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TINCTORIS'S ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE STATUTES: A TEXT
AND A (POSSIBLE) CONTEXT

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TINCTORIS'S ITALIAN
TRANSLATION OF THE GOLDEN
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(POSSIBLE) CONTEXT*

Any assessment of a fifteenth-century court musician failing to take account of those extra-musical activities – be they juridical, administrative, liturgical or whatever – which almost invariably constituted an intrinsic part of that musician's overall function must be deemed at best flawed, at worst a chronic perpetuation of that romanticising instinct to dislocate music from its integral rôle as a morally and spiritually heightening force in the court's social structure. This is not, of course, to deny the acceleration in the emergence both of the 'professional' musician and of a more autonomous musical language, together with the potential for a similar though less tangible degree of autonomy in the public and private response to that music, all of which undoubtedly seems to have taken place in the fifteenth century. But, to take the practical case of Tinctoris, it is clear that, aside from his musical skills and the political attractions to Naples of forging cultural links with the Burgundian–Netherlandish circles of influence, a high-level training in canon and civil law would have contributed in no small measure to the securing of his post at the Neapolitan court of King Ferrante,¹ and, more specifically, was probably a major factor in his being commissioned by royal mandate, soon after his arrival in Italy, to translate into Italian the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece for his new

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¹ R. Woodley, 'Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), esp. pp. 231–2.

employer, on the occasion of Ferrante's election to knighthood of the order. Tinctoris's translation survives today in a beautifully executed and decorated manuscript copy, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIV.D.20, and is published here for the first time (Appendix 1). The scribe responsible for this manuscript, moreover, can be identified as Joanmarco Cinico, the recipient of the only true letter of Tinctoris known to be extant, and the publication of the Golden Fleece statutes thus provides an additional opportunity to present the text of this letter (Appendix 2) and examine the circumstances of its composition. This essentially non-musical connection between Tinctoris and the Golden Fleece may also serve as a useful adjunct to the work currently being undertaken by William Prizer on the more specifically musical activities of the order.²

The election of Ferrante in May 1473 to the Ordre de la Toison d'Or, founded by Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430 and one of the most powerful (if at times unstable) instruments of political and chivalric liaison in late-medieval Europe, took place at the twentieth chapter meeting in Valenciennes,³ probably as a direct corollary of the negotiated alliance between the king and Charles the Bold – then 'Supérieur' of the order – in the face of the French threat. I have already suggested elsewhere, indeed, that the sealing of this same alliance may have led directly to Tinctoris's own entry into Ferrante's household, around 1472.⁴ The king's election was not finally accomplished without some considerable stalling and political manoeuvring. These have been well enough documented, and there is little need to recite the details again here;⁵ a skeletal outline of the diplomatic process, however (somewhat drawn out because of the geographical distance involved), can be sketched from the

² See n. 18 below.

³ Detailed in F. A. F. T. de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Brussels, 1830), pp. 64–88.

⁴ See R. Woodley, 'Renaissance Music Theory as Literature: On Reading the *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris', *Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1987), pp. 209–20; also outlined in R. Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: a Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1982), I, pp. 34–5, and previously in L. L. Perkins and H. Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1979), I, p. 21.

⁵ See Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, pp. 72–3; for further bibliography, see, for example, R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 160–3.

repository of letters which forms part of the present archives of the order in Vienna.⁶

On 14 August 1473 Charles charges the registrar of the order, Martin Steenberch, with the task of drafting the letter conferring on Jean de Rubempré the responsibility for taking the necklace of office to Naples for presentation to the king.⁷ Later the same year, on 1 December, Steenberch himself is instructed to depart for Naples, along with Guy de Brimen, knight of the order, though the precise function of their visit is not clear. It is not until nearly six months have elapsed, on 25 May 1474, that Ferrante sends word back to the Burgundian court confirming that he has received the necklace from Jean de Rubempré, and six weeks later (6 July 1474) Charles instructs his half-brother Antoine, 'le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne', to travel to Naples in order both to convey the news of Ferrante's election, and to take the king's oath upon the statutes. A copy of these statutes (presumably in the original Burgundian French) must therefore have accompanied Antoine on this occasion, along with the cloak of office for the investiture which he had received prior to his departure from the treasurer of the order, Guillaume de Clugny (15 July 1474). Finally, on 20 April 1475, the letter from Ferrante is dispatched to Burgundy in which his investiture and oath are confirmed.

Returning to Tinctoris's part in the process, we might justifiably infer from this synopsis that Ferrante should commission his translation of the statutes fairly shortly after receipt of the French exemplar, that is, some time after April 1475. Can this be confirmed from other quarters? Fortunately, the hand of Naples xiv.d.20 can be identified with some security as that of Tinctoris's later correspondent and friend, the superlatively accomplished court scribe Joanmarco Cinico,⁸ although Antonella Murano, in her study of

⁶ Inventoried in J. Ruwet, *Les archives et bibliothèques de Vienne et l'histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1956), pp. 765–99; see also L. Bittner, ed., *Gesamtinventar des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, *Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs* 7 (Vienna, 1938), pp. 412–20.

⁷ The following details are taken largely from the summaries published in Ruwet, *Archives*, pp. 772–3.

⁸ Cinico was originally from Parma, and was at one time a pupil of Pietro Strozzi, though no details of residence in Florence are known. He seems to have been in Naples by the 1440s, and is recorded as a familiar of St Antoninus, when Archbishop of Florence, in 1462 (again, residing in either Florence or Naples). He is documented at the Neapolitan royal court, usually styled as 'scriptor de la libreria del Senyor Rey', from March 1469 through to March 1498, and a large proportion of his manuscript productions, which can be dated

Neapolitan Renaissance miniatures, mistakenly attributes the manuscript to Antonio Sinibaldi, around 1469, on the basis of some similarity with an Aesop of this date (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 6).⁹ Moreover, there is a sufficiently comprehensive run of reproductions of dated Cinico manuscripts available to make feasible a very detailed charting of the scribe's palaeographical development. With the *Articuli* set alongside a selection of those which fall in the relevant period,¹⁰ it is not a difficult task to fix the Tinctoris translation at a date between the years 1474 and 1477, thus coinciding extremely accurately with the period around, and immediately following, Ferrante's election. It will be seen shortly that other factors may enable us to narrow this further, to the two years or so around 1476–7.

from 1463 to 1494, were made for the royal library. He was renowned among his contemporaries for his pious, modest and restrained life, and his name was often punningly linked to the ancient ascetic sect of the Cynics, followers of the beggar-philosopher Diogenes. The nickname 'Velox' also appears in some of Cinico's own explicit (perhaps an additional pun on the Greek *κινέω*): apparently the scribe took a certain pride in his speed of work, while maintaining the highest calligraphic standards. (Some of the statistics here are interesting: he claimed to have completed a Pliny of 635 folios in 120 days in 1465 [Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS v.1.3], a Bartolommeo Facio *De humanae uitae felicitate dialogus* in 52 hours [Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Strozzi 109], and an Albertus Magnus *Arte di ben morire* of 36 folios in 53 hours [Davenham, collection of C. W. Dyson Perrin: see G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrin* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 189–90, Plate LXXV].) Cinico, in addition to his purely scribal duties, also carried out a certain amount of translation work himself, from Latin into Italian, and an interest in the latest technology of typography led to collaboration with the printers Mathias Moravus and Pietro Molino in the 1480s, and a long legal dispute over publication rights with fellow printer Francesco del Tuppo between 1487 and 1493. (Above details taken from T. de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1947–52); 2 suppl. vols. (Verona, 1969), I, pp. 42–6.) For the text of a sonnet addressed to Cinico by Antonello Petrucci, see De Marinis, *Biblioteca*, I, p. 44; for letters by the Neapolitan humanist Elisio Calenzio which mention Cinico and confirm the contemporary perception of his moral uprightness, see B. Croce, 'Elisio Calenzio' in *Varietà di storia letteraria e civile*, I (Bari, 1935), pp. 8–28, esp. 23–6.

⁹ A. P. Murano, *Miniature napoletane del Rinascimento* (Naples, 1973), p. 25.

¹⁰ For example, from De Marinis, *Biblioteca*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 18524: *Rosarium grammaticae*, 19 July 1467 (II, p. 145); Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Holm D 121a: Petrarch, *De uiris illustribus*, 19 September 1467 (suppl. vol. I, Plate 163); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 12947: Contrario, *Obiurgatio*, 1471 (III, Plates 74–8); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 5088: Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1472 (III, Plate 54); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS 4009: [Verduno] *Oratio Ferdinando . . . regi dicta*, 1474 (IV, Plate 301); Leningrad, Hermitage, MS O.R.N. 26: Carafa, *De regimine principum*, 1477 (suppl. vol. II, Plates 184–6); Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS W 113: Barbaro, *Epistolae*, before 1481 (suppl. vol. II, Plates 10–11); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11324: Biondo, *Decades*, 1494 (III, Plate 33). See also J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), nos. 26–7.

One further, elegant connection between the personnel in Tintoris's circle deserves brief attention. The initial **P** at the beginning of the main text of the *Articuli*, and the lower border of the same folio (fol. 5), are decorated with finely executed interlaced white vine, geometrical pattern and floral sprays. In the centre of the lower border can be seen the Aragonese armorial bearings,¹¹ confirming the provenance/destination of the manuscript, and the escutcheon is supported by two putti. The similarity of facial characteristics of these putti to those of the frontispiece of the important Valencia source of Tintoris's theoretical works (Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 835) is very striking, and it seems certain that we may ascribe this part of the decoration of the *Articuli* to the renowned Cola Rapicano, the decorator of at least this feature of the Valencia manuscript.¹²

The relevance of the *Articuli*, then, to our appreciation of Tintoris's activities in Naples is considerable, especially if his very arrival at court was indeed related in some direct way to the liaison between Charles the Bold and Ferrante. But the work also possesses a further historical significance, for it seems to be the earliest known translation of the statutes into any language.¹³ There can scarcely be much doubt that the translation was Tintoris's own work: 'Li quali articuli Iohannes Tintoris doctissimo et clarissimo musico per mandato de la Sacra Regia Maiesta ha traducti de lingua de borgogna in lingua Italiana.'¹⁴ The administrative details, however, of the commission are all but impossible to recover, and it would be plausible to construe this heading – probably inserted by Cinico himself – as meaning that Tintoris was in a more general sense responsible for having the work carried out, more or less under his

¹¹ Type 13 of De Marinis's classification (*Biblioteca*, II, Plate B): reproduced in Murano, *Miniature*, Plate xia.

¹² I am extremely grateful to Dr A. C. de la Mare, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for her advice concerning this identification at an earlier stage in my research on Valencia 835: see Woodley, 'Proportionale', I, pp. 123–31. The part played by Cola Rapicano in the decoration of the manuscript is not noted in Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*; I am hoping to devote a separate study to the Neapolitan sources of Tintoris's treatises at a later date.

¹³ Cf. Ruwet, *Archives*, pp. 792–7, and *Exposition de la Toison d'Or: Catalogue* (Brussels, 1907), p. 97. To take a case analogous to that of Ferrante: the copy of the statutes made for Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1479 or shortly thereafter, remained in the original language (see *La Toison d'Or: cinq siècles d'art et d'histoire* [exhibition catalogue] (Bruges, 1962), p. 111, no. 30). Other translations seem to be known only from the sixteenth century onward.

¹⁴ Appendix 1 below, lines 3–5.

own supervision; but, since Tinctoris had been at court for some four or five years, there is at least no particular reason to doubt his fluency in Italian by this time. In any case, judgement on Tinctoris's linguistic competence must be left to scholars of fifteenth-century Italian, but the dialect of his text shows no obvious signs of Neapolitan, Catalan or Castilian influence, such as one might expect in a translation made presumably for largely pragmatic reasons of comprehension. The Tuscan Italian of the *Articuli*, indeed (give or take a few gallicisms and latinisations),¹⁵ in spite of its highly formalised context, can be viewed as convincing evidence for Tinctoris's rapid assimilation of the Petrarchan vernacular, a vogue for which was sweeping Naples at precisely this time,¹⁶ and thus corroborates the other signs of humanist engagement which can be inferred from his own musical theoretical work.¹⁷

On a broader, musical level, the recent work of William Prizer has demonstrated that the ceremonies of the Golden Fleece were certainly often enriched with elaborate polyphony – a conclusion which might in any case have been plausibly conjectured, in view of the extremely high status of the order, but for which direct evidence is only now beginning to emerge.¹⁸ Prizer, indeed, has specifically postulated that the series of *L'homme armé* masses in the Chigi Codex 'may have been associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece'.¹⁹ Without wishing to anticipate the results of Prizer's 'future study on the order at the time of Charles the Bold', I believe that a case can be made out regarding another important manuscript source of *L'homme armé* masses, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI.E.40 – it is

¹⁵ I am grateful to Professor Cecil Grayson of Magdalen College, Oxford, for this observation on the dialect of the text.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 10–11.

¹⁷ Cf., for example, Woodley, 'Renaissance Music Theory', and R. Woodley, 'The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris's Fragmentary Treatise *De inuentione et usu musicae*', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 239–68, esp. 255–7.

¹⁸ W. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 113–53. Reinhard Strohm had earlier suggested that a *Missa de vello* [*sic*] *aureo*, composed by the teacher of Arnulphus Giliardi for the 'Dux Belgarum', and mentioned by John Hothby in his *Dialogus . . . in arte musicae*, was intended for a chapter meeting of the Toison d'Or (R. Strohm, 'European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), pp. 321–2). Prizer seems to accept this suggestion ('Music and Ceremonial', pp. 116–17, n. 9), but Hothby's text in fact reads 'de panno aureo' (*Johannis Octobi tres tractatuli contra Bartholomeum Ramum*, ed. A. Seay, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 10 (Rome, 1964), p. 75), and so the identification seems unlikely.

¹⁹ Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial', pp. 128–9, and n. 43.

important to maintain a distinction between the masses themselves and this particular source, even though it is an unicum – which does not directly involve the order as such, but which does nevertheless bear, in a slightly more intricate way, on the relationship between the courts of Naples and Burgundy. Since this relationship is, as we have already seen, germane to the circumstances of Tintoris's move to Italy, and since it is quite possible that Tintoris had a personal part to play in the manuscript's travels, which may in turn have spin-off implications for another major Neapolitan source of the period, the Mellon Chansonier, it seems worthwhile to digress at this point to consider the arguments.

It has been clear for some time, since Judith Cohen published her study of the manuscript,²⁰ that an immediate context, albeit incomplete, for the provenance and destination of Naples VI.E.40 is provided by the anonymous dedicatory poem to Beatrice, Queen of Hungary, in Latin elegiac couplets, inscribed on its final folio.²¹ Several basic points emerge from the wording of this inscription, regarding some of which Cohen's comments require a little adjustment:

1. In line 1, Beatrice is addressed as 'Regia progenies et regi nupta Beatrix'. 'Nupta' here may signify that the marriage to Matthias Corvinus in 1476 has already been solemnised, but may equally be an immediately anticipatory usage; it is well known that Beatrice adopted the new regal title from the summer of 1475, after a visit to Naples of Matthias's ambassadors to conclude the preliminaries of the marriage contract.²² This possibly anticipatory use, appropriate both poetically and historically, of 'nupta' finds a corollary in, and is certainly not necessarily vitiated by, the perfect tense of line 11: 'Quam bene concordi iunxerunt numina lecto'. The temporal proximity of the wedding, however, to the time of writing seems to be confirmed by the nature of the final salutation (lines 19–

²⁰ J. Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'Homme Armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI.E.40*, Musicological Studies and Documents 21 (n.p., 1968).

²¹ The full text is given (with a few minor inaccuracies) in Cohen, *Six Anonymous L'Homme Armé Masses*, pp. 62–3; a facsimile of the original is provided *ibid.*

²² Similarly, Ferrante's son Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, terms Matthias his brother-in-law at the end of 1475, in letters to the Neapolitan ambassador in Hungary, the Archbishop of Bari (A. de Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon, reine de Hongrie (1457–1508)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1911), I, p. 95).

20): 'Iam ualeas foelix cum caro coniuge semper | augeat in nostram fortis utrique fidem.'

2. A wide geographical separation between the anonymous poet-donor and Beatrice is evident: 'Te tua uirtutum series lustrata per orbem | nunciat, ut nostris sis quoque nota locis. | Tu modo diuinos cultus regionibus istis | extollens, cantus aducis ipsa modos' (lines 3–6). It is not clear whether 'regionibus istis' refers to Naples or Buda, though the former seems more likely; 'nostris . . . locis' is almost certainly the circle of the Burgundian court, as is apparent from (3) below.

3. 'Charolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat' (line 15). The reference here, as was noted by Cohen, is without much doubt to Charles the Bold. The time-scale implied by 'quondam' – a treacherously imprecise adverb – is impossible to determine: it may well even mean 'on occasions'. It can by no means be assumed from 'solebat' that Charles is dead at the time of writing; similarly the title 'princeps' here is almost certainly a poetic synonym for 'dux', i.e. 'duke'; the wording, nevertheless, does not allow us to judge with any certainty whether Charles was already duke, or still Count of Charolais, at the time of his 'enjoyment' of the music.²³

4. 'Rex hostes fidei uincit. Regina colendo | magnificat sanctum subleuat atque fidem' (lines 9–10). The distich contains an element of generalised dictum, but also refers implicitly, by context, to the Turkish threat to Matthias and his territories.

5. 'Hinc licet ignotus dominam te munere tantum | ausus adire fui, seruulus ipse tuus' (lines 13–14); also 'Munus ab ignoto . . .' (line 18). The poet-donor is a stranger to Beatrice, and the implication is strong that the manuscript gift has reached her hands through some intermediary holding a position appropriate to the task.

It will be necessary to return to, and enlarge upon, some of these points shortly. If one admits the possibility, though, of the anticipatory nature of the epithalamium – for this is essentially what the inscription is, and the manuscript a wedding gift – then a close scrutiny both of the timetable leading up to the marriage of Beatrice and Matthias, and of likely points of direct contact between person-

²³ Lewis Lockwood appears to come down in favour of 'princeps' being a synonym for 'comes' here, and thereby implies that Charles's 'enjoyment' of the music predates his inheritance of the dukedom in 1467 (*Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Oxford, 1984), p. 239).

nel of the Burgundian and Neapolitan courts during this period, correlated with Matthias's own political situation vis-à-vis Burgundy and the Turkish threat, will perhaps yield some clues as to how and when the *L'homme armé* masses were transmitted.

It should be borne in mind that the negotiations and preliminary preparations for Beatrice's marriage were drawn out over a period of more than two and a half years, partly, as in the case of Ferrante's election to the Golden Fleece, because of the large amount of hard travelling involved.²⁴ As early as the spring of 1474 Matthias Corvinus sent his ambassadors Bánfi and Handló to Naples, in order to seek Beatrice's hand for the king. Ferrante's letter of consent is dated 5 September 1474, and the favourable response is celebrated by Matthias, despite his being under siege in Breslau by the troops of the kings of Poland and Bohemia, on 30 October of this same year. On the Sunday after the Feast of the Purification 1475, Matthias receives ambassadors from Ferrante and Venice at Breslau, with the Archbishop of Bari, who bring presents from Beatrice; and this is soon followed by the visit of Matthias's own ambassadors to Naples in June 1475, as has already been mentioned, for the purpose of concluding the preliminaries of the marriage contract 'per uerba de futuro' and of the dowry. It is from this point in the negotiations that Beatrice styles herself Queen of Hungary, although as it turned out there followed a delay of no less than a year before the main contingent set out from Buda (mid-June 1476) for the first coronation ceremony in Naples. According to Beatrice's modern biographer, Albert Berzeviczy, this delay was specifically caused by Matthias's war against (among others) the Turks, who were constantly threatening his borders;²⁵ and this receives support from the contemporary fifteenth-century Italian writer Antonius de Bonfinis (Antonio Bonfini) who, at the beginning of Decade iv, Book iv of his *Rerum Vngaricarum Decades* (compiled in the late 1480s and early 1490s),²⁶ notes that this very period was said to be one of great

²⁴ The following details are largely drawn from Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon*, I, pp. 93ff.

²⁵ Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon*, I, p. 99.

²⁶ Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Vngaricarum Decades*, ed. I. Fögel, B. Iványi and L. Juhász, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1936; Budapest, 1941). Several contemporary texts describing Matthias's struggles to prevent Turkish incursions into his territories (as well as other descriptions of, for example, the coronation in Hungary and the entry of the king and queen into Buda) are printed in *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* (Frankfurt, 1600).

difficulty for Matthias, because of the joint preoccupations of the forthcoming marriage and the Turks:

Quam bene cum Turcis ceterisque hostibus superiore anno [i.e. 1475] actum fuerit, ex his, que scripsimus, facile intelligi potest. Insequenti uero, qui septuagesimus sextus ultra millesimum et quadringentesimum numeratur, longe secus uariante fortuna res Vngarice successere, quod plerique regalibus nuptiis, quarum tempus appropinquaret, nonnulli seuis brume temporibus, que Turcorum cepta fortunarunt, adscripsere.²⁷

Eventually, however, the large Hungarian retinue, which did not, in fact, include Matthias himself, entered Naples on Saturday 7 September 1476, and there followed a week of immense celebration, leading up to the coronation ceremony on 15 September, at which Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, Archbishop of Naples, officiated, the place of Matthias being taken by his cousin Jan Pongrácz of Dengeleg.²⁸ Three days later, on 18 September, Beatrice finally departs from Naples with a combined Neapolitan and Hungarian contingent of probably more than 800 persons; and after stopping over for several more days at Ferrara (16–21 October), where Beatrice would have met her close and only sister Eleonora d'Este,²⁹ the retinue made its way back to Buda, via Venice, though the second coronation ceremony – this time, of course, with the participation of Matthias – took place just outside the capital, in Székesfehérvár, on 12 December 1476, and the couple did not enter Buda itself until three days later.³⁰

In what circumstances, then, could a wedding token from Burgundy, in the shape of the Naples *L'homme armé* manuscript, have been given? One plausible scenario suggests itself, which fits with uncanny precision the timetable of the wedding outlined here, and which is reinforced by several further factors. This concerns a second suit for marriage, this time unsuccessful: the attempt by King Ferrante to seal further the Naples–Burgundy alliance with the marriage of his second son Federico, Prince of Taranto, to Charles the Bold's daughter, Mary of Burgundy. Once again, a long journey

²⁷ De Bonfinis, *Rerum Vngaricarum Decades*, iv, p. 63.

²⁸ Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon*, I, pp. 117ff.

²⁹ This stop-over in Ferrara is not recorded by Lewis Lockwood in his table of 'Some Principal Events at the Ferrarese Court in 1476' (*Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, p. 147), though the earlier arrival on 4 August of the Hungarian retinue on the way to Naples is. The September celebrations, however, must surely have been among the most lavish seen at the d'Este court that year.

³⁰ Berzeviczy, *Béatrice d'Aragon*, I, pp. 139ff.

is involved, that of Federico and his large retinue of, eventually, some 400, from Naples northward to the Burgundian court itself. The detail of their itinerary, in so far as it may have impinged on Tinctoris, will be outlined later; for the moment the barest sketch will suffice.³¹

Federico and his retinue left Naples on 26 October 1474, that is, around seven weeks after Ferrante had given his consent to Beatrice's marriage to Matthias; news of the forthcoming union, then, would certainly have travelled north with Federico. By the beginning of February 1475 the convoy had reached Turin, and soon after, in the early spring of that year, it crossed the Alps. They then proceeded through the territory of Lorraine, under the close surveillance of the new duke, René II, and King Louis XI, but, having arrived in Besançon around Easter, were forced to remain there for a large part of the summer, unable to obtain the necessary escort from Charles, and unable to assist him in the siege of Neuss, which had been continuing for nearly a year. Eventually, at the end of August 1475, Federico's passage to Charles was aided by Antoine de Bourgogne, who was at this stage (a nice coincidence, in the present context) returning from his duties in Naples concerning Ferrante's election to the Order of the Golden Fleece.³² In fact, Charles had by this time abandoned the siege of Neuss, having been reconciled with the emperor, and the crucial meeting of the duke with Federico's contingent took place at Pont-à-Mousson on 26 September 1475, when, as Charles himself later recorded in a letter to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the Neapolitans were received with great celebration and courtesy.³³ From this point, Federico stayed alongside Charles throughout the siege of Nancy (October–December 1475), and also during the disastrous (for Charles) Lorraine encounters of Grandson (2 March 1476) and Murten (21 June 1476), even though by this time Charles had actually announced his consent to the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian (6 May 1476), thus rendering the principal point of Federico's mission null and void. To prune

³¹ The following details are taken principally from E. Pontieri, 'Su mancate nozze tra Federico d'Aragona e Maria di Borgogna (1474–1476)', *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, n.s., 24 (1938), pp. 78–112, and R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973); see also H. vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne (1467–1477)* (Brussels, 1936).

³² See above, p.175.

³³ Pontieri, 'Su mancate nozze', p.96.

subsequent events still further: Federico finally left Charles only on 23 June 1476, at Gex, and eventually arrived back in Naples, via Lyons and Siena, on 21 October 1476 – having duly missed his sister’s coronation ceremony by over a month.

What, then, if Tinctoris had travelled to Burgundy as part of Federico’s retinue, perhaps principally as one of his father’s *uris-consulti* most intimately acquainted with the culture, language and laws of that distant part of northern Europe, but also, perhaps, as part of a chapel journeying to provide spiritual and musical succour to the aspiring groom on his travels? There is nothing in our (admittedly patchy) knowledge of Tinctoris’s biography to preclude such an excursion, and it would have provided an excellent opportunity for the anonymous Burgundian donor of Naples VI.E.40 to use the theorist as an intermediary in the donation. But, of course, there is an apparent contradiction here, since we have already seen how Beatrice had left Naples – indeed, was somewhere near Villach in modern Austria – by the time of Federico’s return home. The contradiction is only apparent, though. Paula Higgins, in her recent study of Busnois,³⁴ has made the pertinent point that, whereas Charles’s whole chapel was present with the duke at the time of the siege of Neuss,³⁵ nevertheless ‘since the surviving *escroes* for Charles the Bold’s household during 1476 show a significantly reduced chapel, it is possible that Busnois and the other members of the chapel were spared the particularly brutal campaigns in Lorraine’.³⁶ If this is the case, then it is equally possible that certain members (perhaps particularly musical members) of Federico’s retinue were also temporarily discharged for similar reasons. Indeed, even if this did not happen (and we must not fall into the trap of covertly turning hypothesis into fact), then, with the coronation preparations back in Naples well in hand by the early months of 1476, additional pressure may well have been placed on Federico to release those same musicians after the siege of Nancy in January 1476, in order to ensure that they were back in good time (say, April or May) for the

³⁴ P. Higgins, ‘*In Hydraulis Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 36–86.

³⁵ Hence the Milanese ambassador’s famous comment of May 1475 that ‘Even though he [i.e. the duke] is in camp, every evening he has something new sung in his quarters . . .’ (Higgins, ‘*In Hydraulis Revisited*’, p. 60).

³⁶ Higgins, ‘*In Hydraulis Revisited*’, pp. 60–1; also ‘The chapel members listed on the surviving *escroes* for 1476 suggest that the duke had only a “skeleton crew” of clerics with him on the battlefield.’ (*Ibid.*, n. 85.)

celebrations in the autumn. Nor is the suggestion of Tinctoris's journey to Burgundy undermined by the fact that in November 1476 he was able to write in the prologue to his *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* that his travels back to his homeland had all been cherished recollections rather than physical visits: 'Patriam sepenumero deinceps [posthac] repetii. Corpus etenim licet ab ea plurimum distet, animus parentes et amicos frequentissime recolens, profecto parum aut nihil abest.'³⁷ For Tinctoris here, 'patria' is a heavily loaded, emotional word: it is where his family roots are felt to reside; not in a nebulous sense of 'northern Europe', nor even 'the Netherlands' ('Germania inferior'), but more localised still, as, for example, Brabant, or that tip of South Brabant on the linguistic border of French and *thiois* dialect³⁸ where his family are known to have lived, in Braine-l'Alleud.³⁹ Pont-à-Mousson and Nancy, in other words, are most assuredly not 'patria'; indeed, it could even be argued (if it is not psychologically and critically too naïve) that Tinctoris's expressed sense of nostalgia and perhaps frustration were rendered all the more acute as a result of having found himself 'so near yet so far' a few months previously, unable to make the final leg of the desired journey to Brabant because of the complex military and diplomatic circumstances in which he found himself at the Burgundian court.

The masses of Naples v.l.e.40 then (as distinct from this particular source), may indeed have originated, as Prizer has suggested, as a cycle for weekly celebration in honour of the Order of the Golden Fleece at the Ste Chapelle in Dijon⁴⁰ and may, further, have

³⁷ The reading 'posthac' occurs in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147, and 'deinceps' in the two next-best sources, Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 835 and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573. The latter may represent an authorial revision; the presence of both adverbs together in Albert Seay's edition (*Johannis Tinctoris opera theoretica*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 22, 2 vols. (n.p., 1975); vol. IIa (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978), I, p. 65) makes no sense.

³⁸ See the map in C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Language Question in the Low Countries: The Use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and their Administration', *Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield and B. Smalley (London, 1965), p. 190.

³⁹ See Woodley, 'Review', pp. 223-4.

⁴⁰ I confess, however, to considerable unease at present regarding Prizer's apparent desire to associate the whole *L'homme armé* tradition with the Order of the Golden Fleece; it seems to me to be only one of several symbolic associations from which composers or their patrons could have drawn inspiration, and the complete absence of any direct reference to the Fleece in the trope texts of the Naples masses gives grounds for some scepticism even in this particular case. (A transcription by Steven Moore Whiting of the trope and canon texts of the Naples masses, together with his English translation, has recently been

travelled in the repertory of the Burgundian court while (as frequently) it was on military campaign. But if the past tense (albeit imprecise) of ‘Charolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat’ is at all meaningful, then the masses had perhaps already been dropped from the immediate repertory by 1475, while still remaining available for circulation. The Naples copy itself, therefore, could have been made in the area of Nancy, in the late autumn or winter of 1475 (or possibly very early in 1476), perhaps quite hurriedly and in not particularly conducive conditions – it is not exactly a luxurious presentation for a queen, and lacks all but the most rudimentary pen decoration⁴¹ – and handed over before the chapel members of both courts dispersed in early 1476. The nature of the *L’homme armé* allusions would thereupon have assumed the more specific relationship with Matthias and the Turkish threat, the ‘hostes fidei’ of the epithalamium (see above) mirroring the similar references which punctuate the trope texts of the masses.⁴² It is worth noting in this connection that such a use of music as a propagandistic or politically legitimising agent would have come as no novelty to Matthias, as we learn from the (equally propagandistic) Italian author Galeottus Martius Narniensis, in his *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae ad duces Iohannem eius filium liber*, published in the mid-1480s:

Semper enim in eius conuiuio disputatur aut sermo de re honesta aut iocunda habetur aut carmen cantatur. Sunt enim ibi musici et citharoedi, qui fortium gesta in lingua patria ad mensam in lyra decantant. Mos enim Romanorum hic fuit et a nobis defluxit ad Hungaros. Cantatur autem semper aliquod egregium facinus nec deest materia. Nam cum Hungaria in medio hostium diuersarum linguarum sita sit, semper rei bellicae habet fomitem. Amatoria autem carmina raro ibi cantantur et, ut plurimum gesta in Turchos in medium ueniunt, non sine sermone concinno.⁴³

Again, the apparently relatively ‘informal’ nature of the wedding token may be (at least partially) explained by taking into account the third arm of the Naples–Burgundy–Hungary triangle, namely, the

published in a letter from Barbara Helen Hagg to the Editor, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), pp. 139–43.)

⁴¹ I am not attempting here to trace the significance of the blazon and motto on fol. 64 of the manuscript (Cohen, *Six Anonymous L’Homme Armé Masses*, p. 11), which still remains mysterious.

⁴² See the editions of L. Feininger in *Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae*, III, 1–6 (Rome and Trent, 1957–74).

⁴³ Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae ad duces Iohannem eius filium liber*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum (Leipzig, 1934), p. 18.

relations between Charles and Matthias.⁴⁴ These had been particularly close, involving a treaty between the two powers in November 1474, a mission of Hungarian ambassadors to Charles in Neuss (May 1475), seeking alliance against Frederick III, and a full-scale Burgundian embassy sent to Hungary in August 1475. But a peace treaty was signed between Charles and Frederick on 17 November 1475, strengthened later, as we have seen, by Charles's consent to the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian, and by the time of the siege of Nancy – the period in which we are particularly interested – the formal alliance with Hungary seems to have been abandoned, although the two sides were clearly still on friendly terms.⁴⁵ During this delicate period, then, towards the end of 1475, it is entirely possible that a formal wedding tribute to Beatrice and Matthias would have been considered undiplomatic, but that the musical interests shared by the Burgundian duke and the Neapolitan princess were such as to allow an ostensibly less official token of support, in the form of the group of mass settings. The most plausible candidate for authorship of the dedicatory poem, and perhaps the masses themselves, is probably Antoine Busnois, as Richard Taruskin has recently suggested.⁴⁶ It does not seem too fanciful, then, to view Naples VI.E.40 less as an act of personal goodwill, generosity or self-promotion on the part of Busnois (if it was indeed he) than as an example of music and a highly regarded musician being used, in token anonymity, as a mediating political tool in circumstances where the more formal channels may have been regarded as inappropriate; and a mirroring of this process of mediation may be reflected in Tinctoris's conveyance of the manuscript back to the court in Naples.

The point needs to be emphasised, however, that, on the basis of the above evidence alone, the posited journey of Tinctoris to Burgundy in 1474–6 is entirely speculative; for even if the circumstances surrounding the donation of Naples VI.E.40 to Beatrice were indeed related to Federico's visit to Charles, it could be argued that

⁴⁴ See Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 341ff.

⁴⁵ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 381.

⁴⁶ R. Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 255–93, esp. 279–83. Taruskin's views on the position of Busnois in the *L'homme armé* tradition have generated some subsequent correspondence from Barbara Helen Hagg (cf. n. 40 above), Don Giller and David Fallows, as well as a further response from Taruskin himself, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), pp. 139–53.

Tinctoris himself need not necessarily have played any part at all: he could equally have been back in Naples for the duration, busying himself with some of his theoretical works (and, for that matter, the Golden Fleece translation). A further factor, though, can be adduced which lends some additional weight to the hypothesis.

Tinctoris's part in the compilation of the Mellon Chansonnier has been investigated with some thoroughness by Leeman Perkins.⁴⁷ I believe, in fact, that a strong case can now be made for the theorist having been the actual scribe of both the music and the poetic texts of this manuscript, though the detail of this argument must await a later occasion.⁴⁸ In the present context, brief attention can usefully be focused on one slightly anomalous feature of the chansonier, namely the English songs contained there, and specifically those three which are preserved, strikingly, with their apparently original English texts (fols. 61^v–63: *So ys emprentid* ('Walterus Fry'); fols. 65^v–67: *Myn hertis lust* ([Bedyngham]); and fols. 77^v–79: '*Alas, alas, alas*' *is my chief song* ([Frye])).⁴⁹ Of course, it would not be a difficult task to invent mechanisms whereby English songs could have been transmitted to Tinctoris in Naples, or whereby he could have picked them up before his move to Italy. But a visit to the Burgundian court in the autumn of 1475, when Robert Morton himself had very recently been present,⁵⁰ and when, in addition, the court of Edward iv had recently been in extremely close proximity to Charles, following the king's crossing to Burgundy in the summer of 1475 in the wake of the Treaty of London,⁵¹ would have provided an ideal opportunity for Tinctoris to obtain the material, if not personally from Morton (some of whose songs also found a place in the collection), then from his immediate circle. The English texts

⁴⁷ Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, I, pp. 17–26.

⁴⁸ A preliminary report was delivered at the Sixteenth Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Edinburgh, in August 1988.

⁴⁹ Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, I, nos. 45, 47 and 55.

⁵⁰ His latest recorded presence appears to be 14 June 1475 (D. Fallows, 'Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1978, pp. 274–5)).

⁵¹ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 348. It should not be forgotten that Edward iv had himself been elected Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece on 14 May 1468, and Charles was in turn created Knight of the Garter the following year (13 May 1469). Indeed, according to Vaughan (*Charles the Bold*, p. 60), the Feast of the Garter was actually celebrated at the Burgundian court on St George's Day 1471 and 1472, and possibly annually: would this not have provided a highly appropriate context for the performance of English music, both sacred and secular, at that court?

themselves, to be sure, are rather garbled, such as would suggest that the scribe was not well acquainted with the language; but they are not so utterly garbled that one should suspect multiple layers of corruption between accurate exemplar and Mellon. Indeed, as Howard Garey has observed in his commentary notes to the three Mellon texts,⁵² there are very strong palaeographical grounds for believing that the exemplar for Mellon was the work of a more or less accurate English scribe, which the Mellon copyist has on occasion misread through French eyes. Could Tintoris, then, have been working from Morton autographs, either having made rough draft copies while in the north in the autumn/winter of 1475–6 (thus probably compounding some of the eventual Mellon errors himself), or even bringing back to Naples copies made (if not especially for him) by Morton? Outside the realm of the English pieces, Perkins has also noted that in the French chansons there is quite a sharp textual separation in Mellon concordances between the central French sources and those of the Italian peninsula;⁵³ this becomes entirely comprehensible if Tintoris had collected some of these during this same visit, relying for others on sources available in Naples or during his travels elsewhere within Italy (on which see below). Moreover, whether or not Taruskin's suggestion is accepted that the combinative chanson *Il sera pour vous combatu / L'ome armé* in Mellon, contrary to the garbled ascription of the four-part version to 'Borton' (generally acknowledged as Robert Morton) in the Casanatense Chansonnier, is actually by Busnois, being perhaps the original song which initiated the whole *L'homme armé* tradition,⁵⁴ it is nevertheless to Tintoris that we owe our debt for the preservation of this undoubtedly important piece of the *L'homme armé* jigsaw. Indeed, it is entirely likely that most or all of those songs which Tintoris collected for Mellon during his hypothesised visit to Burgundy – at least, those he did not already know from his Loire valley days – would have been obtained through personal contact with Busnois himself; the fact, then, that Mellon is such a prime source for this composer's chansons is perfectly understandable.

⁵² Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, II, pp. 370–5, 385–9 and 416–20. Garey's observations are largely derived from R. J. Manner, 'Three Fragmentary English Ballades in the Mellon Chansonnier', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 6 (1945), pp. 381–7.

⁵³ Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, I, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnois', pp. 288–93. David Fallows has argued in favour of Morton's authorship of 'Il sera pour vous': see, most recently, his letter to the Editor, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, referred to in n. 46 above.

Again, if these hypotheses are correct, then we may date the copying of Mellon with some security, between the time of Tinctoris's return to Naples – let us estimate this around late spring or early summer 1476 – and Beatrice's first coronation ceremony in September of this same year, for which the volume was certainly intended as a presentation copy. In turn, this would provide a very plausible explanation for the apparent haste in which the manuscript was executed, despite its high quality and status, and also for the omission of some of the final decoration.⁵⁵ If Tinctoris had indeed been in Naples the whole time, with at least two years to prepare the volume, it is scarcely credible that such a state of incompleteness would have resulted, or indeed been tolerated. The preparation may, of course, have been begun before the proposed visit north (witness, for example, Tinctoris's own *O Virgo, miserere mei*, fols. 24^v–25, with the ostensibly pre-betrothal inscription 'Beatissime uirgini domine Beatrici de Aragonia') but not 'completed' until the last moment.⁵⁶ It may be the case, in fact, that in its initial conceptual stage the collection was projected as a simple presentation for the musically talented princess, only later acquiring its eventual function as a wedding/coronation gift. Alternatively, we should perhaps be cautious in imbuing the inscription of *O Virgo, miserere mei* with too much chronological significance, firstly because it is by no means certain that it would have been inappropriate in the period between Beatrice's betrothal and marriage proper, and secondly because a historically correct pre-betrothal inscription could easily have been copied after its strict validity ceased. This latter point tends to disturb our preconceptions of Renaissance protocol; but analogous examples of adherence to textual integrity, in the face of historical error or changed circumstance, occur in Tinctoris's theoretical writings,⁵⁷ and it would be of no particular surprise to find it happening in the chansonnier.

⁵⁵ Cf. Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, 1, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Perkins was already aware of this slight anomaly (Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, 1, pp. 30–1), but at the time of his writing the proposed interruption to the compilation of the collection was not yet a consideration. Atlas, in a review of the Perkins and Garey edition (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 132–43, on p. 138, n. 8), does not rule out the possibility that the entire chansonnier was completed prior to the 1475 betrothal. On the two Latin pieces by Tinctoris in Mellon, *O Virgo, miserere mei* and *Virgo Dei throno digna*, see also J. van Benthem, 'Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 32 (1982), pp. 24–9.

⁵⁷ The closest analogy to the present case is perhaps to be found in the dedicatory

The broader implications of the above for Tinctoris's career can only be outlined here. For example, in simple terms of itinerary, we can now postulate that, along with the rest of Federico's retinue, the theorist would have visited: Rome at the beginning of November 1474, Federico being received outside the city walls by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere; Ferrara, from 4 December 1474, as guest of Ercole d'Este; Milan, from 18 December 1474; Venice, for six days from 6 January 1475; and thence, as already noted, to Turin (via a second visit to Milan) by the beginning of February 1475.⁵⁸ Also, we may have to consider the likelihood of those treatises of Tinctoris which hitherto were thought to pre-date Beatrice's betrothal in the summer of 1475 (which is to say, all except *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, *De inuentione et usu musice* and the print of the *Diffinitorium*) having been compiled within the slightly shorter period between the theorist's first arrival in Naples, around 1472, and October 1474 – unless, that is, some of them were compiled en route between October 1474 and summer 1475, for which there is no conclusive evidence either way.⁵⁹ An interesting case in this regard is

inscriptions to Beatrice at the head of the *Tractatus de regulari ualore notarum*, the *Complexus effectuum musices* and the *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, each of which retains its original emphasis on Beatrice's filial status even in sources manifestly dating from after her marriage to Matthias.

⁵⁸ Pontieri, 'Su mancata nozze', pp. 79–92. The itinerary which Tinctoris would have taken back to Naples from Burgundy, if he had indeed been discharged by Federico soon after the siege of Nancy, is at present unknowable, though presumably, in view of the time factor, he would have chosen the most direct route available.

⁵⁹ A rather speculative corollary of this concerns the dedication of Tinctoris's *Tractatus alterationum*, which is addressed to a certain Guillelmus Guinandi. For various reasons, too lengthy to be set out here, it seems likely that the true dedicatee was intended to be the abbot Antonio Guinati, first chaplain to Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan, and Tinctoris has inadvertently garbled his name through confusion with Guillelmus Guarnerius, a composer, singer and perhaps music teacher, known to have been a member of the papal chapel choir at various times between 1474 and 1483, but also known personally to Tinctoris through a meeting in Naples in 1478–80 (Woodley, 'Proportionale', 1, pp. 62–7, based on the reference by Gaffurius's early biographer Pantaleon Meleguli in Franchinus Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, ed. C.A. Miller, Musicological Studies and Documents 33 (Neuhausen–Stuttgart, 1977), p. 212; see also n. 66 below). The itinerary northward which I have proposed here for Tinctoris would have provided an eminently suitable context for the requisite fleeting acquaintances to be made in Rome and Milan at precisely the right time. Moreover, the dedicatee of Tinctoris's *Tractatus de notis et pausis*, Martin Hanard, also seems to have been a member of the papal chapel at this time, and it is therefore possible that the same circumstances led to this third acquaintance, which hitherto has not been easily explicable. Perhaps, therefore, a closer scrutiny of the musical personnel whom Tinctoris might have met on the rest of his journey through Italy will eventually throw some light on the even less explicable dedication of the *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium* to one Iacobus Frontin, a young musician who had clearly made a specific request for the work (see Seay, ed., *Tinctoris opera theoretica*, 1, p. 143), but

the *Complexus effectuum musices*, which, as I have suggested elsewhere, Tinctoris seems to have revised and expanded, to be incorporated into his *De inuentione et usu musice*, around 1481–3.⁶⁰ In one, well-known, section of this work, paragraphed as the nineteenth ‘effect’ (‘Musica peritos in ea glorificat’), Tinctoris lists ten composers, belonging to the few generations of the ‘new art’ acknowledged by the theorist, who have achieved immortal glory through their creative abilities:

Nostro autem tempore experti sumus quanti plerique musici gloria sint affecti. Quis enim Iohannem Dunstaple, Guillelmum Dufay, Egidium Binchois, Iohannem Okeghem, Anthonium Busnois, Iohannem Regis, Firminum Caron, Iacobum Carlerii, Robertum Morton, Iacobum Obrechts [*sic*] non nouit? Quis eos summis laudibus non prosequitur, quorum compositiones per uniuersum orbem diuulgate Dei templa, regum palatia, priuatorum domos summa dulcedine replent? Taceo plurimos musicos eximiis opibus dignitatibusque donatos, quoniam etsi honores ex hiis adepti sunt, fame immortalis quam primi compositores sibi extenderunt minime sunt conferendi. Illud enim fortune, istud autem uirtutis opus est.⁶¹

Among several interesting features of this list is the presence of Morton and Obrecht, neither of whom appears at all in similar eulogistic passages (or, indeed, anywhere else) in Tinctoris’s other works. The citation of Obrecht, in particular, has aroused some curiosity for its apparent precociousness,⁶² especially since Tinctoris is specifically differentiating here between the immortal fame earned by the best composers and the relatively ephemeral talents of other ‘musici’ (by implication, in this context, mainly performers). An ultra-sceptical stance here might be to dismiss the Obrecht and

who is otherwise quite unknown, unless he is the ‘Jacotino Frontino cantore’ mentioned much later in a letter from Enea Pio to Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, dated 5 April 1516, as having recently taken up the post of chapel-master to Francis I (L. Lockwood, ‘Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), pp. 220–3). It would be tempting to suggest that Tinctoris’s proposed visit to Venice on this same journey might have been the occasion of his meeting with fellow countryman Gerardus de Lisa, the eventual printer, in Treviso, around 1495, of the *Diffinitorium* (cf. C. Parrish, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms by Johannes Tinctoris* (London, 1963), pp. 101–8). The twenty-year gap, however, is a little difficult to swallow, and a more plausible conjecture might be that Tinctoris passed through the Venice/Treviso region around 1493–4, en route to the Hungarian court at Buda (cf. Woodley, ‘Review’, pp. 239–40; see also pp. 198–200 below).

⁶⁰ Woodley, ‘Printing and Scope’, pp. 251–4.

⁶¹ Seay, ed., *Tinctoris opera theoretica*, II, pp. 176–7; orthography of proper names taken from Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek, MS 70, fol. 77^b.

⁶² See, for example, E. Sparks, ‘Obrecht, Jacob’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), XIII, p. 477.

Morton references as later textual corruptions, since the only source of this part of the treatise is Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek, MS 70, completed in Ghent in 1504 for the library of Raphael de Marcatellis.⁶³ But an alternative, and more plausible, explanation for the anomaly could be adduced, whereby Tintoris added these two names to his text after returning from Burgundy, where, as already noted, his acquaintance with Morton and his songs would have been, if not at first hand, certainly at very close second hand, and where it is entirely possible that the young Obrecht's rising reputation was beginning to circulate. The inclusion of such 'hot news' in the treatise back in distant Naples (analogous, in a sense, to the inclusion of the Morton and most recent Busnois songs in Mellon) would doubtless have enhanced, in turn, the reputations of Tintoris and the court itself: yet another example of music being directly or indirectly used as a vehicle for the aggrandisement of political as well as personal prestige. But there is nothing to say that Tintoris need necessarily have added the names of Morton and Obrecht to the *Complexus* immediately upon his return to Naples in 1476, for our earliest manuscript source, albeit incomplete,⁶⁴ of the *Complexus* (assuming now that the Ghent text is authentic) is Brussels II 4147, which could have been compiled in Naples at any time between 11 October 1477 (the completion date of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*) and the early 1490s,⁶⁵ though the most likely date now seems to be 1477–8.⁶⁶ It may be significant, indeed, that no attempt seems to have been made to incorporate the composers into the comparable passages in, say, the prologues of the *Proportionale* or the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*; perhaps Tintoris was already considering the proposed revision of the *Complexus* just before the copying of the Brussels manuscript, so that some additions were actually made before the eventual re-working of the treatise into *De inuentione et usu musice*, and the Brussels version in fact

⁶³ See, in particular, A. Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St Bavon's, Ghent, 1437–1508* (Ghent, 1979), pp. 227–34.

⁶⁴ A full description of this manuscript is given in Woodley, 'Proportionale', I, pp. 93–122.

⁶⁵ Woodley, 'Proportionale', I, pp. 117–18.

⁶⁶ See p. 198 and nn. 76–7 below on the probability of this manuscript being an authorial holograph. If the explanation outlined above (n. 59) for the garbled nature of the *Tractatus alterationum* dedication is correct, then it is scarcely credible that Tintoris could have made the error after his lengthy period of contact with Guarnerius in Naples in 1478–80. Bearing in mind, therefore, the unequivocal *terminus post quem* of 11 October 1477, it seems reasonable to propose that the Brussels manuscript was produced in the intervening year or so.

transmits an intermediary recension which may differ in unknown ways from the version originally written for Beatrice in the earlier 1470s. If the Obrecht citation, then, actually dates from *c.* 1480, rather than *c.* 1475, it becomes necessary to modify our perception of its (and Obrecht's) apparent precociousness.

Returning once more to the dating of Tinctoris's translation of the Golden Fleece articles, it will be apparent by now that the theorist's journey to Burgundy would have overlapped with Antoine de Bourgogne's mission to Naples in order to take Ferrante's oath on the statutes. In other words, Tinctoris is not likely to have begun work on his translation until his return south in the spring or summer of 1476; this fits, once more, with extraordinary precision the latter end of the period in which, for purely palaeographical reasons already noted, we have deduced that the copying of Naples xiv.d.20 by Cinico was probably undertaken. It can reasonably be surmised, then, that Tinctoris's literary production was fairly prolific between the summer of 1476 and the autumn of 1477, including not only the completion of the translation, but also the compilation of the Mellon Chansonnier and two of his major theoretical works.

The author of the earliest formal biographical appreciation of Tinctoris, the Abbot of Sponheim Johannes Trithemius, reported in his *De illustribus uiris* of *c.* 1495 that the musician 'Epistolas ornatisimas complures dedit ad diuersos'.⁶⁷ Only one such letter (excluding dedications)⁶⁸ is known to have survived, addressed to the scribe of the translated Golden Fleece statutes, Joanmarco Cinico, and currently preserved in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS xii.f.50, fols. 11–14. The major part of this source consists of a printed pamphlet of nine folios, mainly in the vernacular ('for the unlearned'), extolling the virtues of the baths at Naples and Pozzuoli (Puteoli), and prepared purportedly not only for general instruction and interest, but also for the particular recreation of the finest ladies of the area. The text is attributed in the *salutatio* to Johannes Baptista Elysius, doctor of Naples, but contains a reference in the explicit to an Andrea Vincencio Elysius, whose connection with the work and

⁶⁷ See Woodley, 'Review', p. 247.

⁶⁸ That is, also excluding the dedicatory letter to Iohannes Stokem, placed at the head of the sole surviving copy of the printed extracts of *De inuentione et usu musicae*, which was probably only one of several different such letters (see Woodley, 'Printing and Scope', pp. 256–7).

relation to Johannes Baptista are obscure, though he was perhaps partly responsible for its publication in Naples:

(fol. 1) 'La volgare instauratione Elisiana | de li bagne neapolitane & puteo | lane ad commune vtilita de li in | docte. Et recreatione delle | gente maxime per le prima riefemine de la felice | campania. | † Cum gratia et priuilegio.'

(fol. 2) 'Totius campanie nymphis | primariisq; feminis Ioannes | Baptista elysius Neapolita | nus Medicus felicitatem.'

(fol. 10^v) 'Andrea uincencio elysio par la conclusionne | del opusculo ad sua parthenope. | Finis deo gratias.'

This rather rare pamphlet⁶⁹ contains no indication of date. According to Allan Atlas, the only Neapolitan edition of the text appeared in 1519,⁷⁰ but this is in fact a quite different edition from Naples XII.F.50, beginning 'Succincta instauratione de Bal | neis totius campanie Ioannis | elisii medici neapolitani...'.⁷¹ In addition, a similar, anonymous text, *Libellus de mirabilibus ciuitatis Puteolorum*, without the ascription to Elysus, was evidently circulating as early as the 1480s, having been published in Naples by Arnaldus de Bruxella on 31 December 1485.⁷² Atlas nevertheless uses his *terminus post quem* of 1519 as an argument against the attribution of the Tinctoris letter to the musician's own hand – he was by then firmly dead – since Atlas believes that the paper for both the letter and the pamphlet were 'drawn from the same batch',⁷³ though he stops short of saying that the letter was copied on to a blank flyleaf of the print. He also implies that the binding together of the two texts was somehow contemporaneous with the publication of the Elysus.⁷⁴

On both of these counts, however, there is room for argument. The watermark of the printed pages shows a hand (with cuff) surmounted by a six-pointed star, positioned directly over the middle

⁶⁹ Another copy survives in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, under the shelf-mark xxii.c.22.

⁷⁰ Atlas, review of Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier* (cf. n. 56 above), p. 143.

⁷¹ P. Manzi, *La tipografia napoletana nel '500*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana 62 (Florence, 1971), p. 191, where two further Neapolitan editions, of 1591 and 1593, are also cited. The 1519 date is in any case hypothetical (*ibid.*).

⁷² *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum*, 10 vols. (and in progress) (London, 1908–), vi, p. 858. Manzi believes that this book is a prose version of the poetical work *De balneis Puteolanis* by the twelfth-century poet Pietro da Eboli, and that it was also the direct ancestor of the 1519 print, via an intermediary edition of 1 June 1507 (Naples: Sigismondo Mayr) (Manzi, *Tipografia*, pp. 38–9 and 191).

⁷³ Atlas, review of Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, p. 143.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

finger. The watermark of the Tinctoris letter, which appears on fols. 12 and 13, displays an admittedly similar hand, but this time surmounted by a cinquefoil leaf or petal, set some way above the former and linked to it by a single vertical wire. No marks identical with these have been traced in Briquet or the other standard catalogues, but the nearest are perhaps Briquet 10712 (Palermo, 1482) and Briquet 10715 (Thonon, 1495; Syracuse, 1497; Catania, 1499).⁷⁵ A southern Italian origin, therefore, in the last decade or so of the fifteenth century, is certainly plausible for both the Elysius and the Tinctoris letter, even though the papers are not identical.

Again, the binding is certainly not contemporary with either the print or the letter. It is probably datable from the middle or end of the sixteenth century at the earliest, as is suggested by the typography of certain spare printed sheets (contents unidentified) which have been used as reinforcement at both front and back of the volume. We must therefore conclude that the common bond between the contents of the two main texts, namely, the praise of certain localities in the area of the Bay of Naples (itself something of a literary topos, dating back to the classical Latin authors), was sufficient for some later owner interested in the district (and probably living there) to bind the two items together.

In addition to the evidence provided by the watermarks and binding, it is clear that the leaves of the letter have been trimmed from their original size to match the dimensions of the print (*c.* 196 × *c.* 143 mm), presumably at the same time as the binding was carried out. (The printed pages may, of course, have been additionally reduced slightly in the process, but this is irrelevant to the point at issue.) This trimming is evident from the cropped marginalia (see Figure 1); and, in addition, a note (s.xvi^v) inscribed on the otherwise blank final verso of the letter (fol. 14^v), although incomplete and almost indecipherable, can be tentatively interpreted as showing that in a previous state the letter was bound together with some sort of *vita* of the Queen of Hungary (probably Beatrice, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples and one-time pupil of Tinctoris), and possibly also a second letter of Tinctoris himself: ‘Laudes [?] d . . . s andrie | hystoria regine eiusdem [?] hungarie et alia | Epistula Tinctoris benedicti [?] a deo.’

⁷⁵ C. B. Briquet, *Les Filigranes . . . A Facsimile of the 1907 Edition with Supplementary Material*, ed. A. Stevenson (Amsterdam, 1968), II, p. 552.

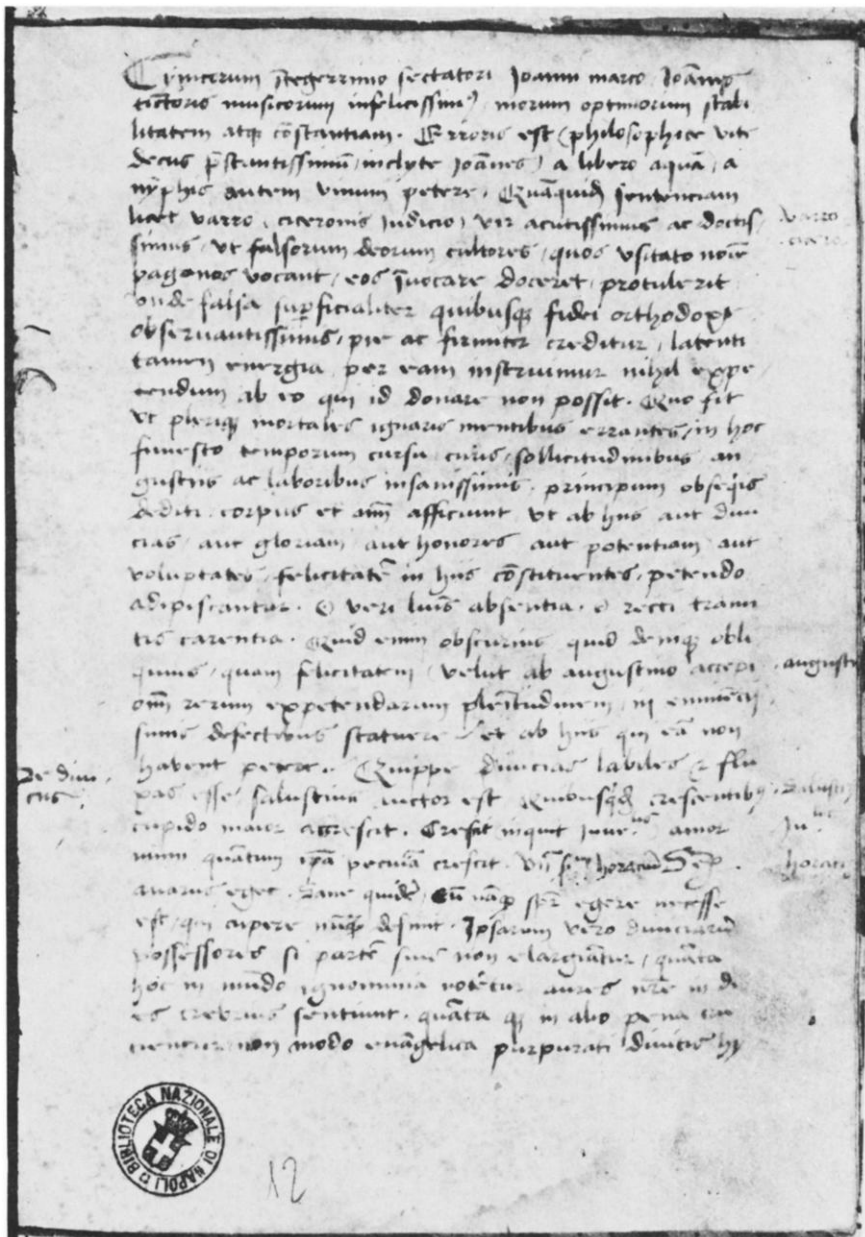


Figure 1 Part of Tintoris's letter to Joanmarco Cinico (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS xu.f.50, fol. 12; dimensions of original: c. 196 × c. 143 mm)

Crucially, moreover, the handwriting of the letter proper can be clearly matched with that of the principal manuscript of Tinctoris's treatises, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147,⁷⁶ and there is additional, independent evidence for considering this manuscript to be an authorial holograph, through comparison, amongst other criteria, with a known example of the musician's hand from Orléans.⁷⁷

In short, there seems to be no valid reason for believing that the Tinctoris letter is anything other than, in some sense, an 'original'. A difficulty of taxonomy, of course, arises here, since the manuscript need not necessarily be the actual original copy, as sent to Cinico. Although this may be the case (witness the initial salutation placed in isolation on the first recto), we might also admit the possibility, judging both from the presence of the marginalia (*autores* etc.) and, conceivably, from the nature of the 'caret' insertions,⁷⁸ that it was a fair copy made by Tinctoris for his own reference purposes.⁷⁹

Dating Tinctoris's letter is by no means straightforward. There are only two clearly datable references in the text. The first is to the downfall of Louis XI's erstwhile favourite, Cardinal Jean la Balue, Bishop of Angers, in 1468, following his imputed treacherous entente with Charles the Bold (see text below, lines 107–15).⁸⁰ The other is to the Turkish siege of Belgrade (lines 123–32), which occurred over a period of three weeks in July 1456. These hardly provide very useful *termini post quem*, however, since even by 1468 Tinctoris had probably not yet set foot in Naples. There are indirect grounds, in fact, for believing that Tinctoris had actually quitted his position in Naples by the time of his writing. First, there is the very existence of the letter, between two men who, when both in Ferrante's employment, would have been living virtually under the same roof in the Castel Nuovo, and it is known that Cinico was alive and resident there at least until March 1498,⁸¹ whereas Tinctoris seems to have left by

⁷⁶ A detailed palaeographical comparison is given in Woodley, '*Proportionale*', I, pp. 102–16.

⁷⁷ Further elaboration of this will appear in the forthcoming study signalled in n. 12 above.

⁷⁸ See notes to Appendix 2 below.

⁷⁹ An analogous epistolary practice in England can be found in the letter-book of Robert Joseph, monk of Evesham, for the compilation of which the author sometimes asked the recipients of his letters to return them specifically for fair copying, if this had not been done prior to dispatch (Dom H. Aveling and W. A. Pantin, *The Letter Book of Robert Joseph*, Oxford Historical Society, n.s., 19 (Oxford, 1967 [for 1964]), p. xiii).

⁸⁰ L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. F. I. Antrobus et al., 40 vols. (London, 1923–53), IV, pp. 102–5.

⁸¹ De Marinis, *Biblioteca*, I, p. 42. Cinico's residence in the Castel Nuovo is indicated by the

c. 1491.⁸² This, by itself, is not very good evidence, since it presupposes a wholly too modern notion of a letter as a pragmatic means of correspondence, whereas its function here as, equally, a demonstration of humanistic literacy and piety would not have been constrained by mere geographical proximity. However, there is perhaps more cogent, internal evidence. For instance, the author affects a thorough disenchantment with the material, earthly trappings of aristocratic court life (e.g. lines 165–71), which contrasts dramatically with the earlier optimism of the 1470s displayed, for example, in the much-quoted prohemium to his *Proportionale musicas*.⁸³ This cannot, I think, simply be put down to humanistic epistolary excess; it is difficult to imagine that the overt expression of such disaffection (in spite of the element of literary convention) could have been easily accommodated within the protocol and proprieties of a responsible court position, and it seems to suggest that official ties had already been severed. Moreover, Tinctoris's parting Ovidian gesture to Cinico, 'utque uerbo Nasonis concludam, Viue memor nostri' (lines 224–6), although slightly garbled (see notes to text below), is probably a direct allusion to the poet's anxious farewell to Corinna (*Amores*, 2.11), albeit with reversal of rôles and a certain adjustment to the relationship involved. (Unless, that is, we are to construe the allusion as a reference to some clandestine homosexual relationship between Tinctoris and Cinico, which, for want of corroborating evidence, must be regarded as an excessively imaginative interpretation.) Ovid's text also refers to the wish for, indeed expectation of, Corinna's safe return (e.g. lines 37ff.), though it is impossible to say at present whether or not this is also implicit in Tinctoris's borrowing. Again, there is Tinctoris's own vivid description of the times in which the letter was penned: 'in hoc funesto temporum cursu curis, sollicitudinibus, angustiis ac laboribus insanissimis, principum obsequiis dediti . . .' (lines 24–8). The events of late fifteenth-century Neapolitan history leave little doubt that the most likely period to which this could refer is 1494–5: Tinctoris's (erstwhile?) employer Ferrante died on 25 January 1494; his successor Alfonso II, under threat of invasion from Charles VIII of France, abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand after a matter of

scribe himself in his 1494 copy of the Flavio Biondo *Decades* (now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11324).

⁸² See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, p. 74.

⁸³ Seay, ed., *Tinctoris opera theoretica*, IIa, pp. 9–11; Woodley, 'Proportionale', I, pp. 166–9. On this prohemium, see also Woodley, 'Renaissance Music Theory as Literature', *passim*.

months; and, not before the city of Naples had suffered enormous hardship under the French siege, Alfonso himself died on 18 December 1495, at Messina.⁸⁴

The watermark evidence, then, for dating the letter is corroborated both by other historical data and by circumspect but reasonably well-grounded hypothesis. We can plausibly postulate that the letter was written around 1495–6, evidently during a visit by Tinctoris to Pozzuoli, Baiae and their environs, which possibly followed on more or less directly from a journey to the Hungarian court at Buda,⁸⁵ where Matthias was now dead, and Beatrice was struggling to maintain her position.⁸⁶ This dating would also fit in with the implication that the siege of Belgrade had occurred within the living memory of a generation old enough to warrant special comment, but not so old that there are not a substantial number still alive (lines 123–5: ‘si memoria infinitorum uiuentium credenda recenseat’). His writing is prompted by a previous ‘most ornate and fitting’ (line 198) letter from Cinico (now lost), which Tinctoris had received at Pozzuoli the day after his arrival, and in which he seems to have been urged by Cinico to undertake a visit of various local architectural ruins from antiquity; such a pastime had by now become fashionable, though clearly for Cinico and Tinctoris the superficial tourist attraction of the sites is tempered by the inclination to view them as material for philosophical reflection on the transience of all things, save the ‘duty of virtue’ (lines 204–5). Tinctoris’s wording here, in fact, is slightly ambiguous. The above is the most plausible construction, though the initiative to see the sites may have been Tinctoris’s own, and Cinico’s letter may have prompted only the resultant philosophical speculation. This latter construction depends, however, on Tinctoris’s having previously informed Cinico of his having made, or of his intention of making, the visit to the sites. Whichever interpretation is correct, some correspondence prior to Cinico’s immediately preceding letter must have been exchanged; if, as seems likely, Tinctoris had been absent from the court for some four or five years, then the accumulation of (now lost) letters could have been considerable.

⁸⁴ De Marinis, *Biblioteca*, I, pp. 39 and 97; also R. Filangieri, *Una cronaca napoletana figurata del quattrocento* (Naples, 1956), pp. 82, 114–15, 120, 128–38 and 223. Naples had also been afflicted with a violent outbreak of the plague in 1493.

⁸⁵ Cf. n. 59 above.

⁸⁶ A struggle which Beatrice eventually lost, returning to Naples in 1500.

It must be admitted, in all fairness, that the present surviving example of the Tinctoris–Cinico correspondence is not remarkable for its originality of content; nor, indeed, should it be read with that expectation. It is structured according to the formal conventions of salutation, proposition, exposition and conclusion, and its material belongs squarely to the common medieval genre of ‘De felicitate’ philosophical writing, though the incorporation of the recent historical events noted above demonstrates the author’s positive humanistic concern with contextualising the inherited rhetorical format. The clearest model for Tinctoris’s division of the *felicitas* theme into discussion of the respective follies of earthly riches, fame, honour, power and pleasure is probably Boethius, Book 3 of whose *Consolatio* covers these same motifs in similar terms.⁸⁷ But the close geographical context provided by the area of the Bay of Naples, and specifically the archaeological interest of Baiae, Pozzuoli and Cumae, also throws the informed reader back further, to the *Epistulae Morales* of Seneca, a work printed in Naples soon after Tinctoris’s arrival by the eventual printer of the *De inuentione* extracts, Mathias Moravus.⁸⁸ Addressed to the young Lucilius, a native of Campania, this series of letters contains several references to these same Neapolitan sites, then very much alive, Seneca sometimes alluding to the dangers of falling prey to the excesses of luxury (e.g. at Baiae, a notorious sin-bin), and similarly warning against Lucilius’s Epicurean tendencies and the trappings of riches, glory, pleasure, honour etc. The philosophical influence of Seneca’s writings seems in fact to have been relatively weak throughout most of the Middle Ages; but, despite being eclipsed somewhat by Cicero in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he enjoyed some admiration from those humanists attracted by neo-Stoicism,⁸⁹ among whom we should now probably count Tinctoris. Indeed, considering that Seneca wrote his letters while travelling around Italy in order to forget about politics,

⁸⁷ See notes to Appendix 2 below. Another important source, with which Tinctoris was undoubtedly acquainted, would have been St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Second Part, Part 1, Questions 1–21 (trans. J. A. Oesterle as: Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Treatise on Happiness* (Notre Dame, 1983)).

⁸⁸ See Woodley, ‘Printing and Scope’, pp. 241ff.

⁸⁹ See, for example, L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca’s Letters* (Oxford, 1965), with some views revised in L. D. Reynolds, H. M. Hine and R. J. Tarrant, ‘The Younger Seneca’, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), and G. M. Ross, ‘Seneca’s Philosophical Influence’, *Seneca*, ed. C. D. N. Costa (London, 1974), p. 143.

following his recall from exile by Agrippina to tutor her son, the future Emperor Nero, one is struck by the curious (though not, of course, entirely parallel) analogies to Tinctoris's own lot, apparently disenchanted with the court life which he has recently abandoned (and possibly been forced out from) for unknown reasons – how are we to interpret the 'infelicissimus' of the salutation (line 6)? – and formerly tutor to the king's daughter Beatrice. Is Tinctoris, then, deliberately drawing a rhetorical parallel between himself and Seneca?

In a previous study, I suggested that the treatise *De inuentione et usu musicae* was in some sense characterised by Tinctoris's own feelings of cultural and philosophical ambivalence towards the new 'Renaissance' spirit abroad in the Italy of the 1470s and 1480s.⁹⁰ It is perhaps no coincidence that here, once again, we find juxtaposed, and intimately linked through both personnel and circumstance, a work profoundly symbolic of the high chivalric traditions of Burgundian culture alongside a work in which the new order is both embraced and rejected with the same ambivalence.

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APPENDICES

Note: In the Appendix texts the following editorial procedures have been adopted:

In the vernacular text of Appendix 1: original orthography, punctuation and capitalisation have been retained; abbreviations are indicated in *italics*; rubrication is indicated in **bold** type. In the table of contents Articles 34–67 have been erroneously numbered 35–68 by the scribe, translator or some intermediary editor. The numeration has been corrected in this transcription in order to correlate with the text proper.

In the Latin text of Appendix 2: original orthography has been retained; punctuation is modernised (except in the case of parentheses, where the manuscript usage is preserved); capitalisation has been standardised; abbreviations are expanded silently; caret insertions (both marginal and interlinear) are acknowledged in the notes; marginal repetition of *auctores*, etc., is ignored, but marginal paragraph headings (e.g. 'De gloria') are incorporated silently, in bold type, into the text proper.

⁹⁰ Woodley, 'Printing and Scope', p. 257.

Appendix 1: Tintoris's translation of the Golden Fleece statutes: Naples,
Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIV.D.20

[fol. 1] **QVa seguitano tutti li articoli et ordinatione dellordine del
Toson doro: Del quale lo primo fundatore fu lo Serenissimo Principe
Philippo ducha de borgogna: Li quali articoli Iohannes Tintoris
doctissimo et clarissimo musico per mandato de la Sacra Regia
Maiesta ha traducti de lingua de borgogna in lingua Italiana.**

5

Imprimis chi deue essere lo Superiore del dicto ordine. .I.

Come li caualeri electi nel dicto ordine deueno lassare ogni altro ordine. .II.

Come lo dicto Superiore ha ordinato al dicto ordine per ciascuno caualere
uno colare doro. .III.

Come li caualeri electi deueno promettere alo intrare hauere buono et fidele
amore luno a laltro. .IIII. 10

Come li caualieri del dicto ordine deueno seruire lo superiore ne le sue
facende. .V.

Come lo superiore non deue pigliare impresa alcuna de guerra sença lo far
sapere a li dicti caualeri. .VI. 15

Come li dicti caualeri non se metterano in alcuna guerra sença nançi farne
notitia. .VII.

[fol. 1^v] Come se li dicti caualeri sono in rixe / o / in contentione. lo
Superiore fara prohibitione a le parti. .VIII.

Come se alcuno de li sugetti del superiore uolesse iniuriare alcuno de
caualieri. .VIII. 20

Come se li non sugetti del Superiore facessero iniuria ad alcuno de caualeri
del dicto ordine. .X.

Como [*sic*] li caualeri del dicto ordine possono seruire el loro Signore
naturale. .XI. 25

Come se alcuno de li dicti caualieri uada in uiagio: ne deue auisare lo
Superiore. .XII.

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- Come li caualeri electi restarano nel dicto ordine durante la uita loro. .XIII.
- Come se alcuno de li caualieri fosse conuincto in heresia. .XIII.
- 30 Come se esso fosse incolpato de tradimento. .XV.
- Come se li dicti caualieri se ne fugisseno et se partisseno de la battalia. .XVI.
- Come per leuare uia le difficulta de dicti caualeri ne lo andare: et nel partire. .XVII.
- 35 Come a la creatione et principio del dicto ordine chi sono li caualeri electi. .XVIII.
- Come nel dicto ordine ce ha quatro officiali. .XVIII.
- [fol. 2] Come doue / e / la fondatione de questo ordine. .XX.
- Come seranno fixi li scuti et le arme del Superiore: et de li caualeri del dicto ordine. .XXI.
- 40 Come la sollemnita de questo ordine sera tenuta. .XXII.
- Come li caualieri deueno mandare uno procuratore a dire loro impacio. .XXIII.
- Come lo primo giorno de magio ce uenerano a presentare li dicti caualieri uerso el superiore. .XXIII.
- 45 Come el Superiore et li caualieri anderanno a le uespere. .XXV.
- Come lo Superiore et caualieri anderano a la messa grande. .XXVI.
- Come lo Superiore et caualeri anderano allofficio de li morti. .XXVII.
- Come lo Superiore et caualieri anderano ad udire la messa grande de nostra donna. .XXVIII.
- 50 Come de po la sollemnita potranno cominciare lo capitulo. .XXVIII.
- Come li caualieri deueno tenere secreto li consilii deli capituli. .XXX.

Tinctoris's translation of the Golden Fleece statutes

Come ciascuno caualiere deue escire del capitulo.	.XXXI.	
Come lo cancellere deue cercare de lo stato de cia[fol. 2 ^v]scuno caualiere.	.XXXII.	
Come lo caualiere trouato in uicio deue essere represso.	.XXXIII.	55
Come lo Superiore deue uscire del Capitulo.	.XXXIII.	
Come deue essere facto del caualiere che trouato in bona fama.	.XXXV.	
Come deue essere facto del caualiere che / e / trouato in uillano caso.	.XXXVI.	
Come lo caualiere trouato reprobabile deue essere priuato.	.XXXVII.	60
Come lo caualiere priuato deue remandare lo colar in dietro.	.XXXVIII.	
Come li heredi del caualiere morto deueno mandare in dietro lo colare.	.XXXVIII.	
Come li caualieri delordine deueno guardare lo colare.	.XL.	
Come el Superiore delordine deue eligere uno nouo caualiere.	.XLI.	65
Come sera processo a la dicta electione.	.XLII.	
Come ciascuno caualiere deue procedere a la electione.	.XLIII.	
Come la electione se fara in tempo et in loco.	.XLIII.	
Come inançi la electione lo Superiore donara le cedule che esso ha recepute.	.XLV.	70
[fol. 3] Come ciascuno caualiere fara sacramento a la dicta electione.	.XLVI.	
Come ciascuno caualiere se leua de la propria sedia.	.XLVII.	
Come ciascuno caualiere uenera a mettere una cedula dentro uno Plato doro nançi lo Superiore.	.XLVIII.	75
Come lo cancellere deue legere le cedule.	.XLVIII.	

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- Come de po la electione lo Secretario le deue mettere al Registro. .L.
- Come el Superiore deue mandare lo colare al caualere electo: se piace a lui. .LI.
- 80 Come lo caualiere electo deue fare sacramento. .LII.
- Come lo dicto caualiere electo deue augmentare lo ordine. .LIII.
- Come lo dicto caualiere deue mandare lo colare in dietro se fosse scacciato del dicto ordine. .LIII.
- Come ciascuno caualiere deue patire ogni correctione. .LV.
- 85 Come ciascuno caualiere deue comparire ad ciascuno capitulo. .LVI.
- Come ciascuno caualiero deue mantenere li statuti del capitulo. .LVII.
- Come ciascuno caualiere fa sacramento sopra la croce. .LVIII.
- Come lo Superiore deue mettere lo colare intorno del [fol. 3^v] collo del Caualiere electo. .LVIII.
- 90 Come se lo dicto caualiere se excusasse de acceptare la electione. .LX.
- Come li sacramenti se fano. .LXI.
- Come ciascuno caualiere a la receptione sua deue pagare al thesaurero. .LXII.
- 95 Come ciascuno caualiere deue fare cantare missa per lo caualiere morto. .LXIII.
- Come lo Superiore et caualieri donano de pensione ogni anno al Re de arme. .LXIII.
- Come se lo successore del superiore fosse minore: li caualeri delordine deueno elegere uno de loro. .LXV.
- 100 Come lo dicto ordine ha corte soprana. .LXVI.
- Come quelli puncti et articuli sono reseruati. .LXVII.

Seguitano li articoli et ordinationi de quatro officiali delordine.

- Imprimis come el cancellere deue essere prelato. .I.
- Come esso deue hauere in guardia el Sigillo de lordine. .II.
- Come esso deue inquirere el stato de li caualeri. .III. 105
- Come esso deue legere le cedula in capitulo. .IIII.
- Come esso deue esse alauditio de li capituli del the[fol. 4]saurere. .V.
- Come esso deue auisare: lo honor et utilita del dicto ordine. .VI.

Del Thesaurere del dicto ordine.

- Imprimischel Thesaurere hauera in guardia tutte le lettere et priuilegii del dicto ordine. .VII. 110
- Come esso deue deponere le arme del cauалere morto. .VIII.
- Come esso deue recepere le rendite de la fondatione del dicto ordine. .VIII.
- Come esso deue fare libri. .X.
- Come esso deue far fare libri de li originali. .XI. 115

Del Secretario del dicto ordine.

- Imprimis come el Secretario deue essere prebendato. .XII.
- Come esso deue mettere le probita in scripti. .XIII.
- Come esso deue mettere li apuntamenti et acti de li capituli in scripti. .XIIII.

Del Re darne del dicto ordine. 120

- Imprimis come el Re darne del dicto ordine deue essere homo prudente. .XV.

- Come esso deue portare le lettere del Superiore. .xvi.
- 125 Come esso deue inquirere de la probita del Superiore et caualieri del dicto ordine. .xvii.
- [fol. 4^v] De le electioni et sacramenti li quali li dicti quatro officiali deueno fare al Superiore de lordine.**
- Imprimis come el superiore deue procedere a la electione del Cancellere. .xviii.
- 130 Come sel cancellere se excusasse de acceptare la electione. .xviii.
- Come el cancellere deue fare sacramento. .xx.
- Come el cancellere Sigillara. .xxi.
- Come el cancellere deue proponere ne li capituli. .xxii.
- Come la electione deue essere facta del thesaurere. .xxiii.
- 135 Come el Thesaurere deue distribuire le rendite de la fondatione. .xxiiii.
- Come el Thesaurere deue fare bono computo. .xxv.
- Come lo Secretario fara sacramento al Superiore. .xxvi.
- Come el Re darne fara Sacramento al Superiore. .xxvii.
- Come esso deue obedire al Superiore del dicto ordine. .xxviii.
-
- 140 [fol. 5] PHILIPPVS Dei gratia Duca de borgogna de Lotrich: de brabant: et de lemburch. Conte de Flandria: de Artesia: et de borgogna. Palatino de haynaut. de hollandia: de ceelandia: et de namur: Marches de lo sancto Imperio. Signore de frisia: de Salins: et de malins. Saper facemo a tutti presenti et auenire: che per lo grandissimo et perfecto amore: el quale hauimo a lo nobile stato: et ordine de caualeria: a la quale per ardentissima et singulare affectione desideramo honor: et acrescimento. Per la qual cosa
- 145 la uera fede catholica: lo stato de nostra matre sancta chiesa: et la tranquillita et prosperita de la re publica siano come essere possono defese: guardate: et mantenute. Noi a gloria et laude de lo omnipotente nostro

creatore et redemptore: In reuerentia de la sua gloriosa uergine matre: et a lo honore de monsignore sancto Andrea glorioso apostolo et martyre: ad exaltatione de la fede: et de la sancta chiesa: et ad excitatione de uirtu et de boni costumi: Lo decimo di de Ienaro; in lo anno de nostro Signore mccccxxviii. [fol. 5^v] Lo quale fu lo giorno de la sollemnizatione del matrimonio de noi et de nostra carissima et amantissima compagna helysabeth in nostra uilla de Bruçes hauemo presa creata et ordinata: et per questa presente prendemo: creamo et ordinamo uno ordine et fraternita de caualeria / o / uero amicabile compagna de certo numero de caualeri. Lo quale ordine uolemo essere chiamato de Toson doro: sotto la forma: conditione: statuti: maniere: et articoli soscripti. 150
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Articulo primo.

Imprimis ordinamo che in lo predicto ordine siano .xxxii. caualeri: gentilomeni de nome et de arme et sença reprobatione. Del quale ordine noy in nostra uita serimo capo et Superiore [MS: Superiori]; et de po li nostri successori duchi de borgogna. 165

Articulo secondo.

Item che li frate et caualeri del dicto ordine a lo intrare in esso ordine: debiano lassare et lasserano ogni altro ordine se alcuno ne hauessino / o / uero sia de principe / o / de compagna: excepto li Imperatori: Re: et duchi: li quali con questo presente ordine potrano portare lordine del quale essi seranno [fol. 6] capo: con tale conditione: che questo sia de nostra uolunta: et consentimento: o / de nostri successori Superiori: et de li frati delordine passato nel loro capitvlo: et non altrimenti. Et similmente noy et nostri successori Superiori de questo presente ordine in simile caso potremo se a noy piacera portare lordine de li sopradicti Imperatori Re: et Duchi: come el nostro: in demonstratione de uero et fraterno amore luno inuer laltro: Et per lo bene che ne potria uenire. 170
175

Articulo terzo.

Item che per hauere cognitione del dicto ordine et de li caualeri li quali in esso serano: noy per una uolta donaremo a ciascuno de caualeri del dicto ordine uno colare doro a la nostra diuisa cio / e / facto a peçi in forma de fucile tochante le pietre fochare de le quale esceno scintille ardente: et a la fine de quello colare sia pendente la similitudine de uno toson doro. Lo quale colare pertinente et restante sempre a lordine: noy et nostri dicti successori superiori et ciascuno de caualeri del dicto ordine seranno tenuti de portare ciascuno giorno intorno al collo: sotto pena de fare dicere una messa de quatro soldi. et quatro [fol. 6^v] soldi dare per dio: che serano tenuti farene conscientia ciascuno di che falisseno al portarello / excepto in arme o / uero 180
185

190 bastera de portare el toson sença el colare chi cossi el uolera fare. Et anchora
se lo colare hauesse bisogno de reparatione potra per questo essere posto in
la mano de laurefice: Et fine in tanto che sia reparato non sera tenuto el
caualere de pagare la pena per lo non portarlo. Et similmente se in alcuno
195 lontano uiagio / o / altro caso li conuenisse lassare non lo potendo portare
per alcuno tempo tanto per infirmita: quanto per la securança de loro
persone. Lo quale colare non potra essere facto piu sumptuoso de gemme:
ne de altre cose: et nol potranno donare: uendere: ne impegnare ne alienare
per qualche necessita / o / causa: ne in quale se sia maniera.

Articulo quarto.

200 Item che per hauere bona amistança al dicto ordine / tutti li caualeri de
questo ordine seranno tenuti et prometterano al loro intrare hauere bono et
uero amore a noy: nostri successori superiori del dicto ordine: luno a laltro:
et noy a loro: uolere procurare et auançare secondo lo loro potere lo honore
et [fol. 7] utilita: et schifare lo disonore et danno de quelli del dicto ordine.
205 Et se audisseno alcuna cosa dicere che fosse a gran caricho de lo honore de
alcuno de questo ordine: seranno tenuti de excusarlo per lo meglio modo
che fare lo potranno. Et sel dicente uolera perseuerare publicamente in le
parole sue: serano tenuti in questa causa de li lo dicere in effecto. Noy per lo
sacramento facto alordine siamo tenuti dicere et reuelare a tutti li caualieri
delordine / se alcuna cosa / e / dicta contra loro honore. Et per questo
210 consyderate se uolite perseuerare in uostre parole. Et in caso che esso
perseuerasse: serano tenuti lo dare ad intendere al caualere: del quale
serano dicte le dicte parole disoneste.

Articulo quinto.

215 Item prometterano li dicti caualeri che se alcuno se sforçasse de agrauare /
o / uero portare danno per opera de facto a noy / o / a li successori nostri capi
et superiori del dicto ordine / o / uero a nostri paese terre et signorie: uasalli
et sugecti: o che noy: o nostri successori superiori pigliassimo imprese
alcune dearmate per la defensione de la sancta fede christiana: / o / per
220 defendere: mantenere: et restaurare la dignita [fol. 7^v] stato et liberta de
nostra matre sancta chiesa: et de la sancta sedia apostolica Romana. In
questo caso li caualieri del dicto ordine: li potenti in loro persone serano
tenuti de seruire a noy personalmente: et li non potenti fare seruire
mediante *prouisione* rasoneuole se essi non haueno necessarie facende et
apparente impaccio: nel quale caso se potranno excusare.

225 Articulo .vi.

Item che per questo causa et per lo grande amore et confidentia de noy frati
caualeri de questo ordine: Noi per noi et per nostri successori superiori

determinamo che noy ne quelli non pigliaremo alcuna impresa di guerra /
o / altre alte et pesante facende: che nançi non li hauemo facte sapere a la
maiore parte de li dicti frati caualeri: per hauere sopra questo loro aduiso: et 230
bono consiglio. saluo imprese secrete et preste: de la quale a molti poteria
portare preiudicio et damno a le dicte imprese.

Articulo .VII.

Item similete [*sic*] li caualeri delordine nostri uasalli / o / sugecti de le
signorie de nostro gouernamento: ne in uiagio lontano: sença prima fare 235
[fol. 8] a sapere a noy / o / a li dicti nostri successori superiori et capi
delordine: et sença nostro consentimento et licentia. Ma per questo noy non
intendimo che li caualeri de questo ordine sugetti de noy / o / de nostri dicti
successori superiori siano impacati / o / astricti che per respecto de le terre
et possessioni che teneranno daltri: essi non possino entrare in guerre / et 240
seruire come apertene per honore: in tale modo che hauesse no potuto fare
nançi la institutione del nostro dicto ordine. Et non obstante questo
similemente: che li non sugetti de noi et del dicto capo de lordine non
possano seruire in arme: ne fare uiagio al piacere loro per tale conditione:
che essi non cel faciano a sapere inançi: in tanto quanto fare lo poterano 245
sença preiudicio de loro imprese / o / uiagio.

Articulo .VIII.

Item che se tra alcuni caualeri delordine sopra dicto interuenisse rixe / o /
contentione per casone de loro persone solamente. donde uia de facto: et
inconueniente fosse apparente deure seguitare. che questo uenuto a notitia 250
del Superiore: esso defendera alle parte ogni opera de facto: ingiungendo
[fol. 8^v] a loro che de la cosa se sottomettano al dicto et ordinatione de lui et
de lordine. Et che personalmente / o / uero se non possesseno: per lo
procuratore comparisseno al proximo capitulo: et congregatione de questo
ordine per dicere quel che uolerano luno incontra laltro. Lo quale superiore 255
et caualeri de lordine audite le parti: concorderano de la loro dissensione el
piu presto che fare se potra bonamente. Al quale le parti serano tenvte de
obtemperare et de obedire: saluo per tutto lo diricto et alteça de nostra
iustitia et signoria: et de li nostri successori.

Nono articulo.

Item se alcuno per suo oltragio uolesse fare uillania de facto ad alcuno de
caualeri de lordine tutti li altri li quali a questo serano presenti / o / uero
fare lo potranno: serano tenuti de prouederece et remediarece. 260

Decimo articolo.

265 Item se alcuno non sugecto del Superiore del dicto ordine: ne de le signorie
esistente nel suo gouernamento facesse ingiuria ad alcuno de caualeri de
lordine sugetto del dicto Superiore / o / uero de le [fol. 9] signorie del suo
gouernamento: lo quale per uia de giustitia non ne potesse hauere repara-
270 tion: et de quel caualiere dicendo se grauato / se uolisse sometterse de la
cosa al dicto et ordinatione del Superiore de lordine: et la parte sua aduersa
refutasse al fare de la parte sua. In questo caso lo superiore et caualeri de
lordine serano tenuti fare a lor dicto frate et compagno per lo dritto suo ogni
assistentia possibile. Et quanto a li caualeri extranei non sugecti del
Superiore de lordine: li quali se uoranno sottomettere / et loro parte aduersa
275 questo refutata: In questo caso lo dicto Superiore et caualeri faranno ad essi
tale assistentia: quale bonamente fare potranno.

Articulo .XI.

Item perche nel dicto ordine poterano essere caualeri non sugecti del
Superiore: et poteria interuenire che questo Superiore poteria uenire in
280 guerra el signore naturale de alcuno de dicti caualeri non sugecti: o / uero
contra el paese donde fossero nati. Per noy et per nostri dicti successori
superiori del dicto ordine declaramo che in questo caso li dicti caualeri non
sugetti potranno guardare lor honore: et defendere loro [fol. 9^v] naturale
signore: et li paesi suoi donde erano nati: sença per questo incorrere caricho
285 ne disonore: ne fare alcuna iniuria al dicto ordine. Ma sel loro dicto Signore
uolesse fare guerra al superiore del dicto ordine / o / uero a li suoy paesi / o /
sugecti: essi attenta la fraternita et astrictione delordine: se douerano
excusare de ce seruire. Niente di meno se lo Signore in questo non li uolesse
receuere: ançi li uolesse constringere al dicto seruicio: seruire lo potranno
290 sença per questo incorrere caricho de honore: ma che essi prima lo
significhino al superiore sufficientemente per loro sugillo: In caso chel
signore loro ce sia personalmente.

Articulo .XII.

Item se alcuni de caualeri delordine andasse in uiagio et seruicio de arme de
295 Signore stranero: esso lo deuera significare. Et se alcuno de li frati et
compagni de questo ordine fosse preso in battaglia / o / in guerra: esso fara lo
potere suo fidele al suo dicto compagno de saluarli la uita. Et se fosse preso
de la mano sua: li lassara la sua fede: et liberarlo liberamente al potere suo:
excepto che lo dicto caualiere presone fosse capo de la guerra. Et se lo dicto
300 signore [fol. 10] non uolisse consentire: quello caualiere de lordine non se
poteria per honore armare per lui: ma doueria lasciare lo seruicio suo.

Articulo .XIII.

Item che li caualeri del dicto ordine restarano in esso durante lo corso de la uita loro: se essi non *commettessero* casi reprobabili: per li quali essi ne douessero essere priuati: li quali casi dechiararemo tali quali seguitano. 305

Articulo .XIII.

Cio/ e/ se alcuno de dicti caualeri fosse: la quale cosa non interuegna: incolpato et conuinciuto de heresia/ o/ uero de errore contra la fede christiana/ o/ hauesse per questa patuto pena/ o uero punitione publica.

Articulo .xv.

Item se fosse incolpato et conuinciuto de tradimento. 310

Articulo .xvi.

Item se se ne fugisse/ o/ partissese [*sic*] di giornata o battalia: sia col suo signore/ o/ altri doue le bandere fosseno spieghate: et fosse congregato et processo fine al combattere. Per li quali tre casi de so[fol. 10^v]pra declarati: accioche lordine et compagnia non sia *per* questo diffamato: ma resti netta et honorata come *apertene*: ordinamochel caualiere che ce sera incolpato et conuinciuto/ o/ de dui/ o/ de uno de quelli: seria per lo uero giudicio del superiore et compagno del dicto ordine/ o uero de la magiore parte deposito: priuato: et scacciato de questo ordine: esso audito ne le sue defensioni sopra el caso: se defendere/ o/ excusare se ne uolesse/ o/ uero per contumacia esso sopra questo debitamente chiamato: amonito et aspectato/ o/ uero se esso commettesse alcuno altro uillano: enorme et reprobabile caso. Lo superiore et caualeri delordine procederano contra de esso come de sopra/ e/ dicto. Et per altre manere non poteria essere priuato ne scacciato. Ma se interuenissechel superiore facesse gran torto/ o/ uiolentia ad alcuni de caualeri delordine: donde de po *che* questo caualere hauesse sufficientemente rechiesto et amonito lo dicto superiore et caualieri: de lui ce fare rasone et iustitia: et lauesse debitamente expectato: et non lo potesse ottenere: et che per declaratione de li frati et caualieri per questo congregati dela magiore parte de loro seria facta declaratione del torto et rufutatione [fol. 11] giustitia. In questo caso et inançi: lo dicto caualere cossi grauato poteria rendere lo colare et partiresse de lordine sença fare male: ne hauere carico de disonore: pigliando gratiosa licentia. Et similmente per altri liciti et rasoneuoli casi secondo lo auiso et determinatione de caualeri de lordine. 315
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Articulo .xvii.

Item et a fine de deponere ogni difficulta che potesse uenire tochante li honori: stati et gradi intra li caualeri de lordine maximamente che bono et

340 uero amore et fraterna compagnia non deue hauere respecto a tale cose Noy
uolimo et ordinamo che tanto allandare sia in chiesa in capitulo et ad mensa
nominare: parlare et scrivere: et in tutte altre cose tochante el dicto ordine
et amicabile compagnia: li frati et compagni habbiano et tenghano loco et
345 ce fusseno che in uno medesimo giorno fosseno facti caualieri: ordinamo
chel piu anticho de eta habia el primo loco in questo che / e / dicto et li altri
sequenti. Et quanto a quelli che seranno in lordine per electione del
Superiore: noue de caualeri ordinamo che hauerano loco secondo el tempo
che [fol. 11^v] hauerano receputo lordine de caualleria sença per altro
350 hauerne respecto a nobilita de prosapia: grandeça de signorie: officii: stati:
richeçe: o uero potentie.

Articulo .XVIII.

Item che a la creatione et principio del nostro dicto ordine: per lo
sentimento: probita et ghaliardia: uirtu et boni costumi de caualeri qua
355 sotto scritti: Et la confidentia che hauemo de loro fidelitate: et perseuerantia
in honorabili facti et bone operationi: noy quelli secondo loro antiquita nel
stato de caualleria: sença hauere respecto come de sopra / e / dicto a nobilita
de prosapia: grandeça: Signorie: stati: richeçe et potentie: hauemo
nominato: et per questo presente nominamo: cio / e / nostri carissimi et
360 fideli Misser Guilielmo de Vienna Signore de sancto Giorgio et de sancta
croce nostro cusino. Missere Rainere pot: signore de la pruna et de la rocha
de molay. Misser Giouanni signore de Robaix: et de heyçelles. Misser
Rolando duntquerque signore de hemsrode et de heestruut. Missere
Antonio de uergei conte de dampmartin: signore de Champlite et de
365 Rugney nostro cusino. [fol. 12] Missere Daud de brimeu signore de ligny.
Missere hugo de lannoy signore de Santes. Missere Giouanni signore de
commines. Misser Antonio de Thonlonion signore de Traues et de la bastia
marescalche de borgognia. Missere petro de luxemburg conte de sancto
Paulo de conuersan et de brienne: signore de enghien nostro cusino. Misser
370 Ioanni de la tremouille signore de Ionelle ancora nostro Cusino. Missere
Gilibert de lannoy signore de uuillerual et de thronciennes. Missere
Giouanni de Lupembourg conte de liney signore de beaure uoir [*sic*] et de
bohain nostro cusino. Missere Giouanni de uillers signore de lille adan.
Missere Antonio signore de croy et de Renty nostro Cusino. Misser
375 Florimonte de brimeu. Missere Roberto Signore de Masmines. Missere
Iacobo de brimeu. Misser baltuino de lannoy dicto lo besgue signore de
molembaix. Missere Pietro de besfroymont signore de charny. Missere
Philippo signore de ternant et de la motte. Missere Ioanni de croy signore
de Tours surmarne nostro cusino: et Missere Ioanni signore de crequy et de
380 canaples.
[fol. 12^v] Et lo resto per complire lo dicto numero de li xxxi. caualieri de

lordine: sença lo Superiore: preseruamo a essere posto in questo ordine al proximo capitulo / o / uero altro subsequente a la electione de noy et de gli frati et compagni del dicto ordine.

Articulo .xviii.

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Item che in questo presente ordine hauemo ordinato et ordinamo quatro officiali: cio / e / cancellieri Thesaureri: secretarii: et re de arme / el quale sera chiamato Toson doro. Li quali officiali seruirano al dicto ordine ne la maniera declarata in certo libro et articulo che a loro hauemo facto donare per scripta per la loro instructione et amaestramento rechiesti a questo ordine: et faranno sacramento ciascuno per la parte sua de fare lo deure in loro dicto officio come apertene. et de tenere secreto tutto *quello* che sera dicto: facto ordinato et aconciato nel *dicto* ordine: lo quale sera da celare.

390

Articulo .xx.

Item che in fauore de questo presente ordine faremo se piace a dio in nostra uilla de dijon in lo nostro ducato de borgogna certe fondationi del [fol. 13] culto diuino ne le chiese de nostra capella de li duchi nel dicto locho de dijon: et altre fondationi del uiuere et sustentatione de poueri caualieri: et edificii a questo pertinenti et necessari: come / e / declarato in nostre altre littere facte sopra questo.

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Articulo .xxi.

Item che nel choro de dicta chiesa contra lo muro sopra la sedia del superiore de lordine sera posto affixo lo scuto de le arme sue: elmo / Cimera: et fioroni. et similmente sera facto de li altri caualieri del dicto ordine sopra loro sedie nel choro de dicta chiesa.

405

Articulo .xxii.

Item benche si sia che nel tempo passato sia stato ordinato de sollenniçare la festa et capitulo de questo presente ordine: ciascuno anno lo giorno de monsignore sancto Andrea apostolo: niente di meno per consyderatione de la breuita de li giorni del uerno: et che graue cosa seria a li antichi caualieri et ad altri che sono de lontano paese de ce uenire spesse uolte in cossi dura stasone. Noi hauuta da poy deliberatione in questa materia: ordi-[fol. 13^v]namo la festa: capitulo: conuentione: congregatione generale et amicabile compagnia del Superiore et de tutti li caualieri et frati del dicto ordine essere tenuti de tre anni in tre anni lo secondo giorno del mese de magio in tal locho: el quale lo Superiore fara inançi sapere per tempo competente et raseuole secondo la distantia de li lochi. nientedimeno noi reseruamo a noi de potere tenere la dicta festa et anticiparla et metterla a

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20 piu breui giorni se uedremo che ce sia caso lo quale lo rechieda sempre con distantia et interuallo de uno anno precedente lo capitulo et non meno.

Articulo .xxiii.

Item et a fine che lo capitulo: conuentione: et congregatione et feste de lordine sia conseruata come sopra / e / scripto: et non sia lasciata / o / uero impaciata per le necessita de li casi poriano occorrere: uolemo et ordinamo:
425 che per infirmita presone. pericolo de guerra: difficulta de camino o / altra qualunque cagione raseuole et receptabile. Lo superiore / o / altri cau-
alieri delordine fosseno impacciati de potere personalmente comparere:
[fol. 14] al dicto capitulo feste et congregatione. In questo caso quello che
430 hauesse tale impedimento: sera tenuto mandare per sua parte procuratore
sufficiente sopra unaltro cauallere delordine / o / uero sopra piu / cio / e / lo
Commisso del Superiore per presidere: et de li cauallieri per assistere et
comparere per essi nel dicto capitulo conuentione et congregatione / dicere
la sua excusatione / et facenda: tenere loco per esso: fare le sue oblatione / et
435 sollempnitate. Audire quel che per esso / o / contra esso sera dicto / et facto:
recipere le correctioni: et pene: ogni cosa per lui referire: et ciascuno per fare
tanto nel locho del maestro suo lo quale lauera commissio et mandato come
esso medesimo potesse et deuesse fare se fosse presente: ne la qual cosa sera
obeduto et inteso: per questi delordine: come a quello lo quale per-
sonalmente ce douea comparere.

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Articulo .xxiiii.

Item che dal primo giorno de magio tutti li cauallieri delordine uenuti al loco de la congregatione: ueneranose a presentare uerso el superiore de lordine ne la sua casa nante lhora de [fol. 14^v] uespro. et esso li receuera amicablemente et honoreuolamente: come el caso rechiedera.

445

Articulo .xxv.

Item che lo dicto primo giorno de maio lo dicto Superiore et cauallieri de lordine: partirano insieme de la casa de esso superiore o uero del suo
450 *commissio* uestuti ad uno modo de mantelli de scarlatta rossa intorno da basso da la spachatura richamente fresonata de largho semente de fucili:
petre fochare: scintille: tosoni foderati de uairo minuto: lunghi fino in terra:
et capuciatu de capucii de scarlatta rossa a cornetta longha sença frapare. Li
quali mantelli et capucii lo Superiore et ciascuno de cauallieri fara fare a le
proprie spese. Et in questo modo anderanno a la dicta chiesa per ordine dui
a dui inanci al Superiore o uero al suo *Commissio* et quello Superiore solo e
455 lultimo: et essi uenuti a la chiesa metteransi ciascuno ne la sua sedia per
audire lofficio diuino: Lo quale audito torneransi ne la casa del dicto

Superiore per lordine supradicto andando li officiali inançi a li caualeri: secondo loro stato.

Articulo .xxvi.

[fol. 15] Item lo giorno de la sollemnitate: la matina lo Superiore et caualieri delordine uestuti: et per tale ordine quale de sopra / e / dicto anderanno a la dicta chiesa ad udire la messa grande: la quale sollemnemente sera celebrata in reuerentia de monsignore sancto Andrea. Allofferta de la quale messa sara per lo Superiore: et per ciascuno de li caualeri presenti: et procuratori de li absenti offerata una peça doro secondo la deuotione de quello che lo offerira: et che poy facto lofficio tornerano ne la dicta manera ala casa del Superiore: el quale al disnare li receuera a la sua mensa: et li fara festa honorabilmente / o / fare receuere / o / fare festa per lo suo commissio. 460 465

Articulo .xxvii.

Item questo giorno medesimo lo dicto Superiore et caualieri per ordine como / e / dicto: partiranosi de la casa de quello uestuti de longhi mantelli nigri: et capuciatu de capuci nigri a longha cornetta: et andranno cossi a la chiesa ad udire lo officio de li morti: et la matina sequente cossi anderano in tale ordine et modo ala chiesa ad udire [fol. 15^v] la messa et officio de li morti. Allofferta de la quale messa lo Superiore et ciascuno de li dicti caualeri presenti: et procuratori de li absenti offerirano ciascuno uno cereo de cera con le arme de quello per lo quale sera offerto: et a lo dicto offertorio de quella messa: sera per lo historiographo / o / uero secretario del dicto ordine lecto uno rotulo continente li nomi: soprano et Tituli del Superiore et de caualeri de lordine morti. per le anime deli quali et de gli altri defuncti: quello che celebrara la dicta messa dicera per abundantia nel fine de loffertorio lo psalmo de profundis et una oratione de li morti. 470 475 480

Articulo .xxviii.

Item che lo giorno sequente lo Superiore et caualieri de lordine uestuti come meglio piacera a loro: anderano alla chiesa ad udire la messa grande: la quale sera celebrata sollemnemente delofficio de nostra donna. 485

Articulo .xxviii.

Item lo primo giorno de po la dicta sollemnita poterano lo Superiore et caualeri de lordine se piacera a loro començare el capitulo per traccare [fol. 16] de le facende de lordine in tale loco che per esso superiore sera ordinato: ma quanto a le electioni et correctioni de li caualeri de lordine: essi se faranno nel capitulo de la chiesa doue sera stato celebrato lo officio diuino: se sera capitulo conueneuole a questo. et se non. in tale locho: quale 490

495 piacera al superiore. Al quale loco se faranno le dicte electioni et correctioni.
Lo Superiore: li caualeri et officiali de lordine haueranno loro mantelli et
capuci de scarlatta rossa sopradicti.

Articulo .xxx.

Item nel dicto capitulo sera per lo Superiore o uero lo suo commisso / o / per
500 lo cancellere de lautorita et ordinatione del superiore comandato et
ingionto a tutti gli caualeri presenti et procuratori de li absenti: et officiali
de lordine che tegnano secreto quello che ne li concilii del dicto capitulo sera
dicto: facto: tractato et manegiato: maximamente le correctioni facte sopra
505 li caualieri de lordine: sença reuelare niente ad alcuno: excepto li pro-
curatori de li absenti: li quali poterano referire a li loro maestri: quello che a
loro tochara solamente.

Articulo .xxxI.

[fol. 16^v] Item et a fine che questo presente ordine et amicabile compagnia
sia mantenuto in boni termini: et che li supposti caualieri et frati de quello
510 ordine traualiano a uiuere uirtuosamente in boni costumi et acrescimento
de honore et de bona fama per exemplo a tutti li altri caualeri et nobili: Per
la qual cosa lo deure de lordine de caualeria et de nobilita sia meglio
cognosciuto et piu diulgato: sera al dicto capitulo intra laltre cose tochte
515 bono ualere per essere utile a la correctione de li uicii et inclinatione: ad
emendatione de uicio et de uirtu per essi dicti de lordine. Et questo facto
sera per quello medesimo cancellere per parte del dicto ordine: et ingionto
allultimo in sedia de li dicti frati et compagni: secondo la situatione et
ordine sopradicti che escha del capitulo: et aspecti de fora fine in tanto che
520 sia chiamato dentro.

Articulo .xxxII.

Item et che quello cossi partuto del dicto Capitulo lo Superiore / o / lo suo
Commisso / o / lo dicto cancellere per parte de quello Superiore: et de
lordine [fol. 17] cercara per grande et sollemne sacramento a tutti li
525 caualieri et al Superiore: et a ciascuno particularemente: cominciando a la
sedia da basso: et procedendo continuamente fine ad alto: che dicano se
hano udito: saputo / o / uero udito dicere a persona digna de fede: che loro
frate o / uero compagno uscito del dicto capitulo habia dicto: facto / o / uero
530 commisso cosa che sia contra lo honore: fama: stato et deure de caualeria:
maximamente contra li statuti: puncti et ordinatione de questo presente
ordine et amicabile compagnia: et donde essa possa essere uituperata o uero
diffamata in alcuno modo.

Articulo .xxxiii.

Item se se trouara per relatione de li frati caualeri delordine / o / uero de sufficiente parte de loro: che esso dicto frate et compagnone habia commissio alcuno uicio / o / uero habia offeso et facto contra lonore deure et stato de caualleria et nobilitate maximamente contra li puncti et ordinatione de questo presente ordine et altri casi li quali in quelli che cercano priuatione a lui: sera per lo Superiore / o / uero lo suo Commissio / o / per lo dicto cancellere cor[fol. 17^v]recto et uilipeso: monendolo in caritate: che se correggi et emendi: et uiua in tale maniera che ogni uilipensione et parole diffamatorie / o / male sonanti / sopra persona de tanta nobile conditione / debia cessare: et che da mo inanzi li lamentantisi de lordine habino migliore relatione de esso: et quanto a le pene lo Superiore et caualeri del dicto ordine: se ne acordarano cossi come uedrano essere da fare secondo el caso: 535
A lo quale douera obedire lo dicto caualiere: sopra lo quale le dicte pene serano imposte: et sera tenuto de le portare: patire: et compirele. 540
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Articulo .xxxiiii.

Item de po sera similmente proceduto a respecto de laltro caualiere de la sedia proxima: et cossi consequentemente de li procuratori saliendo fine al capo et Superiore de lordine: sopra lo quale per le rasoni de sopra tochte: 550
et a fine de mantenere lamore et fraternita: et guardare in questo modo equalita: maximamente che de li maggiori deue per rasoni uenire lo migliore exemplo: Volemo che lo exito et la examinatione se facia de lui come de laltri: et la correctione: pena: et punitione secondo [fol. 18] lauiso de li dicti caualeri de lordine: se lo caso auenera. 555

Articulo .xxxv.

Item se lo caualere uscito de capitulo fosse per lo dicto testimonio de li altri frati et compagni suoy reputato de bona fama: honoreuole et uirtuosa uita: et intendere alti facti de caualleria et nobilita: esso sera per lo cancellere delautorita: et per lauiso del Superiore et caualieri dicto et declarato per modo de congratulatione: et per animarlo ad fare sempremai bene: che lo dicto Superiore: et li dicti frati et compagni de lordine sono molto lenti et allegri de lalta et bona fama la quale hano hauuta de esso: et de li beni de la sua persona exhortandolo et monendolo sempre perseuerare in bene et sforçarse a meglio: accioche li meriti suoy et laude se uegnano a crescere: et che esso per lo suo buono exemplo doni a tutti occasione de fare bone operationi. Et similmente sera dicto a laltri frati delordine: li quali secondo el dicto de loro compagna serano reputati buoni et uirtuosi. 560
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Articulo .xxxvi.

Item che se al dicto Capitulo uenisse alla *commis*[fol. 18^v]sione del Superiore del dicto ordine che alcuno de li frati et caualeri de quello hauesse *commisso* caso / o / uero crimine per lo quale ne deuesse essere priuato secondo li statuti de questa presente ordinatione: se lo dicto caualiero fosse
575 la presente: lo Superiore fara mettere lo caso suo in termine: et esso audito ne le sue defensionì se alcuna cosa uole dicere / o / prouare per la sua excusatione et absolutione: a lui sera sopra de cio facta rasono per lo Superiore et caualiere del dicto ordine o / uero la maggiore parte de loro. Et se la cosa uenisse ad notitia del Superiore fora del tempo del *capitulo*: esso la
580 significara per le sue lettere chiuse / o / uero patenti sigillati del sigillo delordine: lo quale mandera per lo Re darne toson doro / o / uero altra persona notabile al caualiere diffamato et incaricato del caso: che debia uenire al *capitulo* proximo per essere proceduto in la materia sua et fare quello che la rasono rechiedera. Et sel tempo del dicto primo *capitulo* fosse
585 troppo breue secondo la distantia del loco de la habitatione del dicto diffamato caualiere: la significatione sera facta al *capitulo* subsequente: intimando a lui che uegna / o / se non: sera proceduto contra de [fol. 19] esso come apertenera.

Articulo .xxxvii.

590 Item se fosse trouato chel dicto caualiere habia *commisso* alcuno reprobabile caso: et degno de priuatione de lordine: esso per lo Superiore caualieri et frati de lordine / o / uero la maggiore parte de loro ne sera deposto: priuato et scacciato come de sopra / e / dicto: et a fine che lordine non sia scandalizato ne diffamato per la sua colpa: et in la persona sua lui
595 sera interdicto et prohibito de mai portare lo colare del dicto ordine ne altro simile: comandandoli et ingiongendoli per li sacramenti per lui facti allo intrare in questo ordine che lo dicto colare renda ne le mani del Superiore o / uero del Thesaurere de lordine. Et se lo dicto caualiere non fosse presente a questo: a lui sarano inandate lettere patente sigillate del Sigillo
600 delordine contenente la priuatione: sententia: condemnatione defensione interdicto inhibitione et comandamenti ne la cose sopradicte.

Articulo .xxxviii.

Item se lo dicto caualiere cossi amonito fusse refutante de mandare in detro / o / uero rendere lo dicto [fol. 19^v] colare: lo Superiore se esso fosse
605 sugecto suo: procedera per uia de iustitia ad constringerlo a questo: et se esso non fosse sugetto del Superiore: esso procedera come apertenera secondo lauiso et consiglio de caualeri de lordine.

Articulo .XXXVIII.

Item ordinamo che quando alcuno de caualeri delordine morira: li heredi / o / uero quelli che hauerano causa: serano tenuti de mandare indietro infra tre mesi de po lo colare del dicto defuncto: et mediante le sue lettere de la receptione del dicto colare: li dicti heredi / o / uero quelli che haueranno causa: serano quietati et descargati del dicto colare: et non altrimenti. 610

Articulo .XL.

Item se auenisse che qualchuno de dicti caualeri *perdesse* lo dicto colare per guerra / o / facto honoreuole / o / uero che in persecutione de alcuno facto de honore esso fosse pregione per la quale cosa lo dicto colare fusse perduto: lo Superiore de lordine seria tenuto in questo caso de donare a le sue spese unaltro al dicto caualiere: ma se el dicto caualiere [fol. 20] *perdesse* el colare suo altrimenti: esso seria tenuto farene fare uno altro simile a le sue spese: et lo portare infra quatro mesi de poi: o lo piu presto che bonamente fare se poteria. 615
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Articulo .XLI.

Item che quando uacara alcuno loco ne lordine per la morte de alcuno de caualeri de *quello* o altrimenti sera per implire lo numero proueduto de uno altro de le conditione antescrite per la electione et maggiore numero de le uoce del Superiore et caualeri de lordine. ne la quale electione: et in tutte altre opinioni et deliberationi tochante le facende de lordine: la uoce del Superiore hauerà locho: et sera contata per dui uoce et non per piu se non nel caso qua apresso declarato. 625
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Articulo .XLII.

Item sera proceduto a la dicta electione in la manera sequente: cio / e / che de po la morte de alcuno de caualeri delordine toson doro Re de arme: sera tenuto presto de lo significare al Superiore: lo quale per le lettere sue lo significara a tutti li caualeri de lordine: rechiedendoli et domandandoli: che [fol. 20^v] al capitulo de lordine proximo futuro se lo tempo sera competente: et se fosse troppo breue a lo capitulo proximo futuro. apresso essi siano particularemente auisati et presti de nominare et procedere a la electione de uno nouo frate et compagno in loco del defuncto. Et se essi hauesseno facenda o / impacio raseuole: *per* lo quale personalmente non ce poteseno comparere: che ciascuno de loro mandino al dicto capitulo per loro procuratore / o / uero altro sicuro al superiore in scripto per la sua cedula fidelemente chiusa et sigillata del Sigillo suo lo nome del caualiere: lo quale esso uolera per questo nominare. 635
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Articulo .XLIII.

Item sel loco fosse uacante per priuatione per che essa se faria in capitulo. et per lo Superiore et caualeri de lordine come / e / dicto: quello Superiore diceria / o / faria dicere a li caualeri et frati de questo ordine presente: et a li procuratori de li absenti: che de po la dicta priuatione guardino a nominare et procedere a la electione nel loco del priuato come de sopra.

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Articulo .XLIII.

Item che la dicta electione se fara nel tempo et loco [fol. 21] del capitulo ordinario et non altrimenti. Et nanci [*sic*] che ce se proceda per lo historiographo / o / uero Secretario de lordine sera lecto quel che per lui a la relatione del Re darne Toson doro sera stato posto per scripto de li alti facti del caualiere morto a la sua commendatione et laude.

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Articulo .XLV.

Item nanci la electione sera per lo Superiore et caualieri presenti et procuratori de li absenti data una cedula: ne la quale numerano de li caualeri tanti quanti parera loro bono: et sera per lo cancellere domandato a ciascuno de li caualeri presenti se sano alcuna cosa: per la quale li dicti nominati non deueno essere receptibili a la electione.

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Articulo .XLVI.

Item et de po questa generalita lo Superiore et caualieri de lordine esistenti in sedie nel dicto capitulo sera dicto per lo dicto cancelere. Signori mei uoi sete qua congregati per elegere uno nouello frate et compagno: ma per ce procedere sanctamente et iustamente: uoy hauete a fare li sacramenti sequenti. Voi giurarite ne le mani de monsignore lo Superiore o / uero del suo Commisso per la fede et sacramento del [fol. 21^v] corpo uostro et la obligatione et astrictione che hauete alordine: che uoi procederite ciascuno per la parte sua fidelmente et iustamente a la electione: Et per questo numera ciascuno secondo lo suo giudicio et auiso uno notabile caualere de le conditione soprascripte. bono et utile per lo Superiore et successori soy superiori del dicto ordine loro paesi et Signorie. Et per la conseruatione honore et bene del dicto ordine: ne per prosapia: amore: odio utilita fauore / o / uero altra affectione lassarete de iustamente a uostro potere elegere quello lo quale melio ue parera essere degno / chiamato et posto ad questo honorabile ordine et amicabile compagnia.

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Articulo .XLVII.

Item che incontinente po se leuara el caualere de la prima sedia: et reuerentemente uenera uerso el Superiore: ne le mano [*sic*] del quale fara sacramento tale quale sopra / e / dicto. et esso tornato ne la sua sedia

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similmente fara lo proximo ad esso: et cossi li altri consequentemente per ordine.

Articulo .XLVIII.

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Item de po cercara lo Superiore / o / uero lo Com[fol. 22]misso suo al caualere de la prima sedia per lo sacramento che facto hauite: Quale / e / lo caualiere che piu digno ue pare essere chiamato et receputo ad questo ordine. Alhora se leuara lo dicto caualere et dentro uno Plato doro / o / uero d'argento ordinato ad questo nançi lo Superiore / o / uero lo suo *commisso* uenera a mettere una cedula ne la quale sera scripto lo nome del caualere lo quale esso uora nominare: et cossi farano tutti l'altri caualeri consequentemente. Et similmente ce mettera lo Superiore la cedula sua: et quelle le quale haueria recepute da li caualeri absenti tutte chiuse et Sigillate.

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Articulo .XLVIII.

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Item facto questo lo cancellere pigliara tutte le dicte cedule: et le legera tutte alta uoce: et serano posti li nomi dentro contenuti: donde sera facta recolectione insieme: per sapere quello che hauera piu uoce. Et facto questo lo cancellere pronuntiarà lo numero de le uoce che ciascuno de li nominati hauera. Et poy lo Superiore de nuouo pigliara le piu uoce: et dicera nominando quello che piu uoce hauera. Tale ha piu uoce. Cossi / e / electo et chiamato [fol. 22^v] nostro compagno et frate de lordine. Et se auenisse difficulta per questo che dui de li nominati hauesseno tante uoce luno quanto laltro in questo caso et non altro de le facende de lordine / potera per auançare la electione oltra le dui uoce soy donare ancora la terça a quello de li dui nominati che li parera bono. Ma sel Superiore nol uolesse fare cossi: renouara la electione et donara ciascuno noua cedula: cassando la prima electione. niente de meno le cedule de li absenti restarano in ualore: per che non se potrebe cossi presto hauere de le noue de quelli.

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Articulo .L.

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Item che la electione facta essa sera per lo Secretario de lordine registrata in uno registro seruente a questo lo giorno che sera stata facta: et poy se lo caualere electo non fosse presente: lo Superiore per lo Re darne toson doro / o / uero per altro notabile significara al dicto caualiere electo la sua dicta electione recercandoli: che uole gratamente recepere: et acceptare amicablemente la sua uocatione alordine. de le ordinationi del quale a lui sera con le dicte lettere mandata la copia in scriptis: acioche piglii sopra de [fol. 23] questo el suo parere: insignandoli che la dicta electione a lui e grata: et piace a esso essere compagno de lordine: esso uenghi uerso lo Superiore al giorno che a lui sera significato per fare li Sacramenti: recepere lo colare de lordine: et fare ogni altra cosa pertinente. Et che la sua intentione sopra

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questo uolia dechiarare al portatore: et ancora certificarne lo Superiore: et scriuerne a lui le lettere sue per lo dicto portatore.

Articulo .LI.

- 725 Item et sel caualere fosse gran signore: per che douesse hauere grande occupatione da fare / o / habitasse / o / fosse uiatore in paese lontano: donde fosse da dubitare de potere personalmente comparere uerso el superiore. quello Superiore se a lui parera expediente: poria fare donare al portatore de le littere sue uno colare de questo ordine: accio che poychel dicto
- 730 caualiere electo hauera accepta la electione: et essere compagno al dicto ordine et non altrimenti apresenti lo dicto colare al dicto caualiere per conditione che de la sua dicta acceptatione et receptione del colare esso donara le lettere sue al dicto portatore: lo quale le rendera al dicto Superiore: et per quelle promettera de ue[fol. 23^v]nire al proximo capitulo
- 735 se fare lo potra bonamente: et se non: a laltro subsequente / o / uero uerso el Superiore per giurare li puncti de lordine: el piu che bonamente porra. et generalmente fare tutto quello a che esso sera tenuto.

Articulo .LII.

- 740 Item che lo dicto caualere electo: lo quale hauera acceptata la electione / uenuto uerso el Superiore per fare li sacramenti: et recepere lo colare de lordine: se presentara al Superiore: et a lui dicera secondo lo suo modo de parlare. Io ho inteso per lettere uostre Come de la gratia uostra et de li honoratissimi frati et compagni de lo honorabile ordine del Toson doro / io sono stato electo ad questo ordine et amicabile compagnia: donde io me
- 745 riputo grandissimamente honorato. Io lo ho reuerentemente et gratamente receputo et acceptato: et a uoy ne ho grande gratie de optimo cuore. Et per questo so uenuto uerso uoi et me ce presento prompto de obedire et fare quanto ad questo ordine tutto cio che ce sono tenuto de fare. A la quale cosa sera resposto per lo Superiore acompagnato dal maggiore numero de
- 750 caualeri de lordine che fare se potra. Signore noy: no[fol. 24]stri frati de lordine et compagni: li quali de uoi hauimo udito dicere molti beni sperando che ce perseuerarite et li augumentarite ad la exaltatione et honore de lordine de caualeria: et a uostro merito laude et commendatione ue hauemo electo ad essere perpetualmente se piace a dio frate et compagno
- 755 de questo ordine et amicabile compagnia. Per la quale cosa hauete a fare li sacramenti sequenti: cio / e / che secondo uostro liale potere uoi aiutarite a guardare sustenere et defendere le alteçe et Signorie et diricti del Superiore: tanto che uoi uiuerite et serite del dicto ordine.

Articulo .LIII.

Item che tutto uostro potere uoi applicarite et ue affaticarete ad mantenere 760
lo dicto ordine in stato et honore: et metterite pena de augumentarelo sença
patire cascarelo / o / uero sminuire tanto che ce poterite remediare.

Articulo .LIIII.

Item se auenisse la qual cosa dio non uolia: che in uoi fosse trouato alcuno 765
defecto: per lo quale secondo la constitutione de questo presente [fol. 24^v]
ordine ne deuesse essere priuato o / scaciato: monito et requesto de rendere
lo colare: uoi in questo caso lo remandarite in dietro sano et integro uerso lo
Superiore / o / uero lo thesaurero de lordine infra tre mesi de po la dicta
amonitione facta: sença may de poy quella amonitione portare lo dicto
colare ne altro simile. ne per questa occasione hauere ne tenere rancore / o / 770
uero maliuolentia uerso lo dicto Superiore ne li frati caualeri ne alcuni de
loro.

Articulo .LV.

Item che tutte altre pene e correctioni. le quali per altri minori casi ue 775
serano imposte / o / uero ingioncte per lordine: uoy le portarite patien-
tamente et compirite: sença anchora per questo hauere ne tenere rancore /
odio o uero maliuolentia uerso lo Superiore frati caualeri et ufficiali de
lordine ne alcuni de loro.

Articulo .LVI.

Item che uoi uenirite et comparirite a li capituli et congregationi de 780
lordine / o uero ce mandarite secondo li statuti et ordinationi del dicto
ordine et al superiore et a li suoy successori et commissi obedire [fol. 25] te in
tutte cose rasoneuole tochant e et regardante lo deure et facende de questo
questo ordine.

Articulo .LVII.

Item che de uostro fidele potere uoi tenerite et compirite tutti li statuti: 785
ordinatione articoli et puncti de lordine che hauete ueduto in scripto et
udito legere: et li promittete et givrate generalmente tutti cossi come se
particularamente et sopra ciascuno puncto ne facisseuo speciale
sacramento. 790

Articulo .LVIII.

Item che lo dicto caualere li promettera et giurara cossi in mano del
Superiore sopra la sua fede et sacramento: et sopra lo suo honore tochando
la croce: et li sancti euangelii.

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Articulo .LVIII.

Item et facto questo: lo dicto caualere electo. se mettera reuerentemente inanzi al Superiore: lo quale pigliara lo colare de lordine <e>t luy mettera intorno al collo dicendo et facendo dicere simile parole. Signore: lordine ue receue a la sua amicabile compagnia: et in signo de questo ue [fol. 25^v]

800 presento questo colare: Dio ue doni che longamente lo possiate portare ad laude et seruicio suo et exaltatione de sancta chiesa et acrescimento et honore de lordine et de li vostri meriti et bona fama. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. amen. Al quale lo caualere respondera. Amen. Dio me ne faci gratia. Et de poy lo caualiere de la prima sedia el quale alora sera

805 presente: menara lo caualere nouamente recepto uerso lo Superiore ne la sua sedia: et quello Superiore lo lassera in signo de amore perpetuo: et cossi lo lasserano per ordine tutti li altri caualeri presenti.

Articulo .LX.

810

Item se lo dicto caualere electo se scusasse de acceptare la electione: lo Superiore lo significara a li compagni de lordine / dando loro ad cognoscere: et recercandoli: et mandando che essi siano apparecchiati de procedere a la electione de uno altro nel tempo et ne la manera che apertenera.

Articulo .LXI.

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Item et che li sacramenti ne la forma de nante scripta et contenuta / faranno anchora li ca[fol. 26]ualeri per noi qua nominati et chiamati in frati et compagni del dicto ordine et ciascuno di loro.

Articulo .LXII.

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Item che ciascuno caualere del dicto ordine a la sua receptione paghara al thesaurero de questo ordine quaranta scuti de oro / de settanta dui nel marchio / o / uero lo ualore da conuertirse in li uestimenti gioye et ornamenti per lo diuino seruicio nel collegio del dicto ordine. Niente de meno se esso uolesse in loco de queste donarce gioye uestimenti / o / uero ornamenti in fino al ualore de la dicta somma fare lo potra: et per questo meço sera quietato de la somma.

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Articulo .LXIII.

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Item quando alcuno caualere de lordine morira / ciascuno de li frati de questo ordine: lo dicto defuncto uenuto a la sua cognitione / sera tenuto de dare / o / uero mandare al thesaurere del dicto ordine dinari per fare cantare quindice messe: et quindici soldi a dare per dio per lanima del caualere defuncto: et lo dicto thesaurere sera tenuto de spenderlo in questo che / e / dicto. nel loco de [fol. 26^v] la sua fundatione.

Articulo .LXIII.

Item chel Superiore del dicto ordine donara ciascuno anno de pensione al Re darne de questo / cinquanta nobili et altre cinquanta libre de tornesi: per li soi uestimenti et habiti del dicto ordine. et ciascuno caualere li donara uno nobile ad pagare ciascuno anno sempre al capitulo ordinario. 835

Articulo .LXV.

Item se auenisse che de poi la morte del Superiore de lordine lo Successore suo in lordine fosse minore de etate: per la qual cosa non potesse manegiare li facti de lordine: uolimo et ordinamo che in questo caso li frati et compagni de lordine faciano insieme una conuentione et congregatione: et per opinione e lo magiore numero de le uoce elegano uno de loro per presidere et manegiare le facende de lordine in loco del minore a le sue spese fine in tanto che esso sera in etate et caualere. Et se per la morte del Superiore restasse filiola sua herede non maritata: uolimo et ordinamo che similemente sia electo uno de li frati de lordine per con[fol. 27]ducere li facti de questo ordine fine in tanto che la dicta filia sia maritata a caualere in etate de piliare et conducere el carico del Superiore de lordine sopradicto. Et che esso ne habbi factio el sacramento. Al quale cossi electo uolimo et ordinamo durante lo dicto tempo essere obedito ne le facende de questo ordine come al Superiore. 845

Articulo .LXVI.

Item et per che questo *presente* ordine / e / come sopra / e / dicto una fraternita et compagnia amicabile: ne la quale se sottometteno de loro bona et libera uolunta li caualeri et frati de quello: et lo prometterano et giurarano guardare: et liberamente conseruare sença rompere ne fare contra. uolimo ordinamo et stabilimo et deliberamo lo dicto ordine hauere cognitione et corte Superiore in li casi li quali tochano et regardano lo dicto ordine: et sopra li frati et compagni de quello: et che tutte correctione pene: monitione: punitione: priuatione: apuntamenti: sententie: iudicii: aresti et cose passate et facti per lo dicto ordine ne li casi che li tochano: et sopra li caualeri et frati de quello siano executorie [fol. 27^v] et ualeuole come de corte Superiore sença questo che per lo impaciarle / se possa / o / debia per appellatione: querimonia: supplicatione: ne altrimenti come se sia trahere o / uero driçare a qualche Signore Principe Iudice Corte Compagnia ne altro qualse sia: ne che lo Superiore et frate del dicto ordine siano per questo tenuti de respondere / attento la uoluntaria et libera somissione giurata solememente come dicto / e /. 855

Articulo .LXVII.

870 Tutti li quali puncti: conditione articuli et cose sopra dicte / e / che ciascuna
 de quelle che hauemo ordinate et stabilite: ordinamo et stabilimo como
 dicto / e / noi per noi et per li heredi nostri successori duchi de borgogna
 capi et Superiori del nostro presente ordine et amicabile compagnia del
 Toson doro: promettemo de lo tenere guardare et compiere secondo nostro
 875 potere: integramente inuiolabilmente et perpetuo. Et se ne le cose sopra-
 scribe / o / alcune de quelle hauesse alcuna obscuritate / o / dubitatione:
 noy reseruamo et retenemo a noi et a nostri dicti successori duchi de
 borgogna [fol. 28] Superiori del dicto ordine / la determinatione interpre-
 880 tatione et declaratione: et de ce adgiungere correggere / acennare et
 dichiarare nel parere et deliberatione de li nostri frati: et compagni del dicto
 ordine: Excepto lo primo articulo faciente mentione del numero et de la
 conditione de li caualeri de lordine. Lo secondo dicente che li frati et
 caualeri de lordine non deueno quello recepto essere de nullo altro: se non
 per la conditione nel dicto articulo declarata. Lo quarto de lamicitia la
 885 quale lo Superiore et caualere deueno hauere luno uerso laltro: et reguar-
 dare lonore luno de laltro. Lo quinto del seruicio lo quale li caualeri de
 lordine serano tenuti de fare al Superiore. Lo octauo come el Superiore
 douera procedere per pacificare le contentione: se alcune ne sorgessero
 intra li caualeri de lordine per casone de loro persone. Lo nono et decimo de
 890 la assistentia la quale lo Superiore et caualeri de lordine deuerano fare a loro
 frati et compagni de quello. Lo undecimo in quale caso li caualeri de lordine
 non sugetti del Superiore porano seruire in [fol. 28^v] contra de lui sença
 carico de honore. Lo duodecimo quale cortesia li caualeri de lordine
 deuerano fare a loro frati et compagni se essi fossero presi in guerra / o /
 895 battalia doue essi fosseno. Lo quatuordecimo quintodecimo sextodecimo
 tocanti li casi per li quali se deuerano fare priuationi de lordine et altri per li
 quali li caualeri se ne poterano partire. Lo decimo septimo lo quale contene
 la maniera et ordine che se douera tenere alandare: sedere: scriuere: parlare:
 et altri facti guardanti a la situatione de lordine inanci [sic] dicta. Lo
 900 quadragesimo primo facente mentione de la electione da fare quando ce
 hauera loco uacante de alcuno caualere de lordine nel quale lo Superiore
 hauera due uoce. Lo quinquagesimo secondo de la maniera de la receptione
 del dicto caualiere electo: et questo medesimo articulo / e / lo quinquagesimo
 terço quinquagesimo quarto. LV. LVI. LVII. LVIII. de li sacramenti che
 905 douerano li caualeri de lordine. Li quali articuli et ciascuno di loro qua
 sopra excepti et designati secondo lor forma et tenore uolimo restare fermi
 et integri: sença per noi: ne per nostri successo [fol. 29] ri superiori ne altri ce
 essere facta mutatione alcuna. Et uolimo che a la copia de questo chiamata.
 Vidimus. sotto nostro sigillo / lo Sigillo de questo ordine o / altri eutentici /
 910 o / uero sotto lo signo manuale del Secretario de lordine plena fede sia

attribuito come a loriginala. Et a fine che questa sia cosa ferma et stabile in perpetuo: noi hauemo facto mettere el nostro Sigillo ad questo presente. Dato in nostra uilla de lilla a .xxvii. del mese de nouembre: Anno gratie .MCCCCXXXI.

Seguitano le ordinatione et instructioni: le quali lo excellentissimo: 915
altissimo et potentissimo monsignore lo duca Philippo: duca de
borgogna et de brabant et cetera. Fondatore et Superiore delordine
del Toson doro per esso et li suoi successori duchi de borgogna
Superiori del dicto ordine. Le quale ha facte et ordinate a quatro 920
officiali: li quali ha ordinati et stabiliti per seruire a questo ordine
cio / e / Cancellere. Thesaurere. Secretario et Re de arme.

[fol. 29^v] **Articulo primo.**

Imprimis in questo ordine hauera uno ufficiale chiamato cancelere: et per
che lofficio / e / de gran carico: et rechiede hauere notabile persona: uole et
ordina lo dicto monsignore duca che nullo sia a questo officio promosso: se 925
non / e / costituito in prelatura ecclesiastica / come arcipiscopo: episcopo /
o / uero dignitate notabile / in cathedrale / o / collegiata ecclesia / o /
persona seculare de grande commendatione et de experientia: chierico
graduato in theologia / o / uero in rasona canonica / o / ciuile.

Articulo secondo. 930

Item che lo dicto cancellere hauera in guardia et gouernamento lo Sigillo de
lordine: lo quale sera posto in una casetta serrata a chiaue: et non potera
quello cancellere sigillare de quello sigillo alcune lettere tocante lo honore
de alcuno de li caualeri: se non per la ordinatione expressa del Signore
Superiore: et de sei compagni del dicto ordine al meno sottoscritti presenti 935
a la signatura. Ma in absentia del dicto Sigillo de lordine: lo dicto
monsignore lo Superiore bene potra fare sigillare tale [fol. 30] lettere del suo
sigillo secreto.

Articulo terzo.

Item hauera carico lo dicto cancellere da parte del Superiore / o / uero del 940
suo commisso de cercare et domandare nel dicto capitolo a li caualeri de
lordine li quali ce serano de lo stato et gouernamento de ciascuno de loro: li
quali per questa causa escirano luno apresso laltro fora del capitolo. et le
opinioni et dispositione de dicti caualeri reuelara / o / recitara: accioche per
lo dicto Superiore / o / uero lo suo commisso se possa essere presa conclu- 945

sione. La quale conclusione sia che essa reguardi a commendatione/ et laude/ o/ uero a correctione pena/ o/ punitione: quello cancellere preponera: monstrara et pronuntiara sopra lo caualere a chi tochara.

Articulo quarto.

950 Item con questo lo dicto cancellere nel tempo de la electione che se hauera a fare de li caualeri delordine recepera da lo Superiore et caualeri le cedulae de la dicta electione: et fara comparatione presente li officiali del numero de le uoce donate sopra questo: declarando publicamente lo numero [fol. 30^v] de le uoce che hauera ciascuno caualere nominato per la dicta electione.

Articulo quinto.

955 Item che lo dicto cancellere / o / uero altro de lordine *commisso* per lo dicto Superiore insieme alcuni de caualeri de lordine ad cio deputati per lo dicto Superiore sera nel tempo del Capitulo a lauditione de li computi del Thesaurere del dicto ordine.

Articulo sexto.

960 Item che lo dicto Cancellere hauera lo caricho per parte del Superiore de lordine de proponere & mettere inançi nel dicto capitulo del dicto ordine tutte le cose che serano auisate per lonore utilita et bene de questo ordine: et ogni uolta che da parte del superiore / o / uero del suo *commisso* lui sera ordinato.

Articulo septimo.

Item nel dicto ordine hauera unaltro ufficiale chiamato thesaurero: lo quale hauera in custodia tutti li instrumenti: priuilegii: lettere: mandati: scripture: monitioni et instructioni tochante le fondatione et le appartenentie de questo ordine. Et anchora la guardia de tutte gioye: reliquie ornamenti [fol. 31] et uestimenti ecclesiastici: tapeçaria et libreria apertinente ad dicto ordine. Et con questo la guardia et gouernamento de li mantelli de scarlata apertinenti al Superiore et a li caualieri de lordine seruienti ad lo stato et cerimonia de loro congregatione / *conuentione* et capitulo: li quali mantelli esso distribuira a la dicta congregatione et *conuentione* / a ciascuno caualiere lo suo per ne usare allora. Et poi li recuperara et guardara sollicitamente per lauenire. Ma li habiti de li officiali restarano uer loro: et serano loro per usarene allora uolunta. Et se hauesse noui officiali: farano fare a le spese loro tali habiti li quali aperterano sopra li stipendii: li quali hauerano dal Superiore.

Articulo octauo.

Item de poy la morte et priuatione de alcuno de caualeri de lordine fara lo thesaurere cacciare le arme et elmetto et cimera de quel cauалere del loco suo nel choro de la chiesa de la *fondatione* / et le transportare doue fare se douera secondo lordine. Et quando altri caualeri sera in quel locho electo et receputo questo thesaurere fara [fol. 31^v] mettere larme / elmetto et cimera nel locho lo quale a lui sera debito nel choro de la dicta chiesa. 985

Articulo nono.

Item hauera ancora lo dicto thesaurere carico de la rendita de dotatione et *fondatione* del dicto ordine: et de li doni: et de le cose lasciate in li testamenti: augumentatione utilitate: beneficii et emolumenti de questo: le quale esso recepera et recogliera diligentemente: et paghara le *fondationi* pensioni et carighi ordinarii ad le genti de le chiese: poueri caualeri: et altri officiali de lordine secondo lordinatione de la *fondatione*: et sopra questo anchora ne fara le altre missione et spese necessarie et conueniente per lo facto de lordine per comandamento del Superiore / o / del suo comisso: et de tutto rendera bono et fidele computo al capitulo ordinario in presentia de questo Superiore / o / del suo Comisso / o uero de quello de lordine: lo quale esso deputara ad questo. 990
995

Articulo decimo.

Item fara fare lo dicto thesaurere libri ne li quali serano scripti tutti li doni et le cose lasciate [fol. 32] ne li testamenti: elemosine et beneficii che serano facti alordine sopradicto de qualche cosa che ce sia: et de le gioye et ornamenti fara inuentario et ostensione a ciascuno capitulo tanto quanto potranno durare in essere / et de li doni pecuniarii / et utilita de le rendite / censi et possessione rendera bono et fidele computo come / e / dicto: et ad ciascuno capitulo nominara per nome et soprano me li benefactori del dicto ordine: et declarara li doni che hauerano facto ad fine de ne hauer memoria: et preghare per loro: et donare exemplo et animo de ce fare del bene. 1000
1005
1010

Articulo .XI.

Item de li instrumenti priuilegii fundatione augumentatione: acquisti: lettere: monumenti et instructione del dicto ordine / fara lo dicto thesaurere fare libri et registri collationi a li originali: et aprobatu per sigillo eutenticho et signo de li notari nostri / o / uero persone publiche. De li quali registri luno restara ne la dicta chiesa: et laltro sera posto nel thesoro de le littere de borgogna: et seraci data fede como a li originali / a fine [fol. 32^v] che se per auentura fosseno perduti se possa hauer ricorso et aiutarsi de li dicti registri. 1015

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Articulo .XII.

Item al dicto ordine hauemo unaltro ufficiale chiamato lo Secretario: lo quale sera prebendato de una de le prebende ne la chiesa doue sera facta la dicta fondatione de questo ordine / o / uero altra persona notabile et habile / chierico / homo ecclesiastico / o / seculare: lo quale secretario sera tenuto de fare dui libri in carta pecorina / in ciascuno de li quali sera scripta la fondatione del dicto ordine: le cause e le ordinationi et statuti de questo. Et al principio de dicti libri sera historiata la representatione del fondatore: et de li .xxiiii. primi caualeri del dicto ordine sopranominato. De li quali libri luno sera attachato a cathena de ferro nel choro de la dicta chiesa nante la sedia del Superiore. Et laltro anchora atachato a catene de ferro nel capitolo: nante la sedia de questo Superiore.

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Articulo .XIII.

Item chel dicto secretario mettera in scripti in uno libro ordinato a questo tutte le pro[fol. 33]bita laudabile et honoreuole facti del Superiore et de tutti li caualeri del dicto ordine facti de poy la fondatione de questo. De li quali esso sera informato per lo toson doro Re de larme: et sera tenuto de mostrare al capitolo sequente la minuta la quale hauera facto sopra questo secondo la relatione del dicto toson doro per essere cassato et correcto se necessario fosse: et de poy posta in grossa nel dicto libro. La quale sera legiuta con la minuta nel capitolo subsequente.

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Articulo .XIII.

Item in uno altro libro scriuera lo Secretario li appuntamenti: conclusioni et acti de li capituli ordinarii li defecti *Commissi* per li caualeri de lordine donde essi serano stati incolpati / o / uero represi nel capitolo: le correctione punitione et pene: le quale per questo a loro serano state imposte. et con questo le contumacie et defectioni de li caualeri de lordine li quali non serano comparuti nel capitolo: et non ce hauerano per loro sufficientemente mandato ne facta mostra de loro excusatione et impacio.

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[fol. 33^v] **Articulo .xv.**

Item hauera unaltro ufficiale al dicto ordine cio / e / uno Re darne chiamato Toson doro prudente / de bona fama / et sufficiente ad questo officio. Al quale lo dicto monsignore lo Superiore fara dare uno Fermalio lo quale fermalio esso portara tanto quanto uiuera. Et de po la morte de quello Re darne li soy heredi serano tenuti de rendere al thesaurere de lordine lo dicto fermalio se esso non fosse stato perduto in alcuno uiagio / o / uero facto honoreuole sença fraude: nel quale caso li soi heredi serano quetati del dicto fermalio: lo quale cossi fosse stato perduto: et sera lo Superiore tenuto de ce fare hauere a esso unaltro simile.

Articulo .xvi.

Item lo dicto Re darne hauera caricho de portare / o / fare portare le lettere del Superiore a li frati de lordine o uero altri doue li bisognara mandare. significare a questo Superiore la morte de li caualeri de lordine / quando lo caso occorrera. portare / o / uero fare portare lettere de le electioni a li caualeri electi: raportare le loro resposte: et gene[fol. 34]ralmente de fare / o / uero fare tutte altre messagierie / et cose debite: le quale per lo dicto Superiore et officiale de lordine a lui serano ordinate. 1060
1065

Articulo .xvii.

Item lo dicto Re darne Toson doro inquirera diligentemente de le probita alti facti et honoreuole del Superiore et de caualeri de lordine. donde esso fara uera relatione a lo Secretario de lordine per essere posti in scripti come fare se douera. 1070

Articulo .xviii.

Item uacante lofficio del dicto cancellere da qua inançi lo Superiore chiamera de li caualeri de lordine li piu che esso potra recuperare: et nientemanco del numero de sey: et a questo presenti lo thesaurere et Secretario se bonamente fare se puo / procedera a la electione duno nouo cancellere promosso ad prelatura ecclesiastica / come Arcipiscopo episcopo / o / uero dignita notabile in cathedrale / o / uero collegiale ecclesia / o / persona seclvare de grande commendatione et experientia / o / clerico graduato in theologia / o / in rasone canonica o / ciuile. La quale electione cossi facta sera signi[fol. 34^v]ficata a lo electo: assignando a lui el di dauenire uerso lo Superiore per fare li sacramenti pertinenti: requirendo che la sua intentione / si per questo esso certifichi al dicto Superiore. 1075
1080

Articulo .xviii.

Item che se esso se excusasse de acceptare la electione lo dicto Superiore procedera a la electione de unaltro / et fara come ne larticulo de sopra proximo e / contenuto / et in fine che ce sia cancellere electo: et che esso habia facto lo sacramento / lo officio sera exercitato per uno Commisso secondo lo parere: et de lautorita del Superiore: et de li caualeri delordine. 1085

Articulo .xx.

Item et chel cancellere electo et che hauera acceptata la electione: fara nelle mani del Superiore / o / uero del suo Commisso li sacramenti che sequitano cio / e / che comparera a li capituli et congregatione delordine personalmente: se non che per infirmitate o / altre facende / o / causa receptibile esso fosse impacciato. Nel qual caso sença fraude esso lo fara sapere per lettere sue al Superiore: lo quale ne la sua absentia per questa 1090
1095

uolta Commetterà el carico de l'officio [fol. 35] a notabile persona de le conditione sopradicte tale quale a lui piacerà: el quale farà sacramento come apertenera al caso.

1100

Articulo .XXI.

Item che isso non Sigillara del Sigillo de lordine alcune lettere tochante l'honore de li caualeri: se non per comandamento del Superiore presenti sey de li caualeri de lordine al manco.

Articulo .XXII.

1105

Item che per amore / odio / timore / fauore / o / uero affectione alcuna esso non lassara de fidelmente et debitamente al suo potere dicere et proponere ne li capituli et congregatione de lordine tutte le cose le quale a lui serano imposte per lo Superiore. et che le conclusioni prese ne li capituli tochanti le correctione de alcuni caualeri / o / uero altrimenti esso dicera doue apertenera. Et cossi fare douera secondo lo contento de questo ordine: tenera secreti li consiglii de questo: et generalmente al poter suo exercitara in tutto et per tutto bene et debitamente lo dicto officio.

1110

Articulo .XXIII.

1115

Item sera facta la electione del thesaurere de lor[fol. 35^v]dine quando el caso occorrerà cossi como quella del cancellere: et farà li sacramenti sequenti cio / e / che bene et debitamente esso guardara et coseruara et gouernara al potere suo le gioye mobili: censi et rendite et beni de lordine: li quali esso hauera *in* gouerno sença destribuirne niente: excepto *in* uso a li quali essi serano per lo Superiore de lordine applicati et ordinati.

1120

Articulo .XXIII.

1125

Item che bene et fidelemente esso destribuirà a le genti ecclesiastice quello che a lui sera ordenato per diuino seruicio. A li officiali de lordine per lo exercitio de loro officio: et a li poueri caualeri per loro uiuere et sustentatione secondo le *fondatione* et *dotatione* facte sopra questo: et de *questo* fare lo deure suo et diligentia sença niente ne retenere ne retardare.

Articulo .XXV.

1130

Item che esso renderà bono et fidele conto tanto de le rendite et censi apertinenti al dicto ordine / quanto de li doni et largitione li quale ce serano facte sença niente nascondere ne rete[fol. 36]nerne. et in tutte altre cose exercitara lo facto del suo officio bene et fidelmente iuxta suo potere:

Articulo .xxvi.

Item che uacante lo loco del Secretario de lordine: sera per lo Superiore et sey de li caualeri de lordine non manco electo unaltro Secretario persona notabile de le conditioni sopradicte: Lo quale secretario cossi electo/ acceptata la electione fara ne le mani del Superiore / o / de quello che esso uora commettere: et a tale giorno quale a lui bono parera li sacramenti sequenti: Cio / e / che bene ueramente et diligentemente iuxta suo potere esso mettera in scripto et in registro li alti et honorabli facti de li caualeri de lordine: li quali per lo Re de arme de quello a lui serano referiti. Et similmente mettera per scripto iuxta suo potere le pene et correctione de alcuni de caualeri de lordine ne li capituli et congregationi: et registrera li acti del dicto capitulo. et se aquitara et fara el douere suo in tutte le scripture tochante lofficio. tenera secreti li consilii de lordine: et quello officio exercitara bene et debitamente.

[fol. 36^v] **Articulo .xxvii.** 1145

Item a la electione del Re darne chiamato toson doro sera processo ne la manera che dicta e / del thesaurere et Secretario. et fara li sacramenti sequenti cio / e / che esso cercara de li alti facti de li caualeri de lordine: et sença fauore: amore / danno odio / utilita / o / uero altra affectione ne fara uera relatione al secretario de lordine per essere posti *in* croniche / o / uero registri come fare se douera. 1150

Articulo .xxviii.

Item che bene et diligentemente esso fara / o / fara fare le messagierie le quale a lui serano imposte. Obedira al Superiore et caualeri de lordine in ogni cosa seruente al dicto ordine. Tenera secreto *quello* che sera da celare: et generalmente exercitara lo facto del suo officio in tutte cose fidelmente et diligentemente. 1155

Appendix 2: Letter from Tinctoris to Joanmarco Cinico: Naples,
Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XII.F.50, fols. 11–14

[fol. 11] Cynicorum perfectissimo
Ioanni Marco mihi plurimum obser-
uando:

To Ioannes Marcus, most perfect of
Cynics, with my deepest respect:

5 [fol. 12] Cynicorum integerrimo
sectatori Ioanni Marco Ioannes
Tinctoris musicorum infelicissimus
morum optimorum stabilitatem
atque constantiam.

To Ioannes Marcus, most
irreproachable follower of the
Cynics, Ioannes Tinctoris, most
unfortunate of musicians, sends
wishes for stability and steadfast-
ness of the highest character.

10 Erroris est (philosophice uite decus
prestantissimum, inlyte Ioannes) a
Libero aquam, a nymphis autem
uinum petere. Quamquidem sententiam licet Varro (Ciceronis iudicio) uir acutissimus ac doctissimus,
15 ut falsorum deorum cultores, quos
usitato nomine paganos uocant, eos
inuocare doceret, protulerit, unde
falsa superficialiter quibusque fidei
orthodoxe obseruantissimis pie ac
20 firmiter creditur; latenti tamen
energia per eam instruimur nihil
expetendum ab eo qui id donare non
possit. Quo fit ut plerique mortales
ignaris mentibus errantes in hoc
25 funesto temporum cursu curis, solli-

It is mistaken, dear Ioannes,
illustrious and outstanding glory of
the philosophical life, to seek water
from Bacchus and wine from the
Nymphs. Varro, in Cicero's judge-
ment a highly perceptive and
learned man, admittedly put
forward this view in order to teach
the worshippers of false gods,
known commonly as pagans, how to
invoke those gods; hence all the
strictest observers of the true faith
devoutly and firmly believe the view
on the surface to be false. Through
some latent power, however, we can
still learn from it that nothing
should be sought from him who is

4 **integerrimo**: On Cinico's renowned uprightness, see pp. 175–6 above.

6 **infelicissimus**: See p. 202 above.

12–17 Taken, with minor variants, from Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 4.22, where Augustine is quoting from Varro's *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et diuinarum libri XLI* (now surviving only fragmentarily: see M. Terenti Varronis, *Antiquitates rerum diuinarum*, ed. A. G. Condemi (Bologna, 1965)), and chastising the author for claiming knowledge of correct worship. Varro is himself mocking the mime actors of his day: '... ne faciamus, ut mimi solent, et optemus a Libero aquam a Lymphis uinum'. The appropriateness of Tinctoris introducing Varro as an opening gambit in the *propositio* of the letter is strengthened by the fact that his Menippean Satires followed the dialogues of the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadava, and display Varro as an enemy to luxury and excess. For **doctissimus**, cf. *De civ. Dei*, 4.1 and 19.22.

13–14 **Ciceronis iudicio**: Cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 9.1–8 for eight letters to Varro; cf. also, for example, *Brutus* 56.205; *Div.* 1.68.

24–8 See p. 199 above.

30 citudinibus, angustiis ac laboribus insanissimis, principum obsequiis dediti, corpus et animus afficiant [MS: afficiunt], ut ab hiis aut diuitias, aut gloriam, aut honores, aut potentiam, aut uoluptates felicitatem in hiis constituentes petendo adipiscantur. O ueri luminis absentia! O recti tramitis carentia!

35 Quid enim obscurius, quid denique obliquius quam felicitatem (uelut ab Augustino accepi) omnium rerum expetendarum plenitudinem in eminentissimis statuere? Et ab

40 hiis qui eam non habent petere?

unable to give it. As a result, in this dire period in our history, many mortal men, wayward and ignorant of mind, given over to the insanest of cares, worries, problems and difficulties, as well as royal funerals, apply both their minds and their bodies to the acquisition from these of either wealth, or renown, or honours or power, or pleasures, setting these latter up as sources of happiness. O what lack of true vision! O what erring from the straight path! For what is more abstruse, what, in a word, is more perverse, than (as I have learned from Augustine) to place happiness as the highest fulfilment of all that one should desire? And to seek it from those who do not themselves possess it?

De diuitiis. Quippe diuitias labiles & fluxas esse Salustius auctor est. Quibusquidem crescentibus cupido maior accrescit. Crescit (inquit Iuuenalis) amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit. Vnde secundum Horatium: Semper avarus eget. Sane quidem eum namque semper egere necesse est qui cupere numquam desinit. Ipsarum uero diui-

45

50

On Wealth Sallust, in fact, writes that wealth is wavering and fleeting: as it increases, so the desire for it increases the more. As Juvenal says, the love of money grows as money itself grows. Whence, according to Horace, the greedy man is always in need; for it is surely inevitable that a man will always feel needy if he cannot cease desire. As for those in

36–9 Untraced as a direct quotation from Augustine; perhaps derived generally from *De civ. Dei*, esp. Books 19 and 22?

41–2 Cf. *Cat.* 1.4: 'Nam diuitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est.' Tinctoris's version is clearly an unverified reminiscence rather than a direct quotation.

44–6 **Crescit . . . crescit:** Sat. 14.139. The last word is 'crevit' in the accepted text, but 'crescit' is attested in the ancient scholia, in one relatively good source (St Gall 870, s.ix²), and in the consensus of manuscripts in the vulgate class, known as \varnothing . It also appears in Valla's edition printed in Venice (Antonius de Strata) on 8 November 1486, and in the 1475 Venice edition (24 April: Jacobus Rubeus). Manuscript copies are known to have existed at the Neapolitan court: cf. De Marinis, *Biblioteca*, II, p. 194 and suppl. vol. I, p. 60 (readings not verified). On the transmission of Juvenal's text, see Reynolds, *Text and Transmission*, pp. 200–3, and E. Courtney, 'The Transmission of Juvenal's Text', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 14 (1967), pp. 38–50.

47 **Semper avarus eget:** *Epist.* 1.2.56.

55 tiarum possessores si partem suis
 non elargiantur, quanta hoc in
 mundo ignominia notentur aures
 nostre in dies crebrius sentiunt,
 60 quantaque in alio pena crucien-
 tur, non modo euangelica purpu-
 rati Diuitis hy[fol. 12^v]storia sed et
 ille maximus atque optimus poeta
 Virgilius ostendit. Qui quom non-
 65 nullos sceleratissimos apud inferos
 nefandissima facinora sua luentes
 ab Enea uisos cecinisset, finaliter
 annexit: Ac qui diuitiis soli incu-
 buere repertis nec partem posuere
 70 suis, que maxima turba est. Sin-
 autem diuitie naufragio, ruina, in-
 cendio, alea, latrocinio mulctae
 pereant, quanto dolore mentes
 amittentium torqueant sciunt
 75 experti, quorum quidam amentes
 effecti (donec uixerint) ludibrio
 fuere populis, plures uero sibi
 mortem conscientis animas effu-
 dere demoniis. I nunc, et Cresi siue
 Attali thesauros tibi accumula; sen-
 ties profecto quam felicem exitum
 uel conseruati uel amissi suis posses-
 soribus exhibere soleant.

possession of this wealth: if they do
 not share out a portion of it to their
 fellow-men, we hear daily with
 increasing frequency how they are
 marked out with disgrace in this
 world, and how they are tortured
 with punishment for it in the next,
 as we are shown not only in the
 gospel story of the glittering Dives,
 but also in the work of the finest and
 greatest poet Virgil. When the latter
 wrote of a number of the vilest
 criminals purging themselves in
 Hell of their most wicked crimes,
 watched by Aeneas, the poet added
 at the end: 'Also those who sat tight
 on their newfound wealth, setting
 aside no share for their kin: a mighty
 crowd this.' If, on the other hand,
 wealth is lost through shipwreck,
 destruction, fire, gambling, theft or
 fine, how the minds of the bereft are
 racked with distress, as those who
 have suffered the experience know
 well: some of them have gone mad,
 and have become for the rest of their
 lives a public laughing-stock, while
 some others have judged their own
 death the appropriate course of
 action, and have poured out their
 souls to the devil. Away then, and
 pile up for yourself the treasures of
 Croesus or Attalus; you will find out
 for sure how happy a solution they

56–7 For the gospel story of Dives, see Lk 16.19–31: for 'purpurati', cf. 'induebatur purpura et bysso' (16.19).

59–65 *Aen.* 6.610–11. The accepted text reads 'aut' for 'ac', but the latter is attested in Nonius Marcellus (*De compendiosa doctrina*, 372,19) and in Servius's commentary; also in one ninth-century manuscript (Bernensis 184). It does not appear in the 1475 Venice edition (Jacobus Rubeus).

74–5 One of Tinctoris's direct sources for Croesus and Attalus was probably Horace: cf. esp. *Carm.* 2.18 (for which see R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 287–314); also *Epist.* 1.11.2–5 and *Carm.* 1.1.11.

always hold out for their owners, whether they are kept safe or lost.

De gloria. Gloria uero numquid felices efficit? Hec enim (boetio teste) laus de meritis parentum proueniens eorum uirtute, que (ut philosopho placet) res permanens est, parta fuit; unde si manente causa maneat et effectus, quom uirtus non occidat, gloriam non occidere necesse est. Sed esto quod uirtus ipsa secundum se clara stabilis et eterna sit, sepenumero tamen filii lucem quam a parentibus acceperunt in tenebras conuertunt, uitisque degenerantes proprium deferunt ortum; quo fit ut non solum sese cum posteris obscurant, uerum et labentibus annis radios claritudinis suorum maiorum caligine uetustatis obnubant.

On Renown But how about renown? Surely this makes men happy? For as Boethius testifies esteem of this sort, arising from the deserts of one's parents, has been born of their virtue, which (according to Aristotle's maxim) is an enduring principle; whence, if as the cause remains so the effect also remains, since virtue cannot perish, then it is inevitable that renown cannot perish either. But granted that virtue itself is on its own terms manifest, stable and eternal, nevertheless it often happens that sons turn to gloom the bright light which they have inherited from their parents, and, degenerating into vice, dishonour their own pedigree. As a result, not only do they tarnish their own reputation with future generations, but as the years go by they also cast the veil of the mists of time over the once brilliant and shining eminence of their forebears.

De honoribus. At honores quis nescit esse perpetuos? Assentirer hercle, si Tarquinius regum Romanorum ultimus, regno exactus, extra urbem reliquum sue uite in

On Honours But still, who is unaware that honours are everlasting? I would be the first to agree, by Heaven, if Tarquinius, last King of the Romans, had not been driven

80–1 Cf. *Cons. Phil.* 3.6. Boethius's subject is strictly *nobilitas*, but within a paragraph on *gloria*. Tinctoris's opening 'Gloria uero...' is probably a deliberate parallel to Boethius's 'Gloria uero quam fallax saepe quam turpis est' (*ibid.*). For a probable additional source in Aquinas for this and the subsequent paragraphs, see above, n. 87.

83 **philosopho**: presumably Aristotle, but untraced as a specific quotation.

83–4 **res permanens est**: caret insertion.

100–7 Tarquinius Superbus, traditionally last king of Rome (534–510 B.C.), and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, regarded as founder of the Republic and, with Lucius Iunius Brutus, one of the first consuls. Tinctoris's principal sources would probably have been Livy 1 and Ovid, *Fasti* 2.685ff.

lamentabili dedecore haud peregis-
 set; si paulo post Collatinus con-
 105 sulum primus a Bruto collega suo
 consulatum abdicare coactus non
 fuisset; si modernis diebus car-
 dinalis Andegauensis ad preces
 110 regis Franco[fol. 13]rum amplitu-
 dine cardinalatus a Paulo papa
 secundo donatus, numerosis digni-
 tatibus siue iure siue iniuria pri-
 uatus, uitam in carcere miserrimam
 et abiectissimam agere compulsus
 115 non esset.

De potentia. Potentia uero quam
 sit a uera felicitate remota Xersis
 admirandus et (ut ita dicam)
 120 incredibilis indicat exercitus, qui
 abs Themistocle paruorum copia-
 rum Atheniensium prudentissimo
 duce stratus, deletus, in nullum
 fuit redactus. Et (si memoria in-
 finitorum uiuentium credenda
 125 recenseat) quis reipublice Chris-
 tiane fauentium ignorat quam cru-
 deli letiferaque strage potentissimus
 ille Turchorum tyrannus, qui Bel-
 lumgradum urbem sanctissimam
 130 obsederat, a Pannoniis Christi-

from his throne to spend the rest of
 his life outside Rome in a state of
 lamentable disgrace; if a short while
 later the first of the consuls Col-
 latinus had not been forced by his
 colleague Brutus to renounce his
 consulship; if in modern times the
 Cardinal of Angers, having been
 rewarded with the full dignity of
 cardinalcy by Pope Paul II in
 response to the entreaties of the
 King of France, had not been
 deprived, for right or wrong, of his
 many offices, and compelled to
 spend his life in the most abject
 misery in prison.

On Power Yet again, to show how
 far removed is power from real hap-
 piness, take the case of Xerxes'
 remarkable, not to say incredible,
 army, which was flattened,
 destroyed and annihilated by a
 modest force of Athenians under the
 exceptionally ingenious leadership
 of Themistocles. And, if one counts
 as trustworthy the recollection of
 any number of people still alive to
 tell the tale, then who of all those
 upholding the Christian State can
 remain ignorant of the cruelty and
 mortal destruction with which the

107–15 Tinctoris is referring to the downfall of Louis XI's erstwhile favourite Jean la Balue, who, having risen from humble origins to the cardinalcy of Angers, was despoiled of his possessions and in 1469 imprisoned for a decade when suspected by the king of treacherous complicity with Charles the Bold (cf. L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. F. I. Antrobus *et al.*, 40 vols. (London, 1923–53), iv, pp. 102–5). See p. 198 above. Tinctoris clearly has his own reasons for not directly criticising Louis XI's actions.

117–23 The reference is to the Third Persian Invasion of 480 B.C., when the Persian fleet of over 1000 galleys, under Xerxes, was totally defeated at Salamis by the much smaller Greek fleet of 370 sail, under Themistocles.

123–32 The Turkish siege of Belgrade took place over a period of three weeks in July 1456; see p. 198 above.

Tinctoris's translation of the Golden Fleece statutes

cultoribus piissimis uictus ac propulsus terga ignominiose dederit?

infamous and mighty tyrant King of the Turks had besieged the most venerable city of Belgrade, before being overthrown, driven out and ignominiously put to flight by the devoutest Hungarian worshippers of Christ?

De uoluptatibus. Neque uoluptates ab Epicureis felicitatem afferre mihi unquam persuaderi potuit, ab eo quod abeuntes plurimum mestissime recordationis mentibus utentium relinquere compertum sit. Fateor equidem quod (ut Aristoteles censet) iocundissimum sit re amata potiri. Sed sapiens ille Salomon (dum inquit: Extrema gaudii luctus occupat) luculentissime docet quod in ipsa uoluptate iocundissima perfecta felicitas expers omnis luctuosi defectus consistere nequit. Phillis ac Dido, amatis Demophonte ac Aenea, ab eis ut perfidis quamcitus relicte fuerunt. Hinc rate nihil molestius, nihil egrius quam amare et non amari, mortem tamquam lenius mitiusque ferendam illa laqueo, ista gladio propriis manibus use sibi perperunt.

On Pleasures Nor have I ever managed to be convinced, taking the Epicureans as a starting-point, that physical pleasures bring happiness, on the grounds that it has been shown as a fact that on their departure these pleasures leave behind them a very great deal of the saddest of memories in the minds of those enjoying them. I would certainly admit that, as Aristotle reckons, it is exceedingly agreeable to obtain the object of one's desire. But wise old Solomon, when he said, 'At the extremes of joy sorrow takes hold', teaches us splendidly that in pleasure itself, no matter how agreeable, perfect happiness free of any sorrowful blemish simply cannot be sustained. Phyllis and Dido, the lovers of Demophoön and Aeneas, were abandoned by them – faithless scoundrels that they were – at the earliest opportunity; and so, thinking that nothing could be more vexing, nothing more grievous, than to

140–1 **Aristoteles:** perhaps from *Nich. Eth.* 10.2.4.

142–7 Cf. *Prv* 14.13. The whole of Proverbs was traditionally, though not wholly accurately, ascribed to Solomon; the ascription, however, of the section from which Tinctoris is quoting is authenticated in the Hebrew text. Whether Tinctoris was aware of this nuance is doubtful.

144 **luculentissime docet quod:** caret insertion.

147–55 Tinctoris's principal source for Dido and Aeneas would, of course, have been Virgil, *Aen.* 4; Phyllis, weary with waiting for her lover Demophoön's return from Athens, hanged herself and was turned into an almond-tree, which put forth leaves when Demophoön came to embrace it: Ovid, *Ecl.* 5.10; Hyg. *Fab.* 59.

154 **sibi:** caret insertion.

love and not be loved in return, the women brought about their death at their own hands, Phyllis by the noose and Dido by the sword, considering this to be the easier and lighter burden to bear.

Heccine sunt que a dea Felicitate
 cui edem Romani consecrarunt sup-
 plices postulabant. Heccine sunt
 que obliuiosi felicitatis eterne (ut
 160 felices in terris uideantur) petunt a
 principibus. [fol. 13^v] Quibus tam-
 etsi ceteris uberius habundent,
 ueram tamen felicitatem elicere non
 165 possunt, unde et eam aliis impertiri
 nequeunt. Desinant igitur terrena
 animalia a principibus mortalibus,
 quibus plerique confisi fuere con-
 fusi, felicitatem querere, quam solus
 ipse Deus rector ac princeps
 170 omnium optimus maximus bonis
 dare potest. Et si uirtute preditis
 ipsius premia honores, quos ambire
 cuique etiam sapientissimo non
 licet, principes (quod eis licitis-
 175 simum atque decentissimum est)
 tribuant, illos (ut Byas diuitias)
 ludibria fortune potius quam felici-
 tatis munera iudicent, pre se
 ferentes quandam uirtutis cogni-
 180 tionem qua facilime [*sic*] percipitur
 quicquid sub globo lunari est
 (exceptis animis humano generi a
 Deo infusus) esse caducum et
 mortale.

These, then, are the demands for which people used to go down on their knees before the goddess Happiness, to whom the Romans even dedicated a temple. These are the rewards which people now beg from princes in order to give an appearance of happiness on this earth, while leaving aside all thoughts of eternal happiness. Although they may be richly overflowing with all these other things, they nevertheless cannot draw true happiness from them, and as a result are unable to impart it to others. Let all creatures of this world cease, therefore, to seek happiness from mortal princes, in whom the trust of so many has turned to dust; for this is in the gift of the Lord God alone, the greatest and mightiest prince of all. And if those endowed with virtue are granted honours as rewards for that virtue (honours which it is unjustifiable for even the wisest of men to solicit) by these princes (as is their absolutely justifiable and proper right to do), then such men should

156–8 The temple to Felicitas on the Velabrum was dedicated by Lucius Licinius Lucullus in the middle of the second century B.C.; another was planned by Julius Caesar and erected on the site of the Curia Hostilia by M. Aemilius Lepidus. Tinctoris's comment is probably prompted by Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 4.18.

176 **Byas:** Of the various mentions of a Bias in the ancient world (e.g. Herodotus 9.34; Homer, *Od.* 15.225; Pausanias 4.36; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.13; Cicero, *De Am.* 16.59), the most likely source for Tinctoris's citation is Diogenes Laertius 1.82–8, esp. 86.

value those honours – as Bias did his wealth – more as the playthings of worldly fortune than as gifts of happiness, bearing in the forefront of their minds a certain awareness of virtue through which it can be perceived with the greatest ease that everything under the sphere of the moon (with the exception of souls imparted to the human race by God) is but frail and perishable.

185 Quodquidem (tu rarissime uirtutis
Cynice) sagacissime animaduertis,
dum animi pene diuini constantia
ipsas diuitias, gloriam, honores,
190 potentiam ac uoluptates tamquam
exigui uaporis fumum fugis, con-
temnis, despicias, spernis ac odis
[sic]; aliosque idem facere (quod ad
perfectissimum quemque philo-
sophum spectat) generosissimo
195 uite exemplo, suauissimo uocis
oraculo, inducere exhortarique non
desistis. Hec ad te scribere me tue
ornatissime aptissimeque littere,
postridie quam ueni Putheolis mihi
200 reddite, compulerunt. Quibus me
(inspectis templo Sybille, colosso
Bayano, ponte Gallicule, operibus
mirificis penitus dirutis) monitum
uis considerare nihil (preter offi-

All this, O Cynic of uncommonest virtue, you heed with the keenest insight, as with steadfastness of spirit all but god-like you shun, despise, mock, hate, dismiss as nothing but a feeble puff of smoke all this wealth, this renown, these honours, this power, and these pleasures; nor do you shrink from encouraging and stimulating others to act likewise – and this is the concern of every consummate philosopher – by the noblest example of your own life and by the sweetest persuasion of your voice. I have been constrained to write to you of these matters by your own most ornate and fitting letter, which reached me at Pozzuoli the day after I arrived. In this you advise me,

199 **Putheolis:** = Pozzuoli.

201 **templo Sybille:** The true site of the Sibyl's grotto was found only in 1932. Tinctoris's use of the word 'templum' may indicate that he believed that the Temple of Apollo, which existed on this same site, was the habitation of the prophetess; popular tradition in Tinctoris's day, however, tended to identify the Sibyl's cave with an artificial excavation near Lake Avernus, so this may well have been the object of Tinctoris's and Cinico's curiosity.

201–2 **colosso Bayano:** Baiae was a fashionable and notoriously dissolute watering-place in the classical period (cf. Cicero, *Cael.* 15.35; Seneca, *Ep.* 51).

ponte Gallicule: Cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 19.32; Dion. Cass. 59.17; Joseph. *Ant.* 19.1.1; the remains which are still visible (to us today and to Tinctoris) are actually the remnants of the stone piles which supported the great ancient mole or pier of Putcoli, rather than the bridge itself which Caligula built out from the mole across to Baiae.

205 cium uirtutis) duraturum, in quo
 mihi tecum conuenit, eo quod ipsa
 uirtus qua recte uiuitur sit gradus
 unicus quo ad felicitatem finis
 210 insciam animi mortalium diis effecti
 similes ascendunt. Hinc tibi pro
 littera syllabam, pro syllaba dictionem,
 pro dictione orationem
 [fol. 14] remitto, supplicans ut hanc
 ipsam epistulam omni elegantiarum
 215 dignitate nudissimam non Athenis
 sed Putheolis, non ab oratore sed
 musico, conditam animaduertas.
 Sic enim pro Cynica discretione ac
 modestia mihi actuum qui fiunt
 220 secundum uitam humanam
 parumper experto ac minus in arte
 dicendi [MS: dicenti] perito benignissime
 parces. Vale Cynicorum
 specimen peculiarissimum; utque
 225 uerbo Nasonis concludam: Viue
 memor nostri.

having visited the Temple of the Sibyl, the Colossus at Baiae and the Bridge of Caligula – all astounding constructions now completely in ruins – and express the wish that I consider nothing capable of enduring, save the duty of virtue; in this regard I am quite in agreement with you, on the grounds that this virtue, through which an upright life is led, is the one and only ladder by means of which the spirit of mortal man can approach godhead and ascend to happiness knowing no end. And so I return this to you: for every letter of yours a syllable, for every syllable a phrase, for every phrase a sentence, begging you to bear in mind that this missive, quite stripped as it is of any merits of refinement, was composed not at Athens but at Pozzuoli, not by an orator but by a musician. For in this way, as befits your Cynic discretion and propriety, you will of your abundant good nature pardon me, a man but briefly experienced in the ways of the world and still less skilled in eloquence. Farewell, then, most singular example of the Cynics; and if I may close with an expression from Ovid: Live with me in your memory.

225–6 **Viue memor nostri**: Cf. p. 199 above. Tinctoris seems to be conflating, perhaps unintentionally and certainly with unfortunate results, two distinct Ovidian references: *Her.* 11.125 ('Viue memor nostri': on the incestuous love of Macareus for Canace, and the latter's suicide), and *Am.* 2.11.37 ('Vade memor nostri uento reditura secundo; inpleat illa tuos fortior aura sinus!': on the poet's concern for Corinna and her safe return as she sets sail on the dangerous high seas). It is tempting, if perhaps overimaginative, to speculate whether the reference to *Am.* 2.11.37 should be read as a *dissimulatio* for the whole poem, especially, for example, 'Tutius est fouisse torum, legisse libellos, Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram' (2.11.31–2).