

28.25 Mille regretz

1. Modern Editions

- ALBERT SMIJERS (ed.) JOSQUIN DES PRÉS, *Werken, Wereldlijke Werken*, Bundel III, afl. 8 (Amsterdam 1925), no. 24, p. 63 (after **Susato 1549²⁹**)
- FRANZ COMMER, with RAIMUND SCHLECHT and ROBERT EITNER (edd.) *Josquin Deprès: Iodocus Pratensis (1440 oder 50 bis 1521): Eine Sammlung ausgewählter Kompositionen zu 4, 5 und 6 Stimmen*, PÄMw, 6 (Leipzig 1877), pp. 105-107 (after **Susato 1549²⁹**)
- ROBERT JULIEN VAN MALDEGHEM (ed.) *Trésor musical: collection authentique de musique sacrée et profane des anciens maîtres belges: Musique profane*, 29 vols. (Brussels 1865-93), vol. XV (1879), pp. 27-28 (after **CambraiBM 125-128**, apparently collated with **Susato 1549²⁹**)
- EDMOND VANDER STRAETEN *Charles-Quint musicien* (Ghent 1894), between pp. 32 and 33 (after **Susato 1549²⁹** and **Narváez 1538²²**)
- GUILLERMO MORPHY (ed.) *Les luthistes espagnols du XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1902), pp. 90-91 (after **Narváez 1538²²**)
- FRIEDRICH BLUME (ed.) *Josquin des Prés und andere Meister: Weltliche Lieder zu 3-5 Stimmen*, Das Chorwerk, vol. 3 (Wolfenbüttel [1929]), no. 1, pp. 4-5 (after **Susato 1549²⁹**)
- EMILIO PUJOL (ed.) Luys de Narváez: *Los seys libros del Delphin de música*, MME, 3 (Barcelona 1945), pp. 37-38 (after **Narváez 1538²²**)
- HOWARD MAYER BROWN In: JAMES HAAR (ed.), *Chanson & Madrigal, 1480-1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast* (Cambridge MA 1964), pp. 143-146 (after **Susato 1549²⁹**)
- BRUCE A. WHISLER *Munich, Mus. Ms. 1516: A Critical Edition* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 64-66 (after **MunBS 1516**)
- GENEVIÈVE THIBAUT In: EDWARD E. LOWINSKY with BONNIE J. BLACKBURN (edd.), *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference ... New York 1971* (London 1976), pp. 464-469 (after **Narváez 1538²²** and **Newsidler 1536¹³**)

- HÉLÈNE CHARNASSÉ, RAYMOND MEYLAN,
and HENRI DUCASSE (edd.) *Hans Gerle: Tablature pour les luths: Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1533*, 5 vols.
(Paris 1975-78), vol. 3 (1976), pp. 8-10 (after **Gerle 1533**⁴)
- CLAUDE V. PALISCA (ed.) *Norton Anthology of Western Music* (New York 1980), no. 32 and no. 32a
(after **Susato 1549**²⁹ and **Narváez 1538**²²)
- ARTHUR J. NESS *The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts of the Bavarian State Library, Munich:
A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on the Works of Marco dall'Aquila and
Melchior Newsidler* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984), vol. 2,
pp. 245-246 (after **MunBS 266**)
- FRANK DOBBINS (ed.) *The Oxford Book of French Chansons* (Oxford 1987), pp. 1-3 (after **Susato
1549**²⁹)
- WALTER AARON CLARK *Luys de Narváez and the Intabulation Tradition of Josquin's Mille Regretz*, in:
Journal of the Lute Society of America 26-27 (1993-94), pp. 17-52, at
pp. 32-52 (after **Gerle 1533**⁴, **Newsidler 1536**¹³, **MunBS 272**,
MunBS 266, **Phalèse 1552**²⁹, and **Narváez 1538**²²)
- OWEN REES "Mille regretz" as Model: Possible Allusions to "The Emperor's Song" in the
Chanson Repertory, in: *JRMA* 120 (1995), pp. 44-76, at pp. 48-50 (after
Susato 1549²⁹)

2. Sources²⁶³

Manuscripts

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Bl | BerlS 40194 | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40194,
ff. 12'-13 (no. 36) [only T partbook survives], Anonymous
Incipit: Mille regretz |
| Bs ¹ | BasU F.IX.59-62 | Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Mss. F IX 59-62,
no. 59: SATB f. 29, Anonymous
Incipit SATB: Mille Regres |

²⁶³ SYDNEY ROBINSON CHARLES, *Josquin des Prez: A Guide to Research* (New York and London 1983), p. 43 and p. 118, reports "flute/recorder ornamentation for Mille regretz" in Silvestro di Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice 1535). The statement must arise from a misreading of GENEVIÈVE THIBAUT's remarks in LOWINSKY, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings*, pp. 463-464.

Bs²	BasU F.X.17-20	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Mss. F X 17-20, no. 21: S f. 10; AB f. 10'; T f. 11', Anonymous Incipit SATB: Mille regres.
Ca	CambraiBM 125-8	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, Mss. 125-128 (<i>olim</i> 124), SATB f. 131 (no. 175), Anonymous Full text in S partbook; incipit ATB: Mille regretz; original indexes to ST: Mille regretz de vous abandoner; original indexes to AB: Mille regretz de vous abandonner
Gd	GdańPAN 4003	Gdańsk (Danzig), Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Ms. 4003 (<i>olim</i> Mus. q.20), SATB f. 16', Anonymous All voices fully texted
Mu¹	MunBS 1501	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 1501 (= Maier 207), no. 40: S f. 20'; ATB f. 24', Anonymous Incipit SAT: Mille regretz; incipit B: Mille regres
Mu²	MunBS 1516	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 1516 (= Maier 204), SATB no. 22, Anonymous Incipit SATB (and index in STB): Mille regretz
Re	RegT 3/I	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, Ms. F.K.Mus. 3/I, no. 46 [only B partbook survives], Anonymous Incipit: Mille regres
Early Printed Editions		
At	Attaignant 1533⁵	<i>Chansons musicales a quatre parties</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, April 1533), f. 11 [only S partbook survives], J le maire. Fully texted
Su¹	Susato 1549²⁹	<i>L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons amoureuses a quatre parties</i> (Antwerp: Tylman Susato, 1549), SATB ff. 9'-10, Io. de Pres. (S), Io. de Pres (T), AB partbooks anonymous All voices fully texted

Su²	Susato 1549^{29a}	<i>L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons amoureuses a quatre parties</i> (Antwerp: Tylman Susato, dated 1549 but almost certainly [ca. 1558-60]): copy in A: Wn, SATB ff. 9'-10, Io. de Pres. (S), Io. de Pres (T), AB partbooks anonymous All voices fully texted
Intabulations		
Am	AmstT 27	Amsterdam, Toonkunst-Bibliotheek, Ms. 208. A. 27 (<i>olim</i> Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, Bibliotheek, Ms. V. B. 13), ff. 27'-28, Anonymous In German lute tablature
Ger	Gerle 1533⁴ (G1623) [Brown 1533 ₁]	<i>Tabulatur auff die Laudten ... Durch Hanns Gerle Luttinisten, Burger und Lauttenmacher</i> (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1533), ff. XL'-XLI, sig. L ii'-iii (no. 32), Anonymous Title: Mille regres. In German lute tablature
Hec¹	Heckel 1556³⁴ (H4934) [Brown 1556 ₅ and [1556] ₆]	<i>Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stucken, mit zweyen Lautten zusammen ze schlagen, und auch sonst das mehrer Theyl für sich selbst gehnt ... Durch Wolfffen Heckel von München, Burger zu Strassburg ...</i> (Strasbourg: Urban Wyss, 1556), <i>Discant</i> [= 1st lute part], pp. 66-69, Anonymous; no copy survives of the <i>Tenor</i> partbook Headed: Mille Regres. In German lute tablature
Hec²	Heckel 1562²⁴ (H4935) [Brown 1562 ₃ and 1562 ₄]	<i>Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stucken, mit zweyen Lautten zusammen zu schlagen, und auch sonst das mehrer Theyl allein für sich selbst ... Durch Wolfffen Heckel von München, Burger zu Strassburg ...</i> (Strasbourg: Christian Müller, 1562), <i>Discant</i> [= 1st lute part] pp. 66-69, Anonymous; <i>Tenor</i> [= 2nd lute part] pp. 55-57, Anonymous Both headed: Mille Regres. In German lute tablature

Kl	KlagL 4/3	Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Ms. GV 4/3, ff. 23'-24, Anonymous Heading: Mille regretz. In German keyboard tablature
Mu³	MunBS 266	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 266 (= Maier 248), f. 41 (no. 56), Anonymous Title at end: Mille Regres In Italian lute tablature
Mu⁴	MunBS 272	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 272 (= Maier 253), f. 47' (no. 25), Anonymous Heading: Mille Regres mit 4 stimmen Sequitur In German lute tablature
Nar	Narváez 1538²² (N66) [Brown 1538 ₁]	<i>Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifras para tañer vihuela. Hechos por Luys de Narbaez</i> (Valladolid: Diego Hernandez de Cordova, 1538), ff. xl'-xlii (e [8]'-e ii), Jusquin Incipit: Mille regres. Ascription is on preceding page (f. xl): Comiençan las canciones Francesas y esta primera es una que llaman la cancion del Emperador del quarto tono de Jusquin. In the index (f. n [1]) there is the entry: Jusquin: La cancion del Emperador. Mille regres del quarto tono. In Spanish vihuela tablature on 6-line staves. An instruction at the start defines the tuning as for vihuela in a: En la quinta en el tercer traste esta la clave de fe faut. En la tercera en el primer traste esta la clave de ce solfaut.
New	Newsidler 1536¹³ (N522) [Brown 1536 ₇]	<i>Der ander Theil des Lautenbuchs ... durch mich Hansen Newsidler Lutinisten und Bürger zu Nürnberg öffentlich aussgangen</i> (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1536), ff. Ee iii'-iiii' (no. 1; Brown no. 44), Anonymous Title: Mile regretz. Index entry: Mile regres. In German lute tablature

Ph¹	Phalèse 1546²⁰ [Brown 1546 ₁₉]	<i>Carminum quae chely vel testudine canuntur, trium, quatuor, et quinque partium liber secundus</i> (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1546), ff. e 3'-4, Anonymous Incipit: Mille regres. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves This intabulation concords with Gerle 1533⁴
Ph²	Phalèse 1546²¹ [Brown 1546 ₁₈]	<i>Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de luc a trois et quatre parties livre deuxieme</i> (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1546), ff. e 3'-4, Anonymous Incipit: Mille regres. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves This is bibliographically identical with Ph¹ and similarly concords with Gerle 1533⁴
Ph³	Phalèse 1552²⁹ [Brown 1552 ₁₁]	<i>Hortus musarum in quo tanquam flosculi quidam selectissimorum carminum collecti sunt</i> (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1552) pp. 52-53, Anonymous Incipit: Mille regrez. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves
Ph⁴	Phalèse 1563²⁵ [Brown 1563 ₁₂]	<i>Theatrum musicum in quo selectissima optimorum quorumlibet autorum ac excellentissimorum artificum cum veterum tum etiam novorum Carmina summa diligentia ac industria expressa oculis proponuntur</i> (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1563), f. 22, Anonymous Incipit: Mille regres. In French lute tablature on 5-line stave
Wr	WrocK 352	Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, Ms. 352, ff. 54'-56 (no. 54), Anonymous Explicit: Finis Mille regres In German lute tablature

3. Description of the Sources

Am	Contents: 154 compositions in German lute tablature, numbered XLVII-C and (in a second series) I-C, with ascriptions to Heckel, Bakfark and Waissel, almost all apparently copied from prints.
-----------	--

No other composition in **Am** is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

Physical description: Lutebook, now of 79 paper leaves, 30 x 19 cm. (The first 6-leaf gathering, containing nos. I-VII, is now **BasU F.IX.39**, as identified by Karl-Ernst Schröder and reported in Kmetz; the next section, containing nos. VIII-XLVI, seems to be lost.) Dated ca. 1580 (RISM). Formerly in the library of J.P.N. Land. Boetticher (RISM) and Kmetz report among its exemplars **Heckel 1562**²⁴ (here **Hec**²).

Bibliography: RISM B VII (Munich 1978), p. 6 (with further bibliography). JOHN KMETZ, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Katalog der Musikhandschriften* (Basel 1988), pp. 116-117.

At

Contents: 30 secular songs, two in Italian, the rest in French, ascribed to Adorne, Benedictus (2), Bourguignon, Bridam, Certon, Gombert (3), Heurteur (2), Jannequin, Le Gendre, J. le maire, Lupi (2), Lupus, Manchicourt, Richafort, and Sermisy (3); only 7 are without ascription. Three of the composers named here are not otherwise known (Adorne, Bridam and J. le maire).

Other sources give ascriptions to Certon, Festa, Guyon, Jacotin, and Josquin.

No other composition in **At** is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

Physical description: Printed S partbook (from a set of four): 16 leaves in oblong format, 10 x 16 cm, foliated i-xvi and signed 0n-0q⁴. The special purpose of the volume is explained in the continuation of the lengthy title: *desquelles les plus convenables a la fleuste d'allemand sont signees en la table cy dessoubz escripte par a. et a la fleuste a neuf trous par b. et pour les deux fleustes sont signees par a b.* (NJE 28.25 is marked "ab" to signify that it can be performed on both transverse flutes and recorders.)

Location: Only known copy (S partbook only) in private collection of Jean Cortot, Paris (*olim* Alfred Cortot, Lausanne; *olim* Wernigerode).

Bibliography: Not in RISM. HOWARD MAYER BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (Cambridge MA 1965), 1533₂. DANIEL HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), pp. 251-252, no. 41 [bibliographical description with facsimile of title page at p. 251 and further discussion on pp. 133-135].

Bl

Contents: T voice of 46 compositions, all anonymous.

Other sources give ascriptions to Baston, Buechmeier (2), Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Gombert (2), Isaac, Jacotin, Jannequin, Josquin, La Rue, Le Heurteur, Lemaire, Lupus, Manchicourt, Moulu, Mouton, Pathie, Sandrin, Senfl, Sermisy (14), and Verdelot.

No other composition in **Bl** is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

Physical description: T partbook only from a set of four, 17 leaves in oblong format, 14 x 18.5 cm, with modern pencil foliation and original numbering of the pieces (1-37 for nos. 8-42). Copied by several scribes, almost certainly in Germany, mid-16th century.

Bibliography: *Census-Catalogue*, IV, pp. 267-268. HANS-OTTO KORTH and JUTTA LAMBRECHT, *Die Signaturen-gruppe Mus. ms. 40 000 ff., Erste Folge: Handschriften des 15.-19. Jahrhunderts in mensuraler und neuerer Notation* (Munich 1997), pp. 276-279.

Bs¹

Contents: 73 songs, all anonymous apart from two at the beginning ascribed IH (= Jacob Hagenbach).

Other sources give ascriptions to Adam von Fulda, Arcadelt (15), Arnold von Bruck, Baston, Berchem (2), Boyvin, Cara, Certon (3), Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon (2), Didier Lupi Second, Gardane, Isaac, Jacotin, Janequin, Josquin, La Rue, Le Heurteur, J. Lemaire, Maillard, Manchicourt, Moulu, Mouton, Rogier Pathie (2), Sandrin (8), Senfl, Semisy (13), Verdelot, Villiers, and Zirler.

No other composition in Bs¹ is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

Physical description: 4 partbooks in oblong format, 12.5 x 18 cm, each of 43 leaves. Original bindings have titles DISCANTVS, ALTVS, TENOR, BASVS. Apparently copied at Basel in the mid-1560s, perhaps by Jacob Hagenbach. Apart from the two opening songs of Hagenbach, the songs are all written at the end of a copy of *Ein ausszug guter alter und newer Teutscher liedlein*, Petreius 1543²⁴. The songs have an original numbering, in red from 1-48, in black for 49-71; the last two are unnumbered.

Bibliography: *Census-Catalogue*, IV, pp. 237-238. NORBERT BÖKER-HEIL, HARALD HECKMANN, and ILSE KINDERMANN, *Das Tenorlied: Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450-1580*, part 2, *Catalogus Musicus*, vol. 10 (Kassel 1982), pp. 14-20 [complete thematic index]. KMETZ, *Die Handschriften*, pp. 187-203 [detailed inventory].

Bs²

See NJE 28.18 in this volume (*In te, domine, speravi*).

Ca

See NJE 19.2, Commentary, pp. 7-8 (*Ecce video celos apertos*).

89 of its 229 compositions are ascribed, with the weight falling on the works of Benedictus [Appenzeller] (15) and Gheerkin [de Hondt] (17).

Compositions in Ca ascribed to Josquin in at least one source (with foliations taken from the S partbook):

f. 15'	<i>Vivraige tousjours</i>	(NJE 28.37)	Josquin
ff. 38'-39	<i>Domini est terra</i>	(NJE 16.12)	Jeronimus Vinders
f. 85'	<i>Osculeter me [= Ecce video celos]</i>	(NJE 19.2)	Anonymous
f. 86'	<i>O intemerata virgo</i>	(NJE 25.14 [III])	Anonymous
ff. 86'-87	<i>O Maria nullam</i>	(NJE 25.14 [IV])	Anonymous

f. 94	<i>Tua est potentia</i>	(NJE 26.16)	Anonymous
ff. 102'-103	<i>In illo tempore Maria Magdalena</i>	(NJE 26.6)	Anonymous
ff. 103'-104	<i>Congratulamini mihi</i>	(NJE 26.3)	Anonymous
ff. 105'-106	<i>Qui habitat in adiutorio</i>	(NJE 18.7)	Josquin de pres
f. 118	<i>Sancta trinitas</i>	(NJE 26.12)	Anonymous
f. 131	<i>Mille regretz</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
f. 141	<i>Cum sancto spiritu</i> (from <i>Missa De Beata Virgine</i>)	(NJE 3.3)	Josquin de pres

Dated 1542 on the covers but three times 1540 in the body of the books, which suggests that 1542 is a completion date.

Gd

Contents: 145 compositions, with ascriptions to Arcadelt, Lassus, Rivulo (18), and Willaert. All the ascriptions are in the later additions, and perhaps done by Franciscus de Rivulo at Gdańsk.

Other sources give ascriptions to Appenzeller (8), Baston (2), Bridam, Certon (2), Clemens non Papa (5), Courtois (2), Crecquillon (7), Donato, Dulot, Gardane (22), Gombert (6), Hesdin, Hondt (3), Jacotin (2), Josquin, La Rue, Lattre (3), Le Heurteur (2), J. Lemaire, Lupi (2), Lupus, Manchicourt, Morel, Mouton, Passereau, Peletier (2), Richafort (2), Sandrin, Sermisy (17), Vaet, and Willaert (5).

No other composition in **Gd** is ascribed to Josquin in any source, though Van Benthem has attributed the anonymous three-voice *Tenez moy* to Josquin on stylistic grounds.²⁶⁴

Physical description: 4 paper partbooks (S 136, A 119, T 112, B 114 leaves) in oblong format, 13.5 x 20.5 cm. Modern pencil foliations and original numberings (in several series). Main layer perhaps copied in the Low Countries (Jerry Call), mid-16th century; additions, perhaps done by Franciscus de Rivulo at Gdańsk in the 1560s.

Bibliography: *Census-Catalogue*, IV, pp. 388-389 (with further references).

Ger

See NJE 28.3 in this volume (*Adieu mes amours*).

Hec¹/Hec²

Contents: 118 compositions, namely 40 for two lutes followed by 40 for solo lute in the *Discant* partbook, these last replaced in the *Tenor* partbook by 38 further compositions for solo lute. There are ascriptions to G. Heynreich (perhaps Graf Heinrich von Eyssenburg, one of the volume's dedicatees), Königs von Frenchreichs Lied (François I) and Josquin (no. 71 only); among the solos in the *Tenor* partbook there are also ascriptions to Graff Johan von Nassaw (another dedicatee of the volume), Urban Weiss (the printer of the 1556 edition), Milla New (= Francesco da Milano), and Wolff Heckel (the editor, for a piece demonstrably by Francesco da Milano).

²⁶⁴ JAAP VAN BENTHEM, *Zur Struktur und Authentizität der Chansons à 5 und 6 von Josquin des Prez*, in: *TVNM* 21 (1968-1970), pp. 170-188, at pp. 177-178; for a cautious evaluation and for the identity of this setting, which Van Benthem cited from **CopKB** 1848, see PETER WOETMANN CHRISTOFFERSEN, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1994), pp. 81-82.

Other sources give ascriptions to Adam von Fulda, Arcadelt (2), Barbireau, Berchem (2), Cadeac, Clemens non Papa (2), Courtois, Hofhaimer (4), Isaac (3), Jacotin, Janequin, Josquin (5), La Rue, J. Lemaire, Lupi, Lupus, Moulu, Obrecht, Pathie, Sandrin (4), Schönfelder, Senfl (9), Sermisy (10), Stoltzer, Johann Wenck, and Zirler.

Compositions in **Hec** ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

pp. 10-12	<i>Per illud ave</i> [Pars II of <i>Benedicta es</i>]	(NJE 23.13)	Anonymous
pp. 17-23	<i>Plus mille regres</i> [= <i>Plus nulz regretz</i>]	(NJE 28.28)	Anonymous
pp. 66-69	<i>Mille Regres</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
pp. 186-189	<i>Incessament</i>	(NJE 29.9)	Anonymous
pp. 196-200	<i>Date syceram merentibus</i> [= <i>Je ne me puis</i>]	(NJE 29.11)	Anonymous
p. 207-210	<i>Cum sancto spiritu</i> [from <i>Missa De Beata Virgine</i>]	(NJE 3.3)	Josquin

Physical description: Two volumes, 120 and 112 leaves in oblong format, 20 x 16 cm, containing printed German lute tablature. The second edition is entirely reset.

Locations:

Hec¹ (1556): The only traceable copy (*Discant* book only), formerly in *D*: Bds, is now in *PL*: KJ (Mus. ant. pract. H 690); it lacks ff. 2-3. The copy (*Discant* book only) formerly in *F*: Pthibault, as reported by Brown and in RISM A I⁴, is now no longer traceable: Geneviève Thibault's copy of the 1562 edition (Brown 1562₃), now in *F*: Pn, contains a letter from the antiquarian dealer Albi Rosenthal, dated 1959, implying that she already owned the earlier edition, thereby supporting Brown's report. A copy of the companion *Tenor* book (Brown [1556]₆) was formerly in *D*: Hs.

Hec² (1562): *A*: Wn (S.A. 76.C.27) – *B*: Br (T only) – *CH*: Bu (T only) – *D*: B (T only); D1; TR (D only) – *F*: Pn (Rés. Vmd 74: D only; *olim* Thibault; *olim* Écorcheville; *olim* Wernigerode) – *GB*: Lbl (Hirsch III.326: D only); Lcm (D only).

Bibliography: BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1556₅ (*Discant*), [1556]₆ (*Tenor*), 1562₂ (*Discant*), 1562₃ (*Tenor*).

K1

See NJE 19.8, *Commentary*, p. 86 (*In principio erat verbum*).
NJE 28.25 is the only "Josquin" work in the source that is not ascribed to him.

Mu¹

Contents: 66 compositions, mostly in four voices.

Nos. 1-54 are all anonymous, though other sources (primarily Attaignant prints) give ascriptions to Appenzeller, Arcadelt, Baston, Certon, Clemens non Papa (3), Courtois, Crecquillon (3), Ducis, Fine, Forster, Godard, Gombert (2), Grefinger (2), Hesdin, Hofhaimer (3), Jacotin, Janequin, Josquin, La Rue, J. Lemaire, Lortin, Lupi, Didier Lupi Second, Manchicourt, Mouton, Pathie (2), Richafort, Sandrin (2), Schönfelder, Senfl (2), and Sermisy (14). The remainder is later and includes ascriptions to Jacobus

Mailandus, Franciscus de Novo Porto, Abel Prasch, Alfonso Dalla Viola, Orlando, Jac. Vaet, Servatius Roriff, and A. Scandellus (2); so it is ignored here.

No other composition in **Mu¹** is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

Physical description: 4 paper partbooks (S 58, A 59, T 70, B 58 leaves) in oblong format, 14.5 x 21 cm. The main layer was evidently copied in southern Germany, perhaps in the 1540s. A single hand copied nos. 1-52 plus S and A of nos. 53-54 (the *Census-Catalogue* reports Joshua Rifkin's view that this hand also appears in *D*: Mbs Mus. ms. 1503a [there misprinted as 1503b], no.8); the pieces all have their numbering and their text incipits in red ink. There is an original numbering 1-64, omitting the first and last pieces.

Bibliography: *Census-Catalogue*, II, pp. 216-7, and IV, p. 443. BÖKER-HEIL et al., *Das Tenorlied*, part 2, pp. 173-178 [complete thematic index].

Mu² See NJE 28.3 in this volume (*Adieu mes amours*).

Mu³ Contents: 188 compositions in Italian lute tablature plus one in German tablature. Includes ascriptions to Albert de Rippe, Francesco da Milano, Marco dell'Aquila, Melchior Newsidler, and Pietro Paolo Borrono. Other sources give ascriptions to Arcadelt (6), Crecquillon (5), D. Ferrabosco (2), S. Festa, Hofhaimer (2), Jacotin (2), Janequin (2), Josquin (5), Lassus (8), J. Lemaire, Le Peletier, Moulu, Passereau, Pathie (3), Ponte, Rore (4), Sandrin (7), Senfl (2), Sermisy (19), Ivo de Vento, Verdelot, and Willaert (3).

Compositions in **Mu³** ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

ff. 15-16'	<i>Sancta Maria</i>	(NJE 25.7)	Vertalot
f. 41	<i>Mille Regres</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
f. 41'	<i>Parille dauit [= Per illud ave]</i>	(NJE 23.13 [II])	Anonymous
ff. 43'-44'	<i>Chuor langhor[eulx]</i>	(NJE 29.2)	Anonymous
f. 55-55'	<i>Plus mil Regres</i>	(NJE 28.28)	Anonymous
ff. 137'-138	<i>Circumdederunt me [= Nymphes nappés]</i>	(NJE 30.6)	Josquin

Physical description: Lutebook of 138 leaves in oblong format, 22 x 33 cm. Various disparate documents assembled in about 1568, though see below for the copying of NJE 28.25. Copied by a large number of scribes. Until 1586 in the library of Johann Heinrich Herwart. Taricani (p. 81, building on Martinez-Göllner) shows that the scribe of NJE 28.25, on f. 41 (and indeed of NJE 28.28, on f. 55-55'), copied more pieces in more different manuscripts than any of the other scribes among the Herwart lutebooks and was apparently working during the 1540s.

Bibliography: RISM B VII (Munich 1978), pp. 214-215. CHRISTIAN MEYER, *Sources manuscrites en tablature*, vol. II: *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* = Collection d'études musicologiques, vol. 87 (Baden-Baden and

Bouxwiller 1994), pp. 203-211 [inventory of contents]. MARIE LOUISE MARTINEZ-GÖLLNER, *Die Augsburger Bibliothek Herwart und ihre Lautentabulaturen*, in: *FAM* 16 (1969), pp. 29-48. JOANN TARICANI, *A Chansonnier from a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986),

Mu⁴ See NJE 28.3 in this volume (*Adieu mes amours*).

Nar See NJE 8.1, *Commentary*, p. 8 (*Missa Faysant regretz*), and NJE 11.1, *Commentary*, p. 21 (*Missa Hercules Dux Ferrarie*). Works of Josquin appear only in the third of the six “books” in the collection; this book is headed “Ay en el obras compuestas de Josquin y canciones Francesas de diversos auctores”. This third book is additionally the only one of the six to contain demonstrably non-Iberian music. It opens with five Mass sections of Josquin (from the Masses *Hercules Dux Ferrarie*, *Faysant regretz* and *Sine nomine*), all correctly ascribed, then *Mille regretz*, also ascribed, and then ends with three songs by Gombert and Richafort. On that basis, the ascription of *Mille regretz* to Josquin seems eminently trustworthy even though the source is late and Spanish.

Locations: *E*: Mn (2 copies; one incomplete); *Tp* – *GB*: Lbl – *PL*: Kj (formerly *D*: Bds: Mus. ant. pract. H 695 [1]) – *US*: Wc.

Bibliography: BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1538f. JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *Luis de Narváez and Music Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, in: *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 26-27 (1993-4), pp. 1-15. Facs. Minkoff, Geneva 1980.

New See NJE 28.3 in this volume (*Adieu mes amours*).

Ph¹⁻² Although these two volumes have different title-pages and prefatory material (respectively in Latin and French, in the opening two-leaf gathering), their musical contents are the same and, to judge from their versions of *Mille regretz*, they are printed from precisely the same setting – as witnessed by all details of alignment and of broken staves. Vanhulst (1990), p. 8, reports two small corrections in **Ph¹** (not for NJE 28.25), suggesting that they were made in the course of the print run; he adds that they cannot be taken as indicating any priority between the two editions.

Contents: 55 pieces for solo lute in French tablature on five lines. The compositions are anonymous except for the ascriptions “Claudin” [de Sermisy] and “Jennequin” to distinguish the two settings of *Martin menoît*.

Other sources give ascriptions to Cadeac, Certon, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon (4), Antoine de Fevin, Garnier, Gombert (2), Janequin (2), Josquin (2), F. de Layolle, J. Lemaire, Le peletier, Nicolas Liégois, Lupi, Lupus, Narváez (13), Sandrin, Sermisy (5), and Susato.

Compositions in **Ph**¹⁻² ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

ff. e1'-e2'	<i>Forsseulement</i>	(NJE 27.10)	Anonymous
ff. e3'-e4	<i>Mille reges</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous

Physical description: 56 leaves of printed French lute tablature in oblong format, 20 x 16 cm.

Locations: **Ph**¹ in A: Wn (S.A. 76.F41 (II)) and J: Tuu (lacking the title-page). Only copy of **Ph**² is GB: Lbl (Hirsch III.462.(2.)). Facs. in HENRI VANHULST (ed.), *Chansons reduictz en tablature ... livres I-III* (Geneva 1984). This copy of **Ph**² has the first four of the Phalèse "set", namely: *Des Chansons Reduicts ... Livre premier* (1547); then *Des Chansons & Motetz Reduictz ... Livre Troixiesme, composees par l'excellent maistre Pierre di Teghi Paduan* (1547); and *Carminum pro Testudine Liber IIII* (1546).

Bibliography: BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1546¹⁹ and 1546¹⁸. HENRI VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545-1578* (Brussels 1990), nos. 2a and 2b, pp. 6-8.

Ph³

Contents: 84 compositions for solo lute followed by 21 for two lutes. Compositions are ascribed to Rota (4), Simon Sentlerus [= Gintzler] (4), Albutti, Francisci Mediola [Francesco da Milano], Borrono (2), Thomas Crequillon (5), Petit Jehan de Latre (2), Jehan Loys, and Gombert. Most of these ascriptions are in the first portion of the book (up to p. 50).

Other sources give ascriptions to Arcadelt, Baston, Berchem, Clemens non Papa, Jacotin, Josquin, La Rue, J. Lemaire, Lupi, Lupus, Marco d'Aquila, Morales, Mouton, Nicolas Liégeois, Pathie, Richafort, Sandrin, Sermisy, Valderrábano, Verdelot, Villiers, and Willaert.

Compositions in **Ph**³ ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

pp. 52-53	<i>Mille regrez</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
p. 54	<i>Incessament</i>	(NJE 29.9)	Anonymous
p. 57	<i>Cum sancto spiritu</i> [from <i>Missa De Beata Virgine</i>]	(NJE 3.3)	Anonymous
pp. 59-60	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	(NJE 14.10)	Anonymous
pp. 68-71	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	(NJE 25.9)	Anonymous
p. 72	<i>Tua est potentia</i>	(NJE 26.16)	Anonymous
p. 73	<i>Benedictus. Duo</i> [from <i>Missa Ave maris stella</i>]	(NJE 3.1)	Anonymous
pp. 74-77	<i>Pater noster</i>	(NJE 20.9)	Anonymous
p. 77	<i>Tribulatio & angustia</i>	(NJE 18.11)	Anonymous
pp. 78-80	<i>Benedicta es</i>	(NJE 23.13)	Anonymous
pp. 94-95	<i>Alleges moy</i> [for 2 lutes]	(NJE 30.2)	Anonymous

Physical description: 56 leaves of printed French lute tablature in upright format, 31.5 x 20 cm.

Location: Only in B: Bc (26372). Facs. in ALBERT VANDER LINDEN and PAUL RASPÉ (edd.), *Thesaurus musicus*, 1 (Brussels 1974).

Bibliography: BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1552₁₁. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions*, no. 13, pp. 24-28.
G. ROBYNS, *Les livres de luth de Pierre Phalèse: étude et transcription du Hortus Musarum* (unpublished Mémoire de licence, Université Catholique de Louvain 1955) [complete edition]. NJE 3.1, *Commentary*, p. 9 (*Missa Ave maris stella*).

Ph⁴

Contents: 142 pieces for lute, among them 7 for two lutes (nos. 112-118). Compositions are ascribed to Albutii, Borrono, Rota (2), Francisci Mediola [= Francesco da Milano], Simon Sentler [= Gintzler], Raphael Viola, and Orlando di Lassus. All but the last of these ascriptions are for the fantasias that open the book (up to f. 9).

Other sources give ascriptions to Arcadelt, Barberiis, Berchem, Certon, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Gentian, Godard, Janequin, Josquin, Lattre, Le Hugier, J. Lemaire, Lupi, Mithou, Mittantier, Morlaye, Mouton, Narváez, Nollet, Paladin, Pathie, Reulx, Richafort, Rore, Sandrin, Sermisy, Tromboncino, and Villiers.

Compositions in Ph⁴ ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

f. 22	<i>Mille regres</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
ff. 47'-48	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	(NJE 14.10)	Anonymous
ff. 49'-51	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	(NJE 25.9)	Anonymous
ff. 51'-53	<i>Pater noster</i>	(NJE 20.9)	Anonymous
ff. 53'-54'	<i>Benedicta es</i>	(NJE 23.13)	Anonymous

Physical description: 70 leaves of printed French lute tablature in upright format, 29.5 x 19 cm.

Locations: GB: Ob (D.4.10.Art) – NL: Uu (AA-fol-28 Rariora).

Bibliography: BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1563₁₂. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions*, no. 98, pp. 104-109.

Re

Contents: 163 compositions with French and Italian text incipits. Ascriptions are to Arcadelt, Baston, Benedictus, Courtois, Du Tertre, Nicolaus Gampert, Josquin, Lupy, Manchicourt, Julius Regiensis, Richafort, Sermisy, Susato (2), and Verdelot.

Other sources give ascriptions to Arcadelt (11), Baston, Benoist, Berchem, Brandt, Certon (3), Clemens non Papa (5), Corteccia (2) Crecquillon (9), Donato, Festa, Godard, Gombert, Hailland, Janequin (2), Josquin, La Rue, Lattre, J. Lemaire, Lortin, Lupi (2), Manchicourt (2), Mouton, Pathie, Phinot (13), Rocourt, M. Rogier, Sandrin, Sermisy (10), Sohier, Verdelot (28), Vinders, and Willaert.

Compositions in **Re** ascribed to Josquin in at least one source:

46	<i>Mille reges</i>	(NJE 28.25)	Anonymous
135	<i>Plus nultz Regretz</i>	(NJE 28.28)	IOSQVIN

Physical description: Paper B partbook of 125 leaves in oblong format, 10 x 15 cm. Only 84 leaves contain music, all but the penultimate piece copied by a single hand. There is no foliation or pagination but an original numbering of the pieces, going only to no. 108.

Present in the north Württemberg abbey of Neresheim when the abbey was dissolved in 1803. Its earlier provenance is unknown, though it is surely German. Brinzing shows (p. 106) that pieces were copied from prints as late as 1545 and that NJE 28.28 is the first of a group of seven pieces copied from **Kriesstein 1540**⁷, comprising all the French or Italian texted works a4 in that print.

Bibliography: *Census-Catalogue*, III, pp. 104-105, and IV, p. 471. GERTRAUT HABERKAMP, *Die Musikhandschriften der Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek Regensburg*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, vol. 6 (Munich 1981), pp. 417-422 [thematic inventory]. ARMIN BRINZING, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, 4, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1998), pp. 91-109 [description and detailed inventory of contents].

Su¹/Su²

Two different settings of the same songbook, both dated 1549, though most scholars agree that **Su**² must be about ten years later; in general the notes are the same but the text typeface and therefore the underlay are strikingly different.

Contents: 31 four-voice songs with French text, with ascriptions to Baston, Chrispel, Clemens non Papa (8), Crecquillon (7), Guyot (4), Hollander, Josquin, Morel, Rocourt, and Susato (5).

No other composition in **Su** is ascribed to Josquin in any source.

FORNEY (1978) points out, pp. 313-314, that we are dealing with a situation exactly like that of the *Septiesme livre* (and indeed many of Susato's other songbooks, for which the Vienna copy seems almost always to be unique and later). FORNEY (*The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*, vol. 29 (New York 1994), p. xvi), says the entire Vienna set dates from ca. 1558-60.

Locations:

Su¹ in D: B (two copies); Mbs (Mus. pr. 201/10) – GB: Lbl (K.3.a.11).

Su² Only in A: Wn (S.A. 76.F.44). Facs. in *Corpus of Early Music*, 12 (Brussels 1972).

Bibliography: RISM 1549²⁹. UTE MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato: Eine bibliographische Studie zur niederländischen Chansonpublikation in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berliner Studien

zur Musikwissenschaft, 11 (Berlin 1967). KRISTINE K. FORNEY, *Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer: an Archival and Typographical Investigation* (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1978).

Wr

See NJE 28.18 in this volume (*In te, domine, speravi*).

4. Evaluation of the Sources²⁶⁵

The tablatures in **Ph**¹ and **Ph**² are taken straight from **Ger**, except that some of the chords contain added notes that fill the texture and fall under the fingers. The lute duets in **Hec**¹ and **Hec**² are identical, though no surviving T book for **Hec**¹ has been located; **Am** is copied from **Hec**¹ or **Hec**². And the intabulations in **Ph**³ and **Ph**⁴ are identical. **Am Hec**¹ **Ph**¹⁻² **Ph**⁴ are therefore eliminated in all that follows. But after that the situation becomes far more complicated.

Su¹ must serve as the principal source for this edition, despite its very late date of 1549. But the earliest sources contain several different readings, which need to be explored in some detail for two main reasons: first, because it is perhaps disappointing that this first critical edition based on all known sources should scarcely differ from the editions already available; second, because it further complicates the extremely difficult question of who composed the music.

Of the earliest staff-notation source, **At**, only the S partbook survives. It contains two important variants from **Su** (ex. 25.1 and ex. 25.2a) that are well supported elsewhere, while only **Ca** and **Mu**¹ among the staff-notation sources support the reading in **Su**.

Ex. 25.1

At Bs¹ Bs² Gd Mu²; Hec Mu³ Nar Wr

Su Ca Mu¹; Ger Kl New Mu⁴ Ph²

Wr Mu³

²⁶⁵ An earlier and in some ways fuller statement appears in DAVID FALLOWS, *Who Composed Mille Regretz?*, in: BARBARA HAGGH (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris and Tours 2001), pp. 241–252.

Moreover, much of **Mu**² is demonstrably taken straight from Attaignant prints; so it seems quite possible, despite some small differences between **Mu**² and the surviving partbook of **At**, that the missing T partbook of **At** contained the low e at 25 T shown in most of the staff-notation manuscripts (**Bs**¹ **Bs**² **Bl** **Gd** **Mu**²) as well as in the tablature **Nar**, whereas again only **Ca** and **Mu**¹ of the staff-notation sources support the g in **Su**. Similarly, it seems almost inevitable that the rhythmic pattern of **At** in bar 21 was matched in the lost T partbook, as found in **Bs**² **Mu**² (see ex. 25.2b).

Ex. 25.2a

At **Bs**¹ **Bs**² **Mu**²

S 20 Gd; Wr Su Ca **Mu**¹; **Mu**⁴ Ph³

A 8

Ex. 25.2b

Bs² **Mu**²; Wr

T 22 Bs¹ Bl Gd Su Ca **Mu**¹; **Mu**⁴ Hec

B 8

But this is where the tablatures become important. Though all are decorated, their polyphonic basis is often clear. **Ger** dates from 1533, the same year as **At**; and it unequivocally supports **Su** in ex. 25.1 and ex. 25.3. In fact all the tablatures apart from **Nar** support **Su** in ex. 25.3, which is remarkable and notable since the **Su** reading surely counts, from the viewpoint of an intabulation, as the *lectio difficilior*.

Ex. 25.3

S

A

T

B

Su Ca Mu¹; Ger Hec Kl Mu³ Mu⁴ New Ph³ Wr

Bs¹ Bs² Bl Gd Mu²; Nar

On the available evidence, then, the low e at 25 T must be rejected – attractive though it is.

Similarly, the reading of **At** in ex. 25.1 cannot reasonably be adopted, despite its impressive source support. It produces in any case an uncomfortable result; but once again **Ger** provides evidence that the **Su** reading existed as early as **At**.

With those decisions, the **At** and the **Gd** readings in ex. 25.2 must also fall. The tablatures are obviously much less conclusive here, since they habitually decorate cadences; even so, **Mu⁴ Ph³** clearly support the unsuspended **Su** reading in ex. 25.2a, and **Mu⁴ Hec** equally clearly support it in ex. 25.2b. The simplicity of both cadences in **Su** is surely a most attractive feature of the song; and the almost cliché addition of a suspension is the kind of corruption that easily slips in.

As shown in Section 6, the final text line in **At** departs from the rhyme-scheme and must therefore also be corrupt.

One final variant, in ex. 25.4, is the omission of the low c at 12 B and the consequent rewriting of bar 13. The variant appears in the single B partbook **Re** as well as in five tablatures, among them **Ger**. This variant must surely arise from the wish to sharpen the g¹ in 9 S and 12 S; despite the testimony of **Ger** it must be rejected.

It should be noted that the ligature in 2₂-3₁ B is unique to **Su¹⁻²**; it is retained in this edition with some hesitation, since it has a direct impact on the texting of that line. The positive upshot is of course that the second syllable of “regretz” is forced to coincide with the T, thereby reinforcing the cadence.

Ex. 25.4

Re; Ger Mu³⁻⁴ New Kl

No stemma seems possible for this piece. But there do seem to be two broad groupings for some of the sources, both perhaps at some distance from the original:

1. Ca Mu¹ Su¹⁻²; Ger Hec Kl Mu⁴
2. At Bl Bs¹ Bs² Gd Mu²

Of these, it seems very much as though group 1 circulated in the Low Countries and group 2 was derived from the Parisian print of Attaignant. Sources not included in the above grouping cannot easily be aligned.

5. Cantus prius factus

None has been identified.

6. Text

This quatrain appears in no known poetic source. However, it has been widely attributed to Jean Lemaire de Belges because **At** (of which only the S partbook survives) has the ascription “J le maire.” above the music. Hartz notes that there is no other known case in the *Attaingnant* prints of such an ascription referring to the poet rather than the composer;²⁶⁶ and Picker adds that there is nothing comparable in the known poetry of Jean Lemaire de Belges.²⁶⁷ Beyond this, Hartz points out that if the song was really written as a new piece for the Emperor Charles V in 1520 (see Section 7) the poem can hardly be by Lemaire,²⁶⁸ whose existence cannot be attested after 1514.²⁶⁹ Of course, if the music should have been by Jean Lemaire de Belges, a possibility briefly entertained by Litterick (see Section 7), then it would surely follow that the famous poet would also have written his own text. But the case for the poet having been a composer remains nonexistent; and the case for Lemaire as the poet of this particular text is all but nonexistent.

Only five sources of NJE 28.25 contain the complete poem: **At Ca Gd Su**¹⁻². Further sources of the poem are in the settings by Gombert (a6) and Susato (a3), both of which agree with the text printed below.²⁷⁰ For the final line the versions in **At** and **Ca** depart from the poem’s rhyme-scheme and must therefore be rejected. On the other hand, these or similar readings may well explain the musical variants at bars 35-37 (see Section 8J.2).

Mille regretz de vous abandonner
Et d’eslonger vostre face amoureuse.
J’ay si grand dueil et paine douloureuse
Qu’on me verra brief mes jours deffiner.

A thousand regrets at leaving you
and being away from your loving face.
I have such great grief and sorrowful pain
that one will soon see me ending my days.

Variants

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | abandonner] habandonner Su ; emended from At Ca Gd |
| 2 | Et de laisser vostre Ca |
| 2 | face] fache Su ; emended from At Gd |
| 3 | J’ay si grand dueil] En grand annui Ca |
| 4 | Qu’on me verra de brief mes jours finir At ; Qu’on me verra en brief mes jours finer Su ¹
(S); Qu’on verra en brief mes jours deffiner Su ² (S repeat); Qu’on me verra brief mes jours
deffiner Su ² (T repeat); Que on verra en brief finer mes jours Ca |

²⁶⁶ DANIEL HEARTZ, *The Chanson in the Humanist Era*, in: JOHN W. GRUBBS (ed.), *Current Thought in Musicology* (Austin and London 1976), pp. 193-230, at p. 201, where there is also a facsimile of the relevant page.

²⁶⁷ MARTIN PICKER, *Josquin and Jean Lemaire: Four Chansons Re-examined*, in: SERGIO BERTELLI and GLORIA RAMAKUS (edd.), *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence 1978), pp. 447-456.

²⁶⁸ HEARTZ, *The Chanson in the Humanist Era*, pp. 199-202.

²⁶⁹ Strictly, there is no evidence that Lemaire died in 1514. For the possibility that he stopped writing then as a result of debilitating illness, see JENNIFER BRITNELL, *La mort de Jean Lemaire de Belges, l’édition de 1517 du Traité des schismes et des conciles, et les impertinences d’un éditeur*, in: *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et renaissance* 56 (1994), pp. 127-133.

²⁷⁰ The second stanza presented in VAN MALDEGHEM’s edition (1879) is in fact the text of *Les miens aussi brief verras decliner*, the response to *Mille regretz*, twice set to music by Tylman Susato (Section 9, nos. 6-7).

7. Authorship

Given its current popularity, the slender basis for the work's authorship is disturbing. Among twenty-five known sources, the only ascriptions to Josquin are in **Su**¹⁻² (1549: just two of the partbooks, and as "Io." [= Johannes] rather than "Ju.") and **Nar** (1538). At the very least one must conclude that the work was not widely known as Josquin's during the 16th century. If there is any merit in the general consensus of scholars that *Mille regretz* can hardly have been composed before about 1510, we face the wide but largely anonymous circulation of one of the last works by a man who was by then incontestably the most famous composer in the world.

The conflicting ascription to "J le maire." in **At** (1533) therefore seems particularly attractive, not just because this is the earliest known source and by far the earliest known ascription but also because it is always wise to give special attention to the more obscure composer. This could easily concern a composer who is otherwise undocumented.²⁷¹ Among the pre-1536 prints of Attaignant listed by Hertz the composers known only from a single piece include Adorne (41-17), Barbette (31-27), Beaumont (18-1), Bridam (41-21),²⁷² Couillart (46-2), Fescam (45-27), François (15-12), Jodon (68-3), L'enfant (61-7), de Lestanc (45-15), Lombart (14-8), G. Louvet (61-11), Colin Margot (68-9) and Vassoris (3-?).

There is little need to elaborate on the observation that *Mille regretz* has nothing in common with what is otherwise known of Josquin's four-voice works. Given that the most common reason for misascription is the existence of an authentic piece with a similar text incipit, it is hard to ignore the many German sources that give *Plus nulz regretz* (NJE 28.28) as "Plus mille regretz".²⁷³

Yet a further possibility lies in the printed Discantus partbook **Egenolff** [c. 1535]^{14a}, no. V, ff. Gg vi-vii, in which a piece with the incipit "Mille regretz" immediately follows Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz* (no. III) and *Adieu mes amours* (no. IV). All pieces in this collection are given without the composer's name, and there is elsewhere some evidence of grouping (nos. 17-33 are all taken directly from **Petrucchi** 1502²); so there seems at least a marginal possibility that this is Josquin's actual setting of the text, thus that the ascription we have was attached to the wrong setting. The Egenolff piece is therefore presented herewith (Ex. 25.5).²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ This possibility is in fact mentioned in JOSHUA RIFKIN, *A Singer Named Josquin* (unpublished), note 15. PH. A. BECKER, *Jean Lemaire* (Strasbourg 1893), Anhang II, draws attention to how often the name can be found, as does KATHLEEN MIRIAM MUNN, *A Contribution to the Study of Jean Lemaire de Belges* (New York 1936), p. 83. Munn mentions a Jean Lemaire who was proposed for a prebend in the diocese of Rouen in 1525 and one who had a prebend at Saint-Quentin and had died by 15 April 1526. It could be added that the father of the composer Jean Mouton was called Jehenne Le Maire.

²⁷² If he is to be identified with the composer's name "Bride", written upside down above *Aurea mater*, a3, in **UppsU** 76a, ff. 54'-55 (an identification evidently accepted by the editors of the *Census-Catalogue*), it may be relevant that two openings later in the same manuscript the motet *O quam presul*, a3, has the ascription "Jehan Mire" (with Mire denoted by two notes; Howard Mayer Brown suggests the alternative reading "Le Mire"). Beyond that, CHRISTOFFERSEN, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century*, vol. 1, p.38, proposes that "Mire" may be identifiable with "Mirus", composer of *Aiguillon serpent in dangier*, a3, in **CopKB** 1848, p. 446 (no. 275). On the other hand, Christoffersen notes (*loc. cit.*) that "Despite great differences, the two compositions exhibit the same lack of mastery in their effects and compositional technique"; and there is little here to suggest the future composer of NJE 28.25. I thank Isabel Kraft for drawing my attention to Jehan Mire.

²⁷³ These two points are also made in RIFKIN, *loc. cit.*

²⁷⁴ Printed earlier in FALLOWS, *Who Composed Mille Regretz?*, p. 245, where there is also a rather fuller (and slightly different) exploration of the authorship of the piece. Further arguments that it cannot be by Josquin are in LOUISE LITTERICK, *Chansons for Three and Four Voices*, in: RICHARD SHERR (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford 2000), pp. 335-391, at pp. 374-376.

Ex. 25.5

Mil - le re - gretz de vous a - ban -
mil - le re -

don -
gretz ner, de vous a - ban - don - ner

Et d'es - lon - ger vos - tre fa - ce a -

mou - reu - se, vos - tre fa - ce a - mou - reu - se.

J'ay si grand dueil et

pai - ne dou - lo - reu - se

Qu'on me ver - ra brief mes jours def -

fi - ner, brief mes jours def -

fi - ner.

As the edition shows, the text of NJE 28.25 can be fitted effortlessly to the music; the shorter phrases in 11-13 and particularly 31-33 seem to indicate a ten-syllable line (since such lines in French always have a caesura after the fourth syllable); and the design of the melody seems well suited to a four-line stanza. Though there are many French poems with that structure, there seems nevertheless a good chance that this is indeed a setting of the same poem.

Even so, the case for Josquin as the composer of NJE 28.25 may be stronger than it seems at first glance. The initial case, building on Heartz (and mainly stated, though rather differently, in REES, “*Mille regretz*” as *Model*, p. 75), runs like this. Narváez called the song “Cancion del Emperador” (Charles V), and this could explain both why Gombert made a 6-voice arrangement and why Morales wrote a Mass on it; there is a payment from Emperor Charles V to two singers from Condé, one of them called “Joskin”, for producing “aucunes chansons nouvelles” in November 1520.²⁷⁵ Though Herbert Kellman has mounted a very plausible argument against identifying this “Joskin” as the composer Josquin des Prez, his case is by no means definitive, and the set of coincidences here is remarkable.²⁷⁶

As outlined in Sections 4 and 6, the musical and textual readings in **At** cannot be considered authoritative; in fact they are very confused and confirm that Attaingnant had no worthwhile contact with Josquin and his circle. Conversely, of all the 25 sources, **Su**¹⁻² really do appear to have the best surviving readings, despite their late date; and there is good reason to think that Susato had contact with someone who had access to settings composed by Josquin during his final stay in Condé. Moreover, the ascription to Josquin in **Su** can hardly be frivolous: first, there is no other song by Josquin in this book, so it can hardly have been considered a possible selling-point;²⁷⁷ second, that Susato himself not only made a three-voice setting of the text, drawing very heavily on NJE 28.25, but wrote two settings of the *response*, *Les miens aussi*, betokens a considerable interest in the song on Susato’s part. That he did not print the song in his *Septiesme livre* is attributable simply to the book’s being devoted to Josquin songs in five and six voices. On the other hand, the very existence of the *Septiesme livre* stands as further evidence of Susato’s interest in Josquin: although opinions of the book’s reliability vary this was the first monographic Josquin publication since the Mass books of Petrucci thirty years earlier. On balance, then, taken alongside the high quality of the musical text he presented, there seems a good chance that Susato’s ascription to Josquin is correct.

It is true that the piece appears generally in late sources not particularly central to the Josquin canon. On the other hand, this would perhaps be expected of a very late piece of Josquin that was in style so different from his other known songs. As it happens, there are only ten sources containing nothing else ascribed to Josquin in any source: **Am At Bl Bs¹ Gd Mu¹ Ph¹⁻² Su¹⁻²**. Of those, there is no significance in **At**, an early print from Attaingnant, who seems at that point unaware of Josquin’s work, or in **Su**¹⁻², our main source for this edition and this ascription. The remaining six are not statistically enough to cast significant doubt on the ascription; but it should be noted that they are all sources containing no ascriptions whatsoever. Indeed of the twenty-five sources of NJE 28.25, no fewer than thirteen have no ascriptions: **Am Bl Bs¹⁻² Gd Ger Mu¹ Mu³⁻⁴ Ph¹⁻² Ph⁴ Wr**. Of the remaining twelve, four do have ascriptions (three to Josquin, one to J. le maire); and there are therefore only eight that might perhaps be expected to contain an ascription but do not:

²⁷⁵ Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 2294, f. 179^v. Ed. in HELMUTH OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, vol. 1 (Tutzing 1962), p. 73; critique by KELLMAN in LOWINSKY, *Josquin des Prez*, pp. 186-188.

²⁷⁶ As Kellman points out to me (personal communication), he wrote those words before having definitively established that Josquin was resident in Condé at the time. Moreover, when it was thought that Josquin was born in 1440 and therefore 80 in 1520, the likelihood of his moving around the country and composing new songs was so small as to be absurd; with a later birthdate of perhaps ca. 1455 it seems far easier to accept.

²⁷⁷ Oddly enough, apart from his *Septiesme livre* devoted to Josquin songs, the only other appearance of Josquin in his prints is the copy of *N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir* (NJE 29.17) in his *Cinquesme livre* (1544¹³) – a song printed again in the *Septiesme livre*.

Ca Mu² Re; and the tablatures **Kl New Ph³ Hec¹⁻²**. I submit that there are no simple conclusions to be drawn from any pattern here. Quite the reverse. Closer inspection can add to the likelihood that NJE 28.25 is by Josquin. It is transmitted anonymously in **Ger** (like everything in that source), but its place there implies Josquin's authorship: it appears between *Adieu mes amours* (NJE 28.3) and *Plus nulz regretz* (NJE 28.28), these three opening the section of the book headed “Nun volgen hernach etliche Welsche stücklein und etliche trium”.

As concerns the song's musical style, although there is nothing comparable in NJE 28 – indeed in the securely ascribed works of Josquin – it is equally hard to see such details in the other four-voice songs of that generation. Van Benthem noted similarities in *En non saichant* (NJE 29.6).²⁷⁸ Although Blackburn gave good reasons to dispute Van Benthem's view that *En non saichant* was originally a four-voice chanson,²⁷⁹ and Joshua Rifkin (personal communication) points out that the case for *En non saichant* actually being by Josquin is very slender, the similarities between the two compositions are striking. Another work in similar style, pointed out to me by Rifkin, is *Dueil double dueil* by Lupi or Hesdin. I myself drew attention to considerable similarities in Josquin's late *Pater noster*, a6. If the “Emperador” mentioned by Narváez really was Charles V (who became emperor in 1519), then there seems a very good chance that NJE 28.25 was one of the songs mentioned in the payment of November 1520.

It would, on balance, be over-fastidious to designate this as a doubtful composition.

8. Critical Apparatus

A. Discrepancies between the Edition and the Principal Source

Su¹ serves as the principal source for reasons explained in Section 4. There are no discrepancies apart from three underlay details noted in Section 8.M.2. and a textual corruption in the S, reported in Section 6. It should be noted, however, that the ligature at 2₂ B is unique to **Su¹⁻²** and that in 24–25 T is only in **Mu¹ Su¹⁻²**.

B. Designation of Voices

Since all the staff-notation sources are partbooks, the voice designations come only from the books themselves with the exception of **Su¹**, which has “SUPERIUS” at the head for the page for S and “TENOR” at the head of the page for T.

C. Clefs

S	Ca	G ²
A	Bs¹	C ⁴ until bar 14
A	Ca	C ²
B	Re	F ³

²⁷⁸ VAN BENTHEM, *Zur Struktur und Authentizität*, at pp. 171–172.

²⁷⁹ BONNIE J. BLACKBURN, *Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources*, in: *JAMS* 29 (1976), pp. 30–76, at pp. 47–48.

D. Staff Signatures

—

E. Mensuration and Proportion Signs

S Ca omitted

F.1. Verbal Canons and/or Directions/ F.2. Non-Verbal Signs (Signa congruentiae, Fermatas, and Repetition Signs)/
G. Coloration

—

H. Errors in Pitch and Rhythm

7 ₂	A	Mu ¹	d', then corrected to e'
30 ₂	B	Re	B
35 ₁	T	Bl	omitted
36 ₁	B	Mu ¹ Re	B, then corrected to A

J. Variants in Pitch and Rhythm

1. Ornamented Cadences and Anticipations

21 ₂₋₃	S	At Bs ¹⁻² Mu ²	Mi/p-a' Sm-g' Mi-g'
		Gd	Sb-a' Mi-g'
23 ₂₋₃	T	Bs ¹	Mi/p-a Sm-g Sm-g (error for Mi-g)
		Bl Bs ² Gd Mu ²	Sb-a Mi-g

2. Rhythmic Substitutions

2 ₁₋₂	S	Ca Mu ¹	Br
4 ₁₋₂	A	Ca	Br
5 ₂₋₃	S	Bs ¹	Sb
6 ₁₋₂	S	Ca	Sb
7 ₁₋₂	A	Ca	Br
11 ₂	S	Bs ¹	Sb Mi
13 ₁	A	Bs ¹ Mu ¹	Sb Mi
	B	Re	Sb Mi

13 ₁₋₂	B	Ca	Br
14 ₁₋₂	S	Mu ¹	Sb
	A	Mu ¹	Sb
	B	Ca Mu ¹	Sb
15 ₃₋₄	A	Ca	Sb
15 ₂₋₃	T	Bs ¹⁻²	Sb'
15 ₃₋₄	T	Ca	Sb
	B	Ca	Sb
16 ₁₋₂	A	Ca Mu ¹	Sb
	T	Ca Mu ¹	Sb
	B	Ca	Sb
17 ₁₋₂	B	Ca	Br
18 ₁₋₂	T	Ca	Br
20 ₁	S	Ca	Sb Mi (across line-end)
25 ₂	A	Mu ¹	2Sb
27 ₁₋₂	T	Ca	Br'
28 ₃₋₄	A	Ca	Sb
34 ₁₋₄	T	Ca	2Sb
35 ₁	S	Bs ² Gd Mu ²	2Mi
	T	Ca	2Mi
	B	Gd	2Mi
36 ₃₋₄	T	Ca	Sb
37 ₁	S	Bs ¹⁻² Gd Mu ²	2Mi
	B	Gd	2Mi
38 ₁₋₂	A	Ca	Sb

3. Other Variants in Pitch and Rhythm

4 ₁₋₂	S	At Bs ¹⁻² Gd Mu ²	2Mi-d' c'
5 ₁₋₂	T	Bl	Sb/p-a
12 ₂	A	Bs ¹⁻²	Sb-r
12 ₁₋₂	B	Re	Br-r (also in tablatures Ger New Mu ³⁻⁴)
15 ₁₋₃	T	Mu ¹	Sb/p-e'
25	T	Bl Bs ¹⁻² Mu ²	e

K. Accidentals

1. Accidentals in Mensural Sources

—

2. Endorsement of Accidentals in Intabulations

31 ₃	T	all except Mu ⁴	#
-----------------	---	-----------------------------------	---

3. Other Accidentals in Intabulations

9 _{1/3}	S	Nar Ph ³	#
12 ₁₋₂₋₃	S	Ger Mu ³	#
21 ₃	S	all except Mu ⁴	#
23 ₃	T	all except Mu ⁴	#
39 ₃	S	all intabulations	#

L. Ligatures

2 ₂	B	Bs ¹⁻² Ca Gd Mu ¹⁻² Re	no lig.
24-25	T	Bl Bs ¹⁻² Ca Gd Mu ²	no lig.

M. Placement of the Text

1. Phrase Underlay

7-9	S	Ca	De vous abandonner
-----	---	-----------	--------------------

2. Syllable Underlay

(a) Deviations in Syllable Underlay

2 ₁	B	Su ¹⁻²	regretz
3	S	Ca	re-
4 ₃ -6 ₁	S	Ca	de vous abandonner
5 ₁₋₂	S	Su ¹	de vous
16 ₃ -19	B	Su ²	J'ay si grand dueil et
21 ₂ -22 ₂	B	Su ²	paine douloureuse
37 ₁₋₂	T	Su ¹	brief
		Su ²	brief mes

(b) Confirmation of Editorial Choices in Syllable Underlay

At, though having a text that differs in the last line, endorses all details of texting presented here from Su¹.

9. Related Settings

1. Susato, *Mille regretz de vous habandonner*, a3

Source: Premier livre des chansons a troix parties (Antwerp: Susato, 1544) [RISM S7238]

Modern edition: UTE MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato* (Berlin 1967), vol. 1, pp. 159-161 (with facs. of the T partbook, vol. 1, p. 101)

The S of NJE 28.25 is shared between the two top voices of this florid setting. For the volume and its consistent use of such borrowing, see LAWRENCE F. BERNSTEIN, *The Cantus-Firmus Chansons of Tylman Susato*, in: *JAMS* 22 (1969), pp. 197-240.

2. Susato, *Pavane: Mille regretz*, a4

Source: *Het derde musyck boexken* (Antwerp: Tylman Susato, 1551) [only complete copy in PL: Kj; facs. ed. by Herman Baeten (Peer 1987)], SATB f. 13

Modern editions: FRANZ J. GIESBERT (ed.), *Danserye: Altniederländisches Tanzbüchlein vom Jahre 1551*, 2 vols. (Mainz 1936), vol. 2, p. 42

NIKOLAUS DELIUS (ed.), *Tielman Susato: Danserye* (Mainz 1989), vol. 2, p. 16

The entire polyphony of NJE 28.25 is adapted to become a homophonic pavane.

3. Gombert, *Mille regretz de vous abandonner*, a6

Source: **Kriesstein 1540⁷**

Modern edition: JOSEPH SCHMIDT-GÖRG (ed.), *Nicolai Gombert opera omnia*, CMM, ser. 6, vol. 11 (American Institute of Musicology 1975), pp. 160-163

Alludes to the polyphony of NJE 28.25 throughout, though without any direct quotations. This and NJE 28.25 are presented in parallel in JANE A. BERNSTEIN, *The Chanson in England 1530-1640: A Study of Sources and Styles* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1974), pp. 118-122, with a valuable discussion of their relationship on pp. 116-124.

4. Morales, *Mass Mille regretz*, a6

Sources: Morales, *Missarum liber primus* (1544), and many other sources, including one that (surely wrongly) credits it to Crecquillon

Modern editions: HIGINIO ANGLÈS (ed.), *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, vol. 1, MME, 11 (1952), pp. 238-73, and vol. 7, MME, 24 (1964), pp. 121-132 [Sanctus and Agnus according to **VatS 17**]

Contains the S of NJE 28.25 in the S throughout. Its ascription to Crecquillon in RISM 1568¹ conflicts with no fewer than 7 ascriptions to Morales, see Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 9, and the remarks of Barton Hudson in his Crecquillon edition, CMM, ser. 63, vol. 1 (American Institute of Musicology 1974), p. X, note 1.

5. Anonymous, *Mille regretz*, a4

Source: **Egenolff** [c. 1535]^{14a}, ff. Gg vi-Gg vii, no. V [only S partbook survives]

Modern edition: Herewith as ex. 25.5; earlier in FALLOWS, *Who Composed Mille Regretz?*, p. 245.

There is no apparent musical connection with NJE 28.25 here; but it probably carried the same text. Since this appears immediately after Josquin's two most securely ascribed songs, *Adieu mes amours* (NJE 28.25) and *Plus nulz regretz* (NJE 28.28), there must be at least a chance that this, not NJE 28.25, is Josquin's *Mille regretz*.

6. Susato, *Les miens aussi brief verras decliner*, a4

Source: **Susato 1549**²⁰, where it appears immediately after NJE 28.25

Modern edition: *Werken: Wereldlijke werken*, Bundel III, afl. 8 (Amsterdam 1925), no. 24a, pp. 64-65; see also A. CUTLER SILLIMAN, "Responce" and "Replique" in *Chansons published by Tylman Susato, 1543-1550*, in: RBM 16 (1963), pp. 30-42

The text is designated a "Responce" to *Mille regretz*.

7. Susato, *Les miens aussi brief verras decliner*, a3

Source: *Premier livre des chansons a troix parties* (Antwerp: Susato, 1544) [RISM S7238], where it appears immediately after Susato's setting of *Mille regretz*, a3 (no. 1 above)

The text is designated a "Responce" to *Mille regretz*.

8. Appenzeller, *Je pers espoir voyant que le malheur*, a5

Source: **Susato 1545**¹⁴, Benedictus

Modern edition: KRISTINE K. FORNEY (ed.), *The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*, vol. 29 (New York 1994), no. 1

Making extensive use of musical materials from *Mille regretz*.

9. Susato, *Mille regretz fera mon pouvre cuer*, a5 (5 lines of 10 syllables)

Source: **Susato [1543]**¹⁵, Tielman Susato

Modern edition: KRISTINE K. FORNEY (ed.), *The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*, vol. 30 (New York 1994), no. 72

Several more distantly related chansons are reported in Rees, "*Mille regretz*" as *Model*.