The Complete Works of Gilles Mureau

(*c*1442-1512)

Poet-Musician of Chartres

Introduced and edited by

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

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(revised April 2017)

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Four secular songs – that is all the composer Gilles Mureau is known for today. Among the four was a song that became an international hit, "Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris", while the remaining three did not enjoy a comparable circulation – even if they were known in Florence during the 1480s and 1490s. Copyists began to ascribe the 'hit song' to the far more famous musicians Busnoys and Compere, and it was provided with an extra "Si placet" altus part in Ottaviano Petrucci's pioneering printed collection of secular music from 1501, the *Odhecaton*. Long before that, Mureau's name as a composer apparently started to sink into oblivion outside Central France, and it looks as if he for the greater part of his career concentrated on other things, and that the songs may belong to his youth.

This introduction aims to discuss what we know about his life and work, and to review his few preserved songs on this background. His stature as a composer might turn out to be more important than one would expect from the treatment as a third-rank composer he usually receives in the musicological literature. Mureau's literary ambitions and his way of transforming his poetic texts into music may have had some influence on the younger generation of chanson composers. At the end comes a short discussion of the difficulties of ascribing anonymous chansons along with an investigation into some candidates for inclusion in the works of Mureau.

Life

The Mureau family lived near Chartres. A Gilles Mureau appears in the archives in 1457 as a businessman in Bonneval, situated 25 km south of Chartres. He was the father of the musician who in all probality was sent to the Chartres Cathedral to be educated as a choirboy.¹ It is very likely that he spent his entire youth at the *maîtrise* of Chartres, but one may speculate that he, after his voice broke, was sent away a year or two for further studies at the university, probably in Orléans (Bonneval is situated between Chartres and Orléans). Such studies would qualify him for the functions he took over at the Chartres Cathedral in 1467 as *maître de grammaire*, teaching the choirboys their letters and music. In 1462 he is mentioned as *heurier* at the cathedral. This position involves singing at a specified number of daily services requiring professional musical participation.

1 All information concerning the biography of Mureau comes from André Pirro, 'Gilles Mureau, chanoine de Chartres' in Walther Lott, Helmuth Osthoff & Werner Wolffheim (eds.), *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstage*, Berlin 1929, pp. 163-167.

The cathedral was served by a fixed number of qualified singers, 24 at maximum, who were members of the confraternity of horarii et matutinarii Ecclesiae Carnotensis (heuriers) which had existed since the 12th century.² Membership of this group appears to have been a lifelong occupation, which was easy to combine with other functions at the cathedral, and it secured the possessor a steady source of income. When Mureau in 1483 obtained permission to be absent from his posts to visit the Holy Land, the young Antoine Brumel was temporarily hired as Mureau's competent replacement as heurier - at an unusually high pay. The heuriers were selected for their musical qualities and had to sing plainchant and polyphony, super librum as well as in the form of composed music, according to what was appropriate for the services. These also included processions, funerals and a wide variety of funded memorial services. In many of these functions they performed with the choirboys. The heuriers, who can be compared to the petit vicaires at Cambrai Cathedral, lived inside the cathedral cloisters but did not have to be ordained, even if a number among them actually were priests. They were often recruited from the ranks of former choirboys who had to be at least 18 years of age in order to try for a position among the singers.

This means that Mureau must have been a bit older than usually presumed. He must be born in the early 1440s in order to be securely placed as *heurier* in 1462 and to qualify as *maître de grammaire* in 1467. Furthermore, before 1472 he was installed as a canon at the cathedral, probably when he reached the canonical age of 30.³

His teaching post, which he shared with several other teachers in grammar and music during the years, as well as his responsibility for the administration of the *maîtrise*, seems to have been more or less permanent during his whole career. This secured him a comfortable living, and from early on he held valuable benefices bringing revenues from properties near Blois and Bourges. A further source of income was that he often took in sons of noblemen to board and look after in order to teach them language and grammar and the art of performing polyphonic music, "et aussi les enseigner et monstrer dechant aux mieulx qu'il pourra", all agreed to in written contracts with the fathers.⁴

The boys of the *maîtrise* were in demand as musical performers also outside the cathedral, not only in religious institutions but in noble houses as well. The gifts that the boys received in recompenses for their performances had, according to the decision of the chapter, to be shared between the master of music and the master of grammar, the latter being responsible for the boys' expenses.⁵

This draws up a picture of a person who spent his whole life in the service of the Chartres Cathedral. He probably had a very busy daily life singing at services, teaching grammar and music, occasionally officiating as celebrant at Mass, looking after his boarders, performing with the boys, and not least managing his in due course extensive land holdings – and he did not have much incentive for composing new music. The affluence created by his many activities made it possible for him to embark on two major journeys. From March to October 1483 he visited Jerusalem, and again the following year he was

- 2 Cf. Nicole Goldine, 'Les heuriers-matiniers de la cathédrale de Chartres jusqu'au XVIe siècle. Organisation liturgique et musicale', *Revue de Musicologie* 54 (1968), pp. 161-175.
- 3 Richard Freedman gives his birth date as "c1450" in 'Mureau, Gilles' in *Grove Music Online* (accessed May 2011).
- A contract dated 1471 is reprinted in Abbé A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen du Ve au XVIe siècles.* (Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Tome XI), Chartres 1895, pp. 428-429.
- 5 Clerval, Les écoles, p. 430.

away for half a year on a pilgrimage to Santiago di Compostella. Returning from the last trip, he for a year or so filled in as organist of the cathedral. In June 1486 he took up again his normal position as master and administrator of *les enfants de l'aube*. He died in June 1512.

His career signals that music formed only a part of his life, that his talents to the same degree unfolded in the arts of language and words, in Latin, French, poetry and grammar, and in connection with his administrative capacities as a canon of the cathedral. His reputation as a musician may have depended more on his skills as a performer and as a teacher, as a man knowledgeable in music and poetry, than as a composer. This may be the reason why Eloy d'Amerval put Mureau on par with productive composers as Busnoys and Compere in the famous list of musicians in his enormous poem *Le livre de Déablerie* (1508). Eloy himself (*c*1430-1508) had an even shorter list of musical works to his credit. He spent much of his life in the Loire Valley, as singer in the chapel of Charles d'Orléans and *maîstre des enfans* at St. Aignan in Orléans, and ended up as a canon in Chateaudun, not far from Chartres.⁶

Another musician in Mureau's proximity was Johannes Tinctoris (*c*1435-1511) who according to his own account in *De inventione et usu musicae* spent some time in the 1460s as teacher of music to the choirboys at the Chartres Cathedral, probably teaching side by side with Mureau.⁷ Their cooperation may have meant a lot to Tinctoris' research into the basics and systematisation of music theory.⁸

Works

The music manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, is important as a source for Mureau's chansons. It is the only source to give his name by more than one composition as it contains three songs ascribed to him, and it is an early source for his music. The recently discovered Leuven chansonnier, which contains his 'hit' song *Je ne fais plus*, is probably sligtly older.⁹ Florence 176 is a small format paper manuscript (168 x 118 mm) of 139 folios.¹⁰ Nearly all of its repertory was collected and copied by a single Italian scribe in Florence around or before 1480. This scribe had access to French exemplars that must have been practically contemporary with the repertory of the

- 6 Cf. latest Paula Higgins, 'Speaking of the Devil and Discipuli: Eloy d'Amerval, Saint-Martin of Tours, and Music in the Loire Valley, ca. 1465-1505' in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn. CESR Tours 2009, pp. 169-182.
- 7 Cf. Ronald Woodley, 'Johannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981) pp. 217-248 (p. 229), and Tinctoris' text at http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/TININV_TEXT.html.
- 8 See Rob C. Wegman, 'Tinctoris's *Magnum opus*' in Bloxam, Filocamo, and Holford-Strevens, *Uno gentile et subtile ...*, pp. 771-782 (at p. 778 Tinctoris was never choirmaster at Chartres, only a teacher).
- 9 Cf. David J. Burn, 'The Leuven Chansonnier: A New Source for Mid Fifteenth-Century Franco-Flemish Polyphonic Song', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9 (2017), pp. 135-158.
- 10 For a description and contents of the manuscript, see Bianca Becherini, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Musicali delle Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*. Kassel 1959, pp.72-75; *idem*, 'Autori minori nel codice fiorentino Magl. XIX.176', *Revue Belge de Musicologie* IV (1950), pp. 19-31; Knud Jeppesen: *La Frottola I-III*. Copenhagen 1968-70, vol. 2, pp. 57-58; *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music* 1400-1550, 5 vols., Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1979-1988, vol. 4, p. 374; RISM B IV/5 (1991), pp. 171 ff.

so-called 'Loire Valley' chansonniers." Of the 84 French, Italian and Spanish songs he entered in Florence 176, 27 are concordances to songs in the Loire Valley chansonniers - of these only two were added to the group of chansonniers by later hands; in no less than five instances, Florence 176 is the only concordance outside the group of French chansonniers that we know of.12 In most cases the main scribe copied his exemplars accurately when we look at the music, but apparently he did not understand French at all. As a result, his texts are either missing, fragmentary or consisting in incipits only, and often quite corrupt. Two later hands have added compositions on the manuscript's final folios, and a fourth user has added the index, foliation, attributions and other completions.¹³ This last user had an intimate knowledge of French music, and especially of music in Central France. Among the French pieces, he identified five pieces as being by "duffay", three by "muream", three by "Raulin" (Johannes Raoullin, who in 1464 was a singer in the chapel of Charles d'Orléans),14 two by "mortom" (Robert Morton), two by "Bellingan" (Johannes Bedyngham), one each by "Busnois", "Ockeghem", "Carom" (Caron), "fede" (Jean Sohier, active in the Loire Valley c1450-c1475), "Io tinctoris" and "Michelet" (?). Even if the scribe was in error in ascribing "L'omme banny de sa plaisance" to Fedé,15 it detracts nothing from the credibility of his other names of composers. In addition to older and internationally renowned names as Du Fay, Morton and Bedyngham, the ascriptions show a remarkable concentration on composers active in the royal lands of Central France with Ockeghem and Busnoys, and with the names hardly ever mentioned in musical sources such as Mureau, Raoullin, Tinctoris and Fedé – as if the scribe's view of contemporary France was shaped by a recent stay in Orléans, Blois or Tours.

Only one further source adds a song to the list of works. It is the big chansonnier in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229, which was made in Florence during the first years of the 1490s. It contains a three-part rondeau with the garbled text incipit, "Penses ycelle", and the composer's name is given as "Murian". This means that the three songs in Florence 176 and the one in Florence 229 are preserved without complete and reliable texts in their oldest sources. However, it is in all cases possible to recover the texts with the help of French musical or poetical sources. This is a lucky situation, because the poems hold the key to much of the art and the distinguishing traits of Mureau. Let us start with *Grace actendant*, in which the text as well as the ascription in Florence 176 gives evidence to Mureau's authorship, and this song is his most original creation.

- 11 Copenhagen, The Royal Library, MS Thott 291 8°, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, MS M2.1 L25 Case (Laborde Chansonnier), Leuven, Alamire Foundation, Manuscript without shelf number (Leuven chansonnier), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57 (Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 287 Extravag.; see further my edition of *The Copenhagen Chansonnier and the related 'Loire Valley' chansonniers*.
- 12 Florence 176 nos. 8, 25, 26, 32 and 78.
- 13 Cf. Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1973, pp. 305-28 at p. 318, note 34.
- 14 Higgins, 'Speaking of the Devil', p. 181.
- The ascription of the song to Barbingant by Tinctoris, who spent many years in the Loire Valley, 'overrules' the Florence 176 ascription. However, the original scribe of this MS was the only one with access to the probably correct version of the song's original notation in *fa*-clefs, see further the discussion at http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH099.html.
- 16 Cf. the complete edition and discussion of the source in Howard Mayer Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificient. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229 (Monuments of Renaissance Music VII) Chicago 1983.

The initial letters of the lines in the poem, a bergerette with a four-line refrain, form the acrostic GILLES MUREAU; the rime syllables are in the first section (refrain and *tierce*) "-mes/mais" and "-usé" in the pattern ABBA, while the contrasting second section (*couplets*) uses "-oureux" and "-ame", CDCD.¹⁷ These rimes combined with the acrostic place the poem securely in the literary sphere, in *l'Art de Rhétorique* of the 15th century. While most of the poems used for music depend on perfectly satisfactory rimes (*rimes suffisantes*), a *rhétoriqueur* prefers *rimes riches*, which can be graded from *rimes léonines* to a still higher complexity in diverse forms of *rimes équivoques*. Mureau's rimes in this poem belong to the *léonines* by showing identity in three elements each. This fashionable love complaint has everything one might expect from a *maître de grammaire* in charge of the children of the nobility – a visiting card of a poet-musician.

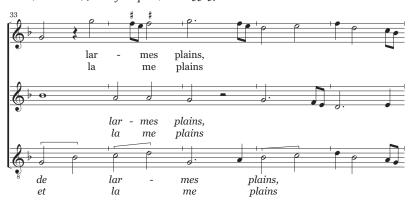
The two other poems in the same vein, Tant fort me tarde ta venue and Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris, for his songs in Florence 176 take the art of the rhétoriqueur a step further as they both use rimes équivoques; that is, when the same words or syllables are used as rime words, looking or sounding alike, but with different meanings. In Tant fort me tarde Mureau displays another favoured device of the rhétoriqueurs, that of posing as the opposite gender; here he writes in a female voice and in an intimate tone. Characteristic also are the rimes of Je ne fais plus: "escris / escris / descris / et cris / acris / escris / precris / qu'Antecrix" and "plains / plains ..." - a quite virtuosic performance. In addition, this song is cast in the rather uncommon form of a rondeau tercet layé with only five lines in its refrain – usually short lines are interpolated into the four or five lines of the refrain, but here we find only three long lines, handled by a very sure poetic hand. Seen in connection with Grace actendant, one cannot doubt that the manuscript's attribution of these songs to Mureau applies to the poems as well as to the music. Only the rondeau *Pensez y* se le povez faire found in Florence 229 does not in its common but completely adequate rimes match the literary ambitions demonstrated by the other poems. However, an analysis of its musical traits shows that its ascription to Mureau is quite credible.

The music of the four chansons complies with the general characteristics of French songs in the early 1460s setting poems in *formes fixes*. They build on a structural duet of superius and tenor supported by a contratenor in either the same range as the tenor or in a slightly lower range; they set the poems line for line while observing a suitable alternation of declamatory passages and melismatic endings. Imitation between the voices does not play any important role for Mureau, but it occurs as an element of variation in the musical discourse.¹⁹

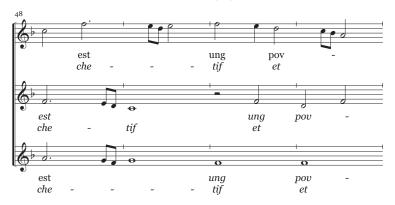
To discuss personal traits in the *forme fixe* chansons of the 1460s and early 1470s is difficult; it must be in the form of descriptions of tendencies, which relate to a norm that can be quite elusive. On the other hand, it is remarkable that three songs (*Grace actendant, Je ne fais plus, Pensez y*) use a very high tessitura as if they were expressly destined for

- 17 Exactly the stringent formation of the rimes permits the reconstruction of the original appearance of the poem, see the edition; the form in which the poem is preserved in *Le jardin de plaisance* produces a misleading acrostic: GILLES MUREUE; cf. the faulty edition of the song in E. Droz et G. Thibault, *Poètes et musiciens de xve siècle*. Paris 1924, pp. 43-48.
- 18 The main 15th-century manuals of the craft of poetry are edited in Ernest Langlois (ed.), *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*. Paris 1902; see for example the lists under the heading "Et premièrement une règle de moz léonines et plains sonans et esquivoques et presonans" in the anonymous treatise *Les Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* from the early 15th century (Langlois, p. 15).
- 19 For more on this and the topics of the following discussion, see the comments on the single editions.

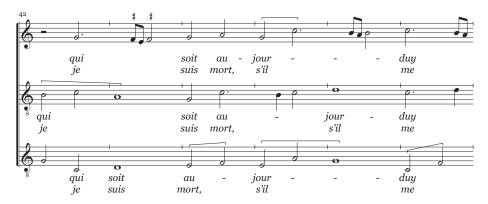
Ex. 1, Mureau, Je ne fais plus, bars 33-37



Ex. 2, Mureau, Grace actendant, bars 48-51



Ex. 3, Mureau, Tant fort me tarde, bars 42-47

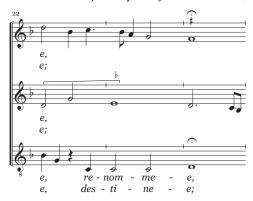


boys' voices. This seems relevant considering Mureau's occupation as a teacher and performer with the boys at the Chartres *maîtrise*. Still more characteristic is a tendency to declaim the words clearly in tranquil note values for longer stretches and preferably in more than one voice at the same time; again, interesting in view of his position as *maïtre de grammaire*. His concern for the intelligibility of the words in performance appears modern, forward-looking on the background of contemporary tendencies. However, this may to some degree be contradicted by such old-fashioned traits as his use of a high contratenor crossing above the tenor at cadences, and the tendency to parallelism between voices, or downright *faulxbourdon*-like passages, which can be found in *Tant fort me tarde* and *Grace actendant*.

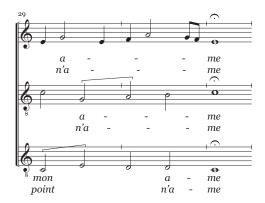
Ex. 4, Mureau, Je ne fais plus, bars 27-29



Ex. 5, Mureau, Pensez y se le povez faire, bars 22-24



Ex. 6, Mureau, Tant fort me tarde, bars 29-31



Mureau shows an ability to make the upper voice seemingly 'float' upon the web of the lower voices. *Je ne fais plus* is a particularly successful example of this, and it may be one of the reasons for the song's lasting popularity. This furthermore calls attention to a musical trait, to which he apparently resorted quite often, namely to exploit the driving force of the traditional cadence configuration with suspension and resolution in order to set off or animate a melodic development long before the arrival of the phrase's ending. The memorable opening of *Je ne fais plus* can stand as a sort of paradigm of this technique, and later on it is used to energize the song's culmination (ex. 1). In *Grace actendant* we find a similar push forward in bars 32-33 and 35-36, and very characteristic at the run-up to the three-part *faulxbourdon* cadence in bars 48-50 (ex. 2); in *Tant fort me tarde* it is used to propel the beginning of the long final phrase in bars 42-47 (ex. 3).

That the text was important to the composer also when he was designing the lower voices, is made obvious by some details in *Je ne fais plus* and *Pensez y se le povez faire*. In the former the syllabic setting in the tenor and the use of tone repetitions virtually force a repeat of the last words of the text line just before the medial cadence (bb. 27-28, ex. 4); and something quite similar happens in the contratenor of *Pensez y* (bb. 22-24, ex. 5). In this connection it is interesting that tone repetitions provoke a analogous placement of the last three syllables before the medial cadence in the contratenor of *Tant fort me tarde* (bb. 30-31, ex. 6); in this case, however, no text repetition is needed.

Poems intended for musical setting were traditionally made in such a way that it seemed natural in the rondeau to repeat the first half of the refrain after the short *couplet*,

and the complete refrain after the *tierce*, and likewise the complete first section at the end of the bergerette. When these forms became popular as poetry for reading or reciting without music during the 15th century (Christine de Pisan, Charles d'Orléans and others), repeats were often reduced to a single line or the first words (*rentrement*) only, which had to be integrated into the discourse of the preceding formal section; accordingly, Charles d'Orléans distinguished between *rondeaux* and *chansons* (rondeaux made for music). The literary ambitions of Mureau are clearly in evidence – he did work and experiment with the form. In *Tant fort me tarde* the sense of the refrain does not permit a repeat of the first three lines as a unit, while the first line alone constitutes a satisfactory 'short refrain' after the *couplet*; nothing hinders a complete repeat of the refrain at the end of the song. Conversely, in *Grace actendant* it is the music that resists a repeat of the complete first section at the bergerette's end, because this would result in a quite implausible ending on the mode's fifth degree and with a third in the final chord. The solution is again the 'short refrain' of the first line only, which brings a natural completion to the music as well as to the sense of the poem.²⁰

Two of the three chansons by Mureau in Florence 176 may have left the composer's hand notated in fa-clefs. The highest parts of Grace actendant and Je ne fais plus are notated in G2-clefs and key signatures of three flats at the positions f', b' and f". Moreover, also the lower voices of Je ne fais plus are notated with three flats.²¹ The notational peculiarity of seemingly superfluous signs is possible evidence that they originally were notated without letter-clefs, in formations of fa-clefs alone, three or two flats to each voice are typical. This means that the songs were notated not at a fixed pitch, but could be performed at any convenient pitch. The fa-clef notation seems to have been used by composers around Binchois and in Central France in the 1450s and the early 1460s (Ockeghem, Barbingant, Le Rouge). Knowledge of the notation soon faded away, and the songs were then in later sources transmitted in fixed-pitch notation.²² This is interesting because Florence 176 contains the most authoritative version of Barbingant's "L'omme banny de sa plaisance", notated entirely in fa-clefs (ff. 54v-55; ascribed to Fedé). This suggests that Mureau in these high-range songs made use of a notational praxis, which was relatively well known in his region, in order to render the songs performable for others than groups with boys. Of course, another possibility could be that he imitated the notation of songs by older composers, which at that time circulated in fixed notation including 'superfluous' flats, in order to gain some additional status.

The music of *Grace actendant* is for sure Mureau's most ambitious effort, probably it was a bit too unusual to secure it a popularity comparable to that of *Je ne fais plus*. It is composed for four voices in an original working out of the principle of contrast characteristic of the bergerette, namely by the use of vocal instrumentation. Two worlds of sound are juxtaposed, both quite new in the secular music of the 1460s: a four-part voice

²⁰ Cf. Daniel Calvez, 'La Structure du rondeau: mise au point', *The French Review* 55 (1982), pp. 461-470, and the editions. The two remaining songs, *Je ne fais plus* and *Pensez y*, can be performed with short refrains after the couplets as well, but it is not necessary.

²¹ The flats in the contratenor of *Je ne fais plus* were most probably copied after a faulty exemplar, see further the comments on the song.

²² Cf. my article 'On chansons notated in fa-clefs – and the question of pitch in 15th century secular music'; also published as '*Prenez sur moi vostre exemple*: The 'clefless' notation or the use of *fa-clefs* in chansons of the fifteenth century by Binchois, Barbingant, Ockeghem and Josquin', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 37 (2009), pp. 13-38.

disposition (a group of boys on the upper parts and two men) contrasting with three equal high parts (three boys solo?). To this we can add the artful poem, the ingenious use of 'short refrain' at the end of the song, and the possible original notation without letter-clefs.

Along with Mureau's other masterpiece, *Je ne fais plus*, which is just as original in its own way, it probably originated during the years around 1470, a bit late for inclusion in the majority of the 'Loire Valley' chansonniers, that is, during the years when his reputation as a teacher of grammar and music in the *maîtrise* of Chartres and as a teacher of private pupils was growing. *Pensez y se le povez faire* seems slighter, but may belong to the same period. In comparison, *Tant fort me tarde* appears much more old-fashioned, less experimenting, for voices in a 'normal' tessitura, and with an extended use of parallelism between the parts. It may be a result of his early years. It did inspire the young Philippe Basiron, but only the poem was of any interest to him, and he provided a completely dissimilar setting.²³

Additional songs by Mureau?

These four songs make up the total of the music we know by Gilles Mureau. Did he compose any music for the liturgy? We cannot know, as the sources are silent on this question, and probably it was not required of him in his professional life. On the other hand, his secular production may have been far more extended than these few songs imply. Some of them suggest a very experienced composer; more songs may hide between the numbers of anonymously preserved chansons from the period 1470-1500. However, it will be impossible to pinpoint them in the multitude using stylistic criteria alone. But we can try out some probable avenues. It is obvious to take a closer look at the manuscript Florence 176 whose repertory seems so closely linked with Central France. We must remember that apart from one or two songs, the repertory of the main writer was originally entered without any composer ascriptions at all, and that the later user added names only to the pieces he recognized. The three songs, to which Mureau's name were added, appear in the manuscript as nos. 31, 48 and 49. As remarked above, two of the three songs had key signatures involving a flat at the high f". Therefore it is noteworthy that among the adjacent pieces we find two anonymous songs with flats at b' and f'' positions; and they are the only ones with such a key disposition in the manuscript except for Mureau's two songs, Barbingant's "L'omme banny", and Johannes Raoullin's four-part "Se suis trop jeunnette" (Florence 176 no. 73). It looks as if it could pay off to examine the three songs in Florence 176, which follow next to Mureau's (nos. 50-52).

At the first reading, the three poems trigger the thought that they could be by the same author (Mureau?), because they share the play on the traditional allegorical personifications of 15th century literature: Faulx Rapport, Bel Acueil and Male Bouche respectively (Slander, Warm Welcome and Gossip). But the bringing together of these themes could just as well be the responsibility of the person who collected the repertory of the exemplar as they should be works of the same poet. It does, however, whet the appetite. Can we find songs, which ought to be ascribed to Mureau among these songs? They are edited in the Appendix with their texts, which again had to be recovered from other sources.

On the poetic relationship between Basiron and Mureau, see my article 'The chansons of Basiron's youth and the dating of the 'Loire Valley' chansonniers' at http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/NOTES/BasironYouth.html.

At once we can assert that the evidence presented by the key signature combinations is unexciting; their function is different from the one relevant to the two chansons by Mureau. In one case (no. 52) the two-flat signature even appears to be caused by a misreading of the exemplar. The flats at the high f -position are in both cases simple indications that the songs are written in a high tessitura; this fact is of course in itself of interest.

Florence 176 no. 50, "Que feray, las, fors languir en destresse" (ff. 75v-77) is a candidate for an ascription to Mureau in spite of its 'normal' tessitura and voice distribution with a low contratenor. The poem, a rondeau, is artfully made in rich *rimes léonines*, and its setting pays close attention to the words. The syllabic setting of the important third verse line (important in the refrain as well as in the *couplet* and *tierce*) is congruent with the style of Mureau. The drive of repeated cadences in the lower voices counterbalances the static superius (bb. 25-29) and the contratenor's participation in the declamation of the last half of the line are both quite original creations in the vein of Mureau. Moreover, the imitation figure starting in bar 19 is clearly related to the corresponding figure heard in bars 13 ff of *Tant fort me tarde*.

No. 51, "Je te veulx desavouer oeil" (ff. 77v-79), which just like the preceding is found in two additional sources, is likewise a candidate. Its poem, a bergerette, is in *rimes équivoques* as are Mureau's best efforts. It is composed for three voices in high tessitura with the contratenor crossing above the tenor several times. Again we find the clear declamation of the words alternating with melismatic passages – with the upper voice in calm dominance. The couplets are rhythmically differentiated from the first section, but there is an unmistakable thematic relation between the two sections creating an interesting mood of unity. Compare also the upper voice's setting of the second line (bb. 7-13) with *Pensez y* bars 25-32.

Contrary to this, the unique rondeau no. 52, "Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche" (ff. 79v-81) appears a bit slight in comparison. Its poem is in *rimes léonines* and could be from Mureau's hand, but the music is different from all the other songs. It is again for an upper voice in high tessitura and two lower voices in the same range, but it opens with a three-part imitation at the unison based on the C-hexachord, which is presented plainly in the contratenor and tenor, and its expressive range seems restricted. For example, the tenor seems stuck within the C-hexachord except for a few bars before the medial cadence. Of course, this song like *Tant fort me tarde* could be an early work from the hand of Mureau, but it does not sound like his music.

The investigation of the most obvious place to look for additional chansons by Mureau has unearthed two quite probable candidates for an ascription and one doubtful. But in order to be sure of any authorship we will need to discover new sources; and Florence 176 can tell us only about music from the early years of Mureau's long life in Chartres.

Comments on the chansons

List of *sigla* of sources mentioned in the commentary. The sources marked with an * in the lists of *sources* are transcribed in the edition.

Main sources:

Florence 176 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176

Florence 2794 Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794

Leuven, Alamire Foundation, Manuscript without shelf number

(Leuven Chansonnier)

Other sources dated before c1500:

Bologna Q16 Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q16
Bologna Q17 Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q17
Florence 178 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.178
Florence 229 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229

Florence 2356 Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2356

Laborde Washington D.C., Library of Congress, MS M2.1 L25 Case (Laborde

Chansonnier; c1470)

Paris 15123 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. f.fr. 15123 (Chansonnier

Pixérécourt)

Paris 2245 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. f.fr. 2245

Rome XIII.27 Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Cap-

pella Guilia, XIII.27

Sevilla 5-1-43 Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43

Sources dated after c1500:

Copenhagen 1848 København, The Royal Library, MS Ny Kgl. Samling 1848 2° Florence 121 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.121 Petrucci 1501 Petrucci, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, Venezia 1501

Sankt Gallen 462 Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 462

Segovia Segovia, Archivio Capitular de la Catedral, MS s.s.

Turin I.27 Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Ms. Ris.mus. I.27 Washington M2.1 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS M2.1 M6 Case (Wolf-

M6 heim fragment)

Text sources:

Berlin 78.B.17 Berlin, Staatsliche Museen der Stiftung Preußuscher Kulturbesitz,

Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78.B.17 (Chansonnier Rohan)

Jardin 1501 Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque, Paris, [Antoine Verard,

1501

Lille 402 Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 402 (new call no. 308)

Paris 1719 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. f.fr. 1719

The Complete Works of Gilles Mureau

Secondary sources:

Brown 1983 Howard Mayer Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of

Lorenzo the Magnificient. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229 (Monuments of Renaissance Music VII) Chicago

1983

Droz 1924 E. Droz et G. Thibault, Poètes et musiciens de xve siècle. Paris 1924

Fallows 1999 David Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480. Oxford

1999

Françon 1938 Marcel Françon (ed.), Poèmes de transition (xve-xvie siècles): Ron-

deaux du Ms 402 de Lille. Paris & Cam. Mass. 1938

Geering 1967 Arnold Geering & M. Trümphy (eds.), Das Liederbuch des Johannes

Heer. Ein Musikheft aus der Zeit des Humanismus (Codex 462 der Stiftsbibliothek St.Gallen). (Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler V), Ba-

sel 1967

Hewitt 1942 H. Hewitt & I. Pope (eds.), Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A. (The

Medieval Academy of America Publ. No. 42), Cam. Mass. 1942

Löpelmann 1923 M. Löpelmann (ed.), Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan

(Gesellschaft für romanische Litteratur, Band 44) Göttingen 1923

Schwob 1905 Marcel Schwob, Le Parnasse satyrique du quienzième siècle. Paris

1905

Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes 4v · Gilles Mureau

Source:

*Florence 176, ff. 46v-48 "Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes" 4v G mueran (unicum)

Edition: Droz 1924, pp. 43-48 (faulty, published as a rondeau).

Text: Bergerette; in Florence 176 incomplete refrain and incipits only for the 2nd section; the complete poem is found in Jardin 1501, f. 96.

Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes J'ay trop *esté* d'esperance abusé, Labuer en vain *j'ay* mon temps en usé, L'eure maldis que tant ame jamays.

En grant peril est ung povre amoureux S'il se submet au danger de tel dame:

Mourir pourroit chetif et langoureux Vingt foiz et plus sans que pitié l'entame.

Riens n'y vault sens ne servir d'entremes, Estre subtil ne faire le rusé. Viengne qui peut, je vivray desormais En nonchaloir, car g'y ay trop musé

grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes.

Acrostic GILLES MUREUE; missing words and lines supplied after *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, Verard, Paris 1501. – This collection of poems is often faulty in its rendering of the texts. We must presume that the poet knew how to spell his own name; and the rimes of refrain and *tierce* demand a reversal of the two last lines. Taking this in consideration, it is easy to reconstruct the poem and obtain a more meaningful acrostic:

Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes J'ay trop esté d'esperance abusé, Labuer en vain j'ay mon temps en usé, L'eure maldis que tant ame jamays.

En grant peril est ung povre amoureux S'il se submet au danger de tel dame:

Mourir pourroit chetif et langoureux Vingt foiz et plus sans que pitié l'entame.

Riens n'y vault sens ne servir d'entremes, Estre subtil ne faire le rusé A non chaloir, car g'y ay trop musé. Viengne qui peut, je vivray desormais

grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes.

Waiting for grace or death as my reward I have too often been abused by hope, on labour in vain have I used my time, miserable ever to love so much.

An unlucky lover is in great peril if he submits to the danger of such a lady:

He may die frail and longing twenty times or more without her being bothered by pity.

Nothing, neither wisdom nor being amusing, nor cunning nor guile makes any difference, for I have wasted enough time on this. Whatever happens, I shall live hereafter

waiting for grace or death as my reward.

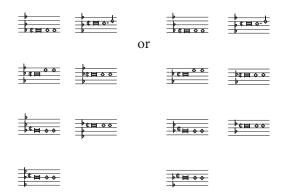
Acrostic GILLES MUREAU.

Evaluation of the source:

Copied by the main scribe without any errors in the music. The upper voice has in the first part of the bergerette a perfunctory texting with omission of words, which the scribe could not find room for. He did, however, aim at beginning every line with the correct words below the music. It is possible to reconstruct the complete text from the version in *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, see above.

The song is notated with four voices in the first section (two high voices, a tenor and a low contratenor), and with three high voices in the second section (tenor and contratenor drop out). This is not a three-part song with a "fragmentary added 4th voice". It is an original working out of the principle of contrast characteristic of the bergerette: Here the contrast is not brought about by mensuration, rhythmical ductus or modal colouring, but by vocal instrumentation. Two worlds of sound are juxtaposed, both quite new in the secular music of the 1460s: a four-part voice disposition (a group of boys on the upper parts and two men) contrasting with three equal high parts (three boys solo?) – and corresponding to the poem's two sets of rimes.

The notation of the highest voice in a G-clef (G2) with a key signature of three flats positioned at f, b and f might be evidence that the song originally was notated without the use of letter-clefs (the usual interpretation of the f flat as an indication of high range and the deployment of the *ficta* high C-hexachord is not applicable in this case as the second section demands the use of e flat!). The original notation could have been in formations of fa-clefs alone, three or two flats in each voice are typical. This means that the song was notated not at a fixed pitch, but could be performed at any convenient pitch. The original fa-clef disposition could have been (probably reduced to two fa-signs in the lower parts):



In both cases, but especially if the lower voices have only two signs, this would result in an interesting intellectual game at the passage from the 1st to the 2nd section, where different combinations of voices are used.

Including the contratenor the total range of the song is two octaves and a fifth. However, its tessitura as written lies so high that it is possible to perform the song at a lower pitch. If we presume that the original notation did not use letter-clefs, it may be part of a sophisticated poetic-musical setup, a play at the medium that also includes the poet-composer hiding his own name in the acrostic and the use of vocal sound as the main contrasting element.

²⁴ Richard Freedman in 'Mureau, Gilles' in *Grove Music Online* (accessed May 2011).

²⁵ Cf. the introduction.

Comments on text and music:

The downcast love poem is written in the poetic style of the *rhétoriqueurs*; the poet-composer's name is built in as an acrostic formed by the first letters of the verse lines, GILLES MUREAU, and the rimes are strong, two sets of *rimes léonines*, one set in refrain/tierce and another in the contrasting *couplets*. The most remarkable trait in the musical setting is the way in which this contrast is emphasized by the vocal scoring of the song with the first section for four voices (mixed boys and men) and the second for the high voices (boys).

The music is composed with careful regard of the words in all four voices. It is easy to place the text in such a way that the words either are pronounced simultaneously or in turn in the parts without disturbing the clarity too much. The three 'normal' voices of the first section, superius, tenor and contratenor, behave in a normal way: superius and tenor an octave apart, and the contratenor a fifth below the tenor without much crossing of parts. A canonic imitation at the octave between tenor and superius unfolds in bars 21-27. The 2nd superius weaves in the space between the superius and tenor; in a few instances (bb. 2-3, 22, and 31-32) it crosses above the highest part, and in bars 30-37 the two high voices perform a sort of voice exchange. The composing with four parts is very skillfully handled.

In the bergerette's second section the tenor and contratenor drop out, and a new, third superius part enters. The 2nd superius takes over the tenor functions, while the new voice is placed between the 1st and 2nd. This brings along some *faulxbourdon*-like passages, especially in bars 52-55, which form a nice contrast to the sound of the first section, and in bb. 55-60 all three participate in a free unison canon on a triadic motive – the 2nd superius speeding up the activity.

As it stands in the MS, the bergerette ends in a quite unorthodox manner, if a complete final repeat of the refrain is performed. The four-part first section ends in a cadence to the fifth degree of the mode and with a third in its final chord. This effect is surely meant to pull the music forward towards the *couplets* (or the repeat of the first section). Moreover, a complete repeat spoils the meaning of the acrostic. The song is certainly designed to end with a 'short refrain', a literary convention which requested the poet to create the first line (or the first words, 'rentrement') in such a way that it could stand as the opening of the poem as well as the conclusion of the argument developed in the *tierce* (a task made more difficult in the rondeau). This means that the bergerette, as shown in the edition, has to end in bar 10 on the word "mes" – on the mode's *finalis* with the fifth sounding in superius 2.

This song appears to be a highly original creation in several respects: The literary ambitious poem with an acrostic, musical contrasts established by use of sheer sound (vocal instrumentation) and matching technique (*faulxbourdon* and canon), the ingenious use of 'short refrain', and the possible notation without letter-clefs.

Tant fort me tarde ta venue 3v · Gilles Mureau

Source:

*Florence 176, ff. 71v-73 "Tant fort me tarde ta venue" 3v G muream (unicum)

Text: Rondeau cinquain; Florence 176 has text incipits only for the song's 1st and 2nd sections, "Tant fort me tarde ta venue" and "Je ne prens plaisir", which are in agreement with the complete poem in the Laborde chansonnier (ff. 34v-35) in the setting by Philippe Basiron. After Laborde:

Tant fort me tarde ta venue pour compter ma desconvenue, mon plus qu'ame, que sur mon ame je ne prens plaisir en nul ame qui soit aujourduy soubz la nue.

De joye mon plaisir se desnue, si douleur t'est puis souvenue; mille foiz le jour te reclame:

Tant fort me tarde ta venue.

Or est ma sante certes nue, je ne scay quel est devenue, desconfort m'assault que point n'ame et me veult mectre soubz la lame; je suis mort, s'il me continue.

Tant fort me tarde ta venue pour compter ma desconvenue, mon plus qu'ame, que sur mon ame je ne prens plaisir en nul ame qui soit aujourduy soubz la nue. Your appearance so strongly holds me back from explaining my disappointment, my more than beloved, that by my soul I do not get pleasure from any love that today might be found under the sky.

My pleasure strips off any joy, if you still bring back the pain; thousand times a day I cry to you:

Your appearance so strongly holds me back.

Certainly my sanity is gone,
I do not know what has happened to it,
worry assaults me that (he) does not at all love (me)
and will put me below the tombstone;
I shall die, if this continues for me.

Your appearance so strongly holds me back from explaining my disappointment, my more than beloved, that by my soul I do not get pleasure from any love that today might be found under the sky.

Evaluation of the source:

The main scribe copied his exemplar without any errors while omitting the poetic text.

Comments on text and music:

It is most likely that Mureau is the author of this artful poem written in a female voice and in an intimate tone (cf. the use of "tu / ta" and "mon plus qu'ame"). It is in *rime equivoque*, and its construction demands a one-line refrain following the *couplet*, not the half refrain as is usual in poems made for music. The sense of the unhappy love song does not permit a stop in the refrain after three lines. The first line alone (bb. 1-11) makes with its cadence to the mode's fifth degree a fine, varied bridge to the *tierce*.

All three voices relate to the text, especially in the refrain where the musical segmentation of the lines fits. This does not work nearly as well in the *couplet* and *tierce* – here

Basiron's 'chopped' fashioning of the lines is more effective. 26 The song is in a 'normal' tessitura (B-c") with tenor and contratenor in the same range. Contratenor often crosses above the tenor and takes the fifth at several cadences. The sound of the setting is quite old-fashioned, even if the upper voices abound in parallel thirds and sixths.

The setting is varied: Superius and tenor declaim the first line with an effective postponed entry of the contratenor. The 2nd line contrasts by using canonic imitation of a sequencing motive in the upper voices, while the 3rd line has staggered declamation leading to the open medial cadence. The second part of the rondeau opens in homorhythmical declamation, which then steps down to the cadence in 'camouflaged' parallel third-fifth concords (bb. 37-39). The setting of the last line of text is very long; arched melodies in superius and tenor develop into free canonic imitation (bb. 51 ff), which ends in a *fauxbourdon* cadence. Again, the tendency to parallelism in the counterpoint (cf. also bb. 18-21) discloses the setting's quite old-fashioned stylistic background in spite of its declamatory stance.

Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris 3v · Gilles Mureau

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Main sources:
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*Florence 176, ff. 73v-75 "Je ne fay plus je ne dis" 3v G. muream
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Other sources dated before c 1500:

Bologna Q17, ff. 37v-38 "Je ne fais" 3v A busnois

Florence 178, ff. 40v-41 "Je ne fai plus" 3v

Florence 229, ff. 54v-55 "Je ne fay plus ne je ne dis ne escrips" 3v Antonius busnoys

Florence 2356, ff. 6v-7 "Jenephai" 3v

Paris 15123, ff. 177V-178 "Je ne fais plus je ne dis ne escrips" 3V

Paris 2245, ff. 23v-24 "Je ne fais plus je ne dis ne escrips" 3v mureau

Rome XIII.27, ff. 19v-20 3v "Je ne fay plus" Gil murieu

Sevilla 5-1-43, ff. 25v-26 "Je ne fay plus" 3v

Sources dated later than c 1500:

Copenhagen 1848, p. 97 "Je ne fais plus ne je ne dis" 3v

Florence 121, ff. 26v-27 "Je ne fai plus" 3v

Petrucci 1501, ff. 10v-11 "Je ne fais plus" 4v (Altus "Si placet")

Sankt Gallen 462, p. 85 "Je ne fais plus je ne dis ne escrips" 3v

Segovia, f. 181v "Je ne fay plus" 3v Loysette Compere

Turin I.27, f. 47 "Au joly moys de may" 3v

Washington M2.1 M6, ff. 11v-12 "Jene fai plus" 3v

For intabulations and citations, see Fallows 1999, p. 209.

Editions: Brown 1983, no. 55 (after Florence 229), Geering 1967, no. 44 (after Sankt Gallen 462), Hewitt 1942, no. 8 (after Petrucci 1501).

26 Cf. my article 'The chansons of Basiron's youth and the dating of the 'Loire Valley' chansonniers'.

^{*}Florence 2794, ff. 50v-51 "Je ne fais plus, ne ne ditz ne escris" 3v

^{*}Leuven ff. 27v-29 "Je ne fays plus, je ne dys ne escrips" 3v

Text: Rondeau tercet layé; full text in Leuven, Florence 2794 and Paris 2245; also in Paris 1719, f. 39-39v.

After Florence 2794:

Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris, (1)

en mes escris

l'en trouvera mes regretz et mes plains

de larmes plains,

Ou, le moins mal que je puis, les descris.

Toute ma joye est de souppirs et cris

en dueil acris; (2)

il est a naistre, cil a qui je m'en plains.

Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris,

en mes escris

l'en trouvera mes regretz et mes plains.

Se mes sens ont aucuns doulz motz escris,

il sont prescris;

je passe temps par desers et par plains,

et la me plains

d'aucunes gens plus traittres qu'Antecrix.

Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris,

en mes escris

l'en trouvera mes regretz et mes plains

de larmes plains,

Ou, le moins mal que je puis, les descris.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write,

in my writings

you will find my regrets and complaints

filled with tears,

or I, the least poorly I can, describe them.

All my joy has by sighs and cries

grown into pain;

he is still to be born, he to whom I will complain.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write,

in my writings

you will find my regrets and complaints.

If my mind ever did write any sweet words,

they are damned;

I pass time in abandonment and grievance,

and there I grieve

that some people are more treacherous than Antichrist.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write,

in my writings

you will find my regrets and complaints

filled with tears,

or I, the least poorly I can, describe them

1) Florence 2794, line 1 "... ne ne ditz"

2) Florence 2794, line 7 "en dueil et cris", changed in accordance with Paris 2245

After Leuven:

Je ne fays plus, je ne dys ne escrips,

en mains escris (1)

l'on trouvera mes regretz et mes plains,

des livres plains,

ou, le mains mal que je puis, les escrips. (2)

Toute ma joye est de sourpirs et escris

en dueil concris;

il est a naistre a qui je m'en plains.

Je ne fays plus, je ne dys ne escrips,

en mains escris

l'on trouvera mes regretz et mes plains.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write,

in many writings

one will find my regrets and complaints,

books filled with complaints

where I, the least poorly I can, write them.

All my joy has by sighs and cries

grown into pain;

he is still to be born to whom I will complain.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write,

in many writings

one will find my regrets and complaints.

Si mes sens ont aulcuns doulx motz escris, (3) ilz sont perscris; (4) je passe temps par desers et par plains. (5) Helas, me plains (5) d'aulcunes gens plus traitres qu'Entecris.

Je be fays plus, je ne dys ne escrips, en mains escris l'on trouvera mes regretz et mes plains, des livres plains, ou, le mains mal que je puis, les escrips.

- 1) Paris 1719, line 2, "en maintz escriptz"
- 2) Paris 1719, line 5, "... descriptz"
- 3) Paris 1719, line 12, "... rescriptz"
- 4) Paris 1719, line 13, "... parscriptz"
- 5) Paris 1719, line 14, "... par destroys ..."
- 6) Paris 1719, line 15, "la me complains"

If my mind ever did write any sweet words, they are damned;
I pass time in abandonment and grievance; alas, I grieve that some people are more treacherous than Antichrist.

I do nothing more, I do not speak nor write, in many writings one will find my regrets and complaints, books filled with complaints where I, the least poorly I can, write them.

Evaluation of the sources:

The earliest sources seem to be the Leuven chansonnier, which belongs to the group of 'Loire Valley' chansonniers, where the song is without composer attribution, and the Italian MS Florence 176, in which it was entered around 1480 or earlier by its main scribe. His exemplar probably was French and contained the complete poem, but he only used the first words to identify the song. A slightly later hand added the composer's name, as was the case with many other songs in this MS, among them two more chansons by Mureau. The complete poem can be found in the Leuven chansonnier and in the two other French manuscripts, that is Florence 2794, near contemporary with Florence 176, and Paris 2245 from the 1490s.

The poem survives in two different versions (see above). The version characterized by its use of the words "des livres plains" as its fourth line is found in the Leuven chansonnier and in the poetry collection Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. f.fr. 1719, where it has been cancelled as quite corrupted (scored out). The refrain from this version is also found in the Italian chansonniers Florence 229 and the Pixérécourt MS (Paris 15123). This text version probably was used for most of the Italian sources, which share some notational traits that influence the performance of the poem. In Leuven and in Florence 176 the octave leap in the superius in bar 33 is included in a ligature (see the editions). This ligature forces the singer to place the word "livres" before the exposed high point in bar 33.2. The French MSS, Florence 2794 and Paris 2245, do not have this ligature; instead the octave leap is separated by a rest (see the edition). This interpretation is obviously more effective in a performance. The opposite situation is found in bar 44: Here Leuven and Florence 176 in the tenor have two semibreves, which allow the upper voices to pronounce the words together, while the bar in Florence 2794 is a brevis and part of a ligature. Paris 2245 again follows Florence 2794 (with Sevilla 5-I-43, Florence 121, Copenhagen 1848), while the majority of the Italian sources follow Florence 176.

The poem in Florence 2794 and Paris 2245 has "de larmes plains" as its fourth line, and in line 2 it has the possessive pronoun "en mes escris" in stead the cryptical "mains/maintz". On the whole the poem in Florence 2794 seems more fluent and consistent. It is worth remarking that its spelling underscores the poem's use of rime equivoque, which is not as evident in other sources in which "escris" is spelled "escrips". The last spelling blurs the homonymous final words in all verse lines. The song was probably widely circulated at an early date. The earliest sources show on the surface only few variants, but some of them are quite important for an understanding of the song's original layout and character, and for the text underlay. Let us first take a look of the differences in key signatures.

The song was apparently widely circulated in the 1470s, and many lesser differences appear between the sources concerning ligatures, tone repetitions and accidentals. The earliest sources show on the surface only few variants, but the differences in the poems and the details mentioned above, outline two different traditions already in existence at an early date. Leuven and Florence 176 represent a tradition, which was exported to the families of Italian sources, while Florence 2794 and Paris 2245 belonged to another French tradition

While the song in Leuven is notated in standard key signatures of one flat in each voice, it has three flats in each voice in Florence 176: Superius has flats at f, b and f positions, tenor at b, f and b, and contratenor at e, b and e. In Florence 176 the song is notated with key signatures of three flats in each voice: Superius has flats at f, b and f positions, tenor at b, f and b, and contratenor at e, b and e. These formations of flats are quite sure evidence that the song originally was notated without letter clefs – in formations of fa-clefs alone, three or two flats in each voice are typical. This means that fa is fa in each voice are typical. This means that fa is fa if letter clefs were imagined, two sets of such clefs were available a fifth apart. The relatively restricted tessitura of fa is fa in fa in fa in the 1450s and the early 1460s (Ockeghem, Barbingant, Le Rouge). Knowledge of the notation soon faded away, and the songs were then transmitted in fixed-pitch notation.

The original *fa*-clef notation had probably been misinterpreted already in the exemplar, which the main scribe of Florence 176 reproduced carefully. The flats in the contratenor should have been placed at the positions *f*, *b* and *f* '(fa2, fas3, fas5), which produce a standard formation of *fa*-clefs with a default reading in D-Dorian. This, of course, is readable in two sets of letter clefs too (G2, C2, C4 (G-Dorian), and C2, C4, F4 – sounding a fifth lower in C-Dorian), and it does not bring about the superfluous *e*-flat signature in the contratenor. In the French chansonnier Florence 2794, as in most other sources, the contratenor is notated with one flat only. The Pixérécourt chansonnier (Paris 15123), which was made in Florence shortly after Florence 176, maintains the erroneous three-flat signature in its contratenor.

Nine sources including Petrucci's *Odhecaton* retained the flat in the superius at f,", which signals the part's high tessitura. But scribes did not know what to do about the now redundant flat at the f position, which apparently still circulated in many exemplars. Different impossible interpretations appear in the superius parts: In Florence 2794 flats at e and e and e in Florence 2356 at e and e in Florence 121 at e and e in the tenor and contratenor, at e in e and e in the tenor and contratenor, at e in e in e in the tenor and contratenor, at e in e in e in the tenor and e in the tenor and

²⁷ Cf. the introduction.

– and Bologna Q17, Paris 2245 and Rome XIII.27 do not have a flat at all at *b*'. An unusual and soon obscure notation could have unexpected repercussions many years later!

Comments on text and music:

This song is by Gilles Mureau. This interpretation is not only favoured by the early sources closest to France (French or copied from French exemplars), the song also appears in Florence 176 among undisputed songs by Mureau. The ascriptions to Busnoys and Compere, which appear in later sources, probably reflect the fact that Mureau as a composer had disappeared from the international scene before the 1490s – his name was simply replaced by names of more famous colleagues.

The poem is congruent with other poems, which probably stem from the hand of Mureau, cf. *Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes* and *Tant fort me tarde ta venue*. It is a *rondeau tercet layé* in the not so common form with three long lines only in the refrain (with two short lines interpolated), which is combined with a *rime équivoque* pattern; in all, a rather literary pretentious concept, which is not often met in poems made for musical setting, and it involves the writing situation itself in its subject.

The lyrical musical setting adheres closely to the text. It is varied with a declamatory first section and a more animated second. The tessitura is high (d-g), and the upper voices often go in parallel thirds or sixths, the tenor occasionally crossing above the superius. The contratenor keeps below the tenor, but takes the fifth at cadences (first and fifth lines in Florence 176). The very short 2nd line "en mes escris / il sont prescris" is integrated with the following line as a declamatory beginning, while the just as short 4th line "de larmes plains / et la me plains" is stretched out to a full line length by the introductory duet in parallel thirds between superius and tenor and the elaborate continuation. In this way Mureau balances his setting of the irregular verse lines. The nearly syllabic setting of the 3rd line in the tenor forces the placing of the syllable "plains" in bar 26, and thereby invites the tenor's repeat of the last words "et mes plains", while the outer voices slides into the fermata chord.

Pensez y se le povez faire 3v · Gilles Mureau

Source:

*Florence 229, ff. 41v-42 "Penses ycelle" 3v Murian (unicum)

Edition: Brown 1983, no. 42

Text: Rondeau quatrain; incipits only in Florence 229; the complete poem is found in Jardin 1501, f. 75:

Pensez y se le povez faire sans perdre vostre renommee, car au monde n'a femme nee a qui j'ayme mieulx a complaire.

Certes je ne me scauroye taire que ne vous dye ma pensee

pensez y se le povez faire sans perdre vostre renommee.

Pourtant ne vous vueille desplaire de je vous dy ma destinee; ma vie seroit infortunee, se vous me faisiez le contraire.

Pensez y se le povez faire sans perdre vostre renommee, car au monde n'a femme nee a qui j'ayme mieulx a complaire. Consider whether you can do it without losing your reputation, for there is no other woman in the world whom I love more to please.

I certainly do not know how to be silent and not tell you my thoughts, so

consider whether you can do it without losing your reputation.

Therefore, do not be displeased that I tell you my destiny; my life would be unhappy, if you refuses me.

Consider whether you can do it without losing your reputation, for there is no other woman in the world whom I love more to please.

Evaluation of the source:

The MS has in the superius and contratenor only the first words of the text in a rather garbled version, "Penses ycelle", and the composer's name is stated on a small scroll saying "Murian" drawn above the music. The copying shows only a few rhythmical errors in the superius and contratenor, which easily can be brought in line with the surrounding counterpoint (see the edition).

A rondeau quatrain published in *Le Jardin de plaisance* of 1501 fits the music in a natural way. It is worth remarking that the contratenor, while the upper voices come to rest in the medial cadence of the rondeau, declaims in repeated notes, which seem to demand a repetition of the last four syllables of the 2nd text line (bb. 22-24). The poem "Pensez y se le povez faire" fits perfectly into such a pattern with the words "renommee / ma pensee / destinee".

Comments on text and music:

A lyrical setting of a typically yearning love poem, a rondeau quatrain. The music is in a high tessitura (c-f) with the upper voice in a dominating role – in the 2nd line, however, the tenor enters (bb. 14-15) above the superius. The contratenor is mostly below the tenor but takes the fifth above in the G cadences in the first and last lines.

Que feray, las, fors languir en destresse 3v · Anonymous

Sources:

Bologna Q16, ff. 97v-98 "Che seray la surs" 3v *Florence 176, ff. 75v-77 "Que feray las" 3v Florence 229, ff. 215v-216 "Que serai las fort languir" 3v

Edition: Brown 1983, no. 199 (after Florence 229, without text).

Text: Rondeau cinquain; incipits only in the musical sources; Florence 176 has incipits on two openings: "Que feray las" and for line 4, "J'ay requis mort mille foys", which perfectly match the complete rondeau in Lille 402, no. 21, ed. Françon 1938, p. 134.

After Lille 402 (and Florence 176):

Que feray, las, fors languir en destresse quant pour servir une seulle maistresse je suis banny et hors de sa demeure? J'ay requis mort mille foys que je meure, mais el ne veult, ains de vivre me presse.

C'est Faulx Rapport qui m'a mys en la presse, ou pressé suis par sy tresdure appresse que je meurs vif et n'ay qui me sequeure.

Que feray, las, fors languir en destresse quant pour servir une seulle maistresse je suis banny et hors de sa demeure?

J'ay maintenu la verité expresse, j'ay quis le plain et ay suivy l'adresse en desconfort et en sueur labeure: Les desloyaulx ont le bruit pour ceste heure, les bons le bout dont voy que mal m'adresse.

Que feray, las, fors languir en destresse quant pour servir une seulle maistresse je suis banny et hors de sa demeure? J'ay requis mort mille foys que je meure, mais el ne veult, ains de vivre me presse. What shall I do, alas, save languishing in distress, since I for serving one mistress solely have been banned from her dwelling?

I have a thousand times from death required that I die, but it does not want it, rather pressures me to live.

It is Slander who has put me in this predicament, where I am crushed by such hard pressure that I die alive and do not have anyone to help me.

What shall I do, alas, save languishing in distress, since I for serving one mistress solely have been banned from her dwelling?

I have maintained the true testimony,
I have sought everywhere and followed the address
in discomfort and in the sweat of labour:
The perfidious have the advantage at this hour,
and the good the outcome where sickness calls for me.

What shall I do, alas, save languishing in distress, since I for serving one mistress solely have been banned from her dwelling?

I have a thousand times from Death required that I die, but it does not want it, rather pressures me to live.

Evaluation of the sources:

The music was copied by the main scribe of Florence 176 without any errors, and the text incipits agree exactly with the words of the rondeau cinquain preserved in the poetry collection Lille 402 from the early 16th century (see above). For the small differences in the other musical sources, see the edition in Brown 1983.

Comments on text and music:

The downcast poem is artfully wrought in rich *rimes léonines* – a work worthy of a *rhétoriqueur*. The setting is in the standard configuration of superius and tenor an octave apart supplemented by a low contratenor, which does not cross above the tenor. It is made with close attention to the words, cf. the syllabic setting of the important 3rd verse line (important in the refrain as well as in the *couplet* and *tierce*), where the contratenor participates in the declamation of the last half of the line! Moreover, the ligatures in the contratenor are decisive for the placement of the text; for example, they postpone the last word of the 4th line to bar 43, after the cadence in the superius, so that it falls on the descending triad in exactly the same manner as in the tenor a *semibrevis* later. The music is varied in its alternation of imitation at the octave between tenor and superius, free polyphony and homorhythmic declamation. The imitation figure in bars 19 ff is clearly related to the corresponding figure in bars 13 ff in Mureau's rondeau "Tant fort me tarde ta venue" in Florence 176 ff. 51v-73.

This song is a candidate for an ascription to the composer and poet Gilles Mureau. In addition to its general stylistic compatibility with his chansons and its use of artful poetic devices, it is placed in a series of songs in Florence 176 in which a later hand has identified two songs as being the works of Mureau (nos. 48-49; this is no. 50).

Je te veulx desavouer oeil 3v · Anonymous

Sources:

*Florence 176, ff. 77v-79 "Je te veulx desadvoyer" 3v *Florence 2794, ff. 47v-48 "Je te veulx desavouer oeil" 3v Paris 15123 ff. 175v-176, "Je te veulx desavoye oeil" 3v

Text: Bergerette; incipits only in Florence 176; full text in Florence 2794; Paris 15123 misses the *tierce* (see the following page).

Evaluation of the sources:

In the oldest source, Florence 176, the song is entered by the main scribe without any errors in the music. Of the text he only copied the incipits of the two sections (in the 2nd only in the tenor). The contemporary French MS, Florence 2794, exhibits a few writing errors in the music (see the edition), but has the complete poem. The slightly later Florentine chansonnier, Paris 15123 (the MS Pixérécourt), has a somewhat corrupted version of the French poem, which misses the *tierce*.

The music shows that this song very well could be copied into Florence 15123 from the same exemplar as was used for Florence 176. The differences are few and all of the sort of editorial changes that scribes make when copying (in Florence 15123 all voices miss indication of the *ouvert* and *clos* endings in the couplets; T, b. 23.2-3 dotted rhythm, b. 24.1 notated flat before e, bb. 39.2-40.1 no ligature, b. 42 *brevis*; C, b. 3 dot placed after f (error), b. 24.1 f-d (dotted rhythm); b. 36 no ligature). All three sources have a key signature of two flats in the superius combined with a G2-clef (Florence 2794 starts in C1-clef, but changes in the 3rd staff to G2 with two flats).

After Florence 2793:

Je te veulx desavouer oeil, que sans mon congie t'abandonnes; tu m'emblez mon cueur et le donnes a ton plaisir et a ton vueil. (1)

Or avise bien que tu fais; il me semble que tu mesfais de vouloir mon cueur asservir. (2)

Tu me tues et le desfais, car je ne croy pas que tes fais vallent si hault bien deservir. (3)

Se tu es prins par Bel Acueil de la meilleur d'entre les bonnes, s'il ne luy plaist quoy qu'en ordonnes, ja n'avait pitie de ton vueil.

Je te veulx desavouer oeil, que sans mon congie t'abandonnes; tu m'emblez mon cueur et le donnes a ton plaisir et a ton vueil. I wish that you withdrew the look, which you threw without my permission; you steal my heart and assign it to your pleasure and your will.

Know for sure what you do; I think that you hurt me on purpose by enslaving my heart.

You kill me and destroy it, for I do not believe that your deeds are worthy to deserve such high praise.

Even when you are received by Warm Welcome of the best woman among the good, if it [the heart] cannot please her whatever you try, she never took pity on your will.

I wish that you withdrew the look, which you threw without my permission; you steal my heart and assign it to your pleasure and your will.

- 1) Paris 15123, line 4, "aton plysir nuul ou mon veul"
- 2) Paris 15123, line 7, "de mon voloir mon cueur asservir"
- 3) Paris 15123, lines 9-10, "... tel fais / nullent hault bien deservir" Many differences of spelling in the sources.

All three sources transmit the music in nearly identical versions. Florence 176 combined with the text in Florence 2794 makes a completely satisfying version. However, the small differences in ligatures in these sources give Florence 2794 a slight preference owing to an easier reading of the text distribution in the lower parts (see e.g. bb. 28-32).

Comments on text and music:

This bergerette in artful *rime équivoque* is about the dangers overwhelming a heart, which receives an inviting glance from a demanding lady. It is composed for three voices in high tessitura (underscored by the flat before f" in the key signature of the superius) placed roughly a fifth apart, but with the contratenor crossing above the tenor several times, especially at cadences. Varied setting with a clear declamation of the words alternating with melismatic passages; snippets of octave canon between tenor and superius (bb. 18 ff and bb. 44-47); the second section are rhythmically differentiated from the first, but there is an unmistakable thematic relation between the sections – compare bb. 1-4 and bb. 27-34.

This song is a good candidate for an ascription to the composer and poet Gilles Mureau. In addition to its general stylistic compatibility with his chansons and its use of artful poetic devices, it is placed in a series of songs in Florence 176 in which a later hand has identified two songs as being the works of Mureau (nos. 48-49; this is no. 51). Compare also the upper voice's setting of the second line (bb. 7-13) with Mureau's "Pensez y" bb. 25-32.

Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche 3v · Anonymous

Source:

*Florence 176, ff. 79v-81 "Quem affaire" 3v (unicum)

Text: Rondeau quatrain; incipits only in Florence 176; the complete poem is found in Berlin 78.B.17, f. 179v, ed. Löpelmann 1923, p. 346, Paris 1719, ff. 113v-144, ed. Schwob 1905, no. 47, Paris 1722, f. 8v, Jardin 1501, f. 88. After Jardin 1501:

Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche, mauvais bec et langue legiere, s'aucuns sont joyeux et font chiere quant ce n'est chose qui leur touche?

S'on rit, s'on chante, s'on se couche, s'on va avant, s'on va ariere,

qu'en a affaire Male Bouche, mauvais bec et langue legiere?

Il fauldroit donc comme une souche estre reclus en sa tanniere s'on esbat par bonne maniere, mais qu'il n'y ait mal ne reprouche.

Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche, mauvais bec et langue legiere, s'aucuns sont joyeux et font chiere quant ce n'est chose qui leur touche? How can it concern Malebouche, dirty mouth and lying tongue, if some are happy and have fun, when nothing there affects him?

If you laugh, sing, go to bed, if you go forwards or go backwards,

how can it concern Malebouche, dirty mouth and lying tongue?

Therefore you like a root have to be a recluse in your hole if you want to enjoy yourself in good manners, while he neither suffers nor is ashamed.

How can it concern Malebouche, dirty mouth and lying tongue, if some are happy and have fun, when nothing there affects him?

Evaluation of the source:

The music is copied without errors by the main writer of Florence 176. Of the text he only gave the words "Quem affaire" in superius and contratenor (ff. 79v-80) and "S'aucuns" in superius and tenor in the second half of the rondeau (ff. 80v-81). These words obviously belong to the quite widely circulated rondeau quatrain "Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche", which perfectly fits the setting.

Owing to the great range of the superius, the part starts in a C1-clef with a key signature of one flat rather ambiguously placed just above the lowest line. When the voice reaches its normal range, a flat is introduced on the f"-line above the system. In the second staff the clef is changed to G2 with a key signature of two flats before b' and f". In the rondeau's second section the flat on the b'-line disappears. The scribe's exemplar probably had a key signature of only one flat marking the note F as a fa-step (at the beginning as C1 and fa-sign in the 2nd space and later on as G2 with fa-sign on the 5th line), which the scribe misread – a later hand has tried to erase the flats on the b'-line in staves 2 and 3.

Comments on text and music:

The poem in *rimes léonines* is a rather cross denunciation of the fixed allegorical figure Malebouche (Gossip), which appears in a rather slight setting for an upper voice in high tessitura and two lower voices in the same range an octave lower. It displays an opening imitation involving all three voices at the same pitch based on the C-hexachord, presented plainly in the contratenor and tenor, but its expressive range seems restricted. Remark, for example, how the tenor seems stuck within the C-hexachord through the whole song except for a few bars before the medial cadence.

Gilles Mureau

Four chansons

Grace actendant ou la mort pour tous mes 4v

Tant fort me tarde ta venue 3v

Je ne fais plus, je ne dis ne escris 3v

Pensez y se le povez faire 3v

Florence 176 no. 31

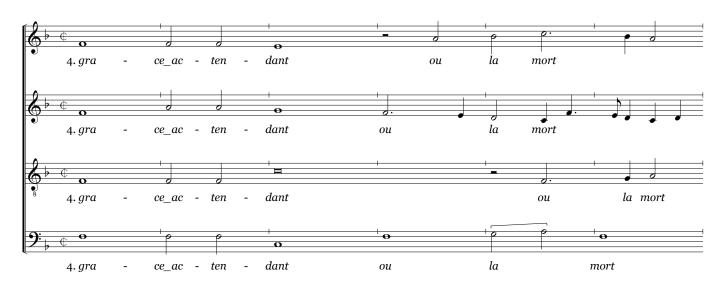
Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 46^v-48: G mueran

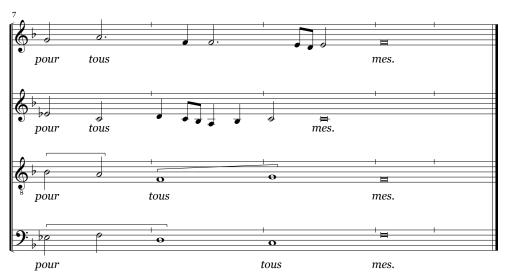


1) Text, the refrain is in the MS underlaid the upper voice; in the couplets only incipits appear. Missing words and the remainder of the poem have been reconstructed after the version in Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque, Verard, Paris 1501, f. 96.









Florence 176 no. 48

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 71V-73: G muream



1) Text, incipits only in the 1st and 2nd sections of the rondeau; the remainder of the text has been supplied according to the Laborde Chansonnier, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, MS M2.1 L25 Case, ff. 34^v-35.







e.

nu

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 73^V-75: G. muream



1) *Text*, only incipits in the three voices; the remainder of the poem has been supplied after the version the Leuven chansonnier ff. 27v-29.





Florence 2794 no. 43

Firenze, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794, ff. 50V-51



- 1) Superius, has a signature of two flats, before b' and e'; the second flat is probably a misreading of flats before f' and f'' in the exemplar, cf. Florence 176.
- 2) Superius, text 1, bar 6.2 "ne ne ditz" (error). 3) Superius, bars 28-29, dotted longa (error).

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¹⁾ Tenor, bar 30.1 is a dotted semibrevis (error).



Leuven no. 21

Leuven, Alamire Foundation, Manuscript without shelf number, ff. 27V-29



1) All voices, bars 28-29, the fermata notes are breves.



²⁾ Superius, bar 31.1, the d'' is a minima (error).



Florence 229 no. 42

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229, ff. 41^V-42: Murian



- 1) Text, incipits "Penses ycelle" only in superius and Contratenor; the text has been supplied after $Le\ Jardin\ de\ plaisance\ et\ fleur\ de\ rethoricque$, Verard, Paris 1501, f. 75.
- 2) *Superius*, bar 22, the last two notes are *semiminimae* (error).



¹⁾ Contratenor, bars 38.2-39.2 are dotted minima - semiminima - minima - semibrevis (error).



Appendix

Three anonymous chansons from Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176

> Que feay, las, fors languir en destresse 3v Je te veulx desavouer oeil 3v Qu'en a affaire Male Bouche 3v

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 75^V-77



1) Text, incipits only in the 1st and 2nd sections of the rondeau; the remainder of the text has been supplied according to the MS Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 402, no. 21.





Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 77^{V} -79



1) Text, incipits only; the remainder of the poem has been supplied after the version in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794 ff. 47v-48.





Florence 2794 no. 40

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794, ff. 47^V-48



- 1) Contra, bar 11.3 is a minima (error).
- 2) superius, bar 14.1, the minima is dotted (error).





¹⁾ Superius, bar 53.1 is missing (error).

²⁾ Tenor, bars 53-54 are missing (error).

³⁾ Superius, bar 55.1 misses a dot (error).

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. xix.176, ff. 79^V-81



1) Text, incipits "Quem affaire" only; the remainder of the poem has been supplied according to Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque, Verard, Paris 1501, f. 88.



