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The braying of the ass and singing through tears. Images in music in the popular and artful traditions of the fifteenth century

('Æslets skryden og sang gennem tårer. Billeder i musik i 1400-tallets populære og kunstfulde traditioner', published in *Musik & Forskning* 26 · 2001, pp. 97-134)

This study is a tribute to my friend Svend Hendrup (1936-1997) who was associate professor of Romance languages at the University of Copenhagen. For many years I enjoyed his generous helpfulness in an interdisciplinary collaboration. We worked with aspects of French music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with reading and interpreting French and Latin texts, on the questions of translation and not least the pronunciation of the old poems and the role of the music of words in connection with the realisation in sound of the sources. Some results of this collaboration were published, while others had to wait for both of us to find the time for finishing touches. In the following, the editions of the texts build on our joint preliminary studies, while the context in which they appear – my present research interests – is new.

When we in the concert hall hear a symphony by Gustav Mahler, no one can doubt that the composer intended something more than just wrapping up the ceremonial of a concert of orchestral music in a spectacular way. In the middle of the fifteenth century composers began to write music of similar complexity, duration and ambition in masses and motets created for princely, clerical or civil institutions. In terms of liturgy this music was completely superfluous and mostly just annoying to the clergy, but it was highly valued and in demand in line with magnificent architecture and painting in all locations where leading circles of the society needed to manifest their might. What effect could fifteenth-century musicians expect their music to have on listeners apart from pleasing God? Which frames of understanding did musicians working on setting liturgical or secular texts take for granted? These questions are important to ask for a research in fifteenth-century music, which aspires to get closer to the music than it is possible through analyses of the technical disposition and the historical context of the preserved musical works.

Old music theorists and authors are largely silent on this subject. They are informative, although not always crystal clear, on techniques of composition, notation and modes, while they concerning the effects of music were immersed in the medieval understanding of music as vibrations in air with undeniable and useful effects by among others making the devil take flight and the saints happy, by its healing powers and by sanctifying the souls of the believers.[1] To hear music under influence of such ingrained concepts is to us totally foreign. However, these concepts are integral elements of the genesis of the music and of its reception, which we have to take note of – perhaps as another layer of *Verfremdung* on top of the great temporal distance we have from the conventions of the music and texts.[2]

1 Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices* [c. 1472-75], edited by A. Seay in Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica* (Corpus scriptorum de Musica 22), s.l. 1975, vol. 2, pp. 159 ff.

2 Rob C. Wegman, 'For Whom the Bell Tolls. Reading and Hearing Busnoys's *Anthoni usque limina*' in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* Oxford 1997 (Paperback 1998), pp. 122-41 (at p. 124). The introduction to Wegman's article has been an inspiration for my work.

This distance in itself makes an inquiry into how music was perceived very difficult. In spite of that, investigations in the positions of the listeners in 'early music' have become a topic at the forefront of the research strategies during the 1990s, fully recognizing these nearly insurmountable obstacles.[3] While there cannot be any doubt that music had 'receivers' and 'users' – Heaven, the saints, patrons secular or ecclesiastic who paid for the music, and those exposed to the sounding reality of music –, we probably have to question the existence of 'listeners', if we equate 'listeners' with the audiences for art music of our times.

However, the position of the listener may be quite irrelevant in this connection. If one imagines a continuum of musical activity that extends from the composer to a person hearing the music, the field that I want to investigate is placed quite near the composer and correspondingly far from the listener. It is about isolating the pre-compositional ideas that governed the endless number of choices that had to be made in order to set a text to music. Maybe one could describe the field as trying to glimpse the contract, which a musician would think that he had with his receivers about the conventions for designing the music, which secured that certain elements of the music would be perceived as particularly significant statements. It is of less interest whether those who actually heard the music did understand these elements in exactly the same manner, or whether the music for them fulfilled entirely different needs. The 'contract' may well turn out to be wishful thinking only on the part of the composer or only valid for closed circles of colleagues and similar minded.

We have to enter into this work with an expectation that different music and different genres had widely different frames of understanding. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is obvious. We will also find clear differences within secular music itself. For example, that popular music used ways of setting texts that were immediately intelligible to everyone in the society – and probably still are to this day – and that this also applies to the intrusion of the popular song's stylistic idioms into the polyphonic art music. On the other hand, the courtly chanson, which in our time often has been characterized as an abstract, self-sustaining music setting poetry gone stale in a play with faded literary tricks, had to be understood on the background of ideas accessible only to narrow circles, in some cases only a few persons at the court where the musician and the poet made their living.

This study is about the direct mirroring in music of poetic pictures. The examples come from fifteenth-century popular song, where animal sounds, speech and maybe also sounds of the weather are part of humorous situations, and from a courtly chanson, which in its setting tries to live up to the poem's pictorial language that uses terms from music theory. To be blunt, we do not in these examples meet a 'subtle' relationship between text and music – it is about *imitatio* rather than *mimesis*.

The choice of examples has moreover made it natural to pursue a different, parallel track, the tempo relations between double and triple meter. For some years this has been discussed among researchers in fifteenth-century music without reaching any real clarification. These quite obscure songs too have their bit to say.

3 Cf. among others the in the preceding note mentioned collection of articles edited by D. Pesce, a theme issue of *Early music*, November 1997 ('Listening practice'), and Rob C. Wegman (ed.). 'Music as Heard' (Special Issue, *Music & Letters*, Fall/Winter 1998), 1999.

I Sound imitation

In my contribution to *Festskrift Henrik Glahn* of 1979 I analysed the relationship between Clément Janequin's four-part chanson *L'alouette* and an older, three-part version of the same song.[4] I demonstrated that Janequin most probable adapted or re-composed a rather widely circulated chanson from the first decades of the sixteenth century "Or sus vous dormes trop" for inclusion in the collection *Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin,* which Pierre Attaingnant in Paris published in 1528. This print is something special. Not only it is one of Attaingnant's earliest collections and for a long time the only one with music by a single composer, it also introduced a new genre in the printed chansonniers: the descriptive, onomatopoeic chanson that was to become a small, highly profiled and popular segment of the Parisian repertory. *L'alouette* appeared here alongside magnificent paintings in sound, which clearly were created late in the 1520s, and which make the listener hear, imagine, and nearly taste the events depicted: *La chasse*, describing the favourite sport of King François I, stag hunting, *La guerre* about the same king's greatest military triumph, the battle of Marignano in 1515 – a piece of political propaganda probably composed following the disaster at Pavia in 1525 that led to the captivity of François I in Spain –, *Le chant des oyseaux,* which multiplies the singing of birds in *L'alouette* using some of the same motifs, and finally a slight song, "Las, povre cueur" filling out the four part-books of the collection. Attaingnant's incentive to send out Janequin's music as a single composer collection was surely that he had access to publishing the three big programmatic songs (the singing of birds, the war and the hunt) as a novelty. However, alone they could not fill out the 16 leaves of each part-book. Janequin was not able to speedily supply one more chanson of a similar nature, but he found a solution by reworking and extending the three-part chanson, which already had provided the inspiration for *Le chant des oyseaux*.

Wether Janequin himself in his very early years had composed the three-part "Or sus vous dormez trop" or – more likely – has appropriated an existing song,[5] is not of great importance. What is important is that this chanson positions the use of sound imitation in the musical sphere dominated by the influence of popular music. It is made like an arrangement of a popular tune, a genre that was in vogue at the French court around 1500, and which soon was adopted by other musical centres. It is very similar to an imitative arrangement with a tenor building on a pre-existent popular song. In the middle of this very common type of setting is interpolated an extended, static section with bird song.[6] Its text is a simplified version of the opening of a virelai, which appears in a three-part setting in several sources from the end of the fourteenth century.[7] The anonymous

4 P. Woetmann Christoffersen, '»Or sus vous dormez trop« The Singing of the Lark in French Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century' in Mette Müller (ed.), *Festskrift Henrik Glahn*, Copenhagen 1979, pp. 35-67; including editions of the two chansons.

5 Lawrence F. Bernstein finds that this interpretation is hard to stomach: "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 pre-existent genre, of which but a single anonymous example survives." ('Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson', *Journal of Musicology I* (1982), pp. 275-326, at p. 301, note 68). It is, however, the only interpretation that enjoys any support from the musical sources.

6 See further Christoffersen, '»Or sus vous dormez trop«', pp. 36-44.

7 "Or sus, vous dormés trop, ma dame jolie" is published in Gordon K. Greene (ed.), *French Secular Music* (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century Vol. XXII), Monaco 1989, p. 112, and Willi Apel (ed.),

fourteenth-century virelai uses many of the same musical motifs in its rendition of birdsong as we find in the late chanson, and these motifs reappear in several other fourteenth-century chansons.

In the years around and after 1400, this small group of chansons imitating sounds of nature and human activities enjoyed a quite wide circulation, especially in Northern France and Flanders.[8] Hunting, fire, birdsong and market scenes are vividly recreated in polyphonic *chaces* and *virelais.* They belong to the leading circles of the society; they are complex and demand a virtuoso technique of singing, but they incorporate popular elements and recall the excitement of the fairground. During most of the fifteenth century we do not find any wider use of sound imitation in art music. There are allusions to trumpets in some well-known tunes, among them tunes used in *cantus firmus* masses, and a single cuckoo now and then.[9]

When descriptive imitation reappears as a constitutive musical element in Janequin's big sound pictures, it happens within the boundaries of a new secular genre, the Parisian chanson, in which the courtly traditions enter a synthesis with the preceding generations' fascination with the popular songs.[10] While the *virelais* of the fourteenth century most likely remained an exclusive art, Janequin's paintings in sound soon became popular. This may be surprising, since they just like their predecessors are virtuoso show-pieces that, then as nowadays, demand performances by specialised vocal groups. They are to an even higher degree than the fourteenth-century chansons linked to the court culture, which during the reign of François I may be understood as a royal centralised power allied with the dynamism of emerging industry and commerce. In the sixteenth century they circulated widely in printed chansonniers in ever new editions, and publishers saw a profit in offering them in arrangements for instruments and as ensemble dances, especially the beloved *La guerre*, also known as *La bataille*, which generated several instrumental off-springs.

Concerning these special chansons from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries placed in parallel albeit different musical universes, where the songs' picturesque, often grotesque or even theatrical sound pictures were enjoyed, it is interesting to note that the 'rediscovery' of the genre was heralded by a three-part chanson formed as an imitative arrangement apparently setting a pre-existing popular tune. This leads naturally to the idea that sound-imitating songs might have been part of the popular song repertory that lived outside the sphere of art music. However, in my article in *Festskrift Henrik Glahn* I had to assert that no trace of such songs were visible among the preserved songs.[11] A closer look reveals that some traces in fact can be found, even if their use of sound imitation is less striking than in the polyphonic pieces.

French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century I-III (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 53), s.l. 1970-72, vol. III, p. 42 (no. 212).

8 Cf. Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500*, Cambridge 1993, p. 68.

9 Trumpet flourishes can, for example, be found in Dufay's famous *Missa Se la face ay pale* (reused from his own chanson) and in the many masses upon the *L'homme armé*-tune; the cuckoo is heard in Johannes Martini's *Missa Cu cu,* cf. Strohm, *The Rise,* p. 615.

'1 10 Cf. P. 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 I-III,* Copenhagen 1994, vol. I, ch. 9 'The Parisian chanson', pp. 214 ff.

11 Christoffersen, '»Or sus vous dormez trop«', p. 42.

The popular songs and the monophonic chansonniers

Seen from our point of view, the fifteenth-century popular French chanson is a genre, which is preserved in written sources that in nearly all cases are linked to the consumption of music in the upper classes. It does, however, reflect an orally transmitted tradition of entertainment that found its audience among almost all groups of society. Love is the preferred theme of the songs. The courtly tradition's complete range of subjects is displayed in straightforward, down-to-earth interpretations, often with a humorous or satirical twist on the loftiest themes, but lyrical descriptions of nature or contemporary events may turn up too. The language is plain and colourful but displaying a stock of clichés apparently inherited from the courtly poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; likewise, certain poetic *formes fixes* such as *ballade* and *virelai* are frequently met with. However, stanzaic forms and refrains of all kinds eventually prevailed. The tunes are simple, catchy and formulaic. The perspective of the songs is that of the middle classes. It exhibits a completely realistic attitude to life in French cities, big and small, intermingled with romantically tinted notions about nature and the simplicity of rural life – in the last mentioned they do not differ from the courtly poetry. The songs often have a satirical sting against all the authorities with which ordinary people came in contact, such as priests, lawyers, rich old husbands and grumpy wives. They were disseminated by professional entertainers performing on the street or in the market place (*jongleurs, batteleurs* or *recordeurs*),[12] but their main medium was probably the secular theatre.

The theatre was a welcome distraction in the life of the cities. Guilds and theatre clubs might be responsible for the performances, but also professional companies and wandering players had a share in the varied theatrical offerings, ranging from huge mystery cycles, which could last days or even weeks, to the short *soties* (acrobatic slapstick plays) and rambling monologues delivered by entertainers. The semi- or fully professional theatre's typical repertory consisted of farces – easy transportable, amusing plays involving a few actors, simple scenery and lots of song and music provided by the actors themselves – and a paying audience was found in the market place, in noble palaces or in the homes of wealthy burghers, perhaps in connection with wedding festivities.[13] The music for the plays was picked up from all sides of the 'everyday music': from singing in the church, from the military and dancing, from courtly songs and from the rich store of formulas in the popular tradition; everything could be used and recycled, perhaps provided with a new text. Surviving farces abound in instructions for a well-known song to be sung on the stage or for a new text to be sung to a known tune.

The small and cheap printed collections of song texts and of religious songs based on known tunes are also important sources for the popular repertory of the early sixteenth century. They were intended for sale on the street or in the market places, and all are without music – the tunes were known, especially when used as *timbres*.[14]

12 On the oral transmission, see Jay Rahn, *Melodic and textual types in French monophonic song, ca. 1500,* Diss. Columbia University 1978, pp. 31-41.

13 Cf. Howard Mayer Brown's classical study, *Music in the French Secular Theater. 1400-1550,* Cam. Mass. 1963.

14 The secular songs in prints from the period 1512-1530 are published in Brian Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance I-II,* London 1971-76. Concerning *noëls* and *cantiques,* see Rahn, *Melodic and textual types*, pp. 44 ff.

The fact that the tunes were expected to be known by *everyone* is the main reason for categorizing them as 'popular music'.[15] This familiarity is also the reason why the tunes have survived to such an extent. Professional composers appropriated them, used them as humorous elements in courtly chansons, as poetic-musical symbols in refined opposition to courtly or religious themes, or used their characteristic clear-cut musical phrases as building blocks in mass cycles. During the last decades of the fifteenth century the popular songs became such a craze at court that arrangements of the tunes, from the very simple to complex canons, so to say swept the courtly songs away. We are in fact able to reconstruct several songs by extracting them from polyphonic art music. This is also where we find the juicy or coarse erotic songs. The monophonic chansonniers, anthologies of popular songs, which around 1500 were compiled for the use of the ladies of the court or young people, are in contents otherwise well groomed.

They are the two chansonniers in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fonds français 9346 (the so-called "Bayeux MS") and Ms. fonds français 12744. They contain respectively 102 and 143 monophonic songs (in Paris 12744 one song is in two parts and two lack tunes).[16] They have several songs in common, 35 in all, which, however, show quite many variants. High quality expensive parchment has been used for both manuscripts, and they are quite large of format (c. 220 x 315 mm and c. 188 x 315 mm respectively). The Bayeux MS is the most luxurious with each song taking up one or two openings. The tune with the first stanza laid under the music is on the opening's left hand page (*verso*) while the remainder of the poem stands on the right hand page (*recto*). If the song exceeds more than a single opening in the very big and clear script, it continues on the following opening with a clear marking of the continuity ("Residuum"). Around the music there are in frames above and in the left hand margin painted sumptuous decorations in many colours and gold, which include geometrical patterns, flowers and fruits along with an owner's devise (cf. Ill. 3 below). Curiously, the manuscript was not originally foliated, but every song is numbered with minuscule Roman numerals above and Arabic numerals below on the pages with music.

Where the Bayeux MS appears as a music manuscript that includes complete texts, MS Paris 12744 is rather an anthology of poetic texts with the tunes appended. The poems start on top of the pages in a quite small script with one or two poems on each opening. The tune is added on small, compact staves at the bottom of the pages, and the appropriate text lines are repeated below the music. Decorations are sparse, but each song starts with a big golden letter. The foliation is normal with Roman numerals on the openings' upper right corners. The manuscript does not retain any traces of its original owner or the person who commissioned it, but based on the similarities in repertory and redaction we may assume that it concerning dating and its owner's social standing can be compared with the Bayeux MS.

The Bayeux MS was probably commissioned by or made as a gift for Charles de Bourbon. His name can be deduced from an acrostic involving the first 17 songs in the

15 On the discussion of *popular music* during this period of history seen in relation to *folk music, art music* and, as a general concept, *'everyday music',* see Christoffersen, *French Music*, vol. I, pp. 179-181.

16 The manuscripts have been published in Théodore Gérold (ed.), *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux. Texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XV^e siècle* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 2), Strasbourg 1921, and Gaston Paris & Augeste Gevaert (eds.), *Chansons du XV^e Siècle* (Société des Anciens Textes Français I), Paris 1875; the music has been published complete in Rahn, *Melodic and textual types.*

manuscript – a clear sign of how carefully its repertory was edited. His badge, a winged stag with the Bourbon motto "Esperance" inscribed on a ribbon, is found in all the border decorations.[17]

Duke Charles II de Bourbon (1490-1527), *Connétable de France*, was after the king the realm's most powerful person. His domains comprised most of Central France, and his court, his style of life and his pride represented an intolerable competition for the efforts of François I to centralize the power in the hands of the king. Charles and his English counterpart, *the Constable,* the Duke of Buckingham, have very much to the point been characterized as "feudal dinosaurs"[18] – they were too powerful, too headstrong and too visible for the new power structures. Buckingham ended up on the scaffold, while Charles de Bourbon's break with the king led to exile and service as commander of the army of Emperor Charles V. In that role he participated in conquering the French armies at the battle of Pavia in 1525, where François I as prisoner was taken to Madrid. In France, the titles and properties of Charles de Bourbon were seized. And soon the financial support from the emperor dried up, so Charles found no other way to pay his impatient troops than to lead them against Rome, which was sacked in 1527. He died during a futile attempt to take the refuge of the pope, the Castello Sant'Angelo.

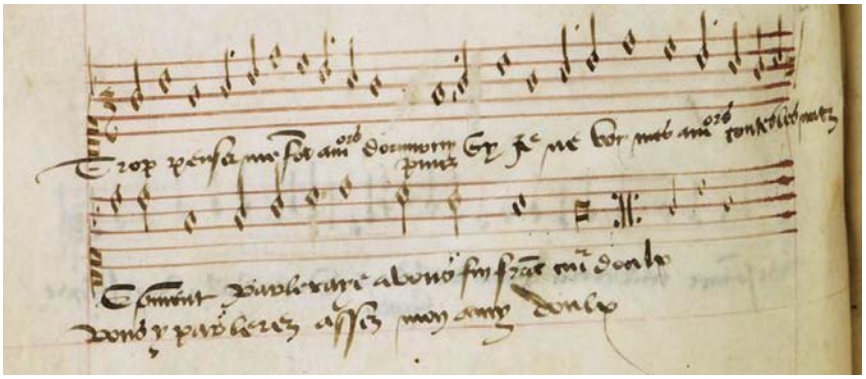
Both manuscripts have a striking, somewhat distant relationship with indicating the mensuration or time of the songs, and they reveal this each in its own fashion: Paris 12744 has very few mensuration signs. This does not matter very much, since the great majority of the songs without any trouble can be performed in double time. In the Bayeux MS, on the other hand, every single song indicates at the start *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (shown by a semicircle with a vertical stroke, ¢). Around 1500 this was the common way to indicate double time (with a binary division of all note values). However, the MS contains several songs that can be performed in triple time only or demand a change of mensuration. This, too, does not pose difficulties for the user of the song collection. The music simply has to be read in double time, but performed respecting the natural stresses, which the tune demands, disregarding the notation. Signs of triple time only appear twice in the MS, namely when changing from double to triple time inside the

17 Fols. 1^{v}-17^{v} in Paris 9346 contain the following songs (see also Rahn, *Melodic and textual types,* p. 64):
C'est a ce jolly moys de may
Hellas, mon cueur n'est pas à moy
A la duché de Normendie
Royne des fleurs que je desire tant
Les bon espoir que mon cueur a
En amours n'a sinon bien
Souvent je m'esbatz et mon cueur est marri
(blank page)
Dieu merci, j'ay bien labouré
En despit des faulx envyeux
Belle, belle tres douce mère Dieu
On doibt bien aymer l'oysellet
Vostre beaulté et vostre beaulté, gente et jolie
Royne des flours, royne des flours, la plus belle
Bevon, ma commère, nous ne bevons point
Or sus, or sus, par dessus yous les aultre
Ne l'oseray-je dire

18 Desmond Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance. The Life of François I,* London 1973, p. 125.

songs. The reasons for the use of such unusual notation may be deduced by looking at a couple of examples.

The tuneful virelai "Trop penser me font amours" in Paris 12744 (f. 22^{v}, see *Example 1*) is one of the few songs with a specific indication of its mensuration. The sign "3" here indicates *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfectum*. This means that each *brevis* (𝅜) must be divided in two, while a *semibrevis* (𝅝) consists of three *minimae* (𝅗𝅥). In this configuration, the mensural notation's rich possibilities of notating even very complex rhythms in a simple way comes to the fore, as the real length of the note values depend on the context and their positions in the rhythmic pattern. These possibilities were fully exploited in art music, especially in first half and middle of the fifteenth century. This notation, of course, challenges the knowledge and experience of the performer and is therefore not the obvious choice for the recording of popular music.



Ill. 1, Paris 12744 f. 22^{v} (at the bottom of the page)

The difficulties are manageable in "Trop penser". The tune's alternation between iambic and trochaic declamation results in a recurrent figure: 𝅝𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅝. If this figure appeared alone without any supporting marking, it should be interpreted according to the rules for diminution and augmentation of note values. However, if a *punctus divisionis* is placed between the two *minimae* in order to delineate the *semibrevis* values, it gives a completely different result:[19]

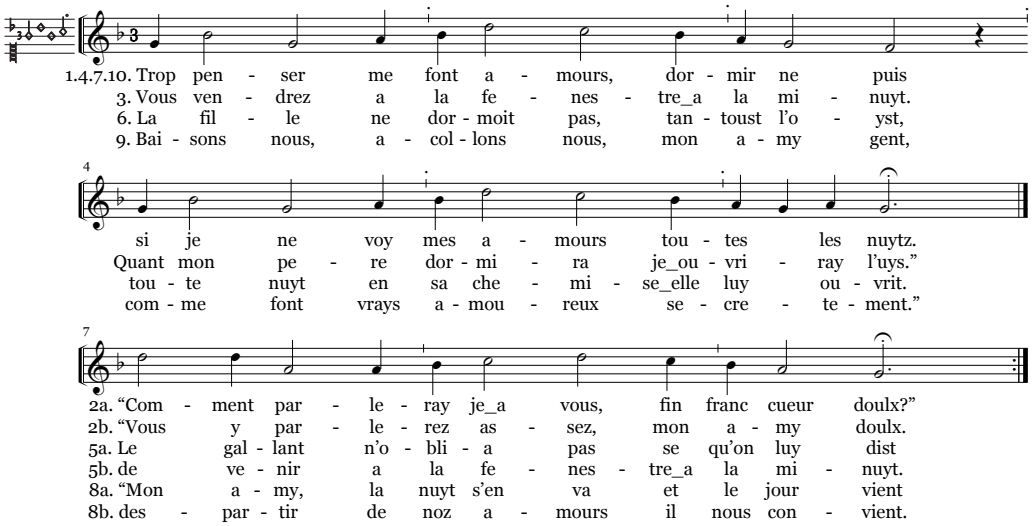
3 𝅝𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅝 = 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥.
3 𝅝𝅗𝅥·𝅗𝅥𝅝 = 𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩ 𝅗𝅥

This is the reason why *puncta* have been carefully placed in Paris 12744 in the first section of the song, so that no misunderstandings can arise (cf. Ill. 1; some erasures show that it has not been easy to get it right!).

This song may be regarded as an unusually attractive example of the lyrical side of the popular repertory, which build on the courtly tradition in *formes fixes* with refrain. The situation described is quite similar the *alba* or *aube* in the troubadour or trouvère repertories where the lover's time together was cut short by the first blush of dawn. Here it is not a rendezvous between two young nobles, but common youths, the girl and "Le gallant", and their dialogue has a touch of real naiveté.

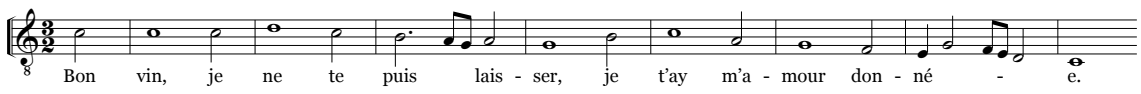
19 The note values have been halved in all the music examples and transcriptions in this article; ligatures and coloration are shown by customary markings, and text in cursive has been added by the editor.

Ex 1, Paris 12744 f. 22v, "Trop penser me font amours" (virelai)[20]



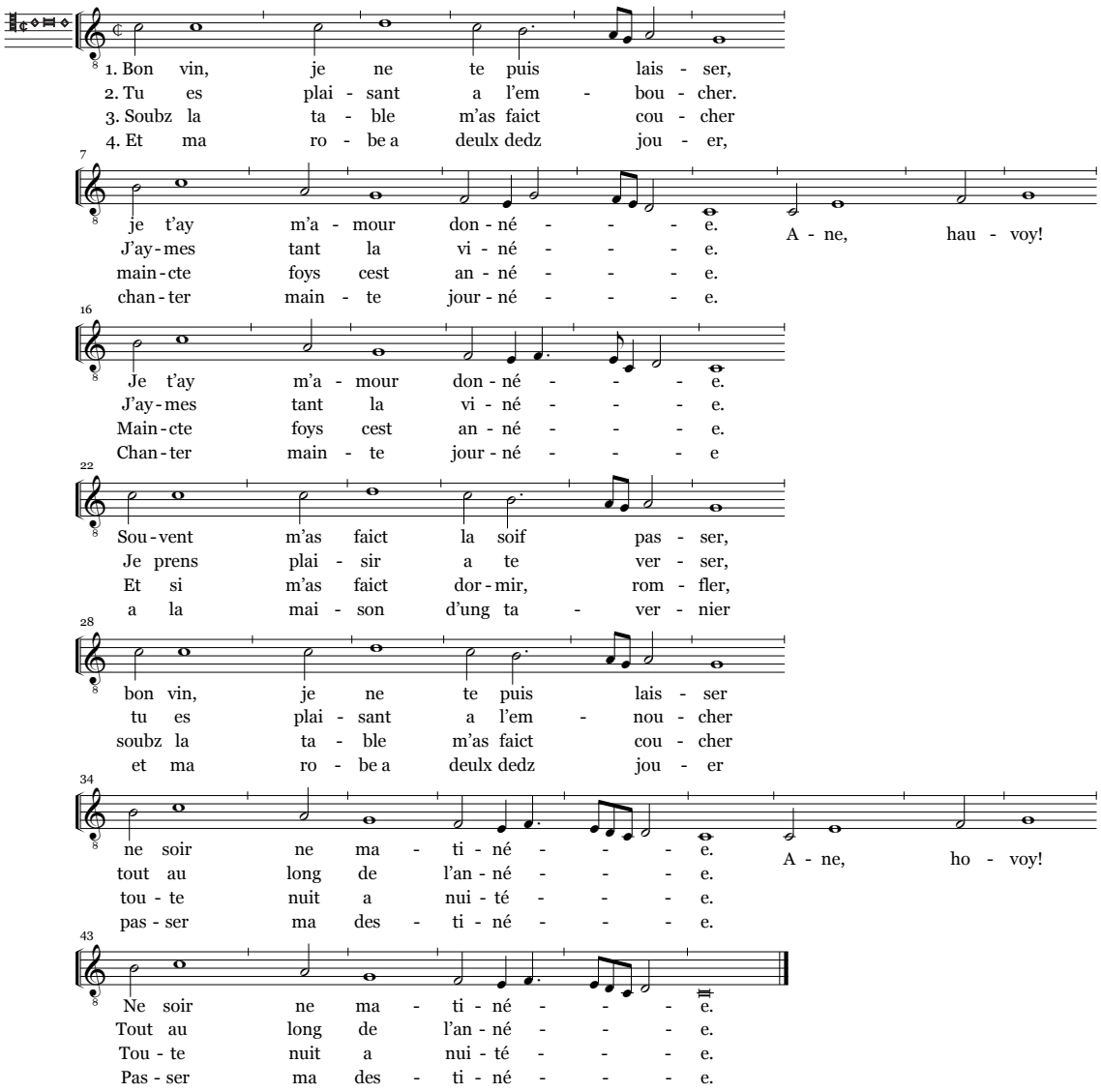
The tune is just as plain and terse. The music for the *refrain* of the virelai (text sections 1, 4, 7, 10) and *tierce* (3, 6, 9) repeats a short tune based on the G-Dorian scale's fifth *g′-d″* (supplemented by the note *f′* in the open ending of the first line), while the two *couplets* (2, 5, 8) form a contrast by a small reduction of the available notes to the fourth *d″-a′*. before ending on *g′*, and a change in rhythm into two trochees in row – simple and efficient. *2

However, the scribe of Paris 12744 could easily have bypassed the difficulty of understanding the mensural notation and its fine points in triple time and the use of *punctus divisionis*. There is no use of *alterations* in the tune. The note values have the length they would have in a regular binary division of all values. The song would possibly have been easier to read, if it had been notated with a C at the beginning. This is exactly the solution that the scribe of the Bayeux MS has chosen for the songs in triple time. The drinking song "Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser" (*Example 2*) is a very clear example. It is also typical of the strophic songs with different kinds of refrain in the popular repertory – here the internal refrain, the exclamation "Ane, hauvoy!". The song is all the way through in triple time. One has to sing while 'dodging' the notation. This is not a problem either, as long as one just reads the mensuration sign as an indication of binary division and disregard it as signalling the time (cf. Ill. 2):



20 The two notes with fermatas are in the MS notated as breves. Translation of the text: (1) Love causes me so much worry that I cannot sleep, if I do not see my beloved every night! (2) "My sweet heart, how shall I come to speak with you?" "You will certainly speak with me, my sweet friend. (3) If you come to the window by midnight, when my father is asleep, I will open the door." Love causes me ... (5) The young man did not forget what he was told about coming to the window by midnight. (6) The girl did not sleep. When she heard him, she opened for him stark naked in her chemise. Love causes me... (8) "My friend, the night is waning and the day is dawning. We have to depart from our love. (9) Let us kiss and embrace, my sweet friend, in secret just like true lovers do." Love causes me ...

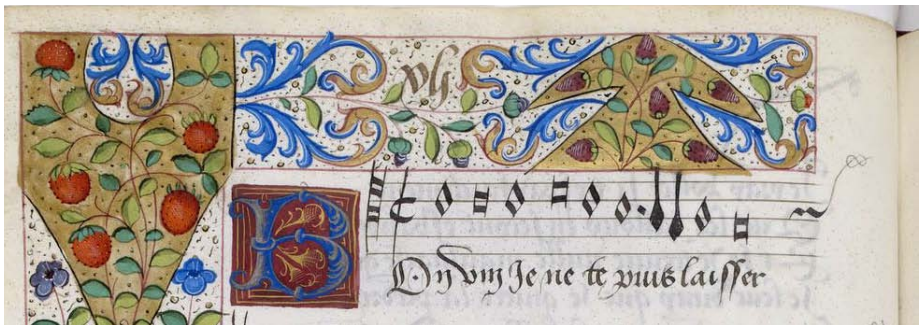
Ex. 2, Bayeux MS no. 41 (ff. 43^{v}-44), "Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser"[21]



Both the popular tunes have been used as starting points for polyphonic compositions in the period around 1500. Several among them are probably up to a generation older than the songs' inclusion in the monophonic chansonniers. "Trop penser" is used as a tenor tune in an imitative three-part popular arrangement by the otherwise unknown Bosfrin,[22]

21 Translation: (1) Good Wine, I cannot let go of you, / I have given you my love. Ass, hey! / Often you have quenched my thirst. / Good Wine, I cannot let go of you / neither evening nor morning. Ass, hey!/ (2) You are lovely to taste. / How I love the vine. (Ass, hey!)/ I like to pour you, / you are nice to taste /all the year round. (3) Under the table you have made me lie / many times this year. / And you have made me sleep, snore, / under the table you have made me lie / all night long. (4) And gamble my clothes away with two dice, / sing many a day / in an innkeeper's house. / And gamble my clothes away with two dice / fulfilling my destiny.

22 *Et trop penser,* published in Howard Mayer Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229.* (Monuments of Renaissance Music VII), Chicago 1983, vol. II, pp. 455-456; the song appears in four Italian sources from the years 1490-1510, cf. *ibid.* vol. I, pp. 287-288.



Ill. 2: Bayeux MS f. 43^{v} (top of the page)

and it is used in masses by Heinrich Isaac, Gaspar van Weerbecke and Jacob Obrecht.[23] "Bon vin", which often appears with the text "Bon temps, je ne te puis laisser", can be found in a number of very dissimilar arrangements, from simple cantus firmus settings to Antoine Brumel's *Missa Bon temps.*[24]

The notation we find in the Bayeux MS and to some degree in Paris 12744 must be regarded as a 'primitive' variety, probably intended for noble amateurs who could not be expected to have insight into the secrets of professional musicians. The large format, the big writing and the notation of the Bayeux MS combined with its slightly childish aura despite its splendid execution must be compared with the date for Charles de Bourbon's moving to front of the line for inheriting the dukedom. It happened when his uncle died in 1503 without a son. He was then 13 years old. The manuscript may very well have been a finely tailored gift for a boy just on the threshold of adulthood. This fits perfectly with the accepted dating of the MS based on style and repertory to just around 1500.

Three songs from the Bayeux manuscript

I find some traces of sound imitation in three songs in the last, quite diverse section of the Bayeux MS (nos. 84, 87 and 97 among the 102 songs).[25] The most interesting is no. 97 "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant", which cannot really be classified as 'a song'. It appears much more like a scene or a monologue from the popular theatre, and it is for long stretches through-composed with a touch of musical prose. Not everything in the text is crystal clear, but the song includes strong contrasts, and its intended comical effect is beyond all doubt – the gap between crying and braying like a donkey is here very narrow. *3

At the start of the song a mother pitifully laments the absence of her son Mimin (two stanzas, bb. 1-18 and 19-36) – as if speaking to herself. Then she directly addresses another person, a teacher assigned to educate her son, stating that Raoullet, Mimin's father, wants him kept on track (the music for this is repeated, bb. 37-51). Then comes the admonition: "Faictes qu'il se porte pesant (Make him conduct himself with dignity) et qu'il aille ces motz pensant en faisant de l'asne parmy (and that he keeps my words in

23 The tune is quoted exactly as tenor in the Confiteor section in Obrecht's *Missa Plumimorum carminorum*! Cf. David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*, Oxford 1999, pp. 158-159.

24 In the MS Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in The Royal Library, Copenhagen, the tune is found in three different settings, see further Christoffersen, *French Music*, vol. II, p. 115, and Helen Hewitt, 'A Chanson Rustique of the Early Renaissance: Bon temps' in Jan LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese,* New York 1966, pp. 376-391.

25 All three are published here at the end of this section.

mind, at times acting like the donkey)", culminating in the donkey imitation "hin han" in descending thirds. The braying can be performed by inhaling at the "i"-sound and singing normally on the "a"-sound. The first part of the passage, spanning *c'-f* (bb. 72-75), is notated in straight *semibreves*, second part *g-c* (bb. 75-80) becomes syncopated by *minima*-rests on the beats, a sort of *hoquetus* – is the ass flogged? In the end the teacher is given 100 écus in cash; no expense shall be spared to educate the son.

This scene is in rhythmic structure far more complex than almost any other popular song. The introductory stanza (bb. 1-18) is obviously in triple time with an upbeat and shows a similar alternation between iambic and trochaic patterns as "Trop penser". The stanza's threes lines are rhythmically identical, and the last line "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx amy" turns back as a refrain at the end of the second stanza (bb. 31-36) and as the song's last line (bb. 95-101). The second stanza (bb. 19-36) seems like a variation of the first, where the regular triple time becomes somewhat blurred. In the third and fourth stanzas, in which the music is repeated (bb. 37-51), the triple time is gradually supplanted by double, most clearly in the two last lines (bb. 42-51). The remainder of the scene, the next two stanzas and the donkey imitation, develops into free alternations between triple and double time, into a musical prose in the service of the dramatic effect such as the ascent in sequences in bars 59-63 and the repeat of words and motifs in bars 63-69. Coloration appears in bars 56-57, where three *brevis* notes are blackened. Hereby they loose a third of their value in *tempus imperfectum*. The result is slow triplets, which in this context seem artificial and not very effective. We have to take in account that this passage may have originally been notated in *tempus perfectum*; in such a context the coloration had produced a sturdy hemiola effect in the triple rhythm, an interpretation of "porte pesant". The song may originally have been notated with far more complex indications of changing mensurations. What we find in the Bayeux MS is probably an attempt to simplify the notation, just as in other songs in triple time.

The simplified notation in the Bayeux MS can be compared with some copies of songs in a register, which was kept by the city clerk of Namur around 1423.[26] Here the note values are indicated by strokes: A short stroke is the basic rhythmic unit; two strokes close together indicate a value that is twice as long etc. Among the songs is the tenor part belonging to "La belle se siet" with two complete stanzas of text – Du Fay in his famous song probably only added the elegant *Cantus II* to a slightly older setting of the tune.[27] This tune also needs *coloration*. Such complexity is beyond the stroke notation. The scribe had in these passages to use white *semibreves* in groups of three. This shows that the strokes must be read as black *semibreves* and their multiplications, and the white *semibreves* as triplets. In this way it would work out for weak readers of music.

26 Namur, Haute cour, Reg. 8 (1421-23). Published as facsimile in Ernest Montellier, 'Quatorze Chansons du XVe siècle extraites des Archives Namuroises', *Commision de la vielle chanson populaire: Annuaire 1939*, Antwerp, pp. 153-211, incl. erroneous transcriptions.

27 Guillaume Dufay (H. Besseler & D. Fallows ed.), *Opera omnia VI* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 1), no. 12. The "La belle se siet" tune is not a *ballade*; in *Opera omnia VI* this setting is classified as such. It is rather a popular *virelai*, in structure quite similar "Trop penser". This tune was further basis for a three-part chanson by Josquin, a motet by Prioris and masses (anonymous, Ghiselin, De Orto and a Credo by Robert de Févin/Josquin), cf. David Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay. Critical Commentary to the Revision of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 1, vol. VI* (Musicological studies & documents 47), Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1995, pp. 61-63.

The song's first words "Mymy, Mymy" set in music with the notes e and *b*, both of which can be solmizated with the syllable "mi" in *hexachordum naturale* and *hexachordum durum* respectively, bring to mind Ockeghem's famous *Missa My my*.[28] Any singer brought up and trained under the Guidonian Hand in a choir school, and having learned to place the intervallic structures and tunes he was studying against a mental map, where the hexachordal system provided the most important signposts, would instantly recognize the joke. However, it is not just a jest. The remarkable start has been construed with a purpose, and it may have something to tell also concerning Ockeghem's mass and the compositions related to it.[29]

The rendering of the braying at the song's comical high point stands as an independent element, as an emblem referring to something outside the music. It is probably not the only quotation: The refrain "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx amy" and much of the first stanzas (bb. 1-36) may build on a popular song. If so, the song surely would not start in Phrygian, but keep to the C mode all the way and be in regular triple time. When this scene was created, the rhythm of the first line was probably not changed, but the pitches were transformed towards Phrygian, and perhaps only the two first pitches (they could very well have been *c* and *g*). In addition to the solmization joke this operation signals that something unusual is going on.

The Phrygian formation consisting of fifth movements forwards and back followed by a semitone movement emanates intensity, and the direction of the initial movement is not significant: *e-b-e-f-e, b-e-b-c'-b* or transposed *e-A-e-f-e* – the last one is Ockeghem's *Mi mi* motif. In the theatrical scene the motif creates a striking opening with a wistful text "Mimi, Mimi, my dear child, will you never come home to me?" There is no indication, however, that the Phrygian opening was always perceived as plaintive. The popular song

28 Johannes Ockeghem (ed. Jaap van Benthem), *Missa My my* (Masses and Mass Sections fascicle III,2), Utrecht 1998, and J. Ockeghem (ed. Dragan Plamenac), *Collected Works II* (2. ed.), s.l. 1966, pp. 1-20.

29 I am not the first to point out the connection between the monophonic song and Ockeghem's mass. Ross W. Duffin beat me in his article *'Mi chiamano Mimi* but my name is *Quarti toni:* solmization and Ockeghem's famous Mass', *Early Music 29* (May 2001), pp. 165-184. However, Duffin does not seem to get the whole story: 1) His business is to demonstrate that the title *Missa My my* does not refer to the descending fifth in the bassus in the motto of the mass or for that matter to the repeated *e*'s in the superius, but that "Mi mi" just is another way to denote the *Hypophrygian* mode or *quarti toni.* In this connection the monophonic song was not of any help. Duffin finds that the song opens with a Phrygian gesture with the solmization syllables below the notes without any connexion with the motto of the mass, and that the remainder of the song is obviously in C-mode. 2) His pointing out that it is wrong to solmizate Ockeghem's opening fifth *e-A* as "mi-mi" builds apparently on untenable assumptions concerning the practices of singers and composers in the fifteenth century. Namely, that they considered intervals as isolated phenomena when solmizating a passage, not as a part of a melodic line, and that they strictly kept to the solmization theory as stated by Guido of Arrezzo and his closest followers. Exactly such formations as the 'Mi mi-motif' in Ockeghem's bassus with movement forward and back to the same note *e-A-e-f-e* would be perceived in simplified solmization by the singers, and each time they would sing *e* as "mi" and apply the same syllable to *A* in order to emphasize the fifth relation. Such a practice is probably behind Georg Rhaw's rule that fourth, fifth and octave movements are to be solmizated by repeating the syllable belonging to the first note (*mi-mi* or *fa-fa*). This was stated a few decades after Ockeghem's mass in *Enchiridion utriusque musicae practicae* of 1517 (see, for example, Karol Berger, *Musica ficta. Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino,* Cambridge 1987, pp. 91 and 219). 3) Duffin's argument that the syllables "Mi mi" signal the fourth mode is in itself a banality, which does not import anything about the relations between the compositions that appeared designated with the syllables.

"Petite camusette, a la mort m'avez mis", known in settings by Ockeghem and Josquin,[30] which builds on the same intervallic structure as Ockeghem's *Mi mi* motif, is certainly intense, but not the least sad: "Little snub-nose, you have brought me close to death". On the other hand, Ockeghem's three-part courtly song "Presque transi ung peu moins
*4 qu'estre mort" is really depressive, where the unhappy love turns into weariness of life: "Almost gone, only a little bit from being dead, living in sorrow without having any consolation".[31] Here the tenor's declamation of the text on the notes *e-A-e-f-e* has a very strong appeal, possibly empowered by the parallel movement of the less expansive upper voice. Any way, Ockeghem expanded the material from "Presque transi", primarily using the song's beginning and end, not only in *Missa My my* but also in the late five-part motet *Intemerata Dei Mater.*[32] Ockeghem used this material in his mass and motet in such a cunning way that he so to say covered his traces – something which in recent times has been appreciated as a characteristic of his personality –, but in the mass he left the *Mi mi* motif in the open as an emblem. Other composers quoted the motif in masses as a tribute to Ockeghem or in recognition of its usefulness, either stating the quotation in the title of the mass (De Orto, Pipelare and one anonymous) or hidden in the spirit of Ockeghem (Obrecht).[33]

There is hardly any direct connection between the comic scene in the Bayeux MS and Ockeghem's mass for the French royal chapel. The Phrygian colouring of the song's start, however, does show a sensitivity to the effect of the musical phrase as a signal, a sensitivity that can help us understand the background for Ockeghem's sublimation of the material in his works. The 'Mi mi' motif had perhaps already proved its durability and intensity as a signal/emblem in the 'everyday music', as part of the arsenal of the professional musician and entertainer (and in plainchant formulas which we need not go into). Therefore he could disregard "Presque transi" in his naming of the mass and be content with "My my" or "Mi mi" as an indicator of the mode of the mass but even more as a known musical signal, the motto of the mass.[34]

One may wonder why this theatrical scene, so different from the other popular songs, has found its way into the Bayeux MS. It is hardly thinkable that the noble receiver of the song collection should perform the piece. It requires a professional actor. Maybe it has to be understood as a piece for reading, intentionally placed by the person who ordered the collection in order to admonish the future duke *not* to act like an ass. In any case, Charles de Bourbon did not heed the song's implied admonishment.

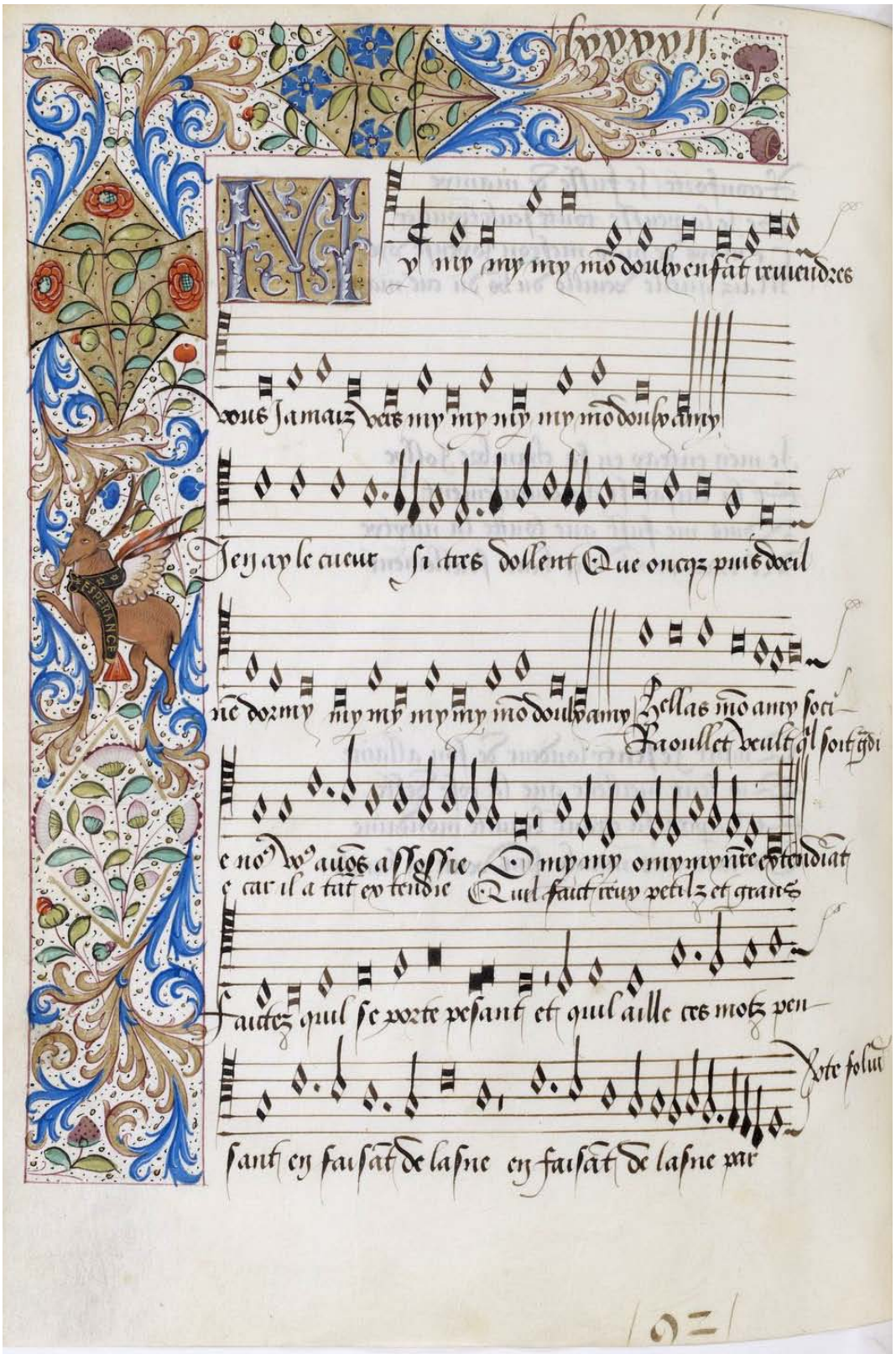
30 J. Ockeghem (ed. R. Wexler with D. Plamenac), *Collected Works III: Motets and Chansons*, Philadelphia 1992, p. 88, and Josquin Desprez (ed. A. Smijers & M. Antonowycz), *Wereldlijke Werken*. Amsterdam 1925-68, no. 17, p. 43.

31 Ockeghem, *Collected Works III,* p. 81.

32 *Ibid.* p. 8. On the relations between "Presque transi" and *Missa My my,* see Fabrice Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, Paris 1997, pp. 159-77, and J. van Benthem's introduction to Johannes Ockeghem, *Missa My my*. On *Intemerata Dei mater,* see Jeffrey Dean's brilliant analysis in 'Ockeghem's valediction? the meaning of *Intemerata Dei mater*' in Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XL^e Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997* (Collection «Épitome musical» 1), Paris 1998, pp. 521-570.

33 Concerning the related works, see Martin Picker, 'Reflections on Ockeghem and *Mi-Mi*' in Vendrix (ed.), *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 415-32 and Ross W. Duffin, '*Mi chiamano Mimi*'.

34 This discussion refers to the chapter '*Mi-mi,* prelude: What's in a name?' in Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 159-161.



Ill. 3, Bayeux MS, *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds français 9346,* ff. 95v, "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant" (beginning).

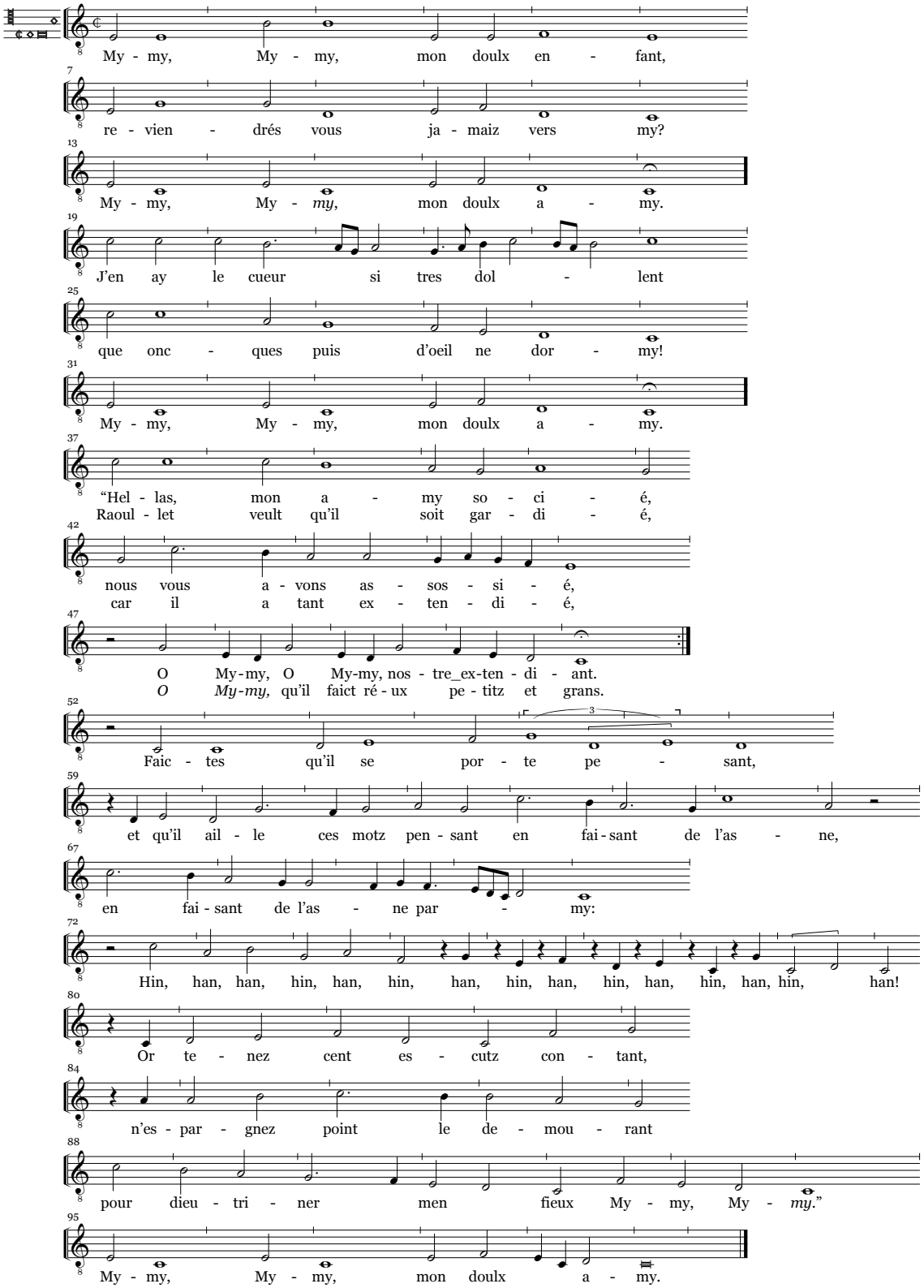
Three songs from the Bayeux manuscript[35]

Paris 9346 no. 97 "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant" (ff. 95^{v}-96^{v})[36]

Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant, reviendrés vous jamaiz vers my? Mymy, My*my*, mon doulx amy.	Mimi, Mimi, my dear child, will you never come home to me? Mimi, Mimi, my sweetheart.
J'en ay le cueur si tres dollent que oncques puis d'oeil ne dormy! Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx amy.	I have such anguish in my heart that I haven't been able to close an eye, Mimi, Mimi, my sweetheart.
"Hellas, mon amy socié, nous vous avons assossié, O Mymy, O Mymy, nostre extendiant.	"Alas, my esteemed friend, we have entrusted you with – O Mimi, O Mimi – our student.
Raoullet veult qu'il soit gardié, car il a tant extendié, *O Mymy*, qu'il faict réux petitz et grans.	Raoulet wants that he is looked after, because he has studied so much – O Mimi – that he has outdone little and big ones.
Faictes qu'il se porte pesant, et qu'il aille ces motz pensant en faisant de l'asne, en faisant de l'asne parmy:	Make him conduct himself with dignity and that he keeps my words in mind at times acting like the donkey:
Hin, han, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han!	Hin, han, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han!
Or tenez cent escutz contant, n'espargnez point le demourant pour dieutriner men fieux Mymy, Mymy.	Receive here 100 écus in cash, do not spare the remainder to educate my son Mimi, Mimi"
Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx amy.	Mimi, Mimi, my sweetheart.

35 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fonds français 9346. This section was published in a small private *Festschrift* to professor Henrik Glahn, May 29, 1989 – as a supplement to my article '»Or sus vous dormez trop«'. Associate professor Svend Hendrup has been of great help during the work on the poems.

36 Errors in MS Paris 9346: Text, some repeated "my"s are missing; bars 49-51 have "faict ceux petitz et grans" – "ceux" is probably a misspelling for "réux". Bar 52, the rest is missing; bar 78, the last note is a *semibrevis*; bars 18, 38 and 51 are in the MS notated as *longae* (without fermatas).


My - my, My - my, mon doulx en - fant,
re - vien - drés vous ja - maiz vers my?
My - my, My - *my*, mon doulx a - my.
J'en ay le cueur si tres dol - lent
que onc - ques puis d'oeil ne dor - my!
My - my, My - my, mon doulx a - my.
"Hel - las, mon a - my so - ci - é,
Raoul - let veult qu'il soit gar - di - é,
nous vous a - vons as - sos - si - é,
car il a tant ex - ten - di - é,
O My-my, O My-my, nos - tre_ex-ten - di - ant.
O My-my, qu'il faict ré - ux pe - titz et grans.
Faic - tes qu'il se por - te pe - sant,
et qu'il ail - le ces motz pen - sant en fai - sant de l'as - ne,
en fai - sant de l'as - ne par - my:
Hin, han, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han, hin, han!
Or te - nez cent es - cutz con - tant,
n'es - par - gnez point le de - mou - rant
pour dieu - tri - ner men fieux My - my, My - *my*."
My - my, My - my, mon doulx a - my.

Paris 9346 no. 87 "Celuy qui nasquit sainctement" (ff. 90^{v}-91)[37]

Celuy qui nasquit sainctement,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
veuille mener a sauveté
l'ame du bon feu roy René.
Il a prins son deffinement,
hen henc, hen henc, *hen henc, hen henc,*
pour certain, il est trespassé.
C'est grant dommage de sa mort.

Et quant vendra le Jour du Jugement,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
que chascun y sera pour soy,
le doulx Jesus par sa pitié
nous vueille donner sauvement,
hen henc, hen henc, *hen henc, hen henc,*
...

He who was born in a holy way,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
if only he would lead to salvation
the soul of the good, deceased King René.
He has met with his end,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
it is certain that he has passed away.
His death is great damage.

And when the Day of Doom arrives,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
when everyone will be on his own,
if only the sweet Jesus by his grace
will give us all salvation,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
...

Paris 9346 no. 84 "Les filettes de Montfort" (f. 87^{v})

Les fillettes de Montfort,
ilz ont trouvé en leur voye
ung cheval qui estoit mort.

Et sirdondieu, sirdondaine,
va, siredondé, siredondieu!

Ho, hu, hayne, ha, huri ha,
hé, hauvoy!

Sus la mer, quant il vente,
il y faict dangereux aller.

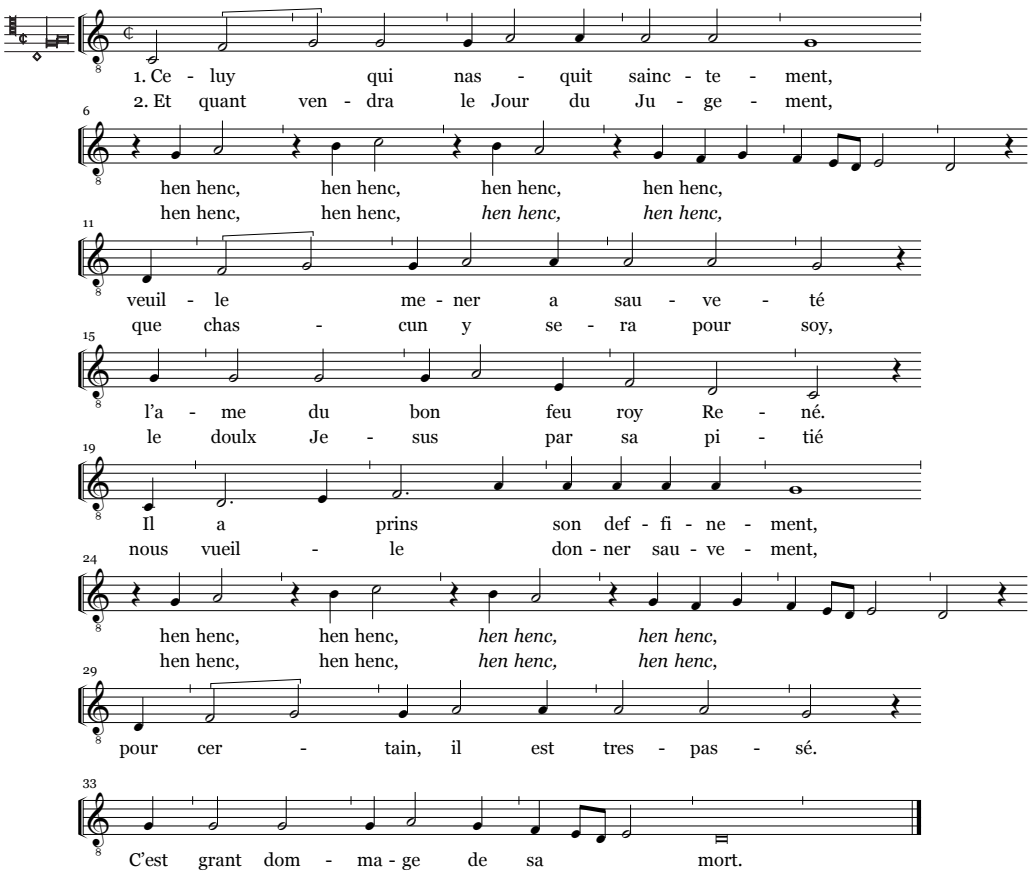
The little girls from Montfort
found on their path
a horse that had died.

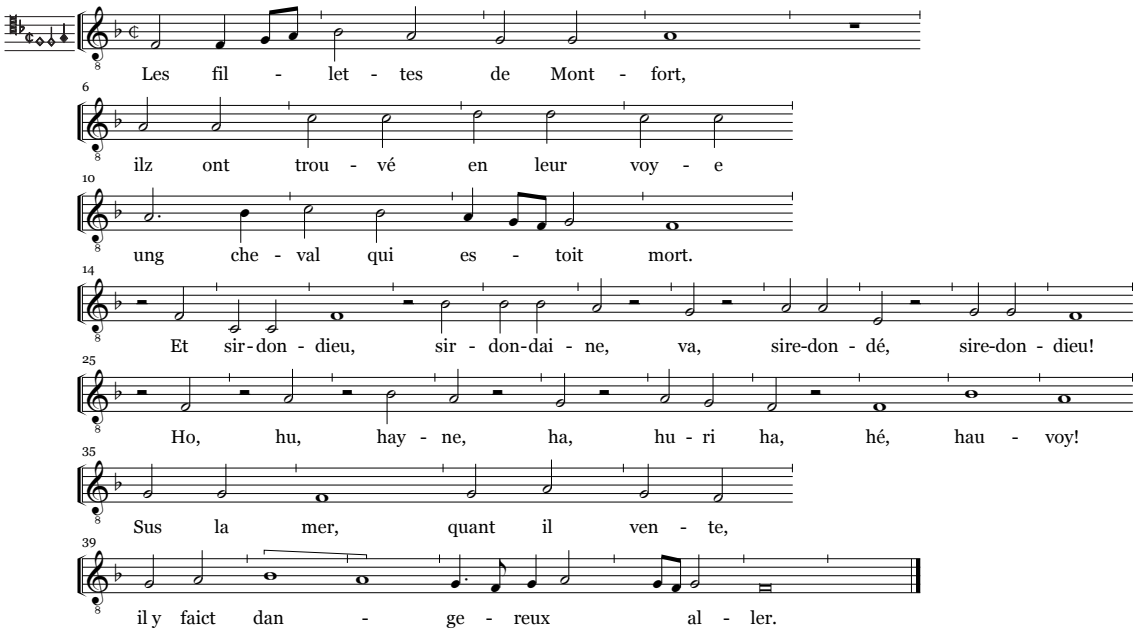
And sirdondieu, sirdondaine,
go! Siredondé, siredondieu!

Ho, hu, hayne, huri ha!
Hé hauvoy!

At sea, when the wind is blowing,
it is dangerous to be.

37 Errors in MS Paris 9346, bar 34 consists two *minimae*, changed in accordance with bar 16. Maybe the first note of the song should be corrected to *d* in accordance with the upbeats in bars 11 and 29. The text is incomplete, the two last lines in the second stanza is missing. It is possible that the two last lines of the first stanza here should be repeated as a sort of refrain.


1. Ce - luy qui nas - quit sainc - te - ment,
2. Et quant ven - dra le Jour du Ju - ge - ment,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
veuil - le me - ner a sau - ve - té
que chas - cun y se - ra pour soy,
l'a - me du bon feu roy Re - né.
le doulx Je - sus par sa pi - tié
Il a prins son def - fi - ne - ment,
nous vueil - le don - ner sau - ve - ment,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
hen henc, hen henc, hen henc, hen henc,
pour cer - tain, il est tres - pas - sé.
C'est grant dom - ma - ge de sa mort.


Les fil - let - tes de Mont - fort,
ilz ont trou - vé en leur voy - e
ung che - val qui es - toit mort.
Et sir-don - dieu, sir - don-dai - ne, va, sire-don - dé, sire-don - dieu!
Ho, hu, hay - ne, ha, hu - ri ha, hé, hau - voy!
Sus la mer, quant il ven - te,
il y faict dan - ge - reux al - ler.

The other two songs from the Bayeux MS are both in double time and do not call for any new reflections on notation. No. 87 "Celuy qui nasquit sainctement" mourns "le bon feu roy René" and can be dated after 1480. René d'Anjou (1409-1480), duke of Bar and Anjou, count of Provence and Piedmont, duke of Lorraine (1431-1453, by inheritance of his wife Isabelle de Lorraine), king of Naples and Sicily (1435-1442), titular king of Jerusalem and from 1466 titular king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, was one of history's last, great knightly figures. His name was and is surrounded by a fairy tale sparkle. In his time he became a romantic figure, always in front, always on a mission, and almost always hit by bad luck in his endeavours. His striving to retain the inheritance of his wife in Lorraine led to imprisonment by his competitor, the duke of Burgundy. That he inherited Naples and the kingdom of Sicily only led to misfortune. René d'Anjou did not possess the military strength and political acumen to keep the power, and he was ousted by Alfonso V of Aragon in 1442. He sought during the remainder of his life by manoeuvring among princes with greater influence than himself to regain his lost Italian kingdom. He founded, so to say, the unfortunate drive of the French kings towards conquering the weaker Italian states. For more realistic thinking actors on the political scene "the good King René" came to stand in a tragicomic light as the eternally unlucky and troublesome hero.

This did not prevent that him from enjoying great respect as a competent and far-sighted administrator in times of peace, as a knight in the spirit of King Arthur, as an extravagant arranger of tournaments, a ladies man and as a faithful husband with a renown as a painter and author of love poems and a novel as well as an idealizing handbook of the noble art of tourneying (possibly these works were created by employees in his name). During his last years he concentrated on his domains in Southern France and his splendour- and art-loving court in Aix-en-Provence, where the young Josquin Desprez apparently started his career.[38]

The song expresses a pious wish that Jesus will lead the soul of the good King René to salvation. This is put forward in an almost reciting, simple tune that revolves around the notes *g* and *a* and does not transgress the range of *hexachordum naturale* (*c-a)*. Two identical passages with *hoquetus* effects are inserted into the repeated phrases (bb. 6-11 and 24-29), which expand the range to *c′*. The words are the syllables "hen henc", which may be interpreted as "alas" sounds, but given the somewhat overblown message of his death "Il a prins son definement, pour certain, il est trespassé. C'est grant dommaige de sa mort" everything is given a tinge of irony. The *hoquetus* passages seem to stand out as clatter or harrumphing. In the world of popular song the unfulfilled ambitions stand in a comical light.

The last song no. 84 "Les filettes de Montfort" is a nonsense song. It is not easy to find the connection between the girls who find a dead horse and the warning that it is dangerous at sea when it storms. The nonsense syllables "Et sirdondieu, sirdondaine, va, siredondé, siredondieu" may belong with the first three lines (bb. 1-24), while the wind at sea is introduced by a rhythmic displacement and *hoquetus* sounding "ho, hu, haine, ha, huri ha" – do we hear the howling of the wind?

38 C. 1475-80, cf. Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion*, Oxford 2000, p. 12 and the literature mentioned there.

II Mirroring music theory as a metaphor for feeling

As contrast to the popular songs we shall now take a look at a polyphonic courtly song, in which love distress is expressed with the help of terms from music theory, and where the music tries to follow suit. The song is in a chansonnier in The Royal Library, Copenhagen, in the manuscript *Thott 291 8°* (hereafter "Copenhagen"). It is the smallest and possibly also the youngest member of a group of famous manuscripts that offers a fascinating picture of the expressive richness of the French chanson during the second part of the fifteenth century. Knud Jeppesen's edition and discussion of the repertory of the manuscript in *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier* from 1927[39] was decisive in recognizing the importance of this group of manuscripts. For generations of scholars his work came to stand as a model of how to do scholarly editions, and Jeppesen's discussion of the manuscripts and their origin in the Burgundian court culture apparently influenced the writing of music history to such a degree that the secular music of the period in nearly all modern books is described under some variant of the heading 'The Burgundian school'. *5

The Copenhagen chansonnier is a small parchment manuscript (12 x 17 cm), which originally consisted of 56 folios (and two flyleaves). Eight folios have in the course of time disappeared and with them three complete chansons and parts of six others. On all pages seven staves have been drawn in red ink in one operation. The remaining 48 folios (modern foliation 0-47) contain 33 chansons belonging to the original repertory of the manuscript (31 three-part and two four-part) entered in choirbook layout. As often seen, the scribe has left a number of pages blank at the end of the volume for a future owner's own additions. The music hand is characteristic slim, tall and pointed, while the text is written in a careful, easy readable and quite upright *bâtarde* hand (see Ill. 4 and 5). The original repertory is adorned by illuminated initials, which the music scribe had left room for. In superius the first letter in the text is painted, while it in the lower voices is the voice designations – we find many variations of "T" and "C" in small drawings. The letters are made into grotesque figures, in which we meet imaginary beings such as dragons, there are knights and ladies, clerics, fairies, monkeys, birds, foxes, wild boars, butterflies and lots of snails. The colouring using all primary colours and gold is subtle and detailed.[40]

The manuscript does not convey any composer ascriptions, but with the help of other sources we can identify songs by Antoine Busnoys (5), Convert (3), Jehan Delahaye (2), Robert Morton (2), Johannes Ockeghem (2), Philippe Basiron (1), Hayne van Ghizeghem (1), Michelet (1), Jean Molinet (1), Symon Le Breton (1) and in addition 11 songs, which appear as anonymous in other manuscripts. To this repertory of mostly rondeaux and bergerettes later hands have added first a very early three-part version of Claudin de Sermisy's "J'actens secours" (c. 1520)[41] and, dating from the late sixteenth century, a series of four-part recitation formulas, "primi-octavi toni", "1er Litanie", "Autre litanie" and "De profundis".

The other manuscripts in the group of related sources are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Dept. de la Mus., Rés. VmC Ms 57 (call name "Chansonnier Nivelle de La Chaussée" or

39 Munksgaard, København & Leipzig 1927; reissued with a new preface by Broude Brothers, New York 1965.

40 An online facsimile of the MS can be found at http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/702/dan/0+recto.

41 Published and discussed in Christoffersen, *French Music*, vol. I, p. 247.

just "Nivelle"), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav. ("Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier"), Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517 ("Dijon") and
*6 Washington D.C., Library of Congress, M2.1 L25 Case ("Laborde Chansonnier"). The five manuscripts are similar in design and format, even if they vary considerably in size, and their repertories share many songs. They clearly belong within the same cultural circles. The scribe of the Dijon chansonnier (the so-called "Dijon scribe") was responsible for not only his own, big chansonnier project, but for parts of the Laborde chansonnier and all of the smaller Copenhagen chansonnier. The grotesque miniature paintings in Copenhagen and in Wolfenbüttel may have been executed in ateliers not far from each other. In terms of dating, they may all have been produced during a decade stretching from the late 1460s into the 1470s, some finished quickly, others (Dijon and Laborde) only after a protracted process.

As mentioned, Knud Jeppesen's discussion of the manuscripts and their repertory has been a fixed point in the research through generations. New editions of chansons have appeared and a wealth of details has been revealed. It was not until the mid 1980s that a new perception of the group of chansonniers began to gain traction. Without discarding Jeppesen's 'Burgundian' viewpoint Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff showed in her dissertation from 1985 on the Wolfenbüttel chansonnier that its miniature paintings and the corresponding ones in the Copenhagen chansonnier might be executed in ateliers in Nantes, Angers or Bourges.[42] A re-evaluation of the whole complex only came about when Paula Higgins in her dissertation on Antoine Busnoys from 1987 was able to show convincingly that the family of sources originated in the Loire valley, in an area comprising the royal seats of residence in Tours and Bourges and Charles d'Orléans' residences in Blois and Orléans. This was discussed in a long chapter whose heading does not try to hide its polemical sting: 'Music in the Loire Valley in the 1460s, Or: The Myth of the Burgundian-Netherlandish Schools'.[43] Hereby the sources were moved to the centre of French court culture, to the milieu where Ockeghem and Busnoys worked (Tours, Bourges and Paris) and near the poetical circles around the court of Charles d'Orléans in Blois, where also François Villon was a visitor. Latest Higgins' interpretation was confirmed by David Fallows' demonstration that the Wolfenbüttel chansonnier in the same manner as the Bayeux MS announces the name of its receiver (or orderer). The 12 songs first entered form the name "Estiene Petit". This person was most probably a courtier from Montpellier who in 1467 achieved an important position at the court of Louis XI as *notaire et secretaire*. He succeeded his father of the same name and followed in his footsteps in Paris and Bourges.[44] Wolfenbüttel chansonnier may have been a valuable gift for this occasion.

Towards the end of Copenhagen chansonnier, on ff. 33^{v}-35, we find a highly unusual chanson, the anonymous no. 29, "La plus bruiant", also found without composer attribution

42 Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav. Untersuchungen zu Repertoire und Überlieferung einer Musikhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts und ihres Umkreises* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 29), Wiesbaden 1985, pp. 20-21. She further published the edition *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav.* (Musikalischer Denkmäler X), Mainz 1988.

43 Paula Higgins, *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy,* Diss. Princeton 1987, pp. 210-308.

44 David Fallows, '»Trained and immersed in all musical delights«: Towards a New Picture of Busnoys' in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music,* Oxford 1999, pp. 21-50 (at pp. 38-43).

in the Dijon chansonnier (ff. 71^{v}-73). Actually, all the chansons in the last part of the manuscript are unusual – one can just mention Busnoys' "Ja que li ne" (no. 32) or Ockeghem's canon "Prenez sur moy" (no. 33). In *Example 3* the text is distributed as it might be sung by the three voices, and in that form it can be difficult to survey. Set up as a virelai with one stanza only (this form is in the artful poetry of the fifteenth century often called "bergerette") together with an attempt at a translation, it looks like this:

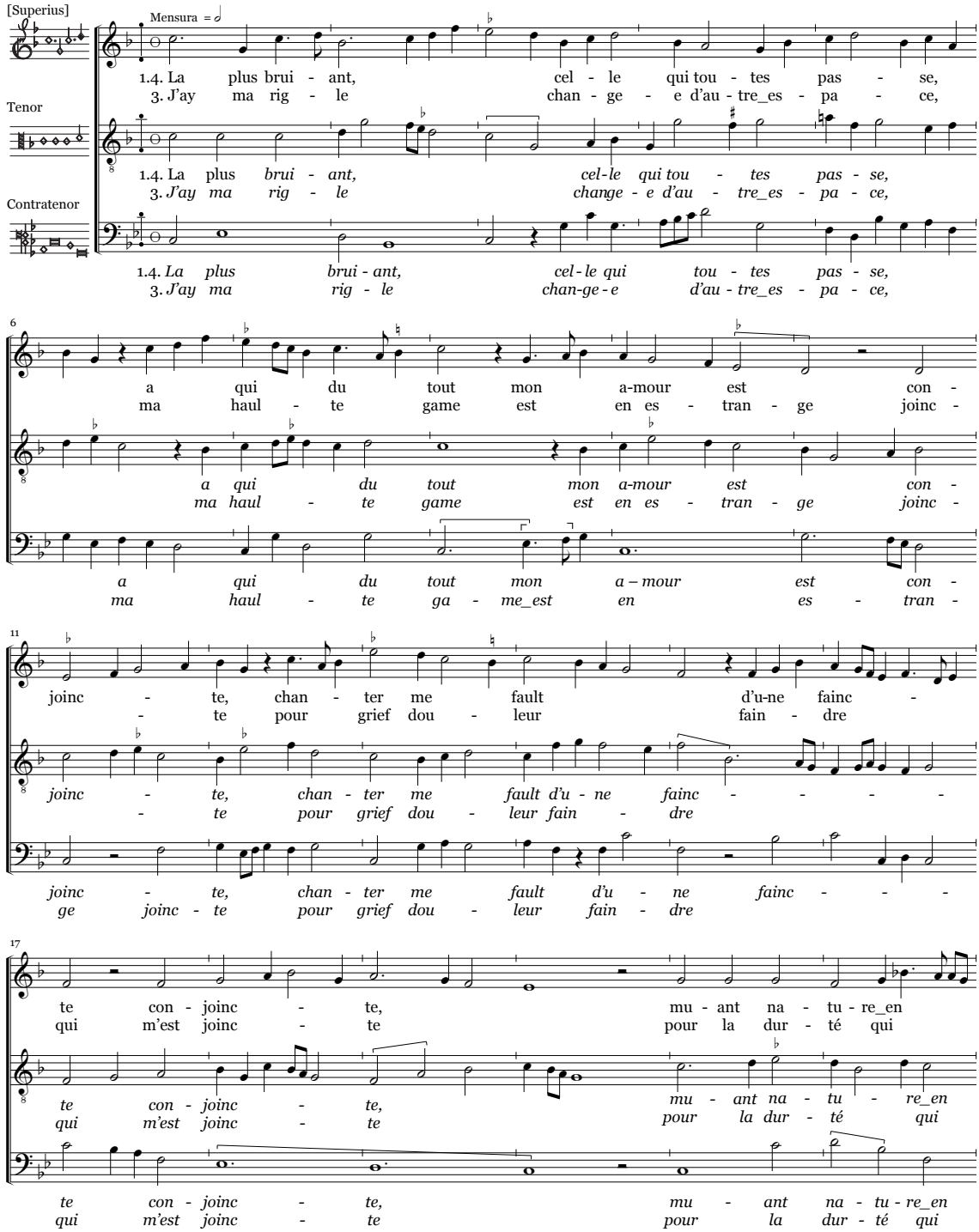
La plus bruiant, celle qui toutes passe, a qui du tout mon amour est conjoincte, chanter me fault d'une faincte conjoincte, muant nature en becarré la basse.	The most dazzling, surpassing everyone, with whom my love is utterly conjoined, I must sing of her in a false conjunction lowering the natural B-quadratum.
Je soupire et pleure souvent en grief tourment est ma demeure.	I often sigh and cry dwelling in grim torment.
Mon cueur noir come meure se sent piteusement fault que je meure.	My heart feels black as mulberry, piteously I have to die.
J'ay ma rigle changee d'autre espace, ma haulte game est en estrange joincte pour grief douleur faindre qui m'est joincte pour la durté qui me fait je trespasse.	I have moved my scale into another range; my high hexachord is joined to a foreign one to feign the grievous dolour, to which I am enjoined, for the harshness, which causes me to die.
La plus bruiant, *celle qui toutes passe,* *a qui du tout mon amour est conjoincte,* *chanter me fault d'une faincte conjoincte,* *muant nature en becarré la basse.*	The most dazzling, surpassing everyone, with whom my love is utterly conjoined, I must sing of her in a false conjunction lowering the natural B-quadratum.

The love complaint spices its conventional poetic language with musical terms. Such a procedure is not unusual. We find it for example in four rondeaux by Charles d'Orléans.[45] However, while Charles with great precision uses a few terms as metaphors, this poet amasses them in order to say the same things over and over in slightly varied ways. Already in line 3 a tautology turns up, as "conjoincte", a *rime equivoquée* which in line 2 meant "joined to", here must be understood as "coniuncta", that is, a hexachord on a scale degree different from the three commonly used, which by mutation is joined to the Guidonian hand and consequently is fictional – it belongs to *musica ficta*. This clear statement is in line 3 intensified by the word "faincte", which means "feigned" or again "fictional".[46] This points out the theme of the song: It is about singing in fictional hexachords. The meaning of the last line in the refrain is not very clear; I shall return to that.

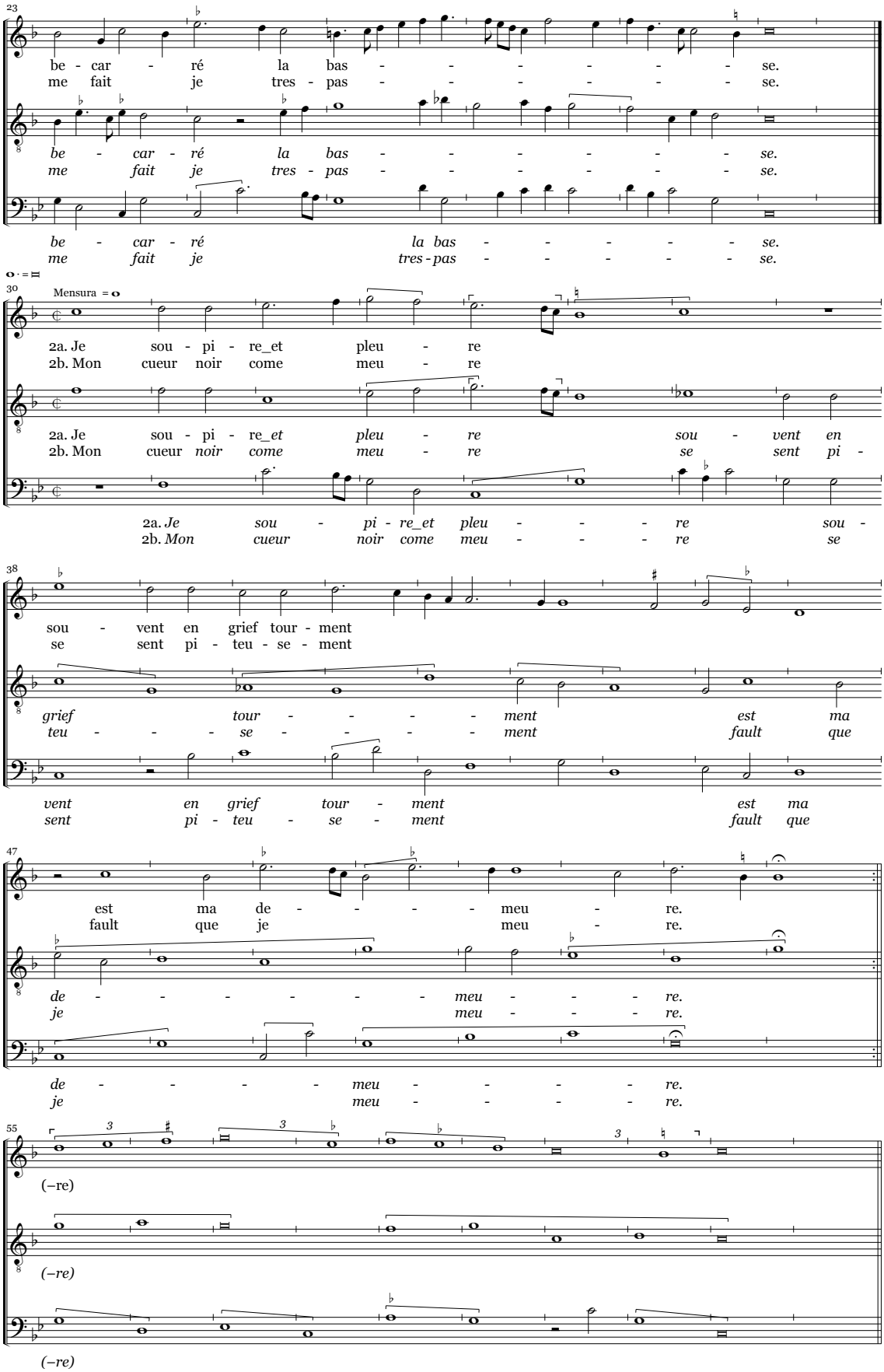
45 Cf. Charles d'Orléans (ed. Pierre Chanpion), *Poèsies,* Paris 1923-24, rondeau nos. 34, 317, 404 and 422.

46 A concise introduction to the solmization system can be found in Rob C. Wegman's chapter "Musica ficta" in Tess Knighton & David Fallows (eds.), *Companion to medieval and renaissance music,* London 1992, pp. 265-274; see further Karol Berger, *Musica ficta. Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino,* Cambridge 1987.

Ex. 3, Copenhagen chansonnier no. 29 "La plus bruiant".[47]



47 The Royal Library, Copenhagen, *MS Thott 291 8°*, ff. 33ᵛ-35; also in Dijon ff. 71ᵛ-73. Signatures in Dijon differ a little from Copenhagen: In superius flats (*b′* and *f″*) in the first staves of each section only (bb. 1-5 and 30-51), and tenor has flats before *b* and *e′* in the first section (bb. 1-29). *Superius:* Bars 57-64 are in Copenhagen (and in Dijon) notated a third too low. *Tenor:* Bar 5.1 has in Copenhagen a flat before *b′* (not in Dijon); bar 6.2-3 is in Dijon a *minima*, a *semibrevis* rest and a *minima*; bar 9.1-2 is in Dijon two *minimae* and a *semibrevis*. *Contratenor:* Bar 8.3, the last note is in Copenhagen and Dijon a *semibrevis*; bar 60 is in Copenhagen and Dijon *e-flat* and *f* respectively (errors).


23
be - car - ré la bas - - - - - - - se.
me fait je tres - pas - - - - - - - se.
be - car - ré la bas - - - - - - - se.
me fait je tres - pas - - - - - - - se.
be - car - ré la bas - - - - - - - se.
me fait je tres - pas - - - - - - - se.
Mensura = o
30
2a. Je sou - pi - re_et pleu - re
2b. Mon cueur noir come meu - re
2a. Je sou - pi - re_et pleu - re sou - vent en
2b. Mon cueur noir come meu - re se sent pi -
2a. Je sou - pi - re_et pleu - - - re sou -
2b. Mon cueur noir come meu - - - re se
38
sou - vent en grief tour - ment
se sent pi - teu - se - ment
grief tour - - - - ment est ma
teu - - - se - - - - ment fault que
vent en grief tour - ment est ma
sent pi - teu - se - ment fault que
47
est ma de - - - - - meu - re.
fault que je meu - re.
de - - - - - - meu - - - re.
je meu - - - re.
de - - - - meu - - - - re.
je meu - - - - re.
55
(–re)
(–re)
(–re)

After the description of deathly sorrow in the two short couplets (lines 5-8), the *tierce* begins by declaring "J'ay ma rigle changee d'autre espace" (line 9). The rule, the scale, or just his usual singing has been moved into another space or range. It may allude to transposition or again at changes brought about by *musica ficta*. "Ma haulte game" (line 10), strictly "my high scale", must also be interpreted as referring to a hexachord because the expression is found in rondeau no. 317 by Charles d'Orléans, and he unambiguously defines it as referring to a hexachord: "Trop entré en la haulte game, / Mon cuer, d'ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la".[48] The hexachord is again joined to something foreign, fictive, "est en estrange joincte", all to imitate or feign ("faindre") the "grief douleur", which is nearly killing the poet. Charles d'Orléans also lets us hear agonies of love resound in *musica ficta* "musique notee par fainte": "Chiere contrefaicte de cueur, / De vert perdu et tanné painte, / Musique notee par Fainte, / Avec faulx bourdon de Maleur!"[49]

Line 4 heaps up musical terms for a striking ending to the refrain and thereby to the whole poem: "Muant" = "mutating", "nature en becarré" = "*hexachordum naturale* to *hexachordum durum*", "la basse" = "the bass". The line lacks a preposition. The meaning may be "becarré [a] la basse", which, however, gives the line a syllable too many, so either "a" is implied or the line should be emended to "becarré a basse". We can find a parallel – less courtly elevated – of using words like "nature" and "becarré" in poems in the popular play *Sottie des sotz triumphans qui trompent chascun* (printed in Paris in the first decades of the sixteenth century) whose opening monologue rattle up "Sotz triumphans, sotz bruyantz, sotz parfaictz, sotz glorieulx, sotz sursotz autentiques …", and in line 10 gets to "Sotz de bemol, de becarre et nature".[50] The nearest translation of this line is "Fools in every hexachord" or "fools in *hexachordum molle, durum* and *naturale*". The juxtaposition of precisely these three terms does not permit any other interpretation. The hexachord interpretation of line 4 then must be that the poet mutates his song from *naturale* into *durum* by lowering the notes – that is again by the use of *musica ficta*. In my translation this is paraphrased as lowering B-quadratum, which "becarré" indeed also stands for.

Knud Jeppesen and Edward E. Lowinsky have commented on the special relationship between text and music in this song. They both took the obscure line 4 as their starting point. Jeppesen interpreted the line as an instruction to mutate from *cantus naturalis* into *duralis* in low position. But with support from Adam von Fulda's tract *De musica* from 1490 he thought that the poet's statement did not speak about hexachords and *musica ficta*, but rather about the three predominant modes, the major ones on *ut* and *fa*, the minor on *re* and *sol*, and the Phrygian on *mi* and *la*. Therefore the line implies a Phrygian colouring of the Dorian mode caused by the E-flat.[51] Lowinsky disagreed strongly and

48 Charles d'Orléans, *Poèsies*, p. 473.

49 *Ibid.* p. 525, Rondeau 404.

50 Published in E. Droz & H. Lewicka (eds.), *Le Recueil Trepperel*, Vol. I, p. 35.

51 Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* p. LXI: "Der verzweifelte Liebhaber, der seine Dame zu besingen hat, kann es nur in Trauerton vollbringen indem er zu einer "faincte conjoincte" Zuflucht nimmt, und dadurch von *nature* (cantus naturalis) zum *becarre la basse* (d. h. eine tiefe Lage des cantus duralis) mutiert: [quotes lines 1-4]. Dass es sich hier nicht um eine blosse Solmisationsangelegenheit dreht, geht daraus hervor, dass die Mutation aus dem C-Hexachord in den G-Hexachord nicht mit der musica ficta zu tun haben kann. Fasst man aber dagegen die Stelle im Sinne der oben gegebenen Interpretation von der Lehre Adams [pp. LIX-LX] auf, wird die Meinung auf einmal klar, denn in diesem Falle wird damit ausgedrückt, dass der singende Liebhaber die dorische oder mixolydische Tonart durch ein Verzeichen in die phrygische oder aeolische ändert. Vielleicht ist hiermit speziell an die dorische Tonart gedacht, die durch be in die phrygische übergeht. Ansichten wie Glareans über den weinerlichen Charakter dieser

turned the meaning of the line upside-down with the translation "Changing to high notes nature's low hexachord".[52] His reasons were in the first place that *hexachordum naturale* is placed lower on Guido's hand than *durum,* and secondly that the superius at "becarré la basse" sings the so far highest passage in the song (bb. 25-29). Therefore he suggested to link "muant nature" with "la basse" because a passage just before uses *hexachordum naturale* in low position (bb. 19-20, which must be solmizated as *la, sol, fa, mi*). Before and after *hexachordum molle* is used, and in bar 25 the *hexachordum durum* comes into full flowering with a sharp (natural sign) before *b′* – becarré![53]

Both highly esteemed scholars allowed themselves to disregard part of what the sources in fact tell us in order to get a difficult point under control, because then "wird die Meinung auf einmal klar" and "everything falls into place". It is a bit difficult to approve, even if elements of their contradictory interpretations do offer important insights. Jeppesen was probably right in his description of a mutation to a hexachord in low position, and that it by its tonal colouring effect has a modal significance. At the same time, Lowinsky's calling attention to the correlation between the wording of the text and the shape of the superius' vocal line in bars 17-29 has a touch of the obvious. The important thing is then to find an explanation, which is able to accommodate and reconcile the contradictory interpretations.

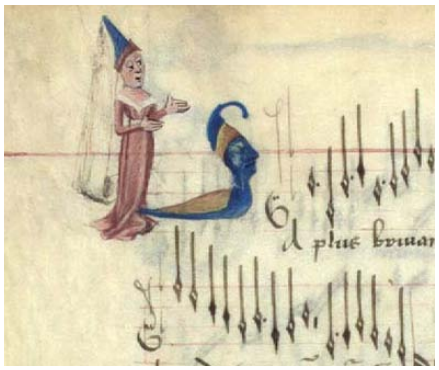
A problem, which has to be sorted out, is that Jeppesen as well as Lowinsky assumed that the superius in the Copenhagen chansonnier has a key signature of two flats inflecting *b′* and *e″*. This is not the case. The higher flat is very carefully written on the staff's uppermost line (see Ill. 4). This flat alerts the singer that the song moves outside the Guidonian hand and employs a fictional hexachord based on *c″*, in which the note *f″* has to be solmizated as "fa", and consequently *e″* is "mi".

Tonart scheinen hierdurch auch andererseits geäussert."

52 Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Foreword' in H. Colin Slim (ed.), *Musica nova accommodata per cantar et sonar sopra organi; et altri strumenti, composta per diversi eccellentissimi musici. In Venetia, MDXL* (Monuments of Renaissance Music I), Chicago 1964, pp. v-xxi (at p. xii).

53 *Ibid.* pp. xviii-xix: "Jeppesen interpreted this [line 4] as a mutation from the *cantus naturalis* to a low position of the *cantus duralis.* The difficulty with this interpretation is twofold: 1) the natural hexachord, in the context of this composition, is the lowest of the three, the hard one is the highest; 2) the composer sets the words *en becarre la basse* to a high passage in the soprano, changing from the treble clef on the second to one on the first line to facilitate ascent of the melody to G", the highest note of the whole chanson.

I propose that we construe *la basse* as belonging to *nature* although, with poetic licence, it is placed after *becarre.* As soon as we interpret the passage in this fashion, everything falls into place and the musical setting at once makes sense. The phrase preceding the words *muant nature* has to be solmizated in this manner: [music example; cf the main text above] In other words, the composer changed from *hexachordum molle* to *hexachordum naturale.* Now, *muant nature,* he must change from the *hexachordum naturale* to a higher position requiring B-natural and indeed in measure 25, to insure the *becarre,* he inserts a sharp, which, in the usage of the time, stands also for a natural sign. The flat before B in the superius in measure 22 is surely notated so as to emphasize the change to B-natural. The poet-composer is careful not to speak of a change from the natural to the hard hexachord, but only from the low natural to *becarre.* The accompanying music, for a fleeting moment of three to four tones, requires a solmization in the *hexachordum durum,* but it executes the demands of the text in employing the use of B-natural and in changing from low to high." Later (p. xx) Lowinsky mentions Jeppesen's reference to the Phrygian colouring by accidentals and remarks that "much more is involved than a mutation from the natural to the hard hexachord. We need hexachords on F, B-flat, E-flat, A-flat, and, in measures 24-25, soprano, for a moment the hexachord on G."



Ill. 4, Copenhagen chansonnier f. 33^{v} (upper left corner)

This is, however, the only example in the Copenhagen chansonnier where the superius has a signature of more than one flat. It could be a writing error. The use of signatures in the superius with an extra flat added to the one inflecting *b′* is rare in this group of MSS, but it can be found: In the Dijon chansonnier, which was made by the scribe who wrote all of the Copenhagen chansonnier, we find "La plus bruiant" (ff. 71^{v}-73) with flats on *b′* and *f″* positions at the beginnings of the song's two sections. In three further instances we find such an extra flat, all of them before *f″*, which have to be read as "fa" instructions for parts in G-clefs.[54] Final confirmation of this practice can be found by looking through the Nivelle chansonnier. It also contains four chansons with a flat before *f″* in high upper parts notated in G-clefs. In all instances, they are instructions to perform *e″* as "mi" and not inflect the note – the lower voices normally have a signature of one flat.[55]

This practice has to be regarded as relatively common in the environment in which these manuscripts belong as an important and understandable instruction to the singer, just like it was in earlier as well as later musical sources (including Petrucci's prints). Reading the signature as a common two flat key signature transformed "La plus bruiant" in Jeppesen's transcription into a song in C-Dorian with some Phrygian colouring of the upper voice's cadences on D, while Lowinsky in his transcription introduced so many accidentals that the song is close to c-minor.[56] The two scholars' lifelong work on sixteenth century music apparently had weakened their feeling for the special character of this song.

54 Dijon ff. 127^{v}-128 the unique "J'ay prins deux pous" indicates a flat before *f″* at the start of the upper voice; they can furthermore be understood as a warning not to sing *e-flat* anywhere in the opening, which contains for two *breves* an A major sound (including a notated *c#"*) in bars 3-4. Dijon ff. 156^{v}-157 "A qui vens tu" by Busnoys has flats before *b′* and *f″* in the two first staves of the upper voice – again a reminder that the Dorian mode uses *e*. Dijon f. 97^{v}-98 "L'omme banny" by Barbingant demonstrates something completely different. This song is notated without any use of clefs in the three voices, only with hexachordal signs, flats in *b* and *f* positions (*fa-fa*) to indicate the placements of the voices. This shows a use of hexachordal signatures, which can be compared with the enigmatic notation of Ockeghem's famous canon "Prenez sur moy" in Copenhagen f. 39^{v}. The scribe did not understand this notation and botched the placement of the flats in the superius in Barbingant's song (put them in *a′* and *e″* positions), which makes the notation difficult to understand. Leeman L. Perkins did not solve it in his edition, cf. Leeman L. Perkins and H. Garey (eds.), *The Mellon Chansonnier I-II,* New Haven 1979, vol. I, p. 97 and vol. II, pp. 285 ff).

*7

55 Nivelle ff. 21^{v}-22 "A quoy tient il" (unique rondeau), ff. 29^{v}-30 "Puisqu'aultrement ne puis" (unique rondeau by Delahaye), ff. 32^{v}-33 "Comment suis je" (rondeau by Delahaye; also found in Copenhagen ff. 0^{v}-1 and in Dijon ff. 60^{v}-61 *without* any signature in the upper voice), ff. 44^{v}-46 "En tous les lieux" (a four-part bergette, which in Dijon ff. 83^{v}-85 is ascribed to Busnoys and *without* this flat).

56 Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* pp. 54-55; Lowinsky, 'Foreword', pp. xiv-xvii.

"La plus bruiant" is in many ways peculiar. What is *not* unusual, is that its voices are supplied with different signatures. It is quite common that one or more lower voices, whose range in general is placed a fifth lower than the highest voice, have a flat more in order to prevent diminished concords. *Unusual*, on the other hand, is the high tessitura of the song. Superius and tenor each has a range of an octave plus a fourth and reaches *g″* and *b-flat′* respectively. As the contratenor too lies quite high, there could be reason to think that the song has been transposed up a fourth. Down a fourth, we see a song in comfortable, for its time absolutely ordinary ranges (*a-d″, c-f′, F-a*) with only one flat in the contratenor, which signals that the part moves below the Guidonian Hand and uses *hexachordum molle* on *F*. The transposition away from a normal tessitura could very well be "J'ay ma rigle changee d'autre espace", exactly what the poet describes.

The song can be transposed, but *musica recta* cannot. Hexachords on any other degree than C, F and G remain *ficta* or "faincte conjoincte". In "La plus bruiant" the flat before *f″* in superius creates an expectation that hexachords on *c″* will sound. However, superius has for long stretches been fashioned consciously with a view to enforce an inflection of *e″* into *e-flat″*, either in order to avoid cross-relations or illegal intervals in relation to the other voices (bb. 3, 7, 58, 59), by virtue of imitation of a poignant phrase (b. 38), or by repeated, exposed leaps of a fourth up from *b-flat′* (bb. 12-13, 23-24, 48-49, 50). Every time the expected hexachord on *c″* is transformed into a hexachord on *b-flat′* – "ma haulte game est en estrange joincte". Again exactly what the poet says.

Modally the chanson is in transposed Mixolydian. This is proclaimed by the tenor's final phrase, which in bars 24-28 goes up and down through most of the authentic scale (*c – b′-flat*). But the characteristic major third of this mode is most of the time suppressed by *musica ficta,* and as a result the setting adopts a Dorian colouring. This may be what the ambiguous line 4 hints at – close to the interpretation by Knud Jeppesen. I am more inclined to think that "muant nature en becarré la basse" is just another way of paraphrasing the use of fictional hexachords. Lowinsky had a point in connecting the solmization of the phrases in superius to the words. His description can be modified as follows:

Bars 19-20 must be solmizated in *hexachordum naturale*, bars 21-23 go in *hexachordum molle* with bar 24 mutating into a 'high' *hexachordum naturale*, which however – forced by the surrounding music – has to be lowered into a fictional hexachord on *b-flat′* ("muant nature … a basse"), and finally in bar 25 *hexachordum durum* enters ("en becarré") alternating with *naturale* until the end of the song. One cannot avoid the feeling that music and text were created concurrently as the ideas popped up, and that the *tierce* was added as an explanation of the not quite evident last line of the refrain.

Testing the offered interpretation of the relations between the elements of music theory in the text and the music, we can try to estimate if the interpretation describes relations, which can be heard in performance. Several of the points that I have brought to attention must be characterized as 'music for reading': The high tessitura may be normalized in performance (transposing down the song), and the modal profile designed by the flat before the high *f″* is nearly everywhere dispelled by *musica ficta* and was anyway primarily intended for the informed reader. All in all, the sharp distinction between *recta* and *ficta* was a pedagogical intellectual construction, which cannot be heard – certainly not in a transposed performance. What we can experience by hearing is the song's unusual tonal changeability. A C-Dorian tonal space with a minor third is established during the first lines of text, which turns towards F in bars 14-17, a Phrygian cadence on D is hinted

at in the following bars, but the final words in line 3 "d'une faincte conjoincte" slide into an unstable imperfect concord in bar 20 (*c / c′-g / e″*). The final phrase starts again in C-Dorian, then suddenly rises and cadences in a luminous C-Mixolydian. This is a striking illustration of the poem's emphasizing of the fictional – and it is clearly audible.

In a bergrette the two half-stanzas (couplets) often have to form a contrast with the refrain. These lines are in "La plus bruiant" quite conventionally about the lover's heart, which "feels black as mulberry". In addition to the rhythmical contrast created by the introduction of *tempus imperfectum diminutum,* the setting tonally proceeds in a direction opposite to the refrain: From Mixolydian major third and "becarré" (b. 35) it changes to a sound characterized by minor thirds in the imitation between tenor and superius on "souvent en grief tourment" (bb. 36 f) – remark the tenor's notated and heartfelt *a-flat* in bar 40. Before the repetition sign tenor and superius cadence Phrygian on D, which, however, turns into a major triad upon *g* (bb. 53-54). To the words "est ma demeure" the superius sings the almost thematic leap up a fourth *b'-flat - e″-flat* twice! After the two couplets follows a highly unusual passage, which leads back to the refrain. It moves again to the highest range and re-establishes C-Dorian. The use of coloration in superius demonstrates the composer's theoretical ambitions also in matters of rhythm. I shall return to that.

First we have to take a look at the song in the Dijon chansonnier. As it appears from the editorial report below *Example 3*, the two copies were made by the same scribe using the same exemplar a few years apart. In his first copy in Dijon the scribe seems to be slightly mystified. He added in the tenor's signature a flat before *e′*, probably because it to him seemed to be necessary nearly all the way through. By this he obscured some of the tension characteristic of the song's sound. It was – and is – difficult to get the lines of the couplets to fit the music. Maybe the scribe here tried to expand the short text lines in the couplets. An extra line has been inserted – placed in such a way that it looks as if it belongs to both couplets – and by repeating or adding a word at the start of the second line in each couplet, which makes the lines irregular:

Je soupire et pleure souvant,
a ma chante pleure
Souvent en grief tourment est ma demeure.

Mon cueur noir come meure se sant
a ma chante pleure
Content piteusement fault que je meure.

"A ma chante pleure" is an interesting addition. Maybe the poem's use of musical terms did create an association to the poet and duke Charles d'Orléans. His beloved mother, Valentina Visconti, after being widowed, when Louis d'Orléans was murdered in 1407,
*8 took as her emblem a picture of a chantepleure, a sort of watering can pouring out big tears; as device she chose "Nil mihi praeterea, praeterea nihil mihi" or in French "Rien ne m'est plus, plus ne m'est rien". This expression of faithful love to her dead husband became of great symbolic importance in a time when dynastic marriages of convenience were the norm among the nobility, and it was imitated and remembered for generations.[57] It is

57 Enid McLeod, *Charles of Orleans. Prince and Poet,* New York 1969, p. 50; opposite p. 44 is a picture of a chantepleure.

exactly this feeling of desolation, which "La plus bruiant" tries to express in words and music, so the addition is well chosen, even if Copenhagen chansonnier probably transmits the correct version of the poem.

However, "A ma chante pleure" does not need to have such courtly associations. *Chante-pleure* can also be a song or a dance, or both. In the farce *Bien avisé, mal avisé* (printed in Paris around 1500) the personified vices sing and dance "Le chantepleure", and *Mal avisé* is lectured that the song in the beginning is happy ("commence par liese"), but ends in tears and sadness ("Il chet en pleur et en tristesse"), for the song is wild and the words even more ("Car le chant en est sauvage / Les motz le sont encore plus"). In other farces and moralities "dancer/chanter la/le chantepleure" is used in similar sense: To drop from happiness into sorrow.[58] This meaning also fits into the tone of "La plus bruiant".

On brevis equivalence and acceleratio mensurae

Among other less common features of "La plus bruiant" one could mention disrupted phrases, the 'angular' melody with many leaps and its tendency to let the phrases 'run past the cadences', which contribute to its troubled, floating nature. But in keeping with the second theme of this study the last comments on this song shall concentrate on the tempo relationship between its two sections.

There is no indication of mensuration at the start of the chanson in either Copenhagen or Dijon. It is not needed, as the mensuration only can be *tempus perfectum* (O). From the beginning the rhythmical interplay between the three voices gives a probably deliberate display of subdivisions of the perfect *brevis*. Superius divides it equally in two perfect *semibreves* (◇·◇·), tenor divides it in three equal parts, three imperfect *semibreves* (◇◇◇), while the contratenor divides it unequally in an imperfect *semibrevis* plus an imperfect *brevis* (◇𝄜). This sets up a rhythmical stage on which the singers have to re-enter with the *tierce* having performed the two couplets in *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (¢). The re-entry is prepared by a short 'bridge passage' added to the couplets after the repetition sign – as a sort of *clos* after two times *ouvert*. In this passage the tenor and contratenor move in regular *breves* and *longae*, while the notes in superius are in coloration by which they loose a third of their duration. If we interpret the tempo relation between O and ¢ as strictly proportional, a flawless gradual return to the rhythmical scene of the refrain (and *tierce*) appears. The triplets in superius (bb. 55-62) exactly match the *semibreves* in the tenor in the opening phrase, and the *breves* in tenor and contratenor (bb. 55-62) in the same way correspond to superius' equal division of the perfect *brevis* (bb. 1-2) – the voices simply exchange roles in the rhythmical setup. How this 'return' was performed in practice is hard to know. Maybe the singers vocalised the return on the last syllable of the couplet; a possibility is to omit bar 54 and go directly to bar 55 as a *seconda volta* – and it might also be considered to sing here the words "a ma chante pleure".

58 Cf. Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater. 1400-1550,* Cam. Mass. 1963, pp. 164-166, which includes a longer excerpt of *Mal avisé*. In modern French "la chantepleure" stands for a sort of bung for wine barrels with several holes to get out the last drops of wine from the barrel. From this a lot of words is derived in the wine industry (even as names for orders). The word is also identified with this meaning in *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* from 1694.

This interpretation of the tempo relation between the two sections of the bergerette is the only one making sense, and it presupposes equivalence between *breves* in O and *breves* in *tempus imperfectum* (C) resulting in a 4:3 relation between 𝔠 and O:

O 𝅜 = C 𝅜 = 𝔠 𝅜 𝅜
O 𝅝𝅝𝅝 = C 𝅝𝅝 = 𝔠 𝅝𝅝𝅝𝅝

With this we touch a prolonged discussion of the relations between mensuration signs involving proportions (most common is *proportio dupla* indicated by a stroke though the sign – 'cut signatures'), when the signs do not occur simultaneously in different voices, but follow each other at the beginnings of sections. By simultaneous occurrence there is no doubt about their strictly proportional relation (a stroke effects a reduction 2:1). If a proportional interpretation of tempo relations is acceptable, the next question must be: On which basis should the proportion to be calculated? The French tradition going back to *ars nova* prescribes equivalence on the *minima* level, which results in a 2:1 relation (here shown in *semibrevis* values):

O 𝅝 = C 𝅝 = 𝔠 𝅝𝅝

This will for very many compositions lead to that either the section in O must be performed in an uncomfortable slow tempo or the 𝔠 section unrealistic fast. For the majority of music theorists including Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja and Giovanni Spataro the solution was to insist on *brevis* equivalence. Johannes Tinctoris and Franchinus Gaffurius, on the other hand, adhered to *minima* equivalence. However, in the opinion of Tinctoris proportional signs should not be used at all as indication of mensuration. They do not make sense, as proportions must be in a relation to a given mensuration and ought to be expressed by exact numerical ratios. He sees the cut signs as indications of *acceleratio mensurae*, an increase in the tempo of the beats.

In "La plus bruiant" the treatment of dissonances in bars 43-44 and 51-52 makes it evident that the beat (*mensura*) has changed from being on *semibreves* (𝅝) in the first section to *breves* (𝅜) in the second section. This supports the proportional interpretation, which produces the 4:3 tempo relation presumed by the triplets in coloration. This treatment of dissonances may, however, according to Tinctoris' point of view as well justify a strong acceleration in the second section of the equivalent *minimae*. So also by this route, one easily reach the same 4:3 relation between the sections.

By this simplified look at an extended and complex discussion, which played out in the generations after the middle of the 15th century, and which has been even more animated during recent decades,[59] I wish to draw attention to the bergerette "La plus bruiant" as one of the very few pieces of music, which so clearly support a certain music theoretical

59 For an overview of the 15th and 16th century theoretical positions and the modern literature, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs. Origins and Evolution,* Oxford 1993. In her conclusions Berger supports the position of the 'proportionalists' and the *brevis* equivalence. This has stirred up some debate, and the case of the 'proportionalists' seems now to loose ground. For an overview of newer contributions and a report on Tinctoris' view, see Alexander Blachly, 'Reading Tinctoris for Guidance on Tempo' in Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning, and Context*, pp. 399-427. Systematic examinations of what musicians actually did, can be found in a series of articles by Margaret Bent, for example 'The use of cut signatures in sacred music by Ockeghem and his contemporaries' in Vendrix (ed.). *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 641-680, and 'The Use of Cut Signatures in Sacred Music by Binchois' in Andrew Kirkman & Dennis Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies,* Oxford 2000, pp. 277-312.

position. The really knowable author has placed within the music a key to the understanding of the tempo relations of the two sections. That the here prescribed relation between O and ₵ in particular fits the bergerettes, which were in fashion during the 1460s and 70s, and where the O-₵ sequence was common, may tell us that the author was more concerned about adhering to a genre convention than participating in a theoretical discussion.

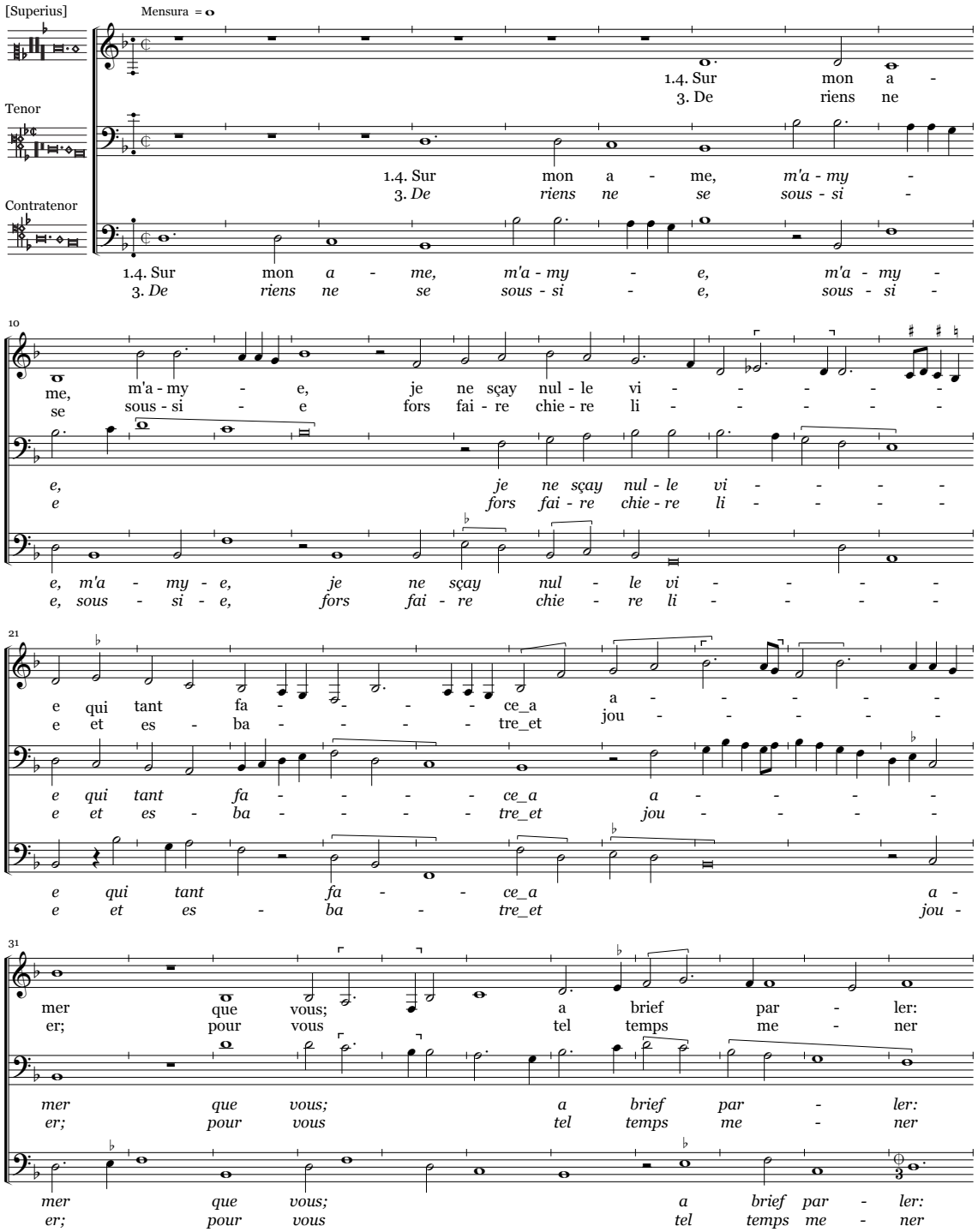
Another 'courtly' chanson

As mentioned earlier there is a not inconsiderable element of 'music for reading' in "La plus bruiant". The knowledgeable reader browsing the small, intimate and beautifully made manuscript has to admire the refinement and the manifold connotations put into these pages – and his own cleverness and comprehension. This must be the situation imagined by the compiler of the manuscript, by the scribe and the painter, and not least by the person who ordered and paid for the work. As a gift the manuscript was at the same time a tribute to the receiver's taste and musical intelligence. Were the songs to be performed, the singers had to learn it by heart or to read from copies in another format made by one of the household's musicians. So much erudition is bound up with "La plus bruiant" – maybe to such a degree that the music not really gets off the ground – and it becomes interesting to know what is on the next opening. The compiler evidently had some fun when he decided on "Sur mon ame" as the next.

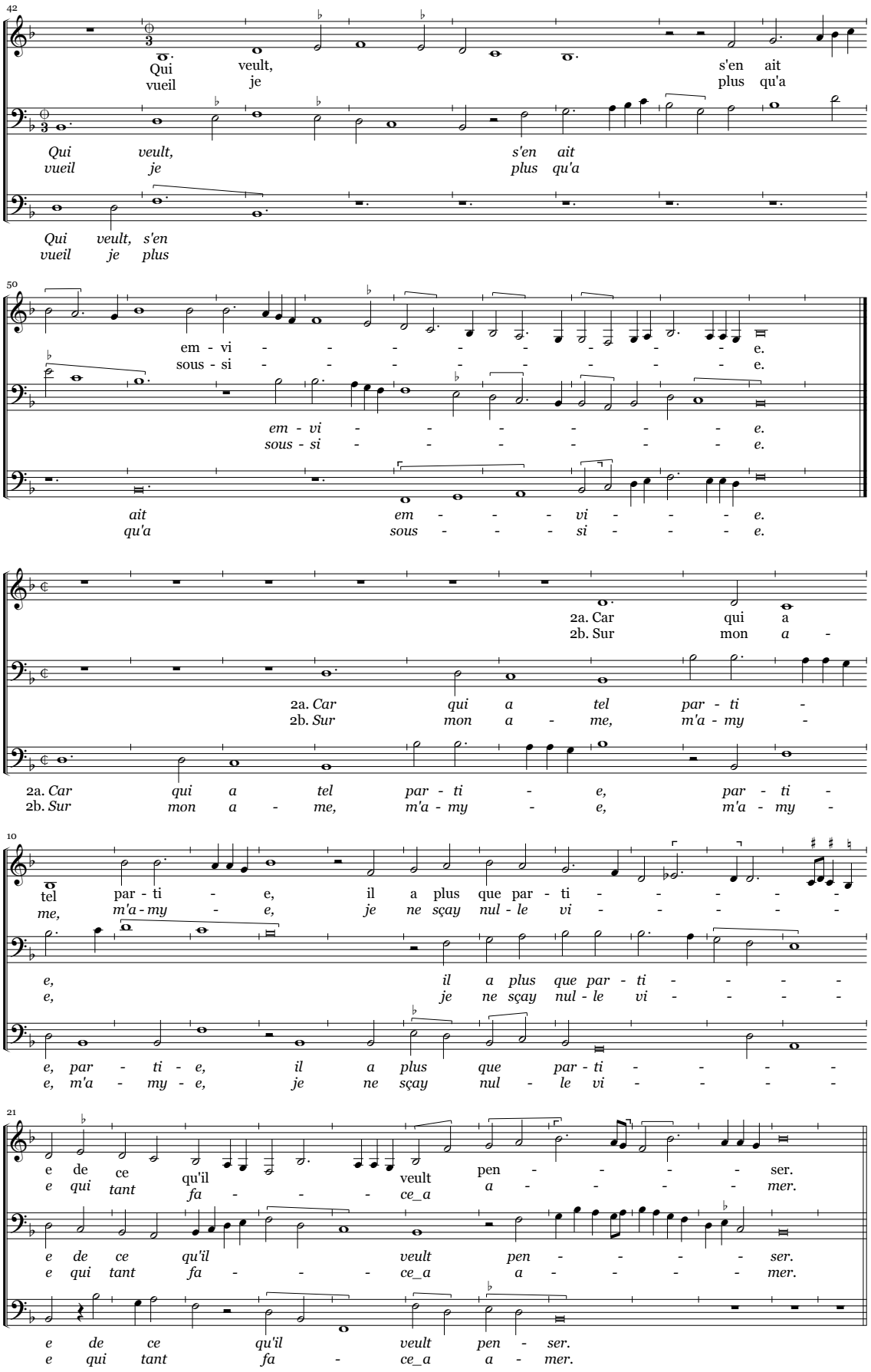
Copenhagen chansonnier no. 30 "Sur mon ame, m'amie" is also found in one more source, in the Dijon chansonnier (ff. 35^{v}-36) like the preceding one, and it too is anonymous in both sources. Likewise it was copied by the same scribe after the same exemplar without errors. Copenhagen is a bit more exact in its placement of the text lines. The poem is a rondeau with five lines in its refrain, a *rondeau cinquain*:

Sur mon ame, m'amye,	By my soul, my girlfriend,
je ne sçay nulle vie	I don't know any other being
qui tant face a amer	more worthy of loving
que vous; a brief parler:	than you; in short:
Qui veult, s'en ait emvie.	Who wants to, may be envious.
Car qui a tel partie,	For he who has such a match
il a plus que partie	has more than part
de ce qu'il veult penser.	of what he might wish for.
Sur mon *ame, m'amye,*	By my soul, my girlfriend,
je ne sçay nulle vie	I don't know any other being
qui tant face a amer.	more worthy of loving.
De riens ne se soussie	He worries about nothing
fors faire chiere lie	but to enjoy life
et esbatre et jouer;	and have fun and revel.
pour vous tel temps mener	For you, I want to live such a life
vueil je plus qu'a soussie.	rather than in worry.
Sur mon *ame, m'amye,*	By my soul, my girlfriend,
je ne sçay nulle vie	I don't know any other being
qui tant face a amer	more worthy of loving
que vous; a brief parler:	than you; in short:
Qui veult, s'en ait emvie.	Who wants to, may be envious.

Ex. 4, Copenhagen chansonnier no. 30 “Sur mon ame”[60]



60 The royal Library, Copenhagen, MS Thott 291 8°, ff. 35ᵛ-36; also in Dijon ff. 58ᵛ-59. Superius, bar 53 is in Dijon a *semibrevis*, a *semibrevis* rest and a *semibrevis*.


42
Qui veult, s'en ait
vueil je plus qu'a
Qui veult, s'en
vueil je plus
50
em - vi - - - - - - - - - e.
sous - si - - - - - - - - - e.
em - vi - - - - - - - e.
sous - si - - - - - - - e.
ait em - - - vi - - - e.
qu'a sous - - - si - - - e.
2a. Car qui a
2b. Sur mon a -
2a. Car qui a tel par - ti -
2b. Sur mon a - me, m'a - my -
2a. Car qui a tel par - ti - e, par - ti -
2b. Sur mon a - me, m'a - my - e, m'a - my -
10
tel par - ti - e, il a plus que par - ti - - - - -
me, m'a - my - e, je ne sçay nul - le vi - - - - -
e, il a plus que par - ti - - - -
e, je ne sçay nul - le vi - - - -
e, par - ti - e, il a plus que par - ti - - - -
e, m'a - my - e, je ne sçay nul - le vi - - - -
21
e de ce qu'il veult pen - - - - ser.
e qui tant fa - - - ce_a a - - - - mer.
e de ce qu'il veult pen - - - - ser.
e qui tant fa - - - ce_a a - - - - mer.
e de ce qu'il veult pen - ser.
e qui tant fa - ce_a a - mer.

The rondeau is in principle a courtly poem, but its content is not quite courtly. Neither in language, meaning or music does this song fit completely within the courtly sphere – it has a touch of the 'anti-courtly'.[61] The poet addresses "m'amye", not a lady, a princess or a goddess, but just a female "friend". This woman is more worthy of love than any other woman, just like the lady in the preceding song "La plus bruiant", but she probably does not belong to the high nobility. The poem exudes untrustworthiness: "Sur mon ame" (By
*9 my soul) – you do not start like that, if you really mean what you are saying. Charles d'Orléans only used the expression once in his rondeaux, and it was precisely in the playful rondeau speaking of "la haulte game".[62] A love displayed for everyone in order to make them envious (line 5) is not nobly concealed, and the lover "worries about nothing but to enjoy life and have fun and revel" – in short, the poem does not describe a relationship according to the rules of *fin'amour*. It is likely to be about a relation involving a girl of lower social standing than the speaker, and most probable the poem is a parody of the not very credible, effusive assurances by which the man tries to find a way to the girl's heart.

The music is of the same kind, absolutely untrustworthy (see *Example 4*). The song is not only *ficta* throughout having its *finalis* on the note B-flat, an unstable scale degree usually not found in this role, but its initial three-part imitation is also clearly sung in a slow triple time even though the music is notated in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*; that is, three *breves* (𝅜) of the notated mensuration are used for a whole bar in *tempus perfectum*. In order to be musically effective, the song has to start in a quicker tempo that the notation seems to indicate. In this way the song is in disguise. The last line of the refrain "Qui veult, s'en ait emvie" goes in an even faster tempo, *tempus perfectum diminutum*, corresponding to *proportio sesquialtera*; this means that the triple time now only takes up one of the *breves* heard at the start, a tripling of the tempo. There can be no doubt about the tempo relations as the parts overlap (from b. 41) and only fit together in one way.[63]

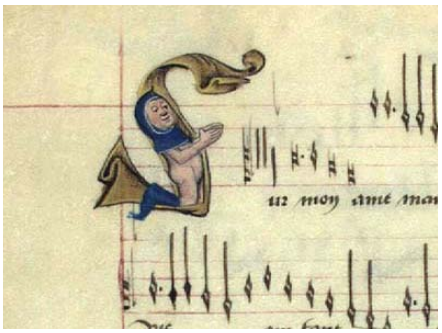
The music is evidently composed close to the meaning of the text, especially in the refrain. At the start of the second part of the refrain (line 4) the important words "que vous" appears, which by enjambment ends not only the sense of line 3 but the sense of the whole first section, but they are not included in the half refrain! These words are set homorhythmically in parallel thirds between tenor and superius, with the tenor on top (bb. 33-35) – they are virtually hammered out, "than you", and the shouting does not exactly add to the credibility. Before that, the word "amer" is treated in a slightly grotesque melisma in the tenor over an organ point in the contratenor (bb. 27-30). At "a brief

61 Howard Garey used this term to characterize part of the repertory in the so-called Mellon chansonnier (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 91), which 'undermines' the courtly with irony or 'turns it upside down', cf. Leeman L. Perkins and H. Garey (eds.), *The Mellon Chansonnier I-II*. New Haven 1979, vol. II, p. 75; this topic was developed in Christoffersen, *French Music*, vol. I, ch. 7.1 'Rondeaux between the courtly and the popular traditions', pp. 143-155.

62 Cf. Claudio Galderisi, *Le lexique de Charles d'Orléans dans les «rondeaux»* (Publications romanes et françaises ccvi), Genève 1993. Rondeau 317 "Trop entré en la haulte game" is published in Charles d'Orléans, *Poèsies*, p. 473.

63 In connection with the discussion of the tempo relations in "La plus bruiant", it is quite funny to point out that the change from ¢ to ϕ3 as here described demands equivalence between the *semibreves*, else it would superfluous to put the "3" in the mensuration sign! This is the opposite of the theoretical position of the preceding song, which demands equivalence at the *brevis* level.

Ill. 5 Copenhagen chansonnier f. 35^{v} (upper left corner)



parler" (bb. 37-41) – again an ironic statement, because the rondeau having lines of only seven syllables is nearly as brief as possible – the colon, which you automatically add during the text edition, can be heard in the music by the change of mensuration and by the upper voices' virtuoso, freely canonic, roulade through the full range of the parts.

The low tessitura for three male voices, the many slightly awkward details (see for example the old-fashioned cadence embellishments and the parallel final cadence), and the sudden change of tempo give the whole a comical, jaunty stamp. The song is an antithesis to "La plus bruiant": High tessitura against low, high style against low style, a somewhat strained use of music theory as metaphors in text and music against a direct sensuality in rolling virtuoso music with the triple time disguised as *tempus imperfectum diminutum* – quite like what we saw in the Bayeux MS.

In addition to the meanings, which the poet and the composer has worked to give the individual chanson, we seem to find an extra overlying layer of meaning, associations, contrasts, and comments that appears in the work of art, the chansonnier, which the compiler or scribe created by his choice of repertory. I interpret the juxtaposition of "La plus bruiant" and "Sur mon ame" as a conscious artistic intervention, which puts the erotic atmosphere of both chansons in a new light; they cannot avoid the reciprocal influence.[64]

Knud Jeppesen did not think that the miniatures in the chansonniers had any connection at all with the texts of the chansons.[65] I cannot agree as regards these two chansons. The book painter clearly understood what they were about. At the beginning of "La plus bruiant" we meet a beautiful lady in courtly dress "celle qui toutes passe" apparently singing or reciting (see Ill. 4). while the "S" in "Sur mon ame" shows a stout kneeling person with the hands folded in an appealing gesture (see Ill. 5) – dressed in a hood, socks, bare ass, and a furtive smile!

64 The observation that certain musical sources and independent sections of complex sources often prove to be carefully composed selections of repertory was presented in Christoffersen, *French Music*, vol. I, especially 'Part Two: Genesis and function' pp. 49-108, and in the analysis of the printed chansonniers by Pierre Attaingnant, pp. 217 ff.

65 Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* p. XXVII: "Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich die Miniaturen in keinem der 5 Manuskripte näher an der Text anknüpfen, also illustrierenden Charakter ganz entbehren."

Supplementary notes (2023)

*1 Available online at http://www.pwch.dk/Publications/PWCH_Cop1848.pdf.

*2 In view of the great role hexachords play in the later part of this article, we could also say that "The music ... repeats a short tune kept entirely within the hexachord on *f'*".

*3 "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant" is in fact related to the 15th century farce *Maistre Mimin estudiant*, where the student Minin, his teacher and his parents, Lubine and Raulet, are the main characters. E. Philipot thinks that "Mymy, Mymy, mon doulx enfant" was to be performed by the mother Lubine as a prologue to the farce (cf. Emmanuel Philipot, *Recherches sur l'ancien théâtre français. Trois farces du recueil de Londres : le Cousturier et Esopet, le Cuvier, Maistre Mimin estudiant. Textes publiés avec notices et commentaires.* Rennes (librairie Plihon) 1931, pp. 64-67). Mimin and his mother Lubine also appear in another farce, *Maistre Mymin qui va à la guerre atout sa grant escriptoire pour mettre en escript tous ceulx qu'il y tuera.*

The two farces are published by Philipot and by Gustave Cohen (ed.), *Recueil de farces françaises inédites du xve siècle.* Cam. Mass. 1949, respectively; and all the farces can be found online at the site *Sotties et farces du XVe et du XVIe siécles*, at https://sottiesetfarces.wordpress.com/.

*4 Some of the songs mentioned have been published with comments in my online edition *The Copenhagen Chansonnier and the 'Loire Valley' chansonniers:* Ockeghem, "S'elle m'aymera je ne scay / Petite camusette" can be found at http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH148.html, and "Presque transi ung peu moins qu'estre mort" at http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH077.html.

*5 In the Danish version I tried to introduce "Thott" as a short name for the chansonnier. The idea did not catch, so in this translation I decided to go back to its traditional name. The entire MS has since 2013 been available as *The Copenhagen Chansonnier and the 'Loire Valley' chansonniers. An open access project*, which includes links to online facsimiles, transcriptions, translations of the poems and comments on the sources and the songs (at http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/).

*6 This passage in Danish had become quite out-dated, and it has been abbreviated. The group of related sources now consists of six manuscripts. In 2015 the 'Leuven chansonnier' which obviously belongs in the group, surfaced in Belgium, 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. Further information on the sources can be found in Jane Alden's book, *Songs, Scribes, and Society. The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers.* New York 2010, and in the source descriptions in the online edition *The Copenhagen Chansonnier ...* .

*7 There is much more on this matter in my article '*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.

*8 More about chantepleure in Anna Kłosowska, 'Tearsong: Valentine Visconti's Inverted Stoicism', *Glossator* 5 (2011) pp. 173-198 (https://solutioperfecta.files.wordpress.com/2011/10/g5-ak4.pdf).

*9 Even if Charles d'Orléans only used this expression once, "Sur mon ame" was quite common in the courtly poetry. However, it nearly always appears as a filler at the end of lines, because "ame" is a highly useful rime word meaning "soul" as well as "love" and riming on "dame" and "lame" (tombstone) and so on; cf. for example the anonymous songs "Le joly tetin de ma dame" (http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH017.html), "Tant est mignonne ma pensee" (http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH019.html) or Binchois' famous "Je ne vis oncques la pareille" (http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH189.html). I know of no other example, where this banality opens a poem.