

da bit fructum su um.

In natura
te domini.
Introit.



Ver natus est no bis

Barbara Hagg
& Frédéric Billiet (dir.)
*Ars musica
septentrionalis*
De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical
à l'historiographie

bis cui

e us

magni consili i an ge lus.



antate domino canticu nouum.

quia mirabi lia fe cit. Glori a.

Or



ARS MUSICA SEPTENTRIONALIS
DE L'INTERPRÉTATION DU PATRIMOINE MUSICAL
À L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE

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avec la collaboration
de Claire Chamiyé et Sandrine Dumont

Ars musica septentrionalis

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical
à l'historiographie



INTRODUCTION

Les bibliothèques du Nord de la France conservent d'incalculables témoignages d'une vie musicale remarquable et remarquée durant tout le Moyen Âge. Les grands centres intellectuels de cette région ont largement participé à l'élaboration des répertoires monodiques et polyphoniques, à l'évolution du langage musical, de la théorie et de la notation entre le IX^e et le XV^e siècle. Des études musicologiques ont été menées pour montrer le rôle des théoriciens, poètes-chanteurs ou compositeurs durant cette période, mais une histoire de la musique du Nord de la France reste à faire¹. Ce travail se heurte à la difficulté de cerner la région sur une si longue période. Les frontières changent, les invasions sont fréquentes, l'aire linguistique fluctue et les dénominations ne correspondent pas toujours aux réalités du territoire : Flandre septentrionale, Provinces-Unies. « C'est pourtant de cette région que proviennent les premiers spécimens de notations musicales pour le chant et la polyphonie (IX^e siècle) – notations paléofranques, messine, Laon », écrivait Sandrine Dumont en préambule aux manifestations de « Cantus 21 – Patrimoine musical du Nord de la France »². « Dès le XI^e siècle, les monastères du nord, déjà réputés pour leurs fabuleuses bibliothèques, sont connus notamment pour la copie des livres, dont on mesure l'efficacité à la vue des richesses bibliographiques actuelles (sans compter les pertes) ; ce résultat est particulièrement visible à la bibliothèque de Douai (collections provenant essentiellement des abbayes d'Anchin, Marchiennes et Saint-Amand). C'est aussi dans cette région que se développa, autour d'Hucbald, moine de Saint-Amand, la pratique, étendue ensuite à toute l'Europe médiévale, qui consiste à composer des offices spécifiques pour les saints en suivant l'ordre des tons ». Sandrine Dumont rappelle aussi l'importance des maîtrises du Nord (Saint-Quentin, Arras, Lille, Théroüanne, Cambrai, etc.), fondées sur le modèle bourguignon et au sein desquelles ont été formés les principaux musiciens de la Renaissance dont Guillaume du Fay et Josquin Desprez ainsi que de nombreux chantres recrutés pour élever le niveau musical des chapelles italiennes. Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que la ville d'Arras fut le centre d'une école de trouvères actifs dans toute la région, dont l'illustre Guillaume de Machaut fut l'un des derniers représentants³.

1 L'ouvrage d'Ignace Bossuyt est limité aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, *De Guillaume Dufay à Roland de Lassus : les très riches heures de la polyphonie franco-flamande*, Paris, Le Cerf ; Bruxelles, Racine, 1996.

2 Voir le site <www.adfugam.net>.

3 Extrait de l'introduction au colloque sur <www.adfugam.net>.

L'euro-région Nord-Pas de Calais – Picardie – Belgique est donc en quelque sorte le centre européen de la création musicale comme en témoignent les manuscrits retrouvés et réunis au XIX^e par le musicologue Edmond de Coussemaker auquel il est rendu un hommage particulier dans cet ouvrage. C'est dans son sillage qu'une équipe de chercheurs a pu récemment établir un inventaire des manuscrits conservés dans une partie des bibliothèques du Nord de la France, produire un catalogue⁴ et favoriser de nouvelles recherches regroupées dans le présent ouvrage.

L'étude du patrimoine de l'*ars musica septentrionalis* est envisagée dans quatre directions : le patrimoine musical du Nord de la France, l'héritage d'Edmond de Coussemaker, les polyphonies et polyphonistes, et les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle.

8 La première partie est conçue comme une approche de la vie musicale dans le Nord de la France et résulte du travail d'inventaire des bibliothèques du Nord réalisé par Barbara Hagg et Michel Huglo. Leur connaissance des manuscrits a permis de présenter des aspects de la vie musicale – composition locale, dévotion privée – de la production intellectuelle – *musica speculativa* et *musica practica* dans le Nord avant Guillaume Du Fay – ou de focaliser l'attention du lecteur sur un répertoire précis comme les chants du processionnal de Cambrai. Dans cet article, Michel Huglo se concentre sur la cathédrale de Cambrai, véritable épiscentre culturel pour la région Nord. La collection des processionnaires de Cambrai constitue un patrimoine inestimable des chants dont certains parmi les plus anciens sont probablement gallicans et d'autres témoignent d'une influence de l'aire germanique – cas unique pour les processionnaires français contemporains. Par cette analyse minutieuse des rituels de la ville dont les manuscrits révèlent la cartographie, les gestes particuliers, les déplacements et les fêtes, Michel Huglo dresse un portrait saisissant de la vie quotidienne à Cambrai à cette époque.

Une grande partie de ces manuscrits avait été réunie dans la collection exceptionnelle de Coussemaker, le grand musicologue du Nord, présentée dans la deuxième partie. Michel Huglo explique la démarche historiographique fondatrice de ce musicologue et les conséquences dues à la dispersion en 1877 des manuscrits de sa collection. Ses travaux de premier ordre ont permis de faire avancer la musicologie sur des concepts nouveaux à l'époque, tel le « drame liturgique » dont Nils Holger Petersen cerne les contours à partir

4 B. Bouckaert (dir.), *Mémoires du chant. Le livre de musique d'Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, Neerpelt, Alamire ; Lille, Ad fugam, 2007.

de l'ouvrage *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, publié en 1860⁵. Nils Holger Petersen explique comment la terminologie employée par Coussemaker dans sa tentative d'appréhender les particularités du genre a généré des discussions musicologiques pendant plus d'un siècle. Par ailleurs, l'intérêt de Coussemaker pour les manuscrits de théorie musicale a suscité l'étude de Shin Nishimagi, plus particulièrement sur le manuscrit F-Pn Rés. 359 contenant le *Dialogus de musica* de Guido d'Arezzo, copié au XIII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert dans les Ardennes. Cet article met en lumière la transmission de l'œuvre du maître italien dans la France septentrionale.

C'est à un autre théoricien du XIX^e siècle que Ronald Woodley consacre son article, montrant comment la redécouverte de Tinctoris, théoricien brabantin majeur du XV^e siècle, a pu faire l'objet de querelles politiques. Coussemaker et Fétis, entre autres, ont contribué à lui façonner une renommée internationale. Cette troisième partie aborde aussi d'autres aspects de la polyphonie à la Renaissance européenne. Lisa Urkevich présente le manuscrit 1070 du Royal College of Music de Londres ayant appartenu à Anne Boleyn. Par des comparaisons précises et une connaissance approfondie du contexte, elle apporte des conclusions déterminantes sur le manuscrit lui-même, et sur la destinataire de ce cadeau royal. Johan Guiton nous fait découvrir le compositeur Vincenzo Misonne, *Clerico Cameracensis Diocesis* qui n'échappe pas au déplacement en Italie comme la plupart de ses contemporains. Cambrésien d'origine, il bénéficia de nombreuses prébendes comme chanoine, chantre et compositeur. Mais il est remarqué par le grand « protecteur des arts » Léon X et s'installe à Rome.

L'ouvrage se clôt par une approche interdisciplinaire consacrée au chansonnier comme témoignage de la monodie profane. Les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle n'ont cessé de fasciner musicologues et historiens d'art. Alison Stones nous dévoile des enluminures exceptionnelles et mesure avec finesse leur évolution sur le plan des thématiques abordées, de la structuration au sein même des manuscrits ou des préoccupations contemporaines. Helen Deeming traite des rapports texte/musique dans un autre chansonnier du XIII^e siècle. Ainsi, considérer le manuscrit Egerton 274 comme une entité à part entière lui permet de proposer un éclairage nouveau sur le contexte culturel de l'épanouissement de la chanson à la fin du siècle.

Le fonctionnement des traditions d'interprétation musicale est au centre des travaux de recherche de Claire Chamisyé. En étudiant les variantes manuscrites

5 E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge (texte et musique)*, Rennes, Vatar, 1860 ; Paris, V. Didron, 1861.

des *Miracles de Notre-Dame* de Gautier de Coinci, elle met en évidence des « manières de chanter » ce répertoire spécifique qu'est la chanson profane à sujet religieux dans le contexte culturel de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle. Ce dernier article sert de conclusion à l'ensemble des contributions consacrées à la mise en valeur du patrimoine musical du Nord de la France. Il répond aux problématiques de recherche développées par l'équipe Patrimoines et langages musicaux de l'université Paris-Sorbonne qui étudie parallèlement les sources et les problèmes d'interprétation qu'elles soulèvent.

Pour terminer, il convient de remercier Barbara Haggh, co-directrice de l'ouvrage, Claire Chamiyé, doctorante à l'université Paris-Sorbonne, et Sandrine Dumont, présidente de l'association Ad fugam, pour leur collaboration essentielle dans la réalisation de cet ouvrage.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

Polyphonies et polyphonistes

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, MS. II 4147:
THE CULTIVATION OF JOHANNES TINCTORIS
AS MUSIC THEORIST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Ronald Woodley

There can be few involved with late medieval music studies who would dispute that the Brabantine theorist Johannes Tinctoris should be viewed as one of the most significant writers on notation, music instruction and incipient music aesthetics from the fifteenth century.¹ We may be frustrated at times by his relative silence on, for instance, certain performance-related issues which we consider an experienced singer and composer such as he could have told us so much about, if he had had the inclination, terminology and literary framework to do so. We may even be exasperated at the sheer compendiousness of his treatment of some topics, at the expense of what twenty-first-century musicology might consider potentially far more interesting matters. Let us not forget, though, that the main function of most of his writings was to serve as comprehensive, pedagogical reference material, aimed at young singers and composers already immersed in the practice of their day – even if it is often the

1 A general synopsis of Tinctoris's life, albeit now in serious need of updating, is available as R. Woodley, "Johannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence," *JAMS*, 34 (1981), 217-48. This, however, needs to be read alongside more recent studies, such as R. Sherr, "Notes on Some Papal Documents in Paris," *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), 5-16; R. Sherr, "A Biographical Miscellany: Josquin, Tinctoris, Obrecht, Brumel," in *Musicologia humana: Studies in Honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, ed. S. Gmeinwieser, D. Hiley and J. Riedlbauer (Firenze, Olschki, 1994), 65-73; G. d'Agostino, "Note sulla carriera napoletana di Johannes Tinctoris," *Studi musicali*, 28 (1999), 327-62; and A.W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985). The standard edition of Tinctoris's treatises is still ed. A. Seay, *Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, 2 vols, plus vol. iia (i-ii n. pl.; iia Neuhausen-Stuttgart, AIM, 1975-1978) [*Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 22], together with: ed. K. Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae'* (rev. edn. ed. W. Fischer) (Tutzing, Schneider, 1961); and ed. C. Panti, *Johannes Tinctoris, Diffinitorium Musice: Un dizionario di musica per Beatrice d'Aragona* (Firenze, Galluzzo, 2004). A new online edition and translation of Tinctoris's treatises is currently in progress as R. Woodley, *The Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris: A New Online Edition*, hosted at time of writing by The Stoa Consortium, University of Kentucky, at: <www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html>. A periodically updated version of the present article, with additional illustrations, is also available on the website (links to Related Articles and Papers).

more innovative, critical and technical aperçus on his musical contemporaries that strike us as particularly remarkable today. But however divergent his and our priorities sometimes seem to be, he is certainly not a writer to be ignored, and Coussemaker's pioneering edition of 1875-1876, for all its faults, has of course played a huge part in raising awareness of Tinctoris's stature over the past century or so.²

THE NEAPOLITAN MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT

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It is not fully acknowledged, though, just how important a role one particular manuscript played in the contested and fascinating cultural agenda that led up to the publication of Coussemaker's edition: this is the source now surviving as Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. II 4147. Three manuscripts of Tinctoris's treatises survive today which can be traced with some security to late fifteenth-century Naples. All were compiled either during or shortly after the writer's period of employment as singer-chaplain at the Aragonese court of King Ferrante (Ferdinand I). One of these, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, ms. 835, became a focus of attention for modern musicology only in the 1970s, with the edition by Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey of the Mellon Chansonnier (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 91),³ although its existence had been acknowledged *en passant* by, for instance, Higini Anglès and Isobel Pope.⁴ This beautiful codex, with its remarkable and probably lifelike portrait of Tinctoris on the ornate frontispiece,⁵ has long been recognized as an Aragonese court manuscript; but only relatively recently, through the work of the Dresden manuscript librarian Thomas Haffner, has it been suggested that the treatment and probable re-working of the coat of arms depicted enables the manuscript's origins to be associated more precisely with King Ferrante's son, Cardinal

² The most commonly consulted version of Coussemaker's edition is ed. E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum edidit E. de Coussemaker*, 4 vols (Paris, Durand, 1864-1876), iv. 1-200; but for further on its publication history, see n. 57 below.

³ L.L. Perkins and H. Garey (eds), *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979).

⁴ Ed. H. Anglès, *La música en la corte de los reyes católicos*, 4 vols in 5 (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1941-1965), i. 24; I. Pope and M. Kanazawa (eds), *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978), 550.

⁵ Reproduced in colour, for instance, on the cover of *Early Music*, 33/3 (August 2005), and, in the context of the full frontispiece, within the Woodley, *Tinctoris Theoretical Works* website (links to Principal Manuscript Sources).

Giovanni d'Aragona.⁶ The association, if correct, further enables us to date this manuscript with some precision between December 1477 (when Giovanni was elected cardinal, and only three months after the completion of Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, which is included in the manuscript) and October 1485, when he died, not yet 30 years old.⁷ A second clearly Neapolitan source of Tinctoris's works, no less finely executed though curiously under-researched at present, is Bologna, University Library, ms. 2573.⁸ It seems likely that this copy was prepared at the Aragonese court for another of Ferrante's children, Beatrice: as Queen of Hungary she had lost her husband Matthias Corvinus in 1490 without offspring, and subsequently experienced serious political difficulties with her status and retention of the throne—a circumstance perhaps alluded to by the presence of Tinctoris's short motet *Virgo Dei throno digna*, which appears rather unexpectedly at the head of the manuscript.⁹ Various textual details in this source suggest that the treatises have been lightly re-edited in places, probably after Tinctoris's departure from the Aragonese court (seemingly between c. 1488 and 1491), or even as a presentation to Beatrice on her return from Buda to Naples in 1500.¹⁰ Coussemaker had no direct access to either of these manuscripts: Valencia 835 was not known to music historians at the time

- 6 T. Haffner, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d'Aragona (1456–1485): Illumierte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1997), esp. 315–19; also discussed in G. d'Agostino, "Note sulla carriera napoletana," art. cit., 357–60. The association of the Valencia codex with Cardinal Giovanni hinges principally on the apparent re-touching of the upper part of the Aragonese coat of arms, which Haffner believes originally showed the emblem of the cardinal's hat, held by the two floating putti, which has been subsequently erased, recoloured and covered by the present crown: see online facsimile cited in n. 5 above. It should be emphasized, however, that this has not yet been incontrovertibly established, and (as Haffner acknowledges) no outline of a cardinal's hat remains visible today, even under special lighting (*Die Bibliothek*, *op. cit.*, 316).
- 7 Haffner estimates the date of the manuscript as around 1483 (*Die Bibliothek*, *op. cit.*, 315).
- 8 The Neapolitan (Aragonese court) provenance of the manuscript was in fact established as long ago as 1960, in T. de Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli xv e xvi: notizie ed elenchi*, 3 vols (Firenze, Alinari, 1960), i. 24, no. 211. I am intending to publish a separate study of this manuscript and the Valencia codex at a future date.
- 9 Fols. 1^v–2. The most comprehensive and accessible study of Beatrice's life is still A. Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon, reine de Hongrie (1457–1508)*, 2 vols (Paris, Champion, 1911–1912); also available in Italian trans. by R. Mosca as *Beatrice d'Aragona* (Milano, Corbaccio, 1931).
- 10 These textual details will be the subject of a separate study. On the dating of Tinctoris's departure from Naples, see, for example, A.W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, *op. cit.*, 74. The circumstances of his departure are no less subject to guesswork than those of his arrival in the 1470s; it is not difficult, however, to see how the deteriorating fortunes of the Neapolitan Aragonese, in the larger context of Italian and French politics, could have influenced Tinctoris's move in this period. See also, in this regard, R. Woodley, "Tinctoris and Nivelles: The Obit Evidence," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 1/1 (2009), p. 110–21 within the Woodley, *Tinctoris Theoretical Works* website (links to Related Articles and Papers).

of his edition; Bologna 2573 was available to Coussemaker, it seems, only in an eighteenth-century copy made by Giovanni Battista Martini (Padre Martini). Even the detail of Coussemaker's acquaintance with this copy, however, is not clear: there is no record of him making the journey to Bologna to look at this manuscript—unlike in the case of Charles Burney, whose interest in Tinctoris will be discussed later—but neither is there any evidence that Martini's copy was sent north for his inspection. Indeed, the fact that Coussemaker is less than convincing in his description of this source leads one to suspect that his knowledge of its variant readings was simply the result of specific *ad hoc* enquiries made through correspondence with the librarians of the Liceo Musicale (now the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale).¹¹

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In comparison with these two luxurious presentation or library copies of Tinctoris's work, Brussels 4147 seems modest, unassuming, even dull. (Plate 1 reproduces fol. 42, from the *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*.) Despite appearances, though, the manuscript is of quite remarkable textual accuracy and importance, with respect both to the verbal texts and, most strikingly, the hundreds of complex mensural and non-mensural music examples that punctuate these texts, which in other sources often confound even the most experienced, professional scribes. Brussels is a paper manuscript, and whatever the insecurities of watermark evidence, the three distinct marks preserved in the main folios seem to indicate an origin for the paper in southern Italy, with a certain focus on Naples, in the very late 1470s or 80s. (A full description of the manuscript is given below as an Appendix to this article.) The semi-formal hand is clearly northern European, in all probability French or Netherlandish. Many years ago I ventured the rash, or optimistic, suggestion that the manuscript may indeed be an authorial holograph,¹² but for some time now I have been reasonably convinced that this cannot be the case. Part of the reason for this lies not so much in the fact that there are indeed a few significant errors in the texts—we all make mistakes—but rather in the nature of some of these errors, which suggests that the scribe, whilst having a superb understanding and command of mensural theory, notation, and contemporary polyphonic repertoires, is somewhat

11 'Le second manuscrit est dans la bibliothèque du Lycée musical de Bologne. Il y est entré avec les livres du Père Martini, qui l'avait transcrit de sa propre main, d'après un ancien manuscrit de la bibliothèque Laurentienne de Florence, et d'après un autre ancien manuscrit dont Martini ne donne pas la source. La copie de Bologne n'a ni le *Diffinitorium*, ni le traité des *Effets de la musique*. Dans les autres traités, il offre quelques variantes dont nous avons fait profiter notre édition.' (E. Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, op. cit., iv. p. iii). See below for further information on the eighteenth-century context of these sources.

12 For example, in R. Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and (Possible) Context," *EMH*, 8 (1988), 173–244, at 198.

Ex em plum
Quodam modo imperfectis magis
 Quodam modo quantum
 ad partes propinquas et
 remotas tantum et hoc in modo
 maiori imperfecto modo mou
 perfecto tempore imperfecto et
 prolatione maiori ut hic patet

Ex em plum
Tertium modo imperfectis magis
 Tertio modo quantum ad
 partes remotas et remota
 tantum et hoc in utroque modo
 imperfecto tempore perfecto et
 prolatione maiori ut hic patet

Ex em plum
Quodam modo imperfectis magis
 Quarto modo quantum ad
 partes propinquas et remota
 tantum et hoc in modo maiori imperfec
 to tempore perfecto et prolatione
 maiori ut hic patet

Quodam modo imperfectis magis
 Quarto modo quantum ad
 totum partes propinquas
 partes remotas et partes re
 motas simul et hoc in utroque
 modo perfecto tempore perfecto
 et prolatione maiori ut hic patet

Ex em plum
De imperfectione longe in mo
 do maiori perfecto capitulum
Longa in modo maiori per
 fecto per imperfectionem quantum
 ad totum Nam tunc valet tres
 breues quantum una tantum sua
 parte ipsius longe poterit
 abstrahi ut hic patet

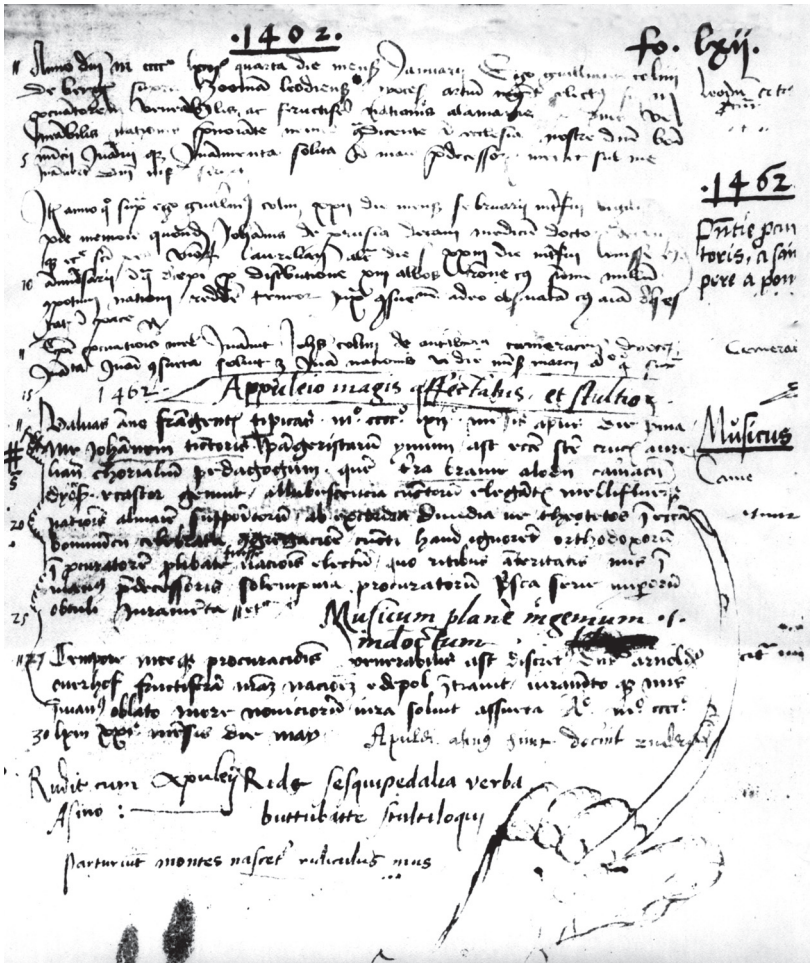
De imper
 fectione longe
 in tempore
 perfecto

Exemplum
Perfecta longior tempore
 perfecto per imperfectionem quantum
 ad duas partes ipsius aut una
 tantum et tunc breuis et pars eius
 propinquas est valet tres semibreues
 hinc pro quibus breuis poterit una
 semibreuis tantum tertia parte
 ipsius abstrahi ut hic patet

Plate 1. Bruxelles, BrB, MS II 4147, fol. 42

(from Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*)

less fluent than the author himself in the detail of chant theory. I also now believe that, contrary to my earlier opinion, there are simply too many palaeographical problems and inconsistencies surrounding the comparison of hands with the one secure example of Tinctoris's handwriting that we have, from his time as procurator of the German nation at the University



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Plate 2. Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, D 213 (*Liber procuratorum* I), fol. 62 (Tinctoris's handwriting: main text, lower half of folio 'Valvas ... xxi^o mensis die maii', excluding later marginalia and annotations), dated 1 April 1462 (1463 new style)

of Orléans in 1462 (Plate 2).¹³ The best working hypothesis at the moment seems to be that Brussels 4147 was copied by a close colleague of Tinctoris at Ferrante's court, probably a fellow chaplain-singer from northern France

13 Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, D 213 (*Liber procuratorum* I), fol. 62. Except in cases of physical incapacity, it was part of the duty of the procurator to enter the names of the matriculating students in his own hand, the only deviation from this practice occurring in the period between 1485 and 1508, when the students entered their names themselves. R. Woodley, "Tinctoris Biographical Evidence," art. cit. 228, citing C.M. Ridderikhoff and H. de Ridder-Symoens, *Premier livre des procureurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne université d'Orléans (1444-1546)*, Part 1 (Leiden, Brill, 1971), p. xxv.

or the French-speaking Low Countries—in other words probably a near-compatriot of Tinctoris. The textual or filiator proximity of Brussels 4147 to Tinctoris's own personal copies from the 1470s (now presumed lost) is also suggested circumstantially by the fact that this is the only source to transmit the completion dates and location for two of the treatises in their explicits: that of the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* is given as 6 November 1476, and that of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* as 11 October 1477, both specified as at Naples, while Tinctoris was employed as chaplain there. Neither of these dates is retained even in the formal presentation copies of Valencia 835 or Bologna 2573, and since this is often the kind of extrinsic information (crucial for us, but less so to fifteenth-century copyists) that tends to evaporate quite quickly in the re-copying process, their preservation in Brussels indicates that its exemplar was probably very close to the author's own fair copies. (The explicit to the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, especially, is perhaps scribal rather than authorial in its precise, surviving wording, and the tense of the phrase "... quem quom capellanus regius esset" may, but does not necessarily, imply that Tinctoris had left Naples at the time of copying: see Appendix for details.) In short, within the limitations of a fallible world, for quite a high proportion of its contents Brussels looks as though it is as close to Tinctoris's 1470s texts as we are likely to get, allowing for a little judicious editorial work on the relatively small number of obvious errors that have slipped through.

There are a few plausible candidates for copyist who fulfil the criteria outlined here, though more work will be needed to narrow the list down further. The reasonably well-known figure of Vincenet du Bruecquet, who is already acknowledged to have been a scribe, as well as composer and singer, from the province of Hainaut adjacent to Tinctoris's own Brabant, was certainly a colleague of Tinctoris at Ferrante's court; his wife Vannella is recorded as widowed in 1479, but he therefore just squeezes in as a candidate.¹⁴ The renowned singer Jean Cordier, according to Reinhard Strohm a native of Bruges, in the course of a varied, peripatetic and lucrative career in both the North and Italy is known to have worked in Naples in the 1470s and left debts

¹⁴ See, for example, A.W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 69–71; and, more recently, A.W. Atlas, "Vincenet," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds) (London, Macmillan, 2001), xxvi. 648–49. Although Du Bruecquet's activity as scribe is not in doubt, no definitive examples of his handwriting have yet surfaced. I am grateful to Pamela Starr for confirming that none of the Vatican documents concerning Du Bruecquet that she has inspected includes any instance of his writing or signature (correspondence of 27 June 2006).

there in the early 1480s.¹⁵ He is unlikely, however, to be a realistic possibility: although he would certainly have been personally known to Tinctoris, having arrived at the Neapolitan court at almost the same time as the theorist, in 1472, he seems to have left as early as 1474, having been poached under now notorious circumstances by Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan, and is not known to have returned to Naples thereafter.¹⁶ There are also a number of possible candidates as copyist among some figures of northern origin who are hardly known to us at all now, but who must have been highly reputable musicians at the Naples court in their day, such as Jacobus Villette, priest from the diocese of Cambrai,¹⁷ Johannes de Lotinis, soprano singer from Dinant and dedicatee of Tinctoris's *Expositio manus*;¹⁸ or Filippet Dortenche, according to Allan Atlas possibly from Burgundy:¹⁹ all three of these are recorded in a chapel list of October 1480.²⁰ Or there is the even more obscure Johannes de Vuilles cited by Strohm as a singer in Ferrante's chapel visiting Bruges in

- 15 R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985), 136-38, and 265 for further references.
- 16 See Pamela Starr's survey of Cordier's life, from the viewpoint of musical career management at this time, in "Musical Entrepreneurship in 15th-Century Europe," *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 119-33. Although no complete biographical survey of Cordier has been published, other valuable material, in addition to that in R. Strohm, *Music in Medieval Bruges*, appears in R. Walsh, "Music and Quattrocento Diplomacy: The Singer Jean Cordier between Milan, Naples and Burgundy in 1475," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 60 (1978), 439-42; E.S. Welch, "Sight, Sound and Ceremony in the Chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza," *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), 151-90; F. d'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the 15th Century," *JAMS*, 14 (1961), 307-58; and T. Schmidt-Beste, "Cordier, Jean," MGG, *Personenteil*, t. 4 (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2000), cols. 1568-1569. Despite the unlikelihood of Cordier's own involvement with Brussels 4147, or any other known activity as copyist, I am grateful to Pamela Starr (personal communication of 1 December 2006) for the observation that, as *tenorista*, some degree of particular responsibility for the copying of repertory may well have fallen on one in his position.
- 17 A.W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, *op. cit.*, 43-44.
- 18 See R. Woodley, *Tinctoris Theoretical Works*, links to *Expositio manus*, 'Prologus,' lines 4-5; or ed. A. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, *op. cit.*, i. 31. Tinctoris refers to De Lotinis as one of the finest 'supremus' singers of the day in his *De inventione et usu musicae*: see K. Weinmann, 'De inventione,' *op. cit.*, 33.
- 19 A.W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, *op. cit.*, 40. These names also surface with reference to possible hands in the compilation of Mellon and the Naples *L'Homme armé* mass manuscript (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. VI. E. 40) in G. d'Agostino, "Note sulla carriera napoletana," *art. cit.* 337, along with a certain 'Johannes de Bruges' cited by R. Strohm—though without a primary source given—as scribe at the Neapolitan court between 1474 and 1486 (R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, *op. cit.*, 137).
- 20 The original document was destroyed during World War II, and scholars are entirely reliant for their interpretation of the list on the text originally printed by E. Vander Straeten (*La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle: documents inédits et annotés*, 8 vols (Brussels, Muquardt, Van Trigt, Schott Frères, 1867-1888), iv. 28-30). This text, however, is full of still unresolved problems, as A.W. Atlas has described (*Music at the Aragonese Court*, *op. cit.*, esp. 45-47 and 54-57).

T abula scripti super punctis musicalibus incipit 47		
De puncti diffinitione et eius diuisione	Ca	1
De puncto diuisione	Ca	2
De puncto augmentationis	Ca	3
De puncto perfectionis	Ca	4
Summa distinctio parti prepo- siti aut postpositi	Ca	5
De puncto maiore postposito in modo maiori perfecto	Ca	6
De puncto longo postposito in utroque modo perfecto	Ca	7
De puncto breui postposito in modo minori perfecto	Ca	8
De puncto semibreui postposito in modo maiori et prolatione maiori	Ca	9
De punctis in duobus codem cantu sub quatuorlibet specie et mutatis conuenientibus	Ca	10
De punctis minime postposito in prolatione maiori	Ca	11
Qui puncti note opponantur pro ea in et q pro ea alijs sit	Ca	12
De puncto diuisione apposito note pro ea tantum	Ca	13
De punctis antecurib' pausis	Ca	14
De abusu puncto diuisione in et perfectionis	Ca	15
De punctis prolationis et more generalis	Ca	16
De puncto prolationis	Ca	17
De punctis more generalis	Ca	18
De punctis repetitionis	Ca	19
Opus conclusio	Ca	20
Explicit		
Tabula capitulorum hoc in libro de arte contrapuncti continetur 47		
Capitula primi libri		
Quid sit unde dicitur et quo quo fiat contrapunctus	Ca	1

Plate 3. Bruxelles, BrB, MS II 4147, fol. II^v (*tabula* for Tinctoris, *Scriptum super punctis musicalibus* and beginning of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*)

1484 to try to retrieve Jean Cordier's (ten-year-old?) debt.²¹ At any rate, the Brussels manuscript was clearly intended as a practical reference copy, since the scribe has taken great pains to compile a detailed index of contents or *tabula*, itemised down to individual chapter headings, with folio references for each treatise (example reproduced as Plate 3). One very characteristic scribal trait in the manuscript is the formation of F-clef, often with an unusual backwards hook added to the left of the stem of its quasi-*longa* component

21 R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, op. cit., 137.



Plate 4. Bruxelles, BrB,
ms. II 4147, fol. 68
(detail: F-clef formation from example
within *Liber de arte contrapuncti*,
Book I, Chapter 12)

(see Plate 4). As yet this particular formation of clef has not been found in any other late fifteenth-century musical source, but in due course it may well help to identify the scribe if he was indeed active elsewhere.

BRUSSELS 4147 IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The textual and historical significance of Brussels 4147, then, is evident. What is interesting in the context of the present article, however, is the crucial role that the manuscript played in the revival of Tinctoris's fortunes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after a long period of perhaps inevitable eclipse—or, at most, sporadic antiquarian curiosity—during the intervening centuries. By the 1760s and 1770s there was a certain flickering of interest in Tinctoris unrelated to the survival of the Brussels manuscript, focused mainly on the figure of Padre Martini in

Bologna and involving letters to and from Martini concerning the copying of manuscripts of various medieval treatises, including one in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence (ms. Plut. XXIX. 48), which contains Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices*. A letter dated 29 December 1759 from Angelo Maria Bandini, librarian of the Mediceo-Laurenziana, written presumably in response to an enquiry by Martini, lists a number of manuscripts of early music theory, including that containing the *Proportionale*, which Bandini is offering to have copied for Martini as he wishes. Subsequent correspondence confirms that Martini eagerly took up the offer with several manuscripts: a letter of 8 March 1760 from Fra Paolo Antonio Agelli in Florence informs Martini that the copying of (the present) ms. Plut. XXIX. 48 has been completed, and that he is awaiting instructions for the copy's delivery to Bologna; a follow-up letter from Agelli dated 29 March 1760 asks for confirmation of its receipt.²²

²² A. Schnoebelen, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index* (New York, Pendragon, 1979) [Annotated Reference Tools in Music, 2], 4 (nos. 27 and 29) and 45 (no. 401).

Charles Burney, too, makes it clear in his *General History* and other letters that on his ten-day visit to Bologna in August 1770 he was able to spend time not only working on various early theoretical sources in Martini's own library, but, with Martini's encouragement, visiting the nearby monastery of San Salvatore to study the Tinctoris codex now housed in the University Library as ms. 2573. As we have seen earlier from Coussemaker's preface, Martini clearly transcribed this manuscript himself, and collated its readings with his copy of the Florence source, perhaps at some point after Burney's visit:

I shall insert here an extract which I made at Bologna, from an unedited tract written by John Tinctor, and preserved, with other ms. treatises of the same author, in the library of the canons regular of S. Saviour, in that city; to which P. Martini referred me, upon asking him by what nation he thought music in parts, or simultaneous harmony, was first cultivated.²³

Burney also visited the Medicea-Laurenziana after leaving Bologna, where Bandini showed him Plut. XXIX. 48, on the contents of which Burney made hurried notes, but commented that 'Padre Martini has had the whole book copied and I saw it at Bologna.'²⁴ Indeed, modern musicological awareness of Tinctoris in the English-speaking world can largely be traced to Burney's often insightful perception of Tinctoris's historical significance, based on his and Martini's work on the Bologna and Florence manuscripts, as well as the printed *Diffinitorium*.²⁵ Burney used the copy of the *Diffinitorium* held then in the Royal Library in London (now part of the British Library), and tells us with some glee that he was 'honoured with the singular indulgence of a permission to transcribe it at my own house: for which I was the more solicitous, as it seemed of the greatest importance to my inquiries into the progress of the art at this

23 C. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), (ed. with critical and historical notes by F. Mercer) (London, Foulis, 1935), i. 711. Bologna 2573 was confiscated from San Salvatore by the French revolutionary forces in 1796, resulting in its temporary deposit in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, whence it was returned to Bologna—this time to its present home in the University Library—on 28 October 1815. (Information kindly communicated by the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna, and by Catherine Massip of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

24 H. Brofsky, "Doctor Burney and Padre Martini: Writing a General History of Music," *The Musical Quarterly*, 65 (1979), 313-45, at 322; for a description of Martini's collection of manuscripts and manuscript copies 'for which he has had a faculty granted him by the Pope, and particular permission from others in power,' see *Ibid.*, 317. Burney's manuscript journal of his tour through France and Italy in 1770 survives as British Library, ms. Add. 35122, and contains more anecdotal information than made its way into the subsequent published version of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, T. Becket, 1771).

25 C. Burney, *General History*, *op. cit.*, esp. i. 711ff.

early period, to have a precise idea of the acceptation in which these technical terms were then used.’²⁶

132 Meanwhile, Brussels 4147 had been lying, it would seem, relatively undisturbed in some private collection in Naples. We can reconstruct no firm detail of this as yet, except that in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century it seems to have been thought still of sufficient value to be conserved with new flyleaves, two or three folios having already been lost at front and back of the manuscript. Perhaps, too, the plain parchment wrappers, which are still retained inside the 1970 boards, were added at the same time. (See Appendix for details.) But in 1794, as recorded later by Fétis,²⁷ the manuscript was brought to Paris, along with a rich collection of other early music, by the classical scholar, music theorist, composer and bibliophile Gaspare Selvaggi. For a long time Selvaggi has been a somewhat shadowy figure for music historians, known to the principal dictionaries, if at all, mainly as a pupil of the composer Alessandro Speranza.²⁸ But the recently increased interest in historiographical musicology and historicised music theory has helped clarify his position in the Tinctoris story in a quite fascinating way. Aside from his very highly regarded career in public administration and education—he rose to become Segretario Generale della Istruzione Pubblica in Naples, and, until his death in 1856, Prefetto of the Reale Biblioteca Borbonica (now the Biblioteca Nazionale), as well as fellow of the Reale Accademia Ercolanese and the Accademia Pontaniana—Selvaggi is now best known to musicology as the author of a significant *Trattato di armonia*.²⁹ Published eventually in 1823, the *Trattato* represented an innovative synthesis of a peculiarly influential Neapolitan school of analytical harmony and counterpoint instruction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Recent work on Selvaggi’s treatise by Rosa Cafiero makes it clear how a number of Neapolitan instructional texts on harmony and accompaniment were being absorbed and translated in Paris at this time by a new generation of French musical pedagogues, in the cause of advancing a new period of French music liberated from what was viewed as the stultifying oppression of, especially, *ancien régime* opera and

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 717.

²⁷ F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2^e ed., 10 vols (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1860-1880), viii. 229.

²⁸ See, for instance, S. Gmeinwieser, “Alessandro Speranza,” *New Grove Dictionary*, xxiv. 172.

²⁹ See R. Cafiero, “Una sintesi di scuole napoletane: il *Trattato di armonia* di Gaspare Selvaggi (1823),” *Studi musicali*, 30 (2001), 411-52, at 419, citing an obituary notice by Ferdinando di Luca; also G.N.F. Castaldi, *Della Reale Accademia Ercolanese dalla sua fondazione sinora, con un cenno biografico de’ suoi soci ordinari* (Napoli, Porcelli, 1840), 236-37.

choral music.³⁰ One figure closely involved in this attempt to revivify French music was the writer, instructor and composer Alexandre-Étienne Choron, who himself published a three-volume *Principes d'accompagnement des écoles d'Italie* in 1804 (Paris, Imbault), and *Principes de composition des écoles d'Italie* a few years later in 1808 or 1809 (Paris, LeDuc). Choron is perhaps best known today as collaborative author, with François Joseph Marie Fayolle, of the *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs morts ou vivans*, published in Paris in 1810–1811 (Valade, *et al.*),³¹ though Fayolle, it seems, did most of the work on this. Part of Choron's nationalistic agenda, in seeking the true roots of French music, was to make the historical leap backwards to a period before the perceived debasements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, specifically to the generations of Josquin and Janequin, to try to demonstrate the international reputation, influence and historical significance of France. As Katharine Ellis has shown in her valuable recent book, the long-running arguments over whether Goudimel was Palestrina's teacher were part of this chauvinistic contention for historical primacy.³² In this context, it is easy to see how Tinctoris was drawn in and appropriated as 'French', and perfectly understandable that during Selvaggi's eighteen-year stay in Paris in the 1790s and early 1800s, his precious old manuscript of the Tinctoris treatises should have been eagerly snapped up by none other than François Fayolle himself.³³

The significance of the Tinctoris manuscript to this wider political and cultural agenda was clear to Fayolle and Choron, and in 1812 Fayolle sent

30 Examples given by Cafiero include, for instance, F. Tomeoni, *Méthode qui apprend la connoissance de l'harmonie et la pratique de l'accompagnement selon les principes de l'école de Naples* (Paris, chez l'auteur, [1798]); id., *Traité d'harmonie et d'accompagnement selon les principes de Durante et Leo, fondateurs de l'harmonie dans les conservatoires de Naples* (Paris, chez l'auteur, [c. 1800]; and H.F.M. Langlé, *Traité de la basse sous le chant, précédé de toutes les règles de la composition* (Paris, Nadermann, [c. 1798]). See also K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. Chapter 4 "La musique française at the Crossroads," 119–46.

31 Also published as facsimile reprint (Hildesheim and New York, Georg Olms, 1971).

32 K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, *op. cit.*, 182–86.

33 It is not known from whom Selvaggi himself had originally acquired the manuscript in Naples, though there is a remote possibility that his early philosophy teacher Antonio de Martiis may have been the previous owner: see Appendix below, 6. Contents, at fol. 90. Fétis, writing in 1844 for the first edition of his *Biographie universelle* (viii. 367), and repeated in 1865 in the second edition (viii. 229), states specifically that Selvaggi had bought the manuscript in Italy, rather than having acquired it through gift or bequest. The pre-1794 ownership of the manuscript, though, is frustratingly undocumented: I am very grateful to Rosa Cafiero for confirming that, as far as she is able to ascertain, none of the extant letters of Selvaggi surviving in the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria in Naples contains any reference to his acquisition of the manuscript (personal communication of 1 February 2007).

the manuscript to the French Minister of the Interior, to ascertain whether its publication and translation could be given official government support and funding. The Minister duly submitted the manuscript, along with a letter dated 14 September 1812, to the Classe des beaux-arts of the Institut impérial de France, inviting its Section de musique to give an opinion on the matter. The theorist, under his presumed French name of 'Teinturier', is cited as 'regardé comme l'écrivain didactique le plus estimable de l'école française et de l'école gallo-belge de la musique.'³⁴ Indeed, the claims of Frenchness at this time (whilst involving a certain creative misreading of Tinctoris's own texts) had a certain politically opportune accuracy about them, since Tinctoris's known birthplace, in the vicinity of Nivelles, was then part of the département de la Dyle, founded in 1795 during the occupation of the southern Netherlands by France:

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J. Teinturier, dit *Tinctor* ou *Tinctoris* de son nom latinisé suivant l'usage du temps, était de Nivelles, ville de Brabant, qui fait aujourd'hui partie du département de la Dyle, où il naquit de 1430 à 1440. C'est à cette époque où, d'après ce que l'on sait par l'histoire de l'art et d'après ce qu'il dit lui-même dans un de ses Traités, que l'école flamande commença à se former sur l'enseignement et à marcher sur les traces de l'école française de musique, alors la plus célèbre qui fût en Europe.³⁵

Fayolle's colleague Choron was himself the reporting member of the music section of the Classe des beaux-arts (the other members being the composers Méhul, Gossec and Grétry), and so it is hardly a surprise that he was happy to write an enthusiastic report to the Classe supporting the project. It is worth quoting further extracts from this report at length, to see both how the musical and intellectual significance of Tinctoris's writings is perceived, and how nationalistically orientated historical continuities are constructed in order to link the purported fifteenth-century 'French school' to the writer's contemporary situation:

À présent, pour mettre la classe des beaux-arts en état de répondre à la demande de S. Exc. [le ministre de l'intérieur], la section de musique n'hésite point à déclarer que la traduction et la publication des *Œuvres de J. Teinturier* est d'un très-grand intérêt pour l'art musical, et sur tout pour l'honneur de l'École française ; et voici de quelles raisons elle appuie son opinion à cet égard.

³⁴ *Le Moniteur universel*, 75 (16 March 1813), 278.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Les *Œuvres de J. Teinturier* sont importantes pour l'art, quant à l'érudition et quant à l'art en lui-même : quant à l'art en lui-même, parce que le plan de l'auteur embrassait toute la musique pratique, il expose sur toutes les parties une doctrine d'une exactitude irréprochable. Sa marche est très-méthodique ; ses définitions sont d'une rigueur et d'une précision remarquables, et ses développemens d'une extrême clarté. Une grande partie de cette doctrine et notamment toute celle qui porte sur le contrepoint est encore en usage aujourd'hui. Tout ce qu'il dit sur la succession des intervalles est infiniment supérieur à tout ce que l'on a fait avant lui, et j'ajouterai même à tout ce que l'on a depuis écrit sur cette matière, l'une des plus importantes de toute la composition, puisqu'elle en est la première base.

Ces *Œuvres* seraient très-utiles pour l'érudition musicale, parce qu'elles contiennent beaucoup de citations et de détails sur une époque où l'histoire de l'art présente jusqu'à ce moment une lacune immense. Les sept premiers Traités sont ce que l'on a fait de mieux sur l'ancienne notation musicale : notation entièrement ignorée aujourd'hui ; qu'il serait intéressant de connaître, et sur laquelle il n'existe aucun ouvrage propre à être mis entre les mains de toutes sortes de lecteurs, ceux qui en traitaient étant écrits en latin ou en langues étrangères, et étant devenus d'une rareté extrême. Enfin, ces *Œuvres* offrent le résumé de la doctrine de tout le Moyen Âge, qui, perfectionnée par l'École française de cette époque, peut être regardée comme la liaison de l'antiquité et de l'École moderne, en sorte qu'elles forment une introduction à l'étude de la première et l'explication d'une partie de la seconde.³⁶

Despite the overtly chauvinistic complexion of this broad historical picture, Choron goes on to try to deflect any imputation of nationalistic bias ('Et pour qu'on ne pense point que ce témoignage que nous rendons à la mémoire et aux écrits de J. Teinturier sont [*sic*] le fruit d'une prévention nationale ...') with a listing of non-French historical witnesses to Tinctoris's importance, ranging from Ornithoparcus and Cerone to Forkel and Gerbert. But towards the end of his report—unsurprisingly, in view of its immediate intended readership—Choron and his fellow section members cannot resist returning to the nationalistic argument, to the point of hyperbole:

Rien n'est donc mieux motivé, ni mieux établi que le mérite de J. Teinturier et de ses ouvrages ; mais ce qui me reste à démontrer, c'est que la gloire de l'École française de musique n'y est pas moins intéressée que l'utilité de l'art lui-même.

Nous avons dit dans une autre occasion, qu'il fut une époque où cette École fut la principale École de musique de l'Europe ; c'est un fait que prouve l'histoire de

36 *Ibid.*

l'art, les aveux des auteurs de toutes les nations qu'il n'est pas de notre objet de citer ici ; mais c'est un fait que la publication des *Ceuvres* de Teinturier mettra dans la plus haute évidence.

En effet, si l'on étudie ce recueil, et que l'on le compare à tout ce qui l'a précédé et ce qui l'a suivi, on voit clairement, 1° qu'il y a une distance immense tant pour le fonds que pour l'exposition de la doctrine entre les écrits de cet auteur et ceux de tous ses prédécesseurs ; 2° que tous les auteurs qui sont venus après lui dans les diverses nations, pendant plus d'un siècle, tels que Fr. Gafforio, Ornitoparchus, P. Aron, Vanneo et toute cette foule de didactiques italiens qui se sont succédés jusqu'à Zarlin en 1560, n'ont fait autre chose que de suivre la marche qu'il avait tracée, sans rien ajouter à sa doctrine. Surpassé par Zarlin et les autres à raison des progrès de l'art en certaine partie, il leur est demeuré supérieur en toutes celles qui, de son tems, étaient déjà l'objet d'un enseignement positif. Or, cette doctrine immuable et dès lors fixée, est entièrement établie dans les écrits de ce maître de chapelle du roi de Naples, non sur la pratique et les œuvres des Italiens, non même sur celle des Flamands, mais uniquement sur celle des Français qui fleurirent dans le courant du 15^e et même depuis la fin du 14^e siècle, depuis Jean des Murs et Guillaume de Machault qui florissaient vers 1380. Ce sont, suivant ses propres citations, Dufay, Brassart, Binchois, de Domart, Barbingant, Busnois, Fauques, Regis, Caron et autres dont il rapporte des exemples.³⁷

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Choron's report was formally approved by the Classe des beaux-arts at its meeting on Saturday 5 December 1812, and an extract from the minute, together with the bulk of the report itself, from which the above extracts are taken, were subsequently published in *Le Moniteur universel* the following March.³⁸ In conclusion, the Classe sums up its view of the project's value in terms that mirror the report of the music section itself:

En conséquence, la Classe pense qu'il est utile et honorable pour la littérature française, qui est très-pauvre en érudition musicale, que l'ouvrage de Tinctoris, dit Teinturier, soit traduit et imprimé; il prouvera que la France a eu long-tems la

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ This version, as printed in *Le Moniteur universel*, appears with the signatures of Choron (as *rapporteur*), Méhul and Gossec, but according to Katharine Ellis, citing what is presumably a more primary source from A. Goudail, *Art, savoir et pouvoir. L'Académie des beaux-arts sous le Premier Empire. Présentation et édition critique des procès-verbaux (1811-1815)* (PhD, École nationale des chartes, 1995), i. 157-62, at 162, Grétry also appears as signatory to the report (K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, *op. cit.*, 20). In a later discussion of the Tinctoris manuscript by the Académie royale de Belgique, to be discussed below, this report of the French Classe des beaux-arts is again referred to as the work of the triumvirate of Choron, Méhul and Gossec; it may be that Grétry was also a member of the Section de musique, but was not called upon to give an opinion on the Tinctoris project.

meilleure et la seule École de musique qui existât. Peu de personnes, surtout parmi les musiciens, étant en état de lire l'ouvrage original, c'est en quelque sorte retrouver et mettre en circulation un titre littéraire honorable, et l'opposer aux étrangers, qui avaient droit d'affecter dans ce genre une supériorité réelle et une antériorité qu'ils n'auront plus.³⁹

As Katharine Ellis comments, 'The music section's reasoning is striking for its balancing of national pride against an admission of national inadequacy.'⁴⁰ For whatever reason, however—and there is more primary source work to be done in Paris on this—the project was abandoned; it is not quite clear who was intended to carry out the translation of Tinctoris's treatises, but it is probably most likely to have been Fayolle himself, since he had already shown a degree of Latinity in translating Book VI of the *Aeneid* into French some years previously.⁴¹ At any rate, in March 1817, at a point when Fayolle had moved temporarily to London, he sold or gave the Tinctoris manuscript, along with his own transcript of its contents, made perhaps when the project was still live,⁴² to the music historian and composer François-Louis Perne, the transfer of ownership being recorded in the front of the manuscript: 'Je soussigné reconnais avoir cédé à Monsieur Perne | en toute propriété le présent manuscrit, ainsi que | la copie qui m'appartenait. | à Paris, ce 14 Mars 1817 | Fayolle' (Plate 5). Perne had by that time progressed through an early career as singer, double bass player in the Opéra orchestra, and professor of harmony, to head as Inspector General what was to become the Paris Conservatoire (at that point the 'École royale de musique et de déclamation').⁴³ For a man keenly interested in the critical study of Greek and medieval texts on music, and the history of notation, the acquisition of the Tinctoris manuscript must have been a notable prize, and we know that, like Fayolle, he copied the manuscript in its entirety, his copy now resting on the shelf alongside its illustrious exemplar in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, as ms. II 4148.⁴⁴

39 *Le Moniteur universel*, 75 (16 March 1813), 278.

40 K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, *op. cit.*, 20.

41 J. Montgrédien, "François (Joseph Marie) Fayolle," *New Grove Dictionary*, viii, 628. See Addendum, online article (n. 1 above).

42 Fayolle's transcript may be that surviving unsigned as Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9338, but it has not so far been possible to confirm this.

43 For a short synopsis of Perne's career and writings, which are clearly in need of a major study in their own right, see J. Montgrédien and K. Ellis, "François-Louis Perne," *New Grove Dictionary*, xix, 444-45.

44 Indeed, the manuscript next again in number, ms. II 4149, a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Italian paper manuscript of just the Tinctoris *Proportionale*, also belonged to Perne (*ex libris* dated 24 May 1816, fol. 1). The earlier provenance of this source has not yet been satisfactorily researched.

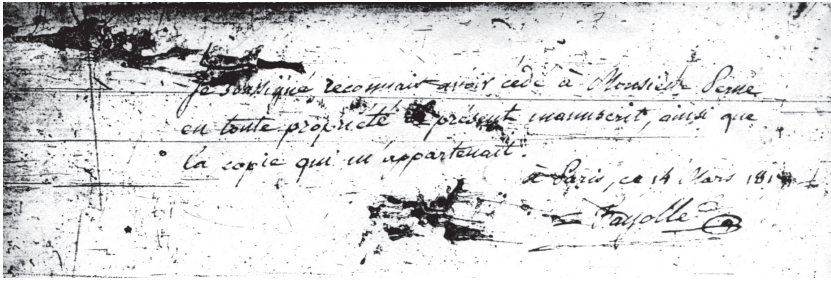


Plate 5. Bruxelles, BrB, MS II 4147, fol. [X]
(note in hand of François Joseph Marie Fayolle recording transfer of ownership
of Brussels 4147 to François-Louis Perne, dated Paris, March, 14th, 1817)

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Perne left a trail of uncompleted historical projects behind him when he died in 1832, including one, fascinatingly, on Machaut's music and poetry; if he had ever planned to take up the torch for the aborted Choron/Fayolle Tinctoris edition and translation, nothing came of it once more. But upon Perne's death his whole impressive library passed to François-Joseph Fétis. At this point the political complexion of the nineteenth-century Tinctoris project changes colour, and the appropriation of Tinctoris's work for cultural and historical legitimization shifts its focus from France to Belgium.

More than 25 years elapsed, in fact, before the publication project was resuscitated; but by 1860 Fétis had clearly completed not just his own transcription of the Latin text from the manuscript (as Fayolle and Perne had done before him), but also a full French translation and notes for a commentary, which survive in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels as ms. II 5482–3.⁴⁵ Fétis is obviously coming at the project from a Belgian nationalistic perspective, as part of the larger agenda of reorientating the true, pure origins of Renaissance polyphony on to Belgian rather than French territory—particularly, of course, in the wake of the variously contested political boundaries drawn up between France, the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the new Belgium during the course of the first two decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ As early as 1829, just before the establishment of the Franco-Belgian border in 1830, Fétis had written his famous *mémoire* on the merits and cultural significance of early Netherlandish music, at almost exactly the same time that Choron had done the same on behalf of France: Fétis's was published,⁴⁷ that of Choron still lies in manuscript in the

⁴⁵ See, however, n. 50 below.

⁴⁶ See, for example, T. Baycroft, "Changing Identities in the Franco-Belgian Borderland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *French Studies*, 13 (1999), 417–38.

⁴⁷ F.-J. Fétis, *Verhandelingen over de vraag: welke verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders vooral in de 14e, 15e en 16e eeuw in het vak der toonkunst verworven, en in hoe verre*

Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.⁴⁸ The Tinctoris transcription, translation and notes prepared by Fétis were submitted along with the manuscript itself—again in a striking parallel to Fayolle nearly fifty years earlier—to the Classe des beaux-arts of the Académie royale de Belgique in October 1860. As with Choron before, the proposal for publication was put officially to the Classe des beaux-arts in a report given by André van Hasselt, inspector-general for education and member of the Académie for literature and philology, after studying the manuscript and in full awareness of the earlier, aborted French project. Van Hasselt’s report of 9 December 1860⁴⁹ opens by placing the new proposal in the context of a wider plan, under royal decree of 12 November 1859, for a series of publications of the principal Belgian composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, under the direction of Fétis himself. Just as with Choron’s report, the rhetoric here soon seeks a certain justification by attempting to affiliate Tinctoris and his works to the notion of a national ‘school:’

La Classe des beaux-arts ne peut que s’applaudir d’avoir vu l’arrêté royal du 12 novembre dernier rattacher la publication des œuvres des principaux compositeurs belges du xv^e et du xvi^e siècle à l’intéressante série des travaux dont l’Académie royale s’est chargée ou qu’elle a provoqués, soit par sa propre initiative, soit par celle de ses membres.

Ces grands artistes, qui donnèrent tant d’éclat au nom belge et qui, attachés à la cour des princes les plus magnifiques de leur temps, ou aux cathédrales les plus renommées de la chrétienté, fondèrent, dans différents pays de l’Europe, des écoles musicales devenues soudainement célèbres, ces artistes méritaient, à

kunnen de nederlandse kunstenaars van dien tijd, die zich naar Italien begeven hebben, invloed gehad hebben op de muzijkscholen, die zich kort daarna in Italien hebben gevond? [French translation as: *Mémoire sur cette question: Quels ont été les mérites des Néerlandais dans la musique, principalement aux xiv^e, xv^e et xvi^e siècles; et quelle influence les artistes de ce pays qui ont séjourné en Italie ont-ils exercée sur les écoles de musique qui se sont formées peu après cette époque en Italie ?*] (Amsterdam, J. Müller, 1829). Fétis’s piece was his response to a competition question posed in 1828 by the Institute of Science, Literature and Fine Arts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, a repeat of the competition held two years previously which had been met with lacklustre response: for this and its wider context see especially K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, *op. cit.*, 147–77, at 148. Fétis’s *mémoire* was eventually awarded the silver medal in the 1828 competition, the gold medal going to Raphael Georg Kiesewetter: see *ibid.*, 24.

48 Paris, BnF, ms. n.a.fr. 263 (undated).

49 Reported under the heading “Monuments de l’histoire de la musique” in *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 28/5 (3 February 1861), 35–36 and *ibid.*, 28/7 (17 February 1861) 50–52, the report itself bearing the title “Sur le manuscrit des traités de musique de Jean Tinctoris et sur la traduction française de ces ouvrages, par M. Fr. Fétis, Membre de l’Académie.” The original source of the report is given as from the “bulletins de l’Académie royale de Belgique, 29^e année, 2^e série, t. X [1858], n^o 12.”

coup sûr, d'être tirés de l'oubli où leurs compositions sont tombées par suite du changement qu'a subi le système de notation suivi par eux. Cette espèce de fouille archéologique, que nous nous félicitons de voir placée sous la savante direction et sous la surveillance de notre confrère M. Fétis, est un pieux et légitime hommage rendu à la mémoire de nos anciens compositeurs de musique. Elle remettra aussi en lumière une foule de productions qui auront leur importance pour l'histoire de l'art en générale et pour l'histoire de l'école belge en particulier.

Toutefois, Messieurs, dans cette collection, on ne pourra guère étudier que sous une seule face le talent ou le génie de nos anciens compositeurs, c'est-à-dire leur côté pratique, s'il m'est permis de m'exprimer de la sorte. À la vérité, on pourra reconnaître, par voie d'analyse, dans leurs œuvres mêmes, la doctrine ou la théorie musicale qui leur a servi de base. Mais il me semble que, s'il est possible de rattacher aux productions de nos maîtres du xv^e siècle un exposé théorique des différentes parties de la science musicale à cette époque, et de montrer que cette théorie, écrite par un belge, est antérieure à toute autre, notamment à celle de Gafuri, la plus ancienne connue jusqu'à ce jour, nous devons tenir à l'honneur de constater le fait et d'en fournir la preuve au public savant.

Or cette preuve réside précisément dans le manuscrit de Tinctoris, sur lequel vous avez bien voulu me charger de vous présenter un rapport⁵⁰.

There follows an extensive quotation from the statement drawn up by the Institut impérial de France half a century previously, including synoptic descriptions of the contents of Tinctoris's treatises. In the course of this quotation, Van Hasselt even feels the need to draw attention to the previous report's references to a 'French school,' and explicitly reorientate these to the new political and geographical reality: 'L'expression *école française*, pouvait être juste à une époque où la Belgique faisait partie de la France. Elle n'est plus de mise aujourd'hui, et il faut la remplacer par celle d'*école belge*.'⁵¹ He is nevertheless highly sympathetic

50 *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 28/5 (3 February 1861), 35. It seems, in fact, that Edmond Vander Straeten was responsible for the actual copying (or recopying) of at least part of these texts presented to the Académie, along with the original manuscript. Regarding a (printed?) proof of the Latin texts which he had for inspection (presumably around 1875), but which he had insufficient time to correct before departing on a tour of Italy, Vander Straeten comments: 'Cette épreuve, qui a été collationnée soigneusement sur le manuscrit le plus complet et le plus authentique de Tinctoris, à savoir celui qui fait aujourd'hui partie du Fonds Fétis, à la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, a servi depuis au IV^e volume des *Scriptores* de De Coussemaker. Les *Traité de musique de Jean Tinctoris*, présentés par Fétis à l'Académie de Belgique... ont été copiés en grande partie par nous.' (E. Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, op. cit., iv. 1–66, at 39). See also, however, n. 57 below.

51 *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 28/7 (17 February 1861), 50, n. 2. See also *ibid.*, 51, nn. 1–3, for reinforcement of this view.

to the thrust of the previous French project, whose aborted completion he attributes (not unreasonably) to the political disruptions at the fall of the First Empire, which ‘were hardly of a kind to leave the spirits freed for the peaceful preoccupations of art and literature.’ But he then returns to his opening theme in asserting the significance of Tinctoris’s work as part of the wider cultural heritage of Belgium, to be treated on a par with other historical and literary figures of national significance, and as an ‘indispensable complement’ to the series of compositions to be published under the previously mentioned royal decree:

Malgré le vœu si formellement exprimé dans les conclusions du rapport présenté à la classe des beaux-arts de l’Institut de France, il ne fut pas donné suite au projet de publier une traduction des œuvres didactiques du célèbre musicien belge. Du reste, les événements politiques, qui se succédèrent en Europe depuis 1813 et qui permettaient déjà de prévoir la chute imminente de l’empire, n’étaient guère de nature à laisser les esprits livrés aux paisibles préoccupations de l’art et de la littérature.

Aujourd’hui que la Belgique, rendue à elle-même, recherche pieusement et remet en lumière tous les titres qu’elle peut faire valoir dans la domaine des sciences, des lettres et des arts, elle ne saurait se dispenser de réaliser pour elle-même le vœu exprimé par l’Institut de France en 1813. Il est de son honneur, me semble-t-il, de faire pour Tinctoris ce qu’elle a fait pour Van Maerlant et pour les chroniqueurs publiés par la commission royale d’histoire, ce qu’elle a décidé de faire pour les principales productions de nos anciens compositeurs de musique, et ce qu’elle fera peut-être un jour pour ceux d’entre nos poètes et nos prosateurs qui ont figuré avec le plus d’éclat dans la littérature du moyen âge. Car je considère l’œuvre de Tinctoris comme le complément indispensable de la collection dont la publication a été décidée par l’arrêté royal du 12 novembre dernier. Cette collection attestera le génie et l’habileté créatrice de nos anciens artistes du xv^e et du xvi^e siècles : l’œuvre de Tinctoris attestera que, sous le rapport des connaissances théoriques ces maîtres étaient en avant de tous ceux qui, à cette époque, ont figuré en Europe. L’un et l’autre fourniront au monde savant la preuve la plus évidente de la supériorité de nos musiciens dans la pratique aussi bien que dans la science de leur art.⁵²

Van Hasselt proceeds to praise Fétis’s work on the project further. He tells us that he has spent what little leisure time he has had, over a period of a month, checking Fétis’s translation—which is clearly complete and ready for

52 *Ibid.*, 51.

publication—against the Brussels manuscript itself, and that he is happy to confirm both its accuracy and intrinsic literary merit, as well as to salute Fétis's critical acumen and contribution to national culture:

La traduction des écrits didactiques de Tinctoris, si instamment réclamée par eux comme un travail qui intéresse la gloire nationale, la voici toute prête, grâce au zèle de notre savant confrère M. Fétis, qui a déjà enrichi de tant de précieuses découvertes l'histoire de l'art musical, et qui nous donne ici une nouvelle preuve de son dévouement pour tout ce qui peut servir à rehausser le nom belge. Cette traduction, je l'ai collationnée sur le texte du manuscrit avec tout le soin que mérite une œuvre si importante, et j'y ai consacré, pendant un mois, les loisirs si rares que me laissent les occupations de commis, qui forment les deux tiers de ma besogne officielle. C'est vous prouver, Messieurs, quel attrait puissant ce travail a eu pour moi. Aussi je crois pouvoir vous dire que la version de M. Fétis a toute la franchise et la libre allure d'une œuvre originale, et qu'en même temps elle reproduit, avec la fidélité la plus rigoureuse, la pensée de Tinctoris. On y retrouve cette clarté, cette pureté, cette élégance qui distinguent les écrits de notre confrère, et jusqu'à cette naïveté d'expression qui caractérise le maître de chapelle du roi Ferdinand I^{er} dans ses dédicaces et dans ses épilogues. Pour rendre sa version plus intelligible et la mettre à la portée d'un plus grand nombre de lecteurs, le traducteur a eu soin de transcrire en notation moderne tous les exemples et tous les modèles que Tinctoris fournit à l'appui de ses théories, et qu'il donne naturellement en notation ancienne dans ses différents traités.

Quoique le manuscrit qui a servi de base à M. Fétis soit en général fort soigné, il contient cependant quelques leçons défectueuses, qui proviennent évidemment du copiste à qui le manuscrit est dû et qui résultent, soit de la corruption, soit de l'omission de certains mots. Le traducteur me semble avoir suppléé à ces lacunes et avoir rectifié ces altérations avec la sagacité d'un vrai critique...

Je le répète, mon opinion est que la publication de la traduction de l'œuvre de Tinctoris intéresse au plus haut degré l'histoire de l'école de musique belge, et que ce travail forme un complément naturel de la publication décidée par l'arrêté royal du 12 novembre dernier.⁵³

The reply to Van Hasselt's recommendation, accepting his proposals in principle, was given on behalf of the Classe des beaux-arts by Joseph François Snel, violinist, conductor, composer, teacher, and member of the music section of the Académie royale. As with the earlier French project, *mutatis mutandis*,

53 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

part of the acknowledgement of Tinctoris's importance resides in the scarcely concealed pleasure taken in wresting intellectual and historical precedence from the Italian Franchino Gafori back to Belgium. In Snel's words, written only a few months before his death in March 1861:

Je me bornerai à vous dire, Messieurs, que je n'ai pu lire l'œuvre de Tinctoris sans éprouver un vif étonnement, ou mieux encore, sans ressentir un légitime orgueil pour notre patrie qui a produit, dès le milieu du xv^e siècle, un homme aussi avancé dans la théorie de l'art musical ; car, non-seulement on y trouve, comme disent très-bien les rapporteurs de l'Institut, les lumières les plus complètes sur l'ancien système de notation et sur toute la musique pratique, telle qu'elle était connue à l'époque où vivait l'auteur, mais encore on y reconnaît particulièrement, sous le rapport du contre-point, une science que personne, jusqu'à présent, n'avait cru trouver si loin dans le passé et qu'il est de notre honneur de constater publiquement. Désormais ce n'est plus à Gafori, mais ce sera plus haut, c'est-à-dire à Tinctoris, que l'on devra faire remonter une doctrine, la seule que ait animé l'art musical jusqu'au milieu du xv^e siècle. La preuve authentique en sera fournie au monde savant par le manuscrit que nous avons là devant nous...

Je ne pense pas, Messieurs, qu'après la lecture de cette œuvre on puisse se refuser un seul instant à reconnaître le haut mérite du travail qui est soumis à votre appréciation. Au nombre des productions de nos anciens écrivains qui, depuis quelques années, ont été mises en lumière, il en est peu dont la publication ferait autant d'honneur à la Belgique que celle des écrits de Tinctoris ; car il doit en résulter pour nous la preuve la plus irrécusable que notre école de musique fut la première et la plus ancienne qu'il y ait eu en Europe...

En conséquence, Messieurs, je conclus en vous priant de rechercher le moyen de publier le texte de l'œuvre de Tinctoris, avec la traduction qui en a été faite par M. Fétis. Ce sera là une chose aussi utile à la science qu'honorable pour le gouvernement belge.⁵⁴

Van Hasselt's proposals are accepted in principle, and following a request made at the end of his report, reinforced here by Snel's recommendation, a further decision is made by the Classe des beaux-arts to approach the relevant Belgian government minister regarding either a special subsidy to cover the publication costs for Fétis's translation with parallel original text, or else to have Tinctoris's work included in the collection of early Belgian composers already commissioned by the 1859 royal decree:

54 *Ibid.*, 52.

Conformément aux conclusions de ces commissaires, la classe décide qu'une demande sera adressée au ministre, soit pour obtenir un subside spécial destiné à couvrir les frais d'impression du travail de Tinctoris (traduction avec texte en regard), soit pour obtenir l'admission de ce volume parmi la collection des œuvres des anciens compositeurs belges. Elle décide également que les exemplaires des rapports de MM. Van Hasselt et Snel seront transmis à M. le ministre de l'intérieur.⁵⁵

As with the French project, however—despite the enthusiasm, time and energy expended by the individuals concerned—nothing came of the Fétis proposal in the end, though even in 1865 Fétis was still confident that his translation, along with the Latin text, would indeed be published once the second edition of his *Biographie universelle* was complete.⁵⁶ At his death, though, in 1871, it had still not been brought to fruition, and after Fétis's library, including the Tinctoris manuscript, was acquired by the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, it was left to the enterprise and assiduousness of Coussemaker to complete the project. Restricting himself to the Latin texts, without translation or commentary, the self-contained, limited edition of Tinctoris's works—complete as he then saw it—was published in Lille in 1875,⁵⁷ then its reprint, seemingly without any textual or typographical alteration, in the fourth and final volume of his *Scriptorum ... nova series* the following year, 1876. Whether Coussemaker made any use of Fétis's own material, other than the original manuscript—or

55 *Ibid.*

56 F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, *op. cit.*, viii. 230.

57 Ed. E. de Coussemaker, *Joannis Tinctoris tractatus de musica juxta Bruxellensem codicem, necnon Bononiensem ac Gandavensem* (Lille, Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1875; limited edition of 100 copies). This edition was preceded, however, by the rarely acknowledged *Traité inédit sur la musique du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols (Lille, Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1865-1869). Coussemaker's own, beautifully executed autograph copy of his Tinctoris texts (which incidentally demonstrate that a large proportion of the infelicities and errors of the published edition, especially in the mensural music examples, are due to typographical inexperience rather than editorial incompetence) survives as Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 19.620. This manuscript is dated 1834—over forty years before the dedicated Lille edition—and records corrections to the texts added, presumably at Coussemaker's invitation, by the Austrian musicologist Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850) and the librarian of the Paris Conservatoire Auguste Botté de Toulmon (1797–1850). (See *Cantus 21, Mémoires du chant: Le livre de musique d'Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, Bruno Bouckaert (dir.) (Neerpelt, Alamire, Lille, Ad fugam, 2006), no. 130). The date of this manuscript suggests that Brussels 4147 was still in Fétis's possession, following Perne's death in 1832, when Coussemaker used it to help draw up his texts. More enigmatically, though, Coussemaker's own manuscript seems to have been bought by the Bibliothèque royale as early as 1847 for the sum of 150 Belgian francs (Bouckaert, *ibid.*), so there are still some puzzles surrounding the precise textual processes and relationships leading up to the appearance of Coussemaker's published edition. See also no. 50 above.

indeed any of the earlier material of Fayolle and Perne—is still unclear, and it is to be hoped that some evidence of letters or other manuscript material by Coussemaker, relating to the process of compiling his edition, may surface in due course. For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that Coussemaker, whilst working primarily from the Brussels manuscript and (apparently) the Martini copies of the Bologna and Florence sources, made some use also of the manuscript now preserved as Ghent University Library, MS 70. This is a nicely executed but textually very strange source for Tinctoris, completed near Ghent in 1504 by the scribe Anthony of St Martinsdijk, for the library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St Bavo's in Ghent.⁵⁸ Its main usefulness to Coussemaker was that it preserves a more complete version of Tinctoris's *Complexus effectuum musices*, half of which is missing from the Brussels manuscript because of the lost and damaged folios at the end: see Appendix. This said, one must retain some suspicion that Coussemaker's edition here was at least partly riding on the back of Fétis's earlier work, since van Hasselt's 1860 report to the Académie royale de Belgique had already explicitly credited Fétis with having collated the readings of Ghent 70 to complete the text of the *Complexus* for his transcription and translation.⁵⁹

Underlying much of these contested, nationalistically inspired endeavours to make Tinctoris's work more widely known was the remarkably fraught question of Tinctoris's geographical and linguistic origins. In essence, most writers up to and including Fétis accepted at face value the early biographical notice on Tinctoris written in 1495 by Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, in his *Catalogus illustrium virorum*.⁶⁰ Here Tinctoris is said to be a Brabantine from Nivelles, around 30 km south of Brussels, and the historical, political and linguistic complexities of this area therefore enabled both the early nineteenth-century French historians, and Fétis with

58 A. Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis, abbot of St Bavo's, Ghent, 1437-1508* (Ghent, Story-Scientia, 1979), 227-34. Derolez, however, mistakenly associates the scribe with the Dutch island of Tholen (*ibid.*, 230); I am grateful to Reinhard Strohm for pointing out this error at an early stage in my research on the Tinctoris sources.

59 *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 28/5 (3 February 1861), 36. Choron's earlier report for the Institut impérial de France notes the defective nature of the Brussels text here, but does not regard the lacuna as especially regrettable: 'Il convient d'observer que les derniers chapitres manquent au manuscrit; mais ils sont peu à regretter; ce dernier Traité étant de peu d'importance, et les titres de ces chapitres qui peuvent tenir lieu des chapitres eux-mêmes, se trouvant dans une table générale des matières, qui est en tête du manuscrit.' (*Le Moniteur universel*, 75 (16 March 1813), 278).

60 J. Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium virorum germaniam suis ingenii et lucubrationibus omnifariam exornantium* ([Mainz,] n. d. [1495?]), fol. lxxiii; text reprinted in R. Woodley, "Tinctoris Biographical Evidence," art. cit., 247. Even though the book is without a printed date of publication, the entry relating to Tinctoris is explicitly dated 1495.

the Belgian Académie, to claim Tinctoris sufficiently as their own. When Edmond Vander Straeten published his essay on Tinctoris, however,⁶¹ he upset the received wisdom by seriously demeaning Trithemius as an authority, and by claiming to have found a more secure identification for Tinctoris's origins in the matriculation records of the University of Louvain (Leuven). This purported to show Tinctoris as from Poperinge in West Flanders, despite some frankly fast-and-loose datings which did not map at all on to what was known even then of Tinctoris's career and chronology. As a corollary, Vander Straeten pushed hard for the claim that Tinctoris would have been Flemish-speaking, with a vernacular family name of De Vaerwere.⁶² In relation to Coussemaker's edition, it is worth paying rather closer attention to the dating of Vander Straeten's purported discovery than Vander Straeten did himself with Tinctoris's dates. His letters to the Belgian Minister of the Interior, in which he took pride in informing the Minister of his discovery, are dated 8 and 17 March 1875.⁶³ Coussemaker's edition was presumably all but complete by this point, and he must have obtained Vander Straeten's new information very much at the eleventh hour—though it is not known by what route—clearly keen to incorporate it into the preface of his final volume as evidence of the latest research.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, though, the new discovery was utter nonsense: Coussemaker would have been better advised to stay with Trithemius, as we are now fairly sure that he was correct in this as in many other details, and that Tinctoris's family was almost certainly French-speaking, coming from Braine-l'Alleud, a little north of Nivelles.⁶⁵

61 E. Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, *op. cit.*, iv. 1-66.

62 *Ibid.*, 11-15.

63 *Ibid.*, 9-10 and 13 respectively. In the first letter of 8 March, acknowledging the help of his colleague in the Brussels archives Louis Galesloot, Vander Straeten claimed to have identified Tinctoris's diocese of origin as La Morinie ("*morinensis dyocesis*") on the basis of a Magister Johannes Tinctoris having matriculated at Louvain on 15 May 1471. The second letter of 17 March claimed to have narrowed down the actual place of origin to Poperinge by cross-reference to another matriculation record of a Jacobus Tinctoris "*morinensis diocesis*", dated 25 February 1475, of whom Vander Straeten proclaims, with no substantiating evidence, "Sans nul doute, voilà un frère de Jean Tinctoris (13)."

64 E. Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, *op. cit.*, iv. p. v. Coussemaker, to his credit, is a little more circumspect in his association of the Poperinge Tinctoris with the theorist (*ibid.*). Vander Straeten may well have communicated his new information directly to Coussemaker, especially if the two men had already been in sufficiently close contact for a proof copy of Coussemaker's edition to be sent to Vander Straeten: *cf.* n. 50 above.

65 See, for instance, R. Woodley, "Tinctoris Biographical Evidence," *art. cit.*, 223-24. Ironically, however, we should probably not entirely rule out the possibility that Tinctoris did indeed attend the University of Louvain for his first degree: there are at least two candidates of the correct name from the diocese of Cambrai (in which Braine-l'Alleud was situated) recorded as matriculating at slightly uncertain dates in the mid- to late-1440s, and whilst these dates are several years earlier than we might have expected (Tinctoris's date of birth

A FINAL MONUMENT

Meanwhile in Nivelles itself the decision had already been taken by the town council some six months earlier, on 28 October 1874, to erect a statue in honour of Tintoris in the main town square, the Place Bléval; even though at that stage they did not believe that they could claim the musician's place of birth, they regarded his long-established connections with the town, as canon of the collegiate church of St Gertrude,⁶⁶ as sufficient to justify their sense of local pride. The council's application for building permission must have been submitted to the government some months previously, as the letter of approval from the Ministry of the Interior is dated 5 June 1874, couched in terms leaving no doubt as to the official line on Tintoris's cultural status:

... En admettant que Tintoris ne soit pas né à Nivelles, il est néanmoins bien démontré qu'il est Belge d'origine et qu'il se rattache à la ville de Nivelles par des liens étroits dont celle-ci est en droit de se prévaloir pour honorer sa mémoire. Il est avéré, en effet, que Tintoris a été chanoine de la collégiale de Nivelles où il a résidé dans les dernières années de sa vie et où, probablement, il est mort. Ces circonstances paraissent suffire pour légitimer l'intervention de l'administration communale de Nivelles, d'autant plus que, si elle était récusée, Tintoris, qui est certes une de nos gloires nationales les mieux établies, courrait grand risque de n'avoir jamais son monument pour le signaler à l'admiration et à l'émulation de ses concitoyens⁶⁷.

A sum of 9,000 francs for the project was provided from central government funds, the remaining costs being made up from a combination of a local council grant of 1,600 francs and additional income from public subscription. The statue, entrusted to the local Nivelles sculptor Louis Samain (1834–1901),⁶⁸ was unveiled on 17 August the following year, 1875—that is, virtually coinciding with Coussemaker's dedicated Lille edition—and eventually the monument lent its name to a nearby 'Café Tintoris V. Mayor,' followed eventually by a Tintoris cinema on one side of the square. Indeed, when the Nivelles local

being still unknown), they are certainly not out of the question. (See R. Woodley, "Tintoris Biographical Evidence," art. cit., 219, which does not, however, consider this possibility.)

66 See, for example, R. Woodley, "Tintoris Biographical Evidence," art. cit., 236–37.

67 G. Detilleux, "Jean Tintoris, savant et artiste musicien (1435-1511): Ses origines, sa vie et ses écrits," *Annales de la Société d'archéologie, d'histoire et de folklore de Nivelles et du Brabant wallon*, 13 (1942), 73–102, at 95–96.

68 Other public sculptures by Samain can or could once be found in Brussels, such as *Esclave repris par les chiens* (1893: Quartier Louise), based on a scene from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; *Terre and Eau* (1874, destroyed 1956: Boulevard Anspach, Halles Centrales); and contributions to the reconstructed façade of the Hôtel de ville.

historian Detilleux came to publish his appreciation of the theorist in 1942, he began his article by bewailing the fact that the name of Tinctoris was known to locals more for the cinema than the historical figure:

Tinctoris! Trois syllabes redevenues populaires, à Nivelles, depuis qu'elles servent d'enseignement à une salle de cinéma. Le rapprochement est pour le moins inattendu et d'aucuns trouveront sans doute peu reluisant ce genre de popularité, pour un prince de savoir, qui, il y a quatre siècles, faisait l'admiration de l'Europe entière. Mais à quoi bon plaindre? Vaudrait-il mieux que plus personne aujourd'hui ne prononçât ce grand nom? Car notre Tinctoris fut, de son temps, non pas, comme on pourrait être porté à croire, un honnête musicien de province, mais, dans toute la force du terme, une célébrité européenne.⁶⁹

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Although the theorist stood proud in the Place Bléval for over 60 years, within sight of St Gertrude's, he was decapitated by falling masonry from the spire of the church during a major fire in the centre of Nivelles, following World War II bombing (14 May 1940), whereupon the remains of the statue were pulled down.⁷⁰ The only material remains of this last symbol of the nineteenth-century Tinctoris project is a life-sized copy, which stands in the foyer of the Hôtel de ville (Plate 6)—looking, it must be said, more like a deep-sea fisherman than a Renaissance courtier. And if Tinctoris's reputation as musician and theorist were not already sufficient to sustain national and local pride, this model of his statue enjoys the honour of being among the very first examples in Belgium of metallized plastic.⁷¹

69 G. Detilleux, "Jean Tinctoris," art. cit., 73-74. Detilleux also bewailed the fact that the pedestal of the statue gave the simple inscription 'A Tinctoris. 1875,' without indicating to the passer-by anything else relating to the musician's profession, date or historical significance (*ibid.*, 96).

70 For reproductions of three old photographs of the Tinctoris statue *in situ*, as well as the neighbouring Café Tinctoris, see the online version of the present article, Plates 6-8, cited in n. 1 above. Grateful thanks are due to Georges Lecocq of the Musée communal in Nivelles for providing digital copies of these photographs. A brief film recording of the 1940 fire apparently also survives, showing the destruction of the statue.

71 Information kindly communicated by the Musée communal.



Plate 6. Model of Tinctoris statue by Louis Samain (1875), Hôtel de ville, Nivelles
(photo : Pol Sanspoux)

APPENDIX: A DESCRIPTION OF BRUSSELS,
BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, MS. II 4147

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A full description of this manuscript has not appeared in print up to now: partial descriptions can be found, for example, in *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, B III/6 (Christian Meyer (ed.), *The Theory of Music* Vol. VI. *Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500: Addenda, Corrigenda*) (München, Henle, 2003), 125-27; *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*. Tome IV: 1461-1480. *Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er} Bruxelles*, ed. François Masai and Martin Wittek (Bruxelles et Gand, BrB, 1982), 105; *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis acquise par l'État belge* (Bruxelles, BrB, 1877), 617-618; Seay (ed.), *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 11. See also A.-É. Choron and F.-J.-M. Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens*, t. 2, Paris, 1811; Hildesheim, Olms, 1971, p. 374-78.

1. **Structure and Foliation**
2. **Binding**
3. **Dimensions and Ruling**
4. **Watermarks and Dating**
5. **Script and Decoration**
6. **Contents**

1. Structure and Foliation

In its present state, the structure of the manuscript may be described as follows (square brackets [] enclosing designations not recorded in the manuscript itself):

[iv + A + i + X] + II + [Y] + IV + 126 + [Z + i + B + iv]

where:

Small roman numerals = new (1970) flyleaves

Large roman numerals = original *tabula* (index) leaves

Arabic numerals = original text leaves

[A, B] = old, possibly original, plain parchment covers, with paper pastedowns; fol. [A] shows traces of having once borne an escutcheon (c. 40 × 35 mm.) on the front.

[X, Y, Z] = 16th- or 17th-c. flyleaves (see 4. **Watermarks and Dating** below); fol. [Z] is a restoration of the original fol. 127, of which only a corner fragment survives in place.

Small pieces torn from fols. 17, 24 and 97 have also been restored, possibly at the same time as fol. [Z].

All traces of the original gathering structure were lost in the 1970 re-binding (see 2. **Binding** below).

The six *tabula* leaves between fol. [X] and the main text have been numbered recently in pencil 1–6, but subsequently over-written, also in pencil, I–VI (recto, top right). Although numbered in series, the leaves are in fact bound in the wrong order: the numbered fols. IV and V should follow fol. II, making the correct sequence I, II, IV, V, III, VI. A very recent pencilled note to this effect appears at the top of fol. [Y].

The leaf or leaves containing the *tabulae* for the *Expositio manus* and *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* (i.e. at the beginning) are missing, as is probably one leaf completing the *Complexus effectuum musices* at the end of the manuscript. If these mutilations were the result of wear and tear on a manuscript without cover, it might be inferred that the parchment covers [A, B] are later additions, especially since their pastedowns are of a paper similar to fols. [X, Y, Z]. However, the nature of the tear on the original fol. 127 (= [Z]), together with the generally good condition of fols. I and 126^v, militate against this. The covers [A] and [B] may therefore be original, even if the pastedowns are not.

2. Binding

The manuscript was completely re-bound in gold-stamped, red leathercloth in 1970, the date and the name G. DUBOIS D'ENGHIEN appearing on the first (new) flyleaf. The original spine and all trace of gathering structure seem to have been removed, and the parchment covers [A, B] (trimmed) are now attached to the new flyleaves with paper stubs. No catchwords or quire signatures are visible on the original leaves, and the Bibliothèque royale possesses no detailed record of the condition of the manuscript prior to the 1970 restoration. The present binding is very tight and there are no signs of redundant sewing-holes in the gutter; either the original holes have been re-used, or (more likely) they have been cropped in the binding process.

Many leaves, especially those suffering from bad ink corrosion, have been covered with fine gauze for purposes of conservation.

3. Dimensions and Ruling

1970 boards: *c.* 290 × 200 mm.

Fifteenth-century leaves: *c.* 281 × 196 mm.

The leaves of the main text and *tabulae* are ruled (after folding) with feint grey-brown ink in two columns, each 60 mm. wide, the vertical bounding-lines projecting beyond the writing area, often to the edges. Each recto is ruled fairly consistently with the left and centre margins measuring *c.* 15 mm., and the right margin *c.* 45 mm. Versos seem to have been ruled from the same pricking (now cropped). The written block contains 40 lines per column, 4-5 mm. apart, and the musical staff lines have been formed simply by over-ruling the text lines in red. Although the 5-lined staff is normal for many of the extended examples of mensural notation, the actual number of lines per staff varies considerably according to the local, contingent conditions of the example concerned, and for reasons of space-saving.

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4. Watermarks and Dating

The manuscript is paper, with the exception of the old (original?) plain parchment covers. In the fifteenth-century leaves, three watermarks are to be found:

- (a) Crown with five cusps; central cusp surmounted by an orb; remaining cusps bulbed; cross-band forming crescent with base. Dimensions: *c.* 25 × 29 mm. Occurrence: first half of manuscript up to fol. 80, except fols. 21, 56, 67, 68 and 78 (some leaves indistinct).
- (b) Hunting horn with cord looped once; bell opening visible; lipped mouthpiece; band around centre of body. Dimensions: *c.* 25 × 27 mm. Occurrence: second half of manuscript from fol. 82 onward; also fols. 56, 67, 68 and 78.
- (c) Large bird in profile, with wing, three-feathered tail, three-clawed feet and probably one eye visible. Dimensions: *c.* 58 × 43 mm. Occurrence: once only, on fol. 21 (facing bottom edge).

Comparisons with Briquet's drawings⁷² yield the following results:

⁷² C.-M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, facsimile of the 1907 ed. with introduction by A.H. Stevenson (Amsterdam, Paper Publications Society, 1968), vol. iii-iv. Comparisons

Crown

No example occurs in Briquet with the cross-band curving in the correct direction. Three marks are nevertheless very similar:⁷³

- 4774 Venice 1476. Cross-band curves in opposite direction; outer cusps not bulbed.
- 4775 Naples 1480; 'variété identique' Naples 1482-1484, Palermo 1483, Rome 1485, Florence 1487. No cross-band; outer cusps not bulbed; central cusp slightly different.
- 4777 Naples 1476, Udine 1488. Cross-band curves in opposite direction; greater lateral compression.

Horn

- 7697 Catania 1478; Naples 1480-1484. Virtually identical to mark in Brussels 4147.
- 7698 Naples 1480; 'variété similaire' Naples 1483-1495, Rome 1487, Florence 1498. Slightly less curved than 7697.

Bird

- 12.149 Rome 1484. Very similar to the single example in Brussels 4147.
- 12.145 Naples 1470-1473; Amalfi 1473. Beak and wing slightly different.
- 12.146 Naples 1475. Beak and wing slightly different.

It should be noted that, of the first two watermarks, the horn provides by far the more consistently clear image; its wire, in contrast to that of the crown, appears to be in a more youthful state, and we may surmise that the paper in Brussels 4147 was made shortly after the mark's introduction. The overall impression gained from these comparisons, especially when collated with the

drawn from more recent publications (e.g. G. Piccard, *Die Kronen-Wasserzeichen* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1961), and id., *Wasserzeichen Horn* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1979)) have not yielded any more refined results, though the closest crown mark (No. 193) is indicated as Rome 1486-1488. Beta-radiography is not currently available at the Bibliothèque royale to help illustrate these watermarks.

⁷³ In Masai and Wittek (eds), *Manuscripts datés, op. cit.*, 105, the watermark Briquet 4746 is stated erroneously as the closest match to the crown mark here.

other historical factors surrounding the contents of the manuscript (see main article above), suggests a possible provenance of Naples (or perhaps somewhere on a Naples–Rome axis), and a date some time in the very late 1470s or 1480s. A date as late as the 1490s, however, is not impossible, in view of the wording of the explicit to the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*: see **6. Contents** below, and the main text of the present article.

A fourth watermark appears on the later leaves [X] and [Y]: that of a bird in profile (facing right) on three mounds, the whole enclosed in a circle (diameter 43 mm.) surmounted by the letter F. The nearest mark in Briquet is 12.250 (Rome, 1566-1575), which is very similar, but lacking the letter F. Other similar marks in Briquet suggest that these leaves, and probably therefore also fol. [Y], were added in the late 16th or early 17th century, probably in Italy, but with a slight possibility of Switzerland, Austria or south-east France (*cf.* Briquet 12.248 and 12.251). In turn, the presence of these leaves leads us to infer that the manuscript underwent a certain amount of restoration work in this period, presumably having already lost the small number of folios from both front and back (see **1. Structure and Foliation** above and **6. Contents** below). It was probably during this restoration that the *tabula* leaves were re-bound incorrectly, and perhaps the plain parchment covers added, if they were not there already.

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5. Script and Decoration

The Bibliothèque royale card catalogue contains two entries pertaining to the manuscript, describing the principal hand variously as ‘Gothique bâtarde’ and ‘Gothique courante.’ The overall aspect of the script is of a semi-formal, semi-cursive book hand, compatible in dating with the watermark and other historical evidence as from the second half of the 15th century, and probably Franco-Netherlandish in origin, though showing traces of influence from Italian humanistic habits in some alternative letter forms, as well as treatment of juncture, ligature and punctuation (the latter commonly including semilunar parentheses). The musical examples are written by the main scribe, and suggest a strong, confident fluency with the intricacies of mensural notation. (See Plates 1, 3 and 4 for examples of both text and music.)

The letter forms of the original marginalia (all in the main hand, and largely concerned with the repetition of *auctores*, etc. cited in the text) are of approximately the same size and formality as the principal texts until near the end of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (see **6. Contents** below), at which point they become smaller and more cursive. This change is gradual, but occurs

over a relatively small number of leaves; the most probable explanation is that the scribe filled in the marginalia only after the whole of the main text had been completed, becoming fatigued and less concerned with homogeneity of appearance as the end of his task approached.

The black ink used for the texts is corrosive, and where deposited in large quantities (e.g. oblique ligatures in coloration within the music examples) has eaten through the paper.

Decoration

(a) Red ink: Chapter headings and numbers; incipits; some initials; occasionally text; paraps; marginalia; text underlining; musical staff-lines; parts of 'double bars' in music examples; *puncti* in some closed capitals; miscellaneous decorative splashes in initials and line-fillers.

(b) Blue ink: Lettering and cuff of Guidonian hand (fol. 1^v); very occasionally text (fol. 28); some initials and paraps up to fol. 64^v, but then discontinued. Many of the blank initials in the manuscript were probably destined to be coloured blue: they are rare before fol. 64^v but extremely common thereafter. The reason for the incomplete state of the decoration is not clear.

The hair-line shading of the Guidonian hand (fol. 1^v) is carefully executed in a light brown or flesh-coloured ink, applied with pen.

Aside from the non-fifteenth-century notes added to the manuscript as described below, there are a few miscellaneous comments, minor corrections and scribbles added, mainly in nineteenth-century hands and presumably related to the manuscript's ownership in this century, as described in the present article.

6. Contents

For foliation system, see above **1. Structure and Foliation**. The italicized letters *a* and *b* refer to left and right columns of the two-column page layout used for the main texts.

fols.

[X] *Old but not original title-page (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand?):*

'Joanni Tinctoris | De Musica | ms.'

- [X]^v *Note from Fayolle recording transfer of ownership of manuscript to Perne (see present article above for context, and Plate 5):*
 ‘Je soussigné reconnais avoir cédé à Monsieur Perne | en toute propriété le présent manuscrit, ainsi que | la copie qui m’appartenait. | à Paris, ce 14 Mars 1817 | Fayolle.’
- I Tabula tractatus de notis et pausis feliciter incipit.
 Explicit.
 Tabula tractatus de regulari valore notarum feliciter incipit.
- II Explicit.
 Tabula libri imperfectionum musicalium notarum [*sic*] incipit.
 Explicit.
 Tabula tractatus alterationum incipit.
 [Explicit.]
- II^v Tabula scripti super punctis musicalibus incipit.
 Explicit.
 Tabula capitulorum hoc in libro de arte contrapuncti contentorum.
 Capitula primi libri.
- [Y] *blank, except for recent pencilled note in French, explaining the necessary re-ordering of the tabula leaves: see above 1. Structure and Foliation.*
- III *Index for Liber de arte contrapuncti continued: Book III, Chapters 3-9.*
 [Explicit.]
 Tabula rubricarum in hoc proportionali musices contentorum.
 Rubrice primi libri.
- III^v Rubrice secundi libri.
 Rubrice tercii libri. (*Book III, Chapters 1-2*)
- IV–V^v *Index for Liber de arte contrapuncti continued.*
- IV id., *Book I, Chapters 2-19.*
- IV^v–V^v Capitula secundi libri. (*Book II complete*)
- V^v id., *Book III, Chapters 1-2.*
- VI *Index for Proportionale musices continued: Book III, Chapters 3-8*
 [Explicit.]
 Tabula diffinitorii musice incipit.
 [Explicit.]
 Tabula complexus effectuum musices incipit.
- VI^v [Explicit.]
- 1a Expositio manus secundum magistrum Iohannem tinctoris in legibus licentiatum ac regis sicilie capellanum. Prologus.

- 9^v*b* Explicit.
- 10*a* Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum a magistro Ioanne tinctoris legum artiumque professore compositus feliciter incipit. Prologus.
- 28*a* Explicit liber de natura et proprietate tonorum a magistro Ioanne tinctoris ut predictum est compositus, quem quom capellanus regius esset neapolis incepit et complevit. Anno 1476 die 6 novembris. Quoquidem anno 15 novembris diva Beatrix aragonia ungarorum regina coronata fuit.
- 28*b* Tractatus de notis et pautis editus a magistro iohanne tinctoris in legibus licentiato Regisque sicilie capellano. Prologus.
- 28^v*a* id., *Book I*.
- 30^v*b* id., *Book II*.
- 31^v*a* [Explicit.]
Tractatus de regulari valore notarum editus a magistro Iohanne tinctoris in legibus licentiato Regisque sicilie capellano. Prologus.
- 35^v*b* Explicit.
- 36*a* Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium Editus a magistro Iohanni [*sic*] Tinctoris in legibus licentiato regisque magne sicilie Capellano. Prologus.
id., *Book I*.
- 40^v*a* id., *Book II*.
- 44*b* Explicit.
- 44^v*a* Tractatus alterationum editus a magistro iohanne tinctoris in legibus licentiato regisque magne sicilie capellano. Prologus.
- 47*a* [Explicit.]
- 47*b* Scriptum magistri Iohannis tinctoris in legibus licentiatu regisque magne sicilie capellani super punctis musicalibus feliciter incipit. Prologus.
- 51^v*b* [Explicit.]
- 52*a* Liber de arte contrapuncti a magistro iohanne tinctoris iurisconsulto ac musico serenissimique regis sicilie capellano compositus feliciter incipit. Prologus.
- 52^v*b* id., *Book I*.
- 80*a* Explicit.
id., *Book II*.
- 90 *Jotting in top margin, partially cropped and very difficult to decipher, but conceivably referring to a previous, Italian owner:*
'Io C. Gio: Antonio Marchione [?] sono test [?] | ut hic patet | 1688'

The hand is consistent with the assumption that the figures refer to the date of writing. On several other leaves of the manuscript (e.g. fols. II^r, IV, IV^v, 7^r, 18, 68^v and 123^v) are alphabetical pen-trials which may be in the same hand.⁷⁴

- 97a Explicit.
id., *Book III*.
- 101a Liber tertius et ultimus de arte contrapuncti feliciter explicit. Quem totum magister iohannes tinctoris (ut prefertur) iurisconsultus atque musicus illustrissimi regis sicilie capellanus neapoli incepit absolvitque. Anno domini 1477^o mensis octobris die undecima. Deum orate pro eo.
- 101b Proportionale musices editum a magistro Ioanne tinctoris in legibus licentiato serenissimique principis ferdinandi regis sicilie iherusalem et ungarie capellani feliciter incipit. Prohemium.
- 158 102a id., *Book I*.
- 110a id., *Book II*.
- 111a id., *Book III*.
- 116^vb [Explicit.]
- 117a Iohannis tinctoris ad illustrissimam reginam et divam dominam beatricem de aragonia diffinitorium musice feliciter incipit. Prologus.
- 124^vb [Explicit.]
- 125a Complexus effectuum musices editus a magistro Iohanne tinctoris in legibus licentiato regisque sicilie capellano. Prologus.
- 126^vb *Last complete leaf, ending: Super quo rhetor (= Chapter 9).*
- [127] = [Z] *Bottom left corner stub only. Fragmentary final 16 lines of left column, ending: ad vim pudice d[omui] (= Chapter 12).*
- [127]^v = [Z]^v *Equivalent verso corner stub. Fragmentary final 16 lines of right column, ending: gloria ceteris prestat (= Chapter 16).*

74 The only plausibly dated person of this name found so far is the Giovanni Antonio Marchione, commissario of Chiavenna, in the very north of Italy near the Swiss border, around 1731-1732: see the 'Nota delle spese che le comunità esteriori devono abbonare agli assessori per la sostra della Rippa, stati nell'offizio del signor commissario Albertino,' dated 1732 at Chiavenna, accessible online at: <www.provincia.so.it/cultura/archiviStorici/testi/archivi/gordon/GORAU7.htm>.

[no. 213] (accessed 6 July 2006). It is quite impossible to know at present whether this person has anything whatsoever to do with the Brussels manuscript. Another remote conjecture could be that the fol. 90 jotting refers to, or was written by, Selvaggi's early philosophy teacher Antonio de Martiis (cf. G.N.F. Castaldi, *Accademia, op. cit.*, 236-37), though the 1688 date—if this is what it is—seems a little early for this to be viable.

TABLE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

- ADN** : Archives départementales du Nord, Lille
AGR : Archives générales du Royaume, Bruxelles
AIM : American Institute of Musicology
AMS : American Musicological Society
BAV : Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana
BM : Bibliothèque municipale
BnF : Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BrB : Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles
CAO : *Corpus antiphonarium officii*
CCB : *Corpus catalogorum belgii*
CMM : *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*
EMH : *Early Music History*
EPHE : École pratique des hautes études, Paris
IM : Institute for Musicology
IMM : Institute of Mediaeval Music
IMS : International Musicological Society
IRHT : Institut de recherche sur l'histoire des textes, Paris
JAMS : *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JoM : *Journal of Musicology*
MGG : *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
MI : Medieval Institute
Pal.Mus. : Paléographie musicale
PUF : Presses universitaires de France
RdM : *Revue de musicologie*
RISM : *Répertoire international des sources musicales*
RMN : Réunion des musées nationaux

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Ars musica septentrionalis

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie

Les manuscrits musicaux du Moyen Âge conservés dans le nord de la France méritent l'intérêt porté sur eux par les plus grands musicologues. Au ^{xix}^e siècle, Charles-Edmond de Coussemaker réunissait les plus beaux exemplaires des livres de chant et des traités musicaux qui témoignent encore de l'intense activité des abbayes d'Anchin et de Saint-Amand : le présent ouvrage lui rend hommage. Cet héritage a permis aux spécialistes de poursuivre les recherches, de cataloguer les manuscrits, et d'étudier les notations musicales, les enluminures, les œuvres polyphoniques profanes et sacrées, les textes des chansonniers et les traditions d'interprétation.

Cet ouvrage est un complément indispensable au magnifique catalogue des manuscrits qui ont été exposés lors du colloque international organisé par l'université Paris-Sorbonne et *Ad Fugam* dans le cadre du projet européen *Cantus 21* de valorisation du patrimoine musical régional.

Couverture : Graduel de Robert de Croÿ, 1540, Médiathèque municipale de Cambrai, Ms D12, fol. 2v



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