duca Ludovico di Savoia e di Anna di Cipro, con la cugina Carlotta di Lusignano, ultima erede legittima del trono di Cipro, incoronata regina di Cipro a seguito della morte del padre un anno prima delle nozze.³¹ Ludovico divenne pertanto re di Cipro, Gerusalemme e Armenia. Si concludeva quindi il lungo progetto politico intrapreso da Amedeo VIII per ampliare la propria sfera di influenza nel Mediterraneo, iniziato con l'unione di Margherita alla dinastia angioina e proseguito con il matrimonio di Ludovico di Savoia e

Anna di Cipro.³² Quest'ultimo fatto era stato determinante nella costruzione dei legami con i re di Cipro.

L'interesse di Giano di Lusignano a saldare la propria dinastia con quella dei duchi di Savoia è da attribuire, oltre che alla necessità di un legame con un lignaggio occidentale per ottenere appoggio politico e militare utile per far fronte alla situazione critica in cui versava l'isola di Cipro,³⁵ anche all'influenza e al prestigio che Amedeo VIII aveva acquisito nel corso dei precedenti quindici anni presso l'imperatore Sigismondo. Proprio nel 1430, anno delle negoziazioni intraprese con i Lusignano, Amedeo VIII godeva di grande prestigio presso la corte imperiale grazie al ruolo determinante svolto nell'organizzazione del Concilio di Basilea. Il concilio avrebbe dovuto finalmente porre termine allo scisma della Chiesa con l'elezione di un pontefice e di conseguenza Sigismondo avrebbe potuto farsi incoronare imperatore da un papa eletto dal conclave.³⁴

Tra il 1432, anno delle prime nozze di Margherita, e il 1434, gli interessi politico-dinastici della corte sabauda per ottenere un titolo regio rivolti a Gerusalemme e soprattutto a Cipro si erano quindi in larga misura concretizzati.³⁵ Crocevia del commercio nel Mediterraneo, l'isola era oggetto di mire politiche, economiche e commerciali; era la stessa Cipro a promuovere spedizioni militari contro i Turchi per garantire la propria sicurezza e per cercare appoggi politici, economici e militari presso le corti occidentali.

I Veneziani erano i principali protettori di quelle rotte commerciali; ma le spedizioni, alcune delle quali promosse insieme ad alcuni pontefici, non erano state sufficienti per contrastare l'avanzata turca; nemmeno la vittoriosa missione a Gallipoli guidata da Amedeo VI di Savoia tra il 1366 e il 1367 aveva sortito effetti concreti sulla situazione cipriota. Le profonde divisioni che segnavano l'Occidente latino avevano favorito l'armata turca, tanto che gli Ottomani stavano ripristinando la coerenza geografica, politica ed economica dell'impero romano d'Oriente; alcune dinastie imperiali greche, nel corso del secolo XIV, si erano perfino legate in matrimonio con la famiglia del sultano ottomano; gli stessi Serbi, nella disastrosa battaglia di Nicopoli del 1396, avevano combattuto al fianco dei Turchi contro i crociati; nel 1384 anche i monaci del monte Athos avevano richiesto l'aiuto dei Turchi contro Giovanni V Paleologo, che consideravano

26. I-Ta, Corte, *Protocolli ducali e camerali. Repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e dei toponimi sub voce* Denores, Antiochia e Lusignano.

27. PAVIOT - PIBIRI, *Voyages et missions*, pp. 239-285.

28. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 380.

29. Ivi, p. 380.

30. DANIELA CEREIA, *Percorso politico di un cadetto: Filippo di Bresse, poi duca di Savoia*, tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Torino - Université Savoie Mont Blanc, a.a. 2007-2008, p. 43; CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 381. La casa fu confiscata da Filippo di Bresse nel corso della ribellione; cfr. CEREIA, *Percorso politico*, p. 86.

31. COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII*, p. 114; CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, pp. 100-105.

32. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 104.

33. Ivi, p. 85.

34. DANIELA CEREIA, *Les rapports entre l'empereur Sigismond de Luxembourg et le comte Amédée VIII de Savoie*, in *La naissance du duché de Savoie (1416)*, pp. 47-64: 48.

35. CHAMOREL, *Un destin méditerranéen*, p. 419.

un imperatore eretico.³⁶ Perfino alcuni pontefici non avevano esitato a servirsi dei Turchi per i propri interessi politici.³⁷

La disastrosa disfatta subita a Nicopoli dall'armata dei principi occidentali aveva causato non solo perdite di vite umane tra i lignaggi principeschi – come l'ammiraglio di Francia Giovanni di Vienne e il maresciallo di Borgogna Guglielmo di Trémoille –, ma aveva reso necessari anche onerosi esborsi di denaro per pagare il riscatto dei prigionieri, come nel caso di Giovanni di Nevers, di Filippo d'Artois conestabile di Francia, del maresciallo Boucicaut e di Enguerrand di Coucy.³⁸ Inoltre, la sconfitta di Nicopoli aveva reso evidente che l'impero stesso era gravemente minacciato: oltre che re dei Romani, Sigismondo era re d'Ungheria e pertanto l'attacco a quel regno, oltre a mettere in pericolo i confini orientali dell'impero, destabilizzava il già fragile equilibrio politico occidentale e l'elezione stessa di Sigismondo a imperatore.³⁹ Contribuiva alla fragilità politica occidentale anche il lungo conflitto – la Guerra dei Cent'anni – che contrapponeva Inghilterra e Francia; la maggior parte dei principi occidentali erano schierati in uno dei due campi e l'animosità aveva causato anche l'annullamento di spedizioni militari destinate a fronteggiare i Turchi.⁴⁰ A complicare ulteriormente il quadro politico contribuivano la divisione fra le chiese di Oriente e Occidente e soprattutto il Grande Scisma (1378-1417), foriero di ripercussioni significative anche sull'incoronazione imperiale: era necessario un solo pontefice riconosciuto dalla Cristianità ed eletto da un conclave per incoronare l'imperatore. Fu proprio in questo contesto che Sigismondo, tra il 1390 e il 1416, intraprese frequenti e lunghi soggiorni nei territori occidentali dell'impero per cercare la pacificazione tra i principi. L'analisi dei diplomi imperiali di questo periodo mostra che, in cambio dell'impegno a non continuare i conflitti fra i regni occidentali, tutti i principi avevano ricevuto da Sigismondo benefici, titoli o concessioni. Amedeo VIII aveva ottenuto il titolo ducale.⁴¹ Il controllo dei passi alpini che davano accesso a Costanza, luogo scelto per lo svolgimento del Concilio convocato nel 1414 con l'obiettivo di porre termine allo scisma, permise ad Amedeo

VIII di ricoprire un ruolo significativo e non solo di ottenere la dignità ducale, ma di acquisire quell'influenza presso la corte imperiale che fu determinante per la politica orientale del ducato di Savoia.

Al seguito di Sigismondo si erano aggiunti anche alcuni inviati della chiesa ortodossa col fine di contribuire all'unione delle due chiese di Oriente e Occidente, ma soprattutto di provare a ricostituire l'unità dei due imperi di Oriente e Occidente per arrestare l'avanzata turca.⁴² Uno degli inviati era Manuele Crisolora.⁴³ A quest'ultimo era stato affidato il compito di costruire solidi legami intellettuali tra Oriente e Occidente anche con la traduzione di testi dal greco al latino.⁴⁴ Proprio Manuele Crisolora divenne il tramite fra Sigismondo, l'antipapa Giovanni XXIII e Guglielmo di Challant, gran cancelliere del ducato di Savoia, vescovo di Losanna e cameriere e cancelliere della Camera apostolica di Giovanni XXIII.⁴⁵ Fu Guglielmo di Challant a ricevere l'incarico di trovare un luogo in cui riunire il concilio, che si svolse poi a Basilea.⁴⁶ E fu probabilmente proprio Guglielmo Challant il tramite per rafforzare i legami, non solo politici, ma anche culturali, tra il ducato di Savoia, Manuele Crisolora e l'antipapa Giovanni XXIII.

La pergamena unita al codice J.II.9 è un atto proprio di Giovanni XXIII, databile al 1414;⁴⁷ la funzione di tale scritto era far conoscere e promuovere il culto di sant'Ilarione di Gaza in Occidente. Lo scritto di Giovanni XXIII era necessario nei territori alpini dove, a differenza del Sud Italia e in particolare della Calabria, il santo non era noto ed era indispensabile la legittimazione del nuovo culto.

Ai filologi e ai bibliotecari compete la ricostruzione della storia di questo manoscritto; compito dello storico è invece studiare e cercare di comprendere il contesto politico e culturale che potrebbe avere contribuito alla circolazione sia del culto del santo orientale sia del codice.

42. WALTER BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414-1418*, 2 voll., Paderborn, Schöningh, 1991-1997, I: *Bis zur Abreise Sigismunds nach Narbonne*, 1991, pp. 126, 187-197.

43. *Roma parte del cielo: confronto tra l'Antica e la Nuova Roma di Manuele Crisolora*, introduzione a cura di Enrico V. Maltese, traduzione e note di Guido Cortassa, Torino, Utet, 2000, p. 66.

44. Ivi, p. 15.

45. JEAN-DANIEL MOREROD, *Guillaume de Challant (1406-1451) et la défense de son pouvoir temporel dans l'évêché de Lausanne. Contribution à une histoire de la prise du titre comtal par les évêques*, in *Hommes d'Église et pouvoirs à l'époque bourguignonne (xiv^e-xv^e s.)*, actes du Colloque international (Dijon – Dole, 25-28 septembre 1997), a cura di Jean-Marie Cauchies, Neuchâtel, Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 1998, pp. 57-68; GUIDO CASTELNUOVO, *Identités aristocratiques et modèles religieux en Savoie au xv^e siècle: pour une lecture de la Chronique de la Maison de Challant*, in *Les lieux de sociabilité religieuse à la fin du Moyen Âge*, a cura di Pierrette Paravy e Ilaria Taddei, Grenoble, CRHIPA, 2006, pp. 93-113; ALESSANDRO BARBERO, *Principe e nobiltà negli Stati sabaudi: gli Challant in Valle d'Aosta tra XIV e XVI secolo*, in *Valle d'Aosta medievale*, a cura di Alessandro Barbero, Napoli, Liguori, 2000, pp. 179-210.

46. BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil*, I, pp. 50-52.

47. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Il codice franco-cipriota J.II.9 e le vicende del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in *Miscellanea di studi 4*, a cura di Isabella Data, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi – Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1996, pp. 7-12: 11.

36. TYERMAN, *Le guerre di Dio*, p. 857. Sulla battaglia di Nicopoli si rinvia a *Nicopolis 1396-1996*, actes du Colloque international (Dijon, 18 octobre 1996), a cura di Jacques Paviot e Martine Chaunez-Boukikkot, Dijon, Annales de Bourgogne, 1997.

37. GIOVANNI RICCI, *Appello al Turco. I confini infranti del Rinascimento*, Roma, Viella, 2011.

38. TYERMAN, *Le guerre di Dio*, p. 866; JACQUES PAVIOT, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIV^e siècle – XV^e siècle)*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2003.

39. CEREIA, *Les rapports*, pp. 48-49.

40. TYERMAN, *Le guerre di Dio*, p. 841.

41. CEREIA, *Les rapports*, pp. 51-52.

La pergamena di Giovanni XXIII suggerisce che, oltre al contributo di Manuele Crisolora nella circolazione di testi greci, anche i vescovi di Losanna, cioè Guglielmo di Challant, e di Tarantasia, cioè Antonio di Challant, fratello di Guglielmo, svolsero un ruolo importante nella diffusione della cultura ortodossa e nel progetto politico di risoluzione dello scisma e delle chiese di Oriente e Occidente.

Proprio uno dei due presuli, che appartenevano a un lignaggio influente e potente presso la corte di Savoia, è il donatore di un non meglio precisato manoscritto al duca di Savoia. Un conto della Tesoreria generale di Savoia conservato all'Archivio di Stato di Torino e datato 1434 descrive alcuni interventi di legatoria e abbellimento sui codici già presenti a quella data nella biblioteca di Amedeo VIII.⁴⁸ L'elenco è particolarmente dettagliato, poiché ogni operazione implicava costi precisi – materiali e mano d'opera – che dovevano essere rendicontati e soprattutto approvati. Era necessario che non solo le descrizioni dell'intervento fossero puntuali; era anche indispensabile identificare con precisione il volume per cui si approvavano i lavori. La lista, ordinata per punti, descrive prima il volume, identificato dal titolo, dall'autore o dalla funzione (per esempio Bibbia, Salterio), poi l'intervento (operazioni e materiali necessari e relativi costi). L'elenco, che prevede oltre venti punti, muta verso la fine: è sempre esauriente nella descrizione dei costi e degli interventi, ma diventa meno preciso riguardo ai titoli di alcuni volumi, che evidentemente non erano facilmente identificabili. In particolare si menziona un non meglio precisato volume che necessita di una copertina di velluto e di borchie e fermagli che dovevano anche essere dorati; come unica indicazione del titolo è riportato «dono dell'arcivescovo di Tarantasia», cioè Antonio di Challant, che quindi, probabilmente, lo aveva ricevuto proprio da Giovanni XXIII.

48. I-Ta, Sezioni Riunite, *Camera dei conti di Savoia*, Inventario 16 Conti della Tesoreria generale, reg. 79, ff. 207-215. Per approfondimenti sulla biblioteca di Amedeo VIII si rinvia a SHEILA EDMUNDS, *The Medieval Library of Savoy*, «Scriptorium», 24-26, 1970-1972, pp. 318-327, 253-284, 269-293.

Alberto Rizzuti

Four Angels and a Coat of Arms: The Case of Manuscript I-Tn, J.II.9*

1. To Arms!

In 2012, thirteen years after the publication of the facsimile edition of J.II.9 (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9), Karl Kügler claimed – based on the coat of arms in the margins of the opening *recto* (Fig. 1) – that the Cypriot codex was commissioned by Pietro Avogadro (d. 1473), an important member of the Brescian nobility.¹ Kügler prefaced

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1. KARL KÜGLER, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690. Kügler first suggested that the codex might have an Italian connection in *Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript*, in *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, facsimile edition with an introduction by Isabella Data and Karl Kügler, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999, pp. 25-63: 33. Both Data and Kügler participated in the 1992 conference in Paphos (Cyprus), the proceedings of which were published as *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995. The first edition of J.II.9's polyphonic repertoire was *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, 4 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963. Other important contributions on J.II.9 by Hoppin include *The Motets of the Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscript J.II.9 in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin*, doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1952; *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Turin J.II.9*, «Musica Disciplina», 11, 1957, pp. 79-125; *A Fifteenth-Century "Christmas Oratorio"*, in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thomson Davison by his Associates*, Cambridge (MA), Department of Music, Harvard University, 1957, pp. 41-49; *Exultantes collaudemus: A Sequence for St Hylarion*, in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue, New York, Pendragon, 1966, pp. 392-405. Begun around 2010, a complete diplomatic transcription of J.II.9 – *Le Codex de Chypre (Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria J.II.9)*, Bologna, Ut Orpheus, 2011 – is still underway. Four volumes have appeared so far: I (ed. by Cécile Beaupain, Germana Schiassi, and Raphaël Picazos) is dedicated to rondeaux and virelais, and II-IV (ed. by Cécile Beaupain, Terence Waterhouse, and Gisèle Clément) dedicated to ballades. Kügler's Avogadro hypothesis has aroused various perplexities in the decade since its appearance, but no convincing alternative hypothesis has yet been advanced. Significant evidence linking J.II.9 (a *siglum* discussed in footnote 1 of Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone's contribution to the present volume) to the cosmopolitan court environment of early fifteenth-century Cyprus was presented in a number of papers at a 2015 Montpellier conference, now collected in *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ar subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre



Fig. 1.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1r

his arguments with a survey of twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship on J.II.9 but failed to consider a suggestion by Luisa Gentile – reported (but left unsubstantiated) in Giovanna Saroni’s 2004 book on the library of Amadeus VIII (1383-1451), first Duke of Savoy and Antipope Felix v (r. 1439-49) – that the coat of arms might instead be linked to the Beggiamo family of Savigliano² (Fig. 1).

Two roughly contemporary frescoes lend weight to Gentile’s identification: the first in the castle of Sant’Albano Stura (Province of Cuneo, Piedmont), whose foundations now form part of the villa of the counts of Barel, and the second in the Hall of Honour in Tapparelli Castle in Lagnasco (also in the Province of Cuneo) (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2.
Lagnasco (Cuneo) - Tapparelli Castle - Hall of Honour
Beggiamo coat of arms

2015), ed. by Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, and Faïch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021. In an earlier contribution, Fabre and Polizzi advanced an even more radical thesis, exploring the plausible role of King Janus of Cyprus in the manuscript’s creation and contents. According to Fabre and Polizzi, in addition to being J.II.9’s direct or indirect patron, the King of Cyprus might even be considered its central ‘protagonist’, with some of the French-texted pieces being attributable to his ‘voice’; see ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *In Memory of Janus (1398-1432): Poetics of the French Pieces of the Cyprus Codex (Turin J.II.9), For a Historical Reading*, in *Dia anthymisin kaipou kai topou: logotechnikes apotyposes tou kosmou tis Kyprou*, Praktika diethnous epistimonikou sinedriou (Leukosia, 6-9 Oktovriou 2012), ed. by Michalis Pieris, Nicosia, Politistikes yporiesies ypourgeiou paideias kai politismou, Tmima vyzantinon kai neoellinikon spoudon panepistimion Kyprou, 2015, pp. 91-114.

2. GIOVANNA SARONI, *La biblioteca di Amedeo VIII di Savoia (1391-1451)*, Torino, Allemandi, 2004, pp. 65-77. On p. 77 (footnote 76), Saroni states that information regarding the Beggiamo of Savigliano family coat of arms was communicated to her privately by Luisa Gentile. The coat of arms appears exclusively on fol. 1r of the manuscript.

Both frescoes can be linked to members of the Beggiamo family: Pietro (1362/74-1436) was assigned the fief of Sant'Albano Stura in 1412 by Louis of Savoy-Achaea, while Filippo (the eldest son of Pietro's older brother Tomaso) married Francesca, a scion of the Tapparelli family, thus securing a place for the Beggiamo coat of arms in Tapparelli Castle.⁵

In purely iconographic terms, the coat of arms in J.II.9 also matches that of the Arfaruoli (or Arferuoli) family from Pistoia (Fig. 3), as well as that of the Sassoli family from Prato/Florence; however, there is no record of contact between these families and the Kingdom of Cyprus or the Duchy of Savoy.⁴



Fig. 3.
I-Fas – *Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani*
Arfaruoli coat of arms

3. The Barel family villa of Sant'Albano Stura is currently uninhabited and inaccessible. Of the 86 or 87 coats of arms originally painted on the ceiling of Tapparelli Castle's Hall of Honour in 1467-68, 84 are still extant. The Beggiamo family coat of arms ('de beiamis') was painted on the eastern side of the hall, and is catalogued as number 73 in the photographic appendix to the *Blasonario Subalpino*, <http://www.blasonariosubalpino.it/Appendicef2a.html>; last accessed 21 September 2023.

4. A description and reproduction of the Arfaruoli coat of arms can be found in fasc. 5012, *s.v.*, of the *Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani*, a heraldic collection produced by Enrico Ceramelli Papiani (1896-1976) and today housed in I-Fas, accessible via the following link: <https://archiviostatofirenze.cultura.gov.it/ceramellipapiani/index.php?page=Home> (last accessed 21 September 2023). A description (without reproduction) of the Sassoli coat of arms can be found in fasc. 4276. For reasons explained above, the coat of arms on the opening *recto* of J.II.9 will henceforth be referred to as the 'Beggiamo arms'.

The main heraldry inventories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries describe the Beggiamo coat of arms in a fairly uniform manner, consistent with contemporary material evidence. In volume IV (1884) of the *Teatro araldico* by Leone Tettoni and Francesco Saladini, for instance, under the heading 'Begiame di Savigliano', we read that «the coat of arms used by this noble family consists of three bands crenellated on both sides in gold, on a red field».⁵ In volume I (1886) of Giovan Battista di Crollalanza's *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, the 'Begiame di Savigliano' coat of arms is described as «red, with three bands double-crenellated in gold».⁶ In volume I of the *Patriziato subalpino* (1895), Antonio Manno records the family as «Beggiamo (Beggiame). Da Savigliano. Conti di S. Albano» and describes the coat of arms as «red, with three bands of gold, double crenellated».⁷ Johannes Baptista Rietstap's *Armoiries* (1903) accords with nineteenth-century descriptions but links the 'Begiame' family to Milan.⁸ More recently, an entry on the 'Beggiamo (Beggiame) (da Savigliano)' family in the *Consegnamenti d'arme piemontesi* (2000) describes its members as «marquises of Clavesana (1715); counts of Ceresole d'Alba, Sant'Albano; lords of Beinette, Bibiana; lords of Cavallerleone, Cervere, Luserna, Vignolo, Villanova». In the 1580 *Consegnamento* the coat of arms is described as «gold, with three bands of red double-merlons», while in the 1613 *Consegnamento* it is described as «red with three double-merlons of gold».⁹ The descriptions are therefore fairly consistent, matching the coat of arms found on the opening *recto* of J.II.9.

Kügler's 2012 identification of the J.II.9 coat of arms with the Avogadro family of Brescia relies on two of the above-mentioned inventories

5. LEONE TETTONI – FRANCESCO SALADINI, *Teatro araldico, ovvero Raccolta generale delle armi ed insegne gentilizie delle più illustri e nobili casate che esisterono un tempo e tuttora fioriscono in tutta l'Italia*, 8 vols, Lodi, Wilmant, 1841-1851, IV, 1844, *s.v.* 'Begiame di Savigliano': «l'arma usata da questa nobile famiglia consiste in tre bande merlate d'ambe le parti d'oro, in campo rosso».

6. GIOVAN BATTISTA DI CROLLALANZA, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti*, 2 vols, Pisa, Direzione del Giornale Araldico, 1886-1888; repr. Bologna, Forni, 1977, I, p. 107: «di rosso, a tre bande doppio addentellate d'oro».

7. ANTONIO MANNO, *Il patriziato subalpino*, 2 vols (vol. 3 and ff. available in typescript only), Firenze, Civelli, 1895-1906, I, 1895, pp. 219-220: «Di rosso, a tre bande d'oro, doppio merlate».

8. *Armoiries des familles contenues dans l'Armorial Général de J. B. Rietstap*, Paris, Institut Héraldique Universel, 1903, p. 221 («De gu[eule] à trois bandes bret[essées] d'or») and plate CLXIII (coat of arms reproduced in black and white, with crenulations only on the right-hand side of the band).

9. *I consegnamenti d'arme piemontesi*, ed. by Enrico Genta Ternavasio, Gustavo Mola di Nomaglio, Marcello Rebuffo, and Angelo Scordo, Torino, Vivant, 2000, p. 57 (*Consegnamento 1580*: «d'oro, a tre bande di rosso doppiomerlate») and p. 92 (*Consegnamento 1613-1614*: «di rosso con tre bande contra doppio merlate d'oro»). In a note regarding the first *Consegnamento* (p. 56), the editors report three further material testimonies concerning the Beggiamo coat of arms: 1) found in the old refectory of Savigliano San Pietro convent, where Pietro's brother Daniele was abbot from 1420 to 1480; 2) carved on Pietro's funeral monument, created after his death in 1436 and initially placed in the church of the same convent (see a recent reproduction in Fig. 21); and 3) painted in the hall of the archbishop's palace in Turin (the latter can be linked to Michele, Archbishop of Turin between 1662 and 1689; see §9). The coat of arms additionally appears carved in white marble in Michele's funeral monument in the Nativity chapel of Turin Cathedral.

(*Dizionario storico-blasonico, Armoiries*) as well as a third, Vittorio Spreti's *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (1928-1935), which only includes noble families still extant at the time of publication, and therefore excludes the Beggiamo family, which died out in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰ Kügle substantiates his identification by drawing a comparison to the Avogadro family arms found in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia (I-BRq, C.II.25), but appends a significant clarification:

Mention must be made at this point that both Spreti and Crollanza give the colors of the Avogadro coat of arms as *argent* (silver) and *gules* (red), not *or* (gold) and *gules* (red) as found in I-Tn, J.II.9, and I-BRq, C.II.25. The *Armoiries des familles* in turn lists as many as seven variants of the crest, including the version of codex J.II.9, the version given by Spreti and Crollanza (designated in the *Armoiries* as 'Avogadro Venise') and color-inverted versions where the shield is red and the stripes are silver. However, the early sixteenth-century coat of arms depicted in I-BRq C.II.25 demonstrates unequivocally that, at least by 1500, the 'official' version of the coat of arms of the Avogadro of Brescia was exactly the same as the one used in Turin J.II.9. The shield with the lesser metal (silver) probably originated with the cadet Venetian line; the two lines, however, never really separated and eventually merged with the extinction of the Avogadro male line in Brescia around 1800, accounting for the conflation of the two crests in later centuries and in the heraldic dictionaries available. The conflation of the two crests is confirmed by the fact that the *or* (golden) portions of the crest in I-BRq C.II.25 were painted over with what was presumably silver that is now so tarnished as to appear almost black (silver sulfide or silver oxide). The original gold color is, however, clearly visible underneath.¹¹

Though based on less than conclusive evidence (gold is not found on the coat of arms of the Avogadro of Brescia before 1500, and the presence of silver in the coat of arms adopted by the Venetian branch of the family is deemed merely 'probable'), Kügle's argument is certainly plausible.¹² At the same time, however, the possibility of a connection between J.II.9 and a prominent Savoy family, on whose coat of arms gold always appears, and silver never does, invites further investigation.

10. VITTORIO SPRETI, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana: Famiglie nobili e intitolate viventi*, 8 vols, Milano, Edizione dell'Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana, 1928-1935. See KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 649-651.

11. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 651, n. 35.

12. It seems that Kügle failed to consult the fifth volume of the *Teatro araldico*, which contains a section dedicated to the Brescia branch of the Avogadro family. It reproduces a coat of arms and crest and concludes by describing it in a way that is far removed from the appearance of the coat of arms here: «Tre tronconi di quercia, ovvero scale vermiglie in campo d'argento, formano lo stemma di questa famiglia; e per cimiero usano un leone d'oro nascente» («Three oak trunks, or vermilion ladders on a silver field, make up this family's coat of arms; and for a crest they use a golden lion rampant»); see TETTONI – SALADINI, *Teatro araldico*, v, 1846, s.v. 'Avogadro di Brescia'.

2. Three Centuries of Darkness

Before delving deeper into the Beggiamo theory, mention should be made of a 1996 study which claimed that J.II.9 appears in a 1498 inventory of Chambéry Castle. Transcribed in the late nineteenth century by Pietro Vayra, record n. 32 of the 1498 inventory refers to «a large-format parchment book handwritten in prose and glossed in Latin, with a history that begins: *Johannes episcopus seruus seruorum etc.*, covered with boards and red leather».¹³ In 1996 Angelo Giaccaria suggested, based on a concordance between the incipit cited in the catalogue entry and the papal bull authorising the Office of St Hilarion which today opens J.II.9 (fol. A^v), that the 'liure' described in the 1498 catalogue was none other than the Cypriot codex. The theory was disputed by Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone in 2008, however, who argued that there was insufficient evidence for such an identification, and that the description could apply equally well to other documents.¹⁴ In addition to these objections, it is conspicuous that the 1498 description makes no mention of musical notation, especially given that another entry in the catalogue makes specific reference to this feature: «35. – plus a book [of medium size] on parchment notated in plainchant, historiated and illuminated in gold and azure, which begins, with large characters, *Deus in adiutorium*, covered in boards and red

13. PIETRO VAYRA, *Le lettere e le arti alla corte di Savoia nel secolo xv. Inventari dei castelli di Ciampèri, di Torino e di Ponte d'Ain 1497-98 pubblicati sugli originali inediti*, Torino, Paravia, 1883, p. 33; reproduced in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, xxii, Torino, Bocca, 1884, p. 30: «[32. Plus] ung liure de parchemin à grant volume escript à la main en prose et glose en latin à une histoire commençant: *Johannes episcopus seruus seruorum etc.*, couuert de postz et peau rouge».

14. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Il codice franco-cipriota J.II.9 e le vicende del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in *Miscellanea di studi 4*, ed. by Isabella Data, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi – Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1996, pp. 7-12: 12. The *incipit* which, according to Giaccaria, places the codex in the ducal library in 1498 is that of a copy of the bull dated 23 November 1413, Bologna (f. A^v) with which the antipope John xxiii authorised Janus I of Lusignan to use the Office of St Hilarion contained in fols 1^r-13^r of J.II.9. The Turin copy is damaged and therefore difficult to decipher (it was also separated from the codex for many years, though they are now kept together). Another copy in an excellent state of preservation can be found together with the text of the Office in V-CVaav, Reg. Lat. 172, fols 134^r-138^r; see *Acta pseudopontificum*, ser. 3, 13.2, ed. by Aloysius L. Täutu, Roma, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1971, pp. 229-231. The *incipit* of the bull is also found in another document issued a few months earlier, the Privilege granted on 1 August 1413, again by John xxiii, to the then fledgling Turin *Studium* (see §7 here for its early history). Giaccaria's theory is accepted both in *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, p. 34, and Kügle, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 639. Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone's contribution – "Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt?" *Opinions et documents concernant quelques manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin*, in 'Quant l'ung amy pour l'autre veille'. *Mélanges de Moyen Français offerts à Claude Thiry*, ed. by Tania van Hemelryck and Maria Colombo Timelli, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 449-462: 459-460 – comes between the publication dates of these two studies. Vitale-Brovarone also offers a second argument on p. 459 against J.II.9 being in the ducal library in 1498: the existence of another detached folio containing a few short notes written in Venetian dialect, datable to the mid-sixteenth century and concerning the state of affairs in the Venetian colony on the island of Chios: «On n'arriverait pas facilement à expliquer comment un ms. chypriote se trouvait dans des mains vénitienes au xvi^e siècle s'il avait appartenu aux ducs de Savoie au xv^e». An inspection carried out in the summer of 2022 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino did not, however, lead to the discovery of the folio on which Vitale-Brovarone based his second objection.

leather and decorated with bosses».¹⁵

As the Cypriot codex cannot be traced with any degree of certainty to the Savoy collections in the late fifteenth century, it makes sense to concentrate instead on evidence which can be securely established. The earliest such evidence comes in 1713, in an inventory compiled by Philibert-Marie Machet, a court official in charge of reorganising the ducal library in 1709 (royal from 1713, when Victor Amadeus II became King of Sicily). The future J.II.9 was then labelled C.IV.16 and was described as an «Antiphonarium, et Graduale ecclesiasticum», catalogued in the section *Livres Ecclesiastiques MS / et Conciles*.¹⁶ As only the first fascicle of J.II.9 contains sacred music, the description seems at first glance not to match the Cypriot manuscript. However, in a catalogue compiled between 1729 and 1732 by the then prefect of the University Library, Francesco Domenico Bencini, a manuscript with the very same shelf mark (C.IV.16) appears in the section *Latin-Gall* with a similar but significantly expanded description: «Antiphonarium et Graduale cum Canticis Gallico Idiomate».¹⁷ A further expansion can be found in a third catalogue (though now under a new shelf mark), printed in 1749 by Giuseppe Pasini, the new University Library prefect:

CODEX CX d.vi.14.

Membranaceus, sæculi xv. Habens folia 158. & auro circumquaque elegantissime pictus, in quo *Officium* S. HILARIONIS ad musicos modos aptatum. Præmittitur exemplar literarum JOHANNIS PAPÆ XXIII. adprobantis illud ad preces JANI REGIS Cypri anno MCCCCXIX. Sequitur *Antiphonarium, & Graduale Ecclesiasticum*, cum notis musicis Latino, & Gallico idiomate exaratum.¹⁸

15. VAYRA, *Le lettere e le arti alla corte di Savoia*, p. 34; also in *Miscellanea di storia*, p. 31: «35. – Plus vng moyen liure noté en plainchant en parchemin historié et illuminé d'or et d'azur commençant en la grosse lettre: Deus in adiutorium, couuert de postz et de cuyr rouge et garny de boctons».

16. PHILIBERT-MARIE MACHET, *Index alphabetique des livres qui se trouvent en la Bibliothèque Royale de Turin en cette année 1713* [...], I-Tn, ms. R.I.5. A photocopy of Machet's manuscript is kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. A digitised version is available online: <https://archiviodistatotorino.benculturali.it/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/machet/> (last accessed 21 September 2023). The relevant image is in Part II, on p. 381.

17. FRANCESCO DOMENICO BENCINI, *Catalogo alfabetico dei manoscritti della Biblioteca della Regia Università di Torino*, 2 vols, mss, 1729-32, I-Ta, Regi Archivi, Cat. 9, batch 1, no. 1. The catalogue is available online at: <https://archiviodistatotorino.benculturali.it/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/bencini/> (last accessed 21 September 2023). The relevant image is in Part I, on p. 28 (of the pdf). Perhaps consulting a different copy of the same catalogue, Isabella Fragalà Data reports the presence in II, fol. 225^v, of the following, more common description: «Cod. membr. fol. 158 in fol. / Antiphonar. Et Grad. Eccles. / In medio sunt cantica quaedam Gallice a p. 98 / Omnia cum notis ad Cantum». The mention of p. 98 refers to the beginning of fascicle IV, containing the ballades. See *The Savoy Ducal Library in the 15th Century: Origin and Consistency*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 77-94: 92-93.

18. GIUSEPPE PASINI, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecæ Regiæ Taurinensis Athenæi per linguas digesti, & binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima Hebræi, & Græci, in altera Latini, Italici, & Gallici...*, 2 vols, Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1749, II, p. 32. A digitised version of this inventory can be found at <https://archive.org/details/CodicesManuscriptiBibliothecæRegiæ2/page/n49/mode/2up> (last accessed 21 September 2023). See also FRAGALÀ DATA, *The Savoy Ducal Library*, p. 90.

The description matches J.II.9 precisely, including the number of folios. An easily correctable error is the year in which the (anti)papal bull was issued, which reads 1419 instead of 1413.¹⁹ Prefixed to the codex (so much so that it still constitutes fol. A), the folio on whose *verso* the bull appears is followed by what Machet in 1713 called an «ecclesiastical antiphonary and gradual», i.e. the fascicle containing the Office and Mass of St Hilarion and the Office of St Anne.²⁰ It is possible that Machet only examined the first few pages of the codex; the fleeting mention of compositions in Latin and French does little justice to the more than two hundred polyphonic pieces transmitted in the rest of the manuscript.

In sum, the first reliable reports of J.II.9 appear in catalogues of the Savoy collections in the early eighteenth century. The circumstances of the manuscript's transmission before then remain a matter of conjecture.

3. A Revealing Drawing

J.II.9 came to the attention of musicologists following the fire that damaged the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin on the night of 25 January 1904. The losses were huge, and many items were destroyed or irreparably damaged. Fortunately, fate was kind to J.II.9, and the codex is still largely legible today thanks to restoration work. Its existence was made public in 1905 by Friedrich Ludwig, who had examined the manuscript a few months before the fire following a communication from the classical philologist Wilhelm Meyer.²¹ Unpublished documentation relating to the manuscript's (re)discovery, together with a preliminary study, was included among Meyer's papers, donated to the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen upon his death in 1917.²²

19. Although he lived until 22 December 1419, John XXIII saw his (anti)pontificate come to an end on 29 May 1415 following the re-composition of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417), finalised at the Council of Constance (1414-1417).

20. J.II.9, fols 1^r-28^v. Fol. A^r bears an anonymous note in what appears to be a seventeenth-century hand: «Iano re di Cipro e Armenia [nell'anno 1392] al re Giacomo successe nel regno et circa il principio del suo regno andava felice, ma poi assalirono l'Isola molte disgracie: la Peste, cavallette et molte altre sciagure: per il che Cipro andava declinando. Regno circa gli anni 1410 [Campò anni xxx]. Giovanni papa 23 Napolitano fu creato l'anno 1412, detto il Cossa».

21. FRIEDRICH LUDWIG, review of JOHANNES WOLF, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460. Nach den theoretischen und praktischen Quellen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», VI/4, 1905, pp. 597-641: 640: «Die letzte bisher unbekannte große Handschrift der Zeit vor Dufay [...] ist der Codex Turin, Bibl. Naz. J.II.9, den Herr Prof. W. Meyer in Göttingen vor einigen Jahren entdeckte. [...] Ich konnte die Handschrift noch vor dem Brande der Turiner Bibliothek benutzen». Writing from Potsdam on 21 February 1905, Ludwig requested Meyer's permission to mention J.II.9 in his review. Meyer's response does not survive, but the passage transcribed above suggests that it was positive. Ludwig's letter is preserved in Box III of Meyer's bequest, housed at D-Gs (see footnote 22 below).

22. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33 (henceforth Box 33). Box 33 contains 44 numbered sheets. Ludwig made specific reference to Meyer's bequest in *Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», 5, 1924, pp. 273-315: 285: «seinen handschriftlichen Nachlaß und seine große

As far as I have been able to ascertain, Meyer's foundational work on J.II.9 has attracted very little scholarly attention in the century since his death. A later typewritten note reports that Box 33 contains a few letters and «studies and materials relating to the motet (cont.), plus photographs and transcriptions of manuscripts of vocal music in Turin collections», together with half a dozen codices held in other libraries.²³

The modern 'discovery' of J.II.9 can be dated to 25 September 1902 based on a draft of a letter which Meyer sent the following day to an addressee named «Rudi» in which he briefly described the codex.²⁴ Also included in the box are seven letters which Ludwig sent to Meyer in response to Meyer's initial request for assistance, the first of which is dated 25 November 1902.²⁵ All seven were sent from Potsdam except the sixth, a postcard sent from Modena on 28 August 1903 in which Ludwig included a brief description of J.II.9 based on his consultation of the manuscript from a few days earlier, undertaken during a study expedition to various libraries in northern Italy. The correspondence culminated in a lengthy letter dated 17 November 1903 in which Ludwig provided a more detailed description of J.II.9. In this final letter Ludwig confirmed Meyer's theory that the Latin motets had been composed before 1414 at the Lusignan Court and the secular French pieces around the same time or possibly later, in Cyprus or perhaps Savoy.²⁶ For the purposes of the present study, however, it is worth emphasising the importance of Ludwig's second letter, dated 10 January 1903, as it concerns Meyer's

attempt to link the coat of arms painted on the codex's first folio to the author of (most of) its contents. Meyer had suggested, based on the presence of the initials 'G' and 'B' on either side of the shield in the lower margin, that the coat of arms belonged to Gilles Binchois, and that the musical contents of the codex might therefore be at least partly attributable to him (as well as to other musicians of the time, first and foremost Du Fay). Both Ludwig and Franz Xaver Haberl, the author of an important monograph on Du Fay, confessed their lack of expertise in heraldic matters in their responses to Meyer.²⁷ Even more decisive was the rejection of Meyer's theory around the same time by Francesco Carta, librarian of Turin University.²⁸

Meyer's correspondence regarding his Binchois hypothesis has not hitherto been considered within musicology. Rejected outright in the early twentieth century by Carta, and then also by Frati, the Binchois theory fell into obscurity when it was tacitly rejected by Heinrich Bessler in his 1925 study of medieval musical sources. Regarding the coat of arms on J.II.9's opening *recto*, Bessler writes:

A border of blue, red, and green leaves on fol. 1 features four instances of a shield held by an angel: three oblique doubled bands (gold) on a red field. This coat of arms belongs to the Bagarotti family of Padua (linked also to Ferrara and Bologna), with which the initials G. B. attached to the lower shield are also consistent. The outline of the shield is partially rounded and can thus be dated to the 15th century. I cannot determine with the means currently at my disposal whether a member of the Bagarotti family can be located in the Cypriot or Savoy court.²⁹

Sammlung von Photographien mittelalterlicher Handschriften bewahrt di Un.-Bibl. Göttingen». See also the section dedicated to Meyer in the revised and expanded edition of the *Riemann Musiklexikon*, ed. by Willibald Gurlitt, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, and Carl Dahlhaus, 5 vols, Mainz, Schott, 1958-1975. As of the 6th edn (Leipzig, Hesse, 1905), Riemann's *Lexikon* contains a paragraph on Meyer in an extensive entry dedicated to scholars with that surname. However, despite including a list of his main contributions to the field of musicology, neither that edition nor the half-dozen which have appeared since Meyer's death make any mention of his bequest.

23. «Studien und Materialien zum Motett (Forts.), dabei Photographien und Abschriften von Turiner Liederhandschriften, Florenz Laurenz. 29,1; Cambridge Univ.-Bibl. FF 1 17B; Darmstadt 2777; Wolfenbüttel Helm. 628 und 1099; Chantilly 104». «Turiner Liederhandschriften» refers to Meyer's correspondence regarding musical codices in I-Tn. In addition to materials on J.II.9, the box contains photographic reproductions and transcriptions of the three major sources of Notre Dame polyphony (I-Fl, ms. Pluteus 29.1; D-W, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst; D-W, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst), as well as GB-Cu, Ff.1.17.2, D-DS, Hs-2777, and F-CH, 564, *olim* 1047 (Codex Chantilly).

24. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 41-44. The confidential tone of the letter suggests that the addressee was his son Rudolf, a student of Romance philology at the University of Strasbourg. Supplemented by the transcription of some French texts, the description is based on an initial tripartition of the codex (fols 1-28, 29-97, and 98-158).

25. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 23-34. All seven letters are transcribed and annotated in Appendix 1.

26. Cf. LUDWIG, *Die Quellen*, p. 285: «W. Meyer [...] stellte [in ungedruckten Untersuchungen] für den Inhalt dieser Handschrift teils cypriische, teils savoische Provenienz fest; und zwar sind die lateinischen [ganz im isorhythmischen Stil komponierten] Motetten sicher vor 1414 in Cyprien am Hof Jans von Lusignan entstanden und die französischen Werke entweder ebendort oder etwas später, nachdem Jans Tochter Anna 1433 Ludwig von Savoyen geheiratet hatte, am Savoyer Hof, an dem übrigens 1434 Dufay nachweisbar ist».

27. FRANZ XAVER HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, «Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft», 1/4, 1885, pp. 397-530 (later in Id., *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, 3 vols, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885-1888, 1, 1885); Haberl to Meyer, Regensburg, 30 April 1903 (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 21-22, transcription and commentary in Appendix 1).

28. Carta to Meyer, Turin, 25 April 1903 (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 4-5), reply to one or two letters (the latter still untraced) sent by Meyer on 20 April. In addition to Meyer's extensive preparatory notes on the Binchois theory (sheets 6-15) and correspondence with Carta's successor, Carlo Frati (sheets 17-20), the box also contains various notes and drafts in Meyer's hand, including: a sheet pertaining to the Binchois theory dated 19 April 1903 (Turin); a transcription, dated 4 September 1903, of the first lines of the text of the Office of St Hilarion; and a sketch of the J.II.9 coat of arms dating from the same trip. See Annarita Colturato's contribution to this volume for a more detailed overview of these materials.

29. HEINRICH BESSELER, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. 1. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», VII/2, 1925, pp. 167-252: 211: «Eine Randleiste von blauen, roten und grünen Blättern auf f. 1 trägt in der Mitte viermal ein von einem Engel gehaltenes Wappen: drei Gegenzinnen-Schrägbalken (Gold) auf rotem Feld. Dieses Muster gehört der Familie Bagarotti aus Padua (auch in Ferrara und Bologna), zu der auch die dem unteren Wappen beigefügten Initialen G.B. passen. Die Schildform ist halbrund, gehört also ins 15. Jahrhundert. Ob ein Mitglied dieser Familie am zyprischen oder savoyischen Hof nachweisbar ist, konnte ich mit den hiesigen Hilfsmitteln nicht feststellen». Bessler states in a footnote that he made the attribution to the Bagarotti family by consulting Victor Rolland's *Supplément to Rietstap's Armorial général* (vol. II [1908], fasc. 5, p. 200), noting also that the discrepancy in colour between the Bagarotti coat of arms (silver and blue) and the J.II.9 arms (red and gold) can be explained by a common practice of colour substitution: «Ich fand [das Muster] [...] mit der Farbenangabe Silber auf Blau, doch ist Farbenwechsel in dieser Zeit nicht ungewöhnlich».

Meyer's hypothesis regarding the composition, provenance, and dating of the music was first considered by Hoppin (1957), and subsequently by a number of participants at the Paphos conference in 1992 (Bent, Cattin, Kügle), and then again by Kügle in the introductory pages of the facsimile edition (1999), where Bessler's theory regarding the coat of arms was set aside on the following grounds:

Bessler identified this coat of arms as that of the Bagarotti family of Padua ("Studien I", 211). However, due to the difference in colors (silver and blue), this identification must be rejected. The initials "G.B." mentioned by Bessler and purportedly found under the coat of arms at the page bottom are no longer visible; this piece of information therefore may have to be considered spurious.³⁰

Kügle's rejection of Bessler's attribution is based on two factors: the inconsistency in terms of colour, a fact already acknowledged by Bessler, and the apparent disappearance of the initials 'G' and 'B'. While rejecting a hypothesis on the basis of colour is reasonable enough, discarding evidence because it is no longer visible is much less so, especially given the authority of its author. Born in 1900, Bessler certainly saw J.II.9 after the 1904 fire. Writing in 1925, he speaks of the initials 'G' and 'B' in the present tense, suggesting that they were still clearly visible. Born in 1956, Kügle could not have examined the codex before the 1960s, and it is extremely unlikely that he did so before restoration work carried out between 1970 and 1973. The parchment may have suffered further damage during that work, or indeed at any stage during the preceding 50 years. Fortunately, not everything thought to be lost is always actually lost. In addition to notes, sketches, and letters addressed to Meyer, Box 33 contains a coloured drawing of the angel in the lower margin of fol. 1^r, flanked by the initials 'G' and 'B' (Fig. 4).

Whoever its author was, and regardless of their skills in draughtsmanship, the drawing is valuable for its depiction of the angel, shield, and initials as they presumably appeared before the 1904 fire. The initials were evidently not 'under' the shield (as Kügle writes), but on either side, towards the bottom. This detail is noteworthy because it directs the observer's gaze in a new way to the surviving portion of the margin (Fig. 5).

At the bottom right of the shield, one can in fact see how the 'B', painted in gold on a dark background and slightly tilted to the right, is almost entirely still present. Though not visible to the naked eye, the 'G' at the bottom left of the shield can be revealed using infrared photography (Fig. 6).



Fig. 4.
D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33 –
Wilhelm Meyer's papers
Anonymous drawing
of the angel painted in the
lower margin of J.II.9, fol. 1^r



Fig. 5.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – lower margin
Beggiamo coat of arms



Fig. 6.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – lower margin
Beggiamo coat of arms,
infrared photograph

30. *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, p. 33, n. 20.

So, the initials which Meyer, Ludwig, and Bessler saw in the early twentieth century did indeed exist, and to some extent still exist today. And while attributions of the coat of arms to Binchois or the Bagarotti family have not withstood scrutiny, the presence of the ‘B’ on the right side of the shield, together with the red and gold coat of arms, offers valuable support for the Beggiamo theory, thus undermining the Avogadro theory. Of course, the ‘B’ could stand for Brescia, but then what does the ‘G’ stand for? And where is the ‘A’?⁵¹

4. Traces of an Azure Substrate

In addition to the evidence provided by the anonymous drawing in Meyer’s bequest, the identification of the ‘B’ on the lower right-hand side of the coat of arms was made possible in large part thanks to advances in photographic technology, which today can provide much higher quality reproductions than what was possible in the 1990s. Indeed, Kügle’s suggestion in 1999 that the codex might have been commissioned by an Italian patron relied on just two pieces of evidence: the design of the coat of arms and the shape of the shield.⁵² Describing the opening *recto* in more detail in 2012, Kügle claimed that:

[The crests on fol. 1^r] are fully integrated into the decorative pattern of the margin, and their pigments precisely match those of the elements surrounding them, providing incontrovertible evidence that they are part of the primary design of the manuscript and, hence, were not added by a later, secondary owner.⁵³

However, a closer look at what remains of the shield in the left margin (Fig. 7) reveals significant traces of azure alongside the red and gold of the Beggiamo coat of arms.

Furthermore, even accounting for damage caused by time, wear, fire, fire extinguishers, and restoration work, the shield in the left margin can be seen to have a slightly elongated ogival tip when compared to the other shields on fol. 1^r, and its double-crenellated gold bands are at a

51. Without wishing to cast doubt on the accuracy of the anonymous drawing in Box 33, one might nevertheless ask whether the letter on the left was the ‘G’ on which Meyer based his Binchois theory. It can be identified today, though only with some difficulty (using infrared photography). The possibility that the letter was a ‘C’ or even a ‘T’ greatly increases the pool of possible owners, even within the Beggiamo family. In any case, the drawing in the Meyer bequest (1903), Bessler’s testimony (1925), and the infrared photograph (2022) all lead us to treat the initial on the left of the shield as a ‘G’. The images reproduced here in Figs 5-6 also show no dot following the initials, contrary to Bessler’s account; the two letters have therefore been transcribed without a dot.

52. *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, p. 33: «Both the design of this coat of arms (*or, trois bandes bretesse [sic] de gules*) and the shape of the shield once more point towards Italy, thereby suggesting that the patron for whom J.II.9 was produced may well have been Italian».

53. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 649.

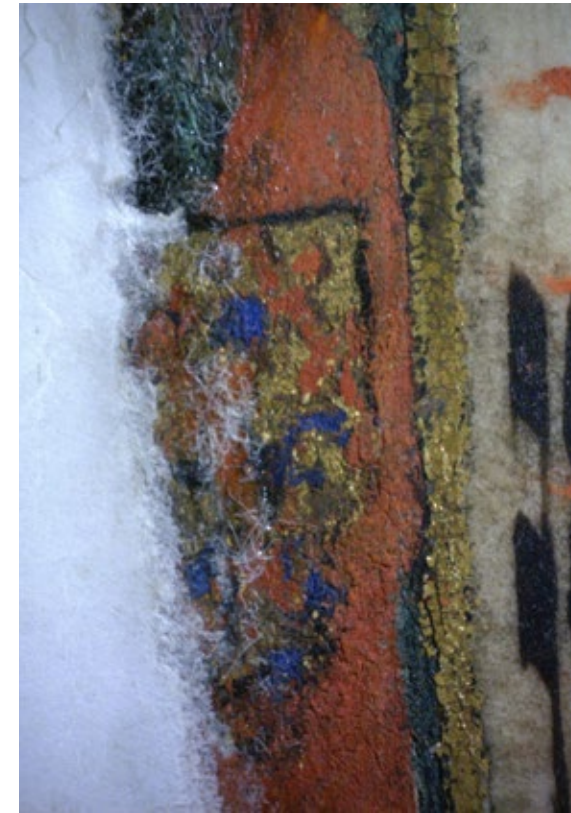


Fig. 7.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – left margin
Beggiamo coat of arms

noticeably sharper angle (approx. 60° instead of 45°). This anomaly can be accounted for by the non-central positioning of the text, with the right and lower margins of each *recto* offering more space for decoration than the left and upper margins.⁵⁴

In addition to its shape, the shield in the left margin is distinguished from the other three by the presence of an azure substrate, corresponding in colour to the horizontal bands which alternate with silver on the Lusignan coat of arms. The version used by the Cypriot branch of the family – granted to Guy of Lusignan by Richard the Lionheart in 1192 at the end of the third crusade (and simultaneous founding of the Kingdom of Cyprus) – features a red, crowned lion rampant in the centre. An example of such a coat of arms can be found in two quarters of the shield

54. The compressed shape of the shield-bearing angel, whose wings (two blue tips pointing upwards, parallel to the gold border) are today barely visible, was probably necessitated by the narrowness of the left margin. The widths of the lateral margins are reversed on the *verso*, but the upper and lower margins remained unchanged, suggesting that the increased width of the lower and outer margins was intentional. The original size of the lower margin can be deduced from the intact lower right corner of fol. 1^r.

painted in the lower margin of the opening *recto* of a fourteenth-century manuscript containing Lucan's *Pharsalia* (F-Pn, lat. 8044); the remaining quarters feature a golden five-fold cross on a silver field, representing the family's then tenure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Fig. 8).³⁵

Fig. 8.
F-Pn, lat. 8044, fol. 1^r
Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms (1192-1396)

The Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms appears twice in a collection of commentaries on the Psalms which belonged to Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan, Archbishop of Nicosia; his brother Janus I had entrusted him with organising the marriage of his daughter Anne to Louis, Count of Geneva, Prince of Piedmont, and heir apparent to the throne of Savoy. The collection was copied at some stage before 1416, and its then owner, Zweder van Culemborg, Bishop of Utrecht, donated it to the Franco-Cypriot cardinal at the beginning of the Council of Basel (inaugurated on 23 July 1431).³⁶ In its first occurrence (fol. 2^v), the coat of arms adorns the upper part of a miniature depicting the presentation of the manuscript (Fig. 9, p. 30). In its second occurrence (fol. 6^r) it appears surmounted by the cardinal's hat (*galero*) in a rectangle similar in colour to the horizontal azure bands (Fig. 10, p. 31).

→
Fig. 9.
F-Pn, lat. 432, fol. 2^v
Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan receives a gift of a book from Zweder van Culemborg, Bishop of Utrecht
Image marked with the Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms (1192-1396)

→ →
Fig. 10.
F-Pn, lat. 432, fol. 6^r
Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms (1192-1396) surmounted by a cardinal's hat

35. F-Pn, lat. 8044, fol. 1^r. The codex was probably present in the ducal library in Chambéry in 1498; see the description in VAYRA, *Le lettere e le arti alla corte di Savoia*, p. 46: «97. - Plus vng aultre grant liure en parchemin escript à la main en forme par vers, illuminé et historié d'or nommé lucan, commençant à la grosse lectre: Quis furor, armoyé des armes de Chippres, couuert de postz et de vellours bleuz douré à petits cloux de lécton». The transcribed *incipit* matches the text found on fol. 1^r after the historiated letter, which however is preceded by a short introduction beginning «Incipit Liber Lucani [...]» (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85775286/f5.item>; last accessed 21 September 2023), hence the slight margin of doubt in identifying the codex with the 'grant liure' described in the inventory. Formally extinguished in 1291 after the fall of Acre, the Kingdom of Jerusalem continued to be claimed by the Lusignan family until 1459, when it was ceded, along with the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia, to the Savoy family on the occasion of the marriage between Charlotte, daughter of John II and granddaughter of Janus I, and Louis, son (and namesake) of Louis and grandson of Amadeus VIII. See Appendix II for an overview of the history of the Lusignan-Cyprus coat of arms.

36. F-Pn, lat. 432, fols 2^v and 6^r. The author of the collection, completed on 4 January 1374, was Pierre de Herenthals (ca. 1320-1390), abbot of Floreffé (diocese of Liège); this manuscript was copied by 1416. See EVELIEN CHAYES, *Les Lusignan de Chypre à l'époque du premier humanisme français: le cardinal Hugues et la bibliothèque d'Anne et Louis de Savoie*, in *Poésie et musique*, pp. 69-79: 76-77.





Fig. 11a.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – left margin
Beggiamo coat of arms – detail
(enlarged reproduction using direct
reflective light)



Fig. 11b.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – left margin
Beggiamo coat of arms – detail
(enlarged reproduction using transmitted
light)

However, let us now return to the left margin of the opening *recto* of J.II.9 (Figs 11a-b).

Careful observation of Figs 11a-b shows that the red (cinnabar) pigment in the centre of the shield is different from the red (cinnabar) of the oblique, crenellated band at the top right. Furthermore, the shape of the area taken up by this pigment does not correspond to that of a further oblique crenellated band. Maurizio Aceto, a chemist at the University of Eastern Piedmont (whom I wish to thank for generously sharing his results with me) offers the following unpublished analysis:

Fiber optics reflectance spectroscopy (FORS) shows the presence of cinnabar in both the red layers. However, comparing the image in reflected light (Fig. 11a) with that in transmitted light (Fig. 11b), one can clearly see that the opacity of the two layers is different: it is much greater for the layer on the right-hand side of the image [oblique crenellated upper band of the superimposed coat of arms and the mantle of the angel, itself superimposed], less so for the layer on the left [lion in the centre of the originally painted coat of arms]. This can be explained if the two paint layers belong to different pictorial strata, and in particular could suggest that the pigment on the right is on a higher stratum than the pigment on the left. Furthermore, the pigment on the left is more continuous, while the one on the right field is fragmented, perhaps due to greater exposure of the latter to fire and subsequent degradation.

The difference in the two pictorial layers suggests that the coat of arms with oblique double-crenellated gold bands on a red field was superimposed on a pre-existing coat of arms with silver and azure horizontal bands featuring a crowned, red lion rampant in the centre. In other words, the Beggiamo coat of arms was superimposed by a secondary owner over that of the family for whom the manuscript was originally prepared, namely the Lusignan family of Cyprus.

5. Non-Marginal Marginalia

The presence of an azure substrate in the left margin lends weight to the hypothesis that the coat of arms now visible on the opening *recto* of J.II.9 does not in fact correspond to the codex's original owner. Indeed, a closer inspection of the margins reveals further instances of superimposition. In the lower margin, for example, the shield is held by an angel whose head and wings extend beyond the gold border of the main text area (Fig. 12, p. 34). The face is turned to the left and encircled by a halo and a shock of blond hair, on top of which sits a golden diadem. Beneath the cloak, which is red with a green lining, is an azure-coloured robe. The cloak is painted more carefully on the left than on the right, where it covers the upper right edge of the shield and has no drapery. The hands, though not outlined, are clearly visible; the left hand is higher up, in alignment with the posture of the head, while the right hand is lower down. The wings are gold and azure. The shield is outlined in black ink, with lines of varying thickness; below its drop-shaped tip is a black shadow which suggests an original design of a slightly larger size, perhaps with an ogival tip similar to that of the shield in the left margin. The same impression is obtained from observing the left hand, which seems not to grip the edge of the visible shield but rather that of the earlier, now obliterated one. To the left of the angel, just below the floral decoration in the gold border, there appears to be a trace of an earlier border.

Returning to the left margin (Fig. 13, p. 35), we see that these features are essentially identical, despite the reduced space: rosy complexion, serene expression, parted hair, head tilted back, red cloak with a green lining. The only difference is the colour of the robe, which is green and not azure, probably due to the need to make a distinction between the azure bands of the Lusignan coat of arms and the surrounding elements. With the exception of a slight bulge on the right-hand side of the shield, there is no trace of the hands: had they been painted, the right hand would have been rendered invisible from damage or trimming at the margin, while the left hand would have remained intact.



Fig. 12.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – lower margin
Angel with Beggiamo coat of arms

Fig. 14.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – upper margin
Angel with Beggiamo coat of arms

Fig. 13.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – left margin
Angel with Beggiamo coat of arms

Fig. 15.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – right margin
Angel with Beggiamo coat of arms

In its current state, the shield appears merely superimposed on the cloak, which is crudely painted and devoid of any drapery. Despite the limited space, the halo does not extend as far as the gold border but stops at the green band to its left. This suggests that, like the shield bearing the Lusignan coat of arms, the angel was part of the decoration executed prior to binding; it also suggests that the superimposition of an elongated version of the shield (bearing the Beggiamo arms) was carried out within the considerably narrower space left available after binding.

The shield in the upper margin was evidently painted over an earlier version, whose outline, with its ogival tip, resembles that of the shield in the left margin (Fig. 14, p. 34). At its lowest point the earlier outline touches the highest line of the upper staff, which, though still visible in sections, has been covered by the upper margin.³⁷ The alteration of the shield is also evident in the gradual change in angle of the three oblique bands, the lowest of which has been rotated to fit inside the more modest space available within the new outline. An overall flattening of the decoration was necessitated by the reduced width of the upper margin. The white and azure wing appears at the upper left corner of the shield, just above the hand. The difference from the lower margin, where the wings extend well above the shield, is conspicuous. The presence of the cloak is barely noticeable below the wing, while a large portion of it appears on the right-hand side. The upper edge of the shield is drawn with a fainter stroke and is slightly slanted.

The right margin contains the best-preserved version of the shield and Beggiamo coat of arms (Fig. 15, p. 35). The shield's outline is of an even thickness, the tip is clearly articulated, and the bands are evenly aligned; only the black shading is slightly irregular. Once again, the outline of an earlier shield with an ogival tip – bearing a coat of arms containing a red element on a gold field – appears below the present shield. If considered together with the presence of the azure and red substrate beneath the shield in the opposite margin, this detail further supports the theory that the initial folio of the codex originally bore the four components of the coat of arms of Janus I (Fig. 16), enriched in the lower quarters by lions rampant on gold and white fields.³⁸

37. Fol. 1^r has eight five-line staves ruled in red ink. The first three staves are offset by the miniature depicting St Hilarion. The fifth is interrupted in the centre by the historiated letter G. The first staff is the shortest of all due to the space left on the right for the rubric of the saint's Office. The superimposition of the upper margin over the fifth line of the first staff allows for an increased area for decoration, necessitated by the off-centre positioning of the main text.

38. The lower quarters correspond to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, acquired in 1396 by Janus I's father, James I. The gold layer represents the Hetumids family, which ruled the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the mid-thirteenth century, having supplanted the Rupenids (a family whose coat of arms featured a lion on a white field); cf. APOSTOLOS G. KOUROPAKIS, *King Janus of Cyprus and the Great*

More precisely, the shield originally painted in the right margin could have featured a red lion rampant crowned in blue, set on a gold field, as found in the lower left quarter of the coat of arms of Janus I. However, due to the extremely small size of the remaining portion and the elusive nature of the iconographic element it contains, such a suggestion remains highly conjectural.³⁹

Irrespective of the coat of arms depicted, what distinguishes the shield in the right margin is the figure holding it. As usual, the hands are outlined in black; less usual, however, is the dark complexion, stern gaze, and dishevelled hair, traits not typically associated with angelic figures. The cloak is also different, being azure instead of red on the outside and brown instead of green on the inside (though traces of a brown substrate similar in colour to the face can be seen beneath the surface layer of azure, suggesting that this was the original colour of the figure's body). The head reclines towards the main text and partially overlaps the green band adjacent to the gold border; this, in turn, is partly covered by a halo, evidently a later addition (as evidenced by the ring of red pigment around the figure's hair). To the side of the shield and beneath its lower left quarter is a dark shape which appears to be a lower limb (possibly clawed or webbed) resting on a rounded decorative element resembling



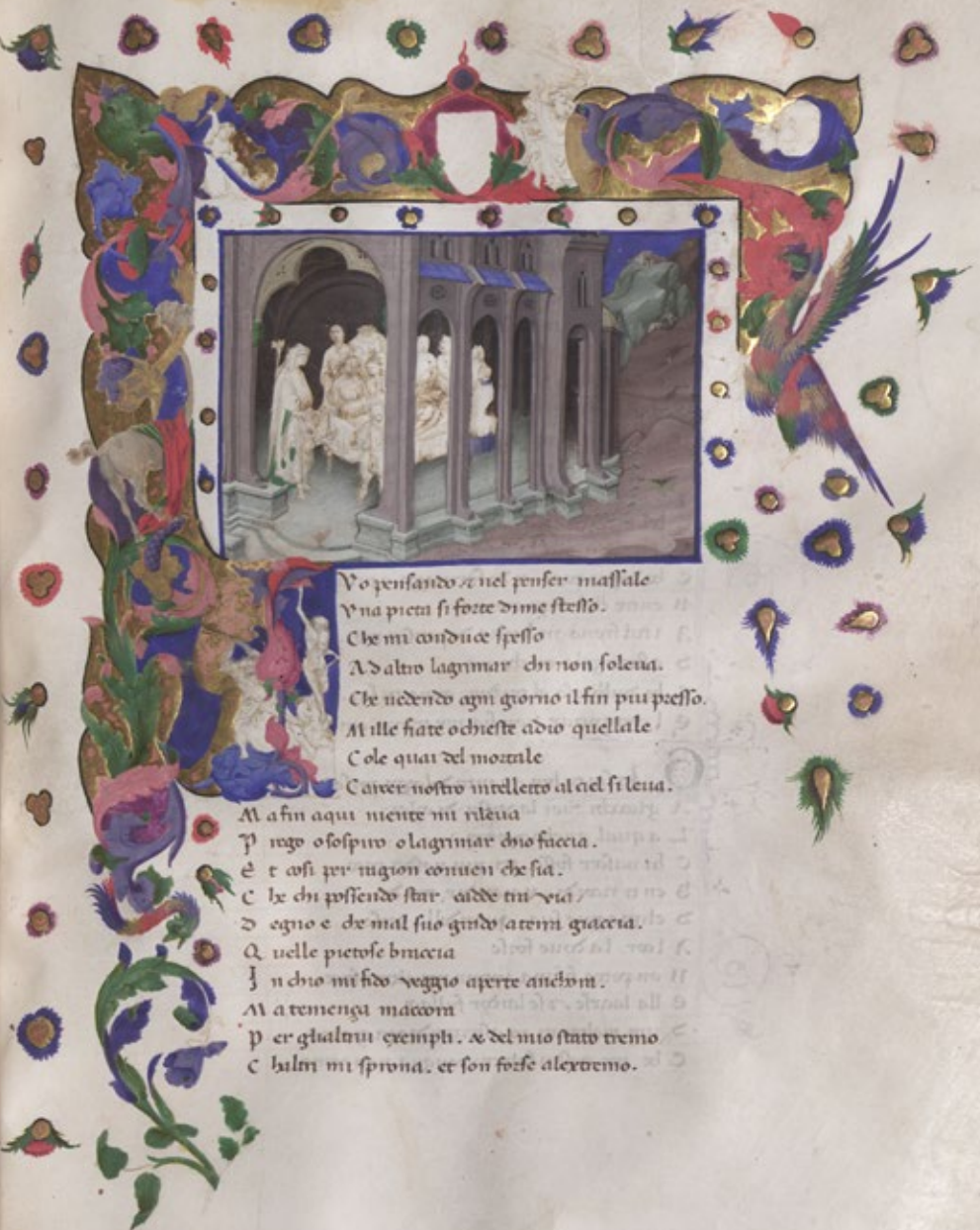
Fig. 16.
[Étienne de Lusignan de Cypre]
Généalogie de la très illustre maison de Lusignan, de France, de Hierusalem, de Cypre, & d'Armenie mineur, Paris, Chaudière, 1579
Watercolour copy preserved in I-Ta, Regno di Cipro, Box 1, n. 1
Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms (1396-1474), detail

Schism, in *Poésie et musique*, pp. 61-68: 63.

39. Transformations of the Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries are briefly illustrated in Appendix II.



Vo pensando nel penser massale
 Vna pietra si forte dime stesso.
 Che mi conduce spesso
 A d'altro lagrimar chi non soleva.
 Che vedendo ogni giorno il fin piu presso.
 Mille fiare o chieste adio quellale
 Cole quat del mortale
 Caver nostro intelletto al ciel si leua.
 Al fin aqua mente mi rileua
 Prego o sospiro o lagrimar dno faccia.
 E e così per ragion conuen che sia.
 Che chi possendo star. adde tu via
 D'ogni e de mal suo girdo atemi giaccia.
 Quelle pietose braccia
 In chio mi fido veggio aperte anchon.
 Al a temenza maccom
 Per gualan' esempi. e del mio stato tremo
 Chilm mi sprona. et son forse alexremo.



A morte che seguì lo crisl anfo
 Che spense il sole. Angel ripose in cielo
 Di chio son qui come huom acce rimaso.
 S'ingra per laier il dolce estuo gielo
 Che con la biancha amua di Timone
 S' uol da sagu confusi torre il uolo
 Quando donna sembriante ala stagione
 Di gemme orientali macromati
 Al esse uer me da mille altre corone
 E e quella man gia tanto desiam
 A me parlando e sospirando pose
 Onde creata dolocci al cor me nata
 Reconosei colei den prima tose
 Jussi noi dal publico viaggio
 Comel cor gioumil de lei sareose



the top section of a globe; an identical limb rising from the globe and extending outwards presumably occupied the area now containing the billowing part of the cloak. Particularly striking, finally, are the angelic wings, painted not in two colours like those in the lower margin, but in four: red, azure, grey and gold. Three of these colours are also found in the wings of a monstrous creature in the decorative border of a Petrarchan codex produced in Bologna in September 1414 – a location and timeframe consistent with the context in which the future illuminators of J.II.9 were trained (Fig. 17, p. 38).⁴⁰

The sum of these observations gives the impression of an angelic metamorphosis of an originally monstrous subject. This impression is also supported by the presence in the right margin (and not elsewhere) of drolleries.⁴¹ The upper right corner of the gold border, for instance, features a green, goat-like head, with two spiked wings off to the right (Fig. 19).

Additionally, the lower section of the right margin, level with the text above the penultimate staff, contains a bearded face with horns (or perhaps dishevelled hair) and a menacing look (Fig. 20).

← ←

Fig. 17.D-Mbs, Cod. Ital. 81, fol. 105^r

Decoration with polychrome winged creature

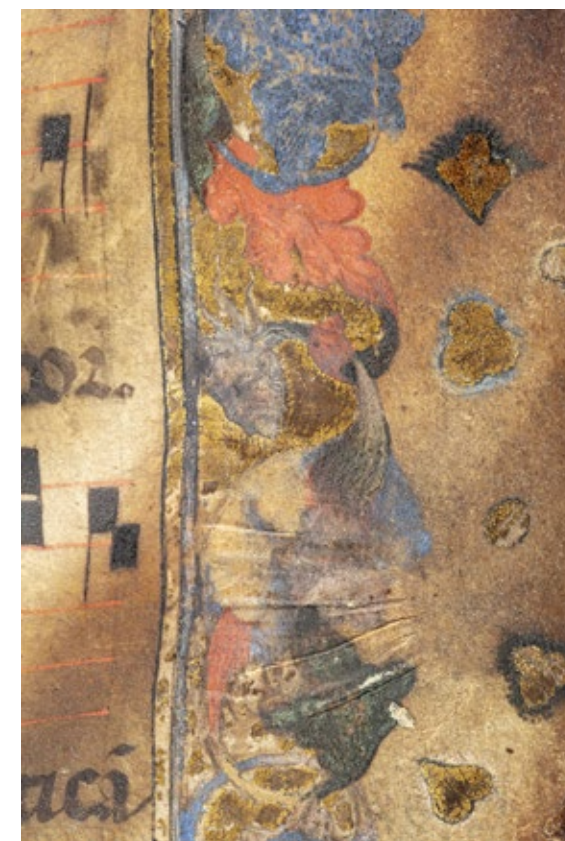
←

Fig. 18.D-Mbs, Cod. Ital. 81, fol. 146^r

Decoration with polychrome winged creature

40. D-Mbs, Cod. Ital. 81, fol. 105^r; the winged creature in the Petrarchan manuscript substitutes the grey of J.II.9 for green. Another creature with trichromatic wings (blue, green, gold) is found in the decorative border on fol. 146^r, reproduced here in Fig. 18. The location and completion date of the manuscript, as well as the names of the compiler (Feraldo) and patron (Cambio Zambecari), can be gleaned from the colophon which appears towards the bottom of fol. 145^r, at the conclusion of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. The two folios decorated with winged creatures are home to the only illustrations in the entire codex, set respectively at the beginning of the second part of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (CCLXIV) and at the beginning of the *Triumph*. A third illustration was probably present at the beginning of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, though the opening section of the work (RVF I-v) is now missing, as can be seen by examining the opening between fols 8 and 9. Today housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the manuscript bears an *ex libris* dated 1744 on the inside of its front cover, attesting to its onetime ownership by the prior (*praepositus*) of the Augustinian monastery of Polling, a municipality southwest of Munich once home to Bavaria's second most important library. A digital facsimile of the codex can be accessed at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00092601?page=4,5> (last accessed 21 September 2023).

41. The presence of monstrous creatures in the right margin might suggest a possible narrative intent linked to St Hilarion. This goes beyond the standard, non-programmatic use of drolleries in illuminated manuscripts of the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries (on which, see COSTANZA SEGRE MONTÉL, *Marginalia e drôleries. Un mondo parallelo nei margini dei manoscritti*, in *Ars illuminandi. L'illustrazione libraria in Occidente dal v al xv secolo*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2009, pp. 63-70). The passage which opens J.II.9 significantly emphasises, much more so than the account given by St Jerome, the similarity between St Hilarion and his model, St Anthony, a miracle worker and exorcist of demons. A verse of the antiphon to the *Magnificat* (fols 2^v-3^r) refers specifically to this detail: «Sanctus pater Ylarion | devicit formicaleon, | non metuens latrones | excrevit plus monte Syon, | torrente altior Cedron, | expulit baratonnes [...]»; see GIULIO CATTIN, *The Texts of the Offices of Sts. Hilarion and Anne in the Cypriot Manuscript Turin J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 249-302 (commenting in footnote 59, the author states that «the last word is probably “demons”»).

**Fig. 19.**

I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – right margin
Goat-like head with grey-green wings

Fig. 20.

I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 1^r – right margin
Bearded head with horns or dishevelled hair

In sum, a series of monstrous creatures was incorporated into the decoration of the right margin at some point after the initial assembly of the manuscript, contrasting with the angelic figures in the other three margins. Moreover, the metamorphosis of the shield-carrying subject in the right margin is indicative of a broader process of modification which can be linked to the superimposition of a new coat of arms on top of that of the codex's original owner.

6. Pietro vs Pietro

In presenting his case for the identification of the J.II.9 coat of arms with the Brescian Avogadro family, and in particular with the figure of Pietro (c. 1385-1473), Kügle emphasises three elements: first, the role played by Pietro in Brescia's entry into the Venetian orbit, culminating in its eventual submission to the Adriatic power in 1426; second, the family's close ties to the Dominican order; and third, the popularity of the cult of the Holy Cross in the Brescia area. These elements are reflected in various ways in the codex: the decorative features are characteristic of the region around the Po valley; the manuscript's most sumptuous motet (*Magni patris / Ovent Cyprus, Palestina / T / Ct*, fols 74^v-75^r) is Dominican in theme; and the fourfold coat of arms on the manuscript's opening folio is arranged into a cross pattern. Based on these (and other) factors, Kügle's article constructs a narrative which links the commission of J.II.9 to Pietro, and more broadly to the Brescian branch of the Avogadro family. The hypothesis advanced below, in contrast, explores the historical-cultural context in which the codex, prepared for the Cypriot branch of the Lusignan family and originally bearing their coat of arms, arrived at its current state of completion.

The first member of the Beggiamo family worth considering in the context of J.II.9 was also named Pietro. He was born in Savigliano at some point between 1362 and 1374 and died there on 26 June 1436.⁴² He entered the service of Count Amadeus of Savoy-Achaea (1363-1402) in the late 1380s and distinguished himself in a series of preparatory missions to Greece between 1389 and 1393; the military campaign was eventually called off,

42. Evidence pertaining to Pietro Beggiamo is summarised in INGEBORG WALTER, *Beggiamo, Pietro*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 7, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965, pp. 537-538, an entry available online https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-beggiamo_ (last accessed 21 September 2023). The entry is based partly on archival material from Turin and Savigliano and partly on work by historians from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See CARLO TENIVELLI, *Biografia piemontese*, 5 vols, Torino, Briolo, 1784-1792; CARLO NOVELLIS, *Biografia di illustri saviglianesi*, Torino, Gianini e Fiore, 1840; facsimile ed. by Luigi Botta, Marene, Astegiano, 1998; VINCENZO PROMIS, *Monumento di Pietro Beggiamo nel Museo Civico di Torino*, «Atti della Società di Archeologia e Belle Arti per la provincia di Torino», 1, 1875, pp. 371-379; CASIMIRO TURLETTI, *Storia di Savigliano: corredata di documenti*, 4 vols, Savigliano, Bressa, 1879-1888.

but these missions nevertheless earned him the title of Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. He also played an important role in the siege of Monasterolo, a town near Savigliano, which was occupied in 1394 by the Marquess of Saluzzo, Tommaso III del Vasto (1356-1416).⁴³ He was appointed *capitano del popolo* of Mondovì in the early fifteenth century, and his presence in the city is documented in 1402 and then again in 1404, when he carried out a diplomatic mission to Genoa. With the death of Amadeus of Savoy-Achaea in 1402, Pietro moved into the service of his brother and successor Louis, who appointed him as his squire in 1405 and entrusted him with a series of diplomatic missions. The most important of these, and the only one for which firm evidence exists, was his mission to Buda in 1412, the temporary seat of the *Rex Romanorum* Sigismund of Luxembourg. Pietro was tasked with requesting his lord's appointment as imperial vicar for Piedmont and the granting of a privilege for the *studium* of Turin, which he had founded in 1404.⁴⁴ He was accompanied on the mission by Ottobone de' Belloni, doctor in civil and canon law and papal auditor. The mission was successful and led to the granting of both the vicariate and the privilege on 1 July 1412.⁴⁵ This significant diplomatic victory was no doubt a factor in Pietro being awarded the fief of Sant'Albano Stura; elevated to the rank of a county in the following century, it remained in the possession of the Beggiamo family until the extinction of the line in the late eighteenth century. Decreed by Sigismund at Chambéry in 1416, the elevation of the County of Savoy to the rank of a duchy resulted in the bestowal of the new title not on Louis, who was by then elderly and without a legitimate heir, but on his young cousin, Amadeus of Savoy. After Louis's death in Pinerolo on 11 December 1418, Pietro therefore entered the service of Amadeus. In the nearly three years that passed between Amadeus VIII's elevation to

43. Tommaso III of Saluzzo was imprisoned in Turin for two years following his defeat at the siege of Monasterolo. It is to this period (1394-1396) that literary historians date the long chivalric poem attributed to him, *Le chevalier errant*; for a critical edition, see THOMAS D'ALERAN, *Le chevalier errant*, ed. by Daniel Chaubet, Genève, Slatkine, 2001.

44. The schismatic conditions within the Church in 1412, a year at the heart of the period (1409-1415) when there were three claimants to the papal throne, meant that Sigismund could not bear the title of Holy Roman Emperor but only that of *Rex Romanorum*. His coronation took place in Rome more than twenty years later, on 31 May 1433, presided over by the second pope of the post-schism era, Eugene IV (r. 1431-1447). The event was solemnised by the performance of *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, a four-voice motet composed for the occasion by Du Fay; for a recent edition, accompanied by an introduction and a critical apparatus, see vol. 02/08 of *Guillaume Du Fay, Opera Omnia*, ed. by Alejandro Enrique Planchart and others, Santa Barbara, Marisol, 2008-, available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/> (last accessed 21 September 2023).

45. Sigismund's movements throughout the territories of the Holy Roman Empire are recorded in PÁL ENGEL – NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382-1438)*, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005. The privilege granted by Sigismund was preceded by one granted in Marseilles on 27 October 1404 by the Avignones antipope Benedict XIII (the Aragonese Pedro de Luna, r. 1394-1423 though deposed by the Council of Constance around 1417). A third privilege was granted on 1 August 1413 by the Pisan antipope John XXIII (r. 1410-1415).

the ducal title and Louis's death, Pietro played a significant role in two important events. Firstly, on 20 August 1416, in his capacity as leader of the local nobility, he received a substantial sum of money from the municipality of Savigliano for unspecified services; he declined the payment and instead donated it to the community, significantly enhancing his standing within the city. Secondly, on 30 November 1417, in his capacity *capitano del popolo* in Mondovì (a role he had occupied since the beginning of the century), he oversaw a significant donation which Louis made to the local cathedral.⁴⁶

Details of Pietro's public activities following Amadeus's accession to the dukedom become patchier and tend to place him in other areas of the duchy. He served as the *podestà* of Vercelli between 30 December 1426 (when Savoy took possession of the city) and 7 March 1429, and additionally as *podestà* of Ivrea from 15 March 1427.⁴⁷ It seems, therefore, that the duke thought Pietro's positive reputation could be put to good use in the administration of recently annexed and politically unstable territories.⁴⁸ At the end of the decade, however, Pietro once again held public office in his native city: on 15 May 1430, «Il sig. milite Pietro Beggiamo» received compensation from the Municipality of Savigliano

for expenses incurred during a 68-day expedition in Savoy with six people and as many horses. The duke charged these expenses to the Municipality in a letter sent from Thonon, dated 19 August 1429, which bore the ducal seal and was signed by his secretary, Guillaume Bolomyer.⁴⁹

Pietro's diplomatic mission to Thonon on behalf of Savigliano, for which he was accompanied by half a dozen distinguished fellow citizens, appears to have been prompted by an acrimonious conflict which had arisen in the city between the nobility and the townspeople. Tensions within the duchy were also fuelled by preparations for war against the neighbouring Marquisate of Monferrato. Writing from Pinerolo on 3

46. The same year also saw Savigliano benefit from Louis's generosity, who on 22 August decreed an allocation of funds towards various projects at the Church of San Pietro. These included: the restoration of an altar which his father had erected and endowed with a daily Mass on 2 February 1364; the endowment of an additional daily Mass; the construction of the Chapel of the Holy Cross; and completion of the nave that houses it. See CARLO MARCO FELICE ARNAUD, *Vita del b. Aimone Tapparelli dell'ordine de' predicatori*, Torino, Denasio, [1800], pp. 42-43.

47. I-VCC, *Libro dei debiti e crediti 1427*, fol. 38; I-Ta, *Protocolli Ducali*, Sezione di Corte, *Protocolli dei notai ducali*, Serie rossa, LXXVII, fol. 108.

48. This was certainly the case in Ivrea, and indeed across the entire Canavese, which in the late fourteenth century was shaken by a series of peasant revolts against abuses of the local nobility.

49. TURLETTI, *Storia di Savigliano*, I, 1879, p. 457: «pelle spese sostenute vacando 68 giorni con 6 persone ed altrettanti cavalli in Savoia pel fatto della Società, spese che il Duca metteva a carico del Municipio con sue lettere date in Tonone il 19 agosto 1429, munite del sigillo ducale e firmate dal segretario Guglielmo Bolomyer».

May 1431 on behalf of his father, Prince Amadeus – Louis's older brother and the intended husband of Anne of Cyprus until his premature death on 17 August of the same year, just a few months after the engagement was formalised – ordered Pietro and his military adviser Antonio Del Pozzo to move «to the more northerly territories of Piedmont» to select soldiers, and to provide a list of recruits as soon as possible. However, while it is known that 280 infantrymen were assigned to Del Pozzo, the only surviving information regarding Pietro is that he «looked elsewhere».⁵⁰

The final piece of information regarding Pietro's public life which can be established with certainty relates to the recently annexed territories. In a letter dated 10 April 1434 sent to Amadeus VIII, a group of Savoyard ambassadors to the Duchy of Milan reported that they had passed through

your city of Vercelli, which, in all honesty, is large and remarkable, and much nicer than we had anticipated. We found there the *podestà*, 'messire Pierre Bejam' [= Pietro Beggiamo], and your local representative [*chastellan*], Le Bon de Lespine, who govern it well, with attention to your honour and benefit and to the satisfaction of the citizens.⁵¹

Pietro died on 26 June 1436 without leaving any direct descendants, as his marriage to the noblewoman Elena Raschieri Costa degli Albuzzani of Chieri had proven to be childless.⁵² His heir therefore became his brother Tomaso, whose son Filippo married Francesca Tapparelli shortly afterwards, thereby securing a place of honour for the Beggiamo coat of arms in Lagnasco Castle. Pietro's remains were laid to rest in the Church of San Pietro in a white marble sepulchral monument which portrays him dressed as a knight, prominently displaying a half-shield adorned with the Beggiamo coat of arms (Fig. 21, p. 46).

50. *Ibidem*, p. 462. Turletti's account, not supported by further evidence, is accompanied by an intriguing detail pertaining to an official act dated 19 May 1431: the election as constables of Savigliano – ahead of the military campaign against the Marquisate of Monferrato – of Cuniberto Oggeri, Luchino Malavota, and a certain Giorgio Beggiamo. This Giorgio was likely the father of Cristoforo, a figure discussed in detail in §9.

51. The passage is quoted in LUIGI CIBRARIO, *Studi storici*, Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1851, pp. 436-440: 436: «[Nous avons passe par] votre cite de Verseil qui en bonne foy est grande et noutable et trop meilleur que nous ne cuydions ou trouvames le pousta messire Pierre Bejam et votre chastellan le bon de Lespine qui le government bien et notablement a votre honneur et proufite et au gre des cytoiens».

52. On the coat of arms, family tree, and important members of this family, see TETTONI – SALADINI, *Teatro araldico*, VII, 1847, s.v. 'Raschieri Costa'. Included in the family tree as Elena's spouse, Pietro is listed as having served as ducal vicar (i.e. governor of Chieri) in 1430 and 1436; however, it is likely that this position was held not by Pietro but by his brother Robaldo (on which see §8). A note on the same page reports that Pietro named his nephew Giovanni Raschieri and his three great-nephews, Pietro, Marco, and Giovannardo, as his heirs in his will of 1455 (probably a misreading of 1435, the year before he died). No further evidence for this assertion exists, however.



Fig. 21.
Turin, Palazzo Madama – Museo Civico d'Arte Antica
Piedmontese sculptor – Funeral Monument of Pietro Beggiamo (c. 1436)

The monument was placed in a niche inside the Church of San Pietro, which served as the traditional burial place for leading members of the Savigliano nobility. The history of the monument prior to its transfer to the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in Turin is recounted by Vincenzo Promis, who transcribed the epigraph engraved on its base in an article of 1875. The inscription was already seriously damaged at the time of Promis's transcription and is now practically illegible.⁵⁵ This epigraph provides important information regarding Pietro's biography: in addition to being made a Knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre («baltheo militie gladio ac calcearibus auri [...] sibi decoravit sacratum Christi sepulchrum»), he was «dilectus» of Emperor Sigismund and «Regibus Hispanie Aragonum domesticus». This latter distinction corroborates references to other missions undertaken on Louis's behalf, including to Aragon, which Pietro's companion Ottobono de' Belloni certainly visited on a number of occasions.⁵⁴ A third noteworthy detail contained in Promis's inscription of the description of Pietro as a «Ducum Angligeri Sabaudieque sectator», suggesting that he served a «duke of Angligerus». The term 'angligerus' is unusual and could possibly refer to an alliance made between the English

53. PROMIS, *Monumento*, pp. 376-377. The monument was acquired by the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in 1877; see LUIGI MALLÉ, *Museo civico di Torino. Le sculture del Museo d'arte antica. Catalogo*, Torino, Poligrafiche riunite, 1965, p. 117.

54. For further details of Ottobono de' Belloni's biography see the unsigned entry *Belloni, Ottobono*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 7, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965, pp. 779-781, available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ottobono-belloni_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ottobono-belloni_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (last accessed 21 September 2023).

and the Burgundians in 1419 against France, a kingdom whose redemption would later be led by Joan of Arc. However, an earlier transcription by Novellis (which Promis considered to be inaccurate and incomplete) gives 'Anguigeri' for 'Angligeri', perhaps indicating that the hypothetical lord served by Pietro used a coat of arms featuring a serpent (*anguis*); this could imply an equally unusual hypothesis, namely that Pietro was at some point in the service of the Visconti.⁵⁵

While not directly addressing the question of whether Pietro ever materially possessed J.II.9, this biographical overview firmly places the Beggiamo family in the sphere of the Savoy court in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This phase was sealed by the lavish wedding in Chambéry on 7 February 1434 between Louis, son of Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy, and Anne of Lusignan, daughter of Janus I, King of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia.⁵⁶

7. Savigliano: University Town

Founded in 1404 at the initiative of Louis of Savoy-Achaea, the *Studium generale* of Turin found its origins in a request from professors at the University of Pavia whose scholarly activities had been severely disrupted by unrest in the Duchy of Milan following the sudden death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. It took roughly a decade for the *Studium* to establish itself, and to acquire the necessary secular and ecclesiastical privileges, during which time it operated only intermittently. Diplomatic and administrative efforts associated with the establishment of the Duchy of Savoy in 1416 drew Louis's attention away from academic affairs, a situation which persisted until 29 September 1424, when the duke formally reinstated the *Studium*.⁵⁷ By 1421 the *Studium* had relocated to the city of Chieri, a few miles away from Turin, where scholars had taken refuge as early as 1421. Despite a request for its return by the mayor of Turin on 14 May 1428, the *Studium* continued to be housed in Chieri between 1427 and 1434,

55. NOVELLIS, *Biografia*, p. 35. Possible candidates for Pietro's hypothetical Visconti lord include Gian Galeazzo (r. 1395-1402), Giovanni Maria (r. 1402-1412), and Filippo Maria (r. 1412-1447).

56. The most extensive and detailed description of the celebrations organised in Chambéry for the wedding of Louis and Anne can be found in JEAN LE FÈVRE DE SAINT-RÉMY, *Chronique de Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France*, 2 vols, ed. by François Morand, Paris, Renouard, 1876-1881, I, pp. 287-297. The Burgundian historian's work is based on a pre-existing chronicle by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, but adds original information for the period 1428-1436. The sovereignty of Janus I over the thrones of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia is celebrated in J.II.9 in the text of the Cantus I part of *Gemma florens militie / Hec est dies gloriosa / [T] / [Ct]* (fols 65^v-66^r), one of two motets dedicated to St John the Baptist; see MICHAEL ALAN ANDERSON, *The One Who Comes After Me: John the Baptist, Christian Time, and Symbolic Musical Techniques*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 66, 2013, pp. 639-708: 696-697 *et passim*.

57. In the meantime, the *Studium* had obtained the privilege of Martin V (r. 1417-1431), the pope whose election had put an end to the Great Schism. In fact, until that point the *Studium* had been endorsed only by two deposed (anti)popes, the Avignonese Benedict XIII and the Pisan John XXIII.

operating out of the Dominican and Franciscan convents (the latter of which would eventually become the Faculty of Theology).⁵⁸ Among the notable professors during the Chieri period was Antonio Guainerio, a luminary in the field of medical science who was tasked with accompanying Louis during his stays in Piedmont. In 1432 he relocated to Thonon following his appointment as personal physician to Amadeus VIII.⁵⁹ In 1434 officials from Chieri sent a delegation to plead for the *Studium* to be transferred to a different location due to difficulties that had arisen in its administration. Amadeus VIII considered moving it to Savigliano, a flourishing city at the time, and immediately sent two envoys to the ducal court to initiate discussions. The outcome was positive, and a decree was issued on 13 August granting Savigliano the relevant patents. While leaving the *Studium* chancellorship to the Bishop of Turin, the duke appointed Daniele Beggiamo as his deputy. Daniele, younger brother of Pietro, had studied in Pavia and Turin, where he earned his doctorate, and had served as Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Pietro in Savigliano for fifteen years. The choice won papal endorsement, as documented by a bull issued by Eugene IV on 9 February 1435.⁶⁰

58. On the Franciscan origins of the Faculty of Theology, see PAOLO ROSSO, *Da 'Studium conventuale' a 'Studium generale'. La scuola del convento di San Francesco di Chieri nel Quattrocento da scritture contabili minoritiche*, «Rivista di storia dell'Università di Torino», 3/2, 2014, pp. 1-42.

59. For further details of Antonio Guainerio's biography, see DANIELA MUGNAI CARRARA, *Guaineri* [sic] *Antonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 60, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2003, pp. 111-115, available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-guaineri_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-guaineri_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed 21 September 2023). Information regarding his library is provided in CHAYES, *Les Lusignan de Chypre*, p. 76. In 1431 Guainerio attended the inauguration of the Council of Basel in the company of a prelate; he returned to Savoy after a three-year period (1432-1435) in the service of Giangiacomo Paleologus, Marquess of Monferrato. Guainerio possessed an impressive library containing medical texts in Latin and Greek, as well as literary works in Latin and the vernacular. In his reading of Greek texts, Guainerio availed himself of the advice of another great bibliophile, Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan, the recipient (and, as such, depicted in) of F-Pn, lat. 432, a gift from the Bishop of Utrecht at Basel in 1431 (see Fig. 9).

60. TOMMASO VALLAURI, *Storia delle Università degli studi del Piemonte*, 3 vols, Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1846, facsimile edn Bologna, Forni, 1970, remains an indispensable work on the history of the University of Turin; on the first decades of the *Studium*'s activity, see in part. chapters 2-4, which include transcriptions of relevant archival material. Also useful is GUSTAVO VINAY, *L'Umanesimo subalpino nel secolo xv: studi e ricerche*, Torino, [s.n.], 1935. More recent work on the early history of the university include: ERNESTO BELLONE, *I primi decenni della Università a Torino: 1404-1436*, «Studi piemontesi», xii/2, 1983, pp. 352-369; ID., *L'Università di Torino a Chieri (1427-1434) e a Savigliano (1434-1436)*, «Studi piemontesi», xiv/1, 1985, pp. 24-33; ID., *Il primo secolo di vita della Università di Torino, sec. xv-xvi. Ricerche ed ipotesi sulla cultura nel Piemonte quattrocentesco*, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1986 (see in part. p. 92, which discusses Daniele Beggiamo's enrollment in the Faculty of Law in 1417); and *Alma Felix Universitas Studiorum Taurinensis*, ed. by Irma Naso, Torino, Comitato per le celebrazioni del vi centenario, 2004. An editorial note on pp. 60-61 emends the date on which Eugene IV issued his papal bull authorising the transfer to Savigliano: 9 February 1435, and not 1434 as is often reported, including in the inventory of the Archivio Storico del Comune di Savigliano, which holds the document (Cat. ix F 40/1); the error arose from confusion on the part of nineteenth-century historians regarding the medieval calendar, according to which the calendar year began on 1 March. See also ELEONORA PLEBANI, *Una fuga programmata. Eugenio iv e Firenze (1433-34)*, «Archivio storico italiano», 170/2, 2012, pp. 285-310, which discusses Eugene IV's flight from Rome on 29 May 1434, and thus implicitly rules out the possibility that the bull authorising the transfer to Savigliano (issued in Florence on 9 February) could date to 1434. On the biography of Daniele Beggiamo, see also CARLO NOVELLIS, *Storia di Savigliano e dell'abbazia di S. Pietro*, Torino, Favale, 1844, pp. 307-308; the volume also contains a chapter (pp. 128-137) devoted entirely to the *Studium*'s Savigliano period.

Despite Amadeus VIII's initial plan for the *Studium* to establish a permanent presence in Savigliano, it ended up staying there for only two years.⁶¹ Similar to what had occurred in Chieri, the city soon found itself unable to cope with student housing and teaching needs. Savigliano therefore had to relinquish its role as host to the university in the summer of 1436, despite having taken a series of special measures such as finding additional space in the Dominican convent and several private residences. It is perhaps no coincidence that this announcement came in the immediate wake of Pietro's death on 26 June. Exploiting a long-standing tax dispute with the local community as a pretext, Prince Louis, acting on his father's behalf, decreed the transfer of the *Studium* back to Turin on 6 October.⁶² Protests from both lecturers and students proved ineffective, as did a plea from the mayor on 23 October. Three days later the order was issued, requiring an immediate return to Turin.⁶³

8. A Different Scenario

The preceding two sections offered a biographical overview of Pietro Beggiamo and a reconstruction of the early history of the *Studium generale* between Turin, Chieri, and Savigliano, where Pietro's younger brother Daniele served as Abbot of San Pietro; in so doing, they helped to place within the orbit of the ducal court a family whose coat of arms matches the one depicted on fol. 1^r of J.II.9. Building on this foundation, the present section returns to the question of the codex's provenance and eventual arrival in the ducal library.

In formulating his hypothesis regarding the creation and early ownership of J.II.9, Kügle presents a scenario dominated by the figure of Jean Hanelle, chapel master to Janus I, whose presence in Savoy is evidenced by two payments dated 16 August 1434 (10 ducats) and 17 November 1436

61. For a transcription of the ducal patents authorising the transfer to Savigliano, see NOVELLIS, *Storia di Savigliano*, pp. 426-433. The duke's expressed desire for the *Studium* to remain permanently in Savigliano can be found on p. 430: «ut ipsum studium auctore Deo perpetue solidum permaneat concedimus quod gabella salis iam pro ipso studio Savilliani manuteneatur». However, it should be noted that this was a standard formula: a similar sentiment is expressed in Amadeus's authorisation of the *Studium*'s transfer to Chieri in 1427.

62. Louis was acting on his father's behalf due to the latter being occupied with the founding of the military and religious Order of Saint Maurice. The order was established at Ripaille castle on 8 October 1434, on the twelfth anniversary of the death of Amadeus VIII's wife, Mary of Burgundy (1386-1422). A month later, on 7 November, Amadeus VIII formally resigned from political leadership of the duchy, appointing his son Louis as regent.

63. The definitive transfer of the *Studium* to Turin was approved by Eugene IV on 21 June 1438, significantly later than the date of the actual relocation. Transcripts of the documents relating to this event can be found in TURLETTI, *Storia di Savigliano*, iv, documents 396 (pp. 553-554), 399 (pp. 555-560), 412 (pp. 571-572), 417 (pp. 574-575), 418 (pp. 575-577), 419 (pp. 577-578), and 423 (p. 579). The original documents are housed in I-SaVa (Cat. ix, F. 40/1; Cat. ix, F. 40/3; Pergamene e Carte sciolte F. 2/20; Raccolta Leggi del Duboin).

(6 ducats).⁶⁴ A few lines below the second payment to Hanelle (recorded as a reimbursement to an official named Richard de Colombier, who had advanced the money to Louis), the court register also records a payment of 18 ducats «pour ung liure» (not otherwise specified) to a «sieur Richart», presumably the same person. Given Hanelle's presence at the court, and the fact that the payment appears in a list of luxury purchases, Kügle suggests that the «liure» might plausibly be J.II.9.⁶⁵ A few pages earlier, the same register records a payment made to Du Fay on 8 August 1434 to cover the expenses of a trip to visit his elderly mother in Cambrai. The simultaneous presence of Hanelle and Du Fay – fellow countrymen of long-standing acquaintance, possibly stemming from a master-pupil relationship – in the ducal territories over a six-month period lends weight to the theory that the final phase of the preparation of J.II.9, presumably including binding, took place at the Savoy court between 1434 and 1436. With regard to the earliest phase of J.II.9's preparation, Kügle suggests that Pietro Avogadro commissioned the codex with the intention of securing a spectacular endowment for the Dominicans, who had been expelled from Brescia in 1422. More specifically, Kügle suggests that the gesture, possibly carried out under the aegis of the Order of the Joyful Friars (*Frati gaudenti*), might have aimed at the construction of an Avogadro chapel in the Brescian church of Santa Maria della Pace, or perhaps even in the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta. However, a series of circumstances conspired against the success of the project, including ongoing tensions between Brescia and Milan, the growing influence of the rival Franciscan Order in the city, and the local clergy's desire to curb the ambitions of the Avogadro family.⁶⁶ According to Kügle, these factors would account for the codex remaining incomplete upon its arrival in Savoy.

In surveying possible connections between J.II.9 and Pietro Avogadro, Kügle draws attention to the significance of St Hilarion, whose Office opens the codex. Indeed, there are several striking parallels between the biographies of the two figures: similar to Hilarion, Pietro left his hometown as an adolescent and returned a new man; moreover, just as Hilarion's encounter with St Anthony in the desert of Thebaid proved a decisive turning point in the saint's life, so Pietro was profoundly shaped by his time at the Gonzaga court in Mantua and the Carrara court in

Padua.⁶⁷ Following the Office for St Hilarion (and its associated Mass) in J.II.9 is an Office for St Anne – mother of Mary, grandmother of Christ, and great-aunt of John the Baptist by prominently featuring the matriarch of the Holy Family, the codex foregrounds three themes which would have held a particular significance for J.II.9's noble audience: procreation, kinship, and lineage.⁶⁸

In 2014, two years after Kügle's Avogadro article, Michael Alan Anderson published a substantial monograph on St Anne and her significance in Renaissance music. Anderson devotes an entire chapter to the saint's Office, advancing the hypothesis that the primary motivation for its inclusion in J.II.9 was Anne's reputation as an intercessor of fertility and noble lineage, who would therefore safeguard the destinies of noble families: most notably the Lusignans of Cyprus, but also the patrons (i.e. the Avogadros of Brescia, as Kügle suggests) and the eventual recipients of the codex (i.e. the House of Savoy).⁶⁹ He dates the composition of the Office to the period between 23 November 1413 (when John XXIII issued the bull authorising the Office of St Hilarion) and the birth of the first child of Janus I and Charlotte of Bourbon, which occurred at some point between 1414 and 1418, at least two years after Charlotte's arrival in Cyprus.⁷⁰

It is highly probable that Princess Anne was acquainted with the Office dedicated to her saintly namesake from a young age, given that it was regularly sung at the Cypriot court even on days other than her feast day (26 July). Unfortunately for the young Anne, though, the saint's protection proved insufficient: her mother Charlotte died in 1422, when Anne was

67. *Ibidem*, p. 655. The principal source regarding Pietro Avogadro's biography is Antonio da Cornazzano's *Vita di Pietro Avogadro bresciano*, written in the late 1460s or early 1470s and preserved in a manuscript currently held in I-BRq (shelfmark: B.vii.13). For a study of the *Vita*, see DIEGO ZANCANI, *Un recupero quattrocentesco: La 'Vita di Pietro Avogadro bresciano' di Antonio Cornazzano e il lavoro di un editore del Cinquecento (Remigio Nannini)*, in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche. Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, ed. by Arnaldo Ganda, Elisa Grignani and Alberto Petrucciani, 2 vols, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, I, pp. 145-167.

68. I-Tn, J.II.9, fols 14^r-19^r; KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 661-662.

69. MICHAEL ALAN ANDERSON, *St Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 26-65. See also p. 19: «St Anne was one to relieve dynastic anxieties that consumed sovereigns especially in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe». A possible connection between St Hilarion and Janus I (and an indirect connection between St Anne and Charlotte of Bourbon) is also explored in FABRE – POLIZZI, *In Memory of Janus*.

70. Born in 1375, Janus I was 36 years old at the time of his marriage to Charlotte of Bourbon (Nicosia, 25 August 1411), an age at which the lack of a royal heir was beginning to prompt concern. The failure of his earlier marriage to Anglesia Visconti (married in 1401, annulled in 1407) to produce offspring had caused alarm, which even the first two years of his new union with Charlotte had failed to dispel. The assistance of St Anne was therefore greatly needed. The birthdates of the children of Janus I and Charlotte (who survived into adulthood) are disputed: 1414, 1416, or 1418 for John II, and 1415, 1418, or 1419 for Anne. It is therefore very possible that Anne was the couple's first child, and that the choice of her name was anything but random. In any case, the birth of two healthy children, one of each sex, secured the declining fortunes of the Lusignans, both on the island of Cyprus, administered until the end of the century by several of its members (John II, Charlotte, James II the Bastard, James III, Catherine Cornaro), and on the European continent thanks to Anne's marriage to Louis of Savoy.

64. I-Ta, Inv. 16, Reg. 79, fol. 473^r and Inv. 16, Reg. 81, fol. 207^r, extracts transcribed in KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 681. Kügle's hypothesis (p. 669) is that Hanelle might have travelled to Savoy together with Anne.

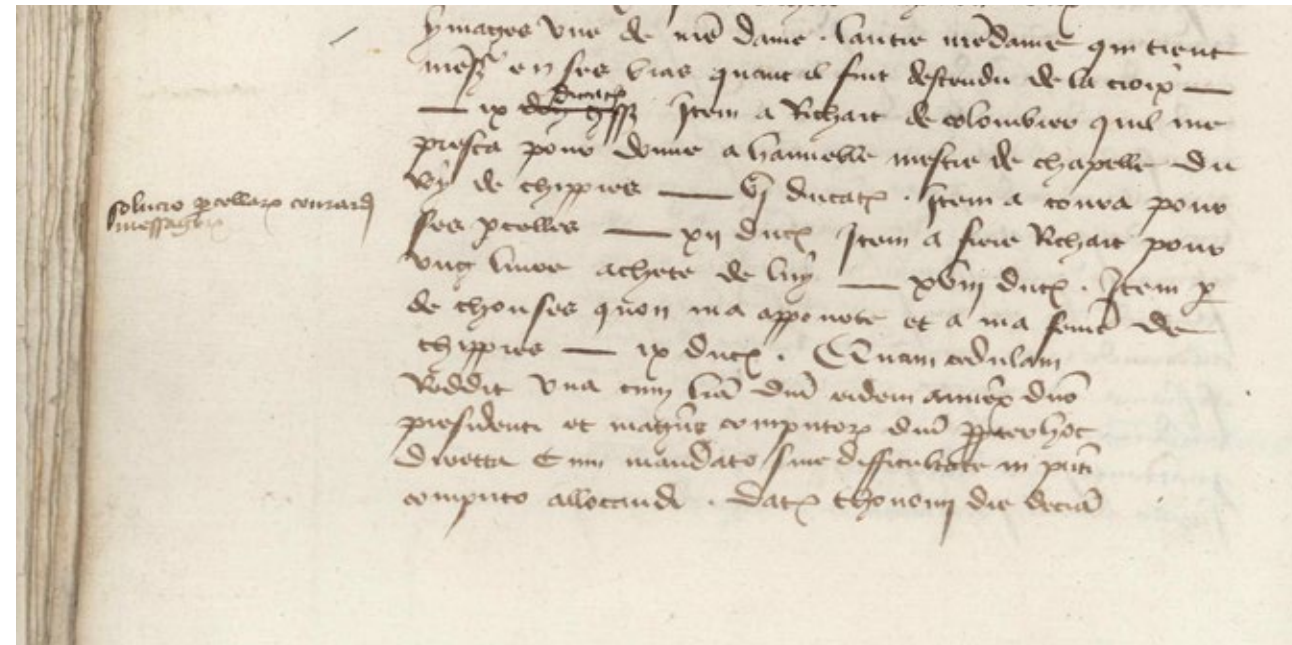
65. I-Ta, Inv. 16, Reg. 81, fol. 207^r: «Item a sieur Richart pour ung livre achete de luy – xviii duc[at]os». KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 679: «Might the book purchased by the courtier Richart de Colombier on behalf of the prince have been the "Avogadro codex"? It is impossible to say. But it certainly cannot be ruled out».

66. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 667-668.

between three and seven years old. The inclusion of the Office for the *Mater Mariae* in a codex that would accompany the princess in her married life in Savoy must have been a great source of comfort. And it must be said that St Anne treated her namesake very well later in life, guaranteeing the safe delivery of no less than eighteen children, the first of whom was delivered at Thonon a week before her first wedding anniversary.

Though securely documented, the birth of Louis and Anne's first child does not seem to have attracted much attention in studies of J.II.9. When Amadeus IX came into the world on 1 February 1435, his father had been serving as lieutenant general of Savoy for almost three months. Still in a state of incompleteness, the manuscript was, Anderson speculates, at this point still in the hands of Hanelle, who may have been attempting to sell it to «several individuals» during his two-year stay in Savoy.⁷¹ Of the «several individuals» potentially interested in purchasing it, Anderson mentions only the princess born under the protection of the saint to whom the Office was dedicated and her father-in-law, who had for some time been devoting himself to his beloved library. Indeed, as discussed above, the hypothesis put forth by Kügle and supported by Anderson is that the book which Richard de Colombier purchased on Louis's behalf (and for which he was reimbursed 18 ducats) on 17 November 1436 was none other than J.II.9.⁷² However, two elements remain perplexing in this story. The first is that the inventory (Fig. 22) fails to mention Hanelle in the context of the «liure». The second is that the earlier payment to Richard de Colombier, for an expense of six ducats incurred «pour donne a Hanelle mestre de chapelle du Roy de chippres» («for a gift to Hanelle, chapel master to the King of Cyprus»), is separated from the entry regarding the «liure» by an entry which concerns a different man and a different service: «Item a roura pour ses p[ar]celles – XLJ duc[at]o[s]» («also, paid to Roura[r]d for his fees – 12 ducats»).73

A hypothesis compatible with the entrance of the codex into the ducal library by 17 November 1436 is as follows. Hanelle arrived in Venice from



Cyprus on 16 November 1433, following Anne's marriage by proxy in Nicosia on 4 October. He brought the manuscript with him to deliver it to the court of Savoy. After Anne and her retinue had travelled from Cyprus to Venice on a galley lent to them by the Venetians, they set sail again on a more modest Savoy vessel and arrived in Nice on 1 January 1434, having circumnavigated the Peninsula. The journey to the capital of the duchy then continued overland, with a series of carefully planned stops designed to allow the princess to see some of her new territories. The wedding took place in Chambéry, in the Sainte Chapelle, on the afternoon of 7 February. The ceremony was officiated by Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan, the bride's uncle and Archbishop of Nicosia. Although long and costly, the decision to travel by sea rather than by land from Venice had been taken for two reasons: the onset of winter and the dangers of passing through the politically volatile Visconti territories.⁷⁴

Fig. 22.
I-Ta, Inv. 16, Reg. 81, fol. 207^r
Payments to Jean Hanelle and others (1436)

71. ANDERSON, *St Anne in Renaissance Music*, p. 60: «political unrest in mid-1430s Brescia might explain why the Turin Codex was apparently never presented to the Avogadro family and is now found in connection with the House of Savoy». See also p. 61: «Hanelle might have peddled the Turin Codex to several individuals at Savoy». The likely cause of the codex's state of incompleteness depends, of course, on the contested identity of its patron: if commissioned by Pietro Avogadro, as Kügle argues, then the codex was likely left incomplete due to the political-diplomatic upheavals that shook Brescia in the early 1430s, when Milan attempted to annex the city; if produced at the Cypriot court for the benefit of the ruling family, as may now be argued based on the identification of the azure substrate in the left margin of fol. 1^r, then due to the tumultuous events that engulfed the island from September 1424.

72. ANDERSON, *St Anne in Renaissance Music*, p. 60: «It is possible that the Turin Codex was this very book».

73. I-Ta, Inv. 16, Reg. 81, fol. 207^r. A marginal gloss next to this entry reads «solucio p[ar]cellarum rourard[i] messagier[i]» («settlement of fees for the messenger Rourard»). Kügle transcribes the third word (in my opinion incorrectly) as «lomards», thus overlooking the reference to Roura[r]d's name.

74. Anne's journey is described in FRANCESCO COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII*, 2 vols, Torino, Paravia, 1930; repr. Milano, Dall'Oglio, 1991, I, 137-141. See also *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, p. 16.

In this scenario, it is possible that, as the codex had not yet been completed, decorated, or bound, it may have been temporarily entrusted to a craftsman with a workshop in Venice or on the mainland. The codex could then have been sent either by sea in Hanelle's trunk or overland in the custody of a courier assigned to deliver it to Chambéry.⁷⁵ In any case, the manuscript would have arrived at the Savoy court during the months in which the duke and his officials were busy finding an alternative location for the new *Studium*, following the Chieri delegates' insistence on its relocation. The honour of hosting such a prestigious institution was accompanied by an obligation of providing the court with an annual sum of 500 florins «parvi valoris» for the lecturers' fees, not to mention to expenses associated with renting and managing the premises, accommodating lecturers and students, and many other necessities.⁷⁶ The issuing of the patent in their favour on 13 August testifies to the effectiveness of the Savigliano envoys in the spring of 1434, who provided the duke with sufficient guarantees and persuaded him to transfer the *Studium* to their city.

The Savigliano envoys, honoured by the duke's appointment of Abbot Beggiamo as vice-chancellor, might well have committed to covering the expenses for the completion of the manuscript. This would likely have been carried out at court under the qualified supervision of Hanelle, and perhaps Du Fay as well. A manuscript consisting of a pair of fascicles containing both monophonic and polyphonic sacred music, followed by a trio of fascicles containing motets, ballades, virelais, and rondeaux would indeed have served as a fitting token of a city's gratitude for its nomination as a seat of learning. As it was classed as a luxury item, it might also have contributed to a substantial reduction in the costs associated with the transfer. Furthermore, the Dominican orientation of many compositions in the codex aligned with the religious atmosphere of Savigliano, which, like Chieri, would make its Dominican convent available to the *Studium*. Another link between Savigliano and the manuscript's contents can be seen in the local devotion to the Holy Cross, evidenced by the recent construction of a chapel dedicated to the sacred relic in the Church of San Pietro, as well as the construction of a church just outside the city walls named after it.⁷⁷ Finally, the presence in J.II.9

75. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that the codex had already reached an advanced stage of production at the Lusignan court, which became a hub of activity for many artists from France and northern Italy following the arrival of Charlotte of Bourbon in 1411; see GILLES GRIVAUD, *Résonances humanistes à la cour de Nicosie (1411-1425)*, in *Poésie et musique*, pp. 27-39.

76. ELISA MONGIANO, *Lo studio e i principi*, in *Alma Felix*, pp. 75-118: 88.

77. On the Chapel of the Holy Cross in San Pietro, see footnote 46. The church dedicated to the Holy Cross, on the other hand, was built in the first half of the fifteenth century just outside Savigliano. All that remains

of two motets dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria would have held a particular relevance for the citizens of Savigliano, whose Dominican convent of virgin nuns had borne her name for almost a century.⁷⁸

Financing the completion of a codex that includes an entire Office for St Anne at a time when a princess bearing that name was about to ensure the perpetuation of the dynasty she had just joined would have been a morally commendable operation, as well as diplomatically opportune. The operation could have been orchestrated by Abbot Daniele, *de facto* head of the Savigliano *Studium*, or indeed by his brother Pietro; after all, it was Pietro who twenty years earlier had undertaken the mission to Buda to secure the privilege of the *Rex Romanorum* for the fledgling academic institution. It is also possible that the youngest of the Beggiamo brothers, Robaldo, was involved in the operation. Robaldo was at the time the vicar of Chieri, previous home to the *Studium* and hometown of Pietro's wife's family. Finally, it would be difficult to resist the temptation of also including Pietro's designated heir Tomaso in the picture. In summary, it is plausible to assume that a Beggiamo family member chose to finance the completion of the codex as part of the agreements sealed by the decree which transferred the university to Savigliano (Thonon, 13 August 1434). It is notable that this act was followed in quick succession by the birth of Amadeus IX (Thonon, 1 February 1435), and then the issuing of the papal bull by Eugene IV (Florence, 9 February 1435). Despite the initial success of the operation, however, Savigliano's fortunes soon began to turn. In addition to the growing difficulties of maintaining the institution, the city had to contend with the death of one of its most illustrious citizens, Pietro Beggiamo, in 1436. This and other factors, including first and foremost Turin becoming the seat of the general lieutenant of Piedmont, contributed to the court's decision to transfer the *Studium* back to the banks of the River Po. The decree was issued on 20 October 1436, four months after Pietro's death and four weeks before Richard de Colombier was repaid the 18 ducats he had lent to the ducal treasurer Guillaume de Bolomier for the purchase of «ung liure». Though it is impossible to say for sure, this was probably the very same book that Hanelle had nearly completed, perhaps thanks to the support of Savigliano patrons, and presumably sold to his bibliophile sovereign, father-in-law of the Cypriot princess who, thanks to St Anne,

of it today are a few seventeenth-century frescoes, preserved in the Church of Santa Maria della Pieve.

78. NOVELLIS, *Storia di Savigliano*, p. 262; for the corresponding Brescian situation, see KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 661. For an in-depth examination of one of the two motets dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria in J.II.9 (*Personet armonia / Consonet altissonis / T*, fols 71^v-72^r), see the *excursus* at the end of ch. 32 (*Some Aspects of the Cyprus Manuscript and its Motets*) of MARGARET BENT, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2023.

had in the meantime succeeded in safeguarding the future of the ducal house by giving birth to two of her eighteen children.⁷⁹

9. Other Scenarios

Even supposing that the hypothesis presented above is correct, that at some point between 1434 and 1436 a member of the Beggiamo family bore the expenses required for the (near) completion of the codex, it would be naive to assume that the Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms had at this early stage already been replaced by that of a devout, wealthy, but significantly less illustrious family. The superimposition of the Beggiamo coat of arms on the Lusignan-Poitiers coat of arms must have occurred at a later moment, a moment which, contingent on an infinite number of factors, is all but impossible to determine with any level of certainty. Behind this uncertainty lies a fundamental question: what caused the codex to make its way from the Savoy court back to the Beggiamo family in the first place? Among the many possible scenarios, three are outlined below, each with a slightly different degree of probability.

The first scenario relates to Anne's death in Geneva on 11 November 1462. With the passing of the princess, eleven years after her bibliophile father-in-law, the presence of the Cypriot codex in the ducal library would have lost much of its earlier significance, especially given the fraught political circumstances in which Amadeus IX (1435-1472, r. 1465-1472) and his wife Yolande of Valois (1434-1478) found themselves governing.⁸⁰ In declining health, troubled by the rebellion of his brothers, and disheartened by the prospect of seeing his sister-in-law take charge of the state, Amadeus withdrew to Vercelli in 1469 to spend his final years detached from political life, dedicating himself instead to serving the poor as a Franciscan tertiary.⁸¹

Against this backdrop of political dissolution, the manuscript may well have fallen into the hands of a Beggiamo family member: perhaps Abbot

Daniele, who had previously served as vice-chancellor of the *Studium* and was still in charge of the monastery of San Pietro; or his nephew Corrado, son of his elder brother Tomaso, who joined the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in 1440;⁸² or Cristoforo, who founded Piedmont's first printing press in c. 1470, demonstrating an evident enthusiasm for books; or, providing he was still alive at the time, his father Giorgio, one of the three constables elected in Savigliano in 1431 ahead of a military campaign against the Marquisate of Monferrato.⁸⁵

Another context in which the manuscript could have passed into the hands of a Beggiamo family member is during the *joyeuse entrée* into Savigliano by Amadeus IX and his consort on 11 May 1467. Details of the event, which lasted for three days and culminated in the couple's visit to San Pietro, are reported in several archival documents. The reception took place in Savigliano's main square, where local artist Domenico Pocapaglia had set up a pavilion resembling an orchard, symbolising the city's openness to the sovereign. The reception was spectacular and included an exchange of gifts; while historical records only mention gifts given to the duke and duchess, it is not unreasonable to assume that acts of generosity, such as the donation of an illuminated manuscript, for instance, may have travelled in the opposite direction. This is all the more plausible at a time of political instability, when luxury items like illuminated manuscripts might well have been gifted as part of political or personal negotiations or as a gesture of goodwill.⁸⁴

82. On Corrado's entry into the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in 1440, see MANNO, *Il patriato subalpino*, I, p. 219. An overview of the six Beggiamo family members who joined the Order between 1440 and 1573 can be found in '*Gentiluomini Cristiani e Religiosi Cavalieri*'. *Nove secoli dell'Ordine di Malta in Piemonte*, ed. by Tomaso Ricardi di Netro and Luisa Clotilde Gentile, Milano, Electa, 2000. Originally based in Jerusalem (c. 1048-1291), the Order later moved between Cyprus (1291-1307/10), Rhodes (1307/10-1522), and, after a few turbulent years, Malta (1530-1798), before eventually settling in Rome (1834). The Order was therefore based in the island of Rhodes when Corrado became a member, where the ship carrying Anne and her retinue stopped in the autumn of 1435. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Manno anachronistically refers to Corrado as a knight of Malta.

83. The date of Giorgio's death is unknown, making it difficult to determine whether he was still alive in 1462, when Anne died. Cristoforo, on the other hand, was alive until at least 1496; see ALFREDO CIONI, *Beggiamo, Cristoforo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 7, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965, p. 555, available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cristoforo-beggiamo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cristoforo-beggiamo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed 21 September 2023). In Savigliano, there is still to this day a 'via Stamperia', where in 1901 the Municipality placed a plaque commemorating Cristoforo's enterprise, undertaken in collaboration with Johann Glim, a pupil of Gutenberg who worked first in Subiaco (the 'Bethlehem' of Italian publishing) and later in Rome. In a later era (between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century), evidence for ownership of manuscripts by a member of the Beggiamo family is provided in the form of annotations by (or making reference to) a certain 'Baldassare Beggiamo', a monk at the Cistercian Abbey of Staffarda (Province of Cuneo); COSTANZA SEGRE MONTELLI, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, I: *I manoscritti latini dal VII alla metà del XIII secolo*, Torino, Molfese, 1980, nos 122 and 134.

84. TURLETTI, *Storia di Savigliano*, I, pp. 621-625. See also LUISA CLOTILDE GENTILE, '*Il principe di Dio tra noi*': *liturgia civica e crismimesi del sovrano nello iocundum ingressum tra Savoia e Piemonte (metà del XIV secolo - inizio del XVI secolo)*, in *Images, cultes, liturgies. Les connotations politiques du message religieux*, ed. by Paola Ventrone and Laura Gaffuri, Paris, Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014, pp. 167-184.

79. The birth of the future Amadeus IX on 1 February 1435 was followed by the birth of a daughter, Maria, on 10 March 1436. The birth date of Louis, future King of Cyprus, however, is controversial: either 5 June 1436 or a year later (though if Maria was born on 10 March 1436, only the latter would be possible). It is significant to note that there is no mention whatsoever of Louis and Anne's first heirs in the codex. This provides substantial evidence in favour for the hypothesis that the poetic and musical components of J.II.9 were completed by 1 February 1435 at the latest, and therefore that its substantial preparation occurred at the court of Nicosia.

80. An object such as J.II.9 – a presentation manuscript intended for a library shelf rather than a musician's lectern (as evidenced by a total absence of any signs of use) – would have played an essentially diplomatic role at the Savoy court. As the only musical manuscript traceable to the ducal library during this period, it held a somewhat peripheral position in relation to other contemporary sources; see CHAYES, *Les Lusignan de Chypre*, p. 79.

81. Together with the sincere devotion he displayed throughout his life, Amadeus IX's charitable work in his final years earned him the title of 'Blessed', formalised through his beatification by Pope Innocent X in 1685; see ANGELO TORRE, *Atti per i santi, discorsi di santità: la beatificazione di Amedeo IX di Savoia*, «Quaderni storici», n.s., 34, 1999, pp. 705-731: 708.

Relevant to this context, a curious but perhaps significant detail may be found in the chapel dedicated to the Assumption and Blessed Sacrament inside San Pietro, to the left of the apse. Restoration work completed in 2007 revealed that its entrance, surmounted by a pointed arch, was once decorated with frescoes, including a ribbon with inscriptions, various plant motifs, a Lamb of God, and six images of figures from the Old Testament: Ezekiel, Moses, and Solomon on the left-hand side, and David (?), Elijah, and Daniel on the right-hand side (Fig. 23).

The sequence concludes with the prophet whose name coincides with that of Abbot Beggiamo, leader of the church and evidently the figure responsible for commissioning the decorations, as evidenced by multiple instances of the Beggiamo coat of arms. The coat of arms is surmounted on the left column by a mitre – barely visible (see Fig. 24, p. 60), as much of the fresco is lost – and on the right column by a crosier (see Fig. 25, p. 60).

Dating to the 1460s, the decorations on the arch and columns are accompanied by a motto, spelled variously but standardised as ‘A BON GUERREDON’ (‘to reciprocity’).⁸⁵ It can be found both on the ribbons surrounding the coats of arms and on those wrapped around the oak branches decorating the arch (Fig. 26, p. 60).

The frescoes were probably painted around the same time as the duke and duchess’s ceremonial visit to the Church of San Pietro; it is therefore possible that a motto like ‘A BON GUERREDON’, intimately linked to Abbot Daniele, could be related to some generous gesture directed towards him, his family, or the religious community which he led. The possibilities are nearly endless, from an endowment for the performance of votive Masses, such as those celebrated in the ducal chapel from 1364, to a richly decorated musical codex. But if this was the case, why are the initials in the lower margin of J.II.9’s opening folio not ‘D’ and ‘B’? As will be seen below, this is not necessarily a decisive element in the story of the Cypriot codex’s journey back to the Beggiamo family. For now, though, let us return once again to the lower margin of the codex’s opening *recto*.

Though barely visible today, the initial ‘G’ at the bottom left corner of the Beggiamo shield – present in the anonymous drawing in Meyer’s bequest, mentioned in Bessler’s 1925 article, and rendered visible today thanks to infrared photography (see Fig. 6, p. 25) – might suggest that J.II.9 made its way into the hands of a Beggiamo family member whose

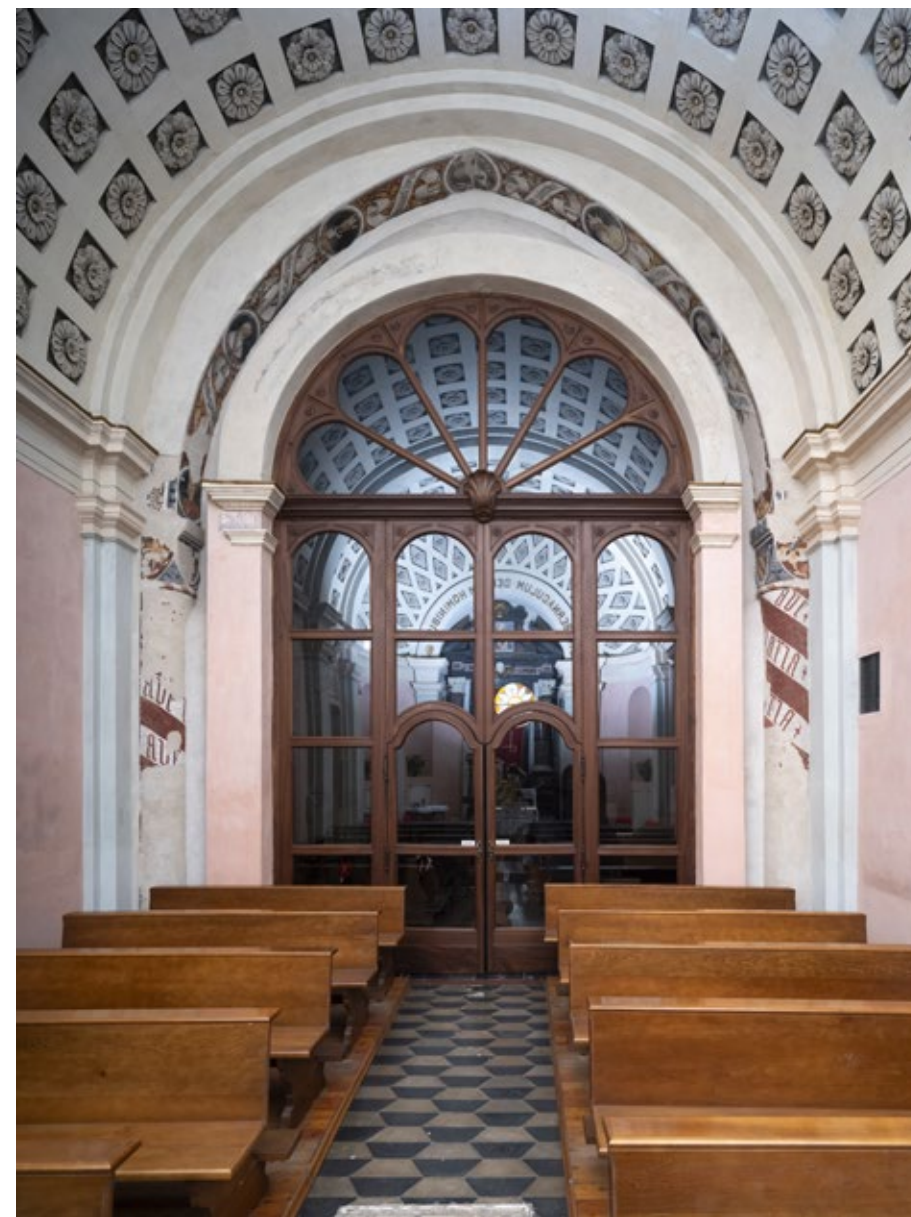


Fig. 23.
Savigliano (Cuneo)
Church of San Pietro
Entrance to the Chapel of the Assumption
and Blessed Sacrament

85. The motto ‘A BON GUERREDON’ is not otherwise attested in connection to the Beggiamo family, which in the *Consegnamenti* of 1613 (see footnote 9) is associated instead with a motto of obscure meaning, ‘EVRTTE EVRTE’, not traceable to any surviving material evidence.



Figs 24, 25, 26.
Savigliano (Cuneo)
Church of San Pietro
Entrance to the Chapel of the Assumption
and Blessed Sacrament.
Left capital; right capital; arch detail

first name begins with this letter.⁸⁶ The most likely candidate in this respect is Giorgio, father of the printer Cristoforo (discussed above). Assuming for a moment that the codex came into Giorgio's hands at some point in the 1460s, after Anne's death, we would expect the superimposed Beggiamo coat of arms and initials to reflect the scribal and artistic conventions of late fifteenth-century Italy, and this indeed seems to be the case: the initials flank the lower half of the shield, as was common practice at the time, and the shield's convex tip and drop-shaped profile betray an abandonment of the Gothic model in favour of a more modern profile, popular from the late fifteenth century onwards. Finally, and most importantly, the spurs which protrude to the left of the vertical shaft of the 'B' are characteristic of a humanist-style script which was common in manuscript production from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards.⁸⁷ In addition to Giorgio, these observations suggest the inclusion of another important Beggiamo family member among the hypothetical secondary owners of the codex: Fra' Giovanni, about whom little is known except that he was a Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem from 1497, and in 1499 was appointed knight commander of the Hospice of St Catherine in Rhodes.⁸⁸

A third possible scenario necessitates a leap forward of almost two centuries, to an archiepiscopal private residence in late seventeenth-century Turin. Before making this leap, however, let us return for a final time to the lower margin of the opening *recto* of J.II.9. It is remarkable that the 'B' on the right-hand side of the folio, the area most damaged in the 1904 fire, has been comparatively well preserved, while the 'G' on the left-hand side seems to have all but disappeared, despite the area being in much better condition. Also of note is that the 'G' appears to be fractionally larger than the 'B', both in the original codex and in the drawing in the Meyer bequest, and its positioning is not entirely symmetrical. Taken together, these observations suggest an interesting possibility: that the left initial might have been added on top of an earlier, scraped initial, perhaps indicating a change in ownership within the family.

⁸⁶ Without wishing to doubt the accuracy of the drawing in Box 33 of Meyer's bequest, it is conspicuous that an important detail seems to have escaped the artist's notice: the overlap of the angel's cloak with the upper right corner of the shield. The overlap is still visible on J.II.9 today, suggesting that the cloak was subject to modification at some point after the introduction of the Beggiamo coat of arms.

⁸⁷ Unfortunately there are no photographic reproductions of the opening folio of J.II.9 which predate the 1904 fire, and so palaeographical analysis can only be conducted on the manuscript in its current condition. I owe these observations to a personal communication from Luisa Gentile, whom I thank here.

⁸⁸ The Hospice of St Catherine in Rhodes had been founded a century earlier by Domenico d'Allemagna, admiral of the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. On the scant biographical information available on Fra' Giovanni, see MANNO, *Il patriziato subalpino*, I, p. 219, reported again, *s.v.*, in 'Gentilhuomini Christiani'.

Leaping forward two centuries, we find a Beggiamo family member whose exalted social standing plausibly places him in the path of a luxury item like J.II.9. Elected in 1662 to the Archbishopric of Turin (by then the capital of the duchy), Michele Beggiamo (1611-1689) left his previous role as Bishop of Mondovì and relocated to the metropolitan curia, where he remained for over a quarter of a century. In accordance with long-standing tradition, the office of archbishop was linked to the chancellorship of the university, entailing institutional responsibilities which Michele complemented by teaching at the seminary.⁸⁹ Shortly after taking up his post, Michele and his brother Giovanni Battista commissioned the best architect in Turin, Amedeo di Castellamonte, to design a sumptuous private residence. They chose a site a stone's throw away from the Church of San Carlo Borromeo, on a plot of land purchased from Marquess Carlo Amedeo Broglia. However, Michele was not able to make the purchase himself, as «he had not yet obtained the faculty of making his will», so Giovanni Battista became the owner and supervised the building works (1663-1665).⁹⁰ Now known as the Palazzo Lascaris di Ventimiglia (via Alfieri, 15), the property remained in the possession of the archbishop and his brother for only a decade. Despite renovations and repairs following its bombing in the Second World War, the building still attests to the significance the Beggiamo family had achieved in the Duchy of Savoy by the late seventeenth century.

Giovanni Battista's initials make him another potential, albeit later owner of the manuscript. It is even possible that the second initial might have stood for 'Battista', as the prominent display of the Beggiamo coat of arms on the codex's opening folio – matching the one displayed above the door of the grand residence designed by Amedeo di Castellamonte – would have been sufficient confirmation of his surname. In any case, it is very likely that the codex, transmitting a by then outdated repertoire, remained closed on a library shelf.

The sale of the palace in 1672, the death of Giovanni Battista in 1674, and of Archbishop Michele in 1689 could have led to the sale of the manuscript, thereby returning it to the possession of the ruling house. A hypothesis of this kind allows the enigmatic history of J.II.9 to draw closer to the time of its first secure identification in the ducal collections, when in 1713

89. For further details of Michele Beggiamo's biography, see VALERIO CASTRONOVO, *Beggiamo, Michele*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 7, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965, pp. 535-537, available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-beggiamo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-beggiamo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed 21 September 2023).

90. I-Ta, *Sezioni Riunite, Insinuazioni*, lib. 2, 1671, fol. 657. Transcribed in *Palazzo Lascaris. Analisi e metodo di un restauro*, ed. by Franca Helg and Antonio Piva, Venezia, Marsilio, 1979, p. 10: «non avendo [egli] ancora ottenuta la facoltà di testare».

Machet described it as an «Antiphonarium, et Graduale ecclesiasticum» and listed it among the *Livres Ecclesiastiques*. Indeed, these two elements might well indicate that the codex came from the library of a clergyman such as Archbishop Michele Beggiamo.

10. Conclusion

It is difficult to determine the likelihood of each of the hypotheses presented above, and as new evidence comes to light and technology advances, scholarly investigations into the origin and transmission of J.II.9 will no doubt multiply. Given the evidence currently available, the most likely scenario can be summarised as follows.

The codex was designed for the benefit of the Lusignan family, and its music was mostly composed in Cyprus between the early 1410s and 1420s. This coincided with the heyday of the Nicosian court, when, thanks to French patronage and the presence of Charlotte of Bourbon, artists trained in the best schools, workshops, and *scriptoria* of continental Europe called Cyprus home. The compilation of the manuscript – including the insertion of the images of St Hilarion and St Anne, basic decoration, and the Lusignan arms – occurred in Cyprus, probably before September 1424, when the island was engulfed by a series of tumultuous events. At the latest, this compilation took place by the autumn of 1433, when Anne departed for Savoy. The near completion of the textual, musical, and decorative components took place either in Venice, on the Italian mainland, or in the Savoy territories between autumn 1433 and mid-1436, when the codex was bound.

The time and circumstances of the codex passing into the hands of a member of the Beggiamo family are more difficult to pinpoint. With varying degrees of probability, the hypotheses outlined above place the event between the late fifteenth and late seventeenth century. What can now be established with certainty, however, is that the Beggiamo coat of arms was painted on top of the Lusignan coat of arms on the opening *recto* of the codex, and that this superimposition took place after the manuscript had been bound. Evidence for this lies in three elements in the left margin: the elongated shape of the shield, the unusual tilt of the crenellated bands, and the repainting of the angel's cloak. Moreover, the fact that the surviving traces of the Lusignan coat of arms are limited to the left margin – an area less exposed to the ravages of time and fire but also less favourable for retouching – indicates a certain degree of difficulty in the illuminator's work, consistent with a hypothesis that this took place after the codex had been bound.

The prestige of at least three of its members – Pietro and Daniele in the

fifteenth century, and Michele in the seventeenth century – makes the Beggiamo family a strong contender for later ownership of the codex. Admittedly, none of these men has a first name beginning with ‘G’, though, as discussed above, the now barely recognisable first initial in the lower margin of the codex’s opening folio may not in fact correspond to the first member of the family to possess it. Giorgio would be a good candidate in this respect if the transfer occurred around the time of Amadeus IX’s *joyeuse entrée* into Savigliano (1467), the foundation of the local printing press (1470), and the decoration of the entrance to the Chapel of the Assumption and Blessed Sacrament in the church of San Pietro (1460s). Displaying typically Savoyard understatement, the motto which accompanies the frescoes, ‘A BON GUERREDON’, might even hint at a reversal of the initials which flank the Beggiamo coat of arms in J.II.9: ‘G[uerredon] B[on]’. A possible secondary owner from a slightly later period is Fra’ Giovanni, who, following in the footsteps of no fewer than six other members of the Beggiamo family, was a Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, and served as commander of the Hospice of St Catherine in Rhodes from 1499. Alternatively, one could point to Giovanni Battista, owner of the land on which his brother, Archbishop Michele, built his sumptuous Turin residence in the late seventeenth century. Regardless of how J.II.9 entered the Savoy collections in the early eighteenth century, what is important to have clarified is that the coat of arms now present on its opening *recto* is not that of its original owner (the Lusignan family), let alone of an obscure external commissioner. Indeed, though obfuscated by later additions, the ravages of time, fire damage, and restoration work, traces of the Lusignan coat of arms are still clearly visible to those who know how to look for them, above all in the form of the azure bands which for centuries lay hidden in plain sight.

Appendix I.

Friedrich Ludwig and Franz Xaver Haberl’s Letters to Wilhelm Meyer (1902-1904) (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33)

Potsdam, den 25. November 1902.

Breitestraße 26

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

Für Ihren inhaltreichen Brief und nicht minder für die Übersendung Ihrer Arbeit über die mittellateinischen Dichtungsformen meinen verbindlichen Dank.¹ Die Aussicht, von einer neugefundenen Handschrift aus der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts so bald zu vernehmen, ist ja hochehrfrohlich; aus dieser Zeit sind ja gerade neuerdings manche Publikationen mehrstimmiger Musik erschienen, so aus den Trienter Codices von Koller in den *Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich* (1. Teil der geplanten Publikation, 1. Jahrgang, 1900)² mit guten Registern, und aus einer Oxforder Handschrift venezianischer Provenienz in *Dufay and his contemporaries* von J.F.R. und C. Stainer (1899),³ die Ihnen wohl bekannt sind.⁴ Ich selbst habe auf meinen Reisen auch von mancher Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts Beschreibung, musikalisches Anfangsverzeichnis, eine und die andere Copie oft mitgebracht; daher erwarte ich die Beschreibung der Turiner Handschrift mit Spannung und stehe Ihnen mit meinem Material, soweit es etwa dafür in Betracht kommen sollte, gern zur Verfügung.

Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst

Ihr

Friedrich Ludwig

1. It is difficult to know for sure which work Ludwig is referring to here, though it is most likely something which was later incorporated into Meyer’s *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 3 vols, Berlin, Weidmann, 1905 [I-II] and 1936 [III, ed. by Walther Bulst]; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1970.

2. *Sechs Trienter Codices. Geistliche und weltliche Kompositionen des xv Jhs.*, 1, ed. by Guido Adler and Oswald Koller (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, VII, 14-15), Wien, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1900.


3. *Dufay and His Contemporaries. Fifty Compositions (Ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440). Transcribed from Ms. Canonici misc. 213, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. by John Frederick Randall and Cecilia Stainer, with an Introduction by Edward Williams Byron Nicholson and a Critical Analysis of the Music by Sir John Stainer, London, Novello & Co., 1898.

4. It seems that scholarly investigations into fifteenth-century sources were lively at the time. Writing to Meyer from Strasbourg a few months earlier, on 16 April 1902, Ludwig concludes his letter (Meyer bequest, Box III) with the following sentence: «Von einer anderen Diskussion über das 15. Jahrhundert, die Sie vielleicht wegen Turin interessiert, werde ich mir erlauben, Ihnen später zu schreiben». Ludwig’s comment regarding Meyer’s ‘interest in the fifteenth century’ possibly sparked by ‘Turin’ might even suggest that Meyer had already ‘discovered’ and examined J.II.9, though such a hypothesis must remain conjectural in the absence of further evidence.

Potsdam, den 10. Januar 1903

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Über das Wappen von Gilles Binchois kann ich Ihnen leider keine Auskunft geben; ich kenne auch keine bildlichen Spuren, die mit Binchois zusammenhängen. Von ihm sind aber soviel Kompositionen in einer großen Reihe von Handschriften nachgewiesen, zur Zeit auch publiziert, daß, wenn Binchois mit dem musikalischen Teil des Turiner Codex zusammenhänge, Doubletten mit anderen Handschriften Binchois als Mitarbeiter unbedingt verraten müßten. Binchois kommt in Brüssel, Bibl. Nat. 5557, Bologna Liceo 37, Bibl. Univ. 2216, Cambrai, Mailand (Domarchiv), Modena Est. Lat. 471, München Mus. 3192, Oxford Bodl. Can. 213, Paris n. acq. frç. 4379, Rom Vat. Urb. 1411, Cap. S. Petr. B 80, Trienter Codices (in Wien) 87 und 92, und in einer von mir gefundenen Handschrift Venedig (it. ix, 145) vor,⁵ oft mit einer stattlichen Anzahl von Werken, zum Beispiel 37 Kompositionen in den Trienter Codices;⁶ die Münchener Handschrift ist ganz publiziert von H. Riemann (Wiesbaden 1892, *6 Chansons von Binchois*);⁷ über die Oxforder und Trienter berichten 2 umfangreiche Publikationen genauer (Stainer, *Dufay and his contemporaries*, London 1898 / und *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* VII. Jahrgang Wien 1900);⁸ die Anfänge der beiden Bologneser bei Lisio, *Una stanza di del Petrarca*, Bologna 1893.⁹ Über die Handschrift Dijon ist mir neuere Litteratur nach Morelot nicht bekannt; Koller giebt in den *Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich* die "Konkordanzen" zwischen Dijon und den Trienter Codices, vielleicht auf grund eigenen Studiums der Handschrift; sonst giebt er aber auch nichts Näheres.¹⁰

Betr. des Wappens hoffte ich Analoges an Dufays Grabstein zu finden, der mehrfach reproduziert ist, z. B. Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* I Leipzig 1885, p. 134, eine Auferstehung mit Inschrift unten, an den 4 Ecken ist aber kein Wappen, sondern viermal eine musikalische Namensauschreibung  G du fa y, ja als

5. In modern musicological literature, the manuscripts listed by Ludwig are identified by the following sigla: B-Br, 5557; I-Bc, Q.15; I-Bu, 2216; F-CA, 6 or F-CA, 11 ['Cambrai' could plausibly refer to either of these two manuscripts: the first contains two sacred pieces by Binchois, the second contains five]; I-Mfd, Librone 1, olim 2269; I-MOe, a.x.1.1 (ModB); D-Mbs, Cod. gall. 902; GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213; F-Pn, n.a.fr. 4379 (Chansonier de Séville); V-CVbav, Urb. Lat. 1411; V-CVbav, S. Pietro B. 80; I-TRbc, 1374 [87] (Tr87); I-TRbc, 1379 [92] (Tr92); I-Vnm, It. ix. 145.

6. It is not clear what Ludwig means when he reports the presence of 37 compositions by Binchois in the Trent codices. There are now 84 pieces ascribed to Binchois in the seven manuscripts of this group; barely a dozen are published in the volumes that appeared before 1903 in the series of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.

7. *Sechs bisher nicht gedruckte dreistimmige Chansons für Tenor, Diskant und Kontratenor von Gilles Binchois (c. 1425), aus dem Codex MS. 3192 der Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, ed. by Hugo Riemann, Wiesbaden, [s.n.], 1892.

8. On *Dufay and His Contemporaries*, see footnote 3; for an edition of the Trent codices in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, see footnote 2.

9. *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Du Fay tratta da due codici antichi, e le poesie volgari contenute in essi*, ed. by Giuseppe Lisio, Bologna, Treves, 1892.

10. The codex being referred to here is F-Dm, 517, olim 295 ('Chansonier de Dijon'); the study is by STÉPHEN MORELOT, *Notice sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Dijon*, «Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or», IV, 1856, pp. 133-160. The concordances which Koller ascertained can be drawn from the volume of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* which he curated with Adler in 1900 (see footnote 2).

Mutationssilbe ja als Noten gezeichnet, eine damals sehr beliebte Art Musikernamen zu schreiben;¹¹ so kenne ich überhaupt kein Musikerwappen der damaligen Zeit. - Über Binchois' Biographie ist man über die Notizen bei Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, II⁵ (1891) p. 498 und Nachtrag 551 noch nicht hinaus.¹² Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Friedrich Ludwig.

Regensburg, den 30. April 1903

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Zur Beantwortung Ihrer Briefe v[om] 18. u[nd] 20. April bedurfte ich längerer Zeit, teils um alte Erinnerungen aufzufrischen, teils <um> in meinen Notizen genauer nachzuforschen.

Im Jahre 1898 war zu Turin eine große Ausstellung von Musikdrucken und Manuskripten. Unter denselben hat sich ohne Zweifel auch Ihr Codex befunden.¹³ Da ich jedoch in Turin andere Zwecke verfolgte, so beachtete ich die Sache nicht weiter. Nach Ihrer Beschreibung handelt es sich nun wirklich um ein kostbares Manuskript aus der I. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, und es soll mich nicht wundern, wenn die musikalischen Stücke von Gilles Binchois oder wenigstens Zeitgenossen derselben sind. Aus meiner Studie über Dufay ist Ihnen bekannt, daß dieser große Musiker zuerst an der päpstlichen Kapelle in Rom wirkte und als der jüngste der drei belgischen Altmeister zu betrachten ist. 1437 kam er an den Hof Philipps des Guten in Burgund, lebte 1450 bis zu seinem Tode 1474 in Cambrai. Vergleiche meine Studie S. 47 ff.¹⁴ Aus Ihrem zweiten Briefe nun ersehe ich, daß Saraceno den Aufenthalt Dufays am Hofe Amadeus der VIII. schon 1434 konstatieren kann; dann seine Zweifel über die Identität des päpstlichen Sängers Dufay und des Kaplans am französischen Hofe sind durch die neueren Forschungen, welche ich im I. Hälfte der *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* 1885 endgiltig lösen konnte, fallen weg.¹⁵

Was nun Ihre zukünftigen Forschungen über diesen Turiner Codex anlangt, so möchte ich vor allem bitten, einige Seiten der kirchlichen Kompositionen (Blatt 19-97) photographieren zu lassen, um ein Bild der Notation zu gewinnen, ähnlich auch von den französischen Liedern (Blatt 98-139). Wenn ich Ihnen dann

11. FRANZ XAVER HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, «Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft», 1/4, 1885, pp. 397-530 (later in Id., *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, 3 vols, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885-1888, I, 1885).

12. AUGUST WILHELM AMBROS, *Geschichte der Musik*, 5 vols, Leipzig, Leuckhart, 1881-1889.

13. Although the possibility of it being displayed on this occasion cannot be excluded, the Cypriot codex is not mentioned in the catalogue *Esposizione Nazionale di Torino M.DCCC.XCVIII. Manoscritti e libri a stampa musicati esposti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, Firenze, Franceschini, 1898.

14. HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, p. 47.

15. FILIPPO SARACENO, *Giunta ai Giullari e menestrelli, viaggi, imprese guerresche dei principi d'Acaia (1390-1438)*, «Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina», IV, 1880, pp. 205-249: 247. The article is a supplement to an earlier contribution, published in the same series in 1879 and entitled *Giullari, menestrelli, viaggi, imprese guerresche dei principi d'Acaia (1295-1395)*. Haberl's reference to his own research, bringing important innovations compared to Saraceno's, is always to *Wilhelm du Fay (Bausteine für Musikgeschichte I, 1885)*.

nachher bei Auflösung dieser musikalischen Partien dienen kann, so werden Sie mich bereit finden.

Da außer den Trienter Codices, die nunmehr in Wien der Erlösung harren, nur noch in Bologna Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts existiert – kleinere Bruchstücke aus anderen Bibliotheken kommen nicht in Betracht –, so ist der Turiner Codex in seinem geistlichen und weltlichen Teil sicher eine wertvolle Bereicherung der musikalischen Litteratur und Geschichte jener dunklen Zeit.

Für das wertvolle Geschenk, das Sie mir durch Übersendung Ihrer drei Artikel und den Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft etc. gemacht haben, spreche ich meinen verbindlichsten Dank aus und zeichne mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung und herzlichem GrüÙe.¹⁶

Eurer Hochwohlgeboren ergebener

Dr. Fr. X. Haberl

Potsdam, den 24. Juni 1903.

BreitestraÙe 26

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

Ich habe die Absicht, nach der Sommerfrische in Ramsach in der Schweiz vom 15 Juli – 15 August für den 2. Augsthälfte und Anfang September wieder nach Italien zu gehen, um in einigen oberitalienischen Bibliotheken zu arbeiten. Turin liegt bequem zu meiner Reiseroute, so daß ich auch dieser Bibliothek einen kurzen Besuch abstatten möchte, zunächst um die von Ihnen gefundene Motetten-Balladen-Handschrift einmal kurz zu sehen, dann um auch die anderen neuerdings bekannt gewordenen musikalische Schätze dort zu besichtigen, aus einer Handschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts ist z. B. jüngst ein französisches Stück “J’ay beau huer” von Villanis, *Revue musicale* 1902, 511, publiziert.¹⁷ Hat das von Ihnen dort ebenfalls gefundene skaldische Antiphonarfragment vielleicht Neumen?¹⁸

Ich möchte nun zuerst bei Ihnen mir die Anfrage erlauben, ob die erstgenannte Handschrift sich in Turin befindet oder vielleicht von Ihnen nach Göttingen entliehen ist. Für Auskunft darüber wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung Ihr ergebenster

F. Ludwig.

16. As with the dispatch six months earlier to Ludwig (see footnote 1), it is not possible to identify the articles which Meyer sent to Haberl. However, it is likely they were among those that later appeared in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*.

17. I-Tn, Ris.Mus.I.27, fol. 19^r; *J’ay beau huer avant que bien avoir*, three-voice *chanson* attributed sometimes to Agricola and sometimes to Compère, also attested in other sources (D-Z, Mu 1622-1647, in three part-books, respectively Discantus fols 33^v-34^r, Tenor 28^v-29^v, Bassus s.n.; I-Bc, Q. 16, fols 13^v-14^r; I-Fn, Banco Rari 229, fols 20^v-21^r; I-Fn, Magl.XIX.178, fols 19^v-20^r; I-VEc, DCCLVII, fols 8^v-9^r; I-Fr, 2794, fols 41^v-42^r; E-SE, s.s., fol. 182^r); Ludwig mentions a partial transcription published in LUIGI ALBERTO VILLANIS, *Une chanson française du xvr^e siècle*, «Revue d’histoire et de critique musicales», II/12, 1902, pp. 511-518.

18. I-Tn, F.IV.1, fasc. 9, Bobbian manuscript from the early-eighth century, later discussed in WILHELM MEYER, *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*, «Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse», 2, 1903, pp. 163-214.

Potsdam, den 26. Juni 1903.

BreitestraÙe 26

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

Für Ihren liebenswürdigen ausführlichen Brief spreche Ihnen meinen besten Dank aus. Ich werde mir von der Turiner Handschrift ein kurzes Musik- und Textanfangsverzeichnis mitbringen, wie ich das von derartigen Handschriften auch bisher zu thun pflegte. Die Anfänge der Musik der MeÙteile copiert man am besten mit den Noten in Liniensystem, nicht in Buchstaben; Stainer zieht die letztere Methode beim Druck lediglich der Raumersparnis wegen der anderen vor; spielt aber dieser Grund keine Rolle, so sagen die Noten erheblich mehr als die Buchstaben, da letztere nur die Tonhöhe, erstere aber auch die rhythmische Gestaltung angeben, und auch in den Anfängen schon häufig kleine rhythmische Varianten austreten, wenn z. B. eine längere Note in mehrere kürzere zerlegt ist oder umgekehrt eine benachbarte Figur in einer anderen Handschrift in eine einzige Note zusammengezogen ist, Dinge, die man aus der Mindergabe des Anfangs nur mit Buchstaben gar nicht ersagen kann. Ich besitze ein Zettelverzeichnis speziell auch der MeÙteilanfänge von ca. 1400 bis 1470, von dem ich eine Probe beilege, das sich mir sehr bewährte, dabei dient mir die Buchstabenbezeichnung der rothen Tönen und zum schnellen Auffinden beim Blättern.

Die reiche mehrstimmige Ausgestaltung der Teile des Ordinarium Missae, besonders des Gloria und Credo, bildete ja besonders im 15. Jahrhundert den musikalischen Glanzpunkt der Messe, die es in älterer Zeit die mehrstimmige Behandlung der bestimmter Propriumteile gethan hatte. Auch in dieser Zeit bleibt dabei der Zusammenhang zwischen der alten einstimmigen liturgischen Melodien und den freien mehrstimmigen künstlerischen Musikschaffen so eng, daß alle Gloria und Credo’s ausnahmslos mit der einer einstimmig liturgisch intonierten gregorianischen Melodie “Gloria in excelsis Deo” und “Credo in unum Deum” beginnen und jetzt erst der mehrstimmig singende Chor “et in terra pax” und “patrem omnipotentem” fortfährt; so erklärt sich der Anfang, der auf den ersten Blick fragmentarisch erscheinen könnte.

Etwas mehr als Fétis drückt Haberl (*Bausteine für Musikgeschichte III: Die römische Schola cantorum...* p. 118) der Vierteljahrschrift für Musik-Wiss[enschaft] aus Martin le Franc anderer Quellen nach (16+23 Verse), so den Passus über die Engländer und Dufay und Binchois am burgundischen Hof, viel ist es aber nicht.¹⁹ Über die irische Handschrift las ich bisher nur eine kürzere Notiz in der Beilage der «Münchener allgemeinen Zeitung».²⁰

19. FRANZ XAVER HABERL, *Die römische ‘schola cantorum’ und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Bausteine für Musikgeschichte III)*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888, pp. 118-119. FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (with 2 supplements), Paris, Didot, 1860-1880, s.v. ‘Dufay’. The two authors transcribe a handful of verses from the stanzas in which Martin Le Franc’s *Champion des Dames* describes moments of musical activity at the Savoy court during the festivities for the wedding of Louis of Savoy to Anne of Lusignan in Chambéry in February 1434, highlighting the simultaneous presence of Du Fay and Binchois, portrayed together in a famous miniature painting in F-Pn, fr. 12467, fol. 98^r.

20. Ludwig is referring to an announcement published in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* of 19 November 1902 (no. 266, p. 335) concerning Meyer’s discovery in Turin of a 12-page Irish manuscript dating to the seventh or eighth century. The *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* is in fact re-reporting an announcement which had appeared four days earlier in the London journal «The Athenaeum» (no. 3916,

Mit nochmaligem besten Dank bin ich mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Ihr ergebenster

Friedrich Ludwig

Potsdam, den 29. Juni 1903.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

Für die lebenswürdige Übersendung Ihrer Abhandlungen danke ich Ihnen verbindlichst.

Betr. der Turiner Handschrift möchte ich an meiner Absicht, ein auf Autopsie beruhendes musikalisches Anfangsverzeichnis zu nehmen, festhalten; da ich an derartige Arbeiten und den Umgang mit der alten Musik gewöhnt bin, ist diese Arbeit für mich nicht groß und das, was man erfahrungsgemäß an Einsicht in die ganzen Kompositionen selber schon aus solchen selbst angelegten Anfangsverzeichnis mitbringt, recht bedeutend. Ich stehe Ihnen dann sehr gerne mit allem, was ich dabei aus Turin mitbringe, zur vollen Verfügung.

Mit nochmaligem besten Danke bin ich mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Ihr ergebenster

F. Ludwig.

[Modena, den 28. August 1903]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

Für Ihre freundliche Karte besten Dank. Lage 1-3, die beiden Offizien und der 1. Teil der Kompositionen des Ordinarium Misse [*sic*] sind einstimmig liturgisch, daher aus dem Stil nichts auf das Alter zu schließen, vielleicht finden sich auch gregorianische Melodien (die ich nicht im Kopfe habe) darunter und das Ganze nur zu praktischen Zwecken hier am Anfang copiert. Lage 4-6, 7 mehrstimmige Paare Gloria-Credo und 3 einzelne Glorias sind auch verhältnismäßig einfach componiert, ein Gloria ist tropisch, alle offenbar nur für gewöhnlichen Gottesdienst; Lage 7-10 die Motetten, technisch den Motettenstil des 14. J[ahrhundert]s (Machault) weiterbildend; eine Entwicklungsphase der Motettenkunst, für die ich bisher keine andere Quelle kenne, die Handschriften der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts enthalten sonst solche Motetten nur ganz einzeln. Lage 11-15-16-17 außer dem Nachtrag f. 139' die Balladen und Rondeaus im gleichen Stil, wie in Frankreich und Oberitalien (Mat. de Perusio, Joh. de Janua, etc.)²¹ in der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts französische Balladen, Virelais

p. 653) titled *An Early Irish Service-Book*, consisting of a letter addressed to the editors by Frederick E. Warren, reverend of Bardwell Rectory (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk) and author of an edition of the Antiphony of Bangor (*The Antiphony of Bangor. An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, 2 vols, London, Harrison and Sons, 1893-1895). Warren had received news of the manuscript's discovery from none other than Meyer himself.

21. On the identity of these and other composers, see footnote 28.

und Rondeaus vielfach erhalten sind; ob von Dufay noch Balladen in diesem Stil bekannt ist sind, weiß ich momentan nicht; dann könnten sie nur aus seiner allerältesten Zeit sein. Die gelegentlichen Vermischungen beziehen sich nur auf die Notenschrift, wenn diese compliziert ist. Spezial[*illegible*]sche für bestimmte Seiten wußte ich nicht. Ich reise am. 1. oder 2. September von hier mit Rennwagen nach Straßburg (Apfelstraße 23); Modena, 28 Aug. 1903. Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst Ihr

F. Ludwig

Potsdam, den 17. November 1903.

Breite Straße 26.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor.

In der Anlage erlaubte ich mir, Ihnen das Anfangs-Verzeichnis der Musik der Meßteile in der Turiner Handschrift zu übersenden. Wie die übrigen Kompositionen, so erscheinen auch diese nirgends in anderen Handschriften bisher nachweisbar; ja auch die einstimmigen Melodien der Ordinarium-Teile f. 19'-28 sind mir anderweitig nicht bekannt. Doch machen diese durchaus den Eindruck gewöhnlicher liturgischer Melodien, für die sich die Kompositionsweise seit dem Entstehen des gregorianischen Gesangs nicht wesentlich geändert hat. Ebenso sehen die beiden Offizien rare aus; leider ist mir auch kein Text für das sonst übliche Anne- und Hylarion-Officium und die Hylarion-Messe zur Hand, geschweige die Musik, so daß ich auch nicht sagen kann, ob es besondere Dichtungen sind, **oder wie man an sich annehmen** [*highlighted words barely legible*] möchte, die gewöhnlichen liturgischen Texte für diese Zwecke, und denn [*one word illegible*] auch mit den gewöhnlichen liturgischen Melodien; ich entnehme den *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. IX, 16 ff.), daß der h. Hylarion seit alter Zeit in Cypern hoch verehrt wurde, also hier sein Officium und Messe gesungen wurde, und betr. der h. Anna, daß kurz vor unserer Zeit Urban VI 1378 ihren Kult den Engländern bewilligte, daß also, wenn keine ältere Komposition übernommen wurde, mindestens damals ihr Officium componiert worden ist.²²

Wichtiger und als Glieder einer lebendigen Entwicklung historischer Untersuchung zugänglicher sind die mehrstimmigen Partien. Die Motetten stehen musikalisch noch durchaus auf dem Boden der französischen Motettenkunst des 14. Jahrhunderts, deren unverkennbares Charakteristikum neben anderen besonders ihr formaler Bau ist; mehrere musikalisch verschiedene, aber rhythmisch vollkommen gleiche große Abschnitte, isorhythmische Perioden, wie ich sie nennen möchte. Ich copierte 3 Motetten, die Hilarion-Motette 4stimmig mit 3stimmiger Intonation ohne Tenor, die 3stimmige Katharinen-Motette "Personet – Consonet" (mit deren Text ich jedoch nicht fertig wurde wegen meiner Abreise), mit der wenigen Ausnahmen, da sie einen cyklisch gebauten Tenor hat, und die französische Rosen-Motette "Certes – Nous", die in allen Stimmen

22. As the feast of St Hilarion falls on 21 October, Ludwig refers to vol. 57 ([*Mensis*] *Octobris*, part 9: days 21-22) of the second edition of the *Acta sanctorum*, published between 1863 and 1870 in Paris. For information concerning the complex publishing situation of this collection, see <https://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2012/06/19/volumes-of-the-acta-sanctorum-online/> (last accessed 21 September 2023).

in strengster Isorhythmie baut;²⁵ von allen andern untersuchte ich wenigstens die Tenores und fand fast überall 2 oder 3 isorhythmische Perioden. Im 15. Jahrhundert verliert sich dieser Stil gänzlich allmählich mit der Umbildung der Motette; vereinzelt kommt er zwar immer noch hin und wieder vor, aber in größerem Umfang schon in der Handschrift Modena, die der Handschrift Turin bei weitem am nächsten steht, wenn auch hier keine einzige Komposition aus Turin enthalten ist, nicht mehr.²⁴ - Dagegen scheinen mir die mehrstimmigen Meßteile in Turin der großen Sammlung derartiger Kompositionen in Modena, von der ich p. 21 meines Aufsatzes spreche, nahe zu stehen, näher als den (wenigen) mir bekannten späteren Messen von Dufay u. ä.;²⁵ ich copierte die 4stimmige Komposition f. 47^r ff. mit dem lebhaften Amen-melisma, die einen durchaus erfreulichen Eindruck macht.²⁶ Wie es in der Natur der Sache liegt, sind die Kompositionen der Meßteile, hier wie überall, sehr verschieden unter einander; schon der äußere Eindruck zeigt das: bald sind sie 3stimmig, bald 4stimmig; bald 4 Textstimmen, bald nur 2 oder 1 Textstimme mit 2 lediglich begleitenden Stimmen; ebenso ist ihr Anfang ganz verschieden; die Ausdehnung und der Glanz der Kompositionen richteten sich eben ganz nach dem Grade des Festes, für das sie bestimmt waren; so sind auch hier in Turin die Repräsentanten der verschiedensten Gattungen auf diesem Gebiet vereinigt. -

Ein wichtiges paläographisches Kennzeichen für die Musikhandschriften um 1440 bietet bekanntlich die Hauptfarbe der Noten; bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts schreibt man die Noten schwarz \blacksquare \blacklozenge etc, und weiße \square \lozenge oder rote haben eine bestimmte rhythmische Bedeutung (Änderung des Rhythmus für kurze Zeit); im 2. Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts ändert sich diese Notenschrift und man schreibt die Noten weiß \square \lozenge , und die rhythmische Änderung, die früher die hohlen Noten ausdrückten, drücken jetzt die eingestreuten schwarzen Noten aus, oder sie werden wenn sie nicht wie bisher rot geschrieben wird. Es giebt viele Stücke, die sowohl schwarz als hohl geschrieben erhalten sind, von Dufay und vielen anderen, schwarz stehen sie z. B. in Bologna Liceo 37, wo diese für Papierhandschriften höchst unpraktische Schreibung oft das Papier zerfressen hat, weiß z. B. in Trient oder Oxford;²⁷ dieser Verwandlung der Notenschrift nun steht, ebenso wie Modena, auch Turin noch völlig fern; im Gegenteil die französischen weltlichen Werke sind rhythmisch z. Z. noch so kompliziert, wie es ältere Werke häufig, weiß geschriebene aber kaum mehr sind. Besonders Codex Modena pflegt die Gattung dieser rhythmisch verzwickten und schwierigen französischen (oder lateinischen) Balladen, Virelais oder Rondeaux eifrig, als Komponisten davon, die dem 15. Jahrhundert angehören, nennt Modena Matteo von Perugia, Conradus von Pistoja, Johannes von Genua bei französischen, Bartolomeo von Bologna bei lateinischen Texten; ältere Vorbilder sind besonders die Kompositionen von Antonello von Caserta, die von Codex Chantilly

Reina an bis Modena mehrfach nachweisbar sind.²⁸ Und an diese Kunst erinnern mich einige der französischen Werke in Turin durchaus. Ich copierte die kompliziertesten, "Se de mon mal" und besonders "Sur toute fleur", in dem dies Vorbau nach rhythmischer Abwechslung am allerweitesten geht (Hat man einmal die Einsicht in das Wesen dieser rhythmischen Proportionen genommen, macht die Übertragung keine Schwierigkeiten mehr).²⁹ Ich copierte ferner die 4stimmige Ballade mit 2 Texten: "Si doucement" und "Nulz vrais", die äußerlich wie eine alte Doppelballade aussieht, es aber nicht ist, da nähere Beziehungen beider Textstimmen fehlen, "S'espoir ne fust", ein Virelais unter den Rondeaux, und das kanonische Schlußrondeau, dessen 4 Stimmen sich nach einander aus der einen entwickeln, ein musikalischer Scherz, der für Rondeaux im 14. wie im 15. Jahrhundert auch sonst beliebt war.³⁰ Die von mir untersuchten erwähnten Balladen stehen meines Erachtens Männern wie Dufay und Binchois fern, da sich in deren Werken niemals solche Rhythmik findet; das virtuose Element, das in ihnen herrscht, verschwindet in den weltlichen Werken immer mehr; nach diesen Extremen kehrt die weltliche Kunst zu größerer Einfachheit zurück, und das prägen schon die Werke von Dufay durchaus aus. Unter den mir nicht näher bekommen in Turin mögen viele auch einfachere sein, doch stöße man beim Blättern immer wieder auf rhythmisch komplizierte, die zum Blick Dufays, wie wir es aus vielen Handschriften kennen, nicht passen, und schon das Anfangsverzeichnis zeigt in den Anfängen viele Synkopierungen, wie sie dieser älteren Kunstgattung eigentümlich sind, von den Vertretern der "ars nova", Dufay etc. aber nicht verwendet werden. Wie so oft in der Musikgeschichte gingen 2 Kunstrichtungen neben einander her, die oben erwähnten Meister vertreten die ältere, Dufay's und Binchois' Kreis die jüngere und siegreiche, und Turin gehört der älteren an, die Motetten evident, ein großer Teil der Balladen ist ebenfalls, betr. der Meßteile ist die Entscheidung schwieriger; jedenfalls ist es aus diesen Stil-Gründen nicht verwunderlich, daß die Handschriften der Folgezeit keine Berührung mit Turin zeigen, ebenso wenig wie sie es mit den erwähnten Kompositionen des 15. Jahrhunderts der Handschrift Modena zeigen (einige Ausnahmen dabei bestätigen nur die Regel).

So weit etwa wage ich es, mich von den musikalischen Untersuchungen führen zu lassen; mit Ihren historischen Feststellungen der Entstehung der Motetten vor 1414 und der französischen Werke etwa 1430-40 stimmen meine Resultate durchaus überein; mit Ihren Vermutungen, daß Dufay oder Binchois der Komponist vieler, vielleicht sogar aller französischen Stücke sei, kann ich sie dagegen vorläufig nicht in Einklang bringen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung Ihr ergebener

Friedrich Ludwig.

25. *Magni patris / Ovent Cyprus, Palestina* / T / Ct (fols 74^v-75^r); *Personet armonia / Consonet altissonis* / T (fols 71^v-72^r); *Certes mout fu / Nous devons* / T / Ct (fols 76^v-77^r).

24. I-MOe, α.M.5.24, olim lat. 568 (ModA).

25. FRIEDRICH LUDWIG, *Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», iv, 1902-1903, pp. 16-69: 21.

26. I-Th, J.II.9, fols 47^v-52^r, *Et in terra / Et in terra / Et in terra / Et in terra – Patrem omnipotentem / Patrem omnipotentem / Patrem omnipotentem*.

27. For the current shelfmarks of these manuscripts, see footnote 5.

28. Matteo da Perugia [Matheus de Perusio] (fl. 1400-16); Conradus de Pistoria [Coradus de Pistorio] (fl. early 15th-c.); Johannes de Janua (fl. 1400); Bartolomeo da Bologna [Bartholomeus de Bononia] (fl. ca. 1405-27); Antonello [Anthonello, Anthonellus, (An)tonelus] da Caserta [Antonellus Marot de Caserta, A. Marotus de Caserta abbas]. F-CH, 564, olim 1047 (Codex Chantilly); F-Pn, n.a.fr. 6771 (Codex Reina).

29. I-Th, J.II.9, fols 124^v-125^r, *Se de mon mal* / T / Ct, ballade; fol. 137^r, *Sur toute fleur* / T / Ct, ballade.

30. I-Th, J.II.9, fols 127^v-127^r, *Si doucement / Nulz vrais* / T / Ct, ballade; fol. 146^v, *S'espoir ne fust* / T / Ct, virelai; fol. 158^v, *Tousiours servir le veuil*, four-voice canonic rondeau.

Appendix II.

A Coat of Arms for Anne of Cyprus

Luisa Gentile

Heraldry, a complex code of social and political communication, was significantly more flexible and adaptable than is often assumed. The history of the Lusignan coat of arms between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provides a good illustration of this: by tracing its transformations across the period, we see members of a struggling dynasty attempting to legitimise themselves, often by opportunistically drawing on symbolic references to ancient and prestigious *Outremer* principalities.

The coat of arms of the Cypriot branch of the Lusignan family features a red lion rampant on a field of alternating horizontal silver and azure stripes («barry of 10, argent and azure»), the original coat of arms of the house, from near Poitiers. During the period in question, the Cypriot sovereigns emphasised their claim to the Kingdom of Jerusalem (lost in 1291) by quartering its insignia («argent, a cross potent between four crosslets or»: a golden five-fold cross on a silver field) with their own, constituting a virtual claim to a fragile but prestigious territory, contested – even heraldically – with the House of Anjou.¹ It is this version of the Lusignan coat of arms which accompanies Janus I and Charlotte of Bourbon in a stained glass window in the Vendôme Chapel of Chartres Cathedral, founded by Louis of Bourbon in 1414.² During the reign of Janus I we start to see the earliest evidence of more complicated variants, often quartered with the emblems of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Armenia (a red lion rampant on a gold field: «or, a lion gules»), and the Kingdom of Cyprus (red lion rampant on a silver field: «argent, a lion gules»), the latter seemingly derived from the coat of arms of the Principality of Antioch. Janus inherited his claim to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from his father, James I of Cyprus, who in turn had inherited it from his cousin Leo VI of Lusignan when he died in Paris, dethroned, in 1391. As with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the association was by then purely symbolic. This was also the case for the Principality of Antioch (eradicated in 1268 by the Mamluks), which passed to the Lusignans through Margaret of Antioch-Lusignan (d. 1308), with the association being retained in the form of an honorary title ('Prince of Antioch') for the eldest son of the King of Cyprus.³ By translating these

claims into a heraldic image, Janus I – «by the grace of God King of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia»⁴ – fashioned himself as the last representative of a fading world: that of the ancient Frankish *Outremer* principalities and Latinised Christian kingdoms, former satellites of an all but extinguished Byzantine empire.

Among the 542 medieval armorials surveyed by Steen Clemmensen,⁵ the earliest attestations of the more complex version of the Cypriot coat of arms appear in three fifteenth-century sources: *De ministerio armorum* (Manchester, John Rylands Library), a manuscript compiled in 1416 by a Portuguese herald at the Council of Constance (1414-1418)⁶; a fragment of an armorial of the Council of Basel compiled in 1434 (London, British Library);⁷ and an armorial from the 1435 Congress of Arras (London, British Library).⁸ It is no coincidence that these sources are all linked to events of political significance which united secular and ecclesiastical rulers from all across Europe, including Janus I and his brother, Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan: all opportunities for reminding the Western world of Cyprus's significance.⁹

Parallel to the more complex version, many fifteenth-century armorials continued to transmit the older version of the coat of arms of the King of Cyprus (i.e. the Lusignan arms quartered with the arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem).¹⁰ Though it is certainly true that many sources were probably replicating outdated models from older manuscripts, it should be noted that when the coat of arms of a dynasty becomes more complex, heraldic practice allows it to coexist peacefully with older, simpler versions, provided the two versions do not contradict each other.

It is not clear which of the two versions Anne of Cyprus used, assuming she used only one. Two paper seals used by Anne have been preserved, now held in the State Archives of Turin.¹¹ They show that the coat of arms of the Duchess of Savoy – following heraldic custom, which dictated that a woman should combine the arms of her husband and father into a single 'impaled' shield – contained the arms of both the House of Savoy (a silver cross on a red field: «gules, a cross argent») and of Lusignan. Anne's paternal coat of arms in fact appears to be quartered, though the designs of the quarters are unfortunately unidentifiable due to the poor quality of the impression;¹² we know,

4. As reported in *De ministerio armorum* (see footnote 6).

5. STEEN CLEMMENSEN, *Ordinary of Medieval Armorials* (2017), http://www.armorial.dk/ordinary/ordinary20_en.pdf (last accessed 21 September 2023), pp. 3519-3521, to be crossreferenced with CLEMMENSEN, *Armorials – Listed by Sigla* (2017), <http://www.armorial.dk/ordinary/armorials20.pdf> (last accessed 21 September 2023).

6. GB-Mr, ms. lat. 28. Janus I's heraldic flag appears on fol. 50r (= p. 93), showing the Armenian quarter with the colours inverted. A digital facsimile is available online at <https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/MS-LATIN-00028/123> (last accessed 21 September 2023). On GB-Mr, ms. lat. 28 more generally, see WERNER PARAVICINI, *Signes et couleurs au concile de Constance: le témoignage d'un héraut d'armes portugais*, in *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques, du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. by Denise Turrel [et al.], Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008, pp. 155-187.

7. GB-Lbl, Harl. Rolls 6, n. 4 (shield of the King of Cyprus).

8. GB-Lbl, Add. 11542, fol. 102r (shield of Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan).

9. See JACQUES PAVIOT, *L'aide occidentale à Chypre à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i rapporti con l'Oriente latino in età medioevale e tardomedioevale*, ed. by Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna, Torino, Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1997, pp. 103-111.

10. CLEMMENSEN, *Ordinary*, pp. 3519-3520.

11. The two seals are preserved in I-Ta, *Trattati antichi*, m. 9, n. 13, 1451; and *Matrimoni*, m. 11, n. 1, 1462 (barely legible).

12. The drawing of the two seals published in LUIGI CIBRARIO – DOMENICO PROMIS, *Sigilli de' principi di Savoia*, Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1854, table xx, n. 110 appears to be more or less arbitrary, reducing the Lusignan coat of arms to a *party per fess* (a horizontal division of the shield), certainly not corresponding

1. See B-Br, ms. 15652 [*Gelre Armorial*], fol. 69r; F-Pn, ms. lat. 8044 [*Lucan, Pharsalia*], fol. 1r (available online at <https://portail.bibliissima.fr/en/ark:/43093/mdata6c03c2971958edc47564f911dd1e73bd5e11cd0b>; last accessed 21 September 2023). On the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Cyprus more generally, see GIUSEPPE GEROLA, *Lo stemma di Cipro*, «Atti del Reale Istituto veneto di lettere, scienze ed arti», 9th ser., 82, 1922-1923, pp. 743-754.

2. The windows have been restored several times, but some original sections have been preserved, including the coats of arms of the Lusignan couple; see YVES DELAPORTE, *Notes sur la chapelle Vendôme de la cathédrale de Chartres*, «Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois», 2004, pp. 87-97: 93.

3. For an overview of the Lusignan possessions in the *Outremer*, see *Les Lusignans et l'outre-mer*, actes du Colloque (Poitiers-Lusignan, 20-24 octobre 1993), préface de Claude Mutafian, Poitiers, Université de Poitiers, 1994. Hubert de Vries claims that the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Cyprus is derived from that of the Principality of Antioch in the 'Crusader States' section of his website devoted to European heraldry, *De Rode Leeuw*, <http://www.hubert-herald.nl/CrusaderStates.htm> (last accessed 21 September 2023).

however, that Anne's niece Charlotte, wife of Louis of Savoy (d. 1482), used a quartering of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Armenia, and Cyprus in a paper seal of 1485, as well as in the decorated initial of the document to which the seal was affixed.¹⁵

And this is exactly the same coat of arms which is attributed to Anne more than a century after her death in two genealogical works from the late sixteenth century (both now housed in the State Archives of Turin). The first is Filiberto Pingone's *Imagines ducum Sabaudiae* (1572), an illustrated history of the House of Savoy in which an imagined portrait of the princess is accompanied by a lozenge-shaped shield (a typical shape for the insignia of women).¹⁴ The second work, emerging from an entirely different geographical context, is the *Généalogie de la très illustre maison de Lusignan* compiled by the Dominican Friar Étienne de Lusignan de Cypre and printed in Paris by Guillaume Chaudière in 1579, shortly before the extinction of the male line of the dethroned *Outremer* dynasty.¹⁵ Fr. Étienne's attributions appear not be particularly precise, however: he backdates the more complex version of the Lusignan coat of arms to James I, Janus I's father, implying that the same insignia would belong to Anne through descent.¹⁶ But that is another story, one of retrospective reconstruction serving the dynastic legitimisation of a later age.

to the original. It might, however, have been the model for the coat of arms used in a fictional portrait of Anne from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, reproduced without a source in the entry dedicated to the princess on (Italian) Wikipedia: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_di_Cipro (last accessed 21 September 2023). The model for the shield's shape, on the other hand, seems to be the work of Filiberto Pingone (see footnote 14).

15. I-Ta, *Regno di Cipro*, m. 2, fasc. 2.

14. FILIBERTO PINGONE, *Serenissimorum Sabaudiae principum, ducumque statuae, rerumque gestarum imagines*, I-Ta, *Storia della Real Casa, Cat. II - Storie generali*, m. 3, n. 2, p. 73.

15. I-Ta, *Regno di Cipro*, m. 1, n. 1, ÉTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN DE CYPRE, *Généalogie de la très illustre maison de Lusignan*, Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1579.

16. Fr. Étienne also made an error in assigning Charlotte of Cyprus' husband – Louis of Savoy (d. 1482) – a Savoy shield complete with label, typical of the heirs to the Savoy throne. He evidently confused him with his uncle, also called Louis (d. 1465), who was heir to the duchy at the time of his marriage to Anne.

Annarita Colturato

La 'scoperta' del codice J.II.9: Wilhelm Meyer alla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino

Carissimo Cavaliere!

Con orrore leggo la triste notizia della grave miseria, che Loro è accaduta.

Povero Carta! E più povero, se veramente anche è abbruciata [!] una parte del suo proprio. Ma la notizia nel giornale mio è così confusa, che lascia sperare, che ci sia qualche errore, qualche esagerazione.

La prego, non di scrivermi, ma di mandarmi uno o l'altro giornale torinese, dove sono delle notizie esatte.

Amo così la Sua Biblioteca e gli impiegati, che desidero di essere un po' tranquillizzato sopra la sua fortuna. Abbia la bontà di esprimere la mia condoglienza [!] al carissimo Carta.

In fretta

Suo amicissimo

Gugl. Meyer¹

La lettera, datata Göttingen 27 gennaio 1904, partì nello stesso giorno all'indirizzo di Carlo Frati, bibliotecario della Nazionale Universitaria di Torino:² erano passate poche ore dallo spaventoso incendio che, nella notte fra il 25 e il 26 gennaio, aveva devastato i locali della biblioteca, allogata all'epoca in una parte del Palazzo dell'Università, ma la notizia delle inestimabili perdite subite proprio dal patrimonio più antico e

1. I-Bca, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Manoscritti*, cart. II, n. 2.

2. Su Carlo Frati (Bologna, 1863-1930), che dal novembre del 1904 al novembre del 1905 fu poi direttore della Biblioteca torinese, si vedano, fra l'altro, ALBANO SORBELLI, *Carlo Frati (1863-1930)*, «La bibliofilia», XXXII, 1930, pp. 89-99; GUGLIELMO MANFRÈ, *Ricordo di un bibliotecario nel venticinquennio della sua morte: Carlo Frati, 1863-1930*, «Almanacco dei bibliotecari italiani», 1955, pp. 22-24; GUIDO FAGIOLI VERCELLONE, *Frati, Carlo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 50, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1998, pp. 330-332 ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-frati_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-frati_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); ultimo accesso 8 marzo 2024); GIORGIO DE GREGORI, *Frati, Carlo*, in GIORGIO DE GREGORI – SIMONETTA BUTTÒ, *Per una storia dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo. Dizionario bio-bibliografico 1900-1990*, Roma, Associazione Italiana Biblioteche, 1999, pp. 87-89; ENZO BOTTASSO, *Frati, Carlo*, in Id., *Dizionario dei bibliotecari e bibliografi italiani dal XVI al XX secolo*, a cura di Roberto Alciati, Montevarchi, Accademia Valdarnese del Poggio, 2009, pp. 203-204; PIERANGELO BELLETTINI, *La dinastia*, in *Una foga operosa: Luigi Frati e l'organizzazione degli istituti culturali bolognesi nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, atti del convegno (Bologna, 16 novembre 2002), a cura di Pierangelo Bellettini, Bologna, Costa, 2010, pp. 587-620; GIORGIO DE GREGORI, *Frati, Carlo*, in *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo*, a cura di Simonetta Buttò, <https://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/frati.htm> (ultimo accesso 8 marzo 2024).

di maggior pregio aveva già trovato eco nei giornali di tutta Europa⁵ e Wilhelm Meyer, dal 1886 professore di Filologia classica nella prestigiosa Università della città tedesca,⁴ scriveva a tambur battente per chiedere rassicurazioni sullo stato delle raccolte e per partecipare all'afflizione del direttore Francesco Carta⁵ e del personale tutto.

Difficile che, alle prese con le urgenze imposte dalla sciagura,⁶ Frati potesse soddisfare la richiesta di Meyer, il quale resistette solo due giorni prima di affidare a una cartolina postale un nuovo, accorato appello per ricevere al più presto notizie sulle condizioni dei codici a cui aveva dedicato anni di studi e ricerche:

Caro Signore Cavaliere! L'accidente pare essere più funesto che non temevo. Quanto [!] sarà possibile a Lei, prego di tranquillizarmi [!] e di darmi notizia, se sono salvati i codici miei:

- a) D.v.5 (Passioni di martiri; secolo VIII)
- b) F.III.16 (Leggendario di Bobbio secolo XI; io l'ho spedito a Berlino <il> 18 dicembre 1905; forse è ancora in viaggio, a Roma nel ministero).

3. La rassegna stampa, conservata in I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 300, XIII.A-1, e fald. 301, XIII.A-2, conta decine di articoli, molti dei quali relativi a testate tedesche e in lingua tedesca.

4. Su Wilhelm Meyer (Speyer, 1845 – Göttingen, 1917) cfr. fra l'altro EDWARD SCHRÖDER, *Wilhelm Meyer*, «Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Geschäftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Jahre 1917», 1917, pp. 76-84; KURT PLENIO, *Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer. Ein Nachruf*, «Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur», 39, 1917, pp. 269-277; KARL LANGOSCH, *Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer und Paul von Winterfeld. Begründer der mittellateinischen Wissenschaft. Mit Bibliographie*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1936; ULRICH PRETZEL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Philologie*, «Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch», 5, 1968, pp. 242-269; FIDEL RÄDLE, *Wilhelm Meyer, Professor der Klassischen Philologie 1886-1917*, in *Die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. Eine Ringvorlesung zu ihrer Geschichte*, a cura di Carl Joachim Classen, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1989, pp. 128-148; GABRIEL SILAGI, *Meyer, Wilhelm*, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (NDB), 17, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1994, pp. 376-377; CHRISTEL MEIER, *Königin der Hilfswissenschaften? Reflexionen zu Geschichte, Selbstverständnis und Zukunft der Mittellateinischen Philologie*, «Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster», 35, 2001, pp. 1-21; STEFAN WEBER, *Die Verleihung der Ehrendoktorwürde der Universität Erlangen an Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer am 25. Februar 1882. Der erste Dokortitel eines Mittellateinischen Philologen im Spiegel Erlanger Archivalien und Bücher*, «Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch», 53, 2018, pp. 273-298.

5. Su Francesco Carta (Ierzu, Nuoro, 1847 – Milano, 1940) cfr., fra l'altro, MARINO PARENTI, *Carta, Francesco*, in *Id.*, *Aggiunte al Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di Carlo Frati*, I, Firenze, Sansoni antiquariato, 1957, pp. 232-233; ARMANDO PETRUCCI, *Carta, Francesco*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 20, 1977, pp. 775-776 ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-carta_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-carta_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); ultimo accesso 8 marzo 2024); GIORGIO DE GREGORI, *Carta, Francesco*, in DE GREGORI – BUTTÒ, *Per una storia dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo*, pp. 52-53; ANDREA PAOLI, *Carta, Francesco*, in *Dizionario biografico dei soprintendenti bibliografici (1919-1972)*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2011, pp. 150-164; ANDREA PAOLI, *Carta, Francesco*, in *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo*, <https://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/carta.htm> (ultimo accesso 8 marzo 2024). Nell'incendio della Biblioteca torinese Carta perse anche alcuni beni personali (fra l'altro un libretto di risparmio del valore di poco più di 2.200 lire; cfr. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 6, I.B.3-40), da cui il commento di Meyer «Povero Carta! E più povero, se veramente anche è abbruciata [!] una parte del suo proprio», nella lettera del 27 gennaio 1904.

6. Si vedano ad esempio gli appunti presi a partire dal 26 gennaio 1904 al fine di redigere una relazione sui passi compiuti, in I-Bca, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Manoscritti*, cart. IV, 10. Come si legge all'art. 4 di un ordine di servizio datato 27 gennaio 1904, Frati fu «specialmente incaricato di ricevere in consegna il materiale giudicato degno di conservazione»; ivi, *Manoscritti*, cart. II, 2.

c) Il Canzoniere (di Anna?) L.II.9.⁷

Tanti, tanti saluti al Carta ed a Lei.

Suo tristissimo Wilh. Meyer⁸

Le possibili cause dell'incendio, le polemiche che ne seguirono, la sequenza dei primi interventi per salvare i volumi (sottoposti, dopo il fuoco, dapprima ai getti d'acqua da parte dei pompieri, poi al lancio dalle finestre nella sottostante via Po, sporca di neve e fango) sono stati troppo studiati per soffermarvisi in questa sede. Basti ricordare che nel rogo andarono distrutti circa 25.000 volumi a stampa (in particolare delle sezioni di diritto pubblico, filologia, filosofia, economia politica, bibliografia generale) e, soprattutto, circa 1.500 dei 4.500 manoscritti della Biblioteca. Un numero analogo di manoscritti subì danni di maggiore o minore rilievo: le sezioni più colpite furono quelle orientali, francesi e italiane; un po' meno grave la situazione dei codici greci e latini. I codici più preziosi, che la Biblioteca esponeva in una sorta di mostra permanente, furono distrutti o subirono danni irreparabili.⁹

«I codici miei», scriveva Meyer nella cartolina postale del 29 gennaio, prima di elencarne le segnature: D.v.5 (*Passiones Sanctorum*), databile all'VIII secolo; F.III.16 (*Passiones Sanctorum*), manoscritto composito probabilmente redatto nel monastero di Bobbio nei secoli X-XI; J.II.9, il codice a cui è dedicato questo volume. Ad essi potremmo aggiungere il frammento 9 di F.IV.1 (segnatura sotto la quale si conservano sedici unità codicologiche frammentarie ascrivibili ai secoli VI-XV e facenti parte, come F.III.16, della raccolta di codici bobbiesi giunta a Torino tra il 1820 e il

7. Benché la grafia della prima lettera della segnatura sia tale da poter essere interpretata sia come una «I» sia come una «J» (oscillazione frequente anche nei repertori antichi, ma relativa alla stessa serie di collocazioni), si propende qui per la «I». Al fine di evitare confusioni fra la lettera iniziale e il numero romano usato in seconda posizione, queste segnature si sono poi stabilizzate nella forma «J» (da cui J.II.9, cristallizzatasi nella letteratura musicologica).

8. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 221, VIII.C-1. Nella trascrizione dei documenti ci si è conformati alla comune convenzione di normalizzare all'uso attuale maiuscole e minuscole, accenti, segni di interpunzione (se d'inciamo alla comprensione da parte del moderno lettore), di sciogliere le abbreviazioni (salvo quelle adottate nelle firme e nei riferimenti bibliografici, es. p./pag., vol. ecc.) e rendere con il carattere corsivo le parole sottolineate; gli errori di ortografia, frequenti nei casi in cui Meyer si sforzò di scrivere in italiano, sono seguiti da [!].

9. Sull'incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale e sui danni patiti dai manoscritti cfr., fra l'altro, GIOVANNI GORRINI, *L'incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, Torino – Genova, Streglio, 1904; STELIO BASSI, *Introduzione ai manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in COSTANZA SEGRE MONTELLI, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, I: *I manoscritti latini dal VII alla metà del XIII secolo*, Torino, Molfese, 1980, pp. xv-xxxiii; *Manoscritti danneggiati nell'incendio del 1904. Mostra di recuperi e restauri* (Torino, febbraio – marzo 1986), a cura di Angelo Giaccaria, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, 1986; *Il patrimonio ritrovato. A cent'anni dall'incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. La Biblioteca e il progetto di recupero dei fondi manoscritti danneggiati*, introduzione alla mostra (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, 16 dicembre 2004 – 30 aprile 2005), Torino, Trident, 2004; FRANCA PORTICELLI, *Torino 1904. Dopo l'incendio: 1. Gli interventi nell'emergenza e i primi restauri. 2. La decisione di costruire una nuova sede: un'indagine nei documenti d'archivio*, «Scrineum», 17/1, 2020, pp. 107-191.

1824), frammento, databile all’inizio del secolo VIII, oggetto di un fondamentale studio di Meyer pubblicato l’anno prima dell’incendio.¹⁰

Ma facciamo un passo indietro e percorriamo sulla scorta di alcuni documenti inediti gli anni precedenti al disastro, nel corso dei quali erano maturate le ricerche torinesi di Meyer ed era andato consolidandosi il suo legame con la Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria.

Stando alle testimonianze sinora rintracciate, il primo contatto potrebbe essere avvenuto nella tarda estate del 1901 a proposito del codice D.v.3. Vale la pena segnalare che forse si trattò del primo contatto con la Biblioteca ma non con il capoluogo piemontese, perché sappiamo, ad esempio, che il 31 dicembre 1882 Arturo Graf, professore di letteratura italiana nell’Ateneo torinese, aveva invitato Meyer a collaborare al «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana» (testata fondata dallo stesso Graf, con Francesco Novati e Rodolfo Renier), il cui primo numero vide la luce l’anno successivo.¹¹ In ogni caso, alla fine di agosto o all’inizio di settembre del 1901 Meyer dovette inviare alla Biblioteca la richiesta di una riproduzione fotografica di D.v.3 perché, il 5 settembre 1901, Carta rispose che non aveva difficoltà a concedere il permesso di far fotografare il codice «contenente, a fol. 35

10. Cfr. WILHELM MEYER, *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*, «Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse», 2, 1903, pp. 163-214 (si vedano in proposito i citati appunti di Frati per la relazione sui primi interventi messi in atto dopo l’incendio: «[...] 4 febbraio. Rinvenni, nella seconda sala di Lettura, buona parte degli appunti sui codici Bobbiesi del prof. Cipolla; e 2 delle Miscellanee bobbiesi: F.IV.1 (contenente, fra l’altro, il frammento di Liturgia irlandese illustrato dal prof. W. Meyer) [...]»; I-Bca, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Manoscritti*, cart. IV, 10). Sul frammento 9 di F.IV.1 cfr. tra l’altro GIUSEPPE OTTINO, *I codici bobbiesi nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, Torino – Palermo, Clausen, 1890, pp. 22-25 (n. 26): 24; CARLO CIPOLLA, *Codici bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, 2 voll., Milano, Hoepli, 1907, I, pp. 96-97; SEGRE MONTEL, *I manoscritti miniati*, I, p. 12 (n. 2); per una descrizione con bibliografia aggiornata cfr. CHIARA ROSSO, *I manoscritti del monastero di San Colombano a Bobbio nella Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Studio critico e catalogo*, tesi di dottorato, Roma, La Sapienza – Università di Roma, a.a. 2017-18, pp. 313-334 (n. 24): 323-324. Su F.III.16 si vedano fra l’altro OTTINO, *I codici bobbiesi*, pp. 20-22 (n. 24); CIPOLLA, *Codici bobbiesi*, I, pp. 154-158, 184-186; SEGRE MONTEL, *I manoscritti miniati*, I, pp. 23-24 (n. 15); inoltre LEANDRA SCAPPATICCI, *Codici e liturgia a Bobbio. Testi, musica e scrittura (secoli X ex-XII)*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2008, pp. 343-355 (n. 24), e ROSSO, *I manoscritti del monastero di San Colombano a Bobbio*, pp. 304-312 (n. 25). Per D.v.3 ci si limita a rimandare a *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms. D.v.3 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire*, a cura di Monique Goullet e Sandra Isetta, Firenze, Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014.

11. Cfr. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 2: 54: «Illustre Signore, La ringrazio della indicazione favoritami. Le mando il programma di un Giornale, che spero abbia a incontrare anche in Germania il favore degli studiosi. La prego di voler essere tra i suoi collaboratori. Forse in cotesta ricchissima biblioteca ci sono manoscritti italiani. Qualunque indicazione in proposito sarebbe da noi accolta come un favore, e così anche qualsiasi scritto che trattasse argomenti propri della storia letteraria d’Italia, o versasse su relazioni della letteratura italiana con la tedesca. Accolga l’espressione della profonda mia stima, e mi creda suo devotissimo A. Graf». La lettera, datata – come si è detto – 31 dicembre 1882, è già vergata sulla carta intestata della direzione del «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana» (Torino, presso E. Loescher – Roma, via Belsiana, n. 93). Negli *Indici del Giornale storico della letteratura italiana. Volumi 1-100 e supplementi (1883-1932)*, a cura di Carlo Dionisotti, Torino, Chiantore, 1948, pp. 3-29, non sono citati articoli a firma di Wilhelm Meyer. È probabile che Meyer e Graf (1848-1913), i quali non mancarono di citarsi vicendevolmente nei loro scritti, si fossero incontrati a Monaco di Baviera; in una cartolina postale scritta a Torino il 14 ottobre 1882 e indirizzata allo studioso tedesco presso la Staatsbibliothek della città bavarese (dove all’epoca lavorava), Graf manifestò infatti la propria gratitudine per le gentilezze usategli da Meyer l’anno precedente «in cotesta Biblioteca» (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 2: 53).

recto [*Passio Symphoriani*], il passo trascritto nella sua lettera», anche se non era certo che vi fosse un fotografo «disposto ad eseguirla alle condizioni dalla Signoria Vostra indicate»; suggeriva di rivolgersi a Giovanni Battista Berra (Fotografia Subalpina), del quale la Biblioteca aveva avuto occasione di servirsi altre volte, e ricordava al professore che, per regolamento, l’istituzione da lui diretta avrebbe dovuto ricevere a titolo gratuito «una negativa e due copie positive di ogni fotografia eseguita».¹²

Un anno più tardi Meyer era certamente a Torino, alloggiato presso privati («nicht ohne Wanzen»), e lasciava come recapito per le urgenze quello di via Principe Amedeo 26 (oggi 28), terzo piano, presso una certa «Signora De Giulia». Lo si deduce da una lunga lettera scritta il 26 settembre 1902 all’indirizzo di un «Lieber Rudi»¹³ in cui il professore comunicava di aver consultato, quel giorno, un codice diverso dai frequentati passionari («Heute ließ ich mir zur Abwechslung eine andere Handschrift geben und ich fürchte, sie wird uns manche Zeit kosten»):¹⁴

12. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 19:21. Bl. 3. Questa e le altre lettere e cartoline postali inviate a Meyer da Torino portano l’indirizzo di Göttingen, Geismarchaussée 31.

13. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 41-44. Difficile, allo stato attuale della ricerca, dire se il destinatario potesse essere il figlio di Meyer, Rudolf (München, 1880 – New York, 1936), storico e studioso d’arte orientale che scelse poi di aggiungere a quello paterno il cognome della madre (Pauline Riefstahl, mancata nel 1885) e che all’epoca della lettera studiava all’Università di Strasburgo, dove si addottorò nel 1904 con una tesi dal titolo *Französische Lieder aus der Florentiner Handschrift Strozzi-Magliabecchiana Cl.vii.1040*. La pubblicazione della tesi (Halle, Niemeyer, 1907, pp. 22-23) fa riferimento a una recensione firmata dal musicologo Friedrich Ludwig (1872-1930), addottoratosi sempre a Strasburgo qualche anno prima, e al manoscritto J.II.9 di Torino: «Für eine neu entdeckte Turiner Handschrift (vgl. F. Ludwig, *Geschichte d. Mensuralnotation* p. 640 [FRIEDRICH LUDWIG, recensione a JOHANNES WOLF, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460. Nach den theoretischen und praktischen Quellen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», VI/4, 1905, pp. 597-641]), die Kompositionen niederländischer Meister mit französischen Rondeau- und Balladentexten enthält, scheint sich sogar Cypern als Ursprungsland nachweisen zu lassen. Für das Studium der altfranzösischen Lyrik sind diese Kompositionen der niederländischen Schule von allergrösster Wichtigkeit [...]». Se l’ambito degli studi universitari di Rudolf, il tono e il contenuto della lettera sembrano in linea con il «Lieber Rudi» d’apertura, il saluto formale con cui la missiva si chiude («Mit herzlichen Grüßen Dein Wilh. Meyer») non pare molto compatibile con il congedo di un padre dal figlio.

14. Un criptico accenno in coda a una lettera di Friedrich Ludwig a Wilhelm Meyer datata Strasburgo 16 aprile 1902 (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 3: Bl. 71) adombra la possibilità che Meyer fosse al corrente dell’esistenza del codice mesi prima della descrizione inviata a «Rudi» il 26 settembre e che ne avesse già fatta segnalazione al giovane musicologo; cfr. in questo volume ALBERTO RIZZUTI, *Four Angels and a Coat of Arms. The Case of the Manuscript I-Th, J.II.9*, pp. 13-76: 65 (nota 4). Nella citata recensione alla monografia di Wolf, Ludwig, che in ogni caso nel novembre del 1902 era sicuramente a conoscenza del manoscritto scoperto da Meyer («Die Aussicht, von einer neugefundenen Handschrift aus der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhundert so bald zu vernehmen, ist ja hochehrfreulich [...]»; lettera datata Potsdam 25 novembre 1902, D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 23; trascritta in RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*, p. 65), affermò (peraltro adottando, per la segnatura, la forma J.II.9): «Die letzte bisher unbekannte große Handschrift der Zeit vor Dufay, die allem Anschein nach in ihrem größten Teil noch jünger als Modena ist, ist der Codex Turin, Bibl. Naz. J.II.9, den Herr Prof. W. Meyer in Göttingen vor einigen Jahren entdeckte. Er hatte die große Freundlichkeit, mir davon Mitteilung zu machen, wofür ich auch an dieser Stelle meinen herzlichen Dank ausspreche, und ich konnte die Handschrift noch vor dem Brande der Turiner Bibliothek benutzen. Da Herr Prof. Meyer selbst mit Studien über sie beschäftigt ist, so beschränke ich mich hier auf die Bemerkung, daß sie außer einstimmigen Werken eine große Anzahl mehrstimmiger Werke enthält, Meßteile, lateinische und französische Motetten, französische Balladen und Rondeaux, in Summa 219 mehrstimmige Kompositionen, leider sämtlich anonym, von denen bisher keine einzige in irgend einer anderen Handschrift nachweisbar war» (pp. 640-641).

codice che, in considerazione dei suoi interessi musicali e delle ricerche confluente nel 1898 in un saggio sul mottetto,¹⁵ non poteva che catturare la sua attenzione e del quale, pur consapevole del tempo indispensabile per un’analisi approfondita, era già in grado di fornire una descrizione piuttosto dettagliata, corredata di trascrizioni di *incipit* e porzioni di testo di alcuni mottetti e *ballades* francesi, e di riferimenti a repertori bibliografici; codice, sia aggiunto in margine, che non risulta essere stato incluso fra i manoscritti musicali andati in mostra nell’ambito dell’Esposizione nazionale di Torino del 1898 o della concomitante Mostra d’Arte sacra,¹⁶ che fino a quel momento era stato ignorato dagli studiosi e di cui Meyer era venuto probabilmente a conoscenza grazie al suggerimento di qualche bibliotecario o al monumentale catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale mandato a stampa da Giuseppe Pasini nel 1749.¹⁷ Benché, per quegli anni, non si siano conservati i cosiddetti schedoni amministrativi, nei quali sono registrate le date in cui i manoscritti vengono studiati o riprodotti, sappiamo che il soggiorno di studio si protrasse per alcune settimane. Da una lettera del teologo Heinrich Denifle (1844-1905), datata Roma 11 ottobre 1902, apprendiamo che Meyer gli scrisse da Torino il giorno 6 per un confronto sulla possibile attribuzione dell’arma presente a c. 1^r di J.II.9, sull’Ufficio di s. Ilarione in apertura di codice e sul «Macario» citato nel *triplum* del mottetto *Gemma florens / Hec est dies* (cc. 65^v-66^r). Il 12 ottobre Denifle indirizzò ancora a Torino una cartolina postale con ulteriori informazioni.¹⁸ Il 16 Meyer si congedò da Carlo Frati:

Egregio Cavaliere!

Oggi sono in grande imbarazzo. Credevo di averLe detto ieri, che oggi dovesti finire il lavoro; dunque alle 4 avevo finito tutto e La aspettai. Ma alle 5 ho consegnato i 5 manoscritti,¹⁹ il Mombrizio²⁰ ed [!] gli altri libri ad un Signor Bibliotecario, che trovai presso la sala di lettura.

Volevo La cercare in casa, ma le preparazioni del viaggio ed il cambio mi hanno proibito. Dunque sono costretto di prendere congedo da Lei per lettera.

La ringrazio mille volte per la gentilezza con che mi ha aiutato in quelle molteplici cose, delle quali mi ho occupato. Spero che potrò <tornare?> nell’anno prossimo, meglio preparato con libri e sussidi, e che La troverò in ottima salute. Cordialmente ringraziando La saluto

Suo devotissimo

Prof. W. Meyer²¹

Sulla scia del soggiorno torinese i rapporti epistolari si infittirono e i toni si fecero sempre più cordiali. Il 5 novembre 1902 Carta si scusò di non essere riuscito a congedarsi di persona dallo studioso (che con ogni probabilità doveva avergli indirizzato una lettera gemella di quella scritta a Frati il 16 ottobre) e ringraziò di un dono, uno dei molti con cui, nel tempo, Meyer volle omaggiare la Biblioteca Nazionale torinese:

Illustre Professore,

più gentile e cortese di così non si può essere. Grazie e di cuore del suo prezioso dono “Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci”,²² che conserverò cara-mente insieme con i “Fragmenta burana”.²³ Il Delisle sarà ben contento del dotto omaggio.²⁴

A suo tempo ricevetti l’affettuosa e gentile sua lettera. Il tributo pagato alla stagione m’impedì di congedarmi da Lei, come era mio vivissimo desiderio, e non potei tornare in Biblioteca che 10 giorni sono. L’urto fu forte; ma ora sto assai bene.

15. Cfr. WILHELM MEYER, *Der Ursprung des Motetts. Vorläufige Bemerkungen*, «Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse», 2, 1898, pp. 113-145; poi in Id., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 3 voll., Berlin, Weidmann, 1905-1936, II, 1905, pp. 303-341.

16. Cfr. *Esposizione Nazionale di Torino M.DCCC.XCVIII. Manoscritti e libri a stampa musicati esposti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, Firenze, Franceschini, 1898; *Atlante paleografico-artistico compilato sui manoscritti esposti in Torino alla Mostra d’Arte Sacra nel M.DCCC.XCVIII*, a cura di Francesco Carta, Carlo Cipolla e Carlo Frati, Torino, Bocca, 1899.

17. Cfr. GIUSEPPE PASINI, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti, & binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima Hebraei, & Graeci, in altera Latini, Italici, & Gallici...*, 2 voll., Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1749, che nel secondo volume (p. 32, cx) fornisce una breve descrizione di J.II.9 (olim d.vi.14): «Membranaceus, saeculi xv, habens folia 158 & auro circumquaque elegantissime pictus, in quo Officium S. Hilarionis ad musicos modos aptatum. Praemittitur exemplar literarum Johannis Papae XXIII adprobantis illud ad preces Jani Regis Cypri anno MCCCXCIX. Sequitur Antiphonarum, & Graduale Ecclesiasticum, cum notis musicis latino, & gallico idiome exaratum». Oltre al riferimento al catalogo di Pasini, la lettera del 26 settembre cita, in relazione alle varie parti di J.II.9, ULYSSE CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l’Église latine depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours*, 6 voll., Louvain, Lefever (poi Polleunis & Ceuterick, poi Fr. Ceuterick), 1892-1921; EDMUND STENGEL, *Mitteilungen aus französischen Handschriften der Turiner Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Marburg, C. L. Pfeil, 1873; STÉPHEN MORELOT, *Notice sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Dijon* [F-Dm, 517, olim 295], «Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d’Or», IV, 1856, pp. 133-160.

18. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 14-16.

19. Oltre a J.II.9, durante il soggiorno torinese del settembre-ottobre 1902 Meyer studiò il frammento 9 di F.IV.1; cfr. MEYER, *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*, p. 167: «Als ich im Oktober 1902 in Turin etliche Handschriften untersuchte, fand ich in ‘F.IV.1’ sechs aus Bobbio stammende Blätter [...]».

20. Con ogni probabilità BONINO MOMBRIZIO, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum*, [Milano, Bonino Mombrizio, ca 1477], conservato in I-Tn con la segnatura xv n 20-21.

21. I-Bca, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Carteggio*, cart. xviii, n. 12.

22. Si tratta di WILHELM MEYER, *Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci*, «Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse», Neue Folge, VI/2, 1902.

23. Cfr. WILHELM MEYER, *Fragmenta burana*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1901.

24. Léopold Victor Delisle (1826-1910), direttore della Bibliothèque Nationale de France, dedicatario del saggio *Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci* e assiduo corrispondente di Meyer (cfr. l’inventario *Nachlaß Wilhelm Meyer, Klassischer Philologe, Mediaevist, Prof. in Göttingen (1845-1917)*, Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1993, p. 9). Una lettera di Delisle a Carta, con le condoglianze per l’incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale e l’invito a individuare a Parigi un agente incaricato di raccogliere e mandare a Torino opere utili a colmare le lacune create, fu pubblicata il 3 febbraio 1904 sul giornale «Patria» (cfr. la rassegna stampa in I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 300, XIII.A-1).

Col vivo desiderio di vederLa nel prossimo anno, e offrendoLe tutti i miei servigi,
mi abbia con ogni rispetto ed affetto
Suo devotissimo
F.co Carta²⁵

L'11 novembre 1902, in un'affrettata e informale cartolina postale, Meyer comunicava a Frati:

Egregio Signore, finalmente ho ricevuto altri esemplari della dissertazione sul Stephano e gli alfabeti. Prenda uno per memoria del disturbatore, che così subito disparse. Scriverò presto per avere piccole notizie sopra il fratello dell'antifonario di Bangor.²⁶ (Il volume 4. degli *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* è già uscito <da> qualche tempo; è importante per Bobbio).²⁷ Con tanti saluti Suo devotissimo Wilh. Meyer²⁸

Due giorni più tardi toccò a Frati scusarsi del mancato congedo e ringraziare dei doni:

Chiarissimo Signor Professore,
rincrebbe anche a me assai di non poter riverirLa prima della Sua partenza; ma quando uscii, speravo che L'avrei riveduta all'indomani al consueto lavoro, e non trovai invece che la gentile Sua lettera.
Oggi poi mi giunse, a rinnovarmi il ricordo dell'ambita Sua conoscenza, il dono graditissimo della Sua memoria su E. Stefano e i “Regii typi graeci”, che presenta un interesse molteplice. La ringrazio quindi profondamente e del dono importante, e del buon ricordo che conserva di me.

25. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 1: 100.

26. Riferimento al citato frammento 9 di F.rv.1 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, che presenta affinità con l'antifonario vergato nell'abbazia di Bangor (Irlanda del Nord) negli anni Ottanta del VII secolo, poi appartenuto al monastero di Bobbio, infine acquisito nel 1606 dal cardinale Federico Borromeo a vantaggio dell'istituenda Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, dov'è oggi conservato con la segnatura C 5 inf. Sull'antifonario di Bangor si veda *The Antiphonary of Bangor. An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, a cura di Frederick Edward Warren, 2 voll., London, Harrison and Sons, 1893-1895 (il 10 novembre 1902 lo stesso Warren firmò un breve comunicato dal titolo *An Early Irish Service-Book* pubblicato in «The Athenæum», 3916, 15 novembre 1902, p. 653: «I have received a letter from Prof. Wilhelm Meyer, of the University of Göttingen, announcing that he has discovered at Turin twelve pages of a seventh or eighth century Irish Ms. service-book corresponding closely to the Antiphonary of Bangor. He hopes to publish them in the *Nachrichten der Göttingen* [!] *Akademie* [cfr. il citato *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*]. I must not go into details, but the discovery of a large Celtic fragment is so rare and interesting an event, and so few people in this country have a chance of seeing the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, that you may think it worth room to have attention called to the discovery in your columns»); sull'antifonario di Bangor si vedano inoltre *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, a cura di Elias Avery Lowe, 12 voll., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1934-1972, III: *Italy: Ancona – Novara*, 1938, p. 12 (n. 311); *L'Antifonario di Bangor*, a cura di Ezio Franceschini, Padova, Gregoriana Editrice, 1941; MICHAEL CURRAN, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1984.

27. Cfr. *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, IV: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*, a cura di Bruno Krusch, Hannover – Leipzig, Hahn, 1902.

28. I-Bca, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Carteggio*, cart. XVIII, n. 12.

Io spero che nel prossimo anno Ella farà ancora una visita alla nostra biblioteca; e allora io avrò certo ancora qualche cosa da imparare da Lei. Frattanto, se in qualcosa posso esserLe utile, pel frammento nostro del manoscritto gemello dell'antifonario di Bangor, o per altro, mi scriva, e mi farà sempre cosa cara e gradita.

Il vol. IV degli “*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*” che contiene le Vite di S. Colombano e dei suoi discepoli nell'edizione critica del Krusch, è già pervenuto alla nostra biblioteca, e sarà certo utilizzato da chi si occupa dell'antica libreria di Bobbio.²⁹

Col più profondo ossequio mi creda, cordialmente,
Suo devotissimo
Carlo Frati³⁰

Gli scambi proseguirono l'anno successivo, ancora intorno al frammento 9 di F.rv.1. Il 12 gennaio 1903 Carta scriveva:

Illustre Signore,
pur troppo non mi sono levato da letto che da qualche giorno. Ciò non impedisce né a me né al cav. Frati di farLe cosa gradita e nella misura che possiamo. Dico così perché finora i librai torinesi non sono riusciti a procurarci il celebre Antifonario di Bangor, che tuttavia speriamo di poterci procurare dentro il mese.³¹ Ci contenteremo quindi di fare il confronto delle Sue letture col Ms. F.rv.1, e, come vedrà, le Sue letture sono ottime; le piccole spiegazioni in rosso Le diranno le differenze od osservazioni da farsi. Quanto alle sostituzioni non sono possibili, perché Ella ha letto benissimo tutto ciò che era leggibile, e anche col testo di Bangor nulla si potrebbe determinare. Pubblici pure tranquillo.

Le condizioni mie di salute e quelle stesse gravosissime della Biblioteca non mi hanno permesso di far nulla sui manoscritti di Bobbio. Sarà più tardi, se pur si potrà. In Italia gli studi si fanno fuori non dentro le biblioteche.

Spero di vederLa presto in Italia e frattanto io ed il Dr. Frati La salutiamo caramente.
F. Carta

e aggiungeva in calce: «Del resto se vuole mandare le bozze di stampa le riscontreremo con l'originale».³²

Nel frattempo il filologo tedesco aveva tutt'altro che dimenticato J.II.9, il «Canzoniere dell'Anna di Cipro» (o simili) – come prese a

29. Cfr. nota 27.

30. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 2: 28.

31. Cfr. la citata edizione a cura di Warren (*The Antiphonary of Bangor. An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, 1893-1895). Un esemplare della pubblicazione fu donato alla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino da Graziadio Ascoli alcuni mesi dopo l'incendio (6 luglio 1904); oggi porta la segnatura xCons. Mss. GB. Milano. Ambros. 3/1-2.

32. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 7: 4: Bl. 5. Riferimento a MEYER, *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*. Nel saggio (p. 179) lo studioso non dimenticò di ringraziare sia Carta sia Frati: «In der Turiner Bibliothek habe ich unter der Obhut der Herren Carta und Frati angenehm arbeiten können; sie haben auch nachträglich freundlichst meine Korrekturbogen mit dem Original verglichen, so daß die gelehrte Welt es ihnen dankt, daß der Text der Handschrift hier möglichst getreu wieder gegeben ist».

chiamarlo – descritto a «Rudi» nel settembre del 1902 e segnalato a Friedrich Ludwig. Stando alle carte conservate alla Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Göttingen, Meyer sfruttò le ultime settimane dell'aprile 1903, vigilia dell'avvio dei corsi universitari, per prendere contatto con Franz Xaver Haberl, autore di importanti studi sulla musica del Quattro-Cinquecento,³³ e per cercare di trarre il massimo profitto dall'aiuto di Carta.³⁴

Alcuni appunti datati 19 aprile³⁵ (giorno successivo a una prima missiva inviata a Haberl) testimoniano il suo interrogarsi sulla possibile attribuzione a Gilles Binchois dello stemma con le iniziali G.B. a c. 1^r di J.II.9 e sulle domande che quest'ipotesi, già prospettata a Ludwig nel mese di gennaio³⁶ e oggetto di ricerche nei repertori storico-archivistici sull'area di provenienza del musicista,³⁷ sollevava in merito alla genesi delle composizioni trasmesse dal codice. Se infatti l'Ufficio di s. Ilarione e i motetti gli suggerivano un'origine cipriota, l'Ufficio di s. Anna e il gruppo di composizioni francesi gli sembravano più verosimilmente ascrivibili al periodo successivo alle nozze di Anna di Lusignano con Ludovico di Savoia (1434) e all'ambiente della corte sabauda (dov'era stato attivo Du Fay, amico di Binchois). Il codice gli pareva dunque configurarsi come una raccolta «für die Kapelle und für die Salons: geistliche und weltliche Gesangstücke» presumibilmente realizzata dalla corte di Chambéry («da also cyprische und savoyer Stücke gemischt sind, so scheint allerdings das Ganze eine von dem Savoyer Hof veranstaltete Sammlung zu sein»); né Meyer mancava di sottolineare la «isolierter Stellung» del *corpus* francese, per il quale non aveva trovato concordanze.

Al giorno successivo (20 aprile, data anche di una seconda missiva a Haberl) risale la minuta di una lettera indirizzata a Carta («Chiarissimo Signore!») poco prima – come si diceva – dell'avvio delle lezioni in Università (perché poi avrebbe avuto «pochissimo tempo libero»)³⁸. In questo, come in un caso del quale si riferirà fra poco, le inesattezze in cui Meyer incorre nello sforzarsi di scrivere in italiano, le correzioni e le

33. Fra gli altri, e soprattutto, alla luce degli interessi di Meyer, il saggio *Wilhelm du Fay*, «Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft», 1/4, 1885, pp. 397-530 (poi in FRANZ XAVER HABERL, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, 3 voll., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885-1888, I, 1885).

34. Sui carteggi di Meyer con Ludwig e Haberl (1840-1910), come sulle discussioni relative all'attribuzione dell'arma in apertura di J.II.9, cfr. RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*.

35. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Miscellaneous Notes.

36. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 24-25 (risposta di Ludwig trascritta in RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*, pp. 66-67).

37. Ad esempio GERMAIN DEMAY, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre recueillis dans les dépôts d'archives, musées et collections particulières du département du Nord...*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1873, e THÉOPHILE LEJEUNE, *Les sceaux de la ville de Binche*, «Annales du Cercle archéologique de Mons», II, 1859, pp. 91-104.

38. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 6-9.

parti cassate consigliano di proporre una parafrasi del testo con citazioni parziali, evitando una trascrizione integrale che rischierebbe di affaticare inutilmente il lettore.

In prima battuta Meyer annunciava di aver attivato il suo ministero per ricevere in prestito a Göttingen il codice F.III.16, che a Torino non avrebbe avuto il tempo di studiare in modo approfondito. Il professore passava poi a trattare ciò che gli stava più a cuore, quel «codice musicale» che studiava «già da qualche tempo», non senza problemi («Ci sono tante difficoltà che non credo che vincerò tutte. Ma si deve fare quello che [!] si può»). Innanzitutto, faceva presente che sarebbe stato importante capire a quando risaliva l'Ufficio di s. Anna:

Non credo, che il re Janus ~~tate~~ abbia fatto per sua figlia; neanche nelle poesie latine si trova un traccio [!] della venerazione dell'Anna madre di Maria. Ma quando Anna era duchessa di Savoia, cioè dopo <il> 1453, avrà fatto fare quest'ufficio della sua padrona. Aveva Sacerdoti di altissimo grado erano cognati di lei e Amedeo di Savoia = Felice v papa 1439-1449. Quant'io so, i registri della Corte papale non sono studiati per la storia della Savoia di quei tempi. Ho fatto tentativi, che i registri da 1434-1450 siano studiati, se ci si trova un privilegio, pel quale all'Anna o al Ludovico di Savoia sia data la licenza di usare un officio speciale della Santa Anna.

Dopo di che comunicava di aver cercato inutilmente «un lavoro speciale sopra la storia della musica e degli musicisti od almeno delle tali arti alla corte di Savoia» in quel tempo, ricordava a Carta che «il più celebre compositore di questo secolo» (Du Fay) vi era stato attivo per sette anni³⁹ e che intorno al 1440 aveva stretto amicizia con «un segretario di papa Felice v» (Martin Le Franc). Dichiarava poi di aver ragionato a lungo sull'arma in apertura di J.II.9:

Lei ha cercato molto, ma non <ha> trovato niente; dunque non è da credere, che sia piemontese.

Ma ho un altro sospetto. Un principe o generalmente un nobile porranno sotto le sue armi *le iniziali* dei suoi nomi? Non credo. Quest'uso è uso di uomo *privato*. Ed il proprietario di questo codice “musicalissimo”, chi sarà stato? Piuttosto un musico.

39. Informazione ricavata da HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, pp. 442-443 (poi in *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, pp. 46-47), che l'aveva desunta a sua volta da JULES HOUDOY, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame. Comptes, inventaires et documents inédits...*, Paris, Damascène, Morgand et Fatout, 1880, p. 88. In entrambi i testi è citato un passo dal *Compte de l'exécution du testament* di Du Fay datato 27 novembre 1474 e conservato a Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, 4 G 1313 (p. 25: «Item a messere Pierre de Wez pour son salaire de avoir garde l'ostel du dict deffunct l'espace de VII ans qu'il fut demourant en Savoye [...]»). Per la trascrizione del *Compte* si vedano STEFANO BALDI – FRANCESCA CODA, *Il Conto dell'esecuzione del testamento e l'Inventario dei beni di Guillaume Dufay*, in *Miscellanea di studi 6*, a cura di Alberto Basso, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi – Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 2006, pp. 47-134: 83-107; inoltre ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *Guillaume Du Fay. The Life and Works*, 2 voll., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, II, pp. 799-824.

Tornava quindi sull'ipotesi che l'arma potesse essere ascritta all'«altro principe dei musici» dell'epoca, Binchois, nato non lontano da Cambrai («nido dei compositori più celebri di questo tempo») e attivo alla corte di Borgogna, con cui quella sabauda aveva «molte relazioni». Ma concludeva che, se anche «G.B.» significava Gilles Binchois, ciò non provava che tutte le composizioni fossero sue.

Quanto all'origine e alla funzione di J.II.9, ribadiva quel che aveva appuntato il 19 aprile:

La parte Lusignana del codice, l'ufficio dell'Illarione ed i motetti sono di origine cipriana [...]. Solamente l'ufficio di S. Anna, i balladi ed i rondelli possono essere composti in Savoia da un maestro. Secondo il mio parere il codice contiene il libro da cantare per la corte della duchessa Anna 1) la parte religiosa (massimamente della famiglia Lusignana). 2) la parte secolare (le poesie francesi, canzoni da cantare nelle sale della duchessa per passatempo o alle feste splendide. Sono quasi tutte canzoni d'amore secondo il costume di quest'èvo ma non disoneste, ma da cantare tali quali potevano essere cantate ne in una società di quest'èvo).

Nella parte conclusiva della lettera Meyer, mosso dal desiderio di ottenere rapidamente alcune fotografie utili alla curatela dell'edizione del codice, sfoderava la sua *ars rhetorica* («tutto il lavoro sarà non per me, ma per la scienza e in questo caso per anche per la storia di Sua patria»; «Noi uomini dotti, quanto meno ricchi siamo, tanto più meritiamo ausilio») e, pragmaticamente, chiedeva suggerimenti sui passi più opportuni da muovere presso i rispettivi ministeri.

Carta rispose con dovizia di informazioni il 25 aprile, citando «due» lettere datate 20 aprile che aveva ricevuto da Meyer:

Chiarissimo Professore,
rispondo alle Sue due graditissime del 20 corrente, sebbene non mi sia stato possibile trovare nessun dato positivo per risolvere le questioni da Lei formulate riguardo al nostro codice musicale I.II.9.
Nella monografia (posseduta da questa Biblioteca) di Aug. Dufour e Franç. Rabut, “Les musiciens, la musique et les instruments de musique en Savoie du XIII.^e au XIX.^e siècle”, Chambéry, 1878 (estratto dal tomo XVII dei “Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne d’Histoire et d’Archéologie”) non si parla, né del Dufay, né del Binchois.⁴⁰ Tuttavia non è improbabile che nei *Conti dei Tesorieri generali*, conservati in questo Archivio di Stato, e che Ella potrà consultare sul luogo, possa trovarsi qualche notizia al riguardo, sfuggita al Dufour e al Rabut. Per entrambi questi musicisti si potrebbero consultare i rispettivi articoli biografici nella

40. Cfr. AUGUSTE DUFOUR – FRANÇOIS RABUT, *Les musiciens, la musique et les instruments de musique en Savoie du XIII.^e au XIX.^e siècle*, Chambéry, Bottero, 1878 (numero monografico dei «Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne d’Histoire et d’Archéologie», XVII); rist. anast., con prefazione di Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi – Fondo “Carlo Felice Bona”, 1983.

recente opera di Robert Eitner, “Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musik-gelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des XIX Jahrhunderts” (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel), giunta nel 1902 al vol. VI (sino alla parola Milleville), e che questa Biblioteca non possiede.⁴¹

Ma quanto alla proposta identificazione del *G.B.* indicato sotto lo stemma che fa parte del fregio della 1^a pagina del codice, con *Gilles Binchois*, musicista del secolo XV, contemporaneo del Dufay e del Dunstable, può osservarsi:

1^o Che sembra strano che il nome del proprietario o dedicatario del manoscritto fosse indicato colle iniziali del *nome francese*, anziché con quelle del *nome latino*. È bensì vero, che il codice contiene anche poesie francesi; ma queste si trovano nella seconda metà del codice, scritte di mano più recente. Invece le iniziali *G.B.* fanno parte integrante della prima parte del codice, scritta tutta *in latino*, e non par troppo verisimile che il nome del proprietario, o dedicatario, si indicasse colle iniziali della sua forma francese (*Gilles* invece di *Aegidius*).

2^o In generale, sembra poco probabile che un musicista avesse uno stemma familiare, essendo noto che lo stemma autentico non può spettare che, o alle famiglie nobili, o anche a quelle non nobili, ma che lo hanno ottenuto per concessione sovrana o signorile. Ora sembra poco probabile che un musicista, anche celebre, potesse trovarsi in una di queste condizioni.

3^o Nel caso speciale del Binchois, non sembra verisimile che egli avesse uno stemma, se, per mancanza di un cognome gentilizio, era denominato dalla sua città di origine (Binche, nelle vicinanze di Cambrai).

4^o Se il codice fosse stato realmente eseguito pel Binchois, cioè per un musico belga, che fu molto tempo alla corte di Borgogna e in altre corti estere, ma che non è noto che fosse mai in Savoia o alla corte di Milano, non si comprenderebbe agevolmente come esso possa essere di *esecuzione prettamente italiana* specialmente per ciò che riguarda la scrittura della parte latina, le iniziali, e la stessa preparazione della pergamena; giacché comunque s'abbiano a interpretare, lo stemma del fregio, e le iniziali *G.B.*, non è dubbio che il codice, nella sua prima parte, in cui trovasi il fregio collo stemma (quattro volte ripetuto) e colle iniziali, fu eseguito da mano italiana, anzi dell'Italia superiore; ciò che forse potrebbe spiegarsi coi rapporti di parentela fra Filippo Maria Visconti duca di Milano (†1447), che aveva per moglie Maria di Savoia, e Lodovico, marito di Anna di Cipro e fratello di Maria di Savoia. Sembra poi, in generale, che ogni ipotesi, per quanto ingegnosa, sulla identificazione del *G.B.* torni vana, finché non sia stata sicuramente riconosciuta l'arme del fregio, con ricerche pazienti, e purtroppo assai lunghe, nei vari armologi, così italiani, come stranieri.

Più probabile invece mi sembra che il codice torinese possa contenere composizioni musicali del Dufay, per le ragioni dalla Signoria Vostra sagacemente intravviste, e che possono così riassumersi:

1^o Perché il Dufay fu per sette anni in Savoia, dove si trovava ancora nel 1434 alla corte di Amedeo VIII;

2^o Perché Anna di Cipro divenne appunto nel 1433 nuora di Amedeo VIII; e non

41. Cfr. ROBERT EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 10 voll., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900-1904 (per le voci Binchois e Du Fay cfr. II, 1900, pp. 45-46, e III, 1900, pp. 400-401).

è dubbio che Anna di Cipro debba aver avuto, comunque, una parte importante nella composizione del codice torinese;

3^o Perché ci è noto che lo suocero di lei, Amedeo VIII, si diletta di far eseguire codici musicali, o “*libri di canto*”; e nel 1437 ne faceva eseguire uno per la sua cappella dal cappellano Don Pietro Teobaldi *scrittore del detto libro* (cfr. Saraceno, articolo citato, p. 247).⁴²

4^o Perché il Dufay fu amico del poeta Martin le Franc, che fu anch’egli alla corte di Lodovico, marito di Anna.

Ho perciò già ordinato le tre pubblicazioni recenti sul Dufay, indicate nella sua lettera, e che qui mancavano.⁴⁵

Un codice del secolo XV o XVI di poesie francesi o latine musicate dal Dufay, dal Dunstable, e da altri contemporanei, poco conosciute sinora, si conserva nel fondo musicale della Biblioteca Estense di Modena. Sarebbe interessante constatare se alcune delle poesie adespote del manoscritto torinese abbiano riscontro nel codice modenese, in cui è indicato il nome del musicista.⁴⁴

Nulla ho potuto trovar di sicuro sull’epoca in cui fu composto l’ufficio di S. Anna; ma trattandosi di una santa di tanta importanza nella Chiesa, che ha l’onore speciale di una delle feste fisse ecclesiastiche, esso deve certamente risalire a un’epoca molto anteriore anche a re Janus.

Quanto al prestito del nostro codice F.III.16 (Vite di Santi), da Lei desiderato, appena mi pervenga dal Ministero l’occorrente autorizzazione, ne curerò l’invio, il quale però, dovendo farsi per tramite diplomatico, non potrà essere molto sollecito.⁴⁵

42. Cfr. FILIPPO SARACENO, *Giunta ai Giullari e menestrelli, viaggi, imprese guerresche dei principi d’Acaia (1390-1438)*, «Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina», IV, 1880, pp. 205-249: 247 (supplemento al precedente *Giullari, menestrelli, viaggi, imprese guerresche dei principi d’Acaia (1295-1395)*, Ivi, III, 1879, pp. 261-314).

43. Stando al registro d’ingresso della Biblioteca Nazionale relativo al periodo gennaio 1902 – gennaio 1904 (I-Tn, Archivio Storico, VIII.B-9), dovrebbe trattarsi di questi tre titoli, segnalati da Ludwig a Meyer nelle lettere del 25 novembre 1902 e del 10 gennaio 1903 (D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 23-25; trascritte in RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*, pp. 65-67): HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, in *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* (numero d’ingresso 47278, 15 maggio 1903; oggi conservato con la segnatura qm.IV.162/1); *Dufay and His Contemporaries. Fifty Compositions (Ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440). Transcribed from Ms. Canonici misc. 213, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, a cura di John Frederick Randall e Cecilia Stainer, testi di Edward Williams Byron Nicholson e John Stainer, London, Novello & Co., 1898 (numero d’ingresso 47320, 18 maggio 1903; segnatura qm.I.126); *Sechs Trienter Codices. Geistliche und weltliche Kompositionen des xv. Jhs.*, I, a cura di Guido Adler e Oswald Koller (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, VII, 14-15), Wien, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1900 (numero d’ingresso 47413, 27 maggio 1903), oggi assente dal catalogo della biblioteca (vittima, oltre che dell’incendio nel 1904, di un grave bombardamento l’8 dicembre 1942), che possiede la rist. anast. Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.

44. Si tratta del manoscritto I-MOe, α.x.1.11 = Lat. 471. Negli schedoni amministrativi della Biblioteca Estense non si segnalano consultazioni del codice da parte di Wilhelm Meyer; si incontrano invece, negli anni precedenti, i nomi di Haberl e Ludwig (che da Modena scrisse a Meyer il 28 agosto 1903; cfr. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 34; cartolina postale trascritta in RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*, pp. 70-71).

45. Non solo il prestito fu concesso, come si è già potuto dedurre dalla citata cartolina postale spedita da Meyer il 29 gennaio 1904 – «F.III.16 (Leggendario di Bobbio secolo XI; io l’ho spedito a Berlino <il> 18 dicembre 1903; forse è ancora in viaggio, a Roma nel ministero)»; I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 221, VIII.C-1 –, ma grazie alle pratiche legate alla restituzione F.III.16 sfuggì all’incendio del 25-26 gennaio; cfr. GORRINI, *L’incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, p. 277 («Si trovava all’epoca dell’incendio in prestito per prof. W. Meyer alla Biblioteca Universitaria di Gottinga»); *Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, a cura di Carlo Cipolla, Gaetano De Sanctis e Carlo Frati, «Rivista di filologia e d’istruzione classica», XXXII, 3, 1904, pp. 385-588: 439 (annotazione identica a quella di Gorrini). Il registro *Prestito manoscritti e rari da 1897 a 11 marzo 1937* segnala a p. 4 la consegna al Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Roma) il 7 maggio 1903 («Ms. F.III.16 per il Prof. W. Meyer

Per ciò, in fine, che riguarda le fotografie che Ella vorrebbe trarre da questo codice, e da quello musicale I.II.9, se dette fotografie saranno destinate ad uso esclusivamente privato, e non verranno pubblicate, io non ho difficoltà, per riguardo alla Signoria Vostra Chiarissima, di rinunciare alla negativa che per regolamento dovrebbe conservarsi in questa biblioteca; ma se esse dovessero poi far parte di qualche pubblicazione, io non potrei lasciar constatare pubblicamente che ho mancato al mio dovere.

Ma su ciò, come sul mezzo di compiere le ricerche che Le occorrono pel lavoro intrapreso intorno al nostro codice musicale, ci sarà agevole intenderci quando Ella si recherà a Torino; e torna inutile ch’io L’assicuri sin d’ora, che io e i miei colleghi faremo tutto ciò che ci è possibile per aiutarLa e per alleviarLe la fatica.

Voglia frattanto gradire, Illustre Signore, i più distinti ossequi miei e del cav. Frati, e credermi sempre colla massima considerazione

Suo Devotissimo

F. Carta⁴⁶

Ne seguì un’ulteriore, lunga lettera di Meyer, per la trascrizione del cui travagliato abbozzo, privo di data e conservato sempre alla Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Göttingen, vale quanto detto a proposito della minuta del 20 aprile.

Dopo l’esordio,

La ringrazio vivamente per la Sua lettera gentilissima. Perdoni, che prolungo la discussione; ma il giovedì cominceranno le lezioni ed e allora sarò schiavo e la questione, che rispetta il “Canzoniere dell’Anna di Cipro” è difficile, ma almeno anche per Lei in te importante.

Meyer passava rapidamente a una serie di considerazioni sul codice, vergato da mani diverse ma, come stavano a dimostrare le «lettere iniziali di blu e di rosso», realizzato come unità conclusa: «tutte dal principio fin alla fine del codice sono dipinte o piuttosto scritte dalla stessa mano dello stesso artista». E proseguiva: «Tutto il libro è fatto secondo con uno e un certo consiglio: il canzoniere della Anna. Le principesse generalmente alle nozze ricevevano libri liturgici della sua patria per tenere ferme le memorie religiose della gioventù: dunque Anna ha fatto tenuto la liturgia della corte Cipriana fatta dal suo padre. La parte francese e, ch’io crede;

dell’Università di Gottinga») e la restituzione il 31 gennaio 1904 (I-Tn, Archivio Storico, f.f., VIII.Bis.E-1). Nell’unità archivistica che raccoglie la documentazione relativa ai prestiti internazionali concessi dalla Biblioteca dal 1903 al 1908 mancano le carte riguardanti il prestito del codice; nella sintetica descrizione del contenuto del fascicolo, recante la data 1904, al numero di arrivo 2194 si legge: «20 Gennaio» e «Codice F.III.16 restituito dall’Università di Gottinga» (I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 123, IV.C-1). Il *Regolamento interno della Sezione Manoscritti* del 15 giugno 1904 (I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 255, VIII.Bis.B-2) stabilì poi che, «stante la condizione eccezionale» in cui si trovava la Biblioteca dopo l’incendio, il prestito in Italia e all’estero fosse sospeso fino a che i codici non avessero ricevuto «una collocazione stabile e definitiva» e non ne fosse stato compilato «un *Inventario topografico* completo» (art. 3).

46. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 4-5.

fu aggiunta in Savoia». Quanto alle cc. 29-59, «composizioni di questi pezzi della liturgia della messa si trova<va>no nei codici di Trient»;⁴⁷ la parte esclusivamente musicale – aggiungeva – «sta<va> benissimo, se il codice fu destinato da un musico per un altro, ma sta<va> meno bene, se fu destinato dalla duchessa».

Meyer passava poi a occuparsi della possibile attribuzione dell’arma. Pur ammettendo di non essere esperto in materia, riferiva di non essersi mai imbattuto in lettere iniziali sotto l’arma di un nobile. Quella di Du Fay (presente sulla sua tomba, come aveva appreso dal lavoro monografico di Haberl)⁴⁸ era nota, ma – e il professore ne forniva lo schizzo – si trattava di una combinazione di lettere e note, piuttosto che di una vera e propria arma.

Rimaneva il dubbio che quello miniato in apertura di J.II.9 potesse appartenere a Binchois, il quale, al pari di Du Fay, era stato attivo alla corte borgognona. E «forse furono amici» – scriveva Meyer – ricordando il quattrocentesco *Champion des dames* di Martin Le Franc, parzialmente trascritto nelle voci dedicate ai due compositori nella *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* di François-Joseph Fétis; ma – precisava Meyer – ciò che il musicologo belga citava del *Champion*, «e che tutti gli altri ristampa<va>no», non era tutto quel che Martin aveva scritto,⁴⁹ e si rammaricava di non essere ancora riuscito a consultare né la prima edizione del poema, senza note tipografiche, né l’edizione parigina del 1530, di cui chiedeva a Carta se si conservasse copia

47. Cfr. *Sechs Trienter Codices*, I.

48. HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, p. 491 (poi in *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, p. 95).

49. Per i celebri, e discussi, riferimenti a Binchois e Du Fay nel *Champion des dames* cfr. ad esempio MARTIN LE FRANC, *Le Champion des dames*, a cura di Robert Deschaux, 5 voll., Paris, Champion, 1999, iv, pp. 67-69, vv. 16249-16296: «Pour le temps du mauvais Caïn, | Quant Jubal trouva la pratique | En escoutant Tubalcaïn | D’accorder les sons de musique, | L’art ne fut pas si auctentique | Qu’elle est ou temps de maintenant, | Aussy ne fut la rethorique | Ne le parler si avenant. || Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris | N’a pas long temps si bien chanterent | Qu’ilz esbahirent tout Paris | Et tous ceulx qui les frequenterent. | Mais onques jour ne deschanterent | En melodie de tel choïs, | Ce m’ont dit ceulx qui les hanterent, | Que Guillaume du Fay et Binchois. || Car ilz ont nouvelle pratique | De faire frisque concordance | En haulte et en basse musique, | En fainte, en pause et en muance. | Et ont prins de la contenance | Angloise et ensuy Dunstable, | Pour quoy merueilleuse plaisance | Rend leur chant joyeux et notable. || Des bas et des haults instrumens | A on joué le temps passé, | Doubter n’en fault tres doucement, | Chascun selon son pourpensé. | Mais jamais on n’a compassé | N’en doulchaine n’en flajolet | Ce qu’ung nagues trespasé | Faisot, appellé Verdelet. || Ne face on mencion d’Orphée | Dont les poetes tant escrivent, | Ce n’est qu’une droicte faffee | Au regard des harpeurs qui vivent. | Que si parfaictement avivent | Leurs accors et leurs armonies, | Qu’il semble de fait qu’ilz estrivent | Aux angeliques melodies. || Tu as les avugles ouÿ | Jouer a la court de Bourgongne. | N’as pas? Certainement ouÿ | Fust il jamais telle besongne? | J’ay veu Binchois avoir vergongne | Et soy taire emprez leur rebelle, | Et Dufay despité et frongne | Qu’il n’a mélodie si belle» (una traduzione italiana si legge in MASSIMO MILA, *Guillaume Dufay*, a cura di Simone Monge, Torino, Einaudi, 1997, pp. 27-28). Nelle voci Binchois e Du Fay della prima edizione belga della *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (rispettivamente II, Bruxelles, Leroux, 1835, pp. 198-199, e III, ivi, Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837, pp. 349-351: 350) Fétis trascrisse la seconda, la terza e l’ultima delle strofe citate per Binchois, la seconda e la terza per Du Fay. Nella voce Binchois delle successive edizioni parigine della *Biographie* (I, Paris, Didot, 1860, pp. 417-419: 417), la citazione fu scorcziata.

a Torino.⁵⁰ Il professore dimostrava nondimeno di conoscere bene il libro su Martin Le Franc pubblicato una quindicina d’anni prima da Arthur Piaget quale esito di un dottorato di ricerca in Lettere all’Università di Ginevra,⁵¹ e di sapere che nel *Champion* si potevano leggere anche alcuni versi in lode di Anna di Cipro («il Piaget non dice se anche Ludovico di Savoye sia citato nel poema del Martin»)⁵²

Quanto all’attribuzione delle composizioni, sulla scorta delle notizie biografiche sul musicista ricavabili dagli studi di Haberl e di Filippo Saraceno,⁵³ Meyer avanzava l’ipotesi Du Fay. Comunicava tuttavia a Carta di aver «cercato molto negli indici delle altre collezioni» gli *incipit* «delle poesie latine e francesi del canzoniere dell’Anna» senza trovare alcun riscontro e chiedeva se, fra gli impiegati della biblioteca, ci fosse «un cosciente di musica» che a fronte di una «mercede discreta» potesse trascrivere gli *incipit* musicali delle varie voci in modo da poterli confrontare con i repertori a stampa e sottoporre al «S. Haberl ed un altro signore molto cosciente» (presumibilmente Ludwig).

Gli sembrava strano – continuava – non aver trovato alcuna concordanza, ma aggiungeva che forse la cosa poteva essere spiegata in questo modo:

le poesie latine sono d’origine cipriana e proprietà speciale della casa famiglia dei Savoia Lusignani. Quanto all’ufficio di S. Anna, non credo che possa esser antico; perché è tutto rimato e di forme poetiche recenti; cercherò nel Bullens di Felice v, che <a> quanto so esiste in Torino.⁵⁴ Poi le poesie francesi possono essere fatte alla corte di Savoia e in questo modo proprietà della casa di Savoia.

E appuntava:

l’Autore della Cronica latina di Savoia (Monumenta historiae patriae Scriptores I) ha veduto l’Anna di Cipro e il duca Ludovico e biasima ambo due severamente. Ma suo odio ha un bel frutto.⁵⁵

50. Cfr. MARTIN LE FRANC, *Le Champion des dames*, [Lyon, Jean Du Pré?, ante maggio 1488]; Id., *Le Champion des dames, livre plaisant copieux & habondant en sentences. Contenant la deffense des dames, contre malebouche & ses consors, & victoire dicelles*, Paris, Galliot, 1530. Non posseduti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

51. Cfr. ARTHUR PIAGET, *Martin Le Franc prévôt de Lausanne*, Lausanne, Librairie F. Payot, 1888.

52. Per le parti relative ad Anna di Cipro cfr. MARTIN LE FRANC, *Le Champion des dames*, 1999, iv, pp. 233-234, vv. 20353-20360 («Anne de Chypre la ducesse, | De Savoye semblablement, | Dois je loer pour la richesse | De ses vertus tres haultement. | Car qui voit son contenance | De diverses vertus meslé, | Il dit que c’est ung firmament | D’estoiles cleres estelé»). Nel poema Ludovico non è menzionato esplicitamente, ma i versi su Binchois e Du Fay (cfr. nota 49) si riferiscono alla simultanea presenza dei due musicisti alle nozze fra Anna e Ludovico, avvenute a Chambéry nel febbraio del 1434.

53. Cfr. in particolare HABERL, *Wilhelm du Fay*, e SARACENO, *Giunta ai Giullari*, p. 246.

54. Gli otto volumi del Bollario di Felice v (Amedeo VIII di Savoia) sono conservati in I-Ta, Corte, Museo storico.

55. Riferimento all’anonima *Chronica latina Sabaudiae*, redatta negli ultimi anni del Quattrocento e pubblicata a cura di Domenico Promis in *Monumenta historiae patriae*, III: *Scriptores*, I, Torino, Stamperia

Le «canzoni francesi» del codice – concludeva – comprendevano «60 rondeau e 104 ballade!»: se erano nate nella cerchia sabauda, e se il codice era rimasto a corte, si spiegava perché non fossero attestate in fonti conservate altrove.⁵⁶

Come Carta aveva adombrato nella lettera del 25 aprile, e come dimostrano alcuni appunti conservati a Göttingen⁵⁷ e quanto scritto da Meyer nel saggio *Die Legende des h. Albanus des Protomartyr Angliae in Texten vor Beda*,⁵⁸ nel settembre del 1903 lo studioso soggiornò di nuovo a Torino, dove nel frattempo anche Ludwig era passato a consultare J.II.9.⁵⁹ Una volta tornato in Germania, continuò a ricevere aggiornamenti bibliografici e spunti per ulteriori ricerche. Il 10 novembre 1903, ad esempio, Carlo Frati gli scriveva:

Chiarissimo Professore,

può tornare utile al Suo lavoro sul nostro codice musicale I.II.9 la conoscenza di un codice colle armi di Cipro esistente nel secolo xv in una delle librerie dei Duchi di Savoia? Comunque, nel dubbio che Ella possa difficilmente costà vedere i libri, in cui si trova tale ricordo, credo opportuno inviarle qualche appunto, anche se superfluo.

Giovanni Francesco Galeani Napione nella sua “Notizia delle antiche biblioteche della R. Casa di Savoia” pubblicata in “Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino”, (serie 1^a), vol. xxxvi (1832), parte 2^a, pp. 41-62, a proposito dell’Inventario dei libri che si trovavano nel Castello di Chambéry nel 1498, allora inedito, scrive (p. 44): “Quantunque poi il corpo, direi così, e la sostanza principale di quelle raccolte al di là de’ monti consistesse in libri francesi, non vi mancano

Reale, 1840, coll. 599-670, testo tutt’altro che benevolo nei confronti di Anna e Ludovico (cfr. ad esempio coll. 620-622). Fra i più recenti contributi in proposito cfr. KARL KÜGLE, *Clio’s Stepchildren: Anne of Cyprus, Louis of Savoy, and the Politics of Historiography*, «European History Quarterly», 53/3, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02656914231181305> (ultimo accesso 8 marzo 2024). LUISA CLOTILDE GENTILE, in *L’autunno della cavalleria: feste e cerimonie nelle cronache sabaude* («Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», cxvi/1, 2018, pp. 119-135: 122), rileva come l’ostilità verso la coppia avesse indotto l’autore della *Chronica* (probabilmente il clerico Étienne Morel) a liquidare i magnifici festeggiamenti per le nozze del 1434 in poche righe («Hic patre vivente duxit in uxorem Annam filiam regis Cipri, eiusque nuptias in Chamberiaco Amadeus pater mirabiliter solemnissavit [...]»; col. 615).

56. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 10-13.

57. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Turiner Liederhandschrift (2) (appunti datati Torino 4 settembre 1903).

58. Cfr. p. 16 del saggio, pubblicato nel 1904 nelle «Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse», Neue Folge, VIII/1: «Den andern Text fand ich in der turiner Handschrift D.v.3 (in Pasini’s Katalog II S. 301 unter no mxxv mit k.III.8 bezeichnet und beschrieben) fol. 254-258. In September 1903 habe ich, von Franc. Carta und Carlo Frati mit Aufopferung unterstützt, den Text abgeschrieben und freue mich jetzt, die freundliche Nachricht C. Frati’s mittheilen zu können, dass diese Handschrift den unheilvollen Flammen am 26. Januar glücklich entrissen worden ist. Denn sie ist nicht nur wichtig wegen ihres Inhaltes, sondern vielleicht noch mehr wegen der seltsamen und seltenen Schrift, welche nur in wenigen Handschriften um 800 in Frankreich gebraucht worden ist (Schrift von Corbie s. VIII/IX’ Traube, Archiv 1901, 231). Eine Seite ist photographirt in den Monumenta palaeographica sacra Taf. 8 [...]». Sulla copertina dell’esemplare conservato in I-Tn, MV B 215, si legge, di mano di Meyer: «Bibliothecae Taurinensis gratias W. Meyer 17.vi.1904».

59. Cfr. la cartolina postale datata Modena 28 agosto 1903; D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 34 (trascritta in RIZZUTI, *Four Angels*, pp. 70-71).

peraltro anche alcuni libri latini ed italiani, de’ quali per buona sorte il compilatore del catalogo ne poté leggere e ne trascrisse il titolo; e così tra libri latini un Valerio Massimo miniato e messo a oro ed azzurro; un *Lucano*, manoscritto in foglio ed in pergamena, coperto di velluto turchino colle armi di Cipro, che forse era stato del re di Cipro Giano di Savoia (sic)».⁶⁰

L’Inventario, onde è ricavata tale notizia, fu poi pubblicato per intero da Pietro Vayra, “Le lettere e le arti alla Corte di Savoia nel secolo xv. Inventari dei Castelli di Ciamberi, di Torino e di Ponte d’Ain (1497-98)” in “Miscellanea di storia italiana”, vol. xxii (= vii della 2^a serie), Torino 1884, p. 46, ed ivi il manoscritto di Lucano è registrato al n. 97:

“97. Plus ung aultre grant livre en parchemin escript à la main en forme par vers, illuminé et historié d’or nommé *Lucan*, commençant à la grosse lectre: *Quis furor, armoyé des armes de Chippres*, couvert de postz et de vellours bleuz douré à petis cloux de lection”.⁶¹

Questo codice di Lucano non fa parte ora dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale.⁶²

Ho scorso tutti gli Inventari editi dal Vayra, per vedere se vi fosse compreso il nostro codice musicale; ma nulla ho trovato. Ho trovato invece frequente menzione di tappezzerie o altri oggetti colle armi di Cipro, sole, o unite a quelle di Savoia: cfr. pp. 82-83 (n. 300); p. 88 (n. 356); p. 89 (n. 371); p. 94 (n. 433); p. 107 (n. 613); p. 133 (n. 898); p. 136 (n. 913-14); p. 150 (n. 1023); p. 151 (n. 1032). Drappi “à ouvrage de Chippres”: p. 89 (n. 369, 370, 372); p. 111 (n. 673).

Inoltre, al n. 1053 (p. 153) si trova registrato: “Item en une feuille [.] de papier ung ostz où est escript: *De sancto Ylario confessore et abbate*”. Quest’ultima parte dell’Inventario riguarda gli oggetti d’oro e d’argento, reliquiari, ecc., della Cappella del Duca di Savoia in Torino.⁶³

Gradisca frattanto i più distinti saluti del

Suo devotissimo

Carlo Frati⁶⁴

Poco più di due mesi dopo, invece delle lettere e dei biglietti con informazioni e aggiornamenti bibliografici, Meyer lesse sui giornali – come si diceva in apertura – la notizia dell’incendio della Biblioteca, scrisse «in fretta» la prima, affettuosa lettera del 27 gennaio 1904, alla quale fece seguire, due giorni più tardi e «tristissimo», il telegrafico biglietto relativo alle condizioni dei codici D.v.3, F.III.16 (per fortuna non ancora tornato al suo

60. Cfr. GIANFRANCESCO GALEANI NAPIONE, *Notizia delle antiche biblioteche della Real Casa di Savoia*, «Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino», xxxvi, 1832, p. te 2, pp. 41-62: 44-45.

61. Cfr. PIETRO VAYRA, *Le lettere e le arti alla corte di Savoia nel secolo xv. Inventari dei Castelli di Ciamberi, di Torino e di Ponte d’Ain 1497-98 pubblicati sugli originali inediti*, numero monografico di «Miscellanea di storia italiana», xxii, Torino, Bocca, 1884, p. 46.

62. Oggi F-Pn, lat. 8044. Cfr. tra l’altro KARL KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690: 646-647.

63. Cfr. VAYRA, *Le lettere e le arti alla Corte di Savoia nel secolo xv. Inventari* (pp. come nella lettera).

64. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 17-18.

posto, dopo il rientro dal prestito) e J.II.9 (il cui appellativo «Canzoniere di Anna» era stato nel frattempo corredato da un punto di domanda).

Travolto dalle incombenze successive alla sciagura, Frati trovò il tempo di rispondere rapidamente a Meyer il 4 febbraio, peraltro fornendo notizie solo in parte rassicuranti:

Chiarissimo Professore,
nel dolore che mi opprime per l'irreparabile disastro che ha colpito gli studi, ed anche me in particolare, provo qualche conforto nell'annunziarLe che oggi, in una parziale ricognizione fatta insieme al Conte Cipolla,⁶⁵ ho avuto la fortuna di ritrovare, *quasi intatto*, il codice *D.v.5 (Passioni di martiri, secolo VIII)*, che Ella ha tanto studiato. Non ho invece potuto ritrovare ancora l'altro codice *J.II.9 (Canzoniere di Anna?)*; e senza potere assicurarLa che il prezioso codice sia proprio andato distrutto, è certo che ho per esso deboli speranze, pel posto in cui si trovava lo scaffale molto esposto alle fiamme. Se sarò in seguito più fortunato, non mancherò di avvertirLa. Mi creda colla più alta considerazione
devotissimo
Carlo Frati⁶⁶

«Perdoni la fretta. Scriverò poi più a lungo», aggiunse Frati a lato. Forse non scrisse «più a lungo», ma Meyer certo lo perdonò quando ricevette la successiva cartolina postale, datata 20 febbraio:

Chiarissimo Professore,
una notizia che spero Le farà molto piacere: anche il *Canzoniere di Anna di Cipro (?)* [ms. J.II.9] è salvo. È un po' malconco; ma il testo, così della poesia, come della musica, è tutto leggibile. La Biblioteca però non può prendere, per la comunicazione e lo studio di questi codici recuperati, alcun impegno. Nessun manoscritto potrà esser dato in istudio, finché il riscontro generale dei manoscritti salvati, e di quelli perduti, non sia compiuto. D'altra parte, ogni concessione dipende ormai, non più dalla biblioteca, ma da una Commissione Universitaria presieduta dal Rettore.
Distintissimi saluti dal
suo devotissimo
C. Frati⁶⁷

Come si legge in uno di quegli schedoni amministrativi che danno conto dei numerosi, autorevoli studiosi a vario titolo interessati a J.II.9, il 1° luglio 1904 (unica annotazione relativa al primo decennio del Novecento, fra registrazioni che spaziano dal 1923 agli anni Cinquanta),⁶⁸ il codice

65. Professore di Storia moderna all'Università di Torino dal 1882 al 1906, Carlo Cipolla (1854-1916) curò, insieme a Gaetano De Sanctis e Carlo Frati, il citato *Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*.

66. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 19.

67. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 33: Bl. 20.

68. Al 6 aprile 1923 risalgono ricerche e richieste di informazioni da parte di Guido Adler; il 4 gennaio

«assai danneggiato»⁶⁹ fu affidato per un primo, parziale intervento a Carlo Marrè (1841-1918), già restauratore della Biblioteca Vaticana; il lavoro fu «completato» da Gerardo Chiaravalle (nato nel 1860), un usciere della Biblioteca che fu coinvolto nelle operazioni di recupero e restauro e che restituì il manoscritto il 6 marzo 1912.⁷⁰ Nel frattempo, J.II.9 veniva citato – «Officium S. Hilarionis, et carmina quaedam latina et gallica, cum notis musicis (secolo xv. Miniato)» – con la segnatura provvisoria Lat.A.444 attribuita dopo l'incendio⁷¹ e con il numero cx del catalogo pubblicato da Pasini,⁷² nell'elenco dei *Manoscritti restaurati esclusi dal prestito perché di particolare pregio paleografico o letterario, o scientifico, o storico od artistico*, ascrivibile agli anni 1909-1910.⁷³

A proposito dei danni subiti dal codice e degli interventi più o meno maldestri cui fu sottoposto all'indomani dell'incendio e nei decenni successivi, vale la pena riportare – facendo un balzo in avanti nel tempo – un preventivo di spesa dattiloscritto, datato Torino 10 gennaio 1973 e presentato da Amerigo Bruna (1926-2014), che dal 1950 affiancava la zia Erminia Caudana (1896-1974), impegnata dagli anni Venti in varie campagne di restauro:

I codici membranacei presi in considerazione fanno parte del patrimonio bibliografico danneggiato dal fuoco; fuoco ed acqua di spegnimento trasformarono i codici membranacei in blocchi ferrigni, friabili al minimo urto per l'alterazione della membrana stessa.

I blocchi membranacei provengono dal nucleo dei manoscritti che servirono per

1925 Heinrich Bessler, autore di uno dei primi, fondamentali, contributi su J.II.9, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. 1. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», vii/2, 1925, pp. 167-252, commissionava alcune riproduzioni fotografiche (come risulta da altri schedoni, Bessler consultò il codice il 5 maggio 1924 e il 26 ottobre 1926).

69. Così nell'*Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, p. 464. A seguire si legge però: «tuttavia il testo delle poesie, che rendono questo codice prezioso per i filologi, è in gran parte ancora leggibile».

70. Cfr. inoltre *Manoscritti e libri rari restaurati totalmente o parzialmente dal Sig.r Carlo Marrè dal 1° luglio 1904 al 6 marzo 1912* (I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 255, viibis.C-6); PIERO GIACOSA, *Sui lavori finora fatti nel Laboratorio di Materia Medica della Regia Università per il recupero dei codici danneggiati dall'incendio della Biblioteca del 1904*, «Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino», XLVIII, 1912-1913, pp. 599-605: 604 («Di carte 159, restaurate in parte dal Marrè. Completato il restauro dal Chiaravalle [!]). Il Registro di consegna del materiale da restaurarsi (I-Tn) reca un paio di segnalazioni nell'ambito del periodo considerato: consegna a Marrè [1906] – restituzione 1908 («Ritirato e completato il restauro da Chiaravalle»); consegna a Chiaravalle, 9 maggio – restituzione 1° giugno 1908 («cc. 159. Rese più braghetto»).

71. Queste segnature, entrate in uso fra il 1904 e il 1911 per fornire una collocazione anche ai manoscritti dei quali non si conoscevano le segnature precedenti all'incendio, indicavano la lingua (Gr., Lat., Fr., It.), il tipo di supporto e lo stato di conservazione (A per i manoscritti membranacei, B per i manoscritti cartacei, C per i frammenti membranacei, D per i frammenti cartacei, E per i manoscritti cartacei più recenti), il numero di catena; cfr. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *I fondi medievali della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Guida al fondo manoscritto*, «Pluteus», 2, 1984, pp. 175-194: 184.

72. Cfr. PASINI, *Codices manuscripti*, II, p. 32. Per la segnalazione del codice nei precedenti inventari e cataloghi della Biblioteca cfr. fra l'altro ISABELLA DATA, *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia: le nozze, la Libreria Ducale, il codice franco-cipriota*, studio introduttivo a *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, edizione in facsimile con introduzione a cura di Isabella Data e Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999, pp. 13-23: 21 (nota 36).

73. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 207, iv.PG-2.

i primi esperimenti di recupero e sono perciò intaccati da reagenti chimici, che danneggiarono la struttura della pergamena.

Le parti marginali e quelle più infette dalla microorganizzazione vennero asportate nella prima opera di recupero dal prof. Icilio Guareschi, per salvare le masse stesse, nelle quali introduce [!], con perforazioni, liquidi disinfettanti.⁷⁴

I blocchi membranacei che furono più gravemente colpiti da azione putrefattiva richiesero nell’opera di recupero 1906-1910 l’asportazione meccanica di parti, prima della disinfezione chimica.

Le porzioni delle carte sono molto trasformate per l’alta gradazione calorifera dell’incendio.

La pergamena, contraendosi e restringendosi su sé stessa sotto la azione del fuoco e dell’acqua di spegnimento, si fondette ampiamente in più punti con molteplici incrinature, contemporaneamente all’alterarsi della struttura della pergamena stessa, ed al deformarsi del carattere.

L’umidità dei rifugi antiaerei durante la guerra ha pure agito su detto materiale, che già aveva dovuto sottostare all’azione del fuoco e dell’acqua di spegnimento ed alle varie traversie successive all’incendio del 1904.

Detta umidità ha provocato un risveglio pericoloso della microorganizzazione bianca, con perforazioni di focolai microbici; ed ha causato lo spandersi ed il diluirsi degli inchiostri.

I manoscritti sono mancanti di parti e di carte.

Le segnature che seguono fanno parte del materiale bibliografico di scarto ultimo dalle casse di Icilio Guareschi, comprendente parti e frantumi di blocchi, carte sbrecciate e tolte meccanicamente dai blocchi disciolti.

Blocchi arsi tutt’attorno dal fuoco; abrasi dall’acqua di spegnimento.

Materiale proveniente da esperimenti di altre mani.

Il numero delle carte, parti di carte o frammenti di carte recuperate per ogni segnatura è precisato a lavorazione conclusa.

Dettaglio dei codici membranacei per i quali si prevede di eseguire le operazioni precisate.

J.II.9 Officium S. Hilarius [!]

Membranaceo – carte 158

In lavorazione carte 158 con operazioni di:

- riporti e innesti in pergamena nelle parti mancanti;
- rappezzatura e saturazione delle rotture;
- riporto di nuova dorsatura in pergamena.

Per il codice restaurato:

- legatura in piena pelle con cucitura all’antica.

L. 608.800

[...]⁷⁵

74. Professore di Chimica farmaceutica e tossicologica all’Università di Torino dal 1879, Guareschi (1847-1918) diresse l’Istituto di Chimica farmaceutica fino alla morte. Sul restauro dei codici membranacei danneggiati dall’incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale cfr. ICILIO GUARESCHI, *Osservazioni ed esperienze sul recupero e sul restauro dei codici danneggiati dall’incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, «Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino», s. II, LIV, 1904, pp. 423-458.

75. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 258, vinbis.C-38. Il citato *Registro di consegna del materiale da restaurarsi* (I-Tn) segnala che il codice fu consegnato a Bruna il 10 luglio 1970 e venne restituito il 19 dicembre 1973. Sui danni subiti da J.II.9 e sugli interventi di restauro cfr. *Manoscritti danneggiati nell’incendio del 1904. Mostra di recuperi e restauri*, p. 61: «Danni: il codice subì danni dal fuoco, che lo bruciò sui dorsi e superficialmente

Mentre il codice viveva alterne fortune nelle mani dei restauratori, i rapporti fra Wilhelm Meyer e la Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino si fecero ancora più stretti e amichevoli. Nell’*Elenco dei Privati ed Istituti Italiani e Stranieri cui fu inviato l’Inventario dei Mss.* sopravvissuti all’incendio, quello di Meyer è il primo nome citato fra i «Privati stranieri» (29 agosto 1904).⁷⁶ Come attestano la minuta di una lettera di Carta allo studioso⁷⁷ e i registri d’ingresso della Biblioteca, poi, nei mesi successivi al disastro Meyer e la Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Göttingen (che si costituì «deposito centrale in Germania» per gli autori tedeschi che volessero inviare le loro opere)⁷⁸ cercarono, al pari di centinaia di istituzioni e studiosi di tutto il mondo, di supplire con numerosi doni alle immani perdite subite dalla biblioteca torinese. Così Carlo Frati, subentrato a Francesco Carta nella direzione dal novembre del 1904, scriveva a Meyer il 4 luglio 1905:

Chiarissimo Professore,

sono pervenuti a questa Biblioteca Nazionale i due bei volumi delle Sue “Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik”,⁷⁹ di cui Ella ha voluto farle omaggio, ed io non posso non esprimerLe anche personalmente tutta la mia riconoscenza. Il Suo nome illustre è strettamente legato alla nostra disgraziata

sui margini, e dall’acqua di spegnimento, che fece deteriorare le iniziali decorate e provocò macchie. A causa dell’azione del calore e dell’acqua le pergamene si ridussero di dimensione sulle zone perimetrali, irrigidendosi, deformandosi e bloccandosi tra loro. *Interventi*: allo sbloccaggio dei fogli e ad un primo spianamento (eseguito senza un’appropriata distensione) provvide G. Chiaravalle (1908); la legatura, previa brachettatura dei fogli con ampie strisce di carta, fu eseguita dalla legatoria Carta (1908). Al restauro definitivo – con smontaggio e rimozione dei rattoppi, fissaggio dei colori, ammorbidimento, distensione e spianamento delle pergamene, risarcimento delle lacune e ricostruzione dei bifogli (non corrispondente però alla composizione originale) mediante innesto di pergamena di adeguato spessore, cucitura su corde e confezione della coperta in piena pelle di vitello su assi – si dedicarono E. Caudana ed A. Bruna (1970-73)». Sull’intervento della Legatoria Carta si veda ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Il codice franco-cipriota J.II.9 e le vicende del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in *Miscellanea di studi 4*, a cura di Isabella Data, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi – Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1996, pp. 7-12: 11 («gli fu applicata una coperta in mezza pelle (di qualità scadente) e carta imitante la radica, su piatti in cartone»). Su alcuni dei restauratori citati cfr. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Erminia Caudana, restauratrice di manoscritti, il suo maestro Carlo Marrè e l’allievo Amerigo Bruna*, «Studi piemontesi», XLV/1, giugno 2016, pp. 131-144.

76. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 113, III.C-7 (si tratta del citato *Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*).

77. Minuta datata Torino 23 giugno 1904 e vergata sul verso di una delle carte in cui Meyer elencò le proprie pubblicazioni per rendere possibile alla Biblioteca Nazionale il riscontro con i titoli posseduti o andati distrutti nell’incendio («Carissimo Amico, come rileverà dalla nota la Biblioteca non possiede che due sole sue scritture. Ella quindi si regoli e grazie vivissime dal Suo aff.mo F. Carta»); reperita in I-Tn, Misc. leg. 20/30 H, volume in cui sono legati vari estratti donati da Meyer alla biblioteca torinese.

78. I-Tn, Archivio Storico, fald. 301, VIII.B-3, *Allegato G. Doni ed offerte alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino (1° febbraio 1904 - 31 maggio 1904)*. Cfr. anche GORRINI, *L’incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, p. 250: «Più ancora si prepara a fare la Biblioteca universitaria di Göttinga che, analogamente a quanto avrebbe già proposto il Direttore della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi, ha istituito nella sua sede un deposito centrale per riunirvi le opere che da tutta la Germania si vorranno offrire in dono alla Biblioteca di Torino: opportunissima iniziativa, poiché in Germania (come in Francia) molti scrittori attendono appunto tale designazione per farvi invii, non riuscendo a tutti agevole di consegnare le proprie opere ai corrispondenti delle varie case librarie».

79. Cfr. i primi due volumi di MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, pubblicati nel 1905.

biblioteca, di cui Ella ha illustrato dottamente alcuni cimeli, ora, se non perduti, gravemente danneggiati; e perciò ogni cosa Sua ci riesce (ed a me in particolar modo) sommamente gradita.

Nella speranza di rivederLa qualche volta a Torino, mi è grato ripetermi con antica immutabile devozione ed affetto

Suo devotissimo

C. Frati⁸⁰

Fra i doni dello studioso merita una particolare segnalazione quello di un manoscritto cartaceo – ora segnato R.v.3 – risalente ai decenni a cavallo dei secoli xv-xvi e contenente frammenti dei registri di conti di due legatori di libri e mercanti di carta a Sulmona (AQ): frammenti acquistati da Meyer presso un antiquario a Francoforte nel giugno del 1904, come si legge in un’annotazione autografa su uno di essi, e inviati alla Biblioteca nei mesi successivi. Non senza qualche intoppo, stando a una lettera data-ta Göttingen 15 agosto 1905:

Carissimo Amico!

Cercando le tracce dell’infelice pacco posso comunicarLe questo: il commissario del Clausen⁸¹ in Leipzig, Carl Fr. *Fleischer*, ha scritto 4/8 1905 alla nostra libreria Deuerlich “Ich beförderte im Frachtballen no 5 am vom 23. Sept. 1904 einem *Beischluss* von Ihnen an Herrn Carl Clausen’s Hofbuchhandlung in Turin”. Il Clausen ha naturalmente ricevuto questo grande “Frachtballen no 5”, dunque ha ricevuto anche questo pacco aggiunto (Beischluss) della libreria Deuerlich, cioè il mio piccolo pacco in 4^o majori (circa 20 dissertazioni di me ed [!]) circa 60 fogli di un manoscritto in carta a. 1470-1540). Il Clausen troverà in che giorno ha ricevuto questo pacco grande.

Dunque mio pacco piccolo giace o in nel magazzino di ~~Loescher~~ Clausen o è nascosto nella Sua biblioteca.

È soltanto per il manoscritto, che faccio queste istanze.

Io stesso debbo il 25 di agosto partire con mia cognata per Selinunte. Calda sarà la passeggiata.

Verso il 24 di ottobre spero essere ritornato, se lo concedono i Calabresi e Siculi.

Con tanti saluti

Suo devotissimo

Wilhelm Meyer

80. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 2: 29.

81. Karl (Carlo) Clausen (1838-1902), al quale nel 1887 Hermann (Ermanno) Loescher (1831-1892) aveva ceduto la sua libreria, punto di riferimento anche per l’acquisto di musica a stampa (cfr. GIUSEPPE DEPANIS, *I Concerti Popolari ed il Teatro Regio di Torino...*, 2 voll., Torino, Società Tipografico-Editrice Nazionale, 1914-15, I, 1914, p. 65: «Gli anziani ricordano che le Sonate di Mozart e di Beethoven non erano merce accreditata nei negozi di musica torinesi; Muzio Clementi, gloria nostra, lo si ignorava; classici e romantici si equivalevano, messi a catafascio sulla stessa riga. E quando per merito di alcuni insegnanti, fra questi Carlo Rossaro, il gusto accennò a modificarsi, ci volle l’intraprendenza di un tedesco, venutoci quale commesso di libreria, per scuotere la neghittosità dei negozianti di musica locali e per diffondere le edizioni a buon mercato del Peters e del Litloff. Dai classici musicali appaiati ai classici latini e greci nella stretta e lunga botteguccia di via Carlo Alberto trasse le sue origini la fortuna editoriale e libraria di Ermanno Loescher»).

Circa 12 settembre spero di essere a Messina. Forse, se il pacco è trovato, mi manderà una cartolina per fermo in posta?⁸²

Cinque giorni più tardi il manoscritto donato da Meyer, probabilmente «nascosto» in biblioteca, ricevette infine un numero d’ingresso (55538) e un valore attribuito di venti lire.⁸³

Il disagio non dovette guastare i rapporti fra Meyer e Frati, peraltro prossimo al trasferimento alla Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia; allo stato attuale della ricerca, tuttavia, non sono emerse attestazioni di ulteriori scambi epistolari e manifestazioni di interesse per J.II.9 o altri codici. Una cartolina postale, datata Modena 15 agosto 1907 e conservata da Meyer fra i propri documenti, testimonia invece il legame mantenuto con l’ex direttore della Nazionale di Torino (all’epoca direttore della Biblioteca Estense), Francesco Carta, evidentemente al corrente delle frequentazioni del corrispondente tedesco e di un suo imminente viaggio in Spagna:

Illustre Amico,

finora non ho visto il Mercati,⁸⁴ sebbene abbia qui alcuni codici per lui, né so se Egli sia in Italia. Spero che Egli mi porterà sue buone notizie, perché credo che Ella e la Cognata non andranno in Ispagna prima dell’ottobre a cagione del caldo. Buona fortuna, cioè, buone scoperte.

Vorrei farle una preghiera. La mia Biblioteca sarebbe orgogliosa di possedere una *collezione completa* di tutte le sue pubblicazioni. Se Ella potesse formarla, prima o dopo l’andata in Ispagna, mi farebbe piacere. Ella può consegnare la collezione ad un libraio di Gottinga perché la spedisca con la fattura alla *Ditta Vincenzi e Nipoti, Modena* (Italia) e si spedirà subito il prezzo segnato nella fattura. So di far cosa grata a due studiosi, il prof. Bertoni ed il prof. Patetta.⁸⁵ Mille cordiali saluti dal suo affezionatissimo

F. Carta⁸⁶

L’anno successivo Meyer fu eletto (35 voti), con Paul Fridolin Kehr (34 voti), a socio straniero nella Categoria III – Storia e Geografia storica (Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche) dell’Accademia dei Lincei.⁸⁷ Il 26 luglio manifestò al senatore Pietro Blaserna, presidente

82. I-Bea, Fondo Carlo Frati, *Carteggio*, cart. xviii, n. 12.

83. Cfr. il registro d’ingresso in I-Tn, Archivio Storico, f.f., viii.B-13. Il manoscritto (citato anche in I-Tn, *Antichi inventari*, 94, 1905, n. 55538) è in corso di edizione a cura di Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone.

84. Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (1877-1963), bizantinista e filologo classico, che nel triennio 1907-1909 studiò in Germania, fra l’altro a Göttingen con Meyer. Sue lettere sono conservate alla Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek della città tedesca; cfr. il ricordato inventario *Nachlaß Wilhelm Meyer, Klassischer Philologe, Mediaevist, Prof. in Göttingen (1845-1917)*, p. 26.

85. Giulio Bertoni (1878-1942), linguista, filologo e critico letterario, e Federico Patetta (1867-1945), storico del diritto.

86. D-Gs, Cod. Ms. W. Meyer 1: 101.

87. Nella stessa categoria concorsero, senza essere eletti, Robert Davidsohn (6 voti), Carl Bildt (5 voti),

dell'Accademia, la più viva gratitudine per l'«onore straordinario» che gli era stato tributato e promise che, «come nel passato, così nell'avvenire» si sarebbe sforzato «di contribuire al progresso della Scienza». Nella presentazione della candidatura, prima di un nutrito elenco delle sue pubblicazioni, si legge: «Meyer aus Speyer Dr. Wilhelm, professore di filologia classica e medioevale già nella Università di Monaco in Baviera, ora in quella di Gottinga. Socio ordinario della R. Accademia di Monaco e della R. Società delle scienze di Gottinga e di altri primari istituti, cominciò la sua carriera scientifica nel 1872 con lo studio: *Ueber den lateinischen Text der Geschichte des Apollonius von Tyr*, e da allora la sua attività non s'è mai rallentata, esercitandosi di continuo intorno a problemi fra i più ardui che presenta la storia del medioevo nelle sue fonti, nelle sue tradizioni, nelle sue forme letterarie, nella paleografia. Oggi egli è il più alto rappresentante, in Germania, degli stessi studi in cui si resero già cotanto benemeriti W. von Wattenbach, E. Dümmler, L. Traube, tutti appartenuti alla categoria di storia di questa Accademia».⁸⁸

Annarita Colturato - Alberto Rizzuti

Wilhelm Meyer e gli studi sul codice J.II.9: cronologia delle lettere e dei documenti (1902-1904)

La 'scoperta' e le fasi iniziali delle indagini scientifiche su J.II.9 sono documentate in modo significativo, ancorché non esauriente, dalle carte conservate alla Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Göttingen (Nachlaß Wilhelm Meyer), alla Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna (Fondo Carlo Frati) e alla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Una cronologia dei carteggi intrattenuti da Wilhelm Meyer fra il settembre del 1902 e il febbraio del 1904 con diversi colleghi – Francesco Carta, Heinrich Denifle, Carlo Frati, Franz Xaver Haberl, Friedrich Ludwig – è proposta nella tabella seguente. Le lettere di Meyer note indirettamente ma sino a oggi non rintracciate sono indicate in neretto; per la collocazione dei singoli documenti si rimanda ai contributi di ALBERTO RIZZUTI, *Four Angels and a Coat of Arms. The Case of the Manuscript I-Tn, J.II.9*, e di ANNARITA COLTURATO, *La 'scoperta' del codice J.II.9: Wilhelm Meyer alla Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, rispettivamente alle pp. 13-76 e 77-102 di questo volume.

Achille Luchaire (1 voto) e Horatio Brown (1 voto). Nella Categoria 1 – Filologia, il 1908 vide eletti Girolamo Vitelli (socio nazionale), Alfonso Nallino e Francesco Novati (soci corrispondenti). Cfr. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei – Archivio Storico, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Tit. 4, Elezioni, B 11, fasc. 38, 1908.

88. *Ibidem*.

Grazie di cuore al dott. Fabio Uliana, responsabile della Sala Manoscritti e Rari della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, e a tutto il personale della Sala, per la consueta, generosa disponibilità e la preziosa collaborazione. Grazie a quanti, nelle altre istituzioni coinvolte nella ricerca, si sono prodigati per renderla più agevole: *in primis* al dott. Christian Fieseler e alla dott.ssa Bärbel Mund della Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Göttingen; inoltre alle dott.sse Elisa Rebellato, Maria Grazia Bollini e Patrizia Busi della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna; alla dott.ssa Maria Elisa Agostino della Biblioteca Estense di Modena; alla dott.ssa Luisa Gentile dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino. Grazie, ancora, alla dott.ssa Chiara Rosso, al prof. Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone e agli amici Claudio Di Lascio, Gustavo Malvezzi e Clelia Parvopassu per le informazioni e gli indispensabili suggerimenti.

Legenda

CF = Carlo Frati (1863-1930)
 FC = Francesco Carta (1847-1940)
 FL = Friedrich Ludwig (1872-1930)
 FXH = Franz Xaver Haberl (1840-1910)
 HD = Heinrich Denifle (1844-1905)
 RMR = Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl (1880-1936)
 WM = Wilhelm Meyer (1845-1917)

Mittente	Destinatario	Luogo	Data	Note
WM	«Rudi» [RMR?]	Torino	26-9-1902	WM, a Torino per studiare alcuni codici della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, comunica a un non meglio identificato «Lieber Rudi» (forse il figlio Rudolf?) di aver consultato, quel giorno, il codice J.II.9 e trascrive <i>incipit</i> e porzioni di testo di mottetti e <i>ballades</i> francesi. Lascia come recapito torinese per le urgenze quello di via Principe Amedeo 26, III piano («Signora De Giulia»).
WM	HD	Torino	6-10-1902	WM scrive al teologo per un confronto sulla possibile attribuzione dell'arma presente a c. 1 ^r di J.II.9, sull'Ufficio di s. Ilarione in apertura di codice e sul «Macario» citato nel <i>tripulum</i> del mottetto <i>Gemma florens / Hec est dies</i> (cc. 65 ^v -66 ^r).
HD	WM	Roma	11-10-1902	HD esclude che l'arma abbia a che fare con Cipro o con la famiglia Lusignano e fornisce alcune informazioni sull'Ufficio di s. Ilarione e su s. Macario.
HD	WM	Roma	12-10-1902	Ancora sul culto di s. Macario, in particolare in Francia.
WM	CF	Torino	16-10-1902	WM è dispiaciuto di non aver avuto modo di congedarsi dal bibliotecario della Biblioteca Nazionale nell'ultimo giorno di studio prima della partenza da Torino.
FC	WM	Torino	5-11-1902	Il direttore della Biblioteca Nazionale (con cui WM ha rapporti epistolari almeno dall'anno precedente, in relazione al codice D.v.3) si scusa per non aver potuto salutare lo studioso prima della sua partenza da Torino. Ringrazia WM per il dono dell'articolo <i>Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci</i> (1902).
WM	CF	Göttingen	11-11-1902	WM invia un'ulteriore copia di <i>Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci</i> (1902) e segnala l'uscita del vol. IV (<i>Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici</i>) dei <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum</i> (1902). Scriverà per avere altre notizie sul frammento 9 del codice F.IV.1 della biblioteca torinese (studiato durante il soggiorno di settembre-ottobre a Torino).
CF	WM	Torino	13-11-1902	Anche CF è dispiaciuto di non essere riuscito a salutare WM prima della sua partenza da Torino. Ringrazia a sua volta per il dono di <i>Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci</i> (1902). Comunica che il vol. IV (<i>Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici</i>) dei <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum</i> (1902) è già arrivato in biblioteca.
WM	FL	[Göttingen?]	[ante 25-11-1902]	WM informa FL della scoperta di J.II.9.
FL	WM	Potsdam	25-11-1902	Informato della scoperta di J.II.9, FL attende «mit Spannung» una sua descrizione.
WM	FL	[Göttingen?]	[ante 10-1-1903]	WM prospetta a FL l'ipotesi che l'arma a c. 1 ^r di J.II.9 possa appartenere alla famiglia del compositore Gilles Binchois.
FL	WM	Potsdam	10-1-1903	FL non ha idea di un'arma gentilizia della famiglia di Binchois, né trova notizie su quella della famiglia di Du Fay in Haberl, <i>Wilhelm du Fay</i> (1885): «so kenne ich überhaupt kein Musikerwappen der damaligen Zeit».
WM	FC	[Göttingen?]	[ante 12-1-1903]	In vista della pubblicazione dell'articolo <i>Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie</i> (1903), WM invia alcune trascrizioni del frammento 9 di F.IV.1 perché siano verificate sul codice e con l'edizione dell'Antifonario di Bangor curata da F. E. Warren (1893-1895).
FC	WM	Torino	12-1-1903	La Biblioteca Nazionale è ancora in attesa di ricevere l'edizione dell'Antifonario di Bangor. La verifica delle trascrizioni inviate da WM con il frammento 9 di F.IV.1 ha avuto esito ampiamente positivo.

WM	FXH	[Göttingen?]	18-4-1903	WM chiede informazioni su Du Fay.
WM		[Göttingen?]	19-4-1903	Appunti sulla possibile attribuzione dell'arma a Binchois e ipotesi sull'origine e la paternità delle composizioni trasmesse da J.II.9, raccolta («für die Kapelle und für die Salons: geistliche und weltliche Gesangstücke») presumibilmente realizzata alla corte sabauda.
WM	FXH	[Göttingen?]	20-4-1903	WM chiede nuovamente informazioni su Du Fay.
WM	FC	[Göttingen?]	[20-4-1903]	WM comunica di essersi rivolto al suo ministero per ottenere in prestito a Göttingen F.III.16 della biblioteca torinese. Sta studiando J.II.9 (varie sull'Ufficio di s. Anna, sull'attribuzione dell'arma a Binchois, l'origine e la funzione del codice, «il libro da cantare per la corte della duchessa Anna»). Una seconda lettera con la stessa data ad oggi non reperita.
FC	WM	Torino	25-4-1903	FC respinge l'ipotesi di attribuzione a Binchois dell'arma a c. 1 ^r di J.II.9. Varie su Du Fay, Anna di Cipro («non è dubbio che [...] debba aver avuto, comunque, una parte importante nella composizione del codice torinese») ecc. Ancora sul prestito di F.III.16.
FXH	WM	Regensburg	30-4-1903	Risponde alle due lettere scrittegli da WM il 18 e il 20-4-1903. Accenna all'eventualità della presenza di J.II.9 fra i manoscritti esposti a Torino nel 1898, in occasione delle celebrazioni per il 50° anniversario della promulgazione dello Statuto albertino.
WM	FC	[Göttingen?]	[fine aprile 1903?]	Abbozzo di una risposta alla lettera di FC del 25-4-1903. Ancora sull'origine e la funzione di J.II.9 («il libro è fatto con uno e un certo consiglio: il canzoniere della Anna») e sull'arma.
FL	WM	Potsdam	24-6-1903	FL annuncia la sua intenzione di recarsi in varie biblioteche dell'Italia settentrionale nella seconda metà di agosto. Accenna alla possibilità di una rapida visita a Torino, «zunächst um die von Ihnen gefundene Motetten-Balladen-Handschrift einmal kurz zu sehen».
WM	FL	[Göttingen?]	[ante 26-6-1903]	WM scrive la lettera a cui FL risponde il 26-6-1903.
FL	WM	Potsdam	26-6-1903	FL intende approntare durante l'ispezione su J.II.9 un incipitario musico-testuale.
WM	FL	[Göttingen?]	[ante 29-6-1903]	WM scrive la lettera a cui FL risponde il 29-6-1903, ringraziandolo per l'invio di una sua non meglio specificata pubblicazione.
FL	WM	Potsdam	29-6-1903	FL conferma la propria disponibilità ad approntare un incipitario musico-testuale di J.II.9 e a condividere le informazioni.
WM	FL	[?]	[ante 28-8-1903]	WM scrive la cartolina a cui FL risponde il 28-8-1903.
FL	WM	Modena	28-8-1903	Rapida descrizione di J.II.9, fascicolo per fascicolo, dopo l'ispezione appena compiuta alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino.
WM		Torino	4-9-1903	Appunti di WM. Trascrizione della c. 1 ^r di J.II.9 con osservazioni sull'arma e sull'Ufficio di s. Ilarione.
CF	WM	Torino	10-11-1903	CF informa WM di un manoscritto trecentesco (oggi F-Pn, lat. 8044) inventariato nel 1498 nella biblioteca dei duchi di Savoia, al Castello di Chambéry, e recante a c. 1 l'arma della famiglia Lusignano di Cipro.
FL	WM	Potsdam	17-11-1903	FL descrive in dettaglio J.II.9 facendo riferimento anche ad altre fonti. Esclude, attribuendone la paternità in modo generico a compositori della generazione precedente, che i pezzi polifonici possano essere opera di Binchois o di Du Fay.
		Torino	25/26-1-1904	Incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.
WM	CF	Göttingen	27-1-1904	Allarmato dalle notizie sull'incendio, WM chiede a CF di inviargli qualche giornale torinese.
WM	CF	Göttingen	29-1-1904	Sempre più allarmato, WM chiede a CF notizie dei codici D.v.3, F.III.16 e J.II.9, «Il Canzoniere (di Anna?)».
CF	WM	Torino	4-2-1904	CF risponde a WM che D.v.3 è stato ritrovato in buone condizioni, mentre di J.II.9 («Canzoniere di Anna?») non ci sono notizie. Non cita F.III.16, che il 18 dicembre 1903 WM aveva spedito a Berlino dopo averlo ottenuto in prestito a Göttingen e che non era stato ancora ricollocato.
CF	WM	Torino	20-2-1904	CF comunica a WM di aver ritrovato J.II.9, «Canzoniere di Anna di Cipro (?)», in condizioni relativamente buone.

Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone*

Per la biblioteca dei Beggiamo: fantasmi e realtà

L'appartenenza *ab antiquo* alle collezioni sabaude del manoscritto I.11.9 della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino¹ è stata confutata per iscritto nel 2009² nel quadro di una revisione delle tradizionali attribuzioni di codici alle biblioteche sabaude medievali.³ Ma d'altra parte nella prima descrizione di cui disponiamo, di Giuseppe Pasini,⁴ si segnala la sontuosità del manoscritto («auro circumquaque elegantissime pictus»), la presenza di musica nell'Ufficio di sant'Illarione («ad musicos modos aptatum»), un foglio contenente una copia («exemplar») di una lettera con cui l'antipapa Giovanni xxiii in data 25 novembre 1413 approva tale Ufficio, seguito da un antifonario e un graduale ecclesiastico notato

* Un ringraziamento particolare a Luisa Gentile e Pierandrea Martina per aspetti araldici, e a Lucia Fontanella per dati interpretativi.

1. Preferisco al momento la forma I alla forma J per ragioni scientifiche riassumibili come segue. Le fonti antiche oscillano, ma è una oscillazione puramente formale: non esistono serie di segnature con I contrapposte a serie di segnature con J. Di per sé le due forme corrispondono indifferentemente alla nona lettera dell'alfabeto; la decima è, di norma, la K. Di conseguenza si potrebbero indifferentemente usare le due forme, ma due o tre ragioni si oppongono. Il primo catalogo a stampa, GIUSEPPE PASINI, *Codices manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti, & binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima Hebraei, & Graeci, in altera Latini, Italici, & Gallici...*, 2 voll., Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1749, che usa per le segnature soltanto le forme minuscole (i e non j); in secondo luogo la forma “J”, che pure è stata usata, sin dal catalogo di Francesco Domenico Bencini (*Indice de' libri manoscritti ebraici, greci, latini*, 1732, manoscritto, in fotocopia presso la sala manoscritti di I-Tn, segnatura E.I.9), autore a cui il *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-) dedica una voce a firma di Guido Quazza (*Bencini, Francesco Domenico*, 8, 1966, pp. 204-207: [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-domenico-bencini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-domenico-bencini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); ultimo accesso 10 gennaio 2024), è nella sostanza una “I” ornata; infine l'uso della forma “J”, ha diffuso la dizione, che trovo poco congrua – e personalmente un po' fastidiosa – “gei”. Sull'altro piatto della bilancia sta il fatto che il secondo elemento delle segnature è un numero romano, che genera serie sgradevoli, del tipo I.III.I: “i terzo uno”, ma come escludere “primo terzo uno” o “primo terzo primo”? (È fastidioso, ma ad esempio il fondo principale della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze ha da sempre la serie di due romani ordinali).

2. ALESSANDRO VITALE-BROVARONE, *Manoscritti di area saluzzese nell'ultimo Medioevo*, in *San Giovanni di Saluzzo. Settecento anni di storia*, atti del convegno (Saluzzo, 21-22 aprile 2007), a cura di Rinaldo Comba, Cuneo, Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della Provincia di Cuneo, 2009, pp. 133-148: 134.

3. Id., “*Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt?*” *Opinions et documents concernant quelques manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin*, in “*Quant l'ung amy pour l'autre veille*”. *Mélanges de Moyen Français offerts à Claude Thiry*, a cura di Tania van Hemelryck e Maria Colombo Timelli, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 449-462; ma già nella sostanza Id., *Diffusione e testi letterari francesi nel Piemonte fra '400 e '500*, in *Histoire linguistique de la Vallée d'Aoste du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle*, actes du séminaire (Saint-Pierre, 16-18 mai 1985), a cura del Centre d'études francoprovençales René Willien, Aoste, Région autonome de la Vallée d'Aoste, 1985, pp. 132-177.

4. PASINI, *Codices manuscriptorum*, II, p. 32, cx.

(«cum notis musicis»), in latino e francese («Latino et gallico sermone exaratum»). In linea di massima i manoscritti registrati da Pasini si trovavano già nella biblioteca ducale; nel caso dei manoscritti liturgici – ed anche di quelli scientifici – i cataloghi mostrano certe lacunosità, o anche genericità descrittive, che non consentono di accertare presenze o assenze. Si noti che in presenza di stemmi sabaudi Pasini ne dà sempre comunicazione, atteggiamento che è naturale in un momento fondativo dell'istituzione; vero è che in un tempo relativamente breve si erano realizzati altri momenti di fondazione, con l'inventario del protomedico Giulio Torrini (1659),⁵ dell'*Index* di Philibert-Marie Machet (1713)⁶ e del catalogo del summenzionato Francesco Domenico Bencini (1732), ma il catalogo di Pasini è il primo che consente lo studio dei manoscritti della biblioteca anche in luoghi diversi da Torino; del significato di questa operazione è testimone anche la somiglianza delle pagine di frontespizio, per esempio quelle del *Catalogus codicum manuseriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*.⁷

Pasini rileva che il destinatario del provvedimento dell'antipapa Giovanni XXIII è Giano di Lusignano, re di Cipro (1375-1432), che ne aveva fatto richiesta; nota la presenza di una parte musicale, mentre non segnala alcun riferimento alla principessa Anna, così come non rileva alcun richiamo sabardo, che collegherebbe il manoscritto al regio committente del suo catalogo. Ci si potrebbe chiedere perché Pasini non faccia riferimento agli stemmi della famiglia Beggiamo (argomento su cui si veda nel presente volume il contributo di Alberto Rizzuti); ma in realtà nel corso del suo catalogo Pasini non mostra interesse per la committenza di altre famiglie locali benché uno stemma (blasonabile in francese «d'or, à trois bandes bretessées de gueules»; in italiano «d'oro, a tre bande rosse doppiomerlate», oppure «Di rosso, a tre bande d'oro doppiomerlate») si ripeta quattro volte alla c. 1^r di I.II.9, oggi ancora visibile e al tempo di Pasini certamente ben chiaro.

Lo stemma corrisponde a quello di una famiglia saviglianese importante il cui palazzo torinese distava poche centinaia di metri dalla Biblioteca. Certamente l'arma della famiglia Beggiamo doveva essere ben familiare a Pasini.

Può essere utile esplorare alcuni dati collaterali, che però ci aiutano a prospettare una collocazione del manoscritto I.II.9 in prossimità della famiglia

5. I-Ta, Corte, Gioie e mobili, mazzo 5 d'addizione, n. 30: GIULIO TORRINI, *Recognitione ossia inventario de libri ritrouati nelle guardarobbe della Galleria di S.A.R.le* [...], 1659.

6. I-Tn, ms. R.I.5: PHILIBERT-MARIE MACHET, *Index alphabetique des livres qui se trouvent en la Bibliothèque Royale de Turin en cette année 1713* [...].

7. *Catalogus codicum manuseriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 4 voll., Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1739-1744.

Beggiamo. Premettiamo che si tratta di una prospezione ma non di un dato positivo; né si nasconderà che le argomentazioni per verisimiglianza rischiano di attribuire autorevolezza – proprio a causa della verisimiglianza – a proposizioni che non corrispondono alla realtà dei fatti.

Partiamo dal constatare che pur non avendo, allo stato attuale delle ricerche, indicazioni sull'esistenza di cataloghi della biblioteca della famiglia Beggiamo, tuttavia abbiamo almeno tre manoscritti riferibili alla famiglia, in specifico a un suo esponente, ed un incunabolo riferibile a un altro suo esponente. Vediamo i casi.

In primo luogo il manoscritto E.v.4, di cui do, come nel caso degli altri due, descrizione compiuta:

E.v.4

OGERIUS DE LUCEDIO, *Tractatus in laudibus sanctae Dei genitricis*, cc. 1^r-68^v, con indice di mano del xv sec., cc. 69^{r-v}, incipit: *Cum de verbo vite aduerserit*, c. 70 bianca rigata; OGERIUS DE LUCEDIO, *Expositio super evangelium in cena Domini*, cc. 71-141, incipit: *Paschalibus dapibus esuriens. Brevissima Ratio Pasche*, c. 142^v: *Racio paschalis utilis et brevis. Post martyris nonas ubi luna prima notatur / Domini tertia Pascha datur.*

Membranaceo; sec. XIII; II + 142 + II^r cc.; 219 × 156 mm; a piena pagina; 23 righe. Numerazione araba quattrocentesca a penna in alto a destra. Specchio di rigatura 13-161-45 × 14-108-34 mm; scrittura sotto la prima riga. Fascicoli prevalentemente 4+4; richiami orizzontali in basso a destra. Poche iniziali semplici. Due grandi iniziali ornate, cc. 1^r e 71^r. Testi guida per le rubriche talora visibili verticalmente nei margini.

Legatura di restauro in mezza pelle e carta finto legno su cartone; sul dorso: *Ogerio / Tractatus / de / laudibus / sanctae / Dei / Genitricis*. Tracce della legatura antica visibili nelle cc. estreme. Piatto anteriore di legatura antica (sec. XVIII), piena pelle su cartone, *ex-libris* della Biblioteca, conservati a parte. Due bindelle. Tracce di fermagli.

Notabilia.

c. 1^r: *Ex libris beatae Mariae de Stapharda*. c. 16^v: nota marginale firmata *Begamus* (*Bezamus?*, che vale per Beggiamo, con mano di Balthasar Begiamus), 159.

La nota si riferisce al seguente passo: *Novi hominem ante quatuordecim annos scabiosum in pelle, leprosum in carne, multum male habentem, quem morbus continuus et acutus nimis vexabat, et ei cottidie mortem minabatur eternam... ..* postillato di mano di Beggiamo: *Ecce venerabilis auctor sub figura curationis leprosi et recuset suam conversionem. Bezamus 91 xbris.*

c. 32^v: nota marginale firmata *Bezamus 1591* simile alla precedente: *O sponsa Christi, cum tu monache matris Altissimi qui in sorte ordinis Marie venisti, cui religionis Cysterciensis totus consecratus est ordo, con a margine: Nota. Ecce quomodo ordo noster vocetur Mariae ordo et ut credo inde dicitur Mariae quod sit primus ordo dedicatus in honorem Mariae. Bezamus 91 xbris.*

c. 69^v: giunta a margine *De conversione presentis auctoris sub figura conversionis a lepra. Bezamus. 1591 xbris.* c. 142^v: *Liber sancte Marie de Stapharda.*

Bibliografia

MACHET, *Index*, col. XXIV, n. 87, p. 421 (1713); BENCINI, *Indice*, E.I.9, c. 292^v;

PASINI, *Codices manuscripti*, lat. DCCLXI, e.I.9, pp. 249-250; *Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, a cura di Carlo Cipolla, Gaetano De Sanctis e Carlo Frati, «Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica», XXXII, 3, 1904, pp. 585-588, n. 78, p. 446, Staff. 11; FRANCESCO COSENTINI, *Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, Firenze, Olschki, 1922,

n. 744, p. 76; CARLA BERARDI VARVELLO, *I manoscritti di Staffarda conservati nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, «Bollettino della Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo», 60, 1969, pp. 49-50, 52; COSTANZA SEGRE MONTEL, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, I: *I manoscritti latini dal VII alla metà del XIII secolo*, Torino, Molfese, 1980, n. 34, p. 119.

Con interessanti analogie un manoscritto totalmente diverso, probabilmente posseduto e letto con mentalità alchemica cinquecentesca, sempre appartenuto o riferito allo stesso Baldassarre Beggiamo:

E.vi.9

Latino, italiano, ebraico.
[ODO DE MORIMONDO], *Analectica numerorum et rerum*, incipit: *Velle [adiacet] michi numerorum*
Membranaceo; sec. XIII; cc. I + 119 + r^o; 142 × 113 mm; piena pagina; 34 righe. Numerazione araba sei-settecentesca a penna in alto a destra; numerazione araba moderna a matita in basso al centro. Specchio di rigatura: 16-109-22 × 10-80-13 mm. Scrittura sopra la prima riga. Fascicoli non rilevabili. Molte iniziali semplici, talvolta appena ornate.
Legatura di restauro in mezza pergamena e carta finta radica su cartone. Tracce di legatura antica all'ultima c. Sul dorso: *De mystica / significatione / numerorum*. Piatto anteriore di legatura antica (sec. XV), *ex-libris* della Biblioteca, conservati a parte.
Poche iniziali ornate; molte iniziali semplici. Indici di capitolo alle suddivisioni principali.
c. 1^o: *Dopnus Paulus [...] de [...] prior Stapharde. 1564*.
c. 117^o: *Frater Balthassar Beggiamus Saviglianensis monachus Staphardensis* (analogamente c. 66^o). La stessa mano a c. 63^o scrive: *Ille non est verus Christianus*

qui non imitatur vestigia Christi.
c. 119^o: *Iste liber est mey Boneti de Lans.*
La lettura non è molto chiara; Lanzo è fuori mano, e poi si aspetterebbe *de Lanceo*. La lettura *de Latis* ci porterebbe ad una situazione di tipo «*Boneti de Latis*», «*di Bonetto di Lattes*», personaggio ben noto, che sarebbe da tener presente in relazione con le scritte in ebraico e con il contenuto del manoscritto. Ma questa ipotesi deve ancora essere valutata.
c. 119^o, di mano seicentesca: *Figure de la tera ... et similitudene de l'ar... e l'ordine del corso de pianeti e stel... de ...chare figliolo d...e spagnolo*
Note in ebraico in fine, cc. 118^r, 119^o.
Danni da fuoco sui margini superiori e interni per le prime e le ultime carte. Correlato con E.v.4 e H.v.25.

Bibliografia

MACHET, *Index*, col. XXIV, n. 132, p. 416; BENCINI, *Indice*, L.I.4, c. 607^r; PASINI, *Codices manuscripti*, lat. MCLXXIX, L.I.4, p. 401; CIPOLLA-DE SANCTIS-FRATI, *Inventario*, n. 570, p. 506, Lat.A.145; COSENTINI, *Inventario*, n. 796, p. 82; SEGRE MONTEL, *I manoscritti*, I, n. 122, p. 112 e p. 159, nota 427.

Ancora a Baldassarre Beggiamo si riferisce il manoscritto H.v.25 (Fig. 1, p. 114) di cui do analogamente la descrizione; do anche un piccolo *corpus* di glosse volgari che, in attesa di uno studio che tratti debitamente gli aspetti linguistici specifici, contentandoci per ora di una vista d'assieme, aiutano a riferire il manoscritto all'area saluzzese-monregalese. Vedremo cosa questo elemento comporti:

H.v.25

composito: A) cc. 1-48; B) cc. 49-71.
Latino, italiano?

A) HUGOLINUS PISANI (DE PISA), [*Philogenia*] cc. 1-48^r, acefalo, incipit: *Quid igitur das consilii* (incipit PASINI: *Philogemam cum amaret Epipheba ... Vere passum hoc dicere, mi Nicomi*);
B) PERSIUS, *Saturarum liber*, cc. 49^r-71^r.
Cart.; I + 71 + r^o cc.; 198 × 115 mm; a piena pagina, su 18 righe.
Fascicoli: A) 8+8, con richiami nel margine basso al centro entro un cartiglio ornato; B) 4+4 Filigrane non utilmente rilevabili. Specchio di rigatura: 19-122-56 × 11-80-25 mm.

c. 49^r ornata a motivi vegetali, con uso d'oro; miniatura (più propriamente acquerello), con l'autore (Persio) e, nel margine destro, una scena che rappresenta un chierico (Persio, o il maestro), seduto ai piedi di un albero che una scure sembra tagliare; e poco sotto un carnivoro che strozza un'anatra (Renart?); un piccolo scoiattolo che sale lungo il tronco.
La c. 1 originaria doveva probabilmente essere decorata. Nella c. 38^r compare un riquadro decorato con personaggi umani. Manca la c. 1, il cui posto è stato preso da una c. di guardia antica.

Poche *manicule*. Molte glosse interlineari, soltanto nel prologo nelle due prime satire. Legatura di restauro in cuoio marrone chiaro su legno, *Laboratorio di restauro del libro, Praglia*. Due fermagli moderni che partono dal piatto anteriore.

c. 1^o (già r^o): *D. Balthazar Beggiamus monachus [...]*.

c. 26^o: nota a lapis nel margine basso: *Lauda in fine ... et post mortem*

c. 48^r: *Finito libro sub anno a nativitate Domini 1460, die vero 4. Novembris*
c. 71^r: *Explicit liber Persii anno Mo cccc o LXXXVI Ianuar[ii]*.

Bibliografia

MACHET, *Index*, tracce di cartellino (prova che nel 1713 il manoscritto era già nella biblioteca ducale); BENCINI, *Indice*, K.I.5, c. 543^v; PASINI, *Codices manuscripti*, K.I.5, lat. CMXCV, pp. 296-297; CIPOLLA-DE SANCTIS-FRATI, *Inventario*, n. 945, p. 556, Lat.B.322; COSENTINI, *Inventario*, n. 1233, p. 133; SONDRÀ DALL'OCO, *La "Philogenia" di Ugolino Pisano in un codice di Staffarda*, «Archivum mentis. Studi di filologia e letteratura umanistica», 1, 2012, pp. 215-224.

Glosse volgari

[c. 1^o] *Prol.*, v. 6: *HEREDAE SEQUACES* (ms. *Edem*, ma la glossa si accosta a *Hederae*) *dal brazza bosc*; v. 8, *PSITACO al papagay*; *CHERE in Greco salve*; v. 9, *PICASQUE le aiace*; *CONARI persforzar*.

Prima Satyra

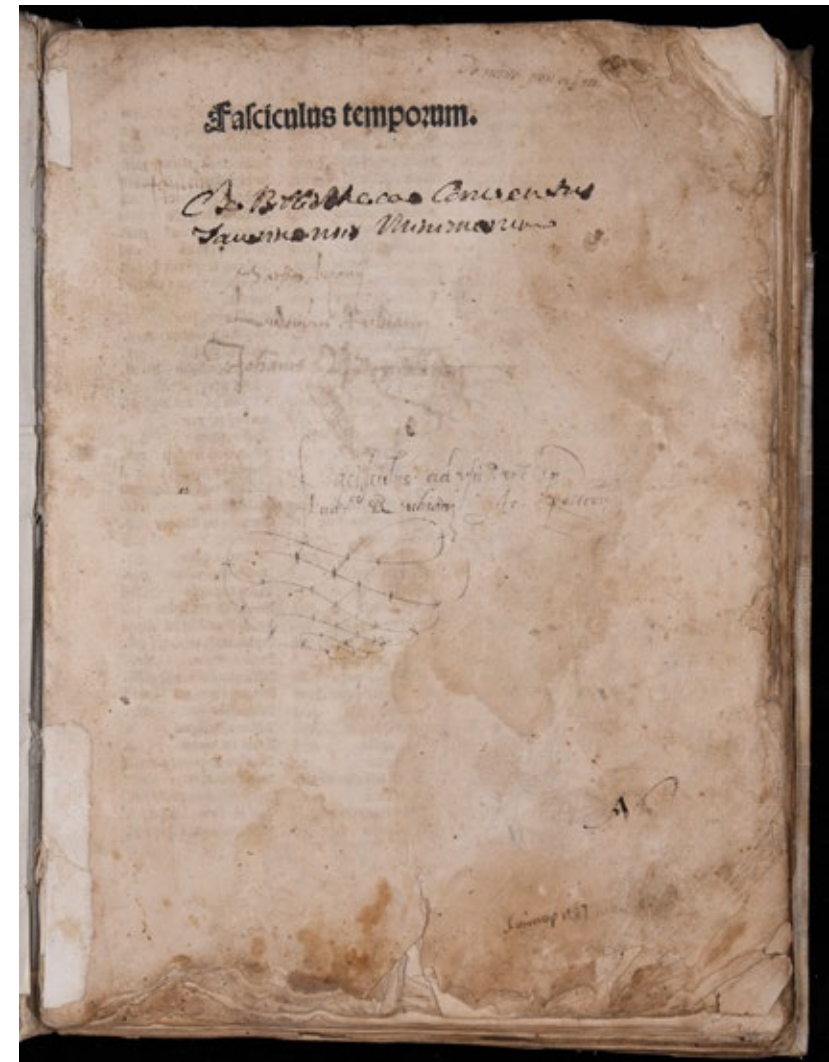
v. 1, *CURAS le malenconie*; v. 6, *EXAMEN la lengecta dela balanza* (da uno scolio a Persio, cfr. EGIDIO FORCELLINI, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, 4 voll., Patavii, Typis Seminarii, 1864-1867, s.v. *examen*); v. 12, *PETULANTI inopportune lasivisanti...*; [c. 2^o] v. 20, *LUMBUM lo rognon*; [c. 2^o] v. 33, *BALBA balbata*; v. 35, *PALATO lo cel dfe la boca*; v. 40, *VIOLE violete*; v. 43, *SCOMBROS pisciculos*; [c. 51^o] v. 60, *APULE Pugle*; [c. 52^o] v. 97, *SUBERE scorze*.

Secunda Satyra

[c. 54^o] v. 11, *RASTRO rastello*; *SERIA olla*; v. 13, *IMPELLO impellendo succedo*; v. 22, *AGEDUM orsu*; v. 25, *DISCUTITUR frepatur*; [c. 55^o] v. 31, *AVIA la gnogna*; v. 47, *GREGIBUS ai tropeli*; v. 58, *PITUITA la pipia*; [c. 55^o] [c. 56^o] v. 61, *O CURVE IN TERRIS ANIME o desvià (?)*; v. 70, *PUPE le buate*.



1.



2.

Fig. 1.
I-Th, H.v.25, c. 49^r

Fig. 2.
I-Th, xv.vi.150, c. 1^r

Torniamo al manoscritto I.II.9, lasciando indietro le attribuzioni all'ambiente sabauda legate al matrimonio fra Anna di Lusignano e Luigi di Ginevra, così invitanti da essere menzionate ancora in epoca recente.⁸ Tale attribuzione lasciava già perplesso Richard H. Hoppin, il quale nei primi anni Sessanta scriveva:

It is supposed that Anne de Lusignan, daughter of Janus, brought the manuscript from Cyprus at the time of her marriage to Louis, Count of Geneva and son of Amadeus VIII of Savoy. To my knowledge, no actual proof of this statement has been found, and nothing further is known of the manuscript until 1749, when it was catalogued among the codices of the Royal Library in Turin.⁹

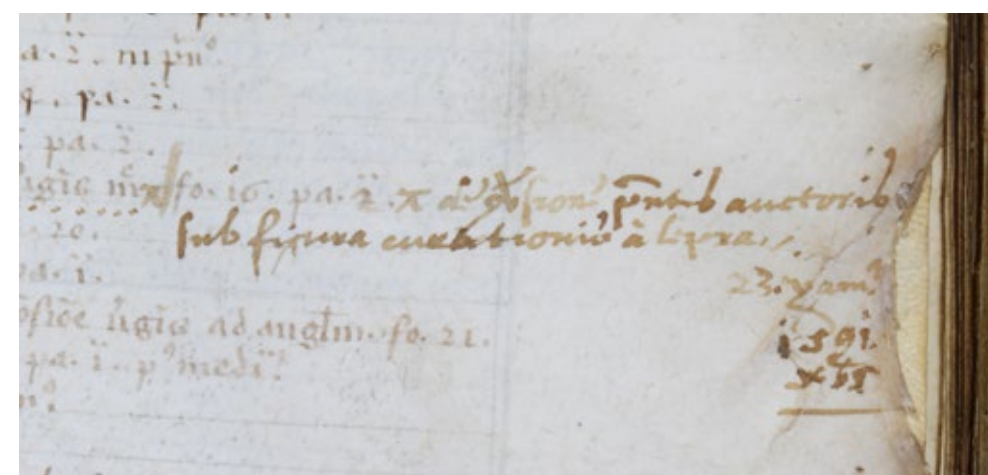
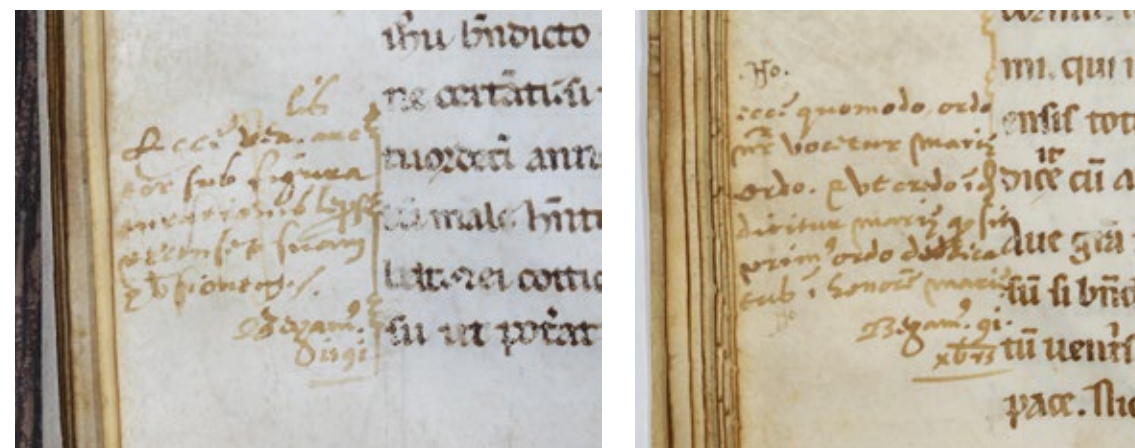
Analogamente esitante si mostra anche il liturgista Robert Amiet, che tuttavia mi pare abbia letto con poca cura il testo di Hoppin:

Elle (*scil.* La partie polyphonique) a été intégralement publiée, avec une très longue introduction et de nombreuses notes par M. Hoppin [...]. Selon cet auteur, le pape Jean XXIII concéda à Janus, roi de Chypre, le 23 décembre [*recte*: novembre] 1413, l'office et la messe de saint Hilarion contenus dans ce volume. Quant à l'office de sainte Anne, il suppose qu'il se rapporte à Anne de Lusignan, fille de Janus, qui l'aurait apporté à Chypre en 1434, lors de son mariage avec Louis, comte de Genève et fils d'Amédée VIII de Savoie.¹⁰

E tuttavia, pur in assenza di prove e in presenza di prese di distanza da parte degli studiosi, la leggenda ha continuato a vivere.¹¹

Vediamo in breve di capire quali informazioni trarre dai pochi dati di cui disponiamo, per ora parlando del solo Baldassarre Beggiamo, e poi di altri membri della famiglia. I primi manoscritti citati (I-Tn, E.v.4 ed E.vi.9) contengono testi di autori cisterciensi, composti principalmente nel XII

secolo dunque quasi cinque secoli avanti Baldassarre, che sappiamo essere vissuto nella seconda metà del XVI. Retaggio familiare vetusto, poi confluito, con Baldassarre stesso, nell'abbazia cisterciense di Staffarda; oppure libri già presenti nell'abbazia e poi affidati a Baldassarre (che in questo caso noi immaginiamo, sulla base di questi dati, entrato adulto nell'ordine cisterciense, secondo una prassi non rara; le sue note datano 1591). La presenza di glosse di mano di Baldassarre fa pensare a un interesse personale, in epoca alquanto tardiva, manifestato entro un'abbazia che, in linea con la tradizione cisterciense fortemente marcata dal culto mariano, era ed è tuttora intitolata alla Vergine (Figg. 3, 4, 5).



Figg. 3, 4, 5.
I-Tn, E.v.4, cc. 16v, 32v, 69r

8. Cfr. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Il codice franco-cipriota J.II.9 e le vicende del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in *Miscellanea di studi 4*, a cura di Isabella Data, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi - Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1996, pp. 7-12.

9. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino Biblioteca Nazionale J.II.9*, a cura di Richard H. Hoppin, 4 voll. (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, I, 1960, pp. I-II.

10. ROBERT AMIET, *Catalogue des livres liturgiques manuscrits et imprimés conservés dans les bibliothèques et les archives de Turin*, «Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», 77, 1979, pp. 577-703: 635-636.

11. Caso peraltro non unico per quanto attiene ai manoscritti conservati in I-Tn, si veda quello della famosa 'Bibbia di san Tommaso', divenuto famoso grazie a un'attribuzione estemporanea, ovvero una nota marginale che attesta una credenza e non una realtà. Cfr. ANGELO GIACCARIA, *Libri nella Certosa di Mombracco alla fine del XVII secolo*, in *Il fascino dell'eremo. Asceti, certosini e trappisti sul Mombracco nei secoli XIII-XVIII*, atti del convegno (Barge, Trappa del Mombracco, 29-30 luglio 2005), a cura di Rinaldo Comba, «Bollettino della Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della Provincia di Cuneo», 142, 2010, pp. 169-178: a p. 172 l'autore dice che tale esemplare della Bibbia sarebbe stato usato da san Tommaso, ma poi poco più sotto e nelle didascalie delle illustrazioni successive lo definisce «Bibbia di San Tommaso d'Aquino». Più volte ripetuta, l'affermazione è da respingere in quanto fuorviante; ma purtroppo, come è naturale attendersi, essa è stata ripresa in seguito *sans plus* anche altrove.

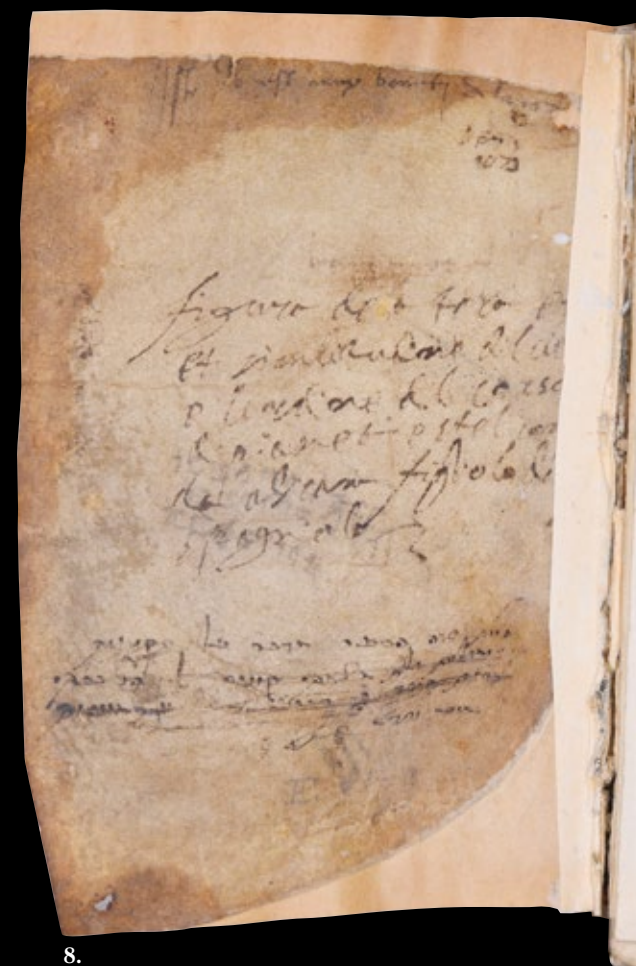
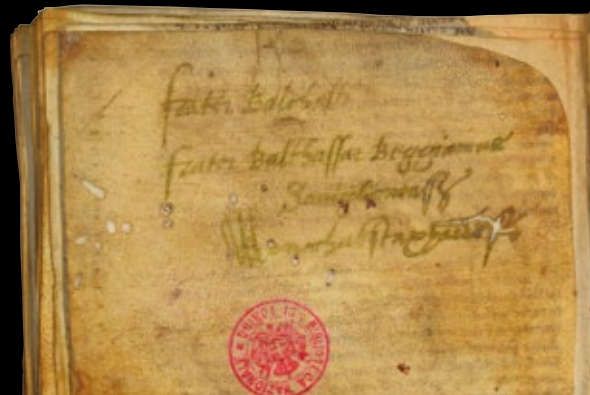
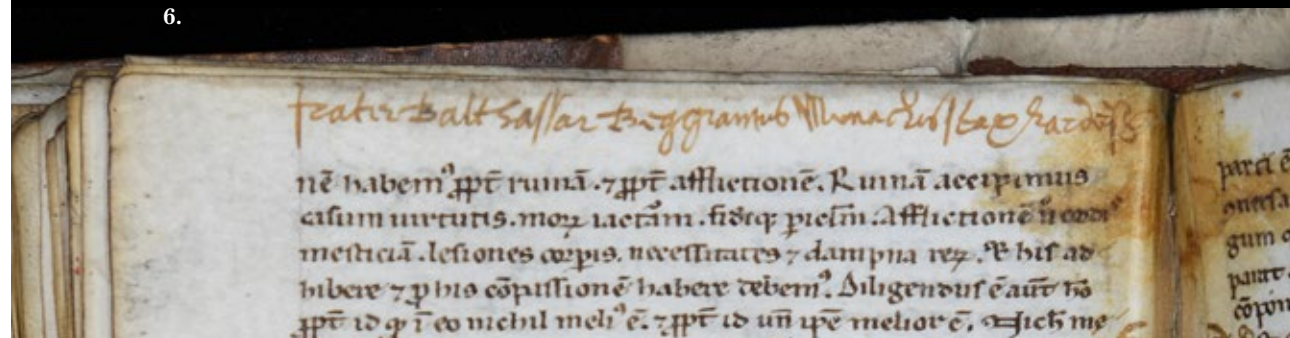
La significazione dei numeri presenti nel manoscritto E.vi.9 richiama direttamente gli interessi per la tradizione mistica e alchemica rinascimentale (si noti anche il testo, più tardivo, probabilmente di natura divinatoria, sui segni di terra e d'aria della c. 119^v), che probabilmente interessa direttamente Baldassarre, oltre ad altri, come il Bonetus de Lans (?) (c. 119^v), di almeno un secolo precedente a Baldassarre (Figg. 6, 7).

c. 119^v: *Iste liber est meo Boneti de Lans.*
 c. 119^v, di mano seicentesca:
Figure de la terra ... et similitudine de l'ar...
e l'ordine del corso de pianeti e stel...
de ...chare figliolo d.e spagnolo.

I-Tn, E.vi.9, c. 119^v. La presenza nelle cc. 118^v-119^v di note in ebraico di mano corsiva naturale, ancora in corso di interpretazione, rende ancora più complessa la situazione. In breve il manoscritto, di origine certamente cisterciense e attribuibile al secolo XIII, passa per mano di un Bonetus de Lans e poi si correla con Baldassarre, probabilmente in quanto libro dato in uso. Non sembra infondato immaginare che i manoscritti E.v.4 ed E.vi.9 possano essere afferenti *ab eorum initio* all'abbazia di Staffarda. Le scritte in ebraico restano in attesa di una spiegazione (Fig. 8).

Il terzo manoscritto, H.v.25, è di natura totalmente diversa, ed è composto di due parti distinte: una commedia umanistica ed una raccolta delle satire di Persio, con glosse marginali e interlineari.

La prima parte è datata 1460, la seconda 1486. Il primo testo è di repertorio umanistico non elementare; la seconda parte è un classico di scuola, Persio – autore difficilissimo anche nel Quattrocento – glossato come è indispensabile che sia per una comprensione anche minimale. Come accade di frequente, l'apparato di note è costituito da glosse latine 'facilitanti', e da glosse volgari 'traducenti'. In altri casi si ha la ragionevole certezza, nel caso dei libri di scuola più comuni, che le glosse 'facilitanti' non fossero di mano dello studente, ma fossero invece già fornite insieme al testo latino; non è però questo il caso di H.v.25: le note sono d'una stessa mano, e furono evidentemente scritte tutte allo stesso tempo. Non è inconsueto, nei manoscritti di Persio glossati, di esserlo soltanto in parte, perché l'utilizzazione del libro era prevista fin dall'inizio come non integrale: qui gli interventi si registrano nel Prologo e nelle prime due Satire. Il possessore di questo manoscritto poi passato a Baldassarre Beggiamo non era particolarmente diligente, ma neppure lontano dalla buona norma. Gli studi focalizzati sull'utilizzazione reale dei classici copiati in manoscritti di questo tipo non sono ancora molto numerosi.



Figg. 6, 7.
 I-Tn, E.vi.9, cc. 66^v, 117^v

Fig. 8.
 I-Tn, E.vi.9, c. 119^v

I-Tn, H.v.25, c. r^o (Fig. 9). Uno stemma all’inizio del testo di Persio, d’azzurro alla fascia d’oro, accompagnata da tre conchiglie, col capo carico di una stella, il tutto d’oro, non ha sinora trovato riscontro nei repertori di araldica. Segneremo sinteticamente le glosse volgari più significative per la collocazione linguistica (si noti che, nel complesso, la caratterizzazione linguistica delle glosse ai classici latini tende a non accentuare le caratterizzazioni più marcatamente municipali).¹²

Nell’ordine: *brazza bosc* “edera” è del Piemonte meridionale (AIS 905); *aiace*, “gazze”, del Piemonte meridionale sino a parte della Liguria (AIS 504); *rognon* per “rene”, senza distinzione se d’uomo o d’animale, di vasta diffusione (AIS 134); *tropel* è registrato da AIS 1072* a Sauze di Cesana, Pramollo, Pontechianale: di lingua provenzale, è in stretta prossimità con le voci del Piemonte sudoccidentale; *scomber* semplificato con *pisciculi* non necessariamente comporta ignoranza (le fonti antiche talvolta sembrano riferirlo a piccolo pesce da lasciar fermentare); *pipia* per “pituita”, con -p- intervocalica, è del Piemonte meridionale; *le buate*, per il latino *pupe*, “bambole”, è attestato nel Piemonte sudoccidentale con qualche località attorno ad AIS 750; *gnogna* si riscontra in aree vaste del Nord, principalmente come *Rufform* (AIS non dà riscontro).

Nel complesso il manoscritto, già assemblato nella forma odierna oppure diviso ancora in due parti, è da riferirsi ad una zona relativamente compatta, il Piemonte occidentale e meridionale. Certamente non si tratta di un’area distante da Staffarda o da Savigliano.

Dunque entrano negli interessi di Baldassarre, vissuto nella seconda metà del XVI secolo, anche opere di provenienza non strettamente monastica; non siamo in grado di dire se Baldassarre fosse soltanto possessore o anche utente del manoscritto H.v.25. Ad altri membri della famiglia Beggiamo pare essere appartenuto il citato incunabolo contenente il *Fasciculus temporum*. I nomi, Matheus e Iohannes, sono troppo comuni per consentire un’identificazione certa dei due esponenti.

Ulteriori presenze significative della famiglia Beggiamo nella storia del Piemonte, e non solo, sono offerte da Michele, vescovo prima di Mondovì poi di Torino, da Pietro Beggiamo (1362/74 – 1436) e da Cristoforo (1430-1496).¹⁵ Quest’ultimo finanziò la stampa del *Manipulus curatorum* di Gui

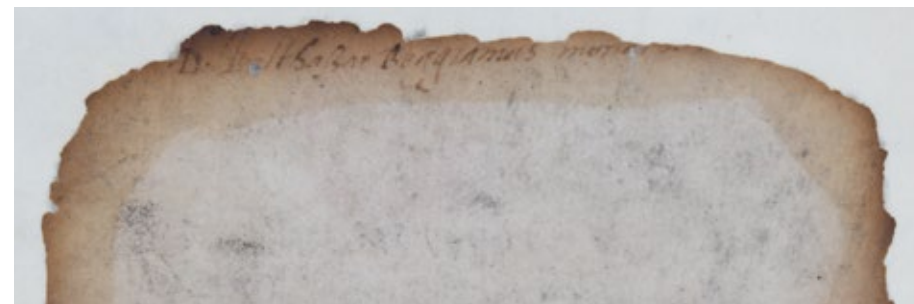


Fig. 9.
I-Tn, H.v.25, c. r^o

de Montrocher, stampato a Savigliano nel 1471,¹⁴ una fra le più antiche edizioni a stampa in Italia.

D’altra parte la famiglia Beggiamo mostra forti connessioni con l’Ordine di Malta, sino al 1309 di stanza a Cipro, con complesse vicende. Sulla base degli indici contenuti in *‘Gentilhuomini Christiani e Religiosi Cavalieri’. Nove secoli dell’Ordine di Malta in Piemonte*¹⁵ possiamo riferire all’Ordine di Malta (attraverso le sue varie forme e pertinenze territoriali) i seguenti esponenti:

231	Corrado, m. 1440
337	Giovanni, 1497
372	Carlo, partecipa all’assedio del 1522
489	Giovanni Benedetto, 1578
500	Baldassarre, 1529; ammiraglio, 14 novembre 1571
774	Cesare, 1575.

Presenza protratta nel tempo, e anche con posizioni di prestigio. Anche il nostro Baldassarre figura in posizione di forte rilievo, sino alla carica di ammiraglio, nel 1571, una ventina d’anni prima delle sue annotazioni ai testi mariani di Ogerio di Lucedio o alla *Analectica numerorum*.

Il legame tra la famiglia Beggiamo e l’Ordine di Malta, che ebbe sede

Beggiamo, Michele, pp. 535-537; INGEBORG WALTER, *Beggiamo, Pietro*, pp. 537-538; ALFREDO CIONI, *Beggiamo, Cristoforo*, p. 535. Le tre voci sono disponibili anche nell’edizione online del *Dizionario* (<https://www.treccani.it/biografico/>; ultimo accesso 14 gennaio 2024).

14. Cfr. l’*Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d’Italia*, a cura del Centro nazionale di informazioni bibliografiche, 6 voll., Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria di Stato, 1943-1981, iv, 1965: n. 4566, sei (numero ragguardevole) esemplari segnalati, con diffusione odierna ad Aosta, Cherasco, Genova, Parma, Torino (2).

15. *‘Gentilhuomini Christiani e Religiosi Cavalieri’. Nove secoli dell’Ordine di Malta in Piemonte*, a cura di Tomaso Ricardi di Netro e Luisa Clotilde Gentile, Milano, Electa, 2020, pp. 161, 167, 169-170, 173.

12. Ci riferiamo, in maniera sintetica, ai dati forniti dall’Atlante linguistico italo-svizzero: cfr. KARL JABERG – JAKOB JUD, *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*, 8 voll., Zofingen, Ringier, 1928-1940; trad. it. AIS, *Atlante linguistico ed etnografico dell’Italia e della Svizzera meridionale*, 2 voll., Milano, Unicopli, 1987.

13. A questi tre esponenti della famiglia Beggiamo sono dedicate altrettante voci nel vol. 7 (1965) del *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965: VALERIO CASTRONOVO,

anche a Cipro, può forse costituire un indizio sulla storia del manoscritto I.II.9, non preciso ma forse approssimativo, che ci aiuta ad uscire da una visione schematica che distingue le famiglie 'regnanti' dalle famiglie nobili o dominanti in aree che potrebbero sembrare periferiche. In questo caso una famiglia con tradizioni certamente colte, attiva a Savigliano (centro che conta qualcosa nella prima diffusione della stampa in Italia, e con l'impegno specifico della famiglia qui in questione), legata alla musica sacra e profana, e all'abbazia di Staffarda (per ragioni biografiche ma non attraverso il manoscritto I.II.9).

Possiamo dunque porci la questione se la vicenda della famiglia Beggiamo sia unica, o raccolga in sé percorsi che hanno paralleli a quelli di altre vicende analoghe. Così potremo affiancare ad essa un altro nobile saviglianese, Bressano Taparelli, che scrive una nota di possesso *Ex libris fratris Brixiani Taparelli. Religiosi Staphardae* nel manoscritto I-Tn, Ris. Mus.I.27 (c. 40^r), anch'egli evidentemente legato alla musica, di matrice francese, e anche lui cavaliere di Malta come Baldassarre Beggiamo.¹⁶

I-Tn, Ris.Mus.I.27, c. 40^r (Fig. 10). Il manoscritto contiene testi messi in musica da Alexander Agricola, Josquin Des Prez ed altri. Esso ha una serie di scarti linguistici, per lo più grafici, dalla norma d'uso di fine xv e xvi secolo di larga diffusione, ivi compresa quella che ci interessa. Gli scarti linguistici sono tutti in direzione dell'italiano.¹⁷

cc. 8^v-9^r, incipit: *A la mignonne de fortune*: trattamento delle grafie degli esiti palatali: *Char chi en vouldroyt ...*

cc. 9^v-10^r, incipit: *Se congé prens de mes belles amours vrays*: forma *negent* intermedia tra *nagentt* e *noyentæ*

cc. 19^v-11^r, incipit: *Regardés si le porrés fayre*

cc. 12^v-13^r, incipit: *Allés regrés vuydes de ma presance*. Si segnala *incensanment*; ... *canger*

cc. 15^v-14^r, incipit: *Guerissés moy du grant malque je porte*. Si segnala *en voustre male gracie*; ... *gracie*; ... *donch*

c. 14^v, incipit: *Jeay un regret*

c. 18^v, incipit: *Dictes moy toutes vous penees*; si nota *vous per vos*

16. 'Gentilhuomini Christiani', p. 170 (n. 513; 1529).

17. Su I-Tn, Ris.Mus.I.27 (già r.III.59) cfr. CRISTINA SANTARELLI, *Il manoscritto musicale dell'Abbazia di Staffarda*, in *L'Abbazia di Staffarda e l'irradiazione cistercense nel Piemonte meridionale*, atti del convegno (Abbazia di Staffarda - Revello, 17-18 ottobre 1998), a cura di Rinaldo Comba e Grado G. Merlo, «Bollettino della Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della Provincia di Cuneo», 21, 1999, pp. 339-346; *Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS Ris.Mus.I.27 (olim qm III. 59)*, a cura di Frank A. D'Accone, New York - London, Routledge, 1986; PAOLO ROBOTTI, *Il manoscritto Ris.Mus.I.27*, in *Medioevo musicale nel Marchesato di Saluzzo*, a cura di Carla Bianco, Torino, Gribaudo, 1996, pp. 31-46; *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, a cura degli University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 5 voll., Neuhausen - Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology - Hänssler, 1979-1988, III, 1984, pp. 253-254.



Fig. 10. I-Tn, Ris.Mus.I.27, c. 40^r

c. 19^r, incipit: *J'ay beau hueravant que ben havoyr*; si nota *ben havoyr* (dittongamento e iniziale)

cc. 44^r-45^r: *C'est mal et contre d'amer qui n'en a joie*

c. 46^r, incipit: *En amours n'y é se non bien*; si nota *é* per *est*

c. 47^r, incipit: *Au joly moiys de may*; si nota *donea* = **donare; agrada*

Alle cc. 62^v-63^r va segnalato un titolo di un testo: Brumel / Bruinel / Brumei, *A l'umbreta d'um bussonet ... gentil galant*, che lascia evidenti tracce nelle tradizioni locali.

È difficile immaginare se futuri ritrovamenti possano colmare le distanze che si interpongono fra Cipro e Savigliano, fra la musica profana e l'Ordine di Malta, fra le famiglie importanti dell'area e l'abbazia di Staffarda. Fino ad ora quest'ultima sembra configurarsi come un *portus salutis*, come potrebbe essere, in altro modo, la Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, in cui gli esiti di questa storia si intrecciano ancora confusamente ma facendo presagire una soluzione complessa, con più attori, in luogo di una schematica e lineare.¹⁸

Robert J. Mitchell

The Turin Mass Pairs and Isolated Ordinaries, and Their Common Composer

The points of departure for this study are two issues leading from the 1995 conference volume on the repertory of I-Tn, J.II.9, which may be for the most part Cypriot-French and whose polyphonic repertory seems to date from the second decade of the fifteenth century. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's article *The Cyprus Songs* in the proceedings of the 1992 Paphos conference convincingly suggested that a considerable proportion of the secular works in J.II.9 may be the work of one or two composers. Furthermore in some of the latter footnotes to his lengthy study he also suggested that there might be signs of common authorship in the motets and Mass Ordinary settings from the same source. Likewise, Francesco Facchin's article on these Mass Ordinaries in the same volume recognised that they appear to share musical common ground. He wrote «At first glance, the repertory of polyphonic movements taken from the Ordinary of the Mass appears very uniform in style despite the great variety of elements ("building blocks") employed. This is in fact a characteristic element of the collection as a whole, feelings of *déjà vu* or *déjà ecouté* are certainly frequent...».¹ In his well-informed survey of the J.II.9 Mass Ordinary settings Facchin argued that these Mass Ordinaries are very much the offspring of Ars Nova and that the nearest musical relationships with them in Western sources come from well distributed pieces such as the *Sort* 'Mass of Barcelona' Credo, Egardus's Gloria setting, and from stylistic elements in works by Ciconia, Zacara and Bosquet.² There is also much indebtedness in the J.II.9 Ordinaries to the simple style of Mass settings found in the collections of I-IV, cxv, and of F-APT, Trésor 16bis. The following table lists most of the music to be discussed, and

1. DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Cyprus Songs*, and FRANCESCO FACCHIN, *Some Remarks about the Polyphonic Mass Movements in the Manuscript Torino J.II.9* in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995, pp. 395-432 and pp. 327-346 respectively.

2. Michael Scott Cuthbert kindly informs me by private communication (12th August 2022) that the sources for the *Sort* Credo now total twelve plus two further verbal mentions, and Egardus's Gloria is now known from five sources.

18. Le descrizioni dei codici anticipano l'ormai imminente pubblicazione del catalogo dei manoscritti in scrittura latina della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, ad opera di chi scrive.

Table 1.
Mass Pairs and Single Ordinaries in J.II.9

Nos / fols	Text	Voices / mensuration / scoring	Comments
1 / 29 ^r	Gloria	4 / C / two equal upper voices	Has a cantus firmus Tenor, and two sections in which the lower parts repeat for the second section in simple diminution.
2a / 29 ^v -30 ^r	Gloria	4 / C / two equal upper voices	The two equal upper voices have imitative passages in duplets using C , and the Contratenor is probably a slightly later addition by the main music copyist.
2b / 30 ^v -32 ^r	Credo	3 / C / two equal upper voices	Probably an authentic pair with 2a on account of similar features and the upper voices partly using C .
3a / 32 ^v -34 ^r	Gloria	4 / O / two equal upper voices	Has two instances of internal rhythmically identical panels.
3b / 34 ^v -37 ^r	Credo	4 / O / two equal upper voices	Probably an authentic pair with 3a, since the rhythmically identical panels also appear here three times.
4a / 37 ^v -38 ^r	Gloria	3 / C	
4b / 38 ^v -40 ^r	Credo	3 / C	Probably an authentic pair with 4a, on account of similar style and brief 'Amen' passages.
5a / 40 ^v -41 ^r	Gloria	3 / C	
5b / 41 ^v -43 ^r	Credo	3 / C	Probably an authentic pair with 5a, on account of similar style and brief 'Amen' passages.
6a / 43 ^v -45 ^r	Gloria <i>tro.</i> Nostraque sint conformia	3 / C	
6b / 45 ^v -47 ^r	Credo	3 / C	Probably an authentic pair with 6a.
7a / 47 ^v -49 ^r	Gloria	4 / C / two equal upper voices	
7b / 49 ^v -52 ^r	Credo	4 / C / two equal upper voices	Probably an authentic pair with 7a.
8a / 52 ^v -53 ^r	Gloria	4 / C / two equal upper voices	
8b / 53 ^v -55 ^r	Credo	4 / C / two equal upper voices	Probably an authentic pair with 8a.
9 / 55 ^v -56 ^r	Gloria	4 / C / two equal upper voices	
10 / 56 ^v -57 ^r	Gloria	3 / C / two equal upper voices	

the Ordinaries here open the polyphonic section of J.II.9. My subsequent musical references will be easier to understand if readers have Hoppin's edition of the manuscript to consult, but I hope to have made up for the lack of this with adequate musical examples.³

Before examining these works some definition of my following descriptions of dissonance is necessary. I regard most passages mentioned in the following pages in the dyadic context of consonance with the Tenor, which is often the saving grace for incidental clashes that occur between two equal upper voices by themselves or – more commonly – clashes between any upper voice and the Contratenors of four-voice works. I do not calculate dissonances upwards from the Tenor in compound intervals, instead preferring to mention clashes as they are normally described in conventional musical language. But I stress here that the dyadic concept is fundamental in understanding most late Medieval part-music.⁴ Further regarding textures, it seems that all Contratenor parts in the four-voice J.II.9 Ordinaries and motets are inessential. In most cases the Contratenor was probably the last voice added, and in Gloria 2a discussed below the Contratenor looks like a later addition to a three-voice work made by the same scribe as the rest of the notation.

From the information given in the preceding table it should be self-evident that stylistic Gloria-Credo pairing was an established practice at wherever this music originated. All of these pairs listed possess sufficient musical common ground to be recognised as true pairings (the usual qualifying criteria being shared style, mensurations, rhythm, upper-part melodic behaviour and vocal ranges). This is not the case with all such late fourteenth century and fifteenth century Mass pairs copied together. Neither do all sources similar to J.II.9 give Glorias and Credos copied alongside each other. The Old Hall manuscript (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 57950) separates them into collections of single movements and a similar policy is in evidence in Trent 93 (I-TRcap, MS BL). Bologna

3. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, 4 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, 1: *Polyphonic Mass Movements*, 1960. My investigations here do not cover probable Sanctus substitutes in the motet section of the manuscript, nor the four-movement Mass Ordinary cycle published by Hoppin in vol. 1, nos 11a-d. My reason for not discussing the Mass cycle is that I concur with other specialists in considering it an addition to the repertory which may be Western in geographical origin. Further, see KARL KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690 and REINHARD STROHM, *European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century*, «Early Music History», 1, 1981, pp. 305-323. However, the style of the Mass is not that distant from some of the songs in J.II.9. A separate article in the proceedings of the 1992 Paphos conference 1995 deals aptly with its style of the Mass cycle and its use of Tenor cantus firmus: see SHAI BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique in the Mass Cycle of Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 303-326.

4. Further, see MARGARET BENT, *The Grammar of Early Music. Preconditions for Analysis in Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. by Cristle Collins Judd, New York, Garland, 1998, pp. 15-59: 25-35.

Q15 (I-Bc, Q15) is known to pair Gloria and Credos which sometimes do not really belong together, as do later fifteenth century sources. It has taken scholars some effort to recognise true pairings in the Old Hall repertory and later English sources, and likewise extra effort to separate out wrongly paired items in I-Bc, Q15.⁵ Often scribes seem to have paired movements where the composer(s) had no such intention. The two J.II.9 Ordinary pairs with single upper parts (nos 4a/b and 5a/b) share a rather functional style which is near-homophonic, as does pair 8a/8b and also Gloria 10. Pairs 4 and 5 are likewise connected in the way that their lower voices feature anacrusic entries, which tend to move the texture along with a little musical interest and which may indicate that such lower voices were vocalised since they cannot easily be texted without note-splitting.⁶ The voice ranges in pairs 4 and 5 are also very similar. I therefore begin my arguments for a common composer by suggesting that pairs 4 and 5 are the most obvious cases here for being the work of a single man. Pairs 4 and 5 also share some odd moments of partwriting. Gloria 4a has a mediant-tonic sectional cadence at 12-13, the Contratenor moves freely against a Superius C sharp breve at 70 (briefly involving an F natural below the C sharp) and there is an odd moment involving a Superius C sharp at 103-104 because 104 contains a B in its Contratenor (Ex. 1).

The image shows a musical score for Gloria 4a. It consists of three staves: Superius (top), Contratenor (middle), and Tenor (bottom). The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: '-di, mi-se-re - re no - bis. Tu so-lus Al-tis-si-mus Jhe-su'. The score highlights unusual partwriting at measures 70 and 103-104. At measure 70, the Contratenor has a C sharp while the Superius has an F natural. At measures 103-104, the Superius has a C sharp while the Contratenor has a B.

Ex. 1.
Gloria 4a, unusual partwriting at 70 and 103-104

Gloria 5a and Credo 5b have similar occasional surprises.⁷ Credo 4b also repeats some sequential melodic material and there are identical Superius syncopated passages at 13-15 and 88-90. Credo 5b differs from the other movements here in that it has many short subsections, as does the Credo of the Barcelona Mass.

These features bring us onto the remaining Ordinary pair with a single upper voice, namely the troped Gloria 6a and its accompanying Credo. These movements are also split into many short subsections, partly because of the trope sections which alternate with passages of Gloria text. The style of both pair 6 movements is even simpler than that in pairs 4 and 5, and as in Credo 4b there is sequential writing in the Gloria 6a Superius (at 55-58, at 89-93 with similar pitches, and at 208-211). Credo 6b contains related material (for example the sequence in thirds at Superius 149-152) and the 'Amen' in the same voice is sequential. Its textual and sectional divisions are the same as in Credo 5b. Some of the Superius movement in thirds involved in these pieces were briefly highlighted by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in his study of the Cypriot songs.⁸ This style feature also occurs in Gloria 3a (at 30-31, 35-36, etc), in Credo 3b (at 95-98) and in Gloria 9 at 105-108. The first Discantus of Gloria 2 also contains a similar passage but part of it has to be reconstructed.⁹ Gloria 6a's Superius (Ex. 2) makes some attempt at similar phrasing for successive lines of trope text, a feature also found in earlier Western troped Ordinary settings.

5. Further, see ANDREW HUGHES, *Mass Pairs in the Old Hall and Other English Manuscripts*, «Revue belge de musicologie», 19, 1965, pp. 15-27 and RICHARD H. HOPPIN, *More Pairs of Mass Movements in the Old Hall Manuscript*, «Revue belge de musicologie», 32/33, 1978-1979, pp. 23-34. Regarding some of the mismatched Glorias and Credos in I-Bc, Q15, see *Bologna Q15. The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript*, ed. by Margaret Bent, 2 vols, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008, I, p. 175 (a Gloria and Credo respectively by Loqueville and Lovanio), p. 176 (the Zacara Gloria *Rosetta* and Credo *Scabioso* plus his Gloria *Fior gentil* and Credo *Deus deorum*), and p. 180 (the pairing of a Ciconia Gloria with a Credo attributed elsewhere to 'Cameraco').

6. Having produced my own editions of these Ordinaries I find that the text-per-voice as generally given in the manuscript seems satisfactory and very little editorial texting seems necessary – except perhaps where all voices might have text at 'Amen'. Most other Tenor and Contratenor incipits in these pieces merely seem to be place-markers.

7. Gloria 5a has a downward Contratenor leap of a ninth at 52 and a cadence with consecutive octaves at 61-62. Credo 5b has a cadence involving friction between seconds at 86-87, it has a cadence involving outer-voice consecutive fifths at 96-97, and another cadence which ends with a sixth at 160-161.

8. See Gloria 6a 25-28, 55-58 and 89-93, Credo 263-267 and at the 'Amen'.

9. LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Cyprus Songs*, footnote 32, suggests a better reconstruction for Gloria 2a 115-118 than is provided in vol. 2 of *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hopkin).

12
vo - lun - ta - tis. No - stra - que sint con - for - mi - a Can - ti -
Nostraque sint conformia
Nostraque sint conformia

21
- ca laus et glo - ri - a Mens cor vox re - so - nan - ti - a Ce -

Ex. 2.
Gloria 6a, 12-29

It therefore looks as though pairs 4, 5 and 6 have much in common. Pair 8a/b expands the texture by adding a Contratenor but the style of these two movements is still rhythmically subdued. As in pairs 4 and 5 the Contratenor here uses anacrusic figures to create musical interest, and the textual and sectional divisions in Gloria 8a are the same as in Gloria 5a. Likewise the textual and sectional layout in Credo 8a is the same as in Credo settings 5b and 6b. Also as in pairs 4 and 5 some of the partwriting seems haphazard.¹⁰ Ex. 3 illustrates the expansion of ranges in the four-part texture here in comparison with pairs 4 and 5, producing a brightly consonant sound.

28
Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter
Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter
Gratias
Gratias

33
ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am. Do - mi - ne
ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am. Do - mi - ne

Ex. 3.
Gloria 8a, 28-37

Credo 8b is quite extended in style and as plain-sounding as pairs 4 and 5 despite the expanded texture. The three-voice Gloria 10 is not that much different in style from pair 8a/b except that it seems to be deliberately short and economical. This piece has almost the same textual and sectional divisions as Glorias 5a and 8a (the 'Amen' is separate here in no. 10). Gloria 10 also features a second between the two Discantus parts at 46 (Ex. 4). Here – as will also be seen in settings discussed below – we have the typical Ars Nova vertical disposition of both voices being separately consonant with the Tenor.¹¹ Additionally, Gloria 10's Tenor has some anacrusic entries as do the lower parts in pairs 4 and 5.

10. Gloria 8a has an uncomfortable sounding sixth at 33-35 and there is a second between the two Discantus voices at 49. There is also an odd dissonant moment at 109-110, and Credo 8b has a four-part doubled leading note cadence at 232-233 in which the two Discantus voices have consecutive octaves.

11. Several of the motets in vol. 2 of *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin) feature similar clashes, in particular *Natus in patris / Apparuit sol hodie* (motet 7) where there is a Triplum-Contratenor second at 49, a Triplum-Contratenor seventh at 85, and a Motetus-Contratenor seventh at 13. Motet 6 also has similarly clashing upper voices at 115, 143, 159 and 170 but in all four instances concerned each voice is separately consonant with the Tenor.

45
Pa - ter o - - mni - po - tens. Do - mi -
Pa - ter o - - mni - po - tens. Do - mi -
Domine Fili

Ex. 4.
Gloria 10, 45-50

Pairs 4, 5, 6, 8 and Gloria 10 are therefore functional settings in which many stylistic, harmonic and sectional features and similarities in voice ranges are shared. All of these settings each use single mensurations (C or C), there is no real use of any internal textural contrast, and the lower parts behave similarly throughout. Tenor parts tend to plod along in imperfect or dotted semibreves with syncopation being very rare, and Contratenors or upper parts have occasional awkwardnesses caused by partwriting or unusual accidentals. These common features (plus the occasional use of upper-voice sequential material and melodic movement in thirds) seem to indicate either a small group of musicians producing Mass sections according to a set of restrictions, or more probably a single man turning out Mass music ‘to order’ with a good knowledge of fashions and styles prevailing in centres like Cambrai and Avignon. Pairs 4 and 5 even have some similar series of Tenor pitches, as illustrated in Exx. 5-6. These Tenor parts – which look as though they are freely composed – would have no reason for such similarities except perhaps that the probable single composer concerned had a stock-in-trade way of writing supporting parts.

Ex. 5.
Gloria 4a and 5a opening Tenor pitches

Ex. 6.
Gloria 4a ‘Laudamus’ section opening Tenor pitches,
and the Tenor pitches of Credo 5b at 88-95

Stepwise motion within a fairly limited range is also common in the topmost voices of these settings (Exx. 7-8).

82
-nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad de - xte - ram Pa - tris,
-nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad de - xte - ram Pa - tris,
-nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad de - xte - ram Pa - tris,

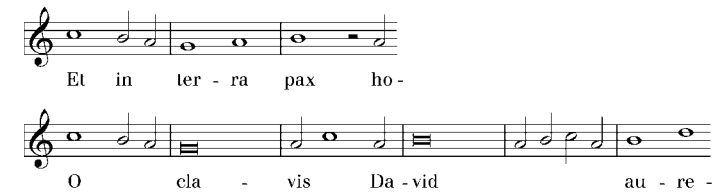
Ex. 7.
Gloria 4b, 82-89

195
-can - tem. Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit.
-can - tem. Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit.
-can - tem. Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit.

Ex. 8.
Credo 5b, 195-203

I suggest that the probably single anonymous who produced these settings is the same man who might have been responsible for many of the songs and the motets in the manuscript. However, at the present time there is not enough evidence to connect this relatively large output convincingly to any known figure.

I have previously mentioned the J.II.9 motets, and common ground with the extensive J.II.9 motet repertory helps to explain why Gloria 1 is different from the pieces previously discussed, and also why it is also different from subsequent music dealt with here. This extremely short four-voice Gloria telescopes its text between the upper two voices continually. As previously indicated its Tenor has a cantus firmus and both lower voices repeat for the second of the two sections in diminution. No other Mass setting here uses telescoping or Tenor cantus firmus, and no other repeats all of its lower voices although pair 3a/b has some rhythmic repeats.¹² Francesco Facchin noted that its first Discantus opening is a common melodic incipit amongst pieces both in and outside the J.II.9 repertory. The opening pitches of the Gloria 1 first Discantus also recur in the same voice in Gloria 8a and in Egardus's Gloria setting. In this connection I also draw a comparison with the first Discantus opening of motet 26 from this manuscript – *O clavis David / Quis igitur*.¹³ Like Gloria 1 this motet is in duple mensuration and has two Discantus parts, it ends on a construct on F, and the Discantus parts of both pieces have similar types of triadic imitation (see 17-19 in Gloria 1 and 75-77 in the motet). Upper parts in both pieces share C A B C motives (Gloria measure 8 and measure 102 in the motet) and repeated minim-semibreve-minim rhythms (Gloria 51-52 and measures 46-47 in the motet). Aside from its similarities to other Ordinary settings, Gloria 1's brevity may be for a singular reason too. Like the first of the series of motets in this manuscript, it is unusually concise and takes up just one side of copying. The Widaman and Bent articles in the 1995 volume both suggest that these pieces were slightly later additions to the basic repertory.¹⁴ If the resemblances with *O clavis David* and the idea of short introductory settings prefacing anthologies of pieces grouped by type are valid, it would seem that Gloria 1 is another setting by the chief composer of the J.II.9 collection. Even the topmost voices in Gloria 1 and this motet begin similarly (Ex. 9).



Ex. 9.
Gloria 1 and *O clavis David* Superius openings compared

The Gloria and Credo pair 3a/b also seems to have links to other works in J.II.9.¹⁵ Both of these movements have internally related passages (two in the Gloria and three in the Credo) in which the rhythms in all parts repeat exactly (Ex. 10). Both movements solely use O mensuration, and there is a fairly high frequency of cadential consecutive octaves between the Contratenor and either of the upper parts. Sometimes these consecutives are slightly syncopated or decorated (see Gloria 3-4, 15-16, and Credo 235). All four parts have text, and the texture is rather busy with the Tenor occasionally participating in rhythmic activity (see Gloria 39-40, 46 and 49-50). As in the Machaut Mass and parts of the Tournai Mass the underlay is set so that melismatic passages occur at the end of text phrases. The same feature also occurs in the four-part settings 2a, 7a and 7b, and also occurs in I-IV, cxv and F-APT, Trésor 16bis repertories. There are a few sequential passages (see Discantus 1 at Gloria 130-131 and Credo 258-262) and occasional melodic work in minims which move in thirds (see Credo, 102). At one novel point the first Discantus moves in dotted breves while all other voices are rhythmically active (see Credo 269-271) and in the repeated rhythmic passages the Tenor has a little material which is rhythmically sequential (see Gloria 54-57). The texture results in interesting syncopated passages such as at Gloria 54-57.¹⁶ The Credo is perhaps a little longwinded with its 274 measures, and the rather relentless motion in these movements results in frequent use of melodic patterns centering around A in the upper parts (for example C B A G A B C A). Very little textural change takes place throughout this movement but its penultimate section closes arrestingly on a full chord.

12. Rhythmic repeats of Tenor and Contratenor statements without diminution are quite common in this manuscript's motets, for example in motet 17 where – after an Introitus section – there are three identical rhythmic statements in the lower voices. Likewise, motet 2's lower voices have two rhythmic statements which are identical apart from small inconsistencies.

13. *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), II, pp. 114-119.

14. See JEAN WIDAMAN – ANDREW WATHEY – DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9* and MARGARET BENT, *Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 95-116: 107, and pp. 357-375: 366 respectively.

15. Both movements have been recorded in good *a cappella* performances by the Huelgas Ensemble (directed by Paul van Nevel) on the cd Sony Vivarte 53976 (1994).

16. At Credo 65 the first Discantus is concordant only with the Tenor, and the outer voices are dissonant at Gloria 47-48. There is a dissonance between the two upper voices at Credo 169, and at Credo 90-91 the first Discantus is dissonant with the Contratenor.

228
cu - li. A
cu - li. A
cu - li. A
cu - li. A

Ex. 10.
Credo 3b, 228-232

Many of the features of these movements (and also the frequency on constructs and cadences on D) are also found in the three-part Ballade no. 2 in J.II.9, *Raison se plaint*.¹⁷ This is also a lengthy piece for a Ballade, and stretches to 77 measures in frequently colored C mensuration. Also as in the Discantus parts for pair 3a/b we find short stretches of sequential melody in the topmost voice (see 52-54 in the song) and melodic movement in thirds (see 21-22 in the song) plus generally more syncopation and rhythmic activity than is found in most triple-mensuration music of the late Ars Nova.

47
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni
-mi - ne Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni

Ex. 11.
Gloria 3a, 47-51

17. *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), III, pp. 3-5.

29
- (qui) - c,
#

Ex. 12.
Raison se plaint, end of section 1

The topmost voice of *Raison se plaint* also has something of the range limitation of pair 3a/b, with much activity around treble C, B and A. I would be most surprised if this song and the Gloria-Credo pair were *not* the product of the same mind, and in view of the position of the Ballade in J.II.9 near the start of the manuscript's Ballade section the main J.II.9 anonymous again comes to mind as a likely composer. Interestingly, Gloria 3a also has a second section of the same length as the same section in Gloria 2a (both 44 measures) and its sectional subdivisions are also the same as those in Gloria 2a. There are also further connections with the motets in this manuscript. Motet 5 contains rhythmically accelerated sequential repeated passages and some melodically sequential work in a similar mensural layout to pair 3a/b. Motet 19's rhythmically repeated hoquet passages also show the same slight disregard for consonance as pair 3a/b. Motets 5 and 19 are also centred on D like this Mass pair.

This leaves us with pairs 2a/b and 7a/b and Gloria 9 to consider. 7a and b have the same vertical texture as pair 3a/b and similar voice ranges but are distinguishable from the latter because of their use of C throughout and considerable use of syncopated perfect semibreve motion in one upper voice at a time (see Gloria 7a, 13-18). However the O-mensuration Gloria 3a also briefly uses syncopated perfect semibreves (see Gloria 3a 42-43 and 47-48). Both pairs are lengthy and they share the same awkwardly written type of Contratenor. Both pairs 3 and 7 are also fully texted in all voices in each movement and each movement has an independent 'Amen' section. The Credo movements in both pairs have the same subdivisions for their texts. Also as in pair 3a/b there is a frequency of consecutive octaves with some element of syncopation in one part.¹⁸ Melodic movement in thirds also occurs (see the Gloria 7a's Discantus 1 at 13-17 and the same voice in

18. See Gloria 7a at 10-11, 40-41, and 136-137.

the Credo at 44-45, 68-69, and 208-209). The second Discantus also has melodic movement in thirds at 208-209.

Likewise as in pair 3a/b the dissonance level of the partwriting is comparatively high.¹⁹ There are no less than five instances of seconds between the two upper voices in the Credo.²⁰ Otherwise pair 7a/b are less unified than 3a/b because the former pair's movements begin differently. However both 7a and 7b end with similar inverted doubled leading note cadences on F. My description of pair 3a/b highlights often restricted melodic movement with Discantus parts repeating similar stepwise series of pitches. Pair 7a/b does not share this characteristic, but its Gloria's Discantus part features frequent stylised cadential movement rather like in the upper part of Landini's well-known *Questa fanciulla*. There are also a few similar cadences in the upper parts of Gloria 8a. Also the rhythmic unification provided in pair 7a/b by emphasising a single type of syncopation (with perfect semibreves) is paralleled by pair 6a/b's Superius parts frequently using minim-semibreve-minim syncopations. Within each single movement here one type of Superius syncopation prevails. In view the accumulation of shared features here it is hard not to escape the suggestion that pair 7a/b might be part of the same composer group as the Ordinaries described so far.

Pair 2a/b are a little more developed than any of the music discussed here and have topmost-part openings in each movement which are similar. The same melodic figure also opens the Gloria's second section and Francesco Facchin has justifiably compared Gloria 2a's opening with the similar openings of Ciconia's *Venecie mundi splendor* and also one of Ciconia's Gloria settings. Also as in Ciconia's *O felix templum* the upper parts in both movements echo opening material and there is much use of melodically or rhythmically answering phrases in the Discantus voices of both movements: there are eight instances of musical answers in the first two sections of the Gloria (1-63) and some of the imitative or answering material in both movements is in duplets with reversed-C signatures. Both movements have similar ranges and also similar 'Amen' sections, each of which is preceded by previous sections ending with plagal cadences. Along with imitation there is also pseudo-imitation between Discantus parts (see Gloria 24-26). Because of the answering passages the texture is a little more open than in pair 7a/b, but pair 2a/b use C like the former pair and rhythmic movement in both pairs is generally similar.

19. See the unavoidable diminished fifth at Gloria 122, the seventh between the first Discantus and Contratenor at Gloria 56, and the unusual construct with a sixth at Gloria 77.

20. See Credo 138, 165, 176, 192 and 283.

Gloria 2a has an awkwardly added Contratenor much like those in pairs 3a/b and 7a/b, and also as in these pairs the Contratenor is the cause of some dissonance. There is also a three-voice hybrid perfect – doubled leading note cadence in the Credo at 164-165 and a doubled leading note cadence involving syncopation in consecutive octaves as in previously discussed music (see Gloria 62-63). The Contratenor looks slightly different from the rest of the parts since it has no ornamented initial, but it need not necessarily be the work of a second composer. One article has even suggested that the Contratenor might have been deliberately added as visual page-fill just to make the first large work in the manuscript look more impressive.²¹ It is also the only Contratenor part amongst these Ordinaries which crosses below the Tenor part. As in previously described works there is some upper-part work in sequential thirds (see Gloria 115-117) and the Credo Superius has sequential writing in the sectional opening at 154-160. There is slightly more activity in colored values than in pair 7a/b but these movements and 2a/b have some similar passages (Exx. 13-18).

Ex. 13.
Gloria 2a, 33-37

21. WIDAMAN – WATHEY – LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Structure*, p. 107.

32
Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter
-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter
-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter
-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter

Ex. 14.
Gloria 7a, 32-36

7
-mni-po-ten-tem, fa-cto-rem ce-li et ter-
-mni-po-ten-tem, fa-cto-rem ce-li et ter-
factorem

Ex. 15.
Credo 2b, 7-12

27
-ri-fi-ca-mus te.
-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a -
-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a -
-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a -

Ex. 16.
Gloria 7a, 27-31

123
men.
men.
men.
men.
men.

Ex. 17.
Gloria 2a, 123-127

158
men.
men.
men.
men.
men.

Ex. 18.
Gloria 7a, 158-163

For the reasons cited I suspect that pair 2a/b are part of the same composer group as pieces previously considered. The same applies to Gloria 9, which is a piece very like Gloria 3a in texture and whose Tenor has D finals like the latter. Gloria 9 has the same textural divisions as Gloria 2a, but is probably the most complex piece here in terms of coloration usage in C and minim alteration – of which there is a considerable quantity. As in previously discussed works there are syncopated consecutive octave elements in four-part doubled leading note cadences (see 8-9, 52-53 and 117-118). Likewise there is rhythmically sequential writing in the first Discantus at 89-91 and 105-108 and also in the Tenor at 41-44. Syncopated perfect semibreves occur as before (see 3 and 51-52) and the Contratenor moves melodically in thirds at 21. This Gloria is a little more concise

than some previous examples but as in settings 2a, 3a/b and 7a/b the Contratenor is the cause of some uncomfortable partwriting (see 46-47 and 75). Rhythmic artistry in this setting is a little more evident than in the other Ordinaries here as the coloration patterns and syncopation dots result in some complex passages, and the closing measures of the ‘Amen’ section feature hocketing in the three upper voices.

Ex. 19.
Gloria 9, 109-113

To conclude, my descriptions suggest that the building-blocks described by Francesco Facchin and the sense of *déjà vu* in much of this music are present for the following reason. The main composer of the Cyprus collection may have been responsible for all of these Ordinaries, and if this is so he had a wide variety of styles to draw on. Little in this music seems to attempt anything new or original, and his likely models were Western pieces dating from the mid Ars Nova onwards. The common ground between all of these Ordinaries seems to present a series of perspectives which do not allow a complete picture to be seen, but which gives a very strong suggestion of common authorship. I also feel that I am not attempting much that is new in making a case for common authorship in view of similar conclusions reached in previously cited studies of J.II.9. At the present time, few facts are known regarding the musicians who travelled to Cyprus in the retinue of Charlotte of Bourbon in 1411. Two (Giles Velut and Jean Hanelle) are named, but much information on the Bourbon and Lusignan courts may be lost and these may not have been the only musicians making such a journey. Velut also figures in later years as a composer in Western sources presenting repertory of the first third of the century. Recent work by Karl Kügle and others suggests that J.II.9

was produced in Europe rather than in Cyprus.²² The number of hands that are detectable in the manuscript (three music scribes and ten text hands) suggest that there was a central co-ordinator for the project. Some of these scribal hands are peripheral to the contents and these scribes only made later additions to the main corpus, but even so it should be clear that a single choirmaster could not easily assemble the resources needed for such a copying project nor indeed the basic materials on his own initiative.²⁵ It therefore seems that J.II.9 might have been a commission. No binding is recorded for the manuscript before 1498, so we cannot even be sure that the collection was a ‘book’ at the time of the Savoy-Lusignan marriage in the 1430’s.

Readers will note that I have made easy comparisons between Mass pairs 4, 5, 6 and 8. Glorias 1, 9 and 10 rather stand apart from the former and pairs 2, 3 and 7 look harder to connect but still have common features. Having carried out the necessary comparisons there is further work of this sort to be carried out on the J.II.9 motet repertory, much of which has structural and melodic similarities that need closer investigation. None of the music discussed here should be regarded as beneath notice. I regard all of the Ordinary settings here as satisfactorily presentable in the performing sense, and some of them deserve to be as well known as other well-publicised Ars Nova works.

The main J.II.9 anonymous was probably not the only musician of his time to produce Mass settings in batches. A few years later in Cambrai Nicolas Grenon is remembered in a document for writing ‘pluribus Et in terra et Patrem’, but sadly the only part-example of these to survive is a fragment of a Gloria that was probably originally in four parts.²⁴ The inventory of the partly lost Strasbourg 222 (F-Sm, 222 C. 22) repertory also suggests that Heinrich Hessmann may also have produced a batch of similar-looking sacred works, but not all of these are Ordinaries. Additionally, Peter Wright investigated a small series of Sanctus and

22. Further see the iconographical arguments given in KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, which argue that J.II.9 may not be local to Cyprus due to lack of Byzantine influence in its presentation.

25. Regarding individual scribal contributions see the introduction to *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, facsimile edition with an introduction by Isabella Data and Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999, pp. 29-34.

24. For the Grenon reference see CRAIG WRIGHT, *Dufay at Cambrai. Discoveries and Revisions*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 28, 1975, pp. 175-229. For the fragmentary Grenon Gloria, see Trent 92 (I-TRbc, MS 1379), fol. 121'. Since one of the two given voices is named ‘triplum’ I suspect that not just the Tenor is missing but also a filler Contratenor. For further studies of J.II.9’s polyphonic repertory see *Poésie et musique à l’âge de l’Ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), ed. by Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, and Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, and KEVIN N. MOLL, *Structural Determinants in Polyphony for the Mass Ordinary from French and Related Sources (ca. 1320-1410)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1995.

Agnus in the earlier Trent Codices which may all be the work of a certain ‘Bloym’.²⁵ Later in the century the probability of composer-compilers recurs with the presence of batches of similar chant-derived music in the Egerton (GB-Lbl, Egerton 3307), Trent 88 (I-TRbc, MS 1375) and Trent 91 (I-TRbc, MS 1378) / Glogau (songbook in partbooks: PL-Kj, Berlin Mus. Ms 40098) collections, and also with the psalm settings produced at Ferrara by Martini and Brebis. The stylistic variety within the J.II.9 Ordinaries also speaks of growing stylistic resources for early fifteenth century composers. By ca. 1410 no longer was there one or two ways of writing a Gloria setting or a motet, but several.

Reinhard Strohm

The Earliest cantus firmus Mass? A Challenge to Historiography in I-Tn, J.II.9

The history of manuscript I-Tn, J.II.9 and its cyclic Mass

In an ideal world, the history of manuscript I-Tn, J.II.9 would have remained approximately as narrated by its first researcher, Heinrich Bessler.¹ Its contents originated in Cyprus, therefore the manuscript was made in Cyprus. It was owned by the court of Savoy in the late fifteenth century, therefore it had been taken from Cyprus to Savoy, for which the most obvious opportunity was the wedding of Anne of Lusignan to Louis of Savoy at Chambéry in 1434. Reality tests have of course chipped away at this picture. Richard H. Hoppin, when publishing a thorough study of the manuscript in 1957, did not exactly challenge Bessler’s assumptions, except for pointing out that the transfer to Savoy was undocumented.² Hoppin agreed, however, that the codex itself originated in Cyprus, and dated its compilation in the years between 1413 and 1420 or 1422.³ Neither he nor Bessler found it problematic that the calligraphy of the Latin-texted sections is the *gotica rotunda* script of late-medieval Italy. Bessler had in fact observed this, yet categorised the codex as ‘French’, presumably because of its musical repertory – which, however, has no concordance in any French source.⁴ In 1992, at the conference on the manuscript held in Paphos, Margaret Bent, Giulio Cattin and Karl Kügle challenged the idea of an origin in Cyprus.⁵ As later research has again confirmed, the

1. HEINRICH BESSELER, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», VII/2, 1925, pp. 167-252: 209-218.

2. RICHARD H. HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, «Musica Disciplina», 11, 1957, pp. 79-125: 93.

3. *Ibidem*, pp. 89 and 93.

4. BESSELER, *Studien*, p. 211, called the manuscript a «französische Handschrift», but nevertheless observed «prächtige italienische Missalschrift» in the Latin-texted sections, while most of the French texts showed «kleine aber deutliche Urkundenschrift». He believed that the added Mass cycle was written «von derselben Hand wie II und III», i.e. the Latin-texted sections. In *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (p. 124, n. 60), Hoppin concluded, by way of correction, that the handwriting of the cycle differs from all other parts of the codex.

5. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995. See also KARL KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690: 640-641.

25. See PETER WRIGHT, *Early 15th-Century Pairings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and the Case of the Composer “Bloym”*, «The Journal of Musicology», 22, 2005, pp. 604-643.

textual handwriting of the entire Latin-texted section is Italian; only the secular song-texts are written in a French *bastarda*.⁶ In a comprehensive essay on the manuscript (2012), Küggle also discussed the possibility of Italian manuscript imports into Cyprus (which he could confirm), and the possible presence of Italian scribes at the Cyprus court (which he could exclude).⁷ Yet the earlier consensus that the music in the codex had originated in Cyprus has not finally been overturned, not least because no concordances for it have ever been found in other European sources. This state of research is of great consequence for the cyclic Mass found in our codex on fols 139^v-141^v, where it is added by a scribal hand not seen elsewhere in the manuscript. This research also impinges on the historiography of European Mass composition in general.⁸ If the entire manuscript J.II.9 originated in Cyprus, then its Mass cycle, which is composed over a recurring melody in the tenor, was created by 1422 in an Eastern outpost of European polyphony.⁹ Richard Hoppin did interpret the work as a very early specimen of its type; he even saw within the codex itself a development from the Mass Ordinary plainsong cycles (fols 21^v-27^r)¹⁰ via the polyphonic Gloria-Credo pairs on fols 30^v-55^r to the polyphonic cycle: «This trend towards unity reaches its ultimate expression in *TuB* in the almost complete polyphonic mass cycle (lacking only the *Agnus Dei*) that was added on fols 139^v-141^v, apparently after the rest of the manuscript was completed».¹¹

Dissatisfied with the implication, however, that musicians working in Cyprus would have anticipated Western European developments in this type of composition, other researchers have proposed to disengage the Mass cycle from the corpus of J.II.9 and to regard it as a French or Italian addition to the codex, perhaps once it had been transferred to Savoy.¹²

6. See KARL KÜGGLER, *Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript*, in *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, facsimile edition with an introduction by Isabella Data and Karl Küggle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999, pp. 25-63.

7. KÜGGLER, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 643-648.

8. The Mass cycle has been published in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, 4 vols (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, I, 1960, nos. 11a-11d.

9. HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (1957), pp. 121-125. In this fine study of the style and structure of the work, the author queries received opinion about the early history of the cyclic Mass.

10. The plainsong cycles have been edited in *Cypriot Plainchant of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, [Dallas], American Institute of Musicology, 1968.

11. HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (1957), p. 121.

12. I suggested a scribal origin of the added cycle in Savoy after 1434: REINHARD STROHM, *European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century*, «Early Music History», 1, 1981, pp. 305-323: 317. KÜGGLER, *Some Notes*, p. 31 no. 17, refers to a similar hand in a liturgical book in Sitten / Sion. My implication that the cycle was also composed in Savoy (which is not a matter of course), was contradicted, because of the lack of concordances, by ROBERT JOHN BRADLEY, *Musical Life and Culture at Savoy, 1420-1450*, Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 1992, pp. 180-181.

Although this proposal can at present not be proven with the means of codicology,¹³ it opens a viable avenue of research which will be embarked upon here. In order to understand the historical position of this Mass cycle, we have to re-assess some aspects of early fifteenth-century Mass composition, avoiding simplistic notions of style developments in the genre, and trying to identify any links with comparable compositions found elsewhere in Europe. One hitherto neglected although essential question is the identity of the tenor melody itself.

Northern Italian and Savoyard connections

According to Hoppin, the *cantus prius factus* in the tenor of all sections of this Mass appears to be a secular or popular melody. An early cantus firmus Mass cycle over a secular melody, Guillaume Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*, was composed for the Savoy court in the 1450s, perhaps in 1451 for the wedding of Charlotte of Savoy, Anne's daughter, to the Dauphin, Louis of Orleans, or in 1452 for the consummation of the marriage of Amadeus, Anne's eldest son, to Yolande of France.¹⁴ Anne W. Robertson agreed with the Savoy destination but proposed a devotional purpose for Du Fay's work, challenging facile distinctions between sacred and secular:¹⁵ the love-song *Se la face ay pale* would in the Mass refer to the face of Christ in the *Sacra sindone* (Holy Shroud), the famous religious icon inherited by Louis of Savoy in 1453, which was highly venerated by his dynasty. Robertson's alternative – and credible – explanation of the meaning of Du Fay's Mass will be kept in mind when the possible purpose of the J.II.9 cycle is being considered below.

The history of manuscript J.II.9 has above all been re-written by Karl Küggle. In his view, it originated for the noble Avogadro family of Brescia, whose coat of arms are seen on folio 1^r; Pietro Avogadro (d. 1473) would have been the original commissioner and owner.¹⁶ The codex, or in any case its Cypriot repertory, would at first have been intended for a family endowment in a conspicuous church of Brescia; it might have been created by Jean Hanelle, the chapel-master of King Janus of Cyprus, who as a former *petit vicaire* of Cambrai cathedral was probably acquainted with Du Fay.¹⁷ Küggle supposed

13. Although fols 140-141, which contain the major part of the cycle, could have been bound later into the codex (the calligraphic initials on these pages may date from the middle of the fifteenth century), the Kyrie was begun on fol. 139^v, using space left free after the end of the ballade section, and is continued on fol. 140^r.

14. DAVID FALLOWS, *Dufay*, 2nd rev. edn, London, Dent, 1987, pp. 68-70.

15. ANNE WALTERS ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's 'Missa Se la face ay pale'*, «The Journal of Musicology», 27, 2010, pp. 377-434.

16. KÜGGLER, *Glorious Sounds*.

17. *Ibidem*, pp. 668-678.

that Hanelle came to Savoy with the retinue of Anne of Lusignan in late 1433 and that «copying of the manuscript could have taken place between autumn 1434 and autumn 1436».¹⁸ Two documents first published in 1992 by Robert John Bradley show payments by the treasury of Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy at Thonon to Hanelle, «cantor» of the King of Cyprus, in August 1434, and to Hanelle, «mestre de chappelle» of the same king, in November 1436.¹⁹ Kügle does not decide when the manuscript entered Savoy ownership, but favours 1436, when Savoy court acquisitions focus on books and precious devotional items, including some from Cyprus.

This evidence leaves some uncertainties, not least whether Hanelle ever was in Brescia or was personally involved in the copying of J.II.9. For Kügle, the Mass cycle on fols 139^v-141^v seems related to the Ambrosian Rite of Milan, because it lacks an Agnus Dei. The sister of prince Louis, Mary of Savoy (1411-1469) had married Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan on 2 December 1427.²⁰ Kügle proposes that the cycle was added to J.II.9 «sometime in the mid to late 1430s, by a Savoyard admirer or disciple of Hanelle's – if indeed Hanelle is its composer». Musical features of the cycle would recall Hanelle's earlier experiments with musical unification present in the *Gloria-Credo* pairs of the original corpus (this had been Hoppin's persuasion), and the new work might have been a *Probestück* by the chapelmaster seeking new employment.²¹

Is it therefore possible that the cycle was composed for Mary of Savoy, perhaps as a wedding Mass? Why, however, would it have been copied in Savoy or Brescia, where the Mass ritual required an Agnus Dei? What were its origins and function, what did it have to do with the codex? In fact, we do not know when the cycle was copied, nor where the codex was at the time. Open questions such as these make the added Mass cycle a kind of cornerstone in the history of manuscript J.II.9.

The early cyclic Mass: unifications and transitions

The Turin Mass has been described as the «earliest» unified or cantus firmus Mass, and its tenor part as the «earliest» secular cantus firmus.²² How relevant can such designations be, when so much music is lost? In

18. *Ibidem*, p. 676.

19. BRADLEY, *Musical Life*, pp. 129-130 and 555. Bradley misidentified the Hanelle mentioned here as Matheus de Hanelle. The complete Savoy documents are transcribed in KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 681.

20. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 678.

21. *Ibidem*. The best-known *Probestücke* (audition pieces) in music history are Johann Sebastian Bach's cantatas nos 22 and 23. I do not know any case of a polyphonic Mass serving this purpose in the fifteenth century.

22. BRADLEY, *Musical Life*, p. 180; KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 639. See also RICHARD H. HOPPIN, *Reflections on the Origin of the Cyclic Mass*, in *Liber Amicorum Charles van den Borren*, ed. by Albert van der Linden, Antwerpen, Lloyd Anverso, 1964, pp. 88-92.

Hoppin's and Kügle's scenarios, the historical trend towards musical 'unification' of the Mass Ordinary also plays a defining role.²³ But where and when did such a trend exist or was followed by musicians? In my view, there cannot have been a linear progress from one style to another which involved all of Europe together. Kügle's study of 2012 rightfully questions style chronologies when he argues that the cultivation of *Ars subtilior* styles as they appear in the corpus of J.II.9 may well have lasted into the 1430s.²⁴ Various strands of tradition will have run in parallel, and innovations would not automatically penetrate all areas. Artistic practices might be described as time-space clusters in which chronology was modified by location, ceremonial function and various types of patronage. The question of the so-called 'unification' of Mass ordinaries should be considered in the same light.

In the Paphos conference report of 1995, two musicologists discuss the Mass music in J.II.9. Francesco Facchin compares the Mass settings of the corpus with those of other sources; Shai Burstyn analyses the added cycle.²⁵ Facchin concludes that the Cypriot settings belong to an international «transit» repertory of Mass composition circulating in Northern Italy in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento. Burstyn calls the cycle a stylistically transitional work, with progressive as well as old-fashioned elements. Its modern traits are unification by cantus firmus, head motive and a musical structural plan, traditional ones the unrelieved three-part texture and the frequent repetition, centonisation and variation of motives. The latter traits may also be observed in the secular music of the codex.²⁶ Despite all that, the work holds «a proud historical position in any account of the early stages of the cyclic Mass».²⁷

Given the stylistic differences between the individual Mass settings of the Turin corpus and the added cycle, I find Facchin's and Burstyn's conclusions too similar to each other for comfort. The two groups of compositions are both transitional in some way, but transitional from where to

23. For a critique of the concept of 'unification', see REINHARD STROHM, *Einheit und Funktion früher Meßzyklen*, in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Norbert Dubowy and Sören Meyer-Eller, Pfaffenhofen, Ludwig, 1990, pp. 141-160; repr. in *Die Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen*, ed. by Matthias Brzoska, Laaber, Laaber, 2006, pp. 99-116. See also REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 170-179.

24. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 671-676.

25. FRANCESCO FACCHIN, *Some Remarks about the Polyphonic Mass Movements in the Manuscript J.II.9 (Mass Movements and their Musical Background)*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 336-346; SHAI BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique in the Mass Cycle of Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, *ibidem*, pp. 303-326.

26. See, for example, DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Cyprus Songs*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 395-431.

27. BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique*, p. 325.

where? Burstyn does not explore possible implications of his own trenchant analysis: strategies such as the deployment of the cantus firmus over the different mass sections, or the re-use of musical motives, might link the work to other music of the time and to its social environments and functions. In a study of 1990 on early Mass cycles, I had argued that there were many different ways of achieving musical ‘unity’ or indeed ‘uniformity’, and that some early fifteenth-century Mass cycles fulfilled other functions than the aesthetic one of musical uniformity. I found similarities between the Turin cycle and a work by Arnold de Lantins which I identified as a *Missa O pulcherrima mulierum* (formerly known as *Missa Verbum incarnatum*), suggesting its function in devotional practices.²⁸

Features of the Turin Mass cycle

The «proud historical position» of the Turin Mass cycle, to quote Burstyn, could be sought in one or other of its different musical features. Which of these do we consider to be historically most relevant? In the words of Richard Hoppin, «wherein, then, lies the unique quality of this Mass cycle?».²⁹ The following six aspects might be considered:

1. Cyclicity: Mass pairs and complete cycles in the history of the genre.
2. The lack of an Agnus Dei.
3. Musical ‘unification’ through a tenor cantus firmus.
4. Unification by head-motive, other recurring motives, textural layouts and textual tropes.
5. Formal structure, counterpoint and modal style of the setting, especially the tenor.
6. Identity and provenance of the tenor melody and its possible function.

1. Mass Ordinary settings are seldom transmitted in cyclic arrangement before c. 1430, the Turin cycle being a potentially early specimen. The Mass Ordinary plainsongs in the manuscript J.II.9 are arranged as modally interrelated cycles, but these are not used as tenors for polyphony. Polyphonic settings of this general period were occasionally composed as interrelated pairs of Gloria-Credo or Sanctus-Agnus Dei. From c. 1420 onwards, such Mass pairs were sometimes completed to entire cycles, whether by scribal assembly of sections of different origin or by adding newly-composed sections. The Turin cycle is musically coherent, although the Kyrie differs in texture from the other sections (see below).

28. STROHM, *Einheit und Funktion*, pp. 155-157. This study is not mentioned by Burstyn.

29. HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (1957), p. 122.

2. Why is the Agnus Dei missing? Kügle’s proposal that the cycle was composed for the Ambrosian Rite of Milan cannot entirely be dislodged, although doubts and alternatives present themselves.

We may consider at least three alternative explanations.

- (a) The Agnus Dei was written in the manuscript on a parchment sheet that is now missing. Fols 140-141 are the two leaves of an inserted bifolio, but the countersheet to fol. 139, which would be fol. 141a, is absent.³⁰ This could easily have contained the Agnus Dei. The removal of the sheet might even be explained in some way with the Ambrosian Rite, but of a cycle that did originally have a polyphonic Agnus Dei.
- (b) The Agnus Dei was not set as a separate piece but the music of the Sanctus was used for it, as is the case in Du Fay’s Sanctus *Vineux* (see below) and elsewhere.
- (c) The Agnus Dei was not set polyphonically but sung in plainsong, as is the case in other settings, for example in the *Missa Trompette* by the Parisian musician Estienne Grossin.³¹

3. In Machaut’s *Messe de Notre Dame* (Reims, c. 1364) and other early cycles, individual sections are sometimes composed over their individual plainsong tenors, contradicting an overall musical coherence, which however may be achieved by other means such as texture or mensurations. According to accepted narratives, the genre of the cyclic Mass over a borrowed tenor (*cantus firmus* Mass) developed in Western Europe after c. 1420; its earliest undisputed specimens are English.³² Some complete cycles which must have been composed before c. 1430 are transmitted only later or incompletely. John Dunstaple’s *Missa Da gaudiorum premia*, extant in four sections without the Agnus Dei, has been interpreted as a wedding Mass for King Henry v and Cathérine de Valois, 1420.³³ In many although not all of these works, the cantus firmus is artificially rhythmicised like a motet tenor and undergoes strict mensural or proportional transformations; it is always a *cantus prius factus* taken from plainsong. The Turin cycle has none of these features: its tenor melody is repeated in the different Mass sections, but it has neither *talea* nor *color* and is varied each time, posing the question whether there actually is a recurring *cantus prius factus*.

30. *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, pp. 41-95, confirm that this sheet is missing.

31. Published in *Polyphonic Music of the Early Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Gilbert Reaney, 7 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 11), [Neuhausen – Stuttgart], American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, III.

32. STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 228-231.

33. MARGARET BENT, *Dunstaple* [...], *John*, in *Grove Music Online* (access through subscription only: accessed 7 January 2024).

A.

B.

C.

Ex. 1.

Tenor of the cyclic Mass in I-Tn, J.II.9, fols 139^v-141^r:
schematic layout after BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique*, pp. 308-309,
and HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (1957), p. 123

In this general period, tenor cantus firmi borrowed from chant are also found in isolated Mass sections. The anonymous *Gloria Gloria in excelsis* in Ghent (1390s),³⁴ the *Gloria Descendit angelus* by Rentius de Ponte Curvo in the Cividale fragment I-CF 63 (c. 1410?)³⁵ and the *Gloria Johannes Jesu care* by Pycard in the Old Hall manuscript (c. 1420)³⁶ have motet-like tenors (and may have belonged to pairs or even cycles), whilst a *Gloria Ave regina celorum, ave domina angelorum* by Bartholomeus Poignare of Douai,³⁷ and a *Credo Alma redemptoris mater* by the Liégeois composer Jean Franchois of Gembloux (both c. 1425-30)³⁸ conduct the borrowed melody in a song-like manner, without many rests, and in a similar rhythm to that of the upper voices; their tenors are even underlaid with the antiphon text. The Turin Mass tenor seems comparable to these latter specimens; if it ever had its own text, the words could be sung without difficulty to the polyphonic notation in the Mass.

4. Unifying devices in Mass composition such as head-motive, other recurring motives and textural correspondences are already found in the fourteenth century. These features also typify the Mass settings of the corpus of J.II.9. Dunstaple uses textural correspondences in a Gloria-Credo pair;³⁹ Mass pairs in early fifteenth-century Italian sources are often formed in this way. Sometimes they are adaptations of secular polyphonic models, for example the «parody» Mass pairs of Bartolomeo da Bologna or Antonio Zacara, or the *Missa Sine nomine* which Du Fay derived from his ballade *Resveillés vous*, composed in 1423 for a Colonna-Malatesta wedding.⁴⁰ The Turin cycle shows much motivic repetition in its upper voices, but unlike the other works also carries a tenor cantus firmus (see above Ex. 1).

34. REINHARD STROHM, *The Ars Nova Fragments of Ghent*, «Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis», 34, 1984, pp. 109-131, Gloria no. 2.

35. Published in *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, ed. by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 13), Monaco, L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987, no. A 3; see STROHM, *The Rise*, p. 94.

36. See MANFRED BUKOFZER, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York, Norton, 1950, pp. 60-62.

37. Extant in I-TRbc, MS 1374 (= Trent 87), fols 51^v-52^r: see STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 163 and 243.

38. STROHM, *The Rise*, p. 243. The Credo is published in JAMES T. IGOE, *Johannes Franchois de Gembloux*, «Nuova rivista musicale italiana», IV/1, 1970, pp. 3-50.

39. JOHN DUNSTAPLE, *Complete Works*, ed. by Manfred Bukofzer, rev. edn by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent and Brian Trowell, London, Stainer & Bell, 1970, nos 11-12, pp. 23-31.

40. FALLOWS, *Dufay*, p. 23.

The repetition scheme of this melody in the different Mass sections, which is not motet-like, has been analysed by Burstyn, who assigns letters to melodic segments, as follows:

Kyrie	A A A
Gloria	A B C
Credo	A A B B C C
Sanctus	C
[Agnus Dei	C C ?] ⁴¹

This could be read as a quasi-symmetrical structure, if an Agnus Dei was present and was built upon the melodic segments C C. The structure would also be comparable to the *Missa O pulcherrima mulierum* by Arnold de Lantins, where the sections, defined by mensuration schemes, relate like A B A B C C':

Antiphon	⊖ ○ ⊖
Kyrie	⊖ ○ ⊖ C
Gloria	⊖ ○ ⊖
Credo	⊖ ○ ⊖ C
Sanctus	⊖ ○ ⊖
Agnus Dei	⊖ ○ C. ⁴²

The textual tropes of Arnold's *Missa*, which narrate the life of Christ, beginning with the trope verses *Verbum incarnatum*, suggest a function of the composition in a devotional and perhaps fraternity context. Musical interrelationships between the liturgical Mass sections may therefore aid the ceremonial performance of the entire trope text.

5. The three-part texture in the Turin cycle is spread out continuously without many rests. Rhythms and note-values of the tenor are similar to those of the upper voices. While the general style seems compatible with the so-called «simultaneous style» of fourteenth-century Mass settings, and the «cento-technique» (assembly of many small, repeatable components) was well-known «before Ciconia»,⁴³ the amount of melodic repetition here exceeds that tradition. Texturally, however, the cycle is not entirely unified, because the Kyrie is composed with two upper voices

(C_I – C_{II} – T), whereas the other sections are in the familiar French chanson format (C – Ct – T).⁴⁴ The often high tessitura of the tenor (when it moves within the fifth c'-g') causes dissonant conflicts between all three voices, especially in the Kyrie. The Kyrie is textless in the manuscript and written in a space-saving manner, as if it had been copied from a different original source. The texture of two high voices with one tenor is often found in Italy at the time (but also, for example, in the Low Countries): it seems therefore possible that the Kyrie was composed by a musician with a different regional training than that of the composer of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus.

A significant quality of the tenor cantus firmus is its song-like character in contour and phrasing (see above Ex. 1). The repeated melodic segments of the melody do not occur throughout the Mass sections in corresponding places, as a unifying device, but more haphazardly; the question is whether the repetitions in the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus sections were already part of the original melody or invented by the composer. The latter is likely: I agree with Burstyn that only the simplest form of the melody in the Kyrie (A) was presumably the *cantus prius factus*, and that the new sections B and C would be the composer's extensions, «devised in order to obtain a broader base for his overall structural plan».⁴⁵ Sections B and C also introduce more melodic variety, for example in phrase-lengths. The relationship between Gloria and Credo, which contain sections B and C, is simply that each of the three sections of the Gloria tenor (ABC) is sounded twice in the Credo (AABBCC). The original phrases and smaller subdivisions of the melody, however, are audibly respected at least in the Kyrie and often also later, despite the different phrase-lengths of the Mass Ordinary texts. At the beginning of the Gloria, for example, the textual caesuras after «hominibus», «laudamus te», «adoramus te» and «gloriam tuam» all coincide with original phrase-endings of the tenor melody, harmonised here with full 6-8 cadences.⁴⁶

Song-like tenors are not rare in early fifteenth-century Mass settings. In some compositions, the borrowed plainsongs are treated like song melodies, as in the Credo *Alma redemptoris mater* by Franchois or the Gloria *Ave regina celorum* by Poignare (see above); in other works including the Mass of J.II.9, the tenors seem to be songs coming from a different

41. BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique*, pp. 308-309 (with Agnus Dei added in square brackets).

42. STROHM, *Einheit und Funktion*, p. 154; ID., *The Rise*, p. 176.

43. FACCHIN, *Some Remarks*, pp. 334-335.

44. On «Chanson format», see STROHM, *The Rise*, p. 161 and *passim*. Besseler called it «Balladen-» or «Cantilena-Stil». For more information on tenors and contrapuntal techniques in this repertory, see KEVIN N. MOLL, *Structural Determinants in Polyphony for the Mass Ordinary from French and Related Sources (ca. 1320-1410)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1995, pp. 145-156.

45. BURSTYN, *Compositional Technique*, pp. 309-310.

46. See the edited music in HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (1957), p. 86.

musical sphere, for example a secular one. Some of the latter melodies may of course have been invented by the composers.⁴⁷

A Sanctus - Agnus Dei pair by Du Fay is composed over the pre-existing monophonic melody called *Vineux*.⁴⁸ Du Fay's presumed Cambrai teacher Richard Loqueville set a *Sanctus Vineux*, too, and there is also an anonymous Sanctus over the tune.⁴⁹ This melody has its own measured rhythm, unlike plainsongs. Monophonic but measured melodies transmitted on their own or as tenors for polyphony had an established tradition in France.⁵⁰ The dance melody (?) underlying Du Fay's *Gloria De Quaremiaux* may also belong to the group.⁵¹ The *Vineux* melody, in its polyphonic and monophonic contexts, usually carries the trope text «Qui ianuas mortis confregisti», which narrates Christ's conquest of Hell (Harrowing of Hell) in the Easter liturgy. This text and several related ones («Qui hominem limo condidisti», «Qui vertice Thabor affuisti»), found in contemporary Mass settings including the Lantins cycle, probably belong to a poem on the *Life of Christ* performed in devotional circles.⁵² The tropes are inserted into the Mass texts but their melodies retain their own simple rhythms. The *Vineux* melody is in my opinion originally a sacred song. Its phrasing and contour are compatible with plainsong, mode I. A song-like tenor in mode V is used in an apparent Kyrie – Gloria – Credo group by Grossin in the 'Kraśiński' manuscript of c. 1440.⁵³ In the same manuscript, an anonymous Sanctus *Gustasti necis pocula* (text from the same poetic cycle on the *Life of Christ*) seems to use the plainsong Sanctus XVII of the Editio Vaticana, but is rhythmicised like a song.⁵⁴ The 'Kraśiński' manuscript also transmits an anonymous, textless Kyrie over a song-like tenor in mode I (Ex. 2) which, in its metre, phrase structure and

recurring melodic gestures (such as the descending lines of semibreves towards the tonic) is surprisingly comparable to the Turin tenor:

Ex. 2.

PL-Wn, III. MS 8054, fol. 175^v, ?ETIENNE GROSSIN?, Kyrie, tenor

This piece might belong to the same repertory as the Grossin cycle.⁵⁵ Its melodic and modal style with regular stresses and short, almost symmetrical phrases is closely matched by a three-voice cantio *Christicolis fecunditas* (PL-Wn, III. MS 8054, No. 21, fol. 18^{r-v}), which may well have been a Kyrie or Sanctus, but has received a contrafactum text here. The 'Kraśiński' manuscript contains material available in Northern Italy around 1400-1420 (Egardus, Ciconia) as well as slightly later music from France, assembled here by its compiler, Magister Mikołaj Radomski.⁵⁶ Regularity of stress with alternating long and short notes may recall the system of the rhythmic (!) modes of the *Ars antiqua*. It may also be related to extemporising performance of melodies whose rhythm was not notated, as was typical of the European sacred song tradition until the mid-fifteenth century. An example of rhythmic mode III and a song-like shape without any rests is found in the tenor of a Kyrie transmitted in three manuscripts around 1400, one of which (F-APT, Trésor 16bis) entitles it «Chipre». ⁵⁷ The difference of this piece in «simultaneous» style from the Mass settings in the corpus of manuscript J.II.9 could hardly be greater, while the stylistic similarity with the tenor of the added Mass cycle is remarkable.

55. *Ibidem*, no. 3, fol. 175^v.

56. MIROSLAW PERZ, *Il carattere internazionale delle opere di Mikołaj Radomski, in 1380-1430: An International Style?*, ed. by Ursula Günther, Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology, 1987, pp. 153-159; STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 260-263.

57. F-APT, Trésor 16bis, fol. 4^v; I-IV, cxv, fol. 36^v; E-G, Frag. 33/1, fol. 1^r. See KÜGLE, *The Manuscript Ivrea*, p. 374. FACCHIN, *Some Remarks*, pp. 334-335 rejects Hoppin's idea of a connection with Cyprus.

47. MOLL, *Structural Determinants*, pp. 144-146, cites several of these works, distinguishing between cantus firmus as *talea* and as a pitch series only.

48. GUILLAUME DUFAY, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Heinrich Bessler, 6 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 1), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, iv: *Fragmenta missarum*, 1962, no. 2. Bessler's edition adds a perhaps related Kyrie.

49. See FALLOWS, *Dufay*, pp. 173-175; STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 152-153.

50. KARL KÜGLE, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*, Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1993, pp. 321-323; *Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, ed. by Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019. For the same phenomenon in the fifteenth century, see CARLO BOSI, *Emergence of Modality in Late Medieval Song: The Cases of Du Fay and Binchois*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2013.

51. RUDOLF BOCKHOLDT, *Die frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Dufay*, 2 vols, Tutzing, Schneider, 1960, I, pp. 18-47, with further comments on mensural song tenors on pp. 76-79.

52. CRAIG WRIGHT, *A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 27, 1974, pp. 306-315; STROHM, *Einheit und Funktion*, pp. 147 and 158.

53. PL-Wn, MS III. 8054, olim Kraśiński Ms. 52. Published in *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*, ed. by Mirosław Perz, 2 vols, Warsaw, Warsaw University Press, 1973-1976.

54. *Ibidem*, no. 30, fol. 200^r.

6. What ‘is’ the Turin tenor? Is it indeed a *cantus prius factus*? Is Hoppin right in declaring «The tune has a decidedly secular, even popular allure resulting from its rhythmic patterns and the frequent subdivision into four-bar phrases»?⁵⁸

Let us consider the melody as it stands in the Kyrie alone, since the other occurrences seem to be elaborations of it. One day I sang it and asked my wife Brenda Strohm, who is not an expert of fifteenth-century music, whether it reminded her of a tune she knew. She spontaneously mentioned *Where have all the flowers gone?* by Pete Seeger (1955). That melody is pitch-wise fairly comparable in the first two phrases; but what made the connection compelling for me was how well Seeger’s lyrics fitted rhythmically under the first phrase of the Turin tenor.⁵⁹ I learned from this simple comparison that an identification of the Turin melody must involve its lost words, which have to fit the given notes. Melodies by themselves are neither secular or sacred; it is the text that would make a melody a secular song, plainsong, art-song, popular song, and so forth. And yet, no researcher has to my knowledge ever raised the question of a text for the Turin melody.

I found it difficult at first to identify a contemporary text, if indeed there was one, that would fit the melody. The first line is trochaic, admitting seven syllables as in an Italian *ottonario tronco*, whereas a French iambic six-or eight-syllable line does not fit at all; but the second line, with its upbeat, could be a French eight-syllable line, or an Italian *settenario piano* with lengthened penultima. The remaining three phrases are like the second line in rhythmic structure. But the two types of verse in lines 1 and 2 are incompatible with each other, and these difficulties persist when we try to adjust the underlay by suppressing word accents or by inserting melismas. Thus Italian or French poetic forms of the period are quite unlikely to have provided the original words. There are two potential exceptions. «Se la face ay pale la cause est d’amer», of all songs, could just about be sung to the melody, albeit with several inserted melismas. Better suited is «L’homme, l’homme, l’homme armé», which is also trochaic, whereas the last line, «d’un haubregon de fer», introduces an iambic upbeat. My solution is quite simple, however: the original words must have been Latin. In medieval Latin poetry we do find the contrasting trochaic-iambic structure of the first two phrases, a double line of 4+3 trochaic feet, as here:

58. HOPPIN, *The French-Cypriot Repertory* (1957), p. 122.

59. Seeger’s anti-war song has also been popularised in Germany by Marlene Dietrich as *Sag mir, wo die Blumen sind, wo sind sie geliebt?* where the second phrase, which starts on the high note, has extra syllables.

Verbum caro factum est de virgine Maria.
In hoc anni circulo
vita datur populo,
nato nobis parvulo de virgine Maria.⁶⁰

The text has the form of a ballata-lauda-virelai, with ripresa («Verbum caro...»), piedi («In hoc...» / «vita...») and volta («nato nobis»). This well-known Christmas cantio comes from the twelfth-century song repertory of Saint-Martial. It is frequently transmitted in fifteenth-century lauda manuscripts of Northern Italy. An Italian contrafactum is the lauda *El nome del bon Jhesù*, where certain melismatic extensions seem even closer to the Turin melody (Ex. 3). On the other hand, these added melismas and accent displacements betray the derivative nature of this Italian lauda.

The image shows a musical score for two pieces. The first piece, 'El nome del bon Jhesù', is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'Ripresa' and contains the lyrics 'El no-me del bon Jhe-sù sem-pre si-a lau-da-to'. The second staff is labeled 'Stanza' and contains the lyrics 'El no-me del bon Jhe-sù sem-pre gra-tia acqui-sta più, chi le-va la men-te sù a quel re-gno be-a-to'. The third staff contains the lyrics 'chi le-va la men-te sù a quel re-gno be-a-to'. The second piece, 'Verbum caro factum est', is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Ver-bum ca-ro fac-tum est de vir-gin-ne Ma-ri-a'. The second staff contains the lyrics 'In hoc an-ni cir-cu-lo'.

Ex. 3.

The lauda contrafactum *El nome del bon Jhesù* (I-Vnm, Ms. ix.145, fol. 138^r), and its model in *Verbum caro factum est*. Transcriptions by Giulio Cattin

60. Notated sources of the song include I-Tn, F.1.4 (lauda collection from Bobbio), see PIERO DAMILANO, *Laudi latine in un antifonario bobbiese del Trecento*, «Collectanea Historiae Musicae», 3, 1963, pp. 15-57, and a polyphonic setting in I-Bu, MS 2216 (mensural codex from Brescia), fol. 19^r.

I have not yet found a text that fits all the five phrases of the Turin melody (section A), of which four begin with upbeats. In the polyphonic texture of the composition, however, the upbeats are sometimes dropped, so that «*Verbum caro factum est*» could be sung in many places of the Mass tenor. But «*Verbum caro factum est*» is most probably not the text we are looking for. The melody of this cantio, which differs from the Turin tenor, is always the same in the Italian written transmission; therefore, listeners to the Turin Mass would not have associated its tenor melody with this text. They might, however, have been reminded of another, similar lauda text (whether Latin or an Italian contrafactum) which is lost today.

Origin and function of the Turin Mass cycle: a suggestion

The search for the original words of the Turin melody takes us back to the question of origin and function of the Mass cycle itself. Could the work have been performed for the wedding of Anne of Lusignan and Louis of Savoy in February 1434,⁶¹ and what, in that case, would be the implications about its identity and authorship? Contemporary witnesses inform us about the music during the wedding festivities, in which Du Fay, Binchois and Burgundian singers were involved;⁶² but the nuptial Mass which they performed is not identified in any extant source.

In contrast to the polyphonic works of Du Fay and the Burgundian and Savoyard chapels of this time (with up to twenty adult singers), the Turin Mass appears much more compatible with a small «master and boys» ensemble, which would perform with one or two adults on the tenor line and several boys in the treble range (as here in the Kyrie), or with a magister for the tenor, an adult helper for the contratenor, and boys on the top line (as here in the other movements). In such a circumstance, Adam Grand, *magister puerorum* at Chambéry in 1433-1434, qualifies as the composer *faute de mieux*.⁶³ As the internal *magister cappelle* he would expect to be asked first to provide strictly liturgical music, whether or not it was to be heard during the nuptial Mass or on another sacred occasion. In that case, religious and devotional issues might take precedence over secular or vernacular allusions – just as has been shown by Anne W. Robertson to be probably the case with Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*. I imagine a devotional setting for the Turin Mass, too, where the worshippers could

associate a subject such as Mary, Christ or the Holy Sacrament with the music for the various Mass Ordinary sections. To fulfil this function, the composer had to keep the melody recognisable, respecting not only its contour and mode but also its rhythms and phrasing, and had to weave his counterpoint around it as best as possible. This composer may not have been Adam Grand himself, but he would probably have been familiar with devotional and confraternity music created by colleagues from Paris, Cambrai, Douai and Liège. The similarities of the Turin cycle with Mass settings of the 1420s by Grossin, Franchois, Poignare and Arnold de Lantins, and the closeness of the *cantus prius factus* to Latin laudas circulating in Northern Italy suggest that a French-trained composer was at work, although with experience of Italian devotional song. He would not have been a royal chapelmaster as was Jean Hanelle, who had spent the 1420s in Cyprus and had only recently arrived in Savoy. The wedding festivities for Anne and Louis were celebrated by the Burgundian court chapel, but the potentially contemporaneous cycle in J.II.9 was, in my opinion, music for a «master and boys» ensemble, to be performed in a small chapel, even perhaps in a monastic setting and in fulfilment of vows or devotional rituals, shared with confraternities and local clergy.

61. The possibility has only been alluded to in MARIE-THÉRÈSE BOUQUET, *La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1450 al 1500*, «Rivista italiana di musicologia», III/2, 1968, pp. 233-285: 237-238, and tentatively suggested in STROHM, *The Rise*, p. 416, footnote 132.

62. See, for example, FALLOWS, *Dufay*, p. 41; BRADLEY, *Musical Life*, pp. 19, 30, 45-48; ROBERTSON, *The Man*, p. 388 no. 14 – but none of these authors seems inclined to connect the cycle in J.II.9 with the wedding Mass itself.

63. BRADLEY, *Musical Life*, pp. 106-107.

Anne W. Robertson

Two French Secular Motets in the Cyprus Codex and a New Composer from Cyprus¹

The motets preserved in the early fifteenth-century Cyprus Codex form a rich and diverse collection. And yet, because they have no concordances in other sources, scholars for a long time considered them isolated and somewhat perplexing. Recent work has established many pathways of influence for these pieces that draw on textual, stylistic, paleographic, and historical evidence. The present study focuses on the element of register in the texts of two motets which, at first glance, hardly seem to belong to this group. We will see how their inclusion in the Cyprus Codex can in fact be understood and how they shed light on the early use of vernacular elements in sacred music. At the same time, we will suggest how a knowledge of the musicians who once worked at the Cypriot court can help clarify the history of this remarkable manuscript.

1. The Cyprus Motets

The forty-one anonymous motets of the Cyprus Codex appear together in the third fascicle of this source.² Almost all are sacred works, with thirty-three out of the total number having Latin texts. These motets form a relatively complete collection, including pieces for major feasts and for saints who were beloved in the Cyprus court: Easter (No. 1), Pentecost (No. 2), the Eucharist (= Corpus Christi, No. 5), Christmas (Nos 6, 7, 31), saints (Nos 8, 14, 15, 17, 32), the True Cross (No. 10), Ascension (No. 13), Sanctus trope (No. 18), Transfiguration (No. 22), Advent (Nos

1. For their many helpful suggestions, I am grateful to Michael Alan Anderson, Margaret Bent, Yolanda Plumley, Eleanor Price, Alberto Rizzuti, Anne Stone, and Reinhard Strohm. I likewise thank Daisy Delogu for her generous assistance with the translations of the texts of the motets discussed in this chapter and edited in the Appendix.

2. I-Tn, J.11.9, fols 59^r-97^r; see *Il Codice J.11.9 / The Codex J.11.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, facsimile edition with an introduction by Isabella Data and Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999: fascicle I (fols 1^r-27^r; transcribed in *Cypriot Plainchant of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.11.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, [Dallas], American Institute of Musicology, 1968) includes monophonic chants for favored Cypriot saints Hilarion (an Office and a Mass) and Anne (Office), and three cycles of the Mass Ordinary along with three sets of Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei only. Fascicle II (fols 29^r-57^r) incorporates polyphonic Mass movements: seven Gloria / Credo pairs, and three lone Glorias. The two final fascicles preserve French ballades (fascicle IV, fols 98^r-139^r), virelais, and rondeaux (fascicle V, fols 143^r-158^r).

23-30), Deo gratias (Nos 33-34), and fifteen motets for the Virgin Mary. Though a fairly comprehensive compilation, the ordering of the motets is somewhat haphazard, as the groupings of the numbers above suggest. Had the pieces been arranged strictly according to the Christian calendar, for instance, we would have expected the Advent works to appear at the beginning, followed by Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, and so forth. Instead, the arrangement maybe governed, at least partially, by the ranks of feasts, since the first seven pieces – for Easter, Pentecost, Assumption, Corpus Christi, two Marian feasts, and Christmas – clearly represent what were often *annuale*, that is the most important, celebrations in medieval churches.³ Following these pieces come motets for saints, for other Christological feasts, for the Sanctus, for the Transfiguration, for Advent, for the Deo gratias, and for the Virgin. Because these works are not ordered by calendar date, perhaps they were intended to signal feasts of duplex rank, the next level down from *annuale*. The works for Advent, the Deo gratias, and the French motets at the very end of the fascicle are grouped according to their respective genres.

The fifteen motets devoted to the Virgin Mary are conspicuous because they contain both Latin and French texts: nine Latin motets (Nos 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16, 20, 21) shown in the left column of Table 1, and eight French motets (Nos 19, 35-41) in the right column. Again, there seems little rhyme or reason for the ordering of these pieces beyond the grouping of French motets at the end. The Latin Marian motets are interspersed throughout the collection. The eight French motets, the only pieces with vernacular texts in the sacred portion of the manuscript (Fasc. I-III), stand apart from the rest of the collection. These works are both retrospective and forward-looking: they hark back to scattered earlier compositions in the vernacular in honor of the Virgin, including Guillaume de Machaut's fourteenth-century *Lai de Notre Dame (Contre ce dous)*,⁴ as well as a handful of Marian pieces in other contemporaneous manuscripts⁵ and

3. Karl Kügle proposes another ordering scheme, based on the standard temporal and sanctoral cycles, but this structure introduces a number of irregularities, including the presence of Marian pieces in the *temporale* and of Ascension in the *sanctorale*. In addition, the calendric order is inconsistent; see KARL KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9, and the French Tradition of the 14th and Early 15th Centuries*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995, pp. 158-160; on these motets, see also KARL KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690: 638 and *passim*. To pursue the ordering of the Cyprus motets further, we would need access to a contemporaneous liturgical calendar from the Cypriot chapel.

4. See *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut (First Part)*, ed. by Leo Schrade (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 2), Monaco, L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956 pp. 234-238, no. 10.

5. See, for instance, the Motet *A vous vierge / Ad te virgo / Tenor Regnum mundi* from I-IV, cxv, edited in *Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, ed. by Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019, p. 45, no. 34.

in the thirteenth-century Montpellier Codex;⁶ and they foreshadow a growing interest in the use of French songs as foundational elements in sacred polyphony. The presence of the vernacular in the Cyprus motets was no doubt meant to emphasize Mary's special status as intermedator *par excellence*, the popularity of her cult, and the desire of clergy and people alike to hear her praises in a tongue familiar to all.⁷

Table 1.
Marian Motets in the Cyprus Codex

Latin	French (all Marian except *)
No. 3	Assumpta / Gratulandum
No. 4	Aurora / Ave virginum
No. 6	Nate regnantis / Maria proles
No. 9	Porta celi / Assit Deus
No. 11	Mater alma / Deitatis
No. 12	Incessanter / Virtutis
No. 16	Alma parens / O Maria
	No. 19 Certes mout / Nous devons
No. 20	Maria mare / O Maria
No. 21	Dulce melos / Matrem Christi
	No. 35 Toustans / Qui porroit
	No. 36 Comme le serf / Lunne plainne
	No. 37 Pour ce que / A toi vierge
	No. 38 Par grant soif / Dame de tout
	No. 39 Mon mal / Toustens*
	No. 40 Amour / La douce*
	No. 41 Se je di / Tres fort

6. See SYLVIA HUOT, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 85-128.

7. Scholars have written extensively on the interpenetration of the vernacular and sacred song. See, for example, DAVID J. ROTHENBERG, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 3-23; and ANNE WALTERS ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's 'Missa Se la face ay pale'*, «The Journal of Musicology», 27, 2010, pp. 377-434: 377-378, 396-397.

Examining closely the French group in Table 1, we immediately notice two anomalies. First, motet 19 stands considerably earlier in the cycle and is conspicuously separated from the final run of seven French motets. Second, the French Marian motets at the end are interrupted by two French, but not Marian, pieces: No. 39 (*Mon mal en bien / Toustens je la serviray / Contratenor / Tenor*) and No. 40 (*Amour trestout fort me point / La douce art m'estuet aprendre / Contratenor / Tenor*). Unlike the rest of the motets in the Cyprus Codex, these two works show signs of revision, and scholars have suggested that they were intended to be transformed from courtly into Marian motets in French,⁸ a process of retexting, or contrafacture, often employed by medieval composers and scribes.

How might the scribe of motets 39 and 40 have approached his revisionist task? As they exist in the Cyprus Codex, the texts of these pieces are clearly in a transitional state (see Fig. 1, pp. 168-169). Their unfinished status opens a fascinating window into why a shift in register might have been desired and how the re-texting could have been accomplished. The text of motet 40, moreover, invites allegorical readings that make its ultimate destination as a Marian motet possible. The texts and translations of both pieces are given in the Appendix.

The placement of the secular motets 39 and 40 in the middle of the other five French Marian motets (Table 1) strongly suggests that the scribe knowingly interrupted the chain of Marian pieces that close this section of the manuscript. Fig. 1 shows that motets 39 and 40 share an opening in the manuscript (fols 95^v-96^r): the triplum and tenor of each piece are written on the verso side of the opening while the motetus and contratenor appear on the recto side. This economical layout, no doubt meant to conserve space in the manuscript, is the *mise-en-page* the scribe employed for the shorter motets in the collection (Nos 33 and 34, 39 and 40); the remaining pieces each have more luxurious spacing with their own opening. The pairing of motets 39 and 40 might also suggest that the scribe was conscious of their unique status in the collection.

Apart from details of layout in motets 39 and 40, a glaring irregularity in each piece is also visible. Approximately two-thirds of the triplum text of motet 39 has been erased or scratched out,⁹ beginning on the second line

8. See KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, pp. 157 and 160; and TAMSYN ROSE-STEEL, *French Ars Nova Motets and Their Manuscripts: Citational Play and Material Context*, PhD Dissertation, University of Exeter, 2011, pp. 278-279.

9. Some have suggested that the text scribe of the French motets is the same person as the music scribe; see JEAN WIDAMAN – ANDREW WATHEY – DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), p. 104. It is unclear whether the text scribe was the person who later erased text in motets 39 and 40. Also unknown is whether the new text could have been written neatly atop where the old text lay, or if the text scribe would have had to squeeze it in between the staff and the erased text. As it appears today, the erased portions of motets 39 and 40 were not

of the score and continuing all the way to the end of the Triplum. About one fifth of the triplum of motet 40 has also been effaced, starting from the beginning of the piece. What might these deletions mean?

2. Motet 39 - *Mon mal en bien / Tous tens je la serviray / Contratenor / Tenor*

The erasure in motet 39 seems deliberate: it begins precisely at the start of the fourth poetic line (about a quarter of the way through the second line of the score in Fig. 2) and continues to the end of the Triplum.



Fig. 2.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 95^v: motet 39
(close-up of Triplum and Tenor)

We can make out very few of the eradicated words, and only the three opening lines of the poem, expressing sharply contrasting states and emotions, are left intact:

Mon mal en bien, en plaisir ma douleur,	My evil into good, my anguish into pleasure,
Mes pleurs en ris, en joie ma tristour,	My tears into laughter, my sadness into joy,
Mon nient en mout, et ma doute en baudour.	My nothingness into plenty, and my fear into rejoicing.

→
Fig. 1.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fols 95^v-96^r (motets 39 and 40)

clearly eradicated, and any attempt to write new text over the old would have been messy at best, illegible at worst. Presumably the person who erased the text intended to come back and try to clean up his work.

M

Du mal en bin en plaisir ma dolour Mes pleurs en ris en vie ma tristour Non m'entend

et ma douce baidou

T

Enor

F

est qu'une tuer e lo poit en fuaie meritable. Sa graceuse porture mest une fidouce outure

que aut rien n'entye que a fure p bone cune estout ce de quoi seane au sur toute ne peccu: la grace toute ma uye.

Tres voientement auoir q'peut trop plus q'auoir. alaquelle munithe metat estout mon saour de uolour el bula

coume poran sien p uoir estre de chere el he Pourquoy tant que ie iuuzay plus q'uzes ly me in uay tous dis etours

pye son seuaie te me tedaray aisiueme maintendray ne aut ne ne tedaray fois que ly sans depar ty e,

T

Enor, bis dicatur p ut tacer q' p sem.

T

Du sans ie la seurtay La gente fleur sans delay Car enuerec de l'ay Tom'bn ne desseurtay

auoir que samou de utay Dou iene men par ty En la quelle partuay Non cuer tant q' iuuzay son

uay seuaie ie seay q' de cuer loley En tous les lieux ou uay Ne iamaus ne ces seay.

C

Duratenor.

M

A douce art mestuer a prendre dame ou puet on s'prendre toute du cuer et tout plus prestement sans plus

attendre de uenir constant et no tendre plus que ie say bn entendre que ne plus el te te pris

De lon uolour et p'faut neulliant p dit q' p fait y met tout mo' auis sans ongs may s' trefaut auoir ne ou mis

foctur se no estout bn p'faut liement et de des mis car a mouz q' mon cuer art de ceste grace en

seart neue que soit tout espis si le neul entoutte p se la mort uenede par a ten dant est l'one p' auoir

de ly que ie pas.

C

Duratenor.

These initial verses do not identify a protagonist, and they are neutral in register, that is, they portray neither an earthly nor a heavenly scene. For this reason, the subsequent missing text might easily go on to name either a courtly lady or the Virgin Mary as the person who turns the protagonist's «evil into good». Because the scribe's selective deletions begin precisely with the fourth line of the poem, we can surmise that he kept the initial verses because they work in both a secular and a sacred context and because they would have dovetailed nicely with the subsequent new text that the scribe never got around to adding.

Karl Kügle has perceptively noticed that the series of contrasts in the extant lines of the triplum of motet 39 resemble, and perhaps partially paraphrase, the text of another fourteenth-century motet, *Mon chant en plaint / Qui dolereus*, found in the Ivrea manuscript and two other sources.¹⁰

Table 2.
Texts of Motets *Mon mal / Tous tens* (J.II.9) and *Mon chant / Qui dolorous* (I-IV, cxv)

Mon mal en bien, en plaisir ma douleur,	Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour
<i>Mes pleurs en ris, en joie ma tristour,</i>	<i>Mon ris en plour, mes beaux dis entristour</i>
Mon nient en mout, et ma doute en baudour...	Mon gieu en ire, m'oyseuse en labour
Nate regnantis / Maria proles	Ma ioye en deul, mes songes en ardur
	Mon mel en fel, en amer ma dousour
	Ma pay en play, ma seurte en paour
	Mon pris en ment, en vilte ma valor
	Mon los en blasme, en onte ma honor
	Mon bien en mal, mon delit en dolor
	Mon bel en lait, et mon sens en folor
	Ma vie en mort, en tenebres mon iour
	En chiffre moy ont mue sans retour

10. Table drawn from KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, p. 163. Compare the bold and then the italicized lines across the columns of Table 2. Left column is from motet 39 in I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 95^v. Right column is from motet *Mon chant / Qui dolorous* in I-IV, cxv, fols 22^v-23^r; the Trémoille Index (F-Pn, n.a.fr. 23190); and GB-DRc, MS. C.II.20, fol. 339^r. The affinity of the triplum text of motet 39 for that of the Ivrea motet also extends to a line from ballade 27 («Son ris est pleur») in the Cyprus collection; see the discussion of these sources and other continental motets and chansons that influenced the Cyprus pieces in YOLANDA PLUMLEY, *Memories of the Mainland in the Songs of the Cyprus Codex*, in *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Arts subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), ed. by Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, and Faïch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 95-114: 95-97; also EAD., *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*, Oxford – New York, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 231.

Note, however, that the sentiment in the Cyprus triplum is the inverse of that in the Ivrea piece. The Cyprus poem moves from negative to positive («My evil into good / My anguish into pleasure»), whereas the Ivrea verses proceed in the opposite direction («My singing into complaining, my song into clamor / My laughter into tears, my beautiful words into sadness»).

If the poetic conceits in the Cyprus and Ivrea motets are inversely related, they nonetheless have common roots in the quintessential opposition that is characteristic of theological and popular spiritual poetry for Virgin Mary. Indeed, relentless comparisons between the sinless Mary and the fallen Eve are hallmarks of this literature, in which the basic *Ave-Eva* contrast – «Ave» for Mary («Ave Maria») and «Eva» for Eve – is normally elaborated as a series of direct opposites. A typical example from a sermon attributed to St Ambrose serves to illustrate how the contrasts work:

- Because *evil* [comes] through a woman, indeed *good* comes through [another] woman;
- because we *died* through Eve, we *stand up* through Mary;
- through Eve [we are] *prostrated*, we are *raised up* through Mary;
- through Eve we are *led as slaves*, through Mary we are *made free*.
- Eve brought us *long suffering*, Mary bought us *perpetual [life]*.
- Eve made us *damned* by the apple of the tree, Mary *absolved* [us] through the gift of a tree (the Cross).¹¹

Such dichotomies are ubiquitous in Marian theological writings, and they often include the very comparisons found in the Cyprus motet. The second triplum line, containing the phrase «My sadness into joy» («en joie ma tristour»), for instance, is echoed in a popular hymn that reads: «Through this mother came *Joy* / by which the *sadness* of Eve is erased». ¹² Although the pattern of opposing concepts seen in the triplum of motet 39 may thus have been inspired by the composer's familiarity with the Ivrea poem, the contents of both recall a centuries-old way of telling the salvation story by reciting reversals that juxtapose evil and good, condemned and redeemed, Old and New Testament.

11. «Ergo malum per feminam, immo per feminam bonum; quia per Evam cecidimus, per Mariam stamus: per Evam prostrati, erecti per Mariam: per Evam servituti addicti, per Mariam liberi effecti. Eva nobis sustulit diuturnitatem, Maria nobis reddidit perpetuitatem: Eva nos damnari fecit per arboris pomum, Maria absolvit per arboris donum», in *Sermones S. Ambrosio hactenus ascripti, Sermones de Diversis*, Sermo XLV. *De promo Adam et secundo*, in *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter PL) 17, col. 692b.

12. «Per hanc matrem venit Laetitia / Qua deletur Evae tristitia;» *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 9, no. 5 (p. 13). See the discussion of Eve-Mary contrasts in HENRI BARRÉ, *La Nouvelle Eve dans la pensée médiévale d'Ambroise Autpert au pseudo-Albert*, «Bulletin de la Société française d'études mariales», 14, 1956, pp. 1-26.

Unlike the triplum, the motetus text of motet 39, *Tous tens je la serviray* (Fig. 1, top right), preserves the entire poem, perhaps suggesting that any planned ‘Marian-izing’ had not yet happened or was still in progress. On the other hand, revision may not have been necessary because it is possible to read this poem as a Marian lyric as it stands. Indeed, pairing this text with a triplum poem that would presumably have added a few Marian-oriented lines would have rendered the entire motet readily identifiable as a work in honor of the Virgin. The concepts embedded in the motetus text are ones that could define either a courtly lady or the Holy Mother. The protagonist declares his intent to *serve* the beloved with his *whole heart*. Derivatives of the verb «servir» («serviray») and («servant») and two occurrences of the word for «heart» («cuer») govern the text of this brief poem. The woman is the source of «all good» («tout bien»), a common attribute of the Virgin. It is easy to find parallels for this standard description of the Virgin in the theological writing of the late Middle Ages. Richard of St Laurent’s *Mariale*, a massive encyclopedia of all things Marian, written in the thirteenth century and copied and printed throughout the late Middle Ages, refers repeatedly to the need to serve the all-good Virgin with one’s whole heart. Book II of his tome, «Reasons Why Mary Ought to be Served», for example, contains a nine-page chapter entitled «Mary Ought to be Served from the Heart» («Serviendum est Marie de corde»).¹⁵

It seems, then, that motet 39 would have required minimal re-texting to be understood, like the four motets that precede it, as a Marian work in French. The original secular triplum needed to be modified only in part, by replacing the text starting with line 4 of the poem with French words focused on the Virgin while retaining the first three lines. Few changes were necessary because words and phrases used to describe a beloved earthly woman are often identical or analogous to those that laud the Virgin, and such ambiguous words and phrases were present in the poems from the start.

If motet 39 needed relatively little attention, an even more minimalist and better-known example of registral shifting is found at the beginning of the rondeau *Je ne vis oncques la pareille*:

15. RICHARD OF ST LAURENT, *Opus insigne de laudibus beate marie virginis, alias Mariale appellatum*, 1493, p. 91 (Book II, Particula III). Consulted online at https://www.google.com/books/edition/Opus_insigne_De_laudibus_beate_Marie_vir/cSBNAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover (accessed 7 January 2024). Two of the other French Marian motets in the Cyprus collection, nos 36 and 38, pair a triplum poem that overtly mentions the Virgin («la vierge») or the Mother («la mer») with somewhat more ambiguous motetus texts that do not name the Virgin but can nonetheless be read as Marian through analogy. The motetus of no. 36, for instance, speaks about the moon, a prominent symbol of the Virgin; that of no. 38 features a «dame» who is a «pleasant friend of God».

Je ne vis oncques la pareille	I have never seen your equal,
De vous, ma gracieuse dame;	my gracious lady;
Car vo beaulté est, par mon ame,	For your beauty is, by my soul,
Sur toutes aultres nonpareille.	By all others unequalled.
En vous voiant je m’esmerveille	Upon seeing you I marvel
Et dis: qu’est ceci nostre dame?	And say: could this be Our Lady? ¹⁴

Here the protagonist sounds confused. The lady is so resplendent, so without compare, that he has to check himself and ask: «Is this ‘my gracious lady,’ or is it ‘Our Lady?’». The word «dame» serves for both the earthly and the heavenly woman, and the pivot words that signal the secular-sacred contrast are nothing more than two possessive adjectives: «*ma* gracieuse dame» for the courtly woman and «*Nostre* Dame» for the Virgin.

In motet 39, in sum, it does appear that the scribe was trying to «turn motet 39 about»,¹⁵ as mystic Henry Suso describes, to convert it from a French secular motet into one that could appropriately extol the Virgin Mary in the common tongue. The precision of the erasures and the deliberate preservation of selected triplum text that could serve this new purpose are highly suggestive, and the motetus is neutral enough in register so that the composer needed to modify little at all.

Turning to the music of motet 39,¹⁶ we noted earlier that the pattern-like insistence on direct opposites and the consistent syllable count of the three visible lines of the triplum of motet 39 underscore the contrasts in the poetry. And yet the musical construction of motet 39 contradicts this scheme. That is, the first three lines of the triplum are set irregularly to music, with each line encompassing varying numbers of breves. In performance, the contrasts in the text would thus be somewhat buried in the musical structure. As is true of most fourteenth-century motets, it was evidently more important for the composer to create an attractive musical interplay between triplum and motetus than to emphasize the

14. See discussions of this piece in JENNIFER BLOXAM, *I have never seen your equal: Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed*, «Early Music», 34, 2006, pp. 391-408; and in ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face*, pp. 396-397.

15. In his fourteenth-century *Horologium Sapientiae* («Hour-Glass of Wisdom»), Suso states that love songs can be «turned about» for sacred use; see BL. HENRY SUSO, *Wisdom’s Watch upon the Hours*, Eng. trans. by Edmund Colledge, Washington D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1994, p. 74. Suso’s treatise was widely copied and translated in the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and it was one of the earliest books to be printed. This work is treated in ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face*, pp. 400-401; and in EAD., *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 96-102.

16. See the musical edition in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. by Richard H. Hoppin, 4 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, II, pp. 175-177.

symmetry of the poems. The two voices vie for prominence and audibility throughout: sometimes one voice holds a long note while the other moves in quicker notes, and vice versa. And when the note values of the two lines would have coincided, as we see on the triplum words «doute enbaudour» and the motetus «desserviray» (Ex. 1), the composer has organized the isorhythm so that it offsets the voices by shifting one forward (or the other backward) by a semiminim. Sometimes the upper lines further highlight their interplay through occasional use of hocket. These forms of interaction take place within a strictly isorhythmic framework, which includes the upper voices as well as the tenor-contratenor pair. As in the triplum, the motetus poem does not quite correspond to the tenor talea: the text of the second half of the motetus fails to align with the beginning of the second statement of the talea, anticipating it by a full breve. Because of the erasures in the triplum, it is of course impossible to tell where the articulations in that poem would have fallen in relation to the tenor.

13

doute en bau - dour, Mes -
des - ser - vi - ray D'a -

Ex. 1.
Motet 39 - *Mon mal en bien / Tous tens je la serviray* / Contratenor / Tenor, bars 13-15
Transcription from *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), II, p. 175

3. Motet 40 - *Amour trestout fort / La douce art / Contratenor / Tenor*

At first glance, the truncated triplum text of motet 40 in the Cyprus Codex resembles that of motet 39. As Figs 1 and 3 show, the triplum once again contains eradicated lines, although most of the text, bleeding through the erasures, is still legible.

Fig. 3.
I-Tn, J.II.9, fol. 95^v: motet 40 (close-up of Triplum and Tenor)



3.

This time, however, it appears that the scribe who carried out the deletion might have intended to expunge the entire triplum, since he started at the beginning and, after erasing the first and part of the second line in the score (Fig. 3), stopped arbitrarily at the end of the first word of the sixth line of the poem.

[Amour trestout fort me point Mais c'est un si tres dous point Que mon cuer tout s'en eslye, Se desire estre en ce point Tout mon vivant, car a point C'est] qui me tient en bon point En fuiant merancolye. ¹⁷	[Love pricks me forcefully, But it is such a very sweet point That my heart rejoices because of it. And I desire to remain in this state My whole life, for it is precisely Love] who keeps me in good spirits, Fleeing melancholy.
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Perhaps the scribe paused or was distracted while deleting this text and never came back to finish the job. Because the plan for reworking this poem is so nebulous, the brief remarks offered here about Motet 40 must necessarily remain provisional.

If motet 40 was meant to be contrafacted as a Marian work, then the rationale and process differ from those employed in motet 39. Whereas

17. Erasure indicated in the bracketed text.

quite a bit of the triplum poem could stand as Marian lyric in motet 39, the triplum and motetus texts of motet 40 are typical courtly love poems that would need serious reworking, or even complete replacement, to render them suitable for commending the Virgin. If we cannot know what direction the scribe meant to take with motet 40, we can suggest some of the procedures he might have used, based on the content of the existing courtly poems.

When incorporating Marian references and resonances into their poetry, composers often drew on sacred themes that have well-known analogues in the courtly literature. In the case of motet 40, specific ideas that appear to be worked out in each strophe of the text find parallels in spiritual writings, as the two following examples illustrate.

The beginning of the triplum poem of motet 40, for instance, tells us that the protagonist is being insistently prodded by Love. These two topoi, «prodding» and «love», find a prominent analogue in a well-known theme found in late medieval mystical treatises. Indeed, these topics can be seen in the very titles of the works: the *Stimulus Amoris* («The Stimulus of Love»), a thirteenth-century tract by Franciscan James of Milan; *The Prickyng of Love*, a fourteenth-century English translation of the *Stimulus* once attributed to Bonaventura; Walter Hilton's fourteenth-century *Goad of Love*; and *L'Aiguillon d'amour divin* («The Sting of Divine Love»), a fifteenth-century translation of the *Stimulus* by Simon de Courcy.¹⁸ In both the courtly and religious spheres, then, the notion that love goads a protagonist was a medieval commonplace, one with potent registral flexibility.

A second example touches on the medicinal words and phrases found in the second strophe of the triplum.

Sa gracieuse pointure	Her gracious figure
M'est unne si douce ointure,	Is such a sweet ointment for me
Qu'en autre rien n'ai envye	That I have not desired anything other
Que a faire, par bonne cure,	Than to accomplish, with care,
Trestout ce de quoi s'en cure	All that she cares about.
Car sur toute rien procure,	For above everything,
Sa grace toute ma vye.	For my whole life.

18. For modern editions, see JAMES OF MILAN, *Stimulus amoris* (Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi IV), Quaracchi (Firenze), Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1949; *Prickyng of Love*, ed. by Harold Kane, 2 vols, Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 1983; and *The Goad of Love*, ed. by Clare Kirchberger, London, Faber & Faber, 1952. Simon de Courcy's translation from 1406 has not been edited; a manuscript of his *L'Aiguillon d'amour divin*, found in F-Pn, fr. 926, can be consulted online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059107q> (accessed 11 January 2024).

Here the text emphasizes the *figure* of the beloved, pointing out that her form serves as an *ointment* that *cures* the protagonist. The significant words in this strophe – the lady's figure, the healing ointment, and the cure (or «care») that it brings – are often encountered in texts acclaiming the Virgin or perhaps Mary Magdalene. Drawing on the *Song of Songs*,¹⁹ the excerpt below from an anonymous sermon for the Assumption of Mary illustrates how the three themes are closely related in the theological literature:

But you have put on *ointments* so that they might make your *face and your body* more pleasing. Therefore, the scent of your *ointments* [is] above all spices. Some [people] are *anointed* for a *cure*, others are *anointed* for steadfastness, all receive [your] *ointments* out of necessity. You, tender daughter and full of all grace, are the most beloved *ointment* in your charms for the glory of your beauty, and in a sign of love.²⁰

The key words in this encomium – figure, ointment, and cure/care – likewise appear in close proximity in the triplum of motet 40. Such correspondences could well have inspired a scribe tasked with replacing text in this piece. Similarly, the mention of «fleeing melancholy» at the end of the first strophe of the poem might foreshadow the curative language of the second strophe, since «melancholy» («merancolye») was thought to be a disease of the mind that listening to music could prevent or cure.²¹ The musical structure of motet 40 consists of two statements of the tenor color, each in turn containing two statements of the talea.²² As in motet 39, the arrangement of the triplum text in motet 40 overrides the articulations of the isorhythmic structure. The motetus text, on the other hand, is congruent with the tenor and contratenor at major structural points: the second strophe begins precisely at the start of the second statement of the talea in the first color, and the third and final strophe corresponds to the beginning of the second statement of the tenor color, which proceeds more quickly, guided by a tenor rubric («the tenor is sung twice, first as

19. See especially *Song of Songs*, Ch. 4.

20. «Sed unguenta accepisti, ut speciem et formam tuam gratius commendarent. Ergo odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Alii unguuntur ad curationem, alii unguuntur ad stabilitatem, omnes unguenta ad necessitatem accipimus. Tu, filia delicata, et omni gratia plena, charissima in deliciis tuis uncta es ad gloriam decoris tui, et in signum dilectionis», in *Sermo de assumptione B. Virginis*, in PL 177, col. 1214.

21. See PENELOPE GOUK, *Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits in Early Modern Thought*, in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. by Peregrine Horden, Brookfield (VT), Ashgate, 2000, pp. 173 and 179-184. I am grateful to Eleanor Price for pointing me to this source and likewise for alerting me to similarities in language between motets 39/40 and ballade 102 of the Cyprus Codex.

22. See the musical edition in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), II, pp. 178-181, no. 40; and the description of the isorhythm in MARGARET BENT, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2023, pp. 668, 682-686.

it lies, second [diminished] by half»²³) that instructs the performer first to sing the tenor using the note values as written and then to diminish them by half. The motetus thus tracks the tenor/contratenor pair closely, helping to anchor the upper-voice pair. If the triplum seems to go its own way rhythmically, it exchanges moments of audibility with the motetus, as long, held pitches in one voice alternate with more rapid notes in the other. The two upper-voice melodies sometimes prolong an identical vowel sound simultaneously, creating moments of sonic openness, as we hear in the elongated «ah---» on the words «sa---voir» in the triplum and «a---mour» in the motetus (Ex. 2). As in Motet 39, this interplay between the two upper voices is governed by their isorhythmic structure.

Ex. 2.
Motet 40 – *Amour trestout fort / La douce art* / Contratenor / Tenor, bars 89-91
Transcription from *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), II, p. 179

Another interesting feature of motet 40 is the highly conjunct, scalar quality of its tenor (Fig. 3, bottom). With a strong F-mode orientation, the tenor begins on F, descends stepwise from F down to C, climbs up a seventh to B with the help of two leaps, and descends again stepwise to D and then to C. From this low C, the tenor then rises a ninth to D, only to fall back by step to the low C. Once again, the major arrival points of these scalar ascents and descents correspond to *talea* statements in the tenor and to the beginnings of each strophe of the motetus. In a modern score, the text-music pairing of motetus and tenor gives the piece an intentional, deliberately planned look.

23. «Tenor bis dicitur, primo ut iacet, secundo per semi» (see Fig. 3, bottom).

4. Motets 39 and 40 and the Compilation of the Cyprus Manuscript

Can motets 39 and 40 shed light on the origin and history of the Cyprus manuscript? As noted at the outset, these two works represent but a fraction of the unicum motet collection in this source. Why were motets 39 and 40, the only vernacular, courtly pieces in the collection, included at all? And why were they copied where they are, as antepenultimate and penultimate pieces in the Cyprus motets?

We can only speculate in response to these questions. Perhaps the scribe, wishing to include seven French Marian motets at the end of the manuscript – possibly one for each day of the week? – but having only five at hand, reserved space for a sixth and seventh by including two motets that he knew he could contrafact with Marian text at a later time. We have tried to imagine how the scribe might have reworked the registral and linguistic aspects of motets 39 and 40 by leveraging the parallel and mutually reinforcing traditions of composing text both for a courtly lady and for the Virgin Mary. The scribe knew that he could accomplish this in two ways: by replacing secular words with sacred text in French, a technique that seems to be in progress in motet 39, and possibly by converting courtly into Marian poetry through allegorical rereading of earthly as heavenly themes, as may be starting to occur in motet 40.

Along with the other French pieces in the Cyprus collection, motets 39 and 40 thus appear to point to the practice of expressing theological tenets and Marian praise in the vernacular in late medieval music. This practice spread throughout Europe, including in the duchy of Savoy in the 1450s, the court to which the Cyprus Codex may have come in 1434.²⁴ Here, around 1453, Guillaume Du Fay composed his *Missa Se la face ay pale*, the first extant mass to base all five movements on a single, vernacular melody.²⁵ The final section of this chapter will touch on musicians and composers who moved between Cyprus and Savoy and who were perhaps familiar with the Cyprus Codex and its burgeoning use of the vernacular for sacred purposes, as we have posited for motets 39 and 40.

24. See the discussion below. Heinrich Bessler was first to suggest the passage of the manuscript from Cyprus to Savoy; see HEINRICH BESSELER, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», VII/2, 1925, pp. 167-252: 209-210; see also KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, pp. 175-176. Scholars have posited dates between about 1410 and 1434. In addition to the date, the place of origin of the Cyprus Codex is still in question, not least because the script of the entire Latin-texted portion of the manuscript appears to be Italian; see KARL KÜGLE, *Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript*, in *Il Codice J.II.9*, pp. 25-63. Nonetheless, the presence of offices for St Anne and St Hilarion, saints who were greatly preferred in Cyprus, along with other signs of Cypriot origin – e.g. the mention of King Janus of Cyprus in the motetus of motet 8 – make the island the leading contender for the place of its compilation and copying. See the discussion of opinions about the place of origin of the manuscript in BENT, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 679-681. A recent detailed study of the office of St Anne is found in MICHAEL ALAN ANDERSON, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014, Ch. 2, pp. 26-65.

25. See ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face*.

5. Jean Galliot, Singer-Composer from Cyprus in the Court of Savoy

The notion that motets 39 and 40 from the Cyprus manuscript might foreshadow, however distantly, the mindset of Du Fay and others who employed vernacular *cantus firmi* in their sacred masses and motets is intriguing. Not only is it likely that the book ended up in Savoy, but singers who would have performed its music came to Savoy from Cyprus as well. How can the careers of these musicians help us better understand the transmission of music between the island kingdom and the continent? We have long known that musicians and clerics moved between Cyprus and European churches and courts in the first half of the fifteenth century. During the months preceding her marriage in 1434 to Louis, Duke of Savoy (r. 1440-1465), Anne of Lusignan brought musicians from her native Cyprus to her new home in Chambéry. Some of these singers might have been Cyprus natives, but the majority were no doubt Europeans, mostly French, who worked for a while in the Cyprus chapel and then returned to other European courts.

One musician who engaged in this type of peripatetic existence is the well-known Jean Hanelle. Around the time of Anne's and Louis' wedding, he is described, in his capacity as a member of Anne's chapel, as «singer of the king of Cyprus» and «master of the chapel of the king of Cyprus».²⁶ Several documents inform us about Hanelle's earlier background: he began his career around 1410 as a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral and then followed Queen Charlotte of Bourbon, wife of King Janus of Cyprus and mother of Anne of Lusignan, to Cyprus in 1411 as part of her retinue. There he seems to have remained as chapel master until 1422 before moving by 1434 to the chapel in Savoy.²⁷ Hanelle's musical experience in at least three different and far-flung institutions traces the typical career path of a late medieval singer. Other musicians pursued similar itineraries that involved positions in the Cypriot court, not least one Jean Galliot – «Johannes Gallioctus» in Latin – whose name and whose position as a singer and composer comes to light in a hitherto unstudied record related to the duchy of Savoy.

The presence of a Jean Galliot in Anne of Lusignan's chapel is known to us through the documentation of a momentous occasion in the duchy: Duke Louis' obtainment of the Holy Shroud in 1453, an event that catapulted

26. «Cantor Regis Chippre» and «mestre de chappelle du Roy de Chippre», recorded in ROBERT JOHN BRADLEY, *Musical Life and Culture at Savoy 1420-1450*, Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 1992, pp. 129 and 536. Bradley places Hanelle in Savoy in 1434 and 1436.

27. For summaries of Hanelle's career, see KARL KÜGLE, s.v. *Hanelle, Jean* in *Grove Music Online* (accessible through subscription only; accessed 7 January 2024); BENT, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 662-665; KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior*, pp. 641, 669-671; and ID., *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, pp. 170-172.

Savoy to a prominent position on the European stage.²⁸ To acquire the Shroud, Louis and Anne traveled to nearby Geneva, remaining there for eight months while the relic was housed and periodically displayed in the Franciscan Convent of Rive. Here they paid for and probably personally heard specially composed music on several occasions, including the «new mass» of one «Johannes Gallioctus from the kingdom of Cyprus», which was performed on Sunday, April 8, 1453, in the Franciscan convent.²⁹ This is probably the «Galliot» (no first name given) who is likewise documented among the chaplains and singers of Savoy in the 1440s.³⁰ What we learn from the 1453 document is revelatory: Galliot was not just a chaplain and singer, but also, as just noted, a composer.

The description of Johannes Gallioctus, or Jean Galliot, as a former member of the Cyprus court chapel might seem to suggest that he had arrived only recently in Savoy, but that may be reading too much into his designation as a composer «from the kingdom of Cyprus». It is possible that he was always styled in this way, that is, perhaps musicians continued to be identified throughout their careers by the place where they held their first or most recent professional position. Like Hanelle, Jean Galliot could have come to Savoy as early as 1434 along with the musicians who accompanied Anne to Chambéry, although he appears in the Savoyard records only beginning in the early 1440s.³¹

Interestingly, the Jean Galliot who worked at the Court of Savoy in 1453 is not the only person with this name known to music historians. An

28. For the most recent and reliable history of the Shroud in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see ANDREA NICOLOTTI, *Sindone: storia e leggende di una reliquia controversa*, Torino, Einaudi, 2015; Eng. trans. *The Shroud of Turin: The History and Legends of the World's Most Famous Relic*, Eng. trans. by Jeffrey M. Hunt and R. A. Smith, Waco (TX), Baylor University Press, 2019, pp. 67-159.

29. «Item magis die octava Aprilis anni presentis pro oblationibus factis per quos supra in missa nova domini Johannis Galliocti de regie chippri...in ecclesia...predicti fratrum minorum Rippe...celebrata» («And again, for the oblations made on the eighth day of April in this year [1453] by those [named] above [the Duke and Duchess of Savoy]... in the new mass of Dominus Johannes Gallioctus from the kingdom of Cyprus...that was celebrated...in the church...of the aforementioned Franciscans of Rive»); drawn from a document found in the *Registres du Conseil de Genève* (I-Ta, Sezioni Riunite, inv. 16, Reg. 102, fols 351^v-352^r). Eva Pibiri noted the name «Jean Galliocti» in this document without identifying him further; see EVA PIBIRI, *L'acquisition du Saint Suaire par la maison de Savoie en 1453: de nouveaux textes*, «Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia», 57, 2003, p. 161. On the transfer of the Shroud to Duke Louis, see NICOLOTTI, *The Shroud of Turin*, pp. 135-147; earlier research is summarized in ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face*, pp. 417-421.

30. BRADLEY, *Musical Life and Culture*, pp. 125, 145, 467, 470, 471, 473, 476, 479, 481, 516. Bradley conjectured that the spelling «Galliot» might be an orthographic change from the name of an earlier singer at the chapel named «Guillot» (*ibidem*, pp. 125, 255). However, the existence of a *bona fide* «Jean Galliot» in the Savoy chapel that the present study confirms matches the several instances of this name that Bradley cites and makes it unnecessary to try to argue for a change in spelling. See also ANNE STONE, *The Ars subtilior in Paris*, «Musica e storia», 10, 2002, pp. 373-404: 392.

31. See footnote 30 above. The lists of singers and chapel masters compiled by Marie-Thérèse Bouquet date from 1450; see MARIE-THÉRÈSE BOUQUET, *La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1450 al 1500*, «Rivista italiana di musicologia», III/2, 1968, pp. 233-285: 283-285. Her lists do not include Hanelle, Galliot, or Du Fay.

earlier – or perhaps the same? – Jean Galiot, spelled with one «-l-», was active in France around the last two decades of the fourteenth century. To this Galiot are attributed four chansons found in the Chantilly Codex, of which two are most likely his: the ballade *Le sault perilleux a l'aventure prins* (n. 53) and the rondeau *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* (n. 59).³² Apart from the presence of Galiot's name in these attributions, no record of him has hitherto been found.³³

It is tempting to try to equate these two men named «Jean Galiot/Galliot»: one who composed a rondeau and a ballade around 1382 that were included in the Chantilly Codex,³⁴ and another who wrote at least one sacred mass in or just before 1453. Caution is in order, however. Even if the Galiot of the Chantilly MS was quite young – say, 20 to 25 – when he composed his chansons, he would have been a nonagenarian by 1453. The archival reference above tells us specifically that Anne and Louis sponsored his «new» mass composition on 8 April 1453, indicating that he was still actively composing lengthy works at that time.³⁵ And if we hypothesize a single composer named Galiot/Galliot, one blessed with long life and health – an Elliott Carter, perhaps – then we must also admire the striking diversity of his musical output: a rondeau and a ballade in the *ars subtilior* style of the late fourteenth century, preserved in the Chantilly manuscript, and an otherwise unknown mass written presumably in the very different style of Du Fay's contemporaneous *Missa Se la face ay pale*, a work likely produced in 1453 in honor of Duke Louis' reception of the Holy Shroud.³⁶

32. F-CH, MS 564, fols 37^r and 40^r, respectively. On Jean Galiot and his works, see YOLANDA PLUMLEY – ANNE STONE, *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque Du Château De Chantilly, Ms. 564: Fac-similé*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 37, 40. The two other chansons attributed to Galiot are *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* (n. 45, Philippus) and *En attendant, Esperance conforte* (n. 68), but these are thought to be the work of Philippus de Caserta and Jacob de Senleches, respectively; see REINHARD STROHM, *Filippotto de Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia*, in *In Cantu et in Sermonibus: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, ed. by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno, Firenze, Olschki, 1989, pp. 65-74: 69-71; and YOLANDA PLUMLEY, *Citation and Allusion in the Late 'Ars nova': The Case of 'Esperance' and the 'En attendant' Songs*, «Early Music History», 18, 1999, pp. 287-363.

33. *Ibidem*, pp. 289, 294, 334, and *passim*; and STONE, *The Ars subtilior*, pp. 378-392.

34. The Chantilly manuscript was probably copied between about 1408-09 and 1418-20, but the repertoire it contains is older, and the chansons likely date between 1380 and the very early years of the fifteenth century; see PLUMLEY – STONE, *Codex Chantilly*, pp. 138, 181; and Plumley, who dates the *En attendant* songs to c. 1382, in PLUMLEY, *Citation and Allusion*, p. 360.

35. Bent discusses the relationship between known composers and the manuscripts that preserve their works, hinting that scores of musicians not specifically called *musici* (composers) might have composed works otherwise unattributed in manuscripts; see MARGARET BENT, *Orfeo: Dominus presbiter Orpheus de Padua*, in *Qui Musicam in Se Habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. by Anna Zavaruznaya, Bonnie Blackburn and Stanley Boorman, Middleton (WI), American Institute of Musicology, 2015, pp. 231-233. Other writers who have recently studied issues of composer attribution and musical sources in the late Middle Ages include ROB WEGMAN, *From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 49, 1996, pp. 409-479; and CATHERINE A. BRADLEY, *Authorship and Identity in Late Thirteenth-Century Motets*, Abingdon (NY), Routledge, 2022.

36. See ROBERTSON, *The Man with the Pale Face*.

Was this Galiot/Galliot a musical polymath whose oeuvre tracks the vast changes in musical style that occurred between the 1380s and the 1450s? And did he compose music that is included in the Cyprus Codex?³⁷

Despite these tantalizing clues, a second possibility, namely that Jean Galiot and Jean Galliot are different men, sounds more reasonable when one considers average human lifespan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. If so, were the two Jeans related, that is, were they father and son, or even grandfather and grandson?

Intriguingly, a third possibility also exists, and this one obviates the need to try to account for the longevity of a single musician named Galiot/Galliot. Reinhard Strohm has noted that the Jean Galiot of the Chantilly Codex, along with fellow contributors Philippus de Caserta and Jacob de Senleches, had connections to the Visconti family, including with Duke Giangaleazzo Visconti, coruler of Milan along with his uncle Bernabò. A favorite literary work of these composers and aristocrats was the famous romance *Lancelot du lac*, in which a prominent character is Count Galehot, friend of Lancelot. Not only are the French and Italian names «Galehot», «Galiot», and «Galeazzo» equivalents, but Galeazzo was honored as «Galehot» in wall paintings based on the romance that were commissioned in 1395. Strohm ingeniously proposed that the Jean Galiot of the Chantilly Codex is a French penname for Gian(Jean)-Galeazzo(Galiot).³⁸ If this is the case, then the Jean Galliot who is documented in Savoy in the 1440s and in 1453 would have to be a different person altogether.

37. Galliot's «new mass» was heard on 8 April 1453, which was the octave of Easter Sunday (1 April). Following Bent's suggestion in footnote 35 above, we might examine the anonymous *missae paschales* in manuscripts that date from just after the mid-fifteenth century. In I-TRbc, MS 1375 (= Trent 88), for example, the work that precedes the earliest source for Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* (fols 97^r-107^r) is an unattributed «Et in terra paschale» (fols 94^r-96^r), which is separated from Du Fay's mass only by two blank pages. This work, however, is probably English; see REBECCA L. GERBER, *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Codex 1375 (olim 88)*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007, pp. 58, 369-374 (no. 28). Many mass compositions and mass movements labelled «paschale» exist in the large fifteenth-century repertory manuscripts; pursuing them further goes beyond the scope of the present study. We should keep in mind nonetheless that Jean Galliot may be one of the many composers whose work(s) is preserved anonymously in late medieval sources – perhaps even in the Cyprus Codex, although it is doubtful that any of the masses in this manuscript are his. Strohm has suggested that the addition to the Cyprus Codex of an anonymous cyclic mass (fols 139^r-141^r) containing a Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus (no Agnus Dei) may have occurred in Savoy (see his chapter in this volume; and REINHARD STROHM, *European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century*, «Early Music History», 1, 1981, pp. 305-323: 317), but there is no indication that the work was inserted as late as the early 1450s, when Jean Galliot's mass is described as «new». Finally, none of the three full monophonic mass cycles in the first fascicle of the Cyprus Codex can be Galliot's, since, once again, his work was «new» in 1453 and most likely polyphonic.

38. REINHARD STROHM, *Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?*, in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 238-239; and *Id.*, *Filippotto de Caserta*, pp. 69-71.

In closing, let us first summarize what we know or can conjecture about the careers of the composers sketched here. 1) The first scenario involves a Jean Galiot/Galliot who lived an uncommonly long and musically fruitful life (c. 1360 until at least 1453), composing secular songs for the Chantilly Codex in the 1380s, coming to Savoy by the 1440s, and producing there at least one mass in 1453. The second involves at least two generations of Galiot/Galliot (2a and 2b), both named «Jean», who carried out the above. The third likewise involves two different men: 3a) Duke Giangaleazzo Visconti, who composed the chansons for the Chantilly Codex in the 1380s under the *nom de plume* Jean Galiot, and 3b) an unrelated Jean Galliot, probably the second-generation Galliot described above (2b), who was a member of the Savoy chapel in the 1440s and wrote a mass there in 1453. Only the younger Jean Galliot of the 1440s and 1453 (2b and 3b above) is securely documented at present,³⁹ and the evidence of the other Galiot/Galliot is not yet complete enough to permit us to select with assurance from among the various scenarios. It is nonetheless interesting to ponder the possibilities and to see that the cloud of nescience around «Jean Galiot/Galliot» is beginning to lift.

Whatever the biography(-ies) of Jean Galiot/Galliot might eventually reveal, traces of the comings and goings of musicians between Cyprus and Savoy are important to study alongside the motets and the rest of the history and music of the Cyprus Codex. The wanderings of Galiot/Galliot and Jean Hanelle who spent time at the remote Cypriot court are consistent with what we know about the astonishingly peripatetic movements of late medieval musicians. These French-trained musicians, along with those who accompanied Anne of Lusignan from the island to Savoy in 1434,⁴⁰ help establish a rationale for the continental features of the Cyprus motets. Clearly, the basic stylistic elements of this collection – the use of isorhythm, of French as well as Latin texts, of poetic ideas, and of other features illustrating the elements of French and Italian heritage in these pieces⁴¹ – and the technique of employing vernacular texts in sacred settings were known to the composer(s) and singers of these works.⁴² As we continue to identify these musicians, we stand to gain a

fuller and more nuanced understanding of the fascinating aspects of this source from a faraway court in the Levantine Sea that made its way to the princely households of late medieval Europe.

39. See footnotes 29 and 30 above.

40. Kügle suggests that Hanelle may have composed several works in the Cyprus Codex and played a large role in its compilation, along with a singer named Jehan Augustin *dit du Passage*; KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, pp. 172-174.

41. For an enumeration of these features, see BENT, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 497-530, 671-673.

42. As Kügle has written, «it thus seems a plausible assumption that the composers of the Torino [Cyprus] motets were not only thoroughly familiar with the motet repertory of the early and mid-fourteenth century but drew on it without hesitation for poetic inspiration»; KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino J.II.9*, p. 163.

Motetus

La douce art m'estuet aprendre
 D'amer ou puet on comprendre
 Toute douceur et tout pris
 Prestement, sans plus atendre,
 De veuil constant et non tendre,
 Puis que je say bien entendre
 Que n'en puis estre repris.

De bon voloir et parfait,
 Veulliant, par dit et par fait,
 Y metre tout mon avis,
 Sans onques mais contrefait
 Avoir, ne coumis forfeit,
 Se non trestout bien parfait,
 Liement et de cler vis.

Car amour, qui mon cuer art,
 De ceste gracieuse art
 Veut que soie tout espris,
 Si le veuil en toute part,
 Se la mort ne m'en depart
 Atendant tres bonne part
 Avoir de ly que je pris.

I must learn the sweet art
 Of loving, where one can realize
 All sweetness and every reward
 Immediately, without waiting any longer,
 With a firm and not weak will,
 Since I know well to understand
 That [love] cannot be recaptured.

Wishing, out of good and perfect will
 In word and deed
 To place there all my determination
 Without ever having feigned anything
 Nor committed an offense,
 If not entirely perfect,
 [Then] happily and with sincerity.

For Love, which burns my heart,
 Desires that I be entirely consumed
 By this gracious art,
 And he wishes it in every part,
 If death does not take me
 [While] waiting to have the very best part
 From her whom I prize.

David Fallows

Velut, Antonello, and the *ballades* of the Codex I-Tn, J.II.9

At the Cyprus conference of 1992 several speakers drew attention to the remarkable uniformity of style particularly among the songs of the Turin manuscript. Nobody quite dared to state it out loud, but anybody reading through the texts of the songs or reading through the music could easily conclude that there was just a single poet and a single composer at work here. Given the immense quantity of music in the manuscript, the chances of it all being by one person may seem unrealistic. But somehow the idea keeps its hold.

So one way forward was obviously to look at the known compositions of Gilet Velut. We know from the chronicle of Leontios Machairas that a certain Gilet Veliout was among the entourage of Charlotte de Bourbon when she arrived in Cyprus to marry king Janus in August 1411. We also know that Velut was mentioned in a papal letter of 2 June 1411. Given that the name is fairly unusual, we can fairly safely conclude that this was the same Gilet Velut who was at Cambrai Cathedral as a *petit vicaire* in 1410 and as a full *vicaire* in 1410-1411.¹ But that is the sum total of what we know about the life of Velut.

There is obviously the possibility that he remained in Cyprus until the death of Charlotte de Bourbon in January 1422. And in any case the default position on the Cyprus music is that most of it was composed under her patronage over the ten and a half years that she was there. But that is to jump ahead.

Surviving in three manuscripts (GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213; I-Bc, Q15; I-Trbc, Ms. 1384, also known as Trent 87), Velut's known music comprises four songs with French text, two motets, and two mass movements.²

The first striking feature is the 'Italian' motet style of his four-voice motet *Summe summy / Summa summy*. Twenty nine years ago Margaret Bent

1. Cf. ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge, University Press, 2018, II, p. 709.

2. Velut's compositions are all published in *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Gilbert Reaney, 6 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 11), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1955-1983, II, 1959, pp. 118-148.

described it as «post-Ciconian», but I am inclined to wonder.³ I am not disputing the word ‘Ciconian’ but wondering whether it is really so much later. With its two upper voices in the same range, it has two different texts of the same length, one addressed to God the Father and the other to the Virgin Mary. It starts with two identical three-voice opening statements. Later there are two sections of elaborate hocket. And the whole is underpinned by a freely-composed tenor without any chant basis. In I-TRbc, Ms. 1384 (Trent 87) it comes immediately after a *Gloria* and *Credo* of Ciconia; in I-Bc, Q15 it comes immediately after a string of no fewer than six motets by Ciconia. But in any case judging from the style of the thing it is very hard to imagine anybody composing it if they were not present in the Veneto. There is so much here that recalls Ciconia’s motets that one is inclined to think that the composer needs to have been actually in the Veneto during the years of Ciconia’s motets of state, that is to say, prior to Velut’s appearing in Cambrai in the early months of 1410.

Plainly it is possible that he returned from Cyprus at some stage during the ten years after he arrived with Charlotte de Bourbon. But everything in the motet’s style and its manuscript context says that Velut was in the Veneto in the first decade of the century, returning to Cambrai shortly afterwards.

Nothing could present a greater contrast than Velut’s other motet, the French-style motet *Benedicta viscera / Ave mater gracie*, built on a chant tenor, *Ora pro nobis*. All four voices include precise rhythmic repetition, thus isorhythm. As in so many French-style motets, the triplum text is much longer than the motetus text; but the latter ends with what looks like a prayer for the end of the Schism. Gilbert Reaney thought that this could be associated with the Council of Constance in 1417-1418,⁴ but since there was schism of some kind all the time between 1378 and 1417, there are many other opportunities for Velut to have composed the motet. More to the point, it appears in the eighth gathering of GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213, the gathering that seems to contain most of its oldest pieces. Moreover, it is both preceded and followed by *Gloria* settings of Ciconia (yet again!). Once more the indications are that the work was composed in the first decade of the century, perhaps in fact for the Council of Pisa in 1409.

We can pass quickly from there to the two mass movements and to

3. MARGARET BENT, *Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995, pp. 357-375: 362.

4. *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, p. LVIII.

Reinhard Strohm’s observation that the *Credo* recalls the style of Cordier and that the *Gloria* recalls the Tapissier *Sanctus* in F-APT, Trésor 16bis (Apt Codex).⁵ I have no wish to pursue those suggestions further but merely conclude that for both motets and both mass movements we have the strongest indications that they were all composed before 1410, therefore before Velut went to Cyprus.

With that as a background we can come to his songs, starting with the ballade *Laissiés ester*: only one stanza of text survives, whereas most ballades have three stanzas. But the single surviving stanza shows that it is plainly a lament; and those who do the lamenting are those who consider themselves friends «of the high and noble art of music» – «Du tres haultain et noble art de musique» – in the words of the refrain at the end of the stanza. Whether it is a lament for a patron or, more likely, for a composer, we cannot know. But plainly it was a special song for a special event. It is also the most complex of Velut’s works, with multiple proportional signs and always different mensurations in the different voices. So a quintessentially *Ars Subtilior* song. Presumably there is a clear symbolism in that the tenor and contratenor both descend to the lowest possible note, Gamut – which happens only once among the 102 ballades in J.II.9 (n. 4, though not with any obvious symbolism). And unlike n. 4 in J.II.9 it has a flat staff-signature in all three voices. We can safely assign this too to the years around 1400.

Next up is the ballade *Un petit oyselet chantant*. Here we have two stanzas of text, so we are a little better off; and the refrain line in both reads «En Gaule ton bon espriver» – «[send] your fine sparrow-hawk to Gaul». As Reaney remarks, it looks very much as though the composer is away from France and wishes to return.⁶ In addition the second stanza refers to a very old falconer – «fauconnier de grant eage». Once again, there is far less information than we would wish: there must have been many old falconers in France. And of course it is unwise to assume that it was written for a special occasion or has any biographical significance. On the other hand, the text is so specific and individual that it is very hard not to read biography into it. And the text does align with the case of Velut’s motet in the style of Ciconia, namely in suggesting that at some point Velut was outside of France, which in these years usually meant Italy, so perhaps at the time when he wrote his Ciconian motet *Summe summy / Summa summy*.

5. REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 145.

6. *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, p. VI.

On the other hand, the music for *Un petit oyselet* suggests nothing of the kind. Again it is in an Ars Subtilior style, this time with very long note-values and particularly the style that Reaney and Ursula Günther construed as being in *tempus perfectum diminutum* – transcribed by Reaney with notes reduced to an eighth of their original values.⁷ I should mention at this point that Reaney's double reduction is noted only in the commentary, so it is easy to be misled by its style. But, more important, I should also mention that this long-note rhythmic style does not appear anywhere in J.II.9.

There is one further feature of *Un petit oyselet* that attracts attention, namely the way all the major sections end with what one can only call 'iambic cadences' in which the discantus begins the final chord with an accented passing note. This too is not found in any of the Turin ballades; and I tend to view it as a further indication that the song was composed well before 1410.

Velut's third ballade, *Jusqu'au jour d'uy*, again has only a single stanza; and here the text is hard to decipher from that single stanza. Only the last line seems to contain the clue to the piece, read «Tant que sans pois, sans nombre et sans mesure» – «Thus without weight, without number and without measure». I think it is a song in favour of speaking little and against the idiocies of those who talk too much. And in that respect it is not unlike many of the ballades in the Turin collection, offering wisdoms about how to behave in courtly life.

But in other respects this is quite unlike the Turin ballades. First of all, it has an eleven-line stanza, whereas nothing in Turin has more than ten. Second, like Velut's first ballade, *Layssiés ester*, which also has an eleven-line stanza, it surprises by having a first section of only two lines, whereas the longer stanzas in J.II.9 always have three-line first sections.

But the real surprise is again the music, entirely different in style from either of his other two ballades. It is apparently in duple time, but with the most irregular treatment of that time that I have seen from those years. Reaney's transcription starts in 4/4, then moves to 3/2, back to 4/4 and then to 3/4 for the final refrain; then it continues in 3/4 interspersed with occasional bars of 2/4, all in a heady succession. Let it just be added that this is the first piece in the famous and bizarre seventh gathering of GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213, followed by a Ciconia *Gloria*, Velut's *Benedicta*

7. MARGARET BENT, *The Myth of tempus perfectum diminutum in the Chantilly Manuscript*, in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 203-227, offers a clear summary of the situation. In particular she demonstrates that there is no notated case of *tempus perfectum diminutum* before the 1420s. But she readily concedes that there was a repertory with longer note-values in the 14th century.

viscera and then another *Gloria* by Ciconia. Since I know of no other song resembling *Jusqu'au jour d'uy* it is hard to guess at a date, but its manuscript context puts it again in the first decade of the century.

This, incidentally, is the piece from which Daniel Leech-Wilkinson quotes as the last musical example of his 1992 essay, because of similar chains of imitating thirds. But he did add: «It has to be said, however, that this extract sounds significantly different [*sc.* from the Turin pieces] because of its greater concentration of imperfect consonances».⁸ I would add that particularly its rhythmic style is quite unlike anything in J.II.9.

If all the pieces described so far could well have been composed before Velut left for Cyprus in 1411, Velut's other known work tells an entirely different story. It is a rondeau setting that looks a lot more staid, and I would have guessed at a date around 1420. But that seems to contradict everything that I have said so far about Velut. And I even wondered whether it could be a false ascription. But that too makes little sense. All the same, what we have here is a song with lots of regular four-bar phrases, something that I associate mainly with the years 1415–1425. Given that the Turin repertory as we know it is totally hermetic, with not a note of it known from elsewhere and not a word of its texts known from elsewhere, we can only assume that Velut had returned to the mainland fairly soon after he had reached Cyprus with Charlotte de Bourbon in 1411.

In any case, what we have here is a composer who can write four songs in totally contrasting styles alongside two motets in styles as contrasting as is possible for the years around 1400. And I was gratified to see that Leech-Wilkinson in this context quoted something that I wrote over forty years ago and had since then entirely forgotten:

What Velut shows in his works is an endless fascination with technical problems and their solution – a preoccupation that is often characteristic of Du Fay's work and seems lacking in most other composers of the time.⁹

Leech-Wilkinson seems not to have drawn any clear conclusion from this; but my own conclusion is that the very similarity of the Turin compositions – which he so thoroughly demonstrated – argues against the possibility that Velut composed them. So far as I can see there is nothing in common between the compositions of Velut and the compositions in the Turin manuscript.

8. DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Cyprus Songs*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 395-431: 405.

9. *Ibidem*, p. 408.

Leeman Perkins in 1992 devoted a page or so to the music of Velut.¹⁰ His concluding sentence reads: «Were any one of [his four songs] to have been included in the Torino manuscript, it would not have jarred in the least with the other pieces in the repertory». With all respect for my old friend, I couldn't disagree more strongly.

Turning now to the music in the Turin manuscript, I had promised to focus on the ballades and I shall come to that. But I would like to begin with another comment from Leeman Perkins in his essay on the rondeaux and the virelais.¹¹ He noted that in the Turin rondeaux the long stanza often introduces the final refrain with the word «dire». I would restate this as 'very often', indeed 'almost always'. And I would add that this feature is most unusual in the rondeau poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is as though the poet – and I would suggest that Perkins makes a very good case for a single poet, at least for the 166 fixed-form songs – was thinking in terms of musical form far more often than most. Again and again the last line of the long stanza includes «dire», «di en chantant», «dirai», «proferir», «chantant». At an admittedly quick check of the mainland rondeau repertory, this is astonishingly rare.

Moreover, far more often than other poets, he exploits the grammatical connections between the two halves of the second stanza. That is, he often has his main verb only in the second half of the refrain, in which case the short stanza will contain a verb which applies to the first half of the refrain when it is repeated; and conversely, if the first half of the refrain contains the main verb the short stanza will normally not have a main verb since it can take it from the half-refrain. Why this last procedure is not more common among the rondeau repertory in the fifteenth century, I do not know. All I can say is that it is mentioned for the first time in Pierre Fabri's *Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, printed in 1521, though undoubtedly written much earlier.

So the picture I would draw from the work of Leech-Wilkinson and Perkins is, at least as concerns the songs, that we are dealing with two figures in the entourage of Charlotte de Bourbon, a poet and a composer. The other part of my own picture is that the composer absolutely could not have been Velut. I shall in fact propose an identity for the composer, but I shall come to that later.

10. LEEMAN L. PERKINS, *At the Intersection of Social History and Musical Style: The Rondeaux and Virelais of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 433-462: 451-452.

11. *Ibidem*, p. 442.

First of all, as promised, to the ballades. The proportion of ballades to rondeaux and virelais in J.II.9 more or less reflects the proportion of these in the polyphonic works of Guillaume de Machaut and in F-CH, Ms. 564 (Chantilly Codex). It's just that the actual numbers in J.II.9 are over double those of the Machaut and the Chantilly Codex. J.II.9 has 43 rondeau settings as against 18 in Chantilly and 21 in Machaut; 21 polyphonic virelais as against 10 in Chantilly and 8 in Machaut; but 102 ballades as against 68 in Chantilly and 41 in Machaut. On the other hand, in GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213 the picture looks entirely different: the rondeau has almost entirely taken over and virelais and ballades have more or less disappeared. That is to say, as already noted by Leeman Perkins, that the proportions of those forms in J.II.9 are backwards-looking even for 1420, quite apart from any later suggested dates.

After about 1410 the rondeau began its almost complete domination of the French song repertory and the ballade became less popular: of the 105 French songs in the four earliest fascicles of GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213 only 19 are ballades; and of some 1100 French songs known from the years 1415-1480, only about 40 are ballades, most of them from the earlier part of that timespan. From Binchois we have only seven ballades; the complete Du Fay edition contains eight ballades.

Fig. 1 contains a summary of those 102 Turin ballades and most particularly the themes treated in them. All but a handful have the full three stanzas; but none of them has the concluding short stanza known as 'prince', which was a matter inherited from the *trouvères* but more or less standard in fifteenth-century ballades.

The six marked 'duplex' take that name from the theorist Egidius de Morino who said that a ballade that repeats both halves of its music is duplex. Agostino Ziino discussed these at the 1992 conference, finding six examples in the music of Machaut plus one by Suzoy and two anonymous pieces: *Un fait d'armes* in F-CA, Ms. B 1328 (fol. 12^r) and *Le gay plaisir* in F-Pn, n.a.fr. 6771 (Codex Reina, fol. 78^r).¹² I can add that there are two more in the English repertory around 1400, both in two voices: *Trewe on wam is al my tryst* in GB-Cu, Add. MS. 5943 (fol. 163^r) and *Ye have so longe kepe schepe* in GB-Ob, MS. Douce 381 (fol. 20^v). But I would all the same endorse Ziino's view that in this respect too the six 'duplex' ballades in Turin could be seen as retrospective. There is certainly no example otherwise in fifteenth-century sources.

12. AGOSTINO ZIINO, *On the Poetic and Musical Form of Six Ballades of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 377-394.

Fig. 1.
Ballades in the Cyprus Manuscript

No.	Form	Theme	Mensuration	Bars	AS/as
1	B7:7	Against fortune	2/4	85	
2	B10:10	For reason	3/4	77	
3	B7:10	Inevitability of death	2/4 3/4 6/8 9/8	35	AS
4	B7:8	Against jealousy	6/8	63	
5	B7:8	Against malice	2/4	50	
6	B7:8	For good behaviour	2/4	81	
7	B10:10	For charity	6/8	71	
8	B12:7/3 (duplex)	For honesty	2/4	67	
9	B7:8	Seduction	6/8	42	
10	B7:10	(incomprehensible)	9/8	56	
11	B7:7	For loyalty (motto of Cyprus order)	6/8	57	
12	B7:5+5	Disappointed love	6/8	42	as
13	B7:8	For good hope	6/8	51	
14	B7:8	For charity	6/8	52	
15	B7:10	Against disloyalty	3/4	65	
16	B10:8	For love	6/8 2/4	60	
17	B7:8	Against deceit	3/4	48	
18	B7:7	For endurance	6/8	46	
19	B7:8	For justice (also in acrostic)	6/8	59	
20	B12:5 (duplex)	Against garrulity	2/4	41	
21	B8:8 (duplex)	For musicianship	6/8	51	AS
22	B7:8	Against slander	6/8	54	
23	B7:4	Seduction	3/4	72	
24	B7:10	Inattainable constancy	6/8	65	
25	B7:4	Seduction	3/4	56	
26	B7:7	Fulfilled love	6/8	80	AS
27	B10:10	Against fortune	6/8	108	AS
28	B7:7	Praise of B. V. M. (wide-range discantus)	6/8	50	as
29	B10:7	Steadfast love	9/8	57	
30	B7:10	Love must be pure	6/8	53	
31	B9:8/4	Steadfast love	9/8	58	
32	B8:10 (duplex)	Love in a dream (two stanzas)	6/8	43	
33	B7:8	Love needs faith	6/8	59	
34	B7:10	Hopeless love	6/8	54	
35	B7:10	Against fortune	3/4	61	
36	B7:10	Support unhappy lovers	6/8	66	

37	B7:10	Love must be pure	6/8	53	as
38	B7:7	Untarnished love	6/8	46	as
39	B8:10 (duplex)	Pygmalion obtained his love by constancy	6/8	57	
40	B7:8	For wisdom	2/4	52	
41	B7:10	Against treachery	6/8	76	
42	B7:10	Against slander	3/4	50	
43	B10:10	Against fools	6/8	62	
44	B9:7	For love	6/8	44	
45	B7:10	Failed love	9/8	65	
46	B7:10	Hopeful love	6/8	50	as
47	B7:10	Hopeful love	2/4	94	
48	B7:10	May time (one stanza)	2/4	73	
49	B8:10	Seduction	6/8	71	as
50	B7:10/9	Hopeless love	6/8	105	
51	B7:10	Hopeless love	6/8	69	as
52	B7:7	Hopeless love	6/8	76	
53	B7:8	For truth	2/4	66	
54	B7:8	For pure love	6/8	62	
55	B7:10	Unbridled love	2/4	84	
56	B7:10	Unbridled love	2/4	102	
57	B7:10	Unbridled love	2/4	85	
58	B7:10	Unbridled love	6/8	56	
59	B7:10	Seduction	6/8	64	
60	B7:10	Seduction	2/4	85	
61	B7:10	Seduction	6/8	74	
62	B7:7	Seduction	3/4	87	
63	B7:8	Against sweet talking	6/8	68	
64	B7:10	For good behaviour	3/4	61	
65	B7:8	Steadfast love	6/8	56	
66	B7:10	Hopeless love (two stanzas)	3/4	49	
67	B8:10	Put your trust in God	6/8	56	AS
68	B7:10	Complaint to love (one stanza)	6/8	49	
69	B7:10	Satisfied love	6/8	70	
70	B7:10	Satisfied love	6/8	53	
71	B7:10 (2 texts)		6/8	74	
72	B7:10	Hopeful love	3/4	56	
73	B7:10	Unhappiness in May	6/8	57	
74	B7:10	Seduction	9/8	41	AS
75	B7:10	Seduction	6/8	87	
76	B10:5+5	Faithful love	2/4	71	

77	B8:10 (duplex)	Hopeless love (derived from Gace Brulé)	3/4	70	
78	B7:10	Against fortune	2/4	70	
79	B7:7	Against sorrow	2/4	36	
80	B7:10	Against fortune	6/8	61	
81	B7:8	Happy love (one stanza)	9/8 3/4 6/8	70	AS
82	B7:10	Hopeless seduction	2/4	71	
83	B7:7	Happy love	6/8	64	
84	B7:10	Happy love	2/4	65	
85	B7:10	Unstinted adoration	6/8	47	
86	B7:8	For good	6/8	46	as
87	B7:7	For his mistress	9/8	52	
88	B7:7	Hopeful love	6/8	54	AS
89	B7:8	Against pursuit of wealth	6/8	56	
90	B7:10	For love	6/8	64	
91	B7:7	Hopeful love	2/4	49	
92	B10:10	For good behaviour	6/8	52	
93	B10:10	Seduction (one stanza)	6/8	41	as
94	B7:7	For contentment	6/8	62	
95	B7:7	Happy love	6/8	56	as
96	B10:10	For wise and sensible life	6/8	48	as
97	B7:10	Praise of B. V. M.	6/8	60	AS
98	B10:10	Praise of B. V. M. (also in acrostic)	6/8	77	
99	B7:10	For love	6/8	51	
100	B10:10	For good life	6/8	49	AS
101	B7:10	For good life	2/4	79	
102	B7:8	Against melancholy	9/8	41	

Looking at the forms of the poems, it is easy to note that the poet has a fair range at his disposal, but never has an eleven-line stanza as in two of the ballades of Gilet Velut. We can also note that the majority have a seven-line stanza, which was far the most popular kind in the fourteenth-century repertory. More than that, the majority have a ten-syllable line, something that is certainly present in the repertory of GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213 but far less in the majority. Leeman Perkins made the same observation about the virelais and rondeaux in J.II.9.

What I have not marked in Fig. 1 is that not a single one of these poems is written in a woman's voice. That is the case in the poems of Charles d'Orléans and of Oswald von Wolkenstein, but it is not at all the case in the poems of Guillaume de Machaut. And most importantly, among the 2000 songs listed in my *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* about

ten per cent are written in a woman's voice.¹⁵ Equally, among the virelais and rondeaux of J.II.9 there is no text in a woman's voice.

But those are not the only things that are missing from J.II.9 but found throughout the fifteenth-century song repertory. There is no reference to New Year's celebrations, no reference to spring, no occasional pieces, no reference to conviviality or drinking. I mention those topics first partly because they are all particularly frequent in the songs of Du Fay. Two ballades mention May time, but neither in the optimistic way found in Du Fay and other composers, particularly of the Oxford generation.¹⁴ There is but a single ballade with a mythological reference (namely to Pygmalion in ballade 39; but of course Pygmalion was famously a resident of Cyprus). So far as I can see no reference to the most often cited and referenced of medieval poems, the *Roman de la rose* – though among the rondeaux there is the occasional reference to personifications like Faux Dancier, which do crop up in the *Roman de la rose* but also elsewhere. And most particularly there is nowhere any trace of humour (unless it be in ballade 10, which I find incomprehensible).

Of course the ageless themes of song are there, albeit far less than in most other repertories: the theme of seduction, in which the speaker addresses his lady directly and begs for her indulgence, appears only thirteen times; happy or hopeless love also appear far less than in most other repertories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In their place you get an enormous number of moralizing poems, poems against fortune, against jealousy, against slander, against malice, against disloyalty, against deceit, against garrulity, against sweet talking; conversely there are many poems in favour of charity, honesty, steadfastness, religious devotion, good behaviour, justice, good musicianship. And, just to repeat, not the slightest trace of humour, so far as I can judge. Certainly not the explicitly sexual poems that you get elsewhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

So I would be inclined to characterize the poet – and I really do think we are talking about a single poet, at least for the fixed-form songs – as very serious, probably priestly, and probably fairly old.¹⁵ And quite definitely a man.

13. DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

14. NICOLE SCHWINDT, *Musikalischer Mai auf Zypern als migriertes Ritual: Zu einigen Chansons des Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Analecta musicologica», 49, 2013, pp. 50-68, sees the situation quite differently. She views the total of four poems (out of 166, including rondeaux and virelais) that mention May as «erstaunlich gross», p. 60.

15. I would draw attention to the truly remarkable modelling of no. 77 on Gace Brulé's poem *Ire d'amor qui en mon cuer repaire*, as noted and explored in ISABELLE FABRE, 'A paines puis congnoistre joye d'ire': de Gace

Turning to the music, though, we see a rather different story. I share the view of Perkins and Leech-Wilkinson that we are probably dealing with but a single composer. To Leech-Wilkinson's pages of comparison of discantus lines I could add pages of almost identical three-voice cadences – passages that the composer wrote almost on auto-pilot.

Every ballade has the tenor and contratenor occupying precisely the same range with the discantus a fifth higher, once again an indication that we are dealing with a composer who had a fundamentally staid disposition.

But there are other details here. Famously, he sometimes moves into complicated rhythms and complicated notations – in fact, in the case of n. 26, *Puis qu'amés suis*, one of the most extreme examples we have of the Ars Subtilior. But that is not ubiquitous. I have marked in the right-hand column 'as' for such pieces: among the ballades, only *Puis qu'amés suis* comes in the extreme category, and I have marked it 'AS' in bold capitals. In my view there are only nine other cases of proper Ars Subtilior (marked with capital 'AS'), though there are another eleven with mildly complicated notation or proportions (marked with lower-case 'as'). Among the virelais and rondeaux there are even fewer: just two seriously Ars Subtilior pieces (nn. 45 and 46) alongside five with minimal complexities of notation.

Yet another detail strikes the eye and the ear. Our composer does not bother about parallel fifths or even parallel octaves between discantus and contratenor: you find them in about half of the compositions here. There is never ever any problem between discantus and tenor, which remain in the most perfect counterpoint throughout. Nor is there ever a problem between contratenor and tenor.

At this point I am going to cut to the quick: there is no doubt in my mind as to the identity of our composer, the one composer of the time who received only a passing mention in the proceedings of the 1992 conference, namely Antonello da Caserta. Every detail in his eight surviving French songs – five ballades, one virelai and two rondeaux – reflects the style of the songs in the Turin manuscript.¹⁶ Well: almost every detail, because his ascribed works all have a fairly heavy Ars Subtilior content, whereas, as I said, only one-fifth of the Turin ballades have that characteristic.¹⁷

Brulé au recueil de Chypre in Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), ed. by Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, and Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 85-94.

16. His French songs are most conveniently seen in *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Willi Apel, 3 vols (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 53), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1970-1971, I, 1970, pp. 3-16; the most recent edition is *Modena Codex: New Complete Edition with Commentary*, ed. by Jos Haring and Kees Boeke, Dordrecht – Arezzo, Olive Music, 2019.

17. PEDRO MEMELSDORFF, *Ars modernior: le avanguardie musicali italiane del primo Quattrocento*, in

A word of background here. So far, there is only a single known document likely to refer to Antonello: this is a reference to «Frater Antonello da Caserta» in a document at the archbishop's court of Pavia in 1402. Nino Pirrotta once (in 1953) proposed that two of his Italian songs were from the years between 1410 and 1420,¹⁸ but more recently John Nádas and Agostino Ziino have argued for a Visconti context and dates of 1395 and 1399 for them;¹⁹ all subsequent writers have accepted their viewpoint (particularly Anne Stone in the revised *New Grove* and Dorothea Baumann in the revised *MGG*). I too find it thoroughly plausible. The French songs all look as though they were from the first decade of the century, and certainly they are all in the oldest layer of I-MOe, α.M.5.24.

Therefore by 1411 Antonello would have had some twenty years of composing behind him according to the current picture, so perhaps almost forty years old. That he joined the group of musicians in Cyprus in that year is by no means out of the question. In fact I find the conclusion impossible to resist. It would explain the Italian style of the motets, as identified by Margaret Bent; and it would explain the Italianate script of one of the text copyists in J.II.9.

Pedro Memelsdorff many years ago, indeed also in 1992, opened his article about the two versions of his *Più chiar che 'l sol* by characterizing Antonello as «famous for the astonishing stylistic consistency of his group of French compositions in the Modena manuscript».²⁰ And that's my impression, too. Simply playing the Turin music on the piano (because sadly very little of it is recorded even now) and then turning to the music of Antonello you find the fingers doing the same things, following the same patterns.

Needless to say, all of his French songs have parallel fifths or octaves between discantus and contratenor but never between discantus and tenor, just like the Turin songs. His Italian songs are all in two voices apart from one, *Più chiar che 'l sol*. What Memelsdorff's article beautifully demonstrates is that, against the evidence of Marrocco's edition, there are two

Musica e arti figurative: Rinascimento e Novecento, ed. by Mario Ruffini and Gerhard Wolf, Venezia, Marsilio, 2008, pp. 59-73: 63-64, offers a remarkable summary of Antonello's style. In particular he notes that in four of his five ballades (but not in his other French songs) he constructs the musical climax in the final section in the same way: by extension of the tenor ambitus higher than ever before and by complementary gestures in the other two voices. That this appears never to happen in the ballades of J.II.9 may simply be a consequence of his musical development, like the comparative lack of Ars Subtilior gestures.

18. NINO PIRROTTA, *Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il sec. XIV: di una pretesa scuola napoletana*, «Collectanea historiae musicae», I, 1953, pp. 11-18.

19. JOHN NÁDAS – AGOSTINO ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990, pp. 38-39.

20. PEDRO MEMELSDORFF, 'Più chiar che 'l sol': luce su un contratenor di Antonello da Caserta, «Recercare», 4, 1992, pp. 5-22: 5.

Gilles Polizzi

Les poétiques du recueil de Chypre: un bilan prospectif

Parmi les principales disciplines concernées par l'étude du recueil de Chypre (I-Tn, J.11.9) la littérature, sous ses angles historique et théorique, semble bien la dernière à s'être occupée du sujet, avec, pour conséquence, une lacune notable dans l'histoire des poétiques de langue française au xv^e siècle et une possible erreur d'appréciation sur un phénomène pourtant décisif: la séparation de l'art poétique d'avec la musique et son corollaire, la multiplication, tout au long du siècle, des 'arts poétiques' censés fonder ou plutôt refonder, hors du domaine musical, la théorie de cet art. Une simple communication ne peut suffire à combler cette lacune, mais il demeure utile de mesurer l'étendue d'une ignorance ou d'une indifférence qui sont celles d'une discipline toute entière, de dénombrer les acquis – ils existent malgré tout – des études littéraires consacrées au recueil, d'en décrire les enjeux, d'en esquisser les perspectives. C'est le propos de notre contribution.¹

Une loi non-écrite de la critique et de l'histoire littéraire veut que la qualité et la quantité des travaux consacrés à une œuvre soient proportionnelles à son retentissement historique: c'est donc *in fine* – mais heureusement ce jugement est toujours révisable – un critère de communication qui décide de l'intérêt des œuvres. Or dans le cas des 174 pièces françaises du recueil I-Tn, J.11.9, soit 8 motets, 102 ballades, 43 rondeaux et 21 virelais qui constituent un ensemble cohérent – on y reviendra – le verdict de la renommée paraît sans appel: l'œuvre n'a pas d'auteur, singulier ou pluriel, pas de contexte car le milieu qui l'a produit reste mal connu et d'ailleurs discuté par certains musicologues;² et si on lui trouve des modèles aux siècles précédents, elle n'a aucun avenir: pas de réception attestée en son

1. L'usage de la première personne du pluriel n'est pas académique: il réfère à un travail 'à deux voix' entamé il y a une décennie en collaboration avec Isabelle Fabre, désormais professeur à l'Université de Paris-Nanterre; nous citons les pièces d'après notre propre transcription du fac-similé du manuscrit, en nous référant à la numérotation établie dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.11.9*, éd. Richard H. Hoppin, 4 voll. (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, c'est toujours nous qui soulignons.

2. Cf. KARL KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.11.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690.

temps, ni aux siècles suivants; et ce qui est pire, en niant, 30 ans environ après *l'Art de dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps, la séparation de la poésie et de la musique, elle s'inscrit en faux contre l'un des dogmes les mieux établis de l'histoire des Lettres.

Pour toutes ces raisons, au regard de la critique académique, l'œuvre *n'existe pas*. Ce qui assigne aux chercheurs qui s'y consacrent la plus complexe et la plus haute des tâches: faire découvrir aux spécialistes (et aux autres) un 'continent perdu' dont l'émergence n'est signalée que ponctuellement et à distance; faire entendre une œuvre rendue complexe par la pluralité des 'voix' poétiques qu'elle agence; cerner la figure d'un auteur, l'une des 'voix' majeures du recueil, qui rivalise avec celles des poètes de premier plan qui furent ses prédécesseurs immédiats, Eustache Deschamps et Christine de Pizan.

On sait qu'il en va autrement dans le domaine musical. L'œuvre découverte au début du xx^e par Wilhelm Meyer, étudiée dans les deux décennies suivantes par Friedrich Ludwig et Heinrich Bessler, magistralement éditée et commentée par Richard Hoppin³ a connu dans les trois dernières décennies une véritable fortune critique, faisant notamment l'objet de plusieurs colloques interdisciplinaires.⁴ Sans doute manque-t-il encore, à l'usage des profanes, une synthèse qui dirait en quoi elle caractérise le sommet (ou la fin) d'un art pour lequel les musicologues ont forgé le qualificatif de *subtilior*; peut-être faut-il attendre aussi de leur part un bilan de la confrontation de la musique et des poétiques du recueil, nous y reviendrons.

Quant aux historiens plus directement concernés par les *realia* dont témoignent ces pièces, ils ont documenté le milieu qui les a produites, sur le fond de la transition entre les usages français en vigueur au début du siècle à la cour des Lusignan de Chypre, et l'adoption progressive de modèles 'humanistes' venus d'Italie.⁵ Notons-le au passage, si cette dernière perspective est celle qui recueille le plus d'écho dans la discipline, elle

3. Sur la découverte du codex par Meyer, sur sa correspondance avec Ludwig et sur la notice publiée par Bessler dans son compte rendue de JOHANNES WOLF, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460. Nach den theoretischen und praktischen Quellen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», VI/4, 1905, pp. 597-641: 640-641. Voir dans ce volume les articles d'Alberto Rizzuti et Annarita Colturato.

4. Cf. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), éd. Ursula Günther et Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995; *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), éd. Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi et Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021.

5. Voir dans *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'ars subtilior* les contributions suivantes: GILLES GRIVAUD, *Résonances humanistes à la cour de Nicosie (1411-1423)*, pp. 27-39; CLÉMENCE REVEST, *La rhétorique humaniste au service des élites chypriotes dans l'Italie septentrionale de la première moitié du xv^e siècle*, pp. 41-50; PHILIPPE TRÉLAT, *Dans le sillage de Charlotte de Bourbon (1386/1390-1422): contacts et relations entre le royaume de Chypre et la France*, pp. 51-60.

est néanmoins quasi-absente dans I-Tn, J.II.9, à quelques exceptions près (la mention de la *fons Pegasi*, c'est-à-dire l'Hippocrène, dans le triplum du motet 14). Le recueil met en parallèle, dans un éloge de la dévotion à Macaire (en grec, *Macharios*, «bienheureux») la foi des «Grecs» et des «Parisiens» (*plebs Lutetiae*).⁶ Il ne recourt qu'aux figures d'une mythologie courtoise, toujours 'moralisée' (par exemple Pygmalion, ballade xxx-39, f. 111^r) bien distincte de sa variante humaniste. Sa langue enfin n'exhibe que peu de traces d'italianismes, ce qui au demeurant n'ôte rien à la réputation d'humaniste prêtée au roi Janus, premier protecteur de Cyriaque d'Ancône, le promoteur de l'épigraphie antique au xiv^e siècle.⁷ Venons-en à notre bilan en commençant par un paradoxe. C'est bien la qualité poétique exceptionnelle de certaines pièces, entre autres la fameuse ballade 21 *Pour haut et liement chanter* ou l'extrême virtuosité des ballades VIII-10 et 99, dites 'à rimes reprises' qui attire l'attention et la redirige sur l'ensemble; au point que nous avons cru devoir donner un nom, celui de 'maître de chant' à leur auteur supposé, ce grand poète, qui est *d'abord* un musicien et se confond peut-être avec ce Jean Hanelle qui se dira maître de chapelle du roi de Chypre. Pourtant cette donnée qualitative n'est pas décisive dans l'appréciation de l'œuvre: l'interaction de ses différentes 'voix' n'est pas moins prometteuse pour la définition des poétiques du siècle, en ce qu'elle offre l'exemple d'un agencement inédit. Enfin une autre perspective s'ouvre à partir de l'étude des ballades à 'rimes reprises', dont le recueil donne peut-être le dernier chef-d'œuvre. Elle concerne l'interférence entre le son et le sens, non seulement du point de vue de la «musique naturelle» (selon la définition donnée par Eustache Deschamps en 1392 dans *L'art de dictier*) mais également de la relation entre la diction et le chant, dans la 'performance' musicale. Sachant que la relation entre poésie et musique est l'objet principal et dernier de cette communication, on procédera méthodiquement à notre bilan, en convoquant tour à tour les différentes disciplines concernées par le recueil pour en faire valoir les acquis et les enjeux sous l'angle de ses poétiques.

Poétique et histoire: l'œuvre dans son milieu

En tant que document historique, le prestigieux manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin est approximativement daté par la

6. I-Tn, J.II.9, ff. 65^v-66^r: «Magnalia macharii preconia depromat plebs lutetie odulis pro leticie cum gallia quo preclaruit grecia refulgentis prosapie genere» (motet 8, triplum); voir FAÑCH THORAVAL, *Dévotion, liturgie, performativité: 'religion royale' et 'géographie religieuse' dans les motets du manuscrit Turin J.II.9 et les offices du Saint-Sépulcre*, dans *Poésie et musique*, pp. 145-166: 150.

7. Janus recevra à sa cour Cyriaque d'Ancône, qui lui dédiera une inscription commémorant son règne. Elle a longtemps été prise pour un faux célébrant le dieu latin du même nom.

présence contextuelle de la bulle de Jean XXIII (Baldassarre Cossa) relative au culte chypriote d'Hilarion (23 novembre 1413) et référencé (non moins approximativement) par les armoiries peintes sur le premier folio. Un débat stimulant et vif, lancé par Karl Kügle, a porté sur l'identification desdites armoiries, avec des conséquences vertigineuses quant à l'attribution et à la nature de l'œuvre. Nous en avons rendu compte dans l'introduction des actes du colloque de Montpellier, en prenant acte de la datation tardive proposée pour l'achèvement du manuscrit: elle coïncide avec nos propres constats.⁸ Ce qui nous dispense de revenir sur la 'querelle des armoiries' qui vient de connaître de nouveaux rebondissements et de nouvelles attributions, en opposant un expert en codicologie, en l'occurrence Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone, à d'autres qui le sont moins. Laissons le sujet à ses véritables connaisseurs, car le débat actualisé à Turin ne porte que sur la dernière étape de la vie de l'œuvre, sa transmission en Italie, épisode virtuel et sans lendemain, que l'étude du texte n'éclaire en rien.

Celle-ci permet en revanche d'établir avec certitude l'ancrage chypriote de l'écriture du recueil: un environnement qui se déduit aussi bien des pièces latines, les motets liturgiques, distingués des motets français d'inspiration mariale ou profane,⁹ que des poèmes français: l'ensemble magistral des 102 ballades et son prolongement, les 64 rondeaux et virelais. Et leur mise en forme nous apprend qu'il s'agit bien d'une *œuvre*, composée et même recomposée, puisqu'on distingue deux strates dans l'écriture du manuscrit. Il vaut donc la peine de s'attarder sur sa dimension référentielle: que nous disent ces poèmes? de quoi parlent-ils?

Par sa langue, mais également ses patronymes et toponymes, l'ensemble des pièces réfère au royaume de Chypre sous le règne de Janus de Lusignan. Il y est fait mention des deux populations de l'île (ballade 40, ff. 112^v-113^r: «Mal temps fait par saint Mathelin (...) Tout homme dont grec et latin» vv. 5 et 19) et de sa capitale, Nicosie, l'actuelle Lefkosia (rondeau 24, v. 11: «laissant tost Nicossie»). Si la figure centrale du roi Janus n'apparaît pas au premier regard, il faut sans doute la deviner dans le refrain de la ballade IX-11 (f. 102^r: «pour leaulté maintenir»). C'est la devise de l'Ordre de l'Épée, que Janus a fondé et qu'il préside. On peut bien sûr s'étonner de ce que le recueil ne mentionne pas explicitement le prince qui l'a commandité, ni d'ailleurs les poètes-compositeurs qui y ont travaillé. Mais l'argument est réversible, car cette lacune renforce le lien entre ce prince dont on ne dit pas le nom et les auteurs des pièces qui ont travaillé

pour lui, peut-être même avec lui, si l'on considère l'absence complète du registre encomiastique commun aux auteurs de cour. L'énigme trouve une solution avec la 'signature par engin' du virelai 9:

Ja nuls ne porra tant loer
Amours qui les siens guerredonne
Ne coume il doit tant honnourer
Voire s'Amours ly abandonne
Ses biens et l'en laist possesser.¹⁰

Il fait paraître deux fois le nom de Janus, horizontalement au premier vers (*Ja nuls*) et verticalement, par acrostiche: *Ja/ Amour/ Ne/ Voire/ Ses*. Partant de ce constat qui identifie le roi de Chypre comme le 'patron' du recueil, à la fois mécène, destinataire, peut-être aussi auteur occasionnel (du virelai 9) on peut risquer quelques hypothèses biographiques, d'ailleurs indispensables à la compréhension des textes.

On sait que le règne de Janus a été marqué par une suite de tragédies dont le chroniqueur Leontios Machairas¹¹ a fait l'inventaire: la première est le décès, en 1422, de la reine Charlotte de Bourbon, qui avait amené avec elle à Chypre les musiciens de sa chapelle. La «fleur desséchée» du motet 19 et de la ballade 12 (vv. 6-7) pourrait idéaliser sa mémoire, et conduire aux pièces mariales situées à la fin du recueil. La loyauté telle que la conçoit Janus, qui, selon Machairas, n'aima jamais une autre femme, n'est pas une convention, mais un acte de foi qui prend aussi à l'occasion une dimension politique, faisant glisser le registre des pièces de la courtoisie vers la politique. C'est ainsi que la ballade 40, déjà mentionnée, une fois rapportée à cette période de l'histoire de Chypre, semble s'appliquer au temps d'un péril devant lequel Grecs et Latins devraient s'unir. Fait-elle référence à la révolte des Grecs contre les féodaux franco-chypriotes, au lendemain de la défaite de Chiriokitia, en 1426? C'est possible; et si c'est bien le cas, cette circonstance 'explique' et réfère aussi le rondeau 24 à un contexte qui nous renseigne sur l'écriture des pièces. On sait que cette défaite aboutit à la capture du roi par les Mamelouks et à son emprisonnement au Caire, d'où il ne revint qu'en mai 1428, après avoir concédé un traité désastreux. Or le rondeau décrit un exil qui se confond peut-être avec la prison du roi:

10. Virelai 9, f. 145^v, vv. 1-5.

11. LEONTIOS MACHAIRAS, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, trad. en anglais par Richard M. Dawkins, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952; il en existe une version française antérieure: LEONTIOS MACHAIRAS, *Chronique de Chypre par Leonce Machairas*, trad. Emmanuel Miller et Constantin Sathas, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1882.

8. *Poésie et musique, Introduction*, p. 20.

9. Les motets latins 6, 8 et 17; cf. THORAVAL, *Dévotion, liturgie*, pp. 158-162.

Puisque sans vous querons nostre plaisir
 En l'absence de vostre compagnie
 (...) si desirons que tost veuillés venir
 (...) aveuques nous, laissant tost Nicossie
 Car il nous faut sans vous nos chans taisir.¹²

Nous pouvons supposer que le locuteur est Janus en personne. Leontios Machairas¹³ nous apprend qu'un de ses familiers lui apporta, depuis Chypre, de la nourriture et des braies neuves. On connaît même le nom de celui qui se chargea de la commission : «Cole» (Nicolas) «de la princesse» (vraisemblablement Anne de Lusignan) *praecantor* (chantre) de la cathédrale de Nicosie. Si le rondeau s'adresse bien à lui comme à l'un des compositeurs (ou interprètes) de ces pièces, ce qui, avouons-le, reste une hypothèse, on comprend pourquoi le destinataire devrait «laisser» Nicosie pour rejoindre son roi; et l'on apprend par la même occasion comment sont nées certaines de ces pièces, œuvres collectives de musiciens-poètes dans l'entourage de Janus: «car il *nous* faut sans *vous nos chans* taisir» («faire taire nos chants»).

La même hypothèse référentielle pourrait éclairer aussi le traitement étonnamment 'anti-courtois' du thème du 'loyal serviteur' dans la ballade 63:

Car vraiment tresgrant folour
 Fait celui qui par doux langage
 Parvient de liberté en servage.¹⁴

Si le «servage» dont il est question s'entend au sens littéral de 'captivité', la ballade ne contrarie pas les précédentes (59 à 62) qui valorisaient le 'service d'amour', mais en déplace l'argument sur le terrain politique: le «doux langage» du vers 6 s'assimilerait dès lors aux paroles des mauvais conseillers qui ont poussé le roi à la guerre, et le «servage», à la prison du roi et par extension au tribut exorbitant, qui a fait de Chypre le premier état latin soumis à l'autorité du sultan d'Égypte.

Enfin Machairas rapporte que, depuis le premier jour de sa captivité, on n'aurait plus jamais entendu rire le roi, ce qui donne à ces vers du virelai 59 une étonnante résonance:

S'aucunnes fois m'avient que ne puis rire
 On ne s'en doit, certes, donner mervelle (...).¹⁵

12. Rondeau 24, f. 149^r, vv. 1-2, 9-12.

13. MACHAIRAS, *Chronique de Chypre*, p. 392.

14. Ballade 63, f. 123^r, vv. 5-7.

15. Virelai 59, f. 157^r, vv. 1-2.

Mais on touche ici aux limites de l'interprétation du substrat référentiel. Contentons-nous d'affirmer qu'il est présent dans l'œuvre, même s'il reste évanescant: les poétiques courtoises vont toujours du particulier au général, dans un mouvement qui tend à l'exemplarité d'une moralisation intemporelle. Cet excursus suffit d'ailleurs à situer l'écriture de l'œuvre: son terminus *ante quem* serait, en 1411, l'arrivée à Chypre de la chapelle de Charlotte de Bourbon précédant de peu la bulle de Jean XXIII (1415). Et son terminus *a quo*, la fin du règne, entre le retour de Janus à Chypre (en 1428) et son décès (1432). Il faudrait en conséquence lire les pièces françaises comme une chronique fragmentée conservée *in progress* et devenue après sa mise en ordre un bilan 'moralisé' du règne de Janus; bref, un document de tout premier plan sur l'idéologie courtoise dans l'exercice du pouvoir. Toutefois, cette temporalité référentielle et historique n'est pas, à strictement parler, celle de l'œuvre, qu'il nous faut à présent réexaminer à la lumière de nos hypothèses.

Les temps de l'œuvre et sa composition

Posons d'abord la question de l'autonomie de l'œuvre insérée dans le recueil, de son degré d'élaboration et de son achèvement. Les pièces françaises s'inscrivent, on l'a dit, dans la continuité d'un ensemble. Celui des motets liturgiques latins parmi lesquels s'insèrent 8 pièces françaises, mariales ou profanes. La série des ballades, puis celle des rondeaux et virelais en sont les prolongements. Cette typologie par genres (ou par formes) met en évidence la prédominance de la musique, mais aussi un souci de composition qui se manifeste dans l'agencement. Les 64 rondeaux et virelais font ressortir une disposition échiquienne (8 × 8) qu'on pourrait rapprocher des *Echecs amoureux* d'Evrart de Conty. Quant à la série des ballades, elle se réorganise après-coup par l'addition de 17 (= 16 + 1) pièces dans le corps du recueil et de 17 autres insérées à la fin. L'important étant que ces additions donnent à cet ensemble la tournure narrative d'une moralisation.

Remarquons au passage la spécificité du mode d'insertion de ces pièces ajoutées, car elle est en soi riche d'enseignement. Les pièces transcrites par un 'copiste B' complètent en bas de page, la première strate du recueil, due à un 'copiste A' selon la terminologie de Richard Hoppin. Cette disposition altère virtuellement leur numérotation, quoique seulement en apparence, car l'éditeur ne s'y est pas trompé: les additions qui s'intercalent au bas d'un verso succèdent à la pièce du recto suivant au lieu de la précéder. Cette particularité nous apprend qu'il faut percevoir le 'chemin de fer' du manuscrit comme une succession de doubles-pages et aussi, bien entendu, que cet agencement 'ouvert' a été pensé et programmé par le premier

copiste, en amont de la composition des œuvres. Le copiste B en connaît ou en reconnaît le principe. En laissant en blanc certains bas de folio, il nous apprend que les additions sont réparties sur des critères sémantiques (à notre sens) ou peut-être musicaux (cela reste à déterminer) et non pas quantitatifs (en fonction de la place restante). Bref ce travail qualifie l'ensemble comme une œuvre réfléchie, dotée d'une intentionnalité. Ajoutons, pour en finir avec les données du manuscrit, qu'en une occurrence, celle des motets 39 et 40, la partition et le texte ont été rendus indéchiffrables par une surcharge manuscrite et non un effacement par 'grattage', *cancelled* et non pas *erased* selon le diagnostic du photographe mandaté par nous à Turin pour en prendre des clichés en lumière rasante. Cette dernière altération nous reste énigmatique car elle n'a ni sens, ni nécessité, dans le cadre d'un manuscrit d'apparat, destiné à être offert et non pas corrigé; sauf à admettre qu'il a, en dernier lieu, fait office de 'copie de travail', ce qui attribuerait d'autorité cette surcharge tardive au musicien-poète ayant supervisé l'ensemble, ou se l'étant approprié, si l'hypothèse de Karl Kügle devait d'une quelconque manière être finalement avérée.¹⁶

Et puisque ces pièces forment un tout, voyons à l'échelle des ballades ce que nous apprend leur distribution. Dans son dernier état incluant les additions du copiste B, l'ensemble prend une tournure narrative. On y discerne un commencement: la 'crise courtoise' de la ballade 8 «puisque Raison est endormie»; une fin: le congé à Mélancolie de la ballade 102 («Fuies de moy Merancolie...», f. 139^v) ainsi qu'un fil directeur moralisé: celui du combat contre Fortune, prolongé tout au long du recueil et étudié, à son commencement, par Virginia Newes.¹⁷ On peut également discerner des étapes dans cette progression, en distinguant dans le corps du recueil des 'vergers' poétiques dont les thématiques se succèdent, ainsi que des motifs prédéfinis qui semblent les matrices d'une composition collective, nous y reviendrons. Cette distribution fait aussi alterner les voix fictives de plusieurs locuteurs, le poète-musicien de la ballade 21, les courtisans qui débattent des périls suscités par l'envie ou le 'doux parler' (ballade VIII-10); mais lorsqu'elle met en scène des débats moraux, c'est le plus souvent la figure du prince qui tient lieu d'antécédent: un 'je' courtois et souverain qui explique l'absence d'éloge adressé au mécène puisque celui-ci prend fictivement la parole en son nom propre. Ce qui bien sûr ne fait pas de lui 'l'auteur' de ces pièces – du moins doit-il être en mesure d'en apprécier la qualité – mais l'orateur fictif, autrement dit le *sujet* du recueil.

16. Voir dans ce volume l'article de Anne W. Robertson.

17. VIRGINIA NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune: Ordering and Structure in the First Ballade Gathering of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, dans *Poésie et musique*, pp. 125-141.

L'honnêteté nous oblige à soulever deux objections à notre reconstruction. Premièrement, la cohérence narrative des ballades n'apparaît pas, ou pas au même degré d'évidence, dans le regroupement des rondeaux et virelais. Peut-être parce que leur agencement numérique (8 × 8) suffit à en faire un tout. Leur assemblage serait alors le vestige d'un premier état de la collecte des pièces, le désordre d'une compilation en marge du grand recueil des ballades. Ce qui nous amène à notre deuxième scrupule: notre lecture suppose une modulation temporelle. Il est en effet impossible que l'histoire 'moralisée' et racontée par les ballades se soit dessinée *ab initio*; et rien au demeurant n'en garantit l'issue. Notons que c'est pour cette raison que Georges Chastellain, au milieu du siècle, refusera à Marguerite d'Anjou 'de son vivant' l'entrée à son *Avant-temple de Boccace*: il n'est pas chrétien de désespérer avant la fin. C'est pourquoi nous croyons devoir assigner à ces additions *structurantes* une date tardive, reculée jusqu'au décès de Janus. Et surtout, à cette recomposition narrative, l'autorité d'un maître, validée et approuvée par son mécène. C'est l'un des principaux acquis de la recherche littéraire: il faut qu'il y ait un maître – nous supposons que c'est notre 'maître de chant' – non seulement pour écrire les pièces les plus remarquables, mais aussi pour recomposer l'ensemble. Toutefois cette temporalité virtuelle n'est pas la fin de l'œuvre, mais son commencement. Le plus important, son inscription dans l'histoire des modèles et des formes, reste à considérer.

La tradition poétique: formes et modèles

Il ne suffit pas, pour donner au recueil la place qui lui revient dans la littérature, de proclamer la qualité d'une ou plusieurs pièce(s) – Bertrand Bouvier, à qui l'on doit cet hommage, l'a fait dès 1993 sans obtenir d'écho¹⁸ – ni même d'en démontrer la valeur par l'analyse; nous nous y sommes essayés à plusieurs reprises. Le critère décisif pour la reconnaissance d'une œuvre est son insertion dans une continuité historique et théorique, autrement dit la causalité qui l'inscrit durablement dans le système d'échange et d'évolution des formes qui constitue la matière de l'histoire littéraire. Programmée de longue date par Richard Hoppin, qui avait mis en évidence les liens entre le recueil et l'œuvre de Machaut, cette insertion nous semble désormais un fait accompli avec, pour dernière mise à jour, les contributions d'Isabelle Fabre, Yolanda Plumley, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou et Virginia Newes, dans les *Actes* du colloque de Montpellier.¹⁹

18. BERTRAND BOUVIER, *Appunti sulle canzoni profane del codice cipriota di Torino*, dans *Testi letterari italiani tradotti in greco (dal '500 ad oggi)*, atti del IV Convegno di studi neogreci (Viterbo, 20-22 maggio 1993), éd. Mario Vitti, Soveria Mannelli – Messina, Rubbettino, 1994, pp. 9-12.

19. ISABELLE FABRE, 'A paines puis congnoistre joye d'ire': de Gace Brulé au recueil de Chypre, pp. 85-94;

Un modèle déjà ancien en est le paradigme. Il s'agit de la chanson de Gace Brulé, *Ire d'amors qui en mon cuer repaire*, saluée par Dante:²⁰

Ire d'amors qui en mon cuer repaire	Dolour d'amer qui en mon cuer repaire
Ne m'i lait tant que de chanter me teingne	Ne me mist tant que de chanter me tiengne
Grant mervoille est se chançon en puis traire,	Et si ne sai se doulz chanz porrai faire
Car je n'i voi l'achoisson dont el veingne	Puis que ne vois l'eure que plaisir viengne
Car li desirs et la grant volentez	Car li desirs de ma grant volenté
Dont je suis si pansis et esgarez	M'a si destrait, ce puis je pour vrai dire
M'ont si mené, se vos os je bien dire	Que mon ceur est d'amours si fort donté
Qu'a poinnes sai conoistre joie d'ire.	Qu'a paines puis congnoistre joie d'ire.

Gace Brulé

I-Tn, J.II.9, f. 129^v, ballade LXII-77

La mise en regard des deux versions ne nous apprend pas seulement que l'une, la ballade 77, est l'évidente réécriture de l'autre, dans une langue modernisée et une formulation repensée (aux vv. 3-4 et 6-7) mais aussi que le second auteur veut faire *reconnaître* le modèle qu'il actualise sans le déguiser, pour l'insérer dans un réseau référentiel renvoyant à Machaut qui use presque du même refrain («Que je ne scay congnoistre joie d'ire») dans la ballade 29 de sa *Louange des dames*.

S'agissant de Machaut, l'enquête initiée par Richard Hoppin, menée par Karl Kügle, Margaret Bent, Virginia Newes et d'autres, récemment prolongée par Yolanda Plumley et Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou a été fructueuse. Elle a mis en lumière de nombreuses ressemblances qui font dialoguer le ou les auteur(s) du recueil avec leur illustre prédécesseur. Sur ce point, la cause est entendue; elle ne l'est pas encore en ce qui concerne des modèles moins connus (Jehan Acart de Hesdin pour les rondeaux) ou sans rapport avéré avec le domaine musical: les emprunts signalés par Yolanda Plumley au *Regret Guillaume* de Jean de Le Mote (1339), source importante du recueil, requièrent une interprétation.²¹ Quoi qu'il en soit, les faits sont là: le ou les auteur(s) du recueil ont une connaissance précise de leurs modèles et, en termes de poétique, une conscience aigüe de leur art. Ils méritent bien leur place dans l'histoire littéraire, même si la disparition de l'œuvre reste une énigme: se peut-il que ces pièces n'aient *jamais* été interprétées, hors de Chypre? Et que le manuscrit n'ait *pas* été transmis en son temps?

YOLANDA PLUMLEY, *Memories of the Mainland in the Songs of the Cyprus Codex*, pp. 95-114; CHRISTELLE CHAILLOU-AMADIEU, *Les rondeaux du codex de Chypre, entre tradition et innovation*, pp. 115-124; NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune*, pp. 125-141.

20. Cf. DANTE ALIGHIERI, *De vulgari eloquentia*, trad. André Pézard, Paris, Gallimard, 1988, p. 609. L'erreur de Dante qui l'attribue à Thibaut de Navarre nous renseigne sur la diffusion d'une pièce déjà entrée dans la mémoire collective.

21. Cf. PLUMLEY, *Memories*, pp. 99-101.

Pour s'en tenir aux évidences topiques, ni la reprise d'un proverbe («tant gratte chèvre que mal gist»)²² dans la célèbre ballade de Villon, ni celle du verger du *Cuer d'amour espris* chez René d'Anjou ne suffisent à induire de filiation; semblablement, Charles d'Orléans ne répond *pas* au «congé à Merancolie» de la ballade 102 (à supposer qu'il en ait eu connaissance) et le recueil tardif du *Jardin de Plaisance et fleurs de rhétorique* (Vérard, 1501) n'emprunte autant qu'on sache aucune pièce à celui de Turin. Le *Jardin de Plaisance* offrira pourtant l'exemple d'un agencement narratif comparable en ce qu'il transforme une compilation de pièces d'auteurs divers – tous ne sont pas identifiés – en un récit unifié par la destinée tragique de ses protagonistes. Mais cette absence de réception, parce qu'elle accroît la singularité et l'isolement de l'œuvre, s'entend aussi comme une donnée critique. Prise comme telle, elle fait valoir d'autres problématiques qui déplacent l'enquête sur le plan à la fois théorique et pratique des relations entre les arts poétiques et musicaux.

Musique et poésie: d'une voix plurielle

On l'a dit au début, pour séduisante qu'elle soit, la perspective de l'identification de l'auteur-compositeur du recueil n'est que l'appât qui attire la convoitise du chercheur et non le seul objet d'étude sous l'angle littéraire. La disposition des pièces, la variété des manières, l'alternance des voix qu'elles font entendre ne doivent pas être négligées. Elles induisent en effet une reconstruction indépendante de la moralisation qu'on a évoquée, car cette dernière ne s'impose *in fine* qu'avec les additions de la strate B.

Or on distingue dès l'origine un autre type d'agencement selon l'écriture des pièces. Nous y reconnaissons trois styles ou trois 'manières' qui alternent: premièrement, une voix 'savante' et virtuose, caractérisée par sa subtilité et ses prouesses techniques. Elle se fait entendre au début – y compris dans la strate A – ainsi qu'à la fin (strate B) mais reste perceptible tout au long du recueil. Nous l'identifions à la technique du 'maître de chant' (abrégé en MDC dans le tableau qui suit). Deuxièmement une voix dite 'courtoise' (désignation abrégée en CORT) dans des pièces plus ternes, aux rimes faciles, aux effets sans surprise. Elles se logent principalement au centre du recueil (ballades 28 à 32, ou 55 à 60) dont elles composent la teneur ou si l'on préfère, la toile de fond. Troisièmement, ce que nous appelons la voix 'gnomique' (abrégée en GNOM) par référence aux proverbes et locutions populaires. Elle se caractérise par la simplicité du lexique et du style (syntaxe et métrique) et d'un point de vue sémantique,

22. Voir dans ce volume l'étude de Paola Cifarelli, qu'on remercie vivement.

par un réalisme volontiers ironique: le rentrement du rondeau 39 (*Mout me desplait mais ainsi faut que soie*, vv. 4 et 13) donne le ton.

D'un bout à l'autre, rondeaux et virelais compris, cette alternance donne forme à la matière poétique dont elle module la continuité; d'où le concept de 'voix plurielle' appliqué à l'esthétique de l'ensemble. Nous l'avons présenté en 2012 à Chypre et à nouveau en 2013, à Aix-en-Provence, lors d'une communication au colloque du Centre Interdisciplinaire d'Etude des Littératures d'Aix-Marseille *Parler d'une seule voix: le discours collectif dans la littérature et les arts du Moyen Age*, dont les actes sont à ce jour inédits.²⁵ Deux questions restent donc en suspens. L'une concerne l'agencement général des pièces, l'autre, le caractère collectif de leur composition.

Sachant que, selon Richard Hoppin, la diversité des styles est également perceptible dans le traitement musical des pièces, on ne peut faire mieux que proposer notre évaluation littéraire (limitée aux 65 premières ballades) sous la forme d'un tableau assorti d'une première question, adressée plus particulièrement aux spécialistes de la musique: retrouve-t-on sur le plan musical et à *propos des mêmes pièces* les différences que nous percevons sous l'angle des poétiques?

MDC	2-3	7	10	12	14-15-16-17-18-19	21-22	27
CORT	6	9				24	26 28-29-30 32
GNOM	1	4-5	8	11	15	20	23 25 31

MDC	33-34-35-36-37	39	41	43	46-47	50-51	54
CORT				44-45	48-49		55-56-57-58-59-60
GNOM		38	40	42		52-53	

MDC	61
CORT	64-65
GNOM	62-63

25. ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *In Memory of Janus (1398-1432): Poetics of the French Pieces of the Cyprus Codex (Turin J.II.9), For a Historical Reading*, in *Dia anthymisin kaipou kai topou: logotechnikes apotyposis tou kosmou tis Kyprou*, Praktika diethnous epistimonikou sinedriou (Leukosia, 6-9 Oktovriou 2012), éd. Michalis Pieris, Nicosia, Politistikes yporieses ypourgeiou paideias kai politismou, Tmima vyzantinon kai neoellinikon spoudon panepistimiou Kyprou, 2015, pp. 91-114; ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *De très pure entente: l'unisson des voix dans les ballades du 'loyal serviteur' du recueil de Chypre*, dans *Parler d'une seule voix: le discours collectif dans la littérature et les arts du Moyen Age*, actes du Colloque international (Aix-en-Provence, 27-29 novembre 2013), éd. Denis Collomp et Valérie Naudet, à paraître.

Même si la définition d'un 'style', sans être pour autant subjective, repose sur des critères internes dont la saisie, en poésie autant qu'en musique, n'est pas immédiate et reste parfois incertaine, la réponse devrait confirmer la dimension collective de l'œuvre. On pourrait alors la décrire comme un agencement poético-musical 'pluriel', non seulement parce qu'il émanerait d'un *groupe* d'auteurs-compositeurs, mais aussi parce que ceux-ci s'affirment à un degré tel, qu'on peut les reconnaître à leur manière ou à leur 'voix', dans leurs pièces respectives.

La seconde question se déduit de la première et d'un constat plus précis qui porte sur un petit nombre de pièces. En étudiant, toujours dans notre communication au colloque d'Aix-en-Provence, l'intertextualité interne qui relie entre elles les ballades 59 à 62, centrées sur le motif du 'loyal serviteur', nous avons relevé, malgré la différence des 'voix' – elles s'entendent toutes trois – des similitudes métriques et lexicales qui les apparentent. Ce qui implique une composition collective à partir d'un thème, sur un modèle connu, illustré par la 'cour d'Amours' de Charles VI, ou le célèbre 'concours de Blois' commandité par Charles d'Orléans. En l'occurrence, la matrice ou *motto* du thème du 'loyal serviteur' serait le refrain de la ballade 267 de la *Louange des dames* de Machaut, repris ici dans la ballade 62:

Dame veuillez en grace recevoir	Dont pour votre ressevoir
Moy qui tous sui vostres sens decevoir.	Qui le sui sans decevoir.

Machaut, ballade 267, vv. 7-8

I-Tn, J.II.9, f. 123^r, ballade 62, vv. 6-7

Deux modes d'écritures semblent alors concevables: soit un même auteur a écrit les quatre pièces en changeant de style pour *imiter* les effets d'une création collective; soit ils sont bien trois, qui ont travaillé *ensemble*, car les ressemblances se prolongent au-delà d'une dérivation topique à partir des vers de Machaut. Cette deuxième hypothèse nous paraît probable, car la plus conforme à ce qu'on croit savoir du mode de travail d'une 'chapelle', mais sur ce point aussi, l'avis des musicologues est requis. Toutefois, et quel que soit leur constat, un autre fait est établi: si grande soit-elle, la qualité poétique du recueil ne s'apprécie pas indépendamment de sa dimension musicale. Nos propres études, celle de la ballade 21 et, récemment, des ballades VIII-10 et 99, à 'rimes reprises' montrent la nécessité de considérer simultanément les deux dimensions (texte et partition) de ces pièces. Il n'est pas indifférent que dans la ballade 21, le mot «syncope» appelle musicalement une syncope; qu'une dissonance, à la fin de la ballade 32, laisse entendre que le «songe» du locuteur s'achève sur un réveil douloureux; que l'aplat sémantique du rondeau 40, *Je la remire*

la belle, s'entende ironiquement dès qu'on le rapporte aux méliques de la partition qui motivent – mais par un pur contresens – le choix fréquent de cette pièce dans les programmes de concert.

Conclusion: un «mariage en conjonction de science»?

Il reste enfin à formuler le bilan esthétique de ces pièces du point de vue de la théorie poétique, c'est-à-dire à resituer leur assemblage dans la continuité des formes littéraires. Compte tenu de la complexité et de la qualité des poèmes que nous prêtons, entre autre, au 'maître de chant', on se heurte à deux difficultés. L'une est l'effet d'un préjugé critique largement répandu, donc difficile à dissiper. L'autre est un dogme, déduit d'une lecture, peut-être hâtive, de *L'Art de dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps. Abordons-les successivement.

Le préjugé est banal et sans doute nécessaire; à tel point qu'il revient périodiquement dans l'évaluation des poétiques françaises: au nom d'un impératif prétendument classique de 'vérité' et de 'simplicité', il condamne tout 'excès' de virtuosité, assimilé à une surcharge ornementale. Daniel Poirion, qui a renouvelé la lecture de Charles d'Orléans, n'a pas eu de mots assez durs pour critiquer, à propos des «ballades d'étrange façon» de Christine de Pizan, la technique des 'rimes reprises', également pratiquée dans deux des meilleures pièces de I-Tn, J.II.9:

*Assurément, les artistes du vers ont tiré gloire de leurs acrobaties (...) mais on peut juger sages ceux qui (...) se sont abstenus de ces surcharges rhétoriques (...). S'ils y cèdent parfois, comme Christine, c'est que la démonstration de leur maîtrise technique tient lieu d'inspiration poétique: il y a là une compensation à la vanité d'un art privé de toute sincérité et de toute ambition spirituelle.*²⁴

A ce compte-là, toute tentative pour comprendre une poétique dénoncée *a priori* comme «vaine», «insincère» et «privée d'ambition spirituelle» est étouffée dans l'œuf; et du même coup, tout essai de définition *poétique* d'un *ars subtilior*, qu'au demeurant, nous ne concevons pas *hors* de la dimension musicale des pièces, ne serait-ce que pour ne pas réduire la *subtilité* d'une écriture à l'exhibition de sa 'virtuosité'.

Heureusement, on reste libre d'en juger autrement, et de tenir pour des chefs d'œuvres les ballades VIII-10 et 99 de notre recueil qui, après Machaut, Christine de Pizan et Eustache Deschamps, pratiquent la rime reprise.²⁵ Ces poèmes sont effectivement des tours de force, qualifiés par

24. DANIEL POIRION, *Le Poète et le Prince. L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965, pp. 379-380.

25. ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *Le comble de l'art: poétique des rimes reprises dans le recueil de Chypre*, «Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance», 95, 2022/2, pp. 57-77.

Deschamps de «plus fors balades qui se puissent faire»,²⁶ à cause d'une contrainte qui se surimpose à l'écriture. Elle oblige à prévoir pour chaque rime une homophonie partielle qui, à chaque début de vers, relancera sémantiquement le discours dans une nouvelle direction, autrement dit, selon la formule mallarméenne, le poème se fait «à partir des mots» (et non pas des idées) et *c'est le son qui en génère le sens*. L'auteur de *L'Art de dictier* illustre ainsi le procédé:

Lasse, lasse, maleureuse et dolente
Lente me voy, fors de soupir et plains
Plains sont mes jours d'ennuy et de tourmente
Mente qui veult, car mes cuers est certain
Tains jusqu'à mort et pour celli que j'ains
Ains mais ne fut dame si fort atainte
Tainte me voy quant il m'ayme le mains
*Mains entendez ma piteuse complainte.*²⁷

Or la ballade 99 répond point par point à cet exemple en agençant symétriquement l'antithèse qui lui sert de fil directeur. L'usage de la rime reprise fait ainsi résonner *concurrément* les deux ballades mises en écho:

Amour, de qui je sui trestout espris,
Pris et baudour tousdis me fait avoir
A voir conter d'estre son humble pris
Prisier m'en doi tresfort sans dessevoir;
Voir le me dit dont de tout mon savoir
Savoir à tous je fay que ne m'en plains
*Plein de tout bien et vuit de tous complains.*²⁸

C'est le refrain qui nous avertit du parallèle: «plein de tout bien et vuit (vide) de tous complains» vs «entendez ma piteuse complainte». Mais à y voir de près, c'est l'ensemble des strophes qui développe l'antithèse. A la plainte que versifie Deschamps, le lamento d'une mal-aimée, la ballade 99 répond par une déclaration de fidélité de l'amant-locuteur.²⁹ Au mensonge dénoncé par la dame («Mente qui veult», «fainte est s'amour»,

26. EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS, *L'Art de dictier*, dans *Anthologie*, éd. Clotilde Dauphant, Paris, Livre de poche, 2014, p. 604.

27. *Ibidem*.

28. I-Tn, J.II.9, f. 138^r, ballade 99.

29. Pour s'en tenir à un propos synthétique et ne pas relancer l'analyse dont on condense le résultat, on ne cite pas toutes les strophes des deux ballades. On trouvera celle de Deschamps dans l'édition des *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, éd. Queux de Saint Hilaire et Gaston Raynaud, 11 voll., Paris, Didot, 1878-1903, III, 1882, pp. 297-298. La ballade 99, f. 138^r de I-Tn, J.II.9 est traduite en français moderne (en conservant les rimes reprises) et commentée dans FABRE – POLIZZI, *Le comble de l'art*.

vv. 4 et 15) s'oppose la vérité proclamée par l'amant («voir le me dit»; «oir estre vrai», «l'oir de voir dit», vv. 5, 12 et 19) enfin, à la mélancolie de la délaissée, le bonheur de l'amant constant: «pris et baudour toudis me fait avoir» (v. 2). L'intrication réciproque des motifs explique même une anomalie délibérée – si ce n'est pas une inadvertance du copiste – observée dans le refrain de la pièce chypriote. Dans sa première occurrence, au v. 7, il se distingue de celui adopté ensuite: «Plains de tout bien *et loin* de tout complains» (vv. 14 et 21). Tout se passe comme si le contraste du plein et du vide introduit au v. 7 répondait à la plainte du v. 22 de Deschamps («prains de la mort qui m'a pour lui enceinte») vers obscur, paraphrasé dans l'édition citée en «grosse de la mort dont il m'a rendue enceinte» (p. 298). Bref, il est impossible que l'auteur de la ballade 99 n'ait pas en mémoire (ou sous les yeux) celle de Deschamps, tirée ou non de l'*Art de dictier*⁵⁰, ce qui nous amène à notre second objet, la théorie du divorce de la poésie et de la musique.

Signalons au préalable que l'exemple de la ballade 99 confirme le parallèle, initialement proposé par Isabelle Fabre, entre la ballade 21 qui a donné son nom au 'maitre de chant', et une autre pièce de Deschamps portant le n. 1169. Il s'agissait alors d'un simple comparant, tandis que dans le cas présent, il est nécessairement question d'une 'source' textuelle. En conséquence, le recueil de Chypre devrait (enfin) s'imposer dans l'histoire des poétiques, comme l'un des rares témoignages attestant de la réception polémique de la théorie de Deschamps dans les milieux musicaux. Car l'auteur des ballades 21 et 99 prend à contrepied l'*Art de dictier*, auquel l'ensemble du recueil apporte par ailleurs un démenti radical.

Mais peut-être y a-t-il un malentendu sur le sens d'une polémique dont les poéticiens ont tiré une excuse commode... pour ignorer le solfège. Il faudrait revenir au traité de Deschamps, dont le titre complet mérite d'être rappelé (*Art de dictier et de fere chançons, balades, virelais et rondeaux*) puisque c'est quasiment le programme du recueil de Chypre; et aux termes de la distinction établie entre la musique dite «artificielle» – adjectif que Clotilde Dauphant traduit radicalement par «artisanale» – et l'autre, la musique «naturelle» qui serait l'art poétique proprement dit:

Et est a scavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est artificiele et l'autre est naturelle. L'artificiele (...) appelee (...) de son art, car par ses vi notes (...) l'en puet aprandre à chanter, acorder (...) par figures de notes, par clefs et par lignes,

50. On remercie Clotilde Dauphant, l'éditrice de l'*Anthologie* de Deschamps, qui nous signale que des manuscrits de l'*Art de dictier* donnent l'intégralité de la ballade, à la différence de la version qu'elle-même reproduit (cf. DESCHAMPS, *L'Art de dictier*, p. 604). On ignore donc si le compositeur de Chypre avait sous les yeux tout le traité, ou la ballade seule.

le plus rude homme du monde ou du moins tant faire que, supposé ore qu'il n'eust pas la voix habile pour chanter ou bien acorder, sçaroit il et pourroit congnoistre les accors ou discors aveques tout l'art d'icelle science.⁵¹

Or la ballade 21 («*Pour hault et liement chanter / De vois clere nete et polie / Ne se doit-on jamais noumer / Musiciain ...*», vv. 1-4, f. 104^v) qui vise les mauvais interprètes, mais atteint aussi le poéticien amateur, dit exactement le contraire: ce n'est pas parce qu'on chante 'haut' qu'on peut se dire 'musicien' (au sens de compositeur) ni parce qu'on connaît (un peu) la musique qu'on la comprend. La mise en regard est polémique, et c'est bien normal, car il y avait beaucoup de mauvaise foi dans le propos de Deschamps. Ce dernier n'ignorait pas la musique. Il en avait assez appris pour en employer le lexique sans erreur, et assez entendu pour être capable de noter en marge de ses propres compositions la distinction de l'ouvert et du clos qui ne concerne que la mélodie. Il assimile pourtant les compositeurs à des rustres («le plus rude homme du monde») se prévalant d'une technique que *n'importe qui* pourrait acquérir, tandis que les poètes auraient, quant à eux, le privilège de pratiquer une «musique naturelle», «pour ce qu'elle *ne peut estre aprinse à nul*, se son propre courage naturellement ne s'y applique». ⁵² Comme si dans les deux arts présentés comme rivaux, l'aptitude, le talent, ou le génie n'étaient pas également discriminants!

Mais au-delà d'une polémique qui ne nous apprend rien sur les arts, c'est leur comparaison qui est éclairante, car elle les rapproche bien plus qu'elle ne les sépare. Ce qu'en vérité Deschamps réclame en faveur de la poésie, c'est, croyons-nous, une attention égale à celle qu'on prête à l'exécution d'une polyphonie, bientôt devenue si complexe qu'on la qualifiera d'*ars subtilior*. Et cela pour aboutir non pas à un divorce, mais à un mariage:

Ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre que chacune peut bien estre appelee musique pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcees et pointoyees par douçour de voix et ouverture de bouche; *et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en conjonction de science* par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieux seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy; et semblablement les chansons naturelles sont delectables et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificielle.⁵³

Et de cette «conjonction» idéale des arts, on peut écrire sans paradoxe que la meilleure illustration en est ... la poétique du recueil de Chypre.

51. DESCHAMPS, *L'Art de dictier*, p. 588.

52. *Ibidem*, p. 590.

53. *Ibidem*, p. 592.

Quand son mérite ne serait que de nous faire relire, au plus près et autrement, l'*Art de dictier*, ce serait déjà une avancée notable justifiant que l'œuvre soit enfin prise en compte dans l'histoire *littéraire* du siècle.

Isabelle Fabre – Gilles Polizzi

La consonance des voix dans les ballades du 'loyal serviteur' du recueil de Chypre (I-Tn, J.II.9, ballades 59-62)¹

De quoi se compose la 'consonance', au sens d'accord musical, des voix superposées dans l'exécution d'une polyphonie qui, sur le plan sémantique, cultive par nature une sorte de dialogisme, voire de polysémie? Combien de voix distinctes peut-on y entendre? Que disent-elles? Comment s'agencent-elles? Ces questions ne sont pas sans conséquence quant à la définition de l'idéologie courtoise, dont on s'attachera à montrer qu'en poésie, elle vise à la consonance exemplaire d'un 'accord', au sens musical mais aussi littéral et contextuel du terme, référé à l'harmonie idéale entre les protagonistes de la relation courtoise, l'amant 'serviteur' et la dame 'souveraine'.

Nous aborderons le phénomène de la pluralité des voix à partir d'un exemple limité, l'ensemble des quatre ballades numérotées de 59 à 62 (ff. 121^r-122^r) qui se succèdent sur le motif du 'loyal serviteur', au milieu de la section des ballades du recueil de Chypre (I-Tn, J.II.9, ff. 121^r-123^r). Ce recueil d'une ampleur et d'une diversité remarquable est composé de fragments de messes, et de motets latins et français, puis d'un ensemble de 102 ballades et de 64 virelais et rondeaux. Il est daté du premier tiers du xv^e siècle et émane du cercle des musiciens-poètes de la cour du roi de Chypre, Janus de Lusignan.² On peut y entendre l'alternance 'dialogique'

1. Cette contribution est la réécriture partielle, actualisée quant à sa bibliographie, d'une communication prononcée à l'Université d'Aix-Marseille, en novembre 2013, dans le cadre du colloque *Parler d'une seule voix: le discours collectif dans la littérature et les arts du Moyen Age*, organisé par Denis Collomp et Valérie Naudet, et dont les actes sont à ce jour inédits. Le texte est cité dans notre transcription d'après *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, édition en fac-similé avec introduction de Isabella Data et Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999, et selon la numérotation de l'édition musicale des pièces, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, éd. Richard H. Hoppin, 4 voll. (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963.

2. On se permet de renvoyer à nos propres travaux sur la poétique du recueil: ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, «Pour haut et liement chanter»: l'art poétique du 'Maitre de chant' dans la Ballade 21 du recueil de Chypre, «Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes» 26, 2013, pp. 153-175; ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *In Memory of Janus (1398-1432): Poetics of the French Pieces of the Cyprus Codex (Turin J.II.9). For a Historical Reading*, dans *Dia anthymisin kaipou kai topou: logotechniques apotyposeis tou kosmou tis Kyprou*, Praktika diethnous epistimonikou sinedriou (Leukosia, 6-9 Oktovriou 2012), éd. Michalis Pieris, Nicosia, Politistikos ypourgeiou paidias kai politismou, Tmima vyzantinon kai neoellinikon spoudon panepistimiou Kyprou, 2015, pp. 91-113; ISABELLE FABRE, *La «rose bien colorie». La vérité des sens dans le recueil de Chypre*, pp. 221-235 et GILLES POLIZZI, «Semblant me fait qu'il me veuille oindre»: le

de plusieurs voix ou 'manières' disposées dans l'agencement général des pièces, si bien que le concept de pluralité des voix y recouvre plusieurs acceptions. La pluralité est d'abord celle d'un énoncé polyphonique; c'est ensuite la distribution des manières qui dialoguent entre elles et font paraître, dans la succession des pièces, une progression narrative agencée par l'ordonnateur du recueil; c'est enfin celle d'un énonciateur, le sujet fictif du poème, à la fois singulier et pluriel si bien que, rapportées à lui, les pièces 'consonnent' toutes ensemble.

Quant à l'exemple retenu, il est fermement délimité par son leitmotiv, la définition du 'loyal serviteur', également représenté en tête de la section des rondeaux,³ mais contredit à la fin de la séquence, par la ballade qui suit (n. 63) et introduit, dans le fil du recueil, une contradiction dialogique:

Car vraiment tresgrant folour
Fait celui qui par doux langage
Parvient de liberté en servage.⁴

Notons au préalable que dans l'exemple choisi, la question de la superposition et de l'alternance des voix atteint un degré de complexité inédit, car d'autres problématiques s'y ajoutent: celle de la composition des ballades qui fait d'abord entendre la voix 'première' d'un intertexte, un modèle plus ancien emprunté à Machaut; et celle de l'agencement des pièces d'un recueil collectif, qui fait dialoguer des 'voix' ou 'manières' de traiter le motif. C'est justement cette complexité qui en fait l'intérêt, puisque son étude apporte des réponses aux questions qu'on souhaite poser.

La consonance des voix: pluralité et dialogisme

Quelques précisions méthodologiques s'imposent toutefois. Plusieurs modèles permettent en effet d'aborder la superposition des voix comme l'expression de la maturation conjointe du chant lyrique et du poème à la fin du Moyen Age. Le premier est d'ordre musical et purement performatif: il tient à la nature polyphonique des pièces du recueil, conçues

pour être exécutées à trois ou quatre voix.⁵ Dans le cas des motets, la structure énonciative agence naturellement la superposition des voix à texte (respectivement le *duplum* et le *triplum*) chantées simultanément, l'une avec (ou contre) l'autre. Dans celui des ballades, à l'exception d'une *ballada duplex*, qui superpose virtuellement deux énoncés,⁶ l'ensemble des pièces ne distingue, pour un même texte, que les strates mélodiques qui se superposent selon le principe de l'*ars subtilior*. Elles en modèlent néanmoins la prosodie et les accents. Et sur le fond du déploiement sonore de l'exécution musicale se détache 'en clair' l'effet de la superposition des voix: la «noise» (en français dans le texte) semblable à l'écho d'une querelle que dénonceront les auteurs du siècle suivant,⁷ indifférents à l'art polyphonique et sourds à sa musique savante. Ce qu'il nous faut retenir ici, c'est donc la 'différence' de ces voix, car c'est elle qui fait ressortir, en creux si l'on peut dire, le contour d'un 'chant pluriel' et consonant.

Le deuxième modèle, distinct de la performance énonciative, est spécifique à la poésie. Il tient au statut à la fois individuel et collectif de l'énonciateur, dans la poésie curiale étudiée par Daniel Poirion, de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans.⁸ Le lyrisme du temps, tissé de lieux communs et d'intertextes, nourri d'échos de pièces anciennes devenues 'classiques', décrit de manière topique une situation amoureuse qui concerne chacun des membres de la cour, sans désigner personne. Du coup, le poème cerne, en creux lui aussi, le contour d'un locuteur fictif susceptible d'adopter plusieurs 'voix'.

Enfin un troisième type de pluralité s'esquisse avec l'«engin si subtil» de Jacqueline Cerquiglini.⁹ Il s'agit du dialogisme ou de la 'pluralisation des voix', auquel est consacré un chapitre de cet ouvrage, centré sur la fiction du dialogue épistolaire qui structure le *Voir dit* de Machaut, et la disposition des poèmes 'en écho', dans les *Cent ballades d'amant et de dame* de Christine de Pizan.¹⁰ Cette troisième acception du concept conduit à notre exemple qui fait lui-même écho aux modèles qu'on vient d'énumérer.

5. Les trois voix musicales indiquées sur le manuscrit sont celles de *tenor*, *contratenor* et *cantus*. Exceptionnellement, dans le rondeau 64 chanté en canon, l'exécution suppose quatre voix.

6. Les deux voix à texte pouvaient être chantées simultanément ou alternativement; la disposition harmonique plaide plutôt en faveur de la deuxième hypothèse.

7. Cf. NOËL DU FAIL, *Les Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel*, éd. Marie-Claire Thomine, Paris, Garnier, 2019, p. 350 et suivantes.

8. DANIEL POIRION, *Le Poète et le Prince. L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965.

9. JACQUELINE CERQUIGLINI, «Un engin si subtil». *Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1985.

10. CHRISTINE DE PIZAN, *Cent ballades d'amant et de dame*, éd. Jacqueline Cerquiglini, Paris, Union générale d'éditions, 1982.

mensonge des sens dans le recueil de Chypre, pp. 237-253 dans *Penser les cinq sens au Moyen Age: poétique, esthétique, éthique*, éd. Florence Bouchet et Anne-Hélène Klinger-Dollé, Paris, Garnier, 2015; ISABELLE FABRE, «Diabolus in hortum». *Discordances rythmiques et métriques dans le motet 19 du recueil de Chypre (Torino, J.II.9)*, dans *Rythmes et croyances au Moyen Age*, actes de la journée d'études (Paris, 23 juin 2012), éd. Marie Formarier et Jean-Claude Schmitt, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2014, pp. 121-134.

3. Cf. rondeau 1, *Puis que je sui d'Amours loial servent*, étudié par CHRISTELLE CHAILLOU-AMADIEU, *Les rondeaux du codex de Chypre entre tradition et innovation*, dans *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), éd. Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi et Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 120-122.

4. I-Tn, J.II.9, ballade 63, vv. 5-7, f. 123^v.

Parmi les 'voix' du texte, nous ferons d'abord entendre celle de l'intertexte, tiré de Machaut, et dont le souvenir s'entend dans nos ballades comme un énoncé 'premier' avec lequel le texte 'second' qui en dérive, engage un dialogue ou un débat, par les altérations qu'il lui surimpose. On considérera ensuite le dialogisme qui juxtapose les différentes 'voix', ou manières de traiter le sujet, avant d'isoler sur des critères qualitatifs d'intensité et d'expressivité poétique une pièce particulière, la ballade 61. On conclura enfin sur la 'consonance' de ces voix dans l'harmonie poético-musicale du recueil et on en proposera une interprétation idéologique, relative à l'évolution ultime du lyrisme du 'grand chant courtois'.

L'écho d'un chant: la voix de l'intertexte dans le cycle du 'loyal serviteur'

Entre le recueil de Chypre et l'œuvre lyrique de Machaut, les liens signalés par les musicologues sont très nombreux.¹¹ Les ressemblances ou réminiscences perceptibles dans les pièces nous apprennent que l'œuvre du poète-musicien champenois reste présente dans la mémoire sonore de ses confrères qui s'en font l'écho, deux ou trois générations après sa disparition. C'est donc seulement un cas particulier de cette relation que nous retenons ici, pour le mettre en rapport avec la question de la pluralité et de la superposition des voix du texte, que nous aborderons exclusivement sous son angle poétique, distingué de sa dimension musicale.

Considérons brièvement le contexte de cette intertextualité, d'abord en séparant ce qui semble perceptible dans le texte, mais demeure à peu près inaudible dans son énonciation. Lorsqu'on reconnaît dans le virelai 45 de Chypre («Je prens d'amour noriture | Nete et pure», f. 154, vv. 1-2) la *contaminatio* du deuxième vers de la ballade 25 de Machaut («Et vraie amour qui est ma norriture»)¹² et du premier vers de la ballade 26 du même auteur («Dame plaisant, nette et pure»)¹³, la filiation est manifeste, mais elle reste cachée au profane, puisque pour l'établir, il faut savoir que, dans les manuscrits de Machaut, ces deux pièces se suivent.¹⁴ La difficulté s'atténue lorsque la rime «empire-ire» au refrain de la

ballade 29 de Machaut («Que je ne sais connoistre joie d'ire») revient à l'identique dans la ballade 77 du recueil de Chypre:

Mais tenrement me fait pleindre et plourer Et en plainnant dont ma doulour empire Que je ne sçay congnoistre joie d'ire. ¹⁵	De sa doulçour que trop mon mal s'empire Et Faux Dangier si long temps m'a hurté Qu'à paine puis congnoistre joye d'ire. ¹⁶
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Le vers attire l'attention puisqu'il figure aussi dans le *triplum* du motet 12 de Machaut au vers 4 («que je ne cognois joie d'ire») et qu'il était déjà au refrain d'une célèbre chanson de Gace Brulé («qu'à poignes sai connoistre joie d'ire», v. 8).¹⁷ Si l'écho est certain, c'est qu'il est destiné à être *entendu*: au-delà de la reprise de la chanson de Gace Brulé, celle de la rime «empire/ire», réfère directement Machaut qui l'emploie le premier. Et il en va de même dans l'exemple qu'on a choisi d'étudier. On peut rapprocher la séquence des ballades 59 à 62 de Chypre, de la ballade 267 de Machaut, dont voici la première strophe:

Douce dame, tant vous aim et desir De cuer, de fait et d'amour fine et pure Que mi panser sont et tuit mi desir En vous que j'aim sur toute creature; Et puis qu'Amours a ce mis M'a que je sui vos fins loiaus amis, Dame veuillez en grace recevoir Moy qui tous sui vestres sens decevoir. ¹⁸	5
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Les deux vers formant le refrain de la pièce de Machaut, sont en effet à l'origine de deux variantes chypriotes, dans les ballades 59 et 62, elles-mêmes associées à deux autres pièces, les ballades 60 et 61.

Voyons d'abord la dérivation scripturale qui explique la composition de ces pièces. Dans l'ordre de l'écriture, la plus proche de Machaut est la ballade 62; c'est donc elle qui semble à l'origine de la *contaminatio*:

Je ne vueil onqu'aulture amer
Que vous, ma dame jolie,
De qui mon cuer sans fausser

11. Voir en particulier les travaux de RICHARD H. HOPPIN, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, «Musica Disciplina», 11, 1957, pp. 79-125 et KARL KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Torino, J.II.9 and the French Tradition of the 14th and Early 15th Centuries*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), éd. Ursula Günther et Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen - Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology - Hänssler, 1995, pp. 151-181.

12. GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT, *La Louange des dames*, dans Id., *Poésies lyriques*, éd. Vladimir Chichmaref, 2 voll., Paris, Champion, 1909 (repr. Genève, Slatkine, 1973), I, p. 40, ballade 25, v. 2.

13. *Ibidem*, p. 41.

14. C'est le cas dans sept manuscrits répertoriés par Chichmaref (ms. A, B, C, D, E, F, J et N) et qui sont autant de sources possibles de notre recueil (*ibidem*, I, pp. LXXX-LXXXI).

15. MACHAUT, *La Louange des dames*, ballade 29, vv. 19-21.

16. I-Tn, J.II.9, ballade 77, f. 129^v, vv. 22-24.

17. Cf. SAMUEL N. ROSENBERG - SAMUEL DANON, *The Lyrics and Melodies of Gace Brulé*, New York - London, Garland, 1985, p. 248, et MACHAUT, *La Louange des dames*, ballade 29, p. 44, et motet 12 *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil*, dans MACHAUT, *Poésies lyriques*, II, p. 505.

18. MACHAUT, *La Louange des dames*, ballade 267, str. 1, p. 232.

Est trestout sans departie;
Vueillés moy par courtoisie 5
Dont pour vostre ressevoir,
Qui le sui sans dessevoir.

Et me vueillés assembler,
 Tresdoulce, gente et polie,
 Aveuc mon cuer, qui de cler 10
 Se treut en vostre baillie,
 Et toustens de chiere lie
Pour vostre humble serf avoir,
Qui le sui sans dessevoir.

Car vous me porrés trouver 15
Leal et sans trecherie
 Toustans, sans nul mal penser
 Ne faire toute ma vie;
 Si me vueillés comme amie
Tout vostre tenir pour voir, 20
Qui le sui sans dessevoir.

La première strophe reprend la rime du refrain de Machaut dans le bon ordre: «*Vueillés moi par courtoisie | Dont pour vostre recevoir | Qui le suis sans decevoir*» (vv. 5-7). Ce leitmotiv autorise des développements qui introduisent d'autres thèmes, celui de la 'servitude' dans la deuxième strophe («*Pour vostre humble serf avoir | Qui le sui sans dessevoir*», vv. 13-14) et celui de la 'vérité' du discours «*leal et sans trecherie*» (v. 16) dans la troisième («*Tout vostre tenir pour voir | Qui le sui sans decevoir*», vv. 20-21). Or ces syntagmes réapparaissent dans les ballades 59 et 60 qui doivent donc dériver de la ballade 62, quoique ces pièces rappellent elles aussi, mais de manière plus indirecte, le poème de Machaut. Voyons d'abord le cas dans deux strophes de la ballade 59 (vv. 1-7 et 15-21):

Vostre gent corps, dame digne de pris,
 Ens uquel maint toute volenté pure,
 M'a si le cuer de vraie amour espris
 Que nuit et jour je veuil mettre ma cure
 De vous servir de fin cuer sans laidure; 5
C'est tout mon vueil et le sachiens pour voir,
Si me vueillés pour vostre recevoir.

Dame d'onneur, en qui tout bon avis 15
 Fait son sejour, sage et tresfort meüre,
 Douche en tout fait, touchant honneur tousdis,
 Bonne et belle, nette de toute ordure,

Je vieng a vous, car de vous m'asseüre
 Puis que mon cuer avés sans *dessevoir*, 20
 Si me vueillés pour vostre *recevoir*.

Dans cette ballade, on retrouve en effet le motif de la 'vérité' («C'est tout mon vueil et le sachiens *pour voir*», v. 6), ainsi que la rime «recevoir-decevoir», au refrain comme chez Machaut, mais dans une disposition inverse («Puis que mon cuer avés sans *dessevoir* | Si me veullés pour vostre *recevoir*», vv. 20-21).

Quant à la ballade 60, elle s'éloigne encore plus du modèle, en introduisant, aux vers 6-7, une nouvelle rime («retenir-mourir»), donc une nouvelle idée (la mort d'amour), tout en traitant aux vers 13-14 le motif du service amoureux («Comme *vo serf lealment* sans mentir | Car le serai certes dusqu'au mourir») et en paraphrasant, par une reformulation négative, le «pour voir» de la ballade 62 qui se transforme en «sans mentir» au v. 13:

Tresdoulce flour et tresodourant rose
 En qui mon cuer j'ai tout habandonné
 La grant doulchour qu'en vous est fait que j'ose
 Treshumblement querir vostre amisté ;
 Si vous suppli par toute humilité 5
 Que me vueillés pour vostre *retenir*,
 Car le serai certes dusqu'au *mourir*.

Je ne cognois en cestui monde chose
 Qui puist donner a tous mes mauls santé
 Que vostre amour, la quelle je propose 10
 De fort chierir, se c'est par vostre gré ;
 Si me veullés tenir pour conforté
 Comme *vo serf lealment sans mentir*,
 Car le serai certes dusqu'au mourir.

Ainsi, à partir du refrain de Machaut, qu'on tient pour la matrice de ces poèmes, on aboutit à la synthèse que constitue la ballade 62. Et cette synthèse devient à son tour le pivot qui fait passer d'une pièce à l'autre. Elle ajoute des motifs, amplifiés dans la ballade 59, et retraités dans la ballade 60. Enfin la ballade 61 qu'on étudiera plus loin, s'intègre à la séquence par le motif du 'service amoureux', mis en valeur au refrain («En toute honneur, comme leal servant», v. 7) tout en se dégageant du modèle de Machaut, puisque l'agrafe rimique du refrain «recevoir-decevoir» n'y figure pas. C'est donc une composition originale qui tranche par son ingéniosité dans le traitement du motif.

Voix gnomique et voix courtoise: le dialogisme des 'manières'

Restons-en à notre exemple pour y considérer, au présent de l'énonciation, le traitement 'pluriel' ou l'étagement des voix qui est notre propos. Dans ces ballades, nous pouvons en effet distinguer, quant à leur style et à leur poétique, plusieurs 'voix' ou 'manières' qui modulent le *topos*. La première, dont l'exemple-type est la ballade 62 déjà considérée, est celle que nous appelons 'gnomique'. Perçue comme telle pour sa différence de ton et sa récurrence dans la texture du recueil, elle peut s'entendre aussi chez Machaut, mais comme un registre stylistique autonome qui n'entre pas dans la composition d'une polyphonie contrastée. Nous la nommons 'gnomique' parce qu'elle se caractérise par la simplicité délibérée de la syntaxe (ordre sujet-verbe-complément), une absence de recherche lexicale (vocabulaire familier) et une allure 'populaire' (recours fréquent aux proverbes) causée ici par le découpage mécanique du mètre bref, qui renforce les articulations causales. A ces traits s'ajoute une progression strophique qui passe par la répétition des mêmes syntagmes («veuillés» aux vers 5, 8 et 19), la multiplication des chevilles (la chaîne d'adjectifs au vers 9) et des intensifs («trestout» v. 4; «toustans» vv. 12 et 17). On obtient ainsi une forme simple, d'abord produite par la cadence énergique de l'heptasyllabe, qui dans la ballade 62 parvient à étendre sur trois vers («Veuillés moi par courtoisie | Dont pour vostre recevoir | Qui le suis sans decevoir», vv. 5-7) les vers 7 et 8 du refrain de Machaut («Dame veuillés en grace recevoir | Moi qui suis vostre sans decevoir») tout en donnant néanmoins une impression de concision, car l'idée du poème tient à la conjonction des mots-clés qui désignent les protagonistes, le «serf» (v. 13) et «l'amie» (v. 19). Dans la mesure où les pièces qui présentent les mêmes traits stylistiques sont réparties dans l'ensemble du recueil, nous entendons cette 'manière' comme une 'voix'. Elle devient ainsi la composante d'une polyphonie dialogique qui vaut par le contraste avec deux autres 'manières'; celles-ci caractérisent respectivement les ballades 59 et 60 d'une part, et la ballade 61 d'autre part. La deuxième manière (ballades 59 et 60) est assimilable à une 'voix' médiane dite 'courtoise'. Elle est présente dans l'ensemble du recueil, et caractérise dans notre exemple les ballades 59 et 60. Rappelons que ces deux pièces sont parallèles à celle de Machaut, dont elles adoptent le mètre décasyllabique. Leur écriture est de ce fait plus difficile à distinguer car elle fait entendre une voix commune et collective, identifiable à la 'basse continue' du lyrisme courtois. On la reconnaît au traitement conventionnel de la topique (dans l'incipit de la ballade 60, l'image de la fleur: «Tresdoulce flour et tresodourant rose») vouée à la description d'un objet toujours idéalisé: la femme aimée et célébrée. L'écriture procède ici par accumulation (la guirlande mariale des attributs caractérisant la dame dans la ballade

59, «Douche en tout fait (...) | Bonne et belle, nette de toute ordure», vv. 17-18), par la fréquence des intensifs haussés jusqu'à l'hyperbole, voire par des tournures exceptives («Je ne cognois en cestui monde chose | Qui puist donner a tous mes mauls santé | Que vostre amour...», ballade 60, vv. 8-10), ainsi que des mises en relief portées par le jeu élémentaire des contraires (l'antithèse entre «mal» et «santé» au v. 9 de la même pièce). D'un point de vue formel, cette manière se caractérise par des facilités dans les rimes, pauvres ou homéopteutes,¹⁹ par une linéarité excluant les rejets, et par l'absence d'équivoque, pourtant fréquentes dans la lyrique courtoise. Autrement dit, cette manière n'approfondit pas ses énoncés. Elle s'en tient au «sens commun», à la banalité collective de la morale courtoise. C'est justement cette impression de banalité due au retour d'énoncés vidés de leur sens par des emplois abusifs et comparables aux «vers-formulaires» des chansons de gestes, qui a trompé les spécialistes, lassés des lieux communs égrenés dans la longue série des 'vergers allégoriques' de la deuxième moitié du recueil (ballades 55 à 78).²⁰ Cette voix s'entend pourtant comme l'expression d'une poétique bien reconnaissable, et qui, par sa médiocrité relative, fait valoir un nouveau contraste avec la virtuosité et la profondeur d'une troisième 'voix' qu'il nous faut à présent faire entendre en examinant la ballade 61.

La consonance d'une «très pure entente»: le dialogisme de l'idéal

On discerne dans la ballade 61 l'expression d'une toute autre conception de la langue et du poème. Nous l'avons étudiée ailleurs, à propos de la ballade 21 consacrée à l'art musical, raison pour laquelle nous avons donné à son locuteur le nom de 'maître de chant'.²¹ Dans la séquence du 'loyal serviteur', cette troisième 'voix' se distingue des deux premières autant que celle d'un soliste dialoguant avec l'orchestre:

Puis qu'avisai vostre viaire *gent*
 Et le maintieng de vous, ma dame *gente*,
 A mon pooir je ne fus onques *lent*
 De cogiter de volenté non *lente*
 En vo service de trespure *entente* 5
 Que fort desir faire tout mon vivant
 En toute honneur, comme leal servant.

19. Par exemple dans la strophe 3 (non citée) de la ballade 60, une suite de participes passés à la rime: «fondé / amé / encliné» aux vv. 16-18-19.

20. Voir l'appréciation de Hoppin dans l'introduction au volume des ballades: «The language, the technique, and the subject matter of these poems are so traditional and so commonplace that one often has the impression of having read them somewhere else». Cf. *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), I, p. xi.

21. FABRE - POLIZZI, «Pour haut et liement chanter», loc. cit.

Derrière l'attaque conventionnelle («Puisqu'avisai vostre viaire gent...») d'un énoncé non moins topique que les autres, on découvre une prouesse morphologique qui transcende la rime. Celle-ci s'efface au profit de l'*annominatio* dans l'alternance du masculin et du féminin des adjectifs «gent» (v. 1) et «lent» (v. 3). N'est-il pas significatif que ce soit le féminin qui fasse la liaison entre le vers 4 («de volonté non lente») et le vers 5 («de trespure entente»)? Car l'harmonie de l'accord désiré («l'entente» du v. 5) est mise littéralement au service de la dame. Par ailleurs, les deux derniers vers de la première strophe, d'apparence banale («Que fort desir faire tout mon vivant | En toute honneur, comme leal servant») servent à faire le lien avec le motif inspiré de Machaut. Pourtant cette ballade ne lui doit presque rien: non seulement le refrain est très différent, mais surtout le poème n'est plus, comme chez Machaut, une simple «offre de service», mais la reformulation d'un idéal à travers le pur élan du désir («l'entente» au sens «d'intention») puis, en retour, la conclusion de l'accord réciproque qu'il suscite, comme en témoigne la deuxième strophe:

Son doulz atrait tant de doucheur me *rent*,
 Quant je la voi, qu'i n'i a chose ne *rente*
 Qui si fort m'enrichist, don ne *present*, 10
 Que sa doucheur qui tousjours m'est *presente*,
 A qui mon cuer librement je *presente*
 Com celui qui vous sui obeissant
 En toute honnour, comme leal servant.

La concaténation syntaxique et la multiplication des relatives donnent à l'énoncé une profondeur nouvelle. Le champ lexical s'enrichit d'une série d'équivoques qu'on peut paraphraser ainsi: premièrement la séduction «rent» (v. 8) ou donne en retour quelque chose, dans l'échange fictif des regards; deuxièmement, cet échange est quantifiable et se devient une «rente» (v. 9) qui «enrichit» ou transforme le sujet-locuteur, car, troisièmement, c'est bien un «don» et un «present» (v. 10) dont le souvenir «rent» la douceur «presente» (v. 11) en la faisant éprouver *une seconde fois*. Bref, ni les relatives ni les équivoques ne sont ici gratuites ou ornementales. Elles traduisent la complexité et la richesse du concept qui détermine la relation courtoise.

C'est à cette profondeur qui ne distingue plus la forme du fond, qu'on reconnaît les traits stylistiques caractéristiques du 'maître de chant': l'attention accordée à la conscience d'un sujet-locuteur qui importe beaucoup plus que l'objet de son désir, dont par ailleurs on ne saura rien. Un sujet qui s'incarne 'collectivement' en sondant les équivoques de la langue. Par exemple dans la suite des polyptotes en fin de vers, dans la strophe qu'on

vient de citer, et dans l'alternance entre les formes verbales («me rent» au vers 8 et «presente», d'abord employé au vers 11 comme participe, puis au vers suivant comme première personne de l'indicatif présent) et les substantifs («rente», v. 9; «present», v. 10). Le procédé de composition s'étend à la troisième strophe avec la rime «atent-entent» (vv. 15 et 17) confrontée à «atente-entente» (vv. 16 et 18), dans laquelle les termes sont pris successivement comme verbes (troisièmes personnes de l'indicatif «d'attendre» et «entendre») puis comme substantifs:

Mon povre cuer aultre joye *n'atent* 15
 Que d'estre vostre, en qui maint son *atente*,
 Vostre grant sens, qui sagement *l'entent*,
 Li fasse avoir tost sa *trespure entente*,
 Que nuit et jour certes avoir il *tente*
 Et tentera, toute bonté pensant, 20
 En toute honnour, comme leal servant.

L'enchaînement est fonctionnel, puisque l'enjeu du poème est bien de réaliser la «trespure entente» qui fera paraître la figure du «loyal serviteur». Notons par ailleurs qu'on retrouve le même syntagme, la «trespure entente», au vers 18, au mépris de la règle qui interdit de faire rimer le semblable avec lui-même. Mais cette transgression apparente peut s'expliquer si l'on suppose que le poète joue de la polysémie du substantif. Dans son premier emploi au sens «d'intention» au vers 5, «l'entente» désignerait le désir de l'un, c'est-à-dire la disposition intérieure du sujet; tandis que dans le second, il s'agirait de l'idéal impersonnel et codifié de la 'courtoise': l'accord tacite de l'un *et de l'autre* exprimé par la rime, ou si l'on préfère, le fait que l'un soit *entendu*, c'est-à-dire compris et approuvé par l'autre. Il faudrait alors tenir pour légitime la reprise dudit syntagme.

Il faut enfin souligner l'exemplarité d'un discours dans lequel le locuteur ne parle pas *pour* lui-même ni *de* lui-même. Un processus de dépersonnalisation s'accomplit au fil de l'énonciation. Celui qui dit «je» dans l'expression de son désir à la première strophe, devient un sujet neutre ou 'pluriel' dans la troisième. Il se transporte hors de lui-même, lorsque son «cuer», au v. 15, devient le sujet grammatical et que, aux vers 19-20, il «tente | et tentera» d'atteindre à la «trespure entente» (v. 18) qui fera de lui le «leal servant» qu'il entend rester (v. 21 au refrain). Notons la reprise interne de la rime («tente/tentera») par un rejet qui dynamise et prolonge le mouvement, non pas achevé, mais idéalement continué par le participe présent, «toute bonté pensant» (v. 20). Car c'est en composant le poème que le locuteur devient *de facto* ce 'loyal serviteur' et que, paradoxalement, il n'a

plus besoin «d'attendre» la réponse de la dame pour obtenir «sa trespure entente». Bref cette ingéniosité formelle n'est pas gratuite. Elle permet de l'occurrence de redonner un sens au concept de 'loyauté', fondateur de la relation courtoise, au temps même où cette valeur est contestée, d'un côté par le duc de Berry, qui dans les *Cent ballades*,²² conseille la duplicité à l'amant, et, symétriquement, par Alain Chartier, dont la «Dame sans merci» ne veut rien *entendre*.²³ Ainsi l'étude de la pluralité des voix conduit-elle *in fine* à un constat esthétique qui marque la place du recueil au stade ultime de l'évolution du lyrisme courtois.

Conclusion: la 'consonance' des voix courtoises

C'est bien, comme on s'en doute, un combat d'arrière-garde que mènent les poètes du recueil de Chypre, confrontés depuis Pétrarque qu'ils ignorent superbement, à l'essor d'une poétique du sujet qui fonde sur une vérité *singulière* sa prétention à l'exemplarité. Tournant le dos à un modèle qui se fait jour de leur temps, par exemple chez Christine de Pizan, ils s'en tiennent à l'affirmation *collective* des valeurs courtoises, autrement dit, à l'accord 'consonant' entre l'amant et la dame, quel qu'en soit le sens, sentimental, ou politique qu'on lui donne. Et ils mènent leur combat *par* la forme, en inscrivant leurs pièces dans la continuité éprouvée des modèles, Gace Brulé et Machaut, qu'ils imitent en signe de professionnalisme, puisque c'est justement ce qu'on leur commande. Quant à la pluralité des voix, leur étagement concerté ne vise pas à dégager des individualités, mais à les confondre dans l'harmonie concertante de l'œuvre. La difficulté tient alors à l'insertion d'une voix originale, celle du 'maître de chant', qui tranche sur la banalité ou la platitude des autres, sans pour autant mettre en péril l'unité de l'ensemble. Car sa poétique, si ingénieuse et profonde soit-elle, ne vise pas à l'affirmation du Moi, mais à une vacuité qui conditionne l'adhésion au consensus courtois. A cette exemplarité qui est le propos avoué du recueil, répond ainsi l'unicité d'un sujet 'pluriel', qui s'invente en se confrontant à la pluralité des voix *qui le parlent*.

22. Cf. *Le livre des Cent ballades*, éd. Gaston Raynaud de Lage, Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1905, «réponse des ballades», n. 7, pp. 213-214: «On peut l'un dire et l'autre doit-on faire» (v. 10, au refrain); signalons qu'un des auteurs des *Cent ballades*, Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut, promu gouverneur de Gênes au service du roi de France, a été en relation avec Janus de Lusignan au début de son règne.

23. ALAIN CHARTIER, *La Belle Dame sans merci*, éd. Arthur Piaget, Paris, Textes littéraires français, 1945.

Paola Cifarelli

«Tant gratte chievre que mal gist» À propos d'une ballade anonyme du manuscrit I-Tn, J.II.9

Le proverbe «Tant gratte chievre que mal gist», sorti de l'usage en français moderne, figure parmi les plus utilisés par les poètes médiévaux,¹ de Chrétien de Troyes qui l'employa dans *Erec et Enide*² à Villon, qui en fit l'incipit de sa *Ballade des proverbes*; dans un article consacré au poème villonien, Pierre Demarolle³ a éclairci le lien entre la signification immédiate et anecdotique de notre sentence gnomique (à force de gratter, la chèvre se trouve finalement mal couchée) et son sens métaphorique; l'analogie entre monde animal et univers humain consiste en la leçon de modération qu'on peut en tirer: un acharnement excessif ou une exigence trop ambitieuse peuvent devenir préjudiciables, si bien qu'il faut savoir s'arrêter à temps pour ne pas causer son propre malheur.

Aux nombreuses attestations du proverbe dans la littérature du xv^e siècle enregistrées dans les répertoires⁴ on peut ajouter le refrain de la cinquante-deuxième des cent deux ballades anonymes figurant au f. 100^r du manuscrit I-Tn, J.II.9, dont le texte est transcrit ci-dessous:⁵

1. ANTOINE LE ROUX DE LINCY, *Le livre des proverbes français: précédé de recherches historiques sur les proverbes français et leur emploi dans la littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, 2 voll., Paris, Delalays, 1859, I, p. 164.

2. Le proverbe est utilisé pour qualifier l'état d'âme et le comportement d'Enide reprochant à Erec de ne plus entreprendre d'action chevaleresque. Après la réaction d'Erec, elle «Mout se lieve triste et pensive, | A li sole tance et pensive [de la folie qu'ele dist: | Tant grate chievre que mal gist» (KRISTIAN VON TROYES, *Erec und Enide. Textausgabe mit Variantenauswahl, Einleitung, erklärenden Anmerkungen und vollständigem Glossar*, éd. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, pp. 95-96). Sur l'utilisation des proverbes chez Chrétien de Troyes en parallèle avec la mise en prose du xv^e siècle, voir l'article de MARIA COLOMBO TIMELLI, *De l'Erec de Chrétien de Troyes à la prose du xv^e siècle: le traitement des proverbes*, «Le Moyen Français», 42, 1998, pp. 87-113.

3. PIERRE DEMAROLLE, *Autour de la Ballade des proverbes: aspects logiques de la poésie de Villon*, in *Richesse du proverbe 1*, éd. François Suard et Claude Buridant, Lille, Presses Universitaires de l'Université Lille, III, 1984, pp. 75-85.

4. JOZEF MORAWSKI, *Proverbes français antérieurs au xv^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1922, n. 2297; JAMES W. HASSELL, *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1981, p. 71, C140; *Thesaurus proverbiorum Medii Aevi / Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, éd. Samuel Singer, 13 voll., Berlin - New York, De Gruyter, 2002, XIII, pp. 385-386.

5. La transcription se différencie en partie de celles des éditions fournies respectivement dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, éd. Richard H. Hoppin, 4 voll. (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21), Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1963, III, pp. 9-10 et par les éditeurs de l'édition diplomatique *Le Codex de Chypre (Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria J.II.9)*,

J'ai maintes fois oÿ conter
 Qu'on voit tres mallement fenir
 Les mesdisans, qui de parler
 Ne cessent contre aultrui plaisir.
 C'est raison, n'aultrement venir
 Leur peut, car le proverbe dist:
Tant gratte chievre que mal gist.

On ne s'en doit enmerveiller
 Sil⁶ les voit en mal parvenir,
 Car leur fais n'est que fort penser
 Comme ilz puissent bien parferir⁷
 Le mal, dont m'esteut referir⁸
 Que leur venin tost les ocist:
Tant gratte chievre que mal gist.

Omqes ne vis lance perchier,⁹
 Espée ne dart cop ferir
 Si tresasprement, ne navrer
 Comme leur langhe, sans mentir;
 Le mal sur eulz voi¹⁰ revenir
 Tost. C'est raisons, puis que de eulz ist:
Tant gratte chievre que mal gist.

Dans cette ballade notée, dont le texte poétique n'a fait l'objet que d'observations rapides de la part la critique,¹¹ notre proverbe encadre chacune

Bologna, Ut Orpheus, 2011-, III: *Ballades II*, éd. Cécile Beaupain, Gisèle Clément, Terence Waterhouse, 2014, pp. 137-138, auxquelles je propose quelques corrections.

6. L'emploi de la graphie *sil* pour *si*, sans que cela soit l'indice d'une contraction du pronom (*si le*), est analogue à celle de *quil* pour *qui*; plusieurs attestations sont présentes dans la base Frantext (ex. «Or avint en icel point que li sires du Chastel Ysembart et Regnaut de Pierrelee et bien xv autres chevaliers de lor route orent prins conseil de corre tout ensamble sus Artus: *sil* le metroient par terre, et li contes de Fois l'avoit ensi devisé», *Artus de Bretagne: roman en prose de la fin du XIII^e siècle*, éd. Christine Ferlampin-Acher, Paris, Champion, 2017, p. 80).

7. *Tobler-Lommatzsch: Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, édition électronique conçue et réalisée par Peter Blumenthal et Achim Stein (<https://www.ling.uni-stuttgart.de/institut/ilr/toblerlommatzsch/> dernier accès 28 avril 2024), s.v. *parferir*, 'durchschlagen' (= manifester); ici, 'révéler', 'dire'.

8. Le verbe impersonnel *estouvoir* (+ inf.), utilisé ici à l'indicatif présent, signifie 'falloir', 'être nécessaire' (DMF – *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2020, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf, s.v. estouvoir, 1>); pour *referir*, cf. FRÉDÉRIC GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle* (<http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/dictionnaire-godefroy/>), s.v. (t. 6, p. 714); on doit donc comprendre 'j'ai le devoir de faire savoir'.

9. L'édition diplomatique interprète ce mot comme un substantif et le fait donc précéder d'une virgule, mais le DMF et les autres répertoires de l'ancien et du moyen français ne confirment pas cette lecture. Par contre, le verbe *percer* est attesté sous la forme palatalisée dans les *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* bourguignonnes («l'un d'iceulx, qui avoit ung glaive, se vira subit et le darda en l'estomac du chevalier et le *percha* de part en part», *Les Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, éd. Franklin P. Sweetser, Genève, Droz, 1966, p. 551).

10. Il s'agit du verbe *voir*, ind. prés. P1 sans désinence analogique.

11. VIRGINIA NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune: Ordering and Structure in the First Ballade Gathering of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, dans *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU*,

des trois strophes, toutes construites autour du motif de la médisance; après avoir évoqué quelques questions concernant l'origine supposée du proverbe, j'analyserai le fonctionnement de celui-ci à l'intérieur de notre texte, pour m'attarder ensuite sur les liens qui se tissent entre celui-ci et les deux autres ballades copiées dans les ff. 99^v-100^r du codex, respectivement en regard (ballade 4, *Qui ses fais tresbien ne comprend*) et en dessous, transversalement aux deux feuillets contigus (ballade 6, *Sage, discret estre tousdis*); cela permettra de mettre à l'épreuve l'hypothèse formulée par Isabelle Fabre et Gilles Polizzi¹² à propos de la présence, dans le manuscrit, de triades de ballades appartenant à des séries différentes, mais dont la mise en page suggère une lecture conjointe: leur fonctionnement se fonderait sur une interaction dialogique qui générerait un sens plus étendu. Les rapports d'intertextualité de la ballade 5 avec un motet français du XIV^e siècle contenant le même proverbe, mais surtout avec le *Voir-Dit* de Guillaume de Machaut confirmeront enfin que l'auteur des poèmes conservés dans le manuscrit «de Chypre» était bien conscient de la tradition littéraire française, avec laquelle il a construit un jeu de miroirs, ou plutôt un effet d'écho.

Le proverbe

Le proverbe «Tant gratte chievre que mal gist», qui fait allusion à un comportement mal dominé aux conséquences néfastes, joue sur un stéréotype dévalorisant lié à la chèvre, attesté aussi dans d'autres locutions utilisées en moyen français, comme «sot / hors de bon sens comme une chevre» ou «faire comme la chevre», qui signifie 'se procurer un dommage soi-même, aimer le danger'. Le manque de bon sens et l'incapacité de la gent caprine à prévoir les conséquences de ses actions évoqués par ces structures clivées sont évoqués aussi par la littérature; un exemple est constitué par la célèbre fable ésoquique du Renard et du Bouc descendus

J.II.9, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), éd. Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi et Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 125-141: 137. Sur l'analyse des textes poétiques, cf. entre autres AGOSTINO ZUINO, *On the Poetic and Musical Form of Six Ballades of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), éd. Ursula Günther et Ludwig Finscher, Neuhäuser – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995, pp. 377-394; ISABELLE FABRE, *Un cas de polysémie dans l'allégorie tardo-médiévale? Lectures spirituelle et courtoise de la ballade de la belle tour (ms. de Turin, BNU J.II.9)*, dans *L'unique change de scène. Écritures spirituelles et discours amoureux (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)*, éd. Véronique Ferrer, Barbara Marczuk, Jean-René Valette, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2016, pp. 189-205; ELIZABETH EVA LEACH, *Grafting the Rose: Machaut, the Ars subtilior, and the Cyprus Ballades*, in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Music / Grenzbereiche in der Musik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, éd. Karl Kügle, Lorenz Welker, Münster – Middleton, American Institute for Musicology, 2017, pp. 195-207.

12. ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, «Pour haut et liement chanter»: *l'art poétique du 'Maître de chant' dans la Ballade 21 du recueil de Chypre*, «Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes», 26, 2013, pp. 153-175.

dans un puits.¹³ Les médisants de notre ballade sont donc dévalorisés tant pour leur comportement imprudent que pour leur sottise, évoquée en filigrane par la comparaison avec un animal considéré insensé.

Quant à l'origine de notre parémie, selon Randle Cotgrave, auteur du *Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611),¹⁴ elle se fonderait sur un «vieil conte» où la chèvre, à force de gratter la terre pour se ménager une couche confortable, découvre un couteau par lequel elle est ensuite égorgée pour un sacrifice:

Tant gratte la chevre que mal gist: prov. *He keeps such a stur, he makes so much ado, to be well, that he is the worse for it: in old time a certaine goat painfully scraping the earth to get her selfe an easefull couch, turned up a knife, wherewith presently after her throat was cut in a sacrifice. (This proverbe is fittest applied unto such, as ruine, or incommodate themselves by being too busie, or too curious, in what kind soever).*

Je n'ai pas réussi pour l'instant à retrouver des attestations du récit auquel Cotgrave faisait référence. Toutefois, une troisième expression figée courante en moyen français («Plus le het que chievre coutel»)¹⁵ fait allusion à l'utilisation de la chèvre dans les rites sacrificiaux, bien attestée dans la littérature de l'Antiquité; c'est peut-être à partir de cette tradition que l'on peut expliquer la deuxième partie de la glose du *Dictionarie*. Mais ce qui est surtout intéressant pour notre propos dans cette définition, c'est l'application du proverbe non seulement à ceux qui sont trop zélés, évoqués ici par l'adjectif *curious*,¹⁶ mais aussi à quelqu'un qui fait le récit de faits douteux, comme dans notre ballade; en effet, l'autre qualificatif utilisé par Cotgrave, *busie*, pouvait être employé en combinaison avec le substantif 'words' pour indiquer le 'gossip' de l'anglais moderne.¹⁷ L'auteur-compositeur de notre poème semble donc appliquer notre sentence gnomique au contexte de la médisance suivant une tendance qui sera lexicalisée deux siècles plus tard, mais qui était entrée dans l'usage depuis longtemps; en effet, déjà au XIII^e siècle, le poète picard Perrin La

13. GERT DICKE – KLAUS GRUBMÜLLER, *Katalog der Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen*, München, Fink, 1987, n. 176. Dans cette fable, la naïveté du bouc s'oppose à la ruse du goupil qui réussit à sortir en montant sur le dos de son compagnon d'infortune.

14. RANDLE COTGRAVE, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, London, Islip, 1611 (<http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cotgrave/>; dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

15. GIUSEPPE DI STEFANO, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique des locutions. Ancien Français, Moyen Français, Renaissance*, 2 voll., Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, I, p. 317.

16. L'adjectif *curious* en moyen anglais a le sens de 'zealed, eager to do something, solicitous' (*Middle English Dictionary*, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary_a_v_; dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

17. *Ibidem*.

Tour utilisa le proverbe qui nous occupe dans un texte moralisant en vers intitulé *Du Medisant* pour en tirer une leçon comparable à celle de notre ballade. Édité autrefois par Arthur Långfors,¹⁸ le texte de 180 vers en strophes hélinandiennes conservé dans le manuscrit unique F-Pn, fr. 25462¹⁹ fustige ceux qui s'en prennent aux bons comme aux mauvais, aux riches comme aux pauvres, sans considérer que leur comportement finit par causer leur propre malheur:

Mesdisans n'est de riens piteus,
Anchois par est si despiteus
Que sans pité cascun despit.
Mesdisans est trop couvoiteus:
Tant fait il k'il a les bons teus
Qu'il les convoie sans respit
En liu dont maus lor naist et ist.
Mesdisans riches gabe et rist
Quant il voit povre diseteus;
Mais ch'est folie, car on dist:
Tant grate chievre que mau gist
Et ke mauvais est ses osteus. (vv. 73-84)

Il est également intéressant pour notre propos de constater que dans quelques-uns des témoins des *Proverbes aux vilains*, recueil gnomique daté des années 1180 et destiné à un vaste succès, notre sentence gnomique est utilisée pour décrire l'attitude du courtisan qui, après avoir tout fait pour entrer à la cour, désire ardemment revenir auprès de ses anciens amis:

Quant je sui a la court
Dont touz li bien me sourt,
Si sui come en liens.
Tart m'est que hors en soie
Et par päis revoie
Mes amis anciens
Tant grate chievre que mau gist [...].²⁰

18. ARTHUR LÅNGFORS, *Du mesdisant par Perrin La Tour (Bibl. nat. fr. 25462)*, «Romania», 40, 1911, pp. 559-565.

19. Le manuscrit a appartenu autrefois à l'érudit français Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc; selon les hypothèses formulées par les musicologues (à prendre avec réserve, parce qu'on sait que la coloration picarde peut être un trait stylistique), l'auteur des ballades du manuscrit «de Chypre» serait lui aussi originaire de cette région et on peut se demander s'il aurait connu ce texte.

20. *Die Sprichwörter des gemeinen Mannes. Altfranzösische Dichtung nach den bisher bekannten Handschriften*, éd. Alfred Tobler, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1895, pp. 27-28; les manuscrits en question sont les suivants: F-Pn, fr. 17177 et D-B, Hamilton 257.

Comme la critique l'a bien mis en évidence, le manuscrit «de Chypre» fut élaboré en milieu de cour; puisque le proverbe utilisé comme refrain dans notre ballade évoque ce contexte dans l'imaginaire contemporain et que la médisance est un vice caractéristique du courtisan dans la littérature anticuriale,²¹ on pourrait envisager une lecture de notre ballade dans le cadre de la critique contre la vie de cour. En effet, comme l'a mis en évidence Daniel Poirion,²² le refrain constitue le point autour duquel se construit la scène des ballades et il synthétise l'idée exprimée par le poème, en indiquant ainsi la perspective dans laquelle il convient d'observer le contenu.

Un dernier aspect intéressant à tenir en compte à propos du proverbe utilisé comme refrain dans la ballade 5 du manuscrit «de Chypre» est le fait que le *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*²³ et les recherches récentes d'Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker sur les *Proverbes au vilain*²⁴ montrent que celui-ci serait à ranger parmi les parémies «vernaculaires et d'origine ou de circulation populaires médiévales» dont aucune source n'est spécifiée; en effet, les répertoires de motifs folkloriques n'en recensent aucun qui puisse être rattaché à celui du proverbe.²⁵ Pour son refrain construit suivant le modèle de l'épiphonème proverbial,²⁶ l'auteur de la ballade a donc choisi une sentence gnomique profane et d'origine vernaculaire, mais bien attestée dans la tradition littéraire française. D'une part, le renvoi à un monde rural dans le proverbe contribue à situer la ballade 5 dans le cadre d'un échange proche du registre informel de la conversation, sans pourtant l'éloigner du contexte littéraire contemporain: Charles d'Orléans, le Prince des poètes, puisa lui aussi à la tradition gnomique pour le refrain de quelques-uns de ses poèmes, comme le rondeau 163;²⁷ d'autre part, le

ton sentencieux avec lequel le message moralisant est véhiculé concourt à mettre en évidence l'intention édifiante poursuivie par l'auteur de notre poème, conformément à un projet qui sous-tend l'ensemble des ballades copiées dans le codex «de Chypre».²⁸

La ballade

Comme il l'a été évoqué plus haut, dans la ballade polyphonique *J'ai maintes fois oï conter*, qui se compose de trois septains d'octosyllabes construits sur le schéma rimique ababbC, le refrain en forme d'épiphonème proverbial constitue une confirmation par l'analogie du contenu de chaque strophe: la niaiserie de la chèvre et son comportement, qui se retord contre elle en lui provoquant un dommage, s'appliquent aux personnages humains évoqués dans le poème. En raison de la valeur didactique que la sentence gnomique confère au poème, ce texte fait jouer ce qu'Isabelle Fabre et Gilles Polizzi ont défini la «voix sapientiale» du recueil conservé dans le manuscrit «de Chypre».²⁹ Surtout dans la série initiale des ballades, le je poétique formule des critiques envers la vie curiale, microcosme dans lequel se reflète à échelle réduite le combat contre Fortune, qui constitue le motif central de cette section du recueil.³⁰

Dans la ballade 5 la voix narrative s'en prend aux médisants, évoqués dès le v. 3 de la première strophe et mis en évidence par le contre-rejet; ceux-ci sont critiqués pour les effets néfastes de leur maniement de la langue avec une progression qui va de la simple mention de leurs propos malveillants (stance 1) à l'évocation des intentions malévoles qui animent les calomnieurs (stance 2), jusqu'à celle des blessures que les victimes peuvent recevoir de leurs coups de langue (stance 3). L'absence de rimes équivoques et l'emploi limité d'autres procédés d'ornementation du langage poétique concourent ici à accentuer l'atmosphère de simplicité et de naturel évoquée grâce au proverbe; cette parole directe, présentée comme une manifestation de la vertu, s'oppose donc implicitement à la malice verbale de ceux qui sont fustigés.

Isabelle Fabre a également montré que dans l'ensemble du corpus français du recueil «de Chypre», la voix sapientiale qui semble prendre la parole ici alterne avec celle du chanteur des valeurs courtoises, ainsi qu'avec celle d'un «maître de chant» qui réfléchit sur son art, comme

21. À ce propos, voir PAULINE SMITH, *The Anti-courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century France*, Genève, Droz, 1966.

22. DANIEL POIRION, *Le Poète et le Prince. L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965, p. 394.

23. *Thesaurus proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, s.v. Ziege.

24. ELISABETH SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Les sources des Proverbes au vilain réexaminées à l'aide du Thesaurus proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, «Romance Philology», 65/1, 2011, pp. 247-332: 316-317.

25. Une attestation médio-latine est fournie par les sermons de Jacques de Vitry: *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, éd. Thomas Fr. Crane, London, Nutt for the Folk-Lore Society, 1890, n. xxiv, p. 8: «Idcirco in proverbio dicitur: Capra tantum scalpit quod male iacet»; *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry*, éd. Joseph Greven, Heidelberg, Winter, 1914, n. 81, p. 49: «Tantum scalpit capra, quod male iacet in terra nuda». Mais dans un article consacré aux *exempla* des *Sermones feriales et communes*, Arpad Steiner (*The Vernacular Proverb in Mediaeval Latin Prose*, «The American Journal of Philology», 65/1, 1944, pp. 37-68: 50, n. 28) affirme lui aussi que son origine serait vernaculaire, n'ayant pu retrouver de source dans la tradition biblique ou classique.

26. Pour la définition de ce concept, cf. PAUL ZUMTHOR, *L'Épiphonème proverbial*, «Revue des sciences humaines», 163, 1976, pp. 313-328.

27. «A trompeur trompeur et demy» (CHARLES D'ORLÉANS, *Poésies*, éd. Pierre Champion, 2 voll., Paris, Champion, 1923-1927, II, 1927, *Rondeaux*, pp. 383-384).

28. KARL KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale J.II.19*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 151-182: 167; NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune*, p. 125.

29. FABRE – POLIZZI, «Pour haut et liement chanter», p. 158.

30. *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ars subtilior, Introduction*, p. 19 et NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune*.

dans la ballade 21 (*Pour haut et liement chanter*).⁵¹ Dans notre poème, la signification du mot *plaisir* (v. 5), qui ressort grâce à l'enjambement et à l'insistance de la musique sur ce mot, reste indéterminée: le substantif pourrait certes évoquer la joie qui vient au poète musicien de la pratique de son art gâchée par ceux qui le jalouent, mais aussi un plaisir amoureux beaucoup plus sensuel;⁵² les vv. 4-5 («Les medisans qui de parler | ne cessent contre aultrui plaisir») pourraient donc signifier que la médisance gâche toute forme de plaisir, esthétique ou charnel, si bien que le texte semble jouer sur trois plans, didactique, métapoétique et amoureux.

La polysémie joue en réalité à plusieurs niveaux différents dans les ballades du manuscrit «de Chypre»; en effet, contre l'affirmation de Richard Hoppin selon lequel aucun ordonnancement ne sous-tendrait la succession des textes dans cette section,⁵³ Virginia Newes⁵⁴ et surtout Isabelle Fabre ont montré que certains d'entre eux dialoguent en vertu de la mise en page. Celle-ci accentue la cohésion thématique entre des triades de textes copiés sur deux feuillets en regard, l'un dans le verso, l'autre dans le recto et le dernier en bas, transversalement aux feuillets de droite et de gauche. La symétrie qui règle la répartition des 37 poèmes transcrits par une autre main et à une époque successive par rapport à la première série de ballades permettrait d'attribuer à la mise en page la fonction de créer un rapport dynamique entre certains poèmes. C'est ce qui me paraît être à l'œuvre aussi dans les ff. 99^v-100^r.

En effet, la thématique de notre ballade décline sous la forme de la variation le sujet du texte copié en regard (*Qui ses fais tresbien ne comprennent*), construit autour de l'envie et de l'orgueil; tout comme la médisance, ces comportements malveillants caractérisent la vie curiale:

Qui ses fais tresbien ne comprennent
Et ceulz d'aultrui quide comprennent
Poi de bonté certes aprent.⁵⁵

51. FABRE – POLIZZI, «*Pour haut et liement chanter*», p. 157.

52. En effet, en moyen français ce substantif peut avoir le sens de 'relation sexuelle', et non seulement de 'sensation ou sentiment agréable'; cf. DMF *s.v. plaisir*, C («durant lequel temps, elle qui parle a plusieurs fois esté requise par ledit Ferry de faire et accomplir sa volenté et plaisir, et qu'il eust compaignie charnelle à elle» (*Registre criminel du Châtelet de Paris du 6 septembre 1389 au 18 mai 1392*, publié pour la première fois par la Société des bibliophiles français [par] H. D[uplès]-A[gier], 2 voll., Paris, Imprimerie Ch. Lahure, 1864, II, p. 56; «une jeune femme, appelée Gilon, qui [...] faisoit le plaisir des compaignons pour argent», *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, publiées par Louis Douët-d'Arcq, 2 voll., Paris, J. Renouard, 1863, I, p. 242).

53. *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Hoppin), III, p. x.

54. NEWES, *Raison contre Fortune*, p. 126.

55. L'édition diplomatique (cf. *Le Codex de Chypre*, p. 137) introduit ici une virgule, mais la ponctuation forte est nécessaire, puisqu'au vers suivant, une nouvelle phrase commence, qui occupe le reste de la strophe.

Mieulz li seroit choze aultre aprendre
Et soi tantost tresbien reprendre,⁵⁶
Car c'est une tres grant folie
De jugier aulcun par envie.

Le fait en malle part depent,
N'aulturement il ne porroit pendre;⁵⁷
Car qui bon est ja n'entrepent,
n'aussi volroit⁵⁸ onqu'entrepent,
Chose pour quoi on peust entendre
Qu'il fust soigneux,⁵⁹ jour de sa vie,
De jugier aulcun par envie.

Ce mestier tresmal loyer rent
A son maistre, n'aulturement rendre
Li peut, car de lui on n'atent
Que mal, moult nuisant est le rendre.
Trop mieulz seroit voie aultre prendre,
Sans avoir la merancolie
De jugier aulcun par envie.

Parallèlement à ce qui se produit dans la ballade *Tant gratte chievre*, la cible est constituée ici par ceux qui jugent avec malignité le comportement des autres sans s'apercevoir que ses propres actes sont condamnables (v. 1-3). À un niveau micro-textuel, la mise en évidence du mot «mal» au v. 18 a une correspondance avec la ballade 5, car là aussi le rejet fait ressortir ce substantif («Comme ilz puissent bien parferir | *Le mal*, dont m'esteut referir», v. 11-12; «*Le mal* sur eulx voi revenir», v. 19); la bonté caractérisant celui qui n'agit jamais de manière négative, évoquée dans la strophe 2 (vv. 10-14), en est la contrepartie. Enfin, le motif central de la dernière strophe, axée sur la mauvaise récompense que reçoit celui qui pratique le «mestier» d'envie (vv. 15-18) fait écho à l'idée du préjudice qui peut venir d'un comportement blâmable inscrite dans le refrain proverbial de la ballade 5.

56. C'est-à-dire 'modifier son comportement', cf. DMF, *s.v. reprendre*, III C 2.

57. *Pendre* est ici le synonyme de *dependre*, cf. DMF, *s.v. pendre*, II C 4. Le sens est donc 'il ne pourrait dépendre d'autres circonstances'.

58. La lecture *volvoit* dans l'éd. Hoppin (*The Cypriot-French Repertory*, III, p. 7) est sans doute une méprise: il s'agit du conditionnel présent P3 du verbe *vouloir*, sans épenthèse ni vocalisation de *l*. Pour quelques attestations de formes comparables, cf. les exemples du DMF («Saches, biau filz, bien le *voulray*», *Miracle du roy Thierry*, dans *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages publiés d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, éd. Gaston Paris et Ulysse Robert, 8 voll., Paris, F. Didot, 1876-1893, v. 1880, p. 308; «Moult bien absoldre te *vouloie*», *ibidem*, p. 26).

59. C'est-à-dire, ici, 'qui s'applique à' (cf. DMF, *s.v. soigneux*, A1). Les vers 10-14 signifient que celui qui est bon ne voudrait jamais s'engager dans quelque chose qui pourrait faire soupçonner qu'il s'applique, même un seul jour de sa vie, à juger quelqu'un par envie. Cette lecture diffère quelque peu de celle proposée dans l'édition Schiassi.

Quant au texte copié en dessous des ballades 4 et 5, il constitue une sorte de renversement de perspective, puisqu'on y énumère toutes les qualités de l'homme bon dans une sorte de parallélisme antithétique; on y développe donc un motif à peine évoqué dans la ballade 4 (v. 10) et présent en creux dans la ballade 5: la bonté, la sagesse, la discrétion, la courtoisie évoquées dans la strophe 1 représentent le contraire des comportements désagréables stigmatisés dans les poèmes copiés en dessus:

Sage, discret estre tousdis,
Et gracieus en tout affaire,
Plaisant en tous fais et tous dis,
Courtois et bon, sans contrefaire,
Soingneus tous tans pour tout bien faire
Doit estre qui veut bien amer,
Sans qu'on le puisse onques blamer.

En tous ses fais par bon avis
Aler, pour trestout bien atraire
Vers lui, de gent et plaisant vis,
Sans jamais s'en voloir retraire,
Doit qui ne veut onque mais traire
Son cuer d'amours ne separer,
Sans qu'on le puisse onques blamer.

En loiauté tous ses delis
Doit avoir et son droit repaire,
Qui rent odour trop mieus que lis
En tous lieux ou elle repaire;
De bien avoir doit maint[e] paire
Qui se veut tout a amours donner
Sans qu'on le puisse onques blamer.

Cette proximité thématique des trois poèmes, par concordance ou par antithèse, est renforcée par le tissu poétique. Les trois poèmes copiés dans les ff. 99^v-100^r utilisent tous une structure strophique identique: la stance de sept vers octosyllabiques à rimes ababbC, relativement rare dans l'ensemble des ballades du manuscrit «de Chypre»; en effet, seulement quatorze des cent deux poèmes ont été conçus selon ce schéma.⁴⁰ En outre, dans la ballade 6 les rimes a (en *-is*) et c (en *-er*) reprennent, en les inversant, les rimes a et c de la ballade 5 (en *-er*, *-ist*), tandis que l'emploi de l'*adnominatio* (*tousdis* v. 1 – *tous dis* v. 3; *repaire* subst., v. 16 – *repaire* verbe, v. 18) et de la rime léonine (*affaire: contrefaire: faire*, str.

1; *atraire: retraire: traire*, str. 2) résonnent avec l'utilisation de ces mêmes techniques dans la ballade 4 (*comprent: comprendre*, vv. 1-2; *aprent: apprendre: reprendre*, v. 3-4).

Pour ce qui est du lexique, dans la ballade 6 la reprise de quelques termes clé de la ballade 4, comme «soingneux» (v. 5), et la variation autour du substantif «plaisir» de la ballade 5 («plaisant», v. 3 des stances 1 et 2, toujours en une position qui le met en évidence) sont d'autres échos qui résonnent entre ces trois textes réunis par la forme poétique et par la mise en page. La ballade 6 développe aussi avec discrétion la perspective amoureuse, déjà présente en filigrane au v. 4 dans la ballade 5; en effet, à partir du v. 6 («[soingneux] Doit estre qui veut bien amer») les qualités morales positives sont associées à «qui veut bien amer». Toutefois, comme dans la ballade 5, la formulation est ambiguë: elle permet ici de garder l'équilibre entre la tonalité lyrique et la perspective moralisante, car en faisant de «bien» un substantif, le texte peut évoquer aussi celui qui veut aimer le bien suprême, Dieu, source de toute bonté; d'ailleurs, on sait que suivant une pratique bien connue, le recueil «de Chypre» joue constamment sur les deux plans, amoureux et spirituel.⁴¹

Un dialogue s'instaure donc parmi les trois poèmes tant du point de vue formel qu'au niveau du sens, ce qui permet de générer une signification plus vaste par rapport à celle de chacun des trois poèmes pris isolément: le rapport thématique et la progression argumentative qui lient les trois ballades copiées en regard dans les ff. 99^v-100^r, et que la mise en page invite à considérer comme un ensemble cohérent, invitent le lecteur à considérer que l'orgueil et l'envie sont deux péchés à l'origine du comportement du médisant, que celui-ci ne pourra que faire une mauvaise fin et qu'il n'arrivera jamais à connaître la *fin'amor*, voire l'amour divin. La mise en garde contre les dangers de la vie curiale trouve ici sa contrepartie dans la louange des qualités de l'homme vertueux, pour qui l'amour dans toutes ses manifestations constituera le viatique d'une existence fondée sur une vision autre de la vie de cour; mœurs curiales et esprit courtois s'opposent donc à l'intérieur d'un cadre commun, représenté symboliquement par l'espace des deux feuillets en regard.

Intertextualités

Si les liens intratextuels de notre ballade avec les textes avoisinants sont donc étroits, à partir des attestations du proverbe «Tant gratte chievre» on peut essayer d'entrevoir quelques liens intertextuels et d'enrichir la

40. Nn. *9, 13, 14, 19, 22, *33, 40, 53, 54, 63, 65, 81, *86, *102. Les astérisques indiquent ici, comme dans l'édition Hoppin, les ballades copiées par la main 2.

41. La Vierge est donc souvent louée par des formules lyriques, comme dans les deux ballades 8 (*Je vous suppli, tresdousse Rose*) et 9 (*En amer tres loyaument*), qui suivent presque immédiatement nos trois textes en déclinant la thématique religieuse selon une perspective amoureuse.

liste des allusions à des compositions poétiques antérieures ou contemporaines présentes dans les pièces du manuscrit «de Chypre»; cependant, il est nécessaire de préciser que si dans plusieurs poèmes on peut retrouver de véritables citations,⁴² dans ce cas il s'agirait seulement de la reprise de motifs bien connus, qui prouvent surtout l'ancrage de l'auteur des ballades dans la tradition littéraire française.

Dans le domaine de la poésie destinée à la musique, notre proverbe est utilisé dans un motet profane anonyme dont on connaît deux attestations: celle du célèbre manuscrit de Montpellier, ou chansonnier Mo,⁴³ et celle du codex W2.⁴⁴ La comparaison de notre ballade avec ce poème permet de retrouver un parallélisme indirect qui renforcerait l'hypothèse d'une lecture conjointe des trois ballades copiées dans les ff. 99^v-100^r; en effet, dans ce motet, qui a lui aussi pour objet la médisance, le je poétique met en garde contre l'excès d'ambition, comme dans la ballade 4 du manuscrit «de Chypre». Certes, le cadre du motet diffère en ce qu'il est question de rapports amoureux: la critique a comme cible celui qui considère comme négligeable un rapport amoureux peu prestigieux sur le plan de la réussite sociale (l'«avancement», v. 8); lorsqu'on essaie d'améliorer sa condition grâce à une dame plus haut placée, on risque de regretter vivement ce comportement. Mieux vaut alors «se loer de son amour» et être satisfait de ce qu'on a:

*Tant grate chievre que mau gist,
Et tel chose a l'en despit,
Qui puis est mout gretee tendrement.⁴⁵
Et folie
Est, que que nous die,
Quant nus d'amours se repent.
Car sovent
Quiert l'en son avancement,
Qu'il avient tout autrement.
Qui tent la main la ou ne puet atteindre,
Si li meschief, nus hom ne l'en doit pleindre.
Ce que tient molt, [prise] pou.
Foi que je doi, par seint Pou,*

42. Voir entre autres ELISABETTA BARALE, *Une étude philologique du rapport entre deux ballades du ms. Turin, BNU, J.II.9 et la troisième famille des chansonniers en langue d'oïl*, «Le Moyen Age», 127, 2021, pp. 381-396.

43. F-MO, H 196, fasc. 6, sect. 1, n. 4 / 182, ff. 233^v-234^r; cf. *The Montpellier Codex Part III: Fascicles 6, 7 and 8*, éd. Hans Tischler, Madison, A-R Editions, 1978, pp. 4-5.

44. D-W, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. Je remercie vivement Elisabetta Barale pour m'avoir signalé les deux attestations de ce motet, transcrit aux ff. 253^v avec quelques variantes textuelles et dépourvu des 8 perfections finales dans le Teneur.

45. C'est-à-dire, avec un sentiment d'une grande intensité (cf. DMF, a. v., B1).

Qui que me tiegne a fol
Qui que se plaigne d'amours, je m'en lo.

Mais on a vu que la thématique amoureuse, absente dans la ballade 5, est présente dans la ballade 6, où là aussi, l'amour loyal et désintéressé est envisagé comme le moyen pour rendre l'homme meilleur et préserver des maux de la vie de cour.

Le motif de la ballade 5, et plus généralement ceux réunis dans les trois volets de notre triptyque, résonnent également avec une tradition bien établie dans la poésie non lyrique, où les auteurs développent une critique du désordre caractéristique du monde curial;⁴⁶ Guillaume de Machaut, qui aurait fourni le plus de matière à notre poète-musicien,⁴⁷ utilisa lui aussi le proverbe «Tant gratte chievre que mal gist» dans le *Voir-Dit*, œuvre complexe et difficile à classer dans laquelle le récit d'une aventure amoureuse est entrecoupé par des insertions lyriques et des lettres échangées entre l'homme qui dit je et une dame. Dans l'épître datée du «XIII^e novembre» il est question d'un songe, cadre on ne peut plus symbolique pour la culture médiévale: la dame, éplorée, se plaint de ce que son amant a pu croire à «iii ou iiij paroles | qui sont mensonges et frivoles | plus que serpens envenimees | et des mesdisans controuees», par lesquelles elle a été accusée de le trahir. Elle raconte alors l'histoire bien connue du corbeau qui se vit condamné à avoir un plumage noir pour avoir révélé à Phébus la trahison de sa dame, sans tenir en compte le conseil de ne rien dire donné par la corneille; celle-ci, qui prend la parole dans le récit du corbeau, termine son discours en disant:

Si que Corbiaus je te conseil
Que tu uses de mon conseil
Et te souviegne que l'on dit:
Tant grate chievre que mal gist (vv. 7966-7969).⁴⁸

Par le proverbe, le corbeau est donc mis en garde contre son zèle excessif. L'allusion aux paroles mensongères dans la conclusion du récit mis en

46. Voir également la ballade n. 2 sur l'envie, la n. 3 sur les biens mondains et l'importance de raison, la n. 7 sur les vices et vertus, la n. 11 sur l'ire, la n. 16 avec un éloge de la loyauté, la n. 19 avec un éloge de Justice ou encore la n. 20, avec la reprise de la condamnation de médisance.

47. Une influence a été retrouvée par Agostino Ziino entre la ballade 8 du manuscrit de Turin et la ballade 41 de Machaut, par Karl Kügle entre la ballade 35 de Turin et la ballade 8 de Machaut, par Elizabeth Eva Leach entre la ballade 45 de Turin et la ballade 31 de Machaut, entre la ballade 52 de Turin et le rondeau à deux voix *Tant doucement me sens emprisonné* par Tamsyn Rose-Steel, qui a également signalé le rapport entre la ballade 84 de Turin et le virolai à deux voix *Plus dure que ung dyamant*: cf. TAMSYN ROSE-STEEL, *French Ars Nova Motets and their Manuscripts: Citation Play and Material Context*, Thèse Université d'Exeter, 2011, p. 231, n. 6.

48. GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT, *Le livre du voir dit (Le dit véridique)*, éd. Paul Imbs, introduction, coordination et révision par Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, Paris, Librairie générale française, 1999, p. 696.

abîme dans la lettre du *Voir-Dit* et plus en général tout l'épisode de la fausse accusation de trahison constituent un lien possible, quoique indirect, avec notre ballade. Si l'on ajoute que le texte de Machaut a été rangé parmi les contes moraux malgré son allure narrative, et que la Fortune y joue un rôle fondamental, on pourra peut-être déceler quelques analogies avec le message qui se dégage des ballades du manuscrit «de Chypre». En effet, comme Paul Imbs l'a montré,⁴⁹ le *Voir-Dit* véhicule, par delà le récit de l'expérience personnelle, une intention délibérative qui consiste à blâmer les péchés des courtisans et à promouvoir une sagesse de portée universelle pour vivre heureux; celle-ci consiste en une *via media* entre des pôles opposés: la hardiesse et la prudence, l'amour passion et le désir d'absolu, les valeurs propres au milieu curial et les impératifs de la tradition courtoise; Machaut serait alors l'interprète d'une sorte d'humanisme à la française «baignant dans la tradition courtoise [...] mais reprise en main pour être rénovée et adaptée à une société renouvelée»⁵⁰ qui fait de la mesure la clé de voute du comportement de l'homme. On pourrait dès lors explorer la possibilité que dans les poèmes de notre manuscrit, qui réunit tant d'éléments apparemment hétérogènes tout en prônant la modération, une poétique analogue soit mise en œuvre. Cela est d'autant plus plausible si l'on tient compte de l'importance que l'humanisme a eu à la cour du roi Janus⁵¹ et du rôle de Raison dans la première série des ballades.

Conclusion

L'utilisation par Machaut du proverbe de la chèvre en association avec la médisance invite à considérer d'autres analogies que l'on peut établir avec le recueil «de Chypre».

En premier lieu, l'on observera que le *Voir-Dit* a été défini un «exercice de subtilité où l'écrivain affirme sa position sociale en s'interrogeant sur le pouvoir de la littérature et du langage»⁵² or, on a vu que dans les ballades du manuscrit de Turin, le je poétique aussi lie étroitement réflexion esthétique, regard sur la société et méditation lyrique, si bien que ces poèmes possèdent un ton autobiographique, dans le sens fictionnel que l'on peut attribuer à ce terme à propos de Machaut.

49. PAUL IMBS, *Le Voir-Dit de Guillaume de Machaut: étude littéraire*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1991, p. 19.

50. *Ibidem*, p. 84.

51. Voir à ce propos, dans le volume *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'Ars subtilior*, les articles de GILLES GRIVAUD, *Résonances humanistes à la cour de Nicosie (1411-1422)*, pp. 27-39, de CLÉMENCE REVEST, *La rhétorique humaniste au service des élites chypriotes dans l'Italie septentrionale de la première moitié du XV^e siècle*, pp. 41-50 et d'EVELIEN CHAYES, *Les Lusignan de Chypre à l'époque du premier humanisme français: le cardinal Hugues et la bibliothèque d'Anne et Louis de Savoie*, pp. 69-79.

52. *Dictionnaire lettres françaises – Le Moyen Age*, éd. Geneviève Hasenohr et Michel Zink, Paris, Fayard, 1992, s.v. *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 634.

En outre, on sait que Machaut est l'auteur de quelques doubles et même triples ballades,⁵³ avec trois textes séparés et destinés à être chantés ensemble; sans vouloir affirmer que ce procédé hautement complexe ait un lien direct avec les triptyques de ballades dans le manuscrit turinois, on pourrait penser que l'agencement imaginé pour la confection du recueil «de Chypre» ait voulu décliner de manière plus simple ce modèle de virtuose.

Enfin, la dernière œuvre de Machaut, *La prise d'Alexandrie*, est dédiée à Pierre de Lusignan, roi «de Chypre» et de Jérusalem; étant donné les liens du manuscrit turinois avec Janus de Lusignan, ce détail pourrait constituer une raison supplémentaire, pour notre auteur-compositeur, de modeler son recueil sur l'exemple de son illustre prédécesseur. En effet, on sait qu'au moins trois des manuscrits qui nous ont conservé l'œuvre du poète champenois constituent des manuscrits-recueils de son œuvre complète confectionnés sous la direction de l'auteur et organisés par genres;⁵⁴ puisque le codex de Turin présente une unité stylistique remarquable, à tel point qu'on a proposé d'y voir l'œuvre d'un seul auteur réunissant l'ensemble de son œuvre, et que les exemples de manuscrits-œuvres comme ceux de Machaut ne sont pas très nombreux au Moyen Age tardif, l'idée que le modèle ait pu être l'un des codex qui renferment la production de ce dernier pourrait ne pas être invraisemblable. Quant au commanditaire, on sait qu'au moins un des manuscrits-recueil de Machaut parvenus jusqu'à nous a appartenu à une grande famille aristocratique, comme c'est sans doute le cas pour le codex «de Chypre». Mais celle-ci est encore une question ouverte.

53. *Quant Theseus / Ne quier veoir* (n. 34) a deux textes séparés, le premier écrit par Thomas Paien et le second en réponse par Machaut. Deux autres ballades ont trois textes séparés: *De triste cuer / Quant vrais amans / Certes je di* (n. 29); *Sanz cuer / Amis, dolens / Dame, par vous* (n. 17); l'édition de référence est GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT, *Musikalische Werke*, I: *Ballades, Rondeaux und Virelais*, éd. Friedrich Ludwig, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1929. Voir aussi *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, éd. Leo Schrader, 25 voll., Monaco, L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956-1991, I-III, *Complete Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, 1956-1957.

54. A (F-Pn, fr. 1584), C (F-Pn, fr. 1586) et F-G (F-Pn, fr. 22545-22546); le statut de *Vg* (US-KCferrell, MS 1, New York, Wildenstein Gallery, sans cote) est moins sûr (cf. LAWRENCE EARP, *Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 42/3, 1989, pp. 461-503; Id., *Machaut and Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus*, London, Routledge, 1995; Id., *Guillaume de Machaut. A Guide to Research*, New York, Routledge, 2012, pp. 77-97).

Alice Colantuoni

Chypre ou Italie? Premières considérations sur le français du manuscrit I-Tn, J.II.9

Au cours des dernières décennies, les études sur le codex J.II.9 conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Turin ont mis en lumière une quantité considérable d'éléments nouveaux, qui ont contribué à placer avec plus de précision son répertoire parmi les traditions poético-musicales de la fin du XIV^e et du début du XV^e siècle et à mettre en relation le manuscrit avec ses possibles contextes d'origine et de circulation orientales et continentales. Les actes du colloque tenu à Paphos en 1992 et parus en 1995, l'édition du fac-similé publiée en 1999, les actes du colloque tenu à Montpellier en 2015 et parus en 2021,¹ ainsi que notre colloque de Turin en 2021, ont poursuivi et renouvelé les pistes ouvertes par les études pionnières de Heinrich Bessler et de Richard Hoppin.² Plusieurs questions fondamentales restent cependant ouvertes: il n'a pas encore été déterminé si le codex a été confectionné à Chypre ou bien en Europe continentale, possiblement en Italie du Nord. Les circonstances de son passage en Savoie restent également à préciser, ainsi que sa possible relation, s'il y en eut une, avec le mariage d'Anne de Lusignan et Louis de Savoie, célébré en 1434.³ On ne sait pas non plus si le répertoire, qui paraît étrangement dépourvu d'attributions et manque de concordances, est dû à un ou à plusieurs auteurs, ni si sa composition se situe plutôt autour des années

1. *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, Report of the International Musicological Congress (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), éd. Ursula Günther et Ludwig Finscher, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1995; *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, édition en fac-similé avec introduction de Isabella Data et Karl Kügle, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999; *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'ars subtilior. Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU, J.II.9*, actes du Colloque international (Montpellier, 2-4 novembre 2015), éd. Gisèle Clément, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi et Fañch Thoraval, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021.

2. HEINRICH BESSELER, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», VII/2, 1925, pp. 167-252: 210 et suivantes; *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, éd. Richard H. Hoppin, 4 voll. (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 21) Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1960-1965.

3. Le codex n'est officiellement présent en Savoie qu'en 1713; selon l'hypothèse d'Isabella Data, sa présence remonterait cependant au XV^e siècle: le manuscrit aurait fait partie de la dot de la princesse Anne, arrivée en Savoie en 1434. Or, dans l'inventaire de 1498 de la bibliothèque savoyarde du château de Chambéry, il ne figure pas à côté des deux codex identifiés comme chypriotes: une *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (B-Br, 10175) et une *Pharsalia* (F-Pn, lat. 8044); cf. ISABELLA DATA, *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia: le nozze, la Libreria ducale, il Codice Franco-Cipriota*, dans *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, pp. 13-23.

1410, 1420 ou 1430 du XIV^e siècle. Outre la genèse du répertoire, la préparation du manuscrit exigerait aussi une datation plus précise. Reste enfin à déterminer l'appartenance des armoiries qui figurent au recto du f. 1. Ces armoiries, d'ailleurs, étaient-elles déjà là lors de la rédaction du manuscrit ou bien ont-elles été ajoutées plus tard?⁴

Dans un cadre où beaucoup d'hypothèses restent à vérifier, le but de cette brève étude est de pallier l'absence d'une analyse systématique de la langue des pièces françaises du répertoire et d'apporter de nouveaux éléments de discussion par le relevé d'une série de données linguistiques. Les résultats de cette analyse seront confrontés avec les observations éparses qui ont déjà été formulées sur les graphies et leur localisation et accompagnés de mes premières réflexions sur leur possible interprétation.

Revenons d'abord très rapidement sur l'organisation des contenus du manuscrit afin de délimiter l'objet de l'analyse. Les 344 pièces – monodiques et polyphoniques, sacrées et profanes – contenues dans le codex sont organisées en cinq cahiers avec une évidente progression du liturgique au profane et du latin au vulgaire. Le codex s'ouvre sur des œuvres liturgiques monodiques (le cahier I, qui contient deux offices, l'un dédié à saint Hilarion et l'autre à sainte Anne, puis polyphoniques (le cahier II, contenant des séries de *Gloria / Credo*). Cette section est suivie d'un *liber motetorum* comprenant 33 motets sacrés en latin et huit motets en français (cahier III), ainsi que d'un chansonnier de pièces polyphoniques profanes en français, comprenant 102 ballades (cahier IV), 43 rondeaux et 21 virelais (cahier V).⁵ Des huit motets français, les motets 35-41 figurent à la fin du cahier, tandis que le motet 19 est entremêlé aux motets latins, probablement dans l'intention de distinguer deux cycles, le premier consacré aux célébrations liturgiques du calendrier – Pâques, Nativité, jours des saints –, le deuxième à l'attente de Avent.⁶ Le corpus à analyser comprend donc 174 textes au total, entre ballades, rondeaux, virelais et motets.

Les mains qui auraient travaillé à la copie des textes français dans l'ensemble des cahiers III, IV et V se limiteraient à deux, si l'on s'en tient

aux analyses paléographiques, respectivement, de Widaman, Wathey et Leech-Wilkinson d'une part, et de Küggle d'autre part.⁷ Selon leurs reconstructions, un premier scribe aurait copié la quasi-entièreté des ballades dans le cahier IV (ff. 98^r-132^r) avant qu'un second intervenant n'en ajoute d'autres tant sur les mêmes feuillets, dans les espaces laissés vides par son prédécesseur, que sur les feuillets suivants (ff. 132^v-139^v). Cette deuxième main serait la même qui aurait copié la totalité des rondeaux et virelais dans le cahier V (ff. 143^r-158^v), ainsi que les derniers motets du cahier IV (ff. 92^v-97^r), à l'exclusion, parmi les huit motets français, seulement du n. 19 (ff. 76^v-77^r) et du n. 35 (ff. 91^v-92^r), qui seraient quant à eux dus à une autre main (voir le schéma *infra*).

Les deux mains qui ont copié les motets

M19	M35	M36	M37	M38	M39	M40	M41
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Les deux mains qui ont copié les textes du 'chansonnier'⁸

B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20
B21	B22	B23	B24	B25	B26	B27	B28	B29	B30	B31	B32	B33	B34	B35	B36	B37	B38	B39	B40
B41	B42	B43	B44	B45	B46	B47	B48	B49	B50	B51	B52	B53	B54	B55	B56	B57	B58	B59	B60
B61	B62	B63	B64	B65	B66	B67	B68	B69	B70	B71	B72	B73	B74	B75	B76	B77	B78	B79	B80
B81	B82	B83	B84	B85	B86	B87	B88	B89	B90	B91	B92	B93	B94	B95	B96	B97	B98	B99	B100
B101	B102																		

V1	R2	V3	R4	V5	V6	V7	R8	V9	R10	V11	R12	V13	R14	V15	R16	V17	R18	V19	R20
V21	R22	V23	R24	V25	R26	V27	R28	R29	R30	R31	R32	R33	R34	R35	R36	V37	R38	R39	R40
R41	R42	R43	R44	V45	R46	R47	R48	V49	R50	V51	R52	R53	R54	R55	R56	R57	R58	V59	V60
R61	R62	R63	R64																

Quant à la provenance de ces scribes, Widaman, Wathey et Leech-Wilkinson décrivent le premier comme «a professional French scribe writing in a somewhat old-fashioned style», tandis que le deuxième combinerait «Italian and French elements in a mixture characteristic of Savoyard hands».⁹ La description qu'en fait Küggle diffère légèrement et entraîne

4. L'hypothèse aujourd'hui la plus accréditée identifie le blason comme appartenant à la famille Beggiamo; cf. ALESSANDRO VITALE-BROVARONE, *Manoscritti di area saluzzese nell'ultimo Medioevo*, dans *San Giovanni di Saluzzo. Settecento anni di storia*, atti del convegno (Saluzzo, 21-22 aprile 2007), éd. Rinaldo Comba, Cuneo, Società di studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della Provincia di Cuneo, 2007, pp. 133-148: 134. Voir aussi dans ce volume l'article de Alberto Rizzuti.

5. Bien que la reliure originelle ait été perdue, les unités codicologiques sont identifiables grâce aux espaces laissés vides à la fin de chaque cahier.

6. MARGARET BENT, *Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 357-375: 366-367.

7. JEAN WIDAMAN – ANDREW WATHEY – DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 95-116: 96. KARL KÜGGLER, *Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 65/3, 2012, pp. 637-690.

8. Pour l'identification de la deuxième main qui a copié les motets avec la deuxième main du chansonnier cf. KÜGGLER, *Glorious Sounds*, pp. 30-31, en particulier la description des graphies T7 et T9.

9. WIDAMAN – WATHEY – LEECH-WILKINSON, *The Structure*, pp. 102-103.

des observations de nature linguistique. A propos de la graphie du premier, le musicologue note:

The angularity of the script, at first glance, strongly suggests a French scribe. However, the evidence of occasional, if well concealed Italianate spellings, such as «longhe», «doulcement», «aulcunement», «leaulte», «ceur», and the use of the Tironian «et» without the horizontal stroke would seem to suggest an Italian scribe versed in French calligraphic style. Alternatively, we may be dealing with a northerner working in, and thoroughly acculturated to, an Italianate environment.¹⁰

Quant à la deuxième main, Kügle l'identifie comme étant probablement française: «A Gothic book hand with northern traits (a northerner, perhaps a Frenchman)». On ajoutera encore les observations de Germana Schiassi et Gisèle Clément, qui ont co-édité les 102 ballades et une sélection de 30 rondeaux et virelais pour l'édition musicale du manuscrit paru entre 2011 et 2016:

Two scribes have written the text of the ballads [...]. Both seem to be Italianate if one trusts spellings such as «longhe», «doulcement», «aulcunement», «cuer» (sic.), etc. But traces of Picardy dialect like «che» or «doulchor» can also be found.¹¹

Des mains probablement françaises – peut-être italiennes – qui manifestent, en tout cas, des caractéristiques italiennes. Comme nous venons de le lire, les traits de leur *scripta* ont été décrits, d'une part, comme picards, d'autre part comme italianisants.

L'analyse suivante vérifiera la présence de formes picardes et italianisantes, observera leur distribution par rapport aux différentes mains et discutera leur nature. Loin de constituer une description exhaustive, elle aborde un échantillon des caractéristiques linguistiques repérées, en laissant de côté nombre de traits moins significatifs (par exemple, l'alternance de *i* et *y*). Les textes français du manuscrit n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une édition critique intégrale – pourtant annoncée comme imminente –, mais ils sont accessibles dans l'édition musicale de Hoppin et, partiellement, dans l'édition publiée entre 2011 et 2016.¹² Je cite les textes en m'appuyant

10. KÜGLE, *Glorious Sounds*, p. 30.

11. GERMANA SCHIASSI – GISELE CLEMENT, *Some Remarks on the Texts*, dans *Le Codex de Chypre (Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria J.II.9)*, Bologna, Ut Orpheus, 2011-, III: *Ballades II*, éd. Cécile Beaupain, Gisèle Clément, Terence Waterhouse, 2014, p. XXVII.

12. Une édition critique des pièces françaises du recueil a été annoncée depuis 2017 sous le titre *Le Livre de Janus. Les poèmes français du recueil de Chypre (Turin J.II.9)* par Isabelle Fabre et Gilles Polizzi, à paraître chez Droz; cf. ISABELLE FABRE, «Le cerf à la fontaine: dérivation d'un thème psalmique dans les pièces françaises du recueil de Chypre (Turin J.II.9)», dans *Écrire la Bible en français au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, éd. Véronique Ferrer et Jean-René Valette, Genève, Droz, 2017, pp. 371-386: 371. Les textes ont également été partiellement transcrits par WILLI APEL dans *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*,

sur ma propre lecture du manuscrit et en attribuant aux pièces une numérotation progressive pour chaque cahier selon l'ordre avec lequel elles apparaissent: pour revenir à la foliotation du manuscrit, il sera suffisant de consulter l'inventaire de l'édition en fac-similé ou la page consacrée au manuscrit sur le site du projet DIAMM.¹³

Notons d'abord que l'ensemble des textes français se caractérise par un nombre de traits extrêmement fréquents dans les graphies du XIV^e siècle et tout aussi communs dans les textes lyriques:

1. La présence de consonnes latinisantes ou pseudo-latinisantes:¹⁴
griefvement (M38) | *doubt* (B50), *advis* (B7, B36), *longctemps* (B52), *briefvement* (B45), etc.
2. Des omissions du *h*- initial étymologique et ajouts de *h*- anti-étymologique:¹⁵
M35 *ha* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *avoir*) | *habundance* (B44) *ha* (préposition) (B8), *onnesté* (B9), *ha* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *avoir*) (B12, B16, B37, B90), *oume* (B17, B43), *habandonner* (B54), *umblemment* (B67), *oneur* (B90), *husant* (part. prés. v. *user*, B90), *umilye* (B93) | *habandonne* (V9), *ha* (V19), *huiseus* (V19, V21) vs *uiseus* (R22), *eureuse* (V19), *onnesté* (R55), *onneur* (V15, R54), *onnour* (R29) *desoneur* (V51), vs *honnorer* (R29), etc.
3. La présence de consonnes doubles purement graphiques, dépourvues de valeur phonologique:¹⁶
sainne (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *saner*, M35), *lunne* (M36), *unne* (M40) | *painne* (B3), *malle* (B4, B24), *mallement* (B5), *aggreablement* (B8), *pleinne* (B9), *unne* (B12, B15), *palle* (adj., B12), *meinne* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *mener*, B15), *aucunnes* (B21), *loialle* (B21), *toutte* (B22), *dessire* (B22), *soutille* (B24), *finnement* (B26), tantost (B67), droittement (B85), *fortunne* (B100) | *loyall* (V1), *loialle* (V6, R53), *peinne* (R4), *renouveler* (V5), *renoveller* (R26), *finne* (R8), *malle* (V11, R22), *meinne* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *mener*, R20), *aucunnes* (V59).

Cambridge (MA), The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942, pp. 404-405, 417-419 et dans l'Appendix n. 59.

13. *Il Codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9*, pp. 50-63; DIAMM – The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (University of Oxford): <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/187/#/> (dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

14. YVONNE CAZAL – GABRIELLA PARUSSA, *Graphématique et graphétique en diachronie: les principaux phénomènes*, dans CHRISTIANE MARCHELLO-NIZIA – BERNARD COMBETTES – SOPHIE PRÉVOST – TOBIAS SCHEER, *Grande grammaire historique du français*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter – Mouton, 2020 (ensuite GGHF), pp. 550-591: 556 et suivantes.

15. GGHF, p. 579.

16. GGHF, p. 565 et suivantes.

4. La conservation de *l* après sa vocalisation en *u*:¹⁷
beaulté (B49), *doulce* (B7, B26, B39, B44, B49), *doulcement* (B8, B26), *doulz* (B17, B35), *oultrage* (B37), *aulcunement* (B85), etc., en alternance avec *douce* (B39), *outrage* (B37).
5. Des oscillations graphiques dans le domaine des sifflantes, avec une interchangeabilité très fréquente entre *c* et *s* et fréquente entre *s*, *ss*, *c* et *z*; parfois en rime:¹⁸
seint (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *ceindre*), *sertes* (M41) | *choze* (B4), *sertement* (B8), *sertes* (B14, B45, B79), *celon* (B16, B96), *saint* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif v. *ceindre*, B16), *pacientement* (B17), *blece* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif du v. *blessier*, B18), *avanser* (B27), *s'apersoit* (B39), *lansier* (B42), *dousse* (B9), *dous* (B95), *passience* (B11), *soussi* (B12, B44), *dessevoir* (B15, B95, B99), *lasse* (3^e pers. sing. prés. indicatif du v. *lacer*, B16), *dousseur* (B22), *doussour* (B23, B29, B31, B60, B78, B93), *doussement* (B24), *fasse* (3^e pers. sing. prés. subj. v. *faire*) (B28), *fasson* (B29, B45), *malisse* (B45), *adoulzir* (B49), *adoussir* (B75), *menasse* (B50), *pencee* (B86), *consevoir* (B89), *serche* (B89), *solas* (B95), *roze* (sust., B45), *roze* (adj., B56), *emprize* (B52), *doulz* (B63) | *sertes* (V1), *pencee* (V6), *pocession* (V9), *celon* (R14, R54), *solas* (R26), *Nicossie* (R24), *adoussir* (V27), *auci* (R31), *dessendre* (R54). Fréquente aussi la graphie *scai* pour la 1^{re} personne du prés. indic. du v. *savoir* (B41, B52, B80).

On distingue ensuite un groupe de traits grapho-phonétiques qui caractérisent spécifiquement le cahier IV, et qui concernent la quasi-totalité des ballades, indépendamment des mains qui les ont copiées, mais qui deviennent moins fréquents vers la fin du cahier:

1. Le traitement des consonnes palatales affriquées ou fricatives suivies de *e*, *i* entraîne souvent *ch* au lieu du *c* français:¹⁹
doulchour (B7, B16, B32, B34, B36, B49, B55, B60, B70, B74, B77, B80, B83), *douchour* (B65, B75), *doulcheur* (B36, B57, B61, B63), *doulche* (B39), *douche* (B59), *adouchir* (B45), *doulchement* (B49), *dechevoir*, (B11), *chaint* (part. passé v. *ceindre*, B16), *fachon* (B30), *merchi* (B44, B46, B47, B49), *merchis* (B56), *rechevoir* (B59, B71),

17. Ces graphies 'conservatrices' sont assez documentées en moyen français, cf. GGHF, p. 555.

18. CHRISTIANE MARCHELLO-NIZIA, *Histoire de la langue française aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris, Dunod, 1992, p. 92. Sur le phénomène dans la scripta picarde et anglo-normande cf. respectivement CARL THEODOR GOSSEN, *Grammaire de l'ancien picard*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1970, § 49; IAN SHORT, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, London, Anglo Norman Text Society, 2007, pp. 105, 112-113.

19. Ces graphies sont typiquement picardes, cf. GOSSEN, *Grammaire*, § 38.

serviche (B64); mais la graphie est oscillante et parfois on retrouve *c* lorsqu'on s'attendrait *ch*: *blance* (B85), *porcesser* (fr. *pourchasser*) (B33), *fresce* (B45, B70), *treserie* (B71).

2. Les pronoms démonstratifs assument eux aussi les formes *chil* < ILLE et *che* < HOC, et l'adverbe de lieu la forme *ichi* < HIC:²⁰
cas sujet sing. *chil* (B41); cas régime plur. *cheulz* (B8, B27, B35), *cheur* (B27), cas régime sing. *chelui* (B44); *che* (B27, B44, B51, B64); *ichi* (B71).
3. La graphie *ch* comporte un certain degré d'ambiguïté: elle apparaît dans la forme *che* du pronom relatif ou déclaratif (vs fr. *que*), où elle a certainement une valeur vélaire (B71). Le phénomène est documenté dans la *scripta* picarde mais il pourrait aussi bien s'agir d'un italianisme, typiquement récurrent dans les textes franco-italiens.

Au niveau phonétique, un premier groupe de traits est commun à l'ensemble des pièces françaises:

1. On observe le maintien de l'aboutissement du *Ō* lat. en syllabe tonique libre *ou* suivi de *r* (vs évolution en *eu* du français):²¹
fervour (M38), *flour* (M38), *errour* (M38), *dolour* (M39), *tristour* (M39) | *flour* (B24), *colour* (B36), *doulour* (B36), *langour* (B36, B41), *plour* (B36), *errour* (B17, B36), *valour* (B29), *savour* (B36), *fervour* (B29), *honourer* (B7) | *flour* (R32), mais *fleur* (M39, R64), *douceur* (M40, R63), *honneur* (V37), *serviteur* (V45), etc.
2. L'aboutissement de *A* lat. en syllabe tonique libre s'élève de *e* à *ie* à proximité d'une palatale (effet Bartsch-Mussafia). La plupart des cas sont limités au mot *chier*, probablement lexicalisé sous cette forme:²²
chiere (M49) | *chierement* (B8), *treschiere* (B11), *chiere* (B16, B20, B39, B74), *apochier* (B102) | *treschiere* (V11), *chiere* (R20, V21, R26, R36, V51, R57), *chierir* (V23, V51, R64), etc.
3. Dissimilation de *l* à *r* dans le mot *mélanconie*, toujours attesté sous la forme *merancoli*(*y*)*e*, et dans d'autres cas sporadiques:²³

20. *Ibidem*.

21. *Ou* se conserve dans une vaste région du Nord-Ouest (normand, anglo-normand) et de l'Est (bourguignon, lorrain), là où le picard et le français évoluent en *eu*. Ce trait est présent dans la *koiné* lyrique déjà au XIII^e siècle. Cf. GGHF, § 219; GOSSEN, *Grammaire*, § 26.

22. GGHF, § 207.

23. Ce trait est attesté en picard e dans d'autres zones de la France ainsi que dans quelques dialectes du nord et du centre de l'Italie; cf. MILDRED K. POPE, *From Latin to Modern French*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1973, §§ 395-397.

merancolye (M40) | *merancolie* (B4, B20, B37), *merancolye* (B12, B102) | *merancolye* (V6, V13, V15, R52), *merancolie* (R26); *arme* (M37).

Tout comme pour les graphies, même au niveau phonétique on retrouve une série de traits du Nord-Est exclusivement présents dans les ballades :

1. La réduction de la triphongue issue de /j/ + -ATA de *-iee* à *-ie*:²⁴
employe (B72, en rime avec *vilenie*), *ensegnie* (B75, en rime avec *armonie*).
2. *E* tonique en syllabe ouverte (< lat. Ē, Ī) suivi de nasale donne souvent *-ain(e)* au lieu du fr. *-ein(e)*:²⁵
plainne (M38) | *plainne* (B26, B35, B49, B93), *rainpli* (B94), *painne* (B35, B45), *naige* (sust., B42) | *rainpli* (R31, R39, V49).
3. Dans un mot, *e* initial en syllabe ouverte passe à *i*:²⁶
iretage (B37).
4. Le groupe GA du latin donne parfois *gh* comme en Picard (vs fr. *g*):²⁷
langhe (B5), *longhe* (B75).

Nombre de traits graphiques qui caractérisent l'ensemble des textes français du recueil sont usuels dans la *scripta* littéraire du moyen français, où l'on retrouve couramment des consonnes latinisantes, des consonnes géminées purement graphiques ou des *h-* initiaux anti-étymologiques. Du point de vue phonétique, les aboutissements en *ou* du *Ō* latin en syllabe tonique libre (vs le *eu* du français) sont prédominantes dans tous les textes français du manuscrit, ce qui semble caractériser en général la *koiné* lyrique des XIII^e-XIV^e siècles,²⁸ peut-être aussi sous l'influence d'une proximité avec le latin.²⁹ D'autres traits grapho-phonétiques plus spécifiques caractérisent en revanche un groupe de textes en particulier,

les ballades: la quasi-totalité d'entr'elles présentent des graphies et des développements originaires picards et du Nord-Est, sans qu'il y ait de différence systématique entre les deux mains à l'œuvre dans cette partie du codex. Si le texte des motets français, des rondeaux et virelais n'est pas marqué par ces mêmes traits, il présente toutefois des continuités avec le cahier IV, notamment l'oscillation graphique des consonnes sifflantes et l'occurrence de formes lexicalisées telles que *merancolie* et *chiere* avec ses dérivés. Globalement, du point de vue de la langue, les textes du cahier III et surtout V sont plus homogènes que ceux du cahier IV, où les traits du Nord-Est sont repartis de manière disparate (les ballades 6, 13, 25, 33, 40, 43, 50, 58, 60, 67-68, 72, 79, 84, 87-88, 95-98, 100-102, par exemple, en sont dépourvues).

Le prestige littéraire dont jouit la *scripta* picarde jusqu'au XV^e siècle peut expliquer l'adoption de certaines graphies dans notre manuscrit, lesquelles sont documentées sur une vaste zone géographique, bien au-delà de la Picardie.³⁰ Il s'agit d'un emploi qui «ressortit plutôt à une pratique littéraire qu'à la caractéristique d'un terroir». ³¹ Lannutti les décrit également comme des traits «congeniti, e quindi non significativi ai fini della localizzazione». ³² L'emploi de ces graphies peut tout autant caractériser la *scripta* d'Outremer, qui a été décrite, en général, comme un mélange de formes régionales surtout du Nord et de l'Est.³³ Si la présence de ce type de picardismes n'est donc pas extraordinaire, leur distribution est plus difficile à expliquer. Leur absence des cahiers III et V et leur présence partielle dans le cahier IV ne semblent devoir être mises en rapport avec les mains des copistes; elles appellent sans doute la formulation d'hypothèses sur les différents phases et/ou sources impliquées dans la genèse des pièces, en particulier dans les cas où les formes sont attestées en rime, ce qui pourrait les faire ressortir à/aux l'auteur/s des textes.³⁴

Il semble plus difficile *a contrario* de retracer, dans le français du manuscrit, un système de graphies italianisantes. Des formes comme

24. Les participes passés féminins en *-ie* sont très fréquents en picard mais ils sont attestés dans plusieurs textes littéraires venant du Nord et se retrouvent normalement dans la *koiné* lyrique; cf. GOSSEN, *Grammaire*, § 8 et GGHF, p. 843. Sur l'occurrence de ce type de participe dans I-Tn J.II.9 voir ELISABETTA BARALE, *Une étude philologique du rapport entre deux ballades du ms. Turin, BNU, J.II.9 et la troisième famille des chansonniers en langue d'oïl*, «Le Moyen Âge», 127, 2021, pp. 381-396: 395.

25. GOSSEN, *Grammaire*, § 19.

26. *Ibidem*, § 35.

27. *Ibidem*, § 42.

28. MARIA SOFIA LANNUTTI, *I testi in francese nelle antologie dell'Ars Nova: primo approccio complessivo*, dans *Innovazione linguistica e storia della tradizione. Casi di studio romanzi medievali*, éd. Stefano Resconi, Davide Battaglia, Silvia De Santis, Milano, Mimesis, 2020, pp. 197-223: 203.

29. LAURA MINERVINI, *Le français dans l'Orient latin (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles). Éléments pour la caractérisation d'une scripta du Levant*, «Revue de linguistique romane», 74, 2010, pp. 119-198: 156.

30. Pour retracer l'histoire de la langue picarde et son rayonnement du XIII^e au XV^e siècle, cf. SERGE LUSIGNAN, *Essai d'histoire sociolinguistique: le français picard au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2012.

31. GILLES DULONG – AGATHE SULTAN, *Nouvelles lectures des 'chansons notées' dans le Codex Chantilly*, dans *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, éd. Yolanda Plumley et Anne Stone, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 93-114: 99. Schiassi et Clément qualifient aussi ces traits d'«elements of standard court language of the 15th century», cf. SCHIASSI – CLEMENT, *Some Remarks*, p. xxvii.

32. LANNUTTI, *I testi in francese*, p. 201.

33. MINERVINI, *Le français*; cf. aussi CYRIL ASLANOV, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère. À la recherche d'une langue perdue*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2006.

34. BARALE, *Une étude philologique*, p. 395.

doulcement, leaulté, où la consonne originale est maintenue, sont très largement attestées dans tout le domaine d'oïl.³⁵ La forme *ceur* ne semble spécifiquement attestée ni dans les textes franco-italiens, ni dans les copies italiennes de textes français.³⁶ Elle est, en revanche, présente dans la *Chronique du Templier de Tyr* et chez Philippe de Novare;³⁷ elle apparaît aussi sur le continent, par exemple dans un manuscrit épique picard du XIII^e siècle (F-Pn, fr. 25516) et dans l'œuvre de deux auteurs du XV^e siècle originaires de la région flamande, Georges Chastellain et Jean Molinet.³⁸ La forme *ceur* se lit en effet uniquement dans le cahier 'picardisant' des ballades, où elle est presque majoritaire jusqu'à la ballade 84, tandis que les virelais et rondeaux emploient toujours *cuer*.³⁹ Quant à la forme *longhe*, qui est présente plusieurs fois dans les ballades, elle est aussi attestée dans la région picarde⁴⁰ et ne figure, par contre, que dans un seul texte du corpus franco-italien, le *Régime du corps* d'Aldebrandin de Sienne (moitié XV^e siècle).⁴¹ Des graphies telles que *che* pour le pronom déclaratif ou relatif pourraient évidemment être italiennes, mais le phénomène n'est pas méconnu de la *scripta* de l'Est, où la graphie *ch* peut être polyvalente et indiquer la consonne vélaire comme l'affriquée.

Au niveau lexical, on pourrait s'attendre de retrouver des formes particulières dans un manuscrit venant possiblement de l'Orient Latin et contenant des textes vraisemblablement composés, au moins en partie, sur l'île de Chypre, mais leur absence n'est toutefois pas étonnante. Les «mots méditerranéens» (pour la plupart des probables italianismes), selon la dénomination hyperonymique proposée par Zinelli en 2016,⁴² ainsi que les orientalismes – arabismes et grecismes surtout – qui caractérisent les *scriptae* d'Outremer, émanent généralement de secteurs

du lexique très spécifiques – navigation, commerce, institutions des territoires orientaux –; des domaines propres à des textes essentiellement historiques, juridiques, documentaires et toujours en prose, mais qui sont beaucoup moins susceptibles d'être actualisés dans un ouvrage lyrique courtois, qui fait recours à un répertoire lexical assez conventionnel.⁴³

Conclusions

La plupart des caractéristiques repérées dans les textes français du manuscrit de Turin n'apparaissent pas exceptionnelles par rapport à d'autres répertoires plus ou moins contemporains provenant de régions diverses, telles que Reina (F-Pn, n.a.fr. 6771, début XV^e siècle, Vénétie), Panciatichi (I-Fc, Panciatichi 27, fin XIV^e siècle, Florence), Chantilly (F-CH, 564, fin XIV^e siècle, Italie ou Aragon) ou Modena (I-MOe, α.M.5.24, début XV^e siècle, Italie du Nord): des graphies picardes et un mélange de traits nord-orientaux caractérisent également les pièces françaises de ces sources.⁴⁴ Chez la *koïnè* lyrique, la prévalence du type *flour, dolour*, qui renvoie, au contraire, aux régions nord-occidentales du domaine d'oïl est aussi très commune. Les italianismes sont fréquents eux aussi dans les textes des principaux manuscrits de l'Ars Nova, étant donné que la plupart d'entre eux proviennent de l'Italie: l'absence, dans le recueil franco-chypriote, des prépositions *in* pour *en* ou *da* pour *de*, de l'article singulier masculin *lo* pour *le* de *si* pour *se* dans les formes verbales réflexives, ainsi que de formes comme *fors, parol, esperans*, etc., avec chute de la voyelle finale,⁴⁵ me semblerait significative.

Les liens du manuscrit avec l'île de Chypre sont d'autre part évidents. Si l'on s'appuie sur le contenu – la typologie des pièces et leur organisation, les textes poétiques –, il ne fait aucun doute que J.II.9 semble avoir été conçu pour satisfaire les besoins liturgiques et accompagner

35. GGHP, § 302.

36. La vérification a été effectuée sur le corpus *RIALFRI - Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura franco-italiana* (Università di Padova), <https://www.rialfri.eu/rialfriWP/> (dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

37. *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1245-1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, éd. Laura Minervini, Napoli, Liguori, 2000, p. 270; FILIPPO DA NOVARA, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, éd. Silvio Melani, Napoli, Liguori, 1994, p. 44.

38. Le manuscrit, daté de la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, contient *Beuve de Hantone, Élie de Saint-Gille, Aiol et Robert le Diable* (f. 77^a et *passim* dans *Élie de Saint-Gille*, f. 97^a et *passim* dans *Aiol*). Pour les occurrences de cette forme dans l'œuvre de Georges Chastellain et de son continuateur Jean Molinet cf. le DMF – *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2020, ATILF – CNRS & Université de Lorraine, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf, s.v. coeur> (dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

39. *Ceur* se lit aussi dans le motet 41.

40. GOSSEN, *Grammaire*, § 42.

41. ALDEBRANDIN DE SIENNE, *Le régime du corps*, éd. Louis Landouzy et Roger Pépin, Paris, Champion, 1911; la vérification a été effectuée sur le corpus *RIALFRI*.

42. FABIO ZINELLI, *Espaces franco-italiens: les italianismes du français-médiéval*, dans *La régionalité lexicale du français au Moyen Âge*, actes du Colloque international (Zurich, 7-8 septembre 2015), éd. Martin Glessgen et David Trotter, Strasbourg, ELiPhi, 2016, pp. 207-268: 213.

43. Leeman L. Perkins cite une série d'expressions «that may have a local flavor» or «reflect a personal preference»: «sans sejour» («sans cesse», V6, V15), «autre rien» (V7, V25) et «nulle rien» (V13, R36), «sans nul sy» («sans réserve», R4, V17, R31, V49). «Sans séjour» apparaît aussi, avec le même sens, dans un motet anonyme attesté par I-IV, cxv, GB-DRc, Ms C.1.20 et F-Pn, n.a.fr. 25190 (Trémoille), *Mon chant en plaint / Qui dolereus onques / Tristis est anima mea*, v. 23: «que tous mes jorns ameray sans sejour» (le texte est cité par YOLANDA PLUMLEY, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*, Oxford – New York, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 232). Il a été noté, d'ailleurs, que ce même motet présente des correspondances textuelles avec le motet 39 de J.II.9, *Mon Mal / Toustens*, cf. KARL KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 151-181: 163. Parmi les autres expressions citées par Perkins, «sans nul si» est largement répandue en moyen français selon le DMF, et «autre/nulle rien» ne sont pas rares non plus: leur récurrence doit être propre à la phraséologie de l'auteur (ou des auteurs) et due à ses préférences stylistiques – elle ne semble pas renvoyer à des usages locaux; cf. LEEMAN L. PERKINS, *The Rondeaux and Virelais of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, dans *The Cypriot-French Repertory* (Günther – Finscher), pp. 344-462: 444.

44. LANNUTTI, *I testi in francese*, p. 201.

45. *Ibidem*, p. 205 et suivantes.

les divertissements mondains de la cour chypriote des Lusignans. Il a de longue date été mis en évidence la façon dont les textes sont jalonnés de références aux traditions dévotionnelles de l'île – en particulier les cultes de saint Hilarion et de sainte Anne –, ainsi qu'à ses lieux et à son histoire, comme le montrent les références aux épidémies de peste qui frappent l'île en 1419-1420 et 1422, ou le souvenir nostalgique des divertissements de la cour de Nicosie exprimé dans le rondeau 24. Des mentions directes de la figure de Janus de Lusignan ne manquent pas, notamment dans les motets nn. 6, 8 et 17, tandis que le refrain de la ballade 11 reprend la devise de l'ordre de l'Épée de Chypre, *Pour leaulté maintenir*.⁴⁶ Enfin, l'intégration dans le manuscrit d'un folio contenant la bulle papale accordée en 1413 à Janus de Lusignan constitue une autre preuve du lien direct du manuscrit avec la famille, et la notation italienne au verso du même folio, remontant probablement au *xvii*^e siècle, identifie le contenu du livre en faisant référence à sa pertinence chypriote.⁴⁷

Si la relation du manuscrit avec Chypre et les Lusignans est donc évidente, les circonstances particulières de sa conception et de sa préparation restent moins claires. Dans la section profane, le ton moralisant de la première quinzaine de ballades a fait penser à un *speculum principis* vraisemblablement destiné à Anne de Lusignan,⁴⁸ peut-être à l'occasion de son mariage. Il est probable, d'autre part, que le répertoire présente des pièces dont la composition est antérieure et remonte à l'époque de Charlotte de Bourbon. Les études s'accordent d'ailleurs aujourd'hui sur la présence à la cour de Chypre de musiciens arrivés sur l'île avec Charlotte en 1411, et qui s'étaient formés à l'école de Cambrai : les noms de Jean de Hanelle, Gilet Velut (un auteur dont l'activité est également attestée dans GB-Ob, Canon. Misc. 213) et Jehan Augustin ont émergé d'une série de sources documentaires et de la chronique contemporaine de Leontios Machairas.⁴⁹ En dépit de l'absence d'italianismes, une provenance italienne du codex n'est pas à exclure et semble être impliquée par le blason

peint sur le f. 1 ainsi que par certaines caractéristiques paléographiques mises en évidence dans les études déjà mentionnées de Widaman, Wathey, Leech-Wilkinson et Kügle. La présence du manuscrit en Savoie pourrait remonter au *xv*^e siècle et le livre pourrait avoir rejoint la cour savoyarde en provenance des régions italiennes voisines, dans l'hypothèse où il eût fait partie de la bibliothèque des ducs.

Il me semble que l'état actuel de nos connaissances linguistiques sur le recueil soit mieux compatible avec un scénario chypriote, même s'il est difficile de s'exprimer avec certitude, particulièrement si l'on prend en compte la mobilité des gens, parfois accompagnées de suites d'artistes et artisans, entre les cours européennes et la cour de Nicosie. Les caractéristiques linguistiques ne pointent pas vers l'Italie, mais on ne peut pas exclure une origine italienne sur la base de l'absence de traits italianisants dans les textes français. Si l'on n'est pas encore en mesure d'identifier les personnes directement impliquées dans la création du manuscrit et de son répertoire, ni l'occasion précise ayant mené à son élaboration, il semble urgent d'identifier de manière définitive le blason figurant en ouverture du codex et de continuer à étudier les liaisons entre les milieux possibles des commanditaires et la cour chypriote.⁵⁰ Le travail philologique sur les textes est également profitable, comme le montrent déjà les études citées de Fabre et Barale ainsi que, pour le répertoire Ars Nova en général, les résultats (*in progress*) du projet ERC 2017 conduit à l'Université de Florence par Maria Sofia Lannutti, qui aboutira à l'édition critique intégrale des textes de l'Ars Nova français et italien.⁵¹

46. Cf. notamment BARBARA WIEMES, *Historical Figures from Cyprus Mentioned in the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, in *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, (Günther – Finscher), pp. 55-76; ISABELLE FABRE – GILLES POLIZZI, *In Memory of Janus (1398-1432): Poetics of the French Pieces of the Cyprus Codex (Turin J.II.9). For a Historical Reading*, dans *Dia anthymisin kaipou kai topou: logotechnikes apotyposeis tou kosmou tis Kýprou*, Praktika diethnous epistimonikou sinedriou (Leukosia, 6-9 Oktovriou 2012), éd. Michalis Pieris, Nicosia, Politistikes ypoursies ypourgeiou paideias kai politismou, Tmima vyzantinon kai neoellinikon spoudon panepistimiou Kýprou, 2015, pp. 91-113.

47. Je renvoie à l'article d'Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone dans ce même volume.

48. Le recueil combine des thèmes typiquement courtois, comme l'éloge de la dame, avec d'autres qui lui donnent une tonalité parfois moralisante et plus grave: l'importance de la loyauté, la volubilité de Fortune, les dangers du beau parler, mais aussi la charité ou le péché.

49. Je renvoie à la présentation synthétique de la question par KÜGLE, *The Repertory of Manuscript*, pp. 170-173.

50. Voir la série de contributions dans la première section du volume *Poésie et musique* déjà cité: GILLES GRIVAUD, *Résonances humanistes à la cour de Nicosie (1411-1423)*, pp. 27-39; CLÉMENCE REVEST, *La rhétorique humaniste au service des élites chypriotes dans l'Italie septentrionale de la première moitié du *xv*^e siècle*, pp. 41-50; PHILIPPE TRÉLAT, *Dans le sillage de Charlotte de Bourbon (1386/1390-1422): contacts et relations entre le royaume de Chypre et la France*, pp. 51-60.

51. ISABELLE FABRE, "A paines puis congnoistre joye d'ire": de Gace Brulé au recueil de Chypre, dans *Poésie et musique*, pp. 85-94; BARALE, *Une étude*. L'avancement du projet ArsNova et les publications de son équipe sont consultables sur le site: <https://www.europeanarsnova.eu/> (dernier accès 28 avril 2024).

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