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CITATION AND ALLUSION IN THE LATE ARS NOVA: THE CASE OF *ESPERANCE* AND THE *EN ATTENDANT* SONGS*

In his *Prologue*, Guillaume de Machaut lists the *ballade entée*, or 'grafted ballade', as one of the many genres he is inspired to write to praise and honour all ladies.¹ It is unclear from this fleeting reference, however, exactly what type of work Machaut meant by this term and whether he was referring to a purely poetic form or to one that involved music.² That the practice of citation in lyric poetry was well established at this time is demonstrated by Machaut's own output, which reveals him to have been a master of this art; this literary tradition was to continue to thrive in the later fourteenth century.³ But of the poet-composer's forty-two

* Earlier versions of parts of this paper were presented at the 23rd Conference for Medieval and Renaissance Music held at Southampton University in July 1996 and at the conference 'Borderline Areas in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music', held at Novacella-Neustadt, July 1997. Research for this article was aided by the generous financial assistance of the Arts Faculty of University College Cork and the Royal Irish Academy. I am grateful to Anne Stone, Stephen Rees, Andrew Kirkman, Bonnie Blackburn and Bill Barnes for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ See Guillaume de Machaut, *Prologue*, ed. V. Chichmaref, in *Guillaume de Machaut: Poésies lyriques*, I (Paris, 1909; repr. Geneva, 1973), p. 8, lines 125–32.

² In his poetry treatise *L'art de dictier*, Deschamps describes the *chanson royale* as a ballade with a grafted (*enté*) envoy: see the edition and translation by D. M. Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing, Mich., 1994). It is perhaps significant, then, that the *chanson royale* is omitted from Machaut's list of compositional types given in the *Prologue*. However, Gilbert Reaney understood Machaut's use of the term *ballade entée* to refer to ballade poems containing citations ('The Poetic Forms of Machaut's Musical Works, I', *Musica Disciplina*, 13 (1959), pp. 25–6). Given that this is the only type of ballade that Machaut lists in the *Prologue*, Reaney suggested that we might infer that Machaut wrote only *ballades entées*. I think, however, that we can allow for some poetic licence on Machaut's part – after all, he had to find something to rhyme with *chanson balladée*, and 'ballade entée' does nicely. Nevertheless, the mention of the *ballade entée* alongside the other main forms employed by Machaut testifies to the popularity of this genre at the time.

³ In a good number of poems from the *Loange des dames*, Machaut engages in self-quotation or cites popular refrains or lines from works by other poets. Lawrence Earp lists some (but not all) of the connections of this kind to be found between poems from the *Loange des dames* in *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1996), pp. 258–65.

notated ballades, only one has been shown to contain a musical quotation: the work in question, *Pour ce que tous mes chans* (Ballade 12), has grafted onto its Refrain section the opening text and music of the chace *Se je chant mains*.⁴

Amongst the works of Machaut's younger contemporaries, however, there exist a number of ballades that feature a similar form of musical grafting, and this evidence persuaded Ursula Günther that the *ballade entée* was indeed established as a musical genre by the 1360s or 70s. In her fascinating study of this genre published in 1972,⁵ Günther concluded that towards the end of the century, just as citation in the literary context was reaching a peak, the tradition of musical citation in the ballade died out, probably owing to the difficulty of grafting borrowed material into the complex musical language then in vogue.⁶ She proposed that it was left to composers in the border areas of French culture, northern Italy and Cyprus, to continue the tradition in the context of the other popular song forms, the rondeau and the virelai. Her crowning example here was Ciconia's celebrated virelai *Sus une fontayne*, which cites the incipits of three ballades by Philippus de Caserta.⁷

Günther's thesis concerning the decline of citation in the French *ars subtilior* chanson is now ripe for revision. In recent years, a number of examples have come to light indicating that musical citation was considerably more prevalent in this repertory than

For some case studies, see Y. Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson: Crossing Borderlines and Borders', in K. Kügle and L. Welker, eds, *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music*, Musicological Studies and Documents (Neuhausen, in press). Citation in lyric poetry appears to have reached a particularly high point later in the century, especially in the *Trésor amoureux*; see U. Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), pp. 58–9.

⁴ Karl Kügle suggests that *Se je chant mains* dates from the 1320s: see *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*, Musicological Studies 69 (Ottawa, 1997), p. 162. For a detailed discussion of the handling of citation in Machaut's Ballade 12, see Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

⁵ Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen'.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁷ See the discussion in Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen', pp. 62–8. For more recent evaluation of Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and its intertextual relations with Philippus de Caserta's songs, see A. Stone, 'A Composer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*' (forthcoming; I am grateful to Anne Stone for showing me this article prior to its publication), and Y. Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philippus de Caserta', in P. Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition* (Paris, in press).

she inferred. The present article is a study of a complex of works that not only confirms this continued currency but reveals how the tradition was extensively exploited by certain composers of the 1380s and 90s; rather than being in some way incompatible with the *ars subtilior* style, then, it appears that citation was viewed as a further opportunity for composers of this period to display their musical and intellectual erudition.

At the centre of my discussion are the three *ars subtilior* chansons that begin with the words 'En attendant', by Jacob de Senleches, Philippus de Caserta and Johannes Galiot.⁸ A few years ago, Reinhard Strohm observed that these songs form part of an intricate network of textual relationships that stretches back to Machaut; moreover, he noted that the ballade by Senleches cites the musical opening of the anonymous and well-known rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat*.⁹ The presence of this musical citation is in itself significant, since it provides the missing link in Günther's narrative between Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the earlier *ballades entées* of the 1370s. But as we shall see here, yet more fascinating is that Senleches's song reveals that musical citation in this period could take an altogether more subtle form than the classic 'cut-and-paste' style of grafting that has previously been the main focus of commentators' attentions. As I show in Part One, the borrowed musical material is not merely cited in passing; rather, it becomes the source of inspiration for the entire new work. Moreover, closer investigation into the textual and musical content of this and the other works of the complex reveals further intriguing and hitherto unnoticed interrelationships.

What emerges from this case study is that the fourteenth-century *chanson entée* was an altogether more sophisticated affair than has hitherto been acknowledged. But as well as offering further insight into the complexity and subtlety that pervaded musical thinking in

⁸ These songs can be found in the following editions: W. Apel, *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth-Century* (FSC), *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 53/i (Rome, 1971), and G. Greene, ed., *The Chantilly Manuscript*, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (PMFC) (Monaco 1981–2) 18–19: *En attendant*, *Esperance*, FSC 53/i no. 88, PMFC 19 no. 68; *En attendant souffrir*, FSC 53/i no. 28, PMFC 18 no. 45; *En attendant d'amer*, FSC 53/i no. 30, PMFC 19 no. 59. Concerning the attribution of all three songs to Galiot in the Chantilly codex, see the discussion below.

⁹ R. Strohm, 'Filipotto de Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia', in F. della Seta and F. Piperno, eds., *Festschrift for Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday* (Florence, 1980), pp. 69–70, and *idem*, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 59–60.

the late fourteenth century, this case also raises some compelling questions regarding the dissemination of music and the mobility of musicians in this period. In Part Two I explore the historical events that may have prompted the composition of the *En attendant* songs and brought together Jacob de Senleches, Philippus de Caserta and other composers known to us from late *ars nova* sources.

The *En attendant* songs were clearly participating in a tradition that was already well established by the time of Machaut's death. Whether Machaut himself was responsible for establishing the *chanson entée* in the *ars nova* is unclear. Certainly, many of his lyric poems from the *Loange des dames* (both ballades and rondeaux) display what are obviously deliberate interrelationships, and there are also a small number of his lyric texts that have been shown to quote from the works of other poets.¹⁰ Given Machaut's penchant for this kind of play in the lyric, it is perhaps surprising that only one of his song settings has been shown to contain a musical citation. After all, the principle of musical citation had been quite extensively exploited in the later thirteenth century in the context of both motet and chanson, and it has recently been proposed that certain of Machaut's motets contain musical as well as textual references to trouvère songs.¹¹ Further research is needed to establish the extent of literary and musical citation in Machaut's musical works as a whole: it is quite possible that more of his songs, including the rondeaux, enclose musical references to works by his contemporaries or predecessors that are yet to be identified.

Günther proposed that musical (in addition to textual) citation became more common in the notated ballades of Machaut's younger contemporaries and immediate successors.¹² It is perhaps telling that each of her three examples from this period draws on a Machaut song for its source material. In each case, the reference is made very explicit: material is borrowed from the opening or Refrain of the original work, and is clearly identified by its promi-

¹⁰ For detailed discussion of cases of intertextual play in Machaut's *Loange des dames*, see Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-century Chanson'. An example where Machaut quotes another poet is found in the musical setting *On ne porroit penser* (Ballade 3), which cites Jean de la Mote (see Reaney, 'The Poetic Forms', p. 26 n. 3).

¹¹ J. Boogard, 'Bridging the Traditions: Machaut's Motet 5 Reconsidered', paper read at the 23rd Conference for Medieval and Renaissance Music, Southampton, July 1996.

¹² Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen'.

ment placing in the new work – either at the beginning or end of the musical form – and by the inclusion of the original text. Günther noted that two of these post-Machaut ballades (both anonymous), *Ma dame m'a congié donnée* from F-CH 564 (the Chantilly codex, hereafter *Ch*) and *Dame qui fust* from F-Pn 6771 (*Reina*), handle the borrowed material in an identical fashion: the Refrain phrase of the original now opens the new work, while Machaut's own opening provides the new song's Refrain.¹³ Her third example, *Phiton, phiton* by Franciscus (found in *Ch* and *Reina*), lifts the opening musical phrase (but just the first word) of Machaut's *Phyton, le merveilleus serpent* (Ballade 38) to form its own incipit. Günther's dating of these works to the 1370s seems plausible on stylistic grounds, though the presence of *Ma dame m'a congié donnée* in the index of the lost Trémoille manuscript (F-Pn n.a.f. 23190, hereafter *Trém*) can no longer be taken as corroboration that this work was composed before 1376, given recent insights into the dating of this source.¹⁴ Her remaining examples of musical citation fell, as she saw it, outside the central tradition of the *ballade entée*: these are rondeaux or virelais that she assumed originated in the peripheries of French culture, that is, in Italy or Cyprus, the most celebrated being Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*.¹⁵ The only traces of the tradition that she found in the *ars subtilior* ballade were textual references or, in just one instance, a veiled musical allusion. This latter case was Antonello da Caserta's *Dame d'onour en qui*, the second section of which appears loosely to paraphrase the text and music that opens the *secunda pars* of Vaillant's famous virelai *Par maintes foyes*.¹⁶

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55. I have suggested elsewhere that in the case of *Ma dame m'a congié donnée* the choice of source material may be significant: Machaut's ballade with music *Se je me pleing* (Ballade 15) shares its Refrain text with one of his unnotated lyrics from the *Loange* (no. 111) which also refers to singing, and my impression is that this may itself be a quotation from an earlier song – this would explain the tonal mismatch between the musical sections of Ballade 15, a feature also of the later *Ma dame m'a congié donée*. See Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

¹⁴ See M. Bent, 'A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript,' in B. Gillingham and P. Merkley, eds., *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 217–42.

¹⁵ Günther found only one example of a virelai with citation from the French repertory; see 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen', p. 61.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56–9. This relationship was first observed by Apel in FSC 53/i, p. xxxiii. Antonello also set a ballade text by Machaut, *Biauté parfaite* (*Loange* 140). For other such quotations of Machaut's works (in some cases musical as well as literary) in later fourteenth-century chansons, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 65–7, and Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

Recent findings suggest that the citation tradition in the *chanson* did not die out in the *ars subtilior* generation as Günther supposed. In addition to the many instances of textual reference to Machaut,¹⁷ several examples of clear text–music citations in later fourteenth-century *chansons* have come to light. These include the anonymous ballade *S'espoir n'estoit* (which cites material from Machaut's popular Rondeau 21) and Matteo da Perugia's ballade *Se je me plaing* (which quotes text and music from Machaut's Ballade 23 and also alludes to the text of his Ballade 15).¹⁸ But in addition to these are examples that have proved easier to overlook. This is either because they draw on less familiar source material or because the references are in some way obscure, more in the nature of allusions rather than exact quotations.¹⁹ One such is the *Ch* ballade *Passerose de beauté* by Trebor, which cites material from a contemporary ballade by Egidius in a rather unorthodox way, separating the original text and music and presenting these separately. Another case is that of another *Ch* work, Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Je chante ung chant*, which seems to allude to a *virelai* by Haucourt; here the borrowed material appears in the same position as in the original (that is, in the second musical phrase) but with no reference to the original text. The evidence suggests, then, that at this time musical citation (or allusion), just like its literary counterpart, continued to be a popular device, and not one reserved for ballades alone but equally used in the other popular song forms, notably the *rondeau*.

The *En attendant* complex presents further corroboration of this thesis. The most immediately striking connection between these songs is the shared textual incipit. Intertextuality of this kind is common in the fourteenth-century lyric – as even a cursory glance through an alphabetical index of Machaut's lyric poems reveals²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; for a detailed discussion of Philippus de Caserta's reference to Machaut lyrics, see Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

¹⁸ See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 66; for a discussion of Matteo's handling of citation in *Se je me plaing*, see Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

¹⁹ For a broader discussion of citation and allusion in the *ars subtilior* repertory, including detailed commentary on the following two examples, see *ibid.*

²⁰ Nearly thirty of Machaut's lyric poems, for instance, begin with the word 'Dame' and a further sixteen with the words 'Douce dame'. Other shared openings amongst Machaut's ballades include 'Hélas! dolens', 'Plaisant dame', 'Quant vrais amans', 'J'aim mieux languir' and 'Gentil dame', to name but a few.

– though one cannot always be certain that such cross-reference represents intentional borrowing, given the stylised nature of the fourteenth-century poetic language.²¹ Clearly more deliberate are those instances where whole lines or more extensive thematic material and vocabulary are shared by two or more poems. Machaut also indulged in this practice and, in turn, later fourteenth-century poets paid tribute to him by these means.²² Given Machaut's renown as both composer and poet, it is not surprising to find further examples of citation from his lyrics in late *ars nova* chanson texts. Philippus de Caserta's ballades *De ma dolour* and *En remirant vo douce portraiture* are cases in point: the latter, together with an anonymous song, echoes the opening of Machaut's *En remirant vo gracieus viaire* from the *Loange des dames*, and further textual references to Machaut appear later in the text.²³

In comparison, the shared incipit of the three *En attendant* chansons may seem mundane. However, to my knowledge, these are the only surviving chansons from this period to begin with these words,²⁴ and that the textual connection between the three works was no accident is clear given other elements relating the songs. First, all three songs are ascribed to 'Galiot' (or 'Jo. Galiot') in *Ch.* This is rather puzzling, since the Modena manuscript (Biblioteca Estense, Alpha M. 5, 24, hereafter *Mod A*) indicates that *En attendant*, *Esperance conforte* is by 'Jacopin Selesses' and *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* by 'Filipoctus', attributions which seem plausible on

²¹ This is also true of the many familiar catch-phrases that abound in the chanson texts of the fourteenth century, such as 'tant com vivray', 'soit tart tempore', 'a vous suppli', 'si pri a Dieu' and so on.

²² Typically, a line from one poem, usually the opening line, is used to form the Refrain of a ballade, and again Machaut offers us several examples in the *Loange des dames*. In some cases, the idea is taken yet further as two poems share not only their opening two lines but also much of their thematic material and vocabulary. Where allusion is added to exact citation, a more extended network of poems may be formed. See Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

²³ For a detailed discussion of Philippus's references to Machaut and other texts in three of his ballades, see Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

²⁴ There are a number of lyrics without musical settings beginning in this way that have been preserved in poetry sources: several such poems can be found in *F-Pn* fr. 1719 (late fifteenth century), the *Jardin de plaisance* (early sixteenth century), and *GB-BL*, Add. 15224. The latter is translated and edited by N. Hardy Wallis in *Anonymous French Verse* (London, 1929). As David Fallows has recently emphasised, this collection is considerably earlier than was previously thought, since many of the poems refer to the devices of Giangaleazzo Visconti, who ruled Milan from 1378 to 1402; see '[Review of] The Lucca Codex (Codice Mancini). Facsimile with introductory study by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino (Lucca, 1990)', *Early Music*, 19 (1991), p. 121.

stylistic grounds.²⁵ Another *Ch* song, *Le sault perilleux*, is also ascribed to the otherwise unknown Galiot; significantly, as shall be seen below, the text of this song reveals close connections with Philippus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*. If the reason for the Galiot misattributions remains obscure at present, what does seem clear is that these songs were in some way connected, at least in the mind of the Chantilly scribe. Indeed, Reinhard Strohm observed a second, more fundamental factor relating the three *En attendant* songs: in each case, the opening words, 'En attendant', are followed by some kind of quotation.²⁶ Philippus's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* appears to cite the motto of Bernabò Visconti (d. 1385), the powerful ruler of Milan,²⁷ while Galiot's *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* quotes the opening words of Machaut's notated baladelle *En amer a douce vie* from the *Remede de Fortune*.²⁸ As mentioned earlier, Strohm also noticed that Senleches's *En attendant, Esperance conforte* cites the opening text and music of the popular anonymous rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat*.

²⁵ In the case of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*, moreover, the authorship of Philippus de Caserta is confirmed by Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*, which cites the opening of this and two others of his known songs. Reinhard Strohm has speculated that the ascription 'Jo. Galiot' may indicate the patron rather than the composer of the songs. As we shall see, Philippus's song cites the motto of Bernabò Visconti, ruler of Milan: Strohm suggests that 'Galiot' may be a reference to Bernabò's nephew and co-ruler, Giangaleazzo, or 'Jean-Galéas' as he is referred to in French writings of the period. Like his mother, Blanche of Savoy, Giangaleazzo was a keen patron of French culture; for evidence of French manuscripts in the Visconti library, see E. W. Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts of Giangaleazzo Visconti* (University Park, Pa., and London, 1991), and F. A. Gallo, *Music in the Castle. Troubadours, Books and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. A. Herklotz and K. Krug, (Chicago and London, 1995), chapter 2. Attractive though the idea may be for reasons elaborated below, it seems unlikely that the songs originated in Giangaleazzo's court. Alternative thoughts concerning the provenance of the songs will be explored in Part Two.

²⁶ See note 9 above.

²⁷ This was first noted by G. Thibault, 'Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento', in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, ed. F. A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1970), pp. 131–60. Thibault noted that *En attendant souffrir* is one of several songs by Italian composers that cite Bernabò's motto. Of the others, the songs by Niccolò da Perugia (ed. W. T. Marrocco, PMFC 8 no. 20) and Bartolino da Padova (*idem*, PMFC 9 no. 12) set the same poem, *La fiera testa*, which features the motto in its ritornello. This text is attributed to Petrarch, who was also responsible for inventing Giangaleazzo's personal heraldic devices. The third song, the virelai *Souffrir m'estuet* by Paolo Tenorista (Apel, FSC 53/i no. 77), alternates French and Italian in its text. Thibault proposed that in each case the motto is accompanied by a recognisable melodic motif, but I fail to see any clear musical connections between the works.

²⁸ In the textual variant found in *Mod A* the allusion to Machaut's baladelle is lost, since 'd'avoir' replaces 'd'amer' in the opening line of the rondeau.

Strohm found further evidence linking the *En attendant* songs by Galiot and Senleches, for the latter reveals a tangential connection with Machaut's *En amer a douce vie*. While most of the sources of *Esperance* (the song cited by Senleches) do not transmit the text, Strohm discovered an interesting reading of the opening refrain lines in a Flemish fragment:²⁹ 'Espirance qui en mon cuer s'enbat / Sentir me fait d'amours la douche vie'. It would seem, then, that in Senleches's song we have a quote within a quote. As in *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*, the reference to Machaut's baladelle in *Esperance* is not precise, but it seems more than just accident that two works of the complex should appear to allude to this work; moreover, 'Esperance' (Lady Hope) is one of the leading protagonists of the *Remede de Fortune*, and it is this character who composes the baladelle *En amer a douce vie* in order to instruct the Lover in the art of composing a love song. Strohm's findings are summarised in Figure 1.

Strohm concluded that Galiot's song was composed before the other two *En attendant* songs³⁰ for two reasons. First, the reference to Machaut is taken one step further in the Senleches; secondly, what Strohm interpreted as a bitter reference to the Machaut in the Galiot (the words 'En attendant' preceding 'd'amer la douce vie') is intensified in Philippus's song by the use of the motto 'souffrir m'estuet'. However, evidence overlooked by Strohm allows us to refine this picture and to reassess the chronology of these works. In fact, the full text of *Esperance* is found in a late four-

²⁹ The Flemish source is *B-Gr* 133, fols 1^v-2^r, recently discovered by Strohm and discussed in 'The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 34 (1984), pp. 109-31. *GB-Cu* 5943 (fol. 165) also transmits the Refrain text but in what is clearly a corrupt version: 'Esperance ki en mon cuer s'embath / Sentyr me fayt demours la vie'. The rondeau is also found in the following sources with just the text incipit: *F-Pn* 568, fols. 6^v-7; *A-V* 380, fol. 87^v; *CS-Pu* XI E 9, fol. 247^r; *F-Sm* 222, fol. 72^r (lost); an intabulated version is found in *NL-GRu* 70, flyleaf^v. Two new sources have recently come to light. *B-TOs* 490 carries the text and tenor of *Esperance*; see K. Kügle, 'Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music Fragments in Tongeren, I. The Fourteenth-Century Music Fragment', in B. Haggh, F. Daelemans and A. Vanrie, eds., *Musiology and Archival Research* (Brussels, 1994), pp. 473-87. The other source is a fifteenth-century manuscript from Helmond which transmits the tenor in stroke notation; see B. Haggh, 'New Publications in Dutch on Music before 1700 and a Newly Discovered 15th-Century Dutch Manuscript with Songs', *Early Music*, 35 (1997), pp. 127-8. For editions of *Esperance* see Apel, *FSC* 53/iii no. 245, Greene, *PFMC* 22 (Monaco and Paris, 1989), nos. 33a and 33b (instrumental version), and R. Rastall, *Four French Songs from an English Song-Book* (Newton Abbot, 1976).

³⁰ Strohm, 'Filipotto de Caserta', p. 70.

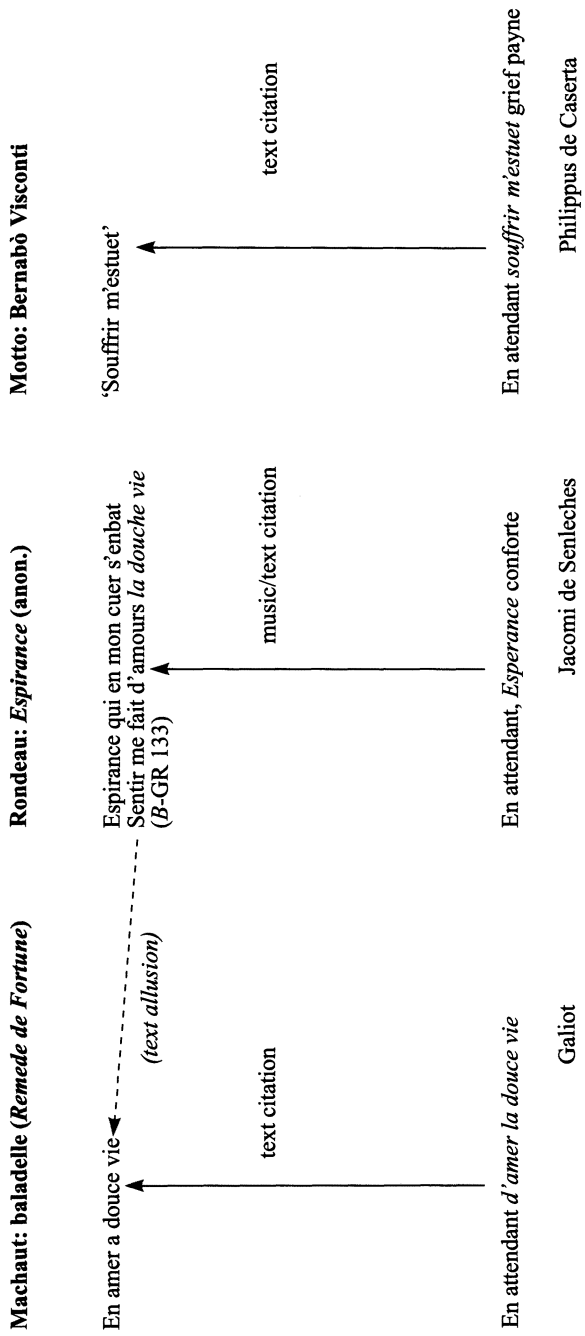


Figure 1 Sources for citations in the *En attendant* songs according to Strohm

teenth-century poetry source, now at the University of Pennsylvania (*Penn*), and the reading found there is corroborated by a newly discovered fragment from Tongeren that transmits the tenor of *Esperance* together with most of the text.³¹ Comparison of the full text of *Esperance* with that of Galiot's rondeau *En attendant d'amer* reveals some striking resemblances: both rondeaux consist of seven decaysyllabic lines; they share one of their rhyme endings, and, in addition, there is a common thematic material and even vocabulary (shown here in italics). The character of 'Esperance' in the first poem is recast as 'Espoir' in the second (line 2); in the third line of both texts, another personification familiar from the *Roman de la Rose*, 'Dangier', also makes an appearance, while 'Cuer' is the subject of lines 5. The image of battle is also common to both texts. The reading of the second line of *Esperance* proves especially insightful. The version given in *Penn* reads 'Sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie': the allusion to Machaut's *En amer a douce vie* now takes an identical form to that found in the first line of Galiot's text. The implication, then, is that Galiot's *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* was modelled on *Esperance*, and that the 'citation' in the opening line ('d'amer la douce vie') was borrowed from *this* poem and not directly from Machaut's baladelle as Strohm surmised.

Figure 2 redraws the relationship among the three *En attendant* songs, indicating the source material for their respective citations. As we have seen, the songs by both Galiot and Senleches cite directly from *Esperance*, which in turn, alludes to Machaut's baladelle from the *Remede de Fortune*.³² In this sense, Philippus's song

³¹ For details about the Tongeren fragment, see note 29 above. For an inventory and commentary on the Pennsylvania manuscript, *US-PHu MS French 15*, see J. I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'* (Woodbridge, 1982). It is surprising that neither Apel nor Greene provided the full text of the rondeau in their respective editions, especially since *Penn* is listed amongst the sources consulted for the editions as a whole. The presence of the full text of *Esperance* in *Penn* has also been noted by David Fallows; see Kügle, 'Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music Fragments from Tongeren', p. 476 n. 7.

³² Some aspects of Senleches's poem suggest that the poet may also have drawn his inspiration from the *Remede de Fortune*. As in the *Remede*, in Senleches's text the character Esperance comforts the despairing man protagonist (the first-person narrator) and mediates between him and the object of his desire ('perfeccion'). In particular, Senleches's poem seems to take direct inspiration from the passage in the *Remede* where l'Amant offers a prayer in which he praises Esperance and lists the various ways in which she has aided him; in both poems, the enumeration of Hope's virtues is followed by reference to Fair Welcome (Bel accueil). See J. I. Wimsatt and W. W. Kibler, eds., *Guillaume de Machaut: Le jugement du roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune* (Athens, Georgia, and

Relationship between *En attendant d'amer* and *Esperance*

Anon. (*Penn*)

Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat
 Sentir me fait *d'amer la douce vie*;
 Mais Faulx *Dangier* le refuse et debat
 Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat.
 Cheoir ne puet se Franc *Cuer* ne le bat,
 Qui de doulcour tiengne la seignourie.
 Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat
 Sentir me fait *d'amer la douce vie*.

Galiot (*Ch; Mod A*)

En attendant *d'amer la douce vie*
 Fait Doulz Espoir labour estre plaisirance.
Dangiers, Refus, du tout l'amant desfie;
 En attendant d'amer la douce vie.
 Ayns Grant Espoir forment au cuer le lie
 Pour gueroier contre toute gravance.
 En attendant *d'amer la douce vie*
 Fait Doulz Espoir labour estre plaisirance.

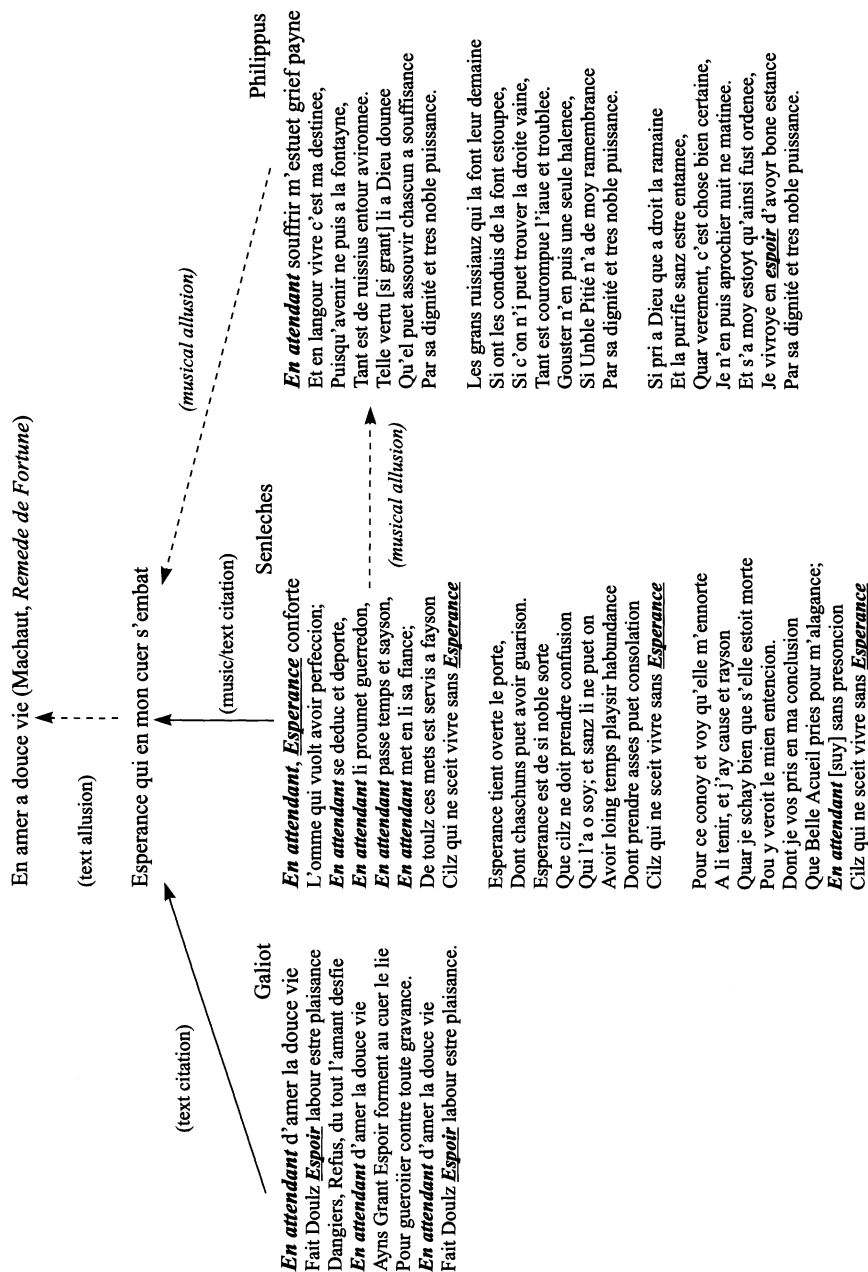


Figure 2 Relationship between the *En attendant* songs and their citation sources

appears to stand apart. Although the text of this song also features the theme of waiting and hoping (this common material ‘en attendant’ and ‘espoir’ / ‘Esperance’ is italicised in Figure 2) and is cast, like the Senleches, as a heartfelt first-person narrative, it contains no explicit textual reference to the *Esperance* rondeau; rather, it cites the motto of a contemporary ruler.³³ Closer inspection of the music of Philippus’s song, however, reveals hidden and previously unnoticed musical connections, not only with *Esperance* but also with Senleches’s ballade; these musical allusions, which will be explored later, are represented in Figure 2 by broken arrows.

It would appear, then, that all three *En attendant* songs are centred on the *Esperance* rondeau, which in turn draws on Machaut. It seems highly likely that the three *En attendant* songs were composed contemporaneously, perhaps in some kind of citation competition based on the rondeau *Esperance*. That this particular song was chosen as the object of this musical game is intriguing. Clearly, *Esperance* was a very popular work; that it was exceptionally well disseminated is implied by its survival in a large number of sources.³⁴ Interestingly, though, none of these sources appears to have originated from the area that today forms modern France.

London, 1988), lines 3205–345, pp. 347–55. As in Senleches’s text, the Lover in the *Remede* describes how *Esperance* has given him ‘aligance’ (relief) and provided him with sweet comfort (‘doulz confort’), and he begs her to lead him to the threshold where he shall behold his lady’s Sweet Welcome (Vous pri. . . // Que vous me menez jusqu’au sueil / Ou je verray le Douls Accueil / De ma dame. . .) This follows the basic outline of the story in the *Roman de la Rose*, where the lover learns first about the pains of love (lines 2265–2580) and then the remedies (lines 2581–2764), where the God of Love describes how Hope can advance the lover’s cause and where Fair Welcome also encourages the lover. See Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, ed. C. W. Dunn and trans. H. W. Robbins (New York, 1962), pp. 55, 58–9. Through these textual allusions, the narrator of *En attendant*, *Esperance conforte* likens his plight to that of the main protagonist (the Lover) of both the *Remede* and the *Roman de la Rose*.

³³ The theme of the fountain in *En attendant souffrir m’estuet*, however, recalls the passage in the *Remede* (itself inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*) where the lover enters the garden of Hesdin and sits by a fountain which is surrounded by a hedge of wild roses (see Wimsatt and Kibler, *Remede de Fortune*, lines 783–840, pp. 211–15). The fountain was a common symbol in medieval literature, with religious connotations, and the emphasis on the inherent virtue and noble power of the fountain in *En attendant souffrir* recalls this association. See, for instance, Jean de Meun’s description of the Fount of Life in *Romance of the Rose*, chapter 94 (lines 20279–682), and in Machaut’s *Lai de la fonteinne* (ed. L. Schrade, PMFC 3, Lai 11). A particularly detailed description of the type of fountain implied in Philippus’s text can be found in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, trans. G. H. McWilliam, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1995), pp. 190–1. The possible significance of Philippus’s fountain is discussed below.

³⁴ See note 29 above.

Strohm has argued that this song belongs to what he identifies as an 'international' repertory of *ars nova* works in simpler style that he believes were transmitted laterally through Flanders into the Germanic lands and northern Italy, bypassing France and Avignon.³⁵ Although, as Strohm concedes, it is possible that *Esperance* (along with the other songs of his 'international' group) was also copied into late fourteenth-century French 'repertory' manuscripts now lost, its survival in so many northern and non-French sources is suggestive; especially intriguing is its presence in an English manuscript. But while *Esperance* may well represent a simpler musical tradition that developed parallel to what Strohm terms the 'central' *ars subtilior* repertory, the musical relationships that form the subject of the present article suggest that these two musical traditions were perhaps not as separate as Strohm seems to imply. It seems likely, as Strohm suggests, that *Esperance* was well known at the Burgundian court;³⁶ this would account for its transmission into Flanders. But the song may have originated elsewhere; minstrels from northern and southern France and from south of the Pyrenees are known to have travelled regularly to minstrel schools in Flanders³⁷ – such activity may explain the presence of *Esperance* in three sources from the Low Counties, two of which are instrumental arrangements.³⁸

The provenance of *Esperance*, its possible historical significance and the implications for our understanding of the origins of the *En attendant* songs will be further discussed in Part Two of this study. Part One considers in more detail the nature of the musical relationships in the *En attendant* complex, beginning with a study of Senleches's handling of musical citation.

PART ONE: MUSICAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

(i) Citation and musical process in Senleches's *En attendant, Esperance conforte*. In *En attendant, Esperance conforte*, Senleches

³⁵ See Strohm, 'The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent'.

³⁶ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 74.

³⁷ See the numerous references in C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419. A Documentary History* (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen, 1979), and M. C. Gómez-Muntané, *La música en la casa real Catalano-Aragonesa 1336–1442*, I (Barcelona, 1979).

³⁸ See note 29 above.

follows the convention established by earlier *chansons entées* by placing his citation in a prominent position, in this case in the Refrain. This work is, however, more complex in terms of its musical language and general scale than the earlier examples of the genre surveyed by Ursula Günther. I would suggest that it is also far more sophisticated in its handling of musical citation, which I believe to be the central subject of the work. Example 1 presents an edition of Senleches's ballade; the passage in the Refrain (Section C) where the musical citation occurs is indicated. Example 2 shows the opening phrase of *Esperance* in its original form. Senleches borrows just the opening phrase of the rondeau, following closely the original cantus and tenor (the contratenor transmitted in *F-Pn* 568 (*Pit*) is slightly modified), but transposing the phrase up a fourth.³⁹ Only one word of the original text is used, enough to identify the source material: 'Esperance'.

A clear difference between Senleches's ballade and earlier songs with quotations is that here the borrowed material is much more tightly integrated into the newly composed work. Following the example of Machaut's Ballade 12, the citation occurs in the Refrain, but here it does not begin until six bars in, cued by the final word of the text line, 'Esperance'. The quotation is immediately followed by an extensive melismatic passage that develops the characteristic sequence of falling thirds from the opening of the *Esperance* rondeau; the last two phrases of Senleches's Refrain section form the musical rhyme, linking the close of the song with the end of Section A. So, while remaining clearly recognisable, the *Esperance* material is bound into the musical process of the closing Refrain section.

Example 3 presents an analysis of the texted melody of the song. As I have shown elsewhere, ballades from this period tend to be organised according to conventional tonal schemes determined by the tonal type selected, and this work conforms to that principle.⁴⁰ The internal cadential goals found in the cantus melody, *g*, *d*, *e*

³⁹ The intabulated version of *Esperance* transmitted in the Groningen source (*NL-GRu* 70) is also in *g* (the tonal type one-flat *g*), but in its original chanson form the song is notated in the natural gamut with its final on *d* (i.e., the tonal type natural-*d*) in each of the extant sources.

⁴⁰ Y. Plumley, *The Grammar of Fourteenth Century Melody: Tonal Organization and Compositional Process in the Chansons of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ars Subtilior* (London and New York, 1996). Odonian letter-names are used in the present discussion.

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

A *Mod* (i)

1. En at ten - dant
2. En at - ten - dant
Ch: no #

5

(ii)

Es - pe - ran - ce con - for - te L'om -
se de - duc et de - por - te, En -
Ch: f c

Ch: a
10

(iii)

me qui - vuolt a
at - ten - dant a li
Ch: b

15

(iv)

voir per - fec -
prou - met guer -
Ch: #

20

Example 1 Senleches's *En attendant, Esperance conforte*
(after Apel, FSC 53/i no. 88; reproduced by permission)

Yolanda Plumley

1. ci - on:
re -

25

Detailed description: This musical system contains measures 25 through 29. It features a vocal line with lyrics 'ci - on: re -' and a piano accompaniment. Measure 25 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line begins with a quarter rest followed by eighth notes. The piano accompaniment consists of quarter notes in the right hand and half notes in the left hand. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

2. (V) 2 3 3 don,

30

Detailed description: This musical system contains measures 30 through 34. It features a vocal line with lyrics 'don,' and a piano accompaniment. Measure 30 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line begins with a quarter rest followed by eighth notes. The piano accompaniment consists of quarter notes in the right hand and half notes in the left hand. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

B (i) (ii) 3. En at - ten - dant pas - se

35

Detailed description: This musical system contains measures 35 through 39. It features a vocal line with lyrics '3. En at - ten - dant pas - se' and a piano accompaniment. Measure 35 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line begins with a quarter rest followed by eighth notes. The piano accompaniment consists of quarter notes in the right hand and half notes in the left hand. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

2 temps et say - son, En at - ten -

Detailed description: This musical system contains measures 40 through 44. It features a vocal line with lyrics 'temps et say - son, En at - ten -' and a piano accompaniment. Measure 40 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line begins with a quarter rest followed by eighth notes. The piano accompaniment consists of quarter notes in the right hand and half notes in the left hand. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Example 1 Cont.

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

(iii)

dant met en li sa

Ch: d

40

(iv)

fi - an - ce; De

45

toulz ces mets est ser - vis a fay - son

50

C (i)

Cilz qui ne sceit vi - vre

55

Example 1 Cont.

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(ii) *Ch: no #* **ESPERANCE**

sans Es - pe - ran -

60

(iii) *Ch: #*

Ch:

65

(see b. 23)

70

(iv)

ce.

75

Example 1 Cont.

Example 2 Opening phrase of *Esperance*

and *aa*, are typical for the popular tonal type used here (final on *g* in the once-transposed gamut), as are the secondary goals selected for the unstable sectional cadences (*e* for the *ouvert*, *aa* for the pre-Refrain cadence). The individual phrases of the melody have here been aligned according to three main melodic paradigms summarised at the top of the diagram and labelled with upper-case Roman numerals.⁴¹ Progressions I and II lead to inconclusive closure on one of the secondary goals: in the case of progression II, the descent from the second degree, *aa*, first leads to rest temporarily on *e* (IIa), from where there are two possible continuations (shown in IIb): the line falls to *d* or leads to a half-close on *e*. Progression III leads to conclusive closure on the principal pitch centre, *g*. As the diagram indicates, the latter is reserved for the mid-point and *clos* cadences of Section A, and, of course, for the very end of the work. Elsewhere, progression to the final is implied but interrupted or delayed.⁴²

⁴¹ Black stemmed notes indicate structural pitches, and void stemmed notes indicate the most stable cadential closure, that is, onto the principal pitch centre, *g*; the inconclusive nature of half-closure on *aa* or *e* is indicated by arrowheads, the eventual resolutions by reversed arrowheads.

⁴² The cantus goals can be supported contrapuntally in different ways; pitch letters (the tenor pitch is given in brackets in Example 3) indicate the sonorities created by cantus and tenor at the cadences. The varying of the contrapuntal context into which the cantus goals are set helps to control the dynamic unfolding of the work. For instance, the inconclusive nature of closure on *e* is highlighted by the contrapuntal support of *G* (Section A (iii)) or *c* (Section B (iii)), creating imperfect consonance; the tenor introduces a *G* anchor early in the work by supporting closure on *d* (a potential final at the opening of the song) with this pitch in Section A (i) and again in Section B (i). For an exploration of the role of counterpoint in the shaping of the tonal argument of chansons, see *ibid.*, chapters 4–8.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "En attendant, Esperance confortie". The score is organized into four systems, each with a label in parentheses: (iii), (iv), C (I), and (ii). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large rectangular box encloses a section of the score, specifically the part labeled (ii), which contains the lyrics "ES - PE - RAN -". The score is written on a single staff, and the lyrics are written below the notes. The piece is in a key of G major, as indicated by the key signature (one sharp). The tempo is marked "Allegretto", and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and the measures are numbered 45, 55, 60, 65, 70, and 75. The lyrics are: "met en li sa fi - an - oc; De toutz ces mees est ser - vis a fay - son; Cilz qui ne seeti vi - vre; ES - PE - RAN -". The score is written in a single staff, and the lyrics are written below the notes. The piece is in a key of G major, as indicated by the key signature (one sharp). The tempo is marked "Allegretto", and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and the measures are numbered 45, 55, 60, 65, 70, and 75.

Example 3 Tonal and Motivic Paradigms in *En attendant, Esperance confortie*

Only two phrases stand outside this tonal scheme: that is, the first part of phrase (iii) of Section B and phrase (i) of Section C (bracketed on the example) – both of which outline descents from high *cc* to *g* – and the significance of this will become clear below. This new progression establishes *g*, enabling the *Esperance* quote to be deftly inserted. The descending fourth *g–d* that characterises the *Esperance* theme is also pre-echoed in the recurrent interlocking descents through a fourth, *dd–aa* or *aa–e*, which permeate the song. The citation is also anticipated in two other ways. Firstly, in the text, where, as mentioned earlier, ‘*Esperance*’ is the main subject: the word ‘*Esperance*’ is stated in the opening line as well as the Refrain, and again at the beginning of lines 1 and 3 of stanza two. It is, perhaps, a deliberate witticism on the poet’s part that six of the eight lines of stanza one begin with the words ‘*En attendant*’: I would suggest that what is awaited in musical terms is the citation of the *Esperance* rondeau, which, as we shall see, is subtly alluded to throughout the ballade.

Senleches demonstrates a concern for structural unity that is typical of late fourteenth-century composers. As well as the use of extensive musical rhyme to create intersectional relationships – the material heard in Section A (iii) and (iv) recurs in modified guise in Section B (iv) (the pre-Refrain phrase), while the *clos* ending of A is heard at the end of Section C – a very carefully worked motivic infrastructure unifies the middle ground. The three main motivic cells that Senleches uses would appear to derive from the *Esperance* melody.

Three musical ideas characterise the *Esperance* theme: these have been labelled W, X and Y in Example 3 (see Section C (ii)). Motif W represents the falling fourth *g–d*, motif X the ascent and returning-note figure that emphasises *g*, and motif Y the sequence that decorates and fills the fourth *g–d*. Material in Senleches’s ballade that appears to relate to these three ideas is labelled with lower-case letters (*w*, *x* and *y*); superscript numbers indicate variant renditions. The original motif X from *Esperance* is somewhat modified by Senleches but remains recognisable by its 3/4 metre and its ascent through a third. This cell is used to link important moments of the ballade: it is heard at the very opening of the song (*x*¹) and again in a varied form (*x*³) in phrase v at the *clos* ending of Section A. Sections B and C are also framed by motif X: at the beginning

of Section B, however, it is heard not in the cantus but in the contratenor in the x^3 version (shown below the cantus). Further, more elusive, references to motif X occur within the sections. The descent from *dd* to *aa* (Progression I) is consistently associated with the two closely related motives, W and Y. Motif W is first alluded to in phrase ii of Section A, where it is in a modified form (w^1) that fills the structural descending fourth. In phrase iii motif W is decorated further (w^2). In phrase iv the contratenor alludes to W in its original outline form (w^3); the motif does not occur in the cantus in this near-original form, however, until phrase ii of Section B. Motif Y first appears in phrase iv of Section A (y^1), where it immediately undergoes development (y^2). This passage returns with the musical rhyme at the end of the work.

Only three phrases in Senleches's ballade do not contain references to motives W, X or Y: these are phrase i of Section B and the two phrases that I suggested stand apart in terms of their tonal content, that is, phrase iii of Section B and phrase i of Section C. As we have already seen, the latter two phrases are related in their tonal content in that they both outline descents from *cc* to *g*. The first two are loosely related by the upper returning-note figure that characterises them both (heard in bars 32–3 and 43–4). Phrase B (i), therefore, prepares the ground for B (iii); the significance of phrase iii will be revealed in the following section.

The deviation of Senleches's motivic ideas becomes clear once the citation of the *Esperance* melody is heard. As I suggested earlier, the sequence that ends the citation is immediately developed by Senleches in the following phrase. The allusion to motif X is also spelt out, as the cantus melody reintroduces the variant figure, x^3 , to close the work. In this ballade Senleches displays a strong concern for unity in his handling of the motivic infrastructure. This is not unusual in the late fourteenth-century *grande ballade*, but what is interesting here is to see how the composer is able to integrate the borrowed material very effectively by deriving his main motifs from the cited work.

(ii) Connections between the songs by Senleches and Philippus. Example 4 presents an edition of Philippus's song. Several general features are shared with Senleches's work: it is notated in the popular minor tonal type, although in the flatter,

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A Ch * Mod: no #

1. En a - ten - dant souf -
2. Puis - qu'a - ve - nir ne

PR: Mod: c

Mod. PR:

frir puis

Mod: PR:

Mod:

m'es - tuet la grief pay -
a la fon - tay -
PR: a

Mod: Mod:

10

Mod: b

PR: c ne, Et en lan -
ne, Tant est de

15

Example 4 Philippus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*
(after Apel, FSC 53/i no. 28; reproduced by permission)

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

guor
ruis - vi - vre c'est ma - des - ti -
sius - en - tour a - vi - ron -

20 *Mod:*

ne

25

* 1. e. ne - PR: f PR: a

30

2. e. B* 3. Tel - le

35

Example 4 Cont.

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ver-tu [si grant] li a Dieu dou - ne - e Qu'el puet

Mod. PR:

as-sou - vir chas - cun a souf - fi - san - ce.

Mod. PR: g

40 Mod. PR: no ♯

C Mod:

Par sa di - gni - té et tres no - ble puis - san -

45

50

ce.

Ch. Mod: f

55

Example 4 Cont.

twice-transposed gamut so that the final falls on *c*, and its melody begins by descending from the second degree to the fourth below the final.⁴³ Another common element, though again not a feature unique to these two works, is the use of motivic cross-reference to interrelate the musical sections. Philippus's opening theme recurs in modified form at the close of Section A, and in rather more disguised forms at the opening of Sections B and C (indicated with asterisks in Example 4).

To some extent these shared features may represent no more than conventions of the musical language of the time. However, there are other aspects that relate the two songs more closely. Philippus may also have been playing with musical citation in his ballade, though in a less explicit way than Senleches. The cantus phrase beginning in bar 12 bears more than a passing resemblance to the *Esperance* theme. Example 5 superimposes the *Esperance* theme over this passage from Philippus's song. The three motifs from *Esperance*, W, X and Y, are all present in Example 5b, though subject to some rhythmic compression. Moreover, the following phrase in Philippus's song seems to echo the next musical idea heard in *Esperance*, motif Z. Motif Z is stated twice by Philippus, then followed by further reference to motif W. Motif Z and W are also presented in this sequence in the second phrase of Philippus's ballade, which is given as Example 5c. In Senleches's ballade, a similar idea combining cadential-like ascent and a falling fourth recurs in both the cantus and the contratenor (Examples 5d and 5e; a similar configuration can be found in Galiot's rondeau, in Example 11 below). The trochaic sequence in bars 14–16 of Philippus's song is reminiscent of the passage in Senleches's song that follows and develops the *Esperance* quote (bars 36–7).

Is Philippus making a deliberate allusion to the *Esperance* rondeau, or are the similarities merely coincidental? The fact that only the top voice of *En attendant souffrir* relates to the opening of the *Esperance* rondeau and that there is no corresponding text citation might seem to weaken the case. Moreover, the passage in question occurs in the middle of Section A rather than in the more typical position at the very opening or in the Refrain section. Yet

⁴³ It is not uncommon for chansons of this period to begin with such descents; see *ibid.*, pp. 251–2.

a. 

b. 

Esperance

Philippus, *En attendant souffrir*

(Esperance)

(En attendant souffrir)

En attendant souffrir
(phrase (ii))

En attendant, Esperance
(contratenor)

En attendant, Esperance
(cantus)

a. (contd) 

b. (contd) 

(Esperance)

(En attendant souffrir)

En attendant souffrir
(phrase (ii))

En attendant, Esperance
(contratenor)

En attendant, Esperance
(cantus)

Example 5 Allusion to *Esperance* in *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*

we have seen in Senleches's ballade how effectively the citation can be absorbed into the musical form, although in that context the citation is placed, more conventionally, in the Refrain section. Another ballade, however, illustrates how subtle and very brief allusions of the kind heard in Philippus's work can be integrated elsewhere within the musical process. In the anonymous ballade *Je voy men cuer*⁴⁴ (Example 6) a snatch of the *Esperance* theme is heard seven bars into Section B, once again beginning on *g*; in this case, however, the citation involves both cantus and tenor and is prompted by the word 'sperance'.

To return to Philippus's song, it is the notation of the passage beginning in bar 12 that may hold the key as to whether or not we are dealing with deliberate citation. In two of the sources for *En attendant souffrir*, *Ch* and *Reina*, the passage is notated using coloration which is not strictly needed for the whole phrase.⁴⁵ The coloration appears to function as a visual flag to signal the citation. In *En attendant*, *Esperance* coloration is likewise used for the citation of the *Esperance* theme in bars 60–4 and also for the ensuing development of the theme, though here its use is justifiable. Where the citation is pre-echoed most clearly in *En attendant*, *Esperance* (bars 36–7) void red notation is used to eye-catching effect on the page. The use of coloration for visual effect can also be found in two other works from *Ch*.⁴⁶ One is the rondeau *En attendant d'amer*, which is, as we have seen, closely related to the songs by Senleches and Philippus. The second is the ballade *Inclite*

⁴⁴ Apel, FSC 53/ii no. 152, and Greene, PMFC 20 no. 48. This song shares two sources with the *Esperance* rondeau (*CS*-Pu XI E 9 and *F*-Sm 222) and is another work that Strohm assigns to his 'international' repertory (see 'The *Ars Nova* Fragments of Gent'). Another song contained in these two sources which may allude to the *Esperance* theme at its opening is the rondeau *Soiez liés* (Apel, FSC 53/iii no. 279, and Greene, PMFC 22 no. 73).

⁴⁵ In *Ch* the passage is notated in red, while *Reina* uses black void notation. Anne Stone remarks that 'Notationally, there is nothing wrong with the reading; conceptually however, it is a bit odd. It is easy to see why measures 12–13 are notated with coloration, as they contain a hemiola proportion at the level of the semibreve. Measures 14–15 contain the iambic rhythms paradigmatic to major prolation, and have no need of coloration' ('Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha M. 5. 24', Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994, p. 150). Stone goes on to describe how the scribe of *Mod A* re-edits this anomaly, using coloration for only the first two bars. For a summary of the different uses of coloration in the fourteenth century, see *ibid.*, pp. 139–40.

⁴⁶ For a summary of the use of coloration in these two works to signal large-scale structures, see *ibid.*, pp. 140–2.

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Reina Triplum

1. Je voy mon cuer en un bac -

2. missing

5

tel va - guer Par li - ant mer

10

san - guis - te et mer mau -

15

1. di - e 2.

20

3. Luis se fait, et par - ler

25

Example 6 Allusion to *Esperance* in *Je voy mon cuer*
(after Apel, FSC 53/ii no. 152; reproduced by permission)

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

The musical score is written for a single voice on a five-line staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The text is in French. The word "ESPERANCE" is written in all caps and underlined above the staff. The lyrics are: "et spe - ran - ce; L'a - tres de - siers si a - tent des - pe - ran - ce; En - si dous Deus de - ve - le qu'il m'ar - ri ve." The score is divided into measures by bar lines. Measure numbers 30, 35, 40, 45, and 50 are indicated below the staff. The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets, quavers) and rests. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

et spe - ran - ce; L'a - tres de -

30

siers si a - tent des - pe - ran -

35

ce; En - si

40

dous Deus de - ve - le qu'il m'ar - ri

45

ve.

50

Example 6 Cont.

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a. Philippus, *En attendant souffrir*

b. Senleches, *En attendant, Esperance*

Example 7 Allusion to *En attendant souffrir* m'estuet in *En attendant, Esperance conforte*

flos by Matheus de Sancto Johanne; as we shall see below, the link with this composer and with this work in particular is significant.

A further musical connection in *En attendant souffrir*, this time with Senleches's ballade, confirms that the reference to *Esperance* in Philippus's song is more than just coincidence. The opening phrase of *En attendant souffrir* bears a striking resemblance to a passage from Section B of Senleches's ballade. The relevant passages from the two songs are superimposed in Example 7. The passage from Senleches's ballade, given in Example 7b, is phrase iii of Section B, which was shown to stand apart from the rest of the song in both tonal and motivic terms. Comparison with Example 7a reveals that the passages have much in common (especially to the left of the broken line); in Senleches's version the music

appears transposed up a minor seventh, but the cantus–tenor counterpoint and the original notation are similar to those in Example 7a. Once again, there is no corresponding citation of the text.

Is this another deliberate (if veiled) reference or just another coincidence? Given the other connections between the two works, it seems more than mere chance that the two songs should share not one but two passages of distinctive musical material. If these musical connections constitute deliberate citations, then who is quoting whom? The presence of Philippus's opening theme tucked away in the second section of Senleches's song may suggest that the latter was composed later. But Philippus's reference to *Esperance* implies that the two songs were composed in collaboration, or at least more or less contemporaneously.

Another ballade by Senleches also in *Ch*, the double-texted *Je me merveil/J'ay pluseurs fois*, provides a further tantalising clue (Example 8 presents Section A).⁴⁷ The two texts of this work join in condemning those talented people who try their hand at composition, copying or counterfeiting others and relying on help to complete their works. The poet's conclusion is that he will give up his craft since – and this is the Refrain line – everyone is trying their hand at composing or 'forging': 'puisque chascuns se melle de forger'. In his characteristically clever way, Senleches expresses this state of affairs with more than just words: in the Refrain the two singing voices are cast in canon to the same text, but in the manuscript source the two parts are notated differently.⁴⁸ A further example of the musical depiction of ideas in this work, and one which is of special interest to this discussion, concerns the setting of the word 'contrefaire', meaning 'to copy' or 'to plagiarise', towards the end of Section A. In bars 27ff there is a snatch of familiar material – a passage that is strikingly similar to the opening theme of *En attendant souffrir*. The reference is fleeting but is quite precise in its details. Example 9 juxtaposes this passage with

⁴⁷ See Apel., FSC 53/i no. 92, and Greene, PMFC 19 no. 69.

⁴⁸ Cantus I moves in perfect tempus and minor prolation, using red notation to indicate perfect semibreves (contrary to its usual meaning), while cantus II, which enters second, is notated in imperfect tempus with major prolation, with void notation (rather than the usual red) indicating imperfect semibreves. A. Stone proposes that the irony expressed in the text is reflected in the notation of cantus II, which she suggests is deliberately incorrect ('Poetic Identity in the *Ars Subtilior* Song: A Context for Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*', in Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*).

Yolanda Plumley

1. Je
2. ce

1. J'ay
2. un

me mer - veil
dont n'es - crit

plu - seurs fois pour
vi - re lay de

10

au - cu - ne fois con - ment
fin ne co - men - ce - ment,

mon es ba - te - ment
pe - tit sen - ti - ment

15

hom
et

ou temps pas - sé he - u
ou un ron - del qui [bien]

Example 8 Senleches's *Je me merveil / J'ay plusieurs fois*, Section A
(after Greene, PMFC 19 no. 69; reproduced by permission)

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

me quan se qu'il vult fait,
play - sir moy de fay -
a moy puist play -

mel - ler de con - tre - fai
rai - son est au con - trai

re re;
re re;

Example 8 Cont.

a. Philippus, *En attendant souffrir*

Handwritten musical score for Philippus. The score is written on three staves. The first staff is in treble clef, the second in bass clef, and the third in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo/mood is marked 'En attendant souffrir'. The lyrics 'at - ten - dant' are written under the first staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

b. Senleches, *Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois*

Handwritten musical score for Senleches. The score is written on three staves. The first staff is in treble clef, the second in bass clef, and the third in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo/mood is marked 'Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics 'Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois' are written under the first staff.

a. (contd)

Continuation of the musical score for Senleches. The score is written on three staves. The first staff is in treble clef, the second in bass clef, and the third in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo/mood is marked 'Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics 'Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois' are written under the first staff.

b. (contd)

Continuation of the musical score for Philippus. The score is written on three staves. The first staff is in treble clef, the second in bass clef, and the third in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo/mood is marked 'En attendant souffrir'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics 'En attendant souffrir' are written under the first staff.

Example 9 Shared material in *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* and *Je me merveil*

the opening phrase of Philippus's ballade. In this instance Senleches cites the passage at its original pitch level, and the underlying counterpoint is identical, though the contratenor is slightly embellished. The remainder of Senleches's phrase loosely paraphrases that of Philippus's.

The reference in *Je me merveil* may be brief, but given the content of the text it seems probable that it is a deliberate allusion to what presumably was a well-known song. Whether Philippus was the original composer of the theme or whether he himself borrowed it from another source is difficult to say. Senleches's criticism of those who imitate or reproduce the works of others is intriguing: could he be referring to the practice of grafting material from existing successful works, a practice in which, of course, he himself indulged? Perhaps the text of his ballade *En attendant, Esperance conforte* is laden with irony. It seems that the text is concerned with the narrator's hope of gaining some kind of patronage (see Figure 2). It lists the many ways in which Lady Hope (Esperance) can comfort the man who seeks perfection or fulfilment – she offers him comfort, reward and protection, and the poet concludes that he must stand by her, since if she were dead few would understand his 'meaning' ('entencion'). Perhaps the subtext to this is as follows: while he waits, the composer who aspires to perfection or fulfilment (perhaps, to write good music or to gain patronage?) must stay with *Esperance* (that is, the *rondeau* and, hence, musical citation), since only this can offer him protection and reward (since this is what all employers prefer to hear). As he concludes in his Refrain, he is quite literally 'cilz qui ne sceit vivre sans *Esperance*': the man who cannot (or does not know how to) live without *Esperance*.⁴⁹

Such an interpretation would relate this work to a number of contemporary songs whose texts are similarly concerned with the musician's lot. The subject of 'false' musicians, expressed explicitly in *Je me merveil*, recurs in at least one other chanson by Senleches, the *virelai* *Tel me voit*. It may also be the subject of

⁴⁹ This reading may be supported by the *Ch* version of this work, where the initial letter of the word 'Esperance' (in its appearance in Senleches's Refrain) is capitalised. Could it be that the scribe was aware that this was a citation? In *Mod A* lowercase is used; but, interestingly, in the same source the citations in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* are highlighted in this same way.

Senleches's virelai *En ce gracieux tamps*, which describes how the beautiful singing of a nightingale is rudely contrasted with the loud, ceaseless and artless singing of a cuckoo.⁵⁰ This echoes the sentiment expressed in the text of another chanson in *Ch: Science n'a nul annemi* by Matheus de Sancto Johanne describes in similar terms how ignorant singers, jealous of their more gifted counterparts, 'vont melodie abatant/Tout volentiers per leur haut cry/. . . "Hay avant!"'.⁵¹ As in *En ce gracieux tamps*, Matheus's song is unusual in featuring imitation between the voices at this point, with texting in the triplum.⁵² As we shall see in Part Two, the link with Matheus de Sancto Johanne may be significant.

(iii) Allusion in Galiot's *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*.

Given the clear textual references to *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat* in Galiot's rondeau, it is perhaps surprising to find no obvious musical citation from this work. There are, however, musical resonances; like Senleches's *En attendant*, *Esperance conforte*, Galiot's work appears to derive some of its motivic material from *Esperance*.

Galiot's rondeau is one of several from *Ch* to feature musical sections that are rhythmically identical; others include those by Matheus de Sancto Johanne, Johannes Altacuria (Haucourt) and Jean Vaillant.⁵³ There are two motifs from *Esperance*, one melodic, the other rhythmic, that appear to be echoed in Galiot's rondeau. The first is motif Y, the iambic descending sequence of thirds from the opening of *Esperance*, which, as we have seen, is developed in the songs by Senleches and Philippus; in bar 7 of the Galiot it takes the same rhythmic guise as that used in Senleches's refrain

⁵⁰ Strohm gives a similar interpretation of these three songs by Senleches in *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 56–7.

⁵¹ Apel, FSC 53/i no. 73; Greene, PMFC 19 no. 94. Disparaging remarks about singers can also be found in the motet *Are post libamina* from the Old Hall Manuscript, which may also be by Matheus de Sancto Johanne (see note 91 below). A similar theme can be found in two further songs from *Ch: Pictagoras Jabol* by Suzoy (FSC 53/i no. 105; PMFC 18 no. 39) and the anonymous *Plus ne puet musique* (FSC 53/ii no. 168; PMFC 18 no. 44); Guido's *Or voit tout* (FSC 53/i no. 39; PMFC 18 no. 28) complains about new notational practices.

⁵² Other works from the fourteenth-century chanson repertory that feature such texted imitation include the ballade *J'ay grant desespoir* and the virelais *Alarme, alarme* by Grimace and the anonymous *Ne celle amour*. For a discussion of the use of imitation in this period, see V. Newes, 'Imitation in the Ars Nova and Ars Subtilior', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 31 (1977), pp. 38–59.

⁵³ See note 128 below.

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

Ch

1.4.7. En
3. Dan
5. Ayns

at
giers,
Grant

ten dant
Re fus
Es - poir

Mod: no #

Mod:

Example 10 Galiot's *En attendant d'amer*
(after Apel, FSC 53/i no. 30; reproduced by permission)

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d'a - mer la
du tout l'a
for - ment au

Mod. 1 20

25

30

dou - ce vi
mant des fi
cuer le li

Example 10 Cont.

Citation and Allusion in the late *Ars Nova*

2.8. Fait 6. Pour Doulz guer -

Es -
roi -

poir
ier

Mod: no #

35

40

Example 10 Cont.

Yolanda Plumley

la - bour e - stre
con - tre tou - te

45

plai -
gra -

50

san -
van

55

ce.
ce.

60

Mod: a

g

Example 10 Cont.

330

(see Example 10), while in bar 48 it is cast into a sequence of major semibreves. The second motif is a recurrent rhythmic figure that permeates Galiot's work, featuring at the opening of several phrases; it consists of a short upbeat (minima) followed by a note of longer duration and recalls the opening motif from the Prague version of *Esperance* (see bars 10=41, 17=48, 27=58).

In neither case is it clear that we are dealing with deliberate allusion to *Esperance*, but this supposition is strengthened by other musical connections with Senleches's *En attendant*, *Esperance conforte*. Like this work, the Galiot rondeau appears to allude to the passage towards the end of *Esperance*, where a sequential descent from *c* down to *E*, followed by a leap to *d*, sets the words 'la douce vie'. There are, of course, the words cited in the second (Refrain) line of Galiot's text, so it is perhaps no accident to find a musical allusion accompanying Galiot's setting of these words. As Example 11 suggests, the sequential descent from *Esperance* (11a) is echoed in phrase iii (11b); as in *Esperance*, the descent to *e* is followed by an upward leap, but here Galiot makes further reference to the anonymous song by recalling motif Z from bar 8 of *Esperance*. The allusion is made explicit by the ensuing reference to the 'Esperance' motto (motif W), the falling fourth *d-a* (here in the rhythmic version from the Prague source). As we saw above, this motivic configuration, Z followed by W, occurs in both Senleches's and Philippus's songs (see Example 5; one such reference from the Senleches is shown in Example 11). A parallel to this passage from the Galiot is found in ornamented form in the third phrase of Senleches's song (Example 11c); in this case the composer identifies the reference to *Esperance* by reintroducing the sequential descending thirds (motif Y).

As we have seen, certain musical gestures deriving from *Esperance* can be traced in Galiot's *En attendant d'amer* as well as Senleches's *En attendant*, *Esperance conforte*. That the two *En attendant* songs are deliberately interrelated becomes clear in a passage that occurs in the *secunda pars* of both works. The second phrase of Section B in the Galiot represents the 'isorhythmic' repeat of the passage in Section A that paraphrased the descending-thirds motif (motif Y) from *Esperance*. Now the rhythm is fitted to another melodic shape, one that bears a remarkable resemblance to the opening motif from Senleches's ballade, which I have suggested is

(B-Gr 133)

(d'a) mours - che vic

b. Galliot
b.17

la dou - ce

c. Senteches
b.13

la dou - ce (y) etc.

The first system of the musical score for 'The Song of the Wren' is written on a single five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are two specific annotations above the staff: 'b.22 (z)' and '(w)'. The system concludes with a double bar line and a fermata over the final note.

Example 11 Allusion to *Esperance* in *En attendant d'amer*

- (iii) (reference to *Esperance*, i)

b. Senlèches section B (ii)

Example 12 Musical interrelationships between *En attendant d'amer* and *En attendant, Esperance conforté*

itself derived from motif X from *Esperance* (Example 12). It is perhaps no accident that at this point the word being set is 'Espoir' (12a). Interestingly, the corresponding phrase in Senleches's song (phrase ii of Section B) also uses this motif, coupled with a reference to the *Esperance* motto (motif W) (12b). In both songs, the phrase is followed by another allusion: in the Galiot, there is reference once more to *Esperance* in the chain of descending thirds (motif Y), while in the Senleches it is at this point that the composer cites the opening of Philippus's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*.

The sophisticated web of allusions and citations among the three *En attendant* songs makes it difficult to untangle which of the songs might have been composed first. However, the musical evidence presented here implies not only that Galiot, Philippus de Caserta and Senleches were well acquainted with one another's work but that they may well have collaborated in this particular case.

PART TWO: A CONTEXT FOR THE *EN ATTENDANT* SONGS

Where, and under what circumstances, the three *En attendant* composers might have met has yet to be established. Part Two assesses the evidence and investigates certain clues that point to a possible context for the composition of these works.

(i) The *En attendant* composers and their geographical whereabouts. Very little biographical evidence concerning the three composers has come to light. As we saw earlier, the identity of Jo. Galiot remains an enigma. Of the two works ascribed to this composer without conflicting attributions elsewhere, *Le sault perilleaux* reveals a northern connection: we know from the surviving notes of a Hebrew student that Jean Vaillant, another Chantilly composer, used this work to teach proportions at his music school in Paris, and further northern links will be discussed below.⁵⁴ In the case of Senleches and Philippus, however, the scant evidence we have would seem to point to activity in the south.

Senleches's name betrays a northern French origin, but it appears that in 1382 he was working at the court of Castille, since his ballade *Fuions de ci* laments the death of Eleanor of Aragon,

⁵⁴ I. Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, RISM B/IX/2 (Munich, 1975), pp. 55–67.

Queen of Castille (d. September 1382), the poet concluding that he must now seek his fortune 'en Aragon, en France ou en Bretagne'.⁵⁵ It seems that, at least to begin with, Senleches remained in the south: a payment record from the court of Navarre dated six months later indicates that he was by then employed as harpist to the Cardinal of Aragon, Pedro de Luna, who was later to become the antipope Benedict XIII.⁵⁶ Whether Senleches remained in Aragon working for the royal court, as some have surmised, or moved with Pedro de Luna to Avignon has yet to be clarified. In either case, it seems perfectly plausible that Senleches and Philippus met in Avignon. Philippus de Caserta's name indicates that he originated from near Naples in southern Italy but until recently it was assumed that the composer was active at the papal court of Avignon, since one of his extant ballades, *Par les bons Gedeon*, refers to the antipope Clement VII (1378–94), Benedict XIII's predecessor.⁵⁷ Avignon was, of course, a great magnet for sacred and secular musicians alike at this time, and we know that several composers represented in *Ch* were employed by the papal court in the late fourteenth century, including Altacuria (Haucourt), Hasprois and Matheus de Sancto Johanne (as we shall see, there are some possible links between these last two and the *En attendant* songs). Ursula Günther tentatively suggested that Philippus might be identified with a papal chaplain named Philippus Roberti,⁵⁸ listed in September 1379. More recently, an alternative biography for Philippus de Caserta was proposed by Reinhard Strohm, who has argued that the composer may never have left Italy. *Par les bons Gédéon*, he suggested, may have been composed in Fondi, near Caserta in Naples, where Clement VII was elected in 1378, rather than in Avignon. Evidence from two other songs by Philippus convinced Strohm that the composer was

⁵⁵ Günther has suggested that Senleches originated in Saint-Luc near Evreux in Normandy ('Jacob de Senleches', *New Grove Dictionary*, IX, p. 443). A. Tomasello has argued that it is more likely that he came from Senleches or Salesches in the diocese of Cambrai, deaconate of Haspre; see *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309–1403*, UMI Studies in Musicology 75 (Ann Arbor, 1983), p. 167 n. 193.

⁵⁶ H. Anglès, *História de la música medieval en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1970), p. 225.

⁵⁷ See N. Pirrotta, 'Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il sec. XIV: Di una pretesa scuola napoletana', in *Collectanea historiae musicae*, I (Florence, 1953), pp. 11–18; N. Wilkins, 'Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 8 (1964), p. 84; and G. Reaney, 'Philippus de Caserta', *New Grove Dictionary*, XIII, p. 653.

⁵⁸ U. Günther, 'Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars Subtilior', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 21 (1964), p. 182 n. 68.

active at the francophile court of Giangaleazzo Visconti: *Par le grant sens d'Adriane* refers to the Italian campaign of Louis I of Anjou of 1382, which Bernabò Visconti supported, while *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* carries Bernabò's motto.⁵⁹

If this was indeed the case, it is not implausible that Senleches and Philippus could have met in person, given the mobility of musicians at this time. Whether based in Aragon or Avignon, Senleches would certainly have had opportunities to encounter Visconti minstrels, either at the annual minstrel schools or at the court of some patron. Indeed, we know of one such occasion: the same document from the court of Navarre that records payment to Senleches in 1383 also indicates that recompense was made the same day to 'Jaquet, juglar del conde de Bertus' (the 'Court of Vertus' was the usual title used for Giangaleazzo Visconti until 1395, when he became Duke of Milan).⁶⁰ This Jaquet was probably one and the same as the 'Jaquet de Noyon', string player of Giangaleazzo Visconti, who visited Navarre on a number of occasions between 1388 and 1391.⁶¹ This minstrel is of some interest to us, because his name appears, alongside that of papal chaplain Hasprois, in connection with the *Ch* ballade *Puisque je sui fumeux*.⁶² Moreover, we know quite a bit about Jaquet's career: in 1374 he worked for the French prince Louis I, Duke of Anjou, while in the late 1370s and again in the 1390s he was a minstrel at the court of Aragon, where some believe Senleches to have been employed.⁶³

⁵⁹ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 60. The francophile tendencies of Giangaleazzo's court have been well documented in recent years, and Strohm proposed that it may have represented the centre for the cultivation and transmission of the *ars subtilior* style in Italy (*ibid.*, p. 59, and 'Filipotto de Caserta', pp. 65–74).

⁶⁰ Anglès, *Història de la música medieval en Navarra*, p. 225. Giangaleazzo had inherited the small country of Vertus in northeastern France when he married Isabelle, daughter of Jean II of France, in 1360.

⁶¹ It seems likely that Jaquet de Noyon was the 'juglar de la viola et de la rota del conde de Vertus' who appears in the Navarre records of 1382. 'Jaquet de Noyon, ministril de cuerda, del conde de Vertus', returned to Navarre once more in April 1388, and again the following December, when he brought the news of the birth of Giangaleazzo's son. Jaquet de Noyon 'ministril de viola' reappears in the Navarre records in 1391 (*ibid.*, pp. 225 and 289).

⁶² The attribution in the manuscript reads as follows: 'Jo. Simon de Haspre composuit dictum. Ja. de Noyon'. It has generally been assumed that Hasprois was the composer and that Jaquet wrote the text rather than the reverse, since Hasprois's name was also added by a later hand at the top of the page.

⁶³ A record of payment dated 28 October 1374 made in Nîmes identifies Jaquet de Noyon as a minstrel of Louis of Anjou. He is rewarded for entertaining the duke and is awarded 60 gold francs to buy a harp and to travel to the minstrel schols (*F-Pn* collection

Jaquet de Noyon, or minstrels like him, may certainly have provided a channel through which works by French composers like Senleches or Hasprois were carried to Italy. Alternatively, it has been suggested that Senleches may have travelled to Milan in 1390 with the French delegation led by Louis of Touraine and Philip of Burgundy, which included the poet Deschamps and the harpist Baude Fresnel.⁶⁴ However, if the *En attendant* songs were composed contemporaneously, as the evidence presented in Part One suggests, then an occasion prior to 1385, the year of Bernabò's death, accords more readily with the presence in *En attendant souffrir* of Bernabò's motto rather than that of Giangaleazzo. Moreover, while the scenario of a meeting at Giangaleazzo Visconti's court may seem attractive, it remains pure speculation, since there is no documentary evidence to confirm that Philippus de Caserta was employed there.

(ii) Philippus's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* revisited. It is the presence of Bernabò's Visconti's motto in *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* that has lain at the root of the assumption that Philippus de Caserta was employed at the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti. In 1972 Ursula Günther proposed that the text had a political

Clairambault 131, no. 134). A further document of payment made the same day identifies Jehan de Pountoyse as another of Anjou's minstrels; this minstrel, like Matheus de Sancto Johanne, had previously served in England (see note 91 below). Attempts have been made to identify Senleches with various minstrels associated with the Aragonese court in the 1370s and 80s, including Johani de Sent Luch, Jacomi Capeta and Jacomi lo Bègue, but no firm conclusions can be drawn. Gómez-Muntané has discounted all three of these contenders; see *La música en la casa real Catalano-Aragonesa*, pp. 40–1. Jaquet de Noyon is mentioned in a document of payment from the court of Aragon dated December 1377; in March 1378 he formed part of an ensemble of musicians that included Johani de Sent Luch and that travelled to the minstrel schools in Bruges; in July 1379 Jaquet again attended the minstrel schools, this time accompanied by Jacomi lo Bègue. After working for Giangaleazzo in the 1380s, Jaquet returned once more to serve Juan of Aragon in 1393 (*ibid.*, pp. 55, 141 and 145–6).

⁶⁴ That Senleches's songs were well disseminated in northern Italy is suggested by their presence in sources like *Reina* and *Mod A*. A more direct connection with the Visconti court may be implied by the presence of the famous – possibly autograph – copy of Senleches's canonic virelai *La harpe de melodie* in a manuscript copied in Pavia in 1391 (US-Cn 54) that also contains a treatise on note shapes attributed in this source to Philippus de Caserta (see P. Schreurs, *Tractatus figurarum* (Lincoln, Nebraska, and London), pp. 3–9). That *La harpe* was well known in Italy is demonstrated in the *Liber Saporecti* (c. 1415) by Simon de Prudenzianni, which lists 'la arpa de melodia' as one of the works performed by the jester Solazzo on the organ (see S. Debenedetti, ed., 'Il "Solazzo" com altre rime de Simone Prudenzianni', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, supplement no. 15 (Turin, 1913), pp. 106–7).

dimension, and this interpretation has persisted unquestioned.⁶⁵ The lamenting narrator of the poem has been identified with Philippus himself and the noble and powerful fountain from which he so desires to drink with Visconti patronage.⁶⁶ This autobiographical reading would appear to be reinforced by the connection between this song and Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*. Ciconia's text also speaks of a fountain and expresses the poet's desire to see the 'noble flower' which sang so sweetly beneath it; in this case, the image of the 'flower' can be identified as Philippus de Caserta, since woven into the song are citations from three of his ballades. This connection between Philippus and Ciconia, coupled with the presence of Giangaleazzo's arms and other Visconti references in other works by Ciconia, led Reinhard Strohm to the 'inescapable' conclusion that the two composers met at the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti.⁶⁷

A closer reading of the text of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* within its broader literary context discloses evidence that speaks against such an autobiographical interpretation and offers some insight into the composer's cultural milieu. The precise significance of Philippus's fountain may be difficult to ascertain, but, as we shall see, it would seem that in his handling of this image Philippus was drawing on a poetic convention. Moreover, investigation into some

⁶⁵ See Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen', pp. 62–5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65, and Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 60. For other works by Ciconia and other Italian composers whose texts may refer to Giangaleazzo's court, see J. Nádas and A. Ziino, *The Lucca Codex, Codice Mancini. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca, 1990), pp. 34–49. Recent research by Nádas and Di Bacco has filled in some of the details of Ciconia's biography: see 'Verso un "stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papale e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): Il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liege', *Capellae Apostolicae Sistinaeque Acta Monumenta*, 3 (Vatican City, 1993). They suggest that Ciconia may have visited the Visconti court for a time between 1397 and 1401. However, there is no hard archival evidence to support this; moreover, since some twelve years separate these dates from the most plausible time of composition for *En attendant souffrir* (i.e. before Bernabò's death in 1385) it seems unlikely that Ciconia and Philippus overlapped at the Visconti court, assuming that Philippus was ever there. The presence of *En attendant souffrir* in the fragment I-Gr 197 confirms, at least, that this song was well circulated in Italy, though it is now believed that the fragment originated not in Milanese/Paduan circles but from within the Roman orbit (see Nádas and Di Bacco, 'The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism', in R. Sherr, ed., *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 61–5). Ciconia may therefore have encountered Philippus's works in Rome; but equally, as I argue elsewhere, they may represent part of a musical heritage (along with the citation tradition) that Ciconia brought with him from the north: see Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

contemporary songs reveals that our composer was tapping into a yet wider network of works with distinctly northern connections.

The central image of Philippus's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*, that of thirsting at the fountain, derives from a classical or Biblical source. The classical legend of Tantalus describes how Tantalus finds himself up to his neck in water, but despite his terrible thirst his attempts to drink are thwarted as the water evades him. Psalm 42 likens the soul's desire for God to the stag's thirsting for the fountain. Both images were employed as metaphors for the rejected lover's frustration in medieval lyrics,⁶⁸ and several examples can be found from the late fourteenth century. For instance, in one of Froissart's lyrics from the *Prison amoureuse* of c.1372 the poet draws on the story of Tantalus to express his frustrated desire for his lady. An anonymous ballade from the late fourteenth-century chanson repertory, *Comme le cerf*, begins by describing how, just as the stag desires the fountain after being chased by hounds, the narrator's heart strives to draw from the fountain of his lady's grace.⁶⁹

The text of Philippus's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* may be compared with three contemporary song texts, two of which (*Le sault perilleux* and *Se Lancelot*) also feature the theme of thirsting by the

Froissart: *La prison amoureuse*, c. 1372 (l. 2090; stanza 1)

Je puis moult bien comparer mon desir
 Au Tantalus et ma vie a sa peinne,
 Qui boire voelt et n'i poet avenir;
 S'est il entrés en la douce fontaine,
 Qui li sourt tout environ
 Et qu'il l'atouce au nes et au menton,
 Mais quant il voelt boire, l'aige le fuit:
 En ce parti ne voi point de deduit.

⁶⁸ See M. Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love. The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca and London, 1974).

⁶⁹ This song is found in *Reina* and *Trém*. The refrain of this ballade relates to a poem by Machaut (*Loange* 80), while its opening line is also that of another song from the fifteenth century; see Christian Berger's contribution in Kügle and Welker, eds., *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music*.

Comme le cerf

Anon. (*Reina*)

Comme le cerf la fontaine desire
Qui des chiens ha lonc temps esté suïs,
Mon povre cuer a la fontaine tire
De vo grace, dame, que m'avés mis
En tel estat que suis comme ravis.
Ne lonc temps ne puis durer
Se mon las cuer ne dagniés conforter;
Briefment moray pour vous, en qui j'ay mis
Cuer, cors, pooir, volenté et avis

fountain (see below, pp. 342–3). As mentioned above, although the identity of Galiot is unclear, we do not know that *Le sault perilleux* was known in Paris, since it was used by Vaillant to teach proportions at his music school there. The story-line of this song is very similar to that of Philippus's *En attendant souffrir*, though here it is the narrator's lack of daring that prevents him from drinking from the fountain. As indicted here, the connection with Philippus's text runs deeper than this shared theme. The description of the streams surrounding the fountain is almost identical in the two poems; moreover, in each case the narrator laments that he must endure pain ('souffrir. . . paine': in the Philippus this is expressed at the beginning of the poem, in the Galiot near the end). The image of Unble Pitié that appears in the second stanza of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* evokes the world of the *Roman de la rose*, which, as we have seen, is strongly present in all the songs of the *En attendant* complex. In *Le sault perilleux* the resonances of this celebrated work are especially clear: the fountain is guarded by a chatelaine, there is mention of a lovely rosebush, and the refrain 'Nulz n'en puet aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde' evokes the God of Love.

The anonymous ballade *Se Lancelot* is listed in the index of the lost Trémoille manuscript, which is believed to have originated close to the French royal court,⁷⁰ and the sole musical source is

⁷⁰ On the origins and dating of *Trém*, see M. Bent, 'A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript'.

the Flemish fragment *B-Gr* 3360, where only the first stanza of text is transmitted.⁷¹ *Se Lancelot* was clearly a popular work, for its text was copied into at least two late fourteenth-century poetry anthologies of northern France provenance, *Penn* and *GB-Lwa* 21 (*We*), as well as into the *Jardin de plaisance* of 1501.⁷² Each of these text sources provides three stanzas; in stanza two we find again an allusion to a fountain, which, as in the *Philippus*, has the power to sate the lover's heart. As in the corresponding stanza of *Philippus*'s text, the narrator explains that he is prevented from drinking from it: the wording of this statement ('gouster n'en puis') and its placement in the text closely parallel *En attendant souffrir*. The third stanza of both texts opens with the conventional gesture of supplication to a third party (to God in the *Philippus*, and to the lady in *Se Lancelot*), and in both cases the penultimate line contains a reference to 'espoir' (in the former the poet lives in hope, in the latter he lives without hope).

A further fascinating link between *Se Lancelot* and the *Ch* repertory confirms that the connections with *En attendant souffrir* are no coincidence. Like *Se Lancelot*, the ballade *Se Genevre* by Cuvelier, a poet-composer active at the French royal court, begins with a list of unhappy lovers from classical mythology and epic romance, none of whom, the poet argues, suffered as much as he does for his lady.⁷³ This way of beginning a poem is not unusual in this period; what is interesting here is that the list of characters is nearly identical, though slightly reordered.⁷⁴ Further parallels between the two poems (highlighted here typographically), especially in stanza one, reveal an especially close relationship between the two texts. In Cuvelier's poem there is no mention of a fountain, but, as in

⁷¹ This source was recently rediscovered by Reinhard Strohm; see 'The *Ars Nova* Fragments of Gent'.

⁷² Wimsatt and Earp have observed a close relationship between *Penn* and Machaut Manuscript E; see Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'*, pp. 49–50, and Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 115–16. Little is known about the origins of the Westminster Abbey manuscript, but it contains works by poets active at the French court, including Pisan, Chartier, Granson and Machaut (see *ibid.*, pp. 110–11) and has several concordances with *Penn*. This source contains another two poems using the image of the fountain, one of which is discussed below.

⁷³ FSC 53/i no. 18; PMFC 19 no. 63. See Günther, 'Cuvelier', *New Grove Dictionary*, III, p. 107.

⁷⁴ The connection between these two songs was also noted by Strohm; see 'The *Ars Nova* Fragments of Gent', p. 115.

Philippus de Caserta (*Ch; Mod A*)

En attendant *souffrir* m'estuet grief *payne*
Et en langour vivre c'est ma destinée,
Puisqu'avenir ne puis a la *fontayne*,
Tant est de ruiusius entour avironnée.
Telle vertu [si grant] li a Dieu dounée
Qu'el puet assouvir chascun a souffisance
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.

Les grans ruiusiaux qui la font leur demaine
Si ont les conduis de la font estoupée,
Si c'on n'i puet trouver la droite *vaine*,
Tant est courumpue l'iaue et troublée.
Gouster n'en puis une seule halenée,
Si Unble Pitié n'a de moy ramembrance
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.

Si pri a Dieu que a droit la ramaine
Et la purifie sanz estre entamée,
Quar verement, c'est chose bien certaine,
Je n'en puis aprochier nuit ne matinée.
Et s'a moy estoyt qu'ainsi fust ordenée,
Je vivroye en espoir d'avoyr bone estance
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.

Galiot (*Ch*)

Le sault perilleux a l'aventure prins
Quant faillit mon cuer en la clere *fontaine*
Ou maint amoureux a estre entré perist
Par les ruiuselés qui la font leur demaine.
Gardee est moult estroit d'une chastellaine
En un plaisant vergier qui la tient en sa garde.
Nulz n'en puet aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.

Quant ainsi me vi en ce tres doulz pourpris,
Au cuer me senti feru par mi la *vaine*
D'un plaisant soubrire aus rosiers reprins,
Dont avis me fu que vis la belle Elaine,
Qui tant m'arousa de sa tres doulce alaine
Qu'elle ne fist entrer en amoureuse garde.
Nulz n'en puet [aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.]

Et se en amours n'eusse esté ben aprins,
N'en fuesse parti pour creature humaine
Que n'eusse goûté de la fontaine et prins
A l'aventure sans doubter *souffrir paine*;
Se [je] puis dire pour verité certaine
Que je fus deceü quant a mon regarde.
Nulz n'en puet [aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.]

Anon. (*Trém*, B-Gr 3360; *Penn*; *We*; *JP*)

*Se Lancelot, Paris, Genievre, Helaine,
Tristran, Yseut*, Juno ne Narcisus,

Pour bien amer, encor en *sueffre plus*

Pour ma dame que Dieu gart,

Car pour s'amour *languis*, bruist et art

Mon povre cuer, languissant *main* et *soir*,

Doulce dame, pour vostre amour *avoir*.

Helas! je voy delez moy la *fontaine* –

Dont cuer d'amant puet estre repeüs-

Doulce, plaisant, mais elle est si haultaine

Que je *n'en puis gouter*, s'en suis perdu

Par l'ardour de son regart

Cler et luisant, tresfiant main et tart.

Gouster n'en puis, dont je languis pour voir,

Doulce dame, pour vostre amour avoir.

Si vous suppli, dame de beauté plaine,

Qu'en vo mercy soit briefment receüs

Mes dolens cuers qui nuit et jour se paine

De vous servir; s'autrement secourus

Ne suy, dame, de vo part.

Ne gars l'eure que de moy se depart

Toute joyë ainsi vif sans espoir,

Doulce dame, pour vostre amour avoir.

Cuvelier (*Ch*)

Se Genevre, Tristan, Yssout, Helaine,

Paris, Jason, *Lancelot* et Medée

Souffrrent onc pour bien amer payne,

Je *sueffre plus* mille fois la journée

Pour la rose en qui j'ai cuer et pensée

Soit tart, tempres, ou jour [ou] *main*, *harsoir*,

Dont je *languis* pour santir la rosée

Par desconfort sans nul confort *avoyr*.

Car Danger et Refus qu'avuec li maine

Sont d'un acort de moy tollir l'antrée

En enguardent lonc la tres souverayne,

Quar du monde est la plus belle [ja née],

La flour des flours, la plus gente assenée,

Dont par ces [yeux] j'y pris tot mon espoir,

Et ma doulour en est toute espaniée

Par desconfort [sans nul confort avoyr].

Mes si Pitié avec ly contramaine

Bel Acueil et Franchise l'honourée

Et Amors, ce vasis desor demaine.

Je say de vray que tost seroit alée

Leur faulce errour et ma doulour cessée

De la flour que tant mon cuer fait doulour.

Or n'en sera riens de ce qui m'effrée

Par desconfort [sans nul confort avoyr]

Le sault périlleux, we find especially strong echoes of the *Roman de la rose*: the object of the narrator's desire is now represented by a rose, and we also encounter, in the second and third stanzas, the familiar personifications, including Dangier, Refus, Pitié and Bel Accueil, that variously feature in the *Esperance* rondeau and the *En attendant* songs. As in Philippus's song, Pitié holds the key to the narrator's relief.

Such intertextual relationships are not confined to the chanson repertory. The ballade *De tout me met en vos obeissance*, which was copied into a number of contemporary text sources, displays further intriguing parallels with the group of songs just discussed. This poem was well known in its day, and its enduring popularity is attested to by its presence in late fifteenth-century French sources, including (like *Se Lancelot*) the *Jardin de plaisance*, where it was copied twice.⁷⁵ Indeed, its refrain, 'Je meurs de soif au pres de la fontaine', became the subject of a citation competition in 1469 that involved the leading poets of the day.⁷⁶ In the first stanza the narrator declares his devotion to his lady, but he concludes that if she wants to know how he fares, he is 'dying of thirst at the fountain'. In the third stanza we re-enter the world of the *Roman de la rose*: the lover finds a hedge and a wall, built by Malez Langues and Dangier, that obstruct his access to the fountain to which Refus denies him entry. As in Philippus's and Cuvelier's poems, the only salvation for the lover may come from Pitié.

The implication of this evidence is not only that Philippus was well versed in the northern French literary and musical scene, but that with *En attendant souffrir* he was participating in an intertextual game that extended beyond the *En attendant* songs. In the case of the citation complex just discussed, the catalyst may have been *Se Lancelot*: like *Esperance*, this was clearly a very popular work, and its style suggests it to be of a slightly earlier vintage than the songs by Philippus, Galiot and Cuvelier.⁷⁷ It may be that *Se Lancelot* was

⁷⁵ In addition to the *Jardin de plaisance* (JP), this poem survives in GB-Lwa 21 (*We*), GB-Cth 12, F-Pn fr.1719, and I-Ta J.b.IX.10.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of this poem, its relation to the 'concours de Blois' and one of its sources (GB-Cth 12, copied 1406), see R. A. Dwyer, 'Je meurs de soif a la fontaine', *French Studies*, 23 (1969), pp. 225–9.

⁷⁷ As I have shown elsewhere, the pairing of lyrics within a larger network in the manner seen here was common practice with Machaut. See Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'; and *idem*, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

De tout me met en vostre obeissance (ed. R. A. Dwyer)

Anon. (*GB-Cth* 12; *We*; *I-Ta* J.b.IX.10; *F-Pn* fr.1719;*JP*)

De tout me met en vostre obeissance:
Commandez moy tout ce qu'il vous plaira,
Ma belle dame, et ma seulle esperance.
Jamais mon cuer de vous ne partira.
Ains loialment tousjours vous servira
Comme ma belle maistrece souveraine
Mais s'il vous plaist savoir comment me va
Je meurs de seuf au pres de la fontainne.

Qui est tant belle et de si grant plaisance
Qu'a droit parler Amours la devisa
A sa figure, a sa droite samblance.
Si bien a point la feist et l'ordena
Que nulx grans biens a meistre n'oublia:
Tous biens en issent et si est tousjours plaine,
Mais nul n'y ose puisier, et pour cela
Je meurs etc

Car je trovay une haye en deffence
Que Malez Langues avoient faite pieça,
Et puis un mur qu'on appele Nuisance
De Jalousie, que Dangier massona.
Reffus me dit que je n'en buvoie ja,
Et qu'il estoit de l'eaus chapitaine.
Jusque tant que Pitié y vendra,
Je meurs de soif etc.

connected to the French royal court, for reasons in addition to its presence in *Trém*: in 1382 Charles VI adopted the device of the winged stag, which (significantly, in the light of the discussion below) he shared with Louis of Bourbon; it is thought that Charles's adoption of this device was prompted by his reading earlier that year of the romance *Lancelot*.⁷⁸ The fountain theme as

⁷⁸ Colette Beaune, 'Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Age: Les devises royales vers 1400', in *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 183 (1981), pp. 128–30. According to Beaune, while it was customary for princes to bear the mottoes of their king, the reverse was rare.

used here, and the particular complex of work just discussed may therefore have had a direct connection with the Valois; further evidence in support of this hypothesis will be presented below.

Whether or not this was the case, the intertextual relations described here reveal that the fountain of *En attendant souffrir* was a conventional image; rather than symbolising Visconti patronage, it may be no other than the conventional fountain of courtly love. While Philippus's precise whereabouts cannot be established with any certainty, the links with other works with northern connections strongly suggest that he was circulating in mainstream French circles rather than in Milan. This is corroborated by the two other of his ballades cited by Ciconia: as I have shown elsewhere, both *De ma dolour* and *En remirant* intersect closely with lyrics by Machaut but also with other songs originating in the north.⁷⁹ Though Italian composers writing in the French style (notably, Antonello da Caserta and Matteo da Perugia) may have drawn on this northern citation tradition and cited Machaut,⁸⁰ the extent and range of northern influence in Philippus's songs and, especially, the intersection with works by contemporary French composers strongly suggest that Philippus was active north of the Alps. This has interesting implications for our understanding of Ciconia's biography. As I argue elsewhere, there is no reason to assume that Ciconia met Philippus de Caserta in Pavia, and in his own use of citation and allusion Ciconia reveals himself to be well in tune with northern practice.⁸¹

(iii) On the origins and significance of 'Esperance'. To unravel further clues as to the origins of the *En attendant* songs it seems appropriate to investigate the central theme that links them, that is, 'Esperance'. What was the significance of the anonymous rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat*, and why was it quoted and copied so widely? The popularity of this song may have been in some way due to its connection with the celebrated *Remede de Fortune*. The *Remede* is believed to have been composed c.1340 for Bonne of Luxembourg (d. 1349), daughter of Machaut's for-

⁷⁹ Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of songs by Matteo that cite text and/or music by Machaut, see Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'.

⁸¹ Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'.

mer patron Jean, King of Bohemia, and wife of Jean, the heir to the French throne (Jean II 'le Bon', 1350–64).⁸² The *Remede* enjoyed great popularity and was highly influential on the works of later fourteenth-century poets like Froissart, Granson and, in particular, Chaucer.⁸³ Certain of the musical settings from this work, including the baladelle *En amer a douce vie*, remained in circulation in the late fourteenth century and were copied alongside more recent works in certain late *ars nova* manuscripts.⁸⁴ The significance of the 'Esperance' theme in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* is obscure. While Hope and her virtues are discussed in the *Roman de la rose*, a text which clearly influenced Machaut's poem,⁸⁵ in the *Remede* the character Esperance is elevated to a central role in the plot. Esperance also plays a leading role in Machaut's musical setting *Esperance qui m'asseure* (Ballade 13), a work that, along with the *Remede*, is present in Machaut Manuscript C and to which there are distinct musical echoes in *Esperance qui en mon cuer*.

For Machaut and his contemporaries, the theme of 'Esperance' seems clearly to have had some special significance that now eludes us. One possibility is that 'Esperance' was in some way connected to the Valois family or to one of its members. This certainly seems to have been the case by the time of the composition of the *Esperance* rondeau: in the mid-1360s one of the French princes, Louis of Bourbon, adopted the device of a belt bearing the motto 'Esperance' following his release from captivity in England, where he had been held as one of the French hostages along with his uncle King Jean II of France and his cousins, the *fleur-de-lys* princes

⁸² For arguments that the poem was composed for Bonne, see Wimsatt and Kibler, *Guillaume de Machaut. . . Remede de Fortune*, pp. 33–6. They defend Hoepffner's dating of the poem over Poirion's suggestion of c. 1350, though they concede that the poem was probably revised when Manuscript C was compiled between 1350–55 (*ibid.*, p. 33). Machaut makes a veiled allusion to Bonne's name early on in the text (*ibid.*, p. 34). A more explicit connection with the Valois is revealed by the reference to the garden at Hesdin, a favourite resort for the French royal household in the 1330s–60s. As Froissart recounts, Jean le Bon stayed there in December 1364 on his return from captivity in England (*ibid.*, p. 36).

⁸³ For a list of works which are modelled on Machaut's poem see *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

⁸⁴ The baladelle was copied into *Pit*, I-Fn Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 26 (FP), and *Reina* (for a list of all the sources for this work, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 317).

⁸⁵ See note 32 above.

Louis of Anjou, Jean of Berry and Philippe of Burgundy.⁸⁶ (Figure 3 presents a genealogical table for the Valois.) If Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* was indeed composed for Bonne of Luxembourg, then this work must have held a special significance for the king and the royal princes. It is thought that Jean II took Machaut's recently compiled Manuscript C containing the *Remede* to England following his capture.⁸⁷ If so, then it is not difficult to imagine the young Louis of Bourbon turning to the *Remede* when he sought a personal emblem;⁸⁸ Louis probably modelled the device of the belt and motto on that of the English Order of the Garter, with which he would have become familiar during his time in captivity.

Is it possible, then, that the *Esperance rondeau* was composed in England in the early 1360s? That it was in circulation in England in the later decades of the fourteenth century is demonstrated by its presence in an English manuscript that is believed to have originated at Winchester College between c. 1395 and 1401.⁸⁹ Interestingly, a direct point of contact can be established between Bourbon and the founder of Winchester College, William Wykeham, in the 1360s – according to Froissart, Edward III

⁸⁶ Louis II of Bourbon was a first cousin of King Jean II. He was raised alongside the dauphin Charles, who married Louis's sister, Jeanne, in 1350. Louis's father, Pierre I of Bourbon, had fought and been killed at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. Louis spent most of the ensuing eight years in England as hostage for Jean's ransom and did not return permanently to France until October 1366; see D'A. J. Boulton, *Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge and New York, 1987), pp. 271–2.

⁸⁷ Wimsatt and Kibler, *Remede de Fortune*, p. 53, where it is suggested that the manuscript may have provided Chaucer's first point of contact with the poem.

⁸⁸ The story behind Louis's adoption of the motto is as follows. After his return to the Bourbonnais in 1366, Louis gathered together his barons on Christmas Day, concluding his address to them by saying: 'Et pour le bon espoir que j'ai en vous, après Dieu, d'ores en avant je porterai pour devise une seinture ou il aura escript ung joyeux mot: ESPERANCE' ('And because of the great hope that I have in you, after God, from this time forth I will wear as my device a belt on which will be written a joyful word: Esperance' (Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 272). This episode is recounted by the chronicler Jean Cabaret d'Oronville, *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Paris, 1876), p. 8. The adoption of such devices became increasingly popular through the late Middle Ages. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, and *idem*, 'The Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350–1500', in C.M. Rosenberg, ed., *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy 1250–1500*, pp. 103–27.

⁸⁹ GB-Cu 5943. For a facsimile and a discussion of the manuscript, its provenance and probable dating (1395–1401), see R. Rastall, *Two Fifteenth-Century Song Books* (Aberystwyth, 1990). This source also contains a version of a song from *Reina, Le gai plaisir*.

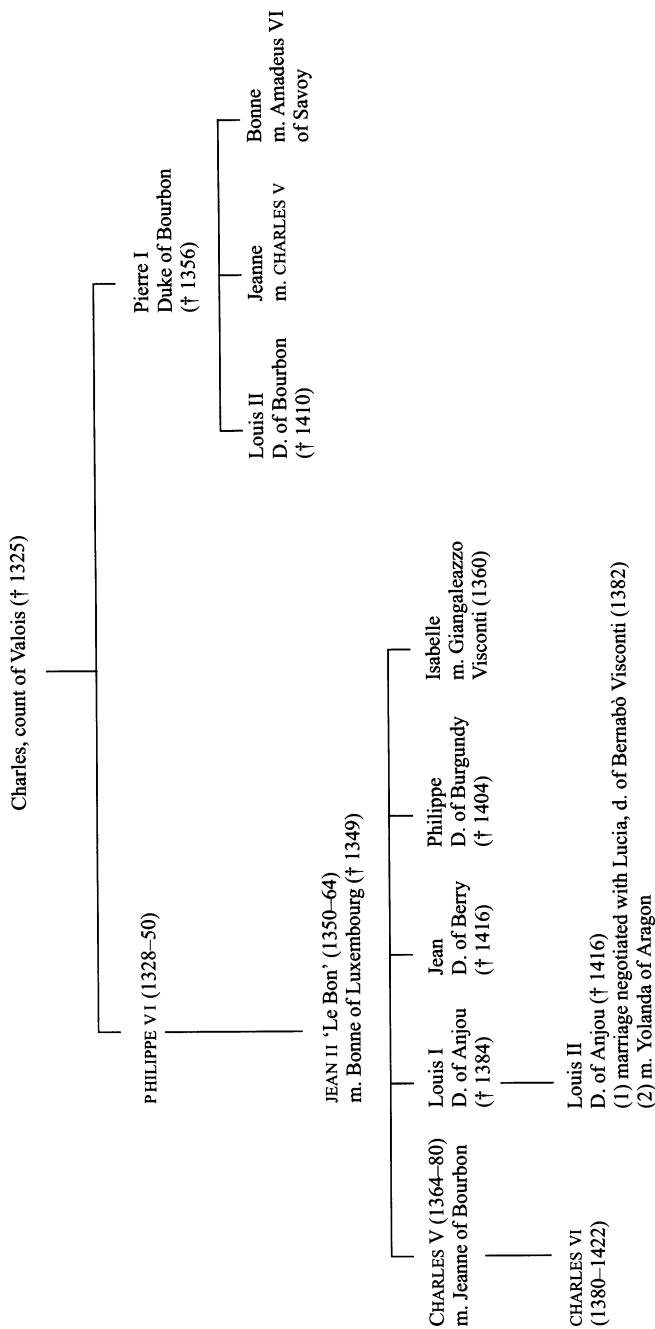


Figure 3 The houses of Valois and Bourbon

granted Bourbon his freedom in exchange for his intercession in Avignon to secure for Wykeham the bishopric of Winchester.⁹⁰ French minstrels and clerks are known to have accompanied the French royal household to England, and evidence exists for their subsequent visits to, and even employment within, English courts in the 1360s. A case in point is the *Ch* composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne, who has been identified with Mayshuet, the composer of a motet in the Old Hall manuscript, and with 'Matheu Seintjon', a French clerk of the chapel of Queen Philippa who was given a safe-conduct to return to France in 1368.⁹¹ Recent re-examination of papal supplications has corroborated this identification:⁹² in March and April 1366 Matheus de Sancto Johanne was a clerk and familiar of the powerful French noble Enguerrand de Coucy, one of the French hostages, who had married the daughter of the English king and queen in 1365.⁹³

Matheus's immediate whereabouts following his return to France in 1368 are not known, but by 1378 he was working as a clerk in the chapel of another of the former hostages, the French prince Louis, Duke of Anjou, second son of Jean II and Bonne of Luxembourg, and cousin of Louis of Bourbon.⁹⁴ As Wathey

⁹⁰ Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. Thomas Johnes (London 1839), I, Book 1, chapter 249, p. 397.

⁹¹ For the identification of Mayheut de Joan and Mayshuet with Matheus de Sancto Johanne, see Günther, 'Matheus de Sancto Johanne', *New Grove Dictionary*, XI, p. 820 and the corroborating evidence put forward by A. Wathey, 'The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations', *Early Music History*, 9 (1989), pp. 147–50. Wathey casts doubt on the suggestion that the clerk Mathieu de monastère Saint Jehan who enjoyed preferments from Queen Joanna of Sicily in 1363 was the same man (*ibid.*, p. 148). Another musician of northern French origin working in England at this time, the minstrel Jean de Pountoyse, was subsequently employed, like Matheus, by the Duke of Anjou (*ibid.*, p. 148, and see below).

⁹² G. Di Bacco and J. Nádas, paper read as part of the Study Session 'The History of the Papal Chapel' at the International Music Society Conference, London, 19 August 1997.

⁹³ Enguerrand Coucy was among the French hostages taken to England in 1360 following the Treaty of Brétigny. At the end of 1365 Coucy was given leave to return to his lands in France with his new wife. At the time of the supplications, Enguerrand (presumably with Matheus as a member of his household) was at his castle in Coucy (near Laon); the following month Coucy travelled with his wife and new-born daughter back to England, returning to France once more in July 1367. For details of Enguerrand de Coucy's biography in this period, see B. W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 219–21.

⁹⁴ Matheus is listed in a supplication to the Pope dated this year: see K. Hanquet, *Documents relatifs au Grande Schisme*, I: *Suppliques de Clement VII (1378–9)*, Analecta Vaticano-Belgica 8 (Rome, 1924), p. 109, no. 347. By the autumn of 1382, Matheus had moved to the Papal chapel. See Günther, 'Matheus de Sancto Johanne', p. 820, and Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, pp. 252–3.

observes, it is possible that ‘Matheus de Sancto Johanne’s move to the chapel of the Duke of Anjou provided a route for the transmission of his own and perhaps English works to southern French repertories’.⁹⁵ Could *Esperance qui en mon cuer* have been one such work? Further links between Matheus and the *En attendant* songs will be explored below.

Louis of Bourbon’s device, the belt bearing the motto ‘Esperance’, became associated with a pseudo-order of knighthood.⁹⁶ The chronicler Jean Cabaret d’Orronville recounts how in 1379 Louis of Bourbon gave Betran du Guesclin, the Constable of France, ‘a fine gold belt. . . of his order of Esperance’.⁹⁷ Another such recipient appears to have been King Henry Trastamara of Castille, to whom Bourbon sent in 1375 ‘an escutcheon bearing his arms, rich garments in cloth-of-gold and his device’.⁹⁸ By the

⁹⁵ Wathey, ‘The Peace of 1360–1369’, p. 156.

⁹⁶ Shortly after Louis proclaimed the adoption of this emblem, he founded the Order of the Golden Shield (Ordre de l’Escu), which bore a different motto, ‘Allen’ (Bourbonnais dialect for ‘allons’). In so doing, Bourbon became one of the first princes to establish a knightly order, and it seems likely that in this he took his inspiration from the newly created Order of the Collar founded in 1364 by his brother-in-law, Amadeus VI of Savoy. (For details about these and other monarchical orders of chivalry in the Middle Ages, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*). The Order of the Golden Shield does not seem to have survived beyond 1370; Bourbon’s original device of the belt and ‘Esperance’ motto, on the other hand, not only continued to be used by the duke but was distributed by him to others, suggesting that this had itself become a pseudo-order of chivalry. The practice of joining devices (consisting of a ‘badge’ and a ‘motto’, in this case the belt and ‘Esperance’ respectively) to the heraldic arms and crest became increasingly common from the mid fourteenth-century. As Boulton points out, unlike heraldic arms ‘such devices were not characterised by exclusiveness, stability, or even a single pattern of use’. Thus, while someone would usually use a single shield of arms and a single crest throughout his life, several devices might be used concurrently, some just for brief periods and others for longer. Bourbon’s device belongs to the stable category, though it is unclear whether it represented what Boulton terms an ‘ordinal device’, reflecting membership of a formally constituted chivalric order, or a ‘pseudo-ordinal device’, where membership did not entail strict adherence to corporate statutes. (See Boulton, ‘Insigna of Power’, pp. 107–9, and *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 273–4).

⁹⁷ The duke is said to have given Du Guesclin ‘ung bel hanap d’or, esmaillé de ses armes . . . et lui donna aussi une belle seincture d’or, tres-riche, de son ordre d’Esperance, laquelle il lui mit au col, dont le conestable le mercia, et en fut moult joyeux’ (‘a beautiful gold goblet, enamelled with his arms. . . and he gave him also a fine gold belt, very rich, of his order of Esperance, which he placed around his neck, for which the Constable thanked him and was most delighted’ (Jean Cabaret d’Orronville, *Chronique*, p. 116).

⁹⁸ ‘un escusson de ses armes, et des riches vestures de drap d’or et sa devise’ (*ibid.*, p. 106). Bourbon sent the gifts via Trastamara’s herald, who came to tender an invitation for Bourbon to visit Castille, which Louis did later that year. Bourbon travelled to see Henry in Castille that year, accompanied by a hundred gentlemen knights and squires, stopping first in Aragon, where he met the future King, Juan, Duke of Gerona, ‘qui moult aimoit les menestrels’. According to d’Orronville, Bourbon was received in Barcelona ‘si grandement que c’estoit merveilles’ (*ibid.*, 108). After attending the wedding of the

1380s and the time of composition of the *En attendant* songs, 'Esperance' had assumed broader currency as a Valois motto. Documentary and pictorial evidence dating from between 1388 and 1392 reveals that Charles VI of France, Bourbon's nephew and ward, who (as we saw earlier) adopted Bourbon's device of the winged stag in 1382, also wrote the motto 'Esperance'.⁹⁹ A mural in the Eglise des Carmes in Toulouse, which was still partly visible in the seventeenth century but has since disappeared, is said to have depicted Charles VI and the Knights of the Order of Esperance in 1389: amongst the knights were Louis of Bourbon and Enguerrand de Coucy.¹⁰⁰

younger son of the Aragonese king and three days of festivities, Bourbon left for Castille to meet Henry. During his ten-day stay in Castille, Bourbon attended two further weddings: that of Henry's daughter to Charles, the future King of Navarre, and that of Henry's son (the future King of Castille) to Leonora, the daughter of the King of Aragon (pp. 106–8). It was for Leonora, by then Queen of Castille, that Senleches was working in 1382: his ballade *Fuions de ci* laments her death, which occurred in September of that year (see above). It is tempting to imagine that the occasion of Bourbon's visit to Castille, or perhaps Aragon, furnished the point of contact between Senleches and the *Esperance* rondeau, but about this we can only speculate. If Senleches was indeed active at the Aragonese court in the 1380s, he would have had occasion to meet some of Bourbon's musicians, since visits are recorded in 1384 and 1387 (see Gómez, *La música en la casa real Catalano-Aragonesa*, pp. 69, 72). The musicians visiting Aragon in 1384 included Estrumant, Marti de Sart and, perhaps significantly, a minstrel called Jacomi. Estrumant may be the same as the minstrel of that name employed in 1378–9 by Juan of Aragon and one of a group of musicians, including Johani de Sent Luch and Jaquet de Noyon, who set off in March 1378 to attend the minstrel schools, travelling from Perpignan to Montpellier and Paris (*ibid.*, p. 141). In 1390 'Stroman, menesterel de monseigneur le duc de Bourbon' is again mentioned in the records of payment of the court of Burgundy, for playing before Bourbon in Bruges (see C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, p. 193). Records show that Bourbon was accompanied by four minstrels and a trumpeter when he visited Navarre in 1387 (Anglès, *História de la música medieval en Navarra*, p. 289).

⁹⁹ Colette Beaune, 'Costume et pouvoir en France', p. 143 n. 73. A fourteenth-century houpelande bearing the motto 'Esperance' and Charles VI's personal emblem of the broom can be found at the Musée Historique des Tissus in Lyon; see reproduction in F. Pionnier, *Costume et vie sociale à la cour d'Anjou XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris and The Hague, 1970), p. 346, pl. 8b.

¹⁰⁰ The story attached to the picture implies that Charles VI himself founded the Order of Esperance. Finding himself lost while out hunting in the forest near Toulouse in 1389, the king made a vow to the Virgin, addressed especially to the chapel of Notre Dame de Bonne Esperance in the Eglise des Carmes. Soon afterwards, he heard the hunting horns that enabled him to rejoin his companions; he then distributed to the princes and nobles accompanying him a gold belt bearing the word 'Esperance'. Represented in the picture with the king were the following lords: Charles's younger brother Louis, Duke of Touraine; Louis, Duke of Bourbon; Pierre de Navarre, Count of Evreux; Henri de Bar; Philippe d'Artois, Count of Eu; Olivier de Clisson (who had succeeded Bertran du Guesclin as Constable of France); and Enguerrand, Sire of Coucy. Their names and coats of arms were indicated below, while at the top of the picture there was a sort of frieze with two angles carrying a banner on which was thrice written the word 'Esperance'. See F. Pouy, *Peinture et gravure représentant le roi Charles VI et les chevaliers de*

(iv) Valois-Visconti contacts and the events of 1382. What, then, might have promoted the linking of Bernabò Visconti's motto 'souffrir m'estuet' and the Bourbon-Valois motto 'Esperance' in the *En attendant* song complex? The most significant dealings between the Valois and Bernabò Visconti in the 1380s were the negotiations concerning the Italian campaign of Louis of Anjou. Louis of Anjou was Regent of France from 1380 to 1382, during the minority of his nephew Charles VI, and he was aided in this capacity by his younger brothers, Jean, Duke of Berry, and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, and by his cousin, Louis, Duke of Bourbon.¹⁰¹ On 29 June 1380 Anjou was adopted as heir by the childless Queen of Sicily, Joanna I, through the mediation of the Avignon Pope, Clement VII. This move was vehemently contested by Joanna's nephew, Charles Durazzo, who had himself been crowned King of Sicily by the Roman Pope Urban VI in July 1381.¹⁰² After Queen Joanna's capture, Louis of Anjou made a firm commitment to launch a campaign to save her and to secure his own succession.¹⁰³ In so doing, he vowed to attempt to reinstate the Avignon Pope, Clement VII, in Rome: the campaign thus took on the nature of a religious crusade.

In the early months of 1382, the Duke of Anjou rallied his troops and negotiated key political alliances to ensure the success of his military campaign. As well as obtaining support from the French government and from Clement VII, Anjou formed alliances in

l'Ordre d'Esperance, Philippe d'Artois, Enguerrand de Coucy etc., dans l'Eglise des Carmes à Toulouse (Amiens, 1888).

¹⁰¹ Louis of Anjou's attentions, however, had long focused on his own ambitions; in the 1370s he had opposed Aragon in an attempt to gain sovereignty over the kingdom of Majorca and thus to reclaim Roussillon. As royal lieutenant of the Languedoc in the 1360s and 1370s, Louis of Anjou already controlled much of the land south of the Dordogne, including the *sénéchausées* of Nîmes, Beaucaire and Carcassonne. For an account of Louis of Anjou's conflict with Aragon over Majorca, see A. Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Paris, 1941), pp. 51–64.

¹⁰² As Joanna's heir, Louis of Anjou stood to inherit the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the counties of Provence, Folcalquier and Piedmont. Urban VI had declared Queen Joanna a 'schismatic, heretic and blasphemous' (N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, II (Paris, 1896), p. 8).

¹⁰³ In January 1382, the Duke of Anjou swore before Charles VI, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the king's counsellor and the papal ambassadors that he would set off by 1 May. According to Valois (*ibid.*, pp. 20–3), part of the cause of the delay in Anjou's response was because he was waiting for assurances of allegiance and support from Provence.

February of that year with the Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI, and with Bernabò Visconti.¹⁰⁴ The terms of the Visconti alliance were that Bernabò was to declare war on Durazzo and to put his son and 2,000 lances at Louis of Anjou's disposal.¹⁰⁵ In exchange, Louis agreed that his eldest son, the future Louis II of Naples, would marry Bernabò's third daughter, Lucia. For Bernabò, this arrangement was a great political coup: as well as bringing the prestige of an alliance with the upper echelons of the French royal dynasty, the marriage would see his daughter become Queen of Sicily, a position which would extend Bernabò's political influence into the south of the Italian peninsula.¹⁰⁶

It may be that the *En attendant* songs were composed in connection with this politically significant betrothal, and that the linking of the mottoes 'Esperance' and 'Souffrir m'estuet' reflected the Valois–Visconti union. Perhaps the songs were prompted by one of the meetings between Anjou and Bernabò Visconti or their representatives in connection with this event, such as when in July 1382 Louis of Anjou arrived in Milanese territory with his impressive army, to be visited daily and showered with gifts by the Visconti,¹⁰⁷ or the marriage by proxy that took place in Milan two years later, when Louis was represented by Enguerrand de Coucy.¹⁰⁸ However, as discussed above, there is no firm evidence

¹⁰⁴ Amadeus of Savoy, who was closely related by marriage to the Valois (he was married to the sister of Louis of Bourbon), agreed to allow the Angevin army to cross his lands and to accompany Anjou at the head of 1,200 troops. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ Bernabò was to finance these troops for six months; as part of the marriage agreement, he was also to provide a dowry of 20,000 florins. For an account of the negotiations, see *ibid.*, pp. 32–3, and F. Cognasso et al., *Storia di Milano*, v (Milan, 1955), pp. 511–13.

¹⁰⁶ Bernabò had married his offspring into some of the most powerful ruling families of Europe, including Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Cyprus, Mantua and Armagnac; see D. M. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 25. The other side of the Visconti family already had close marital links with France: Bernabò's nephew and co-ruler Giangaleazzo had married Isabelle, the daughter of Jean II of France (sister of Louis of Anjou), in 1360. Romano has suggested that Giangaleazzo overthrew Bernabò because he feared that the marriage arrangement would have rendered Bernabò all too powerful; see 'Il primo matrimonio di Lucia Visconti e la Rovina di Bernabò', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 20 (1893), pp. 606–7.

¹⁰⁷ For an account of Anjou's reception in Milan, see L. Mirot, 'Un document inédit sur la rencontre de Valentine Visconti et des seigneurs de Milan avec Louis d'Anjou en juillet 1382', *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico*, 17. Froissart gives a short account in which he emphasises the regal treatment given to Anjou by the Visconti and their subjects (Gaston Raynaud, ed., *Chroniques*, x (Paris, 1897), p. 172).

¹⁰⁸ Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, p. 70. By the time of the ceremony Anjou was in Naples, soon to meet his demise. He was represented at the ceremony in Milan by the Bishop of Beauvais, his chamberlain Regnaud Bréssile, and Enguerrand of Coucy, by

to confirm that the songs originated in Milan, or even to establish that Philippus was in the service of the Visconti. As we have seen, intertextual relations link Philippus's *En attendant souffrir* to a number of other lyrics with northern connections; consideration of a larger selection of songs from *Ch* and *Mod A*, including two by Philippus himself, points to the Angevin or Avignon courts as more likely places of origin for the *En attendant* songs.

As discussed earlier, the key evidence linking Philippus to Milan is the presence of Bernabò Visconti's motto in *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*. However, two other ballades by Philippus praise two of the remaining allies of the Naples campaign: *Par le grant sens d'Adriane la sage* alludes to the campaign using classical imagery identifying Louis of Anjou as the fleur-de-lys hero in a cleverly worded refrain; *Par les bons Gedéon* abhors the situation caused by the Papal Schism and pays homage to the 'vray pape' Clement VII, and it has been suggested that the text may also allude to the Naples campaign.¹⁰⁹ Louis of Anjou was Clement VII's staunchest supporter, and, as suggested above, his campaign assumed the nature of a religious crusade as he vowed to re-establish Clement in Rome and thus to end the Schism.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, the position of the Visconti on this matter was ambiguous: traditionally, Milan was

then one of the most important figures in France. It is perhaps no coincidence that, as we have seen, Coucy was one of the knights represented on the mural at the Eglise des Carmes said to depict the knights of the Order of Esperance (see above). A further occasion might have been when Bernabò's ambassadors visited Louis of Anjou's widow in November 1384 to communicate Bernabò's pledge of continued support for the campaign. The ambassadors went on to Paris to obtain the royal assent to the plan, which was granted in February 1385 (Cognasso, *Storia di Milano*, p. 514).

¹⁰⁹ See Wilkins, 'Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta', pp. 84–6. Strohm followed Pirrotta in suggesting that Philippus might have composed *Par les bons Gedéon* in Italy in response to the election of Clement VII, which took place in September 1378 at Fondi, near Caserta ('Filipotto de Caserta', p. 69). He suggested that *Par le grant sens* may have been composed in Milan in connection with the Angevin visit in 1382 (*The Rise of European Music*, p. 59). Given the details of the text, *Par le grant sens* must date from after July 1381, when Durazzo ousted Joanna and took control of Naples; it seems likely that it was composed between January 1382, when Louis of Anjou formally undertook to organise the campaign, and September 1382, when news of Joanna's death finally reached the Duke of Anjou.

¹¹⁰ On hearing of Clement's election in 1378, Louis of Anjou immediately declared his support and ordered his subjects to do likewise. His brother Charles V was more reticent and did not make a proclamation until weeks later. Louis sent embassies to various Italian courts, including that of Giangaleazzo Visconti, to rally support for the Avignon pope. See N. Valois, 'Louis I^{er} duc d'Anjou et le Grand Schisme d'Occident, 1378–80', *Revue des Questions Historiques*, January 1892, pp. 115–58. Louis of Anjou was declared a heretic by Urban VI on 13 May 1384.

Urbanist, but both Giangaleazzo and Bernabò demonstrated what has been described as a certain ‘elasticity of conscience’ regarding their religious allegiance.¹¹¹ Given this delicate position, when Anjou sent his ambassadors to negotiate the alliance with Bernabò Visconti the question of the religious aims of the campaign was carefully avoided.¹¹² In the light of this, it seems unlikely that a musician employed by Bernabò should openly have celebrated the Clementist cause, although, of course, it is not impossible that Philippus composed *Par les bons Gedéon* earlier (shortly after Clement’s election in 1378) or later (before 1394, the date of Clement’s death) perhaps at a time when he was working elsewhere. Nevertheless, it seems a distinct possibility that Philippus composed *Par les bons Gedéon*, *Par le grant sens d’Adriane la sage* and *En attendant souffrir* at around the same time as a triple commemoration of the three main protagonists of the Italian campaign;¹¹³ in this light, the polluted fountain of *En attendant souffrir* – if, indeed, it is to be understood allegorically – may symbolise the impact of the Schism on the Papacy.

¹¹¹ Romano, ‘Il primo matrimonio’.

¹¹² As N. Valois has suggested, ‘Giangaleazzo secretly purported to support Avignon (*La France et le Grand Schisme*, I, p. 155), and Bernabò, who has been represented as a staunch Urbanist, was also clearly on good terms with Clement (*ibid.*, II, pp. 32–3). The dispensation for Giangaleazzo’s marriage in 1380 to his cousin Catherine (daughter of Bernabò), however, was granted by Urban VI (Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, p. 24 n. 2). Giangaleazzo’s support of Clement VII became more overt after Bernabò’s death in 1385 as a result of Giangaleazzo’s desire to ally himself more closely to the Valois, which was fulfilled when his daughter Valentina married Louis of Touraine. In late 1385 and again in 1386, papal emissaries from Avignon visited Milan; at Valentina’s marriage Giangaleazzo is said to have given the king great hope that he would declare his support for Clement and make his subjects do likewise (Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, II, pp. 136–7).

¹¹³ The two main themes represented in Philippus’s texts (courtly love and praise of patrons) cut across what Reaney and Strohm identify as the two contrasting compositional styles found in Philippus’s chansons: the major-prolation works (which Strohm suggests are in a style reminiscent of Cuvelier and Egidius) including *En remirant*, *De ma dolour* and *En attendant souffrir* (the three songs cited by Ciconia), and the predominately minor-prolation works *Par les bons Gedéon*, *Il n’est nulz homs* and *Par le grant sens d’Adriane la sage*. Strohm suggests that the latter group, which he describes as featuring more angular melodies, leaping contratenors and the use of untransposed mode one, may represent a slightly earlier style (*The Rise of European Music*, p. 59). These criteria are not entirely convincing as arguments for chronology. In fact, *Par le grant sens* shares the same mode as *En remirant* (one-flat *g*); as I have shown elsewhere, Philippus is consistent in his use of the common minor tonal type, and his use of it in the untransposed (natural) gamut rather than the twice-transposed (two-flat) gamut may reflect considerations of tessitura rather than chronology (see Plumley, *The Grammar of Fourteenth-Century Melody*, pp. 85–6). A characteristic leaping motif is present at the beginning of the contratenor parts of *Il n’est nulz homs*, *Par le grant sens* and *En remirant*.

Another work found in both *Mod A* and *Ch* relates to this same context. Like *Par les bons Gedéon*, the Latin ballade *Inclite flos*, ascribed in *Ch* to Mayhuet de Joan, is a tribute to Clement VII. As we saw earlier, this composer was probably one and the same as Matheus de Sancto Johanne, who worked at the Angevin court in the late 1370s before joining the papal chapel in Avignon in the early 1380s;¹¹⁴ certain points of contact between his works and the *En attendant* songs have been noted above. *Inclite flos* can be dated with some precision: its reference to the Spanish allegiance to Avignon suggests that it dates from 1381 or shortly thereafter, since it was in May of that year that Castille pledged support to the Clementist side. It has been observed that the text also appears to refer to the fourth member of the alliance, Amadeus VI of Savoy. Amadeus was known as the ‘Green Count’, and he has been identified in the third stanza, which refers to the ‘green of the branches’ that will fight for the Pope, and to ‘sky-bearing Encis’, an allusion to Mount Cenis in Savoy.¹¹⁵ The reference to Amadeus tells us that the song was composed before 1 March 1383, the date of his death. Amadeus was present in Avignon for the Pope’s ceremonial blessing of Anjou’s campaign, which took place on 29 May 1382, and *Inclite flos* may have been composed in connection with this or the other festivities that took place at this time.¹¹⁶ As Froissart remarked, the Duke of Anjou ‘amoit moult la compaignie dou conte de Savoie’, so it seems appropriate that one of his musicians should have paid tribute to Amadeus in this way.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ See note 91 above.

¹¹⁵ This follows Tomasello’s interpretation in *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, p. 41. Amadeus VI of Savoy was known as the Green Count because of the green livery that he adopted for himself and his household. Nádas and Di Bacco, in contrast, argue that *Inclite flos* may date from as early as 1378 on the grounds that there is documentary evidence (unfortunately not cited) that Clement had French and Spanish support right from the start of Schism: see ‘The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony’, p. 47 n. 7. They suggest that the work may have been written by Matheus from a position within Clement VII’s chapel, where he is documented between 1382 and 1387; their proposal that Matheus may have been with Clement in Italy at the time of the latter’s election seems unlikely, given that in November 1378 the musician belonged to Louis of Anjou’s household – Matheus probably transferred to the papal chapel some time in early 1382 in anticipation of Louis of Anjou’s imminent departure to Italy.

¹¹⁶ Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, p. 42. For contemporary accounts of the procession that took place on 29 May 1382, see that given in *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, cited in F. Lehoux, *Jean de France, Duc de Berry. Sa vie, son action politique 1340–1416*, II (Paris, 1966), p. 64 n. 3; and Froissart, *Chroniques*, X, p. 171. Present were the Dukes of Savoy and Berry, the Pope, cardinals and ‘motz autres grans senhors’.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

The events surrounding Anjou's preparations for departure to Italy may have provided the context not only for *Inclite flos* but also for the three songs by Philippus that refer to three of the allies of the campaign, that is, Louis of Anjou, Clement VII and Bernabò Visconti. If so, then the other *En attendant* songs and *Le sault perilleux* may well have likewise originated in this context.

The precise circumstances of Philippus's employment remain a mystery, but clearly he was in the service of someone from the Avignon camp. There was especially close communication and daily exchanges between the Angevin and Avignon courts in the early 1380s,¹¹⁸ and records surviving from the court of Anjou indicate that this too was a significant centre of musical patronage for both sacred and secular music.¹¹⁹ It may be that Philippus de Caserta travelled from Italy in the service of one of the Neapolitans who frequented the court of Anjou in the early 1380s in the lead-up to the campaign.¹²⁰ Another possibility is that Philippus worked in some capacity at the papal court itself or for one of the pro-

¹¹⁸ Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence*, p. 395. Coville emphasised that from 1379 to 1410 nearly all the figures of any political, juridical or religious significance passed through Avignon and the Angevin domains. Louis of Anjou's chancellor Jean Le Fèvre, Bishop of Chartres, was a frequent visitor to Avignon, and Louis himself had a residence nearby at Pont-des-Sorgues (*ibid.*, pp. 22–3).

¹¹⁹ In his chronicle, the Monk of St Denis emphasised the devout nature of Louis of Anjou and suggested that, more than any other prince, Louis loved to maintain a large number of clerks to sing God's praises, rewarding them with rich clothes and considerable financial sums. See *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, 1, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1839–52), p. 326. We know that Louis kept a sizable chapel from the 1370s onwards and that he employed a number of minstrels in the 1360s and 1370s. *F-Pn fonds fr. 27509 (P.O. 1025) 'dossier de Douxmesnil'* (23456) no. 4 indicates that in 1377 the chapel comprised the master chaplain, Robert de Douxmesnil, nine other chaplains and four clerks. One of these clerks must have been Matheus de Sancto Johanne, who is described as a clerk of the duke's chapel in the supplication made to Clement VII the following year, 1378. A list of minstrels employed by Anjou in the period 1368–81 and corresponding sources are given in B. Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois*, 1 (Paris, 1902), pp. 240–1 n. 7.

¹²⁰ One such man was Antoine de la Ratta, Count of Caserta and procurator of Joanna I, who played a key role in the organisation of the Naples campaign and became Louis of Anjou's counsellor in April 1382. Antoine de la Ratta was present at the festivities held in May 1382 near Avignon to celebrate the impending campaign with which I suggest *Inclite flos* and Philippus de Caserta's three songs may have been connected; see Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence*, p. 358. In February 1382 Antoine de la Ratta, accompanied by certain Italian cardinals, met with the Pope to discuss Anjou's plans for the campaign and the prospective alliances with Savoy and Milan (see Jean Le Fèvre, Evêque de Chartres, *Journal*, ed. H. Moranvillé (Paris, 1887), pp. 16, 33, 35).

Avignon cardinals, though no positive identification has yet come to light.¹²¹ Such a position would not have precluded Philippus's contact with secular musicians¹²² – indeed, Senleches's employment by the Cardinal of Aragon, Pedro de Luna (the future Pope Benedict XIII), indicates that cardinals patronised secular as well as sacred musicians.

In working for the cardinal, Senleches was also very well placed for making musical contact with sacred or secular musicians. We know, for instance, that two singers who worked alongside the *Ch* composers Hasprois and Haucourt in the papal chapel of Benedict XIII in the 1390s, Johannes Rogerii and Johannes Fabri, had also worked for Pedro de Luna in the years before his election. Perhaps significantly, both these names reappear amongst the chaplains of Juan, the future King of Aragon, in the mid-1380s (and, in the case of Rogerii, again in 1394); they probably accompanied Pedro de Luna to Spain in 1379, where the cardinal was to remain for eleven years, acting as papal legate.¹²³ It seems highly likely that

¹²¹ As mentioned earlier, Günther has tentatively identified our composer with the papal chaplain Philippus Roberti. Documents reveal that this singer was with Clement VII in Fondi in 1379 and that, along with fellow papal chaplain Thomas la Caille, he had previously been a member of Cardinal Robert of Geneva's household before his election to the papacy. In a document dated 1373, Roberti is described as chaplain, commensual and longtime familiar of Robert of Geneva. At this time the singer held chaplaincies at St-Paul-de-Léon and Laon, and was waiting for canonicates in Paris and Théroutanne (Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, p. 257). Perhaps significantly, neither Philippus Roberti nor Thomas la Caille features in the list of papal chaplains dated 1382 that includes Matheus de Sancto Johanne. In August 1384 Matheus obtained a prebend in Seclin (Tournai) that had been vacated by la Caille's death, and we know that Philippus Roberti had died outside the curia by January of the same year, since one of his benefices fell vacant at that time. At present it is not possible to establish a definite connection between Philippus Roberti and the composer Philippus de Caserta. However, if nothing else, the evidence from this man's career confirms that French chaplains were present in Italy with Popes Gregory XI and Clement VII during the papacy's return there from 1376 to 1379, a further reminder of the significance of the papal court as an interface between French and Italian culture in this period.

¹²² For an account of musicians employed in the papal chapel, see *ibid.*, and for Clement VII's patronage of secular musicians, see *ibid.*, p. 40 and p. 166 n. 180.

¹²³ Guilianno Di Bacco has recently shown that, in fact, there were two musicians by the name of Johannes Rogerii working in the papal chapel in 1394: see 'Documenti Vaticani per la storia della musica durante il grande scisma (1378–1417)', *Quaderni Storici*, 32 (1997), p. 369–70 (I am grateful to Guilianno Di Bacco for showing me this article prior to its publication). The one that concerns us here carried the alias 'de Wattignies'. Wattignies's career provides fascinating insight into the career possibilities for such musicians: he spent much of his career serving the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy in alternation. Tomasello has cast doubt, however, on whether the musician Johannes Rogerii working for the King of Aragon in 1394 was the same man (see *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, p. 246–7). For details on the career of Johannes Fabri, see *ibid.*, p. 240–1.

Senleches came into contact with these Avignon musicians; perhaps he too travelled to Spain in the service of the cardinal at this time, moving to the court of Castille some time before September 1382 and returning to Luna's employment soon thereafter.¹²⁴ Another of Senleches's musical contacts must have been the minstrel Jaquet de Noyon, who, as we saw earlier, visited the court of Navarre on the same day in 1383 as Senleches. Though at this time Jaquet was working for Giangaleazzo Visconti, he had formerly been employed at the Angevin court. Jaquet's presence there in the 1370s may have coincided with that of Matheus de Sancto Johanne, who had moved there sometime before 1378 – indeed, one of Jaquet's fellow minstrels there in 1374 was Jehan de Pontoyse, who had served in England at the same time as Matheus.¹²⁵ Jaquet de Noyon's familiarity with French and Avignon musical circles is attested to by the *Ch* ballade *Puis que je sui fumeux*, a song jointly ascribed to him and to the papal chaplain Jo. Symonis de Haspre (Hasprois);¹²⁶ its poetic theme, on the intriguing

¹²⁴ Such mobility between employers appears to have been quite typical at this time; it remains quite possible, therefore, that Senleches was in Avignon in the spring of 1382, the date proposed here for the composition of the *En attendant* songs. Senleches may have travelled southwards when the cardinal went to plead Clement VII's case at the meetings held in 1380–1 at Medina del Campo concerning Castille's position in the Schism. For details regarding the discussions held at Medina del Campo, see Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, II, pp. 201–6. The French sent legal advisors, including an envoy of Louis of Anjou, the lawyer Jean d'Aramon (*ibid.*, p. 206). But even if Senleches was already based in Spain in the first half of 1382, like so many other minstrels he would surely have travelled to other courts and probably to the minstrel schools, and, if so, it is very likely that he would have had occasion to visit Avignon and also the court of Anjou. Instead, following the positive outcome of the discussions at Medina del Campo, relations between Anjou and Castille grew closer, the two leaders forming a political alliance in November 1381; see Le Fèvre, *Journal*, p. 6. Castilian ambassadors travelled to Paris to renew an existing alliance between France and Castille in April 1381 (Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, II, p. 205). As we have seen, Louis of Anjou's clerk Matheus de Sancto Johanne celebrated the Castilian support of the Clementist cause in the ballade *Inclite flos*. There seem also to have been musical contacts between Castille and Anjou prior to this: a document of payment records a visit by the minstrels of the King of Castille's brother to Anjou's court in Roquemaïne in November 1374 (*F-Pn* fonds fr. collection Clairambault 215 no. 84).

¹²⁵ See note 91 above.

¹²⁶ A chaplain of this name was working for the King of Portugal in 1378, as a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai in 1384 and at the papal chapel at Avignon in 1394 (see Günther, 'Hasprois, Johannes Symonis', *New Grove Dictionary*, VIII, pp. 276–7). Günther suggests that Hasprois may be identified with the vielle-player of King Charles V, Jehan Simon, who visited the court of Anjou in 1370 ('Simon le menesterel de vielle du roy': *F-Pn*, fonds fr. 1863 f. 25v) and that of Aragon in 1370 (described in the records as 'maestre Simo, ministril del rey de Francia': Gómez, *La música en la casa real Catalano-Aragonesa*, p. 69), 1371 (*ibid.*, p. 179), and possibly 1379. In 1381 a 'maestre Simon' was working for the King of Navarre

company of 'fumeurs', links it to several other works with close connections to the French princely courts.¹²⁷

Clearly, then, we are dealing here with a circle of musicians who were well acquainted with one another. Perhaps it is no coincidence that both Jaquet and Matheus de Sancto Johanne, as well as another papal chaplain represented in *Ch*, Johannes Altacuria or Haucourt, originated in Noyon;¹²⁸ it is perhaps also significant that both Senleches and Hasprois originated in Haspre in Cambrai, the diocese in which Matheus and Altacuria held benefices. Musicians at this time, whether sacred or secular, were of course highly mobile. Nevertheless, it would seem that the *En attendant* songs and some of the related works discussed here were authored by composers who were moving in the same circles; the weight of the evidence points to a milieu in the mainstream of French culture, that is, at one of the French princely courts or close to the papal court of Avignon. While the courts of Aragon and Milan were doubtless significant as centres of patronage for

(*ibid.*, p. 52). Tomasello is more cautious about identifying the papal singer Johannes Hasprois with this minstrel, since the name Jean Simon is a common one (*Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon*, pp. 248–9). Di Bacco has recently uncovered a document that names this papal chaplain 'Johanni Simonis alias Hasprois', confirming the identification of this singer with the Chantilly composer ('Documenti Vaticani', p. 363).

¹²⁷ These are the *Ch* song *Fumeux fume* by Solage, who is thought to have served the Duke of Berry (Louis of Anjou's brother), and a series of 'fumeur' poems by Deschamps, a poet active at the court of Louis of Orléans (brother of Charles VI and Louis of Anjou's nephew). See Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson'; also *idem*, 'Solage', in the revised *New Grove Dictionary* (London, forthcoming). It may be that Jaquet returned to work for Louis of Anjou for some time between 1379 and 1383, but even if he had remained in Aragon the improvement in the political relations between Anjou and Aragon after 1381 may have enabled him to visit his former place of employment. In November 1381 attempts were being made to mend the political rift between Anjou and Aragon, in the form of negotiations to marry Louis's two sons to Juan's two daughters, a political strategy that was soon superseded as Anjou saw the expediency of allying himself in this way to Bernabò Visconti (Le Fèvre, *Journal*, p. 6). Whether or not this was the case, the frequent passage of Juan of Aragon's musicians through Avignon and the constant contact between the papal court and that of Louis of Anjou implies that musical contact between the courts of Anjou and Aragon never ceased entirely.

¹²⁸ Like Matheus de Sancto Johanne (*Je chante ung chant*) and Galiot (*En attendant d'amer*), Altacuria (Haucourt) composed an isorhythmic rondeau (*Se doit il plus*) that has survived in Chantilly. A personal relationship between Matheus and Altacuria is further hinted at in Matheus's rondeau, which appears to cite from a virelai by Altacuria. For this and a summary of Altacuria's career, see Y. Plumley, 'Haucourt', in the revised *New Grove Dictionary* (forthcoming). Like his fellow papal chaplain Wattignies, Altacuria worked as a canon at Laon, remaining there until at least 1413.

French culture, the central role that was surely played by the French royal and princely courts at this time and, in particular, by that of Avignon should not be underestimated.

Much remains to be done if we are to achieve a clearer and more accurate picture of the provenance and transmission of later fourteenth-century songs. The relative dearth of archival material to confirm the whereabouts of individual composers, together with the partial nature of surviving sources, makes this task difficult. But the case study presented here suggests that a deeper familiarity with the musical repertory itself can prove insightful. While documentary evidence can help to establish that ample opportunities existed for sacred and secular musicians to travel and to meet, internal evidence from individual works can allow us to pinpoint tangible connections between specific composers. The various textual, thematic or musical connections that have been shown here to link a number of songs from the Modena and Chantilly repertories evoke a picture of a circle of musicians working in close proximity whose works were well known to one another. I believe this circle to have included Philippus de Caserta, Jacob de Senleches, Johannes Galiot, Johannes Simonis de Hasprois, Jacquet de Noyon, Matheus de Sancto Johanne, Johannes Altacuria (Haucourt), Solage and probably a number of other composers known to us from late *ars nova* sources.¹²⁹ Intertextual relations have also been shown to connect the stylistically simpler (and probably chronologically earlier) songs *Esperance* and *Se Lancelot* to works in the more 'advanced' *ars subtilior* style. Such evidence may prompt us to reconsider our current understanding of the development of the later *ars nova* repertory: rather than representing separate musical traditions that followed different paths of trans-

¹²⁹ Since completing this article I have discovered further evidence that suggests a tangible connection between Philippus de Caserta and Matheus Sancto Johanne: the latter's ballade *Sans vous ne puis* shares textual material with Philippus's *En remirant*. For a full discussion, see Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'. To this group of composers one might add Vaillant, also represented in *Ch. Vaillant* may provide a further link with the court of the Duke of Berry if he can be identified with the clerk or secretary of that name who held high office there between 1377 and 1387 (see Günther, 'Vaillant', *New Grove Dictionary*, XIX, p. 487). Like Senleches, Vaillant also wrote a realistic virelai, the much-copied *Par maintes fois*. One of the sources for this song is I-GR 197, a fragment that also contains Philippus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir*. A further connection with the *En attendant* songs is that, like Galiot's *En attendant d'amer* and the two rondeaux by Matheus and Altacuria mentioned above, Vaillant's rondeau *Pour ce que* is isorhythmic.

mission, these contrasting style repertoires seem to have been performed and enjoyed by similar circles. The presence of the texts of *Esperance* and *Se Lancelot* in late fourteenth-century lyric poetry sources originating in France further signals their currency in 'mainstream' circles; it is perhaps merely an accident of history that these works do not survive in French musical sources.

For the musicologist, perhaps the most tantalising form of intertextuality is musical citation; this study illustrates not only that this practice was still flourishing in the late fourteenth century but that it played an important part in the works of certain *ars subtilior* composers. In this sense, the *En attendant* songs set an immediate context for Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*: I suggest elsewhere that Ciconia's virelai was intended as a tribute not merely to Philippus the singer-composer but to Philippus the master of citation.¹³⁰ Here too, the relationship between citation song and its source material sheds some fascinating light on our understanding of the work and has implications for our understanding of the composer's biography; but that is the subject of another study. As we have seen here, in the late fourteenth century musical quotation could take a more subtle and less easily detectable form than the classic 'cut-and-paste' technique that has usually been identified hitherto. This illustrates further our need to acquaint ourselves much more intimately with the musical texts of the repertory as a whole if we are fully to comprehend the internal sense of individual chansons as well as the patterns of their transmission.

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¹³⁰ See Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*'. Each of the songs cited by Ciconia contains a quotation: in *En remirant* and *Da ma dolour* the citations are textual, while in *En atendant souffrir*, as we have seen, there is a hidden musical allusion. It is interesting to note that a possible reference to the 'Esperance' theme in *Sus une fontayne* occurs immediately after the quotation of the opening phrases of *En atendant souffrir*.