

## MACHAUT'S LITERARY LEGACY IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON: THE CATALAN CHANSONNIER *VEGA-AGUILÓ* AND THE ANONYMOUS *ROMAN DE CARDENOIS*\*

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Evidence of the direct textual tradition of Guillaume de Machaut's work in Catalonia is presently restricted to two poems contained in a mid-fifteenth century codex (1420–1430), known as the 'Vega-Aguiló chansonnier': Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 7–8 (henceforth *VeAg*).<sup>1</sup> This manuscript comprises the principal extant collection of troubadouresque verse compiled in the

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<sup>1</sup> On the contents, structure and context of *VeAg*, see Alberni, 'Intavulare': *Biblioteca de Catalunya: VeAg* (mss. 7 e 8).

Crown of Aragon in the late medieval period. The pieces by Machaut are copied as anonymous *cobles esparses* (literally sparse or stand alone stanzas), in a folio which serves as gateway to the French section of the codex, consisting of poems by Oton de Granson, Jean de Garençières, Jacme Escrivà and another unidentified franco-phone Catalan poet (or rather, ballade-writer), probably Oliver de Gleu.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this limited textual tradition, the fame and influence of Machaut in the Iberian peninsula were considerable. In a famous passage dedicated to the poet in the *Prohemio e carta al Condestable de Portugal* (1448–1449), the Marquis of Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza, highlights the penetration of French fourteenth-century *formes fixes*, associated in the minds of contemporaries with musical accompaniment:

los françeses [...] ponen sones [...] a las sus obras, e cántanlas por dulçes e diversas maneras, e tanto han familiar, açepta e por manos la música, que paresçe que entr'ellos ayan nascido aquellos grandes philósofos Orfeo, Pitágoras e Empédocles [...]. Michaute escribió así mismo un grand libro de baladas, cançiones, rondeles, lays, virolays, e asonó muchos d'ellos.<sup>3</sup>

[The French [...] put musical accompaniment [...] to their works, and sing them in such sweet and diverse ways, and so dear is music to them, that it seems that Orpheus, Pythagoras and Empedocles themselves had hailed from among that race [...]. Machaut wrote a great book of ballades, chansons, rondeaux, lays, virolays, and he set many of them to music himself.]

The presence of French verse in *VeAg* is not accidental: the songs of the troubadours are not the only traditional support for medieval Catalan lyric. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, troubadour monody had lost ground to the *ars nova* and to the *ars subtilior*, cultivated in Northern France and on both sides of the Pyrenees, especially at the courts of John I (r. 1387–1396) and of the Count of Foix, Gaston III Febus (r. 1343–1391) and at the Curia at Avignon (1309–1377).<sup>4</sup>

A fair number of royal letters testify to the interest shown by John I and his entourage towards the more sophisticated polyphonic developments of the time.

<sup>2</sup> Marta Marfany is now working on this hypothesis as part of the project team's ongoing research: cf. Marfany, 'Les balades franceses'.

<sup>3</sup> Santillana's epistle can be read in Gómez Moreno, *El prohemio e carta del Marqués de Santillana*, and in most of Santillana's editions, for instance Íñigo López de Mendoza, *Comedieta de Ponza*, ed. by de Langbehn, pp. 11–29.

<sup>4</sup> On the so-called avant-garde condition of the *ars subtilior* in the southern courts of Foix-Bearn, Berry, Navarre and Aragon, see Plumley, 'An "Episode in the South

This enthusiasm is reflected in the growing number of French and Flemish musicians employed by the Catalan court during the 1370s.<sup>5</sup> The time spent by young Santillana from 1413 to 1418 under the patronage of Trastámara Kings (Ferdinand of Aragon and his son Alfonso V, the Magnanimous) gave him an insider's knowledge of the music and poetry appreciated at their courts. It is to him that we owe our historiographical synthesis of the lyric formal canon imported from France, a canon which corresponds quite precisely to Machaut's *grand libro*, containing ballades, *chansons*, *rondeaux*, lays, and *virelais*.

Some of these metrical forms were adopted by Catalan poets writing before Ausiàs March. Their works display a fusion of foreign with native forms, as French styles are grafted upon familiar troubadour ones. A good example is offered by the adaptation of the lyric lay and the *chanson laiée* by Andreu Febrer. One of his poems (*Amors, qui tost fer quant li play*, RAO 59, 2) draws its opening and closing lines from Machaut's first lay (*Loyauté, que point ne delay*, L1), which provides Febrer with his rimes and a series of syntactic cues. This demonstrates not only the depth of Febrer's assimilation of Machaut, but it presupposes an audience familiar with French literary and musical traditions.<sup>6</sup>

The other genres cited by Santillana, especially the French ballade, were adapted by Spanish poets, first of all by those working within the Crown of Aragon. A comparative analysis of the forms used in both French and Catalan literatures shows how French fourteenth-century poetry, frequently set to music, functions as a repository of models of metre and diction freely adapted by Catalan writers. The development of this influence is particularly visible in the late fourteenth-century work of Gilabert de Pròixida, Andreu Febrer and Jordi de Sant Jordi and extends to

<sup>5</sup> Gómez Muntané, *La música en la casa real*, edits and analyses an important collection of documents from the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Barcelona) specifically dedicated to the patronage of music by the Catalan Kings. Subsequent publications by the same author and other scholars have enriched and refined this pioneer study: for a complete bibliography, see Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval*, and Cingolani, 'Diplomatari sobre músics'. Stefano M. Cingolani and I are currently working on a new *Diplomatari* (about 4,000 documents) collecting notices on minstrels, jongleurs, troubadours, musical instruments and poetic manuscripts located in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century).

<sup>6</sup> For a general analysis on the influence of French literature on Catalan poetry, see Pagès, *La poésie française en Catalogne*. Pagès's work is revised by Lluís Cabré, who offers important new insights on the subject, in Cabré, 'Los enuigs de Jordi de Sant Jordi', and Cabré, 'El conreu del lai líric'. On Febrer's lay, see Andreu Febrer, *Poesies*, ed. by Riquer. RAO stands for 'Repertori d'Autors i Obres' in Parramon i Blasco, *Repertori mètric*. For references to Machaut's works, I will follow the abbreviation system adopted in Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut. A Guide*

the last imitators of Ausiàs March, Lluís de Vila-rasa and Pere Torroella, active at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Thus far, I have briefly referred to the circulation and penetration of French poetry in Catalonia. I will now move on to the manuscript tradition of Machaut in the Crown of Aragon, drawing on findings from our project's work on the critical edition of *VeAg* and the *Roman de Cardenois*.

### *The Roman de Cardenois*

The *Roman de Cardenois* is an anonymous chivalric romance written in Middle French in the late fourteenth century. It plays a crucial role in providing evidence of Machaut's textual tradition because it contains ten lyric insertions from the works of Machaut that are incorporated into the main narrative, two of which are attested in *VeAg*. The new edition which our project's team is currently preparing responds to the need to resolve textual challenges, and at the same time, aims at restoring the novel to its appropriate literary, linguistic, and cultural contexts. Our work includes an introduction to the textual problems of the lyric insertions in the *Roman de Cardenois*, alongside a study of the language and an analysis of the texts that *Cardenois* shares with *VeAg*. We reconsidered the origin, context, and dating of the romance. This in turn has led to a study considering which extant Machaut manuscripts are closest to the anonymous author's sources, and which can be related directly with the other source of French poetry copied in Catalonia, the *VeAg* codex.<sup>8</sup>

As a starting point, let us turn our focus to the romance and its particularities. Both the author's identity and the title are open to conjecture, as such details are not mentioned in the text. The story has been attributed even to Machaut himself: an alluring hypothesis, perhaps, but the poor style and paratactic syntax of the *Cardenois* do not fit with the wit demonstrated by Machaut in the *Voir Dit* and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, textual criticism of the lyrics inserted in the narration shows that whoever made the insertions did not have access to an authorized

<sup>7</sup> See the detailed commentary by Torró, *Sis poètes*, on the poems of Lluís de Requesens, Bernat Miquel, Martí Garcia, Rodrigo Dies, Lluís de Vila-rasa and Francesc Sunyer. Cf. also Alberni, 'El *Roman de Cardenois*', and Marfany, 'La influència de la poesia francesa', for a specific and general approach to this subject.

<sup>8</sup> This chapter is much indebted to the forthcoming edition by Lagomarsini, Zinelli and Di Fabrizio. Alberni, 'El *Roman de Cardenois*', pp. 74–108 and Lagomarsini, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois* e la tradizione manoscritta', constitute the project's first research outputs on this subject. Cf. also the previous edition, *Roman de Cardenois*, ed. by Cocco.

<sup>9</sup> Machaut's authorship has been suggested by Valero de Holzbacher, 'En réhabilitant la mémoire

copy of Machaut's works but relied instead on a branch of the tradition not directly overseen by the author himself. To support the Machaut attribution, therefore, one would have to suppose that, upon writing the romance, Machaut had extracted his poems from an incomplete copy of his works containing innovations and errors, rather than relying on his own 'livre ou je mets toutes mes choses'.<sup>10</sup>

In this context, one detail observed by Claudio Lagomarsini is particularly significant.<sup>11</sup> At least one of the compositions, *Diex*, *Biauté*, *Douceur*, *Nature* [*virelai*, V19], was copied from a musical score, and it is this layout of the text in the anti-graph, alongside the music, which could explain the defective copy of the *virelai* found in the *Cardenois* (due to muddling the order of lines), an error that can hardly be ascribed to the author. Additionally, the first lyric insertion makes us cautious about the question of the authenticity. It consists of a collage of two pieces of different metrical forms, a ballade and a *lai*, fused together thoughtlessly as if they were one piece (*He gentilz cuers, me convient il mourir* [*balade*, Lo37] + *Et pour ce sans nul descour* (incipit in other manuscripts: *Qui n'aroit*) [*lai*, RF1; str. 12 and 1–11]. Unless new evidence surfaces, the author of the *Cardenois* can be assumed to be an enthusiastic fan of Machaut, but he cannot be confused with Machaut himself.

The text of the romance is preserved in a single manuscript once belonging to the personal collection of the Marquis of Santillana, now housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, 10264 (*Mn*). The manuscript may be dated provisionally between 1363–1365 (date of the *Voir Dit*, which the anonymous author knew) and 16 December 1400, when a register of the royal Chancellery of King Martin I (r. 1396–1410) records a notice heretofore overlooked by scholarship. In this memorial, the King commands his chamberlain Miquel Embrun to ask his son Martin I of Sicily for a 'libre de Tardanoys'.<sup>12</sup>

This reference is mysterious for several reasons. First, it is strange to find the romance referenced in a list of sundry administrative duties and tasks. Second, is the protagonist called Cardenois or Tardenois? Answering this question is crucial

<sup>10</sup> On Machaut's role in the production of copies of his works, see Williams, 'An Author's Role', and Earp, 'Machaut's Role'. On the authorship of the *Cardenois* as related to Machaut's manuscript sources, see Lagomarsini, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois* e la tradizione manoscritta', pp. 109–33, and Lagomarsini, 'Poesia lirica'.

<sup>11</sup> Lagomarsini, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois* e la tradizione manoscritta', pp. 120–22.

<sup>12</sup> Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Reg. 2299, fol. 15': 'Memorial de ço que mossen miquel dambu ha de part del senyor rey d'arago explicar al rey de sicilia en virtut de la creença a ell comanada' (Memorial of the things that *mossen* Miquel Dambu has to report to the King of Sicily from his father the King of Aragon, owing to the trust held in him). The text, published by Moscati, *Per una storia della Sicilia nell'età dei Martini*, pp. 120–21, is quoted in Zinelli, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois*', pp. 301–02.

to clarifying a palaeographical uncertainty central to the preparation of our edition. In the only manuscript, the confusion between lower-case *c* and *t* is constant, but it is clear that for the copyist the name was Tardenois, which is confirmed by the occurrences of capital *T*). In our edition, however, we decided not to change the hero's name. Internal evidence suggests that the name might derive from Cardona, a town north-west of Barcelona which was the historical seat of a comital dynasty related to the Royal House of Aragon.<sup>13</sup> Turning to internal evidence: 1) the romance mentions a lady Alienor of Servillon, identifiable as Alionor de Cervelló, daughter of Ramon de Cardona, married to Hug de Cervelló in 1338 (probably the same 'Alienor de Cardona' featured in the Barcelona episode of *Jean de Sainttré*); 2) the fruit trees found in the palace orchard of Cardenois' father, called *tourongiers*, refer to Mediterranean horticulture, using an Arabism common in Catalan but otherwise unknown in French — the fashion for *orangeries* in France is not attested before the sixteenth century; 3) the name of the heroine, Passebeauté, coincides with a *senhal* used by Andreu Febrer (1375/1380–1437/1444), one of the key literary figures of the period covering the reign of John I to the early part of the rule of Alfonso the Magnanimous (r. 1416–1458), who wrote a poem dedicated to a group of ladies from the court of Cardona (*Si·n lo mon fos gentilesa perduda*, RAO 59,15), also attested in *VeAg*.<sup>14</sup> Other evidence includes: 1) the only witness of the romance, *Mn*, preserves various Catalan texts copied by other hands; 2) the language of the *Cardenois* presents Occitanisms and Francoprovençalisms, which make us think of a Southern French copyist, perhaps from the Languedoc;<sup>15</sup> 3) the textual transmission of the Machaut quotations in the narrative shows that the source belonged to a branch circulating in the Crown of Aragon.<sup>16</sup>

In any case, the mention of the romance around 1400 confirms its presence in Catalan royal circles at a date that is roughly contemporary with the composition of the work. This, as we shall see, coincides with what we know about the

<sup>13</sup> Both Lagomarsini and Zinelli discuss this palaeographical question and the editorial solution adopted in their critical edition.

<sup>14</sup> Evidence first provided by Valero de Holzbacher, 'Elementos histórico-geográficos'.

<sup>15</sup> On this hypothesis, see Zinelli, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois*', pp. 341–45, building on Speroni, 'Una rilettura'.

<sup>16</sup> For further development of these aspects, see Alberni, 'Guillaume de Machaut en la tradició catalana'; Alberni, 'El *Roman de Cardenois*', pp. 74–108 (traces of Machaut and of the *Cardenois* in Catalan poetry); Lagomarsini, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois* e la tradizione manoscritta', pp. 109–33 (textual analysis of all Machaut insertions in the *Cardenois*); and Zinelli, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois*', pp. 294–354 (linguistic analysis of the *Cardenois*, textual study of the lyrics inserted in the *roman* and also copied in *VeAg*, historical context

circulation and royal patronage of the manuscripts containing Machaut's works in Catalonia by the end of the fourteenth century, and with the influence exerted by Machaut on contemporary Catalan poetry.

### *Machaut and the Cardenois: The Lyric Insertions*

The anonymous author of the *Cardenois* borrows from Machaut his description of the heroine, Passebeauté, in a prose passage which draws heavily from episodes in the *Jugement du Roy de Behaingne* (before 1346) and the *Remède de Fortune* (before 1357).<sup>17</sup> The most fascinating characteristic of the *Roman de Cardenois*, however, is its preservation of twelve French lyric texts, at least ten of which are by Machaut. The list below (drawn from Lagomarsini, 'Il *Roman de Cardenois* e la tradizione manoscritta', pp. 112–13), summarizes all lyric insertions in the romance. The numbers preceded by § refer to the paragraphs in the new edition (see note 8):

#### I. Lyric Insertions Extracted from the Works of Guillaume de Machaut

- 1) *He gentilz cuers, me convient il mourir* (§ 4) (*balade*, Lo37; the following *lai* is copied without a textual break)
- 2) *Et pour ce sans nul descour* (inc. in other manuscripts: *Qui n'aroit*) (§ 4) (*lai*, RF1; str. 12 + str. 1–11)
- 3) *Je ne me puis saouller* (§ 9) (*virelai*, V33 = VD11)
- 4) *Diex, Biauté, Douceur, Nature* (§ 13) (*virelai*, V19)  
[On the anonymous piece (y), see below]
- 5) *Mon cuer, m'amour, ma dame souveraine* (§ 17.48) (*complainte*, Cp6, l. 1 only)
- 6) *Riche d'amour et mendiant d'amie* (§ 18.99) (*balade*, B5)
- 7) *Doulce dame, vous ouciez a tort* (§ 19.38) (*balade*, Lo73, ll. 1–2 only)  
[On the anonymous piece (x), see below]
- 8) *Or soit ainsi com Dieux ha ordonné* (inc. in other manuscripts: *Mes dous amis*) (§ 24.9) (*complainte*, Cp5 = VD15: 1388–93, last 6 lines; also in *VèAg*)<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Guillaume de Machaut 'Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne' and 'Remede de Fortune', ed. by Wimsatt, Kibler and Baltzer.

<sup>18</sup> For the *Voir dit* quotation, see Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre du Voir Dit*, ed. by Imbs and Cerquiglini-Toulet, pp. 156–60.

- 9) *Amis mon cuer et toute ma pensee* (§ 32) (*balade*, Lo220; 1st stanza also in *VeAg*)
- 10) *Quant vrais amans de sa dame se depart* (§ 34.56) (*balade*, Lo216, only l. 1)

## II. Anonymous Lyric Texts

- x) *Amis, se par ma foulie* (§ 22.78) (part of an anonymous *virelai*, laid out on the page as prose; also in *VeAg, Pa*, Jean Froissart's *Joli buisson de jeunesse* and Évrart de Conty's *Problemata* and *Echecs amoureux*<sup>19</sup>)
- y) *De la plus [...] au plus bel regart* (§ 14.84) (unidentified lyric composition of 6 lines, laid out as prose)

## III. Isolated Quotations from Machaut

- a) *en un point il ot mis tout son cuer et sa pancee* (§ 3.14) (a quotation of Lo220, interpolated later on)
- b) *bien seroyt de boune heure nez qui de celle dame seroit amez* (§ 10.13) (quotes V37:1–2, Lo56:1–2, VD epistle 25)
- c) *On ne doit si hault monter qui puis ait honte du davaller* (§ 18.28) (quotes RF:3785–3786, 3787–3788)
- d) [...] *qu'elle puet fere d'un sage foul* (§ 18.53) (quotes *Dit du vergier*, v. 305)
- e) *Qui bien aime a tart oublie* (cf. §§ 34.47 and 42.40) (proverbial, L22:16)

Of the ten pieces attributable to Machaut, four ballades derive from the *Loange des dames* (the name customarily given to the section of lyric poetry not set to music in the complete-work manuscripts of Machaut) (items 1, 7, 9, and 10 of list I); a *virelai* and a *complainte*, from the *Voir Dit* (c. 1365) (items 3 and 8). As already noted, the lay from the *Remède de Fortune* is fused with the first *balade* as if it were a single aberrantly structured poem, copied out without music (item 2). The three remaining pieces comprise a *virelai* (V19), a *complainte* (Cp6) and another *balade* (B5), which do not belong to the *Loange* (items 4, 5, 6). We also find two anonymous lyric poems, copied in the main body of the narrative and laid out as prose (list II x and y).

<sup>19</sup> See section below, 'The Poems Transmitted by *VeAg* and the *Cardenois*', in particular n. 25. On incipit quotation in Machaut and citational practice in fourteenth-century French lyric tradition, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*

In addition, the prose of the novel is peppered with more or less explicit quotations of Machaut verses (see list III for the most important examples).<sup>20</sup> The prose is mainly an imitation of the hybrid style and mixture of genres in the *Voir Dit*, including the exchange of amorous correspondence, the dramatization of the role of the reader, and the focus on the narration of the events rather than on the events themselves.

In lists I and II, I have underlined the incipit of the three pieces which are also copied in *VeAg*. The presence in this chansonnier of two stanzas of Machaut, reported in the *Roman de Cardenois* in the form of *arias* recited by the two female protagonists, represents a little-known extension of the reception of Machaut's works outside France in the fifteenth century. One way of explaining this textual tradition is as a progressive dismantling and recycling of what the author had conceived of as an ordered whole ('le livre ou je mets toutes mes choses'). This process parallels the one observed in other late witnesses of Machaut's works, such as the chansonnier *Pa* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS 902 [olim Fr. 15]), which I will discuss in more detail below. This late manuscript tradition of Machaut in Catalonia might have played an important role as a textual and stylistic bridge between the fourteenth-century French lyric canon and later Hispanic poetry. In particular, the Castillian courtly *villancico* is traditionally explained as the reformulation of a well-known French *forme fixe*, the *virelai*. However, it can be better understood as the development of a specific Catalan metric pattern, the *dansa retronxada*, based upon imported French forms.<sup>21</sup>

### *The Poems Transmitted by VeAg and the Cardenois*

In *VeAg* we can read the first stanza of the ballade *Amis mon cuer e toute ma pensee* (Lo220), and the last six lines of a *complainte* entitled *Or soit ainsi com Dieux ha ordonné* (Cp5). The anonymous poem *Amis, se par ma foulie*, was placed between these two texts, and has been identified by Pierre-Yves Badel as the first part of a longer *virelai* inserted in Jean Froissart's *Joli buisson de jeunesse*, according to Froissart's own report composed circa 1353 by a lady in Picardy.<sup>22</sup> All three pieces were transcribed on a single folio in *VeAg* (fol. 147<sup>r</sup>) which precedes a section exclusively made of French ballades, including Oton de Granson's 'Les cinq balades ensuivans' (copied without attribution to Granson), followed by Jean de Garençières'

<sup>20</sup> On this form of incipital quotation, see Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*.

<sup>21</sup> This metrical hypothesis is developed by Lannutti, '*Concordia discors*'.

<sup>22</sup> See Badel, '*Par un tout seul escondire*'

*Enseignement du dieu d'amours* and Granson's longer poems.<sup>23</sup> The scheme below summarizes the order of the poems in both sources:

- *Roman de Cardenois* (Mn)
  1. *Amis se par ma foulie* (§ 22.78) (anonymous *virelai*)
  2. *Or soit ainsi com Dieux ha ordonné* (§ 24.9) (Machaut: *complainte*, Cp5, vv. 33–38)
  3. *Amis mon cuer et toute ma pense* (§ 32) (Machaut: *balade*, Lo220)
- *VeAg* (MS 8, fol. 147<sup>r</sup>)
  3. *Amis mon cuer e touta ma pensea* (Machaut's Lo220: only 1st stanza)
  1. *Amis si pour ma folhia* (anonymous *virelai*: same lines as in the *Cardenois*, with variant readings but same *mise en texte*, different from that found in Froissart's *Joli buisson de jeunesse* and in *Pa*)
  2. *Or soyt eynsi con Diu ha ordoné* (Machaut's Cp5, vv. 33–38: same lines as in *Cardenois*)

The three French stanzas copied without attributive rubric in *VeAg* stand out for one reason: in all three, the lyric I corresponds to the voice of a woman's lament, in the style of the *chanson de femme*. The genres — a *balade*, a *virelai* (at least in its original form) and a *complainte* — do not take us far from the musical and poetic items specified by the Marquis of Santillana in his *Prohemio e carta*. These are essentially the same lyric forms to which the Catalan infante John, the future 'Musician King', also refers in a well-known letter of 1380 to his brother, the future King Martin I:

Car frare: sapiats que, lo jorn de la festa de ninou prop passada, nós entrevenents als-cuns dels nostres xantres, fahem ·i· rondell notat ab sa tenor e contratenor e ab son cant, traslat del qual vos trametem dins la present entreclús, pregants-vos, frare car, que·l cantets e·l façats cantar e que·l mostrets o·l façats mostrar a tots aquells qui us serà semblant. E si vós ne altre alcú qui ab vós sia vol fer *viralay o rondell o ballada en ffrancès*, enviats-la'ns quan feta sia, car nós la us trametrem notada ab son so novell.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For the attribution of the first section of ballades to Catalan poet Oliver de Gleu and, in the case of the single ballade *Hoiés ores, mon cuer, ce que vueil dire*, to Jacme Escrivà, see Marfany, 'Les balades franceses'.

<sup>24</sup> Letter first published by Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, II, 283–84 (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Reg. 1658, fol. 108).

[Dear brother: know that upon the Feast of New Year's Eve lately past, we, with the help of some of our singers, composed a *rondeau* with two parts for tenor and contratenor and cantus, a transcript of which we send you alongside the present epistle, beseeching you, dear brother, that you sing it and have it performed and that you show it or have it circulated among all those you see fit. And if you, or any other of your company, should wish to write a *virelai*, *rondeau* or *ballade* in French, do send it to us when it is ready, for we will return it to you with a new musical score]

Aside from the two pieces by Machaut, the anonymous little poem, *Amis se par ma foulie*, is relevant because both *Cardenois* and *VeAg* transmit the same *mise en texte* of the *virelai* (different from Froissart's version in *Joli buisson de jeunesse*, incipit *Par un tout seul escondire*). This is also copied, in a form closer to that displayed by Froissart, in *Pa* (fol. 41<sup>vb</sup>), a codex important to the textual tradition of Granson, and one of the most clear examples of the 'deconstruction' of the complete works of Machaut at the threshold of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

The similarity of the ordering of the three texts shared by *VeAg* and *Cardenois*, the peculiar extracts cut from the *complainte*, reduced to its final six lines, and the specific form of the *virelai*, show that the two witnesses share a common source, which we have called  $\mu$ . In particular, if we consider the original form of the *virelai* reconstructed by Badel, it is significant that both *Cardenois* and *VeAg* insert the same spurious verses. Detailed textual analysis precludes the possibility that *Cardenois* is a direct copy of *VeAg* (or vice-versa): the rewriting of the *virelai* must proceed from a source common to both. Some readings, indeed, approximate  $\mu$  to *Pa*, providing a third witness of our source.<sup>26</sup> The text of Machaut's *complainte* Cp5 also clearly affiliates *VeAg* to the *Roman de Cardenois*: the Catalan chansonnier and *Mn* are the only Machaut witnesses which omit the first part of the text and preserve only the last six lines of the poem.

Strikingly, the Ferrell-Vogüé manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS Ferrell 1 [*Vg*]), one of the most important and early witnesses of Machaut's works (probably copied in the late 1360s and early 1370s, preceded only by BnF, MS fr. 1586 [*C*]), begins at fol. 34<sup>r</sup> with the same six lines, with the first half of the

<sup>25</sup> The first line of the poem is also reported in Évrart de Conty's comment to his translation of the pseudo-aristotelian *Problemata*, and in his comment to the *Echecs amoureux moralisés*, where it is clear that the *virelai* had been set to music, probably before Froissart's inclusion in his *Joli buisson de jeunesse*; see Sultan, 'Ymaginer son chant', pp. 310–11. Notably, in the chansonnier *Pa*, as in *VeAg*, Oton de Granson's 'Les cinq balades ensuivans' are copied without attribution. On *Pa* as a privileged witness of Machaut's late medieval audience, see McGrady, *Controlling Readers*.

<sup>26</sup> A shorter line in v. 2 and common readings of *VeAg* and *Cardenois* (against Froissart) in vv. 3 and 5. The closeness of our source to *Pa* had already been noticed by Badel, 'Par un tout seul escondire', p. 379.

*complainte* being found on the preceding folio. The genetic relation of what we may term the ‘Vogüé constellation’ is manifest also in the ordering of the pieces. In *Vg*, as in the other manuscripts of this branch of the family, the ballade *Amis mon cuer* constitutes the last in the series of ballades from the *Loange des Dames*, and after this a section follows in which the first female-voiced text is our *complainte* Cp5, *Or soit ainsi*.<sup>27</sup>

The stemmatic relationship between *VeAg* and the *Roman de Cardenois* is thus illustrated by the common model  $\mu$ , related to *Pa* and descending, via intermediate stages of transmission, from a model that was a collateral to manuscript *E* (BnF, MS fr. 9921), listed in the famous 1402 inventory of the library of the Duke of Berry and long known to have belonged to the Duke, and manuscripts *Vg* and *B* (BnF, MS fr. 1585), the last being a direct copy on paper of *Vg*, except for the *Prise d’Alixandre*, which in turn might have served as the exemplar for the *Prise* in *Vg*, as proposed by Margaret Bent.<sup>28</sup>

The relationship between the witnesses for these particular poems may be summarized in the following stemma.

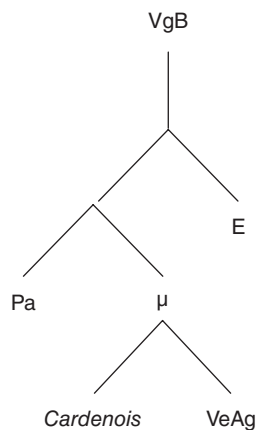


Figure: Stemma codicum of the *Roman de Cardenois*, from Fabio Zinelli, ‘Il *Roman de Cardenois*, Guillaume de Machaut e Oton de Grandson tra Francia del sud e Catalogna’, *Romania*, 130 (2012), 294–354.

<sup>27</sup> All these aspects are thoroughly investigated by Zinelli, ‘Il *Roman de Cardenois*’.

<sup>28</sup> Manuscript *E* bears Jean de Berry’s personal signature on fol. 238<sup>r</sup>, with the inscription: ‘Ce livre est au duc de Berry et d’Auvergne, conte de Poitou et d’Auvergne’. The manuscript has also an elaborate *ex-libris* by Jean Flamel, the duke’s librarian: ‘Ce livre de Machaut est a Jehan, filz de roy de France, Duc de Berry et d’Auvergne, Conte de Poitou, d’Estampes,

*Vg* and *B* are represented at the same level because the genetic relation between them is not entirely clear. Referring to the manuscripts discussed here, Lagomarsini showed how the history of Machaut's corpus corresponds to the type of textual tradition known as an open recension, subject to additions and subtractions, authorial revisions, and reworkings, with layered interventions which can affect single readings or the structure of whole works. Consequently, the task of establishing relations of a genetic type between the extant manuscripts, which reflect different stages of the text, is rendered more difficult. Nevertheless, it is significant that both the stemma designed by Ernst Hoepffner for Machaut's narrative works and the one proposed by Vladimir Chichmaref for the lyric corpus, distinguish similar families of manuscripts for the lower and middle levels of their respective trees.<sup>29</sup> Both stemmata confirm the existence of a *Vogüé family* or *constellation*, which includes, in addition to the *codex descriptus B, E* (derived from *B*), and *Pa*. The latter seems to have received an important part of its Machaut poems from *E*, and is relevant as much to Oton de Granson's as to Machaut's textual tradition.<sup>30</sup> This *Vogüé constellation* may have produced a source available in the Catalan *milieu* where the *Roman de Cardenois* and *VeAg* were compiled.<sup>31</sup>

It is likely that the *Vogüé* codex played an important role in the transmission and circulation of Machaut's literary legacy in the Crown of Aragon. This is supported by several pieces of evidence, including the genetic relationship between *Vg*, the *Roman de Cardenois* and *VeAg*, as discussed above. Furthermore, the Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut manuscript may have made its way to the Catalan court of John I and probably remained in the Crown of Aragon until the first years of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous. As Lawrence Earp first proposed, *Vg* can be identified with the 'libre apellat Mexaut' recorded in an inventory of King Alfonso in Valencia in 1417.<sup>32</sup> One letter from John I (1380), five from his wife Violant of Bar (1386, 1389, three letters dated 1390) and one from his brother the infante Martin (1391), show the interest for Machaut's works

de Bouloingne et d'Auvergne', cf. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 93. A discussion of the problematic relationship between *Vg* and *B* can be found in Keitel, 'La tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Machaut', and Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B and E'.

<sup>29</sup> Guillaume de Machaut, *Œuvres*, ed. by Hoepffner, and Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, ed. by Chichmaref.

<sup>30</sup> See Oton de Granson, *Poésies*, ed. by Grenier-Winther, and Marfany, 'Les balades franceses'.

<sup>31</sup> Lagomarsini's thorough textual analysis of all Machaut lyric insertions in the *Cardenois* is consistent with this conclusion.

<sup>32</sup> Earp, 'Machaut's Role', p. 478 n. 35.

among the Catalan royal family at a time when the author's complete-works manuscript tradition was still in progress. Of these letters, at least one may refer to *Vg*, as queen Violant thanks her cousin Gaston Febus, count of Foix, for a 'llibre molt bell e bo de Guillem de Maixaut' on 18 June 1389.<sup>33</sup>

A newly discovered letter from Violant to the count of Foix can now be added in support of this hypothesis, shedding light on the whole series of documents about the presence of Machaut manuscripts in Catalonia. This new piece of evidence assures the identification of Febus' codex with *Vg*, and consequently, it provides us with a direct proof supporting Lawrence Earp's long-held hypothesis on the 'southern' history of the manuscript.

On 18 November 1388, Violant wrote to Febus in order to ask him to lend her 'un bon libre apellat Guillaume de Meixaut' which, as we learn in her letter, had arrived in Foix as a gift from the Duke of Berry. The relevant extract from the letter, recently discovered and that will be published in our forthcoming *Diplomatari*, reads:

Part açò, com hajam entès que vós havets un bon libre apellat Guillaume de Mexaut, lo qual vos donà nostre molt car oncle lo duc de Berrí, pregam-vos, car cosí, que-l nos tramettats encontinent.<sup>34</sup>

[This aside, as we understand that you have a fine book called Guillaume de Machaut, which our very dear uncle the Duke of Berry gave you, we beseech you, beloved cousin, that you send it to us without delay.]

According to François Avril, the exquisite miniatures of the Ferrell-Vogüé manuscript were painted in Paris for a prestigious patron attached to the court of Charles V.<sup>35</sup> This would make Jean de Berry (1340–1416), queen Violant's uncle,

<sup>33</sup> Later, Violant might have lent this manuscript to Carroça de Vilaragut and to Hug de Cervelló, although we cannot be absolutely sure that the document (or documents?) borrowed from the queen relates to the same Machaut Febus had previously lent her. All relevant extracts of the letters from the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, except for the one recently discovered, are cited and commented on in Alberni, 'El Roman de Cardenois', pp. 100–08 (with a new edition of some of the texts).

<sup>34</sup> Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Reg. 2053, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>. For the complete document, see *Diplomatari*, ed. by Alberni and Cingolani, forthcoming. I first presented this edition of Violant's letter at the International Conference *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut: Music, Image, Text in the Middle Ages* (University of Exeter, 29–30 April 2013), organized by Yolanda Plumley. The extract was published by Earp, 'Vg to 1389: Jean de Berry and Gaston Fébus', p. 38, in his excellent introductory study to the facsimile edition of the codex. It has also been cited by Torró, 'La poesia cortesana', p. 263, although not associating Violant's 'libre' to *Vg*.

<sup>35</sup> Avril, 'Les manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut'.

a prime candidate as first owner of the chansonnier. This proposal correlates with Lawrence Earp's scenario, first expressed in a conference paper given at the University of Virginia in 2013 and afterwards expanded in his introductory study to the facsimile edition, 'Vg to 1389: Jean de Berry and Gaston Fébus' (pp. 28–46), in which he argues that the *Vg* manuscript would have been originally owned by the Duke of Berry. Earp hypothesizes that Fébus obtained the volume shortly before 1389 as one of the gifts he received in allowing Jean de Berry to marry Jeanne de Boulogne (1389), who had been in the guardianship of Fébus for many years. Such a scenario, as Earp argues, would place *Vg* in the library of Gaston Fébus, a circumstance important for its subsequent history, and it would also help to explain two other circumstances: 1) the quick copy of *B*, line-by-line in exactly the same format as *Vg*, leaving blank spaces for the miniatures (this, in turn, would help us to understand why *Vg* was unbound at this time); 2) the fine copy of *E* around 1390, also illuminated, produced for the Duke of Berry, presumably because he had given his own manuscript to the count of Foix.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, several codicological details of the Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut manuscript encourage us to speculate on its passage through the Crown of Aragon. First, the musical section of *Vg* opens with the first lay by Machaut *Loyauté que point ne delay* (L1), imitated by Andreu Febrer in his lay, *Amors qui tost fer quant li play* (RAO 59,2), as already noted.<sup>37</sup> Andreu Febrer is attested from 1393 in the service of John I, and later in that of Martin I, Alfonso V and the widowed Violant. If, as it must be assumed, *Vg* is one of the 'Meixauts' mentioned in the queen's letters, the Catalan poet might have had direct and easy access to L1. Febrer's knowledge and literary reworking of this composition is of noteworthy relevance to later Catalan and Hispanic poetry: for instance, it is central to the adaptation and subsequent development of the *chanson laiée*. Second, the signs of a coat of arms on the front cover allows a tentative identification of the blazon of Maria of Castille, wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous,

<sup>36</sup> Lawrence Earp suggests that the production of Machaut MSS *B* and *E* came about as a consequence of the 1389 wedding as well. MS *E* was a new manuscript to replace *Vg* in the Duke's library, and *B*, a quick copy of *Vg* probably made at the last moment before *Vg* was sent, served as an exemplar for some sections of *E*. On the relationship between *B* and *E*, see Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B and E'. I thank Lawrence Earp for sharing with me the text of his conference paper, 'The Transmission of Machaut'.

<sup>37</sup> This lay by Machaut starts a new gathering in *Vg* (fol. 291<sup>r</sup>), which according to Friedrich Ludwig, was divided in two volumes, with the first half containing the text, and the second the music. The folio where the lay begins is damaged, which might suggest that it once constituted the opening of a detached or separate part of the volume. See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut. A Guide to Research*, p. 84.

into whose library *Vg* may later have found its way after the King moved to Naples (1435). The remains of the pales of Aragon are clearly visible on the left portion of the blazon. The right segment is severely damaged, but experts have already suggested the arms of Castille and Leon.<sup>38</sup>

Textual analysis of the lyric compositions shared by *VeAg* and the *Roman de Cardenois* agrees with what we already knew of the circulation of Machaut manuscripts in Catalonia in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It also agrees with the recently acquired evidence provided by the rich registers of documents in the archives of the Crown of Aragon (Violant de Bar's letter to Gaston Febus dated 18 November 1388). One of these manuscripts is in all likelihood the Ferrell-Vogüé codex, beautifully illuminated and with outstanding musical notation, which has been described as 'arguably the supreme achievement of all surviving musical manuscripts of the fourteenth century',<sup>39</sup> and an ideal deluxe object to be appreciated in the 'musical' and 'French' court of John I. As we have seen, the definition of a *stemma codicum* representing the probable relationships between the extant witnesses of the Machaut poems copied in Catalonia has proved a crucial tool for reconstructing the history of the tradition and, therefore, the dissemination of the text. It furthermore corroborates the existence of a *Vogüé constellation* from which the *Roman de Cardenois* and *VeAg* might have drawn their pieces.

To conclude, both the *Roman de Cardenois* and the French poems copied in *VeAg* can be read as an event relevant to the reception of the works of Machaut in Catalonia, witnessing the progressive dismantling and creative recycling of his 'livre'. The genetic relation between *Cardenois* and *VeAg*, on the one hand, and the reference to the romance in King Martin's register of 1400, on the other, lead us to locate at least one stage of this process in the Crown of Aragon towards the end of the fourteenth century, at a time when the prestige of French literature and music held the aristocratic Catalan élite in their thrall. As I have shown, Machaut's literary legacy in the Crown of Aragon is one testament to the dissemination of French culture outside France: it is indeed by analysing it as a critical chapter of Machaut's textual tradition in itself, rather than as a marginal episode in the reception of his works far afield, that we can get new insights into the nature of his poetry and music.

<sup>38</sup> See Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, pp. 267–68, and Earp, 'Vg at the court of Aragon, 1389–1458', pp. 66–68. For more illustrations of the arms of Maria of Castille, see Vicens, 'Aproximació al món artístic de Maria de Castella'.

<sup>39</sup> Earp, 'Interpreting the deluxe manuscript', p. 228.

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