

*Journal of the
American Musical
Instrument Society*

VOLUME III • 1977



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Iconography as a Tool for Examining the Loud Consort in the Fifteenth Century

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THE fundamental problem confronting the scholar interested in reconstructing the musical instruments and performance practices of the Middle Ages is twofold: precious few instruments are extant,¹ and the music itself tells us virtually nothing about how it should be played. Obviously, contemporary records such as chronicles,² poetry,³ treatises,⁴ and fi-

1. A useful guide in this connection is F. Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalog by Types* (Iowa City, 1972). Of the 500-odd examples listed, most are folk instruments. (For instance, only six trumpets are cited.) See also W. Lichtenwanger, comp., *A Survey of Musical Instrument Collections in the United States and Canada* (Ann Arbor, 1974). A total of thirty-five collections that include medieval and Renaissance instruments are given, but the entries are too general to enable one to single out fifteenth-century examples.

2. For example, *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, v (Paris, 1844), 746: "Non sine musicorum generibus instrumentorum variis . . ."; Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. G. Doutrepoint and J. Jodogne (Paris, 1935-1937), II, 434: "Trompetes, clarons, instrumens, tubes et chalemies eslevèrent melodie tant extrême et hault . . ."; Georges Chastellain, *Chronique*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I (Brussels, 1863), 134: "Grant mélodie de trompettes, clarons, menestrès et moult d'autres instrumens . . ."; Jean Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, ed. F. Morand, II (Paris, 1886), 165: "Grant foison y ot aussi de trompetes, menestrelz et joueurs de plusieurs instrumens"; Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, *Crónica*, cited in J. M. Lamaña, "Estudio de los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical*, XXIV (1969), 116: "[Menestriles altos] de sacabuches e cheremías e cornetas e trompetas bastardas, e cinco o seys atabales . . ."; Regensburger Chronik, in *Mon. hist. germ.* ("Chroniken der deutschen Städte"), III, 193: "Als um die Zeit der Sonnenwenden des Königs von Österreich Schwester, die den von Baden genommen, über Regensburg zu ihren Gemahl gereist war, hatten sie fünf Trommeter des Königs hierher geleitet und fünf Pfeiffer des Markgrafen von Baden hier empfangen."

3. For example, John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, II (Ox-

nancial accounts⁵ reveal something about this music and even about the instruments used. But for the organologist there are no books on how to build a fiddle, for example, or a shawm. Here is where iconography comes into play; for, when used with caution, painting and sculpture—the two main categories of visual data for this period—shed important light on instruments and their use. Indeed, as we know, many pictures have served as the basis for copying old instruments when no originals exist.

While the use of manuscript illuminations as indications of per-

ford, 1901), 453: "In such acord and such a soun / Of bombard and of clarion / With cornemuse and shallemele"; *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. E. Kölbing (Heilbronn, 1884), p. 84: "They wenten to the dyner, the hole company / With pipis & with trompis & othir melody"; H. Abert, "Die Musikästhetik der Echecs Amoureux," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VI (1904-1905), 354: "Et quant on vouloit danser / Et faire grans esbattemens / On sonnoit les haulx instrumens, / Qui mieulx aux dansez plaisoient . . . / Pour la grant noise qu'ilz faisoient"; Ramon de Llabía, *Cancionero*, cited in R. Isnard, "Anciens instruments de musique," *Revue Hispanique*, XLIII (1918), 560: "... de buen añafil / de tuca bombardar / . . . musica trompa de paris sutil / Las trompas panderos adrufes sonanjes. . . ."

4. For example, Reginald Pecock, *The Reule of Crysten Religioun*, ed. W. C. Greet (London, 1927), p. 413: "Who more or so myche worschipe a greet lord in this world than doon his mynstrallis . . . which mynstrallis pipen and trumpen whanne he riseth from bed, whan he goith to mete and at ech course of seruyce at the table and whan he goith to bed and whanne he ridith in his lond into cities or greet townes"; Eustache Deschamps, *L'art de dictier*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. G. Raynaud, VII (Paris, 1891), 270: "Et ainsi puet estre entendu les autres instrumens de voix comme . . . de fleutes et haulx instrumens semblables. . . ."

5. Typical entries can be found in the following sources, among others: W. H. G. Grattan Flood, "Entries Relating to Music in the English Patent Rolls of the Fifteenth Century," *The Musical Antiquary*, IV (1912-1913), esp. p. 227; R. Rastall, "The Minstrels of the English Royal Households," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, IV (1964), 1-41; W. Grossmann, *Frühmittelenglische Zeugnisse über Minstrels* (Berlin, 1906); L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le xv^e siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1849-1852); F. de Baldelló, "La música en la casa de los Reyes de Aragón," *Anuario Musical*, XI (1956), 49-51; A. Salazar, *La Musica en la sociedad Europa* (Mexico City, 1942), I, 247; A. Bertoletti, *Musica alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova* (Milan, 1890), esp. pp. 7-11; H. J. Moser, *Die Musikergensschaften im deutschen Mittelalter* (Rostock, 1910), esp. p. 19; W. Salmen, "Zur Geschichte der Musik am landgräflich-hessischen Hofe im 15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, LXIX (1958), 194; *idem*, "Zur Geschichte der herzoglich-braunschweigischen Hofmusiker," *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, XXX (1958), 238f.

formance practices is by no means new—Buhle, Leichtentritt, Kinsky, and Bessler being pioneering cases in point⁶—no one, to the best of my knowledge, has concentrated exclusively on this medium as an iconographic tool. Yet, for any study of musical life or the instruments in use during the late Middle Ages, these often exquisite examples of the miniaturist's art are invaluable in shedding light on such questions. Indeed, between ca. 1350 and ca. 1500, manuscript illuminations, with their realistic depictions of both secular and religious subjects, represent the most plentiful visual source material available to the musicologist.⁷

In spite of the acknowledged primacy of written records as indicators of *Aufführungspraxis* during this period, we run into an immediate obstacle: very few of these documents provide us with specific indicators of the instrumental groups or consorts used for specific genres of compositions or types of performances. To be sure, there are references *ad nauseam* to players of loud instruments⁸ or enumerations of all the performing groups active during

6. E. Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, I (Leipzig, 1903); H. Leichtentritt, "Was lehren uns die Bildwerke des 14.-17. Jahrhunderts über die Instrumentalmusik ihrer Zeit," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VII (1905-1906), 315-364; G. Kinsky, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (Leipzig, 1929); H. Bessler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam, 1931). More modern studies that include manuscript illuminations include V. Denis, *De Muziekinstrumenten in de Nederlanden en in Italië naar hun Afbeelding in de 15^e-eeuwische Kunst* (Louvain, 1944); F. L. Harrison and J. Rimmer, *European Musical Instruments* (London, 1964); F. Lesure, *Music in Art and Society*, trans. D. and S. Stevens (University Park, 1968); K. M. Komma, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (Stuttgart, 1961).

7. E. A. Bowles, *Musikleben und Aufführungspraxis des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1976), lists over a thousand specific examples in the appendix, grouped according to both social class and function, such as coronations, weddings, processions, banquets, dances, etc. This enumeration barely scratches the surface, and does not include representations of instruments *per se* (divorced from performance context), marginalia, or angel-musicians and the like.

8. See for example B. Bernhard, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménestriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, IV (1842-1843), 526: "Menestrels, joueurs d'instruments, tant hauts que bas"; *Recueil des poésies françaises*, ed. A. Montaiglon, III (Paris, 1856), 23: "Le seigneur de plaisance ordonne / De la musicque et hault et bas"; J. M. Lamaña (above, note 2), p. 116: "Thenía el principe muy gentiles ministriles altos de sacabuches, e cheremías e cornets e trompetas. . . ."

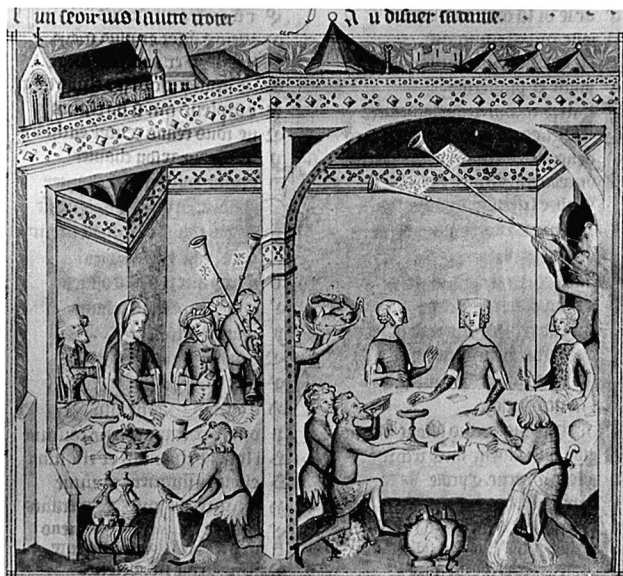


FIGURE 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 1586, fol. 55.

the course of a specific event.⁹ Some meticulous clerks even provide us with the names or number of court or town musicians employed at a certain place and time.¹⁰ Nevertheless, how can we reconstruct with certainty the consorts that, according to some reference or

9. See, for example, B. Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne*, I (Paris, 1902), 200 and 572: "Le duc fit don . . . aus menestriers qui ont esté à lad. feste"; and 26 Francs "à deux trompettes et à 4 menestriers, les 2 de chalemelle et les autres deux de cornemuse . . ."; M. D. Harris, ed., *Coventry Leet Book*, II (London, 1909), 390f.: "At the Brodeyate a Pagiont and seint Edward beyng therein . . . w^t mynstralcye of harpe and lute"; J. Bader, "Eine mittelalterlichen Fronleichnamsprozession an der Frauenkirche zu Nürnberg," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, XII (1865), 67: "Und derselbige Hofirer sullen sein: einer auf der lauten, einer mit dem Portative, und einer mit der Quintern."

10. For example, H. Anglès, "La música en la corte del rey Don Alfonso V de Aragón," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* (1st series), VIII (1940), esp. 354-370; G. d'Arnaud d'Agnel, *Les comptes du Roi René*, III (Paris, 1910), 72;

another, performed at a particular affair, especially given the usual varied mix of musicians often present?

It was with these and other questions in mind that I embarked on a project some years ago to collect manuscript illuminations depicting so-called *alta* wind bands, or loud consorts, in aristocratic court music of the fifteenth century. These groups included players of the buisine, or herald's trumpet,¹¹ "s"-shaped or folded trumpets (with or without slides),¹² and shawms.¹³ I had two pur-

F. de Baldelló, "La música en la casa de los reyes de Aragón," *Anuario Musical*, XI (1956), 49ff.; A. Dufour and F. Rabut, "Les musiciens, la musique, et les instruments de musique en Savoie du xiii^e au xix^e siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, XVII (1878), 21f.; Flood (above, note 5), p. 227; L. de la Laurencie, "La musique à la cour des ducs de Bretagne au xiv^e et xv^e siècles," *Revue de Musicologie*, XIV (1933), esp. 3-5; J. Madurell, "Documentos para la historia de maestros de capilla, organistas, órganos, organeros, músicos e instrumentos (siglos xiv-xviii)," *Anuario Musical*, IV (1949), 217; J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939), chapter IV; A. R. Meyers, ed., *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 131f.; A. Pirro, *La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles IV (1380-1422)* (Strasbourg, 1930), esp. pp. 26-36; W. Salmen, *Die Fahrender Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter* (Kassel, 1960), part II.

11. Beginning with the early Crusading era, the French coined the term *buisine* for the long, straight Saracen trumpet (*cor sarrazinois*). In England the instrument was called *trumpet* or *beme* in contemporary dictionaries. See T. Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies*, I (London, 1857), 202. The Germans used the word *pú sine*, *busùn*, or *pusine* (from whence, of course, "posaune"). The nomenclature is discussed in detail in E. A. Bowles, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente Buisine, Cor, Trompe und Trompette," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVIII (1961), 63-66. The buisine is perhaps most graphically translated as "herald's trumpet." See N. Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 188. Again, in English the trumpet was distinguished from the busine. By the fifteenth century it was "s"-shaped or folded. See for example A. T. P. Byles, ed., *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye* (London, 1932), verse 19-1: "Other by the sowne of trompetyts or by different sowne as of hornes that men call buyssynes." In Italy the trumpet was known as *tromba ricurva*. See, for example, L. Cellesi, *Storia della più antica banda musicale Senese* (Siena, 1906), pp. 22 and 28. The clarion was a smaller, higher-pitched instrument. One reference in an inventory confirms its lighter weight. M. Byrne, "Instruments for the Goldsmiths Company," *Galpin Society Journal*, XXIV (1971), 65ff.

12. The earliest-known textual reference to a slide-trumpet is to be found in a description of the marriage festivities of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York (1468), where the instrument is called a *trompette saicqueboute* ("push-pull") and paired with three shawms, all playing a motet. Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, III (Paris, 1885), 152. (This kind of performance

poses in mind: to use these visual sources to identify more precisely the instrumental combinations then in use; and to determine whether or not, over a time-span of some 120 years, there were

practice was common. For example, in 1484 a priest/singer from St. Sauveur in Bruges composed a series of motets to be played by the town band. E. van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, iv [Brussels, 1878], 99.) The English, in a corruption of the French, called the instrument a *shakbush* or *sackbut*. The first reference seems to be in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII (1495). See C. Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumentenkunde* (Berlin, 1913), p. 304. In 1482 the city of Bruges purchased banners for its two *zackbouten*. See L. Gilliods-Van Severen, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*. By 1490 the household band of Crown Prince Juan of Spain included *sacabuches*. See Lamaña (above, note 2), p. 116; F. Pedrell, *Organografía musical antigua* (Barcelona, 1900). A number of contemporary pictorial sources show quite clearly one of the player's hands being held close to the mouth while the other manipulated the tube (rather than the former practice of merely grasping the instrument midway down the tube). This change was required in order to manipulate the long, sliding throat that, when altered, was capable of producing several overblown notes for each position; hence an uninterrupted chromatic scale. See C. Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets of the Renaissance," *The Musical Quarterly*, xxxvi (1950), 62-65; and H. Bessler, "Die Entstehung der Posaune," *Acta Musicologica*, xx-xxi (1949-1950), 11. On the development of the slide mechanism, see V. Safowitz, "Trumpet Music and Trumpet Style in the Early Renaissance," unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1965.

13. Along with the trumpet, the "shallys loudë crye" formed the typical loud consort at fifteenth-century feudal courts and in the town band. The shawm was called *shalmuse*, *scalmuse*, or *shallemele* in England. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, ix, 646. The French term was *chalumeau*, *canemelle*, or *challemie*. See, for example, C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 3rd ed., ed. G. A. Henshel, II (Paris, 1842), 21; and F. Brückner, *Die Blasinstrumente in der alt-französischen Literatur* (Giessen, 1926), pp. 41-47. Spanish references mention both the *xelamia gran* and *petita*. H. Anglès, "La música en la corte del rey Don Alfonso V de Aragón," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, VIII (1940), 361. By around 1400 the shawm's construction had been refined, and according to Tincoris (Baines, *op. cit.*, p. 20) it was provided with seven holes: "Provided that [they] are correctly placed, any composition can be played on it." Correspondingly, the instrument's range, its tone quality, and overall performance improved. According to the *Limburger Chronik*, "And at the same time the manner of playing the shawm changed and [was] raised in esteem, which was not too good before, as has been said. Because one who, five or six years ago, was considered a good player now doesn't amount to a hill of beans." Cited in C. Valentin, *Geschichte der Musik in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1906), p. 18. The shawm came in several sizes, the tenor (bombard) and bass members of the family being provided with keys. In 1376 a writer called the bombard "new." C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), p. 314. Fifty years later both instruments were commonplace. For example, in 1423 the Burgundian court purchased two keyed bombards, one a contratenor, from an instrument maker in Bruges (Marix [above, note 10], p. 102).



FIGURE 2. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 8, fol. 33^v.

distinct patterns as well as changes in groupings that one could observe. Then, too, I was interested in testing my hypothesis that this method of iconographical research not only confirms what written sources have already shown, but can add substantially to what we can determine from the written word alone.

This present study is limited to an examination of 190 of these illuminated pages painted between 1380 and 1500. With such a small data base, I must emphasize that the conclusions drawn from my findings are necessarily tentative, and are offered with caution until several times this many examples can be collected and analyzed. I have categorized my examination by social context, by instrumental grouping, by chronology, and by country of origin. Here, then, are the results.

In coronation scenes, a consort of three and of four instruments is depicted with equal frequency. However, the *buisine* is most often featured, since the instrumental participation consisted primarily of providing ceremonial fanfares rather than contemporary chansons, for example.¹⁴ At betrothal ceremonies and weddings a mixed or broken consort trio is usually shown, but no one particu-

14. During the English coronation ceremony instrumental music was provided during the procession and at the moment of crowning, and probably also during the third coronation anthem, *Confortare*. Cf. *Layamon's Brut*, ed. F. W. Madden (London, 1847), line 24475: "Thes biscoptes gunne singe / Bemen ther blowen." The coronation of Henry VII (1485) included trumpets, shawms, and sackbuts. See A. Hughes, "Music of the Coronation over a Thousand Years," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, LXXIX (1952-1953), esp. 85ff. At the coronation of Henry VIII (1509) the trumpets sounded as the archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on the king's head (W. Jones, *Crowns and Coronations* [London, 1902], p. 210). In 1461, at the conclusion of the coronation of Louis XI at Reims, "sonnèrent cloches, trompettes et clarons. . ." G. Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1863-1866), IV, 59. This probably followed the mass and communion, after which the populace shouted the traditional "Noël! Noël!" See P. Varin, *Archives administratives de la ville de Reims*, II (Reims, 1839), 418 and 557. Similarly, at the coronation of Charles VIII (1484) the archbishop cried "Vivat Rex!" in a loud voice. The people answered "Vive le Roy!" and "les trompettes et clairons se prindrent à sonner mélodieusement." D. Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois* (Paris, 1501), cited in F. Raugel, "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire musicale du sacre des rois de France," *La Revue Internationale de Musique*, XII (1952), 78. See also R. Rosières, *Histoire de la société française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1880), p. 124.



FIGURE 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 314, fol. 24^v.

lar instrumental group is favored.¹⁵ Banquet scenes exhibit both duos and trios, the latter far more often. Among these, a broken consort of two shawms and folded, or “s”-shaped trumpet is the most usual combination, followed closely by consorts of buisines or shawms. The washing-up ceremony, the parade of dishes brought in for each course, and breaks between courses were all occasions for loud music making.¹⁶ In miniatures depicting indoor

15. At the ceremonies celebrating the marriage of Ginevra Sforza (1454) music was performed by *pifferi e trombetti* (L. Frati, *La Vita privata di Bologna* [Bologna, 1900], p. 54). The wedding of Archduke Philip and Margaret of Bayern-Landshut resounded with *claretten stimmen*: see M. Buchner, “Quellen zur Amberger-Hochzeit von 1474,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VI (1908), 385–438. Similarly, at the ceremonies surrounding the marriage of Duke George of Landshut and Hedwig of Poland (1475), *trummeter*, *paugker*, and *pfeyffer* performed: see G. Pietzsch, “Die Beschreibungen deutscher Fürstenhochzeiten von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts als musikgeschichtliche Quellen,” *Anuario Musical*, XV (1960), 31.

16. See, for example, K. Brunner, ed., *Der mittenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Vienna/Leipzig, 1913), p. 88: “Trumpes begonne for to blowe / To mete they wente in a throwe”; also John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. H. Bergen, I (London, 1906), 57: “And after that, on scaffold highe a-lofte, / The noyse gan, lowde & no thing softe, / Both of trompetis and of clariouneris.” According to

dancing a trio of three shawms is shown with far greater frequency than any other grouping, testimony of the more sophisticated and demanding music required. The so-called minstrels' gallery or a raised platform is shown consistently in these illustrations, and the many textual references refer to the players of loud instruments on their little balconies.¹⁷ Outdoor dancing is the only context within this period in which bagpipes are found regularly, although here, too, trios of trumpets and shawms appear in various combinations.¹⁸ What one might call general outdoor music making is illustrated most often by a broken consort of two shawms and trumpet. The instruments employed in processions and welcoming ceremonies are included with caution, since the music generally provided consisted of fanfares. The overwhelming majority of illustrations shows a pair of buisines, thus confirming this fact. Even the representations of buisines with trumpet, the instruments pointed skywards in different directions, suggest nothing more

one chronicler, Lord James Douglas was accompanied by trumpeters whenever he ate: Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, II (Brussels, 1867), 204. A German source mentions a banquet in Spain (1466) at which, "wan man essen in den sal trug, do musten almal sein trumetter und pfeifer vorm essen gehn. . . ." Leo van Rožmítal, *Ritter- Hof- und Piger-Reise* (Stuttgart, 1894), p. 187.

17. See, for example, John Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. E. Sieper, (London, 1901), I, 146f.: "And for folkys that lust daunce / There were trumpes and trumpetes, / Lowde shallys and doucetes . . ."; also Jean le Freve, *Chronique*, ed. F. Morand, II (Paris, 1881), 161: "Et là jouoient les trompettes et ménestreaux pour dansses"; Matthieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, ed. G. de Beaucourt, II (Paris, 1864), 376f.: "Apprez disner . . . n'y dansoient à ceste heure que danses à cours [i.e., *haut danse*] au son de clerons"; H. von Fallersleben, *Horae Belgicae*, VI (Bratislava, 1838), 196: "Men danste den hofdans bi manieren / Met trompen ende met scalmeyen"; Abert (note 3), pp. 354f.: "There was daunsed . . . the hove daunce with shalmouse[s], trompettis and all maner of menstralsye" (i.e., music making); K. Schellhass, "Eine Kaiserreise im Jahre 1473," *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 3. Folge, IV (1893), 176: "Da waren an dem tanz fuer fursten und ander vil schoner frauen und jungfrauen und da pffifer und drommeter. . . ."

18. One of the best-known references is in Chaucer's *House of Fame* (III, 128): "That maden lowde menestralcies / In cornemuse and shalmyes." See also R. Wright, *Dictionnaire des instruments de musique* (London, 1941), p. III: "Un varlet qui faisoit danser se femme a le musette"; C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 3d ed., ed. G. A. Henschel, II (Paris, 1842), 154: ". . . Le menestrier, qui cornoit d'une chevette, cornast la haut danse. . . ."

than simple fanfares.¹⁹ Tournament and battle scenes are omitted here, since there is no concrete evidence that musicians provided anything more than fanfares at strategic moments, such as an entry into the lists, an unhorsing, or the strategic movements of warfare such as an attack or a retreat.

Turning now to instrumental consorts, among duos, the combination of buisine and shawm is most frequently shown in all contexts except for processions. In closed consort trios, three buisines or three shawms are both depicted with equal frequency. However, in broken consort trios, two shawms and trumpet are the norm, followed by two buisines and trumpet. It seems obvious that the shawm's ability to play melodies more reliably and without severe limitation of the harmonic series is a factor here. In mixed consort quartets, a grouping of three shawms and trumpet is illustrated most often. Interestingly, in several of these examples one shawmist is shown not playing, suggesting rather a trio with an extra player spelling one of his colleagues.

Looking at chronological alterations, one finds that from around 1380 to 1430, wind bands were evenly divided between two and three instruments in various combinations.²⁰ Duos featured buisine

19. Trumpet fanfares in royal processions are described by Christine de Pisan, *Le livre des faits et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles*, ed. H. Michault and J. Poujoulat (Paris, 1851), esp. II, 103. Whenever a king, duke, or count made a ceremonial entry into a city, "avoit devant lui iiii menestrelz jouans trompes [et] clerons, tous jouans de leur instrumens." A. Tuetey, ed., *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, 1881), p. 256. See also J. du Clercq, *Mémoires*, ed. J. A. Buchon (Paris, 1838), p. 182: "Après les héraulx . . . les archiers du roy . . . alloient les trompettes . . ."; J. O. Halliwell, ed., *The Romance of the Emperor Octavian* (London, 1844), p. 62: "With trumpys and with mery songe, / Eeche oon went to his own londe"; John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. H. Bergen, 1 (London, 1906), 263: "The schrille trumpettis wern y-reised loude / Up to the skye goth the blisful sown / Whan al this peple entreth in the toun"; Albrecht von Sharfenberg, *Merlin*, ed. F. Panzer (Tübingen, 1902), p. 166: "Dy ritter vor im fûerten; / Ie zwen besunder ainzick / Riten, da bey pusaunen laut erschnürten": Schellhass (above, note 17), pp. 190f.: "Also was bukeln und trumetten . . ."; J. de Mata Carriazo, ed., *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* (Madrid, 1940), p. 168: ". . . Iva tan gran multitud y ruido de atavales, trompetas bastardas é italianas, chirimías, tamborinos. . ."

20. Evidence from at least some contemporary records suggests, however, that during this earlier period instrumental duos were the predominant combination at courts. See R. Rastall, "Some English Consort-Groupings of the Late Middle Ages,"



FIGURE 4. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. lat. 209 (X.12.14), fol. 12.

and shawm or shawm and bagpipe. Trios show various groupings. Incidentally, only during this earlier period is the bagpipe found as a consort member within the contexts mentioned. Until about 1450 only groupings of three instruments are shown usually, with two shawms and trumpet the most frequent combination. Apart from a few isolated examples of the open "s"-shaped trumpet during the first decades of the century, the instrument depicted is the closed form, its tube wrapped around itself. From the position of the player's hands one is often tempted to assume that this is a slide-trumpet, or *trompette sacqueboute*; but given the small size of most miniatures, this assumption is sometimes risky. Between 1450 and 1500 the *alta a 3* predominates overwhelmingly, with only scattered examples of duos or quartets.²¹ During this period,

Music and Letters, LV (1974), 186ff. But compare the Household Ordinance of Edward II (1323): "There shal be ii trompeters and two other minstrels & some time more & some time lesse, who shall play before the kinge when it shal please him." W. Grossmann, *Frühmittelenglische Zeugnisse über Minstrels* (Berlin, 1906), p. 44; and Christine de Pisan, *Le livre du duc des vrais amants*, ed. M. Roy, III (Paris, 1890), 79: "Menestrelz, trompes, naquaires / Y avoit plus de troys paires." This rhyming suggests mere poetic license, however.

21. Three-part music was standard throughout most of the century. An interesting contemporary document (after 1415) states that "die prosoner prusonettend überainander mit dry stymmen, also man gewonlich singet." Ulrich von Richenthal, *Das Konzil zu Konstanz*, ed. O. Feger (Constance, 1968), I, 178. A document from the Burgundian court (1423) mentions *chalemies* and *bombardes*, and "une trompette servant avec lediz instrumens." J. Marix (above, note 10), pp. 104f. Johannes Tinctoris (1487) confirms that this combination of shawm, tenor shawm or bombard, and *tromponem* or *sacqueboute* comprised an *alta* wind band: "Quorum omnium omnia instrumenta simul aggregata communiter dicuntur *alta*." A. Baines, "Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal*, III (1950), 20. The civic wind bands in the Netherlands reflect this same combination. See, for example, A. M. van Enden, *Stadsrekeningen van Leiden*, I (Amsterdam, 1913), 116, 125, and 260. Three town pipers and a trumpeter performed from the belfry at specified times of the day in Lille. A. de la Fons-Mélicocq, "Les ménestrels de Lille," *Archives Historiques et Littéraires du Nord*, 3d series, V (1885), 61. See also R. van Aerde, *Ménestrels communaux et instrumentistes diverses établis ou de passage à Malines* (Malines, 1911), p. 3; and K. Polk, "Wind Bands of Medieval Flemish Cities," *Brass and Woodwind Quarterly*, I (1968), 102f. Similarly, the republic of Siena employed "due buoni pifferi et uno trombone." L. Bonelli, "Les joueurs de flûte avignonnais au service de la république de Sienne au xv^e siècle," *Actes du Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art* (1921), III (Paris, 1924), 803. In Germany, Dortmund, for example, had "2

two shawms and trumpet are shown twice as often as the next most common consorts of two buisines and trumpet. In most of these examples, one of the shawms is clearly a tenor instrument, and the trumpet is by now a firmly established member of the group.

Finally, let us consider the geographical area in which these manuscript illuminations were produced. Tallying up the examples cited for the entire period, in France the most common groupings were either three buisines or two buisines with a trumpet. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, consorts of three shawms (including tenor, or *bombard*) were the most popular. A close second was the combination of two shawms and trumpet. The prevalence of wind bands in Flemish cities and the interchange of musicians between metropolis and court may well account for this fact. In both Italian and German illuminations examined, a trio of two shawms and trumpet was most often depicted.

So much for this preliminary study. I believe that it contributes some new insights into the makeup of the loud consort during the fifteenth century that the generally vague textual references do not reveal. It suggests certain alterations in wind-band makeup from context to context, as well as from one time period to the next. While the evidence produced so far from this admittedly small data base is not by any means conclusive, it does point the way towards an important use of iconography as a tool in musicological and organological studies.

Falls Church, Virginia

piper unde einen bassuner" who performed together. H. Rother, "Mittelalterliche Spielleute in Westfalen," *Westfalen*, XXIII (1938), 92. The city of Freiburg employed two shawm-players, a trumpeter, and a drummer. K. G. Fellerer, *Mittelalterliches Musikleben der Stadt Freiburg* (Regensburg, 1935), p. 77. See also F. Feldens, *Musik und Musiker in der Stadt Essen* (Essen, 1936), p. 23; and W. Serauky, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Halle*, I (Berlin, 1935), 53.

APPENDIX

Manuscript Illuminations Showing Loud Consorts

List of Abbreviations

BBB	Bern, Burgerbibliothek
BBC	Bowhill, Lord Buccleuch Collection
BBR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
BNS	Budapest, National Széchényi Library
BSB	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Preussischer Kulturbesitz)
BUB	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek
BWA	Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery
CFM	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
CMA	Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
CMC	Chantilly, Musée Condé
CMN	Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe
CNL	Chicago, The Newberry Library
CRM	Constance, Rosengartenmuseum
DCB	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library
DCR	Dijon, Centre Hospitalier Régionale
EUL	Edinburgh, University Library
FBM	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
FBN	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
GBP	Ghent, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire
HKB	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliothek
HUB	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
KBL	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
LBC	Lisbon, Gulbenkian Collection
LBL	London, The British Library
LBM	Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale
LSS	Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Library
LZB	Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek
MAC	Milan, Archivio Capitolare
MBE	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
MBM	Mâcon, Bibliothèque Municipale
MBS	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
NYM	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
NYP	New York, The New York Public Library
OBL	Oxford, Bodleian Library
PBA	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal
PBN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
PMP	Paris, Musée du Petit Palais
PSK	Prague, Státní Knihovna
SLB	Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek
TMC	Turin, Museo Civico
VON	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

LOUD CONSORT GROUPINGS BY SOCIAL CONTEXT

CORONATIONS

3 *Buisines*

CMN, 1212, fol. 35
 LBL, Roy. 15E.I, fol. 330^v
 PBN, fr. 74, fol. 65^v
 PBN, fr. 75, fol. 233

4 *Buisines*

KBL, St.G. 63, fol. 27^v
 LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 143^v
 MAC, 6, fol. 2
 PBN, fr. 75, fol. 308

1 *Buisine*, 2 *Trumpets*

BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 112^v

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*

BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 215
 PBN, fr. 2605, fol. 13

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*

CRM, K, fol. 75^v
 PSK, XVI.A.17, fol. 121

WEDDINGS

2 *Buisines*

BWA, w323, fols. 16^v-17
 BNS, lat.med.aevi 404, fol. 70
 EUL, 58, fol. 65
 LSS, fr.F.XIV 4, fol. 381
 LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 158
 PBN, fr. 405, fol. 69^v
 VON, 2549, fol. 83^v

3 *Buisines*

LBL, Roy.15E.IV, fol. 295^v
 PBA, 5089, fol. 62
 VON, 2566, fol. 121

4 *Buisines*

LBL, Roy.15E.IV, fol. 72
 PBN, fr. 2829, fol. 16
 PBN, fr. 12574, fol. 113

1 *Buisine*, 2 *Shawms*

PBN, fr. 12574, f. 66

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*

DCB, w76, f. 13^v

4 *Trumpets*

VON, 2773, fol. 69

BANQUETS

2 *Buisines*

LBL, Roy. 14E.IV, fol. 265^v
 LBL, Roy. 17E.IV, fol. 76
 LBL, Roy. 17F.I, fol. 178^v
 PBA, 5075, fol. 239^v

3 *Buisines*

CMC, fr. 1378, fol. 24^v
 GBP, 64, fol. 182^v
 PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 166^v
 PMP, 456, fol. 92^v

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*

LBL, Cott.Nero E.II, fol. 229^v
 PBN, fr. 22547, fol. 187^v

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*

EUL, 195, fol. 65
 PBN, fr. 12574, fol. 181^v
 PBN, lat. 6067, fol. 186^v
 PMP, 456, fol. 133

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Shawm*

BUB, A.II.4, fol. 135^v
 LBL, Burney 257, fol. 25

1 *Buisine*, 2 *Shawms*

PBN, fr. 6185, fol. 22^v

2 *Shawms*

BBR, 8, fol. 33^v
 BBR, 8, fol. 326
 CNL, 40, fol. 43
 LBL, Roy.14E.IV, fol. 244^v

PBN, fr. 819, fol. 24
PBN, lat. 9473, fol. 165^v
3 *Shawms*
BWA, w307, fol. 167^v
BSB, 403, fol. 42
BBR, 9244, fol. 73
PBA, 5073, fol. 148
PBN, fr. 288, fol. 75
PBN, fr. 9342, fol. 13
VON, 2534, fol. 17
VON, 2534, fol. 165^v
VON, 2566, fol. 83
VON, 2549, fol. 83^v
1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*
PBN, fr. 12201, fol. 10^v
TMC, Milan Hrs., fol. 113^v
2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*, *Bagpipe*
PBN, fr. 9106, fol. 166^v

DANCING

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*
LBM, 342, fol. 18
1 *Buisine*, 1 *Shawm*
PBN, fr. 364, fol. 24
2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*
PBA, 5073, fol. 117^v
2 *Buisines*
LBL, Roy.20C.II, fol. 159
3 *Buisines*
NYM, M801, fol. 92
1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*
PBN, fr. 2646, fol. 176
2 *Shawms*
BUB, O.I.18, fol. 24
HUB, Pal.Germ. 345, fol. 31^v
3 *Shawms*
BBR, 14697, fol. 26
LBC, YT97, fol. 107^v

LBL, Harley 4380, fol. 1
LBL, Roy.19C.VI, fol. 131
NYP, Spencer 32, fol. 9
PBN, fr. 19153, fol. 7
VON, 2534, fol. 17
VON, 2568, fol. 10^v
2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*
BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 156
CFM, 69, fol. 6
2 *Shawms*, *Bagpipe*
PBN, fr. 74, fol. 1
PBN, fr. 1665, fol. 7
1 *Buisine*, 1 *Shawm*, *Bagpipe*
OBL, Douce 364, fol. 8
1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*
OBL, Laud.misc. 751, fol. 127
1 *Buisine*, 3 *Shawms*
PBN, fr. 701, fol. 118

OUTDOOR MUSIC MAKING

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*
PBN, fr. 103, fol. 1
1 *Buisine*, 2 *Shawms*
FBN, Pal. 556, fol. 42
PBN, fr. 12783, fol. 36
1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*
MBE, lat.209(x.2.14), fol. 12
2 *Shawms*
CMC, lat. 1362, fol. 1
FBN, Pal. 556, fol. 48
MBS, Germ. 581, fol. 58^v
3 *Shawms*
BBR, IV.111, fol. 157
PBN, fr. 9199, fol. 23
1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*
BBR, 14697, fol. 23
CMC, lat. 1362, fol. 1
MBE, lat.422(v.G.12), fol. 280^v

OBL, Rawl. D.1220, fol. 31^v
1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*
PBN, fr. 12476, fol. 5^v
2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*, *Bagpipe*
PBA, 5087, fol. 144^v

PROCESSIONS

2 *Buisines*
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 105
BBR, 9040, fol. 1
BWA, w292, fol. 202
CMC, fr. 1055, fol. 130
FBN, B.R. 365, fol. 10
HKB, 1, fol. 79
LSS, Fr.F.V.IV 13, fol. 85
LSS, Fr. F.XIV 4, fol. 355
LBL, Add. 15477, fol. 17^v
LBL, Add. 15477, fol. 18
LBL, Harley 4376, fol. 90
LBL, Harley 4379, fol. 3^v
LBL, Roy.14D.IV, fol. 5
LBL, Roy.14E.IV, fol. 285^v
LBL, Roy.16G.VIII, fol. 282
LBL, Roy.16V.IX, fol. 140^v
LBL, Roy.18E.I, fol. 12
LBL, Roy.20C.IX, fol. 248^v
MBM, 1, fol. 305
PBN, fr. 64, fol. 418^v
PBN, fr. 75, fol. 297^v
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 179
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 219^v
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 220
PBN, fr. 247, fol. 1^v
PBN, fr. 254, fol. 53
PBN, fr. 259, fol. 275
PBN, fr. 365, fol. 2
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 322^v
PBN, fr. 6183, fol. 97
PBN, fr. 6468, fol. 3
PBN, fr. 23279, fol. 54
PBN, n.a. fr. 21013, fol. 1^v

3 *Buisines*
BBR, 9232, fol. 375
BBR, 9631, fol. 116^v
KBL, St.P. 2, fol. 6
LBL, Harley 4379, fol. 99
LBL, Roy.14D.III, fol. 10
NYM, M801, fol. 92
PBA, 667, fol. 170
PBA, 5075, fol. 244^v
PBN, fr. 364, fol. 280
PBN, fr. 2829, fol. 21
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 202

4 *Buisines*

KBL, E.M.II, fol. 11
KBL, E.M.II, fol. 61^v
LSS, Fr.F.V.IV 2, fol. 154
PBN, fr. 247, fol. 194
PBN, fr. 365, fol. 64
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 223^v
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 398^v
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 417
PSK, XVI.A.17, fol. 70

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*

BBR, 9231, fol. 90^v
CMC, fr. 1363, fol. 495
DCR, St. Esprit, fol. 18
PBN, fr. 79, fol. 76^v
PBN, fr. 3566, fol. 86^v
PBN, fr. 22547, fol. 101
VON, 2773, fol. 68

2 *Trumpets*

BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 120
FBM, Palat. 143, fol. 61^v
LBL, Harley 2778, fol. 36

3 *Trumpets*

BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 371
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 601
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 753
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 785
VON, 3044, fol. 62

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*
CMC, fr. 65, fol. 5^v
PBA, 5087, fol. 394
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 393^v
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 431^v

3 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*
CMA, leaf 45.16

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Trumpets*
LBL, Harley 4372, fol. 79^v

3 *Trumpets*, 2 *Shawms*
BBC, Garter Book, fol. ?

3 *Shawms*
BBC, Garter Book, fol. ?
BBR, 9231, fol. 51^v

4 *Shawms*
VON, 2591, fol. 8
VON, 2617, fol. 39

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Shawm*
CMC, fr. 1362, fol. 1
CMC, fr. 1363, fol. 43

2 *Buisines*, 3 *Shawms*
NYP, Spencer 32, fol. 86

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*
PBN, fr. 9087, fol. 9

1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*
LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 55^v

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*, 4 *Shawms*
CRM, K, fol. 39

2 *Buisines*, *Bagpipe*
PBN, fr. 20312, fol. 153

4 *Buisines*, 1 *Shawm*, *Bagpipe*
SLB, 2.5, fol. 90

COMBINATIONS OF INSTRUMENTAL CONSORTS

DUOS

2 *Buisines*
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 105
BBR, 9040, fol. 1
BWA, w292, fol. 202
BWA, w323, fols. 16^v-17
BNS, lat.med.aevi 404, fol. 70
CMC, fr. 1055, fol. 130
EUL, 58, fol. 65
FBN, B.R.365, fol. 10
HKB, 1, fol. 79
LBL, Add. 15477, fol. 17^v
LBL, Add. 15477, fol. 18
LBL, Harley 4376, fol. 90
LBL, Harley 4379, fol. 3^v
LBL, Roy.14D.IV, fol. 5
LBL, Roy.14E.IV, fol. 265^v
LBL, Roy.17E.IV, fol. 76
LBL, Roy.17E.IV, fol. 285^v
LBL, Roy.17F.I, fol. 178^v
LBL, Roy.18E.I, fol. 12

LBL, Roy.20C.II, fol. 159
LBL, Roy.20C.IX, fol. 248^v
LSS, Fr.F.V.IV 13, fol. 85
LSS, Fr.F.XIV 4, fol. 355
LSS, Fr.F.XIV 4, fol. 381
LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 158
MBM, 1, fol. 305
PBA, 5075, fol. 239^v
PBN, fr. 64, fol. 418^v
PBN, fr. 75, fol. 297^v
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 179
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 219^v
PBN, fr. 87, fol. 220
PBN, fr. 247, fol. 1^v
PBN, fr. 254, fol. 53
PBN, fr. 259, fol. 275
PBN, fr. 365, fol. 2
PBN, fr. 405, fol. 69^v
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 322^v
PBN, fr. 6183, fol. 97
PBN, fr. 6468, fol. 3
PBN, fr. 23279, fol. 54

PBN, n.a.fr. 21013, fol. 1^v
VON, 2549, fol. 83^v
1 Buisine, 1 Trumpet
BBR, 9231, fol. 90^v
CMC, fr. 1363, fol. 495
DCR, St. Esprit, fol. 18
LBL, Cott.Nero E.II, fol. 229^v
LBM, 342, fol. 18
PBN, fr. 79, fol. 76^v
PBN, fr. 103, fol. 1
PBN, fr. 3566, fol. 86^v
PBN, fr. 22547, fol. 101
PBN, fr. 22547, fol. 187^v
VON, 2773, fol. 68

2 Trumpets

BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 120
FBM, Palat. 143, fol. 61^v
LBL, Harley 2778, fol. 36

1 Buisine, 1 Shawm

BUB, A.II.4, fol. 135^v
BUB, O.I.18, fol. 24
HUB, Pal. Germ. 345, fol. 31^v
LBL, Burney 257, fol. 25
PBN, fr. 364, fol. 24

1 Trumpet, 1 Shawm

MBE, lat.209(x.2.14), fol. 12
LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 55^v

2 Shawms

BBR, 8, fol. 33^v
BBR, 8, fol. 326
CMC, lat. 1362, fol. 1
CNL, 40, fol. 43
FBN, Pal. 556, fol. 48
LBL, Roy.14E.IV, fol. 244^v
MBS, Germ. 581, fol. 58^v
PBN, fr. 819, fol. 24
PBN, lat. 9473, fol. 165^v

TRIOS

3 Buisines

BBR, 9323, fol. 375
BBR, 9631, fol. 116^v
CMC, fr. 1378, fol. 24^v
CMN, 1212, fol. 35
GBP, 64, fol. 182^v

KBL, St. P. 2, fol. 6
LBL, Harley 4379, fol. 99
LBL, Roy.14D.III, fol. 10
LBL, Roy.14E.IV, fol. 265^v
LBL, Roy.15E.I, fol. 330^v
LBL, Roy.15E.IV, fol. 295^v
LBL, Roy.17E.IV, fol. 76
LBL, Roy.17F.1, fol. 178^v
LBL, Roy.20C.II, fol. 159
NYM, M801, fol. 92
PBA, 667, fol. 170
PBA, 5075, fol. 239^v
PBA, 5075, fol. 244^v
PBA, 5089, fol. 62
PBN, fr. 74, fol. 65^v
PBN, fr. 75, fol. 233
PBN, fr. 364, fol. 280
PBN, fr. 2829, fol. 21
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 166^v
PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 202
PMP, 456, fol. 92^v
VON, 2566, fol. 121

3 Trumpets

BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 371
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 601
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 753
BBB, h.h.I.16, p. 785
VON, 3044, fol. 62

1 Buisine, 2 Trumpets

BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 112^v

2 Buisines, 1 Trumpet

BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 215
CMC, fr. 65, fol. 5^v
EUL, 195, fol. 65
PBA, 5073, fol. 117^v
PBA, 5087, fol. 394
PBN, fr. 2605, fol. 13
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 393^v
PBN, fr. 2679, fol. 431^v
PBN, fr. 12574, fol. 181^v
PBN, lat. 6067, fol. 186^v
PMP, 456, fol. 133

1 Buisine, 2 Shawms

FBN, Pal. 556, fol. 42

PBN, fr. 6185, fol. 22^v

PBN, fr. 12574, fol. 66

PBN, fr. 12783, fol. 36

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Shawm*

CMC, fr. 1362, fol. 1

CMC, fr. 1363, fol. 43

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 1 *Shawm*

PBN, fr. 2646, fol. 176

PBN, fr. 9087, fol. 9

PBN, fr. 12476, fol. 5v

1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*

BBR, 14697, fol. 23

CMC, lat. 1362, fol. 1

MBE, lat. 422(v.G.12), fol. 280^v

OBL, Rawl. D.1220, fol. 31^v

PBN, fr. 12201, fol. 10^v

TMC, Milan Hrs., fol. 113^v

2 *Buisines*, *Bagpipe*

PBN, fr. 20312, fol. 153

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Shawm*, *Bagpipe*

OBL, Douce 364, fol. 8

3 *Shawms*

BBC, Garter Bk., fol. ?

BBR, 9231, fol. 51^v

BBR, 9244, fol. 73

BBR, 14697, fol. 26

BBR, IV.111, fol. 157

BWA, W307, fol. 167^v

BSB, 403, fol. 42

LBC, Y197, fol. 107^v

LBL, Harley 4380, fol. 1

LBL, Roy.19C.VI, fol. 131

NYP, Spencer 32, fol. 9

PBA, 5073, fol. 148

PBN, fr. 288, fol. 75

PBN, 9199, fol. 23

PBN, fr. 9342, fol. 13

PBN, fr. 19153, fol. 7

VON, 2534, fol. 17

VON, 2534, fol. 165^v

VON, 2566, fol. 83

VON, 2568, fol. 10^v

VON, 2549, fol. 83^v

2 *Shawms*, *Bagpipe*

PBN, fr. 74, fol. 1

PBN, fr. 1665, fol. 7

QUARTETS

4 *Buisines*

KBL, E.M.II, fol. 11

KBL, E.M.II, fol. 61^v

KBL, St. G. 63, fol. 27^v

LBL, Roy.15E.IV, fol. 72

LSS, Fr.F.V.IV 2, fol. 154

LZB, Bilderchr., fol. 143^v

MAC, 6, fol. 2

PBN, fr. 75, fol. 308

PBN, fr. 247, fol. 194

PBN, fr. 365, fol. 64

PBN, fr. 2829, fol. 16

PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 223^v

PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 398^v

PBN, fr. 6465, fol. 417

PBN, fr. 12574, fol. 113

PSK, XVI.A.17, fol. 70

4 *Trumpets*

VON, 2773, fol. 69

3 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*

CMA, leaf 45.16

1 *Buisine*, 1 *Trumpet*, 2 *Shawms*

CRM, K, fol. 75^v

OBL, Laud.misc. 751, fol. 127

PSK, XVI.A.17, fol. 121

4 *Shawms*

VON, 2591, fol. 8

VON, 2617, fol. 39

1 *Buisine*, 3 *Shawms*

PBN, fr. 701, fol. 118

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Trumpets*

LBL, Harley 4372, fol. 79^v

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*

BSB, Rehd. 2, fol. 156

CFM, 69, fol. 6

DCB, w76, fol. 13^v

2 *Buisines*, 1 *Trumpet*, *Bagpipe*

PBA, 5087, fol. 144^v

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*, *Bagpipe*

PBN, fr. 9106, fol. 166^v

QUINTETS

2 *Buisines*, 3 *Shawms*

NYP, Spencer 32, fol. 86

2 *Buisines*, 2 *Shawms*, *Bagpipe*

PBN, fr. 9106, fol. 166^v

3 *Trumpets*, 2 *Shawms*

BBC, Garter Book, fol. ?