

*Peter Woetmann Christoffersen*

# French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century

Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons  
The manuscript *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°*  
in the Royal Library, Copenhagen

Volume I  
Description, reconstruction and repertory

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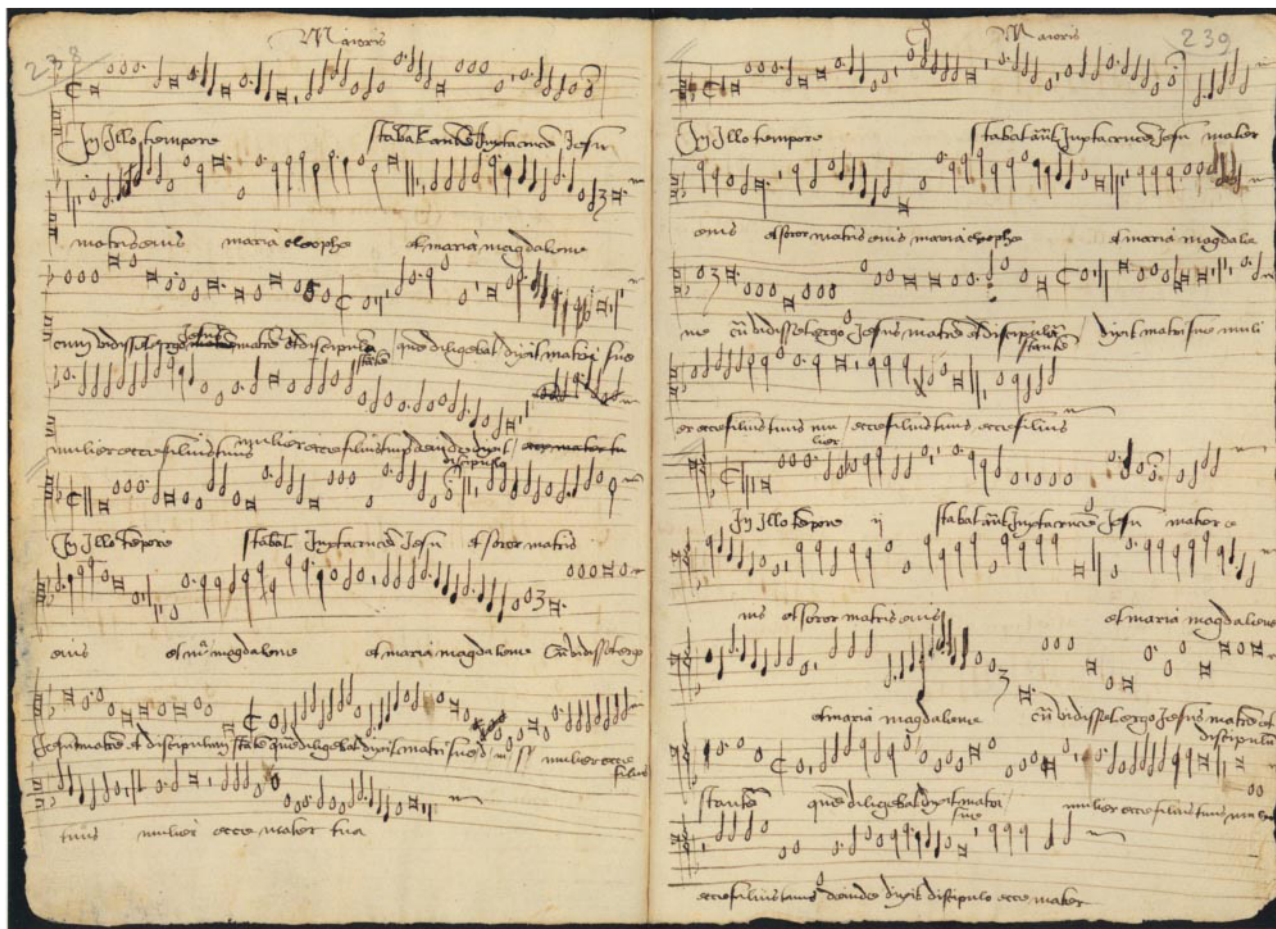
I must remember Professor Dragan Plamenac with particular gratitude and pleasure. In 1972, as a student, I attended the congress of the International Musicological Society in Copenhagen. On the Wednesday the delegates had a day off, but Professor Plamenac devoted the whole day to discussing my provisional studies and reconstruction of *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°*. Many years before, he had announced a work on the manuscript, but other work had postponed his plans. When we parted, he passed the task on to me in the hope that he would soon see the results published.

The collection of the material to be used in the study was concluded in 1982-84. More recent literature is therefore only considered in the discussion in a few cases.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen  
March 1989

On the publication of the English version I would like to thank James Manley for fine cooperation on the translation. My warmest thanks, too, to the *Carlsberg Foundation*, *Augustinus Fonden*, *Beckett-Fonden*, and *Statsautoriseret El-installatør Svend Viggo Berendt og Hustru Aase Berendt, født Christoffersens Mindelegat*, as well as the *Danish Research Council for the Humanities*, whose support made the translation, the typesetting of the large amount of music and the actual printing possible.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen  
November 1993



Maiores: In illo tempore  
(MS Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2° pp. 238-39)

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# Abbreviations

Besides references to sources and the literature, which can be found in the lists in Vol. II, the following abbreviations are used:

Cop 1848 = *København, Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2°*

S = superius

T = tenor

C = contratenor

B = bassus

A = altus

V<sup>a</sup> = quinta vox

VI<sup>a</sup> = sexta vox

1v, 2v, 3v, etc. = number of voices in a composition

t = full text of a part

it = incomplete text

i = text incipit only

f./ff. = folio/folios (e.g. f. 1<sup>v</sup> = folio 1 verso)


p./pp. = page/pages


v./vv. = verse/verses

br-mm. = brevis-measures


*c.f.* = *cantus firmus*

*c.p.f.* = *cantus prius factus*

*lo* =  (longa)

*br* =  (brevis)



*sbr* =  (semibrevis)

*mi* =  (minima)

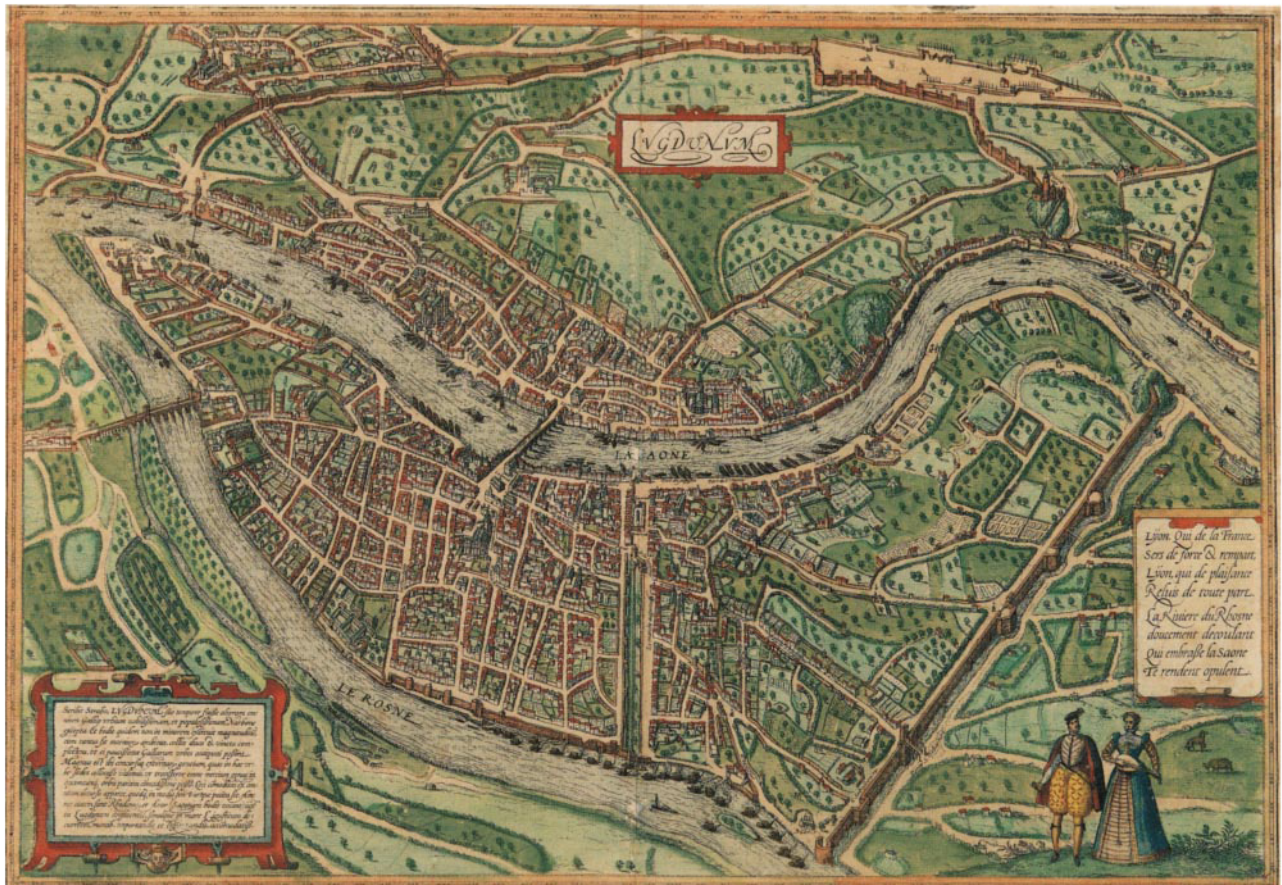
*smi* =  (semiminima)

*fu* =  (fusa)

*c.o.p.* = *cum opposita proprietate*

A note is referred to by the number of the bar and the position of the note in crotchet values (e.g. bar 6.3 = bar 6, the note on the third crotchet in the bar). Pitch is indicated by the italicized letters *D, E, F ... c, d, e ... c', d', e' ... c'', d'', e'' ... a''*. In the transcriptions the note values of the manuscript are halved ( = ).





Lyons (after Braun & Hogenberg, *Civitatis orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1577)

# Part One:

Description and reconstruction





At a Sotheby's auction in London on the 22nd-24th February 1921, where "the property of a Gentleman" was offered for sale, the Royal Library in Copenhagen bought a number of old manuscripts and prints. One of the lots, No. 417, was described in the auction catalogue as follows: "Chronique de Hollande, MANUSCRIPT on paper, 100 ll., a large miniature of the author offering his work, vellum, with a coat-of-arms, 1629—Sermones, MANUSCRIPT on paper, initials in red and blue, leather over oak boards [French, XVth century]—A Musical Manuscript, 450 pp. on paper, containing various Latin hymns, etc. [c. 1520], etc. (32)".<sup>1</sup> The Royal Library bought the lot, a total of 32 volumes, for £3/5. The musical manuscript was one of the more unassuming volumes in the collection, and was routinely incorporated into the Royal Library's manuscript collection with the signature *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°* (from now on the abbreviation *Cop 1848* will be used).

The new acquisition evidently aroused no one's attention, for during the next few decades the manuscript lay neglected in the library stacks. In the very period when *Cop 1848* came to the Royal Library, Knud Jeppesen was working on his epoch-making edition of another of the Library's music manuscripts, *Ms. Thott 291 8°*, but no one told him about the purchase. If Knud Jeppesen's attention had been drawn to the new manuscript, *Cop 1848* would probably have been known all over the world as early as 1927 through his book *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*.<sup>2</sup>

Chance determined that musicologists would not learn about the existence of the manuscript until the 1950s. The first to mention *Cop 1848* seems to have been the Frenchman Jean Rollin, who gives a brief description of the manuscript in his book *Les chansons de Clément Marot. Etude historique et bibliographique* (1951). This description gives no impression, however, of the size of the repertory in the manuscript. The author was only interested in the few settings of Marot's poems.<sup>3</sup> The value of the manuscript as a source was not recognized until 1955, when Henrik Glahn and Dragan Plamenac discovered it independently of each other. The results of the first studies of the "rediscovered" manuscript were submitted shortly afterwards to the musicological societies of Denmark and the USA.<sup>4</sup> In a paper for the Third Nordic Conference of Musicology in Copenhagen in June 1958, Henrik Glahn gave an account of his studies of

<sup>1</sup> Transcript of Sotheby's file catalogue, sent to the Royal Library on the 7th January 1957 through the British Council in London.

<sup>2</sup> Knud Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*, Copenhagen and Leipzig 1927 (JeppesenK). Only in the new preface to the second edition of the book, published by Broude Brothers, New York 1965, is *Cop 1848* mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> *Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Troisième Série, Tome I*, Paris 1951, p. 28 and p. 272. J. Rollin writes that *Cop 1848* came to Denmark in 1921 as a gift from the British Museum after the fire at the Royal Library! This remarkable item of information can only be the result of the author's language difficulties during his visit to Copenhagen.

<sup>4</sup> Dansk Selskab for Musikforskning (November 1956) and the American Musicological Society (December 1956).

Cop 1848, and almost at the same time this material was published in the article 'Et fransk musikhåndskrift fra begyndelsen af det 16. århundrede' (A French music manuscript of the 16th century) in *Fund og Forskning V-VII* (1959).<sup>5</sup> Professor Plamenac brought up Cop 1848 in a postscript to his account of a chansonnier in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, in which he also noted the concordances in Cop 1848.<sup>6</sup>

Since then, Cop 1848 has taken its place in the corpus of musical sources combed for concordances when source descriptions are prepared.<sup>7</sup> And a few of its unique compositions have been published in the series of the complete works of composers.<sup>8</sup> Certain aspects of its repertory have also been mentioned in the scholarly literature. The many Magnificat settings were surveyed in W. Kirsch's large book on this subject,<sup>9</sup> and H. Hewitt, N. Bridgman, C. Adams and H. Colin Slim, among others, have dealt with some of the secular compositions in articles.<sup>10</sup> There is in addition a description of the manuscript and a review of its chansons—especially the later ones—in Courtney S. Adams' 1974 dissertation *The Three-Part Chanson during the Sixteenth Century; Changes in Its Style and Importance*. Since Adams in her work on Cop 1848 was unable to build on an examination and reconstruction of the actual manuscript, the author could neither add anything to the description of the manuscript nor explain its distinctive structure.<sup>11</sup>

The study of Cop 1848 presented in the following chapters is the result of many years of work on the manuscript and its repertory. Parts of the study and views on the repertory have already been made public. The French chanson has been the subject of lectures and an article;<sup>12</sup> earlier versions of the first five chapters and of the thematic catalogue (Volume II) were submitted as the author's master's thesis in 1978,<sup>13</sup> and in 1986 a brief resumé of the conclusions of the study was printed in the yearbook of the Carlsberg Foundation.<sup>14</sup>

The identity of the "Charneyron" who had repeatedly written his signature across the music on some pages of the manuscript was discovered shortly before the completion of this work. I had long searched in vain for the name in the Lyons archives, but it was only when my friend and colleague in Lyons, Laurent Guillo, was going through some editions of Joseph Flavie's *Le grande almageste* in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, that Charneyron emerged from the darkness. His signature is written several times in an edition printed in Paris in 1533, and there he introduced himself as "Claude Charneyron, prestre de Nostre Dame de

<sup>5</sup> GlahnM in the bibliography. I am greatly indebted to this article for information on the provenance of the manuscript, which is reviewed in Chapter 1.1.

<sup>6</sup> 'A Postscript to the «Second» Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana' (1958 – PlamenacP).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. for example H. M. Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229 (BrownL) or Allan W. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*. Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G.XIII.27 (AtlasC).

<sup>8</sup> E.g. AgricolaO, BrumelO and Ghiselin-VerbonnetO.

<sup>9</sup> W. Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (KirschM).

<sup>10</sup> H. Hewitt, 'A Chanson Rustique of the Early Renaissance: *Bon temps*' (HewittC); N. Bridgman, '«Chansons tant musicales que rustiques»' (BridgmanC); C. Adams, 'Some Aspects of the Chanson for Three Voices during the Sixteenth Century' (AdamsC); H. Colin Slim, 'Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of »Jouissance vous donneray«' (SlimJ).

<sup>11</sup> University of Pennsylvania; spec. Chapter II 'The Manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848-2° at the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen' pp. 46-81; for further discussion see Chapter 9.2.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. 'Den franske chanson 1450-1530 belyst gennem håndskriftet Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2°, Det kgl. Bibliotek, København' (7th Nordic Congress of Musicology, Trondheim, June 1975), and the article 'Or sus vous dormez trop. The Singing of the Lark in French Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century' (1979 – ChristoffersenO).

<sup>13</sup> *Musikhåndskriftet Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°, Det kgl. Bibliotek, København I-III* (Speciale – musik) Copenhagen 1978.

<sup>14</sup> 'Musikkens veje i renæssancen. En side af undersøgelsen af et musikhåndskrift fra Lyon i Det kgl. Bibliotek, København' *Carlsbergfondet – Årsskrift* 1986 pp. 22-26.

Villefranche", adding the date 1548. After a new study trip to Lyons and Villefranche-sur-Saône, the scanty information on Charneyron—consisting of, among other things, three books from his library, which we now know about<sup>15</sup>—painted a picture of him as a collector of books with a fondness for marking them with his impressive signature. This means he must be considered an early owner of Cop 1848, but not one of the hands who added music to the collection. Before this, the great resemblance of the handwriting made me think that it was the main scribe who had written his name among the pen trials in his more or less discarded collection of music.<sup>16</sup> The recently-discovered material with several samples of Charneyron's handwriting makes this interpretation untenable.

Brian Jeffery has commented on Cop 1848 in connection with the repertory in two chansonniers of popular songs in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *mss. fonds français* 9346 and 12744: "Ensuite, on s'aperçoit que dans les deux mss. les chansons ont été arrangées dans un ordre voulu: ... On se sent très loin, par exemple, du ms. 1.848 à Copenhague, sorte d'*omnium gatherum* de toutes sortes de pièces et qui, précisément à cause du manque d'ordre, présente peut-être des copies plus fidèles de ces originaux".<sup>17</sup> In this passing comment Brian Jeffery makes an important point. Even if Cop 1848 has proved not to be quite as disorganized as he says, the apparent lack of order has been a striking feature and something of a deterrent to all who have dealt with the manuscript. That Cop 1848 does not belong in the ranks of beautiful, carefully arranged court manuscripts is obvious. It rather reflects the everyday use of music, and from it we should therefore gain a truer, subtler picture, not only of the use of popular songs in the music of the day, but also of the whole cross-section of musical life in France in the first decades of the 1500s of which the manuscript formed a part.

The aim of the following study is to discover what such a source can tell us about its origin and function, and then to attempt to clarify what the large repertory of the manuscript can tell us of musical life in the milieu in which it originated.

To achieve these aims it is necessary to find out how the tattered manuscript was originally structured, and when and where it was written.

As a basis for dealing with these tasks, *Chapter 1* gathers all the information it has been possible to obtain about the external characteristics of the manuscript, its paper, scribes, etc., and what is known of its provenance; and, finally, the chapter includes a preliminary survey of its repertory. In other words, the first chapter attempts a precise description of Cop 1848 as we find it in the Royal Library in Copenhagen today. Some of this information is shown in tabular form in *Appendix B*. The thematic catalogue in *Volume II* is also meant to help the reader find his bearings in the manuscript's way of presenting the music. For each composition, ample incipits are given, with information on the placing of the parts on the openings wherever this deviates from the norm.

The reconstruction in *Chapter 2* orders the sheets of the manuscript and separates its individual parts. In *Appendix C* the manuscript is presented as it appears after the reconstruction; the placing of the compositions in the reconstructed sections is also given at each catalogue number in *Volume II*. The reconstruction is based on a selection of the information gathered in *Chapter 1*; apart from the continuity of the compositions themselves, the evidence is mostly a matter of paper types, staves, ink and wear marks etc.

<sup>15</sup> See also Chapter 1.1 *Claude Charneyron*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. ChristoffersenO pp. 36-37 and Ch. Hamm & H. Kellman (eds.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (CMS) I p. 164.

<sup>17</sup> 'Thématique littéraire de la chanson française entre 1480 et 1525' (JefferyT) p. 59; on the manuscripts *Paris* 9346 and *Paris* 12744, see also Chapter 8.

The analysis of the reconstructed manuscript in *Part Two* uses a broader body of material, in which the small variations in the scribe's method of working, his writing speed and his care in the arrangement of the parts are all considered. At the same time, the musical content of the individual parts of the manuscript—the composition of the repertory and its place in the music of the day—becomes important in the assessment of the genesis of the manuscript. The aim of the analysis is, as far as possible, to give an account of the scribe's working procedure, his intentions with the various elements of the manuscript and his use of originals for the copying. Besides describing this collection of music, an important objective is to test Charles Hamm's theory of fascicle manuscripts as an important medium for the circulation of music in the 15th-16th centuries. The relevance of this theory to Cop 1848 is obvious. The disposition of the manuscript allows us to support and exemplify the theory and to supplement it at several points of significance for our understanding of the circulation of music (*last-generation fascicle manuscripts* and *sales repertories*). At the end of this part the localization and dating of the manuscript are completed on the basis of the analysis of the paper and an assessment of the most recent repertory compared with contemporary sources.

Since Cop 1848 is one of the few *French* sources preserved from the beginning of the 1520s, the rich repertory of French chansons in the manuscript has been chosen as the main topic of *Part Three*. Here we can not only study a selection of contemporary chansons which gives us a long-wanted basis for describing the genesis of the *Parisian chanson*; but older chanson types are also amply represented. In the case of the *courtly* and the *popular chanson* Cop 1848 gives us an opportunity to study the next generation's attitude to these types; in musical centres they were more or less *passé*, but in the provinces they were still of interest. This provides a special sidelight on the older repertory which in a number of respects corrects the impression left by the contemporary sources. The French chanson is relatively well researched, and there are well-developed theories of the history of the genre with which we can compare the repertory of Cop 1848; but with the church music of the manuscript, and especially its anonymous provincial music, we are on virgin territory. Part Three ends with a first account and evaluation of the provincial French church music.<sup>18</sup> Many of the manuscript's unique compositions are transcribed in *Volume III*.

Cop 1848, like other recently-discovered sources, has implications for our view of musical life in the busy trading and financial centre Lyons. This is briefly discussed in *Part Four*, with an account of two manuscripts which supplement Cop 1848 (*Lyon 6632* and *Uppsala 76a*).

The study is structured as an attempt at a consistently progressive interpretation of an extensive, complex source. From the outset, in the descriptive parts, choices of crucial import for the interpretation of the source have been made. The significance of apparently solid facts like scribes and paper can change utterly depending on the framework in which they are viewed and on the other material with which they are compared. Choices of fundamental importance must be made on the basis of the greatest possible agreement with the available comparative material and its relevance to further interpretation. To make it easier for the reader to verify the process, I have been at pains to present all the elements and to state the basis of comparison clearly. This has led to chapters of outstanding dullness. Compiling them has to a great extent been routine work, usually with a negative result, but with intriguing elements of detective work. These points of light are unfortunately of no benefit to the reader—they drown in the details. The author experiences a certain excitement when a relevant connection looms. Once it has been investigated, it is either added to the mass of information or to the much larger heap of abandoned conjectures.

<sup>18</sup> There is a resumé of Chapters 6-11 at the end of Part Three (Chapter 12).

On this foundation, the interpretation is erected layer by layer: first the reconstruction, then the analyses of the nature of the manuscript and its repertory; and finally its place in the musical life of Lyons. With each layer, the study depends more and more on earlier proven or probable suppositions—all, I trust, verifiable in the text or the appended material. Each of the two voluminous parts *Genesis and function* and *The manuscript as a source for the musical repertory of the early sixteenth century* follows its own trail and exploits the results of the other part. They can be read independently of each other—some overlapping in the presentation was unavoidable. Both parts test the limits to which one can force the interpretation of a single source to obtain knowledge of a wider segment of the music of the day through discussions of the distinctiveness of the source and its music; discussions which spread like ripples in water without losing sight of their actual object. With a source as exceptional as Cop 1848 one comes a surprisingly long way. Yet in some cases the result must be that a much larger body of source material and further studies will be necessary before we can reach any conclusions.

In the study the reader may miss an account of the many variations in text, music and notation found in the versions of the manuscript's compositions in other sources. A review of the variants in all concordances has led to the conclusion that they do not help in the placing of either the source itself as a whole or its individual sections. With some compositions, the analysis leads to interesting results, and this has left its traces in the account. The analysis of the variants as a whole is not documented.

# Chapter 1

## Description

Browsing through Cop 1848 in the reading room of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, one is not particularly surprised that the manuscript could lie neglected so long in the library stacks. For it is, to put it bluntly, an old rag, the appearance of which does not immediately arouse any interest. The binding is recent and quite poor; the pages are not decorated with beautiful illuminated initials and pictures; the handwriting is mostly hurried, with many overscorings and corrections, and it can be difficult to find one's way around the manuscript, because in the binding process the sequence of sheets and fascicles has been confused at several points.

Cop 1848 consists of 114 double sheets of paper, most of which measure about 290 x 405 mm. Apart from the first four fascicles and a single sheet in fasc. 14, the paper is uncut, and still has the characteristic, rather irregular edge left by the paper mould. Its format is that of a small folio manuscript in the "chancellery format" in general use from the beginning of the fifteenth century. This format suggests that the manuscript was meant for private use, unlike the large folio formats used for the music of the court and ecclesiastical chapels, or the very small formats we find, for example, in chansonniers created for use as princely gifts.<sup>1</sup>

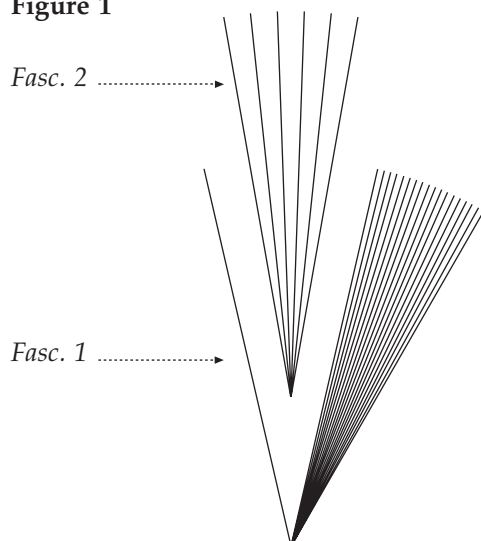
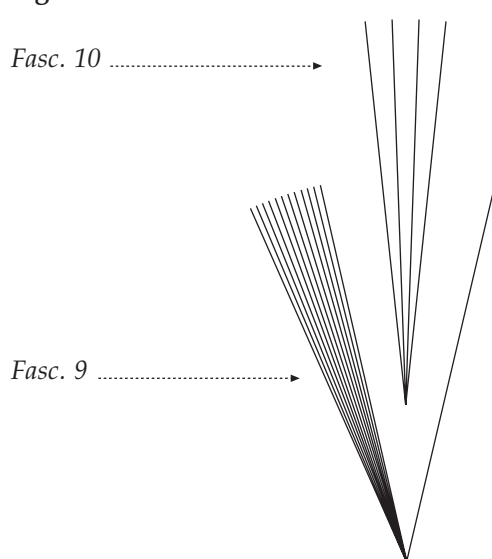
The 114 sheets are distributed over fourteen fascicles of very varied sizes, between two and 22½ double sheets: fasc. 1 (9 sheets); fasc. 2 (3 sheets)—during the last binding fasc. 2 has been placed inside fasc. 1 (cf. *Figure 1*); fasc. 3 (5 sheets); fasc. 4 (5 sheets); fasc. 5 (12 sheets); fasc. 6 (13½ sheets); fasc. 7 (10 sheets); fasc. 8 (22½ sheets); fasc. 9 (6 sheets); fasc. 10 (2 sheets)—fasc. 10 has been included in fasc. 9 (cf. *Figure 2*) (this is the original placing); fasc. 11 (6 sheets); fasc. 12 (5 sheets); fasc. 13 (4 sheets); fasc. 14 (10 sheets).

Some of the fascicles are much larger than one usually finds in a manuscript planned as an integral whole. One normally encounters fascicles of uniform size of four to six double sheets, more rarely up to eight sheets. The structure of Cop 1848 is due to the fact that in most cases the fascicles were drawn up as independent manuscripts, with no thought of their possible later inclusion in a larger whole. At two points, between pp. 174 and 175 and between pp. 316 and 317, a page has been cut out, which explains the half sheets in fascs. 6 and 8.

Several fascicles have worn outer pages: pp. 1, 87, 187, 447 and 449 have at some point been so worn that it was necessary to add new paper of the same quality to edges or corners.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the important article by Martin Just on German manuscripts in this format 'Bemerkungen zu den kleinen Folio-Handschriften deutscher Provenienz um 1500' (JustF). H. Besseler suggests in the entry 'Chorbuch' in M.G.G. (II col. 1338), that this type of manuscript should be designated a "mixed quarto manuscript" ("gemischte Quarthandschrift"). But one must share Martin Just's objection that 'mixed' refers to the content rather than the format, while 'quarto' is certainly the correct designation according to the modern norm for specifying formats. However, such manuscripts, including Cop 1848, must be considered as folios, since the sheets in each fascicle are only folded once, not twice as in quarto manuscripts proper (cf. JustF p. 26).



**Figure 1****Figure 2**

The repairs were not done at the Royal Library, but must have been carried out during the last binding. All the fascicles have sewing-holes from an earlier binding.

Finally, fasc. 11 bears clear traces of having lain folded lengthwise for a long time; not only can the fold still be seen, but p. 374, which must have been outermost, is also worn and very dirty. Fasc. 6 has slight traces of having been folded slightly diagonally for a short period; one must assume that at some point it lay loosely folded in a pocket or bag. The two middle sheets of fasc. 1 are in a similar state.

The manuscript originally had no foliation. The present pagination is recent and has been done in pencil. The pages are numbered sequentially 1-450 in the top corners. Between p. 109 and p. 110, two pages have been missed, but the error was immediately noticed and the same hand has given the pages the numbers 109<sup>bis</sup> and 109<sup>ter</sup>. At the beginning and end of the manuscript there are unpaginated flyleaves added during the last binding. To the back flyleaf a double sheet of recent lined paper in the format 232 x 360 mm has been added, and on this there is a list—not very accurate—of the sacred repertory of the manuscript, written in French by the same hand as has done the pagination.

The binding is from the beginning of the nineteenth century: a reddish-brown board binding with a parchment spine, measuring 295 x 210 x 45 mm. Two paper labels are glued to the spine—above, a red label with the title “Ancien recueil de Chants prof. et

sacrés. Manuscrit 1520.” and at the bottom of the spine a small green label with the legend “Y.o.31.” This has also been written on the front inside binding, and below this another hand has written “Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène”; here too we find the Royal Library’s call number and stamp. Moreover, inside the manuscript, on pp. 356-57 and 448-450, we find the name “Charneyron” among a number of pen trials across the music and text. It appears that an early owner sat writing his name again and again in an attempt to give his signature an aesthetically pleasing calligraphic form.

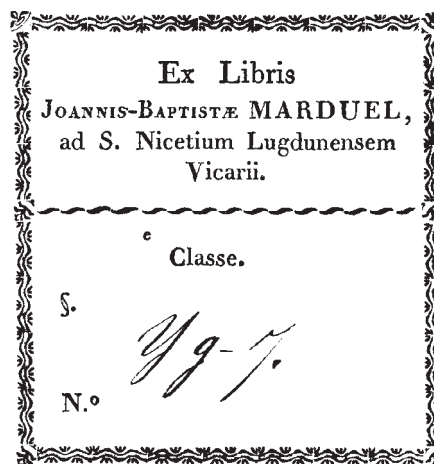
## 1.1 Provenance

With the aid of the information Cop 1848 provides about its previous owners, it is possible to reconstruct the history of the manuscript over the last four hundred years with a high degree of probability. We can begin by looking at the old library number on the spine of the volume and the inside binding. One finds similar legends beginning with the characteristic “Y” in another twenty volumes owned by the Royal Library. They are all among the books bought at the Sotheby’s auction in 1921. At the bottom of the spine, these volumes have a small green label with the shelfmark, and on most of them the spine title is pasted over or supplemented with small red and green labels bearing an explanatory text. All 21 volumes clearly come from the same collection. Several of the volumes have also been repaired with the same materials. For example, the spine of the manuscript Ny kgl. Saml. 1852 2° *Poésies françaises* has been repaired with exactly the same type of parchment as was used for Cop 1848’s binding. And the very worn manuscript Ny kgl. Saml. 1838 2° *Sermonaire du siècle de 1300* has had damaged pages repaired and has been rebound using the same procedure and the same materials as in Cop 1848.

The books in this little collection have thus kept company since they were repaired, catalogued and placed on shelves near one another; they bear shelfmarks ranging from “Y.g.7.” to “Y.u.1.”. An ex-libris reveals the identity of the person who collected and ordered the books. A small, square, printed form is pasted into four volumes: the manuscripts Ny kgl. Saml. 1840 2°, Jo. Salucius, *De templo spirituale* in a French translation of the fifteenth century, 1848 2° *Acta concilii Basiliensis* and 1845 2° *Chronique de Hollande* as well as the incunabulum Inc. Haun 3762 *Statuta seu decreta* ..., Torino, J. Suigus, 1467.<sup>2</sup>

### Jean-Baptiste Marduel

One of the most enthusiastic book collectors in Lyons at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the priest J.-B. Marduel, a learned bibliophile and art collector, and an untiring champion of the traditions of the Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> He was born in 1762 in Chatillon-d’Azerguez north of Lyons to a family that included prominent clerics like the elder Jean-Baptiste Marduel and Claude Marie Marduel, who consecutively held the post of parish priest, *curé*, at Saint-Roch in Paris in the years 1749-1833.<sup>4</sup> Jean-Baptiste the younger joined the ranks of the Church early: when only seven years old he came as a boy singer to the



Marduel's ex-libris  
(after Ny kgl. Saml. 1840 2°)

<sup>2</sup> All the volumes mentioned are listed in *Appendix A*, ordered according to the old shelfmarks, with a brief description of the features which point to J.-B. Marduel's library. I have not been able to examine all the books bought by the Royal Library at Sotheby's in 1921, since some are no longer in the Library's collections. These are three incunabula: Guilelmus Textor, *Sermo de passione Christi*, s.l.n.d.; Angelus de Clavasio, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientiae*, Strasbourg, Flach 1499; Petrus de Crescentiis, *Opus ruralium commodorum*, (Speyer, Drach) s.d.; and ten titles entered in the Manuscript Collection's accessions register. The incunabula were all duplicates of copies in the Royal Library's collection and were probably immediately used for exchanges with other libraries.

<sup>3</sup> The following presentation is mainly based on W. Poidebard, J. Baudrier & L. Galle, *Armorial des Bibliophiles des Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais et Dombes*. Lyon 1907 (PoidebardA) pp. 372-73.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *L'Ami de la Religion, Journal Ecclésiastique, politique et littéraire*. Tome 74, Paris 1833, pp. 468-70.



Cathedral of Saint-Jean in Lyons. Here he was educated at the Cathedral School, achieving the status of *perpétuel*, that is life-long membership of the lower clergy of the Cathedral, and until the Revolution functioned as *sacerdoce* with duties both as a curate and a singer. He was among the many priests who refused to acquiesce to the *Constitution civile du clergé* which was passed in 1790 and made priests into secular civil servants. He went into exile in Germany and only came back to Lyons in 1801 after the Church had entered into a new concordat with the state which restored some of its independence.

From 1803 Marduel worked as *premier vicaire* at Saint-Nizier, one of the main churches in Lyons. This post gave him ample opportunity to cultivate his interests. The disturbances of the Revolutionary period, with the plundering and closure of monasterial and aristocratic libraries, had thrown infinite numbers of books and art objects on the market. They could now be bought very cheaply—a situation which made Marduel's passion for collecting blossom. He became a well-known figure on the streets of Lyons. Several times a day he would be seen in his cassock dragging home the spoils of his visits to the antiquarian booksellers and rag-and-bone shops. He had soon built up a large private library which first filled his home, then the whole presbytery, and finally also the neighbouring houses. In time his library consisted of 13-14,000 volumes which reflected his wide range of interests. But the emphasis was on theology and liturgy, ecclesiastical and regional history, as well as numismatics and heraldry.<sup>5</sup> Among other things, he is said to have owned more than 300 breviaries and missals, in printed and manuscript form, from the 15th-16th centuries, and over a hundred manuscripts from the 11th-14th centuries. He was also interested in antiques—especially coins, enamels, ancient art and statuettes. Besides his book collection he also worked to create a library for the use of the *Rosaire vivant* (Living Rosary) society which he had founded with the Abbé Bontemps. This library gradually built up a collection of about 12,000 volumes, including many rare books on liturgy and religious life.

In 1820 Marduel was called to Paris to assist his relative Claude Marie Marduel by taking up the post of *premier vicaire* at his church of Saint-Roch. When Claude Marie died in 1833, Jean-Baptiste Marduel decided to retire. He was then given the title of *chanoine honoraire* (honorary canon) at Notre-Dame, but otherwise continued his work in the confessional and as preacher for several congregations with the same zeal as before until 1848, when he died at the age of 85 and his funeral was held in Notre-Dame.<sup>6</sup>

Marduel's main interest for many years was the work of restoring and preserving the special liturgy that had always been characteristic of the churches of Lyons, and which had above all had been maintained at *La Primatiale*, Saint-Jean. Here he had lived with the liturgy throughout his childhood and youth. This liturgy had been abolished with the Revolution, and it was only after Marduel had it restored at Saint-Nizier that it was taken up again at Saint-Jean.

<sup>5</sup> Several of these areas are reflected in the small book collection from the 'Y' section of his library (cf. Appendix A). However, there is no clear system in this collection. I have the impression that the 'Y' numbers consist of some of the most recently-bought titles, which have therefore been grouped outside the main collection. Note, for example, that "Y.o.6" (Appendix A) was written as late as 1817-18. In books from Marduel's library which have been preserved elsewhere, one finds shelfmarks which come much earlier in the alphabet, for example "E.a<sup>4</sup>.34." in Marduel's ex-libris, which is reproduced in PoidebardA p. 372, or "A.c<sup>2</sup>.4.", also in Marduel's ex-libris in *Missale secundum usum Gebennensem*, Geneve, Jean Belot 1508 (Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville, Rés. 159.096). This volume, like the books in the Royal Library, has a green label pasted under the spine title with the year "1508", and at the bottom of the spine there are also traces of a label with the shelfmark. The Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon owns yet another book with Marduel's ex-libris, acquired in 1978—Ms. 6412: *Evangeliaire du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*; the number was never written in the ex-libris, and the space at the bottom of the spine where it is placed on the other volumes has now been pasted over with the Bibliothèque de la Ville's catalogue number.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the obituary in *L'Ami de la Religion* 1848, Tome 136, p. 228.

When Marduel moved to Paris, the old traditions lost one of their warmest advocates. But he often visited Lyons and still had contacts with the circles who wished to restore the liturgy. In 1838 a new *Cérémoniel* appeared, authorized by Monseigneur de Pins, for use in the churches of Lyons. This was used until 1897 and was based to some extent on traditions from before the Revolution. Marduel had contributed, among other things, a volume of plates illustrating the text.<sup>7</sup> Mgr. de Pins, *administrateur apostolique du diocèse*, rewarded his efforts by appointing him *chanoine honoraire* at Saint-Jean.

It was, however, mostly outward aspects of the old liturgy that were restored. Marduel still missed important features of the type of worship he had known in his youth, and the installation in 1840 of an organ in Saint-Jean, where hitherto nothing but liturgical song had been heard, was a great disappointment to him. In his last years he spent his time and resources on the publication of a major work, *Messe pontificale et cérémonies de la Primatiale de Lyon*, for the instruction of posterity, with large plates and text explaining how ceremonies and processions had been held according to the old liturgy.<sup>8</sup>

Marduel could not take with him the large collections he had succeeded in building up before he went to Paris, so he had them stored in rented premises. After retirement, when he decided not to move back to Lyons, he sold his collections in 1836 to two religious orders for a symbolic price, and on the condition that they would never sell them. The Marist Brothers received a small number of the books and a few manuscripts—about 1200 volumes—while the Jesuits received the rest of the books, his *médailleur* and his *musée*.

So we must assume that the industrious Marduel found the tattered manuscript during his rummagings in the antiquarian booksellers, junk shops and rag-and-bone shops in the years up to 1820. Despite the poor condition of the manuscript, he could see what it was, took it home, had it repaired and bound, and added it to the “Y” section of his library, from which this and the other twenty books found their way to the Royal Library in Copenhagen. There can be no doubt that all the books come from Marduel’s collection. In the first place, the shelfmark, added in all cases by the same hand, is written in three of the volumes in the proper place in Marduel’s ex-libris. An institutional library would be unlikely to place its number in the former owner’s ex-libris. Marduel’s catalogues probably accompanied the collection to its new home, so it would not have been necessary to catalogue the books again. In the second place, the very careful repair of the books and the trouble taken to write the spine titles in French point rather to a zealous book collector than to a Jesuit library with a shortage of space.

Three of the books in the collection can be traced even further back. Marduel may have acquired them together from a contact in Cluny, about fifty kilometres north of Lyons. The *Confessionale* of Antonius Florentinus, printed in Lyons in 1488 (Inc Haun 248), bears the inscription “ex libri abbatae cluniacensis”—from the great Benedictine monastery of Cluny,

<sup>7</sup> Mgr. de Pins (M. Denavit, Abbé Caille, Abbé Marduel), *Le Cérémoniel de la sainte Eglise de Lyon*. Lyon 1838; Abbé Marduel, *Le Cérémoniel de la sainte Eglise de Lyon*. (23 gravures et 3 planches) Lyon 1838. For Marduel’s restoration efforts, see Dom Denys Buenner, *L’Ancienne liturgie romaine. Le rite Lyonnais*. Lyon 1934 (BuennerL) pp. 97-112. This book also has a portrait of Marduel (p. 12).

<sup>8</sup> Lyon, s.d. (Bibl. de la Ville de Lyon, Cote 28.902: 25 planches sur bristol); some of the texts here are reproduced with explanatory notes by M. Denavit in J. B. Martin, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire Lyonnais*. Fasc. II, Lyon 1900, pp. 9-16. Besides the plates mentioned in n. 7, Marduel also published a small volume, *Liturgie* (3 plans et 9 gravures) Lyon s.d.; reduced reproductions of 23 of his plates can be found in BuennerL, Plates I-XXIII.

Bibl. de la Ville de Lyon owns two other books by Marduel: *Nouveau recueil de cantiques sur les principales vérités de la foi et de la morale ... à l’usage du diocèse de Lyon*. Lyon 1807 (with music; Cote 408.507), and *De l’Autorité paternelle, de la piété filiale et des atteintes portées à ces deux fondamens de l’ordre social*, 2 vols., Paris 1828 (Cote 331.396).

which was dissolved in 1790 during the Revolution; and in Ny kgl. Saml. 1851 2° *La Clavicule de Salomon* an ex-libris is pasted in: “Livre de la Bibliothèque de Philibert Bouché, de Cluny”. This Philibert Bouché, *propriétaire à Cluny*, is also represented in the collection by his collected works in his own hand in three thick volumes—a historical account of Cluny (Ny kgl. Saml. 1847 2°).

### Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène

During the Revolution the Jesuits were expelled from Lyons, and only got their own house in the city again in 1832. They worked in very straitened circumstances until 1834, when they were able to move into a larger house at 44, Rue Sala. A few years later, when they received Marduel's collections, the shortage of space became far too great, and in 1839 they had to build a house on an adjacent site, containing a chapel and a fairly large library. The space problems with the ever-growing library were only solved in earnest, however, when they were able to move into new headquarters in the next street, at 12, Rue Sainte-Hélène. This complex of buildings included, besides a large church and a school, a big library including three rooms for the *médailleur*, *musée d'antique* and *musée artistique*, of which Marduel's collections formed the nucleus.<sup>9</sup>

It was during its period in this library that Cop 1848 acquired the owner's mark “Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène”. This was probably added when the manuscript was lent to the user with musical interests who did the pagination and wrote the list of the contents of the sacred repertory. This user also made a number of small annotations in ink and pencil at various points in the manuscript; for example, designations of parts, transcriptions of texts (p. 10 and p. 18) and an attempt to combine the parts into a score (p. 166). This suggests that he had the manuscript on loan from the library for an extended period. These traces may of course also be due to the next owner of the manuscript, Marcel Chossat, to whom we will return shortly. The name of the library in Cop 1848 is the only trace left by the Jesuit library in the books from Marduel's collection in the Royal Library, apart from the fact that one of the green slips with a book title pasted over an older red slip and in a different hand, may have been added there (see Inc Haun 248).<sup>10</sup>

The Jesuits of Lyons led an uncertain existence in the last century. They were the object of constant mistrust and prohibitions from the authorities, and during social disturbances their institutions were among the first targets of popular wrath. They had to leave their house, for example, for long periods during the revolutions of 1848 and 1870. In the latter case, Marduel's collection of gold and silver coins, among other things, was plundered while the Jesuits were expelled or imprisoned.<sup>11</sup> With the passing in 1901 of the Waldeck-Rousseau Act, which rescinded the rights of the religious orders, the Jesuits were not only driven into exile, but their property was also confiscated and compulsorily sold by liquidators appointed by the state. Since this situation was predictable, the Jesuits had begun as early as the 1890s, in secret and

<sup>9</sup> There is a detailed description of the library in the Rue Sainte-Hélène in Léopold Niepce, *Les Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes de Lyon*, Lyon 1876 pp. 355-57 (NiepceB).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Appendix A. The stamp of the Jesuits is on only one of the sheets in a collection of eighteenth-century manuscripts on the history of French printing, which was part of Lot 417 at the Sotheby's auction in 1921 which also included Cop 1848 (MS Ny kgl. Saml. 2942 4°). These papers may well have come from Marduel's library, but they exhibit none of the traces seen in the other manuscripts and prints. The Jesuit stamp is also in a *Missale secundum usum Gebennensem* 1508 in Bibl. de la Ville de Lyon (cf. n. 5 above).

<sup>11</sup> A very emotional and one-sided account of these events can be found in NiepceB p. 357ff. A more sober account of the work of the Jesuits and their difficulties in Lyons until the dissolution in 1901 is in Auguste Demoment's article ‘Lyon’ in P. Delatre (ed.), *Les Etablissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*. Wetteren 1949-57 (DelatreJ) Tome II, cols. 1589-1606.

despite Marduel's conditions, to sell the more valuable books from the library in Lyons. Some went to bibliophiles and libraries in Lyons, but the majority were sold in Paris and Munich.<sup>12</sup>

### Marcel Chossat

At the Sotheby's auction Cop 1848 was sold as 'the property of a gentleman'. To an enquiry from the Royal Library in 1958, the firm replied that the books had been sold on behalf of a 'Monsieur Chossat'.<sup>13</sup> This Chossat can only be the Jesuit Marcel Chossat, a teacher at the Jesuit seminary *Scolasticat de Fourvière*. This educational and scholarly institution actually belonged in Lyons, but because of the frequent expulsions it was suffering the vicissitudes of exile. Chossat was born in 1863 and entered the order in 1883. Since 1880, the *Scolasticat*, where he became a teacher, had been housed in Mold in Britain, until it was able to move back in 1897 to Fourvière in Lyons. Just four years later the whole institution had to be moved back to England again, first to Canterbury and then to Ore Place in Hastings, where it stayed until 1926.<sup>14</sup> Marcel Chossat, who is described as "tumultueux, désordonné, mais puissant et original",<sup>15</sup> was thus in Lyons in precisely those years when the Jesuits began to sell off books from the Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène.

However, the very mixed collection of books one sees in the Royal Library today does not suggest that Chossat was among the bibliophiles who picked out the particularly beautiful and valuable books. It rather appears that teachers and students at the *Scolasticat de Fourvière*, when fleeing Lyons, made sure they took with them as much as possible of what was left before the state took over the rest.

In 1921, as we have seen, Marcel Chossat sold his book collection through Sotheby & Co., including the books from the library in Lyons. He died in 1926 and does not appear to have managed to return home to France with the seminary.

We can thus trace Cop 1848 back from the auction in 1921 over Marcel Chossat and the Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène to Jean-Baptiste Marduel, who bought or found the manuscript in Lyons at some point at the beginning of the last century. Before Marduel, we know the name of only one person who had it in his hands: the priest Claude Charneyron of Villefranche, who wrote his name no less than fifteen times on the pages. His signature is also found in two volumes now in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon.<sup>16</sup>

### Claude Charneyron

All we know of this person comes from the owner's marks in the books from his library, since all the archives in Lyons and Villefranche are quite silent about him.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately, the volumes in the Bibliothèque de la Ville also show his fondness for putting his name on his

<sup>12</sup> PoidebardA p. 372.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Sotheby & Co. of the 17th Dec. 1958.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. DelatreJ II Cols. 1601-06.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. II Col. 803.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Plate 1. The identification of the Charneyron of the manuscript with the priest of Villefranche is due to the alertness of Laurent Guillo. At the library in Lyons he noticed the name in the first of the books mentioned below, and had a microfilm sent to me. It was then a simple matter to establish that the signatures were identical.

<sup>17</sup> In the *Archives communales de Villefranche* the years 1488-1567 in sér. BB *Administration communale* are missing, and he does not feature as a priest in sér. CC *Impôts et comptabilité*, nor is his name in the very scanty church registers, sér. GG. 1-5, Notre Dame's register of baptisms, funerals and other church rituals in the years 1532-73, signed by the *curé* and his deputy.

Plate 1



Cop 1848 p. 357 (lower half): Music and text copied by Hand A – Claude Charneyron's signature.

u petit & petit pas parcourez de temps. Mais comme un jour comme un autre au jour  
 cond an de l'administratiō dudit florus/ & douzième de l'empire Neronian. Et pour  
 tant qui en veult veoir la maniere lise les livres que ien ay escriptz intitulez de la ba  
 taille des iuifz. Et ainsi fais la fin de mes livres descriptz des Antiquitez Judaïques.

Le fin des livres de Josephus/ parlant des Antiquitez des Juifz. *Charneyron*

Iosephus Iuif & Hebrieu, de  
 l'empire de Raison/ livre tresbeau et elegant en latin/  
 parlant du martyre des Machabees.

**L**es tourmens & passions des nobles Machabees tresdignes de  
 admiration ay bien voulu rebiger par escript/ a la requeste de Do-  
 sybius megapostre/ non pas en forme d'orature: mais selon nostre  
 propre langage/ a l'exhortation & profit de nostre parente et li-  
 gnage. Il est necessite de ppeiquer maintenāt en peu de parolles  
 la raison d'humaine nature/ & assigner la passion d'icelle a glorieux  
 martyrs A la requeste du desirerant: Car celui qui se si vne fois  
 debie a souffrir toutes inuites pour le nom a aloire de dieu/ me semble auoir acqvi-  
 sion d'ordonner de  
 l'ordonner de  
 l'ordonner de  
 l'ordonner de

*Claude Charneyron's signature in Joseph Juif et Hebrieu ..., Paris, Poncet Le Preux, 1534, f. 241 (Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville, Rés. 104.602).*



possessions; here, though, in more informative versions than in Cop 1848. The first volume found consists of two books on the history of the Jews; together they tell their story from the earliest times until about 1500.<sup>18</sup> In several instances a later owner has erased Charneyron's name—sometimes even cut it out—but the original wording is easy to reconstruct. In the following list of Charneyron's inscriptions the missing words are inserted in brackets:

1. *Joseph Juif et Hebreu, Hystoriographe grec, de l'Antiquite Judaïque. Nouvellement translate de Latin en vulgaire françois*, Paris, Poncet Le Preux, 1534.

Title page top: Jhs†maria  
[Claude charneyron]  
bottom: Je suis a [messire claudie charneyron  
prestre] de Villefranche.

f. (a<sub>ii</sub>) top: Jhs†maria [Claude charneyron ptre]  
f. 241 margin: Charneyron

2. *Le grand almageste du Tresnoble et tresillustre hystoriographe Josephe Flavie Duc des Juifz, et grant zelateur de la loy Mosaique ...*, Paris, Nicolas de la Barre, 1533.

Title page top: Jhs†maria  
Ce present livre est a messire glaude charneyron prestre.

Title page middle: Claude Charneyron ptre  
f. 253<sup>v</sup> margin: [Claude Charneyron prestre] de Villefranche en beauuiolloy

f. 254 top: Jhs†maria [Charneyron]  
middle: Ce present Josephus est a moy [Claude Charneyron prestre de  
l'esglise] nostre dame de Villefranche, qui le trouvera le me rende  
et de bon cueur je paierey le vin et du mellieur aujourd'huy vint  
et troisieme novembre mil cinq cens Quarante huict.

Claude Charneyron.

The second volume, with the title *FLORA* on the spine, contains four small books on plants and trees written by Charles Estienne.<sup>19</sup> These are now in a recent binding, but the ink marks from Charneyron's signatures show that in his time too the books were bound in a single volume:

1. *De re hortensis libellus, vulgaria herbarum, florum, ac fructicum ...*, Lyon, Simon Vincent, 1536.

Title page top: Jhs†maria  
middle: Claudius charneronus me possidet  
bottom: Charneyron

2. *Seminarium, et plantarium fructiferarum præsertim arborem ...*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1540.

Title page top: Jhs†maria  
Charneyron de Villefranche est mon maistre

3. *Arbustum. Fonticulus. Spinatum*. Paris, François Estienne, 1542.

4. *Sylva. Frutetum. Collis*. Paris, François Estienne, 1538.

Last page (f. 64<sup>v</sup>): claudio chaneronus de villefrancha mihi dominus est.  
Charneyron.

These three volumes, the music manuscript, two books on the history of the Jews, and four small Latin works on plants and trees, give us a glimpse of a book collector with quite a wide range of interests. That he was a priest in Villefranche-sur-Saône, a town about 25 kilometres north of Lyons, is as evident as we could wish from his inscriptions, where he calls himself "prestre de l'esglise nostre dame". He is unlikely to have held one of the more important posts at Notre-Dame des Marais. In that case his name would have appeared in the archives.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville, Rés. 104.602.

<sup>19</sup> Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville, Rés. 340.789-92.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. n. 17 above.

The main church in Villefranche was served by the parish priest or *curé*, and by a six-member college of priests. Only in 1682 was this assembly elevated to a chapter, and its members were given the rank of *chanoines*.<sup>21</sup>

To be a member of the college of priests in the 1540s, and to have the resources to acquire books beyond those strictly necessary for his calling, Charneyron must have been a man beyond the years of his youth and studies; that is, he was probably born at the beginning of the century. His family probably came from the area between Villefranche and Lyon, where the village of Charnay (Rhône, arr.: Villefranche) lies; it belonged, along with a smallish fortress, to the chapter of Saint-Jean in Lyon.<sup>22</sup> The surname Charnay (Charney, Cheernay) is known as early as the thirteenth century as one of the leading families of Lyons with a seat in the government of the city—a *famille consulaire*—and in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries one still finds artisans of this name.<sup>23</sup> The name “Charnayron” is found in two documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which mention a family of farmers in Civrieux-d’Azergues (Rhône, arr.: Lyon) just beside Charney.<sup>24</sup>

The next owner of the volume on the history of the Jews, who so industriously tried to remove Charneyron’s name from the pages, also left a lengthy inscription in the book. On the flyleaf opposite the title page in *Joseph Juif et Hebreu* one finds first the name “Guerren” and below this: “Ce present livre est a moy Jeremie guerren, femme de monsieur mandy, medesin de Villefranche, qui le trovera le me rande et je payerey le ving de bon cueur. Guerren.” Guerren or Guerrin, and Mandy, are the names of two of the leading families in Villefranche; for example, Antoine Guerrin, Pierre Guerrin and Claude Guerrin were appointed councilors in 1512, 1521 and 1545 respectively, while Guillaume Mandy, *Docteur en Medecine*, was appointed in 1546.<sup>25</sup> The doctor Guillaume Mandy also attended a crisis meeting on the 1st October 1567 when the town was under threat of capture in the wars of religion.<sup>26</sup> From this information we can conclude that Guillaume Mandy and his wife Jeremie Guerren were more or less contemporaries of Claude Charneyron or perhaps a little younger. This could indicate that Charneyron died around the middle of the century, and that the valuable books in his library were sold in the town, unless of course they were scattered in 1562, when the Protestant lower class revolted and expelled the priests.

Charneyron cannot have thought very highly of his music manuscript, since he used five pages to practice his signature, with its characteristic broken ‘C’ with a small ‘c’ inside, which we see in perfected form in the printed books.<sup>27</sup> However, these pages may already have been full of pen trials and scribbles before he owned the manuscript. It is possible that no

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. Balloffet, *Histoire de Villefranche. Capitale du Beaujolais*. Villefranche 1932, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. R. Lacour, Archives departementales du Rhône, *Répertoire numerique* (LacourA) I p. 147.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Tricou, *Armorial et Répertoire Lyonnais* (TricouA) V pp. 154-55, and G. Guigue, J. Laurent & P. Gras, *Obituaries de la province de Lyon*. (GuigueO) I p. 543 and II p. 641.

<sup>24</sup> Duranni Charnayron is mentioned in a note of sale of November 1279 as liable to pay a measure of grain as rent for a strip of land (Le chevalier Jacques Palatin sells, among other things, the rights and incomes he owns in Civrieux to the chapter of Saint-Martin-d’Ainay); the document has been published in Valentin-Smith & M.-C. Guigue, *Biblioteca Dumbensis*, Trévoux 1854-85, II p. 209. In March 1342, among many other transactions, the rights were sold to an area adjacent to the same property which was now farmed by Thome Charnayron, probably a son; the document has been published in M.-C. Guigue & Charpin-Feugerolles, *Grand Cartulaire de l’Abaye d’Ainay*, Lyon 1885, I p. 406.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Pierre Louvet de Beauvais, *Histoire de Villefranche. Capitale de Beaujolais*, Lyon 1671, pp. 88-104 “Estat de ceux qui ont esté appelez à la charge d’echevins de la ville de Villefranche, Capitale de Beaujolais, depuis près de trois cens ans.”

<sup>26</sup> Cf. E. Longin, *Essai historique sur Villefranche pendant les guerres religieuses du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Villefranche 1899, pp. 119ff.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Plate 1.

one after Charneyron's death took any interest in the manuscript, for it contains no trace whatsoever of owners between Charneyron and Marduel. One cannot help but get the idea that Charneyron and Marduel resembled each other in many respects; they were both priests in subordinate posts and apparently both collectors with a high degree of curiosity and a liking for curios. It is very conceivable that the tattered volume lay hidden in the church library in Villefranche until the Revolution two and a half centuries later, when, along with innumerable other books from confiscated and looted libraries, it ended up on the market in Lyons, the nearest city. Thus the music manuscript, after a long hibernation, may have passed from one book-collecting priest to the other. At any rate, there is no reason to believe that it travelled far in the intervening centuries.

Cop 1848 has the date 1520 on the spine; this is of course not the original date, but was written on at the last binding, perhaps with the remains of an older binding as source. However, the dating may well be correct, and can be taken as a starting point for further study.

If we want to know more of the precise circumstances of the genesis of the manuscript, we must proceed to a closer analysis of the details of its physical appearance and its musical repertory. As mentioned before, Cop 1848 does not appear today in its original form; even after a quick look through the manuscript, one realizes that there are several breaks in the compositions. In order to attempt a reconstruction of its original disposition one must draw on as much information as possible on paper, scribes etc. In the following sections these subjects, along with details such as the drawing of the staves, the disposition of parts and various non-musical inscriptions, drawings and marks will be treated in turn. In the next chapter this information will then form the basis for an attempt to reconstruct the earlier stages of the manuscript. In the following, paper, watermarks, hands etc. are designated and numbered in the sequence in which one finds them in Cop 1848 today.<sup>28</sup>

## 1.2 Paper and watermarks

On the face of it, the paper in Cop 1848 seems fairly uniform. It is a paper type for everyday use—chancellery paper—which was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in large quantities by administrative bodies, notaries and all kinds of scribes. The bulk of the paper probably comes from the same paper mill. The dominant motif among the paper's watermarks is the capital letter 'B'. According to Briquet this watermark is of French origin and was used so commonly as a paper mill mark all over the country that one must describe it as "banal".<sup>29</sup> It can be almost impossible to trace paper with such a mark, since a classification of the infinite variations can easily be arbitrary. Nevertheless, an examination of the watermarks may provide valuable information about the time and place of the genesis of the manuscript,

<sup>28</sup> A selection of the information in the following sections on watermarks, paper, other hands than that of the main scribe, staves and fascicle structure, is given in table form in *Appendix B*.

<sup>29</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. I-IV* (Jubilee Edition, ed. Allan Stevenson) Amsterdam 1968 (BriquetF) II p. 432 "... on peut conclure que ce filigrane a été usité dans toute les régions et qu'il y était devenu banal."



as well as useful material for use in reconstruction. Let us first look at the watermarks which appear on the paper.

*Fascicle 8* can immediately be separated from the rest, since the paper here has no watermark (22½ sheets, pp. 229-318); it is also in a rather smaller format than the rest of the paper. It is possible, with great effort and much luck, to identify paper like this just from the marks that the chains and wires at the bottom of the mould have left on the paper; but this has not been attempted with this paper. The remaining 91 sheets have a total of eight different watermarks and here the 'Bs' are, as mentioned before, predominant. They appear on 87 sheets.

*Watermark 1* is found with *Watermark 1a* on many of the sheets: in fascs. 1-5 (pp. 1-26, pp. 35-106 and pp. 117-134); in fasc. 7 (pp. 205-212); in fascs. 9-10 (pp. 319-350); and in fascs. 12-14 (pp. 375-76, pp. 393-400, pp. 405-410, pp. 419-422 and pp. 439-442). At first glance, the two marks (cf. *Plate 2*)<sup>30</sup> may seem different; but they clearly come from a pair of moulds. In hand-made paper watermarks as a rule appear as twins, since the paper mills always worked with two moulds at each vat. This way the papermakers could make the paper in a regular, flowing rhythm. The vatman began by pouring the pulp for a sheet into the first mould, and while the coucher carefully rolled this sheet off the mould on to a piece of felt, the vatman formed the next sheet of paper on the other mould, and so on. So sheets from the two moulds would alternate in a post of paper. This order would to some extent be broken as the paper was checked, dried and glued. Of course, the manufacturers always tried to make the two moulds identical, but inasmuch as the bottom of the mould consisted of a large number of close-meshed, tightly-strung wires, small variations from mould to mould were unavoidable. And the watermarks, which were formed in soft material, silver or copper wire, and sewn to the bottom of the mould, could rarely be quite identical.<sup>31</sup>

The paper on which the watermark pair *1* and *1a* appears is quite uniform in quality and format, and deviations in the chain lines and laid lines are also minimal. In paper with *Wm 1a* the chainspace is 31 mm, compared to 30 mm in paper with *Wm 1*.

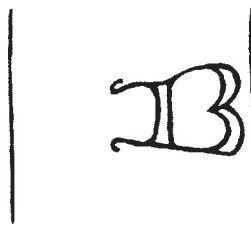
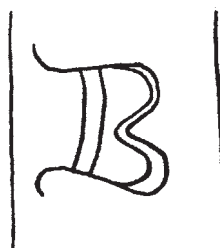
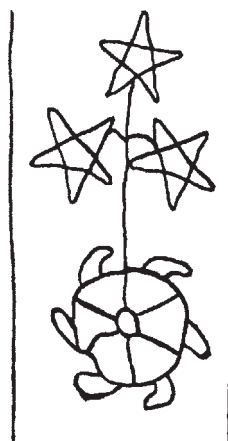
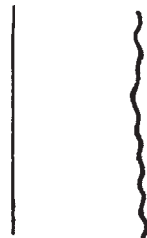
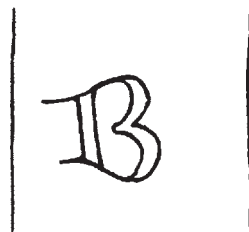
The watermarks were worn and often deformed in the production process. A new watermark was as a rule sewn to the bottom of the mould midway between two chains. The daily cleaning of the mould could gradually change the contours of the mark, and the constantly repeated movements and shocks to which the mould was subjected during the work at the vat would also make it slide to the right along the transverse wires, always on the one side, until it was stopped by a chain. If the watermark had not by now become quite unrecognizable, or had fallen off the mould and disappeared, it was often put back in place and sewn on again. This was a process that took many months, but it began as soon as a watermark was used, and continued incessantly.<sup>32</sup>

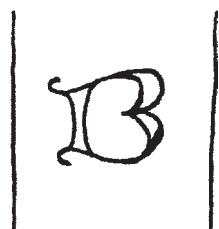
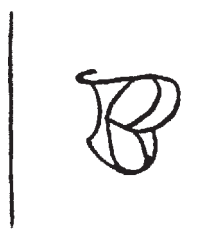
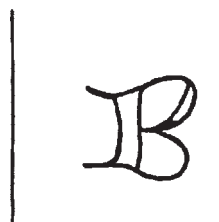
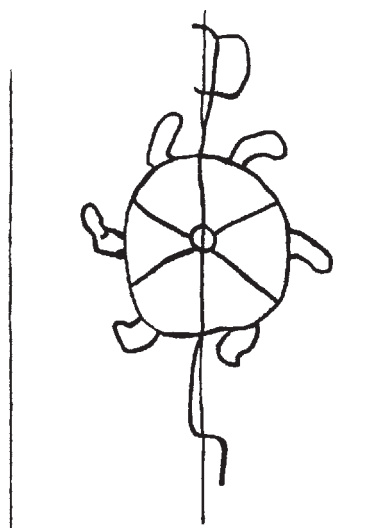
*Watermark 1a* is clearly a worn mark. We can see how the stitches in the "hooks" on the left of the 'B' have remained where they were, while the rest of the mark has slipped to the right, and has thus been pulled into an oblong shape (cf. *Plate 2*). The continuation of the process can be followed in the paper of the manuscript, inasmuch as we can see how the

<sup>30</sup> The watermarks are as a rule placed in towards the middle of the right half of the sheet when the mark is viewed non-inverted against the light; where this is not the case, the edge of the paper is shown with a wavy line. The drawings were done freehand in order not to damage the brittle paper of the manuscript.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Briquet I p. \*20 ('Introduction' by A. Stevenson); cf. also Gerhard Piccard's article 'Die Wasserzeichenforschung als historische Hilfswissenschaft' (PiccardH), which is critical of Briquet's method, and his monumental catalogue *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Findbuch I-(XI)*, (PiccardW), especially the introductions to *Findbuch I*, pp. 9-10 and *Findbuch II.1*, pp. 1-11. This catalogue does not (as yet) include the types of watermarks that appear in Cop 1848. There is an excellent account of the issues of watermark research in O. K. Nordstrand's article 'Vandmærker og vandmærkeforskning. Papirhistoriske noter I' (NordstrandV).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

**Plate 2** *Watermarks in Cop 1848**Watermark 1**Watermark 1a**Watermark 2**Watermark 3**Watermark 4*

*Plate 2 (cont.)**Watermark 5**Watermark 6**Watermark 6a**Watermark 7**Watermark 8*

watermark slides to the chain wire, comes loose and in the end stands vertically up against the chain (p. 399). *Wm 1* has also wandered to the right; in some sheets it is midway between the chains, while in others it has slid all the way over to the right-hand chain. Unlike its twin, its stitches have allowed it to move without much deformation.

The gradual wear on the watermarks means that we can set up—at least speculatively—a chronology for the production of the paper. The paper in fasc. 5 would thus be the oldest; here *Wm 1* is midway between the chain lines, while *Wm 1a* has slid to the right. After this comes the paper in fascs. 9-10, fasc. 12 and fasc. 14, where *Wm 1* is also on its way to the right. In fascs. 1-2 *Wm 1* has, like *Wm 1a*, reached all the way out to the chain line, and finally *Wm 1a* has come loose and is vertical in fasc. 13. Now the bottom of the mould needed repairing, and in fascs. 3-4 we can see that both marks have been centred between the chains again, but without being straightened up. The bottom of the mould has now become clearly worn: the chain wire to the right of *Wm 1*, which was formerly straight, has come loose and has left the impression of a curved line in the paper. This last batch of paper also has a slightly different appearance from the rest: it has a somewhat coarser surface and is more yellowish.

This chronology does not necessarily tell us anything about the order in which the compiler of the manuscript bought and used the paper. Paper produced at different times may very easily have been mixed up, either at the paper mill or in the shop. The differences in appearance may however indicate a certain interval of time. We must distinguish between two types of paper with *Wm 1* and *Wm 1a*: *Paper 1a*—which makes up the bulk of the paper with these watermarks—and *Paper 1b* in fascs. 3-4. Moreover, we shall see later that the speculative chronology by and large accords with the genesis of the manuscript.<sup>33</sup>

*Watermark 2* is larger than the other 'B' marks; it is found in two sheets in the middle of fasc. 1 (pp. 27-34). The two watermarks are not quite identical, so they also come from a pair of moulds. The paper, which has been cut after it was written on, is more yellowish and the laid lines are more salient than in *Paper 1a*.

*Watermark 3* represents a water wheel decorated with three flowers; it is found in three sheets inserted in fasc. 5 (pp. 107-116). The paper is thinner and more greyish than *Paper 1a*, and the laid lines are very clear.

*Watermark 4* is a 'B' without "hooks" on the serifs and is placed fairly close to the edge of the paper (cf. *Plate 2*). It is found in fascs. 6-7 (pp. 135-204 and pp. 213-228). Besides its normal shape, it appears slightly compressed in some sheets, so this paper also comes from a pair of moulds. It wholly matches *Paper 1a* in quality.

*Watermark 5* resembles *Wm 4*, but is placed right out at the edge of the paper, and the chain lines are much closer together (cf. *Plate 2*). Fasc. 11 (pp. 351-374) consists of paper with this mark. This is the largest paper size in the manuscript and is of the best quality, thicker than the other paper, with a fine surface.

*Watermark 6* is found along with *Watermark 6a* in fascs. 12 and 14 (pp. 377-392, pp. 411-418, pp. 423-428, pp. 433-438 and pp. 443-450). The paper probably comes from the same mill as *Paper 1* and has the same appearance as *Paper 1a*. The two marks, like *Wm 1* and *Wm 1a*, come from a pair of moulds. *Wm 6a* is deformed; it may have fallen from the mould, has lost one of the "hooks" of the 'B' and has been compressed slightly by the sewing (cf. *Plate 2*).

*Watermark 7* greatly resembles *Wm 4*, but is placed farther in towards the middle of the sheet. It is only found in one sheet of paper in fasc. 13 (pp. 401-404). This paper has a darker and coarser surface than *Paper 4* and is also slightly smaller in format.

*Watermark 8* is also only found in one sheet, pp. 429-432 in fasc. 14. It is a water wheel

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Chapter 5.

with a capital 'P' above and is placed in the left half of the sheet. It is a worn mark; it probably fell off the mould and was bent slightly, and was then sewn on to a chain wire (cf. *Plate 2*).

Two of these eight watermarks can be traced with the help of the tables in the famous catalogue of watermarks by C. M. Briquet. In its earliest shape *Watermark 1* greatly resembles *Briquet 8018*, which Briquet found in *BB.35*, a volume of documents from 1515 in the *Archives municipales* of Lyons. The most significant difference between the two marks is that *Wm 1* is slightly larger and rounder, and that the wire inside the 'B' has been drawn differently; the chain and laid lines and the format are close matches. There are rather greater divergences between *Watermark 8* and *Briquet 13454*, which he found in paper from 1511, also in the Lyon municipal archives, in *BB.29*. Briquet reproduces a new mark which stands midway between the chain lines, while *Wm 8* probably fell off the mould and was sewn on to a chain wire again. Apart from this, the match is extremely good. Briquet's lists thus in both cases point to *Séries BB* in the *Archives municipales* in Lyons as the documents where one should be able to find paper identical to or very closely related to the paper in Cop 1848.

The *Archives municipales* are today housed in the old Archbishop's Palace beside Saint-Jean. *Séries BB* of the archives contains the records of the municipal administration, the *actes consulaires*, and the series is fortunately almost complete for the period in which we are interested. *BB.1-BB.62* cover the years 1416-1546 with very few lacunae.<sup>34</sup> The documents are ordered sequentially in thick volumes in two different formats. The day-to-day, quickly written notes and minutes are collected in volumes in the small folio format, each of which contains the documents for a single year or a few years. These form the nucleus of the series. Between these are large folio volumes, beautifully penned, on very strong, costly paper. They contain fair copies of documents, resolutions, proclamations, negotiations and accounts of major events, and the content covers a longer period than the smaller volumes.<sup>35</sup> The paper we are looking for was used in the day-to-work in the *petit-in-folio* volumes. Here we can see that paper mills with a 'B' or various water wheels as a mark were frequent suppliers to the Lyons city council. An examination of these volumes shows that the bulk of the paper in Cop 1848 comes from the same mills. And the fact that the manuscript contains several different marks that can be correlated with the watermarks in *Séries BB* enables us to establish a chronological framework for its genesis.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> There is an overview of the content of the documents in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives communales antérieures à 1790, rédigé par M. F. Rolle, archiviste adjoint. Ville de Lyon. Paris 1865-87.*

<sup>35</sup> *BB.24*, 1496-1505; *BB.25*, 1506-08; *BB.28*, 1508-11; *BB.30*, 1511-13; *BB.33*, 1513-15; *BB.34*, 1515-16; *BB.37*, 1516-19; *BB.39*, 1519-22; *BB.41*, 1523-24; and *BB.43*, 1524. It is clear that this type of document is particularly plentiful in the period when the Royal court was in Lyons—the Italian campaigns, for example, were organized from the city in 1515 and 1524-26.

<sup>36</sup> Although the documents in *Séries BB* must certainly be regarded as reliable sources for the accurate identification and dating of the paper in Cop 1848 according to Piccard's definition (PiccardW I pp. 9-10), this material has not been sufficiently researched to enable us to draw firm conclusions. Piccard's method of identifying watermarks (PiccardH p. 106 ff) requires the registration and chronological ordering of all the variants of a watermark; only with such a thoroughly processed corpus of material can one make certain statements. The examination of the thirty thick volumes in small folio in *Séries BB* was itself very time-consuming. Among the 'B' variants alone here, innumerable variants appear. On the other hand there are years where they do not occur at all. To gain a reliable picture it is also necessary to examine the great quantities of paper of the same type preserved in other collections in the *Archives municipales* and in the large regional archives in Lyons, *Archives départementales du Rhône*.

In the following, the watermarks in Cop 1848 have been correlated with the marks I have studied and measured in the *Archives municipales*, and the datings have been kept within a relatively broad framework drawn up with due consideration for probability and the experience of paper researchers with other archives.

*Watermarks 1 and 1a.* Briquet found his watermark No. 8018 in BB.35, which was used in the years 1515-16. This is a volume of 200 folios and one of the few in the series which mainly uses just one kind of paper. Only in a few sheets does the watermark look like Briquet's drawing. For he sought out the sheets where the mark appeared quite new and undamaged. In all the other sheets we find a pair of watermarks which are very close in appearance to *Wm 1* and *Wm 1a*. One of them is identical to *Wm 1*, while its twin, the deformed mark, is not quite as worn as *Wm 1a*, and both marks are midway between the chain lines. We encounter exactly the same marks in BB.36 from the years 1516-17 (ff. 50-96 and ff. 106ff). We also find the watermark pair at the beginning (ff. 1-50) of BB.38 from 1517-20; now the damaged twin mark is very like *Wm 1a*. Later in the same volume—ff. 192ff from 1519—*Wm 1a* appears again, now with a twin approaching *Wm 6* in shape.

*Watermarks 6 and 6a.* As mentioned before, *Wm 6* probably comes from the same paper mill as *Wm 1*. This is confirmed here, since *Wm 6* succeeds *Wm 1* in the years after 1520. It appears in documents from 1521-22 in BB.40 (ff. 254ff) and in BB.42 from 1523 (ff. 4ff). But here the mark is attached to moulds which are different from those that have left an impression on the Cop 1848 paper, with an extra chain wire between the mark and the edge of the paper. We find the Cop 1848 paper in BB.44 from 1524-25, where the pair *Wm 6* and *Wm 6a* appear in the same shape and on similar mould bottoms.

*Watermark 4* probably also comes from this paper mill, as some fascicles in BB.42 (ff. 91ff) consist of paper with this watermark mixed with paper with *Wm 6*. It is possible that two moulds, each with its own type of 'B', were used for a short while as a pair at the paper mill; the moulds match fairly well. Another possibility is of course that the paper was mixed up during delivery. This watermark is the most common 'B' mark in the volumes examined. It occurs in innumerable variants in paper from the period 1506-37. Yet none of this paper is identical to the paper in Cop 1848, since the watermarks are always placed farther in on the sheet, as with *Watermark 7*, which is a damaged variant of *Wm 4*. The paper with *Wm 4* is most like paper from the period 1515-24 in BB.35, 36, 38, 40, 42 and 44, where it is often found in fascicles among paper with *Wm 1*, *Wm 6*, *Wm 3* and *Wm 8*. In the census list CC.34 of 1517-18, *Nommées, du cote de Saint-Nizier*, this watermark also appears in many variants.

*Watermark 3*, which only occurs in three sheets in Cop 1848, is identical to the watermark in some fascicles of BB.42 (ff. 160-206), amidst paper with the 'B' mark. This paper was used in 1523.

*Watermark 8*, of which Briquet found an undamaged version in BB.29 from 1511, was, like *Wm 4*, in use for a long period. I have found it in many variants from 1485 (BB.19) until 1531 (BB.50). A watermark sewn on to the chain wire just like *Wm 8* occurs at the end of BB.38, which was used in 1520, and at the end of BB.40, from 1523. As we only have one sheet of Cop 1848 to work with, identification is difficult. *Wm 8* also occurs in exactly the same shape, only a little larger, in the fragments of a music manuscript in Bibl. de la Ville de Lyon, Ms. 6632. Here the watermark is placed so the vane on the left of the water wheel overlaps a chain wire, and the paper is in a larger format and of better quality than in Cop 1848.<sup>37</sup>

I have been unable to find parallels to *Watermarks 2* and *5* in *Séries BB*. *Wm 2* may be from the same paper mill and period as most of the 'Bs', while *Wm 5* belongs to a paper of better quality for which I have found no basis of comparison.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century institutions which used paper in bulk normally bought new paper as the need arose, either directly from the mills or from merchants who had contracts with several manufacturers. Given the many types of paper we encounter in

<sup>37</sup> On Ms. 6632, see also Chapter 14.1.



the documents, the latter must have been the case in Lyons. The administrative bodies did not stockpile paper. As a rule the paper was used very soon after it had been manufactured—within six months to a year. Production often had difficulty keeping up with demand. In the retail trade, where private and individual copyists got their paper, it might remain in stock longer, but was as a rule used within three years of the production date.<sup>38</sup> The moulds in which the paper was manufactured had to be renewed after about six months of constant use, or after the time it took to produce about 400,000 sheets of paper on a pair of moulds; moulds for making rarely-used formats lasted much longer. Watermarks could be re-used and moved from an old to a new set of moulds.<sup>39</sup> The fast-changing variants of watermarks like *Wm 4* in *Séries BB* suggest that this was the mark normally used by the paper mill that supplied much paper with 'B' marks to the Lyons city council. The moulds were replaced frequently. Paper with *Wm 1* and *Wm 1a*, on the other hand, remained in use relatively unchanged over a longish period; it was manufactured in the years 1514-18 and perhaps even later. This may indicate that the paper comes from a secondary set of moulds where production was lower or more sporadic.

Let us sum up what the watermarks can tell us about Cop 1848: first and foremost, that the paper is from the same sources as the paper used by the Lyons city council. The main suppliers were probably the numerous paper mills along the rivers and waterways around Lyons, in Beaujolais and Auvergne; furthermore, that it was manufactured and used in the years around 1520. *Paper 1a* is unlikely to have been made and sold earlier than 1517, given the degree of wear in the moulds when it was produced, and it should perhaps be dated even later. *Paper 1b* should probably be dated later than *Paper 1a*. *Paper 6*, on the other hand, was not on sale before 1524, more or less concurrently with *Paper 3*. The interval from 1517/18 until about 1524 is the timescale within which the scribe could have bought the paper. The remaining paper types can very probably be dated within the same period; *Paper 4* and *Paper 9*, the latter without watermarks, earlier; and *Papers 7* and *8* later in the period.<sup>40</sup> *Paper 5* is an alien element in the manuscript and is not easy to date; it may be older than the other paper.

- Paper 1a* with *Wm 1* and *1a* in fascs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9-10 and 12-14, 285-87 x 404 mm (in fascs. 1 and 2 cut to 280-82 x 400 mm), normally glued, surface slightly shiny in patches. Lyons, 1517-18 or later.
- Paper 1b* with *Wm 1* and *Wm 1a* in fascs. 3 and 4, cut to 280-82 x 400 mm, not as heavily glued, appears coarser and thicker, yellowish colour. Lyons, later than *Paper 1a*.
- Paper 2* with *Wm 2* in fasc. 1, cut to 280-82 x 404 mm, colour yellowish, laid lines more salient than in *Paper 1a*.
- Paper 3* with *Wm 3* in fasc. 5, 282-86 x 402 mm, thinner and more greyish than *Paper 1a*. Lyons, 1523-24.
- Paper 4* with *Wm 4* in fascs. 6 and 7, 284-88 x 405 mm, like *Paper 1a*. Lyons, c. 1520.
- Paper 5* with *Wm 5* in fasc. 11, 288 x 410 mm, thick paper. Possibly older than the other paper.
- Paper 6* with *Wm 6* and *6a* in fascs. 12 and 14, 285 x 405 mm, like *Paper 1a*. Lyons, c. 1524.
- Paper 7* with *Wm 7* in fasc. 13, 278-80 x 405 mm, like *Paper 4*, but darker and coarser. Lyons.
- Paper 8* with *Wm 8* in fasc. 14, cut to 285 x 405 mm, like *Paper 1a*. Lyons, c. 1522.
- Paper 9* without watermark, in fasc. 8, 275 x 390 mm, like *Paper 1a*, c. 1520.

<sup>38</sup> PiccardH pp. 93-96.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. pp. 69-88.

<sup>40</sup> This assessment is partly based on the scribal aspects (cf. Chapter 5).

### 1.3 Scribes

On close examination of the scribal aspects, one realizes that just one person—designated hereafter as *Hand A* or *the main scribe*—was responsible for almost all of Cop 1848. He did so not in one continuous, relatively short period, but in several sessions, corresponding to each of which there are superficial, but striking changes in the appearance of the handwriting. *Plates 3-9* give an impression of the hands we encounter in Cop 1848.

*Hand A* is a Gothic script (*bâtarde*), most frequently encountered as an everyday script in the 15th-16th centuries, a flowing and reasonably easily-read hand, different from the official style of the period which we know from documents and decorative literary or musical manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> One way of recognizing the handwriting in the various sections of the manuscript as variants of the same hand is to compare the texts of compositions where the same words and phrases are used frequently (for example masses, Magnificat settings and many chansons). Another is to isolate single letters (especially b, d, e, s, y and x), which are written throughout the manuscript with the same characteristic style. In the case of the musical notation, it is more difficult to find points of reference for comparisons. Everywhere the classic white mensural notation is used—mostly in its simple form without many ligatures or rhythmic complexity, a type of notation without many striking features. The drawing of the clefs is fairly consistent: the C-clefs always point slightly downwards, which makes them easy to distinguish from *Hand D*'s C-clefs, which always point upwards (cf. *Figure 2*). The variations in *Hand A* are no greater than those one normally meets within one person's writing. They are there because of differences in time, in writing speed and the use of different pens, and are matched by corresponding variations in the drawing of the staves, which are examined separately in the next section. The basic features of the handwriting are constant, and it is not possible, on the basis of differences in its appearance, to infer any progressive development in *Hand A* that can help us with the issue of the internal chronology of Cop 1848.<sup>42</sup> The basis of the following overview, in which the main scribe's work is roughly divided into nine groups, is the original content of the fascicles; his own later additions can exhibit considerable deviations.<sup>43</sup> The description of the ink colour refers of course to the present state of the manuscript, where the colour of the ink has been affected by chemical processes in the course of the centuries.

**Figure 2**

*Hand A:*



*Hand D:*



- 1) Relatively large music hand, easily legible text, drop-shaped minimae with short stems, as a rule pointing upwards; light-brown ink colour; dominant in fascs. 1-2 with *Staff 1* (cf. *Plate 3*).
- 2) As 1, more meticulous, the notes closer together, orientation of stems inconsistent on the top lines, text in smaller handwriting; yellowish-brown ink; occurring in *Staff 2* in fasc. 1.
- 3) As 2; brown or black ink; dominant in fascs. 3-4 with *Staff 3*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. H. Degering, *Die Schrift. Atlas der Schriftformen von Altertum bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1929, Tafel 108; J. Tschichold, *Geschichte der Schrift in Bildern*. Basel 1946, Abb. 42; and B. Bischoff, G. J. Lieftinck & G. Battelli, *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du ix<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris 1954, Figs. 25, 26 and 32; and on terminology, J. Autenrieth, 'Paläographische Nomenklatur im Rahmen der Handschriftenkatalogisierung' in Cl. Köttelwesch (ed.), *Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterliche und neuere Handschriften* (KöttelweschK) p. 103.

<sup>42</sup> H. Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (SchoopO) p. 33ff. gives an account of changes in its main scribe's shaping of individual letters. Schoop uses these scribal features very convincingly in establishing the chronology of the parts of the MS. However, *Oxford 213* was written over a considerably longer period than Cop 1848.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.



- 4) As 1, but more quickly written, with more corrections; brown ink; occurring in fascs. 5 and 7 with *Staff 4*.
- 5) As 4, but larger, orientation of stems inconsistent on the top lines; black ink; dominant in fascs. 6 and 7 with *Staff 4* (cf. *Plate 9*).
- 6) As 2, small script, all stems pointing upwards; light brown ink; occurs in *Staff 5* in fasc. 7.
- 7) As 5, also greatly resembles 3; black ink—p. 230 an attempt to enhance initials with brown colour (cf. *Plate 4*)—dominant in fasc. 8 with *Staff 6*.
- 8) Very meticulous script, notes close together, long stems whose orientation is inconsistent on top lines. The hand gets very small at some points, but is clear throughout; brown to black ink; dominant in fascs. 9-10 and fascs. 12-14 with *Staves 7, 10 and 12* (cf. *Plate 5*).
- 9) As 8, but larger, very long stems, all pointing upwards; occurring with *Staff 11* in fasc. 13.

The main scribe must have had a good grounding in music. The corrections were in most cases made concurrently with the copying or shortly afterwards, and bear witness to professional insight into the music. He was able to produce usable musical notation, but attached little importance to its aesthetic appearance.

In some places—in a fascicle and some sheets of music that the main scribe must have come upon and incorporated in his collection—we encounter hands other than Hand A. In the fascicle there were many pages with empty staves which he could use for his own purposes.

*Hand B* occurs in three double sheets inserted in fasc. 5 (pp. 107-116)—a large, clear music hand with few corrections. The heads of the minims are drop-shaped, almost triangular, and the stems are long and all pointing upwards. The text hand is very small—easily distinguishable from Hand A, among other things because of the long curves over and below the middle level of the script; at the same time the individual letters are more closely joined. Black ink; staves drawn as in *Staff 4*, but done by Hand B. At the bottom of p. 107 Hand A has added text to the bassus part (cf. *Plate 6*).

*Hand C* occurs in fasc. 11; it is a careful Late Gothic script, notes with rhomboid semibreves and minims—but the standard quickly declines; in the second part of the *Credo*, no. 203 (pp. 370-71) the notes are drop-shaped and the text is written in an “everyday” style. Text beginnings and part designations have illuminated initials including human faces and dragons’ heads—so-called *lettres filigranées* or *fleuronnées*.<sup>44</sup> There are few corrections; brownish ink; *Staff 7* was drawn by Hand C, probably a professional music copyist (cf. *Plate 7*). The many empty pages in fasc. 11 were used by the main scribe.

After the main scribe had concluded his work, a few compositions were added in empty spaces—mostly on pages where the drawing of the staves had been so unsuccessful that the main scribe could not use them, or on unused staves. Compositions already copied have also been corrected or completed.

*Hand D* occurs in almost all parts of the manuscript: in fasc. 1, fascs. 5-8, fasc. 10 and fascs. 13-14. The music hand is very consistent—a large, off-hand script with many corrections and little care in the placing of clefs, mensural signs and key signatures. The text hand varies greatly with writing speed, and there are great variations in the shapes of the individual letters: from a normal *bâtarde* which can be almost illegible in quickly-added texts to a very clear hand resembling Humanist script. In all the compositions that Hand D has added in empty spaces, we see a peculiar ordering of the parts: at the top, *superius*, and below *bassus*, *altus* and *tenor*—in that order. Several of these pieces—as we shall see later—were obviously

<sup>44</sup> Cf. H. Kölner, ‘Zur Kunstgeschichtlichen Terminologie in Handschriftenkatalogen’ in *KöttelweschK* p. 152f.

composed directly on the pages of Cop 1848.<sup>45</sup> Hand D also made a number of corrections to music and text in the compositions which the main scribe had copied, especially in fasc. 8. The inconsistencies in the handwriting, the changes made in existing pieces and the attempts at composition are probably traces of a young musician who, shortly after the activities of the main scribe, used the collection as study material. The ink is greyish-brown, varying from very light to almost black (pp. 1, 96, 98-99, 132-33, 180-81, 192-93, 196-199, 201, 212-13, 233-239, 246-249, 278, 299, 300-311, 330-31, 338-39, 395, 410, 430-31; cf. *Plates 8 and 10*).

*Hand E* completed some texts and added corrections to the music in fasc. 6; the small fragment no. 280 p. 450, amidst pen trials and scribbles, also appears to have been written by Hand E. In the texts the handwriting is careful; it greatly resembles that of Hand A; only small differences in the shapes of a few letters and in orthography distinguish them. For example, the downward line in 'x' curves to the right, while Hand A always curves it to the left; dark brown ink (pp. 160-164, 170-175, 182-186 and 450, cf. *Plate 9*).

Five different hands are thus responsible for the music in Cop 1848. The main scribe, besides all he wrote himself, incorporated music copied by other hands into the manuscript—i.e. fasc. 11 in Hand C, where he has used the empty pages, and the three sheets in fasc. 5 in Hand B, which he used as a model in copying the motet *O beata Katherina* (no. 63) into his own collection. Hands D and E are those of later users of the manuscript.

Other hands are responsible for a number of non-musical inscriptions—see the list in Chapter 1.6. They are probably all from the first half of the sixteenth century and were already in the manuscript when it was acquired by Claude Charneyron. The pen trials on the pages where Charneyron practised his signature—pp. 356-57 and 448-450,<sup>46</sup> may not all be attributable to this owner of the manuscript. Among other things, the fragment no. 280 on p. 450, as mentioned above, appears to have been written by Hand E. It is extraordinarily difficult to distinguish Hand A, Hand E and Charneyron from one another when there are only snippets of text; they all wrote in the standard script of the day without strong distinctive characteristics. The main scribe, or rather Hand E, may have begun using these pages for pen trials, and Charneyron may then simply have continued with the scribbles. One interesting possibility is that Charneyron may have been Hand E; several features in the inscriptions in Charneyron's books and in Hand E's text completions are the same—for example, in both cases all vertical strokes are thicker and executed with greater pressure on the nib than in the main scribe's script, and the letters 'a' and 'e' are firmer and more upright. Unfortunately this possibility cannot be further verified, but it does not seem unlikely that the priest of Villefranche, who after all had the manuscript in his library, also had some understanding of music, and was able to attempt to add a missing passage in a motet.<sup>47</sup>

## 1.4 Staves

For purposes of reconstruction, a separate list of the characteristics of the staves is a useful aid. The scribe began the copying of a given original by ruling as many pages as he thought he would need—a few pages or several fascicles. And since the staves done in one session would extend over many more pages than the scribe could immediately fill with music, they give a clearer picture of the structure of the manuscript than a detailed examination of the handwriting. At the same time the design of the staves gives us indications of the scribe's

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Chapter 11.2.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.1 *Claude Charneyron*.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the comments on *Virgo decus celi*, Vol. II no. 104.

intentions with his work, as they are not all executed with the same care: some of the staves were done with a rastrum, a music pen that draws five parallel lines in one operation, some were drawn with a ruler, and others again were drawn freehand. In some cases the column width is relatively narrow, so there is a free margin on both sides; in others, there is only a margin on one side, or almost none, and the staves are drawn all the way out to the edge of the paper or in to the middle of the folded sheet. In the carefully executed parts of the manuscript the margins are marked up in ink with a ruler, and in several fascicles there are small perforations in the paper as guidelines for the staves and margins, so that all the pages would be identical.

*Staff 1* is drawn with a rastrum; staff height 14.5 mm; light brown ink; uneven margin on both sides of the column, width 20-25 mm; 8-10 staves per page; on many pages space has been left for an initial in the top left-hand corner, apparently without any plan for which pages should be so ornamented; the staves are executed quickly, many of them off-true or wavy; Hand A (in fascs. 1 and 2, pp. 1-26 and 35-48).

*Staff 2* is drawn with a rastrum, more carefully than *Staff 1*; staff height 14.5 mm; yellowish brown ink; margin on left only, width c. 15 mm; 9 staves per page; Hand A (fasc. 1, pp. 27-34).

*Staff 3* as *Staff 2*; staff height 14.5 mm; brown ink; narrower margin on left, width 5-15 mm; Hand A (fascs. 3 and 4, pp. 49-88).

*Staff 4* is very carelessly drawn freehand; staff height varies between 11 and 30 mm; brown ink; narrow (5-20 mm) or hardly any margin on left; 7-10 staves; Hand A (fascs. 5-7, pp. 89-106, 117-207 and 210-228). The staves in fasc. 5, pp. 107-116, correspond to *Staff 4*, but are drawn in dark brown ink by Hand B.

*Staff 5* as *Staff 4*; 8-9 narrower staves, height 15-20 mm; light brown ink; Hand A (fasc. 7, pp. 208-09).

*Staff 6* as *Staff 4*, at first very carefully drawn with a staff height of c. 20 mm, later (from about p. 250) quicker and more irregular, height 20-25 mm; brown ink; 8-9 staves; Hand A (fasc. 8, pp. 229-318).

*Staff 7* is drawn with a ruler; staff height 12.5-15 mm; the margin marked up with a ruler on both sides, widths c. 15 mm and c. 30 mm respectively; brown ink; 9 staves; the guideline perforations were made in all the sheets at once; Hand A (fascs. 9-10, pp. 319-350, and in fascs. 12-14, pp. 375-76, 393-94, 396-398, 407-409, 419-422 and 439-442).

*Staff 8*: The margins on both sides were drawn in along with those for *Staff 7*, but the staves were not drawn. Hand D later drew 8-9 very sloppy staves in; height 13-25 mm; dark grey ink (fasc. 13, pp. 395 and 410).

*Staff 9* was drawn very carefully with a rastrum; staff height 11.5 mm; brown ink; margins on both sides of the column incised in the paper, width c. 20 mm and c. 30 mm respectively; 9 staves; guideline perforations were made in all the sheets at once; Hand C (fasc. 11, pp. 351-374). On p. 372 Hand C forgot to incise the right margin in the paper, so drew the staves right out to the middle of the sheet.

*Staff 10* was drawn with a ruler; staff height 12-14 mm; brown ink; margin on left only, drawn in ink with a ruler, width 20-25 mm; 9-10 staves; Hand A (fascs. 12 and 14, pp. 377-392, 411-418, 423-438 and 443-450).

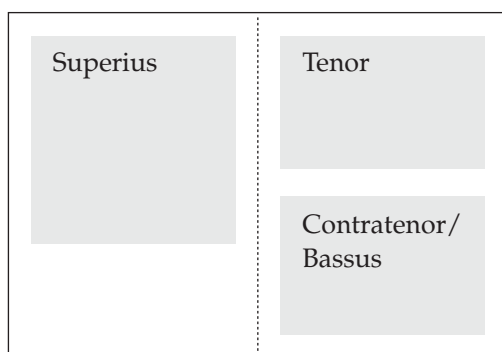
*Staff 11* was drawn with a ruler; staff height 15-17 mm; black ink; margins on both sides of the column drawn in ink with ruler, width 7-10 mm and c. 20 mm respectively; 8-9 staves; Hand A (fasc. 13, pp. 399-400 and 405-06).

*Staff 12* as *Staff 10*; narrower staves, height 12 mm; brown ink; margin 18-19 mm; 10 staves; Hand A (fasc. 13, pp. 401-404).

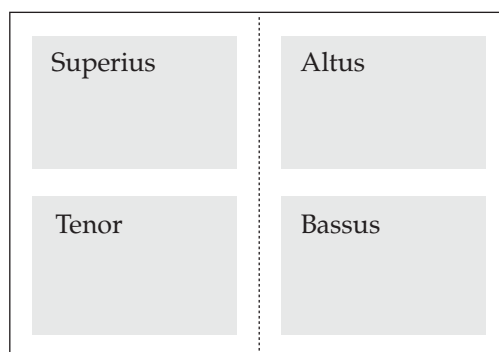
## 1.5 Disposition of parts

Choirbooks of the sixteenth century as a rule maintain a clear disposition of the parts throughout the repertory, irrespective of the nature and length of the compositions, and this greatly increased the usefulness of the books. However, the main scribe of Cop 1848 seems to have given optimal use of space precedence over clarity. It is true that for extended compositions he used the usual choirbook arrangement or variations of it, where the parts are distributed over the opposite pages of an opening:

**Figure 3a**

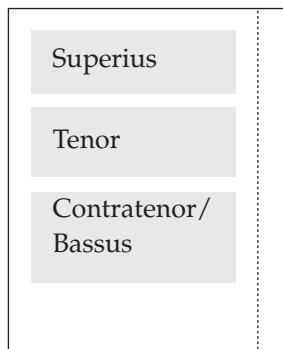


**Figure 3b**

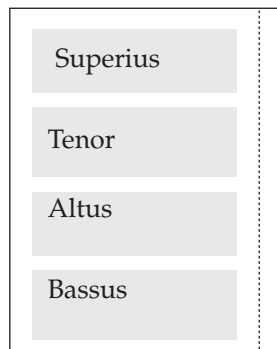


But in shorter settings, especially chansons, and even in motets, the parts are as a rule squeezed together on a single page:

**Figure 4a**



**Figure 4b**



In many cases where there was a shortage of space, the scribe had to continue with the part added last, often the lowest—contra or bassus—somewhere else on the opening; for example, below the superius in layouts as in *Figure 3a*. Lack of space could also mean that the parts were not so clearly set out on the pages, with free space around each part, and with each part beginning on a new staff. In this case a part begins directly after the preceding one so no space is left unused; we come across this practice in all the dispositions mentioned (see also *Plates 5 and 9*).

In the psalm setting *In exitu Israel de Egypto* 4v (no. 175, pp. 300-310) the individual verses are so short that a part fills only a single line. Here the parts are kept together in the verses rather than separated according to voice type: this disposition makes it easy to get an overview of

the composition, but is hardly useful from a practical musical point of view:

Figure 5a

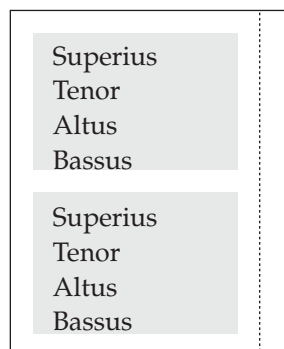
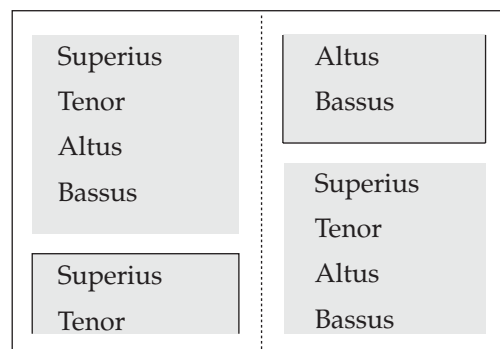
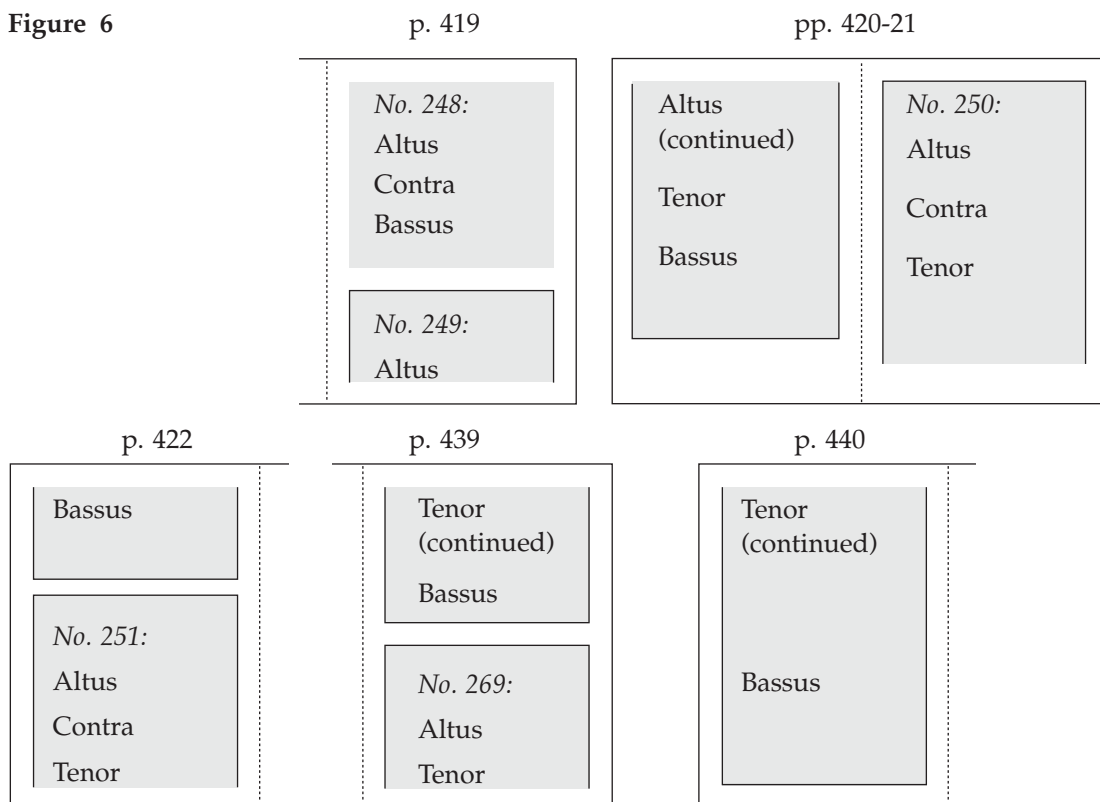


Figure 5b



The first two layouts (*Figures 3 and 4*) dominate up to the repertory copied into fasc. 11 by Hand C; in fascs. 12-14 and on the pages filled by Hand A in fasc. 11, the compositions are often squeezed closer together—up to three pieces on the same page, arranged as in *Figure 5a*. In this part of Cop 1848 there is a general tendency to write the music just as one writes text in a book; the voices are still below one another, but the part at the bottom of a page, where necessary, may continue at the top of the next page and so on. This consecutive “book layout” means that at some points it is quite impossible, rather than just difficult, to sing or play from the manuscript, since all the parts of a composition cannot be seen on the same opening (cf. also *Plate 5*):

Figure 6





We encounter something similar in no. 104 *Virgo decus celi* 4v (pp. 162-165). This is a fairly long motet, and rather than splitting it so it could have appeared in a normal choirbook arrangement over two openings, the main scribe chose to write one voice on each page: altus and tenor on pp. 162-63 and superius and bassus on pp. 164-65; this composition cannot be performed directly from Cop 1848 either.

In the compositions which Hand D added, we find a disposition like that in *Figure 4b*, except that the voices are in a characteristically different order—superius, bassus, altus and tenor.

It thus turns out to be useful to note the various ways in which the scribes—above all the main scribe—have placed the voice-parts on the page; not only as an aid in distinguishing among the individual sections of the manuscript, but even more so in suggesting the functions the scribe intended for them. For this reason the disposition of parts is described in more detail in the catalogue (Volume II) in the cases where it deviates from the norm.

## 1.6 Non-musical inscriptions, drawings and marks

In many places in Cop 1848 there are a number of isolated inscriptions, many of them simply casual pen trials and fragments of poems that are almost illegible. In the following such inscriptions and marks are listed, whether or not it has been possible to interpret them; additions and marks made by users of the last two centuries are not included.

- p. 1 (along the top edge): “Jesus Maria, Jesus Maria Joseph ave, ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum”, Hand A, written before staves and music.
- p. 24 (bottom right-hand corner): “a”,
- p. 25 (bottom left-hand corner): “a”, Hand A; the letters on pp. 24-25 indicate the proper order of the sheets.
- pp. 27-34: The middle pages of the two double sheets inserted in fasc. 1 have large water or grease stains which made the ink spread and go through both sheets. The stains are not seen on the pages of fasc. 1 adjacent to the inserted sheets.
- p. 118 (top right-hand corner): “”, Hand A. The symbol is normally used to refer forward to the continuation of a part or to show a relationship between the sections of a composition, but the corresponding symbol is not found anywhere.
- p. 132 (middle): Pen trials above the transcript of a canon part for no. 75; an outside hand or possibly Hand D.
- p. 134 (in right margin): List of contents<sup>48</sup> of the preceding fasc. 5, Hand A.
- p. 134 (under the examples no. 76): Two texts in an illegible, very small, weak hand; a later addition, not one of Hands A-E. Along the bottom edge of the paper, Hand A has written “Jesus Maria” upside down.
- p. 185: During Hand E’s underlaying of the bassus part of no. 120 with text, the ink has blotted; the blot has penetrated the paper and can be seen up to p. 195.
- p. 188 (bottom): List of contents<sup>49</sup> of part of the repertory in the preceding fasc. 6, Hand A.
- p. 189 (top): “”, Hand A. The symbol is used to indicate the relationship between sections of a composition spread over several openings; in Cop 1848 there is no composition or corresponding symbol related to this page.
- p. 285 (bottom right-hand corner): Drawing of a hand pointing right, and

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Vol. II following no. 75.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Vol. II following no. 123.



## Secundi toni

Handwritten musical score for Magnificat Secundi toni, page 16. The score is written on five staves with Latin lyrics in Italian script. The lyrics are:

d'auxilium  
monda in deo salutare meo  
quia potens in excelsis magnus qui potens est et sanctus nomen  
domini potens in excelsis suo dispersit superbos  
in corde suo  
domini potens in excelsis suo dispersit superbos  
in corde suo

230

*Et exultant spiritus*

*Indeo salutaris meo*

*Quia fecit mihi magna quia fecit mihi magna*

*na qui potens est mihi magna qui potens est et p[er] nomen eius*

**Contra** *Et exultant spiritus*

*sp[iritus] meus Indeo salutaris meo*

*Quia fecit quia fecit mihi magna qui*

*potens est et p[er] nomen eius et p[er] nomen eius*

Plate 4 Cop 1848 p. 230 Magnificat VI toni 4v (no. 157). Hand A.



**Plate 5** Cop 1848 p. 422 Plusieurs regredz 5v (Josquin Desprez; no. 250: Bassus) and Osanna filio David 4v (no. 251: Altus, Contra and Tenor). Hand A.



107

Que t'ay je fait desplaisante fortune Si long temps m'as tenu en tes la

Mais ce fust tout plaisir et de te voir en ta compagnie ne m'ay point opportun

Je m'assure n'aurai raison en l'âme  
 Que t'as fait m'as tenu en tes la  
 En long temps fait point de bien en l'âme  
 Mais en pays d'ung ches et chesme

Que t'ay je fait desplaisante fortune

Que t'ay je fait desplaisante fortune Si long temps m'as tenu en tes la

Mais ce fust tout plaisir et de te voir en ta compagnie ne m'ay point opportun

Plate 6 Cop 1848 p. 107 Que t'ay je fait 3v (no. 57). Hand B;  
 the texting of the bassus was added by Hand A.

353

enor

*Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis*

*Benedicimus te Glorificamus te*

*Dne Deus Rex celestis Deus pater omnipotens*

*Spus et alme orphanorum para dñ te*

*Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis*

*Benedicimus te Glorificamus te*

*Dne Deus Rex celestis Deus pater omnipotens*

Plate 7 Cop 1848 p. 353 Et in terra pax 3-4v (no. 190). Hand C.

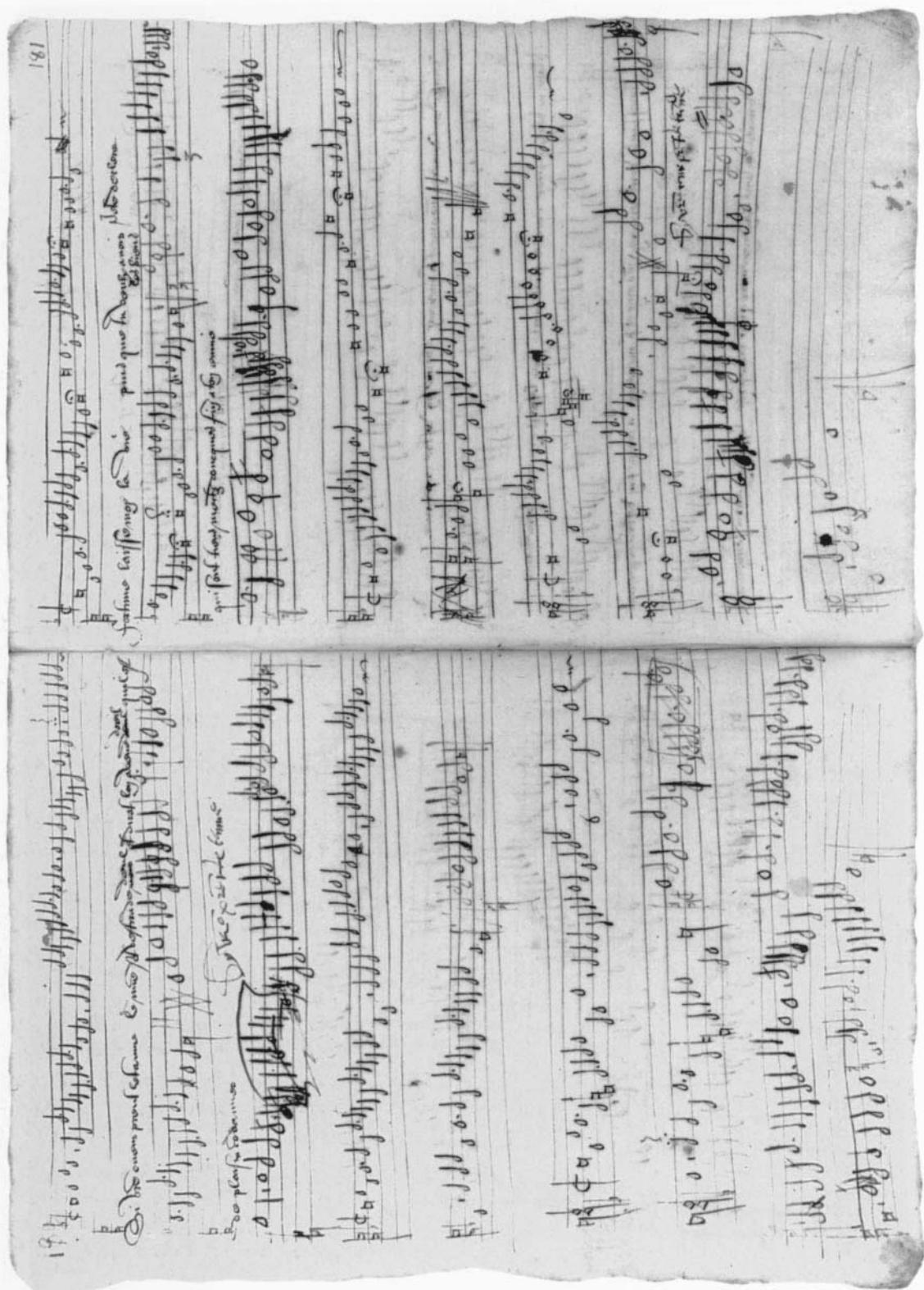




Plate 8 Cop 1848 p. 410 Sanguis eius – Ave rex 4v (no. 221). Hand D.







**Plate 10** Cop 1848 pp. 180-81 *Si vostre cueur 3v* and *Fortune laisse moy 3v* (nos. 114 and 116).  
*Hand A. Sy vostre cueur 4v* (no. 115) composed on the pages by *Hand D*.

- p. 289 (bottom right-hand corner): Drawing of a hand pointing left, Hand A; these drawings “point out” that the sections of no. 171 *Missa On a mal dit de mon amy* by Jean Lhéritier belong together.
- p. 300 (bottom): “Confido in Domino”, Hand D.
- p. 317 (bottom): Sets of figures (number puzzles?), Hand A, added upside down before staves and music.
- p. 318: Pen trials, Hand A, various maxims: “T(C)... force ne peut plus d’une envers plusieurs”; “bonne renommée vault mieulx que forniture dorée”; “Bonne” and “Louis” and attempts at illuminated initials. At the bottom of the page, the beginning of a poem written in a small, almost illegible hand, not identical to any of Hands A-E:

“Je ne me puis tenir pour chose que l’on dye  
d’aller et de venir pour rencontrer m’amy.  
Je l’ay chosie entre grants et menus,  
j’ay fantasie qu’elle m’a restenu.

En jour de mon vivant n’autre envye ... ”<sup>50</sup>

The poem was first published in the collection *S’ensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles*, Nourry, Lyon, [1533-34], no. 3 (text only); it was set to music by N. Payen, and published by J. Moderne in *Le Paragon des chansons, Dixiesme livre ...*, Lyon 1534.<sup>51</sup>

- pp. 356-57: Pen trials across text and music, Claude Charneyron and perhaps earlier users.<sup>52</sup> Besides scribbblings and single letters there is the following: “Charneyron; Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. Laudamus te; Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth; bonne bonne; Crucifixus etiam pro nobis; gracia plena; Dominus” (cf. also *Plate 1*).
- p. 392 (bottom left-hand corner): “a”,
- p. 411 (bottom right-hand corner): “a” and
- p. 423 (bottom right-hand corner): “b”, Hand A; the letters indicate the order of the original fascicles.
- pp. 448-450: Pen trials across and below the music—Claude Charneyron and possibly others, as pp. 356-57: “Charneyron; Tota pulchra; Mon souvenir mi/my fault/faict mourir; Dominus; Israhel.”

## 1.7 Repertory

A very extensive repertory is preserved in Cop 1848. The *Catalogue*, Vol. II, lists no less than 280 items. With such a large number of compositions, Cop 1848 takes its place as one of the richest sources for musical life around the year 1500. In size it can be compared with the great choirbook of the Cathedral of Segovia (MS without number), whose 456 pages record 204 compositions, and which like Cop 1848 is a mixed collection of secular and sacred works.<sup>53</sup> In the number of chansons alone, the secular repertory in Cop 1848 exceeds most chansonniers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; as examples one can mention the well known

<sup>50</sup> The poem in its entirety is in B. Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance* (JefferyV) II p. 85 and in M. Haupt, *Französische Volkslieder* (HauptV) p. 70.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. S. Pogue, *Jaques Moderne. Lyon’s Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (PogueM) pp. 178-79.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.2 *Claude Charneyron* and Chapter 1.3.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the catalogue in H. Anglès, *La musica en la Corte de los Reyes Catolicos. I. Polifonia Religiosa* (AnglèsC) pp. 102-112.



chansonniers *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. fonds fr. 15123* (the Pixérécourt MS) and *Dijon, Bibl. Publ., Ms. 517*, which contain 170 and 160 compositions respectively.<sup>54</sup> And in terms of the scope of the secular repertory Cop 1848 easily measures up to the great chansonnier *Firenze, Bibl. Naz., Banco Rari 229*, with its 268 settings.<sup>55</sup>

In this and the following section we will take an initial look at this repertory; first, with an account of the number of compositions distributed by genre and number of parts etc.; then with a discussion and examination of the few composers named in the manuscript.

It poses certain problems to assess exactly how many compositions Cop 1848 contains, and how they are to be assigned to different genres. This is due both to the special nature of the manuscript—its messy disposition, the rather careless handwriting, the later additions, the missing texts and not least the almost total lack of supplementary information on the composers' names and the like—as well as the ambivalence that one often finds in the music of this period. One frequently encounters compositions which combine secular and religious elements. Furthermore, in most chansonniers one finds a few isolated, short motets side by side with secular songs. Many of these motets have first and foremost been preserved in such secular sources, rarely in sacred collections. This is true, for example, of Agricola's *Si dederò* (no. 53) or Obrecht's *Parce Domine* (no. 52). These motets are unlikely to have had any function in the liturgy of the Church. So one may question whether such Latin compositions should be assigned to the sacred repertory of the manuscript.

When a clear account is to be given of a musical repertory as composite as this, it is necessary to follow certain rather narrow guidelines and save a more sophisticated assessment for the actual review of the repertory. Here and in the later parts of this study, a distinction has been maintained between secular and sacred on the basis of language: all compositions with a religious, Latin text are assigned to the sacred repertory, while all compositions in vernaculars are dealt with as part of the secular repertory—thus also texts with religious content like the ballade *O escharbuncle reluisant* (nos. 209, 210 and 225), which may have been written by Martin le Franc, and the three motet-chansons which combine French and Latin texts (nos. 62, 82 and 129). The textless compositions are placed in the two main groups, partly on the basis of whether, as in several cases, they appear as duplicates of compositions with texts, partly with the aid of the concordances found in other sources, and partly as a result of an assessment of their nature and place in the manuscript.

In his article on Cop 1848, H. Glahn has a table of the number of secular and sacred compositions, distributed by the number of parts.<sup>56</sup> The total number of different compositions here—251—is very close to the result of the following count, but the figures within the individual groups are no longer valid. As the music has been researched, more compositions have emerged which were in the first instance overlooked or counted as parts of longer pieces; while others which were counted as independent compositions have turned out to belong together. Finally, the number of duplicates is higher than indicated there. So the table has been revised here.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that it cannot be directly compared with the one in Glahn's article. For one thing, the total number is given here, while Glahn gives the number of different compositions; and for another, the repertory is here subdivided into more groups:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cf. E. Pease, *Music from the Pixérécourt Manuscript* (PeaseP) and M. Picker, 'Dijon, Bibliothèque publique, Manuscrit 517' (PickerD).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. B. Becherini, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (BecheriniC) pp. 22-29 and the complete edition of the manuscript by H. M. Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229* (BrownL).

<sup>56</sup> GlahnM p. 92, also reproduced in AdamsT p. 46 with an inaccurate count of the secular repertory (p. 47).

<sup>57</sup> My work on Cop 1848 was initially based on a card index drawn up by Professor H. Glahn, which he very kindly allowed me to copy.

		<i>Secular repertory</i>		<i>Examples</i>	<i>Indeterminate</i>	<i>Sacred repertory</i>		<i>Total</i>
		1 text	2 no text	3 no text	4 no text	5 text	6 no text	
<b>a</b>	1v	2	2	1	2	1	1	9
<b>b</b>	2v	6	1	3	0	8	0	18
<b>c</b>	3v	134	4	0	1	37	3	179
<b>d</b>	4v	27	9	0	1	2	0	69
<b>e</b>	5v	4	0	0	0	3	0	7
<i>Total</i>		173	16	4	4	81	4	<b>282</b>

*Total, secular compositions:* **189**

*Total, sacred compositions:* **85**

Some compositions appear more than once in Cop 1848, such that the number of different compositions is considerably lower. In Columns 1c and 1d there are 14 and 2 duplicates respectively, making the number of different secular compositions: **173**

Similarly, in Columns 5c, 5d, 6a and 6c there are 3, 1, 1 and 2 duplicates respectively, making the number of different sacred compositions: **78**

To these we must add the examples and indeterminate settings: **8**

*Number of different compositions in Cop 1848:* **259**

The secular repertory is dominated by the chansons in French; these account for a total of 172 compositions, or 91% of the 189 secular compositions. Among the remaining 9%, a number of German songs without texts (nos. 11-18) make up the largest group; besides these there are the three motet-chansons mentioned above, one Flemish (no. 213) and one Italian song (nos. 232 and 238), one instrumental piece with an Italian title (no. 239) and two instrumental compositions without texts (no. 24 2v, and no. 78 4v). Among the French chansons, the great majority

<sup>58</sup> In the table compositions with text incipits or titles are listed as if they were fully texted. The compositions are listed with the number of parts which actually occur. Thus fragments are given with the number of parts we see in the manuscript. Furthermore, compositions like the mass no. 34, which expands to five parts in the last section, are listed with the maximum number of parts. In Glahn's table a single six-part setting is listed; in Cop 1848, on pp. 132-33, only five parts are in fact notated for Josquin's *Baisés moy, ma douce amye* (no. 75), which appears in four-part as well as six-part versions in other sources. In the table it is listed as five-part (Col. 1e). As for the examples of counterpoint in Column 3, it is the number of items that is given: each item includes a series of examples that can hardly be classified as separate compositions; these four items include a total of 16 examples. The four textless compositions which could not be placed in the two main groups are nos. 194 and 280 (1v), no. 23 (3v) and no. 22 (4v).

The difference between the number of items in the catalogue (280) and the 282 compositions of the table is due to the fact that the two detached voice parts no. 107 a-b are counted as two monophonic fragments (Col. 2a) and that the added verse no. 159a is counted as an independent composition (Col. 5d).

are three-part settings; there are a total of 132 three-part chansons<sup>59</sup> as against 31 four-part,<sup>60</sup> four five-part and five two-part chansons.

Although the secular repertory makes up 67% of the total number of compositions in Cop 1848, and the sacred repertory only 30%, the sacred compositions, by virtue of their greater length, fill more than 230 pages—or slightly more than half of the 452 pages of the manuscript.

Most of the sacred compositions have texts or incipits in Latin; of the four textless pieces in Column 6 of the table, three are duplicates of compositions in Column 5, and the last (no. 195) can be identified as a three-part Magnificat setting with the aid of the liturgical melody used. The repertory consists partly of a disparate collection of motets, antiphons, responsories, sequences, hymns and Christmas songs—a total of 52 (four two-part,<sup>61</sup> 32 three-part,<sup>62</sup> 15 four-part<sup>63</sup> and one five-part); and partly of longer or more unusual compositions including four masses<sup>64</sup> and one mass section (no. 6, 3v), eleven Magnificat settings<sup>65</sup> and five Magnificat fragments<sup>66</sup>—among these a series of six Magnificat settings (nos. 182-184, 186 and 188-189)—two four-part settings of Psalm 113 *In exitu Israel de Egypto* (nos. 159 and 175) with five alternative verses added later,<sup>67</sup> as well as parts of a four-part passion (no. 221), a litany in choral notation (no. 106) and a series of three-part choral responses (no. 155).

## 1.8 Composers

The main scribe only specified composers' names for 21 compositions—less than 10% of the repertory. Even by the standards of the sixteenth century, when anonymity was still customary, he is unusually uninformative. The names are distributed over eleven different composers, from the famous to the completely unknown. In some cases they differ from those we know from other sources, while in others the name of a composer is assigned to compositions hitherto only known as anonymous. The known composers are as follows:

Alexander Agricola:

- p. 396 "Alexandre" at no. 222 *La saison en est ou jamais* 3v—five other sources name Compère as the composer.<sup>68</sup>
- p. 397 "Alexandre" at no. 223 *Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage* 3v.
- p. 398 "Alexandre" at no. 224 *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v—Cop 1848 is the only source to mention the composer's name.
- p. 407 "Alexandre" at no. 235 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v—Cop 1848 is the only source to give the composer's name.
- p. 408 "Alexandre" at no. 236 *Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise* 3v.
- p. 415 "Alexandre" at no. 244 *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v—as no. 224.
- p. 425 "Alexandre" at no. 254 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v—as no. 235.

<sup>59</sup> 125 chansons with text and seven without; the figure includes three monophonic fragments: no. 107a-b and no. 257.

<sup>60</sup> Including the fragments no. 32 (1v), no. 61 (2v), no. 102 and no. 249 (3v).

<sup>61</sup> Including the textless piece no. 94.

<sup>62</sup> Including three without text (nos. 5, 233 and 246) and the fragments no. 215 (2v) and no. 246 (1v).

<sup>63</sup> Including no. 177 (3v).

<sup>64</sup> No. 34 (4-5v), no. 163 (4v, incomplete), no. 171 (4v) and the mass sections nos. 190 (2-3v), 193 (4v) and no. 203 (3v), which together make up the Ordinary of the Mass.

<sup>65</sup> Three three-part and seven four-part, one 4-5v (no. 160).

<sup>66</sup> Three two-part and two four-part.

<sup>67</sup> Nos. 159a and 176 (4v), nos. 185, 187 and 260 (3v)—all Hand D.

<sup>68</sup> In the *Catalogue* (Vol. II) there is more detailed information on concordances, texts, and new editions etc. of the compositions discussed.



Jacques Barbireau:

- p. 373 “Maistre Jaques d’Anvers” at no. 205 *Qu’en dites vous? férés vous rien* 3v—this chanson is identical to Barbireau’s *Een vraulich wesen*;<sup>69</sup> the name “Jaques d’Anvers” must refer to Barbireau’s life-long employment at Nôtre-Dame in Antwerp.

François Dulot:

- p. 114-15 “Dulo” at no. 178 *Ave Maria* 5v—unique.

Jean Ghiselin (alias Verbonnet):

- p. 437 “Verbonet” at no. 267 Without text 3v—occurs in the MS *Firenze* 2439 under Verbonnet’s name with the text “Le cueur la suyt”.
- p. 438 “Verbonnet” at no. 268 Without text 3v—unique.

Heinrich Isaac:

- p. 447 “Ysaac” at no. 276 *Or mauldist soyt il qui en ment* 3v—occurs in the MS *Firenze* 178 under Isaac’s name with the text incipit “A fortune contrent”; the music also occurs in Isaac’s *Missa Chargé de deul* as *Qui tollis I*.

Jean Richafort:

- pp. 286-87 “Richaffort” at no. 172 *O genetrix gloriosa* 4v—in the MS *Roma* CS 46 this motet is attributed to Compère. L. Finscher dates it c. 1475;<sup>70</sup> this means that Richafort, who lived from c. 1480-c. 1547, is out of the question as composer of the motet.

Uncertain composer attributions<sup>71</sup> (unique compositions):

“Johannes de Sancto Martino”:

- pp. 170-175 at no. 109 *Bon Temps, las qu’es tu devenuz* 4v. This composer may be Jean Le Saintier. The chanson falls chronologically within his career, and stylistically is not incompatible with the only composition by Le Saintier otherwise preserved, a five-part *Alma redemptoris mater* in the Medici Codex (*Firenze* 666).<sup>72</sup> Jean Le Saintier was possibly a pupil of Ockeghem, and until c. 1513 was associated with Saint-Martin in Tours;<sup>73</sup> for stylistic reasons we can rule out Ockeghem, who held the post of *trésorier* in the same place, as composer of this chanson.<sup>74</sup>

“Maioris”:

- pp. 238-241 at no. 158 *In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem* 4v—several musicians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries bore this name. In *Trento Ms.* 92 there is a three-part

<sup>69</sup> On the various texts with which the song has been preserved, see Vol. II no. 205; it is attributed in two other sources to Obrecht, and in one source to Isaac.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. L. Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450-1518). Life and Works* (FinscherC) p. 187.

<sup>71</sup> H. Glahn writes of the three-part composition no. 245, pp. 416-17, above which “Je suis Margot” is written, that it cannot be established whether this is a title for the piece or whether “Margot” refers to a composer, Colin Margot, who lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century (GlahnM p. 98). However, the composition occurs in the MS *Firenze* 2439 under Agricola’s name and with the text “S’il vous plaist bien que je vous tiengne”. “Je suis Margot” seem to be the first words of an alternative text which has now been lost.



<sup>72</sup> FF. 100<sup>v</sup>-103; publ. in E. E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518* (LowinskyC) II pp. 261-69.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. LowinskyC I pp. 193-94 and F. Lesure, ‘Some minor French composers of the 16th century’ (LesureF) p. 543.

<sup>74</sup> Suggested in GlahnM p. 97; see also HewittC p. 390.

*Victime pascali* by a “Ja. Maioris”.<sup>75</sup> But he can hardly have been the composer of this motet, which must have been written in the early sixteenth century. The composer may have been Michel Maioris, who was a singer in the Ducal Chapel in Turin from October 1505 until October 1514 at the earliest, and possibly until 1520.<sup>76</sup> There was also a “Messire Philippe Maioris”, who in 1551 was a singer with Mary of Hungary.<sup>77</sup>

“Mirus”:

- p. 446 at no. 275 *Aguillon, serpentin, dangier* 3v—the name is written “rus”, and must, according to the solmization system, be read as “Mirus”.<sup>78</sup> The piece probably does not appear in Cop 1848 with its original text.<sup>79</sup> The composer is possibly identical to the Jehan “” (Mire)—or Jehan le Mire, as proposed by H. M. Brown—who is represented by the motet *O quam presul domine Nicolas* 3v in the MS *Uppsala* 76a.<sup>80</sup> Despite great differences, the two compositions exhibit the same lack of mastery in their effects and compositional technique.

Unknown composers:

“Haquinet”:

- p. 364 at no. 197 *O salutaris ostia* 4v.  
 p. 374 at no. 206 *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* 3v.  
 p. 402 at no. 229 *Puer nobis nascitur* 3v.  
 p. 402 at no. 230 *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* 4v—a “Haquinet” or Jaquet le Fevre served in 1436 in the chapel of Philip the Good, whom he left in 1447. But he cannot be identical to this Haquinet, who, judging from these compositions, must have been active at least two generations later.<sup>81</sup>

“Tomas Jannequin”:

- pp. 419-20 at no. 249 *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* 3v(4v)—this incomplete chanson appears anonymously in three other sources. Apart from the famous Clément Jannequin, no other composer is known so far with this surname; no. 249 must have been composed at an earlier date than Clément’s chansons.

By comparing the repertory with other sources it has been possible to identify the creators of a considerably larger number of compositions than the few the main scribe found it necessary to furnish with names. Not a few of the pieces in Cop 1848 enjoyed widespread familiarity and it is possible that the scribe considered further details superfluous. In the secular repertory it has been possible to put composers’ names to 76 pieces, while another 45 have also been

<sup>75</sup> FF. 103v-104; cf. G. Adler & O. Koller, *Sechs Trienter Codices* (AdlerT) no. 1458.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, ‘La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1504 al 1550’ (BouquetC) pp. 33 and 36; and E. Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-bas* (StraetenM) VI p. 552.

<sup>77</sup> StraetenM VII p. 431: H. Glahn suggests that “Maioris” could be a slip for Jean Prioris (GlahnM p. 97); this is rejected by L. Finscher in the entry ‘Prioris’ in M.G.G. X Col. 1634 and by F. Lesure in RdM 44 (1959) p. 207.

<sup>78</sup> Like, for example, “Loysette Compere” in *Segovia* MS or “A Agricola” in *Bologna Q17* (cf. *Agricola* O V p. LII). C. Adams reads the name as “Brus” (AdamsT p. 48 and p. 360), while R. Stevenson considers the piece to be by Pierre de la Rue! (StevensonT p. 98).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 275.

<sup>80</sup> FF. 56v-57; see also Chapter 14.2.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. J. Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous la règne de Philippe Le Bon* (1420-67) (MarixH) p. 162; see also Chapter 10.7.

found as anonymous compositions in other sources. This means that 121 or 64% of the 189 compositions in the secular repertory have at present been identified in one way or another. The percentage for the sacred repertory is not so high. For it has only been possible to find composers for 18 compositions, and one which appears anonymously in another source, corresponding to 24.4% of this repertory. Thus a total of 140 compositions or 49.6% of the total repertoire in Cop 1848 have been assigned a composer's name or found as anonymous compositions in other sources; 152 compositions or 53.9% must at present be accounted unique.<sup>82</sup>

The percentage of identified pieces can most probably be increased as the sources of the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are better researched—perhaps especially in the case of the sacred repertory. The identification of the church music is considerably more difficult than that of the secular pieces. In the first place, the number of compositions with identical titles here is quite overwhelming, and secondly, musicology has so far concentrated on surveying and publishing the church music produced by important composers.<sup>83</sup> The latter fact means that the great bulk of anonymous work preserved is still relatively inaccessible. In the case of the secular repertory it has been more a matter of researching the source material itself. Among other things, chansonniers and printed sources have been republished including the anonymous compositions, a practice that was begun by Henry Expert and Knud Jeppesen.<sup>84</sup> A substantial proportion of the church music in Cop 1848 will, however, turn out to be unique. Many of the compositions are provincial in character and we cannot expect them to appear in other sources. One single group of compositions has moreover been closely examined, as W. Kirsch included fourteen of the manuscript's Magnificat settings in his great catalogue of no less than 1160 Magnificat and Te Deum compositions. And he was only able to find concordances to a single one of these settings (no. 183).<sup>85</sup>

Loyset Compère is the composer represented by most pieces in Cop 1848, 17 in all,<sup>86</sup> two of which are duplicates. Next comes his contemporary Alexander Agricola with 14 compositions (four duplicates); Claudin de Sermisy is represented by six (1), Hayne van Ghizeghem by six (2), Antoine de Févin by five, the unknown Haquinet by five (1), Johannes Ockeghem by four, Heinrich Isaac and Jehan Fresnau by four (1) and Johannes Ghiselin, Nicolle des Celliers d'Hesdin, Clément Janequin, Josquin Desprez, Jacob Obrecht and Jean Prioris by two each; Jacques Barbireau's chanson appears twice, and fourteen different composers (Jo. Bedyngheam, Antoine Brumel, François Dulot, Adam von Fulda, Mathieu Gascongne, Tomas Jannequin, Johannes de Sancto Martino, Jean Lhéritier, Maioris, Mirus, Robert Morton, Gilles Mureau, Pietrequin Bonnel and Adrian Willaert) are represented by one piece each. As will be evident from these names, the repertory of the manuscript is also chronologically wide-ranging. The oldest of these composers (Bedyngheam, Morton and Ockeghem) were active from the mid-fifteenth century; those in the largest group are among the best known and

<sup>82</sup> The remaining 142 compositions plus ten unique works with composer names.

<sup>83</sup> E. g. editions of Josquin's or Obrecht's collected works (JosquinW and ObrechtW) or the great series *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*. But in recent years this tendency has begun to be reversed. As examples I can mention D. Crawford's catalogue of music collections in *Casale Monferrato* (CrawfordC); M. Just's and M. Staehelin's descriptions of German choirbooks (JustB and StaehelinG) or Lowinsky's splendid edition of the Medici Codex (LowinskyC).

<sup>84</sup> H. Expert, *Trente et une chansons musicales ...*, Paris 1897 (ExpertA) and K. Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*, Kbh. 1927 (JeppesenK). This tradition has been continued in innumerable dissertations, and the latest offshoots are the excellent—and costly—editions of the Mellon Chansonnier (PerkinsM) and of *Firenze 229* (BrownL).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. KirschM nos. 113, 188, 197, 229, 237, 271, 337, 338, 395, 428, 429, 458, 468 and 631.

<sup>86</sup> These figures are subject to the usual reservations as regards erroneous and conflicting attributions in the sources (cf. the list of composers at the end of Vol. II and the individual catalogue numbers).

most popular in the latter part and just after the turn of the century (e.g. Hayne, Compère, Agricola, Isaac, Josquin, Obrecht, Ghiselin and Prioris); but contemporary composers are also amply represented (Claudin, Janequin, Hesdin, Lhéritier, Gascongne, Willaert, Dulot). The manuscript includes music by all the generations of composers born in the fifteenth century. If we include the anonymous compositions the picture does not change; they are distributed in time in the same way—from the chansonniers of the 1460s to Attaignant's prints. As a whole, the repertory of Cop 1848 has a retrospective bent. We will only be able to form a proper impression and overview of this motley and confusing mass of music when, through a reconstruction and analysis of the individual parts of the manuscript, we have achieved a certain degree of clarity as regards the structure of Cop 1848 and its function in musical life.

# Chapter 2

## Reconstruction

Cop 1848 was bound at least twice. This is evident from the extra set of sewing-holes one finds in the middle of all sheets. In both bindings some sheets and fascicles were wrongly placed, which is why there are breaks in several compositions. The messy arrangement of the manuscript in itself produces the impression that a reconstruction and separation of its individual parts is necessary, and that it will then prove to be a more logically structured collection of music than at first sight. On the basis of the information on paper, scribes, staves etc. gathered in *Chapter I*, some of which is systematized in an overview in *Appendix B*, it should be possible to go through the individual fascicles of Cop 1848 and order the misplaced sheets properly—at the same time forming an impression of the original disposition of the manuscript. This information does not cover all the characteristic features we could extract from Cop 1848; elements like the nature and composition of the repertory, the occurrence of duplicates or variations in the text underlay could equally well be included in the basis of reconstruction. With this material the final result would be the same—but the presentation would become unnecessarily complicated. What we will attempt here is an outline of the original form of the manuscript. This outline will then be elaborated and refined in *Part Two: Genesis and function*.

There are breaks as early as the first compositions in the manuscript. The parts for two compositions have been separated. These are no. 3 *Alons faire nous barbes* 4v, whose superius and tenor are on p. 2, while the altus and bassus are on p. 15; and no. 4 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 3v, which is on pp. 3-5 and p. 16 respectively.

During the last binding, *fasc. 1* and *fasc. 2* were confused: *fasc. 2* (pp. 3-14) is now inside *fasc. 1* (pp. 1-2 and pp. 15-48). Moreover, in the middle of *fasc. 1* two double sheets were added, *fasc. 1a* (pp. 27-34) which the main scribe had copied on another occasion; they differ in their handwriting, paper and staff types (*Hand A<sub>2</sub>, Paper 2, Staff 2*) from the rest. On both sheets one also sees large stains seen in neither *fasc. 1* nor *fasc. 2*; and the outermost pages are yellowed and slightly grubby. If we disregard these inserted sheets, the dominant handwriting and paper are identical in *fasc. 1* and *2* (*Hand A<sub>1</sub>, Staff 1 and Paper 1a*), so there is no key here to the restoration of the right sequence. One might think that *fasc. 1* and *2* were originally part of one large fascicle, but the sheets cannot be combined this way without new breaks appearing in other compositions. Another possibility is that *fasc. 2* should be inserted in *fasc. 1* somewhere else, that is between p. 16 and p. 17. This would give the following order: pp. 1-2, 15-16, 3-14, 17-48; this way there are no breaks in any composition. However, an examination of the old sewing-holes in the middle of the sheets shows that this is not the correct solution, since one finds two different sets of holes—one in the sheets pp. 1-16 and pp. 45-48 and the other in the sheets pp. 17-44. This means that the original order was two consecutive gatherings of five double sheets each. This way the order of the sheets can be reconstructed beyond

all doubt, since there is now only one possible way of combining them without breaks:

*Rfasc. A:* pp. 1-2, 15-16, 3-14, 45-48; and

*Rfasc. B:* pp. 17-44.<sup>1</sup>

This solution is further supported by the fact that the main scribe in *Rfasc. B*—and only there—later added a series of chansons with darker ink. The two inserted sheets (*fasc. 1a* = *Rfasc. C*) share sewing-holes with *Rfasc. B* and were thus placed there during the earliest binding.

The staves in the first two fascicles were probably drawn in a single working session (*Staff 1*). The pages are arranged with a good margin on each side, so that the sheets could easily be sewn into a binding, and on many pages space has been left for initials. The misplacement of the sheets happened in this case during the later binding.

The next two fascicles belong together, inasmuch as no. 34 *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* (pp. 52-70), which fills most of *fasc. 3* (pp. 49-68), continues into *fasc. 4* (pp. 69-88). The paper in both fascicles, each of which consists of five double sheets, is of *Type 1b*, and the drawing of the staves is consistent throughout (*Staff 3*). The music, though, was not entered in one operation, and we find more than one variant of Hand A. We find the *Hand A<sub>3</sub>* mentioned in the section on the scribes<sup>2</sup> on pp. 50-70 and pp. 72-79, which contain the repertory that the main scribe originally made the nucleus of these fascicles—a few extended sacred compositions. Later the remaining pages were filled with a number of chansons and a single motet.

In both *Rfasc. A-B* and *fasc. 3-4* the paper has been cut down to a format of about 280 x 400 mm, making it about 5 mm smaller along each edge than the other paper in the manuscript with the *Watermarks 1* and *1a*.<sup>3</sup> This seems to indicate that these four fascicles at one time made up a whole, and that they were trimmed to fit into a particular binding or cover. This is also suggested by the fact that the outermost pages of the two fascicle groups (pp. 48, 49 and 88) are not particularly worn. The strong wear on p. 1, which was later repaired, comes from the years after the first binding of the manuscript had fallen apart. The same is true of the last page of the manuscript, p. 450. The repair on p. 88 is very small—only a small piece of the bottom corner. *Rfasc. C* has also been cut. This was done after the pages had been filled with music, probably when the sheets were placed in the middle of *Rfasc. B* during the first binding. The paper is still slightly larger than the surrounding paper.

*Fasc. 5* (pp. 89-134) constitutes a single whole, if we disregard the three inserted double sheets (*fasc. 5a*, pp. 107-116). The paper is of the same type as in the first two fascicles, but is here untrimmed (*Paper 1a*, nine double sheets): *Hand A<sub>4</sub>* and *Staff 4* occur throughout the fascicle. The outermost pages are very worn, so it must have been in use for a long time as a separate music manuscript. On the last page (p. 134) we find a list of the contents of the fascicle written by *Hand A<sub>4</sub>*. The divergences between the sequence of the compositions in the list<sup>4</sup> and their actual order<sup>5</sup> do not mean that the sheets have been placed in the wrong order. They cannot be ordered any other way without breaks. The list was probably meant to indicate the content of the fascicle rather than the exact order of the pieces. Originally, after all, there was

<sup>1</sup> There is a revised list of contents in *Appendix C.8-9*; reconstructed fascicles are hereafter designated *Rfasc*; thus *Rfasc. C* means the small independent fasc. 1a, isolated from its present placing in the middle of fasc. 1; and *Rfasc. 5* indicates the original fascicle manuscript without later additions and the inserted fasc. 5a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Catalogue* Vol. II *List of contents of Rfasc. 5* (following no. 75).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. App. C.2.



no pagination. The list of contents incidentally confirms the distinction between Hand A and later additions and insertions, since these are of course not included; the following compositions are not mentioned in the list:

p. 96 and pp. 98-99:	no. 50 [ <i>Inviolata, integra</i> ] <i>Que es effecta fulgida celi porta</i>	– Hand D
pp. 107-116:	no. 57 <i>Que t'ay je faict, desplaisante Fortune?</i>	
	no. 58 <i>S'il est a ma poste</i>	
	no. 59 <i>Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina</i>	
	no. 60 <i>A la fontaine du pré</i>	
	no. 61 <i>Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente</i>	– all in Hand B
pp. 118-19:	no. 63 <i>O beata Katherina</i>	– Hand A
p. 134:	no. 76 <i>Examples</i>	– Hand A

The two items in Hand A were both added later. The monophonic melodic/rhythmic examples (no. 76) are scribbled beside the list of contents. Pages 118-19 were at first left empty, because the drawing of the staves here had been unsuccessful, and the main scribe only added the motet (no. 63) here later, copying it from another manuscript which he left, after the work was done, in the middle of his own small manuscript; for the motet is identical to the *secunda pars* of no. 59 *Ave virgo Katherina* (pp. 109<sup>bis</sup>-111), which is in *fasc. 5a*. These three double sheets (*fasc. 5a*) of *Paper Type 3*, written by Hand B, are a fragment of an unrelated music manuscript. The last page (p. 116) contains only the superius and tenor of what is probably a four-part chanson, *Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente*, with words by Clément Marot. The sewing-holes show that *fasc. 5a* (= *Rfasc. D*) already had its present position at the first binding.

*Fasc. 6* (pp. 135-188) and *fasc. 7* (pp. 189-228) resemble *Rfasc. 5* in that they too were used for a long time as independent music manuscripts; the staves and script are similar (*Staff 4* and *Hand A<sub>5</sub>*) while the paper is different (*Paper 4*, 13½ and 8 double sheets). The outermost pages are very worn—p. 188 so much that it was necessary to repair the paper. On the last page in *fasc. 6* (p. 188) the scribe has noted part of the repertory: a series of three-part chansons on pp. 177-182 (nos. 111-117).<sup>6</sup> The later addition, no. 115 *Sy vostre cueur prent le tanné*, which Hand D composed on these pages, is of course not included. In the middle of *fasc. 7* two double sheets (*fasc. 7a*, pp. 205-212) consisting of the same type of paper as *Rfasc. 5* (*Paper 1a*) have been inserted. These sheets contain seven compositions (nos. 135-141), including two duplicates to the repertory in *Rfasc. 6*. The sewing-holes show that *fasc. 7a* (= *Rfasc. E*) was placed in the middle of *fasc. 7* during the first binding; Hand D has also entered a Magnificat verse (no. 142) on the opening formed by pages 212 and 213, thus joining *fasc. 7a* with *fasc. 7*.

*Fasc. 8* (pp. 229-318), too, has been used as an independent manuscript. The outermost pages, originally blank, are worn and have been filled with various scribbles;<sup>7</sup> on p. 229 we see a number of counterpoint examples (no. 156) with which the scribe sat working with the fascicle in front of him the wrong way round, so that his attempts are now upside down in the manuscript. With its 22½ double sheets, this is the biggest fascicle in the manuscript, and as in *fasc. 3-4* one can follow, by tracing the variations in the work of the main scribe, how its original repertory, consisting of extended sacred compositions, was later supplemented with shorter pieces.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Catalogue* Vol. II *List of contents of part of Rfasc. 6* (following no. 123).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.6.

In *fasc.* 9-14 (pp. 319-450) we encounter a different scribal picture from before (in the first instance we will disregard the unrelated *fasc.* 11). The compositions are closer together. Especially in the last section there is a tendency to present the parts as one writes texts in a book,<sup>8</sup> and the writing is generally smaller and more meticulous (Hand A<sub>g</sub>). However, this part of Cop 1848 seems more or less chaotic, and this is inconsistent with the relative care evident from the copying of the music and the drawing of staves. Here a reconstruction is necessary not only within the individual fascicles, but also across their boundaries. One immediately comes up against a problem: the sewing-holes from the first binding show that the disorder arose even before that; so these otherwise so useful clues are of no help here.

*Fasc.* 9 (pp. 319-340 and pp. 349-50) and *fasc.* 10 (pp. 341-348) appear in their original form. The unusual arrangement of the sheets, with *fasc.* 10 inserted in *fasc.* 9 is original, since they contain a series of Magnificat settings (nos. 182-189; no. 185 and no. 187, though, were added later by Hand D on empty staves), in which the settings of the liturgical formulae are in a logical, unbroken sequence. In both fascicles the paper is of *Type 1a* (six and two double sheets), and the staves (*Type 7*) are carefully drawn in guided by the small perforations at the edges of the paper.

In *fasc.* 12-14 (pp. 375-450), on the other hand, there are several breaks in the compositions, such that a setting has even been split between two fascicles: the superius and tenor of no. 217 *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* 3v is on p. 392 (in *fasc.* 12), while the contratenor is on p. 411 (in *fasc.* 14). It is obvious that the joining of the sheets in fascicles here is not as originally intended, and that they must be redistributed in new fascicles if we want to clarify the disposition of the manuscript.

The paper in these three fascicles can be divided into two groups: 1) paper of *Type 1a* with *Watermarks 1* and *1a*; and 2) *Paper 6*, with *Watermarks 6* and *6a*. The latter group also includes one double sheet of *Type 8* with *Watermark 8*. There can be no doubt that this sheet was used with *Paper 6*; it has also been trimmed to fit the format of the latter paper. Each paper group has certain characteristic features which clearly show that they should not be mixed together, but should be arranged separately in fascicles. In the following reconstruction the double sheets are as far as possible in the same order as they now have in the manuscript. The new fascicles have been built up around middle pages, where a composition has been written in across the opening:

1) On five sheets of *Paper 1a*, one finds *Staff Type 7*, which is drawn, as in *fasc.* 9-10, after small holes in the edges of the paper (in *fasc.* 12 pp. 375-76 and pp. 393-94; in *fasc.* 13 pp. 395-398 and 407-410; in *fasc.* 14 pp. 419-422 and pp. 439-442, cf. Appendix B). Measurement of the holes shows that they were pierced through all five sheets—and the sheets in *fasc.* 9-10—at once. It is conceivable that the five double sheets were to be laid together in a single gathering; this is possible but we have no further proof of it, so we should probably proceed with some caution. Three of the sheets (pp. 375-76, pp. 419-422, pp. 439-442 and pp. 393-94) have features in common justifying us in treating them as belonging to a separate fascicle (*Rfasc. G*). The two middle sheets are in the same order as now in *fasc.* 14; no. 251 *Osanna filio David* is written across p. 422 and p. 439,<sup>9</sup> which must therefore have been the centre spread of the fascicle. The double sheet pp. 375/393, on the other hand, is taken from another fascicle, *fasc.* 12, where it lies outermost. It can be placed with the other two sheets because they share a striking way of designating the voice parts. In *fasc.* 12-14 as a whole, part designations are not common, and where they do occur, the usual names are used. Only on these three sheets do

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.5.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.5 *Figure 6*.

we find many parts named, and the highest part is consistently called “altus”.<sup>10</sup> The placing of the outermost sheet is also confirmed by the fact that the tenor part in the first composition (p. 375) is erroneously called “Contra”. The same thing happens in the next composition with part designations (p. 419), which is on the front page of the next sheet:

- p. 375: (no. 207) altus, Contra, bassus
- p. 376: (no. 208) – , – , –
- p. 419: (no. 248) Altus, Contra, bassus
- (no. 249) altus,
- p. 420: Tenor, bassus
- p. 421: (no. 250) Altus, Contra, Tenor,
- p. 422: Bassus
- (no. 251) Altus, Contra, Tenor,
- p. 439: Bassus
- (no. 269) Altus, Tenor,
- p. 440: Bassus
- p. 441: (no. 270) Altus, Tenor, Bassus
- (no. 271) altus, Tenor, Contra
- p. 442: (no. 272) altus, Tenor, –
- p. 393: (no. 218) altus, – , –
- p. 394: (no. 219) Altus, Tenor, Contra
- (no. 220) altus, Tenor, bassus

These pages were all written in the same compact hand and the same ink; in most of the compositions the texts are very carefully placed.

The two remaining sheets (pp. 395-398 and pp. 407-410) in this group, which are now in fasc. 13, also have special features and must be regarded as a separate small fascicle (*Rfasc. F*). The outermost pages (p. 395 and p. 410) originally had no more than drawn margins on both sides; when the staves were drawn on the inner pages of the sheet (p. 396 and p. 409), the ink ran, so that the other side of the paper has been stained too, and the scribe has not bothered to draw staves there. Later Hand D has drawn staves (*Type 8*) on the empty pages and has used the space to copy part of a polyphonic passion (no. 221). The main scribe has filled the usable pages in the fascicle with a number of chansons by Alexander Agricola. It should be noted that this fascicle, which can be described as a typical small fascicle manuscript,<sup>11</sup> is one of the few places in Cop 1848 where the composer's name is consistently given:

- p. 396: (no. 222) *La saison en est ou jamais* “Alexandre”
- p. 397: (no. 223) *Il n'est vivant* “Alexandre”
- p. 398: (no. 224) *C'est ung bon bruit* “Alexandre”
- p. 407: (no. 235) *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* “Alexandre”
- p. 408: (no. 236) *Vostre grant bruit a fait* “Alexandre”

Two of these settings actually belong together as parts of one chanson, since no. 223 and no. 236 respectively constitute the *refrain* and *couplets* of a *bergerette*. It is possible to get the two sections on the same opening by turning the middle sheet over. But the sections then come in reverse order, so it would appear that the scribe simply regarded them as two independent chansons, and there is no reason to change their order. On p. 409 with the smudged staves,

<sup>10</sup> In Cop 1848 “altus” is only used of the highest part at two other points, p. 25 and p. 319 (in the latter case on the outermost page of fasc. 9!).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.3.

Hand A has later added a little Christmas song, *Puer nobis nascitur* (no. 237), which also occurs on another sheet in fasc. 13 (p. 402, no. 229) under the name of the unknown composer Haquinet.

Provisionally, then we can separate two small fascicles, each with its own distinctive features, from the chaotic fascicles 12-14:

*Rfasc. F*: pp. 395-398, 407-410; and

*Rfasc. G*: pp. 375-76, 419-422, 439-442, 393-94.<sup>12</sup>

Rfasc. F and G share many features with fascs. 9-10; not only do they all consist of the same type of paper and have the same staff types with guide holes perforated through all the sheets at the same time; they are also the most carefully written parts of Cop 1848. In the rest of the manuscript, apart from Rfasc. A and B, the main scribe drew the staves all the way in to the middle of the paper on the left-hand pages, which makes much of the content difficult to read after binding. However, in these four fascicles a good margin has been left on both sides of the page, and it is very likely that the staves at least were drawn with the intention that the finished result would be sewn into stiff binding. However, there is no trace in the four fascicles that shows clearly that such a separate binding was ever realized; the only thing one can point to is the fact that none of the outermost pages of the fascicles are particularly worn.

2) In fascs. 12-14 there are twelve sheets of *Paper Types 6* and *8*, all with *Staff 10*, where the scribe has not used the technique of perforating the sheets (in fasc. 12 pp. 377-392; and in fasc. 14 pp. 411-418, pp. 423-438, and pp. 443-450). These sheets can with certainty be ordered in three continuous fascicles:

*Rfasc. H*: pp. 377-392;

*Rfasc. J*: pp. 411-418, 443-450; and

*Rfasc. K*: pp. 423-438.<sup>13</sup>

The fascicles are all the same size, of four double sheets each, and the scribe has carefully specified their order. At the bottom left-hand corner on p. 392 he has written a small 'a', corresponding to an 'a' at the bottom left-hand corner of p. 411.<sup>14</sup> This brings the parts in no. 217 *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* together again. On p. 423, at the bottom right-hand corner, a small 'b' has been written, but there is no corresponding 'b' in the manuscript. But this little mystery is easily solved: p. 450, where the 'b' should logically be, has lost the whole bottom left-hand corner. The page has been exposed to hard wear, as it has been the last page of the manuscript since the first binding. Page 450 has later been repaired with matching paper, but the 'b' has gone. The three fascicles in fact still exist in their original form; other paper has simply been mixed in between the fascicles, and *Rfasc. K* has been inserted in *Rfasc. J*. *Staff 10*, which is the distinctive feature of these closely-written pages, is unlikely to have been drawn with the intention that the fascicles should be sewn into a single binding; in Cop 1848's present binding, the last half-centimetre of each staff is sometimes difficult to read. The three small fascicles were probably originally loosely gathered in a paper cover and functioned as a small music book.

3) Of fascs. 12-14 only two double sheets now remain; they are placed in the middle of fasc. 13 (pp. 399-406), from which we isolated *Rfasc. F*. These sheets must be regarded as two separate

<sup>12</sup> Contents, cf. App. C.12-13.

<sup>13</sup> Contents, cf. App. C.14.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.6.

music sheets that were inserted in the smallest fascicle during the first binding. The middle sheet in fasc. 13 (pp. 401-404) is the only piece of paper in the manuscript of *Type 7* with *Watermark 7*. The handwriting and staves are very like those of Rfasc. HJK: *Staff 12* corresponds to *Staff 10*, except that it has more, narrower staves on each side. No less than four of its seven compositions (nos. 227-233) are duplicates of compositions in Rfasc. F and Rfasc. J and K.<sup>15</sup>

The second remaining double sheet (pp. 399-400 and pp. 405-06) is, like Rfasc. F and G, of *Paper Type 1a*; the staves (*Type 11*) are also like those in Rfasc. F and G, but are larger, and were not drawn after perforations. The sheet contains three compositions (nos. 225, 226 and 234), of which no. 226 is written in across the opening formed by pp. 400/05, and no. 234 is written upside down on the back of the sheet; two of the three compositions are duplicates of compositions in Rfasc. H and K. We have thus isolated two music sheets, small independent fascicle manuscripts:

Rfasc. L: pp. 399-400, 405-406; and

Rfasc. M: pp. 401-404.<sup>16</sup>

Most of *Fasc. 11* (pp. 351-374) has been copied by Hand C, who also drew all the staves (*Type 9*). The paper is of *Type 5* with *Watermark 5*, the largest format in the manuscript and at the same time the best quality paper; it may be older than the rest of the paper. Hand C has written in a number of mass sections which together make up a complete *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine*: pp. 351-355 *Kyrie – Et in terra pax* (no. 190), pp. 358-361 *Sanctus – Agnus Dei* (no. 193) and pp. 368-371 *Patrem omnipotentem* (no. 203). Among and after the mass sections, Hand C has left a total of eleven pages empty, and the main scribe has used these to copy fourteen pieces (nos. 191-92, 194-202 and 204-206) in a closely-written hand which fully matches that in fasc. 12-14; among Hand A's contributions to fasc. 11 there are no less than six duplicates to the repertory in Rfasc. J and K. The fascicle, like the other unrelated manuscript, fasc. 5a (Rfasc. D), is incomplete; it lacks one or more double sheets—for example the superius of the *Kyrie* (no. 190) has disappeared. This defect must have made the fascicle useless for its original purpose, so the main scribe has taken the view that he might as well use the good paper for other things.

*The result of this reconstruction must be that Cop 1848 was originally a collection of music consisting of smaller, loosely gathered booklets and separate fascicles and a few loose sheets, all of which have been bound together to produce the manuscript as it now exists. The elements of the collection were written or collected by a single individual in the course of a limited period. Closer examination of the different parts and an attempt to outline the genesis of the whole are the subjects of Part Two. To conclude here, let us just recapitulate the components of the manuscript.*

We found groups of fascicles which originally seem to have been executed for binding or collecting in loose covers; whether the scribe ever realized his intentions is doubtful:

Rfasc. A and B with Rfasc. 3-4 (reconstructed from pp. 1-26 and 35-88);

Rfasc. 9-10 with Rfasc. F and G (reconstructed from pp. 319-350, 375-76,  
393-398, 407-410, 419-422 and 439-442); and

Rfasc. H, J and K (reconstructed from pp. 377-392, 411-418, 423-438 and 443-450).

<sup>15</sup> On duplicates, see further Chapter 3.1.

<sup>16</sup> Contents, cf. App. C.15-16.

The rest of the collection mainly consists of individual fascicles which functioned as separate music manuscripts; they are all larger than the single fascicles in the groupings above:

*Rfasc. 5* (pp. 89-106 and 117-134);  
*Rfasc. 6* (pp. 135-188);  
*Rfasc. 7* (pp. 189-204 and 213-228); and  
*Rfasc. 8* (pp. 229-318).

The main scribe also placed some loose sheets and small fascicles in odd places. Perhaps they were inserted in the larger fascicles long before the first binding, so they would not be crumpled or lost:

*Rfasc. C* (pp. 27-34);  
*Rfasc. E* (pp. 205-212);  
*Rfasc. L* (pp. 399-400 and 405-06); and  
*Rfasc. M* (pp. 401-404).

In addition, the collection includes two manuscript fragments in alien hands, which the main scribe has used and incorporated in his music collection:

*Rfasc. D*, Hand B (pp. 107-116); and  
*Rfasc. 11*, Hand C (pp. 351-374).



# Part Two:

Genesis and function



## Chapter 3

# Duplicates, text underlay and fascicle manuscripts

The main subject of this part is an analysis of the structure of the manuscript. Here we will attempt to discover how the scribe worked, by examining scribal details and the composition of the repertory. With this analysis as our basis we will also assess the possible function of the individual parts of the manuscript isolated in the reconstruction in the preceding chapter. Finally there will be a more detailed assessment of the issue of its time and place of origin. First, though, we must glance at other topics—that is, two aspects of the description of the manuscript the discussion of which it was most appropriate to postpone until after the reconstruction: an examination of the duplicates and of the text underlay in the various sections. A third brief section will deal with the role of the fascicle manuscripts in the circulation of music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A theory on this was proposed by Charles Hamm almost 25 years ago, and it is essential to the understanding of the genesis of Cop 1848.

### 3.1 Duplicates

The main scribe entered 19 compositions more than once.<sup>1</sup> The placing of the duplicates in the various parts of the manuscript is evident from the following overview. A look at this table confirms the reconstruction, as it clearly shows that in no case does a composition appear twice in the same part of the manuscript—always in two or three different, independent parts. Closer examination of the musical and notational details<sup>2</sup> reveals that one cannot extrapolate any firm guidelines for the main scribe's inclusion of duplicates—different factors apply in each part of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither the duplicates no. 59/63 *O beata Katherina*, where Hand A has copied from another manuscript (Rfasc. D), nor no. 115/127 and no. 185/187, all of which were added by Hand D, are of any interest in this context; including these, the manuscript's content of duplicate compositions amounts to a total of 22.

<sup>2</sup> There is a fine account of the principles of this aspect of source analysis in A. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier. Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G.XIII.27* (AtlasC) Chapter IV 'THE METHODOLOGY OF RELATING SOURCES' (pp. 39-48).

<sup>3</sup> Allan Atlas has also commented on the duplicates in Cop 1848: "Next, Fox's interpretation of the second appearance of *Qu'en dictes vous* in Cop 1848bis fails to recognize the significance of the twice-copied pieces in that manuscript. [Cop 1848 nos. 205 and 247; Atlas is referring to C. Warren Fox, 'Barbireau and Barbingant: A Review' (FoxB) p. 91, where Fox takes the second version with just four lines of the rondeau text to be a confirmation of his view that the rondeau form is not suitable for this chanson.] Invariably, when the same scribe entered a chanson into Cop 1848bis twice, the function of the second reading was to correct errors that had found their way into the music notation of the first version. Such is the case in connection with *Qu'en dictes vous*, the reading on p. 418 rectifying errors that appear at mm. 28, 33, and 35 of the version on p. 373." (AtlasC I p. 69). "... the second redaction usually corrects errors that appear in the reading of the first. This is

Duplicates in Hand A											
Nos.:	Title:	Rfasc.:									
		A	5	6	7	E	F	G	HJK	L	M 11
5/126	<i>Stabat mater</i>	•			•						
65/198/279	<i>Mon souvenir</i>		•						•		•
80/266	<i>Dictes moy</i>			•					•		
112/248	<i>Ces facheux sout</i>			•				•			
116/135	<i>Fortune, laisse moy</i>			•		•					
117/139	<i>Jouyssance vous</i>			•		•					
191/278	<i>En attendant</i>								•		•
199/265	<i>Da pacem, Domine</i>								•		•
200/262	<i>Nuit et jour</i>								•		•
204/273	<i>Soit loing ou pres</i>								•		•
205/247	<i>Qu'en dites vous?</i>								•		•
210/225	<i>O escharbuncle</i>								•	•	
224/244	<i>C'est ung bon bruit</i>						•		•		
226/253	<i>Fille vous aves mal</i>								•	•	
228/246	<i>Sancta Maria</i>								•		•
229/237	<i>Puer nobis nascitur</i>						•				•
232/238	<i>La grand pena</i>								•		•
233/264	<i>Miserere mei</i>								•		•
235/254	<i>Vostre bouche dist</i>						•		•		

With no. 80/266 *Dictes moy toutes vous pensées*, no. 112/248 *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer*, no. 116/135 *Fortune laisse moy la vie* and no. 117/139 *Jouyssance vous donneray*, there are such substantial differences between the two versions that they cannot possibly have been copied from the same original. A typical instance of these differences in musical detail can be seen in *Example 1*. The first version of *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir*, no. 65, has similarly been copied from another original than the one used for the two other versions of the chanson included (nos. 198 and 279).<sup>4</sup>

true in connection with *Soit loing ou pres* [Cop 1848 nos. 204 and 273], the second reading (p. 443) of which fills in two beats that were lacking at m. 34:3-4 in the superius of the first reading (p. 372).” (AtlasC I p. 100). As will be evident from the following review, A. Atlas’s conclusions are wrong, inasmuch as both no. 204 and no. 205 were either copied from no. 273 and no. 247 respectively, or, perhaps more probably, from the same originals. His account of the musical variants is furthermore inaccurate: in nos. 205 and 247 the error occurs in bar 28.3 in both versions, and in no. 205 there is also an error in the tenor in bar 45.1-2 (notated as a brevis), which is not mentioned (the errors in no. 205, bassus, bar 33.1-2 and the tenor before bar 35.2 are respectively a missing rest and two superfluous notes). The missing notes mentioned in bar 34.3-4 in no. 204 are in fact in Cop 1848, but are difficult to see on a microfilm; but there is a scribal error in the superius in no. 273 bar 53.1 which he does not mention—the rest is missing. Later Atlas comments at length—including two incorrect music examples—on the final altus passage in no. 226 *Fille vous aves mal garder*, which he considers a “peculiar” cadential formula, a special variant, corrected back to the normal one in the second version (no. 253, AtlasC I p. 145). He overlooks the fact that the altus parts in no. 226 and 253 are identical, except that the scribe, in no. 226, after a correction, has accidentally notated the part a third too low—a quite banal error. To the methodological demands made by Atlas (cf. note 2) one should add the need for a little imagination when distinguishing between significant and insignificant variants.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the individual catalogue items in Vol. II.

**Example 1** a) No. 112 *Ces facheux sout* (bars 11-17)<sup>5</sup>  
 b) No. 248 *Ces facheux sout* (bars 11-17)

**a:**

**b:**

The relationship between the textless piece no. 5 and no. 126 *Stabat mater dolorosa* is rather more problematical. The latter is a sacred composition in three *partes* with full text in all three voices, while no. 5 seems to be an instrumental reworking of the first two sections of the same composition, where almost all the repeated notes have been combined in longer note values, so that the text lines of the sequence cannot possibly be laid under the textless composition (cf. *Example 2*).

The five chansons mentioned above were all very well known and widely disseminated, and it is not surprising that they could appear in somewhat different versions. No. 126, however, is not known from other sources; it is a French—probably local—setting of the *Stabat Mater* sequence, with lines in French interpolated in the third section, and cannot have had a very wide circulation. Could No. 5 be a reworking by the scribe himself of No. 126? The changes are so mechanical (the tying of repeated notes etc.) that it may well have been copied in with the vocal version as model. In no. 126 there are so many errors in the bassus in bars 38-42 that the first section of the composition cannot be directly performed from the manuscript. We see these errors repeated exactly in no. 5; this too could indicate that no. 126 functioned as the original for the reworking.<sup>6</sup>

The duplicates that appear in Rfasc. 11 must all either have been copied from Rfasc. HJK, which forms an independent music booklet, or from the same originals. They are the last two copies of *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* no. 198/279, no. 191/278 *En attendant de vous secours*, no. 199/265 *Da pacem, Domine*, no. 200/262 *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir*, no. 204/273 *Soit loing ou*

<sup>5</sup> The bassus in bars 11-14 is very difficult to decipher in Cop 1848; in *Example 1a* I have tried to recreate what was originally written; however, bar 11.4 in the manuscript is B $\flat$ , the passage in bars 13.2-3 may originally have been a tone lower, and bar 14 is missing. The scribe immediately noticed the error, which was in his original, and tried to reconstruct the bassus. In bar 11 the B $\flat$  is corrected to c; bars 12-13 are changed to two  $\equiv$  (f-g); and bar 14 has become a  $\downarrow$  (f), four  $\downarrow$  (f-e-d-c) and a  $\downarrow$  (d). No. 112 is published in its entirety in Vol. III (no. 59).

<sup>6</sup> No. 126 is published in its entirety in Vol. III (no. 84).



**Example 2** a) No. 126 *Stabat mater dolorosa* (bars 53-60)  
b) No. 5 without text (bars 53-60)

a:

b:

*pres* and no. 205/247 *Qu'en dites vous? feres vous rien?* The two versions of the compositions are on the whole identical, including errors; no. 265 *Da pacem, Domine* does however have a striking error in the superius (bar 11), which does not appear in no. 199. The pieces in Rfasc. 11 give the impression of having been hastily copied, compared with the more careful copies in Rfasc. HJK, but details of the handwriting show that the interval in time must have been very short. The amount of text in four of the settings is the same in both versions: however, the scribe adds, in the long final melisma in no. 200 *Nuit et jour*, a repetition of the last word of the refrain which is not in no. 262.<sup>7</sup> As for the other two, no. 279 *Mon souvenir* in Rfasc. J has a complete rondeau text, while no. 198 has clearly been hastily copied with incipits only. In *Qu'en dites vous?* the opposite is true, as no. 205 in Rfasc. 11 gives the full text and the composer's name, where no. 247 only has the first line of the text. By contrast, no. 247 has only a single scribal error (bar 28.3), repeated in no. 205, which also adds a number of new errors—perhaps made in the attempt to fit as many notes on each of the short staves in Rfasc. 11 as there was room for on the longer staves in Rfasc. HJK or in a shared original—this is clearly true of the errors in bar 33 and bar 35.<sup>8</sup> One can note that the duplicates of nos. 204 and 205 also share an opening in Rfasc. HJK, but in reverse order (Rfasc. HJK no. 19-20).<sup>9</sup>

Four of the six duplicates in Rfasc. 11 may have been copied from Rfasc. HJK. However, the last two—nos. 199 and 205—must be copies from the originals the scribe used for Rfasc. HJK. On the whole it must be considered most likely that all the pieces in Rfasc. 11 were copied in the same period as Rfasc. HJK, using the same originals.

The last eight sets of duplicates in Cop 1848 are all in the sections reconstructed from fascs. 11-14. It is hard to find firm ground on which to base statements on how the duplicates

<sup>7</sup> An attempt has been made to correct several scribal errors in the text of no. 262. Whether this was done concurrently with the copying of no. 200 is impossible to say.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. App. C.14.

are related here; an analysis of the small variations in text and music on the assumption that the individual parts of the manuscript could have been used as models for one another leads to quite contradictory conclusions. The simplest explanation must be that most were independent copies of the same originals. The issue can best be treated during our later overall assessment of the content of the parts in question. However, some preliminary comments can be made: no. 224 *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* and no. 235 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy*, which are in Rfasc. F, both have a few scribal errors which the main scribe has tried to correct in Rfasc. J (no. 244) and Rfasc. K (no. 254),<sup>10</sup> and it is very likely that he used Rfasc. F as his original. The three-part *O escharbuncle reluisant* appears in Rfasc. H with a setting of the same poem for four voices (nos. 209 and 210)—only the three-part chanson is in Rfasc. L (no. 225). In no. 228 *Sancta Maria* in Rfasc. M the upper part is notated a third too high, while no. 246 in Rfasc. J consists of the upper voice alone, in the correct position, but with no text. Nos. 233 and 264 *Miserere mei* in Rfasc. M and Rfasc. K are identical, except that no. 233 has no text at all.

### 3.2 Text underlay

The normal practice of the main scribe in chansons and short sacred compositions was to furnish the upper part with text, and one or more of the lower parts with incipits. In the more extended sacred compositions, especially those in four parts, he normally underlaid all the parts with text. This practice can be clearly observed in Rfasc. 5 (22 of 25 pieces have *t i i* or variants of this) or in Rfasc. 8 (12 of 14 sacred compositions have *t t t* or *t t t t*).<sup>11</sup> In very few cases has the scribe given more text than was absolutely necessary to sing a piece through once; and when he did, it was usually in songs in *formes fixes*. Of twenty chansons with more text, eighteen are rondeaux or ballades.

In the actual writing of the text he followed the practice of the age: that is, he usually took care in the layout of the text to indicate musical phrases and text lines that belonged together and began together, even though he was sometimes forced to squeeze text lines together under each other. On the other hand, he was rarely interested in the placing of the individual words and syllables. In the secular repertory, repetitions of words and the division of words into syllables is extremely rare;<sup>12</sup> in church music he has more often marked necessary repetitions, but a passage that stammers (on paper) like the one in the second voice of no. 105, which sings "...eius animam de-, de-, defende", is still an isolated instance.<sup>13</sup> One surprising feature is that in not a few cases only the lowest voice is furnished with text;<sup>14</sup> some other settings only have text in the tenor, but this is nowhere near as remarkable. One is tempted to attribute a special significance—for performing practice, for example—to these features. Yet the explanation is more likely to be the simple one that the scribe usually added the text quickly after having written the music down, without caring too much where it appeared. In one case, the three-part no. 269 *Or sus, vous dormez tropt, ma dame joliette*, he has in fact placed a

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the individual catalogue items in Vol. II.

<sup>11</sup> See the specifications of amounts of text under the music incipits in Vol. II.

<sup>12</sup> Words are only repeated in rondeaux where there is musical justification for doing so—for instance the last word of a refrain after a clear cadence in the long final melisma in no. 66 *Venés regretz* and in no. 200 *Nuit et jour* (but there is no repetition of the word in the other version of *Nuit et jour*—no. 262). In no. 72 *Mais que se feut* and no. 74 *Se j'ay parlé* short phrases are repeated in accordance with the ironic flavour of the songs (cf. Chapter 7.1 *Examples 11 and 12*). The placing of the unstressed '-e' at the end of a line is marked in a few instances; in no. 219 *Faulte d'argent* very explicitly: "compagnie-ee" (cf. Vol. III no. 67).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the transcription of *Precibus sancte Dei* in Vol. III no. 78.

<sup>14</sup> See nos. 20, 133, 135, 136, 141, 181, 223 and 238.

text under the bassus that can only be sung by the tenor. This practice does suggest, though, that he considered it quite natural for every voice—not only the upper ones—to carry a text.

There are great differences in the amount of text with which the scribe has furnished the settings: many only have an incipit, others again are completely textless. We can only guess the reason for this preferential treatment. The text underlay of the originals will certainly have been important, but the fact that the scribe himself only knew French and Latin probably also played a role. Texts in other languages appear here either with an incipit only (no. 213 *In minen sin* – Flemish), without any text (nos. 11–18 – German songs) or with a distorted orthography (no. 232 and 238 *La grand pena* – Italian); this may also explain why other settings appear with no text.

The sections of the manuscript where the text underlay deviates strikingly from the scribe's norm are of interest because here we can clearly distinguish between repertories from different originals. An example that can be cited, besides the German songs mentioned above, is a series of Parisian chansons in fasc. 4, which are more amply underlaid with text than usual in the manuscript.

To the many features that distinguish Rfasc. F and G from Rfasc. HJK,<sup>15</sup> one can add certain clear differences in the text underlay: all the compositions the main scribe copied into Rfasc. F and G either have a text or incipit (seventeen with text in one or more parts, one setting with an incomplete text and one with an incipit), while in Rfasc. HJK there are four textless pieces, two with a title or the like at the top of the page (no. 239 *La morra* and no. 245 *Je suis Margot*); as well as twenty with text and sixteen pieces with an incipit only. Looking at the total number of voice parts in the two groups, the picture becomes even clearer: in Rfasc. F and G, 40% of the 59 parts have text, 50% have incipits and 10% have no text; for Rfasc. HJK the corresponding figures are 20, 30 and 50% respectively.

The reconstructed last part of Cop 1848 can also be singled out as giving far more composers' names than the rest of the manuscript.<sup>16</sup> In Rfasc. F there are five names, in Rfasc. G a single name and in Rfasc. HJK there are five; there are also two names in the separate double sheet Rfasc. M, and in Rfasc. 11 there are composers' name for three of the pieces copied by the main scribe.<sup>17</sup> In the rest of the manuscript there are only four names: three in Rfasc. 8 and one in Rfasc. 6.

### 3.3 Fascicle manuscripts

In the article 'Manuscript Structures in the Dufay Era'<sup>18</sup> Charles Hamm has some reflections on how and in what form the musical repertory circulated in the fifteenth century. One can assume that the composers of the age usually made—or had a scribe make—a fair copy of a finished piece of music in choirbook arrangement on one or more double sheets of paper, which then constituted a small independent manuscript. In this the scribe entered the music across the first and perhaps the next opening, leaving the front page, and often the back, blank. Such small manuscripts provided a convenient basis for the performance of extended compositions like masses and the longer motets. Short pieces, on the other hand, each of which hardly filled a single sheet of paper, would soon be copied into rather larger fascicles. Hamm gives the example that a group of hymns or Magnificat settings written for a particular

<sup>15</sup> Compare with the reconstruction in Chapter 2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.8.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the lists of contents in App. C.

<sup>18</sup> *Acta XXXIV* (1962) pp. 166–184 (HammM).

institution by a composer associated with it would be copied into a fascicle together. In the same way, pieces by several composers working in the same environment could of course be brought together. Hamm calls such small independent collections of folded sheets ‘fascicle-manuscripts’ and thinks that they played an important role in musical life.<sup>19</sup> Fascicle manuscripts in a suitable format were both practical to sing from, cheap to copy and easy to transport and exchange among musical institutions. Only in special circumstances was there any reason to bind a number of fascicle manuscripts together in a large volume or to copy their repertory into more imposing manuscripts.

Hamm points out that the fascicle manuscripts have in fact been preserved for posterity in not inconsiderable numbers, although as a rule they must have been worn out in use—in the nature of things, they were not very durable—or discarded as obsolete within a relatively short period. It was easier for the bigger bound manuscripts to survive, especially the beautifully executed ones with—for example—handwriting in different colours, illuminated initials or beautiful pictures. In fact it is often in the large manuscripts one can have the good fortune to find fascicle manuscripts preserved, if one knows what to look for. Hamm cites a number of examples of this in well-known sources of the fifteenth century, including the manuscript *Aosta, Seminario, ms. without signature*, where the last fascicle, consisting of one double sheet of paper (ff. 280-281<sup>v</sup>), contains a motet by Brassart, whose work is also found in the central part of the manuscript. This small fascicle manuscript probably served as model when the scribe was copying the larger manuscript, and was—perhaps by mistake or accident—bound together with the other fascicles.<sup>20</sup> We find exactly the same in Cop 1848, where the motet *Ave virgo Katherina* (no. 59), which is in the unrelated Rfasc. D, was used by the main scribe as the source for no. 63 in Rfasc. 5.<sup>21</sup>

Hamm supports his theory of the dissemination and function of the fascicle manuscripts by demonstrating that it is possible to reconstruct the disposition and content of lost fascicle manuscripts from an analysis of the complex manuscripts that have been preserved. Among other things, he reviews the first sixteen fascicles of *Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 87*, where one can see that the fascicle manuscripts have been copied without observing any preconceived plan, and where the structure of the originals can be clearly demonstrated.<sup>22</sup> In

<sup>19</sup> HammM p. 167: “I have coined the term *fascicle-manuscript* for such small collections of double sheets containing single compositions, several compositions by one man written at about the same time, or a group of compositions by several men who had some connection with one another when the pieces were written and first copied - “fascicle” because they are similar in size to the fascicles which make up the larger complex manuscripts and because they are sometimes bound into these manuscripts as fascicles, “manuscript” because they were originally separate, selfcontained collections of music.”

In his book on the music manuscript *Roma CG XIII.27* Allan Atlas replaces Hamm’s designation with the term ‘parent source’ (AtlasC I pp. 39-40). This is due to his wish to isolate different, geographically demarcated groups of Italian music manuscripts and to demonstrate the traditions and internal relations of these groups by means of their dependence on common sources. Atlas’s term typifies his rather one-sided emphasis on the function of the small collections as sources for larger, more expensive manuscripts, thus marginalizing what was surely their primary function as material for everyday musical activity. ‘Fascicle manuscripts’ is a far more neutral term for manuscripts with a relatively homogeneous repertory and consisting of just one gathering.

<sup>20</sup> HammM p. 168f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> HammM p. 169ff. “The only organization of Tr87 and Tr92, then, is into a succession of individual pieces and small groups of pieces, the order of these layers determined by the chance order in which the model fascicle-manuscripts came to hand and were selected for copying. Ox was put together in the same way and is susceptible to the same sort of analysis, as are sections of other manuscripts (the fourth part of Ao, for example, and the second half of FM112). It is usually a simple task to reconstruct the fascicle-manuscripts from which the copying was done, and in certain circumstances this reconstruction can help answer questions of authorship and/or chronology.” (HammM pp. 174-75).

other cases the disposition of the manuscript was based on a firm plan; here the scribe had to select suitable compositions from a number of different sources and copy them in accordance with the plan without regard to the order of the pieces in the originals. To form an impression of the originals used in such manuscripts, one must make a detailed examination of the scribal elements. In the second part of the 'Aosta MS' the repertory of mass sections is grouped by type—that is, *Kyrie* settings, then *Gloria* settings and so on—yet a considerable amount of information on the nature of the sources can also be extracted in this case, as Hamm shows in his analysis.<sup>23</sup>

Charles Hamm deals with the circulation of the sacred repertory of the fifteenth century. However, there is nothing to indicate that his conclusions should not also apply to the subsequent period and the secular part of the repertory. One of the most convincing examples of a fascicle manuscript is *Paris, BN, ms. nouv. acq. franç. 4379 II* (ff. 43–60<sup>v</sup>). This incomplete fascicle, as demonstrated by Hans Schoop, served as the source for a series of chansons in the manuscript *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Misc. 213*. It remained in the possession of the scribe and was used along with *Oxford 213*, his own music collection.<sup>24</sup> The same scribe also compiled a tenor part book that could be used for some of the pieces in *Oxford 213*.<sup>25</sup> Schoop's analysis further shows that the scribe, when he copied from the fascicle manuscript—wittingly or unwittingly—reworked his original. First and foremost he picked out the pieces he wished to copy, and of course corrected obvious errors in the original along the way. But at the same time he gave the copied compositions his personal stamp by following his own habits with the spelling of the text, the notation of rhythmical details—ligatures, coloration and the tying or division of note values—and the embellishing of cadential formulae.<sup>26</sup> That fascicle manuscripts were also the normal medium after 1500 for the dissemination of the repertory is confirmed, for example, by the letters from Jean Michel and others to employers among the Italian aristocracy published by Lewis Lockwood. These several times mention the dispatch of new compositions, and it is evident that they are sent in the form of a few folded sheets.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> HammM p. 176ff. "Ao was copied from fascicle-manuscripts, as were Tr87 and Tr92. But in Ao and other manuscripts put together in a similar way, the organization of the new large manuscript obscures the models from which the copying was done, making it more difficult to reconstruct these models." (HammM pp. 183–84).

Hamm's theory has been criticized by several scholars—for example by Stanley Boorman in *NGrove 17* 'Sources I' p. 598 and by Margaret Bent in 'Some criteria for establishing relationships between sources of late-medieval polyphony' (BentS) pp. 300–04: "While much music was undoubtedly circulated in, sung from and copied from fascicles, I wonder whether the practice of compiling autonomous fascicles was as widespread as he implies." (BentS p. 300). Some of Hamm's examples of preserved fascicle manuscripts are also questioned (*ibid.* p. 303 n. 11). But this does not detract from the importance of the theory; it emphasizes the importance of the modifications to be made in the following.

Martha K. Hanen, too, uses Hamm's theory to help explain the disposition of the repertory in the manuscript *El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Ms.IV.a.24*: "Especially noticeable are groups of quodlibets and the works of minor composers" (*The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24* (HanenE) I p. 46). See also Martin Staehelin's thought-provoking outline of a system for identifying anonymously preserved works in 'Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung' (StaehelinM).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. H. Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (SchoopO) pp. 72–77. "PC II ist wohl der deutlichste bis jetzt gefundene Beweis eines Faszikel-Manuskriptes wie es Ch. Hamm als Grundlage die Verbreitung von Musik zur Zeit Dufays sieht" (p. 76).

<sup>25</sup> *Paris, BN, ms. nouv. acq. franç. 4379 III* (ff. 61–66), cf. also SchoopO pp. 79–85.

<sup>26</sup> SchoopO p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> L. Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy 1505–1520' (LockwoodF); for example, A. Sacrati, during a stay in Angers, sent some compositions filling four folio sheets by Mouton to Alfonso I d'Este, and another—new—piece on a half folio sheet (LockwoodF p. 216).



One seldom comes across true fascicle manuscripts in French, Dutch and Italian manuscripts from the period around 1500. They are more frequent in manuscripts written or compiled in the German-speaking area; thus, for example, *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. 40021, Leipzig, Universitätsbibl., Mus. Ms. 1494* and *München, Staatsbibl., Mus. Ms. 3154* each contain several fascicle manuscripts of varying sizes, which have been incorporated and bound in collections all primarily made for private use.<sup>28</sup> It was only with the emergence of printed music at reasonable prices in the second quarter of the sixteenth century that changes seem to have begun in the distribution channels of music; then we can see that the printed collections were often used as originals for the manuscript collections, thus taking over the function of the fascicle manuscripts.<sup>29</sup>

The theory of the dissemination of the repertory in fascicle manuscripts is important to the understanding of Cop 1848 and its function in musical life. Several of the smaller components of Cop 1848 can be described as fascicle manuscripts which fall directly under Hamm's definition,<sup>30</sup> and everywhere there are traces of the use of fascicle manuscripts of various kinds as originals, since the repertory often falls into series of related compositions. We find a very clear example of this in the series of three-part Parisian chansons in Rfasc. 6 (p. 177-182), the titles of which the scribe has also noted on the last page of the fascicle.<sup>31</sup>

Yet the definition of fascicle manuscripts as outlined by Charles Hamm is probably too narrow to have universal validity. It seems extremely apt in the case of what one can call 'first-generation fascicle manuscripts'—that is, those copies which were made very close in time and place to the origin of the compositions in question. What Hamm does not discuss—nor is it his intention—is the fact that the fascicle manuscripts, during their circulation in musical life, must have been subject to constant copying, and that new generations of fascicle manuscripts must have appeared all the time. During this process it is inconceivable that the copyists did not make considerable changes in notation as well as repertory according to local tradition or taste, especially in the secular repertoire. While a group of sacred compositions would probably be copied almost unchanged, a secular repertory would probably often have been edited during the copying.<sup>32</sup> For example, the scribe may have gathered the most popular pieces from different originals in a single manuscript, thus putting a new fascicle manuscript into circulation, in the same way as H. Schoop has observed in the relationship between *Paris 4379 II* and *Oxford 213*. A music copyist probably often worked on commission and had to meet his employer's wishes as regards the repertory, or he copied for his own collection and could make up his own mind about what would be needed in future. So there must have been a constant selection process between each generation of copies: new pieces would come in and others would be dropped, while old 'hits' would be preserved; otherwise it is impossible to explain the appearance of certain chansons in almost all sources over most of Europe.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. JustF; there are careful examinations of the fascicle structure of the Berlin and Munich manuscripts in Martin Just, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: Untersuchungen zum Repertoire einer deutschen Quelle des 15. Jahrhunderts* (JustB) and in Thomas Noblitt, 'Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek München' (NoblittM<sup>2</sup>). Both authors get the results from their analyses that both *Berlin 40021* and *München 3154* were composed of related fascicle groups as well as separate fascicles, separate double sheets and single leaves of various origins (cf. JustB p. 17ff and NoblittM<sup>2</sup> p. 38ff).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also AtlasC I p. 39 n. 4.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Rfasc. C, containing a two-part *Stabat mater dolorosa* (no. 19); Rfasc. F, devoted to chansons by Agricola; or the slightly larger complex, Rfasc. 9-10, with a series of *Magnificat* settings.

<sup>31</sup> Discussed further in Chapter 4.1. and Chapter 9.2.

<sup>32</sup> Hamm's point of departure is precisely that the same compositions appear in different fifteenth-century sources in almost identical versions, while their sequence and placing are quite different in each manuscript—the exception is *Trento 93*, which is a copy of *Trento 90* (HammM p. 166).

As an example one can take the fact that it is not uncommon for chansons written by different composers at different times and in different places with the word “regret(z)” in the first line of text to appear in series in the sources.<sup>33</sup> It is very conceivable that fascicle manuscripts were in circulation which concentrated on precisely this very select group of melancholy songs.

<sup>33</sup> *Allez regretz, Venez regretz, Va-t'en regret, Sourdez regretz* etc.; e.g. in *Bruxelles 11239* nos. 1-7 (cf. PickerC) or *Firenze 117* ff. 39-41 (five chansons); on this genre see also Mary Beth W. Marvin, ‘*Regrets* in French Chanson Texts of the Late XVth century’ (MarvinR).

# Chapter 4

## Analysis of the structure of the manuscript

It emerged clearly from the reconstruction of Cop 1848 that the manuscript has two main elements. On the one hand we have the sections the scribe had apparently planned to execute with some care, and for which some kind of binding seems to have been intended; and on the other we have four large fascicles, each of which has been used as an independent manuscript. Typical of the latter is also the fact that their staves were drawn freehand, while those of the more ambitious sections were drawn with a rastrum or ruler. Other manuscripts preserved in the chancellery format were probably compiled or written with private use in mind.<sup>1</sup> The four large, independent fascicles of Cop 1848 seem to have been planned from the outset as the scribe's own music collection, so it will serve our purposes to examine the tenability of this assumption immediately by beginning the review of the structure of the manuscript with them.<sup>2</sup>

### 4.1 The four larger fascicles (Rfasc. 5-8)

The content of the four fascicles that make up half of Cop 1848 (pp. 89-318) is nowhere near as chaotic as the impression one gets from reading through the catalogue. It appears that the scribe had some plan in mind for the content of each fascicle. Rfasc. 8 was envisaged as a collection of long sacred compositions. Rfasc. 7 may also have been intended for sacred music, while Rfasc. 5 and 6 were to contain secular pieces. For many reasons, the scribe was unable to fulfil all his intentions in the relatively long period when he worked with the fascicles. We will attempt to discover his working process, and it will be appropriate to begin with the fascicle where the composition of the repertory makes this process fairly easy to follow.

#### Rfasc. 8

With its 22½ double sheets, Rfasc. 8 is the biggest fascicle, consisting mainly of extended compositions for ecclesiastical use. The main scribe must have had access to a whole collection of church music that he could copy, and for this purpose he made a large fascicle of as many

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> References in the following are to the parts of the manuscript reconstructed in Chapter 2—that is, without inserted sheets or compositions added later (cf. the lists of contents in *Appendix C*). In discussing the repertory, I also use the numbering in App. C; e.g. Rfasc. 5 nos. 1-12 = App. C.2 (Rfasc. 5) nos. 1-12 = Cop 1848 nos. 45-49, 51-56 and 62.

Part of the repertory is examined in more detail in Part Three, *The manuscript as a source for the musical repertory of the early sixteenth century*. This is only referred to in special cases.

sheets of paper as were practical for him to work with. Then he began to fill the pages with staves, drawing them freehand. Throughout the fascicle no changes in the staves are evident, in terms of either ink colour or method; so he may have filled the whole fascicle—except the very last sheet—in one working session. In that case it is not surprising that he grew tired and less careful as he went along. From about p. 250 on, the execution of the staves becomes shakier, and more space gradually appears between the lines.

While no time lapses are evident in the repertory he copied first, it is easy to isolate the compositions with which he later filled out the pages that had been left empty in various parts of the fascicle. For one thing, most of the compositions are of a different type; for another we can see clear differences in the handwriting. Numbers 1, 6, 7, 9-14, 22 and 23 in the list of contents in *Appendix C*, for example, do not belong to the original repertory.

We must imagine the scribe with a collection of sacred music in front of him when he sat down to fill his thick fascicle. He began with a large-scale *Magnificat* setting in four parts on the first four openings. At first he worked very carefully, underlaying the music with the full text and marking all text repetitions, and emphasizing the initials with brown ink on the first opening. We find a full text underlay throughout the fascicle, but gradually his accuracy leaves something to be desired: many words are missing, and Hand D has later added several missing text lines. It is obvious that the main scribe was in a hurry; and this has led to many over-scoring and corrections.<sup>3</sup> After the *Magnificat vi toni* he continued with a four-part passion motet by Maioris, a four-part *alternatim* setting of Psalm 113 and a *Magnificat viii toni* 4-5v for low voices (Rfasc. 8 nos. 2-5).

At this point the scribe must have come across some interesting new music: he interrupted the first series of compositions to copy two masses by Mathieu Gascongne and Jean Lhéritier (Rfasc. 8 nos. 8 and 15). Before the first mass he left two openings empty (pp. 256-259), perhaps because he planned to copy a piece in there which belonged with the preceding compositions. He worked on the two masses in great haste, perhaps copying both at the same time. What is certain is that he began on Lhéritier's mass before he had finished with Gascongne's. For in the latter he stopped at "Et resurrexit ...", skipped the six openings on which the rest of the mass was to be copied, and began work on Lhéritier's mass on p. 280. He interrupted the work on this mass too—this time in between the *Gloria* and *Credo*, to copy a four-part motet, *O genetrix gloriosa*, which according to his source had been written by a contemporary composer, the famous Jean Richafort. Musicologists now prefer to attribute it to the rather older Loyset Compère.<sup>4</sup> However, he did finish Lhéritier's mass, and did the drawings of the hands at the end of the *Gloria* and the beginning of the *Credo* to draw attention to the connection. But he never managed to finish the other mass, and the six openings set aside for it were left empty.

After the masses he returned to the kind of music he had worked on at first: a three-part *Magnificat viii toni* and the beginning of a four-part *Magnificat i toni*—he only managed to copy two of the voices of the latter on pp. 300-01 before abandoning it and crossing them out. Below, he copied instead yet another setting of Psalm 113. The next piece, a four-part *alternatim* setting of the sequence *Victime pascali laudes*, is also incomplete—the fully texted superius and tenor were entered on p. 312, while the altus breaks off in the middle of the third verse of the sequence and the rest of p. 313 is empty. The last opening of the fascicle has a five-part Marian antiphon by François Dulot (Rfasc. 8 nos. 17-21).

All this, if we can venture conclusions on the basis of the very consistent script over 69 closely-written pages, was copied in the course of a short period in one great, if slightly

<sup>3</sup> Further details are given in connection with the individual compositions in the catalogue (Vol. II).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.8.

confused, effort. The two last pieces (nos. 20-21) may have been copied slightly later than the rest. A further two sacred compositions were added to the fascicle before the main scribe filled in the empty pages with French chansons. These are an antiphon to St. Augustine, copied into the opening just before Gascongne's mass in a very compact script, and the three-part *Deo gracias* just before Lhéritier's mass (Rfasc. 8 nos. 7 and 14). The latter of these was probably copied in some considerable time after the others, since the script, with its strikingly long note stems, is very different from that in the rest of the fascicle.

Looking at the way the repertory came to appear in the fascicle, it is evident that the scribe worked under some pressure and constantly changed his plans. We can only guess at the circumstances that caused him to leave pieces unfinished or to abandon them immediately. It is very conceivable that other urgent work made him put the collection aside, and that he then forgot to finish the pieces while they were still of interest. The working procedure described above does however suggest another explanation which supplements the first, slightly over-convenient one, which does not accord well with the scribe's usual professional attitude to the work. The idea that the fascicle originated as a private manuscript falls naturally into the pattern here—that is, that it was not written to order, with sale in mind or to function as performance material, but as a manuscript that would serve as a kind of repository from which music could be retrieved for various purposes. In the work with such a collection, the scribe would be quite free to exploit sudden opportunities to build up a repertory by copying in new compositions. He must have had a quite clear idea from the outset of what the fascicle was to contain; otherwise he would never have folded so many sheets into a single fascicle; and we can easily distinguish the repertory he had in mind when he planned it from the other compositions that passed through his hands during the process—perhaps as loans from colleagues passing through town—and which subjected him to some pressure of time, since they had to be given back.

The two parody masses by Gascongne and Lhéritier were copied this way. Both belong to a mass type that was cultivated in the first decades of the century—first and foremost perhaps by composers associated with Paris and the French court. The musical material is borrowed from three-part chansons to popular tunes, the so-called 'popular arrangements'. Gascongne's mass is based on an anonymous chanson, *Mon mary m'a diffamée*, and Lhéritier's on Antoine de Févin's *On a mal dit de mon amy*, both well known from chansonniers of the years around 1500. Each of the masses probably came from its own fascicle manuscript. The source of Gascongne's mass was apparently needed elsewhere before the scribe finished copying it. But he must have assumed he would be able to use it again, since he also avoided using the reserved pages when, after copying Lhéritier's mass, he reverted to the original planned repertory. The motet *O genetrix gloriosa* in the middle of the *Missa On a mal dit* is yet another example of the way the opportunity to add a good composition to the store took priority over good order in the collection.

The bulk of the repertory the scribe originally intended for the fascicle belongs to a different musical world from that of the three compositions that he was lucky enough to gain access to. These were written by musicians centrally placed at court and in the Church, and, different as they are, they exhibit high quality and technical mastery. The original repertory of *alternatim* compositions, primarily for use at Vespers, and with a few motets included, is just as musically ambitious. The compositions follow the prevalent French style of about 1500 with four-part writing as the norm, clearly delineated musical phrases with lively melismata as ornamentation and the use of imitation, homophonic sections and duets to structure the flow. But they do not have the self-assured articulation and mastery of the texture, a fact that is especially notable in the anonymous compositions.



The settings of Psalm 113 (Rfasc. 8 nos. 4 and 19) clearly have the same origin. The two sets of *alternatim* psalms supplement each other, since *In exitu Israel* sets the odd verses of the psalm, while *Facta est Judea* has the even verses. This is practical liturgical music, short settings where the psalm melody is almost always audibly present. The composer had made great efforts to create a varied effect within the narrow framework by using verses with a reduced number of parts, alternating between homorhythmic and imitative texture, and so on. A later user of Cop 1848, Hand D, was not satisfied with the result, and added a number of corrections and alternative verses to these Vespers psalms.<sup>5</sup>

The first *Magnificat* (Rfasc. 8 no. 2) is an ambitious work with spacious settings of the individual verses. It demonstrates how difficult it is for a composer not of the first rank to manage the 'modern' idiom of the day.<sup>6</sup> He was unable to think in four parts: the imitations rarely involve more than two voices, and the altus is only accommodated to the four-part section with the greatest effort. But because of the varied structure—altus-bassus duos alternating with superius-tenor and other combinations as a contrast to a full four-part texture—he still succeeds in creating music that could be perceived by the ordinary listener as akin to the latest musical currents. More or less the same comment could be made on the next *Magnificat* (Rfasc. 8 no. 5). The closely-placed low voices which take turns in fulfilling the superius and tenor functions here do however help the composer to some extent to overcome the problems of four-part writing, and in Verse 10 he takes the plunge into five-part texture with the liturgical melody in canon. The abandoned *Magnificat* (Rfasc. 8 no. 18) appears to have been of exactly the same nature as the preceding one—also for low voices in a compact, imitative texture. This may be the reason the scribe preferred to use the space for yet another Psalm 113. The setting of the *Victime pascali laudes* (Rfasc. 8 no. 20) is in the same vein as the others, but is too incomplete to provide any useful impression. The remaining *alternatim* composition differs strikingly from the others of this type: in the three-part *Magnificat* (Rfasc. 8 no. 17) a virtue has been made of necessity.<sup>7</sup> This succinct setting for low voices has no pretensions beyond getting the fullest possible sound out of the modest resources. All final chords are five-part, so its voice parts, with their narrow range, were probably conceived with a small church choir in mind. This is an efficient liturgical composition, provincial in comparison with the work of the leading composers of the time, but perhaps, like others we shall encounter in Cop 1848, attractive to the scribe precisely because of its usefulness.

The two motets furnished with composer names rise above this standard. François Dulot was a provincial *maître de chapelle* who worked in Amiens and in the 1520s in Rouen; the five-part *Ave Maria* for three equal, high voices above the antiphon melody in canon is a welcome addition to his sparsely preserved œuvre (Rfasc. 8 no. 21). We know of no other compositions by Maioris—remarkably, because his sure-handed, dramatically effective passion motet *In illo tempore* matches the best music of the time (Rfasc. 8 no. 3).<sup>8</sup> Unlike this, the anonymous *Ave presul Augustine* (Rfasc. 8 no. 7), added shortly afterwards, belongs to the same sphere as the *alternatim* compositions exhibiting inadequate control of the four-part texture.

The church music in Rfasc. 8 will be dealt with again in a subsequent chapter. The reason it is described in some detail in this context, with an 'evaluation' of the capabilities of the composers, is that the repertory falls into different strata, and that the differences between these provide a substantial basis for the analysis of the structure of the fascicle. As we have seen, the handwriting only indicates that the whole was copied in a short period. There can be

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. 10.3 and Ch. 11.2. The psalm settings, along with the verses in Hand D, are published in Vol. III (nos. 76-77).

<sup>6</sup> Vol. III no. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. III no. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. III no. 79.

no doubt that the scribe's original material consisted of the kind of music we see before and after the masses: the *alternatim* compositions exhibit such great similarities that they must come from the same environment. They have high utility value, and a good deal of artistic ambition was invested in them, but proved most successful in the less functionally determined motets. It is impossible to say where the scribe obtained this material—too little research has been done on the more modest, anonymous music—but it is not impossible that the bulk of it comes from the home region of the scribe. Given this background, the compositions by Gascongne, Lhéritier and Compère, and for that matter by Maioris and Dulot, stand out far more than they would beside the music of their peers.<sup>9</sup>

Some years later, when the main value of the fascicle to the scribe apparently consisted of its many pages with empty staves, it was filled in with a number of chansons: a five-part canon chanson (Rfasc. 8 no. 22) and six Parisian chansons (nos. 6 and 9-13). Five of these recur in Attaingnant's printed chansonniers, and two can be attributed to Clément Janequin and Claudin de Sermisy. The chansons were copied in the same period as the corresponding series of Parisian chansons in Rfasc. 3-4. This was not done in the same session; it is easy to see that different pens and ink were used, but the handwriting is the same, a fairly small, round music hand where the notes have short stems and broad heads. As we shall see later, the two sets of Parisian chansons were probably the last things the scribe added to his collection.

The two-part examples of counterpoint on the front page and the penultimate page of the fascicle (Rfasc. 8 nos. 1 and 23) were both entered on an occasion when the scribe had two of the other independent fascicles in front of him. He sketched similar examples there (Rfasc. 5 no. 26 and Rfasc. 6 no. 46) at the same time—so the examples form one more element linking the large fascicles. Let us now investigate how the other three fascicles compare with the one just described.


#### Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. D

We can see Rfasc. 5 as an example of a carefully selected repertory which the scribe copied without interruptions from the sources he had collected for the purpose. It is a large fascicle manuscript of nine double sheets in which staves, script and text underlay are unusually consistent, and where all compositions, apart from a single duo, are notated for three voices. On the same occasion the scribe noted the contents on the back of the fascicle in the form of short text incipits placed right out by the spine of the fascicle; the later additions are of course not included.<sup>10</sup>

The fascicle was obviously done in haste with many corrections and overscorings in the music, and the staves are very sloppily drawn. Some of them were apparently of no use to the scribe, but he also skipped whole pages with relatively successful staves—for example p. 123. The irregularity of the staves means that the disposition of parts sometimes has an odd appearance, because the scribe preferred to use only the best staves. For example he avoided the left-hand pages of the openings on pp. 96-99. In other places there is only a single part on a page, in the top or bottom half or in the middle, depending on where the drawing of the staves was most successful. At some points, too, the scribe appears to have set out the parts in three-part compositions so the opening would also have room for a smaller piece—for example the superius and tenor of *En despit de faulx mesdisans* are on p. 128, while the bassus

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Chapter 10, which sets out a classification of sacred music into *Court and cathedral music*, *The music of major ecclesiastical institutions* and *Provincial music*.

<sup>10</sup> The list of contents is reproduced in the catalogue, Vol. II, following no. 75.

is at the bottom of p. 129. This left room for a two-part *A qui direlle* above (Rfasc. 5 nos. 20 and 21). At another point he miscalculated: the parts for *Venés regretz* were all meant to be on p. 124 with an empty stave between tenor and contratenor. However, there was not enough room for the contratenor on the two bottom staves, so he tried to put the remainder on the empty stave above, but he botched it. He crossed it out and resumed the contratenor at the top of p. 125. As a result, the next chanson, *Tenés moy en vous bras*, only begins on the second stave on the page. The two ‘’ symbols show where the contratenor of *Venés regretz* continues (Rfasc. 5 nos. 16 and 17).

It is possible that the whole repertory was copied from a single source. But it is not likely, since in that case the scribe would probably have followed the disposition of a densely-written source more closely, and would not have left usable pages empty. He seems rather to have made a selection of music from a number of different sources of more or less the same origin. It is a quite homogeneous repertory—in the sense that the selection corresponds to what we find in French chansonniers of the years around 1500. The biggest group consists of courtly chansons, first and foremost settings of poems in *formes fixes*; and in the period in question this means *rondeaux*, more rarely *bergerettes* and in a very few cases *ballades*. Of the 24 compositions that make up the original repertory of the fascicle, fifteen are of the courtly type: *rondeaux* (Rfasc. 5 nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 22, (23) and 24); a motet-chanson (no. 12); and a lamentation (nos. 18-19). The other main group consists of six chansons based on the popular tunes of the day: no. 21 (2v); nos. 1, 14, 17 and 20 (all 3v); and no. 25 (5v). As a last group we have three of the non-liturgical motets which appear almost exclusively in chansonniers: nos. 3, 7 and 8 (all 3v).

An unusually large number of these compositions appear in other sources. No fewer than nineteen of the 24, or almost 80%, can be identified this way, and for seventeen of these the composer is even known. Most of them were associated with the French court and Parisian musical life. As in Cop 1848 as a whole, Loyset Compère is the dominant composer here with six (perhaps seven) compositions. Antoine de Févin, whom we know only as a member of the Chapelle Royale, is also well represented by three pieces. Hayne van Ghizeghem is usually associated with the Burgundian court of Charles the Bold, and it has been thought that he died in 1472. The great popularity of his music in almost all sources from the end of the century raises the possibility, however, that he may not have fallen at the Battle of Beauvais—this is the last time he is mentioned in Burgundian sources—but continued his career elsewhere in France.<sup>11</sup> Two widely disseminated chansons by Hayne are in the fascicle. Alexander Agricola and Pietrequin Bonnel were also among the musicians who were active at the court in the years before 1500. Agricola served for a period in the Chapelle Royale, and Bonnel was a member of the Queen’s Chapel.<sup>12</sup>

The large number of well known compositions can only give us the impression that the scribe carefully selected the music. He took pains to include a number of the most well-liked pieces of the period, and also ensured the greatest possible variation in the repertory. The musical life of the capital at the beginning of the sixteenth century is reflected here, and the repertory can be compared with that of the chansonniers of the period—for example with the first part of *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. fonds français 1597*, probably copied in Paris in the first decade of the century,<sup>13</sup> or the contribution of one of the main scribes to *Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket*,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Barton Hudson in GhizeghemO pp. XII-XV.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. Atlas, ‘Alexander Agricola and Ferrante I of Naples’ (AtlasA) and J. Rifkin, ‘Pietrequin Bonnel and Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana’ (RifkinB).

<sup>13</sup> *Paris 1597*. The most recent discussion of the manuscript is in L. F. Bernstein, ‘Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson’ (BernsteinO) p. 294ff; there is a catalogue in J. P. Couchman, ‘The Lorraine Chansonnier.

*Vokalmusik i handskrift 76a*.<sup>14</sup> Here we find the same repertory of songs in *formes fixes* mixed with settings of popular tunes and small motets with Compère, Hayne and Agricola as the dominant figures. A younger composer like Antoine de Févin, however, is not represented in these sources as he is in Rfasc. 5. In slightly later manuscripts he is a dominant personality. His songs are included in homogeneous series of chansons, mostly based on popular tunes, and without the traditional stock of courtly songs and older compositions. Two manuscripts are typical of this tendency: *London, British Library, MS Harley 5242* and the secular part of *Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1760*.<sup>15</sup> This new repertory can further be studied in the second main scribe's part of *Uppsala 76a* and in the first series of chansons in *Firenze, Bibl. Naz., Ms. Magl. XIX.117*, which was written by a French musician, possibly in Florence, in 1510-15.<sup>16</sup> In *Uppsala 76a* this repertory is not set apart as distinctly as in other sources,<sup>17</sup> and in Rfasc. 5 the chansons of Févin's generation stand side by side with older rondeaux. This suggests that while the Févin generation in *London 5242* and *Cambridge 1760* is still something new and fashionable, written at the centre of events, in the rather later manuscripts from the provinces it is included in a standard repertory on an equal footing with older music. The pieces have become part of a repertory that has been subject to a process of screening and selection, and which passed through many hands before reaching the copyists whose products we can study.

The scribe seems have considered it important that the fascicle represented a varied musical spectrum. Without going into detail, we can note that the well known rondeaux (Rfasc. 5 nos. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 22 and 24) in themselves make up a motley crew: from the sophisticated melancholy of the lyrical songs in Hayne's *Mon souvenir* and Compère's *Va-t'en regret* to the terse irony and *double entendre* of *Se j'ay parlé aulcunement* and *Mais que se feut secretement*, both rather 'anti-courtly' than courtly and close to the settings of popular songs in their musical effects.<sup>18</sup> Three pieces are based on older compositions: Compère 'reverses' Hayne's famous *Allés regrez* in his *Venés regretz*, and in *Au travail suis* he creates a fully-fledged rondeau from a mosaic of quotations from well known songs. Févin wins his spurs with his contribution to the endless series of *Fors seullement* reworkings, a set piece at which almost all the composers of the day tried their hands. The fascicle also has a hitherto unknown setting of the rondeau *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* (no. 4), a poem which was also set to music by Jehan Fresnau—a member of the Chapelle Royale too during some periods.<sup>19</sup> *Content de peu* (no. 23) is possibly based on a rondeau text, but should probably not be viewed as a regular rondeau—rather as an attempt to use a freer idiom with inspiration from the popular genre as well as the motet—a combination which at this juncture was not as incongruous as it might sound, especially if

Antoine de Lorraine and the Court of Louis XII' (CouchmanC). The first section of the manuscript goes up to f. 48 and comprises 38 compositions (cf. BernsteinO pp. 295-97).

<sup>14</sup> *Uppsala 76a*, a chansonnier of the beginning of the sixteenth century, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 14.2.

<sup>15</sup> *London 5242* and *Cambridge 1760*; cf. P. Chaillon, 'Le Chansonnier de Françoise (Ms. Harley 5242, Br. Mus.)' (ChaillonC); A. Tillman Merritt, 'A Chanson Sequence by Févin' (MerrittF); and BernsteinC pp. 8-17. The chansons in *Cambridge 1760* are in ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-86.

<sup>16</sup> *Uppsala 76a* ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-37 and ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-57. *Firenze 117* is also discussed in BernsteinO p. 290ff; the first series here comprises twelve three-part chansons, ff. 1-13.

<sup>17</sup> In this part of *Uppsala 76a* there are also, among the chansons in the popular vein, four motets (ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-57), a motet-chanson (f. 45<sup>v</sup> = Rfasc. 5 no. 12), a frottola (f. 46) and a rondeau by Agricola (ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-53). In *London 5242* and *Cambridge 1760* the more recent repertory is predominant, and in *Firenze 117* the various repertory groups are clearly separated. Besides the first series of chansons, the main scribe of *Firenze 117* has added a series of rondeaux, so-called 'regretz chansons' (ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-41), and a series of four-part popular chansons (ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-82).

<sup>18</sup> For further details of the last two, see Chapter 7.1 Exx. 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262; the anonymous piece is published in Vol. III (no. 1).

the text was to be given an ironic slant.<sup>20</sup> The two connected chansons nos. 18-19 must also be assigned to the courtly repertory. They are settings of the first two quatrains of a longer *Lamentation*—unfortunately the text reveals nothing of the occasion for the poem.<sup>21</sup>

Three motets and a motet-chanson by Compère give the fascicle a suitable religious touch. Compère's song combines a rondeau, "Tant ay d'ennuy et tant de desconfort", sung by the upper voices, with a quotation from *Lamentations*, "O vos omnes", in the bassus. The motets by Obrecht and Agricola can almost be described as de rigueur in chansonniers.<sup>22</sup> Févin's *O preclara stella maris* (no. 3), however, has only been known hitherto from the Parisian manuscript *Cambridge 1760*. Although the sources are thus few, the motet must have had wider circulation, since each of the two manuscripts has its own fully-fledged version of the composition. Not only do we find all the differences of detail that appear in all sources, which were drawn up far from one another in time and place, but there are also two quite different views of the mode of the piece. Cop 1848 has a key signature of one flat in all three voices, while *Cambridge 1760* only has *b* in the bassus, and even this is naturalized towards the middle of the motet.<sup>23</sup>

The songs based on popular tunes are as different from one another as the rondeaux. The fascicle begins with a unique setting, a simple arrangement of the song *Se je suis trovée*, known from one of the monophonic chansonniers (*Paris 12744*). The tune is carried in a kind of free canon in the upper voices, while the bassus provides harmonic support.<sup>24</sup> The duo *A qui direlle* (no. 21) is a setting of a similar song. Here the tune is featured in the upper voice with a lively accompaniment from the lower voice.<sup>25</sup> The sure hand of the court composer is evident in the imitative popular arrangements with the tune in the tenor *Tenés moy en vous bras* and Févin's *En amours n'a sinon bien* (nos. 17 and 14) and in the long paraphrase chanson *En despit des faulx mesdisans* (no. 20).<sup>26</sup> Josquin's *Baisés moy, ma doulce amy* concludes the fascicle in a five-part version which in fact works better than the triple canon found in other sources.

It is an unusually broad cross-section of the secular French repertory of the day that the scribe has managed to bring together within the framework of just 24 compositions. If he selected them from a number of different sources, and everything suggests he did, it shows that he was a well-informed musician, broadly familiar with the possibilities inherent in the genres. Whether he collected the content of the fascicle for his own amusement or perhaps as the draft for a select chansonnier for a customer, we can only guess. As a fascicle manuscript it constitutes the last link in a chain of transmission from the fair copy of the composer through small homogeneous collections to repeated sorting in the form of ever more mixed repertory selections. At any rate Rfasc. 5 has a quite different profile from Rfasc. 8, for the final form of which chance played a major role.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. III no. 64.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. III no. 21; see also Chapter 7.5.

<sup>22</sup> See the concordance lists for Vol. II nos. 52 and 53; Obrecht's *Parce Domine* is probably a motet-chanson like Compère's *Tant ay d'ennuy* (cf. Chapter 10.6).

<sup>23</sup> The situation is the same with the other compositions in Rfasc. 5 and their concordances. One cannot demonstrate any general agreement with the Parisian manuscripts, nor can any links with the transmission of the Italian sources be traced (cf. AtlasC I p. 233ff). Like other parts of Cop 1848, the fascicle has its own independent transmission of the repertory.

<sup>24</sup> The tune is reproduced in Chapter 8.1 as *Ex. 6*, and the song is published in Vol. III as no. 30. It belongs to a type of provincial setting—*superius-tenor settings*—which has not been discussed so far in the literature. Cop 1848 has an instructive selection of this song type (see also Chapter 8.1).

<sup>25</sup> On the publisher Rothenbucher's statement that this piece from the end of the 1400s was composed by Jacotin, see Chapter 8.2.

<sup>26</sup> The latter is published in Vol. III (no. 41).



Rfasc. 5 did not remain free of additions. Sooner or later it was inevitable that the empty paper would be used. The examples on the back cover (no. 26) were done on the same occasion as the corresponding examples in Rfasc. 6 and 8. The second addition made by the main scribe is particularly interesting. For we know the origin of the four-part motet *O beata Katherina* (no. 13), which is not mentioned in the list of contents. We find it in the small, incomplete music manuscript copied by Hand B and later inserted in fasc. 5 (Rfasc. D). It may represent the kind of material the main scribe had to work from.

*Rfasc. D* differs neither in format, execution nor type of repertory much from the music copied by the main scribe himself. It must have been a small fascicle manuscript made from four folded sheets of paper—the outermost sheet, which contained among other things two of the parts for the last chanson, has disappeared. With a mixed repertory consisting of a three-part chanson, *Que t'ay je faict, desplaisante Fortune?*, in a style which we today consider typical of the Parisian chanson of the 1520s (Rfasc. D no. 1),<sup>27</sup> two four-part popular arrangements (nos. 2 and 4),<sup>28</sup> a motet in two parts to St. Catherine, *Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina* (no. 3) and what is probably a four-part setting of a poem by the court poet Clément Marot (no. 5) it almost seems like a musical newsletter. The Marot poem helps us to date the repertory, as it belongs to his very earliest work.<sup>29</sup> He was born in 1496, and after a brief engagement in the administration of the royal treasury he was attached to the court of the King's sister Marguerite in 1519. His poems are unlikely to have had any wide circulation much before 1520. It is worth noting that the chanson in Rfasc. D is a setting of the version of the poem *Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente* which Marot himself published in *L'Adolescence Clementine* in 1532, not the modified version, *Dieu gard de mon cuer la tresgente*, set by Claudin de Sermisy and published by Attaignant in February 1532.<sup>30</sup> The latter version of the poem had already been printed in the collection *La fleur des chansons* at the end of 1527.<sup>31</sup> Since we have been able to date the paper in Rfasc. D in 1523-24,<sup>32</sup> we must assume that Marot's poem was known in both versions early in his career. The content of the fascicle as a whole must be placed in this period, after about 1520 and before about 1524, and is thus a rather later repertory than the one we found in Rfasc. 5.

From this collection of recent compositions the scribe copied the *secunda pars* of the St. Catherine motet into the empty opening in Rfasc. 5. He made an accurate, if hasty, copy of the music of the fully-texted original. The text in the superius has also been accurately rendered with all its repetitions; in the other voices he restricted himself to text incipits quite in accordance with what we see elsewhere in the manuscript. He copied the *prima pars* somewhere else in his collection, on a loose sheet or in a fascicle which has now disappeared. For above the superius of *O beata Katherina* (p. 118) we find his cross-reference symbol '⌘', which is also used elsewhere in Rfasc. 5 to indicate the continuation of a composition (pp. 124-25).

After use, Rfasc. D remained in the possession of the main scribe. It is possible that, after copying the motet, he left it lying in the middle of Rfasc. 5 and simply forgot its existence.

<sup>27</sup> Vol. III no. 48.

<sup>28</sup> The latter is published in Vol. III (no. 52).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. RollinM p. 59 and MarotCE III p. 12ff; cf. also Chapter 5.

<sup>30</sup> In *Vingt et huit chansons nouvelles* ... (Attaignant 1531/1); publ. in SermisyO III p. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Publ. in JefferyV II p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.2.

## Rfasc. 6 and Rfasc. E

We found that Rfasc. 5 contained a carefully selected repertory of 24 compositions. It is therefore striking that the first group of compositions entered in *Rfasc. 6* consists of almost the same number, and that its contents are comparable with those of Rfasc. 5. The first 25 pages of the fascicle originally only contained 23 compositions for two or three voices (Rfasc. 6 nos. 1, 3-17, 19 and 21-26). The script differs somewhat from that of Rfasc. 5—here it is larger and more open, and the ink is darker. The disposition of parts is also closer and more regular; most pieces take up only a page—the scribe used twenty pages more for the 24 compositions in Rfasc. 5. The repertory is built up on the same pattern, with the courtly chansons as the largest group: *rondeaux* (Rfasc. 6 nos. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 24); a *ballade* (no. 15); a rather smaller number of chansons associated with the popular tradition (nos. 1 and 3 in 2v; nos. 7, 19, 21, 23, 24 and 26 in 3v); three sacred pieces with no clear connection with the liturgy (nos. 6, 9 and 17); and a textless, possibly instrumental composition (no. 2).

So far, the two series seem to have been deliberately modelled on the same pattern. If we look closer at the repertory, though, the similarities recede. First we can note that the percentage of identified compositions is lower (twelve out of 23, just over 50% against almost 80% in Rfasc. 5) and very few can be attributed with certainty to known composers like Ockeghem, Morton, Hayne van Ghizeghem and Compère; the rest are either anonymous or uncertain in other sources. The repertory is more heterogeneous and without the universal appeal of Rfasc. 5. This does not mean that it is of poorer musical quality as a whole, only that it includes fewer international 'hits'. For example, the Latin pieces, unlike the widely-occurring motets by Agricola and Obrecht, are all unique. These are a grace with an initial exhortation in French—"Chacun par grant intencion doibt chanter apres son repas: ..." (Rfasc. 6 no. 6) and two hymns, one of which, *Conditor alme siderum* (no. 9), should perhaps rather be seen as a *noël*. Besides pieces fully corresponding to the repertory in Rfasc. 5 (for example the three *rondeaux* nos. 4, 5 and 25) we also find here a whole series of six *rondeaux* (nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14) of a rather older date, with the two songs by Morton and Ockeghem as the best known. This series also includes all three concordances in Cop 1848 to the other chansonnier in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the so-called *Kopenhagener Chansonnier*.<sup>33</sup> The first group in the fascicle further includes two unique chansons—*Resjois toy, pays de Normandie* (no. 19) and *Entre vous de Tornay* (no. 21),<sup>34</sup> which seem to comment on historical events. But in both cases the texts are so brief and so vague that it is impossible to determine their occasion in any more detail. The first is clearly a text propagandizing for the Royal Governor who administered the province of Normandy after the rule of the dukes had been suppressed in 1468.

The concluding piece, *Vrais amoureux auront bon temps* (no. 26) appears to have been included because it was seen as a three-part composition, but this version cannot be the correct one. Originally, it may have been a four-part chanson in the style of the popular arrangements which has lost its bassus, or may have originated as a two-part setting which an incompetent musician tried to expand with a contratenor. Along with the provincial chanson *Helas! ne vous souvient il plus* (no. 24) it casts a slight shadow on the musical discernment of the person who put together the repertory.

Unlike the repertory of Rfasc. 5 this series seems to have been copied in its entirety from a single source, which thus must have been built up almost like Rfasc. 5, although the selection does not maintain the same standard. The uniform script and the compact disposition support this assumption. The main scribe may have copied the series from a fascicle manuscript he

<sup>33</sup> MS Thott 291 8° (*København* 291), cf. Vol. II nos. 84, 88 and 89.

<sup>34</sup> Vol. III no. 65 and no. 29.

had compiled himself, or—perhaps more probably—with an alien manuscript as his source.

The appearance of another repertory of the same type as that of Rfasc. 5 gives further credence to the idea that such *last-generation fascicle manuscripts* may also have played an important role in the transmission of music beside the smaller, less complex manuscripts. It is quite conceivable that they were compiled and copied as objects of trade. In terms of size and number of compositions they match the printed chansonniers which, a few years later, from the end of the 1520s on, streamed out across Europe by way of, among other sources, the four annual fairs in Lyons. In terms of genre they are more varied than the printed collections, but the substance and accessibility of the repertory is absolutely comparable.

*Rfasc. 6* is a typical stock manuscript. After the first series, which does not however fill even half of the 13½ double sheets of the fascicle, the variations in script show that it was in use on several occasions when large or small groups of compositions were placed in it. The group which, after the first, must attract the greatest attention, comes on pp. 177-182: six three-part chansons copied directly from a small fascicle manuscript. The scribe wrote a partial list of contents on the back cover of the fascicle, p. 188.<sup>35</sup> Before that he had twice needed to store music in his 'repository'. As a direct continuation of the first series there are eight pages of sacred compositions (*Rfasc. 6* nos. 27-30), two competently written four-part motets and a monophonic litany in choral notation with detailed performance instructions. Associated with the last of these is a piece for two boys' voices, an effective setting of one of the sections of the litany, to be sung by *duo clericuli* (no. 29).<sup>36</sup> These additions are typical stock items. In the two motets there are many errors, and the text underlay is inadequate. A later user, Hand E, has supplemented the texts and tried to correct errors in the music. Nor has any consideration been given to the practical application of the music; in *Virgo decus celi* (no. 28) the parts are disposed in pairs, one on each opening, with the altus and tenor on the first and the superius and bassus on the next opening! The next time the scribe had the fascicle out, he only added the long chanson *Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenuz* 4v (no. 34) by Johannes de Sancto Martino, which fills three openings.<sup>37</sup>

The series of six chansons (*Rfasc. 6* nos. 36-41) which follows constitutes one of the most interesting elements in Cop 1848, along with the similar series on some sheets inserted in *Rfasc. 7* (*Rfasc. E* nos. 1-3 and 5-7). Let us first look at the series in *Rfasc. 6*. It was copied directly from a small fascicle manuscript. Each of the six chansons takes up a single page, and together they would just fill the three openings of a fascicle consisting of two sheets of paper, provided the front and back covers were left blank as usual. And on the same occasion the scribe noted the titles and number of parts of the songs on the back cover of *Rfasc. 6* (in the form "languir me fais a 3" etc.). As a series, they make up an unusually homogeneous collection. All are settings of strophic poems, five quatrains and a sixain, whose structure is followed very closely with clearly profiled lines in the forms ABCA or ABC|A| —the single sixain has been expanded to ABCDB'|C|. Each line of verse is given a simple, mainly homorhythmic setting; only a few lines are set as contrast in a more imitative/polyphonic texture; one chanson (no. 38) uses imitation throughout—this is also the only one that has a popular tune as *cantus prius factus*.

This series thus seems to have had a typical small fascicle manuscript with homogeneous content as source. This in itself would be nothing special, if it were not for the fact that precisely this repertory has a particular place in the history of the chanson. For all six songs are part of the repertory with which Pierre Attaignant in Paris began his activities as a music

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Vol. II *Contents of Rfasc. 5* (following no. 75).

<sup>36</sup> Vol. III no. 78.

<sup>37</sup> Vol. III no. 53.

publisher at the end of the 1520s. Yet Attaignant did not print the chansons in precisely these versions, but in different ones, some of which are probably reworkings of the older versions. The two series in Cop 1848 are evidence that the Parisian chansons at the beginning of the 1520s were widely known in the form of simple three-part songs.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from differences of detail in music and text, Attaignant's versions of the chansons differ in the following respects. Three are in his collections of four-part chansons: Claudin's *Languir me fais sans t'avoir offensée* (Rfasc. 6 no. 36), *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 41)<sup>39</sup> and the anonymous *Si vostre cueur prent le tanné* (no. 41);<sup>40</sup> and they have all had an altus part added. The other three anonymous songs are found in his collection for three voices.<sup>41</sup> *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer* (no. 37) was printed by Attaignant in a different version where the texture is smoothed out, first and foremost so that the individual phrases are bound closer together. At the same time a different redaction of the text is used.<sup>42</sup> The imitative arrangement *C'est boucaner de ce tenir a une* (no. 38) has been completely reworked. The tune can still be found with slight modifications in the superius, but the texture is simpler, mainly homorhythmic—the imitation has only been kept in the second line. On the other hand, Attaignant has used *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* in almost the same form as in Cop 1848.

That Attaignant was often able to choose from several different versions of the same chanson is evident from Cop 1848, where some of them appear as duplicates. The version of *Ces facheux sout* printed by Attaignant thus appears in Cop 1848 as no. 248 (Rfasc. G no. 3). It is also in the slightly older manuscript *Firenze 117*, showing that different versions of the chanson were in circulation at an early stage. *Fortune, laisse moy* is also in Rfasc. E as no. 1; this is the same version as in Rfasc. 6 and Attaignant, but details of the copying show that it was taken from another source. *Jouyssance vous donneray*, too, is in Rfasc. E (no. 5). Here the text is not, as in the version in Rfasc. 6, almost identical to Clément Marot's original poem, but has a modified formulation of the third and sixth lines of the stanza; we also find these textual characteristics in Attaignant's four-part version.<sup>43</sup>

*Rfasc. E*, which we have now begun to look at, illustrates another way in which a fascicle manuscript could come into being. At first it consisted only of a single sheet of folded paper, on the inner pages of which the main scribe had copied a three-part motet, *Ave regina celorum* (Rfasc. E no. 4), a long-winded provincial setting of the antiphon melody.<sup>44</sup> Some time later he expanded this very small manuscript with yet another sheet, when he needed to copy a fascicle manuscript of the type we have just discussed. He then drew staves on the new sheet and on the blank outer pages of the original sheet, which gave him exactly the space he needed for the six chansons of his source.

These chansons exhibit more or less the same pattern as the other series. One is an imitative arrangement with a popular tune in the tenor; the others are mainly homorhythmic settings of *quatrains* (Rfasc. E nos. 1, 6 and 7) and *sixains* (nos. 3 and 5)—no. 3 with a popular song in the upper voice. *Dieu la gard, la bergerotte* (no. 2) is a rather old-fashioned arrangement for which Attaignant had no use.<sup>45</sup> Only Claudin and Marot's *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 5), mentioned above, was published in a four-part version, while the last four are in the collection for three voices of 1529, *Quarante et deux chansons*.

<sup>38</sup> This subject is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.2; the whole series in Rfasc. 6 is published in Vol. III (nos. 58–63).

<sup>39</sup> In *Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties ...*, 1528 (Attaignant 1528/3).

<sup>40</sup> In *Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties ...* [1529] (Attaignant 1528/8).

<sup>41</sup> In *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troys parties ...* (Attaignant 1529/4).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.1 Ex. 1.

<sup>43</sup> On the texts, see Vol. II nos. 117 and 139 and Chapter 9.2.

<sup>44</sup> Vol. III no. 83.

<sup>45</sup> Vol. III no. 38.

The paper in Rfasc. E is the same as we found in Rfasc. 5. The two fascicles probably originated at about the same time. We can disregard the motet in the middle of the fascicle (no. 4) in this context; on this opening the music and staves have been drawn with light brown ink which is very faint today. In the series of three-part chansons, however, the staves and handwriting are in exactly the same brown ink colour as in Rfasc. 5, and the music hand also looks the same, although it is smaller and more compact, perhaps because there was less space. That the large and the small fascicle can be regarded as more or less contemporary underscores the result we arrived at with Rfasc. 5—that it contains a carefully selected repertory; and this series of more recent chansons would have been rather out of place there. So the main scribe made the small fascicle manuscript by expanding an existing sheet of music instead of placing the series wholly or partly in Rfasc. 5, where there was strictly speaking enough space.

The text underlay of the six chansons is unusual. Originally only a single voice in each chanson was furnished with text—in three cases the bassus (Rfasc. E nos. 1, 2 and 7), in the others the usual superius. As mentioned before, the most likely explanation of this is simply haste; the text was placed arbitrarily immediately after the music had been copied.<sup>46</sup> With this fascicle, however, one is tempted to speculate whether the main scribe had a special interest in the lower parts. Later he took the fascicle out again and supplemented the texts; in black ink, he added text to the tenor and bassus in nos. 4 and 6, and in no. 3 only to the bassus!

After this digression to a related section of Cop 1848, the discussion of Rfasc. 6 should be concluded with a few remarks. After the four additions mentioned, the main scribe gradually filled the space with a few single compositions and small groups of pieces. On the bottom halves of pages, below other pieces, he found room for two textless compositions and a fragment (?) of a chanson (Rfasc. 6 nos. 2, 18 and 20); they are all very short and simple, perhaps experiments by the scribe himself. The two three-part settings of the hymn *O salutaris hostia* (nos. 35 and 42), which paraphrase the melodies in the seventh and eighth modes respectively, form their own small group.<sup>47</sup> The same is true of the motet *Veni, veni, veni electa mea* 3v and the chanson *Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdaleyne* 4v (nos. 43-44), since the scribe here uses distinctive rhomboid semibreves we do not see elsewhere in his musical notation.<sup>48</sup>

The scribe wanted to use the empty opening which separates the long chanson by Johannes de Sancto Martino (no. 34) from the group of sacred pieces (nos. 27-30) for one or two chansons by Antoine de Févin. But the copying was a complete failure. His source was a manuscript which had two chansons by Févin, *Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat* and *Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet*, on the same opening, one on each page and with the voices below one another. The two pieces look confusingly similar, so it is understandable that a moment of inattention made him mix up the voices; at the top of p. 168 is the superius of *Je le lesray* and under this is the tenor of *Il fait bon aymer*. He had reached about halfway through the latter when he discovered the error and crossed it all out. Soon afterwards he used the empty right-hand page for the anonymous chanson *Je voys, je vien, mon cueur s'envolle* 3v (no. 33), which is contemporary with Févin's chansons and may well be from the same source. Even though this transcript of the two Févin chansons is of little value as a musical source, it shows with all possible clarity that Févin's chansons were still circulating in the 1520s in small fascicle manuscripts devoted

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.2.

<sup>47</sup> Vol. III nos. 92-93.

<sup>48</sup> The text of the chanson was probably written for a princely wedding in 1518. Could the text of the motet (*lauda*), from the response "Veni, veni, veni electa mea, et ponam te in thronum meum, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam" possibly also be linked with such an occasion? Publ. in Vol. III (no. 96 and no. 56).



more or less to his compositions; that is, collections of the same kind as those that were the sources for the sections of older French manuscripts where his chansons are amply represented.<sup>49</sup>

#### Rfasc. 7

Rfasc. 7, too, is a typical stock manuscript. The first pieces copied in were two three-part Marian motets (Rfasc. 7 nos. 2 and 3), which begin on the first opening of the fascicle. We must assume that the scribe intended to place such smallish sacred compositions in the fascicle. It may have been meant as a supplement to Rfasc. 8 with its long *alternatim* compositions. The *Stabat mater dolorosa* is a setting of a selection of versicles from the well-known sequence in a homorhythmic *lauda*-like style; one notable feature is that the language of the text at the actual invocation of the Virgin changes to French, so the whole congregation could understand it: “O tres doulce dame de pitie, mon âme voulez recevoir”. This melodious composition was of such interest to the main scribe that he also copied it into another part of his music collection, without the full text as here, but in a shorter, textless, probably instrumental adaptation.<sup>50</sup> *Virgo mater ave*, a celebration of music and singers and a prayer to the Virgin, may be based on a hymn tune unknown today. The two Marian motets are clearly of local origin; their mixture of a sound that was modern for the age and a relatively old-fashioned compositional technique seems to be characteristic in this respect.

The two local compositions are probably the only ones belonging to the scribe’s original plan for this fascicle, the rest of which was filled mainly with secular pieces on two different occasions. The most probable course of events was as follows. The scribe left a pair of openings empty to mark a separation (pp. 198-201), before copying a large series of compositions which fills the rest of the fascicle (Rfasc. 7 nos. 7-20). Judging from the handwriting, this series was copied at about the same time as the original repertory in Rfasc. 8. Later he filled the empty pages at the front of the fascicle (nos. 1 and 4-6), and he seems to have done this—again on the basis of the handwriting—concurrently with copying the first large group of compositions into Rfasc. 6. He added the three short choral responses *Gloria tibi Domine* (no. 21) on the back page of the fascicle on another occasion.

The compositions added at the beginning of the fascicle exhibit no particular pattern: a rondeau (no. 6); an incomplete motet-chanson (no. 4), of which the scribe unfortunately only notated half; a setting of a popular tune (no. 1); and a combinative chanson (no. 5). The last of these is the most interesting item. To the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem’s well-known rondeau *De tous biens plainne est ma maistresse*, which provided material in this period for innumerable adaptations,<sup>51</sup> an upper voice has been added which, in a free pattering style with long rows of quick repeated notes, performs a text of a popular nature, rather like a comic monologue from the market theatre: “Venez, venez, venez, tretous, tourteux, bonfoux et contrefaix ...”. This zany *tour de force* may come from the same source as one of the last pieces copied into Rfasc. 6 (no. 47). To exactly the same tenor an upper voice has been added—*J’eyme bien qui s’en va*—in the form of a mosaic of fragments from French and Latin compositions. This quodlibet is no match for the other double chanson in imaginativeness, but both must have originated in the same—probably local—circle.<sup>52</sup>

In Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 6 we saw long series of 24 and 23 compositions respectively, each forming a well-rounded, varied repertory selected from the music that was in circulation in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The smaller series of fourteen items which fills

<sup>49</sup> E.g. *Cambridge* 1760 ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-67 (14 chansons) and the second main scribe’s part of *Uppsala* 76a (6 chansons).

<sup>50</sup> Rfasc. A no. 4; cf. also Chapter 3.1 *Ex. 2*; the whole composition is published in Vol. III (no. 84).

<sup>51</sup> At least 50 different compositions are based on Hayne’s chanson; cf. Vol. II no. 123, *Comments*.

<sup>52</sup> See also Chapter 7.4; the two double chansons are published in Vol. III (nos. 17-18).



slightly more than half of Rfasc. 7 (nos. 7-20) appears to have been even more meticulously selected. Like the two large series, it consists of a group of courtly chansons (nos. 13-20, all three-part *rondeaux*), some chansons in the popular tradition (nos. 7, 9 and 12, all 3v; no. 8, 4v) and a motet (no. 11). The repertory is ordered in two almost equally large groups. The eight *rondeaux*, all of which should be placed in the 1470s or a little earlier<sup>53</sup>—two generations before Cop 1848—form the second half of the series, and are ordered by stanzaic form: first two *rondeaux quatrans*, then six *cinquains*. The first part of the series consists of six compositions, all but one of which are based on pre-existing tunes. The exception is *not* the three-part motet *Beata es, Maria* (no. 11), which with its imitative flow around the very tuneful *cantus prius factus* in the tenor does not differ stylistically from contemporary popular arrangements. The group of *rondeaux* may very well have been taken over directly from an older fascicle manuscript, and it is tempting to speculate that the first part of the series came from a similar or perhaps the same source. Stylistically, most of the pieces belong to the period before the turn of the century; this is true of the motet as well as the three popular *cantus firmus* chansons and the four-part popular arrangement. In dating the series as a whole in the fifteenth century, one runs into a problem posed by the chanson *Or doy je bien pleurer* (no. 10). In its form and the movement of the upper voices, this three-part setting of a sensitive love song, a *septain*, has many links with the early Parisian chansons we encountered in Rfasc. 6 and Rfasc. E. The bassus part reveals, however, that the composer had his musical roots in the compositional technique of the fifteenth century—it has a very wide compass (F-d') and moves almost like an old-style contratenor.<sup>54</sup> The dating of such a unique chanson, where divergent stylistic elements meet, is difficult. The scribe may of course have smuggled a more recent composition into an older repertory, but the whole seems to have been copied in one session from one or two sources, so the early dating of the repertory as a whole—with due consideration for the archaic features of the chanson—must carry most weight. The placing of the chanson—which is nevertheless forward-looking—in this repertory can only be described as thought-provoking.

This ends the review of the four large fascicles which make up the central component of the manuscript. In the introduction to this chapter we set out to examine in more detail the idea that the fascicles were drawn up for private use, for the scribe's own collection. The analysis fully confirms this supposition. As early as the discussion of Rfasc. 8 it appeared to be the most likely explanation of the special features of that large fascicle that it had originated as a working tool, a stock manuscript in which compositions could be stored and looked out as required. We characterized three fascicles as such 'stock manuscripts' (Rfasc. 6, 7 and 8), while the last (Rfasc. 5) must be regarded as a 'last-generation fascicle manuscript'. The meticulously compiled, selected repertory was possibly meant to serve as an exemplar for the production of corresponding music manuscripts that could be put up for sale on the flourishing book markets.

The analysis also showed that the four fascicles must have been in use concurrently for some time. The possible scribal links among some of the repertory groups will be important later when we are to assess the dating of the components of the manuscript. The watermarks can after all at best tell us the date when the paper was procured; the small variations in the handwriting and the contents of the fascicles are the keys to understanding the subsequent

<sup>53</sup> Only three of the *rondeaux* are in other sources: Rfasc. 7 no. 13 is in *Roma XIII.27*, copied in Florence at the beginning of the 1490s (cf. AtlasC I, pp. 24-28); no. 17 is in *Firenze 229*, from the same time and place (cf. BrownL I, pp. 1-51); and no. 18 is by Agricola, appearing for example in the French chansonnier *London 20.A.XVI* of the 1480s.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the discussion in Chapter 9.2 and the edition in Vol. III (no. 66).

process. The concurrent use of the fascicles is further confirmed by the fact that they lay together in front of the scribe when he worked with the examples of counterpoint in Rfasc. 5, 6 and 8. Moreover, the repertories supplement one another if we restrict ourselves to the first items copied; this gives us two fascicles with sacred music (Rfasc. 7 and 8), one with secular music (Rfasc. 6) and, as we have seen, a rough draft of a mixed manuscript (Rfasc. 5). Nor are there any pieces that appear twice in the four fascicles, once we disregard the small inserted fascicles (Rfasc. D and E).

With this analysis of the core of Cop 1848 we have been able to enrich previous descriptions of the dissemination of the musical repertory in fascicle manuscripts<sup>55</sup> by underscoring and exemplifying important features and adding new ones. The identification of the large fascicles as 'stock manuscripts' is of course important. They must be understood as part of the working basis of professional music suppliers and as a stage in the circulation of the music, as sources for both performance material and new fascicle manuscripts. Their complex structure can be explained by the fact that they themselves were copied from a number of fascicle manuscripts of a varied nature that the scribe was able to use for short or long periods. These sources contained series of compositions or a single piece—like the motet *O genetrix gloriosa* (Rfasc. 8 no. 16) or Johannes de Sancto Martino's long chanson *Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenuz* (Rfasc. 6 no. 34). The use of typical small fascicle manuscripts with a homogeneous repertory as source has been exemplified by the two series of three-part chansons in Rfasc. 6 and Rfasc. E; a small unrelated fascicle manuscript (Rfasc. D), used by the scribe as the source of a motet added to Rfasc. 5, appears on the other hand to have been of mixed content, where the main emphasis seems to have been on contemporary currency. The most important addition to the theory of the role of the fascicle manuscripts is the great importance we must attach to the 'last-generation fascicle manuscripts' with well-rounded, marketable repertories. Rfasc. 5 seems to be a result of the main scribe's own efforts as a repertory compiler. In two of the stock fascicles they form very important elements: the long series in Rfasc. 6 has striking parallels with the repertory in Rfasc. 5 (Rfasc. 6 nos. 1, 3-17, 19 and 21-26), and the rather smaller series in Rfasc. 7 was systematically planned to an unusual extent (Rfasc. 7 nos. 7-20).

## 4.2 The remaining parts of the manuscript

The first and last parts of Cop 1848 (fasc. 1-4 and 9-14) differ visibly from the central section of the manuscript in that the staff lines here are, if not straight, at least parallel, as they were drawn with a ruler or rastrum. These parts also differ from the rest in other respects. The fascicles are smaller—from two to ten double sheets—and it has been far more necessary to reconstruct their original disposition to get a reasonable impression of their nature; after the reconstruction, most of the fascicles consist of between two and five double sheets.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, most of them do not seem to be the result of as long and complex a process as the part of the manuscript we have just reviewed. In the following we will begin by looking at the fascicles that are most like the stock manuscripts analysed.

### Rfasc. A and B, Rfasc. C and Rfasc. 3-4

*Rfasc. 3-4* are two fascicles of five double sheets, which together make up a typical stock manuscript. The staves were drawn with a rastrum in both fascicles in one session. The variations in ink colour and script allow us to reconstruct their genesis, which is like a miniature

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.3.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.

version of the process we were able to outline for Rfasc. 8. The original repertory consists of three sacred compositions copied in one after the other on different occasions and with different-coloured inks; the first and third compositions with dark, almost black ink, and the second in a light brown ink (Rfasc. 3-4 nos. 2, 3 and 5). After the four-part Marian motet which fills the first opening in fasc. 3, the scribe copied in a complete *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem*, which continues into fasc. 4. The third *Agnus Dei* of the mass is notated with five parts. It was not possible to squeeze these in on the opening formed by the back page of fasc. 3 and front page of fasc. 4, so the bassus stands alone on the following page (p. 70).<sup>57</sup> The scribe filled the next four openings with Willaert's long four-part Easter motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis*.

While the two motets are creations of outstanding composers, although the first must remain anonymous at present, the mass has a remarkable appearance. It is notated for four low voices—three tenors and a bass (total compass *c-a'*), and above the superius are the instructions "Si vous avez voix de dessus chanter a la double au dessus". At the same time the parts are unusually ordered, with the altus below the superius on the left-hand page of the opening, and the tenor and bassus on the opposite page. An examination of the composition leads to the conclusion that this is a mass for three voices which was expanded with a fourth part; in the *Agnus Dei III* two extra parts have been added, a *quarta* and a *quinta pars*, both wisely marked "si placet". On the same occasion, the information that the superius should if possible be sung an octave higher was added, since the new altus often rises above the original superius. The disposition of the mass on the pages of Cop 1848 makes it likely that the scribe obtained its source directly from the person who had made the adaptation; for the superius, tenor and bassus are laid out on the pages just as they would have been in a manuscript with a three-part mass—with an empty space below the superius where the adapter could add his newly-composed altus. As a four-part composition with the superius an octave higher, the mass is something of a musical monster,<sup>58</sup> and cannot have had any wider circulation. The three-part mass for voices of equal compass which emerges when we remove the added elements is a workmanlike piece of provincial music, probably a parody composition based on a three-part setting of the sequence *Mittit ad Virginem*, whose contours can be glimpsed in the *Kyrie* section.

The scribe used the rest of the space in the fascicles on later occasions. At the end of fasc. 4 there is a three-part motet to St. Catherine, probably a local composition, where the melody of the antiphon, lightly ornamented in the upper voice, is accompanied by two livelier, imitative lower voices (Rfasc. 3-4 no. 13). The remaining empty pages were, as in Rfasc. 8, filled with four-part Parisian chansons, and the two groups of chansons were entered at about the same time.<sup>59</sup> In Rfasc. 3-4 we find nine chansons, eight of which also appear in Attaignant's printed collections, and four of which can be attributed to known composers like Janequin, Hesdin and Claudin de Sermisy. The ink colour shows that the scribe began to copy the chansons on the pages which follow Willaert's motet. At first he managed to copy in five chansons here (Rfasc. 3-4 nos. 6-10), then wrote on in darker ink until the end of the fascicle (nos. 11-12), afterwards turning to the empty spaces in fasc. 3 and adding two chansons (nos. 1 and 4) in the same dark ink. Of Claudin's *Hau, hau, hau le boys* (no. 1) only a bassus part remains, written at the top of the front page of fasc. 3. This suggests that the fascicle, when the Parisian

<sup>57</sup> We encounter something similar in the manuscript *Bologna, Civio museo bibliografico musicale, Ms Q19*, where P. Moulu's five-part motet *Dulcis amica Dei* is on ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-111. The opening had no space for the bassus, which was added on the last page of the manuscript, f. 204<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the transcription of the *Credo* in Vol. III (no. 68) and Chapter 10.1.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc. 8*, Chapter 5 and Chapter 9.1.

chansons were copied, belonged with other fascicles, and that the other voices were on the back page of a now-missing fascicle.<sup>60</sup> As we saw in the discussion of the paper types in the manuscript,<sup>61</sup> the paper of Rfasc. 3-4 was trimmed by about 5 mm along each edge. This was done after the mass was copied in, since in the process a little of the title has been cut away. We noted the same trimming of Rfasc. A and Rfasc. B, and it is possible that all these, along with one or more lost fascicles, were trimmed to fit a cover that could keep the small fascicles together.

*Rfasc. A* and *Rfasc. B* each consist, like Rfasc. 3-4, of five sheets, and in both the staves were drawn with the same rastrum. The general appearance and scribal features of the two fascicles are quite uniform, so at least Rfasc. A and the compositions first copied into Rfasc. B were done within a very short period.

*Rfasc. A* was apparently filled with music in one session. At the end of the fascicle is a series of three-part courtly chansons, two bergerettes and four rondeaux (Rfasc. A no. 7-12), all of which the scribe may have copied from a small fascicle manuscript. Five of the chansons express the conventional pangs of love—although Fresnau's *Ha! qu'il m'ennuye* (no. 10) is put in the mouth of a woman, which is less common. Only the last rondeau stands out, with its forthright, almost obscene text. The poem *Ceste fillette a qui le tetin point* (no. 12) is attributed in the text manuscript *Paris BN, ms. fonds fr. 1721* to the well-known Burgundian court chronicler Jean Molinet. The anonymous setting well suits the light tone of the poem and, like other rondeaux of the same nature, uses musical features which seem to have been borrowed from contemporary settings of popular tunes.<sup>62</sup>

The first six compositions of the fascicle are an odd mixture, with a high percentage of local efforts. Besides Compère's four-part setting of a popular tune, *Alons faire nous barbe*, and a three-part *alternatim* setting of the *Magnificat* (nos. 3 and 4) we find four compositions, two secular and two sacred, which are unlikely to have had any wider currency. The first chanson is an extraordinarily clumsy attempt to set a popular tune (no. 1), while *Sus le pont de Lyon* (no. 6) is interesting for its setting of a local variant of the well-known song *Sur le pont d'Avignon*.<sup>63</sup> The text variant in Cop 1848, which we also know from *timbre* indications in collections of poems printed in Lyons, confirms the origin of the manuscript in Lyons.<sup>64</sup> A textless three-part composition (no. 4) turns out to be an instrumental adaptation of the first two sections of a setting—also local—of the *Stabat mater dolorosa* in Rfasc. 7. It was probably adapted by the main scribe himself. He worked either directly from the motet in Rfasc. 7 or from the same source, since the same errors, which make the music almost useless, recur in both versions.<sup>65</sup> The last local composition is the oddly antiquated *Kyrie fons bonitatis* (no. 6), where the plainsong melody, lightly ornamented, is in the tenor, while two counter-voices, one higher and one lower, move in accordance with the descant technique which was common around 1400.<sup>66</sup>

While the main scribe was working on Rfasc. A he added ten textless compositions to Rfasc. B. A group of four-part compositions begins on the first opening of the fascicle. It

<sup>60</sup> The scribe had no aversion to copying a four-part composition on a opening with superius, tenor and altus in close order on the left-hand page and the bassus at the top of the right-hand page, as we shall see in the review of the last part of the manuscript, in Rfasc. G and Rfasc. HJK.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.2. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>62</sup> For further discussion see Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*. The composition is published in Vol. III as no. 9.

<sup>63</sup> For other settings see Vol. II no. 7 and Chapter 8 Exx. 1-3.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. also Chapter 5 and Chapter 8; the piece is published in Vol. III as no. 22.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Vol. II nos. 5 and 126, and Chapter 3.1 (including Ex. 2).

<sup>66</sup> Vol. III no. 72, see also Chapter 10.1.

emerges from comparisons with other sources that this is a series of eight German songs (Rfasc. B no. 2-9). Only two of these cannot be found elsewhere (nos. 3 and 5). All are of the standard type from the period around 1500 with the tune in the tenor (*Tenorlied*). The tune can be that of a pre-existing song, or may be newly composed. Seven are quite simple settings where the parts follow the tenor in a mainly homorhythmic, lightly figured texture. The altus parts give the impression of having been composed last. Often they have a simple filler function, and in some cases may actually be additions to three-part settings (nos. 2 and 3). Only Adam von Fulda's well-known *Ach hilf mich leid* (no. 8) is a longer, more artful composition; it is also the only piece in the series to fill a whole opening. The scribe apparently did not understand the language of his source, since he omitted any hint of a text for these songs. After an empty right-hand page he added another two textless pieces, one in four and one in three parts (nos. 11 and 12). They are hard to identify: both appear to have no *c.p.f.*, and both are imitative and in the Aeolian mode, so they may belong together as elements of a longer composition.

A short while later the main scribe filled the empty pages, mainly with French chansons. There are two settings of popular tunes, one quite simple with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor (Rfasc. B no. 1)<sup>67</sup> and a typical four-part arrangement (no. 16) which is also known from Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1504. There are also three three-part rondeaux (nos. 11, 14 and 15), including a chanson by Ockeghem on an ambitious scale—unfortunately only the refrain of the poem is preserved.<sup>68</sup> Just after the textless pieces he placed a textless duo (no. 13), an imitative piece in a rounded form and probably intended for instrumental performance.<sup>69</sup> For these latter additions the scribe used a thinner pen and darker ink than otherwise in Rfasc. A and Rfasc. B. The supposition that they were added a very short while after the former is based on the fact that the scribe used the same pen and ink when he added a missing altus to one of the German songs (no. 4) at the bottom of p. 20. So he still had the source of the German songs when he filled the rest of the fascicle.

All four fascicles at the beginning of the manuscript must be classified as stock manuscripts. The trimming of the paper suggests that the scribe had this part of his collection in some kind of cover, possibly a loose board binding meant to protect the small fascicles. Another possible explanation of the trimming is that these stock manuscripts were written on paper left over from other work. It may have come from music intended for sale. In such sheets the scribe probably trimmed away the rough edge left by the paper mould. This explanation does not of course rule out the first one. That Rfasc. 3-4 constitutes a whole and may have belonged with another fascicle is a further indication that all the fascicles lay in the same covers. At the top of the front page of Rfasc. A the copyist wrote, before the staves were drawn, the little prayer "Jesus, Maria, Jesus, Maria, Joseph ave, ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum". This can be taken as an indication that the paper in the first two fascicles was intended for another use than the ordinary popular song which begins the fascicle.

In the middle of Rfasc. B are two inserted double sheets (*Rfasc. C*) which have also been trimmed after being filled with music. Unlike the other paper, this was probably only cut when they were placed here during the first binding of Cop 1848, since the paper is still a little larger all round. The main scribe also copied this small fascicle manuscript, which we must regard as an independent fascicle, since neither paper nor script link it with any other sections of the manuscript. The staves are drawn, however, with the same rastrum as was

<sup>67</sup> Rfasc. B no. 1 *Venez souvent, je vous en prie* (Vol. III no. 28).

<sup>68</sup> Rfasc. B no. 10 *Baisez moy donc fort* [Ockeghem] appears as Ex. 9 in Chapter 7.1; Rfasc. B no. 15 *Comprins par ung appointment* is published in Vol. III (no. 27).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 24.



used in Rfasc. 3-4, A and B, so it is probably no accident that the fascicle was placed here.<sup>70</sup> It contains two sacred compositions of a provincial stamp. The bulk of the space is taken up by a two-part motet in four *partes* based on the *Stabat mater* sequence. This rare composition is a *tour de force* in terms of making limited resources—here two tenor voices—play the part of a full ensemble in the most modern style of the age.<sup>71</sup> The back page of the fascicle has been filled with a three-part piece with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor, here furnished with text from the hymn *Iste confessor Domini sacratus*. It is probably not the original text, since it is extraordinarily ill-suited to the tenor melody.<sup>72</sup>

The order of the chaotic last third of Cop 1848 was more or less restored by the reconstruction of the manuscript in Chapter 2. This was done by redistributing some of the sheets in new fascicles, partly on the basis of differences in paper type and staves, and partly because of certain peculiarities, including the usage for designating parts. We were able to isolate a number of very disparate elements: a small music book consisting of three fascicles (Rfasc. HJK), a group of pieces written on paper with very carefully executed staves (Rfasc. 9-10 and Rfasc. F and G), an unrelated manuscript in which the main scribe used empty spaces (Rfasc. 11), and two separate sheets (Rfasc. L and M) with many of their pieces duplicated in the other sections. The original disposition of the material could thus be identified with reasonable certainty through an examination of the external features of the manuscript. Explaining the purpose of several of these elements is quite another, more difficult matter.

#### Rfasc. 9-10, F and G

The careful staves we find on thirteen double sheets of paper of *Type 1a* were quite certainly drawn in one continuous working session. The main scribe took a sheaf of paper—probably a larger number of sheets than the irregular number thirteen—and laid them out carefully, then used a bodkin to pierce minute holes through all the sheets at once. He used these to draw the margins on both sides of the column and to line up the staves on all pages.<sup>73</sup> The care with which the staves are executed, with a ruler—not, as at the beginning of the manuscript, with a rastrum—suggests that he was preparing for a major job for a customer. We cannot know how many sheets he drew staves on, nor how many sheets he could pierce at once, but more than twenty sheets seems impracticable. In view of the effort which went into these sheets, it is unlikely that they were left over from a bigger job—he would not have miscalculated so much. On the other hand, it is hard to credit that the music for which the paper was used really represents one of the products from which he earned his living. A last possibility—probably the one that accords best with the mixed nature of the repertory—is that at least some of these sheets formed part of a project he abandoned, and were therefore left in his private collection.

Judging from what we see today in Cop 1848, Rfasc. 9-10 are obvious candidates for the abandoned project. Here he copied a number of sacred compositions in the same genre, six *Magnificat* settings on the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th tones, ordered by mode (Rfasc. 9-10 no. 2-7). He began to copy them into a fascicle of six sheets, but since each of the four-part compositions fills two or three openings, there was not enough space. So he expanded the fascicle with two sheets which he inserted in the last opening. The original outer covers had been empty; this means that the chanson on the front page (no. 1) is a later addition. His

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.4 (*Staves 1-3*).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 19, Chapter 10.6 and the transcription in Vol. III (no. 85).

<sup>72</sup> Vol. III no. 95.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.4 (*Staff 7*) and Chapter 2.



music hand, compared with the previously-discussed parts of Cop 1848, is careful and easily legible, and the text is placed properly and clearly below all the voices. Nevertheless, the script does not bear comparison with other choirbooks of the period, not even the other manuscripts in chancery format, which are anything but calligraphic masterpieces.<sup>74</sup> In the course of just a few pages the appearance of the music is flawed by increasing numbers of corrections and overscorings, and at the same time the handwriting grows smaller and shodder. At several points the scribe extended the staves beyond the carefully planned margins, and on some pages he squeezed the parts so close together that it becomes difficult to get an overall impression of them.

We can only guess how the scribe wanted the music he produced for sale to appear. The first opening in Rfasc. 9-10 may be taken as an example; here the parts are clearly ordered in groups, and the musical notation is without ugly corrections. The overall impression is of written music of an acceptable standard. The superius of the sixth verse of the *Magnificat primi toni* has however been incorrectly placed on the right-hand page of the opening—in the middle of the altus part—so it was no great success after all. On the next opening the standard of the copying drops considerably; it looks as if the scribe more or less gave up and simply finished copying the series mechanically.

The six *alternatim* settings are very disparate and are unlikely to have had the same origin. In all cases, it is the six even-numbered verses of the *Magnificat* (with the lesser doxology) that are set in polyphony. There are great differences in the lengths of the compositions; the most concise has no more than 115 *brevis* measures, while the longest has 241. This long setting also stands out from the others in artistic importance, and is at the same time the only one it has been possible to find in other sources. Antoine Brumel's *Magnificat Secundi toni* (Rfasc. 9-10 no. 3)<sup>75</sup> is the largest-scale and most ambitious *Magnificat* composition in Cop 1848. Here the compositional set piece is managed with great imagination in textures of rhythmical vitality and varied sonority. The version in Cop 1848 is interesting in having ornamentation of the melodic lines which does not appear in other sources.<sup>76</sup> The other compositions in the series must be evaluated on a scale ranging from the provincially dilettantish to the solid but uninteresting. In three cases the first section "Et exultavit" is written for two voices, which is a deviation from the norm and may be due to local traditions (nos. 2, 4 and 5). In the first setting the number of voices increases successively, a practice one also encounters in the fifteenth century.<sup>77</sup> This brief composition and the even more economical one on the sixth tone (no. 6) are the most successful, with precise articulation of the individual verses. In the remaining three it is all too evident that the set form with variations on the same melodic formula over six verses was too demanding a task for less well-grounded composers.<sup>78</sup>

There is no reason to believe that five of the *Magnificat* settings of the series had any wide currency; they are probably manifestations of the ordinary musical life of the region. Brumel's *Magnificat* is preserved in Spanish, Italian and German sources,<sup>79</sup> and his composition could

<sup>74</sup> Cf. discussion in Chapter 3.3.

<sup>75</sup> Attributed in *Barcelona 454* to the unknown composer 'Fr. Benalt' (?); the name is very difficult to read and may be corrupt.

<sup>76</sup> See also Chapter 10.2; publ. in BrumelO VI p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. KirschM p. 50.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. comments on the compositions in Vol. II (nos. 182–184, 186 and 188–89). Winifried Kirsch has accurately formulated the problems that faced many *Magnificat* composers: "The constraint of presenting the unalterable given plainsong in several different forms in a comparatively small space and with limited stylistic resources meant that many *Magnificat* settings (especially those of the minor masters) have a cramped, unnatural style showing an unbalanced relationship between *elaboratio* and *inventio*". (NGrove sub 'Magnificat' p. 497).

<sup>79</sup> *Barcelona 454*, *Roma CS 44* and *Kassel 9*, cf. Vol. II no. 183.

have reached Lyons by many routes. But it is striking that Brumel is one of the few important composers we know to have spent some time in Lyons.<sup>80</sup>

Probably the main scribe did not compile this repertory himself, but copied it from some accessible source. It may have been his purpose from the outset to include the *Magnificat* series in a larger collection of sacred music. All we know with certainty is that he did not use up all the prepared paper. It was left with the finished fascicles, all possibly held together by a paper cover. Rfasc. F and G later arose from the left-over paper.

As described in Chapter 2, *Rfasc. F* consists of two double sheets. The outside sheet of the fascicle was apparently one where the scribe had been unsuccessful in drawing the staves. On the inside of the sheet the staves are smudged, so he did not bother to draw staves on the outside. There were therefore only six pages for music in the fascicle. Here he entered five chansons, all attributed to “Alexandre”. Later, on the last page, he added a Noël by the local composer Haquinet (Rfasc. F no. 6); it is written in a larger, rounder hand and lighter ink than the five chansons. The blank outer pages were filled with hand-drawn staves and music far later by Hand D. The fascicle, with its original five chansons, can be regarded as a typical small fascicle manuscript with a homogeneous repertory; it was copied in one session, probably from a source with the same content and structure. The composer attributions and the strange division of Agricola’s well-known bergerette *Il n’est vivant* can probably be attributed to the source. One possible reason for the misinterpretation of the two sections of the bergerette (no. 2 and 5) as two independent chansons is that each section is very long (65 and 38 *brevis* measures respectively), as long or longer than many full chansons. Agricola is probably not the composer of the first chanson, *La saison en est ou jamais*; five other sources name Loyset Compère as the composer, and they are all closer in time or place to the origin of the chanson.<sup>81</sup> This rondeau quatrain also differs from the two other rondeau quatrains in Rfasc. F in Agricola’s name (nos. 3 and 4). It is shorter—34 *brevis* measures as against 44 and 50 measures respectively—and simpler, with imitation only between the superius and tenor in the second half of the piece, while the other two are far more imitative and melismatic, having for example initial imitation involving all three voices. So while we must reject the composer attribution in the case of the first chanson, there is no reason to doubt that Agricola composed the two other rondeaux, although no other sources directly confirm the attribution in Cop 1848.<sup>82</sup> The two chansons are also in Rfasc. HJK (nos. 16 and 29) attributed to “Alexandre”, but these versions were probably copied with Rfasc. F as source.

It is *Rfasc. G* that provides us with the evidence that the unused music paper lay with Rfasc. 9-10 in some kind of cover. In the reconstruction we were able to reunite the three sheets, among other reasons because the upper parts are consistently called “altus” in them—a feature that clearly distinguishes them from the surrounding sheets.<sup>83</sup> They were filled during a very short interval in a small, dense and relatively careful hand. We find exactly the same variant of the main scribe’s hand on the front page of Rfasc. 9-10 (no. 1), and here the upper voice is similarly called “altus”. The sheets must thus have been placed before Rfasc. 9-10 in a cover, so the scribe was able to finish copying his source on the empty front page of the *Magnificat* fascicle.

<sup>80</sup> Alfonso I corresponded between July and December 1505 with Sigismondo Cantello and Brumel, who was staying in Lyons, about Brumel’s terms of employment as musical director in Ferrara; the correspondence is published in StraetenM VI pp. 95–102.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. the concordances in Vol. II no. 222.

<sup>82</sup> The two chansons are in only one other source, the Florentine manuscript *Firenze* 229, where they are both anonymous (cf. Vol. II nos. 224 and 235); however, this manuscript has many other compositions (25) by Agricola, mostly without composer attributions (cf. BrownL I p. 82ff).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the table in Chapter 2.

We have previously in Cop 1848 seen dispositions of the parts which made it difficult to get an overall impression of the composition, and in fact made it impossible to use the music for performance, because the parts are not kept together on a single opening. These were in the motet *Virgo decus celi* (no. 104, Rfasc. 6 no. 28), whose four parts had been given a page each, and the end of the *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* (no. 34, Rfasc. 3-4 no. 3), where the bassus stands alone. Here in Rfasc. G we find—after a couple of pages with only one composition on each—a layout where the scribe copied in the music just as one writes text in a book.<sup>84</sup> This means that he began at the top of a page and copied the parts in one after another, regardless of whether a page had to be turned in between; and a given composition starts immediately after the preceding one. Unlike the choirbook arrangement, where each part has its regular place on the page, and where each piece of music fills one page or one or more openings, the parts are consistently written in successively. The result is that the parts are separated by page breaks in no less than three cases. The only advantage of this procedure is that a lot can be fitted on the pages, especially where, as in many places in Rfasc. G, the scribe extended the staves beyond the margin. We find exactly the same way of copying the music, although it does not entail page breaks in the middle of compositions, in his small music book, Rfasc. HJK, on the loose sheets, Rfasc. M, and in the main scribe's part of Rfasc. 11.

The contents of Rfasc. G were copied as a whole from a single source, from which the usage in designating voices also comes. In the middle of the fascicle there is a five-part canon chanson, *Plusieurs regredz* by Josquin Desprez, and a four-part motet (*lauda*) *Osanna filio David* (Rfasc. G no. 5 and 6). Apart from these the repertory consists exclusively of settings of popular tunes or chansons associated with that tradition. Three of them are in other sources. *Ces facheux sout* 3v (no. 3) we have already found in a series of three-part Parisian chansons;<sup>85</sup> here it is in another version, almost identical to Attaignant's printed one. Tomas Jannequin's *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* (no. 4) is found anonymously in other sources as a four-part setting. It is a typical example of a popular arrangement and as such will not work without a bassus.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless the scribe copied in a superius, altus and tenor with the designations "altus", "tenor" and "bassus" respectively. The error may of course come from the source, but the messy disposition with a page break in the middle of the upper part may have caused him to mistake the parts in his haste. The Tomas Jannequin Cop 1848 names as composer is quite unknown, and can hardly be the well-known Clément.<sup>87</sup> The anonymous three-part chanson with birdsong imitations and all sorts of bizarre devices, *Or sus, vous dormez trop, ma dame joliette* (no. 7), does however lead us to Clément Janequin. He made this song famous as *L'alouette* in the four-part adaptation published in Attaignant's 1528 edition of his chansons.<sup>88</sup> In this chanson too, the scribe's haste seems to have affected his copying, as a text which can only be sung by the tenor voice is written under the bassus. There are great differences between the texts for the different parts, and the bassus has to carry several lines of text where the tenor simply repeats the word "cocu".

The other popular chansons in the fascicle are all unique. One (no. 2) is of the archaic type with a tenor *cantus firmus* and lively counter-voices. Three others (nos. 8, 9 and 10) approach the imitative popular arrangements in style; in this type we can also include *Ou porroit on finer ung gentil compaignon* 3v on the front page of Rfasc. 9-10. Like several other chansons in

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.5 (Fig. 4); the placing of the voice parts is also described in the catalogue (Vol. II).

<sup>85</sup> No. 112; in the series Rfasc. 6 nos. 36-41.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the discussion in Chapter 8.3, where it appears as Ex. 10.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.8.

<sup>88</sup> On the relationship between the anonymous three-part chanson and Janequin's adaptation, see P. Woetmann Christoffersen, 'Or sus vous dormez trop. The singing of the Lark in French Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century' (ChristoffersenO).

Rfasc. G, this is quite incompetently written. Others (for example nos. 12 and 13) strongly recall the idiom of the simple Parisian chansons. So there is little stylistic cohesion in this collection of music; it ranges from old-fashioned tenor settings over more or less professional chansons from the turn of the century to Josquin's five-part canon chanson. Josquin's chanson and the *lauda* (motet) with its interesting sonority stand rather alone in these surroundings. One is tempted to speculate whether the scribe's source had grown up in a process like the one we saw in Rfasc. E. It may originally have been a single sheet with the Latin song, around which another sheet was folded later, and Josquin's chanson would then have been copied at the front. If a further two sheets were then folded around the first two, there would have been room to copy all the popular chansons in their present order. This may have been what happened. But if we look at the content of the texts, we can perhaps find another explanation of the way the collection was assembled. There is an unusually wide range of subjects, including three songs put in the mouths of girls. Even by the standards of popular songs, an unusual number of themes are represented, and the two very different compositions may have been included for the sake of variation. Considerations of textual content cannot be ruled out as a criterion for the compiler of the music, so a brief statement of the topics follows:<sup>89</sup>

- 1 (no. 207) – a search for a means of winning the favour of the beloved.
- 2 (no. 208) – the difficulty of giving up self-indulgence (wine).<sup>90</sup>
- 3 (no. 248) – censures on those who denigrate love without knowing it.
- 4 (no. 249) – a pastoral idyll with shepherds and shepherdesses.
- 5 (no. 250) – a courtly love lament.
- 6 (no. 251) – a Biblical text—"Hosanna Son of David".
- 7 (no. 269) – "Wake up, my beauty and hear the singing of the lark"—later vituperations against jealous and cuckolded husbands.
- 8 (no. 270) – a woman's song of an impotent husband (next stanza: she would rather be with her lover, who knows how to please her).<sup>91</sup>
- 9 (no. 271) – song of a girl of 10½ who has been married off to a dotard by her father, although "... En mon con de barbe n'est point".
- 10 (no. 272) – an eating and drinking song, a review of the meals of the day.
- 11 (no. 218) – "Going to war is no fun".
- 12 (no. 219) – cursing an empty purse.
- 13 (no. 220) – song mocking an old crone.
- 14 (no. 181) – a girl seeks a lover who can lead her to the right path again. She was ill-advised when she left her father's house.

We must save an assessment of the function of the fascicle until later, for, as previously mentioned, there are other parts of Cop 1848 where the music is notated in the same way and with a similar, apparently unplanned repertory, and we must look at these first.

Rfasc. HJK and Rfasc. 11, L and M

Three uniform fascicles, each of four double sheets, make up the small music book *Rfasc. HJK*. Here the staves are also carefully drawn with a ruler, but there is only a margin on the left-

<sup>89</sup> Transcriptions of the pieces in Rfasc. G are: Rfasc. G no. 1 (Cop 1848 no. 207) = Vol. III no. 42; 2 (no. 208) = III.25; 4 (no. 249) = Ch. 8 Ex. 10; 6 (no. 251) = III.99; 8 (no. 270) = III.35; 9 (no. 271) = III.36; 10 (no. 272) = III.36; 11 (no. 218) = III.27; 12 (no. 219) = III.67; 13 (no. 220) = III.45; 14 (no. 181) = III.33; for the others see the references in Vol. II.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. the setting of the same tune, Vol. II no. 143.

<sup>91</sup> In *Paris 12744* f. 87<sup>v</sup>, publ. in ParisC as no. 133.

hand side of the column. On the other side the staves go all the way to the edge of the paper or to the middle, so the fascicles can hardly have been intended for a tight binding. It was probably the intention that they would be loosely gathered in a paper cover. The script is the same small, compact one as we saw in Rfasc. G, and the fascicles must have been filled relatively quickly, since the script exhibits no significant variations. As a whole, the fascicles present an impression of neatness, although here too there are shortcomings and cases of scribal inattention which may be due to haste. The uniform hand makes it difficult to trace the order in which the compositions were copied in. Everything indicates, however, that the scribe began at the beginning of Rfasc. H and copied his way through the fascicles. Their order is indicated by small letters on the front and back pages;<sup>92</sup> one of the compositions has also been written across the opening formed by the outer pages of two fascicles (Rfasc. H and J; Rfasc. HJK no. 9). It is worth noting that the scribe did not leave the outside pages empty from the start, as was otherwise customary.

The 42 compositions in the restored fascicle can only be described as a mixed bag. The biggest repertory group consists, not surprisingly, of chansons in *formes fixes*, a total of 23: *ballades* (Rfasc. HJK nos. 1 and 2); *rondeaux* (nos. 15-17, 19, 20, 22-27, 29-31, 34-37 and 40-42).<sup>93</sup> Motets, especially to the Virgin, also make up a substantial group (nos. 4, 6, 7, 14, 18, 21, 38 and 39—all composed for three voices, but two, nos. 7 and 18, are only fragments). Chansons based on popular material are on the other hand not as well represented in the fascicle (nos. 3, 8, 9, 12, 13 and 33 (all 3v); no. 28 (4v)). This repertory is supplemented with one Flemish (no. 5) and one Italian song (no. 10) and Isaac's well known instrumental piece *La morra* (no. 11). In such an overview, the make-up of the repertory does not differ much—except in size—from the repertories in Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 6 which we described as well-ordered and carefully selected. Only two of the eight motets, however, can be said to be of the type we normally find in chansonniers—Prioris' *Dulcis amica Dei* and Agricola's *Da pacem, Domine* (no. 14 and no. 39). At the same time the repertory as a whole has not been copied in any demonstrable order. It seems to have been copied in the random order of the sources, or in the order in which the scribe happened to obtain them.

When we look at the number of identifiable compositions, on the other hand, the resemblances to the selected repertories are striking. Of the 42 compositions, 28 have composer attributions or are found in other sources; this gives a percentage of 66.6—or something between the 80% of Rfasc. 5 and the 50% we found in the series in Rfasc. 6. And if we take the group of rondeaux separately, no less than 20 of the 21 songs can be identified this way. The content of the music book must be dated in the same period as the above-mentioned repertories. The bulk—especially the many rondeaux—comes from the decades up to 1500; and a smaller group is from just after the turn of the century. The repertory could have been copied in its entirety from another manuscript, but this is unlikely. Among other arguments against this, there are the fragmentary compositions in the fascicle (nos. 7, 18 and 32), each of which the scribe left enough empty space to finish before going on to other material. He would hardly have done so if he was copying a single large source. As was evident from the first overview of the duplicates in Cop 1848, Rfasc. HJK have many concordances with other parts of the manuscript. One of these, Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Mon souvenir* (no. 26), was clearly copied from another source than the one used for the chanson in Rfasc. 5.<sup>94</sup> All the other concordances

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.6 and Chapter 2.

<sup>93</sup> This includes a chanson with an incomplete text (Rfasc. HJK no. 16) as well as pieces with no text (nos. 34 and 42), probably rondeaux. Isaac's mass section, here with a rondeau as text (no. 23), and Mirus' composition, which fits the given rondeau no better, (no. 22), have also been included in the count.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.1.



are in the sections reconstructed from the last third of Cop 1848. These duplicates will be easiest to assess in conjunction with the following review of the work of the scribe in Rfasc. HJK and the related parts of the manuscript.

This music collection opens with two different settings of a poem to the Virgin, “O escharbuncle reluisant”, which may possibly be the work of the well known poet Martin le Franc. The two chansons, which fill the front page and the left-hand page of the first opening, both have the first eight lines of the ballade laid under the superius; the rest of the text appears after the second setting. The two settings are very probably by the same composer; both are simple homorhythmic settings which closely adhere to the form of the text. The first setting is for four voices, while the second only uses three. These—certainly local—settings of the widely-known poem<sup>95</sup> were so interesting to the scribe that he also copied the three-part version, including the complete ballade text, on the separate sheet Rfasc. L, which we can take this opportunity to examine in more detail.

*Rfasc. L* is a double sheet of the same type of paper as Rfasc. 9-10, F and G. The staves also have the same appearance as in those sections, but there are no guideline perforations in the paper, so the staves have become slightly larger and more irregular. Its three compositions are the three-part ballade to the Virgin, a four-part popular arrangement by Heinrich Isaac, *Fille vous aves mal gardé*, and a three-part homorhythmic popular song, *L'autrhier en passant*.<sup>96</sup> The last of these was written on the back page of the sheet while it lay upside down, so the piece is now the wrong way round in Cop 1848. All three compositions were copied on the same occasion in black ink and in a characteristic variant of the main scribe's hand with strikingly long note stems. Two chansons are duplicates of pieces in Rfasc. HJK, but they probably neither functioned as sources for Rfasc. HJK nor were copied from the music book.

In the first place, Rfasc. L cannot have been used as a source when the scribe copied the two settings of *O escharbuncle reluisant* into Rfasc. HJK, since they clearly both come from the same source, and Rfasc. L contains only the three-part setting. It is of course possible that Rfasc. L originally had more sheets, one of which also had the four-part setting, but in view of the fact that the last composition on the sheet is upside-down, it is not very likely. In the second place, the two copies of Isaac's chanson (no. 2 and Rfasc. HJK no. 28) have errors which go back to a common source. For example, the tenor has a superfluous passage.<sup>97</sup> In the version in Rfasc. HJK the scribe crossed this passage out after the completion of the part, while in Rfasc. L he immediately noticed the error, crossed out four *brevis* measures, and copied in the next passage with the introductory rests in the correct position. Rfasc. L thus cannot possibly have been the source for Rfasc. HJK. The opposite would have been possible if the Rfasc. HJK version did not have a rhythmic error at the end of the altus part which is not in the Rfasc. L altus, although the final section of the part here is a complete failure. We must conclude that the duplicates are in both cases independent copies of the same originals.

Returning to *Rfasc. HJK* we come, after the two ballades, to three unique Marian compositions—rather elaborate three-part motets which are stylistically close to one another: the antiphon *Salve, regina misericordie*, the invocation *Ave sanctissima Maria* and the responsory *Que est ista que processit sicut sol* (nos. 4, 6 and 7).<sup>98</sup> The last of these has only two parts in the manuscript, but

<sup>95</sup> Found in many manuscripts. Cf. J. Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français* (SonetR) no. 1351, and printed as late as 1539 in *Le joyeux devis recreatif de L'esperit trouble*, Paris, A. Lotrian 1539. The two chansons are published here in Vol. III as nos. 15–16.

<sup>96</sup> The last is published in Vol. III (no. 46).

<sup>97</sup> Between bars 45 and 46 in both versions is a deleted passage two *breves* and a *minima* long.

<sup>98</sup> Transcription of Rfasc. HJK no. 6 *Ave sanctissima Maria* in Vol. III (no. 82).

the scribe left space on the opening pp. 388-89 for the third part. On these openings we can clearly see the consecutive ordering of the parts described in the discussion of Rfasc. G.

On a few empty pages between the motets we find Agricola's reworking of a Flemish song, *In minen sin* (no. 5), and the anonymous popular arrangement *Pour avoir fait au grez de mon amy* (no. 3). In the latter the scribe has confused the parts for two different settings: the superius belongs to a chanson also found in Antico's *Chansons a troys* of 1520, while the tenor and contratenor belong to a rather shorter setting of the same tune. The two compositions based on "Pour avoir fait" were probably on the same opening in the source, and in his haste the scribe must have confused the very similar parts.<sup>99</sup> It is a natural assumption that these secular pieces were copied in later than the motets and concurrently with the following songs. *Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere, attendés moy* (no. 8) is a popular arrangement for low voices with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor, exploiting all the possibilities of the genre with great virtuosity.<sup>100</sup> *Bon temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* (no. 9) uses a popular tune we have already encountered twice in Cop 1848.<sup>101</sup> Although the piece has a text in the manuscript, it should possibly be regarded as an instrumental fantasia. In Rfasc. HJK it is placed to form a link between Rfasc. H and Rfasc. J; Isaac's instrumental composition *La morra* (no. 11) is on the next page.

Beneath the contratenor on the front page of Rfasc. J there was room for the short Italian song *La grant pena que yo sento* (no. 10), each of whose three voices fills just one line. This simple homorhythmic composition is only found in French manuscripts of the period just after 1500, and there are considerable differences among the versions in the sources.<sup>102</sup> In Cop 1848 several chordal passages are enriched by diminutions in the bassus, and the superius is similarly ornamented with a row of semiminimae in the final cadence. This Italian song is also on the other loose sheet in Cop 1848, Rfasc. M; here, though, only the superius has a text, and the structure of the piece, with the feminine cadences characteristic of Italian songs, has been clarified by vertical lines in every voice.

Rfasc. M is closely related to Rfasc. HJK in the handwriting and drawing of staves, although the paper is different (Type 7). The four pages of the double sheet contain seven compositions. One of these is also in Rfasc. F, and no less than three are in Rfasc. HJK. The repertory is mixed: it consists of the first section of Ockeghem's bergerette *Ma bouche rit*, standing alone in a textless version; *Sancta Maria*, a simple three-part *lauda*; two Latin Christmas songs by Haquinet, probably a local composer; a four-part popular arrangement, *Mary de par sa mere*; the above-mentioned Italian song; and a textless three-part piece also found in Rfasc. HJK with a probably corrupt Latin text, *Miserere mei – Gloria Patri* (no. 38). All the pieces were clearly copied in one session.<sup>103</sup>

Let us look first at Haquinet's three-part *noël*, which we established as a later addition in Rfasc. F. In Rfasc. M *Puer nobis nascitur* appears in a version that is completely identical, except that it only has a single stanza of text, while Rfasc. F furnished it with four. There was no room for the text in Rfasc. M because the scribe chose to copy Haquinet's four-part *Noe, noe, iterumque noe*, which must come from the same source, below the three-part *noël* (Rfasc. M nos. 3 and 4). It seems very likely that on the same occasion he remembered to copy the three-part *noël* with its full text into an empty page elsewhere in his music collection.

<sup>99</sup> There was a similar accident with the abandoned and deleted entry no. 107 (Rfasc. 6 nos. 31-32).

<sup>100</sup> Vol. III no. 40.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Vol. II nos. 217, 143 and 208; see also the discussion in Chapter 8.1.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 232; in *Washington L25* (the 'Laborde Chansonnier') the song is among the last additions to the MS.

<sup>103</sup> Most of the compositions in Rfasc. M are published in Vol. III: Rfasc. M no. 2 (Cop 1848 no. 228) = Vol. III no. 97; 3 (no. 229) = III.87; 4 (no. 230) = III.88; 5 (no. 231) = III.51; 7 (no. 233) = III.98.

The three concordances in Rfasc. HJK must all be regarded as independent copies from the same originals. The superius of *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* is notated a third too high in Rfasc. M (no. 2). In Rfasc. HJK the scribe copied the superius of the *lauda* in the correct position, but without text (no. 18). His smudging of the ink at the end of the part may then have made him abandon further copying, but he left the staves for the tenor and bassus parts empty. Like the Italian song, *Miserere mei* appears in both places with some differences: in Rfasc. HJK as a composition in two clearly separated *partes* (no. 38), and in Rfasc. M as a textless piece (no. 7) without any division into *partes*.

In the review of Rfasc. HJK we reached no. 10, which is at the bottom of the front page of Rfasc. J. Many compositions have been compressed into the next opening. On the left-hand page is Isaac's *La morra* (no. 11) and on the right no less than three short pieces, all very different from one another (nos. 12–14). *Varlet, varlet, il est appoint*, in all its simplicity, recalls the Parisian chanson. The second, *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés*, is an old-fashioned setting with the well known tune “Sur le pont de Lyon/d'Avignon” in the tenor—the text here is the second stanza of the song.<sup>104</sup> And at the bottom of the page is the well known little three-part *lauda* by Jean Prioris, *Dulcis amica Dei*.<sup>105</sup>

The rest of the fascicle exhibits much more regularity, since the majority of the compositions from now on fill a single page or an opening. The next group consists of five three-part courtly chansons by known composers, three by Agricola and one each by Hayne van Ghizeghem and Jacques Barbireau—all entered without much text. Only in Barbireau's *Qu'en dites vous?* is the superius underlaid with a complete refrain. Under the bassus of Agricola's *S'il vous plaist bien*, which in Cop 1848 only has the words “Je suis Margot” above the music, there was room for the *Sancta Maria* mentioned above (Rfasc. HJK nos. 15–20). This is followed by a unique, very competent three-part motet, *Quam pulcra es amica mea*, (no. 21) setting a selection of verses from the Song of Songs; hardly a local composition, but not from the same source as the preceding chansons either.<sup>106</sup>

The upper voice has been furnished with text in the next two pieces (nos. 22 and 23); in both cases refrains from *rondeaux cinquains* have been used, and both pieces have composer attributions: “Mirus” (Jehan le Mire?) written as a rebus, and “Ysaac” respectively. The texts are extraordinarily poorly matched with the music of the chansons, which lacks the clear caesurae of the rondeau settings and abounds in long sequences. Isaac's *Or mauldist soyt* is also easy to identify as a mass section, as *Qui tollis I* from his *Missa Chargé de deul*. This strengthens the suspicion that the text of Mirus' *Aguillon, serpent, dangier* is not the original one either. It looks very much as if someone tried to turn these pieces into chansons by combining their music with well known poems.<sup>107</sup>

After this the text underlay again becomes scanty. Only Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Mon souvenir*, Isaac's *Fille vous aves mal gardé* and *Miserere mei* (nos. 26, 28 and 38) have full texts. Most of the others only have text incipits, and three have no text at all. As chance would have it, two of these (nos. 34 and 42) are unique to Cop 1848, an anonymous piece and one attributed in the manuscript to ‘Verbonnet’, alias Jean Ghiselin. Both were probably, like most of the surrounding pieces, composed for rondeaux. A chanson by Compère (no. 30) is also found in the manuscript *Paris, BN fonds fr. 2245* with a rondeau by Jean II de Bourbon “Vous me faites

<sup>104</sup> Cf. introduction to Chapter 8.

<sup>105</sup> Transcriptions of the three pieces on p. 413: Rfasc. HJK no. 12 (Cop 1848 no. 240) = Vol. III no. 47; 13 (no. 241) = III.23; 14 (no. 242) = Ch. 10.6 Ex. 3.

<sup>106</sup> Vol. III no. 81.

<sup>107</sup> It is striking that two rather literary rondeaux were used: Vaillant's well known “Or mauldist soyt” and the anonymous poem which appears in the ‘Rohan manuscript’ and *Le Jardin de Plaisance* as “Esguillon, serpent, dangier” (cf. Vol. II nos. 275 and 276). Mirus' composition is published here as Vol. III no. 8.

mourir d'envie"; in Cop 1848 it has only a single line of a poem, "Or suis je bien transy desmay"—unfortunately this poem is not known from any other source. Most of the other compositions are known from sources with a more generous text underlay. These are Agricola's antiphon setting *Da pacem, Domine* (no. 39), and chansons by Bedyngham, Ockeghem, Fresnau, Ghiselin, Agricola and Compère. An isolated superius part with the text incipit *C'est a nous deux* (no. 32) is difficult to identify, while a three-part composition with the text incipit *Le karesme vient mal a propous* (no. 33) probably belongs to the popular tradition. As a whole, this repertory must come from diverse sources. But as the composer names suggest, most of the known pieces are closely linked with the repertory at the French court a generation before; in other words, they are from the same types of source as were used for the selected repertories in Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 6.

We can point to the sources of two of the chansons with great certainty. In the Agricola fascicle, Rfasc. F, we found *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* (no. 2) and *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* (no. 4). We encounter them here in identical versions with the same redaction of the text and the same composer attribution "Alexandre" (Rfasc. HJK nos. 16 and 29). Certain small details, and the degree of care exhibited by the scribe, demonstrate their interrelationships. All three voices of *C'est ung bon bruit* in Rfasc. F have two lines of text; in Rfasc. HJK only the superius has text. In Rfasc. F the second line is "et fort honeste a mon advis" and in Rfasc. HJK it is "et honeste a mon avis". Both copies have the same error in the tenor,<sup>108</sup> but an error in the contratenor is the interesting point. In Rfasc. F the scribe first wrote the notes G–A–A in bar 11, crossed them out and corrected them to A–B♭–c, a tone higher than they should be. In Rfasc. HJK he realized that the passage could not start on A and changed the first note, giving G–B♭–c. This correction shows that the version in Rfasc. HJK was copied from Rfasc. F, not from the source of the version in Rfasc. F, which in all probability had the passage correctly notated G–A–B♭. In the second song the differences are smaller: in the version in Rfasc. HJK the scribe has corrected two obvious errors in Rfasc. F, a missing word ("trotpt") in line three of the corrupt text, and a missing *minima* rest in the contratenor.<sup>109</sup>

The last six concordances to Rfasc. HJK in Cop 1848 are all in Rfasc. 11. As we have seen, the scribe must have copied these duplicates in fairly quick succession; at the same time we must assume that they were all copied from the same sources, as was the case with Rfasc. L and M.<sup>110</sup>

The reconstruction showed that *Rfasc. 11* is an unrelated manuscript with staves and music in Hand C, but also with eleven empty pages which the main scribe used. Hand C entered three compositions which make up a short Marian mass: *Kyrie – Et in terra pax* for three voices (Rfasc. 11 no. 1—the *Kyrie* lacks a superius because the outermost sheet of the fascicle has been lost); *Sanctus – Agnus Dei* for four voices (no. 4) and a curious adaptation of another composition for three low voices furnished with the *Credo* text (no. 14).<sup>111</sup> The two pairs of movements were intended for *alternatim* performance; they are quite short and simple, with the plainsong of *Missa IX, IV* and *XVII* in the tenor; in the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* sections the traditional Marian tropes have been used. The "Amen" of the *Gloria* is written for four voices. The paired sections are stylistically very close to the simple provincial style, with a mixture of archaic techniques and more recent expressive ideals that we have seen before in Cop 1848. These mass sections were copied from a collection of music for *missae breves* which would not have contained settings of the *Credo*—in such contexts it was most practical to

<sup>108</sup> Bar 11.4: *e* for *d*.

<sup>109</sup> Bar 18.1.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.1.

<sup>111</sup> Partial transcription in Vol. III, nos. 69-71.

sing it in plainsong. The *Credo* we see in Rfasc. 11 is an arrangement made by the scribe as he copied it into the fascicle. He based the arrangement on a motet or similar composition of the end of the fifteenth century, expanding and repeating sections of the original composition, eking out the notes of the upper voice in note repetitions to accommodate it to the long *Credo* text.<sup>112</sup> That the scribe could only obtain a polyphonic *Credo* by such unusual means suggests that he worked not only in provincial musical surroundings, but in a place where polyphonic church music was not readily available. The possibly slightly older fascicle and its original copyist, Hand C, thus fall best into place within the musical ambit of Lyons.

Hand C left an opening empty to separate the movement pairs, and before adding the *Credo* left a whole three openings unused, possibly intending to add a further set of short mass sections in the fascicle. When the outermost sheet disappeared, the fascicle probably lost its value as a mass manuscript—that is, as a source of performance material. The fascicle itself is too cramped to fulfil that role, although the execution of the notes is of a far higher standard than otherwise in Cop 1848.

The main scribe of Cop 1848 therefore appropriated the good paper with its carefully drawn staves for his own stock collection. The scribal details show that this happened in the period when Rfasc. HJK was copied; we recognize the same successive disposition of the voice parts, the same dense script, black ink and rather worn quill—and above all the many compositions copied from the same sources. Of the fourteen the main scribe added to Rfasc. 11, six (Rfasc. 11 nos. 2, 9-11, 15 and 16) are concordances to Rfasc. HJK. These are Agricola's antiphon *Da pacem, Domine* (no. 10) and five rondeaux by Compère, Hayne van Ghizeghem, Fresnau, Agricola and Barbireau (called "Maistre Jaques d'Anvers" here). Apart from *Qu'en dites vous? feres vous rien?* by Barbireau (no. 16), here with a full text as well as the composer attribution, they seem to be hastily executed drafts compared with the versions in Rfasc. HJK. With Jean Prioris' concise rondeau *Vostre cuer c'est bien toust resioy* (no. 3), which is beside Compère's *En attendant de vous secors* on the first empty opening, these are all the pieces that can be attributed to composers of the first rank and which had any wide currency. The other pieces, all sacred, are entirely local efforts: an overscored fragment (no. 5) under Hand C's *Agnus Dei* is, however, quite unidentifiable. Two pieces are by the Haquinet whose two Latin *noëls* we saw in Rfasc. M and Rfasc. F. This previously unknown composer is represented here by *O salutaris hostia*—a four-part *lauda* (no. 8)—and a three-part *alternatim* setting of the sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* (no. 17).<sup>113</sup> The *lauda* is, like the previously-mentioned Italian song *La grant pena* (Rfasc. HJK no. 10), subdivided by fermata chords and vertical lines through the staves after each phrase.

On the first opening after the *Agnus Dei* of the mass (p. 362-63) are two anonymous compositions in a very cramped disposition; the scribe has even drawn extra staves around the margin on p. 362. The textless composition (no. 6) seems to be three verses of a three-part *Magnificat* on the 8th tone. *Salve, regina misericordie* (no. 7) is similarly an *alternatim* setting of the Marian antiphon. A distinctive feature of both compositions is the simple, provincial technique of which we have now seen several examples. The same is true of the last two pieces in the fascicle, two hymns squeezed on to a single page: *O salutaris hostia* (no. 13) with the liturgical melody in pseudo-canon in the two voices, and *Pange lingua gloriosi* (no. 12), a setting with the plainsong in the tenor, where the haste of the scribe has left large lacunae in the tenor and contratenor parts, making them unusable.

<sup>112</sup> See also Chapter 10.1.

<sup>113</sup> For further discussion of Haquinet's compositions see Chapter 10.7; the two works in Rfasc. 11 are published as Vol. III no. 86 and no. 89.



In the analysis of the structure of the manuscript it now only remains to establish why the last, mixed parts of Cop 1848 took such a remarkable form. That they were to serve as stock material is obvious—they cannot be used for any other purpose. At the same time it is clear that they represent a considerable change in the main scribe's way of working. The other stock fascicles differ only in the quality and composition of the repertory from actual choir-books for practical music performance; the well-trying pattern of the choirbook layout is observed in general. In Rfasc. G, HJK and M and the main scribe's part of Rfasc. 11, this practice is abandoned in favour of consecutive, space-saving copying of the parts without even the most superficial resemblance to practical performance material. In the composition of the repertory, too, they differ from the other stock manuscripts. Several of the large stock fascicles must have been in use over a longish period. We have no great difficulty, however, in making out the main scribe's original plan for their content, although the pattern has to some extent been obscured by additions. On the other hand, the last parts of Cop 1848 (Rfasc. G, HJK, L and M, and Rfasc. 11) were copied more or less at the same time, and no single element is the result of an extended process. Nevertheless it has not been possible to demonstrate any clear pattern in their repertory, apart from some very general aspects. At the same time the scribe's interest in the texts, which has been rather limited throughout Cop 1848, varies greatly here; Rfasc. HJK, for example, has fully-texted chansons amidst series of compositions without any text, or with the briefest possible text incipit. The situation is similar with composer names. The great majority are in the last part of the manuscript, but are quite unsystematic; several of the duplicates have the composer cited in one version, but not in the other. Despite this inconsistency, these parts are among the most carefully executed in Cop 1848.

The fascicles in 'book layout' appear to be a later development of the stock manuscripts; the later date is partly confirmed by the paper used (discussed in more detail in the next chapter). The scribe apparently acknowledged their function in his work and, acting accordingly, made an effort to store away as much as possible on the available paper. This explanation applies especially to Rfasc. G, L, M and 11. In the case of Rfasc. HJK it is inadequate, since the three equally large fascicles that make up this music manuscript—or small music book—can hardly be said to have been done on the 'available paper'. Moreover, he also used the continuous 'book layout' on openings where there was ample room for the traditional choirbook arrangement.<sup>114</sup>

This may be a personal style developed by the scribe—it has been mentioned that nothing like it has been found in contemporary sources; although it should be noted here that the best possible basis of comparison—contemporary French manuscripts—hardly exists.<sup>115</sup> We can perhaps see a precursor of his later practice in his way of notating the short sections of no. 175 *In exitu Israel de Egipto* (Rfasc. 8 no. 19), where the parts for each verse stand together above one another. In this composition there is in fact an example of 'book layout', where the superius and tenor for Verse 17 are at the bottom of p. 306, while the altus and bassus are at the top of p. 307. The fragmentary chanson no. 32 *Hau, hau, hau le boys!* on the front page of Rfasc. 3-4 must also be an example of this practice. We found only its bassus (Rfasc. 3-4 no. 1) at the top of a right-hand page; so the other three voices must have been together on the back page of a missing fascicle. He may also have been reviving an older, well known practice. In manuscripts of the mid-fifteenth century which, like Cop 1848, were collections of sources for further copying, it is not uncommon for the parts to be laid out in this continuous style,<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> E.g. in *Salve, regina misericordie* (Rfasc. HJK no. 4) pp. 380-81 or *Ave sanctissima Maria* (no. 6) pp. 386-87.

<sup>115</sup> See also Chapter 14. The only examples of anything like this in comparable sources are compositions added far later, e.g. in *Uppsala 76a* ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-66 (nos. 60-62). Cf. list of contents Chapter 14.2.

<sup>116</sup> See for example the manuscripts from *Trento*, *Castello del Buonconsiglio* (facsimiles of Dufay's and Ockeghem's *Caput masses* and the anonymous *Missa Le Serviteur* in G. Adler, *Fünf Messen des XV. Jahrhunderts* (DTÖ 38) pp. 13,

and the practice may have continued side by side with the choirbook layout in informal collections, which have after all very rarely been preserved. Another possible influence is that the first decades of the sixteenth century saw an increasing tendency to present music in the form of part-books, in manuscript as well as printed form. It is not inconceivable that some of the scribe's work consisted of making small music collections in the form of part-books, in which case the choirbook layout must have come to feel like a waste of space when he made originals for further copying.<sup>117</sup> Whichever explanation of his use of 'book layout' is the right one, Rfasc. HJK appears to have been created for a particular purpose.

We must assume that the three smaller components, Rfasc. L, M and 11, were copied first; for these the scribe did use whatever paper was to hand. Since this apparently did not exhaust his sources, he used them again for a larger collection which he supplemented with copies from his own collection—we can see that two chansons by Agricola were copied from Rfasc. F. This is how the fourteen concordances to other parts of the manuscript arose; the almost immediate re-use of the material is the most likely explanation of the many duplicates. We thus have a music manuscript, much of which consists of material the scribe already had in his collection, and which is relatively carefully copied, although it was never quite finished—witness the fragmentary pieces. The most plausible inference from these characteristics is that the scribe copied the fascicle as a collection of originals for the use of another musician, perhaps as a trade or to return a favour. If this assumption holds, what we have is an interesting document. In its whole form it is a new variant of the fascicle manuscript. At the same time its repertory is among the more retrospective in Cop 1848. That the scribe thought precisely this repertory would be of interest to colleagues and wider circles underscores as clearly as possible the general tendency represented by the collection.

The primary function of almost all parts of Cop 1848 thus seems to have been to serve as a stock of music. In the first part of this long chapter, three large, independent fascicles were described as typical stock manuscripts, while a fourth was said to be a draft for a carefully structured fascicle manuscript—two small fascicle manuscripts also emerged from this part. The far smaller elements described in the second part of the chapter also formed part of the scribe's stock collection, but are very different from the large fascicles. They could be classified in three clearly delimited groups. Closest to the structure of a stock manuscript are the four fascicles that had been gathered in a paper cover, and whose staves were drawn with the same rastrum (Rfasc. A, B and 3-4); we can say that together they function as one of the large stock manuscripts. In this group, too, we found a small fascicle manuscript (Rfasc. C). The next group consists of three very different parts, which were probably also gathered in one cover; they were copied on music paper neatly prepared with a ruler and a bodkin used to prick guideline holes. The part that was done first, and which looks like an abortive attempt at a collection of church music, was the *Magnificat* manuscript (Rfasc. 9-10). The remainder of the music paper was used later for the small Agricola fascicle (Rfasc. F) and the mixed collection (Rfasc. G) whose whole appearance reveals that it should be placed chronologically close

51-57 and 132-36, and the facsimile of Dufay's *Agnus Dei* 3v in DufayO IV (no. 8)), the ecclesiastical manuscript *Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville, Cod. 11* (facsimile of Dufay's *Kyrie* 3v in DufayO IV no. 18) or the private music collection 'Liederbuch des Dr. Hartmann Schedel', *München, Bayerische Statsbibl., Ms. Germ. 810* (facsimile in H. Bessler & P. Gülke, *Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik* (BesslerS) p. 101 Pl. 47).

<sup>117</sup> The reason the four-part motet *Virgo decus celi* (no. 104) is notated with a single voice part on each page in Cop 1848 may be that the source was a set of part-books.

to the last group. This first and foremost consists of the music book, Rfasc. HJK, which appears to be a collection of originals intended for another copyist by the main scribe, and of a number of smaller parts sharing some of the same repertory (Rfasc. L, M and 11).

We have also demonstrated two quite different ways in which stock manuscripts could arise. On the one hand we had the large fascicles, whose whole arrangement and hand-drawn staves show that they were meant from the outset for the scribe's private collection. The smaller parts, on the other hand, could all have been by-products of his externally-oriented activities: leftover music sheets that he gathered in fascicles and combined into larger units or used singly; and discarded manuscripts like Rfasc. 9-10 and the unrelated Rfasc. 11 which were filled out with other material. In the last group, only Rfasc. HJK stood out; in this case the paper was used for the intended purpose, although it never left the scribe's workshop.

# Chapter 5

## Place and date of origin

Cop 1848 must have originated in Lyons, one of Europe's most important commercial centres throughout the sixteenth century. The basis of this localization can be summed up in the following points, most of which have already been discussed in detail in the preceding chapters. One very important argument is that most of the paper of the manuscript corresponds closely to the paper used by the government of the city of Lyons. Furthermore, the investigation of the provenance of the manuscript has shown that in the 1540s—and perhaps as early as the 1530s—it belonged to Claude Charneyron, a priest at Notre-Dame des Marais in Villefranche-sur-Saône, a few kilometres north of Lyons. Shortly after the year 1800 it came into the possession of J.-B. Marduel, a priest at Saint-Nizier in Lyons, who had it repaired and rebound. In the centuries between the two book-collecting priests, the tattered music manuscript was probably stored away without anyone taking any interest in it. All things considered, there is no reason to suppose that the manuscript left the area where it was created before Marcel Chossat and the Scolasticat de Fourvière moved in 1901 to Britain, where Cop 1848 was sold in 1921 to the Royal Library through Sotheby & Co.

Moreover, the actual repertory of the manuscript paints a portrait of the musical situation in its place of origin. The repertory is a mixture of local compositions, music from the milieu of the French court, and standard international pieces. At the same time it is testimony that music from the latter half of the fifteenth century was still of great interest beside more recent currents. All in all, this indicates a localization outside the great musical centres, yet somewhere with close links with the musical life of the capital. As we shall see, this picture perfectly describes the situation in Lyons in the first part of the sixteenth century.

We have further confirmation in the song *Sus le pont de Lyon* (no. 7), the text of which is a local variant of the popular song “*Sur le pont d’Avignon*”. This song is found in several settings with French texts from the sixteenth century, all of which refer to the famous bridge over the Rhône in the former papal seat of Avignon, a couple of hundred kilometres south of Lyons.<sup>1</sup> The song has had a long life and the transmission of its text and music has remained unusually stable. It was found in almost the same form all over France when folk songs were collected in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> One reason for its stability may be that it has always been associated with wedding celebrations and the singing games played at such events.<sup>3</sup> The three-part setting of the tune in Cop 1848 is, like the text

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 7 *Other settings of the tune*, Items b and d-f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. Wallon, ‘La chanson *Sur le pont d’Avignon* au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle’ (WallonC) pp. 185–87. There are examples of the distribution of the song in the nineteenth century in J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France* (TiersotH) p. 209 and p. 383 and in J. Ulrich, *Französische Volkslieder* (UlrichF) p. 149; the variant from Normandy in particular (reproduced in TiersotH p. 383) is very like the old tune.

<sup>3</sup> “Parmi les chansons folkloriques recueillies en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> et au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle se trouve une

variant, a local product.<sup>4</sup> Cop 1848 contains another setting of the tune; it is very simple and begins with the second stanza of the song—*Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* (no. 241).<sup>5</sup> The song must have been very well known in Lyons, for *Sus le pont de Lyon* is also given as a *timbre* indication for two religious songs in collections printed in Lyons in the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

To arrive at a reliable dating of the manuscript, we must now put the information collected together. On the one hand we have internal evidence to build on—for example the scribal relations between the different parts and the analysis of the structure of the manuscript, and on the other the external evidence which emerges from a comparison of paper and repertory with other datable sources. Finally, we have the dating given by the manuscript itself, the year 1520 on the spine of the binding.<sup>7</sup> This was added during the last binding, but may well have been copied from the remains of the original binding. As the following will show, there are good reasons for taking this date seriously. No single one of these elements can be assigned crucial importance—they involve too many sources of uncertainty. Only in those cases where different elements whose dating is supported by relatively independent arguments form a meaningful pattern, can the timescale be said to have been clarified.

The various parts of the manuscript grew up over a period. This cannot have been a long period of years; the scribal features are too consistent despite striking variations.<sup>8</sup> The first task must be to determine the earliest possible date for the scribe's work with the oldest parts of the manuscript. A comparison of the watermarks with paper in the Lyons public records showed that paper of *Type 1* was manufactured and made available in Lyons in the years 1517-18 or slightly later. Since paper in the retail trade and for private use had a longer period of use than the same paper when used in public administration, and therefore gives a wider time perspective for the date when it was first used, we must test whether the repertory can furnish us with supplementary information that can help us to a closer dating.

Among the earliest repertory entered<sup>9</sup> in the fascicles written on paper of *Type 1*, there is unfortunately not much music that could reasonably be called new in the period around

chanson très répandue dans l'Ile-de-France, la Normandie, le Maine, la Touraine, une partie de l'Orléanais, l'Aunis et la Saintonge, où elle accompagnait, le soir ou la nuit des noces, la cérémonie dite de la «rôtie», des «oreillers», du «réveil de la mariée», du «ban» ou de la «fricasée»: c'est la chanson *Sur le pont d'Avignon*.

La mélodie de cette chanson présente la particularité, très rare dans le folklore musical français, de nous avoir été transmise, associée au même texte, non seulement par la tradition orale du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ..., mais aussi par une tradition écrite remontant aux premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui s'est poursuivie sans interruption jusqu'au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Il est difficile de déterminer si une telle stabilité mélodique provient précisément de l'existence de cette tradition écrite, ou bien si elle est due à la ritualisation de la mélodie, toujours associée, dans la tradition orale, à la même cérémonie et au même texte. Il est probable que les deux facteurs ont joué." (WallonC pp. 185-87).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. III no. 22. This local colour in Cop 1848 was demonstrated by H. Glahn (in GlahnM p. 101). Oddly enough, it is rejected as evidence of the origin of the manuscript in Lyons by N. Bridgman, who considers that a chanson of such wide distribution cannot serve to localize the manuscript: "Una canzone così diffusa in tutte le regioni della Francia non può servire a localizzare il nostro manoscritto." (BridgmanC p. 46). The apparently unclear translation of the article from French into Italian makes N. Bridgman's arguments for this view difficult to understand.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. III no. 23.

<sup>6</sup> These are "Sur l'arbre de la Croix" in Marguerite de Navarre: *Chansons spirituelles* ..., J. Tournes, Lyon 1547, p. 488, and "Sur le mont de Syon" in *La grande Bible des Noelz*, B. Rigaud, Lyon s. d.; see also Vol. II no. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3 Hand A.

<sup>9</sup> In the following, statements about 'the earliest repertory entered' refer to the analysis of the reconstructed manuscript in the preceding chapters.



1520, or that was written by young composers. In the case of Rfasc. 5, where it was possible to identify the composers of many pieces, almost all of them were long since dead by this time.<sup>10</sup> Only the series of three-part chansons in Rfasc. E (nos. 1-3 and 5-7), which appear to have been copied at more or less the same time as Rfasc. 5, include a composition that may help us here—that is the three-part chanson *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 139, Rfasc. E no. 5) with a text by Clément Marot and music by Claudin de Sermisy.

In the years around 1530 both Marot and Sermisy had achieved great fame and filled important posts at the French court—Claudin functioned as leader of the Chapelle Royale and Marot was court poet. Much of their output was published in printed editions over which they had some personal control. Claudin's chansons formed a fundamental element in Attaignant's chansonniers from the beginning with *Chansons nouvelles* in 1528, and in the collections of sacred music which began to appear the next year his music had a similar status;<sup>11</sup> all in all, he was the composer who saw most of his compositions appear in print from Attaignant's press.<sup>12</sup> In 1532 Clément Marot published a revised, authoritative edition of his juvenilia, called *L'Adolescence Clementine*, which was immediately a great success and was reprinted time and again, separately or in combination with other works of his, including the "sequel" *La Suite de l'adolescence clementine*.<sup>13</sup> Marot must have had a strong incentive to publish *L'Adolescence*, since by that time publishers were already exploiting his fame to publish books in his name. These books contained not only corrupt texts and false attributions; they also reprinted some of Marot's own older formulations, which could now create problems for him at court, and with which he therefore no longer wanted his name associated.<sup>14</sup>

*Chansons nouvelles* appeared four years before *L'Adolescence Clementine*, and is today considered the earliest source for Marot's chansons. Here we find no less than nine settings of Marot's texts<sup>15</sup>—they make up almost a third of the collection—and all but one have music by Claudin de Sermisy.<sup>16</sup> However, two of Marot's chansons are in a collection of texts, *La fleur des chansons*, which was probably printed shortly before Attaignant's first chansonnier, at about the turn of the year 1527-28.<sup>17</sup> Long before these printed collections appeared on the market, Marot's poems must have circulated far and wide in manuscript copies. We have seen that the unrelated fascicle in Cop 1848, Rfasc. D, includes a fragmentary setting of Marot's *Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente*,<sup>18</sup> and that this small part of Cop 1848 could, on the basis of the paper

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the list of composers at the end of Vol. II. Rfasc. 5 no. 21 *A qui direlle sa pencée* 2v is attributed to Jacotin in Rothenbucher's collection *Diphona amoena et florida* of 1549; this composer attribution cannot be taken seriously (cf. Chapter 8.2).

<sup>11</sup> The first two motet collections, from 1529, *Motetz nouvellement composez ...* and *xii Motetz a quatre et cing voix ...* each begin with a motet by Claudin (cf. HeartzA nos. 11 and 12).

<sup>12</sup> A total of 230 compositions. Cf. HeartzA pp. 91-102.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C. A. Mayer, *Bibliographie des Œuvres de Clément Marot. II Editions* (MayerB II) p. 15ff. In the years 1532-35 alone, *L'Adolescence* appeared in Paris, Lyons and Avignon in thirteen editions. Cf. MayerB II nos. 9-14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 28, 31 and 32.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. A. Mayer in Cl. Marot, *Œuvres. Edition critique* (MarotŒ) I p. 9. The unauthorized editions are *Les Opusculs et petit Traicté de Clement Marot ...*, Lyon, O. Arnoulet (c. 1531) and *Petit traicté contenant ... faictes et composées par Clement Marot*, Paris, veuve J. Saint-Denis (1532). Cf. MayerB II nos. 6 and 6bis.

<sup>15</sup> Attaignant 1528/3 no. 1 *Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours*, no. 2 *Tant que vivray en aage florissant*, no. 3 *Dont vient cela, belle, je vous supply*, no. 5 *Jouyssance vous donneray*, no. 19 *Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours*, no. 20 *J'atens secours de ma seule pensée*, no. 21 *Languir me fais sans t'avoir offensée*, no. 26 *Longtemps y a que je viz en espoir* and no. 30 *J'ay contenté ma volenté suffisamment*; cf. HeartzA no. 2.

<sup>16</sup> The setting Attaignant 1528/3 no. 26 remains anonymous.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. JefferyV II p. 23ff, where the collection is also published. Marot's chansons are here no. 9 *Dieu gard de mon cueur la tresgente* and no. 44 *Secourez moy*.

<sup>18</sup> Rfasc. D no. 5. Cf. Vol. II no. 116.

used, be dated 1523-24. The chanson fragment shows that Marot's poem was circulating at an early date in different redactions, and that it was associated with a setting quite different from the one Claudin published in 1532.<sup>19</sup>

Literary scholarship has made great efforts to date Marot's *chansons* by relating them to his supposed relationships with various women at court. This is an uncertain business, since the *chansons*, unlike his longer works, contain no specific references to contemporary events or his own life.<sup>20</sup> The result of these analyses, in the end primarily on the basis of the real source material, is a consensus to place the bulk of them before 1527; the oldest *chansons* are thought to have been written before 1524, and the majority of the *chansons* in *L'Adolescence Clementine* between 1524 and 1526.<sup>21</sup> The appearance of *Jouyssance vous donneray* and other songs of the same type in the oldest part of Cop 1848 indicates that these dates should be pushed back in time somewhat. But the question is how much?

Claudin de Sermisy joined the Sainte-Chapelle as a singer at a young age; he is mentioned as a *clerc musicien* in a list of 1508, and in 1515 he was apparently also a member of the Chapelle Royale.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the sources do not provide a full enough basis to say how quickly and how wide his renown as a composer spread until well into the 1520s, but he seems to have been known, even outside France, before 1518.<sup>23</sup> The slightly younger Clément Marot (born in 1496) had published *Le Temple de Cupido* in Paris as early as 1515, and two other works were published separately in the course of the next couple of years.<sup>24</sup> At this time he was in the service of François I as a *clerc à la Chancellerie*. In 1519 he was admitted to the group around the King's sister Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchess of Alençon and later Queen of Navarre—herself one of the most important writers in France—who was a great protector of Marot and encouraged his career. He was particularly productive during these years, and we must assume that most of *L'Adolescence clementine* was created in the years 1515-1526.<sup>25</sup> There is thus nothing in the careers of Marot and Claudin to prevent dating *Jouyssance vous donneray* and other songs before 1520.

Yet it would probably be rash to claim that the songs reached Lyons as early as 1517 or 1518, when the earliest paper in Cop 1848 could have been obtained. Marot's poems probably first became well known and popular towards the time when he began his service at Marguerite's court. Interest in literature and art was great there, and his position meant the highest possible recognition on his way to the post of court poet and *valet du chambre* of the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. D.*

<sup>20</sup> Cf. for example the chapter on dating in J. Rollin, *Les Chansons de Clément Marot* (RollinM) pp. 49-65 and C. A. Mayer in MarotCE III p. 12ff.

<sup>21</sup> P. Villey, 'Recherches sur la chronologie des œuvres de Marot' (VilleyR) 1920 p. 238 places the *chansons* between 1524 and 1528. C. A. Mayer simply states that they must have been written before 1527 (MarotCE III p. 12); and J. Rollin dates Chansons 1-7 before 1524—including *Secourez moy ...* (no. 2), *Dieu gard ma maistresse ...* (no. 3) and *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 4)—and the others 1524-27 (RollinM p. 64).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. I. Cazeaux, 'Claudin de Sermisy' in NGrove 17 p. 171ff.

<sup>23</sup> His four-part motet *Vox in rama* is found anonymously in the manuscript *Bologna Q19* ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-69 of 1518. The same motet is also found, with another two other four-part motets by Claudin, *Impetum inimicorum* and *In te Domine speravi*, in the slightly later manuscript *Bologna Q20*. In *Padua, Bibl. Cap., Ms. A17* of 1522 the motet *Aspice Domine de sede* 4v is found anonymously ff. 135<sup>v</sup>-36, but is printed under Claudin's name in *Fior di motetti e canzoni novi*, Roma, Giunta (c. 1526). Cf. CrawfordC p. 131, publ. in SlimG II p. 24.

Claudin and Janequin are also mentioned together as the two youngest in a long list of famous French composers in a Noël "Ung gracieux oyselet" by Jean Daniel, printed in *S'ensuyvent plusieurs Noëlz nouveaulx...*, Angers (c. 1524), publ. in ChardonD p. 7. Cf. also HeartzG p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. MayerB II nos. 1-3.

<sup>25</sup> MarotCE I pp. 6-8; VilleyR 1920 pp. 190-207 gives an overview of the many datable pieces from the years around 1520.

King. Considering the close contacts of Lyons with Paris and the frequent visits of the court to the city, it is very conceivable that the latest songs from Marot's hand, with music by Claudin, were known in Lyons by 1519 or the beginning of 1520. So we must consider the date on the spine of the binding as the most reasonable dating of the oldest parts of Cop 1848. The other 'young' composers in the manuscript, while not represented in the parts written first, were all by this time well on in their careers; nor is there anything in their case to prevent their works from being known in Lyons around 1520. As an example, Adrian Willaert's motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis* (no. 36, Rfasc. 3-4 no. 5) is among the earliest works of a composer who was already internationally known.<sup>26</sup>

Given this dating, the analysis of the manuscript in the preceding chapters reveals a pattern that allows us to reconstruct the chronology of the genesis of the collection, once we include the information on the various paper types described in Chapter 1.2. Of course, this involves an interpretation of the available information, and if more material should be found later on which to base an analysis, the chronology may have to be revised. The urge to find logical connections which may not necessarily have existed or be realistic, may lie behind the satisfaction one feels in seeing that what emerges from the following is an almost natural process, where the result of the scribe's efforts gradually develops from a planned, ordered repertory stock into the rather chaotic private archive we can study today.<sup>27</sup>

Many of the elements in Cop 1848 were laid down in the period around 1520:

- *Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. E*. Rfasc. 5 consists of the oldest stratum of paper of *Type 1a*,<sup>28</sup> and the original, carefully compiled repertory was entered in the course of quite a short period. Rfasc. E consists of exactly the same type of paper; the single motet (Rfasc. E no. 4) bears no resemblance, either in script or ink colour, to the rest or to Rfasc. 5, and may have been executed earlier—earlier even than 1520. The expansion of the fascicle to two sheets and the entry of the series of three-part chansons (nos. 1-3 and 5-7) must however have happened in close association with Rfasc. 5, and probably just after its completion.

- *Rfasc. 6, 7 and 8*. The first two of these consist of paper of *Type 4*, which, like the other types with a 'B' watermark (*Types 2, 6 and 7*) comes by all indications from the same paper mill as *Type 1*. The scribe probably began using all three fascicles, including Rfasc. 8 with its unwatermarked paper, within a short period of time. Rfasc. 7 was intended for shorter sacred compositions (Rfasc. 7 nos. 2 and 3), while Rfasc. 8 was to contain longer sacred works. The scribe was quickly finished with this repertory in Rfasc. 8, which ended up as a rather mixed bag with many loose ends (covering Rfasc. 8 nos. 2-5, 8 and 15-21). The time he spent on this work can probably be measured in weeks. The great resemblances in scribal features suggest that in the same period and soon afterwards he copied a series of predominantly secular pieces into the other stock manuscript (Rfasc. 7 nos. 7-20). The space here was almost used up, so he folded the remaining sheets of *Type 4* into one large fascicle, Rfasc. 6, where

<sup>26</sup> Cf. SlimG I p. 157; Willaert is also one of the dominant composers in two large motet manuscripts of 1518, *Firenze 666* ('Medici Codex') and *Bologna Q19*, where he is represented by seven and three motets respectively.

<sup>27</sup> It may help to read the following review in conjunction with the long analysis in Chapter 4, the brief descriptions in App. C and the schematic overview below.

<sup>28</sup> It was evident from the discussion of the watermarks that it was possible to infer the order in which paper of *Type 1a* was produced (cf. Chapter 1.2). It emerges that this chronology by and large also fits the scribe's use of the paper. The paper was thus not mixed up to any great degree at the mill, and the scribe simply seems to have used the paper in the order it came off the mill.

there was room for another series of compositions (Rfasc. 6 nos. 1, 3-17, 19 and 21-26); Rfasc. 7 nos. 1 and 4-6, which almost conclude this fascicle, are probably from the same working period.

These four large fascicles and Rfasc. E, all of which were executed with the informal free-hand staves, were probably created by the scribe as his own records around 1520. Rfasc. 5, E and 7 were soon almost full; a little more space was available in Rfasc. 8, and in Rfasc. 6 more than half the pages were empty. During the next few years this space was gradually filled with series of compositions as described in the analysis. Most of these were probably added very quickly, while the last few pieces were only copied several years later. The four sets of examples at the beginning and end of Rfasc. 5, 6 and 8, which the scribe worked out directly on the paper, underscore the fact that he regarded the fascicles as working tools.

But we have not finished with the part of Cop 1848 that we can place in the period around 1520. We also find a manuscript that could have been planned from the outset with sale in mind, and other parts where more care was given to the preparation of the music paper. Here the staves are not drawn freehand, but with a rastrum or ruler. The paper is mainly of *Types 1a and 1b*, which places them chronologically very close to the preceding ones.

– *Rfasc. A, B, C and Rfasc. 3-4*. For these parts the same rastrum was used for all the staves. Rfasc. A and B consist of *Paper Type 1a*, Rfasc. 3-4 of *Type 1b*, while the small fascicle manuscript Rfasc. C consists of *Type 2*, which we have been unable to date; but the use of the rastrum puts it firmly in these surroundings. In the analysis we had to classify Rfasc. A, B and 3-4 as stock manuscripts, although the paper was perhaps originally intended for other purposes. In Rfasc. A and most of Rfasc. B (nos. 2-9 and 11-12), various originals have been copied over a short period of time. The textless piece Rfasc. A no. 4 is probably a reworking done with a motet in Rfasc. 7 (*Stabat mater dolorosa* no. 3) as model—the chronological sequence of these two fascicles indicates this. The empty pages in Rfasc. B, which originally only contained textless compositions, mostly German songs, were used soon afterwards for French chansons and an instrumental duo. The repertory in these fascicles could of course have belonged in Rfasc. 6, so it is quite reasonable that the scribe first used the smaller fascicles when space in Rfasc. 6 was running short. The same is true of Rfasc. 3-4, which supplement Rfasc. 8. Here the principal contents are also large sacred compositions (Rfasc. 3-4 nos. 2, 3 and 5) copied one at a time over a rather longer period than was the case with Rfasc. 8. The remaining pages were not used immediately; probably, like those in Rfasc. 8, they were left empty for some time, awaiting suitable sacred music.

– *Rfasc. 9-10 and prepared music paper*. The paper in Rfasc. 9-10 is of the same type as in Rfasc. 5, E, A and B, that is *Type 1a*. The staves are drawn very carefully with a ruler, and the margins on both sides have been inked in with the help of a ruler. It appears that the scribe abandoned the use of the rastrum, with which he made rather wavy staves, fairly quickly; in the remaining parts of the manuscript he used only a ruler. In the analysis we found that the *Magnificat* series in Rfasc. 9-10 (nos. 2-7) formed part of an abandoned project that should probably have resulted in a somewhat larger collection of sacred music. Instead of leaving the scribe's workshop, the music remained with his stock collection. The same thing happened to the rest of the sheets that had already been furnished with staves, and one blank sheet; the whole was probably gathered in a paper cover. The scribe later used the paper for Rfasc. F, G and L. The copying of the last two of these can be dated a couple of years later. The reasons the music paper was not immediately incorporated into the stock collection were on the one hand its high standard, and on the other that there was still space in the actual stock manuscripts. Rfasc. 9-10 must be placed chronologically just after Rfasc. 5 and thus represent the whole externally-oriented aspect of the scribe's activities.

The oldest stratum of Cop 1848 thus comprises the great bulk of the manuscript—that is, the four large fascicles, a loose gathering of four smaller stock fascicles, another cover with a Magnificat manuscript, and a couple of smaller fascicles. All this was created within a short period; there is nothing to suggest that it extended over much more than a year and a half during which the scribe was constantly active. In the nature of things, it is difficult to say anything about the speed with which the empty space scattered through the collection was used for new compositions. But there is much to indicate that the scribe did not give a great deal of attention to his music collection over the next few years. Possibly he was able to use his repertory after establishing it, or he may have been occupied with quite different matters. Let us now see how the remaining parts of the manuscript can be placed.

– *Rfasc. HJK*. This music book consists of eleven sheets of *Type 6* with *Watermarks 6 and 6a*, which recur in other paper used in 1524-25, plus a single sheet of *Type 8* from a different paper mill, probably manufactured at the beginning of the 1520s. While in the case of *Paper Type 1* we had to assume that the paper was first used by the scribe a few years after it had been produced, here we must regard early use as most likely. In the first place, the handwriting does not suggest that many years passed between the copying of the first and last parts; and secondly, the music book was created in close association with the small fascicles for which the scribe used the pieces of music paper left over from the older collection. A date of 1524, possibly towards the end of the year, fits the established pattern best, as we can trace a renewal of the scribe's activities around this period. As mentioned in the analysis, the repertory of *Rfasc. HJK* was compiled without the planning we could trace, despite everything, in the older parts, and the consistently consecutive disposition of the voice parts is also a new feature. A similar disposition of voices and scribal appearance further links *Rfasc. G* with *Rfasc. HJK*. And *Rfasc. L, M and 11* were done using the same originals as were used for the larger music book.

– *Rfasc. G*. The main scribe used the remainder of the music paper (*Type 1a*), which had lain with *Rfasc. 9-10*, for this fascicle—*Rfasc. F* had been copied earlier. This must have been done at the same time as *Rfasc. HJK*; unlike the very composite music book, *Rfasc. G* was copied from a single original in one session, and the copy had to be finished on the front page of *Rfasc. 9-10*.

– *Rfasc. L, M and 11*. All three small sections must be placed in the period just before the scribe went to work on *Rfasc. HJK*, since they include many concordances with this, and the analysis showed that the duplicates were independent copies of the originals which he afterwards used for the larger collection. *Rfasc. M* and the main scribe's part of *Rfasc. 11* are characterized, like the other parts from that period, by the consecutive disposition of the voice-parts. *Rfasc. L* was written on a single sheet of paper—a blank sheet which, like *Rfasc. G*, came from the older collection (*Type 1a*). The music hand is characterized by very long stems, and permits us to suppose that a similar hand in one of the latest additions to *Rfasc. 8* (*Deo gracias* no. 14) should also be assigned to this period. The other single sheet, *Rfasc. M*, includes two *noëls* by Haquinet, one of which was on the same occasion copied in at the end of *Rfasc. F* (no. 6). The unrelated manuscript, *Rfasc. 11*, with the mass sections copied by Hand C, was used by the main scribe as music paper, like *Rfasc. L* and *M*. The fascicle itself, and Hand C's work, may well be from the decade before 1520. While discussing the last compositions copied into *Rfasc. 6* we noted that among the notes there appeared a number of rhomboid semibreves, carefully formed, and unlike the main scribe's hand in general (*Rfasc. 6* nos. 43-44). In the last composition in *Rfasc. 11*, Haquinet's *Inviolata, integra* (*Rfasc. 11* no. 17) we see the same rhomboid notes. This makes it possible that these compositions were entered at the same time; the music hand may have been inspired by—or was perhaps an imitation of—Hand C's



more careful script. We also find the four-part chanson in Rfasc. 6, *Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne* (no. 44), in P. Attaignant's *Trente et cinq chansons* of 1529.<sup>29</sup> However, Cop 1848 has a rather different version of the song. While there are only minor differences in the superius, tenor and bassus, the altus in Attaignant is completely different for long passages, and the text has also been changed.<sup>30</sup> There can be no doubt that Cop 1848 contains the original version of the song, while Attaignant's version is an attempt to modernize the piece. Indeed, Albert Seay has demonstrated that the text of the chanson refers to the marriage of Lorenzo II de' Medici and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne in Amboise in 1518.<sup>31</sup> Seay's conjecture that the music too originates with the wedding celebrations is strengthened by its appearance in this collection around 1524.<sup>32</sup>

– Rfasc. F must, as we have seen, be dated before Rfasc. G, L, M and 11. The small Agricola fascicle is also made of music paper from the older collection (*Type 1a*), and since we find no traces here of the 'book disposition' the scribe apparently preferred later, it should perhaps be dated closest to the oldest group.

– Rfasc. D can also be dated, as mentioned before, to 1524, when the paper was used in the *Actes consulaires* of Lyons. The small fascicle was executed by Hand B. It fits well with the second active period of the main scribe that the last composition entered in Rfasc. 5, *O beata Katherina* (no. 13) was copied at this time, with Rfasc. D as its source.

We have thus accounted for the chronology of all the individual components of Cop 1848. This timescale also covers most of the main scribe's own additions. Common features of the handwriting have indicated that some of the latest additions to Rfasc. 5, 6 and 8 belong in his second period of activity; others may belong in the intervening period like Rfasc. F—for example some of the repertory in Rfasc. 6. In fact, all that now remains is the two series of four-part chansons in Rfasc. 8 and Rfasc. 3-4 (Rfasc. 8 nos. 6, 9-13 and 22; Rfasc. 3-4 nos. 1, 4 and 6-12), which were copied in the same period, and which were probably the last pieces the main scribe himself added to the collection. Most of the chansons are also in Attaignant's printed chansonniers of the end of the 1520s. To get some idea of how long the main scribe made use of his collection, it is of the greatest importance to clarify the relationship of these series to the repertory of Pierre Attaignant.

Almost everyone who has dealt with Cop 1848 has touched on this issue. Jean Rollin thought (without any documentation) that the chansons that recur in the Attaignant chansonniers might have been copied directly from the printed editions.<sup>33</sup> Henrik Glahn demonstrated that

<sup>29</sup> *Attaignant 1528/7* no. 29. Cf. *HeartzA* no. 6.

<sup>30</sup> In Cop 1848 (cf. the transcription in Vol. III, no. 56) the altus part is a typical last-composed voice without melodic profile; in Attaignant's print an attempt has been made to integrate it better and give it a more active role, in particular by increasing the drive towards the cadences. Bars 10-14 and 19-20 have been completely recomposed. The third line of the text in Attaignant is "Son noble cueur a par amour cité", while Cop 1848 has the better "Son noble arroy est par amour cité". Nor is there any indication in Attaignant of the repetition of its last phrase.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Seay, 'Two Datable Chansons from an Attaignant Print' (SeayD).

<sup>32</sup> Rfasc. 6 no. 43 *Veni, veni electa mea* might be from the same wedding; cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 6, n. 48.

<sup>33</sup> RollinM p. 28: "Nous pensons plus volontiers que ce manuscrit, au moins en ce qui concerne les chansons retrouvées dans les recueils d'Attaignant, aurait été fait d'après ceux-ci. Si la date de 1520 était certaine, elle nous permettrait de jeter une clarté nouvelle sur l'édition française de musique en datant le recueil non daté des 30 chansons d'Attaignant (qui en contient 2) de cette époque, c'est-à-dire huit ans avant la date acceptée jusqu'à présent. Mais cette affirmation serait hasardeuse".

As regards the dating of the collection *Attaignant 1528/4* to 1520, Rollin is probably right in saying that it would be 'hasardeuse'.

the concordances to Attaignant make up a substantial portion of the four-part chansons in the manuscript, and that six of them were entered together in alphabetical order. He stresses their importance for the dating of the manuscript, but offers no opinion on the issue.<sup>34</sup> Courtney Adams deals with the matter in more detail, since Cop 1848 plays an important role in her thesis on three-part chansons in the sixteenth century. She examines the six chansons that Glahn designated as a unified group, shows that they are found in five different Attaignant prints, and that there are so many differences among the sources that direct relationships can be ruled out. The other concordances to Attaignant are also discussed and presented systematically.<sup>35</sup> The conclusion is that in many cases the versions are distinct from one another and come from separate traditions of transmission, and that their chronological relationships cannot be determined on this basis.<sup>36</sup> Later Adams dates the compilation of Cop 1848 between 1524 and 1529.<sup>37</sup>

This demonstration that Cop 1848 was not copied from Attaignant's printed chansonniers stands firm. Nevertheless, a comparison of the two series with the printed versions will follow here, for several reasons. In the first place, most of the differences in the versions are not documented by Adams, and secondly none of the earlier authors examined the chansons in their proper context—as a series of new and exciting chansons which were copied into empty pages in two older, independent manuscripts of sacred music in the course of a few days. This happened at a time when the main scribe was possibly no longer as interested in the older repertory and simply wanted to put the music paper to good use. Finally, their significance for the dating has not yet been clarified. In what follows, the versions in Cop 1848 will be compared with the earliest printed versions preserved in their entirety.<sup>38</sup> The number of voice-parts with text underlay in Cop 1848 varies, as we know, so this has been disregarded in the list. The chansons are reviewed in the order in which they were probably entered in the two series:

<sup>34</sup> GlahnM p. 100: "Man vil ovenikøbet se, at 6 af dem er indført samlet i håndskriftet (p. 80-85), alfabetisk ordnede (hvilket måske er tilfældigt). Selv om der ikke behøver at være tale om nogen direkte afskrift – indirekte overtagelse er ikke udelukket –, vil denne sammenhæng være af betydning ved håndskriftets datering." (It will further be seen that six of them were entered together in the manuscript (pp. 80-85), in alphabetical order (which may be coincidental). Although this need not be a direct copy—indirect transmission cannot be ruled out—this grouping will be of significance in the dating of the manuscript). The English summary in *Fund og Forskning V-VI* (1958-59) p. 226, says: "No direct connection between Attaignant and the manuscript can, however, be inferred from this, as the versions of the two sources differ in many respects".

<sup>35</sup> AdamsT: Table 6, pp. 61-62; the list lacks, under *Trente et une chansons* (1529) no. 5 *Hau, hau, hau le boys!* (Cop 1848 no. 32).

<sup>36</sup> AdamsT pp. 60-61: "In all likelihood, both Attaignant and the scribe of the Copenhagen manuscript had access to the same repertory, but worked from a third source or perhaps several other sources. ... When differences occur, the Attaignant versions appear to be modernized and simplified relative to the Copenhagen settings. Obviously, however, Attaignant did not work from a Lyonnaise manuscript when his sources were readily available in Paris. We come again, then, to the conclusion that probably no direct copying was involved although every print of chansons that Attaignant published during 1528 and 1529 has at least one concordance with the Copenhagen manuscript. No precedence, then can be established between Attaignant's prints and our manuscript".

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> Where not otherwise indicated the Attaignant prints have been used which are in *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, and in *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*. Cf. HeartzA nos. 5, 6, 8 and 9.

**Rfasc. 8:** No. 6 (no. 161) *Vignon, vignon, vignon, vignette* 4v [Anonymous] – *Trente et cinq chansons ...* (1529), *Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 3: *Attaignant* has an inferior version of the altus part, and the repetition of the last phrase of the chanson is written out in full.<sup>39</sup> The text version is also different and inadequate in *Attaignant*.<sup>40</sup>

No. 9 (no. 164) *Ung grand plaisir Cupido me dona* 4v [Anonymous] – *Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 7: Apart from some scribal errors in Cop 1848, the two versions differ only in the shape of a cadence,<sup>41</sup> and in the fact that the altus in the final chord in Cop 1848 is at the third rather than the fifth.

No. 10 (no. 165) *Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours* 4v [Claudin de Sermisy] – *Chansons nouvelles* 1528, only the altus and tenor preserved, reprinted in *Trente et sept chansons ...* (1529), *Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 1: Only differences of detail in the altus, which in Cop 1848 once more finishes on the third, not on the fifth. In *Attaignant* the fourth line of the text has two syllables too many.<sup>42</sup>

No. 11 (no. 166) *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* 4v – this chanson is not in *Attaignant*'s collections, but the tenor melody is used in another anonymous setting in *Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 27.<sup>43</sup>

No. 12 (no. 167) *De retourner, mon amy, je te prie* 4v [Anonymous] – *Trente et quatre chansons ...* 1529, *Attaignant* 1529/3 no. 24: The repetition of the first phrase is indicated in *Attaignant* by a repeat mark; in Cop 1848 it is written out with rhythmic changes in the altus in the second line; there are also a number of differences in detail.

No. 13 (no. 168) *Reconforte le petit cueur de moy* 4v [Clément Janequin] – *Chansons nouvelles* 1528, reprinted in *Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 33: Here the major difference is in the last line of the text, where Cop 1848, like the monophonic chansonniers, has “navré m’avez d’ung dart don je suis mort”,<sup>44</sup> while this is expanded in *Attaignant* to “... d’un dart qui m’a feru dont je suis mort”.

No. 22 (no. 179) *Reveillés vous, amoureux, vous dormes trop* 5v – not in *Attaignant*'s collections.

**Rfasc. 3-4:** No. 6 (no. 37) *Amy, hélas! otez moy de la presse* 4v [Anonymous] – *Attaignant* 1529/3 no. 12: In *Attaignant*'s print an error appears in the tenor part—a semibrevis value is missing. Apart from a number of differences in detail, Cop 1848 has under-third ornamentation of the final cadence in the superius.<sup>45</sup>

No. 7 (no. 38) *A desjuner la belle andouille* 4v [Anonymous] – *Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 2: Here the differences consist only of a cadential ornament in the superius in Cop 1848 (cf. *Example 1*) and the final note of the altus, which is the third in *Attaignant* and the fifth in Cop 1848.

<sup>39</sup> Bar 7.2 (*a* instead of *b*) and bar 10.2 (*b* instead of *g*); there are also differences in the figuration of altus and bassus.

<sup>40</sup> The third line “il feust couppé a la serpette” is missing. The following variations also occur. The 2nd line in Cop 1848 is “... il feust pruzdon” – Att. has “... il fut preudhomme”. The 6th line in Cop 1848 is “... mon garguillon/gorgette (in T)” – Att. has “... mon gorgeon”.

<sup>41</sup> In *Attaignant* S, A and B finish at bar 10.3 with a  $\diamond$ , so they can begin the next line “Mais faulx rapport ...” with a  $\equiv$ ; in Cop 1848 S and B follow T's beginning in bar 11 with a  $\diamond$ .

<sup>42</sup> “A mon las cueur le quel pour vous s'en va mourir”; in the altus “pour vous” is omitted (as in Marot). Cop 1848 has “a mon las cueur pour vous s'en va morir”; cf. Chapter 9 ex. 2.

<sup>43</sup> See also Chapter 9.1 and the transcriptions in Vol. III (no. 57) and Chapter 9.1 (Ex. 4).

<sup>44</sup> *Paris* 9346 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22, publ. in GéroldB as no. 21, and *Paris* 12744 f. 37<sup>v</sup>, publ. in ParisC as no. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. transcr. Chapter 9 ex. 1; *Attaignant*'s tenor lacks bar 10.3-4.

**Example 1**

Cop 1848:



Attaignant:

**Example 2**

Cop 1848:

S

soy  
-coy

et

re-me - de

je

n'a-per - coy

A

T

B

Attaignant:

S

-coy

et

re-me - de

je

n'a-per - coy

A

T

B

No. 8 (No. 39) *Doeul, double doeul, renfort de desplaisir* 4v [Hesdin] – *Trente et six chansons ...* 1530, *Attaignant* 1530/4 no. 9: The repetition of the last line in Cop 1848 is fully written out; in Attaignant it is indicated by the symbol ♯; the altus finishes in Attaignant on the third, in Cop 1848 on the fifth, and there are also a number of differences of detail.<sup>46</sup>

No. 9 (no. 40) *D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé* 4v [Anonymous] – *Trente chansons ...* 1529, *Attaignant* 1528/4 no. 5: The repeats are written out in full in Attaignant, both the repeat of the first two and the last two phrases. In Cop 1848 the first repeat is indicated by ♯, while the second does not exist; there are furthermore a number of differences of detail, especially in the altus (cf. *Example 2*).

No. 10 (no. 41) *Je ne fais rien que requerir* 4v [Claudin de Sermisy] – *Attaignant* 1528/4 no. 2: Many differences of detail.

No. 11 (no. 42) *Puis qu'en deux cueurs y a vraye union* 4v [Anonymous] – *Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 33: The repetition of the last line, which is indicated in Cop 1848 by the symbol ♯ in all voices, is not even suggested in Attaignant; there are also a few differences of detail in music and text.<sup>47</sup>

No. 12 (no. 43) *Sans le congie de mon mary* 5v – not in Attaignant's collections.

<sup>46</sup> Among other things, a printer's error in Attaignant in bar 15.3-4. The comparison was made on the basis of the edition in L. E. Miller, *Thirty-Six Chansons by French Provincial Composers* (MillerP) p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> Line 3 in Attaignant is "Chacun di ceulx doit avoir suffisance", in Cop 1848 "Chacun di ceux peult avoir souffisance/jouyssance (in T)".

No. 1 (no. 32) *Hau, hau, hau, le boys* 1v (4v) [Claudin de Sermisy] – *Trente et une chansons* ... 1529, *Attaignant* 1529/2 no. 5: A comparison of the bassus in Cop 1848 with *Attaignant* reveals few differences in music and text.<sup>48</sup>

No. 4 (no. 35) *Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire* 4v [Clément Janequin] – *Attaignant* 1529/3 no. 18: The only difference is that Cop 1848 lacks the last line of the text.

It should now be clear that the two series are not copied from the editions printed by *Attaignant*. For besides differences of detail and notation, and the rather fewer real textual and musical variants, it emerges that the originals copied by the scribe also included chansons which *Attaignant* did not print (Rfasc. 8 nos. 11 and 22, Rfasc. 3-4 no. 12). The next question to arise is the dating of the series. There is every indication that they should be placed a few years before *Attaignant* began his activities. We can adduce certain positive arguments for such a dating; there is nothing to contradict it; and the main scribe could hardly have avoided becoming familiar with the repertory.

The hand of the main scribe is again an important element in the argument. The series are executed with the same small, dense, round music hand as we saw in the late part of the collection, for example in Rfasc. G and HJK. The interval in time cannot have been very long. As the old-fashioned under-third cadence in *Amy, hélas!* (Rfasc. 3-4 no. 6) suggests, the chansons belong to the oldest part of *Attaignant*'s repertory. Thomas D. Brothers has analysed two chansons from *Attaignant*'s collections based on tunes from the monophonic popular repertory,<sup>49</sup> and concludes that they must have been composed long before appearing in print, and that the chansons of the type in question were already passing out of fashion in the capital.<sup>50</sup> In this respect it is interesting that in the series there are eight chansons which are based on popular tunes or which are very close imitations of this chanson type.<sup>51</sup> It can come as no surprise that Marot wrote chanson texts which quite deliberately drew on the popular tradition. We have already seen him, in Cop 1848, in full activity before 1520, when the popular chansons were the height of fashion. The series of three-part chansons from the oldest part of the manuscript—the one in Rfasc. E could be dated 1520 and the series in Rfasc. 6 was copied some time later—also shed some light on how old some of *Attaignant*'s repertory was, since we found here two chansons by Claudin and Marot and one anonymous one, all of which were later printed by *Attaignant* in four-part versions.<sup>52</sup>

The two series in Cop 1848 thus represent a repertory which circulated all over France in fascicle manuscripts throughout the 1520s, and which *Attaignant* must have regarded as a safe genre with which to start his activities as a music publisher. The lack of musical sources from this time has obscured the situation in the period, and it cannot be said to have been clarified yet. However, most musicologists agree that the repertory in *Attaignant*'s first collections

<sup>48</sup> Line 7 in *Attaignant* is "... esclarcir les voix", in Cop 1848 "... eschauffer nous voys"; for the comparison, H. Expert's edition of *Attaignant* 1529/2 was used (ExpertA) p. 16f.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas D. Brothers, 'Two Chansons Rustiques a 4 by Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin' (BrothersC). One of the chansons is Janequin's *Reconforte le petit cuer de moy* (Rfasc. 8 no. 13). Cf. also ChristoffersenO p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> BrothersC p. 317; here Brothers identifies only six four-part chansons in *Attaignant*'s collections, which are based on tunes from the two monophonic chansonniers *Paris 9346* and *Paris 12744*, including Hesdin's popular arrangement *S'il est a ma poste*, which in Cop 1848 is in the unrelated Rfasc. D together with the very similar anonymous *A la fontaine du pré* (Rfasc. D nos. 2 and 4).

<sup>51</sup> Rfasc. 8 nos. 6, 11, 13 and 22 (Cop 1848 nos. 161, 166, 168 and 179) and Rfasc. 3-4 nos. 7, 9, 12 and 1 (Cop 1848 nos. 38, 40, 43 and 32); cf. more detailed discussion in Chapter 8.3 and Chapter 9.1.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Chapter 9.2.



was selected from among the best-known chansons of the preceding decade.<sup>53</sup> This view is confirmed by, among other things, four small printed collections of *noëls* by Jean Daniel, who was an organist in Angers. There is only a date on one of the prints—1524—but they must all have been published at more or less the same time in Angers. Above each *noël* Daniel has carefully indicated its *timbre*; he used a rich selection of the best known and loved songs of the age, including some that Attaignant later printed,<sup>54</sup> and of course several which are found in Cop 1848.<sup>55</sup>

Lyons had close links with Paris, and the travelling court was often in the city. This was where the troops gathered before the campaigns in Italy, and this was also where the financing was organized. In August 1524 the King came to Lyons with his whole court to prepare for the year's campaigning, and when the army marched off with the King at its head, the government of the country was left, as on earlier occasions, in Lyons. This time the stay would be a very long one. The regent, Louise de Savoie, who had been residing at Saint-Just since October 1524, and the King's sister Marguerite, assumed sole responsibility for the government of the country after the defeat at Pavia in February 1525 and the King's subsequent captivity in Spain. By the autumn of 1524 most of the government's administrative functions, and the court's social and representative functions, with all its clients and proteges, had moved to Lyons. Now, when everything had to be controlled from the city, the bustle and confusion became enormous. Not only the everyday business of the country had to be managed, but the defeated army also had to be reorganized and the city had to be fortified, while intense diplomatic efforts were made to have the King released. One year later, in February 1526, the Regent was able to leave Lyons to meet François I at the Spanish border, and life in the city returned to normal.<sup>56</sup>

This hectic period coincided with the last active period of the main scribe, and during the stay of the court in Lyons he would have had ample opportunity to obtain sources for the two series of four-part chansons. This closeness to the musical life of the court may also have meant that he stopped work on his music collection and filed it away as mostly antiquated. The dating of his last additions to Cop 1848 in the spring of 1525 must be the most likely one, all things considered.

<sup>53</sup> H. M. Brown places this repertory between 1515 and 1528 in 'The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530' (BrownG) p. 29; cf. also Lawrence F. Bernstein, 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson' (BernsteinO) p. 297f and ChristoffersenO pp. 47-48 and here Chapter 9.

<sup>54</sup> All Jean Daniel's *noëls* have been published in Henri Chardon, *Les Noëls de Jean Daniel, dit Maître Mitou, Organiste de Saint-Maurice et Chapelain de Saint-Pierre d'Angiers. 1520-30.* (ChardonD). The following prints use chansons which Attaignant published as *timbre* indications (only four-part chansons are included, not the many three-part chansons in Attaignant 1529/4): *S'ensuyvent plusieurs Noëls nouveaux...* (Daniel 1523) has "Sur Secourez moy madame par amours" – Claudin/Marot 4v in *Attaignant* 1528/3, "Sur Plaisir n'ay plus que vivre en desconfort" – Anonymous/Marot in *Attaignant* 1528/5; *Chantzons saintes...* 1524 (Daniel 1524) has "Sur Puis qu'en amours est si beaux passetemps" – Claudin 4v in *Attaignant* 1529/2, "Sur Une bergerotte prins en ung buisson" – Claudin 4v in *Attaignant* 1530/5, "Sur Larilan, larilan laine, lairelanfa / S'il est a ma poste" – Hesdin 4v in *Attaignant* 1529/2.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Vol. II nos. 58, 92, 137, 165 and 266.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Académie des sciences morales et politiques: Collection des Ordonnances des Rois de France. Catalogue des Actes de François I<sup>er</sup>. I-X*, Paris 1887-1908, VIII p. 411ff "Itinéraire de la Chancellerie royal pendant le règne de François I<sup>er</sup>", and A. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon* (KleinclauszL) I p. 370ff, the chapter "Le Règne de François I<sup>er</sup>. Marignan et Pavie. Lyon capitale du royaume".

Dragan Plamenac estimated in 'A Postscript', without arguing further for the view on that occasion, that Cop 1848 should be dated c. 1525,<sup>57</sup> so this date will be found in many later references to the manuscript. This turns out to fit well with the conclusion of the main scribe's work. However, we must remain aware that its genesis was a complex process with many phases. The following table sums up the discussion of the dating of the various elements. It is shown very schematically; the relationships among the elements are simplified, and only compositions given particular mention are included. We can clearly see the concentration of the scribe's activity in two periods at the beginning and end of the timespan c. 1520 – c. 1525, with the bulk of the effort in the earlier period. So the dating of Cop 1848 should be—in accordance with the modern spine title—*c. 1520 with expansions and additions by the main scribe until c. 1525*.<sup>58</sup>

The long stay of the court at Lyons in 1524–26 was bound to leave its mark on the musical life of the city. The main scribe probably had to concede that the relatively old-fashioned repertory in his own collection was no longer current. At all events he must have wished to gather together the many loose music sheets and have them bound. This also suggested that he no longer used them in his everyday work. The binding was not done very carefully. This was when the disorder in the last part of Cop 1848 arose. He may in fact have bound it himself—simply stacked the sheets together in more or less random order and sewn them into a simple board or parchment binding. He may not have regarded his manuscript with any great respect. It is conceivable that it was the main scribe himself who began to use the last pages and some pages in fasc. 11 for pen trials, a practice that later users continued.<sup>59</sup>

Hand D and Hand E both occupied themselves with the collection after it had been bound. The main scribe probably disposed of the manuscript at the end of the 1520s. The next owner would then probably have been Hand D, who entered compositions in empty spaces in all parts of the manuscript. Many of these compositions must have been composed more or less directly on the pages of Cop 1848. Hand D seems to have been a very young composer who used the collection as study material. He may have been a pupil of the main scribe.<sup>60</sup>

The manuscript was thus used by at least one musician besides the main scribe before it came into the possession of Claude Charneyron in Villefranche in the 1530s or 1540s. Whether it had even more owners before him is difficult to determine. But it is hard to believe that it would have been so much in demand that it changed hands frequently in the course of so few years. Until otherwise proven, we must assume that Charneyron added the corrections and text completions that have been assigned to Hand E.<sup>61</sup> The unspecified hands who added small scattered fragments of text may have been acquaintances of one of the owners—for example people in Hand D's circle.<sup>62</sup>

In the first binding the order of the fascicles would have been the same as it is now. This is evident, for example, from the ink marks on the front page of fasc. 14, which were made when Hand D added some sections of a polyphonic passion (no. 221) on the empty outer pages of fasc. 13 (pp. 395 and 410), and from a blot made by Hand E which is visible in fascs. 6 and 7.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> PlamenacP n. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Courtney Adams suggests that Cop 1848 was started in 1524–29 and finished before c. 1532 (AdamsT p. 58 and p. 80); this dating is based on an examination of the manuscript using a microfilm (AdamsT p. 55), so can in no way be regarded as well-documented.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3 and 1.6.

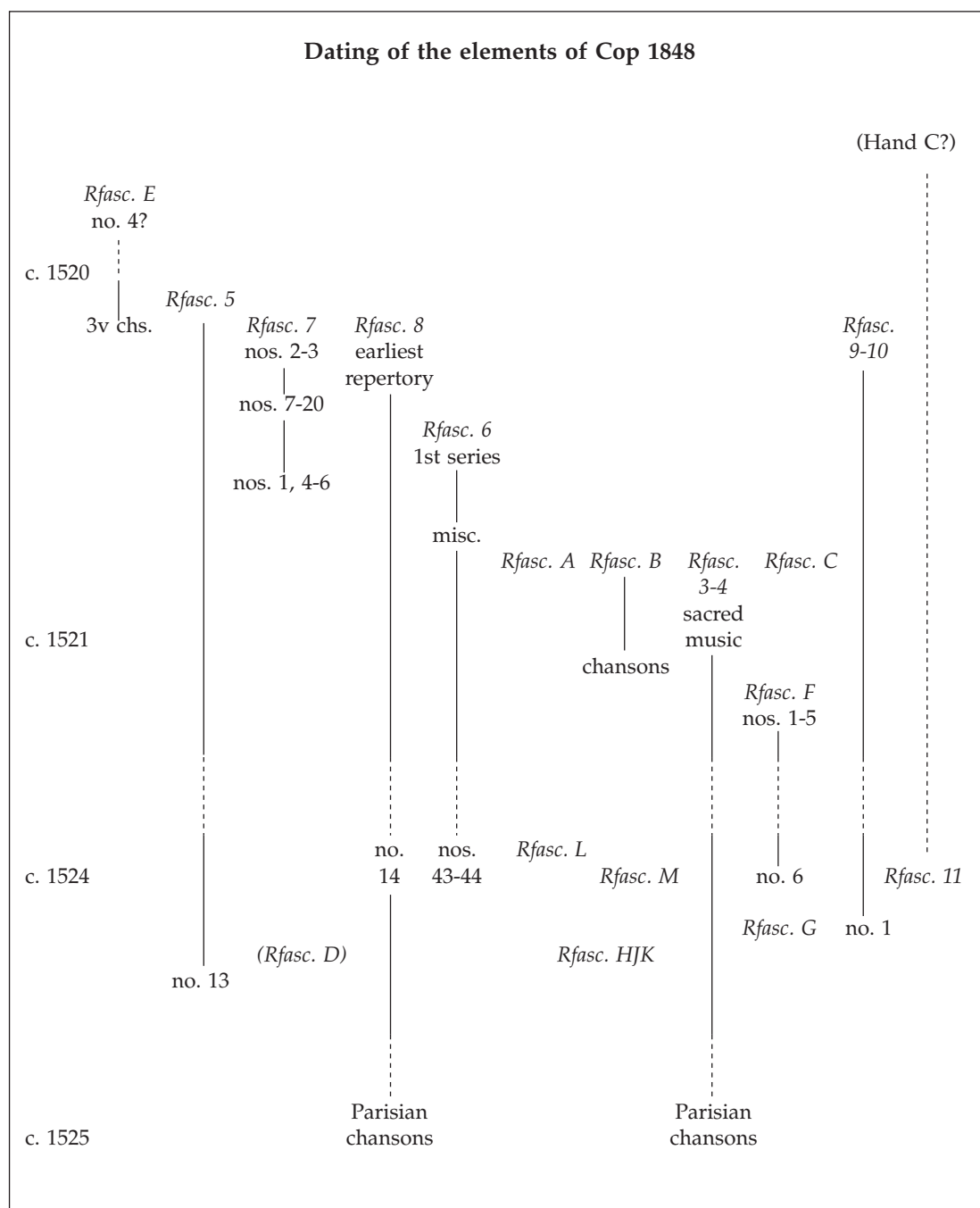
<sup>60</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3 and Chapter 11.2.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.6; it is thought-provoking that the poem at the bottom of p. 318 "Je ne me puis tenir pour chose que l'on dye" was in fact first published in 1533–34 in Lyons, in both a text collection and a chansonnier.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.6.

Dust marks on the back of fasc. 7 and the front of fasc. 9, which have formed over centuries, show moreover that fasc. 8, which is in a smaller format, was also originally placed here, but slightly differently from now. The binding was not very firm; it quickly fell apart, and the outer—now very worn—pages were left unprotected; the spine probably also broke at some point. And so the manuscript lay, loosely gathered and crumpled, until J.-B. Marduel had it bound again at the beginning of the nineteenth century.



## Part Three:

The manuscript as a source for  
the musical repertory of  
the early sixteenth century





We have already examined the repertory of Cop 1848 from several points of view. First from a primarily statistical one in Part One—as part of the actual description of the manuscript—where we established the number of compositions and the percentage of the different genres in the repertory. The few composer attributions and the composer names that could be identified with the help of other sources were also briefly discussed. Then Part Two analysed the structure of the manuscript in order to build up a picture of the working procedure of the main scribe and the sources from which he worked. Here the focus was on the structure and composition of the repertory in the many different parts of the manuscript, and differences and resemblances among the compositions were described as an aid to analysis. In the following, instead of tracing the stages in the genesis of the manuscript, we will take it such as it is today, and regard it as a finished whole. That is, we will attempt to combine the scattered comments of the preceding chapters into more general reflections, and to deal with the repertory in larger groups according to type and genre. Viewed this way, Cop 1848 will emerge not only as an important source for the way music was copied and circulated, but also as a musical source whose evidence of a musical repertory of the French provinces in the sixteenth century ranks it with many more prepossessing manuscripts.

It is the distinctive features of the repertory we are interested in identifying. They emerge best if we restrict the analysis to the two biggest repertory groups, the French chansons and the Latin compositions in all their variety. At the same time, the large number of compositions in the manuscript, and the long chronological perspective of the repertory—composers of all the generations born in the fifteenth century are represented—mean that reasons of space alone preclude detailed discussion of all the compositions. However, the French chanson repertory of the manuscript is so full and multifaceted that coherent patterns appear in it. And research on the French chanson—including the anonymous repertory—has come so far that we can compare the testimony of the manuscript with theories of the development of the genre. So a rather full account of this component will be appropriate. The treatment of the sacred music, where the unique compositions form the great majority, will have to be sketchier. We know almost nothing of polyphonic church music in the Lyons region. The liturgy of the diocese required monophonic plainsong. Yet Cop 1848 contains a substantial amount of liturgical music which cannot have circulated very widely. Our interest must be focused on this local, provincial repertory. But each repertory group will be individually described and as far as possible illustrated by transcriptions of unique compositions.<sup>1</sup> Further information not given specifically in the following must be sought in the *Catalogue, Volume II*, or in the review of the various parts of the manuscript in Part Two.

<sup>1</sup> The transcriptions are in Vol. III.

In the last few decades the period around 1500 has been the object of intense musicological activity which has greatly extended our knowledge of the repertory, the sources, the lives of the composers and the musical institutions of the age, and which in important respects has given us a subtler view of the period than earlier generations of researchers. Yet much remains to be studied and combined into new syntheses. So time and again we shall find ourselves running into a set of related problems which there are no real prospects of solving. In examining the wide-ranging repertory of Cop 1848, one becomes painfully aware of how difficult it is to take the broad view of the development of the various genres in the context of the rapidly shifting social demands on music; and above all to achieve an overall perspective on the diachronic interaction among genres. One of the reasons for this is that no one has yet seriously been able to discuss these issues at the overall level. This leaves its mark on the general literature on the period, which has a tendency to take the form of either superficial chronological accounts of composers or unmanageable accumulations of material. Closely related to this are the terminological problems. Genres and periods are stuck with labels which are the results of researchers' work on delimited projects where the terms invented were relevant. Later they have been repeated more or less uncritically in other accounts even if, in the larger context, they seem illogical or very inadequate. A further problem is the lack of relevant methods of analysing and describing the repertory which have won general recognition among musicologists. Without thoroughly elaborated methods which respect the age's own view of its music, it is difficult to interpret both the individual piece of music and larger groups, to compare and generalize, and to establish the broad view of the multiplicity of musical life.

It lies beyond the scope of this manuscript study to seek answers to these general problems of research. So the treatment of many subtopics will give rise to questions which cannot at present be answered. On the other hand, the nature of the manuscript itself means that questions which would hardly arise during work on less complex sources will force themselves upon us. These may lead to new angles of approach in research and to new projects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> One cannot of course avoid musical analysis in a chapter dealing with a repertory of music, but the analytical aspect will not take centre stage. The analytical work done will for the most part lie latent behind generalizing remarks. And where it is necessary to go into more detail about the structure of the music, I hope that the set of concepts used will be sufficiently clear from the context. I have drawn important inspiration for the analytical work from Putnam Aldrich's article 'An Approach to the Analysis of Renaissance Music' (AldrichA) and from Carl Dahlhaus' thesis *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität* (DahlhausT). Later I hope to have the opportunity to complete a work on the analysis and interpretation of the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

## Chapter 6

### The French chanson

In the fifteenth and much of the sixteenth century chansons in French were the dominant genre in the secular part of the musical scene at the courts of Europe and among the aristocracy and prosperous bourgeoisie. The preserved sources give clear evidence of its dominance; chansons appear in large numbers in music manuscripts and prints with geographical origins throughout most of Europe. Outside the French-speaking area proper, the Italian music public showed particular interest in the French chanson, and a substantial percentage of sources, printed as well as manuscript, thus come from Italy; the number of preserved Italian sources from certain decades even exceeds that of contemporary French sources.<sup>1</sup> From Spain, England and the German-speaking area we have sources which testify to a similar interest. One can regard the French chanson as a decidedly international genre, almost like the most important types of sacred music. However, the composers of the genre came mostly from France and the Flemish part of the Duchy of Burgundy. The northern part of this area in particular, which had come relatively unharmed through the destruction of the Hundred Years' War, had since the early fifteenth century had musical institutions and traditions capable of producing highly-trained musicians who were recognized and in demand all over Europe. Their rapid succession of appointments as singers, more rarely as *maîtres de chapelle* or even as composers, took them far and wide to the musical centres of the age. Part of the background of this international labour market and the spread of the French chanson must be sought in politico-economic factors. The splendid court of Burgundy and the great power France were natural models and important allies or opponents during the establishment of the power of princely houses in this period when the power structures of feudalism were being transformed. French culture and its costly court music and sacred music became an essential, shining symbol for princes who sought absolute power and glory for themselves and their successors. Even the most locally-oriented part of the chanson repertory, the popular songs, found a public outside France. However, the texts did not always enjoy the same interest as the music: in Italian sources the texts are often either omitted or corrupt. Of course, secular songs were written with texts in other languages than French; but the Italian, Spanish, Flemish or German songs had no currency comparable to that of the French chansons beyond their national and linguistic boundaries.

The repertory we are to study does not reflect the international diffusion of the French chanson—rather its domestic development and the attraction of the older part of the repertory for a public outside courtly circles; in other words, quite a different situation from the one

<sup>1</sup> This is of course first and foremost true of the period 1500-1520, when the Italian music printers reigned almost supreme. But the manuscript tradition, too, is fuller for Italy in the years 1480-1520, a period of great importance when we are to place the repertory in Cop 1848.

reflected by the French courtly manuscripts<sup>2</sup> or the Italian manuscripts which have been published in new editions with commentaries in the last decade.<sup>3</sup> In these, the compilers were interested in relatively new music or in the chansons that had already achieved the status of 'evergreens', and had to be included in any collection. In Cop 1848, as a natural part of his work, the main scribe made sure he had a wide selection of the products of previous generations in his stock collection. The oldest datable chanson in the manuscript is Bedyngham's *Mon seul plaisir* (no. 261), which is found, among other places, in four manuscripts from about 1460—notably in four sources which have a rather older repertory and only have this one chanson in common with Cop 1848.<sup>4</sup> The chanson, which was probably composed around 1450 or a few years earlier,<sup>5</sup> suggests the chronologically earliest limit for the repertory in Cop 1848—the mid-fifteenth century, when the French chanson was already firmly established in international musical life. As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the corresponding upper limit is before 1525, with the Parisian chansons as the last additions. In the decades after 1530 the French chanson gradually lost its dominant position in the competition with other national song types; in time the Italian madrigal in particular became the norm.

During the generations covered by the repertory in Cop 1848, the French chanson changed its nature in terms of both musical expression and the poetic form of the lyrics. This process can be seen—much simplified—as a breakdown of the relatively stable formal and stylistic ideals which were typical of the courtly chanson of the fifteenth century, and which, after a period around the turn of the century of intense preoccupation with the idiom of popular music, resulted in a new, relatively stable complex of ideas on how the chanson should be formed, represented by the Parisian chanson of the 1520s. This was a typical transitional period when very varied tendencies coalesced and new ones arose, and when compositional models which must be described as retrospective functioned side by side with the forms that subsequent generations were to perpetuate; all in all, a period where it is difficult to obtain an overview of the course of events. In the following we will attempt to discover the version of the story told by Cop 1848.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *København* 291 from the 1470s (publ. in JeppesenK), *Paris* 2245 from the 1490s or *London* 5242 from c. 1510.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Roma* CG XIII.27 published by A. Atlas (AtlasC), *New Haven* 91 (the 'Mellon Chansonnier') publ. by Leeman L. Perkins & H. Garey (PerkinsM) and *Firenze* 229 in H. M. Brown's edition (BrownL).

<sup>4</sup> *Berlin* 78.C.28, *Escorial IV a 24*, *München* 9659 and *Oporto* 714; the last two may be slightly older. Cf. C. Petzsch, 'Fragment mit acht dreistimmigen Chansons' (PetzschF, on *München* 9659) and N. Pirrotta, 'Two Anglo-Italian Pieces in the Manuscript Porto 714' (PirrottaP). D. Fallows argues for a later dating of *Oporto* 714 in 'Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection' (FallowsO).

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that Bedyngham originally set the English version of Charles d'Orléans' poem, "Mi verrey joy and most parfit plesere"; cf. D. Fallows, 'Words and music in two English songs of the mid-15th century' (FallowsW).

# Chapter 7

## The courtly repertory

Almost half the French chansons in the manuscript can be classified under this heading; or, more precisely, 84 of the 172 chansons will be dealt with here. ‘Courtly’ in this context means that in form and content they adhere to a set of literary conventions that were prevalent in the fifteenth century, and which as far as the chansons were concerned had crystallized into the *formes fixes* with their three main types—*rondeau*, *virelai* and *ballade*. Neither the period nor the designation ‘courtly’ should be taken too literally, but the great majority of the songs remain within this framework, and their strong presence in the repertory gives a clear indication of its retrospective bent. Another large group—the popular chansons—similarly contains many compositions that can be attributed to the fifteenth century.

The large number of courtly chansons is slightly misleading. For among these are no less than nine chansons that have been entered twice—and in one case three times.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, this tells us something of the importance the main scribe attached to them. Some of the chansons, moreover, conflict in content with the courtly ideals; but in so doing nevertheless they are very much an extension of the tradition, so it is natural to place them in the same group. Irrespective of these reservations, the courtly chansons are the largest single group in the secular repertoire of Cop 1848.

The three main types of *formes fixes* all appear to have developed from simple song forms, originally associated with the dance, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and all employ refrains and fixed patterns of repetition.<sup>2</sup> The *rondeau* and *virelai* characteristically have the refrain at both the beginning and end. In the *rondeau* the refrain is followed by a section which corresponds in verse structure to the first half of the refrain, followed by the corresponding part of the refrain; the third section, the *tierce*, is formed on the model of the refrain, and the stanza ends with a complete repetition of the refrain. The *virelai* only differs in the two short *couplets*. Whereas in the *rondeau* they are derived from the refrain, here they normally form a contrast to the refrain; the two *couplets* are identically structured and form a whole in terms of content (their music is often repeated with *ouvert* and *clos* endings). The *tierce* and the concluding refrain of the *virelai* have the same structure as those of the *rondeau*. This means that the *rondeau* and *virelai* stanzas consist of four sections: *refrain – two couplets – tierce – refrain*. When these songs have several stanzas, the refrain is not of course used at the start of the second and subsequent stanzas—then it only appears at the ends of stanzas. In the *ballade* the stanza is in three sections, the first two of which repeat the same pattern; only the last line of the stanza functions as a refrain. When poems in *formes fixes* are set to music, the music closely follows the stanzaic structure as shown in Table 1 (in the lines representing the music,

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 65/198/279, nos. 80/266, nos. 191/278, nos. 200/265, nos. 204/273, nos. 205/247, nos. 210/225, nos. 224/244, and nos. 235/254.

<sup>2</sup> On the development of the forms, see Nigel Wilkins’ entries ‘Rondeau’, ‘Virelai’ and ‘Ballade’ in NGrove.



capital letters mean that the music recurs with the same text; small letters that the music is sung with a new text).

**Table 1**  
**Formes fixes**

<i>Rondeau:</i>	text:	AB CA DE AB ...
	music:	AB a A ab AB ...
<i>Virelai:</i>	text:	A BC D A ...
	music:	A Bb' a A ...
<i>Ballade:</i>	text:	ABC(Refrain) ... DEF(R) ...
	music:	a a b(R) ... aab(R) ...

We also find these basic stanzaic forms in settings of popular chansons, where the origins of the *formes fixes* in popular dance and song can still be traced; but the form they take is quite different from, and far more varied than, that of stylized art poetry.<sup>3</sup> Only the courtly part of the repertory will interest us here. *Table 2* shows all the compositions with texts in *formes fixes*—the bracketed numbers are chansons where the form of the text is not followed in the setting<sup>4</sup>—and a number of songs without text or with an incomplete text which, in terms of their musical structure, should be placed here.<sup>5</sup> The table also includes a lamentation and a small grace—pieces which are not in *formes fixes*, but which belong in the same milieu.

**Table 2**  
**Courtly chansons in Cop 1848 in *formes fixes*.**  
(Numbers marked with · are unique)

*Rondeaux quatrains:* Nos. 9, 21, ·28, ·31, ·48, 49, 65, 72, 74, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, ·92, 101, (·123), (·131), 147, ·148, 192, 198, 200, 204, 205, 222, 224, 235, 244, 245, 247, 254, 255, 261, 262, 266, 273, 277, 279.

*Rondeaux cinquains:* Nos. 25, ·26, 30, (35), 46, 54, 55, 56, 62, 66, 86, ·129, 132, ·149, ·150, 151, 152, ·153, ·154, 191, 243, (250), 252, 256, ·259, 263, 267, ·268, ·275, (276), 278.

*Rondeau cinquain layé:* No. 51.

*Cinquain (possibly a rondeau):* No. (73).

*Bergerettes (Virelais):* Nos. ·8, 29, 223+236, 227.

*Ballades:* Nos. ·91, ·209, ·210, ·225.

*Lamentation:* Nos. ·68-69.

*Table blessing (grace):* No. ·82.

As the overview shows, the rondeau is the predominant form. This situation is characteristic of the middle and end of the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth century, the ballade was the preferred form of the poets and composers. In it they could express serious thoughts about

<sup>3</sup> On *formes fixes* in the monophonic repertory, see Jay Rahn, 'Fixed and Free Forms in French Monophonic Song, ca. 1480-1520' (RahnF); here too there is a very clear account of the basic stanzaic forms (pp. 131-138).

<sup>4</sup> These are a *contrafactum* of Isaac's *Qui tollis* (no. 276) with a rondeau text (this is perhaps also true of the preceding no. 275), the two double chansons on the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* (nos. 123 and 131), the anonymous no. 73 *Content de peu* and no. 250 *Plusieurs regredz* by Josquin Desprez; however, they all belong in this chapter. On the other hand, no. 35, Janequin's *Assouvy suis* belongs in the chapter on the Parisian chansons.

<sup>5</sup> It has not been possible to find concordances for the following numbers, which could clarify the question of the classification of the texts: nos. 73, 86, 101, 224, 244, 252, 259 and 268.

the world and courtly love, while the rondeau and virelai took second place as forms that were lighter in nature. In the fifteenth century the rondeau became the standard form. It was cultivated with equal zeal by amateurs and professionals alike; anyone could learn to write a rondeau with the aid of the many contemporary manuals of versification, and exchanging poems was part of the social life of the highest circles.<sup>6</sup> And of course the taste of the day was reflected in the poems the musicians chose to set. The ballade gradually disappeared as the textual basis of courtly chansons, while the virelai was still used in a small part of the repertory.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile the preferred forms changed in character. While the refrain of the rondeau often consisted in the fourteenth century of three or two lines, it was now the longer types with refrains of four or five lines (*rondeau quatrain* and *rondeau cinquain*) that held sway.<sup>8</sup> The virelai by and large had dimensions like those of the rondeau. On the other hand, both forms now only had a single stanza. The ballade retained the form that had become customary in the fourteenth century—three full stanzas concluding with an address to the receiver of the poem, the *envoi*, which preferably began with the word “Prince ...”, and had the same form as the last part of the stanzas (... aab(R) b(R)). In the popular repertory the situation was just the opposite; here the virelai and ballade in particular lived on in many variants, and the virelai as a rule had fewer lines in the stanza, but often consisted of many stanzas. To distinguish courtly settings of virelais from popular songs with the same form, most musicologists use the term *bergerette* of the one-stanza, courtly version of the virelai.<sup>9</sup>

The overview further tells us that a relatively large percentage of the courtly chansons in the manuscript are also found in other sources. These sources can help us with the chronological placing of the repertory. We must now look at the way the various chansons appear through time in the preserved source material. Bedyngnam's *Mon seul plaisir* (no. 261) we have already placed in the period around 1450, so we do not need to include it. Table 3 is based on selected manuscripts which include concordances to Cop 1848 and can be dated with reasonable certainty;<sup>10</sup> from each only chansons that have not appeared earlier in the list are included.

**Table 3**  
**Courtly chansons in Cop 1848: Concordances**  
(in approximate chronological order)

*Paris 57* ('Chansonniere Nivelles de la Chaussée'—end of 1460s):<sup>11</sup>

No. 88 *D'ung aultre aymer mon cuer se besseroit* 3v [J. Ockeghem]

No. 89 *Tant est mignonne ma pensée* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 227 [*Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure*] 3v [J. Ockeghem]

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for example the description of life at the court of Charles d'Orléans at Blois in Enid McLeod, *Charles of Orleans Prince and Poet* (McLeodC) p. 299ff.

<sup>7</sup> As regards changes in the preferred textual forms, see the counts in Nigel Wilkins' entry 'Virelai' in NGrove; on developments from the mid-fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (PickerC) pp. 58-59.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also JeppesenK p. XXXVIII, where the development is illustrated by examples.

<sup>9</sup> The Burgundian court poet Jean Molinet, in his *L'Art de Rhétorique*, gives as an example of *Doubles virelais* a poem "Amours me tient pour son soudart" in the form ABBA CDcd abba ABBA. This poem is repeated in the anonymous treatise *L'Art et Science de Rhétorique* [c. 1525] with the remark "... et se nomment communement bergerettes". Cf. M. E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique* (LangloisR) pp. 232 and 292. On another use of the term *bergerette*, see RahnF pp. 147-149.

<sup>10</sup> On the dating of the manuscripts cited, see, if there is no other reference, the discussions and references in AtlasC I Ch. VI, BrownL I Ch. XVI, PerkinsM II p. 149ff or the articles in C. Hamm and H. Kellman (eds.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (CMS).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Paula Higgins' introduction to the facsimile edition, Geneva 1984 (HigginsN). Cop 1848 no. 29, Fresnau's *Ha! qu'il m'ennuye*, is also in this source, but as a later addition, which should probably be dated in the 1480s.

København 291 (1470s):

No. 84 *Le souvenir de vous me tue* 3v [R. Morton]

Berlin 40098 ('Glogauer Liederbuch'), Firenze 176, Firenze 2356, and Sevilla 5-I-43/Paris 4379 (all c. 1480):

No. 30 *Je ne me plus voir a mon aise* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 51 *Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escrips* 3v [Mureau/Busnois]

No. 65/198/279 *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

No. 86 *Vostre amour est seure que rage* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 87 *Deul en amours puyt assez nuyre* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 132 *De vous servir m'est prins envye* 3v [Fresnau/Hayne]

No. 152 *C'est mal c[h]ercher vostre avantage* 3v [A. Agricola]

No. 243 *Alés regrez, [vuidés de ma presence]* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

Bologna Q16 and Roma Cas 2856 (middle of 1480s):

No. 9 *Plus[t] or a dieu que n'aymasse jamais* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 46 *Le renvoy d'ung cueur esguaré* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 56 *Au travail suis sans espoir de confort* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 72 *Mais que se feut secretement* 3v [P. Bonnel/Compère]

No. 80/266 *Dictes moy toutes vous pensées* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 101 *Plus n'en auray* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

No. 222 *La saison en est ou jamais* 3v Alexandre [L. Compère]

No. 223+236 *Il n'est vivant* 3v Alexandre [Agricola]

No. 263 *Tant mal me vient* 3v [L. Compère]

Firenze 2794 and Washington L25 ('Chansonniere Laborde'<sup>12</sup>—c. 1490):

No. 25 *Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 49 *Les grans regretz* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

No. 192 *Vostre cueur c'est bien toust resioy [Vostre oeil c'est bien toust repenty]* 3v [J. Prioris]

No. 200/262 *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* 3v [J. Fresnau]

No. 204/273 *Soit loing ou pres* 3v [A. Agricola]

Firenze 178, Firenze 229 and Roma C.G.XIII.27 (beginning of 1490s):

No. 29 *Ha! qu'il m'ennuye* 3v [J. Fresnau]

No. 81 *La doy je aymer a vostre advis* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 90 *Si vous voulés que je vous face* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 147 *Une sans plus a mon desir* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 151 *Moyns ay repoz plus acroist mon affaire* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 191/278 *En attendant de vous secors* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 205/247 *Qu'en dites vous? [Een vraulich wesen]* Maistre Jaques d'Anvers (J. Barbireau)

No. 224/244 *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v [A. Agricola]

No. 235/254 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v Alexandre (Agricola)

No. 252 *Ung plus que tous a mon reffort* 3v [Anonymous]

No. 276 *Or mauldist soyt il qui en ment* [Qui tollis] 3v Ysaac

No. 277 *Quel remede de monstrier beau semblant* 3v [Anonymous]

Bologna Q17 and Paris 2245 (middle and end of 1490s):

No. 55 *Va-t'en regret celui qui me convoye* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 62 *Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 66 *Venés regretz, venés il en est heure* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 74 *Se j'ay parlé aulcunement* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 255 *Or suis je bien transy d'esmay [Vous me faites mourir d'envie]* 3v [L. Compère]

No. 256 *Fors seulement [contre ce que ay promis / Fors seullement l'attente que je meure]* 3v [J. Ockeghem]

<sup>12</sup> Washington L25 only ff. 101<sup>v</sup>-149.

Firenze 2439 (c. 1508):

No. 21 *Baisez moy donc fort, ma maistresse* 3v [J. Ockeghem]

No. 245 *Je suis Margot [S'il vous plaist bien]* 3v [A. Agricola]

No. 267 *[Le cueur la suy]* 3v Verbonet (J. Ghiselin)

Cambridge 1760 (repertory of before c. 1510):

No. 54 *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* 3v [A. de Févin]

Chansons a troys (Antico 1520/6):

No. 73 *Content de peu en voiant tant de bien* 3v [Anonymous]

The datings in the list suggest the very latest dates when these songs can have entered into circulation: several of them, it will emerge, are rather older than the sources in which they occur. In the oldest part of the repertory—that is, until the mid-1470s (the first three groups)—we find, besides Bedynghe's *Mon seul plaisir*, songs by Robert Morton and Hayne van Ghizeghem, both of whom were employed by the Burgundian court chapel at this time, and by two composers of the French royal chapel, Jehan Fresnau and the *maître de chapelle* Jean Ockeghem. The repertory of the next few decades has a great many chansons by Loyset Compère and Alexander Agricola, who were also associated with the French *chapelle royale*. After being employed for a few years as a singer in Milan, most of Compère's career was spent in the service of the court before he retired to Saint-Quentin at some point after 1504.<sup>13</sup> Agricola was a member of the court chapel for some years in the 1490s, but it difficult to document his activities in France in any detail. That his music was particularly well known in France is evident from the ample representation we see here.<sup>14</sup> On the whole, it is striking to see how many composers associated with the French court one encounters among the courtly chansons of the manuscript. Besides those already mentioned, Pietrequin Bonnel, Jean Prioris, Ghiselin-Verbonnet and Antoine de Févin all belong to this group. Only Jacques Barbireau and Heinrich Isaac appear never to have had any connection with the French court. The few unique songs which have been furnished with composers' names do not change this; here we can add a textless chanson by Ghiselin-Verbonnet and a rondeau by the unknown Mirus.<sup>15</sup> In reviewing Rfasc. 5 in Chapter 4.1 we noted that the carefully compiled repertory reflected the musical life of the capital. It is not surprising that the same is true of the courtly chansons that can be matched with known composers, and probably also of many of the anonymous songs.

Among the courtly chansons there are several which enjoyed very wide popularity in the period around 1500. If the number of concordances to the repertory of Cop 1848 is anything to go by, Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés Regrez* (no. 243) leads the field in this respect; it is found in no less than 27 other sources. Mureau's *Je ne fais plus* (no. 51) - also attributed to Antoine Busnois - and Barbireau's *Qu'en dites vous?*, probably originally composed for the Flemish rondeau *Een vraulich wesen* (no. 205/247), are however close in terms of popularity: they are each found in 20 sources. Next, with between 9 and 19 concordances, come Agricola's *C'est mal chercher* (no. 152), Hayne's *Les grans regretz* (no. 49), Compère's *Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* (no. 62), Morton's *Le souvenir de vous* (no. 84), Bedynghe's *Mon seul plaisir* (no. 261), the thrice-entered *Mon souvenir* (nos. 65/198/279) by Hayne van Ghizeghem, Ockeghem's *D'ung aultre aymer* (no. 88) and his *Ma bouche rit* (no. 227), as well as Antoine de Févin's *Fors seullement* (no. 54).<sup>16</sup> At the other end of the scale stand the chansons found only in a single or perhaps two other sources. Among those with only one concordance are three chansons by

<sup>13</sup> Cf. FinscherC p. 17ff.

<sup>14</sup> On Agricola's service with Charles VIII, cf. AtlasA and RifkinB; Cop 1848 is the only source which give the name of the composer for two of Agricola's songs, nos. 224/244 and nos. 235/254; cf. Chapter 1.8.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. no. 268 and no. 275 as well as Chapter 1.8.

<sup>16</sup> The figures include intabulations. See also the individual numbers in the *Catalogue*, Vol. II.

Compère (nos. 9, 255 and 263<sup>17</sup>), two by Agricola (nos. 224/244 and 235/254), one by Ockeghem (no. 21), one by Hayne van Ghizeghem (no. 101) and one by Ghiselin-Verbonnet (no. 267), as well as five anonymous chansons (nos. 25, 90, 147, 151 and 252). That they appear in so few sources easily leads to the assumption that their circulation was limited, and that there must have been a special relationship between the sources concerned. If, for example, it was a matter of two manuscripts that were close in time, this perspective would be of great importance; but the manuscripts in question are between two and four decades earlier than Cop 1848,<sup>18</sup> and no special relationships can be demonstrated between them and Cop 1848;<sup>19</sup> not even between Cop 1848 and Firenze 229, which has so many concordances with Cop 1848.<sup>20</sup> The great chronological and geographical differences between Cop 1848 and the various single concordances suggests rather that the songs were more widespread than the source material shows, and that they remained in the repertory for a long time—at least in the French provinces.

## 7.1 Rondeaux

Let us now look more closely at the well-known rondeaux. As an outstanding example of the genre we can choose Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés Regrez* (no. 243—cf. *Example 1*), which was widely known and often copied in the period around 1500. In the chronological list it appears in the sources of around 1480, so it is among the older items in Cop 1848's repertory of courtly chansons.

### Hayne's *Allés Regrez*

The text is a typical example of the fifteenth-century *rondeau cinquain*. It consists of decasyllabic lines rhyming *aabba*, and each line has a caesura after the first four syllables. The poem is

<sup>17</sup> Besides being in *Roma Cas* 2856, No. 263 is also in the late print *Formschneider* 1538/9.

<sup>18</sup> *Roma Cas* 2856 (nos. 9, 101 and 263) was written at Ferrara in the beginning of the 1480s; cf. LockwoodC.

*Firenze* 2794 (no. 25) was written in France in the late 1480s; cf. RifkinS p. 318ff and RifkinB.

*Firenze* 229 (nos. 90, 151, 224/244, 235/254 and 252) was written in Florence in 1491-93; cf. BrownL.

*Roma C.G.XIII.27* (no. 147) was copied in Florence in 1493-94; cf. AtlasC.

*Paris* 2245 (no. 255) was written by Jean de Crespières in the 1490s for Louis d'Orléans (Louis XII).

*Firenze* 2439 (nos. 21 and 267) comes from the Netherlands, and was written around 1508; cf. H. Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France' (KellmanJ) p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> For example, there are no important musical divergences between Cop 1848 and *Roma Cas* 2856 in no. 9, Compère's *Plust or a dieu*, but Cop 1848 has the complete rondeau text, while the older source only has the *incipit*. There are considerable divergences, though, in the two chansons where the sources are equally sparing with text: no. 101 *Plus n'en auray* by Hayne van Ghizeghem and Compère's *Tant mal me vient* (no. 263)—in both cases the contratenors exhibit most variations. And all three chansons are anonymous in Cop 1848, while *Roma Cas* 2856 has the composer attributions. Much the same is true of the other single concordances: for example, for two chansons Cop 1848 gives a different text from the other source. Thus no. 255 only has the *incipit* "Or suis je bien transy d'esmay", while *Paris* 2245 has a complete rondeau "Vous me faites mourir d'envie" and attributions to the composer and lyricist; and for no. 147 Cop 1848 gives a refrain "Une sans plus a mon desir", where *Roma C.G.XIII.27* only has an *incipit* "D'argent ye suis legier".

<sup>20</sup> Howard Mayer Brown has come to the same conclusion; cf. BrownL I p. 144 note 4. In the five pieces where they are the only sources, there are few musical differences—mainly in no. 90—but Cop 1848 in general has more text than *Firenze* 229.



almost a textbook example of regularity, and contains many of the genre's "code words" (or clichés), such as "regrez", "presence/acointance", "tourmenter", "cueur", "deuil", "serviteur":<sup>21</sup>

Allés, Regrez, vuidez de ma presence;	A	(1)
allés ailleurs querir vostre acointance;		
assés avés tourmenté mon las cueur,	B	(2)
rempli de deuil pour estre serviteur		
d'une sans per que j'ay aymée d'enfance.		
Fait lui avés longuement ceste offence.	a	(3)
Ou est celluy qui onc fut né en France,		
qui endurast tel mortel deshonneur?		
Allés, Regrez, ...	A	(4)
N'y tournés plus, car, par ma conscience,	a	(5)
se plus vous voy prochain de ma plaisance,		
devant chascun vous feray tel honneur		
que l'on dira que la main d'ung seigneur	b	(6)
vous a bien mis a la malle meschance.		
Allés, Regrez, ...	AB	(7-8)

Thematically, too, the poem stays within the conventional framework of courtly poetry. The first line alone sums up all the *merencolie* that was the standard fare in the love poetry of the age:

Away, Love-longing, quit my presence; go seek elsewhere your company;  
enough you have tormented my poor heart, weighed down with sorrow  
in the service of the peerless one whom I have loved since childhood.

Long have you thus offended my poor heart. Where is the man born in  
all of France who would endure such mortal dishonour?

Away, Love-longing, quit my presence; go seek elsewhere your company;  
enough you have tormented my poor heart.

Do not return again, for by my soul, if I should see you threaten my content,  
I will serve you so in the sight of all that they will say the hand of a great lord  
has left you in a truly sorry plight.

Away, Love-longing, quit my presence ...

The poem can be difficult to understand today, for it requires familiarity with the concepts of honour of the age. In the world of courtly love—a code of ideals and conventions originating in the Provençal literature of the twelfth century, and usually designated by the term *amour courtois*—it is normally considered an honour to be able to love a lady from a distance, to serve her as a kind of vassal, although there are no prospects whatsoever of having one's love requited. Here, however, the poet is of such high birth (a 'seigneur'), that servitude to a person who is completely uninterested must be considered a dishonour. The end of the poem elevates it above the threat of banality typical of the efforts of so many amateur poets; here we can feel an irony bordering on desperation that is not pure convention. The author was in fact an amateur. In the French court manuscript of the 1490s, *Paris BN, fonds français 2245*, it

<sup>21</sup> The poem is given with indications of the music's pattern of repetition and the singers' cue numbers for the text in the modern edition in Ex. 1. Since Cop 1848 only gives the first two words, the poem is reproduced here after *Firenze 2794* (where line 1 ends "... vuidez de ma plaisance"—corrected after *Paris 1597*, *Paris 2245* etc.—cf. the information in Vol. II no. 243); I thank Svend Hendrup of the Department of Romance Studies at the University of Copenhagen for help with the French texts and their translation.



**Example 1** No. 243 Hayne van Ghizeghem: *Allés, Regrez* (text by Jean II de Bourbon)<sup>22</sup>

The musical score is written for three voices: Superius (treble clef), Tenor (treble clef), and Contratenor (bass clef). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/2. The score is divided into three systems, with bar numbers 5, 10, and 15 indicated at the beginning of each system. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the corresponding vocal line.

**System 1 (Bars 1-5):**

- Superius:** 1.4.7. Al - lés, Re - grez, vui -  
3. Fait lui a - vés lon -  
5. N'y tour - nés plus, car,
- Tenor:** 1.4.7. Al - lés, Re - grez, vui -  
3. Fait lui a - vés lon -  
5. N'y tour - nés plus, car, gue - ment par
- Contratenor:** 1.4.7. Al - lés, Re - grez, vui -  
3. Fait lui a - vés lon -  
5. N'y tour - nés plus, car, gue - ment par

**System 2 (Bars 6-10):**

- Superius:** dez - de ma pre - sen - ce; al -  
gue - ment ces - te\_of fen - ce. Ou -  
par ma con - sci - en - ce, se
- Tenor:** de - ma pre - sen - ce;  
ces - ma con - sci - en - ce;  
ma con - sci - en - ce,
- Contratenor:** de - ma pre - sen - ce;  
ces - ma con - sci - en - ce;  
ma con - sci - en - ce,

**System 3 (Bars 11-15):**

- Superius:** lés ail - leurs que - rir vos - tre\_a - coin - tan -  
est cel - luy qui pro - onc nē en Fran -  
plus vous voy pro - chain fut de ma plai - san -
- Tenor:** al - lés ail - leurs que - rir vos - tre\_a - coin - tan -  
Ou est cel - luy qui pro - onc nē en Fran -  
se plus vous voy pro - chain fut de ma plai - san -
- Contratenor:** al - lés ail - leurs que - rir vos - tre\_a - coin - tan -  
Ou est cel - luy qui pro - onc nē en Fran -  
se plus vous voy pro - chain fut de ma plai - san -

<sup>22</sup> After Cop 1848. The music has been changed in the following places: the superius, bar 11, is two  $\diamond$  in the MS; the tenor, bar 15, is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 16.1-3 is  $\diamond \downarrow$ ; bars 35-36 are a  $\equiv$  and bars 45.3-44 are  $\diamond$ ; the contratenor, bar 35, is a  $\equiv$ . Cop 1848 has only a text incipit in the superius; concerning the text, see note 21 above.

20 25

ce; as - sés a - vés tour  
ce; qui en - du rast tel  
ce; de - vant chas - cun cun vous

ce; as - sés a - vés tour  
ce; qui en - du - rast tel  
ce; de - vant chas - cun cun vous

ce; as - sés a - vés tour  
ce; qui en - du - rast tel  
ce; de - vant chas - cun cun vous

30

men - té mon las cueur,  
mor - tel des hon - neur?  
fe - ray tel hon - neur

men - té mon las cueur,  
mor - tel des hon - neur?  
fe - ray tel hon - neur

men - té mon las cueur,  
mor - tel des hon - neur?  
fe - ray tel hon - neur

35

2.8. rem - pli de deuil pour es - tre ser - vi -  
6. que l'on di - ra que la main d'ung sei -

2.8. rem - pli de deuil pour es - tre ser - vi -  
6. que l'on di - ra que la main d'ung sei -

2.8. rem - pli de deuil pour es - tre ser - vi -  
6. que l'on di - ra que la main d'ung sei -

40 45

teur d'u ne sans per que  
gneur vous a bien mis a

teur d'u ne sans per que  
gneur vous a bien mis a

teur d'u ne sans per  
gneur vous a bien mis

50

*j'ay ay - - - mée d'en - fan - - - ce.*  
*la mal - - - le mes - chan - - - ce.*

*j'ay ay - - - mée d'en - fan - - - ce.*  
*la mal - - - le mes - chan - - - ce.*

*que j'ay ay - - - mée d'en - fan - - - ce.*  
*a la mal - - - le mes - chan - - - ce.*

is clearly stated that the poem was written by Jean II, Duke of Bourbon, who besides his military and administrative talents had all the cultural background of the courtier. He was a close friend of the far older Duke and poet Charles d'Orléans, and was a frequent visitor at the palace at Blois, with its cultivation of board games and books, and its friendly contests in the art of poetry.<sup>22</sup>

Hayne's setting follows the poem line by line, clearly articulated with cadences and a fermata at the point of rest in the middle of the composition, where the rondeau form requires the possibility of a smooth return to the beginning of the song. Despite the division of the piece into two halves, it emerges as a unified whole; this can be experienced in the refrain alone (AB), but the architecture of the song only really comes into its own when the whole form is allowed to unfold (ABaAabAB). The unity and finish characteristic of the best rondeau settings is achieved through a perfect balance of the sections—a balance equally evident when the repeated A-sections (aA) are contrasted with the AB formation, and internally in the refrain section—and a balance among the individual phrases and the voices. Moreover, the whole musical structure is closely linked, not only to the form of the text, but also to its mood and content—not by word-painting or by fitting the music to the action (there is hardly ever any action in the rondeau, which is purely lyrical and descriptive of a mood), but with a tightly controlled matching of the arches of tension in the poem and in the music.

The mode of the piece is f-Ionian—or, perhaps more correctly in the terminology of the period, Lydian with a key signature of one flat. The superius and contratenor move within the authentic scale (extended) an octave apart, both with the compass of a twelfth (*f-c''* and *F-c''*); together they create the song's overall pitch span of two octaves and a fifth (*F-c''*). The tenor keeps to the extended plagal scale from *c* to *f'*. The characteristic fifth and fourth formations of the f-Ionian scale affect much of the melodic material of the composition. One need only look at the shape the tenor gives to the first line of text, bars 1-11—an elaboration of the fifth *c'-f*—or the final phrases of the superius and tenor, bars 50.3-54, which establish this fifth as explicitly as one could wish. The firm rooting in the system of tones with a *b♭* (the *b*-system) makes deviations stand out with all the more intensity and expressiveness.

The melodic material is organized in balanced arches, mostly formed so the voices will complement one another, and the movement of the parts is mainly stepwise, particularly in the superius and tenor—with some important exceptions to which we will return. The mainstay of the composition is the two-part structure formed by the superius and tenor. There are no intervals of fourths between the parts, so they can function excellently without the contratenor.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. McLeodC p. 303f.

Nor are there any fourths between the contratenor and any of the upper voices. The composition is written in the so-called 'non-quartal-style', which had something of the status of a stylistic ideal from about 1460 and a generation on.<sup>24</sup> The driving force in the upper voices' structural duet is the tension between imperfect and perfect intervals in counterpoint, here taking the form of chains of thirds and sixths resolving into unisons or octaves. Or the composer may choose to avoid such resolution of the tension, which is one of the basic devices of the style. We can see this in the upper voices' treatment of the first line of the poem. It starts with a unison *c'*, and the parts move away from each other through a third and a sixth to the octave *g-g'*. As this is where the caesura occurs in the verse line, after four syllables, the perfect resolution of the octave cannot be used. So the tenor goes straight to the sixth below the superius, which drives the introductory half phrase on to a tenth (in bar 4) which is again resolved in an octave on *g*; but the note *g'* in the superius is delayed by a rest until it has again become a sixth against the continuation of the tenor. With this twice-prevented resolution of the tension of the sixth and tenth to the neutral octave, the composer very effectively marks the caesura of the text without stopping the flow. The structural voices only come to a stop at the end of the first line of verse—with a quite traditional 7-6-8-cadence on *f*.

The superius and tenor were clearly conceived together, and are equally balanced in melodic power, with perhaps a slight tilt towards the tenor.<sup>25</sup> There is no imitation between the voices. Instead, they are formed so they partly support one another and are partly played off against one another in free polyphony. This is done, for example, with successive entries of the voices and the resultant asynchronous placing of the melodic peaks, or by differing degrees of rhythmic activity in the parts—in short, all the technical devices that can be summed up by the term *varietas*, the dominant compositional principle of the period. Look for example at the setting of the second line of text, from bar 12. After the first phrase, where the parts moved almost consistently stepwise, the tenor breaks out with an impressive melody, leaping up a fifth, then to the sixth, then gradually dropping back to the starting point (a resounding statement of the *hexachordum molle*). This development is both anticipated and answered by the superius, which starts with declamatory note repetitions, answers the fifth-leap of the tenor with a leap of a fourth, and descends again faster until the voices move together towards a cadence on *a*. In the next line the roles change: here the superius begins by singing a calm arched phrase, while the tenor intensely declaims "*assés avés*", and uses the same figure as the superius used in bar 15 (two *minimae* and four *semiminimae*) to reach the bottom note of the phrase before the octave leap up to "*tourmenté*". At the beginning of the song we saw how the parts worked closely together, and the second section is rich in similar instances. Let us return for a moment to bars 13-15. We saw there that the leap of the tenor to *c'* was answered by the superius' leap *g'-c'*"; this produces the two-part progression from fifth to octave in bar 14. This relaxed intervallic progression marks the caesura in the upper voice, which the composer otherwise neglects rhythmically. It is to some extent negated by the contratenor, which places the sixth and third respectively below the repeated *c'* of the tenor. When the tenor reaches the same textual caesura, the structure is reversed so the contratenor now has the fifth-octave progression, while the superius takes care of the imperfect intervals. This is indicative of the role of the contratenor in the composition, and at the same time shows that the contratenor is

<sup>24</sup> Cf. C. W. Fox, 'Non-quartal Harmony in the Renaissance' (FoxN).

<sup>25</sup> The relation of the voices is reflected in Compère's inversion of the chanson in *Venés regretz, venés il en est heure* (Cop 1848 no. 66), where both superius and tenor are quoted; the tenor is however the part which provides most of the material in the remainder of Compère's piece. The situation is the same with most of the other reworkings of Hayne's chanson; the tenor is borrowed as a structural voice, while other voices often quote Hayne's superius. Cf. GhizeghemO p. XXXV 'Related compositions' nos. 1 and 3-7.

not entirely a last-composed or later-composed part. In many respects Hayne must already have planned the role of the contratenor when working out the structural duet of the upper voices. At several points it takes an active role—for example just before the end, bars 49-50, where it takes over the role of the tenor, or at the mid-cadence, where it forms a 9-10-8 cadence with the tenor. Otherwise the role of the contratenor is to complement the harmony, to bind the lines together—in this song a very important function—and in general to provide interplay on an equal footing with the other parts. The ‘non-quartal’ texture means that it forms a satisfactory two-part structure in combination with one of the other voices, and only the exceptional melodic force of the upper voices make it seem less melodically conceived. In comparison with many less successful contemporary chansons, it is more like a tenor voice in outline—see for example its movement in the second section of the composition.

Now we can give more consideration to the relationship between music and text. In Cop 1848 the song has no text beyond the first two words. In older French sources the superius is furnished with a text, while the tenor and contratenor have incipits, and *Paris* 2245 indicates that all three voices must be furnished with text.<sup>26</sup> It is now becoming the prevalent view among musicologists that the music of the fifteenth century was primarily conceived with purely vocal performance in mind.<sup>27</sup> And in songs like *Allés, Regrez*, where there is hardly any differentiation among the voices, it is particularly easy to underlay even the lower voices with text.<sup>28</sup> Despite oft-repeated claims about the abstract relationship of music and text in the courtly chanson,<sup>29</sup> in the lyrical chansons it is normally not difficult to match the text to the three parts. The phrases usually start with a clearly stated motif where there is little doubt about the placing of the text; similarly, particularly important words in the poems can as a rule only be combined with the music in one way. By contrast, the treatment of the text is free in the long melismas before cadences, or in passages where purely musical considerations are paramount. This relationship between text and music, which may in the same song be both intimately linked and completely abstract, is alien to the thinking of our own day, and this is why the abstract aspect of the relationship has often been overstressed. Furthermore, almost all modern editions of fifteenth-century music have text in only one part, so the purely visual impression may also have had an influence on the assessment—hardly anyone has *heard* this music. Only when all three parts are sung with their text does the link between text and music come into its own.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the illustrations in L. Litterick, ‘Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music of the late 15th century’ (LitterickP) pp. 475-76; the author draws the conclusion that the change in the habits of the scribes as regards text underlay reflects a change of musical performance practice, inasmuch as originally only the superius, later the two upper voices, and towards the end of the 1400s all the parts were performed vocally. This is probably too categorical an interpretation of the source material (cf. the following note).

<sup>27</sup> See for example Christopher Page’s articles ‘Machaut’s ‘pupil’ Deschamps on the performance of music’ (PageD) and ‘The performance of songs in late-medieval France: a new source’ (PageP); D. Fallows, ‘Specific information on the ensembles for composed polyphony 1400-1474’ (FallowsI) p. 131ff; and C. Wright, ‘Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France, A Conspectus’ (WrightV).

<sup>28</sup> Texting the untexted version in Cop 1848 requires, for example, very few changes in the voices, such as the splitting of long note values; cf. note 22 above.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for example JeppesenK p. XXII: “... wie überhaupt die recht lässige Textlegung dieser Litteratur am deutlichsten von einem wenig feinfühligem Verhältnis zum Wort zeugt”. Or H. M. Brown in ‘The genesis of a style, The Parisian chanson 1500-1530’ (BrownG) p. 8: “... An Ockeghem chanson is ‘abstract’, an autonomous musical complex supplied with text. The words are hung on an independent frame. They do not fit the melodic line in one inevitable way”.

<sup>30</sup> A splendid overview of the problems of text underlaying, of almost all the contemporary sources, and thoughtful suggestions for solving the problems, can be found in BrownL I, Ch. XV ‘Text Underlay’. The author perhaps underestimates the advantages of considering all the voices in a composition together in underlaying

As we have seen, the five lines of the refrain are set as five musical phrases in two sections, with three and two lines respectively. Only at the end of the composition does a verse line end on a perfect cadence: that is, the movement comes to a complete rest in the harmony of a perfect interval—here the octaves *F-f-f'*—which is not disturbed by melodic or rhythmic activity before it has been allowed to die away. The mid-cadence is imperfect; above the tenor and contratenor's cadence on *c* the superius ends the phrase on *e'*, which regardless of the fermata and pause for breath requires a continuation of the musical development. A complete performance of the rondeau thus takes the symmetrical form AB aAab AB, where the middle section is cemented together by the imperfect cadence of the A-section. In the internal cadences the flow is carried forward by the contratenor, which creates imperfection by taking the third below the cadence notes of the principal voices (bars 11, 19 and 40/43) and immediately carries on with a transitional figure (bars 11 and 19).

The tenor's establishment in the first phrase of f-Ionian, a mode where one expects a harmony characterized by major thirds and sixths, is darkly coloured, in accordance with the melancholy mood of the text, by the contratenor's insistence on the g-Dorian scale until the first cadence. The effect of this is that the song opens with a harmonic ambience where minor thirds are prevalent. The caesura after "Allés, Regrez" is very emotively articulated. After the sidestepped perfect octave on *g* in bar 3, the voices are forced on to the d-triad—actually an F-chord transformed by the contratenor—and the second half of the line "vuidez de ma presence" is begun almost violently by the tenor and contratenor on the flattened sixth degree of g-Dorian. The Phrygian effect in bars 5-6 builds up a tension which maintains its effect all the way to the end of the phrase. Only in the imperfect cadence on *f* in bar 11 does the contratenor unambiguously state the f-hexachord; but in the second line of the poem, where the upper voices very actively articulate "allés ailleurs querir vostre acointance", it is the contratenor's insistence on the d-Dorian fifth *d-a* that colours the harmony; and the line indeed ends by cadencing on *a*.<sup>31</sup> The superius ends here at its lowest range in unison with the tenor; this creates space for the entry of the tenor with "assés avés tourmenté", which is intensely declaimed with the effective octave leap to "tourmenté"; the subsequent melisma in the tenor includes another leap, *g-d'*, which is answered by the superius with the leap *d'-a'*, before all the parts cadence on *f*. During the phrase the contratenor's colouring of the harmony changes from Dorian to f-Ionian with a series of fourths, *A-d-g-c'*, moving in the opposite direction from the tenor, and the voice lands, after a towering arch across its whole compass, on the low *F*. Here, at bar 29, the cadence could have been perfect if the superius had not immediately continued into the 'tail' with the words "mon las cueur". In this third line, where the first section of the song ends, the musical flight is retarded, as there are two elaborated cadences. The 'tail' is given a falling, almost languishing character by the successive, syncopated entries, an effect not used previously in the piece, and by the repeated cadence on *c* in the lower voices (2-3-1 and 9-10-8, first in the tenor, then in the contratenor), where the superius settles on the third above the tenor the last time round.

text. Thorough work on the placing of the text is an important part of the musical analysis, and in pieces where the contratenor and perhaps also the tenor must be vocalized without text, or where many text repetitions must be used, an explicit indication of these factors in the appearance of the music says as much about the nature of the composition as many words.

<sup>31</sup> In terms of cadential degrees, too, this chanson is quite regular: the five main cadences fall on the degrees I – III – (I)V – (VI)I – (V)I, a procedure which accords with contemporary usage in the *Ionian* (and most other modes); cf. DahlhausT p. 199. The predictability of the simple scheme is avoided by the sophisticated treatment of the harmony.



The second section opens with a masterly touch from Hayne which shows how effectively he wrote for voices. After the first section ends with the parts in open order, they now close ranks in an f-chord with the tenor at the top. The abrupt change in sonority caused by the interchange of parts gives the words “rempli de deuil” (weighed down with sorrow) a grief-stricken, gloomy mood. The line is constructed as a parallel to the opening line with an emphasis on the caesura, yet without any cadence to be avoided, and with the same rhythmic figure in the superius. Now comes the emotional climax of the song. In the first half the intensity built up slowly, with the first two verse lines ending in regular cadences, reaching a peak just before the end. Here the intensity rises steeply at “pour estre serviteur”, which is linked by a tight network of cadences to the last line “d’une sans per que j’ay aymée”. The dark, rather floating character of the first bars (34-37.2) yields to the tenor’s powerful approach to the cadence on *d* (bar 40), which immediately runs on into a ‘tail’ where the Dorian fifth is heard yet again, inexorably called forth by the Phrygian effect in the contratenor (bars 40-41), which rendered the d-cadence imperfect. In bars 42-43 the voices abruptly go into an imperfect f-cadence where the superius, which had followed the tenor down to its absolutely lowest note, must leap up an octave. This leap prepares the tenor’s octave leap. On the top note of the tenor begin the most important words of the refrain, “d’une sans per”, in parallel thirds in the upper voices and with syncopation, while the contratenor plunges to the low *F*. Again there is a striking shift in sonority, which shows how closely Hayne kept to the emotive meaning of the text when composing; at the same time the passage makes the greatest demands on the singers. These four important syllables are marked off by an imperfect cadence on *c*, followed by ‘run-off’ figures (bars 45.3-46.2) resembling those at the caesurae in bars 3-4 and bars 36-37. The remainder of the line, “que j’ay aymée d’enfance” is set as a parallel to the mid-cadence, but with the cadences in reverse order. The contratenor leads actively to a c-cadence in bar 50, where the superius takes the third above, before all the voices confirm the f-Ionian mode.

The second section is shorter than the first. But its greater dramatic tension and emotional intensity more than balance the longer first section. This is a contrast found in innumerable rondeaux, and it is necessary if the composition is to be successful. For the B-section concludes all three sections in the symmetrical form of the rondeau. Thus it must be able to create a climax, even when it comes after the three A-sections in the middle, so there is no point having too much activity in the A-section. This is why the first section of some rondeau settings can seem a little phlegmatic or abstract; in the fully developed form this can prove a strength.

In this review we have only discussed the setting of the refrain. However, the poet has placed the climactic points of the lyric at the corresponding places in all sections of the rondeau, so the link between text and music is felt as strongly in the succeeding sections. Perhaps the very regularity of the poem is an important precondition of the success of Hayne’s setting. A more original poem could probably not have been accommodated to the requirements of the music (a banal observation which applies to a very large part of the history of vocal music). In itself the poem is not notable; but the Hayne chanson of which it is an element is a first-class masterpiece—a view which the contemporary sources apparently shared.

In terms of quality Hayne’s *Allés, Regrez* is not typical of the repertory. Its regularity does however make it a suitable example and touchstone. In the following section we will look briefly at contemporary and older rondeaux in Cop 1848 which are found in other sources.

## The older datable rondeaux

We can begin by looking at the rondeaux which, according to the list in *Table 3*, are older than or contemporary with *Allés, Regrez*. The oldest, no. 261 by Bedyngham, is of the same type as Hayne's song, a lyrical love song of the type written around 1450. Charles d'Orléans' light, yearning poem "Mon seul plaisir, ma douce joye" is set for three high voices. The structural duet of superius and tenor is here a more important factor in the texture of the composition than it was in Hayne's. The parts are in closer order, with a total range from *g* to *e''*. The superius is the most sharply profiled part, with the tenor acting more as the foundation of the piece; and the contratenor, at the same pitch as the tenor, is a purely supplementary part—without the important function of transforming and reinterpreting the superius-tenor duet that we saw in Hayne's chanson (cf. *Example 2*). In this chanson, too, we meet a relationship between music and text that is at once intimate and abstract. Each line of verse begins in declamatory fashion, but can, as in the first line, end in long, beautifully turned melismas. We can find a good example of closeness to the text further on in the piece, in the third line after the mid-cadence, where "J'ay tel desir de vous veoir" provides the cue for a burst of light with triadic figures on *c* in all three voices.<sup>32</sup>

### Example 2 No. 261 Bedyngham: *Mon seul plaisir*, bars 1-8<sup>33</sup>

The musical score for Example 2 shows three staves. The top staff is for the Superius (S) voice, the middle for the Tenor (T), and the bottom for the Contratenor (C). All three parts are in 3/2 time. The lyrics are written below each staff. The Superius part features a melisma on the word 'joy' starting at bar 5, indicated by a '5' above the staff. The Tenor and Contratenor parts provide a harmonic foundation, with the Contratenor part being more supplementary.

This style was developed in the next few decades, and among the older chansons we find a group which has many features in common with *Mon seul plaisir*. Most are, like the Bedyngham chanson, in *tempus perfectum*; the total pitch span of the music has grown slightly, the tenor is more melodically independent, and imitation can occur sporadically between the central parts. This is true of the radiantly happy love song *Tant est mignonne ma pensée* (no. 89), which has imitation at the beginning, and of Ockeghem's *D'ung aultre aymer mon cuer se besseroit* (no. 88) as well as the anonymous *Je ne me puis voir a mon aise* (no. 30). In the last of these songs the speaker is a woman who speaks of her impossible situation with a man she does not love, and her love for another who does not love her. In no. 30 and no. 88 imitation embellishes the second half of the songs. In these songs imitation is not a structural element, but should probably be seen as having a purely decorative function; imitation draws attention to the entry of the next voice and can help to invigorate the composition. Only towards the end of the century does the imitative play of equally important parts become a bearing element in chansons in the same way as in major sacred compositions.

Two songs appear later in the sources than these, but have stylistic traits indicating an earlier dating—among other things *tempus perfectum* and a high contratenor.<sup>34</sup> They are, first,

<sup>32</sup> Cf. DufayO VI no. 90, which is not, however, furnished with text in the tenor and contratenor.

<sup>33</sup> After Cop 1848; the first note in the contratenor is a  $\equiv$  in the MS.

<sup>34</sup> No. 25 and no. 56 do not appear until the 1480s and around 1490. Cf. *Table 3*.

the anonymous *Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte* (no. 25), where imitation between the melodic voices plays a considerable role (the beginning of lines 1, (4) and 5), and where the voices are now declamatory, now melismatic with dotted rhythms and scale movements beyond an octave. The close octave canon of the final melisma (*Example 3*) demonstrates the restlessness of this song. This striking vocal effect, with agitated canonic sequences, gradually became an important ingredient of courtly songs—for example in Compère's later chansons. This is not a love lyric, as far as one can understand the rather unclear text; it is about medicine for the pains of love, and does not seem too seriously meant. The second song is Compère's *Au travail suis sans expoir de confort* (no. 56). It is a quodlibet whose upper voice is a mosaic of quotations from well known chansons by Barbingant, Ockeghem and Dufay—at some points the tenor and contratenor also quote the models.<sup>35</sup> This way the upper voice comes to resemble the lyrical chansons which furnished the quotations, while the lower voices are livelier, complementing each other in a tightly woven pattern with resemblances to the figures in *Example 3*, above which the superius flows.

**Example 3** No. 25 *Contre le mal* bars 33-37

Turning to the songs where the contratenor plays a role comparable to the one described in Hayne's *Allés, Regrez*, we can find even more extensive use of 'canon' and imitation. In no. 86 *Vostre amour est seure que rage* the imitations of the upper voices almost become canon all through the song; and there are several imitative passages in short note values (*minimae*), which give the piece an active, forward-driving character, but apparently also a rather abstract relationship with the text. Unfortunately this anonymous piece appears without text in other sources, and in Cop 1848 the text only goes as far as shortly after the mid-cadence, so it is difficult to find an explanation of the form of the song in the text.<sup>36</sup> The similarly anonymous *Deul en amours puyt assez nuyre* (no. 87) at least has the whole rondeau refrain in the superius. The text says that it is bad enough that the pain of love breaks a thousand hearts—but that it can also strike from a distance is mean behaviour. Whether the poem is meant seriously is hard to tell. It is set for two high, equal voices which constantly imitate each other and function in turn as superius and tenor; the contratenor affords fairly passive support, but is able to join in the imitation at a couple of points (cf. *Example 4*). The character of this passage probably indicates that the song should be viewed as an ironic trifle.

Agricola's *C'est mal chercher vostre avantage* (no. 152) is different from the songs just mentioned, as the voices relate more closely to the text than is usual in lyrical chansons, with a carefully

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the remarks on Vol. II no. 56.

<sup>36</sup> That such a formulation of the texture of a chanson can be justified by the meaning of the text can be seen, for example, in the first part of the anonymous bergerette *Le joly tetin de ma dame* 3v in among other sources *København* 291 (publ. in JeppesenK as no. 17), where the upper voices exuberantly trumpet their way through close imitations, almost turning into hocketing at the end.

**Example 4** No. 87 *Deul en amours* bars 42-50<sup>37</sup>

Example 4 shows a musical score for three voices (S1, S2, C) in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: S1: -ler, dont c'est ung des - loy al con -; S2: -ler, dont c'est ung des - loy al; C: dont c'est ung des - loy al con -.

calculated declamation of the words and few melismas. At the same time the contratenor works closely with the superius and tenor and participates in all the imitative beginnings of lines. This is not a lyrical song either, but a comic denunciation of the behaviour of an elderly *roué* viewed with the arrogance of youth. “It’ll do you no good to drop the names of fine folk—and even of their pages; you’re not as sly as you think, for you’re too old to talk such tomfoolery.” Nor is there any point looking for love; he will be snubbed everywhere, now that his feathers have turned grey.<sup>38</sup> One of the effective places is bars 34-35, where the words “*ung si fol langage*” are declaimed by tenor and contratenor in dotted semibrevis rhythm and imitated by the superius a semibrevis later; and for the sake of the comic effect, the whole is displaced a minima from the tactus. We find more irony in another line (Example 5), where the word “*chescun*” is singled out for special treatment.

**Example 5** No. 152 *Agricola: C’est mal chercher* bars 8-15<sup>39</sup>

Example 5 shows a musical score for three voices (S, T, C) in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: S: -ta - ge d'al - le - guer ches - cun et son pa - ge,; T: - ta - ge d'al - le - guer ches - cun et son pa - ge,; C: - ta - ge d'al - le - guer ches - cun et son pa - ge,.

The mention of the more unusual types of song in the older courtly repertory should not lead us into a false impression of the genre. The lyrical, melancholy songs with free polyphonic play between the voices are still in the majority in this group. Besides the ones already mentioned there are R. Morton’s beautiful ‘non-quartal’ song *Le souvenir de vous my tue* (no. 84), Hayne’s thrice-entered *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* (nos. 65, 198 and 279) and two songs where there is some doubt about the identity of the composer, the *rondeau cinquain layé* by Mureau, *Je ne fays plus, je ne dis ne escrips* (no. 51—also attributed to Busnois)<sup>40</sup> and no. 132 *De vous servir m’est prins envoyé*, attributed to both Jean Fresnau and Hayne van Ghizeghem.

<sup>37</sup> In Cop 1848 only superius 1 has text, and there is no key signature in the contratenor.

<sup>38</sup> H. M. Brown interprets this poem as a woman’s slighting of an older wooer (Brown I, p. 55); however, there is nothing in the text to suggest that the speaker is a woman. It is more likely to be a young courtier mocking older rivals.

<sup>39</sup> Cop 1848 only has text in the superius and there is no key signature; the contratenor has *e* in bar 12.4.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Layé’ means that the poem alternates between lines of normal length and very short lines; in the refrain of this rondeau, lines 1, 3 and 5 have ten syllables, while the lines in between only have four syllables.

In the rondeaux with concordances older than or contemporary with Hayne's *Allés, Regrez*, it is possible to trace the contours of three important tendencies in the genre. We have first and foremost encountered the *lyrical love songs*—which make up the mainstream of courtly chanson—characterized by a delicate balance among all the elements of the composition and a relationship between text and music that is at once intimate and abstract. Two rarer byways of the tradition consist of the chansons where the relationship between music and text deviates from the golden mean. In the more 'abstract' chansons, purely musical-structural means of expression take precedence over the actual declamation of the text (for example in no. 86, or in the more isolated case shown in *Example 3*); characteristic features are the use of canon or pseudo-canon, sequences and ostinato; or the melismas take up so much of the composition that the link with the text is weakened. At the other extreme we find the very *text-close chanson* (e.g. no. 152) where the stressing of the meaning of the text through precise declamation is the composer's main interest. And it is also in the chanson types which do not follow the mainstream that we can find texts which deviate from the traditional courtly love poetry with its usually melancholy, more rarely happy, focus on the same subjects.

This distinction among the three types of rondeaux is of course itself an abstraction, but it can be a great help in giving us a subtler view of the genre as a whole. The lyrical chanson, after all, always has all three elements, and the boundaries for when a composition belongs to one or the other category must be kept fluid. It is very much a matter of the context in which one finds it—of the musical character of the surroundings.<sup>41</sup> In the following, the remaining rondeaux of the manuscript are reviewed in terms of a classification of the repertory into the three types, and the sole basis for assessing the place of each composition is the general impression of the genre given by the selection of courtly compositions in Cop 1848—the view of the repertory exhibited by other sources is not considered. At the same time the main focus will be on the unique items in the manuscript.

### Lyrical rondeaux

It comes as no surprise that most of the manuscript's courtly chansons by Hayne van Ghizeghem, Jehan Fresnau, Loyset Compère, Alexander Agricola and Jacques Barbireau must be placed in this, the largest and most important group.<sup>42</sup> But we also find substantial new contributions to this repertory among the unique pieces.

No. 48 *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* is one of the very few unique compositions in the carefully chosen repertory in Rfasc. 5, and holds up its head excellently in this select company. It is a beautiful 'non-quartal' piece, an intense reading of the wistful text, and in all respects matches the idiom of Hayne in *Allés, Regrez*. When one compares it to Hayne's piece,<sup>43</sup> it is worth noting how the shorter octosyllabic lines in no. 48 entail a more succinct musical formulation than the longer decasyllabic lines of *Allés, Regrez*. Just before the mid-cadence (in bar 24) there is a written text repetition, which is among the rarities in Cop 1848. This comes at an important position: not only is the form divided at this point, but the words sung here are very emotionally charged, and this applies to the corresponding points in the whole unfolded rondeau form: "et me tormente", "se malcontente" and "soubz noire tente". After the first declamation of the lines, which end in a melisma, the last four syllables are repeated with

<sup>41</sup> It is for example a familiar experience that at concerts the auditory impression of the simplicity or complexity of a composition can be manipulated by judicious programming.

<sup>42</sup> Besides the songs mentioned in the preceding section, the following compositions found in other sources belong in this group: by Hayne, nos. 49 and 101; by Fresnau, no. 200/262; by Compère, nos. 9, 55, 80/266, 191/278, 222, 255 and 263; by Agricola, nos. 204/273 and 235/254; by Barbireau, no. 205/247; and a number of anonymous chansons—nos. 81, 90, 147, 151, 252 and 277.

<sup>43</sup> No. 48 is transcribed in Vol. III as no. 1.



great emotional intensity at a low pitch. In the imperfect mid-cadence the voices unite in close order in the triad on the fifth degree of the mode (*d*)—here one must interpret the tenor's third as major. The continuation in the second section of the rondeau shows the same feeling for vocal sonority; it shifts—in contrast to Hayne—from close order with the superius on the fifth of the chord to open order, where the superius at the top takes the low third (*bb'*), a striking effect which is reinforced by the long curve of the continuation—down to the bottom note of the part (*g*) and up again to the highest note (*c''*) just before the final cadence—always in perfect interplay with the line of the tenor.

Fresnau, in his far more widely known setting of the same poem,<sup>44</sup> chose a quite different approach. He started with a duet for superius and contratenor, and only after eight brevis measures does the tenor enter with a calm, broad melody which recalls plainchant; the second section of the piece begins very similarly. The whole layout points towards a cantus firmus setting, with the superius' anticipatory imitation of the tenor and the constant movement of the superius and contratenor in parallel tenths around the tenor melody. Fresnau may actually have borrowed a plainchant melody without taking the text,<sup>45</sup> or may deliberately have imitated plainchant; at all events he created an unusual garment for the conventional poem.

In Rfasc. 7 we saw a systematically compiled series of chansons where eight rondeaux made up the second half of the series.<sup>46</sup> Among the rondeaux there are no less than five which have not been found in other sources<sup>47</sup>—the highest concentration of unique compositions in the courtly repertory of the manuscript—so we must look a little closer at these. We have already made the acquaintance of Agricola's text-close, mocking chanson *C'est mal chercher vostre avantage* (no. 152). It appeared in the sources around 1480, and the whole series should probably be placed in this period, in the 1470s and earlier, although two of the pieces (nos. 147 and 151) are first found in Florentine manuscripts of the 1490s.

The composition in the series that sounds most antiquated is no. 153 *Chois non parail ou choisir aparant*, a relatively low-pitched song in *tempus perfectum*. It is composed close to the text and exploits the triple metre for the purposes of a finely varied declamation (see for example the metrical displacement of the syllables in bars 13-14 or the acceleration at “mes c'est pas merveille” in bars 21-23). Imitation is not used, apart from the repetition of a motif in the superius and tenor in bars 20-21, which introduces the livelier rhythm of the second section of the song. More in the vein of Hayne's song are no. 148 and no. 151. No. 148 *Sy ayse estoye avant qu'amoureux fusse* is an excellent, concisely formulated setting of a melancholy poem that recalls the above-mentioned no. 48. We may note how the composer contrasts the second half of the rondeau with the first by introducing *bb* in a very effective way.

No. 151 *Moins ay repoz, plus acroist mon affaire* is not unique; it is also found in the manuscript Firenze 229.<sup>48</sup> For once, the text is not a love poem, but it fully lives up to courtly *tristesse*. Life is unabated misery. The 22 lines of the rondeau, all of which begin with the word “Moins”, are a despairing catalogue of paradoxes: “The less rest I take, the more I have to do. The less I have, the more I have to pay out. The less joyful I am, the more solace flees me ...” etc.<sup>49</sup> The setting uses a little imitation, as does no. 148, and the high contratenor is used in fauxbourdon-like effects (e.g. bars 14f).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262; also found in four French manuscripts and in *Roma CG XIII.27* from Florence.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the edition AtlasC II p. 30 and the discussion in AtlasC I, p. 125, where the tenor is compared with the first *Magnificat* tone.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 and App. C.6 nos. 7-20.

<sup>47</sup> Nos. 148, 149, 150, 153 and 154, all publ. in Vol. III as nos. 2-6.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the edition in BrownL, no. 24.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Brian Jeffery's completion and rendering of the poem in BrownL In pp. 216-17.

<sup>50</sup> Among the non-unique chansons, several can be classified with *Allés*, *Regrez* and the other songs mentioned—i.e.



The unique no. 149 *Puis qu'il vous plaist d'estre Mieulx Aymée* allows the contratenor to take part in the imitations which begin both sections of the rondeau.<sup>51</sup> The sonority of the song is coloured by its many thirds and sixths, and with its Mixolydian tendency towards 'C major' very much recalls Busnois' songs from the 1460s; in Busnois one also finds the delightful harmonic effect of *mi contra fa* (an interval of a tritone between two voices—cf. no. 149 bars 15 and 44–45).<sup>52</sup> The conclusion of the text is underlined by long notes on the word "Mayz" in the tenor surrounded by sequences in the other voices. No. 150 *Quant de vous seul je pers la veue* lacks the end of the contratenor in the manuscript.<sup>53</sup> In this rather more ambitiously conceived composition the quick alternation between imitation and free polyphony, and between declamation and melismatic lines, gives the song an expressive, nervous intensity that is lacking in the preceding one. Many features of the composition point towards the abstract chansons, but it is still the text that controls the flow. In a composition like this it can be difficult for the composer to create contrast between the sections. The format therefore has to be expanded to make room for effects, as at the beginning of the second section, which starts with a duo for tenor and contratenor, repeated a fourth higher in the superius and tenor with support from the contratenor. This stemming of the flow signals the important role of the second section in the overall form. The last line of the refrain is accentuated by beginning in canon at the octave in the upper voices.

In no. 154 *La tres plus heureuse de France* it is a girl who sings "I am the happiest maid in France, whenever I think that I am the sweetheart of the best under the light of the moon ..." <sup>54</sup> The song is a fine example of the fully developed style of the 1470s, with ample use of imitation between superius and tenor, and with no loss of the advantages of free polyphony. In this Dorian composition one particularly notes how expressively the mutability of the scale's seventh degree can be used. Consistent imitation in the upper voices is also characteristic of no. 147 *Une sans plus a mon desir*; but the highly-pitched composition lacks much of the charm of the free pieces—the composer does not have enough natural mastery of the technique to avoid some stiffness.<sup>55</sup>

There is every reason to believe that all eight rondeaux in the series come from a small manuscript of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. They fully reflect the expressive potential that lay in the courtly rondeau in the 1470s, despite the limitations of the form.

No. 26 *Comprins par ung appointment* was entered in Rfasc. B along with another two rondeaux and a couple of settings of popular tunes.<sup>56</sup> It is thus in mixed company, and the three rondeaux themselves make up a mixed bag. The lively, nervous no. 25 *Contre le mal* belongs stylistically, as we have seen, to the older repertory, while Ockeghem's *Baisez moy donc fort* (no. 21) definitely belongs among the 'abstract' rondeaux. *Comprins par ung appointment* belongs to the later part of the lyrical repertory. Outwardly, its description differs little from that of Hayne's *Allés, Regrez*, but one begins to sense a new attitude to the setting of the courtly

Hayne's *Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte* (no. 49), Compère's *La saison en est ou jamais* (no. 222) as well as the anonymous no. 81 *La doy je aymer a vostre advis* and no. 277 *Quel remede de monstrier beau semblant* (published with this text, which is probably the original one, in AtlasC II p. 76).

<sup>51</sup> Vol. III no. 3; the main scribe has only entered the text for the refrain of the rondeau. Hayne's *Plus n'en auray* (no. 101) similarly begins with a three-part imitation; later the contratenor is placed alternately above or below the tenor. The piece has no text, but is apparently a lyrical rondeau with very long melismas at the end of each line.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Chapter 8 note 6.

<sup>53</sup> Vol. III no. 4 has a suggested reconstruction of the part.

<sup>54</sup> Vol. III no. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the edition in AtlasC II p. 78. The similarly highly-pitched piece no. 252 *Ung plus que tous a mon reffort* greatly resembles no. 147; cf. the edition at BrownL no. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.2 and App. C.9 nos. 1, 11, 13–16; no. 26 is published in Vol. III as no. 7.

**Example 6** Nos. 191 and 278 Compère: *En attendant de vous secors* bars 43–49<sup>57</sup>

The musical score for Example 6 consists of three staves: Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contratenor (C). The music is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are in French and are repeated across the three staves. The lyrics are: 'soyt ra - vy d'a mours. nul tant soyt ra - vy d'a mours. soyt ra - vy d'a mours.' The score shows a three-part initial imitation, with the Soprano and Tenor parts starting with a rising-fourth motif and the Contratenor part acting as a harmonic bass.

poem. First and foremost, the mid-cadence is handled differently. It is not set off by a long final phrase where the parts gradually come to rest in a fermata. And if the voices did not continue immediately, they would have formed a perfect cadence (bar 29). When there is a pause here before the repetition of the first section, this section does in fact end perfectly on the first degree of the mode. The listener thus gets quite a different impression of the unfolding of the complete form. At the same time there is a tendency towards a more architectural musical structure. The lines of the poem are subdivided—see lines 2 and 4 (bar 10ff and bar 29ff), which are clearly divided into two half-phrases and parallel each other with their leading note cadences, first in the tenor, then in the superius. This subdivision of the verse lines is part of the architecture, giving greater weight to the two halves of the song, yet cementing the whole more together. Although the song is not longer in brevis measures than most of those discussed above, the slightly inept composition feels longer, not only because of its structure, but because in many passages the harmony moves in minima values, which inevitably lowers the tempo. In the last line one can also note the play with a little figure which is repeated a fifth lower and is reinforced by canon at the octave between the superius and tenor. Sequences are not alien to the style of around 1480 or before, but the starker profiling of the motif and its placing at the beginning of the verse line creates an unfamiliar context.

In the later part of the repertory there is a tendency to break down the balance characteristic of the lyrical rondeau; and thus also in the pieces by the two most prolific composers in the genre, Agricola and Compère, although rarely to the extent seen in no. 26. Their musical idiom is far more elegant, and deviations from the norm come to function rather as extensions of the idiom and as a strengthening of its expressiveness. Agricola's *Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souviendra* (nos. 204 and 273) opens with a clear sound picture of the first line of the text "Whether I am far away or quite close, I will always remember ..."—the words "Soit loing" are set in all three parts with two *longae*. Thereafter the song develops into a normal, quite text-close rondeau, until the canon of the final melisma, where a rising-fourth motif in *minimae* is repeated thrice and forms a fine counterbalance to the unusual beginning.<sup>58</sup> On the whole, these composers are becoming more and more interested in the effect of the final phrase, and there is a tendency to give it independent status. Compère's *En attendant de vous secors* (nos. 191 and 278) is similarly a normal lyrical song with a three-part initial imitation—normal, that is, until the final melisma, which takes the form of a falling sequence with lightning-fast homorhythmic chord changes in consecutive thirds in the upper voices with the contratenor acting as a harmonic bass (cf. *Example 6*), a device that seems to have been borrowed from instrumental dance music, and which in vocal performance gives a fine interpretation of the

<sup>57</sup> After Cop 1848; contratenor, bar 47.2, the first quaver is *f* in the MS; text after CompèreO V p. 21.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the edition AgricolaO V p. 37. No. 235/254 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* by Agricola is a pure lyrical chanson in 'non-quartal' harmony with three-part imitation at the beginning.

words “tant soyt ravy d’amours” (however much he is carried away by love). *Vous me faites mourir d’envie* by Compère, which appears in Cop 1848 with a different text incipit, “Or suis je bien transy d’esmay” (no. 255), has a similar long final melisma, not in a homorhythmical setting, but in free canon with ostinato elements (cf. *Example 7*). Here, however, the ending is not felt as a contrast to the rest of the song, since the whole piece is full of lively ornamentation and scale runs spanning an octave in all voices. One can see the song as being on the borderline of the abstract style; but it is probably rather an extreme interpretation of the original text “You make me die of the desire to kiss your lovely lips!”—at the same time it is one of the most successful examples of the virtuoso late courtly song where the free movement of the parts creates constantly shifting sonorities.<sup>59</sup>

**Example 7** No. 255 Compère: [*Vous me faites mourir d’envie*] bars 36-42<sup>60</sup>

The enormously widespread and well-loved composition by Jacques Barbireau found as no. 205 and no. 247 in Cop 1848 with the text “Qu’en dites vous? ferés vous rien?” is unusual in several respects.<sup>61</sup> First and foremost, the French text does not appear to be the original one. The song seems to have been written to a Flemish rondeau “Een vraulic wesen”. This may explain some of the features that separate it from the contemporary French rondeau. The superius is clearly the leading voice, formed just like a normal rondeau, declamatory and with a melisma at the end of each line—the final melisma here is very long and consists of ostinato figures. The upper voice is supported not only by the tenor, but just as much by the contratenor, which must be called a bassus here. In many passages it functions as part of the structural duet—for example at the beginning, where it imitates the superius. In several places the tenor acts like a harmony-filling *contratenor altus*: at the start, where it fills in between the superius and bassus, at the beginning of the second section, and at the beginning of the last line, where it in fact moves in parallel octaves with the superius.<sup>62</sup> At all main cadences, though, it performs its usual function; it thus works at once as tenor and altus.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the edition in CompèreO V p. 62. No. 9 *Plust or a dieu que n’aymasse jamais*, no. 80/266 *Dictes moy toutes vous pensées* and no. 263 *Tant mal me vient* all belong to Compère’s earlier work; they are very well-formed, varied lyrical chansons. The beautiful *Dictes moy toutes vous pensées* uses elements from the early treble-dominated style; the superius declaims the text unusually freely and sensitively, while the lower voices form a close-knit, complementary rhythmic fabric as in the above-mentioned nos. 25 and 56 (the latter is also by Compère). However, the song clearly belongs to the repertory of around 1470 or not long before—here Compère uses older stylistic devices for expressive purposes. No. 55 *Va-t’en regret celuy qui me convoye*, on the other hand, belongs among Compère’s later works; its succinct form, its text-close setting and the equal status of the voices express the essence of the classic lyrical rondeau.

<sup>60</sup> After Cop 1848; in the superius the two ♭ bb’ in bars 39 and 40 are dotted in the MS; the contratenor, bars 37.3-38.1, is a ♭ in the MS; text after *Paris* 2245 ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21.

<sup>61</sup> See the *Catalogue* for a list of sources, editions and a discussion of the various texts.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the edition in BarbireauO II p. 11 bars 1-4, bars 11-12 and bars 16-17.

This type of texture, where the low contratenor is given a crucial role, creating a basis for the other parts and for example legitimizing fourths between superius and tenor, is rather rare in the secular music of the fifteenth century without cantus firmus. In works (usually sacred) on a larger scale, where the tenor is tied to a cantus firmus, the phenomenon occurs more often and of course assumes great importance in the future.<sup>63</sup>

### Abstract rondeaux

This group is part of the lyrical repertory, and all the texts conform to that tradition. However, for practical reasons we will give separate attention to songs where the composers have chosen to treat the text more freely and give freer rein to purely musical development, so that the picture of the lyrical rondeau will stand out more clearly without being obscured by exceptions.<sup>64</sup> ‘Abstract’ thus refers to the relationship of music to text—either to the individual lines of verse or to the form as such—most of the songs are no less musically expressive than the others; the composers have simply drawn on other resources in interpreting the texts. Two overall characteristics of the group, however, are that it is very hard, on the basis of the appearance of the music in the sources, to find arguments for a definitive text underlay, and that all the compositions are very different. The boundaries among the groups must necessarily be fluid; we have already discussed chansons with abstract features in the older repertory,<sup>65</sup> and have demonstrated that several of the later lyrical songs have aspects which point in the same direction.

Two late chansons exhibit the tendency to form the refrain as an architectonic whole that was described in connection with the unique no. 26 *Comprins par ung appointment*.<sup>66</sup> These are two textless chansons attributed to “Verbonet” at the end of Rfasc. HJK (nos. 267 and 268), the first of which recurs with a text in the Flemish manuscript of the beginning of the sixteenth century (c. 1508), *Ms. Basevi 2439 in Firenze, Biblioteca del Conservatorio »L. Cherubini«* (Firenze 2439). The text “Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrete” turns out to be a *rondeau cinquain* by the French court poet Octovien de Saint-Gelais. It forms part of a *Complainte*, a long text mixing verse and prose, which he wrote on the occasion of Marguerite d’Autriche’s departure from the French court in 1493. Marguerite had spent her childhood at the French court, and since 1482 had been betrothed to Charles VIII; but after the Peace of Senlis she had to return to her father, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian. There are three rondeaux in the *Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite*, and “Le cueur la suyt” is sung by the allegorical figure Beauty: “... Si regarday la geste et contenance de la seconde, prochaine d’elle, qui Beaulté fut nommée, laquelle commença son chant piteux en triste voix et lamentable, ainsy disant: Le cueur la suyt et ...”<sup>67</sup> Ghiselin-Verbonnet’s setting (no. 267), which may have been written for the occasion, exhibits all the usual features of the rondeau, apart from its lack—and this is the crucial point, as in no. 26—of a clearly marked mid-cadence. The first section ends with a cadence on the second degree of the g-Dorian mode, which here too is rendered perfect in

<sup>63</sup> The compositional type is described, as far as the fifteenth century is concerned, as ‘klanglich-freie Sats’ by Ernst Apfel in ‘Der klangliche Sats und der freie Diskantsatz im 15. Jahrhundert’ (ApfelS).

<sup>64</sup> In musicological literature the more abstract pieces have apparently attracted too much attention, at the expense of the ‘classic’ lyrical rondeau—more on this in the section *The historical position of the rondeau*.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the discussion of no. 86 and of the less characteristic nos. 25 (including *Example 3*) and 56.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. III no. 7.

<sup>67</sup> The text is published in its entirety in Mary Beth Winn, ‘Octovien de Saint-Gelais: Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite’ (WinnS). See also the same author’s ‘LE CUEUR LA SUIYT Chanson on a Text for Marguerite d’Autriche: Another Trace in the Life of Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet’ (WinnC). Contemporary settings of the rondeaux are reviewed and transcribed in Martin Picker, ‘More ‘Regret’ Chansons for Marguerite d’Autriche’ (PickerR).

**Example 8** No. 245 Agricola: *Je suis Margot* bars 69-76

the brief repeated sections. The five lines of the refrain must be shared by the six phrases of the music, a problem not easily solved—both in the phrase before the mid-cadence and in the final phrase one must resort to text repetitions, which does not seem to be a regular feature of the older rondeau.<sup>68</sup> In this piece too the harmonic rhythm is characterized by *minima* movements, and the final phrase is introduced by a canonic sequence in the upper voices above a brief, syllabic motif. The next textless piece by Ghiselin (no. 268), which has only been found in Cop 1848,<sup>69</sup> has many of the same traits, and is also difficult to place because of the lack of text. Otherwise, the composition is characterized by imitation in which all three voices join, and by lively embellishments and melismas. The structure of Ghiselin's two compositions, which must be placed late in the development of the genre, raises doubts about whether they at all observe the whole rondeau form; perhaps they are rather through-composed settings of the refrains alone.

The same doubt can be raised with another two chansons which also have the Flemish manuscript *Firenze 2439* of around 1508 as their earliest source. A very long composition (76 brevis measures) for two equal voices alternating in the roles of superius and tenor and supported by a bass voice is found in Cop 1848 with the title *Je suis Margot* (no. 245). In *Firenze 2439* it is ascribed to Agricola, with the first two lines of a *rondeau quatrain* ("S'il vous plaist bien que je vous tiengne") as text. The text, with only four lines, seems far too short for the long composition, which requires at least a *rondeau cinquain*, and even then the many musical phrases would require several repetitions of words and longer text units.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps the title in Cop 1848 should be understood as a hint that there existed another text for the piece. The two upper voices show great virtuosity (see *Example 8*); most of all, they resemble Agricola's instrumental music, for example his reworking of Hayne's *Allés, Regrez*, where he has added two high, equal voices to the borrowed tenor.<sup>71</sup> In the instrumental piece, however, there are no note repetitions and declamatory passages in the upper voices; in no. 245 the upper voices are declamatory and melismatic by turns, just as they take turns in performing the functions of the structural duet.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> In the edition Ghiselin-VerbonnetO IV, text underlay is impossible because the editor does not know the full text; a better attempt with Saint-Gelais' text can be found in PickerR p. 95, although the first line should probably be extended over both introductory phrases (bars 1-14), and the last syllable of the penultimate line should coincide with the cadencing note of the phrase (bar 46).

<sup>69</sup> Published in Ghiselin-VerbonnetO IV p. 38.

<sup>70</sup> See E. E. Lerner's edition with the *rondeau quatrain* text in AgricolaO V p. 36.

<sup>71</sup> Publ. e.g. in AgricolaO V p. 20 and HewittA no. 48.

<sup>72</sup> However, the main scribe probably saw the composition as an instrumental piece; "*Je suis Margot*" is written above the superius in the same way as the title of Isaac's *La morra* (no. 239). Agricola's *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* (no. 224/244) has similar virtuoso passages, especially in the superius; the chanson is probably a little older than no. 245—it is in *Firenze 229* from the beginning of the 1490s—but has many resemblances to no. 26 and the above-mentioned chansons by Ghiselin. But the incomplete text makes a more detailed assessment difficult.



The last concordance to *Firenze 2439* is Ockeghem's *Baisez moy donc fort, ma maistresse* (no. 21), which is probably rather older than the other two concordances discussed. As this forceful composition is not found in any modern edition, it will be given here in its entirety (*Example 9*). Here Ockeghem demonstrates a strong urge towards personal expression, with his own distinctive handling of the melody lines, the long melismas and a striking use of ostinato at the beginning of the second section (bars 34-38). The mid-cadence on the fifth degree of the g-Dorian mode (bars 26-28) is very broadly formulated, moving into a bridge to the second section (bars 28-31)—in performing it as a full rondeau one should probably stop at the *signum* in bar 28. Of the text, we only have the refrain from a *rondeau quatrain*. Considering the exceptional ending, where the composition dies out, without cadencing, on a fifth harmony on the fifth degree of the mode, it is not impossible that this piece, too, needs no more text.<sup>73</sup>

It proves quite impossible to lay a text under the unique no. 275 *Aguillon, serpent, dangier*, attributed to the unknown composer Mirus (the name is written as a rebus).<sup>74</sup> The piece was not written by a composer of any stature; it is flawed by a rather haphazard use of cadencing phrases and by long, mechanical sequences. The music was probably not written for the text given by Cop 1848, as is also the case with the next piece, *Or mauld'ist soyt il qui en ment* with the attribution "Ysaac". This turns out to be the *Qui tollis I* from Isaac's *Missa Chargé de deul*.<sup>75</sup>

The many-faceted Loyset Compère is also represented in this repertory group. No. 46 *Le ranvoy d'ung cueur esgaré* is from the period around 1480, and is thus contemporary with many of his lyrical rondeaux. It is an example of Compère's stylistic versatility, since it has many features in common with the younger compositions discussed above: long, 'winding' melody lines and melismas, long sequences and an understated mid-cadence on the first degree of the mode; and the outlines of the phrases are obscured by overlapping entries. So these features are not the result of a 'development', but have always existed as an aspect of the courtly song.<sup>76</sup> Compère's virtuosity with the 'classical' courtly style can be seen not only in his many lyrical chansons, but also in his paraphrase of Hayne's *Allés, Regrez*. No. 66 *Venés regretz, venés il en est heure* is textually and musically a reversal of Hayne's song. The text is a *rondeau cinquain* which begins "Come, Love-longing, come, the time is nigh! Come and keep me company ...". In the music Hayne is quoted at the beginning of both halves: Hayne's tenor melody is taken over in a slightly altered form in the tenor in the first and second strain, and is imitated by the superius; at the same time the contratenor features the initial motif from Hayne's superius placed an octave lower, so the piece begins, motto-like, with the first notes of Hayne's chanson in double counterpoint. At the start of the second section, Compère's tenor and contratenor take over motifs from the corresponding voices in Hayne. Apart from these places, there are no direct loans, although the link with the earlier song is always clear. It is interesting to see how Compère maintains respect for Hayne's style, yet at the same time adds something quite different. This happens, for example, at the beginning of the second section; here the little motif in the tenor which is borrowed from Hayne ends with a cadential phrase, and is then sequenced a tone lower; the superius moves in canon a fourth

<sup>73</sup> The textless piece no. 259 is like Ockeghem's song, but without his originality. It is a long (64 brevis measures) imitative-melismatic composition where there are extended two-part passages as with Ockeghem. The absence of text (possibly the refrain of a *rondeau cinquain*) and a whole 20 brevis measures omitted in the tenor make it difficult, however, to place it more precisely.

<sup>74</sup> Vol. III no. 8; here the text is placed as in the MS.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. further Chapter 4.2 *Rfasc. HJK* and nos. 275 and 276 in Vol. II.

<sup>76</sup> Probably a heritage from the sometimes very complex songs from earlier in the century; but a discussion of this would fall outside the scope of this account.



**Example 9** No. 21 Ockeghem: *Baisez moy donc fort*<sup>77</sup>

The musical score is written for three voices: Superius, Tenor, and Bassus. The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in French. The score is divided into four systems, each containing three staves (Superius, Tenor, Bassus). The lyrics are as follows:

System 1 (Measures 1-8):  
 Superius: (rests)  
 Tenor: Bai - sez moy donc fort, ma mais - tres -  
 Bassus: Bai - sez moy donc fort, ma mais -

System 2 (Measures 9-16):  
 Superius: (rests)  
 Tenor: Bai - sez moy donc fort, ma mais - tres -  
 Bassus: se, tres - se, ac -

System 3 (Measures 17-24):  
 Superius: se, ac - co - lez moy, mon  
 Tenor: ac - co - lez moy, mon  
 Bassus: co - lez moy, mon

System 4 (Measures 25-32):  
 Superius: vray ref - fu - ge;  
 Tenor: vray ref - fu - ge;  
 Bassus: vray ref - fu - ge;

<sup>77</sup> After Cop 1848; the superius, bar 42 is two  $\diamond$  in the MS, and bars 43.2-44.1 are two  $\downarrow$  and a  $\diamond$  (changed after Firenze 2439); bar 26.3 in the tenor is a  $\sqcap$  in the MS; bar 14.1-2 in the bassus is a  $\sqcap$ ; and the rest in bar 22.1 is missing. Line 4 of the text in the MS is “sur pugnir mon cuer, si vous blesse”, and has been corrected in the transcription after Firenze 2439.

30

puis - que je

35

vous fais mon seul jeu - ge,

40

vous fais mon seul jeu - ge,

45

pour pu - gnir mon coeur,

50

si vous lais - se.

55

se.

higher, and the contratenor has an almost obbligato counterpoint (cf. *Example 10*). This shifting sequence adds to the musical expression an insistence which is actually an alien, abstract element, yet Compère still succeeds in creating a balanced composition.

Modelling new compositions on existing rondeaux was a particularly highly-esteemed procedure in the period around 1500. Using familiar material as a basis for new pieces placed the composer's technical skill and talent in strong relief.<sup>78</sup> Two rondeaux by Hayne van Ghizeghem and Jean Ockeghem, *De tous biens plaine* and *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure*, were among the best loved and most often used.<sup>79</sup> Oddly enough, Cop 1848 has neither of the original compositions, but has reworkings of both. The adaptations of Hayne's rondeau do not observe the rondeau form, so they will be discussed in a later section.<sup>80</sup>

The three-part composition no. 256 appears in Cop 1848 with no more than a text incipit "Fors seulement". The lowest voice sings the whole superius melody from Ockeghem's *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure*; to this part are added two free melismatic higher voices in tenor and treble pitch. The reworking was done by Ockeghem himself, and it was probably his example which prompted so many others to try their hands at this particular song.<sup>81</sup> There is some disagreement in the sources about the textual basis. A Flemish manuscript of the beginning of the 1500s (*Firenze 2439*) has the text of the original rondeau, while a slightly older French manuscript (*Paris 1596*) has a probably newly-written rondeau "Fors seulement contre ce qu'ay promis" in all three voices. In the Parisian court manuscript *Paris 2245*, which is the oldest source for the song, it appears as a double chanson. The lowest voice is notated there exactly as the superius in the original chanson and with the text "Fors seulement l'attente que je meure", while the superius and tenor have "Fors seulement contre ce qu'ay promis". Above the piece is the indication "Canon royal", which must refer to Louis d'Orléans, who became king in 1499 as Louis XII, but had already been designated heir-apparent several years earlier. The lower voice must be sung a twelfth lower than notated. The double chanson version must be the original, since the two poems supplement each other excellently—the poem in the lower part is an extreme example of courtly melancholy ("But for the waiting for my death, there is no hope within my weary heart .... because I am so certain of your loss"), while the rondeau of the upper voices seems to describe a person who will do anything to be accepted; the newly-written, rather obscure rondeau was probably written for the sole purpose of fitting it to the original one, so the author was obliged to begin with the same words.<sup>82</sup> There can be no doubt that the double chanson is to be performed as a rondeau—the French sources give the whole new text—but this is not easily done. Ockeghem has very subtly shaped the upper voices so their phrases run counter to the melody given in the lower voice. Its mid-cadence falls at the climax of the upper voices' third phrase, and they only cadence nine brevis measures later, after a long duo. This has caused some confusion; the sources that have a symbol for the mid-cadence in the upper voices (*Paris 2245*, *St. Gallen 461* and *Cop 1848*), have it incorrectly placed—that is after just two lines of the text. Ockeghem's music was no easier then than it is today.

<sup>78</sup> See under the headings *Related compositions* in the *Catalogue* (Vol. II), and H. M. Brown's catalogue of melodies used in the French theatre (BrownF p. 181ff), which also includes many courtly chansons.

<sup>79</sup> For further information on the sources and modern editions etc., see the remarks on no. 123 and on no. 54 in Vol. II.

<sup>80</sup> See *Compositions based on courtly chansons* (*De tous biens plaine* is also quoted in Compère's *Au travail suis*—cf. no. 56).

<sup>81</sup> In *St. Gallen 461* (publ. in GiesbertS) it is under Ockeghem's name just after the original song in a series of eleven *Fors seulement* settings (pp. 1-25).

<sup>82</sup> Brumel's four-part setting of *Fors seulement* is probably also a double chanson. In the version given by *Bruxelles 228 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19* the tenor sings Ockeghem's superius with the original text, while the other voices have an equally heavy-hearted *rondeau cinquain*, "Du tout plongiet au lac de desespoir"; publ. e.g. in PickerC p. 236.

**Example 10** No. 66 Compère: *Venés regretz* bars 39-47<sup>83</sup>

car au-jour-duy tou - te ma joye

car au-jour-duy tou - te ma joye e\_est

car au-jour-duy tou - te ma joye est

The other composition in the *Fors seulement* family is by the far younger Antoine de Févin. No. 54 *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* is furnished in Cop 1848 with the refrain from the original rondeau, but the actual song must be described as a 'fourth-generation' work. The fact of the matter is that it is based on a four-part *Fors seulement* composition by Pipelare, who for his part has borrowed his tenor from an anonymous three-part piece in which Ockeghem's contratenor is quoted in the superius.<sup>84</sup> In this way Févin's song has come quite a long way from Ockeghem's original setting. His treatment of the material from Pipelare's chanson has much in common with Compère's treatment of Hayne's music in *Venés regretz*. First the initial imitation paraphrases the start of Pipelare's piece, then the tenor (from bar 10) has a condensed version of Pipelare's tenor, and finally the second part of the tenor comes in an easily recognizable form (from bar 24). The first part of the song seems deliberately constructed in the style of the 'classic' courtly rondeaux, but towards the end with its lively figural imitations it cannot be concealed that Févin belongs to a later generation (c. 1470 until before 1512); it is more like his settings of popular tunes. The piece can be performed as a complete rondeau form—all the rules are observed—but none of the sources has more than the refrain as text.

### Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions

While the abstract chansons only went beyond the framework of the lyrical chansons in the use of certain musical resources, among the text-close rondeaux we find songs which run directly counter to the courtly tradition; on the surface they may observe the courtly forms, but in content they can more correctly be described as anti-courtly, and in musical expression they are often close to contemporary settings of popular tunes.<sup>85</sup>

We see this very clearly in the unique no. 31 *Ceste fillette*. The text is in a French manuscript of the sixteenth century (*Paris, BN, ms. fonds français 1721*), containing both contemporary and older poems, where it is attributed to the Burgundian court chronicler and poet Jean Molinet (c. 1435-1507).<sup>86</sup> If he really was the author of the poem, he certainly broke with courtly poetry's traditional view of the relationship between the sexes: here there is no melancholy sighing for the unattainable ideal woman:

<sup>83</sup> After Cop 1848; tenor, bars 40, 44 and 48 are all = in the MS.

<sup>84</sup> The two pieces are published, for example, in PickerC p. 233 and p. 477, and in PickerF as no. 26 and no. 24. On their relationship with the *Fors seulement* tradition, see H. Hewitt, 'Fors seulement and the Cantus Firmus Technique of the Fifteenth Century' (HewittF) with a diagram on p. 126, and M. Picker, *Fors seulement. Thirty Compositions for Three to Five Voices or Instruments from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (PickerF) p. XXXII.

<sup>85</sup> On settings of popular tunes, see Chapter 8.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the list of contents in FrançonP pp. 749-55.

Ceste fillette a qui le tetin point,  
 qui est si gente et a les yeulx si vers,  
 ne luy soyez ne rude ne divers,  
 mais la tracter doucement et a point.

Despoillez vous en chemise et pourpoint  
 et la gettés sur le lict a l'envers,  
 Ceste fillette ...

Et puis apres, si vous estes en point  
 et que l'ayez les deulx genoulx ouvers,  
 frappés dedens, de tort et de travers  
 et ardiement, ne l'esparnés point.

Ceste fillette ...

(This young girl with the pointed nipples, who is so sweet and has such sparkling eyes—don't be crude or cruel with her, but treat her kindly, treat her fittingly.

Undress to shirt and vest, and throw her on her back on the bed, this girl with the ...

And afterwards, if you're in fighting form, and once you've spread her two pretty knees, thrust away boldly, right left and centre, don't spare her, this girl with the ...)

The first three lines of the anonymous setting are like a normal, particularly text-close rondeau with a little imitation between tenor and superius.<sup>87</sup> Only in the fourth line (bar 25ff) is the stylistic mould broken in earnest; here it is clear that the composer wants to stress the point of the text with the thrice-repeated “mais la tracter”. The song seems to have been composed on the basis of the wording of the refrain, since the fourth line of the *tierce* does not fit the music anything like as well: in the poem “et ardiement” must be taken as five syllables, but must be sung—if it is to have any meaning—as only four. The superius repeats the simple, syllabic motif, accelerated the second time round, while the tenor and contratenor vary the homorhythmic setting. Here we have a form of expression that is alien to the courtly chanson, and is more like the contemporary settings of popular songs. The beginning of the song, too, has an alien sound; the upbeat with note repetition, which is followed up by the contratenor, energetically heralds the character of the song in a way not normally found in the lyrical songs.

These elements recur in other songs of the same kind. In no. 72 *Mais que se feut secretement* a woman sings: “As long as it's done in secret and in a place I decide, I cannot refuse you, when it's just a matter of a little screw!” And one time more would be all right too, but if it's to happen on a regular basis, the necessary precautions must be taken—male wishful thinking again, and the setting is as like that of no. 31 as it could be. In Cop 1848, though, the beginning of the song is quite calm<sup>88</sup>—in the courtly style—but in other sources there is a suitably energetic start (cf. *Example 11a*). The last line “pour ung petit copt seulement” also begins with a thrice-repeated, accelerating four-syllable motif, here a little more elegantly formed as a small canon between superius and tenor, and in this version the song ends with a refrain-like repetition of the last short phrase (cf. *Example 11b*).

*Mais que se feut* is in three Italian manuscripts, attributed to the French composer Pietrequin Bonnel (*Bologna Q17*, *Firenze 178* and *RomaCG XIII.27*), while Petrucci's *Odhecaton* names Compère as the composer. Compère would be one's immediate guess as the composer of both this and *Ceste fillette*, they are so close to his style when he expresses himself in the popular vein. But Compère was one of the most highly-esteemed chanson composers of his

<sup>87</sup> Vol. III no. 9.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. music incipits in Vol. II no. 72.

**Example 11** a) No. 72 Bonnel/Compère: *Mais que ce fust* bars 1-5<sup>89</sup>  
 b) No. 72 Bonnel/Compère: *Mais que ce fust* bars 21-32<sup>90</sup>

The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Tenor, Bass) and French lyrics. The first system (bars 1-5) is labeled 'a:' and the second system (bars 21-32) is labeled 'b:'. The lyrics are: 'Mais que ce fust se - cre - te ment, ... pour ung pe - tit, ung pe - tit, pour ung pe - tit copt seu - le - ment.'

age, so it is conceivable that his manner was imitated, and Petrucci may, without further ado, have attributed to him a song which was simply like his.

*Se j'ay parlé aulcunement* (no. 74) by Compère exhibits far more consistent and elegant control of the text-close manner than the other two (cf. *Example 12*).<sup>91</sup> He uses only 23 brevis measures for this rondeau—it is brief and to the point, with alternation between three-part imitation and quick homophonic declamation, and in the last line he brings brief rhythmical motifs involving all three voices into play. Without the text one would not hesitate to classify the piece as an arrangement of a popular tune—especially in the version found in an Italian manuscript of the end of the fifteenth century (*Bologna Q17*), where the last phrase (bar 18ff) is repeated as in Cop 1848's version of no. 72 (*Example 11b*). The setting fits Henri Baude's

<sup>89</sup> After *Firenze 229* and *Petrucchi 1501*.

<sup>90</sup> After Cop 1848; in the last line *Firenze 229* has the more obscene "pour un pitit con seulement"; cf. BrownL I, pp. 289-90. The extended ending is only found in Cop 1848 and *Roma Cas 2856*; in the four-part version in *RomaCG XIII.27* the extension is four measures long.

<sup>91</sup> By Compère there is also another very text-close rondeau, *La saison en est ou jamais* (no. 222), which is however attributed in Cop 1848 to "Alexandre". The song is a farewell to a relationship described as "folle". The second section starts with imitation of a syllabically set cadential phrase which recalls the popular arrangements; cf. the edition in CompèreO V p. 30 bars 10-11 (in *AgricolaO V* the mid-cadence is wrongly placed).



**Example 12** No. 74 Compère: *Se j'ay parlé aulcunement*<sup>92</sup>

Superius

Tenor

Contratenor

1.4.7. Se j'ay par - lé aul - cu - ne -  
3. Sans y pen - ser, soub - dai - ne -  
5. Car je sçay bien que loy - aul -

ment  
ment,  
ment

des da - mes de re - li - gi -  
ce fut par bon - ne - in - ten - ci -  
le font par bon - ne - af - fec - ti -

aul - cu - ne - ment des da - mes de re - li - gi -  
soub - dai - ne - ment, ce fut par bon - ne - in - ten - ci -  
que loy - aul - ment, le font par bon - ne - af - fec - ti -

on, 2.8. de leur bas - se con - di - ti - on, je l'ay fait.  
on, 6. Et pour tou - te con - clu - si - on, je m'en re - pens,  
on.

on, 2.8. de leur bas - se con - di - ti - on, je l'ay  
on, 6. Et pour tou - te con - clu - si - on, je m'en re -

on,  
on,  
on.

2.8. de leur bas - se con - di - ti - on, je  
6. Et pour tou - te con - clu - si - on, je

comic poem on nuns and sex—an eternally piquant subject—like a glove:

If ever I have spoken in any way of nuns and their low reputé, I did so just for fun.

Without thinking, and with the best intentions, it flew out of my mouth if ever  
I have spoken of nuns.

For I know well they do it in all faith, out of pure and simple devotion, so I  
regret it now, if ever I have spoken in any way of nuns ...

<sup>92</sup> After Cop 1848; the superius has only the refrain of the rondeau as text. The rest is underlaid after *Paris* 1721, where the poem is attributed to Henry Baude. In line 2, two wrong words “... par derision” are crossed out in the MS—corrected here after *Paris* 1721, and in line 3 the MS has “de leurs basse ...”. Tenor bar 3.4 is a  $\diamond$  in the MS.

20

je l'ay fait par es - ba - te - ment.  
je m'en re - pens pre - sen - te - ment:

fait. je l'ay fait par es - ba - te - ment.  
pens, je m'en re - pens pre - sen - te - ment:

l'ay fait. je l'ay fait par es - ba - te - ment.  
m'en re - pens, je m'en re - pens pre - sen - te - ment:

Jean Prioris is represented in Cop 1848 by a rondeau, *Vostre oeil c'est bien toust repenty* (no. 192), which greatly resembles Compère's and is just as succinct and assured in its effects (cf. *Example 13*). Here it was probably the fourth line of the text "et s'il l'a dit, il a menty!", that inspired the composer; otherwise it is a fairly harmless piece about flirtation:

Your eye was in some haste to rue the welcome it first gave me;  
yet I have done it no wrong, and if it said so, then it lied!

Why did it so abandon me, though I did it no injury?  
Your eye was in some haste to rue ...

It is because it has resolved to love another—just see the effect!  
Thus I am vanquished and may as well seek company elsewhere.  
Your eye was in some haste to rue ...

In this case too the sources disagree on the details of the song. The text begins in Cop 1848 "*Vostre cuer c'est bien toust resioy*", which is a corruption of the poem: "resioy" is meaningless here, and if the word is replaced with "repenty" the line is a syllable too long. Cop 1848 also has the same repetition of the last phrase (bars 25-28) as we saw in the preceding songs; it is not in the other, older sources (*Bologna Q17*, *Firenze 2794* and *Paris 2245*). These sources also have a contratenor which is completely different in some places from the one in Cop 1848—at "et s'il l'a dit" (bar 20), for example, it has a compressed reprise of the opening imitation in halved note values!

It is characteristic of this repertory group that the differences among the sources are greater than usual for the lyrical songs. The delicate internal balance of the music and the balance between musical and textual considerations is not a concern of these songs. Their aim is the powerful delivery of the point of the text, just as in the popular arrangements, so the details can be changed and lines can be repeated as required without disturbing the identity of the songs.

As mentioned before in connection with Agricola's *C'est mal chercher*, chansons that stay close to the text must be counted as a special group among the courtly songs. And indeed there are songs belonging to an older stylistic stratum which are less radical in this respect than those just mentioned. The unique *Helas! l'avois je deservy* (no. 28)<sup>93</sup> has an old-fashioned high contratenor. It is not a quiet song: the protagonist is very angry and sings about leaving the one who has slighted him immediately; the refrain is "Alas, have I deserved such ill treatment? No, by the Lord, for I have served so long and truly." The text is declaimed almost

<sup>93</sup> Cf. the transcription in Vol. III, no. 10.

**Example 13** No. 192 Prioris: *Vostre oeil c'est bien toust repenty*<sup>94</sup>

**Superius**

5

1.4.7. Vos - tre oeil c'est bien toust re - pen -  
 3. Pour - quoy dont s'est il de - par -  
 5. C'est pour ce qu'il a con - sen -

**Tenor**

1.4.7. Vos - tre oeil c'est  
 3. Pour - quoy dont  
 5. C'est pour ce

**Contratenor**

1.4.7. Vos - tre oeil c'est bien toust re - pen -  
 3. Pour - quoy dont s'est il de - par -  
 5. C'est pour ce qu'il a con - sen -

10

ty ty ty du bon a - cueil qu'il  
 de d'un moy sans luy a -  
 d'un aul - tre\_ay - mër, ve -

bien toust re - pen - ty du bon  
 s'est il de - par - ty de moy  
 qu'il a con - sen - ty d'un aul -

ty ty ty du bon a - cueil  
 d'un d'un moy sans luy  
 aul - tre\_ay - mër,

15

m'a - voit fait; 2.8. et si ne luy j'ay rien mes -  
 voir for - fait? 6. ain - sy donc-ques j'en suis def -  
 la l'ef - fet;

a - cueil qu'il m'a - voit fait; 2.8. et si ne luy j'ay rien mes -  
 sans luy a - voir for - fait? 6. ain - sy donc-ques j'en suis def -  
 tre\_ay - mër, ve - la l'ef - fet;

qu'il m'a - voit fait; 2.8. et si ne luy j'ay rien mes-fait,  
 a - voir for - fait? 6. ain - sy donc - ques j'en suis def-fait,  
 ve - la l'ef - fet;

syllabically by superius and tenor. The most notable passage is the imitative treatment of the exclamation “Par Dieu, nenny!” at the beginning of the second section (bars 14-17), which underscores it almost as much as the repeated phrases in the later songs. On the other hand, the composer has not given much thought to the contratenor’s text declamation: it is impossible to get the text to fit it; it must be played or—perhaps better—sung with a reduced text or vocalized.<sup>95</sup> The theme is the same in no. 81 *La doy je aymer a vostre advis*: “Should I love

<sup>94</sup> After Cop 1848; the superius has only the refrain of the rondeau as text. The rest is underlaid after *Paris* 2245; in the MS, line 1 is “Vostre cuer c’est bien toust resioy”, which makes no sense in the context—changed after *Paris* 2245. In the MS the tenor lacks the rest in bar 5.1-2, and bar 27.3-4 is a  $\diamond$ .

<sup>95</sup> The transcription offers a suggestion for performance with a slightly reduced text.



20

fait, et s'il l'a dit, et s'il l'a dit, il a men - par -  
fait, bien puis ail - leurs, bien puis ail - leurs pren - dre par -

25

ty! Et s'il l'a dit, il a men - ty!  
ty, bien puis ail - leurs pren - dre par - ty.

Et s'il l'a dit, il a men - ty!  
bien puis ail - leurs pren - dre par - ty.

her, do you think? She who has done me so much ill?" The word "celle" (she) in the second line is stressed like an exclamation by the superius and tenor in turn.<sup>96</sup> And the suggestive song no. 90 starts with a short dialogue—"Si vous voulés que je vous face—Quoy?—cela [que] vous sçavés bien" (If you want me to do to you—What?—what you know full well)—where "Quoy?" is hammered out as a single note by all voices in turn.<sup>97</sup> Later, in the third line of the refrain, a short motif comes on the words "qui si grant bien" (Never before have you known a thing, *that so well pleased your heart*), which is repeated and accelerated in the tenor and superius (cf. *Example 14*); here we are once again close to the effects used in the first examples.

**Example 14** No. 90 Anonymous: *Si vous voulés que je vous face* bars 22-28



25

qui si grant bien, qui si grant bien au coeur

qui si grant bien, qui si grant bien au coeur

qui si grant bien, qui si grant bien au coeur

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the edition in BrownL, no. 54, bars 11-13.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the edition in BrownL, no. 237, bars 6-7. In this edition the text underlay of the end of the song is misleading, so a section is given as *Example 14* after Cop 1848.

The 'anti-courtly' rondeaux can be found in many other places than Cop 1848; and in fact only one of them—the coarsest—is unique. Once one's attention has been drawn to them, it is easy to find examples in most sources—in the fifteenth century too. We can cite some cases from the two most recent scholarly manuscript editions by L. L. Perkins (the 'Mellon Chansonnier' *New Haven* 91) and H. M. Brown (*Firenze* 229), editions with careful textual criticism by H. Garey and B. Jeffery respectively, and with translations.<sup>98</sup>

Busnois' *A qui vens tu tes coquilles* 3v is in *New Haven* 91, copied in Naples around 1475. The text is a parody of a rondeau by Charles d'Orléans, and like Agricola's *C'est mal chercher* pokes fun at an older man looking for amorous adventures. The imitative setting gives the text sharply-drawn melodic lines, and each half ends with a long melisma; the last melisma has an unusually 'skewed' rhythm and is probably meant, as L. L. Perkins points out, as a comic illustration of the tottering gait of an old man.<sup>99</sup> Ockeghem's lively *L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa* 3v (*New Haven* 91 no. 20) is melodically so close to the popular tune *L'homme armé* that it cannot be a coincidence. It was probably the picture painted by the text that inspired him to imitate the well-known song: "... en passant me trespercha d'ung regard forgié en Melan" (transfixed me with a look forged in Milan)—Milan was famous for its weaponry industry! In keeping with the popular tone of the song, Ockeghem has also repeated the first line at the end of the setting as a kind of internal refrain. We encounter a very text-close setting and a play on short motifs in G. Joye's three-part macaronic rondeau *Ce qu'on fait a quatamini / touchant multiplicamini* ... (What you do on the sly / about "Go forth and multiply"; *New Haven* 91 no. 9). The song's advice to girls that illicit affairs are not so dangerous is set in relief by the Latin rhymes, a device that was also very popular in farces. This song is also in *Firenze* 229 (1491-92).<sup>100</sup> Among the many compositions in this manuscript with a popular stamp we must make special mention of Agricola's *Pour vous plaisirs et solas* 3v (*Firenze* 229 no. 248), where the risqué text is given a very varied setting: the first line as a lyrical courtly song (bars 1-9), the second with almost liturgical recitation in superius and tenor (bars 9-17), the second section in three-part imitation like the popular arrangements, and in the last line comes the well-known play on a little motif where all three voices participate, and where the text is repeated. It was a very style-conscious composer who carried off this *tour de force*.<sup>101</sup>

Among the compositions I have seen, though, it is a slightly later rondeau which comes closest in musical expression to the popular arrangements; at the same time it is probably as short as a rondeau can possibly be. It is the anonymous *Pensez de faire garnison* in the French manuscripts *Uppsala* 76a and *London* 5242, both of which are from the first decade after the year 1500. The piece has not been published in a modern edition, so it is worth quoting it here in full as *Example 15*.

The text must be considerably older than the music, since it is also found in a quite different, anonymous three-part setting in the manuscript *Dijon* 517 (ff. 106<sup>v</sup>-07), which is a major source of the secular repertory of the 1460s. The poem is a cynical warning to wooers not to waste any time:

<sup>98</sup> Howard Garey is responsible for a very meticulous and subtle review of the texts in *New Haven* 91 ('The Verse' PerkinsM II pp. 63-128), where the relationship between the courtly and popular traditions is also discussed. "Poems written in the formes fixes and within the limits of the courtly vocabulary may express sentiments slyly contrary to the conventional courtly assumptions. Such poems are parodic and ironical, but with the very fact of their bringing into question the basic mythology of the courtly world, they remain within the courtly tradition" (PerkinsM II p. 64). In rondeaux which use words that certainly cannot be called 'courtly', he finds "popular or anticourtly traits" (ibid. p. 75), a view that the present author can wholeheartedly endorse.

<sup>99</sup> PerkinsM II p. 223; the piece is published in ibid. Vol. I, no. 10.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. BrownL no. 261.

<sup>101</sup> Also publ. in AgricolaO V p. 31 and GeeringH no. 75.

Example 15 Anonymous: *Pensez de faire garnison*<sup>102</sup>

S

1.4.7. Pen - sez de fai - re gar - ni - son ser - vi - teurs qui es - tes en  
 3. Tan - diz qu'a - vez temps et sai - son et qu'on vous mon - stre bel - le  
 5. Ceulx ser - vent en haul - te mai - son et ont le bruit pour u - ne es -

T

1.4.7. Pen - sez de fai - re gar - ni - son ser - vi - teurs qui es - tes en  
 3. Tan - diz qu'a - vez temps et sai - son et qu'on vous mon - stre bel - le  
 5. Ceulx ser - vent en haul - te mai - son et ont le bruit pour u - ne es -

B

1.4.7. Pen - sez de fai - re gar - ni - son ser - vi - teurs qui es - tes en  
 3. Tan - diz qu'a - vez temps et sai - son et qu'on vous mon - stre bel - le  
 5. Ceulx ser - vent en haul - te mai - son et ont le bruit pour u - ne es -

5

gra - ce, 2.8. chas - cun de vous son prof - fit fa - ce, qui le sçet fai - re il a  
 fa - ce 6. qu'on voit a cop vui - de la pla - ce, il est d'en - vy - eulx grant  
 pa - ce

10

gra - ce, 2.8. chas - cun de vous son prof - fit fa - ce, qui le sçet fai - re il a  
 fa - ce 6. qu'on voit a cop vui - de la pla - ce, il est d'en - vy - eulx grant  
 pa - ce

15

rai - son, qui le sçet fai - re il a rai - son.  
 foi - son, il est d'en - vy - eulx grant foi - son.

rai - son, qui le sçet fai - re il a rai - son.  
 foi - son, il est d'en - vy - eulx grant foi - son.

rai - son, qui le sçet fai - re il a rai - son.  
 foi - son, il est d'en - vy - eulx grant foi - son.

See you get something out of it, servants, while you're in favour;  
 let each of you look to his own gain. Provident he who does so.

As long as time and occasion grant, and you are well received,  
 see you get something out of it, servants, while you're in favour.

Those who serve in a fine house, enjoying respect for a time,  
 can suddenly be set aside, for envy is all around them.

See you get something out of it ...

<sup>102</sup> After *Uppsala* 76a ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37, which has the complete rondeau text in every voice. In the MS the tenor, bars 7.3-8.2, has ♫♫♫ (changed after *London* 5242 ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12). *London* 5242 has no *signum congruentiae* in bar 3; in bars 5.2-4 the superius has ♫♫(bb'-a'); the bassus ends bar 16 on g.



In this late setting the text seems to have been seen as an ironic joke, and is delivered at breakneck speed in the ultra-short composition. The whole song is in elegant homorhythm—only the last line has a little melismatic ornamentation. The first two lines, the first half of the refrain, are combined in a single strain (in *Uppsala 76a*, though, the end of the first line is indicated in bar 3 by a *signum congruentiae* in all voices), while the second section consists of two short musical phrases; the last line is repeated, as in many other rondeaux in the popular vein. Without the repetition of the last line the setting only manages twelve brevis measures! And the full rondeau form consists of only 59 brevis measures, no more than the refrain alone in some of the longer pieces. Only the form of the text and its old-fashioned courtly vocabulary reveal that it is not an actual popular arrangement; and when the song is included in a practical context, this classification is of no great interest. The genre transition is complete, and the origin of the next generation's homorhythmically-oriented Parisian chansons can thus also be found among the rondeaux.<sup>103</sup>

Finally in this long section on the rondeaux we must look at some compositions which illustrate in various ways how the rondeau is gradually transformed to create a basis for new chanson types.

Cop 1848 no. 92 *Je me repens de vous avoir aymée* 3v on the face of it looks like an arrangement of a popular tune. For in the monophonic chansonnier in *Paris BN, fonds français 12744* we find the song *Helas, je me repens de vous avoir amée*, the tune of which recurs in the upper voices of the three-part composition. But it is not quite that simple.

The repentant love song is a rondeau. The third and fourth lines of the text, it is true, are much corrupted in Cop 1848, but the complete poem, a *rondeau quatrain*, which appears in the two anthologies *Le Jardin de Plaisance* and the 'Rohan Liederhandschrift', can easily be laid under the music.<sup>104</sup> The song is for two equal voices taking turns as superius and tenor, and a bassus which plays an active role in the imitations. It has many features in common with the type of rondeau just described (with alternating imitative and homorhythmic texture, fast text declamation and an active upbeat beginning); and the text's dissociation from the dead love affair must presumably also place it close to the 'anti-courtly' camp.

The first three phrases of the monophonic song in *Paris 12744* can be seen as an 'averaging-out' of the upper voices in no. 92 (cf. *Example 16*), while the fourth and last phrase is rather indexterously squeezed into a repetition of the first. The rondeau, on the other hand, is through-composed. What is the relationship between the two songs? It is conceivable that the monophonic strophic song, which has the limited pitch span of the popular songs, was rewritten as a rondeau and then set polyphonically with inspiration from the monophonic tune. Yet the end of the melody is so atypical (the popular songs are almost always quite regularly structured) that there must either be errors in the transmission or the opposite is the case: that it was arranged after the unique rondeau in Cop 1848. The latter explanation is more likely. The rondeau can be assigned to a widespread 'light' type; and this explanation makes the small compass of the monophonic tune a natural result of the movement of the two equal upper voices.

The text struck a chord in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As well as the rondeau and the strophic version in *Paris 12744* with a total of seven stanzas, it is found in reworked versions in printed collections of texts from the 1520s; a reply was even written to the song,

<sup>103</sup> More on this in Chapter 9.

<sup>104</sup> DrozJ no. 233 and LöpelmannR no. 377; the unique piece is published in Vol. III as no. 11.

**Example 16** *Paris 12744 ff.17<sup>v</sup>-18: Helas, je me repens*<sup>105</sup>

He - las je me re-pens de vous a - voir a - mé - e, puis-  
 que\_aul - tre - ment n'a - vez voulu mon bien, et que ja - mes ne vou-sis-tes en  
 rien cho - se qui soit au gré de ma pen - sé - e.

stating the woman's views—*La reponce de la dame sur la chanson de: Je me repens ...*; and of course it begins "Ne te repens de m'avoir trop aymee".<sup>106</sup> The power of the refrain may explain why the rondeau's theme was further embroidered for generations.

In the second monophonic chansonnier, *Paris BN, fonds français 9346*, the so-called 'Bayeux manuscript', there is also a rondeau which can perhaps be traced back to a polyphonic chanson, *Triste plaisir et doloireuse joye* with a text by Alain Chartier and music by Gilles Binchois. The monophonic song is in rondeau form, but only uses Chartier's refrain, and there are few resemblances to Binchois' setting.<sup>107</sup> The relationship between Cop 1848 no. 92 and the monophonic chanson in *Paris 12744* is far closer.

Where no. 92 is the origin of a monophonic chanson, and so forms the first link in a chain of adaptations, in the two-part composition no. 77 *Tres doux penser, Dieu te pourvoye* we have a quite different situation; it is a late link in a similar chain of development.<sup>108</sup> The piece is an arrangement for two tenor voices of a monophonic tune; one voice has the tune in even note values, and the other, much livelier voice winds round the tune, mainly at intervals of thirds. The piece is in *tempus perfectum diminutum*, which should be understood here as double brevis measures. The composer has felt free to alternate between rhythmic groupings of two and three *semibreves*. This gives the composition a slightly limping movement. In the monophonic chansonnier *Paris 9346* the tune is notated in *tempus imperfectum* (cf. *Example 17*). It does not resemble the majority of popular songs. It has a wide compass—a tenth—and exhibits a number of irregularities which gave the composer of the two-part version some trouble; and after three lines of verse the tune has a mid-cadence with fermata and a vertical line down through the staff.

The tune must have been taken from a polyphonic setting of a rondeau; it is exactly like the tenor parts in several of the rondeaux we have looked at above, with small 'tails' after the first and third phrases, and a long final melisma. On the other hand, it is not certain that the parallels between the second and fourth phrase come from the original—the arranger may have strengthened a slight existing similarity. And indeed the text is found as a *rondeau cinquain* in the manuscript *London, British Library, Lansdowne 380*, and its refrain was taken over almost unchanged in the monophonic chanson. In *Paris 9346* the second stanza is a *cinquain*, and has the same stanzaic structure, but its content has nothing to do with the

<sup>105</sup> In the MS the third line of the text is "et que james vous ne vousistes ...".

<sup>106</sup> See also the textual information in Vol. II and Jeffery V I, p. 236f and p. 241f.

<sup>107</sup> The second section of the song in particular has certain resemblances to Binchois' tenor; at the beginning the contour of the upper voices is also reflected. For Chartier's poem, see ChartierP p. 378. Binchois' chanson is published in BinchoisC p. 40 and the monophonic chanson in GéroldB, no. 73.

<sup>108</sup> Publ. Vol. III no. 12.

**Example 17** *Paris 9346 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59: Tres doulx pincer*

Tres doulx pen - cer, Dieu te pour-voy - e,  
 car cel - le\_a mon de - sir j'a - voy - e; car  
 je suis si d'a - mours ac - taintz, pro -  
 chain du cuer, des yeulx loin - tancz, plain de re - gretz, vui -  
 dé de joy - e.

original refrain—it probably comes from a quite different song and was included as a filler. The scribe does not seem to have been aware that the song was a rondeau, not a strophic song.<sup>109</sup> Cop 1848 no. 77 demonstrates the later stage of the development; after migrating from a polyphonic rondeau to the monophonic repertory, the tune is again arranged for several voices.

The text of the three-part chanson *D'amour je suis deseritée* (Cop 1848 no. 99) is a quatrain found in several versions with more stanzas in the printed text collections of the 1520s.<sup>110</sup> In the slightly older French music manuscript *Uppsala 76a* ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45 the song is found with the same quatrain under the music. Under the superius there is a further supplementary text, and here the poem takes the form of a *rondeau quatrain*—the supplementary text may not have been entered by the same hand who copied *D'amour je suis* into the manuscript.<sup>111</sup> Against the background of the rondeaux described in this section, it is not inconceivable that no. 99 could be performed as a rondeau; in that case the mid-cadence would fall after the first two imitative phrases (bar 11). In the last phrase of the piece we again encounter the repeated brief motifs that belong to the 'light' rondeau type. However, it is more likely that this composition has the strophic version as its textual basis. For the third phrase, which like the last is homorhythmically formed, concludes with an imperfect cadence on the fifth degree of the mode (f-Ionian) with a fermata chord at the end (bar 15), and the main caesura falls otherwise than in a rondeau (the cadence with fermata is also in the copy in *Uppsala 76a*).<sup>112</sup> All the elements of the composition are familiar from the 'light' or 'anti-courtly' rondeaux; only a displacement of the cadential emphasis separates the strophic setting from a rondeau, so it is very likely that the song also existed in such a version.

Several other songs are based on rondeau texts without observing the form—many of the texts of fifteenth-century songs which are classified as quatrains and cinquains may be detached

<sup>109</sup> The poems are published in WallisA as no. 210 and GéroldB as no. 57, and with the two-part setting in Vol. III.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the textual information in Vol. II and JefferyV I, p. 257 and II p. 54.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Chapter 14.2 note 36.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. modern editions in SeayT p. 5, ThomasT no. 2 (after Attaignant), and AdamsT p. 521 (after Cop 1848).

rondeau refrains: a likely candidate is no. 73 *Content de peu en voiant tant de bien* 3v.<sup>113</sup> The text of no. 219 *Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie* 3v is put together with lines from an 'anti-courtly' rondeau in *Le Jardin de Plaisance*,<sup>114</sup> the refrain of the same rondeau is also used in an anonymous four-part chanson in one of Attaignant's collections.<sup>115</sup> Janequin found the text for the four-part chanson *Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire* (no. 35) in the same way. A slightly older chanson, Josquin's five-part canon chanson *Plusieurs regretz qui sur la terre sont* (no. 250), is similarly based on a well known rondeau, "Tous les regretz qui sur la terre sont"; here too, the composer felt no obligation to respect the original form of the poem.<sup>116</sup>

### The historical position of the rondeau

Cop 1848 gives us an impression of the view taken in the early sixteenth century of the polyphonic rondeau which had been the dominant form in secular art music. The manuscript reflects taste in a large provincial city just before 1520, and from that chronological vantage point much of its courtly repertory already lay several generations in the past. Obviously, the genre still had a hold on the public long after its prime. From printed and manuscript text collections of the sixteenth century, we know that the rondeau was still one of the most frequently-used and well-loved poetic forms, and Cop 1848 shows us that it was not out of the picture as a musical form either, although the composers had put it aside.<sup>117</sup> The manuscript's repertory of rondeaux was compiled and copied at a time when not only the rondeau, but also the arrangements of popular tunes, no longer held new challenges for the composers, and when newer chanson types like the so-called 'Parisian' chansons were developing rapidly. But in public consciousness the rondeau had a longer life which does not surface in more centrally-placed sources which concentrated on what was new in music.

This insight into the wider range of music available is one of the finest qualities of a retrospective source. Yet one must also be aware of the problems of such a source. For it gives a rather one-sided picture of its immediate past. The repertory has been filtered through a couple of generations and shows the clear influence of contemporary musical taste. It is clear for example that the many extremely sophisticated reworkings of famous courtly chansons found in sources of the turn of the century are no longer of any great interest.<sup>118</sup> The more 'abstract' compositions in the older repertory have been given little space in the manuscript; nor has the late flowering of the courtly chanson that one finds, for example, in Josquin's five and six-part chansons or Pierre de la Rue's four-part rondeaux, made any impression; just as the tendency to modernize older three-part compositions with a fourth *si placet* voice, so prevalent in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, has left no trace here at all. It is the classic three-part rondeau that dominates, preferably in its most lyrical and text-close form, and one also notes a special interest in the rondeaux which are close to the popular settings. This is probably not a matter of deliberate selection, rather a natural result of the taste of the period for relatively simple, text-close songs. And the milieu represented by Cop 1848 also seems to favour three-part writing in other genres.

The historical picture that Cop 1848 gives of the fifteenth-century rondeau must thus be modified by the study of the primary sources of the genre, the Franco-Burgundian chansonniers

<sup>113</sup> Vol. III no. 64.

<sup>114</sup> Vol. III no. 67.

<sup>115</sup> In *Trente et troys chansons nouvelles ... (Attaignant 1532/12)* no. 27.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. the information in Vol. II.

<sup>117</sup> It should be noted that the majority of the rondeaux in Cop 1848 are not entered as textless compositions, where the original form and text have been forgotten—the great majority of the songs that have more than a single stanza of text in the manuscript are courtly songs; cf. Chapter 3.2.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.4 *Compositions based on courtly chansons*.

of c. 1460-1500. Musicologists have dealt with this topic for many years. The classic work is still Knud Jeppesen's analysis of the repertory in *Ms. Thott 291 8°* in The Royal Library<sup>119</sup> to which most authors still refer as the basis of their studies.<sup>120</sup> In the introduction to the book Jeppesen is very critical of the courtly poetry (the majority of its practitioners are amateurs who water down the art of the great poets), a view which the majority of later authors simply endorse; on the other hand he values the musical aspects extremely highly.<sup>121</sup>

In his evaluation of the repertory he operates with two general concepts: *Weiterwerte*—its significance for the history of musical development—and *Zeitwerte*—its significance in its immediate temporal context. For Jeppesen the *Weiterwerte* of the courtly chanson above all consists of the development of imitative technique and consistent treatment of dissonance; and the hunt for the roots of Palestrina's style in this repertory runs like Ariadne's thread through his presentation. His evaluation of the *Zeitwerte* of the genre homes in with great assurance on the composers' sensitive treatment of the fixed framework of the forms:

“Die Zeitwerte sind am deutlichsten auf dem Gebiet der Form zu beobachten. Die grosse Eleganz und Verfeinerung, die die burgundische Kultur überall prägt, äussert sich hier in sehr entwickeltem Sinn für Proportionen und ganz ungewöhnlichen Gefühle für Elastizität und Weichheit der Übergänge.”<sup>122</sup>

He considers the relationship of music to text weak, and stresses the structural nature of the music.<sup>123</sup> But later, in his discussion of the repertory in *København 291*, he fine-tunes this view. Among other things, he states that all the voices in the compositions were probably meant for vocal performance, and that there are no great problems in laying text under the untexted tenor and contratenor parts.<sup>124</sup> And in his discussion of some chansons, for example Hayne's *De tous biens plaine*, he in fact also points out the close relation of the lower voices to the words.<sup>125</sup> But while reading his analysis one must constantly remember that Jeppesen is speaking solely of the courtly chanson of the period of the Burgundian Duke Charles le Téméraire, and is not giving a complete picture of the period up to the year 1500.

<sup>119</sup> *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*, Copenhagen and Leipzig 1927 (JeppesenK).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. e.g. BrownT p. 79 note 4 and PerkinsM II p. 1 note 1.

<sup>121</sup> “Es ist in der Dichtkunst die Zeit der “zweiten Rhetorik” – eine mehr quantitativ als inhaltlich fruchtbare Periode, in welcher selbst die berühmtesten Poeten wie Arnoul Greban, Henri Baude und Jean Molinet nur Mittelmässiges leisten, und in der eine fast unendliche Reihe von Dilettanten, mit Hilfe der in dieser Zeit so verbreiteten Reimlexica, die Kunst eines François Villon und Charles d'Orléans verwässern. ... Muss also die höfische Lyrik des späteren 15. Jahrhunderts ihrer fast beispiellosen Beliebtheit zum Trotz als ästhetisch recht dürftig charakterisiert werden, verhält es sich mit der damit verknüpften Musik entscheidend anders.

Es ist hier von Nachplappern und Epigontum nicht die Rede, es handelt sich um urwüchsige Kunst, geschaffen von der Besten einer Zeit, die auf diesem Gebiet Ausserordentliches leistete. Hier sind wirkliche Probleme (nicht bloss imaginäre), Probleme, deren Inangriffnahme für die ganze weitere Entwicklung der Tonkunst entscheidend wurde, feinsinniger und frische Reichtum der Details, geniale Erfindung, kurz Lebensfülle im Gegensatz zur Lebensferne. ...

Aus der Zeit geboren tragen viele dieser Kompositionen das Gepräge einer über aller Zeit stehenden menschlichen wie künstlerischen Wahrheit und Schönheit, und es darf wohl gesagt werden, dass selten eine Kunst, die ein so treuer Ausdruck ihrer Generation war, noch so entscheidend auf die Folgezeit wirkte” (JeppesenK pp. XIX-XXIII).

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p. XXIII.

<sup>123</sup> “Das Verhältnis der Tonkunst der Poesi gegenüber ist überhaupt in dieser Periode, trotzdem Dichter und Komponist oft eine und dieselbe Person ist, kein besonders intimes. Die musikalische Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts ist in ihrer hauptsächlich konstruktiven Art noch vorwiegend mittelalterlich betont” (ibid. p. XXI).

<sup>124</sup> “Es ging aus solchen technischen Beobachtungen hervor, dass in den meisten Kompositionen des Kopenhagener Chansonnier (ja, wahrscheinlich in allen) die Tenöre und Contratenöre, trotzdem sie nur Textanfänge aufweisen, doch ebensogut wie die Superien für vokale Ausführung bestimmt waren. Diese Annahme liess sich durch die Ergebnisse einer näheren Untersuchung der Textfrage nicht entkräften und lässt sich ausserdem beim Betrachten vom Gesichtspunkt der Imitation aus Unterstützen” (ibid. p. LXVII).

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. p. LXIX.



In many later works on the courtly chanson, Jeppesen's views have been adopted and extended to the whole period. There are indications that most of these writers have taken special note of his general remarks in the introduction and have paid less attention to his far more complex review of the repertory itself. As for text underlay and the performance of the lower voices, it has been the prevalent view for a long period that they were primarily instrumental (the appearance of the music in Jeppesen's and similar editions which only give the amount of text given in the sources, may bear some of the blame for this).<sup>126</sup> Scholars have moreover attached great importance to the structural, abstract aspects of the genre, and have been deaf to the expressive qualities of the music, while the obvious uniformity of the fixed forms has rather obscured the wealth of variety in the repertory—so much so that Leeman L. Perkins is probably right in saying that the genre has been underestimated:

"The secular song ... Whether considered verse, music, or a combination of the two, much commentary has focused on their limitations, and the aesthetic judgements have been largely unfavorable. ... Even the music, though less commonplace than the verse and consequently less vulnerable to similar criticism, has not escaped censure for its lack of formal variety and for the strictures imposed on melodic development by the need for clarity and articulation in presenting the poetry as song. In fact the positive qualities of the genre—concision, economy of expression, and structural cohesion—have been construed in an unfavorable light by unwarranted comparisons with essentially different categories of musical composition, the contemporary mass and motet."<sup>127</sup>

Jeppesen's concern with the *Weiterwerte* of the courtly chanson may have contributed to this view of the genre. If one insists on looking for the development of imitative technique and the like, the chansons must, in comparison to the late fifteenth-century's through-imitated motets and cyclical masses, seem mere trifles: here there is no development of the form, and the structural features are, despite everything, easily overlooked; yet it is these elements that have most often been used to characterize the genre. Several authors have provided excellent descriptions of lyrical, more text-close chansons, but these observations have not been allowed to budge the conventional view of the genre.<sup>128</sup>

This is where the retrospective repertory of Cop 1848 can help us towards a subtler approach. It is quite clear here that the courtly chanson has many facets, that it develops along several closely-related paths at the same time, and that the relationship with the text is a fundamental element—perhaps indeed the most important expressive feature of the genre. The multifacetedness is illustrated by, among other things, the way the 'anti-courtly', very text-close, ironic/licentious chanson, which I have not seen described before as a distinct type, makes its presence felt beside the other, rather older rondeau types. And as a whole, the repertory of the manuscript outlines a situation where the lyrical chanson, with its at once intimate and abstract relationship with the text, presents a common point of departure for the composers, and where deviations from this were an important means of expression.

This long section on the rondeaux in Cop 1848 must end with a plea for the renewed study of the fifteenth-century chanson, for a review of the many valuable results of research with fresh eyes and ears, and for an understanding of the music and text as a unity. It is not difficult to criticize the courtly poetry—or much of the music—in isolation; one can with equal justification criticize the nineteenth-century repertory of songs with piano accompaniment.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. e.g. C. Page's remarks and references to the literature in 'The performance of songs in late medieval France', PageP p. 441 and p. 449 notes 2–5.

<sup>127</sup> PerkinsM II p. 1.

<sup>128</sup> See for example under individual composers in G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (ReeseR) or scattered through H. M. Brown's many works.



But to recognize the expressive power of a subtle approach to the fixed conventions in a repertory so far from us in time is much more difficult. Only when we have done so can we make a qualified attempt to correct the view of the rondeau held by its immediate posterity, and create a multi-faceted overall view of the period—and above all become aware of the aesthetic experiences that await us here.

## 7.2 Bergerettes

The bergerette saw a brief flowering in the mid-fifteenth century, but towards the end of the century it had almost fallen into disuse again. Around 1520 there seems to have been even less interest in it. In Cop 1848 there are only four songs in this form, all for three voices; and the scribe does not even seem to have been aware of the form in which two of them were written: he copied only the first section of Ockeghem's *Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure* (no. 227), and it has no text at all. And Agricola's *Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage* (no. 223) has been split in two, so that the second section of the song appears by itself as no. 236 *Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise*.<sup>129</sup> Only two songs in the manuscript are immediately recognizable as bergerettes.

The bergerette ranges as wide in its subjects and musical design as the rondeau. In Cop 1848, though, all the examples belong to the classic courtly type, the melancholy love song; and the manuscript has nothing new to offer us as far as this group is concerned.

The form of the bergerette offers the composer certain different possibilities, but is otherwise stylistically of a piece with the rondeau. The main division of the composition falls after the refrain, which is as long as the rondeau refrain (as a rule four or five lines of verse), and the two shorter *couplets* have their own music. Although the bergerette thus consists of exactly the same sections as the rondeau, *refrain – two couplets – tierce – refrain*, it contains more music, larger expanses within which the various phrases must be balanced, and where the progression of cadences must be arranged differently. The first section (the refrain) must still end the whole composition, and is therefore rounded off with a perfect cadence. The mid-cadence (and the special considerations it entails for the progressions before and after it) is not obligatory, but many bergerette refrains are nevertheless indistinguishable from rondeaux—ingrained habits from a dominant form easily carry over into a closely-related form. The second section, the music of which has to be repeated for the two *couplets*, often takes the form of a contrast to the music of the refrain, and normally ends on an imperfect cadence leading into the first section again; it can also have two different endings—*ouvert* and *clos*.

We can use the unique no. 8 *Retirés vous, mon cuer, si serés saige* to illustrate the form.<sup>130</sup> True, it is incomplete—the *tierce* of the poem is missing, and it exhibits a couple of atypical features—but the fundamental characteristics of the form are clearly present. The text has a four-line refrain and two-line *couplets*. The music is for high voices (pitch span *d-g''*), and it is unlikely to have been written by a significant composer; it is too flawed by a certain amount of floundering—an impression produced by the cadences rendered weakly imperfect solely because the final tone in one of the voices is not held for a full *brevis* value (bars 10, 15 and 36). The texture of the song places it in the last decades of the fifteenth century. The contratenor functions alternately as a participant in the imitations and as a harmonic supporting voice (see for example the *superius* entry in bar 7, where the tenor repeats the counter-voice just

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Ch. 4.2 *Rfasc. F.*

<sup>130</sup> Vol. III no. 13.

stated by the contratenor while the contratenor assumes a purely supportive function), or it follows the superius in parallel tenths in passages where the tenor carries the melody (for example in bars 33-35).

The first section is set out exactly like a rondeau; in bar 26 there is a clear mid-cadence, where the upper voices glide in parallel sixths into an imperfect cadence on the fifth degree of the mode—while there is no fermata or *signum congruentiae*, the only general pause in the piece is here!—and the final cadence is ornamented with an ascending sequence in all three voices. The second section forms a contrast to this with a more compact homorhythmic texture where the tenor is less sharply profiled. In the manuscript the second section has been furnished with two endings, oddly enough both perfect; the superius finishes an octave higher in the second and exchanges functions with the tenor. If the two endings are to be taken as the first and second turn, it would probably have been better to use them in reverse order, considering the initial notes in the first and second sections.

Agricola's *Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage* (no. 223 and no. 236) has a number of features in common with no. 8; among other things, the role of the contratenor at the start of the song is exactly the same; the song appears in sources of the mid-1480s (cf. Table 3). The text is a panegyric of the beloved, and is structured with five lines in the refrain and three in each *couplet*. Agricola used it as the basis for a fairly large-scale setting. Each section is much longer than in no. 8, 65 and 38 brevis measures respectively, and the music is shaped with his usual mastery, varied and colourful with a fine balance between the declamatory and melismatic passages.<sup>131</sup> The second part does not form a contrast to the first, and ends like it on a perfect cadence on the first degree of the mode. It is not surprising that in the sixteenth century the two sections were taken to be two different chansons.

The other two bergerettes in Cop 1848 accord better with the courtly form, as they have *couplets* in a simpler, declamatory texture, in contrast to the first sections. In Fresnau's *Ha! qu'il m'ennuye* (no. 29), where a woman is the speaker, the second section ends imperfectly with a cadence progression that resembles the mid-cadence of a rondeau;<sup>132</sup> this composition is complete in Cop 1848, but here too the *tierce* of the text is missing. The textless version of Ockeghem's *Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure* (no. 227) has discarded the second section; in other sources it is found with *ouvert* and *clos* endings, the first cadencing imperfectly on the first degree of the Phrygian mode, and the second ending in a perfect cadence on the fourth degree, so that the first section can return almost seamlessly.<sup>133</sup>

### 7.3 Ballades

If the bergerette had become a rarity around 1500, the courtly ballade had completely disappeared from the repertory. Nevertheless, Cop 1848 has settings of two courtly poems in ballade form. The settings are only known from this source; the poems, though, are known from other contexts, and are much older than the music.

The poem "Pastourelle en ung vergier" has many features pointing back to the thirteenth century, when the origin of the form in the dance song was still evident. In subject and verse form (heptasyllabic instead of the usual decasyllabic lines) it is like the old *pastourelle*, a simple narrative poem about shepherds—and more particularly about shepherdesses who meet

<sup>131</sup> Cf. the edition in AgricolaO V p. 5, which is furnished with text in all three voices.

<sup>132</sup> A fully texted edition can be found in AgricolaO V p. 116 (among the *Opera dubia*).

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the edition in PerkinsM I no. 30.

noblemen and the inevitable consequences.<sup>134</sup> Here the poem, which consists of three short stanzas and an *envoi*, is about a shepherdess who has been slighted by her (noble?) lover. The refrain in all its profundity proclaims: “A friend in need is a friend indeed”.

Pierre Fontaine set this poem at some time in the first decades of the fifteenth century. His music fits the poem perfectly, and it is almost completely syllabically set for three singing voices, catchy and popular in nature and very different from the complex, melismatic ballade style of the beginning of the century.<sup>135</sup>

The three-part setting in Cop 1848 (no. 91) follows the same tradition. It, too, is simple and popular in tone.<sup>136</sup> But otherwise it cannot be compared to Fontaine’s song; it was certainly not written by a court composer. The tenor is the most strongly profiled voice, and is surrounded by simple counter-voices; only in the second section is there a little imitation in the form of almost canonic movement in octaves by the superius and tenor (bar 18ff). These features first and foremost recall the settings of popular tunes of the last decades of the fifteenth century, but it is difficult to date such a provincial composition in more detail.

The religious ballade *O escharbuncle reluisant* appears no less than three times in the manuscript: in a three-part (no. 210 and no. 225) and in a four-part setting (no. 209). The poem is a prayer to the Virgin, comparing her to precious stones, to the trees of the South and finally to flowers. It was very popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,<sup>137</sup> and can perhaps be attributed to the poet Martin le Franc (c. 1410–1461), who was attached for much of his life to the Duchy of Savoy, and who in 1443 became first *chanoine*, then *prévôt* at the cathedral of Lausanne.<sup>138</sup> As mentioned before,<sup>139</sup> both settings are quite simple, homorhythmically textured with the superius as the leading voice. They were probably both written by the same local composer, who was most at home in three-part writing. In the first, four-part setting the contratenor is strikingly stiff and monotonous compared to the other three voices.<sup>140</sup> The homophonic settings of the religious poem have many resemblances to the contemporary Italian *lauda*; among other things the bassus is clearly the harmony-bearing voice in both pieces, although the superius and tenor still constitute a fully-fledged two-part composition, and the whole diction of the poem is decidedly French.

<sup>134</sup> Baudet Herenc’s *Le doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique* (1432; publ. in LangloisR p. 104 ff) illustrates the *pastourelle* with “En ung pré, lez une bruiere” (p. 177f), a pastoral in the form of a *chant royal* with five stanzas + *envoi*, where each stanza consists of eleven octosyllabic lines (10 lines + refrain).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. the edition in MarixM p. 12 after *Oxford* 213 f. 121<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Vol. III no. 14.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. textual notes on Vol. II no. 210.

<sup>138</sup> According to A. Piaget, *Le congié pris du siècle sèculier par Jacques de Bugnin* (PiagetB) p. 13 note 3 the poem is found in papers from the convent of Sainte-Claire d’Orbe (16th century) under the heading “Orayson à nostre Dame, escripte et composée par messire et reverent Père en Dieu, messire le Franc, chanoine de Lausanne ...” (Piaget quotes a book by the Abbé Jeannerot, *Vie de très haulte, très puissante et très illustre dame Madame Loyse de Savoye*, Geneva 1860, which I have been unable to obtain). Piaget further remarks: “Jean Molinet, dans son Oraison à la Vierge Marie, a plagié Martin le Franc. Voy *Les faitz et dictz* édit. de Paris 1540, fol. 166.”

N. Bridgman raises the question of how the poem (and the two compositions) found their way to Lyons, pointing out that Martin le Franc’s birthplace was in Normandy, and that there are a few chansons in Cop 1848 that refer to that province. She suggests a possible link between Cop 1848 and a Norman group: “E possibile che una parte del repertorio confluito nella raccolta danese provenga da una piccola cerchia normanna?” (BridgmanC pp. 48–50). Since Martin le Franc worked in nearby Lausanne, it should not be necessary to look for a link so far away.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.2 *Rfasc. HJK*; the compositions are published in Vol. III as nos. 15–16.

<sup>140</sup> N. Bridgman points out that the music of the upper voice quotes the beginning of Caron’s *Madame qui tant est mon cuer*, publ. in CaronCE II p. 181 (BridgmanC p. 50). Although this quotation would be very appropriate in a “ballade à la vierge, mère de Dieu”, the use of the motif (a falling fourth in bars 1–5) could as easily be a coincidence.

Around 1500 the ballade form is encountered most frequently in the popular repertory, where it can appear in all sorts of variants. In this respect it is striking that the two older poems in ballade form in Cop 1848 also employ the musical idiom of the popular genres, in all three cases characterized by an almost syllabic setting of the poem and close agreement between poetic and musical form. These compositions should probably be viewed not so much in the context of the courtly repertory as in that of the older *cantus firmus* reworkings of popular tunes and Latin songs in *lauda*-like settings.

## 7.4 Compositions based on courtly chansons

We have already mentioned, in the section on the rondeau, a number of songs based on material from other songs. These were Compère's *Au travail suis sans espoir de confort* (no. 56), a mosaic of quotations from several rather older chansons, and his *Venés regretz, venés il en est heure* (no. 66), which paraphrases and inverts Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés regrez*. Two reworkings of Ockeghem's *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* have also been mentioned: Ockeghem's own double chanson *Fors seulement contre ce / Fors seulement l'attente* (no. 256) and no. 54 by Antoine de Févin, a 'fourth-generation' work in this large family. These did not break out of the mould of the courtly chanson—the youngest song, Févin's, was indeed probably deliberately cast in the traditional mould.

Cop 1848's two unique reworkings of the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* has nothing like the same intentions. Both are for two voices, and both use the familiar tune as foundation for a comic upper voice with a new text. Here we are in the domain of popular music, and there is nothing to indicate that professional composers like those mentioned above had anything to do with either of them. No. 123 *J'eyme bien qui s'en va / De tous biens plainne* is the most unassuming of the two. The upper voice is a grotesque patchwork of quotations from popular songs and clichés from sacred music without any apparent meaning—half the voice lacks any text, so it is difficult to identify all the quotations.<sup>141</sup> This quodlibet (*fricassée*) voice has not been conceived with any great imagination; the quotations are patched on above the tenor melody, which they follow in consonant intervals—the only dissonance effects are the few syncopated cadential figures, and the differences in the speed of declamation achieve no real effect. Nor can the provincial no. 123 be said to be particularly effective compared to other, probably slightly older pieces of the same type.<sup>142</sup>

No. 131 *Venez, venez, venez trestous / De tous biens plaine* seems at first glance to be three-part; on the opening at pp. 200-01 we find Hayne's tenor and two treble voices, one with text and the other without. However, it soon emerges that the two upper voices cannot be sung together, and an analysis of the music hand reveals that the textless part was added by the later user of the manuscript, *Hand D*.<sup>143</sup> In other words, what we have is a two-part double chanson. To Hayne's tenor *De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse*, underlaid here as in no. 123 with the whole rondeau refrain, has been added a through-composed upper voice in a lively *parlando* style which recalls certain of Janequin's chansons. The text, which was also printed in a longer

<sup>141</sup> Vol. III no. 17. As regards the identified quotations, see Vol. II no. 123.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. in the manuscripts *Escorial IV.a.24* and *Sevilla 5-I-43*; examples have been published in M. R. Maniates, 'Combinative Chansons in the Escorial Chansonier' (ManiatesE) p. 107 and D. Plamenac, 'The Two-Part Quodlibets in the Seville Chansonier' (PlamenacQ).

<sup>143</sup> BrownF p. 206, no. 73nn erroneously calls this a three-part song; in JefferyV II p. 176 the piece is listed as monophonic! *Hand D*'s alternative upper voice is discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.2, and the two pieces are published in Vol. III as no. 18 and no. 18a.

version as *La Chanson Maistre Pierre du Quignet* in Paris in 1535, is a crazy comic monologue, a market crier's ballyhoo to attract the attention of the public, with a long string of street cries all meant to draw attention to 'maistre Pierre du Cugnet'.<sup>144</sup> It can be rendered more or less as follows:

Come, come all ye hunchbacks, simpletons and freaks, one-eyed, lame, uglymugs and overgrown louts, ye wretched rascals that creep in the dust! Come, come and meet Master Pierre du Cugnet! No wonder he's famous! He's a lovely sight, sweet, lovable and cute, with a fine-looking face. True, his nose is not quite flawless, but I can promise you faithfully that you've never come across such a genteel little redhead. The cutest of the uglies, that's Master Pierre du Cugnet! You that shout »Old shoes«, »Lees«, »Wool and hair«, »Firewood«, »Fine lettuces«, »Buttons«, »Hot cakes« or »Come and look, pretty women, I'm selling sweet cherries and smoked herrings, coal and spicy wine«, come to your matins and meet Master Pierre du Cugnet!

The melody line mostly follows the tenor tune in thirds and sixths; where the tenor has long notes, the upper voice has quick repeated notes on the octave or fifth. The voice has hardly any melodic profile, but one should not underestimate some striking octave leaps (bars 41-49)—its effect depends on the incongruity of the tenor's pretty setting of a love poem and the burlesque, tongue-twisting virtuosity of the upper voice.

The most notable thing about this repertory group is in fact the small number of compositions in it. Apart from Ockeghem's and Févin's *Fors seulement* chansons and perhaps *Venés regretz* there are no serious reworkings of material from courtly chansons. Yet these were one of the standard ingredients in mixed manuscripts of the first part of the sixteenth century. For example, *Firenze* 2439 has, besides a series of *Fors seulement* compositions (ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-24), many other compositions built upon familiar songs (*D'ung aultre amer*, *Een vrouelic wesen*, *Comme femme* etc.),<sup>145</sup> and in *St. Gallen* 461 we find a similar interest in this kind of composition.<sup>146</sup> In most other sources they do not appear in such bulk, but do make up a significant component—in Petrucci's printed collections, too, for example. We must assume that this musically more demanding genre held no great interest for the milieu in which Cop 1848 arose.

## 7.5 French-Latin chansons, a Grace and a Lamentation

Three songs in Cop 1848 combine French and Latin texts. Two of these belong to a small exclusive group which forms the culmination of the melancholy tradition in the courtly chanson, while at the same time having roots far back in the secular French-Latin motet. The genre was only cultivated for a few decades at the end of the fifteenth century, and quantitatively is not a large group.<sup>147</sup> All the same, it has been given thorough treatment in musicological

<sup>144</sup> The long version of the text has been published in JefferyV II pp. 176-179. "As well as including street-cries, the poem is itself a kind of street-cry. Like a fairground master of ceremonies, the speaker or singer invites the public to draw near. The style reminds one of the dramatic monologues of the period. ..." (JefferyV II p. 178). The person mentioned in the text also appears in an anonymous triple chanson in the Italian manuscript of the 1460s *Escorial IV.a.24* ff. 66<sup>v</sup>-67 *Rolet ara la tricoton / Maistre Pierre de Cugnil / La tricotée fu par matin lavée* 3v, publ. in BrownT as no. 55 (cf. also BrownF no. 253, pp. 251-52).

<sup>145</sup> Cf. the catalogue in BecheriniM pp. 257-260.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. the complete edition by F. J. Giesbert (GiesbertS).

<sup>147</sup> Less than 30 compositions, including the atypical four-to-six-part pieces; many of these compositions, however, appear again in print later in the 16th century; cf. CazeauxF p. 165.



literature,<sup>148</sup> where terminology has been an important issue since W. Stephan, in his 1937 book *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockegheims* attached the designation 'Motet-Chanson' to the repertory.<sup>149</sup>

The three-part compositions must be regarded as the motet-chansons proper. They all observe a fixed pattern: a superius-tenor duet with a French text—as a rule a rondeau or bergerette—is combined with a sacred *cantus firmus* in long note values in the bassus or a similar freely-composed part with Latin text. The form is determined by the poetic form of the text for the upper voices. The bassus is split up into short phrases with rests between them, and the piece begins with a duo of the upper voices. In content, the French poems belong to the conventional melancholy love lyric type, often with an element of longing for death, and the mood is underscored by the Latin texts, often taken from the funerary liturgy, lamentations or the like. Not surprisingly, the chanson specialist Compère, with his five motet-chansons, has left us some of the most successful examples of the genre; Josquin is represented by three, and Agricola by two motet-chansons; the remaining few must all, it seems, remain anonymous.

The term 'motet-chanson' refers to the genre's obvious similarity to the older secular motet, indicating at the same time that in its heyday it belonged to the musical universe of the courtly chanson. Terminologically, however, the name is not so apt, for in the last third of the fifteenth century 'motet' and 'chanson' had developed into more or less clearly defined, distinct genres, so the term on the face of it seems self-contradictory and meaningless. It has been deemed practical if to some extent misleading in the literature, but reservations have been on very different grounds.<sup>150</sup>

For the sake of more clarity about the position of the motet-chanson, one must distinguish between two types. The bilingual compositions with many voices, which can best be represented by the well-known lamentations like Dufay's four-part *Lamentatio sanctae matris Ecclesiae constantinopolitanae* or Josquin's six-part *Nymphes, nappés / Circumdederunt* and *Nymphes des bois / Requiem aeternam* for five voices, make up a distinct type. These occasional compositions observe no fixed pattern, but are formed after the material used and normally have no specifically chanson-like features. They do not differ significantly from compositions of the same character with all-Latin texts like the anonymous seven-part *Proch dolor / Pie Jhesu* on the occasion of the death of the Emperor Maximilian in 1519.<sup>151</sup> Among the three-part motet-chansons we also find occasional works; the anonymous *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum* is a lament for Philippe le Beau, who died in 1506, with texts by his sister Marguerite d'Autriche. Although it does not

<sup>148</sup> Among other places in H. Hewitt's edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton A* (HewittA) pp. 69-72, in L. Finscher's book on Compère (FinscherC) pp. 205-230, and in M. Picker's edition of the manuscripts associated with Marguerite d'Autriche (PickerC) pp. 83-88.

<sup>149</sup> StephanM pp. 51 and 58.

<sup>150</sup> Its similarity to the bilingual motet has often been pointed out—"Through an odd confusion of terminology, this type of composition is called a motet chanson when in fact it has the strongest claim of any 15th-century form to the designation "motet" as the term was originally used in the 13th century. ..." (S. W. Kenney, 'In praise of the *lauda*' (KenneyL) p. 490)—and in this connection Dufay's *Je ne puis plus / Unde veniet* (DufayO p. 51) with its almost isorhythmic Latin tenor has been mentioned as a link (StephanM p. 51, FinscherC p. 205 and ReeseR p. 55). L. Finscher describes motet-chansons as "—motets by their genealogy, chansons by their appearance—" (FinscherC p. 205), while H. M. Brown expresses the opposite view: "The technique of combining two different French texts ... is related to the motet-chanson, which is constructed in the same way, except that plainchant is substituted for a popular tune", and in a footnote to this he adds: "Even though it ['motet-chanson'] is a useful term, it has obscured the fact that the motet-chanson belongs to the history of the chanson, and it has led various commentators to fail to recognize that the cantus firmus chanson with more than one text is exactly the same kind of piece ..." (BrownT p. 88).

<sup>151</sup> Publ. in PickerC p. 304.



entirely observe the pattern for motet-chansons described above—among other things it is through-composed in two sections—this late composition is clearly related to the older, fixed type; it is a paraphrase of the characteristic features of the genre,<sup>152</sup> and as such very different from the lamentations with many voices.

H. M. Brown is right in saying that the true motet-chanson belongs to the history of the chanson. But to declare that it and the chansons that combine rondeaux with popular songs are in principle of the same type is perhaps an exaggeration.<sup>153</sup> Technically there may be resemblances, but otherwise, the *combinative chansons* (double and triple chansons)<sup>154</sup> and motet-chansons are at opposite poles in the wide spectrum of the chanson. Through time the popular melodic material itself was fully integrated into the polyphonic compositions and new chanson types developed, while the sacred element in the motet-chanson was clearly demarcated as an illustrative element which gave rise to no other forms.

Compère's *Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* (Cop 1848 no. 62) is one of the compositions that has contributed to the lack of clarity about the motet-chanson. For it appears in many sources as a *contrafactum* with the Latin text laid under all three voices, and in this version it enjoyed great popularity until as late as Rhau's *Tricinia* of 1542. Furthermore, it is found with two different *rondeaux cinquains* in the upper voices. In the manuscript *Bruxelles* 228 the superius and tenor sing "O devotz cueurs amans d'amour fervente", which is a paraphrase of the Latin text in the bassus, which comes from the Lamentations of Jeremiah (1:12). L. Finscher considers this text combination the original one, and sees it as a confirmation of the religious ambience of the genre.<sup>155</sup> However, Martin Picker demonstrates that "O devotz cueurs" is more likely to have been added at the urging of Marguerite d'Autriche, as was the case with other compositions in her collections. The striking parallels between the poem ("Je suis la seule mère, qui a perdu son seul filz et son père, et son amy par amour excellente") and Marguerite's own fate suggest that private reasons were behind the choice of this text when the song was entered in *Bruxelles* 228. The conventional love lyric "Tant ay d'ennuy et tant de desconfort" must be regarded as the original text.<sup>156</sup>

Compère's chanson is one of the most perfect examples of the genre. As the cantus firmus in the first section of the bassus part, until the mid-cadence, he uses the *tonus lectionis* for the third reading on Holy Thursday<sup>157</sup> in long note values. In the second section of the rondeau the bassus moves like an ordinary contratenor. The introductory duo is formed to great effect in two sections: after the imitation of the upper voices on a motif derived from the c.f. melody, the bassus intones "O" on a long *c*, and the upper voices glide down through the C-triad in parallel sixths to a fermata chord; then they continue alone and conclude the first line of the rondeau while the bassus re-enters with "vos omnes" bypassing the cadence in the other voices. Further reference may be made to L. Finscher's thorough analysis, where, on the basis of the use of the song as a model for a parody mass, he dates it in the years 1485-90.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Cf. the edition in PickerC p. 384.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. note 150 above.

<sup>154</sup> The combinative chanson is a three-part or four-part composition where a superius with a text in *forme fixe* (*rondeau*) is combined with one or more popular songs in the lower voices. This type flourished briefly in a period more or less co-extensive with that of the motet-chanson; cf. the thorough discussions in Maria Rika Maniates' articles 'Mannerist Composition in Franco-Flemish Polyphony' (ManiatesM), 'Combinative Chansons in the Dijon Chansonnier' (ManiatesD) and 'Combinative Chansons in the Escorial Chansonnier' (ManiatesE). In Cop 1848 the type is not represented, and it quickly disappeared from the repertory in the 16th century.

<sup>155</sup> FinscherC p. 218ff.

<sup>156</sup> PickerC p. 58.

<sup>157</sup> LU p. 631.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. FinscherC p. 218ff and the edition in CompèreO V p. 4.

Unfortunately the second motet-chanson in Cop 1848 is not complete. Of the unique three-part *Hors de propos / Creator omnium rerum* (no. 129) we have only the first section (until the mid-cadence).<sup>159</sup> Otherwise, it would have been a welcome addition to the scanty repertory, since the relationship between the sacred melody in the bassus and the free upper voices is handled here with great assurance. The bassus sings, almost unchanged and in spacious note values, the verse “Creator omnium” from the responsory “Libera me Domine de viis inferni” of the *Officium pro defunctis*;<sup>160</sup> only after bar 35 are there some deviations from the Gregorian melody for the sake of the cadential progression. Over this, the upper voices sing the extremely gloomy *rondeau cinquain* “Hors de propos, de rayson séparé”, which appears in many of the text collections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>161</sup>

A third three-part composition in Cop 1848, no. 82 *Checun par grant intencion / Agimus tibi gratias*, resembles a motet-chanson, but is of a quite different nature and without a trace of gloominess—rather the contrary.<sup>162</sup> Instead of a *rondeau*, the upper voices have a French-Latin stanza: “Anyone with good manners should sing after his meal: We thank you, Lord Christ, Saviour of the World”. The bassus only has the Latin text, which is a short grace.

Polyphonic settings of graces or table blessings in Latin, French, German and English are preserved in considerable numbers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Carleton Sprague Smith gives an overview of this repertory in the article ‘Table Blessings Set to Music’.<sup>163</sup> The Latin prayer “Agimus tibi gratias Christe redemptor omnium” is a very short variant of the usual prayer which Orlando di Lasso, for example, set repeatedly for the use of the court in Munich.<sup>164</sup>

The Latin text is sung in the bassus to a short Phrygian melody in triple time, the second half of which is repeated. It has not been possible to identify the formulaic melody; it may well have been sung as a monophonic grace. The composition in Cop 1848 is modelled on the motet-chanson, so the melody in the bassus comes in steady note values with rests between the phrases. The livelier, imitative upper voices stay in duple time, and only finish with the injunction in French after the bassus has sung the first Latin line. In bar 12 the upper voices start on the Latin text and quote the bassus melody in shorter note values. In this piece the transitions between the duo sections and the three-part c.f. texture are not as elegant as in the above-mentioned no. 129; in bars 19-24 the tenor suddenly has to change roles—to a rather clumsy contratenor. On the whole, one can trace in the hectic upper voices a certain provincial uncertainty about the compositional work—nevertheless this song of thanks for God’s bounty has its own robust charm.

The unique grace is older than the examples mentioned by Sprague Smith, most of which are influenced by the ideas of the Reformation. It is also unique in its mixed French-Latin text and its special compositional form, which places it chronologically close to the motet-chanson, a speciality of the last decades of the fifteenth century.

Another distinctive composition in the courtly repertory in Cop 1848 is the settings (nos. 68 and 69) of the first two stanzas of a longish French *Lamentation*, which is preserved in its entirety in the text manuscript *Paris BN, ms. fonds français 1722* (16th century).<sup>165</sup> The anonymous poem is a piling-up of the commonplaces expressing sorrow: “Plain de regret, [de] playsir

<sup>159</sup> Vol. III no. 19.

<sup>160</sup> Found in the so-called ‘Worcester Antiphonal’ (AW) p. 439.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. the textual notes on Vol. II no. 129.

<sup>162</sup> Vol. III no. 20

<sup>163</sup> Smith T.

<sup>164</sup> Five settings for between three and six voices; cf. Boetticker L p. 474 and Raynor S p. 90.

<sup>165</sup> Vol. III no. 21; cf. also Vol. II no. 68.

esguaré, chargé de deul, de joye desemperé, triste et pensif, a mourir préparé, sans esperance de jamais avoir mieulx. / [A] ma douleur nulli n'est comparé, ... comblé de doeil, de souspirs envieulx. / Las(se) de vivre, de languir envyeulx ..." etc. And it ends with a call to the singers to join in the moaning: "... chantres, plourez! chantez! plourez! la mort vous a de deul parez." From this compendium of clichés that we can recognize from the 'regretz' chansons,<sup>166</sup> it is impossible to say what the occasion for the lamentation could have been. The whole poem seems to have been written with musical setting in mind, with the address to the singers as an effective conclusion, as in Josquin's lament for Ockeghem *Nymphes des bois / Requiem aeternam*. But we only have the two introductory quatrains in Cop 1848.

The two sections are through-composed, but are so identically structured that the second section of *Ma douleur* seems to be a free variation on the first section. The tenor is clearly the structural voice in both, and binds the two sections together with the aid of melodic parallels and similar approaches to the cadences. After the imitative beginnings, superius and contra-tenor act in many places as counter-voices to a cantus firmus voice. The range of the three voices is in general narrow: the tenor mostly remains within the fifth *f-c'*, and its melodic formulations recall those of Psalm Tone I, used for example for the Introit "Requiem aeternam" of the Requiem Mass.<sup>167</sup> Another association that springs to mind is Fresnau's rondeau *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* (Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262). Here we find many resemblances, not only in the tenor melody, but also in the whole layout of the composition.<sup>168</sup> The lamentation should probably be placed in the same context as Fresnau's chanson—that is, at the French court towards the year 1500. The unknown composer has tried to create an adequate interpretation of a French lament within the expressive framework of the courtly chanson without resorting to loans from the motet or motet-chanson. Instead, he has deliberately exploited the monotony of the limited pitch span of the voices and vague associations with 'sacred' melody. We can only speculate in vain on whether he ever managed to carry the very long chanson all the way to the final lines "Chantres, plourez! chantez! plourez!"

<sup>166</sup> On this, see MarvinR, where the author traces these long-cherished expressions back to Alain Chartier's *La Complainte* "Contre toy, Mort doloireuse et despitée", publ. in ChartierP p. 320.

<sup>167</sup> GR p. 94\*.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. discussion in Chapter 7.1 *Lyrical rondeaux*.

## Chapter 8

### The popular repertory

Cop 1848 includes a comprehensive selection of polyphonic popular songs, a genre that assumes an important position in the sources from the last decades of the fifteenth century until the 1520s. In this repertory we must include both those compositions that directly incorporate an existing popular song, and those that only employ the idiom of such songs. The boundaries are fluid, and lacunae in the source material often make it difficult to tell whether a given composition is in fact based on a song that has now disappeared. In some cases it is most likely that the composers, even in freely-composed songs, consciously emulated the style of the widespread arrangements of popular melodies. However, the whole repertory is based on one and the same song tradition—quite distinct, textually and musically, from the courtly tradition—which must be treated as a whole. Delimiting the material from the ‘Parisian’ chansons of the 1520s is a more difficult matter: the Parisian chansons are to a certain extent a development of the popular repertory, and include actual settings of popular songs which, depending on one’s point of view, could be placed in either group.

It is easiest to demonstrate the differences between the popular and courtly repertory with examples. *Sus le pont de Lyon* (no. 7) has already been mentioned several times because of the reference in the text to Lyons. This reference has been given some emphasis in identifying the origin of the manuscript, as the three-part composition is a setting of a very familiar popular song known in all other regions of France as *Sur le pont d’Avignon*; the song has been used until modern times in singing games at wedding feasts.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the tune is also found in several very different settings from the sixteenth century makes it particularly suitable as an example.

First, let us look a little closer at no. 7 *Sus le pont de Lyon*.<sup>2</sup> The popular tune is in the tenor, and is sung through twice (bars 2-21 and 22-40) with slight variations in ornamentation and rhythm. The other voices imitate the tune. The superius imitates it consistently—it freely paraphrases the entire tune both times, while the contratenor is mainly involved in the imitations at the beginning and when the tune starts over again. The imitative pattern is used as a variation device in the repetition of the tune; in its second phrase the parts make their entries in a new sequence, and in quicker succession (bar 25). Cadences fall thick and fast throughout the piece, about every fourth bar, following the short phrases of the melody. Apart from the final cadence they are all rendered imperfect by the contratenor, which either takes the third or sixth below or continues without pause.

The text is strophic. Cop 1848 is the only source from the early sixteenth century with more than one stanza for this song. In no. 7 there are only two more lines, but even these are sufficient to confirm the affinities with the variants of the text collected in France in the nineteenth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter 5.

<sup>2</sup> Transcribed in Vol. III as no. 22 and in GlahnM p. 105.

century, where the song appears with great variation in the numbers of stanzas (hexasyllabic quatrains). The first stanza is always the same; it functions as a kind of cue, and can be followed by the most varied elements. One variant that is very close to no. 7 begins as follows:

Sur les ponts d'Avignon  
j'ay ouï chanter la belle,  
qui dans son chant disait  
une chanson nouvelle:

"J'ai perdu mes amours  
je ne sais où les prendre,  
à Paris ou à Tours  
ou bien à la Rochelle.

Il faut brider Moreau  
et lui mettre la selle  
et piquer de l'éperon  
jusqu'au lit de la belle".

"Ouvrez la porte, ouvrez,  
madame la mariée!"  
"Comment vous l'ouvrirai-je?  
Je suis déjà couchée.

auprès de mon mari  
la première nuitée.  
Attendez à demain,  
la fraische matinée.

Mon mari ne sera pas là,  
il sera en compagnie,  
mon ménage sera fait,  
ma place balayée."  
... (13 stanzas in all)<sup>3</sup>

Even in this small section there are two independent text segments after the fixed introduction: "J'ai perdu ..." (stanzas 2-3) and "Ouvrez la porte ..." (stanzas 4-6). The first segment matches the incomplete second stanza of no. 7, while the beginning of the second segment is almost identical to the words of the second setting of the tune in Cop 1848 (no. 241 *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés*). This segment can also appear immediately after the introduction, as in the following version:

Sur le pont d'Avignon  
j'ay ouï chanter la belle,  
qui dans son chant disait  
une chanson nouvelle:

"Ouvrez la porte, ouvrez,  
nouvelle mariée!"  
"Comment que j'ouvrirais?  
Je suis au lit couchée

auprès de mon mari  
la première nuitée.  
Attendez à demain,  
la fraische matinée.

pour que mon lit soit fait,  
ma chambre balayée,  
et que mon mari soit  
à gagner sa journée."<sup>4</sup>

In these texts one gets a clear impression of the differences from the courtly tradition: the extremely simple verse structure, the straightforward language, the bantering treatment of love, and the way a text is not an integrated whole, but can be expanded or contracted as required. These texts are much later than the settings in Cop 1848, but there can be no doubt that the lyrics of former times behaved the same way; one can convince oneself of this by looking through the printed collections of popular songs.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the part-writing in no. 7 exhibits obvious differences from the courtly music—compared, for example, with the 'lyrical' rondeau type. The most crucial difference is of course the very fact that the arrangement is based on an existing song whose melody so dominates the whole structure. Compared with the long, subtle melody lines and balanced structure of the rondeau,

<sup>3</sup> Paris, BN, MS *Poésies populaires de la France* VI, ff. 297-98 (from Bas-Maine—after WallonC p. 185; the supplementary text in the transcription of no. 7 is also taken from here).

<sup>4</sup> Paris, BN, MS *Poésies populaires de La France* III, p. 350 (from Mantes—after TiersotH p. 210); "... le voici tel qu'il est chanté par les gens compaignes de la mariée enfermées avec elle, et dialoguant avec les gens de la noce qui, dans la nuit, assiègent la porte de la chambre nuptiale: ..." (TiersotH p. 209).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. in easily-accessible editions in JefferyV I-II, where the same texts can appear in quite different versions in different prints.

**Example 1** *Sur le pont d'Avignon*<sup>6</sup>

a: b:

Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon j'ay\_o - ye chan-ter la bel - le

c: d: e:

qui en son chant di - soit u - ne chan-son nou-vel - le, nou - vel - le.

c': e':

qui en son chant di - soit

we have short phrases with a tendency towards syllabic setting of the words (most pronounced, of course, in the tenor); we have the constant cadencing, and the regularity of the melody, where each phrase stays within a limited section of the scale (the tune is symmetrically structured—first gravitating around *d-a*, then *a-d'*, *c'-f* and finally *a-d*, see also *Example 1*), and the rhythm is almost metrically regular.

The setting in no. 7 has a signature of one flat, and the lowered sixth degree is required almost everywhere in the Dorian composition. But in all cadences on the fifth degree this forces a diminished fifth between tenor and contratenor (bars 4, 9, 24 and 28). This can be remedied by *musica ficta*, for example by eliminating the *bb*'s in all voices from bar 4.2 to bar 10, and again from bar 24.2 to bar 28. But this would produce some cross relations between tenor and superius, and is unlikely to have been intended by the composer, for the two-part structure functions without problems; these only arise when the contratenor comes into the picture. Apart from the imitations, the contratenor is an 'old-fashioned' supporting voice which leaps above the tenor (bar 17), and gives the composition a provincial character. The latter half of the fourteenth century accepted passages with a diminished fifth between the contratenor and one of the upper voices, provided the dissonance was immediately resolved in a major third: the continuation of the contratenor a semitone up in bars 10 and 25 is typical.<sup>7</sup> The strikingly 'odd' points in no. 7 are bars 5 and 29, where the contratenor interrupts the flow with leaps—in both cases the correct continuation would have been the note *f* (the note *c* in bar 29 may be a scribal error). The reason for this is that the composer wants variation and wishes to write three-part imitations based on the melody like the court composers—and perhaps a lack of ability. Moreover, in composing the contratenor, the composer may have been uncertain whether the tenor melody was to be sung with the sixth degree of the scale natural or lowered; that the melody was difficult to deal with is also evident from the other settings.

In its monophonic form the song probably kept to the pure Dorian mode, with the *b*'s flattened only where the melodic movement so demanded, as shown in *Example 1*. This simple, formulaic version, where the first and third phrases are almost identical, is found as the tenor in Cop 1848, no. 241, which has no key signature. It is slightly more developed in no. 7 and

<sup>6</sup> After Cop 1848 no. 241, which has the simplest version of the tune. Section *c'* is found in all other sources; the *e*-section varies, but usually has the same outline as *e'*; the *b*-section ends in several versions with the movement *c'-a*.

<sup>7</sup> For example, also in no. 208, bars 1.5 and 7.5 (Vol. III no. 25). In Busnois' generation this cadence is not rare; see for example Busnois' *Je ne puis vivre ainsi* in the version found in *Dijon 517* ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-39 (publ. DrozT p. 64), with a diminished fifth between one of the upper voices and the 'Concordans' in bars 11, 14, 32, 37, 44 and 46, or Delahaye's two chansons in *Cop 291*, publ. JeppesenK no. 1 (bar 18) and no. 6 (bar 27).



**Example 2** Claudin (?): *Sur le pont d'Avignon* 4v<sup>8</sup>

The musical score is for a four-part setting of 'Sur le pont d'Avignon'. It is written for Soprano (S), Contralto (C), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) voices. The time signature is 2/2, and the key signature is one flat (B-flat), indicating G-Dorian mode. The lyrics are: 'Sur le pont d'Avignon j'ay\_o - y chan-ter la bel - le qui en son chant di - soit u - ne chan-son nou - vel - le, nou - vel - le.' The score is divided into three systems. The first system covers the first line of the song. The second system covers the second line. The third system covers the third line. The lyrics are written below the corresponding staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

in two four-part settings (see *Examples 2* and *3*); in these settings the third phrase cadences on the third degree of the mode instead of the fifth (shown as section c' in *Example 1*). In the four-part versions the tune is transposed to g-Dorian, but the *e* is not flattened in the tenor voices, so the melodic line is the same as in *Example 1*.<sup>9</sup> The fluctuation between the natural and lowered sixth degree is also characteristic of later uses of the tune, whether monophonic or polyphonic.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> After *Paris 30345A(6) MS* ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8. Superius: bar 6.1 is a ♭ in the MS.

<sup>9</sup> In the transcriptions in *Examples 2* and *3* the b-section of the tune has no flattening of the sixth scale degree; but both compositions are so formed that flattening would be no problem, and it may have been done in practice without further ado.

As we have seen, Cop 1848, no. 241 *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* is a setting of the same song, but without the introductory stanza. It demonstrates the simplest possible way of arranging a song for three voices: homorhythmically in a note-against-note texture.<sup>11</sup> The superius and contratenor are pure counter-voices with no independent profile, and the cross relation between the lowered sixth degree in bar 4 of the superius and the natural sixth degree in the tenor in bars 5-6 must be deliberate here. The cross relation is forced by the movement of the voices: the passage of the superius from *f'* to *b'* requires a lowering of the higher note, while the movement of the contratenor from *a* to *e* and from *e* to *A* needs the *b*<sub>♭</sub> in the tenor. This setting probably reflects the way the monophonic tune was sung. It is as remote as can be from the courtly repertory, and it is surprising that this kind of 'everyday' music has been preserved at all.

We find something similar in a four-part *Sur le pont d'Avignon* (Example 2) attributed to 'Claudin' in a manuscript addendum to Attaignant's *Tiers livre contenant xxi Chansons musicales a quatre parties* ... of 1536.<sup>12</sup> This too is a short, awkward setting with the melody in the tenor. Some imitation of the second phrase of the tune has been attempted in the lower voices in bar 4, but otherwise the arrangement has little ornamentation. The feeble attempt at imitation renders the first half of the setting rather weak, and we can probably safely assume that this Claudin was not the Court Chapel's Claudin de Sermisy, a master of apparently simple four-part writing;<sup>13</sup> this setting has more affinities with Cop 1848, no. 241.

By contrast, the four-part setting of the tune in Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1504 is a technical tour de force (Example 3). The tune is repeated four times in the tenor, unchanged apart from the fact that the small concluding phrase (Section e, cf. Example 1) is only used the first and last times. The three other voices play around it in a varied imitative texture that almost becomes a set of cantus firmus variations. Despite some consecutive fifths along the way, it is an impressive demonstration of the possibilities inherent in arrangements of popular tunes: different kinds of duetting, strict and free imitation for four voices, a few homorhythmic passages, free polyphony around the melody, parallel movement against a pedal, etc. Perhaps it is more of a showpiece than a chanson.

With *Sur le pont de Lyon/d'Avignon* we have encountered various ways of setting a popular song: two simple settings for three and four voices, one three-part imitative setting of the song and a professional four-part demonstration of variational possibilities. Their chronology is hard to determine. The most sophisticated setting appears in the oldest source, *Canti C* from 1504, while the others are from sources that are more than 15-30 years later. Nevertheless, the more provincial types of song have a more old-fashioned look, and at least the compositions in Cop 1848 probably date from the fifteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> See for example P. Certon's *Missa Sus le pont d'Avignon* (cf. Vol. II no. 7 *Other settings*), music examples 6-7 in WallonC (p. 186) and the monophonic versions from the 17th-19th centuries in WallonC (examples 8-9) and TiersotH p. 209.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. III no. 23.

<sup>12</sup> *Attaignant 1536/6*; the copy in Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, Rés. 30345 A(6) has eleven handwritten sheets appended. Cf. HertzA p. 286.

<sup>13</sup> The chanson has been published in SermisyO IV p. 98.

**Example 3** Anonymous: *Sur le pont d'Avignon* 4v<sup>14</sup>

The musical score is for a four-part setting of the French song "Sur le pont d'Avignon". The parts are labeled on the left: S (Soprano), Contra (Contralto), Tenor, and Bassus (Bass). The time signature is 2/2, and the key signature has one flat (B-flat major). The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains the first line of music, with lyrics: "Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon j'ay\_o - y". The second system contains the second line of music, with lyrics: "chan-ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -". The third system contains the third line of music, with lyrics: "soit u - ne chan-son nou - vel - le, nou - vel - le:". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. There are also some performance markings like "5" and "10" above the staves.

Contra  
Tenor  
Bassus  
S

Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon j'ay\_o - y

Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon j'ay\_o -

(1.) Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon

Sur le pont d'A - vi - gnon

chan-ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -

y chan - ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -

j'ay\_o - y chan-ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -

j'ay\_o - y chan - ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -

soit u - ne chan-son nou - vel - le, nou - vel - le:

soit u - ne chan - son nou - vel - le, nou - vel - le:

soit u - ne chan-son nou - vel - le, nou - vel -

soit u - ne chan-son nou - vel - le, nou - vel - le:

<sup>14</sup> After *Petrucchi* 1504/3 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62, which only has text incipits. It is impossible to say which version of the text the music was written for; here the text from Cop 1848 no. 7 is underlaid as an illustration; two further stanzas from one of the later text versions (cf. Vol. II no. 7) can be underlaid without difficulty.

20

le: »J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les

»J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les s'en sont al - lé -

le: (2.) »J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les

»J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les s'en

25

s'en sont al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a Tours, ou bien a

es a Pa - ris ou a Tours, ou bien a

s'en sont al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a Tours, ou bien a

sont al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a Tours, ou bien a

30

La Ro - chel - le. ...

La Ro-chel - le. ...

La Ro-chel - le. ... (3.)

La Ro-chel - le. ...

40

This musical score is for Chapter 8, page 174, and covers measures 45 through 55. It is written for a four-part vocal ensemble (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in a key of B-flat major, indicated by two flat symbols in the key signature. The time signature is 4/4. The score is organized into three systems, each containing four staves. Measure numbers 45, 50, and 55 are placed at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals (sharps, flats, and naturals), and phrasing slurs. The first system (measures 45-49) features a mix of quarter, eighth, and half notes. The second system (measures 50-54) includes more complex rhythmic patterns with eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as some ties. The third system (measures 55-58) concludes the passage with sustained notes and a final cadence. A rehearsal mark (4.) is present in the third measure of the first system.

It is to the credit of the American musicologist Howard Mayer Brown that the popular chanson has found a place in the history of music, not only as a special type of chanson, but as an important factor in the new stylistic departures around 1500.<sup>15</sup> In his 1959 article 'The *Chanson rustique*: Popular Elements in the 15th- and 16th-Century Chanson',<sup>16</sup> and in his book *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (1963)<sup>17</sup> he gives the first general account of the popular chanson. Here one finds a discussion of the monophonic repertory, its subjects and style, and its place in society. The sources for the polyphonic settings are reviewed, and Brown outlines a classification of the repertory into types and describes the historical development of the genre from the beginning of the 1400s until the flowering of the Parisian chanson in the 1530s. Since then, in a number of articles, H. M. Brown has published more detailed studies of individual groups in the repertory and of particular aspects of the development of the chanson, and other scholars have been inspired to take up similar themes.<sup>18</sup> This has not substantially challenged Brown's original concept of the area as a whole, but his account has been expanded, and the definitions of the individual chanson types have been refined, so that today they are generally accepted as the firm point of departure for any treatment of the popular chansons.

Before we begin to look at the placing of the repertory in Cop 1848 in relation to previous research, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of some of the background.

We know of no source for the monophonic song repertory that originates in the social stratum where the repertory was most widespread—the middle and lower classes of the towns. Our knowledge of the melodies is based exclusively on the written material produced for the use of the aristocracy, the court and the more prosperous citizens. On the other hand, since the earliest years of printing, the words of the songs had been disseminated in very cheap broadside prints, where adding the tune, given the difficulty of printing music, would have meant a drastic rise in the price. Moreover, the melodies could be assumed to be so generally familiar that it would be superfluous to print them; if it was a matter of new words to a well-known tune, the melody could be recalled by simply giving the usual first line. For the same reasons we must assume that most of the melodies have been lost. When this repertory became the object of fashionable interest among the nobility and at court in the last decades of the fifteenth century, these circles were nowhere near as familiar with the melodic material—which thus presumably held the attraction of novelty—so here we find the melodies carefully written out with the words.

<sup>15</sup> Brown's work of course builds on much other research; among the most important contributions one could mention François Lesure's *Éléments populaires dans la chanson française au début du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1954) (LesureE), the book *Musicians and Poets of the French Renaissance* (1955) (LesureP) and Gustave Reese and Theodore Karp's article 'Monophony in a Group of Renaissance Chansonniers' (1952) (ReeseC).

<sup>16</sup> In JAMS 1959 pp. 16-26 (BrownP).

<sup>17</sup> BrownF; the article is expanded in 'Chapter III: Chansons in the Theater'. A companion anthology, *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, also appeared in 1963 (BrownC).

<sup>18</sup> 'The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530' (1963) (BrownG); 'Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine Patrician. Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Ms. Basevi 2442' and 'The Music of the Strozzi Chansonnier (Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442)' (1966) (BrownS<sup>1</sup> and BrownS<sup>2</sup>) and 'The Transformation of the Chanson at the End of the Fifteenth Century' (1967) (BrownT). Among works by other scholars, a number of articles by Lawrence F. Bernstein are the most important for the 16th century, including '*La Couronne et fleur des chansons a troys*: A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardane' (1973) (BernsteinC) and 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson' (1982) (BernsteinO); and, on the fifteenth-century repertory, Maria Maniates' works on the combinative chansons (cf. n. 33 below).



The two great monophonic chansonniers in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—*fonds français* 9346 and 12744—are our main sources for the popular songs.<sup>19</sup> Both are beautifully executed parchment manuscripts with costly gold ornamentation, and the ‘Bayeux manuscript’, Ms. 9346, has splendid coloured border decorations with animal and plant motifs on each opening. The manuscripts were made just after 1500, probably in the first decade of the century, and were intended to grace noble libraries. They contain 100 and 141 chansons respectively, and share no less than 35 chansons, some of which appear, however, in a few variants. The distinctive feature of the manuscripts is that they preserve a monophonic song repertory, not selected voices from polyphonic compositions.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, greater emphasis is given in them to texts than in any of the sources with polyphonic settings of popular songs. In *Paris* 9346 the music comes first on each opening with the first stanza underlaid, and the rest of the text follows below and on the right page of the opening, just as carefully copied as the music; sometimes the scribe has even been over-zealous in providing complete texts, as he has included extra stanzas which have no connection whatsoever with the beginning of the text, but which fit the stanzaic structure.<sup>21</sup> In *Paris* 12744 the text appears first in its entirety, and considerable pains have been taken to reproduce the sequence and relationships of the stanzas, while the tune is written at the bottom of the page with the first stanza more sketchily underlaid.

The subjects of the songs are of many kinds—but nevertheless there is a common concern. The main theme is, as in the courtly poems—and almost all other poetry—love; but it is treated much more sensually, freely and with more variation, and not infrequently the songs give it a humorous twist. One recognizes themes and stylized poetic diction from the courtly poetry of the previous centuries. Often the point of view is quite reversed. The longing for the unattainable beloved changes to the common theme of *la malmariée*, the forced marriage, where the younger spouse curses her or his partner and very realistically depicts the joys of dalliance in the arms of a secret lover. We encounter many themes in the songs besides love: there are pastoral scenes, nature lyrics, drinking songs, laments and narrative songs with historical or political subjects. Typically, a song can include several of these elements; as in a chain of associations, the stanzas glide from one theme to the next. In a love song, for example, the birds of the wood can always put in their pennysworth of advice, or the main character may apostrophize them; innumerable songs include a stanza beginning “Rossignol du bois ...”. The songs are not finished poems; as we saw with “Sur le pont”, they can vary in length and content. As long as there is a characteristic beginning, the song can touch on many things; love in its more down-to-earth form is a many-faceted affair.

Where the courtly poems could be criticized for excessive use of artificial, formulaic phrases, especially in the hands of amateur poets, the stereotype is a *sine qua non* of the popular song. Familiar themes and expressions and repeated recycling of successful stanzas ensure a positive response to the song in wide circles, and the success of a song depends more on a good story, a new punch-line or a surprising juxtaposition of traditional elements than on any poetic originality.

<sup>19</sup> Published by T. Gérold in *Le manuscrit de Bayeux. Texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (GéroldB) and by G. Paris and A. Gevaert in *Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (ParisC).

<sup>20</sup> Some monophonic songs may be reworkings of polyphonic songs; cf. the discussion in Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*. That the chansons constitute a true monophonic repertory was demonstrated by G. Reese and T. Karp (cf. ReeseC).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. for example the account of Cop 1848 no. 77 *Tres doulx penser* in Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*.

We should not be blind to the fact that the content of the two monophonic chansonniers is a carefully edited selection. Much as the upper class might relish the more 'vulgar' and obscene texts, in these collections there is nothing that could offend the ear of a lady. In the polyphonic settings we find texts that are rather more spicy and barbed, and the same goes for the more popular printed collections of texts.<sup>22</sup>

Often a liberal view was taken of the rules of structure and versification in the texts. So we cannot expect any great consistency either in the number of syllables in a line or in the rhyme scheme.<sup>23</sup> This gives an impression of great formal freedom; strophic songs with all kinds of refrains seem to be the norm. However, the old *formes fixes* underlie many of the songs with refrains; *virelais* and *ballades* in particular appear in many guises, and on closer scrutiny one can also find a few *rondeaux*. It is the basic versions of these formal patterns that are used, with very few lines, or only a single line in each formal element. Not infrequently, they are abbreviated, and unlike the courtly forms they consist of several stanzas. It is first and foremost *virelais* (and *rondeaux*) that behave like this. The *aab* pattern of the *ballade* underlies many songs, and it can have more stanzas and a much simpler structure than the courtly *ballade*. Other songs with refrains (*Chansons à refrain*) may also be reduced *rondeau* or *virelai* types.<sup>24</sup> In the later part of the repertory, though, the true strophic songs almost become the rule—simple structures with between three and seven lines to the stanza.

The tunes, too, are simple, often just a combination of standard phrases. Formally, they closely match the text. The settings are mainly syllabic, often with quite a few repeated notes; at cadences there may be conventional melismata; the compass is limited, seldom exceeding an octave, and difficult intervals are avoided. Often the same melody is used for several different texts, and many of the melodies are almost identical, because they consist of the same standard phrases with little variation in the structure. The strength of the best-known and best-loved melodies lies in their ability to retain their identity even in very radical transformations. One might say that we always encounter them in some kind of arrangement—as always with popular music—and none of the various manifestations of a melody can be regarded as the original. We saw these features demonstrated clearly in the four settings of "Sur le pont".

That the repertory in the monophonic chansonniers is relevant to the study of Cop 1848 is evident from the overview in *Table 1*. Twenty-nine of the numbers in the manuscript have direct or indirect links with this repertory.

The monophonic repertory was widespread in all strata of French society around 1500. Howard Mayer Brown has demonstrated that the songs were an important ingredient in the secular theatre of the age. And precisely the theatre, in all its diversity, was a significant factor in the life of the cities: as welcome entertainment for the citizens, and for visitors from the surrounding countryside; as an expression of the self-awareness of the middle classes, of their religious feelings untrammelled by the straitjacket of the church, and of their reactions to pressure from the established powers. The universe of the theatre was decidedly petty-bourgeois. The characters were standard types: artisans, small merchants and monks, young lovers, cuckolded husbands and viragos appeared in everyday situations, dramatically overstated

<sup>22</sup> For the content of the poems, besides the literature already mentioned, see Brian Jeffery, 'Thématique littéraire de la chanson française entre 1480 et 1525' (JefferyT).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Brian Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance* (JefferyV) I pp. 27f on the repertory of the early prints.

<sup>24</sup> For the verse forms in the monophonic repertory see Jay Rahn, 'Fixed and Free forms in French Monophonic Song, c. 1480-1520' (RahnF). In Cop 1848 the following popular settings are based on *formes fixes* with varying degrees of consistency (in many other cases it is difficult to say so with any certainty): nos. 27, 45, 58, 64, 71, 79 and 107b (*virelais*); nos. 70, 136, 213 and 271 (*ballades*); nos. 161 and 211 (*rondeaux*).

**Table 1**  
**Concordances with the monophonic chansonniers**

Cop 1848	<i>Paris 9346</i> No. in GéroldB	<i>Paris 12744</i> No. in ParisC
No. 27 .....		129
No. 45 .....		50
No. 58 .....		22
No. 64 .....	6 .....	13
No. 70 .....	77	
No. 71 .....		11
No. 75 .....	102	
No. 77 .....	57	
No. 79 .....	27 .....	27
No. 92 .....		23
No. 107a .....	66	
No. 107b .....	12 .....	109
No. 123 .....	83 .....	26
No. 133 .....	25 .....	135
No. 134 .....		80
No. 136 .....	100	
No. 143 .....	43	
No. 146 .....	16	
(No. 163 .....		11)
No. 168 .....	21 .....	54
(No. 171 .....	74 .....	69)
No. 208 .....	43	
No. 211 .....	36	
(No. 213 .....		118)
No. 217 .....	43	
No. 226 .....		96
No. 253 .....		96
(No. 261 .....		73)
No. 270 .....		133

for comic or didactic effect. The satirical sting was seldom aimed directly at the actual powers-that-be; the lower levels of the hierarchy, with whom ordinary people came into contact, were more likely to come under fire—for example, incompetent and greedy officials, lawyers, or lecherous priests. Guilds and special theatre clubs and fraternities might be responsible for the performances, but professional companies and wandering players also took a share in the varied theatrical offerings, ranging from the vast scale of the mystery cycles, which could last days or even weeks, to the quite short *soties* and monologues delivered by performers in the market places. The professionals played everywhere; they helped out with amateur performances, put on farces at court, entertained at the wedding feasts of the aristocracy and in the homes of rich burghers; and they travelled round the big markets and town festivals, wherever there was a chance of good earnings.<sup>25</sup> The songs were the same, whether they were used in plays with amateurs in the cast or were part of the repertoire of the travelling entertainers.

<sup>25</sup> See also BrownF *passim*.

These songs must be designated 'popular music', as they were an important component of everyday musical life. 'Popular music' has to be delimited on the one hand from 'folk music' and on the other from 'art music', and the concept is difficult to define precisely.<sup>26</sup> Many scholars refuse altogether to use the term of music of the pre-industrial age.<sup>27</sup> A discussion of these issues would lead us too far afield in this context. It should simply be stated here that music in the form of monophonic songs—perhaps with improvised accompaniment or in simple polyphonic arrangements—with a range of topics belonging to the universe of the middle and lower classes, but not restricted in performance to particular strata of society; music associated with the theatre, the market-place and other entertainments; music which was part of the repertory of professional entertainers, and whose texts, as soon as the possibility existed, were disseminated in cheap prints; that this music is best characterized by the term 'popular music'. 'Everyday music' included then, and includes today, the most variegated elements. Around 1500 the elements could be traditional, orally-transmitted folk music—in the nature of things we know very little about this; singing in the churches that the general public could hear; the repertory of the city musicians or waits; street cries; professional entertainment; the part of the music of the established powers that was directed at the public; military music, trumpet calls, drumming etc. All this constituted a frame of reference with which everyone, high and low, was familiar; and popular music adapted to this framework and made up a substantial part of its content, forming an intersection point for the financially lucrative, dominant trends of the moment. This is why it is so difficult to pin down in the historical perspective.<sup>28</sup> In Cop 1848 we meet popular music in polyphonic settings. Most of the items must

<sup>26</sup> H. M. Brown writes in his introduction to *Music in the French Secular Theater* "... I have devoted so much space to the literary background of a specific musical repertoire for still another reason—the desire to investigate the social milieu of "popular music" during this period. Too often it has been called "folk music" by music historians, when it has been mentioned at all. For example, Gustave Reese in *Music in the Renaissance* (page 73 [ReeseR]) cites "L'Homme armé" as a folk song. Helen Hewitt ("Malmaridade and Meshouwet" [HewittM]) seems not to doubt that she is dealing with a similar tradition when she discusses the "chansons des mal mariées." But the term "folk" is a hard one to define precisely, and seems to imply orally transmitted material in rural areas. It is my contention that the music found in the theater has nothing to do with the "folk", but is "popular" in very much the same sense in which that adjective is used today. By isolating a repertoire of music, especially of chansons, associated with the theater, one musical style intimately connected with a specific social function can be examined, and a great deal inferred about the otherwise unknown origins of a large and important body of musical material, without recourse to vague, romantic notions of the "people." (BrownF pp. 1-2).

The view that the melodies used in the polyphonic compositions are 'folk music' goes back to the last century. We find it in Julien Tiersot (*chanson populaire*), who does however express some doubt, and would rather call such songs *mélodie primitive* or simply *chansons profanes* (TiersotH p. 450). But Peter Gülke, too, in the *Besseler Festschrift* (1961) has some difficulty in making the distinction in the article 'Das Volkslied in der Burgundische Polyphonie des 15. Jahrhunderts' (GülkeV).

<sup>27</sup> While H. M. Brown has no qualms about the use of the term 'popular music' as a parallel to the popular music of our own day, others are more sceptical: modern society is not like that of the 15th-16th centuries; the function of music is not the same, etc. In a number of encyclopaedia entries—'Unterhaltungsmusik' in M.G.G., 'Popular Music' in NGrove and 'Populärmusik' in SohlmanM—the field is restricted for the same reasons to the musical life of the 19th and 20th centuries. As a substitute for the imprecise 'popular music', Carlos Vega has suggested 'mesomusic', which more or less covers the 'everyday music' outlined here, and which in Vega's definition can be applied to the music of all periods (cf. VegaM). The term has not caught on, but his reflections may serve to delimit the scope of the term 'popular music'.

<sup>28</sup> We must live with the fact that each historical period has its 'popular music', which must be defined on its own terms.

There is no universal definition of the term. Philip Tagg's study *KOJAK... 50 seconds of Television Music: toward the ANALYSIS of AFFECT in POPULAR MUSIC*, Gothenburg 1979, includes an exact definition of popular music in capitalist society. It claims that popular music cannot appear in a pre-industrial society (p. 23); in such

decidedly be classified as 'art music'. They reflect the use of popular music by the elite, and the fascination of well-educated composers with studying and absorbing the musical potential this music had to offer.<sup>29</sup>

To avoid the vagueness of the normal use of the term 'popular music' when speaking of polyphonic compositions based on popular melodies, H. M. Brown prefers to use the expression *chansons rustiques* of this repertory. And he calls the more serious part of the repertory *chansons musicales*. These terms go back to a widespread method of 'labelling' collections of texts from the latter part of the sixteenth century. The first to use them seems to have been Jean Bonfons, who published the collection *Chansons nouvellement composées sur divers chants, tant de musique que rustiques* in 1548.<sup>30</sup> These terms do not make the situation any clearer. The adjective 'rustique' is at least as misleading as 'popular song', and Brown extends the scope of the terms to cover the music of the fifteenth century as well as the late sixteenth century, when the literary conventions were quite different. In particular, they seem less apt for the period when the courtly tradition was still strong, before the predominance of the Parisian chanson. It will be most practical to keep the term 'popular' for these chansons, which contrast in so many ways with the courtly chansons, as long as we remain aware that we are dealing with art music that includes loans or inspiration from true popular music.

a society there exist only art music and folk music (clearly illustrated in Fig. I, p. 21); so a repertory like the monophonic songs must, according to his definition, be consigned to the void: if it is not art music, then it must be folk music, or ...? The same simplistic thinking underlies Anton Würz' entry 'Unterhaltungsmusik' in M.G.G., where the Romantic cult of 'the folk' pervades every mention of the period before 1750.

The social premisses of folk music and art music seem to change more slowly than they do for the more economically-sensitive popular music, so the latter has to be regarded as more ephemeral and more difficult to subject to scholarly analysis. But this should not lead to the formulation of definitions that amputate historical development.

<sup>29</sup> The most fruitful account of the culture of which the music forms part can be found in Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (BurkeP). Of particular interest is his discussion of the 'dual culture' characteristic of the elite in the period around 1500.

"... There were two cultural traditions in early modern Europe, but they did not correspond symmetrically to the two main social groups, the elite and the common people. The elite participated in the little tradition, but the common people did not participate in the great tradition. This asymmetry came about because the two traditions were transmitted in different ways. The great tradition was transmitted formally at grammar schools and at universities. It was a closed tradition in the sense that the people who had not attended these institutions, which were not open to all, were excluded. In a quite literal sense, they did not speak the language. The little tradition, on the other hand, was transmitted informally. It was open to all, like the church, the tavern and the market-place, where so many of the performances occurred.

Thus the crucial difference in early modern Europe (I want to argue) was between the majority, for whom popular culture was the only culture, and the minority, who had access to the great tradition but participated in the little tradition as a second culture. They were amphibious, bi-cultural, and also bilingual. Where the majority of people spoke their regional dialect and nothing else, the elite spoke or wrote Latin or a literary form of the vernacular, while remaining able to speak in dialect as a second or third language. For the elite, but for them only, the two traditions had different psychological functions; the great tradition was serious, the little tradition was play." (P. 28).

Later Burke modifies this account and marks off a third group of great cultural significance—the professionals, the semi-learned, the entertainers, who function as a link between the broad popular culture and the culture of the elite: "Between learned culture and traditional oral culture came what might be called 'chap-book culture' ..." (p. 63). It is precisely in such reflections that we should take our point of departure if we are one day to arrive at an adequate definition of the popular music of the period.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. BrownP p. 18 and BrownF p. 108. Much earlier J. Tiersot borrowed these terms for the same purpose (see TiersotH p. 462).

The bulk of the popular repertory in Cop 1848 consists of unique chansons, so a chronological concordance with earlier sources will be considerably shorter than a similar list of courtly chansons.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it will give us an idea of their placing in time. *Table 2* includes only the older sources; in other words, sources later than Cop 1848 (the whole *Attaignant* corpus for example) have been excluded. It shows that the popular repertory does not stretch quite as far back in time as the courtly one—the oldest items in the list are from about 1490 or slightly earlier—and that the majority of them are from the latter part of the period. It is also quite evident that the various types of setting we have already looked at (for example the three-part as opposed to the four-part songs) were in use concurrently; in fact, the four-part settings dominate the early part of the list.

**Table 2**  
**Popular chansons in Cop 1848: Concordances**  
 (in approximate chronological order)

- Firenze 178 and Roma CG XIII.27* (beginning of 1490s):  
 Nos. 226/253 *Fille vous aves mal gardé le pan d'avant* 4v [H. Isaac]
- Maastricht 169/1* (rejected and used as flyleaf no later than 1502):  
 No. 71 *A qui direlle sa pensée* 2v [Anonymous/Jacotin?]
- Odhecaton A* (Petrucci 1501), *Canti B* (Petrucci 1502/2) and *Canti C* (Petrucci 1504/3):  
 No. 3 *Alons faire nous barbes* 4v [L. Compère]  
 No. 27 *Ilz sont bien pelez, ceulx qui font la gourre* 4v [Anonymous]  
 No. 75 *Baisés moy, ma douce amye* 5v [Josquin Desprez]  
 No. 133 *Le grant desir d'aymer my tient* 3v [L. Compère]
- London 35087 and Uppsala 76a* (repertory of before c. 1505):  
 No. 64 *En amors n'a sinon bien* 3v [A. de Févin]  
 No. 99 *D'amour je suis desirée* 3v [Anonymous]  
 No. 107a [*Je le lesay, puisqu'il m'y bat*] 1v (3v) [A. de Févin]  
 No. 108 *Je voys, je vien, mon cueur s'envolle* 3v [Anonymous]
- Firenze 117 and London 5242* (repertory of before c. 1510):  
 No. 107b [*Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet*] 1v (3v) [A. de Févin]  
 Nos. 112/248 *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer* 3v [Anonymous]  
 No. 136 *Dieu la gard, la bergerotte* 3v [Anonymous]  
 No. 249 *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* 3v (4v) Tomas Jannequin  
 No. 269 *Or sus, vous dormez tropt* 3v [Anonymous]
- Chansons a troys* (*Antico* 1520/6):  
 No. 211a *Pour avoir fait au grez de mon amy* 1v (3v) [Anonymous]

The names of the composers offer no surprises; not unexpectedly, Loyset Compère is again conspicuous, and Antoine de Févin is also relatively well represented in this slightly later repertory; however, two of his three compositions here are fragments without words. If we take the many unique chansons into account, the anonymity is much more striking than was the case with the courtly chansons. Nor do the popular songs score high in terms of the individual numbers' concordances; for most of the identified compositions, there are between one and five other sources. Only the anonymous no. 112/248 *Ces facheux sout*, a great favourite

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chapter 7, *Table 3*.



later in the sixteenth century in four-part settings and in tablatures, has as many as twenty concordances. Heinrich Isaac's *Fille vous aves mal gardé* 4v (no. 226/248) manages eleven, and Agricola's setting of a Flemish ballade *In minen sin* 3v (no. 213), which falls outside our scope here, is found in ten other sources, mainly older manuscripts. The popular songs were widely disseminated; this is evidenced by the geographical distribution of the sources, but they probably never achieved the status of 'evergreens' like some of the courtly songs; their artistic effects were too limited, and their heyday was too short.

The actual use of popular songs as the basis of polyphonic compositions goes back to the first half of the fifteenth century. In the famous manuscript *Q15* in the *Civico Museo Bibliografico* in Bologna, which can be dated 1430 at the latest, there is for example, among a series of chansons added later, a three-part double chanson where the top voice is a setting of a rondeau "Belle tenés moy la promesse", while the tenor sings a popular chanson "La triquotée est par matin levée". The regular, syllabic tenor melody contrasts clearly with the melismatic upper voice—courtly and popular are juxtaposed.<sup>32</sup> Besides the double chansons, in the sources from the subsequent decades we also encounter a number of triple chansons where the setting of a poem in formes fixes is combined with two different popular songs. These 'combinative' chansons are by their very nature—intellectual play on the meeting of opposites, often using complex compositional techniques—a long way from the world of popular music. They enjoyed some favour in the last third of the fifteenth century; they are amply represented in several of the great chansonniers and in Petrucci's collections up to and including the 1504 volume;<sup>33</sup> then they disappear completely from the repertory. At the time when Cop 1848 was compiled they would no longer have been able to arouse any interest, not even in a retrospectively-oriented collection.<sup>34</sup>

Only in the last decades of the century do we encounter a large number of settings where the treatment of a popular tune was the composer's primary aim. Settings like this have only one text, that of the popular song. They represent a definitive change in the attitude to popular song: it is no longer an intriguing contrast with courtly song, but an interesting genre in its own right.<sup>35</sup>

H. M. Brown has developed a terminology meant to provide a general view of the polyphonic popular repertory. The most important chanson types can be briefly summarized as follows.<sup>36</sup>

*Cantus firmus chansons in the older repertory*—with the pre-existing tune in the tenor, which is clearly distinguished from the other voices (*combinative chansons* are a special group within this type).<sup>37</sup>

*Three-part popular arrangements*—the tune permeates the whole fabric of the setting; usually the tune is in the tenor, accompanied by straightforward imitations and conventional accompanying figures in the outer voices; however, the melody may also be in the uppermost voice with homorhythmic accompaniment; this group also includes more ambitious compositions

<sup>32</sup> Publ. BrownC no. 5; see also BrownF p. 120 and p. 251 (no. 253); for the later use of the "La triquotée" tune—by Josquin, among others—see Alan Curtis, 'Josquin and *La belle tricotée*' (CurtisJ).

<sup>33</sup> In *Dijon* 517, *Escorial* IV.a.24, *New Haven* 91 and *Sevilla* 5-I-43, as well as *Petrucci* 1501, 1502/2 and 1504/3; see also the detailed accounts in Maria Rika Maniates' articles 'Mannerist Composition in Franco-Flemish Polyphony' (ManiatesM), 'Combinative Chansons in the Dijon Chansonnier' (ManiatesD) and 'Combinative Chansons in the Escorial Chansonnier' (ManiatesE).

<sup>34</sup> The two-part settings no. 123 and no. 131 are however related to these types (cf. Chapter 7.4).

<sup>35</sup> M. R. Maniates goes so far as to say that "these genres represent independent facets of secular composition in the 15th century; they do not stand in a genetic relationship to one another" (ManiatesD p. 249).

<sup>36</sup> Several of the types were first described in the article BrownP, but are discussed in more detail in BrownF, to which the references are made; otherwise references here are to Brown's first accounts, although they are elaborated in later works.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. BrownF p. 122f.

with a more radical imitation technique and paraphrasing of the melodic material; these dominate the chanson repertory of the first few decades after the turn of the century.<sup>38</sup>

*Canon chansons*—usually for four or more voices; may use several canons at the same time.<sup>39</sup>

*Paraphrase chansons*—the popular melodic material is treated with freedom in all voices, and no voice necessarily has the tune in its entirety; a very varied group.<sup>40</sup>

*Four-part popular arrangements*—the borrowed tune may wander among the voices; the texture is varied by means of imitation technique, alternation between duos and four-part passages, and sudden changes from duple to triple time and vice versa.<sup>41</sup>

These types have emerged from the study of a large number of sources containing a wide repertory, and they represent frequently-occurring, characteristic elements in the repertory. As so often proves the case when one studies a single source, generalizations do not exhaustively describe the music; many compositions fall outside the categories and are difficult to place.<sup>42</sup> In the case of Cop 1848, the considerable number of provincial creations make it difficult to fit the repertory into manageable pigeonholes. But the well-described chanson types are a great help as points of reference, and give us freedom to concentrate our account on the chansons in Cop 1848 that exemplify new features.

## 8.1 The three-part popular songs

Cop 1848 no. 241, *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* can be seen as an example of the older *cantus firmus chanson* with its tenor melody and simple, dependent counter-voices, functioning almost exclusively as a background for the melody.<sup>43</sup> It is a moot point, however, whether one should try at all to categorize this chanson in H. M. Brown's classification of the polyphonic popular songs. It hardly belongs with 'art music', or with the creations of professional composers. So, one imagines, might polyphonic music in unpretentious arrangements have sounded in the theatre or at weddings. When speaking of the *cantus firmus chanson* type, we think rather of the settings where the other voices offer the melody more contrast.

In fact, Cop 1848 contains a number of settings where the melody has competition from lively outer voices. Let us first look at some settings of a very widespread popular melody which is found with a number of different texts. No. 143 *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*<sup>44</sup> has as its tenor melody a tune also found in the 'Bayeux' manuscript, *Paris 9346*, in a rather different shape (cf. *Example 4*). There it is in the Ionian mode with a major third, while in all polyphonic settings it is Dorian, with a minor third. Moreover, the simple quatrain form (ABab') has been greatly extended, partly by the interpolation of a short internal refrain "Ave [or Ane] hauvoy" and partly by repetitions of lines of text and music (ABRBaAbRb). Although the two versions are very different, especially in the B-phrase, there can be no doubt that they represent the same song. The polyphonic setting probably reproduces the normal outline of the tune, while the scribe of *Paris 9346* has chosen a more sophisticated version.<sup>45</sup> The same

<sup>38</sup> Cf. BrownG p. 21f; BrownF counts this type as a younger group of *cantus firmus* chansons (p. 123f).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. BrownF p. 125.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. BrownF p. 133f.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. BrownG p. 24f; BrownF includes this type among the *paraphrase* chansons (p. 134).

<sup>42</sup> See for example L. F. Bernstein's modifications of Brown's account of popular arrangements in his review of the repertory in Antico's *Chansons a troys (1520/6)*, which is in fact a very homogeneous source (BernsteinC p. 15).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Vol. III no. 23.

<sup>44</sup> Vol. III no. 24.

<sup>45</sup> Helen Hewitt has made a detailed analysis of the melody and text of the various versions of the song in the article 'A *Chanson rustique* of the Early Renaissance: *Bon Temps*' (HewittC). For an overview of the various settings of the song, see this and Vol. II no. 143.

**Example 4** *Paris 9346 ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44: Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*<sup>46</sup>

Bon vin, je ne te puis lais-ser, je t'ay m'a-mour don-né - -  
 e, A-ve hau-vay! je t'ay m'a-mour don-né - - e. Sou-vent m'as  
 faict la soif pas-ser, bon vin, je ne te puis lais-ser ne soir ne  
 ma-ti-né - - e, A-ve hau-vay! ne soir ne ma-ti-né - - e.

melody is set in no. 208 *Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser*,<sup>47</sup> though it is not the wine the singer cannot renounce, but 'good times'—happy days or perhaps good company. Unfortunately only the first line of this text is extant, so we cannot quite know whether it continues in the same vein as no. 143. Here the melody is d-Dorian, while in no. 143 it is transposed up a fourth, and there are some differences in its fourth phrase. No. 143 is written in *tempus perfectum*. In bars 12-13 (and 16-17) the regular ternary rhythm is interrupted by bars of only two beats. The same happens in no. 208, and at the same point in the melody—in the fourth phrase. True, no. 208 is written in *tempus imperfectum*, but the setting is apparently to be taken as in triple time with an upbeat at the beginning of each phrase; only the fourth phrase differs with its hemiola effect. Since this rhythmic device appears in both versions, it probably comes from the traditional form of the tune. It may also underlie the uncertainty about the mensuration of the settings.

The sparse setting of no. 208 flows along without rests. Each phrase ends with a cadence; the contratenor goes up an octave at the cadences three times (bars 4, 12 and 17), giving the setting even more of an old-fashioned sound. The lively outer voices, which run parallel for long stretches in tenths, bind the setting together, so that it is sung, as it were, in one breath. This disposition of the parts bears strong resemblances to certain arrangements of courtly chansons—instrumental pieces with highly figured voices around a single part drawn from a well-known chanson, a genre in which the compiler of Cop 1848 showed no interest. A good example of this is the series of compositions based upon the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* attributed to Alexander Agricola; in most of these pieces it is quite impossible to fit text under any part but the tenor.<sup>48</sup> It is hard to tell whether no. 208 is an instrumental piece. It has a whole line as text incipit in each of the three voices, which suggests a vocal performance, but it would not be easy for the singers to phrase the outer voices. As we shall see in another setting of the tune, a composition with an instrumental appearance may well be furnished with some text. No. 143 is more clearly vocally-conceived, with distinct punctuation in both the tenor melody and the outer voices. Here too there are repeated notes and

<sup>46</sup> After *Paris 9346*. The text of the next three stanzas is written in the MS as quatrains, without the repetitions and ejaculations required by the melody (cf. Vol. III no. 24).

<sup>47</sup> Vol. III no. 25.

<sup>48</sup> Agricola: *De tous biens plaine* I-V, publ. in AgricolaO V pp. 78-84. *De tous biens plaine* II-V are probably purely instrumental pieces, while the first one can be performed vocally.

rudimentary imitation that help us to fit the text to the music, and in the manuscript the verse is laid under the superius, not the melody-bearing tenor.

*Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* (no. 217) is also found without text and composer attribution in the manuscript *St. Gallen 461* ('liber Fridolini Sichery').<sup>49</sup> It uses the tune in quite a different way. The tenor opens with the first phrase of the melody from *a*—as in no. 208—accompanied by the contratenor. When it finishes, the superius enters with the same phrase a fourth higher, and then the phrase is repeated by the contratenor. This way each of the three voices in turn has all four phrases of the tune, although the sequence of entry is varied (T-S-C, T-S-C, C-T-S and S-C-T). At any given point two voices do not have the tune, and take the form of lively, very varied counter-voices with leaps and scale passages in *semiminimae*. They create a closely-textured flow in duple time that accords well with the *tempus imperfectum* of the piece. The tune contrasts strongly with this embroidery in sound since, as in the other settings, it is mainly couched in *breves* and *semibreves*, and must certainly be phrased in triple time. What we have is thus a 'triple' cantus firmus setting with the complete tune in each part. It becomes much longer than the other ordinary cantus firmus settings (78 *brevis* measures), and almost seems to be an instrumental fantasia on the well-known melody. But oddly enough, not only are all three voices furnished with an incipit (the whole first line), but the contratenor is moreover underlaid with a complete stanza of text:

Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais  
a ta noble puissance  
Pour maintenir toujours en paix  
le reaulme de France?

This part is difficult to sing—between the phrases of the melody are interpolated up to eighteen *brevis* measures with what seem to be instrumental passages—but no more so than the other two parts. However, each line of text is carefully placed under the appropriate phrase of the melody, so it would appear that only these passages in each part are to be furnished with text. Might one imagine a combined vocal and instrumental performance of this composition where the singers only sing when the popular melody is present? Or should the passages without words be vocalized? The composition raises a number of interesting problems of performance practice.

Some further chansons are settings of well-known tunes. No. 146 *Or sus, or sus! par dessus tous les autres* has a song from the 'Bayeux' manuscript in the tenor, a ballad of the cuckolding of Janin Janot.<sup>50</sup> The tenor is declamatory, and its lively pace deviates little from that of the outer voices—there is also some imitation here and there. Only where the tenor sings a motif of a descending fourth (bars 1-2, 9-10 and 20-21) in *breves* and *semibreves* does it stand out from the other voices. This motif is the most characteristic feature of the tune, with an almost refrain-like effect, and is used to emphasize important words like "Or sus, or sus", "Janin Janot" etc. The notation carefully ensures that the tune's rhythmic shape cannot be distorted, since a *punctus divisionis* is placed between the two *semibreves* (bars 1-2 and 9-10). The setting is in *tempus perfectum*, but the tenor vacillates between duple and triple time, and the outer voices are predominantly in duple time—at the descending motif the triple time of the tenor is clearly set against the duple time of the outer voices. The motif itself and the rhythmic use to which the composer was able to put it probably determined the choice of mensuration.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cf. the edition GiesbertS p. 40. In this scoring the voices are designated 'Sopran - Diskant - Tenor' (= S - T - C).

<sup>50</sup> Vol. III no. 26.

<sup>51</sup> The tune in *Paris 9346* and the other anonymous three-part setting in *Pavia 362 ff. 66<sup>v</sup>-67* are both in *tempus imperfectum*. Note that the bar numbers in the outer voices and tenor do not match in the transcription in Vol. III.

**Example 5** No. 133 L. Compère: *Le grant desir d'aymer my tient* bars 1-7  
 a) After Cop 1848  
 b) After Petrucci 1502/2

**a:**

S  
 Le grant de - sir d'ay - mer my tient, d'ay-mer my tient,

T  
 Le grant de - sir d'ay-mer my tient, d'ay-mer my tient, quant de

C  
 Le grant de - sir d'ay-mer my tient, d'ay-mer my tient, quant de la bel -

**b:**

S  
 Le grant de - sir

T  
 Le grant de - sir

C  
 Le grant de - sir

We know the tenor melody of Compère's *Le grant desir d'aymer my tient* (no. 133) both from the 'Bayeux' manuscript and from the other monophonic chansonnier, *Paris 12744*. The setting of the tune is more elegant and varied than in the other chansons we have looked at; alternating between the textures of an imitative setting and a cantus firmus setting with sequencing counter-voices, it is one of the masterpieces of the genre.<sup>52</sup> The earliest source for this chanson is Petrucci's *Canti B* of 1502, where the beginning differs from that of the song in Cop 1848 and seems to be a later editorial improvement. *Example 5* shows the two versions: Cop 1848 starts on the beat with the *a* of the tenor melody harmonized as a *d* chord; the superius makes its entry a *minima* later, and in bar 2 the outer voices move in parallel tenths as is usual in c.f. chansons (*Example 5a*). Petrucci has a more elegant approach where all the voices start with an upbeat and with the contratenor in unison with the tenor, so the *d* chord is not reached until bar 2; moreover, the contratenor can carry on in contrary motion to the superius (*Example 5b*).

No. 218 *Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement* is a very amateurish treatment of a melody also known from a three-part setting by Heinrich Isaac.<sup>53</sup> The only remarkable thing about it is that for once the melody is in the superius, and is accompanied by the lower voices with extensive use of scale runs. In Isaac's setting, too, the melody is in the superius.

Finally in this group we have two unique chansons whose tenor melodies are not known from other sources. These are no. 10 *Venez souvent, je vous en prie*, an awkward, provincial setting of a four-line text, and no. 97, *Entre vous de Tornay*, a far better-sounding professional setting where the manuscript unfortunately only gives the first line of the text.<sup>54</sup> The charming

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the editions in CompèreO V p. 32 and HewittB no. 51, and Helen Hewitt's commentary in HewittB p. 87. Another cantus firmus setting of the same calibre is Agricola's *In minen sin* (no. 213) on a Flemish ballade.

<sup>53</sup> Vol. III no. 27. On the setting by Isaac, see Vol. II no. 218.

<sup>54</sup> Vol. III nos. 28 and 29.

tenor melody is structured in two almost identical halves (ABCD – A'BCDD'), and finishes with a repetition of the last phrase transposed up a fourth, so the song ends as it began, on *f*.

*Cantus firmus chansons* have the pre-existing popular tune firmly placed in a single voice—as a rule the tenor—where it is easy to distinguish from the other voices, even in an imitative texture. In certain other chansons that also seem to employ the musical idiom of the fifteenth century, the popular song furnishes melodic material for two of the voices, often affecting them so much that it is impossible to pinpoint the voice in which the tune is placed. These are a number of unique chansons in Cop 1848, many of them with a provincial stamp (they include some of the clumsiest compositions in the manuscript), where the superius and tenor are in free canon at the octave while the contratenor functions as a supporting voice.<sup>55</sup> This group, to which H. M. Brown paid no attention in his discussion of the popular chansons, can conveniently be called *superius-tenor settings*. As a type, the songs stand between the *cantus firmus chansons* and the *popular arrangements*.

The type with free canon can be illustrated by no. 45 *Se je suis trovée*. This is based on a popular song in virelai form also found in the monophonic chansonnier *Paris 12744* (see *Example 6*). The chanson can be performed as a complete *virelai* by using supplementary text from the monophonic song. The melody is in the superius; we can see this from the end of the first section (bars 16-20), and from the homophonic second section (bars 21-25) where the superius alone has the tune. The second section contrasts with the first, just as it does in the courtly *bergerettes* (the movement of the lower voices in bar 23 has a rather unfortunate effect—it is hard to keep up the flow of the music). Bars 1-4 and 9-12, which are identical, take the form of a canon at the octave begun by the tenor. The very straightforward tune requires few changes for a simple canon to work. The refrain “Allez hauvay” is sung by the tenor and superius in turn. The contratenor is a supporting voice, sometimes almost mechanical in its effect.

**Example 6** *Paris 12744 f. 34<sup>v</sup>: Si je suis trouvée*<sup>56</sup>

1. 5. 9. Si je suis trou - vé - e au boys soubz la ra - mé - e a -  
 5 ve - cques mes a - mours, pour cho - se que je voy - e point ne chan - ge -  
 10 roy - e mes loy - al - les a - mours. Al - lez hau - vay, mes  
 15 loy - al - les a - mours. 2. L'au - tri - er, l'au - tri - er m'a - lois es - ba - loy - ent,  
 3. ren - con - tray ber - gie - re ses ai - gne - letz gar - dent.

<sup>55</sup> The settings are published in Vol. III as nos. 30-37.

<sup>56</sup> After *Paris 12744*. Here the beginning of the text is given twice, under the tune and in the complete poem. In the poem version line 2 is given as “au boys sur la ramée” and line 9 as “L'autrier m'aloye ...” And the refrain lines “Allez hauvay, mes loyalles amours” are not included at the ends of the stanzas. For the rest of the virelai, see Vol. III no. 30.



None of the melodies of three slight pieces—no. 1 *Adieu celui que j'ay sur tous choisi*, no. 124 *Qui n'en a s'enquiere* and no. 181 *Ou pourroit on finer ung gentil compagnon*—are known from other sources. All three use canon at the octave much more than no. 45. The first two have the entries rather far apart, allowing for free continuations of the voice that starts first, while no. 181 keeps the voices closer together. All three have a contratenor that crosses above the tenor to fill in. In nos. 1 and 181 it is probably the superius that is closest to the underlying tune—and as polyphonic compositions both are hopelessly amateurish.

No. 258 *Le karesme vient mal a propous* has only a single line of text, about Lent coming at a bad time. Here the octave canon technique is used only sporadically, but it is hard to tell which of the upper voices has the presumed tune; the superius is probably the best candidate. The first phrase is set homorhythmically; the second, third and fourth phrases have imitation at the octave—or canon, as far as it goes—between superius and tenor. The contratenor also takes part in the imitation in the fourth phrase (bar 17). In the last phrase the composer plunges into deeper water: the tenor imitates at the seventh below, and the upper voices end with an impressive ascent in triplets, polyrhythmically contrasting with the descending line of the contratenor. The whole song's varied use of technical devices demonstrates a higher level of ambition than the previous ones. Nevertheless one cannot call the piece an unqualified success: among other things, the movement of the contratenor is too faltering (for example in bars 11-14). In H. M. Brown's classification of the popular settings this chanson should probably be placed among the *paraphrase chansons*. The use of free canon in the upper voices with the changes in the melody and the free interpolations this requires entails some measure of paraphrase.

In the small collection of chansons, Rfasc. G, there is a group (nos. 8-10) at which we will look more closely. Like no. 258, they use the canon technique more freely than those previously mentioned. They also differ more from one another, and in style are closer to the popular arrangements which we shall shortly be discussing. The three unique songs mainly have the tunes on which they are based in the highest voice.

No. 270 *J'ay ung mary qui est tant bon homme* is a far more professional work than the others.<sup>57</sup> The superius is very close to the popular tune in *Paris 12744*, and the tenor follows it closely in free canon. In the two middle phrases the tenor takes the lead and the bassus takes an active part in the presentation of the melodic material at the beginning of each phrase—in the middle phrases to great effect—although it still occasionally lies above the tenor. In this economical setting with extensive use of imitation the popular tune influences every voice part to a much greater extent. The same can be said of no. 271 *Mon pere m'a donné mari*.<sup>58</sup> The passage after the repeat is very reminiscent of no. 270 (from bar 13), as is the second part of the song (from bar 30) with its consistent three-part imitation. But it comes nowhere near no. 270 in quality; it must be considered decidedly provincial—one would be hard put to it to find feebler reliance on parallel motion in thirds and sixths in an imitative texture. The beginning of the contratenor is missing in Cop 1848, so it is hard to say anything about the first twelve bars; moreover, it is difficult to reconstruct poor part-writing.

No. 271 consists of two sections: first the classic lament of an unfortunate girl who has been married to a dotard at the age of just ten and a half—"mal maridade, c'est mon nom!"—as the refrain has it; followed by the encouraging reply (*reponce*) that she can have Gillou instead. The tune of the first section was used by Compère in a four-part chanson also consisting of two sections. The tunes of both sections are also found in an anonymous four-part setting in Petrucci's *Canti B*, a composition almost as hopeless as no. 271.<sup>59</sup> The two pieces have so

<sup>57</sup> Vol. III no. 35.

<sup>58</sup> Vol. III no. 36.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the edition in HewittB no. 41. On the various settings of the tunes see the remarks in Vol. II no. 271.

much in common that the four-part setting must be a more competent musician's attempt to improve the three-part chanson—that is, probably a direct reworking of the setting we only know today from Cop 1848. It can only be the text that aroused his interest. In no. 271 and in the *Canti B* version the melody is first borne in free canon at the octave by superius and tenor, and this texture recurs from bar 18 on through the whole second section of the song. In the brief passage after the repeat (bars 13-18) the tenor shifts to following the superius at the fifth below, while the contratenor is in canon at the octave. The anonymous improver of the *Canti B* version has changed the equivalent passage in superius and tenor to a canon at the octave, so this principle is applied more consistently. No. 271, too, could be classified as a *paraphrase chanson*.

The last song in the group is an eating and drinking song, *Au matin quant suis levé volentiers desjeuneroie* (no. 272), which reviews the meals of the day with great gusto.<sup>60</sup> It exhibits a varied technique with initial three-part imitation and free canon at the octave between the superius and tenor alternating with homorhythmic texture. The refrain line “Je ne vous demande plus” (“I ask for no more”), appears in triple time. The incremental end-refrain, about drinking, can be performed by repeating the descending line in bars 35.3-36 once in the second stanza and twice in the third stanza.

In a more or less contemporary manuscript, *Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 16664*<sup>61</sup> ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90, we find the same text in another setting. Stylistically, with its contratenor placed between the superius and tenor, it is considerably older than the setting in Cop 1848, whose idiom is very close to the popular arrangements from around 1500. There is no musical connection between the two settings, but they belong to the same musical sphere of ‘patter’ chansons, so for the sake of comparison it is printed here as *Example 7*. The text is longer in *Paris 16664*; it takes the theme right through—from breakfast to death.<sup>62</sup>

Au matin quant je suis levé, volentiers desjeuneroie  
d'ung joli pied de mouton et d'un morcelet de foie  
au tout ung peu de sel sus;  
je ne vous demande plus  
jusqu'autant que diner donné m'aurez.  
Toujours boire vouldroie.

Au disner, ne vouldroie point faire longhe dinerie  
d'un[e] pasté de capon et d'une perdris rostie  
a tout(e) le sause dessus;  
je ne vous demande plus  
jusqu'autant que souper m'aurez donné.  
Toujours boire vouldroie.

Au souper ne vouldroie point scargier mon cueur de viande  
d'ung faysant rosti a point et d'une tarte friande  
a tout le schucre dessus;  
je ne vous demande plus  
jusqu'autant que couchié m'aurez.  
Toujours boyre vouldroie.

<sup>60</sup> Vol. III no. 37.

<sup>61</sup> The manuscript has been published in its entirety in E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevii IV* (CoussemakerS) pp. 434-69.

<sup>62</sup> After CoussemakerS IV p. 459, where line 5 is “jusqu'au diner ...”

**Example 7** Anonymous: *Au matin quant je suis levé*<sup>63</sup>

S  
C  
T

Au ma-tin quant je suis le - vé, vo-len-tiers des - jeu-ne - roi - e

Au ma-tin quant je suis le - vé, vo-len-tiers des - jeu-ne - roi - e

Au ma-tin quant je suis le - vé, vo-len-tiers des - jeu-ne-roi - e

d'ung jo - li pied de mou - ton et d'un mor - ce - let de foi - - e

d'ung jo - li pied de mou - ton et d'un mor - ce - let de foi - e au

d'ung jo - li pied de mou- ton et d'un mor - ce - let de foi - e

au tout ung peu de sel sus; je ne vous de - man - de plus

tout ung peu de sel sus; je ne vous de-man-de plus

au tout ung peu de sel sus; je ne vous de - man-de plus

jus-qu'au-tant que di - ner don - né m'au- rez. Tou - - - jours boi - re,

jus-qu'au-tant que di - ner don - né m'au- rez. Tou - - - jours boi - re,

jus-qu'au-tant que di - ner don- né m'au - rez. Tou - jours boi - re,

boi-re, boi - re voul - droi - e.

boi-re, boi - re voul - droi - e.

boi-re, boi - re voul- droi - e.

<sup>63</sup> Paris 16664 ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90; after CoussemakerS IV pp. 458-59.

Au couchierouldroie avoir ung bon grant plat de dragié  
 et de ipocras bien fin, c'est pour prolongier ma vie,  
 et m'amie mis a nuds;  
 je ne vous demande plus  
 jusqu'autant que lever donné m'aurez.  
 Toujours boyreouldroie.

Au leverouldroie bien trouver ma bourse garnie  
 de cent nobles et de monnoie pour mener pieux vie  
 bien causiet et bien vestu;  
 je ne vous demande plus  
 jusqu'autant que morir donné m'aurez.  
 Toujours boyreouldroie.

Au morirouldroie confession avoir et repantance,  
 et donner mon ame a Dieu, as angles et arcangles,  
 qui la porteroit lassus;  
 je ne vous demande plus,  
 ne plus boire neouldroie  
 quant en Paradis seroie.

Thus we find a good deal of provincial music among the *superius-tenor settings*. These chansons probably came into existence at a time when imitative settings for three voices were the norm among court composers. Less expert composers perhaps then resorted to the technique of the octave canon. This texture may have come more naturally to musicians who felt at home with three-part music with a structural duet and an added contratenor rather than through-imitation or an actual four-part texture. The chansons took on a superficial resemblance to the style prevalent after 1500, but sometimes the canon technique also got the composers into difficulties.

The popular arrangements make up a predominant part of the repertory in French court manuscripts of secular music from the first decade of the century. This is especially true of the manuscripts *Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1760* and *London, British Library, MS Harley 5242*. These chansons also found a response in Italy, as evidenced by the manuscript in Florence, *Bibl. Naz., Ms. Magl. XIX.117*, and Andrea Antico's printed collection *Chansons a troys* of 1520.<sup>64</sup> The popular arrangements were closely associated with life at the court of Louis XII, and by the beginning of the 1520s their day was done, at least at the court. A few songs were printed, however, in Attaignant's *Quarante et deux chansons a troys parties* of 1529,<sup>65</sup> and in Antico and Dell'Abbate's *La Courone et fleur des chansons a troys* of 1536.<sup>66</sup>

Antoine de Févin (c. 1470-1512?), who was a singer of the *Chapelle Royale*, is the composer associated more than any other with the three-part popular arrangements. He is the composer most amply represented in *Cambridge 1760*: fourteen songs—over half of its secular repertory, including seven chansons on related themes, all about marital problems, are from

<sup>64</sup> For these sources and their milieux in France, England and Italy, see BernsteinC pp. 6-26. Cf. also the discussion of the repertory in Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc.* 5.

<sup>65</sup> *Attaignant 1529/4*.

<sup>66</sup> *Antico 1536/1*; described in BernsteinC.

his hand.<sup>67</sup> *London* 5242 and *Antico* 1520/6 have seven and four chansons respectively by him. Other prolific composers are Mathieu Gascongne (with seven chansons in *Cambridge* 1760), Jean Mouton, Adrian Willaert and Josquin Desprez.

H. M. Brown's account of the *popular arrangements* is based on Févin's songs and is very lucid. It can be summarized here. The borrowed tune is placed in the tenor. The outer voices, often sharing their compass with the tenor, imitate and ornament it. All parts cadence together, and since the tenor as a rule makes its entry last in each phrase, the composer's task after the initial imitation is mainly to guide the outer voices to the cadence. The three-part texture is conceived as a whole, and none of the voices can be omitted without sacrificing an essential part of the composition. The lowest part functions as a foundation for the other two when not sharing the melodic material. The composers sometimes choose to write longer, more ambitious settings in this style; then the free continuation of the voices or the play on motifs from the popular melodies take up more of the compositions, and the chansons are consequently closer to the type Brown has described as *paraphrase chansons*. Even when the songs use imitative techniques they need not exhibit any great contrapuntal complexity. Often the imitations evolve within a single chord, the voices prefer motion in parallel sixths or thirds, and clichés play a major role in the vocabulary of the style.<sup>68</sup>

Very few of the chansons in Cop 1848 conform fully to Brown's description of the *popular arrangements*: Antoine de Févin's *En amors n'a sinon bien* (no. 64) and *Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat* (no. 107a), no. 211 *Pour avoir fait au grez de mon amy*, no. 136 *Dieu la gard, le bergerotte*—all of which are based on melodies found in the 'Bayeux' MS—and no. 67 *Tenés moy en vous bras*. Two of these items are fragments, and none of them is as characteristic of the genre as, for instance, the chansons that formed the basis of Lhéritier's and Gascongne's parody masses, the anonymous *Mon mary m'a diffamée* and Févin's *On a mal dit de mon amy*.<sup>69</sup>

Only the uppermost voice of *Je le lesray* is in Cop 1848, without text and crossed out, because the copyist happened to continue with the tenor of another song by Févin, *Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet*.<sup>70</sup> In its intact form the chanson was written for low voices with the simple tune in the tenor and highly-figured outer voices—among other things, they have a striking sequence in parallel tenths that recalls cantus firmus chansons.<sup>71</sup> The chanson is very like the second arrangement by Févin, *En amors n'a sinon bien*, a long setting of a *virelai* in two sections separated by a fermata. In the version of *En amors* in *Cambridge* 1760 the tenor is highly figured, like the outer voices;<sup>72</sup> in Cop 1848 and *Uppsala* 76a, on the other hand, the tenor is unadorned, as in the monophonic chansonniers—and as is the norm in the popular arrangements.

No. 211 *Pour avoir fait* is in reality two different compositions; the superius, which has a length of 52 brevis measures, and the tenor and contratenor, both forty brevis measures long, do not belong together. Here too the scribe must have confused parts from two different arrangements of the same tune. The superius belongs to an anonymous chanson in *Antico* 1520/6

<sup>67</sup> See A. Tillman Merritt, 'A Chanson Sequence by Févin' (MerrittF, 1957). The author was not aware that the settings were based on popular songs.

<sup>68</sup> BrownG pp. 21-23: "My description of these chansons also suggests that they epitomize a truly contrapuntal style. They use a variant of the cantus firmus technique and their texture is consistently imitative. But in fact, these chansons are not necessarily contrapuntal at all. ... Long sections ... are based either on parallelisms or on polyphonically elaborated triads; the counterpoint is usually quite unobtrusive, with few dissonances, and those few introduced and resolved smoothly. ... Indeed, this is really a style of clichés: the melodic and rhythmic clichés of the pre-existing popular tunes plus the melodic and rhythmic clichés of the composer's continuations, and, at the end of every phrase, the traditional cadential formulas."

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the information in Vol. II on nos. 163 and 171, and Chapter 10.1.

<sup>70</sup> This is dealt with in more detail in Vol. II no. 197 and Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc.* 6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. BrownC no. 35. The setting has not a few resemblances to Compère's *Le grant desir* (Cop 1848 no. 133).

<sup>72</sup> Publ. in BrownC no. 17.

(no. 31). This, however, does not give us a complete chanson, for the tenor part-book of the edition has been lost. The two preserved parts are in almost the same low range, and must have made up a lively, quite complex imitative texture with the pre-existing tune in the missing tenor. The tenor and contratenor of no. 211, too, must remain a mere torso. In this considerably simpler arrangement the melody is found unadorned in the tenor; the contratenor takes part in the imitations, but seems slightly out-of-date with its crossing above the tenor.

*Dieu la gard* (no. 136) is a concise setting of a ballade-like text.<sup>73</sup> The first section of the chanson is repeated, written out in full (bars 1-15); here the first phrase relies on imitating the tune, while the second phrase sets the tenor homorhythmically. The continuation comes immediately with the short fifth line set as an extension of the cadence, and the piece ends with a fanfare-like imitation which is repeated for the refrain.

*Dieu la gard, la bergerotte* can also be found in the manuscript *London 5242* and in Antico's *Chansons a troy*s of 1520. Here it is so different from the one in Cop 1848 that one can perhaps regard the two versions as different arrangements of the same melody. The pattern of alternating imitative and homorhythmic texture is, however, the same, and in the tenor and superius it is mostly a matter of differences of detail; but the contratenor is of a quite different type (see *Example 8*): an 'archaic' contratenor with a wide compass (*F-d'*) which often crosses above the tenor. It also plays a different role in the repeated last imitation (from bar 17), where it enters first with the motif from the fifth above the final note of the preceding cadence, and therefore has to be shifted for the repetition. The bassus in Cop 1848 enters last both times and imitates the motif a fifth below. Yet it is the same chanson. In Cop 1848 we see a revision of the older chanson, which had traces of the superius-tenor type with free canon at the octave. The adapter must have been particularly interested in improving the contratenor and removing crude, old-fashioned features. He did so by rearranging the voices in bars 2-3 and 10-11, by changing the parallel motion in tenths with the superius to a harmonic bass in bars 6-7, and finally by avoiding the octave leap cadences by changing the last imitation (cf. *Example 8*, bars 17f and 22f). In Cop 1848 the chanson becomes much more like a popular arrangement. At the same time, in both versions the chanson is so close to the borrowed tune—and a little banal—that even a substantial reworking cannot disturb its identity.

No. 67 *Tenés moy en vous bras* is a setting for three low voices. This, too, alternates between imitative and non-imitative texture. In the non-imitative sections there are reminiscences of the idiom of the cantus firmus chansons. The melody in the tenor is also found in a considerably older anonymous three-part chanson (for example in *Paris 15123*—the 'Pixérécourt' manuscript—from about 1480); here it is placed in the superius in a superius-tenor setting with alternation between duple and triple time. A six-part chanson by Josquin Desprez also sets this melody in exactly the same form as is used in no. 67. Josquin even uses elements from the two other voices in his composition, which must be a reworking of the anonymous three-part chanson in Cop 1848.<sup>74</sup> No. 67 must have had been quite widely-known: it is also found in a considerably later German music manuscript (*Gdańsk 4003*).

The ideal for the popular arrangements is to provide the most effective presentation of a popular melody in three-part polyphony—not art in our sense, but impressive, virtuoso arrangements for singing voices. Some of Févin's songs have a calculated comic effect—for example *Je le lestay*, where a woman wants to leave her husband because he beats her; the message is drummed home by male voices in close imitation and sequences at breakneck

<sup>73</sup> Vol. III no. 38.

<sup>74</sup> There are no grounds for also regarding the model (Cop 1848 no. 67) as a composition of Josquin Desprez, as J. van Benthem does in 'Zur Struktur und Authentizität der Chansons à 5 & 6 von Josquin des Prez' (BenthemS p. 185). See also the discussion in Vol. II no. 67.



Example 8 Anonymous *Dieu la gard, la bergerotte*<sup>75</sup>

S  
T  
C

Dieu la gard, la ber - ge - rot - - - - te,  
Dieu la gard, la ber - ge - rot - - - - te,  
Dieu la gard, la ber - ge - rot - - - - te,

qui bien gar - de ses bre - bis. El - le\_a u - ne blan - che cot - -  
qui bien gar - de ses bre - bis. El - le\_a u - ne blan - che cot - -  
qui bien gar - de ses bre - bis. El - le\_a u - ne blan - che cot - -

- - te, la meil - leur de ses a - bitz, et du pain bis  
- - - te, la meil - leur de ses a - bitz, et du pain bis  
- - te, la meil - leur de ses a - bitz, et du pain bis qu'el - le

qu'el - le tient de - dans sa hot - te, qu'el - le tient  
qu'el - le tient de - dans sa hot - te, qu'el - le tient de -  
tient de - dans sa hot - te, qu'el - le tient de - dans

de - dans sa hot - te.  
dans sa hot - te.  
sa hot - te.

<sup>75</sup> After London 5242 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20; Antico 1520/6 no. 13 is identical, except that the tenor has been lost, and the last line of the text is a repetition of the first line as in Cop 1848.

speed. Others are quite innocently lyrical. Even the melismatic songs are obviously conceived as vocal music; in the most important sources all three voices have carefully underlaid text.<sup>76</sup> The arrangements are very much based, as suggested above, on rather older types of texture: idioms from *cantus firmus chansons* and *superius-tenor settings* keep appearing.<sup>77</sup> A crucial stylistic feature of these arrangements is their concentration on the popular melodic material in all three parts.<sup>78</sup>

Other settings use a more varied technique. As the first examples we can take two unique songs with the melody in the tenor, each addressed to a shepherdess. The rather helpless *Cela sans plus et puis hola* (no. 83) has many 'archaic', clumsy phrases like those we found in the *superius-tenor settings*. It is a setting of a tune that was a great favourite with composers of the age.<sup>79</sup> It only has a text incipit, but could be underlaid with two complete stanzas in the form *Refrain – Stanza 1 (two lines) – Refrain – Stanza 2 – Refrain*. The most interesting thing about the setting is that the second stanza (from bar 33) is set in triple time; in the last refrain the duple time returns. It is impossible to reconstruct the text of the second stanza, but it may simply be a repetition of the first where the composer has tried to vary the setting. Exactly the same form is used in no. 216 *Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere, atendés moy*, a masterpiece in its genre.<sup>80</sup> It is written for two tenor voices and a low-range bass. In the tenor we find a tune which has all the characteristics of the popular song: triadic melody with a refrain that frames and separates two stanzas of two lines each. The composer has imaginatively been able to exploit the limited compass and simple material in a varied texture. In the first section the tenor bears the melody in steady note values in triple time. The other voices form a lively complement in a *cantus firmus* texture. However, the tenor has long pauses (bars 1-3, 10-12 and 17-20, and in the second section bars 27-28 and 31-33), and here the *superius* and *bassus* imitatively anticipate the melody, with the effect that the melody appears to wander from voice to voice. Rhythmically, the setting has a constantly accelerating tempo: a shift from the steady *tempus perfectum (diminutum)* of the tune to *proportio tripla* at the recurrence of the refrain in bar 24 doubles the tempo of the melody; in the second stanza (bar 27) the initial mensuration returns, but now mainly in halved note-values; and in the concluding refrain (bar 36) the halved note-values are further shortened by coloration, which increases the pace to thrice its initial tempo. At this point the voices combine in a homorhythmic texture and the *superius* exchanges parts with the tenor in the repeat (bar 38)—a virtuoso demonstration.

The anonymous no. 269 *Or sus, vous dormez tropt, ma dame joliette* begins (bars 1-29) and ends (bars 95-102) as an imitative popular arrangement with the melody in the tenor. In between,

<sup>76</sup> Cambridge 1760, Firenze 117, London 5242, Uppsala 76a and Antico 1520/6; in Cop 1848 no. 64 *En amors n'a sinon bien* the melismatic outer voices have their full texts, while the tenor, where it is an easy matter for the singer to fit text to music, only has the incipit!

<sup>77</sup> No. 7 *Sus le pont de Lyon* (Vol. III no. 22), discussed at the beginning of this chapter, must be classified as a popular arrangement; however, the provincial composition is very strongly influenced by the *superius-tenor settings*.

<sup>78</sup> H. M. Brown remarks: "In these three-part popular arrangements there is often a distinct break in style at the point where the composer drops his simple given material and begins his fancier continuation. The popular and courtly collide head on. But, like the borrowed melodies, the continuations themselves are apt to be made up of clichés" (BrownG p. 23).

That the composers' continuations exhibit many more melismata and sequences than the popular melodies is obvious. But to call this a collision between courtly and popular style is an exaggeration. The clichés are inherited from the *cantus firmus chansons*. *Cantus firmus* settings of popular songs and of single parts from courtly chansons use the same clichés in the counter-voices, but are in fact quite distinct in their idiom from the true courtly songs.

<sup>79</sup> Vol. III no. 39. For other settings of the melody, see Vol. II no. 83.

<sup>80</sup> Vol. III no. 40.

in response to the invitation “...écoutez l’alouette”, comes a long section with birdsong effects; however, the text quickly becomes coarse and indulges in comic mockery of cuckolded husbands: “Let’s kill the false villain, the jealous, vicious, deformed, mangy, horned cuckold, who isn’t worth a hanged man’s breeches...”. The harmonic flow comes to a near standstill in this long section. To compensate there is a hectic increase in rhythmic activity with virtuoso declamatory passages. This song revives the onomatopoeic tradition of the fourteenth-century *virelai*, a tradition which may never have died out in the popular song. The three-part chanson uses it to such great effect that it is no wonder that Clément Janequin later took it and adapted it for four voices: it was in his version, as *L’Alouette*, that the song became known far and wide.<sup>81</sup>

Unusual in another sense is the unique no. 70 *En despit de faulx mesdisans*,<sup>82</sup> a highly professional popular arrangement with strong elements of the paraphrase chanson. It is based on a melody found in a rather different version in the ‘Bayeux’ manuscript; two other anonymous chansons, however, use the tune in nearly the same shape as in Cop 1848.<sup>83</sup> The setting is for high voices with the superius and tenor within almost the same range (in bars 36–40 the tenor is above the superius) and a high bass voice. The melodic material is stated in its basic form by the bassus, but is more continuous and dominating in the superius, an octave higher. The tenor mostly imitates at the fifth, so that the melody is constantly sounding. The text is in ballade form, and is set as such in the other two three-part chansons and in the monophonic song. In no. 70 the composer has shaped it into a long composition of 76 brevis measures, an unusual length for a popular arrangement. This is done by repeating the whole AA-section (bars 1–27) of the ballade form unchanged after the B-section (from bar 50) to create a balanced larger form. There was probably no intention of singing more stanzas here.

Among the imitative popular songs there are also three settings with the melody in the uppermost voice, and they are all related to the repertory in Attaignant’s chanson collections. The unique no. 207 *Est il possible que l’on sache trouver* is a setting of a tune known from an anonymous three-part chanson in Petrucci’s *Odhecaton* and from a four-part chanson by Morel published by Attaignant in 1536; in all cases the tune is in the uppermost voice.<sup>84</sup> This rather helpless composition alternates between three-part imitation and a predominantly homorhythmic texture, like no. 136 *Dieu la gard*. Here it is the first and last phrases that begin imitatively, and the last phrase is repeated (fully written-out in the uppermost voice—the other voices have a repeat mark). We meet the same features in no. 113 *C’est boucanner de ce tenir a une* and in no. 99 *D’amour je suis desertée*, both also found in Attaignant’s 1529 collection of three part-songs *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troys parties*. Like no. 207, they are both settings of poems in quatrains, the prevailing form after 1500. But no. 113 is in Attaignant in a

<sup>81</sup> The relationship between these compositions is discussed in detail in the article ‘Or sus vous dormez trop. The Singing of the Lark in French Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century’ (ChristoffersenO). The anonymous three-part setting is also found in the manuscripts *Firenze 117* and *Barcelona 454*, and in Antico’s *Chansons a troys* of 1520, from which Aegidius Tschudi copied it into his manuscript (*St. Gallen 463*). Janequin’s adapted and expanded version, where the added contratenor does not work well with the other three voices in the first part of the chanson, emerges first in Attaignant’s *Chansons de maistre Clément Janequin* of 1528.

Lawrence F. Bernstein (‘Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson’) has commented on the conclusions of the above-mentioned article: “Surely, it is more natural to view Janequin as the composer of both versions of the *Chant de l’alouette* than to suggest that his extremely unique style was modelled after a preexistent genre, of which but a single, anonymous example survives.” (BernsteinO p. 301, n. 68). Bernstein is quite right in saying that this is the most natural and easiest view, but it lacks any documentation in the sources.

<sup>82</sup> Vol. III no. 41.

<sup>83</sup> GéroldB no. 77; the other settings are respectively in *London 5242*, *Antico 1520/6* and *München 1516*. See also Vol. II no. 70.

<sup>84</sup> Vol. II no. 42; the other two settings are published respectively in HewittA no. 72 and MillerP p. 57.

quite different arrangement where the melody is mainly accompanied by homorhythmic lower voices. Yet the two settings are so close that Attaignant's version must have been created with the setting in Cop 1848 as a model. The Cop 1848 version is more polyphonically oriented with initial imitation in the first, second and fourth phrases; as in Attaignant the setting of the first and last lines of text is identical.<sup>85</sup> As for *D'amour je suis deservée*, we have already mentioned its great similarity to the 'light' rondeau types;<sup>86</sup> whether it builds on a pre-existing tune cannot be said with certainty, but texturally it does not differ from the above-mentioned popular arrangements. It appears in manuscripts as early as *Uppsala 76a* and *Firenze 117*; but Cop 1848 still seems to have the most 'archaic' version of the chanson, with the cadences ornamented with 'under-third' formulae. Attaignant printed it in modernized form without this ornamentation and with small changes to avoid the parallel octaves between tenor and bassus in bar 23. This, and the other arrangements dominated by the uppermost voice, give a strong foretaste of the Parisian chansons and seem to form a link between these repertory groups.

In his review of the three-part settings, H. M. Brown has less to say about the pieces that are practically homorhythmic treatments of a pre-existing tune in the tenor or superius. In the article 'The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530' he mentions Antoine de Févin's *Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet* as an example of this among the popular arrangements. Later he attributes great significance to Févin's quite straightforward setting of *Adieu soulas, tout plaisir et liesse* as a forerunner of the Parisian chanson. In this the tune is in the top voice and the lower voices follow it homorhythmically or in unobtrusive imitation.<sup>87</sup>

The main copyist of Cop 1848 knew Févin's *Il fait bon aymer*, but something went wrong with the copying of the music, so today we only have a fragment of the tenor in the manuscript (no. 107b). As in *Adieu soulas*, the economy of composition revealed by Févin is typical; it very much justifies the use of the term 'popular arrangement'.<sup>88</sup> The simple tune is in the tenor, and the superius follows it, mainly in parallel sixths; the bass supports the harmony, occasionally crossing above the tenor, and in the second and third lines it has some anticipatory imitation of the tenor. The text is a *virelai*, and is set by the simplest of means. The *refrain* consists of four lines, economically set as ABC|A|. The music of the two *couplets* is derived from the refrain's—|D(A")C| (beginning just like the A-line)—and the *tierce* has the same music as the refrain. The whole becomes a homogeneous, effective setting of the song that can be repeated for its two or three stanzas. And if one did not know the melody beforehand, the superius, because of its close coupling with the tenor, could easily be perceived as the leading voice.

Modest settings like this make up an important group in Cop 1848. They have much in common with the cantus firmus settings, but they lack the lively complementary parts of that group. The oldest example in terms of texture is the previously-mentioned *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* (no. 241), which has the second stanza of "Sus le pont de Lyon/Avignon" in the tenor. The text is a quatrain and the setting is completely homorhythmic, so it has important features in common with the chanson types of the sixteenth century. But the dependent outer

<sup>85</sup> Vol. III no. 60: Attaignant's version has been published, for example, in SeayC p. 145.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*.

<sup>87</sup> BrownG pp. 22-23 and 26-27, where *Adieu soulas* is published as Example 9.

<sup>88</sup> Publ. in BrownC no. 27.

voices reveal that the song should be classified as a cantus firmus setting.<sup>89</sup> In the stylistically younger chansons which, like Févin's, point forward to the Parisian chansons, the difference between the pre-existing tune and the counter-voices becomes blurred, so that it can be difficult to distinguish the tune in cases where it is not known from other sources. We will first look briefly at four unique chansons in Cop 1848, all of which have the melody in the tenor.<sup>90</sup>

No. 100 *Helas! ne vous souvient il plus* only has the text incipit, but can be underlaid with six lines, the last of which was probably a kind of refrain. The texture has traces of the cantus firmus setting with parallel motion of the superius and bassus; the superius-tenor setting also rears its head in the octave imitations in bars 18-21. No. 121 *Une pastore seant au vert buisson*, a piquant pastoral, is a completely homorhythmic setting of a ballade-like text in AA'BB' form. The mocking song *Vielle mule de temps passé* (no. 220) is similarly homorhythmic, but where the melody in bars 9-12 moves downward, the bassus functions as an 'archaic' high contratenor. The text is a septain, and the last phrase of the music must be repeated for the last two lines "Requiescant, las, in pace, vostre bon bruit est trespacé!" Perhaps no. 100 *Helas! ne vous souvient* had a similar structure. No. 234 *L'autrhier en passant entendi* is again a pastoral song, and like no. 121 a ballade type. The invitation to come to the dance (?) triggers off an effective ostinato passage (bars 24-30) based on the motif from the preceding bars.

These simple songs exhibit no great sophistication in composition; the settings follow the texts and melodies without frills, and it is very conceivable that like *Ouvrés vostre huis* they belonged to 'everyday music'. The following songs, which point forward even more clearly to the Attaignant repertory, in no way break with this tradition.

Two unique chansons with melodies in the tenor—no. 240 *Varlet, varlet, il est appoint* and no. 57 *Que t'ay je faict, desplaisante Fortune?*—are settings of quatrains in homorhythmic texture. In both the superius follows the tenor in parallel sixths, while the bassus supports the harmonies. Formally they are as simple as possible—ABC:D| and ABC:A| respectively.<sup>91</sup> There is also a setting of the tune of no. 57 in Attaignant's collection of three-part songs from 1529, as was the case with *C'est boucanner* (no. 113). But here the situation is reversed, for while no. 57 is quite homorhythmic, in the printed version imitation is used in every phrase of the song.<sup>92</sup>

No. 108 *Je voys, je vien, mon cuer s'envolle* is found without composer attribution in the manuscript *London 35087*, which dates from the first decade of the sixteenth century, and in Antico's *Chansons a troys*. The chanson is once more a setting of a quatrain, mainly in homorhythmic texture—with a little imitation in the third phrase—in the form ABC:A|. The tune is in the top voice, and the song should be seen in the context of the imitative popular arrangements just discussed. In particular, it has many points in common with no. 99 *D'Amour je suis deservitee*. Example 9 reproduces its ending, where the A-section returns. The play between the bassus on the one hand and the superius and tenor on the other, on the words "Nenny, nenny" ("No, no!") again has great resemblances to the 'light' rondeaux. We can further note the long melisma illustrating the word "folle", which also excellently fits the first line's "... mon cuer s'envolle". Here the setting betrays its age compared to the Attaignant repertory, since the polyphonic sequences form something of a contrast to the rest of the song—it clearly belongs to the period around or before 1500. No. 137 *Je ne sçay pas comment* was in fact printed by Attaignant.<sup>93</sup> It too has the melody in the top voice and is a very sparse, wholly homorhythmic setting of a sixain in the form ABCAB:D(C')|. The song is very like the homorhythmic songs

<sup>89</sup> Vol. III no. 23.

<sup>90</sup> Vol. III nos. 43-46.

<sup>91</sup> Vol. III nos. 47-48; as for the uncertainty about the repetition in no. 240, see the remarks in Vol. II.

<sup>92</sup> *Attaignant 1529/4* no. 24 *Que t'aige fait* 3v, anonymous, publ. in ThomasT no. 20.

<sup>93</sup> Also in *Attaignant 1529/4* as no. 9; publ. e.g. in BrownC no. 38.

**Example 9** No. 108 Anonymous *Je voys, je vien* (bars 15-24)<sup>94</sup>

*Que t'ay je fait* and *C'est boucanner*—that is, Cop 1848 no. 57 and the Attaignant version of no. 113. In the simple songs we can trace no stylistic difference between settings with a pre-existing tune in the tenor and those with the melody in the uppermost voice.

The last song to be discussed in this section was very widely disseminated in the first half of the sixteenth century, and is found, for example, in a number of sources, expanded into four-part settings with different altus voices. It also featured frequently in lute and keyboard tablatures. Indeed, *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer* occurs twice in Cop 1848, as nos. 112 and 248. No. 248 corresponds to the version Attaignant printed in 1529, which is also found in the older manuscript *Firenze 117*, while no. 112 has a different variant of the text and a simpler version of the music.<sup>95</sup> It is a setting of a quatrain in the form ABCA, and it sums up many of the features we have looked at in this section: parallel motion of superius and bassus around the tenor in the A-section, a homorhythmic texture gliding into melismata, and simple imitation (bars 9-13). The chanson was used several times as a basis for new compositions where the superius was preferred as model.<sup>96</sup> But given the structure of the setting, the tenor is more likely to have been the leading voice, and if the song is based on a pre-existing tune, it is probably also the tenor that preserves its outline. The chanson may also have been freely composed using the devices of the popular arrangements.

In this section we have tried to follow the various phases in the development of the three-part popular chanson as manifested in Cop 1848. This repertory demonstrates better than more selective sources the close links among the groups into which one can classify the songs, and the clear lines of interconnection. The idiom of the popular song permeates an ever-greater proportion of the musical texture in the development from *cantus firmus* settings through *superius-tenor* settings to the *popular arrangements*; and in the *simple arrangements* it is all-pervading.

<sup>94</sup> After Cop 1848, which only has the text of the first two lines in the superius; the text in the example is underlaid after JefferyV I p. 74. The whole song is in BrownC as no. 43.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.1, *Example 1*, and Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc. 6*; Attaignant's version (and no. 248) is published e.g. in SeayC p. 131, and no. 112 is in Vol. III no. 59.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the list *Related compositions* in Vol. II no. 112.



While the professional music of the court ‘develops’ by and large chronologically, we should probably be cautious about including the many provincial songs in such a process. They need not have remained in step with the pace-setting circles. Finally, the most diverse chanson types found places alongside one another in the repertory, as is also evident from Cop 1848.<sup>97</sup>

The songs have led us time and again to Attaignant’s *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troyz parties* of 1529. This thread will be picked up again in the chapter on the Parisian chansons. But first we must look at the manuscript’s repertory of four-part popular chansons and the few examples of two-part songs.

## 8.2 The two-part popular songs

The two double chansons based on the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem’s rondeau *De tous biens plaine*, no. 123 *J’eyme bien qui s’en va / De tous biens* and no. 131 *Venez, venez venez tretous / De tous biens*, were discussed in the chapter on the courtly repertory. Both clearly belong to the sphere of popular music—one might say that Hayne’s tune, by virtue of its popularity, crossed a genre boundary.<sup>98</sup>

There are three more two-part songs in the two series of carefully-selected repertoires we studied in Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 6: these are no. 71 *A qui direlle sa pencee*, no. 77 *Tres doulx penser, Dieu te pourvoye* and no. 79 *L’amour de moy my tient enclose*.<sup>99</sup> They are all settings of tunes known from the monophonic repertory, and in themselves add nothing new to the picture of popular songs outlined in the previous section; but they point up certain other aspects.

No. 77 *Tres doulx penser* has already been mentioned in connection with the courtly chansons, as it is based on a song in the Bayeux manuscript which is probably derived from a polyphonic rondeau setting.<sup>100</sup> In the context of the three-part popular songs one must place it alongside the cantus firmus settings: it has the tune in the tenor in steady note-values, while the other voice—also in the tenor range—imitates and accompanies it in livelier motion. The other two songs are *virelais*. No. 71 *A qui direlle* has the whole *virelai* stanza in an almost through-composed setting (*refrain*: AB, *couplets*: CDC'D', *tierce*: A'B' and *refrain*: A|B|). The melody is sung by the superius, and is accompanied by a tenor voice which partly follows it in thirds and sixths and partly runs along in scales (in *couplets* and *tierce*). Only at the start of the couplets is there some suggestion of octave imitation. In no. 79 *L’amour de moy* the refrain is longer: it consists of four lines, so the setting is the type we know from courtly *bergerettes* in two sections, *refrain* and *couplet*, which must be repeated for the full form. This very successful composition for voices in the soprano and tenor range is like that of a popular arrangement with the melody in the tenor, where the phrases are set in alternating imitation and homorhythm.

In the article ‘French Duos in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century’ Lawrence F. Bernstein has studied the extent of two-part composition from the fourteenth century until the sixteenth, and has found a striking flagging of interest in the mid-fifteenth century: the central sources

<sup>97</sup> No. 98 *Marion la doulce* 3v [Anon/Obrecht] also has links with the popular repertory, and more particularly with the song *Si j’eusse/j’avois Marion*, set by Josquin and Gascongne among others (cf. Vol. II no. 98). The setting, published in Vol. III no. 49, is unlikely, however, to be a popular song. It may be an instrumental piece based on the initial motif of the song or—perhaps more likely—part of a longer composition (a mass section?) based on the tune.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.4 *Compositions based on courtly chansons*. The settings are published in Vol. III nos. 17–18.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 6, where Cop 1848 no. 71 is found in Rfasc. 5 as no. 21, and the other two were copied as the first items in Rfasc. 6 (nos. 1 and 3).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions* (including Example 17). The chanson is published in Vol. III as no. 12.

for the courtly chanson contain hardly any examples. Only towards the end of the century did the interest pick up. And then, typically, it was not a matter of freely composed pieces, but of reworkings of existing material. They are often cantus firmus settings demonstrating fine points of musical theory, and didactic pieces; or else they are comic double chansons using the *fricassée* technique and actual settings of popular songs.<sup>101</sup>

The repertory in Cop 1848 fully confirms these observations, although only the popular aspect is represented by the five chansons. Didactic pieces were of course of no interest in the scribe's commercially-oriented collection.<sup>102</sup> And none of the older songs in Cop 1848 is given in reduced two-part versions. In most cases the superius-tenor structure in the courtly chansons produced a self-sufficient two-part texture; nevertheless, the contratenor could not be dispensed with, either at the moment of composition or in transmission, where two-part songs were sometimes mixed in with the courtly repertory.<sup>103</sup> The contratenor was essential to the sonority and to the whole idiom of the courtly song.

The didactic function followed the two-part songs throughout the sixteenth century, and older chansons were sometimes recycled in new guises. In Nuremberg in 1549 Erasmus Rothenbucher published *Diphona amoena et florida*, a collection of 99 *bicinia* with Latin texts. There we find two chansons from Cop 1848 (nos. 71 and 79) among Latin songs, mass sections, extracts from motets, Magnificat settings and the like—almost all with composer names that attribute the pieces to well-known and lesser-known Dutch, French and German musicians of the preceding hundred years. Both chansons have been given new, moralizing texts in Latin. *L'amour de moy* has thus become "Justitia et charitas validae sunt principis arces ..." and *A qui direlle* now has the text "Nunquam vixisti, o pauper, nunquam morieris ..."; and the settings have been ascribed to A. Gardane and Jacotin respectively.<sup>104</sup> The textual substitutions are quite in accordance with the use of the collection as edifying singing material for the boys of the grammar school, and they are not the only chansons that have gained long lives in this fashion.<sup>105</sup>

One must regard Rothenbucher's composer attributions as dubious. Jacotin and Gardane were both French composers—to that extent the publisher was right. Antoine Gardane was born in 1509 and worked as a musician in the south of France, where he had a *Missa Si bona suscepimus* printed by Moderne in Lyons,<sup>106</sup> before settling down as a successful music publisher in Venice. Jacotin was probably Jacotin le Bel, who was a singer in the Papal Chapel and at San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome during the years 1516-21.<sup>107</sup> Both are thus found in the right environments. Yet Gardane seems a little too young to be the composer of *L'amour de moy*, which was copied into Cop 1848 around 1520. Towards 1540 Gardane published several very widely-disseminated collections of two-part songs including several arrangements in his own name,<sup>108</sup> so Rothenbucher may have considered him a likely composer, or perhaps he took the setting from a Gardane print that is no longer extant.

The attribution of the slightly archaic duo *A qui direlle* (no. 71) to Jacotin is even more problematical, as the duo is also found in a much older manuscript in the Rijksarchief van Limbourg

<sup>101</sup> BernsteinD pp. 43-60.

<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, the scribe himself might sit working on exercises in two-part counterpoint on empty pages of the manuscript (see Chapter 11.1).

<sup>103</sup> In older manuscripts the two-part settings are as a rule grouped separately (cf. BernsteinD).

<sup>104</sup> *Rothenbucher 1549/16* nos. 21 and 19. Both settings have been published by B. Bellingham in an instructive layout where one can compare the Cop 1848 versions with later reworkings (BellinghamR Apps. B and C, pp. 349ff).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. BernsteinD pp. 44-45.

<sup>106</sup> In *Moderne 1532/8* ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-62 (4v).

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the entries 'Gardane' and 'Jacotin' in NGrove.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. *Canzoni franceze a due voci*, Venice 1539 (Gardane 1539/21). For Gardane's collections, see BernsteinD pp. 74ff.

in Maastricht. This is only a few leaves of a discantus part-book. Here we find *A qui dira elle sa pensée* among French chansons, Flemish songs and Latin motets as well as plainsong.<sup>109</sup> Only the superius with the popular tune has been preserved, and there are a few divergences from Cop 1848; however, the resemblances are so great—for example, the same deviations from the monophonic song determined by the two-part setting—that the part must be regarded as belonging to the same composition. The fragments come from a music book which, just like Cop 1848, must have been for private use. It may have belonged to a city minstrel in Maastricht, and was written at the end of the fifteenth century. For no later than the first decade after 1500 the manuscript was discarded and used for flyleaves in a bound register covering the period 1476-1502.<sup>110</sup> So Jacotin cannot possibly be the composer of this two-part chanson. And one should probably check many of the other composer attributions in Rothenbucher's collection before accepting them as sound. But it is thought-provoking that these unpretentious compositions were among the items in the large repertory of Cop 1848 that were to find a use, if in an alien guise, furthest into the future.

### 8.3 The four- and five-part popular songs

The ratio of three-part chansons to four- and five-part chansons makes it abundantly clear which group—from the point of view of the manuscript—represents the mainstream of the secular repertory.<sup>111</sup> In the courtly songs three-part texture reigned supreme; this is not so much the case with the settings of popular songs, although here too the settings with more than three voices make up a strikingly smaller group.

The two four-part settings of *Sur le pont d'Avignon* used as *Examples* 2 and 3 at the beginning of this chapter show the stylistic poles of the four-part settings of popular tunes. On the one hand we have the primitive, stodgy cantus firmus texture, exactly as long as the tune itself,<sup>112</sup> in a song probably erroneously attributed to Claudin de Sermisy; and at the other pole we find the through-composed setting of a whole four stanzas in *Canti C*, where the anonymous composer, with great imagination, has more or less created a set of variations. In general the four-part settings do not span so wide a range: the *Canti C* setting—although its artistic effects are piled up in an unusual way—is closest to the norm. In fact the repertory is very homogeneous, and there seems to be no stylistic development comparable to that of the three-part songs.

H. M. Brown also uses the term *popular arrangements* of the four-part settings. For, like the three-part settings, these are often true arrangements, where the point is to set off the melodic material as effectively as possible; but the musical devices used differ greatly. One must therefore constantly keep in mind that the term *popular arrangement* is applied to two distinct repertory groups, not just to a three- or four-part manifestation of the same phenomenon.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Maastricht* 169/1 ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> See also the thorough description, facsimile and transcription in J. Smits van Waesberghe, 'Een 15<sup>de</sup> Eeuws Muziekboek van de Stadsminstrelen van Maastricht' (WaesbergheM).

<sup>111</sup> For the numerical distribution of types in the Cop 1848 repertoire, see Chapter 1.7.

<sup>112</sup> We find an even more primitive four-part setting in no. 96 *Helas! je suis deconfortée*. It has a length of only eight brevis measures, and the superius and tenor form the structural duet, which is expanded to four-part texture by two high contratenors. It cannot be said whether the setting—which may be a fragment of a longer piece—has a pre-existing tune in the superius. It may be one of the scribe's own efforts. It shows clearly that four-part texture was far from plain sailing for less schooled composers. See also Vol. II No. 96.

<sup>113</sup> "These two new chanson styles of the reign of Louis XII may be characterized as the three-part popular arrangement and the four-part popular arrangement, but only if the terms are understood to refer to a specific style, and not merely to the number of voices present" (BrownG p. 21).

Apt and adequate as the terminology is, it can give rise to confusion unless one remembers—at the risk of some ponderousness—to mention the number of voices when the types are referred to in the same context; but no better suggestion has yet been made.

The subjects of the songs, the repertoire of pre-existing tunes, the technique of imitation and the melodic formulae for continuing the voices are the same as in the three-part chansons. The crucial difference is the four-part medium itself; it generates a quite different set of conventions. The most important of these are as follows: the texture is often split into duos (for example into imitative duets played off against each other), which may contrast with passages for all voices—a kind of solo-tutti effect; the imitative technique itself takes a new turn with four voices—there is a tendency to cut up the borrowed melody into short motifs and work with these, giving rise to mosaic-like textures; and homorhythmic passages for all voices are often emphasized by a shift to triple time—at a refrain, for example.<sup>114</sup> At the same time, the four-part chansons may be expanded into considerably longer compositions, as the underlying melody can be repeated several times, or several popular songs may succeed one another in the same arrangement. The fact that the two types of popular arrangement are so clearly distinguished is an expression of the stylistic awareness of the composers. The types arose in the same period—the last decades of the fifteenth century—and were favoured by the same composers. Of course there was a certain amount of interaction between the types, and clear common features; but there was no question of mixing the musical idioms. As a fixed type the four-part arrangement is perhaps oldest, since it appears in large numbers in Petrucci's collections,<sup>115</sup> while the three-part arrangements are only as massively represented in more recent manuscripts and music prints—other types of three-part popular songs are of course rather older.

The four-part arrangements can be categorized, like the three-part ones, in two groups: the songs that first and foremost treat the melody imitatively, and the simpler, less contrapuntal songs. Let us look at the latter group first. Cop 1848 names the quite unknown Tomas Jannequin as the composer of no. 249 *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres*, which appears anonymously in earlier as well as later sources.<sup>116</sup> Only three parts are found in the manuscript—the bassus is missing. There can be no question of a connection between this chanson and the famous Clément Janequin, whose chansons are of a later generation and are quite different from this one. Two stanzas of a pastoral song are set with a four-line refrain:

Nous bergiers et nous bergieres  
sont en l'ombre d'ung buisson.  
Ilz sont si prés l'ung de l'autre  
qu'a grant painne les voit on.  
*Liron, liron la bergiere,*  
*il n'est vie que de bergiers,*  
*il n'est vie que d'amourettes,*  
*mais qu'on les sache mener.*

Quant j'estoye en nos praries  
gardant mes petis agneaulx  
en menant joieuse vie  
checun(ct) faisoit ung chapeaux.

<sup>114</sup> The device of mensural alternation is also known from the three-part popular songs (cf. nos. 83, 216 and 272; no. 216 is in perfect time, but the effect of the recurring refrain is the same).

<sup>115</sup> In the *Odhecaton* of 1501, for example, there are 22 four- and five-part arrangements (cf. BrownT p. 87ff.)

<sup>116</sup> *Firenze 117*, *Scotto 1535/8* and *München 1503<sup>a</sup>*; in *Firenze 117* it is found among a series of no less than fourteen similar chansons (ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-82), five of which (including *Nous bergiers*) are about "bergiers et bergieres" (ff. 71<sup>v</sup>-76).

*Liron, liron la bergiere,  
il n'est vie que de bergiers,  
il n'est vie que d'amourettes,  
mais qu'on les sache mener.*<sup>117</sup>

The melody is sung through twice (cf. *Example 10*) and is placed in the superius and tenor such that it is heard clearly throughout in the highest sounding voice. The upper two voices alternate with the lower pair in an effective homorhythmic texture—only in line 3 (bars 8-10) is there a little imitation—and at intervals they unite in four-part texture with the melody in the superius. The second stanza (from bar 24) is varied by using a different distribution of duos and tutti and by extensive use of coloration which changes the dotted rhythms of the first section into triplets. The composer has relied on the effect of the rhythm emphasized by the quick alternation of the singers. In this respect the piece is quite in line with the anonymous *Ilz sont bien pelez, ceulx qui font la gourre* (no. 27), which is known from Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1504, and which uses exactly the same effects. But the latter is much shorter: it is a setting of a stanza of a simple *virelai* whose tune is heard in the superius and tenor.<sup>118</sup>

The unique no. 134 *A la venue de ce prinstemps d'esté* also begins with simple duos, but in the middle section the texture becomes more complex.<sup>119</sup> There is a slightly different version of the tune in *Paris 12744* (cf. *Example 11*). Its form AB|A|, corresponding to the three lines of the text, has been interpreted by the composer with great sophistication. After the initial duos, the A-section ends in four-part texture (bar 11). The B-section is tagged on immediately with the superius, altus and tenor imitating the melody (bars 11-16). The new, repeated A-section involves both elements: the four-part texture is made up by two pairs of voices (S – T and A – B) with traces of close, free canon. The setting ends with an extended cadence (bars 27-31). This chanson is much more ambitious than the simple arrangements, but here too the melody is heard clearly in the highest voice throughout.

We also find this more differentiated kind of treatment in songs by two famous composers. Loyset Compère's song about a woman barber *Alons faire nous barbes* (no. 3) is based on a very simple tune sung by the superius and tenor in alternation—and at one point by the altus.<sup>120</sup> The twelve short lines of the text are combined by Compère into six phrases (AABBAA) which are treated with great imagination: canon between superius and tenor, varied chordal setting, duos and touches of imitation. The setting ends with a play, of the kind we have seen in the 'light' rondeau types, on a short motif with the words "Faict elle plus, faict elle plus cela?" Among the older composers, Compère is probably one of the earliest and most successful at adapting popular songs for the four-voice medium, and is likely to have exerted a strong influence on the shaping of the style. And in Petrucci's collections he is in fact represented by no less than ten such songs.<sup>121</sup> Isaac's *Fille vous avés mal gardé*, which appears twice in Cop 1848 (nos. 226 and 253) must date from the 1480s, since it is found in the Florentine chansonnier

<sup>117</sup> Lines 2 and 9 are missing in Cop 1848, and have been added after *Scotto 1535/8* no. 9. Line 3 in the MS has "Ils sont ..." and line 13 has "... liron nous bergiers"—the music requires the same refrain as in the first stanza.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. the edition in BrownC no. 29; the melody can be found in *Paris 12744*, publ. in ParisC no. 129.

<sup>119</sup> Vol. III no. 50.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. HewittA no. 26; CompèreO V p. 8 adds a second part (from bar 26 on), which does not belong to the chanson (cf. Vol. II no. 3). None of the text editions is satisfactory. The text can be reconstructed as follows:

"Alons faire nous barbes	il trouve ses mignons
entre nous gentils galloys!"	qui luy font villecomme,
La barbiere en moullie	disant: "Hé, comment va?
souvent deulx a la foy.	Comme fait vostre femme?
Quant son mary revient	Faict elle plus cela?
de faire la besongne,	Faict elle plus cela?"



**Example 10** No. 249 Tomas Jannequin: *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres*<sup>122</sup>

Altus (S) *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres Ilz sont*

Tenor (A) *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres Ilz sont*

Bassus (T) *sont en l'om-bre d'ung buis-son.*

Bassus *sont en l'om-bre d'ung buis-son.*

5 *si pres l'ung de l'au-tre qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on.*

*si pres l'ung de l'au-tre qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on.*

*Ilz sont si pres l'ung de l'au-tre*

10 *qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on. Li-ron, li-ron la bergiere, il n'est vie que de ber-*

*qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on. Li-ron, li-ron la bergiere, il n'est vie que de ber-*

*qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on.*

15 *l'au-tre qu'a grant pain-ne les voit on.*

Roma CG XIII.27 from the beginning of the 1490s, and in the roughly contemporary manuscript *Firenze 178*.<sup>123</sup> Here two different popular songs are combined; the first is not known from other sources, but “Tousjours de celle me souvient”, which interlocks seamlessly with

<sup>121</sup> There is a total of twelve four-part arrangements in *CompèreO*. “Scarcely another Flemish or French composer before Jannequin seems to have gone as far with as much aesthetic success as *Compère* in these techniques and their masterful and witty handling” (FinscherC p. 242).

<sup>122</sup> After Cop 1848; the bassus is missing in the MS, and has been added after *Scotto 1535/8* no. 9. Cop 1848 only has text in A (“Tenor”). In this part bar 43.4 in the MS has *e’*.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. *AltasC I* p. 144f.



20

giers, il n'est vie que d'a - mou-

giers, il n'est vie que d'a - mou-

Li - ron, li - ron la ber - gie - re, il n'est vie que de ber - giers, il n'est vie que d'a - mou -

Li - ron, li - ron la ber - gie - re, il n'est vie que de ber - giers, il n'est vie que d'a - mou -

25

ret - tes, mais qu'on les sa - che me - ner. gar - dant

ret - tes, mais qu'on les sa - che me - ner. gar - dant

ret - tes, mais qu'on les sa - che me - ner. Quant j'es - toy - e en nos pra - ri - es

ret - tes, mais qu'on les sa - che me - ner. Quant j'es - toy - e en nos pra - ri - es

30

mes pe - tis a - gneaux en me -

mes pe - tis a - gneaux en me -

en me - nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux. en me -

en me - nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux. en me -

35

nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux. Li - ron, li - ron la ber -

nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux. Li - ron, li - ron la ber -

nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux.

nant joi - eu - se vi - e che - cunct fai - soit ung cha - peaux.

gie-re, il n'est vie que de ber-giers, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-  
 gie-re, il n'est vie que de ber-giers, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-  
 il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-  
 il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-  
 ner, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-ner.  
 ner, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-ner.  
 ner, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-ner.  
 ner, il n'est vie que d'a-mou-ret-tes, mais qu'on les sa-che me-ner.

**Example 11** *Paris 12744 f. 55: A la venue de ce doulx temps d'esté*<sup>124</sup>

A la ve-nue de ce doulx temps d'es-té, le jour fail-lant, j'ou-ie l'au-trier chan-ter la doul-ce  
 (A la ve-nue)  
 fleur) ce fleur que mon cuer ay-me tant, la doul-(la doul-ce  
 fleur) ce fleur que mon cuer ay-me tant.

<sup>124</sup> After *Paris 12744*; for the rest of the text, see the transcr. in Vol. III no. 50.



No. 231 does not include extended duo passages and clearly-demarcated tutti sections, or alternation between polyphony and homorhythmic passages. The chanson rather takes the form of a mosaic of short motifs which, in various combinations, create variation in the density of the texture—a type of setting that recalls the through-imitated motet style. It is an example of the other facet of the popular arrangements: *the imitative settings*. This is even more true of the two four-part chansons in the small fascicle written by Hand B and inserted in Rfasc. 5 (Rfasc. D)—Hesdin's *S'il est a ma poste* and the unique *A la fontaine du pré* (nos. 58 and 60).<sup>129</sup> Both settings have a popular melody in the superius: in no. 58 it is a virelai also found in *Paris 12744*; in no. 60 two stanzas of a song with the short, emphatic refrain "et houp!"

It cannot be denied that the settings suffer from a certain monotony caused by the mosaic technique. In some sections—for example bars 23f in no. 58 and bars 30f in no. 60—actual ostinato effects arise. The most successful song in this respect is probably the anonymous no. 60. There is a striking resemblance between these two songs, not just because of the melodic material, which consists of related motifs from the popular songs' large repertoire of standard phrases, but also because of similarities in the disposition and rhythmic elaboration of the settings and the close order of the parts. In both cases the four parts move within a narrow compass; they function more or less as two treble voices, an altus and a baritone, often crossing one another. The concluding sections of the chansons are particularly striking with the last, very high entry of the tenor at the same general pitch as the superius and altus, and the cadence of the superius on *d*", the highest note in both settings. It would seem that there is a natural reason for them to appear almost side by side in the little fascicle manuscript—that is, that they have the same origin.

The imitative popular arrangements were perhaps not exactly the latest thing at the end of the 1520s. But we can see that the more straightforward arrangements in particular still attracted some interest, and not only from manuscripts like Cop 1848 of about 1520, or the contemporary or slightly younger *Firenze 2442* and *Cortona/Paris 1817*.<sup>130</sup> Attaignant also included them in his first collections; for example, no. 58 *S'il est a ma poste* is printed in *Trente et une chansons musicales* (1529) with an attribution to Hesdin. And this is not a unique case. Among the chansons that Cop 1848 shares with Attaignant's printed collections, there are several with clear links with the popular songs. Thus no. 161 *Vignon, vignon, vignon, vignette* is a setting of a popular rondeau with the melody in the tenor, and the upper voice of Janequin's *Reconforte le petit cuer de moy* (no. 168) paraphrases a popular song. We do not know the melodic material of two other songs—Sermisy's *Hau, hau, hau, hau le boys!* (no. 32) and the anonymous no. 38 *A desjuner la belle anduille*—from other sources; they may have been freely-composed in the idiom of the popular arrangements. Two settings of poems by Clément Marot also have such features: the tenor of no. 166 *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* has a tune which Marot probably used as *timbre* for his poem; and in the text of no. 40 *D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé*, Marot quotes a popular song—and of course its melody emerges in the setting. We will be looking in more detail at these songs in the following chapter on the *Parisian chansons*.

The long, through-composed four-part chanson by Johannes de Sancto Martino, *Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenuz* (no. 109), was added to Rfasc. 6 by the main scribe as a separate item rather than as part of one of the series in the fascicle.<sup>131</sup> It also stands alone in relation to the secular repertoire of the manuscript. Its closest affinities, however, are with the popular arrange-

<sup>128</sup> Publ. in GiesbertS p. 80. See also Vol. II no. 231 *Other settings*.

<sup>129</sup> No. 58 is publ. in ExpertA no. 27 and ThomasT no. 5; no. 60 is in Vol. III as no. 52.

<sup>130</sup> *Firenze 2442*, the 'Strozzi Chansonnier' is described in detail in BrownS<sup>1</sup> and BrownS<sup>2</sup> (but see also BernsteinO p. 286 n. 28); for the incomplete set of part-books *Cortona/Paris 1817*, see AtlasC I pp. 240-242.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1. The chanson is published in Vol. III as no. 53; for the identity of the composer, see Chapter 1.8.

ments. It is a setting of a strophic poem with a refrain, which asks whether the ‘good time’ (“Bon Temps”) will not return: ‘misfortunes have inundated us since it disappeared, and when it comes again it will be welcome in “le royaume de France”’. We recognize the subject and the language from the three-part popular chanson *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* (no. 217), whose tune is also found with the text *Bon Temps* [or *Bon vin*], *je ne te puis laisser* (nos. 143 and 208). But we hear nothing of this tune in no. 109. A popular melody may have inspired the composer, but if so it is well hidden. The superius is the leading voice, and although the melodic material is constantly varied, its range of notes is strikingly limited: it continually circles within the interval *e'-a'*, and this fourth is not really overstepped until the end of the third section. All the stanzas of the poem are set in the three sections of the chanson, each of which ends with a refrain and double bar: *Refrain – Stanza 1 – Refrain; Stanza 2 – Refrain; Stanzas 3-4 – Refrain*. The refrain returns unaltered each time and is fully written out. The words are set in alternating homorhythmic and imitative textures with many textual repetitions.

The reason this chanson cannot immediately be fitted in among the popular songs is its treatment of the text. This must be regarded as an ambitious attempt to reflect the content of the poem in the music, an aim that is normally alien to the popular settings. The declamation of the first line of the refrain, with a fermata over the second chord, already strikes a wistful note. And throughout the composition one can find these kinds of parallels between text and music—for example, in bars 22-24, “je te prions” in slow homophonic declamation, or the carefully prepared climax in bars 94ff, where the note *c* is finally reached at “Reviens Bon Temps et *bienvenuz*”. Whether the composition is an unqualified success is another matter; one cannot dismiss the feeling that the composer’s reach exceeds his grasp. That the compiler of the manuscript, for his part, assigned it particular importance, can be seen from the careful, flawless transcription with the full text in the superius and bassus (the later Hand E has inserted the text for the other two voices), the addition of the composer’s name, and from the way it has been copied separately from a source that probably contained no other pieces. A similar long chanson where the setting follows the text closely is in *Canti B* of 1502. This is *Amours me trocte par la pance* 4v by Lourdault (Jean Braconnier),<sup>132</sup> who appears to have had some of the same problems in the disposition and variation of the material. However, it is in almost all respects the antithesis of *Bon Temps*; a poem full of *double entendre* is through-composed with all the devices of the popular arrangement to illustrate the shifting phases of the amorous ‘hunt’. It exploits the busy and amusing effects of the style to its own ends, while no. 109 exploits the lyrical aspects more. Both compositions are attempts to transcend the limitations of the popular style.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Publ. in HewittB no. 33; also in *Firenze* 2442.

<sup>133</sup> No. 102 *Vrais amoureux auront bon temps* 3v should perhaps also be mentioned among the four-part popular arrangements as a setting with a c.p.f. in tenor and superius. This unique, quite amateurish composition is difficult to place. There is no doubt that the scribe saw it as a *three-part* chanson, but it does not work without a bassus part; yet it proves almost impossible to imagine a bassus that would fit the other voices; see also Vol. II no. 102.

Howard Mayer Brown originally described the four-part popular arrangements as a decidedly French phenomenon.<sup>134</sup> Later he discussed their possible connection with the Italian musical scene, because they were copiously represented in Italian manuscripts and prints. But he came to the conclusion that they owed no essential features to Italian music.<sup>135</sup> Most recently, Lawrence F. Bernstein has hinted that this type of chanson may actually have originated in Italy, and was first and foremost cultivated by musicians engaged at the wealthy Italian courts.<sup>136</sup> The issue of the origin of the chanson type lies outside the scope of this study, but a few points should nevertheless be stressed. The four-part popular arrangements were undoubtedly cultivated in Italy. The sources prove this, but one must not forget that the transmission of sources has left some crucial lacunae; it is inconceivable, for example, that the French court did not have access to much more written music than one would suspect from the extant material. The three-part arrangements, too, encountered a sympathetic response in Italy. In the manuscript *Firenze 117* we find series of three-part as well as four-part arrangements copied by the same French musician.<sup>137</sup> And Antico's *Chansons a troys* demonstrates the marketability of the three-part popular songs in Italy; no similar source is known from France before Attaignant's publications. Yet no one has proposed an Italian origin for this part of the repertory. The important composers of four-part popular arrangements include musicians who spent their whole careers in Italian service, as well as a figure like Loyset Compère, who was in the service of the French Kings in the later part of his life and lived in France, although he probably accompanied the King on his travels and campaigns in Italy. That the genre was unknown in France is unthinkable. This is shown by the repertory in Cop 1848 and the manuscript *Paris 1597* from the first decade of the century, which includes a large group of four-part chansons.<sup>138</sup> The genre even reached the provinces. Moreover, the impression one gets of musical life in these times—of the very widely-travelled composers, the lively correspondence, and not least of the professionalism we find among the court musicians—is that people were particularly well-informed on matters of taste, events and currents in the international musical life of the age. The composers were able to choose the stylistic patterns and genres they wished to use, and could satisfy the wishes of their 'audience', whether this was an employer close at hand or a remote patron.

Quite another matter is that Cop 1848 probably reflects very precisely the place that the four-part arrangements filled in the musical life of the French provinces around 1520—and thus a general tendency. Three-part music was still predominant. So very little of the rich

<sup>134</sup> "These two new styles, the three- and the four-part popular arrangement, were the most significant development in the field of secular music during the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century. That is, they mark the beginning of a specifically Parisian tradition. At least this hypothesis appears reasonable at the present stage of our knowledge, for the two styles were adopted and cultivated especially by the composers closest to the French royal chapel" (BrownG p. 25).

<sup>135</sup> "Most of the novel features ... are derived from the popular songs on which the arrangements are based. But, even so, external influences may also have helped to shape the music. Perhaps these French composers got some of their ideas from Italian music, which at least some of them had come to know in their travels abroad" (BrownS<sup>2</sup> p. 122). "However the style originated, the result, the four-part popular arrangement, is utterly French, and unlike anything Italian. For these chansons are witty, worldly, and highly contrapuntal" (BrownT p. 94).

<sup>136</sup> "Our survey of the northern manuscript chansonniers (ca. 1480-ca. 1530) thus reveals a mere handful of four-part arrangements of the homorhythmic type. These results, especially when they are considered along with the generous showing such chansons make in Italian sources, reinforce the case for the Italian origin of this type of chanson. The manuscript sources, moreover, offer little evidence for the widespread dissemination of this corpus of chansons in the North" (BernsteinO p. 297).

<sup>137</sup> Either copied in Florence or taken there from France. See also BernsteinO pp. 289-294.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. CouchmanC and BernsteinO pp. 294-297.



repertory of rather older arrangements ensured itself a place here; numerically, the chansons that belong to the Attaignant repertory and are to some degree related to the popular tradition make up just as large a group. And it is notable that the selection in Cop 1848 concentrates on settings where the melody can be heard without difficulty in the highest part; textures where the tune keeps to the tenor are few—most notably nos. 231, 161 and 166.

If the four-part arrangements only constitute a small group in Cop 1848, the five-part songs make up an even smaller one—in particular the chansons which use canon. They do not really seem to belong to this milieu, yet there are a few. In chansons with more parts than four the tenor c.f. is often replaced by a canon which gives the underlying tune great bearing power as a two-part structure, leaving the composer more freedom with the other voices. The popular tunes are well-suited for this purpose; the combinative chansons of the 15th century not infrequently had the popular tune as a canon in the lower voices. Just after 1500, in his collections of chansons, Petrucci included a representative selection of canon chansons; and the small collection *Motetti novi & chanzoni franciose* which Antico published in 1520 is devoted to double canons.<sup>139</sup> Josquin Desprez, and later Adrian Willaert and Jean Mouton, are the composers who mastered the canon technique to greatest effect within the limited framework of the French chanson.<sup>140</sup> There are three five-part canon-chansons in Cop 1848. One of these, Josquin's *Plusieurs regreds qui sur le terre sont* (no. 250), can be linked with the courtly tradition, while the other two must be placed in the popular sphere.

Josquin's *Baisés moy, ma douce amye* (no. 75) was printed in *Canti B* both as a four-part double canon and as a six-part triple canon. The double canon, also found in the above-mentioned Antico collection, has a tune from the 'Bayeux' manuscript in a tenor part, followed in canon at the fourth above by another tenor. Against these is set a corresponding canon for higher voices, which functions as a counter-voice to the tune and imitates it in the third and fourth phrases.<sup>141</sup> In the six-part version a third, lower canon has been added to this structure. It has often been said that the double canon is Josquin's original composition, while the third canon, which rather muddies the texture, is a later addition of unknown origin, although this version is ascribed to Josquin in late prints.<sup>142</sup> In Cop 1848 *Baisés moy* was copied in two steps: the main scribe placed it last in the carefully selected repertory in Rfasc. 5. On the page he copied superius and tenor—both with canon indicated by a *signum congruentiae*—and under this the bass part without any indication of canon, but with full text where the other two only have incipits. A later user, the rather illegible Hand D, has written out the two canonic voices and added the instruction "canon in epidiatesseron" above the parts written first. This musician gave no indication either of the third canon; both appear to have viewed the chanson as five-part, and as such it functions at least as well as the version with triple canon. It is possible that the last canonic voice was left out in the awareness that the texture, even as a five-part setting, was rather dense in the lower tenor range.

<sup>139</sup> Antico 1520/3.

<sup>140</sup> "... this is Josquin's favorite means of building up a musical structure, especially in his five- and six-voiced chansons" (BrownG p. 16). Josquin's canon chansons based on popular tunes include *Allegez moy* 6v (JosquinWW no. 14), *Faulte d'argent* 6v (no. 15), *Petite camusette* 6v (no. 17), *Una musique de Buscagaya* 4v (no. 37), *Comment peult* 4v (no. 56) and *Entre je suis* 4v (no. 57).

<sup>141</sup> Publ. in JosquinWW no. 20 and HewittB no. 37; cf. also the other double canon by Josquin *En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet* 4v (publ. in JosquinWW no. 59), likewise found in Antico 1520/3—and in *Canti C* (Petrucci 1504/3).

<sup>142</sup> Cf. HewittB p. 72 and H. Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez II* (Osthoff) p. 200. The six-part chanson was printed under Josquin's name in *Susato* 1545/45 and *Attaignant* 1549/J681.

We encounter a completely different type of canon in the unique no. 179 *Reveillés vous, amoureux, vous dormes trott* 5v, which, along with a number of Parisian chansons, was added to the large fascicle of church music, Rfasc. 8, at a late date. Only two parts are notated for this chanson: a fully-texted bassus part, indicating the beginnings and endings of three canonic voices, and a free tenor part. The simple canon is easily resolved. It consists of two pairs of voices. Each pair uses canon at the octave with the voices one *brevis* apart; and the second pair of voices starts a fifth higher than the first after three *semibreves*.<sup>143</sup> We know of no monophonic tune for this chanson, but the very simple canon tune and the text are very close in form to the popular *virelai*. The song urges men who are in love to wake up, take their ladies out into the garden and hand them a pretty bouquet "... and then they'll please you every way!" The short phrases of the melody (AA [*refrain*] BBB'B' [2 *couplets*] AA [*tierce*]) piece together a musical mosaic not unlike the two popular chansons nos. 58 and 60.

The last five-part chanson is also unique, and it too is found among a group of Parisian chansons. No. 43 *Sans le congié de mon mary* probably has a popular song with refrain in the fifth part (*Quinta pars*).<sup>144</sup> This is a treble voice where the melody is set syllabically. The superius occupies the same range and alternates with the *quinta* in a freer statement of the melody, or it functions as a counter-voice to the *quinta*. The three lower voices provide a polyphonic accompaniment, primarily to the phrases of the superius. Oddly enough, the *quinta pars* is marked "Si placet" in Cop 1848. It cannot be dispensed with—the rather dithering altus is a better candidate for that role. The chanson illustrates the fact that composing music with many voices was not unproblematical in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

<sup>143</sup> Vol. III no. 54.

<sup>144</sup> Vol. III no. 55.

## Chapter 9

### The Parisian chanson

*Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties* was offered to the musical public on the 4th April 1528 by Pierre Attaingnant, owner of the bookshop and printing house on the Rue de la Harpe in Paris. With these 'new songs' Attaingnant was to begin his busy and profitable activities as a publisher of small, practical and relatively cheap editions of French chansons. As a publisher of secular music, Attaingnant's position on the market was supreme. Not until ten years later did a serious competitor emerge, when Jacques Moderne of Lyons began publishing chansons in 1538.<sup>1</sup>

Until 1528 Attaingnant's career was that of an ordinary Parisian bookseller and publisher. He probably took over the business from his father-in-law Pigouchet, one of the most highly-regarded printers in Paris. The earliest print we know from Attaingnant's workshop is a breviary for the Cathedral in Noyon, which was ordered in July 1525. During these years he published many liturgical books; we know of them because they are mentioned in old catalogues, but the books themselves have been lost. He also issued small prints including didactic broadsides for new students; two single sheets are preserved from the 1530s.

It is possible that he had already worked up a clientele for music before 1528. He sold music paper in his shop, and may have sold music from the Italian publishers Petrucci and Antico. Petrucci's motet series were probably published partly with export to France in mind, and could have been sold to the same customers who bought liturgical books from Attaingnant. One of Attaingnant's first music prints was in fact a slightly expanded reprint of Antico's *Motetti novi & chanzoni franciose* of 1520.<sup>2</sup> Manuscript music, too, was sold through booksellers who had contacts with the musical scene.

Attaingnant was not the first to print music in France. No later than 1496, Michel Toulouse in Paris published *Art et instruction de bien dancier*, which includes badly printed music examples. They were produced in a two-stage process where the staff lines were printed first from plates, then the actual notes with movable type. This technique was used several times in France, especially for music examples in theoretical works like G. Guerson's *Utilissime musicales regulae*, Paris 1500 and 1514. The problem of placing the notes properly on the lines was solved by Ottaviano Petrucci in Venice, but the multiple-impression method continued to be slow and costly. A simpler method was used by Andrea Antico, who besides being a musician was also a highly-skilled wood carver. He was able to carve calligraphically beautiful notes on wooden plates, which could be reproduced in a single impression. But the plates had to be cut individually for every page of the edition. This time-consuming procedure was also used

<sup>1</sup> The information on Attaingnant has primarily come from Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (HeartzA) pp. 1-204, where more detailed information can be obtained.

<sup>2</sup> The title page is not preserved. The print is described in HeartzA no. 3, p. 212.

for the first music prints in Lyons, which appeared at the beginning of the 1520s. The credit for developing the much cheaper single-impression method with movable type must go to Attaingnant. This method first and foremost requires the utmost accuracy in the cutting of the individual pieces of type. Each note symbol is combined on the piece of type with a fragment of the staff, and when the type is composed these form unbroken lines. Attaingnant and his staff must have experimented for a long time before their first result was launched on the market. Like Petrucci he mastered the printing technique perfectly from the first publication, and it was not bettered for many years. Attaingnant's method is ideal for music that can be published in part-books, and it was to dominate the production of music for the rest of the century. Later printers returned to the use of plates—but this time engraved metal plates which could reproduce music with a more complex appearance.

Since the music prints immediately caught on and became the primary product of the firm, Attaingnant was of course interested in protecting his business from competitors. He applied for and was granted royal privileges as music publisher in 1529, and this protected his collections from *Chansons nouvelles* on against pirating for a period of three years. The concession was renewed and expanded in 1531, now with a term of six years.<sup>3</sup> In 1537 Attaingnant and his son-in-law Hubert Jullet, with whom he had entered into partnership the same year, were granted the title of *imprimeur et libraire du roy*, which Attaingnant retained along with the privileges it entailed until his death; no other music publisher was granted royal privileges in the reign of François I.

The difficulties of raising capital to finance the long, troublesome experiments necessary to get a printing press to function with Attaingnant's new method were probably a greater obstacle to competitors than the royal privileges. When Moderne started up, he simply reprinted whole collections of Attaingnant's.

A normal impression of Attaingnant's chanson editions must have consisted of about 1000 copies. The modest size of the impressions was practical, both for the sake of continuous production at the printing house, where compositors would have been left unemployed for long periods if large impressions were printed, and for the sake of quick returns on tied capital. Particularly successful collections could be reissued quickly in revised editions. Nevertheless, the number of copies printed of each edition was based on the number that could be sold, not only outside Paris but also abroad. Attaingnant's editions alone amount over the years to no less than—at a conservative estimate—175-200,000 copies.

The natural market for the Parisian book trade was Northern France, the Netherlands, England, Germany and to a lesser extent Italy. Lyons served the south of France and through the canal systems had good connections with Germany and Italy, and almost had a monopoly on trade with the Iberian Peninsula. Considering Attaingnant's advantageous position in the 1520s and 1530s, we must assume that his books were distributed in both areas. They probably had a prominent place in the fairs of Lyons.

Attaingnant's de facto monopoly meant that his production of chansonniers set the pace for the development of the French chanson from the end of the 1520s until almost 1540. His repertory has usually been seen by musicologists as a well-defined musical complex—as the expression of a style—and the whole complex has been given the catch-all designation *the Parisian chanson*. This has meant that the description of its development has been focused narrowly on the French capital and the court, suggesting at the same time a geographical

<sup>3</sup> The grant of privileges is reproduced in HeartzA p. 173ff.

distance from the repertory of collections like those printed in Antwerp by Tilman Susato (the so-called ‘Netherlandish chanson’). More particularly, one associates the term *the Parisian chanson* with a simple, mainly homorhythmic chanson type cultivated especially by Claudin de Sermisy.<sup>4</sup> However, this approach only deals with a limited, if characteristic, part of Attaingnant’s repertory. His publishing activity lasted almost thirty years—decades when the French chanson was changing in nature, and his collections exhibit considerable breadth, both in forms of musical and poetic expression and in the geographical spread of their composers. He printed chansons by composers from the French provinces, from the capital, and from Flanders and the Holy Roman Empire. This diversity threatens to deprive the term *Parisian chanson* of any content; it becomes too all-encompassing. This has been demonstrated very clearly by Lawrence F. Bernstein, who recommends the use of a number of other terms based on smaller, clearly defined segments of the enormous repertory.<sup>5</sup>

In Cop 1848 the concordances to Attaingnant’s repertory, both four-part and three-part, mainly appear in independent series. And the two series of four-part chansons in Rfasc. 3-4 and Rfasc. 8 are the last the main scribe added to his collection before abandoning it. Given the way these songs appear in blocks or series, they are clearly different from the rest of the secular repertory that we have discussed under the headings *The courtly repertory* and *The popular repertory*, which has concordances in sources from the period before and after 1500. From the point of view of the main scribe and Cop 1848, these songs represent something new and contemporary—perhaps not so much the individual songs as when they are seen as a massively present, dominant repertory. This contemporary repertory must therefore, *pace* all objections, be assigned its own collective name. And for that purpose we are unlikely to find anything better than the traditional *Parisian chanson*.

In the present context the Parisian chanson can be defined as the many-faceted range of French chansons Pierre Attaingnant published in his early years. The term does not apply primarily to a style or a chanson type, but rather to the whole repertory that went through the publishing house in Paris; the many kinds of chansons of which it consisted—in varying numbers and with varying representativeness of the taste of the period—must then be distinguished in more detail.

We have already discussed the relationship between Cop 1848 and Attaingnant’s printed editions and come to the conclusion that the songs in Cop 1848 belong to an older tradition,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lawrence F. Bernstein’s full discussion of the older literature in the articles ‘Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson’ (BernsteinO) and ‘The “Parisian Chanson”: Problems of Style and Terminology’ (BernsteinP).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BernsteinP, where Bernstein reviews a number of representative chansonniers 1528-50, demonstrating on the one hand divergent lines of development in the repertory and on the other the mutual influence of different chanson types.

“The stylistic diversity of the latter chansonnier [Attaingnant 1529/2] raises some telling questions about the meaning of the term “Parisian chanson,” a term that has been used in different ways. If it means a stylistic convention of the sort typified by the pieces in Attaingnant’s *Chansons nouvelles*, then there is no appropriate term for such chansons by French masters—Parisian or provincial—as do not conform to this convention. If on the other hand, “Parisian chanson” refers to a corpus of music associated with a Parisian circle of composers, no term remains for the works of French composers who worked outside of Paris and who were unaffected by its tradition of chanson composition.

What is, perhaps, most perplexing about the use of the term is the extent to which the literature would attempt to have the best of both worlds: that is, the stylistic convention is tied to the geographical site, and both are equated with the totality (or, at least, with the majority) of Attaingnant’s chanson production. Such a view would be appropriate to a consideration of the chanson in Paris at the very beginning of Attaingnant’s activity. But time and again the literature characterizes the “Parisian” chanson as a homogenous and enduring phenomenon that was cultivated throughout all of France and that remained essentially unchanged until after the mid-point of the century” (BernsteinP p. 197).

and that in many details they differ from Attaignant's redactions.<sup>6</sup> The last chansonnier from Attaignant to have new concordances to Cop 1848 is *Trente et six chansons musicales a quatre parties* of 1530. 1530 can also be taken as the cut-off year for the first period of his activities. The next chansonnier with new repertory that we know of did not appear until February 1532.<sup>7</sup> Prior to this he had managed to publish no less than fifteen chanson collections with 468 compositions. This includes reprints of collections and repetitions of chansons, without which the total is about 400 chansons, still a very large number.<sup>8</sup> He must have collected a large stock of chansons before his printing press began production in earnest. Once success was assured and his stocks were perhaps depleted, he began publishing sacred music, instrumental music and dances, as well as chansons and motets arranged for the lute (and for voice and lute), and for keyboard instruments. The many arrangements for instruments are to a great extent based on the chansons which had already appeared in the vocal collections; this way he made as much use as possible of his stock of music.<sup>9</sup>

Let us now try to identify the chanson repertory Attaignant published in his earliest years. Howard Mayer Brown, in the article 'The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530', has dealt with the content of Attaignant's first collection, *Chansons nouvelles*.<sup>10</sup> Here he singles out a number of chansons as *typical* of the Parisian repertory. They are based on strophic poems, on quatrains with ten syllables in each line and with a caesura after four syllables, often with the rhyme scheme *abba*. The phrasing, cadences and patterns of repetition follow the simple, clear structure of the poems, usually in the form ABCA or ABCAA. The upper voices have the strongest melodic profile, and there is a fine balance between homorhythmic and figured texture with sparing use of imitation. The simple basic pattern is varied by strict control of the limited effects, the placement and closeness of the voices, and the harmonic progressions. The Dorian and Lydian modes reign almost supreme. Since the point of departure for Brown's account is *Chansons nouvelles*, Claudin de Sermisy naturally appears as the dominant composer of this type of chanson.<sup>11</sup>

Brown also emphasizes the very varied nature of the collection. The pattern of the basic type is applied to other verse forms. Cinquains are treated in exactly the same way by expanding the form, and longer, more complex stanzas can be similarly formed. This is done, for example, by compressing several lines into a single musical phrase and by repeating the phrases in a rounded form. However, the Parisian chanson has another aspect than the lyrical love song; we encounter many examples of more narrative songs with amusing—often risqué—texts. They are set in a texture that is closely related to that of the popular arrangements. H. M. Brown thus identifies two important sides of the Parisian chanson: the lyrical love song (there are typical examples among Claudin's many contributions to the collection) and the anecdotal song (Janequin can be seen as a typical representative of this tendency—in his onomatopoeic chansons, where he can depict a complete situation from everyday life, from war or from the court hunts, this type is taken to its limits).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Chapter 5

<sup>7</sup> *Trente et trois chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties*, no. 30 in D. Heartz' catalogue (HeartzA)—the previous collection is no. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. HeartzA nos. 2-10, 14, 15, 17-19 and 29; no. 29 is a reprint of no. 5, and no. 9 is a revised edition of no. 2.

<sup>9</sup> There are modern editions of all the instrumental collections (cf. HeartzA); e.g. the three collections for keyboard instruments *Dixneuf chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des orgues espinettes ...*, etc. of 1531 (HeartzA nos. 22-24) in a clearly laid-out edition including the vocal originals in A. Seay, *Pierre Attaignant: Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard* (SeayA).

<sup>10</sup> BrownG p. 28 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Bernstein's account, BernsteinP p. 194.



Lawrence F. Bernstein takes issue, as we have seen, with the simplistic picture of Attaignant's repertory and demonstrates, on the basis of the collection *Trente et une chansons* (Attaignant 1529/2), that the situation is more complex. But he does think that the term is to a certain extent aptly applied to Attaignant's very earliest years.<sup>12</sup> However, Bernstein's aim is to use selected samples to give a subtler picture of Attaignant's activities as a publisher of chansons over a period of more than twenty years, so the earliest years are not an object of any special interest. And Brown's study of *Chansons nouvelles*, which provides the material for Bernstein's samples, is only meant to emphasize typical features, not to provide a broader description. So it is rather difficult on this basis to form a reasonably reliable impression of the early chansonniers.

To find a body of material which will help us assess the most modern part of the repertory in Cop 1848, we can repeat the survey of samples, concentrating on the earliest years. *Tables 1-3* sum up the content of three chansonniers published by Attaignant between April 1528 and November 1529—in Daniel Heartz' catalogue they are listed as Nos. 2, 5 and 14.<sup>13</sup> Here the individual chansons are placed, after an evaluation of their appearance and textual content, either among the *lyrical* or the *popular* chansons; then they have been grouped by textual basis, form and type of setting.

Of *Chansons nouvelles* only a single part-book is preserved, containing the altus and tenor. Unlike the later collections, which were printed in as many part-books as there were voices, Attaignant's first edition using the new movable type was only printed in two books. Not a practical arrangement, considering the small format—10 x 15 cm with 32 leaves in each book—and this was in fact the only experiment with it.<sup>14</sup> The content of the collection can easily be reconstructed, since Attaignant, before a year had passed, had reissued all the songs, as far as we can see in unaltered form, in other collections.

As H. M. Brown has demonstrated, the collection includes a large number of songs which must be described as 'typical Parisian chansons'. Among these we must count the simple settings in rounded form mentioned under Group a—including the very widely-circulated *Aupres de vous* (no. 24), which with its long phrases almost breaks out of the mould—and a single through-composed song which ends with a repetition of the last phrase instead of returning to the beginning (Group b, no. 15), and the settings of longer strophic forms in Groups d and f. Among the latter we find Claudin's very unified settings of two septains by Marot (Group d, nos. 1 and 3), where the musical idea more or less appropriates the whole course of the songs,<sup>15</sup> and on the other hand settings of poems in compound strophic forms like *J'ay contenté* by the same poet (Group f, no. 30), where the music closely follows the changing rhythms of the text. The narrative songs in the popular style must also be counted among the 'typical' ones; there is a single anonymous birdsong piece, and a number of songs by Claudin, which, in keeping with the texts, strike just the note we know from settings of popular tunes.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also note 5 and note 20 in this chapter; Table 1 in BernsteinP p. 196 gives useful information on the geographical distribution of the composers as far as *Attaignant 1529/2* is concerned.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. HeartzA. The contents of the three collections are now almost entirely available in modern editions, in collected works such as SermisyO, JanequinC etc. and in anthologies such as SeayC; there are also new editions like A. Seay, *Anonymous Chansons Published by Pierre Attaignant I-II* (SeayA) and Leta E. Miller, *Thirty-Six Chansons by French Provincial Composers (1529-1550)* (MillerP); *Attaignant 1529/2* is published complete in H. Expert, *Les maîtres musiciens de la renaissance française V* (ExpertA). The chansons marked · also occur in Cop 1848.

<sup>14</sup> In 1536 Attaignant switched to the larger quarto format for the chansons, and now printed them either with all the voices collected in one volume or in a—probably more expensive—two-volume edition. The first collection with all the parts together on each opening is *Livre premier contenant xxix chansons a quatre parties a tout en ung livre* of January 1536 (HeartzA no. 69).

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion of *Secourez moy* and *Example 2* later in the chapter.

**Table 1**  
***Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties***  
P. Attaignant, Paris, 4th April 1528  
(*Attaignant 1528/3*)

1. <i>Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours</i>	[Claudin]
2. <i>Tant que vivray en aage florissant</i>	[Claudin]
3. <i>Dont vient cela, belle, je vous supply</i>	[Claudin]
4. <i>Vivray-je toujours en soucy</i>	[Claudin]
5. <i>Joyssance vous donneray</i>	[Claudin]
6. <i>Si j'ay pour vous mon avoir despendu</i>	[Claudin]
7. <i>Il est jour dit l'alouette</i>	[Claudin]
8. <i>Le content est riche en ce monde</i>	[Claudin]
9. <i>De resjoir mon povre coeur</i>	
10. <i>Quant tu chanteras pour ton ennuy passer</i>	
11. <i>Le triste cueur puis qu'avec vous demeure</i>	
12. <i>Ma bouche rit et mon cueur pleure</i>	
13. <i>Las, voulez-vous qu'une personne chante</i>	[Vermont]
14. <i>Mon cueur est souvent bien nourry</i>	[Claudin]
15. <i>Le départir de cil que tant j'aymoy</i>	
16. <i>Veu le gref mal ou sans fin je labeure</i>	
17. <i>Puis que j'ay mis tout mon entendement</i>	
18. <i>Vive le serpe et la serpette</i>	[Claudin]
19. <i>Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours</i>	[Claudin]
20. <i>J'atens secours de ma seule pensée</i>	[Claudin]
21. <i>Languir me fais sans t'avoir offensé</i>	[Claudin]
22. <i>A mon resveil ung oyseau j'ay oy</i>	
23. <i>C'est a grant tort que moy povrette endure</i>	[Claudin]
24. <i>Aupres de vous secretement demeure</i>	[Claudin/Jacotin]
25. <i>Ung jour Robin alloit aux champs</i>	[Claudin]
26. <i>Longtemps y a que je viz en espoir</i>	
27. <i>N'auray-je jamais réconfort</i>	[Jacotin]
28. <i>Réconfortez le petit cueur de moy</i>	[Janequin]
29. <i>Le cueur est bon et le vouloir aussi</i>	
30. <i>J'ay contenté ma volonté suffisamment</i>	[Claudin]
31. <i>Las, je my plains, mauldicte soit fortune</i>	[Claudin]

### Lyrical chansons

Settings of quatrains or cinquains:

- a) In the form ABC|A:| or ABCD|A:|, balanced, well articulated homorhythmic-polyphonic texture ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 6, 9, 16, 20 (text by Marot), 21 (Marot), 23, 24 (rather expansively formed) and 26 (Marot).
- b) as a) but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): no. 15.
- c) as a); same form, but more imitative-melismatic, perhaps inspired by popular arrangements: nos. 11 (possible c.p.f. in tenor), 12, 17, 29 and 31.

Settings of longer poems:

- d) recalling a) with rounded form ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 1 (text by Marot), 3 (Marot) and 5 (Marot).
- e) as d) with imitative texture: no. 8.
- f) as d) but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 2 (text by Marot), 4, 10 (François I), 27 and 30 (Marot).
- g) as f) but imitative-melismatic: no. 13.

**Songs in popular style** ('Parisian chansons')

Resembling popular arrangements: nos. 7, 18, 19 (text by Marot) and 25.

Simple song with melody in tenor: no. 14.

Onomatopoeic song: no. 22.

**Popular arrangement**

No. 28 (Paraphrase chanson with c.p.f. in superius).

Outside the normal notion of the Parisian chanson lie Janequin's imitative paraphrase of a popular melody, *Reconforte le petit cœur de moy* (Cop 1848 no. 168), Claudin's *Le content est riche* (Group e, no. 8), whose imitative texture is most like one of Josquin's chansons', and five songs which formally resemble the typical chansons, but which with their imitative-melismatic design seem even more inspired by the popular arrangements. Four of the songs in this group (c) are anonymous, while the last one (no. 31) is by Claudin; the Parisian composer Vermont's setting of a septain, *Las, voulez-vous qu'une personne chante* has the same features (Group g, no. 13).

Looking at the collection as a whole, the 'typical Parisian chansons'—lyrical as well as popular—make up a whole three quarters of the content, so Brown's demonstration of characteristic types appears quite justified—as long as one is aware that a quarter of the songs fall outside this group in one way or another. The lyrical and the popular repertory make up 78% and 22% respectively if we take the text as the criterion, but if we compare the 'typical Parisian' lyrical songs with the songs inspired musically by the popular songs the percentages become 55% and 42% respectively, and are thus more equally divided than one would normally guess from the descriptions of the Parisian repertory.

One glimpses a purpose in the composition of the repertory. It cannot be coincidental that Claudin de Sermisy is so well represented. He is the composer of 17 of the 31 songs. The first eight songs are almost a programmatic presentation of his skills. First come five of his finely wrought settings of extended lyrical poems—four of them by Marot—then a quatrain in the characteristic ABC|A| form, next a popular song, and finally a more learned composition. It is striking that Attaignant chose to begin with the rather more ambitious settings; the simpler quatrain and cinquain settings are more numerous later in the collection.

Attaignant had clearly struck a chord with the *Chansons nouvelles*, for the songs soon began appearing in other collections. First nos. 23 and 24 in *Trente et quatre chansons* of January 1529, and no. 26 in the more or less contemporary *Trente et cinq chansons*<sup>16</sup>—all three songs from Group a—and soon afterwards all the others were printed in almost the same order as before in *Trente et sept chansons*<sup>17</sup> along with nine new songs. Eight of the new songs were inserted after *Secourez moy*—among these is *A desjuner la belle andouille* (Cop 1848 no. 38).

From the period after *Chansons nouvelles* we have a fragment of a canon collection and the well known edition of Janequin's great onomatopoeic chansons, the *Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin* of 1528.<sup>18</sup> Then, on the 23rd January 1529, came the next real chansonnier, *Trente et quatre chansons* (cf. Table 2). Here Claudin is nowhere near as dominant as nine months before, although he is still the best represented composer. The repertory selection has changed character—not radically, yet noticeably. There are only two songs in the popular style: Richafort's imitative setting of a wistful tune (the melody has been placed in the superius) and Janequin's *Aller my fault*, whose accelerating homorhythmic declamation is best described by the term 'patter' chanson. The settings of longer poems are also fewer. One of the anonymous songs is

<sup>16</sup> HeartzA nos. 5 and 6.

<sup>17</sup> HeartzA no. 9.

<sup>18</sup> HeartzA nos. 3 and 4.

**Table 2**  
*Trente et quatre chansons musicales a quatre parties*  
 P. Attaignant, Paris, 23rd January 1529  
 (Attaignant 1529/3)

1. Venés ça ho, dictes ung petit, ma dame	
2. Qui veult raison en raison se contente	
3. Aupres de vous secretement demeure	[Claudin/Jacotin]
4. De mon triste et desplaisir a vous belle	[Richafort]
5. Le dieu d'aymer m'a mis au bas	
6. Qu'esse d'amour bien leouldroie sçavoir	
7. Esse raison que pour une assurance	
8. Le cueur de vous ma presence desire	[Claudin]
9. Aller my fault sur la verdure	[Jennequin]
10. A mes ennuyz que si longtemps je porte	
11. A demy mort chacun me peult juger	
12. Amy, hellas, ostés moy de la presse	
13. Amour et mort me font oultrage	
14. Celle qui m'a tant pourmené	[Claudin]
15. Ce fut amour dont je fus abusée	[Passereau]
16. C'est grant plaisir d'estre amoureux	
17. C'est grant pitie quant argent fault	
18. Assouvy suis mais sans cesser desire	[Janequin]
19. Contre raison vous m'estes fort estrange	[Claudin]
20. Coeurs desolez par toutes	[Benedictus/Josquin des pres?]
21. De nuyt et jour il fault estre amoureux	[Consilium]
22. De bien aymer j'en ay faict l'entreprise	
23. D'estre amoureux jamais ne seray las	
24. De retourner, mon amy, je te pri	
25. Du temps me deulx et non de vous amye	
26. De toy me plaintz non sans cause et raison	
27. En devisant au gratieux pourpris	
28. Esse bien fait, dictes moy, belle amye	
29. En vous aymant je languis a pousuyvre	
30. Fait ou failli ou du tout riens qui vaille	[Claudin]
31. C'est a grant tort que moy povrette endure	[Claudin]
32. Si plusieurs jours comme le bon veneur	
33. C'est grant erreur de cuider presumer	
34. Il me souffit de tous mes maulx	[Claudin]

### Lyrical chansons

Settings of quatrains or cinquains:

- a) In the form ABC|A| or ABCD|A|, balanced, well-articulated homorhythmic-polyphonic texture ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 3 (rather expansively formed), 6, 12, 13 (text by Marot), 15, 21, 22, 23, 24 (François I), 25 (François I), 26, 27 and 30.
- b) as a), more melismatic ('Parisian chanson'): nos. 7, 16 (reworking of a 3v chanson), 31, 32 and 33.
- c) as a), but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 18, 19, 28 and 29.
- d) as c), more imitative-melismatic: nos. 2, 8 and 10.
- e) as a), same form, but more imitative-melismatic, possibly inspired by popular arrangements: no. 1.
- f) as e), through-imitated, motet-like: no. 20.

Settings of longer poems:

g) resembling a) in rounded form ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 5, 17 and 34.

h) as g) rondeau (*refrain-couplet-rentrement*): no. 11.

i) as g) but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): no. 14 (text by Marot)

**Songs in the popular style** ('Parisian chanson')

No. 9 ('Patter' chanson)

**Arrangement**

No. 4 (c.p.f. in superius).

a rondeau—*A demy mort* (Group h, no. 11)—which sets the *refrain* and *couplet* of the text as well as the subsequent *rentrement*, a rondeau in the 'Parisian style'.<sup>19</sup> Quatrain and cinquain settings dominate the collection. Among these are five of a type we did not encounter in *Chansons nouvelles* (Group b); they are more melismatic than the 'typical' chansons, but lack the clear influence of the popular repertory that we saw in a group in the first collection (here there is only a single chanson of this type—Group e, no. 1). Another difference is that the through-composed settings take a larger share. A single through-imitated chanson, (Group f, no. 20, *Coeurs desolez*) is very understandably attributed by Attaignant to Josquin Desprez (in the reprint of the collection of 1531), but the song is more likely to be by Benedictus Appenzeller.

Breaking down this collection as we did the first, we find that the lyrical repertory accounts for no less than 94% of the content. The 'typical Parisian chansons' have a slightly different mix, but now make up a whole 80%, while the songs with a musical formulation tending towards the popular only account for 9%. Here too the repertory seems to be composed with some care. The collection opens with the greatest possible variation in types, then the contrasts gradually disappear, and after *Coeurs desolez* (no. 20) it becomes a fairly homogeneous collection of mainly anonymous 'typical' songs; the whole ends with Claudin's beautiful *Il me suffit*.

The last collection we must look at is *Trente et une chansons* of November the same year (cf. Table 3), the collection which Bernstein cites as a corrective to *Chansons nouvelles*.<sup>20</sup> It starts with three songs in the popular style and continues with a mixed repertory in which the popular inspiration plays a much greater role than in the other collections—in fact it accounts for a whole 49% of the content as against only 45% for the 'typical Parisian' chansons. The

<sup>19</sup> The g-Dorian song consists of a setting of the refrain in the form AA'BCC (cadential degrees I – III – V – I) concluded with a fermata. The two-line *couplet* has new music and also ends with a fermata (cadential degrees V – I); the *rentrement* "A demy mort" is identical to the beginning of the song, which has a caesura after the first four syllables, and ends with a fermata on the third degree of the mode.

<sup>20</sup> His description of the collection is based on other criteria than those used here: "Many of the chansons in the print are compatible with the style of the *Chansons nouvelles*, and these include, not surprisingly, the works of such Parisians as Claudin, Conseil, and Jacotin, as well as the anonymous pieces and the composition by Lombart. As we might expect, the chansons by the composers associated with Cambrai adhere closely to the conventional rubrics of the Franco-Flemish chanson, as does the piece attributed to Deslougues. The works of the French provincial masters, however, offer unique and markedly idiosyncratic styles. Dulot's piece, one of the few four-voice chansons written *ad voces pares*, combines an imitative and highly variable texture with long melismatic lines. Unusual cadences, much reliance on motivic relationships, and a highly unorthodox melody set off Hesdin's chansons from the Parisian norm. And all but one of the five pieces by Janequin display extremely heterogenous textures, long, uneven, and poorly articulated phrases, and a host of unusual mannerisms—all features generally eschewed by practitioners of the so-called Parisian chanson style. To complicate matters even more the works of two Parisians, Mathieu Sohier and Pierre Vermont, are similarly removed from the conventions of Parisian style, displaying instead highly active and heterogenous rhythmic profiles, melismatic writing, long lines, and overlapping phrases" (BernsteinP pp. 195–97).

**Table 3**  
*Trente et une chansons musicales a quatre parties*  
 P. Attaignant, Paris, 1st November 1529  
 (Attaignant 1529/2)

1. <i>Mon povre cuer, hellas!</i>	Gascongne
2. <i>L'autre jour jouer m'aloie</i>	Consilium
3. <i>My levay par ung matin</i>	Janequin
4. <i>L'espoir que j'ay acquerir vostre grace</i>	
5. <i>Hau, hau, hau le boys!</i>	Claudin
6. <i>Puis que fortune a sur moy entrepris</i>	Claudin
7. <i>Au joly boys en l'ombre d'ung soucy</i>	Claudin
8. <i>Belle, sans sy combien que grande offense</i>	Lombart
9. <i>Elle s'en va de moy tant regretée</i>	Claudin
10. <i>En esperant le printemps advenir</i>	Dulot
11. <i>En entrant en ung jardin</i>	Claudin
12. <i>Pour tout le moins ayez en souvenir</i>	
13. <i>A bien parler que c'est d'amours</i>	Consilium
14. <i>Je ny sçauroys chanter ne rire</i>	Gascongne
15. <i>Mauldite soit la mondaine riche</i>	Claudin
16. <i>Amours partés, je vous donne la chasse</i>	Claudin
17. <i>J'ay cause de moy contenter</i>	Sohier
18. <i>C'est une dure departie</i>	Claudin
19. <i>Du bien que l'oeil absent ne peult choisir</i>	Claudin
20. <i>J'ay le desir content et l'effect resolu</i>	Claudin
21. <i>Ce moys de may ma verte cotte</i>	Jennequin
22. <i>Au verd boys je m'en iray</i>	Jennequin
23. <i>Au joly jeu du pousse avant</i>	Jennequin
24. <i>Seule demeure et despourveue</i>	Deslougues
25. <i>Je ne fus jamais sy aise</i>	Janequin
26. <i>Puis qu'en amours a si grant passetemps</i>	Claudin
27. <i>S'il est a ma poste</i>	Hesdin
28. <i>Ce n'est pas trop que d'avoir ung amy</i>	Vermont
29. <i>Trop dure m'est la longue demourée</i>	Jacotin
30. <i>Vire, vire, Jan Jennette</i>	Courtoys
31. <i>A declarer mon affection</i>	

### Lyrical chansons

Settings of quatrains or cinquains:

- a) In the form ABC|A| or ABCD|A|, balanced, well-articulated homorhythmic-polyphonic texture ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 4, 6, 9, 15 (text by Marot), 16, 19, 26 and 29.
- b) as a) but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): no. 13.
- c) as b), imitative: no. 24.
- d) as a), same form, but more imitative-melismatic, possibly inspired by popular arrangements: no. 10 (altus probably a later addition), 12 and 28.

Settings of longer poems:

- e) resembling a), in rounded form ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 20 (text by François I) and 31.
- f) as e) but through-composed ('typical Parisian chanson'): nos. 7, 8 and 18.
- g) as f), more imitative-melismatic: no. 17.



**Songs in the popular style** ('Parisian chansons')

Resembling popular arrangements: nos. 3, 5 and 25.

Simple song with melody in superius or tenor: no. 2.

'Patter' chansons: nos. 11 (text by Marot), 21, 22 and 23.

**Popular arrangements**

With known tunes: nos. 14 and 27.

With unknown tunes: nos. 1 and 30

fact that Mathieu Gascongne's name stands above the first song and appears above another song indicates the trend. He is known, for example, from the manuscript *Cambridge 1760* of the first decade of the century, to which, along with Antoine de Févin, he contributed a number of three-part popular arrangements. In Attaignant's collection he is represented by two four-part arrangements; and two other composers from Northern France, Hesdin and Courtoys, have each contributed a similar composition. Claudin and even more so Janequin are responsible for the songs in popular style. The distribution of the lyrical songs is by and large as in the other collections. And here too there is a single song in a more motet-like texture (Group c, no. 24, attributed to Desloupes or Philippe Verdelot).

In the months between *Trente et quatre chansons* and *Trente et une chansons* Attaignant probably published a further three chansonniers (*Trente et cinq chansons*, *Trente et deux chansons* and *Trente chansons*), the revised edition of *Chansons nouvelles* and a collection of three-part songs, *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a trois parties*,<sup>21</sup> as well as the first two motet collections and the first, didactically-oriented lute collection.<sup>22</sup> His whole activity seems to have been directed towards building up a large, varied range of printed music that would attract a wide clientele. The same intentions recur in the three chansonniers we have looked at. Their ingredients were mixed with a sure hand to give each its own character.

*Chansons nouvelles* is a presentation of the musical ideals of the court in Claudin's masterly interpretation. *Trente et quatre chansons* is arranged as a marvellously mixed collection of chansons, but with strong leanings towards the lyrical, while *Trente et une chansons* for its part tends towards the popular. The material that happened to be at hand may to some extent have determined the content, but the publication of so many chansonniers in quick succession suggests that Attaignant had collected a considerable stock to draw on before printing started. At all events the selection indicates a sure feeling for the marketable; for what stands out in the collection are the first dozen or so chansons in the part-books, the pages a prospective buyer could be expected to browse through; the later items are more of a piece. This tells us that there was a strong awareness of the distinctiveness of the chanson types, that the style played a role. Moreover, it supports Bernstein's criticism of the very broad definition of the term *Parisian chanson*; there is a very wide spectrum, stylistically as well as geographically.

In the early part of the repertory we mainly experience a strong interaction between the lyrical and popular side of the genre. The unifying element is the chanson type that H. M. Brown indicated as characteristic, the primarily homorhythmic settings of quatrains or cinquains in ABCA form or the like (Group a in all three tables). Its numerical strength in the collections does not vary so much: it accounts for 26, 38 and 26% respectively. The more unusual lyrical chansons—Bernstein attributes a provincial origin or inspiration to them—form a small group

<sup>21</sup> HeartzA nos. 6-10.

<sup>22</sup> *Motetz nouvellement composez* (HeartzA no. 11), *xii Motetz a quatre et cinq voix* (HeartzA no. 12) and *Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre & apprendre par soy mesmes a jouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tabulature du Lutz ...* (HeartzA no. 13).

in all three chansonniers; Attaignant also considered it appropriate to season each collection with one song in a more solid, learned compositional style.

Many chansons in Attaignant's repertory are difficult to place firmly in either the lyrical-courtly tradition or the popular sphere. This is because the 'typical' Parisian chanson represents a merging of the two tendencies. An important element in this process was the favourite poet of the composers, Clément Marot, and the poetic direction he took. As son of the court poet Jean Marot, *grand rhétoriqueur*, he was at home in the courtly style and had mastered the old forms. He wrote perfect rondeaux and ballades as well as strophic lyrics which he published as *chansons*; the idiom and diction of the popular songs was just as familiar to him, as the *épigrammes* in particular testify. As late as the end of the century, his poems were used as a textual basis by the composers. It was first and foremost Marot's short works, the *chansons* and *épigrammes* and some rondeaux, that found favour; but extracts from longer poems, sometimes suitably adapted, might also be used. The poems are eminently suited to music, and break in no way with tradition—either courtly or popular. Marot breathes fresh air into the tradition. The lyrical love songs use the colourful language of the courtly tradition, all the words that are so good to sing ("cœur, douleur, languir, regretz" etc.), but they are less pretentious and often have a lighter tone, a touch of the straightforwardness of the popular songs (for example *Jouyssance vous donneray*, Cop 1848 nos. 117 and 139). To the popular tradition he brings the coherence and point that the confused anonymous songs sometimes lack. As François Lesure has remarked, it was not the originality of the poems that attracted the public and the composers. Their strength lay rather in the universality of their expression and in their subjects, the often undisguised eroticism and not least in the fact that a professional poet staked his whole talent on genres with a wide appeal.<sup>23</sup>

The wide scope of the poems by Clément Marot that were used in Parisian chansons can be illustrated by a couple of examples. First a melancholy love song (*Chanson 5*), which differs only in the attitude and the strophic form from the courtly poems of the preceding century:

J'actens secours de ma seulle pensée,  
j'actens le jour que l'on m'escondira,  
ou que du tout la belle me dira:  
Amy, l'amour sera recompensée.<sup>24</sup>

(I hope for help from the only one I think of;  
I hope for the day she sends me on my way,  
or when the fair one simply says to me:  
My friend, your love will be rewarded.)

In the popular idiom Marot concisely and clearly sketches out a comic, amorous situation that the composers simply could not resist (*Épigramme 35*); just a year after the publication of the poem in 1534 it had been printed in three different settings:

<sup>23</sup> "... Mais l'originalité de la plupart des chansons et des épigrammes de Marot n'était pas telle que les mélomanes eussent été capables de reconnaître dans un recueil les pièces qu'ils devaient au poète. Les musiciens les avaient même choisies pour leur manque d'originalité: vogue des devises ou blasons (Du beau Tétin, Blason de Paris, Amour et mort, De peu assez), types populaires classiques (Martin, Thibault, Margot, Jean, etc.), et surtout thèmes purement érotiques. Ils retranchaient à leur guise telle strophe qui ne leur plaisait pas, n'hésitaient pas à prendre une élégie au quinzième vers" (F. Lesure, 'Autour de Clément Marot et de ses musiciens', rev. ed. LesureM p. 41). In the same article there is a bibliography of settings of Marot's poems (p. 44 ff).

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from *København* 291 no. 34. See also the discussion in Chapter 9.2 *Three-part Parisian chansons* and Example 7 there.

Martin menoit son pourceau au marché  
 avec Alix, qui en la plaine grande  
 pria Martin de faire le peché,  
 de l'ung sur l'autre; et Martin luy demande:  
 "Et qui tiendra nostre pourceau, friande?"  
 "Qui, dist Alix, bon remede il y a."  
 Lors le pourceau à sa jambe lya.  
 Et Martin juche qui lourdement engaine.  
 Le porc eut peur et Alix s'escria:  
 "Serre Martin, nostre pourceau m'entraîne!"<sup>25</sup>

(Martin took his pig to market with Alice. When they got into the open fields, Alice wanted to make the beast with two backs, but Martin asked "Who'll hold our pig, my love?"—"Who?" said Alice. "That's easily taken care of". And she tied the pig to her leg. Martin clambered on and sheathed his weapon. The pig took fright and Alice cried out: "Hold tight Martin, the pig's away with me!")

The influence of the lucid, simple idiom of the popular songs is even clearer in the music. As an example we can take a closer look at a 'typical' four-part chanson in Cop 1848, *Amy, hélas! otez moy de la presse* (no. 37), neither the author nor the composer of which is known (cf. *Example 1*). It complies perfectly with Brown's description of the lyrical chanson: the text is a decasyllabic quatrain with the caesura after the first four syllables, set in a lightly figured homorhythmic texture in the form ABC|A|. The mode is Lydian (Ionian), and the superius and tenor are the melodically profiled voices. The texture is very close to that of a simple arrangement with a c.p.f. in the superius (or tenor), especially if one disregards the altus. Yet there are features which distinguish such a composition from the popular arrangements—first and foremost from the older types—and it is just these features that primarily place it as a Parisian chanson: in the first place the relationship of music to text, then the actual transformation of the texture of the arrangement into a free composition without a pre-existing tune.

There was no reason to delve into the text-music relationship in the chapter on the popular songs. The primarily syllabic treatment of the text by the original tune determined the relationship in that repertory. It was so to speak given in advance, and only in quite special circumstances did the composers intervene with a distinct musical interpretation of the words or meaning of the text. In the Parisian chanson the text-music relationship again takes on crucial importance. In this respect the Parisian chanson emerges as a natural successor of the courtly chanson, but in a different musical framework and subject to different conditions. Where the sources of the courtly repertory normally only provided scanty information on the text underlay, the Parisian chansons are as a rule furnished with a clear, complete text in all voices. Moreover, the text declamation is to a great extent syllabic. In itself this might only mean a mechanical coupling as in the popular arrangements; it is the deliberate control of the relationship and a musical interpretation or colouring of the text that makes the relationship meaningful. In the Parisian chanson the text-music relationship, as in the courtly repertory, can be described as at once intimate and quite abstract or mechanical.<sup>26</sup>

The text of the anonymous song is a complaint of love in a slightly watered-down version of the courtly tradition: "Oh my friend, release me from the burden of torment and pain at

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from *Attaignant 1535/6*, where no. 14 is Claudin's setting and no. 21 is Janequin's.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the remarks in Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux* on Hayne's *Allés regrez* and *The historical position of the rondeau*. On the text-music relationship in the Parisian chanson see also E. Hertzmann, 'Trends in the Development of the Chanson in the Early Sixteenth Century' (HertzmannC) p. 10.

**Example 1** No. 37 Anonymous: *Amy, hélas! otez moy de la presse*<sup>27</sup>

Superius  
Altus  
Tenor  
Bassus

A - my, he - las! os - tez moy de la pres -  
A - my, he - las! os - tez moy de la pres -  
A - my, he - las! os - tez moy de la pres -  
A - my, he - las! os - tez moy de la pres -

- se d'en - nuy et doeuil de dou - leur a ve -  
- se d'en-nuy et doeuil de dou - leur a ve -  
- se d'en-nuy et doeuil de dou - leur a ve -  
- se d'en - nuy et doeuil de dou - leur a ve -

nir, car j'ay en moy l'es - poyr de sous - te - nir ? ma  
nir, car j'ay en moy l'es - poyr de sous - te - nir ? ma  
nir, car j'ay en moy l'es - poyr de sous - te - nir ? ma  
nir, car j'ay en moy l'es-poyr de sous - te - nir ma

the grief that will come, for I nurture the hope that I can endure my great pain full of misery." The superius and tenor formulate the setting of the text, and do so in a manner closely related to the one we demonstrated in Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés regrez*.

The first and last lines of the quatrain are exact parallels, with the first four and last two syllables as the important components, so the composer can simply use the same music at the beginning and end. But it was probably the first line that provided the inspiration. "Amy, hélas!" is set as usual in steady note values, and the apostrophizing, questioning tone is underscored by the unstable, imperfect interval of a sixth between the structural voices both at the start and before the caesura. The remainder of the line is declaimed at a faster pace until the

<sup>27</sup> After Cop 1848 no. 37. Line 2 of the text ends "... advenir" in the MS.

20 25

grant dou - leur con - fic - te de sim - ples - - - se.

grant dou - leur con - fic - te de sim - ples - - - se.

grant dou - leur con - fic - te de sim - ples - - - se.

grant dou - leur con - fic - te de sim - ples - - - se.

important word “presse”, which is illustrated by a lively melisma up to the cadence. Here text can be underlaid so that “presse” falls on a descending dotted figure in all voices; in the superius it moves to some effect all the way down through an octave—it could have stopped, analogously to the tenor, on the note *f*. In the second and third lines (bars 8-18) the tenor is a semibrevis ahead of the superius, partly with anticipatory imitation in short note values (bar 8) and partly with an intensified declamation that gives it the feel of a leading voice. The caesura emphasizes important words like “d’ennuy et dueul”, and the position of the climax is finely calculated to fall in the middle of the piece (bars 11-12) on “a venir”—“in the future”. In the third line the sense of the text runs on into “l’espoyr de soutenir”, so there is no caesura here, and the mutual supplementation of the melodic lines in the superius and tenor is exemplary.

It may seem drastic to pinpoint each musical device used in such a short composition. And in truth the song is perceived by the listener as an easy-flowing, slightly banal item, where text and music go hand in hand. But to create that impression requires considerable technical skill and sure control of small, well-balanced effects. The other two voices are very important to the impression of ease. The bassus effectively supports the superius-tenor complex with counter-movement where necessary; the altus is an integrated filler voice which in its movement is coupled with one or the other of the other voices. The cadential network is conventional with cadences on the first, fifth, second and first degrees—only the final cadence is perfect. A temporary change of tonal system, at the introduction of *e<sup>b</sup>* by the bassus in bar 5, colours the end of the first phrase. The effect is probably primarily caused by the movement of the voices, but is not unwelcome on the word “presse”. A similar change of system at the end of the third line (bars 16-18) moves more inconspicuously to a cadence on *g*. All the elements of the composition can be found in the simple arrangements of popular tunes. The liberation from the strictures of an existing tune enables the composer to interpret the mood of the text freely and flexibly.

As an example of settings of other types of poems than the simple quatrains and cinquains, we can look at Cop 1848 no. 165, *Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours* by Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Marot (cf. *Example 2*). The poem is a plea to the adored one to take pity on the lover who is almost dying of love; formally it is a septain, seven decasyllabic lines with a caesura, in the rhyme scheme *ababbcc*. Claudin chose to set the first two pairs of lines (*abab*) with the same music, and the remaining three lines (*bcc*) are set with a slightly varied, shortened repetition of the first half. There is a strong unity in the music material, corresponding fully to the poem’s monotonous plea for help and the emphasis on death as the alternative. If we go into more detail the unity is even stronger, and the chanson emerges as one of the most consistent and original in the Parisian repertory.

The tenor is the bearing voice (it is also the only voice with a full text in Cop 1848). Its tune is formed in the first line (bars 1-4) as an arch within the Dorian fifth *d-a* with a cadence on *f*. By observing the textual caesura it falls into two segments (*x* and *y*). In the second line (bars 5-9) Claudin uses the same elementary material; in the first segment in compressed form (*x'*) and in the second furnished with a final melisma and cadence on *d*, the *finalis* (*y'*). The music of the second pair of lines (bars 10-19) is an exact repetition. The ejaculation of the fifth line "Helas, hélas!" is given a new melodic segment (*z*), where the movement of the initial figure is reversed; the rest of the pair of lines (*bc*) is given the same music as before (*yx'y'*). Claudin uses the first and last segment from the first pair of lines (*xy'*) for the single last line, and repeats it (indicated in Cop 1848 by a *signum congruentiae* in bar 29), so that it rounds off and balances the preceding three pairs of lines. Thus Marot's seven lines are set as eight lines; Claudin has created a tenor tune which—in all its regularity—could be a melancholy popular song.

The superius supplements the tenor in parallel motion and with a little counterplay. Both principal voices remain within the Dorian fifth—with digressions to the *subfinalis* in the superius and in the tenor to the alternating note *b $\flat$* . Only at one point (bars 19-20), lasting less than 4% of the whole course of the piece, is this boundary overstepped—and that point is precisely the words "Helas, hélas!". The deliberate monotony is coloured by the sophisticated harmonization, to which the altus and bassus make a strong contribution. In the first phrase (the *xy* segment) the voices and harmonies remain within the pure Dorian system of tones with a *b $\natural$*  (the *b $\natural$* -system) with repeated sixth-to-octave linking of the chords by the altus and bassus; the second phrase is harmonically coloured by the *b*-system, although the altus still has some upward-striving *b $\natural$* 's. This change can be seen clearly in the bassus, where bars 1-4 must be solmized in the c-hexachord, while bars 5-9 fit easily into the f-hexachord with mutation on the low *F* in bar 4. The sequence in the bassus and superius in bars 5-7 is set insistently in motion by the *B $\flat$*  in the bassus, which almost gives the impression of a dissonance and is resolved to an octave with the tenor—the corresponding chord progression could never have such weight in major-minor harmonization. The change of system supports the musical arch of the pair of verse lines, and the repetition of the progression forms the background for the maximum effect at the radical shift on "Helas, hélas!". Here the structural duet and the bassus change abruptly to the *b $\natural$* -system (now in the g-hexachord)—in terms of common tonality only a digression to the minor dominant, but here a striking, despairing ejaculation which immediately afterwards falls back into low-key expression. The musical phrases are bound together into larger units by the altus (in the *x* and *y* segments) and by the superius (in *y* and *x'*); the altus also builds a bridge between the repetitions by anticipatory imitation of the tenor (bars 9-10 and 28-29) and the superius prepares, with the ascending scale in bars 19-20, for the climax; here too the unified character of the piece is emphasized.<sup>28</sup>

The next two stanzas of Marot's poem can be sung to Claudin's music; they are built up in exactly the same pattern. But the setting is so closely linked with the gloomy mood of the first stanza that the composer probably never intended more stanzas to follow. The effect of the musical repetitions and the intense cry in the middle would also be weakened by more stanzas.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> It would take us too far to go into other interesting details of this chanson, but see for example the masterly movement of the altus—it seems like an afterthought in many other chansons—or the abbreviation of the material in bar 28 ff.

<sup>29</sup> The rest of the poem is published in MarotCE III pp. 174-75. Another possibility is the version in *La fleur des chansons* of 1527, where Marot's first stanza is followed by another, probably not by Marot. It may have been added to the printed collection of song texts precisely because Claudin's setting had become well known and loved (publ. in JefferyV II pp. 69-70).



**Example 2** No. 165 Claudin de Sermisy: *Secourez moy, ma dame*<sup>30</sup>

Superius  
Se - cou - rez moy, ma da - me, par a - mours,

Altus  
Se - cou - rez moy, ma da - me, par a - mours,

Tenor  
Se - cou - rez moy, ma da - me, par a - mours,

Bassus  
Se - cou - rez moy, ma da - me, par a - mours,

5  
ou aul - tre - ment la mort me vient que - - - - - rir,

ou aul - tre - ment la mort me vient que - - - - - rir, aul -

ou aul - tre - ment la mort me vient que - - - - - rir,

ou aul - tre - ment la mort me vient que - - - - - rir,

10  
aul - tre que vous ne peut don - ner se - cors a

tre que vous ne peut don - ner se - cors a

aul - tre que vous ne peut don - ner se - cors a

aul - tre que vous ne peut don - ner se - cors a

<sup>30</sup> After Cop 1848 no. 165. Bar 4.1-2 in the superius is a  $\diamond$  in the MS; bars 10.3-4 are missing in the MS. The tenor before bar 29.2 has a superfluous  $\diamond$  (a). The bassus note in bar 8.2, bar 17.4, bar 27.2 and bar 32.4 is A in every case in the MS. Text in the tenor only; line 1 ends "... par amour" and line 3 ends "... donne secors".

15  
mon las cueur, pour vous s'en va mo - - - - - rir. He -  
mon las cueur, pour vous s'en va mo - - - - - rir. He - las,  
mon las cueur, pour vous s'en va mo - - - - - rir. He -  
mon las cueur, pour vous s'en va mo - - - - - rir. He -

20  
las, he - las! ve - nés toust se - cou - rir ce - luy qui  
he - las! ve - nés toust se - cou - rir ce - luy qui  
las, he - las! ve - nés toust se - cou - rir ce - luy qui  
las, he - las! ve - nés toust se - cou - rir ce - luy qui

25  
vit pour vous en grand tris - tes - se, car de  
vit pour vous en grand tris - tes - se, car de  
vit pour vous en grand tris - tes - se, car de  
vit pour vous en grand tris - tes - se, car de

30  
son cueur vous es - tes la mais - tres - se.  
son cueur vous es - tes la mais - tres - se.  
son cueur vous es - tes la mais - tres - se.  
son cueur vous es - tes la mais - tres - se.

## 9.1 The four-part Parisian chansons

The repertory of four-part Parisian chansons in Cop 1848 consists of the two series in Rfasc. 3-4 and Rfasc. 8, a further two complete chansons and a fragment in the small unrelated fascicle manuscript Rfasc. D, and the wedding song in Rfasc. 6 (no. 120), a total of twenty compositions including two five-part pieces (nos. 43 and 179). This repertory seems more heterogeneous than that of Attaingnant's printed chansonniers, although the great majority of the songs also appear there. For in the far smaller repertory of Cop 1848 we find a breadth of scope corresponding to that of the printed collections. The composers are also Attaingnant's major names: three of the chansons are attributed by him to Claudin de Sermisy and two to Clément Janequin; Nicolle des Celliers d'Hesdin does not appear so frequently in the printed collections, but is represented here by two songs.

Of the 'typical' simple lyrical chanson in the form ABC|A| there is only one example besides no. 37 *Amy, hélas! otez moy de la presse*, which was discussed in the preceding section. This is the anonymous no. 42 *Puis qu'en deux cueurs y a vraye union*; it stands out only in its use of imitation between tenor and superius in the third phrase. The other quatrain and cinquain settings exhibit different approaches to the form and style. The anonymous no. 38 *A desjuner la belle anduille* does in fact observe the form perfectly, but is not a lyrical song—it is an 'eating and drinking' song of the same type as the popular *Au matin quant suis levé* (no. 272)<sup>31</sup>—about a big breakfast with plenty of white wine. It takes the form of a concise popular arrangement with the tune in the tenor.<sup>32</sup> As long as we do not know the tenor tune from other contexts, we cannot determine whether the song is a deliberate imitation of the popular arrangements or an actual arrangement.<sup>33</sup>

In Rfasc. 6 there is a lone four-part chanson which Attaingnant also found use for in a chansonnier. Judging from the script it was copied into the stock fascicle around 1524. *Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne* (no. 120) was probably written for the marriage of Lorenzo II de' Medici and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne in 1518. It must therefore be counted among the oldest Parisian chansons, and in Cop 1848 it was in fact entered some time before the other four-part chansons.<sup>34</sup> Compared to no. 37 *Amy, hélas!* (cf. *Example 1*) it shows its age.<sup>35</sup> It lacks the suppleness of the slightly younger Parisian chanson; the simple quatrain is set line by line in mainly homorhythmic texture; the mid-point with fermata (bars 13-14) recalls the courtly rondeaux' method of dividing a composition—relaxed, without cadential tension.. The song is most like a simple arrangement with the tune in the upper voice.<sup>36</sup> It is not surprising that the altus in the printed version has been revised and slightly modernized (for example with a suspension and a leading tone to *d'* in bars 12-13)—in Cop 1848 the part is pure filling.

Hesdin's beautiful *Doeul, double doeul, renfort de desplaisir* (no. 39) sets a cinquain in a varied texture which does however refer to the rounded form. Hesdin uses the same material for the first two lines, but there is no trace of the usual straightforward repetition of the Parisian chanson. In the first line the calm, homorhythmic beginning—up to the caesura—is followed

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chapter 8.1 (incl. Ex. 7).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the edition in SeayC p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> In the five-part canon chanson no. 43, *Sans le congié de mon mary*, too, the 'typical' pattern for setting a cinquain (ABCD|A|) is observed; it probably has a popular song as *c.p.f.* in the *V<sup>a</sup> pars*; published in Vol. III as no. 55. The rounded form is also a natural consequence of the virelai-like structure of the other five-part canon chanson, no. 179 *Reveillés vous, amoureux, vous dormes trott*, published in Vol. III as no. 54.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 6 and Chapter 5; cf. also SeayD and SlimM.

<sup>35</sup> Published after Cop 1848 in Vol. III as no. 56; Attaingnant's version is in SeayA I as no. 58.

<sup>36</sup> H. Colin Slim has noted the resemblance of the upper voice to the Flemish song *O waerde mont*; cf. SlimM p. 467f (SlimM Ex. 2 shows the beginning of the chanson).

by a livelier imitative passage. The procedure is reversed in the second line, where the calm motif appears alternately in different voices accompanied by nervous figures, while the livelier continuation is now executed homorhythmically. The piece ends with yet another variation on this material, slightly abbreviated with the emphasis on the imitative second section of the opening phrase. This song too points backward in time. Its whole approach recalls the generation of Josquin.<sup>37</sup>

Janequin's *Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire* (no. 35) builds on the refrain of a *rondeau cinquain*. The song is through-composed, and Janequin seems to have had no intention of following the form of the text—but the courtly tradition may have influenced his approach to the text. It is a quite personal (or slightly provincial) approach to the Parisian chanson. After an imitative first line the song continues with a nervous responsiveness to the words of the text; the last word “doys je plourer ou rire?”, for example, is given an elaborate melisma. As in other early lyrical songs by Janequin the feeling of balance which gives the musical expression weight in Claudin is missing.<sup>38</sup>

Two anonymous songs in Rfasc. 8 are also through-composed—and more ‘typical’. In no. 164 *Ung grand plaisir Cupido me donna* the first three lines of the quatrain are sung without pause in a rather dense texture where superius and tenor vie for the role of the most salient voice; the fully written-out repetition of the last line forms a contrast with its livelier declamation and imitation involving bassus, tenor and superius—the bassus even enters twice with the motif in each phrase. Throughout the piece the altus seems rather tagged-on. The very widely-known cinquain setting no. 167 *De retorner, mon amy, je te prie* is more successful. It too consists of four musical phrases. The first phrase is quite broadly formed with melismas, and has the clearest contour in the tenor part; the phrase forms a unity by itself and is repeated unchanged for the next line. This means that this material takes up half the chanson. It is balanced by a rhythmically freer, calmly homorhythmic setting of the third line and a quicker, compressed declamation of the fourth, leading straight into the last phrase, which without being a quotation functions as a return to the music of the beginning. In this song, too, the altus can be omitted without detriment.<sup>39</sup>

We used Claudin's *Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours* (no. 165) as an example of a setting of a longer stanza, a septain, by Clément Marot (*Example 2*). This song, with Claudin's evocative original music, rises far above the slightly commonplace material one often encounters in Attaignant's repertory. All the remaining lyrical Parisian chansons in Cop 1848 are based on Marot's septains and huitains, but they do not have the serious tone we found in *Secourez moy*; the popular vein has left its traces on the text and music. This does not apply, perhaps, to the setting of Marot's appealing love poem *Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente* (no. 61), only two voice parts of which have been preserved in Hand B's fascicle manuscript. This unique song was probably for four low voices, and imitative with many text repetitions, but is too fragmentary to assess in any detail.<sup>40</sup>

*Je ne fais rien que requerir* (no. 41) is a love complaint—“I beg and beg – but do not get – the gift of love's sweet joy”. But Marot's choice of a stanza with alternating line lengths (eight and four syllables) and the use of a refrain make the poem much lighter than *Secourez moy*; the first line is repeated as a refrain ending each stanza. Claudin's through-composed setting

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the easily accessible modern edition in LupiC no. 1; the piece is unlikely to be by J. Lupi (see Vol. II no. 39).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the edition in JanequinC no. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Both songs are published in SeayA I and SeayC. No. 167, because of the last line's effect of rounding off the song, can be analysed AABC:D(A')<sub>2</sub>; so it has been placed—with some hesitation—in Group A in *Figure 2* in the preceding section.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. D.

**Example 3** a) Josquin Desprez: *Allegez moy* (superius bars 5-10)<sup>41</sup>  
 b) No. 40 Anonymous: *D'ung nouveau dart* (bars 14-20)<sup>42</sup>

**a:**

Al - le - gez moy, doul - ce plai - sant bru - net - te

**b:**

S  
fors de chan - ter: »Al - le - gez moy, doul - ce plai - sant bru - net - te«

A  
fors de chan - ter: »Al - le - gez moy, doul - ce plai - sant bru - net - te«

T  
fors de chan - ter: »Al - le - gez moy, doul - ce plai - sant bru - net - te« fors

B  
fors de chan - ter: »Al - le - gez moy, doul - ce plai - sant bru - net - te« fors

is close-woven so the phrases, with their irregular lengths, flow easily; only the repeated refrain is articulated with rests in all voices (as an ironic point?). The freely imitative texture owes much to the popular songs.<sup>43</sup> In *D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé* (no. 40) the popular influence is proclaimed outright. For at the end of each stanza Marot quotes the popular song *Allegez moy, douce plaisant brunette*, and the anonymous composer follows suit with a quotation of the tune (cf. *Example 3a-b*).<sup>44</sup> That a snippet of *cantus prius factus* is being used is underscored by the treatment of the last two lines. Instead of simply taking the snatch of tune in the superius to a cadence on *g'*, and then repeating the whole, the composer elects to avoid the cadence in order to vary the repetition. The second time round it is the tenor that has the quotation—a fifth higher from *f'*—and the superius follows in free imitation of the second segment of the motif. This demonstrates how many of the lyrical songs play sophisticatedly on the audience's knowledge of the popular repertory.<sup>45</sup>

Marot's septain *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* also has a refrain; both stanzas of the poem end by repeating the question "N'est elle pas legiere femme?" The unique setting in Cop 1848 (no. 166) clearly has the tenor as the main voice. It has a simple, lightly ornamented melody in the form |:AB|CD|B|. <sup>46</sup> The tenor tune is borne forward by the almost homorhythmic accompaniment of the other voices, which discreetly refrain from drawing too much attention to themselves. The piece is a good example of a simple arrangement with a *cantus prius factus* in the tenor; not perhaps very interesting in itself, were it not for the fact that it is a setting of a text by the court poet Marot, and that the same tune is found in a different setting in Attaingnant's chansonnier of 1529 *Trente et cinq chansons musicales* (cf. *Example 4*). The far more figured

<sup>41</sup> After JosquinWW no. 14.

<sup>42</sup> After Cop 1848; superius bar 19.3-4 is 2 ♯ in the MS, and altus bars 19-20 is a =.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the edition in SermisO III p. 124 and SeayC p. 157.

<sup>44</sup> *Allegez moy* is best known from Josquin's six-part canon chanson; for more on this see BrownF no. 9, pp. 185-86.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the edition in SeayA II (no. 32) and SeayC p. 62.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. III no. 57.

**Example 4** Anonymous: *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* (bars 1-7 and bars 17-24)<sup>47</sup>

S  
Ma da-me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seul - le - ment

A  
Ma da-me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seul - le - ment

T  
Ma da-me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seul - le - ment

B  
Ma da-me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seul - le -

chan - gé; ... car ung loy - al a es - tran - gé pour ung

chan - gé; ... car ung loy - al a es - tran - gé pour ung

chan - gé; ... car ung loy - al a es - tran - gé pour

ment chan - gé; ... car ung loy - al a es - tran - gé pour ung

20  
aul - tre qui la dif - fa - me.

aul - tre qui la dif - fa - me. N'est

ung aul - tre qui la dif - fa - me.

aul - tre qui la dif - fa - me. N'est el - le pas

composition in Attaignant uses exactly the same tune in the tenor, with only small deviations in rhythm and ornamentation. It would appear that such a set piece did not quite suit the anonymous composer—the attempt to give the other voices a melismatic flow like that of the tenor has made the texture very dense. It may have been a piece commissioned by Attaignant because he considered the upper voice too static in the Cop 1848 version. The two settings may however also be quite independent of each other.

This brings us to the question whether Marot's text was originally sung monophonically. And if so, did he write it to an existing tune, or was the tune specially composed? The first question can probably be answered in the affirmative. The tenor part is a song its own right—the

<sup>47</sup> After *Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 27.



other three voices are not crucial to its identity. However, this applies to a large number of the songs in Attaignant's collections; the superius or tenor could be sung alone—and were in fact later used independently in other contexts, whether they had arisen as popular tunes or were lifted from polyphonic compositions. The second question is more difficult to answer. The tenor tune is so simple that it may have been in circulation with almost any text, or may have been patched together from standard phrases to fit Marot's poem. Like most popular songs it consists fundamentally of just two elements: a melodic arch within the fifth of the Lydian mode (the  $\text{AB}$  section) and a contrasting section concentrating on the upper fourth of the Lydian scale (CD); it is possibly a tune in ABA form which was adapted to Marot's seven-line stanza. Marot himself referred to the song in the epistle *Du Coq en l'Asne à Lyon Jamet* of 1531:

“Ma Dame ne m’a pas vendu,  
C’est une Chanson gringotée;  
La Musique en est bien notée,  
Ou l’asiette de la Clef ment:  
Par la Mort bieu, voyla Clement;  
Prenez le, il a mangé le lard.”<sup>48</sup>

“Gringoter” appears to mean to improvise a lively counter-voice to a given tune.<sup>49</sup> A “chanson gringotée” must in this case be a song whose tune is suited to such a performance, just like the tenor tune in the two anonymous settings. The point in this section of Marot's *L'épître* is however ironic, not musical; it is about a lady friend said to have denounced him in 1526 for eating meat during Lent. But Marot may have referred to his poem as a “chanson gringotée” because he was quite aware that he had based it on the tune of a popular song.<sup>50</sup> Once more we see that the popular repertory and the Parisian chanson overlap.

In the decidedly popular style we find two drinking songs, the anonymous no. 161 *Vignon, vignon, vignon, vignette* and Claudin's *Hau, hau, hau le boys!* (no. 32). The first is a rondeau of the old type where the refrain only has two lines (a *triolet*), a form that lived on in the popular song. It is a four-part arrangement with the refrain sung by all voices and the first *couplet* and *terce* set in duos. The simple tune of only two phrases is clearly in triple metre (cf. *Example 5*), but in no. 161 has been forced into *tempus imperfectum*, which gives it a drunken, staggering gait—the rhythm does not add up to a regular pattern even if one pretends the piece is in triple metre. In the refrain the tenor has the tune, while in the duos it is alternately in the tenor and bassus.<sup>51</sup> In Claudin's song there is the same alternation between a tutti refrain and a more broken texture; the refrain “Hau, hau, hau le boys!” frames two *tercets* praising “ce gentil vin françois”. We do not know the tune from any other source, but the chanson is based just as much as no. 161 on the devices of the popular arrangement, except that it is more imitative and sophisticated—in its constant variation of the melodic material it is not

<sup>48</sup> After MarotCE II p. 110ff (lines 86–91).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. BrownF p. 101f and p. 150.

<sup>50</sup> Jean Rollin argued in his monograph *Les chansons de Clément Marot* (RollinM *passim*) that Marot was a musician and sang his poems to his own tunes.

This hypothesis was summarily dismissed by F. Lesure (in LesureM) as on the one hand uninteresting and on the other undocumented, since all the evidence suggest that Marot's knowledge of music was as superficial as that of most other well educated people in his time. The tenor melody of no. 166 may make the matter rather less uninteresting—anyone could in fact take standard formulae from the popular song and piece them together into new tunes for their own poems. Considering Marot's importance for the Parisian chanson, a possible example of such a procedure must be worthy of interest.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the edition in SeayA I (no. 34) and SeayC p. 106.

**Example 5** No. 161 Anonymous: *Vignon, vignon, vignette* (Tenor, bars 1-6)<sup>52</sup>

1.4.7. Vi- gnon, vi - gnon, vi- gnon vi- gnet- te, 2.8. qui te plan - ta il fust pruz-dom.  
 3. Il feust coup - pé a la ser - pet - te, 6. quant il pas - se ma gor - get - te.  
 5. Il me sem - ble ad - vis que j'a - leit - te.

unlike Compère's suggestive *Alons faire nous barbes* (no. 3). These songs can be joined by two consistently imitative arrangements in the fascicle manuscript Rfasc. D, *S'il est a ma poste* and *A la fontaine du pré* (nos. 58 and 60), which are so identically formed that one must consider attributing them both to Hesdin.<sup>53</sup>

Janequin's *Reconforte le petit cueur de moy* (no. 168) must be classified as a popular arrangement, since it is based on a popular song which appears in both monophonic chansonniers.<sup>54</sup> But, as was the case with the lyrical *Assouvy suis* (no. 35), Janequin's early compositions do not fit into any fixed category. *Reconforte le petit cueur* was the first of his songs to get into print, in *Chansons nouvelles*. The insistently imitative polyphony points back a generation. The upper voice paraphrases the popular tune freely, but none of the qualities of the popular song interested Janequin here. With its poor text declamation, the song sounds diffuse and provincially eccentric, quite without the impact that characterizes his rather later songs.

The series of Parisian chansons in Cop 1848 have the effect of a homogeneous repertory when seen against the background of the surrounding diversity—as do Attaignant's collections compared to mixed manuscripts. Here all the songs are four-part with more or less the same distribution of voices, and the text underlay is generally complete. But if one looks closer at the individual songs one finds a wide range of style and expression. This is why it is right to let the appearance of a chanson in such an easily recognizable, closed repertory determine whether it falls under the generic term *the Parisian chanson*. This shifts the emphasis in defining the Parisian chanson to its contemporary context, away from the notion of the dominance of particular stylistic features and their importance for developments in the future—which only narrows our understanding of the musical life of the period.

The two series in Rfasc. 3-4 and Rfasc. 8 should probably be viewed as complete or partial copies of circulating fascicle manuscripts. They both exhibit the variety that could make such small music manuscripts attractive. Of the nine songs in Rfasc. 3-4, six are lyrical, and three are in the popular style: a canon chanson based on a popular tune (no. 43), a drinking song (no. 32) and a 'breakfast song' (no. 38). Of the lyrical songs, Janequin's rather clumsy imitative-melismatic one (no. 35), and Hesdin's (no. 39) exhibit the more archaic style; the rest, in all their diversity, must be classed as 'typical' lyrical chansons, although no. 40 quotes a popular song. Compared to the Attaignant chansonniers we have analysed, the series is probably most like *Chansons nouvelles*,<sup>55</sup> as are the six chansons entered together in Rfasc. 8. These are again

<sup>52</sup> After Cop 1848. As an illustration I have laid the whole stanza under the first two phrases of the tenor part; line 6 in the three other voices is "quant tu passe ...". There are minor melodic variations in the later repetitions. The tune was also set by Claudin, Certon and Lassus—cf. Vol. II no. 161.

<sup>53</sup> Concerning nos. 3, 58 and 60, see Chapter 8.3; Claudin's drinking song has been published in SermisyO III p. 90, ExpertA no. 5 and SeayC p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> *Paris* 9346 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22, publ. in GéroldB, no. 21; and *Paris* 12744 f. 37<sup>v</sup>, publ. in ParisC, no. 54; Janequin's chanson is published in JanequinC I as no. 1; see also the thorough account in T. D. Brothers, 'Two Chansons Rustiques à 4 by Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin' (BrothersC) pp. 311-17.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Table 1* in the preceding section.

three very different ‘typical’ lyrical songs (nos. 164, 165 and 167) and three equally different songs with popular elements: the setting of a popular rondeau (no. 161), the simple arrangement of Marot’s poem (no. 166) and Janequin’s—again highly individualistic—interpretation of a song from the popular repertory (no. 168). We encounter a very small repertory in the style of *Trente et une chansons*<sup>56</sup> in the songs in the unrelated Rfasc. D, where there are two popular arrangements (nos. 58 and 60).

The Parisian repertory in Cop 1848 thus reflects as well as possible the chanson repertory on which Attaignant was able to draw a few years later. The originals for the series in Cop 1848 would in principle have contained the same range of chansons as the printed chansonniers, but probably lacked the selectiveness and careful planning that contributed to the commercial success of the mass-produced music. It is thought-provoking that the most old-fashioned compositions in the repertory were also the earliest ones to find their way into the pages of Cop 1848. The simple wedding song (no. 120), which refers to an event in 1518, and Hand B’s fascicle manuscript with the popular arrangements, can both be dated around 1524—about a year before the two longer series which were probably entered in connection with the sojourn of the court in Lyons.<sup>57</sup>

This *early* selection of Parisian chansons moreover refutes what appears to be the conventional wisdom about certain ‘characteristic’ features of the genre—that its texture is dominated by the uppermost voice. The superius is the leading voice in very few of the pieces (for example nos. 120 and 168); in the great majority, superius and tenor work together, taking the melodic initiative by turns—where the tenor is not in fact the bearing voice (as in the two very different nos. 165 and 166). Even in the most ‘typical’ quatrain settings, nos. 37 and 42, the tenor competes with the superius for the melodic leadership. Otherwise, indeed, the composer would have been deprived of one of his most important devices for interpreting the emotive content and mood of the text.

## 9.2 The three-part Parisian chansons

The Parisian chanson has been the object of a good deal of discussion in musicological literature; it has always been a problem to place the genre in the ‘development of music’. In the bird’s-eye view of history the Parisian repertory is so obviously different from the idioms of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that it may appear to be a radical break with tradition. The lack of source material from France in the years before Attaignant began his activities has been a stumbling-block in the discussion. But terminological vagueness has had its effect too. The term ‘Parisian chanson’ has generally only suggested one side of the varied repertory—the predominantly homorhythmic lyrical chanson.<sup>58</sup> And the formal and harmonic clarity and precision of this type (when it is viewed in isolation) have been emphasized as features which point forward to the music of later times, so it has been analysed and discussed on the basis of anachronistic approaches—for example in terms of the apparatus of tonal harmony.

Two issues are important to the understanding of the repertory in our manuscript: one is the idea that the Parisian chanson can be put aside as an interesting and bothersome, but fairly isolated incident in the history of the chanson; the other is the closely related issue of the historical roots of the Parisian repertory as a whole.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Table 3.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Chapter 5.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the introduction to this chapter.

The background for regarding the Parisian chanson as an isolated episode is not only the lack of sources and overemphasis on one side of the repertory; it is just as much the result of a general view of the history of music. Musicological concern with the evolution of the polyphonic technique, and of imitative technique and the treatment of dissonance in particular—in short, the classic Palestrina style—has been as important a factor in evaluating this genre as it was in the treatment of the fifteenth-century courtly repertory.<sup>59</sup> It turns the homorhythmic chanson into an interlude in the development from Josquin to Lassus.<sup>60</sup>

While the line from Josquin to the so-called ‘Netherlandish school’ is easy to draw, it is more difficult to account for the isolated ‘Parisian school’. In the Italian frottola, carnival songs and laude of the period around 1500 we find many of the features used as identifying characteristics of the Parisian chanson: simple, repetitive melody, mainly homorhythmic texture etc.—and not least the direct, popular tone of many songs. There were lively cultural exchanges between France and Italy. In the musical area in particular, the Francophilia of the ruling classes in Italy is well known; and conversely the French royal house could make use of many aspects of Italian artistic expression to demonstrate its renewed strength after the wars of the fifteenth century. It is therefore natural to look south for the background of the dominant secular genre under François I, of whose ambitions Italy was the constant goal. Yet most musicologists are very cautious when they attempt to draw a line from the frottola to the Parisian chanson.<sup>61</sup> But in several very widely-used standard works on the history of music the line is drawn without much hesitation, and the Italian background was more or less tacitly accepted for some time.<sup>62</sup>

In his contributions to the standard literature, Howard Mayer Brown dissociates himself from the ‘Italian’ explanation, which he considers both unnecessary and unlikely.<sup>63</sup> His own

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the remarks in Chapter 7.1 *The historical position of the rondeau*.

<sup>60</sup> Knud Jeppesen: “Die Art, auf welche man z.B. verschiedene Linienabschnitte oder “Durchführungen” einer Komposition zu verbinden wusste, ... ist eine Kunst, die mit Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts wieder für eine Zeit verloren geht; erst mit der Palestrina-Epoche wird die merkwürdig teilnahmslos und primitiv wirkende Addition der Perioden, die so viele Kompositionen der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts kennzeichnet, von einer anmutigeren und kunstvolleren Praxis abgelöst” (JeppesenK p. XXIII).

G. Reese: “Although the chanson composers of the Paris-school type dominated the French musical scene during the earlier part of the 16th century, we may regard their production as a brief (but important) “intermezzo” in the development of the chanson from Josquin to Lassus” (ReeseR p. 300).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. D. Heartz, ‘Les goûts réunis or The World of the Madrigal and the Chanson Confronted’ (HeartzG); see also the discussion after his paper. The same view, which prefers to see a common development and places a clear Italian influence on the chanson towards the middle of the century, is expressed by F. Lesure (‘Chanson’ in M. G. G. II, col. 1064) and E. Hertzmann (HertzmannC).

<sup>62</sup> G. Reese in *Music in the Renaissance*: “Claudin’s chansons support the claim that many features of the French chanson, which was markedly to influence the Italian instrumental *canzona* (called *alla francese*), were themselves partly derived from the Italian *popolaresca lirica*. Italians contributed in person to the vogue of this kind of lyricism in France, for many were employed among the musicians of the *chambre* and those of the *écurie* at the French court, which, in patronizing Italian culture, did not confine its favors to Leonardo da Vinci and the visual arts” (ReeseR pp. 291-92). D. J. Grout in *A History of Western Music*, New York 1960, p. 190: “The first stimulus and model for the new Paris chanson was probably the Italian *frottola*, with which French composers could have become acquainted at the time of Francis I’s Italian campaign of 1515 and which were disseminated in France by Italian musicians after that date.”

<sup>63</sup> “Scholars have noted the superficial resemblance between frottolas and chansons because of the chordal textures common to both; but any direct relationship between the two genres seems highly unlikely since they grew up in such different ways, the one from a tradition of declaiming poetry over improvised and conventional chord progressions, and the other from a simplification of the complex superius-tenor-orientated polyphony of the northerners. Italian influence on the chanson, then, can only have come indirectly by way of its effect on the music of an earlier generation of Franco-Flemish musicians: Josquin and his contemporaries. ... In short, there is no need to look outside the northern countries to trace the genesis of the Parisian chanson” (NGrove 4, ‘Chanson’, p. 142; the same passage can be read in H. M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, Englewood Cliffs 1976, p. 216).

research on the popular French repertory has in fact filled large gaps in our knowledge and clarified important aspects of the roots of the Parisian chanson. His view of the matter is most clearly expressed in 'The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530' (1963), where he points to the four-part popular arrangement as a source of musical elements and inspiration for the narrative, erotic chanson in the popular style, while he can draw a line from the simple three-part arrangements to the lyrical songs.<sup>64</sup> He also considers it very likely that Claudin's early chansons were written for three voices, although they were later printed in four-part versions—the altus is often a decided fill-in part.<sup>65</sup> H. M. Brown's ideas have since become guiding principles for all work on the chansons of the sixteenth century. The issue has only recently been re-assessed by another musicologist, Lawrence F. Bernstein. In the article 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson' (1982) he reviews the sources where the precursors of the Parisian chanson are said to be found.<sup>66</sup> In this motley, geographically scattered body of material he finds a number of problems which are hard to reconcile with H. M. Brown's account: first and foremost the problem of tracing the line from the repertory of four-part popular arrangements to the Parisian chanson, and then of proving that the lyrical Parisian chanson had its origins in the three-part repertory, and that some four-part chansons originally circulated in three-part versions.<sup>67</sup> His answer to the problems outlined is—provisionally—to draw attention to the international synthesis of impulses to which the large colony of French composers in Italy was exposed in the last decades of the fifteenth century—in other words, a new 'Italian' explanation of the Parisian chanson, but moved back a generation earlier than the older view.<sup>68</sup>

Bernstein's whole review of the sources is a demonstration of the difficulties inherent in the fragmentary *French* transmission of sources, especially when it is compared to the rather better-preserved *Italian* transmission; the source material is quite obviously not representative of musical life in France. Oddly enough, this reservation is not expressed in the conclusions of the article,<sup>69</sup> and the most relevant source for the purposes of the article, Cop 1848, is only given a passing mention. In Cop 1848 most of the four-part Parisian chansons appear as additions to a large, mixed secular repertory which is representative of the situation just before their breakthrough in France. Here we can study in one source the wide range of stylistic elements that formed the breeding-ground for the new style. And this 'supplementary' material very much supports and elaborates on H. M. Brown's account of the process—at least when it is viewed from the perspective of provincial France.

<sup>64</sup> BrownG pp. 32-33: "The narrative settings ... resemble in many ways the four-part popular arrangements by Mouton. Just so, the Févin three-part popular arrangements, and I am thinking especially of the rather unusual "Adieu soulas," may be equated with the Claudin lyrical settings. In them a chordal texture is enlivened by lightly imitative counterpoint."

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> BernsteinO; as background for the study Bernstein provides (pp. 275-84) an overview of the discussion so far with plentiful bibliographical references.

<sup>67</sup> BernsteinO p. 322: "In fact, the demonstrable impact of the four-part arrangement in the North seems to have been of a magnitude sufficient only to have influenced a few chanson composers at the early stages of the emergence of the Parisian chanson. Very early on, they abandoned the style of the four-part arrangement in favor of a far more homogenous type of patter style, the roots of which can be found in French music of the period 1500-1515."

Similarly, the argument for selected three-part arrangements as the models after which the lyrical Parisian chanson was fashioned runs into its own anomaly, for the chronological priority of these chansons *a 3* over the emergence of the lyrical Parisian chanson *a 4* cannot be demonstrated. Finally, the earliest examples of music that embodies the primary elements of the lyrical Parisian chanson can be traced to manuscripts, composers and complexes of pieces, all of which are linked principally to Italy during the last two decades of the 15th century."

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p. 323.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also the remarks in Chapter 8.3 *Four- and five-part popular songs*.



Our manuscript is particularly rich in three-part chansons. The following examination will concentrate on two topics: first, an assessment of the position of the three-part 'Parisian' chansons in the repertory; then an attempt to trace the lines in the manuscript's other three-part chansons which point forward to the style of the 1520s.

The three-part Parisian chansons are in the two series of six songs each in Rfasc. E and Rfasc. 6. In the analysis of the structure of the manuscript we found that each of the two series should be seen as a copy of a fascicle manuscript, the form in which small homogeneous repertory groups normally circulated—and it is important to keep this in mind.<sup>70</sup> The series in Rfasc. E is the oldest. The small fascicle was created as a supplement to Rfasc. 5, probably because these songs did not quite fit into the carefully compiled repertory there; that is, at the beginning of the main scribe's first, very active period, around 1520. Rfasc. 6 was put together slightly later and built up more slowly, in several stages. It is hard to say how much time passed before the scribe entered the series of three-part songs; a year to eighteen months after the first series would be a reasonable guess.<sup>71</sup> So we have two small repertories of three-part songs, which include contributions from young artists at the court, Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Marot, and which had reached the largest provincial city. The two series represent a kind of 'latest thing from the capital' from the years around 1520.

So which music was the 'latest thing from the capital'? We get the clearest answer to this from the younger series, the one in Rfasc. 6, comprising nos. 111-114 and 116-117 (the whole series appears in the music appendix).<sup>72</sup> For here we find three songs otherwise only known in four-part versions for which Attaignant's collections are our earliest sources: two songs with words by Marot and music by Claudin, no. 111 *Languir me fais sans t'avoir offensée* and no. 117 *Jouyssance vous donneray*, as well as the anonymous *Si vostre cueur prent le tanné* (no. 114).

All three are love songs—two in the melancholy vein and *Jouyssance vous donneray* in a lighter mood—and all three could be used as paradigms of the lyrical Parisian chanson.<sup>73</sup> *Languir me fais* and *Si vostre cueur* are settings of quatrains in the form ABC|A|; they are in figured homorhythm with close declamation of the text and the slightly abstract, conventional sensibility of the age. *Jouyssance vous donneray* is a sixain, and thus entails a different, but just as simple and effective musical form. The poem falls into two sections of three octosyllabic lines. And Claudin also splits the setting in two (bars 1-12 and 13-25). The first section is a rounded setting of the three first lines, phrased with a suggested cadence on the fifth degree of the g-Dorian mode (bar 3), an imperfect cadence on the third degree (bar 6), ending with a perfect cadence on the final. The tune is in the tenor—the three segments form a fine arch—and in the second and third phrase it is anticipated by the bassus a fifth below. The sequence of cadences is the same in the second section, but it is not a straight repetition of the first section. The introductory phrase is replaced by one with the tenor at its most exposed pitch, and the fifth degree of the mode is more strongly emphasized; the next phrase is a varied repetition of the second phrase—with octave imitation in the bassus, a change probably made to ease the transition back to the music of the first section—and the last phrase is an exact repetition of the third. The quite regular form and rhyme scheme of the poem (*aab aab*) is thus clearly reflected in the symmetry of the music; but the emphasis on the fourth line of the poem

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the discussion in Chapter 4.1.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the discussion of the dating of the individual sections in Chapter 5.

<sup>72</sup> No. 115 has been added by Hand D in the middle of the series; the six three-part chansons are published together in Vol. III as nos. 58-63.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the analysis of no. 37 *Amy, hélas!* in the introduction to this chapter.



“Vivante ne vous changeray” with the melodic climax and change of system (to the *hexachordum durum*) gives the song an internal dynamism and cohesion in the form ABCDB|C|,<sup>74</sup> which one rarely meets in settings of lyrical popular songs—in this, as in other features, the composer’s active interpretation of the poem is evident.

The other three songs in the series have many features in common with these three-part ‘typically Parisian’ chansons: they all set quatrains in the form ABCA or ABC|A| and use devices from the same set of conventions for textural type, figuration, progression of cadences etc. Yet there are also differences: no. 116 *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* is very close to the lyrical Parisian chansons with a well-formed tune in the upper voice accompanied by more highly figured lower parts, but the sustained cadence notes with a fermata at the end of each phrase give it a more leisurely pace; one can say that it leans more to the lyrical side than the ‘typical’ Parisian chanson. No. 113 *C’est boucanner de se tenir a une* is an imitative popular arrangement with the tune in the superius, and in no. 112 *Ces facheux sout qui mesdisent d’aymer* the tenor is perhaps also based on a popular tune—at all events the songs stays close to the conventions of the popular style.<sup>75</sup>

‘The latest thing from the capital’ thus proves to consist of a few new love songs in the simpler, balanced style that was to become a characteristic element of the chansons of the next few decades, two of them created by the young ‘stars’ at court; in addition there is a rather older chanson in the popular style—*Ces facheux sout* already appears in the manuscript *Firenze 117* of before c. 1515—, an imitative arrangement and a languishingly lyrical song. There can be no doubt that this series should be viewed as a homogeneous repertory. It was perceived as such by its contemporaries, and was copied as such into Rfasc. 6 with the contents listed on the back of the fascicle. Attaignant printed all six chansons, three in four-part reworkings and the rest in *Quarante et deux chansons*, the collection of three-part chansons printed in 1529. Here he decided to use a different version of *Ces facheux sout*, which is in Cop 1848 as no. 248, and *C’est boucanner* appeared in a simpler arrangement.<sup>76</sup> The series exhibits none of the stylistic diversity of Attaignant’s chansonniers of 1528 and 1529,<sup>77</sup> but it suggests many of the elements which are characteristic of Attaignant’s repertory as a whole, drawn from both the lyrical and the popular chanson. So in this perspective one can safely regard the whole series as early Parisian chansons. That the content of just this series was seen by the musicians and public of the day as new, interesting music is confirmed by the fact that it has so many duplicates of songs in other parts of Cop 1848—three of the six songs occur twice in the manuscript. And we find two of them precisely in the other series of three-part chansons which the scribe had already copied, in Rfasc. E.

The six chansons in Rfasc. E are a rather more motley crew. No. 135 *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* and Claudin’s *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 139) were copied from an original which differed in many respects from the one that lay behind the series in Rfasc. 6. Here too, there are two anonymous settings of quatrains: the brief no. 140 *Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune* in ABC|A| form, whose disposition is closely related to that of the simple popular arrangements, although one cannot say that any one of the voices functions as an independent tune (cf. *Example 6*); no. 141 *Amour vault tropt qui bien s’en sçait deffaire* is very like it, but is more elaborate, with long semiminimae melismas in parallel sixths, and it has the form ABC|D|.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> The repetition of the last phrase is only indicated in the second version in Cop 1848. Cf. the editorial comments on Vol. III no. 63.

<sup>75</sup> No. 112 and 113 are both discussed in Chapter 8.2 *Three-part popular songs*.

<sup>76</sup> *Attaignant 1529/4* no. 8 and no. 10; *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* is here no. 13.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the overviews in the introduction to this chapter (*Tables 1-3*).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. e.g. the edition in SeayC p. 152.

**Example 6** No. 140 Anonymous: *Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune*<sup>79</sup>

Superius

Tenor

Bassus

Sy par souf - frir on peult vain - cre for - tu -

ne je croys de vray le champ me de - meu - rer, car

je ne fais que pen - ser et pleu - rer par

la fas - son que tant me im - por - tu - ne.

No. 137 *Je ne sçay pas comment* may have a popular tune in the upper voice, but as a textural type is very like nos. 140 and 141;<sup>80</sup> the text is a sixain which is set succinctly and effectively in the form ABCAB|D|—it exhibits the simple pattern from which Claudin and Marot created a more personal statement in *Jouyssance vous donneray*. *Jouyssance* incidentally has more of the feel of these songs in Rfasc. E (nos. 137, 140 and 141) with their minima-dominated movement

<sup>79</sup> After Cop 1848; the tenor bars 10.3-11.1 is a  $\diamond$  and a  $\downarrow$  in the MS; in the MS the second line of the text is “je croys de vray *que* le champ me *demeure*”

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the discussion in Chapter 8.2; the song has been published, for example, in BrownC as no. 38 and SeayC p. 37.

than of the more calmly lyrical songs in Rfasc. 6. The series also includes an actual popular arrangement with the tune in the tenor, no. 136 *Dieu la gard, la bergerotte*, a modernized version of a composition from the beginning of the century.<sup>81</sup>

The older series thus comprises a popular arrangement, a calm lyrical sang (no. 135) and four lyrical songs which are closely related in expression. Among the last group *Je ne sçay pas comment*, with a possible *cantus prius factus*, forms a link with the popular repertory, while the style we have described as the lyrical Parisian chanson is already evident in Claudin's song—all four can be seen as early examples of the type. This small repertory probably gives us a fairly accurate outline of some of the background of a song like *Jouyssance vous donneray*, and draws our attention to an early stratum of the lyrical Parisian chanson, where the text declamation is very close to that of the popular arrangements. The series is among the oldest material in the manuscript, and, as was the case with the other series, Cop 1848 is the earliest known source for five of the songs. *Dieu la gard* may be a whole generation older, and is also the only one which was of no interest to Attaignant; as we have seen, he printed *Jouyssance* for four voices; the others found places in *Quarante et deux chansons*.<sup>82</sup>

While there can be no doubt, given our present knowledge of the sources, that Cop 1848 is the earliest source for the chansons that were later printed by Attaignant in four-part versions, it has been questioned whether the three-part chansons can be seen as the original versions of the songs. In the article 'Some Aspects of the Chanson for Three Voices during the Sixteenth Century' Courtney Adams tries to demonstrate that the three-part songs are cut-down versions of the original songs for four voices,<sup>83</sup> and Lawrence F. Bernstein uses her arguments in his discussion of the origins of the Parisian chanson.<sup>84</sup> But this view will not stand close scrutiny, since Courtney Adams was not aware of the special position of the three-part chansons in Cop 1848.<sup>85</sup> The arguments for regarding the three-part versions as the originals can be summed up as follows:

<sup>81</sup> Vol. III no. 38; cf. Chapter 8.2 (including *Example 8*).

<sup>82</sup> *Attaignant* 1529/4 nos. 13, 9 and 17-18. It is striking that nos. 140 and 141 are found side by side in both Cop 1848 and *Attaignant*—and in later printed editions (*Rhau* 1542/8 and *Montanus* 1560/1—cf. Vol. II). There was clearly a tradition that these two settings of conventional quatrains on the pangs and pleasures of love belonged together, and it must date back to before *Attaignant*.

<sup>83</sup> AdamsC in *Acta* 1977 pp. 227-250.

<sup>84</sup> BernsteinO p. 302.

<sup>85</sup> Courtney Adams' discussion of these songs is a first-class example of musicological muddling, which cannot be excused by ignorance of the sources—Cop 1848 is in her list of sources, and the manuscript is given ample if inaccurate treatment in the thesis *The Three-Part Chanson during the Sixteenth Century: Changes in Style and Importance* (AdamsT) (1974). The author writes that *Languir me fais* (no. 111) and *Jouyssance vous donneray* (no. 117 and 139), "...both by Claudin, are satisfactory compositions for either three or four parts (with the added contratenor). One approach in the case of these chansons is to examine the lowest line. Over the course of the sixteenth century, a tendency can be observed in three-part chansons for the bottom voice to make its way upwards. Thus, although bass and baritone parts are not uncommon around 1530 and earlier, three-part pieces after the mid century generally use a tenor or alto range for the lowest voice. Claudin's three-part pieces (most of which were published in 1535) already show this preference for a heightened bottom voice. The lowest part of both *Jouyssance vous donneray* and *Languir me fais* goes down to the B-flat below c, a depth exceeding that of any of the three-part chansons attributed to Claudin. This descent to B-flat, however, is common among Claudin's four-voice pieces; it occurs in forty chansons, the modes of which all coincide with those of *Jouyssance vous donneray* and *Languir me fais*. Even without the evidence provided by the lowest line, the overwhelming number of four-part settings relative to those for three constitutes a convincing argument for an initial composition à 4. Doubtless both pieces originated as four-part chansons" (AdamsC p. 243).

Adams completely ignores the dating of the songs and the contexts in which they appear. Songs from before 1520 cannot be compared to a far later repertory; and they occur in a series of three-part chansons (in Rfasc. 6)

– The most important argument is of course the obvious one that they appear in two series of three-part songs which were copied from different originals some seven or eight years before the four-part versions appeared. Moreover, they are all (nos. 111, 114 and nos. 117 and 139) complete three-part compositions, with no striking differences from the other chansons in the two series.

– The altus parts in the four-part versions are typical last-composed parts. The best-integrated is the altus of no. 111 *Languir me fais*, which follows the superius or tenor fairly inconspicuously—in one passage, though, it lies an octave below the tenor—and never interferes with the phrasal structure; however, the part cannot be reconciled with the way the text is declaimed by the tenor in bars 9–10—the altus is clearly modelled on the steady *semibreves* in Attaignant's version—and in bars 11–12 it clashes rather clumsily with the cadence.<sup>86</sup> The altus of no. 114 *Si vostre cueur* is in Attaignant's version a very nondescript part between the superius and tenor; it muddies the clear divisions between the phrases by singing across them.<sup>87</sup> The altus in *Jouyssance vous donneray* has an unusual number of leaps and often lies below the tenor; there is hardly room for a fourth part in this composition. It must certainly be a later addition.<sup>88</sup> That the altus seems tagged-on, and is the last-composed part in the four-part chansons is perhaps not a strong argument in itself. This was rather one of the constraints of the age, and we have seen chansons known only in four-part versions where the altus must also be said to be somewhat superfluous—for example no. 120 *Tous nobles cueurs*, no. 164 *Ung grand plaisir* or no. 167 *De retourner, mon amy*. Either the anonymous composers of these songs were rather shaky in the art of conceiving four parts simultaneously, or these songs must be seen as original three-part compositions which were later updated. Claudin, however, has fully demonstrated his ability to create integrated four-part compositions—for example in his early sacred music

with very uniform voice ranges (no. 111 *Languir me fais* with *d'-c"*, *f-f'*, *B-a*; no. 112 with *c'-d"*, *f-f'*, *A-c'*; no. 113 with *e'-c"*, *f-g'*, *G-b*; no. 114 with *e'-d"*, *f-f'*, *B-g*; no. 116 with *d'-c"*, *f-f'*, *F-c'*; and finally no. 117 *Jouyssance* with *d'-e"*, *f-g'*, *B-b*). Five of these songs have four-part concordances, and should thus all in Adams' view be considered originally four-part compositions. But no. 112 *Ces facheux sout*, which is found with at least three different altus parts, is sensibly considered an original three-part composition, as are nos. 116 and 135 *Fortune, laissez moy la vie* (pp. 241–42)—these songs are not found either in four-part versions in Attaignant. On the other hand she insists that no. 114 *Si vostre cueur* must have had an original four-part texture. Here there is no mention of the “bassus” argument, and the author gets into difficulties: “Evidence for an origin either à 3 or à 4 of this chanson is inconclusive. The lack of a third in a number of harmonies suggests the need for a fourth voice to complete the triad. Some three-part chansons composed early in the century, however, use open fifths relatively freely within the phrase ... Crossing between the middle parts occurs only rarely (6%) and does not suggest a *si placet* setting, but the extensive writing in sixths between tenor and superius in this piece means that a *si placet* part could be easily added with only minimal crossing. I favor a four-part origin on the basis (admittedly slim) that Attaignant's prints have been much more reliable as sources of original versions than has the Copenhagen manuscript” (AdamsC p. 247). No. 114 occurs with a different altus than Attaignant's in the manuscript *Cambrai* 125–128 (with the text “En souspirant”). Adams' opinion that the versions in Cop 1848 are unreliable is probably mainly due to the two Claudin chansons and the three-part, anonymous chanson *Or sus, vous dormez trop* (no. 269), which Adams prefers to see as a reduced version of Janequin's four-part *L'Alouette*. Here the discussion is flawed by the author's failure to examine the different versions of the song, so she has not noticed that Janequin in his reworking of the anonymous chanson recomposed parts of the middle section (e.g. bars 68–94). Of the added altus she remarks: “This conclusion is also supported by the “contratenor test” for works with a low superius.... The chanson à 4 exhibits only minimal crossing of the inner parts (13%) ...” (AdamsC p. 245)—hardly surprising, since the altus frequently crosses the superius and spoils its melodic line, but that clearly has no importance in this context! (For further discussion see ChristoffersenO).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. e.g. the edition SeayC p. 103. The altus moves, after an octave leap to *f'*, in parallel thirds with the superius; this alters the imperfect Phrygian cadence of the structural duet (S and T) on *a* in bar 12 (bar 12.3 in SeayC) with the bassus on *f* to a cadence which is rather perceived as imperfect on the first degree (*f*).

<sup>87</sup> The chanson also occurs with a different altus than Attaignant's—cf. note 85.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the edition SeayC p. 192.

and in chansons like *Secourez moy* and *Je ne fais rien* (Cop 1848 nos. 165 and 41). In his case it is most likely that the early three-part chansons were modernized when four-part composition became the norm, either by himself or in some instances by other musicians; one possibility is that Attaignant had a hand in the arrangement of the musical material.<sup>89</sup>

– *Jouyssance vous donneray* appears in Cop 1848's two series in different versions.<sup>90</sup> This proves that the three-part version had wide circulation, and is not only an isolated copy with a part missing. Both versions also differ from Attaignant's four-part version in many details. The most important difference is encountered at the beginning of the song; here both three-part versions start with an upbeat, with three minimae in all voices as in many popular arrangements, while Attaignant's version has the classic rhythmic pattern of the Parisian chanson: a semibrevis followed by two minimae. The texts of Cop 1848's two versions are also interesting. No. 117 sets the first stanza of Marot's poem almost without interference; only a single word in the fourth line has been changed "*Vivante ne vous changeray*", where Marot had written "... *laisseray*".<sup>91</sup> This variant is not in the second version (no. 139), but the third line has been changed to "*La out pretent vostre esperance*", and as the last line the scribe originally wrote "*Sy vous auray je en souvenance*". So it seems that the younger series in Rfasc. 6, with a whole three songs which were later known as four-part songs, has the most direct transmission of the songs from the musical scene in Paris.<sup>92</sup> In the older version in Cop 1848, in Rfasc. E, the text had already managed to become corrupt. When the main scribe entered the second series in Rfasc. 6, he discovered that the last line of the stanza in his first version was quite wrong, scored it out and changed it to "*l'esprit en aura souvenance*"—that is at any rate the most plausible explanation of the appearance of the text in the manuscript.<sup>93</sup> As the corrupt version of Marot's poem was already in circulation around 1520, it is not surprising that it is also—partly—the version one finds in the four-part song. The early Attaignant editions use the text from no. 139—although the superius, altus and bassus have the proper final line, while the tenor alone ends "*Sy vous auray en souvenance*".<sup>94</sup>

– It is not only in Cop 1848 that we find early three-part versions of known Parisian chansons. One hitherto unnoticed example is *J'actens secours de ma seulle pensée* with music and text by Claudin and Marot, which is added at the end of the manuscript *København 291* (cf. *Example 7*). This is one of the well-known 'Burgundian' chansonniers of the 1470s, which originally contained 33 courtly songs.<sup>95</sup> At the back of the volume a few pages had been left empty, and were used by later hands for various additions. The first is *J'actens secours* (ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41), flawlessly entered by a French bâtarde hand; the notes are rhomboid, with all the stems pointing upward, and they fit the original staves perfectly.<sup>96</sup> The music hand suggests that the addition should

<sup>89</sup> H. Colin Slim writes in the article 'Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of »Jouyssance vous donneray«' (SlimJ) p. 73 that there did not appear to have been any cooperation between Attaignant and Claudin in the early years; and Claudin's name first appears in connection with *Jouyssance vous donneray* as late as 1532 (in the edition *Attaignant 1531/2*).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. the editorial comments on Vol. III no. 63.

<sup>91</sup> Marot's text is in his own edition of his juvenilia, *L'Adolescence clementine* of 1532 (Marot 1532), quoted here from C. A. Mayer's collected edition (MarotCE).

<sup>92</sup> The text of no. 111 *Languir me fais* also agrees with Marot's own version.

<sup>93</sup> But a different hand, Hand E, laid the text under the tenor and bassus of no. 117.

<sup>94</sup> *Attaignant 1528/3* no. 5 and *Attaignant 1528/8* no. 12 (both without composer attribution); cf. also the careful account of the text versions in SlimJ p. 69ff, where it is suggested that several of the paintings of the 1520s which show women playing from the music of *Jouyssance vous donneray* may show the early three-part version of the song (p. 58).

<sup>95</sup> Published complete in JeppesenK—but without the added compositions.

<sup>96</sup> The next few pieces (ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>), four-part settings of the eight psalm tones, litanies and a *De profundis* in strict note-against-note texture, are in a later hand.

**Example 7** Claudin de Sermisy: *J'actens secours de ma seule pensée*<sup>97</sup>

S  
T  
B

J'ac - tens se - cours de ma seul - le pen - sé - e, j'ac - tens le jour que l'on m'es-con - di - ra, ou que du tout la bel - le me di - ra: A - my, t'a - mour se - ra re - com - pen - sé - e.

be dated in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and is thus more or less contemporary with Cop 1848. Nor is this three-part version of Claudin's song simply a cut-down composition without a contratenor; the four-part version was, like *Languir me fais* and *Jouissance vous donneray* printed for the first time in *Chansons nouvelles* in 1528.<sup>98</sup> The differences between the two versions are a number of details which influence the character of the song—for example the tenor starts in the first line on *f* in Attaignant, it has no ornamentation in bar 2, and in bar 3

<sup>97</sup> After *København* 291 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41.

<sup>98</sup> *Attaignant* 1528/3 no. 20, *Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 28 (in both collections without composer attributions) and *Attaignant* 1531/2 no. 25 (Claudin); see for example the edition in *SeayC* p. 101 (after *Attaignant* 1528/8).



it partly follows the superius in parallel sixths.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the harmony is different in a passage in Attaignant; in the second line the tenor does not begin as a repetition of the first line (bars 9-11), but is formed as a brevis *a* followed by three semibreves *d'-d'-c'*, and in these bars the four-part version has the harmonic progression d-d-g-C/F. The fermatas at the end of each phrase are not in Attaignant; conversely, in *København* 291 there is no indication of a repetition of the last phrase.

As the song stands in *København* 291 it is extremely simple. The superius and tenor proceed mainly in parallel sixths, the composition in an ABCA-form with identical beginnings for the A and B phrases, and caesurae and phrases are clearly marked by rests and fermatas. The resemblance to simple popular arrangements where the melodic voice is not salient in the texture, and to early Parisian chansons like *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* (nos. 116 and 135) and *Tous nobles cueurs* (no. 120) is striking, so a dating on stylistic grounds to just before 1520 does not seem unreasonable.

We can thus establish that the two manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen give strong support to H. M. Brown's supposition that the lyrical Parisian chansons were first heard in three-part settings.<sup>100</sup> The next issue we should look at is how they are placed compared with the rest of the three-part repertory in Cop 1848, both the younger and the older popular repertories, and the whole large courtly repertory; and at the same time we can try to draw the lines to the other Parisian chanson types. What strikes one first is the obvious affinities of the early chansons with the simple popular arrangements which were reviewed in the last chapter. The anonymous unique songs *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* (no. 241), *Helas! ne vous souvient il plus* (no. 100), *Une pastore seant au vert buisson* (no. 121), *Vielle mule du temps passé* (no. 220) and *L'autrhier en passant entendi* (no. 234) belong to 'everyday' music, a polyphonic music in which the court composers probably had no share. They show that the simple homophonic song with clear-cut musical phrases has roots going far back in French music—in one of the songs we also encounter the characteristic movement of the tenor and superius in parallel sixths (no. 220). We come even closer to the simple Parisian style with the likewise unique no. 240 *Varlet, varlet, il est appoint* and *Que t'ay je fait, desplaisante Fortune?* (no. 57), where the texts are quatrains and the forms the familiar ABC|A| and ABC|D|. <sup>101</sup> Should such songs, rather than Italian frottole and laude, perhaps be proclaimed as the long-sought 'missing link' in the prehistory of the Parisian chanson? <sup>102</sup>

All these songs have a popular tune in the tenor, and yet they have a strong resemblance to the Parisian chansons, which—as has so often been emphasized—are supposed to be dominated by the upper voice. We must look closer and attempt to clarify this.

In the popular songs the popular melodic material gradually dominates the whole polyphonic texture; the line from *cantus firmus* through *superius-tenor* settings to *popular arrangements* describes the growing supremacy of the tunes at the expense of the free counter-voices. And in the simple, homorhythmic songs the difference between a structural tenor and the upper voice is obscured until the listener can as easily perceive the highest voice as the leading one—in a considerable number of the three-part songs the tune is consequently placed in the

<sup>99</sup> Bar 2.4 and bar 3 are as follows in Attaignant: ♭·(c')♯♯♯(bb-bb-a)♭(c').

<sup>100</sup> BrownG p. 33.

<sup>101</sup> The songs mentioned are published here in Vol. III as nos. 23 and 43-48.

<sup>102</sup> Courtney Adams mentions the idea in her thesis on the three-part chansons in the sixteenth century (AdamsT), p. 81.

superius. The four-part popular arrangements behave in almost the same way. Their use of alternating voice groupings furthermore often means that the melodic material is constantly heard in the highest part sounding at any given time.<sup>103</sup> In other words, we find in the popular repertory as a whole that a *c.p.f.* can as well be placed in the tenor as the superius, and that there is a tendency to shift the interest from the tenor to the highest voice, irrespective of where the popular tune in its purest form is heard. 'Everyday music' stands outside this line of development; these songs simply manifest a simple way of making polyphonic music, and their pattern can be used in almost any context. The Parisian composers could thus easily find models in the popular repertory for homorhythmic songs with the superius as the leading voice. But how did they actually go about this in the early years?

At the end of the preceding section we noted that the superius and tenor are usually equally endowed with melodic initiative in Cop 1848's early four-part Parisian repertory, and that a couple of settings of Marot poems (nos. 165 and 166) were decided tenor settings. Among the three-part songs in the two series we find a similar situation. In most of the early Parisian chansons the tenor and superius have equal status—see for example how the tenor appropriates one's interest in the middle phrases of *Languir me fais* (no. 111 bar 7ff) or in the third phrase of *Si vostre cueur* (no. 114 bar 11f); in the old-fashioned arrangement no. 146 *Dieu la gard* the popular tune is in the tenor, but affects all three voices in the imitative sections, and in the two younger popular songs (nos. 113 and 137) the tunes are given to the upper voice, while *Ces facheux sout* (no. 112) may have the tune in the tenor.

The question must be answered by saying that the Parisian chanson in this respect takes up the textures of the popular songs, where the tune can be optionally placed in the superius or tenor. The tendency to give more and more emphasis to the melodic formulation of the upper voice is similarly taken up. So the upper voice does not have a decidedly dominant role in the two series of three-part chansons, and there can be no question of seeing the repertory as an antithesis to the simple arrangements—particularly when we consider that one of the most widespread early Parisian chansons, Claudin and Marot's *Jouyssance vous donneray* (nos. 117 and 139) also has the tune in the tenor.<sup>104</sup>

Taking this together with the two four-part settings of Marot's poems, Claudin's *Secourez moy* (no. 165) and the simple unique arrangement *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* (no. 166) we begin to see the contours of a body of material which suggests that Marot's chansons were from the outset not only written to be sung, but perhaps also had monophonic tunes as models.<sup>105</sup> The tenor tunes in all three songs are so elementary in structure and resources that they could easily be pieced together from common musical phrases. Claudin's first polyphonic settings of Marot's texts are possible reworkings of the tunes to which the poems were written; or he may have striven for just that tone.<sup>106</sup> This makes his contribution no less important; for although his early songs are close to the popular tradition—and to 'everyday music'—a new synthesis of text and music is created here.

So far we have concentrated on the roots of the simple, lyrical Parisian song in the popular repertory. However, most of the Parisian songs are not that simple; they show in fact a fine balance between homorhythmic sections and a more animated texture with or without the

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Chapter 8.3.

<sup>104</sup> See also HeartzP p. LXXII and SlimJ p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the discussion of the songs in the previous section; no. 166 is published here in Vol. III as no. 57.

<sup>106</sup> In the early version of Claudin and Marot's *J'actens secours* in *København* 291 the ornamentation also makes the tenor stand out (cf. *Example* 7).

use of imitation, and have very long melismas. The popular arrangements offer innumerable examples of this kind of composition; even in the most consistently imitative arrangements many passages must be described as being in figured chordal texture. The similarity becomes even clearer in the youngest arrangements, where the parts move more and more in parallel, and where there is soon no noticeable stylistic difference between songs with the tune in the superius and songs with the tune in the tenor. Besides the songs which form part of the two series (nos. 112, 113 and 137), this group in Cop 1848 includes three settings of quatrains, the unique provincial song *Est il possible que l'on sache trouver* (no. 207)<sup>107</sup> with no. 99 *D'amour je suis deservée* and no. 108 *Je voys, je vien, mon cuer s'envolle*; the majority of these songs have a popular tune in the upper voice. The liveliest songs in the group (nos. 108, 113 and 137) have melismas in the form of chains of semiminimae,<sup>108</sup> which can seem mechanical compared to the rhythmically varied melismas of the older courtly songs. They are characteristic of a substantial part of the repertory around 1520, including songs which are not based on popular tunes. This type of decoration continues in the four-part Parisian chansons, in the popularly-oriented as well as the lyrical ones, but rarely such that the melismas take up quite so much space in the compositions—examples of long passages in semiminimae are however to hand in Cop 1848, for example in no. 167 *De retorner, mon amy* and in Claudin's *Secourez moy*, where the tenor is ornamented to great effect (no. 165, cf. *Example 2*).

The group of three-part arrangements has been called the youngest—it is first and foremost its stylistic closeness to the Parisian chansons that justifies the adjective, for several of the songs in fact go back to the beginning of the century. Thus no. 108 *Je voys, je vien* appears in the manuscript *London 35087*, which was compiled in the first decade of the century, no. 99 *D'amour je suis deservée* appears in the contemporary manuscript *Uppsala 76a*—here it is interesting that Cop 1848 has the most archaic version of the song with under-third ornamentation before the cadences—and no. 112/248 *Ces fascheux sout* appears in *Firenze 117*, which is at least some five to ten years younger than Cop 1848. These sources contain several other popular songs which point forward to the Parisian chanson, so it was a long process that culminated in the 1520s.

Attaignant himself also collected and published important material germane to the three-part songs just before the arrival of the four-part norm. On the 22nd April 1529 appeared the only collection of three-part songs that exists for the early years, *Quarante et deux chansons a troys parties....*<sup>109</sup> He probably published it to keep his business turning over in a period when he was looking for a new repertory after using up his original stock of four-part songs. The collection reflects the situation around 1520 just like the fascicle manuscripts which were copied into Rfasc. 6 and Rfasc. E; we also find an unusual number of concordances precisely here.<sup>110</sup> The repertory is at once homogeneous and wide-ranging: from a *motet-chanson* of the fifteenth century by Agricola, *Belle sur toutes/Tota pulchra es*, through an imitative popular arrangement by Antoine de Févin, *On a mal dit de mon amy*,<sup>111</sup> to the above-mentioned simple arrangements and both quite simple and more elaborate lyrical Parisian chansons.<sup>112</sup> In this collection we can study the three-part Parisian chanson in all its diversity side by side with slightly older songs.

<sup>107</sup> Vol. III no. 42.

<sup>108</sup> Also, for example, in the homorhythmic tenor chanson no. 57, Vol. III no. 48.

<sup>109</sup> *Attaignant 1529/4*.

<sup>110</sup> Nos. 99, 112/248, 116, 135, 137, 140 and 141; nos. 57 and 113 are in *Attaignant 1529/4* in other arrangements.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Cop 1848 no. 171.

<sup>112</sup> As examples of the simple Parisian chansons (without *c.p.f.*) the following besides nos. 140 and 141 (*Attaignant 1529/4* nos. 17-18) can be mentioned: *Attaignant 1529/4* no. 15 *S'esbahist ou se j'ay perdu*; no. 16 *Dolent depart du lieu tant fort aymé* (resembles *Fortune laisse moy*, no. 13—Cop 1848 no. 116/135); no. 19 *Helas, que c'est ung grant remort*; no. 28 *J'ay esperé ce qui point*; and no. 41 *Adieu amours, de vous suys las*. The longer, more

In our zeal to discover the roots of the lyrical Parisian chanson, we must not forget that Attaignant's repertory also has a popular side, the narrative-erotic songs. H. M. Brown has demonstrated their debt to the four-part popular arrangements, which developed side by side with the three-part ones in the last decades of the 1400s,<sup>113</sup> and in the review of the four-part Parisian repertory in Cop 1848 we have seen that several songs are simply arrangements. But the influence of the three-part popular songs may also be a significant factor. That there are common elements of subject and mood, and to some extent also of technique, between the imitative chansons in Attaignant's repertory and the three-part arrangements is obvious. It is more important that one can also draw lines from the simple popular repertory to the homorhythmic, anecdotal Parisian songs and patter chansons; here we find the same text-closeness, lightness and play with small motifs—as notable examples one can mention the erotic comic song no. 121 *Une pastore seant au vert buisson*, the ostinato effect in no. 234 *L'autrhier en passant entendit*, the repeated refrain about drinking in no. 272 *Au matin quant suis levé* and the onomatopoeia in no. 268 *Or sus, vous dormez trott*.<sup>114</sup>

Elements which would later merge in the popular Parisian chanson are not only found in popular music; we can already trace them in the courtly chanson. 'Anti-courtly' rondeaux like Compère's *Se j'ay parlé* (no. 74) in particular have the ease and brazenness in text and music—not to mention the 'express' rondeau *Pensez de faire garnison*, which, performed as the written music suggests, sounds like a patter chanson.<sup>115</sup>

The courtly songs are as necessary a precondition of the Parisian chanson as the popular songs. The lyrical Parisian song builds on the same poetic tradition, but in the meeting with the popular song it has acquired a more down-to-earth attitude and a simpler strophic form. Similarly, there is the same concern in the fully developed four-part Parisian chanson for balance in the parts, in the musical phrases and in the whole flow of the musical structure as in the classic lyrical chanson. And it is probably here rather than in the popular repertory that we should seek the origins of the vital structural nucleus which controls not only the relationship between the superius and tenor but also the involvement of the other voices and the harmonic progression. Gradually, too, the composers also attach importance to flexible transitions from phrase to phrase, rediscovering the courtly art after having been so occupied with the phrasing of the simple popular songs—which in the long run could only limit their expressive potential. In this process the fourth part—altus or contratenor—plays an important role, and is probably the background for the way four-part texture came to dominate the genre; in the new, simpler texture the bassus could not reassume the phrase-linking function that the low contratenor had earlier fulfilled without endangering the internal balance. When one hears the courtly and the Parisian lyrical chanson performed by singing voices, one cannot mistake the strong thread of tradition that runs through the generations and bridges stylistic differences.<sup>116</sup>

The Parisian synthesis of the popular and the courtly created a versatile, entertaining secular music which formed the basis for the first successful music publishing venture in France; a

complex chansons are e.g. no. 5 *J'auroys grant tort de mespriser amours*, no. 6 *Je demeure seulle esgarée*, no. 9 *Le cueur est mien*, no. 14 *J'ay trop aymé vrayment* and no. 42 *C'est grant plaisir d'estre amoureux*—all these songs are anonymous. A representative selection is printed in B. Thomas, *Thirty chansons 1529 (The Parisian Chanson 10)* London 1977.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. note 64.

<sup>114</sup> The first three are published here in Vol. III as nos. 44, 46 and 37.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the treatment in Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions* and Examples 12 and 15.

<sup>116</sup> Here one can also mention the unique homorhythmic settings of the courtly ballade *O escharbuncle reluisant* (no. 209 4v and no. 210/225 3v); cf. Chapter 7.1 *Ballades*, publ. in Vol. III as nos. 15-16. Their presence reminds us that the simple religious song with Latin or French text was also part of the background and surroundings of the court composer.

music that directly addresses the listener without the courtly style's penchant for exclusivity, and at the same time without the simple predictability (or sometimes the equally exclusive virtuosity) of the popular arrangements. One must acknowledge, too, that in Attaignant's collections one normally finds no musical expressiveness that compares in emotional complexity and dynamism with the courtly songs of the latter half of the 1400s—for example those of Ockeghem, Busnois, Compère or Agricola. Only in Claudin and a few of his peers can we experience, under the new musical dispensation, an expressiveness which comes close to that of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés regrez* (no. 243). Yet Hayne's renowned song is hardly typical of the standard of the courtly repertory; it would probably be fairer to base the comparison on beautiful, but less far-reaching hits like his own *Mon souvenir mi fait morir* (nos. 65, 198 and 279) or Robert Morton's *Le souvenir de vous me tue* (no. 84).

The years around 1520 were a transitional period in the history of the French chanson. Many types of song co-existed in the repertory. The three-part Parisian chanson type just described was only one among many, and its style was still far from having the status of a norm. In that situation there was of course room for many alternative paths forward for the chanson types of the previous decades, chansons which—with our hindsight—were in the nature of experiments. One can conceive of the 'typical' Parisian chanson's balanced synthesis of courtly and popular elements as the result of a long line of such experiments which fell short of this balance. The experiments might be songs with unmotivated internal stylistic flaws or songs that exaggerated either the courtly or the popular features. There are examples where the more abstract courtly style dominates, with much use of imitation or perhaps even inspiration from the contemporary motet, and on the other hand there are songs with no *c.p.f.* which pile up clichés from the arsenal of the popular arrangements. All these transitional types are difficult to date—even in 1529 one can find examples in Attaignant's collection for three voices *Quarante et deux chansons*, but most of these must be from the first two decades of the century.<sup>117</sup>

In Cop 1848, too, there are three-part songs which cannot reasonably be grouped under one of the above headings. There are four such chansons: No. 73 *Content de peu en voyant tant de bien*, no. 95 *Resois toy, pays de Normandie*, no. 144 *Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer* and no. 219 *Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie*—the last three are only known from Cop 1848.<sup>118</sup> All four are probably free compositions, are not in *formes fixes* and have no clear melodic model; and each in its own way mixes elements from the wide spectrum of the courtly rondeau and from the popular chanson. The first two songs have most affinities with the idiom of the fifteenth century, while the stylistic mixture in the last two points more clearly to the Parisian chanson.

*Content de peu* is a setting of a cinquain which might be the refrain of a rondeau. The texture seems old-fashioned, with a bassus which in several places lies above the tenor (bars 8, 30, 33-34 and 46). It also observes the conventions of the rondeau insofar as it is in fact possible to start again from the mid-cadence (bar 32), although this would never have been the intention of the composer. The song is printed in the Venetian collection *Chansons a troys* of 1520, and

<sup>117</sup> *Attaignant 1529/4*; as examples there of songs inspired by the courtly musical idiom the following (all anonymous) can be mentioned: no. 36 *Je brusle et ars et est de mon cuer pris* with abrupt changes of pace in the music; or the motet-like, text-close no. 33 *Hellas or ay je bien perdu*; in the popular tradition we find for example no. 30 *Vive la marguerite* and no. 34 *Certes, ce n'est pas gloire chevaleureuse*.

<sup>118</sup> Vol. III nos. 64-67.



as late as 1542 Georg Rhau included it in his collection *Tricinia*.<sup>119</sup> The main scribe placed it in Rfasc. 5 along with court music of the decades before and after the turn of the century, among compositions ranging from Hayne's to Févin's generation. The first four lines of *Content de peu* are consistently imitative and highly melismatic; the setting can nevertheless be called quite text-close, especially in the upper voice. The texture resembles what we found in the 'abstract' courtly rondeaux (especially the third and fourth phrases, bars 24-42) or perhaps even more the contemporary free three-part motet. In the last phrase the musical flow is broken. The line "que mi fault faire a ceulx qui n'y ont rien" is treated as a refrain, is repeated with slight variation in a nearly syllabic texture (from bar 42), and could almost form the end of a Parisian chanson.<sup>120</sup>

*Content de peu* should probably be placed in the period just after 1500, and it should hardly be seen as a rondeau. It is rather an attempt to break out of the limitations of the form, like several of the 'abstract' rondeaux we have examined before.<sup>121</sup> The text's play on the humble prayer of a 'have-not' to those who are devoid of humility is the background for the design of the song, which sets the final punchline in relief.

We encounter the same way of emphasizing the end by shifting to a simpler texture in the unique no. 95 *Resois toy, pays de Normandie*. This too is an old-fashioned composition with a high contratenor, but seems more related to settings of popular songs; the element of free canon at the octave in the upper voices in particular recalls the *superius-tenor settings*. The simple melodic material may likewise be based on a monophonic song, especially as the text seems to be a piece of political propaganda, urging the people of Normandy to welcome the King's *gouverneur*, who administrated the Duchy after its enforced annexation to the Crown in 1469. The text may be ambivalent; if more stanzas were found, this first stanza might prove to be sarcastic.<sup>122</sup> The reason why the text—or perhaps the whole song with its tune—has been given such an artistically elaborate setting is obscure; nor can the *gouverneur* in question be identified. It obviously refers to well-known events of the day. At all events the composer has tried to create a varied texture combining courtly and popular elements; and in the declamation of the ending we can recognize some features of both the 'anti-courtly' rondeaux and the simple arrangements.

In the last two three-part songs the links with the idiom of the fifteenth century are still noticeable. *Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer* (no. 144) is a setting of a septain which can best be described as a dose of 'diluted Marot', and the upper voice follows the lyric very closely in a form closely related to the approach of the Parisian chanson, with constant variation of the melodic material (ABA'B'CB"C'C); the text is poorly matched to the lower voices.<sup>123</sup> The tenor moves on the pattern of the early Parisian chansons, while the bassus is more or less an old-fashioned contratenor with a wide compass (F-d')—this combination had little appeal in the 1520s. The long chains of semiminimae are however something we find later, but not used as here in bars 26-28! Although no. 144 in many ways points forward to the Parisian chanson, the composer's roots are in the previous century, and considering its position in Rfasc. 7 in a series of compositions from before 1500, it should probably be dated quite early, possibly even before the turn of the century.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>119</sup> *Antico* 1520/6 no. 16 and *Rhau* 1542/8 no. 68.

<sup>120</sup> Neither Cop 1848 nor *Antico* 1520/6, however, stipulate repetition of the last line of text—instead the text line is split over the musical repetition; in this form the song is published in AdamsT p. 511.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.1 *Abstract rondeaux*.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. the edition in Vol. III, no. 65; the text can be roughly translated: "Rejoice, O land of Normandy! Thy lord, thy guide, thy sustenance, has landed safely in thy port, full of wisdom and free of sickness!"

<sup>123</sup> Cf. the edition in Vol. III, no. 66.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc.* 7.



In no. 219 *Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie* it is primarily the text that has links with the past. Its four lines are from lines 1-2 and 5-6 of an 'anti-courtly' rondeau in the printed anthology *Le Jardin de Plaisance* of 1501:

Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie,  
pourquoy me viens tu si souvent?  
Va-t'en pisser contre le vent,  
laisse ma bourse bien garnie.

Je n'ose aller entre la gent  
si tu es en ma compaignie  
Faulte d'argent, Dieu...

J'ay la chere toute faillie,  
triste suis, pensif et dolent,  
tu me destourbes bien souvent  
d'avoir ce de quoy j'ay envie.  
Faulte d'argent, Dieu...<sup>125</sup>

The music makes great play with small motifs; without being a rondeau, the chanson as much recalls the shape of the 'light' rondeau as the settings of popular songs. Where the melancholy *Or doy je bien pleurer* (no. 144) calls to mind the lyrical Parisian chanson, this mock-lugubrious song points directly to the popular side of Attaingnant's repertory. And in fact the refrain of the rondeau is used in a four-part chanson in one of Attaingnant's slightly later collections, *Trente et troys chansons* of 1532.<sup>126</sup> So we seem to have come full circle.

<sup>125</sup> After DrozJ no. 284.

<sup>126</sup> *Attaingnant* 1532/12 no. 27 (Anonymous)—the song has no musical connection with Cop 1848 no. 219.

# Chapter 10

## The sacred repertory

Music for use in divine service and religious music with Latin texts fills more than half of our manuscript. This half is just as variegated as the French chansons, and ranges over the same timespan. Here too we have a repertory which, in terms of compositional skill and ambition, has several strata: from simple, anonymous 'everyday' music to the perfectly-formed productions of the professional church musician or court composer. At the same time the music covers a wider functional spectrum than the secular music: from relatively simple ornamentation of the service to the prestige music of princes and cathedrals, intermixed with small motets, hymns and *laude*, which probably belong more to the same social contexts as the French chansons than to the church.

The description of this diverse repertory must be far more perfunctory than the review of the French chansons—this for two reasons.

In the first place, sacred music of around 1500 has been the subject of much interest in the musicological literature. All the famous composers—Josquin, Ockeghem, Obrecht, Compère, Agricola, Mouton and many others—have appeared in modern editions. Their *œuvres* have been analysed, stylistic development and influences have been studied and much effort has been devoted to the investigation of their lives and working conditions. Precisely this concentration of research on the 'star-studded cast' of composers in this period makes it difficult or even impossible to draw a general line of development. A repertory like the one in Cop 1848 does not conform to the familiar notions of the sacred music of the period—in fact it questions many of them. The great composers are international figures, and their music is often exceptional. One becomes uncertain of the universality of the stylistic developments running through their work, and of how much credence one can give to datings made by means of stylistic criteria.

The wealth of information in the manuscript cannot be fully exploited in the present situation, as long as we lack a more detailed frame of reference with which to compare it. There can only be a true assessment of the sacred music of the manuscript when the work of the past decade on cross-sections of musical life—repertories associated with a city, a court or institutions<sup>1</sup>—has resulted in broader accounts of the music of the period. Then, one hopes, we will also have a clearer picture of developments in France itself and in the French provinces.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1984; A. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge 1985; Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford 1985; these works revive the interest shown in earlier works on the history of the institutions, for example A. Collette & A. Bourdon, *Histoire de la maîtrise de Rouen*, Rouen 1892; A.-E. Prévost, *Histoire de la maîtrise de la Cathédrale de Troyes*, Troyes 1906; L. Royer, *Les musiciens et la musique à l'ancienne collégiale Saint-André de Grenoble du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1938; etc.

<sup>2</sup> We lack an account of the sacred music of the French-speaking areas. Even F. Lesure does not operate with any independent development until after the death of Josquin—cf. NOHM IV p. 218 and F. Lesure, 'La musique religieuse française au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle' (LesureRE).

Secondly, our knowledge of polyphonic sacred music in the Lyons area is very limited—the conservative attitude of the church appears to have hampered any ornamentation of the old Gregorian chant.<sup>3</sup> Only the Italian colony in the city cultivated large-scale sacred music to an extent that has left traces in the sources. Since 1466 the Florentine community had used the great Dominican church of Notre Dame de Confort as their ‘parish church’. Around 1520 they appointed Francesco Layolle of Florence to the post of organist and musical director. He was the first composer of significance to make Lyons his home, and he was to have crucial importance for the development of music printing there.

The archbishopric of Lyons, with the chapter of S. Jean at its head, watched zealously over its ancient liturgy, which was regarded as a heritage from Carolingian times, and as more Roman than the contemporary liturgy of Rome. As late as the eighteenth century, there were very few deviations from the liturgical books of the thirteenth century. Few of the textual and musical innovations added to the liturgy throughout the middle ages found favour from the chapter of Lyons, and then only centuries after they had long since become standard in other churches. Thus the Kyrie and Gloria tropes only appeared in Lyons after the middle of the fifteenth century, sequences appeared extremely sporadically at about the same time, and hymns were hardly ever used—in divine office only in Compline.<sup>4</sup> In keeping with this conservative attitude, only monophonic song was considered appropriate in the liturgy. And it was as late as 1840 before S. Jean had an organ installed.<sup>5</sup> The chapter upheld the prohibition against polyphonic music in all the churches under its influence. Some churches (S. Paul, S. Nizier) and monasteries had organs and choirs in the early sixteenth century,<sup>6</sup> but it is doubtful whether this indicates that polyphonic music was used in the services. However, the practice of churches and monasteries in the region which were not directly dependent on the chapter has not been investigated—in most cases, indeed, the source material must be considered lost.

Of course contemporary church music was known in Lyons. It circulated in manuscripts in the same way as secular music, and one could come into contact with the most recent music when kings and princes visited the city accompanied by their own musicians; and it was not rare for foreign musicians and composers to stop over on their journeys. So it is not surprising that we find so much sacred music in a copyist’s stocks. Considering the church’s ban on polyphonic music, one might expect the scribe to be interested first and foremost in the sacred music of the best known composers—in the great music that was in demand everywhere and which would have some sales value for the scribe. As the analysis of the genesis of the manuscript shows, he was indeed eager to copy this kind of music.<sup>7</sup> But he also included sacred music of a more unassuming type, including compositions which can hardly have aroused much enthusiasm among customers outside the city, and which is more likely to have been created and used in his close surroundings. With this local Lyons music we are on virgin territory, so it is too early to draw firm conclusions. It is the manuscript’s most important contribution to a subtler view of the sacred music of the period, and it is this music that will be the focus of a provisional analysis in the following.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Reuchsel, *La Musique à Lyon*, Lyons 1903 (2nd ed.) pp. 13-16; S. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne. Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (PogueM) p. 24f; Frank Dobbins, ‘Lyon’ in *NGrove*; B. Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (FaurieL) II p. 79ff; L. Guillo, *Les Éditions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise* (GuilloL—I am grateful to Laurent Guillo for permission to use an early version of his thesis).

<sup>4</sup> Dom Denys Buennner, *L’Ancienne liturgie romaine. Le rite lyonnais* (BuennnerL) p. 69ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.1 *Provenance*, Jean-Baptiste Marduel.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Tricou, ‘Les deux Layolle et les organistes lyonnais du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Avec des recherches sur les facteurs et les orgues de Lyon’ (TricouL) p. 260ff and Frank Dobbins, ‘Lyon’ in *NGrove*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g. Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc.* 8.

Let us first look at the scope of the sacred repertory in Cop 1848. *Table 1* shows the sacred music for which the main scribe is responsible, set out in accordance with its liturgical function. Sequences, hymns and antiphons are classified as such when the liturgical melody is clearly present, or where the form of the composition indicates liturgical use (for example Willaert's responsory for Easter Sunday, which is not based on a liturgical melody). The broad term 'motet' is also applied to compositions based on responsories or hymns whose liturgical function is less clear. The list of compositions which can be dated on the basis of concordances in other sources, or which are attributed to known composers in Cop 1848 (*Table 2*), becomes very short.

**Table 1**  
**Sacred music in Cop 1848**  
(Items marked · are unique)

Mass sections and masses:

- No. 6 *Kyrie fons bonitatis* 3v
- No. 34 *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* 4-5v
- No. 163 *Missa [Mon mary m'a diffamée]* 4v [M. Gascongne]
- No. 171 *Missa [On a mal dit de mon amy]* 4v [J. Lhéritier]
- Nos. 190+193+203 *Missa [B.M.V.]* 3-4v

Magnificat settings:

- No. 4 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 3v
- No. 157 *Magnificat Et exultavit [vi toni]* 4v
- No. 160 *Magnificat Et exultavit [viii toni]* 4-5v
- No. 173 *Magnificat Et exultavit [viii toni]* 3v
- No. 174 *Magnificat Et exultavit [i toni]* 2v (4v—fragment)
- No. 182 *Magnificat Et exultavit primi toni* 4v
- No. 183 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 4v [A. Brumel]
- No. 184 *Magnificat Et exultavit Quarti toni* 4v
- No. 186 *Magnificat Et exultavit quinti toni* 4v
- No. 188 *Magnificat Et exultavit Sexti toni* 4v
- No. 189 *Magnificat Et exultavit octavi toni* 4v
- No. 195 [*Magnificat – No text – viii toni*] 3v

Psalm settings:

- No. 159 *Facta est Judea [In exitu Israel]* 4v
- No. 175 *In exitu Israel* 4v

Sequences:

- No. 5/126 *Stabat mater dolorosa* 3v
- No. 19 *Stabat mater dolorosa* 2v
- No. 177 *Victime pascali laudes* 3v (4v—fragment)
- No. 206 *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* 3v Haquinet

Responsory:

- No. 36 *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis* 4v [A. Willaert]

Antiphons:

- No. 44 *In tua paciencia* 3v (St. Catherine)
- No. 138 *Ave regina celorum* 3v (B.M.V.)
- No. 178 *Ave Maria* 5v Dulot (B.M.V.)
- No. 196 *Salve, regina misericordie* 3v (B.M.V.)
- No. 199/265 *Da pacem, Domine* 3v [A. Agricola]
- No. 212 *Salve, regina misericordie* 3v (B.M.V.)

## Hymns:

- No. 20 *Iste confessor domini sacratus* 3v
- No. 85 *Conditor alme siderum* 3v
- No. 93 *Christe qui lux es ad dies* 3v
- No. 110 *O salutaris hostia* 3v
- No. 118 *O salutaris hostia* 3v
- No. 201 *Pange lingua gloriosi* 3v
- No. 202 *O salutaris hostia* 2v
- No. 229/237 *Puer nobis nascitur* 3v Haquinet
- No. 230 *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* 4v Haquinet

## Laude:

- No. 119 *Veni, veni, veni, electa mea* 3v
- No. 197 *O salutaris ostia* 4v Haquinet
- No. 228/246 *Sancta Maria* 3v
- No. 233/264 *Miserere mei nunc* 3v
- No. 242 *Dulcis amica Dei* 3v [J. Prioris]
- No. 251 *Osanna filio David* 4v
- (·No. 170 *Deo gracias* 3v ?)

## Marian motets:

- No. 33 *Ave virgo gratiosa* 4v
- No. 47 *O preclara stella maris* 3v [A. de Févin]
- No. 104 *Virgo decus celi* 4v
- No. 125 *Virgo mater ave* 3v
- No. 145 *Beata es, Maria* 3v [Anonymous]
- No. 172 *O genetrix gloriosa* 4v Richaffort [L. Compère]
- No. 214 *Ave sanctissima Maria* 3v
- No. 215 *Que est ista que processit sicut sol* 2v (3v—fragment)
- No. 274 *Quam pulchra es amica mea* 3v

## Miscellaneous motets:

- No. 52 *Parce Domine* 3v [J. Obrecht]
- No. 53 *Si dedero* 3v [A. Agricola]
- No. 59/63 *Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina* 4v
- No. 103 *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* 4v
- No. 158 *In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem* 4v Maioris
- No. 162 *Ave presul Augustine* 4v

## Litany:

- No. 106 *Redemptor Deus miserere* 1v
- No. 105 *Precibus sancte Dei genetricis* 2v

## Choral responses:

- No. 155 *Gloria tibi Domine* 3v
- (·No. 170 *Deo gracias* 3v ?)

Table 2

**Sacred music with concordances or composer attribution**  
(in approximate chronological order)

*Firenze* 2356 (c. 1480):

- No. 53 *Si dedero* 3v [A. Agricola]

*Firenze* 2794 (c. 1490):

- No. 172 *O genetrix gloriosa* 4v Richaffort [L. Compère]

Bologna Q17 and Paris 2245 (middle and end of 1490s):

- No. 52 *Parce Domine* 3v [J. Obrecht]
- No. 242 *Dulcis amica Dei* 3v [J. Prioris]

Paris 1597 (repertory of before c. 1500):

- No. 145 *Beata es, Maria* 3v [Anonymous]
- No. 199/265 *Da pacem, Domine* 3v [A. Agricola]

Cambridge 1760 (repertory of before c. 1510):

- No. 47 *O preclara stella maris* 3v [A. de Févin]

Roma CS 26 and CS 44 (repertory of before c. 1520):

- No. 163 *Missa* [*Mon mary m'a diffamée*] 4v [M. Gascongne]
- No. 183 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 4v [A. Brumel]

Cop 1848 probably the oldest source:

- No. 36 *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis* 4v [A. Willaert]<sup>8</sup>
- No. 158 *In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem* 4v *Maiores*<sup>9</sup>
- No. 171 *Missa* [*On a mal dit de mon amy*] 4v [J. Lhéritier]<sup>10</sup>
- No. 178 *Ave Maria* 5v Dulo (F. Dulot)<sup>11</sup>

Compositions by the unknown composer Haquinet (c. 1500?):

- No. 197 *O salutaris ostia* 4v Haquinet
- No. 206 *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* 3v Haquinet
- No. 229/237 *Puer nobis nascitur* 3v Haquinet
- No. 230 *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* 4v Haquinet

As a whole, the make-up of the repertory is not very different from that of other manuscripts, especially mixed collections. There is a predominance of compositions associated with the Marian cult, but this is more or less a sign of the times. What is peculiar to Cop 1848 is the way they have been entered in the manuscript. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, on the structure of the manuscript, some religious compositions appear as parts of series beside courtly and popular chansons. They are all three-part motets, hymns and *laude*, and should hardly be regarded as liturgical music—there are no mass sections, Magnificat settings or the like among them. In other cases the sacred music is entered in groups compiled by the main scribe to function either as a well-assorted stock or as marketable music. Others again are individual entries of attractive compositions. It is among the first and last group that we find the majority of the compositions listed in *Table 2*. At the same time they make up a large proportion of those that can be grouped in the category ‘court and cathedral music’.

The structure of the manuscript invites us to study the sacred music as a mirror of musical life around 1520—that is, to examine the stratification of the repertory in order to describe the provincial elements—rather than try to analyse and group the sacred music chronologically and functionally. To this end the music must be classified in different categories. We have already obtained a rough categorization by separating the compositions that occur in other sources from the unique ones; but this does not reflect the wide scope of the unique part of the repertory.

<sup>8</sup> The other early sources, the MSS *Bologna Q20* and *Chicago 1578*, come from Italy; the dating of the first is uncertain—L. L. Perkins suggests the early 1520s (LhéritierO I p. XL), and H. Osthoff around 1530 (Osthoff II p. 16). The second was written in Florence at the end of the 1520s (cf. SlimM p. 16ff, FenlonC pp. 178-180 and H. Colin Slim’s conclusions in his preface to SlimO).

<sup>9</sup> *Maiores* may be identical to a singer in the chapel at Turin in 1515, cf. Chapter 1.8.

<sup>10</sup> The other early source of the mass, the manuscript *Casale Monferrato P(E)*, can be dated c. 1521-c. 1526 (cf. CrawfordC p. 36ff).

<sup>11</sup> 1514 *maître d’enfants* at the Cathedral of Amiens; 1522-30 *maître de chapelle* at the Cathedral of Rouen.



We must operate with a different kind of subdivision into three categories: one with music that represents the pace-setting institutions of society, an intermediate group and a more general category. True, they will be very difficult to define and demarcate. The chronological uncertainty is great in the case of the provincial music; it may range over several generations, and here stylistic landmarks are of little value. Many compositions also exhibit deviant features which point to different categories—today, for example, we have no way of knowing whether a court composer also wrote simple utility music that would be preserved anonymously. In addition, the criteria for the placing of the compositions must inevitably be both objective (sources and placing in the manuscript, use of liturgical melodies, technical features etc.) and quite subjective (one's view of the skill of the composer, agreement between the level of ambition and results, etc.). We must simply try to describe the situation as the main scribe of the manuscript recorded it around 1520:

- *Court and cathedral music* is the easiest category to deal with. It is the music of princes and great ecclesiastical institutions, adding splendour to cathedral services and court life. It was created by musicians with plentiful resources in terms of their own training and experience and qualified performers of the music. It appears in the manuscript partly as smallish compositions in mixed series and partly as larger, free-standing compositions. Besides the works of the famous composers, a number of unique motets must be placed in this category, including part of the repertory in Rfasc. HJK.

- *The music of major ecclesiastical institutions*, which must fulfil the same purposes and ambitions as the first category, but is written by composers without the same background and skill. None of the pieces have been found elsewhere. Characteristic examples are the scribe's original repertory in Rfasc. 8 and almost the whole Magnificat series in Rfasc. 9-10. These are long compositions with a decidedly liturgical function, utility music without the easy perfection of the court composer—perhaps from the larger churches of the provinces.

- *Provincial/local music* is not generally poor or incompetent. Basically, it is quite simple, functional music, where the liturgical melodies are easily recognizable. Some simple settings of the Magnificat, psalms and hymns have fluid boundaries with the intermediate group. This category is very mixed. Here we can place for example *laude*, which may easily have functioned as religious music in wide circles. One also finds compositions that are quite as ambitious as those in the other categories, and where the composer, with limited performing resources and a unsophisticated compositional technique, attempts the same effects as the leading musicians of the day. But otherwise we encounter a natural conservatism in the means of expression—sometimes so much that the technique of composition accords ill with the framework of the piece. 'Provincial' only has a negative ring in the cases where we must note that the composer did not adequately master the technique he wished to use.

We can begin by looking at the larger liturgical compositions. They exhibit clear examples of all three categories.

## 10.1 Masses and mass sections

The main scribe was copying a large collection of sacred music into his thick fascicle, Rfasc. 8, when the chance to copy two masses came up. He immediately put the other material to one side, for the masses were sacred music of the kind one could hear at court, in the Sistine Chapel in Rome or in the Cathedral at Cambrai. They were moreover new music by young French composers who were influenced by the currents of the day, in which an interest in

popular songs played an important role. These masses (no. 163 and no. 171) were unlike the sacred music he otherwise had access to, and were probably worth putting other things aside for—probably scarcity of time was the only reason he did not finish copying one of the masses.

Gascongne's and Lhéritier's masses are *parody* or *imitation masses*. This means that they take their point of departure in a polyphonic composition whose musical material is manipulated, paraphrased and expanded into the long musical structure of a mass. Both masses are based on three-part, imitative popular arrangements—perfect examples of the genre—from the beginning of the century.<sup>12</sup> Both Gascongne and Lhéritier flesh out the skeleton of this mass type with an almost demonstrative consistency that gives one the very strong impression that these are works of their youth where they are showing off their mastery of the most modern style of the age. The beginnings of the chansons are used as mottos at the start of each main section of the masses, and the composers have chosen to indicate the shape the rest of the work will take in their Kyrie sections.

Jean Lhéritier's mass (no. 171) is based on Antoine de Févin's *On a mal dit de mon amy*, which has as the *cantus prius factus* in the tenor one of the rare popular rondeaux. Févin has made the repetitive form of the rondeau possible by giving the arrangement a distinct mid-cadence, and Lhéritier too observes this division in his use of the song. He transforms Févin's dense, low-pitched texture into a more spacious four-part texture, making it strongly recall the contemporary four-part popular arrangements,<sup>13</sup> at least in the Kyrie section. *Kyrie I* consists of the transformed first section of the song, the *Christe* treats the second section rather more freely, and *Kyrie II* paraphrases motifs from the song. The rest of the mass takes the same course: from quoted material Lhéritier moves by imperceptible degrees from paraphrase to free composition—this gives the five sections<sup>14</sup> a strong sense of unity. The music is fluent and flimsy and the musical material is used with great economy; the many long two-part passages teeter on the brink of the lightweight, and when, at “Confiteor unam baptismam”, the music goes into triple time, the closeness to the four-part popular arrangements is unmistakable. Nowhere is there any question of interpreting the text. Popular music is transformed for sacred use with great skill.

Mathieu Gascongne, in his *Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée* (no. 163), reworks an arrangement in ballade form. The song is anonymous in contemporary sources, but in a late print is attributed to Josquin Desprez.<sup>15</sup> *Kyrie I* and *Christe*, as in Lhéritier's mass, reproduce the two sections of the song, and the Gloria and Credo paraphrase the model in the same way. But Gascongne wished to demonstrate that he also mastered other aspects of mass writing. In *Kyrie II* he has the tenor sing through the whole tenor part of the chanson without pause. He develops this cantus firmus technique further in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, where the melody and motifs from it appear in double and quadruple values, forwards and backwards and in ostinato. For long passages his mass exhibits real four-part writing, and in the last two sections he combines the popular style with the contrapuntal proficiency of his musical forebears.

*Examples 1a-c* demonstrate the progress of a popular song to the Ordinary of the Mass. The three-part chanson sets a variant of the tune of “Mon mary m'a diffamée” which we find in the monophonic chansonnier *Paris 12744* (*Examples 1a-b*). The beginning of Gascongne's Gloria shows his mastery of the style of the popular chanson in sacred music (*Example 1c*).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Chapter 8.1 *The three-part popular songs*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the incipits to the song and the mass in Vol. II no. 171; the mass is published in LhéritierO Vol. I.

<sup>14</sup> According to the printed version in *Tini 1588/4* Agnus Dei I-III should be sung to the same music as the Kyrie.

<sup>15</sup> In *Le Roy 1578/15*—see also the remarks in Vol. II no. 163.

**Example 1a** Paris 12744 ff. 75<sup>v</sup>: *Mon mary m'a diffamée*

Mon ma - ry m'a dif - fa - mé - e pour l'a - mour de mon a - my  
de la lon - gue de - mou - ré - e que je faic - te\_a - vec - ques luy.

Hé mon a - my! En des - pit de mon ma - ry qui me va tous jours ba -  
tant je fe - ray pis que d'a - vant.

**Example 1b** Anonymous: *Mon mary m'a diffamée*<sup>16</sup>

Mon ma - ry m'a dif - fa - mé - e pour la lon - ge de - mou - ré - Mon ma - ry m'a pour la lon - ge  
Mon ma - ry m'a dif - fa - mé - e pour la lon - ge de - mou - ré - e pour l'a - mour de mon a -  
que je fait a - vec - que dif - fa - mé - e de - mou - ré - e pour l'a - mour de mon a -  
que je fait a - vec - que my, luy, de mon a - my luy. pour l'a - mour de mon a - my, luy.  
my, luy, de mon a - my luy. de mon a - my luy.

<sup>16</sup> After London 35087 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22.

En des-pit de mon ma - ry, de mon ma - ry  
 En des-pit de mon ma - ry qui me va tout  
 En des-pit de mon ma - ry qui me va tout  
 25 qui me va tout jour ba - tant j'en fe - ray pis  
 jour ba tant j'en fe - ray pis que d'a vant,  
 jour ba - tant j'en fe-ray pis que d'a-vant, j'en fe -  
 que d'a - vant.  
 j'en fe - ray pis que d'a - vant.  
 - ray pis que d'a - vant..

**Example 1c** No. 163 M. Gascongne: *Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée* – Gloria bars 1-40<sup>17</sup>

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne  
 Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne  
 Bo - ne  
 Bo - ne vo - lun - ta -

<sup>17</sup> After Cop 1848; bassus bar 36.2 is *d* in the MS.

10 vo-lun - ta - tis. Be - ne - di - ci - mus

15 vo-lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te.

20 te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

25 Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi -

30 te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

35 Prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

40 mus ti - bi prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

45 Prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

50 ti - bi prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

55 Do - mine De - us, Rex ce - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po -

60 Rex ce - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po -

65 Do - mine De - us, Rex ce - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po -

70 Rex ce - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po -

That these two parody masses appear together in Cop 1848 may afford some support to the hypotheses that have been offered on the careers of their composers. We have very little certain information on which to base biographies. About Gascongne we know almost nothing, and Lhéritier's youth in particular is obscure. Paris has been proposed as the most natural working and learning environment for both in the first decades of the century.<sup>18</sup> The nature of the masses and the fact that they both found their way to Lyons at this time can only strengthen this hypothesis.<sup>19</sup>

No. 34 *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* for four voices, expanding towards the end to five, aspires to the company of the masses by Gascongne and Lhéritier. Instead, this ambition to write in many parts has resulted in a crippling of the mass. As an example we can look at its longest section, the *Credo*,<sup>20</sup> which includes extended passages for two and three voices. In these passages we encounter the original concept of the mass; and if we disregard the altus, which in the manuscript is copied into the space below the superius, a place normally reserved for the tenor part, we have a fairly trouble-free composition for three voices in the tenor range.

It was probably composed with a three-part motet based on the sequence "Mittit ad virginem" as its model. The outline of this motet can be glimpsed in *Kyrie I*, which features the first section of the sequence. The *Kyrie I* music reappears later in the mass as *Agnus Dei I*. The *Christe* and *Kyrie II* present the rest of the material, which is developed and varied in the mass. Each section has a three-part imitation as an initial motto, probably quoting the motet. The mass exhibits a striking lack of musical scope. True, it observes the modern imitative texture of the day—enlivened and varied with two-part passages and homorhythmic portions—but, as the *Credo* so clearly demonstrates, the composer's repertoire of contrapuntal ideas and devices consists almost entirely of simple imitations in unison or fifths, taken as hastily as possible to the cadence.<sup>21</sup>

The poverty of expression is particularly striking in the sections with long texts. The repeated cadences on the first and fifth degrees of the Ionian mode gradually become monotonous—often they come at intervals of as little as two brevis measures (for example bars 6-11). The passage in bars 11-19—one of the more inventive—can be used to illustrate the procedure of the composer: the tenor starts an imitation at the fifth with the bassus, the superius repeats the tenor's phrase at the unison two bars later, and the tenor continues with the syncopated cadential formula leading to the note *c'* as a counter-voice. The bassus then takes over the counter-voice function (bar 15.4), and the tenor follows it a third below. Now it is the turn of the superius to have the counter-voice, still at the unison, and the bassus drops a third, while the tenor rises above the superius to the cadence in bar 19. The composer avoids cadencing for a whole four bars (11-14), but then takes revenge by having the cadential formula to *c'* sound continuously for four bars.

The linear movement of the voices is slightly more expansive in the two independent sections "Crucifixus ..." and "Et iterum ...". But the composer's fondness for cadential formulae will not be gainsaid. Even where he avoids leading notes he uses the formulae—for example in the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Peter G. Swing, 'Gascongne' in NGrove and Leeman L. Perkins in LhéritierO I, 'Introduction'.

<sup>19</sup> A comparison with the other sources of the masses—manuscripts in Cambrai, Rome and Casale Monferrato, and Tini's late print (cf. Vol. II) shows that Cop 1848, like the others, represents a quite independent transmission of the masses with many differences in musical and notational details.

<sup>20</sup> Publ. in Vol. III as no. 68; cf. also the discussion in Chapter 4.2 *Rfasc.* 3-4 and at Vol. II no. 34, where there are incipits for all sections.

<sup>21</sup> The short-winded phrases and banal stock figures may be influences from the singers' practice in singing *supra librum*, where they improvised counter-voices to a given tenor melody. Performing polyphony in this way, one needs great skill and experience to consider more than a few of the tenor's notes at a time—cf. e.g. E. T. Ferand, 'Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque' (FerandI).



duo “Crucifixus” (bar 107 and bar 112); it appears to be one of the two ways he knows of concluding a phrase.

These features—the constant cadencing and the short-winded phrasing—seem to be characteristic of the provincial music. Superficially, the mass is modern—in form, imitative pattern and figuration; but what lies beneath this is a very simple compositional technique, easy on the ear with its constant use of thirds and sixths, but monotonous.

The three-part *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* is successful of its kind. However, problems arose when either the composer himself or someone else decided to turn it into a four-part composition. There *was* no room for an altus part without placing it above the superius. It is therefore recommended that the superius should be sung an octave higher (“Si vous avez voix de dessus, chantés a la double de dessus”). But the superius has taken the shape it has because it constantly changes places with the tenor within the same range. Transposed up an octave the part loses all meaning. The altus in itself causes no great disasters in the *Credo* (but note bars 174 and 192)—rather, it lacks profile. At the beginning of the *Credo* (in bar 2) the bassus has been given an extra, ‘false’ entry to disguise the fourth between the altus and superius. In other sections of the mass the altus causes greater problems, most seriously in the five-part *Agnus Dei III*. Whether the original voices of the mass have been changed in the reworking—for example at the final cadences<sup>22</sup>—is impossible to say.

The mass is a local effort attempting to resemble the great music of the period. It was created for an institution which could draw on at least four male voices. It was probably unable to use boys—not even from other institutions nearby; otherwise the heading would probably have said that the superius *was* to be sung an octave higher. The mass in its four-part version belongs to the ambitious intermediate group. That the institution was unable to obtain such music in any other way suggests that it was no centre of sacred music. The manuscript the scribe copied the work from may have been the adaptor’s own—indeed composer and adaptor may have been one and the same person. If the scribe of Cop 1848 had worked from a fair copy made for use or sale, we would probably have seen the voices in normal choirbook disposition.

The last mass cycle in Cop 1848 consists of the three compositions collected by Hand C in a fascicle, the unrelated Rfasc. 11. These are two pairs of mass sections, no. 190 *Kyrie – Et in terra pax* and no. 193 *Sanctus – Agnus Dei*, simple *alternatim* settings of chants from the *Missa IX* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*), *IV* (*Sanctus*) and *XVII* (*Agnus Dei*) and the freely-composed *Patrem omnipotentem* (no. 203). They can be combined into a Marian mass.<sup>23</sup> Hand C’s work should probably be dated earlier than the rest of Cop 1848, since the main scribe’s interest in the incomplete fascicle was apparently only in exploiting the empty pages between the mass sections.<sup>24</sup> As a whole Hand C’s mass compilation belongs in the provincial sphere—the three elements are however quite different.

The *Kyrie* is incomplete; the front cover of the fascicle has been lost, so the three-part composition lacks the whole superius part and the end of the bassus. Of the “*Kyrie cum iubilo*” of the Marian mass (IX) the first invocation in *Kyrie I*, the second invocation in the *Christe* and

<sup>22</sup> Or the bassus bar 70.4 (in the *Credo*), which should probably have had the note *e* in the three-part version.

<sup>23</sup> These are three independent compositions. But there can be no doubt that Hand C entered them in the fascicle intending them to function as a Marian mass. The same selection of melodies was used as a basis for other Marian masses of around 1500; cf. G. Reese, ‘The Polyphonic ‘*Missa de Beata Virgine*’ as a Genre: The Background of Josquin’s Lady Mass’ (ReeseP)—for example Josquin’s mass on *Missa IX* and *IV* and Brumel’s on *Missa IX* and *XVII*. One can almost speak of a regular pattern varied according to local usage.

The complete sections of the mass in Cop 1848 (*Gloria*, *Sanctus – Agnus Dei* and *Credo*) are published in Vol. III (nos. 69–71).

<sup>24</sup> On the paper see Chapter 1.2; on the dating see Chapter 5.

the first and last in *Kyrie II* are set. This gives the whole an *alternatim* structure which begins and ends with polyphonic song, since the music of the first *Kyrie* must be repeated for the third invocation. Normal practice was to sing monophonically at the beginning and end.<sup>25</sup> Local practice may have played some role, or perhaps the composer simply wished to set the long final melisma from which the melody takes its name.

The tenor follows the *Kyrie* melodies fairly closely. Rhythmically, they are in an almost natural singing tempo, mainly in semibrevis values, with few and simple ornaments. The missing upper voice makes it difficult to analyse the texture. The bassus is a decided contra-tenor which is rhythmically dependent on the tenor; it is almost consistently in contrary motion, crossing the tenor at some points. The two voices form a self-sufficient progression in figured note-against-note texture. There is every indication that the superius would have had the same relationship to the tenor. The result is a simple type of setting with a *cantus prius factus* in the tenor and two dependent counter-voices, progressing without pause, not unlike the simple settings of popular tunes.<sup>26</sup>

Every other verse of the *Gloria*, beginning with “Et in terra pax ...”, is set in twelve very short sections. This *Gloria* includes the six medieval Marian tropes beginning “Spiritus et alme ...” which were common in Marian masses until they were removed from the liturgy at the Council of Trent (1545-65).<sup>27</sup> The tenor is formed on the same principles as in the *Kyrie*; it is singable in its own right and very close to the liturgical melody, only a little embellished, mostly close to the final cadences. The three voices of the *Gloria* have the same basic relationship as in the *Kyrie*. This type of writing has roots far back in time. It was used in the 1300s and flourished in the music of the period around 1400.<sup>28</sup> In provincial music—both sacred and secular—it lived on, and through time developed its own mixture of old and new.

The two voices set against the tenor melody are in principle counter-voices. Almost everywhere in the short sections of the *Gloria* one can trace affinities with the descant technique of the early fifteenth century. The superius and bassus each form a two-part note-against-note structure with the tenor, and as far as possible avoid intervals which could jeopardize this structure; they progress mostly in contrary motion or in parallel, in imperfect consonances with the tenor. These features are of course most evident in the low counter-voice, the “Bassus”. The superius is the most active part; where the tenor has long notes, the superius is alone in keeping the rhythmic pulse going, for example at the beginning of “Qui tollis ...” (bars 76-81). Passages occur where the chord progressions are dictated by the liturgical melody; the clearest examples are in the sections IX-XI, where the melody is set in pure note-against-note texture.

Against this there are a number of stylistic features which place the composition in a later epoch. The sections “Et in terra ...” and “Primogenitus ...” start with short three-part imitations of the beginning of the tenor melody with entries after one brevis measure on the unison and the octave. Here the superius and the bassus step out of their subordinate position and perform on an equal footing with the tenor, something one does not find in the true descant style. In “Glorificamus te” the tenor and the superius sing a kind of free canon over the liturgical melody. In a few places (bars 8-11, 18-20, 40-42 and 90-93) superius and bassus combine and

<sup>25</sup> Cf. P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe I* (WagnerM) p. 53 and for example Dufay’s setting of the same melody, (DufayO IV p. 67) and Isaac’s five *alternatim* masses from the *Choralis Constantinus* in Luise Cuyler (ed.), *Five Polyphonic Masses by Heinrich Isaac*, Ann Arbor 1956.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Chapter 8 *The popular repertory*, especially no. 241 *Ouvrés vostre huis*.

<sup>27</sup> Preserved for example in the *Graduale Sarisburiense* (GS p. 14\*).

<sup>28</sup> This type of texture has been given various names through time. For example it is found in the repertory that has been called ‘discant’ or ‘descant’ compositions in the Old Hall repertory. Cf. e.g. Frank Ll. Harrison in NOHM III p. 95ff and Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, New York 1978, p. 510f; ‘freie Diskantsatz’ is applied to the same type; cf. Ernst Apfel, ‘Der klangliche Satz und der freie Diskantsatz’ (ApfelS).

move in parallel tenths 'against' the tenor; this is something we often find in the second half of the fifteenth century. Considering the cadences and the sound as a whole as well as the rhythmic movement, it is clear that the composition should be dated close to the year 1500. In these areas there are not as many old-fashioned features.

As a 'modern' element one can also point to the fact that the composer was at pains to vary the texture and give the text an effective setting. While it was a traditional feature to set the words "Mariam sanctificans", "Mariam gubernans" and "Jesu Christe" (IX-XI) as block chords with fermata, it is characteristic that "Mariam coronans" is here mensurally composed to preserve the full effect of the emphasis on the important words "Jesu Christe" (XI) as no monophonic section is inserted between the polyphonic ones. In older *alternatim* mass music the settings are normally very uniform; their effectiveness is due to the alternation of monophony and polyphony.<sup>29</sup> This *Gloria* goes a step further; the rhythmic shape of the tenor, and the texture, are varied so that none of the short sections begins like the previous one. The four-part "Amen" concludes the whole effectively, introducing *proportio dupla*, which however only really affects the lively *superius*.

No. 190 *Kyrie – Gloria* are provincial compositions of the period around 1500, possibly as late as some time in the second decade of the new century. They should probably be dated fairly late; the 'modern' elements should be seen as signs of the influence of an older, established generation of composers.

The second pair of mass sections, no. 193 *Sanctus – Agnus Dei*, is in four parts with melodies from *Missa IV* and *XVII* in the tenor. In the short sections (*Sanctus I* and *III* and the *Agnus Dei*) the texture is like that of the first pair; simple and effective, consisting of cadential formulae around the regular tenor. *Sanctus III*, which moves into "Domine Deus" without any double bar, is a written-out repetition of *Sanctus I*, and the *Agnus Dei* setting has to function as both *Agnus Dei I* and *III*.

In the *Benedictus – Hosanna*, which includes the small Marian trope "Benedictus Marie filius qui venit...",<sup>30</sup> the liturgical melody is more freely formed with varied note values and small interpolations, but is still mainly kept in *semibreves* in *tempus imperfectum*. The change from *proportio dupla* in the *Sanctus* sections to *integer valor* in the *Benedictus* has no effect on the tenor melody, since its basic tempo remains the same in all sections (the change is of more importance for the stresses in the music).

The *Benedictus* and *Hosanna* form a unified whole, the longest of the *alternatim* settings. Here we find a freer treatment of the voices, although many features of the surrounding sections still occur and there is no real imitation. In many ways the composition is stylistically like the smaller motets of the Josquin generation; one could mention for example the greater melodic force of the individual voices, passages with a reduced number of voices and the successive entries of the voices; and for the first time in the mass we find rests in other voices than the tenor. This setting shows that the mass sections cannot be as old as certain aspects might suggest.

The *Credo* (no. 203) is very different from the other sections; the *alternatim* principle is not used, and it is written for three voices at tenor pitch. Finally, no liturgical melody is used. Only the upper voice is furnished with a text, while the other mass sections on the whole have a full text in all voices. The music is so extraordinary that it cannot have been composed for the *Credo* text. First and foremost, its formal structure is unusual for a mass section, since exactly the same passage recurs three times with different words. The composition is subdivided by double bar lines and fermatas into three main sections as follows:

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. Dufay's *Gloria* (DufayO IV p. 83) and his other *alternatim* settings.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. GS p. 17\*.

“Patrem omnipotentem...” A (bars 1-24), B (bars 25-39),

“Et incarnatus...” B' (bars 40-54) and

“Crucifixus...” C (bars 55-101), B" (bars 101-116).

Another remarkable feature is the shape of the upper voice. Here we have an unusual number of note repetitions; even final notes in cadences (for example in bar 24) and syncopated dissonances (bar 29) have been split up into shorter note values to fit the text. This *Credo* is probably an arrangement of a motet or the like, where an attempt has been made to adapt the motet to the long text by expanding the form with repetitions and by changing the upper voice. If we examine the appearance of the music in Cop 1848, this conjecture is confirmed; it even seems evident that the adaptation was done as it was entered in the fascicle. The many errors and corrections also provide hints to the original form of the composition.

The scribe must have worked from a model with the original version, perhaps with a rough draft of the adaptation as an aid, and will have laid the *Credo* text under the upper voice as he copied the music. While working he accidentally omitted bars 17-19. They were added at the bottom of the page, but the text had been fitted so closely to the music as first written that there was none left over for the forgotten bars. In bar 24 the scribe first followed the original and wrote a longa and double bar line in all voices. Then he decided to extend the music with the B-element and change bar 24 to the usual ‘unison’ note repetitions in all voices; note too the parallel octaves in bars 24-25. The B-element was thus not originally tagged directly on to the A-element. The same is true of bar 101. Here the scribe first—probably following the original—wrote a semibrevis on the first beat of the bar in all voices. In the tenor there are a few more overscored notes and a double bar line. These have been corrected to a brevis note, and the B-element has again been tagged on; in the superius and bassus he has forgotten to correct the note values.<sup>31</sup> There are also some inexplicable text omissions. Around bar 24 the words “Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine” are missing, and around bar 101 the words “et apostolicam”. These few words alone are not among the usual omissions in the *Credo* text; they are usually only left out as part of longer omissions.<sup>32</sup> The scribe simply omitted them where he linked the elements together to get the text to fit reasonably well—not very successfully anywhere. The B-element is repeated in bars 40-54 as “Et incarnatus...” in its original rhythmic form; this repetition is not indicated, however, in the lower voices. In distributing the text in the upper voice it was of course impossible to obtain any match between the music and the meaning of the text, or to mark any of the usual emphases; particularly contrary to normal practice is the use of the same music for “Et incarnatus” as in the previous passage.

The three elements A, B and C were probably taken from a three-part motet, where they may have partly or wholly constituted three *partes*. If we imagine this original without the note repetitions and text, we see a three-part composition for low voices, not unlike the original version of no. 34 *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem*, typified by constant cadencing and imitation at the unison. That Hand C chose to adapt this composition—probably a local effort—as a *Credo* looks like an improvised solution, and suggests that the fascicle arose in an environment where there was no access to a large sacred repertory.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the editorial comments on Vol. III no. 71; in the transcription the text is underlaid as in Cop 1848—the lower voices could be furnished with a suitable extract of the *Credo* text.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. R. Hannas, ‘Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass *Credo*’ (HannasD).

<sup>33</sup> It is not possible to localize Hand C’s work, not even by means of the details of the mass—Lyons is the most likely guess. The “*Spiritus et alme*” trope was among the fixed elements in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the trope in the *Sanctus* only seems to appear in mass compositions in England—cf. NOHM III pp. 82, 103 and 170. It is however very common in monophonic liturgical collections all over the Continent. Cf. P. J. Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der Handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (ThannabaurS) pp. 97-98.

In compiling the mass he probably used a collection of *alternatim* sections for *missae breves*. Such a collection would not as a rule include settings of the Credo, which because of its length was best performed in plainsong. As was usual in older liturgical manuscripts, the individual sections would not have been grouped into whole masses, but into groups of individual sections with the same liturgical function or in pairs. This is where the two pairs of sections for the Marian mass would have come from.<sup>34</sup> Local circumstances, or the fact that the Credo appears more often in *alternatim* masses in the sixteenth century than before,<sup>35</sup> must be what prompted the scribe to make his adaptation.

No. 6 *Kyrie fons bonitatis* was a very old composition in 1520; stylistically, it is the oldest in Cop 1848. Here we encounter the descant technique mentioned in the discussion of no. 190 *Kyrie – Gloria* in its purest form—harmonically the piece would have seemed old-fashioned as early as a few decades after 1400.<sup>36</sup>

As in the Marian mass, the liturgical melody, from *Missa II*, is in the tenor, and has been fitted with some difficulty into *tempus perfectum*. The tenor melody is accompanied by two counter-voices, one higher and one lower; the latter, the “Bassus”, is most of the time above the tenor. Each of the counter-voices follows the tenor closely in parallel or contrary motion, and each separately forms an excellent two-part note-against-note texture with the tenor. But no great consideration has been given to the effect of all three together, so a measure of harmonic harshness is inevitable at some points—passages where third-fifth chords follow one another (for example as early as bars 1-2 or bars 40-41), or the counter-voices move in parallel sevenths (bar 42). The many passages in parallel third-sixth chords are also characteristic of this style. The parallel motion occurs without any ornamentation at all in the final cadences and emphasizes the Phrygian mode of the piece (in the *Christe* invocation a variant is used which produces octaves between the outer voices).

It is very difficult to date a composition like no. 6. Many features suggest the period around 1400. The many standardized cadencing formulae and especially the movement of the “Bassus”, which several times leaps up an octave in internal cadences, do however militate against such an early date. They suggest that the composer in other contexts used the musical idiom of a later date. The writing of simple utility music in a very old-fashioned idiom is a well known phenomenon—in organ music and in the musical life of the monasteries uses were found as late as the 1500s for the techniques of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>37</sup> Cop 1848 gives no text for the piece apart from incipits, but it is possible with no great effort to lay the whole of the troped “*Kyrie fons bonitatis*” under the music.<sup>38</sup> This could suggest a date in the mid-fifteenth century, when the use of troped mass sections began in Lyons.<sup>39</sup> We should

<sup>34</sup> On other compilation masses, see N. S. Josephson, ‘Zur Geschichte der Missa de Beata Virgine’ (JosephsonM) pp. 40-41.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 42; in Attaignant’s print of masses in tablature of 1531, *Tabulature pour le ieu Dorgues Espinetes et Manicordions sur le plain chant...* (HeartzA no. 25, publ. in RoksethO) the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* mass, for example, has the Credo, while the *Cunctipotens* mass has none.

<sup>36</sup> Publ. in Vol. III as no. 72.

<sup>37</sup> In the *alternatim* masses where the organ is used instead of polyphonic vocal settings, the organ music often exhibits very old stylistic traits. Leo Schrade describes the mass settings in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* as alternations between organum-like and descant-like textures. Cf. ‘Die Messe in der Orgelmusik des 15. Jahrhunderts’ (SchradeM) and ‘The Organ in the Mass of the 15th Century’ (SchradeO).

Another element is the retrospective repertoire in black notation in many different manuscripts from all over Europe. Cf. A. Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (GeeringO) and RISM B IV.

<sup>38</sup> Found in GS pp. 2\*-3\* and VP p. 165f; in that case each section would have to be sung thrice. The longer third invocation in *Kyrie II* is used for all three strophes in the troped version.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the introduction to this chapter, note 4.



probably assume that the composition originated at least a couple of generations before the main scribe copied it. The most remarkable thing is that it appears in his collection at all; perhaps he saw it as an instrumental piece like the preceding one, his own reworking of the *Stabat mater* (no. 5).

The Marian mass and the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* add new aspects to the account of the provincial repertory. The descant technique rarely appears as definitively as in the *Kyrie*. But in the shape we encountered in the mass, where the melody is still easily recognizable in the tenor, while the counter-voices can be varied in innumerable ways, this technique provides a basis for a wealth of liturgical utility music. The term 'descant' is no longer adequate to the technique of composition at such a late stage. It seems better to use the expression *simple tenor texture* for a type which is constantly absorbing new stylistic features from more artfully conceived music.

## 10.2 Settings of the Magnificat

*Alternatim* settings of the Magnificat for use in Vespers make up an important part of the music in Cop 1848, just as they do in many other collections of sacred music. In manuscripts which mix the secular and the sacred they are rare—there the less functionally determined motet is more prevalent. In all the Magnificat settings in Cop 1848 the even-numbered verses are set, as was the most common practice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>40</sup> We find here the same musical stratification as in the mass music. However, the compositions are differently distributed among the three categories, since the intermediate group is predominant—most are four-part compositions intended for institutions with a musically qualified staff. Nor do we find compositions here which make use of the very *simple tenor texture* to the same extent, even though it is an obvious option for setting the psalmody of the Magnificat. Closest to this style is the textless composition for three voices (no. 195) which the main scribe entered on the pages that Hand C left empty in Rfasc. 11.

Verses 2, 4 and 6 of the Magnificat can easily be laid under the three sections which make up no. 195. The appropriate melodic formula in the eighth tone sounds in the tenor in the first section, and in the second section it is in the superius, while it is paraphrased by both upper voices in the third section. So everything indicates that this is a Magnificat fragment.<sup>41</sup> Each section of the very simple composition begins with imitation. The superius in the first section is decidedly a counter-voice, as is the lower voice. Not until the last two sections, where it carries the melody, does it become an equal partner with the tenor in a *superius-tenor texture*.

We can see an example of a three-part Magnificat which aspires beyond the limitations of provincial music in no. 4 *Et exultavit* in the second tone.<sup>42</sup> In principle, it has been composed with the same resources as no. 195, but the composer shows more capability and imagination in his exploitation of the limited melodic material.

The similarly three-part no. 173 *Magnificat Et exultavit* is, on the other hand, a decidedly provincial composition for two tenor voices and a bass; in texture and in the movement of the voices it has much in common with the anonymous mass no. 34 and the Credo setting in

<sup>40</sup> On Magnificat settings see W. Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zum Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (KirschM).

<sup>41</sup> Possibly complete; with few changes, the same music can be used for verses 8, 10 and 12.

<sup>42</sup> Publ. in Vol. III as no. 73; for further details of this and the following Magnificat settings, see the descriptions in Vol. II.



Rfasc. 11 (no. 203).<sup>43</sup> The melodic formula of the eighth tone is paraphrased by the two upper voices, and the *mediatio* is clearly marked in each verse.<sup>44</sup> Apart from the duo in v. 8, each section comes to rest without cadential tension, and the final chords are notated as five-part—apparently with *divisi* in the superius and bassus. This may mean that even this simple, provincial composition was meant for choral performance. Nor do the parts, with their limited range and small technical demands, present any obstacle even to singers with a minimum of training. The double notes are here notated as white notes. Elsewhere in the manuscript they are notated as a white and a black note, and in most cases there is no doubt that they represent alternative notes.<sup>45</sup> The scribe's practice is however far from consistent,<sup>46</sup> so we cannot be certain everywhere how the double notes are to be interpreted. The way the verses come to rest in no. 173—as if in suspense—might indicate that a splitting of the voices is the intention here.<sup>47</sup>

The four-part Magnificat settings, which belong to the intermediate group, are all in the thick Rfasc. 8 and in the scribe's Magnificat manuscript, Rfasc. 9-10, where they have been entered in the order of the modes. As a representative of this whole group, the music appendix has no. 157 *Magnificat Et exultavit* in the sixth tone. It is not one of the most successful compositions of the type, but not the most incompetent either, although many passages exhibit a lack of control of the four-voice structure with a plethora of dissonances as the result.<sup>48</sup> The composer must have been well-versed in the style of his contemporaries, and has built up a rather impressive and effective setting, one of the longest in Cop 1848. It is also one of the pieces which interested the later user Hand D, and which he tried to improve.<sup>49</sup>

Cop 1848 only has a single setting of the Magnificat that can be placed in the sphere of court and cathedral music, Antoine Brumel's *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* (no. 183), which is part of the series in Rfasc. 9-10. It is the longest composition of the kind in the manuscript, and it shines out amidst the otherwise so prevalent mediocrity. The imagination in the use and transformation of the traditional material and the architectonic structure of each section, using among other devices colourful sequencing, are what particularly strike the ear.

<sup>43</sup> The other two Magnificat settings for low voices in Rfasc. 8, no. 160 and no. 174, also have close affinities with this provincial type.

<sup>44</sup> Publ. as Vol. III no. 74; formally, no. 173 and no. 195 are very similar.

<sup>45</sup> Where a composition ends with an octave leap in the contra/bassus, and where the final note is supplemented with the fifth below as a black note, this is palpably a 'modernization' of an older texture—see nos. 80, 124 (Cf. Vol. III no. 32), 132, 148 (III,2), 151, 195, 219 (III,67), 237 (III,87) and 241 (III,23). In other cases there is a choice between fifth and third (the third is black) in the altus—see nos. 197 (III,89), 209 (III,15), 226 and 253 (in no. 96 the fifth is black)—or between octaves in the bassus, as in nos. 197 and 210 (III,16). Moreover, alternatives are clearly indicated in nos. 210 and 225 bar 15, where the bassus splits in two parts (Cf. Vol. III no. 16).

<sup>46</sup> E.g. both alternative bass notes are white in no. 37 (cf. Chapter 9 Example 1), and in no. 82 (Vol. III no. 20), where they may represent a splitting of the part. In no. 145 an octave leap in the bassus is furnished with an alternative white note, and similar points in no. 196 are twice written white-black, but white-white the last time.

<sup>47</sup> This is perhaps also true of the provincial motet no. 125 *Virgo mater ave*, where the voices alternately have divided notes; one of them, though, is black every time. In contrast, the divided notes in Hand C's mass sections are probably all alternative notes (cf. Vol. III nos. 69-70). For more on divided notes, see K. E. Mixer, 'Divided Notes in the Manuscripts of the 15th Century and a Developing Taste for Euphony' (MixerD) and the references there.

<sup>48</sup> Publ. in Vol. III as no. 75; for further information on this and on the settings nos. 160, 174, 182, 184, 186, 188 and 189, see the *Catalogue*, Vol. II, and Chapter 4.1 *Rfasc. 8* and Chapter 4.2 *Rfasc. 9-10*.

<sup>49</sup> In the transcription the most important changes are indicated by small notes above the staves. Hand D also entered fragments and parts of Magnificat compositions on empty staves scattered through the manuscript: no. 2 *Sicut erat* 2v—doxology, tone III, lacks one part; no. 128 *Sicut locutus* 2v(4v)—tone II, only the superius and the altus; no. 142 *Et exultavit* and no. 130 *Quia fecit* 4v—the first two sections of a Magnificat in tone III; cf. the descriptions in Vol. II.

The version given by Cop 1848—the only French source for the composition—is interesting inasmuch as the voices are notated with ornaments not known from other sources. Long passages in short note values (*semiminimae*) are quite normal in compositions of the beginning of the sixteenth century, but they are almost always well-integrated into the composition. Here we have freely added diminutions appearing in mid-phrase as well as at cadential points, and placed without much consideration for the overall complex of voices. In some other places in Cop 1848 too we find similar ornamentation, but to nothing like the same extent.<sup>50</sup> In the superius in particular, ornaments are added at cadencing points which are dissonant and which give the approach to the final note more tension than the usual suspension formulae. In the two-part verse “Esurientes implevit bonis” (v. 8) both voices are in free diminution. This version may reflect a widespread performing practice where the singers improvised.<sup>51</sup>

### 10.3 Settings of the Psalms

Much of the repertory that the main scribe first planned to enter in his large fascicle of sacred music—Rfasc. 8—was intended for Vespers. Besides the Magnificat settings, which were a regular element in the polyphonic sacred music of the day, we find two four-part *alternatim* settings of Psalm 113 “In exitu Israel”, which is the last psalm in Sunday Vespers. Settings of whole psalms are very rare in the material preserved from this period, especially when they are not simple recitations based on the psalmody formulae, but genuine polyphonic compositions like the Magnificat settings.<sup>52</sup> In the French material this type has hitherto been well nigh unknown. So the music in the fascicle is of great interest for the study of sacred music in France, and both sets of psalms (no. 159 and no. 175) are reproduced in the music appendix.<sup>53</sup>

No. 175 *In exitu Israel* is a setting of the odd-numbered verses of the psalm, while *Facta est Judea* (no. 159) consists of the even-numbered verses plus the related antiphon “Nos qui vivemus”—the antiphon is notated as an integral element of the setting. Both sets of psalms are based on the transposed *tonus peregrinus* (the ‘alien’ or ‘wandering’ tone—with a different reciting note in each half of the verse—here *d*’ and *c*’), which sounds mainly in the tenor in steady note values. The settings have much in common with the Magnificat compositions in Rfasc. 8, and they undoubtedly come from the same environment. However there are also important differences between the two kinds of *alternatim* settings.

What most recalls the Magnificat settings is the trouble the composer has taken to create variation in the settings of the many verses. The psalm melody occasionally moves from the

<sup>50</sup> Most clearly in the psalm settings nos. 159 and 175 (Vol. III no. 76-77), which are discussed in the next section. Other examples occur in a duo passage in the tenor and bassus of Lhéritier’s mass (no. 171, Sanctus bars 18-20), or in the Magnificat no. 157, bar 63 (cf. Vol. III no. 75); more extensive and dissonant figurations occur in the unique motet no. 162 *Ave presul gloriose* 4v, but it is not easy to determine whether this is due to ornamentation or the incompetence of the composer.

<sup>51</sup> Barton Hudson remarks (in BrumelO VI p. XVII): “While it is distinctly at variance with the style normally found in music of the period, as customarily notated, the C [Cop 1848] reading reflects what may have been common practice, i.e., extensive elaboration of written melodic lines. How widespread this practice may have been is impossible to say, but the similarity to ornamental figures later found in keyboard and lute intabulations from various lands, as well as to vocal ornamentation of Bovicelli, Ganassi, et al., suggests that it may have been general. This version is thus an important and rare document relating to performance practice of the period, ...”. In BrumelO VI pp. 7-23 the ornamented version is printed below the unornamented one and the two are easy to compare.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Konrad Ruhland, *Der mehrstimmige Psalmvortrag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. (RuhlandP), L. Finscher, ‘Psalm’ (C) in M.G.G. and P. Doe, ‘Psalm’ (§III.I) in NGrove.

<sup>53</sup> Vol. III nos. 76 and 77.

tenor to one of the other voices, or appears in two different voice parts;<sup>54</sup> and in both sets two and three-part verses appear, as well as a single verse in triple time. Most of the verses have been set in a kind of ornamented homophony around the psalm melody, where the three free voices complement the melody rhythmically and harmonically. Variety is added by verses in imitative texture and by duo alternations, giving the composer the opportunity to show that he also masters the musical style of the day. The last verses in no. 159 (verses 20-28) are particularly successful, in an almost motet-like texture. The split complex of voices plays a more important role in no. 175, where duetting appears from the very beginning (verses 3, 15, 17, 19, 27). Here the composer also interferes with the comfortable repetition of the reciting formula—in verse 5 “*Quid est tibi mare*” he prevents a lowering of the sixth degree of the scale with a natural in the tenor (bar 47). This cancels out the semitone step that characterizes the *tonus peregrinus*, and the adjustment is followed up by the harmonization of the verse. In the following verse the normally implicit flattening of the note *e'* is wisely indicated again (bar 75).

The many verses where the melody is set in four-part note-against-note texture or a lightly figured variant are something one does not normally find in Magnificat settings. The homorhythmic recitation suggests that the composer was familiar with the simple polyphonic performance of psalms that crystallized into the *falsobordone* style in Italy.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps this kind of performance was also cultivated in southern France. He has however everywhere tried to enliven the simple recitation with supple rhythms and small effective displacements of the voices. Moreover, he furnishes the piece with a few ornaments which recall Cop 1848's version of Brumel's Magnificat (no. 183)—this may be a relic of the improvisation practices in *falsobordone*.

The setting of the antiphon “*Nos qui vivemus*” is like the freer, imitative treatment of the material in the last verses of *Facta est Judea*; apart from the bolder melody in the tenor it does not differ from the verses of the psalm.

Both sets of psalms were undoubtedly composed by the same person, possibly the composer of the bulk of the content originally planned for Rfasc. 8. It is tempting to see the two sets as complementary, as intended for antiphonal performance with two alternating four-part choirs—like the psalms Adrian Willaert published with Jachet di Mantova in 1550 of the type *Salmi a versi con le sue riposti*.<sup>56</sup> In Willaert/Jachet's *In exitu Israel*<sup>57</sup> Choir 1, which sings the odd-numbered verses, consists of voices pitched slightly higher than Choir 2. Choir 1 would have had boys for the upper voices and the other choir would have had falsetto men's voices.<sup>58</sup> In the two sets in Cop 1848 the distribution of voices is almost the same.

An antiphonal performance of the psalm with two polyphonic choirs would certainly not be impossible. But there are small signs indicating that this is unlikely to have been the composer's intention. An *alternatim* performance with monophonic psalmody must be considered most likely. In no. 175 the plainsong choir would begin with the antiphon, and would then alternate it regularly with the polyphonic verses until the doxology, which was sung monophonically like the concluding repetition of the antiphon. No. 159 begins monophonically but then alternates between monophony and polyphony all the way through, as the antiphon is set as well

<sup>54</sup> In no. 159 the melody comes in verses 10 and 24 in the superius, in v. 18 in the bassus, in v. 20 in the contratenor, in v. 16 in the bassus and contratenor and in v. 22 in the tenor and contratenor; in no. 175 it comes in v. 9 in the superius, and in v. 23 in the bassus.

<sup>55</sup> The various types of ‘Faburden’, ‘Fauxbourdon’ and ‘Falsobordone’ etc., are reviewed in RuhlandP.

<sup>56</sup> In *Cantus di Andriano et di Jachet. I Salmi appertinenti alli Vesperi ...*, Venice, A. Gardane 1550 (*Gardane 1550/1*), publ. in WillaertO VIII.

<sup>57</sup> *Gardane 1550/1* no. 6; WillaertO VIII p. 28.

<sup>58</sup> For more on this see A. F. Carver, ‘The Psalms of Willaert and His North Italian Contemporaries’ (CarverP).

as the first verse of the doxology. Both sets, especially no. 175, have verses where the four voices are split into pairs which sing antiphonally. The composer would hardly have used this effect in two sets of settings intended for performance by two four-part choirs.

What is likely is that the musician (Hand D) who later reworked the psalms knew about the double-choir performance of psalms. Not only did he alter details of the voice parts; he added a setting of the missing doxology verse in no. 175, so the whole could be sung by two alternating choirs without any break in the four-part texture. And for some of the verses which stand out most in this kind of performance he composed alternative settings.<sup>59</sup> This is true, for example, of the long, duetting verse 17 “*Domus Israel speravit*” in no. 175. For this Hand D composed a brief setting for three men’s voices (no. 260). To no. 159, on empty staves in the actual psalm, he added an alternative version of v. 20 “*Dominus memor fuit*”; we also find scattered around Cop 1848 settings of v. 18 “*Domus Aaron speravit*” (also for three men’s voices), v. 26 “*Non mortui laudabunt te*” and the antiphon “*Nos qui vivimus*” (nos. 185/187, no. 176 and no. 169). All Hand D’s alternatives use the verses in nos. 159 and 175 as models. His version of the antiphon (no. 169) seems rather over-embroidered, but otherwise the verses are simpler and shorter than the models; four of the six settings end without real cadences, and he does not stick very closely to the psalm tone. The voice range is narrow, and Hand D also favours small, free embellishments of the voices.<sup>60</sup>

#### 10.4 Other *alternatim* compositions

Outside the large Rfasc. 8 there are a few more *alternatim* compositions. They all belong to the provincial music rather than the intermediate group. They are simple liturgical utility music, and they are all furnished with relatively detailed instructions on performance—in the intermediate group and in the ‘great’ sacred music customary musical usage is taken for granted.

The Marian antiphon “*Salve, regina misericordie*”<sup>61</sup> was often set in *alternatim* form at the end of the fifteenth century, as a rule with the even-numbered verses of the antiphon in polyphony.<sup>62</sup> We encounter the opposite procedure in the anonymous no. 196 which the main scribe entered in Rfasc. 11. It begins directly—without monophonic intonation—with “*Salve, regina misericordie*”; then come settings of verses 3 and 5, the second half of verse 6 and the whole of verse 8. The three-part composition has the melody of the antiphon in the tenor, mainly in semibrevis values. Superius and contratenor participate in the initial imitations (vv. 1 and 5), but are otherwise typical counter-voices in descant-like *simple tenor texture*. After the first verse comes the instruction “*Corus Vita dulcedo*”. So the antiphon was intended for a church with two singing groups, a plainsong choir and a small group of schooled singers for the performance of the polyphonic passages, consisting of at least three singers or perhaps of two men’s voices and a group of boys.

In the same fascicle the main scribe has placed two pieces by the local composer Haquinet. His three-part setting of the Marian sequence “*Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*” (no. 206) also starts directly with the first verse, and continues in a rather irregular alternation consisting

<sup>59</sup> Hand D’s verses are published here in Vol. III as nos. 76a-d and 77a-b.

<sup>60</sup> See also the descriptions of the individual catalogue items, especially nos. 159 and 175, and Chapter 11.2.

<sup>61</sup> The word “*mater*” in the first verse (“*Salve regina mater misericordiae*”) is a late addition of the sixteenth century. Cf. G. H. Dreves & C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (AH) L p. 318.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. J. S. Ingram, ‘*Salve regina*’ in NGrove; Ockeghem, Agricola, Josquin, Obrecht and Ghiselin-Verbonnet, among others, composed settings.

of verses 3, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12.<sup>63</sup> The two invocations “O benigna” (v. 9) and “O Maria” (v. 11) are both for three voices. In “O Maria” the bassus has the instruction “O Maria cantent pueri con tenore”, and at the same time the upper voice is split in two. This tells us that besides the plainsong choir the composer had a group of boys available, and probably a single tenor and a single bass—that is, exactly the combination that was to be used for no. 196.

The melody of the sequence is sung by the tenor, and the other voices follow it very closely. Only in the last section, where the mensuration changes, is there any attempt at imitation.<sup>64</sup> The piece is if possible simpler than the one described above as *simple tenor texture*, and demonstrates a late use of an old technique. It is certainly very similar, as the superius and bassus are *counter-voices* to the tenor. But where for example the contratenor in no. 196 (or even more characteristically in no. 6 *Kyrie fons bonitatis*) is fundamentally in contrary motion with the tenor, the bassus here rather moves *with* the tenor. For long stretches it follows the tenor in parallel thirds varied with fifths and octaves. The superius has more contrary motion, but is often in the nature of pure harmonic filling—a typical passage is bars 4-5. One gets the impression that Haquinet was used to four-part texture, and that here, with limited resources, he was trying to create the same kind of sonority. Even where the voices move more as in *simple tenor texture* (for example in v. 6), the harmonic result is different; his care in including the fifth and especially the third in almost every chord creates a sound of the kind familiar from the Italian *lauda* and *frottola*. The counter-voices in the actual *simple tenor texture* contribute to the flow of the piece with their limited but independent linear movement. In Haquinet’s composition they serve mainly as supporting sonority for the melody. The complete triads around the tenor also limit the composer’s options. The same turns of phrase appear again and again where the melody of the sequence has the same interval combinations—a phenomenon that can also be observed in the early homorhythmic *laude* and *frottole*.<sup>65</sup>

This type of texture is probably a transformation of the tradition to meet the demands of a new age. The simple music is effective and sonorous, and it makes very small demands on the skill of the singers. The slightly naive dependence on the fullness of the thirds is, as we have seen, a characteristic feature of provincial music. In two-part music, too, it is a safe recipe. The last *alternatim* composition is an example of this.

No. 106 *Redemptor Deus miserere* is a monophonic song, a litany with detailed performance instructions.<sup>66</sup> The litany consists of thirteen sections with melodic material which is derived from, or is extracts from, the introductory verse “Redemptor Deus ... veniam concede”, which is sung by four priests. The next section is sung by two priests, and the choir responds. Then “duo clericuli” sing, followed by a choir response, and until the end two priests (or two singers—the third time they are called “cantores”) and “duo clericuli” alternate with the choir. It should be noted that the whole complement is exactly the same as in the previous compositions; that is boys (“duo clericuli”), two adult singers (probably ordained) and a plainsong choir consisting of priests and deacons. Churches with this kind of structure were not among the very smallest; they would be churches in larger borough towns that could muster so many staff. It was in such surroundings that the provincial sacred music arose. Its function is to create the most effective enhancement of the services with the musical resources the churches could afford. The litany provides a hint as to how it was done.

<sup>63</sup> Published here with Haquinet’s other works in Vol. III as no. 86.

<sup>64</sup> Verse 12; the change from *tempus perfectum diminutum* to *integer valor* should hardly be regarded as absolute (i.e.  $\equiv$ ); the intention is rather a moderate increase in the tempo (*semibreves* slightly quicker than the preceding *breves*).

<sup>65</sup> A different kind of polyphonic *alternatim* setting of the sequence is Hand D’s attempt at composition, no. 50 *Que es effecta fulgida celi porta* 4v. Cf. Chapter 11.2.

<sup>66</sup> Published here with no. 105 in Vol. III as no. 78.



The boys at the church in question apparently sang so well that the ‘maître de chapelle’ entrusted them with performing their part of the litany in two-part polyphony; and he probably composed the music needed himself. On the same opening in Cop 1848 the main scribe has entered the related no. 105 *Precibus sancte Dei genetricis* for two soprano voices—the first section to be sung by “duo clericuli”. The simple melodic material is paraphrased in both voices; Superius 1 however has the clearest presentation of it. The texture is freely imitative with many thirds. It is harmonious utility music, forming a striking contrast with the men’s voices in the other sections of the litany, and gives a hint of the maître’s familiarity with the ‘great’ sacred music of the day. The two-part setting only uses the text for the boys’ first passage in the litany, but the music can be used for all three sections by changing just a few words (in bars 7-13). The text underlay is unusually careful, with written-out repetitions of some syllables; the copy in Cop 1848 was probably made directly after music from a nearby church.<sup>67</sup>

## 10.5 Four- and five-part motets

In the previous section we looked at most of the manuscript’s sacred compositions in several sections, including the group of *alternatim* settings. This allowed us to describe examples of *court and cathedral music* and *provincial/local music*, and the intermediate group *the music of major ecclesiastical institutions* was also richly represented. The remaining repertory is mostly compositions that can be grouped under the general heading ‘Motet’; and *laude* and hymns, which could as easily have been used outside the church. We can begin the review of this mixed repertory with a brief account of the groups where *court and cathedral music* dominate.

In manuscripts and prints with motets contemporary with Cop 1848, pieces for four or more voices are the norm. This kind of music cannot however have been so accessible for the main scribe, for Cop 1848 includes only eight four-part and one five-part motet. Two of them are known from other sources: The oldest is probably Loyset Compère’s *O genetrix gloriosa* (no. 172), which in Cop 1848 is attributed to “Richaffort”. It occurs in the manuscript *Firenze 2794*, which has a repertory of before 1490, and there—as in several other sources—its is linked with a *secunda pars* “Ave virgo gloriosa”.<sup>68</sup> The music has features which betray its age—for example octave leap cadences in the bassus and the leaping altus part, but otherwise its idiom points clearly to the following century. The music stays close to the text and is clearly formulated with the resources which were later to become the norm: shifts between imitative and homorhythmic texture, changes to triple time and a long middle section with alternating duets (superius-tenor against altus-bassus). Adrian Willaert’s responsory for Easter Day is in two sections, *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis* (no. 36) and repeats the second half of the responsory, “Et dum flerem ad monumentum”, after the verse (bars 41-76 = bars 121-156). This far younger motet is in a very compact imitative texture which marks it as one of Willaert’s earliest compositions. The other motets are unique:

<sup>67</sup> The three choral responses *Gloria tibi Domine*, which have been entered almost in score disposition on the back of Rfasc. 7 (no. 155), are related to the *alternatim* pieces. They are written for three men’s voices and accord excellently with their provincial surroundings. The first piece may have the melody in the tenor (*simple tenor texture*), the other two have a lauda-like texture.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Vol. II no. 172, publ. in CompèreO IV p. 129; see also L. Finscher’s analysis of the motet, FinscherC pp. 184-88.



- No. 33 *Ave virgo gratiosa* 4v  
 No. 59/63 *Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina* 4v  
 No. 103 *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* 4v  
 No. 104 *Virgo decus celi* 4v  
 No. 158 *In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem* 4v Maioris  
 No. 162 *Ave presul Augustine* 4v  
 No. 178 *Ave Maria* 5v Dulot

They must all have been fairly recent when they were copied. François Dulot's five-part *Ave Maria* has the antiphon melody in canon in the two low voices (tenor and bassus); to this three free upper voices, all in treble pitch (c'-f'') have been set. One cannot refrain from associating the layout of the motet with the fact that Dulot was mentioned in 1514 as *maître d'enfans* at the Cathedral of Amiens, and that he may have held that post until he became *maître de chapelle* in Rouen in 1522. Maioris may be the same person as the singer Michel Maioris, who was employed until about 1520 by the ducal chapel in Turin. His dramatic gospel motet *In illo tempore* exploits all the devices of the age in a varied texture. This and the anonymous no. 103 *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* are published in the music appendix as examples of the unique *court and cathedral music* for four voices in Cop 1848.<sup>69</sup> Only the ambitious but unsuccessful no. 162 *Ave presul Augustine* fails to meet this standard. At the same time these motets demonstrate two approaches to the motet in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Maioris' motet is broadly narrative, subdivided into shorter passages based on the meaning of the text, and is stylistically very close to what one can find in narrative four-part popular arrangements. *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* is more like Willaert's motet; it also stays close to the text, and has an almost rhetorical sensitivity in the shaping of the lines, but maintains a closely-woven imitative texture with continual use of syncopated dissonances. *Mentem sanctam spontaneam*, by comparison with Maioris' narrative, is a short, urgent statement. The more broadly formulated Marian motet no. 104 *Virgo decus celi* has repetitions of whole sections and a longish passage in triple time, but otherwise it is very like no. 103. They are probably both by the same composer. The motet in two sections to St. Catherine *Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina* (no. 59) is in the small fascicle manuscript copied by Hand B. From this the main scribe later copied the *secunda pars* into an empty space in Rfasc. 5.<sup>70</sup>

### 10.6 Three-part motets

In true motet collections of the first few decades of the sixteenth century one only rarely finds motets for three voices. The known examples are mostly in chansonniers, where they function as token religious elements among songs of love. Among some thirty pieces with Latin texts in Cop 1848 which have not yet been discussed, there are only three for four voices; the others are in two or three parts. As in the secular music of the provinces, we find a slowness to accept the increase in the number of voices that took place at the leading centres from the middle of the previous century.<sup>71</sup> Six of the three-part motets appear in other sources. They occur in the period from c. 1480 until the first decade of the 1500s in chansonniers and mixed manuscripts:<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Vol. III nos. 79-80.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1. *Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. D.*

<sup>71</sup> The three-part motet in the period around 1500 is an inviting subject of study; for example, in L. L. Perkins' account of the motet in the Renaissance the motet for three voices disappears from the scene in the second half of the fifteenth century. Cf. 'Motet, § II,2' in *NGrove*.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the chronological scheme (*Table 2*) in the introduction to this chapter.

Example 2 No. 145 Anonymous: *Beata es, Maria*<sup>73</sup>

Be - a - ta es, Ma - ri - a, vir - go  
 Be - a - ta es, Ma - ri - a, vir - go  
 dul - cis et pi - a, can - do -  
 go dul - cis et pi - a, can - do -  
 dul - cis et pi - a, can - do - re vin -

- No. 53 *Si dedero* [A. Agricola]  
 No. 52 *Parce Domine* [J. Obrecht]  
 No. 242 *Dulcis amica Dei* [J. Prioris]  
 No. 145 *Beata es, Maria* [Anonymous]  
 No. 199/265 *Da pacem, Domine* [A. Agricola]  
 No. 47 *O preclara stella maris* [A. de Févin]

In Cop 1848 they appear partly in organized series of compositions and partly in the small music manuscript Rfasc. HJK.<sup>74</sup> Nos. 47, 52 and 53 form part of the series in Rfasc. 5, which consists mainly of widely-known songs. Jacob Obrecht's and Alexander Agricola's pieces certainly belong to this category. Obrecht's *Parce Domine* is exactly like a motet-chanson (the altus in the four-part version is a later addition). The structure of the piece is the same: the bassus sings a calm melody which sounds like a liturgical chant although it has not been possible to identify it. Two free upper voices begin the piece, and also fill in the gaps in the bassus melody. After the first entry of the bassus all three voices come to rest on a fermata. The resemblance to Compère's *Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* is unmistakable<sup>74</sup>—Obrecht's piece may originally have had a French rondeau quatrain below the upper voices. Agricola's motet *Si dedero* also has features in common with the late courtly chansons, especially those based on a part from another chanson. In *Si dedero*, however, the tenor paraphrases a responsory melody, not a courtly song. The imitative texture is full of sequences and figures which are familiar from instrumental reworkings of parts from well known songs, including the characteristic parallel motion of the counter-voices in tenths.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> After Cop 1848; contratenor bars 4-15 are missing in the MS; they have been added after *Paris 1597 ff.* 1<sup>v</sup>-2, where the motet is notated a fourth higher.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 5 and Rfasc. 7 and Chapter 4.2 Rfasc. HJK.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Cop 1848 no. 62 and Chapter 7.1; Compère's motet-chanson also appears in most sources with a Latin text only. The similarity to no. 52 may be behind the attribution to "Obrecht" of Compère's composition in *St. Gallen 463*.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. the discussion of Agricola's *S'il vous plaist* (no. 245) in Chapter 7.1 *Abstract rondeaux*.

Antoine de Févin was a generation younger, and his Marian motet *O preclara stella maris* for low voices has absorbed elements from the four-part motet. Here, imitative passages are contrasted with homorhythmic ones, and the whole is structured with a duo passage and a section in triple time. At the same time the imitative passages end up resembling the technique of the popular arrangements in which he was a specialist—for example the last motif entry leads very quickly to the cadence. The upper voice declaims the text in steady note values in bars 33-39; it is accompanied by a circling movement in parallel thirds in the lower voices (a shimmering alternation between two chords). This phenomenon is a development and simplification of one aspect of the cantus firmus technique of the fifteenth century; we shall also encounter this method of setting long notes, as well as the whole type of texture represented by Févin's motet, in the more provincial motets.

Amidst a string of popular chansons in Rfasc. 7 we find a motet which differs little from its surroundings, no. 145 *Beata es, Maria*; it also occurs in the manuscript *Paris 1597* along with Agricola's *Da pacem*. It is exactly like a setting of a popular tune with imitative counter-voices to a *cantus prius factus* in the tenor (cf. *Example 2*). It is far less varied than Févin's motet, and is probably rather older. It may represent one of the paths to the style of the Févin generation, where many different elements converged. In the first half (until bar 33) the melodic material is a monophonic *lauda* "Beata es, Maria", a popular song in triple rhythm; this is succeeded by a series of litany formulae "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, O Christe audi nos ...", which are set in the same way. The change from the 'rocking' *lauda* of the first half to the recitative litany formulae in the second is striking and very appealing. Exactly the same combination of melodies was used in four-part motets by Obrecht, Brumel and Compère—Obrecht's *Beata es, Maria* is in fact a reworking of the anonymous motet in Cop 1848 and *Paris 1597*.<sup>77</sup>

Rfasc. HJK has two small well-known motets, Agricola's *Da pacem, Domine* (no. 265—also in Rfasc. 11 as no. 199) and no. 242 *Dulcis amica Dei* by Prioris. In Agricola's motet the antiphon melody in the tenor is the mainstay of the composition; the setting uses sporadic imitation, and the shape of the counter-voices, especially the superius, recalls his *Si dederò*. *Dulcis amica Dei* by the French royal chapelmaster Jean Prioris is quite the opposite of this. It has been entered in a very closely-packed disposition with two popular songs on p. 413. It is a little *lauda*, a setting of a four-line stanza in praise of the Virgin. Each musical phrase—corresponding to a line of verse—is clearly articulated with fermatas and rests (cf. *Example 3*);<sup>78</sup> the setting of the second and third lines is syllabic and homorhythmic, while the first and last phrases are more melismatic. The version of the song in our manuscript, where the superius starts with the bassus (instead of in the second bar as in all other sources), stresses the structural role of the upper parts; the imitation here quite clearly only involves the two voices. The resemblance of the *lauda* to the simple lyrical love songs is striking, but Prioris is probably also reflecting the practice, of which we shall see examples later, of singing Marian hymns in simple polyphonic settings. The sure hand of the court composer is in evidence, though, in the fine linear play of the voices—for example in the balancing by the bassus of the upper voices moving in parallel in "dum mortis venerit hora" (bar 23ff) and the striking shift in sonority that this produces—and one can admire the way he binds the texture together with imperfect cadences, and the supple use of the structural duet in the two middle phrases. All these features connect the Latin song with the courtly chanson.

*Dulcis amica Dei* is probably from the 1480s, and it quickly became very popular and was used in other compositions. In many sources attempts have been made to modernize the texture by adding a number of different altus parts; and in 1508, in his collection *Laude libro*

<sup>77</sup> For more details of melodies and settings, see Vol. II no. 145.

<sup>78</sup> Most other sources also have fermata in bars 16-17.

**Example 3** No. 242 Jean Prioris: *Dulcis amica Dei*<sup>79</sup>

Superius  
Tenor  
Bassus

Dul - cis a - mi - ca De - - i,  
Dul - cis a - mi - ca De - - i,  
Dul - cis a - mi - ca De - - i,

ro - sa ver - nans stel - la de - co - ra, tu me - mor es - to me -  
ro - sa ver - nans stel - la de - co - ra, tu me - mor es - to me -  
ro - sa ver - nans stel - la de - co - ra, tu me - mor es - to me -

i, dum mor - tis ve - - ne - rit ho - ra.  
i, dum mor - tis ve - - ne - rit ho - ra.  
i, dum mor - tis ve - - ne - rit ho - ra.

*secondo*, Petrucci published a four-part reworking where the beginning of the bassus is used as an imitative motif in the first phrase. This motif, a falling f-Ionian triad, also characterizes Antoine Brumel's little Marian motet with a text from the Song of Solomon, *Sicut lilium*. It has so many resemblances to Prioris' setting that he must have been inspired by it. It is well known that Josquin Desprez' famous five-part *Stabat mater* also starts with this motif. There appears to have been a whole family of compositions in honour of the Virgin with this motif as motto.<sup>80</sup>

The unique motets are almost all addressed to the Virgin. Those which can best be classified as *court and cathedral music* are in the music manuscript Rfasc. HJK. They exhibit the motet style of the Févin generation with imitative texture and a varied structure. The most successful is no. 274 *Quam pulchra es amica mea*, the text of which is composed of quotations from the

<sup>79</sup> After Cop 1848: superius bar 13 is a ♯; tenor bar 4 is a ♯; bassus bars 3 and 12 are both ♯. In bar 30 the note F is blackened. In all other sources the superius does not begin until bar 2 (and bar 4 is omitted), and the bassus is different from bar 6 on.

<sup>80</sup> These Marian compositions deserve closer scrutiny! For more information on the various versions of *Dulcis amica Dei* and related settings, see Vol. II no. 242 and no. 19. On Brumel's *Sicut lilium* see E. E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518* (LowinskyC) I, p. 138; the similarities between Brumel's and Prioris' motets was also noticed in the sixteenth century; G. Rhau printed them beside each other in *Symphoniae jocundae ...* (Rhau 1538/8) as nos. 2 and 3 (here *Dulcis amica* has the text "Qui credit in Filium"—modern edition in AlbrechtS).

Song of Solomon.<sup>81</sup> It is written for three voices with wide compass, moving in constant imitation in a close-woven texture almost without marked subdivisions. Each voice is profiled and active whether it is singing the main motif of the moment or is accompanying. The sections of the text are characterized more by the sharply-drawn text-close motifs than by any real variation in the texture. An ostinato feeling is struck up from the start by the bassus' insistence on the introductory motif; towards the end the ostinato effects are intensified at "Aperi mihi" (bar 92), before the change to triple time at "quia amore lango" (bar 100). In bars 21-24 we again encounter the circling accompanying figure in parallel thirds which was mentioned in connection with Févin's *O preclara stella* (no. 47). Here it is used sophisticatedly as a continuation of the final phrase of the superius and to start the next section, since it is immediately taken up by the superius (bar 25). The tightly controlled flow of the motet and its use of text-close motifs can be compared to the four-part, also anonymous *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* (no. 103).<sup>82</sup> It is even closer to Pierre Moulu's four-part setting of the same selection of quotations from the Song of Solomon, *Quam pulchra es – Labia tua*.<sup>83</sup> None of the motifs are identical, but stylistically they are very close, although Moulu's motet for four low voices exploits the possibilities of the four-part medium. Pierre Moulu was probably associated with the French chapel royal in the first few decades of the century, and this is probably also where we should look for the composer of this motet, if indeed it was not Moulu himself who set the same text twice.

At the front of Rfasc. HJK there are three unique Marian motets, no. 212 *Salve, regina misericordie*, no. 214 *Ave sanctissima Maria* and no. 215 *Que est ista que processit sicut sol*, which probably have rather more modest origins. As an example we can look at the prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria* for three low voices.<sup>84</sup> The melodic material of the tenor could have been taken from an unknown monophonic lauda. The varied structure of the motet (duos, passages in triple time, text-close declamation alternating with long melismas, etc.) is on an equal footing with Févin's *O preclara*. The constant movement in thirds, the frequent imitation at the unison and the rather overdone cadencing resemble the provincial music we have examined above; the composer should probably not be sought among the absolute leaders of the age (the parallel octaves in bar 13 are pure desperation!). *Salve, regina misericordie* and *Que est ista* are closely related to it. The first is an ample setting for low voices of the Marian antiphon. The melody is paraphrased rather freely, but is heard in long note values at the beginning of each of the four sections. The main scribe has only notated the two highest voices of the second motet, so the bassus is missing. It seems to have been in a close-woven texture like no. 274.

The remaining motets all belong to the provincial musical scene. No. 138 *Ave regina celorum* is perhaps the earliest example of the main scribe's work preserved in Cop 1848—it is on the middle opening of Rfasc. E.<sup>85</sup> It, too, has many features in common with the motets of the Févin-Moulu generation. The Marian antiphon is paraphrased in the superius and tenor, which move within the same range and often cross each other; and each of the four sections of the antiphon ends with a fermata chord. Here we have all the features of provincial composition—first and foremost the constant cadencing. The accompanying figures pointed out in the previous motets—which also occur with the long notes in the *Salve regina* just discussed—are used here with no great delicacy; some of the more striking occurrences are

<sup>81</sup> Vol. III no. 81.

<sup>82</sup> Vol. III no. 80; cf. the preceding section on the four-part motets.

<sup>83</sup> Also attributed to Josquin, Mouton and Verdelot, but probably by Moulu (cf. also its similarity to Moulu's *Vulnerasti cor meum / Dulcis amica Dei* 5v, LowinskyC II no. 44, and cf. Vol. II no. 242); sources, see Vol. II no. 274.

<sup>84</sup> Vol. III no. 82.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. E and Chapter 5; no. 138 is published here as Vol. III no. 83.



the tenor fill-in in bar 17ff and the accompaniment of the long notes in the superius in bars 110-115. Josquin too used short sequencing motifs to harmonize long cantus firmus notes, for example in *Agnus Dei III* in *Missa L'homme armé Sexti toni*, in canonic six-part texture, but to overwhelming effect! This provincial music seems poles apart, yet the same basic technique is used. The simplified circling in parallel thirds can be found in contemporary keyboard music. In intabulations of vocal music long notes in one or more parts are often replaced by lively diminutions, at easy stretches for the player's fingers.<sup>86</sup> One gets the impression that this motet and other provincial pieces were created on a keyboard instrument and then written out in parts. The composers may not have had much opportunity in the churches to work with polyphonic vocal music, so their experience would very much have been of working out and performing organ pieces which alternated with the singing of the choir.

Some time after copying the *Ave regina celorum*, the main scribe went to work on the large stock fascicles, including Rfasc. 7, which was to contain smaller sacred compositions. Here he immediately placed two three-part Marian motets, *Virgo mater ave* and *Stabat mater dolorosa* (nos. 125-26). Although they can clearly be assigned to the musical life of the provinces, they are competent, euphonious pieces. The text of no. 125 is the singers' homage to the Queen of Heaven. It is unfortunately so corrupt that at present it cannot be reconstructed. The course of the motet is like that of the others of the Févin-Moulu generation, but the texture seems antiquated because of its contratenor, which often lies above the tenor, and the piece as a whole is more redolent of *simple tenor texture* than those just discussed. There is thus a certain discrepancy between the stylistic ideals to which the composer aspired and the technique used. The motet is subdivided by cadences which come to rest in fermata chords. At each fermata chord one of the voice parts is divided—the superius, tenor and contratenor in turn (the contratenor is also split in a final chord in a homorhythmic passage at bar 74). This suggests that the motet was intended for more than one singer to each part, and that the composer insisted on hearing final chords that included the third as well as the fifth.<sup>87</sup>

*Stabat mater dolorosa* is a motet in three *partes* based on selected versicles of the sequence.<sup>88</sup> It differs clearly from the other motets with its mainly homorhythmic texture, which gives it a lauda-like sound—or a similarity to the simple French chansons! The setting of the text is syllabic, with the shapely tenor and the superius as the main voices, and each line is clearly articulated with perfect and imperfect cadences, often supported by general rests. The lauda/chanson-like aspect emerges even more in the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* "Juxta crucem", where the music is repeated in a varied shape—bars 119-142 build on the same material as bars 100-118. In a direct address to the Virgin the language of the text changes to French, and the music to triple time.

It is very noticeable that the provincial sacred compositions are first and foremost found in those parts of the collection that the main scribe laid out first, and furthermore are among the first compositions entered there.<sup>89</sup> He copied the court and cathedral music when the opportunity arose, but was rarely able to include it in the first material he collected. The other setting of the "Stabat mater" sequence (no. 19) is probably also a local composition, and he entered it in the small independent fascicle manuscript Rfasc. C. It is a setting of the

<sup>86</sup> There are plenty of examples of this practice in P. Attaignant's slightly later collections of music for keyboard instruments of 1531 (cf. D. Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, HeartzA no. 22-28); there are intabulations of motets in *Treze Motetz musicaulx avec ung Prelude ...* of 1531, publ. in RoksethM.

<sup>87</sup> See also Chapter 10.2 *Settings of the Magnificat* (incl. notes 45-47).

<sup>88</sup> Vol. III no. 84; the first two sections are also in Cop 1848 in a textless reworking, no. 5. Cf. Chapter 3.1 (incl. *Example 2*).

<sup>89</sup> See the account of Rfasc. E, Rfasc. 7 and Rfasc. 8 in Chapter 4.1.



**Example 4** Josquin Desprez: *Stabat mater* 5v

- a) superius bars 1-11;
- b) superius bars 91-93 and bars 100-104;
- c) tenor 126-130 and superius bars 130-134;
- d) superius and altus bars 169-171.<sup>90</sup>

a:

Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo - ro - sa

b:

E - ia ma - ter... Me sen - ti - re vim do - lo - ris

c:

Vir - go vir - gi-num praecla - ra Jam mi - hi non sis a - ma - ra

d:

Con - fo - ne - ri gra - ti - a

whole long sequence in the version that was ordinarily used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; its four *partes* amount to a total of 359 brevis measures sung by only two voices in tenor pitch, and it demands that they have a virtuoso mastery of a wide compass.<sup>91</sup>

The *Stabat mater dolorosa* for two voices is both a work of art and a conjuring trick. With considerable musical imagination the composer has created an illusion of the fullness of four-part or five-part texture. He does so through effective exploitation of effects familiar from the contemporary many-part motet. Here we have the constant alternation between imitative and homorhythmic texture; contrasting passages in triple time; text-close motifs in varied rhythms; and motifs which recur throughout the whole (for example the “O quam tristis” motif in bar 39ff). But the illusion must be created by the singers, who must exchange parts and alternate between very high and very low pitch, reappearing in different roles like quick-change artists. The demands on them are great; when two have to function as many, one of them for example has to sing very slowly while the other repeats figures with quick changes between different pitches (bar 99ff), or the voices must plunge into far-flung melismas. Parallel sixths and thirds ensure a euphony and fullness with which the surrounding acoustics can work. The basic simplicity and banality of the music are in this context a guarantee of its impact.

The composer’s model and inspiration was probably the famous five-part motet on the sequence by Josquin Desprez. Many of the motifs seem to have been borrowed from Josquin. Not only do the two motets begin with the same motif (compare bars 1-13 “Stabat mater ... crucem lacrymosa” with *Example 4a*); in many other passages too there are common features. For example the beginning of the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* “Eia mater ... vim doloris” (bars 151-163) corresponds to the start of Josquin’s 2<sup>a</sup> *pars* (cf. *Example 4b*); the 4<sup>a</sup> *pars*, “Virgo virginum ... sis amara” (bars 267-278) also has its parallel (*Example 4c*), and the recurrent motif in parallel sixths (“O quam tristis”) appears in a very conspicuous position in Josquin (*Example 4d*). The common

<sup>90</sup> After JosquinW, *Motetten* II p. 51; all examples are transposed down a fourth.

<sup>91</sup> On the text see Vol. II no. 19; the motet is published here as Vol. III no. 85.

melodic material is so elementary in nature that it is not impossible that both have borrowed from a now-forgotten melody for the sequence, as has been suggested.<sup>92</sup> Considering the similarities in rhythm and phrasing, though, it seems most likely that the anonymous composer imitated Josquin's famous work to obtain some fixed points of reference and material with which to start work on his long motet.<sup>93</sup>

## 10.7 The works of Haquinet

All the provincial compositions discussed so far have been anonymous. We are however fortunate inasmuch as Cop 1848 also includes a small group of works by a named composer, the otherwise quite unknown *Haquinet*.<sup>94</sup> The main scribe copied Haquinet's music during his last period of work on his stock collection. On a loose sheet (Rfasc. M) we find Haquinet's two noëls *Puer nobis nascitur* and *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* (nos. 229 and 230), while no. 197 *O salutaris ostia* and no. 206 *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* have been written on empty staves in Hand C's mass manuscript (Rfasc. 11). The main scribe used Rfasc. 11 and the loose sheets (Rfasc. L and M) to store compositions for his own use. In Rfasc. M *Puer nobis nascitur* only has as much text as there is space for under the superius; on the same occasion, however, he probably also copied the Christmas song into another of his small manuscripts—that is, at the end of the Agricola fascicle (Rfasc. F—no. 237), where there was space for three more stanzas of text.

He seems to have made the acquaintance of all four compositions at once; like the chansons by Agricola in Rfasc. F, the pieces—and the composer attributions, which he did not usually add on his own initiative—were probably copied from a single fascicle manuscript, which he may have borrowed or acquired from a colleague—or perhaps from Haquinet himself. This event can be dated in the internal chronology of Cop 1848 to about 1524.<sup>95</sup>

We thus have a unique chance to study a small group of compositions by a local composer which was in circulation at the beginning of the 1520s. To understand the musical life of the age it is important to gain an impression of the skills and expressive resources of ordinary musicians. Haquinet's music confirms the observations made earlier as regards the provincial repertory in Cop 1848. His music exhibits no strong artistic profile. His pieces all use the same simple compositional technique, but the results still range over a variety of musical expression.

<sup>92</sup> Noting that I. Dammonis' lauda *Stabat mater dolorosa* 4v begins with the same motif as Josquin's motet (in *Petrucchi 1508* f. 20, ed. JeppesenL p. 118) K. Jeppesen writes: "Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich doch in beiden Fällen um Anknüpfung an ein und dieselbe, jetzt allerdings wohl unbekannte, volkstümliche Stabat mater-Melodie ... Denn es scheint mir psychologisch unwahrscheinlich, dass Komponisten, die Josquin nachahmten, gerade wenn sie dieselbe Texte vertonten, zu welchen er berühmte und überall bekannte Kompositionen geschrieben hatte, ihn plagieren und damit ihren Mangel an Selbständigkeit nur allzu deutlich zur Schau stellen sollten." (JeppesenL p. XXXIV—cf. also ReeseR p. 253 and MattfeldJ p. 179 n. 163).

As noted above, other Marian compositions (in the *Dulcis amica Dei*-family) also begin with this motif. This whole complex of relations deserves closer study (cf. note 79 above).

<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of the composers' use of other composers' music, see H. M. Brown's article 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance' (BrownE). *Imitation* of 'the great music' is a fundamental trait in the provincial repertory with which we have been dealing here.

A further three-part composition in Cop 1848 can be designated as a motet—no. 44 *In tua pacientia*, an antiphon to St. Catherine. The provincial texture with the melody in the upper voice has features in common with the hymn settings to be discussed later.

<sup>94</sup> The four compositions are published together here in Vol. III as nos. 86–89.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.2 Rfasc. HJK and Rfasc. 11, L and M and Chapter 5.

Three of the pieces are based on pre-existing melodies. The simple *alternatim* setting of the sequence “Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria” has the melody in the tenor; superius and tenor take the melody in turn in the three-part, figured Noël *Puer nobis nascitur*, while in the four-part *Noe, noe* it is placed in the tenor; the homorhythmic lauda *O salutaris ostia* seems to have been freely composed with the superius as the leading voice. All four are thus of different type and design. Haquinet’s *alternatim* composition has already been discussed.<sup>96</sup> His composition was described as being in *simple tenor texture*, where superius and bassus more or less act as a *harmonization* of the tenor melody, and where the composer has very few harmonic options to choose from. This impression is reinforced when one considers all four compositions. Whether the texture is figured or completely homorhythmic, three-part or four-part, it is a product of the harmonies set to the melody-bearing part and is full of clichés—that is, the composer always chooses the most obvious option. It is striking, for example, that a melody note *f* always entails a bass note *d*, except where it begins or ends a piece; this must be taken to indicate that Haquinet created the music on the basis of a rather limited repertoire of standard devices. He had no great interest in genuine polyphony, and perhaps it was beyond his capabilities. The only example is the imitative concluding passage “Que sola inviolata ...” in the sequence setting, where the three voices venture into the simplest possible octave/unison imitation. He writes for voices with limited ranges; there is some use of division of parts (in nos. 197 and 206), and there are no passages that could present difficulties for the singers.

The two Christmas songs have been squeezed in on the same page of Rfasc. M. They were probably also together in the scribe’s source; they almost seem to be a demonstration of the abilities of the composer, of how differently he can execute arrangements of two well known tunes. The strophic song *Puer nobis nascitur* is three-part and in triple time; and the voices are decorated with small melismas. The superius and tenor move in thirds and sixths and take turns with the melody. The lowest voice is a rather old-fashioned contratenor with octave leaps after the first line. When Haquinet wants to write in figured texture he resorts to the models of the previous century, although the harmonic progression is no different from that of his other pieces. The virelai-like *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* is like a primitive four-part popular arrangement. The refrain (bars 1-16) is in a solid four-part texture with the melody in the tenor, while the two *couplets* take the form of two duos with the tune in the altus and tenor respectively. Both Christmas songs were well known in Lyons; “Noe, noe, iterumque noe” appears for example as a timbre indication for a song in the *dialecte lyonnais*.<sup>97</sup>

Haquinet’s music is simple but not ineffective. He gives great emphasis to full sonority and knows how to ring the changes on his limited resources. The declamation of the text is most successful in the homorhythmic *O salutaris hostia*, a lauda where each phrase ends with a fermata. The tenor setting *Noe, noe*, like the others, has a more mechanical relationship to the text—but the others too have features in common with the lauda—something to which we will return later.

## 10.8 Hymns

The remaining hymns and laude in Cop 1848 are all better developed technically than Haquinet’s music. Nevertheless these too belong in varying degrees to the sphere of provincial music. Cop 1848 has no great selection of hymn tunes, and those it has are scattered around the manuscript. Only two pieces seem intended for strophic performance: the three-part *Pange lingua gloriosi* (no. 201), which is of the *simple tenor texture* type, but is so incomplete that it is

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Chapter 10.4 *Other alternatim compositions*.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the comments on nos. 229-30 in Vol. II.

difficult to obtain any clear impression of it,<sup>98</sup> and no. 85 *Conditor alme siderum*, an attractive piece for two treble voices and a bass. In the latter the melody is heard without ornamentation in one of the upper voices; the other two parts are busily melismatic, and have long imitations based on the hymn tune. As was the case with some of the motets discussed previously, one cannot avoid associations with instrumental cantus firmus reworkings. The piece is however eminently singable and should perhaps be regarded as a polyphonic Noël like Haquinet's two songs.<sup>99</sup>

No. 93 *Christe qui lux es ac dies* is an ambitious composition which should probably be seen as a short motet on the hymn tune, which appears in all three voices.<sup>100</sup> The clumsy part-writing and lack of balance betray the composer's shortcomings; he does not succeed in using transitions which integrate the imitations based on the regular melody with the very melismatic, 'hectic' line endings.

"O salutaris hostia" occurs in no less than three settings (nos. 110, 118 and 202).<sup>101</sup> This sacramental text, which also appears as the fifth strophe of the hymn "Verbum supernum", thus forms the basis of many of the hymns in Cop 1848—as well as Haquinet's lauda *O salutaris ostia* (no. 197). In 1514 Louis XII fell ill, and all the churches of the kingdom were ordered to sing "O salutaris hostia" at Communion as a prayer for his recovery.<sup>102</sup> The four compositions in Cop 1848 may have been written for this occasion, in which case they would have functioned as short motets accompanying the Elevation of the Host at Mass in local churches.

The two-part composition (no. 202) has a simple, effective solution to the need that had arisen for motets. The hymn tune is sung in free canon by a treble and a tenor voice, taking turns to start first. They are treated more or less as in an arrangement of a popular song, and in fact the last phrase is repeated as in the contemporary chanson. No. 118 is written for two treble voices and a bass. And as in Haquinet's *Puer nobis* the upper voices take the tune by turns—Superius 2 begins. The piece is distinctive in its close imitation and the fondness for thirds that is characteristic of provincial compositions for equal voices. No. 110 is for two voices at tenor pitch and a bassus. The other pieces are settings of the frequently-used tune in the eighth mode; in no. 110 the tenor paraphrases another tune for the hymn in the seventh mode.<sup>103</sup>

The three-part piece no. 20 has been preserved with a text which can hardly be the original one. In Cop 1848 the text is the first strophe of the hymn "Iste confessor domini sacratus", which is written under the bassus such that it can be sung with only a single extra word repetition. One should probably not read too much into the fact that the bassus has the full text—when he was in a hurry the main scribe often only copied the text of the last-written part.<sup>104</sup> However, the form of music and text are quite incongruous. No. 20 is a setting of a simple tune which moves within a narrow compass (*f-d'*). It is placed in the tenor, with two livelier counter-voices; the song has many resemblances to Haquinet's music, especially his setting of the sequence "Inviolata integra" (no. 206). The form is rounded (ABA') with repetition of the second element of the A-section (bars 9-12 and bars 35-38). Both A-sections end on a fermata chord, and the B-section (bars 13-24) consists of three shorter lines, each phrased

<sup>98</sup> The tenor lacks bars 20-31, and the contra bars 8-16; the main scribe must have been in a great hurry to enter it in Rfasc. 11.

<sup>99</sup> Vol. III no. 90; see also the discussion at Vol. II no. 85.

<sup>100</sup> Vol. III no. 91.

<sup>101</sup> Vol. III nos. 92-94.

<sup>102</sup> For further details see LowinskyC I p. 43 and CrawfordC pp. 75-76.

<sup>103</sup> The two melodies can be found in *Antiphonale romanum* (AR) pp. 93\*-95\*.

<sup>104</sup> Publ. here as Vol. III no. 95 with an attempt to fit this text to all three voices. On the text underlay see Chapter 3.2.

with fermata chords. The text is in Sapphic stanzas which do not fit the repetitive pattern of the music. Not only does the only possible text underlay in the tenor produce a poor declamation of the strophe; it is also necessary to repeat the second half of the first verse line and the short last line, which is quite at odds with the structure of the strophe. The whole layout of the composition suggests that it was originally a lauda.

## 10.9 Laude

No. 119 *Veni, veni, veni, electa mea* was entered in Rfasc. 6 with the four-part chanson *Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne* (no. 120). The chanson was probably written for the wedding of Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne and Lorenzo II de' Medici in 1518, and the little three-part motet or lauda may have been composed for the same occasion. The text is a responsorium for use in the canonization of female saints—"Come, come, come my chosen one, and sit upon my throne"; it does not take much imagination to reinterpret it as a wedding song. The two pieces—the early, through-composed Parisian chanson with its tensionless mid-cadence and the measured tread of the Latin song, go excellently together.<sup>105</sup> No. 119 is written for three fairly high voices, corresponding to the three highest in the chanson, which in the first section of the song declaim the text freely with many fermatas. Superius and tenor progress here in thirds and sixths before moving into a texture more like a structural duet. The repetition of the words "speciem tuam" at the end of the song is close to the idiom of the chanson, but the final cadence is open and imperfect, like those we have seen in several of the minor sacred pieces. The feeling of the song is close to that of Jean Prioris' little *Dulcis amica Dei* (Example 3).

*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* (no. 228/246) is the simplest conceivable three-part lauda. The upper voices move almost consistently in parallel sixths, and the bassus furnishes them with a counter-voice and foundation. The similarity to the simple popular arrangements and the early three-part Parisian chansons is striking.<sup>106</sup> Here too the declamation of the Latin prayer leads to a certain rhythmic freedom.

The next two laude are longer compositions.<sup>107</sup> No. 264 *Miserere mei nunc* in Rfasc. HJK, also found without a text on the sheet Rfasc. M (no. 233), is in two sections of equal length, "Miserere mei nunc pro Barbara Regina ..." and "Gloria Patri, Proli, Spirituique ...". It is hard to extract any meaning from the text; it is probably corrupt—or perhaps it is an adaptation or parody whose point is lost upon us today. The structure of the text, in two parts, resembles the Marian motet *Beata es – Kyrie eleison*, which is based on a monophonic lauda (cf. no. 145). The tenor is the most salient part; it is in a mainly homorhythmic setting, but with a few points of imitation (bar 28f and bar 39f). Superius and tenor move so much in parallel thirds and sixths that for long stretches there is no real structural duet. The role of counter-voice is partly played by the bassus; yet it is not a true structural part—it is tied too closely to the movement of the superius. Although the three-part composition has a different harmonic guise, it is closely related to *simple tenor texture*.

No. 251 *Osanna filio David* is a setting of a well known passage of the Gospel of Matthew, the same as is used, with a few changes, as the "Benedictus" in the Sanctus of the Mass. The

<sup>105</sup> No. 120 is published here as Vol. III no. 56, no. 119 as Vol. III no. 96; cf. Chapter 4.1 Rfasc. 6 and Chapter 9.1 *Four-part Parisian chansons*.

<sup>106</sup> Vol. III no. 97; cf. the review in Chapter 8.1 *Three-part popular chansons* and Chapter 9.2 *Three-part Parisian chansons*.

<sup>107</sup> Vol. III nos. 98-99.



composition is in dense four-part writing with the tenor as the leading voice—and rather unusual. Its five phrases seem to have been symmetrically arranged around the imitative middle phrase “In nomine Domini” (bars 22-32). The composer treats the beginning of this middle phrase freely, so the imitation is concealed, and the transition from the preceding phrase becomes almost imperceptible. On the other hand, he takes the stepwise motif with great consistency through all voices (contra from bar 23; bassus and “altus” bar 24 ff; and tenor from bar 25). This gives these bars an austerity which contrasts strongly with the rest of the composition. At the beginning and end of the composition the tenor melody is set in the ornamented homorhythm of the lauda. In the last section there is a tendency for the superius to imitate the tenor (bar 34f)—the same elementary material is used here (bars 33-37 and bars 38-44) as in the imitative middle phrase. In the second line of the song, “Benedictus qui venit”, there is an unusual falling homorhythmic sequence (bars 13-18)—a small melodic ornament in the tenor is harmonized in four parts! As a whole, the composition is an oddity in French music, full of strange turns of phrase and cadential forms due to the composer’s desire to transform the basic simple tenor texture into a more expressive kind of music. There is no lack of will, but the technical ability to write a flexible four-part composition is perhaps lacking.

The main scribe added the textless three-part composition no. 170 to the sacred music in the large fascicle Rfasc. 8.<sup>108</sup> This enigmatic composition only has the words “Deo gracias” under the beginning of each part. It resembles one of the early Parisian chansons or a popular arrangement. The form is a clear ABC|A| with the superius as the melody voice, and one could easily lay an octosyllabic quatrain under the parts. The music is lively, with long chains of semiminimae in the superius and tenor, and in the middle phrase there is a hint of imitation. “Deo gracias” may be the first words of a four-line Latin strophe. In that case the piece is a lauda which even more than *Sancta Maria* exhibits the popular musical idiom of the day.

The mechanical elaboration of the lines and the fanfare-like quality might point in a different direction—it may be an instrumental piece. The range and figuring would be very apt for wind instruments. In that case the title “Deo gracias” should be understood as an indication of the function of the composition: a short piece played during Mass instead of the sung response of the choir—exactly the procedure used in a mass celebrated when Philippe le Beau visited his father the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck in 1503, and their court musicians were combined in the music for the service; the wind instruments intoned the Gradual and played “Deo gratias” and “Ite missa est”.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Vol. III no. 100.

<sup>109</sup> Philippe le Beau’s travels with his court chapel are described in M. Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (PickerC) p. 21f. The stay at Innsbruck is described as follows: “Philippe then journeyed to his father’s court at Innsbruck. There not only the cornettist Augustin but “organs and all the instruments” joined the choirs of Maximilian and Philippe at Mass. The organist of the imperial chapel was the important composer, Paul Hofhaimer. German trumpeters of this era, and for many centuries afterward, were famed for their excellence. Philippe’s chronicler reports that “it was the most melodious thing one could hear.” At Mass a few days later “the sackbuts of the King began the Gradual and played the *Deo gratias* and *Ite missa est*, and the singers of Monseigneur sang the Offertory.” These accounts indicate the frequency with which musicians of the great chapels came in contact with one another, and furthermore show that instruments were used rather freely with the choirs in performance of liturgical music, plainsong as well as polyphony.” (PickerC pp. 24-25).



With the laude we have moved far from what could be called the standard repertory of the early sixteenth century—what we know from the musicological literature and modern music editions as the works of ‘the great masters’. As is the case with many provincial compositions, the familiar musical landmarks are not much help in the treatment of the lauda. Defining and demarcating the lauda in French music on the basis of the available material also poses problems, and it is difficult to find points of reference that shed light on the relationship with the contemporary *Italian* lauda. In the discussion of Cop 1848’s repertory, *Lauda* has been used as a term for Latin songs (of praise) mainly in homorhythmic texture, with extremely clear marking of musical phrases, usually with fermata endings; and they are pieces whose harmonic structure is characterized by a large number of thirds and sixths. The expression *lauda-like* refers to similar features in other pieces. However, it covers several different kinds of texture. There are fully homorhythmic songs with melody-bearing upper voices; in others the tenor has the melody and the writing is close to the simple tenor texture; and others again are closer to the style of the contemporary chanson.

The very simple songs like *Sancta Maria* may represent ‘everyday music’ which was mainly used outside the church, a religious counterpart to the simple secular songs. Religious songs were part of the repertoire of the professional entertainers who were heard in city market places, in the homes of the citizens and in the frequent processions. There are many such small pieces spread through the sources, but this repertory has not been researched, and it is not possible to give an overview at present.

In churches and religious houses it was not uncommon to cultivate a simple type of polyphony with roots far back in time—a kind of organum in note-against-note texture for men’s voices, constantly crossing one another, in black square notation or in semi-mensural notation. This repertory is clearly sacred utility music, out of step with the development of art music.<sup>110</sup> The music of the simple laude does not clash with contemporary conventions. Just like the polyphonic popular songs, they formed part of a constant dialectic with art music, from which devices and turns of phrase were gradually taken over in simplified form. Homorhythmic songs like *Sancta Maria* (and possibly *Deo gracias*) are not strongly represented in Cop 1848. But their presence may be taken as evidence that they were not an unknown phenomenon in France.

Their influence can be traced in both the music of the court and the provincial repertory. Short, melodious motets in praise of the saints and the Virgin in homorhythmic texture with varying degrees of ornamentation and polyphonic elaboration are known from the fifteenth century (for example Dufay’s *Flos florum*). Even after the imitative style of writing had become the norm, quite simple homorhythm continued to be a facet of the expressive arsenal of the composers; there was a tendency to cultivate homorhythmic texture as a means of contrast. In Prioris’ *Dulcis amica Dei* and other short songs in the same family, the composers combine the courtly compositional technique with the clarity and sonority of the lauda. We have also come across the texture of the lauda in the two settings of the religious ballade “O escharbuncle reluisant” (nos. 209 and 210/225),<sup>111</sup> and its influence is even more evident in a motet in three *partes*, the provincial *Stabat mater dolorosa* (no. 126).<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Often designated the ‘retrospective repertory’; other types of backward-looking sacred music have been touched on in this chapter—see the discussion of ‘descant’ and ‘simple tenor texture’ in Chapter 10.1 *Masses and mass sections* (including the references in note 37). Other compositions, settings of “Lugentibus in purgatorio” in manuscripts in Lyons, Amiens and Uppsala, are discussed in Chapter 14.1.

<sup>111</sup> Vol. III nos. 15-16, cf. Chapter 7.3 *Ballades*.

<sup>112</sup> Vol. III no. 84.

The laude where the tenor is the most salient voice seem closely related to the liturgical compositions in simple tenor texture with upper and lower voices which are either ornamented or in note-against-note texture. And a composition like the two-section *Miserere mei nunc* has a superficial resemblance to the provincial motets. Conversely, in Haquinet's hands, for example, a setting of a sequence (no. 206) takes on harmonic resemblances to the lauda. His three pieces which are not laude combine the simple setting of an existing tune with elements recalling the sound and approach of the lauda.

On the whole, one must ask whether one can and should separate the characteristics of the lauda from the provincial composer's fund of musical devices and procedures. What strikes the ear most in both is the simple melodic structure, the limited pitch span, and not least the fondness for the fullness of the imperfect consonances. Nor does it seem necessary to turn our gaze to Italy to trace the French musicians' sources of inspiration. The simple tenor texture of Haquinet and others is not so far in compositional technique from the note-against-note texture of the retrospective sacred music; the simple utility music is transformed into something that fulfils more contemporary ideals of sonority and uses the open part order of the age instead of the rigorously traditional male song of the monasteries and churches. The provincial sacred music arose in response to the needs of a changing society in the second half of the fifteenth century. The same forces were behind the establishment of the many princely chapels and the flourishing of the 'great' sacred music of cathedral and court. One can imagine the lauda developing on the same basis, as a parallel to the development of the polyphonic popular chanson.

This discussion is full of loose ends, and has deliberately been couched in very general terms. One can only begin to glimpse the lauda and the provincial sacred music of France by looking at Cop 1848. Most of the material has probably been lost, but one hopes that there is still much left to discover and research that can also contribute to a subtler perception of the music of the 'great masters'.

# Chapter 11

## The manuscript as material for study

Scattered around the manuscript one finds scribbled fragments of music which at first glance seems impossible to interpret. These are sketches and attempts at composition. They give us a glimpse of the way music was taught in the early sixteenth century, and how a composer worked, and they emphasize the status of the manuscript as a private collection—as a musician's working tool.

The offhand sketches are by the main scribe himself and by a later user of the manuscript, the person we have called Hand D. The main scribe worked with some didactic examples in the four large stock manuscripts while they were still separately in use. And Hand D has entered corrections and his own compositions in many places in the bound collection.

Exercises, examples and compositional sketches are extremely rare in the sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so it is an important body of material we are able to study here. It allows us to compare the statements of contemporary textbook authors and music theorists with everyday practice. This material deserves thorough treatment and discussion with consideration of all the relevant practical and theoretical sources—not least since it is of importance for a long-standing debate in the musicological literature on how and when the transition was made from the successive composition of the parts in polyphony to a simultaneous conception of all the parts. Such a discussion falls outside the scope of this account. What follows is only the introductory steps, an account of what can be found in Cop 1848; further treatment must await another more suitable context.

### 11.1 Examples of melody and counterpoint by the Main Scribe

In the large fascicles planned as stock fascicles the main scribe has sketched out a number of musical examples showing how one sets a counter-voice to a given melody. During the work he had the fascicles lying in front of him in a heap, and used the empty spaces on their outermost sheets. This meant that a series of examples (no. 156) came to appear upside down on the front cover of a fascicle, while others are squeezed in between other items. In all, there are four series of examples:

- No. 76 examples of melody—on the back cover of Rfasc. 5,
- No. 122 two-part examples—at the end of Rfasc. 6,
- No. 156 two-part examples—on the front cover of Rfasc. 8,
- No. 180 two-part examples—at the end of Rfasc. 8.<sup>1</sup>

The examples were composed either as a set of exercises where the main scribe wanted to brush up his own skills, or as examples for a pupil who was to be initiated into the mysteries of part-writing. Since they are clearly didactically set out, it is most likely that he drew them

<sup>1</sup> All are published together in Vol. III as nos. 101-04.

up for teaching purposes. In the present form of Cop 1848, which as far as these four fascicles are concerned is no different from the first bound version,<sup>2</sup> the examples appear in an order which seems to progress logically. For the 1520s, the music teaching principles and stylistic ideals of the main scribe were anything but new. It is the principles and figures of the fifteenth century that dominate his counterpoint exercises.

The first examples appear at the back of Rfasc. 5—a series of tenor parts in various modes (no. 76). They seem to demonstrate how one decorates melodic intervals with short notes (*diminution*), and give examples of ways of setting lines rhythmically. Examples a and c show chains of *semiminimae* in frequently-used figures, while b and e show mixed note values. The main scribe does not seem to have been satisfied with his example b; he has crossed out the beginning and started again, but then rubbed out the whole line in irritation before the ink was dry. Example d shows decoration of scales: first in dotted notes, then in alternations of thirds, and finally a very common way of getting a tenor part to a cadence. The figurations of the examples resemble instrumental (and vocal) parts in fifteenth-century cantus firmus reworkings of known tunes. The examples were not very instructive in themselves; an explanation was necessary, and perhaps they were sketched on the paper while the main scribe taught a pupil. This applies to all the examples in Cop 1848.

The two-part examples begin with a series (no. 122) showing how in pure note-against-note texture one sets a new part to a tenor—the technique that underlies much backward-looking polyphony in this period. At the top of the penultimate page of Rfasc. 6 is an unidentified melody in the Lydian (Ionian) mode, notated throughout in *semibreves*. Below this six different counter-voices have been written, also in *semibreves*. They have been set out with clarity in mind. In the next-to-last (e) the scribe wrote the first notes in a C-clef on the second line; the part became too low for this clef, and he had to start over. This displaced the part in relation to the tenor, so he made things easier by inserting marks (small strokes) in both parts (bar 12.3). The counter-voices demonstrate possible ways of beginning and ending on various perfect intervals with the tenor: a) from the octave below to the fifth above; b) beginning at the fifth above—abandoned after various crossed-out attempts; c) from the fifth above to the twelfth; d) from the fifth below to the octave; e) from the fifth below to the fifth above; f) unison to unison.

In the last two sets of examples he comes slightly closer to the musical style of his contemporaries. No. 156 is written upside down on the front cover of Rfasc. 8. This item consists of three sets of tenor parts with lively accompanying counter-voices, composed on the paper with many overscorings and corrections. The tenor parts in the first two are only suggested by small strokes on the staves—they are very like the psalmody formulae in the 6th and 5th tones; the third, longer melody is notated in *semibreves*. The counter-voices are shaped in flowing counterpoint with many syncopations and dotted figures; nos. 156a and c are written for treble pitch, while the counter-voice in no. 156b is at the same pitch as the tenor. In no. 156c he finally had to give up despite many attempts—finally beaten by the parallel fifths!

The counter-voices in the last set of examples, no. 180 on the next-to-last page of Rfasc. 8, are attempts to shape actual upper and lower voices to a tenor melody. Each can only be combined with the tenor separately, though, and they cannot be combined into a three-part texture. He has taken the melody from the “Alleluia Veni Sancte Spiritus” for Whit Sunday.<sup>3</sup> This is again exclusively in *semibrevis* values, and neither in the tenor nor in the counter-voices has any attempt been made to reflect the phrasing of the Gregorian melody—the intention is still only to demonstrate the procedure, not musical practice. The tenor is uppermost

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapter 2 and Chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> GR p. 293.

on the page, and the other parts are composed below it. First he wrote a superius (a) and began on a bassus part (b1); he abandoned this after seven brevis measures and started on a new bassus below (c). When he had completed this with great difficulty, he took up the first bassus part again, made a fair copy of the beginning and finished this too (b2).

The many corrections and repeated attempts give us some insight into the deliberations of a musician during the work of adding a part to a tenor (simple successive composition). It was certainly not easy, although the two-part structure demonstrates no great ambition. Not even in no. 180 is there any indication that the composer considered more than a few of the tenor notes at once, or that he thought about how a third part should move. It was first and foremost a matter of avoiding the worst dissonances and the forbidden parallels that constantly threatened. In note-against-note texture he met these requirements by having the counter-voices leap a lot in contrary motion and by moving them in parallel thirds or tenths. The more linear and ornamented counter-voices are based on the same principles—except that here he takes a more relaxed attitude to parallel fifths and octaves, which can be camouflaged by syncopation. The provincial compositions in Cop 1848 were produced by people with the same backgrounds as the composer of these examples, but the imagination invested in them was much greater. The main scribe generally appears to have been a competent musician in his work with the written music and in his corrections during copying. As we do not know precisely how the examples arose, we cannot draw any conclusions from them on his skill as a composer. In a teaching situation it is not impossible that they tell us most about the progress of the pupil.

## 11.2 Compositions by Hand D

We will now make the closer acquaintance of the musician who has been referred to so many times by the quite impersonal designation “Hand D”. He had free access to the pages of Cop 1848 after the loose sheets and fascicles had been bound. There is every indication that he had the manuscript in his possession before it reached the priest of Villefranche, Claude Charneyron; perhaps he had it directly from the main scribe at some point at the end of the 1520s.<sup>4</sup> He seems to have been a young musician, full of curiosity about the compositions in the collection, and critical enough to change things in the products of an older colleague that did not suit his taste. He also added a good deal of new music where pages or just a couple of staves were empty; many of the pieces are clearly his own attempts at composition, so from his point of view we can justifiably regard the manuscript as a kind of study material:

- No. 2 *Sicut erat in principio* 2v(3v)
- No. 50 [Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria] *Que es effecta* 4v
- No. 115/127 *Sy vostre cueur* 4v
- No. 128 [Magnificat] *Sicut locutus* [II toni] 2v(4v)
- Nos. 130 + 142 [Magnificat] *Et exultavit* [III toni] 4v
- No. 131b *Venez, venez* 2v
- No. 159(a) *Dominus memor fuit* 4v
- No. 169 *Nos qui vivemus* 4v
- No. 175(a) *Sicut erat in principio* 4v
- No. 176 *Non mortui laudabunt* 4v
- No. 185/187 *Domus Aaron speravit* 3v
- No. 221 [Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum] *Sanguis eius – Ave rex –*  
[Vah, qui destruis] 4v
- No. 260 *Domus Israel speravit* 3v

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3 and Chapter 5.

Clearly, it was first and foremost sacred music that interested him. He carefully studied the thick fascicle of sacred music, Rfasc. 8; he made corrections in the music and completed many texts, and composed no less than six new sections for the two settings of Psalm 113 "In exitu Israel". His two attempts in the secular genre, though, are also instructive to study.

On the opening pp. 200-01 the main scribe had entered a double chanson (no. 131), the lower voice of which is the tenor from Hayne van Ghizeghem's famous rondeau *De tous biens plaine*. The tenor part is written at the top of p. 201, while p. 200 is taken up by the zany upper voice *Venez, venez, venez tretous*. The empty staves under the tenor tempted Hand D to make his own attempt at a lively upper part, an alternative to the one the main scribe had copied.<sup>5</sup> He began in vocal style by setting the words "Venez, venez", but then lost interest in following the text. Instead he continued more or less according to the guidelines given in the last of the main scribe's counterpoint examples, with an almost continuous melody line where parallel fifths are camouflaged by syncopation (bars 6-7), and with many *semiminimae* and sequences; there are few note repetitions, and the compass is kept within the octave *c'-c''*. About halfway through he ran out of melodic inventiveness, and the remainder consists of a falling scale from *c''* to *c'* in varied rhythms.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that—as was the case with the main scribe's examples—he only had one or two of the notes of the *c.f.* part in mind at any one time, and that he gave no thought at all to the phrasing of the tenor tune or the necessary *musica ficta*, as the composer of the original upper voice at least did. This might be an attempt to write down an improvised counter-voice to the tenor—perhaps an instrumental improvisation. The limited compass could suggest that he was using a wind instrument without the possibility of overblowing; on such an instrument, indeed, the note repetitions in the original upper voice would not have been very effective or pleasant.

While the alternative upper voice for no. 131 only takes a modest step towards real composition, we can see Hand D making a serious attempt in the chanson *Sy vostre cueur*. This has been composed on the pages of Cop 1848—he probably also used a board or slate where he could sketch out sections of the music in score layout. The final version of the song—as far as it can be reconstructed from the rough copy—is published in the music appendix.<sup>7</sup> It is a four-part Parisian chanson; an octosyllabic quatrain has been given a through-composed setting in four phrases, with the alternating homorhythmic and imitative texture that was the norm around 1530. It seems over-embroidered, without the sense of balance characteristic of an experienced composer in the genre. It is decidedly apprentice work, where the composer tries to prop far too many ideas into too small a space. Viewed as a three-part piece it is not too bad; it was—as we have seen so often before—the fourth part, the altus, that was most difficult to integrate into the whole.

We can follow its genesis on the pages of Cop 1848. Hand D began on the opening on pp. 180-81 (cf. *Plate 10*), where there was plenty of space between the parts for the two three-part chansons no. 114 *Si vostre cueur prent le tanné* and no. 116 *Fortune laisse moy la vie*.<sup>8</sup> He took *Si vostre cueur* as his model. Yet his song bears no great musical resemblance to the three-part song, apart perhaps from the motif in the fourth line, "qu'il est de playsir", which is a little like the third phrase in no. 114 (bars 11ff). But he was able to see the text as he worked.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Chapter 7.4; the original version is published as Vol. III no. 18, and Hand D's upper voice is included as no. 18a.

<sup>6</sup> This kind of ostinato figure was not unknown in improvised singing *supra librum*; it was strongly condemned by Vincentino, for example, in *L'antica musica ...*, Rome 1555. Cf. FerandI p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. III no. 105.

<sup>8</sup> They belong to the series of six three-part Parisian chansons which the main scribe copied in together in Rfasc. 6; the series is published together as Vol. III nos. 58-63.



Hand D began his upper voice straight after the superius of no. 114, without a new clef or mensural symbol, but with a natural to cancel out the *b $\flat$*  signature. The tenor is at the bottom of the same page, and on the opposite page the altus and bassus are squeezed in between the parts for no. 116. After the parts had been written out on the pages, Hand D continued to adjust them. This led to a large number of overscorings and corrections, so that the music gradually became difficult to follow. He therefore made a kind of fair copy further on in the manuscript, where there were also empty staves—on pp. 192-93, where it stands as no. 127.

He must have had the beginning of the song more or less finished in his head or on a slate; at first he entered the parts on pp. 180-81, as far as bar 7. Here he began to wonder whether the first cadence in the superius should be on *c''* or *a'* (bar 4)—the movements to the two cadence notes are written one above the other, then the formula for *c''* was crossed out (this was possibly his first idea). In the tenor the note at bar 3.2 was at first an *a*, but the correction of the superius led to octaves between the parts, so the note was changed to *d'*—this on the other hand produced a poorly-camouflaged motion in unison with the altus. Now he realized that the second phrase of the tenor would not do at all. The entry in bar 4 of “le mien se vestira” (*a-a-a-c'*) did not fit the superius, and it was no use changing *c'* to *d'* (bar 4.5), for then it simply became a duplication of the superius! He drew a frame around the passage, crossed it out and rewrote it. The new phrase begins with four repeated *a* notes, a phrasing which seems quite alien to the French chanson, but it was apparently the only way he could find to separate the entry of the tenor from that of the superius. The bassus too had to be changed with the new tenor—at one point there are a whole three simultaneous notes to choose from at the bottom of p. 181 (cf. *Plate 10*).

After this he wrote in the next section and corrected it in the same way; in this case it was in particular the superius, bars 12-13, and the altus, bars 10-11, that were changed. When he at last reached a final cadence in bar 19, he made a fair copy of the parts on the opening on pp. 192-93. He was still dissatisfied with the altus, and he tried to improve the clumsy passage in bar 6 (shown in the transcription by small notes above the staff); the many alternative notes make it hard to say what he actually decided on. Now he also laid the text under the parts. He began by modelling the composition, as we saw, on the text of no. 114. Once his own song was finished, though, he did not wish it to have exactly the same text. He tried to change it to a *reponse*: “Sy vostre cuer *a prins* tanné le mien se vestira de *noyr*”, but was unable to carry the idea through, so the second half ended up with the same text lines as no. 114. He also had the idea of expanding the ending with a varied repetition of the last phrase (bars 19.2-22). This passage is corrected on the pages in the same way as above; only trifling matters needed correction in the altus and bassus, but the superius was less successful: his first attempt produced octaves with the tenor (shown above the staff), and was immediately changed. However, this did not make the passage satisfactory, and now it was hardly possible to make any more corrections here in ink, so he had to go back to p. 180 and write the proper solution on the fifth staff on the page. At the same time he concluded the bassus at the bottom of p. 181.

The paper in Cop 1848 was thus used for a composer's rough work in two phases. On the basis of this work the composer was able to make a fair copy of the chanson in parts on a new piece of paper. That he did so—at least with some of his pieces—we can see from no. 185 and no. 187. This composition is an alternative verse for Psalm 113, verse 18 “Domus Aaron speravit”, which can be used in no. 159 *Facta est Judea* instead of the original setting. No. 187 is a careful fair copy of the three-part piece with complete text underlay.<sup>9</sup> At the bottom of the opening on pp. 330-31 there is a first draft in parts (no. 185), probably done after a score

<sup>9</sup> Publ. after no. 187 in Vol. III as no. 76c.

**Example 1** No. 185 *Domus Aaron speravit*

crossed-out passages:

a) Tenor 1 bars 10-11;

b) Original ending, bars 14-16;

c) New ending – first version, bars 17-18.

a:

et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum

b:

rum est.

rum est.

et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est.

c:

et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum

outline on a board or slate. This time he wrote out the whole short piece before he began to look critically at it.

First he corrected decided scribal errors,<sup>10</sup> then turned to actual changes in the piece: bars 10-11 in tenor 1 originally looked as shown in *Example 1a*, with a regular imitation at the fifth of the motif in tenor 2. But he had not given much consideration to the bassus when he did this; in bar 10.1 an unfortunate hidden octave arose between tenor 1 and the bassus, and a semibrevis *f'* in tenor 1 in the second half of the same bar clashed with the cadential formula in the bassus. He dealt with this by crossing out the passage in tenor 1 and rewriting it at the bottom of p. 330. Here he changed bar 10.1 to *f'*, and replaced the semibrevis note by four semiminimae. Now the passage was almost like the fair copy. But the composer decided that tenor 1 and the bassus at this point had always been too short

compared with tenor 2—they were both a semibrevis short. So with very small notes he squeezed bar 11.2-3 into the parts on pp. 330-31 (in tenor 1 he also added a dot to the note *bb* in bar 11.1).

Originally, no. 185 was only sixteen brevis measures long and ended as shown in *Example 1b* (as far as we can make out the crossed-out notes). He could not content himself with the last bars; above them he sketched in a longish final passage where tenor 2 is far more active. His first draft ended on a full triad where tenor 1 had the third and tenor 2 the fifth (*Example 1c*). But he immediately changed this, giving tenor 1 a more natural movement, and making tenor 2 move from fifth to third; Hand D's setting of *Domus Aaron speravit* thus ended up a total of nineteen bars long. In the draft, only the bassus is furnished with text. In the fair copy all three parts were to have text, and this posed a few problems. While in the original version (up to bar 16) it had been easy to make the verse fit the music, the newly-composed ending had been created without the slightest consideration for the words. In tenor 2 he got the text to fit fairly well with the aid of repetitions of the last word, while his efforts with tenor 1 led to a single overscoring and a whole four repetitions of the word "est", probably for want of a better solution.

His other settings for Psalm 113 "In exitu Israel" were created the same way. But in most cases, we have only Hand D's fair copies of these—he must have used other paper for the

<sup>10</sup> In tenor 1 bar 8 was originally a  $\diamond$ ; in tenor 2 the notes *a-bb* have been deleted between bar 7.3 and 7.4, and bar 9.3 was originally *c'*; in the bassus, bar 13.2 was the note *g*.

rough work. No. 169 *Nos qui vivimus* and no. 176 *Non mortui laudabunt* are written large and clear with the full text under the parts, and the few corrections were done by erasing the old version, so readability is not affected. All the same, he probably did not do a rough draft of no. 159(a) *Dominus fuit memor nostris*, which he added to the main scribe's copy, for there he has erased large sections on the pages; and no. 175(a) *Sicut erat in principio* is sloppily written and has no text for the upper parts. His entry of no. 260 *Domus Israel speravit* is exactly like the fair copy of *Domus Aaron speravit* (no. 187), and musically the two verses also have much in common, so it is likely that they were done on the same occasion.<sup>11</sup>

From these sketches and fair copies we can get a fairly clear idea of how the composer worked. Successive composition, adding a part to another already-finished part, was far from his mind. The main scribe's examples, which were reviewed in the previous section, suggest that he was no more comfortable making music that way, and he was probably rather older than Hand D. Hand D worked with several parts at once—up to four in fact. But on paper he first wrote them down as single parts, in choirbook disposition, not below one another in a kind of score disposition. Music in single parts was, after all, the form they were used to reading. When Hand D composed, he must have thought in terms of fairly short stretches of music, beginning with the superius or tenor, and then fleshed out the texture as he went along. As an aid he may have used a small slate where he could make the first adjustments in the parts. This would have been a very rough outline, for in several cases the synchronization of the parts is rather shaky. When the parts—or sections of them—were on the more permanent paper, he could check them two by two and begin to smooth out the texture. A correction in one voice easily led to a chain reaction throughout the parts, but gradually he ironed out the flaws. In more complicated passages it might be necessary to go through this process several times.

It would be an exaggeration to speak of the simultaneous conception of up to four parts in this context. The voices were invented one by one in small snatches, but the composer constantly adapted them to one another as much as his experience and imagination allowed.<sup>12</sup> What we see demonstrated on the pages of Cop 1848 is the compositional method which was probably the norm for music written on paper for a whole century before Hand D's activities, and perhaps further back in time.<sup>13</sup>

It is hardly likely that Hand D could count on help with his efforts from others who could sing or play from the sketches. In his first drafts his writing was illegible to anyone but himself, and the parts are so arbitrarily placed that attempts to perform them, rather than helping, would have hampered composition. He was not an experienced musician or a particularly competent composer. But he had no difficulty working with music that was written in parts. We can see this, for example, from his work on some of the four-part pieces that the main scribe

<sup>11</sup> All the pieces mentioned are published in Vol. III as no. 76a-d and no. 77a-b.

<sup>12</sup> In *Uppsala 76a* there is also a composition created on the pages of the manuscript. The three-part chanson *En contemplant la beaulté* is sketched with many corrections on the opening ff. 77<sup>v</sup>-78; the fair copy of the chanson was a few pages farther on, where only a fragment is now left of the torn-out page (f. 78<sup>bisv</sup>). H. M. Brown has published the sketch in the article 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage ...' (BrownE) pp. 3-4 (incl. facsimile of ff. 77<sup>v</sup>-78); he considers it an example of successive composition: "... it reveals that in France in the first quarter of the sixteenth century students were still being taught to compose music one line at a time, by superimposing complete melodic lines one on top of the other, and then adjusting them until they fit together smoothly. Master composers had already for some time presumably been composing by working with all three, or more likely four or more voices at once, fitting them together into points of imitation, for example, so that no one voice could stand alone." (BrownE p. 6). In the light of Hand D's compositions in Cop 1848 one should probably not see the two ways of composing as such sharp contraries. In *En contemplant* the composer started with the superius, but otherwise his procedure is no different from Hand D's.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also B. J. Blackburn, 'On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century' (BlackburnP), where the same process is identified on the basis of statements by music theorists.

had put in Rfasc. 8. He reviewed them fairly thoroughly, probably to improve his knowledge of part-writing. In the process, he changed details which bothered him. He filled in gaps in text and music<sup>14</sup> and corrected parallel fifths and octaves<sup>15</sup> as well as some non-standard dissonances<sup>16</sup>—few of his changes in the music are difficult to explain.<sup>17</sup>

It is possible that the rest of the pieces he entered in Cop 1848 were also his own compositions. Most are in the same fairly clumsy four-part texture we have seen in the chanson and in four psalm verses; and they exhibit the same disinclination to finish a section of a longer work with an ordinary perfect cadence.<sup>18</sup> The fragments of the Magnificat compositions (no. 128 and nos. 130 + 142) are written in an imitative texture which suggests awareness of the Mouton generation's 'seamless' polyphony. More interesting, though, are an incomplete sequence and parts of a polyphonic passion.

On two scantily-filled openings of the main scribe's Rfasc. 5, pp. 96-99, Hand D entered four verses of an *alternatim* setting of "Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria" (no. 50); the even-numbered verses are set with the melody of the sequence placed in different parts: v. 2 in the superius, v. 4 in the altus, v. 6 in the bassus and superius and v. 8 in the tenor. The first two verses (see *Example 2*) must be regarded as a provisional fair copy with text. On the next opening he did not make as much progress—the verses have no text and he has not checked the copy. In verse 6 he tried to compose a free canon in the upper voices over the melody in the bassus. This meant that the altus and tenor became very similar, with the result that he mixed them up in the copy, so that the altus, except for the introductory rest, is identical to the tenor, which he cannot have intended. The error in the tenor in verse 2, bars 6-7, which he managed to correct, may also be due to confusion with the altus. This kind of mistake can perhaps be interpreted as a result of his copying from a rough score with many corrections. It may also explain his peculiar disposition of the parts, where he first wrote out the superius, then the bassus and finally the altus and tenor; this way he could immediately check the parts farthest from each other in the rough version. The setting of the sequence was an ambitious project which was rather beyond the abilities of the inexperienced composer, and which he perhaps abandoned in the end. Perhaps the project was inspired by the psalm settings in Rfasc. 8. The first two sections are shown in *Example 2*. Here there was plenty of scope for him to start correcting and erasing, for example at the end of the verse "Que es effecta".

On the empty outer covers of what, before binding, was a small manuscript of music by Agricola (Rfasc. F) Hand D similarly sketched out three sections of a four-part St. Matthew passion (no. 221). On p. 410 there are two short settings with the texts "Sanguis eius super nos, et super filios nostros" and "Ave rex Judaeorum"; and on p. 395 there is a longer setting with only two words of the text written in the midst of the bassus—"Salva temetipsum"; however, it is clear from the layout of the music that the text should be the whole verse in which the words appear, Matthew 27.40, "Vah, qui destruis...".<sup>19</sup> These segments of text come from the *synagoga* part of the gospel. In "Sanguis eius" it is the multitude which speaks, then

<sup>14</sup> E.g. he composed a new ending for Verse 11 in no. 175, which was corrupted in the main scribe's version. Publ. as Vol. III no. 77.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. in no. 157, bar 33 in the tenor, bars 73-77 in the altus and bars 129 and 136 in the tenor. Publ. as Vol. III no. 75.

<sup>16</sup> In no. 158, bar 39 in the bassus and bars 56.3-58 in the superius. Publ. as Vol. III no. 79.

<sup>17</sup> In Verse 8 in no. 157 he crossed out a small coda, and at the beginning of v. 12 he changed the altus—the original voice actually worked better there!

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Chapter 10.3 *Settings of the Psalms*. No. 130 and 142 both have long-sustained final notes in the superius and tenor, while the altus and the bassus run on for four brevis measures; in no. 142 Hand D even changed his mind and extended them by a further two bars.

<sup>19</sup> Publ. as Vol. III no. 106.

**Example 2** No. 50 *Que es effecta* – Verses 2 and 4<sup>20</sup>

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). It is in 2/2 time and consists of 18 measures. The lyrics are in Latin. The score is divided into three systems. The first system covers measures 1-10, the second measures 11-14, and the third measures 15-18. The lyrics are: 'Que es ef - fec - ta ful - gi - da ce - li por - ta. ce - li por - ta, ce - li por - ta. ce - li por - ta. Sus - ci - pe pi - a lau - dum pre -'. There is a 'deleted' section in the Alto part between measures 10 and 11. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

come the mocking shouts of the soldiers, and finally, on Calvary, the derision of the passers-by. In this part of the narrative (Matthew 27.25-40) these texts make up the whole *synagoga* section. The three pieces thus belong to a *responsorial passion*, where the texts of the people and various groups are set, while the actual narrative is recited.<sup>21</sup> The words of Jesus and Pilate do not appear in this part of the Gospel, so we cannot tell whether they were performed in polyphony.

<sup>20</sup> Text underlay in the bassus, bars 14-18, after the MS!

<sup>21</sup> Cf. K. von Fischer, 'Zur Geschichte der Passionskomposition ...' (FischerP).

20  
 lau - dum pre - co - ni - a.  
 co - ni - a.  
 co - ni - a.  
 co - ni - a, pre - co - ni - a.

All three settings are based on the reciting formulae of the *synagoga*;<sup>22</sup> the superius in particular is formed from them.

Polyphonic passions are rare in French sources of the first half of the century; there are none in Moderne's collections, and Attaignant printed only two in his collection of music for Easter Week of 1535, *Liber decimus: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum ...*, a St. Matthew passion by Claudin de Sermisy and an anonymous St. John passion, both of the same type as the fragment in Cop 1848.<sup>23</sup> The fact that Hand D had the idea of setting the Gospel of Matthew (his pieces correspond to nos. 35-37 in Claudin's passion) may indicate that the genre was more common than the sources suggest. The pieces are more successful than most of his attempts. He *may* have copied them from another source, but they are most probably his own work. Here too, he has changed his original formulations: in *Sanguis eius* he had problems, as so often before, with the altus; when he had copied the part as far as bar 6, he noticed the octave with the superius in bar 5.1, crossed the passage out and tried again, but it was no great success—and he did not notice that the first two bars were notated a tone too low. *Ave rex* ended in the first copy at bar 15 with a cadence on g.<sup>24</sup> To this he later tagged on a cadence on c—three pieces with identical final cadences appear to have been too much for him. In the third piece—which comes first in Cop 1848!—he made a number of small changes which show that the draft for it had not been completely worked out. The superius in bars 36.3-41 first looked as in *Example 3*. When he realized that the text had an extra syllable, he corrected these bars (in the bassus too) before going on with the tenor and altus. In bar 27 the tenor was a minima short, so he crossed out the stem of the minima *d'* (bar 27.2), so it became a semibrevis—he should rather have put a minima *a* in after *g* (bar 27.4).

**Example 3** No. 221 [*Vah, qui destruis*] bars 36ff (draft)

S  
 B

<sup>22</sup> Cf. O. Kade, *Die Ältere Passionskompositionen ...* (KadeP) p. 3; usually the formulae are sung from *f*; in no. 221 they start from *c*.

<sup>23</sup> *Attaignant 1535/2*; both publ. in SmijersT X.

<sup>24</sup> In bars 14.3-15 the lower voices had the note values  $\diamond-\equiv$  with the following notes: *d'-d'* (altus); *a-g* (tenor); *d-g* (bassus).



## Chapter 12

### The repertory of Cop 1848:

#### A summary

The story told by the many compositions in Cop 1848 is one of continuity. The manuscript gathers together a wide repertory where old and new stand side by side, and where we can easily distinguish the current material from what was new a few years before. The modern items are consistently kept apart in the collection, in closed series or as single entries, while yesterday's news could be used on an equal footing with much older music. It is only from our vantage point that the collection appears retrospective; for the main scribe it was all usable music until the whole collection was laid aside. All genres and types of music were of interest, apart from the very complicated and highly artificial. The manuscript's content of provincial music and 'everyday music' alongside the 'great music' of the court and church helps to paint a picture of a far more complex reality than we are usually given to imagine for the development of music in the period from about 1460 until 1525. In this respect a provincial source differs crucially from the court manuscripts. The natural continuity of the repertory of the manuscript renders superfluous any attempt—which would anyway be extremely difficult—to trace foreign influences. In the case of the French chanson, a lyrical and a popular tradition form strong strands in its history in these years, from the courtly songs in *formes fixes* to the *Parisian chanson*. And in church music, simple utility music appears, firmly rooted in old forms, as a foundation for the rapid development in art music of new modes of expression.

In the study of the repertory of Cop 1848, a number of themes and distinctive features have been brought up—prompted to varying degrees by the source itself. Only the most important ones will be summed up here in terms of some key concepts.

- Cop 1848 is the only major source for French music in the mid-1520s. The manuscript includes material that can provide answers to the question of the historical place and development of the *Parisian chanson*, a problem that has long occupied musicology. This genre first appears as three-part compositions which naturally combine elements of the popular song and the courtly tradition into new forms. Cop 1848 documents the dominance of three-part texture in the French chanson in the first two decades of the century. This wide-ranging repertory bears within it most of the seeds of both the *lyrical* and the *popular* sides of the *Parisian chanson* (Chapter 9.2 *Three-part Parisian chansons*).

- *The four-part Parisian chansons* in Cop 1848 must be dated before Attaingnant's printed chansonniers. In this period the genre is defined as the range of French chansons Pierre Attaingnant published during his first few years of activity. Against the background of three collections a broad repertory is described where the unifying element is the homorhythmic chanson in rounded form based on four-line or five-line stanzas. The genre is typified by

great awareness of style, of the devices and distinctive features of the lyrical and popular traditions (Chapter 9 *The Parisian chanson*). Many songs, both in Attaingnant and in Cop 1848, are popular arrangements. The *two series of four-part Parisian chansons* in Cop 1848 are probably wholly or partly copies of circulating fascicle manuscripts. They both exhibit the variety that would make such small music manuscripts attractive, and their disposition can be compared to that of Attaingnant's earliest chansonniers.

- The change from three-part texture to four-part texture as the norm for the Parisian chanson took place between the copying of the series of three-part chansons at the beginning of the 1520s and the sojourn of the court in Lyons in 1524–26, when the four-part chansons were the last items to be added to the main scribe's collection. The manuscript tells us nothing of the reason for this. It could perhaps be due to the influence of Italy, where three-part texture was not so highly regarded? If the scribe had worked more regularly on his large stock collection in these years, we would perhaps have had a more ample body of material to illuminate this question. On the other hand, he would then probably have had no reason to discard the collection.

- *The courtly chanson* should be evaluated much more positively than has been usual hitherto—on its own terms and in the realization that its relationship to the text and to the conventions of the genre are important expressive factors (Chapter 7.1 *The historical position of the rondeau*).

- In the case of the major type the *rondeau*, it has been possible to sketch out the contours of three important tendencies. First and foremost we have *the lyrical love song*—which makes up the mainstream of the courtly chanson—characterized by a sensitive balance between all the elements of the composition and a relationship between text and music that is at once intimate and abstract. Two rarer branches of the type are made up by chansons where the relationship between music and text departs from the golden mean. In the more *abstract chansons*, the expressive use of purely structural aspects of the music takes precedence over actual declamation of the text; but this approach may well be justified by the meaning of the text. The other branch is the very *text-close chanson*, where the emphasis on the point of the text by means of precise declamation is the main concern of the composer. And indeed it is in the chanson types which do not follow the mainstream that one finds texts which deviate from the traditional courtly love lyrics with their usually melancholy, more rarely happy preoccupation with the same themes. An important type with close links with the popular tradition is *the anti-courtly chanson in formes fixes* (Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*).

- *The ballade* has cut its links with the courtly music; the few ballades of the manuscript are either related to the popular tradition or to the simple form of the lauda.

- *The popular repertory* is many-faceted and mainly in three parts. Here it is more evident than in more selective sources how closely related are the groups into which one can classify the songs, and how many lines of connection can be drawn to other parts of the chanson repertory, including the courtly chansons. The types of texture developed in settings of popular tunes are an important precondition of the Parisian chanson.

- Among the three-part settings one can distinguish a group of *superius-tenor settings* which has not previously been given separate treatment. Technically, these should be placed as a link between *cantus firmus settings* and *popular arrangements*. But the frequently provincial nature of the settings may indicate that they are rather the attempts of less skilful musicians to write in the predominant style of the day.

- *The simple settings* with their homorhythmic texture and the optional placing of the popular tune in the tenor or superius are a sort of missing link in the development of the chanson.

These songs, which are close to 'everyday music' are among the manuscript's most important contributions to our understanding of musical life in France.

- In Cop 1848 the dearth of complex polyphonic settings of popular tunes forms a parallel to the scribe's (or the public's) preferences in the courtly repertory. The *four-part popular arrangements* of the manuscript do show, however, that this type, which was very common in Italy, was also well-known in provincial France.

- The manuscript's major contribution to our knowledge of *sacred music in France* is its *provincial sacred music*—especially the fact that simple polyphonic music to Latin texts exists which can be seen as a parallel to the simple chansons and which, like these, can probably be regarded as 'everyday music'.

- In its sacred repertory, too, the manuscript shows a predilection for compositions in fewer parts than the usual four-to-six-part texture of the sixteenth century.

- The *lauda* has been tentatively identified as an element of simple religious music in France. It can vary greatly; common features are a mainly homorhythmic texture with very clear phrasing (with fermatas) and the attempt to obtain a full sonority by using a large number of third and sixth harmonies. Its influence can be traced in both secular and sacred art music. It had many points of contact with the provincial liturgical music, which exhibits the same wish to achieve a rich sonority with simple means (Chapter 10.9).

- The main topic of Chapter 10 was the description of *provincial sacred music*. This part of the repertory often uses an old-fashioned compositional technique, *simple tenor texture*, which can assume many guises, so that the music may superficially resemble contemporary music without making too many demands on the number of the performers or their skills.

- Cop 1848 includes four compositions by a named, presumably local musician, *Haquinet*. His works exhibit a wide range and variation (one sequence, two noëls and a lauda) within the limits of a provincial technique (Chapter 10.7).

- Besides provincial music, it has been useful to work with an *intermediate group of music for use in major ecclesiastical institutions*, without the skill of the *court and cathedral music*. Many of the four-part compositions in Cop 1848 should be placed here, for example many *Magnificat* settings. Of particular interest are two sets of psalm settings (Chapter 10).

- Cop 1848 also includes *music which was to some extent created on the pages of the manuscript*. These pieces make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the compositional process of the age. They are four sets of counterpoint examples entered by the main scribe and a number of compositions by the later user Hand D, including an early example of a polyphonic passion. In some cases we can follow their creation from rough to fair copy (Chapter 11).

# Part Four:

The manuscript and musical life  
in Lyons



In previous chapters we have already mentioned the position of Lyons as a centre of trade and as a seat of government on some occasions. Let us now look rather more closely at the city with its international trade fairs and its large volume of book production, and at what Cop 1848 and other sources can tell us of the role of music in the life of the city at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

In 43 BC, at the confluence of the Rivers Rhône and Saône in southeastern France, the Romans founded the colony of *Lugdunum*. The site, which at the time was only a small Gallic fishing hamlet, was strategically right for a large military garrison that would keep the peace and defend the newly-conquered province of Gaul. This was the meeting-place of the most important routes from Italy—one from the Mediterranean up or along the Rhône, the other over the Alpine passes from northern Italy. The river routes went on to the countries to the north and east, and only short overland journeys separated the colony from the Rhineland to the east and the Loire and Seine valleys in the west. It became a node for the highly-developed Roman road system, and later the capital of the province. After the fall of the Roman Empire the city declined in importance and experienced shifting fortunes throughout the Middle Ages. In the Burgundian kingdom of the fifth century Lyons regained its status as a capital, but after the establishment of the Frankish kingdom, when the centre of power moved northward, the city saw its influence confined to the surrounding area. The whole kingdom of Arles—the southeastern part of France, and thus also Lyons—became part of the Holy Roman Empire in 1033.

Lyons had been the home of the first Christian congregation in Gaul, which gave its churches and Archbishop a special authority. With its annexation by the Empire the government of the region passed entirely into the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, who were granted the whole county in fief. This led to the golden age of the city as a centre of the church. Churches and monasteries were expanded and new ones were built, and in 1245 and 1274 Lyons hosted important ecumenical councils. Many years of internal strife gradually wore away the power of the church, and in 1312 Lyons was annexed by the French kingdom after the burghers of the city had sought the help of the King. In 1320 the burghers took over the city council, but the church retained a great deal of influence and it was only almost a century later that the civic authorities became independent of the church. In parallel with this the influence of the King grew in the city.

<sup>1</sup> This account is based on A. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon I* (KleinclauszL); B. Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle 1528-1574* (FaurielL); and the chapter 'Lyons and the Printing Trade' in PogueM pp. 20-27, where fuller references may also be found. Other useful works where Lyons is placed in a broader context are H. A. Miskimin, *The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe 1460-1600*, London 1977, Ch. 4 'Industry, Technology and Organization' (spec. pp. 111-18); and J. H. L. Salmon, *Society in Crisis. France in the Sixteenth Century*, London 1975, Ch. 3.III 'Towns and Trade' (pp. 47-58).



In the latter half of the fifteenth century a balance of power was achieved among the King, the burghers and the church. The administration of the city became the responsibility of *le consulat* or city corporation which consisted of twelve aldermen elected for two-year periods from among the burgher families of the city. The power of the *consulat* was based on, among other things, its right to convoke assemblies where major decisions of interest to the city as a whole, or to specific trade or craft groups, could be made; in particular, assemblies of master artisans and rich burghers whose families had served on the *consulat* for generations formed the backbone of the city government. The *consulat* had a large staff of officials who were in charge of daily administration; its jurisdiction extended to trade and industry, the law and the police, and it organized the fairs; the *consulat* was also in charge of the militia who guarded the gates and walls of the city, and was directly responsible for the city trumpeters.

*Le gouverneur* was the King's representative and commander-in-chief of the military forces. He was the person in the city with most personal power. Around his office a large administrative apparatus grew up in time at all levels, rivalling the civic government. Until the end of the sixteenth century, though, the *consulat* managed to maintain a certain degree of independence.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the church still had some influence on the legal system, a right which François I abolished in 1531. More importantly, the canons of S. Jean, *les chanoines-comtes*, who bore their aristocratic titles as a relic of the former position of the church as feudal lord, came from the most prosperous families in the city, and by virtue of the possessions of the church and a large body of subordinates were leading figures in the city. For historical reasons Lyons lacked a secular aristocracy. This changed at the end of the fifteenth century, when the King considered it in his interest to elevate influential families, *consulat* families, to the aristocracy. But generations were to pass before the new aristocrats were to make their mark on the cultural life of the city.

The period 1450-1550 was a flourishing one for Lyons. The city achieved a position as an international centre of commerce and finance, only surpassed by Antwerp. Among French cities, Paris was bigger, but the explosive development of the economy in the period after the end of the Hundred Years' War, and after the Crown's resumption of control of the kingdom, was concentrated in the Lyons area. In just fifty years, from 1470 until 1520, the population grew from 20,000 to somewhere between 60,000 and 80,000, and much of the growth was due to an influx of foreign craftsmen, merchants and bankers who contributed greatly to the dynamic development of the city.

Trade fairs had been established as early as 1420, when Charles VII granted the city the privilege of holding two a year. But they only really assumed importance at the end of the century, when Louis XI increased their number to four a year and wholeheartedly supported their growth to boost the French economy. He did this by permitting them to exchange money freely and to contract for loans at interest—an advantage of which the King himself made great use—, granting the city the right to direct imports and unrestricted resale, and by allowing foreign merchant houses and banks to operate under favourable conditions. These privileges were confirmed and increased by Louis XI's successors. The good traffic conditions and the position as a border city between north and south were other preconditions of the boom in the city; from here French, Dutch and German products were distributed to Spain and Italy, and Mediterranean foreign trade and the goods of the south were channelled to the north. Lyons became a centre for the lucrative spice trade to the whole of Europe, and silver from Spain flowed through the city to the great profit of the banks. All kinds of goods were on sale at the fairs, wholesale and retail, and imported goods as well as the city's own products were traded.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In the essay 'The Renaissance Merchant', Lucien Febvre emphasizes that the fairs not only dealt with for-

A considerable number of the banks were in foreign hands, first and foremost branches of Italian banking houses—the Bonvisi of Lucca, the Medici, Gadagne, Gondi, the Strozzi of Florence and many more. The Italian colony in Lyons surpassed in wealth and influence the very considerable interests the Italians had in London and Bruges. Many prosperous foreign bankers and merchants settled in Lyons, bought houses and lands and married into local families, and took offices in the city and in the royal administration. To serve their interests, the immigrants joined forces in *nations* which could negotiate with the authorities. The Florentine nation was the largest and most influential; in 1501 it counted about fifty families.

The boom in trade and the economy created a favourable climate for craftsmanship and industry. The region was rich in timber and water power, and energy-intensive enterprises sprang up near Lyons: glassworks and metalworks—Saint Etienne became a centre for armouries—and paper mills along the waterways. However, Lyons was best known for highly-specialized, capital-intensive products like printed books and silk manufactures. Printing was a new, fast-growing trade. The first printers in France began working in Paris in 1470, and in 1473 the art had reached Lyons. By the turn of the century there were more than 160 printers' shops in the city. The financiers made the necessary funds available, and skilled manpower streamed into the city from Germany. The fairs of Lyons offered the best possible conditions for selling the products and the most important raw material, paper, was manufactured in large quantities in nearby Auvergne. Publications included all genres: liturgical books, theology, medicine and law, philosophy, Latin classics, romances and poetry and enormous quantities of popular reading material like almanacs and broadsides. Many publications were simply pirated from popular books from France or abroad, which the Lyons printers attempted to surpass in printing quality and lavish decoration. The book trade flourished; in the long Rue Mercière, which ran from the Pont de Saône to the large square in front of Notre Dame de Confort on the tongue of land between the rivers, one could study and buy the widest selection of books of the age—an opportunity that the great bibliophile Ferdinand Columbus, for example, seized when he visited Lyons in 1535. When the mule caravans returned to the Mediterranean cities from the Lyons fairs, besides large quantities of cloth from the northern countries and metal goods, they were loaded with books in bales for the Italian and Spanish markets. Large batches of books, with or without binding and tightly-packed, were exported,<sup>3</sup>

own trade and financial transactions, but also supplied a large surrounding area with necessities. He illustrates this with a vivid description of a shopping trip to Lyons (L. Febvre, *Life in Renaissance France*, edited and translated by M. Rothstein, Cambridge, Mass. 1977, pp. 95-96): "In the Departmental Archives of the Doubs, for example, we find a meticulous record of the purchases made for Philiberte de Luxembourg, the mother of the last members of the Chalons family, the princes of Orange. ... Each time the fair was held one of the princess's servants was sent to Lyon leading a caravan. Mounted on a horse, the trusted servant preceded a mule-convoy, each animal led by a man. They went by short stages from Lons-le-Saunier to Lyons. Sometimes it took them a whole day to travel a single league through Bresse, along muddy roads which resembled lakes in spots. Nothing is so precise as the list of purchases to be made at the fair: Spices, sugared almonds, sugar, a small barrel of sweet wine, a sack of almonds, a sack of rice, a sack of Marseille figs, dried currants, lots of salted fish for Lent—tuna, porpoise, cod, anchovy—saffron, three reams of good paper, sixty pounds of Paris linen, silk in skeins, fine Scottish thread, lace, ribbons, taffeta from Genoa, cloth from Holland, tablecloths, wool, scissors, needles, pins, mirrors, five hides of morocco from Spain, a hide of red leather, collars for milord's hounds, gloves for falconry, tennis balls, and on and on. And all this was to be bought from foreign merchants: grocers from Orange or Avignon for the produce of the south, Flemings for the fish, Germans or Spaniards for the rest. ... Texts like the princess's shopping list can be found by the thousands ..."

<sup>3</sup> The trade in books in 'raw' form in Germany is mentioned in E. Kyriss, *Der verzierte europäische Einband vor der Renaissance*, Stuttgart 1957, p. 27; foreign trade in large quantities of books, often whole printings, is discussed in F. Geldner, 'Das Rechnungsbuch des Speyer Druckherrn, Verlegers und Grossbuchhändlers Peter Drach', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens V*, Frankfurt a. M. 1962, p. 1. There is no reason to believe that the publishers in Lyons acted otherwise.

and not only from the Lyons, Paris and other French printers, but also from the great German publishers.

The interest in books gradually led to the flourishing of a literary milieu, especially in the period after the prolonged stay of the court in the 1520s. Local authors had their works printed, and personalities from outside—with Rabelais as the best known—were drawn to the city. Lenient censorship also made it attractive for Protestant-inspired authors to have their books published here.

## Chapter 13

# Music printing and the music trade

We must presume that the busy city had an active musical life. But we do not know much about it. There was music for the high days and holidays of the year, for royal visits, for the theatre and for weddings and other festive occasions in the lives of the citizens; people would have been able to experience all aspects and facets of 'everyday music'. Yet it was not music that was written down, and which posterity can know anything about. Besides the performances of travelling companies, Lyons had a number of resident musicians to draw on. The archives for the first decades of the sixteenth century mention organists, lutenists and musicians with string and wind instruments, and a not inconsiderable number of instrument-builders. We also know the names of the city musicians, the *trompettes de la ville* and *tambours*.<sup>1</sup> But the archives are silent about actual art music until, around 1520, the Florentine colony engaged Francesco Layolle as organist at Notre Dame de Confort. Famous musicians visited Lyons on their way to and from Italy; for example Josquin Desprez and Ghiselin paid a visit to the envoy of Mantua in April 1503, and Antoine Brumel, as we have seen, lived in Lyons for about six months in 1505 before taking up the post as *maistre de chapelle* in Ferrara. The visits of the court provided opportunities for contact with the 'great music', and other visiting princes and magnates probably also brought musicians when they came to the fairs to sample the range of luxuries and held negotiations about their financial situations.

Everyday life in Lyons held no promise for musicians trained for the music of church and court. The liturgy forbade the use of polyphonic music in the main churches.<sup>2</sup> This meant that the city lacked a number of the important posts, good offices as singers and masters of the chapels at the churches and as teachers and heads of choir schools, which attracted famous musicians in other great cities. There was no university, nor was there the established secular aristocracy which glorified itself in other places by consuming expensive music. On the evidence of the archives Lyons was a city where musical life before 1520 had left no other traces than the names of a few local musicians in fiscal and census records. And there is nothing to justify giving Lyons a prominent place in musical life at this time. If we look at the production of written music, printed as well as manuscript, the picture is somewhat different, and there are clues which may in future mean that the lacuna in the area of music will gradually be filled in.

In the 1530s Jacques Moderne became a serious competitor to Pierre Attaignant in Paris. He started publishing music in 1532 with *Liber decem missarum*. In the first few years he concentrated his activities on sacred music; the first volume of chansons, *Le paragon des chansons*,

<sup>1</sup> The organists are discussed in G. Tricou, 'Les deux Layolle et les organistes lyonnais du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle ...' (TricouL). Some names of musicians are quoted from the archives in S. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne ...* (PogueM) p. 25, n. 2; there is a fuller list in B. Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (FaurieL) I, pp. 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapter 10.

appeared in 1538, or perhaps as early as 1537.<sup>3</sup> However, music printing in Lyons had started long before Moderne. In 1528 Etienne Gueyard, along with the printers Bernard Garnier and Guillaume Gobert, published *Contrapunctus seu figurata musica super plano cantu missarum solennium totius anni*, a large choirbook with thirteen Mass Propers in four parts for the great feasts of the year, and three motets by Francesco Layolle. In the masses, the voice which bears the plainchant melody is written in plainsong notation, while the other three parts are in mensural notation. The music was probably entirely composed by Layolle,<sup>4</sup> who seems to have been the prime mover in the project, just as he was deeply involved in Moderne's activities.<sup>5</sup> *Contrapunctus* was printed in a double process, something between Petrucci's double impression with movable type and Andrea Antico's carved wooden plates; one plate was used for the staves and another, carved in wood, for the notes. Moderne was the first to imitate Attaignant's single-impression system with movable type.

In the first part of his book *Les Éditions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise*,<sup>6</sup> Laurent Guillo gives an account of the earliest preserved music prints from Lyons and the prints from the 1520s which have been lost in the course of time. His research shows that Francesco Layolle was also responsible for the earliest of these editions, the first printed edition of polyphonic music in France. This was a collection of four-part and five-part motets of which only a tenor part-book is preserved today in the British Library. It contains no information about the place and date of printing, about the publisher and printer, or about the composer of the music.<sup>7</sup> Guillo's study of the typography and ornamented letters reveals that the part-book was printed by Antoine du Ry in Lyons in the spring of 1525.<sup>8</sup> The motet collection as a whole can further be identified as one of the many collections of music that formed part of the library of the Spanish bibliophile Ferdinand Columbus in Seville. Most of his library has been lost, but we can study Columbus' catalogue, where the collection appears as no. 5582 "Francisci de layole motetti n°. 12. O clara virgo xpi gloriosa", and is part of a series with a further five motet collections which Columbus had acquired in Turin or Lyons between 1531 and 1535; they have now all disappeared.<sup>9</sup> All six collections probably come from the same circle of publishers, and should be dated Lyons 1525-30. Another collection of seven penitential psalms by Layolle in Columbus' catalogue may belong to the same group of prints.<sup>10</sup> The tenor part-book was

<sup>3</sup> All Moderne's prints are listed in PogueM; but see also L. Guillo, 'Les Motets de Layolle et les Psaumes de Piéton, Deux nouvelles éditions lyonnaises du seizième siècle' (GuilloM).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. D. A. Sutherland (ed.), *The Lyons Contrapunctus (1528)* (SutherlandL) 'Introduction'.

<sup>5</sup> Layolle is the composer most frequently represented in Moderne's prints; *Liber decem missarum* has two of his masses and again three motets—this collection of Mass Ordinaries is a successor to and complements the *Contrapunctus* (cf. PogueM p. 40).

<sup>6</sup> GuilloL.

<sup>7</sup> London, British Library: K.8.b.7.(5); cf. W. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum*, London 1912, II p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> There is also a brief account of the identification of the print in GuilloM pp. 186-89. Here and in the original version of his dissertation, *Recherches sur les éditions musicales lyonnaises de la Renaissance* (1986), L. Guillo concluded that the part-book was printed by Antoine du Ry at some time in the period 1523-24. Later research made him revise this date in his published book (1991); cf. GuilloL p. 227 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. W. Chapman, 'Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus' (ChapmanP) p. 79 no. 132; the other collections are in Chapman's overview as nos. 133-137: no. 5583 "Francisci de layole motetti n°. 12. 5. vocom. Suscipe verbum virgo maria quod tibi"; no. 7622 "Francisci de layole motetti n°. 12. trium vocom. Alexander epicopus servus servorum dei ad futura"; no. 9208 "Francisci de layole motetti cum 5. vocibus n°. 12 in 4<sup>or</sup> partibus et p<sup>a</sup> est Ego in foelix et ulti<sup>a</sup> est Ave verum"; no. 9209 "Francisci de layole motetti ex vocibus paribus 12. rerum p<sup>a</sup> est Ave maria et ulti<sup>a</sup> Virgo maria"; no. 9251 "Francisci de layole motetti novi. li°. p°. n°. 12. ultimus est Memor esto. Celorum candor splenduit novum sydus emicuit in cantu." Cf. also GuilloL p. 216ff 'Bibliographie des éditions musicales' no. 1-7.

<sup>10</sup> ChapmanP p. 80 no. 141—no. 5091 "Francisci de layole septem psalmi penitales in cantu. Domine ne in

printed by the same method as Andrea Antico's Italian publications, in a single impression with the music carved in wood and the text lines in movable type. This method, but in a more primitive form, was also used for the monophonic melodies in *Chansons nouvelles en langage provençal*, published, probably in 1531, by Antoine Blanchard of Lyons.<sup>11</sup> L. Guillo further mentions a number of music prints, none of which are preserved, probably printed in Lyons before Moderne began as a music publisher. These are an anonymous collection of penitential psalms, a collection of masses by Mouton, and a collection of French chansons.<sup>12</sup> All in all, various publishers in Lyons may have published twelve printed collections in this period, and there were probably more of which we have no trace; a remarkable amount of activity considering that we previously only knew of *Contrapunctus*, which appeared in 1528, a few months after Attaignant's *Chansons nouvelles*, and which appeared to be an oddly isolated publication.

There can be little doubt that Layolle's engagement just after 1520 as organist and master of the chapel at Notre Dame de Confort for the Florentine congregation was to be a crucial stimulus to music publishing in Lyons. For the first time a composer of the first rank devoted all his effort to the musical life of the city; he filled a void, and probably within a short time saw the opportunities that the fairs and the trade offered him. He was a prolific composer, and succeeded in the course of the next twenty years in getting many works printed; besides the seven wholly or partially lost collections of his music, Moderne published 107 of his compositions after 1532—masses, motets, chansons and madrigals.

Between 1521 and 1531 the book printer Antoine du Ry produced more than twenty books for one of the biggest booksellers and publishers in Lyons, Jacopo Giunta, a member of the Italian publishing dynasty whose interests ranged all over Europe. Giunta had come to Lyons from Florence in 1519, and was closely related to Jacopo Giunta in Rome and Luca Antonio Giunta in Venice, who had both worked with Andrea Antico on music prints before 1522. Layolle and Giunta moved in the same circles, and it is possible that they called Antico to Lyons to make the plates for the first music prints; his movements in the decade after 1522 cannot be documented.

With Layolle and Giunta the musical and financial expertise was available to start a new and risky music-producing enterprise in Lyons, and craftsmen for the practical work could be found locally or fetched from outside. However, Layolle had never—as far as we know—had any of his works published in his native country, so why this sudden, large-scale activity?

We must concede with Samuel F. Pogue that the inspiration did not come from the musical scene in Lyons—it was first and foremost the market potential that provided the impetus, and this was even more true for Layolle and Giunta than for Moderne.<sup>13</sup> Another factor may have been that Lyons, as well as being a centre for book production, was already an important channel for the circulation of music. And this is where the testimony of the music manuscripts comes into the picture.

fuore tuo"; the psalms are in several manuscript sources and have been published by F. D'Accone in LayolleO IV.

<sup>11</sup> Facsimile publ. by Centre International de Documentation Occitane, Beziers 1979; GuilloL no. 8.

<sup>12</sup> GuilloL nos. 10, 11 and 14; cf. ChapmanP no. 148—no. 13766 in F. Columbus' catalogue "Psalmi penitentiales cum. 5. vocibus. p<sup>a</sup> In te domine speravi ultimus Nunc dimitis et ego is felix et peccavimus contra a 4. partes"; no. 138—no. 9198 "Jo. Mouton. Missa de cantes cantilenam et luculi cantum. Chirie"; no. 139—no. 9199 "Canson nouvelle francoise n<sup>o</sup>. 11 a trois e a 4 e a 5. Las je me playns mauldite son fortune quant pour".

<sup>13</sup> PogueM pp. 26-27: "Solid evidence about music in Lyons is hard to find. It was not so much the presence of an active musical life there—and I question whether Lyons was ever a flourishing center of music—as it was the market though the fairs that made the printing of music attractive and profitable to Moderne. It is significant that copies of only five of Moderne's books can be found in the municipal library of Lyons today, and none of them contain figured music; the music books must have been a commodity for export."



While the earliest printed music in Lyons so clearly has an Italian background, there is not much Italian influence to be traced in the preserved manuscripts. They seem to stick to French music and tradition, and they must be dated before the prints. The appearance of the printed music—along with the old-fashioned nature of the repertory, which the stay of the court in Lyons put into relief—may have been a reason why the copyist who used Cop 1848 as his stock of music finally put his collection aside.

In studying Cop 1848 one gets an impression of the way a music copyist worked in the years around 1520. With the aid of changes in his style of writing, in ink colour and in his writing speed and care with the work, one can reconstruct his working routine in considerable detail. One almost has the feeling of looking over his shoulder as he sat copying borrowed music with his quill.<sup>14</sup> The wide-ranging repertory that he worked with moreover gives us an insight into other kinds of music than the repertory of the court. He copied all kinds of music, including compositions which could have aroused little interest outside the area where they were created. There were the very simple songs which may have been part of the repertoire of local musicians; the sacred music for large and small institutions—by anonymous composers trying to emulate the ‘great music’ of the age; and the simple utility music which exploited limited resources in the most effective way. Here we find the first traces of a local repertory, music that was created and used in Lyons or the surrounding region.

Parts of the collection had been planned from the outset as stock material from which the scribe could draw music for various purposes. These were the large stock fascicles (Rfasc. 6, 7 and 8). Other parts are music originally copied for other uses, perhaps with sale in mind. Yet the copying had not been very successful, so he might as well use the paper for other things. But we do manage to get a glimpse of the unpretentious written music he could produce (for example the *Magnificat* manuscript Rfasc. 9-10). This was aimed at customers of the bookstalls who were interested in obtaining music at affordable prices. They may have been people with a professional interest in the music, music experts and collectors, or just people with social aspirations.

Rfasc. 5 contained a balanced, carefully arranged repertory which is particularly interesting. Here the scribe himself appears to have compiled a complete stock for further copying in the form of small music books for sale at the fairs. The repertory is French love songs, culled from the greatest hits of the age, with a suitable seasoning of godly music, and with a few more unusual compositions intermixed to arouse the curiosity of the customers. We find similarly arranged series of compositions in the large stock fascicles. They would have been of great importance to the copyist in his work.

In the stock fascicles he gradually lost track of his plan for the contents. In particular, the plan had to take second place when he had a chance to copy attractive compositions. Thus a picture emerges of the way music circulated. We can see, for example, that in the midst of copying a repertory of sacred music he suddenly got hold of new originals. He may have been able to borrow music from a musician or a colleague travelling through the city. So he laid the other material aside and copied the new music, in this case two masses by composers who worked in Paris. He must have been in a great hurry: he was unable to finish the first mass, and in the middle of the second he fitted in a motet which probably suddenly became available during the work. He had to grasp at chances when they arose. In other parts of Cop 1848 we can see that he copied whole small collections of music, either in the form of small fascicles with a homogeneous repertory, for example series of chansons—including the most modern music in the series of Parisian chansons—or the ‘sales repertories’ discussed above. We even find an unrelated manuscript (Rfasc. D), from which he copied a motet. This

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.

was also written in Lyons, and our copyist must have borrowed or bought it from a colleague and—perhaps absent-mindedly—left it lying in the middle of the fascicle.

The copyist has also left us an interesting little music manuscript which consisted of three fascicles (Rfasc. HJK). It does not seem quite finished, the repertory is very backward-looking and he had already copied many of the compositions once before on loose sheets or in small fascicles. He may have been making a collection of models for a colleague's use.

The whole suggests that there was busy music-copying activity in Lyons, and a constant influx of written music, especially from the leading circles; but provincial music too had a natural place here. Whole music repertories were copied again and again, or were split up and transformed into new ones to meet the demands of the market. Our copyist cannot possibly have functioned alone. He formed part of a living milieu, was a small link in the circulation of the music.

With our scanty knowledge of musical life in Lyons it is difficult to judge how much of the secular and sacred music that the main scribe copied could have been familiar to him from performances. But some of it must have been; anything else is inconceivable. In the review of Hand D's corrections and compositions it was demonstrated that the musicians of the period were excellently able to manage compositions notated in parts.<sup>15</sup> But to compile repertories of selected pieces like the one in Rfasc. 5 the scribe must have had a familiarity with the music over and above simple access to its written form. Of course, visiting musicians must have had many of the pieces in their repertoires, but considering that it was often rather old music, it is possible that most of it was used in the city's own musical life. Music copying was probably not the scribe's only occupation. He and his colleagues are likely to have engaged in some—perhaps modest—activity as singers and musicians.

The manuscript in Copenhagen is not the only trace of music copying in Lyons. A short while ago I discovered that a set of recently-found fragments of a music manuscript were written on paper from the same mill as produced some of the paper in Cop 1848. The fragments are in the Bibliothèque de Ville de Lyons as *ms. 6632*, and were undoubtedly written in Lyons in the period around 1500. They come from a manuscript of sacred music; there are the remains of three four-part masses, a three-part introit, a hymn and twelve two-part and three-part pieces without text which should probably be arranged in one or more continuous compositions, as well as five invitatories with antiphons in choral notation.<sup>16</sup> Compared with the local repertory in Cop 1848, the fragments may one day give us a new picture of the state of sacred music in Lyons. Perhaps the cathedral chapter's dismissive attitude to figured music was not universal; perhaps there were institutions in the city or its environs which had a use for polyphonic sacred music.

We can also get some impression of the way the music books produced by the copyists for sale at the market looked from a chansonnier of the beginning of the sixteenth century of which musicologists have only recently become aware. It is in the University Library in Uppsala as *Vokalmusik i Handskrift nr. 76a*.<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to prove that this manuscript comes from Lyons, but there is much circumstantial evidence. The manuscript looks like nothing so much as a modern, well-worn, tattered paperback. The paper quality is the same as in Cop 1848, but the format is only half the size, as the sheets are folded an extra time. The staves have been very carefully drawn in on all the pages in a single session. Three professional scribes

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Chapter 11.2.

<sup>16</sup> Chapter 14.1 offers a provisional presentation of the fragments and the interesting hymn setting *Lugentibus in purgatorio*.

<sup>17</sup> The credit for bringing this important source to light is due to Professor Howard Mayer Brown, Chicago. There is a more detailed description of the manuscript and arguments for its origin in Lyons in Chapter 14.2.

entered the original content, and everything indicates that on the whole they worked in parallel. As with so many other music manuscripts, there were some empty pages in the finished volume where the owners could make their own additions. Taken as a whole, the work of the three scribes shows great resemblances to the 'sales repertories' in Cop 1848, except that two of the scribes dealt with the rather older pieces, while the third had access to contemporary material. It is very likely that three copyists, each with his own speciality, worked together to produce marketable goods quickly. The customers for written music like this small chansonnier and small collections like Rfasc. 5 in Cop 1848 were probably people from the lower aristocracy and bourgeoisie who wished to boost their social status by owning books like the higher aristocracy, but were unwilling to spend the large sums that such luxuries normally cost.

It is surprising to see how much old music Cop 1848 and the Uppsala manuscript contain. The modern music of the day *is* represented, but the collections are mainly retrospectively inclined. We can perhaps take this as an indication that the taste of the public—in this case of the customers at the fairs—was more conservative than the taste reflected in the beautiful manuscripts for the nobility.

Neither Laurent Guillo's research on the earliest music prints nor this study of the manuscripts allows us to rediscover a more ambitious musical life in Lyons—only weak, indefinite clues have emerged. But, quite in keeping with the city's commercial attitude, we have been able to draw a picture of a centre for the production of and trade in written music. In further research on the paths of music, Lyons will probably prove to have played an important role in the traffic between France and Italy.

# Chapter 14

## Other sources from France

Very few music manuscripts of the period around 1500 are comparable to Cop 1848 in structure and character. Those that come closest are a set of fragments in the University Library in Poznań and the much older manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, *Cod. Canonici misc. 213*. The fragments come from Lvov in what was then Poland, and belonged to a collection of independent fascicle manuscripts probably all copied by the same scribe at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> *Oxford 213* was created in much the same process as Cop 1848; the manuscript functioned as the scribe's own collection, which was built up over many years in the first part of the fifteenth century. As with Cop 1848, here too we also know of an example of an original used by the scribe in copying, and of a music manuscript he made on the basis of his stock.<sup>2</sup>

Anthologies, bound collections of separate fascicles of various origins, or groups of fascicles, are not so rare. From the German area in particular, several such collections are known which seem to have been gathered together for private use.<sup>3</sup> There are also examples of large anthologies compiled by a single scribe. *Bologna, Civio museo bibliografico musicale, Ms. Q19* is a choir-book in chancery format, written in northern Italy at almost the same time as Cop 1848, probably in 1515-18.<sup>4</sup> In a casual cursive script the scribe has entered a mixed sacred and secular repertory which does not seem to be ordered according to any plan; moreover, a few compositions are rather haphazardly laid out. Much of the repertory is French music of the most contemporary type, other material is of Italian origin. This collection is unlikely—despite

<sup>1</sup> Poznań, Mickiewicz University Library, Ms. 7022. Dr. Mirosław Perz of the University of Warsaw gave a lecture at the Danish Musicological Society in May 1985 entitled 'The Lvov Fragments: An important new Source of 15th century Polyphony'. On this occasion Dr. Perz presented his reconstruction of a number of fragments taken from the binding of the town record book of Lvov for the years 1519-30, which was bound after 1530. It emerged that these fragments come from three large paper fascicles in chancery format of 11, 8 and 8 sheets respectively. Each of the three fascicles was in use separately and they were probably done by the same hand over a longish period, c. 1480 – c. 1500. As in Cop 1848, there are 9-10 staves on each page, and now and then one finds an unusual disposition of the voices. The fascicles were probably written in Lvov. They are one of the oldest sources of Josquin's works, and include his *Missa L'amy Baudichon* and *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*. The repertory consists further of Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum*, Petrus de Donarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*, an anonymous mass, Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz' satirical motet *Probitate eminentem – Ploditanto exare* and anonymous motets and textless compositions. Dr. Perz' thorough account of the fragments has since been published in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* (PerzL).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford ...* (SchoopO); the related small fascicles are *Paris, BN, ms. nouv. acq. franç. 4379 II and III*. See also Chapter 3.3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the discussion in Chapter 3.3 (spec. n. 28).

<sup>4</sup> *Bologna Q19*; cf. L. Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel ...' (LockwoodF) pp. 234-41. The manuscript has been the subject of much discussion (cf. LockwoodF, n. 101 p. 234, where previous views are reviewed); Lockwood argues convincingly for an origin in northern Italy—for example in Ferrara or Modena.

certain resemblances to Cop 1848—to have been made for private use. It is rather a stock manuscript for a musical institution (a court chapel), which the chapel copyist was responsible for ordering and updating.<sup>5</sup> This may also have been the function of another two large collections. That they were written in France must in this context be considered particularly interesting.

For in the University Library in Uppsala one finds, besides the previously mentioned chansonnier *Uppsala 76a*, a further two music manuscripts which have not hitherto been the object of much attention, *Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b* and *76c*. The two thick manuscripts, of 166 and 157 folios respectively, are written on paper of exactly the same format and quality as Cop 1848. And in each, almost the whole original content was written by a single copyist. There is even a slight possibility that the same scribe executed both volumes. They were probably written over a period in the mid-1530s.<sup>6</sup> *Uppsala 76b* has owner's marks which, judging by the handwriting, are from the mid-sixteenth century; they tell us that the book belonged to one Thomas Gilleson, a priest of the diocese of Troyes.

Later in the 1500s, at least, the two volumes had the same owner, since a not particularly competent amateur has filled the empty pages of both volumes with French lute tablature; the repertory of lute music exhibits the taste of the 1580s.<sup>7</sup>

Like Cop 1848, they were not meant for practical performance. This is shown by the format and the careless way the repertory has been treated. There are many errors and the text underlay is sometimes extremely inadequate; furthermore, they show little sign of wear. Thus far they have quite a few features in common with Cop 1848; in all other respects they are very different. For each volume is conceived as a whole; from the outset they were planned as music collections on the same pattern. In both cases the work was begun by drawing staves with a rastrum on the many pages—twelve on each page of *Uppsala 76b* and eleven on each page of *Uppsala 76c*. Then the music was entered according to a preconceived plan: first masses and mass sections, then motets and finally secular music—French chansons, and in *Uppsala 76c* also a group of five-part and six-part instrumental pieces, mostly dances. The individual repertory groups were probably entered concurrently in each manuscript; rather a lot of pages were left empty between the groups, so space must have been left to place the compositions in the right groups as they became available.

*Uppsala 76b* is executed with the greatest care; it has the full text of the great majority of compositions, although the text underlay disappears at the end of the long section with masses which fills almost two third of the pages. It contains few composer names: "Jo. Mouton", "m. forestier" and "Josquin", and includes a hitherto unknown mass by Mouton.<sup>8</sup> With the help of concordances we can form a more complete picture of the repertory: Mouton is represented by eight compositions (3 masses, 4 motets and 1 chanson), Josquin by five (2 masses, 1 motet and 2 chansons), Antoine de Févin by three (2 masses and 1 chanson), and Mathurin Forestier by one mass and one motet.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also C. Hamm's account of the stock manuscripts in the article 'Sources IX' in *NGrove*.

<sup>6</sup> The watermarks point to northern France no later than the beginning of the 1530s.

<sup>7</sup> This part of the content of the manuscripts is carefully catalogued in J. O. Rudén, *Music in tablature. A thematic index with source descriptions of music in tablature notation in Sweden*. Stockholm 1981, pp. 49-52. They probably came to Sweden by the same route as *Uppsala 76a*. Cf. Chapter 14.2.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas G. MacCracken, 'A New Mass by Mouton' (Paper for AMS Boston 1981). My attention was drawn to this paper at the library in Uppsala, where there is also a list of the contents of the two manuscripts, which was a great help to me; this, too, is the work of Thomas G. MacCracken, University of Chicago.

<sup>9</sup> *Veni sancte spiritus* 6v ff. 115v-117 is here attributed to "m. forestier"; other sources give Josquin as the composer.

In *Uppsala 76c* one finds only a single name, “Claudin”, over his well-known four-part motet *Si bona suscepimus*, which Attaingnant had published in organ tablature in 1531.<sup>10</sup> This was not copied by the main scribe, but by another contemporary hand. The main scribe furnished very few pieces (3 masses and 2 chansons) with a complete text; the great majority of the 76 compositions he entered (7 masses, 5 mass sections, 22 motets, 34 chansons and 8 instrumental pieces) only have brief incipits or no text at all. The composers in *Uppsala 76c* are Josquin (eight compositions—1 mass, 5 motets and 2 chansons); Richafort (eight compositions—1 mass, 5 motets and 2 chansons); Mouton (five compositions—2 masses, 2 motets and 1 chanson); Févin (four—2 masses and 2 motets); and Gascongne (three compositions—sections from two different masses and a motet). De Silva, Verdelot and L. Hellinck are represented by a single motet each, and Lhéritier and Passereau appear with one chanson each. Finally, besides the above-mentioned motet, there are a further two motets and no less than fourteen four-part chansons by Claudin de Sermisy.

The four-part to six-part repertory in the volumes reflects the taste of a later period than Cop 1848. However, they are almost as retrospective as Cop 1848, inasmuch as the main names—Mouton, Josquin and Févin—were long since dead when the repertory of the manuscripts was compiled. One could say that the composers of the youngest generation in Cop 1848 (and in the contemporary *Bologna Q19*) have here become ‘classics’. The scribes of course only made the great effort of filling out these systematically disposed collections because the collections had a function to fulfil. Determining this function would require a very detailed study of the manuscripts which is outside the scope of this work. Besides the possibility that they functioned as music stocks for an institution, it is possible, for example, that they were drawn up as study material.

#### 14.1 Fragments of a music manuscript: *Lyon 6632*

Some ten years ago, the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon had an old book from one of the city publishing houses restored. The book was *Catalogus sanctorum, Vitas, passiones, & miracula commodissime annectens, Ex variis voluminibus selectus*, AE. & J. Huguetan, Lyons 1542.<sup>11</sup> In the binding were found a number of much-cut music sheets and fragments of letters which were catalogued as *ms. 6632 fonds musicales*.<sup>12</sup>

The music fragments consist of 23 single folios, c. 312 x c. 200 mm, which have been cut from a larger manuscript. The paper is of good quality, and was probably produced in sheets in a format larger than 350 x 500 mm. A watermark can be seen in f. 18. It shows a water wheel with the letter “P” above. This mark is very often found in documents in the Archives municipales de Lyon; in *Séries BB* it appears with many variants in the period 1485-1531, and in Cop 1848 it appears on a single sheet (pp. 429-432, *Watermark 8*), a paper that could be dated c. 1522.<sup>13</sup> In his large catalogue C. M. Briquet lists a variant of the mark as no. 13453 (355 x 510 mm, Lyon 1503, Arch. mun. CC. 109-131).<sup>14</sup> The fragments should probably be dated *Lyons, c. 1500*.

<sup>10</sup> In *Treze Motetz musicaulx ...*, Attaingnant 1531/5 no. 7; cf. RoksethM p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> Lyons, Bibl. de la Ville, Rés. 166853.

<sup>12</sup> M. Guy Parguez, *conservateur* of the music department, aroused my interest in the fragments during my visit to the library in November 1982. Laurent Guillo of Lyons has also studied the fragments. I am grateful to them both for help and information. The fragments are kept in a cardboard cover which also contains a few sheets of piano music; these have nothing to do with the rest and must have been put there by mistake.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.2.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. BriquetF.



Along with the music the restorers removed from the volumes of *Catalogus sanctorum* two fragments of a letter or document in Latin, a letter in French and a piece of the original flyleaf. On the latter we find the inscription “Pro magistre pontio Barriam pbro et tuis amicis”. In the margin of one of the Latin fragments is the signature “Chalmeyron”, and the letter in French, which like the Latin fragments is illegible in its present state, was written by the same Chalmeyron and addressed to “monsieur Barrian”. The title page of the *Catalogus sanctorum* has several inscriptions: on the middle of the page is the oldest, “pro magistre pontio barriam pbro et tuis amicis lvij chalmeyron”, and at the bottom of the page another hand has written “Maistre pons barrian ptre”. One possible interpretation of this information is that in 1557 a certain Chalmeyron had the book bound as a gift to (his teacher?) Pons Barrian, a priest, and his colleagues. As filler material in the binding a discarded music manuscript and some old letters were used. The Barrian family was well known in Lyons in the sixteenth century; for example, in 1562 François Barrian was *contrôleur de la Rêve*.<sup>15</sup> Several owners’ marks on the title page reveal that later in the sixteenth century the book passed to one A. Joctier, who bought it from Pons Barrian; later it belonged to the Carmelite monastery in Tournon and the Lycée Impérial de Tournon, before being acquired by the library in Lyons.

Each of the pages of the discarded music manuscript has eleven staves (height 15 mm) made with a rastrum in one operation. The folios can be arranged in six groups, A-F, consisting of a single or several folios with related and unrelated compositions; the groups consist of 5, 6, 1, 1, 1 and 6 folios respectively, and there are a further three folios with unused staves (G).<sup>16</sup> The cutting of the folios has removed either the beginning or end of each stave, and on some pages one or two staves at the top or bottom have been lost. The music appears to have been entered by four different hands (A-D); two or three hands may be variants of the same hand.

Hand A ff. 1-11<sup>v</sup>: Red initials in text and part designations, text in almost all parts, black ink; has entered a three-part setting of the Introit *Puer natus est nobis* and three four-part masses.

Hand B ff. 12-16: Brown ink; has written a two-part hymn, *Lugentibus in purgatorio* (a later hand (?) has added the third part) and 12 two-part and three-part compositions without text. They are probably related and should perhaps be ordered as 1-3 longer compositions.

Hand C ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-20: Five invitatories, *Venite exultemus Domino* with antiphons in the 7th, 6th, 5th and 4th tone in plainsong notation.

Hand D f. 20<sup>v</sup>: Added a three-part canon under the last invitatory.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J. Tricou (ed.), *La Chronique Lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud 1536-1562*, Lyon 1929, p. 15 and J. Tricou, *Armorial et Répertoire Lyonnais* (TricouA) II p. 56.

<sup>16</sup> I have ordered the reconstructed groups in the sequence that seems most appropriate. At the same time I assigned numbers to the folios (ff. 1-23). These numbers do not follow the arbitrary foliation now written in pencil on the folios. On the library’s microfilm of *Lyon 6632* the folios are in yet another sequence. I therefore provide the following concordance: microphotos nos. 1-10 = ff. 1-5<sup>v</sup>; photos nos. 11-14 = ff. 10-11<sup>v</sup>; nos. 15-16 = f. 6-6<sup>v</sup>; no. 17 = f. 7<sup>v</sup>; no. 18 = f. 7; nos. 19-22 = ff. 8-9<sup>v</sup>; nos. 23-24 = f. 19-19<sup>v</sup>; nos. 25-28 = ff. 21-22<sup>v</sup>; nos. 29-30 = f. 18-18<sup>v</sup> (upside down); no. 31 = f. 15<sup>v</sup>; no. 32 = f. 15; nos. 33-34 = f. 12-12<sup>v</sup>; no. 35 = f. 14<sup>v</sup>; no. 36 = f. 14; nos. 37-38 = f. 13-13<sup>v</sup>; no. 39 = f. 16<sup>v</sup>; no. 40 = f. 16; nos. 41-42 = f. 23-23<sup>v</sup>; no. 43 = f. 17<sup>v</sup>; no. 44 = f. 17; nos. 45-46 = letter in Latin; no. 47 = f. 20<sup>v</sup>; no. 48 = f. 20; nos. 49-50 = letter in Latin; nos. 51-54 = letter in French and fragment; nos. 55-56 = flyleaf.

*Lyon 6632: Contents*

## Group A:

- f. 1 [Introitus *Puer natus est nobis*] 2v(3v) (T and C only)  
 Alternatim setting with the plainchant melody in the superius.  
 ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> Mass (I) 4v  
 Kyrie; Et in terra pax; Patrem omnipotentem; Sanctus; Agnus Dei  
 (lacks two voices).

## Group B:

- ff. 6-10 Mass (II) 4v  
 Patrem omnipotentem (lacks two voices) – Crucifixus; Sanctus;  
 Agnus Dei 3v.  
 ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup> Mass (III) 4v  
 Kyrie; Et in terra pax (S and T only).

## Group C:

- f. 12 *Lugentibus in purgatorio* 2v—plus a later-added third part  
 (various sketches at the bottom of the page)  
 f. 12<sup>v</sup> Empty staves

## Group D:

- f. 13 Empty staves  
 f. 13<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ○ c. 30 brevis measures)  
 f. 13<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ⊔ c. 22 br mm.)  
 f. 13<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ⊕ c. 18 br mm.)

## Group E:

- f. 14 [Without text] 2v(3v) (T and C only, ○ c. 76 br-mm.)  
 f. 14<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ⊔ c. 31 br mm.)  
 f. 14<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ⊔ c. 95 br mm.)  
 f. 14<sup>v</sup> [Without text] 1v(3v) (S only, ⊕ c. 21 br mm.)

## Group F:

- f. 15 [Without text] 2v(3v) (T and C only, ○ 41 br mm.)  
 f. 15 [Without text] 1v(2v) (T(C) only, ○ 20 br mm.)  
 ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 [Without text] 3v ( ⊔ 32 br mm.)  
 ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 [Without text] 3v ( ⊔ 36 br mm.)  
 ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 [Without text] 3v ( ⊔ 3 42 br mm.)  
 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>v</sup> Invitatories with antiphons 1v, plainsong notation  
 f. 20<sup>v</sup> [Canon] 3v ex 1v

## Group G:

- ff. 21-23<sup>v</sup> Empty staves

The fragments come from a large manuscript of sacred music. No attempt has yet been made to identify most of its repertory. Along with Cop 1848, it give us a better picture of the knowledge and use of sacred music in Lyons at the beginning of the sixteenth century than we have previously been able to form. But the picture will only emerge clearly after further scrutiny.<sup>17</sup>

*Lugentibus in purgatorio*

One of the compositions is particularly worthy of attention, partly because it is stylistically distinct from the other polyphonic pieces of the fragments, and partly because it belongs to a small group of related compositions which appear in French manuscripts of the period around 1500. It is a simple setting of the hymn “*Lugentibus* [or *langentibus*] in purgatorio”, which is found on f. 12, almost completely preserved and with a full text under the parts. The text is a

<sup>17</sup> I later hope to publish a more detailed study of the fragments in cooperation with Laurent Guillo.

**Example 1** *Lyon 6632 f. 12: Lugentibus in purgatorio*<sup>18</sup>

[tenor] Lu - gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri - o, qui pur - gan - tur ar - do - re ni - mi -

Lu - gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri - o, qui pur - gan - tur ar - do - re ni - mi -

o dum tor - quen - tur si - ne re - me - di - o sub - ve - ni - at tu - a com - pas - si -

o dum tor - quen - tur si - ne re - me - di - o sub - ve - ni - at tu - a com - pas - si -

o, O Ma - ri - a.

o, O Ma - ri - a.

prayer for the souls of the dead in Purgatory which was very widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> It is a strophic poem in decasyllabic quatrains each followed by a refrain “O Maria”, and each line has a caesura after four syllables—a strophic form used in innumerable French poems (tradition has it that the hymn was written by the Benedictine Jean de Langoueznou). With the music are five stanzas of text; one is laid under the music, and four more have been entered between the two parts.<sup>20</sup> The right-hand side of the folio, it is true, has been cut away, but enough of the music has been left to allow us to reconstruct the whole fairly well (cf. *Example 1*).

Hand B has entered two parts and the text from an original. They fill only six of the eleven staves on the page, so five staves were left empty at the bottom of the page. Here we now

<sup>18</sup> Missing sections are reconstructed in brackets.

<sup>19</sup> As regards the text, see U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (RH) nos. 10180-81 and no. 10723; F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (MoneH) I pp. 400-02; V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits ...* (LeroquaisH) I p. 275, II p. 160 and p. 240; and AR p. 198\* and VP pp. 239-41.

<sup>20</sup> The five stanzas correspond to Stanzas 1, 2, 6, 5 and 8 in the version reproduced by Mone (MoneH I pp. 400-02).

**Example 2** *Amiens 162 ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-13: Lugentibus in purgatorio* (Stanza 1)

Lu - gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri - o, qui pur - gan - tur ar - do -

Lu - gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri - o, qui pur - gan - tur ar - do -

Lu - gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri - o, qui pur - gan - tur ar - do -

re ni - mi - o et tor - quen - tur sed cum re - me - di - o. Sub - ve - ni -

re ni - mi - o et tor - quen - tur sed cum re - me - di - o. Sub - ve - ni -

re ni - mi - o et tor - quen - tur sed cum re - me - di - o. Sub - ve - ni -

at tu - a com - pas - si - o. O Jhe - su rex, mi - se - re - re e - is.

at tu - a com - pas - si - o. O Jhe - su rex, mi - se - re - re e - is.

at tu - a com - pas - si - o. O Jhe - su rex, mi - se - re - re e - is.

have a third part for *Lugentibus* as well as some scribbles which look like a rough exercise in composition.<sup>21</sup> This is clearly an addition written in lighter ink and without text. The similarity of the music hand and the drawing of the clefs may perhaps be taken to mean that Hand B himself composed the part directly on the paper. The part follows the other two mechanically and completes the harmonies in a leaping motion. We can see that while writing the composer corrected a note which would have produced parallel fifths with the tenor.<sup>22</sup> The original two-part texture is for equal voices at a low pitch. The four lines of the text are set syllabically in the form ABCA'; they are followed by the invocation "O Maria" with fermatas above every single note. The part (tenor) which is in the middle of the page may be based on a simple hymn melody; it is followed by the original counter-voice alternately above and below in fifths and thirds.

<sup>21</sup> A fragment of a tenor part in *semibreves* values and a superius (illeg.); on sketches and exercises in Cop 1848 see Chapter 11.

<sup>22</sup> At "qui purgantur" in Example 1 a *d* in the added voice has been corrected to *A*.

**Example 3** *Uppsala 76a ff. 68<sup>v</sup>-73: Kirie – Langentibus in purgatorio*

a) Stanza 1 “Langentibus” (beg.)

b) Stanza 2 “Clavis David” (beg.)

a:

Lan-gen - ti-bus in pur - ga - to - ri-o, qui pur-gan-tur ar-do-re ni - mi-o

Lan-gen - ti - bus in pur - ga - to - ri-o, qui pur-gan-tur ar-do-re ni - mi-o

b:

Cla-vis Da - vid qui ce - los a - pe - ris bo-ne Je-su suc-cu-re mi - seris,

Cla-vis Da - vid qui ce - los a - pe - ris bo-ne Je-su suc-cu-re mi - seris,

Two settings of the hymn, almost as simple, are in the manuscripts *Amiens*, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, Ms.162<sup>23</sup> and *Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a* in the Uppsala University Library. None of the three sets the same melody—if indeed they are based on any pre-existing hymn melody;<sup>24</sup> the only common feature is the Dorian mode. The three-part *Lugentibus in purgatorio* in *Amiens* 162 ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-13 is also written for two equal voices supplemented by a lower supporting voice. The texture is rather more melismatic than in *Lyon* 6632, but still very simple. The music closely follows the form of the text; each line is divided into 4 + 6 syllables by the fermatas. The very simple melodic material is varied by exchanging parts, so that the form ABA'A(“) followed by the invocation appears more complex than it is (cf. *Example 2*). *Amiens* 162 has three stanzas, fully written-out with the same music, each on an opening.<sup>25</sup> Each stanza ends with a new invocation: “O Jhesu rex, misere eis”, “O Maria, ora pro eis” and “Sancte Petre, ora pro nobis”.

All eight stanzas in the two-part *Kirie – Langentibus in purgatorio* in *Uppsala* 76a ff. 68<sup>v</sup>-73 are also fully written out.<sup>26</sup> Here the piece begins with the invocation “Kirie [eleison]” in a

<sup>23</sup> *Amiens* 162 is a composite parchment manuscript; before (ff. 1-45<sup>v</sup>) and after (ff. 113<sup>v</sup>-124<sup>v</sup>) an incomplete missal of the 14th-15th century there are parts of a music manuscript of the period around 1500. The content is Vespers music for St. Barbara's day, a St. Catherine mass, an antiphon, and psalm tones and invitatories in monophonic plainsong notation (not all the music has been entered on the staves); two-part and three-part motets, sequences and hymns; a Credo in black square notation and semimensural notation; and six compositions in white mensural notation entered at the same time as the rest, or in some cases a little later, in empty spaces. Four of these six compositions are also in Cop 1848: f. 1 *Le grant pena* 3v = no. 232/238; f. 2 *Da pacem, Domine* 3v [Agricola] = no. 199/265; f. 18 *Parce Domine* 3v [Obrecht] = no. 52; and f. 117<sup>v</sup> *Dulcis amica Dei* 3v [Prioris] = no. 242. The last two are a four-part monophonic lauda, *Bone Jesu dulcissime* (ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41) and *Lugentibus in purgatorio* 3v (ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-13). See also the thematic catalogue in RISM B IV<sup>3</sup> pp. 429-34 and the description in Helma Hofmann-Brandt, ‘Eine neue Quelle zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit’ (Hofmann-BrandtQ).

<sup>24</sup> None of them bears any resemblance to the melody used today, which seems to be from the 14th-15th century (see for example AR p. 198\* and VP pp. 239-41).

<sup>25</sup> The three stanzas correspond to Stanzas 1, 2 and 3 in MoneH.

<sup>26</sup> This manuscript will be further discussed in the next section, Chapter 14.2. The eight stanzas correspond to Stanzas 1, 4, 5, 3, 2, 7, 8 and 6 in MoneH.

short, independent setting which should probably be repeated after each stanza. Then comes the setting of the first stanza of the text for two low voices, notated with two f-clefs on the third line of the staff. The second stanza “Clavis David” also has its own music, notated with a tenor clef and bass clef. The next six stanzas are sung alternately to the two settings. The compass of the voices is the same in the two pieces, so the use of different clef combinations may be meant to make it easier for two different groups of singers to find their way through the performance.<sup>27</sup> The voices are articulated with rests, and many of the clichés of contemporary music have sneaked in at the cadences, but the retrospective note-against-note texture in thirds, fifths and octaves and the constant voice-crossing have been retained.

The placing of the setting in *Amiens 162* among a number of very old-fashioned retrospective compositions in black semimensural notation suggests something about the origin of this type of music. The three “Lugentibus” settings are little modernized compared with the older tradition. Rhythmically they are slightly more varied than the pieces in black notation—the rhythmic movement made the mensural notation necessary. But they are based on the same principle—the simple organum-like counter-voice. This is clearest in the piece from the Lyons fragments, which is stylistically least influenced by the music of the fifteenth century; but in all three one clearly notices the free rhythm of the non-mensural music which cannot be reproduced by a fixed duple or triple rhythmic pattern. It is important to make the acquaintance of the three compositions—this kind of music forms an important part of the basis for the provincial sacred music in Cop 1848.

## 14.2 The music manuscript *Uppsala 76a*

The handwritten catalogue of Uppsala University Library *Vokalmusik i Handskrift* (A. Lagerberg, 1880s) describes Vol. 76a as “Liber Carminum Gallicorum cum notis musicis”. The fact that the manuscript is mentioned here tells us that it has been in the possession of the library for at least the last hundred years. There are no records of how the manuscript came to Sweden. It is however conceivable that, like so many other treasures in Swedish libraries, it is from the “golden age of Swedish library history” in the seventeenth century,<sup>28</sup> when Swedish armies sent home book collections in wagonloads as the spoils of war to the newly-established library in Uppsala and to the private libraries of the King and the aristocracy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Sweden, under Gustav II Adolf, expanded along the Baltic coast; and in 1630 Protestant Sweden plunged into the Thirty Years’ War against the imperial Catholic armies. Before long Sweden had secured supremacy in the northern and central parts of Germany. Everywhere libraries were confiscated and sent home; the book collections of the Jesuit colleges, with their international orientation, were a favourite target. Book collections were fetched from southern Germany too, and in the last years of the war a number of Bohemian and Moravian monastery libraries were confiscated. In 1648, when Prague fell, the great book collection of the Bohemian King could be added to the book treasures already conquered. From Prague came, among many other things, the famous *Codex argenteus* of the sixth century to Sweden, where it is now in the University Library in Uppsala.

How the French manuscript had ended up in the Emperor’s domains—in Germany or elsewhere—is another story which we have no possible way of investigating. Perhaps it made the whole long journey along with the other old music manuscripts which stand beside it to

<sup>27</sup> One finds a similar structure in sources where “Lugentibus” has monophonic music; cf. Dom Joseph Pothier, ‘Prose à Marie pour les Fidèles trépassés.’ *Revue du chant grégorien* 4 (1895) p. 35.

<sup>28</sup> Svend Dahl, *Bogens historie* (2. ed.) Copenhagen 1957, pp. 177-78.



this day on the shelves as *nummer 76*.<sup>29</sup> Its later fate, though, is clear. Like Cop 1848, it lay quite neglected in the library stacks; not neglected by the library, for the manuscript is listed in a modern card file with musical incipits,<sup>30</sup> but neglected by musicologists. Professor Howard Mayer Brown of the University of Chicago was the first to draw attention to it in a 1981 paper, and in 1982 came an article where a few interesting compositions were reviewed; and finally, Professor Brown's article with a detailed account of *Uppsala 76a* should long since have been published by the time these words are read.<sup>31</sup>

### *Uppsala 76a*: Description

*Uppsala 76a* is a small paper manuscript, 210 x 145 x 25 mm, which now appears in a rather poor state of preservation. It still has its original binding, a shabby, soft cover of thin leather over paper with a fragment of a parchment document as inside reinforcement where the body of the book is sewn in. Only one type of paper appears in the manuscript. It has a watermark showing a hand in a scalloped cuff, lifted in a blessing. Inside the cuff is the letter "B" and on the palm of the hand there is a hammer. This watermark is in all respects identical to the drawing of no. 11543 in Briquet's catalogue, a watermark taken from a notarial document of 1502 from Lautrec. Briquet found similar watermarks from 1501-09 in Rouergue, from 1504 in Grenoble, from 1505-08 in Toulouse and from 1509 in Montauban.<sup>32</sup> The paper is in chancery format and of a type and grade which fully match the paper of Cop 1848, except that here the sheets are folded twice, which means that *Uppsala 76a*, despite its small size, must be called a quarto manuscript. Each fascicle is formed from two folio sheets which have been folded and cut to make up a small fascicle of four double sheets. The manuscript originally consisted of twelve such fascicles. The first and last folio were glued to the binding, after which the actual manuscript consisted of 94 folios. Beginning with the first whole opening, the pages have been furnished in one operation with staves. These are carefully drawn with a rastrum; the staff height is a constant 13 mm, and there are seven staves per page. Only in the last fascicle have no staves been drawn, perhaps to leave room for a list of contents. There is no original foliation. In the course of time twelve folios have been lost, torn or cut out, and the remaining 82 have recently been repaired and numbered 1-81 (between f. 78 and f. 79 the remains of a torn folio, f. 78<sup>bis</sup>, have been missed).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Among others, the two French manuscripts *Uppsala 76b* and *76c*, which are rather younger than Cop 1848. Cf. the discussion in the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>30</sup> My warmest thanks to the librarian Inga Johansson, who in response to my first enquiry about the manuscript sent me copies of both the old and the new catalogue, and who has throughout been extremely helpful.

<sup>31</sup> 'A "New" Chansonnier of the early Sixteenth Century: Uppsala, University Library, Vokalmusik in Handschrift 76a' AMS paper 1981; 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance' JAMS 1982 pp. 1-48 (BrownE); 'A "New" Chansonnier of the early Sixteenth Century in the University Library of Uppsala: A Preliminary Report' (BrownU) has in the meantime been published in *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983), pp. 171-233. I am very grateful to Professor Brown for making copies of the two unpublished texts available to me. In particular, the article on the manuscript with a complete catalogue of concordances (BrownU) allows me to restrict the following account to the essential facts and to concentrate on supplementing Brown's article at a few points. I must however make it clear that my interpretation of the available information as regards dating and the use of the manuscript differs from the views expressed in the article.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. BriquetF no. 11543.

<sup>33</sup> The 12 fascicles break down as follows:

- Fasc. 1: of this there only remains part of a folio glued to the binding and ff. 1-3; before f. 1 a folio is missing and after f. 3 three folios are missing.
- Fasc. 2: ff. 4-10; after f. 10 a folio is missing.
- Fasc. 3: ff. 11-17; after f. 17 a folio is missing.
- Fasc. 4: ff. 18-24; after f. 24 a folio is missing.
- Fasc. 5: ff. 25-31; after f. 31 a folio had been removed before Hand C entered no. 35 (ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32).

The manuscript contains seventy compositions and nine song texts, a total of 79 items, of which three appear twice.<sup>34</sup> The items have been entered by many hands. Three hands belong to what we must consider the main scribes of the manuscript: Hand A filled the incomplete first fascicle, of which only nos. 1-4 remain (cf. the list of contents below); Hand B wrote the next four fascicles, with nos. 5-34, and a few scattered compositions (nos. 40-42, 66 and possibly also the monophonic dance no. 71), while Hand C filled in the intervening empty spaces with nos. 35-39, 43-57, 65 and 67-69. A further two hands, both later users, entered compositions in the manuscript: Hand D wrote one chanson (no. 58) and two attempts at composition, no. 59 and no. 70/73,<sup>35</sup> while Hand E, probably towards the mid-sixteenth century, added three four-part motets (nos. 60-62). The parts for these motets are in a very confused successive disposition, so *Uppsala 76a*, too, once functioned as a stock manuscript like Cop 1848. Another hand—possibly the one who signed himself “André de Linbes” at the bottom of f. 30<sup>v</sup>—filled in the empty folios at the end of the manuscript with poems (nos. 72 and 74-79).<sup>36</sup> A large number of other hands have added comments, phrases, poems and extra text throughout the manuscript.<sup>37</sup> One of these sentences—“Por bien rire”, which occurs four times on ff. 9<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>v</sup>, 67<sup>v</sup> and 69<sup>38</sup>—has been tentatively identified by H. M. Brown as an anagram of the name of a later owner, Pierre Robin, a lawyer who was occupied on behalf of the King in 1524-25 in obtaining money for the war from the estates-general in Languedoc, which met in Toulouse.<sup>39</sup>

Fasc. 6: ff. 32-39.

Fasc. 7: ff. 40-46; between f. 45 and f. 46 a folio is missing.

Fasc. 8: ff. 47-54.

Fasc. 9: ff. 55-62.

Fasc. 10: ff. 63-70.

Fasc. 11: ff. 71-78.

Fasc. 12: ff. 78<sup>bis</sup>, 79-81 and a folio which was glued to the binding; before f. 78<sup>bis</sup> a blank folio is missing, and a folio is missing between f. 80 and f. 81 as well as after f. 81.

<sup>34</sup> No. 77 is the text for no. 32 written out again; no. 51 is a failed attempt at a superius for no. 53; no. 70 is a rough compositional sketch; while no. 73 is probably the fair copy of the same piece.

<sup>35</sup> There is a full comment on the work of this scribe in BrownE pp. 1-8; cf. also Courtney S. Adams, ‘Postscript’ in JAMS 1983 pp. 162-63.

<sup>36</sup> The same hand has written at the bottom of f. 31<sup>v</sup> “faicte de moy vostre plaisir / or puyz adieu ma dame / André”, and may also have entered the extra stanzas in rondeau form for no. 44 *D’amour je suis desheritée* (cf. Cop 1848 no. 99).

<sup>37</sup> Among other things: a) text incipits in no. 26 and a text incipit in the superius for no. 33, with remarks at the top of f. 14 and f. 30<sup>v</sup>; b) in no. 47 another hand has partly repeated a stanza of text and the same hand has changed a word in no. 52; c) under no. 58 another hand has very carefully entered two extra stanzas; d) no. 63 (poem); e) no. 64 (poem); f) pen and writing trials scattered around the manuscript, e.g. f. 78<sup>v</sup> with calligraphic exercises.

<sup>38</sup> The same hand added a text incipit and part designation to the tenor and contratenor in no. 18, f. 16.

<sup>39</sup> For more details, see BrownU pp. 177-79.

Uppsala 76a: Contents<sup>40</sup>

1. f. 1 *Allez regrets, vuidez de ma presence* 2v (3v) [Hayne van Ghizeghem]  
only T and C—Cop 1848 no. 243
2. ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2 *En attendant de vous secors* 3v [L. Compère]—Cop 1848 nos. 191 and 278
3. ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3 *De vous aymer follement m'assenty* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]
- 4. f. 3<sup>v</sup> *Vive le roy, vive le noble roy de France* 2v (4v) only S and T
5. f. 4 *Les douleurs [dont me sens tel somme]* 2v(4v) [G. Dufay] only C1 and C2
- 6. ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5 *Mesdisans or vous deportez* 3v
- 7. ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-6 *Quant je fuz prins au pavillon* 3v<sup>41</sup>
- 8. ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7 *En actendant la grace souverainne* 3v
9. ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8 *N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay* 3v [R. Morton]
- 10. ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9 *Mon povre cuer est au destresse* 3v
11. ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10 *Benedicite dominus nos* 3v [Anonymous]  
[= *La plus dolente qui soit née* = *Non nobis, domine*]
- 12. f. 10<sup>v</sup> *Vive le roy de grant magnificence* 2v (4v) only S and A
- 13. f. 11 Without text 2v (3v) only T and C
14. ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12 *Amours, amours trop me fiers* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]
15. ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13 *Puisque si bien m'est advenu* 3v [L. Compère]
16. ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-14 *Helas! que pourra devenir* 3v [Caron]
17. ff. 14<sup>v</sup>-15 *Ce que ma bouche n'ose dire* 3v [Anonymous]<sup>42</sup>
18. ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 *De tous biens plaine* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]
19. ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17 *Entré suis en passée* 3v [Josquin Desprez]
20. ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-18 *La regretée en tous biens* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]  
only S for the first section, only T and C for the second.
21. ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19 *Le second jour d'avril courtoys* 3v Agricola  
[= *In minen sin*]—Cop 1848 no. 213
22. ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20 *Comme femme desconfortée* 3v [G. Binchois]
23. ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21 *Le souvenir de vous me tue* 3v [R. Morton]—Cop 1848 no. 84
- 24. ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22 *L'amy l'arez vous donc fortune* 3v [Anonymous]<sup>43</sup>
25. ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-23 *Mes pensées [ne me laissent une heure]* 3v [L. Compère]
- 26. ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24 *Helas ma dame* 3v<sup>44</sup>
27. f. 24<sup>v</sup> *Mon mary m'a diffamée* 1v(3v) [Anonymous / Josquin]  
only S—cf. Cop 1848 nos. 163
28. f. 25 *[Mon souvenir me fait mourir]* 2v(3v) [Hayne van Ghizeghem]  
only T and C—Cop 1848 no. 65, 198 and 279
- 29. ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26 *Nuyt et jour ne peult dormir* 3v
30. ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27 *Parce Domine* 3v [J. Obrecht]—Cop 1848 no. 52
- 31. ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28 *Fortune fay moy ce plaisir* 3v
- 32. ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29 *Faulces Amors, Dieu vous maudie* 4v
- 33. ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30 *Adieu soulas [tout plaisir et liesse]* 4v<sup>45</sup>
- 34. ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31 *Duo Helas ma dame* 3v!
35. ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32 *Mais que ce fust le plaisir d'elle* 3v Jo. moston [Anonymous in other sources]
- 36. ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33 *Mon cueur est tant bien assis* 3v Antoine Picher(?)
37. ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-35 *En amours n'a sinon bien* 3v A. de fevin—Cop 1848 no. 64
38. ff. 35<sup>v</sup>-36 *Adieu soulas, toz plaisirs et liesse* 3v A. de fevin<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See also the list of concordances in BrownU p. 196ff. For an explanation of the abbreviations used in the notes, see Vol. II. Unique items are indicated by '·'.

<sup>41</sup> Text by Charles d'Orléans; publ. in BrownU Ex. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Also found in *Paris* 15123 ff. 96<sup>v</sup>-97; stated to be unique in BrownU.

<sup>43</sup> The only concordance, *London* 35087 ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90, contains only the first section of the chanson.

<sup>44</sup> BrownU gives a concordance in *Firenze* 117 f. 62<sup>v</sup> (?).

<sup>45</sup> Publ. in BrownU Ex. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Publ. in BrownG p. 161.

39. ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 *Pensez de faire garnison* 3v [Anonymous]<sup>47</sup>  
 40. ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-41 *Magnificat vi toni Anima mea* 4v [A. Brumel]  
 41. ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-42 *Pourtant si mon amy n'a point de monnaye* 4v ex 2v Ninon le petit  
 42. ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43 *Dame, venez moy secourir* 2v  
 43. ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 *Je le larray puisqu'il my bat* 3v A. de fevin—Cop 1848 no. 107a  
 44. ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45 *D'amour je suis desheritée* 3v [Anonymous]—Cop 1848 no. 99  
 45. f. 45<sup>v</sup> *Tant ay d'ennuy/[O vos omnes]* 3v [L. Compère]  
     only S and a fragment of B—Cop 1848 no. 62  
 46. f. 46 *Tante fatigue, tante tristicie* 2v(3v) only T and C  
 47. ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47 *Hé Dieu qui my confortera* 3v [Anonymous]<sup>48</sup>  
 48. ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48 *Hellas, je suis marry* 3v [A. de Févin]  
 49. ff. 48<sup>v</sup>-49 *Vive le noble roy de France* 3v [L. Compère]  
 50. ff. 49<sup>v</sup>-50 *Adieu toute joyeuseté* 3v  
 51. f. 50<sup>v</sup> *Gardez voz bien de ce fauveau* 1v(3v) Agricola—only the beginning of S (= no. 53)  
 52. ff. 50<sup>v</sup>-51 *Si j'ayme mon amy* 3v [Anonymous]<sup>49</sup>  
 53. ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-52 *Gardez vous bien de ce fauveau* 3v Agricola<sup>50</sup>  
 54. ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54 *O quam glorifica luce* 3v  
 55. ff. 54<sup>v</sup>-55 *Aurea mater* 3v Bride  
 56. ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-56 *Dulcis amica dei* 4v Prioris—Cop 1848 no. 242  
 57. ff. 56<sup>v</sup>-57 *O quam presul domine Nicolas* 3v Jehan Mire  
 58. ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>v</sup> *Vive[n]t, vive[n] en paix* 3v<sup>51</sup>  
 59. f. 58<sup>v</sup> *Bon temps* 1v—only S (several different attempts)  
 60. ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-61 *Spiritus ... inflamator – Veni sancte spiritus* 4v  
 61. ff. 61-63<sup>v</sup> *Dum complerentur dies pentecostes – Dum ergo essent in unum* 4v  
 62. ff. 63<sup>v</sup>-66 *Surge, Petre – Angelus Domini astitit* 4v [N. Gombert]  
 63. f. 66 *Je me recommande humblement a vostre bonne poem*  
 64. f. 66 *Vostre gracieux recueil poem*  
 65. ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-68 *[Adieu, filette de regnon]* 3v Ysac  
 66. ff. 68<sup>v</sup>-73 *Kirie – Langentibus in purgatorio* 2v<sup>52</sup>  
 67. ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-74 *A qui diray je ma pensée* 3v [L. Compère] only the first section  
 68. ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-76 *Chescung maudit ses jaloux* 3v [A. de Févin]  
 69. ff. 76<sup>v</sup>-77 *On a mal dit de mon amy* 3v A. de Fevin—cf. Cop 1848 no. 171  
 70. ff. 77<sup>v</sup>-78 *En contemplant la beaulté* 3v<sup>53</sup>  
 71. f. 78 *La gasquona* 1v—crossed out  
     f. 78<sup>v</sup> pen trials  
 72. f. 78<sup>bis</sup> *Lasaida ...* fragment of poem  
 73. f. 78<sup>bis</sup> *[En contemplant la beaulté]* 3v fragment (= no. 70)  
 74. f. 79 *Mon cueur vit en grand destesse* poem  
 75. f. 79<sup>v</sup> *Je diz adieu a vous ma dame* poem  
 76. f. 80 *Adieu m'amour, adieu soyez* poem  
 77. f. 80<sup>v</sup> *Faulces Amours, Dieu vous maudire* poem; cf. no. 32  
 78. f. 81 *Las que fera la povre desouler* poem  
 79. f. 81<sup>v</sup> *De mon triste desplaisir* poem

<sup>47</sup> Also found in *London* 5242 ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12; another setting of the rondeau is in *Dijon* 517 ff. 106<sup>v</sup>-107: anonymous; (BrownU confuses these settings); publ. here as *Example 15* in Chapter 7.1.

<sup>48</sup> Also found in *London* 5242 ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48 and in *Attaignant* 1529/4 no. 32; not Bruhier's setting as stated in BrownU.

<sup>49</sup> Also found in *London* 5242 f. 22<sup>v</sup> (S only) and *London* 35087 ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25.

<sup>50</sup> Text by Pierre d'Anche; publ. in BrownL I p. 59.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. BrownE pp. 6-8.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Chapter 14.1 Ex. 3, where the setting is discussed along with another two settings of the text in *Lyon* 6632 and *Amiens* 162.

<sup>53</sup> Publ. in BrownE p. 4.

In evaluating the contents of the manuscript we must confine ourselves to the entries of the three main scribes—Hands A, B and C. These make up a total of 62 compositions.<sup>54</sup> Three-part French chansons form a very large proportion of this repertory; no less than 42 compositions belong to this group. Only six chansons are in four parts (two canon chansons by Dufay and Ninon le Petit, nos. 5 and 41; two chansons of homage to the King, nos. 4 and 12; and two homorhythmic settings of popular tunes, nos. 32 and 33); one last chanson, no. 42, a particularly amateurish setting of a text which seems to have been written as the composition work progressed, is in two parts. Not surprisingly, these 49 chansons can be divided by other criteria into two equally large groups: one group consisting of 23 songs in *formes fixes*: rondeaux (nos. 1-3, 5, 7-10, 14-18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, 39 and 53) and bergerettes (nos. 6 and 67); and a second group consisting partly of settings of popular tunes and partly of songs which exhibit the freer formulation of this tradition. The repertory further includes one motet-chanson (no. 45), one Italian song (no. 46) and three compositions without text which are probably instrumental pieces (two in three parts, nos. 13 and 65, and the monophonic dance tune *La gasquona*, no. 71). The Latin repertory does not take up much space in the manuscript; apart from the two small motets by Obrecht and Prioris, nos. 30 and 56, which appear frequently in chansonniers, it consists of a *contrafactum*, no. 11,<sup>55</sup> three provincial three-part motets, nos. 54, 55 and 57, an incomplete copy without text of Brumel's *Magnificat vi toni* for four voices (no. 40) and the above-mentioned very interesting two-part *Kirie-Langentibus in purgatorio* (no. 66), a simple, retrospective piece.

Of the original repertory's 62 compositions, no less than 43, or 69%, can be identified either from concordances or with the aid of the information in the manuscript itself. The dominant composers are Loyset Compère, Hayne van Ghizeghem and Antoine de Févin, each of whom is represented by six pieces. Alexander Agricola and Robert Morton have two each, and a large number of composers appear with a single piece each: Dufay, Binchois, Caron, Josquin, Isaac, Obrecht, Brumel, Mouton, Ninon Le Petit and Prioris, as well as the totally unknown Antoine Picher, Jehan Mire and Bride.

The pattern traced out by this information seems familiar from Cop 1848. In fact it greatly resembles a larger-scale version of the principles for the selected repertories, the 'sales repertories', which we found in series in Rfasc. 5, 6 and 7.<sup>56</sup> The emphasis on three-part chansons, more or less equally divided between songs in the courtly tradition and more popularly-oriented songs, is characteristic, as is the inclusion, for the sake of variety, of a few items from other genres; only the two long Latin compositions, nos. 40 and 66, fall outside this pattern. The composer generations covered by the repertory are also the same as in the series in Cop 1848; they range from composers who were active in the mid-fifteenth century, like Dufay, Binchois and Caron, over the great names of the last quarter of the century, to composers active in the first decade of the sixteenth century, like Ninon Le Petit, Mouton and above all Antoine de Févin.

These remarks assume that one can see the original repertory in *Uppsala 76a* as a whole. If we look at the work of the individual main scribes, the picture is quite different. Only four compositions (nos. 1-4) are left in the fascicle that Hand A copied. These are three rondeaux from the period before 1490 and a *Vive le roy*, probably in four parts, which should probably be seen as much as a drinking song as a homage to the King. Hand B's repertory is better preserved; he filled four whole fascicles (with nos. 5-34) and also entered the two long sacred

<sup>54</sup> *Uppsala 76a* nos. 1-57, 65-69 and possibly no. 71—the incomplete superius part no. 51 is not counted.

<sup>55</sup> *Benedicite dominus nos* appears in *Dijon 517* ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-53 with a complete *rondeau cinquain* "La plus dolente qui soit née" as text.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Chapter 4.1.



compositions (no. 40 and no. 66) later in the manuscript. In the large unified group of 30 compositions entered by Hand B, the songs in *formes fixes* dominate as in Hand A's section (18 chansons are of this type) and six other compositions—a popular song (no. 21), two free chansons (nos. 24 and 29),<sup>57</sup> one *contrafactum* (no. 11), one motet (no. 30) and a textless piece (no. 13)—are closely related to this group. In Hand B's work we find only two examples (nos. 26 and 27) of the three-part popular arrangements which were so widespread in the period around the turn of the century. Finally there are some very provincial settings of popular tunes (nos. 32-34) and a four-part *Vive le roy* (no. 12). Hand C's work (nos. 35-39, 43-57, 65 and 67-69) fills the pages between Hand B's entries. Among the 24 compositions he entered, the ratio of the courtly to the popular repertory is completely reversed. The three-part popular chansons and a simple strophic song make up a group of thirteen compositions. The songs in *formes fixes* are represented only by one motet-chanson and a *bergerette* by Compère (nos. 45 and 67) as well as two unusual items: No. 53 *Gardez vous bien de ce faveau* by Agricola is the only known example of as through-composed *rondeau* from the period just before 1500,<sup>58</sup> and no. 39 *Pensez de faire garnison* must be one of the shortest *rondeau* settings ever—only sixteen *brevis* measures including repetition of the last phrase; and it sounds exactly like a popular arrangement.<sup>59</sup> Beyond this, Hand C's contribution consists of a *frottola* and an instrumental piece (nos. 46 and 65) and a series of four small motets (nos. 54-57). It is thus only the interplay of the three different copyists that makes the repertory of *Uppsala 76a* so resemble the repertory structure of the various parts of Cop 1848.

### *Uppsala 76a*: Dating and function

Since we found that the watermark on the paper was exactly the same as Briquet's drawing of the watermark from a document dated 1502, and all the other variants he lists come within the period 1501-1509, we must assume that the paper in *Uppsala 76a* was produced in the years around 1500.<sup>60</sup> 1500 thus seems to be the earliest date for the origin of the manuscript. The strong representation of Antoine de Févin's music suggests, however, that it should be dated rather later. Looking at the repertory alone, one is tempted to see it as contemporary with Cop 1848—that is, around 1520. Yet it is hardly likely that the paper was in use that long. A reasonable possibility is that the manuscript was begun in the course of the first decade of the century, and that only Hands A and B worked on it at the beginning, while Hand C did not add his contribution until a later period. We must return to this question; first let us see where in France the manuscript could have been created.

As soon as one gets to know the manuscript, one realizes that it has close affinities with Cop 1848; the similarities in the repertory selection, the paper quality and script types are striking, and one cannot deny that something as indefinable as the 'personality' of the manuscript also makes an impression. There can be no doubt that both manuscripts are products of the same cultural circle—that is, provincial southern France. The present author makes no bones about preferring Lyons as the most likely candidate for the origin of *Uppsala 76a*. Howard Mayer Brown prefers some unspecified place in southwestern France.<sup>61</sup>

Brown bases his view on the paper, which according to Briquet was widespread in southwestern France; on the presence of the dance *La gasquona*; on the fact that "Bourd[eaux] la

<sup>57</sup> Both are possibly based on a pre-existing melody.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. discussion in BrownL I pp. 58-60.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. discussion in Chapter 7.1 *Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions*; publ. after *Uppsala 76a* *ibid.* as *Example 15*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. remarks and references as regards paper and watermarks in Chapter 1.2.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. BrownU.



jolie" is mentioned in no. 4 *Vive le roy*; that later additions at the back of the book seem to be in the Gascon dialect; and the identification of a later owner, Pierre Robin, in Toulouse. Of these points, the watermark is the most important. Later additions and owners do not necessarily tell us anything about the place of origin; nor do local references in title and text carry that much weight in a repertory as composite as this. The arguments that can be mustered for Lyons as the place of origin, however, are no stronger than Brown's. So Brown's argument should not be rejected either; we can only offer Lyons as a possible alternative.

Let us therefore look at the paper first. The watermark or similar watermarks has not been found in use in paper mills in southwestern France according to Alexandre Nicolai's *Histoire des Moulins à papier du Sud-ouest de la France 1300-1800*,<sup>62</sup> which makes no claim, however, to have a complete list. Variants of the watermark which probably come from the same mill are found all over central and southwestern France,<sup>63</sup> but are also used in a book printed in Lyons in 1498.<sup>64</sup> It is likely, then, that it is paper from one of the big producers with wide-ranging trade relations, and thus also possibly supplying the city of Lyons. A proper analysis of the distribution and origin of the paper can only be done by research in the archives, where one must follow in Briquet's footsteps—a quite insurmountable task.

In the binding of the manuscript there is a piece of parchment used as reinforcement. It is a fragment of a large document of the fifteenth century, closely written, but so incomplete that it is difficult to extract a meaning from it. The first line mentions "Ruthenensis", which refers to Rodez in southwestern France—the context is not quite clear.<sup>65</sup> In the third line of the text, however, we find a quite clear reference to a particular person: a son of Peter, who was formerly connected with the diocese of Lyons, and who is now in "Anthea". Anthea is the small town of Ampuis, a few kilometres south of Lyons, where there was a *communauté du prêtres*, which belonged, as did the whole district, to the chapter of Saint-Jean in Lyons.<sup>66</sup> Considering the local significance of this information, it is very likely that it is a document written and preserved in Lyons, then discarded and re-used as book-binding in the same place. But since the fragment also mentions Rodez, one cannot regard it as firm evidence.

It has already been mentioned that the repertory of *Uppsala 76a* has strong resemblances to that of Cop 1848; not only does the selection exhibit the same attitude to the repertory of the day, but there are also, as indicated in the list of contents, a number of concordances between the two sources—a total of eleven compositions are common to both. Details of the repertory also point to an origin in Lyons. For example Hand C is fond of using the designation "Altus" for the highest part in the piece, a practice which the main scribe of Cop 1848 copied from an original when he created Rfasc. G.<sup>67</sup> As in Rfasc G, Hand C of *Uppsala 76a* uses this name for the upper voice regardless of its pitch, and alternates it indiscriminately with the designation

<sup>62</sup> 2 vols., Bordeaux 1925.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Briquet nos. 11539-44; no. 11543, the watermark in *Uppsala 76a* is also found, as mentioned before, in an archive in Grenoble.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. no. 11540.

<sup>65</sup> 1 "... littera episcopali Ruthenensi conficiendum[.] Stetur firmiter et credatur ac in indicii et e..."

2 "... qui ad huiusmodi pertinent officium[.] nos et successores nostros tangentes dum s..."

3 "... Radulphi[.] Filius Petri quondam lugdunensis diocesis ab hac hora in Anthea s..."

4 "... consilio auxilio consensu vel facto vel dictus dominus meus vel successores sui v..."



5 "... ad per dictos successores suos seu litterae aut nuncium manifestatum fuerit ad dicti domini ..."

6 "... quid debemus contingebit ... in periculum eiusdem domini seu dictorum offi..."

I thank Jørgen Råsted, *dr. phil.*, of the University of Copenhagen for his help with the reading and interpretation of this text.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Graesse, Benedict, Plechl, *Orbis latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Braunschweig 1972, I p. 108 and Lacour A II 22 G.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.

"Supra";<sup>68</sup> in Févin's *En amours n'a sinon bien*, which fills two openings, the superius is called "Altus" on the first opening and "Supra" on the second. The rare retrospective setting of the hymn "Langentibus in purgatorio" (no. 66) should be viewed in the light of the fact that a similar two-part setting of the same hymn can be found in the manuscript fragment *Lyon 6632* from the same period and probably written in Lyons. The third known setting of this text is in the contemporary manuscript *Amiens 162*, the origin of which is unknown. The motet *O quam presul* (*Uppsala 76a* no. 57) has the composer attribution "Jehan Mire". The surname is written as the note rebus ""; he may be identical to the Mirus, written "rus", who is represented in Cop 1848 by the piece *Aguillon, serpentin, dangier* (no. 275).<sup>69</sup> Finally, the only fairly ambitious sacred composition in *Uppsala 76a* is a *Magnificat* in the sixth tone by Antoine Brumel. Brumel's *Magnificat* in the second tone was mentioned as the most important work of sacred music in Cop 1848.<sup>70</sup> Brumel was one of the few significant composers we know to have been in Lyons at the beginning of the century. A dating of *Uppsala 76a* to shortly after 1505, when Brumel was in Lyons for at least six months on his way to Italy, fits perfectly with the known facts about the manuscript.

In this chapter we have established that Lyons was an important centre for the production and distribution of written music. Outside Paris we know of no other localities in France with a similar volume of music distribution. *Uppsala 76a* has to be placed in such a context. The most reasonable explanation of the distinctive features of the manuscript—the small format (like court chansonniers), the cheap binding and the poor paper quality, the repertory, which is comparable to the series in Cop 1848, and the cooperation of the three scribes—is that it was a music book, not produced for a particular patron, but for sale at the book market.

If this hypothesis is acceptable, we can see *Uppsala 76a* as an example of the type of music collection which professional copyists of the same calibre as the main scribe of Cop 1848 produced with sale in mind. For this, the copyist's stock of music was of crucial importance. The Lyons fairs were held four times a year, and the production of music books at prices which well-heeled citizens outside the upper class could afford would have to be quick if it was to make a profit. *Uppsala 76a* was probably the result of cooperation by three copyists. The principal copyist made the small book himself and drew the staves on all pages except for the last fascicle. Hand A filled a fascicle with the evergreen hits of the chanson repertory and a *Vive le roy* (no. 4). Hand B, who may have been responsible for the project, filled in most of four fascicles (with nos. 5-31) including a *Vive le roy* (no. 12). If Hand A and Hand B worked with loose fascicles, as was customary in this period, the manuscript was then bound. And it is not inconceivable that already at this point, with only five of the twelve fascicles filled with music, the manuscript was offered for sale. We encounter many manuscripts, from courtly as well as more modest circles, which have many empty pages for the addition of new compositions.<sup>71</sup> But Hand B worked on with the manuscript along with Hand C, who had access to the latest repertory of the day, which would certainly increase the interest of buyers in the product; he too included a *Vive le noble roy*—Compère's three-part victory chanson (no. 49). All three copyists clearly felt that such songs had a special attraction. Hand B himself contributed two longish Latin compositions which were available in Lyons, the hymn *Langentibus in purgatorio* and Brumel's *Magnificat* (nos. 40 and 66), without however entering much text for the latter. Some time after this cooperation, Hand B tried to fill out the gaps with chansons which, apart from Ninon le Petit's canon, appealed to the most modern taste of the day, but

<sup>68</sup> "Altus": nos. 37, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 67 and 69; "Supra": nos. 36, 37, 38, 43, 48, 57 and 65.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.8.

<sup>70</sup> Cop 1848 no. 183; cf. discussion in Chapter 10.2.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. two of the best known of the so-called 'Burgundian' chansonniers, *Cop 291* and *Dijon 517*.

whose techniques of composition reveal their provincial origins (nos. 32-34 and 41-42)—four of them may be his own compositions.<sup>72</sup> In this state, *Uppsala 76a* was sold, and it is very possible that the buyer lived in Toulouse or the surrounding region, since the many additions point in that direction. The manuscript clearly had several owners during the first half of the sixteenth century. Around 1530 its repertory, like that of Cop 1848, lost all currency, and a person reasonably versed in music (a student?) used empty spaces for attempts at composition (nos. 58, 59, 70 and 73). Later again, someone else used empty pages to store three four-part motets (nos. 60-62), including N. Gombert's *Surge, Petre – Angelus Domini stetit*.

Viewed in this perspective, *Uppsala 76a* could not supplement Cop 1848 better, although it has to be dated a decade earlier, and even though it may prove to have originated elsewhere than Lyons. It cannot be denied that it belongs to the same cultural ambience, and in its own way *Uppsala 76a* bears just as unique testimony to the musical practice of the age as Cop 1848.

<sup>72</sup> The copying of these five chansons differs in ink colour and script from Hand B's earlier work.

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*Peter Woetmann Christoffersen*

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in the Royal Library, Copenhagen

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The thematic catalogue of the manuscript *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°* is the heart of this study. In manageable form, it presents the information on the repertory of the manuscript on which the discussion in the first volume is based. To make it a useful tool for other researchers too, and to enable the reader to form an overall impression of the repertory, I have tried to reflect the special character of the source in the catalogue, by describing in more detail than usual the manuscript's way of presenting the compositions, and by giving generous incipits for all compositions, including those which are already well known. The catalogue cites all the relevant concordances with other musical sources, and high priority has been given to the textual basis of the music. I have also considered information on related compositions and reworkings important as an aid to the placing of the repertory. On the other hand, I have only in the most striking cases drawn attention to differences in the transmission of the music by the concordant sources. This is partly for reasons of space, and partly because an account of the variants falls outside the intended scope of the catalogue: to describe a unique source and its musical repertory.

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*Incipits.* Enough is given of each voice part to give an impression of the character of the composition. Duplicates in the manuscript are also given independent incipits. The musical incipits also reproduce some of the errors and overscorings of the manuscript in a stylized version of the main scribe's writing. Words abbreviated in the manuscript are written out in full, and the following abbreviations are used to indicate how much further text there is: (t) = complete text for the part, (it) = incomplete text, (i) = only a text incipit.

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**TEXT** – A short specification of the type of text, then which version and how much text Cop 1848 gives, as well as any other sources for the text and other uses of it.

MODERN EDITIONS – Here and under the other items, abbreviations consisting of a name plus a capital letter refer to the list of literature used.

COMMENTS – A brief specification of the type of composition and any necessary discussion of the music and related material.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS / OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE – Lists compositions with references to modern editions, sometimes with lists of sources which make no claim to be complete.

*The lists of sources* enumerate all the sources mentioned in the catalogue and in the other volumes. The detailed references in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (C. Hamm and H. Kellman, eds.) render similar, space-consuming references in the source lists superfluous. Here there are only references to published catalogues and the like. Literature on printed and manuscript sources is listed in the *Bibliography of secondary literature*, which is common to all three volumes.

#### ABBREVIATIONS:

Cop 1848 = *København, Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2°*

S = superius

T = tenor

C = contratenor

B = bassus

A = altus

V<sup>a</sup> = quinta vox

VI<sup>a</sup> = sexta vox

1v, 2v, 3v, etc. = number of voices in a composition

t = full text of a part

it = incomplete text

i = text incipit only

f./ff. = folio/folios (e.g. f. 1<sup>v</sup> = folio 1 verso)

p./pp. = page/pages

v./vv. = verse/verses

br-mm. = brevis-measures

c.f. = *cantus firmus*

c.p.f. = *cantus prius factus*

lo = ≡ (longa)

br = ≡ (brevis)

sbr = ◇ (semibrevis)

mi = ◊ (minima)

smi = ↓ (semiminima)

fu = ⚡ (fusa)

c.o.p. = *cum opposita proprietate*

A note is referred to by the number of the bar and the position of the note in crotchet values (e.g. bar 6.3 = bar 6, the note on the third crotchet in the bar). Pitch is indicated by the italicized letters *D, E, F ... c, d, e ... c', d', e' ... c'', d'', e'' ... a''*.

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*München 1502*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 1502; cf. MaierM pp. 113-14.  
– no. (133).

*München 1503<sup>a</sup>*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 1503<sup>a</sup>; cf. MaierM p. 121.  
– no. 249.

*München 1508*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 1508; cf. MaierM pp. 117-21.  
– nos. (35), (39).

*München 1516*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 1516; cf. MaierM pp. 114-17.  
– nos. 35, 37, 42, 54, (70), (99), 111, 112, 116, 120, (123), 135, (137), 161, 164, 167, (171), 248.

*München 3154*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 3154 (Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold); cf. MaierM pp. 19-20 and NoblittM.  
– no. 53.

*München 3156*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 3156; cf. MaierM pp. 133-34 and Tenorlied II no. 187.  
– no. (17).

*München 3725*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 3725 (*olim* Cim.352b; Buxheimer Orgelbuch); publ. in WallnerB.  
– no. 84.

*München 9659*

München, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Ms. 9659 (fragment); cf. PetzchF.  
– no. 261.

*New Haven 91*

New Haven, Conn., Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 91 (Mellon Chansonnier); cf. BukofzerM; publ. in PerkinsM.  
– no. 227.

*Oporto 714*

Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Ms. 714; cf. FallowsO.  
– no. 261.

*Oxford 213*

Oxford, Bodleian library, Cod. Canonici misc. 213; cf. SchoopO.  
– no. (91).



*Paderborn 9822/23*

Paderborn, Erzbischöfische Akademische Bibliothek, Fürstenbergiane, Ms. 9822/23.  
– no. 54.

*Paris 27*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. ms. 27 (Thibault manuscript—lute tablature); cf. ThibaultL and RISM B/VII p. 228.  
– nos. 51, 239.

*Paris 57*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57 (*olim* Chansonnier Nivelles de la Chaussée); facs. in HigginsN.  
– nos. 29, (54), 88, 89, 227.

*Paris 411*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Rothschild, Cat. No. 411 (IV.5.57).  
– no. 111.

*Paris 676*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup>. ms. 676; cf. BridgmanI; publ. in LesureI.  
– nos. 53, 239.

*Paris 851*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup>. ms. 851 (Bourdeney-Pasche-Ms): cf. MischiatiB.  
– no. (269).

*Paris 1596*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1596; cf. WexlerC.  
– nos. 55, 256.

*Paris 1597*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1597; cf. CouchmanC; publ. in ShippC.  
– nos. 29, 49, 53, (54), 55, 62, 65, (79), 145, (163) 198, 199, 222, 223, (231), 236, 242, 243, 265, 279.

*Paris 2245*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 2245.  
– nos. 29, 49, 51, 55, 65, 88, 192, 198, 213, 222, 242, 243, 255, 256, 279.

*Paris 2973*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Rothschild, Ms. 2973 (Chansonnier Cordiforme); cf. KottickC.  
– nos. 84, 227, 261.

*Paris 4379*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 4379 (3 fragments; the first fragment is a part of the MS *Sevilla 5-I-43*); cf. PlamenacR; facs. in PlamenacS.  
– nos. (123), (143), 227, 261.

*Paris 4599*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 4599 (fragment—the first section of an altus part; *London 19583* is a later section of the same part-book); cf. BernsteinC pp. 19–22.  
– no. (231).

*Paris 9346*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 9346 (Bayeux Manuscript); publ. in GéroldB.  
– nos. 64, 70, 75, 77, 79, 107a, 107b, (123), 133, 136, 143, 146, 168, (171), (208), 211, (217).

*Paris 12744*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 12744; publ. in ParisC.  
– nos. 27, 45, 58, 64, 71, 79, 92, 107b, (123), 133, 134, (163), 168, (171), (213), 226, 253, (261), 270.

*Paris 15123*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 15123 (Ms. Pixérécourt); cf. PeaseP.  
– nos. 51, (58), (67), 84, 88, 227, (234), 261.

*Paris 16664*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16664; publ. in CoussenmakerS IV pp. 434–469.  
– no. (272).

*Paris 30345 A(6)*

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés 30345 A(6) (manuscript appendix to *Attaignant 1536/6*); cf. HeartzA p. 286.  
– no. (7).

*Pavia 362*

Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. Aldini 362.  
– nos. (116), (135), (146), 261.

*Perugia 431*

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 431 (G20); cf. AtlasP.  
– no. 84.

*Regensburg 120*

Regensburg, Proschesche Bibliothek des bischöflichen Ordinats, Ms. C 120 (Codex Pernner); cf. Tenorlied II no. 206.  
– nos. (62), (83), (205), (213), (231), (247), (261).

*Regensburg 940/41*

Regensburg, Proschesche Bibliothek des bishöflichen  
Ordinats, Ms. A.R. 940/41; cf. BrenneckeH and  
Tenorlied II no. 201.  
– nos. 111, 112, 116, 117, 135, 137, 139, 248.

*Roma Cas 2856*

Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 2856;  
cf. LlorensC.  
– nos. 9, 46, 53, 56, 65, 72, (83), 88, 101, 152, 198,  
213, 222, 223, 227, 243, 263, 279.

*Roma CG XII.2*

Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella  
Giulia, Ms. XII.2; cf. LlorensG.  
– nos. (80), (266).

*Roma CG XIII.27*

Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella  
Giulia, Ms. XIII.27; cf. AtlasC and LlorensG.  
– nos. 51, 53, (54), 65, 72, 80, 81, (84), 88, 132, 147,  
198, (199), 200, 204, 205, 223, 226, 227, 236, 239, 243,  
247, 253, 262, (265), 266, 273, 277, 279.

*Roma CS 16*

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 16;  
cf. LlorensS.  
– nos. (80), (266).

*Roma CS 26*

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 26;  
cf. LlorensS.  
– nos. (98), 163.

*Roma CS 44*

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 44;  
cf. LlorensS.  
– no. 183.

*Roma CS 46*

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 46;  
cf. LlorensS.  
– no. 172.

*Roma CS 51*

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 51;  
cf. LlorensS.  
– nos. (83), (146).

*Segovia*

Segovia, Catedral, Archivio Musical, Codex.  
– nos. 51, 53, 65, 74, (84), 191, 198, 204, 205, 213,  
(214), (228), 239, 243, 247, (271), 273, 277, 279.

*Sevilla 5-I-43*

Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, Cod. 5-I-43;  
cf. PlamenacR; facs. in PlamenacS.  
– nos. 51, (83), 87, 88, (123), 152, (213).

*Siena K.I.2*

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati,  
Ms. K.I.2.  
– no. 172.

*Sitten 87-4*

Sitten, Kapitelarchiv, Tir. 87-4 (bassus part-book);  
cf. StenzlS.  
– nos. 41, 111, 137.

*St. Gallen 461*

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 461 (F. Sicher's  
Musikbuch); cf. GeeringS; publ. in GiesbertS.  
– nos. (54), 217, (231), 245, 256.

*St. Gallen 462*

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 462 (Heer's  
Liederbuch); cf. GeeringS and Tenorlied II no. 213;  
publ. in GeeringH.  
– nos. 13, 17, 18, 51, 53, 66, (79), (107b), 205, 213,  
222, 232, 238, 239, 242, 247.

*St. Gallen 463*

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463 (Tschudi's  
Liederbuch); cf. GeeringS and Tenorlied II no. 214.  
– nos. 3, 15, 17, 18, 52, 53, 54, 62, (99), 108, (171),  
205, (211), 226, 239, 242, 247, 253, 269, (271), (274).

*St. Gallen 530*

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530 (organ tabla-  
ture); cf. NefS.  
– nos. 52, 53, (83), (205), (213), 226, 239, (247), 253.

*Toledo 10*

Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 10.  
– no. (274).

*Torino I,27*

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Riserva musicale I,27  
(Ms. qm. III,59).  
– nos. 51, 64, 80, 191, (242), 243, 266, 278.

*Torun 102680/4.29-32*

Torun, Książnica Miejstra, Ms. 102680/4.29-32  
(Anhang); cf. Tenorlied II no. 220.  
– nos. 39, 112, 114, 117, 139, (140), 248.

*Trento 1947-4*

Trento, Biblioteca Civica, Cod. 1947-4.  
– nos. (205), (247).

*Ulm 236*

Ulm, Bibliothek des Münsters, Ms. 236a-d;  
cf. Tenorlied II no. 229.  
– no. 17.

*Ulm 237*

Ulm, Bibliothek des Münsters, Ms. 237a-d;  
cf. Tenorlied II no. 230.  
– nos. 71, (171), 205, 242, 247.

*Uppsala 76a*

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i  
handskrift 76a; cf. BrownU and Vol. I Ch. 14.2.  
– nos. 52, 62, 64, 65, 84, 99, 107a, (123), (131), (163),  
(171), 191, 198, 213, 242, 243, (275), 278, 279.

*Uppsala 76b*

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i  
handskrift 76b.  
– nos. (108).

*Uppsala 76c*

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i  
handskrift 76c.  
– nos. 117, 139, 165, (249).

*Verona 757*

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLVII;  
cf. TurriniV.  
– nos. 46, 53, 86, 152, 239, 243.

*Washington L25*

Washington, Library of Congress, M.2.1 L25 Case  
(Laborde Chansonnier).  
– nos. 30, 49, (54), (56), 65, 72, 80, 84, 88, 89, 132,  
198, 200, 222, 227, 232, 238, 242, 243, 261, 262, 266,  
(277), 279.

*Wertheim 6*

Wertheim, Fürstlich Löwenstein-Wertheim Gemein-  
schaftliches Archiv, Ms. 6.  
– no. 239.

*Wien 15495*

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 15495  
(olim Kunsthistorische Museum 5248); cf. MantuaniT.  
– no. (62).

*Wien 18746*

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18746;  
cf. MantuaniT.  
– nos. (62), (83), (99), (171), (213), 250.

*Wien 18810*

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18810;  
cf. MantuaniT and Tenorlied II no. 234.  
– nos. (17), 117, 139, (205), (213), 226, (247), 253.

*Wien 18832*

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18832  
(2 part-books: T and B); cf. MantuaniT.  
– nos. (46), 183, (205), (247).

*Wittenberg 403/1048*

Wittenberg, Lutherhalle, Ms. 403/1048 (manuscript  
appendix to Walther's *Geystlich Gesangbüchlein* 1524);  
cf. Tenorlied II no. 235.  
– nos. 17, (213).

*Wolfenbüttel 78*

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Landes-  
bibliothek, Ms. 78 Quodl. 4°.   
– no. 18.

*Wolfenbüttel 287*

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Landes-  
bibliothek, Ms. Extravag. 287.  
– nos. (54), 84, 88, 89, (116), (135), 227, 261.

*Wolfenbüttel 292*

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Landes-  
bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 292 Musica Hdschr. (altus  
part-book); cf. Tenorlied II no. 236.  
– no. (17).

*Wroclaw 428*

Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 428  
(Grüner Codex der Viadrina); cf. StaehelinQ.  
– nos. (47), (83), 183, (227).

*Zürich XI.301*

Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. z.XI.301 (Orgel-  
tabulatur des Clemens Hör); publ. in MarxT II.  
– nos. 16, 111, 137.

*Zwickau 78/3*

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. 78/3;  
cf. VollhardtZ.  
– nos. 46, 66, 239, 243.

*Zwickau 81/2*

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. 81/2 (altus  
missing); cf. VollhardtZ.  
– no. (274).

## Music prints

### Petrucchi 1501

*Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1501. RISM 1501; cf. SartoriP; publ. in HewittA.  
– nos. 3, 46, 49, 51, 53, 65, 66, 72, 152, 198, (207), 227, 239, 243, 279.

### Petrucchi 1502/1

*Motetti A*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1502.  
RISM 1502/1; cf. SartoriP.  
– no. 172.

### Petrucchi 1502/2

*Canti B Numero Cinquanta*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1502. RISM 1502/2; cf. SartoriP; publ. in HewittB.  
– nos. (71), 75, (83), 133, (143), (163), (230), (271).

### Petrucchi 1503/1

*Motetti De passione De cruce De sacramento De beata virgine et huius modi B.*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1503.  
RISM 1503/1; cf. SartoriP.  
– nos. 52, (123).

### Petrucchi 1504/1

*Motetti C*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1504. RISM 1504/1; cf. SartoriP and MantuaniT no. 18743.

### Petrucchi 1504/3

*Canti C Numero Cento Cinquanta*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1504. RISM 1504/3; cf. SartoriP.  
– nos. (7), 27, (58), (79), (123), (163), (213), (241), (271).

### Petrucchi 1505/2

*Motetti libro quarto*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1505.  
RISM 1505/2; cf. SartoriP.  
– no. (145).

### Petrucchi 1506/I88

*Misse henrici Izac*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1506.  
RISM A/I I88; cf. SartoriP.  
– no. 276.

### Spinacino 1507/5

Fr. Spinacino: *Intabulatura de Lauto. Libro primo*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1507.  
RISM 1507/5; cf. BrownI pp. 12-14.  
– nos. 51, 65, 198, 227, 239, 279.

### Spinacino 1507/6

Fr. Spinacino: *Intabulatura de Lauto. Libro secundo*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1507.  
RISM 1507/6; cf. BrownI pp. 12-14.  
– nos. 53, (84), 88, (163).

### Petrucchi 1508

*Laude libro Primo Ja. Dammonis ...*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1508; cf. JeppesenL.  
– no. (19).

### Petrucchi 1508/3

*Laude libro secondo*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1508.  
RISM 1508/3; cf. SartoriP; publ. in JeppesenL.  
– nos. (197), (242).

### Schlick 1512/2

A. Schlick: *Tabulaturen Etlicher lobgesang und lidlein uff die orgeln und lauten*. P. Schöffer, Mainz 1512.  
RISM 1512/2; cf. BrownI pp. 21-23; publ. in SchlickT.  
– nos. 15, 18.

### Schöffer 1513/2

[Liederbuch] P. Schöffer, Mainz, 1. März 1513.  
RISM 1513/2; cf. Tenorlied I no. 2.  
– no. (17).

### Oeglin 1513/3

[68 Lieder] s.l.n.d. [E. Oeglin].  
RISM [c. 1513]/3; Tenorlied I no. 3.  
– nos. 16, 17, 18, (205), (247).

### Petrucchi 1519/2

*Motetti de la corona. Libro tertio*, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1519. RISM 1519/2; cf. SartoriP.  
– no. (274).

### Aich 1519/5

*In dissem Buechlyn fynt man LXXV hubscher Lieder ...*, Arnt von Aich, Köln [1519]. RISM [1519]/5; cf. Tenorlied I no. 5; publ. in BernoulliA.  
– nos. 16, 17, 18, (205), (247).

### Antico 1520/3

*Motetti novi & chanzoni franciose*, A. Antico, Venezia 1520. RISM 1520/3; cf. RubsamenR pp. 86-87.  
– nos. 75, (163), (270).

### Antico 1520/6

*Chansons a troys*, Andrea Antico & Antonio de Giunta, Venezia 1520.  
RISM 1520/6; cf. BernsteinC pp. 9-12.  
– nos. 54, 64, (70), 73, 108, (133), 136, (171), 211, 269, (271).

### Antico 1521/7

[Motetti et carmina gallica] [A. Antico?, Roma] s.d.  
RISM [c. 1521]/7 (altus only); cf. RubsamenR pp. 88-89.  
– nos. 52, 242.

*Cavazzoni 1523/C1574*

*Recerchari, motetti, canzone composti par Marcoantonio di Bologna. Libro primo*, Bernardino Vercelen, Venezia 1523. RISM A/I C1574; publ. in JeppesenO II. – no. (250).

*Pasotus 1526/6*

*Canzoni, Frottole et Capitoli ... Libro Primo. De la Croce ...*, J. J. Pasotus & V. Dorico, Roma 1526. RISM 1526/6; cf. JeppesenF I p. 138.

*Attaignant 1528/3*

*Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1528. RISM 1528/3, HeartzA no. 2. – nos. 111, 117, 139, 165, 168, (227).

*Attaignant 1528/4*

*Trente chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1529]. RISM [c. 1528]/4, HeartzA no. 8. – nos. 40, 41.

*Attaignant 1528/5*

*Trente et deux chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1529]. RISM [c. 1528]/5, HeartzA no. 7. – no. 114.

*Attaignant 1528/6*

*Trente et quatre chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1531?]. RISM [c. 1528]/6, HeartzA no. 29 (reprint of *Attaignant 1529/3*).

*Attaignant 1528/7*

*Trente et cinq chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1529]. RISM [c. 1528]/7, HeartzA no. 6. – nos. 42, 120, 161, 164, (166).

*Attaignant 1528/8*

*Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1529]. RISM [c. 1528]/8, HeartzA no. 9. – nos. 38, 111, 114, 117, 139, 165, 168, (227).

*Attaignant 1528/9*

*Six Gaillardes et six Pavanes avec Treze chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1529 [1530]. RISM [c. 1528]/9, HeartzA no. 17.

*Attaignant 1528/J443*

*Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris [1528]. RISM A/I J443, HeartzA no. 4; publ. in ExpertJ. – no. (269).

*Attaignant 1529*

*Tres breve et familiere introduction ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1529. HeartzA no. 13, BrownI pp. 28-29; publ. in HeartzP and LaurencieC. – nos. (99), 111, 112, (113), 114, 116, 117, 135, 139, 141, 165, 167, 242, 248.

*Vorsterman 1529*

*Livre plaisant et tres utile pour apprendre a faire & ordonner toutes tabulatures ...*, Guillaume Vorsterman, Antwerpen 1529. BrownI pp. 27-28. – nos. 205, 247.

*Attaignant 1529/1*

*xii Motetz a quatre et cinq voix ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris, October 1, 1529. RISM 1529/1, HeartzA no. 12.

*Attaignant 1529/2*

*Trente et une chanson musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1529. RISM 1529/2, HeartzA no. 14; publ. in ExpertA. – nos. 32, 58.

*Attaignant 1529/3*

*Trente et quatre chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris, January 23, 1529. RISM 1529/3, HeartzA no. 5 (cf. *Attaignant 1528/6*). – nos. 35, 37, 167.

*Attaignant 1529/4*

*Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troys parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1529. RISM 1529/4, HeartzA no. 10, AdamsT pp. 85-104. – nos. (57), 99, 112, (113), 116, 135, 137, 140, 141, (171), 248.

*Giunta 1530/1*

*Libro primo de la Fortuna*, s.l.n.d. RISM 1530/1: Giunta, Venezia; BernsteinC: Roma, c. 1526; cf. JeppesenF I p. 141. – nos. (107a), (123).

*Attaignant 1530/4*

*Trente et six chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1530. RISM 1530/4, HeartzA no. 19. – no. 39.

*Attaignant 1530/5*

*Trente et huyt chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris, kal. ianua 1529 [January 1, 1530]. RISM 1530/5, HeartzA no. 15.

*Attaignant 1530/7*

*1529 kal. februarii / Dixhuit basses dances garnies de Recoupes et tourdions ... Le tuot reduyt en la tabulature du Lutz ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris, February 1, 1530.

- RISM 1530/1, HeartzA no. 16, BrownI pp. 31-32; publ. in HeartzP.  
– nos. 42, (58).
- Attaignant 1531/1*  
*Vingt et huit chansons nouvelles ... a quatre parties ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 15301 [February, 1532].  
RISM 1531/1, HeartzA no. 31.  
– nos. (42), (61), (99), (117), (137), (139), (161), (165),  
(167), (171), (269).
- Attaignant 1531/2*  
*Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1532. RISM 1531/2,  
HeartzA no. 32 (new edition of *Attaignant 1528/8*).  
– nos. 38, 111, 114, 117, 139, 165, 168.
- Dorico 1531/4*  
*Canzoni frottole a capitoli ... Libro secondo de la Croce*,  
Valerius Dorico, Roma 1531. RISM 1531/4.  
– no. (107a).
- Attaignant 1531/5*  
*Treze Motetz musicaux avec ung Prelude le tout reduict en la tabulature ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1531.  
RISM 1531/5, HeartzA no. 27, BrownI pp. 39-40;  
publ. in RotksethM.  
– nos. 52, 62, 242.
- Attaignant 1531/6*  
*Dixneuf chansons musicales reduict en la tabulature ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1531. RISM 1531/6,  
HeartzA no. 22, BrownI p. 35; publ. in SeayC.  
– nos. 32, 38, 40, 137, (164).
- Attaignant 1531/7*  
*Vingt et cinq chansons musicales reduict en la tabulature ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1531.  
RISM 1531/7, HeartzA no. 23, BrownI pp. 35-36;  
publ. in SeayC.  
– nos. 111, 112, 116, 135, 161, 165, 248.
- Attaignant 1531/8*  
*Vingt et six chansons musicales reduict en la tabulature ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1531.  
RISM 1531/8, HeartzA no. 24, BrownI pp. 36-37;  
publ. in SeayC.  
– nos. 41, 42, (113), 117, 139, 141, 164, 167.
- Attaignant 1532/4*  
*Quartus liber tres missas contenet ...*, P. Attaignant,  
Paris 1532. RISM 1532/4, HeartzA no. 36.  
– no. (172).
- Moderne 1532/8*  
*Liber decem missarum ...*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1532.
- RISM 1532/8, PogueM no. 3.  
– nos. (112), (117), (139), (248).
- Moderne 1532/11*  
*Motetti del Fiore. Secundus liber cum quattuor vocibus*.  
[J. Moderne, Lyon 1532].  
RISM 1532/11, PogueM no. 8.  
– no. (230).
- Attaignant 1532/12*  
*Trente et troys chansons nouvelle ... a quatre parties*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1532.  
RISM 1532/12, HeartzA no. 30.  
– no. (219).
- Gerle 1533/G1623*  
Hans Gerle: *Tabulatur auff die Laudten ...*,  
Formschneider, Nürnberg 1533.  
RISM A/I G1623, BrownI pp. 42-43.  
– nos. 54, (205), 243, (247).
- Attaignant 1534/3*  
*Liber primus quinqz et viginti musicales quattuor vocum Motetos complectitur ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1534.  
RISM 1534/3, HeartzA no. 46; publ. in SmijersT I.
- Attaignant 1534/4*  
*Liber secundus: quatuor et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos habet ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1534.  
RISM 1534/4, HeartzA no. 47; publ. in SmijersT II.  
– nos. 36, (230).
- Attaignant 1534/5*  
*Liber tertius: viginti musicales quinque, sex vel octo vocum motetos habet ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1534.  
RISM 1534/5, HeartzA no. 49; publ. in SmijersT III.
- Attaignant 1534/11*  
*Vingt et huyt chansons musicales ...*, P. Attaignant,  
Paris 1534. RISM 1534/11, HeartzA no. 45.
- Attaignant 1534/14*  
*Trente et une chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1534.  
RISM 1534/14, HeartzA no. 54.  
– no. (140).
- Dorico 1534/15*  
*Madrigali novi. Libro primo de la Serena*, Dorico,  
Roma 1533. RISM 1534/15.  
– no. 111.
- Attaignant 1535*  
*Trente et une chanson musicales a troys parties ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1535. HeartzA no. 65;  
cf. HeartzC and AdamsT pp. 104-09.  
– nos. (41), (58), (161), (167), (249).



*Moderne 1535*

*La fleur des Noelz nouvellemnet notes ...*, s.l.n.d.  
[Moderne, Lyon before 1535]. PogueM no. 107;  
publ. in BabelonF.  
– nos. (85), (229), (237).

*Attaignant 1535/2*

*Liber decimus: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1534.  
RISM 1535/2, HeartzA no. 61; publ. in SmijersT X.

*Attaignant 1535/6*

*Vingt et six chansons musicales a quatre parties ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris febr. 1534 [February 1535].  
RISM 1535/6, HeartzA no. 62.  
– no. (72).

*Attaignant 1535/7*

*Chansons musicales, esleves de plusieurs livres ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris [1536].  
RISM 1535/7, HeartzA no. 74.  
– nos. 111, 167.

*Scotto 1535/8*

*Il primo libro de canzoni francese*, Scotto, Venezia 1535.  
RISM 1535/8; cf. BernsteinC pp. 23-24.  
– nos. (113), 231, 249.

*Scotto 1535/9*

*Del 2<sup>e</sup> libro delle canzoni francese*, Scotto, Venezia 1535.  
RISM [1535]/9; cf. BernsteinC pp. 23-24.  
– no. 168.

*Egenolff 1535/10*

*Gassenhawerlin*, C. Egenolff, Frankfurt a. M. 1535.  
RISM 1535/10, Tenorlied I no. 10; publ. in MoserG.  
– no. 16.

*Egenolff 1535/11*

*Reutterliedlin*, C. Egenolff, Frankfurt a. M. 1535.  
RISM 1535/11, Tenorlied I no. 11.  
– no. (213).

*Egenolff 1535/13*

*Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*, C. Egenolff,  
Frankfurt a. M. s.d.  
RISM [c. 1535]/13, Tenorlied no. 13 (tenor lost).  
– nos. 16, (213).

*Egenolff 1535/14*

[Superius part-book] s.l.n.d. [C. Egenolff, Frankfurt  
a. M.]. RISM [c. 1535]/14; cf. BridgmanE  
(Heilbronn X/2 is a handwritten copy of the lost bas-  
sus containing part of the repertory of the printed  
edition's Part III).  
– nos. 7, 46, 54, 75, 80, 133, (211), 239, 243, 266.

*Egenolff 1535/15*

[Liederbuch] s.l.n.d. [C. Egenolff, Frankfurt a. M.].  
RISM [c. 1535]/15, Tenorlied I no. 15 (tenor lost).  
– no. (213).

*Milano 1536*

*Intavolatura de Viola overo Lauto ... Composta per Io  
Eccelente e Unico Musizo Francesco Milano ... Libro  
primo delle fortuna*, Joannis Stultzbacchi, Napoli 1536;  
cf. GiraudM.  
– nos. 54, 249.

*Antico 1536/1*

*La Courone et fleur des chansons a troys*, A. Antico &  
Antonio Dell' Abbate, Venezia 1536. RISM 1536/1;  
cf. BernsteinC.  
– nos. (98), (133).

*Attaignant 1536/2*

*Premier Livre contenant xxxi chansons musicales ...*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1536.  
RISM 1536/2, HeartzA no. 70.  
– nos. 41, 117, 139.

*Attaignant 1536/3*

*Second livre contenant xxxi chansons musicales*,  
P. Attaignant, Paris 1536.  
RISM 1536/3, HeartzA no. 71.  
– nos. 35, 39, (164).

*Attaignant 1536/5*

*Second livre contenant xxv Chansons nouvelles a quatre  
parties le tout en ung livre ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris  
1536. RISM 1536/5, HeartzA no. 72.  
– nos. (60), (75), (161), (207), (269).

*Attaignant 1536/6*

*Tiers livre contenant xxi Chansons musicales a quatre  
parties par Jennequin et Passereau esleves de plusieurs  
livres ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1536. RISM 1536/6,  
HeartzA no. 73.

*Milano 1536/11*

*Intabolatura di Liuto ... di M. Francesco da Milano ...*,  
F. Marcolini, Venezia 1536.  
RISM 1536/11; cf. BrownI pp. 46-47.  
– nos. 54, (231), 249.

*Newsidler 1536/12*

Hans Newsidler: *Ein newgeordnet künstlich  
Lautenbuch ...*, J. Petreius, Nürnberg 1536.  
RISM 1536/12; cf. BrownI pp. 50-53.  
– nos. 16, 17, 239.

*Newsidler 1536/13*

Hans Newsidler: *Der ander Theil des Lautenbuchs ...*,  
J. Petreius, Nürnberg 1536.

- RISM 1536/13; cf. BrownI pp. 53-55.  
– no. 53.
- Formschneider 1537/1*  
*Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex quinque, et quattuor vocum ...*, H. Grapheus (Formschneider), Nürnberg 1537. RISM 1537/1.  
– no. (274).
- Attaignant 1537/3*  
*Second Livre de chansons esleves, contenant XXX. Reimprimees en deux volumes ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1537. RISM 1537/3, HeartzA no. 76 (repr. 1538; cf. *Attaignant 1538*).  
– nos. 35, 39.
- Attaignant 1537/J444*  
*Les chansons de La guerre La chasse Le chant des oyseaux LaLouette Le rossignol Composees par maistre clement Jennequin ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1537. RISM A/I J444, HeartzA no. 75.  
– no. (269).
- Attaignant 1538*  
*Second livre contenant XXX chansons vieilles esleves ...*, P. Attaignant, Paris 1538. HeartzA no. 78 (repr. of *Attaignant 1537/3*).
- Buglhat 1538/5*  
*Liber cantus (vocum quatuor) triginta novem motetos habet*, Buglhat, Ferrara 1538. RISM 1538/5.  
– no. 36.
- Rhau 1538/8*  
*Symphoniae jocundae atque adeo breves quatuor vocum ... numero quinquagento duo*, G. Rhau, Wittemberg 1538. RISM 1538/8; publ. in AlbrechtS.  
– nos. (52), 242.
- Formschneider 1538/9*  
*Trium vocum carmina*, H. Formschneider, Nürnberg 1538. RISM 1538/9; cf. BrownI pp. 59-62, TenorIied I no. 21.  
– nos. 53, 54, 98, 205, (218) 227, 239, 243, 247, 256, 263.
- Attaignant 1538/11*  
*Second livre contenant xvii Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties en ung volume et en deux ...*, P. Attaignant & H. Jullet, Paris 1538.  
RISM 1538/11, HeartzA no. 81.
- Attaignant 1538/14*  
*Cinquiesme livre contenant xxviii Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaignant & H. Jullet, Paris 1538. RISM 1538/14, HeartzA no. 84.  
– no. (111).
- Moderne 1538/15*  
*Le Paragon des Chansons ...*, [J. Moderne, Lyon 1538]. RISM 1538/15, PogueM nos. 10-11.  
– nos. (71), (147).
- Moderne 1538/17*  
*Le paragon des chansons. Tiers livre contenant xxvi. chansons nouvelle ...*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1538. RISM 1538/17, PogueM no. 13.  
– nos. (32), (79), (107a), (111), (117), (139), (269), (271).
- Moderne 1539/5*  
*Quartus liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1539. RISM 1539/5, PogueM no. 19.  
– no. (230).
- Moderne 1539/19*  
*Le Paragon des Chansons. Quart livre contenant xxxii chansons a deux et a troys parties ...*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1539. RISM 1539/19, PogueM no. 20,  
– no. (71).
- Gardane 1539/21*  
*Canzoni franceze a due voci*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1539. RISM 1539/21.
- Scotto 1539/W1108*  
*Motetti di Adrian Willaert, Libro secondo a 4 voci*, Scotto, Venezia 1539. RISM A/I W1108.  
– no. 36.
- Moderne 1540/1*  
*Liber decem missarum ...*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1540. RISM 1540/1, PogueM no. 22 (new enlarged edition of *Moderne 1532/8*).  
– nos. (112), (117), (139), (248).
- Attaignant 1540/2*  
*Missarum musicalium quattuor vocum cum suis motetis liber tertius ...*, P. Attaignant & H. Jullet, Paris 1540. RISM 1540/2, HeartzA no. 93.  
– no. 242.
- Salblinger 1540/7*  
*Siegmund Salblinger: Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones*, Kriesstein, Augsburg 1540. RISM 1540/7.  
– no. (54).
- Attaignant 1540/9*  
*Second livre contenant xxvii chansons nouvelles a quatre parties, en ung volume & en deux*, P. Attaignant & H. Jullet, Paris 1540. RISM 1540/9, HeartzA no. 94 (revised edition of *Attaignant 1538/11*).

*Moderne 1540/16*

*Le Paragon des Chansons. Sixieme livre contenant xxv. Chansons ...*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1540.  
RISM 1540/16, PogueM no. 26.  
– no. (31).

*Newsidler 1540/23*

Hans Newsidler: *Ein newes Lautenbüchlein ...*,  
H. Guldenmundt, Nürnberg 1540.  
RISM 1543/24; cf. BrownI pp. 63-64.  
– no. 54.

*Moderne 1540/J459*

*Le Difficile des Chansons. Premier livre contenant xxii Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties ... de la facture & composition de maistre Clement Jennequin ...*, Moderne, Lyon s.d. [1540]. RISM A/I J459, PogueM no. 27.  
– no. (269).

*Petreius 1541/2*

*Trium vocum cantiones centum*, J. Petreius, Nürnberg 1541. RISM 1541/2.  
– nos. 54, 64.

*Gardane 1541/13*

*Di Constantio Festa ... di Jhan Gero ... trenta canzoni francese di Janequin*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1541.  
RISM 1541/13; cf. LesureC; publ. in AdamsF I.

*Rhau 1542/8*

*Tricinia tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum, Latina, Germanica, Brabantica et Gallica ...*, G. Rhau, Wittenberg 1542. RISM 1548/8.  
– nos. (17), (57), 62, 73, 112, 116, (133), 135, 140, 141, 248.

*Moderne 1542/C3307*

*Liber octo missarum ... moduli quos mottetos ... Quae omnia Petreius Colinius ... composuit*, J. Moderne, Lyon 1541. RISM A/I C3307, PogueM no. 33.

*Susato 1543/15*

*Vingt et six chansons musicales et nouvelles a cinq parties ...*, T. Susato, Anvers [1543].  
RISM [1543]/15; facs. in CorpusE 1.  
– nos. (111), (140), (249).

*Susato 1543/16*

*Premier liore des chansons a quatre parties auquel sont contenues trente et une nouvelles chansons ...*, T. Susato, Anvers 1543.  
RISM 1543/16; facs. in CorpusE 2.

*Gardane 1543/B5194*

J. Buus: *Il primo libro di canzoni francese a sei voci ...*, A. Gardane 1543. RISM A/I B5194.  
– nos. (112), (248).

*Susato 1544/10*

*Le second liore des chansons a quatre parties*, T. Susato, Antwerpen 1544. RISM 1544/10; facs. in CorpusE 3.  
– nos. 39, (165).

*Susato 1544/13*

*Le cinquisme liore contenant trente et deux chansons a cinq et a six parties ...*, T. Susato, Antwerpen 1544. RISM 1544/13; facs. in CorpusE 6.  
– nos. (39), (167), (168), (249).

*Newsidler 1544/23*

Hans Newsidler: *Das Ander Buch. Ein New künstlich Lautten Buch ...*, H. Günther, Nürnberg 1544. RISM 1544/23; cf. BrownI pp. 70-72.  
– nos. 99, 112, 140, 141, 248, 269.

*Newsidler 1544/24*

Hans Newsidler: *Das Erst Buch. Ein Neues Lautenbüchlein ...*, H. Günther, Nürnberg 1544. RISM 1544/24; cf. BrownI pp. 68-70.  
– no. 111.

*Susato 1544/S7238*

*Le premier liore des chansons a trois parties auquel sont contenues trente et une nouvelles chansons ... composees en Anvers par Tylman Susato 1544*. RISM A/I S7238; cf. BernsteinF pp. 200f; publ. in SusatoP.  
– no. (39).

*Rhau 1545/6*

*Bicinia gallica latina et germanica. Tomus primus*, G. Rhau, Wittenberg 1545.  
RISM 1545/6; publ. in BellinghamR.

*Rhau 1545/7*

*Bicinia gallica latina germanica et quaedam fugae. Tomus secundus*, G. Rhau, Wittenberg 1545.  
RISM 1545/7; publ. in BellinghamR.  
– nos. (71), (79), (164), (205), (247).

*Susato 1545/14*

*Le sixiesme liore contenant trente et une chansons nouvelles a cinq et a six parties*, Susato, Antwerpen Jan. 1545. RISM 1545/14; facs. in CorpusE 7.  
– nos. (60), (140).

*Susato 1545/15*

*Le septiesme liore contenant vingt & quatre chansons ... composees par feu de bonne memoire et tres excellent en musique Josquin des Pres ...*, Susato, Antwerpen 1545. RISM 1545/15, RISM A/I J680; facs. in CorpusE 8.  
– nos. (67), 75, 250.

*Phalèse 1545/21*

*Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de lut ... Livre premier*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1545.  
RISM 1545/21; cf. BrownI pp. 74-75.  
– nos. (99), 111, 112, 141, 205, 247, 248.

*Gardane 1545/W1109*

*Adriani Willaert musica 4 vocum (motecta vulgo appellat) Liber primus*, Gardane, Venezia 1545.  
RISM A/I W1109,  
– no. 36.

*Attaingnant 1546/12*

*Dixneufiesme livre contenant xxii Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties ...*, P. Attaingnant, Paris 1546.  
RISM 1546/12, HeartzA no. 135.  
– no. (165).

*Phalèse 1546/21*

*Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de luc ... livre deuxieme*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1546.  
RISM 1546/21; cf. BrownI pp. 91-93.  
– nos. 39, 54, 116, 117, 135, 139.

*Crema 1546/25*

*Jo. Maria da Crema: Intabolatura de Lauto ... Libro Primo*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1546.  
RISM 1546/25; cf. BrownI pp. 84-85.  
– no. (107a).

*Milano 1546/29*

*Intabolatura de lauto di Francesco da Milano ... Libro secondo*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1546.  
RISM 1546/29; cf. BrownI p. 80.  
– no. 249.

*Gerle 1546/31*

*Hans Gerle: Musica und Tabulatur, auff die Instrument der kleinen und grossen Geygen, auch Lautten ...*, Formschnyder, Nürnberg 1546.  
RISM 1546/31, RISM A/I G1622;  
cf. BrownI pp. 82-84; publ. in GerleM.  
– nos. (99), 111, (147).

*Glarean 1547/1*

*Henricus Glareanus: Dodekachordon*, H. Petrus 1547.  
RISM 1547/1; publ. in GlareanD.  
– nos. 17, 52.

*Gardane 1547/21*

*Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino ...*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1547.  
RISM 1547/21; cf. BrownI pp. 95-96.  
– nos. 54, 161.

*Rotenbucher 1549/16*

*Diphona amoena et florida, selectore Erasmo Rothenbuchero, boiario*, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, Nürnberg 1549. RISM 1549/16; cf. RotenbucherS.  
– nos. (46), 71, 79.

*Attaingnant 1549/17*

*Premier livre des chansons esleves en nobre XXX ...*, P. Attaingnant, Paris 1549.  
RISM 1549/17, HeartzA no. 161.

*Phalèse 1549/38*

*Carminum quae chely vel testudine canuntur. Liber primus ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1549.  
RISM 1549/38; cf. BrownI pp. 118-19 (revised edition of *Phalèse 1545/21*).  
– nos. 111, 112, 114, 248.

*Barberiis 1549/39*

*M. de Barberiis: Opera intitolata continua intabolatura di lauto ... Libro decimo*, H. Scotto, Venezia 1549.  
RISM 1549/39; cf. BrownI pp. 113-14.  
– no. 39.

*Newsidler 1549/41*

*Hans Newsidler: Das Ander Buch. Ein New künstlich Lauten Buch ...*, J. P. Fabritius, Nürnberg 1549.  
RISM 1549/41; cf. BrownI pp. 115-17 (revised edition of *Newsidler 1544/23*).  
– nos. 54, 112, 140, 248.

*Attaingnant 1549/J681*

*Trente sixiesme livre contenant XXX chansons ... Le tout de la composition de feu Josquin des prez ...*, P. Attaingnant, Paris 1549. RISM A/I J681, HeartzA no. 162; publ. in JosquinWW.  
– nos. 75, 250.

*Othmayr 1549/O263*

*Caspar Othmayr: Reutterische Unnd Jegerische Liedlin*, J. von Berg & V. Newber, Nuernberg 1549.  
RISM A/I O263, Tenorlied I no. 41.  
– no. (16).

*Gardane 1550/1*

*Cantus di Adriano et di Jachet. I Salmi appertimenti alli Vesperi ...*, A. Gardane, Venezia 1550.  
RISM 1550/1; publ. in WillaertO VIII.

*Susato 1550/13*

*Le douziesme livre contenant trente chansons amoureuses à cinq parties ...*, T. Susato, Anvers 1550.  
RISM 1550/13; facs. in CorpusE 13.  
– no. (58).

*Phalèse 1552/29*

*Hortus musarum in quo tamquam flosculi ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1552. RISM 1552/29; cf. BrownI pp. 143-46.  
– nos. 39, 111. (274).

*Susato 1552/10*

*La Fleur de chansons et cinquiesme livre a trois parties, contenant xxvi nouvelles chansons ...*, Susato, Anvers 1552. RISM 1552/10.  
– no. (60).

*Susato 1552/S7239*

*Tiers livre contenant xxx nouvelles chansons a deux ou a trois parties ... composees & imprimees par Tielman Susato, Anvers [1552].*  
RISM A/I S7239; cf. BernsteinS p. 214f.  
– no. (140).

*Le Roy 1553/1*

*Libri primus sex missas continens ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1552. RISM 1553/1, LesureR no. 6.  
– no. (7).

*Le Roy 1553/22*

*Tiers livre de chansons composées à trois parties*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1553.  
RISM 1553/22; publ. in AdamsF.  
– nos. 54, (107b).

*Phalèse 1553/25*

*Second livre des chansons a cinq et six parties ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1553.  
RISM 1553/25 (repr. 1560 = RISM 1560/5).  
– no. (218).

*Apiarius 1553/31*

*Bicinia sive duo, germanica ad arquales. Tütsche Psalmen und ande Lieder, durch Joannem Vannium mit zweyen Stimmen zusammen gesetzt ...*, M. Apiarius, Bern 1553.  
RISM 1553/31, Tenorlied I no. 51.  
– nos. (16), (17).

*Morlaye 1553/34*

*Le Second livre de chansons, gaillardes ... reduictz en tabulature de guiterne, par maistre Guillaume Morlaye jouer de leut*, R. Granjon & M. Fezandat, Paris 1553.  
RISM 1553/34, RISM A/I M3687; cf. BrownI pp. 148-49.  
– no. 137.

*Brayssing 1553/35*

Gregoire Brayssing: *Quart livre de tabulature de Guiterne ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1553.  
RISM 1553/35, LesureR no. 10; cf. BrownI p. 148.  
– no. 269.

*Ghelen 1554*

*Dit is een zeer schoon Boecxken, om te leeren maken alderhande tabulaturen ...*, Jan van Gheelen 1554 (repr. 1568); cf. BrownI pp. 162-63 (Flemish translation of Vorsterman 1529).  
– nos. 205, 247.

*Rippe 1554/34*

Albert de Rippe: *Second livre de Tabulature de Leut ...*, M. Fezandat, Paris 1554. RISM 1554/34; cf. BrownI pp. 161.  
– no. 54.

*Phalèse 1555/21*

*Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1555. RISM 1555/21.  
– no. (207).

*Waelrant 1556/19*

*Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons ... Le tiers livre*, Waelrant & Laet, Antwerpen s.d. RISM 1556/19.  
– no. (40).

*Berg 1556/29*

*Der fünffte Theil schöner frölicher frischer alter und newer teutscher Liedlein ...*, J. von Berg & U. Neuber, Nürnberg 1556. RISM 1556/29, Tenorlied I no. 56.  
– no. (17).

*Drusina 1556/32*

*Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasdam fantasias ... Per Benedictum de Drusina ...*, J. Eichorn, Frankfurt 1556. RISM 1556/32; cf. BrownI pp. 169-71.  
– no. 39.

*Le Roy 1558/C1715*

*Missae tres Petro Certon cum quatuor vocibus ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1558.  
RISM A/I C1715, LesureR no. 42.  
– no. (7).

*Montanus 1559/1*

*Secunda pars magni operis musici*, Montanus & Neuber, Nürnberg 1559. RISM 1559/1.  
– no. 250.

*Le Roy 1559/J456*

*Vergers de musique contenant partie des plus excellents labours de M. G. Janequin ... revues et corrigez par luy mesme*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1559.  
RISM A/I J456, LesureR no. 57.  
– no. (269).

*Le Roy 1560*

*Livre de meslanges, contenant sis vingtz chansons ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1560. LesureR no. 68.



- nos. (58), (60), (70), (99), (116), (135), (163), (167), 250.
- Montanus 1560/1*  
*Selectissimorum triciniorum ...*, Montanus & Neuber, Nürnberg s.d. RISM [1560]/1.  
 – nos. 112, (133), 140, 141, 248.
- Phalèse 1560/6*  
*Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1560. RISM 1560/6.  
 – no. 111.
- Phalèse 1560/7*  
*Premier livre du recueil des fleurs produictes de la divine musique a trois parties ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1560. RISM 1560/7.
- Chemin 1561*  
*Second Livre des Recueilz dec Chansons a Quatre Parties ...*, N. du Chemin, Paris 1561. LesureC no. 78.  
 – no. 39.
- Scotto 1562/9*  
*Il terzo libro delle muse a tre voci ...*, G. Scotto, Venezia 1562. RISM 1562/9.  
 – no. (133).
- Heckel 1562/24*  
 Wolff Heckel: *Diskant. Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stücken ...*, Ch. Müller, Strassburg 1562. RISM 1562/24, RISM A/I H4935; cf. BrownI pp. 196-99.  
 – nos. 39, 111, 112, (205), (247), 248.
- Rippe 1562/27*  
 Albert de Rippe: *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1562. RISM 1562/27, LesureR no. 80; cf. BrownI p. 202.  
 – no. 39.
- Phalèse 1563*  
*Theatrum musicum in quo selectissima optimorum quorumlibet autorum ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1563. cf. BrownI pp. 208-10.  
 – nos. 39, 111.
- Le Roy 1567/12*  
*Premier recueil des recueils, composé à quatre parties ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1567. RISM 1567/12, LesureR no. 129.  
 – no. 39.
- Phalèse 1569/11*  
*Recueil des fleurs a trois parties. Tiers livre*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1569. RISM 1569/11; cf. AdamsT pp. 301-05.  
 – no. (133).
- Phalèse 1569/T1434*  
 Gerardo à Turnhout: *Sacrarum ac aliarum cantionum trium vocum ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain 1569. RISM A/I T1434.  
 – nos. (39), (117).
- Chemin 1570/C1718*  
*Les Melanges de Maistre Pierre Certon, Compositeur de Musique de la Chapelle du Roy ...*, N. du Chemin, Paris 1570. RISM A/I C1718, LesureC no. 97.  
 – nos. (7), (31), (57), (79), (143), (161), (168), (249), (270).
- Le Roy 1572/2*  
*Mellange de chansons ... a cinq, six, sept, et huit parties*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1572. RISM 1572/2, LesureR no. 165.  
 – nos. (39), (41), (60), (70), (99), (116), (135), (167), (249).
- Phalèse 1574/3*  
*La Fleur des chansons a trois parties ...*, P. Phalèse, Louvain; Bellère, Antwerpen 1574. RISM 1574/3; cf. AdamsT p. 305.  
 – no. (207).
- Le Roy 1578/14*  
*Premier livre de chansons a trois parties ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1578. RISM 1578/14, LesureR no. 218.  
 – nos. 54, (107b).
- Le Roy 1578/15*  
*Second livre de chansons a trois parties ...*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1578. RISM 1578/15, LesureR no. 219.  
 – nos. (58), (60), (79), (99), (163), (171).
- Le Roy 1578/16*  
*Tiers livre de chansons ... a troys parties*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1578. RISM 1578/16, LesureR no. 219<sup>bis</sup>.  
 – no. (133).
- Le Roy 1584/L953*  
*Continuation du Mellange d'Orlando di Lassus*, A. le Roy & R. Ballard, Paris 1584. RISM A/I L953.  
 – no. (161).
- Tini 1588/4*  
*Orlandi Lassui, Adriani Havil ac nonnullorum aliorum musicorum missae ... Liber primus*, Tini, Milano 1588. RISM 1588/4.  
 – no. 171.



## Anthologies of texts

### manuscripts

#### *Berlin 78.B.17*

Berlin, Kupferstichskabinett, Ms. 78.B.17  
(Cardinal Rohan Ms.); publ. in LöpelmannR.  
– nos. (9), 28, 35, 54, 84, 88, 89, 92, 123, 131, 205,  
227, (235), 247, (254), 261, 275.

#### *Dresden Saxe*

Dresden, Moritzburg, Schlossbibliothek, Ms. Jean  
de Saxe; cf. PetzholdtR.  
– nos. 56, 66, 129, 267.

#### *København 35*

København, Det kgl. Bibliotek, Ny kgl.Saml. 35 8°  
(Heures Latines et françaises);  
cf. AbrahamsD pp. 12-14 and JørgensenC.  
– nos. 209, 210, 225.

#### *København 416*

København, Det kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. Thott 416 2°;  
cf. AbrahamsD pp. 122-27.  
– no. 31.

#### *Lille 402*

Lille, Bibliothèque de Lille, Ms. 402;  
publ. in FrançonP.  
– nos. 56, 66, 129, 267.

#### *London 380*

London, British Library, MS Landsdowne 380;  
cf. WallisA.  
– nos. 54, (77), 88, (116), (135), 235, 254, 261.

#### *Oxford I.d.22*

Oxford, Taylor Institution Archive, MS I.d.22;  
cf. ChesneyP.  
– nos. 129, 267.

#### *Paris 477*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. 477;  
cf. FrançonP pp. 733-40.  
– no. 129.

#### *Paris 1158*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. 1158  
(Poesies d'octavian de St gelaïs);  
cf. FrançonA pp. 288-89.  
– no. 267.

#### *Paris 1274*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. 1274  
(Ms. de Vire).  
– nos. 79, 134.

#### *Paris 1719*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1719;  
cf. SchwobP.  
– nos. 29, 30, 46, 48, 49, 51, 54, 90, 129, 132, 152,  
191, 192, 200, 204, 223+236, 227, 243, (256), 262, 263,  
267, 273, 276, 277, 278.

#### *Paris 1721*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1721;  
cf. FrançonP pp. 749-55.  
– nos. 31, 74.

#### *Paris 1722*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1722.  
– nos. 30, 54, 66, 68-69, 90, 129, (148), 222, 223+236,  
(256), 276, 277.

#### *Paris 2582*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coll. Rothschild  
no. 2582 (III.3.1).  
– no. 267.

#### *Paris 2798*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coll. Rothschild  
no. 2798 (I.6.17).  
– no. 250.

#### *Paris 2819*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coll. Rothschild  
no. 2819.  
– no. 88.

#### *Paris 2964*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coll. Rothschild  
no. 2964.  
– no. 129.

#### *Paris 7559*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. 7559;  
cf. FrançonA pp. 277-84; publ. in BancelR.  
– nos. 129, 205, 247, 250, 267.

#### *Paris 9223*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 9223;  
publ. in RaynaudR.  
– no. 276.

#### *Paris 19182*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 19182;  
cf. FrançonP pp. 763-71.  
– no. 129.

## Anthologies of texts

### prints

#### *Vergier d'honneur*

*Le Vergier d'honneur nouvellement imprime a paris ...*, s.d.  
– no. 252.

#### *Le Jardin* 1501

*Le Jardin de Plaisance, Paris*, A. Verard s.d. [c. 1501]; publ. in Droz].  
– nos. 31, 35, 54, 56, 62, 65, 72, 84, 88, 89, 92, 147, (150), (191), 198, (205), 219, 227, (247), 275, (278), 279.

#### *La Chasse* 1509

Octavien de Saint-Gelais & Blaise d'Auriol:  
*La Chasse et la départ d'amours*, A. Verard, Paris 1509; cf. WinnS.  
– nos. 30, 84, 88, 129, 132, 152, 192, (235), (245), (254), 267, 276.

#### *S'ensuivent 11 chansons* 1515

*S'ensuivent unze Belles chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d. [Trepperel, Paris c. 1515-20]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 152-65..  
– no. (98).

#### *S'ensuyvent 12 chansons* 1515

*S'ensuyvent xii chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d. [Trepperel, Paris c. 1515-20]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 166-80.  
– no. (97).

#### *Les chansons* 1515

*Les chansons nouvelles que on chante de present Et son en nombre quatre vingtz et dix ...*, s.l.n.d. [Trepperel, Paris c. 1515-20]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 100-15.  
– nos. 79, 107b, (163).

#### *S'ensuivent ... 53 chansons* 1515

*S'ensuivent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles ... qui sont en nombre cinquante et troys*, s.l.n.d. [Trepperel, Paris c. 1515-20]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 116-51.  
– nos. 107b, (163), (272).

#### *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515

*S'ensuivent plusieurs Belles chansons nouvelles. Et son en nombre iiiii.xx et dix ...*, s.l.n.d. [Trepperel, Paris c. 1515-20]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 39-98.  
– nos. 79, 107b, 108, 133, (163).

#### *Daniel* 1523

*S'ensuyvent plusieurs Noëlz nouveaulx / Chansons nouvelles de Novel, composées tout de nouvel, exquelles verrez les pratiques de confondre les hérétiques*. Jo. Daniellus, organista. s.l.n.d. [Angers c. 1523]; publ. in ChardonD.  
– nos. 137, 165.

#### *Daniel* 1524

*Chantzons saintes pour vous esbattre / Elegamment exposées / Par ung prisonnier composées / C'est un mil cinq cens vingt et quatre*. Jo. Daniellus, organista. s.l. [Angers] 1524; publ. in ChardonD.  
– no. 58.

#### *Noëlz nouveaulx* 1524

*Noelz nouveaulx fais par les prisonniers de la conciergerie sur les chans des chancons qui s'ensuyvent ...*, s.l.n.d. [c. 1524]; publ. in PichonN; cf. ChardonD p. XIII.  
– nos. 112, 247.

#### *Daniel* 1525

*Chansons joyeuses de noel / Tres doulces et recreatives / Singuliers, supellatives / Et sont faictes d'assez nouvel*. Jo. Daniellus, organista. s.l.n.d. [Angers c. 1525]; publ. in ChardonD.  
– nos. 92, (266).

#### *Balade* 1525

*Balade faict de plusieurs chansons*. Olivier Arnoullet, Paris 1525.  
– nos. 84, 227.

#### *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons* 1525a

*S'ensuyvent viii. belles chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d. [A. Lotrian, Paris c. 1525-30]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 187-97.  
– no. 113.

#### *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons* 1525b

*S'ensuyvent viii. belles chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d. [A. Lotrian, Paris c. 1525-30]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 198-204.  
– no. 113.

#### *Daniel* 1526

*Noëls joyeux plain de plaisir / A chanter sans nul déplaisir / Johannis Daniellis org.* s.l.n.d. [Angers c. 1526]; publ. in ChardonD.

#### *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons* 1526

*S'ensuyvent huict belles Chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d. [Paris ?? c. 1526]; publ. in JefferyV I pp. 205-12.  
– nos. 116, 135.

*S'ensuyvent 16 chansons 1526*

*S'ensuyvent seize belles chansons nouvelles ...*, s.l.n.d.  
[A. Lotrian, Paris c. 1526-30];  
publ. in JefferyV I pp. 233-47.  
– no. 92.

*S'ensuyvent 17 chansons 1526*

*S'ensuyvent dixsept belles Chansons nouvelles ...*,  
s.l.n.d. [A. Lotrian, Paris c. 1526-30];  
publ. in JefferyV I pp. 248-58.  
– nos. 92, 99.

*La Fleur 1527*

*La fleur des chansons. Les grans chansons nouvelles  
qui sont en nombre Cent et dix ...*, s.l.n.d. [? late in  
1527 – beginning of 1528]; repr. in Joyesetez XIII;  
publ. in JefferyV II pp. 23-77.  
– nos. 61, 92, 99, 112, 113, 116, 135, 165, 211, (248).

*La Fleur 1530*

*La Fleur de toutes joyeusetes contenant epistres, balades,  
et rondeaulx joyeux, et fort nouveaulx.* s.l.n.d. [c. 1530];  
repr. in Joyesetez VI; cf. LachèvreB pp. 30-33.  
– nos. 31, 276.

*Marot 1532*

*L'Adolescence Clementine. Aultrement, les oeuvres de  
Clément Marot de Cahors ...*, Paris, Geofroy Tory, 1532  
(many later editions); cf. RollinM p. 246 and  
MayerB II p. 15ff.  
– nos. 40, 41, 61, 111, 117, 139, 165, 166.

*S'ensuyvent-Nourry 1533*

*S'ensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles ... Avec  
aulcunes de Clement Marot, de nouveau adjoustees.*  
Lyon, Claude Nourry s.d. [1533-34]; publ. in  
JefferyV II pp. 78-126.  
– nos. 61, 117, 139, 166.

*S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535*

*S'ensuyvent plusieurs belles Chansons nouvelles Avec  
plusieurs aultres retirees des anciennes impressions...*,  
[A. Lotrian] Paris 1535; publ. in JefferyV II  
pp. 127-300. (A new edition, slightly changed and  
enlarged, was published in 1537 as *S'Ensuyvent-  
Lotrian 1537*; *Les chansons 1538* is a new, much en-  
larged edition).  
– nos. 35, 40, 79, 99, 108, 111, (112), 113, 116, 117,  
131, 133, 135, 137, 139, (140), 141, (163), 164, 165,  
248, 249.

*S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1537*

*S'Ensuyvent plusieurs belles Chansons nouvelles et fort  
joyeuses, avec plusieurs autres retirées des anciennes  
impressions ...*, [A. Lotrian] Paris 1537; publ. in  
JefferyV II pp. 301-30. (revised reprint in  
*S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1543*).  
– as *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535*, but plus no. 71, and  
minus no. 131.

*Les chansons 1538*

*Les chansons nouvellement assemblees oultre les  
anciennes Impressions ...*, s.l. 1538;  
publ. in JefferyV II pp. 331-47.  
– nos. 40, 41, 61, 107b, 111, 117, 131, 139, 165, 166,  
167.  
(– nos. 35, 79, 108, (112), 113, 133, 137, (140), 141,  
163, 164, 248, 249 do not mention *Les chansons 1538*  
among the textual concordances; the poems are all  
reprinted from Marot 1532, *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535*,  
and *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1537*).

*Le joyeux devis 1539*

*Le joyeux devis de L'esprit trouble. Contenant plusieurs  
Ballades, Epistres ... Nouvellement reveu, corrige, &  
hystorie depuis la derniere Impression.* A. Lotrian, Paris  
1539; cf. LachèvreB p. 50.  
– nos. 209, 210, 225.

*La Fleur 1542*

*La Fleur de poesi françoise, recueil joyeulx contenant  
plusieurs huictans, dixains ...*, A. Lotrian, Paris 1542;  
cf. LachèvreB pp. 54-55; publ. in BeverF.  
– no. (207).

*S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1543*

*S'Ensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles et fort  
joyeuses. Avecques plusieurs autres retirées des  
anciennes impressions ...*, A. Lotrian, Paris 1543;  
publ. in JefferyV II pp. 348-52.  
– as *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535*, but without no. 131.

# Thematic catalogue



**No. 1 A Dieu celuy que j'ay sur tous choisi 3v**  
p. 1

S



Adieu celuy que Jay sur tous choisir (t)

T



Adieu celuy que Jay sur tous choysir (t)

C



Adieu celuy que Jay sur tous choysir (t)

NB C: The first four notes are written a third too low.

Rfasc. A no. 1

TEXT:

Tercet – one stanza.

MODERN EDITION:


Vol. III no. 31

COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular monophonic tune, used as *c.p.f.* in the superius. Superius and tenor are in free octave canon with the contratenor in a supporting role; follows the three verse lines of the text in simple ABA form; a provincial composition—the contratenor in particular is not a success.

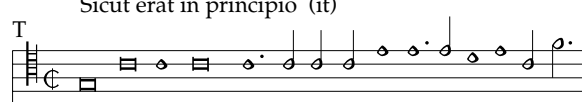
**No. 2 Sicut erat in principio 2v(3v)**  
p. 1

S



Sicut erat in principio (it)

T



Rfasc. A no. 1a. Hand D has added these two voices on empty staves between the superius and tenor and below the contratenor of no. 1.

TEXT:


Doxology.

COMMENTS:

An attempt at composition, possibly a fragment of a Magnificat setting; the 3rd tone (AR p. 12\*) is used as *c.p.f.* in the superius; only 16 br-mm. in simple note-against-note texture and with a distinct *mediatio* with fermata. A contratenor is probably missing, for if the setting is performed as notated with two equal voices an odd fourth between the voices appears in bar 2, and if it is performed with the superius an octave higher, the same problem appears in the second half of bar 7.

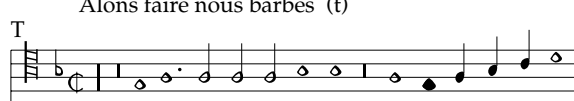
**No. 3 Alons faire nous barbes 4v [L. Compère]**  
p. 2 + p. 15

S



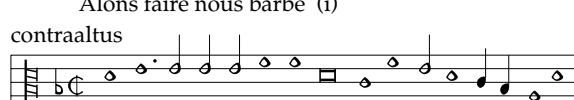
Alons faire nous barbes (t)

T



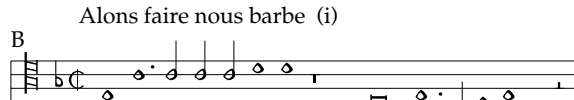
Alons faire nous barbe (i)

contraaltus



Alons faire nous barbe (i)

B



Alons faire nous barbe (i)

NB S: Before the first note a *sbr* rest is missing.

Rfasc. A no. 2. Because of the disorder of the first fascicle of the manuscript, the superius and tenor are on p. 2 and the contraaltus and bassus on p. 15.

CONCORDANCES:

*Cortona/Paris 1817* no. 11 (S, A and T only)

*Firenze 107 ff.* 16<sup>v</sup>-17

*Firenze 164-167* no. 65

*St. Gallen 463* no. 178: Compere (S and A only)

*Petrucchi 1501 ff.* 28<sup>v</sup>-29: Compere

In *Cortona/Paris 1817* the chanson is followed by a second section, “Et ou la trouveroye la femme au petit con”, which neither textually nor musically has any connection with *Alons faire nous barbes*; it does



however appear in several sources as the second section of Compère's *Mon pere m'a donné mari* (cf. Cop 1848 no. 271 RELATED COMPOSITIONS Item b).

TEXT:

Cop 1848 has a stanza of a popular song in an incomplete version (lines 5 and 6 are missing). All 12 short lines can be found in Italianate versions in *Cortona/Paris 1817* and *Firenze 164-167* (cf. HewittA no. 26 and WinnT p. 53).

MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 8

HewittA no. 26


COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; arrangement of an otherwise unknown melody heard alternately in the superius and tenor (and altus). The 12 short lines of the text are treated as six long phrases in a symmetrical AABBA'A' form ending in a refrain-like text repetition; imaginative, varied writing.

**No. 4 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 3v**

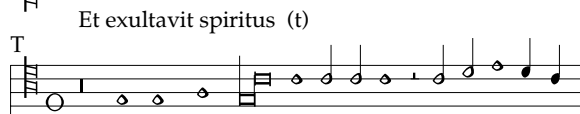
pp. 3-5 + p. 16

S                      Secundi toni




Et exultavit spiritus (t)

T



Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Bassus



Et exultavit spiritus (t)

Rfasc. A no. 3. Because of the misplacement of the sheets, the superius for vv. 2, 4 and 6 and the bassus for v. 6 are on p. 16; the other parts and sections are on pp. 3-5.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 73

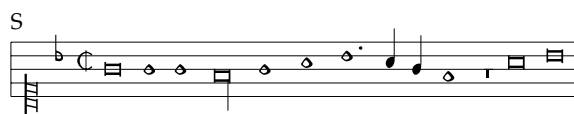
COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 197; *alternatim*, the even-numbered verses only. Short (12-28 br.-mm.), simple settings in a competent, imitative texture where the 2nd tone transposed (AR p. 11\*) is paraphrased in the tenor (vv. 2, 6, 10 and 12) and in the superius and tenor (v. 4); v. 8 is a free duo.


**No. 5 *Stabat mater* 3v**

pp. 6-7

S



T



Bassus



Rfasc. A no. 4. The bassus begins on p. 7 on the same stave as the ending of the tenor, and ends at the bottom of p. 6.

Also in Cop 1848 as a motet in three *partes* (cf. no. 126).

COMMENTS:

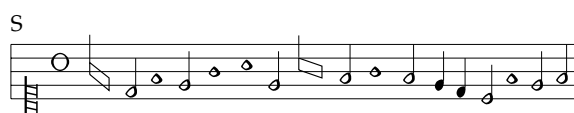
Probably an instrumental arrangement of the first two sections of no. 126 *Stabat mater dolorosa*. The note repetitions in this text-close composition have been combined in no. 5 into longer note values, which makes an appropriate text underlay impossible.

No. 126 may have been the immediate model for the reworking, since the very corrupt passage at bars 38-42 in the bassus appears in both versions; cf. also Ch. 3.1 *Duplicates* (incl. Ex. 2).

**No. 6 *Kyrie fons bonitatis* 3v**

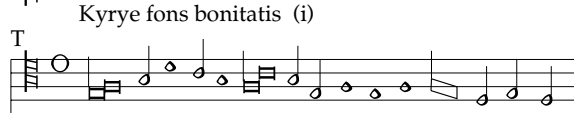
pp. 8-9

S



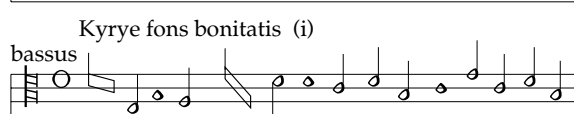
Kyrie fons bonitatis (i)

T



Kyrie fons bonitatis (i)

bassus



Kyrie fons bonitatis (i)

NB bassus: The fifth notational sign should be  $\diamond$  (*e*).

Rfasc. A no. 5

TEXT:

The complete troped Kyrie text is in GS pp. 2\*-3\* and VP pp. 165f.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 72

## COMMENTS:

Mass section; provincial retrospective composition. Stylistically, this is the oldest composition in the manuscript. The tenor features the plainsong melody of the Kyrie (GR p. 8\*—the sections Kyrie, Christe and the extended third invocation of the Kyrie II) in a lightly embellished form. The two counter-voices follow the tenor closely, the bassus (contratenor) is mostly higher than the tenor, and each voice forms an excellent two-part texture with the tenor. The overall sound is quite dissonant, with parallel triads in the root form, because each of the counter-voices relates to the tenor alone. The technique recalls the descant technique of around 1400; for more details, see Ch. 10.1.

**No. 7 *Sus le pont de Lyon* 3v**

pp. 10-11

S

Sus le pont de Lyon jay oye (t)

T

Sus le pont de Lyon (i)

C

Rfasc. A no. 6

## TEXT:

Quatrain – Cop 1848 gives the first stanza and the first two lines of the second; the song is a local variant of the popular song “Sur le pont d’Avignon”.

WallonC pp. 185-87, TiersotH pp. 209-10 and UlrichF p. 149 give some of the variants of the text collected in the 19th century. The text of no. 7 corresponds to the first stanza and the beginning of the second in the variant in WallonC. In Cop 1848 no. 241 *Ouvrés vostre huis* the text is a variant of the second stanza of the versions given in TiersotH and UlrichF (stanza 4 in WallonC).

## MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 22

GlahnM p. 105

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative texture where the melody is sung through twice by the tenor; cf. Vol. I Ch. 8 (incl. Exx. 1-3). For the reference in the text to Lyons instead of the usual Avignon, see Ch. 5 as well as GlahnM p. 101 and BridgmanC p. 46.

“Sur le pont d’Avignon” can be found in many variants in the 16th-19th centuries (cf. TiersotH pp. 209 and 383, and GeroldC pp. 83-84), for example as the *timbre* indication for Ps. 81 “God heelt wel eer ghestaen” in *Souterliedekens*, Antwerp 1540 (cf. the list in WallonC p. 186). The beginning of the text is also quoted in the Italian centone *L’ultimo di di maggio / Sulle ponte di Vignon / Un chavalier di Spagna* 4v in *Bologna Q21* no. 48 (anonymous), publ. in TorrefrancaS p. 488; cf. also JeppesenF III pp. 82f.

“Sus le pont de Lyon j’ay ouy chanter la belle” is also given as *timbre* for “Sur l’arbre de la Croix” in Marguerite de Navarre, *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses ... Chansons spirituelles. ...*, Jean Tournes, Lyons 1547 p. 488, and for “Sur le mont de Syon” in *La Grande Bible des Noels*, B. Rigaud, Lyon s.d. [latter half of 16th cent.] f. 63; cf. FaurieL III p. 66 and BlockT p. 26 note 12.

## OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Anonymous: *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* 3v, Cop 1848 no. 241; *c.p.f.* in tenor.
- Anonymous: *Sur le pont d’Avignon* 4v in Petrucci 1504/3 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62; *c.p.f.* in tenor, publ. in Vol. I, Ch. 8 as Ex. 3.
- Anonymous: *Op eenen morghen stont* (3v?), Egenolff 1535/14 III no. 34 (S only), publ. in WallonC p. 186.
- Claudin (?): *Sur le pont d’Avignon* 4v in Paris 30345 A(6) ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8; *c.p.f.* in tenor; publ. in SermisyO IV p. 98 and Ch. 8 Ex. 2.
- Pierre Certon: *Missa Sus le pont d’Avignon* 4v, *Le Roy* 1553/1 no. 2 and *Le Roy* 1558/C1715 no. 1; publ. in CertonM p. 1 and CertonS.
- Pierre Certon: *Sus le pont de d’Avignon* 6v in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 p. 125 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing); paraphrase chanson (*c.p.f.* in superius).

**No. 8 *Retirés vous, mon cuer, si serés saige* 3v**

pp. 12-13

S

Retires vous mon cuer si seres (it)

T

Retires vous mon (i)

C

Rfasc. A no. 7

## TEXT:

Bergerette (Virelai) – tierce missing.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 13

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a bergerette; cf. Ch. 7.2.

**No. 9 *Plus or a Dieu que n'aymasse jamais* 3v**

p. 14

[L. Compère]

S



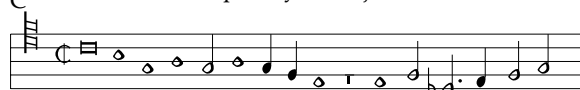
Plus or adieu que naymasse jamais (t)

T



Plus or adieu que naymasse jamais (i)

C



Rfasc. A no. 8

## CONCORDANCE:

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 60<sup>v</sup>-61: Compere

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain. In *CompèreO* this chanson is published after *Roma Cas* 2856, which only gives the text incipit "Pleut or adieu". L. Finscher has chosen a *rondeau quatrain* from *Berlin* 78.B.17 "Pleust a dieu qui sceussiez la paine" (ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-66), publ. in *LöpelmannR* no. 64, which more or less fits this incipit. The complete rondeau in *Cop* 1848, publ. in *WinnC* p. 47, is the original text and is much easier to lay under the music (decasyllabic instead of octosyllabic lines).

## MODERN EDITION:

*CompèreO* V p. 43

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 10 *Venez souvent, je vous em prie* 3v**

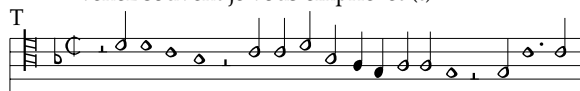
p. 17

S



Venez souvent je vous emprie et (t)

T



Venez souvent je vous emprie (i)

C



Venez souvent je vous emprie (i)

Rfasc. B no. 1

## TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 28

## COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune with the *c.p.f.* in the tenor—a fairly simple, provincial song.

**No. 11 *Ich scheid mit Leid* 4v [Anonymous]**

p. 18

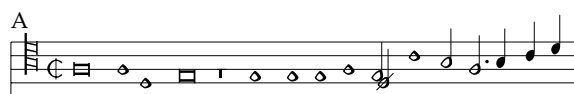
S



T



A



B



Rfasc. B no. 2. Here a series of textless compositions begins. They were entered together, and consist of six German songs (nos. 11-18) and two unidentified pieces (nos. 22-23).

## CONCORDANCES:

*Basel VI.26f* no. 4 (3v: S, T and B)

*Basel X.10* no. 23 (B only)

## TEXT:

*Basel VI.26f* has the text "Ich scheid mit Leid von dir mein Hort ..." (3 stanzas).

## MODERN EDITION:

*FunckD* no. 14 (3v)

## COMMENTS:

German song with tune in the tenor; superius, tenor and bassus in *Cop* 1848 are identical to the corresponding voices in *Basel VI.26f*, except that the tenor lacks the last 3½ br-mm. The altus suffers from being a rather incompetently added voice.

**No. 12 German song 4v**

p. 19

S

Tenor

contraaltus

B

Rfasc. B no. 3. Cf. no. 11; in a close disposition of the parts where the tenor begins on the same staff as the end of the superius.

**COMMENTS:**

Probably a German song with the tune in the tenor; after two musical phrases, the symbol  $\infty$  appears in the superius and tenor (bar 11, at the cadence to g, a repetition indication); the contraaltus may be a later addition to the three-part composition – 34 br-mm.

**No. 13 *Herzlieb, gloub mir* 4v [Anonymous]**

p. 20

S

T

A

B

Rfasc. B no. 4. Cf. no. 11; the altus is written at the bottom of the page in darker ink than the other voices.

**CONCORDANCE:***St. Gallen* 462 p. 123**TEXT:**

*St. Gallen* 462 has the text “Herzlieb, gloub mir, dass du mir bist ouch lieb und wert dem hertzen min ...” (3 stanzas). The song was copied by J. Heer von Glarus, who took the opportunity to draw attention to his own name (“HERZlieb ...”). A. Geering and M. Trümphy comment: “Auffallend schlecht gereimte Verse, was ... mit der Hervorhebung seines Namens für Heers Autorschaft sprechen könnte.” (GeeringH p. 172)

**MODERN EDITION:**

GeeringH no. 69

**COMMENTS:**

German song with tune in the tenor. Although the altus in Cop 1848 appears to be a later addition, it is, apart from a few details, the same as the part in *St. Gallen* 462. In the three parts written first the repetition of the first 11 br-mm. is indicated by  $\infty$ .

**No. 14 German song 4v**

p. 21

S

T

A

B

Rfasc. B no. 5. Cf. no. 11.

**COMMENTS:**

Probably a German song with the tune in the tenor; in this song too the altus is poorly integrated – 26 br-mm.

**No. 15 Weg wartt din artt 4v [Anonymous]**

p. 22

S

T

A

B

Rfasc. B no. 6. Cf. no. 11.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Basel X.21* f. 11<sup>v</sup> (T only)*St. Gallen* 463 no. 61 (S and A only)

## Intabulation:

*Schlick* 1512/2 no. 29 (lute)

## TEXT:

*Basel X.21* has the German text "Weg wartt din artt, mitt tugend ist ..." (3 stanzas).

## COMMENTS:

German song with the tune in the tenor – 25 br.-mm.

**No. 16 Jetzt scheiden bringt mir schwer 4v [Anonymous]**

p. 23

S

Tenor

Contraaltus

B

Rfasc. B no. 7. Cf. no. 11.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Basel X.17-20* no. 77*Oeglin* 1513/3 f. 11 (S only)*Aich* 1519/5 no. 2*Egenolff* 1535/10 no. 29 (S missing)*Egenolff* 1535/13 no. 29 (T missing)

## Intabulations:

*Zürich XL301* no. 33 (keyboard)*Newsidler* 1536/12 no. 37 (lute)

## TEXT:

The concordances have a text or a text incipit—"Jetzt scheiden [scheyden, schaiden] bringt mir [myr] schwer und [unn] ...". This text is also found among a series of German poems in *Basel X.21* f. 110<sup>v</sup> (3 stanzas).

## MODERN EDITION:

BernoulliA no. 2

## COMMENTS:

German song with the tune in the tenor; the repetition of the first nine br.-mm. is only indicated by  $\curvearrowright$ .

## OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

a) L. Senfl 4v; *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in SenflW II p. 53.b) C. Othmayr 4v in *Othmayr* 1549/O263 no. 22; *c.p.f.* in the tenor.c) J. Vannius 2v in *Apiarius* 1553/31 no. 17; *c.p.f.* in the tenor.**No. 17 Ach hülf mich leid 4v [Adam von Fulda]**

pp. 24-25

altus

T

contraaltus

bassus

Rfasc. B no. 8. Cf. no. 11; the parts are in the opposite of normal choirbook disposition: the contraaltus and bassus are on p. 24, and the altus (S) and tenor on p. 25. The designation of the highest part as "altus" here is probably a scribal error due to the position of the part on the opening. In the next song, no. 18, the parts are called "discantus", "altus", "tenor" and "bassus".

## CONCORDANCES:

Basel IX.59-62 no. 3

Basel X.10 no. 26 (B only)

Basel X.17-20 no. 50

Basel X.21 f. 56<sup>v</sup> (T only)

München 3156 no. 1: Marggraf Friderichs (T only)

St. Gallen 462 pp. 14-15

St. Gallen 463 no. 163: Adam de Fulda (S and A only)

Ulm 236 no. 26

Wittenberg 403/1048 no. 13 (T only)

Oeglin 1513/3 f. 24 (S only)

Aich 1519/5 no. 21

Glarean 1547/1 p. 262: Adam de Fulda

"O vere lux et gratia"

## Intabulation:

Newsidler 1536/12 no. 20 (lute)

## TEXT:

The complete German poem "Ach hülf mich leid und sendlich klag ..." (3 stanzas) can be found, for example, in *Aich 1519/5* and *Basel X.21*.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

BernoulliA no. 21

BernoulliL

GeeringH no. 4

GlareanD II p. 328

## COMMENTS:

German song with the tune in the tenor; the repetition of the first 20 br-mm. is not indicated at all in Cop 1848; compared with the other seven German songs in this series, a very long, complex composition (70 br-mm.). The tune was used in the 16th century as *timbre* for the Protestant hymn "Ach hülf mich Leid"—cf. ZahnM no. 8564.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (in all cases the settings build on Fulda's tenor and have the same basic rhythmic treatment of the tune):

- Balduin / Pirson 4v in *Basel X.1-4* no. 53 (Pirson), *München 328-331* no. 122a (T missing), *St. Gallen 462* pp. 146-47, *Wien 18810* no. 59 (Noel Balduien), *Wolfenbüttel 292* f. 19 (A only), *Schöffer 1513/2* no. 1; *c.p.f.* in the bassus, publ. in GeeringH no. 83.
- Anonymous 3v in *St. Gallen 462* pp. 16-17; *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in GeeringH no. 5.
- Anonymous 3v in *St. Gallen 462* pp. 148-49 and in keyboard tablature in *Basel IX.22* no. 46 (J. B. zu Constanzt); *c.p.f.* in the superius, publ. in GeeringH no. 84.
- Anonymous 3v in *Rhau 1542/8* no. 55; *c.p.f.* in the bassus.
- Anonymous 4v in *Leipzig 49/50* no. 216; *c.p.f.* in the superius.
- M. Apiarius 2v in *Apiarius 1553/31* no. 18; *c.p.f.* in the superius.
- P. Mahu: *Ach hilff mich Leyd / Von edler Art 5v* in

*Berg 1556/29* no. 20; *c.p.f.* in the *Vagans*, publ. in NowakG p. 54.

- A. von Bruck: *Ach hilf mich leid / Von edler Art 5v* in *Berg 1556/29* no. 22; *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in NowakG p. 1.

## No. 18 Vil hinderlist jetz üben ist 4v [Anonymous]

p. 26

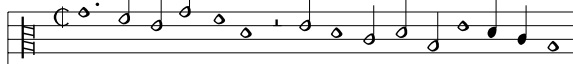
discantus



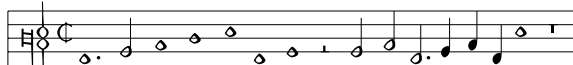
Tenor



altus



B



Rfasc. B no. 9. Cf. no. 11.

## CONCORDANCES:

Basel VI.26f no. 3 (3v; without A)

St. Gallen 462 pp. 34-35

St. Gallen 463 no. 171 (S and A only)

Wolfenbüttel 78 f. 1<sup>v</sup>

Oeglin 1513/3 f. 23 (S only)

Aich 1519/5 no. 4

## Intabulation:

Schlick 1512/2 no. 19 (voice and lute)

## TEXT:

The complete German poem "Vil hinderlist jetz üben ist, Venus din spil der furwitz wil ..." (3 stanzas) can be found, for example, in *Aich 1519/5* and *St. Gallen 462*.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

BernoulliA no. 4

GeeringH no. 14

## COMMENTS:

German song with the tune in the tenor.





**No. 21 *Baisez moy donc fort, ma maistresse* 3v**  
p. 35 [J. Ockeghem]

S  
Baisez moy donc fort ma maistresse (t)

T  
Baisez moy donc fort ma maistresse (i)

B  
Baisez moy donc for ma maistresse (i)

Rfasc. B no. 10

CONCORDANCE:

*Firenze* 2439 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54: Ockeghem

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; *Firenze* 2439, like Cop 1848, gives only the refrain.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. I Ch. 7.1 Ex. 9

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 22 Textless composition 4v**  
pp. 36-37

S

T

A

B

Rfasc. B no. 11. Cf. no. 11.

COMMENTS:

Imitative texture – 44 br-mm.

**No. 23 Textless composition 3v**  
p. 38

S

Tenor

B

Rfasc. B no. 12. Cf. no. 11.

COMMENTS:

Imitative texture – 38 br-mm.; may belong with no. 22 as part of a longer composition.

**No. 24 *Duo* 2v**  
p. 39

S

T

Rfasc. B no. 13

COMMENTS:

Fanfare-like imitative texture in a rounded form: AA'BB'CDAA' – 42 br-mm. Probably an instrumental piece; but may also be a setting of a popular tune.

**No. 25 *Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte* 3v**  
pp. 40-41 [Anonymous]

S

T

G

Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte (t)

Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte (t)

Contre le mal que vostre ♥ porte (i)

Rfasc. B no. 14


CONCORDANCE:  
*Firenze* 2794 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17

TEXT:  
Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain;  
the complete poem can be found in *Firenze* 2794.

COMMENTS:  
Setting of a rondeau; cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 3) – 37 br-mm.

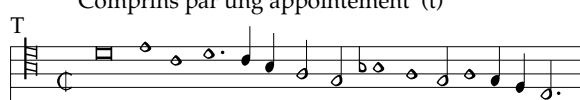
**No. 26 Comprins par ung appointment 3v**  
pp. 42-43

S



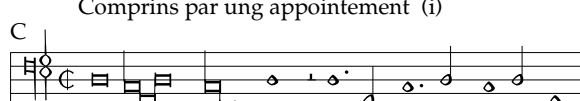
Comprins par ung appointment (t)

T



Comprins par ung appointment (i)

C



Comprins par ung appointment (i)

Rfasc. B no. 15

TEXT:  
Rondeau cinquain; complete text in Cop 1848.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 7

COMMENTS:  
Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 27 Ilz sont bien pelez, ceulx qui font la gourre 4v**  
p. 44 [Anonymous]

S



Ceulx qui font la gourre et (t)

T



Ilz sont bien pelez Ilz sont bien (t)

A



Ceulx qui font la gorre et dargent vuidez (i)

B



Ilz sont bien pelez (i)

Rfasc. B no. 16

CONCORDANCE:  
*Petrucci* 1504/3 f. 128<sup>v</sup>

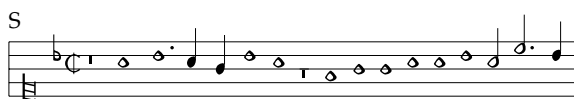
TEXT:  
Virelai; Cop 1848 gives the first stanza in incomplete  
form—only the refrain and lines 3 and 6. Complete  
text in *Paris* 12744 f. 89 (4 stanzas), publ. in ParisC  
no. 129.

MODERN EDITION:  
BrownC no. 29

COMMENTS:  
Setting of a popular tune; arrangement of the melody  
from *Paris* 12744, which is in the superius alternating  
with the tenor. Through-composed virelai stanza in  
homorhythmic texture with duo-tutti effects. The  
final refrain is in triple time; cf. also BrownF p. 230  
no. 181.

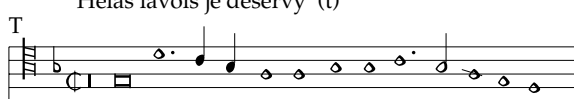
**No. 28 Helas! l'avois je deservy 3v**  
p. 45

S



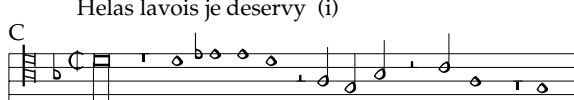
Helas lavois je deservy (t)

T



Helas lavois je deservy (i)

C



Helas lavois je deservy (it)

NB C: A *br* rest missing before the first note.

Rfasc. A no. 9

TEXT:  
Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain;  
the complete poem is in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 142<sup>v</sup>, publ.  
in LöpelmannR as no. 396.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 10

COMMENTS:  
Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 29** *Ha! qu'il m'ennuye* 3v [Fresnau / Agricola]  
p. 46

S  
Ha quil mennuye et que je me (t)

T  
Ha quil mennuy (i)

C  
Ha quil mennuy (i)

Rfasc. A no. 10

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 178 ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47: Alexander "Aguil mie me"

*Firenze* 229 ff. 128<sup>v</sup>-129

*Paris* 57 ff. 79<sup>v</sup>-80

*Paris* 1597 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20

*Paris* 2245 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19: fresnau

TEXT:

Bergerette (Virelai); in Cop 1848 the tierce is missing; complete poem in *Paris* 57 and *Paris* 2245 as well as in *Paris* 1719 f. 40-40<sup>v</sup>.

MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 116 (Opera dubia)

BrownL no. 125

ShippC no. 20

COMMENTS:

Setting of a bergerette; E. E. Lerner thinks "the chanson bears little resemblance to the undisputed works of Alexander" and favours the composer attribution in *Paris* 2245; cf. AgricolaO V p. LXXXIV. H. M. Brown arrives at the same conclusion; cf. BrownL I p. 82.

**No. 30** *Je ne me puis voir a mon aise* 3v [Anonymous]  
p. 47

S  
Je ne me puis voir a mon aise (t)

T  
Je ne me puis voir a mon aise (i)

Bassus  
Je ne me puis voir a mon ayse (i)

Rfasc. A no. 11. Written in a very compact disposition

where the bassus begins on the same staff as the ending of the tenor.

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 176 ff. 116<sup>v</sup>-118

*Washington* L25 ff. 102<sup>v</sup>-103

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; besides *Washington* L25, the complete poem is in *Paris* 1719 f. 116-116<sup>v</sup>, *Paris* 1722 f. 13<sup>v</sup> and *La Chasse* 1509 f. (x<sub>4</sub>)<sup>v</sup>; publ. in SchwobP, no. 50. The poem is also set by H. Isaac in *Firenze* 229 ff. 133<sup>v</sup>-134 *Je ne puis vivre a mon aise* 4v (also in *Bologna* Q17 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33 with the text "Gaude virgo" 4v); publ. in IsaacW p. 30 and BrownL as no. 129.

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; rather old-fashioned chanson with high contratenor – 31 br-mm.

**No. 31** *Ceste filette a qui le tetin point* 3v  
p. 48

S  
Ceste filette a qui le tetin point (t)

T

C

NB S lacks a *mi* rest at the start, and C a *sbr* rest; C is also notated a third too high.

Rfasc. A no. 12

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain by Jean Molinet; complete text in Cop 1848, also in *København* 416 unpagin., *Paris* 1721 f. 26: Molinet, *Soisson* 203 f. 94<sup>v</sup>, *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 120<sup>v</sup> and *La Fleur* 1530 f. (F<sub>vj</sub>); publ. as DrozJ no. 560, AbrahamsD p. 126 and SchwobP no. 86 (also reproduced with translation in Ch. 7.1 here).

The refrain of this poem was also set by G. Coste (4v) in *Moderne* 1540/16 as no. 7 and by P. Certon (5v) in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 p. 22 (V<sup>a</sup> vox missing).

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 9

COMMENTS:

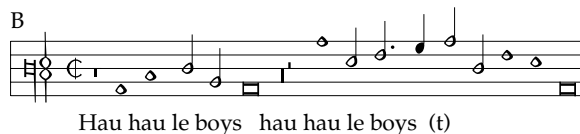
Setting of a rondeau; erotic song; cf. the discussion, Ch. 7.1.

**No. 32 *Hau, hau, hau le boys!* 1v (4v)**

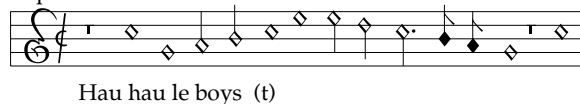
p. 49

[Claudin de Sermisy]

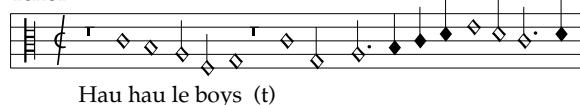
B

*Attaignant* 1529/2:

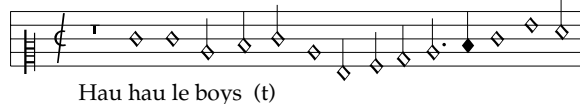
Superius



Tenor



Contratenor



Rfasc. 3-4 no. 1. Cop 1848 only has the bassus part at the top of p. 49—the other three parts may have been on the back of a now-lost fascicle.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Attaignant* 1529/2 no. 5: Claudin

## Intabulation:

*Attaignant* 1531/6 no. 2 (keyboard)

## TEXT:

The text consists of two tercets with the refrain "Hau, hau, hau le boys!" before and after each tercet.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

SermisyO III p. 90

ExpertA no. 5

SeayC p. 24

ThomasC no. 5

## COMMENTS:

Popular Parisian chanson, drinking song; possibly based on a *c.p.f.*, or written in imitation of a four-part popular arrangement; in homorhythmic/imitative texture. The chanson falls into two sections, introduced, separated and concluded by the refrain; in the second section the melodic material from the first section is varied. The chanson is quoted in Henri Fresnau's *La Fricassée* in *Moderne* 1538/17 no. 1; cf. LesureE; cf. also BrownF no. 146, p. 222.

**No. 33 *Ave virgo gloriosa* 4v**

pp. 50-51

S



T



A



B



Rfasc. 3-4 no. 2

## TEXT:

Prayer to the Virgin; publ. in DanielT I p. 348 after a book of hours printed by Jean le Coq in Troyes (16th cent.) where it is accompanied by the following comment: "L'oraison qui s'ensuyt a este donnée de Pape Innocent VIII a une Royne d'espaigne et a dire la dicte oraison devotement on impetre remission de ses peches." The ten-line stanza is clearly based on the well-known hymn "Ave virgo gratiosa"; it uses vv. 1-6 and vv. 13-15 of the version found in AH XIX p. 22; a longer version is in MoneH II pp. 284-288; cf. RH 2214-15 and 23969. "Gloriosa" in the first line of Cop 1848 is an error, since the rhyming word in v. 3 is also "gloriosa".

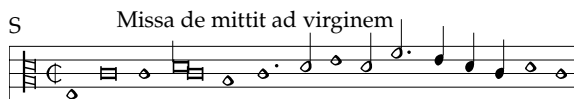
## COMMENTS:

Marian motet; imitative texture with extensive use of superius-altus and tenor-bassus duetting – 75 br-mm.

**No. 34 *Missa de Mittit ad Virginem* 4-5v**

pp. 52-70

Kyrie:



Kyrie (t)

T



A  
Kyrie (t)

B  
Kyrie (t)

Above the superius (p. 52) on the right-hand side is the title "Missa de mittit ad virginem", and on the left is the remark "Si vous avez voix de dessus chantés a la double de dessus".

Gloria:

S  
Et in terra pax hominibus bone (t)

T  
Laudamus te benedicimus te (t)

A  
Hominibus bone voluntatis (t)

B  
Bone voluntatis laudamus te (t)

Credo:

S  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem (t)

T  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem (t)

A  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi (t)

B  
Patrem omnipotentem (t)

Sanctus:

S  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

T  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

A  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

B  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)


Agnus Dei:

S  
Agnus dei (t)

T  
Agnus dei (t)

A  
Agnus dei (t)

B  
Agnus dei (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 3. Entered in a disposition where the altus and tenor have exchanged places compared with normal choirbook practice. The Kyrie fills pp. 52-53, the Gloria pp. 54-57, the Credo pp. 58-65 (there was no room for the ending "Et vitam venturi ..." on the preceding opening, so it was entered at the top of pp. 64-65), the Sanctus on pp. 64-67 and the Agnus Dei on pp. 68-70. As the Agnus III is in five parts, there was no room for the bassus on the opening pp. 68-69; the bassus is alone at the top of p. 70, and at the bottom of p. 69 a cross-reference has been given: "requiere tercium agnus vertendo folium habentur tale figurem .

TEXT:

Ordinarium missae.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 68 (Credo only)




## COMMENTS:

Complete mass (67 + 120 + 237 + 133 + 80 br-mm.). As the title suggests it is based on the sequence "Mittit ad Virginem" (by Pierre Abelard (1079-1142), AR p. 137\* and VP p. 133). It is however most likely a parody mass modelled on a three-part motet which used the melodic material of the sequence. The outline of this presumed motet can be glimpsed in the Kyrie I (= Agnus Dei I), which features the whole of the first section of the sequence; Christe and Kyrie II present the remainder of the melodic material used throughout the sections of the mass.

Like its model, the mass was probably originally conceived for three equal voices: S (*e-g'*), T (*e-g'*) and B (*c-d'*). The altus appears to have been composed last, with no great success; or rather, an adapter seems to have added it later. The unusual disposition of the parts, with altus below superius, which the main scribe probably took from his model, can be interpreted the same way. Superius, tenor and bassus were in their usual places in a three-part choirbook disposition, and the reworking had placed the new altus in the empty spaces at the bottom of the left-hand pages. For very long stretches, the altus is the highest voice (*d-a'*) and it often accords ill with the other parts. It either fails to participate in imitations or comes in irregularly with only a small part of the motif, and it is consistently left out of the many passages with a reduced number of voices. It would appear that a competent composition for three low voices has been modernized to a rather amateurish four-part—and in the last section a five-part—composition; at the same time the instruction has been added to sing the superius an octave higher, if the resources are available.


**No. 35** *Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire* 4v  
p. 71 [Cl. Janequin]

S




Assouvy suis mais sans seser desire (t)

T




Assouvy suis (i)

A



Assouvy suis (i)

B



Assouvy suis (i)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 4.

## CONCORDANCES:

*München* 1516 no. 56

*Attaignant* 1529/3 no. 18

*Attaignant* 1536/3 no. 15: Jennequin

*Attaignant* 1537/3 no. 15: Jennequin

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; only the refrain is used in Janequin's chanson; also found in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 no. 215 and later editions, publ. in JefferyV II p. 299. The complete rondeau is in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 127-127<sup>v</sup> and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 116, publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 331 and DrozJ as no. 510.

## MODERN EDITION:

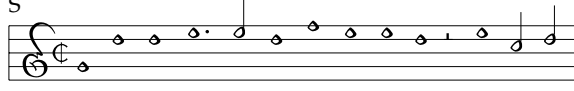
JanequinC no. 8

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABCD|E|E. A similar, but not identical, anonymous setting is in *München* 1508 as no. 34 *Assouvy suis* 4v.

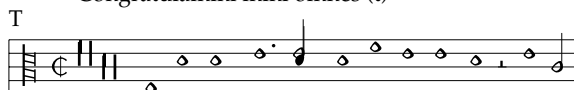
**No. 36** *Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus*  
*discipulis suis* 4v [A. Willaert]  
pp. 72-79

S



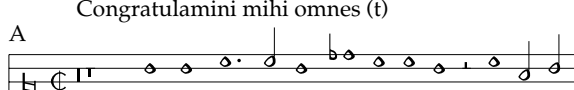
Congratulamini mihi omnes (t)

T



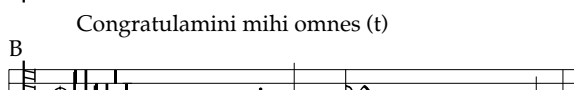
Congratulamini mihi omnes (t)

A



Congratulamini mihi omnes (t)

B



Congratulamini mihi omnes (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 5. Each section of the motet fills two openings.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q20 no. 22

*Casale Monferrato* N(H) ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-38

*Chicago* 1578 Ser. I no. 8

*Attaignant* 1534/4 no. 5: Willaert

"De Resurrectione Domini"

*Buglhat* 1538/5 no. 18: Willaert

*Scotto* 1539/W1108 no. 11: Willaert

*Gardane* 1545/W1109 no. 1: Willaert

## TEXT:

Responsorium and Versus, Domenica Resurrectionis

in III nocturno, AW p. 132 and LR p. 91.

MODERN EDITIONS:

WillaertO I p. 26

SmijersT II p. 32

SlimM II p. 72

COMMENTS:

Easter motet in two *partes*; spacious composition in imitative texture (156 br-mm); not based on the plainchant melodies, but observes the form of the responsory with repetition of the second half after the verse (2<sup>a</sup> *pars*).

**No. 37 Amy, hélas! otez moy de la presse 4v**

p. 80

[Anonymous]

S



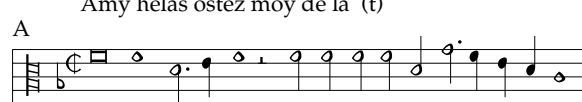
Amy hélas otez moy de la (t)

T



Amy hélas otez moy de la (t)

A



Amy hélas otez moy de la presse (i)

B



Amy hélas otez moy de la (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 6

CONCORDANCES:

Basel X.22-24 no. 29 (T missing)

München 1516 no. 51

Attaignant 1529/3 no. 12

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

MODERN EDITION:

Ch. 9 Ex. 1

SeayA I no. 18

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC:A.

**No. 38 A desjuner la belle andouille 4v [Anonymous]**

p. 81

S



A desjuner la belle andouille (t)

T



A desjuner la belle andouille (t)

A



A desjuner la belle andouille (t)

B



A desjuner la belle andouille (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 7

CONCORDANCES:

Basel X.5-9 no. 13

Attaignant 1528/8 no. 2

Attaignant 1531/2 no. 26

Intabulation:

Attaignant 1531/6 no. 13 (keyboard)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

MODERN EDITION:

SeayC p. 51

COMMENTS:


Parisian chanson in popular style; an 'eating and drinking song', possible with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor; imitative texture in the form ABC:A.

**No. 39 Doeul, double doeul, renfort de desplaisir 4v**

p. 82

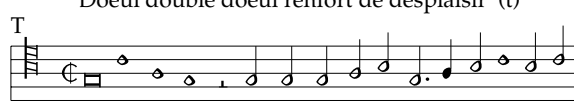
[Hesdin]

S



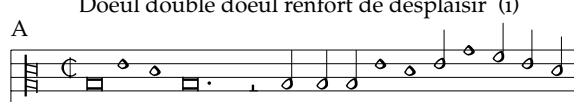
Doeul double doeul renfort de desplaisir (t)

T



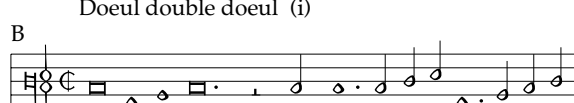
Doeul double doeul renfort de desplaisir (i)

A



Doeul double doeul (i)

B



Doeul double doeul (i)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 8

## CONCORDANCES:

Basel X.22-24 no. 37 (T missing)

Gdańsk 4003 I no. 7

London 41-44 no. 10

München 1501 no. 39

Torun 102680/4.29-32 no. 25

Attaignant 1530/4 no. 9

Attaignant 1536/3 no. 11: Hesdin

Attaignant 1537/3 no. 9: Hesdin

Susato 1544/10 no. 21: Jo. Lupi

Chemin 1561 f. 7: Hesdin (B only)

Le Roy 1567/12 f. 9: Hesdin

## Intabulations:

Phalèse 1546/21 no. 38 (lute)

Barberiis 1549/39 no. 2 (lute)

Phalèse 1552/29 no. 49 (lute)

Drusina 1556/32 no. 12 (lute)

Heckel 1562/24 no. 47 (lute)

Rippe 1562/27 no. 9 (lute)

Phalèse 1563 no. 47 (lute)

## TEXT:

Cinquain – one stanza.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

LupiC no. 1

MillerP p. 37

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form AA'BC|A". Cop 1848 is probably the earliest source for this widely known chanson.

In *Susato 1544/10*, *Doeul, double doeul* is followed by Jo. Lupi's *Reponce. Dueil et soucy*, which begins by quoting the beginning of the preceding chanson; Lupi is probably only the composer of this *reponce*. Lupi also wrote a six-part *Doeul, double doeul*, a parody of Hesdin's chanson, found in *München 1508* as no. 118 (anonymous), *Susato 1544/13* f. 9 (Jo. Lupi) and *Le Roy 1572/2* f. 71 (Lupi).

Both *Doeul, double doeul* and *Dueil et soucy* were arranged by Tilman Susato for three voices; they are no. 16 and 17 in the didactic collection *Premier livre a [deux ou] a trois parties ...* (*Susato 1544/S7238*); cf. BernsteinS pp. 200f. G. de Turnhout also used motifs from Hesdin's chanson in *Dueil, double dueil, renfort de desplaisir* 3v in *Phalèse 1569/T1434* no. 34 (for later sources see AdamsT p. 380); publ. in TurnhoutS II p. 75.

No. 40 *D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé* 4v

p. 83

[Anonymous]

S

Dung nouveau dart je suis frappe (t)

T

Dung nouveau dart je suis frappe (t)

A

Dung nouveau dart je suis frappe (t)

B

Dung nouveau dart je suis frappe (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 9

## CONCORDANCES:

Firenze 1085/Paris 255 f. 1 / p. 3 (T and A only)

Attaignant 1528/4 no. 5

## Intabulation:

Attaignant 1531/6 no. 18 (keyboard)

## TEXT:

Huitain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot 1532* f. 87<sup>v</sup> (2 stanzas, publ. in MarotE III p. 190), *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535* no. 213 and later editions (one stanza, publ. in JefferyV II p. 298) and in *Les chansons 1538* no. 18 (2 stanzas).

## MODERN EDITIONS:

SeayA II no. 32

SeayC p. 62

## COMMENTS:

Parisian chanson in the form |AB|CDEFE'F'. Marot's poem quotes, at the end of both stanzas, the popular song "Allegez moy, douce plaisant brunette"; the setting similarly quotes the corresponding tune (superius bars 16-20 and bars 23-27, and tenor bars 22-27; cf. Ch. 9.1, incl. Ex. 3). The popular song is best known in Josquin's six-part setting, where the tune appears as a canon between superius and contratenor—publ. in JosquinWW as no. 14; for other settings, cf. BrownF no. 9, pp. 185-86.

Clemens non Papa's four-part setting of Marot's poem, *Waelrant 1556/19* no. 10, does not quote the popular song; cf. BrownF no. 9; publ. in ClemensO XI p. 36. The poem was also set by P. van Wilder for five voices; cf. BernsteinW p. 70.

**No. 41** *Je ne fais rien que requerir* 4v  
p. 84 [Claudin de Sermisy]

S  
Je ne fais rien que requerir (t)

T  
Je ne fais rien que requerir (it)

A  
Je ne fais rien que requerir (it)

B  
Je ne fais rien que requerir (it)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 10

CONCORDANCES:

*Basel* X.22-24 no. 42 (S and B only)

*Firenze* 1085/*Paris* 255 f. 3 / p. 7 (T and A only)

*Sitten* 87-4 f. 11 (B only)

*Attaingnant* 1528/4 no. 2

*Attaingnant* 1536/2 no. 27: Claudin

Intabulation:

*Attaingnant* 1531/8 no. 8 (keyboard)

TEXT:

Septain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot* 1532 f. 84 and *Les chansons* 1538 no. 17 (2 stanzas), publ. in *MarotCE* III p. 189.

MODERN EDITIONS:

*SermisyO* III p. 124

*SeayC* p. 157

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson, through-composed with repetition of the last line (refrain). *Attaingnant* 1535 has as no. 13, under Claudin's name, a three-part arrangement where the superius tune appears in the *secundus superius* (found in later prints under Janequin's name—cf. *HeartzC* p. 223 and *AdamsT* pp. 400-01), publ. in *AdamsF* I p. 8.

The text was also set by P. van Wilder in *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 47 5v; cf. *BernsteinW* p. 71.

**No. 42** *Puis qu'en deux cueurs y a vraye union* 4v  
p. 85 [Anonymous]

S  
Puisquen deux cueurs y a vraye union (t)

T  
Puisquen deux cueurs y a vraye union (t)

A  
Puisquen deux cueurs (i)

B  
Puisquen deux cueurs (i)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 11

CONCORDANCES:

*Cambrai* 125-128 f. 129<sup>v</sup>

*München* 1516 no. 104

*Attaingnant* 1528/7 no. 33

Intabulation:

*Attaingnant* 1531/8 no. 13 (keyboard)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

MODERN EDITIONS:

*SeayA* I no. 62


*SeayC* p. 168

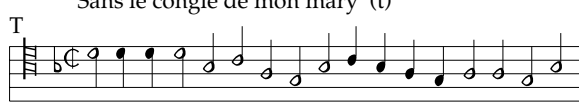
COMMENTS:

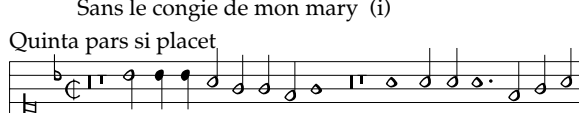
Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC|A|. In *Attaingnant* 1530/7 no. 2, the chanson is arranged for lute as *Puis qu'en deux cueurs*. *Bassedance P. B.*, publ. in *HeartzP* p. 54. The bassus of the chanson is quoted in the anonymous fricassée *Au prez de vous ...* 4v, *Attaingnant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in *CazeauxF* p. 230.

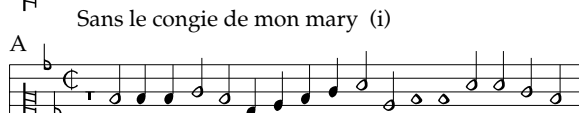
**No. 43 *Sans le congié de mon mary* 5v**

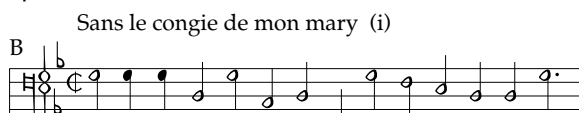
p. 86

S  
  
 Sans le congié de mon mary (t)

T  
  
 Sans le congié de mon mary (i)

Quinta pars si placet  
  
 Sans le congié de mon mary (i)

A  
  
 Sans le congié de mon mary (i)

B  
  
 Sans le congié de mon mary (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 12

TEXT:

Chanson à refrain (cinquain) – one stanza.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 55

COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune; Parisian chanson in the form ABCD:A| with *c.p.f.* in the “V<sup>a</sup> pars” appearing in pseudocanon with the superius. The “V<sup>a</sup> pars” is indispensable although designated “si placet”; the leaping altus part, however, caused the composer problems; a rather provincial composition.

**No. 44 *In tua pacientia* 3v**

p. 87

S  
  
 In tua pacientia (t)

T  
  
 In tua pacientia (i)

B  
  
 In tua pacientia (t)

Rfasc. 3-4 no. 13

TEXT:

Antiphona ad Magnificat; AR p. 591, AM p. 769, AL p. 320 and AW p. 242; in these collections the antiphon is for St. Lucy's Day (13th Dec.): “In tua patientia possedisti animam tuam, Lucia sponsa Christi ...”, but here it is addressed to St. Catherine: “... animam tuam, Katherina sponsa Christi ...”.

COMMENTS:

Motet to St. Catherine; the plainchant melody is used in the superius, lightly ornamented and mainly in *sbr* note values, accompanied by two livelier imitative voices – 51 br-mm.

**No. 45 *Se je suis trovée* 3v**

p. 89

S  
  
 Se je suis trovee je suis trovee (t)

T  
  
 Se je suis trovee (i)

C  
  
 Se je suis trove (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 1

TEXT:

Virelai (incomplete); a different version in *Paris 12744* f. 34<sup>v</sup> (2 stanzas), publ. in ParisC no. 50 (and Ch. 8.1 Ex. 6).

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 30

COMMENTS:

Setting of the melody from *Paris 12744*, which is used as *c.p.f.* in the superius; tenor and superius partly in octave canon, and the contratenor provides simple harmonic support.

**No. 46 *Le ranvoy d'ung cuer esguaré* 3v [L. Compère]**  
pp. 90-91

S  
  
 Le ranvoy dung cuer esguare (t)

T  
  
 Le ranvoy dung cuer esguare (i)



Rfasc. 5 no. 2

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28: Loyset Compere

*Firenze* 178 ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31

*Firenze* 229 ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 34<sup>v</sup>-36: Compere

*Verona* 757 ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13

*Zwickau* 78/3 no. 15

*Petrucci* 1501 ff. 83<sup>v</sup>-84: Compere

*Egenolff* 1535/14 III no. 9 (S only)

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; besides in *Firenze* 2794 the complete poem is in *Paris* 1719 f. 33-33<sup>v</sup>.

MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 33

BrownL no. 43

HewittA no. 77

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; in Cop 1848 the contratenor is incomplete, lacking 7½ br-mm. (bars 27-34.2).

RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

- a) P. de la Rue: *Le renvoye* 2v in *München* 260 as no. 49, *Wien* 18832 no. 41 and *Rotenbucher* 1549/16 no. 17 is based on Compère's superius; publ. in *BellinghamB* as no. 44 and *RothenbucherS* p. 6.
- b) J. Obrecht: *Missa Scoen lief* 4v, *Agnus I* and *II* use Compère's superius as c.f. in the bassus; publ. in *ObrechtW Missen* IV pp. 170-178.

**No. 47 O preclara stella mater [maris] 3v**

pp. 92-93

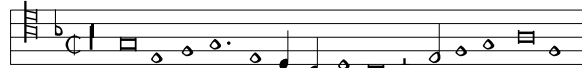
[A. de Févin]

S



O preclara stella mater (t)

T



O preclara (i)

B



O preclara (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 3. Entered with superius and bassus on the left page of the opening, while the tenor takes up the top half of the right-hand page.

CONCORDANCE:

*Cambridge* 1760 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>bis</sup>: Anth. de fevin

"O preclara stella maris"

*Cambridge* 1760 has no key signature in the superius and tenor, and the *bb* in the bassus is omitted from bar 34 on.

TEXT:

Marian hymn – 2 stanzas; the text is probably a compilation of quotes from different Marian texts. The first two lines "O praeclara stella maris / virgo mater singularis" are also found as lines 1-2 in the responsory in VP p. 187 and MoneH II p. 122 (In Visitatione B.M.V.), which has exactly the same stanzaic structure. Lines 4-5 "et totius trinitatis / nobile triclinium" are found as lines 2-3 in stanza 19 of the sequence "Salve, mater salvatoris / vas ...", AH LIV p. 383.

The text also occurs as the first section of the anonymous motet *O praeclara stella maris* – *Haec est quae* 4v in *Wrocław* 428 ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-43; possibly a contrafactum, since the text fits badly, and the tenor sings the tenor part from Ockeghem's *Ma bouche rit* (cf. Cop 1848 no. 227); see StaehelinG no. 24 and StaehelinI III pp. 65f.

COMMENTS:

Marian motet; imitative texture. The two stanzas of the text are set contrastingly in duple and triple time respectively, and concluded with an elaborate "Amen" – 90 br-mm.

**No. 48 Nuit et jour sans repous avoir 3v**

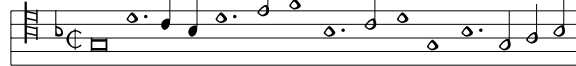
p. 94

S



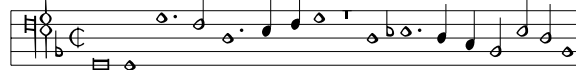
Nuyt et jour sans repous avoir (t)

T



Nuyt et jour (i)

C



Nuyt et jour (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 4

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the complete poem is in *Paris* 1719 f. 32. The text was also set by J. Fresnau; cf. Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 1

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; no musical similarity to Fresnau's chanson.



**No. 49** *Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte* 3v  
p. 95 [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

S  
Les grans regretz que sans sesser (t)

T  
Les grans regretz (i)

C  
Les grans regretz (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 5

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37: Hayne

*Bruxelles/Tournai* f. 4 / ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-4 (S and T only; S is incomplete, f. 3 is missing)

*Bruxelles* 11239 ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8: Agricola

*Firenze* 107 ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45

*Firenze* 117 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41

*Paris* 1597 ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13

*Paris* 2245 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20: hayne

*Washington* L25 ff. 143<sup>v</sup>-145: Hayne

*Petrucci* 1501 ff. 77<sup>v</sup>-78

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain.

The poem is in *Bruxelles* 11239 as well as *Paris* 2245 and *Paris* 1719 f. 40<sup>v</sup>, publ. in FrançonA as no. 80.

MODERN EDITIONS:

GhizeghemO p. 32

AgricolaO V p. 120

HewittA no. 71

MarixM p. 118

PickerC p. 422

ShippC p. 289

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

RELATED COMPOSITION :

Longeval: *Alle regres* 4v in *Bologna* Q19 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62 uses the tenor of Hayne's *Les grans regretz* as its tenor.

**No. 50** [*Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*]  
*Que es effecta* 4v

pp. 96 + 98-99

S  
Que es effecta fulgida celi porta (it)

T  
Que es effecta fulgida celi porta (it)

A  
Que es effecta fulgida celi porta (it)

B  
Que es effecta fulgida celi porta (it)

Rfasc. 5 no. 5a. Entered by Hand D on pages with unsuccessful staves which the main scribe did not use. Page 96 has v. 2 at the top with the parts disposed in the order S – B – A – T, and below v. 4 in the same disposition. The next two verses were entered on p. 98 with the upper voices at the top of the page and the bassus, altus and tenor below. However, the tenor for v. 8 is on p. 99 below no. 52 *Parce Domine*.

TEXT:

Sequence, In honorem B. Mariae Virginis, AR p. 133\* vv. 2, 4, 6 and 8; Cop 1848 gives only the text in vv. 2 and 4.

COMMENTS:

Incomplete *alternatim* setting of the sequence; the melody (AR p. 133\*) is used as a *c.f.* in *br* and *sbr* values in different voices: v. 2 in the superius, v. 4 in the altus (transposed up a fifth), v. 6 in the bassus and superius (in the bassus transposed up a fifth) and v. 8 in the tenor. Short settings (10-16 br-mm.) in compact imitative texture, clearly the work of a student. The settings were probably entered by the composer himself after a draft score; cf. Ch. 11.2 (incl. Ex. 2).

See also no. 206 *Inviolata, integra* by Haquinet.

**No. 51 *Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escrips* 3v**  
p. 97 [Mureau / Busnois]

S



Je ne fais plus ne je ne dis (t)

T



Je ne fais plus (i)

C



Je ne fais plus (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 6

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38: A. busnois

*Firenze* 121 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27

*Firenze* 176 ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-75: G. Mureau

*Firenze* 178 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41

*Firenze* 229 ff. 54<sup>v</sup>-55: Antonius Busnois

*Firenze* 2356 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7 "Jenephai"

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 50<sup>v</sup>-51

*London* 3051/Washington M6 ff. 90<sup>v</sup>-91

*Paris* 2245 ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24: mureau

*Paris* 15123 ff. 177<sup>v</sup>-178

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20: Gil Mureau

*Segovia* f. 182<sup>v</sup>: Loysette compere

*Sevilla* 5-I-43 ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26

*St. Gallen* 462 p. 85

*Torino* I,27 f. 47 "Au joly moys de may"

*Petrucchi* 1501 ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-11 (4v; A "si placet")

Intabulations:

*Berlin* 40026 ff. 51-52 (keyboard)

*Paris* 27 f. 16<sup>v</sup> (lute)

*Paris* 27 f. 54 (voice and lute)

*Spinacino* 1507/5 no. 11 (lute duet)

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain layé; the refrain in Cop 1848 is incomplete, lacking several words. The complete rondeau is in *Firenze* 2794 and *Paris* 2245, and in *Paris* 1719 f. 39-39<sup>v</sup>. In *Torino* I,27 the chanson is underlaid with a short four-line stanza "Au joly moys de may / A qui je suis dona ...", publ. in *VillanisM* p. 354.

MODERN EDITIONS:

BrownL no. 55

GeeringH no. 44

HewittA no. 8

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; A. Atlas favours G. Mureau as the composer (cf. *AtlasC* I p. 74); H. M. Brown seems


to prefer Busnois (*BrownL* I p. 81); not by Compère (cf. *FinscherC* p. 54).

The version given by Cop 1848 is characterized by long note values (*longae* and *breves*) where other sources have note repetitions (*breves* and *semibreves*), so even the truncated refrain cannot be made to fit the music.

**No. 52 *Parce Domine* 3v [J. Obrecht]**

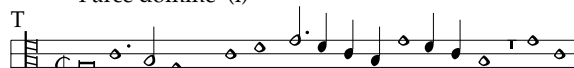
p. 99

S




Parce domine (i)

T



Parce domine (i)

B



Rfasc. 5 no. 7

CONCORDANCES:

*Amiens* 162 f. 18

*Bologna* Q17 f. 2 (T and B only)

*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9 / ff. 9-10 (S and T only)

*Cambridge* 1760 ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47: Obreh (in index)

*London* 35087 f. 4 (T only)

*Uppsala* 76a ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27

*Glarean* 1547/1 pp. 260-61: J. Hobrecht

Four-part version (+ Altus):

*Bologna* Q18 ff. 84<sup>v</sup>-85

*München* 322-325 no. 15: Hobrechthus

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 128: J. Obrecht (S and A only)

*Petrucchi* 1503/1 ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34: Obrecht

*Antico* 1521/7 no. 20 (A only)

Intabulations:

*St. Gallen* 530 no. 15 (keyboard)

*Attaingnant* 1531/5 no. 13 (keyboard)

TEXT:

Latin prayer "Parce Domine, parce populo tuo", composed of quotations from Joel II.17 and Judith VII.20. Cop 1848 gives only the incipit; the great majority of other sources have the full text.

MODERN EDITIONS:

ObrechtW Motetten II p. 95

*GlareanD* II p. 327

ParrishM no. 18

RoksethM no. 7

## COMMENTS:

Motet (?); the bassus sings a Phrygian melody in long note values, with which the text fits syllabically; this is either a now-unknown plainchant melody or a deliberate imitation of plainchant by the composer. The upper voices are livelier and fill out the gaps in the bassus. The composition may originally have been a 'motet-chanson' with a French *rondeau quatrain* as the text of the upper voices.

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

- H. Isaac: *Parce Domine, populo tuo* 4v in *St. Gallen* 463 no. 139 (S and A only) and *Rhau* 1538/8 no. 56; paraphrases Obrecht's bassus in the bassus; publ. in AlbrechtS as no. 56.
- P. Verdelot: *Recordare, Domine – Adjuva nos* 5v uses Obrecht's bassus as *c.f.* in the *V<sup>a</sup> vox*; publ. in SlimG II p. 219 and SmijersT IV no. 11-12.
- Jachet: *Ploremus omnes et lacrimemur* 5v uses Obrecht's bassus as *c.f.* in the *V<sup>a</sup> vox* with the text "*Parce Domine Cesaris tuo*"; cf. DunningS pp. 251-53.
- Franci: *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo* 4v in *Petrucci* 1503/1 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 quotes Obrecht's bassus at the start of the superius, but otherwise uses the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* as *c.p.f.* in the tenor (cf. no. 123).

No. 53 *Si dedero* 3v [A. Agricola]

pp. 100-01

S

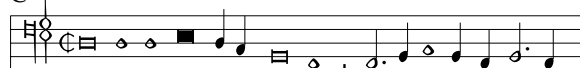


Si dedero (i)

T



C



Rfasc. 5 no. 8

## CONCORDANCES:

*Barcelona* 454 ff. 106<sup>v</sup>-07 (4v; + Contraalta)  
*Bologna Q16* ff. 136<sup>v</sup>-138 "*Sidero somnum*"  
*Bologna Q17* ff. 34<sup>v</sup>-35: A. Agricola  
*Bologna Q18* ff. 70<sup>v</sup>-71 "*Sydedero*"  
*Bruxelles* 11239 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33

*Firenze* 27 ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-58: Alex. Agrich.

*Firenze* 107 Index: "f. 32 Si dedero" (missing)

*Firenze* 178 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32: Alexander "*Si dedero sompnum*"

*Firenze* 229 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-70: Alexander agricola

*Firenze* 2356 ff. 76<sup>v</sup>-77 "*Sidero somnum*"

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 14<sup>v</sup>-15

*Greifswald* 640-641 no. 9

*München* 3154 f. 454<sup>v</sup>

*Paris* 676 ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31: Agricola (4v; + "Altitonans"; different from the "Contraalta" in *Barcelona* 454)

*Paris* 1597 ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 100<sup>v</sup>-102: Agricola

*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26: Agricola

*Segovia* f. 170<sup>v</sup>: Alexander Agricola

*St. Gallen* 462 pp. 78-79

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 16: Verbonet (S only)

*Verona* 757 ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25 (later attribution: Alexander)

*Petrucci* 1501 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62: Alexander

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 13 (later attribution: Obrecht)

## Intabulations:

*Basel IX.22* no. 9: Henricus IZACK (keyboard)

*Chicago Cap* no. 35 (lute)

*St. Gallen* 530 no. 19: Alexander (keyboard)

*Spinacino* 1507/6 no. 23 (lute)

*Newsidler* 1536/13 no. 46: Ja. Obrecht (lute)

## TEXT:

Versus "*Si dedero somnum oculis meis ...*" (Ps. 131 v. 4) from the responsory "*In pace in idipsum*", AS p. 150. Cop 1848, like most of the sources, only has an incipit; the text is in *Bologna Q16*, *Bologna Q17*, *Bruxelles* 11239, *Firenze* 2794 and *Paris* 1597.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO IV no. 13

BrownL no. 68

GeeringH no. 39

HewittA no. 56

PickerC p. 464

ShippC no. 8

## COMMENTS:

The plainchant melody (AS pp. 150f) is paraphrased in the tenor and also influences the superius and contratenor in the imitative texture. E. E. Lerner remarks: "Entered most frequently in chansonniers, "*Si dedero*" is a liturgical torso and was probably composed for secular rather than religious purposes" (AgricolaO IV p. XVI).

Agricola's widespread motet probably inspired other composers, including the anonymous composers of two pieces which start with a similar imitation, but which continue differently: 3v in *Firenze* 27 ff. 60<sup>v</sup>-61 and 4v in *Firenze* 107 ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3 (cf. HewittA p. 154). Moreover, it formed the starting-point for masses by Obrecht (4v—publ. in ObrechtW *Messen* III p. 1) and Divitis (4v) in *Jena* 7 ff. 92<sup>v</sup>-107.

**No. 54 *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* 3v**  
pp. 102-03 [A. de Févin]

S

T

C

~~Fors seulement~~ La tente que je (t)

~~Fors seulement~~

~~Fors seulement~~

Rfasc. 5 no. 9. Superius and tenor are on p. 102, while the contratenor is alone on the bottom half of p. 103.

CONCORDANCES:

- Cambridge* 1760 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-60: Antoine de Févin  
"Fors seulement l'attente"  
*London* 31922 ff. 104<sup>v</sup>-05 "Fors solemant" (incipit)  
*München* 1516 no. 129 "Forseulement" (incipit; the  
chanson is notated a fifth lower)  
*Paderborn* 9822/23 ff. 23/24 (S and C only)  
"Fors seulement" (incipit)  
*St. Gallen* 463 no. 46 (S only) "Fors seulement la mort"  
*Antico* 1520/6 no. 6 (S and C only)  
"Fors seulement la mort"  
*Egenolff* 1535/14 III no. 51 (S only)  
"Fors seulement" (incipit)  
*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 31 (without text;  
the chanson is noted a fifth lower)  
*Petreiis* 1541/2 no. 73 "Fors seulement" (incipit)  
*Le Roy* 1553/22 no. 11: Févin "Fors seulement la mort"  
*Le Roy* 1578/14 f. 15: Févin "Fors seulement la mort"

Intabulations:

- Gerle* 1533/G1623 no. 41 (lute)  
*Milano* 1536 f. 16 (*viola* or lute)  
*Milano* 1536/11 no. 24 (lute)  
*Newsidler* 1540/23 no. 35 (lute)  
*Phalèse* 1546/21 no. 17 (lute)  
*Gardane* 1547/21 no. 22 (lute)  
*Newsidler* 1549/41 no. 58 (lute)  
*Rippe* 1554/34 no. 6: Févin (lute)

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; in Cop 1848 the first words "Fors seulement" have been crossed out, but the rest of the refrain is laid under the superius, and the chanson is listed as "fors seulement" in the list of contents for Rfasc. 5 (cf. p. 85). The text in Cop 1848 and *Cambridge* 1760 is the well-known rondeau "Fors seulement l'attente que je meure", originally set by Ockeghem—a

setting later reworked by many other composers (cf. HewittF). Besides a number of musical sources, this rondeau can be found in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 69, *London* 380 f. 251, *Paris* 1719 f. 34, *Paris* 1722 f. 72 and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 115; publ. in LöpeltmannR as no. 77, FrançonA pp. 268-69 and as DrozJ no. 496.

In *Antico* 1520/6 the text of Févin's chanson is another rondeau, probably a parody of the well-known poem, "Fors seulement la mort sans nul aultre attente", of which only the refrain is known today, publ. in, among other editions, HewittB p. 59. H. Hewitt and M. Picker seem to consider "Fors seulement la mort" the original text of Févin's chanson (HewittF p. 116 and PickerF p. XXII), but this text only appears in Antico's Italian print and in later sources which probably used Antico's version as their model (*St. Gallen* 463—cf. ChristoffersenO p. 38—and the two late Le Roy prints), while "Fors seulement l'attente" is in two mutually independent French manuscripts. However, the superius in *Cambridge* 1760 vacillates between the two versions ("Fors seulement, fors seulement la mort sans aultre l'attente que je meure en mon las cueur ...") and in Cop 1848 the first words are crossed out again; perhaps an indication that even then musicians were uncertain about the proper text.

MODERN EDITIONS:

- PickerF no. 28  
AdamsF II p. 50  
CarpentrasO I p. 150  
ObrechtW *Wereldlijke* W. p. 90  
StevensM no. 99

COMMENTS:

H. Hewitt writes in the article 'Fors seulement and the Cantus Firmus Technique of the Fifteenth Century' (HewittF) of the many compositions that borrowed material from Ockeghem's famous *Fors seulement l'attente* 3v (in *Dijon* 517, *Paris* 57 f. 6 (incompl.), *Paris* 1597, *Roma* CG XIII.27, *St. Gallen* 461, *Washington* L25 and *Wolfenbüttel* 287; publ. in PickerF as no. 1, DrozT p. 48, GiesbertS p. 2 and GombosiOa as no. 9); later Martin Picker collected and published all the compositions that belong to this group (PickerF).

Févin's chanson (HewittF no. 31) is a parody of Pipelare's *Fors seulement l'attente* 4v (HewittF no. 30; publ. e.g. in PickerF as no. 26, PipelareO I as no. 6, GiesbertS p. 8, HewittB as no. 28 and PickerC p. 233). Pipelare's tenor and the beginning of the bassus are paraphrased by Févin; the initial imitation resembles Pipelare's bassus, and from bar 10 the tenor quotes Pipelare's tenor, first freely and in a rather condensed shape, later in very recognizable form.

Cf. also Cop 1848 no. 256 *Fors seulement* 3v by Ockeghem, a reworking of Ockeghem's own superius (HewittF no. 14).


## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

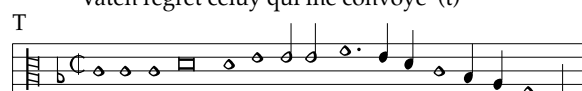
- a) A. Willaert: *Fors seulement la mort* 5v in *Salblinger* 1540/7 no. 43 uses Févin's tenor as *c.f.* in the superius; HewittF no. 35, publ. in PickerF no. 30.  
 b) Jörg Blankenmüller: *Forseulement* 3v in *München* 1516 no. 131 is in the last third of the piece clearly based on the end of Févin's chanson; HewittF no. 32, publ. in PickerF no. 29.  
 c) Carpentras: *Missa Fors seulement* 5v, publ. in CarpentrasO I p. 91 and  
 d) N. Gombert: *Missa Forseusement* 5v, publ. in GombertO II p. 89 both use Févin's chanson as model.

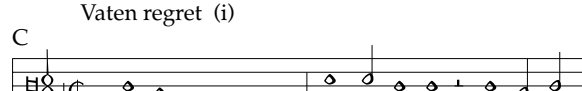
**No. 55 *Va-t'en regret celui qui me convoye* 3v**

pp. 104-05

[L. Compère]

S  
  
 Vaten regret celui qui me convoye (t)

T  
  
 Vaten regret (i)

C  
  
 Vaten regret (i)

NB T: Between the 7th and 8th note a  $\diamond$  (*e'*) is missing.

Rfasc. 5 no. 10. The top half of p. 104 only has empty, rather botched staves; below these is the superius; the tenor and contratenor are on p. 105.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> (S and T only)*Bruxelles* 228 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54*Bruxelles* 11239 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7: Compere*Firenze* 107 ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47*Firenze* 117 ff. 39<sup>v</sup>-40*Paris* 1596 ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3*Paris* 1597 ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-14*Paris* 2245 ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10: Compere

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives the refrain; the complete poem is in *Paris* 1596 and *Paris* 2245. *Bruxelles* 228 gives another version of the refrain; cf. PickerC p. 376.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 58

BlumeJ no. 7

PickerC p. 376

ShippC p. 293

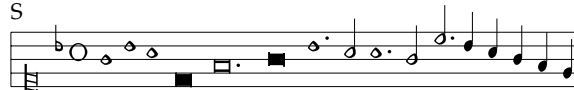
## COMMENTS:


Setting of a rondeau. *Firenze* 2439 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59 has a *Va-t'en regret* 3v under Agricola's name with a text incipit only; however, it has no musical connection with Compère's chanson; publ. in AgricolaO V no. 23.


**No. 56 *Au travail suis sans espoir de confort* 3v**

p. 106

[L. Compère]

S  
  
 Au travail suis sans espoir (t)

T  
  
 Au travail suis sans espoir (t)

C  
  
 Au travail suis sans espoir (t)

Rfasc. 5 no. 11

## CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-52*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5: Loiset Compere

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the complete poem is in *Firenze* 2794 as well as in *Dresden Saxe* as no. 22 and *Lille* 402 as no. 22, publ. in FrançonP p. 132. Another version—with the same refrain but a different continuation—is in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 117<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ as no. 524. The refrain of the rondeau is a quodlibet, a mosaic of quotations from well-known chansons (cf. below); the rest of the poem is free.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 11

OckeghemW I p. 43

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau in the form of a textual and musical quodlibet, where the superius is composed of quotations from well-known chansons; the tenors of the models are also quoted in several places (items a and b) or the tenor and contratenor (items c and e). It has been possible to identify the following models: a) *Au travail suis*, Barbinguant / Ockeghem, publ. in OckeghemW I p. 42; b) *Presque transi*, Ockeghem in *Dijon* 517 and *Washington* L25; c) *Par le regard*, Dufay, publ. in DufayO VI p. 88; d) *De tous biens plaine*, Hayne van Ghizeghem, publ. in GhizeghemO p. 14; e) *D'ung aultre amer*, Ockeghem (cf. Cop 1848 no. 88); and f) *Malheureux cuer*, Dufay, publ. in DufayO VI p. 42; cf. also OckeghemW pp. XXIV-XXV.



**No. 57** *Que t'ay je faict, desplaisante Fortune?* 3v  
p. 107

S



T



B



Rfasc. D no. 1. Hand B; the text in the bassus was added by the main scribe (Hand A).

TEXT:

Quatrain – 2 stanzas.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 48

AdamsT p. 598

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune/Parisian chanson; homorhythmic texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor in the form ABC:A|.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- a) Anonymous 3v, *Attaignant* 1529/4 no. 24 and *Rhau* 1542/8 no. 76; imitative texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in ThomasT as no. 20.
- b) P. Certon 5v in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 p. 12 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing); *c.p.f.* in the tenor.

**No. 58** *S'il est a ma poste* 4v [Hesdin]

pp. 108-09

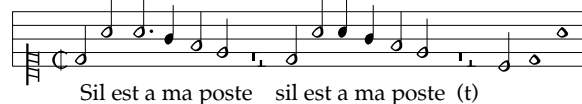
S



T



A



B



Rfasc. D no. 2. Hand B.

CONCORDANCE:

*Attaignant* 1529/2 no. 27: Hesdin

TEXT:

*Couplets* and *tierce* of the virelai "Je suis trop jeunette", which is in *Paris* 12744 f. 17 (2 stanzas), publ. in ParisC as no. 22.

MODERN EDITIONS:

ExpertA no. 27

ThomasR no. 5

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative arrangement with the tune in *Paris* 12744 in the superius. The same tune is known with the text "Je suis d'Allemagne". "S'il est a ma poste" is used as a *timbre* indication for Jean Daniel's *noël* "Chantons tous a voix doucettes", *Daniel* 1524 no. 7, publ. in ChardonD as no. 13.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. BrownF no. 219 p. 241, HeartzP p. LXXIX and HewittB pp. 32-34):

- a) Anonymous: *Je suis d'Allemagne* 3v in *Paris* 15123 (cf. BrownF no. 219b), *c.p.f.* in the superius; publ. in BrownT no. 40.
- b) J. Stokhem: *Je suis d'Allemagne* 4v (cf. BrownF no. 219c), *c.p.f.* in the superius; publ. in BrownT as no. 41 and in BrownL as no. 161.
- c) Anonymous: *Je suis d'Allemagne* / *Joliette m'en vay* 5v in *Firenze* 229 and *Petrucchi* 1504/3 (cf. BrownF no. 219d), *c.p.f.* in the superius; publ. in BrownT as no. 42 and BrownL as no. 162.
- d) Raulin: *Je suis trop jeunette* 4v, *c.p.f.* in the tenor and altus; publ. in HewittB as no. 6.
- e) Gascongne / Gombert: *Je suis trop jeunette* 3v (cf. BrownF no. 219h—add to this *Attaignant* 1535 no. 21 (Gascongne), and Item 219l, Gascongne 3v (*Le Roy* 1578/15 f. 6), which is the same setting; cf. HeartzC p. 223 and AdamsT pp. 166 and 404-05; Gascongne was probably the composer of this chanson); the tune is used in all voices; publ. in AdamsF I p. 60 and GombertO X p. 9.
- f) Gombert: *Je suis trop jeunette* 5v in *Susato* 1550/13 f. 3<sup>v</sup> and *Le Roy* 1560 f. 53 (cf. BrownF no. 219i and 219k) only have slight resemblances to the other settings; publ. in GombertO X p. 136.
- g) Anonymous: *Branle S'il est a ma poste* for lute in *Attaignant* 1530/6, no. 37; publ. in HeartzP as no. 77.



**No. 59 Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina 4v**  
pp. 109<sup>bis</sup>-111

S



Ave virgo katherina (t)

T



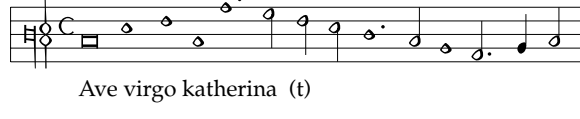
Ave virgo katherina (t)

A



Ave virgo katherina (t)

B



Ave virgo katherina (t)

Rfasc. D no. 3. Hand B.

Cop 1848 no. 63 is the main scribe's copy of the 2<sup>a</sup> pars  
"O beata Katherina"

## TEXT:

Hymn to St. Catherine, AH XXXIII pp. 115-16 and  
MoneH III p. 373. The text of the motet consists of  
the following extracts: 1<sup>a</sup> pars – vv. 1-6 and v. 9;  
2<sup>a</sup> pars – vv. 17-18 and vv. 59-64.

## COMMENTS:

Motet to St. Catherine with text selected from the  
stanzas of the hymn; apparently uses no *c.p.f.*; com-  
petent, through-imitated texture – 58 and 65 br-mm.

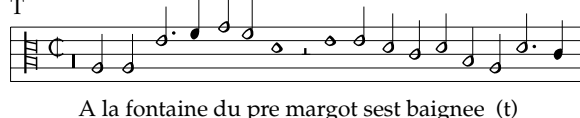
**No. 60 A la fontaine du pré 4v**  
pp. 112-115

S



A la fontaine du pre margot sest baignee (t)

T



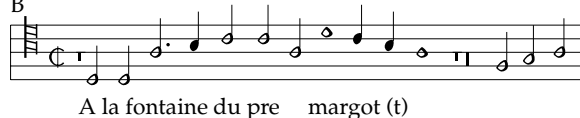
A la fontaine du pre margot sest baignee (t)

A



A la fontaine du pre margot sest baignee (t)

B



A la fontaine du pre margot (t)

Rfasc. D no. 4. Hand B.

## TEXT:

Popular song consisting of two quatrains with the  
short refrain "et houp!" added.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 52

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative arrangement  
with *c.p.f.* in the superius; the tune is sung through  
twice. Note the close similarity to Hesdin's *S'il est a  
ma poste* (no. 58).

## OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- A. Willaert: *A la fontaine du prez* 6v in *Susato* 1545/  
14 f. 4<sup>v</sup>, *Le Roy* 1560 f. 7 and *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 53;  
publ. in ClemensO VII p. 43. Willaert's chanson  
was the model for J. Clemens non Papa's *Missa A  
la fontaine du prez* 6v, publ. in ClemensO VII p. 1.
- Créquillon: *A la fontaine du prez* 3v in *Susato*  
1552/10 no. 3 (later sources, see AdamsT p. 355),  
publ. in AdamsT p. 476.
- Didier le Blanc: *A la fontaine du pré* 3v in *Le Roy*  
1578/15 no. 1; cf. AdamsT p. 255.
- Quoted in the anonymous fricassée *A l'aventure,  
tous mes amys ...* 4v in *Attaignant* 1536/5, no. 20,  
publ. in LesureAN as no. 7.

**No. 61 Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente 2v (4v)**  
p. 116  
(S)



Dieu gard ma maistresse regente (t)

(T)



Dieu gard ma maistresse regente (t)

Rfasc. D no. 5. Two parts entered by Hand B on the  
outside of the fascicle, placed as superius and tenor;  
a sheet is probably missing where there were two  
more parts on the opposite page.

## TEXT:

Huitain by Clément Marot – one stanza, printed in  
*Marot* 1532 f. 79<sup>v</sup> and *Les chansons* 1538 as no. 3  
(3 stanzas), publ. in MarotCE III p. 176. The poem  
appears with minor variations as "Dieu gard de  
mon cuer la tregente" in *La Fleur* 1527, no. 9, and  
in *S'ensuyvent-Nourry* 1533, no. 8 (3 stanzas), publ. in  
JefferyV II pp. 40-41. In the latter version the poem  
is set by Claudin de Sermisy in *Attaignant* 1531/1,  
no. 25, publ. in SermisyO III p. 64.

## COMMENTS:

Incomplete Parisian chanson, probably for four low  
voices; imitative texture with many text repetitions –  
46 br-mm.

**No. 62** *Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* 3v [L. Compère]  
p. 117

S



Tant ay dennuy et tant de (t)

T



B



Tant ay dennuy O vos omnes qui (t)

Rfasc. 5 no. 12

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12: Loyset Compere "O vos omnes"  
(text in B, incipits in S and T)

*Bologna* Q18 ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-66 "Tant hai dennui"  
(incipits in all parts)

*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup> / ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup> "O vos omnes"  
(S and T only, text in both parts)

*Bruxelles* 228 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60 "O devotz cueurs" (text in S  
and T) / "O vos omnes" (text in B)

*Firenze* 107 ff. 35<sup>v</sup>-36 "O vos omnes" (incipit in S)

*London* 35087 ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2 "O vos omnes" (text in all parts)

*Paris* 1597 ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29 "Tant ay dennuyt" (text in S and T)

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 19: Obrecht "O vos omnes"

(S only, with text)

*Uppsala* 76a f. 45<sup>v</sup> "Tant ay dennuy" / [O vos omnes]  
(S and the second half of B; text in both parts)

*Rhau* 1542/8 no. 15: Loyset Compere "O vos omnes"  
(text in all parts)

Intabulation:

*Attaignant* 1531/5 no. 10 "O vos omnes" (keyboard)

TEXT:

In the superius Cop 1848 has the refrain of a rondeau cinquain "Tant ay d'ennuy et tant de desconfort", the complete text of which is in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 116<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ as no. 514. The poem was well known at the beginning of the 16th century; it is quoted in Marot's "Complaincte d'une Niepce, sur la Mort de sa Tante" lines 44-45, publ. in MarotCE III pp. 131-133, alongside well-known poems like "Fors seulement l'attente que je meure" (cf. Cop 1848 no. 54 and no. 256).

In the bassus the text is the Latin verse "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte: Si est dolor similes sicut meus" (Lamentations 1:12).

Most other sources only have the Latin text; in *Bruxelles* 228 the upper voices are underlaid with the refrain of another rondeau cinquain "O devotz cueurs amans d'amour fervente" (cf. PickerC pp. 391-94).

The text combination in Cop 1848 and *Uppsala* 76a is probably the original one; the rondeau is also in *Paris* 1597, where the bassus has no text, and it is hinted at in the incipits of *Bologna* Q18 (cf. PickerC p. 54). L. Finscher however regards "O devotz cueurs" as the original text (FinscherC p. 218).

MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 4

HAM no. 76b

ObrechtW Motetten II p. 173

PickerC p. 391

RoksethM no. 6

ShippC p. 343

COMMENTS:

'Motet-chanson'; in the first section of the rondeau (bars 1-33) a variant of the *tonus lectionis*, *lectio tertia*, *feria V* in Coena Domini (LU p. 631) is used as *c.f.* in the bassus; cf. the analysis of this composition in FinscherC pp. 218ff.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

a) Parson (de la Rue?): *Il fault morir* 4v in *Regensburg* 120 pp. 10-11; Compère's tenor is used as the tenor.

b) Anonymous: *Douleur me bat / O vos omnes* 5v in *Wien* 18746 no. 41; uses Compère's bassus as bassus.

c) Pierkin de Therache: *Missa O vos omnes* 4v, *Wien* 15495 no. 6, uses Compère's chanson as model (cf. facsimile of the *Kyrie* in FinscherC following p. 224).

**No. 63** *O beata Katherina* 4v


pp. 118-19

S



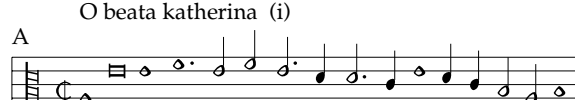
O beata katherina babilonis (t)

T



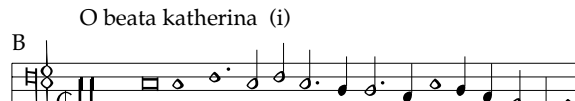
O beata katherina (i)

A



O beata katherina (i)

B



O beata katherina (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 13. Later added to the fascicle by the main scribe.

Copy of the 2<sup>a</sup> pars of no. 59 *Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina* (q.v.). On the same occasion the scribe probably copied the first section of the motet on another, now lost sheet of paper. For above the superius

is the cross-reference symbol '⌘', used elsewhere in the fascicle to indicate the continuation of a part.

**No. 64 *En amors n'a sinon bien* 3v [A. de Févin]**

pp. 120-21

S



En amors na sinon bien (t)

T



En amors (i)

B



En amors na sinon bien (t)

Rfasc. 5 no. 14. Superius and tenor are on the left-hand page of the opening, the bassus is in the middle of the right-hand page.

CONCORDANCES:

*Cambridge* 1760 ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-57: Anth. de fevin

*Torino* I,27 f. 46<sup>v</sup> (first part only)

*Uppsala* 76a ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-35: A. de fevin

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 28

*Petreyus* 1541/2 no. 74

TEXT:

Virelai – one stanza; in *Paris* 9346 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7 (2 stanzas) publ. in GéroldB as no. 6. In *Paris* 12744 f. 10 the song appears in a simplified, abridged form as a strophic quatrain (3 stanzas); publ. in ParisC as no. 13.

In Cop 1848 the singable tune in the tenor is only furnished with an incipit, while the melismatic outer voices are carefully furnished with the full text!

MODERN EDITION:

BrownC no. 17

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; a popular arrangement with the tune in the tenor corresponding to the one in *Paris* 9346. The same tune is the basis of the shorter version in *Paris* 12744. In Cop 1848, *Torino* I,27 and *Uppsala* 76a the *c.p.f.* moves more or less as in *Paris* 9346, while in *Cambridge* 1760 it is figured to match the superius and bassus. In Cop 1848 the chanson is moreover four br-mm. longer than in the other sources because of the repetition of bars 21-24.

*Torino* I,27 gives only the first section of the chanson (bars 1-25)—the text however is from the virelai in *Paris* 9346, not the strophic version from *Paris* 12744.

The tune also appears in Carpentras' *Missa Le cueur fut mien* 4-5v, publ. in CarpentrasO I p. 65; the mass is based on two different popular tunes: "Le cueur


fut mien", which is not known from other sources, but can be reconstructed from the superius of the mass (cf. CarpentrasO I p. XIV and p. 149); and "En amours n'a sinon bien". Cf. also BrownF no. 89, p. 210.

**No. 65 *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* 3v**

p. 122

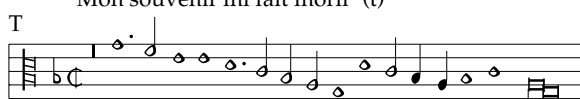
[Hayne van Ghizeghem]

S




Mon souvenir mi fait morir (t)

T



Mon souvenir (i)

C



Mon souvenir (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 15; all parts entered on p. 122; p. 123 only has empty staves.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 198 and no. 279.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33: Hayne

*Firenze* 178 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28: Ayne

*Firenze* 2356 ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9

*Firenze* 2794 f. 75<sup>v</sup>: Heyne (S only)

*London* 20.A.XVI ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28: Heyne

*London* 35087 ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29

*Paris* 1597 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27

*Paris* 2245 ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2: hayne

*Roma* Cas 2856 ff. 124<sup>v</sup>-125: Haine

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-53

*Segovia* f. 164: Scoen Heyne

*Uppsala* 76a f. 25 (T and C only)

*Washington* L25 ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-111

*Petrucchi* 1501 f. 90<sup>v</sup>

Intabulation:

*Spinacino* 1507/5 no. 20 (lute)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 no. 279 gives the complete poem; no. 65 only has the refrain. The complete poem is also in *Firenze* 2794, *London* 20.A.XVI, *Paris* 2245, *Washington* L25 and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 117; publ. in DrozJ as no. 521.

MODERN EDITIONS:

GhizeghemO no. 13

GombosiOa no. 4

HewittA no. 83

MarixM p. 120

ShippC p. 336

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; all three occurrences of *Mon souvenir* in Cop 1848 are basically the same version. They are however copied from two different originals, since no. 198 (in Rfasc. 11) and no. 279 (in Rfasc. HJK) are identical—apart from the difference in the amount of text; no. 198 may be a copy of no. 279—and differs in many details from no. 65 (cf. no. 279). All three, like the versions in *Firenze 178*, *Firenze 2356*, *Firenze 2794*, *London 20.A.XVI*, *Paris 2245* and *Uppsala 76a*, have a superfluous brevis rest at the beginning of each part, while there are either no rests in the other sources, or they have been erased by the copyists; for a more detailed account and discussion of these variants, see AtlasC I pp. 111-12 and GhizeghemO pp. XLV-XLVI.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS (cf. GhizeghemO p. XLVI): Hayne's tenor is used as the tenor of Jachet's *Sufficiebat nobis paupertas* / *Mon souvenir* 5v in *Bologna Q19* ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-35, and in the superius of J. Richafort's *Mon souvenir* / *Sufficiebat nobis paupertas* 4v in *Bologna Q19* ff. 82<sup>v</sup>-83 and *Cambridge 1760* ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-38, publ. in MaldeghemT Rél. XVII (1881) p. 33.

**No. 66 Venés regretz, venés il en est heure 3v**  
pp. 124-25 [L. Compère]

S

Venes regretz venes il est heure (t)

T

Venes regres (i)

G

Venes regres (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 16. The parts are disposed below one another on p. 124, and the contratenor ends on the top staff on p. 125; it appears as if the scribe first tried to finish the contratenor on an empty staff in the middle of p. 124, but crossed the notes out again, as there was not enough room.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna Q17* ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32: Loyset compere  
*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-7 (S and T only; in S f. 6 is missing)

*Bruxelles 11239* ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-6: Compere  
*Firenze 117* ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38  
*St. Gallen 462* pp. 86-87  
*Zwikkau 78/3* no. 16

*Petrucci 1501* ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59: Compere

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives the refrain; the complete rondeau appears as *Dresden Saxe* no. 14, *Lille 402* no. 14 and in *Paris 1722* f. 69<sup>v</sup>, publ. in FrançonA p. 262 and FrançonP p. 127.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 59  
GeeringH p. 75  
GombosiG p. 104  
HewittA no. 53  
PickerC p. 419

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; this chanson is textually and musically inspired by Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allés regretz* (Cop 1848 no. 243). In keeping with the textual reversal ("Allés regretz" to "Venés regretz"), the music is also inverted at the beginning of the chanson with a quotation from Hayne's superius an octave lower in the contratenor, while Hayne's tenor is sung in the tenor and superius. The chanson goes on into a free paraphrase, but with copious quotation of Hayne's tenor in the tenor and superius; for a further account, see GombosiG.

The anonymous four-part composition in *London 1070* ff. 114<sup>v</sup>-15 has, besides the text incipit "Venez regretz", nothing in common with Compère's chanson; cf. HewittA p. 153.

**No. 67 Tenés moy en vous bras 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 125

S

Tenes moy en vous bras mon amy (t)

T

Tenes moy en vous bras mon amy (t)

B

Tenes moy en vous bras (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 17. Entered below the end of the contratenor of no. 66.

## CONCORDANCE:

*Gdańsk 4003 III* no. 8

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain (virelai type?) – one stanza.

## MODERN EDITION:

BenthemS Anhang I

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, imitative popular arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the tenor, closely following the ABA form of the text. Tune and text are found in exactly the same form in another two settings:

- a) Anonymous 3v in *Firenze* 121 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7, *Firenze* 176 ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-88 and *Paris* 15123 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41 with *c.p.f.* in the superius; older type of *superius-tenor* setting with free octave canon and high contratenor. In the last "A" section the tune appears varied in *proportio sesquialtera*—in the last line it changes to *proportio quadrupla* in doubled note values.
- b) Josquin 6v, e.g. in *Susato* 1545/15 f. 8<sup>v</sup>, *Bologna* R142 f. 32 (contrafactum *Vidi speciosam*) and *Leipzig* 49/50 f. 188 (contrafactum *Ego sum ipso qui doleo*—for the last two, cf. BlackburnJ), publ. in JosquinWW no. 13. The *c.p.f.* in the tenor is identical to that of no. 67 apart from longer rests between the phrases. Jaap van Benthem has shown that Josquin's chanson is a parody of no. 67 where Josquin, besides using the tenor tune, also in several instances incorporates the other two parts in the texture (BenthemS pp. 177-78).

Jaap van Benthem argues, from the relationship between the three-part anonymous composition and the six-part parody, and its stylistic similarity to other three-part Josquin chansons, that no. 67 is a composition by Josquin (BenthemS p. 185; cf. also BenthemJ). In view of the fact that a popular arrangement has a very limited degree of stylistic individuality, we should probably pass over such a conjecture until some firmer source evidence appears.

Rfasc. 5 no. 18. No. 69 *A ma douleur nulli n'est comparée* belongs with this as the 1st and 2nd section of a lamentation. On p. 126 one can see that the scribe began to enter the superius parts for nos. 68 and 69 consecutively on the same page, but crossed no. 69 out again and entered this section separately on p. 127; in the list of contents for this fascicle on p. 134 he did in fact list them as two independent songs (cf. pp. 85-86).

## TEXT:

The two sections (nos. 68-69) set the introductory quatrains of a "Lamentation", of which the complete text can be found in *Paris* 1722 f. 70<sup>v</sup>, where the stanzas are followed by a further twelve lines.

## MODERN EDITION:

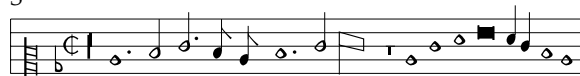
Vol. III no. 21

## COMMENTS:

Lamentation; the settings of the two uniformly-structured stanzas are very similar—no. 69 is more or less a free variation on no. 68. The melodic material of the tenor greatly resembles the psalmody formula of the 6th tone (cf. for example AR p. 22\* and p. 9\*); there are also a number of similarities to Fresnau's "Nuit et jour sans repous avoir" (Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262). In both sections the parts are kept within strikingly narrow ranges: Superius *c'-g'* (max. *g-c''*), tenor *f-c'* (max. *c-c'*) and contratenor *F-f* (max. *E-bb*).

**No. 68 Plain de regret, de plaisir esguaré 3v**  
p. 126

S



Plain de regret playsir esguare (t)

T



Plain de regret (i)

C



Plain de regret (i)

NB S: Between the 2nd and 3rd notes a  $\diamond$  (*e'*) is missing.

**No. 69 A ma douleur nulli n'est comparée 3v**  
p. 127

S



Ma douleur nulli est comparee (t)

T



Ma douleur nulli est comparee (i)

C



Ma douleur nulli est comparee (i)

NB C: The 16th note should be *F*.

Rfasc. 5 no. 19. Second section of no. 68 (q.v.).



**No. 70 *En despit des faulx mesdisans* 3v**

pp. 128-29

S  
En despit des faulx mesdisans (t)

T  
En despit des faulx medisans (i)

B  
En despit des faulx medisans (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 20. Superius and tenor are on p. 128, the bassus on the bottom three staves on p. 129.

## TEXT:

A stanza of a popular ballade, set here in ABA form. The whole ballade is in *Paris* 9346 ff. 78<sup>v</sup>-79 (3 stanzas); publ. in *Gérolde* no. 77.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 41

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative popular arrangement where the tune is paraphrased in all three voices—the superius however has the most coherent presentation of the melodic material. In other versions of this song the form seems to be a ballade type where several stanzas are meant to follow the first, as in *Paris* 9346, which has a variant of the tune in Cop 1848, and in the other anonymous three-part settings (see below). The very long composition in Cop 1848, on the other hand, seems to be self-sufficient, since the first four lines (bars 1-25) are repeated unchanged at the end (bars 52-76), so the song appears as an ABA form.

## OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Anonymous: *En despit des faulx mesdisans* 3v in *London* 5242 ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24 and *Antico* 1520/6 no. 20; *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in *AdamsT* p. 529.
- Anonymous: *En despit des femmes disant* 3v in *München* 1516 no. 130; *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in *AdamsT* p. 532.
- P. Moulu: *En despit des faux mesdisans* 6v in *Le Roy* 1560 f. 38 and *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 64; *c.p.f.* as canon in the tenor and *VI<sup>a</sup> vox*.

**No. 71 *A qui direlle sa pencee* 2v**

p. 129

[Anonymous / Jacotin?]

S  
duo  
A qui direlle sa pencee la fille (t)

T  
duo  
A qui direlle sa pencee la fille (it)

Rfasc. 5 no. 21. Entered above the bassus of no. 70.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Maastricht* 169/1 ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>v</sup> (S only)

*Ulm* 237 f. 41

*Rotenbucher* 1549/16 no. 21: Jacotin

"Numquam vixisti, o pauper"

## TEXT:

Virelai; Cop 1848 gives one stanza corresponding to the third stanza (with the *couplet* "Et mon amy, si tu t'en vas ...") in the version in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1537 (no. 7) and later editions (seven stanzas in all) publ. in *JefferyV* II p. 315. Another version—without this stanza—is in *Paris* 12744 f. 9, publ. in *ParisC* no. 11.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

*BellinghamR* p. 351

*RotenbucherS* p. 18

*WaesbergheM* no. VII (S only)

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; the tune from *Paris* 12744 is in the superius, and the livelier counter-voice in the tenor follows it, mainly in thirds and sixths. Probably not by Jacotin.

## OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Anonymous: *Confitebor tibi Domine* 2v in *Rhau* 1545/7 no. 61 with *c.p.f.* in the superius; a contrafactum probably written with Cop 1848 no. 71 as model, publ. in *BellinghamR* p. 230.
- Anonymous: *A qui direlle sa pensée* 4v, e.g. in *Petrucchi* 1502/2 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19; for sources and modern editions, cf. *HewittB* no. 15; *c.p.f.* in all parts.
- F. de Layolle: *La fille qui n'a point d'amy* 4v in *Moderne* 1538/15 as no. 13, publ. in *LayolleO* I p. 72 and *AlbrechtC* p. 20; this chanson and the next one do not directly use the known tune, but certain similarities can be demonstrated.
- F. de Layolle: *La fille qui n'a point d'amy* 3v in *Moderne* 1539/19 no. 18, publ. in *LayolleO* I p. 81.



**No. 72 *Mais que se feut secretement* 3v**  
p. 130 [Pietrequin Bonnel / L. Compère]

S  
Mais que se feut cecretement (t)

T  
Mais que se feut cecretement (i)

C  
Mais que se feut cecretement (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 22. The scribe began the superius at the top of the page, but gradually so many errors crept in that in irritation he crossed out the part again and started anew on the next staff.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19: Pierquin

*Firenze* 178 ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-68: Pietraquin

"Meschin che fuis secretament"

*Firenze* 229 ff. 218<sup>v</sup>-19

*London* 35087 ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 141<sup>v</sup>-42

*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54: Petrequin "Donzella no men culpeys" (incipit) (4v; +Altus)

*Washington* L25 f. 114<sup>v</sup> (fragment of S)

*Petrucchi* 1501 f. 93: Compere

In Cop 1848 and *Roma Cas* 2856 the end of the chanson is extended by 3 br.-mm.; in *Roma CG XIII.27* this extension is 5 br.-mm. because of the added fourth part.

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the complete text is in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 119<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ no. 548.

The refrain is also set by C. Janequin in *Attaingnant* 1535/6 no. 26, publ. in JanequinC II as no. 61.

MODERN EDITIONS:

BrownL no. 202

CompèreO V p. 67 (Opera dubia)

HewittA no. 87

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; erotic song—cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 11). On the identity of "Pietraquin" see StaehelinP, RifkinB and AtlasC I pp. 113-120. Concerning the attempt (?) to arrange this rondeau as a villancico *Donzella no men culpeys* see AtlasC I pp. 116-120.

**No. 73 *Content de peu en voiant tant de bien* 3v**  
p. 131 [Anonymous]

S  
Content de peu en voiant (t)

T  
Content de peu (i)

B  
Content de peu (i)

Rfasc. 5 no. 23

CONCORDANCES:

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 16

*Rhau* 1542/8 no. 68

TEXT:

Cinquain – one stanza; none of the sources gives more than this one stanza, which may be the refrain of a rondeau.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 64

AdamsT p. 511

COMMENTS:

Through-imitated texture; not composed as a rondeau—cf. the discussion, Ch. 9.2.

**No. 74 *Se j'ay parlé aulcunement* 3v [L. Compère]**  
p. 132

S  
Se jay parle aulcunement des dames (t)

T  
Se jay parle aulcunement (i)

C  
Se jay parle aulcunement (i)

NB T: The 5th note should be a ♯.

Rfasc. 5 no. 24

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-23

*Segovia* f. 178<sup>v</sup>: Loysette compere

In *Bologna* Q17 the chanson is five br.-mm. longer than in Cop 1848 and *Segovia*, since the last musical phrase is repeated.

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain by Henri Baude; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; *Paris* 1721 f. 24<sup>v</sup> gives the poem under Baude's name; publ. in QuicheratB p. 38 and WinnT p. 45. In CompèreO, as in *Segovia*, the song only has a text incipit.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. I Ch. 7.1 Ex. 12

CompèreO V p. 48

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; very compact, imitative texture, only 23 br-mm., closely tied to H. Baude's ambiguous poem; see also Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 12).

## No. 75 Baisés moy, ma douce amye 5v

pp. 132-33

[Josquin Desprez]

S Canon in epidiathesseron

T Canon in epidiathesseron

B Canon in epidiathesseron

Baisés moy baisés moy baisés moy (t)

(Resolutio)

Baysez moy baysez moy ma douce (t)

(Resolutio)

Baysez moy ij baysez moy ma douce (t)

Rfasc. 5 no. 25. The main scribe entered the superius, tenor and bassus on p. 133, the tenor twice—the first attempt was crossed out. Later Hand D added the canon instructions in the superius and tenor and wrote out the resolutions at the bottom of pp. 132-33.

## CONCORDANCES:

## Four-part (double canon):

*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24 / ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-23

*Cortona/Paris* 1817 no. 2

*Petrucchi* 1502/2 f. 38: Josquin

*Antico* 1520/3 ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-18

*Egenolff* 1535/14 I no. 33 (S only)

## Six-part (triple canon):

*Petrucchi* 1502/2 f. 40<sup>v</sup>

*Susato* 1545/15 f. 12: Josquin

*Attaignant* 1549/J681 no. 22: Josquin

In Cop 1848 the musical repetition in bars 16-30 is omitted in the tenor; the error is repeated in the written-out *resolutio*. The bassus is the same as the lowest canon part in the six-part version. The ending (bar 38) is slightly changed compared with that version: the bassus remains on *d*, while the tenor goes to G. Since the canon in the bassus is not indicated by a *signum congruentiae*, and there is no written-out *resolutio*, the composition in Cop 1848 must be regarded as five-part.

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain – one stanza; also in *Paris* 9346 f. 105<sup>v</sup> (one stanza) publ. in GéroldB as no. 102.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

JosquinWW no. 20

CommerC XII no. 17

HewittB no. 37

## COMMENTS:

Canon chanson (double canon with a free bass part) on the popular tune from *Paris* 9346; cf. also Osthoff II pp. 200 and 227, and HewittB pp. ix-x, 68f and 71f.

The tune is quoted, probably after Josquin's setting, in the anonymous fricassée *A l'aventure tous mes amys* 4v, *Attaignant* 1536/5 no. 20, publ. in LesureAN no. 7.

On the basis of Josquin's four-part canon, Maturin Forestier wrote a *Missa quinque vocum supra baise moy ma douce amye* in *Jena* 4 ff. 102<sup>v</sup>-112.

## List of contents of Rfasc. 5

p. 134

Written by Hand A – placed on the far right of the back cover of the fascicle.

"se je suis trovée	(no. 45	p. 89)
le ranvoy	(no. 46	pp. 90-91)
o preclara	(no. 47	pp. 92-93)
nuyt et jour	(no. 48	p. 94)
Les grans regres	(no. 49	p. 95)
Je ne fas plus	(no. 51	p. 97)
parce domine	(no. 52	p. 99)
si dedero	(no. 53	pp. 100-01)
fors seulement	(no. 54	pp. 102-03)
au travail suis	(no. 56	p. 106)
tant ay dennuye	(no. 62	p. 117)
en amours	(no. 64	pp. 120-21)
vaten regreds	(no. 55	pp. 104-05)
venez regretz	(no. 66	pp. 124-25)
mon souvenir	(no. 65	p. 122)
tenes moy en	(no. 67	p. 125)
plain de regret	(no. 68	p. 126)

ma douleur	(no. 69	p. 127)
a qui direlle sa	(no. 71	p. 129)
en despit des fa ...	(no. 70	pp. 128-29)
mais que ce feut	(no. 72	p. 130)
si ja parle aulcu ...	(no. 74	p. 132)
content de peu	(no. 73	p. 131)
baises moy"	(no. 75	pp. 132-33)

**No. 76 Examples 1v**

p. 134



Rfasc. 5 no. 26. Notes and staves added by the main scribe beside the list of contents on the back cover of Rfasc. 5; concurrent with the entry of the two-part examples no. 122 in Rfasc. 6 and nos. 156 and 180 in Rfasc. 8.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 101

**COMMENTS:**

A number of monophonic melodic/rhythmic examples; each of the five short pieces at tenor pitch (compass: *d-e'*) fills one or two staves and ends with a  $\equiv$  followed by a double vertical line; cf. Ch. 11.1.

**No. 77 *Tres doux penser, Dieu te pourvoye* 2v**

p. 135

S

Tres doux penser dieu te porvoye (t)

T

Tres doux penser dieu te porvoye (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 1

**TEXT:**

Cinquain; the text in Cop 1848 is a variant of the first stanza of the song in *Paris* 9346 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59, publ. in *Gérolde* no. 57 (the two stanzas in *Paris* 9346 are unrelated in content; the second stanza may be a later addition to the song). This first stanza in *Paris* 9346 corresponds very closely to the refrain of a rondeau cinquain in *London* 380 f. 242<sup>v</sup>, publ. in *WallisA* as no. 210, which is probably the original version of the poem; both versions of the text are given in Vol. III with the music.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 12

**COMMENTS:**

Setting of the tune from *Paris* 9346 for two voices in the tenor range; *c.p.f.* in the tenor. The tune was probably extracted from a now-lost polyphonic setting of the rondeau version in *London* 380; see also Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 17).

**No. 78 Textless composition 4v**

p. 135

S

T

A

B

Rfasc. 6 no. 2. Entered by the main scribe on four empty staves below no. 77.

**COMMENTS:**

Probably an instrumental composition which can be repeated three times (fanfare?). A short imitative composition – 19 br.-mm.—ending with a  $\diamond$  in all parts and without the usual double vertical line; above the last note in the superius the word “trois” is written. The initial motif can be heard throughout in the order S (from *f'*) – A (*c'*) – T (*f*) – B (*c*) – A (*f'*) – S (*c''*) – T (*c'*).

**No. 79 *L'amour de moy my tient enclose* 2v**  
p. 136 [Anonymous / A. Gardane?]

S



Lamour de moy my tient enclose (t)

T



Lamour de moy my tient enclose (i)

NB In the second section of the chanson “Se Jardiniet est si plaisant” the text was also laid under the tenor, but has been crossed out, so only the incipit is left.

Rfasc. 6 no. 3

CONCORDANCE:

Rotenbucher 1549/16 no. 19: A. Gardane  
“Justitia et charitas”

TEXT:

Virelai; this popular song is preserved in many sources, all with slight differences. Cop 1848 gives the refrain and *couplets*, the last two lines of which differ from all other sources. The poem as a rule has two stanzas and is in *Paris* 9346 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28, publ. in GéroldB as no. 27, *Paris* 12744 f. 20<sup>v</sup>, publ. in ParisC as no. 27, *Paris* 1274 ff. 73-73<sup>v</sup> (3 stanzas) and in the prints *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515 as no. 6 and *Les chansons* 1515 as no. 11, publ. in JefferyV I p. 48, in *S'ensuyent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 148 and in later editions; publ. in JefferyV II p. 270.

MODERN EDITION:

BellinghamR p. 349

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative popular arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the tenor, a variant of the tunes found in *Paris* 9346 and *Paris* 12744. Probably not by Gardane—cf. Ch. 8.2.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. BrownF no. 241, p. 247):

- Anonymous 3v in *London* 5242 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-38 and *St. Gallen* 462 pp. 90-91 (cf. BrownF no. 241k), *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in BrownC as no. 47 and GeeringH as no. 47.
- Anonymous 4v in *Paris* 1597 ff. 71<sup>v</sup>-73, *St. Gallen* 462 pp. 92-95 and *Petrucchi* 1504/3 ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8 (cf. BrownF no. 241l), *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in BrownC as no. 48 and GeeringH as nos. 48-49.
- Anonymous 4v in *Cortona/Paris* 1817 (bassus missing; cf. BrownF no. 241m).
- Brugier 2v in *Rhau* 1545/7 no. 28 (cf. BrownF no. 241o); a long instrumental fantasia, possibly composed with Cop 1848 no. 79 as model; publ. in BellinghamR p. 176.

- P. Certon 6v in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 p. 73 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing; cf. BrownF no. 241p); paraphrase chanson with *c.p.f.* in the tenor and superius.
- J. Richafort 3v, *Le Roy* 1578/15 no. 19.
- P. de la Rue: *Patrem L'amour de moy* 4v in *Jena* 8 ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-4 (cf. ReeseR p. 270).
- Quoted in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée, Moderne* 1538/17 no. 1 (cf. LesureE).

**No. 80 *Dictes moy toutes vous pensées* 3v**  
p. 137 [L. Compère]

S



Dictes moy toutes vous penceez (t)

T



dictes moy toutes vous pensees (i)

C



Dites moy toutes vous pensees (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 4

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 266 *Dictes moy, belle, vous pensées*.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q16 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17  
*Dijon* 517 ff. 191<sup>v</sup>-92: Loyset Compere  
*Firenze* 2794 ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9  
*Heilbronn* X/2 no. 30 (C only)  
*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 124<sup>v</sup>-25 “Dites moy belle” (incipit)  
*Torino* I,27 f. 18<sup>v</sup>  
*Washington* L25 ff. 109<sup>v</sup>-10  
*Egenolff* 1535/14 III no. 64 (S only)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives the complete poem, as do *Dijon* 517, *Firenze* 2794 and *Torino* I,27. The same rondeau was set by Alexander Agricola (cf. AgricolaO V pp. XXVIIff), publ. in AgricolaO V as no. 13 and BrownL as no. 113.

MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 17  
AtlasC II p. 84  
MoutonO II p. 131

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau. The main scribe entered the song twice in the collection: here and in Rfasc. HJK. The scribe used different originals for the two entries; no. 80 best matches the version in *Roma* CG XIII.27, publ. in AtlasC II, while no. 266 is most like the ver-

sion in *Dijon* 517 and *Firenze* 2794, publ. in *Compère* O V; cf. also *Atlas* C I pp. 231-32 and *Cop* 1848 no. 266.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

Mouton's *Missa Dictes moy toutes* 4v, publ. in Mouton O II p. 1, uses *Compère*'s chanson as model, as does a *Missa Dictes moy* 4v, attributed to Divitis in *Roma* CG XII.2 and to Févin in *Roma* CS 16.

**No. 81** *La doy je aymer a vostre advis* 3v

p. 138

[Anonymous]

S

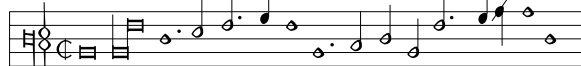


T



La doy je aymer a vostre advis (t)

C



Rfasc. 6 no. 5

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 229 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54 "Ja doy le diner" (incipit)

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 119<sup>v</sup>-20 "Readoy lo diner" (incipit)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; *Cop* 1848 gives only the refrain (in the tenor!); the other sources only have obviously corrupt incipits. The text has not been found elsewhere.

MODERN EDITIONS:

*Atlas* C II p. 80.

*Brown* L no. 54

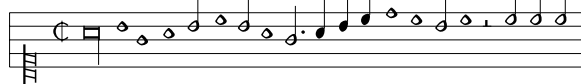
COMMENTS:

Rondeau setting.

**No. 82** *Checun par grant intencion / Agimus tibi gratias* 3v

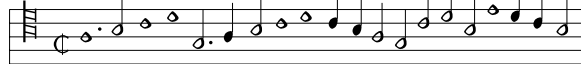
p. 139

S



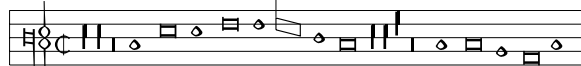
Checun par grant intencion (t)

T



Checun par grant intencion (i)

B



Agimus tibi gratias Christe (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 6

TEXT:

Grace; superius (and tenor) sing the French-Latin stanza:

"Checun par grant intencion  
doibt chanter après son repas:  
Agimus tibi gratias,  
Christe redemptor omnium."

The bassus only has the Latin lines.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 20

COMMENTS:

This unique little grace takes the form of a motet-chanson where the lively imitative upper voices start with the French injunction, while the bassus sings the Latin thanksgiving to a calm Phrygian tune in triple time, which may be taken from a now-lost grace.

The piece is not mentioned in Carleton Sprague Smith's list of polyphonic table blessings (SmithT).

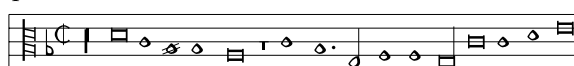
**No. 83** *Cela sans plus et puis hola* 3v

p. 140

S



T



Cela sans plus et puis hola (i)

bassus



NB B: Between the 12th and 13th note a  $\diamond$  is missing.

Rfasc. 6 no. 7

TEXT:

Chanson à refrain – like most other sources with settings of this song, *Cop* 1848 only has an incipit. In *Firenze* 176 ff. 0<sup>v</sup>-1 Colinet de Lannoy's composition is accompanied by a complete stanza (cf. Item a below); in *Cop* 1848 no. 83 the tune is repeated, so it would appear that this song once had more stanzas.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 39

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, an imitative popular arrangement with the tune in the tenor; the tune is sung through twice in the form *Refrain – stanza 1 – refrain – stanza 2 – refrain*; the second stanza is set entirely in coloration.

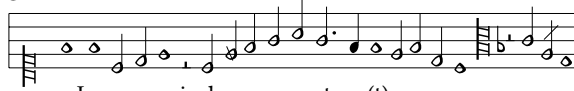
D. Plamenac (PlamenacS p. 6) states that Cop 1848 no. 83 is identical to *Sevilla 5-I-43* ff. 54<sup>v</sup>-55—in other sources attributed to Colinet de Lannoy (cf. Item a below). The two pieces begin very like each other, but they are different settings of the same tune.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: (cf. BrownF no. 42, pp. 195-96, HewittB pp. 42-43 and WarburtonS):

- a) Colinet de Lannoy 3v (in *Petrucchi 1502/2* ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20 and *Roma Cas 2856* ff. 153<sup>v</sup>-54 for four voices incl. a *Bassus si placet* by J. Martini; cf. BrownF no. 42b-c), *c.p.f.* in free canon in the superius and tenor; publ. in BrownL as no. 98, HewittB as no. 16 and ObrechtWW p. 23.
- b) Obrecht 4v, e.g. in *Petrucchi 1502/2* ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17: Obrecht In missa (cf. BrownF no. 42e and HewittB pp. 39-40) turns out to be *Osanna I* from a complete *Missa Cellafans* on the tune in *Wroclaw 428* ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-41 (cf. StaehelinG nos. 19-23). The piece has the *c.p.f.* as a canon in the altus and tenor; publ. in HewittB as no. 13 and in ObrechtWW p. 12.
- c) Anonymous 4v in *Regensburg 120* pp. 316-17. Tablature in *St. Gallen 530* f. 65: Johannes (cf. BrownF no. 46f); *c.p.f.* in free canon in the superius and tenor; publ. in WarburtonS p. 84.
- d) Leo papa X 5v (cf. BrownF no. 46d), *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in HaberIK.
- e) Rigamundus 5v in *Bologna Q19* ff. 196<sup>v</sup>-97 and f. 203<sup>v</sup> (cf. BrownF no. 46g; the two-part composition mentioned in Item 46h, *O dulcis amica dei* (B) / *Cela sans plus* (T) in *Bologna Q19* f. 203<sup>v</sup> does not exist; the tenor belongs to Rigamundus' piece and the bassus to a five-part motet by P. Moulu on ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-11; cf. Cop 1848 no. 242); *c.p.f.* in the tenor.
- f) J. Japart: *Cela sans plus ne suffi pas* 4v (cf. HewittA p. 87 and p. 142) has a variant of the tune as free canon in the tenor and superius; publ. in BrownL no. 108 and HewittA no. 24.
- g) Josquin: *Cela sans plus* 3v (cf. BrownF no. 42l and HewittA pp. 76-77 and p. 157) may use the inversion of the tune as the basis of a free instrumental piece; publ. in JosquinWW as no. 44, GiesbertS p. 100 and as HewittA no. 61.
- h) Lebrun: *D'ung aultre aymier* / *Cela sans plus* 5v in *Wien 18746* no. 18 (cf. BrownF no. 42j), uses the superius of Ockeghem's chanson (see Cop 1848 no. 88) as superius, while the lower voices are based on the refrain "*Cela sans plus*".
- i) J. Martini: *Missa Sela sans plus* 4v in *Roma CS 51* ff. 155<sup>v</sup>-165.

**No. 84 *Le souvenir de vous my tue* 3v [Robert Morton]**  
p. 141

S



T



C



Rfasc. 6 no. 8

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna Q16* ff. 138<sup>v</sup>-139

*Dijon 517* ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-88

*Firenze 176* ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-53: Mortom

*Firenze 2356* ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48

*København 291* f. 25 (T and C only)

*Paris 2973* ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31

*Paris 15123* ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21

*Perugia 431* ff. 78<sup>v</sup>-79 (3v; the altus-part is a later addition)

*Uppsala 76a* ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21

*Washington L25* ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-56

*Wolfenbüttel 287* ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48

## Intabulations:

*München 3725* no. 250 "Josephanie Salve radix" (keyboard)

*München 3725* no. 256 (keyboard)

There are great divergences among the sources with respect to mensuration; like Cop 1848, *København 291* and *Perugia 431* have no indications; *Dijon 517*, *Firenze 2356*, *Paris 15123* and *Uppsala 76a* specify *tempus imperfectum*, while the remaining sources have *tempus perfectum*; cf. also the discussion of variants in MortonW pp. 70-76.

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives the refrain. Besides *Dijon 517*, *Paris 2973*, *Uppsala 76a*, *Washington L25* and *Wolfenbüttel 287*, the complete text is in *Berlin 78.B.17* f. 185, *La Chasse 1509* f. x<sub>iii</sub> and in *Balade 1525* f. 55, publ. in LöpeltmannR as no. 579. Another version of the poem is in *Le Jardin 1501* f. 68, publ. in DrozJ as no. 68.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

JeppesenK no. 20

KottickC no. 24

MortonW no. 4

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

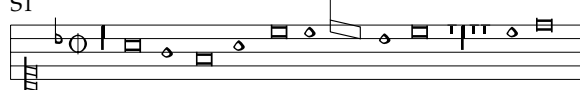


RELATED COMPOSITIONS (cf. BrownF no. 265, p. 255):

- Tinctoris 2v in *Segovia* f. 203<sup>v</sup> (S only) uses Morton's tenor as tenor; publ. in TinctorisO p. 137.
- Tinctoris 4v in *Segovia* f. 116<sup>v</sup> uses Morton's superius in pseudocanon in the altus and superius; publ. in TinctorisO p. 153.
- Arnulfus Giliardi: *Le souvenir* 3v in *Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-66 quotes the beginning of Morton's chanson, but then continues freely; publ. in AtlasC II p. 45.
- Le souvenir* for lute in *Spinacino 1507/6* no. 9 is not, as Brown writes (BrownF no. 265c), an intabulation of this chanson. A slight resemblance at the beginning of the piece might suggest that it is based on a now-lost reworking of Morton's chanson.

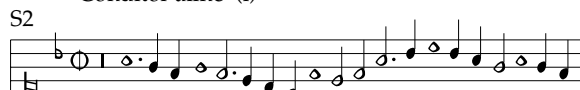
**No. 85 Conditor alme siderum 3v**  
p. 142

S1



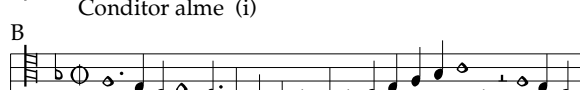
Conditor alme (i)

S2



Conditor alme (i)

B



Conditor alme (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 9.

TEXT:

Hymn (*noël*), Ordinarium de Tempore Adventus, ad Vesperas, AM p. 182, AR p. 210, AH LI pp. 46-47. Also found as a *noël* in several French collections of the 16th century—in both Latin and French; cf. BabelonB pp. 145ff and BabelonF—e.g. in *La fleur des Noëls* (Moderne 1535 no. 1—text and tune the same as AM p. 182), publ. in BabelonF p. 377.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 90

COMMENTS:

Hymn setting (*noël*); imitative texture with the tune (cf. also StäbleinH pp. 30, 215, 255 and 387 and ZahnM no. 339) in superius 1.

For other settings of “Conditor alme siderum”, see WardH nos. 182-198 and nos. 735-38.

**No. 86 Vostre amour est seure que rage 3v**  
p. 143

[Anonymous]

S



Vostre amour est seure que rage (it)

T



Vostre amour est seure (i)

C



Vostre amour est seure (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 10

CONCORDANCES:

Berlin 40098 f. MII<sup>v</sup> (without text)

Verona 757 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 (without text)

TEXT:

Rondeau [cinquain]; the text ends in the middle of line 4. Judging from the music, this stanza, only found in Cop 1848, should have 5 lines.

MODERN EDITION:

RingmannG I p. 59


COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau with constant imitation between tenor and superius, which almost becomes canon – 50 br-mm.

**No. 87 Deul en amours puyt assez nuyre 3v**  
p. 144

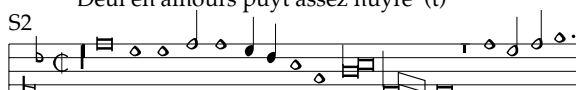
[Anonymous]

S1



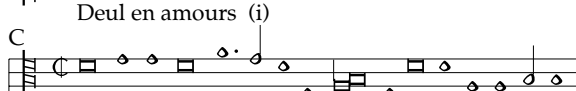
Deul en amours puyt assez nuyre (t)

S2



Deul en amours (i)

C



Deul en amours (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 11

CONCORDANCES:

Firenze 229 ff. 201<sup>v</sup>-202 “Seul en amours” (incipit)

Sevilla 5-I-43 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54 “Seul en amours” (incipit)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain.

## MODERN EDITION:

BrownL no. 186

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau—cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 4); high pitch; two imitative descant parts (*bb-f''*) take turns in functioning as superius and tenor – 56 br-mm.

**No. 88 *D'ung aultre aymer mon cuer se besseroit* 3v**  
p. 145 [J. Ockeghem / (Busnois)]

S  
Dung aultre aymer mon ♡ se besseroit (t)

T  
Dung aultre aymer mon cuer sabesseroit (i)

C  
Dung aultre aymer mon cuer sabesseroit (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 12

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41: Jo. ockeghem  
*Dijon* 517 ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43: Okeghem  
*Firenze* 178 ff. 62<sup>v</sup>-63  
*Firenze* 2356 ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-74  
*Firenze* 2794 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20: de okeghem  
*København* 291 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33  
*Paris* 57 ff. 66<sup>v</sup>-67: Ockeghem  
*Paris* 2245 ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-14: okeghem  
*Paris* 15123 ff. 189<sup>v</sup>-190: Busnoys  
*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17: Jo. okeghem  
*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 112<sup>v</sup>-113  
*Sevilla* 5-I-43 ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-52 (3v; plus an alternative  
bass part)

*Washington* L25 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19*Wolfenbüttel* 287 ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34

## Intabulation:

*Spinacino* 1507/6 no. 15 (lute)

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; complete in Cop 1848; the music manuscripts *Dijon* 517, *Firenze* 2794, *København* 291, *Paris* 57, *Paris* 2245, *Washington* L25 and *Wolfenbüttel* 287 also have the full text. The poem is also in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 118, *London* 380 f. 242, *Paris* 2819 f. 29<sup>v</sup>, *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 84 and *La Chasse* 1509 f. x<sup>iii</sup>; publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 293 and DrozJ as no. 243.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

DrozT p. 72

JeppesenK no. 28

JosquinW Missen II p. 140

SmijersO I no. 3

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; cf. AtlasC I pp. 216-17 for the variants in the different sources.

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

BrownF no. 85, pp. 209-10 lists 16 different compositions based on this song, by among others de Orto, Agricola, Lebrun (cf. Cop 1848 no. 84) and Tinctoris—this does not include Josquin's *Missa D'ung aultre amer* 4v, publ. in JosquinW Missen II p. 121.

**No. 89 *Tant est mignone ma pensée* 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 146

S  
Tant est mignone ma pensee (t)

T  
Tant est mignone ma pensee (i)

C  
Tant est mignone ma pensee (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 13

## CONCORDANCES:

*Dijon* 517 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20  
*København* 291 f. 24<sup>v</sup> (S only)  
*Paris* 57 ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-74  
*Washington* L25 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37  
*Wolfenbüttel* 287 ff. 50<sup>v</sup>-51

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain. The whole poem is in all the above-mentioned music manuscripts, in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 146 and in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 83<sup>v</sup>, publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 412 and DrozJ as no. 233.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

DrozT p. 30

JeppesenK no. 19

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 90** *Si vous voulés que je vous face 3v* [Anonymous]  
p. 147

S



Si vous voules que je vous faces (t)

T



Si vous voules que je vous face quoy (i)

C



Si vous voules que je vous face quoy (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 14

## CONCORDANCE:

*Firenze* 229 ff. 256<sup>v</sup>-57 (without text)

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the complete text is in *Paris* 1719 f. 117-117<sup>v</sup> and *Paris* 1722 f. 44<sup>v</sup>, publ. in SchwobP as no. 53.

## MODERN EDITION:

BrownL no. 237

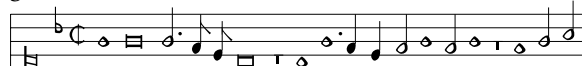
## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; erotic song; cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 14).

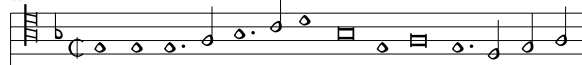
**No. 91** *Pastorelle en ung vergier 3v*

p. 148

S

Pastorelle en ung vergier je ouys (t)  
disant alas que dangier amors

T



Pastorelle en ung vergier (i)

C



Pastorelle en ung vergier (i)

NB C: The last note should be f.

Rfasc. 6 no. 15

## TEXT:

Ballade; Cop 1848 gives only the first stanza. The complete poem appears with Pierre Fontaine's song *Pastorelle en un vergier 3v* in *Oxford* 213 f. 121<sup>v</sup>, publ. in MarixM p. 12.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 14

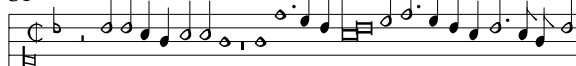
## COMMENTS:

Setting of a ballade; like P. Fontaine's song, it is succinct and light in tone, much like a setting of a popular tune with the *c.p.f.* in the tenor.

**No. 92** *Je me repens de vous avoir aymée 3v*

p. 149

S1



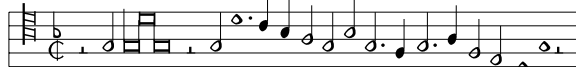
Je me repens de vous avoyr aymee (t)

S2



Je me repens de vous avoir aymee (i)

B



Je me repens de vous avoir aymee (i)

NB B: The 10th note should be a ♢.

Rfasc. 6 no. 16

## TEXT:

An irregular quatrain; the first two lines are found both in a rondeau and in a strophic song which appears in different versions:

a) Rondeau quatrain "Je m'en repens the vous avoir amée" in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 138 and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 82<sup>v</sup>, publ. in LöpelmannR no. 377 and DrozJ no. 233.

b) Strophic song "Helas, je me repens de vous avoir amée" in *Paris* 12744 f. 17<sup>v</sup> (7 stanzas), the first stanza of which is identical to the refrain of the rondeau, publ. in ParisC as no. 23. Also found in a version which differs after the first stanza from *Paris* 12744, i.e. *S'ensuyvent 16 chansons* 1526 no. 4 (6 stanzas), *S'ensuyvent 17 chansons* 1526 no. 6 (4 stanzas) and *La Fleur* 1527 no. 29 (6 stanzas); cf. comments and publ. in JefferyV I pp. 236-238. For the *Reponce de la dame* "Ne te repens de m'avoir trop aymée", which can be sung to the same tune, see JefferyV I p. 241.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 11

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau for two equal voices and bass. The monophonic tune in *Paris* 12744 was probably derived from and arranged after this three-part rondeau—for further information, see Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 16).

The song is cited as *timbre* for Jean Daniel's *noël* "Sur Je m'y repens de vous avoir aymée: Gentils pasteurs, qui veillez en la prée", *Daniel* 1525 no. 4, publ. in ChardonD as no. 18; this must be the strophic version. Cf. also BrownF no. 307, p. 262.

**No. 93 *Christe qui lux es ac dies* 3v**

pp. 150-151

S  
Christe qui lux es ac dies (i)

T  
Christe qui lux es ad dies (i)

B  
Christe qui lux es ac dies (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 17.

## TEXT:

Hymn; Quadragesima, ad Completorium, VP p. 29, AH LI p. 21, RH 2932-34, MoneH I p. 92; and in books of hours of the 15th century, see LeroquaisH II pp. 116, 140 and 271.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 91

## COMMENTS:

Hymn setting; as *c.p.f.* a variant of the well-known hymn tune is used (StäbleinH no. 9; cf. also WardH no. 146-49; differs from Stäblein's versions by beginning with the semitone step *a-bb* instead of *g-g*). The tune is set line by line in imitative texture and is heard in succession in all three voices.

The same version of the tune is set in *Cambrai* 17 ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-6 (anonymous 4v) and in *Cambrai* 29 f. 121 (anonymous 4v ex 2v; cf. WardH no. 150).

**No. 94 *Duo* 2v**

p. 150

S Duo

T Duo

Rfasc. 6 no. 18. Added in the empty space below the superius of no. 93 at the same time as no. 96.

## COMMENTS:

Imitative texture, concluding with a long ascending sequence – 39 br-mm. Despite the similarity of the initial motif, it probably has no connection with no. 93; perhaps the similarity is the reason why the scribe placed the piece here.

**No. 95 *Resjois toy, pays de Normandie* 3v**

pp. 152-53

S  
Resiois toy pays de normandie (t)

T  
Reioys toy (i)

C  
Reioys toy (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 19

## TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza, publ. in BridgmanC p. 45.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 65

## COMMENTS:

The superius and tenor may be based on a *c.p.f.*—the song appears to be a piece of political propaganda. Its single preserved stanza urges Normandy to rejoice, as the governor of the province has arrived safely and asks the support of the people. The text must have been written after the 9th November 1469, when Normandy ceased to exist as a Duchy and was annexed to the Crown and ruled by a royal governor.

**No. 96 *Helas! je suis deconfortée* 4v**

p. 152

S  
Helas je suis deconfortee car il ma dist que point ne mayme

T  
Helas je suis deconfortee (i)

C1  
Helas je suis deconfortee (i)

C2  
Helas je suis deconfortee (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 20. Entered in the empty space below the superius of no. 95 at the same time as no. 94.

## TEXT:

Only two lines: "Helas! je suis deconfortée / car il m'a dist que point ne m'ayme".

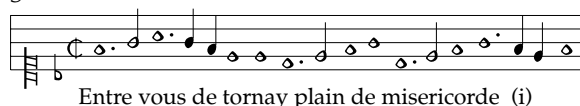
## COMMENTS:

Very short chanson—only 8 br-mm.—the incipits above in fact make up the whole composition. It is possibly a fragment, a refrain or the like from a longer composition. Its unusual texture, with the structural voices (superius and tenor) far apart, and the space filled in by two contratenors, might suggest that it is one of the scribe's own efforts.

No. 97 *Entre vous de Tornay 3v*

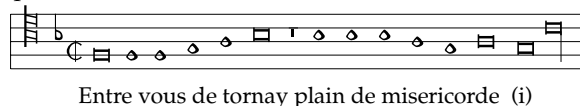
p. 154

S



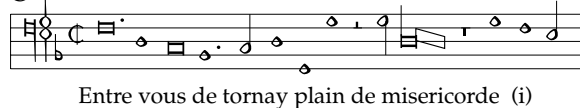
Entre vous de tornay plain de misericorde (i)

T



Entre vous de tornay plain de misericorde (i)

C



Entre vous de tornay plain de misericorde (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 21. In the middle of the contratenor the scribe has omitted 11 br-mm., which he later entered on the lowest staff, below the ending of the bassus of no. 98.

## TEXT:

(2 quatrains or huitain) Cop 1848 gives only the first two lines: "Entre vous de Tornay / plain de misericorde ...". The tune in the tenor (ABCDAB'CD'D') can be underlaid with eight lines of the same structure as the two preserved.

The text may refer to an event in the turbulent history of Tournai, but is too short to provide sure clues; compare "Et Tournay, il te convient rendre" in *S'ensuyvent 12 chansons 1515* no. 6, publ. in JefferyV I pp. 175-77, which is about the English occupation of the city in 1513-19.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 29

## COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune. The regular melody in *br* and *sbr* values in the tenor is distinct from the lively lower voices.

No. 98 *Marion la douce 3v* [Anonymous / J. Obrecht]

pp. 154-55

S



Marion la douce (i)

T



Marion la douce (i)

B



Marion la douce (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 22. Entered on p. 155 with the parts below one another; there was not enough room for the whole bassus, which is finished on the second-lowest staff on p. 154.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Hradec II.A.20* pp. 98-99: I. Obrecht (B only; without text)

*Formschneider 1538/9* no. 68 (without text)

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 49

## COMMENTS:

There are innumerable songs from the 15th and 16th centuries about 'Marion'. However, the motif at the beginning of this piece (bars 1-15) points clearly to a particular popular tune, the one on which a number of settings in contemporary sources are based:

- Anonymous: *Si j'eusse Marion du tout a mon plaisir 3v* in *London 5242* ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13 with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor.
- Josquin: *Si j'avois Marion, hélas, du tout a mon plaisir 3v*, *Antico 1536/1* no. 13, with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in JosquinWW as no. 63 and BlockT p. 44.
- Anonymous: *Monseigneur le grant maistre, hélas 3v* in *Firenze 117* ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12 with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in BlockT p. 49.
- M. Gascongne: *Si j'eusse Marion, hélas, du tout a mon plaisir 4v* in *Cambridge 1760* ff. 84<sup>v</sup>-86 (in the index called "Si j'avois Marion"), a four-part popular arrangement with the *c.p.f.* mainly in the tenor.
- V. Misonne: *Missa Que n'ay je Marion 4v* in *Casale Monferrato P(E)* ff. 97<sup>v</sup>-109 and *Roma CS 26* ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-101; a complete mass based on an unknown arrangement of the tune, which must have been very like the settings mentioned above.

As will be evident from the titles, there are some divergences in the text (cf. also BenthemJ p. 430), but on the content there is no disagreement. In all versions it corresponds to the song "S'à mon gré je tenoye, hélas, la belle Marion", *S'ensuyvent 11 chansons 1515* no. 9, publ. in JefferyV I pp. 163-65, whose six

Marion la douce in Cop 1848 is hard to place. Apart from the introductory phrase it has no resemblance to the popular tune. The shape of the upper voice might suggest that it should be underlaid with a text—possibly a *reponse* to a setting of “Si j’eusse (j’avois) Marion”, quoting the tune. But the composition’s ‘unplanned’ development is unlike the normally very regular structure of the popular arrangements. The sequences of the ending, in particular, are more like the instrumental *tricinia*; the piece may possibly be a passage from an unidentified mass (by Obrecht?) based on the popular tune.

p. 156

NB T: The 9th note is superfluous.

*Newsidler 1544/23 no. 19 (lute)*

Quatrain – one stanza; the complete text is in *S'ensuyvent 17 chansons 1526* as no. 15 and *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535* as no. 61, and in later editions (4 stanzas), publ.

h) (Anonymous 1v (?; T only) in *Haag* 74/h/7 f. 27<sup>v</sup>).

## p. 157

Rfasc. 6 no. 24



## TEXT:

Only an incipit; the composition could be underlaid with a stanza of 6 octosyllabic lines.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 43

## COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune; simple, mainly homorhythmic texture with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor.

**No. 101 *Plus n'en auray* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]**

p. 158

S



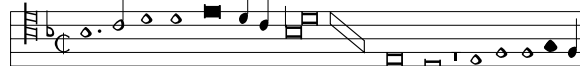
Plus nen auray (i)

T



Plus nen auray (i)

C



Plus nen auray (i)

NB C: the second ligature should be *c.o.p.* (*c'-a*).

Rfasc. 6 no. 25

## CONCORDANCE:

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 121<sup>v</sup>-22: Haine

## TEXT:

(Rondeau quatrain); *Roma Cas* 2856, like Cop 1848, only has the incipit "Plus n'en array".

## MODERN EDITIONS:

GhizeghemO no. 15

MarixM p. 124

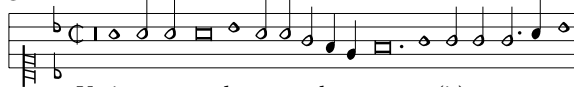
## COMMENTS:

This textless composition is probably a rondeau; in both sources the mid-cadence is marked by a corona (bar 34—at this point Cop 1848 has an extra *br* measure). The key of one flat in all three staves of the contratenor in Cop 1848 must be an error; in *Roma Cas* 2856 there is no *b* either.

**No. 102 *Vrais amoureux auront bon temps* 3v (4v?)**

p. 159

S



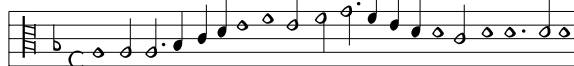
Vrais amoureux auront bon temps (it)

T



Vrais amoureux auront bon temps (i)

C



Vrais amoureux auront bon temps (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 26

## TEXT:

Incomplete text consisting of three lines and a refrain-like line, extending about halfway into the song:

"Vrays amoureux auront bon temps  
se n'estoient les envieulx  
et sur tous loya[ul]x amoureux  
.....  
et tirely cotelle, et tirely coton."

## COMMENTS:

An amateurish composition which is hard to place – 34 br-mm. There can be no doubt that the scribe perceived the song as three-part and notated it on p. 159 in the usual disposition: superius – tenor – contratenor. However, the contratenor is an altus part, pitched higher than the tenor, without rests and very awkwardly formed. This might suggest that the song should be seen as a four-part popular arrangement with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor and superius, lacking a bassus (fourth-sixth harmony in bar 16). The shape of the superius and tenor would fit this type of chanson excellently; the final passage in triple time also suggests this. But it is hard to imagine a bass part compatible with the other three. The song works best in two parts (superius and tenor alone). It is possibly a two-part composition or two parts from a four-part composition which an inexperienced composer has tried to adapt.

**No. 103 *Mentem sanctam spontaneam* 4v**

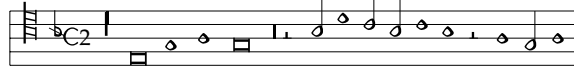
pp. 160-61

S



Mentem sanctam spontaneam (t)

T



Mentem sanctam spontaneam (t)

A

Mentem sanctam spontaneam (t)

B

Mentem sanctam spontaneam (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 27. The main scribe only laid text under the superius. The text in the other parts was entered by Hand E, who also crossed out the key signatures in the superius, altus and tenor.

TEXT:

Composed of two antiphons: "Mentem sanctam spontaneam" from the Officium St. Agathe (AW p. 275, AL p. 361) and "Ipso soli servo fidem" from the Officium St. Agnethe (AW p. 254, AL p. 335).

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 80

COMMENTS:

Motet; compact imitative texture with clusters of synopated dissonances; apparently not based on any plainchant melody.

**No. 104 *Virgo decus celi* 4v**

pp. 162-165

S

Virgo decus celi (t)

T

Virgo decus celi (it)

A

Virgo decus celi (it)

B

Virgo decus celi (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 28. Entered over two openings with only a single part on each page: altus and tenor on pp. 162-63; superius and bassus on pp. 164-65. The main scribe forgot to enter the ending of the altus (bars 87-105), which is a repetition of bars 77-86. Hand E later tried to reconstruct the missing passage at the bottom of p. 162. Not satisfied with the result, he tried again below the superius on p. 164, and below the altus has written "Require in alio folio". Hand E

also wrote the beginning of the text under the altus and tenor parts.

TEXT:

Probably a compilation of Marian texts; the beginning is like the hymns RH 21759 and 21584: "Virgo decus celi, virgo sanctissima, virgo quem super angelicos es veneranda chorus, tu vinea formosa rosas, tu candida vincis lilia, tu vultu vincis et astratus. "

COMMENTS:

Marian motet, competent composition in imitative texture – 105 br-mm.; apparently not based on any plainchant melody; mosaic-like structure with constant repetition of the lines of the text; "tu candida vincis lilia" (bars 59-73) is in triple time; bars 90-102 are a repetition of bars 77-89, something Hand E did not quite realize, so his reconstruction of the altus was not particularly successful.

Probably by the same composer as no. 103.

**No. 105 *Precibus sancte Dei genitricis* 2v**

p. 166

S1 Duo

Precibus precibus sancte dei genitricis (t)

S2 Duo

Precibus precibus sancte dei genitricis (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 29. On the opening pp. 166-67 the litany "Redemptor Deus miserere" has been entered—on p. 167 the monophonic litany in plainsong notation and on the opposite page a two-part setting of one of the sections.

TEXT:

Litany (pro defunctis); cf. no. 106.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 78

COMMENTS:

A setting of the fourth section of the litany for two high voices ("Duo clericuli"); the plainchant (no. 106) is paraphrased in both parts—it is heard most clearly in superius 1; imitative texture.

**No. 106 *Redemptor Deus miserere* 1v**

p. 167

Quattuor presbyteri dicent simul usque ad exaudi nos

Redemptor deus miserere Salvator (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 30. Cf. no. 105.

## TEXT:

Litany (pro defunctis).

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 78

## COMMENTS:

Litany; carefully entered in plainsong notation with detailed performance instructions. The music of the first five sections is notated; the text and instructions continue below with another eight sections. The very simple melodic formulae are presented in the first section "Redemptor ... veniam concede", which is to be sung by four priests (cf. the incipit above). All the other sections are extracts from this or variants. "Duo presbyteri", "Duo clericuli" and "Duo cantores" alternate with "Chorus"; the setting for two boys' voices ("Duo clericuli" – no. 105) can be inserted at three places in the course of the whole; for further discussion, see Ch. 10.4.

**No. 107 Two overscored parts**

p. 168

On an opening which was empty in Rfasc. 6, the main scribe first entered a part concluding with a double line, then went on to the staff below with another part, until he reached a cadence with a fermata. Here he realized that the parts did not belong together and overscored what he had written. It emerges that the parts belong to two different three-part chansons by Antoine de Févin, a superius and a tenor part respectively.

It is easy to imagine how the mistake happened. He had a source with the two chansons, where they had the parts below one another on the right-hand and left-hand pages of the opening respectively, as is the case in many places in Cop 1848. The chanson on the left would have been Févin's *Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat*, which was written for two voices at tenor pitch (C-clef on the third line) and a bass. After entering the superius of this, his eye strayed to the tenor part on the opposite page, i.e. *Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet*, which corresponds exactly in clef, key signature and mensuration to the proper part.

We must therefore split this item into two numbers:

**No. 107a *Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat* 1v (3v)**

p. 168

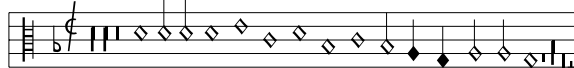
[A. de Févin]

S



Cambridge 1760:

T



Je le lare puys qui my bat (t)

B



Je le lare puys qui my bat (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 31. Only the superius, overscored

## CONCORDANCES:

Cambridge 1760 ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-53: Anth. de fevin

Firenze 117 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7

London 5242 ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-7: Anth de fevin

Uppsala 76a ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44: A. de Fevin

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain; complete in *Paris* 9346 ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-68 (2 stanzas) publ. in GéroldB no. 66.

## MODERN EDITION:

BrownC no. 35

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, imitative popular arrangement with the tune from *Paris* 9346 in the tenor.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: (cf. BrownF no. 206, p. 257 and BernsteinC p. 16):

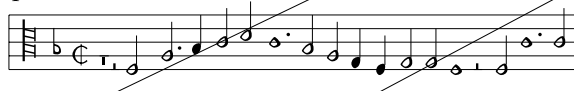
- J. Mouton 4v (cf. BrownF no. 206d), *c.p.f.* as canon in the upper voices; publ. in BrownC as no. 36.
- Anonymous 2v in *Giunta* 1530/1 f. 16-16<sup>v</sup> and *Dorico* 1531/4 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32 (cf. BrownF no. 206e).
- Arrangement for lute in *Crema* 1546/25 no. 22 (cf. BrownF no. 206f).
- Quoted in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée* 4v, *Moderne* 1538/17 no. 1; cf. LesureE.

**No. 107b *Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet* 1v (3v)**

p. 168

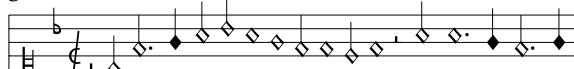
[A. de Févin]

T



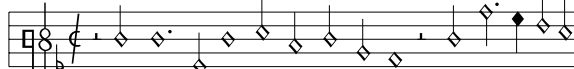
Cambridge 1760:

S



Il faict bon ayme loyselet (t)

B



Il faict bon ayme loyselet (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 32. Only the first 21 br-mm. of the tenor, overscored.

## CONCORDANCES:

Cambridge 1760 ff. 60<sup>v</sup>-62: Anth. de fevin  
London 5242 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-40

## TEXT:

Virelai; the poem is in *Paris* 9346 ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13 and *Paris* 12744 f. 73<sup>v</sup> as "On doibt bien aymer l'oyselet" (2 stanzas) publ. in GéroldB as no. 12 and ParisC as no. 109, and with the beginning "Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet" in *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515 as no. 30, *Les chansons* 1515 as no. 31, *S'ensuivent ... 53 chansons* 1515 as no. 13 and *Les chansons* 1538 as no. 257 (3 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV I p. 82.

## MODERN EDITION:

BrownC no. 27

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, popular arrangement with the tune from *Paris* 9346 in the tenor; mainly homorhythmic texture. *Cambridge* 1760 and *London* 5242 transmit the same version of the chanson. The tenor part in Cop 1848 however shows that the chanson must have circulated in a slightly different version, since the part differs in several details from the other two—also in details which entail minor changes in the superius and bassus.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: (Cf. BrownF no. 173, p. 228):

- a) Anonymous 4v in *St. Gallen* 462 pp. 100-01 (cf. BrownF no. 173h) publ. in GeeringH as no. 55.
- b) Hillaire Penet 3v, *Le Roy* 1553/22, no. 17 and *Le Roy* 1578/14 f. 19 (cf. BrownF no. 173l), publ. in AdamsF II p. 57.

**No. 108** *Je voys, je vien, mon cuer s'envolle* 3v  
p. 169 [Anonymous]

S  
Je voys je vien mon joly ♡ senvolle (it)

T

B

Rfasc. 6 no. 33. Entered by the main scribe together with no. 107.

## CONCORDANCES:

London 35087 ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44  
*St. Gallen* 463 no. 44 (S only)

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 5 (S and B only)

## TEXT:

Quatrain; the text is in *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515, no. 24 and *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535, no. 179, and later editions (4 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV I p. 74 and HauptV p. 75.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

BrownC no. 43  
AdamsC pp. 230-31  
AdamsT p. 548

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; mainly homorhythmic texture with *c.p.f.* in the superius; form ABC|A| (the ending appears as Ex. 9 in Ch. 8.1).

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: (cf. BrownF no. 228, p. 243):

- a) M. Gascongne 3v in *Cambridge* 1760 ff. 72<sup>v</sup>-73 (cf. BrownF no. 228f) with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; publ. in BrownC no. 44.
- b) Anonymous 4v in *Uppsala* 76b ff. 135<sup>v</sup>-36; a through-composed setting of two stanzas—the text of the second stanza is not known from other sources—*c.p.f.* in the superius.

**No. 109** *Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenuz* 4v  
pp. 170-175 Johannes de Sancto Martino  
(Jean Le Saintier?)

S Johannes de sancto martino

Bon temps las ques tu devenu (t)

T

Bon temps las ques tu devenuz (t)

A

Bon temps las ques tu devenu (t)

B

Bon temps las ques tu devenuz (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 34. The main scribe only laid text under the superius and bassus; in the altus and tenor it was entered by Hand E.

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain – 4 stanzas; publ. in HewittC p. 390. In subject, it corresponds to no. 217 *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais*; both lament the departure of the "Bon Temps" and wish they [the good times] would return to "le reaulme [royaume] de France".

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 53

COMMENTS:

Apart from the subject, this chanson has no resemblance to no. 143, no. 208 and no. 217, all of which begin with "Bon Temps ..." or "Bon vin ...". It is a through-composed setting in three sections of the four stanzas of the text; alternating homorhythmic and imitative texture. The two lines of the refrain have the same form each time and are fully written out; the three sections are *Refrain – stanza 1 – Refrain; stanza 2 – Refrain; stanzas 3-4 – Refrain*; cf. also the discussion in HewittC p. 390.

The identity of the composer is hard to establish, but he is unlikely to have been Ockeghem. One possible candidate is the Frenchman Jean Le Saintier, whose name, like Ockeghem's, was associated with St. Martin in Tours; until about 1513 he held the post of "almoner and guardian of the seal" there (LesureF p. 543). The only other known composition by Le Saintier is *Alma redemptoris mater* 5v in *Firenze* 666 ff. 100<sup>v</sup>-103, publ. in LowinskyC II p. 261, which does not seem stylistically incompatible with this chanson.

**No. 110 *O salutaris hostia* 3v**  
p. 176

S



O salutaris hostia (i)

T



B



Rfasc. 6 no. 35.

TEXT:

Hymn, in Honorem SS. Sacramenti, AR pp. 93\*-95\*; identical to the fifth stanza of the hymn "Verbum supernum prodiens" (AR p. 531, GR p. 154\*, AH L pp. 588-89). The stanza also appears as an Elevation hymn ("Quand on liève le corps Nostre Seigneur à la Messe"); cf. LeroquaisH I pp. 64 and 194, II p. 33.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 92

COMMENTS:

Hymn setting; low-pitched, imitative texture; the melody (AR p. 94\*, 7th tone) is paraphrased in the tenor.

**No. 111 *Languir me fais sans t'avoyr offensée* 3v**  
p. 177 [Claudin de Sermisy]

S



Languir me fais sans t'avoyr offense

T



B



Rfasc. 6 no. 36. The first in a series of six three-part chansons whose titles the main scribe listed on the back cover of the fascicle; cf. p. 107; the others are nos. 112-114 and nos. 116-117.

CONCORDANCES:

Four-part version:

Basel IX.59-62 no. 32

Basel X.17-20 no. 9

Basel X.22-24 no. 12 (T missing)

Cambrai 125-128 f. 134 (notated a fourth lower)

Firenze 111 no. 3 (B missing)

Firenze 112 no. 13 (B missing)

München 1501 no. 2

München 1516 no. 15: Mouton

Paris 411 f. 2 (S only)

Regensburg 940/41 no. 102: Claudin

Sitten 87-4 ff. 10-10v (B only)

Attaignant 1528/3 no. 21

Attaignant 1528/8 no. 29

Attaignant 1531/2 no. 6: Claudin

Dorico 1534/15 f. 17<sup>v</sup>

Attaignant 1535/7 no. 3: Claudin

Phalèse 1560/6 f. 51: Claudin

Intabulations:

Zürich XI.301 no. 45 (keyboard 4v "Las qui moy fay";

T has the text "Der Engel sprach zu Maria")

Attaignant 1529 no. 19 (lute)

Attaignant 1529 no. 20 (voice and lute)

Attaignant 1531/7 no. 12 (keyboard)

Newsidler 1544/24 no. 35 (lute)

Phalèse 1545/21 no. 26 (lute)

Phalèse 1545/21 no. 29 (lute)

Gerle 1546/31 no. 61 (lute)

Gerle 1546/31 no. 62 (lute)

Phalèse 1549/38 no. 12 (lute)

Phalèse 1552/29 no. 34 (lute)

Phalèse 1552/29 no. 89 (lute duet)

Heckel 1562/24 no. 22 (lute duet)

Phalèse 1563 no. 30 (lute)

For other intabulations, see BrownF no. 243i, p. 249 and DorfmuellerL p. 156.

#### TEXT:

Quatrain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot 1532* f. 82<sup>v</sup> and *Les chansons 1538* no. 13 (2 stanzas), publ. in *MarotCE III* p. 186. In *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535* no. 54 and later editions the second stanza is different; publ. in *JefferyV II* p. 203.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 58 (3v)  
 Sermyso III p. 142  
 ClemensO V p. 103  
 HeartzP no. 14  
 LaurencieC no. 6  
 SeayC p. 103

#### COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC|A|. Cop 1848 is the earliest source for the well-known song, and this three-part version represents Claudin's original version; this is indicated both by the leaping shape of the contraaltus which is found in the other sources, and which is clearly a later addition, as well as by its very appearance in this series of three-part chansons in Cop 1848; for further discussion see Ch. 9.2 (for another view of the relationship between the three and four-part versions of *Languir me fais*, see AdamsC pp. 243-44).

#### RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

J. Clemens non Papa used Claudin's chanson as a model for several compositions: *Languir me fais* 6v, publ. in *ClemensO X* p. 130; *Benedic anima mea* 3v (Ps. 103 in *Souterliedekens*), publ. in *ClemensO II* p. 80; and *Missa Languir my fault* 5v, publ. in *ClemensO V* p. 69.

The beginning of the chanson is quoted in J. Baston's *Languir me fais en douleur et tristesse* 5v in *Susato 1543/15* f. 14; in P. Certon's *Vivre ne puis content sans ma maistresse* 4v, *Attaingnant 1538/14* no. 4 (cf. CazeauxF p. 205); and in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée* 4v, *Moderne 1538/17* no. 1 (cf. LesureE).

#### No. 112 *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer* 3v p. 178 [Anonymous]

S



Ces facheux sout qui medisent daymer (t)

T



Ces facheux sout (i)

B



Ces facheux sout (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 37. Cf. no. 111

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 248.

#### CONCORDANCES:

*Basel X.17-20* no. 88 (possibly 4v; this page is missing in the altus part-book)

*Firenze 117 ff.* 20<sup>v</sup>-21 (without text)

*Attaingnant 1529/4* no. 8

*Rhau 1542/8* no. 82

*Montanus 1560/1* no. 43

#### Four-part version:

*Basel IX.59-62* no. 33

*Cambrai 125-128 f.* 139 (notated a fourth lower)

*Gdańsk 4003 II* no. 53

*München 1516* no. 19 "Ces facende"

*München 1516* no. 35

*Regensburg 940/41* no. 103 "Ces veus chanter"

*Torun 102680/4.29-32* no. 33 "C'est mon"

*Torun 102680/4.29-32* no. 68

In the above-mentioned sources a number of different altus parts have been added.

#### Intabulations:

*Attaingnant 1529* no. 25 (lute)

*Attaingnant 1529* no. 26 (voice and lute)

*Attaingnant 1531/7* no. 25 (keyboard)

*Newsidler 1544/23* no. 41 (lute)

*Phalèse 1545/21* no. 20 (lute)

*Phalèse 1549/38* no. 17 (lute)

*Newsidler 1549/41* no. 63 (lute)

*Heckel 1562/24* no. 44 (lute)

#### TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; the same text "Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer / sans en avoir ..." is in *La Fleur 1527* as no. 1 (3 stanzas), publ. in *JefferyV II* p. 30. Another version of this text "Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer / et n'eurent de leur vie ..." is used in no. 248 and in *Attaingnant 1529/4*. This version, "... different and evidently corrupt" (B. Jeffery), also



appears in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535* as no. 95 and later editions (2 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV II pp. 30-31.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 59 (after no. 112)

SeayC p. 131

ThomasT no. 9

HeartzP no. 17

LaurenceC no. 9

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson/popular song possibly with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; homorhythmic-imitative texture; ABCA form (of the early sources only *Attaignant 1529/4* has the form ABCA:). No. 112 seems, both textually and musically, to preserve the original version of this composition. In the other early sources, Cop 1848 no. 248, *Firenze 117* and *Attaignant 1529/4* (all the others are considerably later), the texture is slightly modified, smoothed out, first and foremost obscuring the clear caesura between each phrase; at the same time the text is changed (cf. above; cf. also Ex. 1 in Ch. 3.1). The song was used as a *timbre* indication for religious chansons and *noëls*, e.g. "Ces facheux sutz, ne voulons Dieu aymer", *Noëlz nouveaulx 1524* no. 3, publ. in PichonN p. 164.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS (cf. BrownF no. 46, p. 197 and HeartzP p. LXIX):

- a) Antonio Gardane 2v (cf. BrownF no. 46h; add here *Gdańsk 4003* IV no. η and *München 260* no. 78, both anonymous); publ. in BellinghamB as no. 78 and BellinghamR p. 6.
- b) Anonymous 4v, *London 41-44* no. 13 (cf. BrownF no. 46i).
- c) J. Buus 6v in *Gardane 1543/B5194* f. 28 (cf. BrownF no. 46j and BrownB pp. 164f).
- d) G. Prevost: *Missa Ces fascheulx sutz* 4v in *Moderne 1532/8* f. 44.
- e) F. de Layolle: *Missa Ces fascheux sutz* 4v in *Moderne 1540/1* f. 104, publ. in LayolleO VI p. 41.

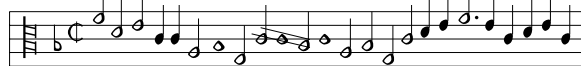
**No. 113** *C'est boucanner de se tenir a une* 3v  
p. 179

S

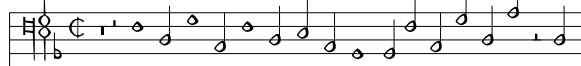


Cet boucanner de ce tenir a une (i)

T



B



Rfasc. 6 no. 38. Cf. no. 111.

TEXT:

Quatrain; the complete poem in *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons 1525a*, no. 1; *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons 1525b*, no. 1; *La Fleur 1527*, no. 21; and in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535*, no. 102 as well as later editions (3 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV I p. 188. In the latter collection, we also find as no. 103 "Le contraire de la chanson C'est boucané: C'est boucané d'en avoir plus d'une" (3 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV II p. 230.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 60

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, imitative popular arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the superius, ABCA form; part of a series of Parisian chansons.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- a) Anonymous 3v, *Attaignant 1529/4* no. 10.  
Intabulations: *Attaignant 1529* no. 7 (lute) and *Attaignant 1531/8* no. 2 (keyboard); publ. in SeayC p. 145, ThomasT, no. 10, and HeartzP, no. 7. This composition is a simple arrangement with the *c.p.f.* in the superius, mainly in homorhythmic texture; possibly composed with the chanson in Cop 1848 as model; in this version the form is ABCA:.
- b) A. Willaert 4v in *Scotto 1535/8* no. 2 (A and B only).

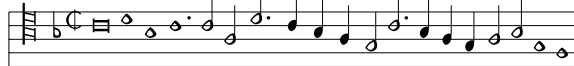
**No. 114** *Si vostre cueur prent le tanné [En souspirant les griefz souspirs d'amours]* 3v [Anonymous]  
p. 180

S



Si vostre cueur prent le tanne (t)

T



B



Rfasc. 6 no. 39. Cf. no. 111.

CONCORDANCES:

Four-part version:

*Torun 102680/4.29-32* no. 42 "Si voscetur"

*Attaignant 1528/5* no. 30

Intabulations:

*Attaignant 1529* no. 15 (lute)

*Attaignant 1529* no. 16 (voice and lute)

*Phalèse 1549/38* no. 20 (lute)

With the text “En souspirant les griez souspirs d’amours” (4v):

*Basel IX.59-62* no. 22

*Cambrai 125-128 f. 43* (notated a fourth lower)

*Attaignant 1528/8* no. 6

*Attaignant 1531/2* no. 27

The settings of the texts “Si vostre cuer” and “En souspirant” are musically identical; in *Cambrai 125-128* the altus is however different from the other sources, and the chanson is notated a fourth lower.

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; this octosyllabic quatrain is in a number of sources replaced by another, decasyllabic quatrain “En souspirant”.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 61 (3v)

HeartzP no. 12

LaurenceC no. 4

SeayA II no. 26


COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC|A; there can be no doubt that this three-part composition, like no. 111, is the original version of the chanson.

No. 114 has no musical connection with nos. 115 and 127 *Sy vostre cuer 4v*.


**No. 115** *Sy vostre cuer prent le tanné 4v*  
pp. 180-81

S




Sy vostre cuer prent le tanne (i)

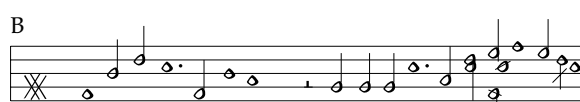
T



A



B



Sy vostre cuer prent le tanne (i)

Rfasc. 6 no. 39a. Entered by Hand D on empty staves between no. 114 and no. 116; the superius and tenor are on p. 180, the altus and bassus on p. 181. In the superius and bassus the scribe continued directly after the superius of no. 114 and the bassus of no. 116 respectively, so indicated neither clef nor mensuration,

only entering a natural, since both no. 114 and no. 116 have a key signature of one flat.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 127 (q.v.).

TEXT:

Quatrain – the same text as no. 114.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 105 (after no. 127)

COMMENTS:

Parisian chanson in the form ABC|D|, homorhythmic-imitative texture. An inept composition composed by Hand D on the pages of Cop 1848, probably a pupil's work. No. 115 is the first draft, no. 127 is a fair copy with text and some further corrections; for further discussion, see Ch. 11.2. The song has no musical connection with no. 114.

**No. 116** *Fortune, laisse moy la vie 3v* [Anonymous]  
p. 181

S



Fortune laisse moy la vie (t)

T



B



Rfasc. 6 no. 40. Cf. no. 111.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 135.

CONCORDANCES:

*München 1516* no. 17 (4v; + A)

*Regensburg 940/41* no. 117 “Fortuna” (4v; + A)

*Attaignant 1529/4* no. 13

*Rhau 1542/8* no. 90

Intabulations:

*Attaignant 1529* no. 9 (lute)

*Attaignant 1529* no. 10 (voice and lute)

*Attaignant 1531/7* no. 23 (keyboard)

*Phalèse 1546/21* no. 12 (lute)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; complete in *La Fleur 1527* as no. 19 (3 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV II p. 53. Another version, with changed second and third stanzas and no connection between the stanzas, is in *S'ensuyvent 8 chansons 1526* as no. 1 and *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian 1535* as no. 96 and in later editions (3 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV I p. 206.

The text of this chanson must not be confused with a bergerette "Fortune, laisse moy la vie, tu me tourmente durement ..." in *London* 380 f. 253<sup>v</sup>, publ. in WallisA as no. 232 and in ThibaultH p. 351, which appears in an anonymous three-part setting in *Pavia* 362 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-21 and *Wolfenbüttel* 287 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-61. The first stanza of this bergerette was used in the 16th century in an anonymous composition in *Haag* 74/h/7 f. 12 (T only) and in Rousée's five-part chanson in *Le Roy* 1560 f. 36 (S only) and *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 9.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 62  
HeartzP no. 9  
LaurencieC no. 1  
SeayC p. 126  
ThomasT no. 22

#### COMMENTS:


Lyrical Parisian chanson, following the text very closely, each line concluding with a fermata, in the form ABC|A|. No. 135 gives the same version of the chanson, but details of text and music show that it was copied from another source (cf. editorial remarks on Vol. III no. 62).

#### No. 117 *Jouyssance vous donneray* 3v

p. 182

[Claudin de Sermisy]

S



Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

T



Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

B



Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 41. Cf. no. 111; the text in the tenor and bassus was added by Hand E.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 139.

#### CONCORDANCES:

##### Four-part version:

*Basel* IX.59-62 no. 44 "Joisantz"  
*Basel* X.17-20 no. 71 "Joisantz"  
*Cambrai* 125-128 f. 138<sup>v</sup> (notated a fourth lower)  
*Firenze* 111 no. 2 (B missing)  
*Firenze* 112 no. 10 (B missing)  
*Gdańsk* 4003 II no. 57  
*London* 1070 pp. 226-27  
*München* 1501 no. 6  
*Regensburg* 940/41 no. 104 "Joisante vocis"  
*Torun* 102680/4.29-32 no. 57 "Joisant vous"

*Wien* 18810 no. 62: Petri de la Rue "Jam sauche"  
*Wien* 18810 no. 64 "Jam sauche secundus"  
*Uppsala* 76c f. 145

*Attaingnant* 1528/3 no. 5  
*Attaingnant* 1528/8 no. 12  
*Attaingnant* 1531/2 no. 11: Claudin  
*Attaingnant* 1536/2 no. 7: Claudin

#### Intabulations:

*Attaingnant* 1529 no. 52 (lute)  
*Attaingnant* 1529 no. 53 (voice and lute)  
*Attaingnant* 1531/8 no. 24 (keyboard)  
*Phalèse* 1546/21 no. 21 (lute)

#### TEXT:

Sixain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot* 1532 f. 80, *S'ensuyvent-Nourry* 1533 no. 28, *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 no. 59 with later reprints and *Les chansons* 1538 no. 4 (2 stanzas) publ. in *Marot*CE III p. 177.

No. 117 corresponds, apart from a change in the fourth line ("changeray" for "laisseray") exactly to *Marot* 1532. In *Attaingnant*'s printed editions the text is changed in the second and third line; no. 139 is very close to this version.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 63 (3v)  
SermisyO III p. 138  
BrenneckeC no. 14  
HeartzP no. 32  
LaurencieC no. 21  
ReeseR p. 292  
SeayC p. 192  
ThomasC no. 15

#### COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABCDB'|C|—the repetition of the last section is not indicated in no. 117, only in no. 139. The tenor is the most important part melodically, and is also preferred when the chanson is quoted or forms the basis for other compositions (cf. below). Cop 1848 is the earliest source for the song, and although all other sources give a four-part version, there can be no doubt that this three-part version is the original composition, like no. 111 and no. 114. The altus in the printed editions is clearly a "modernization" of the texture; no. 117 uses Marot's original poem as text, and the three-part chanson appears in Cop 1848 in two different versions in the two series of three-part Parisian chansons; for further discussion, see Ch. 5 and Ch. 9.2 (C. Adams takes a different view of the two versions in Cop 1848; cf. AdamsC pp. 243-44).

Claudin's *Jouyssance* was very widely-known in the 16th century; text and music were both used directly or as a model in the most varied contexts. Besides being reworked by other composers, it is quoted in

farcas, used as *timbre* for Protestant and anti-Protestant songs, for a *noël* and for the translation of Psalm 93, and was remodelled as a *basse dance*; cf. BrownF no. 232, p. 245, RollinM p. 190, HeartzP p. LXXII and SlimM. It is quoted both in the anonymous *fricassée Au pres de vous ...* 4v in *Attaignant 1531/1* as no. 19, publ. in CazeauxF p. 230, and in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée, Moderne 1538/17* no. 1 (cf. LesureE). Moreover, it appears as written music in five paintings of ladies performing music (by 'the Master of the Female Half-Lengths', probably painted in Antwerp around 1520-30); here too it is possibly the three-part version that is reproduced; cf. SlimJ.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS (cf. BrownF no. 232, pp. 244-246):

- a) A. Gardane 2v (cf. BrownF no. 232l; add here *München* 260 no. 100); based on Claudin's bassus (and tenor); publ. in BellinghamB as no. 100 and BellinghamR p. 34.
- b) Anonymous 2v in *München* 260, no. 67, based on Claudin's superius; publ. in BellinghamB as no. 67.
- c) A. Willaert 5v (cf. BrownF no. 232j) paraphrases the tenor.
- d) N. Gombert 6v (cf. BrownF no. 232k and BrownB p. 165) paraphrases the tenor; publ. in GombertO X p. 220.
- e) G. de Turnhout 3v, *Phalèse 1569/T1434* no. 23 (later sources, see AdamsT p. 405) paraphrases the tenor; publ. in TurnhoutS II p. 35.
- f) J. Sarton: *Missa Jouissance* 4v in *Moderne 1532/8* ff. 81<sup>v</sup>-92, parody mass on Claudin's chanson (in *Moderne 1540/1* Jo. Sarton is also named as the composer in the index, but above the music the name is Jo. Certon—possibly a confusion with Pierre Certon?).

**No. 118 *O salutaris hostia* 3v**  
p. 183

S1  
O salutaris hostia (t)

S2  
O salutaris hostia (t)

B  
O salutaris hostia (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 42. The main scribe has only furnished the setting with the text incipit "*O salutaris hostia*" in superius 1; the rest of the text was added by Hand E.

TEXT:

Hymn, in Honorem SS. Sacramenti, AR p. 93\*; cf. no. 110.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 93

COMMENTS:

Hymn setting; imitative texture for two treble and one bass voice, the tune (AR p. 93\*, 8th tone) borne by the two upper voices alternately.

**No. 119 *Veni, veni, veni electa mea* 3v**  
p. 184

S1  
Veni veni veni electa mea et (t)

S2  
Veni veni veni electa mea et (t)

B  
Veni veni veni electa mea et (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 43. Text in the tenor and bassus added by Hand E.

TEXT:

Responsorium pro sanctam non virginem, PM p. 237, LR p. 216; appears in many Pontificale manuscripts (consecratio sacrarum virginum); cf. LeroquaisP.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 96

COMMENTS:

Lauda; very simple, homorhythmic setting with many fermatas.

**No. 120** *Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne* 4v  
p. 185 [Anonymous]

S  
Tous nobles cuers venes veoyr (t)

T  
Tous nobles cuers venes veoyr (t)

A  
Tous nobles cuers venes veoyr (t)

B  
Tous nobles cuers venes veoir (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 44. Text in T and B added by Hand E.

CONCORDANCES:  
*München* 1516 no. 101

*Attaingnant* 1528/7 no. 29

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; publ. in SlimM p. 468. A. Seay has shown that the text was probably written on the occasion of Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne's marriage to Lorenzo II de' Medici in 1518 (SeayD). Compared with Attaingnant's version, Cop 1848 has another, perhaps better version of the third line: "Son noble arroy est par amour cité".

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 56  
SeayA I no. 58

COMMENTS:

Early Parisian chanson; homorhythmic texture in the form ABC:D|. Cop 1848 probably gives the original version of the composition; in Attaingnant's print, among other things, the altus is changed and modernized (cf. Ch. 5 and Ch. 9.2).

H. Colin Slim, in an article on the musical connections of the Magdalene legend, has demonstrated the resemblance of this chanson to the beginning of the well-known Flemish song *O waerde mont*, which appears in lute tablature in a painting of Mary Magdalene. The chanson may have formed the model for the *basse dance* "Tout noble cueur" in Arena, *Ad suos compagnones studiantes ... bassas dansas*, Lyons 1529 (cf. SlimM).

**No. 121** *Une pastore seant au vert buisson* 3v  
p. 186

S  
Une pastore seant au vert buisson (t)

T  
Une pastore seant au vert buisson (t)

B  
Une pastore seant au vert buisson (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 45. The main scribe only underlaid the tenor with text; in the superius and bassus the text was added by Hand E.

TEXT:

Huitain, one stanza; probably a popular ballade form.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 44

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; homorhythmic texture in the form AA'BB' with *c.p.f.* in the tenor.

**No. 122** [Examples] 2v

p. 187

T

a

b

c

d

e



Rfasc. 6 no. 46. Entered by the main scribe on the penultimate page of the fascicle together with the examples no. 76 in Rfasc. 5 and nos. 156 and 180 in Rfasc. 8.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 102

COMMENTS:

Counterpoint examples in note-against-note texture consisting of a tenor part (35 notes) and six counter-voices (a-f) notated in *semibreves*—one of these (b) was abandoned after just 7 *sbr.* The counter-voices were composed directly on the page and demonstrate parts with different initial and final intervals with the tenor; cf. Ch. 11.1.

**No. 123 *J'eyme bien qui s'en va / De tous biens plainne est ma maistresse* 2v**

p. 188

S



Jeyme bien qui sen va ala broque (it)

T



De tous biens plainne ma maistresse (t)

Rfasc. 6 no. 47

TEXT:

In the upper voice a quodlibet of French and Latin quotations; publ. in BridgmanC p. 47.

In the tenor, the refrain of Hayne's well-known rondeau quatrain, which besides a number of musical sources is in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 184-184<sup>v</sup>, publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 575; cf. also Cop 1848 no. 131.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 17

COMMENTS:

Double chanson – quodlibet; the tenor uses as *c.f.* the tenor from Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plainne* (sources, see GhizeghemO pp. XXXVII-XLI (but add to this list *Uppsala* 76a ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 (Anonymous – i-i-i)).

*De tous biens plainne* formed the basis for a number of reworkings, including Cop 1848 no. 131; BrownF (no. 73, pp. 204-206) lists 37 compositions and GhizeghemO 49 compositions which use material from Hayne's composition; (add to these lists the four-part *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo* in Petrucci

1503/1 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 (attributed in the index to "Franci"), which is based on Hayne's tenor).

The upper voice takes the form of a quodlibet/fri-cassée of short French and Latin fragments; compared with other two-part quodlibets, the composer here exhibited little imagination; cf. for example the four pieces from *Sevilla* 5-I-43/*Paris* 4379 publ. in PlamenacQ. Unfortunately the text underlay stops halfway, so identification of elements in the last section of the song is difficult. The following elements can be distinguished:

- a) "J'eyme bien qui s'en va" (bars 1-5) – the text recalls P. Fontaine, *J'aime bien celuy qui s'en va*, publ. in DufayO VI as no. 86, but there is no musical resemblance.
- b) "a la broque du tonneau" (bars 6-7)
- c) "O intemerata virgo" (bars 8-12) – the same melody is used in the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* of Josquin's *Vultum tuum deprecatur* 4v, publ. in JosquinW Motetten I, no. 24.
- d) "J'ay bien nourry vij ans ung nonnain" (bars 12-16) – monophonic chanson in *Paris* 12744 f. 20 "J'ay bien nourry sept ans ung joly gay", publ. in ParisC as no. 26. Other settings: Anonymous, *Ja bien nori set ans un papegai* 3v in *Firenze* 121 ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5; Anonymous, *Igie bien norri* 3v canon in *Giunta* 1530/1 f. 16; Anonymous, *J'ay bien nourri* 4v in *München* 1516 no. 12 and *Petrucci* 1504/3 f. 127<sup>v</sup>, publ. in BernsteinO p. 306.
- e) "adieu mes amours, adieu vous comment" (bars 17-22) – monophonic chanson in *Paris* 9346 f. 85<sup>v</sup>, publ. in GéroldB as no. 83. Other settings, cf. HewittA p. 135 and BrownF no. 181e, p. 230.
- f) "Salve" (bars 22-24) – antiphon "Salve Regina" AR p. 68.
- g) "peccatores" (bars 26-28)
- h) "te rogamus: audi nos, o Christe, audi nos" (bars 29-34) – litany.
- g) Without text (bars 34-60) – bars 49-51 have the same melody as the passage "Kyrie eleison" in Cop 1848 no. 145 *Beata es* (q.v.).

**List of contents for part of Rfasc. 6**

p. 188

Written by Hand A at the bottom of the page.

- |                                     |                  |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| "languir me fais a 3                | (no. 111 p. 177) |
| ces facheux sout a 3                | (no. 112 p. 178) |
| cet boucaner de cetenir a une a 3   | (no. 113 p. 179) |
| cy vostre cueur prent le tanne a 3  | (no. 114 p. 180) |
| fortune laisse moy la vie a 3       | (no. 116 p. 181) |
| jouyssance vous donray mon amy a 3" | (no. 117 p. 182) |



**No. 124** *Qui n'en a s'enquiere* 3v

p. 189

S  
  
 Qui nen a sen quiere si veult (t)

T  
  
 Qui nen a sen quiere (i)

C  
  
 Qui nen a sen quiere si veult (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 1

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 32

COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune, appearing in the superius and tenor in free octave canon; high contratenor.

**No. 125** *Virgo mater ave* 3v

pp. 190-91

S  
  
 Virgo mater ave pudica semper (t)

T  
  
 Virgo mater ave pudica semper (t)

C  
  
 Virgo mater ave pudica semper (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 2.

TEXT:

Singers' homage to the Virgin: "Virgo mater ave pudica semper et quatenam musica vult sonara votis ... Maria pie cantantes. Amen."; in this copy the text must be corrupt—there are for example many differences in the versions of the text given for the three parts.

COMMENTS:

Marian motet; imitative/homorhythmic texture; high contratenor which participates in the imitations; the tenor may be based on an unidentified melody (*c.p.f.*) – 95 br-mm. The ending is set in triple time. In bars

10, 50 and 95 there are cadences with fermatas, where a part splits in two—superius, tenor and contratenor in turn; the contratenor also splits in a final chord in a homorhythmic passage (bar 74).

**No. 126** *Stabat mater dolorosa* 3v

pp. 192-197

S  
  
 Stabat mater dolorosa (t)

T  
  
 Stabat mater dolorosa (t)

B  
  
 Stabat mater dolorosa (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 3. Entered by the main scribe over three openings; the remaining staves were used by Hand D for nos. 127 and 128.

The first two sections also occur in Cop 1848 in a textless version—see no. 5.

TEXT:

Sequence, formerly attributed to Jacopone da Todi († 1306), GR p. 597. The three sections use extracts of the sequence in the version which was common in the 15th-16th century (cf. textual information on no. 19); in the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* the language changes to French. The 1<sup>a</sup> *pars* consists of verses 1-3 "Stabat mater dolorosa ... mater unigeniti", the 2<sup>a</sup> *pars* of verses 5, 6 and 8 "Quis est homo qui non fleret ... dum emisit spiritum", and the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* quotes verses 14 and 20; the intervening—and most important—part of the poem is summarized in French: "Juxta crucem tecum stare, te libenter sociare in plantu desidero. O tres douce dame de pitie, mon âme voulez recevoir. Quando corpus morietur, fac ut anime donetur paradisi gloria. (Amen)"—the last "Amen" is overscored.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 84

COMMENTS:

Marian motet; simple, mainly homorhythmic texture. In the uniform composition the 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* stands out since the French invocation is emphasized by being in triple time, and unlike the other two, through-composed sections has varied repetition of the music (bars 119-142 use the same material as bars 100-118).

The motet ends with an "Amen", which may not belong to it. Its mode is f-Ionian, while the motet is g-Dorian, and it is notated with ligatures. The copy-

ing went completely wrong for the main scribe, so he chose to cross "Amen" out again.

**No. 127** *Sy vostre cuer a prins tanné* 4v  
pp. 192-93

S  
  
 Sy vostre cuer a pris tanne (t)

T  
  
 Sy vostre cuer cuer a prins tanne (t)

A  
  
 Sy vostre cuer (i)

B  
  
 Sy vostre cuer a prins tanne (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 3a. Entered by Hand D on empty staves between and below the parts of no. 126; the superius and tenor are on p. 192, the bassus on pp. 192-93 and the altus on p. 193.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 115 (q.v.).

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; Hand D tried to change the text he had taken from no. 114 to a *reponce*, but gave up the attempt after the first two lines.

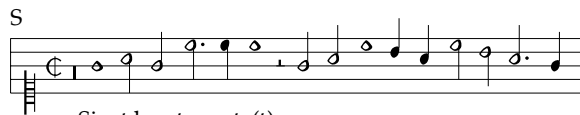
MODERN EDITION:


Vol. III no. 105

COMMENTS:

Fair copy with text of no. 115. Here there are corrections in the last phrase (bars 19-22) which are missing in no. 115, and in the altus, with which the composer had problems; for further discussion, see Ch. 11.2.

**No. 128** [*Magnificat*] *Sicut locutus II toni* 2v (4v)  
p. 196

S  
  
 Sicut locutus est (t)

A  
  
 Sicut locutus est (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 3b. Entered by Hand D on empty staves below the superius of no. 126—first the altus then the superius.


TEXT:

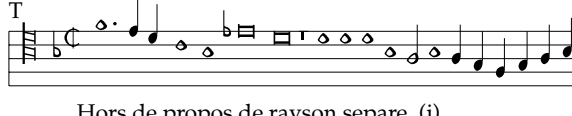
Canticum B.M.V. (Luke I.46-55) v. 10.


COMMENTS:

Fragment of a Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 468; only the superius and altus of a four-part composition based on the melody in the 2nd tone (AR p. 11\*) – 26 br-mm.

**No. 129** *Hors de propos / Creator omnium rerum* 3v  
pp. 198-99

S  
  
 Hors de propos de rayson separe (t)

T  
  
 Hors de propos de rayson separe (i)

B  
  
 Creator omnium rerum (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 4

TEXT:

The superius and tenor use the first three lines of a *rondeau cinquain* which appears complete in *Dresden Saxe* as no. 37, *Lille* 402 as no. 37, *Oxford I.d.22* p. 22, *Paris* 477 f. 67, *Paris* 1719 f. 26, *Paris* 1722 f. 66, *Paris* 2964 f. 10<sup>v</sup>, *Paris* 7559 f. 14<sup>v</sup>, *Paris* 19182 f. 62 and *La Chasse* 1509 f. S<sub>iiii</sub> publ. in *FrançonP* p. 150.

The bassus sings the verse "Creator omnium rerum deus qui me de limo formasti" from the responsory "Libera me", *Officium pro defunctis*, AW p. 439.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 19

COMMENTS:

Incomplete motet-chanson—only as far as the mid-cadence of the *rondeau*. As *c.f.* in the bassus, the melody of the responsory verse in AW p. 439 is used; the melody is also used in an anonymous *Creator omnium* 3v in *Amiens* 162 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>.

**No. 130 [Magnificat] *Quia fecit III toni 4v***  
pp. 198-99

S



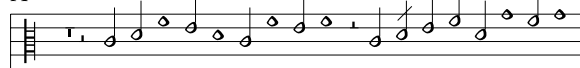
Quia fecit fecit mihi magna (t)

T



Quia fecit (t)

A



Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

B



Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 4a. Entered by Hand D on empty staves below no. 129; below the superius of no. 129 on p. 198 come the tenor and bassus; on p. 199 we find the altus written in below the bassus of no. 129, while the superius is entered on the lowest staff all the way across the opening pp. 198-99.

Belongs to no. 142 *Magnificat Et exultavit*.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. (Lukas I.46-55) v. 4.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, incomplete, KirschM no. 458; part of an *alternatim* setting of the even-numbered verses in Canticum B.M.V.; the similarly added no. 142 *Et exultavit* forms the beginning of the composition (q.v.).

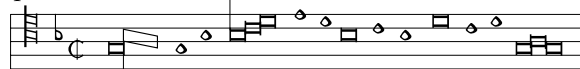
**No. 131 *Venez, venez, venez tretous, tourteux, bon foux et contrefaix / De tous biens plaine 2v***  
pp. 200-01

S (a)



Venez venez venez tretous fourteux bon foux (t)

T



De tous biens plaine ma maistresse (t)

S (b)



Venez ij (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 5. The superius (a) and tenor were entered by the main scribe; the superius was placed on p. 200

and the tenor at the top of p. 201. Later Hand D added, at the bottom of p. 201, an alternative upper voice (b).

TEXT:

The text of the upper voice is a popular strophic song which recurs in a longer version as "La Chanson Maistre Pierre du Quignet" in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535, no. 30 and *Les chansons* 1538, no. 240 (9 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV II pp. 176-179; the content of the text in Cop 1848 corresponds to stanzas 1, 7 and 4; it is translated in Ch. 7.4.

In the tenor we find the refrain of the well-known rondeau quatrain which is in a number of musical sources and in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 184-184<sup>v</sup>, publ. in LöpelmannR no. 575.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 18 (a)

Vol. III no. 18a (b)

COMMENTS:

Double chanson; to the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* (sources, see GhizeghemO pp. XXXVII-XLI; cf. also no. 123) a through-composed upper voice has been set, characterized by quick, acrobatic note repetitions. The text consists of a market crier's frenzied exhortations to come closer, mixed with street cries; stylistically very close to the dramatic monologue routines of the popular theatre.

Probably inspired by the lively upper part, a later user of the manuscript (Hand D) tried to compose an alternative upper voice on the empty staves below the tenor. The part is like a written-out improvisation, and may be meant for instrumental performance; cf. Ch. 11.2.

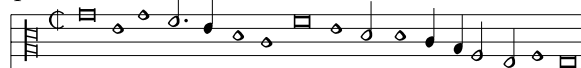
**No. 132 *De vous servir m'est prins envye 3v***  
p. 202 [J. Fresnau / Hayne van Ghizeghem]

S



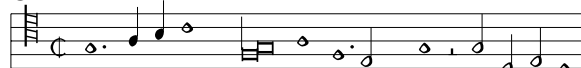
De vous servir mest prins envye (t)

T



De vous servir ma prins envie (i)

C



De vous servir ma prins envie (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 6

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34: Hayne

*Firenze* 229 ff. 281<sup>v</sup>-282

Firenze 2356 ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-86

Firenze 2794 ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21: Jo. fresnau

Roma CG XIII.27 ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-88: Ayne

Washington L25 ff. 103<sup>v</sup>-104

#### TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; besides Cop 1848, *Firenze* 2794 and *Washington* L25 the poem is found complete in *Paris* 1719 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28 and *La Chasse* 1509 f. t<sub>iii</sub>.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

BrownL no. 260

GhizeghemO no. 8

MarixM p. 109

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; the composer name in *Firenze* 2794 should probably be given most credence, since this source is French and was written in the same circles close to the period in which the chanson must be dated; cf. also AtlasC I p. 182.

#### No. 133 *Le grant desir d'aymer my tient* 3v

p. 203

[L. Compère]

S



T



C



Le grant desir daymer my tient (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 7

#### CONCORDANCES:

*Petrucchi* 1502/2 f. 55<sup>v</sup>: Compere

*Egenolff* 1535/14 III no. 25 (S only)

The beginning of the chanson in Cop 1848 differs from Petrucci's version; cf. Exx. 5a-b in Ch. 8.1.

#### TEXT:

Tercet – one stanza; the popular poem is in *Paris* 9346 ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26 with the refrain “et hoye” (8 stanzas), publ. in GéroldB no. 25, and in slightly different versions with no refrain in *Paris* 12744 f. 93 (7 stanzas), publ. in ParisC as no. 135, *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515 as no. 4 (7 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV I p. 46 and *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 152 and later editions (8 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV II p. 274.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 32

HewittB no. 51

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, with the tune from *Paris* 9346 and *Paris* 12744 in the tenor.

#### OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

a) Mouton / Willaert 3v in *München* 1502 no. 35

(anonymous), *Antico* 1536/1 no. 8 (Mouton), *Scotto* 1562/9 p. 7 (Mouton), *Phalèse* 1569/11 no. 12

(Willaert); *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in BernsteinC p. 27 and ThomasE no. 1.

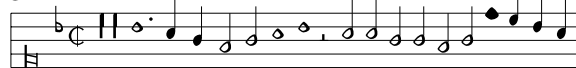
b) Mouton 3v in *Antico* 1520/6 no. 32 (anonymous), *Rhau* 1542/8 no. 77 (Mouton), *Montanus* 1560/1 no. 50 (Mouton), *Le Roy* 1578/16 no. 23 (Mouton).

This composition is rather a reworking of Compère's chanson; apart from longer rests between the phrases, the tenor is identical to the tenor in Cop 1848 no. 133.

#### No. 134 *A la venue de ce prinstepts d'esté* 4v

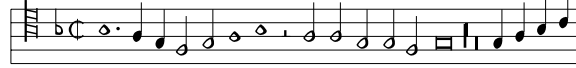
p. 204

S



A la venue de prins temps destre (t)

T

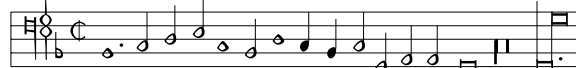


A la venue de ce prins temps (i)

A



B



Rfasc. 7 no. 8

#### TEXT:

Tercet – one stanza; also in *Paris* 1274 f. 67-67<sup>v</sup> (2 stanzas) and *Paris* 12744 f. 55 (6 stanzas) publ. in ParisC no. 80.

#### MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 50

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; arrangement of a variant of the tune in *Paris* 12744 as *c.p.f.* in superius and tenor. Duo-tutti effects with use of free imitation and canon; AB|A<sup>2</sup> form.

**No. 135 *Fortune, laisse moy la vie* 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 205

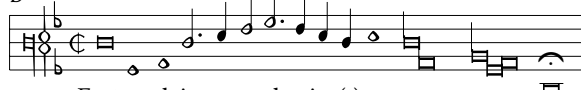
S



T



B



Fortune laisse moy la vie (t)

Rfasc. E no. 1. The first of a series of six three-part chansons; the others are nos. 136-37 and nos. 139-141.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 116 (q.v.).

TEXT:

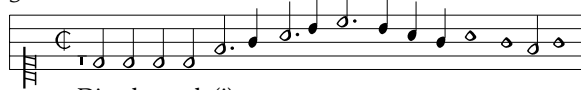
Quatrain – one stanza; here only the bassus is underlaid.

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson; copied from another source than no. 116, although it is the same version of the song—for example the cadence in bars 20-21 is given a different rhythmic treatment (cf. editorial notes on Vol. III no. 62).

**No. 136 *Dieu la gard, la bergerotte* 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 206

S



Dieu la gard (i)

T



B



Dieu la gard la bergerotte (t)

Rfasc. E no. 2. Cf. no. 135.

CONCORDANCES:

*London* 5242 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 13

The Cop 1848 version is so different from the one in *London* 5242 and *Antico* 1520/6 that one could choose to see it as another setting of the same tune. But it is rather a revision of the older setting with a

modernized lower part; for further discussion see Ch. 8.1 (incl. Ex. 8). The setting is in both versions so simple/banal that even considerable reworking does not disturb its identity.

TEXT:

Ballade (?) – one stanza; *London* 5242, *Antico* 1520/6 and *Paris* 9346 f. 103<sup>v</sup> (publ. in GéroldB as no. 100) have a slightly different version of the text—in all cases only one stanza is given.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 38

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative-homorhythmic popular arrangement with the tune from *Paris* 9346 in the tenor. Cf. also BrownF no. 78, p. 207.

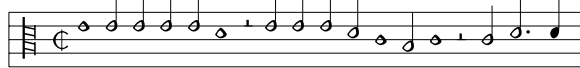
**No. 137 *Je ne sçay pas comment* 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 207

S



Je ne sçay pas comment en mon (t)

T



B



Je ne sçay pas comment en mon (it)

Rfasc. E no. 3. Cf. no. 135; the main scribe himself later added text in the bassus in black ink.

CONCORDANCES:

*Basel* X.22-24 no. 41 (S and B only)

*Sitten* 87-4 f. 17 (B only)

*Regensburg* 940/41 no. 114 (4v; + A)

*Attaingnant* 1529/4 no. 9

Intabulations:

*Zürich* XI.301 no. 2 (keyboard)

*Attaingnant* 1531/6 no. 7 (keyboard)

*Morlaye* 1553/34 no. 7 (guitar)

TEXT:

Sixain – one stanza; also in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 58 and in later editions (3 stanzas) publ. in JefferyV II p. 206.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

BrownC no. 38

SeayC p. 37

ThomasT no. 7

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson/probably a setting of a popular tune with *c.p.f.* in the superius; homorhythmic texture in the form ABCAB|D|—in Cop 1848 the repetition of the last phrase is written out in full. The song is mentioned as *timbre* for Jean Daniel's *noël* "Voycy l'avènement du Roy du firmament", *Daniel* 1523 no. 6, publ. in ChardonD as no. 6; the bassus is also quoted in the anonymous fricassée *Au pres de vous ...* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in CazeauxF p. 230.

The following settings of the same *c.p.f.* may also be reworkings of the three-part chanson.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. BrownF no. 212, pp. 239-40):

- a) Anonymous 4v in *München* 1516 no. 33 (cf. AdamsT p. 402); *c.p.f.* in the superius.
- b) Gombert 5v (cf. BrownF no. 212h) paraphrase; publ. in GombertO X p. 136.
- c) Benedictus 6v (cf. BrownF no. 212g) *c.p.f.* in canon in superius 1 and 2; publ. in BrownC as no. 39.

**No. 138 Ave regina celorum 3v**

pp. 208-09

S

Ave regina celorum (t)

Tenor

Ave regina celorum (t)

C

Ave regina celorum (t)

Rfasc. E no. 4. The superius and contratenor are on p. 208, the tenor on p. 209; the main scribe later supplemented the texts in the tenor and contratenor in black ink.

## TEXT:

Antiphona B. Mariae Virginis, ad Completorium, AR p. 66 and AM p. 175.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 83

## COMMENTS:

Marian motet; the four sections of the antiphon are closely followed by the setting; each section ends with a fermata chord. The plainchant melody (AM p. 175) is paraphrased in the superius (sections 1, 3 and 4) and the tenor (section 2); the upper voices move at the same general pitch and often cross one another. Imitative texture which has a provincial effect because of the continual cadencing—in certain passages almost every second brevis measure—and the formulaic musical idiom.

**No. 139 Jouyssance vous donneray 3v**

p. 210

[Claudin de Sermisy]

S

Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

T

Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

B

Jouyssance vous donneray (t)

Rfasc. E no. 5. Cf. no. 135. The sixth line of the text was originally "sy vous auray je en souvenance". The main scribe himself later crossed this out in black ink and corrected it to "l'esprit en aura souvenance"

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 117 (q.v.).

## TEXT:

Sixain by Clément Marot, one stanza; cf. no. 117.

This version of Marot's poem is very close to the one printed in *Attaignant's* chansonniers (1528/3 and 1528/8); in these two prints one finds the version of line 6, "sy vous auray je en souvenance", which the scribe corrected in Cop 1848, in the tenor only—the other parts have "l'esprit en aura ...".


No. 117 is almost identical to the text in *Marot* 1532.

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson; copied from another source than no. 117; besides the text version used, there are a number of differences in musical detail: for example, no. 139 does not have as much ornamentation of the syncopes in the superius, and in the tenor several note repetitions have been dropped (cf. editorial comments on Vol. III no. 63).



**No. 140** *Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune* 3v  
p. 211 [Anonymous]

S  
  
 Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune (t)

T  
  
 Si par souffrir ont peut vaincre fortune (i)

B  
  
 Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune (t)

Rfasc. E no. 6. Cf. no. 135; the main scribe later supplemented the text incipit in the tenor, and added text in the bassus in black ink.

CONCORDANCES:

*Attaingnant* 1529/4 no. 17

*Rhau* 1542/8 no. 84

*Montanus* 1560/1 no. 45

Intabulations:

*Newsidler* 1544/23 no. 36 (lute)

*Newsidler* 1549/41 no. 57 (lute)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; this poem was probably the model for a quatrain in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 194 and in later editions, which has the same first line and rhyme, but is otherwise different (one stanza), publ. in JefferyV II p. 293. This text “Si par souffrir l'on peult vaincre fortune / Je croy en plus le pris me demourer ...” comes from Jean Courtois' four-part chanson, *Attaingnant* 1534/14 no. 4 (publ. in MaldeghemT XVI p. 34 with the text “Or tout plaisir”; for further sources, see BernsteinS p. 215 no. 12—add to this *Torun* 102680/4.29-32 no. 19 (anonymous)). Courtois' chanson formed the point of departure for a large number of reworkings, incl. C. Canis 5v in *Susato* 1543/15 f. 15<sup>v</sup>; J. le Cocq 5v in *Susato* 1545/14 f. 8<sup>v</sup>; T. Susato 2-3v in *Susato* 1552/S7239 no. 12; Clemens non Papa 4v, publ. in ClemensO XI p. 60; P. de Monte 5v, publ. in MonteW 20 p. 13.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Ch. 9.2 Ex. 6 (after Cop 1848)


ThomasT no. 4


COMMENTS:


Lyrical Parisian chanson, homorhythmic in the form ABC|A|; cf. also no. 141—no musical connection with Courtois' chanson (see above).

**No. 141** *Amour vault tropt qui bien s'en sçait*  
*deffaire* 3v [Anonymous]

p. 212

S  
  
 Amour vault tropt qui bien sen scait deffaire (t)

T  
  
 Amour vault tropt qui bien sen scait deffaire (t)

B  
  
 Amour vault tropt qui bien sen scait deffaire (t)

NB S: The 2nd and 3rd notes should be f'-e'.

Rfasc. E no. 7. Cf. no. 135.

CONCORDANCES:

*Cambrai* 125-128 f. 17 “Une bregierette Amour vault tropt” (4v, + A; notated a fourth lower)

*Attaingnant* 1529/4 no. 18

*Rhau* 1542/8 no. 85

*Montanus* 1560/1 no. 46

Intabulations:

*Attaingnant* 1529 no. 33 (lute)

*Attaingnant* 1529 no. 34 (voice and lute)

*Attaingnant* 1531/8 no. 5 (keyboard)

*Newsidler* 1544/23 no. 28 (lute)

*Phalèse* 1545/21 no. 18 (lute)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; also in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 112 and in later editions; publ. in JefferyV II p. 236.

MODERN EDITIONS:

HeartzP no. 21

LaurencieC no. 13

MaldeghemT II (1880) p. 19

SeayC p. 152

ThomasT no. 27

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC|D|. Note that nos. 140 and 141 appear in the same order in the printed editions *Attaingnant* 1529/4, *Rhau* 1542/8 and *Montanus* 1560/1; differences in detail show, however, that *Attaingnant*'s print was not used as the source for Cop 1848.

**No. 142 Magnificat Et exultavit III toni 4v**  
pp. 212-13

S  
Et exultavit (t)

T  
Et exultavit (t)

A  
Et exultavit spiritus (t)

B  
Et exultavit (t)

Rfasc. E no. 7a (Rfasc. 7 no. 9a). Entered by Hand D on empty staves below no. 141 and no. 143; on p. 212, below no. 141, come first the tenor, then the bassus and the altus; the superius is written on the bottom staff right across the opening pp. 212-13. There was no room for tenor, altus and bassus on the one staff available for each, so the endings have been entered in various places among the parts of no. 143—the tenor below the superius, the bassus after the tenor, and the altus on the bottom staff (after the superius of no. 142).

No. 130 *Quia fecit* belongs to this Magnificat setting.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. (Luke I.46-55) v. 2.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, incomplete, KirschM no. 229; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. No. 130 is the v. 4 for this setting, the other verses are not in Cop 1848. Through-imitated texture on the basis of the 3rd tone (AR p. 15\*) – 23 and 24 br-mm. In both verses the superius and tenor end with a long finalis (*a'* and *a*), while the altus and bassus continue for a further four bars. In no. 142 the scribe changed his mind and added another ending in the altus and bassus which is two bars longer.

**No. 143 Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser 3v**  
p. 213

S  
Bon vin je ne te puis laysser (t)

T  
Bon vin je ne te puis laisser (i)

C  
Bon vin je ne te puis laisser (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 9

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza, publ. in HewittC p. 388; also found in *Paris 9346* ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 (4 stanzas) publ. in GéroldB as no. 43 and HewittC p. 387.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 24

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, a variant of the tune in *Paris 9346*; *c.p.f.* in the tenor and lively counter-voices. The same tune is set in no. 208 *Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser* 3v and no. 217 *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* 3v. See also the discussion in HewittC p. 381.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. BrownF pp. 194-95, no. 38-40 and HewittC):

- a)-b) see Cop 1848 no. 208 and no. 217 (BrownF no. 40c-d).
- c) Anonymous: *Bon tamps* 4v in *Petrucchi 1502/2* ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-18 (cf. BrownF no. 38f), *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in HewittB as no. 14.
- d) Gaspart [van Weerbeke]: *Bon temps je ne te puis laisser* (S) / *Bon temps ne viendra tu jamais* (A) / *Adieu mes amours* (T) 4v, *Firenze 2442* no. 49 (cf. BrownF no. 38i and no. 40f); quodlibet, quotes the first two lines of the tune.
- e) Anonymous: *Seule esguarée / O rosa bella* 2v in *Paris 4379* ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3; quodlibet – the superius quotes “Bon vin je ne te puis laisser”; publ. in PlamenacQ p. 177.
- f) P. Certon: *Bon temps ne viendras tu jamais* 6v in *Chemin 1570/C1718* p. 68 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing); *c.p.f.* in the superius and tenor; the tune appears alternately in the parts; the approach recalls Cop 1848 no. 217.
- g) A. Brumel: *Missa Bon temps* 4v; the tune is used as *c.f.* in the tenor; publ. in BrumelO II p. 1.

**No. 144** *Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer* 3v

pp. 214-15

S

Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer (t)

T

Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer (i)

B

Or doy ie bien pleurer et souspirer (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 10

**TEXT:**

Septain – one stanza; this love lament in ballade-like form is very like the poems produced by Marot's less adept contemporaries.

**MODERN EDITION:**

Vol. III no. 66

**COMMENTS:**

Lyrical chanson (early Parisian chanson) in the form ABA'B'CB'C'C; free imitative texture with the superius as the most text-close part—the bassus resembles an old-fashioned contratenor.

**No. 145** *Beata es, Maria* 3v [Anonymous]

pp. 216-17

S

Beata es maria virgo dulcis et pia (t)

T

Beata es maria virgo dulcis et pia (i)

C

Beata es maria virgo dulcis et pia (i)

NB C: Between the 4th and 5th note, 11½ br-mm. have been omitted; between the 9th and 10th note, a *mi* value is missing.

Rfasc. 7. no. 11.

**CONCORDANCE:**

Paris 1597 ff. 1v-2 (notated a fourth higher)

**TEXT:**

Song in praise of the Virgin consisting of two sections: first a metrical, rhymed stanza “Beata es, Maria / virgo dulcis et pia ...”, which appears as a refrain in the lauda (hymn) “Virgo Galilaea” in AH XX p. 182, RH 21789 and DamilanoL p. 28 (somewhat recalls the responsorium “Beata es virgo Maria” LR p. 249 and AR p. 126\*); the remainder of the text “Kyrie eleison ...” is litany formulae.

**MODERN EDITION:**

ShippC no. 2

**COMMENTS:**

Marian motet; imitative texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; very like an arrangement of a popular tune – 67 br-mm. (cf. Ch. 10.6 Ex. 2). The first section of the tenor melody (bars 1-33) is a variant of the tune of the lauda in AH XX p. 256 and DamilanoL p. 50; in the second section the tenor has litany formulae. The setting plays on the contrast between the two sections; the lauda's joyous “rocking” triple rhythm is succeeded by the calm, inward prayer of the litany in equal time.

The same combination of melodies (lauda and litany) is used in three other contemporary motets—two of them are in Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarti* (Petrucci 1505/2):

J. Obrecht: *Beata es – Ave Maria* 4v, Petrucci 1505/2 no. 33 (publ. in ObrechtW *Motetten* II p. 69) is a reworking of the anonymous three-part motet. Its initial imitation is directly quoted, and the whole tenor part is taken over unchanged by Obrecht and sung through in both sections of the motet by the tenor. While the first section features the same text as Cop 1848 no. 145 in all parts, this text is combined in the second section with the sequence “Ave Maria, gratia plena”, which is sung by the superius, altus and bassus. In the second section the melody of the sequence (VP p. 46) is sung through in the altus—as a second *c.p.f.*

A. Brumel: *Beata es, Maria* 4v, Petrucci 1505/2 no. 11 (publ. in BrumelO V p. 18) uses the same melody as *c.p.f.* in the tenor. It appears three times. The litany formulae, which are varied and shortened as the motet progresses, come to function as a refrain between the stanzas from hymns which are set to the “Beata es” melody in the second and third repetition (see also BrumelO V p. XXX).

L. Compère's widely known *Ave Maria, gratia plena – Sancte Michael* 4v (publ. in CompèreO IV p. 8) is based on the same elements as Obrecht's motet: first the “Ave Maria” sequence, then litany formulae, and finally “Beata es, Maria” (in triple time at the end of the 2<sup>a</sup> pars)—all the time with the tenor as the leading melody-bearing part (for further discussion, see FinscherC pp. 161-66).

In Cop 1848 the three-part motet is notated a fourth lower than in *Paris 1597*, and the copy lacks a long section of the contratenor. The identical settings of lines 1 and 3 and the derived imitations misled the scribe into jumping from the beginning to line 3. Obrecht, Brumel and Compère, like *Paris 1597*, all notate the “Beata es” melody in g-Dorian, so the higher pitch is probably the original one for the anonymous motet.

**No. 146** *Or sus, or sus! par dessus tous les autres* 3v  
p. 218

S

Orsus orsus par dessus tous les autres (t)

T

Orsus orsus par dessus tous les autres (i)

C

Orsus orsus par dessus tous les autres (it)

NB S: The 5th note should be a ♭.

Rfasc. 7 no. 12

TEXT:

Septain – one stanza, publ. in BridgmanC p. 46; also in *Paris 9346* ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17 (2 stanzas), publ. in GéroldB no. 16.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 26

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune (as in *Paris 9346*), which appears in the tenor; lively counter-voices with sporadic imitation, contrasting of duple and triple time in the parts.

The tune is also found in the tenor of the anonymous *Or sus, or sus! deus tous les autres* 3v in *Pavia 362* ff. 66<sup>v</sup>-67; the latter chanson was the point of departure for J. Martini's *Missa Orsus orsus* 4v, e.g. in *Roma CS 51*.

**No. 147** *Une sans plus a mon desir* 3v [Anonymous]  
p. 219

S

Une sans plus a mon desir (t)

T

Une sans plus a mon desir (i)

C

Une sans plus a mon desir (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 13

CONCORDANCE:

*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 116<sup>v</sup>-17 “Dargent ye suis legier”  
(incipit)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the complete poem is in *Le Jardin 1501* f. 74<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ as no. 136. The refrain has also been set by Cadeac in *Une sans plus a mon desir* 4v, *Moderne 1538/15* no. 20, publ. in AlbrechtC p. 13, which is found anonymously in lute tablature in *Gerle 1546/31* no. 41.

MODERN EDITION:

AtlasC II p. 78

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 148** *Sy ayse estoye avant qu’amoureux fusse* 3v  
p. 220

S

Sy ayse estoye avant qu’amoureux (t)

T

C

Rfasc. 7 no. 14

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives the whole rondeau; the refrain also appears in *Paris 1722* f. 13<sup>v</sup>, where the rest of the poem is different.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 2

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 149** *Puis qu'il vous plaist d'estre Mieulx Aymée* 3v  
p. 221

S  
T  
C

Puis qui vous plaist destre mieulx aymee (t)

Rfasc. 7 no. 15

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain – only a refrain.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 3

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 150** *Quant de vous seul je pers la venue* 3v  
pp. 222-23

S  
T  
C

Quant de vous seulle je pers la venue (t)

Quant de vous seulle je pers la venue (i)

Quant de vous je pers la venue (i)

NB T: The 11th note should be g. C: The 12th tone should be g.

Rfasc. 7 no. 16

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; complete in Cop 1848; the refrain is also in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 91, but the rest of the poem is different; publ. in DrozJ as no. 316. The latter version is set by Jean Ockeghem; publ. in DrozT as no. 32.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 4

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; the contratenor has not been completed—11½ br-mm. are missing.

**No. 151** *Moyns ay repoz, plus acroist mon affaire* 3v  
pp. 224-25 [Anonymous]

S  
T  
C

Moyns ay repoz plus acroist mon affaire (t)

Moyns ay repoz plus acroit mon affaire (i)

Moyns ay repoz plus acroit mon affaire (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 17. The music has been entered on p. 224, while the supplementary text is on p. 225 below no. 152.

CONCORDANCE:

Firenze 229 ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24 (without text)

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; almost complete in Cop 1848, missing a line towards the end.

MODERN EDITION:

BrownL no. 24

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 152** *C'est mal chercher vostre avantage* 3v  
p. 225 [A. Agricola]

S  
T  
C

Cest mal cercher vostre avantage (t)

Cest mal eh cercher vostre avantage (i)

Cest mal cercher vostre avantage (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 18

CONCORDANCES:

Firenze 178 ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21: Alexander "Id est trophis"

Firenze 229 ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-66: Alexander agricola

Iserlohn IV.36 no. 43: Agricola (without text; S only)

London 20.A.XVI ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-11

London 35087 ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38: Agrico

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20: Agricola

*Sevilla* 5-I-43 ff. 123<sup>v</sup>-124: Agricola

*Verona* 757 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27 (without text; later attribution:  
"Agricola: C'est mal charche")

*Petrucci* 1501 ff. 14<sup>v</sup>-15: Agricola (4v; + A "si placet")

Like Cop 1848, *Firenze* 178 and *Firenze* 229 have no key signature; the others have one flat in all parts—except *London* 20.A.XVI, where it is only in the contratenor.

#### TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain. The poem is complete in *London* 20.A.XVI, in *Paris* 1719 f. 29 and in *La Chasse* 1509 f. A<sub>i</sub>. For the confusion of the text incipit in *Firenze* 178 see AgricolaO V p. XXIV.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 22

BrownL no. 64

HewittA no. 12


#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau, lampooning an old *roué* who persists in playing the rake—a very text-close setting; cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 5).

### No. 153 *Chois non parail ou choisir aparant* 3v

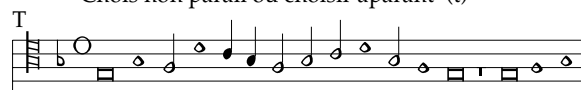
p. 226

S



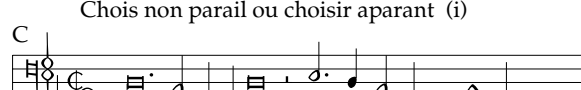
Chois non parail ou choisir aparant (t)

T



Chois non parail ou choisir aparant (i)

C



Chois non parail ou choisir aparant (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 19

#### TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; incomplete, the tierce is missing.

#### MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 5

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

### No. 154 *La tres plus heureuse de France* 3v

p. 227

S



La tres plus heureuse drance (t)

T



La tres plus heureuse de france (i)

C



La tres plus heureuse de france (i)

Rfasc. 7 no. 20. The contratenor begins directly after the tenor on the same staff; the supplementary text is squeezed into the small space at the bottom of the page.

#### TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain – complete, publ. in BridgmanC p. 44.

#### MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 6

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; love song where the "T" is a woman.

### No. 155 *Gloria tibi Domine* 3v

p. 228

a:

S



Gloria tibi domine .:~

T



Gloria tibi domine .:~

B



Gloria tibi domine .:~



b:

S  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

T  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

B  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

c:

S  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

T  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

B  
Gloria tibi domine ∴~

Rfasc. 7 no. 21. The three short settings were entered separately with the parts below one another in the order superius – tenor – bassus. At the top of the page is no. 155a; below it the page is divided in two by a vertical line, and nos. 155b and c have been entered on each side of the line.

TEXT:

Doxology.

COMMENTS:

Three short choral responses – 10, 5 and 5 br-mm. The first appears to have an unidentified melody as *c.f.* in the tenor, surrounded by livelier counter-voices; the other two are homorhythmic lauda-like pieces.

## No. 156 Examples 2v

p. 229

a:

T  
S  
b:  
T

S  
c:  
T  
S

Rfasc. 8 no. 1. Upside down in the manuscript; entered by the main scribe on the front cover of the fascicle together with the examples no. 180 in Rfasc. 8, no. 76 in Rfasc. 5 and no. 122 in Rfasc. 6.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 103

COMMENTS:

Three sets of counterpoint examples consisting of tenor parts (in nos. 156a-b notated with short vertical strokes to be read as *semibreves*) and counter-voices (not completed in no. 156c). The lively counter-voices were composed directly on the page with many overscorings and corrections. The two short tenor melodies in stroke notation are probably derived from psalmody formulae in the 6th and 5th tones (*cf.* AR p. 19\*), while the longer melody in semi-breves (no. 156c, 35 notes) has not been identified; *cf.* Ch. 11.1.

**No. 157 *Magnificat Et exultavit VI toni 4v***  
pp. 230-237

S  
Et exultavit (t)

Contra (T)  
Et exultavit (t)

A  
Et exultavit (t)

B  
Et exultavit (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 2. Entered with one or two verses on each opening. On p. 232 the scribe first re-entered the superius up to v. 2 “Et exultavit”, then crossed it out again and continued with v. 6; on pp. 234-35 the disposition is very compact, so there was no room for each part to begin on a new staff—the bassus in fact begins in the middle of the staff where the altus ends. On p. 230 and at the bottom of p. 231 the scribe has tried to emphasize the initial letters of the text with reddish-brown ink. Hand D later tried to make changes in the composition; cf. below.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 75

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 337; *alternatim*, only even-numbered verses. Quite a voluminous composition with all verses set for four voices (35-44 br-mm.). The 6th tone (AR p. 21\*) is paraphrased freely, except in v. 8, where it is used as the tenor *c.f.* in long note values. The mode is distinctly Hypolydian, with no significant Ionian influence. The verses are very varied with contrasting duo-tutti passages; imitation in more than two parts at once is rare, and it is clear that the composer had great difficulty integrating the altus in the texture.

A later user of the manuscript (Hand D) tried to improve details. For example, in v. 6 (p. 233) he tried to change a passage in the altus, then overscored it and wrote it out again on the empty staff at the top of the page. Otherwise this is mostly a matter of ornamentation in the tenor; a small coda in v. 10 has also been removed; for further discussion, see the editorial comments on Vol. III no. 75 and Ch. 11.2.

**No. 158 *In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem 4v Maioris***  
pp. 238-241

S  
Maioris  
In illo tempore (t)

T  
In illo tempore stabant (t)

A  
Maioris  
In illo tempore (t)

B  
In illo tempore stabant (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 3. In this composition, too, Hand D has changed details.

TEXT:

John XIX.25-27; a shorter version is used as the introit in the mass Septem Dolorem B.M.V. (5th Sept.), GR p. 595.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 79

COMMENTS:

Gospel motet; this section of the passion story is composed in a dramatic form where the narrative passages and the words of Christ are presented in a number of contrasting sections using duo-tutti effects, passages in triple time, and in imitative-homorhythmic texture. The plainchant recitation formulae (cf. KadeP p. 28 and WagnerG III pp. 243ff) permeate the texture.

Several musicians bore the name “Maioris”; the most likely identification is Michel Maioris, who in 1505-1515/20 was a singer in the ducal chapel in Turin; cf. Ch. 1.8.

**No. 159 *Facta est Judea [In exitu Israel]* 4v**

pp. 242-249

S  
Facta est Judea sanctificatio eius (t)

Tenor  
Facta est Judea sanctificatio eius (t)

Contra  
Facta est Judea sanctificatio eius (t)

B  
Facta est Judea sanctificatio eius (t)

**No. 159(a)**

S  
Dominus memor fuit nostri (t)

T  
Dominus memor fuit nostri (t)

C  
Dominus memor fuit nostri (t)

B  
Dominus memor fuit nostri (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 4. Entered with 3 or 4 verses on each opening. The main scribe himself corrected a number of errors in the music and text. For example, first he corrected the bassus of v. 12 on p. 245, and then wrote the part out with full text again on an empty staff at the bottom of p. 243; in v. 28 p. 249 he accidentally entered the tenor again in the space for the contra, crossed it out and wrote the contra below; in the bassus of the antiphon "Nos qui vivemus" on p. 249 he repeated the text of v. 28 "Gloria Patri"—the text is crossed out, and the proper text is sketched out above. A later user, Hand D, worked with changes in the composition. On empty staves between the parts on pp. 246-47 Hand D entered an alternative setting of v. 20, and at the top of p. 248 he wrote the reference "Non mortui tacet alii"; cf. below.

**TEXT:**

Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel", ad Vesperas – only even-numbered verses – with antiphon "Nos qui vivimus", AM p. 132.

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

Vol. III no. 76

Vol. III no. 76a (the alternative v. 20 "Dominus memor fuit nostris")

**COMMENTS:**

*Alternatim* psalm setting with antiphon, only the even-numbered verses; short settings, varying between homorhythmic and imitative texture; changing numbers of voices (vv. 8 and 16, 2v; v. 18, 3v). The *tonus peregrinus* (AR p. 29\*) transposed up a fourth is used in each of the parts in turn: vv. 2-8, 12, 14, 26 and 28 in the tenor; vv. 10 and 24 in the superius; v. 18 in the bassus; v. 20 in the contra; v. 16 in the bassus and contra; v. 22 in the tenor and contra. In the concluding antiphon the melody (AM p. 132) is used freely in the tenor a fourth higher; for further discussion, see Ch. 10.3.

Hand D took considerable interest in this composition. He added an alternative setting of v. 20 of the psalm, "Dominus memor fuit nostra", where he used the original setting as model. The model's three-part imitation of a falling triad around the recitation tone in the contra is converted to a four-part imitation of the same motif; at the same time the contours of the psalm melody are obscured. The short composition has a limited voice range and is simpler, and sounds more "modern", than the model.

The reference at the top of p. 248 "Non mortui tacet alii" is to no. 176 *Non mortui laudabunt te* (publ. in Vol. III as no. 76b), which Hand D entered on p. 311 as an alternative setting of v. 26 of the psalm. In this case too the alternative composition is shorter and simpler than the model, and the psalm melody is almost untraceable.

Probably on the same occasion, Hand D composed two other alternative settings, in both cases with the corresponding sections in no. 159 as model. No. 169 *Nos qui vivimus* (publ. in Vol. III as no. 76d) is his setting of the antiphon; nos. 185 and 187 *Domus Aaron speravit* 3v (rough draft and fair copy respectively; publ. in Vol. III as no. 76c) set v. 18—the latter is a very spirited development of the rudimentary imitation in the model.

**No. 160 Magnificat Et exultavit VIII toni 4-5v**  
pp. 250-255

S  
Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

T  
Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

A  
Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

B  
Et exultavit (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 5. Each opening has two verses.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 428; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Imitative texture with duo-tutti effects for closely-pitched low voices; v. 4 is for three voices, and v. 10 is for five voices with canon in the tenor and the *V<sup>a</sup> vox* (25-30 br-mm.). The 8th tone (AR p. 28\*) is paraphrased in most verses; in vv. 8 and 10 it is used as *c.f.* in long note values in the tenor.

**No. 161 Vignon, vignon, vignon, vignette 4v**  
pp. 256-57 [Anonymous]

S  
Vignon vignon vignon vignon vignette qui te (t)

T  
Vignon vignette vignette qui te planta (t)

A  
Vignon vignette vignon vignette qui te planta (t)

B  
Vignon vignette qui te planta (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 6. Added by the main scribe along with nos. 164-168 on the empty openings in the fascicle.

CONCORDANCES:

*Cambrai* 125-128 f. 125

*München* 1516 no. 74

*Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 3

Intabulations:

*Attaignant* 1531/7 no. 14 (keyboard)

*Gardane* 1547/21 no. 24: F. M. (lute)

TEXT:

*Huitain en triolet* (rondeau).

MODERN EDITIONS:

SeayA I no. 34

SeayC p. 106

MaldeghemT II (1884) p. 13

COMMENTS:

Popular Parisian chanson; arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the tenor and bassus, alternating between duos and tutti. The form of text and music are those of the old rondeau with the two-line refrain (*triolet*): ABaAa|b| |AB|. The superius is quoted in the two anonymous fricassées *Au pres de vous* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in CazeauxF p. 230, and *A l'aventure, tous mes amys* 4v, *Attaignant* 1536/5 no. 20, publ. in LesureAN as no. 7.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Claudin de Sermisy 3v in *Attaignant* 1535, no. 24 (other sources, see SermisyO IV and AdamsT p. 462; concerning the different composer attributions, see LesureT); *c.p.f.* in superius II.
- P. Certon 8v in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 p. 146 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing); *c.p.f.* in superius I and II.
- O. di Lasso 6v in *Le Roy* 1584/L953 f. 28 (T), paraphrase; publ. in LassoW XVI p. 144.

**No. 162 Ave presul gloriose/Augustine 4v**  
pp. 258-59

S De sancto augustino  
Ave presul gloriose (t)

Tenor  
Ave presul gloriose (t)

A  
Ave presul gloriose (t)

B  
Ave presul augustine (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 7.

## TEXT:

Antiphon, AW p. 424, RH 2054, AH XVIII p. 165, De sancto Maximo in 1. Vesperis; here to St. Augustine.

## COMMENTS:

Motet based on the text of the antiphon; does not use the plainchant melody (AW p. 424); imitative texture with extensive use of voice duetting – 80 br-mm. The composer demonstrates a rather inadequate mastery of four-part texture.

**No. 163 *Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée* 4v**  
pp. 260-167 [M. Gascongne]

## Kyrie:

S  
Kyrie (t)

Tenor  
Kyrie (t)

A  
Kyrie (t)

Bassus  
Kyrie (t)

NB T: After the 12th note (≡) 5 br-mm. of music are missing.

## Gloria:

S  
Et in terra pax hominibus (t)

T  
bone voluntatis benedicimus (t)

A  
Et in terra pax hominibus (t)

B  
bone voluntatis (t)

## Credo:

S  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem (t)

T  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi (t)

A  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et (t)

B  
factorem celi et terre (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 8. The Kyrie is on pp. 260-61, the Gloria on pp. 262-265 and the first section of the Credo on pp. 266-67 (as far as "... et sepultus est"). Before the next mass (no. 171), the scribe originally left six openings empty, showing that he meant to finish the mass when the opportunity arose.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Cambrai* 4 ff. 118<sup>v</sup>-130 "*Missa Mon mari m'a diffamée*" (lacks Agnus Dei III)

*Roma* CS 26 ff. 78<sup>v</sup>-89: Gascongne  
"*Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée*"

## TEXT:

Ordinarium missae.

## COMMENTS:

Parody mass – incomplete, lacking the second section of the Credo ("Et resurrexit ..."), the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei. Gascongne used a three-part popular arrangement as model (see below—and Ch. 10.1 Exx. 1 a-c); he used both the overall part structure of the chanson and its tenor as material for the mass. A variant of the initial imitation of the chanson is also heard at the beginning of each principal section of the mass. In the Kyrie both compositional principles are demonstrated, since Kyrie I and the Christe invocation are 'true' reproductions of the "A" and "B" sections of the chanson respectively, expanded to four-part texture, while Kyrie II only uses the tenor of the chanson as *c.p.f.* without rests in the tenor. In the same way, the whole chanson forms the starting-point for the Gloria and Credo, while its tenor is the basis of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei—in several passages furnished with canon instructions. In the Sanctus the "A" section of the melody moves in double note values in the tenor "Crescit in duplo"; in the three-part Pleni sunt its "B" section is paraphrased; and in the Osanna a motif from the "B" section is

used in quadruple values as a rising ostinato in the tenor "CANON Gradatim scande". The Benedictus is freely composed. The "A" section of the melody is sung backwards in double values in the tenor in Agnus Dei I "CANON Cancriza", while the "B" section in quadruple values in Agnus Dei II is in the bassus; Agnus Dei II is a free ostinato based on the motif from the "B" section.

MODEL: Anonymous / Josquin (?): *Mon mary m'a diffamée* 3v

Incipits after *London* 35087:

S

Mon mary ma diffamee  
Pour la longe demouree (t)

T

Mon mary ma diffamee  
Pour la longe demouree (t)

C

Mon mary ma diffamee  
Pour la longe demouree (t)

#### SOURCES:

*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-14 / 15-15<sup>v</sup> (S and T only)

*London* 35087 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22

*Uppsala* 76a f. 24<sup>v</sup> (S only)

*Le Roy* 1578/15 no. 19: Josquin

#### Intabulation:

*Spinacino* 1507/6 no. 18 (lute)

#### TEXT:

Ballade; the text is in *Paris* 12744 ff. 75<sup>v</sup>-76 (5 stanzas) publ. in *ParisC* no. 111. Another version, different after the first stanza, is in *S'ensuivent ... 90 chansons* 1515 as no. 32, *Les chansons* 1515 as no. 33, *S'ensuivent ... 53 chansons* 1515 as no. 20, *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 as no. 183 and in later editions (3 stanzas) publ. in *JefferyV* I p. 85; cf. also *HewittB* pp. 37-38.

#### MODERN EDITION:

*BenthemJ* p. 444

#### COMMENTS:

Imitative popular arrangement with the tune from *Paris* 12744 as *c.p.f.* in the tenor; closely follows the form of the text with a repeat after the "A" section (bar 18). Both H. Osthoff and J. van Benthem think, on the basis of A. Le Roy & R. Ballard's late print, *Second livre de chansons a trois parties ...*, *Paris* 1578, that the song was composed by Josquin Desprez (cf. Osthoff II pp. 182, 191f and 282, BenthemS p. 185 and BenthemJ). As a reliable source for the composer's

name, this print seems to be rather far from the date of composition. The formulation of the chanson, which is quite in keeping with normal usage in this rather impersonal genre, provides no firm evidence, and makes such reflections seem beside the point.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. also *HewittB* p. 37):

a) Anonymous 4v in *Paris* 1597 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-71; publ. in *ShippC*.

b) De Orto 4v in *Petrucchi* 1502/2 ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16; publ. in *HewittB* no. 12.

c) Anonymous 4v in *Petrucchi* 1504/3 ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45.

d) A. Willaert 4v ex 2v (canon) in *Antico* 1520/3 ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38.

e) N. Gombert 6v in *Le Roy* 1560 f. 68 (S only).

f) Anonymous 2v in *Gdańsk* 4003 IV, no. 1.

#### No. 164 *Ung grand plaisir Cupido me donna* 4v

pp. 268-69

[Anonymous]

S

Ung grand plaisir cupido me dona (t)

T

Ung grand plaisir cupido me dona (i)

A

Ung grand plaisir (i)

B

ung (i)

NB T: The 9th note should be g.

Rfasc. 8 no. 9. Cf. no. 161.

#### CONCORDANCES:

*München* 1516 no. 77

*Attaignant* 1528/7 no. 7

#### Intabulation:

*Attaignant* 1531/8 no. 11 (keyboard)

#### TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535, no. 24, and in later editions, this poem appears as the first four lines of a huitain (of 3 stanzas) publ. in *JefferyV* II pp. 169-70. This huitain is set by Claudin de Sermisy (4v, e.g. *Attaignant* 1536/3 no. 13 and intabulated as *Attaignant* 1531/6 no. 1 (keyboard), cf. SermisyO IV no. 156); and by Jacotin (2v, *Rhau* 1545/7 no. 5, a reworking of Claudin's superius; publ. in *BellinghamR* p. 139).



## MODERN EDITIONS:

SeayA I no. 37

SeayC p. 164

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form ABC:D|.

**No. 165** *Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours* 4v  
pp. 270-71 [Claudin de Sermisy]

S

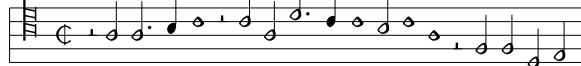


T



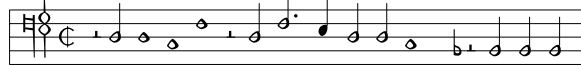
Secourez moy madame par amour ou (t)

A



Secourez moy (i)

B



Secourez moy (i)

Rfasc. 8 no. 10. Cf. no. 161.

## CONCORDANCES:

Basel X.22-24 no. 31 (S, A and B only)

Firenze 112 no. 1 (S, A, and T only)

Gdańsk 4003 II no. 51

London 58 f. 29<sup>v</sup> (A only)

München 1501 no. 37

Uppsala 76c f. 143<sup>v</sup>

Attaignant 1528/3 no. 1

Attaignant 1528/8 no. 1

Attaignant 1531/2 no. 1: Claudin

## Intabulations:

Attaignant 1529 no. 35 (lute)

Attaignant 1529 no. 36 (voice and lute)

Attaignant 1531/7 no. 22 (keyboard)

## TEXT:

Septain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot* 1532 f. 79<sup>v</sup> (3 stanzas), publ. in *MarotCE* III p. 174, and *Les chansons* 1538, no. 2. Two different versions which diverge from Marot's text after the first stanza are, respectively, *La Fleur* 1527 no. 44 (2 stanzas), publ. in *JefferyV* II pp. 69-70, and no. 53 in *S'ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 and later editions (3 stanzas), publ. in *JefferyV* II pp. 70-71. There are also minor differences among the three versions in the first stanza; Cop 1848 is closest to *La Fleur* 1527.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

Ch. 9 Ex. 2

SermisyO IV p. 83

SeayC p. 124

HeartzP no. 22

LaurencieC no. 14

## COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson; cf. Ch. 9 (incl. Ex. 2).

Claudin's chanson has been used, among other things, as *timbre* for Jean Daniel's Noël "Au bon Jesus ayons trestous recours", *Daniel* 1523 no. 1, publ. in ChardonD as no. 1. The tenor is also quoted in the anonymous fricassée *Au pres de vous* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in CazeauxF p. 230.

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

- N. Gombert 4v in *Susato* 1544/10 f. 4<sup>v</sup> uses Claudin's tenor as *c.p.f.* in the tenor, publ. in GombertO X p. 53.
- C. Canis 5v, *Attaignant* 1546/12 no. 12, uses Claudin's superius in canon.
- P. de Monte / O. di Lasso 5v – the initial motif recalls Claudin's tenor; publ. in LassoW XVI p. 163 and MonteW 20 p. 42.

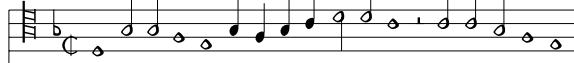
**No. 166** *Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu* 4v  
pp. 272-73

S



Madame ne ma pas vendu mais elle (t)

T

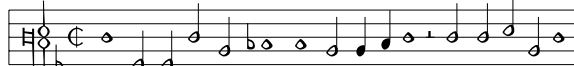


A



Madame ne ma pas vendu mais elle (it)

B



Rfasc. 8 no. 11. Cf. no. 161.

## TEXT:

Septain by Clément Marot – one stanza; printed in *Marot* 1532 f. 83, *S'ensuyvent-Nourry* 1533 no. 31 and *Les chansons* 1538 no. 15 (2 stanzas), publ. in *MarotCE* III p. 187. The poem also appears in an anonymous four-part setting in *Attaignant* 1528/7; cf. below.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 57

COMMENTS:

Parisian chanson with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; homorhythmic setting in the form  $\overline{AB} \overline{CD} \overline{B}$ . Another, more figured, but rather clumsy anonymous setting of the tune is in *Attaignant* 1528/7 as no. 27 (4v), publ. as SeayA I no. 56. The tenor in both settings is probably a popular song which Marot used as *timbre* for his chanson. In his epistle "Du Coq en l'Asne à Lyon Jamet" (1531, publ. in MarotCE II pp. 110ff, lines 86-91) Marot refers to "Ma Dame ne m'a pas vendu" as a "Chanson gringotée"; for further discussion, see Ch. 9.1 with Ex. 4.

**No. 167** *De retorner, mon amy, je te prie* 4v

pp. 274-75

[Anonymous]

S

De retorner mon amy je te (t)

T

A

B

deretorner (i)

Rfasc. 8 no. 12. Cf. no. 161.

CONCORDANCES:

Basel X.22-24 no. 28 (S, A and B only)

Cambrai 125-128 f. 124

London 58 f. 29<sup>v</sup> (A only)

München 1516 no. 62

*Attaignant* 1529/3 no. 24

*Attaignant* 1535/7 no. 1 (T and B only)

Intabulations:

London 56 f. 19<sup>v</sup> (keyboard)

*Attaignant* 1529 no. 17 (lute)

*Attaignant* 1529 no. 18 (voice and lute)

*Attaignant* 1531/8 no. 10 (keyboard)

TEXT:

Cinquain – one stanza; based on a rondeau by François I; a version with three stanzas is in *Les chansons* 1538 as no. 242, publ. in JefferyV II p. 335.

MODERN EDITIONS:

SeayA I no. 24

SeayC p. 162

HeartzP no. 13

LaurencieC no. 5

COMMENTS:

Lyrical Parisian chanson in the form  $\overline{AABC} \overline{D(A')}$ .

The superius is quoted in the anonymous fricassée *Au pres de vous* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in CazeauxF p. 230.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

a) Heurteur 3v, *Attaignant* 1535 no. 31, is probably a three-part arrangement of the superius from no. 167 (only the superius part-book is preserved); cf. HeartzC pp. 223f.

b) A. Willaert 6v in *Susato* 1544/13 f. 11<sup>v</sup>, *Le Roy* 1560 f. 11, and *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 58 use the superius from no. 167 in canon.

**No. 168** *Reconforte le petit cueur de moy* 4v

pp. 276-77

[Clément Janequin]

S

Reconforte le petit ♡ de moy ij (t)

T

A

B

NB B: The 10th note should be a ♭.

Rfasc. 8 no. 13. Cf. no. 161.

CONCORDANCES:

*Attaignant* 1528/3 no. 28

*Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 33

*Attaignant* 1531/2 no. 36: Janequin

*Scotto* 1535/9 no. 1 (T missing)

TEXT:

Quatrain with three interpolated short lines – one stanza; a variant of the popular song which appears in two different versions in *Paris* 9346 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22 (2 stanzas), publ. in GéroldB as no. 21, and in *Paris* 12744 f. 37<sup>v</sup> (2 stanzas), publ. in ParisC as no. 54.

MODERN EDITION:  
JanequinC I no. 1

COMMENTS:

Parisian chanson with *c.p.f.* in the superius; imitative texture. The tune in the upper voice has the contours of the popular song in *Paris 9346* and *Paris 12744* and also has many melodic details in common with it; cf. ChristoffersenO p. 51 and the detailed discussion in BrothersC pp. 311ff.

RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

- a) C. Canis 5v in *Susato 1544/13* f. 12<sup>v</sup> uses Janequin's superius as canon in the upper voices.
- b) P. Certon 5v in *Chemin 1570/C1718* p. 32 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing) uses the *c.p.f.* very freely in the superius, and is rhythmically strongly inspired by Janequin's or Canis' chanson.

**No. 169** *Nos qui vivimus* 4v  
p. 278

Rfasc. 8 no. 13a. Entered by Hand D on an empty page; the parts are disposed below one another in the order S – B – T – C.

TEXT:

Antiphon to Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel", AM p. 132.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 76d

COMMENTS:

Alternative setting for no. 159 *Facta est Judea* (q.v.). The plainchant melody (AM p. 132) is used freely, transposed up a fourth in the tenor and untransposed in the bassus; imitative texture.

**No. 170** *Deo gracias* 3v  
p. 279

Rfasc. 8 no. 14.

TEXT:

Only the short choral response "Deo gracias" – possibly the first words of a Latin song (lauda).

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 100

COMMENTS:

Lauda or possibly an instrumental composition in the form ABC:A', very lively with long chains of semiminimae in the superius and tenor; the bassus is a harmonic supporting voice—resembles a popular arrangement.

**No. 171** *Missa On a mal dit de mon amy* 4v  
pp. 280-285 + pp. 288-295 [J. Lhéritier]

Kyrie:

## Gloria:

S  
Et in terra pax hominibus adoramus (t)

T  
bone voluntatis laudamus te benedicimus te (t)

A  
Et in terra pax hominibus adoramus (t)

B  
bone voluntatis laudamus te benedicimus te (t)

## Credo:

S  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi (t)

T  
Et in unum dominum (t)

A  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi (t)

B  
Et in unum dominum (t)

## Sanctus:

S  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

T  
Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus (t)

A  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

B  
Sanctus Sanctus (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 15. The Kyrie is on pp. 280-81, the Gloria on pp. 282-285, the Credo on pp. 288-291 and the Sanctus on pp. 292-295. L. Compère's motet no. 172 is entered on pp. 286-87 between the Gloria and Credo; the relationship among the sections of the mass is indicated by the drawing of a pointing hand in the bottom right-hand corner of p. 285 and a corresponding hand on p. 289. There was a shortage of space on pp. 290-91, so the tenor begins in the middle of the staff where the superius ends on p. 290; on p. 295 the bassus is placed in the same way below the altus.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Casale Monferrato P(E)* ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-41

*Tini 1588/4* p. 17: Lerithier

## TEXT:

Ordinarium missae.

## MODERN EDITION:

Lhéritier O I p. 1

## COMMENTS:

Parody mass; a three-part popular arrangement by Antoine de Févin (see below) forms the basis of the composition. The beginning of the chanson is used as a motto in each of the principal sections of the mass. The Agnus Dei is sung to the music of the Kyrie.

MODEL: Antoine de Févin: *On a mal dit de mon amy* 3v

Incipits after *Uppsala 76a*:

Altus A de fevin

On a mal dit de mon amy (t)

TENOR

On a mal dit de mon amy (t)

Contra

On a mal dit de mon amy (t)

## SOURCES:

*Cambridge 1760* ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48: Anth de fevin

*Firenze 117* ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8

*London 5242* ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-43

*London 35087* ff. 93<sup>v</sup>-94

*München 1516* no. 139 "Tua maldit"

*St. Gallen 463* no. 43 (S only)

*Ulm 237* f. 23

*Uppsala 76a* ff. 76<sup>v</sup>-77: A de fevin

*Antico 1520/6* no. 29 (T missing)

*Attaignant 1529/4* no. 26

*Le Roy 1578/15* f. 11<sup>v</sup>: Fevin

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; complete in *Paris* 9346 ff. 75<sup>v</sup>-76, publ. in *GéroldeB* as no. 74—one of the very few rondeaux in the monophonic repertory. A strophic version which differs after the refrain appears in *Paris* 12744 f. 46 (4 stanzas), publ. in *ParisC* no. 69.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

MerrittF p. 98

SeayT p. 7

## COMMENTS:

An imitative popular arrangement formed as a rondeau with the tune from *Paris* 9346 in the tenor. *Paris* 12744 gives a considerably simpler version of the tune. Quoted in the anonymous fricassée *Au pres de vous* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19, publ. in *CazeauxF* p. 230.

An anonymous five-part setting of the tune appears in *Wien* 18746 as no. 6; *Gdańsk* 4003 IV nos. δ and ε are two two-part pieces with the same title; cf. also *BrownF* no. 318, p. 263.

**No. 172 *O genetrix gloriosa* 4v Richaffort [L. Compère]**  
pp. 286-87

S Richaffort

O genetrix gloriosa mater dei (t)

T

O genetrix gloriosa mater dei (t)

A Richaffort

O genetrix gloriosa virgo gloriosa (it)

B

O genetrix gloriosa mater dei (it)

Rfasc. 8 no. 16. Entered by the main scribe on an opening between the Gloria and Credo in Lhéritier's mass (no. 171).

## CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-11

"O genetrix gloriosa – Ave virgo gloriosa"

*London* 1070 pp. 166-169

"O genetrix gloriosa – Ave virgo gloriosa"

*Milano* 2267 ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-52 "O genetrix gloriosa"

*Roma* CS 46 ff. 99<sup>v</sup>-101: L. Compère

"O genetrix gloriosa – Ave virgo gloriosa"

*Siena* K.I.2 ff. 182<sup>v</sup>-184

"O genetrix gloriosa – Ave virgo gloriosa"

*Petrucci* 1502/1 ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-6: Anonymous

(later attribution: Ghiselin)

"O genetrix gloriosa – Ave virgo gloriosa"

Cop 1848, like *Milano* 2267, only has the 1<sup>a</sup> pars of the motet. In *Milano* 2268 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 and *Milano* 2269 ff. 149<sup>v</sup>-150 we similarly find the 2<sup>a</sup> pars "Ave virgo gloriosa" alone.

## TEXT:

Four-line stanza probably based on an unknown Marian hymn; cf. *FinscherC* p. 184.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

*CompèreO* IV p. 129

*Ammm* 13 p. 148

## COMMENTS:

Marian motet; free polyphonic texture with some imitation, duetting contrasted with tutti texture; probably not based on any plainchant melody. L. Finscher dates it c. 1475, in which case it must be attributed to Compère, not the much younger Jean Richafort (c. 1480-1548); cf. *FinscherC* p. 187.

Richafort did however compose a mass based on this motet, *Missa O genetrix* 4v, appearing e.g. in *Attaignant* 1532/4 as no. 1, publ. in *RichafortO* I p. 1.

**No. 173 *Magnificat Et exultavit* VIII toni 3v**

pp. 296-299

## T1

Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

## T2

Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

## B

Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 17. Entered over two openings with four verses on the first and two on the second opening.

## TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 74


## COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, *KirschM* no. 395; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Short (15-24 br-mm.) and simple settings for two tenor voices and bass. The 8th

tone (AR p. 28\*) is paraphrased in the upper parts; in v. 8 (duo) the melody is used in free canon between tenor 2 and the bassus. Decidedly provincial composition with limited vocal range, probably written for choral performance, since *divisi* in tenor 1 and the bassus appear in all final chords, thus making up five parts.


**No. 174 Magnificat Et exultavit I toni 2v (4v)**  
pp. 300-01

S



Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

C



Et exultavit (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 18. Two parts entered by the main scribe at the top of the pages. After writing only the superius and altus for the first section of the composition, he stopped, then overscored the parts, and used the pages for the beginning of no. 175 *In exitu Israel*.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. (Luke I.46-55) – only Verse 2.

COMMENTS:

Fragment of a Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 188; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Probably a large composition for low voices (three tenor parts and bass) like no. 160. Imitative texture based on the 1st tone transposed (AR p. 8\*) – (32 br-mm.).

**No. 175 In exitu Israel de Egypto 4v**  
pp. 300-310

S



In exitu Israel de egipto (t)

Tenor



In exitu Israel de egipto (t)

Contra



In exitu Israel de egipto (t)


B




In exitu Israel de egipto (t)

No. 175(a)


S



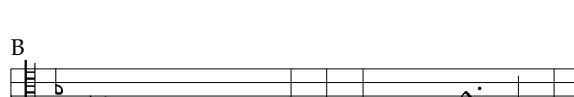
T



C



B



Sicut erat in principio et nunc (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 19. Entered verse by verse with the parts below one another in the order S – T – C – B; each page has 1-2 verses—on the opening pp. 306-07 v. 17 “Domus Israel speravit” starts at the bottom of p. 306 with the superius and tenor, while the contra and bassus are at the top of p. 307. As with no. 159 *Facta est Judea*, a later user, Hand D, worked with no. 175. Besides adding text in many places, and correcting the music, Hand D added v. 29 “Sicut erat in principio” (below v. 25 “Celum celi Domino”, p. 309). At the bottom of p. 306 below v. 17 “Domus Israel speravit” he wrote the cross-reference “Alius infra”—cf. below.

TEXT:

Ps. 113, ad Vesperas – only the odd-numbered verses.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 77

Vol. III no. 77a (v. 29 “Sicut erat in principio”)

COMMENTS:

*Alternatim* psalm setting, only the odd-numbered verses; short settings (16-34 br-mm.), varied homorhythmic and imitative texture, changing number of voices (v. 9, 2v; v. 11, 3v). The *tonus peregrinus* (AR p. 29\*) transposed up a fourth is used in the tenor in almost all verses (in v. 9, however, in the superius and in v. 23 in the bassus).

Hand D, while working with no. 159, also tried to improve on no. 175. Among other things, he corrected the ending of the three-part v. 11 “Deus autem noster”. This had got into a hopeless mess with accumulations of dissonances. He overscored the contra and bassus and composed, directly on the page, a new ending with a pleasant imitation of the tenor melody which progresses naturally to the cadence. Originally no. 175 did not end like no. 159 with a setting of a doxology verse. Hand D composed the extra verse which fits in the context, v. 29 “Sicut erat in principio”, possibly




so the two sets of psalms could be combined in a performance by two four-part choirs (cf. Ch. 10.3). His new v. 29 is a simple homorhythmic setting which, with its *mediatio* emphasized by a fermata and its imperfect ending (half-cadence) clearly differs from the original composition.

V. 17 "Domus Israel speravit" is the longest section of the psalm because of its structure, with alternating pairs of voices. Hand D appears to have considered this inappropriate, and composed an alternative verse. The cross-reference "Alius infra" refers to the quite short three-part setting of this Verse which he added on pp. 430-31 (cf. no. 260, publ. as Vol. III no. 77b); like v. 29, this composition also ends without a cadence.

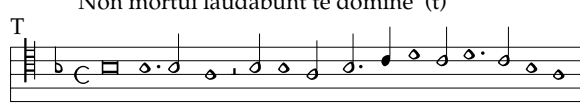
**No. 176 *Non mortui laudabunt te* 4v**  
p. 311

S



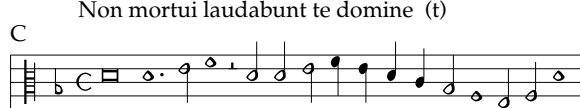
Non mortui laudabunt te domine (t)

T



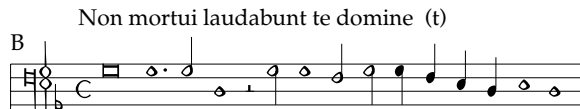
Non mortui laudabunt te domine (t)

C



Non mortui laudabunt te domine (t)

B



Non mortui laudabunt te domine (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 19a. Entered by Hand D on an empty page; the parts are disposed below one another in the order S – B – C – T.

TEXT:

Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel" v. 26.

MODERN EDITION:


Vol. III no. 76b

COMMENTS:

Alternative setting of v. 26 in no. 159 *Facta est Judea* (q.v.). Above the corresponding passage in no. 159 Hand D added a cross-reference to this setting.

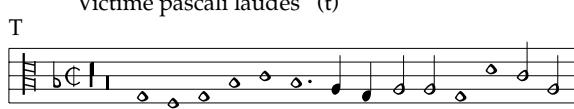
**No. 177 *Victime pascali laudes* 3v (4v)**  
pp. 312-13

S




Victime pascali laudes (t)

T



Victime pascali laudes (t)

A



Victime pascali laudes (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 20. Incomplete; entered by the main scribe in normal choirbook disposition; superius and tenor on p. 312; the altus, which stops in the middle of verse 3, is at the top of p. 313; the space for the bassus is empty.

TEXT:


Sequence, attributed to Wipo († 1098), Domenica Resurrectionis, GR p. 242 vv. 1 and 3.

COMMENTS:

Fragment of an *alternatim* setting of the sequence; short imitative settings (12 and 17 br.-mm.) with the plainchant melody (GR p. 242) in the tenor.


**No. 178 *Ave Maria* 5v Dulo (François Dulot)**  
pp. 314-15

S1 dulo

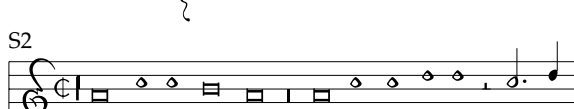


Ave maria (i)

T Canon in subdiapente




S2



Ave maria (i)

S3 Dulo



Ave maria (i)

Rfasc. 8 no. 21. Superius 1 and 2 are on p. 314, while superius 3 and the tenor appear in the places of the altus and bassus on p. 315.

TEXT:

Antiphon, Officium B.M.V., AR p. [139].

## COMMENTS:

Motet with the antiphon melody as canon at the fifth in the two lowest parts set against three free upper voices at treble pitch – 41 br-mm.

**No. 179 *Reveillés vous, amoureux, vous dormes tropt* 5v**  
p. 316

T



Reveillés vous amoureux vous dormes tropt (i)

B



Reveillés vous amoureux vous dormes tropt (t)

Rfasc. 8 no. 22. Added by the main scribe.

## TEXT:

Virelai (?) – one stanza.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 54

## COMMENTS:

Canon chanson; four-part canon on the bassus plus a free tenor. The canon intervals are not given, but it is easy to establish that the first entry is at the octave, then the second and third canon entries follow in octaves a fifth higher. The very simple melodic material takes the form of a popular virelai.

**No. 180 *Examples* 2v**  
p. 317

T



a



b2



c



Rfasc. 8 no. 23. Before the staves and music the main scribe amused himself with some mathematical figures

now appearing upside down in the manuscript. The music was entered at the same time as the examples no. 156 in Rfasc. 8, no. 76 in Rfasc. 5 and no. 122 in Rfasc. 6.

## MODERN EDITION:


Vol. III no. 104

## COMMENTS:


Counterpoint examples consisting of a tenor part in *semibreves* (40 notes), identical to the “Alleluia” from “Alleluia Veni Sancte Spiritus” (GR p. 293) and three different counter-voices in flowing counterpoint with many passages in *semiminimae* (a at treble pitch, b and c at bass pitch). These were composed directly on the page with many overscorings and corrections. The counter-voice b was first abandoned after seven br-mm. and crossed out, and then fair-copied below the counter-voice c and completed (b<sup>2</sup>); cf. Ch. 11.1.

**No. 181 *Ou porroit on finer ung gentil compaignon* 3v**  
p. 319


Altus



Tenor



Contra



Ou porroit on finer ung gentil (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 1 (Rfasc. G no. 14). Entered by the main scribe on the front cover of the fascicle in connection with the work on Rfasc. G.

## TEXT:

Quatrain – in a ballade-like form—the last line resembles a refrain line.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 33

## COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune, moving in free octave canon in the tenor and the altus, supported by the contra; AaBa' form; a quite inept, amateurish composition.

**No. 182 *Magnificat Et exultavit Primi toni* 4v**  
pp. 320-323

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 2. Rfasc. 9-10 was originally only meant to contain a series of Magnificat settings consisting of six compositions ordered by mode (Rfasc. 9-10 nos. 2-7; cf. Ch. 4.2). They were entered in normal choirbook disposition, and each takes up two or three openings. In many places the disposition of the parts is obscured by verses written in continuously, rather than beginning each new verse on a new staff. The staves, too, have in many places been extended beyond the pre-traced margin.

In no. 182 the superius of Verse 6 has been misplaced; it has been written in with the altus in the top area of p. 321. The bassus for v. 12 was completed at the bottom of p. 322—the first attempt was notated a third too low, so it has been rubbed out and repeated on the staff above.

**TEXT:**

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

**COMMENTS:**

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 113; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. A varied composition with changing numbers of voices and verses of different lengths (13-31 br-mm., totalling 134 br-mm.). The 1st tone (AR p. 8\*) is used as *c.f.*, either embellished or paraphrased, and transposed as well as untransposed: v. 2 (2v) in the superius; v. 4 (3v) in the bassus transposed; v. 6 (4v) in the altus transposed; v. 8 (3v) first in the tenor untransposed and then in the bassus transposed; vv. 10 and 12 (4v) in the tenor.

**No. 183 *Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni* 4v**  
pp. 324-329 [A. Brumel / Fr. Benalt?]

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 3. Cf. no. 182. The scribe has placed Verse 8, a “duo”, in the superius and altus; as in the other sources, this section should probably have been placed in the superius and bassus.

**CONCORDANCES:**

*Barcelona* 454 ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-94: fr. Benalt (?)

*Kassel* 9 no. 12

*Roma* CS 44 ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-23: Brumel (through-composed)

*Wien* 18832 no. 49 “Esurientes” (2v, Verse 8 only)

*Wroclaw* 428 f. 3 “Sicut locutus” (= Verse 2; this Verse only)

**TEXT:**

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

**MODERN EDITION:**

BrumelO VI p. 7

**COMMENTS:**

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 631; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Spacious settings (19-49 br-mm., totalling 241 br-mm.), varied and imaginative through-imitated texture. The 2nd tone transposed (AR p. 11\*) is paraphrased; v. 8 is a relatively free duo.

Cop 1848 differs from the other sources in that the parts are furnished with short diminutions (especially in vv. 4, 6, 8 and 12, and especially in the superius, but in v. 8 in both parts); for further discussion see Ch. 10.2 and BrumelO VI p. XVII.

In *Roma* CS 44 this Magnificat appears in a re-worked version where all 12 verses of the Canticum B.M.V. are set. This is done partly by using the music of the original six verses with a different text (v. 3 = v. 12, v. 5 = v. 8, v. 7 = v. 2 and v. 9 = v. 6) and partly by adding new music, quite different stylistically, to v. 1 and v. 11. All three versions, with ample comments, are printed in BrumelO VI.

**No. 184 *Magnificat Et exultavit Quarti toni 4v***  
pp. 330-333

S      Quarti toni      Duo

Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Tenor      Tacet

Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

A      Duo

Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

B

Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 4. Cf. no. 182.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 237; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Imitative texture; Verse 2 is a duo, and in v. 4 the superius is so low that the setting of this Verse becomes one for three tenor voices and a bass (15-36 br-mm.). The 4th tone (AR p. 18\*) is used as *c.f.* in the superius and tenor in turn; in vv. 6, 8 and 10 half of the setting is dominated by the recitation formula, while the other half is freer.

**No. 185 *Domus Aaron speravit 3v***  
pp. 330-31

T1

T2

B

Domus aaron speravit in domino (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 4a. Entered by Hand D on empty staves below no. 184.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 187.

TEXT:

Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel" v. 18.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 76c

COMMENTS:

Alternative Verse for no. 159 *Facta est Judea* where v. 18 is also a three-part composition (q.v.). The *tonus peregrinus* (AR p. 29\*) transposed up a fourth is just discernible in the imitative texture.

No. 185 is a rough draft with many overscorings and corrections—no. 187 is the fair copy; for further discussion, see Ch. 11.2.

**No. 186 *Magnificat Et exultavit Quinti toni 4v***  
pp. 334-339

S      quinti toni      Duo

Et exultavit spiritus (t)

T      Tacet

Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

A      Duo

Et exultavit spiritus (t)

B      Et exultavit (t)

Quia fecit mihi magna (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 5. Cf. no. 182.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 271; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Imitative texture with many passages in alternating duos (19-42 br-mm.). The 5th tone (AR p. 21\*) is used relatively freely as *c.f.* in the tenor and superius; v. 2 and v. 8 are for two voices, but for v. 8 there is also a bassus "si placet". In the vv. 10 and 12 there are ostinato-like passages. It cannot be denied, however, that the composition as a whole suffers from a certain monotony.

**No. 187 *Domus Aaron speravit* 3v**

pp. 338-39

T1



Domus aaron speravit in domino (t)

T2



Domus aaron speravit in domino (t)

B



Domus aaron speravit in domino (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 5a. Entered by Hand D on empty staves below the ending of no. 186.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 185 (q.v.).

TEXT:

Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel" v. 18.

COMMENTS:

Fair copy, with text in all parts, of no. 185.

**No. 188 *Magnificat Et exultavit Sexti toni* 4v**

pp. 340-343

S Sexti toni



Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Tenor



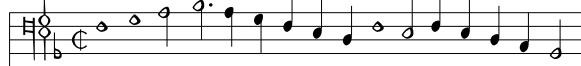
Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

A



Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Bassus



Et exultavit spiritus meus (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 6. Cf. no. 182.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

COMMENTS:

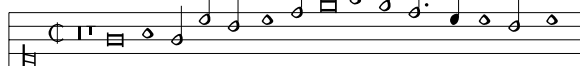
Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 338; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Compact, imitative settings (15-21 br-mm.) all for four voices where the 6th tone

(AR p. 22\*) is paraphrased or is used as *c.f.* (v. 2 in the superius, v. 8 in the bassus and superius, v. 10 in the bassus); v. 6 is more or less an ostinato based on a Hypolydian scale; the superius consists simply of the two note series *f'-g'-a'-bb'-c''-f'* and *c'-d'-e'-f'-g'-c'*.

**No. 189 *Magnificat Et exultavit Octavi toni* 4v**

pp. 344-349

S octavi toni



Et exultavit (t)

T



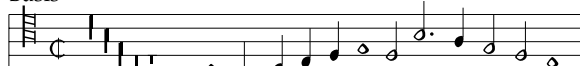
Et exultavit (t)

A



Et exultavit (t)

Basis



Et exultavit (t)

Rfasc. 9-10 no. 7. Cf. no. 182.

TEXT:

Canticum B.M.V. – Luke I.46-55.

COMMENTS:

Magnificat setting, KirschM no. 429; *alternatim*, only the even-numbered verses. Long settings (29-49 br-mm.) in imitative texture with extensive use of duo alternation and frequent repetitions of short passages; all the sections are for four voices. The 8th tone (AR p. 28\*) is paraphrased in vv. 2, 4, 6 and 12, and appears as *c.f.* at the beginning of v. 4. and v. 6 in the superius and bassus respectively.

**No. 190 [*Missa de Beata Maria Virgine*]***Kyrie – Et in terra pax* 3-4v

pp. 351-355

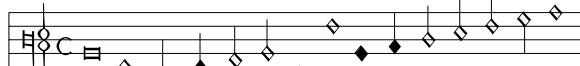
Kyrie:

Tenor



Kyrie (t)

Bassus



Kyrie (t)

## Gloria:

S

Et in terra hominibus bone (t)

Tenor

Et in terra pax hominibus (t)

Bassus

Et in terra pax hominibus (t)

Rfasc. 11 no. 1. In this fascicle Hand C, before the main scribe used the paper, entered nos. 190, 193 and 203 which together make up a Missa B.M.V. The Kyrie is on p. 351; it lacks a superius and the last 10 br-mm. of the bassus, so the outer sheet of the fascicle must have been lost. The Gloria fills pp. 352-355; below the superius on p. 354 is the contraaltus for the four-part "Amen"

## TEXT:

Ordinarium missae; Gloria with the six Marian tropes "Spiritus et alme ...", GS p. 14\*.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 69 (Gloria)

## COMMENTS:

*Alternatim* pair of mass sections; provincial composition.

Kyrie: Incomplete; "Kyrie cum iubilo" from Missa IX In festis B. Mariae Virginis, GR p. 28\*, is used as *c.p.f.* in the tenor. The passages set are the first (and third) invocations in Kyrie I (14 br-mm.), the second invocation in the Christe (18 br-mm.) and the first and last invocations in Kyrie II (15 and 26 br-mm.)

Gloria: The *c.p.f.* in the tenor is the melody from the same mass, GR pp. 32\*-34\*, in the version which was very widespread in the 15th century with the tropes "Spiritus et alme ..."; cf. GS p. 14\* and ReeseP p. 592. As in the Kyrie, these are short (7-18 br-mm.) and simple settings, mainly homorhythmic, but there is imitation at the beginnings of some of the settings. "Mariam sanctificans", "Mariam gubernans" and "Jesu Christe" are, as tradition demands, set with fermata chords; in the "Amen" *proportio dupla* is introduced, and a fourth part "Contra altus" is added.

This Missa B.M.V., which was the original content of Rfasc. 11, consists of three independent compositions, united by the scribe in a mass cycle. The two *alternatim* pairs of mass sections (nos. 190 and 193) probably come from a collection of short mass sections from which Hand C took two pairs which belong to the Marian liturgy; their choice of melodies and tropes

conform to normal practice in the 15th-16th century (cf. ReeseP; on other "compilation masses" of the 15th century, see JosephsonM). The Credo was usually sung monophonically in such *missae breves* (Credo I, GR p. 59\*); but here the scribe added a polyphonic Credo by arranging another composition (no. 203). For further discussion, see Ch. 10.1.

No. 191 *En attendant de vous secors* 3v [L. Compère]  
pp. 356-57

S

En attendant de vous secors (i)

T

C

Rfasc. 11 no. 2. Like the following chanson, this was entered by the main scribe on an empty opening between the mass sections which Hand C had written. Superius and tenor are on p. 356, and the contratenor is at the top of p. 357. The opening was later scribbled over with pen trials, including the signature "Charneyron".

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 278.

## CONCORDANCES:

Bologna Q18 ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-92

Firenze 178 ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19

Firenze 229 ff. 225<sup>v</sup>-26: Loyset compere

Segovia f. 185<sup>v</sup>: Loysette compere

Torino I, 27 f. 13

Uppsala 76a ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; the complete text is in *Torino I*, 27 as well as *Paris* 1719 f. 116<sup>v</sup>, publ. in SchwobP as no. 51. A rondeau with the same first line, but otherwise different, is in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 114<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ as no. 491.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 20

BrownL no. 208

VillanisM no. 2

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 6).



**No. 192** *Vostre cuer c'est bien toust resioy* [*Vostre oeil c'est bien toust repenty*] 3v [J. Prioris]

p. 357

S  
Vostre cuer cest bien toust (t)

T  
Vostre cuer (i)

C  
Vostre cuer cest bien (i)

NB T: The rest at the start lacks a *sbr* value.

Rfasc. 11 no. 3. Entered below the contratenor of no. 191 (q.v.), in a compact disposition where the tenor begins on the same staff as the ending of the superius.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 48<sup>v</sup>-49 (without text)

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25 "Vostre oeil c'est tost repenty"

*Paris* 2245 ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-4: prioris

"Vostre oeil c'est bien tost repenty"

Cop 1848 differs in many details from the above-mentioned sources; for example it lacks the refrain-like repetition of the last line (bars 25-28), and the contratenor in Cop 1848 is quite different in several passages.

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain, the first line of which is corrupt, but *Firenze* 2794 and *Paris* 2245 both have the complete rondeau. The poem is also in *Paris* 1719 f. 35-35<sup>v</sup> and in *La Chasse* 1509 f. x<sub>iii</sub><sup>v</sup>.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. I Ch. 7.1 Ex. 13

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; very succinct, imitative texture, totalling 28 br-mm.—cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 13).

**No. 193** [*Missa de Beata Maria Virgine*]  
*Sanctus – Agnus Dei* 4v

pp. 358-361

Sanctus:

S  
Sanctus (t)

Tenor  
Sanctus (t)

Contra Altus  
Sanctus (t)

Bassus  
Sanctus (t)

Agnus Dei:

S  
Agnus dei qui (t)

Tenor  
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata (t)

Contra Altus  
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata (t)

Bassus  
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata (t)

Rfasc. 11 no. 4. Entered by Hand C; cf. no. 190; each mass section fills an opening. The disposition of the parts differs from the practice of the main scribe in that the superius and contraaltus are on the left-hand page of the opening and the tenor and bassus are on the right-hand page.

TEXT:

Ordinarium missae; Sanctus with trope "Benedictus Marie filius ...", GS p. 17\*.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 70

## COMMENTS:

*Alternatim* pair of mass sections; provincial composition.

Sanctus: the tune from Missa IV, GR p. 17\*, is used as *c.p.f.* in the tenor; as in the Gloria (no. 190) it has been furnished with a short trope "Benedictus Marie filius qui venit ..."; cf. GS p. 14\* and p. 17\*. As in the Kyrie (no. 190) it begins with a polyphonic acclamation "Sanctus", a very brief setting (five *lo* measures); Sanctus III is a written-out repetition of Sanctus I and carries on directly into "Domine Deus Sabaoth" (10 *lo* mm.). The Benedictus goes directly into the final Osanna; this setting is the longest of the *alternatim* sections of the mass (29 br-mm.), and is the most polyphonically elaborate.

Agnus Dei: A short composition (14 *lo* mm.) with the melody from Missa XVII in the tenor, GR p. 57\*. It functions both as Agnus I and III; each voice has the instruction "Tertius Agnus Dei ut supra".

**No. 194 Textless composition 1v**

p. 361



Rfasc. 11 no. 5. The beginning of a superius part has been entered by the main scribe below the bassus of no. 193 "Agnus Dei", where the three empty staves could have had room for a small piece of music; after only ten notes the scribe obviously realized that there was not room enough and crossed the part out.

**No. 195 Magnificat – Without text – VIII toni 3v**

p. 362



Rfasc. 11 no. 6. The first of eight compositions entered by the main scribe on three empty openings between the mass sections entered by Hand C. Several of the original staves have been extended in towards the middle of the opening.

## COMMENTS:

Three short textless sections in simple imitative texture (16-19 br-mm.). Probably a Magnificat setting, or part of one; not mentioned in KirschM. The 8th tone (AR p. 28\*) is used in the first two sections as *c.p.f.* in tenor and superius respectively, while in the third it is paraphrased in the upper voices. Verses 2, 4 and 6 in Canticum B.M.V. (Luke 1.46-55) can easily be laid under the three sections, and with insignificant changes in the music vv. 8, 10 and 12 can also be sung, so this textless composition should possibly be seen as a strophic *alternatim* Magnificat (v. 2 = v. 8, v. 4 = v. 10 and v. 6 = v. 12; cf. KirschM pp. 46f).

**No. 196 Salve, regina misericordie 3v**

p. 363



Salve regina (t)



Salve regina misericordie (i)

Rfasc. 11 no. 7. Cf. no. 195; since there was too little room for the composition on the page, the staves have been lengthened on both the right-hand and left-hand sides of the page. There was no room for half of the contratenor on p. 363, therefore on p. 362 supplementary staves have been drawn vertically in the margin and below no. 195.

## TEXT:

Antiphona B.M.V. by Adhemar de Pui (11th century), AH L p. 318, AR p. 68, RH 18150.

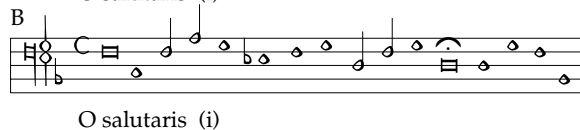
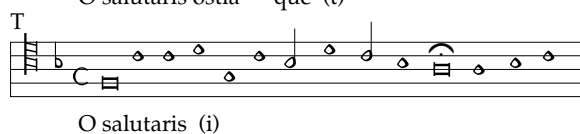
## COMMENTS:

Antiphon setting; *alternatim* with the plainchant melody (AR p. 68) in the tenor; short (8-29 br-mm.) and simple settings. Superius and contratenor participate in initial imitations, but are otherwise typical counter-voices to the tenor. After v. 1 in the superius comes the instruction "Corus Vita dulcedo". After this the following are set: v. 3 "Ad te clamamus ...", v. 5 "Eia ergo ...", the last section of v. 6 "Nobis post ..." and v. 8 "O pia". Around 1500 only the even-numbered verses of the antiphon were normally set.

**No. 197 *O salutaris ostia* 4v Haquinet**

p. 364

S Haquinet



Rfasc. 11 no. 8. Cf. no. 195; the parts are below one another at the top of the page in the order superius, altus, tenor, bassus; the staves have been extended in towards the middle of the opening.

## TEXT:

Hymn, in honorem SS. Sacramenti, AR p. 93\*; cf. no. 110.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 89

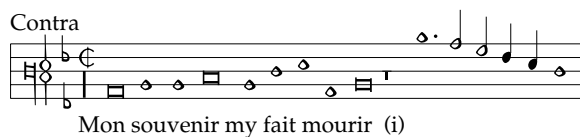
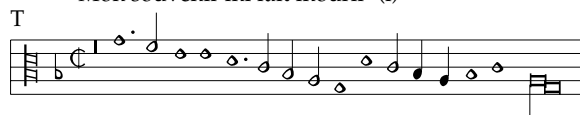
## COMMENTS:

Lauda; homorhythmic texture, apparently not using any *c.p.f.*; fermata and vertical line down through the staves at the end of each of the four phrases. Very like the anonymous lauda *O salutaris ostia* 4v in *Petrucci 1508/3* f. 30; publ. in JeppesenL p. 48.

**No. 198 *Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* 3v**

pp. 364-65

[Hayne van Ghizeghem]



Rfasc. 11 no. 9. Cf. no. 195; entered below no. 197. The contratenor fills the bottom staff on p. 364 and the top one on p. 365.

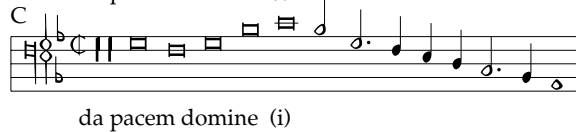
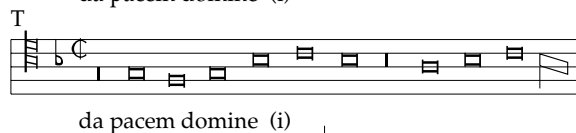
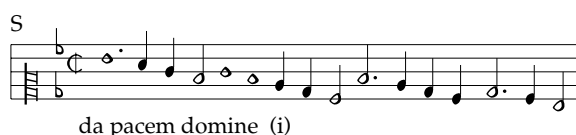
Also in Cop 1848 as no. 65 and no. 279 (cf. no. 65).

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; no. 198 is identical to no. 279, except that the latter gives the complete text.

**No. 199 *Da pacem, Domine* 3v [A. Agricola]**

p. 365



Rfasc. 11 no. 10. Cf. no. 195; placed below the contratenor of no. 198.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 265.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Amiens* 162 f. 2

*London* 35087 ff. 39<sup>v</sup>-40: Agricola

*Paris* 1597 ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-4

## TEXT:

Antiphona pro Pace, AR p. 144\*.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO IV p. 47

ShippC p. 248

## COMMENTS:

Motet; the very frequently-used antiphon (AR p. 144\*—cf. CattinC no. 69 and CouchmanC no. 3) is used in the tenor in steady *br* and *sbr* values.

The anonymous chanson *Panses bien* 3v in *Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30 is strikingly similar to the beginning of Agricola's composition—it may be a reworking; cf. AtlasC I pp. 85-86.

**No. 200 *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* 3v [J. Fresnau]**  
p. 366

S  
Nuit et jour sans repous avoir (t)

T  
Nuit et jour (i)

Contra  
Nuit et jour (i)

Rfasc. 11 no. 11. Cf. no. 195.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 262.

**CONCORDANCES:**

*Firenze* 2794 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39: fresnau

*London* 20.A.XVI ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 56<sup>v</sup>-57: Jo. Fresnau "Perget"

*Washington* L25 ff. 113<sup>v</sup>-14

**TEXT:**

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives the six first lines. The complete text is in *Firenze* 2794, *London* 20.A.XVI and in *Paris* 1719 f. 32. The same poem is used for an anonymous chanson, Cop 1848 no. 48.

**MODERN EDITION:**

AtlasC II p. 30

**COMMENTS:**

Setting of a rondeau; for further discussion see AtlasC I pp. 124-25, where the tenor is compared to the Magnificat melody in the 1st tone, AR p. 28\*. No musical resemblance to no. 48.

**No. 201 *Pange lingua gloriosi* 3v**  
p. 367

S  
Pange lingua gloriosi (t)

Contra (T)  
Pange lingua gloriosi (t)

C  
Pange lingua gloriosi (t)

Rfasc. 11 no. 12. Cf. no. 195; the designation "contra" is misplaced beside the tenor part.

**TEXT:**

Hymn, Corpus Christi, by Thomas Aquinas († 1274) – one stanza, RH 14467, AH L pp. 586-87, AR p. 526, GR p. 152\*; Feria V in Cena Domini GR p. 216.

**COMMENTS:**

Hymn setting; imitative texture with melody (cf. also StäbleinH no. 56) in the tenor – 36 br-mm. The copy is very imperfect—the tenor is 11½ br-mm. short, and the contratenor lacks 8½ br-mm.

For other settings of the hymn, see WardH nos. 451-87 and nos. 750-51.

**No. 202 *O salutaris hostia* 2v**  
p. 367

S  
O salutaris hostia que celi (t)

T  
O salutaris hostia (i)

Rfasc. 11 no. 13. Cf. no. 195; the two parts share three staves below no. 201.

**TEXT:**

Hymn, in Honorem SS. Sacramenti, AR p. 93\*; cf. no. 110.

**MODERN EDITION:**

Vol. III no. 94

**COMMENTS:**

Hymn setting; the melody (AR p. 93\*, 8th tone) is paraphrased in pseudo-canon; the last phrase is repeated as in a popular arrangement.

**No. 203 [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine]**  
*Patrem omnipotentem* 3v  
pp. 368-371

S  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et terre (t)

Tenor  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et terre (t)

Bassus  
Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et terre (t)

Rfasc. 11 no. 14. Entered by Hand C; cf. no. 190.

TEXT:  
Ordinarium missae.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 71

COMMENTS:

Mass section arranged on the basis of another composition; provincial composition for three low voices. The model, a motet or the like, is expanded by repeating passages, and long notes in the superius have been split up by note repetitions to fit the long Credo text. The resulting form is "Patrem omnipotentem ..." AB – "Et incarnatus ..." B' – "Crucifixus ..." CB". It was probably adapted by Hand C as it was entered in Rfasc. 11; see also Ch. 10.1.

**No. 204 *Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souviendra* 3v**  
p. 372 [A. Agricola]

Rfasc. 11 no. 15. The last three empty pages of the fascicle were used by the main scribe for three compositions.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 273.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39: A agricola "Soit loing soit pres"  
*Firenze* 229 ff. 267<sup>v</sup>-68: Alexander "Soit long soit pres"  
*Firenze* 2794 ff. 72<sup>v</sup>-73  
*London* 20.A.XVI ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 "Soit pret ou loing"  
*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 "Aint long"  
*Segovia* f. 162<sup>v</sup>: Alexander agricola

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; the complete poem is in *Firenze* 2794 as well as *Paris* 1719 f. 37-37<sup>v</sup>.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Agricola O V p. 37  
Brown L no. 247

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 205 *Qu'en dites vous? ferés vous rien* [Een vraulich wesen] 3v**  
Maistre Jaques d'Anvers (J. Barbireau)

p. 373

Rfasc. 11 no. 16. Cf. no. 204; several staves have been extended all the way out to the edge of the paper.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 247.

CONCORDANCES:

*Basel* X.10 no. 8 "Froelich wesen" (B only)  
*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16 / 26-27<sup>v</sup> "Een vraulich wesen" (S and T only)  
*Greifswald* 640-641 no. 54: Isaac "Ein frolich wesenth" (S and B only)  
*Iserlohn* IV.36 no. 108 "Eyn frolich wesen" (B only)  
*London* 31922 ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7 "En frolyk weson"  
*München* 328-331 no. 109 "Ain froelich wesen" (4v; + Altus<sup>1</sup>)  
*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17 "Se une fois avant"  
*Segovia* f. 166: Jacobus Barbireau "Een vroylic wesen"  
*St. Gallen* 462 pp. 64-65: Obrecht "Ein frölich wesen" (4v; + Altus<sup>2</sup>)  
*St. Gallen* 463 no. 153: Jacobus Obrecht "Ein frölich wesen" (4v; S and A<sup>2</sup> only)  
*Ulm* 237 f. 14 "Eyn vroelich wochen"

*Vorsterman* 1529 ff. D1-2 "Mes ieulx ont veu une plaisant"  
*Vorsterman* 1529 f. K3 "Mes ieulx ont veu une plaisant" (S only)

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 28 (without text)  
*Ghelen* 1554 ff. 16-17<sup>v</sup> "Een vrolijck wesen"

In the four-part versions, two different altus parts appear: one in *München* 328-331 and another in *St. Gallen* 462 and *St. Gallen* 463.

Intabulations:

*Basel* IX.22 no. 13 "Ein frölich Wesen" (keyboard)  
*Berlin* 40026 ff. 27-28: J. B. "Ain frewlich wesen" (keyboard)  
*Berlin* 40026 ff. 69-70: P. H. "Ain frewlich wesen" (keyboard)  
*Vorsterman* 1529 ff. D3-E1 "Een vrolijck wesen" (keyboard)

*Vorsterman* 1529 ff. G2-4 “Een vrolijc wesen” (lute)  
*Phalèse* 1545/21 no. 28 “Een vrolic wesen” (lute)

#### TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives the whole of the poem, which is also in *Berlin* 78.B.17 ff. 68-68<sup>v</sup>, publ. in LöpeltmannR no. 74. Different versions can be found in *Paris* 7559 f. 57, publ. in BancelR no. 29, and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 121<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DrozJ no. 570.

The song has been preserved with several different texts; most sources, however, have the text incipit only. In *Bruxelles/Tournai* it appears with a Flemish text “Een vraulich wesen”; it only has one stanza, but this is probably a refrain from a Flemish ‘rondeau quatrain’. In *Vorsterman* 1529 there is a French rendering of this text, and in the Flemish edition of the same textbook (*Ghelen* 1554) a variant of the Flemish text “Een vrolijck wesen” is used. The Flemish rondeau, which is also suggested by incipits in *London* 31922 and *Segovia*, is probably the original text; Isaac’s mass based on the song, written around 1490, also refers to the Flemish title (cf. RELATED COMPOSITIONS, Item a below).

In *St. Gallen* 462. *St. Gallen* 463 and *Berlin* 40026 it appears with a German strophic poem “Ein frölich wesen” (3 stanzas), which is very difficult to fit to the music. Finally, *Roma* CG XIII.27 has the text incipit “Se une fois avant”, which seems to point to a rondeau cinquain (reproduced in AtlasC I p. 67), but which is also difficult to reconcile with the music. For further discussion of these texts see FoxB and AtlasC I pp. 65ff.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

BarbireauO II p. 11  
 BernoulliL p. 100  
 GeeringH no. 32  
 IsaacW p. 5  
 LenaertsL pp. (28-29)  
 ObrechtWW p. 61  
 StevensM no. 4  
 ThomasG no. 11

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; Jaques (Jacobus) Barbireau, who was employed in 1448-91 at Notre Dame in Antwerp, is given as the composer in Cop 1848, *Segovia* and possibly *Berlin* 40026 (J. B.). *St. Gallen* 462 and *St. Gallen* 463 name Obrecht, but this probably refers first and foremost to the added altus<sup>(2)</sup>. Isaac is mentioned in the late manuscript *Greifswald* 640-641, probably a confusion with Isaac’s reworking (mentioned in Item b in RELATED COMPOSITIONS below), which has Barbireau’s whole superius.

Both copies in Cop 1848 have, at the end of the bassus, a characteristic extension which produces an interval of a fourth with the superius and tenor in the final chord, before the bassus moves to an octave

consonance. While no. 247 only has a single scribal error in the bassus (bar 28.3, *d* for *e*), no. 205 has several: a missing rest in the bassus (bar 33.1-2); superfluous notes in the tenor (before bar 35.2); and a  $\diamond$  is notated as a  $\equiv$  (bar 45.1-2).

RELATED COMPOSITIONS (BS, BT and BB indicate which part from Barbireau’s song is used):

- a) H. Isaac: *Missa Een vrolic wesenn* 4v (cf. StaehelinI I p. 32); parody mass on Barbireau’s song. The “Pleni sunt” passage (3v), which has the whole BS, appears separately as:
- b) H. Isaac: *Een vrolic wessen* in *Wien* 18832 f. 46<sup>v</sup> (T and B only). Intabulations: *Gerle* 1533/G1623 no. 13 *Ein frölich wesen* (anonymous; lute) and *Heckel* 1562/24 no. 10 *Ein frölich wesen* (anonymous; lute duet).
- c) Pipelare / De la Rue: *Ain froelich wesen* 4v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27 (Pipelare); *Regensburg* 120 p. 282 (Pipelare); *Trento* 1947-4 no. (3) (anonymous; A, T and B only); *Wien* 18810 no. 41 (Petri de la Rue). Intabulation: *St. Gallen* 530 f. 34<sup>v</sup> (De la Rue; keyboard); BS used in S; publ. in PipelareO I no. 1.
- d) H. Bucis: *Ain frelich wessen* 4v in *Regensburg* 120 pp. 278-79; BS used in A.
- e) Anonymous: *Eyn froelich wesen* 4v, *Basel* X.17-20 no. 47 and *Aich* 1519/5 no. 29; BS used in T; publ. in BernoulliA no. 29.
- f) Anonymous: *Ain froelich wesen* in *Oeglin* 1513/3 f. 28 (S only); BS used in S.
- g) Paul Rephun: *Ein frölich wesen / Mein hertz hat alzeit verlangen* 2v, *Rhau* 1545/7 no. 85 has BS in S, while the lower voice is a quodlibet; publ. in BellinghamR p. 260.
- h) Anonymous: *Ein frohlich wesen* 4v, *Basel* X.17-20 no. 48; BT used in B.
- i) J. Ghiselin-Verbonnet: *Een vrouwelic wesen* 3v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 49<sup>v</sup>-50 (Jo. gysling Alias verbonnet); *Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 48 (anonymous); BB used in B; publ. in Ghiselin-VerbonnetO IV p. 25.
- j) H. Isaac: *Ain frelich wesen* 4v in *Regensburg* 120 pp. 280-81; BB used in A; publ. in IsaacW p. 62.
- k) Anonymous: *Een vroelich wessen* 4v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28; BB used in B; publ. in LenaertsL pp. (23-24).
- l) Anonymous [without text] 3v in *St. Gallen* 462 pp. 138-39; BB used in S; publ. in GeeringH no. 78.
- m) JA. HE (Heer?): *Ein nüzwe frölich wesen* 3v in *St. Gallen* 462 pp. 66-67; no musical connection with Barbireau’s composition; publ. in GeeringH as no. 33.



**No. 206 *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* 3v Haquinet**  
p. 374

S Haquinet



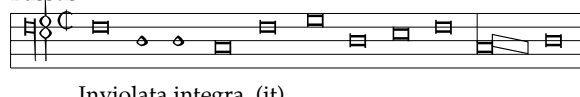
Inviolata integra et casta (t)

Tenor



Inviolata integra et casta (t)

Bassus



Inviolata integra (it)

Rfasc. 11 no. 17. Cf. no. 204; several staves have been extended in towards the middle of the opening.

TEXT:

Sequence, in honorem B. Mariae Virginis, AR p. 133\*, verses 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 86

COMMENTS:

*Alternatim* setting of the sequence with melody (AR p. 133\*) in the tenor; short and simple settings mainly in note-against-note texture; only in the last section, v. 12, where the mensuration changes to *integer valor* in *tempus imperfectum*, does imitation appear. In v. 11, where the bassus is silent, the superius splits into two parts with the instruction that the boys should sing with the tenor.

Cf. no. 50 *Inviolata, integra* 4v.

TEXT:

Quatrain – Cop 1848 gives two stanzas. The first stanza appears with small variations as “Est il possible que l’on puisse trouver” set by C. Morel 4v (cf. below) and by J. Geraert 4v in *Phalèse* 1555/21 p. 7. In *La Fleur* 1542 the poem appears with a changed first line as “Est-il possible à moy pouvoir trouver”; this version is set by O. di Lasso 5v, publ. in LassoW XIV p. 112, and by J. de Castro 3v in *Phalèse* 1574/3 as no. 3; cf. also DaschnerC pp. LXV-LXVI.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 42

COMMENTS:

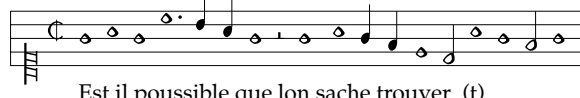
Setting of a popular tune, popular arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the upper voice (altus), imitative/homorhythmic texture with some incompetent features. Form: ABC:D|.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Anonymous: *Est il possible que l’home peult* 3v in *Petrucchi* 1501 ff. 78<sup>v</sup>-79; *c.p.f.* in the superius; publ. in HewittA as no. 72. The tune in the upper voice is rather more ornamented, but, apart from a different final phrase (bars 13-19) is identical to the one in Cop 1848. H. Hewitt was thus quite right when she wrote of this chanson: “The Tenor seems little like a *cantus prius factus*, yet in general effect this composition seems more like the works of the present group [Settings of a *c.p.f.*] than those of any other.” (HewittA p. 80).
- Cl. Morel: *Est il possible que l’on puisse trouver* 4v, in, among other sources, *Attaignant* 1536/5 as no. 24; *c.p.f.* in the superius, lively imitative accompaniment in the lower parts. The tune, apart from a few variations, has the same shape as in Cop 1848; publ. in MillerP p. 57.

**No. 207 *Est il possible que l’on sache trouver* 3v**  
p. 375

altus



Est il possible que lon sache trouver (t)

Contra (T)



Est il possible (i)

bassus



Est il possible (i)

NB B: The second note should be a ♢.

Rfasc. G no. 1

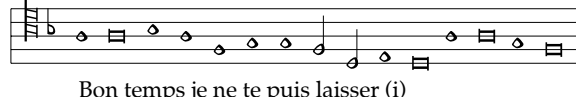
**No. 208 *Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser* 3v**  
p. 376

S



Bon temps je ne te puis laisser (i)

T



Bon temps je ne te puis laisser (i)

C



Bon temps je ne te puis laisser (i)

Rfasc. G no. 2

## TEXT:

Quatrain – the single line is a variant of “Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser” in *Paris 9346* ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 (4 stanzas) publ. in *GéroldeB* as no. 43; cf. also no. 143.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 25

## COMMENTS:

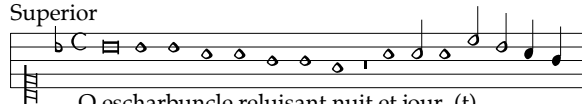
Setting of a popular tune, a variant of the tune in *Paris 9346*. Cop 1848 no. 143 and no. 217 are based on the same melody. The tune is sung through without rests in the tenor, with lively counter-voices, mainly in parallel tenths. See also *HewittC* p. 378.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: See no. 143.

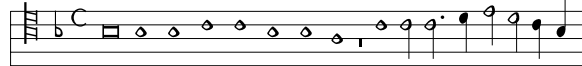
**No. 209 *O escharbuncle reluisant 4v***

p. 377

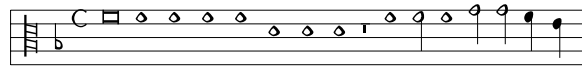
## Superior



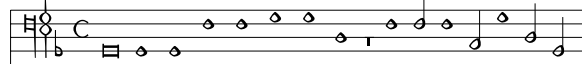
## Tenor



## Contra altus



## bassus



Rfasc. HJK no. 1

## TEXT:

Ballade to the Virgin Mary – no. 209 gives only the first eight lines; cf. no. 210.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 15

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a ballade; homorhythmic texture closely observing the eight lines of the ballade form. The repetition of the first two phrases is indicated by  $\text{||:}$ —very like an Italian lauda.

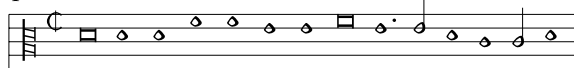
**No. 210 *O escharbuncle reluisant 3v***

p. 378

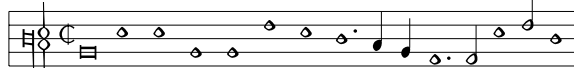
## S



## T



## Bassus



NB all three parts probably lack a key signature of one flat.

Rfasc. HJK no. 2

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 225.

## TEXT:

Ballade to the Virgin Mary – complete. Appears in many sources from the 15th and 16th centuries, e.g. the book of hours *København* 35 ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90 (15th century, publ. in *AbrahamsD* p. 13) and *Le joyeux devis* 1539 f. k-k<sup>v</sup> “Ballade a la vierge Marie, mere de Dieu”; for further sources see *SonetR* no. 1351. The poem can possibly be attributed to Martin le Franc; cf. *PiagetB* p. 13; publ. in *JeanneretL* p. 151 and *BridgmanC* p. 49.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 16

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a ballade; homorhythmic lauda-like texture like no. 209, probably by the same composer. In both copies (nos. 209 and 225) the bassus has alternatives in bar 15, marked by blackened notes: in the cadence on *d* the bassus can go either to *d* or *bb*.

**No. 211 *Pour avoir fait au grez de mon amy* 3v**  
p. 379 [Anonymous]

No. 211a:

S



Bassus after *Antico* 1520/6:

Bassus



No. 211b:

T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 3. Entered as a single composition with the parts placed below one another—the superius does not belong to the same setting as the tenor and contratenor.

CONCORDANCE:

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 31 (S and B only;  
S in no. 211 belongs to this setting)

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza. This poem is also in *Paris* 9346 ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37 as a rondeau quatrain, publ. in GéroldB as no. 36. As *La Fleur* 1527 no. 6 it appears as a strophic song with refrain (6 stanzas); publ. in JefferyV II p. 36.

COMMENTS:

The parts belong to two different imitative three-part popular arrangements, both of which had the tune from *Paris* 9346 in the tenor.

The superius belongs to a lively, rather complex arrangement for equal voices (52 br-mm.), while the tenor and the contratenor belong to a considerably simpler setting (40 br-mm.)—it is possible to perform the latter as a rondeau.

Fate has been unkind to settings of this tune. Besides these two incomplete settings, another three chansons are known, of which only Gascongne's has survived in its entirety.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- a) Anonymous 3v, *Antico* 1520/6 no. 4 (S and B only) and *St. Gallen* 463 no. 40 (S only); probably with *c.p.f.* in the tenor.
- b) M. Gascongne 3v in *Cambridge* 1760 ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-76; *c.p.f.* in the tenor.
- c) Anonymous (3v) in *Egenolff* 1535/14 I no. 40 (S only).

**No. 212 *Salve, regina misericordie* 3v**  
pp. 380-384

S



Tenor



B



Rfasc. HJK no. 4. The parts were entered in the order superius – tenor – bassus; on p. 380 and 382 the tenor is below the superius, and on p. 381 it continues above the bassus; on p. 384 all three parts are on the same page.

TEXT:

Antiphona B. Mariae Virginis by Adhemar de Pui, RH 18150, AH L p. 318, AR p. 68; in four *partes*: 1<sup>a</sup> *pars* "Salve, regina ...", 2<sup>a</sup> *pars* "Eia ergo ...", 3<sup>a</sup> *pars* "Et Jesum ...", 4<sup>a</sup> *pars* "O clemens ...".

COMMENTS:

Marian motet for low voices based on the antiphon melody, AR p. 68; imitative texture with wide-ranging, rhythmically lively voices – 221 br-mm. The tune is paraphrased quite freely, but is heard at the beginning of each section in long note values; in the 1<sup>a</sup> and 3<sup>a</sup> *partes* it is mainly in the tenor, and in the 2<sup>a</sup> *pars*, a duo, it is treated freely in the superius and bassus. The 4<sup>a</sup> *pars* consists of three sections corresponding to the three invocations; in the first two "O clemens" and "O pia" the melody is in long notes in superius and bassus respectively; in "O dulcis Maria" it is paraphrased again in the tenor.

**No. 213** *In minen sin hadde ick vercoren* 3v  
p. 385 [A. Agricola]

S

In minen sin (i)

T

C

Rfasc. HJK no. 5

CONCORDANCES:

*Bruxelles II*.270 ff. 125<sup>v</sup>-26 "Myns herten troest"  
*Cape Town* 3.b.12 f. 119 "Nolite sanctum dare"  
*Firenze* 178 ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9: Alexander "In minen zin"  
*Firenze* 229 ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-68: Alexander agricola (without text)  
*Firenze* 2794 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62: agricola "Le second jour d'avril"  
*Paris* 2245 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22: agricola "In minen zin"  
*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 125<sup>v</sup>-26: Agricola "In minen sin"  
*Segovia* f. 159<sup>v</sup>: Alexander agricola: In minen zin"  
*St. Gallen* 462 p. 97 "Sy j'ayme mon amy"  
*Uppsala* 76a ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19: Agricola "Le second jour  
d'avpril"

TEXT:

Ballade – Flemish. None of the sources above with the text "In minen sin" have anything more than incipits. The complete Flemish text is in *Een schoon liedekens* Boeck, Antwerp 1544 no. 88 (5 stanzas); cf. AgricolaO V pp. LIVff. *Bruxelles II*.270 gives another Flemish text which in the Flemish manuscript *Berlin* 190 (f. 165-165<sup>v</sup>) is said to be sung to the tune of "In minen sin"; cf. PickerN p. 135. *Firenze* 2794 and *Uppsala* 76a have an incomplete French poem (only four lines), publ. in AgricolaO V p. LV; while *St. Gallen* 462 gives all five stanzas of the well-known song "Si j'ayme mon amy", which does not fit Agricola's music—it is found with its own tune in, among other sources, *Paris* 12744 f. 80<sup>v</sup>, publ. in ParisC no. 118.

MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 63  
BrownL no. 66  
GeeringH no. 52

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; imitative counter-voices. The different texts indicated are also found in several other settings of the tune, which was apparently associated with several texts; the Flemish text must however be regarded as the original.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE (cf. also PickerI and PickerN):

- a) A. Busnois: *In myne zynn* 4v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30 and as *La second jour d'avril* in *Petrucchi* 1504/3 ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-56, publ. in LenaertsL pp. (24-26).
- b) A. Agricola: *Missa In myne synn* 4v, publ. in AgricolaO II p. 105.
- c) H. Isaac: *In meinen sin (I)* 4v in *Basel* X.5-9 no. 8, *München* 328-331 ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>, *Regensburg* 120 pp. 290-91 and *Wittenberg* 403/1048 no. 5 (T only). Intabulations: *Berlin* 40026 ff. 145<sup>v</sup>-46 (keyboard) and *St. Gallen* 530 ff. 96<sup>v</sup>-97 (keyboard); publ. in IsaacW p. 81 and 147.
- d) H. Isaac: *In meinen sin (II)* 4v in *Basel* X.5-9 no. 9, *München* 328-331 ff. 54<sup>v</sup>-55, *Regensburg* 120 pp. 292-93 and *Wittenberg* 403/1048 no. 6 (T only). Intabulation: *St. Gallen* 530 f. 97 (keyboard); publ. in IsaacW p. 82.
- e) M. Greiter: *In mynen sinn* 4v, *Basel* X.1-4 no. 52 and *Egenolff* 1535/15 no. 8 (S, A and B only); publ. in GreiterL.
- f) Anonymous: *In mynen zin* 2v, *München* 260 no. 59; publ. in BellinghamB as no. 59.
- g) Anonymous: *Bien soies venu mon seigneur / Alleluya mi fault cantar* 4v in *Sevilla* 5-I-43 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17; double chanson with *c.p.f.* in the superius, a variant of "In minen sin"; publ. in PickerN p. 139.
- h) Josquin: *Entré je suis en grant pensée* 3v in *Firenze* 2794 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-70 and *Uppsala* 76a ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17, publ. in JosquinWW as no. 58 and PickerC p. 479.
- i) Josquin: *Entré je suis en grant pensée* 4v in *Augsburg* 142a ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43, *Bruxelles* 228 ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29, *Cortona/Paris* 1817 no. 21, *Firenze* 164-167 no. 46, *München* 328-331 f. 58-58<sup>v</sup> and *Wien* 18810 no. 6; with incipit "Par vous je suis" in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25; with incipit "In meinen sinn", *Basel* X.1-4 no. 33 (S, A and B only), *Iserlohn* IV.36 no. 32, *Wittenberg* 403/1048 no. 7, *Egenolff* 1535/11 no. 37 (A, T and B only) and *Egenolff* 1535/13 no. 87 (S only); cf. BenthemeE; publ. in JosquinWW as no. 57 and PickerC p. 285.
- j) J. Prioris: *Par vous je suis* 5v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-26 and as *Entré je suis en grant penser* in *Wien* 18746 no. 25; publ. in PickerC p. 481.

**No. 214 Ave sanctissima Maria 3v**

pp. 386-87

S  
Ave sanctissima maria (t)

Tenor  
Ave sanctissima maria (it)

B  
Ave sanctissima maria (it)

NB B: Between the 1st and 2nd note a  $\diamond$  (*d*) is missing.

Rfasc. HJK no. 6. The tenor is below the superius and continues on the top two staves on p. 387.

## TEXT:

Prayer to the Virgin Mary. The text appears frequently in books of hours, cf. LeroquaisH I p. 299 ("Oraisons de nostre Dame, et y a grant pardons pour les dire") and p. 336, and II pp. 32 and 190, and in poetry collections of the 15th century, cf. e.g. RaynaudN p. 81; "Ave domina sancta Maria" is the same prayer; cf. LeroquaisH I p. 249, II pp. 7 and 167.

"Ave sanctissima" has been set innumerable times—for example in two anonymous laude in *Segovia* ff. 169<sup>v</sup>-70 3v and *Firenze* 27 ff. 108<sup>v</sup>-09 4v respectively. Rinaldo (4v, in *Bologna Q19* ff. 50<sup>v</sup>-52), H. Isaac (4v, publ. in *Chorwerk* 100 no. 2), L. Senfl (5v, publ. in *Chorwerk* 62 as no. 1), J. Mouton (4v, publ. in *SmijersT* I as no. 19), P. Verdelot (4v, publ. in *SmijersT* II as no. 24), Verdelot / Claudin (6v ex 3v, publ. in *PickerC* p. 172) and Gombert (4v and 5v, publ. in *GombertO* V p. 77 and VII p. 77) are some of the many composers who have set the text.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 82

## COMMENTS:

Marian motet; imitative/homorhythmic texture for three low voices; a melody may form the basis for the tenor—and may be the same one as is paraphrased in Rinaldo's motet in *Bologna Q19*; the final passage "Libera me ... Amen" is in triple time.

**No. 215 Que est ista que processit sicut sol 2v (3v)**

pp. 388-89

Superior  
Que est ista que processit sicut sol (i)

T  
Que est ista que processit sicut sol (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 7. Entered with the superius and tenor on p. 388. The tenor continues on the top staff on p. 389—the rest of the page is empty.

## TEXT:

Responsorium in Festis B. Mariae Virginis, LR p. 253, PM p. 261.

## COMMENTS:

Marian motet; incomplete—the bassus is missing; imitative texture, stylistically very close to the preceding motet – 79 br-mm.

**No. 216 Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere, atendes moy 3v**

pp. 390-91

S  
Bon bon bon bon bonne bergiere (t)

T  
Bon bon bon (i)

B  
Bon bon bon (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 8. Superius and tenor are on p. 390, bassus on p. 391.

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain; the text seems to be two two-line stanzas surrounded by a refrain; the second stanza lacks one line.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 40

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, a popular arrangement with the tune in the tenor; virtuoso exploitation of the low voices in a vital and imaginative imitative texture. The tune is sung through twice; each time the refrain returns, the mensuration or note values changes, so the tempo is constantly increased.

**No. 217 *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* 3v**  
p. 392 + p. 411 [Anonymous]

S  
Bon temps ne reviendras tu jamais (i)

T  
Bon temps ne reviendras tu jamais (i)

C  
Bon temps ne reviendras tu jamais (t)

Rfasc. HJK no. 9. The superius and tenor are on the back cover of Rfasc. H, p. 392, while the contratenor is on p. 411, the front of Rfasc. J.

CONCORDANCE:

*St. Gallen* 461 pp. 38-39 "Bon tamps"

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza, publ. in *BridgmanC* p. 45 and *HewittC* p. 389; this text also occurs at the beginning of the farce "Farce nouvelle a cinq Parsonages: Faulte d'argent" where it is performed by "troys galans"; publ. in *CohenR* pp. 379-83.

In no. 217 the text is written in below the contratenor in the passages where the tune is quoted. It can be laid under the other parts, but as in the contratenor it only fits where the tune is quoted. Cf. also *Cop* 1848 no. 109 *Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenuz*.

MODERN EDITION:

*GiesbertS* p. 40

COMMENTS:

Composition based on a popular tune—the same tune as *Cop* 1848 no. 143 and no. 208, a variant of *Paris* 9346 ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 "Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser", publ. in *GéroldB* as no. 43. The tune appears in turn in all three parts in clear triple rhythm against the prevailing duple time of the composition, so that all parts have the whole of the tune with long free passages interspersed among the phrases. The piece could possibly be sung with text alternating with instruments or vocalization, but it is probably an instrumental fantasia. See also the discussion in *HewittC* p. 383.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: See no. 143.

**No. 218 *Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement* 3v**  
p. 393

altus  
Il nest plaisir ne esbatement (it)  
que de la gerre frequenter

T  
Il nest plaisir ne esbatement (i)

C

Rfasc. G no. 11

TEXT:

Incomplete – only the first two lines, written below one another (cf. incipit); probably a sixain with refrain (the form of the music is AABCDEE). Apart from the beginning the text bears no resemblance to *Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement que d'avoir belle amy* 6v by Martin peu d'argent, *Phalèse* 1553/25 no. 24.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 27

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune, rather amateurish, with the tune in the superius ("altus") accompanied by lively lower voices.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:


The same tune appears in *Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 37, an anonymous textless composition, but in the copy in Jena the composer attribution "Isaac" and text incipit "Il n'est plaisir" (cf. *BrownI* p. 60) have been added later; this is an imitative three-part setting with a *c.p.f.* in the superius. This piece is also in *Kotter's tablature*, *Basel* IX.22 no. 3 (Henricus ysaack), *Nil n'est plaiser* (keyboard), publ. in *IsaacW* p. 160 and *MarxT* as no. 3.



**No. 219 *Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie* 3v**

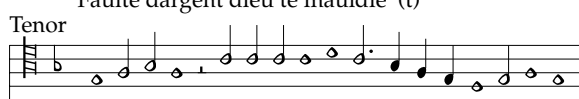
p. 394

Altus



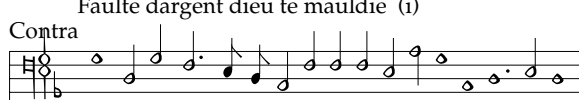
Faulte dargent dieu te mauldie (t)

Tenor



Faulte dargent dieu te mauldie (i)

Contra



Faulte dargent (i)

Rfasc. G no. 12

**TEXT:**

Quatrain – one stanza; combines the first half of the refrain with the lines 5 and 6 of a rondeau quatrain in *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 88, publ. in DrozJ as no. 284 and SchwobP as no. 115. The refrain of this rondeau is set in a four-part anonymous chanson, *Attaignant* 1532/12 no. 27.

**MODERN EDITION:**

Vol. III no. 67


**COMMENTS:**

Popular chanson (early Parisian chanson); characterized by the play of the voices with brief motifs where the words are repeated. Like the four-part chanson in *Attaignant* 1532/12, it has no suggestion of the rondeau form of the original version of the text.

**No. 220 *Vielle mule du temps passé* 3v**

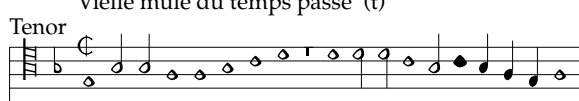
p. 394

altus



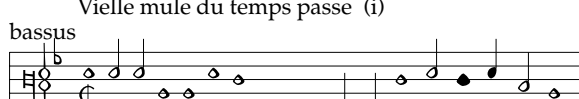
Vielle mule du temps passe (t)

Tenor



Vielle mule du temps passe (i)

bassus



Vielle mule du temps passe (i)

Rfasc. G no. 13. Entered, very cramped, on 3½ staves below no. 219; the altus thus begins directly after the bassus of no. 219.

**TEXT:**

Septain – one stanza; lampooning song with the refrain “Requiescant, las, in pace, vostre bon bruit est trespacé!”.

**MODERN EDITION:**

Vol. III no. 45

**COMMENTS:**


Setting of a popular tune; homorhythmic texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; the bassus functions as the contra-tenor in a passage where it lies above the tenor.

**No. 221 *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum Sanguis eius – Ave rex – Vah, qui destruis* 4v**

p. 395 + p. 410

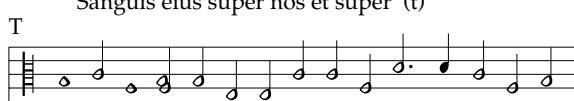
**“Sanguis eius”**

S



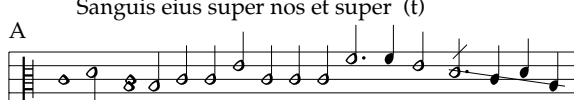
Sanguis eius super nos et super (t)

T




Sanguis eius super nos et super (t)

A




B



NB A: The first six notes are notated a tone too low.

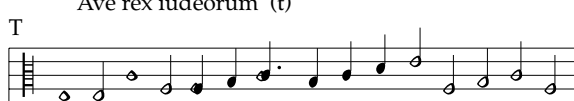
**“Ave rex”**

S




Ave rex iudeorum (t)


T



A



B



[Vah, qui destruis]

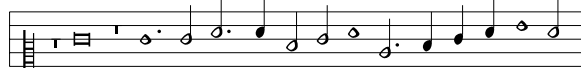
S



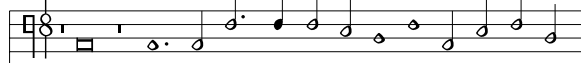
T



A



B



(it)

NB T: After the = a *sbr* rest is missing.

Rfasc. F no. 6a. Entered by Hand D on the outer covers of Rfasc. F, one composition at a time with the parts below one another in the order S – B – A – T (and S – B – T – A); the first two on p. 410 and the last on p. 395.

TEXT:

Matthew 27 vv. 25, 29 and 40.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 106

COMMENTS:

Fragment of a responsorial passion; the three compositions set all the *synagoga* passages in this section of the story (Matth. 27 vv. 25-40). The recitation formulae (cf. KadeP p. 3) are mostly heard in the superius; homorhythmic-imitative texture, probably composed by Hand D; cf. Ch. 11.2.

**No. 222** *La saison en est ou jamais* 3v Alexandre  
p. 396 [L. Compère]

S



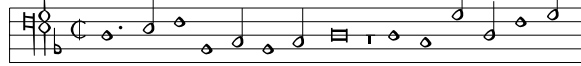
La saison en est (t)

T



La saison en est ou jamais (i)

C



La saison en est ou jamais (i)

Rfasc. F no. 1

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 178 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27: Loyset Comper*Firenze* 2794 ff. 66<sup>v</sup>-67: L. Compère*London* 31922 ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48*Paris* 1597 ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22*Paris* 2245 ff. 12<sup>v</sup>-13: Compère*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-74: Compère*St. Gallen* 462 p. 93*Washington* L25 ff. 142<sup>v</sup>-43: Compère

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives a complete rondeau which is also in *Paris* 1722 f. 73. *Firenze* 2794, *Paris* 1597 and *Paris* 2245 give a version of the poem which is different after the refrain.

MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 119 (Opera dubia)

CompèreO V p. 30

GeeringH no. 50

ShippC p. 319

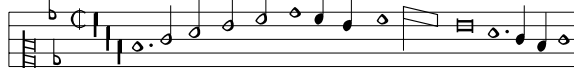
StevensM no. 43

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; five older sources cite Loyset Compère as composer of this chanson; only Cop 1848 names Agricola. It must be regarded as Compère's work (cf. FinscherC pp. 231ff). A. Atlas mentions the possibility of giving more credence to Cop 1848 because of the large number of concordances between Cop 1848 and manuscripts executed in Florence, where Agricola was active in the 1490s (AtlasS p. 251 note 7). However, he neglects the fact that *Roma Cas* 2856 is from the early 1480s, and that Cop 1848 has just as many—or more—concordances with Parisian and French sources; no closer link with Florence can be proven.

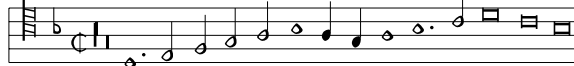
**No. 223** *Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage* 3v  
p. 397 Alexandre [Agricola]

S



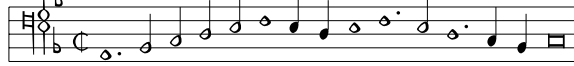
Il nest vivant tant soit scachant ou sage (i)

T



Il nest vivant tant soit scachant ou sage (i)

C



Il nest vivant tant soit scachant (t)

Rfasc. F no. 2

In other sources no. 236 *Vostre grant bruit* is part of this chanson.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 178 ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-13: Alexander

*Firenze* 229 ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-87: alexander Agricola

*London* 20.A.XVI ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-10

*Paris* 1597 ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-39

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32: Agricola (first section only)

*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90: Loyset Compere  
"Peensées vivant"

Cop 1848 gives only the first section here.

## TEXT:

Bergerette (virelai); no. 223 is the first section—with the refrain of the poem only—while no. 236 has the text of the first *couplet*. The complete text is in *London* 20.A.XVI, in *Paris* 1719 f. 31-31<sup>v</sup> and in *Paris* 1722 f. 69<sup>v</sup>. In all other sources than Cop 1848 the first *couplet* begins with the words "Vostre beaulté a fait de mon ...".

## MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 5

BrownL no. 84

ShippC p. 392

## COMMENTS:


Setting of a bergerette; the two sections were entered in Cop 1848 as two independent chansons; for further discussion cf. Ch. 2.

**No. 224 C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame 3v**

p. 398

Alexandre (Agricola)

S Alexandre



Cet ung bon bruit par dieu madame (it)

T



Cet ung bon bruit par dieu madame (it)

C



Cet ung bon bruit par dieu madame (it)

Rfasc. F no. 3

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 244.

## CONCORDANCE:

*Firenze* 229 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32 "C'est ung bon bruit" (incipit)

## TEXT:

Incomplete – only two lines, which may possibly be from a rondeau quatrain.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 46

BrownL no. 32

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; this copy probably functioned as the model for no. 244. In the contratenor, bar 11, there is an error—three notes are notated a tone too high (A-B $\flat$ -c); in no. 244 an attempt was made to correct this to G-B $\flat$ -c—closer to the right solution in *Firenze* 229 (G-A-B $\flat$ ), but not quite on target.

**No. 225 O escharbuncle reluisant 3v**

p. 399

S



O escharbuncle reluisant nuit et jour (t)  
emeraude tres cler luisant et saphir

T



bassus



NB all three parts probably lack a key signature of one flat.

Rfasc. L no. 1

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 210 (q.v.).

## TEXT:

Ballade to the Virgin – complete.

## COMMENTS:

Probably a copy of the same original used for no. 210—exhibits small variations in music and the orthography of the text.

**No. 226 Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant 4v**

p. 400 + p. 405

[H. Isaac]

S



Fille vous aves mal garder le pan devant (t)

tenor



Fille vous aves mal garder le pan devant (i)

contra altus



Fille vous aves mal garde le pan devant (i)

bassus



Fille vous aves mal garde le pan devant (i)

Rfasc. L no. 2. The four parts are in normal choirbook disposition on the one side of the independent double sheet (Rfasc. L): superius and tenor on p. 400, and contraaltus and bassus on p. 405.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 253.

#### CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 64<sup>v</sup>-65: yzac

*Bologna* Q18 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59 "figlie vos have mal grande"  
(incipit)

*Cortona/Paris* 1817 no. 18 (B missing)

*Firenze* 121 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-33

*Firenze* 178 ff. 70<sup>v</sup>-72: ENRIGUS YZAC

*Firenze* 2442 no. 44: Ysac (B missing)

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-71: Ysach

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 137 "Ave sanctissima Maria"  
(incipit; S and A only)

*Wien* 18810 no. 51: Henricus Ysaac "File vos" (incipit)

#### Intabulations:

*Berlin* 40026 f. 10: H. P. "Philephos aves" (keyboard)

*St. Gallen* 530 no. 162 "Fifosfz" (keyboard)

#### TEXT:

Through-composed setting of two stanzas from two different popular songs. The second stanza (in Cop 1848 "Le parler bas my fait grand bien") is a variant of the first stanza of "Tousjours de celle me souvyn" in *Paris* 12744 f. 63<sup>v</sup> (3 stanzas) publ. in ParisC as no. 96 "Chanson en patois savoisin".

#### MODERN EDITION:

IsaacW p. 27

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of popular tunes; arrangement with *c.p.f.* in contraaltus and superius in turn; imitative texture. In the homorhythmic second section (from bar 51) the tune from *Paris* 12744 is used as *c.p.f.*; duo-tutti effects; cf. Ch. 8.3 Ex. 12.

#### No. 227 *Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure* 3v

p. 401

[J. Ockeghem]

S

T

C

Rfasc. M no. 1

#### CONCORDANCES:

*Berlin* 40098 f. MIII<sup>v</sup> "H" (incipit)

*Dijon* 517 ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>bis</sup>

*Firenze* 176 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-34: Ockeghem

*Firenze* 2356 ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29

*München* 810 ff. 62<sup>v</sup>-64: Ockegheim

*New Haven* 91 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-40: Ockeghem

*Paris* 57 ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-54: Ockeghem

*Paris* 2973 ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-44

*Paris* 4379 ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-6

*Paris* 15123 ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-32

*Roma* Cas 2856 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-63: Ockeghem

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 76<sup>v</sup>-77

*Washington* L25 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-34

*Wolfenbüttel* 287 ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-31

*Petrucchi* 1501 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60: Ockeghem

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 86

#### Intabulation:

*Spinacino* 1507/5 no. 17 (lute)

Cop 1848 gives only the first section of Ockeghem's chanson.

#### TEXT:

Bergerette (virelai); Cop 1848 without text. The complete text is in *Dijon* 517, *Paris* 57, *Paris* 2973, *Paris* 4379, *Washington* L25 and *Wolfenbüttel* 287 as well as *Berlin* 78.B.17 ff. 83<sup>v</sup>-84, *Paris* 1719 f. 61 and f. 132, *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 61 (Dictie et chancon magistral) and f. 71<sup>v</sup> (motet magistral) and *Balade* 1525 f. 54<sup>v</sup> and 61<sup>v</sup>; publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 142 and DrozJ as nos. 10 and 103.

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

DrozT p. 9

GombosiOa no. 5

HAM no. 75

HewittA no. 54

KottickC no. 32

PerkinsM no. 30

RingmannG I p. 61

#### COMMENTS:

Setting of a bergerette; only the first section without text.

#### RELATED COMPOSITIONS (cf. also HewittA p. 153):

- P. de la Rue 4v in *Firenze* 2439 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-42 with Ockeghem's tenor in the tenor; publ. in ThomasN as no. 3.
- Josquin Desprez: *Ma bouche rit et mon cueur pleure* 6v with Ockeghem's superius in the superius; publ. in JosquinWW as no. 19.
- Anonymous: *O praeclara stella maris* 4v in *Wroclaw* 428 ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-43 with Ockeghem's tenor in the tenor (cf. StaehelinG no. 24).
- J. Martini: *Missa Ma bouche rit* 4v; publ. in Ammm 12 p. 32.

e) Anonymous: *Ma bouche rit et mon cuer pleure* 4v, *Attaignant* 1528/3 no. 12 and *Attaignant* 1528/8 no. 19; only a textual quotation, probably from Josquin's chanson—no musical connection.

**No. 228 *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* 3v**

p. 401

S

Sancta maria ora pro nobis peccatoribus (t)

T

Sancta maria (i)

B

Sancta maria (i)

Rfasc. M no. 2. Entered on three staves below no. 227. The superius is notated a third too high; this superius is also entered p. 417, at the correct pitch, but without text; cf. no. 246.

TEXT:

Prayer to the Virgin, AR p. 123\*.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 97

COMMENTS:

Lauda; homorhythmic texture, each phrase concluded with a fermata. Cf. the many "Sancta Maria" and "Ave Maria" settings in Petrucci's collections (JeppesenL). Similar very simple, homorhythmic laude also appear in, e.g., *Segovia* f. 168 *Sancta Maria* 3v (anonymous), or *Firenze* 112<sup>bis</sup> f. 4<sup>v</sup> *Sancte Petre* 3v (anonymous – a later addition).

**No. 229 *Puer nobis nascitur* 3v Haquinet**

p. 402

S Haquinet

Puer nobis nascitur (t)

T

Puer nobis nascitur (i)

B

Puer nobis nascitur (i)

Rfasc. M no. 3. Entered, very cramped, on the three top staves of the page.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 237.

TEXT:

Noël (Benedicamus trope) – one stanza; RH 15790, MoneH I p. 64, BäumkerK I no. 95, LipphardtM p. 114, ZahnM no. 1569; also in several French collections where it stands beside the hymn "Conditor alme siderum" (see Cop 1848 no. 85), BabelonB pp. 145ff and BabelonF.

No. 237 gives four stanzas; the first three are identical to the first stanzas in *La fleur des Noelz* (Moderne 1535), publ. in BabelonF p. 378 (6 stanzas); the fourth is different.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 87

COMMENTS:

Christmas song (*noël*) with the *c.p.f.* in the superius (lines 1 and 4) and tenor (lines 2-3) in turn. The tune occurs e.g. in plainsong notation in *München* 156 f. 249 (facsimile in SteinM) and in *La fleur des Noelz* (Moderne 1535 no. 3); cf. also WaesbergheP and ZahnM no. 1569.

The whole tune, and the first two stanzas of the text, are used in Ninon le Petit's long Christmas motet *Psallite noe, Judei credite* 4v (bars 159-176 in the bassus, bars 177-193 in the superius), publ. in NinonO no. 19. The tune also occurs in a number of anonymous two-part settings; cf. BäumkerK I p. 95, FischerQ pp. 299f, LipphardtM, WaesbergheU and RISM B/IV<sup>3</sup> pp. 123f, 328f, 360f, 389, 1113, 1115 and 1123.

**No. 230 *Noe, noe, iterumque noe* 4v Haquinet**

p. 402

S

Noe noe iterumque noe (t)

Tenor

Contra altus

Bassus

Rfasc. M no. 4. Entered below no. 229 with the parts placed below one another: superius, contraaltus, tenor,

bassus; the supplementary text is placed between the superius and contraaltus.

TEXT:

Noël – two stanzas in virelai form; line 3 of the first stanza is missing, because the lower voices have not been furnished with text. The text occurs in another version in *Berlin* 190 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27 “Noel, noel, triplicando noel, iterando noel ...” (4 stanzas; manuscript executed in Utrecht c. 1500).

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 88

COMMENTS:

Christmas song (*noël*) with *c.p.f.* in the tenor (and altus). The composition consists of two sections, A and B, both furnished with repeat marks; and after the “B” section comes the instruction “ut supra”. The “A” section is in four parts with the tune in the tenor, while the “B” section consists of two duos (altus-bassus and superius-tenor) where the altus and tenor have the two identical phrases of the tune. Given the structure of the text (ABaAbaA), the song should be performed as a virelai.

The same tune and form appear in the anonymous, very simple note-against-note setting *Noel, noel, triplicando noel* 2v in *Berlin* 190 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27 (cf. RISM B/IV<sup>3</sup> p. 333). This *noël* was well known in Lyons. It is mentioned as *timbre* for two French-language *noëls*: “Meigna, meigna, bin devon Noel” (in the “dialecte lyonnais”) in *Noelz nouveaulx faicts ...*, as no. 5, s.l.n.d. (J. Moderne, Lyon, 1535; cf. PogueM p. 260) and *Noelz nouveaulse Nouvellement faictz ...*, no. 13, O. Arnoullet, s.d. (Lyons 1535; cf. BabelonB pp. 147-49); and “Nova vobis quand vien à raconter” in *Le Grand Bible des Noelz*, f. 61<sup>v</sup>, B. Rigaud, Lyon s.d. [1555-97]; cf. Fauriel III p. 61.

A virelai-like form with a “Noe, noe” refrain appears in innumerable Christmas motets; e.g. Ninon le Petit’s *Psallite noe, Judei credite* 4v, publ. in NinonO as no. 19, or the two motets in *Attaignant* 1534/4, no. 11 *Noe, noe, magnificatus est rex pacificus* 4v (Claudin), and no. 12 *Noe, noe, psallite noe, Hierusalem gaude et laetare* 4v (J. Mouton), publ. in SmijersT II as nos. 11-12.

The beginning of the tune in Haquinet’s *noël* is very like the start of the tenor in Brumel’s *Noe, noe, noe* 4v in *Petrucchi* 1502/2 ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29, publ. in HewittB as no. 25 and BrumelO as no. 18. Layolle’s two Christmas motets are also based on similar motifs: *Noe, noe, noe. Hodie natus est nobis* 4v, *Moderne* 1532/11 no. 11 and *Noe, noe, noe, parvulus filius* 5v, *Moderne* 1539/5 no. 25, publ. in LayolleO V nos. 24-25.

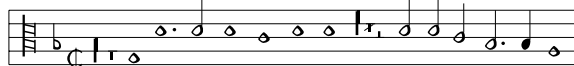
No. 231 *Mary de par sa mere* 4v [Anonymous]

p. 403

S



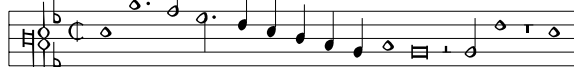
T



A



B



Mary de par sa mere mary mary (t)

Rfasc. M no. 5. Entered, very compactly, on eight staves, four of which have been extended all the way to the middle of the paper. The altus and tenor begin on the staff where the preceding part ends.

CONCORDANCE:

*Scotto* 1535/8 no. 22 (T missing)

TEXT:

Chanson à refrain – 2 stanzas.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 51

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; imitative arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; the tune is sung through twice.

OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE:

- Anonymous / Basiron (?): *Mary de par sa mere* 4v in *Paris* 1597 ff. 64<sup>v</sup>-65, *Regensburg* 120 pp. 298-99 (Bassiron) and *St. Gallen* 461 pp. 68-69 uses the same text, tune and approach as Cop 1848 no. 231; publ. in GiesbertS p. 80 and ShippC as no. 65.
- Anonymous: *Mon pere si my maria* in *Paris* 4599 ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-4 (T only). Intabulation: *Milano* 1536/11 no. 20 (lute); based on the same tune, while the text is more related to Cop 1848 no. 271.



**No. 232 *La grand pena que yo sento* 3v [Anonymous]**  
p. 403

S



T



B



La grand pena que yo sento my tormento (t)

Rfasc. M no. 6. Entered, very cramped, below no. 231 on three staves extended all the way in to the middle of the paper.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 238.

CONCORDANCES:

*Amiens* 162 f. 1 "Le grant pena que io sento"

*St. Gallen* 462 p. 102 "La gran pena che io sento"  
(4v; + A)

*Washington* L25 ff. 137<sup>v</sup>-38 "La grant paine  
que yo sento"

TEXT:

Frottola, four-line Italian poem – one stanza; the above sources have the poem in a spelling influenced to some extent by French orthography. In the tenor part in *St. Gallen* 462 the text has been underlaid by a later hand with a better command of Italian than J. Heer and the other scribes (cf. GeeringH p. 169):

"La gran pena che io sento  
mi tormenta nott'e di.  
Da morir io son contento  
per la nostra signoria."  
(GeeringH no. 57)

MODERN EDITION:

GeeringH no. 57 (4v)

COMMENTS:

Frottola, simple homorhythmic texture with fermatas above the endings of all sections and subsections; ABA'B' form; the rhythm of the song is influenced by the free declamation of the text.

There are considerable differences among the versions given by the sources: *Amiens* 162 and *Washington* L25 have the simplest version, consisting almost solely of *br* and *sbr* values, but they do not agree on details. In the other two other sources the rhythmic treatment is more varied; in *St. Gallen* 462 an *altus* is added, and in Cop 1848 the parts are furnished with diminutions in the form of chains of *smi* in the bassus in the "B" sections and in the superius in the final

cadence. In *St. Gallen* 462 and *Amiens* 162 the last line is repeated and written out in full.

**No. 233 *Miserere mei nunc – Gloria Patri* 3v**  
p. 404

S



T



Bassus



Rfasc. M no. 7.

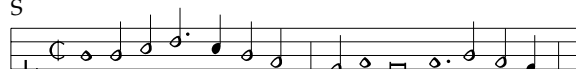
Also appears in Cop 1848 with text as no. 264 (q.v.).

COMMENTS:

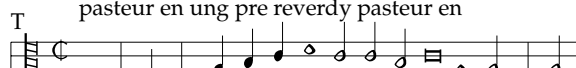
Lauda; entered without text and without separation of the two *partes*.

**No. 234 *L'autrhier en passant entendi* 3v**  
p. 406


S



T



B



Lauthier en passant entendi (t)  
pasteur en ung pre reverdy pasteur en

Lauthier en passant entendi (i)

Lauthier en passant entendi (i)

Rfasc. L no. 3. When the main scribe entered this chanson on the back of Rfasc. L, he accidentally turned the sheet round, so the chanson is now up-side down in Cop 1848.

TEXT:

Ballade type – one stanza. Popular chansons with texts beginning with "L'autre jour ..." or the like are common; cf. BrownF no. 254-258, pp. 252-53, and e.g. the anonymous "L'autre jour par ung matin" 3v in *Bologna* Q16 ff. 54<sup>v</sup>-55 and *Paris* 15123 f. 82<sup>v</sup>, publ. in PeaseQ p. 91.

MODERN EDITION:  
Vol. III no. 46

COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; homorhythmic texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor; repetition mark after the first two phrases. In the ending there is an ostinato passage where the text invites the listeners to come and dance "au doux son de ma musette".

**No. 235 *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v Alexandre (Agricola)**  
p. 407

S Alexandre  
Vostre bouche dist baysez moy (t)

T  
Vostre bouche dist baysez moy (i)

C  
Vostre bouche dist baise moy (i)

Rfasc. F no. 4

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 254.

CONCORDANCE:

Firenze 229 ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39 "Vostre bouche" (incipit)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; Cop 1848 gives only a refrain whose first two lines are identical to those of a rondeau quatrain by Charles d'Orléans; occurs e.g. in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 111<sup>v</sup>, *London* 380 f. 233<sup>v</sup> and *La Chasse* 1509 f. E<sub>v</sub>, publ. in LöpelmannR no. 265 and CharlesP I p. 232.

MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 53  
BrownL no. 39

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; no. 254 was probably copied after this version. They are identical, apart from the fact that no. 254 adds a missing rest in the contratenor (bar 18.1) and a missing word in the text ("tropt" in line 3).

**No. 236 *Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise* 3v Alexandre [Agricola]**  
p. 408

S Alexandre  
Vostre grant bruit a fait de (t)

T  
Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise (i)

C  
Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise (i)

Rfasc. F no. 5

In other sources this piece forms the second section of no. 223 *Il n'est vivant* (q.v.).

TEXT:

Bergerette (virelai); only the first *couplet*, no. 223 has the refrain of the poem.

COMMENTS:

Entered in Cop 1848 as a separate chanson!

**No. 237 *Puer nobis nascitur* 3v [Haquinet]**  
p. 409

S  
Puer nobis nascitur (t)

T  
Puer nobis nascitur (i)

B  
Puer nobis nascitur (it)

Rfasc. F no. 6. Later added by the main scribe.

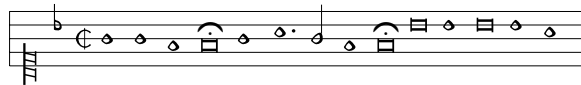
Also in Cop 1848 as no. 229 (q.v.).

TEXT:

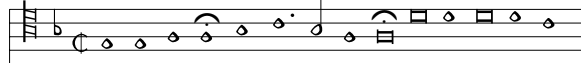
*Noël* (Benedicamus trope) – 4 stanzas; cf. no. 229.

**No. 238** *La grant pena que yo sento* 3v [Anonymous]  
p. 411

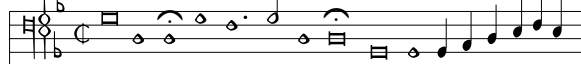
S



T



B



La grant pena que yo sento mi (t)

Rfasc. HJK no. 10. Entered on three staves below the bassus of no. 217.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 232 (q.v.).

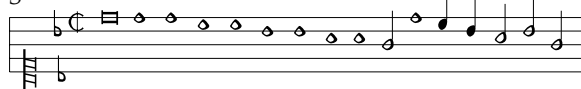
TEXT:

Frottola, one stanza; cf. no. 232.

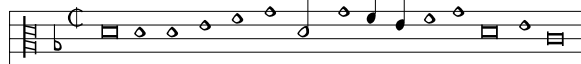
**No. 239** *La morra* 3v [H. Isaac]

p. 412

S la morra



Tenor



Bassus



Rfasc. HJK no. 11. Entered, very cramped, on one page; the bassus begins in the middle of the staff where the tenor ends.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q18 ff. 72<sup>v</sup>-73

*Firenze* 27 ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34

*Firenze* 107 ff. 56<sup>v</sup>-57: Izac

*Firenze* 178 ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30: Enricus yzac

*Firenze* 229 ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12: Henricus Yzac

*Heilbronn* X/2 no. 14: Isaac (B only)

*Leipzig* 1494 ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-86: H. Y.

*Leipzig* 1494 ff. 245<sup>v</sup>-46 "Reple tuorum fidelium"

*Paris* 676 ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-41 "La mora: ~ Dona gentil"

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 90<sup>v</sup>-91: Isach "Dona gentil"

*Segovia* f. 176<sup>v</sup>: ysaac "Elaes"

*St. Gallen* 462 p. 136: H. Isaak (4v; + A)

"O regina" (incipit S) / "La morra" (incipit A)

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 176: Henricus Isaac (4v; S and A only)

*Verona* 757 ff. 39<sup>v</sup>-40

*Zwickau* 78/3 no. 25: Isaac

*Petrucci* 1501 ff. 49<sup>v</sup>-50: Yzac

*Egenolff* 1535/14 III no. 34 (S only)

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 29

Intabulations:

*Basel* IX.22 no. 18: Isacius (keyboard)

*Paris* 27 f. 14<sup>v</sup> "Mora" (lute)

*St. Gallen* 530 no. 117: Heinrich Isaac (Keyboard, 4v)

*Wertheim* 6 no. 4: Isaac (lute)

*Spinacino* 1507/5 no. 13 (lute)

*Newsidler* 1536/12 no. 21: Isaac (lute, 2v)

*Newsidler* 1536/12 no. 48: Isaac (lute, 3v)

MODERN EDITIONS:

IsaacW pp. 90, 151, 152 and 154.

BrownL no. 12

GeeringH no. 77

GerberA nos. 81 and 164

HewittA no. 44

MarxT I no. 18

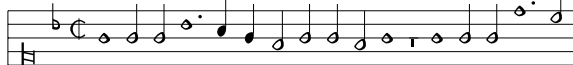
COMMENTS:

Very widely diffused instrumental piece.

**No. 240** *Varlet, varlet, il est appoint* 3v

p. 413

S



Varlet varlet il est appoint que vo vous (t)

T



B



Rfasc. HJK no. 12. Takes up only three staves at the top of the page.

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza.

MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. III no. 47


AdamsT p. 643

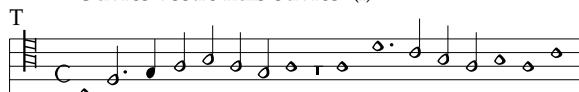
## COMMENTS:

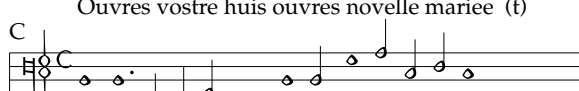
Probably a setting of a popular tune; homorhythmic texture with *c.p.f.* in the tenor. There is a *signum congruentiae* in all parts above the cadence in the second phrase (bar 9); this might suggest a repetition pattern like the rondeau. At the end of the song is the word “bis”, meaning the last phrase is to be repeated. This “bis” may have been added when the text was entered, when the scribe realized that the *signum* was misplaced; it should—with that meaning—have been above the first note in the fourth phrase of the song (bar 14). Possible form: ABC:D|.

**No. 241** *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés*  
*[Sur le pont de Lyon/Avignon] 3v*

p. 413

S  
  
 Ouvres vostre huis ouvres (i)

T  
  
 Ouvres vostre huis ouvres nouvelle mariee (t)

C  
  
 Ouvres vostre huis (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 13. Takes up only three staves in the middle of the page, below no. 240.

## TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza. A variant of this stanza appears as the second stanza of the song “Sur le pont de Lyon/Avignon”—cf. Cop 1848 no. 7.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 23.

## COMMENTS:

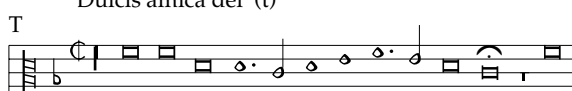
Homorhythmic, very simple setting with the popular tune in the tenor; the superius and contratenor are pure counter-voices with no independent profile.

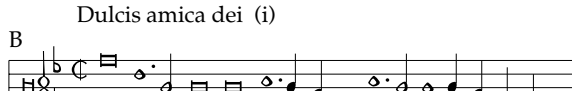
OTHER SETTINGS OF THE TUNE: Cf. no. 7.

**No. 242** *Dulcis amica Dei 3v [J. Prioris]*

p. 413

S  
  
 Dulcis amica dei (t)

T  
  
 Dulcis amica dei (i)

B  
  
 Dulcis amica dei (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 14. Entered on three staves below no. 241.

## CONCORDANCES:

## Three-part version:

*Amiens* 162 f. 117<sup>v</sup>

*Cambridge* 1760 f. 2: Prioris

*London* 31922 ff. 88<sup>v</sup>-89

*London* 35087 ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62

*Paris* 2245 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32 (4v; A is a later addition)

*Washington* L25 ff. 139<sup>v</sup>-140

*Attaingnant* 1540/2 no. 1a

There are a number of differences of detail among the sources, and Cop 1848 differs from all the others (cf. Ch. 10.6 Ex. 3): for example in that the superius and the bassus start together (in the other sources the superius starts a *br* value later), and from bar 5 the bassus is different. In the four-part versions a number of different altus parts have been added:

## Four-part versions:

*Cambrai* 125-128 f. 133<sup>v</sup> (notated a fourth lower;

A “Si placet”)

*Paris* 1597 ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5

*St. Gallen* 462 p. 9 “Dulcis Maria Dei”

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 140 (S and A only)

*Ulm* 237 f. 41

*Uppsala* 76a ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-56: prioris

*Antico* 1521/7 no. 19 (A only)

*Rhau* 1538/8 no. 3 “Qui credit in Filium”

## Intabulations:

*Chicago Cap* no. 8 (lute)

*Attaingnant* 1529 no. 6 (lute)

*Attaingnant* 1531/5 no. 9 (keyboard)

## TEXT:

Lauda (hymn) to the Virgin, RH 25737 and 36836.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

Ch. 10.6 Ex. 3  
 AlbrechtS no. 3 (4v)  
 GeeringH no. 1 (4v)  
 HeartzP no. 6  
 RoksethM no. 4  
 ShippC p. 251 (4v)  
 StevensM no. 83  
 WagnerM p. 246

## COMMENTS:

Lauda; imitative/homorhythmic texture with clear caesurae (rests and fermatas) between the phrases. In Cop 1848 the three-part imitation at the beginning has partly been obscured.

The anonymous lauda in *Petrucci 1508/3* (Item a below) is listed as a reworking of Prioris' composition, first and foremost because the first phrase has been changed so that the imitation motif moves through a major triad (the bassus motif combined with that of the superius).

The same motif begins Antoine Brumel's little motet with text from the Song of Solomon *Sicut lilium* 4v (e.g. in *Firenze 666* ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-33, publ. in LowinskyC II as no. 7). This motet has so much in common with *Dulcis amica Dei*, in both motifs and the harmonic progression, that one must consider whether it should also be regarded as a reworking of Prioris' lauda.

In *O dulcis amica Dei* 5v (Item b below) Pierre Moulu combines the triadic motif with the tenor from Prioris' composition. The same motif permeates his four-part canon composition with the text incipit "J'ay" (also in *Bologna Q19* ff. 0<sup>v</sup>-1)

All these compositions may have links with Josquin's *Stabat mater* 5v and the anonymous two-part *Stabat mater* in Cop 1848; cf. no. 19.

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

- a) Anonymous 4v in *Petrucci 1508/3* f. 20; cf. above; publ. in JeppesenL no. 19.
- b) P. Moulu: *O dulcis amica Dei* 5v in *Bologna Q19* ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-11 as well as f. 204<sup>v</sup> (B) and *London 19583/Modena α.F.2.29* no. 20; uses Prioris' tenor as c.f. in the tenor and parodies the latter half of the three-part motet.
- c) P. Moulu: *Vulnerasti cor meum / Dulcis amica Dei* 5v, e.g. in *Firenze 666* ff. 118<sup>v</sup>-121; uses Prioris' tenor as c.f. in the altus; publ. in LowinskyC II as no. 44.
- d) Anonymous 4v in *Torino I,27* f. 33<sup>v</sup>; reworking of Prioris' superius.
- e) P. Certon: *Missa Dulcis amica Dei* 4v, *Attaignant 1540/2* no. 1.

No. 243 *Alés regrez, vuidez de ma presence* 3v

p. 414

[Hayne van Ghizeghem]

S

Ales regrez (i)

T

C

Rfasc. HJK no. 15

## CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna Q17* ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31: Hayne  
*Bruxelles 11239* ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-4  
*Bruxelles/Tournai* ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-3 (S and T only)  
*Firenze 27* ff. 97<sup>v</sup>-98: Hayne  
*Firenze 107* ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44  
*Firenze 117* ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-39  
*Firenze 178* ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43: hayne  
*Firenze 229* ff. 242<sup>v</sup>-243  
*Firenze 2356* ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-92  
*Firenze 2794* ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59: Heyne  
*London 20.A.XVI* ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21  
*London 31922* ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-6  
*Paris 1597* ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12  
*Paris 2245* ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-18: hayne / bourbon  
*Roma Cas 2856* ff. 96<sup>v</sup>-98: Haine "Ales au regret"  
*Roma CG XIII.27* ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28: Hayne  
*Segovia* f. 163<sup>v</sup>: Scoen Heyne  
*Torino I,27* f. 12<sup>v</sup>  
*Uppsala 76a* f. 1 (T and C only)  
*Verona 757* ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29  
*Washington L25* ff. 140<sup>v</sup>-142  
*Zwikau 78/3* no. 11  
*Petrucci 1501* ff. 62<sup>v</sup>-63: Hayne  
*Egenolff 1535/14 III* no. 26 (S only)  
*Formschneider 1538/9* no. 7

## Intabulations:

*Chicago Cap* no. 21 (lute)  
*Gerle 1533/G1623* no. 34 (lute)

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain by Jean II de Bourbon (cf. *Paris 2245*); appears in its entirety in *Bruxelles 11239*, *Firenze 2794*, *London 20.A.XVI* and *Paris 2245* as well as *Paris 1719* f. 30<sup>v</sup>; publ. in FrançonA as no. 77 and WallisA as no. 237.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

Vol. I Ch. 7.1 Ex. 1

GhizeghemO no. 2  
BrownL no. 225  
DrozP p. 49  
GombosiC no. 21  
GombosiOa no. 3  
HewittA no. 57  
PickerC p. 416  
ShippC p. 285  
StevensM no. 3  
VillanisM no. 1

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; see also Vol. I Ch. 7.1 *Hayne's* "Allés regrez".

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

See GhizeghemO p. XXV: by composers including Bactio, Agricola, Senfl and Compère (cf. Cop 1848 no. 66); masses by Compère, Josquin and Prioris.

**No. 244 *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v**  
p. 415 **Alexandre (Agricola)**

S Alexandre

Cest ung bon bruit par dieu madame (it)

T

C

Rfasc. HJK no. 16

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 224 (q.v.).

## TEXT:

Incomplete, two lines only.

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; probably copied after no. 224.

**No. 245 *Je suis Margot [S'il vous plaist bien que je vous tiengne]* 3v [A. Agricola]**  
pp. 416-17

S1 Je suis margot

S2

B

NB B: The 14th note, a  $\diamond$ , has a dot missing.

Rfasc. HJK no. 17. Superius 1 and 2 are on p. 416, the bassus at the top of p. 417.

## CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 2439 ff. 60<sup>v</sup>-61: Allexander "Sy vous plaist bien"  
*St. Gallen* 461 pp. 66-67 (without text)

## TEXT:

Only the words "Je suis Margot" entered above the piece as a title. *Firenze* 2439 has the first two lines of the poem "S'il vous plaist bien", which appears as a rondeau quatrain in *La Chasse* 1509 f. V<sup>iii</sup><sup>v</sup>; this rondeau is probably based on a older bergerette which has the same refrain; for further discussion see AgricolaO V p. XXXVIII.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

AgricolaO V p. 36  
GiesbertS p. 78

## COMMENTS:

A virtuoso composition for two equal voices (range *g-d*"), which take turns with the superius and tenor functions; the bassus is mostly a supporting voice, but is very active in a few passages. The four lines of text seem far too short for the long composition (76 br-mm.), so the title in Cop 1848 should possibly be taken as an indication that there was once another text (cf. also Ch. 7.1 Ex. 8).

**No. 246 *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* 1v (3v)**  
p. 417

S

Rfasc. HJK no. 18. Only the superius of no. 228 (q. v.) is written in below the bassus of no. 245. The scribe rubbed out the first attempt, and tried again on the same staff; here the ink ran out at the end of the part, whereupon he gave up on the piece. The staves for the tenor and bassus are still empty, however.



**No. 247** *Qu'en dites vous? ferés vous rien*  
[Een vraulich wesen] 3v [J. Barbireau]

p. 418

S

Quen dites vous feres vous rien (t)

T

B

Rfasc. HJK no. 19

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 205 (q.v.).

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; no. 247 gives only the refrain.

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 248** *Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer* 3v  
p. 419 [Anonymous]

Altus

Ces facheux sout qui medisent day daymer (t)

Contra (T)

Ces facheux (i)

bassus

Ces facheux (i)

Rfasc. G no. 3

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 112 (q.v.).

TEXT:

Quatrain – one stanza; as in *Attaignant* 1529/4 a version of the poem— “Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer / et n'eurent en leur vie ...”—is used, which differs in details from Cop 1848 no. 112.

COMMENTS:

Popular song; differs in many details from no. 112; corresponds to the version in *Attaignant* 1529/4.

**No. 249** *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* 3v (4v)  
pp. 419-420 Tomas Jannequin

altus

bassus (T)

Tenor (A)

Nous bergiers et nous bergieres il sont si (t)

NB Incomplete, bassus missing. The part called “bassus” here is the tenor of the composition.

Bassus after *Scotto* 1535/8 no. 9:

Bassus

Sont en lombre dung buisson (t)

Rfasc. G no. 4. The upper voice “altus” begins on p. 419 below the bassus of no. 248; since the scribe first used a staff for crossed-out attempts, there was no room for the part on the page and it continues at the top of the new page p. 420. Under this are the “tenor” (A) and “bassus” (T); the composer’s name is written below the latter part.

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 117 ff. 50<sup>v</sup>-51

*München* 1503<sup>a</sup> no. 6 “La bragiera” (incipit in S corrected to “Noz bergiers”)

*Scotto* 1535/8 no. 9 (T missing)

Intabulations:

*Milano* 1536 f. 17 (*viola* or *lute*)

*Milano* 1536/11 no. 25 (*lute*)

*Milano* 1546/29 no. 13 (*lute*)

TEXT:

Chanson à refrain consisting of a four-line stanza and a four-line refrain “liron, liron, la bergiere ...” – 2 stanzas. The first stanza is, but for a couple of words, identical to “Le bergier et la bergiere sont en l’ombre d’ung buisson ...”, no. 214 in *S’ensuyvent-Lotrian* 1535 and later editions (2 stanzas – without refrain!); publ. in JefferyV II p. 299. This text appears in several settings; cf. below.

MODERN EDITION:

Ch. 8.3 Ex. 10

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a popular tune; arrangement with *c.p.f.* in the superius and tenor. The tune is sung through twice; in the second stanza there is extensive use of coloration.

Although the chanson cannot possibly function without the bassus, there can be no doubt that the main scribe saw it as being in three parts; cf. his designation of the parts and placing of the text in the "Tenor" (A).

The *c.p.f.* has many resemblances to "Le bergier et la bergiere", which appears in a number of different settings:

- a) N. Regnes 3v, e.g. in *Attaignant* 1535 as no. 1 (for further sources see BernsteinC p. 62).
- b) J. Gallus 5v in *Susato* 1543/15 f. 14<sup>v</sup>.
- c) N. Gombert 5v in *Susato* 1544/13 f. 2<sup>v</sup> and *Le Roy* 1572/2 f. 36, publ. in GombertO X p. 132.
- d) P. Certon 6v in *Chemin* 1570/C1718 pp. 101-02 (*V<sup>a</sup> vox* missing).
- e) Anonymous *Le berger* 6v in *Uppsala* 76c ff. 113<sup>v</sup>-14.

**No. 250 *Plusieurs regredz qui sur la terre sont* 5v**  
pp. 421-422 [Josquin Desprez]

Altus

Tenor

Contra

Bassus

Plusieurs regredz plusieurs regredz (t)  
et les douleurs et les douleurs

Plusieurs regredz (i)

Rfasc. G no. 5. The altus, contra and tenor are on p. 421, while the bassus is on the other side of the sheet, p. 422.

## CONCORDANCES:

Halle 1147 no. 14

Leipzig 49/50 f. 191 "Sana me, Domine"

Wien 18746 no. 2

*Susato* 1545/15 f. 4<sup>v</sup>: Josquin des Pres

*Attaignant* 1549/J681 no. 8: Josquin des Prez

*Montanus* 1559/1 no. 5: Josquin "O virgo genetrice"

*Le Roy* 1560 f. 30: Josquin (S only)

## TEXT:

Cinquain – one stanza; this poem is, apart from the first word, identical to the refrain from a rondeau cinquain "Tous les regretz qui sur la terre sont" in *Paris* 2798 f. 71<sup>v</sup> and *Paris* 7559 f. 42, publ. in BancelR no. 128 and FrançonA p. 271. This rondeau, also with the textual variant "Plusieurs regretz ...", appears in an anonymous four-part setting in *Bruxelles* 228 ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-43, publ. in PickerC p. 339.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

JosquinWW no. 7

BlumeJ no. 6

## COMMENTS:

Canon chanson. The *V<sup>a</sup> vox* follows the tenor a fifth higher after two br-mm. The setting of the text (rhyming *aabba*) does not observe the rondeau form, but reflects the rhyme scheme in a repetitive AABBBCC structure. This form prompted the scribe to save a little space; but he did so rather unsystematically: in the superius (Altus) the "A" section is repeated from ♯ in bar 12, and in the altus part (Contra) the "B" section between ♦♦ in bar 23 and ♯ in bar 32 must be repeated; the tenor and bassus are written out in full.

## RELATED COMPOSITION:

Marco Antonio Cavazzoni used Josquin's chanson as his model for the canzone *Plus ne regnes* in *Cavazzoni* 1523/C1574 as no. 7 (keyboard), publ. in JeppesenO II p. 46; cf. also PickerJ.

**No. 251 *Osanna filio David* 4v**  
p. 422 + p. 439

Altus

Tenor

Contra

Bassus

Osanna filio david (t)

Osanna filio david (it)

Osanna filio david (i)

Osanna filio david (t)

Rfasc. G no. 6. Altus, contra and tenor are below the bassus of no. 250 on p. 422; the tenor continues at the top of the opposite page in Rfasc. G, p. 439, where the bassus also appears.

## TEXT:

Matthew 21.9. Besides the Benedictus section of the Sanctus of the Mass, this text is also used in antiphons for Palm Sunday (e.g. in the procession) see GR p. 166 and Ant. "Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta" p. 168; cf. also AR p. 424.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 99

## COMMENTS:

Lauda, homorhythmic/imitative texture, each phrase ending with a fermata chord.

**No. 252** *Ung plus que tous a mon reffort* 3v

p. 423

[Anonymous]

S



Ung plus que tous a mon reffort (i)

T



Ung plus que tous a mon reffort (i)

C



Ung plus que tous a mon reffort (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 27

## CONCORDANCE:

Firenze 229 ff. 90<sup>v</sup>-91 "Ung plus" (incipit)

## TEXT:

Only the first line – probably a rondeau cinquain; in *Vergier d'honneur* f. t<sub>5</sub><sup>v</sup> there is a rondeau with a similar beginning "Ung plus que tous c'est mon confort / autre que luy ne face effort ...", publ. in BrownL I pp. 248-49.

## MODERN EDITION:

BrownL no. 88

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.

**No. 253** *Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant* 4v

pp. 424-25


[H. Isaac]

S



Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant (t)

## Tenor




Fille vous avés mal gardez le pan devant (i)

## Contra altus



Fille vous avés mal gardez le pan devant (i)

## B



Fille vous avés mal garde le pan devant (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 28. Entered on p. 424 and at the top of p. 425 in a very compact disposition where the tenor begins on the staff where the superius ends; below these are the contraaltus and the beginning of the bassus, which continues on the next page.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 226 (q.v.).

## COMMENTS:


A copy of the same original as was used for no. 226. After copying, the scribe in both cases discovered errors originating in the source, e.g. superfluous note stems and an extra passage in the tenor (between bar 45 and bar 46), and crossed them out.

**No. 254** *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v Alexandre

p. 425

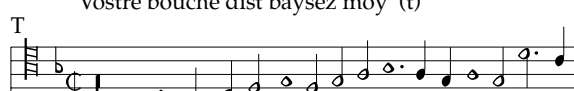
(Agricola)

S Alexandre



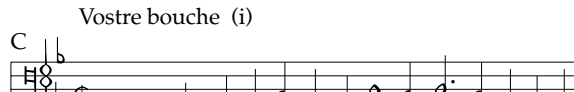
Vostre bouche dist baysez moy (t)

T



Vostre bouche (i)

C



Vostre bouche dist baise moy (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 29. Entered below the bassus of no. 253.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 235 (q.v.).

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; like no. 235, gives only the refrain.

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; probably copied after no. 235.

**No. 255** *Or suis je bien transy d'esmay*  
*[Vous me faites mourir d'envie]* 3v  
 p. 426 [L. Compère]

S

Or suis je bien transy desmay (i)

T

C

Rfasc. HJK no. 30

CONCORDANCE:

*Paris* 2245 ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21: Compere / bourbon  
 "Vous me faictes morir d'envie"

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; in Cop 1848 there is only a single line—in *Paris* 2245 the composition is furnished with another complete rondeau by Jean II de Bourbon.

MODERN EDITIONS:

CompèreO V p. 62  
 DrozP p. 55

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; cf. Ch. 7.1. (incl. Ex. 7).

**No. 256** *Fors seulement contre ce que ay promis /*  
*Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* 3v  
 p. 427 [J. Ockeghem]

S

Fort seulement (i)

T

B

Rfasc. HJK no. 31

CONCORDANCES:

*Firenze* 2439 ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-53: J. Ockeghem  
 "Fors seulement l'actante"  
*Paris* 1596 ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8 "Fors seulement contre ce"

*Paris* 2245 ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17: okeghem 'Canon Royal'  
 "Fors seulement contre ce / Fors soulement  
 l'actente" (text in S-T / B)

*St. Gallen* 461 pp. 4-5: Ockengen "Fors solament"  
 (incipit)

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 47 (without text)

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain – double chanson; Cop 1848, like *St. Gallen* 461, gives only an incipit, while the other three sources disagree on the choice of text: *Firenze* 2439 has "Fors seulement l'attente ..." (cf. source list under the text of Cop 1848 no. 54); *Paris* 1596 has "Fors seulement contre ce ..." (both *Paris* 1596 and *Paris* 2245 give the complete rondeau cinquain), while the two rondeaux are combined in *Paris* 2245. The confusion probably arose because it is a double chanson, and *Paris* 2245 has the original version.

MODERN EDITIONS:

GiesbertS p. 4  
 GombosiOa p. 14  
 PickerF no. 2

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; probably the earliest reworking (L. L. Perkins in *NGrove* 13 p. 494) of Ockeghem's own chanson *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* (cf. Cop 1848 no. 54: COMMENTS) the superius of which is used here as the bassus. In *Paris* 2245 the lower part is notated exactly as in the source—as a treble part and with the original text—the instruction "Canon Royal" suggests the necessary transposition of the part down a twelfth (Louis XII!). Cf. HewittF no. 14, where the many other related compositions are also listed (but not the many masses on *Fors seulement* by Obrecht, Pipelare, Carpentras, Gombert and by Ockeghem himself).

**No. 257** *C'est a nous deux* 1v (3v?)  
 p. 428

S

Cest a nous deux (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 32

COMMENTS:

Incomplete chanson; only the superius with a text incipit – 50 br-mm. The shape of this rather aimless part, with no life of its own, might suggest that it belongs to a three-part composition with the tune in the tenor.

**No. 258 *Le karesme vient mal a propous* 3v**

p. 429

S



T



C



Le karesme vient mal a propous (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 33

TEXT:

Only this one line about Lent coming at a bad time;  
five decasyllabic lines could easily be laid under the music.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 34

COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune where a *c.p.f.* is paraphrased in the superius and tenor; homorhythmic-imitative texture.

**No. 259 *Chanson* 3v**

p. 430

S



T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 34

TEXT:

The music would fit a rondeau cinquain with long lines.

COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a rondeau; the tenor part lacks 20 br-mm. in the middle (bars 26-45).

**No. 260 *Domus Israel speravit* 3v**

pp. 430-31

T1



Domus Israel speravit in domino (t)

T2



Domus Israel speravit in (t)

B



speravit in domino (t)

Rfasc. HJK no. 34a. Entered by Hand D at the bottom of the pages, tenor 1 below no. 259 and tenor 2 and the bassus below no. 261.

TEXT:

Ps. 113 "In exitu Israel" v. 17.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 77b

COMMENTS:

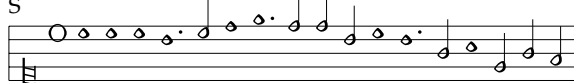
Alternative Verse for no. 175 *In exitu Israel*, where Hand D wrote below the corresponding Verse the reference "Alius infra" (q.v.). The *tonus peregrinus* (AR p. 29\*) is paraphrased in the bassus and tenor 2.

**No. 261 *Mon seul plaisir, ma douce joye* 3v**

p. 431

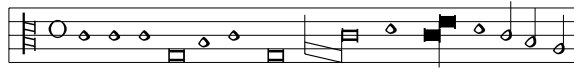
[J. Bedyngham / G. Dufay]

S

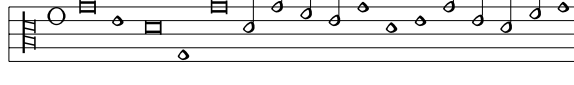


Mon seul plaisir (i)

T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 35

CONCORDANCES:

*Berlin* 78.C.28 ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-21*Escorial* IV.a.24 ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28*Firenze* 176 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59: Duffay*Firenze* 2356 ff. 48<sup>v</sup>-49*München* 810 ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-23*München* 9659 f. 4*Oporto* 714 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60: Bedyngham de Anglia

Paris 2973 ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-46  
 Paris 4379 ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24  
 Paris 15123 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-70  
 Pavia 362 ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25  
 Washington L25 ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-66  
 Wolfenbüttel 287 ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-42

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain by Charles d'Orléans; appears complete in *Paris* 2973, *Paris* 4379, *Pavia* 362, *Washington* L25 and *Wolfenbüttel* 287 as well as *Berlin* 78.B.17 ff. 82<sup>v</sup>-83 and *London* 380 f. 239<sup>v</sup>; publ. in LöpeltmannR as no. 137 and WallisA as no. 208.

In all literary sources for Charles d'Orléans' poem the first line is "Ma seulle, plaisant, doulce joye"—see the list of sources in P. Champion's collected edition, *CharlesP* I p. 232, while the above-mentioned musical sources and collections of chanson texts all give the beginning of the poem as "Mon seul plaisir, ma doulce joye", a change which seems to have been made for musical reasons (*Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 121 and *London* 380 f. 227 also give the original version).

Bedyngham may have set the English version of the rondeau "Mi verry joy and most parfit plesere". Afterwards his chanson became well known on the Continent with the slightly-altered French text; for further discussion see FallowsW.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

DufayO II no. 90  
 FallowsE (with English text "Mi verry joy")  
 HanenE no. 23  
 KottickC no. 33

## COMMENTS:

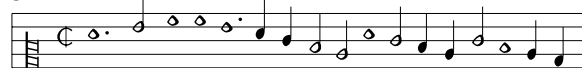
Setting of a rondeau; cf. Ch. 7.1 (incl. Ex. 2). H. Besseler (in DufayO II p. LXV) states: "The name 'Duffay' in the later MS Fl 176 [*Firenze* 176] is surely wrong. It is a work by Bedyngham." This view is supported by FallowsW and FallowsO.

## RELATED COMPOSITIONS:

The widely-known chanson formed the point of departure for two anonymous works: *Mon seul plaisir / La douleur que je rechoy* 2v in *Paris* 4379 ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3, publ. in PlamenacQ p. 179, and *Regensburg* 120 p. 274 4v. The text is quoted in a monophonic quodlibet in *Paris* 12744 f. 43<sup>v</sup> *Mon seul plaisir, ma doulce joye, Je ne scay quel propos tenir ...*, publ. in ParisC no. 73; see also BrownF no. 298, pp. 260-61.

**No. 262 *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* 3v [J. Fresnau]**  
 p. 432

S



Nuit et jour sans repous avoir (t)



Rfasc. HJK no. 36

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 200 (q.v.).

## TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; no. 262, like no. 200, gives the first six lines.

## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; identical to no. 200, although there are a number of scribal errors in the text, some of which were corrected immediately or later—e.g. "que couse" has been corrected to "que chouse" by writing an "h" above the line (no. 200 has the correct "a chouse").

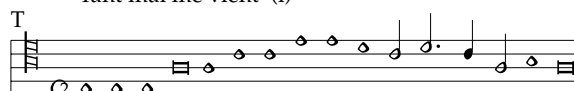
**No. 263 *Tant mal me vient, Dieu, mercy et fortune* 3v**  
 p. 433 [L. Compère]

S



Tant mal me vient (i)

T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 37

## CONCORDANCES:

*Roma Cas* 2856 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60: Compere "Tout mal me vient" (incipit)

*Formschneider* 1538/9 no. 83 (without text)

## TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; the poem is in *Paris* 1719 f. 31 "Tout mal me vient, Dieu, mercy et fortune".

## MODERN EDITION:

CompèreO V p. 53 (without text)

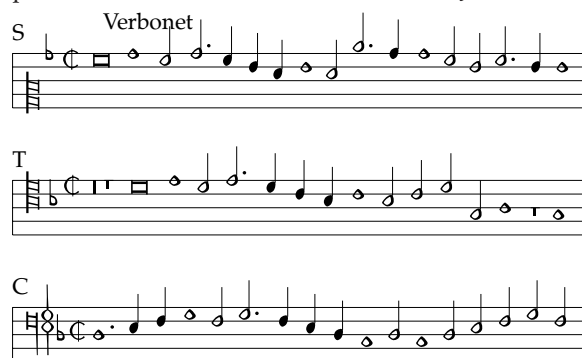
## COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau.





**No. 267 *Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrete* 3v**  
p. 437 **Verbonet (J. Ghiselin)**



Rfasc. HJK no. 41

**CONCORDANCE:**

*Firenze* 2439 ff. 84<sup>v</sup>-85: Verbonnet "Le cueur la suyt"

**TEXT:**

Rondeau cinquain; without text in Cop 1848. *Firenze* 2439 has a corrupt French text which turns out to be the refrain from a rondeau cinquain by Octovien de Saint-Gelais "Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrete". This poem appears in many sources, including *Dresden Saxe* no. 252, *Lille* 402 no. 252, *Oxford I.d.22* p. 125, *Paris* 1719 f. 111 and *Paris* 7559 f. 20<sup>v</sup> (for a complete source list see WinnS), publ. in BancelR p. 133, FrançonP p. 365, QuicheratB p. 40 and WinnC p. 72. "Le cueur la suyt" appears beside two other rondeaux in Saint-Gelais' long "Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite", written for Marguerite d'Autriche's departure from the French court in 1493. This text appears under Saint-Gelais' name in *Paris* 1158 ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-38, *Paris* 2582 ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-36 and *La Chasse* 1509 ff. B<sub>7</sub><sup>v</sup>-B<sub>8</sub><sup>v</sup>, publ. in WinnS.

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

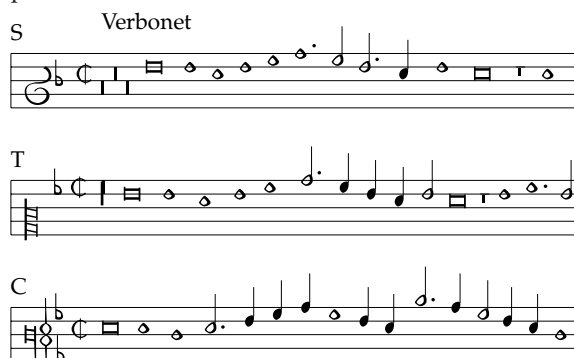
Ghiselin-VerbonnetO IV p. 21

PickerR p. 93

**COMMENTS:**

Ghiselin-Verbonnet's setting of a rondeau which was possibly composed on the occasion of Marguerite's departure in 1493 has attracted much attention; cf. GottwaldG p. 111 and WinnC; on the three rondeaux in the "Complainte" in particular, see WinnS and PickerR.

**No. 268 *Chanson* 3v Verbonet (J. Ghiselin)**  
p. 438



Rfasc. HJK no. 42

**TEXT:**

This textless composition could, with some difficulty, be furnished with a rondeau as text.

**MODERN EDITION:**

Ghiselin-VerbonnetO IV p. 38

**COMMENTS:**

Probably a setting of a rondeau; this and the preceding chanson by Ghiselin are possibly through-composed settings of the rondeau refrains alone; cf. Ch. 7.1.

**No. 269 *Or sus, vous dormez tropt, ma dame joliette* 3v**  
pp. 439-440 **[Anonymous]**



Rfasc. G no. 7. The altus and tenor are below the bassus of no. 251 on p. 439, and the tenor continues on the reverse side of the sheet (p. 440) where the bassus also appears.

**CONCORDANCES:**

*Barcelona* 454 ff. 155<sup>v</sup>-157

*Firenze* 117 ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-10

*St. Gallen* 463 no. 36 (S only)

*Antico* 1520/6 no. 40

## TEXT:

Popular song with onomatopoeic effects, a greatly simplified version of a virelai of the 14th century "Or sus, vous dormes trop, ma dame joliette. Il est jour, levés vous, escoutés l'aloecte: ..." (for sources, see ReaneyP p. 62) publ. in Apelf no. 70.

In no. 269 the altus (S) and tenor only have text up to the point where the onomatopoeia begins (the first two lines), while the bassus, because of a scribal error, has been underlaid with the whole text of the tenor.

## MODERN EDITIONS:

ChristoffersenO p. 59

JanequinC I no. 5a

## COMMENTS:

Onomatopoeic birdsong chanson, formed very like a popular arrangement with a *c.p.f.* in the tenor and with a long onomatopoeic passage interpolated; for more details cf. ChristoffersenO.

The three-part chanson was reworked by Clément Janequin and furnished with a new altus part which cannot however be considered completely successful (version a); the four-part chanson is also found, though, with another, better integrated altus part (version b), which was probably not composed by Janequin, but rather by Moderne's arranger of the secular repertory. Janequin's reworking is in the following sources:

- a) *Attaignant* 1528/J443 no. 4: Janequin  
*Attaignant* 1537/J444 no. 4: Jennequin  
*Le Roy* 1559/J456 no. 3: Janequin  
 (plus reprints by Gardane and Du Chemin)

- b) *Paris* 851 p. 577: Clément Janequin  
*Moderne* 1540/J459 no. 20: Jennequin (A only)

## Intabulations:

*Newsidler* 1544/23 no. 50 "Lalafete" (lute)

*Brayssing* 1553/35 no. 19 (guitar)

## MODERN EDITIONS:

ChristoffersenO p. 61 (both versions a and b)

JanequinC no. 5b (a)

ExpertJ no. 4 (a)

HAM no. 107 (a)

Janequin's chanson is quoted in the anonymous *fricassées Au pres de vous* 4v, *Attaignant* 1531/1 no. 19 (publ. in CazeauxF p. 230) and *A l'aventure Tous mes amys* 4v, *Attaignant* 1536/5 no. 20 (publ. in LesureAN no. 7) and in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée* 4v, *Moderne* 1538/17 no. 1 (cf. LesureE).

The relationship between the anonymous three-part chanson and Janequin's four-part reworking has often evoked comment; see the bibliography in ChristoffersenO p. 53 note 1—add to this the later articles BrothersC pp. 320ff and BernsteinO p. 301.

**No. 270** *J'ay ung mary qui est tant bon homme* 3v  
 p. 441

Altus

## TEXT:

Two different stanzas have been joined together:

1) A *ballade* "Mon pere m'a donné mari" with the refrain "Mal maridade, c'est mon nom!". This stanza is also used with some variations in the first section of Compère's four-part setting (cf. Item b below). The anonymous three-part chanson in *Antico* 1520/6 (cf. Item d) uses a similar stanza with the same first two lines, but then diverges. The poem is also found in a Flemish version "Mijn vader gaf my enen man" with a total of five stanzas; it is indicated as *timbre* for Ps. 98 in *Souterliedekens* (on this text see also HewittM).

2) *Reponce* "Ne plourez plus, Denise" – a quatrain with the refrain "Il est bon compaignon".

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 36

## COMMENTS:

Setting of popular tunes; in two sections with two different melodies as *c.p.f.* in free canon in the altus and tenor (the second section begins at bar 30). Compère's setting of "Mon pere m'a donné mari" is also combined with a *reponce* with another *c.p.f.* (cf. Item b). As stated above, the tune in the first section of the chanson is known with a Flemish text and used as *timbre*; it is further quoted in H. Fresnau's *La Fricassée* 4v, *Moderne* 1538/17 no. 1 (cf. LesureE).

RELATED COMPOSITIONS (see also HewittB p. 76):

- a) Anonymous: *Mon pere m'a donné mari* 4v in *Petrucchi* 1502/2 ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45 (only text incipit). This is based on exactly the same combination of tunes as Cop 1848 no. 271; in two sections (bars 1-53 and bars 53-70); the tunes are used as *c.p.f.* in free octave canon between the superius and tenor. The resemblance between the two settings is so great that the four-part one is probably a reworking of the three-part chanson in Cop 1848, and it can of course be underlaid with exactly the same combination of texts; publ. in HewittB no. 41 (without text).
- b) L. Compère: *Mon pere m'a donné mari* 4v with *c.p.f.* in the superius and tenor. This setting too is furnished with a *reponce* "Et ou la trouveroye, la femme au petit con", which is based on another tune; publ. in CompèreO V p. 38. See also the discussion in WinnT pp. 53-54 (the author's conclusion that the "Et ou la trouveroye ..." section has no connection with "Mon pere", is over-hasty, since some of the other settings also have such a second section, and especially since her examination of the sources is inadequate: the music of the second section in fact occurs in other sources than *Firenze* 2442—in *Petrucchi* 1504/3 and the *Segovia* manuscript!). This second section was also, probably by mistake, tagged on to Compère's *Alons faire nous barbes* in the version in *Cortona/Paris* 1817


no. 11 (publ. in CompèreO V p. 8); cf. Cop 1848 no. 3.

- c) H. Isaac: *Mon pere m'a donné mari* 4v in *Firenze* 229 ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-4 (only text incipit) with *c.p.f.* in the superius and tenor. In this setting only the tune which appears in the first section of the preceding settings is used; publ. in IsaacW p. 96 and in BrownL as no. 4.
- d) Anonymous: *Mon pere m'a donné mari* 3v in *Antico* 1520/6 no. 24 (S and B only) and *St. Gallen* 463 no. 33 (S only); sets a variant of the text, but apparently has no musical connection with the others; this too is only in one section.

**No. 272** *Au matin quant suis levé volentiers  
desiuneroye* 3v

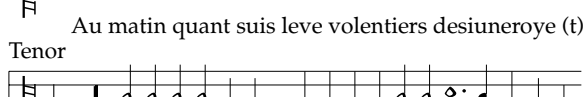
p. 442

altus



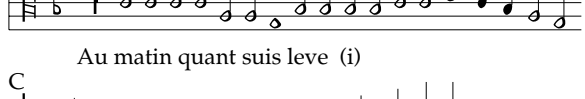
Au matin quant suis leve volentiers desiuneroye (t)

Tenor



Au matin quant suis leve (i)

C



Au matin quant suis leve (i)

Rfasc. G no. 10

## TEXT:

Chanson à refrain – three stanzas, publ. in BridgmanC p. 48. The same text appears in an older anonymous three-part chanson in *Paris* 16664 ff. 89<sup>v</sup>-90 (5 stanzas), publ. in CoussemakerS IV pp. 458-59 and Ch. 8.1 Ex. 7.

A text of a very similar nature occurs in *S'ensuivent...* 53 *chansons* 1515 as no. 7 "Nous sommes de l'ordre de Saint Babouin ..." (8 stanzas), publ. in JefferyV I p. 123; cf. also BrownF no. 313, p. 263; Compère's setting is published in HewittA as no. 37 and in CompèreO V p. 41—both without text.

## MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 37

## COMMENTS:

Probably a setting of a popular tune, a song that reviews the meals of the day, with a *c.p.f.* in the superius and tenor; imitative-homorhythmic texture. No musical connection with the setting in *Paris* 16664.

**No. 273** *Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souviendra* 3v  
p. 443 [A. Agricola]

S  
Soit loing au pres (i)

T

C

Rfasc. HJK no. 20

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 204 (q.v.).

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; apart from minor variations, the two entries in Cop 1848 are identical.

**No. 274** *Quam pulchra es amica mea* 3v  
pp. 444-45

S  
Quam pulchra es amica mea (t)

T  
Quam pulchra es amica mea (i)

B  
Quam pulchra es amica mea (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 21. The tenor is placed below the superius on p. 444 and continues on three staves on p. 445 above the bassus.

TEXT:

A mosaic of quotations from the Song of Solomon (from *Cant. I, II, IV* and *V*).

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 81

COMMENTS:

Marian motet; probably not based on any plainchant melody; imitative texture.

The same selection of quotations from the Song of Solomon is used in Pierre Moulu's *Quam pulchra es – Labia tua* 4v (e.g. in *Bologna Q19* ff. 79<sup>v</sup>-81 (Jo. Molu), *Bologna R142* ff. 10-11 (Jo. Mlo; T only), *Leipzig 49/50*

f. 294<sup>v</sup>, *St. Gallen* 463 no. 119 (Petrus Moulu; S and A only), *Toledo* 10 ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-28 (Verdelot; in the index: Petrus molu), *Zwickau* 81/2 no. 87 (P. moulu; S and T only), *Petrucci* 1519/2 no. 12 (Mouton), *Formschneider* 1537/1 no. 56 (Josquin), and intabulated for lute in *Phalèse* 1552/29 no. 7). Although there is no direct motivic resemblance between the three-part motet and Moulu's motet for four low voices, they exhibit many parallels in the musical approach and the setting of the words; both have the main subdivision of the composition at "Labia tua" and a passage in triple time just before the end. They are clearly from the same musical environment.

**No. 275** *Aguillon, serpentin, dangier* 3v Mirus  
p. 446

S  
Aguillon serpentin dangier (t)

T  
Aguillon serpentin (i)

C  
Aguillon serpentin (i)

Rfasc. HJK no. 22

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquain; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the whole of the poem appears as "Esguillon, serpent, danger" in *Berlin* 78.B.17 f. 171 and *Le Jardin* 1501 f. 73, publ. in LöpelmannR as no. 518 and DrozJ as no. 119.

MODERN EDITION:

Vol. III no. 8

COMMENTS:

The text fits the music very badly; a clear mid-cadence is also missing. The text may not belong to the composition at all, like the following one, no. 276, which belongs in a mass by Isaac, and which is entered on the same opening as no. 275. The composition is not a success; it is repetitive, with cadences coming thick and fast, and is characterized by mechanical sequences.

The composer, whose name can be read as "Mirus" according to the solmization system, is possibly identical to a Jehan (Mire) who appears as the composer of *O quam presul domine Nicolas* 3v in *Uppsala* 76a ff. 56<sup>v</sup>-57, a simpler composition, but with several of the weaknesses exhibited by no. 275.

**No. 276** *Or mauldist soyt il qui en ment* 3v Ysaac  
[= H. Isaac: *Qui tollis I* from  
*Missa Chargé de deul*]

p. 447

Rfasc. HJK no. 23. The parts are below one another in the order: superius, contratenor and tenor.

CONCORDANCE:

*Firenze* 178 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-70: yzac "A fortune content" (incipit)

This composition is identical to the *Qui tollis I* of Isaac's *Missa Chargé de deul* 4v which appears, for example, in *Petrucchi* 1506/188 no. 1 (for a complete source list see StaehelinI I p. 30), publ. in Ammm 10 p. 74.

TEXT:

Rondeau cinquin by Vaillant; Cop 1848 gives only the refrain; the poem occurs complete in *Paris* 1719 ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60 and f. 130, *Paris* 1722 f. 24, *Paris* 9223 f. 11<sup>v</sup>, *La Chasse* 1509 f. V<sup>i</sup> and *La Fleur* 1530 f. (G<sub>iii</sub>)<sup>v</sup>, publ. in DeschauxCE p. 207 and RaynaudR no. 17. The poem cannot possibly be laid under the music with a satisfactory result.

MODERN EDITION:

IsaacW p. 64

COMMENTS:

This piece is according to M. Staehelin's analysis one of the few passages in Isaac's mass which is not based on the model, the chanson *Chargé de deul*. As an argument that the piece is excerpted from the mass, and not a pre-existing composition which Isaac has incorporated, Staehelin states that neither "A fortune content" nor "Or mauldist soyt" is known from contemporary text collections (StaehelinI III pp. 86-94). However, "Or mauldist soyt" was widely known long before Isaac's mass; cf. above. Yet the text can hardly have had any connection with the music, which takes the form of a typical instrumental fantasia with constant sequencing of short motifs. As such, it fits naturally in the mass, which maintains this style in many passages. On the occurrence of the same stylistic features in instrumental music and

church music see for example EdwardsS. Why the piece in Cop 1848 was associated with Vaillant's rondeau must remain a mystery.

**No. 277** *Quel remede de monstrier beau semblant* 3v  
p. 448 [Anonymous]

Rfasc. HJK no. 24. The page, like the following two pages, is scribbled over with pen trials.

CONCORDANCES:

*Bologna* Q17 ff. 41<sup>v</sup>-42 (without text)

*Firenze* 229 ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47 "En riens de remede" (incipit)

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 49<sup>v</sup>-50 "En effait" (incipit)

*Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 115<sup>v</sup>-16 "Quel remede monstrier" (incipit)

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; the poem is in *Paris* 1722 f. 8<sup>v</sup> as "Quel remede de monstrier par semblant". This text also appears in an anonymous three-part setting in *Washington* L25 ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-74. In *Paris* 1719 f. 23<sup>v</sup> the same poem occurs in a slightly different version, "Quel reveil de monstrier par semblant".

MODERN EDITIONS:

AtlasC II p. 28 ("En effait se ne reprenes")

AtlasC II p. 76 ("Quel remede de monstrier")

BrownL no. 47 ("En riens de remede" – without text)

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; A. Atlas apparently did not notice that *Roma* CG XIII.27 ff. 49<sup>v</sup>-50 and ff. 115<sup>v</sup>-16 is identical apart from a little confusion about the text incipits; cf. AtlasC I pp. 107 and 221.



**No. 278 *En attendant de vous secours* 3v [L. Compère]**  
p. 449

S



En attendant de vous secours (i)

T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 25. Cf. no. 277.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 191 (q.v.).

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; apart from a few insignificant variations in the copying, it is identical to no. 191.

**No. 280 Textless composition 1v**  
p. 450



Rfasc. HJK no. 26a. The beginning of a superius part, probably entered by Hand E among the many pen trials on the page; the notes are written across the text of no. 279.

**No. 279 *Mon souvenir my fait mourir* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]**  
p. 450

S

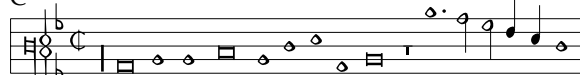


Mon souvenir my fait mourir (t)

T



C



Rfasc. HJK no. 26; cf. no. 277.

Also in Cop 1848 as no. 65 and no. 198 (cf. no. 65).

TEXT:

Rondeau quatrain; no. 279 gives the complete rondeau, see also no. 65.

COMMENTS:

Setting of a rondeau; differs in many details from no. 65 and must have been copied from another source. In bars 26.4-27.2, for example, there is a characteristic difference in the tenor, since the tenor of no. 65 moves in parallel sixths with the superius, while no. 279 (like no. 198 and most of the other sources) has contrary motion in this passage. On the other hand, no. 198, apart from the missing text, is identical to no. 279.

# Appendices



# Appendix A

## Inventory of books in The Royal Library

### formerly belonging to Jean-Baptiste Marduel of Lyons

Marduel's shelfmark	Royal Library call number	Titel and description
Y.g.7.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1840 2°	Jo. Salucius: <i>De templo spirituale</i> (French translation of the 15th century). Red label at the top of the spine: "Sermones et divers traités de spiritua <sup>le</sup> . Manuscrits." Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.g.7." On the inside of the front cover: Marduel's ex-libris with the shelfmark written in.
Y.g.14.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1851 2°	<i>La Clavicule De Salomon Roy Des Hebreux. Traduite de La Langue hebraique En Italien Par Abraam Colorno ... Et Nouvelement Mise En Français.</i> Two red labels at the top of the spine: "La Clavicule de Salomon. Colorno. M.S.S. (inachevé)" Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.g.14." Ex-libris glued to the inside front cover: "LIVRE de la Bibliothèque de PHILIBERT BOUCHE de Cluny"
Y.g.18.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1842 2°	<i>Acta concilii Basiliensis. Manuale cuiusdam notarii</i> (1433-1436). Spine title: "Concile de Basle. 1433" Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.g.18." On the inside front cover: Marduel's ex-libris without the shelfmark.
Y.h.10.	Inc. Haun. 248 4°	Antonius Florentinus: <i>Confessionale</i> . [Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy, c. 1488]. Red label covered by a more recent green label (Bibl. S <sup>te</sup> Hélène?): "Anthonius (sic) S <sup>t</sup> . Antonin Confessionale." Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.h.10." Fol. a <sub>2</sub> : "ex libri abbatae cluniacensis"

<i>Marduel's shelfmark</i>	<i>Royal Library call number</i>	<i>Titel and description</i>
Y.n.37.	Inc. Haun. 3762 2°	<p><i>Statuta seu decreta ducalia Sabaudiae vetera et nova.</i> Torino, Jacobinus Suigus, 1487.</p> <p>Red label: "Amédée IX. Hulibert I<sup>er</sup>. Charles I<sup>er</sup>.</p> <hr/> <p>Statuta Sabaudiae Imp. Turin 1487"</p> <p>Green label: "Y.n.37."</p> <p>On the inside front cover: Marduel's ex-libris with the shelfmark.</p>
Y.o.6.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1847 2°	<p><i>Oeuvres Complete De M<sup>r</sup>. Bouché de la Bertiliere, propriétaire à Cluny.</i> Tome I-III.</p> <p>Spine title: "Œuvres Complete de M. Bouchet"</p> <p>Green label at the top of the spine: "Description de Cluny. M.S. 1818."</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.6."</p>
Y.o.16.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1850 2°	<p><i>Ceremonies En France Par M. de Saintot. Vol. II-VI. De 1666 à 1688.</i></p> <p>Spine title: "Ceremonie de Saintot"</p> <p>White label at the middle of the spine: "Manuscrit"</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.16."</p>
Y.o.24.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1849 2°	<p><i>Défense Générale Des Alpes Par M. de Bourcet.</i></p> <p>Spine title: "Défense Générale des Alpes."</p> <p>Green label at the top of the spine: "MSS"</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.24."</p>
Y.o.29.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1845 2°	<p><i>Chronique de Hollande</i> (15th-century French translation of Jo. de Beka: <i>Chronicon episcoporum Ultratrajectinae</i> ... (c. 1350); copy made in 1625 by Bidier Cordier).</p> <p>Two green labels at the middle of the spine: "Copie de 1625 sur un manuscrit du temps de Philippe le Bon de l'origine a la fin du 13<sup>me</sup> Siècle."</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.29."</p> <p>On the inside front cover: Marduel's ex-libris with the shelfmark.</p>
Y.o.31.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2°	<p>Music manuscript.</p> <p>Red label at the top of the spine: "Ancien recueil de Chants prof. et sacrés. Manuscrit 1520."</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.31."</p> <p>On the inside front cover: "Bibliothèque S<sup>te</sup> Hélène".</p>
Y.o.32.	Ny kgl. Saml. 1852 2°	<p><i>Poésies françaises</i> [17th century].</p> <p>Green label at the top of the spine: "Poesies françaises. Recueil. M.S.S."</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.o.32."</p>

<i>Marduel's shelfmark</i>	<i>Royal Library call number</i>	<i>Titel and description</i>
Ys 21	Ny kgl. Saml. 2941 4°	<p><i>Précis Historique Chronologique et Critique de l'ordre de Grandmont ... par Dom Pierre François Nicod, huitième et dernier Vicaire Général de la Réforme de l'Ordre de Grandmont 1778.</i></p> <p>Spine title: "Precis Histor de L'Ordre de Grandmont"</p> <p>Red label at the top of the spine: "Nicod. Général de l'ordre en 1778"</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Ys 21"</p> <p>Older shelfmarks (crossed out) on the inside front cover and on the flyleaf: "Y.l.9." and "Y.o.7."</p>
Y.u.1.	20, -141 4°	<p><i>Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatae Versionis Editio. Jussu christianissimi regis ad institutionem serenissimi delphini.</i></p> <p>(Collection des auteurs classiques français et latins)</p> <p>Tome I-II, Paris, Fr. Amb. Didot, 1785.</p> <p>Spine title: "BIBLIA SACRA"</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: "Y.u.1."</p>
–	Ny kgl. Saml. 1838 2°	<p><i>Sermonaire du siècle de 1300. [15th century].</i></p> <p>Green label at the top of the spine: "Homélies de Saints Pères notemment de s<sup>t</sup>. Grégoire. Mss du 14<sup>e</sup> Siècle."</p> <p>A torn green label at the bottom of the spine, only a few bits remain.</p>
–	Ny kgl. Saml. 2940 4°	<p><i>Mémoire Historique &amp; Politique Sur la Province de Languedoc ... Par Monsieur de Lamoignon des Basville, intendant 1698.</i></p> <p>(Composite volume also containing various prints from the period 1665-1738 concerning the construction of canals in Languedoc).</p> <p>Spine title: "Mémoire sur le Languedoc"</p> <p>Green label at the bottom of the spine: the shelfmark is erased.</p>



# Appendix B

## Layout of Cop 1848 (cf. Chapter 1)

Column *a* – structure of fascicles.

- *b* – pagination.
- *c* – sheets; the opposite half of the sheet is indicated for right-hand pages (the odd numbers in Column *b*).
- *d* – watermarks; bracketed numbers mean that the watermark is on the opposite half of the sheet.
- *e* – types of paper.
- *f* – hands; only hands other than *A* are indicated.
- *g* – staff types.

<i>a</i> Fasc.	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> ( <i>p.</i> )	<i>d</i> Wm	<i>e</i> Paper	<i>f</i> Hand	<i>g</i> Staff	<i>a</i> Fasc.	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> ( <i>p.</i> )	<i>d</i> Wm	<i>e</i> Paper	<i>f</i> Hand	<i>g</i> Staff
Fasc. 1	1	47	(1a)	1a	D	1		31	29	2	2		2
	2					1		32					2
Fasc. 2	3	13	1	1a		1		33	27	2	2		2
	4					1		34					2
	5	11	1a	1a		1	Fasc. 1	35	25	(1a)	1a		1
	6					1		36					1
	7	9	(1a)	1a		1		37	23	(1)	1a		1
	8					1		38					1
	9	7	1a	1a		1		39	21	1a	1a		1
	10					1		40					1
	11	5	(1a)	1a		1		41	19	(1a)	1a		1
	12					1		42					1
	13	3	(1)	1a		1		43	17	1a	1a		1
	14					1		44					1
Fasc. 1	15	45	(1)	1a		1		45	15	1	1a		1
	16					1		46					1
	17	43	(1a)	1a		1		47	1	1a	1a		1
	18					1		48					1
	19	41	1a	1a		1	Fasc. 3	49	67	1	1b		3
	20					1		50					3
	21	39	(1a)	1a		1		51	65	1a	1b		3
	22					1		52					3
	23	37	1	1a		1		53	63	1	1b		3
	24					1		54					3
	25	35	1a	1a		1		55	61	1	1b		3
	26					1		56					3
Fasc. 1a	27	33	(2)	2		2		57	59	1a	1b		3
	28					2		58					3
	29	31	(2)	2		2		59	57	(1a)	1b		3
	30					2		60					3

<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>	<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>
	61	55	(1)	1b		3		113	109	3	3	B	(4)
	62					3		114				B	(4)
	63	53	(1)	1b		3		115	107	(3)	3	B	(4)
	64					3		116				B	(4)
	65	51	(1a)	1b		3	Fasc. 5	117	105	1a	1a		4
	66					3		118					4
	67	49	(1)	1b		3		119	103	1a	1a		4
	68					3		120					4
Fasc. 4	69	87	1	1b		3		121	101	(1)	1a		4
	70					3		122					4
	71	85	1	1b		3		123	99	(1a)	1a		4
	72					3		124					4
	73	83	1	1b		3		125	97	1	1a		4
	74					3		126					4
	75	81	1a	1b		3		127	95	1a	1a		4
	76					3		128					4
	77	79	1a	1b		3		129	93	(1a)	1a		4
	78					3		130					4
	79	77	(1a)	1b		3		131	91	1a	1a		4
	80					3		132				D	4
	81	75	(1a)	1b		3		133	89	1a	1a	D	4
	82					3		134					4
	83	73	(1)	1b		3	Fasc. 6	135	187	(4)	4		4
	84					3		136					4
	85	71	(1)	1b		3		137	185	(4)	4		4
	86					3		138					4
	87	69	(1)	1b		3		139	183	4	4		4
	88					3		140					4
Fasc. 5	89	133	(1a)	1a		4		141	181	4	4		4
	90					4		142					4
	91	131	(1a)	1a		4		143	179	(4)	4		4
	92					4		144					4
	93	129	1a	1a		4		145	177	4	4		4
	94					4		146					4
	95	127	(1a)	1a		4		147	175	4	4		4
	96				D	4		148					4
	97	125	(1)	1a		4		149	÷	4	4		4
	98				D	4		150					4
	99	123	1a	1a	D	4		151	173	(4)	4		4
	100					4		152					4
	101	121	1	1a		4		153	171	(4)	4		4
	102					4		154					4
	103	119	(1a)	1a		4		155	169	(4)	4		4
	104					4		156					4
	105	117	(1a)	1a		4		157	167	4	4		4
	106					4		158					4
Fasc. 5a	107	115	3	3	B	(4)		159	165	(4)	4		4
	108				B	(4)		160				E	4
	109	113	(3)	3	B	(4)		161	163	4	4	E	4
	109 <sup>2</sup>				B	(4)		162				E	4
	109 <sup>3</sup>	111	3	3	B	(4)		163	161	(4)	4	E	4
	110				B	(4)		164				E	4
	111	109 <sup>3</sup>	(3)	3	B	(4)		165	159	4	4		4
	112				B	(4)		166					4

<i>a</i> Fasc.	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> ( <i>p.</i> )	<i>d</i> Wm	<i>e</i> Paper	<i>f</i> Hand	<i>g</i> Staff	<i>a</i> Fasc.	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> ( <i>p.</i> )	<i>d</i> Wm	<i>e</i> Paper	<i>f</i> Hand	<i>g</i> Staff
	167	157	(4)	4		4		221	195	4	4		4
	168					4		222					4
	169	155	4	4		4		223	193	4	4		4
	170				E	4		224					4
	171	153	4	4	E	4		225	191	4	4		4
	172				E	4		226					4
	173	151	4	4	E	4		227	189	(4)	4		4
	174				E	4		228					4
	175	147	(4)	4	E	4	Fasc. 8	229	317		9		6
	176					4		230					6
	177	145	(4)	4		4		231	÷		9		6
	178					4		232					6
	179	143	4	4		4		233	315		9	D	6
	180				D	4		234				D	6
	181	141	(4)	4	D	4		235	313		9	D	6
	182				E	4		236				D	6
	183	139	(4)	4	E	4		237	311		9	D	6
	184				E	4		238				D	6
	185	137	4	4	E	4		239	309		9	D	6
	186				E	4		240					6
	187	135	4	4		4		241	307		9		6
	188					4		242					6
Fasc. 7	189	227	4	4		4		243	305		9		6
	190					4		244					6
	191	225	(4)	4		4		245	303		9		6
	192				D	4		246				D	6
	193	223	(4)	4	D	4		247	301		9	D	6
	194					4		248				D	6
	195	221	(4)	4		4		249	299		9	D	6
	196				D	4		250					6
	197	219	(4)	4	D	4		251	297		9		6
	198				D	4		252					6
	199	217	4	4	D	4		253	295		9		6
	200					4		254					6
	201	215	4	4	D	4		255	293		9		6
	202					4		256					6
	203	213	4	4		4		257	291		9		6
	204					4		258					6
Fasc. 7a	205	211	1a	1a		4		259	289		9		6
	206					4		260					6
	207	209	(1a)	1a		4		261	287		9		6
	208					5		262					6
	209	207	1a	1a		5		263	285		9		6
	210					4		264					6
	211	205	(1a)	1a		4		265	283		9		6
	212				D	4		266					6
Fasc. 7	213	203	(4)	4	D	4		267	281		9		6
	214					4		268					6
	215	201	(4)	4		4		269	279		9		6
	216					4		270					6
	217	199	(4)	4		4		271	277		9		6
	218					4		272					6
	219	197	4	4		4		273	275		9		6
	220					4		274					6

<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>	<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>
	275	273		9		6		329	331	(1a)	1a		7
	276					6		330				D	7
	277	271		9		6		331	329	1a	1a	D	7
	278				D	6		332					7
	279	269		9		6		333	327	(1)	1a		7
	280					6		334					7
	281	267		9		6		335	325	1	1a		7
	282					6		336					7
	283	265		9		6		337	323	(1a)	1a		7
	284					6		338				D	7
	285	263		9		6		339	321	1	1a	D	7
	286					6		340					7
	287	261		9		6	Fasc. 10	341	347	(1a)	1a		7
	288					6		342					7
	289	259		9		6		343	345	(1)	1a		7
	290					6		344					7
	291	257		9		6		345	343	1	1a		7
	292					6		346					7
	293	255		9		6		347	341	1a	1a		7
	294					6		348					7
	295	253		9		6	Fasc. 9	349	319	1a	1a		7
	296					6		350					7
	297	251		9		6	Fasc. 11	351	373	(5)	5	C	9
	298					6		352				C	9
	299	249		9		6		353	371	5	5	C	9
	300				D	6		354				C	9
	301	247		9		6		355	369	5	5	C	9
	302				D	6		356					9
	303	245		9	D	6		357	367	5	5		9
	304				D	6		358				C	9
	305	243		9	D	6		359	365	(5)	5	C	9
	306				D	6		360				C	9
	307	241		9	D	6		361	363	5	5	C	9
	308				D	6		362					9
	309	239		9	D	6		363	361	(5)	5		9
	310				D	6		364					9
	311	237		9	D	6		365	359	5	5		9
	312					6		366					9
	313	235		9		6		367	357	(5)	5		9
	314					6		368				C	9
	315	233		9		6		369	355	(5)	5	C	9
	316					6		370				C	9
	317	229		9		6		371	353	(5)	5	C	9
	318					6		372					9
Fasc. 9	319	349	(1a)	1a		7		373	351	5	5		9
	320					7		374					9
	321	339	(1)	1a		7	Fasc. 12	375	393	1	1a		7
	322					7		376					7
	323	337	1a	1a		7		377	391	(6)	6		10
	324					7		378					10
	325	335	(1)	1a		7		379	389	(6)	6		10
	326					7		380					10
	327	333	1	1a		7		381	387	(6a)	6		10
	328					7		382					10

<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>	<i>a</i> <i>Fasc.</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>c</i> <i>(p.)</i>	<i>d</i> <i>Wm</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Paper</i>	<i>f</i> <i>Hand</i>	<i>g</i> <i>Staff</i>
	383	385	(6a)	6		10		437	423	(6a)	6		10
	384					10		438					10
	385	383	6a	6		10		439	421	(1)	1a		7
	386					10		440					7
	387	381	6a	6		10		441	419	(1)	1a		7
	388					10		442					7
	389	379	6	6		10		443	417	6	6		10
	390					10		444					10
	391	377	6	6		10		445	415	6	6		10
	392					10		446					10
	393	375	(1)	1a		7		447	413	6	6		10
	394					7		448					10
Fasc. 13	395	409	1a	1a	D	8		449	411	6	6		10
	396					7		450				E	10
	397	407	(1a)	1a		7							
	398					7							
	399	405	1a	1a		11							
	400					11							
	401	403	(7)	7		12							
	402					12							
	403	401	7	7		12							
	404					12							
	405	399	(1a)	1a		11							
	406					11							
	407	397	1a	1a		7							
	408					7							
	409	395	(1a)	1a		7							
	410				D	8							
Fasc. 14	411	449	(6)	6		10							
	412					10							
	413	447	(6)	6		10							
	414					10							
	415	445	(6)	6		10							
	416					10							
	417	443	(6)	6		10							
	418					10							
	419	441	1	1a		7							
	420					7							
	421	439	1	1a		7							
	422					7							
	423	437	6a	6		10							
	424					10							
	425	435	6a	6		10							
	426					10							
	427	433	(6a)	6		10							
	428					10							
	429	431	8	8		10							
	430				D	10							
	431	429	(8)	8	D	10							
	432					10							
	433	427	6a	6		10							
	434					10							
	435	425	(6a)	6		10							
	436					10							

# Appendix C

## The reconstructed manuscript

The lists of contents follow the review of the manuscript in Chapter 4. They show the music collection as it looked in the 1520s when the main scribe put it aside and had it bound. The compositions in each section have been numbered separately; compositions added later have been given secondary numbers (e.g. 13a) and are listed after the repertory of the main scribe. Page references and numbers in brackets refer to the present placing of the repertory in Cop 1848 and in the catalogue.

### 1. Rfasc. 8

Stock manuscript with sacred music, later filled up with chansons; belongs with Rfasc. 5, 6 and 7. Only nos. 2-5, 8 and 15-21 belong to the original repertory; nos. 7 and 14 were added before the chansons nos. 6, 9-13 and 22, which are from the same period of the scribe's work as the corresponding chansons in Rfasc. 3-4. The examples nos. 1 and 23 were written at the same time as the examples Rfasc. 5 no. 26 and Rfasc. 6 no. 46.

1. Examples 2v	(no. 156, p. 229)
2. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit [vi toni] 4v</i>	(no. 157, pp. 230-237)
3. <i>In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem 4v</i> Maioris	(no. 158, pp. 238-241)
4. <i>[In exitu Israel] Facta est Judea 4v</i>	(no. 159, pp. 242-249)
5. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit [viii toni] 4-5v</i>	(no. 160, pp. 250-255)
6. <i>Vignon, vignon, vignon, vignette 4v</i> [Anonymous]	(no. 161, pp. 256-57)
7. <i>Ave presul gloriose / Augustine 4v</i>	(no. 162, pp. 258-59)
8. <i>[Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée] 4v</i> [M. Gascogne]	(no. 163, pp. 260-267)
9. <i>Ung grand plaisir Cupido me dona 4v</i> [Anonymous]	(no. 164, pp. 268-69)
10. <i>Secourez moy, ma dame, par amours 4v</i> [Claudin de Sermisy]	(no. 165, pp. 270-71)
11. <i>Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu 4v</i>	(no. 166, pp. 272-73)
12. <i>De retourner, mon amy, je te prie 4v</i> [Anonymous]	(no. 167, pp. 274-75)
13. <i>Reconforte le petit cueur de moy 4v</i> [Cl. Janequin]	(no. 168, pp. 276-77)
14. <i>Deo gracias 3v</i>	(no. 170, p. 279)
15. <i>[Missa On a mal dit de mon amy] 4v</i> [J. Lhéritier]	(no. 171, pp. 280-285 + pp. 288-295)
16. <i>O genetrix gloriosa 4v</i> Richaffort [L. Compère]	(no. 172, pp. 286-87)
17. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit [viii toni] 3v</i>	(no. 173, pp. 296-299)
18. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit [i toni] 2v(4v)</i>	(no. 174, pp. 300-01)
19. <i>In exitu Israel de Egypto 4v</i>	(no. 175, pp. 300-310)
20. <i>Victime pascali laudes 3v(4v)</i>	(no. 177, pp. 312-13)
21. <i>Ave Maria 5v</i> Dulo	(no. 178, pp. 314-15)
22. <i>Reveillés vous, amoureux, vous dormes trott 5v</i>	(no. 179, p. 316)
23. Examples 2v	(no. 180, p. 317)
Later added by Hand D:	
13a. <i>Nos qui vivimus 4v</i>	(no. 169, p. 278)
19a. <i>Non mortui laudabunt te 4v</i>	(no. 176, p. 311)



## 2. Rfasc. 5

Fascicle manuscript/chansonnier with a varied, carefully selected repertory, copied in one continuous, relatively short period. No. 13 was added later with Rfasc. D no. 3 as source; the examples no. 26 were written at the same time as Rfasc. 6 no. 46 and Rfasc. 8 nos. 1 and 23.

1. <i>Se je suis trovée</i> 3v	(no. 45, p. 89)
2. <i>Le ranvooy d'ung cueur esguaré</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 46, pp. 90-91)
3. <i>O preclara stella mater [maris]</i> 3v [A. de Févin]	(no. 47, pp. 92-93)
4. <i>Nuit et jour sans repous avoir</i> 3v	(no. 48, p. 94)
5. <i>Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte</i> 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]	(no. 49, p. 95)
6. <i>Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escripts</i> 3v [Mureau / Busnois]	(no. 51, p. 97)
7. <i>Parce Domine</i> 3v [J. Obrecht]	(no. 52, p. 99)
8. <i>Si dedero</i> 3v [A. Agricola]	(no. 53, pp. 100-01)
9. <i>Fors seulement l'attente que je meure</i> 3v [A. de Févin]	(no. 54, pp. 102-03)
10. <i>Va-t'en regret celui qui me convoye</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 55, pp. 104-05)
11. <i>Au travail suis sans exposer de confort</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 56, p. 106)
12. <i>Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 62, p. 117)
13. <i>O beata Katherina</i> 4v	(no. 63, pp. 118-19)
14. <i>En amours n'a sinon bien</i> 3v [A. de Févin]	(no. 64, pp. 120-21)
15. <i>Mon souvenir mi fait mourir</i> 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]	(no. 65, p. 122)
16. <i>Venés regretz, venés il en est heure</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 66, pp. 124-25)
17. <i>Tenés moy en vous bras</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 67, p. 125)
18. <i>Plain de regret [de] playsir esguaré</i> 3v	(no. 68, p. 126)
19. <i>[A] ma douleur nulli n'est comparée</i> 3v	(no. 69, p. 127)
20. <i>En despit des faulx mesdisans</i> 3v	(no. 70, pp. 128-29)
21. <i>A qui direlle sa pencee</i> 2v [Anonymous / Jacotin?]	(no. 71, p. 129)
22. <i>Mais que se feut secretement</i> 3v [Pietrequin Bonnel / L. Compère]	(no. 72, p. 130)
23. <i>Content de peu en voiant tant de bien</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 73, p. 131)
24. <i>Se j'ay parlé aulcunement</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 74, p. 132)
25. <i>Baisés moy, ma doulce amye</i> 5v [Josquin Desprez]	(no. 75, pp. 132-33)
26. Examples 1v	(no. 76, p. 134)
List of contents for nos. 1-12 and 14-25	(p. 134)
Later added by Hand D:	
5a. <i>[Inviolata, integra] Que es effecta fulgida celi porta</i> 4v	(no. 50, pp. 96 + 98-99)

## 3. Rfasc. D

Fascicle manuscript executed by Hand B; incomplete, lacking the outside sheet. The second part of the motet no. 3 served as a source for Rfasc. 5 no. 13.

1. <i>Que t'ay je faict desplaisante Fortune?</i> 3v	(no. 57, p. 107)
2. <i>S'il est a ma poste</i> 4v [Hesdin]	(no. 58, pp. 108-09)
3. <i>Ave virgo Katherina – O beata Katherina</i> 4v	(no. 59, pp. 109 <sup>bis</sup> -111)
4. <i>A la fontaine du pré</i> 4v	(no. 60, pp. 112-115)
5. <i>Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente</i> 2v(4v)	(no. 61, p. 116)

## 4. Rfasc. 6

Stock manuscript with a mixed repertory copied over a relatively long period. The earliest group, which resembles the repertory of Rfasc. 5, consists of nos. 1, 3-17, 19 and 21-26, then three groups of compositions were added: nos. 27-30, no. 34 (an independent addition) and nos. 36-41. The remaining empty pages were gradually filled with smaller groups: nos. 18 and 20, nos. 31-33, nos. 35 and 42 and nos. 43-44. The examples no. 46 were written at the same time as Rfasc. 5 no. 26 and Rfasc. 8 nos. 1 and 23.

1. <i>Tres doulx penser, Dieu te pourvoye</i> 2v	(no. 77, p. 135)
2. Textless composition 4v	(no. 78, p. 135)
3. <i>L'amour de moy my tient enclose</i> 2v [Anonymous / A. Gardane]	(no. 79, p. 136)
4. <i>Dictes moy toutes vous pensées</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 80, p. 137)
5. <i>La doy je aymer a vostre advis</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 81, p. 138)
6. <i>Checun par grant intencion / Agimus tibi gratias</i> 3v	(no. 82, p. 139)
7. <i>Cela sans plus et puis hola</i> 3v	(no. 83, p. 140)
8. <i>Le souvenir de vous my tue</i> 3v [R. Morton]	(no. 84, p. 141)
9. <i>Conditor alme [siderum]</i> 3v	(no. 85, p. 142)
10. <i>Vostre amour est seure que rage</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 86, p. 143)
11. <i>Deul en amours puyt assez nuyre</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 87, p. 144)
12. <i>D'ung aultre aymer mon cueur se besseroit</i> 3v [J. Ockeghem]	(no. 88, p. 145)
13. <i>Tant est mignone ma pensée</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 89, p. 146)
14. <i>Si vous voulés que je vous face</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 90, p. 147)
15. <i>Pastorelle en ung vergier</i> 3v	(no. 91, p. 148)
16. <i>Je me repens de vous avoir aymée</i> 3v	(no. 92, p. 149)
17. <i>Christe qui lux es ac dies</i> 3v	(no. 93, pp. 150-51)
18. <i>Duo</i> 2v	(no. 94, p. 150)
19. <i>Resjois toy, pays de Normandie</i> 3v	(no. 95, pp. 152-53)
20. <i>Helas! je suis deconfortée</i> 4v	(no. 96, p. 152)
21. <i>Entre vous de Tornay</i> 3v	(no. 97, p. 154)
22. <i>Marion la doulce</i> 3v [Anonymous / J. Obrecht]	(no. 98, pp. 154-55)
23. <i>D'amour je suis deseritée</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 99, p. 156)
24. <i>Helas! ne vous souvient il plus</i> 3v	(no. 100, p. 157)
25. <i>Plus n'en auray</i> 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]	(no. 101, p. 158)
26. <i>Vrais amoureux auront bon temps</i> 3v(4v?)	(no. 102, p. 159)
27. <i>Mentem sanctam spontaneam</i> 4v	(no. 103, pp. 160-61)
28. <i>Virgo decus celi</i> 4v	(no. 104, pp. 162-165)
29. <i>Precibus sancte Dei genitricis</i> 2v	(no. 105, p. 166)
30. <i>Redemptor Deus miserere</i> 1v	(no. 106, p. 167)
31. <i>[Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat]</i> 1v(3v) [A. de Fevin]	(no. 107a, p. 168)
32. <i>[Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet]</i> 1v(3v) [A. de Fevin]	(no. 107b, p. 168)
33. <i>Je voys, je vien, mon cueur s'envolle</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 108, p. 169)
34. <i>Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu devenu</i> 4v [Johs de Sancto Martino]	(no. 109, p. 170-175)
35. <i>O salutaris hostia</i> 3v	(no. 110, p. 176)
36. <i>Languir me fais sans t'avoyr offensée</i> 3v [Claudin de Sermisy]	(no. 111, p. 177)
37. <i>Ces facheux sont qui medisent d'aymer</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 112, p. 178)
38. <i>C'est boucanner de se tenir a une</i> 3v	(no. 113, p. 179)
39. <i>Si vostre cueur prent le tanné</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 114, p. 180)
40. <i>Fortune laisse moy la vie</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 116, p. 181)
41. <i>Joyssance vous donneray</i> 3v [Claudin de Sermisy]	(no. 117, p. 182)
42. <i>O salutaris hostia</i> 3v	(no. 118, p. 183)
43. <i>Veni, veni, veni electa mea</i> 3v	(no. 119, p. 184)
44. <i>Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 120, p. 185)
45. <i>Une pastore seant au vert buisson</i> 3v	(no. 121, p. 186)
46. Examples 2v	(no. 122, p. 187)
47. <i>J'eyme bien qui s'en va / De tous biens plainne</i> 2v	(no. 123, p. 188)
List of contents for nos. 36-41	(p. 188)
Later added by Hand D:	
39a. <i>Sy vostre cueur prent le tanné</i> 4v	(no. 115, pp. 180-81)

## 5. Rfasc. E

Fascicle manuscript consisting of two sheets of paper. The innermost sheet was originally a small independent manuscript containing a motet (no. 4). Later another sheet was laid around it and a series of six chansons was copied in before and after the motet.

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Fortune laisse moy la vie</i> 3v [Anonymous]                     | (no. 135, p. 205)     |
| 2. <i>Dieu la gard, la bergerotte</i> 3v [Anonymous]                   | (no. 136, p. 206)     |
| 3. <i>Je ne sçay pas comment</i> 3v [Anonymous]                        | (no. 137, p. 207)     |
| 4. <i>Ave regina celorum</i> 3v  | (no. 138, pp. 208-09) |
| 5. <i>Jouyssance vous donneray</i> 3v [Claudin de Sermisy]             | (no. 139, p. 210)     |
| 6. <i>Sy par souffrir ont peult vaincre fortune</i> 3v [Anonymous]     | (no. 140, p. 211)     |
| 7. <i>Amour vault trop qui bien s'en sçait deffaire</i> 3v [Anonymous] | (no. 141, p. 212)     |

Later added by Hand D:

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| 7a. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit</i> [III toni] 4v | (no. 142, pp. 212-13) |
|--|-----------------------|

## 6. Rfasc. 7

Stock manuscript; the two motets (nos. 2 and 3) were copied in first, probably followed by the long series nos. 7-20, and the empty spaces were later filled with nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6. On the back of the fascicle are three very short choral responses (no. 21).

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Qui n'en a s'enquiere</i> 3v   | (no. 124, p. 189)      |
| 2. <i>Virgo mater ave</i> 3v   | (no. 125, pp. 190-91)  |
| 3. <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> 3v   | (no. 126, pp. 192-197) |
| 4. <i>Hors de propos / Creator omnium rerum</i> 3v                               | (no. 129, pp. 198-99)  |
| 5. <i>Venez, venez, venez, tretous / De tous biens plainne</i> 2v                | (no. 131, pp. 200-01)  |
| 6. <i>De vous servir m'est prins envye</i> 3v [J. Fresnau / Hayne van Ghizeghem] | (no. 132, p. 202)      |
| 7. <i>Le grant desir d'aymer my tient</i> 3v [L. Compère]                        | (no. 133, p. 203)      |
| 8. <i>A la venue de ce prinstemps d'est(r)é</i> 4v                               | (no. 134, p. 204)      |
| 9. <i>Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser</i> 3v                                      | (no. 143, p. 213)      |
| 10. <i>Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer</i> 3v                                | (no. 144, pp. 214-15)  |
| 11. <i>Beata es, Maria</i> 3v [Anonymous]  | (no. 145, pp. 216-17)  |
| 12. <i>Or sus, or sus! par dessus tous les autres</i> 3v                         | (no. 146, p. 218)      |
| 13. <i>Une sans plus a mon desir</i> 3v [Anonymous]                              | (no. 147, p. 219)      |
| 14. <i>Sy ayse estoye avant qu'amoureux fusse</i> 3v                             | (no. 148, p. 220)      |
| 15. <i>Puis qu'il vous plaist d'estre Mieulx Aymée</i> 3v                        | (no. 149, p. 221)      |
| 16. <i>Quant de vous seul(le) je pers la ve(n)ue</i> 3v                          | (no. 150, pp. 222-23)  |
| 17. <i>Moyns ay repoz, plus acroist mon affaire</i> 3v [Anonymous]               | (no. 151, pp. 224-25)  |
| 18. <i>C'est mal c[h]ercher vostre avantage</i> 3v [A. Agricola]                 | (no. 152, p. 225)      |
| 19. <i>Chois non pareil ou choisir aparant</i> 3v                                | (no. 153, p. 226)      |
| 20. <i>La tres plus heureuse de France</i> 3v                                    | (no. 154, p. 227)      |
| 21. <i>Gloria tibi Domine</i> 3v   | (no. 155, p. 228)      |

Later added by Hand D:

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 3a. <i>Sy vostre cuer a prins tanné</i> 4v             | (no. 127, pp. 192-93)  |
| 3b. [Magnificat] <i>Sicut locutus</i> [II toni] 2v(4v) | (no. 128, p. 196)      |
| 4a. [Magnificat] <i>Quia fecit</i> [III toni] 4v       | (no. 130, pp. 198-99)  |
| (9a. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit</i> [III toni] 4v      | (no. 142, pp. 212-13)) |

## 7. Rfasc. 3-4

Stock manuscript consisting of two fascicles; the paper has been cut, possibly to fit the same cover as Rfasc. A and Rfasc. B and one or more lost fascicles, including among other things the lost parts for no. 1. The three sacred compositions nos. 2, 3 and 5 were copied first; the motet no. 13 was added later, and the empty pages were filled with Parisian chansons at the same time as Rfasc. 8.

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Hau, hau, [hau] le boys!</i> 1v(4v) [Claudin de Sermisy] | (no. 32, p. 49)     |
| 2. <i>Ave virgo gloriosa [gratiosa]</i> 4v                     | (no. 33, pp. 50-51) |

3. <i>Missa de Mittit ad Virginem</i> 4-5v	(no. 34, pp. 52-70)
4. <i>Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire</i> 4v [Cl. Janequin]	(no. 35, p. 71)
5. <i>Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis</i> 4v [A. Willaert]	(no. 36, pp. 72-79)
6. <i>Amy, hélas! ostez moy de la presse</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 37, p. 80)
7. <i>A desjuner la belle andouille</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 38, p. 81)
8. <i>Doeul, double doeul, renfort de desplaisir</i> 4v [Hesdin]	(no. 39, p. 82)
9. <i>D'ung nouveau dart je suis frappé</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 40, p. 83)
10. <i>Je ne fais rien que requérir</i> 4v [Claudin de Sermisy]	(no. 41, p. 84)
11. <i>Puis qu'en deux cueurs y a vraye union</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 42, p. 85)
12. <i>Sans le congié de mon mary</i> 5v	(no. 43, p. 86)
13. <i>In tua pacientia</i> 3v	(no. 44, p. 87)

## 8. Rfasc. A

Stock manuscript with a mixed repertory; all compositions apparently entered over a very short period. The fascicle is cut to the same format as Rfasc. B and Rfasc. 3-4.

1. <i>A Dieu celuy que j'ay sur tous choisi(r)</i> 3v	(no. 1, p. 1)
2. <i>Alons faire nous barbes</i> 4v [L. Compère]	(no. 3, p. 2 + p. 15)
3. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni</i> 3v	(no. 4, pp. 3-5 + p. 16)
4. <i>[Stabat mater]</i> 3v	(no. 5, pp. 6-7)
5. <i>Kyrye fons bonitatis</i> 3v	(no. 6, pp. 8-9)
6. <i>Sus le pont de Lyon</i> 3v	(no. 7, pp. 10-11)
7. <i>Retirés vous, mon cueur, si serés saige</i> 3v	(no. 8, pp. 12-13)
8. <i>Plus[t] or a Dieu que n'aymasse jamais</i> 3v [L. Compère]	(no. 9, p. 14)
9. <i>Hélas! l'avois je deservy</i> 3v	(no. 28, p. 45)
10. <i>Ha! qu'il m'ennuye</i> 3v [J. Fresnau / A. Agricola]	(no. 29, p. 46)
11. <i>Je ne me puis voir a mon aise</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 30, p. 47)
12. <i>Ceste filette a qui le tetin point</i> 4v	(no. 31, p. 48)
Later added by Hand D:	
1a. <i>Sicut erat in principio</i> 2v	(no. 2, p. 1)

## 9. Rfasc. B

Stock manuscript; the textless pieces nos. 2-9 and nos. 11-12 were entered at the same time as the repertory in Rfasc. A; the others were added soon afterwards in darker ink. The fascicle is cut to the same format as Rfasc. A and Rfasc. 3-4.

1. <i>Venez souvent, je vous en prie</i> 3v	(no. 10, p. 17)
2. <i>[Ich scheid mit leid]</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 11, p. 18)
3. German song 4v	(no. 12, p. 19)
4. <i>[Herzlieb, gloub mir]</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 13, p. 20)
5. German song 4v	(no. 14, p. 21)
6. <i>[Weg wartt din artt]</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 15, p. 22)
7. <i>[Jetzt scheiden bringt mir schwer]</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 16, p. 23)
8. <i>[Ach hilf mich leid]</i> 4v [Adam von Fulda]	(no. 17, pp. 24-25)
9. <i>[Vil hinderlist jetzt üben ist]</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 18, p. 26)
10. <i>Baisez moy donc fort, ma maistresse</i> 3v [J. Ockeghem]	(no. 21, p. 35)
11. Textless composition 4v	(no. 22, pp. 36-37)
12. Textless composition 3v	(no. 23, p. 38)
13. <i>Duo</i> 2v	(no. 24, p. 39)
14. <i>Contre le mal que vostre cueur porte</i> 3v [Anonymous]	(no. 25, pp. 40-41)
15. <i>Comprins par ung appointment</i> 3v	(no. 26, pp. 42-43)
16. <i>Ilz sont bien pelez, ceulx qui font la gourre</i> 4v [Anonymous]	(no. 27, p. 44)

## 10. Rfasc. C

Fascicle manuscript with two sacred compositions, executed by the main scribe.

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> 2v          | (no. 19, pp. 27-33) |
| 2. <i>Iste confessor domini sacratus</i> 3v | (no. 20, p. 34)     |

## 11. Rfasc. 9-10

Independent manuscript with Magnificat settings ordered by mode (nos. 2-7), which never left the scribe's workshop, but were left in his collection with the rest of the prepared music paper. From this paper Rfasc. F and G arose. The chanson no. 1 was added when Rfasc. G was filled up.

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Ou porroit on finer ung gentil compaignon</i> 3v [Rfasc. G no. 14]   | (no. 181, p. 319)      |
| 2. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Primi toni</i> 4v                            | (no. 182, pp. 320-323) |
| 3. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni</i> 4v [A. Brumel / Fr. Benalt] | (no. 183, pp. 324-329) |
| 4. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Q[u]arti toni</i> 4v                         | (no. 184, pp. 330-333) |
| 5. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Quinti toni</i> 4v                           | (no. 186, pp. 334-339) |
| 6. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Sexti toni</i> 4v                            | (no. 188, pp. 340-343) |
| 7. <i>Magnificat Et exultavit Octavi toni</i> 4v                           | (no. 189, pp. 344-349) |

Later added by Hand D:

- |                                    |                       |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4a. <i>Domus Aaron speravit</i> 3v | (no. 185, pp. 330-31) |
| 5a. <i>Domus Aaron speravit</i> 3v | (no. 187, pp. 338-39) |

## 12. Rfasc. F

Fascicle manuscript with chansons entered under the name of Alexander Agricola (nos. 1-5), made from two sheets of paper of the same kind as the Magnificat collection (Rfasc. 9-10) was written on. Haquinet's Noël (no. 6) was entered by the main scribe on a later occasion.

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. <i>La saison en est ou jamais</i> 3v Alexandre [L. Compère]                | (no. 222, p. 396) |
| 2. <i>Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage</i> 3v Alexandre [Agricola]  | (no. 223, p. 397) |
| 3. <i>C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame</i> 3v Alexandre (Agricola)       | (no. 224, p. 398) |
| 4. <i>Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy</i> 3v Alexandre (Agricola)              | (no. 235, p. 407) |
| 5. <i>Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise</i> 3v Alexandre [Agricola] | (no. 236, p. 408) |
| 6. <i>Puer nobis nascitur</i> 3v [Haquinet]                                   | (no. 237, p. 409) |

Later added by Hand D on the outside pages of the fascicle:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 6a. [Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum] <i>Sanguis eius – Ave rex – [Vah, qui destruis]</i> 4v | (no. 221, p. 410 + p. 395) |
|--|----------------------------|

## 13. Rfasc. G

Stock manuscript, relatively carefully executed on the same kind of music paper as Rfasc. 9-10 and Rfasc. F. The whole repertory (including the chanson on the front covers of Rfasc. 9-10) was entered continuously in a very close disposition where the voice parts of a composition are at several points separated by page breaks (nos. 4, 5 and 7).

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Est il possible que l'on sache trouver</i> 3v                             | (no. 207, p. 375)          |
| 2. <i>Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser</i> 3v                                   | (no. 208, p. 376)          |
| 3. <i>Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer</i> 3v [Anonymous]                  | (no. 248, p. 419)          |
| 4. <i>Nous bergiers et nous bergieres</i> 3v(4v) Tomas Jannequin                | (no. 249, pp. 419-420)     |
| 5. <i>Plusieurs regredz qui sur la terre sont</i> 5v [Josquin Desprez]          | (no. 250, pp. 421-422)     |
| 6. <i>Osanna filio David</i> 4v   | (no. 251, p. 422 + p. 439) |
| 7. <i>Or sus, vous dormez tropt, ma dame joliette</i> 3v [Anonymous]            | (no. 269, pp. 439-440)     |
| 8. <i>J'ay ung mary qui est tant bon homme</i> 3v                               | (no. 270, p. 441)          |
| 9. <i>Mon pere m'a donné mari</i> 3v  | (no. 271, p. 441)          |
| 10. <i>Au matin quant suis levé volontiers desueneroye</i> 3v                   | (no. 272, p. 442)          |
| 11. <i>Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement</i> 3v                                    | (no. 218, p. 393)          |
| 12. <i>Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie</i> 3v                                  | (no. 219, p. 394)          |
| 13. <i>Vielle mule du temps passé</i> 3v  | (no. 220, p. 394)          |
| (14. <i>Ou porroit on finer ung gentil compaignon</i> 3v [= Rfasc. 9-10 no. 1]) | (no. 181, p. 319)          |



## 14. Rfasc. HJK

Music book consisting of three fascicles belonging together and filled in a very short interval. The disposition of the parts is very cramped (as in Rfasc. G), so the book must be viewed as a collection of sources for copying, perhaps made for the use of another copyist—cf. the many concordances with other parts of Cop 1848.

1. *O escharbuncle reluisant* 4v (no. 209, p. 377)
  2. *O escharbuncle reluisant* 3v (no. 210, p. 378)
  3. *Pour avoir fait au grez de mon amy* 3v [Anonymous] (no. 211, p. 379)
  4. *Salve, regina misericordie* 3v (no. 212, pp. 380-384)
  5. *In minen sin [hadde ick vercoren]* 3v [A. Agricola] (no. 213, p. 385)
  6. *Ave sanctissima Maria* 3v (no. 214, pp. 386-87)
  7. *Que est ista que processit sicut sol* 2v(3v) (no. 215, pp. 388-89)
  8. *Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere, atendés moy* 3v (no. 216, pp. 390-91)
  9. *Bon Temps, ne reviendras tu jamais* 3v [Anonymous] (no. 217, p. 392 + p. 411)
  10. *La grant pena que yo sento* 3v [Anonymous] (no. 238, p. 411)
  11. *La morra* 3v [H. Isaac] (no. 239, p. 412)
  12. *Varlet, varlet, il est appoint* 3v (no. 240, p. 413)
  13. *Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés* 3v (no. 241, p. 413)
  14. *Dulcis amica Dei* 3v [J. Prioris] (no. 242, p. 413)
  15. *Alés regrez, [vuidez de ma presence]* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem] (no. 243, p. 414)
  16. *C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v Alexandre (Agricola) (no. 244, p. 415)
  17. *Je suis Margot [S'il vous plaist bien]* 3v [A. Agricola] (no. 245, pp. 416-17)
  18. *[Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis]* 1v(3v) (no. 246, p. 417)
  19. *Qu'en dites vous? ferés vous rien* 3v [J. Barbireau] (no. 247, p. 418)
  20. *Soit loing ou pres, [tousjours me souviendra]* 3v [A. Agricola] (no. 273, p. 443)
  21. *Quam pulchra es amica mea* 3v (no. 274, pp. 444-45)
  22. *Aguillon, serpent, dangier* 3v Mirus (no. 275, p. 446)
  23. *Or mauldist soyt il qui en ment* 3v Ysaac (no. 276, p. 447)
  24. *Quel remede de monsther beau semblant* 3v [Anonymous] (no. 277, p. 448)
  25. *En attendant de vous secours* 3v [L. Compère] (no. 278, p. 449)
  26. *Mon souvenir my fait mourir* 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem] (no. 279, p. 450)
  27. *Ung plus que tous a mon reffort* 3v [Anonymous] (no. 252, p. 423)
  28. *Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant* 4v [H. Isaac] (no. 253, pp. 424-25)
  29. *Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v Alexandre (Agricola) (no. 254, p. 425)
  30. *Or suis je bien transy desmay [Vous me faites mourir d'envoye]* 3v [L. Compère] (no. 255, p. 426)
  31. *Fors seulement [contre ce que ay promis / Fors seulement l'attente que je meure]* 3v [J. Ockeghem] (no. 256, p. 427)
  32. *C'est a nous deux* 1v(3v?) (no. 257, p. 428)
  33. *Le karesme vient mal a propous* 3v (no. 258, p. 429)
  34. *Chanson* 3v (no. 259, p. 430)
  35. *Mon seul plaisir, [ma doulce joye]* 3v [J. Bedingham / G. Dufay] (no. 261, p. 431)
  36. *Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* 3v [J. Fresnau] (no. 262, p. 432)
  37. *Tant mal me vient, [Dieu, mercy et fortune]* 3v [L. Compère] (no. 263, p. 433)
  38. *Miserere mei nunc – Gloria Patri* 3v (no. 264, p. 434)
  39. *Da pacem, Domine* 3v [A. Agricola] (no. 265, p. 435)
  40. *Dictes moy, belle, vous pensées* 3v [L. Compère] (no. 266, p. 436)
  41. *[Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrete]* 3v Verbonet (J. Ghiselin) (no. 267, p. 437)
  42. *Chanson* 3v Verbonet (J. Ghiselin) (no. 268, p. 438)
- Later added by Hand D:
- 34a. *Domus Israel speravit* 3v (no. 260, pp. 430-31)
- Later added by Hand E:
- 26a. *Textless composition* 1v (no. 280, p. 450)



## 15. Rfasc. L

A separate double sheet with three compositions entered at the same time by the main scribe; he turned the sheet round while copying, so the last chanson is upside down in relation to the others.

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>O escharbuncle reluisant</i> 3v                            | (no. 225, p. 399)          |
| 2. <i>Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant</i> 4v [H. Isaac] | (no. 226, p. 400 + p. 405) |
| 3. <i>L'autrhier en passant entend</i> 3v                        | (no. 234, p. 406)          |

## 16. Rfasc. M

A separate double sheet with seven compositions in a very cramped disposition.

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. <i>[Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure]</i> 3v [J. Ockeghem] | (no. 227, p. 401) |
| 2. <i>Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis</i> 3v                       | (no. 228, p. 401) |
| 3. <i>Puer nobis nascitur</i> 3v Haquinnet                     | (no. 229, p. 402) |
| 4. <i>Noe, noe, iterumque noe</i> 4v Haquinnet                 | (no. 230, p. 402) |
| 5. <i>Mary de par sa mere</i> 4v [Anonymous]                   | (no. 231, p. 403) |
| 6. <i>La grand pena que yo sento</i> 3v [Anonymous]            | (no. 232, p. 403) |
| 7. <i>[Miserere mei – Gloria Patri]</i> 3v                     | (no. 233, p. 404) |

## 17. Rfasc. 11

Incomplete fascicle manuscript with mass sections (nos. 1, 4 and 14) executed by Hand C. The main scribe later used the many pages with empty staves.

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. <i>[Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Kyrie – Et in terra pax</i> 3-4v                  | (no. 190, pp. 351-355) |
| 2. <i>En attendant de vous secors</i> 3v [L. Compère]                                  | (no. 191, pp. 356-57)  |
| 3. <i>Vostre cueur [oeil] c'est bien toust resioy [repenty]</i> 3v [J. Prioris]        | (no. 192, p. 357)      |
| 4. <i>[Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Sanctus – Agnus Dei</i> 4v                        | (no. 193, pp. 358-361) |
| 5. Textless composition 1v   | (no. 194, p. 361)      |
| 6. <i>[Magnificat Without text; viii toni]</i> 3v                                      | (no. 195, p. 362)      |
| 7. <i>Salve, regina misericordie</i> 3v  | (no. 196, p. 363)      |
| 8. <i>O salutaris ostia</i> 4v Haquinnet   | (no. 197, p. 364)      |
| 9. <i>Mon souvenir mi fait mourir</i> 3v [Hayne van Ghizeghem]                         | (no. 198, pp. 364-65)  |
| 10. <i>Da pacem, Domine</i> 3v [A. Agricola]   | (no. 199, p. 365)      |
| 11. <i>Nuit et jour sans repous avoir</i> 3v [J. Fresnau]                              | (no. 200, p. 366)      |
| 12. <i>Pange lingua gloriosi</i> 3v  | (no. 201, p. 367)      |
| 13. <i>O salutaris hostia</i> 2v   | (no. 202, p. 367)      |
| 14. <i>[Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Patrem omnipotentem</i> 3v                       | (no. 203, pp. 368-371) |
| 15. <i>Soit loing ou pres, [tousjours me souviendra]</i> 3v [A. Agricola]              | (no. 204, p. 372)      |
| 16. <i>Qu'en dites vous? ferés vous rien</i> 3v Maistre Jaques d'Anvers (J. Barbireau) | (no. 205, p. 373)      |
| 17. <i>Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria</i> 3v Haquinnet                           | (no. 206, p. 374)      |

# Appendix D

## Inventory of composers

If a composition is attributed to more than one composer in the sources, it is listed under the composer who is generally considered to have written it, or whom I consider the most likely composer. In the cases where there is some doubt, the alternative composer is listed after the number of the composition and a slash; for further details, see the individual catalogue items.

The brief biographies are taken from the standard literature; more detailed information and bibliographical references can be found, for example, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London 1980.

**Adam von Fulda** (c. 1445-1505) – German composer and music theorist (*De musica* 1490), *Kapellmeister* and composer at the court of Torgau, Professor of Music at the University of Wittenberg.  
*Ach hilf mich leid* 4v no. 17

**Agricola, Alexander** (c. 1445-1506) – 1470 in Florence; 1471-74 singer in the court chapel of the Sforzas in Milan; 1476 *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral; later again in Florence and Naples; 1491-92 listed as singer at the Cathedral in Florence; in the years before 1500 a member of the Chapelle Royale in Paris; from 1500 employed at the Court of Burgundy in the chapel of Philippe le Beau.

*C'est mal chercher vostre avantage* 3v no. 152  
*C'est ung bon bruit, par Dieu, madame* 3v nos. 224 and 244 Alexandre  
*Da pacem, Domine* 3v nos. 199 and 265  
*Il n'est vivant, tant soit sachant ou sage* 3v no. 223 Alexandre  
*In minen sin hadde ick vercoren* 3v no. 213  
*Je suis Margot [S'il vous plaist bien que je vous tiengne]* 3v no. 245  
*Si dederò* 3v no. 53  
*Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souviendra* 3v nos. 204 and 273  
*Vostre bouche dist: Baysez moy* 3v nos. 235 and 254 Alexandre  
*Vostre grant bruit a fait de mon cuer prise* 3v no. 236 Alexandre

**Barbireau, Jacques** (c. 1420-1481) – from 1448 until his death *maître de chapelle* at Notre-Dame in Antwerp.  
*Qu'en dites vous? ferés vous rien [Een vraulich wesen]* 3v nos. 205 and 247 Maistre Jaques d'Anvers

**Bedyngham, Johannes** (1422-c. 1460) – English composer.  
*Mon seul plaisir, ma doulce joye* 3v no. 261 / G. Dufay

**Brumel, Antoine** (c. 1460-c. 1515) – 1483 *heurier* at Notre-Dame in Chartres; 1484-92 at S. Pierre in Geneva; 1497 *chanoine* in Laon; 1498-1500 *maître des enfants* at Notre-Dame in Paris; 1501-02 singer at the court in Chambéry; 1505 in Lyons; 1506-10 *maestro di cappella* in Ferrara.  
*Magnificat Secundi toni* 4v no. 183 / Fr. Benalt?

**Claudin de Sermisy** (c. 1490-1562) – life-long career in the service of the French kings; in 1508 *clerc musicien* in the Sainte Chapelle; then singer in the Chapelle Royale; 1530 appointed *sous-maître* at Sainte Chapelle and in 1533 also *chanoine*.

- Hau, hau, hau le boys!* 1v(4v) no. 32  
*Je ne fais rien que requerir* 4v no. 41  
*Jouyssance vous donneray* 3v nos. 117 and 139  
*Languir me fais sans t'avoir offensée* 3v no. 111  
*Secourez moy, madame, par amours* 4v no. 165

**Compère, Loyset** (c. 1445-1518) – born in Hainault; probably educated at Cambrai; 1474-77 singer in the Sforza chapel in Milan; from the 1480s *chantre ordinaire du Roy* in the Chapelle Royale; 1498-1500 *doyen* at Saint-Géry in Cambrai; 1500-c. 1504 *prévôt* at Saint-Pierre in Douay; from 1491 *chanoine* at Saint-Quentin, where he lived out his final years.

- Alons faire nous barbes* 4v no. 3  
*Au travail suis sans espoir de confort* 3v no. 56  
*Dictes moy toutes vous pensées* 3v nos. 80 and 266  
*En attendant de vous secours* 3v nos. 191 and 278  
*La saison en est ou jamais* 3v no. 222 / Alexandre (Agricola)  
*Le grant desir d'aymer my tient* 3v no. 133  
*Le ranvoy d'ung cueur esguaré* 3v no. 46  
*O genetrix gloriosa* 4v no. 172 / Richaffort  
*Or suis je bien transy d'esmay [Vous me faites mourir d'envie]* 3v no. 255  
*Plust or a Dieu que n'aymase jamais* 3v no. 9  
*Se j'ay parlé aulcunement* 3v no. 74  
*Tant ay d'ennuy / O vos omnes* 3v no. 62  
*Tant mal me vient, Dieu, mercy et fortune* 3v no. 263  
*Va-t'en regret celui qui me convoye* 3v no. 55  
*Venés regretz, venés il en est heure* 3v no. 66

**Dulot, François** (1st half of 16th century) – from Saint-Omer; 1514 *maître d'enfants* at the Cathedral of Amiens; 1522-30 *maître de chapelle* at the Cathedral of Rouen.

- Ave Maria* 5v no. 178 Dulo

**Févin, Antoine de** (c. 1470-before 1512) – singer in the Chapelle Royale in the years up to his death.

- En amours n'a sinon bien* 3v no. 64  
*Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* 3v no. 54  
*Il fait bon aymer l'oyselet* 1v(3v) no. 107b  
*Je le lesray, puisqu'il m'y bat* 1v(3v) no. 107a  
*O preclara stella mater [maris]* 3v no. 47

**Fresnau, Jehan** (c. 1440-after 1505) – 1470-75 *chapelain ordinaire* in the Chapelle Royale; 1476 in the Sforza chapel in Milan; then in the Chapelle Royale again; *chanoine* at Saint-Martin in Tours; 1494 at the Cathedral of Chartres; in the period from 1500 until after 1505 he was still living in Chartres.

- De vous servir m'est prins envye* 3v no. 132 / Hayne van Ghizeghem  
*Ha! qu'il m'ennuye* 3v no. 29 / A. Agricola  
*Nuit et jour sans repous avoir* 3v nos. 200 and 262

**Gascongne, Mathieu** (1st half of the 16th century) – priest in Cambrai around 1518; in the 1520s probably at the French court.

- Missa Mon mary m'a diffamée* 4v no. 163

**Ghiselin, Johannes** (alias **Verbonnet**; c. 1455-c. 1511) – from c. 1485 employed as singer in the court chapel in Ferrara; 1501-03 in the Chapelle Royale, but probably still in the service of the Duke of Ferrara; returned with Josquin to Ferrara; before 1508 employed as *maître de chapelle* in Bergen-op-Zoom.

- Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrete* 3v no. 267 Verbonnet  
 Textless chanson 3v no. 268 Verbonnet

**Haquinet** (?; around 1500)

*Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* 3v no. 206 Haquinet

*Noe, noe, iterumque noe* 4v no. 230 Haquinet

*O salutaris ostia* 4v no. 197 Haquinet

*Puer nobis nascitur* 3v nos. 229 and 237 Haquinet

**Hayne van Ghizeghem** (c. 1445-1472 or later) – 1456-72 employed at the Court of Burgundy.

*Alés regrez, vuidez de ma presence* 3v no. 243

*Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte* 3v no. 49

*Mon souvenir mi fait mourir* 3v nos. 65, 198, and 279

*Plus n'en auray* 3v no. 101

**Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers d'** (d. 1538) – *maître d'enfans* at the Cathedral in Beauvais.

*Doeul, double dueul, renfort de desplaisir* 4v no. 39

*S'il est a ma poste* 4v no. 58

**Isaac, Heinrich** (c. 1450-1517) – 1485-94 in Florence with Lorenzo de' Medici; from 1496 court composer of Emperor Maximilian in Vienna, but lived regularly in Innsbruck, Constance and especially Florence; from 1514 until his death, in Florence as representative of the Emperor.

*Fille vous avés mal gardé le pan d'evant* 4v nos. 226 and 253

*La morra* 3v no. 239

*Or mauldist soyt il qui en ment [Qui tollis]* 3v no. 276 Ysaac

**Janequin, Clément** (c. 1495-1558) – lived as a relatively independent composer on small incomes from church offices obtained for him by patrons; in 1505-31 he lived in Bordeaux; 1531-49 in Angers; in 1549 he moved to Paris, where he was appointed *chantre ordinaire du Roy* and in 1558, a few months before his death, was granted the title *compositeur ordinaire du Roy*.

*Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser desire* 4v no. 35

*Reconforte le petit cueur de moy* 4v no. 168

**Jannequin, Tomas** (?; around 1500)

*Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* 3v(4v) no. 249 Tomas Jannequin

**Johs. de Sancto Martino** (Jean Le Santier? – until 1513 at Saint-Martin in Tours; cf. Vol. I Ch. 1.8)

*Bon Temps, las qu'es tu devenuz* 4v no. 109 Johs de scto Martino

**Josquin Desprez** (c. 1440-1521) – chorister at Saint-Quentin; 1459 singer at the Cathedral of Milan; 1472 in the court chapel in Milan; from 1476 in the service of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza; 1484-94 in the Papal Chapel in Rome; then employed as composer and chapelmaster by, among others, the Duke of Ferrara and the French King; he spent his final years in Condé.

*Baisés moy, ma doulce amy* 5v no. 75

*Plusieurs regredz qui sur la terre sont* 5v no. 250

**Lhéritier, Jean** (c. 1480-c. 1552) – 1506-08 in Ferrara; possibly in Paris around 1510, before 1521 in Rome; from 1522 *maestro di cappella* at San Luigi dei Francesi; c. 1530-41 chapelmaster of the Papal Nuncio in Avignon, concurrently with activities elsewhere, especially in Italy; after 1541 he was still living in Avignon, more or less in retirement.

*Missa On a mal dit de mon amy* 4v no. 171

**Maioris** (possibly Michel Maioris, 1505-1515/20, singer at the Court of Savoy; cf. Vol. I Ch. 1.8)

*In illo tempore stabant autem juxta crucem* 4v no. 158 maioris

**Mirus** (Jehan Le Mire? around 1500, cf. Vol. I Ch. 1.8)

*Aguillon, serpentín, dangier* 3v no. 275  $\text{H} \text{—} \text{rus}$

**Morton, Robert** (c. 1436-1476) – English composer; employed at the Court of Burgundy 1457-76.

*Le souvenir de vous my tue* 3v no. 84

**Mureau, Gilles** (d. 1512) – c. 1462 *heurier* at Notre-Dame in Chartres; c. 1472 *chanoine* in the same place; 1505-06 singer in the Burgundian Court Chapel.

*Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escrips* 3v no. 51 / Busnois

**Obrecht, Jacob** (c. 1450-1505) – 1475-78 *Zangmeester* in Utrecht; 1479-84 choirmaster in Bergen-op-Zoom; 1484-85 *maître d'enfans* at the Cathedral in Cambrai; 1486-91 *succentor* in Bruges; 1487 in Ferrara; 1492-96 *capellanus* *magister* at Notre-Dame in Antwerp; 1496-98 in Bergen-op-Zoom; 1498-1500 in Bruges; 1500-04 again in Bergen-op-Zoom; 1504 in Ferrara.

*Marion la doulce* 3v no. 98

*Parce Domine* 3v no. 52

**Ockeghem, Johannes** (c. 1410-1497) – 1443-44 singer at Notre-Dame in Antwerp; 1446-48 singer in the chapel of the Duke of Bourbon in Moulins; from about 1450 in the Chapelle Royale; *maître de la chapelle du Roy* in 1465 and also, from 1459, *trésorier* at Saint-Martin in Tours.

*Baisez moy donc fort, ma maistresse* 3v no. 21

*D'ung aultre aymer mon cueur se besseroit* 3v no. 88

*Fors seulement contre ce que ay promis / Fors seulement l'attente* 3v no. 256

*Ma bouche rit et ma pensée pleure* 3v no. 227

**Pietrequin Bonnel** (2nd half of 15th century) – 1488-89 singer at the Court of Savoy; 1490-93 singer at the Cathedral in Florence; until about 1500 in the chapel of Anne de Bretagne.

*Mais que se feut secretement* 3v no. 72 / Compère

**Prioris, Jean** (c. 1460-c. 1514) – from 1503 *maître de la chapelle du Roy* of Louis XII.

*Dulcis amica Dei* 3v no. 242

*Vostre cueur [oeil] c'est bien toust resioy [repenty]* 3v no. 192

**Willaert, Adrian** (c. 1485-1562) – probably educated in Paris; in Rome 1515 in the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, whom he accompanied to Hungary; 1519-27 in Ferrara; 1527-62 *maestro di cappella* at St. Mark's, Venice.

*Congratulamini mihi omnes – Recedentibus discipulis suis* 4v no. 36

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*Peter Woetmann Christoffersen*

# French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century

Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons  
The manuscript *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°*  
in the Royal Library, Copenhagen

Volume III  
Transcriptions

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This volume contains a selection of the unique compositions in the music manuscript *Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°*. There has also been room for a few compositions that can be found in other sources, where they either appear in different versions or are incomplete. In addition, the series of three-part Parisian chansons in Rfasc. 6 is reproduced in full (Vol. III nos. 58-63). The order and the selection of transcriptions follows that of the discussion of the repertory of the manuscript in Vol. I Part Three: *The manuscript as a source for the musical repertory of the early sixteenth century*. This means that the transcriptions fall into ordered groups different from those of the manuscript: first the secular repertory with the relatively few unique courtly chansons; then an almost complete reproduction of the unique popular chansons in the manuscript and examples of the Parisian repertory; beginning with no. 68, there is a representative selection of the sacred music in the manuscript, with special emphasis on the provincial compositions. The volume is rounded off with the main scribe's examples of melody and counterpoint and two of the pieces which a later user, Hand D, composed more or less on the pages of the manuscript.

In the transcriptions the note values of the manuscript are halved ( $\diamond = \text{♩}$ ). However, final notes which are notated as *longae* are transcribed as notes lasting a whole or half a bar with fermata. Musical incipits in the notation of the source are not given; nor is any distinction made between the part designations from Cop 1848 and those added by the editor—both will be evident from the incipit lists in the thematic catalogue (Vol. II). Nor is any distinction made between the composer names given by the manuscript and those established with the aid of concordances in other sources (here too further information must be sought in Vol. II), and the few anonymous concordances are not indicated in the music section. Otherwise, the edition observes normal practice as regards the use of ligatures ( $\text{r} \text{---}$ ), coloration ( $\text{r} \text{ } \text{r}$ ) (*minor color* is not marked, however), *punctus divisionis* ( $\cdot$ ), and *musica ficta* (the accidentals added by the editor are placed above the staves), etc. Text in italics below the parts is added by the editor. The separation marks in the manuscript—vertical lines down through the staves—are indicated in the transcriptions by thin double bar lines.

The editorial commentary lists the emendations and additions it has been necessary to make. In a few cases it also has supplementary material on the texts. Besides references to sources and the literature, which can be found in the lists in Vol. II, the following abbreviations are used:

Cop 1848 =  
*København, Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2°*

S = superius  
 T = tenor  
 C = contratenor  
 B = bassus  
 A = altus  
 V<sup>a</sup> = quinta vox  
 VI<sup>a</sup> = sexta vox

1v, 2v, 3v, etc. =  
 number of voices in a composition

f./ff. = folio/folios  
 (e.g. f. 1<sup>v</sup> = folio 1 verso)

p./pp. = page/pages  
 v./vv. = verse/verses

lo =  $\text{—}$  (longa)  
 br =  $\text{—}$  (brevis)  
 sbr =  $\text{—}$  (semibrevis)  
 mi =  $\text{♩}$  (minima)  
 smi =  $\text{♩}$  (semiminima)  
 fu =  $\text{♩}$  (fusa)

c.o.p. = *cum opposita proprietate*

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# Editorial commentary

A note is referred to by the number of the bar and the position of the note in crotchet values (e.g. bar 6.3 = bar 6, the note on the third crotchet in the bar). Pitch is indicated by the italicized letters *D, E, F ... c, d, e ... c', d', e' ... c'', d'', e'' ... a''*.

**1. Nuyt et jour sans repous avoir 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 48, p. 94**

*Contratenor*: Bar 22.4 is c.

*Text*: Cop 1848 only has lines 1-4. Lines 5-10 are restored from Cop 1848 nos. 200 and 262 and from the versions of the poem in the MSS *Firenze 2794* and *London 20.A.XVI* (cf. Vol. II no. 200). Line 6 in Cop 1848 no. 200/262 has “et plus mon mal ...”; line 9 in *London 20.A.XVI* reads “passant ma dame desplaisante”.

**2. Sy ayse estoye avant qu’amoureux fusse 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 148, p. 220**

*Superius* and *tenor* have a *signum congruentiae* in bar 19 as well as *fermatas*; the *contratenor* only has the *signum congruentiae*.

*Superius*: Bar 8.3 is missing, and bars 8.4-9.1 are written a tone lower.

*Contratenor*: Bar 32, *d* is blackened.

*Text*: Line 5 has two syllables too many: “Mon pouvre cuer n’est pas aussi graz c’une pusse”. Line 7 has “... qu’a ce donne ...”

**3. Puis qu’il vous plaist d’estre Mieulx Aymée 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 149, p. 221**

*Superius*: Bars 8.3-9.2 are  $\diamond \diamond$ .

*Contratenor*: Bar 19.3-4 is g; bar 45.1-2 is a  $\flat$ .

*Text*: Cop 1848 only has the refrain. Line 1 reads “Puis qu’i vous ...”. Line 2 has a superfluous syllable: “et de ce nom vous vous soyé nommée”. Line 4 reads “ou me donne ...”

**4. Quant de vous seul je pers la veue 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 150, pp. 222-23**

*Superius*: Bar 37.1-2 is  $\flat \flat$  (changed in accordance with *tenor* bar 33.1-2).

*Tenor*: Bar 5.3-4 is f; bar 9.1-2 is missing.

*Contratenor*: Bar 7.1 is e; bar 18.1-2 is missing; bar 27.3 is e; bar 31.3-4 is a  $\flat$ ; bar 32 has no *signum congruentiae*; bars 48.3-59 are missing.

*Text*: The first line in all parts reads “Quant de vous seulle je pers la venue”, which is two syllables too many. Line 15 (*rentrement*) similarly reads “Quant de vous seulle”, and line 2 in the MS reads “de qui tant chier ...”. Both these lines have been corrected after DrozJ no. 316. The first word in line 4 is illegible in the MS. Line 6 reads “... n’a soubz la lune”; line 10 “... cella me tue”; line 11 “don j’enduray main ...”; line 12 “pourquoy demurer ...”

**5. Choix non parail ou choisir aparant 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 153, p. 226**

In bar 18 *superius* and *tenor* have *signum congruentiae* only; the *contratenor* only has a *fermata*.

*Tenor*: Bar 25.1 is missing

*Text*: Incomplete, the *terce* is missing.

**6. La tres plus heureuse de France 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 154, p. 227**

*Superius*: Bar 27.2-4 is missing (inserted in accordance with bar 29.2-4 in the *tenor*).

*Tenor*: Before bar 11.3 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  (a); bar 32.3 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Contratenor*: Bar 22.3 is missing

*Text*: The *superius* begins “La tres plus heureuse drance”; line 4 reads “du melieurs qui ...”; line 8 ends “... suis devenu”; line 13 reads “puis que la suis parvenue”.

**7. Comprins par ung appointment 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 26, pp. 42-43**

*Contratenor*: Bar 36.3-4 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 37.1-2 is missing.

*Text*: The meaning of this poem is rather obscure.

**8. Mirus: Aguillon, serpent, dangier 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 275, p. 446**

*Superius*: Bar 12.2 is a  $\flat$ .

*Tenor*: Before bar 59.4 the MS has a superfluous *mi* rest.

*Contratenor*: Bar 10.1 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 40.4 is g.

*Text*: The *superius* has the refrain of a *rondeau* “Aguillon, serpent, dangier”; line 5, “... falli pas longier”, lacks a syllable. The complete *rondeau* is in DrozJ (no. 119), but since the text fits the music very badly, only the text given in the manuscript has been used; the rest of the poem (after DrozJ) has been placed after the music.

**9. Ceste fillette a qui le tetin point 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 31, p. 48**

*Superius*: The initial rest is missing; bars 16-17 are written as  $\diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond$ .

*Tenor*: Bar 20.3 is e; bars 33-34 are missing.

*Contratenor*: The initial rest is prolonged by a *sbr* in the transcription; bars 1-5 are notated a third higher in the MS; bar 20.1-2 is a  $\flat$ ; bar 33.2 is f.

*Text*: Line 3 lacks one syllable (“ne luy soye rude ...”); line 5 reads “... en chemisez au pourpoint”—both lines have been emended after DrozJ no. 560.

**10. Helas! l’avois je deservy 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 28, p. 45**

*Contratenor*: Bar 1 is missing.

*Text*: Lines 1-4 are in Cop 1848; the remainder of the *rondeau* is underlaid after *Berlin 78.B.17*, publ. in *LöpelmannR* as no. 396. The *contratenor* cannot be fitted with text in the same way as the other voices; it has to be performed by an instrument or vocalized. The transcription proposes a slightly reduced version of the poem as text.

**11. Je me repens de vous avoir aymée 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 92, p. 149**

*Superius* 2: Bars 20.3-21.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 6.2-3 is a  $\downarrow$ ; bar 31.1-2 is a  $\diamond\cdot$ .

*Text*: In Cop 1848 there are four lines of text under the *superius*. In the transcription the first two lines follow Cop 1848; the remainder is after *Le Jardin* 1501 (DrozJ no. 223) and *Berlin* 78.B.17 (LöpelmannR no. 377). Lines 3-4 are too short in the MS and apparently corrupt: "et sçay bien que sus toutes rien / en vous est toute ma pensée, pensée."

**12. Tres doulx penser, Dieu te pourvoye 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 77, p. 135**

*Superius*: Bar 12.12, the first  $\downarrow$  is *f*.

*Text*: A syllable is missing in line 3 in both *superius* and *tenor*—"si" has been inserted after *Paris* 9346; the line ends in the *tenor* with "... revis". The poem is found in *Paris* 9346 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59 with a second stanza which does not belong with the first, but it could be sung to the same tune. In *London* 380 f. 242<sup>v</sup> this poem is found as a *rondeau cinquain*—both versions are given below:

*Paris* 9346 ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59:

Tres doulx pencer, Dieu te pourvoye,  
car celle a mon desir j'avoye;  
car je suis si d'amours actaintz,  
prochain du cueur, des yeulx lointantz,  
plain de regretz, vuidé de joye.

Noble seneschal de Normendie,  
Dieu vous doinct honneur et bonne vie;  
nous vous aymons, dormant, veillant,  
comme nostre loyal amant:  
Chantons trestous a joye ravye.

*London* 380 f. 242<sup>v</sup>:

Tres doulx penser, Dieu te convoye  
vers celle ou mon desir tennoye,  
dont je suis si d'Amours actains  
prouchain du cueur, des yeulx loingtains,  
plain de regretz, voydé de joye.

Banny de plaisir, que j'avoye,  
suis et seray tant que la voye:  
Va tost en souspirs et en plains.  
Tres doulx ...

Dy lui, s'espoir ne me pourvoye  
et que bien brief je la revoye,  
tous mes desirs seront estains.  
Ha, je te pry a jointes mains:  
Fay lui savoir ou que je soye!  
Tres doulx ...

(after WallisA no. 210)

**13. Retirés vous, mon cueur, si serés saige 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 8, pp. 12-13**

*Contratenor*: Mensuration sign missing; bar 66 is a  $\equiv$ .

*Text*: Line 4 in the MS reads "hoste vous ..."; line 5 reads "vous voyr affoller"—this line reads in the *tenor* "que diroit l'on de vous de vous voir affoller"; and line 7 readss "pouvre desolez". The *bergerette* lacks a *tierce* in Cop 1848.

**14. Pastorelle en ung vergier 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 91, p. 148**

*Superius*: Bar 8.1-2 is *f*'.

*Contratenor*: Before bar 7.3 the MS has two superfluous  $\downarrow$  (*d-e*); bar 13.1-3 is a  $\diamond\cdot$ .

*Text*: Cop 1848 has the first seven lines of a *ballade*. The remainder of the poem is after *Oxford* 213 (MarixM p. 12). The refrain in Cop 1848, "Au besoiing on cognoit l'amy", seems to have one syllable too many; cf. the more elegant version in *Oxford* 213 "Au besoiing voit-on l'amy".

**15. O escharbuncle reluisant 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 209, p. 377**

*Contraaltus*: Bar 30, *b* is blackened.

*Tenor*: Bar 17 is  $\diamond\cdot$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 17 is  $\diamond\cdot$ ; bars 19.3-20.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ .

*Text*: Only the first section of the *ballade* is given under "Superior"; here the MS has as line 5 "diamant de securité". The rest of the text follows Cop 1848 no. 210.

**16. O escharbuncle reluisant 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 210 and no. 225**

**No. 210, p. 378:**

A key signature of one flat has been added in all voices.

*Bassus*: Bar 14.1-2 and bar 14.3-4 are both  $\downarrow\downarrow$ ; in bar 15 the upper notes are blackened; in bar 28, *G* is blackened.

*Text*: Complete (cf. the four-part version); line 6 reads "rubiz rayant comme flame".

**No. 225, p. 399:**

As no. 210. In bar 15 the lower note in the *bassus* is *f*, but a *d* is suggested below.

*Text*: Complete (cf. the four-part version); line 2 reads "... oscurité"; line 6 has "rubiz rayant cler comme flame"; line 15 "... cyté"; line 19 "... florissant"; line 22 "romarin florissant comme baulsme".

**17. J'eyme bien / De tous biens plainne 2v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 123, p. 188**

*Superius*: After bar 14.2 there is a superfluous ♭ (f'); bars 14.3-16 are written a tone lower in the MS; bar 17 is written a third lower.

*Text*: The *Quodlibet* in the superius is incomplete. Line 5 reads "... mes amour". The tenor quotes Hayne van Ghizeghem's famous rondeau "De tous biens plaine". The first line lacks the word "est", line 3 lacks "car" and the rest of this line—"assoyve en est en valeur"—is corrupt.

**18. Venez, venez, venez tretous / De tous biens 2v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 131a, pp. 200-01**

*Superius*: Bar 6.3-4 is ♭♭ (g'-e'); bar 46.3 is a ♭.

*Text*: The superius has three stanzas of a popular song. Line 6 of the MS reads "...Pierre du Cogniet", and line 21 "mais belles femmes ...". The tenor quotes Hayne van Ghizeghem's famous rondeau "De tous biens plaine"; the first line lacks the word "est".

**18a. Venez, venez / De tous biens plainne 2v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 131b, p. 201**

The tenor is from no. 131a with hand D's alternative upper voice.

**19. Hors de propos / Creator omnium rerum 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 129, p. 198-99**

*Superius*: Bar 6.3-4 is c'.

*Text*: The superius has the first three lines of a rondeau; line 3 reads "triste pensif, elongner d'esperance". The whole poem is as follows (after FrançonP no. 37):

Hors de propos, de rayson separé,  
loing de bon sens, de joye deseparé,  
triste et pensif, eslongné d'esperance,  
ayant perdu de tous biens cognoissance,  
voyant ung aultre de mon bon heur paré,

j'ay le meffait sans cause comparé;  
dont Troylus puis estre comparé  
comme celluy qui est sans contenance,  
Hors de propos ...

Veu le grief mal que l'on m'a préparé  
et qu'Amours m'a de si tres pres paré,  
cent foys le jour tumbé en desesperance.  
Ma dame veult pour sa seulle plaisance  
que je demeure comme ung homme esgaré,  
Hors de propos ...

**21. Plain de regret – A ma douleur 3v**  
**Cop 1848 nos. 68-69, pp. 126-27**

**No. 68:**

*Superius*: Bar 4.1-2 is missing.

*Text*: First section of a *lamentation*; no. 69 is the second section. Line 1, "... regret playsir esguaré", lacks a syllable.

**No. 69:**

*Contratenor*: Bar 60.1-2 is G; bar 81.3 is B♭.

*Text*: Second section of a *lamentation*. Line 1(5) reads "Ma douleur nulli n'est comparee"; and line 3(7) reads "... de deul paree"—emended after *Paris* 1722. The whole poem, of which only the first eight lines are set to music in nos. 68-69, can be found in the MS *Paris* 1722 f. 70<sup>v</sup> under the heading "Lamentation". The remaining 12 lines are:

Las(se) de vivre, de languir envyeulx,  
voyant du cueur et aveugle des yeulx  
ce dont la mort a prins possession  
comme tresor de contemplation;  
des desollez la consolation  
et la bonté de toutes les mortelles,  
pour en offrir a Dieu oblation  
tous devotz cueurs en humble intention  
et [=en] doibuent faire les lamentation[s],  
car il en est dementé peu d'ytelles,  
chantres, plourez! chantez! plourez!  
la mort vous a de deul parez.

**22. Sus le pont de Lyon 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 7, p. 10-11.**

*Superius*: Bar 29.3-4, a *mi* rest in the MS.

*Contratenor*: Bars 14.4-15.2 are ♭♯♯♯♯; bar 36.2 is a ♯.

*Text*: Line 2 in the MS is "j'ay oÿe chante ...", and line 6 is "elle s'en ...". The second stanza is incomplete in Cop 1848—lines 7-8 are missing; instead, line 6 is repeated. The missing lines have been added after a 19th century version of the song in WallonC p. 185. Only the superius has a text in Cop 1848, and the whole of lines 3 and 4 are repeated in the first stanza, which the music will not allow.

**23. Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 241, p. 413**

*Contratenor*: Bar 15, *d* is blackened.

*Text*: Line 3 in the MS reads "si vous n'ouvre".

**24. Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 143, p. 213**

*Superius*: Bar 7.3 is missing.

*Contratenor*: Bar 7.5-6 is a ♭.

*Text*: In *Paris 9346* ff. 43<sup>v</sup>-44 the poem appears with a total of 4 stanzas. Stanzas 2-4 do not appear to be compatible in meaning with the stanza in Cop 1848, so the poem is given here in its entirety (cf. Chapter 8.1 ex. 4):

Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser,  
je t'ay m'amour donnée,  
Ave hauvay!  
je t'ay m'amour donnée.  
Souvent m'as fait la soif passer,  
bon vin, je ne te puis laisser  
ne soir ne matinée,  
Ave hauvay!  
ne soir ne matinée.

Tu es plaisant a l'emboucher,  
j'ayme tant la vinée.  
Je prens plaisir a te verser  
tout au long de l'année.

Soubz la table m'as fait coucher  
maincte foyz cest année.  
Et si m'as fait dormir, ronfler  
toute nuit a nuitée,

et ma robe a deux dedz jouer,  
chanter mainte journée,  
a la maison d'un tavernier  
passer ma destinée.

**25. Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 208, p. 376**

The piece is notated in *tempus imperfectum*, but like no. 143 is transcribed in 3/2.

*Tenor*: Bar 10.3-6 has been emended analogously with bar 2.3-6. In bar 10.3-6 the MS has a number of superfluous notes (the scribe accidentally entered the beginning of the contratenor part): ♢ ♢ (in ligature *f-a*) ♢ ♢ ♢ (c'-bb-c'-a); bar 11.1 is a ♢.

*Contratenor*: Bar 15.1-3 is ♭ ♭ ♭ ♭.

**26. Or sus, or sus! par dessus tous les autres 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 146, p. 218**

The song is notated in *tempus perfectum*, but is strongly influenced by *tempus imperfectum*. The rhythmic formulation of the descending refrain motif in the tenor is emphasized by the use of *punctus divisionis* in bars 1-2 and bars 9-10 (note that the numbering of bars in the tenor and in the outer voices does not match).

*Superius*: Bar 1.3 is a ♭.

*Tenor*: Bar 7.1-3 has a ♭ (*d'*) too many.

*Text*: Text in the superius and partly in the contratenor, incipit only in the tenor. However, the text does not fit the superius and the contratenor very well; a thorough text underlay will require several changes in the parts.

Line 7 is missing in the MS; it has been added after *Paris 9346* ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17, which has two more stanzas—here they are given after the music. In *Paris 9346* the last line of the second stanza begins "Et an Dieu, ...", which gives it one syllable too many; similarly, the last line of the third stanza begins "Et Janin ...". "Janin Janot" is also spelt as "Jenin Jennot".

**27. Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 218, p. 393**

*Altus*: Bar 4.1-2 is ♭ ♭; bar 18.2-3 is a ♭.

*Tenor*: Bar 4.1-2 is ♭ ♭; bar 7.1-2 is a ♢; bar 11.3-4 is a ♢; bar 24.2-4 is missing; bar 25.1-3 is written a third higher.

*Contratenor*: Bars 6.4-7.1 are a ♢; bar 9.2 is missing; bar 12.3-4 is ♭ ♭; bar 13.3 is *A*; bar 24.2-4 is missing; bars 25.3-28 are written a third higher.

*Text*: Only two lines under the "Altus", where they are placed below one another, under the first musical phrase.

**28. Venez souvent, je vous em prie 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 10, p. 17**

*Contratenor*: Before bar 7.2 there are two superfluous ♢ (*a-f*).

**29. Entre vous de Tornay 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 97, p. 154**

*Tenor*: Before bar 33.3 there is a superfluous *sbr* rest.

*Contratenor*: Bar 33 is ♭ ♭ ♭ ♭ (*d-c-Bb-A*)—emended analogously with bar 15.

**30. Se je suis trovée 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 45, p. 89**

There is no indication in the MS of the repetition of bars 21-25.

*Tenor*: Bar 13.3-4 is a ♢.

*Text*: In Cop 1848 the text is corrupt; below the superius it has the following far too short text. An attempt has been made to make it fit the whole composition by using repetitions:

"Se je suis trovée, se je suis trovée,  
au bois sur la ramée  
queillant la verdure  
je ne changeroye,  
pour riens pour veu que je voye  
mes loyaulx amours."



In the transcription the text has been emended after *Paris 12744* f. 34<sup>v</sup>, from which the rest of the text also comes. In *Paris 12744* the refrain lines are “Allez hauvay, mes *loyalles* amours”—they do not fit the music in Cop 1848.

**31. Adieu celui que j’ay sur tous choisi 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 1, p. 1**

*Superius and Tenor*: In bar 10 a *sbr* rest has been added in both parts to make room for the transitional passage in the contratenor.

*Superius*: Bar 16 is  $\diamond\Diamond$ .

*Contratenor*: Bars 1-2 are notated a third lower.

*Text*: Line 1 in the MS is “... sur tous *choisir*” (contratenor: “... *choisyr*”).

**32. Qui n’en a s’enquiere 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 124, p. 189**

*Contratenor*: Bar 28 *g* is blackened.

**33. Ou porroit on finer 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 181, p. 319**

*Altus*: Bar 20.2 is missing.

*Tenor*: Bar 6.2 is  $\Downarrow$ ; bars 11.3-12.1 are blackened; bar 23.1 is *a*.

*Contra*: In the MS the part is first called “Tenor”; an attempt has been made to erase this, and “Contra” has been written below it; bar 7.1-3 is a  $\diamond$  (without dot).

**34. Le Karesme vient mal a propous 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 258, p. 429**

*Superius*: Bar 8.3 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 9.1-2 is  $\Downarrow\Downarrow\Downarrow\Downarrow$ .

*Tenor*: Bar 19.1 is missing; before bar 29 *sesquialtera* has not been cancelled.

*Contratenor*: Bar 25.3 is a  $\diamond$ .

**35. J’ay ung mary qui est tant bon homme 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 270, p. 441**

*Altus*: Bar 7.1-2 is  $\diamond\Diamond$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 6.2 is *e*; bar 20.2-4 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 22.1 is  $\Downarrow$ (*f-g*).

*Text*: The second stanza has been taken from *Paris 12744* f. 87<sup>v</sup>.

**36. Mon pere m’a donné mari 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 271, p. 441**

*Altus*: Bars 4.3-5.1 and bars 18.3-19.1 are  $\diamond$ .

*Tenor*: Bar 14.3-4 is  $\Downarrow$ ; bar 17.1-2 is  $\Downarrow$ ; bar 21.1-3 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 47 is *a*.

*Contra*: Bars 1-12 are missing in the MS—reconstructed after bars 19-30.

**37. Au matin quant suis levé 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 272, p. 442.**

*Altus*: Bar 5.4 is missing; bars 13.3-14.1 are  $\diamond\Downarrow$ .

*Tenor*: Mensuration sign missing.

*Contratenor*: Bar 38.1 is *f-e*.

*Text*: Full text in the “Altus” followed by a further two stanzas, given here after the music; line 15 in the MS is “... ne vouldroye point *me charge* ...”.

**38. Dieu la gard, la bergerotte 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 136, p. 206**

*Superius*: Bar 17.3-4 is missing.

*Tenor*: Bar 13.1-2 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Text*: Line 3 in the MS reads “*Hell’a* une verte *coste*”, and at the beginning of line 4 there is a superfluous word “*c’est la meleur* ...”, continuing with “*des ses abis*”.

**39. Cela sans plus et puis hola 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 83, p. 140**

*Superius*: Bars 28.4-30.2 are written a tone lower.

*Bassus*: Bar 7.3-4 is missing; bar 38.5-6 is *f*.

*Text*: Only the tenor has an incipit; the rest has been reconstructed after the Italianized version of the text in *Firenze 176* (publ. in BrownL as no. 98 and HewittB as no. 16; cf. Vol. II no. 83): “Cela sant plus et puis ola, genta bregiera bella de bon rebom jetes mon cor hors de vous prison sela sant plus e puis ola.” This stanza only fits half the setting in Cop 1848.

**40. Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 216, p. 390-91**

*Text*: Text in the superius only; line 6 is missing—inserted after a suggestion by Svend Hendrup.

**41. En despit des faulx mesdisans 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 70, pp. 128-29**

*Superius*: Bars 64-65 are  $\diamond\Downarrow$  (*a'*)  $\diamond\Downarrow$  (*g'*).

*Tenor*: Before bar 28 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  (*f'*).

*Bassus*: Bar 15.1-2 is a  $\Downarrow$ .

*Text*: In the MS line 3 reads “*ceus* qui ...”; line 4 “*c’est a eux* ...”; and line 8 “... *seroit separer*”.

**42. Est il poussible que l’on sache trouver 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 207, p. 375**

The repetition of the last phrase (bars 27-34) is only written out in full in the “Altus”; in the tenor and bassus it is indicated by “||:”; the mensuration symbol is also only found in the “Altus”.

*Tenor*: Bar 23.3-4 is a  $\Downarrow$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 3.3-4 is a  $\Downarrow$ .

*Text*: Two stanzas for the “Altus”, one beneath the music and another after the part. The repetition of line 4 has been written out in full and appears the first time as “*Dictes quoy ... trespasse*”; line 7 in the MS is “*vous mes* ...”.

43. **Helas! ne vous souvient il plus 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 100, p. 157**  
*Superius*: Bar 15 is written a third lower; bar 26 is a'.  
*Tenor*: Bar 16.3-4 is missing.  
*Bassus*: Bar 12.1 is e.
44. **Une pastore seant au vert buisson 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 121, p. 186**  
*Tenor*: Bar 10.1-3 is ♢; 11.3-4 is a ♢.  
*Bassus*: Bar 2.1-3 is a ♢; bar 24.3 is ♢ (f).  
*Text*: After the text of the tenor, which was written by the main scribe. Line 6 reads "... au pres"; in the other parts (where the text was written by Hand E) there are differences in spelling, and line 2 reads "... rose et de boutons", line 6 "et sa mere qui estoit ...", and line 8 "que deffit ...".
45. **Vielle mule du temps passé 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 220, p. 394**  
*Text*: Line 5 in the MS reads "avés mais ...". The last phrase (bars 22-26) must be repeated, as it has two lines of text in the "Altus".
46. **L'autrier en passant entendu 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 234, p. 406**  
*Superius*: Bar 5.1-3 is a ♢.  
*Tenor*: Bar 20.1 is g.
47. **Varlet, varlet, il est appoint 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 240, p. 413**  
*Bassus*: Bar 11.3 is d.  
*Text*: Line 2 in the MS reads "que vo vous ..." and line 3 "... chanches ni perpoint". At the end of the text below the superius there is a "bis"; this may mean a repetition from the *signum congruentiae* in bar 9.
48. **Que t'ay je fait, desplaisante Fortune 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 57, p. 107**  
*Text*: The second stanza was written in between superius and tenor.
50. **A la venue de ce prinstemps d'esté 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 134, p. 204**  
*Superius*: Before bar 16.4 there is a superfluous ♢ (a').  
*Altus*: Bar 9.3-4 is missing; bar 16.2-3 is a ♢.  
*Text*: Only one stanza in the superius; line 1 in the MS reads "... temps d'estre". The song "A la venue de ce doulx temps d'esté" is in *Paris* 12744 f. 55; stanza 2 from this is also laid under the parts, and stanzas 3-6 are given after the music.
51. **Mary de par sa mere 4v [Anonymous]**  
**Cop 1848 no. 231, p. 403**  
*Superius*: Bar 48.3-4 is ♢♢♢.  
*Text*: Line 2 in the MS reads "... me printe vous"; line 5 and line 7 "Metés il ung ...".
52. **A la fontaine du pré 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 60, p. 112-115**  
*Altus*: Bar 14.4 is c'.  
*Bassus*: Bar 3.1 is a; the rest at bar 22.1-2 is a br.
53. **Johs. de Sancto Martino: Bon Temps, las! 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 109, p. 170-175**  
*Text*: The spelling of the transcription follows the superius and bassus, where the text was underlaid by the main scribe. In the altus bars 89-90 "Reviens Bon Temps ..." has been emended to "depuis que ..."; and in the tenor bars 82-89 "Tout malheur ..." has been emended to "depuis que ...". Line 11 (bars 79f) in the MS reads "... nous est advenu", and in the bassus line 14 has (bars 103-04) "... reaulme de France".
54. **Reveillés vous, amoureux 5v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 179, p. 316**  
 Canon, only the bassus and the free tenor 2 are notated.  
*Text*: Line 5 in the MS reads "et leurs ...", line 8 "et elle vous ...".
56. **Tous nobles cueurs 4v [Anonymous]**  
**Cop 1848 no. 120, p. 185**  
*Superius*: In the MS bar 10.1-2, f' has been crossed out and changed to g'; bars 13-14 are notated as a ♢ with fermata; bar 21 lacks a *signum congruentiae*.  
*Altus*: Bar 11.1-3 is a ♢ (without dot).  
*Tenor*: Bar 14 is a ♢ with fermata; bar 23.3-4 should possibly be ♢♢ (d'), but this ♢ (d') is also found in Attaignant.  
*Bassus*: Bar 10.1-2 is c.  
*Text*: The text in the superius was underlaid by the main scribe; in the tenor and bassus it was added by Hand E.
57. **Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 166, pp. 272-73**  
*Altus*: In bar 25 there is no *signum congruentiae*.  
*Bassus*: Bar 3.3-4 is ♢♢♢ (d-d-e); in bar 25 there is no *signum congruentiae*; Bar 27.4 is A.  
*Text*: Line 2 reads "mais elle m'a ..."; line 5 "car ung aultre a ..."; line 6 "... qui la diffamee". The second stanza of the poem is quoted after MarotCE III p. 187.

**58. Languir me fais sans t'avoyr offensée 3v  
[Claudin de Sermisy]**

**Cop 1848 no. 111, p. 177**

*Bassus:* Bar 18 is a  $\diamond$ , bar 23.1-3 is  $\diamond\downarrow$ .

*Text:* Line 1 reads "... t'avoyr offense"; the second stanza of Marot's poem has been underlaid after MarotCE III p. 186.

**59. Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer 3v  
[Anonymous]**

**Cop 1848 no. 112, p. 178**

Also found in another version in Cop 1848 as no. 248, publ. in SeayC p. 131 (cf. also Vol. I Chapter 3.1 Ex. 1).

*Bassus:* Bars 11-14 are difficult to read; on the scribe's own corrections to this passage see Vol I Chapter 3.1 note 5.

*Text:* Line 4 reads "qu'il ont grant tort du tel plaisyr blasmere." The next two stanzas are in *La fleur* 1527 as no. 1 (here after JefferyV II p. 30).

**60. C'est boucaner de se tenir a une 3v  
Cop 1848 no. 113, p. 179**

*Tenor:* Bar 4.2 is a  $\downarrow$ .

*Bassus:* Bar 16.2 is  $c$ .

*Text:* Only an incipit "C'et boucaner de ce tenir a une" in the superius; the rest of the text (incl. the two stanzas following the music) is after JefferyV I p. 188.

**61. Si vostre cueur prent le tanné 3v [Anonymous]  
Cop 1848 no. 114, p. 180**

*Superius:* Bar 3.3 is a *mi* rest.

*Tenor:* Bar 15 has no *signum congruentiae*.

*Bassus:* Bars 16.3-17.3 are  $\diamond\cdot\downarrow$ .

*Text:* Line 2 reads "... set vestira ..."; line 3 "et dirat ..."; and line 4 "... condamner."

**62. Fortune, laisse moy la vie 3v [Anonymous]  
Cop 1848 nos. 116 and 135**

**No. 116, p. 181:**

*Superius:* Bar 21.3 is a  $\equiv$  with fermata.

*Tenor:* Bar 22 is  $\diamond\cdot\downarrow$ .

*Text:* Only one stanza in the superius; line 3 reads "... declare qui sont ..."; the two stanzas after the music are in *La fleur* 1527 as no. 19 (after JefferyV II p. 53).

**No. 135, p. 205:**

*Superius:* Bars 20.2-21 are  $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$  and a  $\equiv$  with fermata.

*Tenor:* Bar 11 is a  $\equiv$ , bar 13 is  $\diamond\cdot\downarrow$ ; bars 14-15 are in ligature; bar 17.1-3 is a  $\diamond\cdot\downarrow$ ; bar 20.2-3 is  $\downarrow\downarrow$ ; in bar 21 the ligature is not *c.o.p.*

*Bassus:* Bar 5 is in ligature; bars 6-7 are in ligature; bar 8 is not in ligature; bar 13 is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 19.1-2 is  $\downarrow\downarrow$ ; bars 19.3-20.2 are in ligature; bars 28-29 are in ligature.

*Text:* Text in the bassus only. Line 1 reads "... laysse moy ...", line 2 "... mes biens", line 3 "... declare qui sont ...", and line 4 "mais donques fin a ton envye".

**63. Jouyssance vous donneray 3v  
[Claudin de Sermisy]  
Cop 1848 nos. 117 and 139**

**No. 117, p. 182:**

*Superius:* Bar 9 is  $\downarrow\cdot\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ .

*Bassus:* Bar 10.4 is *d*.

*Text:* The text in the tenor and bassus was added by Hand E. Line 2 in the superius reads "... sy meneyray"; the second stanza has been underlaid after MarotCE III p. 178.

**No. 139, p. 210:**

Bar 20 *signum congruentiae* in all parts.

*Superius:* Bar 5.2-3 is a  $\diamond$  (*c*"); bar 12 is a  $\equiv$ ; bars 17.4-18.1 are a  $\diamond$  (*d*").

*Tenor:* Bar 6.1-2 is a  $\diamond$  (*c*"); bar 11.3-4 is a  $\diamond$  (*a*); bar 12 is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 14.1-2 is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 24.3-4 is a  $\diamond$  (*a*).

*Bassus:* Bar 10.4 is *d*; bar 16 is  $\diamond\cdot\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$  (*d*); bar 23.4 is *d*.

*Text:* Text in the superius only; line 1 is "Jouissance vous ...", line 2 "... et vous meneray", lines 3-4 "la out pretent vostre esperance, vivante vous laisseray", line 6 originally "sy vous auray je en souvenance", later crossed out and corrected to "l'esprit en aura ...".

**64. Content de peu en voiant tant de bien 3v  
[Anonymous]**

**Cop 1848 no. 73, p. 131**

*Superius:* Bar 18.1 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Bassus:* Bar 18.3-4 is  $\downarrow\downarrow$ .

*Text:* Line 4 reads "par le moient ...".

**65. Resjois toy pays de Normandie 3v  
Cop 1848 no. 95, pp. 152-53**

*Superius:* Bars 14-15.2 are  $\equiv\downarrow$ .

*Contratenor:* Bar 21.3-4 is missing.

*Text:* The incipit in the tenor reads "Rejoys toy"

**66. Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer 3v  
Cop 1848 no. 144, pp. 214-15**

*Tenor:* Bar 43.3-4 is  $\downarrow\downarrow$ .

**67. Faulte d'argent, Dieu te maudie 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 219, p. 394**

*Contra:* Bar 14.3 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Text:* Line 2 reads "que tant me vient ..."; line 3 is "aler per moy les gens"; and line 4 ends "... compaignie-ee".

**68. Missa de Mittit ad Virginem: Credo 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 34, pp. 58-65**

Above the superius of the Kyrie of the mass is the comment "Si vous avez voix de dessus, chantés a la double au dessus."

*Altus:* Bar 40.1-2 is missing; bars 207-09 are  $\equiv$ .

*Tenor:* Bars 178.4-179.1 are  $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ .

*Bassus:* At bar 95.3, the  $\downarrow$  is *e*; bar 160.3 is *b*; bars 238.3-239.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ .

*Text:* In the superius, bars 139-51, the word order has been changed—the MS has "cujus regni, cujus regni non erit finis, non erit finis."

**69. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Gloria 3-4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 190, pp. 352-55**

To make it possible to perform the composition, monophonic passages have been inserted after GR pp. 32\*-34\* and GS p. 14\*.

*Contra Altus:* Bar 140, *b* is blackened.

*Bassus:* In bars 16, 49 and 61, *g* is blackened; bar 112 is *f*.

**70. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Sanctus – Agnus Dei 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 193, pp. 358-61**

Monophonic passages have been inserted after GR p. 17\* and GS p. 17\* (Sanctus) and GR p. 57\* (Agnus Dei).

*Superius:* In the Sanctus, bar 13 consists of  $\diamond\diamond$  in ligature.

*Contra Altus:* In the Sanctus, bars 5.3 and 15.3, *b* is blackened; in the Agnus Dei, bar 14, *a* is blackened.

*Bassus:* In the Sanctus, bar 5.3, *G* is blackened; in the Agnus Dei, bar 14, *f* is blackened.

**71. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Credo 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 203, pp. 368-71**

*Superius:* Bar 6.2-3 is  $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ ; bar 72.2-3 is a  $\diamond$ ; bar 101.1-2 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Tenor:* Bars 40-54 are missing; bar 85.1-2 is missing.

*Bassus:* Bars 40-54 are missing; bar 101.1-2 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Text:* Only in the superius—in the transcr. only the text found in the MS has been underlaid.

**72. Kyrie fons bonitatis 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 6, pp. 8-9**

*Superius:* At bar 32.6, the first  $\downarrow$  is *d'*.

*Tenor:* Bar 51.1-2 is missing.

*Bassus:* Bar 2.3 is *d*; bars 29.1-2 and 51.1-2 are missing.

**73. Magnificat Et exultavit Secundi toni 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 4, pp. 3-5 + p. 16**

*Tenor:* At bar 27.4, the second  $\downarrow$  is missing; at bar 79.3, the rest is missing; to compensate for this the scribe crossed out the stem of a minima at bar 82.1.

*Bassus:* Bars 87.3 and 104.1-2 are *e*.

**74. Magnificat Et exultavit [octavi toni] 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 173, pp. 296-99**

*Tenor 1:* Bars 43.3-44.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ ; bar 61.2-4 is  $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ ; bars 115.4-116.1 are  $\downarrow\downarrow$ .

**75. Magnificat Et exultavit [sexthi toni] 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 157, pp. 230-37**

In several places Hand D corrected the music (cf. below). His version is followed in the transcription; the original passages, as far as they can be distinguished, are shown with smaller notes above the staff.

In MS altus and tenor are reversed in Verse 10 (bars 139-79).

*Superius:* Bar 9.3-4 is missing; before bar 107.4 there is a superfluous *br* rest.

*Altus:* Bar 60 is *d'*; bar 131.1-2 in the MS was first notated as *c'*, later corrected to *d'*; bar 187.1 was first notated as *e'*, later corrected to *c'*.

*Tenor:* In Verse 2 called "Contra"; bar 9.3-4 is missing; bar 152.3-4 is a  $\downarrow$ ; bar 186.1 was first notated as *a*, later corrected to *f*.

*Bassus:* Bar 14.3-4 is  $\downarrow\downarrow$ ; bar 183.5 was first notated as *c*, later corrected to *e*, then to *G*.

*Changes in Hand D:* Bar 33 in T; bars 73-77 in A; bars 129 and 136 in T; after bar 138 the ending is crossed out in SAB, and the  $\equiv$  in SAB in bar 138 has been changed to  $\equiv$ ; bars 180-81 in A.

**76. Facta est Judea [In exitu Israel] 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 159, pp. 242-49**

*Contra:* Before bar 26 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  (*c'*); bar 171.3 is *c'*.

*Tenor:* Bar 28, the final note is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 62.2 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Bassus:* Verse 12 was written out twice: on p. 245 there were so many corrections that the main scribe wrote a fair copy of the part at the bottom of p. 243; bar 233.3 was first notated as *a* (overscored).

*Text:* In bar 212 the superius has a superfluous repetition of the words "et Filio"; in bar 50 the contra

has a superfluous repetition of the word “gentes”; the bassus in bars 221ff has been underlaid by the main scribe with “Gloria Patri ...”, which has been crossed out; above, the text of “Nos qui ...” has been outlined.

*Changes in Hand D:* Besides corrections in the music and completions of the text, Hand D entered, on empty staves between the parts on pp. 246-47, an alternative setting of Verse 20 (publ. as no. 76a), and at the top of p. 248 he refers to another alternative setting of Verse 26: “Non mortui tacet alii” (Cop 1848 no. 176, publ. as no. 76b).

**76a. Dominus memor fuit 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 159(a), pp. 246-47**

Alternative setting of Verse 20 of no. 159 *Facta est Judea* entered by Hand D.

All four parts lack a mensuration sign; many corrections to the music; probably composed on the page.

*Contra:* Bars 13.5-15 are notated in the MS with repeat marks—probably a repeat of bars 11.3-12 is meant.

**76b. Non mortui laudabunt 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 176, p. 311**

Alternative setting of Verse 26 of no. 159 *Facta est Judea* entered by Hand D.

**76c. Domus Aaron speravit 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 185, pp. 330-31**

**and no. 187, pp. 338-39**

Alternative setting of Verse 18 of no. 159 *Facta est Judea* entered by Hand D; no. 185 is a rough draft with many corrections; no. 187 is the fair copy (cf. Vol. I Chapter 11.2).

*Text:* No. 185 only has text in the bassus, while in no. 187 there is a full text for all parts with text repetitions written out; the transcription follows no. 187.

**76d. Nos qui vivimus 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 169, p. 278**

Alternative setting of the antiphon for no. 159

*Facta est Judea* entered by Hand D.

*Superius:* Bar 11.3-4 is a ♭.

*Contra:* Bar 6.2 is overscored in the MS.

*Tenor:* At bar 12.1, the second ♭ is a.

**77. In exitu Israel 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 175, pp. 300-10**

*Superius:* Bar 36 was originally ♭-♭, and bars 39.4-40.3 were originally ♭-♭-♭-♭ (c”-bb’-a’-g’-bb’)—the corrections were probably made by the main scribe himself; bars 174-79 are ≡≡≡♭-♭-♭.

*Contra:* Bars 114-18 are hard to make out (Hand D’s revision); bars 151-56 were originally notated a third higher, then erased and corrected, probably by the main scribe; bars 292.2-95 were erased and corrected, also by the main scribe.

*Tenor:* Bars 291-95 were corrected by the main scribe.

*Changes in Hand D:* Besides corrections in the music and additions to the text, Hand D crossed out a corrupt ending in the contra and bassus in Verse 11 (bars 114-18) and wrote a new one (both shown in the music). On p. 309 Hand D added, at the bottom of the page, a setting of Verse 29 “Sicut erat in principio” (publ. as no. 77a), and below Verse 17 “Domus Israel speravit” he wrote a reference (“Alius infra”) to his alternative verse (Cop 1848 no. 260, publ. as no. 77b).

**77a. Sicut erat in principio 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 175(a), p. 309**

Supplementary setting of Verse 29 of no. 175 *In exitu Israel* entered by Hand D.

All four parts lack mensuration signs.

*Contra:* Before bar 9 there is a superfluous ♭ (e’).

*Tenor:* Bars 14.3-16 are notated as ♭-♭ in ligature.

*Bassus:* Bar 15 is e.

**77b. Domus Israel speravit 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 260, pp. 430-31**

Alternative setting of Verse 17 of no. 175 *In exitu Israel* added by Hand D.

*Tenor 2:* Mensuration sign missing; bars 9.3-11 are notated as ♭-♭ in ligature.

*Bassus:* Mensuration sign and key signature missing.

**78. Redemptor Deus miserere 1v-2v**

**Cop 1848 no. 106 and no. 105, pp. 166-67**

**No. 106:**

*Redemptor Deus, miserere* is in plainsong notation with detailed performance instructions.

**No. 105:**

*Precibus, precibus sancte Dei* 2v sets the lines for “Duo clericuli” in no. 106.

*Superius 1:* At bar 15.1, the *punctus* looks in the MS like a *mi* rest.

*Text:* The text follows the careful underlay in the MS; the words of the next verses (in bars 7-14) have been added after no. 106.



**79. Maioris: In illo tempore 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 158, pp. 238-41**

In several places Hand D corrected the music (cf. below). His version is followed in the transcription; the original passages are shown, as far as possible, by smaller notes above the staff.

*Superius*: Bar 66.1-2 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Altus*: Bar 26.1-2 is  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$  ( $c'-bb-c'$ ); bar 26.3-4 is missing; bars 38.2-39.1 are  $\diamond\blacklozenge$  ( $f'$ ); bars 38.2-40 have been changed by Hand D; what was there before is illegible; bar 71 is a  $\equiv$ .

*Text*: Careful text underlay; apart from minor omissions, the order of a few words has been reversed: in the MS the tenor at bars 69-70 has "mater", and the altus, bar 77, has "filius".

*Changes in Hand D*: Bar 17 in B; bars 24-25 in S; 38.2-40 in A (see above); bar 39 in B; bar 49 in S; bars 56.3-58 in S.

**80. Mentem sanctam sponteneam 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 103, pp. 160-61**

A superfluous key signature of one flat in superius, altus and tenor has been crossed out by Hand E.

*Superius*: Bar 23.3-4 is a  $\diamond$ .

*Text*: The main scribe only wrote text in below the superius; in the other parts Hand E underlaid text without any great success; the transcription ignores Hand E's placing of the text.

**81. Quam pulchra es amica mea 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 274, pp. 444-45**

*Superius*: Bar 7 is a  $\equiv$ ; bar 47.3 is a  $\blacklozenge$ ; bar 49.4 is a  $\blacklozenge$ ; bars 53.4-54.1 are a  $\blacklozenge$ .

*Tenor*: Bar 14.3 is a  $\blacklozenge$ ; bars 35.4-36.1 are  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 92.1 is missing.

*Text*: Text in the superius only; bars 15-22 in the MS have "quam pulchre sunt gene tue"—the text underlay in the MS is very skimpy.

**82. Ave sanctissima Maria 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 214, pp. 386-87**

*Tenor*: Before bar 71 there are three superfluous  $\blacklozenge$  ( $a-g-f$ ), which the main scribe tried to erase.

*Bassus*: Bar 2.1-2 is missing; before bar 37.4 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  ( $e$ ); bar 58.3 is a  $\blacklozenge$  ( $A$ ); bar 60.1-2 is  $c-c$ ; bars 100.3-101.4 are missing.

*Text*: Text in the superius only—missing passages have been inserted after the anonymous composition in the MS *Firenze* 27 ff. 108<sup>v</sup>-09.

**83. Ave regina celorum 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 138, pp. 208-09**

*Superius*: Before bar 22 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  ( $f'$ ); bar 35.3-4 is missing.

*Contratenor*: Bar 21.3-4 is a  $\equiv$ .

*Text*: The tenor and contratenor originally only had the incipit "Ave regina celorum"; the rest of the text was added later by the main scribe in black ink.

**84. Stabat mater dolorosa 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 126, pp. 192-97**

The concluding "Amen" (bars 143ff) was notated in ligatures; this went completely wrong for the scribe and he crossed it out.

An attempt has been made to reconstruct it in the transcription. The bassus has not been changed; the first four notes in the tenor are a third higher in the MS; the rhythmic values of the first three notes in the superius are  $\equiv\equiv\equiv$  in the MS, and the next four are  $\diamond\equiv\equiv\equiv$ . In addition, the superius begins with a ligature  $\equiv\equiv$  ( $a'-f'$ ) which does not fit in the context.

*Superius*: Bars 96.3-97.1 are  $\equiv\blacklozenge$ ; bar 100.1-2 is missing; before bar 133 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  ( $a'$ ).

*Tenor*: Bar 9 is a  $\equiv$ ; after bar 31 in the MS there is a superfluous  $\equiv$  ( $a$ ); bar 100.1-2 is missing.

*Bassus*: Bar 38.1-2 is  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$ ; before bar 39 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  ( $g$ ); bar 42.1-2 is missing; bar 75.4 is  $g$ ; bar 100.1-2 is missing; bars 125.4-126.6 are  $\diamond\equiv\equiv$  ( $e-d-d$ ).

**85. Stabat mater dolorosa 2v**

**Cop 1848 no. 19, pp. 27-33**

*Superius*: Bar 64.4 is  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$ ; bar 73.5-6 is  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$ ; bar 133.2 is  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$ ; bars 175.3-176.1 is a  $\diamond$  (without dot); bar 187.3-4 is a *br* rest; bar 199.1-2 is *d*.

*Tenor*: In bar 117 the ligature should be *c.o.p.* (upward-pointing stem missing); bar 176.4 is missing; bar 178.2 is a  $\diamond$ ; bars 184.3-185.2 are notated a third lower.

*Text*: Missing text lines underlaid after GR p. 597 and JosquinW *Motetten II* p. 51

**86. Haquinet: Inviolata, integra et casta 3v**

**Cop 1848 no. 206, p. 374**

The monophonic verses (vv. 2, 4, 5 etc.) have been added after AR p. 133\*, treated rhythmically like Haquinet's treatment of the melody in the tenor part.

*Tenor*: Bar 39 was first notated as  $\equiv\equiv$ , and an attempt was made below to correct this to  $\diamond\blacklozenge$ .

*Bassus*: Bar 39 was first notated as a single  $\equiv$ , later changed to  $(\equiv)\diamond\blacklozenge$ .



87. **Haquinet: Puer nobis nascitur 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 229, p. 402 and no. 237, p. 409**  
*Bassus:* Bar 17, *c* is blackened.  
*Text:* Text in the superius only. No. 237 gives a further three stanzas after the music.
88. **Haquinet: Noe, noe, iterumque noe 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 230, p. 402**  
*Superius:* The return to the beginning, in the other parts indicated by “ut supra”, is indicated here by *custos*.  
*Tenor:* The repeat mark is placed under “ut supra” in bar 30.  
*Bassus:* The repeat mark is placed before the rest in bar 25.  
*Text:* Text in the superius only; line 3 (i.e. bars 17-22 in the altus and bassus) is missing; “Nova vobis gaudia refero” has been inserted after the song *Noel, noel, triplicando noel* in the MS *Berlin 190* ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27.  
Following the superius, Cop 1848 gives still more text which is hard to put into any satisfactory form.
89. **Haquinet: O salutaris ostia 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 197, p. 364**  
*Superius:* Bars 14.3-15.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ .  
*Altus:* In bars 11 and 22, *bb* (*b*) is blackened.  
*Tenor:* Bars 14.3-15.1 are  $\diamond\downarrow$ .  
*Bassus:* In bars 11 and 22, *g* is blackened.
90. **Conditor alme siderum 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 85, p. 142**  
*Bassus:* Bar 6.4 is a  $\downarrow$ .  
*Text:* Only the incipit “Conditor alme” in all parts; the rest of the text has been underlaid after AM p. 182.
91. **Christe qui lux es ac dies 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 93, pp. 150-51**  
*Tenor:* Bar 27.2 is a  $\diamond$ .  
*Text:* The parts only have incipits—in the tenor “... es ad dies”; the rest of the text has been underlaid after AH LI p. 21.
92. **O salutaris hostia 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 110, p. 176**  
*Tenor:* Bar 19 is a  $\equiv$ .  
*Text:* Only an incipit in the superius; the rest of the text has been underlaid after no. 202 (Vol. III no. 94).
93. **O salutaris hostia 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 118, p. 183**  
*Text:* The main scribe only entered the incipit “O salutaris hostia” in the superius; the rest of the text in all three parts was added by Hand E.
94. **O salutaris hostia 2v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 202, p. 367**  
None of the parts has been furnished with a mensuration sign.
96. **Veni, veni, veni electa mea 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 119, p. 184**  
*Text:* In the tenor and bassus the text was added by Hand E.
97. **Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 228 and no. 246**  
  
**No. 228, p. 401:**  
*Superius:* Notated a third higher.  
*Tenor:* Bars 12ff are notated a third higher.  
*Bassus:* In bars 8-9.2, *bb* is blackened.  
  
**No. 246, p. 417:**  
Consists only of the superius, at the correct pitch, without text.
98. **Miserere mei – Gloria Patri 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 233 and no. 264**  
  
**No. 264, p. 434:**  
*Superius:* Bar 53 has no fermata.  
*Tenor:* Before bar 63 there is a superfluous  $\diamond$  (*b*).  
*Bassus:* Bars 5-6.2 are  $\equiv\diamond$ ; in bars 18-19, *c'* is blackened.  
  
**No. 233, p. 404:**  
Without text, and no separation of the two sections.  
*Tenor:* As no. 264.  
*Bassus:* Bars 5-6.2 and bars 18-19 as no. 264; bar 27.3-4 is missing.
99. **Osanna filio David 4v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 251, p. 422 + p. 439**  
*Superius:* Bar 49.3-4 is a  $\equiv$  with fermata.  
*Bassus:* Mensuration sign missing; bars 1-2.2 are  $\equiv\diamond$ .
100. **Deo gracias 3v**  
**Cop 1848 no. 170, p. 279**  
*Bassus:* Bars 8.3-9.2 in the MS are notated a tone lower.

**101. Examples 1v**

**Cop 1848 no. 76, p. 134**

This and the following three sets of examples were executed by the main scribe. They are shown in the transcriptions approximately as they are disposed in Cop 1848. I have tried to show overscored passages in and above the parts.

**102. Examples 2v**

**Cop 1848 no. 122, p. 187**

*Part e*: The part was first notated with a mezzo clef (to bar 4.1); when the part became too low, the beginning was crossed out and rewritten with an alto clef. The marks in the tenor and part e (bar 12.3) were put there by the scribe when the parts were displaced because of the overscorings.

**103. Examples 2v**

**Cop 1848 no. 156, p. 229**

*Superius*: In no. 156a we find first two overscored attempts at the beginning, then a longish section of the part with a mezzo clef; finally, the whole part was written out on the staff below with a soprano clef.

*Tenor*: In 156 a-b the tenor was notated with short vertical strokes.

**104. Examples 2v**

**Cop 1848 no. 180, p. 317**

Mensuration sign only in part b2.

*Part b*: There are two versions of the part: b1 only goes as far as bar 6.3, then the part has been crossed out and rewritten at the bottom of the page (b2).

**105. Sy vostre cueur a prins tanné 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 127, p. 192-93**

The notes above the staves in the altus and tenor indicate alternative and overscored notes, in the superius the original version which the composer tried to correct.

*Superius*: Bars 19-22 are on p. 180 (5th staff); bar 20.1 is a ♢.

*Altus*: Bar 18.3-4 is ♢♢, emended after no. 115.

*Bassus*: Bar 17.1-3 is ♢♢.

**106. [Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum] Sanguis eius – Ave rex – [Vah, qui destruis] 4v**

**Cop 1848 no. 221, p. 410 + p. 395**

*Altus*: Bars 1-3.1 are notated a tone lower in the MS; at bar 14.3, *d'* is a blackened ♢.

*Tenor*: Bar 19.1-2 is missing.

*Text*: In the first two sections there is text in the superius (and in the tenor in “Sanguis eius”); in the third there are only the words “Salva temetipsum” in the bassus, entered where they are to be sung.

# Transcriptions

# 1. Nuyt et jour sans repous avoir

(Cop 1848 no. 48, p. 94)

**Superius**  
(g-c<sup>2</sup>)

1.4.7. Nuyt et jour sans re - pous  
3. Plus m'en sou - vient a di -  
5. J'en pers le sens et le

**Tenor**  
(d-f)

1.4.7. Nuyt et jour sans re - pous  
3. Plus m'en sou - vient a di -  
5. J'en pers le sens et le

**Contratenor**  
(G-b)

1.4.7. Nuyt et jour sans re - pous  
3. Plus m'en sou - vient a di -  
5. J'en pers le sens et le

10

a re - voir re - gretz m'oc -  
sa - veoir et au plus mon -  
de

a re - voir re - gretz m'oc -  
sa - veoir et au plus mon -  
de

a re - voir re - gretz m'oc -  
sa - veoir et au plus mon -  
de

15

cist et me tor - men - te, et se  
cueur se mal con - ten - te, se  
plours soubz noi - re ten - te, soubz noi -

cist et me tor - men - te, et se  
cueur se mal con - ten - te, se  
plours soubz noi - re ten - te, soubz noi -

cist et me tor - men - te, et se  
cueur se mal con - ten - te, se  
plours soubz noi - re ten - te, soubz noi -

20

25

me tor - men - te 2. 8. tant que n'ay plus n'ex -  
mal con - ten - te. 6. pas - sant ma vi - e  
re con - ten - te,

tor - men - te 2. 8. tant que n'ay plus  
con - ten - te. 6. pas - sant ma vi -  
ten - te,

me tor - men - te 2. 8. tant que n'ay plus n'ex -  
mal con - ten - te. 6. pas - sant ma vi - e  
re con - ten - te,

30 35

- poir n'at - - ten - - te de chou -  
des - plai - - san - - te en la -

n'ex - poir n'at - - ten - - te de  
e des - plai - - san - - te en

- poir n'at - - ten - - te de chou - se  
des - plai - - san - - te en la cham -

40

se que je puis - - se\_a - - voir.  
cham - bre de des - es - poir.

chou - se que je puis - s\_a - voir.  
la cham - bre de des - es - poir.

que je puis - - se\_a - - voir.  
bre de des - es - poir.

## 2. Sy ayse estoye avant qu'amoureux fusse

(Cop 1848 no. 148, p. 220)

**Superius**  
(a - c')

1.4.7. Sy ay - se\_es - toye a - vant  
3. Mon cueur n'est pas aus - si  
5. Or n'est il tour qu'a ce

**Tenor**  
(d - f')

1.4.7. Sy ay - se\_es - toye a - vant  
3. Mon cueur n'est pas aus - si  
5. Or n'est il tour qu'a ce

**Contratenor**  
(G - b)

1.4.7. Sy ay - se\_es - toy e\_a - vant  
3. Mon cueur n'est pas aus - si  
5. Or n'est il tour qu'a ce

qu'a - mou - reulx fus - se, mays main - te -  
graz c'u - ne pus - se, ne doy je  
don - ner je sçeus - se; A - mours me

qu'a - mou - reulx fus - se, mays main -  
graz c'u - ne pus - se, ne doy  
don - ner je sçeus - se; A - mours me

qu'a - mou - reulx fus - se, mays main  
graz c'u - ne pus - se, ne doy  
don - ner je sçeus - se; A - mours me

nant ne fais que sous - pi - rer,  
bien l'en vou - loir re - ti - rer?  
pres - se\_et me faict en - du - rer;

te - nant ne fais que sous - pi - rer,  
je bien l'en vou - loir re - ti - rer?  
pres - se\_et me faict en - du - rer,

te - nant ne fais que sous - pi - rer,  
je bien l'en vou - loir re - ti - rer?  
pres - se\_et me faict en - du - rer,



20

2. 8. de jour en jour voys mon cas em - pi -  
6. Je ne se - roye en tel es - tat du -

2. 8. de jour en jour voys mon cas em - pi -  
6. Je ne se - roye en tel es - tat du -

2. 8. de jour en jour voys mon cas em - pi -  
6. Je ne se - roy - e\_en tel es - tat du -

25

rer: je ler - roy - e vo - len - tiers que  
rer; que de - man - doy je\_a - vant que

rer: je ler - roy - e vo - len - tiers se  
rer; que de - man - doy je\_a - vant que ce

rer: je ler - roy - e vo - len - tiers  
rer; que de - man - doy je\_a - vant que

30

se je peus - se.  
ce mal j'eus - se?

je peus - se.  
mal j'eus - se?

se je peus - se.  
ce mal j'eus - se?

### 3. Puis qu'il vous plaist d'estre Mieux Aymée

(Cop 1848 no. 149, p. 221)

**Superius**  
(c' - d'')

**Tenor**  
(c - f')

**Contratenor**  
(B - f')

Puis qu'il vous plaist d'es - tre

Mieux Ay - mé - e et de ce

tre Mieux Ay - mé - e et de

nom vous soy - és nom - mé - e,

de ce nom vous soy - és nom - mé - e,

ce nom vous soy - és nom - mé -

qui me peut plus fai - re, Dieu ou Na - tu - re,

qui me peut plus fai - re, Dieu ou Na - tu - re,

e, qui me peut plus fai - re, Dieu ou Na - tu - re,

30

ou me don - ner

ou me don - ner

quel -

ou me don - ner

quel - que bon -

35

quel - que bon - ne\_ad - ven - tu -

40

que bon - ne\_ad - ven - tu -

ne\_ad - ven - tu - re?

45

re? Mayz que soy -

re? Mayz que soy -

Mayz que soy -

50

és en pro - pos fer - me.

és en ce pro - pos fer - me.

és en ce pro - pos fer - me.

## 4. Quant de vous seul je pers la veue

(Cop 1848 no. 150, pp. 222-23)

**Superius**  
(c' - e')

1.4.7. Quant de vous seul  
3. Plus dou len - te  
5. Je crains tant que

**Tenor**  
(f' - g')

1.4.7. Quant de vous seul  
3. Plus dou len - te  
5. Je crains tant que

**Contratenor**  
(G - d')

1.4.7. Quant de vous seul  
3. Plus dou len - te  
5. Je crains tant que

je pers la veu - - - e de  
n'a soubz la nu - - - e que  
la re - ve nu - - - e me

je pers la veu - - - e  
n'a soubz la nu - - - e  
la re - ve nu - - - e

je pers la veu - - - e  
n'a soubz la nu - - - e  
la re - ve nu - - - e

qui tant chie - re suis te - nu - -  
sans vous, las! suis de - ve - nu - -  
soit lon - gue, ce - la me tu - -

de qui tant chie - re suis te - nu - -  
que sans vous, las! suis de - ve - nu - -  
me soit lon - gue, ce - la me tu - -

tant chie - re suis te - nu - -  
vous, las! suis de - ve - nu - -  
lon - gue, ce - la me tu - -

25

- e, Dieu sçet le deul qu'a-lors m'as - sault  
 - e, car d'aul - tre rien plus ne me fault.  
 - e, dont j'en - du - ray maintgrieff as - sault,

e, Dieu sçet le deul qu'a-lors m'as - sault  
 e, car d'aul - tre rien plus ne me fault.  
 e, dont j'en-du - ray maint grieff as - sault,

30

2. 8. qu'a peu que le  
 6. pour - quoy de - mou -

35

2. 8. qu'a peu que le  
 6. pour - quoy de - mou -

2. 8. qu'a peu que le  
 6. pour - quoy de - mou -

40

2. 8. qu'a peu que le cueur ne me  
 6. pour - quoy de - mou - rer il me

cueur, qu'a peu que le cueur ne me  
 rer, pour - quoy de - mou - rer il me

cueur, que le cueur ne me  
 rer, de - mou - rer il me

No. 4 Quant de vous (Cop 1848 no. 150)

45

fault,  
fault

tant suis  
de tou-te

8

fault,  
fault

tant suis  
de tou-te

fault,  
fault

tant  
de

suis  
tou - te

50

de deul  
joy - e

de deul  
joy - e

de deul  
joy - e

55

fort e -  
de -

fort e -  
de -

fort e -  
de -

per - du - e.  
pour - veu - e.

per - du - e.  
pour - veu - e.

per - du - e.  
pour - veu - e.



## 5. Choix non parail ou choisir aparant

(Cop 1848 no. 153, p. 226)

Superius  
(g-c')

1.4.7. Choix non pa - rail ou choi -  
3. On le doibt bien, il n'y  
5.

Tenor  
(d-f')

1.4.7. Choix non pa - rail ou  
3. On le doibt bien, il  
5.

Contratenor  
(F-a)

1.4.7. Choix non pa - rail ou choi -  
3. On le doibt bien, il n'y  
5.

5  
sir fault a - pa - rant en sa choi - sis - sant  
ja ga - rant, sa va - leur n'est  
choi - sir a - pa - rant en choi - sis - sant  
n'y fault ja ga - rant, sa va - leur n'est  
- sir a - pa - rant en choi - sis - sant  
fault ja ga - rant, sa va - leur n'est

10  
tous - jours d'eulx re - pa - rant, pour l'en - yit - tan -  
a aul - truy que pa - rant, de ce don - ner  
tous-jours d'eulx re - pa - rant, pour l'en - yit -  
a aul - truy que pa - rant, de ce don -  
tous - jours d'eulx re - pa - rant, pour l'en - yit - tan -  
a aul - truy que pa - rant, de ce don - ner

No. 5 Choix non parail (Cop 1848 no. 153)

15

ce\_au - tay - ne\_et non pa - rail - le,  
ce nom je le con - seil - le.

tan - ce\_au - tay - ne\_et non pa - rail - le,  
ner ce nom je le con - seil - le.

ce\_au - tay - ne\_et non pa - rail - le,  
ce nom je le con - seil - le.

20

2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le,  
6. 2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le.

2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le,  
6. 2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le.

2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le,  
6. 2. 8. j'ou - se bien di - re, mes n'est pas mer - veil - le.

25

que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.  
le, que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.

que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.  
le, que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.

que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.  
le, que tel chois ne fit ce - la es - ga - rant.

## 6. La tres plus heureuse de France

(Cop 1848 no. 154, p. 227)

**Superius**  
(a - d')

1.4.7. La tres plus heu-reu - se de  
3. C'est le com - ble de ma ple -  
5. Je le dois ay - mer sans doub -

**Tenor**  
(c - f')

1.4.7. La tres plus heu-reu - se de  
3. C'est le com - ble de ma ple -  
5. Je le dois ay - mer sans doub -

**Contratenor**  
(F - b)

1.4.7. La tres plus heu - reu -  
3. C'est le com - ble de  
5. Je le dois ay - mer

10

Fran - ce suis tou - tes les foy  
san - ce de - puis que j'ay son  
tan - ce, en luy a des biens

se de Fran - ce suis tou - tes  
ma ple - san - ce de - puis -  
sans doub - tan - ce, en luy que  
a

15

que je pen - se  
a coyn - tan - ce,  
ha bun - dan - ce,

les foy  
j'ay son que je pen se  
des biens a coyn - tan ce,  
des biens ha bun - dan ce,

No. 6 La tres plus heureuse (Cop 1848 no. 154)

20

que je suis la chie - re te -  
ad - vis m'est que suis de - ve -  
et m'a si bien en - tre - te -

que je suis la chie - re te -  
ad - vis m'est que suis de - ve - nu -  
et m'a si bien en - tre - te - nu -

que je suis la chie - re te -  
ad - vis m'est que suis - re te -  
et m'a si bien suis en - tre de - ve -

25 ?

- nu - e 2. 8. du me - lieu  
- nu - e 6. que puis que  
- nu - e

30

qui soit sus la lu -  
la suis par - ve - nu -

2. 8. du me - lieu qui soit sus la lu -  
6. que puis que la suis par - ve - nu -

me - lieu qui soit sus la lu -  
puis que la suis par - ve - nu -

35

ne, en bon' heu - re sçeuз l'a -  
e, nom - mer me dois sans dif -

ne, en bon' heu - re sçeuз l'a -  
e, nom - mer me dois sans dif -

ne, en bon' heu - re sçeuз l'a -  
e, nom - mer me dois sans dif -

40

li - an - ce.  
fe - ran - ce

li - an - ce.  
fe - ran - ce

li - an - ce.  
fe - ran - ce

## 7. Comprins par ung appointment

(Cop 1848 no. 26, pp. 42-43)

**Superius**  
(a - d')

1.4.7. Com - prins par ung ap - poin -  
3. Ad - ve - nu m'est heu - reu -  
5. Ay - mer et ser - vir loy -

**Tenor**  
(c - f')

1.4.7. Com - prins par ung ap - poin -  
3. Ad - ve - nu m'est heu - reu -  
5. Ay - mer et ser - vir loy -

**Contratenor**  
(G - a)

1.4.7. Com - prins par ung ap - poin -  
3. Ad - ve - nu m'est heu - reu -  
5. Ay - mer et ser - vir loy -

10

- te - ment qu'A - mours a fait  
- se - ment don A - mours mer -  
- al - ment les veulx tant et

15

- - - cye no - vel le -  
- - - si hum lon - ble -  
- - - si lon - gue -

mer - - - cye - vel le -  
et - - - si lon - gue -



20

ment a - vant que chieff d'eu - vre de  
 ment, car je suis de son or -  
 ment que je viv ray soubz ex -

25

ment a - vant que chieff d'eu - vre  
 ment, car je suis de son  
 ment que je viv ray soubz

- ment a - vant que chieff d'eu - vre  
 - ment, car je suis de son  
 - ment que je viv ray soubz

30

- do - Fran - ce, 2. 8. suis du tout en  
 - pe - nan - se. 6. que la plus par  
 - ran - ce

de Fran ce, 2. 8. suis du tout en  
 or - do - nan - se. 6. que la plus par  
 ex - pe - ran - ce

de Fran ce, 2. 8. suis du tout en  
 or - do - nan - se. 6. que la plus par  
 ex - pe - ran - ce

35

leur a - li - an -  
 de ma plai - san -

leur a - li - an -  
 de ma plai - san -

leur a - li - an -  
 de ma plai - san -

40

se, de leur lig - né -  
ce j'a - roy et viv -

se, de leur lig -  
ce j'a - roy et

se, de leur lig - né -  
ce j'a - roy et viv -

45

e\_en - tie - re - ment.  
ray seu - re - ment.

né - e\_en - tie - re - ment.  
viv - ray seu - re - ment.

e\_en - tie - re - ment.  
ray seu - re - ment.

## 8. Mirus: Aguillon, serpentin, dangier

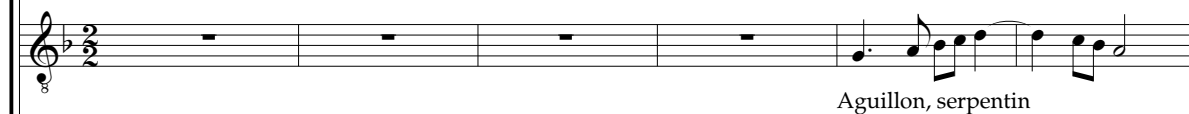
(Cop 1848 no. 275, p. 446)

rus

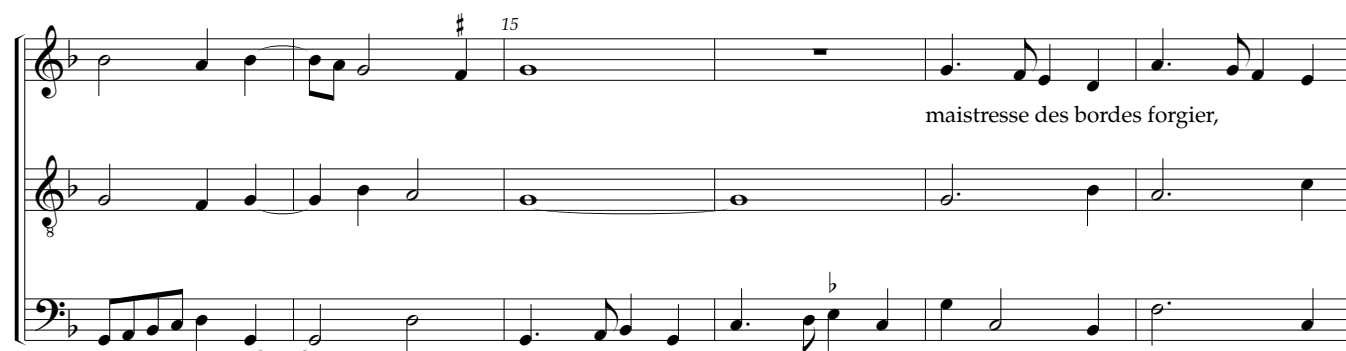
Superius  
(b - e')



Tenor  
(d - f')



Contratenor  
(G - b)



25

desloyalle femme et despite,

30

35

40

quant je vous eus pour dame eslite

45

je ne falli pas [a]

50  $\flat$

55  $\sharp$

60

longier.

Vostre cueur volage et leger  
feroit bien ung monde enrager  
que de bien soyez vous mauldicte,  
Aguillon ...

Pour vostre cas bien abreger:  
il n'est privé ne estranger  
a qui vous fussiez escondite,  
mais vous prestez sans interdicte  
vostre harnois sans l'esrouller.  
Aguillon ...

## 9. Ceste fillette a qui le tetin point

(Cop 1848 no. 31, p. 48)

**Superius**  
(b - c')

1.4.7. Ces - te fil - let - te\_a qui le te - tin  
3. Des - poil - lez vous en che - mi - se\_et pour -  
5. Et puis a - pres, si vous es - tes en

**Tenor**  
(g - g')

1.4.7. Ces - te fil - let - te\_a qui le te - tin point,  
3. Des - poil - lez vous en che - mi - se\_et pour - point  
5. Et puis a - pres, si vous es - tes en point

**Contratenor**  
(B - d')

1.4.7. Ces - te fil - let - te\_a qui le te - tin point,  
3. Des - poil - lez vous en che - mi - se\_et pour - point  
5. Et puis a - pres, si vous es - tes en point

point,  
point  
point

qui est si gen - te\_et a les  
et la get - tés sur le lict  
et que l'ay - ez les deulx ge -

qui est si gen - te\_et a les  
et la get - tés sur le lict  
et que l'ay - ez les deulx ge -

yeulx a noulx si l'en - vers, 2. 8. ne luy soy -  
ou - vers, 6. frap - pés de -

yeulx a noulx si l'en - vers, 2. 8. ne luy soy -  
ou - vers, 6. frap - pés de -

yeulx si vers, 2. 8. ne luy soy -  
noulx l'en - vers, 6. frap - pés de -  
ou - vers, - -



20

ez ne ru - de ne di - vers, mais la trac -  
dens, de tort et de tra - vers et ar - die -

25

ez ne ru - de ne di - vers, mais la trac -  
dens, de tort et de tra - vers et ar - die -

30

ter, mais la trac - ter, mais la trac - ter doul - ce - ment et a point.  
ment, et ar - die - ment, et ar - die - ment, ne l'es - par - nés point.

35

ter, mais la trac - ter, mais la trac - ter doul - ce - ment et a point.  
ment, et ar - die - ment, et ar - die - ment, ne l'es - par - nés point.

# 10. Helas! l'avois je deservy

(Cop 1848 no. 28, p. 45)

Superius  
(d' - d')

Tenor  
(c - e)

Contratenor  
(B - e)

1.4.7. He - las! l'a - vois je de - ser -  
3. Je sçay bien ce qu'ung soir je -  
5. Quant je vy jou - er a l'en -

- vy, d'es - tre si reu - de - ment  
- vy, dont onc - ques puys ne fus  
- vy, je co - gneus bien sa vo -

ser - vy, d'es - tre si reu - de - ment  
je vy, dont onc - ques puys ne fus  
l'en - vy, je co - gneus bien sa vo -

- vy, d'es si reu - de - ment  
- vy, dont ques puys ne fus  
- vy, je gneus bien sa vo -

trac - té? 2. 8. Par Dieu, nen - ny!  
haic - té. 6. In - con - ti - nent  
len - té.

trac - té? 2. 8. Par Dieu, nen - ny! car j'ay  
haic - té. 6. In - con - ti - nent je l'ay  
len - té.

trac - té? 2. 8. Par Dieu, nen - ny!  
haic - té. 6. In - con - ti - nent

20

car j'ay es - té cel - luy qui  
je l'ay quit - té, car plus

es - té cel - luy qui  
quit - té, car plus

car j'ay es - té cel - luy  
je l'ay quit - té, car plus

25 30

a lon - gue - ment ser - vy.  
n'y a - voit de re - vy.

a lon - gue - ment ser - vy.  
n'y a - voit de re - vy.

qui a lon - gue - ment ser - vy.  
n'y a - voit de re - vy.

# 11. Je me repens de vous avoir aimée

(Cop 1848 no. 92, p. 149)

**Superius 1**  
(f<sup>1</sup> - f<sup>2</sup>)

1.4.7. Je me re - pens de vous a -  
3. Je puis bien, las, maul - di re  
5. Et de par Dieu, c'es - toit ma

**Superius 2**  
(d<sup>1</sup> - d<sup>2</sup>)

1.4.7. Je me re - pens de vous a -  
3. Je puis bien, las, maul - di re  
5. Et de par Dieu, c'es - toit ma

**Bassus**  
(d - e)

1.4.7. Je me re - pens de vous a -  
3. Je puis bien, las, maul - di re  
5. Et de par Dieu, c'es - toit ma

voir ay - mé - e,  
la jour - né - e  
des - ti - né - e,

voir ay - mé - e, quant aul - tre -  
la jour - né - e qu'onc - ques j'a -  
des - ti - né - e, puis que li -

voir ay - mé - e, quant aul - tre - ment n'a - vez vou -  
la jour - né - e qu'onc - ques j'a - mays ce qu'il n'es -  
des - ti - né - e, puis que li - é me suis en

quant aul - tre - ment n'a - vez vou - leu mon bien,  
qu'onc - ques j'a - mays ce qu'il n'es - toit pas mien.  
puis que li - é me suis en ce li - en;

ment n'a - vez vou - leu mon bien,  
mays ce qu'il n'es - toit pas mien.  
é me suis en ce li - en;

leu mon bien,  
toit pas mien.  
ce li - en;

20

2. 8. et que ja - mais, que ja - mais ne  
6. je ne voy tour, ne voy tour en

2. 8. et que ja - mais ne  
6. je ne voy tour en

2. 8. et que ja - mais, que ja - mais ne  
6. je ne voy tour, ne voy tour en

25

vou - lez fai - re rien cho - se qui soit  
mon fait ne moy - en qu'il ne fail - le

vou - lez fai - re rien cho - se  
mon fait ne moy - en qu'il ne

vou - lez fai - re rien cho -  
mon fait ne moy - en qu'il

30 35

au gré de ma pen - sé - e.  
que dis - se\_a la vo - lé - e:

qui soit au gré de ma pen - sé - e.  
fail - le que dis - se\_a la vo - lé - e:

se qui soit au gré de ma pen - sé - e.  
ne fail - le que dis - se\_a la vo - lé - e:

## 12. Tres doux penser, Dieu te pourvoye

(Cop 1848 no. 77, p. 135)

Superius  
(d-g')

Tenor  
(d-f')

Tres doux pen - ser, Dieu te por - -

voy - e, ma seul-le\_a-mour que je de -

si - re tant, don je suis si

d'a - mours ra - vy - e, com - me cel - -

- luy qui a per - du s'a - my - e: Vui - dez re -

grés, vui - dez, ban - ny de joy - - e!



# 13. Retirés vous, mon coeur, si serés saige

(Cop 1848 no. 8, pp. 12-13)

Superius  
(d' - g')

Tenor  
(g - c')

Contratenor  
(d - e')

1.5. Re - ti - rés vous, mon  
4.

1.5. Re - ti - rés vous, mon coeur, si se -  
4.

1.5. Re - ti - rés vous, mon coeur, si se - rés sai -  
4.

si se - rés sai -

rés sai -

15

- ge, soy - és pru - dent, co - gnoys -

- ge, soy - és pru - dent, co - gnoys -

- ge, soy - és pru - dent,

20

sés vos - tre

sés vos - tre

co - gnoys - sés vos - tre

No. 13 Retirés vous (Cop 1848 no. 8)

25 30

cas! Vous voy - és bien qu'on ne vous

cas! Vous voy - és bien qu'on

cas! Vous voy - és bien qu'on ne

35

ay - me pas,

ne vous ay - me pas, hos -

vous ay - me pas, hos - ter

40

hos - ter vous fault de ce mau - vais pas -

ter vous fault de ce mau - vais pas -

vous fault de ce mau - vais pas -

45 50

sai - ge.

sai - ge.

sai - ge.

55



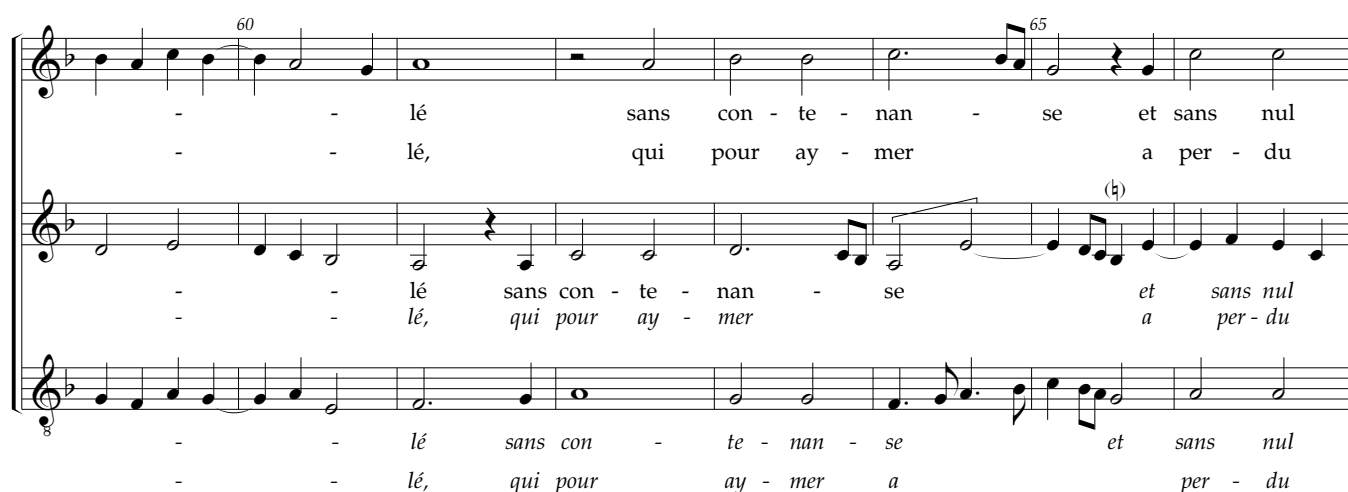
2. Que di - roit l'on de vous voyr af - fol -  
3. Fai - tes pla - ce au pou - vre de - so -

2. Que di - roit l'on de vous voyr af - fol -  
3. Fai - tes pla - ce au pou - vre de - so -

2. Que di - roit l'on de vous voyr af - fol -  
3. Fai - tes pla - ce au pou - vre de - so -

60

65



- - - - - lé sans con - te - nan - se et sans nul  
- - - - - lé, qui pour ay - mer a per - du

- - - - - lé sans con - te - nan - se et sans nul  
- - - - - lé, qui pour ay - mer a per - du

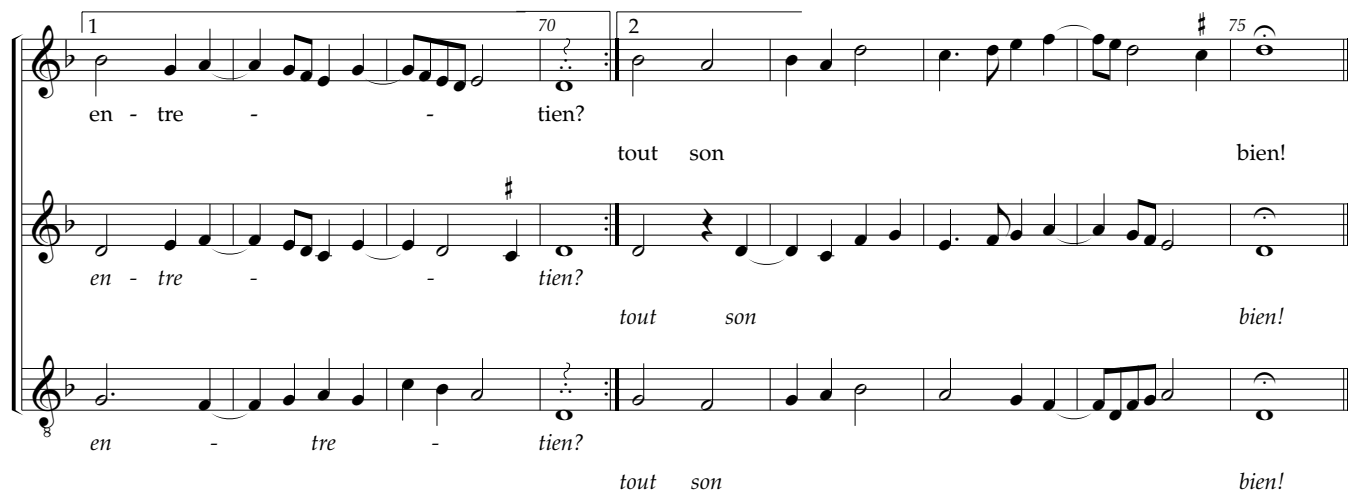
- - - - - lé sans con - te - nan - se et sans nul  
- - - - - lé, qui pour ay - mer a per - du

1

70

2

75



en - tre - - - - - tien? tout son bien!  
en - tre - - - - - tien? tout son bien!  
en - tre - - - - - tien? tout son bien!

# 14. Pastorelle en ung vergier

(Cop 1848 no. 91, p. 148)

Superius  
(b - d')

Pas - to - rel - le\_en ung ver -  
di - sant: »He - las! Quel dan -

Tenor  
(d - d')

Pas - to - rel - le\_en ung ver -  
di - sant: »He - las! Quel dan -

Contratenor  
(G - a)

Pas - to - rel - le\_en ung ver -  
di - sant: »He - las! Quel dan -

gier j'ou - ys com - plain - dre\_et ge - mir  
gier A - mours m'ont fait main - te - nir,

gier j'ou - ys com - plain - dre\_et ge - mir  
gier A - mours m'ont fait main - te - nir,

gier j'ou - ys com - plain - dre\_et ge - mir  
gier A - mours m'ont fait main - te - nir,

je ne puis plus ayn - sy lan - guir, je me  
je ne puis plus ayn - sy lan - guir,  
je ne puis plus ayn - sy lan - guir, je me rens

rens a sa mer - - - cy:

je me rens a sa mer - - - cy:

a sa mer - - - cy: Au

Au be - soing on co - gnoit l'a - my.

Au be - soing on co - gnoit l'a - my.

be - soing on co - gnoit l'a - my.

Car pour les maux alegier  
que souvent me fait sentir  
ay donné a un bergier  
mon cuer sans le departir,  
pour lui veul vivre et mourir.  
Or, ayt dont pité de my:  
Au besoing voit on l'amy.

Il aroit bien le cuer fier  
s'il me voloit relenquir  
et pour un autre changier,  
veul qu'il s'est volus offrir  
a moy de bon cuer sievir  
quant si l'esprovay aynssy:  
Au besoing voit on l'amy.»

Prince, face son plaisir  
de moy et vous autresy:  
Au besoing voit on l'amy.

# 15. O escharbuncle reluisant

(Cop 1848 no. 209, p. 377)

Superior  
(d' - e'')

Contraaltus  
(f - g')

Tenor  
(f - f')

Bassus  
(G - a)

O es - char - bun - cle re - lui - sant nuit et jour sans obs -  
e - me - rau - de tres cler lui - sant et sa - phir de se -

cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon - di - ci - té,  
cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon - di - ci - té,  
cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon - di - ci - té,  
cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon - di - ci - té,  
cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon - di - ci - té,

ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com - me fla - - me,  
ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com - me fla - - me,  
ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com - me fla - - me,  
ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com - me fla - - me,



je te re - quiers en cha - ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.

je te re - quiers en cha - ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.

je te re - quiers en cha - ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.

je te re - quiers en cha - ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.

O ciprés aromatisant,  
 palme de grant suavité,  
 hault cedre sur tous verdissant,  
 olyve de fertillité,  
 en ma tres grant necessité  
 te prie et requiers, sainte dame,  
 quant a mourir seray cité:  
 Ayés pitié de ma pouvre ame.

O rouse tres odorissant  
 et vray lys de virginité,  
 violete tres flourissant,  
 marguerite d'umilité,  
 mariolayne de purité,  
 romaryn flourissant comme basme,  
 par ta grant clemence et pitié:  
 Ayés pitié de ma pouvre ame.

Prince, eternal en trinité,  
 trois personnes, je te reclame  
 et te requiers en unité:  
 Ayés pitié de ma pouvre ame.

(Martin le Franc?)

# 16. O escharbuncle reluisant

(Cop 1848 no. 210, p. 378, and no. 225, p. 399)

**Superius**  
(d' - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - g')

**Bassus**  
(G - d')

O es - char - bun - cle re - lui - sant nuit et  
e - me - rau - de tres cler lui - sant et sa -

jour sans obs - cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon-  
phir de se - cu - ri - té, dy - a - mant de mon-

di - ci - té, ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com-me fla - me, je te re -  
di - ci - té, ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com-me fla - me, je te re -  
di - ci - té, ru - biz ray - ant cle - re com-me fla - me, je te re -

quiers en cha-ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.  
quiers en cha-ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.  
quiers en cha - ri - té: Ay - és pi - tié de ma pou - vre\_a - me.

## 17. J'eyme bien / De tous biens plainne

(Cop 1848 no. 123, p. 188)

Superius  
(d' - d'')

Tenor  
(d - e')

J'ey - me bien qui s'en va a la bro-que

De tous biens plain - ne\_est ma

du ton-neau. O in - te - me - ra - ta vir - go! J'ay

mais - tres - - -

bien nor - ry .vii. ans ung non - nain, a - dieu mes a -

- - - se, che - cun luy

mours, a Dieu vous com - ment, sal - ve

doibt tri - but d'on - heur;

pec - ca - to - res, te ro - ga-mus au - di nos,

car as -

O Chri-ste, au - di nos ...

sou - - - vy - - - e\_est

No. 17 J'eyme bien / De tous (Cop 1848 no. 123)

40

en

45

Ky - ri - e

va - leur au -

50

e - ley - son

55

tant que ja - mais fut sans ses -

60

se.

# 18. Venez tretous / De tous biens plainne

(Cop 1848 no. 131, pp. 200-01)

Superius  
(c'-d')

Tenor  
(d-e')

Ve - nez, ve - nez, ve - nez tre - tous tour - teux, bon foux et

De

con - tre - faix, bor - gnes, boy - teux, layx et de - fous, vil - lains ac - cro - pis sans col - lez!

tous biens plain - ne est

Ve - nez, ve - nez, ve - nez, ve - nez, ve - nez voyr mais - tre Pier - re du

ma mais - tres - - -

Cu - gnet, voyr mais - tre Pier - re du Cu - gnet! Sans cau - se il n'a pas re-gnon,

se,

c'est ung gra - ci - eulx i - ma - ge, doux, a - mou-reux et mig - non, et a

che - cun luy doit tri - but d'on -

ung sou - ve - rain vi - sa - ge, il a ung peu faul - te de

neur;

nez, mais seu - re - ment le vous pro - mez que vous ne co - gneu - tes ja -

mais ung si af - fe - té rou - ce - let: Le plus mi - gnon de tous les letz c'est

car as - sou - vy -

mais - tre Pier - re du Cu - gnet, c'est mais - tre Pier -

e\_est en

- re du Cu - gnet! Vous qui cri - ez: »Sou - liez vieulx, sou - liez

va - leur

vieulx, sou - liez vieulx, ly - e, bou - res, bou - rez, bou - res, bou - rez, mais beaulx le

au - tant que

lus, bu - ches, bu - ches, ly - e, es - chau-dez tous chaulz, es - chau-dez, mais

ja - mais



bel - les fem - mes, se - ri - ses doul - ces et ha - rens sou - rez, char -

fut sans ces -

55  
bons, je le vens, le vin cla - ret.« Ren - dez vous au ma - ti - nes a mais - tre Pier - re

60  
du Cu - gniet!

se.

# 18a. Venez venez / De tous biens plainne

(Cop 1848 no. 131b, p. 201)

**Superius**  
(c'-c')

**Tenor**  
(d-e')

Ve - nez ve - nez

De tous biens

plain - ne\_est ma mais - tres -

se, che -

cun luy doit tri - but d'on - neur;

car as - sou - vy - e\_est

en va - -

leur au - tant

que ja -

mais fut sans ces -

se.

## 19. Hors de propos / Creator omnium rerum

(Cop 1848 no. 129, pp. 198-99)

Superius  
(c' - c'')

Tenor  
(c - f')

Bassus  
(c - a)

Hors de pro - pos, de ray - son

se - pa - ré,

se - pa - ré,

Cre - a -

loing de bon sens,

loing de bon sens,

tor om - ni - um

de joy - e de - sem -

de joy - e de - sem -

re - rum de - us

25

pa - - - - -

pa - - - - -

qui

30

ré, tris - te\_et pen -

ré, tris - te\_et pen -

me de li -

35

- siff, e - lon - gné

siff, e - lon - gné d'es -

mo for - -

40

d'es - pe - ran - ce.

- pe - ran - ce.

mas - - - - - ti.

## 20. Checun par grant / Agimus tibi gratias

(Cop 1848 no. 82, p. 139)

**Superius**  
(b - d')

**Tenor**  
(c - e')

**Bassus**  
(A - a)

Che - - cun par grant in - ten -

Che - - cun par grant in - ten -

ci - - on doibt chan - ter a - prés son re -

ci - - on doibt chan - ter a - prés son re -

A - gi - mus ti - bi gra - ti - as,

pas: »A - gi - mus ti - bi gra - ti -

pas: »A - gi - mus ti - bi gra - ti -

as, Chri - ste re - demp - tor om - ni - um, Chri -

as, Chri - ste re - demp - tor om - ni - um,

Chri - ste re - demp - tor om - ni - um,



25

ste re - demp - tor

Chri - ste re - demp -

Chri - ste re -

30

om - ni - um.«

tor om - ni - um.«

demp - tor om - ni - um.

## 21. Plain de regret – A ma douleur

(Cop 1848 nos. 68-69, pp. 126-27)

Superius  
(g-c')

Tenor  
(c-c')

Contratenor  
(E-b)

Plain de re - gret,

de play - sir es - gua - ré, char -

de play - sir es - gua - ré, char - gé

- gé de deul, de joye

char - gé de deul, de

de deul, de joye

de - sem - pe - ré,

joye de - sem - pe - ré,

de - sem - pe - ré,

30 35

tris - te\_et pen - sif, a

tris - te\_et pen - sif,

tris - te\_et pen - sif, a

40 45

mou - rir pre - pa - ré, sans ex - pe -

a mou - rir pre - pa - ré,

mou - rir pre - pa - ré, sans ex - pe -

50 55

ran - ce de ja - mais a -

sans ex - pe - ran - ce de ja - mais a -

ran - ce de ja - mais a -

- voir mieulx.

- voir mieulx.

- voir mieulx.

55 A ma dou - leur nul - li n'est com - pa -

60 A ma dou - leur nul - li n'est com -

65 - ré, car de - rier moy

- pa - ré, car de - rier

70 j'ay bon sens se - pa -

moy j'ay bon sens se - pa -

j'ay bon sens se - pa - ré,

75 ré, et de tous pointz

ré, et de tous

et de tous pointz

80 me suis de deul pa - - ré,

pointz me suis de deul pa - ré,

me suis de deul pa - ré,

90 com - blé de do - eil, de

com - blé de do - eil, de sous - pirs

com - blé de do - eil, de sous - pirs

95 sous - pirs en - - vi - eulx.

en - vi - eulx.

en - vi - eulx.

## 22. Sus le pont de Lyon

(Cop 1848 no. 7, pp. 10-11)

**Superius**  
(c' - d')

**Tenor**  
(d - d')

**Contratenor**  
(A - b)

Sus le pont de Ly - on j'ay\_o - ye chan -

Sus le pont de Ly - on

Sus le pont de Ly - on j'ay\_o - ye chan-ter la

ter la bel - - le qui en son chant di -

j'ay\_o - ye chan-ter la bel - le qui en son chant di -

bel - le, bel - le qui en son chant di-soit

soit u - - ne chan-son no - vel - le, no - - vel -

soit u - ne chan-son no-vel - le, no - - vel -

u - - ne, u - ne chan-son no-vel - le, no - - vel - le:

le: »J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les s'en

le: »J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les s'en sont

»J'ay per - du mes a - mours, el - les s'en sont



sont al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a

al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a

al - lé - es a Pa - ris ou a Tours,

Tours, ou bien a La Ro - chel - le, La Ro -

Tours, ou bien a La Ro - chel - le, La

ou bien a La Ro - chel - le, La Ro -

chel - le.«

Ro - chel - le.«

chel - le.«

## 23. Ouvrés vostre huis, ouvrés

(Cop 1848 no. 241, p. 413)

Superius  
(c'-b)

Tenor  
(d-d')

Contratenor  
(F-a)

Ou - vrés vos - tre huis, ou - vrés, no - vel - le ma - ri - é - e,

par Dieu, si vous n'ou - vrés, vous se - rés dif - fa - mé - e,

dif - fa - mé - e.

## 24. Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser

(Cop 1848 no. 143, p. 213)

**Superius**  
(b - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - f)

**Contratenor**  
(G - b)

Bon vin, je ne te puis lais - - ser, je

Bon vin, je ne te puis lais - ser, je

Bon vin, je ne te puis lais - ser,

5 t'ay m'a-mour don - né - - - e; tu

t'ay m'a - mour don - né - - e; tu

je t'ay m'a-mour don - né - - - e; tu

10 m'as fait cou - cher au fou - yer tout au

m'as fait cou - cher au fou - yer tout

m'as fait cou - cher au fou - yer tout

15 lon de l'an - né - - e.

au lon de l'an - né - - e.

au lon de l'an - né - - e.

## 25. Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser

(Cop 1848 no. 208, p. 376)

Superius  
(a - c')

Tenor  
(d - c')

Contratenor  
(G - a)

Bon Temps, je ne te puis laiss - ser, ...

Bon Temps, je ne te puis laiss - ser, ...

Bon Temps, je ne te puis laiss - ser, ...

5

10

15

## 26. Or sus, or sus! par dessus tous les autres

(Cop 1848 no. 146, p. 218)

**Superius**  
(c'-e')

**Tenor**  
(g-g')

**Contratenor**  
(B-d')

Or sus, or sus! par des-sus tous les au-tres be -

Or sus, or sus! par des-sus tous les au -

Or sus, or sus! par des-sus tous les au-tres

- nist soit le co - qu, car on - ques tel oy - seau ne feut veu.

5

tres be - nist soit le co - qu, car on - ques tel oy - seau ne feut veu.

be - nist soit le co - qu, car onques tel oy - seau ne feut veu.

10

»Ja - nin Ja - not, es tu point ma - ri -

10

»Ja - nin Ja - not, es tu point ma - ri -

»Ja - nin Ja - not, es tu point ma - ri -

15

é?« »Et oyr, Si - re, que Dieu en aye bon gré, a u-ne da - me qui

15

é?« »Et oyr, Si - re, que Dieu en aye bon gré, a u - ne da -

é?« »Et oyr, Si - re, que Dieu en aye bon gré, a u - ne da -

20 (F#)

d'a - mours m'a pri - é«. »Ja - nin Ja - not, es

20

me qui d'a-mours m'a pri - é«. »Ja - nin Ja - not, es

me qui d'a-mours m'a pri - é«. »Ja - nin Ja - not, es

25

tu point ma - ri - é?«

25

es tu point ma - ri - é?«

tu point ma - ri - é?«

»Hé! Dieux, hellas! puis le jour de mes nopces  
oyseau suis devenu.«  
»Janin Janot, maiz quel oyseau es tu?  
Es-tu pinchon, linot, merle ou cabu?«  
»Nennin,« dist il, »je suis un vray coqu,  
en Normandie sommes cent mille et plus!  
Hé! Dieu, hellas! oyseau suis devenu.«

»Janin Janot, ainsi que dist ta femme,  
beste tu es devenu.«  
»Hellas, je suis homme perdu,  
suis je singe, marmot ou chat barbu?«  
»Nennin,« dist il, »tu es un cerf cornu,  
allant par ville tout chaussé et vestu.  
Janin Janot, beste tu es devenu.«

Or sus ...



(*Cop 1848 no. 218, p. 393*)

59

## 28. Venez souvent, je vous en prie

(Cop 1848 no. 10, p. 17)

**Superius**  
(*d' - d''*)

**Tenor**  
(*g - f'*)

**Contratenor**  
(*F - a*)

Ve - nez sou - vent, je vous em pri - e, et le

Ve - nez sou - vent, je vous em pri - e, et

Ve - nez sou - vent, je vous em pri - e, et

faic - tes tout pry - vé - ment; vous ne per - drez

le faic - tes tout pry - vé - ment; vous

le faic - tes tout pry - vé - ment; vous

rien seu - re - ment, et

ne per - drez rien seu - re - ment, et

ne per - drez rien seu - re - ment, et

si vous fe - ray cor - toy - si - e.

si vous fe - ray cor - toy - si - e.

si vous fe - ray cor - toy - si - e.

## 29. Entre vous de Tornay

(Cop 1848 no. 97, p. 154)

**Superius**  
(b-c')

**Tenor**  
(c-c')

**Contratenor**  
(F-b)

En - tre vous de Tor - nay, plain de mi -

se - ri - cor - de ...

se - ri - cor - de ...

se - ri - corde ...

15 20 25

(b) (b) (#) (b) (#)

No. 29 *Entre vous* (Cop 1848 no. 97)

30 (#) b

b 35 40

### 30. Se je suis trovée

(Cop 1848 no. 45, p. 89)

**Superius**  
(c'-b')

**Tenor**  
(e-d')

**Contratenor**  
(B-g)

1. 5. 9. Se je suis tro - vé - e\_au bois soubz la ra - mé - e

5 10  
queil - lant la ver - du - re, je ne chan - ge - roy - e

8  
queil - lant la ver - du - re, je ne chan - ge - roy - e

15  
pour riens que je voy - e mes loy - aulx a - mours.

8  
pour riens que je voy - e mes loy - aulx a - mours. Al - lez hau -

20  
Al - lez hau - vay, mes loy - aulx a - mours.

8  
vay, mes loy - aulx a - - - mours.

vay, mes loy - aulx a - - - mours.

25

2. L'au - tri - er, l'au - tri - er m'a - lois es - ba - loy - ent,  
3. ren - con - tray ber - gie - re ses ai - gne - letz gar - dent.

2. L'au - tri - er, l'au - tri - er m'a - lois es - ba - loy - ent,  
3. ren - con - tray ber - gie - re ses ai - gne - letz gar - dent.

2. L'au - tri - er, l'au - tri - er m'a - lois es - ba - loy - ent,  
3. ren - con - tray ber - gie - re ses ai - gne - letz gar - dent.

Je luy prins a dire: (4)  
 »Serez vous m'amyé?«  
 Elle my respond:  
 »Vostre courtoisie  
 ne me desplaist mye.«  
 Mes loyaulx amours,  
 Allez hauvay,  
 mes loyaulx amours.

Je la prins par sa main qui blanchoye (6)  
 et la gecté sur l'erbe qui verdoye; (7)

Je luy feiz courtine (8)  
 d'une blanche espine  
 et d'une aultre fleur  
 que on appelle rose;  
 c'est bien aultre chose  
 que d'aymer par amour.  
 Allez hauvay,  
 mes loyaulx amours.



# 31. A Dieu celuy que j'ay sur tous choisi

(Cop 1848 no. 1, p. 1)

**Superius**  
(f' - d')

**Tenor**  
(f - d')

**Contratenor**  
(G - d')

A Dieu ce - luy

A Dieu ce - luy que j'ay sur tous

A Dieu ce - luy que

que j'ay sur tous choi - si a ma plai -

que j'ay sur tous choi - si

j'ay sur tous choi - si a ma plai -

san - ce pour es - tre mon a - my:

a ma plai - san - ce pour es - tre mon a - my: Cent mil - le

san - ce pour es - tre mon a - my: Cent mil - le fois

Cent mil - le fois de bon cuer je le dis.

fois de bon cuer je le dis.

de bon cuer je le dis.

## 32. Qui n'en a s'enquiere

(Cop 1848 no. 124, p. 189)

**Superius**  
(c' - d')

**Tenor**  
(d - d')

**Contratenor**  
(d - d')

Qui n'en a s'en-quie - re,

Qui n'en a s'en-quie -

Qui n'en a s'en-quie - re, - que - re,

si veult fai - re chie - - - re

re, si veult fai - re chie - - - re

si veult fai - re chie - re et

et viv - - re\_en sou - -

et viv - - re\_en sou - -

viv - - re\_en sou - las,

las, fi - nan - ses en tous cas.

- las, fi - nan - ses en tous cas.

sou - las, fi - nan - ses en tous cas.

### 33. Ou porroit on finer

(Cop 1848 no. 181, p. 319)

**Altus**  
(d' - d')

**Tenor**  
(d - d')

**Contra**  
(c - f')

Ou por - roit on fi - ner ung gen - til com - pa -

gnon qui me voul - sit me - ner au cha - teux cas - til -

gnon qui me voul - sit me - ner au cha - teux cas - til -

gnon qui me voul - sit me - ner au cha - teux cas - til - lon,

lon, qui me voul - sit me - ner en l'ous - tel de mon pe -

lon, qui me voul - sit me - ner en l'ous - tel de mon pe -

qui me voul - sit me - ner en l'ous - tel de mon pe -

re. He - las! quant j'en par - ti, je fuz mal a - vi - sé - e.

re. He - las! quant j'en par - ti, je fuz mal a - vi - sé - e.

re. He - las! quant j'en par - ti, je fuz mal a - vi - sé - e.

### 34. Le Karesme vient mal a propous

(Cop 1848 no. 258, p. 429)

**Superius**  
(d<sup>i</sup> - d<sup>ii</sup>)

Le Ka - res - me vient mal a pro - pous ...

**Tenor**  
(c - e')

Le Ka - res - me vient mal a pro - pous ...

**Contratenor**  
(A - c')

Le Ka - res - me vient mal a pro - pous ...

A musical score for the song "The Rose Tree" in 3/4 time, featuring three staves. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff (treble clef) contains the melody, with measures 10 and 15 marked. The second staff (treble clef) provides a harmonic accompaniment. The third staff (bass clef) provides a bass line accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

A musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written for three parts: Treble (Right Hand), Treble (Left Hand), and Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score consists of 24 measures, with measure numbers 10, 20, and 30 indicated above the staff. The melody is primarily in the Treble (Right Hand) part, with the Treble (Left Hand) part providing a harmonic accompaniment. The Bass part provides a steady bass line. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The image shows a musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a guitar line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes measure numbers 25, 30, and 35. The vocal line features a melody with eighth and quarter notes, including triplets and a half note. The guitar line provides accompaniment with eighth and quarter notes, including triplets and a half note. The bass line provides a steady accompaniment with eighth and quarter notes, including a half note. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

# 35. J'ay ung mary qui est tant bon homme

(Cop 1848 no. 270, p. 441)

**Altus**  
(d' - f')

**Tenor**  
(g - f')

**Bassus**  
(B - d')

J'ay ung ma-ry qui est tant bon hom - me,  
Or pleust a Dieu qu'il fust a Rom - me,

le bon hom - me, le pre-mier soir qu'il m'es-po-sit,  
le bon hom - me, et que je feusse de - dans Pa - ris

le bon hom - me, le pre-mier soir qu'il m'es-po-sit,  
le bon hom - me, et que je feusse de - dans Pa - ris

le fault vil-lain ce en-dor-my quant il deut  
en - tre les braz de mon a - my, mais qu'il me

le fault vil - lain ce en - dor - my, ce en - dor - my, quant  
en - tre les braz de mon a - my, de mon a - my, mais

fault vil-lain ce en - dor - my quant  
tre les braz de mon a - my, mais

fai - re la be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!  
feist bien ma be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!

il deut fai - re la be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!  
qu'il me feist bien ma be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!

il deut fai - re la be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!  
qu'il me feist bien ma be - son - gne, le bon hom - me!

# 36. Mon pere m'a donné mari

(Cop 1848 no. 271, p. 441)

Altus  
(d' - d')

Tenor  
(f - f')

Contra  
(G - a)

Mon pe - re m'a don - né ma - ri  
je n'ay que dix ans et de - my

Mon pe - re m'a don - né ma - ri, mon pe - re  
je n'ay que dix ans et de - my, je n'ay que

don - né ma - ri a qui la  
ans et de - my en mon con

a qui la gri - se bar - be point, a qui  
en mon con de bar - be n'ast point, en mon

m'a don - né ma - ri a qui la gri - se bar - be point, a qui  
dix ans et de - my en mon con de bar - be n'ast point, en mon

gri - se bar - be point, il est tant fa - de et moy si  
de bar - be n'ast point;

la gri - se bar - be point, il est tant fa - de  
con de bar - be n'ast point;

la gri - se bar - be point, il est tant fa - de  
con de bar - be n'ast point;

sa - de pour a - voir ung gen - til mi - gnon:  
et moy si sa - de pour a - voir ung gen -

et moy si sa - de pour a - voir ung gen - til mi-gnon, ung gen - til



Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est mon nom, Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est  
til mi - gnon: Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est mon nom, Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est  
mi - gnon: Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est mon nom, Mal ma - ri - da - de, c'est  
mon nom! »Ne plou-rez plus De - ni - se, he - las,  
mon nom! »Ne plou-rez plus De - ni - se, he -  
mon nom! »Ne plou-rez plus De - ni - se, ne plou-rez plus De - ni - se,  
nous vous ma - ri - e-rons nous vous don - ri - ons Gil - lou,  
las, nous vous ma - ri - e-rons nous vous don - ri - ons Gil -  
he - las, nous vous ma - ri - e - rons nous vous don - ri - ons Gil -  
he - las, il est bon com - pa-gnon, il est bon com - pa - gnon.«  
lou, he - las, il est bon com - pa-gnon, il est bon com - pa - gnon.«  
lou, he - las, he - las, il est bon com - pa-gnon, il est bon com - pa - gnon.«

# 37. Au matin quant suis levé

(Cop 1848 no. 272, p. 442)

**Altus**  
(d' - f')

**Tenor**  
(f - g')

**Contratenor**  
(B - d')

Au ma - tin, quant

Au ma - tin, quant suis le - vé vo - len - tiers des -

Au ma - tin, quant suis le - vé vo - len - tiers des - iu -

suis le - vé vo - len - tiers des - iu - ne - roy - e

iu - ne - roy - e d'u-ne\_es - pau - le de mou -

ne - roy - e d'u-ne\_es - pau - le de mou -

d'u-ne\_es-pau - le de mou-ton et d'ung mor - cel - let de foy -

ton et d'ung mor - cel - let de foy -

ton et d'ung mor - cel - let de foy -

e a tout ung peu de sel des-sus; je ne vous de - man - de

e a tout ung peu de sel des - sus; je ne vous de - man - de

e a tout ung peu de sel des - sus; je ne vous de - man - de

plus jus-qu'a tant que dis - ne - roy - e. Mais tou - jours

plus jus-qu'a tant que dis - ne - roy - e. Mais tou - jours

plus jus-qu'a tant que dis - ne - roy - e. Mais tou - jours

boy - re voul - droy - e, boy - re, trin-que je voul - droy - e.

boy - re voul - droy - e, boy - re, trin-que je voul - droy - e.

boy - re voul - droy - e, boy - re, trin-que je voul - droy - e.

Au disner, je vouldroye bien faire longue dinerie  
d'une espale de mouton et d'une perdrix routie  
et ung peu de saulce dessus;  
je ne vous demande plus  
jusqu'a ce que souperoye.  
Mais toujours boyre vouldroye,  
boyre, boyre, boyre trinque je vouldroye.

Au soupper, ne vouldroye me charger de grasse viande  
fors d'ung couple de possins et d'une tartre friande  
sans oblier de sucre sus;  
je ne vous demande plus  
jusqu'a ce que coucheroye.  
Mais toujours boyre vouldroye,  
boyre, boyre, boyre trinque, trinque, trinque  
je vouldroye.

# 38. Dieu la gard, la bergerotte

(Cop 1848 no. 136, p. 206)

Superius  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(d - d')

Bassus  
(G - a)

Dieu la gard, la ber - ge - rot - - - te, qui bien gar - de

ses bre - bis. El - l'a u - ne ver - te cot - - - te, la me -

leur de ses a - bis, et du pain bis en son ge - ron

qu'el - le por - te; Dieu la gard, la ber - ge - rot - te.

### 39. Cela sans plus et puis hola

(Cop 1848 no. 83, p. 140)

**Superius**  
(c' - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - g')

**Bassus**  
(c - e')

Ce - la sans plus et

Ce - la sans plus et

Ce - la sans plus et

puis ho - la, gen - te ber - gie - re,

puis ho - la, gen - te ber - gie -

puis ho - la, gen - te ber - gie -

bel - le de re - nom,

re, bel - le de re - nom, je - tés mon

re, bel - le de re - nom, je - tés mon

je - tés mon cueur hors de vos - tre pri -

cueur hors de vos - tre pri -

cueur hors de vos - tre pri -

No. 39 *Cela sans plus* (Cop 1848 no. 83)

son, ce - la sans plus et puis ho -

son, ce - la sans plus et puis

son, ce - la sans plus et puis ho -

- la,

ho - la,

la,

40

45

ce -

ce -

50

la sans plus et puis ho - la.

ce - la sans plus et puis ho - la.

la sans plus et puis ho - la.

# 40. Bon, bon, bon, bonne bergiere

(Cop 1848 no. 216, pp. 390-91)

**Superius**  
(c - d')

**Tenor**  
(c - d')

**Bassus**  
(F - c')

»Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie - re,

»Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne

»Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber -

a - - - ten - dés moy!« »Mon pe - re me veult ma - ri -

ber - gie - re, a - ten - dés moy!«

gie - re, a - ten - dés moy!« »Mon pe - re me veult ma -

- er, a ung vil-lain

»Mon pe - re me veult ma - ri - er,

ri - er, a ung vil -

me veult don - ner, don - ner.«

a ung vil - lain me veult don -

lain me veult don - ner, don - ner, don -



»Bon, bon, bon, bon-ne ber - gie-re, a - ten - dés moy!« »Qui n'a ny

ner.« »Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie - re, a - ten - dés moy!«

ner.« »Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie - re, a - ten-dés moy!« »Qui

mail-le ny de-nier et qui ne fait point a ai -

»Qui n'a ny mail-le ny de - nier

n'a ny mail-le ny de - nier et qui ne fait point a ai -

mer, et qui ne fait point a ai - mer.« »Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne

et qui ne fait point a ai - mer.« »Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne

mer, et qui ne fait point a ai - mer.« »Bon, bon, bon, bon - ne

ber - gie-re, a - ten - dés moy, bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie-re, a - ten - dés moy!«

ber - gie-re, a - ten - dés moy, bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie-re, a - ten - dés moy!«

ber - gie-re, a - ten-dés moy, bon, bon, bon, bon - ne ber - gie-re, a - ten-dés moy!«

# 41. En despit des faulx mesdisans

(Cop 1848 no. 70, pp. 128-29)

**Superius**  
(a - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - c')

**Bassus**  
(d - e')

En des-pit des faulx mes - di - sans, j'ay

En des-pit des faulx mes - di -

En des-pit des faulx mes - di - sans,

a - quis u - ne bel-le\_a - my - e;

sans, j'ay a - quis u - ne bel-le\_a - my -

j'ay a - quis u - ne bel-le\_a - my - e, u - ne bel-le\_a - my - e;

ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di - sans c'est

e; ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di - sans, ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di -

ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di - sans

a eulx u - ne grant fo - li - e, u - ne grant

sans c'est a eulx u - ne grant fo - li -

c'est a eulx u - ne grant fo - li - e, u - ne grant fo - li - e,

25  
fo - li - e.  
e.  
u - ne grant fo - li - e.  
En par - le qui par - le voul -

30  
En par - le qui par - le voul - dra  
dra  
dra,  
qui par - le voul - dra  
en tous lieux, haut et bas,  
en tous lieux, haut et

35  
c'est grant fo - li - e\_a eulx,  
bas,  
haut et bas,  
c'est grant fo - li - e\_a eulx,  
car on

40  
car on ne sa - roit se - pa - rer l'a - mour en - tre nous deulx.  
ne sa - roit se - pa - rer l'a - mour en - tre nous deulx.  
ne sa - roit se - pa - rer l'a - mour en - tre nous deulx.

45  
ne sa - roit se - pa - rer l'a - mour en - tre nous deulx.

50 En des-pit des faulx mes - di - sans, j'ay a - quis u -

En des-pit des faulx mes - di - sans,

En des-pit des faulx mes - di - sans, j'ay a - quis

- ne bel-le\_a - my - e;

j'ay a - quis u - ne bel-le\_a-my - e; ceulx qui en sont con -

u - ne bel-le\_a-my - e, u - ne bel - le\_a-my - e; ceulx qui en sont con -

65 ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di - sans c'est a eulx u - ne grant fo -

tre - di - sans, ceulx qui en sont con - tre - di - sans

tre - di - sans c'est a eulx u - ne

70 - li - e, u - ne grant fo - li - e.

c'est a eulx u - ne grant fo - li - e.

75 grant fo - li - e, u - ne grant fo - li - e, u - ne grant fo - li - e.

## 42. Est il possible que l'on sache trouver

(Cop 1848 no. 207, p. 375)

**Altus**  
(d' - e')

**Contra (T)**  
(g - g')

**Bassus**  
(c - c')

Est il pous - si - ble que l'on sa -  
Gen - te mi - gno - ne de corps et

Est il pous - si - ble que  
Gen - te mi - gno - ne de

Est il pous - si - ble que  
Gen - te mi - gno - ne de

- che trou - ver aul - cun moy - en pour es - tre en  
de fas - son, les yeulx ri - ans, tant a - mou -

l'on sa - che trou - ver aul - cun moy - en pour es - tre en vos - tre  
corps et de fas - son, les yeulx ri - ans, tant a - mou - reu - se

l'on sa - che trou - ver aul - cun moy - en pour es - tre en vos - tre  
corps et de fas - son, les yeulx ri - ans, tant a - mou - reu - se

vos - tre gra - ce? Qu'en dic - tes vous, en  
reu - se fa - ce, vous me te - nés lon -

gra - ce? Qu'en dic - tes vous, en  
fa - ce, vous me te - nés lon -

gra - ce? Qu'en dic - tes vous, en  
fa - ce, vous me te - nés lon -

pour - roit on fi - ner? Dic - tes le moy,  
gue - ment en pri - son par tous sou - las

pour - roit on fi - ner? Dic - tes le moy, car  
gue - ment en pri - son par tous sou - las je

pour - roit on fi - ner? Dic - tes le  
gue - ment en pri - son par tous sou -

25

car mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce! Dic - tes le  
je ne sçay que je fa - - - ce, par tous sou -

mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce! Dic - tes le moy,  
ne sçay que je fa - - - ce, par tous sou - las

moy, car mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce! Dic -  
las je ne sçay que je fa - - - ce, par

30

moy, car mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce!  
las je ne sçay que je fa - - - ce.

car mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce!  
je ne sçay que je fa - - - ce.

tes le moy, car mon cœur ce tres - pa - - - ce!  
tous sou - las je ne sçay que je fa - - - ce.

### 43. Helas! ne vous souvient il plus

(Cop 1848 no. 100, p. 157)

Superius  
(d' - c')

Tenor  
(f - d')

Bassus  
(G - a)

He - las! ne vous sou - - vient il plus ...

He - las! ne vous sou - - vient il plus ...

He - las! ne vous sou - - vient il plus ...

10

15

20

25

84



## 44. Une pastore seant au vert buisson

(Cop 1848 no. 121, p. 186)

**Superius**  
(e' - f')

**Tenor**  
(f' - g')

**Bassus**  
(B - d')

U - ne pas - to - re se - ant au vert buis-son, fai - sant cha -

peaux de rou-se de bou-tons; par la sur-vient ung var-let

peaux de rou-se de bou-tons, de rou-se de bou-tons; par la sur-vient ung var-let

peaux de rou-se de bou-tons; par la sur-vient ung var-let

qui la har-dy de bon hect, sur l'er-be l'a jec - té - e; et sa me-re\_es-toit au

qui la har-dy de bon hect, sur l'er-be l'a jec - té - e; et sa me-re\_es-toit au

qui la har-dy de bon hect, sur l'er-be l'a jec - té - e; et sa me-re\_es-toit au

pré que sur eulx fai-soit le guet, que des-fict la mel - lé - e.

pré que sur eulx fai-soit le guet, que des-fict la mel - lé - e.

pré que sur eulx fai-soit le guet, que des-fict la mel - lé - e.

## 45. Vielle mule du temps passé

(Cop 1848 no. 220, p. 394)

**Altus**  
(c' - b')

**Tenor**  
(d - e')

**Bassus**  
(B - c')

Viel - le mu - le du temps pas - sé vos - tre vi - sa - ge\_ est ef -

fas - sé et si fes - tes la bel - le mi - ne; de - dans vos -

tre viel - le cui - si - ne a - vés maint gros vit fri - cas - sé:

Re - qui - es - cant, las, in pa - ce,  
vos - tre bon bruit est tres - pa - cé.

## 46. L'autrhier en passant entendi

(Cop 1848 no. 234, p. 406)

**Superius**  
(c' - b')

**Tenor**  
(e - d')

**Bassus**  
(g - a)

L'au-trhier en pas - sant en-ten - di, l'au-trhier en pas - sant en -  
pas - teur en ung pré re-ver - di, pas - teur en ung pré re -

ten - di qui di - soit a s'a - mi - e: »J'ay - me vos - tre tur - tu - re - te  
ver - di, di, qui di - soit a s'a - mi - e: »J'ay - me vos - tre tur - tu - re - te

qui est si doul - ce - te; gen-te po - gou - se - te, i-rons a la dan-ce de la pi-que  
qui est si doul - ce - te; gen-te po - gou - se - te, i-rons a la dan-ce de la pi-que  
qui est si doul - ce - te; gen-te po - gou - se - te, i-rons a la dan-ce de la pi-que

pan-ce d'es-cu et de lan-ce, d'er-ror et de dan - ce, au doux son de ma mu - set - te.  
pan-ce d'es-cu et de lan-ce, d'er-ror et de dan - ce, au doux son de ma mu-set - te.  
pan-ce d'es-cu et de lan-ce, d'er-ror et de dan - ce, au doux son de ma mu-set - te.

## 47. Varlet, varlet, il est appoint

(Cop 1848 no. 240, p. 413)

**Superius**  
(f' - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - f')

**Bassus**  
(G - a)

Var - let, var - let, il est ap - point que vous vous

ar - ra - pés aux bran - ches, vous n'a - vés chan - se ni per -

point qui ne vous tum - be sus les an - ches. bis

15

# 48. Que t'ay je faict, desplaisante Fortune

(Cop 1848 no. 57, p. 107)

**Superius**  
(c' - b')

**Tenor**  
(d - d')

**Bassus**  
(F - a)

Que t'ay je faict, des - plai - san - te For - tu -  
De m'as - sail - ler n'a - voict rai - son aul - cu -

5 ne, que si long - temps m'as te - nu en tes  
ne, que t'a - vait fait mon po - vre cuer tant

10 las? Tu m'as ous - té tout plai - sir et soul - las, ta com - pa -  
las? En luy as faict sou - vent cri - er: Hel - las! Ains - si tu

15 las? Tu m'as ous - té tout plai - sir et soul - las, ta com - pa -  
las? En luy as faict sou - vent cri - er: Hel - las! Ains - si tu

20 gny - e ne my soit op - por - tu - ne.  
pay - es ung chas - cun et chas - cu - ne.

## 49. Marion la douce

(Cop 1848 no. 98, pp. 154-55)

**Superius**  
(c' - d'')

**Tenor**  
(f - g')

**Bassus**  
(A - a)

Ma - ri - on la

Ma -

Ma - ri - on la doul - ce

doul - ce

ri - on la doul - ce

Ma - ri - on la

Ma - ri - on la



First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves: a treble staff, a middle staff with a 3/8 time signature, and a bass staff. The treble staff begins with a measure marked '30' and contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a sharp sign. The middle staff features a series of chords and a long, sustained note. The bass staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.



Second system of the musical score. It continues the three-staff format. The treble staff has a measure marked '35' and another marked '40'. The melodic line in the treble staff is more active, with many sixteenth notes. The middle and bass staves continue their respective parts, with the middle staff showing some chromatic movement.



Third system of the musical score. The treble staff has a measure marked '45' and includes a sharp sign. The melodic line continues with eighth and sixteenth notes. The middle staff has a more complex texture with many beamed sixteenth notes. The bass staff remains relatively simple, with eighth and sixteenth notes.



Fourth system of the musical score. The treble staff has a measure marked '50' and ends with a double bar line. The middle staff also ends with a double bar line and contains sustained notes. The bass staff continues with eighth and sixteenth notes and ends with a double bar line.



# 50. A la venue de ce prinstemps d'esté

(Cop 1848 no. 134, p. 204)

Superius  
(f' - d')

Altus  
(g - g')

Tenor  
(f' - e')

Bassus  
(G - a)

5  
A la ve -  
Ad - vis me

8  
A la ve - nue de ce prins-temps d'es - té,  
Ad - vis me fut qu'en son doulx chant di - soit,

10  
nue de ce prins-temps d'es - té, au jour fail-lant,  
fut qu'en son doulx chant di - soit: »Mon bel a - my,

15  
j'o - y l'au - trier chan - ter la doul - ce  
ve - nez a moy par - ler, et vous au -

fail - lant, j'o - y l'au - trier chan - ter la doul - ce fleur  
a - my, ve - nez a moy par - ler, et vous au - rez

fail - lant, j'o - y l'au - trier chan - ter la doul - ce  
a - my, ve - nez a moy par - ler, et vous au -

lant, j'o - y l'au - trier chan - ter la doul - ce  
my, ve - nez a moy par - ler, et vous au -

20

fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant, la doul - ce au -  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant, et vous - ce fleur  
que ce que de - si - rez tant, et vous au - rez  
fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant, la et doul - ce  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant, et vous au -  
fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant, la et doul - ce  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant, et vous au -

25

fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant.  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant.«  
que ce que de - si - rez tant.  
ce que de - si - rez tant.«  
fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant.  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant.«  
fleur que mon cueur ay - me tant.  
rez ce que de - si - rez tant.«

30

Je m'en party du lieu secretement  
et m'en allé tout droit sans arrester  
au propre lieu ou je l'ouÿ chanter.

Elle m'a fait tant aller et venir  
que a peu pres qu'elle m'a fait mourir,  
avant qu'elle m'ayt voulu donner s'amour.

Amoureux suis et seray cest esté;  
a mes amours je tiendray loyaulté  
jusques a tant qu'il me faudra mourir.

Les envieux la m'ont voulu ouster;  
en despit d'eulx je l'auré cest esté,  
et demaïron joyeux esbatement.

# 51. Mary de par sa mere

(Cop 1848 no. 231, p. 403)

**Superius**  
(d' - d')

**Altus**  
(g - b')

**Tenor**  
(g - d')

**Bassus**  
(d - d')

Ma - ry de par sa

Ma - ry de par sa me - re,

Ma - ry de par sa me - re,

Ma - ry de par sa me - re, ma-ry, ma -

me - re, pour - quoy me prin - tes vous? pour -

ma - ry de par sa me - re, pour - quoy me prin - tes

pour - quoy me prin - tes vous? pour -

ry de par sa me - re, pour - quoy me prin - tes

quoy me prin - tes vous? car

vous? car vous ne sça - vez fay - re le jo - ly jeulx d'a - mours,

quoy me prin - tes vous? car vous ne

vous? car vous ne sça - vez fay - re le jo - ly jeulx d'a - mours,

vous ne sça-vez fay - re le jo - ly jeulx d'a - mours. Me - tés y ung vi - quay -

le jo - ly jeulx d'a mours. Me - tés y ung vi - quay - re

sça - vez fay - re le jo - ly jeulx d'a - mours. Me -

le jo - ly jeulx d'a - mours.

- re ma - ry de par sa me - re. Ma - ry de par sa me -

ma - ry de par sa me - re.

tés y ung vi - quay - re ma - ry de par sa me - re.

Me - tés y ung vi - quay - re ma - ry

- re, me - tés y ung vi - cai - re qui fe - ra

Ma - ry de par sa me - re, me - tés y ung vi - cai - re

Me - tés y ung vi - cai - re qui fe - ra mieulx que

de par sa me - re. me - tés y ung vi - cai - re qui fe - ra mieulx que

35

mieulx que vous; car se ne luy me - tés, car se ne luy me -

qui fe - ra mieulx que vous; car se ne luy me -

vous; car se ne luy me - tés,

vous; car se ne luy me - tés,

40

tés, car se ne luy me - tés

tés, me - tés je luy me - tray pour vous, car

car se ne luy me - tés, car se ne luy me -

car se ne luy me - tés, je luy me - tray pour

45

je luy me - tray pour vous, je luy me - tray pour vous.

se ne luy me - tés, je luy me - tray pour vous, pour vous.

tés je luy me - tray pour vous, je luy me - tray pour vous.

vous, car se ne luy me - tés, je luy me - tray pour vous.

## 52. A la fontaine du pré

(Cop 1848 no. 60, pp. 112-15)

**Superius**  
(c' - d')

**Altus**  
(a - c')

**Tenor**  
(a - a')

**Bassus**  
(d - d')

A la fon - tai - ne du pré Mar - got s'est bai -

A la fon - tai - ne du pré

A la fon - tai - ne du pré Mar - got

A la fon - tai - ne du pré

5 - gné - e, Mar - got s'est bai - gné -

Mar - got s'est bai - gné - e, Margot s'est bai - gné -

s'est bai - gné - e, Mar - got s'est bai - gné -

Mar - got s'est bai - gné - e, Mar - got s'est bai - gné -

10 e, son a - my es - toit au - prez qui

e, son a - my es - toit au - prez qui l'a re - gar - dé -

e, son a - my pas - soit par la qui l'a

e, son a - my es - toit, son a - my es - toit au - prez





Dieu faic - tez vous la, Et que Dieu faic - tez vous la, Mar -

la, Et que Dieu faic - tez vous la, Mar - got Mar - gue - ri -

»Et que Dieu faic - tez vous la, Mar - got

tez vous la, Et que Dieu faic - tez vous la,

got Mar - gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar-gue - ri - te, Mar -

te, Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got

Mar - gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te, Margot Mar -

Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te,

- got Mar - gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te?«

Mar-gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te?«

gue - ri - te\_et houp! Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te?«

Mar - got Mar - gue - ri - te?«

# 53. Johs. de Sancto Martino: Bon Temps, las!

(Cop 1848 no. 109, pp. 170-75)

**Superius**  
(c' - c')

**Altus**  
(g - f)

**Tenor**  
(e - e')

**Bassus**  
(G - b)

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz,  
Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais  
Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais  
Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais

mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se?  
ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den -  
tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den -  
tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den -

15  
Chas-cun te quier, grans et me - nuz, chas-cun te quier, grans et me -  
se? Chas-cun te quier, grans et me - nuz, chas-cun te quier, grans et  
se? Chas-cun te quier, grans et me - nuz, chas-cun te quier, grans et  
se? Chas-cun te quier, grans et me - nuz, chas-cun te quier, grans et me -

20 *nuz,* je te pri - ons: Viens et t'a - van - se,

*me - nuz,* je te pri - ons: Viens et t'a - van -

*me - nuz,* je te pri - ons: Viens et t'a -

- *nuz,* je te pri - ons: Viens et t'a - van -

25

viens et t'a - van - se. Bon Temps, las!

- - - se. Bon Temps, las!

van - se, *viens et t'a - van - se.* Bon Temps, las!

se, *viens et t'a - van - se.* Bon Temps, las!

30

35

qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais

qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den -

qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den -

qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den -

tu ta re - si - den - se?

se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

Il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz,

Il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz,

Il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz, il

Il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz, il fault que

il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz par-quoy nous per - dons

il fault que soy - e de - te - nuz par-quoy nous per - dons

fault que soy - e de - te - nuz, que soy - e de - te - nuz par-quoy nous per - dons

soy - e de - te - nuz, que soy - e de - te - nuz par-quoy nous per - dons

60

pa - ci - en - se, par-quoy nous per - dons pa - ci - en - se.

pa - ci - en - se, par-quoy nous per - dons pa - ci - en - se.

pa - ci - en - se, par-quoy nous per - dons pa - ci - en - se.

pa - ci - en - se, par-quoy nous per - dons pa - ci - en - se.

65

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si -

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si -

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si -

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais tu ta re - si -

70 75

mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se?

re-si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta re - si - den - se?

80

Tout mal - heur nous est ad - ve - nuz, nous est ad - ve - nuz

Tout mal - heur nous est ad - ve - nuz des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen -

Tout mal - heur nous est ad - ve - nuz des -

Tout mal - heur nous est ad - ve - nuz des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre -

85

des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se, des - puis que n'eu - mes

- se, des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se,

puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se, ta pre - sen - se, des -

sen - se, des - puis que n'eu - mesta pre - sen - se,

90

ta pre - sen - se.

des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se, ta pre - sen -

puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se. Re - viens Bon Temps

des - puis que n'eu - mes ta pre - sen - se. Re - viens Bon

95

Re - viens Bon Temps et bien - ve - nuz, re -

se. Re - viens Bon Temps et bien - ve-nuz,

et bien-ve - nuz, re - viens Bon Temps et bien -

Temps et bien - ve-nuz, re - viens Bon Temps

100

viens Bon Temps et bien-ve - nuz

re - viens Bon Temps et bien - venuz

ve - nuz se - ras au roy - aume de

et bien - ve-nuz se - ras au roy -

105

se - ras au roy - aume de Fran - ce.

se - ras au roy-aume, se - ras au roy - aume de Fran - ce.

Fran - ce, se - ras au roy - aume de Fran - ce.

aume de Fran - ce, se - ras au roy - aume de Fran - ce.



110

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz,

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais

Bon Temps, las! qu'es tu de - ve - nuz, mais ou fais

115

mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se?

120

ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta

tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta

tu ta re - si - den - se, mais ou fais tu ta re - si - den - se, ta

re - si - den - se?

re - si - den - se?

re - si - den - se?

## 54. Reveillés vous, amoureux

(Cop 1848 no. 179, p. 316)

[Superius]  
(e' - c')

Re - veil-lés vous, a - mou - reux, vous

[Altus]  
(a - f')

Re - veil-lés vous, a - mou - reux, vous dor - més tropt!

[Tenor 1]  
(e - c')

Re - veil-lés vous, a - mou - reux, vous dor - més tropt!

Tenor 2  
(d - f')

Re - veil - lés vous, a - mou - reux, vous dor - més

Bassus  
(A - f)

Re - veil-lés vous, a - mou - reux, vous dor-més tropt! Le bon temps est

5

dor - més tropt! Le bon temps est re - ve - nu et le plus fort, me -

Le bon temps est re - ve - nu et le plus fort, me - nés vous da - mes par a -

Le bon temps est re - ve - nu et le plus fort, me - nés vous da - mes

tropt! Le bon temps est re - ve - nu et le plus fort, me -

re - ve - nu et le plus fort, me - nés vous da - mes par a - mours

10

nés vous da-mes par a-mours de-dens ung jar-di-net de fleurs

mours de - dens ung jar - di - net de fleurs et leur pre -

par a-mours de-dens ung jar - di - net de fleurs et

nés vous da-mes par a-mours de - dens ung jar - di - net de fleurs et leur pre-sen -

de - dens ung jar - di - net de fleurs et leur pre - sen - tés ung bouc -

15

et leur pre-sen-tés ung bouc-quet et re-gar-dez qu'il soit bien

sen-tés ung bouc-quet et re-gar-dez qu'il soit bien fait,

leur pre-sen-tés ung bouquet et re-gar-dez qu'il soit bien fait,

tés ung bouc - quet et re-gar-dez qu'il soit bien fait, so - yés cor - toys

quet et re-gar-dez qu'il soit bien fait, so - yés

20

25

fait, so - yés cor - toys aux da - mes et gra - ci - eux, et el-les vous

so - yés cor - toys aux da - mes et gra - ci - eux, et el-

aux da - mes et gra - ci - eux, et el - les vous

cor - toys aux da - mes et gra - ci - eux, et el-les vous fe - ront ser - vi -

30

et el - les vous fe - ront ser - vi - ce\_en tous lieux, tous lieux.

fe - ront ser - vi - ce\_en tous lieux, tous lieux.

les vous fe - ront ser - vi - ce\_en tous lieux, lieux.

fe - ront ser - vi - ce\_en tous lieux, ce\_en tous lieux, en tous lieux.

## 55. Sans le congié de mon mary

(Cop 1848 no. 43, p. 86)

**Superius**  
(c' - d'')

Sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry au

**Quinta pars**  
si placet  
(f' - d'')

Sans le con - gié de mon ma -

**Altus**  
(f' - a')

Sans le con - gié de mon ma -

**Tenor**  
(g - f')

Sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry au

**Bassus**  
(G - a)

Sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry au

5

jo - ly boys jou - er m'en voys sur l'her - be jo -

ry au jo - ly boys jou - er m'en voys sur

ry au jo - ly boys jou - er m'en voys sur l'her - be jo -

jo - ly boys jou - er m'en voys sur

jo - ly boys jou - er m'en voys sur l'her - be jo -

10

- li - et - te u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a

*l'her - be jo - li - et - te*

- li - et - te u - ne cot - te ver -

*l'her - be jo - li - et - te u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a*

- li - et - te u - ne cot - te ver - te

15

tail - lé mon a - my, u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a tail - lé

u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a tail - lé mon a - my

- te, u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a tail - lé mon a - my,

tail - lé mon a - my, u - ne cot - te ver -

m'a tail - lé mon a - my, u - ne cot - te ver - te m'a tail -

20

mon a - my sans le con-gié de

sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry,

m'a tail - lé mon a - my sans le con - gié de mon ma - ry, sans le con -

te m'a tail - lé mon a - my sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry, sans le con-gié de

lé mon a - my sans le con-gié de mon ma - ry, sans le con-gié de

25

mon ma - ry, sans le con - gié de mon ma - ry.

sans le con - gié de mon ma - ry.

gié de mon ma - ry, de mon ma - ry.

mon ma - ry, de mon ma - ry.

mon ma - ry, sans le con - gié de mon ma - ry.



# 56. Tous nobles cueurs, venés veoyr Magdeleyne

(Cop 1848 no. 120, p. 185)

Superius  
(d' - b')

Altus  
(a - g')

Tenor  
(f - d')

Bassus  
(G - g)

Tous no - bles cueurs, ve - nés veoyr Mag - de - ley - ne en

Tous no - bles cueurs, ve - nés veoyr Mag - de - ley - ne en

Tous no - bles cueurs, ve - nés veoyr Mag - de - ley - ne en

Tous no - bles cueurs, ve - nés veoyr Mag - de - ley - ne en

son cha - teaux plain de fe - li - ci - té: Son no - ble\_ar - roy est

son cha - teaux plain de fe - li - ci - té: Son no - ble\_ar - roy est

son cha - teaux plain de fe - li - ci - té: Son no - ble\_ar - roy est

son cha - teaux plain de fe - li - ci - té: Son no - ble\_ar - roy est

par A-mour ci - té, de - me - ner veux par - tout gloy - re mon - dai - ne.

par A-mour ci - té, de - me - ner veux par - tout gloy - re mon - dai - ne.

par A-mour ci - té, de - me - ner veux par - tout gloy - re mon - dai - ne.

par A-mour ci - té, de - me - ner veux par - tout gloy - re mon - dai - ne.

## 57. Ma dame ne m'a pas vendu

(Cop 1848 no. 166, pp. 272-73)

**Superius**  
(e' - d')

**Altus**  
(g - a')

**Tenor**  
(f' - f')

**Bassus**  
(B - c')

Ma da - me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seu - le - ment

Ma da - me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seu - le - ment

Ma da - me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seu - le - ment

Ma da - me ne m'a pas ven - du, el - le m'a seu - le - ment

chan - gé; mais el - le\_a au chan - ge per - du, don je me tiens

chan - gé; mais el - le\_a au chan - ge per - du, don je me tiens

chan - gé; mais el - le\_a au chan - ge per - du, don je me tiens

chan - gé; mais el - le\_a au chan - ge per - du, don je me tiens pour

pour bien ven - gé, car ung loy - al a es - tran -

pour bien ven - gé, car ung loy - al a es - tran -

pour bien ven - gé, car ung loy - al a es - tran -

bien ven - gé, car ung loy - al a es - tran - gé

20

gé pour ung aul - tre qui la dif - fa - me. N'est

25

el - le pas le - gie - re fem - me?

Le Noir a quicté et rendu,  
 le Blanc est d'elle desrengé,  
 Violet luy est deffendu,  
 point n'ayme Bleu ny Orangé;  
 mon cueur muable s'est rengé  
 vers le Changeant, couleur infame.  
 N'est elle pas legiere femme?

Clément Marot

# 58. Claudin de Sermisy: Languir me fais

(Cop 1848 no. 111, p. 177)

**Superius**  
(d' - c')

**Tenor**  
(f - f')

**Bassus**  
(B - a)

Lan - guir me fais sans t'a - voyr of - fen - sé -  
Je ne dy pas t'a - mour es - tre\_ef - fa - cé -

e, plus ne m'es - cript, plus de moy ne t'en -  
e, mais je me plains de l'en - nuy que j'ac -

quiers; mais non obs - tant aul - tre da - me ne  
quiers, et loing de toy hum - ble - ment te re -

quiers: Plus toust mou - rir que chan - ger ma pen - sé - e.  
quiers que loing de moy, de moy ne soys fas - ché - e.  
Clément Marot

quiers: Plus toust mou - rir que chan - ger ma pen - sé - e.  
quiers que loing de moy, de moy ne soys fas - ché - e.

# 59. Ces facheux sout qui medisent d'aymer

(Cop 1848 no. 112, p. 178)

**Superius**  
(c'-d')

**Tenor**  
(f-f')

**Bassus**  
(A-c')

Ces fa - cheux sout qui me - di - sent d'ay -

Ces fa - cheux sout qui me - di - sent d'ay -

Ces fa - cheux sout qui me - di - sent

5 10

- mer sans en a - voir la

- mer, d'ay - mer sans en a -

d'ay - mer, qui me - di - sent d'ay - mer sans en a - voir la co-gnoys -

15

co-gnoys san - ce, je vous jeu - re, ma

voir la co-gnoys - san - ce, je vous jeu - re, ma

san - ce, je vous jeu - re, ma

20

con - ci - en - se, qu'ilz ont grant tort du

con - ci - en - se, qu'ilz ont grant tort du

con - ci - en - se, qu'ilz ont grant tort du

25

tel plai - syr blas - mer.

tel plai - syr blas - mer, blas - mer.

tel plai - syr blas - mer, du tel plai - syr blas - mer.

Si ne veulent ou ne sçavent aymer  
 et d'amours n'ont la cognoissance,  
 de leur mal prenent patience  
 s'ilz ont laissé le doux et pris l'amer.

Ou aultrement, s'ilz veulent diffamer  
 et a blasmer prendre plaisance,  
 certes, tel est mon ordonnance:  
 Qu'on les fasse tous getter dans la mer!

## 60. C'est boucanner de se tenir a une

(Cop 1848 no. 113, p. 179)

**Superius**  
(e' - c')

**Tenor**  
(f' - g')

**Bassus**  
(G - b)

C'est bou - can - ner, c'est bou - can - ner de se te - nir a

C'est bou - can - ner, c'est bou - can - ner, c'est bou - can - ner de se te - nir

C'est bou - can - ner, c'est bou - can - ner de

u - - - ne, le chan - ge\_est bon, ain - si com -

a u - - ne, a u - ne, le chan - ge\_est bon, le

se te - nir a u - ne, a u - ne, le chan - ge\_est bon, le chan - ge\_est bon,

me l'on dit, pour - quoy j'or - don - ne que l'hom -

chan - ge\_est bon, ain - si com - me l'on dit, pour - quoy j'or - don - ne que

ain - si com - me l'on dit, pour - quoy j'or - don - ne que l'hom -

me\_au-ra cre - dit qui chan - ge - ra, qui chan - ge - ra tout

l'hom - me\_au - ra cre - dit qui chan - ge - ra, qui chan - ge - ra, qui chan - ge -

me\_au - ra cre - dit qui chan - ge - ra, qui chan -



ain - si que la lu - - - - - ne.

ra tout ain - si que la lu - - - - - ne.

ge - ra tout ain - si que la lu - - - - - ne.

Il ne tiendra foy ne promesse aulcune,  
et si aura son dit et son desdit;  
mais s'il se trouve quelque fois escondit,  
il n'en devra en riens blasmer Fortune.

S'il est aymé de dame noire ou brune,  
mais qu'il y soit une heure, il luy souffist;  
car l'une pleure, l'autre trop dit ou rit,  
l'une est facheuse et l'autre importune.

# 61. Si vostre cueur prent le tanné

(Cop 1848 no. 114, p. 180)

**Superius**  
(e<sup>-</sup> d<sup>+</sup>)

**Tenor**  
(f - f')

**Bassus**  
(B - g)

Si vos - tre cueur prent le tan - -

né le mien se ves - ti - ra de deul, et di - ra l'on

né le mien se ves - ti - ra de deul, et di - ra l'on a

né le mien se ves - ti - ra de deul, et di - ra l'on

a veu - e d'oeil qu'il est de plai - sir con - dam -

veu - e d'oeil qu'il est de plai - sir con - dam -

a veu - e d'oeil qu'il est de plai - sir con - dam -

- - né.

- - né.

- - né.

## 62. Fortune, laisse moy la vie

(Cop 1848 no. 116, p. 181)

**Superius**  
(d' - c')

**Tenor**  
(f - l')

**Bassus**  
(F - c')

For - tu - ne, lais - se moy la vi - e,

puis que tu veulx a - voir les biens je te de -

cle - re qu'ilz sont tiens, metz donc - ques fin a ton en -

vi - e.

ton en - vi - e.

ton en - vi - e.

Helas, n'es tu point assouvye  
de tourmenter moy et les miens,  
qui n'ont vers toy mesfait en riens?  
Metz doncques fin a ton envie.

Helas, je fusse bien t'amee,  
mais tu my traictes rudement,  
et je t'ayme parfaitement;  
par toy je fineray ma vie.

# 63. Claudin de Sermisy: Jouissance vous donneray

(Cop 1848 no. 117, p. 182)

**Superius**  
(d'-e')

**Tenor**  
(f'-g')

**Bassus**  
(B-b)

Jou - ys - san - ce vous don - ne - ray, mon a - my, et sy me - ne -  
Si pour moy a - vez du sou - cy, pour vous n'en ay pas moins aus -

- ray a bon - ne fin vos - tre ex - pe - ran - ce.  
si, a - mour le vous doit fai - re en ten - dre.

- ne - ray a bon - ne fin vos - tre ex - pe - ran - ce.  
aus - si, a - mour le vous doit fai - re en ten - dre.

ne - ray a bon - ne fin vos - tre ex - pe - ran - ce.  
aus - si, a - mour le vous doit fai - re en ten - dre.

Vi - van - te ne vous chan - ge - ray, en - co - res quant mor - te  
Mais s'il vous grief - ve d'es - tre ain - si, ap - pai - sez vos - tre cueur

Vi - van - te ne vous chan - ge - ray, en - co - res quant mor - te  
Mais s'il vous grief - ve d'es - tre ain - si, ap - pai - sez vos - tre cueur

Vi - van - te ne vous chan - ge - ray, en - co - res quant mor - te  
Mais s'il vous grief - ve d'es - tre ain - si, ap - pai - sez vos - tre cueur

se - ray l'es - prit en au - ra sou - ve - nan - ce.  
tran - si. Tout vient a point qui peult at - ten - dre. Clément Marot

se - ray l'es - prit en au - ra sou - ve - nan - ce.  
tran - si. Tout vient a point qui peult at - ten - dre.

se - ray l'es - prit en au - ra sou - ve - nan - ce.  
tran - si. Tout vient a point qui peult at - ten - dre.

## 64. Content de peu en voiant tant de bien

(Cop 1848 no. 73, p. 131)

**Superius**  
(b-c<sup>a</sup>)

**Tenor**  
(d-g<sup>a</sup>)

**Bassus**  
(G-b)

Con - tent de peu

Con - tent de peu en voi -

Con - tent de peu

en voi - ant tant de

- ant, en voi - ant tant de

en voi - ant tant de

bien, ri - che de voir le tre -

bien, ri - che de voir le tre -

bien, ri - che de voir le tre - sor qui

sor qui n'est myen, ne me se -

sor qui n'est myen, ne

n'est myen, ne me se - ra si je ne

ra si je ne le con - ques - - - te

me se - ra si je ne le con - ques - - - te par

le con - ques - - - te

par le moi - en de tres hum - ble re - ques -

le moi - en de tres hum - ble re - ques -

par le moi - en de tres hum - ble, de tres hum - ble re - ques -

te qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui

te qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui n'y

te qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui n'y

n'y ont rien, qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui n'y ont rien.

ont rien, qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui n'y ont rien.

ont rien, qui mi fault fai - re\_a ceulx qui n'y ont rien.

## 65. Resjois toy pays de Normandie

(Cop 1848 no. 95, pp. 152-53)

Superius  
(d-c<sup>o</sup>)

Tenor  
(d-f)

Contratenor  
(B-e)

Res - jo - is

Res - jo - is toy,

Res - jo - is toy,

toy, pa - ys de Nor - man - di - e!

res - jo - is toy, pa - ys de

pa - ys de Nor - man -

ton gou - ver - neur,

Nor - man - di - e! ton gou - ver - neur, ton a - dresse,

- di - e! ton gou - ver - neur, ton

ton a - dresse, ton sup -

ton sup - port

a - dresse, ton sup - port



port est a - ri - vé sau -

est a - ri - vé

est a - ri - vé sau - ve - ment

ve-ment a ton port, plaint de sça-voir

sau - ve-ment a ton port, plaint de sça - voir et

a ton port, plaint de sça - voir et saim

et saim de ma - la - di - e!

saim de ma - la - di - e!

de ma - la - di - e!

## 66. Or doy je bien pleurer et souspirer

(Cop 1848 no. 144, pp. 214-15)

**Superius**  
(b - d<sup>a</sup>)

**Tenor**  
(c - f)

**Bassus**  
(f - d<sup>a</sup>)

Or doy je bien pleu-rer et sous - pi - rer

Or doy je bien pleu-rer et sous - pi - rer quant

Or doy je bien pleu-rer et sous - pi - rer quant j'ay

quant j'ay per - du du tout mon re - con - fort; puis-que m'a-vez vou - leu a -

j'ay per - du du tout mon re - con - fort; puis-que m'a - vez vou - leu

per - du du tout mon re - con - fort; puis - que m'a-vez vou - leu a -

ban - don - ner je my con - sens a de - ser - vir la mort.

a - ban - don - ner je my con - sens a de - ser - vir la mort.

ban - don - ner je my con - sens a de - ser - vir la

Tran - si je suis, tout prest a moy pas - mer,

Tran - si je suis, tout prest a moy pas - mer,

mort. Tran - si je suis, tout prest a moy pas - mer,

25

je pers mon sens, ma for-ce\_et mon cou - ra -

je pers mon sens, ma for - ce\_et mon cou - ra -

je pers mon sens -ra -

30

ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est ung grief oul - tra -

ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est ung grief oul - tra -

ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est ung grief oul - tra -

35

- ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est ung grief oul -

- ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est ung grief oul - tra -

- ge, par vous je meurs, ce m'est

40

tra - - - ge.

- - - ge.

45

ung grief oul - tra - ge.

## 67. Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie

(Cop 1848 no. 219, p. 394)

Altus  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(f - f')

Contra  
(G - b)

Faul - te d'ar - gent, Dieu te maul - di - e

Faul - te d'ar - gent, Dieu te maul - di - e

Faul - te d'ar - gent, Dieu te maul - di - e que

que tant, que tant tu me vient voir sou - vent, je n'o-se, je n'o-se\_a-ler

que tant, que tant tu me vient voir sou - vent, je n'o-se, je n'o-se\_a-

tant, que tant tu me vient voir sou - vent, je n'o-se, je n'o-se\_a-ler

par - mi les gens quant tu es, quant

ler par - mi les gens quant tu es, quant tu

par - mi les gens quant tu es, quant

tu es, quant tu es en ma com - pa - gni - - - e.

es, quant tu es en ma com - pa - gni - - - e.

tu es, quant tu es en ma com - - pa - gni - - - e.

# 68. Missa de Mittit ad Virginem – Credo

(Cop 1848 no. 34, pp. 58-65)

**Superius**  
(f - f')

**Altus**  
(f - a')

**Tenor**  
(e - g')

**Bassus**  
(c - d')

Pa - trem om-ni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem

Pa - trem om-ni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem ce -

Pa - trem om-ni-po - ten -

Pa - trem, Pa - trem om-ni-po - ten -

ce - li et ter - re,

li et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um

tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um

tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re, vi - si - bi -

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li -

et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li -

li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

20

um.

Et in u - num Do - mi-num Je - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De -

um. Et in u - num Do - mi-num Je - sum Chri -

Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri -

25

Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an -

i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. an -

stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre na -

stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre

30

te om - ni - a se - cu - la. lu -

te om - ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu -

tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu -

35

na - tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de De - o,

40

men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum,

men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge -

men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum,

De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge -

45

con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, per

Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, per quem om -

non fac - tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri,

ni - tum, non fac - tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri,

50 55

quem om - ni - a fac - ta sunt.

ni - a fac - ta sunt, fac - ta sunt. Qui prop - ter

per quem om - ni - a fac - ta sunt. Qui prop -

per quem om - ni - a fac - ta sunt.



60

Qui prop-ter nos ho-mi-nes et prop-ter no-stram sa-lu-

nos ho-mi-nes

ter nos ho-mi-nes et prop-ter no-stram sa-

Qui prop-ter nos ho-mi-nes et prop-ter no-

65

tem de-scen-dit, de-scen-dit de ce-

de-scen-dit, de-scen-dit, de-scen-dit de ce-

lu-tem de-scen-dit, de-scen-dit de ce-

stram sa-lu-tem de-scen-dit, de-scen-dit de ce-

70

lis. de Spi-ri-tu Sanc-to

- lis. Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu Sanc-to

lis. Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu Sanc-to

lis. Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu Sanc-to

75

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:

80

Et ho - mo fac - tus est.

Et ho - mo fac - tus est.

Et ho - mo fac - tus est.

Et ho - mo fac - tus est.

85

T Duo cum base

90

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti -

B Duo cum tenore

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no -

95

o Py - la - to pas - sus,

bis: sub Pon - ti - o Py - la - to pas - sus, et

100

et se - pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a

se - pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit

105

di - e, se - cun - dum Scrip - tu -

ter - ci - a di - e, se - cun - dum Scrip -

110

ras. Et a - scen - dit in ce - lum, se - det ad dex - te -

- tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in ce - lum, se -

115

ram, se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris.

120

det ad dex - te - ram, se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris.

S  
Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est

T  
Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo -

B  
Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum

130  
cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi -

ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor -

glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re

140  
vos et mor - tu - os, cu - jus re - gni,

- tu - os, cu - jus re - gni, cu -

vi - vos et mor - tu - os, cu -

145  
non e - rit fi - nis, cu - jus re - gni

jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis, cu - jus re - gni, cu -

jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis, cu -

150

non e - rit fi - nis.

jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis, cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis.

jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis, non e - rit fi - nis.

155

160

Et in Spi - ri - tum Sanc - tum, Do - mi -

Et in Spi - ri - tum Sanc - tum, Do - mi - num, et

Et in Spi - ri - tum Sanc - tum, Do - mi -

Et in Spi - ri - tum Sanc - tum, Do - mi -

165

num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem, qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o -

vi - vi - fi - can - tem, qui ex Pa - tre Fi -

num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem, qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o -

num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem, qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o -

170

que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et

li - o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et

que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li -

que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o,

175

180

Fi - li - o, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si -

Fi - li - o, et Fi - li - o si - mul ad -

- o, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si -

qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si -

185

- mul ad - o - ra - tur, et con-glo - ri - fi - ca -

o - ra - tur, et con-glo - ri - fi - ca - tur, et con-glo - ri - fi - ca -

- mul ad - o - ra - tur, et con-glo - ri - fi - ca -

mul ad - o - ra - tur, et con-glo - ri - fi - ca -

190

tur, qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas. Et u -

tur, qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas. Et u -

tur, qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas.

tur, qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas.

195

nam san-ctam et a - po - sto - li - cam

nam san - ctam et a - po -

Et u - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a -

Et u - nam san-ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li -

200

Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis -

sto - li - cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis -

- po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis -

cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis -

205



210

ma in re-mis-si-o-nem pec-ca-to-

ma pec-ca-to-

ma in re-mis-si-o-nem pec-ca-to-

ma in re-mis-si-o-nem pec-ca-to-

215

rum. Et ex-spe-cto re-sur-rec-ti-o-

rum. Et ex-spe-cto re-surrec-ti-o-nem

rum. Et ex-spe-cto re-sur-rec-ti-o-nem mor-

rum. Et ex-spe-cto re-sur-rec-ti-o-nem mor-

220

225

nem mor-tu-o-rum. Et vi-tam ven-tu-ri se-

mor-tu-o-rum. Et vi-tam ven-tu-ri se-

tu-o-rum. Et vi-tam ven-tu-

tu-o-rum. Et vi-tam ven-tu-ri

cu - li A - - - men, se - cu - li

- cu - li, se - cu - li A - - - men, se - cu - li, se -

ri se - cu - li A - - - men, se -

se - cu - li A - - - men, se - cu - li

A - - - men.

cu - li A - - - men.

cu - li A - - - men.

A - - - men.

## 69. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Gloria

(Cop 1848 no. 190, pp. 352-55)

*Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o.*

**I**

**Superius**  
(c' - e')

**Contra Altus**  
(a - f')

**Tenor**  
(e - a')

**Bassus**  
(c - e')

*Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus*

*Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus*

*Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus*

*bo - - ne vo - - lun - ta - - tis.*

*bo - - ne vo - lun - ta - - tis.*

*bo - - ne vo - lun - ta - - tis.*

*Lau - da - mus te.*

**II**

*Be - ne - di - ci - mus te.*

*Be - ne - di - ci - mus te.*

*Be - ne - di - ci - mus te.*

No. 69 Gloria (Cop 1848 no. 190)



III

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.



IV

Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex ce - le -

Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex ce - le -

Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex ce - le -

stis, De - us Pa - ter om -

stis, De - us Pa - ter om -

stis, De - us Pa - ter om -

ni - po - tens.

ni - po - tens.

ni - po - tens.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Spi - ri - tus et al - me or - pha - no -

Spi - ri - tus et al - me or - pha - no -

Spi - ri - tus et al - me or - pha - no -

rum pa - ra - cli - te.

rum pa - ra - cli - te.

rum pa - ra - cli - te.

Do - mi - ne De - us, A - gnus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

No. 69 Gloria (Cop 1848 no. 190)

VI

65

Pri - mo - ge - ni - tus Ma - ri -

Pri - mo - ge - ni - tus Ma - ri -

Pri - mo - ge - ni - tus Ma - ri -

70

e vir - gi - nis ma - tris.

e vir - gi - nis ma - tris.

e vir - gi - nis ma - tris.

75

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

VII

80

Qui tol - lis

Qui tol - lis

Qui tol - lis pec -

85

pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci -

pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci -

ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci -

90

pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

Ad Ma - ri - e glo - ri - am.

VIII

95

100

Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris, mi -

Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris, mi -

Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris,



No. 69 Gloria (Cop 1848 no. 190)

se - re - re no - bis.

se - re - re no - bis.

mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus sanc - tus.

IX 106

Ma - ri - am sanc - ti - fi - cans.

Ma - ri - am sanc - ti - fi - cans.

Ma - ri - am sanc - ti - fi - cans.

Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus.

X 116  $\flat$

Ma - ri - am gu - ber - nans.

Ma - ri - am gu - ber - nans.

Ma - ri - am gu - ber - nans.



XI

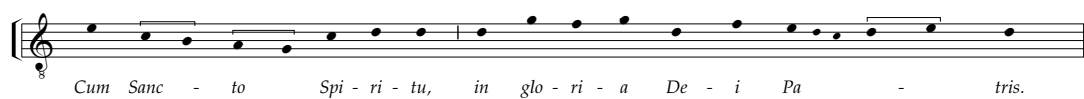
125

129

Ma - ri - am co - ro - nans, Je - su Chri - ste.

Ma - ri - am co - ro - nans, Je - su Chri - ste.

Ma - ri - am co - ro - nans, Je - su Chri - ste.



XII

135

140

A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men.

## 70. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Sanctus-Agnus

(Cop 1848 no. 193, pp. 358-61)

**Superius**  
(c' - e')

**Contra Altus**  
(g - b')

**Tenor**  
(d - f')

**Bassus**  
(G - a)

Sanc - - - - tus,

Sanc - - - - tus,

Sanc - - - - tus,

Sanc - - - - tus,

Sanc - - tus,

Sanc - - - - tus

Sanc - - - - tus

Sanc - - - - tus

Sanc - - - - tus

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - - hoth.

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - - hoth.

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - - hoth.

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - - hoth.

Ple - ni sunt ce - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a tu - a. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis.

Be - ne - dic - tus Ma - ri - e Fi - li -

Be - ne - dic - tus Ma - ri - e Fi - li - us qui

Be - ne - dic - tus Ma - ri - e Fi - li -

Be - ne - dic - tus Ma - ri - e Fi - li -

No. 70 *Sanctus-Agnus* (Cop 1848 no. 193)

us qui ve - nit in no - mi -

ve - nit in no - mi - ne

us qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do -

us qui ve - nit in no - mi -

ne Do - mi - ni.

Do - mi -

mi - ni. O -

ne Do - mi - ni. O -

ni. O - san -

- san -

- san -

O - san - na in ex -  
na, o - san - na in ex -  
- - - - - na in  
- - - - - na in ex -

cel - sis.  
cel - sis.  
ex - cel - sis.  
cel - sis.

A - gnus De - i, qui tol -  
A - gnus De - i, qui tol -  
A - gnus De - i, qui  
A - gnus De - i, qui

No. 70 Sanctus-Agnus (Cop 1848 no. 193)

5

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - do -

tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - do -

tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

10

mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

do - na - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

se - re - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

se - re - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

do - na - re no - bis. no - pa - bis. cem.

11

A - gnus De - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun-di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Tertius Agnus Dei ut supra



## 71. [Missa de Beata Maria Virgine] Credo

(Cop 1848 no. 203, pp. 368-71)

**Superius**  
(f - g')

**Tenor**  
(c - f')

**Bassus**  
(B - c')

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re,

5 10

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num

15

Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum.

20

Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se -

First system of the musical score, measures 1-25. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a melodic phrase on the word "cu" and continues with "la. De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non". The piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) provides harmonic support with sustained notes and moving lines.

Second system of the musical score, measures 26-34. The vocal line continues with "fac - tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, per quem om - ni - a fac - ta sunt. Qui". The piano accompaniment continues with sustained notes and moving lines.

Third system of the musical score, measures 35-42. The vocal line continues with "prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop - ter no - stram sa - lu -". The piano accompaniment continues with sustained notes and moving lines.

Fourth system of the musical score, measures 43-46. The vocal line concludes with "tem de - scen - dit de ce - lis." The piano accompaniment concludes with sustained notes and moving lines.

40

Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu Sanc -

45

to ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:

50

Et ho - mo fac - tus est.

55

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to pas - sus,

60 et se - pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e, se - 65

cun-dum Scrip-tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in ce-lum, se-det ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris. Et i - 70

- te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca-re vi-vos et 75

mor - tu - os, cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis. Et in Spi - ri - tum Sanc - 80

85

tum, Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem, qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o -

90

- que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra - tur, et

95

con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur, qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li -

100

cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis - ma in

No. 71 Credo (Cop 1848 no. 203)

105

re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et ex - spe - cto re -

This system contains measures 105 through 108. The vocal line begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Measure 105 starts with a soprano line and a sub-octave '8' indicating an octave-down sign. The lyrics are 're - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et ex - spe - cto re -'. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, with a key change to two flats at the end of measure 108.

110

sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu -

This system contains measures 110 through 113. The vocal line continues with the same notation. The lyrics are 'sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu -'. The music includes a key change to one flat at the start of measure 111 and continues with a mix of eighth and quarter notes.

115

li. A - - - men.

This system contains measures 115 through 118. The vocal line begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Measure 115 starts with a soprano line and a sub-octave '8'. The lyrics are 'li. A - - - men.'. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, ending with a double bar line.

## 72. Kyrre fons bonitatis

(Cop 1848 no. 6, pp. 8-9)

**Superius**  
(c' - d'')

**Tenor**  
(d - e')

**Bassus**  
(c - e')

Kyrre fons bonitatis

**Christe**

**Christe**

**Christe**



No. 72 Kyrie fons bonitatis (Cop 1848 no. 6)

25

30

35

40

Kyrie

Kyrie

Kyrie

45

50

55

## 73. Magnificat Secundi toni

(Cop 1848 no. 4, pp. 3-5 + p. 16)

*Verse 2*

**Superius**  
(c'-e')

**Tenor**  
(c'-f')

**Bassus**  
(A-d')

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us

in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

*Verse 4*

Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma - gna

Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma - gna

Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma - gna

qui po - tens est:

qui po - tens est: et sanc -

qui po - tens est: et sanc -

et sanc - tum no - men e - - - jus.  
 tum no - - - men e - - - jus.  
 tum no - - - men e - - - jus.

*Verse 6*  
 Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in bra - chi -  
 Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in bra - chi - o  
 Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in bra - chi - o

- o su - - - o: dis - per -  
 su - - - o: dis - per -  
 su - o: dis -

sit su - per - bos men - te cor - dis su - - i.  
 sit su - per - bos men - te cor - dis su - - i.  
 per - sit su - per - bos men - te cor - dis su - i.

No. 73 Magnificat (Cop 1848 no. 4)

*Verse 8 Duo*

E - su - ri - en - tes

E - su - ri - en - tes im -

im - ple - vit bo - nis:

ple - vit bo - nis:

et di - vi - tes, et di - vi - tes

et di - vi - tes, et di - vi - tes di -

di - mi - sit in - a - nes.

mi - sit in - a - nes.

*Verse 10*

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est

90

ad pa - tres no - - - stros,

95

ad pa - tres no - - - stros,

ad pa - tres no - - - stros,

100

A - bra-ham, et se - mi - ni e - jus in se -

A - bra-ham, et se - mi - ni e - jus in se -

A - bra-ham, et se - mi - ni e - jus in se -

105

- cu - - - la.

- cu - - - la.

- cu - - - la.

Verse 12

110

Sic - ut e - -

Sic - ut e - rat in prin - ci - pi -

Sic - ut e - - rat

No. 73 Magnificat (Cop 1848 no. 4)

115

rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

o, et nunc, et sem -

in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

120

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu -

per, et in se - cu - la se -

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu -

125

lo - rum. A - men.

cu - lo - rum. A - men.

lo - rum. A - men.



## 74. Magnificat [octavi toni]

(Cop 1848 no. 173, pp. 296-99)

*Verse 2*

**Tenor 1**  
(*f - f'*)

**Tenor 2**  
(*e - f'*)

**Bassus**  
(*G - a*)

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me -

Et ex - ul - ta - vit, ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me -

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me -

us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu -

us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu -

us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu -

- ta - ri me - o.

ta - ri me - o.

ta - ri me - o.

*Verse 4*

Qui - a fe - cit, fe -

Qui - a fe - cit, fe -

Qui - a fe - cit, fe - cit

30  
cit mi - hi ma - gna qui po-tens est: 35

cit mi - hi ma - gna qui po-tens est: et sanc -

mi - hi ma - gna qui po - tens est: et sanc - tum no -

40 et sanc - tum no - men e - jus, e - jus. 45

tum no - men e - jus, e - jus.

men e - jus, e - jus, e - jus.

Verse 6

50 Fe - cit po-ten - ti - am in bra - chi - o su - o, in

Fe - cit po-ten - ti - am in

Fe - cit po-ten-ti - am in bra - chi - o su - o, in

55 60 bra - chi - o su - o: dis - per-sit su - per - bos men - te

bra - chi - o su - o: dis - per-sit su - per - bos men - te

bra - chi - o su - o: dis - per-sit su - per - bos men -

cor - dis su - i.

cor - dis su - i.

te cor - dis su - i.

T2 Verse 8 Duo

E - su - ri-en - tes im-ple - vit bo - nis:

E - su - ri-en - tes im-ple - vit bo - nis:

et di - vi - tes di - mi - sit in - a - nes.

et di - vi - tes di - mi - sit in - a - nes.

Verse 10

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus, lo - cu - tus est

ad pa - tres no - stros, A - bra -

ad pa - tres no - stros, A - bra - ham, et

ad pa - tres, ad pa - tres no - stros, A - bra - ham, et

ham, et se - mi - ni e - jus in se - cu - la.

se - mi - ni e - jus in se - cu - la.

se - mi - ni e - jus in se - cu - la.

*Verse 12*

Sic - ut e - rat, sic - ut e -

Sic - ut e - rat, e -

Sic - ut e - rat,

rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

120

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men,

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men,

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men,

125

et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

## 75. Magnificat [sexti toni]

(Cop 1848 no. 157, pp. 230-37)

Verse 2

**Superius**  
(c' - d')

**Altus**  
(d - g')

**"Contra" (Tenor)**  
(c - e')

**Bassus**  
(f - b)

Et ex - ul - ta - vit, et

Et ex - ul - ta - vit, et

Et ex - ul - ta -

Et ex - ul - ta -

ex - ul - ta - vit

ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus

- vit

- vit spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus

spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us, spi -

me - us,

spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us, me - us,

me - us,

20

ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us

25

spi - ri - tus me - us

spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus me - us

me - us

30

in De - o, in De - o sa -

in De - o, in De - o sa -

in De - o sa - lu - ta -

in De - o, in De - o sa - lu - ta -

35

lu - ta - ri me - o.

lu - ta - ri me - o.

original:

ri me - o.

ri - me - o.



Verse 4

40

Qui - a fe - cit, qui -

Qui - a fe - cit, qui - a fe - cit, qui - a

Qui - a fe - cit,

Qui - a fe - cit, qui - a

45

a fe - cit, qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -

fe - cit, qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -

qui - a fe - cit, qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -

fe - cit, qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -

50

gna qui po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po - tens est, qui

gna qui po - tens est, qui

gna qui po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po - tens est, qui

gna qui po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po - tens est, qui

55

po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po -

po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po -

po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po -

po - tens est, mi - hi ma - gna qui po -

60

#

65

- tens est: et sanc - tum no -

tens est: et sanc - tum no -

tens est: et sanctum no - men e - jus, et sanc - tum no -

tens est: et sanc - tum no - men e - jus, et sanc - tum no -

- men e - jus.

- men e - jus.

men e - jus.

men e - jus.

No. 75 Magnificat (Cop 1848 no. 157)

Verse 6

70

Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am,

original:

Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am, fe - cit po -

Fe - cit po -

Fe - cit po -

75

fe - cit po - ten - ti - am

ten - ti - am, fe - cit po - ten - ti - am

ten - ti - am, fe - cit po - ten - ti -

ten - ti - am, fe - cit po - ten - ti - am

80

in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra - chi - o su -

in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra - chi -

am in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra -

in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra - chi - o su - o, in bra -

85

90

o: dis - per - sit su - per - bos men - te

o su - o: dis - per - sit su - per - bos men -

chi - o su - o: dis - per - sit su - per - bos men -

chi - o su - o: dis - per - sit su - per - bos men -

95

cor - dis su - i, men - te cor - dis su - i.

te cor - dis su - i, men - te cor - dis su - i.

te cor - dis su - i, men - te cor - dis su - i.

te cor - dis su - i, men - te cor - dis su - i.

Verse 8

100

E - su - ri - en - tes, e - su - ri - en -

E - su - ri - en - tes, im - ple - vit bo - nis, e - su - ri -

E - su - ri - en - tes

E - su - ri - en - tes im - ple - vit bo - nis, e - su - ri - en - tes

105

tes im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit bo - nis,

en - tes im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit

im - ple - vit

im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit bo - nis, im - ple - vit bo - nis, im -

110

im - ple - vit bo - nis: et di - vi - tes,

bo - nis: et di - vi - tes, et

bo - nis:

- ple - vit bo - nis: et di - vi -

115

et di - vi - tes

di - vi - tes, et di - vi - tes

et di - vi - tes

- tes, et di - vi - tes

120

125 130

di - mi - sit in - a - nes, di -

di - mi - sit in - a - nes, di -

di - mi - sit in - a - nes,

di - mi - sit in - a - nes, di -

original:

135

- mi - sit in - a - nes, in - a - nes.

- mi - sit in - a - nes, in - a - nes,

di - mi - sit in - a - nes.

- mi - sit in - a - nes,

original:

*crossed out:*

in - a - nes.

in - a - nes.

in - a - nes.

in - a - nes.

Verse 10

140

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est, sic - ut lo - cu - tus

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est, sic - ut lo - cu - tus

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est, sic - ut lo - cu - tus

Sic - ut lo - cu - tus est, sic - ut lo - cu - tus

145

est ad pa - tres no - stros,

est ad pa - tres no - stros, ad pa - tres no - stros,

est ad pa - tres

est ad pa - tres no -

150

ad pa - tres no - stros, ad

ad pa - tres no - stros,

no - stros, ad pa - tres no -

-stros, ad pa - tres no - stros, ad pa - tres no - stros,

155



160

pa - tres no - - - stros,

ad pa - tres no - - - stros,

stros, ad pa - tres no - - - stros, A - bra-ham, et se - mi-ni e -

ad pa - tres no - - - stros, A - bra-ham, et se - mi-ni e - jus in

165

A - bra-ham, et se - mi-ni e - jus in se - cu - la,

A - bra-ham, et se - mi-ni e - jus in se - cu - la, et se - mi-ni e -

jus in se - cu - la, et se - mi-ni e -

se - cu - la, et se - mi-ni e - jus, et

170

in se - cu - - la, in se - cu - - la.

jus in se - cu - la, in se - cu - - la.

- jus in se - cu - la, in se - cu - - la.

se - mi-ni e - jus in se - cu - la, et se - mi-ni e - jus in se - cu - la.

175

No. 75 Magnificat (Cop 1848 no. 157)

♯3 180 Verse 12 185

original: Sic - ut e - - -

Sic - - - ut e - - - - -

Sic - ut e - - - - -

Sic - ut e - - - - -

Sic - ut e - - - - -

190

- rat in prin -

- rat in prin-ci - pi -

- rat in prin-ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem-per,

- rat in prin-ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per,

195 200

ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - - - per, in

o, et nunc, et sem - - - per, in

in prin -

in prin -

205

prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per,

prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

- ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

- ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem -

210

et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A -

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum,

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum,

per, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum,

215

- men, se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

A - men, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

A - men, se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

A - men, et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum, A - men.

220

## 76. Facta est Judea [In exitu Israel]

(Cop 1848 no. 159, pp. 242-49)

*Verse 2*

**Superius**  
(b-e<sup>n</sup>)

**Contra**  
(d-a)

**Tenor**  
(d-g)

**Bassus**  
(G-b)

Fac - ta est Ju - de - a sanc - ti - fi - ca - ti - o e -

Fac - ta est Ju - de - a sanc - ti - fi - ca - ti - o e -

Fac - ta est Ju - de - a sanc - ti - fi - ca - ti - o e -

Fac - ta est Ju - de - a sanc - ti - fi - ca - ti - o e -

ius, Is - ra - el po - tes - tas e - - - ius.

ius, Is - ra - el po - tes - tas e - ius.

ius, Is - ra - el po - tes - tas e - ius.

ius, Is - ra - el po - tes - tas e - ius.

*Verse 4 and Verse 6*

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - ve - runt ut a - ri - e - tes:

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - stis sic - ut a - ri - e - tes,

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - ve - runt ut a - ri - e - tes:

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - stis sic - ut a - ri - e - tes,

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - ve - runt ut a - ri - e - tes:

Mon - tes ex - ul - ta - stis sic - ut a - ri - e - tes,

[illegible]

gni o - vi - um.  
gni o - vi - um?

- gni o - vi - um.  
- gni o - vi - um?

a - gni o - vi - um.  
a - gni o - vi - um?

a - gni o - vi - um.  
a - gni o - vi - um?

Verse 8 Duo

30

Qui con - ver - tit pe - tram in sta - gna\_a - qua - rum, et ru - pem

8

Qui con - ver - tit pe - tram in sta - gna a - qua - rum, et ru -

35

in fon - tes a - qua - rum.

40

8

pem in fon - tes a - qua - rum.

Verse 10

Su - per mi - se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a et ve - ri - ta - te tu - a:

Su - per mi - se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a et ve - ri - ta - te tu - a:

Su - per mi - se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a

Su - per mi - se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a

ne-quan-do di-cant gen - tes: U - bi est De-us e - o - rum?

ne-quan-do di-cant gen - tes: U - bi est De - us e - o - rum?

ne - quan-do di-cant gen - tes: U - bi est De - us e - o - rum?

ne - quan-do di-cant gen - tes: U - bi est De-us e - o - rum?

Verse 12

Si - mu - la - cra gen - ti - um ar - gen - tum et au -

Si - mu - la - cra gen - ti - um ar - gen - tum et au -

Si - mu - la - cra gen - ti - um ar - gen - tum et au -

Si - mu - la - cra gen - ti - um ar - gen - tum et au -

65

rum, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um

rum, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um, o - pe - ra ma - nu -

rum, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um

rum, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um, o - pe - ra ma - nu - um ho -

70

ho - mi - num.

um ho - mi - num.

ho - mi - num.

mi - num, ho - mi - num.

Verse 14 75

Au - res ha - bent, et non au - di - ent:

Au - res ha - bent, et non au - di - ent:

Au - res ha - bent, et non au - di - ent:

Au - res ha - bent, et non au - di - ent:



80

na - res ha - bent, et non o - do - ra - bunt.

na - res ha - bent, et non o - do - ra - bunt.

na - res ha - bent, et non o - do - ra - bunt.

na - res ha - bent, et non o - do - ra - bunt.

C *Verse 16 Duo* 86

Si - mi - les il - lis fi - ant qui fa - ci - unt e - a:

Si - mi - les il - lis fi - ant qui fa - ci - unt e - a:

95

et om - nes, et om - nes qui con - fi - dunt in e - is.

et om - nes, et om - nes qui con - fi - dunt in e - is.

C *Verse 18* 101 105

Do - mus Aa - ron spe - ra - vit in Do - mi - no: ad -

Do - mus Aa - ron spe - ra - vit in Do - mi - no: ad -

Do - mus Aa - ron spe - ra - vit in Do - mi - no:

110

ju-tor e - o - rum et pro-tec-tor e - o - rum est, et pro-tec -

ju - tor e - o - rum et pro-tec-tor e - o - rum est, et pro-tec -

ad - ju-tor e - o - rum et pro-tec - tor e - o - rum est, et pro-tec-tor e -

115

tor e - o - rum est.

tor e - o - rum est.

- o - rum est.

Verse 20

120

Do - mi - nus me - mor fu - it no -

Do - mi - nus me - mor

Do - mi - nus me - mor fu - it no -

Do - mi - nus me - mor fu - it no -

125

stri, fu - it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no -

130

fu - it no - stri:

stri, fu - - it no - stri:

stri, fu - - it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no -

135

bis, et be - ne - di - xit no - - bis.

et be - ne-di-xit no - - bis.

et be - ne-di - xit no - - bis.

bis, et be - ne - di - xit no - - bis.

Verse 22

140

Be - ne - di - xit om - ni-bus qui ti-ment Do -

Be - ne - di - xit om - ni-bus qui ti-ment Do - mi - num,

Be - ne - di - xit om - ni - bus qui ti-ment Do -

Be - ne - di - xit om - ni-bus qui ti-ment Do - mi - num, qui ti-ment Do -

150

- mi - num, pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus,

qui ti - ment Do - mi - num, pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus,

mi - num, pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri -

- mi - num, pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus,

155

pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus.

pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus.

bus, con ma - jo - ri - bus.

pu - sil - lis con ma - jo - ri - bus.

Verse 24

160

Be - ne - dic - ti vos a Do - mi - no,

Be - ne - dic - ti vos a Do - mi - no,

Be - ne - dic - ti vos a Do - mi - no,

Be - ne - dic - ti vos a Do - mi - no,

165 170

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram,

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - - - - ram,

qui fe - cit, qui fe - cit,

qui fe - cit, qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram,

175 180

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram, qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram.

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram, qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram.

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - - - ram.

qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram, qui fe - cit ce - lum et ter - ram.

Verse 26

185

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt

Non mor - tu - i lau -

Non mor - tu - i lau -

190

te Lau - da - bunt te Do - mi - ne: ne -

te Lau - da - bunt te Do - mi - ne: ne -

da - bunt te Do - mi - ne, Lau - da - bunt te Do - mi - ne: ne -

da - bunt te Do - mi - ne, Lau - da - bunt te Do - mi - ne: ne -

195

que om - nes, ne - que om - nes qui de - scen-dunt in

que om - nes, ne - que om - nes qui de - scen - dunt in

que om - nes, ne - que om - nes qui de - scen - dunt,

que om - nes, ne - que om - nes qui de - scen - dunt in

200

in - fer - num.

in - fer - num, in - fer - num.

qui de - scen-dunt in in - fer - num.

in - fer - num.

Verse 28

206

210

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o,

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc -

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o,

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc -

et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to, Sanc -

to, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc -

et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc -

to, et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to, et Spi - ri - tu - i

to.

to.

to.

Sanc - to.

220



## Antiphon

Nos qui vi - vi - mus, vi - vi - mus, be - ne -

Nos qui vi - vi - mus, vi - vi - mus, be -

Nos qui vi - vi - mus, be - ne -

Nos qui vi - vi - mus, be -

di - ci - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus Do -

ne - di - ci - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus Do -

di - ci - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus

ne - di - ci - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus Do -

mi - no, Do - mi - no.

mi - no, Do - mi - no.

Do - mi - no, Do - mi - no.

mi - no, Do - mi - no.

# 76a. Dominus memor fuit

(Cop 1848 no. 159(a), pp. 246-47)

Verse 20

**Superius**  
(*f* - *d*<sup>a</sup>)

**Contra**  
(*g* - *f*)

**Tenor**  
(*g* - *d*<sup>a</sup>)

**Bassus**  
(*c* - *g*)

Do - mi - nus me - mor

Do - mi - nus me - mor, me - mor fu -

Do - mi - nus me - mor fu -

Do - mi - nus me -

fu - it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no -

it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no -

it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no -

mor fu - it no - stri: et be - ne - di - xit no - bis,

bis, et be - ne - di - xit no - bis.

bis, et be - ne - di - xit no - bis.

bis, et be - ne - di - xit no - bis.

et be - ne - di - xit no - bis.

## 76b. Non mortui laudabunt

(Cop 1848 no. 176, p. 311)

Verse 26

**Superius**  
(d' - c')

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt te

**Contra**  
(g - g')

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt te Do -

**Tenor**  
(g - d')

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt te Do -

**Bassus**  
(d - g)

Non mor - tu - i lau - da - bunt te Do - mi - ne:

Do - mi - ne: ne - que om - nes qui de - scen -

- mi - ne: ne - que om - nes qui de -

mi - ne: ne - que om - nes

ne - que om - nes

dunt in in - fer - num.

scen - dunt in in - fer - num.

qui de - scen - dunt in in - fer - num.

qui de - scen - dunt in in - fer - num.

## 76c. Domus Aaron speravit

(Cop 1848 no. 187, pp. 338-39)

Verse 18

Tenor 1  
(g - g')

Tenor 2  
(g - g')

Bassus  
(c - b)

Do - mus Aa-ron spe - ra - vit in Do - mi -

no: ad - ju - tor e - o - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o -

no: ad - ju - tor e - o - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum

no: ad - ju - tor e - o - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est,

rum est, e - o - rum est, est,

est, et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est, e - o -

e - o - rum est, et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum

est, est.

rum est, e - o - rum est.

est, e - o - rum est,

# 76d. Nos qui vivimus

(Cop 1848 no. 169, p. 278)

*Antiphon*

**Superius**  
(c' - c')

**Contra**  
(g - g')

**Tenor**  
(f - f')

**Bassus**  
(c - b)

Nos qui vi - vi - - - mus, be -

Nos qui vi - vi - - mus, nos qui vi - vi-mus,

Nos qui vi - vi - - mus, nos

Nos qui vi - vi - - mus,

ne-di-ci - mus Do - mi - no, be - ne-di-ci - mus Do - mi - no,

be - ne-di - ci-mus Do - mi-no, be - ne-di-ci-mus Do - mi - no, be -

qui vi - vi - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - no, be -

be - ne-di - ci - mus Do - mi - no,

be - ne-di - ci - mus Do - - mi - - no.

ne - di - ci - mus Do - - mi - - no.

- ne - di - ci - mus Do - - mi - - no.

be - ne-di - ci - mus Do - mi - no.

## 77. In exitu Israel

(Cop 1848 no. 175, pp. 300-310)

Verse 1

Superius  
(d' - f')

Contra  
(f - a')

Tenor  
(f - f')

Bassus  
(B - c')

In ex - i - tu Is - ra -

el de E - gyp - to, do - mus Ja -

cob de po - pu - lo bar - ba - ro:

Verse 3

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git:

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git:

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu -

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git:

Jor - da - nis con -

Jor - da - nis con -

git: Jor - da - nis con -

Jor - da - nis con -

ver - sus est re - tror - sum.

ver - sus est, con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum, re - tror - sum.

- ver - sus est re - tror - sum, re - tror - sum.

ver - sus est, con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum.

Verse 5

45

Quid est ti - bi ma - re quod

Quid est ti - bi ma - re quod fu -

Quid est ti - bi ma - re quod

Quid est ti - bi ma - re quod fu -

50

fu - gi - sti? et tu Jor - da - nis, et tu

gi - sti? et tu Jor - da - nis, et tu

fu - gi - sti? et tu Jor -

gi - sti? et tu

55

Jor - da - nis, qui - a con - ver - sus es re - tror - sum?

Jor - da - nis, qui - a con - ver - sus es re - tror - sum?

da - nis, qui - a con - ver - sus es re - tror - sum?

Jor - da - nis, qui - a con - ver - sus es re - tror - sum?

60



Verse 7

65

70

A fa - ci - e Do - mi - ni

A fa - ci - e Do - mi - ni

A fa - ci - e Do - mi - ni

A fa - ci - e Do - mi - ni

75

mo - ta est ter - ra, a fa - ci - e De -

mo - ta est ter - ra, a fa - ci - e De - i Ja -

mo - ta est ter - ra, a fa - ci - e De -

mo - ta est ter - ra, a fa - ci - e De -

80

- i Ja - cob:

cob, De - i Ja - cob:

i Ja - cob:

i Ja - cob:

No. 77 *In exitu Israel* (Cop 1848 no. 175)

S Verse 9 Duo

Non no - bis Do - mi - ne, non no -

bis, sed no - mi - ni tu - o da glo - ri -

am.

ri - am.

C Verse 11

De - us au - tem no - ster in ce -

De - us au - tem no - ster in

De - us au - tem no - ster in

110  $\flat$

lo: om - ni - a que - cum - que

ce - lo: om - ni -

ce - lo: om - ni -

115

vo - lu - it, fe - cit, que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

- a que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

- a que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

*crossed out:*

115

-it, que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

-a que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

-a que - cum - que vo - lu - it, fe - cit.

Verse 13

120

Os ha - bent, et non lo - quen - tur: o - cu - los

Os ha - bent, et non lo - quen - tur: o - cu - los

Os ha - bent, et non lo - quen - tur: o - cu - los

Os ha - bent, et non lo - quen - tur: o - cu - los

125

130

ha - bent, et non vi - de - bunt, et

ha - bent, et non vi -

ha - bent, et non vi - de - bunt,

ha - bent, et non vi -

135

non vi - de - bunt.

- de - bunt.

et non vi - de - bunt.

de - bunt.

Verse 15

140

Ma - nus ha - bent, et non pal - pa -

Ma - nus ha - bent, et non pal - pa -

Ma - nus ha - bent, et non pal - pa -

Ma - nus ha - bent, et non pal - pa -

145

150

bunt:

- bunt:

bunt: pe - des ha - bent, et non am - bu - la -

bunt: pe - des ha - bent, et non am - bu - la -

155

pe - des ha - bent, et non am - bu - la - bunt:

pe - des ha - bent, et non am - bu - la - bunt:

bunt: non

bunt: non

160

non cla - ma - bunt in gut - tu - re su - o.

non cla - ma - bunt in gut - tu - re su - o.

cla - ma - bunt in gut - tu - re su - o.

cla - ma - bunt in gut - tu - re su - o.

Verse 17

166 170

Do - mus Is - ra - el spe - ra - vit in

Do - mus Is - ra - el spe - ra - vit in

Do - mus Is - ra - el spe - ra - vit in

Do - mus Is - ra - el spe - ra - vit in

175

Do - mus Is - ra - el

Do - mus Is - ra - el

Do - mi - no:

Do - mi - no:

spe - ra - vit in Do - mi - no:

spe - ra - vit in Do - mi - no: ad -

ad - ju - tor

ad - ju - tor

ad - ju - tor e - o - rum et pro -

- ju - tor e - o - rum et pro -

e - o - rum et pro -

e - o - rum et pro -

tec - tor e - o - rum est.

tec - tor e - o - rum est.

tec - tor e - o - rum est.

tec - tor e - o - rum est.

Verse 19

200 205

Qui ti - ment Do - mi - num spe - ra - ve -

Qui ti - ment Do - mi - num spe - ra - ve -

Qui ti - ment Do - mi - num spe - ra - ve - runt

Qui ti - ment Do - mi - num spe - ra - ve - runt

210

runt in Do - mi - no: ad - ju - tor e - o -

runt in Do - mi - no: ad - ju - tor e - o -

in Do - mi - no: ad - ju - tor e - o -

in Do - mi - no: ad - ju - tor e - o -

215 220

- - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est.

- - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est.

rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est.

- - rum et pro - tec - tor e - o - rum est.



Verse 21

225

Be - ne - di - xit do - mu - i Is -

Be - ne - di - xit do - mu - i Is -

Be - ne - di - xit do - mu - i Is -

Be - ne - di - xit do - mu - i Is -

230

- ra - el: be - ne -

- ra - el: be - ne -

- ra - el: be - ne -

- ra - el: be - ne -

235

di - xit do - mu - i Aa - ron.

di - xit do - mu - i Aa - ron.

di - xit do - mu - i Aa - ron.

di - xit do - mu - i Aa - ron.

Verse 23

240

245

Ad - ji - ci - at Do - mi - nus, Do - mi - nus

Ad - ji - ci - at, ad - ji - ci - at Do - mi - nus

Ad - ji - ci - at Do - mi - nus

Ad - ji - ci - at Do - mi - nus

250

su - per vos: su - per vos, et su - per

su - per vos: su - per vos, et su - per

su - per vos: su - per vos, et su - per

nus su - per vos: su - per vos, et su - per

255

fi - li - os ve - stros.

fi - li - os ve - stros.

fi - li - os ve - stros.

fi - li - os ve - stros.

Verse 25

260

265

Ce - lum ce - li Do - mi - no: ter -

Ce - lum ce - li Do - mi - no: ter -

Ce - lum ce - li Do - mi - no: ter -

Ce - lum ce - li Do - mi - no: ter -

(#)

270

- ram au - tem de -

- ram au - tem de -

- ram au - tem de -

- ram au - tem de -

(#)

275

- dit fi - li - is ho - mi - num.

- dit fi - li - is ho - mi - num.

- dit fi - li - is ho - mi - num.

- dit fi - li - is ho - mi - num.

Verse 27

280

Sed nos qui vi - vi - mus,

Sed nos qui vi - vi - mus,

Sed nos qui vi - vi - mus,

Sed nos qui vi - vi - mus, sed

285

be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi -

be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi -

be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi -

nos qui vi - vi - mus, be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi -

290

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us - que

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

295

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us -

que in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum.

in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum.

que in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum.

que in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum, in se - cu - lum.

The musical score consists of four staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, with a '300' marking above the first measure. The melody continues with a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, ending with a quarter note C-sharp and a quarter note D-sharp. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, followed by a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, ending with a quarter note C-sharp and a quarter note D-sharp. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, followed by a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, ending with a quarter note C-sharp and a quarter note D-sharp. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, followed by a half note G, a quarter note A, and a half note B, ending with a quarter note C-sharp and a quarter note D-sharp.

## 77a. Sicut erat in principio

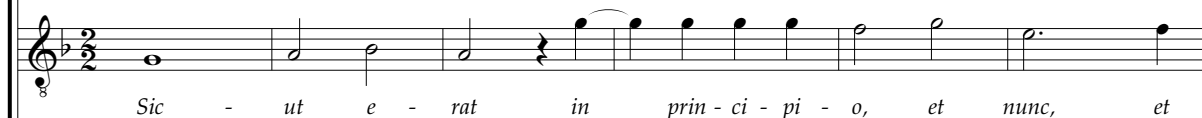
(Cop 1848 no. 175(a), p. 309)

Verse 29

Superius  
(f' - d')



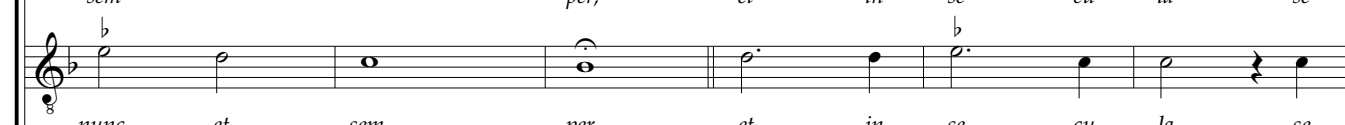
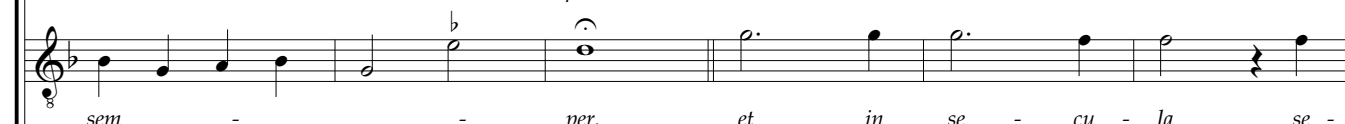
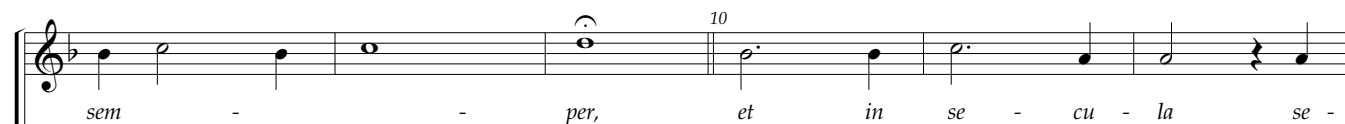
Contra  
(g - g')



Tenor  
(g - e')



Bassus  
(c - c')

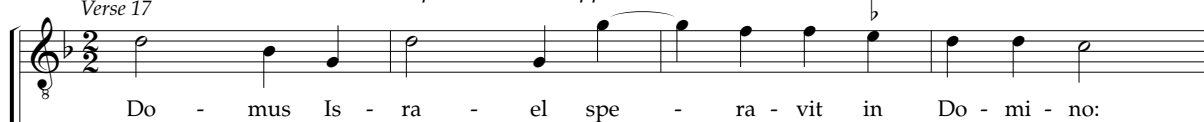


## 77b. Domus Israel speravit

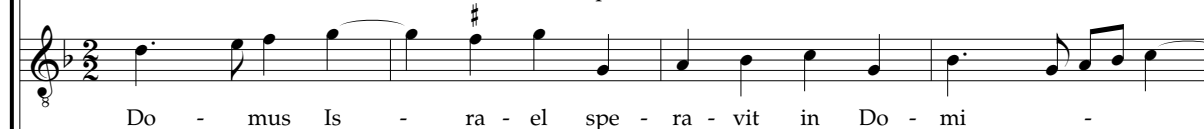
(Cop 1848 no. 260, pp. 430-31)

Verse 17

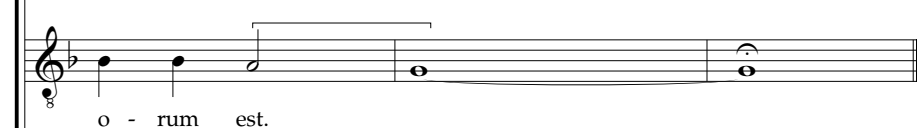
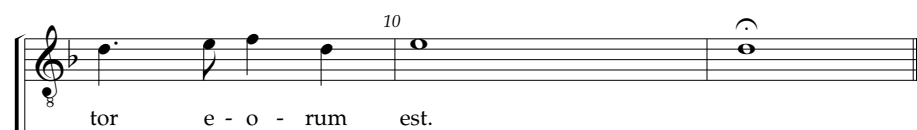
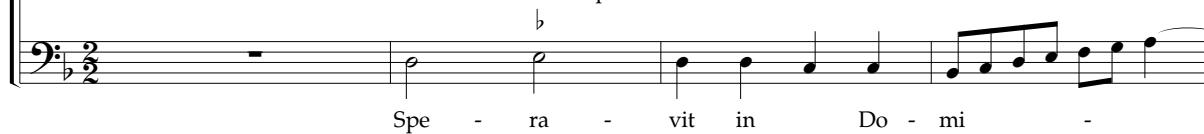
Tenor 1  
(g - g')



Tenor 2  
(g - g')



Bassus  
(B - a)



## 78. Redemptor Deus, miserere

(Cop 1848 nos. 105-06, pp. 166-67)

Quattor presbyteri dicent simul usque ad Exaudi nos:



Duo presbyteri:



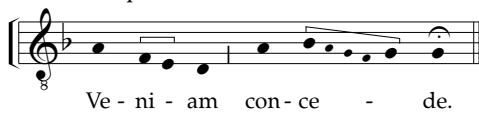
Nunc chorus respondet:



Duo clericuli



Chorus respondet:



Alii duo presbyteri nunc: Exaudi nos domine sancte Michael, pro eis concede.

Chorus respondet: Salvator

Duo clericuli: Precibus sanctorum angelorum a penis eius animam deffende.

Chorus respondet: Veniam concede.

Alii duo cantores: Exaudi nos domine sancte Johannes Baptista, pro eis concede.

Chorus respondet: Salvator

Duo clericuli: Precibus sanctorum prophetarum a penis eius animam deffende.

Chorus respondet: Veniam concede.



**Superius 1**  
(d<sup>1</sup> - d<sup>2</sup>)

**Superius 2**  
(d<sup>1</sup> - b<sup>1</sup>)

**Duo**

Pre - ci - bus, pre - ci - bus

Pre - ci - bus, pre - ci - bus

sanc - te De - i ge - ni - tri - cis  
Sanc - to - rum an - ge - lo - rum  
Sanc - to - rum pro - phe - ta - rum

sanc - te De - i ge - ni - tri - cis  
Sanc - to - rum an - ge - lo - rum  
Sanc - to - rum pro - phe - ta - rum

a pe - nis, a pe - nis e - ius a - ni - mam, a - ni -

a pe - nis, a pe - nis e - ius a - ni -

mam def - fen - de.

mam de-, de-, de - fen - de.

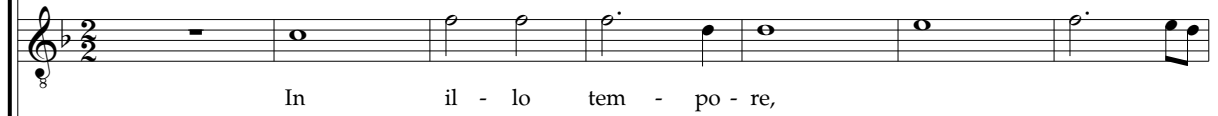
## 79. Maioris: In illo tempore

(Cop 1848 no. 158, pp. 238-41)

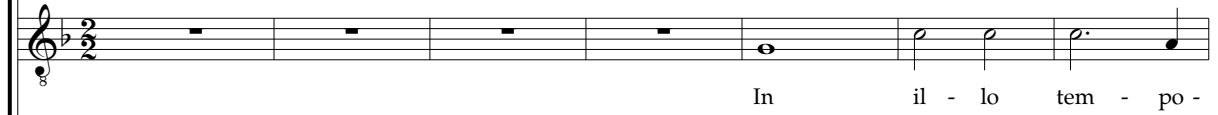
Superius  
(c' - e')



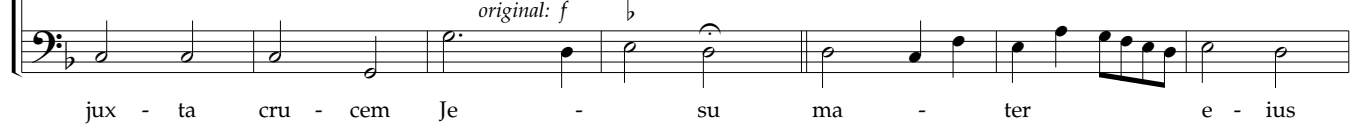
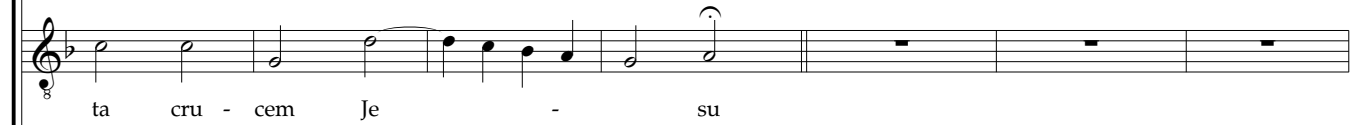
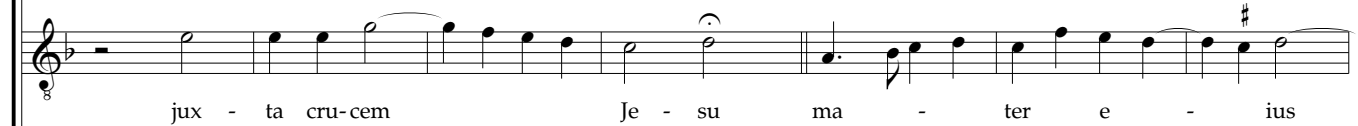
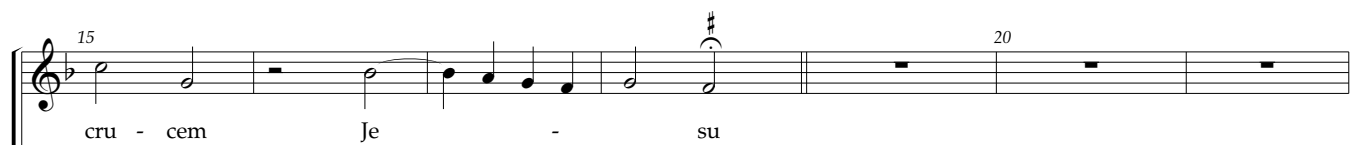
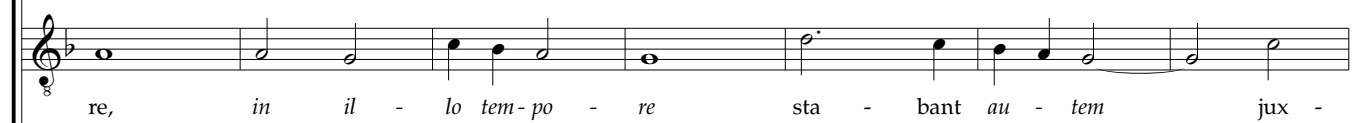
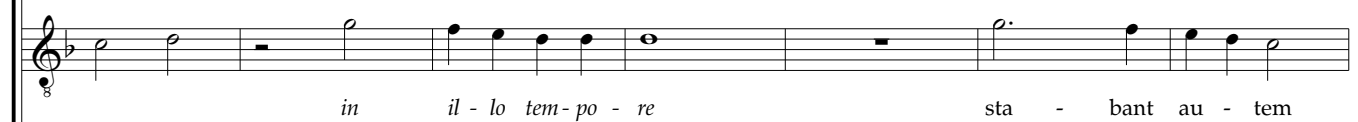
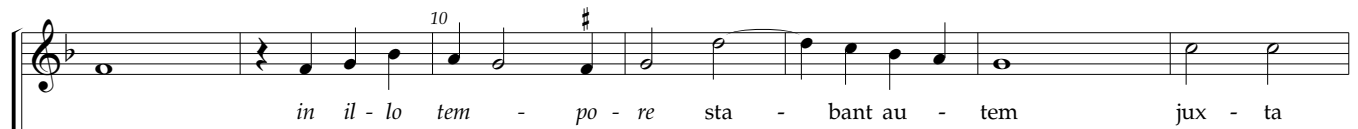
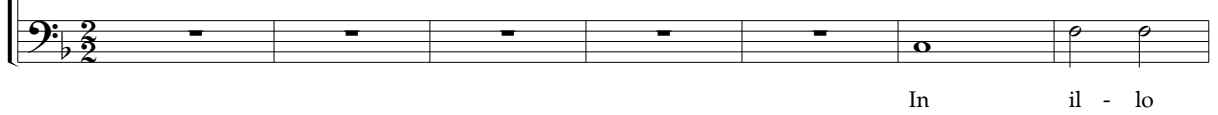
Altus  
(d - a')



Tenor  
(d - g')



Bassus  
(G - a)



original: 



ma - tris e - ius, Ma -

et so - ror ma - tris e - ius, Ma - ri -

et so - ror ma - tris e - ius, et so - ror ma - tris e - ius,

et so - ror ma - tris e - ius, et so - ror ma - tris e - ius,

ri - a Cle - o - phe,

- a Cle - o - phe,

et Ma - ri - a Mag - da -

et Ma - ri - a Mag - da -

et Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - ne.

et Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - ne.

- le - ne, et Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - ne.

original: 

- le - ne, et Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - ne.

45

Cum vi - dis - set er - go Je - sus ma - trem et dis - ci - pu -

Cum vi - dis - set er - go Je - sus ma - trem et dis - ci - pu -

Cum vi - dis - set er - go Je - sus ma - trem et dis - ci - pu -

Cum vi - dis - set er - go Je - sus ma - trem et dis - ci - pu -

original: a

50 # 55

lum stan - tem, quem di - li - ge - bat di -

lum stan - tem, di -

lum stan - tem, quem di - li - ge - bat di - xit ma - tri su - e, di -

lum stan - tem, quem di - li - ge - bat di - xit ma - tri su - e, di -

original:

60

xit ma - tri su - e:

xit ma - tri su - e:

xit ma - tri su - e: »Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi - li - us tu -

xit ma - tri su - e: »Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi - li - us tu -

65

»Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi - li - us tu - us, mu - li - er, ec - ce fi -

»Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi - li - us tu - us, mu - li - er, ec - ce fi -

us« »Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi -

us« »Mu - li - er, ec - ce fi -

70

li - us tu - us« De - in - de di - xit dis - ci - pu - lo:

li - us tu - us« »Ec -

li - us tu - us« De - in - de di - xit dis - ci - pu - lo:

li - us tu - us« De - in - de di - xit dis - ci - pu - lo: »Ec -

75

»Ec - ce ma - ter tu - a«

ce ma - ter tu - a, ec - ce ma - ter tu - a«

»Ec - ce ma - ter tu - a« Et ex

ce ma - ter tu - a, ec - ce ma - ter tu - a« Et ex

80

85

Et ex il - la ho - ra ac - ce - pit e - am

Et ex il - la ho - ra ac - ce - pit e - am

il - la ho - ra ac - ce - pit e - am

il - la ho - ra ac - ce - pit e - am

90

dis - ci - pu - lus in su - am. Al - le - lu - ya, al - le -

dis - ci - pu - lus in su - am. Al - le - lu - ya, al - le -

dis - ci - pu - lus in su - am. Al - le - lu - ya, al - le - lu - ya,

dis - ci - pu - lus in su - am. Al - le - lu - ya, al - le - lu -

95

lu - ya, al - le - lu - ya,

lu - ya, al - le - lu -

al - le - lu -

100

ya, al - le - lu - ya, al - le - lu

ya, al - le - lu

ya, al - le - lu

ya, al - le - lu

105

al - le - lu - ya.

ya, al - le - lu - ya.

ya, al - le - lu - ya.

ya, al - le - lu - ya, al - le - lu - ya.

The musical score consists of four staves. The first three staves are vocal parts, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The fourth staff is a basso continuo part with a bass clef and the same key signature. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. The first staff begins with a measure rest followed by the lyrics 'al - le - lu - ya.' The second and third staves begin with 'ya,' followed by 'al - le - lu - ya.' The fourth staff begins with 'ya,' followed by 'al - le - lu - ya, al - le - lu - ya.' The score ends with a double bar line.

# 80. Mentem sanctam spontaneam

(Cop 1848 no. 103, pp. 160-61)

**Superius**  
(a - d')

**Altus**  
(e - g')

**Tenor**  
(c - f')

**Bassus**  
(G - c)

Men - tem sanc - tam spon-ta - ne - am,

Men - tem sanc - tam spon - ta - ne -

Men - tem sanc - tam

Men - tem sanc - tam spon -

spon - ta - ne - - - - am

am, spon - ta - - - - ne - - am

spon-ta - ne - - am, spon - ta - ne - -

ta - ne - am, spon - ta - - - - ne - -

ho - no - rem De - o, ho - no - rem De -

ho - no - rem De - o, ho - no - rem De -

- am ho - no - rem De - o, ho - no -

- am ho - no - rem De - o, ho - no -



20

- o et pa - tri - e li - be - ra - ti - o -  
 - o et pa - tri - e li - be - ra - ti - o - nem, li - be - ra -  
 rem De - - o  
 rem De - - o, ho - no - rem De - o et

25

nem, pa - tri - e li - be - ra - ti - o - nem.  
 ti - o - nem, li - be - ra - ti - o - nem.  
 et pa - tri - e li - be - ra - ti - o - nem. Ip - si  
 pa - tri - e li - be - ra - ti - o - nem, et pa - tri - e li - be - ra -

30

Ip - si so - li ser - vo fi - dem, ip - si so - li ser -  
 Ip - si so - li ser - vo fi - dem, ip - si so -  
 so - li ser - vo, ip - si so - li ser - vo fi -  
 ti - o - nem. Ip - si so - li ser - vo, ip - si so - li ser -

35

vo fi - dem et me to - ta de - no - ti - o - ne

8

li ser - vo fi - dem et me to - ta de - no - ti - o - ne

8

dem, fi - dem et me to - ta de - no - ti - o - ne

vo fi - dem et me to - ta de - no - ti - o - ne

com - mit - to, com - mit - to.

com - mit - to, com - mit - to,

com - mit - to, com - mit - to, com -

com - mit - to, de - no - ti - o - ne com - mit - to,

# 81. Quam pulchra es amica mea

(Cop 1848 no. 274, pp. 444-45)

**Superius**  
(a - d')

**Tenor**  
(d - a)

**Bassus**  
(g - d')

Quam

Quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca, a -

Quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me -

pul - chra es a - mi - ca, a - mi - ca me - a, a - mi - ca me -

mi - ca me -

a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca,

a, quam pul - chra es

- a, a - mi - ca me -

quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me -

a - mi - ca me - a.

- a. Quam pul - chre sunt ge - ne

- a. Quam pul - chre sunt ge - ne tu -

25  
Quam pul - chre sunt ge - ne tu - e, pul - chri - o -  
tu - e, tu -  
e pul - chri - o - ra u - be - ra tu - a vi -  
30  
ra u - be - ra tu - a vi - no, pul - chri - o - ra u - be - ra  
e, pul - chri - o - ra u - be - ra tu - a vi -  
no, pul - chri - o - ra u - be - ra,  
35  
tu - a vi - no, sic - ut mo - ni -  
no, col - lum tu - um sic - ut mo - ni -  
col - lum tu - um sic - ut mo - ni -  
40  
- li - a, o - cu - li tu -  
- li - a, o - cu - li, o - cu - li tu -  
- li - a, o - cu - li tu - i, o -

50  
i co - lum - ba -  
i co - lum - ba -  
cu - li tu - i co - (co-) -

55  
- rum, la - bi - a tu -  
- rum, la - bi - a tu - a  
- lum - ba - rum, la - bi - a tu -

60  
a dis - til - lan - ti - a, dis - til - lan - ti - a,  
dis - til - lan - ti - a, dis - til - lan - ti - a,  
a dis - til - lan - ti - a,

65  
70  
gut - tur tu - um sua - vis - si - mum, ven -  
ven - ter tu - us e - bur - ne - us,  
gut - tur tu - um sua - vis - si -

ter tu - us e - bur - ne - us, e - bur - ne - us, e - bur - ne - us,  
 e - bur - ne - us,  
 - mum, ven - ter tu - us e - bur - ne - us, et vox  
 et vox tu - a dul - cis, et fa - ci - es tu - a de -  
 et fa - ci - es tu - a de - co -  
 tu - a dul - cis, et fa - ci - es tu - a de -  
 - co - ra. O a - mi - ca me -  
 - ra. O a - mi - ca me - a, o  
 co - ra. O a - mi - ca me - a, o  
 - a, a - pe - ri mi - hi,  
 a - mi - ca me - a, a - pe - ri mi - hi, a -  
 a - mi - ca me - a, a - pe - ri mi - hi, a - pe - ri mi -

a - pe - ri mi - hi,  
 pe - ri mi - hi, a - pe - ri mi - hi, qui - a a -  
 hi, a - pe - ri mi - hi, a - pe - ri mi - hi, qui - a a -  
 qui - a a - mo - re lan - gue - o, qui - a  
 mo - re lan - gue - o,  
 mo - re lan - gue - o, qui - a a - mo - re  
 a - mo - re lan - gue - o.  
 qui - a a - mo - re lan - gue - o.  
 lan - gue - o.

## 82. Ave sanctissima Maria

(Cop 1848 no. 214, pp. 386-87)

**Superius**  
(*d-g*)

**Tenor**  
(*c-d'*)

**Bassus**  
(*F-c*)

A - ve sanc - tis - si -

ma Ma - ri - a, ma - ter De -

A - ve sanc - tis - si - ma Ma - ri - a, ma -

a, Ma - ri - a, ma - ter De -

i pi - is - si - ma,

ter De - i pi - is - si - ma, re -

i pi - is - si - ma, re - gi - na

re - gi - na ce - li, por - ta pa - ra -

gi - na ce - li, por - ta pa - ra - di -

ce - li, por - ta pa - ra - di -



di - si, do - mi - na mun - di, pu - ra sin - gu - la - ris, tu es vir - go, vir - go, tu con - ce - pis - ti Je - sum

Je - - - sum,

- - - sum si - ne pec - ca - to,

si - ne pec - ca - to, pec - ca - to,

tu pe - pe - ris - ti cre - a - to - rem mun - - -

tu pe - pe - ris - ti cre - a - to - rem mun - - -

tu pe - pe - ris - ti cre - a - to - rem mun - - -

70 di in 75

di et sal - va - to - rem mun - - - di in

di et sal - va - to - rem mun - - - di in

80

quo non du - bi - to.

quo non du - bi - to.

quo non du - bi - to.

85

Li - be - ra

Li - be - ra me ab om -

90

me ab om - ni - bus ma - lis et o - ra

Li - be - ra me ab om - ni - bus ma - lis

ni - bus ma - lis et o - ra pro pec - ca -

95

pro pec - ca - tis me - is. A -

et o - ra pro pec - ca - tis me - is. A -

tis me - is. A -

100

105

- men, a - men.

- men.

- men.

### 83. Ave regina celorum

(Cop 1848 no. 138, pp. 208-09)

Superius  
(b-c')

Tenor  
(g-b)

Contratenor  
(c-f')

5

A - ve

8

A - ve re - gi - na, re -

8

A - ve re - gi - na

10

re - gi - na ce - lo -

8

- gi - na ce - lo -

8

ce - lo -

15

- rum, a -

8

rum, a - ve do -

8

rum, a - ve

20

25

ve do - mi - na an - ge -

8

- mi - na an - ge -

8

do - mi - na an - ge -

30  
lo - rum: Sal - ve

35  
lo - rum: Sal -

40  
ra - dix  
- ve ra - dix  
ra - dix sanc -

45  
sanc - ta ex qua mun -  
sanc - ta ex qua mun -  
- ta ex qua mun -

50  
- do lux est or - ta.  
do lux est or - ta.  
do lux est or - ta.

55 Gau - de glo - ri - o -

60 Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa,

65 glo - ri - o - sa,

70 nes spe - ci - o - sa,

75 om - nes spe - ci - o -

80 - nes spe - ci - o -

85

sa. Va - - -

sa.

sa. Va - - -

90

le, val - - de

Va - - le, val - - de

le, val - - de

95

co - - ra, et pro

de - co - ra, et pro no -

de - co - ra,

100

no - bis sem - per Chri -

bis, et pro no - bis Chri -

105

et pro no - bis sem - per Chri -

110 115

stum ex - o -

stum ex - o -

stum ex - o -

120

- ra, ex - o - ra.

- - - - ra.

- - - - ra.



# 84. Stabat mater dolorosa

(Cop 1848 no. 126, pp. 192-97)

**Superius**  
(*d' - f''*)

**Tenor**  
(*f' - g'*)

**Bassus**  
(*G - b*)

I

Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo - ro - sa

5

Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo - ro - sa

10

jux - ta cru - cem la - cri - mo - sa dum pen - de - bat Fi - li -

15

jux - ta cru - cem la - cri - mo - sa dum pen - de - bat Fi - li -

20

us. Cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - men - tem, con - tri - stan - tem

us. Cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - men - tem, con - tri - stan - tem et

us. Cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - men - tem, con - tri - stan - tem

25

et do - len - tem per - tans - i - vit gla - di -

30

do - len - tem per - tans - i - vit gla - di -

et do - len - tem per - tans - i - vit gla - di -

us. O quam tri - stis et af - flic - ta fu -

us. O quam tri - stis et af - flic - ta

us. O quam tri - stis et af - flic - ta il-la

it il-la be - ne-dic - ta Ma - ter U - ni - ge - ni - ti.

fu - it il-la be - ne-dic - ta Ma - ter U - ni - ge - ni - ti.

be - ne - dic - ta Ma - ter U - ni - ge - ni - ti.

II

Quis est ho - mo qui non fle - ret, Chri -

Quis est ho - mo qui non fle - ret, Chri -

Quis est ho - mo qui non fle - ret, Chri -

sti Ma - trem si vi - de - ret in tan - to

sti Ma - trem si vi - de - ret in tan - to

sti Ma - trem si vi - de - ret in tan - to

65

sup - pli - ci - o? Quis pos - set non con - tri -

70

sta - ri, pi - am Ma - trem con - tem - pla - ri do -

75

sta - ri, pi - am Ma - trem con - tem - pla - ri do -

80

len - tem cum Fi - li - o? Vi - dit su -

85

len - tem cum Fi - li - o? Vi - dit su -

90

um dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - tem de - so - la -

um dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - tem de - so - la -

um dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - tem de - so - la -

tum, dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

tum, dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

tum, dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

III

100 Jux - ta cru - cem te - cum sta - re, te li - ben - ter so -

Jux - ta cru - cem te - cum sta - re, te li - ben - ter so -

Jux - ta cru - cem te - cum sta - re, te li - ben - ter so -

110 ci - a - re in plan - tu de - si - de - ro. Con -

ci - a - re in plan - tu de - si - de - ro. Con -

ci - a - re in plan - tu de - si - de - ro. Con -

115 fo - ne - ri gra - ci - a, O tres doul - ce

fo - ne - ri gra - ci - a, O tres doul - ce

fo - ne - ri gra - ci - a, O tres doul - ce

125

Da - me de pi - tie, mon â - me vul - lez re - ce - voir. Quan - do

Da - me de pi - tie, mon â - me vul - lez re - ce - voir. Quan - do

Da - me de pi - tie, mon â - me vul - lez re - ce - voir. Quan -

130

cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me

cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me

do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me

135 140

do - ne - tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a.

do - ne - tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a.

do - ne - tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a.

*crossed out:*

145

A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men.

# 85. Stabat mater dolorosa

(Cop 1848 no. 19, pp. 27-33)

**Superius**  
(B - a')

**Tenor**  
(B - g')

I

Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo - ro - sa jux - ta cru - cem la - cry - mo -

Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo - ro -

sa dum pen - de - bat fi - li - - us, fi - li - -

sa jux - ta cru - cem la - cry - mo - sa dum

10

- us, fi - li - - us, fi - li - - us.

pen - de - bat fi - li - - us.

15

20

Cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - men - tem, con - tri - stan - tem et

Cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - men - tem, con - tri - stan - tem

25

30

35

do - len - tem per - tans - i - vit gla - di - - us.

et do - len - tem per - tans - i - vit gla - di - - us.

3

40. 45.

O quam tri - stis et af - flic - ta fu - it il - la be - ne - dic - ta

O quam tri - stis et af - flic - ta fu - it il - la be - ne - dic - ta

50.

Ma - ter U - ni - ge - ni - ti. Que me - re - bat et

Ma - ter U - ni - ge - ni - ti. Que

55. 60.

do - le - bat et tre - me - bat dum vi - de - bat na - ti pe - nas

me - re - bat et do - le - bat et tre - me - bat dum vi - de - bat na - -

65.

in - cli - ti, in - ti pe - nas in - cli -

ti pe - nas in - cli -

70.

cli - ti, na - ti pe - nas in - cli - ti.

- ti, na - ti pe - nas in - cli - ti.

II

75 Quis est ho - mo qui non fle - ret, Chri - sti Ma - trem si vi - de - ret in tan - to sup - pli -

80 Quis est ho - mo qui non fle - ret, Chri - sti Ma - trem si vi - de - ret in tan - to sup - pli -

85 ci - o? Quis pos - set

90 ci - o? Quis pos - set

95 non con - tri - sta - ri, pi - am

100 non con - tri - sta - ri, pi - am Ma -

105 Ma - trem con - tem - pla - ri do - len - tem cum Fi - li -

110 trem con - tem - pla - ri do - len - tem cum Fi - li -

115 o, do - len - tem cum Fi - li - o? Pro pec - ca - tis su - e gen - tis

o, do - len - tem cum Fi - li - o? Pro pec - ca - tis su - e gen - tis



vi - dit Je - sum, vi - dit Je - sum in tor - men -

vi - dit Je - sum, vi - dit Je - sum in tor - men - tis,

tis, vi - dit Je - sum in tor - men - tis et fla - gel - lis, et fla - gel - lis,

vi - dit Je - sum in tor - men - tis et, et fla - gel - lis, et fla - gel -

et fla - gel - lis sub - di - tum. Vi - dit su -

lis, et fla - gel - lis sub - di - tum. Vi -

um dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - tem de - so - la - tum, de - so - la -

dit su - um dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - tem de - so - la - tum,

- tum, dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum, dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum, spi - ri - tum.

III

E - ia Ma - ter, fons a - mo - ris, me

E - ia Ma - ter, fons a - mo - ris,

sen - ti - re vim do - lo - ris, fac, ut te - cum lu -

me sen - ti - re vim do - lo - ris, fac, ut te - cum lu - ge -

ge - - am, lu - ge - am. Fac, ut ar - de - at cor

- am, lu - ge - am. Fac, ut ar - de - at

me - um, cor me - um in a - man - do Chri - stum De - um,

cor me - um, cor me - um in a - man - do Chri -

in a - man - do Chri - stum De - um, ut si - bi com - pla -

stum De - um, De - um, ut si - bi com - pla -

195

ce - am, ut si - bi com-pla - ce - am. Sanc -

ce - am, com - pla - ce - am. Sanc - ta Ma - ter, i - stud a -

200

205

ta Ma - ter, i - stud a - gas, cru - ci - fi - xi fi - ge pla - gas cor - di me - o

gas, cru - ci - fi - xi fi - ge pla - gas cor - di me - o va - li -

210

va - li - de. Tu - i na - ti vul - ne - ra - ti, tam di - gna - ti pro

- de. Tu - i na - ti vul - ne - ra - ti, tam

215

me pa - ti ut a - mo - ris im - pri - me, ut a - mo - ris im - pri -

di - gna - ti pro me pa - ti ut a - mo - ris im - pri - me, ut a -

220

225

- me, im - pri - me. Fac me ve -

mo - ris im - pri - me, im - pri - me. Fac me ve -

re te - cum fle - re, cru - ci - fi - xo con - do - le - re, do - nec e -

re te - cum fle - re, cru - ci - fi - xo con - do - le - re, do - nec e -

go vi - xe - ro, do - nec e - go vi - xe - ro. Jux -

go vi - xe - ro, do - nec e - go vi - xe - ro. Jux -

ta cru - cem te - cum sta - re, et me ti - bi so - ci - a - re in

ta cru - cem te - cum sta - re, et me ti - bi so - ci - a - re

plan - tu de - si - de - ro, et me ti - bi so - ci - a -

in plan - tu de - si - de - ro, et me ti - bi so -

re in plan - tu de - si - de - ro.

ci - a - re in plan - tu de - si - de - ro.

IV

270

Vir - go vir - gi - num pre - cla - re

Vir - go vir - gi - num pre - cla -

275

mi - hi jam non sis a - ma - ra: Fac me te -

re mi - hi jam non sis a - ma - ra: Fac me te -

280

285

cum plan - ge - re. Fac, ut por - tem Chri - sti mor - tem,

cum plan - ge - re. Fac, ut por - tem Chri - sti

290

pas - si - o - nis e - jus sor - tem, et pla - gas re - co -

mor - tem, pas - si - o - nis e - jus sor - tem, et pla - gas re -

295

300

- le - re. Fac me pla - gis vul - ne - ra -

- co - le - re. Fac me pla - gis vul - ne - ra -

305

ri, cru - ce hac in - e - bri - a - ri, ob a -

ri, cru - ce hac in - e - bri - a - ri, ob a - mo -

310

mo - rem Fi - li - i, ob a - mo - rem Fi - li - i. In - flam - ma -

rem Fi - li - i, ob a - mo - rem Fi - li - i. In - flam - ma -

315

tus et ac - cen - tus, per te Vir - go sim de - fen -

tus et ac - cen - tus, per te Vir - go sim de - fen - sus

320

sus in di - e ju - di - ci - i. Fac me cru -

in di - e ju - di - ci - i.

325

ce cu - sto - di - ri, mor - te Chri - sti pre - mu - ni - ri, con -

Fac me cru - ce cu - sto - di - ri, mor - te Chri - sti pre - mu - ni - ri, con -

330

335

fo - ne - ri gra - ci - a, con - fo - ne - ri

fo - ne - ri gra - ci - a, con - fo - ne - ri

340

gra - ci - a. Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur,

gra - ci - a. Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur,

350

fac ut a - ni - me do - ne - tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri -

fac ut a - ni - me do - ne - tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri -

355

a, pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a. A - men.

a, pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a. A - men.

## 86. Haquinet: Inviolata, integra et casta

(Cop 1848 no. 206, p. 374)

*Verse 1*

**Superius**  
(c' - c')

**Tenor**  
(e - c')

**Bassus**  
(f - a)

In - vi - o - la - ta, in - te - gra,

et ca - sta es Ma - ri - a:

Que es ef - fec - ta ful - gi - da ce - li por - ta.

*Verse 3*

O Ma - ter al - ma Chri - sti



25

ca - ris - si - ma:

ca - ris - si - ma:

ca - ris - si - ma:

Sus - ci - pe pi - a lau - dum pre - co - ni - a.

Te nunc fla - gi - tant de - vo - ta cor - da et o - ra:

Verse 6

30 35

No - stra ut pu - ra pec - to - ra

No - stra ut pu - ra pec - to - ra

No - stra ut pu - ra pec - to - ra

40

sint et cor - po - ra.

sint et cor - po - ra.

sint et cor - po - ra.

Verse 7

Tu - a per pre - ca - ta dul - cis -

Tu - a per pre - ca - ta dul - cis -

Tu - a per pre - ca - ta dul - cis -

- so - na:

so - na:

so - na:

No - bis con - ce - das ve - ni - am per se - cu - la.

Verse 9

O be - ni - gna!

O be - ni - gna!

O be - ni - gna!

Verse 11

O Ma - ri - a!

O Ma - ri - a!

O Ma - ri - a!

»O Maria« cantent pueri con tenore

*c* Verse 12

61

65

Que so - la in - vi - o - la - ta per -

Que so - la in - vi - o - la - ta per -

Que so - la in - vi - o - la - ta per -

70

- man - si - sti.

man - si - sti.

- man - si - sti.

## 87. Haquinet: Puer nobis nascitur

(Cop 1848 nos. 229 and 237, p. 402 and p. 409)

**Superius**  
(b - a)

**Tenor**  
(c - e)

**Bassus**  
(g - g)

Pu - er no - bis nas - ci - tur, rec - tor -

que an - ge - lo - rum in hoc mun - do pa - ti -

tur, Do - mi - nus do - mi - no - rum.

tur, Do - mi - nus do - mi - no - rum.

tur, Do - mi - nus do - mi - no - rum.

In presepe ponitur  
Sub feno asinorum  
Cognoverunt Dominum  
Christum Regem celorum.

Tunc Herodes timuit  
Magno con livore

Infantes et pueros  
Occidit com dolore.

Ergo con leticia  
Cantemus corde pio  
In cordis et organo  
Benedicamus Domino.

# 88. Haquinet: Noe, noe, iterumque noe

(Cop 1848 no. 230, p. 402)

**Superius**  
(d' - b')

**Contra altus**  
(f' - g')

**Tenor**  
(d - d')

**Bassus**  
(G - g)

5

No - e, no - e, i - te - rum -  
dum - pros - pe - ro cunc - ta - que

10

que - no - e, tri - pli - can - do no - e:  
su - ge - ro o - es de - ce - te - ro

15

O - no - e, psal - li - te.  
ta - li - a cre - di - te.

e: ro O ta - no li - e, psal cre - li - te.  
ro ta - li - a cre - di - te.

e: ro O ta - no li - e, psal cre - li - te.  
ro ta - li - a cre - di - te.

20

No - va no - bis gau - di - a re - fe - ro:

25

Na - tus est Rex Vir - gi - nis u - te - ro, Ut supra

30 Ut supra

# 89. Haquinet: O salutaris ostia

(Cop 1848 no. 197, p. 364)

**Superius**  
(d' - c')

**Altus**  
(f - g')

**Tenor**  
(f - d')

**Bassus**  
(G - a)

O sa - lu - ta - ris o - sti - a que ce -

Detailed description: This block contains the first system of the musical score. It features four staves for the vocal parts: Superius (soprano), Altus (alto), Tenor, and Bassus. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 2/2. The lyrics are 'O sa - lu - ta - ris o - sti - a que ce -'. The Superius part has a fermata on the final note 'a'. The other parts have a half note 'a'.

li pan - dis ho - sti - um, bel - la pre - munt o - sti - li -

Detailed description: This block contains the second system of the musical score. It continues the four-part setting. The lyrics are 'li pan - dis ho - sti - um, bel - la pre - munt o - sti - li -'. The Superius part has a fermata on 'um,'. The other parts have a half note 'um,'. There are measure numbers 10 and 15 indicated above the Superius staff.

a, da ro - bur fer au - xi - li - um.

Detailed description: This block contains the third system of the musical score. The lyrics are 'a, da ro - bur fer au - xi - li - um.'. The Superius part has a fermata on 'um.'. The other parts have a half note 'um.'. There is a measure number 20 indicated above the Superius staff.

# 90. Conditor alme siderum

(Cop 1848 no. 85, p. 142)

**Superius 1**  
(f' - d')

**Superius 2**  
(c' - d')

**Bassus**  
(A - d')

Con - di - tor

Con - di - tor

Con - di - tor al - me si -

al - me si - de - rum,

al - me si - de - rum, e - ter - na

- de - - rum, e - ter - na lux

e - ter - na lux cre - den - ti - um,

lux cre - den - ti - um,

cre - - den - ti - um, Chri -

Chri -

Chri - ste Red - emp - tor om - ni - um, Chri -

ste Red - emp - tor om - - ni - um, Chri -



20

ste Red - emp - tor om - ni - um,

ste Red - emp - tor om - ni - um,

ste Red - emp - tor om - ni - um, ex - au - di

25

ex - au - di pre - ces

ex - au - di pre - ces sup -

pre - ces sup - pli - cum, sup -

30

sup - pli - cum.

- pli - cum.

- pli - cum.

## 91. Christe qui lux es ac dies

(Cop 1848 no. 93, pp. 150-51)

**Superius**  
(d' - d'')

**Tenor**  
(d' - f')

**Bassus**  
(F - a)

Chri - ste, qui lux

Chri - ste, qui lux es ac

Chri - ste, qui lux es ac di -

es ac di -

di -

es

es

es noc - tis te - ne - bras de - te -

es noc - tis te - ne - bras de - te -

es noc - tis te - ne - bras de - te -

gis, de -

gis,

gis, Lu -

te -

gis,

Lu - ci - fer, lu - cem pre -

ci - fer, lu - cem

Lu - ci - fer, lu - cem pre -

fe - rens,

pre - fe - rens,

fe - rens,

lu - men be - a - tum pre - di -

lu - men be - a - tum pre - di -

lu - men be - a - tum pre - di - cans, pre -

cans.

cans, pre - di - cans.

di - cans.

## 92. O salutaris hostia

(Cop 1848 no. 110, p. 176)

**Superius**  
(g - a')

**Tenor**  
(f - e')

**Bassus**  
(c - b)

O sa - lu - ta - ris ho - sti - a que

ris ho - sti - a

ce - li pan - dis ho - sti -

que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti - um, que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti -

pan - dis, que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti -

um, bel - la pre - munt ho - sti - li - a, bel - la pre - munt ho -

um, bel - la pre - munt ho - sti -

um, bel - la pre - munt, bel - la pre - munt ho - sti -

sti - li - a, da ro - bur fer

- li - a, da ro - bur fer au -

- li - a, da ro - bur fer

au - xi - li - um.

xi - li - um, au - xi - li - um.

au - xi - li - um.

### 93. O salutaris hostia

(Cop 1848 no. 118, p. 183)

**Superius 1**  
(d' - d'')

**Superius 2**  
(c' - c'')

**Bassus**  
(c - d')

O sa - lu - ta - ris ho - sti -

O sa - lu - ta - ris

O sa - lu - ta - ris

- a, ho - sti - a que

ho - sti - a que ce - li

ho - sti - a

ce - li pan - dis ho - sti - um,

pan - dis ho - sti - um,

que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti - um, bel -

bel - la pre - munt ho - sti - li - a,

bel - la pre - munt ho - sti - li - a,

la pre - munt ho - sti - li - a, da

25

da ro - bur fert au - xi - li -

da ro - bur fert au - xi - li -

ro - bur fert au-xi - li -

30

um.

um.

um.

## 94. O salutaris hostia

(Cop 1848 no. 202, p. 367)

**Superius**  
(e' - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - e')

O sa - lu - ta - ris ho - sti -

O sa - lu - ta - ris ho -

- a que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti - um, bel - la

sti - a que ce - li pan - dis ho - sti - um, bel - la pre -

pre - munt ho - sti - li - a, da ro - bur fer au -

munt ho - sti - li - a, da ro - bur

xi - li - um, da ro - bur fer au - xi - li - um,

fer au - xi - li - um, da ro - bur fer au - xi -

au - xi - li - um.

li - um, au - xi - li - um.



# 95. Iste confessor Domini sacratus

(Cop 1848 no. 20, p. 34)

**Superius**  
(d' - c')

**Tenor**  
(f - d')

**Bassus**  
(F - g)

I - ste con - fes - sor Do - mi - ni

I - ste con - fes - sor Do - mi - ni sa -

I - ste con - fes - sor Do - mi - ni sa - cra -

sa - cra - tus, Do - mi - ni sa - cra - tus,

cra - tus, Do - mi - ni sa - cra - tus,

tus, Do - mi - ni sa - cra - tus,

fe - sta pleps cu - ius ce - le - brat per or - bem,

fe - sta pleps cu - ius ce - le - brat per or - bem,

fe - sta pleps cu - ius ce - le - brat per or - bem,

ho - di - e le - tus me - ru - it se -

ho - di - e le - tus me - ru - it se -

ho - di - e le - tus me - ru - it se -

No. 95 *Iste confessor* (Cop 1848 no. 20)

30

cre - ta scan - de - re ce - li,

cre - ta scan - de - re ce - li, scan -

cre - ta scan - de - re ce - li, me - ru - it

35

scan - de - re ce - li.

de - re ce - li.

scan - de - re ce - li, ce - li.

## 96. Veni, veni, veni electa mea

(Cop 1848 no. 119, p. 184)

**Superius**  
(g' - d'')

**Tenor**  
(d' - a')

**Bassus**  
(c - b)

Ve - ni, ve - ni, ve - ni e - lec - ta

me - a et po - nam te in thro - num me -

um, qui - a con - cu - pi - nit rex spe - ci - em tu -

am, spe - ci - em tu - am.

## 97. Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis

(Cop 1848 nos. 228 and 246, p. 401 and p. 417)

**Superius**  
(f' - c')

**Tenor**  
(g - e')

**Bassus**  
(B - b)

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis

pec - ca - to - ri - bus nunc et in ho - ra mor -

tis no - - - stre. A - men.

10 15 20

pec - ca - to - ri - bus nunc et in ho - ra mor -

tis no - - - stre. A - men.

pec - ca - to - ri - bus nunc et in ho - ra mor -

tis no - - - stre. A - men.

pec - ca - to - ri - bus nunc et in ho - ra mor -

tis no - - - stre. A - men.

## 98. Miserere mei – Gloria Patri

(Cop 1848 nos. 233 and 264, p. 404 and p. 434)

**Superius**  
(b - d')

**Tenor**  
(g - g')

**Bassus**  
(G - d')

**I**

Mi - se - re - re me - - -

10

i nunc pro Bar - ba - ra Re - - gi -

15

na et quam - vis sim ho - mo re - - us,

20

ad - ju - va - re me se - sti - - na.

25

30

ad - ju - va - re me se - sti - - na.

II

35 40

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, Pro - li, Spi - ri - tu - i - que,

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, Pro - li, Spi - ri - tu -

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, Pro - li, Spi - ri - - - - tu -

45

ce - lo - rum Re - gi, sum - mo De -

i - que, ce - lo - rum Re - gi, sum - mo De -

i - que, ce - lo - rum Re - gi, sum - mo De -

50 55

- o, in se - cu - la se - cu - lo -

- o, in se - cu - la se - cu - lo -

- o, in se - cu - la se - cu - lo -

60

rum. A - - - men.

rum. A - - - men.

- rum. A - - - men.

## 99. Osanna filio David

(Cop 1848 no. 251, p. 422 + p. 439)

**Altus**  
(d' - d'')

**Contra**  
(a - g')

**Tenor**  
(e - d')

**Bassus**  
(f' - g)

O - san - na fi - li - o

10

Da - vid: Be - ne - dic - tus

15 20

qui ve - nit

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with four staves. The first staff of each system is a vocal line (likely Soprano or Alto), and the other three are instrumental accompaniment (likely Piano and Cello/Double Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). Measure numbers 25, 30, 35, and 40 are indicated above the first staff of each system.

**System 1 (Measures 25-30):**

- Staff 1: in no - mi - ne Do -
- Staff 2: in no - mi - ne Do -
- Staff 3: in no - mi - ne Do -
- Staff 4: in no - mi - ne Do -

**System 2 (Measures 30-35):**

- Staff 1: - mi - ni. O - san - na
- Staff 2: mi - ni. O - san -
- Staff 3: - mi - ni. O - san -
- Staff 4: - mi - ni. O - san -

**System 3 (Measures 40-45):**

- Staff 1: in ex - cel -
- Staff 2: na in ex - cel -
- Staff 3: na in ex - cel -
- Staff 4: na in ex - cel -



45

50

sis, in ex - cel - sis.

sis, in ex - cel - sis.

sis, in ex - cel - sis.

sis, in ex - cel - sis.

# 100. Deo gracias

(Cop 1848 no. 170, p. 279)

Superius  
(e' - c')

Deo gracias

Tenor  
(f' - g')

Deo gracias

Bassus  
(B - b)

Deo gracias

10

15

20

## 101. Examples

(Cop 1848 no. 76, p. 134)



## 102. Examples

(Cop 1848 no. 122, p. 187)

**Tenor**  
(f - f')

**a**  
(f - f')

**b**  
(d' - c'')

**c**  
(e' - f')

**d**  
(c - f')

**e**  
(B - d')

**f**  
(A - d')

**10**

**15**

# 103. Examples

(Cop 1848 no. 156, p. 229)

a *crossed out:*

Superius  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(f - b)

*crossed out:*

Superius  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(f - d')

c

Superius  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(g - g')

*crossed out:*

Superius  
(c' - d')

Tenor  
(g - g')

# 104. Examples

(Cop 1848 no. 180, p. 317)

**Tenor**  
(f - e')

(Alleluia: Veni Sancte Spiritus)

**a**  
(c' - c')

**b2**  
(G - a)

**c**  
(G - a)

5

crossed out (b1):

crossed out:

crossed out:

10

crossed out:

crossed out (b2):

crossed out (b2):

15

20

crossed out:

crossed out:

(b)

# 105. Sy vostre cuer a prins tanné

(Cop 1848 no. 127, pp. 192-93)

**Superius**  
(c'-d')

Sy vos - tre cuer a prins tan - né le mien se ves -

**Altus**  
(g-g')

Sy vos - tre cuer a prins tan - - né le

**Tenor**  
(f-f')

Sy vos - tre cuer a prins tan - né le mien se ves - ti -

**Bassus**  
(c-c')

Sy vos - tre cuer a prins tan - né le mien se

5

- ti - ra de noyr,

mien se ves - - ti - ra de noyr, et di - ra l'on a veu -

- ra de noyr, et di - ra l'on a veu -

ves - ti - ra de deul, et di - ra l'on a veu -

10

et di - ra l'on a veu - - - e d'ouiel

- - e d'oeil, a veu - e d'oeil

- e d'oil, a veu - e d'oil

- - e d'oeil, a veu - e d'oeil

15

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam -

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né,

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam -

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né,

original:

20

né, qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né.

erased:

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né.

crossed out:

né, qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né.

qu'il est de play - sir con - dam - né.



# 106. Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum

(Cop 1848 no. 221, p. 410 + p. 395)

*Et respondens universus populus dixit:*

**Superius**  
(f - d<sup>a</sup>)

»San - guis e - ius su - per nos, et su - per fi - li - os

*crossed out:*

**Altus**  
(g - g')

»San - guis e - ius su - per nos, et su - per fi - li - os no -

**Tenor**  
(f - e')

»San - guis e - ius su - per nos, et su - per fi - li - os no -

**Bassus**  
(c - a)

»San - guis e - ius su - per nos, et su - per fi - li - os no - stros,

no - stros, et su - per fi - li - os no - stros.«

- stros, et su - per fi - li - os no - stros.«

stros, et su - per fi - li - os no - stros.«

et su - per fi - li - os no - stros.«

... et genu flexo ante eum, illudebant ei, dicentes:

»A - ve Rex Ju - de - o - rum!«

»A - ve Rex Ju - de - o - rum!«

»A - ve Rex Ju - de - o - rum!«

»A - ve Rex Ju - de - o - rum!«

Pretereuntes autem blasphemabant eum, moventes capita sua, et dicentes:

»Vah, vah, qui de - stru - is temp - lum De - i,«

»Vah, vah, qui de - stru - is temp - lum De - i,«

»Vah, qui de - stru - is temp - lum De - i,«

»Vah, vah, qui de - stru - is temp - lum De - i,«

i, et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e - di - et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e - i, et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e -

i, et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e - di - et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e -

et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e -

i, et in tri - du - o il - lud re - e -

30

Sal - va te - me - tip - sum,

fi - cas: Sal - va te - me - tip - sum, Sal -

di - fi - cas: Sal -

di - fi - cas: Sal - va te -

35

sal - va te - me - tip - sum. Si Fi - li - us De -

- va te - me - tip - sum. Si Fi - li - us De -

va te - me - tip - sum. Si Fi - li - us De -

- me - tip - sum. Si Fi - li - us De -

40

i es, de - scen - de de cru - ce.«

i es, de - scen - de de cru - ce.«

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