

EMILIO ROS-FÁBREGAS

THE CARDONA AND FERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA COATS OF ARMS IN THE CHIGI CODEX

The Chigi Codex occupies a place of honour among music manuscripts of the Renaissance; thirteen masses by Ockeghem along with *L'homme armé* masses by Josquin, Busnoys, Brumel and Compère figure prominently among its contents. According to Herbert Kellman, it was copied between 1498 and 1503 for the Burgundian nobleman Philippe Bouton.¹ Several coats of arms of

An earlier version of this paper, concerning the Cardona coat of arms only, was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Session of the International Hispanic Music Study Group) in Minneapolis (27–30 October 1994) and at the 23rd Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (University of Southampton, England; 5–9 July 1996). I should like to thank Flynn Warmington for sharing with me her knowledge about heraldry in the early stages of my research; her comments helped me enormously in the preparation of that version of this paper. I should also like to thank Professor Herbert Kellman for encouraging me in Minneapolis to extend my research to the Fernández de Córdoba shields in the manuscript. A later version of the paper with my findings about the Fernández de Córdoba coats of arms was first presented in Spanish at the Congreso Internacional Poder, Mecenazgo e Instituciones en la Música Mediterránea, 1400–1700 (Ávila, Fundación Santa Teresa, 18–20 April 1997) and then in English at the conference Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500–1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire (Leuven, 25–8 November 1999).

¹ H. Kellman, 'Introduction', *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 22; New York and London, 1987), p. vi: 'The coat of arms on f. 249v—the only one in the manuscript not overpainted—and the motto on ff. 281v–282 which originally read "Ung soeul Boutton" reveal that the Chigi Codex was prepared for Philippe Bouton (1418–1515), *Seigneur* of Corberon, a Burgundian nobleman and cousin of Olivier de la Marche, who served all the dukes of Burgundy from Philip the Good (his godfather) to Philip the Fair, and reached high rank and prestige under Charles the Bold.' See also H. Kellman (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535* (Ghent and Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 125–7. Kellman announces that the full results of his research will appear together with a critical edition of the Chigi Codex by Edward F. Houghton in the series *Monuments of Renaissance Music* (University of Chicago Press). Earlier literature about the manuscript is cited in H. Kellman, 'The Origins of the Chigi Codex: The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C.VIII.234', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), pp. 6–19; see also the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols., compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Renaissance Studies, 1; Stuttgart, 1979–88), iv, pp. 12–13.

the Spanish families Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba appear in different places in the manuscript and Kellman suggested that the transfer of the Chigi Codex to the Spaniards occurred after the death of its first owner in 1515.² Seven works, the foliation in the upper right margin of the recto folios and a table of contents with a heading that reads *Tabla de missas y motetes* were added by a Spanish scribe.³ Since Mouton's motet *Quis dabit oculis*, written on the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, is also among the added works, Kellman concluded that these additions to the Chigi Codex were made after that date. The assumption that the manuscript travelled to Spain is further supported by a seventeenth-century inscription written in Italian on the flyleaf of the manuscript, which affirms that the book was used in Spain.⁴

The new evidence presented here regarding the Cardona coat of arms suggests that the post-1514 additions to the manuscript were made, not, as traditionally assumed, in Spain, but rather in the Spanish milieu of the viceroyalty of Naples. Similarly, the identification of the three members of the Fernández de Córdoba family whose coats of arms, painted over those of the Bouton family, appear on folios 3^v and the beautifully illuminated 19^v–20^r further supports the Spanish-Neapolitan connection of the manu-

² Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 125: 'Fols. 3v, 19v–20, 56, 107, 143v, 249, and 281v–282, originally carried the arms of Philippe Bouton, Seigneur de Corberon, and one or another of his mottos, *Ung seul Bouton*, *Souvenir tue*, and *Au fort aille*. All these, except the arms on fol. 249v [Cardona], were later overpainted with the arms of the Spanish family Fernández de Córdoba, and the mottos *Ung seul Dieu*, and *Infrangibile*.'

³ The seven works added by the Spanish scribe are: *Regina celi letare* (anon., fols. 53^v–55); *Sancta trinitas unus deus* (Févin, fols. 87^v–88); *Quis dabit oculis nostris* (Mouton, fols. 136^v–139); *Ave Maria gratia plena* (Ockeghem, fols. 139^v–140); *Ave Maria gratia plena* (Compère, fols. 140^v–142); *Asperges me domine ysopo* (Madrid, fols. 284^v–286); and *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo* (anon., 286^v–287).

⁴ The Italian inscription reads as follows: 'Libro di musiche di varie messe, e di mottetti di Autori francesi, scritto in Francia: usato in Spagna, che il foglio primo dell'Indice, che si trova dà principio è in lingua spagnola siccome ancora i tre ultimi fogli pare scritti in Spagna, circa il 1490. La musica è stimata molto buona, le miniature sono bizzarre, e di mostri, e di corpi ridicole per molte margini del d[ett]o libro. Quanto al nome Infrangibile, e le armi, che si trovano dipinte in esso' Kellman, 'Introduction', p. xi, translates this inscription as follows: 'Music book of diverse Masses, and of motets, by French composers, copied in France, used in Spain—since the first folio of the index, as is seen from its beginning, is in Spanish—and also the last three folios surely written in Spain, around 1490. The music is reputed to be very good, the miniatures are fanciful, with monsters and ludicrous bodies in many borders of the book. As to the word "Infrangibile," and the arms, which have been painted into it.' Fabio Chigi, who became Pope Alexander VII in 1655, acquired the manuscript, and Kellman suggests that his librarian might have added this inscription.

script and opens new vistas regarding the music patronage of the Spanish nobility. Although it is not known how the manuscript came into the possession of the Cardona/Fernández de Córdoba family, a possible history of transmission can be suggested, opening up still further lines of enquiry.

In the upper left margin of folio 284^v, the Chigi Codex bears the coat of arms of an unidentified member of the Spanish Cardona family (see Figure 1a and the detail in Figure 1b). The Cardona family was one of the most illustrious of the Catalan nobility. A brief explanation of the different branches of the family will help to clarify the problem of identifying the coat of arms in the Chigi Codex. Figure 2 shows the family tree of the four branches of the Cardona family during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵ They stem from Hug I, first Count of Cardona and Baron of Bellpuig. He passed these two titles on to two of his sons. Hug II and his descendants received the title of Baron of Bellpuig and constituted the Cardona-Anglesola branch of the family. Another son, Joan Ramon Folc, inherited the title of Count of Cardona and thus continued the main branch of the Counts and later Dukes of Cardona. From a third son, Antoni, descended the branch of the Cardona Counts of Collesano and Chiusa. Finally, from a son of the second count of Cardona descended the branch of the Marquises of Guadalest and Castellnou. At the time the additions were made to the Chigi Codex, many members of the branch of the Dukes of Cardona living in Barcelona held leading ecclesiastical and military positions in the Crown of Aragon (Figure 3). In the Catalan Parliament, known as the *corts*, the Duke of Cardona presided over the other delegates of the nobility. In 1515 a half-brother of the Duke, Pere Folc de Cardona, became Archbishop of Tarragona. This position was the highest ecclesiastical title in the Crown of Aragon, and it was accompanied by the honorary distinction of Chancellor of the king's entire administrative organisation in the territory. The archbishop's palace in Barcelona served as residence for royal visitors; his library and garden were praised in epigrams by Martí Ibarra, an influential Latin

⁵ The information about the Cardona family tree has been taken from a much more detailed tree presented by the prestigious Catalan historian and heraldry specialist A. de Fluvià, 'Cardona', *Gran enciclopèdia catalana* (Barcelona, 1973), iv, pp. 404–5.

The image shows a page from a medieval manuscript, folio 284v of the Chigi Codex. It features two systems of musical notation on four-line staves. The notation consists of square neumes on red lines. The lyrics are written in a Gothic script below the staves. The first system includes the lyrics: "omne ytop et munda", "luz Laua bis me et sup", and "m dem de va". The second system includes: "s ut ges me Domine", "ytop", "et munda", "lanabis", "me et sup", and "m dem". There are several decorative elements: a shield-shaped coat of arms in the upper left corner, a large decorative initial 'S' at the end of the first system, and a drawing of a profile of a head with a large, ornate helmet or crown at the bottom center. The page is otherwise blank.

Figure 1a Coat of arms of the Cardona family on folio 284v of the Chigi Codex.
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)

The Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex

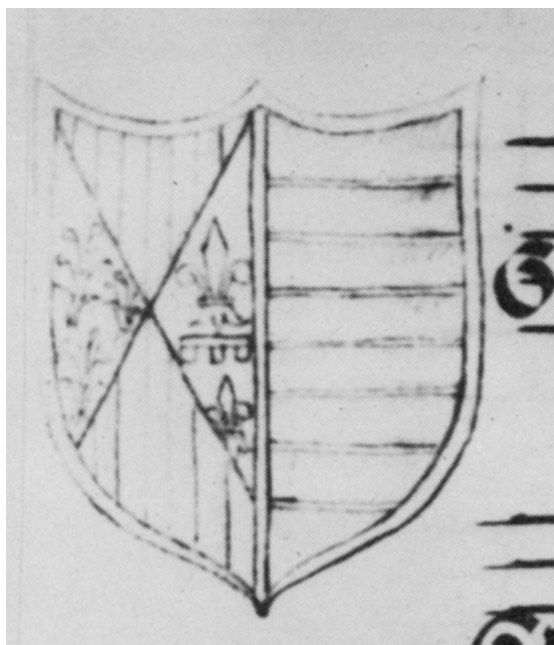


Figure 1b Detail of the Cardona coat of arms

teacher in Barcelona.⁶ Close study of the manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.454, revealed that at least part of the manuscript may have been compiled for the Archbishop Pere Folc de Cardona before 1525.⁷

⁶ Martí Ibarra contributed to the 1522 edition of the Catalan adaptation of the Latin dictionary by Antonio de Nebrija (1444?–1522). The first person to refer to Ibarra's epigrams was J. Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1902), xi, pp. 141–2, who consulted this now-lost volume in the nineteenth century; according to him the epigrams were annotated by Juan Rollano Tamaritense and published in Barcelona by Carlos Amorós in 1512. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, 14 vols. (Madrid, 1916–24), x, p. 29, who did not see the volume, stated that it was stolen from the Biblioteca Colombina and sold in Paris in 1885 and later in Rome. He gives the title as follows: *Martini Iuarrae Cantabrigi Orationes quae Crustula inscribuntur. Et ad reges Epigrammata at Saphica ad Marq . . . Impressum ex nouello prototypo Barcinone per Carolum Amorosium impressorem solertissimum tertio idus Augusti. Anno M. D. XI*. Since Villanueva stated that the exemplar he consulted had been published in 1512, he probably saw a different publication of Ibarra's works. He cited one of the epigrams in which Ibarra praises the archbishop Pere Folc de Cardona's library and garden above those of Numa and Caesar, mentioning Numa's *Sylva Capena* in Rome, dedicated to the Muses.

⁷ E. Ros-Fàbregas, 'The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions' (Ph.D. diss., The City University of New York, 1992); a revised edition will be published by Reichenberger.

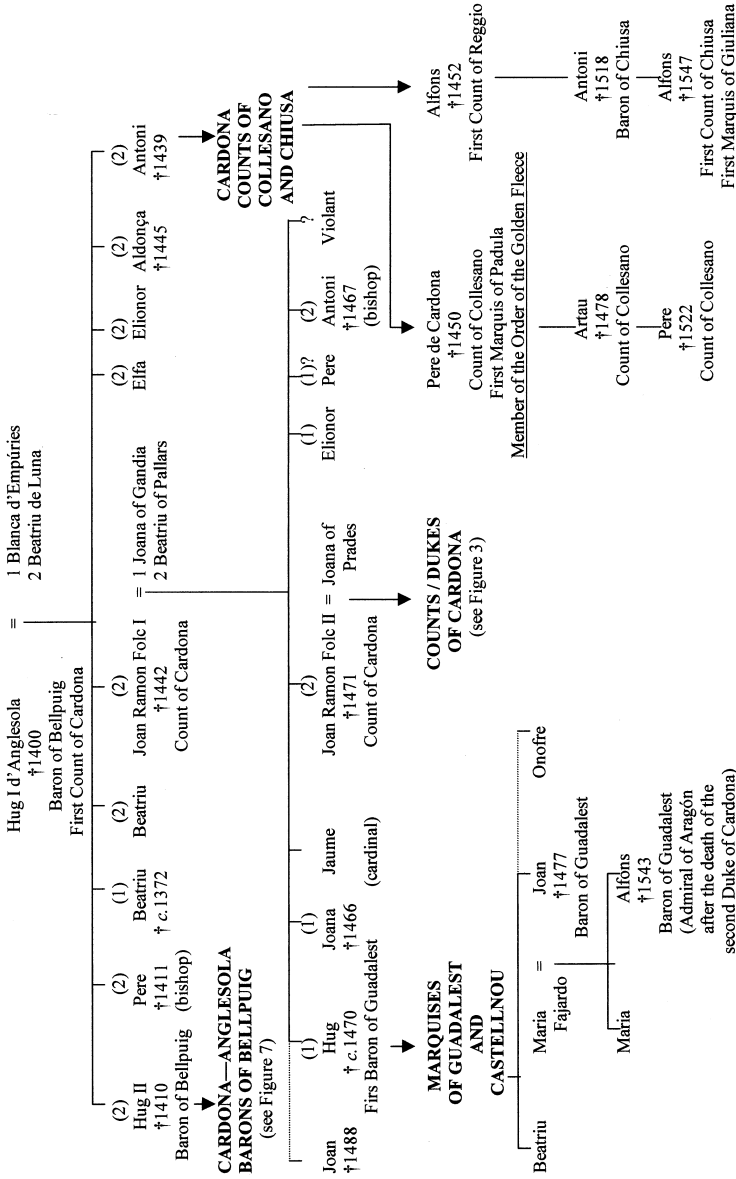


Figure 2 The four branches of the Cardona family tree during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries
 After A. de Fluvià, 'Cardona', *Gran enciclopèdia catalana* (Barcelona, 1973), iv, pp. 404–5

The archbishop's elder brother, Joan Ramon Folc (d. 1513), was the first Duke of Cardona, a title he received, together with that of 'grandee' of Spain, from the Catholic Monarchs in 1491. His marriage to Aldonza Enríquez (an aunt of King Ferdinand) produced twelve offspring, some of whom were active as patrons of the arts and letters.⁸ For instance, the *Libro de música práctica* by the Spanish theorist Francisco Tovar (d. 1522), published in Barcelona in 1510, was dedicated to the Duke's twenty-seven-year-old son, Enric Folc de Cardona, bishop of the city, who in 1522 left for Rome and later became a cardinal.⁹ Ferran Ramon Folch, second Duke of Cardona, became a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece during the meeting that took place under Charles V in Barcelona in 1519, and, given the association of the Order with *L'homme armé* masses,¹⁰ it might be posited that Chigi was brought to Barcelona for that occasion and was connected with the second Duke of Cardona.¹¹ It is striking that the only meeting of

⁸ For a survey of the relationship between members of the Cardona family and humanists and Catalan literary figures, see J. Rubió y Balaguer, *Els Cardona i les Lletres, discurs leïdo el dia 7 de abril de 1957 en la recepció pública de D. Jorge Rubió y Balaguer en la Real Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1957), pp. 15–42. A compilation of works in prose and verse by Pere Moner published in 1529 was dedicated to Ferran Folc, second Duke of Cardona. According to Rubió, 'Els Cardona', pp. 35–6, Moner, a Catalan from the now-French region of Rousillon, had already died when his 1529 publication appeared; the compiler, his cousin Miquel Berenguer, dedicated it to the second Duke of Cardona, but the poet himself had been in the circle of the first Duke, Joan Folc de Cardona. Another of his works (*La noche*), of dubious quality according to Rubió, was dedicated to Joana Cardona. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, x, p. 383, refers to Moner as a prolific bilingual poet of the late fifteenth century, imitator of Juan del Encina but of a lesser category. See also J. Rubió y Balaguer, 'Humanisme i Renaixement', *VIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Valencia, 1–8 October 1967), III: *La Corona de Aragón en el Siglo XVI* (Valencia, 1973), ii, pp. 9–36.

⁹ F. J. León Tello, 'Tovar, Francisco', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [hereafter *New Grove II*], 2nd edn, 29 vols., ed. S. Sadie (London, 2001), xxv, p. 664, states that Tovar, an Andalusian theorist active in Catalonia, was attached to Barcelona Cathedral in 1510, and that he became *maestro de capilla* at Tarragona Cathedral, where he remained until 1516. Tovar also had appointments in Seville (1518) and Granada (1521). His book is influenced by Guillermo de Podio's *Ars musicorum* (1495), a work printed in Valencia but dedicated to the Bishop of Tortosa in the province of Tarragona; see H. Anglés, 'La notación musical española en la segunda mitad del siglo XV: un tratado desconocido de Guillermo de Podio', *Hygini Anglés Scripta Musicologica*, 3 vols., ed. J. López-Calo (Storia e letteratura, 131–3; Rome, 1975–6), iii, pp. 1143–70.

¹⁰ L. Perkins, 'The L'homme armé Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison', *Journal of Musicology*, 3 (1984), pp. 363–91; W. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 113–53; and R. Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the L'homme armé Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 255–93.

¹¹ Regarding the meeting of the Order in Barcelona, see E. Ros-Fábregas, 'Music and Ceremony during Charles V's 1519 Visit to Barcelona', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), pp. 375–91;

the Order of the Golden Fleece in Spanish territory took place in Barcelona, and that the manuscript Barcelona 454 is the only Iberian source for the *L'homme armé* Mass by Busnoys, a work that, according to Richard Taruskin, is very closely connected to the Order. Coincidentally, Barcelona 454 is the Iberian manuscript that shares the greatest number of concordances with the Chigi Codex and the reading of Busnoys's *L'homme armé* mass, despite its errors, is the only one that agrees with that in the Chigi manuscript in transmitting the correct mensuration signs for the *Christe* and the *Benedictus*; these signatures, as pointed out by Taruskin, play a crucial role in the overall structure of the mass and constitute the fundamental ground for preferring Chigi to all other sources.¹²

The coats of arms of the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece painted in 1519 above the back seats of the choir at Barcelona Cathedral are still extant. Even at a glance, the coat of arms in the Chigi Codex in Figure 1b and the coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona (Figure 4) do not match.¹³ A description of the shield of the second Duke of Cardona, however, serves to clarify some important points regarding the arms of the Cardona family in the Chigi Codex.

The shield of Ferran Ramón Folc, second Duke of Cardona, is divided per quarterly. In the first and fourth quarters the combined arms of Cardona and Urgell are repeated; the arms of Urgell (one of the oldest counties of Catalonia) came from his grandmother's family. On the second and third quarters the crowned double-headed eagle stands for his recently acquired possessions as Marquis of Pallars.¹⁴ A separate shield on the upper left corner

see also W. F. Prizer, 'Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in B. Haggh (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris, 2001), pp. 161–88, esp. pp. 180–5.

¹² For an edition and detailed discussion of the structure of Busnoys's mass and its connection with the Order, see A. Busnoys, *Collected Works. The Latin-Texted Works*, ed. R. Taruskin (Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance, 5; New York, 1990); see also Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition', pp. 255–93.

¹³ To illustrate the coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona I am using the one published in J.-B. Maurice, *Le blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (The Hague, 1665), p. 178.

¹⁴ According to V. Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña* (Madrid, 1886), vi, pp. 267–8, the original counts of Pallars were declared traitors in 1491 and their title was taken away and given – elevated to that of Marquis of Pallars – to the Duke of Cardona.

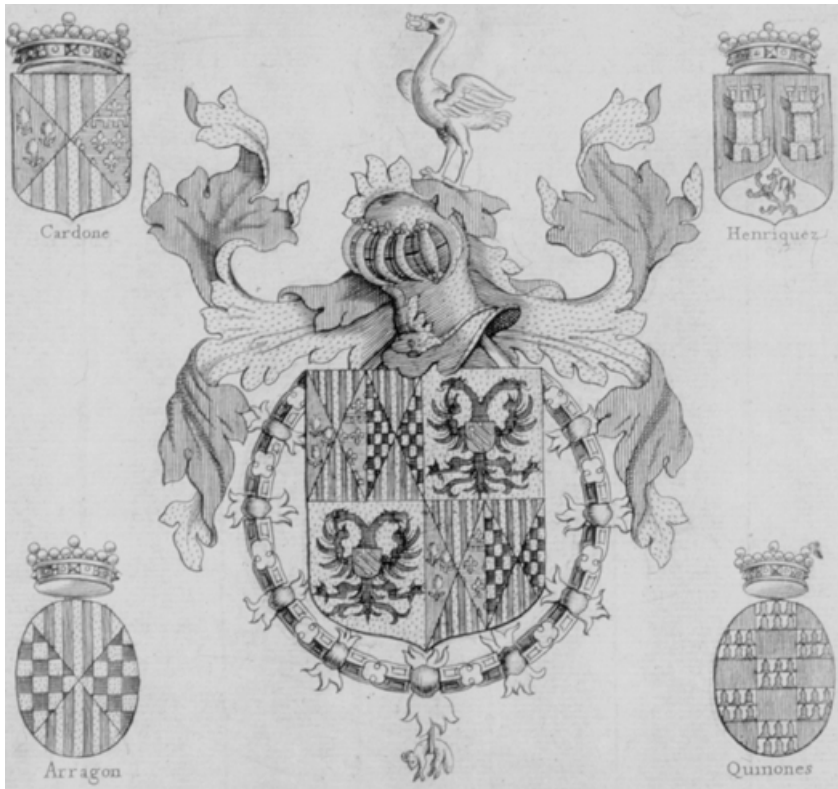


Figure 4 Coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona, member of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519, published in J.-B. Maurice, *Le blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (The Hague, 1665), p. 178. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University

in Figure 4 shows that, at the time, the arms of Cardona alone consisted of a shield divided per saltire with the four bars of Aragon in the first and fourth compartments, three thistles [in Spanish 'cardos', hence the name Cardona] in the second compartment, and a field of fleurs-de-lis in the third compartment to indicate that the Anjou were among their ancestors. This compartment with the fleurs-de-lis bears a so-called label of cadency that looks like a small bridge. These marks of cadency served either to differentiate the shield of the head of a family from that of other relatives or to distinguish one branch of the family from the senior line. The Cardona connection with the Anjou dynasty, however,

goes back to the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Thus, this particular label of cadency in the field of fleurs-de-lis had become an integral part of all Cardona shields very early in the history of the family, and by the sixteenth century had no specific meaning to identify a particular individual: all Cardona coats of arms should bear this mark of cadency in the field of fleurs-de-lis. Sometimes the mark is omitted, as can be seen in the same shield of the second Duke of Cardona in the choir stalls of Barcelona Cathedral (Figure 5); it is identical in all details to the printed version of 1665 (Figure 4) except for the mark of cadency, which is missing. Since the original coats of arms at Barcelona Cathedral were restored in the eighteenth century, it might well have been overpainted at that time.¹⁶ This branch of the Dukes of Cardona can thus be discarded as possible owners of Chigi, since the coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona, the head of the family around the time of the additions to the Chigi Codex, does not match the one in the manuscript. Furthermore, there is no ecclesiastical heraldry in the Chigi coat of arms to suggest that any of the Cardona bishops and/or archbishops in Barcelona were responsible for the additions.

Another coat of arms of a distinguished individual from a different branch of the Cardona family, namely that of the counts of Collesano and Chiusa, should be considered here. Pere de Cardona, Count of Collesano (d. 1450), was also a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and thus his coat of arms appeared in Jean-Baptiste Maurice's book devoted to the heraldry of the members of the Order (Figure 6).¹⁷ An important detail is the

¹⁵ B. J. Llobet, in his *Genealogía de la nobilísima casa de Cardona* (Barcelona, 1665), fol. 1^o, gives a summary of the early history of the family: 'aviendose conservado en esta de Cardona con tanta continuación el nombre de Fulcon (que es lo mismo que Folch en lengua catalana) mudandole de propio en patronimico, que era el que mas usaron los Condes de Anjou y aviendose siempre usado por armas y blason un campo azul sembrado de flores de lis de oro y un yugo rojo, que son las propias de aquellos Condes, como se ha visto después en otros de aquel titulo, que han sido Reyes de Nápoles y Condes en Provença . . . [fols. 5^o-6] . . . De donde se saca con toda evidencia que el primero que dio principio a esta casa se llamo D. Ramon Folch y fue el primero de este nombre y hijo de Fulcon, Conde de Anjous, y que entro en Cataluña en tiempo del Emperador Carlomagno, y le dio principio en la Ciudad de Girona con el patronimico Folch antes del año del señor 792.'

¹⁶ R. Piñol Andreu, *Heráldica de la Catedral de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1948), copied the Duke of Cardona's coat of arms from the one in the choir stalls of Barcelona Cathedral, unaware of the missing label of cadency.

¹⁷ Maurice, *Le blason des armoiries*, p. 52.

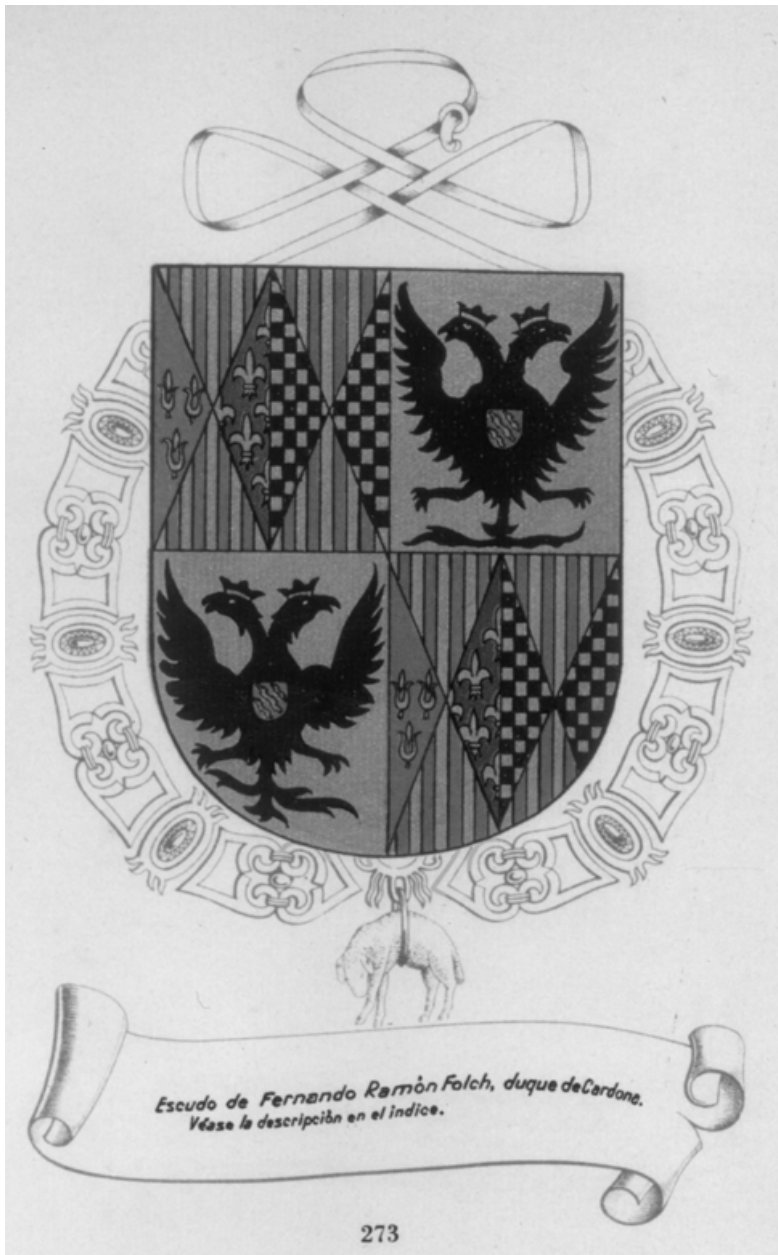


Figure 5 Coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona in the choir at Barcelona Cathedral, as copied by R. Piñol Andreu, *Heráldica de la Catedral de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1948), p. 273



Figure 6 Coat of arms of Pere de Cardona (†1450), Count of Collesano and Chiusa and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, published in Maurice, *Le blason des armoiries*, p. 52. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University

presence of the same label of cadency in the field of fleurs-de-lis found in the shield of the other branch of the family. This confirms that the mark is an integral part of the Cardona field of fleurs-de-lis independent of both its location within the shield or the branch of the family to which a particular individual belonged. The mid-fifteenth-century coat of arms of this Cardona is also very different from the one in the Chigi Codex, and the other two Counts of Collesano who came after him (listed in Figure 2) could not have had, through family alliances, a coat of arms like the one in Chigi. Thus, this branch of the family should also be discarded.

The member of the Cardona family who owned the Chigi Codex in fact belonged to the branch of the Cardona-Anglesola, the

Barons of Bellpuig (Figure 7). The Cardona arms in the manuscript are those of Ramón Folc de Cardona (1467–1522), Viceroy of Naples between 1509 and 1522. In 1503 he had joined forces with Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba in the siege of Gaeta (Naples) and continued to help him in his Italian campaign. In 1505 he commanded another successful expedition to conquer Mazalquivir

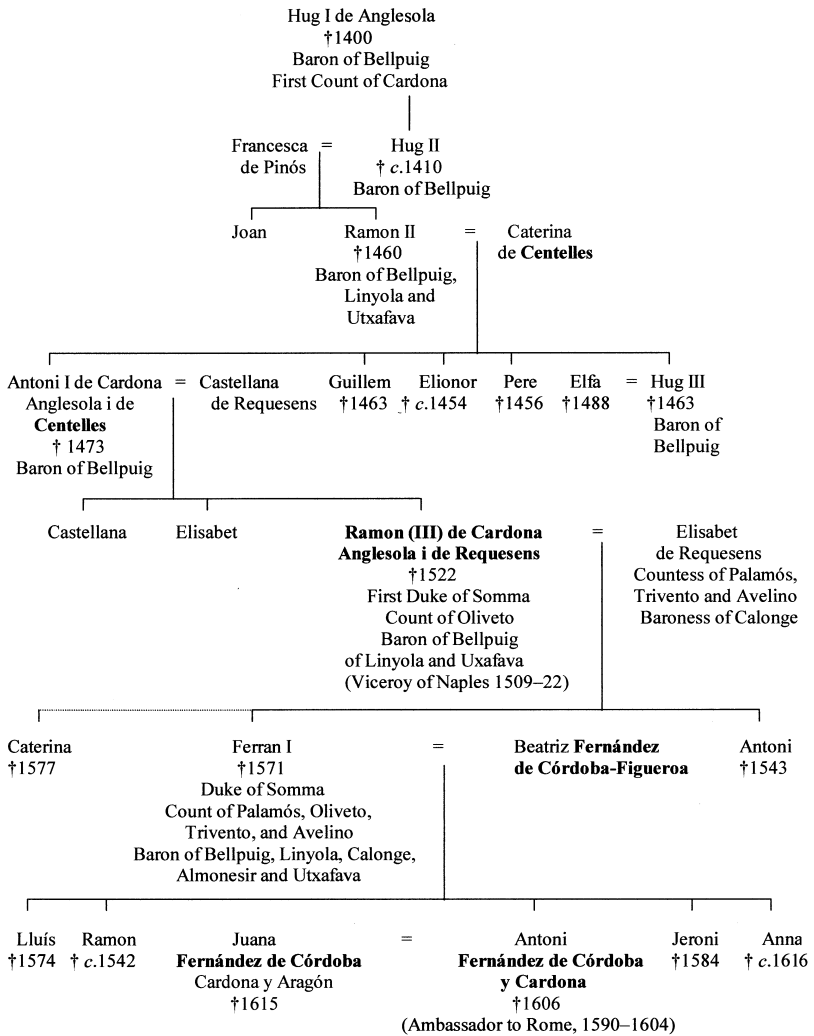


Figure 7 Family tree of the Cardona-Anglesola, Barons of Bellpuig
After de Fluvià, 'Cardona', pp. 396–7

in north Africa. He later distinguished himself as commander of the armies of the Holy League in the war against Venice, and then against France in 1511. Although his army was defeated at the famous battle of Ravenna in 1512, the death of the French commander Gaston de Foix in that conflict allowed him to rebuild his forces to lead the invasion of Tuscany, bringing the Medici back to power in Florence.¹⁸ Though Ramón de Cardona died in Naples, he was buried in the town of Bellpuig – the family’s ancestral home – in the Catalan province of Lleida.¹⁹ His wife, Elisabet de Requesens,²⁰ commissioned his sepulchre in Carrara marble, built in Naples by Giovanni Merliano da Nola and then taken to Bellpuig (Figure 8a).²¹ It is one of the most notable examples of Renaissance Italian art in the Iberian peninsula, and the coat of arms on this sepulchre matches the one in the Chigi Codex (Figure 8b).²²

A comparison between the shield in the Chigi Codex and the one on Ramón de Cardona’s tomb shows that both shields are

¹⁸ One of the strophes in the *cançión* ‘França cuenta tu ganancia’ by Juan Ponce in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, II-1335) refers to that famous battle: ‘En aquella de Revena, / do tanta sangre se vido, / tú te llevaste el sonido, / nosotros la dicha buena./ ¿Cómo no te quedó almena? / ¡Par mon alma, je no sé! / Pues yo te lo contaré’ (In that of Ravenna, where so much blood was seen, you took the sound, we, the good news. How come you were left without battlements? My soul, I don’t know! Then I will tell you.)

¹⁹ On Ramón de Cardona, see M. Ballesteros-Gaibros, *Ramón de Cardona, colaborador del rey católico en Italia* (Madrid, 1953). See also ‘Libro donde se trata de los vireyes lugartenientes del Reino de Nápoles y de otras cosas tocantes a su grandeza, compilado por José Ranco (1634) e ilustrado con notas por D. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete’, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, xxiii, ed. D. Miguel Salvá (Madrid, 1853), pp. 42–64; and G. Coniglio, *I vicerè spagnoli di Napoli* (Collana di Cultura Napoletana, 16; Naples, 1967), pp. 18–29.

²⁰ A portrait entitled Juana de Aragón (1518) attributed to Rafael in the Louvre seems to be in fact a portrait of Elisabet Requesens, and the artist is most likely Giulio Romano. I should like to thank professor Carmen Morte at the Universidad de Zaragoza for this information.

²¹ R. Pane, *Il Rinascimento nell’Italia meridionale*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1977), ii, p. 181, suggests that the possible models for Merliano da Nola might have been the altar at the Santo Spirito in Florence and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza’s tomb at Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, both made by Andrea Sansovino between 1490 and 1505. See also V. Serra Boldú, *Lo Convent de Bellpuig* (Lleida, 1908) and E. Tormo, ‘El sepulcro de Don Ramón Folch de Cardona en Bellpuig (Lérida)’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 87 (1925), pp. 288–91.

²² Illustrations of Ramón de Cardona’s tomb in art books are too small to see the coat of arms; it is also placed too high in order to see it *in situ*. I was fortunate enough to find a large poster of it published by the Department of Culture of the Generalitat [Government] of Catalonia as part of a series dedicated to Catalan monuments.



Figure 8a Ramón de Cardona's tomb at the Convent of Sant Bertomeu in Bellpuig (Lleida). By kind permission of the Generalitat de Catalunya

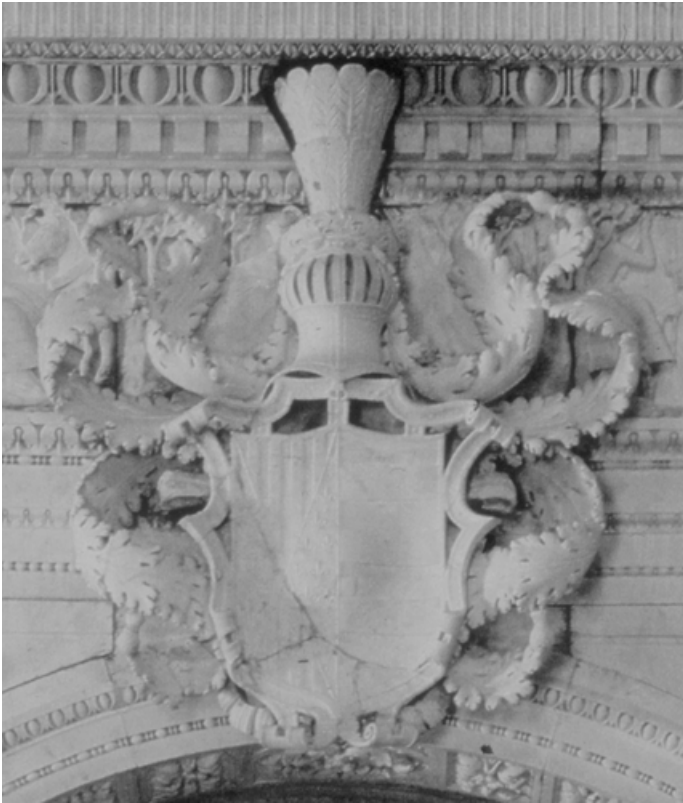


Figure 8b Detail of Ramón de Cardona's coat of arms on his tomb

divided per pale (that is in half), with the dexter side (left) also divided quarterly per saltire; the sinister side is barry of four horizontal bars. The identical shape of the shield and the bordure or border around it is sometimes borne as a mark of difference. On the dexter side of the shields can be found the now familiar Cardona arms: the bars of Aragon in the first and fourth compartments, the thistles in the second, and the field of fleurs-de-lis in the third. Although the compartment with the three thistles is partly damaged and difficult to see on the tomb, there is no doubt that the Cardona coat of arms must carry the thistles in that compartment. The only difference between the two shields is the label of cadency in the field of fleurs-de-lis in the fourth compartment. While the shield in the Chigi Codex carries the mark, the shield

on the tomb does not, or at least it is not visible. As stated before, however, for the purposes of identifying a particular individual within the family, the absence of this label of cadency in the shield of Ramón de Cardona is not important, since it is assumed that it pertains to all the members of the Cardona family. It is not possible to ascertain whether the sculptor Giovanni da Nola was incorrectly instructed about this detail in the coat of arms or whether he simply overlooked it. As was the case with the coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona in the choir stalls of Barcelona Cathedral, this label of cadency is sometimes omitted.

The four horizontal bars on the sinister side of the shield (right) stand for the Centelles family of the Viceroy's grandmother. It should be pointed out that the most commonly found Centelles coat of arms differs from the example here, but there is a variant of the Centelles shield in which the sinister side of the arms also consists of four bars like those in the coat of arms in the tomb of the Viceroy.²³ Thus, in the same way that the coat of arms of the second Duke of Cardona contains the arms of Urgell from his grandmother, the shield of the Viceroy of Naples incorporates those of Centelles also from his grandmother.

As shown in Figure 1a, the scribe who added the Cardona coat of arms on folio 284^v of the Chigi Codex also drew the profile of a man's head with a helmet in the bottom margin. In the introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript, Kellman asked whether this drawing might have been 'a sketch of the owner'.²⁴ This sketch is not dissimilar to the profiles of Neapolitan viceroys as they appear on sixteenth-century coins.²⁵ The comparison of this sketch with an undated portrait of Ramón de Cardona (Figure 9) offers no definitive answer to Kellman's question.²⁶ At first the two figures seem to depict two different people, but the sketch portrays a mature man of arms, not a young man, and this fits

²³ See 'Centellas' in A. and A. García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana*, 88 vols. (Madrid, 1919–63).

²⁴ Kellman, 'Introduction', p. ix.

²⁵ See the coin with Andrés Carafa's profile in 'Virreyes de Nápoles que figuran en las medallas del siglo XVI, conservadas en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional', *Numario hispánico*, 1 (1952), p. 199.

²⁶ Ramón de Cardona's portrait appears in D. A. Parrino, *Teatro eroico de' governi de' vicerè del regno di Napoli dal tempo del re Ferdinando il Cattolico fino al presente* (Naples, 1692). The portraits of Neapolitan viceroys in this publication were made after those that were formerly in the Royal Palace in Naples, but later destroyed.



Figure 9 Anonymous portrait of Ramón de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, in D. A. Parrino, *Teatro eroico de Vicerè di Napoli* (1692)

very well with what is known about the Viceroy as commander of Ferdinand's army in Italy. Ramón de Cardona would have been approximately fifty years old at the time of the additions to the manuscript, and his age would also be consistent with that of the man in the drawing. At least the sketch does not in itself contradict the identification of the owner as the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona.

If the Cardona coat of arms in Chigi can be taken as that of the Viceroy of Naples, it can be concluded that the addition of seven works (as well as of the foliation and the table of contents) took place in the Spanish milieu of the Viceroyalty of Naples no later than 1522, the date of the Viceroy's death. How the Viceroy acquired the manuscript is difficult to ascertain. Since he had been fighting the French successfully for many years, possibly the Chigi Codex came to him as the booty of war, but it seems that the Bouton family was not involved in the Italian campaign. Ramón de Cardona maintained a lavish court in Naples, and an anonymous novel, *Question de amor*, first printed in 1513, affords a glimpse of the court life there. This mixture of novel and chronicle presents historical characters using fictitious names; Benedetto Croce was the first to disentangle who was who in the novel.²⁷ The work concludes with a description of Ramón de Cardona's impressive army going to the battle of Ravenna with a retinue that included a chapel of twelve singers with drums and Italian trumpets.²⁸ The

²⁷ B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza* (Bari, 1968), pp. 127–53. The protagonist Belisena is in fact Bona Sforza, daughter of Gian Galeazzo and Isabella of Aragón. The narrator Vasquirán (Vazquez?) meets another Spaniard, Flamiano, in love with Belisena. The question presented is who suffers more, the one whose loved one is dead or the one whose love is unrequited. All sorts of games, letters and discussions are introduced; the narrative features, under fictitious names, the illustrious Spanish and Italian members of Neapolitan society, such as: Fabrizio e Prospero Colonna, don Carlo of Aragón, the Prince of Bisignano and of Melfi, the dukes of Ferrandina, Bisceglie, Atri, Termoli, Gravina and Traetto; the marquises of Pescara, Padula, Nocito, Bitonto, Atella; the counts of Monteleone, Avellino, Potenze, Popoli, Soriano, San Marco, Matera, Cariati, Trivento; Antonio de Leyva, Juan Alvarado, the prior of Messina Pedro de Acuña, Diego de Quiñones, Ettore and Guidone Ferramosca, Fernando Alarcón, Geronimo Lloriz, Geronimo Fenollet, Luigi Ixar and Gaspare Pomar. Among the ladies there are Giovanna of Aragón, widow of King Ferrante 'il vecchio', and her daughter of the same name, widow of King Ferrantino, the widowed Princess of Salerno, Marina of Aragón, the duchess of Francavilla Costanza d'Avalos, the duchesses of Gravina and Traetto; the marchionesses of Pescara, Vasto, Padula, Bitonto, Laino, and Nocito; the countesses of Venafro, San Marco, Capaccio, Matera, Soriano, Trivento and Terranova.

²⁸ A modern edition of *Question de amor* was published by M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, 4 vols. (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 7; Madrid, 1907), ii, p. 91:

Viceroy was also praised by Bartolomé Torres Naharro in his *Psalmos en la gloriosa victoria que los españoles ovieron contra venecianos* – presenting him as the hero at the battle of Motta in 1513 – and by the Catalan poet Romeu Lull in the collection of poems known as *Jardinet d’Orats*.²⁹

Being able to document Ramón de Cardona’s chapel of twelve singers, as mentioned in *Question de amor*, would certainly place the Chigi Codex in a musical context, but most of the Neapolitan archival material from the early sixteenth century has been destroyed.³⁰ Moreover, the identity and activities of the Spanish composer Madrid, whose *Asperges me* appears in the same folio as the Cardona coat of arms, are not known. At least three musicians with the name Madrid are active at this time: the rebec player Diego or Juan de Madrid who served Queen Isabella; Juan Fernández de Madrid, a singer in the royal Aragonese chapel between 1479 and 1482; and perhaps the most likely candidate, Juan Ruiz de Madrid, a singer in the same chapel between 1493 and 1501.³¹ There are two complete rosters (‘Libretti di salari

‘Lleuaua su capilla con doze cantores muy complida. Lleuaua sus atuales e trompetas ytalianas, con todo los complimentos de su casa e criados ordinarios como se requeria.’ (His accomplished chapel of twelve singers accompanied him. He took with him his drums and Italian trumpets, with all that was necessary for his household and ordinary servants as was fitting.) For a discussion of *Question de amor*, see also *Orígenes de la novela*, *ibid.*, pp. 48–54. Regarding the contacts between Spain and Italy during this period, see M. Menéndez y Pelayo, ‘Primeros contactos entre España e Italia’, ‘Historia Parthenopea. Las tristes reinas de Nápoles. Tratado de Educación de Galateo’, and ‘Cartas de Italia’, in *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria*, v, prepared by E. Sánchez Reyes, in *Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo*, x, ed. M. Artigas (Santander, 1942), pp. 275–353.

²⁹ On these two authors, see *Bartolomé Torres Naharro (ca. 1476–ca. 1524), Antología (teatro y poesía)*, ed. M. Á. Priego (Badajoz, 1993); and *Jardinet d’Orats* [microform], *Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 151*, ed. S. Gascón (Barcelona, 1998).

³⁰ The basic reference work for music in fifteenth-century Naples is A. W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge, 1985). D. Fabris, ‘El nacimiento del mito musical de Nápoles en la época de Fernando el Católico’, *Nassarre*, 9/2 (1993), pp. 53–93, presents among other things a table with Neapolitan events that took place between 1492 and 1522 for which there is mention of instruments or music making; he also comments upon the scarce extant documents regarding Naples in the early sixteenth century. See also J. Mateu Ibars, ‘La documentación virreinal para el estudio del gobierno aragonés-austríaco en el reino de Nápoles’, *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sull’età aragonese* (Bari, 15–18 Dec. 1968) (Bari, 1972), pp. 111–22; J. E. Martínez Ferrando, *Privilegios otorgados por el Emperador Carlos V en el reino de Nápoles* (Barcelona, 1943); and A. Calabria and J. A. Marino (ed. and trans.), *Good Government in Spanish Naples* (American University Studies, ser. 9, History, 71; New York, 1990), pp. 15–32.

³¹ T. Knighton, ‘Madrid, Juan Fernández de’, *New Grove II*, xv, 544–5. Four villancicos, a Gloria and three motets are ascribed to ‘Madrid’ in various late fifteenth-century manuscripts.

ordinari’) at Simancas Archive with payments to the entire viceregal household and army in Naples for the years 1512 and 1514, but no one in the rosters is described as a singer; among the people who served regularly appear four ‘trombetti bastardi’ and four ‘ministriles’, as well as the ‘cappellano maggiore’, an administrative position more than a musical one. Perhaps some of the people paid there were also active as singers, but it is not possible to establish this.³²

The coats of arms of the Fernández de Córdoba in the Chigi Codex must now be considered. The basic coat of arms of this family is barry of three horizontal red bars on a field of gold. This coat of arms appears several times throughout the manuscript, and was painted over the Bouton family coat of arms; Figure 10 shows the only Bouton coat of arms in the manuscript that was not over-painted. The three Fernández de Córdoba shields on folio 3^v and in the opening of the illuminated folios 19^v–20^r are particularly important since they contain additional heraldic attributes that permit the identification of three different members of the family to whom they belong. The shield on folio 20^r (see the opening of folios 19^v–20^r in Figure 11) has two heraldic elements that help to identify its owner. First, there is the rope or cord surrounding the shield. According to the *Enciclopedia heráldica* this rope indicates that the shield is that of a woman; moreover, the particular way in which this rope forms knots around the shield and the crown shows that the woman was a widow.³³ The second heraldic element is the crown itself surmounting the shield; this particular crown is that of a duchess. With this information, and after a detailed

³² R. Magdaleno Redondo (*Papeles de Estado de la correspondencia y negociación de Nápoles. Catálogo XVI del Archivo General de Simancas* (Valladolid, 1942), p. 3) cited a ‘Relación de salarios ordinarios que se dan en Italia’; indeed this ‘Relación’, dated 1514, is found in the legajo E 1004-50 and contains these payments. On p. 6, among the ‘Officiali che servono ordinariamente’, are found:

A quattro trombetti bastardi a d[uca]ti 60 per uno . . . 240

A quattro ministreri a d[uca]ti 69 uno di essi et li tre a d[uca]ti 52 per uno . . . 240
[recte 225]

In another similar payroll, ‘Notamento deli salari et provisione se pagano in la tesoreria Regia del Reyno de Napole’, also at the Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo E-1004-80, there is a payment to ‘quatro trompette’ and ‘quatro ministrili’; this time each is paid 60 ducats. In both payrolls Joan Maria Poderico, Archbishop of Taranto, is paid 200 ducats as ‘capellano maggiore’. The payrolls include payments to the additional one or two trumpeters accompanying other army captains (sixteen trumpeters altogether in the 1514 payroll), but there is no list of singers.

³³ García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica*, i, pp. 193–4.



Figure 10 Detail of the Bouton coat of arms on folio 149^v of the Chigi Codex.
©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)

reading of the three volumes written by Francisco Fernández de Béthencourt devoted to this family, it is clear that the only woman of the different branches of the Fernández de Córdoba who had the title of duchess in the early sixteenth century was Doña María Manrique, Duchess of Terranova.³⁴ She was the wife of the famous Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, Duke of Sessa, better known as El Gran Capitán, and one of the most distinguished military figures of early sixteenth-century warfare. He participated in the wars leading to the conquest of Granada and especially in the Italian campaigns against the French in Naples between 1495 and 1504; appointed viceroy of Naples in March of 1504, he was recalled to Spain by King Ferdinand in 1507. His enforced retirement in Granada was only broken briefly in 1512, after the defeat of Ramón de Cardona at the battle of Ravenna.³⁵ Since he died in 1515, the shield of his widow must have been added after that date.

The coats of arms on folios 3^v (Figure 12) and 19^v (Figure 11) in the Chigi Codex share a heraldic attribute not found in the other shields in the manuscript: a small black figure surmounting the helmet with a pomegranate (symbol of Granada) in his hand. This figure represents the Moorish King Boabdil el Chico (or el Niño), a boy Moorish king captured at the battle of Lucena (province of Córdoba) in 1483. He was captured by two members of two different branches of the Fernández de Córdoba family (see the family tree in Figure 13a, the Line of Cabra, under number 2, and the Line of the Alcaldes de los Donceles, under number 3); both had the same name, Diego Fernández de Córdoba: one was an elderly man, the other a young member of the family. As a

³⁴ F. Fernández de Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española, casa real y grandes de España*, 10 vols. (Madrid, 1897–1920), vi, vii and ix.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 136–64.



Figure 11 Folios 19^v–20 of the Chigi Codex with two different coats of arms of the Fernández de Córdoba family. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)

reward for the capture of the Moorish king, the Catholic Monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand allowed them to have, from then on, his figure depicted chained to the shield of their respective families. Only these two branches of the Fernández de Córdoba family carry



Figure 11 *Continued*

this distinction.³⁶ Thus the owners of Chigi should be among the descendants of those who captured the Moorish king. The only

³⁶ For a description of the battle of Lucena and the subsequent meeting of these two members of the Fernández de Córdoba family with the Catholic Monarchs, see *ibid.*, vii, pp. 44–50, and ix, pp. 39–45.



Figure 12 Folio 3^v of the Chigi Codex with yet a different coat of arms of the Fernández de Córdoba family (compare with Figure 11). ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)

difference between the coat of arms in folios 3^v and 19^v of the Chigi Codex is the rope surrounding the shield in the latter folio. As mentioned, this rope means that it is the shield of a woman.³⁷ She is most likely the wife of the man who has the same coat of arms without the rope on folio 3^v (see Figure 12), since women often adopted the arms of their husbands. Who, then, is this Spanish couple who owned the Chigi Codex?

Taking into account the identification of the coat of arms on folio 20^r as that of María Manrique, it can be suggested that this couple is Elvira Fernández de Córdoba and Luis Fernández de Córdoba, daughter and son-in-law respectively of El Gran Capitán (see the family tree in Figure 13b, under family lines 1 and 2).

³⁷ Flynn Warmington pointed out in discussion at the Leuven conference that men could occasionally have similar attributes in their shields. However, it would seem inconsistent to have two coats of arms in the same manuscript referring to the same person but with only this difference.

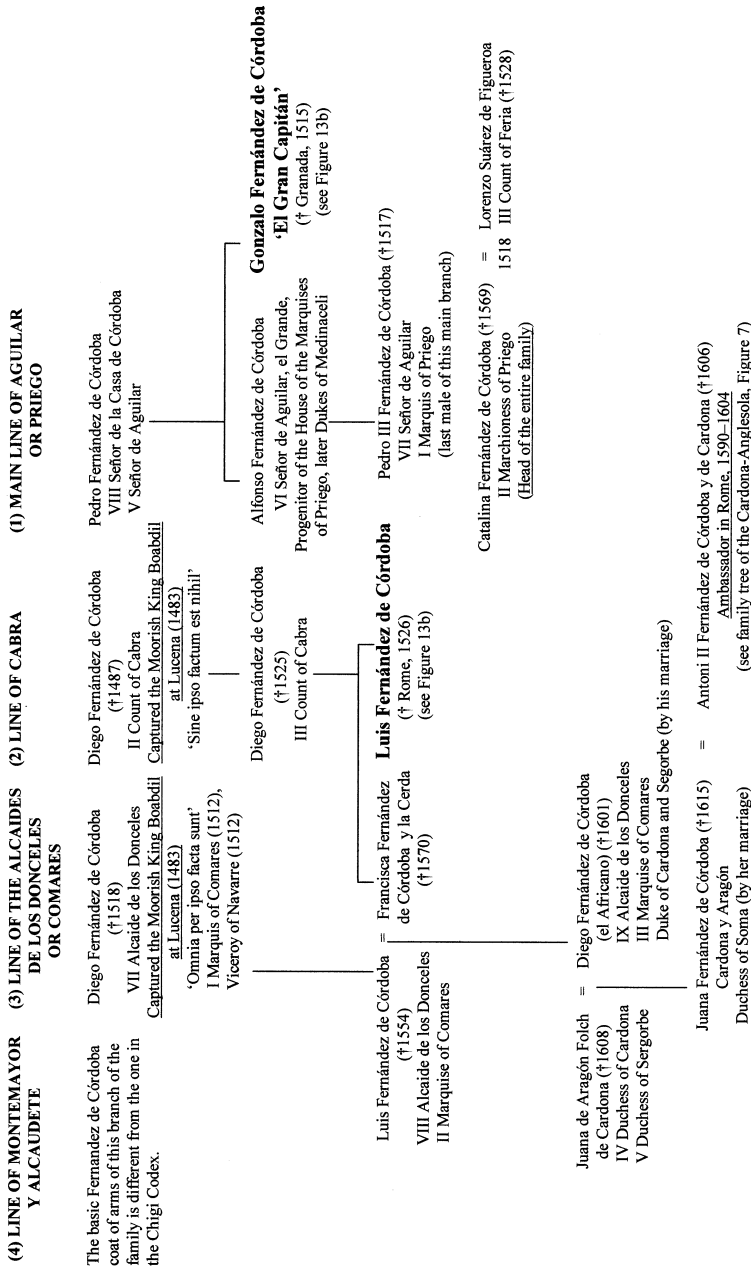


Figure 13a The four main branches or lines of the Fernandez de Córdoba family
 After F. Fernandez de Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica* (Madrid, 1897–1920)

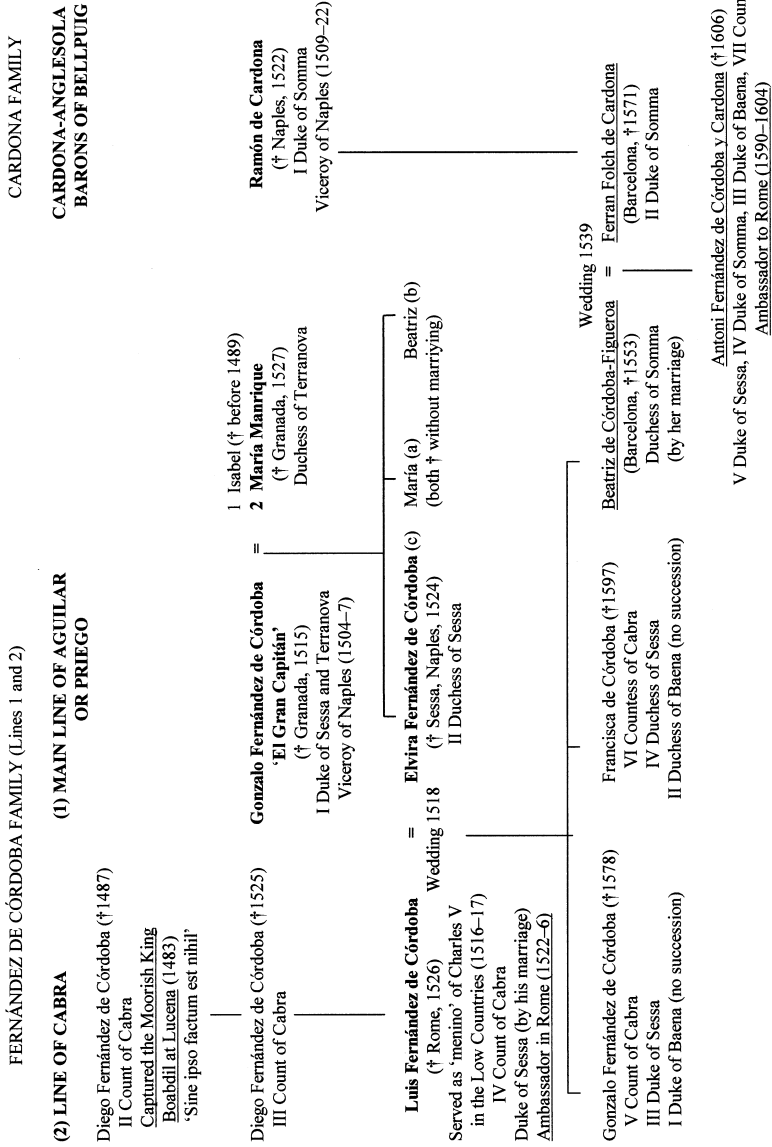


Figure 13b Branches of the Fernández de Córdoba and Cardona families involved in the ownership of the Chigi Codex
 After Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica*

Thus on folios 19^v–20^r of the manuscript the shields of both mother and daughter can be found. Luis Fernández de Córdoba, fourth Count of Cabra, belongs to one of the branches of the family that uses the Moorish king in its shield. Through his marriage in 1518 he became Duke of Sessa and was heir to the properties and entitlements of El Gran Capitán in the Kingdom of Naples. He had served as a ‘menino’ of Charles V in the Low Countries in 1516–17 and was later named ambassador in Rome in 1522. He died there only four years later; Elvira, his wife, had died in 1524.³⁸

The particular combination of these three different Fernández de Córdoba coats of arms in the Chigi Codex (two shields with the head of the Moorish king and one without it) can be explained only by an alliance between the main house of the family, namely the main line of Aguilar – which does not have the Moorish king chained to the shield – and one of the other two branches of the family with the Moorish king in the shield. This alliance only occurs with this particular marriage.³⁹ Moreover, as can be seen in the lower right corner of Figure 13b, a daughter of this couple married the son of the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona in 1539, and this alliance affords the closest possible association in place and time of the two families who placed their coats of arms in the manuscript.⁴⁰

There is a hitherto unnoticed detail in the illumination on folio 20^r that is of particular importance (Figure 14). The kneeling figure, whose face has been painted over that of a previous donor figure, is wearing the collar of the French royal Order of St Michel,

³⁸ Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica*, vii, pp. 84–92.

³⁹ It should be mentioned that after 1517 the head of the entire Fernández de Córdoba family was Catalina Fernández de Córdoba (see her name in Figure 13a, under the main line 1 of the family). Since the illumination on folio 20^r includes the symbolic wheel of St Catherine of Alexandria it is tempting to think that the Fernández de Córdoba shield on that folio might be hers. However, this is not possible, since she married someone outside the Fernández de Córdoba family, and the shield would have combined her arms with those of her husband, who died in 1528. Curiously enough, both her cousins of the same name, Luis Fernández de Córdoba (from lines 2 and 3 of the family) did try to marry her. The Luis Fernández de Córdoba in question (from line 2) sent emissaries to her from the Low Countries to arrange the marriage, but these plans came to naught.

⁴⁰ The son of the Viceroy, Ferran Folc (d. 1571), and his wife Beatriz lived in Barcelona and sponsored the compilation of the works (copied in 1541–2 by Pere Vilasaló) of the illustrious Valencian poet Ausias March and their subsequent publication in Barcelona in 1543, 1545 and 1560. See A. Pagès, *Introducció a l'edició crítica de les obres de Ausias March, tesi per al doctorat de Lletres presentada a la 'Facultat des lettres de l'Université de Paris'* (Barcelona, 1912), pp. 55–83.



Figure 14 Detail of the kneeling figure on folio 20^r of the Chigi Codex.
©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)

also a later addition to the illumination.⁴¹ It is possible that, since the coat of arms of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba's widow is included on this folio, the kneeling figure's face was modified to represent her husband, El Gran Capitán. In 1507, on their way back to Spain from Naples, King Ferdinand and Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba stopped at Savona, where they were received by Louis XII. El Gran Capitán was especially treated with all honours as the invincible Spanish general who had defeated

⁴¹ See the illustration of this collar in García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica*, i.

the French on countless occasions.⁴² According to Bethencourt, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba was invited to sit at the royal table, normally a royal prerogative, and at some point during the visit, Louis XII took his own collar – most likely that of the Order of St Michel – and gave it to El Gran Capitán.⁴³ Thus, it would seem plausible to identify the kneeling figure portrayed on folio 20^r as Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. Although this meeting of El Gran Capitán with Louis XII would have provided the opportunity for the manuscript to be presented as a gift, there is a possible problem with this hypothesis. According to the statutes of the Order of St Michel, King Francis I, in his first meeting of the Order in 1516, changed the appearance of the collar: for the silk cord (probably used to connect the shell-like pieces of the collar) a double golden cord was substituted.⁴⁴ This was done in memory of St Francis and of Anne of Brittany, twice Queen of France and Francis I's mother-in-law, who had established the Order of the Cordelière.⁴⁵ The collar added to the kneeling figure on folio 20^r of

⁴² Perhaps the motto 'Infrangibile' (invincible) in the two coats of arms of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba's heirs refers to his victories.

⁴³ Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica*, vi, p. 141. Other descriptions of the event indicate that Louis XII gave the collar first to King Ferdinand and he, in turn, gave it to Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. This does not seem very likely, since Ferdinand was apparently very jealous of the treatment El Gran Capitán was receiving from the French; in fact, Ferdinand was taking him back to Spain for fear that Gonzalo, owing to his popularity, might be proclaimed King of Naples. Ferdinand never fulfilled his promise of naming Gonzalo head of the Order of Santiago. 'El Gran Capitan' retired to Loja, near Granada, and died in the latter city; he is buried there with his wife at the church of San Jerónimo.

⁴⁴ R. Alleau, *Enigmes et symboles du Mont St.-Michel* (Paris, 1970), pp. 298–9: 'Les statuts de l'Ordre relatent, en effet, que "le Roi François I^{er}, au premier chapitre qu'il tint, après son sacre, en septembre 1516, changea les aiguillettes de soie du collier en doubles cordelières d'or, en mémoire de saint François, tant à cause qu'il s'appelait François, que pour conserver la mémoire de la reine Anne de Bretagne, mère de la reine Claude, sa femme, qui l'en avait prié".' (The statutes of the Order (of St Michel) say, in fact, that 'King Francis I, at the first meeting he held, after his coronation, in September 1516, changed the collar's silk cord for a double golden cord, in memory of St Francis, both because his name was Francis and to preserve the memory of Queen Anne of Brittany – mother of Queen Claude, his wife – who had asked him to do so'.) The statutes of the Order are found in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 19819; the miniature on fol. 1 shows King Louis XI with fourteen members of the Order wearing the collar and four officers. See also below, n. 54.

⁴⁵ H. Sanborn, *Anne of Brittany: The Story of a Duchess and Twice-Crowned Queen* (Boston, 1917), p. 209: 'December 16, 1492, Robertet, secretary of Anne of Beaujeu, and one of the most polished and spirited men at court, received thirty-five livres tournois for chains to be distributed among ladies whom the queen deemed worthy to join the order of the Cordelière. The emblem of this order consisted of a plaque of gold hung around the neck, formed by a double letter interlaced and done in red and white enamel. Every let-

the Chigi Codex seems to reflect this post-1516 modification, and therefore it may not represent the actual collar that El Gran Capitán received in 1507.

Since, with the possible exception of El Gran Capitán, no members of the Bouton family or of the Cardona/Fernández de Córdoba families received the collar of the Order of St Michel, the question is who the kneeling figure on folio 20^r wearing such a collar might be.⁴⁶ Was there another owner of the Chigi Codex besides those whose coats of arms have already been identified? According to Kellman, ‘On fol. 20, it was Catherine [Philippe Bouton’s wife] who was originally the donor, presented by St. Catherine, before her figure was overpainted with that of the nobleman we now see.’⁴⁷ While there is no doubt that the Bouton family at some point owned the manuscript,⁴⁸ the kneeling figure is wearing ermine, a royal attribute, over his/her shoulders, which perhaps was added together with the collar of the Order of St Michel.⁴⁹ Moreover, the illumination depicts no ordinary interior chamber or room, since it is open to the street on the left side. This setting would be more characteristic of a so-called ‘lit de justice’; that is, the wooden scaffold, canopy, backdrop, and decorative draperies that cordoned off space for kings, symbolizing royal justice.⁵⁰ That this other owner,

ter was intertwined with a cord in black enamel. The plaque for the queen was formed of thirty-two double Roman A’s.’

⁴⁶ According to P. Vetter, *Der französische Ritterorden vom Heiligen Michael (1469–1830). Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn* (Bonn, 1979), p. 37, owing to the war between Ferdinand of Aragon and Louis XII, several unnamed Aragonese noblemen returned their collars of the Order of St Michel in 1511. For a list of members of the Order of St Michel, see J.-F.-L. d’Hozier, ‘Recueil historique des Chevaliers de l’Ordre de Saint Michel’, *Revue historique nobiliaire et biographique*, 3rd ser./4, 16 (1879), pp. 193–216, 344–55, 466–78, 505–21; 17 (1880), pp. 67–79, 257–70, 334–50; 19 (1882), pp. 88–94, 129–35, 271–4, 363–7, 443–52 and 547–53.

⁴⁷ Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 127. In a previous publication, Kellman, ‘Introduction’, p. ix, had stated that it was Philippe Bouton’s face in the donor miniature that had been replaced.

⁴⁸ When I presented this paper in Leuven, I questioned the identification of the Bouton coat of arms in Chigi, owing to its similarity with the Fernández de Córdoba shield and the different description of the Bouton arms in De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1864), iii, p. 903, where it is described as ‘de gueules, à la fasce d’or’. Herbert Kellman corrected my error, showing me a Bouton coat of arms like the one in Chigi in another manuscript. Both Kellman and Flynn Warmington pointed out that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century heraldic sources are often unreliable.

⁴⁹ Kellman, ‘Introduction’, p. ix.

⁵⁰ S. Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France* (Princeton, 1983), p. 28. Chronicles recounted Parisian entrées featuring tableaux set up at the Châtelet (the city tribunal of the provost of Paris) displaying a *lit de justice*.

a member of the Order of St Michel wearing ermine, probably as a French-speaking person is suggested by the fact that the word 'Bouton' or 'Boutton' in the motto 'Ung seul Bouton' was replaced by the word 'Dieu',⁵¹ and, as we shall see, it is very unlikely that the Cardona or the Fernández de Córdoba owners would have made that change to produce the French motto 'Ung seul Dieu'.⁵² These new pieces of evidence seem to point to a royal owner of the Chigi Codex and it is possible to speculate briefly about such a person.

Comparing the two coats of arms on folios 19^v and 20^r, it can be seen that the frames in which they are inserted are different; on folio 19^v the frame is square, while the frame on folio 20^r has a more irregular and artistic shape. The addition of the Moorish king on folio 19^v probably necessitated extensive changes in the space reserved for the illumination, and these changes may ultimately have affected the shape of the frame itself. On the other hand, the coat of arms on folio 20^r seems to have kept the original frame, which is more elaborate and even enters the decorated margin of the page. The letter B for the voice designation Bassus seems also to be original and as a whole everything is well proportioned. Perhaps the only modification in the original coat of arms of folio 20^r took place inside the shield, and therefore the heraldic attributes of the rope and ducal crown might be connected to a possible royal owner of the manuscript: a duchess and widow of the French royal family. If so, there are three possible candidates, but the one who seems the most likely is Anne, Duchess of Brittany and twice Queen of France;⁵³ it was she, as mentioned earlier, who established the heraldic fashion of the rope in her

⁵¹ Kellman, 'Introduction', p. vii.

⁵² Although mottoes in a foreign language (such as 'Mit Zait' for the Sforza dukes) are found, a French motto in sixteenth-century Spain is very rare. We do not know Luis Fernández de Córdoba's motto, but his grandfather used 'Sine ipso factum est nihil' (referring to the capture of the Moorish King Boabdil at Lucena in 1483). This same motto, often written within the border of the shield, was later used by other descendants of this line of the family. Mottoes should be distinguished from war cries such as 'Infrangibile'; the use of one does not necessarily exclude the other.

⁵³ The other possible candidates are Charles VIII's two sisters: Anne (1461–1522), Duchess of Bourbon, widow of Pierre de Beaujeu after 1503, and Jeanne (1464–1505), Duchess of Orléans and Berry, a severely crippled woman whose forced marriage to Louis d'Orléans (the future Louis XII) was nullified in 1498 to permit his marriage to Anne of Brittany. Jeanne founded the Order of the Annonciade. On these two women see, for example, M. Chombart de Lauwe, *Anne de Beaujeu ou la passion du pouvoir* (Paris, 1980) and R. de Maulde, *Jeanne de France, Duchesse d'Orléans et de Berry* (Paris, 1883).

coat of arms in memory of her first husband.⁵⁴ Anne's first marriage to Charles VIII ended with his death on 7 April 1498 and she married Louis XII on 8 January 1499; during those nine months she was a widow and therefore her coat of arms might have been inserted in the Chigi Codex at that time.⁵⁵ On the one hand, the presence of St Catherine in the illumination on folio 20^r would seem to argue against Anne's connection with the manuscript,⁵⁶ but, on the other hand, the motto 'Ung seul Dieu' on folio 19^v points directly to Anne's two husbands, Charles VIII and Louis XII. According to Robert Scheller, in a poem of consolation written shortly after Charles had left for Italy in 1494, 'France' urges 'Labour', the fourth estate, 'to worship one God, honor one king and observe one law' ['... Ung seul Dieu adorer / Ung seul roy

⁵⁴ See above, n. 44. García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica*, p. 193: 'Las viudas, en lugar de esos adornos, usan cordones de seda blanca y negra anudados o entrelazados en cuatro partes, atados a los círculos de las coronas y rodeando el escudo enteramente. Este uso dimanó de Ana, Duquesa de Bretaña. A la muerte de su primer marido el rey Carlos VIII, de Francia, comenzó a llevar, como muestra del amor que le tuvo y que conservó toda su vida, unos cordones liados y atados a su cintura en la forma en que los llevan los religiosos de San Francisco, haciendo que la imitaran y que los pusiesen en sus escudos todas las damas de la corte y quedando así como ornamentos de las armas de las mujeres.' (Widows, instead of those ornaments, use cords of black and white silk, knotted or tied in four parts, attached to the crown and entirely surrounding the shield. This usage came from Anne, Duchess of Brittany. After the death of her first husband, King Charles VIII of France, she started to wear, as a sign of her love for him which lasted all her life, some cords tied around her waist, as Franciscans do, asking to be imitated and that the cords be placed in all the shields of women at the court, something that has remained as an ornament of women's coats of arms.)

⁵⁵ Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 127, pointed out the importance of certain calligraphic initials in the manuscript: 'A rose and a dragon, coupled with elements of the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, appear as part of an initial on fol. 191v, symbolizing, unmistakably, Philippe's [Bouton] ultimate allegiance to Burgundy and recognition of the patronage he had received from its dukes.' The description of the same initial in a previous publication by Kellman, 'Introduction', p. viii, adds other details that could be interpreted differently: 'The "K" on fol. 191v displays at the top of its stem a yellow fire steel surmounted by a yellow fleur-de-lis . . .'. If Anne of Brittany or a member of the French royal family had something to do with the compilation of the Chigi Codex, the initial 'K' with the fleur-de-lis, a French royal symbol, might refer to her first husband Charles VIII; according to Robert W. Scheller, 'Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 12 (1981-2), pp. 56-7, a manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 2228) with two poems about Charles contains border decorations 'with highly stylized Ks (for Karolus), of the same type that adorn the king's tomb'.

⁵⁶ Anne of Brittany's book of hours contains, among others, an illumination devoted to St Catherine, but the three saints standing behind her in an illustration portraying Anne as a donor figure are St Anne, St Marguerite and St Ursula. See M. Abbé [Henri] Delaunay, *Le Livre d'heures de la Reine Anne de Bretagne, traduit du latin et accompagné des notices inédites* (Paris, 1841), p. 7.

honnorer / Une lois preferer . . .'], pending the king's return.⁵⁷ As a motto, VNG DIEV. VNG ROI. VNE FOI also appears in a painting illustrating Louis XII's coronation, and this maxim was reproduced together with a prominent display of royal coats of arms in printer's marks of Jean Alexandre of Angers (active 1480–93), Philippe Pigouchet (from 1489), Antoine Caillaut of Paris (active 1482–1506) and Robinet Macé of Caen (active 1498–1506).⁵⁸ Thus, it seems plausible that during Anne's life the face of the kneeling figure, perhaps Charles VIII, would have been changed for that of another French monarch, possibly her second husband Louis XII, wearing ermine and the collar of the Order of St Michel modified according to her wishes.⁵⁹ This hypothesis must remain speculative, since it is not known how the manuscript came into the possession of its different owners. In the same way that the later additions to the Chigi Codex reflect the ownership of the

⁵⁷ R. W. Scheller, 'Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 13 (1983), pp. 75–141, esp. pp. 122–3. He cites A. de Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françaises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1869), viii, p. 88: 'Pensez de labourer / Et de cuer savourer / Que devez revereer / Vostre prince et pleurer / Son ennuyeuse absence / Ung seul Dieu adorer / Ung seul roy honnorer / Une lois preferer / et loyaulx demourer / attendans sa présence.' For a detailed discussion and bibliography regarding the symbolism of this motto, see Scheller, 'Ensigns of Authority', pp. 120–3.

⁵⁸ The painting entitled *The Sacre of Louis XII* is one of the two wings of an altarpiece now at the Musée de Cluny in Paris; they come from the Chapelle du Puy in Amiens Cathedral, and can be dated to 1501. For illustrations of this painting and of the printer's device of Antoine Caillaut (before 1506), see Scheller, 'Ensigns of Authority', pp. 117 and 123. Caillaut's woodcut displays the royal crowned coat of arms with three fleurs-de-lis held by two angels above the arms of Paris, the motto in the border decoration. It should be pointed out that the Bouton coat of arms on fol. 249^v of the Chigi Codex appears between two angels, and that, according to García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica*, pp. 163–4, the presence of angels as so-called supporters of shields is exclusively reserved for kings and princes. He also states that the supporters are usually figures or animals already found in the shield; in Bouton's case this would be the eagle. A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, revised and annotated by J. P. Brooke-Little (London, 1985), pp. 309 and 329, gives some examples of the presence of angels as supporters of shields.

⁵⁹ This modification would have not been unique in French royal manuscripts. Louis XII's face was painted over that of Charles VIII in a miniature in a book of hours (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 24/1, fol. 3^r); see Scheller, 'Imperial Themes', pp. 24–5. In Leuven I pointed out that perhaps the original kneeling figure on fol. 20^r of the Chigi Codex was Charles VIII, and that the female figure of St Catherine – often associated with the gift of eloquence – might represent in a symbolic way the support Anne of Brittany provided to her husband's problems with speech. In fact, St Catherine's light brown dress in this illumination is similar to Anne's dress in her book of hours.

That Mouton's motet *Quis dabit oculis*, written for the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, was added to the manuscript by a later owner may be more significant than previously thought.

Spaniards, perhaps the disposition of the three distinct sections of the main corpus of the manuscript reflects a change of intended recipient in the earliest stages of its compilation.⁶⁰

The manuscript was probably kept by the Fernández de Córdoba family during the later part of the sixteenth century. A grandson of the Viceroy (see Figure 13b), who also married a member of the Fernández de Córdoba family, spent fourteen years as Ambassador to Rome between 1590 and 1604. This member of the Cardona Fernández de Córdoba family inherited all the nobility titles of both lines 1 and 2 of the Fernández de Córdoba family as well as those of the Cardona-Anglesola family (see Figure 13b), but subsequently had to sell part of his patrimony;⁶¹ it was perhaps during this time that the manuscript passed to Italian hands before its acquisition by Fabio Chigi in the 1660s. The intriguing story of the Chigi Codex should certainly encourage further investigation of patronage by the Iberian nobility. Since traditional musicology has associated Spanish music of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries almost exclusively with the royal chapels, it is now essential to pursue archival research in the records of families such as the Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba. The work ahead promises to be very fruitful and will enter uncharted territory.

Universidad de Granada

⁶⁰ According to F. Fitch, 'Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Chigi C VIII 234 ("Chigi Codex")', in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, ed. Kellman, p. 127: 'The self-contained section devoted to Ockeghem's Mass-music (comprising the first eighteen gatherings of Chigi) may therefore have been a special project, assembled in rather a piecemeal fashion, in contrast to the clear ordering and gathering structure of the rest of the manuscript. The two subsequent sections devoted to the Mass music of other composers (settings by Barbireau, Agricola, Josquin, La Rue, Compère, Brumel, and Busnois), and to motets of various authorship (including several by Johannes Regis) may have been executed independently of each other. . . . The decision to bring these three discrete sections together may have been the last stage of the manuscript's elaboration at the scriptorium.'

⁶¹ Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica*, vii, p. 113.