

The Minstrel School in the Late Middle Ages

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For Keith Polk

In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there existed a curious tradition among the minstrels, fiddle players, and trumpeters of Western Europe: once every year they gathered together from all parts of the continent in professional meetings known as “schools.”¹ These were not schools in the modern sense but international assemblies, the counterpart of conferences or trade fairs in our time. To organize such an event, or to attend one, was known as “to hold school”: *tenir escole* in French, *scole houden* in Dutch, *schule halten* in German.

Musicians who traveled to these meetings often received contributions toward the travel expenses from their employers. As they passed through towns along the way, or arrived in the city hosting the event, they might also receive welcoming gifts such as jugs of wine from the local authorities. All these payments and gifts were duly recorded in financial accounts, usually with a brief remark stating the purpose or destination of their journey. The minstrel school as a tradition is known to us only from these payment records, of which dozens have been transcribed and published in the modern literature; unfortunately they provide only an indirect idea of what the events were like. In the following article I propose to discuss a source that sheds new light, not so much on the schools themselves, but on their significance in late-medieval society which, as I shall argue, was considerable. Before doing so, however, it may be useful to summarize what the existing documentation has allowed us to establish so far.

Appendix 1 brings together the evidence for the minstrel schools as it has been published in the modern literature. It can be seen that the tradition goes back to the 1310s and went on until the 1440s, after which decade it was apparently discontinued. Altogether the list spans a period of 135 years; it is continuous in several decades, but there are also sizeable gaps, especially in the early fourteenth century. Taken together, these gaps add up to nearly half the total number of years—sixty-seven, to be exact. It is possible that there were years in which no minstrel schools were held, including perhaps 1350 and 1351, when the Great Plague devastated Western Europe and conditions of international travel must have been extremely difficult. On the other hand, several documents confirm that the schools were commonly understood to be annual events: “chascun an quant il font leur escolle” (1385), “aux escolles . . . que chacun an ilz on acoustumé d’aler” (1426, also 1427 and 1429). Probably, then, the evidence we have gives us only half of the picture—and this is assuming that the tradition started in 1313 and no earlier. When it comes to the question of origins, it would not be surprising if the first schools had been organized already in the late thirteenth century, coinciding with the emergence of urban minstrel guilds in France and elsewhere.²

Minstrel schools were held in the season of Lent, more specifically around *kermis* or *miquaresme*, that is, the fourth Sunday of Lent, known as *Letare* Sunday. References are numerous: “bachten caermers in de vasten” (“after *kermis* in the fasting period,” 1318), “en ce present karesme” (1369), “in der fastenmesse” (1376), “tempore quadragesimali” (1377), “au miquaresme” (1385 and 1386), and so on. Lent was the one season during which employers could grant leaves of absence to their minstrels as a body, evidently because daily musical entertainment was out of keeping with the spirit of penitence and abstention observed in the weeks before Easter. The Thursday before *Letare* marked the midpoint of the forty-day fast; to organize the minstrel schools around this time made good sense for two reasons. First, musicians coming from distant regions had as much time to travel before as after the event—at least sixteen days or so. Second, *Letare* Sunday was a time at which the church traditionally permitted special signs of joy, to encourage the faithful in their course through the penitential season; in many folk traditions it was celebrated as a special feast day. This allowed the minstrels to give festive expression to their professional solidarity even in the midst of Lent. The festive nature of the minstrel schools is emphasized in two documents, which refer to these occasions as “meeting and feast” (“feste et assemblée,” 1400; “vergaderinghe ende feeste,” 1447).

Minstrel schools were held in cities, not at the courts: one assumes that they were organized and hosted by urban minstrel guilds and confraternities. There appears to have been a system of rotation between towns, for it seldom happens that a minstrel school was held in the same place in successive years; in some years, incidentally, schools are documented in more than one locale. Most of the towns listed in the Appendix are in France; in the Middle Ages this included the county of Flanders, which is represented here by Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, Damme, and Saint-Omer. The emphasis seems to have been generally on cities in northern France, including Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Beauvais, though this may be a reflection of the poor state of documentary survival. It is hard to imagine that such cities as Paris, Arras, Rouen, or Reims would never have hosted minstrel schools, even though there appears to be no evidence to tell us otherwise. As for the Holy Roman Empire, only one school can be documented in the Rhineland (Frankfurt, 1376), and none further east or south. All others are in the German parts of the Low Countries: Namur, Mechlin, Mons, and Brussels, as well as a lone outpost in northern Hanse territory, Deventer.

Participating minstrels came from far and wide, traveling in some cases by sea (from England in 1335 and 1377) or across mountainous regions (from Spain between 1352 and 1415). What motivated musicians to undertake these long and hazardous journeys in the heart of winter? The documents tell us that they were sometimes sent by their employers: “de nostro mandato” (1374), “monseigneur les avoit envoiez” (1377), “jussu nostro” (1379), “de manament nostre” (1383). Other texts suggest that they were granted leave and given travel support in deference to longstanding professional tradition: “comme il est acoustumé” (1385, also 1414), “ainsy qu’ils ont acoustumé” (1417), “qu’ilz ont acoustumé d’aler chacun an” (1426 and 1427). Occasionally the documents mention more concrete reasons for the journey. In one case it is to recruit new minstrels (1389); in others to purchase new instruments (1378, 1383, 1386, 1389). Yet another reason is to learn the craft (1352,

1371, 1390), and, more specifically, to learn new songs: “cançons nouvelles” (1377 and 1378), “cantilenis novis addiscendis” (1402), “des canchons” (1413), “pour apprendre des nouvelles chansons” (1437).

As for the minstrel schools themselves, we can only speculate what the events were like. It is probable that the meetings involved professional bonding rituals such as common meals and communal worship, and featured public demonstrations of musical skill and perhaps formal contests.³ The minstrel school must have been a time of fraternization: visiting musicians would almost certainly have been put up by resident colleagues in the host town, and would have dined at their tables. Since the meetings were international in scope, one assumes that there was an extended professional network in place, maintained perhaps through correspondence and reciprocal visits during the rest of the year. Venues must have been agreed upon well in advance, to allow enough time for local arrangements to be set up. Conceivably there would have been the equivalent of a business meeting at the end of each school to decide upon such issues. Yet most of the activity at these events must have been informal in nature, especially when it comes to such matters as learning new songs, recruiting musicians, and purchasing instruments. And of course there must have been no end of gossip.

The minstrel school raises many questions to which one would love to know the answers. Why, for instance, was the tradition discontinued after 1447? Were there other exchange mechanisms in place by this time that obviated the need for international meetings? Was there perhaps a shift to written transmission of new songs, a development that might have reflected a more general trend towards mensural literacy among minstrels? Why is there no evidence that Italian musicians ever attended the schools? Distance or expense could not have presented insurmountable obstacles to them, if one considers that Spanish minstrels visited the schools on a regular basis. The question of Italian participation is all the more intriguing since Italy became a major labor market for French and Flemish singers in the early fifteenth century, confirming a clear interest in northern music and musicians at least in the realm of vocal art polyphony. Finally, why did other professional musicians, especially singers and composers, never adopt the tradition of organizing annual schools? Is it because they could rely on written transmission of new repertoire? Or would it have been harder for them to obtain leaves of absence during Lent, given that polyphonic church services would probably have continued during this season?

Whatever the answers to these questions, on one point there can be no doubt: if minstrels were prepared to travel hundreds of miles each year to learn new songs, then musical novelty must have been at a very high premium in their profession, much more so, one assumes, than among singers and composers. Since the minstrel school was attended by musicians from nearly all countries, it allowed new songs to become instant hits, and new styles of playing and singing to break through almost overnight. In this regard it provided a framework for musical change and development very different from what we are used to in the realm of vocal art polyphony: motets and song settings circulated in manuscript, and must have been comparatively slow to reach distant musical centers. Unlike the minstrel

schools, where “new songs” would have been the ones that had not even been known the previous year, manuscript copies gave no sense of the relative novelty or age of works in circulation, and did not encourage an appreciation of the difference.

It is significant, in this context, that medieval literary sources often emphasize the novelty of the songs and dances played by minstrels at feasts or other occasions—as if this were widely understood to make the musical entertainment more valuable and interesting.⁴ Examples in fourteenth-century literature are legion: “iiii menestrel de viele ont *une estampie nouvelle* devant la dame vielee”; “dances, estampies, chansons en plusieurs divers plainsants sons, et moult d’autres nottez nouvelles”; “li menestrel qui s’aquitoient bien et bel a piper et *tout de nouvel bones dances*”; “daer na quamen die minstrele ende speelden *nuwe stampien* vele.”⁵

It is the aspect of *musical novelty* that makes the minstrel school such an interesting historical phenomenon. It is not hard to imagine the sense of anticipation in every town or court as the local minstrels were due to return, shortly before Easter, from their annual journey. The Easter season must have been the time of year in which new tunes could be heard, sung, played, and danced to, in every corner of urban and courtly society. Just as in modern popular culture, where listeners often remember the approximate year when a famous song was released even if it was decades ago, the “new songs” brought home by the minstrels may well have become associated with the years in which they became popular, especially if they were topical or if there was a story attached to them. The rapid turnover of the minstrel repertoire, in other words, must have fostered a sense of the musical past which was, in a sense, *annalistic*: such-and-such a song appeared in this year, such-and-such songs appeared in that year, and so on. And if major breakthroughs in musical style or performance practice took place, the minstrel school would have guaranteed that these, too, spread throughout the continent within a year or less.

All this is more than speculation. The document I am about to discuss, a chronicle from the Rhineland written in the late fourteenth century, is unique among medieval historical sources in that it names the songs that became popular in certain years, and even identifies a major breakthrough in musical practice that took place “throughout the whole country” in the year 1360. Medieval writers rarely date musical developments with such chronological precision, and our chronicler could not have done so either, I believe, if it had not been for the minstrel schools. Let us examine his text more closely.

The chronicle in question was written in the town of Limburg on the Lahn, about thirty-five miles northwest of Frankfurt; it is known today as the Limburg Chronicle.⁶ The author identifies himself as “the scribe Dylemanne.” He is identifiable as Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen (1347-ca.1420), a notary and town clerk active in Limburg in 1370-98. Tilemann started writing his text in 1378 at the age of thirty, and continued to add entries over the next twenty years, until his narrative breaks off in 1398. Although the chronicle was compiled in the town of Limburg, it covers events throughout Germany and the Low Countries, mostly in the regions along the Rhine. For the events that occurred during his own lifetime, Wolfhagen assures us that “I have seen and heard [them] myself since the days of my childhood.”

The Limburg Chronicle is a fascinating document: Wolfhagen is an extraordinarily keen observer of the world around him, and he manages to convey a vivid sense of the speed at which that world was changing. What makes his chronicle an especially valuable source for music historians is its numerous references to new songs played on shawms and trumpets and sung by the people. Of particular interest is the following entry for the year 1360, in which Wolfhagen reports an apparent watershed in recent music history:⁷

Item, in this same year the styles and poems changed in German songs. Up to now songs had been sung long, with five or six measures [*Gesetzen*],⁸ and the masters are [currently] making new songs with three measures. Things changed also with regard to trumpet and shawm playing, and music progressed [lit. ascended], and had never been as good as it has now started to become. For he who was known, five or six years ago, as a good shawm player throughout the whole country [the Rhineland, perhaps the Holy Roman Empire as whole], is not worth a fly now. Item, one sang the refrain: *Hoffen helt mir daz leben, truren dede mir anders we!*

This is unmistakably the report of an eyewitness. Wolfhagen freely mixes past and present tenses in a way that suggests that his memory of the events was still fresh—almost as if he were reliving them as he wrote. (I have retained his original tenses in the translation.) He seems especially concerned to convey a sense of the sheer swiftness with which standards of trumpet and shawm playing had improved—witness the obvious hyperbole of his expression “not worth a fly.”⁹ Wolfhagen clearly remembered the change as a dramatic shift, sudden enough to be datable within a single year. Yet the new musical practice or fashion was not just a local development: the chronicler implies that musicians everywhere were well-advised to embrace it, at least if they wanted to be counted as good players “throughout the whole country.” Evidently the change was as swift as it was universal—at least in German territories.

Of course, the Limburg Chronicle is not the only historical source from the Middle Ages to contain observations of musical interest: there are numerous chronicles that include passing comments, for instance, about the music heard at state occasions or public ceremonies. What makes Wolfhagen unique as a chronicler, however, is the fact that he reports on the state of music *in general*, apart from any particular event at which musicians might happen to have performed. For him, evidently, major developments within the art of music may qualify as historical events in their own right, to be recorded alongside wars, epidemics, disasters, and such like.

Wolfhagen’s interest in the music of his time was not confined to the developments of 1360, important though they clearly were. “Item, around the same time,” he notes ten years previously, in 1350, “one sang a new song in the German lands, which was played on shawms and trumpets everywhere, and made everyone joyful: *Wyfset wer den synen y vurkoyt . . .*”¹⁰ This is the first of sixteen songs that Wolfhagen reports as having been “new” in this or that year, and whose texts or refrains he quotes in his chronicle. The years are: 1350, 1356, 1357,

1359, 1360, 1361, 1363, 1365, 1367, 1374, 1379, and 1380 (see Appendix 2).¹¹ Nearly all the songs are said to have been played on shawms and trumpets, as well as sung by the people. One song, *Ach rynes wyf von guder art* in 1350, is said specifically to be “a good song, both tune and words.”¹² Wolfhagen underlines several times that the songs were popular “throughout the whole of Germany” (1350), “in all these lands” (1357), “everywhere” (1361). Despite their popularity, however, only one of the songs is known to us from other sources; the others must have circulated in oral transmission.

All the songs are anonymous except two—a courtly *Minnelied* of Reinhard von Westerburg (1347) and Peter von Arberg’s *Tagelied* on Christ’s Passion (1356).¹³ Wolfhagen mentions the former composer by name, but he identifies no other authors, and he never comments on the origins of any tune, except in two cases. In 1374 he reports that “five or six years previously” there was a leprous Carmelite monk, cast out from society and living upstream on the Main, who was said to have made “the best songs and round dances in the world, both poems and tunes, so that no one along the course of the Rhine or in these lands could compare to him.”¹⁴ Another song composer may have been living in Strasbourg: in 1350, Wolfhagen tells us, the people sang “a good song of women’s chastity, and especially about a woman in Strasbourg who was called the Fair Agnes and was worthy of all honor, but it also applies to all good women.” Intriguing though these comments are, they are really exceptions: Wolfhagen’s remarks generally leave the impression that the songs became instantly popular everywhere, as if they had emerged out of nowhere.

The most important clue we have to the origins of the songs is provided in the 1360 report quoted earlier: here Wolfhagen states that the authors of these pieces were masters: *dy meister*. The title of master carried a very specific connotation in the late Middle Ages: it referred to someone licensed to teach in an established trade, and hence it implied a system of professional accreditation such as maintained by universities or trade guilds. *Dy meister*, therefore, must be masters in a musical trade, a trade in which urban guild organization was apparently well-developed by the fourteenth century. Who were these men? Since all the songs in the Limburg Chronicle have German texts, and since many of them appear to be written in the language of courtly love, one might suppose that their composers were perhaps predecessors of what were to become the *Meistersinger* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: guild organization and professional accreditation were, after all, defining aspects of the *Meistergesang*. One problem with this possibility, however, is the fact that *Meistersinger* guilds have not actually been documented in fourteenth-century Germany. A further problem with it is Wolfhagen’s persistent emphasis on performance on wind instruments: “a new song . . . that was played on shawms and trumpets everywhere” (1350), “one sang and piped in all these countries this song” (1357), and numerous similar comments.¹⁵ This would seem to point rather in the direction of ensemble minstrels, who typically provided entertainment both by singing and by playing on instruments, and for whom guilds can be documented in France and Germany already in the late thirteenth century.

The latter possibility is confirmed by Wolfhagen’s entry about the leprous Carmelite monk in 1374, when he makes the following remark: “And what he sang, all the people gladly sang, and *all the masters, shawm players, and other minstrels* carried the songs and

poems.”¹⁶ “Dy meister,” it would appear from this, were masters of minstrelsy—a profession in which the titles *meister*, *maistre*, or *magister* are indeed frequently encountered.¹⁷ As masters in the trade, these composer-performers would have had an obvious interest in attending the schools of minstrelsy in France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland itself—both to share their own songs, and to learn others. If they did, it would explain the two most unusual features of the Limburg Chronicle. First, Wolfhagen would have been able to date the “new songs” with such chronological precision, and could so confidently state that they were popular “everywhere” in any given year, because they were among the annual harvest of new songs brought home by the minstrels of the Rhineland. And second, the major change in musical style and practice he reported for the year 1360 would have had its breakthrough at the minstrel school of that year. Unfortunately this latter school has not yet been documented, though it would clearly be a matter of considerable interest to know where it took place, and who attended it: here, for once, is an event in medieval music history that is likely to have marked a genuine turning point.

The corollary of this would be that all or most of the songs mentioned in the Limburg Chronicle were part of the German minstrel repertoire, and that they (or at least their tunes) were known in other parts of Europe as well. Although I am obviously engaging in speculation now, it is far from implausible that minstrels from the Rhineland would have adopted and translated (or retexed) French songs for German consumption at home—and *vice versa*. A refrain such as *Hoffen helt mir daz leben*, for instance, which Wolfhagen quotes in 1360, might well have circulated in France with the words *Espoir me tient en vie*. Flemish songs would have been much easier to adapt, since there was no real linguistic border between the Low Countries and the Rhineland.

Yet the most interesting corollary, as suggested before, is that the style change of 1360 would have been an international one, not confined merely to the Holy Roman Empire. This is interesting especially because minstrels did not operate in isolation: they exchanged repertoire with singers and composers, performed in churches and processions, and worked alongside vocal musicians at the courts. One wonders, therefore, if the year 1360 was an important one for the history of polyphonic song composition and performance as well. Some sense that the apparent breakthrough of that year was not confined to minstrelsy alone is given by Wolfhagen himself, when he observes that music in general “progressed, and had never been as good as it has now started to become”: *unde hat uffgestegen in der museken, unde ny also gut waren bit her, als nu in ist anegegangen*. This is the kind of testimony we do not even have for other supposed watersheds in music history, most notably the *contenance angloise*.¹⁸ If we are to be sensitive to the awareness of music history current in the late Middle Ages themselves, then clearly it would be useful to look for other evidence indicating a major change in musical practice and style around 1360.

Appendix 1
Minstrel Schools, 1313-1447*

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* *Note:* not all authors from whose work I have quoted here specify that dates before Easter have been adjusted to new style; in some cases there is a possibility that the event took place not in the year given here but the next.

Year:	Location:	Visited by musicians from: / documentation recorded in:
1313	Ypres	Ypres: "à maistre Symon, maistre des menestreus de le viele, qui tint s'escole à Ypre en le foire d'Ypre" (Peters, 193; Vander Straeten 1878, 64-65; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:130-31)
1318	Bruges	Bruges: "de menestreulen die hier scole hielden bachten caermers in de vasten" (Vander Straeten 1878, 29; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:95)
1328	Mechlin	Mechlin: "den vedeleren . . . doen hi de vedelerscole was" (Vander Straeten 1878, 185; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:251); possibly 1329 n.s.?
1335	-	England: "scolas ministrallis in partibus trans mare" (Salmen, 182; Strutt, 278, n. 1)
	Ghent	Ghent: "den wine, die men . . . gaf den vedeleren doe sij te Ghent scole hilden" (Ghent, Stadsarchief, MS folder "Muziek te Gent," Stadsrekeningen I, 989)
1341	Ghent	Ghent: "den mester vedelere die [scole] hilt te Ghent in de vestenen" (Ghent, Stadsarchief, MS folder "Muziek te Gent," Stadsrekeningen II, 110-111)
1347	-	Savoy, 4 Jan./18 Feb.: "proponens ire ad scolas sue menestrierie" (Dufour and Rabut, 9-10; Cox, 53, n. 47)
1349	-	Savoy: "ad scolas" (Dufour and Rabut, 11)
1352	Germany	Aragon, 30 Jan.: "juglar de cornamusa de casa sua, los quals li mana donar per ço com lo tramet en Alamanya per apendre do son offici" (Gómez, 216, n. 25)
1359	Geneva	Annecy, Savoy (Dufour and Rabut, 10 and 12)
1363	Namur	Navarre: 13 Jan.: "sus ministros . . . en el viaje de ida y vuelta a las escuelas de Alemania" (Anglès 1970, 210 and 378-79) Lille, Namur (Auda, 57; Salmen, 183)
1364	Namur	Burgundy, 2 Mar.: "pour aler en escolles" (Brenet, 15) Namur: "as ménestrels des singnieurs qui astoient venus as escolles à Namur" (Auda, 57)
	Deventer	Deventer, 19 Mar.: "die meysteryels van der vedelen, die do haer schole te Deventer ghehouden hadden" (Doorninck, 202; Peters, 193)

- **Duisburg:** “ad subsidium scole Wilhelmo cithariste” (*Pietzsch Nachlass*, the collected papers of Gerhard Pietzsch, now housed in the library of the Institute for Musicology, University of Cologne, 184; hereafter *PNL*)
- 1365 Cambrai **Cambrai:** “as menetriers qui tenoient les escolles” (Faral, 257n.); possibly 1366 n.s.?
- England **Brabant:** two court minstrels sent to schools in England (Sleiderink, 382)
- Mechlin **Mechlin:** a school for minstrels held in the city (Van Aerde, 4); possibly 1366 n.s.?
- 1366 Cambrai **Blois,** 21 Feb.: “reden miins heren pipers ter scole” (Kaaij-Huibers, 97; *MGG* 2:698; Peters, 193, n. 66)
- Brussels **Brussels:** Froissart describes “a great assembly of minstrels, some from Denmark, Navarra, Aragon, Lancaster, Bavaria, and Brunswick” (Wilkins, 134)
- 1367 - **Blois,** Lent: “miins heren pipers ter scole” (Kaaij-Huibers, 97)
- 1368 Mechlin **Mechlin:** “allen den vedeleren . . . doe si te Mechelen hore schole quamen houde” (Vander Straeten 1878, 185; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:251); possibly 1366?
- **Duisburg:** “magistro Wilhelmo cithariste ad subsidium scholarum” (*PNL*, 184)
- 1369 - **Burgundy,** 15/20 Feb.: “menestriers de monseigneur . . . pour aler aux escolles en ce present karesme” (Brenet, 15; Wright, 182)
- Navarre:** “en alant aux escolles” (Brenet, 16)
- 1371 - **Blois,** 12-18 Feb.: “onsen piper ende . . . den bonghere mede te scole te riden” (Kaaij-Huibers, 97; Peters, 193, n. 66; Vander Straeten 1878, 88; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:154)
- Aragon,** 19 Feb.: “nostres ministrers van a scola a aquexes parts per aprende de lur offici” (Gómez Muntané, 131)
- 1372 Flanders **Aragon,** 16 Jan.: “nos enviemos en escuelas en Fflandes los nuestros ministres” (Gómez Muntané, 132-22)
- Germany **Catalonia,** 16 Jan.: “en escolles en Alemanyia” (Anglès 1936, 613)
- 1373 Bruges **Aragon,** 20 June: “ministrers nostres . . . los quals van a Bruges a les escolles” (Gómez Muntané, 134)
- 1374 Flanders **Aragon:** “ministerio nostro, eunti de nostro mandato apud Flandriam ad sue artis scolae” (Baldelló, 41)
- **Burgundy:** “A Loyset menestrier de monseigneur . . . en alant aux escolles” (Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or [hereafter ACO], B 1441, fol. 55)
- Duisburg:** “Wilhelmo cithariste ad subsidium scholarum” (*PNL*, 184); 1375 n.s.?
- 1375 - **Navarre,** 14 Feb.: “por ir a las escuelas” (Anglès 1970, 217 and 379)
- Duisburg:** “Wilhelmo . . . ad scolae” (*PNL*, 184), 1376 n.s.?
- 1376 Frankfurt **Frankfurt,** 5 Apr.: “den meistern der fidelere unde andern iren gesellen der fursten unde der herren spelluden, also si hi in der fastenmesse schule hilden” (Pietzsch, 47; Weizsäcker, 85)

- Duisburg:** “Mayester Wilhalm den vedeler ther scole” (*PNL*, 184); 1377 n.s.?
- 1377 Bourg-en-Bresse **Bourg-en-Bresse:** minstrels of the count of Savoy in the city for “tenir leur escolle” (Wilkins, 134-34)
- **Aragon,** 18 May: “ls nostres ministrers deven tornar prestament de les escolles a que n son anats,” 1 Aug.: “e car poch fa ell sie vengut de les escolles, volem que ell mostre als vostres ministrers de les cançons nouvelles que ell sap” (Gómez Muntané, 136 and 138)
- Catalonia,** 29/30 May: “ls nostres ministrers són venguts de les escolles” (Anglès 1936, 614)
- Burgundy,** 4 Feb.: “menestriers de monseigneur . . . en alent aux escolles où monseigneur les avoit envoiez” (Brenet, 15; Wright, 185)
- England:** “pipar. Sive fistulatoribus . . . nakarer, euntibus cum licentia Domini ad partes transmarinas ad scholas tempore quadragesimali” (Nagel, 1:149, n. 20)
- 1378 Germany **Burgundy,** 6 Mar.: “menestriers de monseigneur . . . pour aler de Gand en Allemagne aux escolles” (Brenet, 15; Vander Straeten 1878, 56; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:122; Wright, 185)
- Bruges **Aragon,** 1 Mar.: “los nostres ministrers han mostrades de nostre manament sis cançons nouvelles als vostres, e quant los dits nostres ministrers qui van ara a les escolles seran tornats, vo nos enviats los vostres e nos los farem moltes mostrar dels nostres esturments,” 17 Mar.: “nos trametem de present a les escolles los nostres ministrers . . . per anar en Fflandres e qual entraran en Bruges” (Gómez Muntané, 141)
- Catalonia,** 20 Jul.: “ls vostres ministrers qui són de novell tornats de les escolles, han aduyts molts esturments, grans e petits” (Anglès 1936, 619)
- Bourg-en-Bresse **Savoy,** Lent (Dufour and Rabut, 13-14; Cox, 53)
- Bourg-en-Bresse:** minstrels from Savoy in the city (Wilkins, 134-35)
- **Achaia:** Prince of Achaia sent his minstrels Hugonino, Anthonio, and Peroto “ad scholas” (Wilkins, 134)
- 1379 Flanders **Aragon,** 22 Jul.: “quatre dels nostres ministrers qui anaren a l escola” (Gómez Muntané, 147-48)
- Catalonia,** 19 Jun.: “fidelibus ministreriis nostris . . . euntibus nunc, jussu nostro, ad eorum artis scholas,” 12 Oct.: “són venguts ara de Fflandres” (Anglès 1936, 623-24)
- Achaia:** court minstrels to schools (Wilkins, 134)
- 1380 Bourg-en-Bresse **Savoy:** “menestreriis . . . menestrerio domini, eunti apud Burgum in Breissia, pro scholis ibidem tenendis” (Bruchet, 319)
- Germany **Achaia:** Prince sent his minstrels to Germany for the schools (Wilkins, 134)
- 1381 - **Guelders,** Lent: “reden myns heren pyperen ter scolen” (Nijsten, 119)

- **Aragon**, 6 May: “que ls nostres ministrers deven al jorn d avuy esser partits de les ecoles per tornar a nostre servey” (Gómez Muntané, 152)
Urgell, Feb. “ad scolae eorum artis” (Anglès 1936, 624; Gómez, 216, n. 6)
- 1382 - **Burgundy**: four court minstrels paid “pour aler es ecoles” (ACO B 1460, fol. 113)
Aragon: 12 May: “los nostres ministrers son molt han anats a les ecoles e los temps es vengut que deven venir” (Gómez Muntané, 154-55)
Navarre: “a yr a las escuelas” (Anglès 1970, 288)
- 1383 - **Aragon**, 10 Feb.: “los nostres ministrers van ara de manament nostre a les ecoles” (Gómez Muntané, 155), Feb.: “per un roçi e per struments, per ço com los trametia a les ecoles” (Gómez, 216, n. 15)
- 1384 Germany **Burgundy**, 8 Feb.: “menestrels de monseigneur . . . pour aler en Alemaigne aux ecoles de leur dit mestier en la karesme 1384 [n.s.]” (Brenet, 16; Wright, 187)
Duisburg: “Mester Wilham vedeler . . . ther scolen” (*PNL*, 184)
- 1385 Beauvais **Beauvais**: “aux menestreaux de nos **grans seigneurs de France** et d’autres **royaumes** qui se assemblerent à Beauvais au miquaresme l’an mil iiii^e iiii^{es} et iiii . . . comme il est acoustumé de faire chascun an quant il font leur escolle” (Gautier, 2:177, n. 4; Wilkins, 134)
Beauvais **Beauvais**: schools held in the city (Wilkins, 134)
England **England**: schools for minstrels held in England (Wathey, 136)
- 1386 France/Germany **Aragon**, 28 Mar.: “alguns de sos ministrers que van a França I a Alemaña a les ecoles de músics” (Baldelló, 40)
Beauvais “aus menestreaux de nos **grans seigneurs du royaume de France** et d’autres **pays** qui tinrent leurs ecoles au dit Beauvais, au miquaresme l’an mil ccc. iiii^{es} et v [1386 n.s.]” (Gautier, 2: 176, n. 1 and 177, n. 4)
- **Burgundy**, 24 Mar.: “menestres de monseigneur . . . pour leurs ecoles de ceste presente annee et pour acheter instrumens” (Brenet, 16; Wright, 189)
- 1387 France **Navarre**, 14/15 Mar.: “sus tres minestriles . . . para ir a las escuelas en Francia y regresar de ellas” (Anglès 1970, 290-91)
- 1388 Bourg-en-Bresse **Savoy**, Lent (Dufour and Rabut, 15)
- **Aragon**, 12 Feb. (Gómez Muntané, 213)
- 1389 Mons **Burgundy**, 20 Aug.: “menestres de mon dit seigneur . . . en alant aux escolles en Alemaigne” (Wright, 192)
Holland, 2 Apr.: “mijns heren coninc van den pipers van Oestervant . . . tot Berghen daer hi scoel soude houden van pipen” (Lingbeek-Schalekamp, 173)
France **Aragon**: “haviem tramesos que anassen en França et a les scoles,” for recruiting new minstrels and purchasing instruments of “novella guisa” (Pedrell, 232)

- 1390 Germany **Burgundy:** “A Loyset menesterel . . . en alant aux escolles en almagne” (ACO B 1479, fol. 145)
 England Schools for minstrels held (Wathey, 136)
 Beauvais **Lille, Douai:** “à Beauvais à escolle” (Salmen, 181; Vander Straeten 1878, 206, n. 2; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:272)
 - **Aragon,** 16 Feb.: “ministrers del senyor Rey . . . per co com los tramet a les escolles per apendre de lur art” (Gómez Muntané, 187-88)
Amiens: “as menestrex de Mons. de Raineval, qui alèrent as escolles” (Durand, 23)
- 1396 Germany **Burgundy:** minstrels paid to go “aux escolles en alemaigne” (ACO B 1508, fol. 107v)
- 1398 Beauvais **Abbeville:** “à plusieurs menestrelx . . . pour aler as escolles à Beauvais cest quaresme” (Gautier, 2:176, n. 1 and 177, n. 3)
- 1400 Beauvais **Beauvais:** “aux menestrieux et corneurs qui firent à Beauvais leur feste et assemblée en caresme” (Gautier, 2:176, n. 1)
 - **Cambrai** “à trois menestrels de M. de Saint-Pol, qui alloient as escolles” (Faral, 257n.)
- 1402 Beauvais **Beauvais,** 11 Mar.: “mimis in hac civitate de diversis partibus pro cantilenis novis addiscendis confluentibus” (Chambers, 1:53, n. 4; Gautier, 2:176, n. 1)
- 1403 - **Savoy,** 4 Feb.: “mimis dicti domini nostri . . . pro eundo ad scolas musice seu ministrerie” (Brucher, 321; Pietzsch, 149)
- 1406 Mons **Mons:** “au roy des ménestres de Haynaut et à plusieurs compaignons ménestrels qui, en son quaresme, avoient tenu leur escolles en le ville de Mons” (Vander Straeten 1878, 179-80; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:245-46)
- 1407 Bourg-en-Bresse **Savoy,** 13 Feb. (Dufour and Rabut, 21)
- 1408 Hainaut **Holland:** “in Henegouwen . . . om aldaer die Walsche scool te houden van pipers” (Lingbeek-Schalekamp, 190)
- 1409 Ypres **Ypres,** 13 Mar.: “den menestruelen, houdende hare scole hier binnen deser stede” (Vander Straeten 1878, 66; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:132)
Oudenaarde, 31 Mar.: “mer vrauwen menestruete van Bourgognen, doen sy quamen van der scole” (Vander Straeten 1878, 72-73; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:138-39)
- 1412 - **Savoy:** “menestriers de Mons. [of Savoy] . . . pour aler aux escolles” (Brucher, 321)
 - **Cambrai:** “à Hermant et ses compaignons, menestrelz de Mgr de Saint-Pol, lesquelz aloient as escolles” (Gautier and Lesort, 90)
- 1413 Beauvais **Saint-Omer:** “pour donner aux menestrex dudit Mons. de Croy pour avoir d’eux à leur retour des escolles de Biauvais des canchons” (Pas, 6 and 11; Salmen, 181)
- 1414 - **Saint-Omer** 23 Mar.: “wette et menestrel de la ville . . . pour aler as escolles comme il est accoustumé” (Pas, 11)
Savoy: “ad scolas mimorum” (Dufour and Rabut, 22 and 24-25)
Aragon (Gómez, 216, n. 13)

- 1415 - **Aragon** (Gómez, 216, n. 13)
- 1417 Pont-de-Beauvoisin **Savoy**, 16 Feb.: “eundo apud Pontem Bellivicini ad scholas” “il a demoré en l’escole, et aveques le maistre du chan de Pont de Beauvoisin” (Bruchet, 322; Dufour and Rabut, 24); possibly 1418 n.s.?
- **Saint-Omer** 22 Mar.: “wettes et menestrex de le ville . . . pour aler as escolles ainsy qu’ils ont acoustumé” (Pas, 11)
- 1421 Bruges **Saint-Omer**: “aux wettes menestrelz de le ville alans à l’escolle à Bruges” (Pas, 11)
- 1422 Mons **Hainaut**: “en tenant leur escolles en leditte ville de Mons” (Devilleers, 4:326n.)
Saint-Omer, payment to minstrels of the Lord of **Croy** as they travel to minstrel schools (Pas, 11)
- 1424 Saint-Omer **Saint-Omer**: “aux menestrez de ceste ville pour avoir esté et tenu les escolles de menestrelz en ceste ville avec les aultres compaignons menestrelz y venus”; 21-27 Mar.: “aux menestrelz de Mons^s de **Croy** venus aux escolles en ceste ville” and payments to minstrels of Saint-Omer, and of the Lords of **Defossez** and **Antoing** (Pas, 13)
- 1425 Saint-Omer **Saint-Omer**, 8 Mar.: “aux menestrelz de Mons^s de **Croy** venus aux escolles en ceste ville” and payments to minstrels of Lords of **Roubais**, **Anthoing**, **Fosseux**, and Viscountess of **Amiens**, Saint-Omer (Pas, 13)
- 1426 Saint-Omer **Abbeville**, 20 Feb.: “aux menestrex de Mons. de **Croy** . . . pour aler aux escolles à Saint-Omer que chacun an ilz on acoustumé d’aler,” and similar payment, on 5 Mar., to minstrels of Vicountess of **Amiens** (Pas, 14-15)
Saint-Omer, 29 Mar.: “aux menestrez de plusieurs seigneurs de **Picardie** et de **Flandres** assemblez en ceste ville aux escolles” (Pas, 14)
- 1427 ?Saint-Omer **Abbeville**, 5 Mar. “aux ménéstrex de Mons. de **Croy** . . . pour aler aux escolles a Saint-Omer ou ailleurs ainsi quilz ont acoustume d’aler chacun an” (Pas, 15)
- 1428 Cambrai **Cambrai**: “au roy des menestriers et toute sa compaignie venus en ceste cité tenir escole de leur ébattement pour l’année” (Faral, 257n.; Marix, 98, n. 1; *MGG* 2:698)
- 1429 Ypres **Ypres**: “den menestreulen, hier binnen deser stede ghehouden huerliedre vergaderinghe van der scoole” (Vander Straeten 1878, 66; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:132)
- Beauvais **Abbeville**, 1 Mar.: “aux menestrés de M. de **Croy** . . . pour aler aprendre à l’escole à Beauvais, comme ilz ont accoustumé d’aler chascun an” (Gautier, 2:176, n. 1; Salmen, 181)
- **Savoy**, 11 Feb.: “menestrerijis domini . . . pro eundo ad scholas eorum artis in ista quadagesima” (Dufour and Rabut, 29)
- 1432 Ypres **Ypres**: “den menstreulen, hier binnen der steide huerlieden scoole houdende” (Vander Straeten 1878, 67; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:133)

- Saint-Omer:** "aux waites menestrelz de ceste ville alans aux escolles à Ypre" as well as similar payments to minstrels of Lords of **Croy, Neuville, Antoing, Faukemberghe**, and city of **Dunkirk** (Pas, 11-12)
- Valenciennes (Vander Straeten 1878, 206-7, n. 2; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:272)
- 1433 - **Saint-Omer:** payments to minstrels of Lords of **Lalaing, Neuville, Lannoy, Faukemberghe, Croy**, Viscountess of **Amiens**, and city of **Furnes**, as they travel to minstrel schools (Pas, 12)
- 1434 Saint-Omer **Saint-Omer:** "aux menestrelz et trompettes de ceste ville qui ont tenu leurs escolles en icelle" and payments to minstrels of Lords of **Croy, Olehain, Anthoing, Roubais**, and **Lannoy** (Pas, 12-14)
- 1435 Cambrai **Saint-Omer:** "aux wettes, trompette et menestrelz de le ville alans aux escolles" as well as similar payments to minstrels of Lords of **Croy, Olehain, Anthoing, Roubais**, and **Lannoy** (Pas, 11-12; *MGG* 2:698)
- 1437 Cambrai **Lille:** "aucuns ménestrelz de Lille . . . en allant aux escolles à Cambray, pour apprendre des nouvelles chanchons" (Vander Straeten 1878, 206; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:272; Marix, 97)
Saint-Omer: payments to minstrels of Lords of **Croy, Olehain, Anthoing, Roubais**, and **Lannoy** as they travel to minstrel schools (Pas, 12)
- 1438 - **Saint-Omer:** payments to minstrels of Lords of **Croy, Olehain, Anthoing, Roubais**, and **Lannoy** as they travel to minstrel schools (Pas, 12)
- 1440 Cambrai **St-Pol:** "aux escolles de leur esbatement" (Marix, 98, n. 2)
Saint-Omer **Saint-Omer:** "aux iiii weites menestrelz de le ville . . . qui en ceste ville ont tenu l'escole" (Pas, 14)
- 1441 Saint-Omer **Saint-Omer** (Pas, 14)
- 1442 Brussels (Marix, 98, n. 2)
- 1447 Damme **Damme:** "den coninc van der speellieden van **Vlaendren** ende van **Artois**, up ten dach dat hy hier zine vergaderinghe ende feeste hilt" (Vander Straeten 1878, 196; Vander Straeten 1867-1888, 4:262)

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Appendix 2
“New Songs” Mentioned in the Limburg Chronicle, 1350-80

- 1350 *Wyßet, wer den synen y vurkoys*
 Unde ane alle scholt getruwen frunt virliß,
 Der wirt vil gerne sigeloys.
 Getruwen frunt den ensal niman laßen,
 Want man vurgelden daz nit enkan.
- 1350 *Eyns reinen guten wybes angesichte*
 Und frauweliche zucht darby,
 Dy sint werlich gut zu sehen.
 Zu guten wyben han ich plichte,
 Wan sy sin alles wandels fry.
- 1350 *Ach, rynes wyf von guder art*
 Gedenke an alle stedicheid,
 Daz man auch ny von dir gesayt
 Daz reinen wyben obel steit.
 Daran saltu gedencken
 Und salt nit von mir wencken,
 Dy wyle daz ich daz leben han.
 Noch ist mir eyner klage noyt
 Von der lyvesten frauwen myn,
 Daz ir zartez mondelin royt
 Wel mir ungenedig sin.
 Sy wel mich zu grunt vurderben
 Untrost wel sy an mich erben,
 Darzu enweyß ich keynen rayt.
- 1356 *Ach Got, daz ich sy myden muß,*
 Dy ich zu den freuden hatte irkoren,
 Daz tut mir werlichen alzu we.
 Mochte mir noch werden eyn fruntlich gruß,
 Des ich so lange han enboren.
- 1356 *O starcker Got, alle unse noyt*
 Befelen wir, herre, in dyn geboyt,
 Laß uns den dag mit gnaden oberschynen.
 Dy namen dry, dry stent uns by
 In allen noyden, wo wir syn,
 Dy negel dry, daz sper und auch die krone.
- 1357 *Manicher wenet, daz niman beßer ensy dan he,*
 Dy wyle daz ime gelinget.
 Dem wel ich wunschen, daz ime nummer heyl gesche,
 Und wel daz frolich singen.
 Kere dich an syn klaffen nit, daz bidde ich dich,
 Dy truwe ist an ime kleine, gar wol ir steit daz angesicht.
- 1359 *Got gebe ime eyn vurdreben jar, der mich machte zu eyner nunnen*
 Und mir den swarzen mantel gap, den wyßen rock darunden.

- Sal ich eyn nunn geworden sunder mynen willen,
 So wel ich eyne knaben jung sinen komer stillen.
 Unde stillet he mir den minen nit, daran mach he vurlysen.
- 1360 *Hoffen helt mir daz leben,*
 Truren dede mir anders we
- 1361 *Myden, scheiden —*
 Daz dut werlich we,
 Ußer maßen we
 Von eyner, dy ich gern anse.
 Und enist daz nit unmogelichen
- 1363 *Ich wel in hoffen leben vort,*
 Ob mir it heiles moge geschehen
 Von der lyvesten frauwen myn.
 Spreche sy zu mir eyn fruntlich wort,
 So solde truren von mir flyhen.
Ich wel in hoffen leben etc.
 Ir gunste y mit heile bekort,
 Ach Got, daz ich sy solde sehen!
Ich wel in hoffen leben etc.
- 1365 *Schaichtafelnspele*
 Ich nu beginnen wel
- 1367 *Nit laß abe, so enwel ich auch,*
 Ich wel dir y mit ganzen truwen leben;
 Ich hoffen ich finde daz selbe an dir.
- 1374 *Gepuret reyne und suberlich*
 Weiß ich ein wyp gar mynneclich,
 Dy ist mit zochten wol bewart.
 Ich wolde, daz sy ez woste,
 Dy reyne — zart.
- 1374 *Wy mochte mir umber baß gesyn*
 In ruwen?
 Ez grunet mir in dem herzen myn
 Als uff der auwen.
 Daran gedenke,
 Min lyp, unde nit enwenke.
- 1379 *Dy widerfart ich genzlich jagen,*
 Daz prube ich jeger an der spor.
 Hoho, sy ist davor,
 Der ich so lang gewartet han.
- 1380 *Vurlangen wel mich nit begeben*
 Nacht unde dag zu keyner zit.

NOTES

¹ For a previous study of the late-medieval minstrel school, see Maricarmen Gómez, “Minstrel Schools in the Late Middle Ages,” *Early Music* 18 (1990): 212-16; see also Walter Salmen, *Der Spielmann im Mittelalter*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, viii (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1983), pp. 110-13.

² See Kay Brainerd Slocum, “*Confrérie, Bruderschaft* and Guild: The Formation of Musicians’ Fraternal Organisations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Europe,” *Early Music History* 14 (1995): 257-74.

³ See Rob C. Wegman, “From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 409-79, here 469-77.

⁴ For the topic of new songs in general, see Walter Salmen, “Das gemachte ‘Neue Lied’ im Spätmittelalter,” in *Handbuch des Volksliedes*, 2 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973-75), 2:407-20.

⁵ See Christiane Schima, *Die Estampie: Untersuchungen anhand der überlieferten Denkmäler und zeitgenössischen Erwähnungen* (Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers, 1995), pp. 215-26.

⁶ For this and what follows, see Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen, *Die Limburger Chronik*, ed. Gottfried Zedler (Limburg an der Lahn: Limburger Vereinsdruckerei, 1930), pp. 10-11 and 19. See also Gottfried Zedler, “Die Quellen der Limburger Chronik und ihre Verwertung durch Tilemann,” *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 23 (1926): 289-324, and idem, “Zur Erklärung und Textkritik der Limburger Chronik,” *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 5 (1929): 210-50.

⁷ “Item in disem selben jare vurwandelten sich dictamina unde gedichte in Duschen lidern. Want man bit her lider lange gesongen hat mit funf oder ses gesetzen, da machent dy meister nu lider mit dren gesetzen. Auch hat ez sich also vurwandelt mit den pyffen unde pyffenspel unde hat uffgestegen in der museken, unde ny also gut waren bit her, als nu in ist anegegangen. Dan wer vur funf oder ses jaren eyn gut pyffer was geheissen in dem ganzen lande, der endauc itzunt nit eyne flyge. Item da sang man den widersang: ‘Hoffen helt mir daz leben, truren dede mir anders we!’” Wolfhagen, *Die Limburger Chronik*, p. 36. Interestingly, this entry was adopted and revised in 1509 in a chronicle by Petrus Herp, a friar in the Dominican monastery of Frankfurt: “Eodem anno musica ampliata est, nam novi cantores surrexere & componistae & figuristae, inceperunt alios modos asserere, fistulatores quoque se in multum emendaverunt, & magistralia carmina meliorata sunt.” See Heinrich Christian Senckenberg, ed., *Selecta iuris et historiarum tum anecdota tum iam edita, sed variora*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: J. Frider, 1734-42), 2:14. For the latter chronicle and its author, see Richard Froning, *Frankfurter Chroniken und annalistische Aufzeichnungen des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Carl Jügel, 1884), pp. xvi-xviii and 58-66. The chronicle was translated in German around 1735-40; see Peter Herp, *Franckfurter Dominicaner-Chronic: jetzo erst im Teutschen mitgetheilt* (Frankfurt am Main, n.d.), 12: “In eben diesem Jahr ist die Music erweitert worden, denn es stunden neue Sängler, Componisten und Figuristen auf, und haben Melodien angenommen, wie dann auch die Pfeiffer und Meister Sängler sich gebessert haben.” See also Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols. (Rome: Società Tipografica, 1828), 1:138, and Caroline Pichler Valentin, *Geschichte der Musik in Frankfurt am Main vom Anfange des XIV. bis zum Anfange des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: K. Th. Völcker, 1906; repr. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1972), p. 18.

⁸ For the translation of *Gesetzen* as “metric unit” or “measure” (rather than “strophe,” which would make little sense here), see Zedler, “Zur Erklärung und Textkritik der Limburger Chronik,” pp. 243-50.

⁹ The same expression was current in fourteenth-century England; see, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer, *Works*, ed. Fred Norris Robinson (2nd edn.; Oxford, Melbourne, and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 139 (v. 1132), p. 219 (v. 1150), and p. 316 (v. 501).

¹⁰ "Item in der selben zijt sang man eyn nuwe lit in Duschen landen, das war gar gemeine zu pyffen unde zu trompen unde zur aller freude: Wyßet, wer den synen y vurkoys / unde ane alle scholt getruwen frunt virliß, / der wirt vil gerne sigeloy. / Getruwen frunt den ensal niman laßen, / want man vurgelden daz nit enkan." Wolfhagen, *Die Limburger Chronik*, p. 36.

¹¹ For this and what follows, see *Limburger Chronik*, pp. 25, 25-26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41, 43, 44, 54, 60-61, 64, and 65. On the songs, see Zedler, "Zur Erklärung und Textkritik der Limburger Chronik," pp. 240-50.

¹² *Limburger Chronik*, p. 26; for the next sentence, see *ibid.*, pp. 26, 34, and 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33; see Georg Steer, "Dat dagelyt von der heiligen passien: Die sogenannte 'Große Tageweise' Graf Peters von Arberg," in Kurt Ruh and Werner Schröder, eds., *Beiträge zur weltlichen und geistlichen Lyrik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts: Würzburger Colloquium* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1973), pp. 112-204; Thomas Cramer, ed., *Die kleineren Liederdichter des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977-90), 2:444-65 and 540-41, and 3:139 and 545.

¹⁴ *Limburger Chronik*, pp. 60-61. For the next sentence, see *ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 34.

¹⁶ "Unde waz he sang, daz songen dy lude alle gern, unde alle meister, pyffer unde ander spellude furten den sang unde gedichte" (*ibid.*, pp. 60-61).

¹⁷ See Salmen, *Der Spielmann im Mittelalter*, 59-60; Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," p. 474, n. 183.

¹⁸ I have argued elsewhere that the evidence for the new style of the 1430s known as *contenance angloise* is ambiguous at best; see Rob C. Wegman, "Johannes Tinctoris and the 'New Art'," *Music & Letters*, forthcoming; and *id.* "New Music for a World Grown Old: Martin Le Franc and the 'Contenance angloise'," forthcoming.