

COMPOSERS AND THEIR SONGS, 1400– 1521

David Fallows

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DEDICATION

My earlier collection in the Variorum Collected Studies Series (1996) was dedicated to my academic colleagues in the Manchester University Music Department over twenty years because I found it ‘hard to think where I could find a more equable team of colleagues’. Since then the Department has become a mere Subject Area, but I have been equally lucky in the colleagues who have joined us and I am equally grateful for all that they have done. So this is for them: David Berezan, Caroline Bithell, Ricardo Climent, James Garratt, Philip Grange, Rebecca Herissone, Eric Lyon, Kevin Malone, Camden Reeves, Laura Tunbridge and Richard Whalley. Thank you all for being such great colleagues.

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This volume contains xii + 334 pages

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

PREFACE

Three themes or preoccupations intertwine here. One is an ongoing attempt to write a history of polyphonic song in the fifteenth century, a project that goes back to the early 1970s and is still not completed but remains a central part of my life. Among the essays that started as sections of that book but simply broke their banks are those on Leonardo Giustinian, on the poets Binchois used, on Frye, and on Jean Molinet's odd position in relation to the song repertory. Another preoccupation was the compulsion to write a book about Josquin (published in 2009), a project that brought with it a need to edit a volume of his four-voice secular music for the New Josquin Edition (published in 2005). The third is the conviction that it is much easier to find one's way around the music of the fifteenth century if one begins with the songs – partly because there are more of them and therefore more that give precise information about dates and events, partly because more of the manuscripts can be dated, partly because the relatively small extent of each song means that an ambitious or skilled composer must present his credentials that much more quickly and that much more clearly.

Most of these essays were written in response to invitations either to attend a conference or to honour a colleague, and bringing them together rekindles my gratitude to those concerned, namely Philippe Vendrix, Oliver Huck, Lorenz Welker, Andrew Kirkman, Dennis Slavin, Ulrich Konrad, Jürgen Heidrich, Nicholas Kenyon, Francesco Luisi, Jean-Michel Vaccaro, Rob C. Wegman, Paula Higgins, Martin Stachelin, Teresa Gialdroni, Barbara Haggh, Tess Knighton, Nicole Schwindt, Peter Reidemeister, Thomas Drescher, Regula Rapp, Fugueen Schreurs, Chris Banks, Arthur Searle, and Malcolm Turner.

DAVID FALLOWS

*Old Trafford
February 2010*

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CICONIA'S LAST SONGS AND THEIR MILIEU

TO START WITH I do wish to say that the pleasure of my first visit to Liège is tempered by sadness. Sadness at never having met Professor Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, although we had several mutual friends. Sadness that I plainly upset her in the last years of her life by suggesting that her picture of Ciconia's life was wrong, that the composer was not the Johannes Ciconia born in the 1330s but his illegitimate son born some forty years later. That the subsequent discoveries of Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas appear to confirm that suggestion does nothing to remedy the sadness. I know that this episode is remembered in Liège and feel correspondingly humbled to be invited to speak here. It was her energy and commitment that brought awareness of Ciconia to a much wider public.

With that on record, it would be good also to put on record why I appear in *The New Grove Dictionary* as cosignatory of the Ciconia article while being elsewhere in print a direct opponent of Mme Clercx. It happened because, as a member of the *Grove* editorial staff, I found myself in the position of having to edit her article on the composer. This was in 1975; and for some five years I had been convinced of the views later expressed in my 1976 article,¹ namely that her biography published in 1960

¹ David FALLOWS, "Ciconia padre e figlio", *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xi (1976), pp. 171-77.

was mainly of the composer's father.² An unpublished doctoral student was in no position to change the content of an article by so senior and respected a scholar.

But it did seem appropriate to rewrite the worklist, since the material submitted did not make it entirely clear what was actually ascribed to Ciconia. A worklist is a far more objective matter, at least that is what I thought at the time; so in the course of editing I took it on myself to recast that material entirely. With twenty years' hindsight, and a vast body of subsequent literature on both Ciconia and the manuscript sources, it is now clear that this was a very naive attitude and that my worklist was far less good than I thought; of which more later. But it was different enough from Clercx's for me to feel it was an improvement and, with the approval of the Editor and Area Editor, that I should take responsibility for it. Hence the odd dual signature.

Even so, the editing of the article made me so angry at what I thought was a complete misrepresentation of the composer's life that I sat down immediately to write the article "Ciconia padre e figlio", published in the *Rivista italiana di musicologia* through the kind offices of Pierluigi Petrobelli and Alberto Gallo. And this may be an appropriate occasion to record publicly my profound gratitude to those great scholars for having had the courage to publish an extremely controversial article. It led to a spirited response from Mme Clercx, in what was to be one of her last publications.³ It is a particular sorrow that I never had an opportunity to discuss the matter with her in a less public forum. Apart from anything else, she had effectively put Ciconia on the map, so it is mainly her doing that we are gathered here today.

² Suzanne CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia: un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411)*, Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1960.

³ Suzanne CLERCX-LEJEUNE, "Ancora su Johannes Ciconia (1335 circa-1411)", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, xi (1977), pp. 573-90. Informal reports now reveal that most of this paper was in fact the works of others, as she was suffering from Alzheimer's Disease and in no condition to assemble a scholarly article.

One odd feature of that episode was that, as Mme Clercx pointed out in her response, my views were based on no new research, offered nothing definitive and left several paradoxes unexplained. They were merely a suggestion that there was a different way of interpreting the enormous body of newly discovered material that she had presented in her exceptionally detailed study. At first it was greeted with understandable reserve. Five or six years later, though, still with no relevant new documentation (but with some useful negative documentation from Anne Hallmark), those views were quite suddenly accepted as definitive. This made me nervous, not least because there seemed to be songs that could easily be considered from a stylistic viewpoint to date from the 1360s or 70s, especially the four madrigals. While I welcome and support the recent arguments that *Una panthera* was composed in 1399⁴ and *Per quella strada* in 1401,⁵ neither date is absolutely watertight; we must accept that a stylistic argument for an earlier date can still be mounted until there is a far better understanding of technical details and stylistic evolution in the later fourteenth century.

Eventually important new documents came through from Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, their famous article of 1994 showing that in 1391 there was a Johannes Ciconia in Rome who was not yet a priest, thus plainly not identifiable with the man born in the 1330s, and that he was illegitimate, thus almost certainly identifiable as one of the illegitimate children that we know the older man had.⁶

4 John NÁDAS and Agostino ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta", MS 3065*, Lucca, Libraria Musicale Italiana, 1990, pp. 42-4.

5 Anne HALLMARK, "Protector, *imo verus pater*: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia", *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann OWENS and Anthony M. CUMMINGS, Warren, Harmonie Park Press, 1997, pp. 153-68.

6 Giuliano di Bacco and John NÁDAS, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle capelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège", *Collectanea*, 1 (1994), pp. 7-74; their views are summarized in English and expanded in Giuliano di BACCO and John NÁDAS, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism", *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard SHERR, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 44-92.

But the words ‘almost certainly’ here continue to worry me and seem important. Neither of the two surviving Roman documents of 1391 names his father. More to the point, however, it is not yet by any means inevitable that the Johannes Ciconia in Rome in 1391 was the man, surely the composer, who appeared in Padua ten years later. It remains true that in a collation document of 1405 the composer declared his father to be dead, but three years later there was still a canon of Saint-Jean-l’Évangéliste named Johannes Ciconia, and the same church was making payments to a Johannes Ciconia in 1415-16 and 1422-23, long after the composer’s death. For these all to make sense within the revised scheme we would need to hypothesize three or possibly four men with the same name. Those details were the core of Mme Clercx’s original argument in 1952 and remained so in her last statement of 1977;⁷ they have not yet been explained.

In the Liège archives at the time of the congress I satisfied myself that these details are correct, but that there is one additional point. The payments reported at Liège for a Johannes Ciconia after the composer’s death appear on the page of the accounts that has payments for the master of the boys, the organist, the barber who tonsured the choirboys, and various singers. This is the page that also contains payments to Johannes Brassart, presumably the composer, in 1422 and 1425.⁸ So there is a good case for believing that this later Johannes Ciconia was paid for activities connected with music. Moreover he carries the Italianized name ‘Ciconia’ rather than the French ‘Chiwagne’ that still appears in documents concerning the canon’s brother Guillaume in the first decade of the century.

Briefly, by far the simplest explanation of the documents in Liège is that the choirboy of 1385 was not the composer but the Johannes Ciconia who was still being paid in 1423; and there is no reason why he should not have been in Rome in 1391, returning soon afterwards to Liège. Cardinal Philippe d’Alençon’s connections with Padua, if they are relevant, could just as well explain why the older Ciconia could place his illegitimate

7 CLERCX-LEJEUNE, “Ancora su Johannes Ciconia”, pp. 584-85.

8 All noted in CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. 1, p. 32.

son in the cardinal's household. I continue to believe that I was right, but the documentary paradoxes remain. There seem still to be matters that need probing.

But the main topic of what follows is rather different, namely just the late songs and how they look a decade after the remarkable new edition of Ciconia's works published by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark in 1985.⁹ Several specific discoveries since then have a direct impact on our view of his later songs. First, newly discovered leaves add contratenor lines to songs that were hitherto in only two voices: for *Mercé o morte* in the new Mancini leaves,¹⁰ and for *Non credo donna* in the 'Boverio' fragments.¹¹ Second and most recently, the discovery of evidence that *Deduto sey* was by Antonio Zacara da Teramo clears out of the way a work that has only confused the stylistic issue. Third, the new Mancini leaves give a definitive ascription to *Mercé o morte*, hitherto attributed to Ciconia only on the basis of style. Fourth, the new reconstruction of the Mancini codex by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino makes it possible to endorse the attribution to Ciconia of several previous dubia. Fifth, that same reconstruction gives us yet another fragmentary song that has been somewhat finessed in the recent literature and in my view is almost certainly by Ciconia. Sixth, their historical study, building on the work of Reinhard Strohm, also goes a considerable way to showing that Ciconia must have composed some of his songs in Pavia. Seventh, new or forgotten text sources clarify the readings and add information about the authorship as well as the literary ambience of the poems. Eighth, of course, the two new biographical documents found by Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas help us to believe that Ciconia was indeed born in about 1370 and therefore only just over forty years old when he died in 1412: if so, those late songs are therefore

⁹ *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Margaret BENT and Anne HALLMARK, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xxiv Monaco, L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985 (PMFC, xxiv). In what follows, numbers given for works of Ciconia are those in this edition.

¹⁰ NÁDAS and ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex*.

¹¹ Agostino ZIINO, ed., *Il Codice T. III. 2: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana*, 1994.

more accurately now seen as reflecting the composer's first full flowering to maturity, composed during his thirties.

There is a lot to unpack and reassemble here;¹² and some of it can be covered only in outline, not least because there are two much broader conclusions to be reached as a result of all this, on the matters of chronology and authorship in the music of the early Quattrocento.



The easiest and happiest place to begin is with Maria Caraci Vela's discovery, published only a few months ago, that *Deduto sey* is mentioned in a theory treatise now at Vercelli as the work of Zacara.¹³ This had been attributed to Ciconia by Dragan Plamenac in 1964, partly on the basis of its mention in a puzzling stanza from Simone Prodenzani's *Il saporetto*—the stanza that mentions a group of songs and concludes with the line, 'Del Cicogna una parte fo la viso', a line that nobody I have consulted has managed to construe satisfactorily. The song, not included by Clercx in her edition, found its way into the Bent-Hallmark edition as an opus dubium, presumably out of courtesy to Plamenac. Nobody in recent times has taken its hypothetical place in the Ciconia works very seriously; in fact Plamenac in his 1972 edition of the Faenza codex no longer even mentioned the possibility, and several of us had long concluded that it was stylistically likely to be by Zacara. But at least this new confirmation helps to clean up the picture of Ciconia's later songs, to clear an irrelevant piece out of the way.

It also further clarifies the picture of Zacara, a man whose life and work have undergone a startling transformation over the past twenty years: most important, Zacara was once considered a younger composer

¹² Some of what follows duplicates comments in my review of NÁDAS and ZIINO in *Early Music*, xix/1 (February 1991), pp. 119–23.

¹³ MARIA CARACI VELA, "Una nuova attribuzione a Zacara da un trattato musicale del primo Quattrocento," *Acta Musicologica*, lxix (1997), pp. 182–85.

and now seems to have been born at least fifteen years before Ciconia, thus becoming probably a major influence on his work.¹⁴ Given the similarly new materials concerning the life and works of Paolo Tenorista,¹⁵ the time seems right for a complete re-evaluation of this entire generation of musicians in northern Italy. Needless to say, the space available here is not right for that, either; but it seems worth beginning to put the late songs of Ciconia into their new context.

The next port of call must be the ascription of *Mercé o morte* to Ciconia on one of the new leaves of the Mancini codex that Nádas and Ziino discovered in 1988. Its attribution to Ciconia was first suggested by Federico Ghisi in 1946, when he credited the insight to Charles van den Borren; it was later supported by Dragan Plamenac and accepted by Bent and Hallmark for their Ciconia edition. The reasons were obvious enough: in terms of style and approach, both musically and textually, it is almost a twin of Ciconia's *O rosa bella* and *Lizadra donna*.

Obviously those two discoveries are very encouraging, in that they confirm what we thought we already knew. They give reason to think that the stylistic pattern of the early Quattrocento is fairly easy and that we can move forward with stylistic attributions in the manner of an art historian. But then the art historian is generally dealing with the brush-strokes of the painter, which in music we do not have. There were obviously grounds for suspicion that these pieces could be by other composers emulating Ciconia's and Zacara's very distinctive styles. Those of us working on Ockeghem

¹⁴ Agostino ZIINO, “‘Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo’: alcune date e molte ipotesi,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xiv (1979), pp. 311–48; John NÁDAS, “Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo,” *Studi musicali*, xv (1986), pp. 167–82, and xvi (1987), pp. 175–76.

¹⁵ Ursula GÜNTHER, John NÁDAS, John A. STINSON, “Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence,” *Musica Disciplina*, xli (1987), pp. 203–46; Biancamaria BRUMANA and Galliano CILIBERTI, “Nuove fonti per lo studio dell’opera di Paolo da Firenze,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xxii (1987), pp. 3–33; John NÁDAS, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: the Manuscript Tradition,” *In cantu et sermone: a Nino Pirrotta al suo 80º compleanno*, ed. Fabrizio DELLA SETA and Franco PIPERNO, Florence, Olschki, 1989, pp. 41–64.

have seen two cases in recent years when works were attributed to him on similar grounds; both turned up later with ascriptions to younger composers of the Ockeghem circle. In fairness it should be mentioned that already before the new ascriptions emerged there were voices pointing out that the pieces were not fully up to the Ockeghem level. But those cases underline the need for enormous caution in stylistic attribution. Perhaps that is why Suzanne Clercx did not include *Mercé o morte* in her Ciconia edition, despite the eminent expertise of Van den Borren and Ghisi.

Because it needs to be said that many of the attributions she offered had a good source-critical basis, in particular the ones in the Mancini codex which I boldly listed as anonymous in the *Grove* worklist. With the magnificent new facsimile of Nádas and Ziino it is now easy to see how the manuscript is assembled. The point that I had overlooked is that the ascriptions in Mancini are done precisely as in the Squarcialupi Codex, that is, they are written across the top of the opening as a clear statement that in the copyist's view all the music there is by a single composer. This is made slightly confusing in the Nádas/Ziino index of Mancini, where they present, as one example among many, *Per un verde boschetto* as ascribed 'Fratri Bartholini' and *La sacrosanta karità* on the facing page as being ascribed 'de Padua'; obviously the words 'Fratri Bartholini de Padua' apply to both pieces. This is obvious enough (though it is not explicitly stated in the literature); and it presumably formed the basis for Clercx's attribution of various pieces to Ciconia, even if she did not actually say so. But with the new and fuller reconstruction of the manuscript, with its four new leaves, it is absolutely undeniable. The beautiful photography makes it quite clear that these pieces were not later additions but part of the copying plan. I suggest that there is therefore no possible room for doubting the Mancini ascriptions to Ciconia of *Chi vole amar* (no. 38), *Poy che morir* (no. 41), *Gli atti col dançar* (no. 43) and *Le ray au soleyl* (no. 47), all given as anonymous in *Grove* and in the Bent-Hallmark edition.¹⁶

¹⁶ Concerning another erroneous omission in the *New Grove* worklist, I should mention that *Io credo amor* (no. 36) was omitted because the word 'Ciconia' is not visible on the facsimile presented in CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. II, pl. 3, though I should have noticed

Perhaps it should be added in this context that it seems hard to justify the inclusion of *Non credo donna* (no. 40) on this basis. It appears in Mancini well away from any Ciconia context. In style it certainly has many of the imitative and sequential patterns found among Ciconia's later works, but it absolutely does not have the ascription that one must accept as present in Mancini for the four works just mentioned.

On the other hand, one further piece must definitely be added to the Ciconia list on the basis of Mancini. This is the French rondeau *Ave vergene* (f. 54), of which only the tenor and contratenor survive, at the bottom of the leaf that contains *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso*. In Example 1 I have quartered the note-values (as in the Bent-Hallmark edition), omitted all ligatures as being irrelevant and visually confusing, and simply barred so as to avoid ties.

Nino Pirrotta had long ago considered the possibility that this was by Ciconia but rejected it on the basis that it was too late in style.¹⁷ Nádas and Ziino accepted his view,¹⁸ apparently forgetting that they themselves had persuasively demonstrated that the manuscript was finished before Ciconia died; Pirrotta had believed it to be copied around 1420. Since the song is therefore plainly not too late to be by Ciconia we can look at it again, bearing in mind that here, as elsewhere, the Ciconia ascription apparently refers to the whole opening. (Only the right-hand page survives, with the word 'Ciconia' at the top, evidently matching the word 'Johannes' on the lost left-hand page.) Bent and Hallmark state that 'No one has contested Pirrotta's rejection of the macaronic *Ave vergene*'.¹⁹ I hereby do so, noting in the process that the story is one of the oldest in the book, that a previous opinion is retained without reference either to the con-

that it was reported in RISM BIV 4 (1972), ed. Kurt von FISCHER and Max LÜTOLF, p. 1040 (see also *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. 213).

¹⁷ Nino PIRROTTA and Ettore LI GOTTI, "Il codice di Lucca," *Musica Disciplina*, III (1949), pp. 119-38, at p. 117, note 4: 'mostra le caratteristiche di una epoca più recente de quella del Ciconia'; and p. 123, note 26.

¹⁸ NÁDAS and ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex*, p. 31, note 32.

¹⁹ *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. x.

EXAMPLE 1: Johannes CICONIA, *Ave vergene*

Ciconia

The musical score consists of six staves of music. The first two staves are labeled 'Teneur' and 'Contra teneur'. The subsequent four staves contain lyrics in French. The lyrics are as follows:

4
Vostre douz cuer gent(is) isnelle
Ver moy ayés gratieux.
Ave &c

8
O merveglieus damoyselle,
Royn du ciel tres glorieux,
Per toy l'ange gabrielle
Sana le pechié orguglieux.

Ave vergene &c

text in which that opinion was formed or to what other judgments have changed that context since.

Incidentally, the poem of this rondeau is not macaronic; it is a French devotional rondeau. Since the discantus is lost we do not have the first stanza, but we do have the text residuum, showing that it is a rondeau with slightly unusual seven-syllable lines and a rhyme scheme ABAB rather than the more normal ABBA. Only slightly unusual: the early

fifteenth-century Pavian poetry manuscript in the British Library, Add. 15224, has six rondeaux with this rhyme scheme, each explicitly headed 'rondeau'.²⁰ There is nothing in that manuscript with a seven-syllable line, but this does occur elsewhere during those years.

Hitherto, known French songs by Ciconia were only three in number and all slightly odd, namely the mannerist virelai *Sus un' fontayne*, the equal-voice virelai *Aler m'en veus* and the mensural canon *Le ray au soleyl*. None of these shares anything stylistically with any other; so it should probably cause no surprise that his only known French rondeau stands rather apart from what we otherwise have of Ciconia. Among the songs, the closest stylistic match is his Italian ballata *Gli atti col dançar* (also with a most unusual stanza form, which merits further exploration); but *Ave vergene* has much longer note-values, and its similarity hardly goes much further than the effectively homophonic movement of the tenor and contratenor.

In fact there is nothing remotely similar to this piece anywhere in the song repertoires of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, so far as I can tell. Its homophonic manner perhaps distantly echoes a piece like Machaut's *Puis qu'en oubli*, but not its extremely long note-values or its triple *modus*, which seem unique among songs. If that is a surprise, perhaps it should not be. After all, one of the main points about Ciconia is surely that he evolved and explored several radically new styles (as did Zacara, apparently in the same years); *Ave vergene* simply adds a further dimension to Ciconia's remarkable inventive talent. Returning to my edition, obviously with its quartered note-values the normal way of barring would be every dotted minim (original *brevis*) to reflect the *tempus perfectum* of the notation. I cannot think of any other song for which that would be such a hopelessly inadequate solution. Nor is there much to be gained from barring every third *brevis* to reflect a kind of *modus* notation; so I selected every

²⁰ Nos. 47 (8-syll), 79 (8-syll), 96 (!), 106 (8 syll), 140 (10 syll), 145 (10 syll). The entire collection is edited in N. Hardy WALLIS, *Anonymous French Verse: an Anthology of Fifteenth Century Poems Collected from Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, University Press, 1929, pp. 13–III.

sixth *brevis*, with a slight lacuna after the mid-point cadence. Needless to say, it seems fruitless even to speculate what could have been in the missing discantus voice. The work is very strange indeed in the context of the known song repertoires.

There is a certain stylistic context for *Ave vergene* among Ciconia's motets—the genre in which, despite Margaret Bent's necessary and important qualifications, he seems at his most original and influential. Bearing in mind that the two closely related Visconti pieces in Mancini, *Una panthera* and *Le ray au soleyl*, appear together on a single opening, there may be some hint in the appearance of *Ave vergene* on the same opening as *Con lagrime bag-nandome nel viso*, which—as I have argued at length elsewhere²¹—I consider to date from 1406. From that same year we have the motet *Albane misse celi-tus*: here tenor and contratenor, occupy the same range (a 9th rather than the octave of *Ave vergene*) and have remarkably similar contrapuntal movement. It is as though, having developed the 'new-style' Trecento motet, he then transferred some of its techniques back to the song repertory, albeit for a devotional song. In sum, I suggest that this is a fascinating piece that should be included in the Ciconia worklist and throws a new light on what we know of his already widely varied output.

It would be fair to mention (particularly since I misunderstood their point when writing a review of the facsimile) that Nádas and Ziino rejected this ascription not just because of Pirrotta's judgment but also partly because the piece is away from the 'main' Ciconia section in gathering 10, but towards the end of a gathering that began with works of Landini. The case may not be quite so clear; and it is time to return to the layout of the Mancini codex.

As they reconstruct it, the surviving leaves witness a fairly clear pattern. Gatherings 1-2 are lost; gatherings 3-4 were works of Bartolino, with

²¹ David FALLOWS, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song," *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario*, ed. Renato BORGHI and Pietro ZAPPALÀ, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995, pp. 247-60. This date is also supported in NÁDAS and ZIINO, *The Luca Codex*, p. 41.

Antonio da Cividale taking over at the end of gathering 4. Those comprise what Pirrotta had already identified as copying layer I.²² Gatherings 7-8 were works of Zacara, with Antonello da Caserta taking over at the end of gathering 8 (gathering 9 is lost apart from an inscrutable single bifolium); and gathering 10 is works of Ciconia. These are all in copying layer II, with smaller staves and a different page layout but the same copyist as in layer I. An additional detail here is that layer I seems to be in gatherings of 10 leaves, whereas layer II has 8-leaf gatherings, which is why the summary in Table 1 includes the missing gatherings in those layers. What they tentatively construe as gathering 11 is a miscellany copied by various different hands with again a different page layout. From gathering 6 (in layer II), only four leaves survive: it begins with Landini and continues with Ciconia.

TABLE 1: Mancini (Lucca) Codex gathering structure

Copying layer I: gatherings of 10 leaves		
1-2	[lost]	
3	Bartolino	4 leaves
4	Bartolino, with Antonio at end	4 leaves
Copying layer II: gatherings of 8 leaves		
5	[lost]	
6	Landini, with Ciconia (? after 1403) at end	4 leaves
7	Zacara	6 leaves
8	Zacara – Antonello	all 8 leaves
9	??	2 leaves
10	Ciconia (? to 1403)	6 leaves
Copying layer 3: assorted		
11	mixed and later	12 leaves

As already mentioned, Ciconia is the only composer to survive with groups of pieces in two different places. Nádas and Ziino suggest (p. 42) that the works at the end of gathering 6 were added rather later than the

22 See the report in NÁDAS and ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 30-31.

larger collection of his works in gathering 10. Certainly it seems that way. The nine pieces in gathering 10 include *Una panthera*, for which Nádas and Ziino made an overwhelming case for a date of 1399, *Le ray au soleyl*, referring to Giangaleazzo Visconti's arms, the three two-voice madrigals, two two-voice ballate and the three-voice ballata *Gli atti col dançar*. Perhaps the madrigal *Per quella strada* is from his Carrara years, that is, soon after 1400; and if Nádas and Ziino (p. 42) are right in suggesting that *Gli atti col dançar* is for either Francesco Zabarella or Francesco Carrara, that too would be soon after his arrival in Padua. But it looks very much as though all this music was composed by about 1403.

I might mention here, by way of parenthesis, that the matter of *Per quella strada* is of course intimately linked with that of the madrigal *Imperial sedendo*, which Pierluigi Petrobelli argued was for Francesco Novello's appointment as an Imperial General in 1401. The two pieces are so astonishingly similar in musical style as well as in the language of their texts that Anne Hallmark has now come down very much in favour of a date of 1401 for *Per quella strada*; and it is hard to disagree.²³ But I owe to my former student Leah Stuttard, who kindly gives me permission to mention it, the observation that *Imperial sedendo* has nothing whatsoever in common with the otherwise known music of Bartolino da Padova. Moreover, she points out that its ascription in ModA to 'Dactalus de Padua' cannot possibly be read as a miscopying of Bartolino's name (which is the explanation normally given); 'Frater Bartholinus' appears elsewhere in this copyist's part of the manuscript. It makes far more sense to credit *Imperial sedendo* to the otherwise unknown composer Dactalus de Padua. That the piece appears in the Bartolino section of Squarcialupi hardly alters the case: this would not be the only misplaced work in Squarcialupi, copied some distance from what are assumed to be Bartolino's centres of activity. Similarly its position in the Paris manuscript f.it. 568 could well be explained by its survival together with other works from Padua. Oddly

23 HALLMARK, "Protector, imo verus pater: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia", p. 165.

enough, this conflicting ascription seems to be totally suppressed in the Marrocco edition of Bartolino's works. It is important for the matter of Ciconia and his ambience.

Returning, however, to Ciconia in the Mancini codex. The four pieces at the end of gathering 6 come after a group of Landini; and it is easy to agree with Nádas and Ziino that the Landini group may have begun in the lost gathering 5 but simply stopped half way through gathering 6. It is hard to tell whether the Ciconia pieces were added later, though it seems likely, because they all seem later than the ones that occupy gathering 10. They are *Con lagrime* and the new *Ave vergene* (both of which I suggested are from 1406), *La fiamma del to amor*, and *Mercé o morte*.

Now *Mercé o morte* is the only piece in Mancini that has all the characteristics of what I have elsewhere termed the last and final style of Ciconia's songs, namely those found in *O rosa bella* and *Lizadra donna*.²⁴ Neither of these comes in Mancini as we now have it; and they cannot ever have been there. Only one leaf is missing from the Ciconia section of gathering 6, and we know exactly what was on it, because we have the facing pages; and we also have the first leaves of the next gathering, the one devoted to Zacara. Similarly, gathering 10 survives complete apart from its first and last leaves (in any case, as I mentioned, it contains music in a much earlier style). Unless there were other gatherings in Mancini after gathering 10, *O rosa bella* and *Lizadra donna* cannot have been there.

Why not? It is very hard indeed to resist the view that they had not yet been composed when the manuscript left Padua. They are after all more mature and expressive than anything of Ciconia found there. A key item in the analysis of Nádas and Ziino is that they identified the last hand in the miscellaneous gathering 11 as one of the main scribes of the Paris Trecento manuscript, f.16. From this, as well as from the repertory there, they concluded that these last pages must have been copied

²⁴ FALLOWS, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song", pp. 253-54 and p. 257.

by about 1410, after the manuscript had left Padua but perhaps before it reached Florence.²⁵ So the almost complete manuscript would have been taken from Padua (where they argue that most of it was copied) to Florence at the end of the first decade of the century. Working back from there, they suggest that the main body of Mancini (copying layers I-II) was completed in about 1408.

If they are right, we have four years of Ciconia's life to play with. I am convinced by Margaret Bent's argument that Ciconia composed the two-voice *O Petre Christi discipule* (no. 23) in 1409 and the four-voice motet *Petrum Marcello venetum* in the same year.

The poems of the late songs all appear in text sources that are not reported in the available music editions. The single poetic source for *Deduto sey* is invariably reported with a wrong folio-number; there are many sources indeed for *O rosa bella*, *Con lagrime* and *Lizadra donna*. Since those known to me are listed elsewhere,²⁶ they need not be itemized here; but the main points merit a quick summary. *Lizadra donna* appears in all five known copies of the *Canzoniere* of the Paduan poet Domizio Brocardo, who was born in about 1390 and died after 1448; Brocardo's *Canzoniere*, in a Petrarchan mould, is addressed to 'Lia' or 'Lisa', hence the centrality of *Lizadra donna*. *O rosa bella* and *Con lagrime* both appear in many sources of Leonardo Giustinian's poetry; I have elsewhere argued my absolute certainty that *O rosa bella* is his and my virtual certainty that *Con lagrime* must be by him.²⁷ I also pointed out that Leonardo Giustinian must have been born in about 1382-3, since his elder brother was born in 1381 and he him-

²⁵ NÁDAS and ZIINO, *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 47-8. At least, I think this is their conclusion, though there are some confusing statements in these paragraphs. They seem to say (1: p. 47) that the MS reached Florence only after everything was copied (apart from the Binchois piece, which was in any case composed no earlier than the 1420s); and (2: lower down the page) that the work of scribes B and C in the second half of gathering 11 were 'strictly tied to Florence'. Then (p. 48): 'The dating of our MS to c.1410 is thus closely tied to attempts to date Pit and scribally related Florentine sources to c.1406-8'.

²⁶ David FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

²⁷ FALLOWS, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song."

self was married in 1405; in 1406, therefore, he was plainly old enough to have written the poem of *Con lagrime*. Since he studied in Padua, presumably in the first years of the century, he could well have encountered Ciconia: he was after all from one of the most eminent families of the Veneto and would easily have moved in such circles. There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that he wrote that poem; that is of course to set aside the matter of whether the poem would have been appropriate to the death of Francesco Carrara il Novello, a matter on which my own view and those of others are fully on record.

This would in any case place both *O rosa bella* and *Lizadra donna* in the last four years of Ciconia's life. But, as noted earlier, the new biographical picture suggests that the composer was only in his thirties: these are the works in which his astonishing range of skills merged into a strikingly original and idiosyncratic style. The studies of Agostino Ziino and Dorothea Baumann²⁸ have failed to reveal any earlier example of the sequential sighing repetitions that characterize those songs; and we must conclude that this is indeed an innovation of Ciconia. Nino Pirrotta aligned them with a group of demonstrably later songs that he neatly termed *Veneziane*.²⁹ And I have suggested that the root of this new style was in the early poetic works of Leonardo Giustinian, to whom I have tentatively attributed the poem of *Mercé o morte*.³⁰ It is certainly very much in his style.

Obviously the newly discovered ascription for *Mercé o morte* brings with it the one other piece in an obviously and demonstrably similar style, presented on the facing page of the manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca

28 Dorothea BAUMANN, "Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und des frühen Quattrocento", *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula GÜNTHER and Ludwig FINSCHER, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1984, pp. 77-90; Agostino ZIINO, "Ripetizioni di sillabe e parole nella musica profana italiana del Trecento e del primo Quattrocento: proposte di classificazione e prime riflessioni", *op. cit.*, pp. 93-119.

29 Nino PIRROTTA, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo quattrocento," *Interpretazioni veneziane... in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David ROSAND, Venice, Arsenale Editrice, 1984, pp. 99-108.

30 FALLOWS, "Leonardo Giustinian," p. 253.

Universitaria, 2216 (f. 50v, opposite f. 51), and setting a text also ascribed to Leonardo Giustinian, *O bella rosa o perla angelichata*.³¹ In my view this is so close to the style of the other three ‘sighing’ pieces that we can now attribute it to Ciconia with as much certainty as we earlier did *Mercé o morte*.

The other piece that belongs in a similar stylistic category is of course *Fugir non posso*, appearing immediately after *Con lagrime* in the ‘partbook’ section of Paris, n.a.fr. 4379 (ff. 61-66), probably from around 1430;³² these are two of only three pieces among the seventeen in that section of the manuscript that do not also appear in the Oxford manuscript Canon. misc. 213. Again, its style is very closely related, though its place in other manuscripts does less to support the attribution: in Bologna it is two openings before the other two, immediately preceding Zacara’s *Deduto sey*; and in Mancini it appears in the final, assorted, section. But, returning to the Paris manuscript, it seems relevant that in the related second layer (ff. 43-60) there are three late Ciconia songs presented together: *Lizadra donna*, *O rosa bella* and *Dolce Fortuna*. While nothing here is conclusive, the chances that *Fugir non posso* is by Ciconia look very good.

In both cases, the main argument for attribution to Ciconia must be that his late style is so distinctive. It is not just that the new ascription for *Mercé o morte* offers new grounds for confidence in stylistic attribution, but that other new discoveries mean that there are very few late Trecento pieces that are now without a composer’s name. Particularly the San Lorenzo

³¹ It is edited by W. Thomas MARROCCO in *Italian Secular Music*, , Monaco, L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1978, no. 55 (PFMC xi); also in Francesco LUISI, *Laudario Giustinianeo*, Venice, Fondazione Levi, 1983, vol. II, pp. 259-60. The text is ascribed to Leonardo GIUSTINIAN as ‘O rosa bella o perla angelichata’ in *Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano*, Venice, [c.1474], and 12 later editions, no. 8, edited in Bertold WIESE, “Neunzehn Lieder Leonardo Giustinianis nach den alten Drucken,” *XIV. Bericht vom Schuljahr 1884-85 über das großherzogl. Gymnasium zu Ludwigslust*, Ludwigslust, 1885, no. 5; it is also in F-Pn it. 1069, f. 10-10v (copied from *Comincia el fiore*), edited in Giuseppe MAZZATINTI, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, II, Rome, 1887, p. 268.

³² It is edited by W. Thomas MARROCCO in *Italian Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xi, Monaco, Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1978, no. 39. Ciconia’s authorship was previously suggested in NÁDAS and ZINO, *The Lucca Codex*, p. 44, note 79.

manuscript in Florence and the new Paolo Tenorista leaves discovered by Brumana and Ciliberti mean that over half of the later works in Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. xi (the anonymous Trecento ballate), now have known composers. And it looks very much as though for the Trecento repertory—by contrast with most other pre-1500 repertoires—there are in fact very few composers unknown to us. After about 1415 the situation surely changes; but if either of these songs was composed before then, there seems to me a very good chance that it was Ciconia who composed them. Since *Fugir non posso* actually appears in Mancini, we can be fairly certain that it was composed in his lifetime. It is in the puzzling gathering 11. Intriguingly it appears immediately before *Imperial sedendo*, a piece, whoever it may be by, that plainly has a close relationship to Ciconia's *Per quella strada*. My suggestion would be that *Fugir non posso* was composed at about the same time as *Mercé o morte* but added into gathering 11 simply because there was no further room in gathering 6. Perhaps the same arguments could be offered for the piece on which I earlier cast doubt, *Non credo donna* (no. 40), copied on an earlier leaf of that same gathering 11.

With that in mind, we turn finally to the tiny lauda manuscript of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (it. IX. 145), copied perhaps as late as 1440. Many years ago Giulio Cattin had noticed that one of the songs, *Ognun m'intenda divotamente* (f. 32) seems to be built out of materials found in *Fugir non posso*.³³ This is a very distant reflection of the original, lacking almost everything but the melodic outline of its opening bars. But the manuscript is well known to contain surprises—including two songs of Dufay that have generally escaped notice: *J'ay mis mon cuer*, textless and without its contratenor; and *Je veuil chanter* lacking its contratenor and the middle section but texted 'Benedicamus Domino'.³⁴ Two more

33 Giulio CATTIN, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale," *Quadrivium*, 11 (1958), pp. 45-75, at p. 74. The music is edited in Elisabeth DIEDERICHs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda vom Ende des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, xli, Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1986, pp. 383-84.

34 Details are reported in David FALLOWS, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, Hänsler Verlag, 1995, (Musicological Studies and Documents, xlvi).

works in this manuscript have so many details of Ciconia's style that they deserve at least to be considered part of his wider influence and possibly as works by him.

One is the astonishing *Sancta Maria, regina celorum*, in Ex. 2.³⁵ It is necessary to ignore the fascinating bilingual text that alternates lines in Latin and Italian, mainly because it plainly does not fit the music: its *prima pars* has four lines, whereas the music demonstrably has a *prima pars* of only three lines, so I have omitted the text from this edition.³⁶ Beyond that, as with so many late Ciconia works, it seems necessary to ignore the *contratenor*. But then various details jump to the eye and the ear. The little figure in bars 3-4 almost exactly replicates one in *Poy che morir*; the passage at bars 7-9 recalls details in *Con lagrime* and *Aler m'en veus*, as do bars 20-21; the tenor line at the end (repeating one at bars 26-7) is one that recurs throughout Ciconia's output and is otherwise rare; at that same point the *discantus* precisely matches a passage earlier on in *Con lagrime* (bars 51-3). Perhaps it is the very precision of the quotes that is the strongest argument for not accepting this as a work of Ciconia. On the other hand, the odd placement of such a strong cadence in bar 27, matching the cadence at the end of the music in bar 43, intriguingly reflects Ursula Günther's observations about the odd parallel cadences in *Sus un' fontayne*.³⁷ But it is a magical work; and I strongly suggest that if anybody is planning an appendix to the Bent-Hallmark edition *Sancta Maria, regina celorum* could be included.

35 Ff. 25v-27. It was edited in DIEDERICHs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda*, pp. 366-9, and in LUISI, *Laudario Giustinianeo*, vol. II, pp. 302-5; but I re-edit it here to correct some faulty emendations. I would like to thank Sigrid Lee for first having drawn my attention to this piece as belonging to the circle of Ciconia and for giving me permission to mention it here.

36 It is fully transcribed in LUISI, *Laudario Giustinianeo*, vol. II, p. CXLI.

37 See, for example, Ursula GÜNTHER, "Fourteenth-century Music with Texts Revealing Performance Practice," *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley BOORMAN, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 253-70, at pp. 264-6.

EXAMPLE 2: Anonyme, *Sancta Maria regina celorum*

The musical score consists of five systems of music, each with three voices: Tenor (top), Contra (middle), and Bass (bottom). The music is in common time and includes a key signature of one flat. Measure numbers are indicated above the staves: (Ms: 0) at the beginning, 5, 9, 13, and 17. The Tenor and Contra voices are primarily in eighth-note patterns, while the Bass voice provides harmonic support with sustained notes and occasional eighth-note patterns. The vocal parts are separated by vertical bar lines, and the music is presented on five-line staves.

21

24

28

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Elisabeth Diederichs published this piece without recognizing its Ciconian echoes but with the interesting remark that it seemed like an Italian composer very heavily influenced by French music.³⁸ And she drew attention to another piece that seemed in certain ways similar. This is the two-voice *O Francise, pater pie*, in Ex. 3, which again seems to me to breathe the spirit of Ciconia.³⁹ Here I cannot locate any direct quotes (which is encouraging) but simply draw attention to the surprisingly bold imitative point in bars 15-18 and of course the closer imitation in bars 33-4. Again, whether or not it is by Ciconia, it is part of the wider context of his last works.

EXAMPLE 3: Anonyme, *O Francisce, pater pie*

38 DIEDERICHS, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda*, p. 180.

39 Ff. 36v-37. Also edited in DIEDERICHs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda*, pp. 370-71, and (less well) in LUISI, *Laudario Giustinianeo*, vol. II, pp. 296-7, and re-edited here for similar reasons. The text underlay of the discantus looks good and is retained here; but the scribe got into trouble trying to underlay text to the longer notes of the tenor, getting the two voices wildly out of synchronization and eventually omitting the last two lines. In fact, after the first line there should be no real problem, since there are quite enough notes in the tenor for all the subsequent lines; but the texting he provided cannot go back to any reliable exemplar, so I have omitted it entirely.

Be that as it may, the conclusions from all this are fairly simple. The many discoveries since 1985 have various consequences: first, we can add *Ave vergene* and four of the formerly 'dubious' works of the edition firmly to his worklist; second, the chronological pattern of his songs is far clearer than before; third, the stylistic outline of his later songs begins to make four further attributions seem at least plausible and certainly argues that they should be seen alongside the astonishingly original works Ciconia composed in the last five years of his life.

Ciconia's influence

The question is probably obvious enough. In the later songs of Ciconia there is a new kind of highly expressive text-setting that had not been found before, something we would call madrigalism; but after Ciconia's death in 1412 that astonishingly attractive technique disappears for another 150 years¹. It is as though nobody noticed these pieces; or perhaps Ciconia was so far ahead of his time that other composers were not yet ready to take his innovations on board. Or again, perhaps everybody considered the mannered texting of *O rosa bella* and *Ligiadra donna* thoroughly tasteless. Whatever: that is the specific question that prompted this enquiry; and the question soon led to similar questions about other fifteenth-century composers and to broader questions about influence, how it can be judged, and what it means.

First, though, just to fill in the details of those late Ciconia songs, *O rosa bella* is as good an example as any². All the most affecting phrases of the text are repeated, usually moving in sequence. In the discantus the words “o dolce anima mia” are stated three times, the first two times lasting two breves, the last time lasting three breves. Then “non mi lassar morire” has three statements, each of two breves, each rising a step from the last (with the high B for the last statement perhaps reflecting the common use of the word “morire” to denote an orgasm). Then the words “in cortesia” similarly have three statements, now falling a step each time, with the first two statements occupying one and a half breves, the last occupying nine breves to bring in the cadence on the pitch C.

It would be wrong to call this word-painting. After all, precisely the same notes are used later for different text: first “che pena è quest’amare”, then “vide ch’io mor’ tuto hora” (with “morire” again in the peak phrase), and “per questa iudea”. These techniques appear in Ciconia’s last songs, which are all in ballata form with all the music serving for two different texts; earlier in life, before he started evolving this passionate style, he preferred the madrigal, a form in which it is in fact easier to have music designed for only a single text. But in these late works Ciconia just uses sequence and repetition to milk every possible ounce of expressivity out of his text, whatever that text may have been. True word-painting in music is not only very rare but often rather embarrassing. There is very little of that in Ciconia.

¹ See my earlier discussion: Ciconia’s Last Songs and their Milieu. In: Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition. Ed. Philippe Vendrix. Turnhout 2003, pp. 107-130, of which the present essay is in many ways a continuation. In some other ways, it is a continuation of another essay, Late Survival of the 15th-century Song Repertoire. In: Sine musica nulla disciplina. Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin. Ed. Franco Bernabei and Antonio Lovato. Padova 2006, pp. 213-220.

² The Works of Johannes Ciconia. Ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark. Monaco 1985 (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24), pp. 144-146.

Reinhard Strohm used *O rosa bella* to illustrate Ciconia's work in his book *The Rise of European Music*; and he closed his chapter on "The lateral traditions" by saying: "Such dramatic presentation of the words surpasses, in my opinion, most of the merely competent word-setting in fifteenth-century Italian song, and instead looks forward to the Renaissance madrigal."³ I would question his view that the texting in so much other Italian song is "merely competent"; but that is not really the point. The main thing is that the style Ciconia used here was fairly easily imitated but seems to have made no impact whatsoever; and that seems perplexing because the importance of Ciconia – as first properly recognised by Heinrich Besseler – is that he appears in more sources than any composer of his time apart from Antonio Zacara da Teramo⁴. How can his work have been ignored in this way?

The techniques used in *O rosa bella* also appear in Ciconia's *Ligiadra donna*, his *Merce o morte* and in two other pieces that are almost certainly by him – namely *Fugir non posso* and *O bella rosa o perla angelicata*. But beyond that they can scarcely be found. Nino Pirrotta, in 1984, drew attention to some small details of the style in the songs of Rosso, of Prepositus Brixensis and of Bartolomeo da Bologna⁵. But the songs he mentions are all within ten years of Ciconia's death and all treat the style far more gently than Ciconia had done. Also published in 1984 were the articles of Dorothea Baumann and Agostino Ziino on more or less the same topic⁶. All three scholars had their different approaches to the question. But all agreed that the style more or less began with Ciconia and that it died with him, albeit with some very light echoes in the decade after his death.

One could say the same about another highly distinctive part of Ciconia's output, the "Italian" motet style with a freely invented tenor, with no proportional treatment and with texting that emphasises the meaning and individuality of the words. This had its precursors reaching back to quite early in the four-

³ Reinhard Strohm: *The Rise of European Music*, 1380-1500. Cambridge 1993, p. 105, at the end of his extended discussion of *O rosa bella*, pp. 103-105.

⁴ Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark use thirty sources for their edition of Ciconia, see Bent/Hallmark (1985).

⁵ Nino Pirrotta: *Echi di arie veneziane del primo quattrocento*. In: *Interpretazioni veneziane e studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*. Ed. David Rosand. Venice 1984, pp. 99-108.

⁶ Dorothea Baumann: *Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und des frühen Quattrocento*. In: *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher. Kassel 1984, pp. 77-90; Agostino Ziino: *Ripetizioni di sillabe e parole nella musica profana italiana del Trecento e del primo Quattrocento: proposte di classificazione e prime riflessioni*. In: Günther/Finscher (1984), pp. 93-119.

teenth century, but it found its full flowering in Ciconia and seems also to have disappeared within ten years of his death⁷.

As concerns later sources of Ciconia, the picture is impressive: forty-eight copies of his music in sources from long after his death. Most of what we know of Ciconia's mass music and motets is in the Bologna manuscript Q15, copied over ten years after he died. From a quarter of a century after he died over twenty of his works were newly copied into manuscripts such as the Oxford *Canonicci* manuscript and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216.

Any attempt at judging the influence of an earlier composer is obviously fraught with difficulties. On the other hand, the matter of Ciconia does look special: for a few years at the beginning of the fifteenth century there were astonishing breakthroughs in style and particularly in expressivity. And then something happened. But what and why?

One way forward is to look at the case of the man so often seen alongside Ciconia, namely Antonio Zacara da Teramo. Zacara may have been born some fifteen years earlier than Ciconia; but the two composers appear to have become prominent at about the same time, shortly before 1400; and Zacara died in about 1416, perhaps five years after Ciconia⁸. As the output of Zacara has come increasingly into focus over the past thirty years, the two composers have needed to be seen increasingly together. They may be startlingly different composers, but the distribution of their music has much in common. The pattern of late sources for Zacara's music is in many ways similar to that for Ciconia.

For both composers the case of Bologna Q15 is rather special. It plainly tries to collect – among much else – all the sacred music of both recently deceased composers. There are of course plenty of comparable situations in the history of music. Most of what we know about the Italian Trecento composers comes from the Squarcialupi Codex, currently dated around 1412 – fifteen years after the death of Landini and perhaps forty after the deaths of some other composers found there. Most of what we know about Ockeghem's mass music is from the Chigi Codex, long thought to have been compiled almost immediately on his death but now – we seem to agree – probably from about eight years after he died. All three seem to be attempts to gather all the music before it is lost. They are in that sense archival rather than necessarily a witness of musical activity. So the special case of Bologna Q15 in relation to Ciconia and Zacara means that

⁷ The genre of the “Italian” motet is outlined in Margaret Bent: The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet. In: *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento* 6: Atti del congresso internazionale Certaldo 1984. Ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia. Certaldo 1992, pp. 85-125.

⁸ The latest summary of Zacara's achievement is in Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo. Ed. Francesco Zimei. Lucca 2004.

it unnecessarily skews the picture that I am trying to draw about their impact and influence on later generations. It is much better simply to leave them out of consideration. So Table 1 lists the music of Ciconia and Zacara in sources later than Bologna Q15:

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917: 1420s	Ciconia	<i>Ligiadra donna</i> <i>Merçe o morte</i>
	Zacara	<i>Rosetta che non canbi may colore</i> <i>Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4379, part II (ff. 43-60): ca. 1430	Ciconia	<i>Ligiadra donna</i> (anon.) <i>O rosa bella</i> (anon.) <i>Dolçe Fortuna</i> (anon.)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4379, part III (ff. 61-65: tenor partbook): ca. 1430	Ciconia	<i>Con lagrime bagnandomè nel viso</i> (anon.) <i>Fugir non posso</i> (anon.)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. misc. 213: ca. 1430	Ciconia	Gloria 'Spiritus et alme' [no.5] (unicum) Gloria [no.8] <i>O felix templum</i> <i>Ut te per omnes / Ingens alumnus Padue</i>
	Zacara	<i>Nuda non era, preso altro vestito</i> (unicum)
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, F.I.378 (St Petersburg): 1425-34	Ciconia	Gloria [no.3] Credo [no.4] Gloria 'Suscipe trinitas' Gloria [no.8]
	Zacara	Gloria troped 'Gloria laus honor' and paired Credo Gloria 'Ad ongni vento' Gloria 'Anglicana' Gloria (anon. suggested by Layton and Günther as pair for) Credo 'Factorem'
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, III.8054 (formerly Krasinski 52): 1425-34	Ciconia	Gloria [no.3] Credo [no.4] Gloria 'Suscipe trinitas' Gloria [no.8]
	Zacara	Gloria 'Ad ongni vento' Credo 'Factorem'

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216: 1430s	Ciconia	<i>O virum / O lux / O beatae Nicholae Merce o morte O bella rosa o perla angelicata Fugir non posso</i>
	Zacara	Gloria 'Micinella' Gloria ['du vilage'] ascribed to Nicolaus de Capoa <i>Deduto sey a qual che may non fusti</i>
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1411: 1440s	Ciconia	<i>O rosa bella</i> (only ascribed copy)
St Emmeram (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14274): 1440s	Zacara	Gloria troped 'Gloria laus honor' Gloria ['du vilage'] ascribed to Bosquet
Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, 87 (now 1374): 1440s	Ciconia	Gloria and Credo [nos.1-2] (anon.)
	Zacara	Credo 'du vilage'
Lochamer Liederbuch (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. 40613): 1440s	Ciconia	<i>Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso</i> (anon.)
Buxheim keyboard manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 352b): ca. 1460	Ciconia	<i>Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso</i> (anon.: 4 versions)

After Bologna Q15 Zacara appears in only seventeen later copies, whereas Ciconia appears in thirty-one, almost twice as many. Ciconia gains partly because of the later career of *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso*, which was intabulated in the Lochamer Liederbuch as well as four times in the Buxheim keyboard manuscript – thereby becoming the earliest polyphony in a source remarkable for its inclusion of old music.

Ciconia gains a little by having more of his secular music represented in the later sources. That should be no particular surprise, because the secular music of Zacara is either apparently very early (that is, the material in the Squarcialupi codex) or extremely odd, with incomprehensible texts that must have had very local significance when they were composed.

But perhaps this is all easier to see critically if we turn to two other cases where the picture looks a little odd. The first of these is John Dunstable, repeatedly cited as the most influential composer of his generation. It is almost true to say that not a note of his music survives in sources from after his death. There is of course the large Modena choirbook, Alpha X 1 11, compiled almost exactly at the time of his death and including almost every motet known by him; but that falls into precisely the same category as Bologna Q15 for Ciconia and

Zacara. The main difference is that all those Dunstable motets must have been thirty years old when they were copied into the Modena choirbook, which thereby reflects a very special kind of historicism. In that respect, the picture of Dunstable seems different from those of Ciconia and Zacara.

Plenty of later sources contain the setting of *O rosa bella* that is ascribed in one source to Dunstable; but it now seems agreed that this is by the younger composer John Bedyngham⁹. The Buxheim keyboard manuscript contains intabulations of *Puis que m'amour* and *Sub tuam protectionem*; this was less than ten years after Dunstable's death, but it again reflects ways in which Buxheim is special.

This is the moment just to stop and focus briefly on Buxheim as a witness of repertory. It is the only major source of keyboard music from the fifteenth century, apart from the Faenza codex of forty years earlier. What is striking is that both manuscripts contain a much wider chronological spread of repertory than comparable staff-notation sources. That is for a very good reason, I suggest, namely that the music needed rewriting in a different form. For the main repertory the older sources could serve, often carefully written on parchment and as usable as they ever were for those who could still read the old notation. And it seems clear enough that most serious musicians could indeed read it, since the essence of notation had not changed much. In this context it is relevant to recall that two of the Machaut manuscripts were copied some fifty years after he had died – namely the ones at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and at the Pepys Library in Cambridge¹⁰. Quite why the Machaut manuscripts were copied so late is a different topic; but they were plainly both usable and wanted in the 1420s. And the point of this digression is to suggest that the place of Ciconia in the Buxheim manuscript offers a different kind of information. Earlier pieces could remain in the normal repertory without being recopied. But if they were to be played on keyboard they needed to be transcribed, arranged and copied anew. So there is a distinct possibility that something like the Buxheim keyboard collection gives a better view of the active musical repertory than do the more standard mensural sources.

Slightly later, a similar kind of information about active repertory comes from the *cantasi come lauda* in Italy¹¹. These new poems are to be sung to the

⁹ At least, I hope this is agreed. I laid out the case at length in Dunstable, Bedyngham and *O rosa bella*. In: *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994), pp. 287-305.

¹⁰ For details and dates, see Lawrence Earp: *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. New York and London 1995, pp. 101-103.

¹¹ An outline of the relevant points here is in Giulio Cattin: 'Contrafacta' internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane. In: Günther/Finscher (1984), pp. 411-442.

music of songs named in the sources; and the chronological spread of songs named there is far greater than the chronological spread of any chansonnier from those years. It seems impossible to think that people would write and reproduce poems based on songs that were not in the active repertory, so I conclude that the active repertory stretched back far longer in time than most musical sources appear to show. Rephrasing that, I suggest that musical sources often had a much longer active life than one might expect. After all, if in today's throwaway culture I can play Beethoven and Mozart from copies I have owned for fifty years, it seems incomprehensible that the carefully handcopied music of the fifteenth century should have been ignored and forgotten after a decade. Plenty of those manuscripts are on parchment that can withstand years of use. It makes no sense at all to think of the musical culture of the fifteenth century as one in which pieces were instantly forgotten. When in 1477 Tinctoris remarked that nothing over forty years old was considered worth hearing, he was making an outrageous and novel statement.

Let us now return to Dunstable, having accepted the important evidential value of the three intabulations in Buxheim. Apart from that, the only known late copy of anything by Dunstable is in the King Henry VIII book, British Library, Add. Ms. 31922, copied some seventy years after Dunstable died. This contains one tiny piece, the otherwise unknown *Nesciens mater*. That is all. Or rather, that is almost all. The index of the Eton Choirbook, from around 1500, says that it once included a piece by Dunstable, his apparently lost *Gaude flore virginali* in five voices. But it is intriguing that this grand collection of all that was best in English music from the second half of the fifteenth century should have contained only one work by the most famous English composer of all. The most famous English composer seems to have disappeared almost instantly. But there are plenty of other ways of seeing the situation. One is to note that most of Dunstable's music seems to have been composed long before his death, so those late copies that we do have are themselves remarkable evidence to the longevity of his influence. Another is to remember that almost all English polyphonic sources of the fifteenth century are lost: most of Dunstable's music is known only from continental sources anyway. And another is to accept that earlier sources would have been used.

The other composer who can be taken for comparison is Josquin des Prez, a century later than Ciconia but with slightly clearer patterns that can help illuminate the case of Ciconia. In Lyons, Jacques Moderne started printing music in 1532, just ten years after Josquin's death: between then and the end of his career twenty-five years later he never printed a note that has ever been associated with Josquin. Nor did he print anything by Josquin's generation apart from three

works of Jean Mouton, two of them not known from any other source, that is, presumably newly printed at the time.

Almost the same pattern emerges from the rather larger output of Pierre Attaingnant in Paris. In 1550, right at the end of his life – apparently on the back of a successful volume printed by Tilman Susato in Antwerp – Attaingnant printed one or possibly two collections devoted to Josquin: one of songs, the other (now lost) apparently of motets. Before that, in a quarter century and in 160 publications, Attaingnant ascribed only two works to Josquin, the five-voice *Salve regina* and *Virgo salutiferi*. In addition he printed *Mille regretz*, but credited it to one J. le Maire.

Attaingnant was almost as extreme as Moderne in his apparent rejection of the past. At one time it looked as though Attaingnant later printed five chansons by Pierre de la Rue; but Honey Meconi has convincingly shown that they were all almost certainly by the younger man Robert de la Rue, master of the choir-boys at Meaux in 1533¹². He did print two works of Brumel in his first ever motet collection (ca. 1529). In 1531 he printed keyboard intabulations of Brumel, Obrecht, Prioris and Compere, but these intabulations must fall into the same category as those in the Buxheim keyboard manuscript, needed because the intabulations were new.

So the only composer of Josquin's generation printed at all often by Attaingnant was Jean Mouton, of whom he seems to have printed about twenty works. The reason for Mouton's special place here must be explored when researchers eventually give Mouton the attention he merits. It may simply be that he was the only major composer of his generation to have served for many years at the French royal court, though I doubt it. In the meantime, though, two passing remarks of possible relevance: first, despite the apparently impregnable biographical record going back to the 1440s, Mouton appears in no musical source before 1501, and there is something decidedly fishy about his life; second, the last Attaingnant print containing any Mouton is from 1534, after which Mouton seems to have been similarly ignored.

This, of course, is all in decided contrast with the situation of Josquin among the German printers of the same time. For them, perhaps encouraged by Martin Luther's enthusiasm for his music, the very presence of Josquin seems to have given a musical collection a respectability, a cultural continuity that was reassuring in the religious and political upheavals in that unhappy country.

¹² Honey Meconi: French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity. In: *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*. Ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings. Warren 1997, pp. 187-213.

But I would like to suggest a different scenario. This is that the earlier French music existed in earlier French sources, almost all of which are now lost. There is after all no single surviving French manuscript of masses or motets from the second half of the fifteenth century. (And there are only two from the Franco-Flemish borderlands.) Those manuscripts must have existed. Attaingnant's Josquin prints of 1550 and the even later French prints devoted to the motets of Mouton, Richafort and others came at a time when one could expect the earlier manuscripts to have been falling apart. The printing of Josquin in German sources from 1520 onwards looks very much like evidence that his work was only sparsely represented in earlier German sources.

The point of these reflections is to suggest that the pattern of later sources is not at all easy to evaluate. Works can have disappeared from the new sources but still be part of the active performing repertory. They can obviously be part of the active performing repertory without having any direct impact on the style of newly composed works. Returning to the list of thirty-one later copies of works by Ciconia, the conclusions are far from obvious. The intabulations at the bottom of the list do seem to me evidence – if only tentative evidence – that *Con lagrime* had a continued important place in the repertory. The copies in the two Warsaw manuscripts probably say only that the pieces had not previously been part of the repertory in Poland and were being copied there for the first time; that is, they are more likely to be evidence that Ciconia, like Zacara, was slow in becoming known in Poland, not that either had an exceptional posthumous career there. For the rest, the later copies may be an indication of Ciconia's continued favour, but so indirect that they need to be used with tremendous caution.

Returning, then, to the initial question, the non-influence of Ciconia's late song style begins to look rather different from what I, at least, had originally thought. Take the case of *O rosa bella*. There survive only two sources for this lovely song, one copied twenty years, the other some thirty-five years after his death. The latter copy may have its own rationale, since it appears as by far the earliest piece in a manuscript that happens to be the earliest known source for the other setting of *O rosa bella*, the famous setting once thought to be by Dunstable but now agreed to be by Bedyngham. As though to provide the context, then, the copyist included Ciconia's piece; but I see no reason to think that this was a particularly historical gesture. The piece could well have been in the active repertory at the time.

That the post-Q15 sources include seventeen different pieces of Ciconia does indeed seem to me to suggest that he continued to be in favour. That they contain all of the songs in what I call his “late style” seems particularly significant – bearing in mind that the list here begins about fifteen years after Ciconia's

death. Bologna 2216 has copies of three of these pieces done a quarter of a century after his death.

Returning to the matter of Ciconia's late song style, however, I think there may be other explanations. The one respect in which the songs of the years after 1420 differ strikingly from those of previous generations is that the music directly reflects the form of the poem. If a fifteenth-century song survives in a source without its text you can almost always guess the form of that text, down to the detail of line-length – something that is impossible with either French or Italian repertoires of the fourteenth century. This is of course a symptom of one of those repeated cyclic developments in the history of music. But once musicians agree that the poem is of central importance to a song and that the form is of central importance to the identity of the poem, then text repetition becomes impossible. It goes straight out of fashion. When that happened is not clear, but the indications are that the change took place really rather suddenly in the years between 1410 and 1420. A lot of changes seem to have happened in that decade; but many of them can be reduced to that changed view of the importance of poetic form to a song.

Ciconia's late songs stayed in repertory, perhaps for half a century after his death in 1412. At the same time their style shows no impact on younger composers, who may have loved the music but had no interest in emulating it. Modes and preferences had moved on.

TWO EQUAL VOICES: A FRENCH SONG REPERTORY WITH MUSIC FOR TWO MORE WORKS OF OSWALD VON WOLKENSTEIN

Lorenz Welker kindly allowed me to see the typescript of his paper just as I was embarking on an attempt to list the polyphonic song repertory of the years 1415–80. With the startling knowledge that some of Oswald's music originated as late as 1420, my ear was obviously alert for more such pieces. Sure enough two additional polyphonic songs by Oswald turned out to have music taken from the French repertory of the early fifteenth century. They are *Sag an gesellschaft/Von rechter lieb kraft* and *Kom liebster man*.

They belong to a genre that is itself of some interest. The vast majority of French polyphonic song is in three voices from the middle of the fourteenth century until around 1500. But in the first thirty years of the fifteenth century there is a substantial number of two-voice songs. Several of these may merely seem to be in two voices because the contratenor line happens to be missing in the surviving source; and in general the discantus and tenor in this repertory make a complete contrapuntal whole between themselves, irrespective of what other voices may be present. Similarly, there are songs with a contratenor line explicitly ascribed to a separate composer; and it is usually impossible to decide whether the new contratenor is an addition or a replacement. But around fifty songs from the first half of the century appear in two voices in a context that gives reasonable grounds for assuming that the song was considered acceptable in such a form. That is something like ten per cent of the known repertory for those years, and enough to suggest that two-voice songs can profitably be considered as an independent phenomenon.

About half of these pieces have the two voices deployed in the

expected manner, that is, with the discantus line occupying a range about a fifth higher than the tenor and with the tenor in somewhat longer note-values than the more florid discantus. In short, they relate to one another precisely as in most three-voice songs of this repertory. But the remainder – which are the main subject of this note – are for two equal voices that occupy the same range with constantly intertwining lines. Their different texture brings with it an entirely different musical style; characteristically the voices take turns in forming the lower line of a cadential pattern. The twenty-six pieces listed in Tables 1, 5 and 6 seem to constitute a musical genre in their own right. The earliest are probably the two by Ciconia, which show the form in what is perhaps rather less than the full-dress style; they may just date from as early as the 1390s. The last manuscript to contain a piece in this style is the early Escorial chansonnier, which cannot be later than about 1440. But it seems likely that they all in fact belong to a somewhat smaller time-span, from about 1400 to 1425: certainly there could be some significance in the lack of any song by Binchois or Dufay among these works. Nevertheless the range of sources and particularly of named composers represented suggests that the style was widely dispersed. Matteo da Perugia, Johannes Cesaris, Jacobus Vide, Johannes Ciconia and Bartolomeo Bruolo seem to represent five entirely different strands in the music of the early fifteenth century; if we add to these that there are two examples in the French-Cypriot repertory, two in Italian, one in English, and one in that most Burgundian of all manuscripts, the earlier Escorial chansonnier, we have a strong case for thinking that the genre was no mere local phenomenon. And it should be no surprise that Oswald von Wolkenstein, that astonishing Autolycus of a musician, should also have been fascinated by the genre.

A first sub-category of this genre has a separate text for each voice. They are listed in Table 1.¹ Even in this small group of pieces the

¹ Abbreviations used are as follows:

CMM: *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (American Institute of Musicology)

DTO 18: J. Schatz and O. Koller, eds., *Oswald von Wolkenstein: geistliche und weltliche Lieder*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 18, Jg. ix/1 (Vienna, 1902, R1959)

PMFC: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, Monaco)

R4:10, etc.: a rondeau with a four-line stanza and lines of ten syllables.

V5/4:10, etc.: a virelai with a five-line refrain, four-line *piedi* and lines of ten syllables.

Manuscript call-numbers are preceded by their libraries expressed in the sigla used in RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales).

Table 1 *Songs for two equal voices with two texts*

Alé vous en de moy merancolie/ Je pren congé de vous merancolie
F-Pn n. a. fr. 4917, fols. 1 ^v –2; anonymous. Both poems R4:10; one stanza of each, with consecutive texting. Published herewith, p. 231.
A-Wn 2777, fols. 23 ^v –24, and A-Iu Wolkenstein MS, fol. 26 ^v ; texted ‘Von rechter lieb kraft/ Sag an geselleschaft’, three stanzas of each, with consecutive texting. Ed. DTO 18, no. 109, and I. Pelnar, <i>Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein: Edition</i> (Tutzing, 1981), no. 27.
Ce rondelet je vous envoye/ Le dieu d'amours si vous l'otroye
GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 35; ‘Rezon’. Both poems have form aabb:8; one stanza of each. Ed. CMM 11/2, p. 105.
Je ne vous ose regarder/ Laysiés Dangier Paour aler
GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 92; anonymous. Both poems R4:8; one stanza of each. Woman speaks in 1st text; 2nd is man's reply. Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 39.
Par tous lez alans de par la/ Cheluy qui vous remerchira
E-E v.iii.24, fols. 3 ^v –4; anonymous. Both poems R4:8 (with same rhyme scheme); both complete, with consecutive texting. Ed. CMM 77, p. 3.
Par vous m'estuet languir et soupirer/ Soyés par moy mon amy gracieux
I-MOe a. M.5.24, fol. 10; ‘idem’ [=Matheus de Perusio]. Both poems R4:10; both complete, with confused texting – part simultaneous, part consecutive – perhaps because of the copying technique of the manuscript. Man speaks in 1st text; 2nd is woman's reply. Ed. CMM 53/1, no. 65.
Pour la doulour l'annoy le grief martire/ Qui dolente n'aura veu en sa vi
GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 84 ^v ; ‘Johannes cesaris’. Both poems R4:10; two stanzas of each. Woman speaks in both voices. Ed. CMM 11/1, p. 19.
Puisqu'Amours voelt que soie vo servant/ Mercie amours quant tu as le savoir
I-Sc L.v.36, fol. 26 ^v (described in RISM as two separate pieces); anonymous. Both poems R4:10; both complete. Man speaks in 1st text; woman in 2nd. Unpublished in two-voice form.
Puis qu'il vous plet mon present retenir/ Pour ton present qui me fait resjouir
GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 83; anonymous. Both poems R4:10; both complete, with consecutive texting. Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 1.

inclusion of works by Cesaris, Vide and Matteo da Perugia as well as a work in the earlier Escorial chansonnier suggests that we are dealing with a well-distributed style.

Since *Alé vous en*, the song used for Oswald's contrafactum, is one of only two unpublished pieces in this group, it is worth presenting the music here in Example 1. Oswald's version, which has been published several times,² gives the music a fifth lower and with no key-signature; its sound can therefore be reconstructed from the present edition by imagining a key-signature of one sharp rather than one flat, though an inventive application of *musica ficta* to both versions can make the differences less startling than they seem at first sight. Beyond that, both sources of Oswald's version contain musical corruptions of various kinds. Among them there are a few places where the readings suggest that Oswald was using a slightly different version of the music which at one point even omits a whole bar; those variants are noted in Example 1. In general, although one small correction can be made on the basis of the Oswald sources, the musical readings of the Paris manuscript tend to be reliable, and Lorenz Welker's analysis of the different readings of Fontaine's *A son plaisir* makes it seem likely that in this case too Oswald had access to an altered version of the music rather than necessarily making those changes himself.

Like several other songs in the genre this one survives with only the refrain stanza for each rondeau, though there is every reason to suppose that it originally had a full rondeau for each text.³ Like the original, Oswald's version has a different text for each voice; and – as is normal in his contrafacta – the *forme fixe* of the original is replaced by a straightforward strophic poem of three stanzas. It is surely appropriate to note that Oswald's two poems are written as though spoken by a woman and a man – a pattern that occurs in some other French songs of this genre. But there is one essential difference. In the French genre it is normal for the two texts to have the same metre but different rhymes (which are of course retained throughout the

² DTO 18, no. 109. J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460* (Leipzig, 1904), no. 75. I. Pelnar, *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein: Edition*, Münchener Editionen zur Musikgeschichte, 2 (Tutzing, 1981), no. 27.

³ This is a tricky issue, since several writers have suggested that 'rondeau refrains' with no continuation in the musical sources may never have had any further text. Against their view are two main considerations: that concordant sources quite often complete the poem; and that poetic sources of the fifteenth century betray no hint of a genre of such 'rondeau refrains'.

Two equal voices

Example 1

1 A - lé vous en de moy, me - ran - co - li - e,
 (Je) Je pren congé de

5 Fu - iés vous en, trop

vous, me - ran - co - li - e,

10 [vous] a - vés es - té; Ne plus quier ve - nir

15 o[u] vous de - mou - rez;

20 omitted in Oswald's version

N'a - ten - dés pas le prin - temps ou es -
 - té

25 Quant ne sa - vés, hors de doul - cour get -
 Pour en gue - rir plus fort [ma] ma-la - die.
 - tex Ceulz

30 35 quuy o[u] vous font jo - nes mieux le vie.

poem when a continuation survives). In Oswald's three-stanza poems, each stanza has its own rhyme scheme but each pair of simultaneously sung stanzas has the same set of rhymes.

Both versions are arranged so that one voice has text while the other sings a melisma – a scheme found in only two other double-texted songs and apparently in none of the single-text ones. Whereas the French poems each have four ten-syllable lines, Oswald's have ten lines averaging five syllables each. For the most part he simply puts two of his five-syllable lines where the French version has one ten-syllable line; but that would cope with only eight lines, and to fit in the other two lines he condenses things somewhat at the end of the *prima pars*. A comparison of the two textings appears in Table 2.

The comparison points some unusual features in the original French song. Its basic plan is simple. For the first two phrases the texted line is above the untexted one; for the next two, bringing us to the midpoint cadence, the texted line is for the most part lower; and in the second half the texted material starts lower, moves into the upper position and finally occupies the bottom range again. So too, there is an easily assimilated design to the opening phrases, with the texted line of bars 1–2 echoed and expanded in the texted line of bars 3–6, which raises the peak note from A to B_b and thus prepares for the first climax on the high C. But beyond that the scheme is less easy to understand. In particular, the rise to the high C which appears four times – two for each voice – is only once texted (in bars 28–9), though it once appears at the end of a texted section (bars 16–17), whereas Oswald's version is more methodical in using that line to point a texted phrase. Moreover, in both versions the dissonant upper figure in bar 21 is textless but returns with text in bar 30, where it is consonant. Briefly, although it is easy to see and hear the force of the work purely as a piece of music, especially the splendidly managed evolution of the returns from the high C, neither texting seems to give the best value to the musical structure. One might be inclined to wonder whether either is the original texting, were it not for the existence of a clear tradition of double-texted songs in the French repertory and for a certain credibility in the Paris manuscript that is our only source for the French version.

The French original for the other song, Oswald's *Kom liebster man*, is the rondeau *Venés oir vrais amoureus* in a single leaf that has received

Table 2

Bars	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Fr D lines	1	_____	[_____	2	_____	[_____]
Fr T lines		[	]	1	_____	[_____]	
Os D lines	1	2	_____	[	_____	]3	4	_____	[	_____	]5	6	_____	XXX	6	_____]	
Os T lines		[	]	1	2	_____	[	_____	]3	4	_____	[	_____	]XX5	6	_____]	

Bars	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
Fr D lines	3	_____	[	_____	]	4	_____	[_____]
Fr T lines		[	_____	]	3	_____	[	_____	]4	_____]
Os D line	7	_____	8	_____	[	_____	]	9	_____	10	_____	[	_____	]	9	_____	10	_____
Os T lines		[	_____	]	7	8	_____	[	_____	]	9	_____	10	_____]

only scant attention,⁴ though it is extremely important as one of the very few French song sources of its generation likely to have been copied in France rather than northern Italy.⁵ Its contents are listed in Table 3.

Venés oir has an additional distinction. Its opening line was included in the quodlibet poem *Mon seul plaisir*, probably from the 1460s.⁶ *Une foys avant que morir* is there too, of course; but the numerous intabulations of that song had already attested to its

⁴ The available literature, confined to passing mentions, is listed in C. Hamm and H. Kellman, eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, in, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1 (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 34–5.

⁵ The only other northern sources of French song from the first half of the century are E-E v.iii.24 and the fragment D-Mbs cod. gall. 902. The remainder were copied in Italy or in German-speaking lands, with the possible exception of E-MO 823 in which, however, the only visible watermark seems to be Italian, see M^a Carmen Gómez, ‘El manuscrito 823 de Montserrat (Biblioteca del monasterio)’, *Musica Disciplina*, 36 (1982), pp. 39–93, on p. 49.

⁶ The complete poem appears in three main sources. The most easily accessible is in *Le jardin de plaisir et fleur de rhetorique* (Paris, [1501?]), fol. 62 (no. 18), and subsequent editions, though in this source the second stanza is interchanged with the fourth and the relevant line reads ‘Vueillez oyr tous amoureux’. The best source for the poem would seem to be in F-Pn fr. 12744, no. 73, ed. G. Paris, *Chansons du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1875), p. 71, where the line reads ‘Venez ouyr, vrais amoureulx’. It also appears in *S’ensuivent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles* (Paris, [c. 1512–25]), edited from the unique copy, F-Pn Rés. Vm. 112, in B. Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, 1 (London, 1971), p. 49, where the line reads ‘Venez ouyr, vrays amoureux’; further reprints of this version are summarised in Jeffery, *Chanson Verse*, II (London, 1976), p. 281. The manuscripts containing the four-voice setting by Ninot Le Petit never have more than the first stanza of the poem. I propose a date in the

Table 3 *Contents of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n. a. fr. 10660, fols. 47–47^r*

1. fol. 47: *Se je ne suy reconforté*, 2vv, R5:8, full poem [C], only discantus texted; unique.
2. fol. 47: *Une foys avant que morir*, 2vv, R5:8, full poem [C], only discantus texted; also (3vv) in GB–Lbm Cotton Titus A.xxvi, fols. 4^v–5 (only one stanza of text), intabulated in Buxheimer Orgelbuch nos. 37, 51, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93 and 217, as well as Lochamer Liederbuch, p. 70.
3. fol. 47^v: *Ma belle dame je vous pri* [Dufay], R5:8, only one stanza of text and only discantus line of music, as remainder were presumably on the facing recto [O]; also in GB–Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 139^v (no. 323), ed. CMM 1/6, no. 31.
4. fol. 47^v: *Venés oir vrais amoureus*, 2vv, R4:8, full poem [C], both voices texted; published herewith, p. 237; music also in A–Iu Wolkenstein MS, fol. 43, texted 'Kom liebster man'.

continued fame in the second half of the century. In the case of *Venés oir*, this citation tells us something new and important. Taken together with Oswald's use of the music, it suggests that the original song had considerably more success than its single fragmentary and almost illegible source might lead us to suppose.

Given that the fragment contains Dufay's *Ma belle dame je vous pri*, it probably dates from the 1420s but may be as late as 1430, which is significant in that Oswald's version appears in the last section of the Innsbruck manuscript, the section that Welker has now shown is likely to date from some time after 1432. A significant feature of this contrafactum is that Oswald appears to have made no musical changes whatsoever apart from subdividing a few notes to make room for his more extended text:⁷ his musical source contains just one obvious error in the lower voice at bar 15; and it provides an improved reading in the discantus at the last two notes of bar 25. Here the Paris fragment has G and F which, apart from producing a dissonance on the last note, would leave the first note of bar 5 as the only high A in the piece. Without the return of that peak note towards the end, and its gradual resolution down to the final F, the piece would have been strangely unbalanced.

1460s for the poem because all the identified songs cited appear in sources from the 1460s or earlier; that it cites not a single song by Hayne van Ghizeghem or Busnois, for example, makes a date after about 1470 virtually impossible.

⁷ It is published in DTO 18, no. 100, and Pelnar, *op. cit.*, no. 34.

The French song (Example 2) is highly formalised, and in some ways one of the most carefully honed works of its generation. Almost every bar has the prevailing major prolation (6/8 in this transcription) in one voice against a coloration figure in the other; and the pattern is regularly exchanged from bar to bar. Unison imitation opens each line of the text except for the last, where the imitation is much freer and at the fifth. Tight control is evident in the placing of peak pitches: F and G alternate, with the high A presented once at bar 5 and again – at the point where it could begin to seem that there has been too much emphasis on the high G – in bar 25.

A few words of the French rondeau are illegible in the heavily rubbed Paris fragment, though the complete poem is unquestionably present, with a stanza of four eight-syllable lines. Again, Oswald has a straight strophic poem of three stanzas, with a fairly complex scheme of thirteen short lines, if one accepts the design implied by Schatz and displayed in Pelnar's edition of the music (though not in her edition of the text).⁸ It has a rhyme scheme: a4 a6 a4/ b4 b6/ c4 c2 c6/ d8 d7 d4/ e4 e8; and it is underlaid only to the tenor. The three stanzas of his seduction poem are as though spoken by the woman, the man, and the woman again. As usual, they have no connection with the welcome to spring of the French poem except in that both poems begin with the word 'Come'. Table 4 shows how Oswald adapted his French original, characteristically throwing in three short lines in the melismatic prelude before the French text begins. The remaining text of *Venés oir* is as follows. (I would like to record my thanks to Dr Brian Jeffery for sharing his views on the reading of this fragment.)

En avril, en may son sy g[eus],
Quant la belle branche est florie;

Venés oir vrais amoureux,
[Venés oir je vous supplye].

Pour faire doel as envieux,
[illegible line]
Pour l'amoureux qui a amye
Faire amer d'un cuer gratieux.

[Venés oir etc.]

⁸ Pelnar, *op. cit.*, p. 169, runs the present lines 6 and 7 together as a single line, as does Karl Kurt Klein, ed., *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Tübingen, 1962), pp. 255–6, where in addition lines 11 and 12 are run together.

Two equal voices

Example 2

5

10

15

20

25

30

Ve-nés o-ir vrais a-mour-eus, Ve-nés o-

Ve-nés o-ir vrais a-mour-eus, Ve-

ir je vous sup-ply - e, Ve-

nés o-ir la me-lo-di - e

Dou doulx ros-me-lo-di - e

Dou doulx ros - si-gnol grati-

- si-gnol grati - eux.

- eux.

Note: bar 25, discantus, 2nd and 3rd notes G F in Paris MS; emended in accordance with the Wolkenstein manuscript.

Table 4

Bars	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Fr lines	[						]	1	_____	2	_____	[_____]	
Os lines	1a	2a	3a	4b	5b					6c	7c	8c				
Bars	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			
Fr Lines	3	_____			4	_____			[_____]			
Os lines	9d	10d			11d	12e	13e									

By way of conclusion, and to clarify the stylistic context of *Vénés oir*, Table 5 lists the surviving works in the genre of two equal voices with a single text. The eleven examples with French text include two from the Turin manuscript of the ‘French–Cypriot’ repertory; and in addition they add three further names – those of Ciconia, Vide and Bruolo – to those already associated with the genre. Among the four works with texts in other languages at least one – Ciconia’s *O Petre Christi discipule* – has always been considered a contrafactum and may well have originated with French text; that it is somewhat different in style from the known French examples of the genre may simply be a function of its slightly earlier composition at a time when the genre was not yet fully established.

Finally, Table 6 lists the three remaining French songs for two equal voices, works that are musically somewhat different from the rest in that their two voices are in strict canon throughout. This table excludes the canonic pieces among Oswald’s works, if only because their style and design are at some distance from the main genre under discussion here. It also omits the three-voice canons and *chaces* of the late fourteenth-century French repertory for similar reasons. In most ways the pieces in Table 6 belong more with those in Tables 1 and 5.

For most of the early fifteenth-century French song repertory – whether in two, three or four voices – the discantus and tenor occupy ranges separated by about a fifth. The contratenor will then be in the same range as the tenor; and the triplum, if there is one, will be in the same range as the discantus. The repertory of works for two equal voices stands therefore somewhat apart from the general run of surviving songs from that generation. But briefly to clarify its context

Table 5 *Songs for two equal voices, not canonic, with a single text*

Aler m'en veus en stragne partie

I-Pu 1115, fol. A^v; discantus only; 'Johannes'. Apparently V7/4:8, though text is corrupt and the tierce is missing.

I-Bc Q 15, fols. 266^v–267, texted 'O beatum incendium' in both voices; 'Jociconie'.

Ed. CMM 53/1, no. 13, and PMFC 24, no. 22 and 44

Esperance mi fait vivre en doulour

GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 115^v; anonymous. R4:10; complete poem; both voices texted.

Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 19.

Et c'est assés pour m'esjoir

GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 99; 'Jacobus vide'. R4:8; two stanzas; both voices texted.

I-Bc Q 15, fols. 233^v–234; 'Jacobus vide'. R4:8; two stanzas; both voices texted.

Ed. J. Marix, *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1937), p. 19.

Fait fut pour vous mettre en joie

A-VOR 380, fol. 87^v; anonymous. V5/2:7; complete poem but for tierce; both voices texted.

Ed. CMM 53/3, no. 195.

Il me convient guerpir ceste contree

GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 99 (with both voices written on a single stave); anonymous. V4/2:10; complete poem.

Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 61.

Mon vray desir est de tous jours penser

I-Bc Q 15, fols. 31^v–32; anonymous. R4:10; complete poem with acrostic 'Marguerite'; both voices texted.

Unpublished.

Orsus mon cuer vers ma dame t'enclinne

GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 84; anonymous. V4/2:10; complete poem; both voices texted.

Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 60.

Pour ce que je ne puis veir

GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 124^v; anonymous. R4:8; complete poem; both voices texted.

Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 26.

Puis que sans vous querons nostre plaisir

I-Tn J.11.9, fol. 149; anonymous. R4:10; complete poem; both voices texted.

Ed. CMM 21/4, no. 24.

Table 5 *Songs for two equal voices, not canonic, with a single text – continued*

Qui n'a le cœur rainpli de vraie joie	I-Tn J.ii.9, fol. 152v; anonymous. R4:10; complete poem; both voices texted. Ed. CMM 21/4, no. 39.
Venés oir vrais amoureus	F-Pn n. a. fr. 10660, fol. 47v; anonymous, R4:8; complete poem; both voices texted.
Published herewith, p. 237.	A-Iu Wolkenstein MS, fol. 43, texted 'Kom liebster man' Ed. DTO 18, no. 100, and I. Pelnar, <i>Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein: Edition</i> (Tutzing, 1981), no. 34.

Pieces with texts other than in French

O celestial lume agli ochi mei	GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 69v; 'Bartolomeus brolo'. R2:10; full poem; both voices texted.
Ed. CMM 11/5, p. 67.	
O Petre Christi disciple	I-Bc q 15, fols 259v–260; 'Jo. ciconie'. 4 quatrains; both voices texted.
Ed. PMFC 24, no. 23.	
O zentil madona mia	I-Bu 2216, pp. 100–1; anonymous. Ba4/2:27/11; full text; both voices texted.
Ed. PMFC 11, no. 61.	
Trew on wam ys al my tryst	GB-Cu Add. 5943, fol. 163; anonymous. 2 quatrains; lower voice texted.
Ed. E. J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison, <i>Medieval English Songs</i> (London, 1979), no. 25.	

a little further, there are certain other forms which bear on this genre. There is a substantial group of songs for two equal high voices over one lower voice, and this includes two particularly interesting fourteenth-century songs by Vaillant in which those upper voices make perfect counterpoint with themselves. Many motets of the early fifteenth century have introductory duos for two equal voices which intertwine in the same manner as the equal-voiced songs; and the same happens in several duo sections within mass movements. After the middle of the fifteenth century there is a stylistically different group of songs for two equal voices which normally take the

Table 6 *French songs for two equal canonic voices*

Casse moy je vois devant
I-TRn 87, fol. 91 ^v ; anonymous. R5:7; one stanza.
Ed. CMM 38, p. 2.
Combien que loing de vous soye
E-MO 823, no. 20; anonymous (fragmentary).
GB-Ob Can. misc. 213, fol. 84 ^v ; anonymous. R4:7; two stanzas.
Ed. CMM 11/4, p. 3.
Tres chir amy plus que devant
F-Pn n. a. fr. 4917, fol. 10; anonymous. R4:8; one stanza.
Unpublished.

form of one borrowed voice plus another newly-composed 'gimel' line, particularly in the pieces built on the discantus of *O rosa bella*. Finally, and perhaps of the greatest interest for the history of stylistic groupings within the secular song repertory, there is a long if relatively small tradition of songs for three equal voices, going back to Machaut and brilliantly exploited not only by Dufay but in later years by composers such as Busnois and Josquin.

The relatively small list of pieces in Tables 1, 5 and 6 therefore has wider implications. But it nevertheless represents a strong and highly individual stylistic tradition. It includes works ascribed to six composers of widely varied backgrounds; and it should be no surprise that the tradition was also interesting to the Austrian poet who shows himself fascinated by such a wide range of the available secular polyphonic repertory.



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Binchois and the Poets

There are many reasons why some people are moving away from the kind of musicology that gathers information, sorts it, probes it, and tries to understand it in its own terms. But one reason is that new details have a nasty way of turning up just too late to be included. And one reason for that is obvious: bibliographical aids are now good enough to make it quite easy to locate the directly relevant material. It is only when you have read the last proofs that you turn to other matters and happen on something that could or should have been included.

That was my fate with the newly published facsimile of the Bodleian Library manuscript Canon. misc. 213.¹ The material had been accumulating sporadically for almost twenty years, even if the actual writing took only eighteen months. I thought I had managed to assemble all the relevant information for understanding the manuscript, pruned out the unessentials, boiled it down to a tidy package. Then, at the point where no more changes were possible, I began picking up the threads of another long-term project and ordered a microfilm of a manuscript in Vienna that had been reported in 1925 as containing the text of a much later Binchois song, *Pour prison ne pour maladie*.² From published references, its contents appeared to be well known and mainly confined to longer poems of the kind not used by song composers. When it arrived it turned out to contain a substantial section of song texts, including three new ones for the Oxford manuscript which must now be added to the inventory.³ There is nothing here that would change any of the actual arguments in the introduction. Just a single sentence that might have been added. The more substantial matter of how this changes our understanding of Binchois was not relevant to that introduction; it is relevant here, and I shall return to it.

This chapter is a revision of the keynote speech given at the First International Conference on Gilles de Bins, *dit* Binchois, at the CUNY Graduate Center on 31 October and 1 November 1995.

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213, ed. David Fallows (Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

² Eugénie Droz and Arthur Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisir et fleur de rhétorique* (Société des Anciens Textes Français, 59; Paris 1910–25), ii: *Introduction et notes* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925), iii.

³ Nos. 99, 163, and 177; see Appendix.

But the first task of a keynote paper must be to observe the state of play. To some extent that is observed by implication in the whole structure of this conference; but a few words may still be in order.

First, the whole biographical picture of Binchois could benefit from much new work. To date, very little has been written about his life: the few pages of Jeanne Marix, the three pages of an important article by Ernest Closson, and the longest study so far, Manfred Schuler's discussion of certain details in his *exécution testamentaire*.⁴ In fact Binchois presents a marvellous topic for a biographical study, which falls into four main sections.

For his early years in Mons, most of the original documents were destroyed in 1940; but there is an enormous amount of information to be sifted from the many imposing publications of Léopold Devillers, from various sets of handwritten notes made by local antiquarians in the early years of this century, and from the scattered details that do happen to survive. Some avenues look particularly promising. First, it is plain that the Mons court of Guillaume IV of Hainault was a major cultural centre and that Jean de Bins, the composer's father, was an important figure at the court. There is plenty of material with which to flesh out those details. Second, one of the bizarre points to emerge from Devillers's collections of Mons charters is the number of them that were witnessed both by Jean de Bins and by Johannes Huberti—the man whose relationship with Dufay's unmarried mother has recently caused speculation.⁵ It seems entirely possible that the two great composers knew one another from a very early age. Third, I believe I managed to locate Binchois's great-grandfather among the archives in Mons: further exploration of that would offer the kind of background currently available for no other composer of the fifteenth century except Obrecht, as recently discovered by Rob Wegman.⁶ Fourth, the fascinating information that Binchois was first recorded as an organist at the church of Sainte-Waudru⁷ once again raises the question of what exactly organists did in the early fifteenth century; and it also raises thoughts about Binchois's position as the composer most often represented in the Buxheim keyboard manuscript. Now that most scholars have rejected the old notion that Buxheim represents Conrad von Paumann's personal repertory, and many have rejected the view that it began life in Nuremberg or Munich, it becomes pertinent to ask what exactly it does represent and whether any of the keyboard arrangements could have come from outside German lands.

For the next years of Binchois's life we have almost no clear information. What we do have, however, is greatly increased evidence for Binchois's association with English music. The story of his employment by the earl of Suffolk has long been known; and Walter Kemp has argued that the anonymous ballade *Je vous salue ma*

⁴ Bibliographical details on these and other secondary biographical materials mentioned below are itemized in my article in *New Grove*, s.v. 'Binchois'.

⁵ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay', *JAMS* 46 (1993), 341–68, particularly 348–50 and 362–4.

⁶ Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁷ As reported so far only in Fallows, 'Binchois', 709.

maistresse may be by Binchois. But the two details now come together with the discovery that the poem of *Je vousalue* is in fact by Suffolk himself.⁸ Slowly it begins to seem that Binchois's life was inseparably associated with the anguished story of the English occupation of France, and perhaps with the continuing mystery of the *Contenance angloise*.

Then the biography of Binchois turns to the court of Burgundy under Duke Philip the Good, magnificently researched in the 1930s by Jeanne Marix but eminently due for the reconsideration initiated by Walter Kemp. There are two particular areas worth mentioning here. First, Marix never made any use of the most detailed of all Burgundian court records, the daily payment lists, which survive in their hundreds at the archives in Lille and elsewhere. They specify exactly where the court was on any given day and exactly who was there, and make up a wonderful resource. Second, the clearer perception of composers' identities and the chronology of their works rather makes it seem that Binchois was the only composer of substance there actually composing during these years. That raises questions about the most famous musical centre of the fifteenth century, and they must be explored.

Finally, a new (or a first) biographical study of Binchois can turn to Soignies, where he spent his last years as provost at the church of Saint-Vincent. Suddenly there are three important composers living cheek-by-jowl in a tiny college: Binchois, the very impersonation of a Burgundian style; Guillaume Malbecque, former papal singer and associate of Dufay, widely travelled and widely experienced, even if only a few of his pieces survive; and Johannes Regis, who was to be one of the most innovative composers of the coming years.⁹ This is a magical moment. Shortly afterwards the Italian Guicciardini was to single out Soignies for its glorious choir and Lessabaeus was to claim for the choir a status almost equal to that of Cambrai. In short, the biography of Binchois is full of unusually promising avenues for further research; it is a fascinating story waiting to be written.

My second keynote, and again one reflected in the titles of the papers for the conference, is that the recent publication of his sacred music opens astonishing new vistas.¹⁰ Certainly almost all of it was previously available, mostly published

⁸ Information summarized and documented in David Fallows, review of Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics*, in *JRMA* 112 (1987), 132–8.

⁹ For further details, see David Fallows, 'The Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 43 (1989), 143–72. Later glosses on that article appear in Pamela F. Starr, 'Southern Exposure: Roman Light on Johannes Regis', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 49 (1995), 27–38, and Agostino Magro, 'Jean de Ockeghem et Saint-Martin de Tours (1454–1497): Une étude documentaire' (diss., Université François Rabelais, Tours, 1998), 107–17. Both draw attention to (yet) another Johannes Regis, documented from 1463 onwards, who was a canon of Saint-Martin de Tours from 1470 until his death on 20 Mar. 1493 and evidently a close acquaintance of Ockeghem; and both suggest, with varying degrees of force, that certain details would make more sense if this were the composer. While I obviously wish I had known about this man when I was writing that article, it must now be for others to judge the case. Meanwhile, I simply report my delight and admiration at the details that Pamela Starr managed to add on the life of the Johannes Regis at Soignies.

¹⁰ *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, ed. Philip Kaye (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

in the 1920s and 1930s, but in scattered bits here and there. Philip Kaye's consistent and careful modern edition at last makes it possible to see the repertory in focus. Obviously nobody can ever again suggest that Binchois was primarily or mainly a composer of songs. It is not just that the sacred music takes up five times as many pages but that it is infinitely more varied, in style, in notational techniques, in textures, in musical ideas. Against this backdrop, the restrained style of his chansons looks even more restrained, and it is an urgent task to explain why that should be. There is a large body of important and wonderful music that needs to be heard and studied.

My third keynote is that we need far more technical explanation of Binchois's dissonance treatment. The first real study of this appears in Rudolf Bockholdt's thesis on the early sacred music of Dufay, where he appended a chapter comparing and contrasting the two styles, with spectacular results;¹¹ on the broader stylistic level the impressive survey in Wolfgang Rehm's doctoral thesis has been well expanded by Walter Kemp. But there is far more to explore and understand here. As I remarked in a review of Kaye's edition,¹² there seem to be too many passages needing emendation: what Kaye produced is generally very accurate and precise, at least as concerns the notes, thus offering a good basis for further research; but the next step needs to be taken. In general the study of counterpoint in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has hitherto been too heavily rooted in the theorists, without comparably detailed consideration of the music. That offers amazing new vistas for the researcher.

My fourth keynote is to throw modesty aside and mention the new facsimile of the Bodleian Library manuscript Canon. misc. 213. Whatever anybody may think of the introductory material, the photographs here are better than anything available before (I take no credit for this, but salute the care of the Bodleian Library photographers Jacky Merralls and Nick Cistone, the financial support of the Baring Foundation, and the persistence of series editor Margaret Bent in refusing to accept anything but the highest standards). These photographs will make it infinitely easier to explore the contrapuntal details of many songs by Binchois and his contemporaries.

It was not the purpose of my introduction to that facsimile to explore the place of particular composers in the manuscript or the place the manuscript has in our understanding of individual composers. That is an enormous task for the future, one that should be made easier by the existence of the facsimile. The intention was that the facsimile should prompt precisely such work. And one composer who can very profitably be explored in this way is of course Binchois. I want to offer a few thoughts in that direction now.

First, the two composers most extensively represented in the Oxford manuscript are Binchois and Dufay. Of Binchois there are twenty-eight songs plus the

¹¹ Rudolf Bockholdt, *Die frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Dufay* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1960), ch. 6, 'Die Messenkompositionen von Dufay und von Binchois', 184–204.

¹² In *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 282–4.

two mass movements that open the collection; of Dufay there are forty-five songs plus seven sacred pieces. My own dating of the Oxford manuscript (more or less in line with that of Graeme Boone)¹³ is that it was begun no earlier than 1427 and finished in 1436; during those years Binchois was at the court of Burgundy, whereas Dufay was in Italy—mostly in Rome, but he had been in various parts of Italy with very little interruption for almost twenty years. It should therefore be no surprise that there are rather more works by Dufay in this Italian manuscript. The surprise is that Binchois—living so far away in the north, and with no known Italian connections—should be so heavily represented.

Nor is this situation limited to the Oxford manuscript. In the Paris manuscript n. a. fr. 4917, presumably also from the Veneto and perhaps from around 1420, there are three songs by Binchois but nothing at all by Dufay, so far as we know. While it can be unwise to draw broad conclusions about distribution from a manuscript containing only thirty-four pieces, the fact is intriguing and merits enquiry. After all, the organization of the Oxford manuscript seems also to suggest that Binchois came to the copyist's attention before Dufay.¹⁴

I still stand by my earlier view that the Oxford manuscript includes a studied effort to assemble all the available music by Dufay up to that time with the exception of his mass music: the very few apparently early songs by Dufay that happen not to appear in Oxford all look suspect for one reason or another.¹⁵ As concerns Binchois, it is possible that the Oxford scribe was again trying to assemble everything, but that rather less of the music was available. In his case there are several apparently early songs that do not appear in Oxford but seem to be genuine.

There are plenty of reasons for thinking that in the 1420s and 1430s Binchois was a more highly valued composer than Dufay. One of these is the distribution of their songs. An attempt at plotting which songs were most often copied in the sources that happen to survive produces the following results. Of the works apparently composed in the 1420s and surviving in four or more sources, I find only four: three by Binchois (*Je loe amours* with eleven sources, *Adieu m'amour et ma maistresse* and *Je me recommande* with four sources each); but only one by Dufay (*Je ne suy plus tel que vouldroye*). Moving to works apparently composed in the 1430s there are four pieces by Dufay but no fewer than eight by Binchois—and one by Bartolomeo Brolo.

Details of this kind need cautious evaluation. The history of music is littered with apparent anomalies like J. S. Bach being third in line for the cantorship at Leipzig. And there are in any case relatively few surviving song sources from the early fifteenth century. But those sources are almost all Italian, copied far away from where Binchois lived. It is hard to resist the conclusion that in these years the profile of Binchois was higher than that of Dufay. Nobody is likely to dispute

¹³ Graeme M. Boone, 'Dufay's Early Chansons: Chronology and Style in the Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), 98–155.

¹⁴ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, 45.

¹⁵ See the remarks in David Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay* (MSD 47; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänsler-Verlag, 1995), nos. 4, 17, 20, 35, 46, 51, and 55–7.

Dufay's wider range of musical invention in his songs, his astonishing ability to jump off the page in a new way with each new work. But it does look as though in many ways Binchois was more highly valued; and the number of his songs used as bases for later mass cycles and motets is a further hint of his continued influence being rather greater than that of Dufay. Further to that, I have already mentioned that the sacred music shows Binchois with an enormously greater range of techniques. If that means that the more restrained style of Binchois's songs was the result of a conscious restriction, there seems a good chance that the style, in comparison with that of Dufay, has been badly misunderstood.

Finally, a full-sized facsimile of the Oxford manuscript should make it far easier to investigate the language of the poetry set by all these composers. The copyist was an Italian and occasionally faltered in presenting French, though Graeme Boone has given good reason to think that he was rather careful in copying what he saw or thought he saw.¹⁶ There is a belief that most of the Binchois songs have a certain textual similarity, in their vocabulary and their syntax; the same has been suggested about Dufay. It may now be time for somebody to try again to confront the question of how many of these texts were written by the composers themselves. Most people would be inclined to agree that it is likely that most composers wrote a fairly high proportion of their own texts. To make this sayable requires linguistic analysis. But a preliminary step is to have a clearer view of the state of the ascriptions to known poets. That is the main concern of what follows.

The received position is that Binchois wrote three songs with texts by known poets: *Dueil angoisseux* by Christine de Pizan; *Mon cœur chante* by Charles d'Orléans; and *Tristre plaisir* by Alain Chartier. This is a distressingly neat picture: one each by the three major French poets active in his lifetime; almost too neat. My aim here is to modify that position.

The first modification has already been mentioned: the poem of *Je vous salue ma maistresse* is by the earl of Suffolk;¹⁷ if the music is really by Binchois, Suffolk must be added to the list. Binchois's known association with Suffolk dates from 1424, whereas the ascription for the poem says that he wrote it while a prisoner in France, which was in 1429. But the *tempus perfectum* of the music, and particularly the way it is used, seems to support a date soon after 1429; broadly speaking, throughout the fifteenth century poems tend to appear in the poetry sources at about the same time as they appear in the musical sources, as though they were set to music immediately.

As concerns Christine de Pizan, the position is fairly simple. The ballade *Dueil angoisseux* appears in all sources of her *Cent balades*—a coherent collection found in at least six complete early manuscript copies.¹⁸ There can be no serious ques-

¹⁶ Boone, 'Dufay's Early Chansons', *passim*.

¹⁷ See above, n. 8.

¹⁸ Chantilly, Musée Condé 492; Paris, BNF fr. 604, fr. 835, fr. 12779, Moreau 1686; London, BL Harley 4431. All of these are devoted to the work of Christine; and in all of them the *Cent balades* come first. For a summary and survey of the manuscripts, see Christine de Pisan, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Maurice Roy, 1 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886), pp. v–xxv.

tioning of her authorship; moreover the poem's every word is characteristic of her style in the *Cent balades* and in the other poems in which she laments her widowhood. This would appear to be the only poem by her set to music in the fifteenth century, which may seem a surprise, given the expressive power of her work; but it remains one of the paradoxes of early song that composers appear to have avoided the great poets of their time—which is one of the reasons why it seems worthwhile to continue the investigation of Binchois having set the three leading poets of his day.

It is of course very tempting to suggest Christine as the author of several other Binchois song texts in a woman's voice: *Seulle esgaree*, his only duple-time song, perhaps the most heart-breaking of all his works; *Comme femme desconforte*, expressing the utter stillness of despair in its wonderful last line—‘desire la mort main et soir’. And the same poetic mood is present in that loveliest and saddest of all Busnoys's songs, *Seule a par moy*. But the nature of the sources that give us Christine's poetry rather rules out the possibility that she wrote any of these: they could easily be the work of a slightly later poet or poetess who was influenced by Christine—as who would not be? Moreover Paula Higgins has shown how such courtly poetesses tended to prefer anonymity.¹⁹

Exactly when and why Binchois composed his setting of *Dueil angoisseux* remains a matter of dispute; Christine's *Cent balades* appear to have been compiled in the 1390s.²⁰ Similarly disputed is the sequence of the various different versions in which Binchois's music survives, though at least Dennis Slavin and I now agree on this.²¹ For the present enquiry these are secondary issues, and we can pass on to the more difficult questions.

Charles d'Orléans presents an assuredly more difficult case. There are plenty of settings of his poetry from the fifteenth century, but the poem set by Binchois does not appear in the main Charles d'Orléans manuscripts. The ascription to Charles is found only in an English manuscript, London, BL Harley 7333, one of several professionally copied manuscripts containing Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.²² On fo. 36^v there is a poem headed ‘Balade made by the duc of Orlience’.²³ It was evidently added just to fill the bottom of the column after *Evidens to be ware*,

¹⁹ Paula Higgins, ‘Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song’, *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 145–200, particularly pp. 163–72.

²⁰ See *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, pp. xxvi–xxx.

²¹ In *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), I gave my view of the sequence, stating that it reversed that given in Dennis Slavin, ‘Binchois' Songs, the Binchois Fragment, and the Two Layers of Escorial A’ (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), 43–56. To my embarrassment, I had quite overlooked Slavin's later analysis of the piece in ‘Questions of Authority in Some Songs by Binchois’, *JRMA* 117 (1992), 22–61 at 37–40.

²² On the manuscript, see J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, iii (London: British Museum, 1910), 252–5; it is also discussed in Walter W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894–7), iv, p. ix. I have elsewhere used this manuscript as a source for the possible original English text of Bedyngham's song *Gentil madona*; see David Fallows, ‘English Song Repertoires of the Mid-Fifteenth Century’, *PRMA*, 103 (1976–7), 61–79 at 65.

²³ It is printed in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. Pierre Champion, 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923–4), ii. 573.

'by that honorable squier Richard Sellyng'; the next item in the manuscript is the *Canterbury Tales*, which obviously needed to start on a new page. There is no other French in the manuscript, and the poem just happens to face one of the most famous opening paragraphs in all English poetry. There is no interruption in the writing between Sellyng's poem, the 'Balade' credited to Charles d'Orléans, and the *Canterbury Tales*. Everything is in the same professional script, with matching coloured capitals. This is a grand and elegant manuscript, on large pages of high-quality parchment.

That 'balade' is a curious affair. Its first eight lines comprise lines 1–6 and 9–10 of the rondeau *Mon cuer chante joyeusement*—and we know it as a rondeau not just from the musical sources of Binchois's setting but also from three further poetic sources that have no direct connection with Charles d'Orléans: the so-called 'Chansonnier du Cardinal de Rohan' (named after its eighteenth-century owner), compiled in about 1470, that is, several years after Charles's death;²⁴ the printed collection *Le Jardin de plaisirance* (Paris: Vérard, c.1501, reprinted in many later editions); and a French poetry manuscript now in Stockholm. None of these offers any hint of the poem's authorship. The *Jardin de plaisirance* and the Rohan Chansonnier present all their material anonymously; but there is nothing in the context of any of them to suggest that the poem was by Charles.

As for the third source, the one in Stockholm, the rondeau's context there is intriguing.²⁵ This manuscript, copied probably around 1480, includes various texts by Guillaume de Machaut, including those of his motet *Qui es promesses*, with the texts headed 'Tresble' and 'Motet'; so it has a clear musical connection, and some of it may have been copied from musical sources. The supposed Charles d'Orléans poem is in a gap at the bottom of the page immediately after two poems by Michault Taillevant and before Guillaume de Machaut's *Jugement du Roi de Behaigne*. In this gap there are two rondeaux, with the heading 'Chansons': one is *Mon cuer chante*, and the other is *Puis que m'amour*, famously set to music by Dunstable. It would be fascinating to know whether there is any reason for those two poems to appear together: both are known from musical settings and both have connections with England. But that question must be left hanging in the air. The main point is that here too there is no hint that the rondeau *Mon cuer chante* is by Charles d'Orléans.

Returning to the poem in Harley 7333, lines 9–16 of this 'balade' are culled from another rondeau that we happen to have in a musical setting: *Ay mi lasse lasse dolant ay mi*. The music survives only in Tr 87, with generous but incomplete text. The text also appears in various French printed chap-books of the sixteenth century,

²⁴ Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17 (formerly Hamilton 674), ed. in Martin Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan* (Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 44; Göttingen: Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 1923).

²⁵ Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Vu 22 (formerly français LIII), fo. 159^v. For an inventory of its contents, see Arthur Piaget and Eugénie Droz, 'Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon, I: le manuscrit de Stockholm', *Romania*, 58 (1932), 238–54.

where it has a curious seven-line form.²⁶ I have explored and attempted to reconstruct *Ay mi lasse* elsewhere, and it requires no further comment here.²⁷

Since the scribe of the Harley manuscript added paraph marks at the beginnings of lines 1, 5, and 9, it is likely that he considered the sixteen lines to be a single ballade stanza, rhyming abba abba cddc cddc. If so, he was apparently not disturbed by its first half having eight-syllable lines and the second half ten-syllables lines (though the first two lines of the latter are reduced to eight as a result of conflations); and, as Julia Boffey noted, the first poem is in a man's voice, the second in a woman's. It is possible that an English scribe really did think that this was a single ballade stanza. What is certain is that no Frenchman could have made this assemblage and thought it a ballade.

On the other hand, while the scribe may have been ignorant, like whoever devised the title 'Balade made by the duc of Orlience', whoever combined the poems appears to have done so with clear and knowledgeable intent. In both cases we have lines 1–6 and 9–10 (that is, the last couplet) of a *rondeau quatrain*, thereby creating an 8-line unit that rhymes abba abba. The omission of lines 7–8 in both cases cannot really be oversight; if the scribe had presented lines 1–4 and 7–10, which would have produced precisely the same rhyme scheme, one could suggest that he had copied it from a songbook and allowed his eye to slip over the 'short' stanza. Evidently there was no scribal oversight involved.

But the main point about the so-called 'Balade made by the duc of Orlience' is that nothing in the two rondeaux that provide its materials appears in the manuscripts of the works of Charles d'Orléans. That is to say that the only evidence for thinking either of them to be by Charles is this English manuscript, containing otherwise only English poetry.

It is worth considering what the Charles d'Orléans manuscripts represent. The core of our perception of Charles's poetry—and the source used as the basis for Pierre Champion's edition—is the manuscript known as his 'autograph collection' (Paris, BNF f. fr. 25458): it contains many autograph corrections and a few poems written entirely in Charles's hand; and Champion shows that the other surviving manuscripts of his work all go back ultimately to this one.²⁸ When it was begun nobody knows. Mühlethaler states that Charles brought it back with him from England.²⁹ Certainly the inventory of Charles's library made in about 1442 says he brought back a book of his poetry;³⁰ how could he not have done? But it

²⁶ This version is printed in Brian Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, ii (London: Tecla Editions, 1976), 235.

²⁷ Fallows, review of Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics*, with parallel transcriptions of the two main versions and with fuller bibliographical references.

²⁸ Pierre Champion, *Le Manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Champion, 1907).

²⁹ Charles d'Orléans, *Ballades et Rondeaux*, ed. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1992), 25.

³⁰ 'Le livre des ballades de Monseigneur a ung fermouer a ses armes'; see Pierre Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Champion, 1910), 83–4, quoting Léon de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Plon frères, 1849–52), iii, no. 6545. The original is in Paris, Archives Nationales, K.500, no. 7. Champion, p. lx, more plausibly suggests that the book of his poetry could have been Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2070 or Paris, BNF fr. 19133.

remains hard to believe that this was it: the main layer is uniformly copied by a skilled French scribe; it is on high-quality parchment with ample free space for additions; expensive decorated letters in gold and blue appear throughout; and the opening page is covered with luxurious paintings, with Charles's arms at its foot.³¹ Certainly the most famous French prisoner in England lived in a certain luxury for some of the twenty-five years he spent in captivity. But the *prima facie* case must really be that this collection was prepared after 1440 when he had returned home to Blois. The script is French and professional;³² the format and parchment quality are those of the central French poetry manuscripts in the middle years of the century; the decoration is French and expensive. There is nothing whatsoever to identify this manuscript as the one Charles brought back with him from England.³³ Here, as elsewhere, it seems likely that serious historical misunderstandings have arisen from too eagerly connecting a manuscript that happens to survive with a documentary record that also happens to survive.

The point is important because with Charles, as with so many other poets, it is obviously wrong to think that his carefully arranged personal collection necessarily contained everything that he had ever written. What it surely contains is the collection of those poems that he wished to preserve at the time when the manuscript was prepared, which is an entirely different thing.

From that point of view the so-called manuscript of the 'English Poems of Charles of Orleans' is particularly interesting: this is the manuscript Harley 682 in the British Library.³⁴ Nowadays there are few scholars who believe that the English of these poems is by Charles himself, though the dispute continues to rage. But for our present purposes that is not an interesting issue. What is more important is that much of it comprises a direct English version of large quantities of Charles's French poetry but that almost half of its contents are not known from any French source.

It is true that the ballade *Alone am y and will to be alone*³⁵ is derived from a poem by Christine de Pizan, as first pointed out by Kenneth Urwin in 1943 and rediscovered simultaneously and independently by Sergio Cigada and Daniel Poirion fifteen years later in 1958.³⁶ But the two poems in fact have very little in common beyond their opening lines; this really cannot be used to undermine the book's sta-

³¹ Champion, *Le Manuscrit autographe*, 13–14.

³² It is not clear to me exactly what Champion meant when he wrote, *Le Manuscrit autographe*, 17–18: 'C'est l'écriture d'un scribe de la maison du duc d'Orléans.' Had he in fact identified the scribe elsewhere?

³³ Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 273, gives the date 'vers 1444' for the original layer of this manuscript, but without any documentation.

³⁴ *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans*, ed. Robert Steele and Mabel Day (Early English Text Society, Original Series, vols. 215 and 220; London: Oxford University Press, 1941 and 1946), repr. with a bibliographical supplement by Cecily Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

³⁵ Fo. 40; ed. in *The English Poems*, 70.

³⁶ Kenneth Urwin, 'The 59th English Ballade of Charles of Orleans', *Modern Language Review*, 38 (1943), 129–32; Sergio Cigada, 'Christine de Pisan e la traduzione inglese delle poesie di Charles d'Orléans', *Aevum*, 32 (1958), 509–16; Daniel Poirion, 'Création poétique et composition romanesque dans les premières poèmes de Charles d'Orléans', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 90 (1958), 185–211.

tus as a Charles d'Orléans collection. The broad picture of the manuscript must remain that it was intended as an English version of Charles's poetry. And if that is the case there is an enormous body of material that he later rejected, or at least chose not to include in the so-called autograph collection. Even so, there is nothing here that could be an English version of either of the rondeaux that make up the strange 'balade' in Harley 7333. Sadly, there seems no case whatsoever for crediting Charles with *Mon cuer chante* any more than for the other rondeau in that balade, *Ay mi lasse lasse*.

In fact the English manuscript points to one other poem that could be the work of Charles and set to music by Binchois. This is the poem *Fare wel fare wel my lady and maystres*.³⁷ While the French original does not survive in Charles's 'autograph collection' it is easily found in the song manuscripts of the time, namely *Adieu ma tres belle maistresse*. This is a song that has long hovered on the borders of the Binchois canon. Both Walter Kemp and Dennis Slavin have argued that it must be by Binchois.³⁸

There is just one more possible Binchois setting of a poem by Charles d'Orléans that has disappeared from sight, perhaps because of an oversight of my own. In the *New Grove* worklist I stated that Wolfgang Rehm had offered no justification for including the two rondeaux *Je cuidoye estre conforté* and *Va tost mon amoureux desir* in his edition.³⁹ It is true that the edition itself offers little by way of justification; but Rehm's doctoral thesis makes an excellent case for them.⁴⁰ It fills only one and a half pages, but it comes as the conclusion of Rehm's extensive exploration of the Binchois song style. As he says, both songs fit flawlessly into that style as he describes it. The second of these, *Va tost mon amoureux desir*, sets a poem by Charles d'Orléans.⁴¹

So it seems possible to suggest that there are two Charles d'Orléans settings by Binchois, not *Mon cuer chante* but *Adieu ma tres belle maistresse* and *Va tost*—though neither is in fact ascribed to Binchois in the musical sources.

Now is the time to turn to the most difficult matter of all: Binchois and Alain Chartier. The only simple part of this is *Tristre plaisir*, one of Binchois's most glorious achievements and setting a text uncontestedly by Chartier. But then matters become complicated. Chartier's poetry does not survive in the kind of coherently planned collections that exist for Machaut, Eustache Deschamps, or Christine de Pizan; nor even in the semi-ordered state we find for Charles d'Orléans.

³⁷ Fo. 90; ed. in *The English Poems*, 134.

³⁸ Walter H. Kemp, *Burgundian Court Song in the Time of Binchois* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 60–4; Slavin, 'Binchois' Songs', 103–6. The song is printed in *Anonymous Pieces in the Chansonnier El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Cod. V.III.24*, ed. Walter Kemp (CMM 77; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänsler-Verlag, 1980), 16.

³⁹ *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Musikalische Denkmäler, 2; Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957).

⁴⁰ Wolfgang Rehm, 'Das Chansonwerk von Gilles Binchois's' (typescript diss., U. of Freiburg, 1952), 144–5.

⁴¹ *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois*, no. 59; the text is edited in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, i. 230.

The first printed Chartier edition, of 1489, contains no lyric poetry whatsoever. In the most recent and most complete edition, that of J. C. Laidlaw, there are twenty-three rondeaux and five ballades.⁴² These are basically derived from two early manuscripts devoted to Chartier's work: Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 826 (which provides the sequence for Laidlaw's edition, as in the numbering of Table 9.1) and Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, 874 (used for Piaget's earlier edition, in a different sequence, as in the next number column of Table 9.1).⁴³ Both of these contain the same twenty-two rondeaux, though in entirely different order.⁴⁴ Rondeau no. 23 of Laidlaw's edition, not in these manuscripts, is ascribed to him in one of the most authoritative of all earlier Chartier sources, Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, 168, denoted in the right-hand column of Table 9.1 as 'Aix'; sadly, this contains only three rondeaux.⁴⁵

The extreme right-hand column of Table 9.1 notes further manuscripts, mainly using Laidlaw's sigla for them and adding the symbol '@' to denote the presence of an ascription to Chartier. There are in fact only four other sources that have more than three of these rondeaux. The manuscript Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 1235 contains twelve of his rondeaux, all of them anonymous and mixed in with four further rondeaux (in fact also with three ballades, one of them by Eustache Deschamps).⁴⁶ The printed poetry collection *Jardin de plaisance* contains a group of fourteen rondeaux, again anonymous, and simply headed 'La complainte du prisonnier d'armours faicté au jardin de plaisance';⁴⁷ as Table 9.1 shows in the column headed 'Jard', these roughly follow the sequence of the poems in the Toulouse manuscript.

But the manuscript containing the largest number of Chartier's poems is another one well used by students of fifteenth-century song, the 'Chansonnier du Cardinal de Rohan' in Berlin, discussed earlier and given as 'Rohan' in Table 9.1.⁴⁸ Like so many manuscripts of lyric poetry, this contains no ascriptions; but it does contain some remarkable groupings of pieces, as we shall see. Thus nos. 60–1 are both by Chartier, as are nos. 82–4 and 151–2. But most fascinating of all is the group stretching from no. 213 to no. 227, noted in passing by Daniel Poirion many years ago.⁴⁹ Of these fifteen poems, most appear in Laidlaw's Chartier edition (see Table 9.1): only four of nos. 213–27 are not included by Laidlaw. Intriguingly, three of

⁴² Alain Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Laidlaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 371–92.

⁴³ Alain Chartier, *La Belle Dame sans mercy et les poésies lyriques*, ed. Arthur Piaget (Paris, 1945; rev. edn. Lille and Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1949).

⁴⁴ Their contents are listed, together with summary descriptions, in Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 81–3 (Grenoble 874) and 121–3 (Toulouse 826).

⁴⁵ For contents and description, see Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 77–9.

⁴⁶ A description as concerns its Chartier contents appears in Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 137–8; but for a full description and a transcription of all nineteen poems, one must return to Léon Clédat, 'Ballades, chansonnieres et rondeaux', *Lyon-Revue*, 11 (Dec. 1886), 305–20.

⁴⁷ Fos. 161–2. No. 621 in the inventory provided with the facsimile, ed. Droz and Piaget.

⁴⁸ All references here are to the standard edition by Löpelmann.

⁴⁹ *Le Poète et le prince*, 256.

TABLE 9.1. Chartier rondeaux

Toulouse (ed. Laidlaw)	Grenoble (ed. Piaget)	Lyon (anon.)	Jard (anon.)	Rohan (anon.)	Other
1 Pres de ma dame	1		1	186	Nh, V2619
2 Comme oseroit	10		2	222	V2619
3 Au pauvre prisonnier	11	15	3	215	
4 Ou mon desir	12		4	223	Nh, Stockholm
5 Triste plaisir	2	5	5	60	Nm@, Te, Ox213
6 Mort sur les piez	3	18	6	151	Nm, Paris1722
7 Riche d'espoir	4	6	7	224	Nm@
8 Je n'ay povoir	13	7	8	61	Nm, Lo20.a.xvi, Lab
9 Helas ma courtoise	14		9		Aix@
10 De quoy me sert	6			82	
11 Je vi le temps	15		10	220	Aix@
12 Deshors deshors	7	10	11	219	
13 Cuidez vous	16	11		217	Qg
14 La bonne volenté	17			83	Qg
15 Belle qui si bon	18	4			
16 Puis qu'autre rien	20	9		84	
17 Joye me fuit	8	12		152	Nm, Ph@
18 Quant un jour suis	22		13	226	
19 Au feu au feu	9		14	227	
20 S'oncques beaux yeulx	5			188	
21 Loyaument et a	19	8		221	Tf, Tq (both ascr. to Suffolk)
22 Ainsi que bon vous	21	17	12	213	
(23) Du tout ainsi				175	Aix@, V2619

Sigla of text manuscripts:

Aix: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, 168

Nh: Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale, 249

Nm: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 51

Paris1722: Paris, BNF f. fr. 1722

Ph: Paris, BNF f. fr. 19139

Qg: Brussels, BR 10961-70

Rohan: Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17
(formerly Hamilton 674: the chansonnier of Cardinal de Rohan)

Stockholm: Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Vu 22 (formerly Français LIII)

Te: London, BL Royal 20.C.viii

Tf: London, BL Add. MS 34360

Tq: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.3.20

V2619: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2619

those four are known from musical settings: Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*, Busnoys' *Est il mercy*, and the anonymous *Ce que ma bouche n'ose dire*.

This was not enough to justify offering attributions to Chartier for these other four poems. But it was enough to raise the possibility, as Poirion observed. The hypothesis gains weight, however, in the light of the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2619, not known to Poirion and somewhat neglected

by Chartier scholarship in general.⁵⁰ This is an elegant parchment manuscript of Chartier's poetry, opening with a picture of the author himself presenting it to a king of France, presumably Charles VII. In the middle of the manuscript is a group of thirty-two lyric poems. All are anonymous, but there is a good case for proposing that they are the work of Chartier.

Absence of ascriptions need not count against this conjecture: after all, specific ascriptions for his rondeaux are very rare. For Toulouse and Grenoble the only evidence is that everything else in these manuscripts is by Chartier, though one of the poems, *Le alement et a tousjours mais*, is actually ascribed to Suffolk in two English manuscripts. For the rest, as Table 9.1 shows, we are confined to three ascriptions in the manuscript at Aix; two in a French manuscript now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (here listed as 'Nm'); and one in Paris, BNF f. fr. 19139 (here listed as 'Ph').

The Vienna manuscript does include some non-Chartier materials. It contains Michault Taillevent's *Le debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, with an erroneous ascription to Chartier; later there is the anonymous *Jugement et condanpnacion* of his most famous poem, *La belle dame sans merci*—plainly relevant even if not actually by Chartier; and at the end of the manuscript there is the *Psautier des villains* by Taillevent (his answer to Chartier's *Le breviaire des nobles*) together with a further group of lyric poems. These are all pieces that have an obvious place in a Chartier collection. It is also true that the parchment varies in quality and that at least two scripts are involved; but the manuscript is organized in uniform eight-leaf gatherings, each with an apparently original numbering (running from 1 to 18) on its first recto. It seems hard not to consider the possibility that the group of lyric poetry on fos. 77^r–79^v is all the work of Chartier.

The Appendix lists those poems. Only four of them appear in Laidlaw's Chartier edition. But what is interesting is the context of most of the others in the Rohan manuscript. I mentioned that Rohan nos. 151 and 152 are by Chartier; Vienna contains nos. 153 and 154 (Vienna nos. 5 and 7); perhaps this is indeed another Chartier group in Rohan. More fascinating, however, is the group of fifteen poems in Rohan of which all but four, as mentioned above, are in Laidlaw's edition: nos. 213–27, noted by Poirion. As Table 9.2 shows, only two of these appear in Vienna, but several of those just before and after that group in Rohan have Vienna concordances. There seems a good case for thinking that the entire run of poems from Rohan nos. 206 to 228 could be by Chartier.

That may look risky. But consider the available facts. Specific ascriptions for Chartier's rondeaux are only six in number. The group of rondeaux published by Laidlaw is based on the contents of just two manuscripts like the one in Vienna except that Vienna contains the three extraneous poems (albeit plainly relevant ones) mentioned above. The painted dedicatory frontispiece is evidence enough

⁵⁰ It is described in *The Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 135–7. I must thank the authorities of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for so swiftly supplying a microfilm, and Dr Rosemary Moravec-Hilmar of the library's manuscripts department for facilitating my consultation of the original.

TABLE 9.2. Chartier in Rohan, nos. 206–228

		Laidlaw edn.	Jardin	Vienna	music
206	Plus chault que feu			14	
207	J'atendz le confort de la belle				[anon.]
208	Ce faictes vous ma tresbelle			20	
209	Moy tant dolente que seray				
210	Puys que je n'ay plus de maistresse			1	[Vide]
211	Le regard d'ung doulx mignot oeil			3	
212	Estrennez moy ou de dueil			8	
213	Ainsi que bon vous semblera	22	12		
214	Ma maistresse et ma plus				[Ockeghem]
215	Au povre prisonnier ma dame	3	3		
216	Est il mercy de quoy				[Busnoys]
217	Cuidés vous qu'il ait assés joie	13			[?Caron]
218	Ce que ma bouche n'ose dire				[anon.]
219	Dehors dehors il vous fault	12	11		
220	Helas ma courtoise ennemye	11	10		
221	Loyaument et a tosjours mays ^a	21			
222	Comme oseroit la bouche dire	2	2	10	
223	Ou mon desir s'assouvyra	4	4		
224	Riche d'espoir et povre d'autre bien	7	7		
225	Doulceur accompagnie de joie			30	
226	Quant ung jour suys sans que je voie	18	13		
227	Au feu au feu au feu qui mon	19	14		
228	Je viens a vous humblement requerir			12	

^a perhaps by Suffolk

that this was conceived as a Chartier manuscript, despite those extraneous but related pieces. It seems hard to ignore the likelihood that the compilers thought of these lyric poems as being by Chartier. Moreover, the context of no fewer than eight of them in the Rohan manuscript endorses that view. Risky to be sure, but in some ways far less risky than what we already have.

I would therefore put the case on two levels. Vienna does appear to be a Chartier collection, and there seems no harm in calling these poems 'probably by Chartier'. If that is permissible, the remaining poems in the group 206–28 in the *Chansonnier de Rohan* are better termed 'possibly by Chartier', because there are always considerable dangers in drawing conclusions from what earlier German scholars called the 'Nest-Theorie', especially when, as in this case, we are dealing with two overlapping but independent nests.

On the other hand, given that the settings of poems from this group include Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse* and Busnoys's *Est il mercy*, it is worth remembering Paula Higgins's observation that two other famous early works of Ockeghem,

Fors seulement l'attente que je meure and *D'ung aultre amer*, take their opening lines from Chartier's *Complainte*.⁵¹ She presented this as merely an intriguing sidelight on Ockeghem's work. The possibility that another of his early songs, *Ma maistresse*, in fact sets a poem by Chartier both derives strength from Higgins's observation and adds to its relevance. Nobody should be surprised to be told that Ockeghem is likely to have known Chartier's poetry, which was very widely distributed.⁵²

Returning to the broader picture of Chartier and music, it is worth remarking that he wrote very few lyric poems—certainly when seen alongside the 550-odd of Charles d'Orléans and the 350-odd of Christine de Pizan (or the over 1,000 of Eustache Deschamps). Even if we add the Vienna and Rohan poems I have just suggested, we have only about fifty lyric poems by Chartier. Nevertheless, of the twenty-three rondeaux in Laidlaw's edition, no fewer than five are known from musical settings, as is one of his ballades;⁵³ and if we include the poems in Vienna and Rohan⁵⁴ that figure rises to fourteen, four of them set by Binchois.

It is hard to see anything in common between the four possible Chartier settings of Binchois. All are highly distinctive, but in entirely different ways. Moreover, it seems equally hard to posit any kind of biographical pattern to explain his use of Chartier: Binchois's associations, as far as they are now known, are with England and Burgundy, whereas Chartier was a French nationalist zealot and otherwise famously associated with England's long-term enemies, the Scottish royal family. Certainly Chartier led a diplomatic visit to the court of Burgundy in 1426, at which time Binchois may already have been a Burgundian court employee, but it would be stretching too many points to suggest some association between that visit and the compositions of Binchois. By far the more probable explanation is that the relatively few lyric poems of Chartier were actually intended for polyphonic music: it is easy to see that all his lyric poetry lends itself well to musical setting, far more so than that of Christine de Pizan or Charles d'Orléans. Chartier's fame was enormous: many of his longer poems now survive

⁵¹ *Chansonnier Nivelle de La Chaussée*, facs. ed. Paula Higgins (Geneva: Minkoff, 1984), p. iii. That *Fors seulement* quoted from the *Complainte* was already noted in Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince*, 256.

⁵² Chartier died in 1430; the earliest known source for *Ma maistresse* is Tr 93, in a section copied in about 1452. That the poem should have been written so early is rather more surprising, not least because it is in the virelai form that evolved in the years around 1450, some thirty years after Chartier's death. On the other hand, it is extremely easy to adapt an existing rondeau to become a virelai, merely by substituting four new lines for the 'short' stanza. Another virelai set by Ockeghem, his *Ma bouche rit*, occurs in the *Jardin de plaisirance* once in virelai form and once as a rondeau. These are mere kinks in the story, however; effectively, *Ma maistresse* could well be a Chartier setting.

⁵³ *Cuidiez vous qu'il ait assez joie* (Laidlaw no. 13; set by Caron); *Du tout ainsi qu'il vous plaira* (Laidlaw no. 23; set by Caron); *Je n'ay pouvoir de vivre en joye* (Laidlaw no. 8; anon. music); *Joye me fuit et desespoir me chasse* (Laidlaw no. 17: the opening words and the theme provided the text for *Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure* by Busnoys); *Tristre plaisir et douleureuse joie* (Laidlaw no. 5; set by Binchois). The ballade is *Il n'est dangier que de vilain* (Laidlaw no. 28; anon. music).

⁵⁴ *Ma maistresse* (set by Ockeghem); *Est il mercy* (set by Busnoys), *Ce que ma bouche* (anon. music); *En regardant* (set by Binchois); *Pour prison* (set by Binchois); *Puis que je n'ay plus* (set by Vide); *Rendre me vieng* (set by Binchois); and *J'atens le confort* (anon. music).

in forty or more manuscripts. The conclusion must therefore be that Binchois simply chose poetry that went well to music. And he was no pioneer in the choice of Chartier: Jacobus Vide had used a Chartier poem, as had the anonymous composer of the ballade *Il n'est dangier que de vilain* in the Oxford manuscript 213.

One of the unresolved biographical questions for Binchois is the acrostic in *Rendre me vieng*, spelling out the name of one Robin Hoquerel, at least in the Oxford manuscript version, though not quite in the *Chansonnier de Rohan*. The Vienna manuscript now endorses the 'Robin Hoquerel' reading (even though it has one line carelessly duplicated in the wrong place). But the Vienna manuscript also implies that the poem is by Chartier, whose poetic career had more or less stopped by the time Binchois started composing and whose life gives no reason to think the two had any contact. So it looks very much as though the as yet unidentified Robin Hoquerel is important for our understanding of Chartier, not of Binchois.

What may be worth further investigation is the problem of the remaining poems set by Binchois. There has long been a feeling that in general he wrote his own poetry, an idea that has gained support from a certain body of repeating ideas and phrases between the texts of his songs, as I mentioned earlier. To explore that, it seems necessary first to eliminate the poems for which another author can be named. These now do not include *Mon cuer chante*, once ascribed to Charles d'Orléans; they may include *Adieu ma tres belle maistresse* and *Va tost mon amoureux desir* as poems of Charles d'Orléans (and possible works of Binchois); equally they may include the earl of Suffolk's *Je vous sauve*; obviously they include Christine de Pizan's *Dueil angoisseux*; and I suggest they include not only Chartier's uncontested *Tristre plaisir* but also *Rendre me vieng*, *En regardant*, and *Pour prison ne pour maladie*. Given the extreme sparsity of ascriptions among the known poetry manuscripts of the time, eight names is a surprisingly large number. It begins to tip the balance and suggest that Binchois was indeed in the habit of setting poems by others.

Appendix



Vienna 2619

Elegant parchment text manuscript, 25 × 17.5 cm., bound in regular 8s, and opening with a picture of Alain Chartier offering his book to a king (presumably Charles VII); some of the rubrics imply that Charles VII was still alive, so the manuscript must predate 1461. It contains works of Chartier and a few closely related pieces. Only four of the thirty-two lyric poems (together in a group on fos. 77^r–79^v) appear elsewhere with ascriptions to Chartier; but it seems possible that he is the writer of all the poems found here, including *Du tout ainsy*, *En regardant*, *Pour prison ne pour maladie*, *Puis que je n'ay*, and *Rendre me vieng*.

Gathering 10 begins on fo. 72 (because two leaves are numbered 17 in gathering 3); so the two empty leaves after fo. 77 (numbered 78* and 79*) end the same gathering. Folio 78 begins a new gathering.

References to Laidlaw, *Chartier* denote the number in his edition; Roh is the Chansonnier du Cardinal de Rohan; Ox 213 is the Bodleian Library manuscript Canon. misc. 213. Text forms of songs are specified according to the following system:

B ballade

R rondeau

V virelai

The number before the colon is the number of lines in the stanza and that after the colon is the number of syllables in the line. Thus R4:8 is a rondeau with four-line stanza of eight-syllable lines; V4/2:8=×2 is a virelai with a four-line refrain, two-line *couples*, lines of eight syllables, in two stanzas.

1	fo. 77 ^r	Puis que je n'é plus de maistresse Text: Roh, no. 210 Music: Ox 213, no. 99 (and elsewhere) by Jacobus Vide	R5:8
2	fo. 77 ^r	Pour voz doulx ris en beaulté excellente	R4:10
3	fo. 77 ^r	Le regart d'un doulx mignot oeil Text: Roh, no. 211	R5:8
4	fo. 77 ^v	Puis que veoir ne vous puis belle	R4:8
5	fo. 77 ^v	Adieu adieu mon esperance Text: Roh, no. 153	R5:8
6	fo. 77 ^v	Honneur soulas joye et santé Acrostic: HELIANE Rhyme: ABAB bcbc abab bcbc	?V4/2:8 =×2

7	fo. 77 ^v	Rendre me vien a vous sauve ma vie Acrostic: ROBIN HOQVEREL (though l. 8 duplicates l. 11) Text: Roh, no. 154 Music: Ox 213, no. 163 (and elsewhere) by Binchois	R5:10
8	fo. 77 ^v	Estrenez moy [ou] de deul ou de joye Lacks last line Text: Roh, no. 212	R4:10
9	fo. 77 ^v	Pres de ma dame et loing de mon vouloir Text: Roh, no. 186 (and elsewhere), see Laidlaw, <i>Chartier</i> , no. 1	R4:10
10	fo. 77 ^v	Comme oseroit la bouche dire Incomplete Text: Roh, no. 222 (and elsewhere), see Laidlaw, <i>Chartier</i> , no. 2	R4:8
[next two folios are empty]			
11	fo. 78 ^r	J'ay oy vuolentiers parler d'amours Text: Roh, no. 20 (and elsewhere), see Laidlaw, <i>Chartier</i> , no. 26	B12:10
12	fo. 78 ^r	Je viens a vous humblement requerir Text: Roh, no. 228	R4:10
13	fo. 78 ^r	En regardant vostre tres doulx maintien Text: Roh, no. 585 Music: Ox 213, no. 177, by Binchois	R4:10
14	fo. 78 ^r	Plus chault que feu plus refroidé que glace Text: Roh, no. 206	R4:10
15	fo. 78 ^{r-v}	Amy ton deul me fait plaindre et douloir Woman speaks	R4:10
16	fo. 78 ^v	Mal m'est venu en l'amoureuse guerir	R5:10
17	fo. 78 ^v	Le plus humblement que je puis Text: Roh, no. 163	R4:8
18	fo. 78 ^v	Sans [a]hirter a vostre honneur	R4:8
19	fo. 78 ^v	Du tout ainsи qu'il vous plaira Text: Roh, no. 175 (and elsewhere), see Laidlaw, <i>Chartier</i> , no. 23 Music: P 15123 and F 176, by Caron	R4:8
20	fo. 78 ^v	Ce faictes vous ma tresbelle maistresse Text: Roh, no. 208	R4:10
21	fo. 78 ^v	Belle je n'ay pas hardement	R4:8
22	fos. 78 ^v -79 ^r	Pour plus donner aux envieux	R4:8
23	fo. 79 ^r	Puis que je ne puis avoir mieulx Text: Roh, no. 165	R4:8

24 fo. 79^r Ne donnés ja peine a vostre oeil R4:8
Text: Roh, no. 179 (variants)

25 fo. 79^r Ma maistresse plaisant et belle R4:8
Text: Roh, no. 177

26 fo. 79^r Je suis celui qui ay mesprins R4:8
Text: Roh, no. 159

27 fo. 79^r Doy je plourer chanter ou rire R7:4:8

28 fo. 79^r Pour prison ne pour maladie R5:8
Text: Roh, no. 168 (variants); also in
Jardin de plaisance, fo. 61^{r-v} (no. 12), and Lo 380,
fo. 239^r
Music: in 7 sources, of which the earliest is
RU 1411, fos. 18^v-19^r; by Binchois

29 fo. 79^r J'ay belle dame par amours R4:8

30 fo. 79^v Doulceur accompagné de joye R5:8
Text: Roh, no. 225

31 fo. 79^v En soupirant vueil a dieu commander V4/2:10
Rhyme: ABAB cdcd abab

32 fo. 79^v Joyeusement vueil servir ma maistresse R4:10
New Year's Day
Acrostic: ISABELLA

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

5 Adieu adieu mon esperance 26 Je suis celui qui ay mesprins
15 Amy ton deul me fait plaindre et 12 Je viens a vous humblement
douloir requerir
21 Belle je n'ay pas hardement 32 Joyeusement vueil servir ma
20 Ce faictes vous ma tresbelle maistresse
maistresse 17 Le plus humblement que je puis
10 Comme oseroit la bouche dire 3 Le regart d'un doulx mignot oeil
30 Doulceur accompagné de joye 16 Mal m'est venu en l'amoureuse
27 Doy je plourer chanter ou rire 17 guerir
19 Du tout ainsi qu'il vous plaira 25 Ma maistresse plaisant et belle
13 En regardant vostre tres doulx 24 Ne donnés ja peine a vostre oeil
maintien 14 Plus chault que feu plus refroidé
31 En soupirant vueil a dieu coman- que glace
der 22 Pour plus donner aux envieux
8 Estrenez moy [ou] de deul ou de 28 Pour prison ne pour maladie
joye 2 Pour voz doulx ris en beaulté
6 Honneur soulas joye et santé excellente
29 J'ay belle dame par amours 9 Pres de ma dame et loing de mon
11 J'ay ouy voulentiers parler vouloir

1	Puis que je n'é plus de maistresse	7	Rendre me vien a vous sauve ma
23	Puis que je ne puis avoir mieulx		vie
4	Puis que veoir ne vous puis belle	18	Sans [a]hirter a vostre honneur



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Ballades by Dufay, Grenon and Binchois: the Boorman Fragment

Any researcher trying to cover a topic knows uneasily that further relevant sources or documents are likely to emerge over the next few years and that somebody, somewhere, already knows about them. Nothing can be more frustrating than a scholar sitting on a document. But then we have perhaps all done it. The musical fragment discussed here first came to public attention when it was exhibited by the firm of Otto Haas at the London Book Fair in June 1975;¹ Oliver Neighbour alerted me to it, knowing that I was at the time working on the *New Grove* article „Binchois“. As an unemployed doctoral student I was in no position to pay the very reasonable price demanded; and it was a great pleasure to learn soon afterwards that it had been purchased by Stanley Boorman, now of New York University. In what follows, I therefore refer to the fragment as NYB, the abbreviation I have used in earlier discussions.² Boorman kindly yielded to my suggestion that it was inappropriate for the owner to report on any source – a situation that rarely arises in the study of medieval music but is more common in art history – and granted me the privilege of reporting on it.³

Almost thirty years later, that report is long overdue; and I have nobody to blame but myself. In the intervening years I have mentioned the fragment in print several times: first in the *New Grove Dictionary* (1980) article on Binchois; then in various other relevant contexts.⁴ But it is time to discuss the fragment in more detail.

NYB is a single parchment bifolium written in a uniform hand and containing three French ballades that were already well known. On the first recto is one of Dufay's most widely distributed songs, *Se la face ay pale*; on the next two pages, forming the centre of a gathering, is Grenon's *Je ne requier de ma dame* with the contratenor elsewhere ascribed to Matteo da Perugia; and on the last verso are the discantus and tenor of what in some ways must count as the most widely distributed work of Binchois, *Je loue amours*, known from only three other staff-notation sources

¹ I must thank the owner of the firm, Albi Rosenthal, for giving me prolonged access to the fragment during the exhibition and after. He had apparently acquired it in the late 1960s.

² David Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay*, in: *Musicological Studies and Documents* 47, Neuhausen bei Stuttgart 1995, p. 23; id., *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, in: *Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile I*, Chicago 1995, p. 24 (with distressing errors); and id., *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, Oxford 1999, p. 30.

³ My thanks to Stanley Boorman of course go much deeper than that. Apart from much else, he entrusted the document to my keeping for some six months in 1983.

⁴ In addition to the references in the previous footnote, David Fallows, *French as a Courtly Language in Fifteenth-century Italy: the Musical Evidence*, in: *Renaissance Studies* III, 1989, pp. 429–41, at p. 437. During the Spring of 1983 I read a paper on NYB at several American universities.

but several times intabulated in German manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵ We can assume that the contratenor of *Je loue amours* was on the facing page, perhaps with two remaining stanzas of text.⁶ None of the songs is ascribed in the fragment. To judge from the repertory and from parallel sources, a date in the mid-1430s looks plausible; and we shall see that the sometimes muddled orthography of the texts (not to mention the script) indicates that it was copied in northern Italy.

At the top of the two versos are foliations: 124 and 125. Strictly these are almost certainly not foliations but opening numbers, as is so often the case with early manuscripts, particularly those containing music. Normally the scribe put these opening numbers on the recto side, purely because they are easier to see there; when that happens, the evidence that they number the openings rather than the folios comes only from an original index.⁷ There is no apparent medieval terminology of this and no established convention in modern usage, though it is easy to see how confusion of the two kinds of numbering has led to misunderstanding of certain sources. For the present purposes it would obviously be misleading to retain those original numbers; in what follows I simply refer to the two leaves as f. 1 and f. 2.

It is often hard to be sure that such numbers are original. Remarkably many early songbooks and poetry manuscripts were copied without foliation or pagination, and the secondary literature only rarely mentions this.⁸ In NYB, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the numbering was done by the copyist of the music and the text. While serving as a Visiting Professor at the University of North Carolina in 1982/3 I had access to a cycloptic microscope in the manuscript room of the Wilson Library. With 25x magnification and a pointed light shone across the pages at a sharp angle it was easy to see that the ink density and the indentations of the nib are identical for the numbering at the top of the pages and the lettering below the music.

⁵ Full source details for all three songs are now available in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.

⁶ In fact, NYB lacks the last two lines of even the first stanza. Sadly, no source of *Je loue amours* contains the third stanza, which must surely have existed, to judge from other ballades of the early fifteenth century. At the bottom of f. 2v of NYB the scribe has begun to copy the second stanza of the preceding song (*Je ne requier*) and then, evidently noticing his error, crossed it out.

⁷ The clearest case from those years is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213, see Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, p. 7. Here, as one example among many, Dufay's *Se la face ay pale* is on what would normally be called f. 53v but is registered in the index as 54. The same happens in the manuscript Trent 92 (the only Trent codex with an original index: in fact it has two). It was by no means a universal practice: the index to the early fourteenth-century *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, f. fr. 146, plainly treats the numberings in the modern sense as foliations. In the years around 1470, the chansonnier Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517, treats the numbers as foliations, whereas the closely related Laborde Chansonnier (Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Ms. M2.1 L25 Case) treats them as opening numbers. Paul Lehmann's important article *Blätter, Seiten, Spalten, Zeilen* (1936), reprinted in Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1960, pp. 1–59, at pp. 20–33, traces the early history of both systems back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I am grateful to David Ganz for alerting me to this article and for extended discussions of the matter.

⁸ See my remarks in Geneviève Thibault and David Fallows, ed., *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*, Paris 1991, p. LIII: „Index et foliation“.

Evidently, then, the parent manuscript was very large. Since our bifolium is from the middle of the gathering it might even be possible to suggest that the gatherings were all of 8 leaves – which would be normal, though very few musical sources of the time are entirely regular in their gathering structure.

Given the evident extent of the parent manuscript it is an astonishing coincidence that all three pieces on the fragment are so well known. In fact there are only two other songs of the years 1410–1430 that are so widely distributed: the anonymous *Une foys avant que morir* (with 13 sources, of which all but two are intabulations), and Pierre Fontaine's *A son plaisir* (with 9 sources). But it may just not be a coincidence that all three are in the relatively rare ballade form. The most famous examples of early musical sources organised by form are the Machaut manuscripts; but it was fairly common for poetic sources to be arranged in this way. More to the point, the early fifteenth-century Turin manuscript of the French-Cypriot repertory (J.II.9) is organised by form; and it looks very much as though that source came to Turin with Anne de Lusignan in 1434. I suggest the possibility that NYB could have come from a manuscript with such an arrangement.

Ultra-violet light brings up several annotations on the bottom of the outside pages. On f. 2v, read upside-down, there is a three-line inscription that is all but illegible but plainly in Italian and perhaps from the late sixteenth century because it seems similar to a date written alongside: 1565–1566. On f. 1, read now the right way up, is an inscription that begins „Si deve trovare un ... da brevete“ and then disappears into illegibility.⁹ Even those fragments are enough to tell us the main thing, namely that the fragment was used in the late sixteenth century as a cover for a bundle of legal documents in Italy. The same is the case with several other surviving music fragments: most particularly the bifolia that are now reassembled from Lucca and Perugia to form the „Mancini“ codex (hereafter Mancini) were used in precisely the same way.¹⁰ In NYB the tearing exactly half way up the side of f. 1 seems to indicate that the string holding the documents together was tied here.

For the researcher, one advantage of such later use is that the fragments were not trimmed. (When fragments are known from their use in bookbindings, particularly in Flanders and England, they are nearly always trimmed.) So what we have is what was in the original manuscript. As with any medieval manuscript, the size is irregular. Folio 1 is 163 mm across the top, 168 mm at the bottom, 223 mm high at the inside, 220 mm at the outside. Similarly folio 2 is 161 mm across the top, 165 mm at the bottom; 224 mm high at the inside and 221 mm at the outside. Here as everywhere else in such manuscripts it makes little sense to give the dimensions to the nearest millimeter since they will not be rectangular unless trimmed by a later binder. It is enough to give the size as approximately 22 x 16 1/2 cm. And even that information is often less useful than the dimensions of the written area and of the musical staves, which are plainly original.

Thus we can conclude from the irregularity of the vertical rules that the source was probably not professionally prepared: the first three pages have marginal rules

⁹ I must thank John Nádas for noticing and interpreting these annotations.

¹⁰ John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini*, Lucca 1990, pp. 15–17.

that are 125 mm apart at the top but 128 mm apart at the bottom; only on f. 2v are they regularly 127 mm apart. On the other hand, the stave ruling is astonishingly precise. With the exception of f. 2v, where something seems to have slipped, the total height of the seven staves is consistently 165 mm, with each stave approximately 14 mm high and each space between the staves approximately 11 1/2 mm high. On f. 2v, the ends of the staves are only 162 mm high. Evidently the staves were ruled with a *rastrum* and executed with great care.¹¹ On ff. 1v–2, namely at the centre of the gathering (using the flesh side of the parchment), the stave lines of the facing pages exactly correspond, as though ruled in relation to a single set of pricks or at least markers of some kind. On the outside, however, f. 1 and f. 2v (on the hair side) are ruled independently of one another.

Its presence in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century suggests that NYB is Italian in origin, as could anyway be concluded from the orthography of the texts. It is the current belief that many of the surviving sources of this repertory were copied in the Veneto. Comparison with a few related manuscripts is instructive.

The famous „core“ manuscripts of the time are much larger. The manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216, is the only one that looks as though it was actually used in a church, at 40 x 29 cm. The Oxford chansonnier, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213 (hereinafter as OX), is a very common size of 30 x 21.5 (it was trimmed by the binder, evidently in the eighteenth century, with consequent loss of material in the upper margins); the manuscript Q 15 in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale at Bologna is just slightly smaller at 28 x 20 (the same size as Modena, Biblioteca Estense, alpha.M.5.24 – hereinafter as ModA); and the fragmentary source in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3224 is 28 x 19 cm. These are sources that contain sacred music as well as secular; but what they share with NYB is that they seem to be personal collections.

Closer to the size of NYB are four northern Italian sources on parchment and entirely of secular music:

1. Mancini (copied probably in the Veneto, by 1410):
23 x 15 cm; with a written area of 19 x 12 cm and 7-8 staves per page, of ca. 15 mm and ca. 13 mm.
2. Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, Sammlung Bongarsiana, Fragm. 827 (northern Italy, ca. 1410–20):¹²
22 x 15 cm; with a written area of 18 x 11 cm and 7 staves per page, of ca. 15 mm.
3. NJD: a single leaf in private hands in New Jersey (northern Italy, ? 1420s):¹³
23.5 x 17 cm; with a written area of 18.5 x 12 cm and 7 staves per page, of ca. 15 mm.

¹¹ On f. 1, however, the bottom two staves have a sixth line added in a very rough freehand. This is for the extra range of Dufay's contratenor, in the style that Besseler aptly called a „Sechslinien-Contratenor“.

¹² First described in Christian Berger, „Pour Doulx Regard ... “: Ein neu entdecktes Handschriftenblatt mit französischen Chansons aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: AfMw LI, 1994, pp. 51–77.

4. Paris, n.a.fr. 4917 (perhaps copied in the Veneto, early 1420s):
 22 x 15 cm; with a written area of 16 x 10 cm and 7 staves per page, of ca. 13.5 mm.

The pattern therefore suggests that NYB (22 x 16.5 cm; with written area of 16 x 13 cm and 7 staves per page, ca. 14 mm.) was entirely of songs and contained no motets or Mass sections. If so, and if it really had over 124 leaves, it would have been a massive collection, comparable only to OX. Perhaps it contained Italian songs alongside the French: OX has very little in Italian, but the fairly high proportion of Italian to French songs in Paris 4917 and in Bologna 2216 may suggest that there was a continuation of the Italian-texted song repertory during the 1420s and that much is lost. Elsewhere I have suggested that the relative shortage of Italian songs in OX may simply be because the scribe had access to another source containing Italian repertory.¹⁴

I have elsewhere elaborated on the signal shortage of French or Franco-Flemish sources for the song repertory in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ How much French the presumed Italian audiences understood is hard to judge; but it is clear that the copyist here had trouble with the language. The refrain line that ends each stanza of Grenon's *Je ne requier* should read „Mays seulement que sa grace demeure“; but the copyist has written „demeure“ as „clevenire“, plainly reading the „d“ as „cl“ and the „meu“ as „veni“. Whatever the reason, he wrote something that makes no sense in any language.

Since the NYB readings for Dufay's *Se la face ay pale* are now reported elsewhere,¹⁶ it is enough to summarize the main points. In its apparent original version it now survives in seven sources; five much later sources rewrite Dufay's highly unusual contratenor line. It is among the last songs copied in OX, perhaps around 1435. And it would be good to have any clear confirmation of my earlier tentative proposal that the song was composed for the Savoy wedding celebrations of February 1434,¹⁷ because that would offer a clear *terminus post quem* for NYB; sadly no such confirmation can yet be supplied, though the idea still seems plausible enough.

¹³ See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, p. 30.

¹⁴ Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁵ French as a Courtly Language, 1989, pp. 434–437.

¹⁶ The Songs of Guillaume Dufay, in: Musicological Studies and Documents 47, Neuhausen bei Stuttgart 1995, no. 19, pp. 78–82, and (for the late adaptation) no. 87, pp. 241–2. To the sources named there can be added its inclusion in a list of songs copied in I-Rvat Ottob. lat. 251, f.34 (?dated 1452), as „Se lla faç a palida“, see Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, *Un elenco di composizioni musicali della seconda metà del Quattrocento*, in: Irene Alma, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon, edd., *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, Stuyvesant, NY 1996, pp. 425–87, at p. 443.

¹⁷ David Fallows, *Dufay*, London 1982, rev. ed. 1987, pp. 68–70 and relevant footnotes. Certainly the argument is tentative, not to say indirect. Hazarding the possibility that Dufay's Mass *Se la face ay pale* was composed for some major occasion in the House of Savoy, perhaps the consummation of the marriage of Amadeus of Savoy and Yolande de France at Le Cleppé in October 1452, I suspected that there may have been some family-related reason to choose that particular song for its cantus firmus. The style and sources of the song seemed to suggest a date in the mid-1430s, which made it seem plausible that it was associated with the fabulously beautiful Anne de Lusignan, who mar-

Although NYB has only a single stanza of text, as against the complete three stanzas in OX, it does confirm nearly all of the doubtful musical readings: it includes the flats for bars 14 (Ct) and 17 (T), found in few later sources; and it confirms that OX has an error in bar 4 (T). And if we accept that the resulting edition is roughly correct we can also assert that NYB has only two actual musical errors: on the last note of bar 5 (D) it has G, where all other authoritative sources have F; and sadly it deals with the triplet figure in bar 27 (D) by simply omitting the first note, which makes no musical sense whatsoever.¹⁸

Grenon's *Je ne requier* demands fuller study, not least because three new sources have emerged in the last twenty years and make patterns easier to establish.¹⁹ As has long been known, the copy in the manuscript ModA ascribes it to Grenon but with the added annotation „contratenorem mathey de perusio“. Given the extremely close association between that manuscript and Matteo da Perugia, it must be accepted that the contratenor is indeed by him; this is the contratenor found in NYB. The fragmentary manuscript Montserrat 823 is its only French source and plainly had the work in only a two-voice version;²⁰ that Grenon almost certainly composed the work in just two voices now seems far more probable than before, since the north Italian fragment NJD has a layout that makes it clear that the piece was in only two voices there; and the lost Strasbourg manuscript also had it in two voices. Matteo's contratenor was almost certainly included in the fragment Parma 75, to judge from page-size and layout. And now this voice is found also in NYB.²¹

The appearance of Matteo's contratenor in NYB adds yet another detail to his career. Matteo's importance first became obvious with the publication of Willi Apel's *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* in 1950. The unparalleled complexity of some of his music and the extraordinarily wide stylistic range of the whole caused considerable astonishment. Moreover Matteo then seemed the author of more known compositions than any other composer between Landini and Dufay, with the single exception of Dunstable.²² But Matteo's moment of glory ended with

ried Louis of Savoy in 1434. If, as seems possible, the magnificent „Cypriot“ music book now in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9, came with Anne, there may have been good grounds for Louis to commission new music in her honour: at that stage in its history, a ballade was almost always composed for a specific major occasion. The wedding celebrations at Chambéry took place on February 7–11. To those arguments I might add that my much more recent study of OX (Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library*) has resulted in a slightly later dating than was previously believed; and the open manner of the music fits well with what I proposed was Dufay's musical style in the mid-1430s.

¹⁸ The triplet is found only in OX and the Vatican manuscript Urb. lat. 1411; but, as argued in Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay*, p. 82, it must be accepted as the correct reading.

¹⁹ The edition by Gilbert Reaney in CMM xi/7 (1983) uses only ModA plus the fragmentary remains in Parma and Strasbourg, but his is the only edition to present (p. XXII) the third stanzas of text, known only from the Parma fragment. The edition by Gordon Green in PMFC xx (1982) add details from the Montserrat fragments. The additional sources, NYB and NJD, have yet to be incorporated into an edition of the song.

²⁰ On Montserrat 823, see María Carmen Gómez, *El manuscrito 823 de Montserrat (Biblioteca del Monasterio)*, in: MD XXXVI, 1982, pp. 39–83; revisions to her description are in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, pp. 28–9.

Heinrich Besseler's article *Hat Mattheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht?* (1955),²³ in which he emphasised two points. First, that Matteo was plainly active much later than the main composers represented in Apel's volume; and second, more important for the present consideration, that not a note of Matteo's music was known apart from two sources copied in his lifetime and in his immediate circle, namely ModA and the Parma fragment. The discovery of NYB was the first evidence of music by Matteo away from those two sources; since then, the further discovery of the fragment Bern 827 has additionally furnished a new source of his *Pour bel accueil*.²⁴ Two tiny details, to be sure, but enough to change the picture of Matteo and his importance dramatically. Moreover, if NYB is really from the mid-1430s it is substantially the latest source to contain any of Matteo's music, by a margin of almost twenty years.

Two other points must be added in this context. First, Anne Stone has recently noted that there is no evidence for Matteo's presumed death-date of 1418: that was merely the date on which we know that he had been succeeded as *magister cappella*e at Milan Cathedral by Ambrosino da Pessano.²⁵ So it is perfectly possible that he composed his added contratenors for songs by Fontaine and Grenon during the 1420s, when both were in Italy. Second, the opening of Grenon's tenor, as presented in NYB, differs radically from the other sources in that it subdivides all the longer notes in the opening passage, before the texted portion of the discantus begins. What that may mean is open to debate; but one possibility is that an earlier source had text underlaid to this portion of the tenor. That in its turn may have bearing on the question – painfully debated in the 1980s – of the extent to which the lower voices of this polyphonic song repertory were sung and texted.

Of Binchois' ballade *Je loue amours* on the last verso of NYB it is perhaps enough to note that there are several readings found in no other source. They will add to the difficulties of the urgently needed new edition of Binchois' secular compositions.

²¹ For fuller details, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, s.v.

²² Since then, new discoveries and further research on the music of Ciconia, Antonio Zacara da Teramo and Paolo da Firenze have substantially increased their known output and put them ahead of Matteo. For all three, see the summaries in Stanley Sadie, ed., *NGroveD*, revised edition, London 2001.

²³ Mf VIII, 1955, pp. 19–23.

²⁴ Berger, „*Pour Doulx Regard*“.

²⁵ Details first presented in Anne Stone, *Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy*, diss., Harvard University 1994, pp. 50–51. See also Stone's article in Stanley Sadie, ed., *NGroveD*, revised edition, London 2001, s.v. *Matteo da Perugia*.

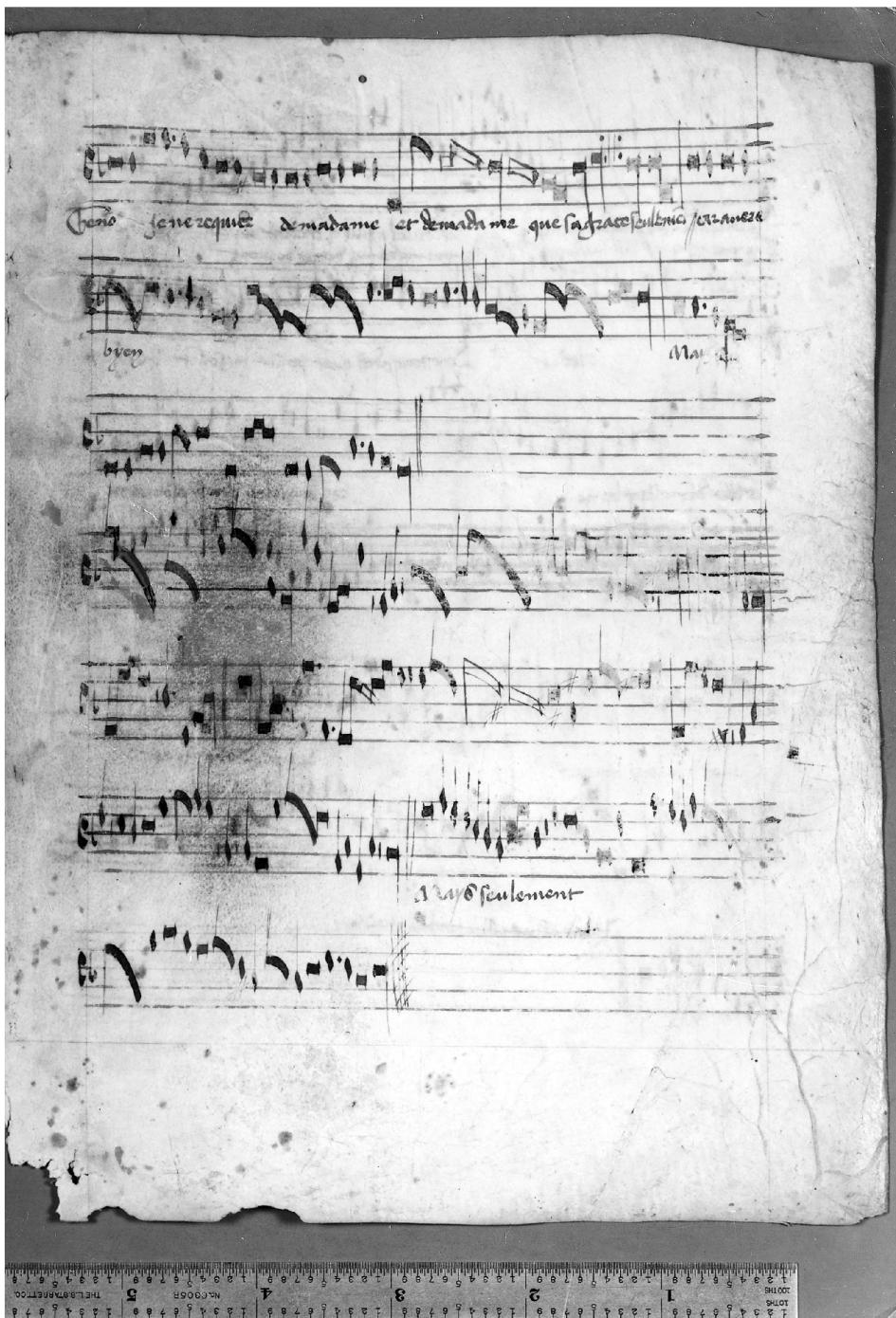
Fragment owned by Stanley Boorman (New York), f. 2v and f. 1





Fragment owned by Stanley Boorman (New York), f. 1v and f. 2







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LEONARDO GIUSTINIAN AND
QUATTROCENTO POLYPHONIC SONG

A recent article by Giulio Cattin offers a magnificent view of what is known about the poets for Italian fifteenth-century song.¹ But one aspect of the article's importance is the way it draws attention to areas that need further study, of which the most spectacular may be the case of Leonardo Giustinian. Under his name in the concluding index of poets there are eleven entries; and among them are some of the finest songs of the century, including *O rosa bella*, *Con lagrime bagnandomel viso* and *Mercé te chiamo*. For all but two of these eleven poems, however, Cattin has added either a question mark or the annotation “apocrifo” — which is to say that their authorship is currently doubted. If they are all his, there is no other poet in any language so often found in the musical sources of the fifteenth century; and I believe his role is in fact of major importance in the history of fifteenth-century song. My aim here is to suggest that the doubts go back to an earlier state of literary knowledge and to conclusions that have not been re-examined in the light of later discoveries. More particularly, recent developments in musical knowledge give powerful reasons for accepting all but one of these poems as the work of Leonardo Giustinian.

Only one of the poems with musical settings appears in the current complete edition of Giustinian's canzonette, that of Bertold Wiese, published in 1883.² This is *Perla mia cara*. Since 1883 there has been a massive secondary literature on the poet, including no fewer than three large articles called “towards a critical edition of Leonardo Giustinian's canzonette” — by Aldo Oberdorfer,

¹ GIULIO CATTIN, “Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento”, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 25 (1990): 209–311.

² BERTOLD WIESE, *Poesie edite ed inedite di Leonardo Giustiniani*, Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie Inedite o Rare dal Secolo XIII al XIX, 193 (Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, Bologna, 1883).

Giuseppe Billanovich and Laura Pini.³ They show that Wiese's edition is indeed inadequate and badly in need of replacing. But it looks as though the long promised new edition by Enzo Quaglio may still omit most of the poems known from musical settings. So the first task is to see why and try to understand these discussions from a musician's point of view.

Leonardo Giustinian died, after a long and distinguished career in Venetian politics, in 1446. The earliest printed edition of his canzonette dates from twenty-five years later: this is the volume entitled *Comincia el fiore de le elegan- tissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano*. It appears to have been an enormously successful book: at least thirteen different editions are known, running from about 1472 to 1518, mostly printed in Venice.

All those editions contain the same thirty poems in the same order (listed below in the appendix); and, as Laura Pini demonstrated in 1960, they all share an error near the beginning that can only go back to a false imposition of the pages in the earliest edition.⁴ Details and orthography vary; but, as concerns who actually wrote the poems, none of these editions has any independent authority except the first. Of the thirty poems in the collection, three are elsewhere more convincingly ascribed to other poets; and three more have been questioned on stylistic grounds.

Ten of the *Fiore* poems appear in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. it. 1032. This is a beautifully copied and uniform collection, written on high-quality parchment and containing seventy poems. They are organised mainly by form and patently planned as a unit. There is no ascription or hint of an ascription here; but the very nature of the source is powerful evidence that it contains the canzoniere of a single poet. Ten of them appear in Giustinian's *Fiore*: four of these plus two more are ascribed to him in a late Florentine manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1091).⁵ Evidently, then, that poet is Leonardo Giustinian. The manuscript was copied probably in the late 1460s, as Laura Pini demonstrated; and, although the texts are adapted from Venetian dialect into something more Tuscan, the broad consensus of literary scholars is that its contents reflect the final version of Giustinian's canzoniere. I see no reason to disagree.

Bertold Wiese knew this manuscript, but unfortunately not soon enough to use it for his edition. He based his text on a manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca

³ ALDO OBERDORFER, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustiniano", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 57 (1911): 192–217; GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 110 (1937): 197–251; LAURA PINI, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian (Indice e classificazioni dei manoscritti e delle stampe antiche)", *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche et filologiche*, s. VIII, 9/3 (1960): 419–543.

⁴ PINI, "Per l'edizione", pp. 423–4. The earliest edition is generally assumed to be the undated one in the British Library, call-number IA. 19973, though Pini is a little more cautious in her conclusions.

⁵ The authority of *Riccardiana 1091* is discussed in ENZO QUAGLIO, "Da Benedetto Biffoli a Leonardo Giustinian", *Filologia e critica*, 13 (1988): 157–83.

Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 213. This contains the same seventy poems in the same order followed by eighteen more whose authority is now much doubted — among them, for example, there are three elsewhere more credibly ascribed to Sanguinacci, Boccaccio and Cavalcabò. This manuscript carries the arms of Francesco Sforza, who died in 1466. It has essentially the same texts as the one in Paris; but many leaves are lost in this manuscript, so even of the initial seventy poems there are several missing entirely as well as others that lack either their beginning or their end; thus those first seventy poems are represented only by nos. 1–63 in Wiese's edition. And although Wiese later published the missing bits in a separate article on the Paris manuscript,⁶ this does make it very difficult to use his edition.

Both those manuscripts appear to have been copied in Milan. But for a deeper understanding of the canzonette, scholars have turned mainly to two manuscripts copied actually in the Veneto: Marciana IX.486 and Piacenza, Biblioteca Landiana, Pallastrelli 267. These are decidedly scruffy; both are from the second half of the century; and, like the two Milanese manuscripts, they contain no ascriptions. Their common repertory is of only twenty-two poems, mostly in a state rather different from that in the Milanese manuscripts, not just in their Veneto dialect but also in their length and wording. From this Giuseppe Billanovich in 1937 concluded that the poet made a final revision of his canzoniere soon before his death in 1446; and that the Milanese manuscripts are a distant copy of that final revision.⁷ Some of the details in this theory have been discussed and modified by Laura Pini; but the broad principles appear to be accepted, and insofar as I can judge they look right. Even so, there are some points that seem to need stressing.

First, even the two Veneto sources reflect the assembly of a single coherent canzoniere late in Giustinian's life — a procedure in which any poet of his time would see the model of Petrarch's canzoniere, which itself went through several stages of revision. In fact there is a copy of the last version of Petrarch's canzoniere entirely in the hand of Leonardo Giustinian,⁸ so he not only knew that model but took it seriously; among many apparent references to Petrarch in Giustinian's canzoniere the most striking is its last poem, *Tacer non posso e temo oimè meschino*, which takes its metrical form from Petrarch's poem with the same first five words. Petrarch eliminated various earlier poems that eventually seemed wrong for his grand plan; it is almost inevitable that Giustinian would have done the same. Therefore to say that a poem does not appear in the final version of Leonardo Giustinian's canzoniere is not to say that he did not write it.

⁶ BERTOLD WIESE, "Zu den Liedern Leonardo Giustinianis", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 17 (1883): 256–76.

⁷ BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione", *passim*.

⁸ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Redi 118, with the inscription "scripta per me Leonardum Justinianum ex eo libro quem poeta ipse propria manu conscripsit". See GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH, "Alla scoperta di Leonardo Giustinian", *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, s. II, 8 (1939): 99–130 and 333–57 (especially 356–7).

The second point to stress is that the only reliable authority for ascribing any of these poems — bar just one, which is ascribed in half a dozen sources — to Giustinian is the printed volume that carries his name, the *Fiore*. To exclude the poems of the *Fiore* that happen not to appear in the Milanese manuscripts therefore involves an element of circularity. I am neither equipped nor inclined to question the view of the literary authorities that three of the poems in *Fiore* are more reliably ascribed to other poets and that a further three are most unlikely to be his. But there are fourteen others that appear to have been dismissed in the wake of Aldo Oberdorfer's trenchant but perhaps rather glib remark that the *Fiore* is a garden containing a lot of weeds.⁹ To suggest that six of the thirty poems are spurious seems fair enough for a posthumous collection; to suggest that two-thirds of them are spurious merely because they are not in the Milanese manuscripts seems incredible, particularly in a collection published in his home-town of Venice and going through thirteen editions. Briefly, these fourteen poems have attracted virtually no comment in the enormous literature on the poet; and they happen to include six for which we have musical settings — among them Ciconia's *O rosa bella* and *Con lagrime*.

The third observation to make here is that those last two poems were plainly written before 1412, when Ciconia died; and that several others were probably set to music well before 1420, still a dozen years before the earliest poetic manuscript and a quarter of a century before the so-called 'earlier' version of Giustinian's canzoniere, known only from Venetian sources half a century later.

The largest available census of Leonardo's poems — that published in 1960 by Laura Pini — lacks at least nineteen musical manuscripts, including between them over forty versions of individual poems, and including a dozen manuscripts considerably earlier than any she mentions.¹⁰ This is understandable: the main relevant musicological literature available in 1960 was scattered and hard to find. And it is just as understandable that musicologists have not taken full account of the substantial and equally scattered literature on the poetry of Leonardo Giustinian. For her main purpose — establishing criteria for a new edition of Giustinian's final canzoniere — only two of the musical sources are in any way relevant.¹¹ But for the issue of deciding whether certain poems in the *Fiore* could really be by Leonardo Giustinian, they are of the first importance.¹²

That is all by way of necessary background to making a very simple point about Giustinian's published *Fiore*. Of the nineteen poems there that are not also in the Milanese manuscripts, eleven are extremely short, sixteen lines or

⁹ OBERDORFER, "Per l'edizione", 207.

¹⁰ In fact she names only two musical sources: the Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2216, and the Trecento manuscript in Paris (f. it. 568). There is no evidence that she knew the date of either: she simply calls them "fifteenth century". And on the second of these she gives such bizarre information that I find it hard to believe she consulted it.

¹¹ Namely Lucca/Mancini (concerning which, see note 16 below) and Bologna 2216.

¹² Some of these musical sources are considered in Francesco Luisi's recent grand two-volume study of the *Laudario Giustinianeo* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983); but his main concern is the sacred poetry of Giustinian, and he offers no coherent view on the secular canzonette.

less, far shorter than anything in the final canzoniere. The six that either have contrary ascriptions or have actually been judged spurious are all very long poems in *terza rima*, another form that happens not to appear in the final canzoniere. The other two are also long poems. But the important issue concerns the eleven short poems, ranging from seven to sixteen lines. In the list of contents of the *Fiore* presented in the appendix to this article the right hand column notes the number of lines in each of those eleven poems. They would simply have had no place in the scheme of extended poems found in the Milan sources of the canzoniere; in other words, they are in forms not represented in Giustinian's canzoniere, just as his well attested strambotti and sacred laude are also not there.

It may not be too wild to guess, then, that these short poems just represent a different category of his work. They may in fact belong to a specific category of "poesia per musica polifonica"; certainly none of the poems in the final canzoniere is brief enough to have an elaborate polyphonic setting. They may also be amongst his earliest poems, later rejected as juvenilia; but it is surely first and foremost their form that led to their rejection from the final canzoniere.

The only reason I have the temerity to suggest this in the face of so much literary scholarship is that these poems have not really been discussed in the published literature on Giustinian: so far as I can see, Oberdorfer's joke about the garden full of weeds appears to have ended the matter. There is in fact just one comment, from Giuseppe Billanovich, who wrongly believed all of them to be unique to the *Fiore*.¹³ Billanovich wrote: "I see no reason — that is, from the attentive study of their contents — to dismiss them".¹⁴ In other words, the only stated reason for excluding these poems is that they do not appear in the Milanese manuscripts of a collection devoted to material of an entirely different kind. It is time to turn to what the musical evidence adds to this.

First and most obviously, it offers much earlier sources, long before the publication of the *Fiore* in 1472: *O rosa bella* and *Con lagrime* existed before 1412, when Ciconia died; *O bella rosa* and *Mercé te chiamo* existed long before about 1440. At least three of these poems come from Leonardo Giustinian's earliest years.

Investigation continues naturally enough with the two set to music by Ciconia. *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso*, has been a subject of historical dispute for some time. Briefly, one manuscript source of the poem, copied in Florence, has the heading "ballata fatta per messer franciescho signior di padova";¹⁵ and the current dispute concerns whether this could be Francesco Carrara the elder, who died in 1393, or his son Francesco Novello, who died in 1406.¹⁶

¹³ BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica", 227 and *passim*.

¹⁴ BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica", 228: "Non vedo motivo — si capisce: dallo studio attento del contenuto — di rifiutarle".

¹⁵ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1764, fol. 86v.

¹⁶ The argument is outlined, with further bibliography, in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. by Margaret Bent and Anne V. Hallmark, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 24 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), x; see also *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini*, ed. by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, Ars Nova, 1 (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 41–2.

Francesco the elder's death was widely lamented, whereas Francesco Novello was a political disaster of such proportions that his death in prison was a considerable relief to almost everybody concerned; so recent commentators have preferred the former. If the poem was written around 1393 it obviously cannot have been by Giustinian, who was not more than eleven years old at the time; but then nor can the music have been by Ciconia, who was in Rome and Pavia before his first known appearance in Padua in 1402.¹⁷ So if the poem and its music were composed in memory of a Francesco Carrara, it must have been the younger, in 1406. His assassination may have been a much-welcomed release from an impossible political situation, but that is not to say that some kind of token would be impossible. In the early fifteenth century a ballata was not a very public statement; and the poem itself does not in fact name the person lamented, merely describing him as "il mio signor". In fact, by an odd if intriguing coincidence, it was Leonardo Giustinian who was later deputed in 1518 to give the funeral oration praising Carlo Zeno before those who had condemned him as a traitor. As I pointed out recently in a review of the Mancini facsimile, the structure of that manuscript, as deduced by John Nádas from the surviving fragments, makes it all but certain that the music of *Con lagrime* comes from Ciconia's Paduan years.¹⁸

Ciconia lived in Padua from 1402 until his death in 1412, and the likely date of the song is 1406. Now it is of some importance to add that Leonardo Giustinian studied in Padua before becoming a member of Venice's maggior consiglio on 4 December 1407. This we know only from a sixteenth-century biography of his son, who was born on 6 January 1408:¹⁹ there is no direct documentation; but equally there is no reason to dispute it. Leonardo's birth date is also not recorded: but it must be about 1382 or 1383, since his elder brother was born in 1381; and he himself was married in 1405.²⁰

His Paduan studies can therefore only have been in about the years 1403–7. Even though the poem's ascription appears only in the posthumous editions of the 1470s, it is hard to resist the coincidences here. The poem was written

¹⁷ *The Lucca Codex*, 41–5.

¹⁸ *Early Music*, 19 (1991): 119–23.

¹⁹ ANTONIUS STELLA, *Bernardi Justiniani patritii veneti [...] vita*, (Venice, 1553) (I used the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale: K16104), fols. 6v–7: "Et quoniam quicquid exemplo opt. fit, id iure bono fieri creditur; Patavinum Gymnasium, totius Europe celeberrimum petiit, Leonardum parentem hac in parte, vel maxime aemulatus, qui utranque [sic] linguam omnemque; dicendi copiam, in eodem gymnasio multo antea dedicera". There may be further evidence of his Paduan study: the article on Leonardo in the *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Vittore Branca, vol. II (Turin: UTET, 1986), 402–7, by Ettore Caccia, states that "studìò poi a Padova filosofia naturale, secondo la lunga tradizione di quella scuola, roccaforte dell'aristotelismo naturalistico; noi potremmo supporre — sebbene non ve ne siano attestazioni — che abbia seguito, inoltre, studi di legge, se l'attività legale fu poi una delle sue principali occupazioni".

²⁰ As concluded in BERTHOLD FENIGSTEIN, *Leonardo Giustiniani (1383? – 1446): Venezianischer Staatsmann, Humanist und Vulgärdichter*, (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1909), 7. This is not by any means the most judicious study of Leonardo, but it still contains a lot of good sense. The more commonly accepted notion that he was born in about 1388 derives from his remark in a letter to Filelfo (5 July 1442) stating that "annum iam unum de viginti eo fato me ad rempublicam contulisse", and the assumption that this refers to his joining the Maggior Consiglio in 1407.

almost certainly in 1406, one of the few years when both the poet and the composer were in Padua. The poet was a young student, but from one of the noblest families in Venice, so he could easily have been in contact with the distinguished composer. There seems enough here to support the ascription of *Con lagrime* in the *Fiore* beyond almost any question. It is a case where the weight of musical evidence and of new research seems entirely to overrule the caution of literary scholars — a caution followed by Ciconia's most recent editors and indeed by the author of the Ciconia work-list in *The New Grove Dictionary*, none of whom mentions the name Giustinian in connection with this piece.²¹

That leads to the other Ciconia setting of a poem in Giustinian's *Fiore*, namely *O rosa bella*. If Ciconia set one text by the young Venetian nobleman there is every possibility that he set another. That is, the coincidences that make the ascription of *Con lagrime* to Giustinian seem unavoidable add force to the ascription of *O rosa bella* in the same place.

There is one more factor in its support, namely the use of the word *rosa*. This is a word that appears remarkably often in Giustinian's poems, including those opening *Rosa mia per Dio consenti*, *O rosa mia gentile*, *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* and *Rosa mia bella*. Petrarch's canzoniere commemorates his love for Laura, her name repeatedly embedded in its texture. Domizio Brocardo's canzoniere similarly honours Lisa or Lia (as can be seen in another wonderful late song of Ciconia, *Lizadra donna*, using a poem of Brocardo). Giustinian may have taken the name Rosa as the dedicatee of at least his earlier poems. (The published concordance of Petrarch's canzoniere reveals that the word *rosa* appears only twice among its 366 poems.) I suggest, in any case, that the reference to *rosa* may be an added consideration in favour of Giustinian as author of *O rosa bella*.

The unusual feature in Ciconia's music for this poem is the text repetition, clearly mirrored in the sequential patterns of the music. In most songs of the time, text repetition of any kind is extremely rare. So far as I can see the earliest use of this sighing technique is in *Mercé o morte*, now known to be by Ciconia.²² It is probably only just earlier than *O rosa bella*. I would guess, from its style and vocabulary, that *Mercé o morte* is also a Giustinian poem, though it has not been found in any poetic source.

Another poem from Giustinian's *Fiore* survives in a very early setting, though its only musical source is the rather later Bologna University library manuscript 2216. This is *O bella rosa o perla angelichata*.²³ In the Bologna manuscript it faces Ciconia's *Mercé o morte* and follows another song that is often believed

²¹ For the new edition, see note 16 above; the *New Grove Dictionary* work-list was my own.

²² See *The Lucca Codex* (note 16 above), 19; the music had already been printed as an *opus dubium* of Ciconia in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, no. 39; but the new source, with its ascription to Ciconia, also has an extra voice, and this three-voice version (published in *The Lucca Codex*, 105–7) more definitively aligns the piece with Ciconia's other late works.

²³ Edited in WILLIAM TH. MARROCCO, *Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, xi (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1978), no. 55; it is also edited in *Laudario*, vol. II, 259–60. In the *Fiore* the opening line reads *O rosa bella, o perla angelicata*.

to be by him, *Deducto sey*, both pieces firmly from the first decade of the century. It is hard to be sure whether *O bella rosa* could be another Ciconia setting: it is a gloriously controlled song that features the panting phrase-repetition found in his *O rosa bella*, *Lizadra donna* and *Mercé o morte*. What can be noted, however, is that we now have a group of four pieces, all in major prolation, all in passably similar style, all including the same sighing sequences: three of the pieces are demonstrably by Ciconia; two of them have texts demonstrably by Leonardo Giustinian. Not only that, but all of them are ballate of roughly the same length — which is to say some sixty breves of major prolation, the music lasting about five minutes for a text of about ten lines. In all of them the music is complex and intricate with elaborate motivic imitation, crafted with consummate skill.

The received picture of music for Leonardo Giustinian is one of simple semi-improvised singing to lute accompaniment.²⁴ That may be true for his longer poems, for which almost no written music survives. But for the broader picture it is true only if we persist in ignoring the ascriptions in his published *Fiore*. These short poems have extremely sophisticated music, perhaps the most skilled secular polyphony of their generation. They are also associated with the irresistibly affective style of those sighing sequences. The style and the idea here perhaps belong to Ciconia, but it remains true that he did not use it until he began to set Giustinian; and it is also true that the somewhat staccato style of all Giustinian's poetry, keeping to short ideas and avoiding any particular logical thread, is perfectly suited to that sort of treatment, indeed, I would say, encourages it. I suggest, then, that Giustinian provided the perfect materials for the last and most attractive of Ciconia's many musical innovations.

The story of Leonardo Giustinian and music then takes a different turn. In the Bologna University manuscript there is one further setting of a poem ascribed to him in the *Fiore*, *Mercé te chiamo*.²⁵ This is in a very different style, with long musical lines generally closing in a fermata, with strings of held chords for particular phrases and the occasional florid melisma. It is an unusual style that recurs in three more settings from the *Fiore*. Their music survives with their texts uniquely in the later *Escorial chansonnier*: *Dove dov'è*, *Piangete donne* and *O graziosa viola mia gentile*.²⁶ Unlike the music of what as a shorthand we can call the Ciconia tradition, these pieces could well have a basis in improvised performance, and they certainly have a pronounced declamatory manner. They

²⁴ The case is outlined in WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century", *Acta musicologica*, 29 (1957): 172–84, and in NINO PIRROTTA, "Ricercare e variazioni su 'O rosa bella'", *Studi Musicali*, 1 (1972): 59–77.

²⁵ Edited in MARROCCO, *Italian Secular*, no. 48, and in *Laudario*, vol. II, 236–9.

²⁶ Edited in EILEEN SOUTHERN, *Anonymous Pieces in the MS El Escorial IV.a.24*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LXXXVIII (Stuttgart-Neuhausen: Hänsler, 1981), nos. 51, 62 and 61; *Laudario*, vol. II, 257–8, 267 and 264–5. It seems not to have been remarked that the music of *Dove dove* also appears with a Latin contrafacted text *Salve o beata* in the Cape Town, The South African Library, Ms Grey 3.b.12, edited in GIULIO CATTIN, *Italian Laude & Sacred Unica in MS Capetown. Grey 3.b.12*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LXXVI (Stuttgart-Neuhausen: Hänsler, 1977), no. 37.

were probably all composed in the 1430s and 1440s. But, like the songs of the Ciconia tradition, they have an extended style that makes it quite impossible for the poems of one hundred lines and more that make up the bulk of Giustinian's final canzoniere.

Just to fill the picture, it may be worth recalling Walter Rubsamen's observation that we may have a hint of the musical style for the canzoniere poetry in the setting of *Perla mia cara* in the *chansonnier Cordiforme*:²⁷ a very simple repeating melody with the simplest possible accompaniment. But that borders on areas peripheral to my main theme here, areas that have been well explored by others.²⁸ Even so, there seem to have been two quite different genres of music for the two different genres of Leonardo Giustinian's canzonette. For the long poems that survive in his canzoniere, like *Perla mia cara*, the simple style described in reports of his own playing. For the shorter poems in the *Fiore*, two rather different styles, both more expansive, and the earlier of them entirely independent of any improvisational tradition.

It is time to return, finally, to the earlier style, apparently pioneered by Ciconia. This has recently been discussed by Nino Pirrotta, who dubbed the style 'veneziano' and drew attention to several songs in similar style from the second and third decades of the fifteenth century, works by men such as Rosso, Prepositus Brixensis and Bartolomeo da Bologna.²⁹ However, elements of the tradition continued much longer than that, and what may be its last gasp is in Dufay's *Dona gentile* of the 1450s.

There is plenty of evidence in his early motets that Dufay knew the work of Ciconia. But only one of his early songs betrays such hints: this is *La dolce vista*, which follows many of the contours of Ciconia's *Lizadra donna*, and in its text uses a vocabulary similar to that of Giustinian, at one point even addressing the lady as "o rosa colorita".³⁰ While that is hardly enough even to hint that Giustinian could be the poet, it surely is enough to suggest that there is a musico-poetic tradition continuing here — a matter that seems in any case more interesting — and that what we see in that Dufay song, perhaps of the early 1430s, is a

²⁷ WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, "From Frottola to Madrigal: The Changing Pattern of Secular Italian Vocal Music", *Chanson & Madrigal. 1480–1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast*, ed. by James Haar, Isham Library Papers, II (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1964), 51–87, with an edition of the music on pp. 175–6; see also *Laudario*, vol. II, 266. The music of this piece is most recently published in GENEVIÈVE THIBAULT – DAVID FALLOWS, *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Première série, XXIII (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1991), no. 9. It should be mentioned here that the music in the cordiforme chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu sets only nine of the poem's 100 lines — three stanzas of three lines each. But the simplicity of the music is surely applicable to a setting of a much longer poem; moreover, the same melodic outline appears in an incomplete setting of the first stanza found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.fr. 4379, fol. 66v, ed. by Thibault and Fallows, LXXXVI.

²⁸ See note 24 above.

²⁹ NINO PIRROTTA, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento", *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. by David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale, 1984), 99–108.

³⁰ Edited in HEINRICH BESELER, *Guillelmi Dufay: Cantiones, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, I/6 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964) no. 4.

characteristic refining and simplification of a successful tradition from earlier in the century.

As concerns his much later *Dona gentile*, it is highly intriguing that the editor of Giustinian himself, Bertold Wiese, drew attention to its poetic style. This is recorded in a footnote to Antonio Restori's article of 1894 in which he published the texts of the songbook in Pavia:³¹ apparently it was just this text that Wiese found strongly reminiscent of Giustinian — and of course he did not know the music, which, as I said, bears on the same tradition and therefore endorses Wiese's view.

That is not all, though. *Dona gentile* is an almost unique case of a rondeau in the Italian language. There can be no possible doubt that Dufay actually composed it as a rondeau: the layout of the poem in three quite independent manuscripts and particularly the musical design confirm that. However: the text in those three manuscripts contains problems and seems to need a lot of emendation.³² It was only when seeing the music in the context of what one might call the Ciconia tradition and noticing again Wiese's comment about the Giustinian style of the poem, that the truth dawned. The text reads as follows:

Dona gentile, bella come l'oro,
Che supra le altre portate corona
Come per l'universo si razona,
Datime secorso, stella, che moro.

Che più non stago in questo purgatoro
Tranquilitate en ver di me Fortuna
[Dona gentile etc.]

Cord: purgatorio

Lasso ja sono di tale martiro,
Che vivere non posso salvo en una.
Qui mi trovo com voy, clara luna,
Per sempre servire quella c'adoro.
[Dona gentile etc.]

Cord, Pav: martirio

The point is quite simply that the rhymes do not work. They work in a way; but to bring them in line with the rest of the rondeau repertory (ABBA ab[AB] abba [ABBA]) editors have had to cheat to the point of suggesting *purgatoro* for *purgatorio* and *martoro* for *martirio*. Nobody has bothered to fix up *fortuna*, *luna* and *una* so that they rhyme with *corona* and *razona*, as they should: I suppose modern editors (myself included) thought they were close enough. But actually they are not. Well, the truth that dawned in this new context was that the poem started life not as a rondeau at all but as a ballata, with a four-line stanza

³¹ ANTONIO RESTORI, "Un codice musicale pavese", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 18 (1894): 381–401 (especially 397).

³² Edited in BESSELER, *Guillemi Dufay*, no. 8; but for a fuller census of the source readings, see LEEMAN L. PERKINS – HOWARD GAREY, *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1979), no. 33.

and two-line piedi — rhyming, therefore, ABBA, CDCD D??A. Dufay presumably knew perfectly well that it was a ballata: he would in any case have needed to leave out two lines from the volta. He seems also to have chosen a ballata in which the rhymes between ripresa and piedi were close enough to pass muster for a rondeau. But that recognition cuts the gordian knot of problematic emendations in the poem; it also clarifies the distinctive stylistic context of the song.

My conclusions from this are simple, though they have a much wider importance for musical history. First, the short poems in the *Fiore* could have had no place in Leonardo Giustinian's canzoniere, mainly because of their form and brevity which separate them from anything in the final canzoniere; that, I suggest, is the main reason they are not found there. Second, the view that they may not be by Leonardo Giustinian has no logical basis. In fact it is the very opposite of logical, since the *Fiore* is the main evidence for ascribing the seventy poems of the canzoniere to Leonardo Giustinian; certainly no coherent argument has been mounted against them, and Billanovich's stylistic judgement is in their favour. Third, study of the musical evidence offers many sources far earlier than any of the literary ones; and it tells us that several of these poems are very early indeed, at least some of them from his years as a student in Padua, in the first decade of the century, thus over thirty years earlier than the currently accepted date for the assembly of his canzoniere. Fourth, there seems a good case for believing that it was the influence of Giustinian's rather staccato rhetoric that generated the gloriously luxuriant style of Ciconia's late songs, a style that continued to have its impact some forty years later in the mature music of Dufay.

Finally, though, it might be as well to return to Giulio Cattin's article, with which I began, and to annotate his index entry for Leonardo Giustinian (p. 304) in the light of what has been said above.

Con lagrime bagnandomè nel viso: as the final poem in Giustinian's *Fiore*, it can surely count as his work. The style of Ciconia's music points to a date of 1406, when Giustinian was almost certainly in Padua.

O rosa bella: also in the *Fiore* and mentioning "rosa", so surely by Giustinian; the earliest known musical setting is by Ciconia, who died in 1412.

O bella rosa: also in the *Fiore*, and likewise offering no reason to disbelieve his authorship; the musical setting was copied well before 1440 and is in a Ciconia-like style that points a date well before 1420.

Dove dov'è; Mercé te chiamo; O graciosa viola; Piangete done: all also in the *Fiore*, and likewise offering no cogent reason to disbelieve his authorship.

Perla mia cara appears in the *Fiore* as well as in both late Milanese sources of his canzoniere and many others, including Riccardiana 1091, where it is ascribed to him.

Cattin's index contains three more entries that have not been mentioned above but can be discussed briefly. *Aimè ch'a torto* is indeed, as Rubsamen was the first to notice, the second stanza of the poem *Io vedo ben ch'amore è traditore*,

in the *Fiore* as well as in both late sources of his canzoniere. The poem *Lisadra damisella* is in Paris, f. it. 1032, so it is currently accepted as by Giustinian; but the music in Bologna Q16 cannot be for this poem: it has only text incipits, the first “Lisa dea damisella” just possibly a miscopying of the Giustinian incipit, but that for the second pars “Da poy chi tu me faxe” not found in Giustinian’s poem; in any case the form of the music is incompatible with the poem. *O pellegrina o luce* is not ascribed to Giustinian anywhere, though it does appear in two Venetian manuscripts.

APPENDIX

Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Justiniano (c. 1472 and twelve later editions)

Pal 213 is the source (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 213) that was the basis of the standard edition: B. Wiese, *Poesie edite ed inedite di Leonardo Giustiniani* (Bologna, 1883)

W1 etc. refer to Wiese's edition of the 19 poems he did not publish in *Poesie: Neunzehn Lieder Leonardo Giustinianis nach den alten Drucken*, in *Bericht des Grossherzoglichen Real-Gymnasiums* (Ludwigslust, 1885).

Concordant sources are confined to those relevant to the present discussion. Numbers in the right-hand margin represent the total number of lines in the shorter poems.

Orthography of the song texts follows the copy in the British Library, the only known copy of what seems to be the earliest surviving edition.

@ denotes a source containing an ascription to Leonardo Giustinian

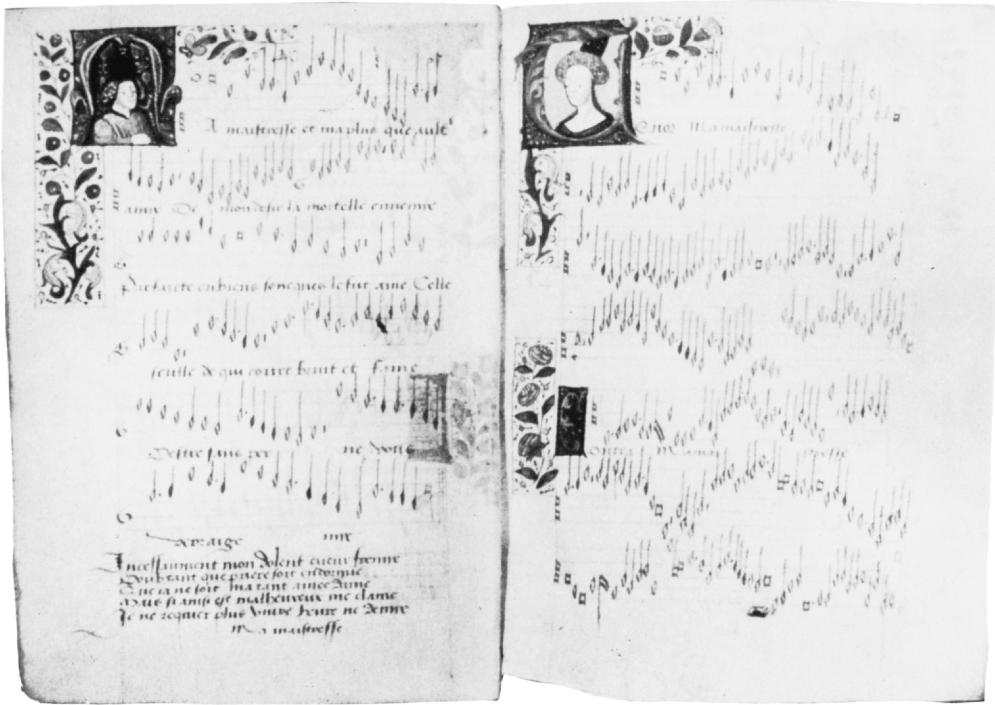
Bu	=	I-Bu 2216
EscB	=	E-E IV.a. 24
MC	=	I-MC 871
Cape	=	SA-Cs Grey 3.b.12
PC	=	F-Pn n.a.fr. 4379
Cord	=	F-Pn Rothschild 2973

1	<i>Qual ninpha in fonte o qual in ciel m'ai dea</i> Pal 213, no. 71 (i.e. in 'non-authentic' part; not in <i>F-Pn</i> f.it. 1032), but ascribed in <i>I-MOe</i> III.D.22, f. 162 and f. 222; in <i>I-Bu</i> 1739 a later hand added the name Sanguinacci.	CapQ x17
2	<i>Regina del cor mio</i> Pal 213, no. 43; I-Fr 1091 @; seven laude	Ba4/2:7/5/11 x11
3	<i>Rosa mia bella per Dio consente</i> Pal 213, no. 17	10:8/6 x11
4	<i>Mercé te chiamo o dolce anima mia</i> (W1) Music: Bu EscB MC; one lauda	Ba4/3: 11 14
5	<i>Zoveneta vaga e bella</i> (W2)	abba:8 x13
6	<i>Per gran forza d'amor chon mosso espinto</i> (W3) by Antonio Guazzalotri (Oberdorfer, 206; Billanovich, 228)	terza rima x44 + 1
7	<i>O rosa bella o dolce anima mia</i> (W4) Music: by Ciconia, (?) Bedyngham and others; two laude	Ba2/2: 11 8
8	<i>O rosa bella o perla anzelicata</i> (W5) Music: Bu (as "O bella rosa")	Ba3/2: 11/7 10
9	<i>Vegio la bionda treza el velo ad auro</i> (W6) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and	terza rima x33 + 1

	Billanovich on style		
10	<i>Amor chon tanto sforzo omai mi assale</i> (W7) by Giusto de' Conti (Oberdorfer, 206; Billanovich, 228)	terza rima x65 + 1	
11	<i>Io vedo ben che amore e traditore</i> Pal 213, no. 58; <i>I-Fr</i> 1091 @, and ascribed to him in several more manuscripts; ten laude Music: a later setting of 2nd stanza ("Aimè ch'a torto") in Petrucci's <i>Frottole libro sesto</i> .	CapQ x55	
12	<i>Tacer non posso e temo oimè meschino</i> Pal 213, no. 63	CapQ x31	
13	<i>[Aimè] Chi non t'havesse mai veduta</i> (W8)	abababcc: 11 x2	16
14	<i>Suplico i cieli et ogni vaga stella</i> (W9) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and Billanovich on style	terza rima x55	
15	<i>Per le beleze ch'ai</i> Pal 213, no. 40	Ba3/2:7/11 x16	
16	<i>Gli aspri martiri e l'inifinite offexe</i> (W10) by Lanzilotto de Angosoli da Piexenza, according to Castiglione Ms.; also (anon.) in <i>F-Pn</i> 1069 and <i>I-UDc</i> 10; 3 ternari appear in Ravenna 126.	terza rima x15	
17	<i>Chiuda le labre ognun che di fortuna</i> (W11) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and Billanovich on style	terza rima x13	
18	<i>Done e amati che provate</i> Pal 213, no. 62	abab:8 x19	
19	<i>Chui si vol piacer dare</i> (W12)	4: 7 x19 + 1	
20	<i>Più non posso aime tacere</i> Pal 213, no. 45 (opening missing)	Ba2/2:8 x19	
21	<i>Dove e dove e lo mio signore</i> (W13) Music: Cap EscB; one lauda	aba cd cd: 11	7
22	<i>Gueriera mia chonsentime</i> Pal 213, no. 15; <i>I-Fr</i> 1091 @; three laude	10 x9	
23	<i>Perla mia cara e dolce amor</i> Pal 213, no. 14; <i>I-Fr</i> 1091 @ Music: PC Cord	10 x10	
24	<i>E penso con sospiri atorno el core</i> (W14)	ABbA ABbA CDDC	12
25	<i>Perduta o la mia speme e 'l mio dexio</i> (W15)	ABbC CDdE EFfg GHhI	16
26	<i>Vago legiadro fiore</i> (W16)	Ba4/2: 7/11	12
27	<i>O suspiri angusoxi</i> (W17)	aabbc DeeD	9
28	<i>O gratioxia viola mia gentile</i> (W18) Music: EscB (MC)	Ba2/5: 11/5/7	14
29	<i>O roxa mia gientille</i> Pal 213, no. 27; seven laude	Ba4/2: 7/11 x11	
30	<i>Con lacrime bagnandome el vixo</i> (W19) Music: by Ciconia; one lauda	Ba4/2: 11/7	12

Johannes Ockeghem

The changing image, the songs and a new source



1 Johannes Ockeghem, *Ma maistresse* (Washington, DC, Library of Congress, M.2.1 L25 Case (Laborde Chansonnier), ff.9v–11)
(cont. on p. 219).

It is characteristic of Ockeghem's image today that most discussions of him point to the famous manuscript painting on the back cover of this issue and unquestioningly identify him as the strangest-looking man there. Dark glasses make him seem sinister; bizarre clothing and a heavy hood hint at eccentricity; a pained expression, a jutting chin and a wrinkled forehead mark him as ultra-sensitive; and the curious stance suggests a craggy personality.

This attractively monochrome view derives from monochrome reproductions of the picture. In the original or in a colour reproduction the eye is drawn to a singer in a red gown that contrasts with the sombre

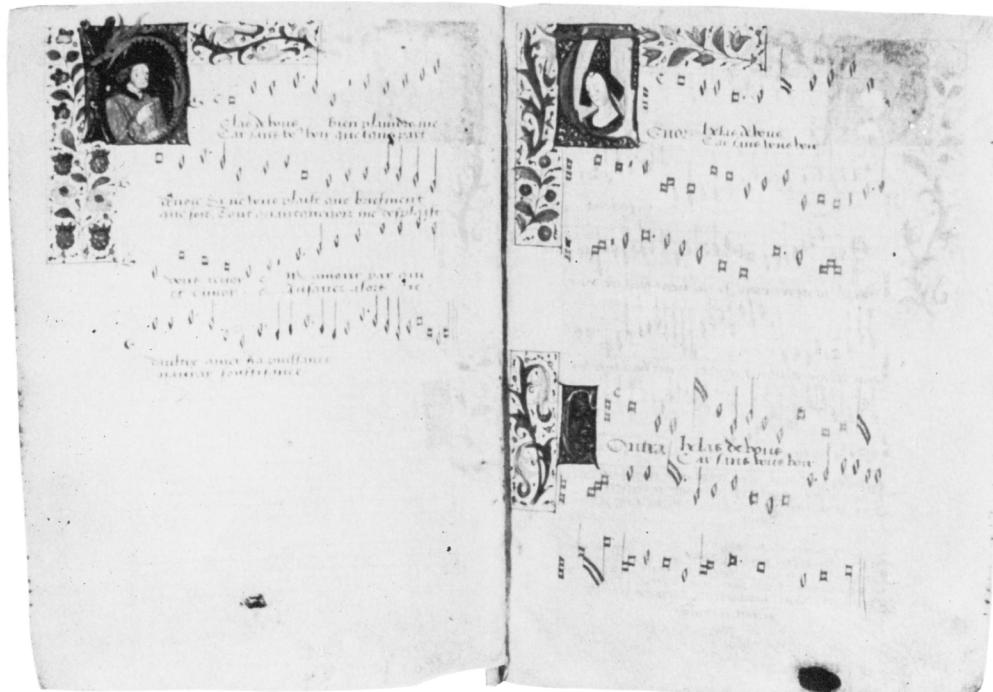
tones around it. He is a strikingly handsome man, youngish, commanding and more in accord with Francesco Florio's description of the composer in 1477 as 'so handsome in appearance, so grave and gracious in manner and speech'.¹ That point was made 15 years ago by a leading scholar in an article read by everybody at all concerned with Ockeghem's music.² Yet subsequent literature gives not the slightest hint that Ockeghem might be other than the haunting figure in dark glasses. The image fits too well to be easily shaken.

As so often, there is still room for dispute. There can be no doubt that the old man in glasses is the one



portrayed with the most care, whereas the facial features of the man in red are virtually identical with those of his neighbour. The very ownership of glasses—and their prominently held case—suggests special distinction, for glasses at this stage were obtainable only from Italy.³ He also takes up more room than any

famous 36-voice motet (a work probably still lost to us). To judge from theoretical references and publications of his works, Ockeghem was known after 1510 by only his four strangest pieces: that motet; the *Missa cuiusvis toni*, performable in any mode and published in 1539; the chanson *Prenez sur moy*, a bizarre and



other figure in the picture, and his position makes him a prominent feature of the design. There could be a simple liturgical reason why one man wears a red gown. Furthermore, the painting was done over 30 years after Ockeghem's death at a very old age;⁴ it might be expected to portray the composer as he had been within living memory rather than as a more youthful man 50 years earlier.

But to what extent is it a portrait at all? It was done at Rouen, some 300km from Tours, where Ockeghem spent his last years. The poem it accompanies evidently confuses the composer with the philosopher Occam;⁵ and it bases an elaborate religious metaphor on the

confusing three-voice canon that is still the subject of considerable disagreement; and the *Missa prolationum*, a remarkable series of mensural canons, parts of which were quoted by the theorists. If the gnarled figure in the picture is indeed Ockeghem, as I suspect, that may well represent merely an iconographic tradition in line with the way musicians and thinkers in 1530 viewed this great master of the previous century. That is to say that the picture is best seen as part of the history of ideas. The real composer is in many ways more easily accessible to us today than he was to musicians of the mid-16th century.

But the new picture of Ockeghem has been slow to

take shape, partly because of two features of the complete edition. The first is that its progress has been something of a byword for scholarly caution. In 1925 its editor, Dragan Plamenac, submitted his PhD thesis on Ockeghem's motets and songs. But he began the edition with the masses: vol.i in 1927, vol.ii in 1947, a revised edition of vol.i in 1959 and a revised version of vol.ii in 1966. Since 1950 he had published many articles on the sources of 15th-century secular music, evidently as *parerga* to the forthcoming final volume. Last spring that wonderful and fastidious scholar died at the age of 88, having eventually delivered the manuscript of vol.iii (the motets and songs); but we still await its publication.

One result of this extraordinary story is that for over 60 years others have tended to avoid detailed study of Ockeghem's songs and motets since they were Plamenac's 'territory'. One third of the songs and several motets still await any kind of publication. And it happens that these are the two genres of 15th-century music that are most easily understood, most easily incorporated into concert programmes.

The second difficulty arising from the edition is its retention of original clefs and note-values. Logically, this is difficult to fault: the less you change the less you misrepresent. Moreover the same policy is followed (slightly less rigorously) in the Obrecht edition and the first 25 fascicles of the Josquin edition. But Ockeghem is a highly unpredictable composer compared with Obrecht and Josquin, and his scores are correspondingly more difficult to read; so even those works that are published have received less attention than they merit. Of course they are easier to read than many large orchestral scores with transposing instruments in four or five different keys; but for the giant scores of Wagner and Strauss we have superb performances and recordings, and with their sound in our ears it is possible to return to the complex scores and read them more intelligently.

Slowly, however, the same is happening for Ockeghem, and some recent records have managed to achieve what the edition cannot do alone, namely to make the music more accessible. Two good ones come from America. The ensemble Pomerium Musices under Alexander Blachly perform a group of pieces, particularly the Masses *Ma maistresse* and *Au travail suis*, with a superb clarity of texture and sureness of direction in the often baffling melodic lines.⁶ The semi-professional but highly musical Cappella Nova under Richard Taruskin perform all the complete motets.⁷ Now the

Medieval Ensemble of London under Peter and Timothy Davies have given us the entire secular music on three records.⁸

All these recordings benefit from a particular emphasis on clarity, on aiming to present the music with the minimum of clutter from external accretions. And quite suddenly Ockeghem seems considerably less confusing than once he was. There will surely be finer Ockeghem records to come, but with these records it is at last possible to sit down and gain genuine pleasure from the music; it is possible to listen with a much clearer ear for style and shape. Between them they probably spell the end of the era when musicians with a conscience could wonder whether Ockeghem was really a composer to be loved rather than one to be respected from a distance through the awestruck eyes of the 16th century. It now becomes easier to contemplate Ockeghem as a personable man with a compelling demeanour rather than a crabby figure in dark glasses.

What follows mainly concerns the songs because in many ways these offer the simplest access to Ockeghem's language. With the long musical paragraphs of the masses and motets the listener, like the performer, can have some trouble discerning the articulation of musical space. With the songs, on the other hand, the received *formes fixes* with their standard repeating patterns predetermine the larger form, and the ear is freer to concentrate on the musical details and the individual phrases. Moreover, the three-voice texture in most of the songs is not only more easily comprehended but more easily assimilated into the tradition of 15th-century music up to that point: in the first half of the century four-voice writing was not only relatively rare but more inconsistent in its syntax, and the tremendous stylistic variety of Ockeghem's mass cycles bears witness to a continuation of that.

So the new set by the Medieval Ensemble of London opens important horizons. It is an eminently careful and sensible piece of work. Where complete texts survive the songs are sung complete, without the changes of orchestration that tended, I think, to mar some earlier recordings of this repertory. Where the text is incomplete they perform the song instrumentally, which is slightly sad but again sensible and in any case concerns only a few pieces. The set includes good notes, good texts for the complete poems and good translations. Briefly it is—or has been for me—supremely informative and educational.

The musicians came to the project from their earlier

set of Dufay's complete songs.⁹ The experience gained there shows, particularly in the ensemble's reliable feeling for the tempo and articulation of the music. These things submit to standard criteria that are valid for most Western music: they should be such that all the apparently relevant details in a work can be allowed to come through; they should show how one piece differs from another in superficially similar style; and they should allow the performers to both feel and sound relatively comfortable. With most music there are several speeds and approaches that satisfy those requirements; but there are usually more that do not, and in general it is the fate of unfamiliar music to be performed and recorded at unsatisfactory speeds. One lesson that any musician can learn from the growing stream of early music recordings from the past 30 years is how difficult it is for even the finest musical minds to establish the correct pace, how difficult it is to imagine the ideal performance until it has actually been heard. Not everything on these records is ideal; but in general they represent a substantial step in the right direction.

Dufay is of course the best preparation for performing Ockeghem, who in many ways built on the most fascinating aspects of the older man's last style. Other composers developed Dufay's penchant for canon and pervasive imitation; still others followed his understanding of what can be done with musical space by a composer who is prepared to repeat small motifs, allow a few bars of empty space to let the music breathe, insert a predictable pattern and then surprise the listener by interrupting it. But Ockeghem drew on Dufay's use of small, carefully honed details as vital musical structures in themselves that convince by their concentration and unexpectedness. It is the difficult features of late Dufay that find their home in the works of Ockeghem.

The Medieval Ensemble of London have also improved on various features of the Dufay set. There they followed the published edition too slavishly, even thoughtlessly, but for Ockeghem they have largely had to make their own editions and the results are correspondingly more deeply thought through, more musical. Where they previously excluded women's voices (perhaps on the mistaken but current notion that women did not sing polyphony in the 15th century) they have now enlisted the aid of Margaret Philpot, the singer who to my ear comes closer than anyone at the moment to giving the lines of 15th-century song their true, limpid poetry. She combines

the articulation of a choirboy with the breath control and understanding of an adult; and anybody concerned with the repertory, whether as performer or listener, can study her approach with profit.

Over the past year I have listened to this set many times, for it presents a wonderful opportunity to become familiar with this strange and resourceful repertory; there is very little in the performances that becomes irritating on repetition and my pleasure has only deepened. The interpretations may sometimes be serviceable rather than inspired. But at the same time nothing goes badly wrong, and everything is well presented. This is an extremely good place for beginning to come to terms with one of the least understood of early composers.

One thing that comes across with surprising clarity is the status of certain dubious works. Of the 27 songs that survive with ascriptions to Ockeghem several also have conflicting ascriptions to others. Over the years many of them have been discussed in the musicological literature and there is a certain consensus about their authorship, a consensus based more on the authority of the manuscripts in which the ascriptions appear than on musical style. If the subjective conclusions derived from repeated listening happen to agree with the more objective conclusions reached elsewhere, they are none the worse for that.¹⁰ *Quant ce viendra*, for instance, must be by Busnois, to judge from its lines, rhythms, imitation-scheme and texture. Appearing as it does on the first side of the set after three genuine works (for in the case of *D'ung aultre amer* it is impossible to think of the contrary ascription to Busnois as anything but an aberration) it stands out clearly as belonging to an entirely different musical world. And *Ce n'est pas jeu* is separated from the rest not only by its severely standardized imitation but by the way the lines run, each turned with a graceful formality: nobody listening to it in this context should be surprised to learn that three sources of independent authority ascribe it to Hayne van Ghizeghem whereas the single source giving it to Ockeghem is one that attempts to ascribe virtually every piece it contains.

Malheur me bat ends with a sequential passage of a kind favoured by nearly all composers of the late 15th century but severely eschewed by Ockeghem; and every detail of its lines is foreign to Ockeghem's style. The ascription to Johannes Martini is on the other hand highly convincing. (Another source gives the composer as 'Malcort'; but pending the identification of any composer with that name it seems more

sensible to regard that as being derived from a misreading of the song's title.¹¹ Likewise it is primarily the cliché-ridden closing section that suggests *Au travail suis* is by Barbingant rather than Ockeghem. Here manuscript study has tended to favour Ockeghem,¹² as has the evidence of the extraordinarily powerful opening phrase which Ockeghem was to use for one of his finest masses. But Barbingant was adept at such gestures, and several other details of the part-writing are found in his work. Moreover, the principle of *difficilior lectio praestat* naturally favours the more obscure composer. My feeling is now that the song is by Barbingant, and this will become important to views offered below.

Equally, however, there are works in which aural experience casts doubt on accepted views. Most writers have tended to favour Ockeghem rather than Dufay as the composer of *Departez vous Malebouche*.¹³ With the fuller context of Ockeghem's music it begins to seem that the song fits poorly there and that after all more of the details point to Dufay: the way imitation is treated, the play of smaller rhythmic cells, the opening of the *secunda pars* with a new textural colour, and the manner of the concluding *tripla* section.

Most difficult of all is the case of *Resjois-toi terre de France*, which I once suggested might be by Ockeghem since it celebrates the accession of a French king, almost certainly Louis XI in 1461, and is in many ways similar to Ockeghem's lament on the death of Binchois at the end of 1460.¹⁴ Obviously there is a strong *prima facie* case here that a song for the accession would have been composed by the master of the royal chapel. But I am bound to say that the musical evidence seems less than overwhelming: the song has none of the special gestures that make Ockeghem's work so individual. Moreover, the material and the mood of this rejoicing piece are almost *too* close to those of the lament for Binchois. Nobody now thinks that the mood of a 15th-century song should always jump off the page, but the lack of apparent differentiation between two songs of such contrasted subject-matter is both unusual for its time and slightly disturbing. The argument can be turned in many directions: perhaps the great master put less effort into a work for the accession of a king known to have little appreciation for the fine arts than into a lament for a deeply loved composer; on the other hand, perhaps a composer of lesser stature writing a work for the accession would feel it right to emulate the style and manner of the master of the royal chapel. Hearing the work has

emphatically not deepened my conviction that it is by Ockeghem.

Conversely, aural experience tends to confirm the ascriptions, which have occasionally been doubted, for two works found only in late sources. *Baisiés moy donc fort* begins in a predictable manner with a long point of imitation at the 5th; but the sheer density and inexhaustible resourcefulness of the rest of the setting mark it as a fine example of Ockeghem's last style. Similarly, the bitextual *Fors seulement contre ce/Fors seulement l'attente* strikes the ear as belonging to the same category, and it would be difficult to sustain an earlier suggestion that it was ascribed to Ockeghem simply because the *Fors seulement l'attente* melody in the bass was known to be by him.¹⁵ Again it is the perpetual freshness of the invention and the complete absence of anything formalistic, repetitive or predictable that distinguish this song along with so many works of his maturity.

Another purely instinctive reaction to the records is that it is extremely difficult to become excited about the two works in which Ockeghem only added voices. With the two added voices for Cornago's *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* it would take considerable effort to demonstrate the usefulness of Ockeghem's arrangement of a song which is so beautiful in its original form. And like several other composers he added a second voice in the same range to be performed alongside the discantus of the famous *O rosa bella*. It is hard to see or hear why Ockeghem bothered. Much of the time he simply follows the line of the original tenor; just once there is a moment of unexpected writing, at the words 'O dolze anima mia'. The only plausible explanations of this would be that the voice is wrongly ascribed or a student work; and since the ascription is by some margin the earliest to survive for Ockeghem (it is in Trent 90, which apparently dates from the 1450s), the voice would seem to be his. By 1454 Ockeghem was master of the French royal chapel and therefore presumably acknowledged as one of the leading musicians of his generation; but even so, the lack of other such early ascriptions makes it surely unwise to question the appearance of his name in Trent 90. I can therefore only think that this was a student work rescued misguidedly from oblivion at a slightly later date.

But how much later? Here the question of chronology becomes important. Proposed birthdates for the composer currently range from 1425 to as early as 1410.¹⁶ It seems to me that the original *O rosa bella* is unlikely to

have been composed earlier than about 1440¹⁷ and therefore that the rich tradition of works based on it can hardly have started much before 1445. To posit that date for Ockeghem's hesitant *O rosa bella* setting would favour a birthdate nearer 1425 than 1410; and it would eliminate the difficulty of explaining why a composer born in 1410 should be known by no work likely to have been composed before he was about 45.

This brings us inevitably to his bergerette *Ma maistresse*, the only other work of his in a source likely to have been copied before 1461, the year of the lament for Binchois and the song for the accession of Louis XI. *Ma maistresse* appears anonymously and without text in Trent 93, which is more or less coeval with Trent 90. Quite how many of Ockeghem's other surviving songs are likely to have been composed before 1461 is a tricky question: nothing of his survives in the relatively representative chansonniers now at Berlin¹⁸ and Pavia,¹⁹ both apparently from the 1460s; nor is there anything in the enormous Buxheimer Orgelbuch, from about the same time. The earliest manuscripts with any quantity of his music are the chansonnier at Wolfenbüttel²⁰ and the Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée now in Paris,²¹ both conceivably (though not demonstrably) as early as the 1460s. And the only other song definitely in an early source is the bergerette *Ma bouche rit*, in a section of the Schedelsches Liederbuch apparently written in 1463.

While the relative scarcity of dateable sources from before 1470 makes it impossible to base secure

conclusions on what they contain, there seems at least a chance that *Ma maistresse* and *Ma bouche rit* are among Ockeghem's earliest works. They are among his few compositions in which the tenor and contratenor lines occupy the same range: others with the same characteristic are *D'ung autre amer* and *Fors seulement*, which appear in Wolfenbüttel and Nivelle, as well as *La despourveue* (see illus. p.241), the only firmly authenticated original song in the old O mensuration apart from *Ma maistresse* and the curious *Prenez sur moy*; the same characteristic appears in the three-voice *Missa sine nomine*, and in the anonymous *Missa 'Le serviteur'* in Trent 89 which Louis Gottlieb convincingly suggested might be Ockeghem's.²² These would make a good basis for at least a hypothetical repertory of Ockeghem's compositions before 1460. Certainly, as concerns *Ma maistresse* and *Ma bouche rit* a date before about 1450 is unlikely simply because the bergerette form in which they are cast seems not to have become popular before then.²³

There is another detail about *Ma maistresse* that may be relevant. Many people have noted that the rondeau *Au travail suis*, for which I marginally prefer the ascription to Barbingant rather than Ockeghem, contains a phrase remarkably similar to the opening of *Ma maistresse*: it is in the third line at the words 'Ma maistresse ainsi'. But it differs in that the imitation is at the octave, rather than at the 5th (ex.1a and b). There is of course considerable room for dispute as to which borrowed from which; and precedents could be offered for both procedures. But imitation at the 5th is rarer

Ex.1 (a) Ockeghem, *Ma maistresse*, bars 1–3; (b) ?Barbingant, *Au travail suis*, bars 16–19; (c) Ockeghem, *Missa 'Ma maistresse'*, *Gloria*, bars 1–5

[a]

Discantus: Ma mais - tres - se

Tenor: (rests)

Contratenor: (rests)

[b]

16 Discantus: Ma mais - tres - se

Tenor: (rests)

Contratenor: (rests)

[c]

Discantus: Et in ter - ra pax

Tenor: ho - mi - ni - bus

Contratenor: bo - - - (nae)

Bassus: (rests)



2 Ockeghem, Aultre Venus estés (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2794, ff.39v-40)

Manuscript pages 27v and 29 showing musical notation and French lyrics for 'Ma maistresse' by Ockeghem. The lyrics are as follows:

Ma maistresse et ma plus gracie
apres de mon desir la mortelle envie
profonde en bise songes maistre fut sonne Celle
scelle de qui court bruit et fame
estre sans per ne sans deur
te me
Inflammante mon dolent cuer la morte
de abattant que n'avois pris fait endormie
de n'avois fait m'ant ame dame dame
que n'avois fait maistre madame
que n'avois fait maistre dame dame
Ma maistresse.

3 Ma maistresse (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf.287 Extravagantium, ff.27v-29)

and more complex, and purely for that reason there would be a good case for arguing that *Ma maistresse* took its opening point from *Au travail suis*, condensing and elaborating it in the manner one might expect from a young composer establishing his credentials and trying his wings. A related point has been overlooked: Ockeghem's *Missa 'Ma maistresse'* actually includes a more direct quote from *Au travail suis* at the beginning of the Gloria (ex.1c). Clearly much here depends on my view that Barbingant was in fact the composer of *Au travail suis* and on my more easily supported view that *Ma maistresse* quotes *Au travail suis*, not vice versa. But if these views are correct, the song had a remarkable impact on Ockeghem, not only in the opening of *Ma maistresse* and in the *Missa 'Au travail suis'* but also in the Gloria of the *Missa 'Ma maistresse'*.

Ma maistresse, then, is a crucial work, and this is the place to mention a new source for it in a chansonnier fragment from the years of Ockeghem's maturity. It is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (R.2.71), and consists of just four paper leaves, each roughly

torn off at one end or both.²⁴ With a page width of c138mm, a probable depth of c180mm and a writing area of c85 × 135mm, it is rather larger than the 'central' French chansonniers of the time and about the same size as, for instance, the Mellon Chansonnier. Handwriting, orthography and what can be seen of a watermark²⁵ on f.1 would suggest that the fragment came from France, perhaps from somewhere along the Loire valley, within ten years either side of 1475. It is relatively unusual in having only six staves per page, whereas the normal pattern of the time was seven.²⁶ Its contents, all apparently in a single hand, are as follows:

1 (f.1)²⁷ [Busnois: *Je ne demande autre de gré*], rondeau, 4vv: tenor and contratenor for second half. What can be seen shows conclusively that Trinity agrees with the version of the song in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 229,²⁸ whereas the other six sources all expand the music at the mid-point cadence by one *brevis*, thereby separating the two halves of the song more distinctly and—it seems to me—eliminating one of its finest features. Certainly the appearance of this more compact version in a new source makes it easier to argue that the version represents the correct and original form of the song.²⁹

The image shows two pages of a medieval manuscript. The left page (f.1) contains musical notation on six staves and lyrics in French. The lyrics begin with 'Festiduum' and include 'clae de lue bii plamde', 'me deuvrie', 'Si ne lons plasty', 'bnsuendre douz doz amoure par qui d', 'auultre ay meo nar puissance', and 'Car sans douz que en quel que part q' sole'. The right page (f.2) continues the musical notation and lyrics, featuring a portrait of a woman in a hat at the top, followed by 'Eter helas', 'Eter helas', and 'Corine Helas'. The notation consists of square neumes on vertical lines.

2 (f.1v) [P]assés tout oultre du monde/ . . . et ou passeraige, combinative chanson with probably a rondeau in the discantus and some kind of popular melody in the tenor, 4vv: *prima pars* of discantus and contratenor, fragments of tenor. Not otherwise known (the opening appears in ex.2).

3 (f.2v in the present binding, but certainly a recto) Text fragment, acephalous and virtually illegible but apparently two stanzas, each of four lines followed by the refrain words 'Et n'espères'. This takes up the top staff; the remaining five staves are empty. Given that the poem's form is unlike that of any known polyphonic chanson of the time, there are three possible explanations for the presence of this text: (a) that the facing page contained a monophonic song, in which repertory poetic forms are more fluid and variable than in polyphony; (b) that the facing page contained an extremely simple homophonic song such as became more popular at the very end of the century; or (c) that there was no facing page. In favour of this last suggestion it might be noted that the staves are regularly ruled throughout the fragment and look as though they were drawn before any music was added, indeed probably before the leaves were assembled. There is therefore nothing strange about the possibility that the first page of the original manuscript contained just staff lines.

4 (f.2 in the present binding, but certainly a verso, continuing

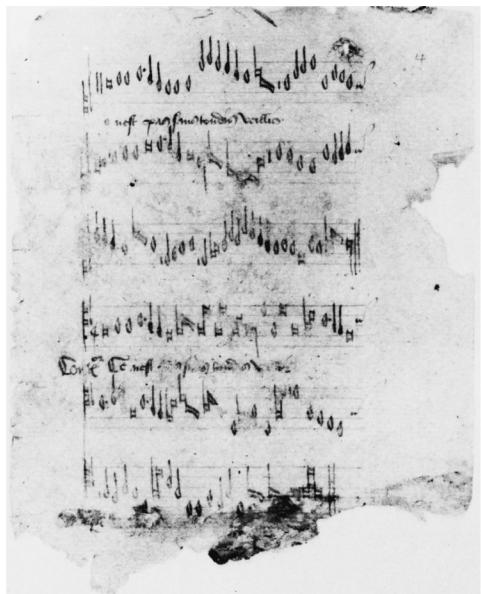
on to f.3 with one leaf missing between the two) [F]ortune lesse moy la vie, bergerette, 3vv: first half of the discantus, second half of the tenor and contratenor.³⁰

5 (f.3v) Scarcely legible discantus and full text of a rondeau with a four-line stanza, beginning *Vous qui n'amez que Camelos*. Not otherwise known.³¹

6 (f.4) *Ce n'est pas sans toudis veillier*, probably a rondeau, 3vv: tenor and contratenor (illus.4). Unfortunately no more text survives; but the music, with even less text, appears also in Bologna, Q16, ff.83v-84 (illus.5). Comparison shows that neither source contained an entirely correct version of the last six bars, though the two sources together make the original easy to reconstruct.

7 (f.4v) OKEGHEM [M]a maistresse, bergerette, 3vv: discantus of the first half and tenor of bars 1-16 (illus.6). All other sources for this song present it anonymously; the ascription comes only from Tinctoris's treatise *De arte contrapuncti* (1477), where he mentions a song by that title in his brief list of works that excelled in their *varietas*.³² Before the appearance of this ascribed source in Cambridge there was at least the possibility that Tinctoris was referring to a lost song that happened to have the same opening words.

Ex.2 Opening of [P]assés tout oultre du monde/ . . . et ou passeraige, with the missing bass part reconstructed (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.2.71, f.1v)



A new source of *Ma maistresse* is valuable, for the song poses several questions in addition to those raised above: there are dissonances not found elsewhere in his songs, and at bar 15 prominent parallel 5ths; the apparently literal citations in Ockeghem's *Missa Ma maistresse*³³ contain several substantial variant readings that appear in none of the chansonnier sources; its chromaticism is more problematic than in most works of the time; and we still have no version of the poem's opening line that seems to scan satisfactorily. Trinity clarifies some matters, but *Ma maistresse* will remain one of those tricky works, not least because its style is so much more expansive than that of Ockeghem's other songs and the extraordinarily developed sequential pattern in the second line is entirely uncharacteristic of his mature style.

In just one respect, however, the new source helps to answer a fraught question in what seems the logical and historically appropriate way. Hitherto only two sources of the song were known with the poem

4 (left) Anon., *Ce n'est pas sans toudis veillier* (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.2.71, f.4; with permission of the Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)

5 *Ce n'est pas sans toudis veillier* (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q16, ff.83v–84)



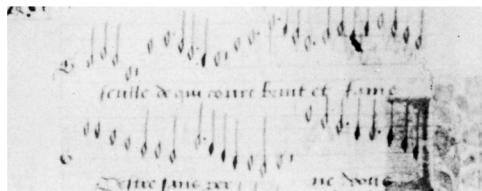
6 Ma maistresse (Trinity, f.4v)

underlaid to the music: the Laborde Chansonnier (illus.1) and Wolfenbüttel (illus.3), which are in these sections more or less synoptic. The question at issue is whether the fifth line of the poem begins at bar 26 (as in Laborde, illus.7, along with all editions and performances known to me) or at bar 29 (as in Wolfenbüttel, illus.8). Texting in these sources is notoriously approximate and often dictated by scribal considerations rather than musical ones: illus.6 shows that the Trinity scribe might have had difficulty in starting the new line at bar 26, which is just before the end of the third staff; but if he had wanted the words to begin there he could at the very worst have started them at the beginning of the fourth staff instead of leaving a space and starting clearly, as he does, at bar 29. As it happens, the Wolfenbüttel scribe could easily have added the text for the fifth line at bar 26, but did not. And in this respect the manuscript that gives the clearest signs of putting scribal considerations before musical ones is the smallest and most elegant, namely Laborde, where the text is relatively evenly spaced throughout. But Laborde also includes a unique

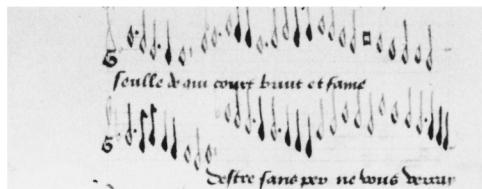
musical variant in bar 26 which makes it easier to start the fifth line of text at that point: evidently some thought had gone into the positioning of the text there.

One principle commonly found in the song repertory of the time is that a line of text is matched by a musical phrase that begins and ends with a rest, at least in the discantus, and ends with a strong cadence; the run-on line is rare. According to that principle, the cadence at bar 26 would be seen as a mere resting-point, a stage from which the concluding melisma of the fourth line ran on towards its real cadence at bar 29, where the 7/4–6/3 cadential pattern of so many of the song's main cadences is again found. This argument would favour the Trinity–Wolfenbüttel solution. On the other hand that solution would result in lines of 7, 4, 7, 11 and 5 bars rather than the more evenly balanced 7, 4, 7, 8, 8 implied by Laborde.

There is one very strong argument in favour of the apparently more lopsided Trinity–Wolfenbüttel version. Composers of this generation seem to have treated the *prima pars* of a bergerette more or less as a *rondeau cinquain*: almost invariably the main cadence was after the third line, and quite often the sources even include a *signum congruentiae* at the end of that line, which is quite meaningless in the context of a bergerette but would be crucial in a rondeau.³⁴ There is one composer who in his settings of the *rondeau cinquain* quite often attempted to balance the two halves by greatly expanding the music for the fourth line of the poem: Binchois.³⁵ And given the nature of Ockeghem's lament for Binchois as well as his mass on Binchois' *De plus en*



7 Ma maistresse (Laborde Chansonnier, detail of f.9v)



8 Ma maistresse (Wolfenbüttel, detail of f.27v)

plus, we might expect to find features of the older composer's technique in Ockeghem's earlier works. For that reason I am inclined to favour the Trinity-Wolfenbüttel textng rather than that in Laborde. Without the new source it would have been difficult to find the courage to make such a suggestion. If that suggestion is correct, it could well be a good clue to identifying further features of Ockeghem's early style; and it lends support to the theory that *Ma maistresse* is one of Ockeghem's earliest surviving works, for Binchois too is a composer who stands out in the 15th century as having played dangerously with irrational dissonances.³⁶

¹Taken from Edward E. Lowinsky's translation in *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, iii (Chicago, 1968), p.67

²Lowinsky, 'Ockeghem's Canon for Thirty-six Voices: an Essay in Musical Iconography', *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, ed. G. Reese and R. J. Snow (Pittsburgh, 1969/R1977), pp.155–80, on p.162

³See G. Kühn and W. Roos, *Sieben Jahrhunderte Brille*, Abhandlungen und Berichte des Deutschen Museums, xxxvi/3 (Munich and Düsseldorf, 1968), pp.9–13.

⁴The poem which the painting accompanies was crowned at the Puy of Rouen in 1523, but the manuscript includes poems crowned as late as 1528. See D. Plamenac, 'Autour d'Ockeghem', *La revue musicale*, ix (1927–8), pp.26–47, on p.33, and R. Wangermée, *Flemish Music and Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1968), commentary to pl.19.

⁵See Plamenac, *op cit*, p.40.

⁶Nonesuch H-71336: the other works on the record are the chansons *Ma maistresse* and *Au travail suis* and the motets *Ave Maria* and *Alma Redemptoris mater*.

⁷Musical Heritage Society MHS 4179; to open the record they have added Busnois' motet *In hydraulis*, composed in honour of Ockeghem.

⁸Decca Florilegium D254D 3

⁹Decca Florilegium D237D 6 (reviewed in EM April 81 pp.213–16)

¹⁰Of course it is dangerous to assume that in all cases only one of the ascriptions can be correct: there are a few clear examples where a composer has revised an earlier work and claimed the authorship (though probably not as many as in the 18th century); and there are occasional examples of apparent joint composition. But these are rare, certainly far more so than is suggested in the most extended statement on the subject, A. W. Atlas, 'Conflicting Attributions in Italian Sources of the Franco-Netherlandish Chanson, c.1465–c.1505: a Progress Report on a New Hypothesis', *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp.249–93.

¹¹The status of the three ascriptions to Ockeghem is clearly explained in A. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, i (Brooklyn, 1975), pp.149–55, though I cannot accept (see n.10 above) his conclusion that Martini revised a piece by Malcort.

¹²See the carefully measured comments in D. Plamenac, 'A Postscript to Volume ii of the *Collected Works of Johannes Ockeghem*', *JAMS*, iii (1950), pp.33–40, on pp.33–4. The *New Grove* article on Barbinting gives the work to Ockeghem.

¹³See my own recent *Dufay* (London, 1982), p.239, as well as the computerized study of 15th-century style in L. M. Trowbridge, *The Fifteenth-century Chanson: a Computer-aided Study of Styles and Style*

Change (PhD diss., U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982), pp.244–6. I. Pope and M. Kanazawa, eds., *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871* (Oxford, 1978), p.574, suggest rejecting both ascriptions (though their rejection of the Dufay ascription simply follows Besseler, who based his opinion on an extremely faulty transcription in CMM I/6, no.93).

¹⁴D. Fallows, 'English Song Repertoires of the Mid-fifteenth Century', *PRMA*, ciii (1976–7), pp.61–79, on p.68

¹⁵O. Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht eine stilkritische Studie* (Leipzig, 1925), pp.18ff; recent support for the ascription appears in M. Picker, ed., *Fors seulement Thirty Compositions. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, xiv (Madison, Wisc., 1981) (reviewed on p.253 of this issue).

¹⁶See 'Ockeghem, Johannes', *The New Grove*, xiii, p.489.

¹⁷See 'Bedyngham, Johannes', *The New Grove*.

¹⁸Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, 78.C.28

¹⁹Biblioteca Universitaria, Aldini 362

²⁰Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf.287 Extravagantium

²¹Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés.Vmc.57

²²L. E. Gottlieb, *The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89* (PhD diss., U. of California at Berkeley, 1958), i, pp.112–21; the mass is in Trent 89, ff.153v–160 (nos.606–10).

²³See Fallows, *Dufay*, pp.151ff.

²⁴According to a note in the binding it was found in 1913 by A. G. W. Murray, then librarian of the college; and the present assembly includes rough transcription of the texts in what looks like a French hand of the same date. A brief and slightly misleading manuscript entry pasted into the two shelf copies of the published library catalogue states merely that the fragments were found in a binding in the Trinity library. Timothy Hobbs, sub-librarian, told me that there is no surviving information about binding or restoration which could help in identifying the original volume. I am grateful to him for this and for considerable further help during my most recent visit to the library. The fragment was first drawn to my attention by Richard Rastall, to whom it had been shown by the librarian, Philip Gaskell. I also thank Howard Mayer Brown for some observations on the source.

²⁵A particular feature of the hand is the distinctive terminal 's' (see illus.4 and 6). The watermark is a coat of arms with three fleur-de-lis, close to C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Geneva, 1907), nos.1680, 1724 and 1741, all of which are documented along the Loire Valley.

²⁶Six staves are found only in the Italian manuscripts El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, IV.a.24; Pavia 362; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 431; and Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 714. Another is the special case of the Chansonnier Cordiforme.

²⁷At the top right-hand corner is an apparently original number '01'; but since this is the second opening of the song the number is incomprehensible.

²⁸Edited with a complete list of concordant sources in H. M. Brown, ed., *A Florentine Chansonnier*, Monuments of Renaissance Music, vii (Chicago, 1983), no.147. The expanded version can be seen, for instance, in H. Hewitt, ed., *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), no.42, and, from the Pièxerécourt Chansonnier, in J. Wolf, ed., *Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, i (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1908).

²⁹Another argument in favour of the shorter version would be that no two sources for the longer version agree in their details at this point.

³⁰Also in Wolffenbüttel, Pavia and Oporto

³¹I have not been able to make a satisfactory transcription of either music or text, though I am happy to make available to inquirers my attempted transcription (with which I was kindly helped by Dr Hobbs).

³²Ed. A. Seay, CSM, xxii/2 (1975), p.156; in the same treatise Tinctoris also mentions no.1 of this fragment, Busnois' *Je ne demande* (*op cit.*, p.143).

³³Plamenac (Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works, i (rev. 2/1959), p.xlii) notes that the entire discantus of the chanson appears in the Gloria of the mass but fails to mention that the tenor for the *prima pars* appears in the bassus of the Kyrie. On this and other details of the relationship between chanson and mass see E. H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley, 1963), pp.150ff. There can, incidentally, be absolutely no question about the authenticity of the mass, since it is ascribed to Ockeghem in the Chigi Codex. Moreover it is now possible to add a detail to Herbert Kellman's tentative hypothesis ('The Origins of the Chigi Codex: the Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C.VIII.234', *JAMS*, xi (1958), pp.6–19, on pp.15f) that the Chigi Codex may have been planned largely as a memorial to Ockeghem and Regis. Current opinion is that Regis died in 1486, 11

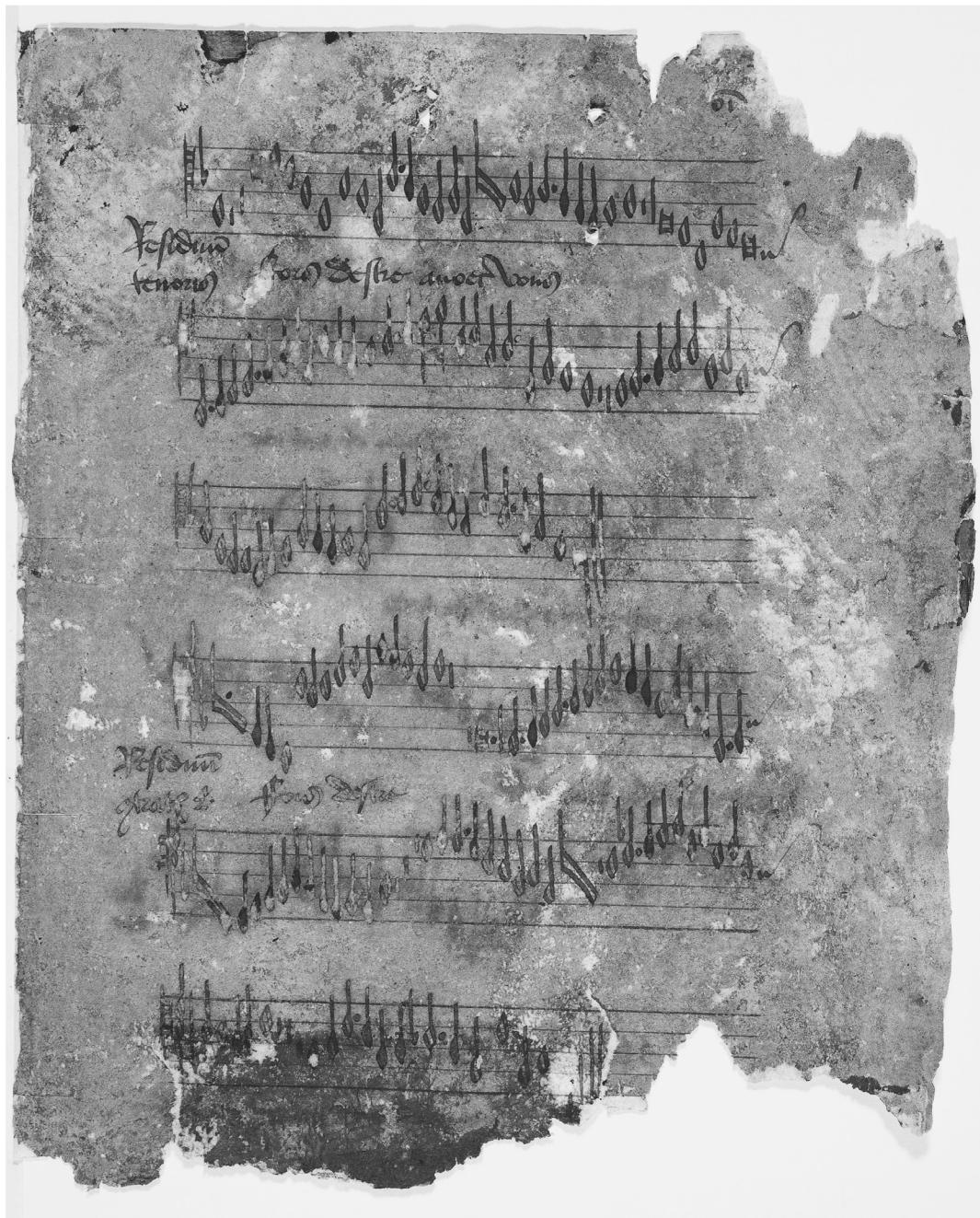
years before Ockeghem; my own recent research into the accounts of St Vincent, Soignies (Archives de l'Etat, Mons, but at present housed in the Archives de l'Etat, Tournai) has shown that Regis in fact died between the summer of 1495 and that of 1496, probably early in 1496, and therefore within a year of Ockeghem. This of course considerably strengthens Kellman's hypothesis and correspondingly strengthens the Ockeghem and Regis ascriptions in Chigi. In due course I shall publish these findings in detail; but the date of Regis's death seemed worth mentioning at the earliest opportunity.

³⁴I discuss this matter further in *Dufay*, pp.151–5.

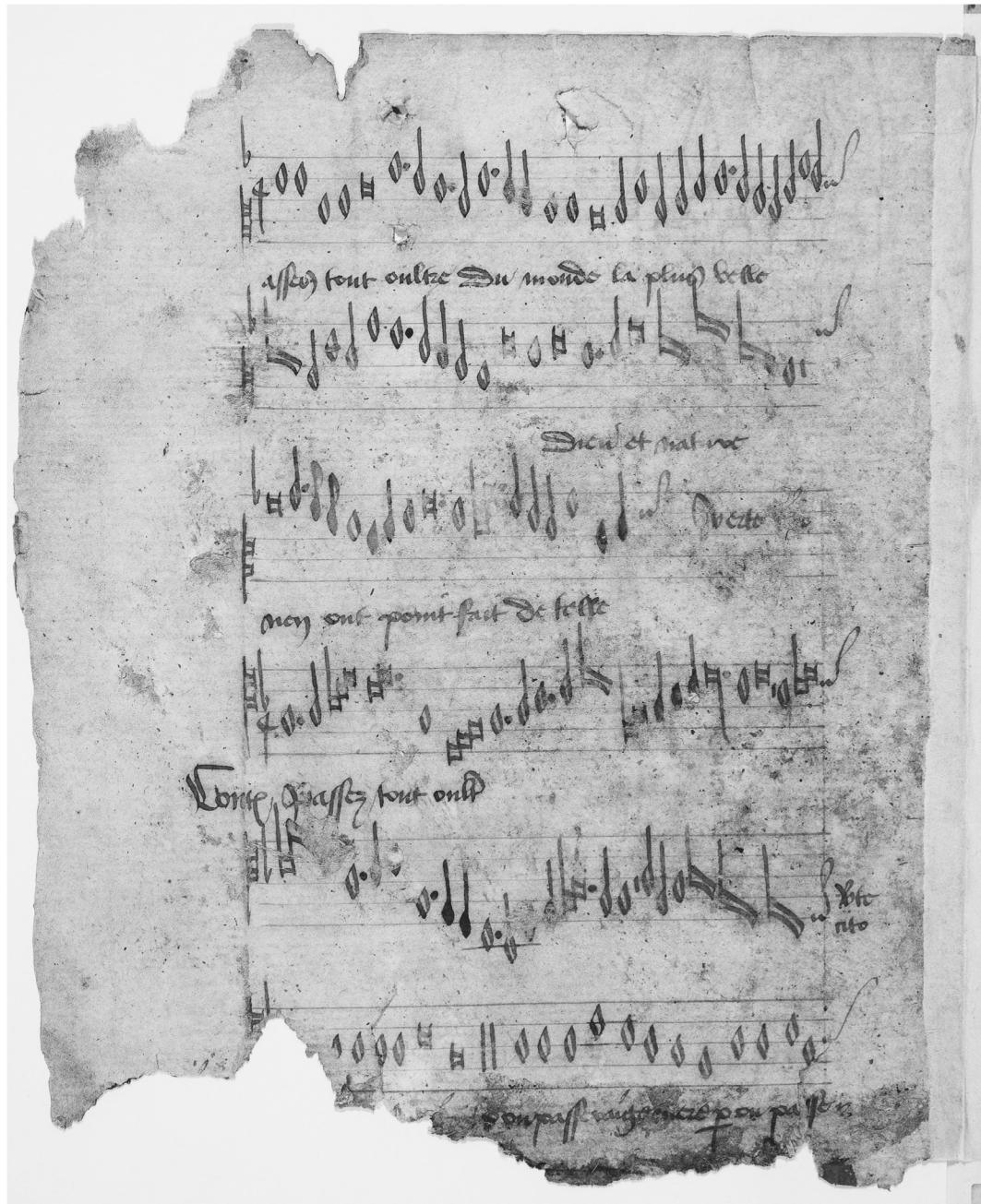
³⁵See W. Rehm, ed., *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois* (Mainz, 1957), p.7*, and Ludwig Finscher's review of it in *Die Musikforschung*, xi (1958), pp.113f.

³⁶See 'Binchois, Gilles de Bins dit', *The New Grove*, ii, p.715, and R. Bockholdt, *Die Frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Dufay* (Tutzing, 1960), i, pp.196–201, including, on p.200, reference to the 7/4–6/3 cadence as used by Binchois.

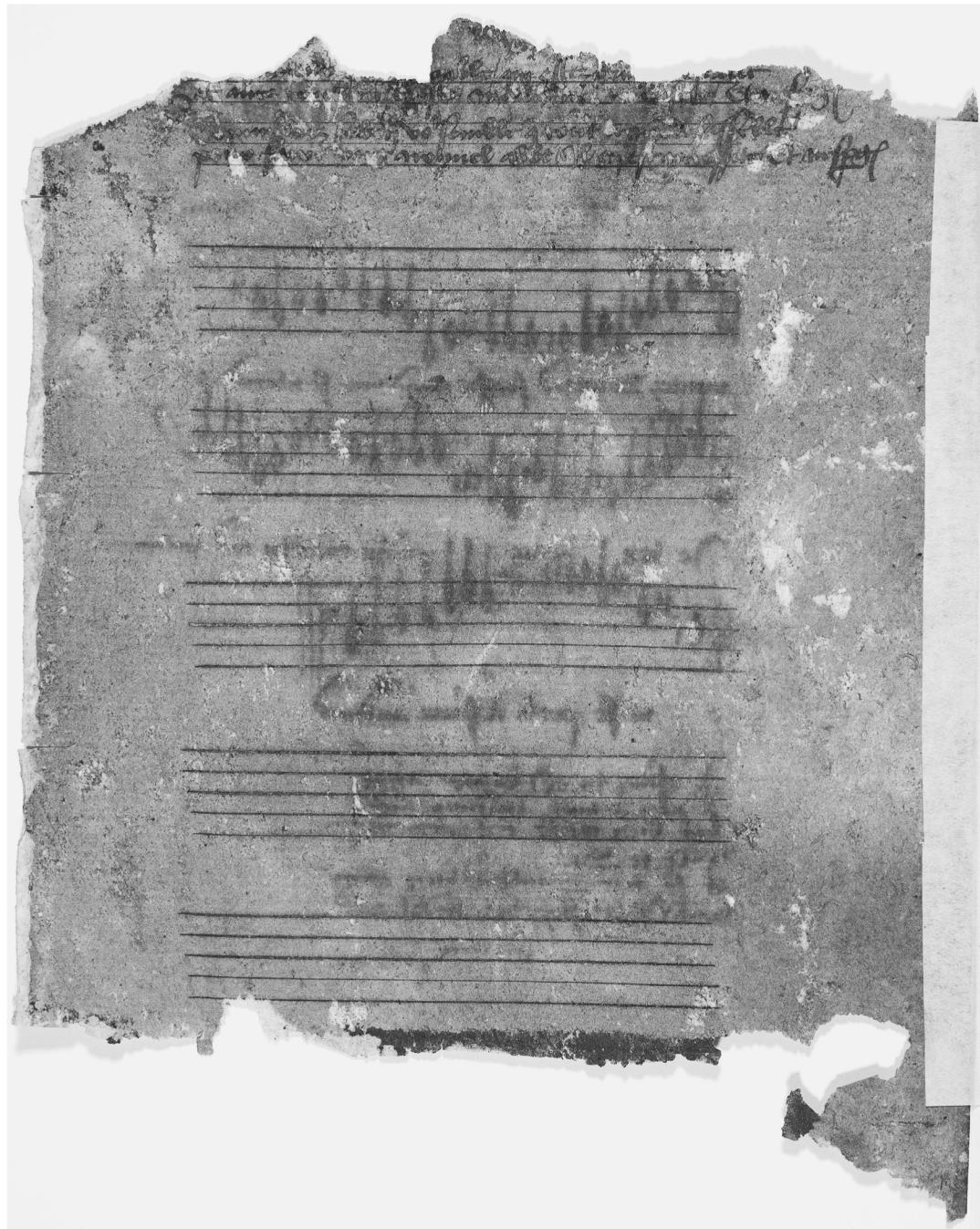
N.B. The following pages contain a new set of original-size reproductions of the manuscript R.2.71 in Trinity College, Cambridge, as discussed on pp. 225–9 of this article, where there are fuller details on each piece. They are presented with permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.



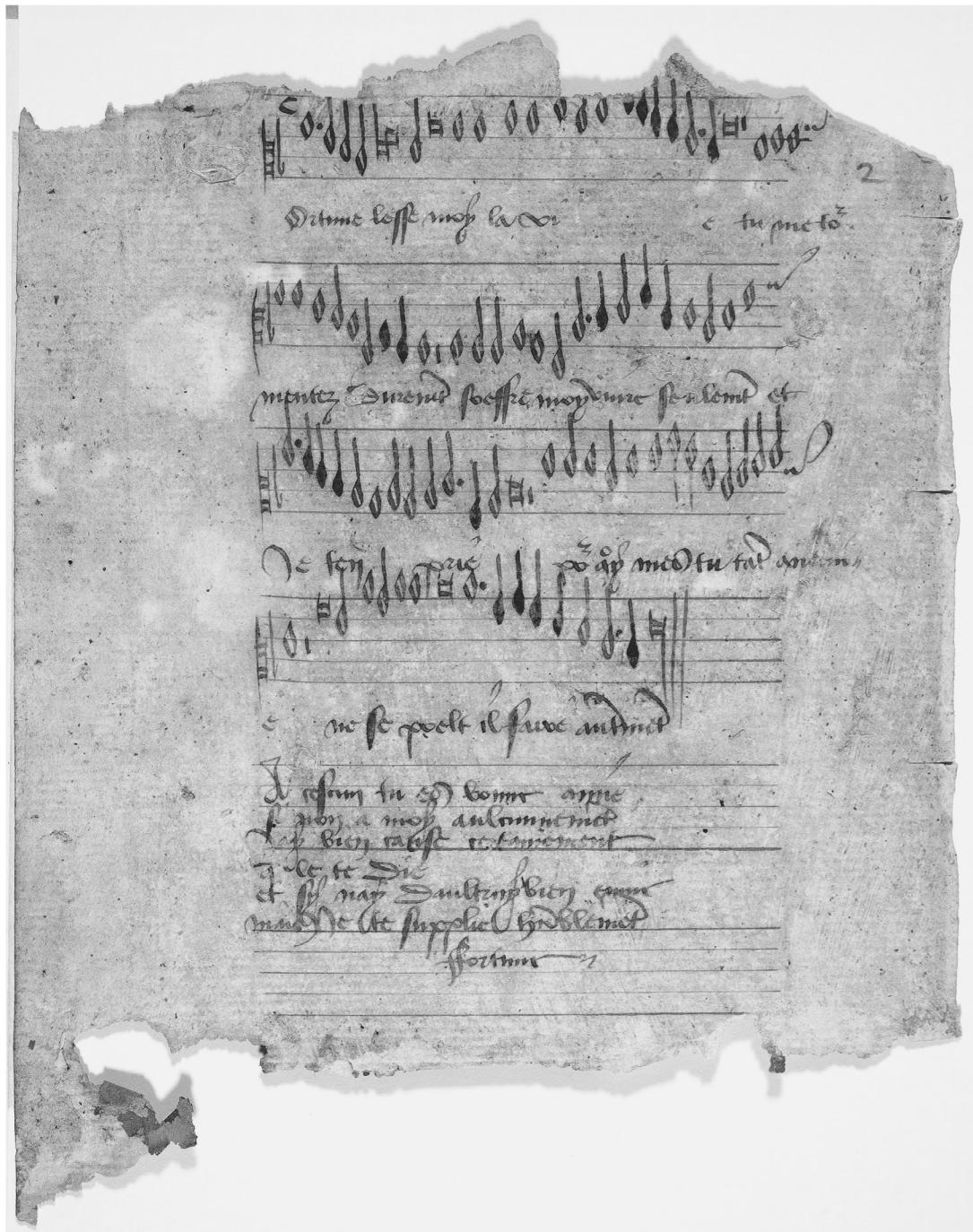
No. 1 (f.1r): tenor and contratenor bassus for second half of Busnoys, *Je ne demande*



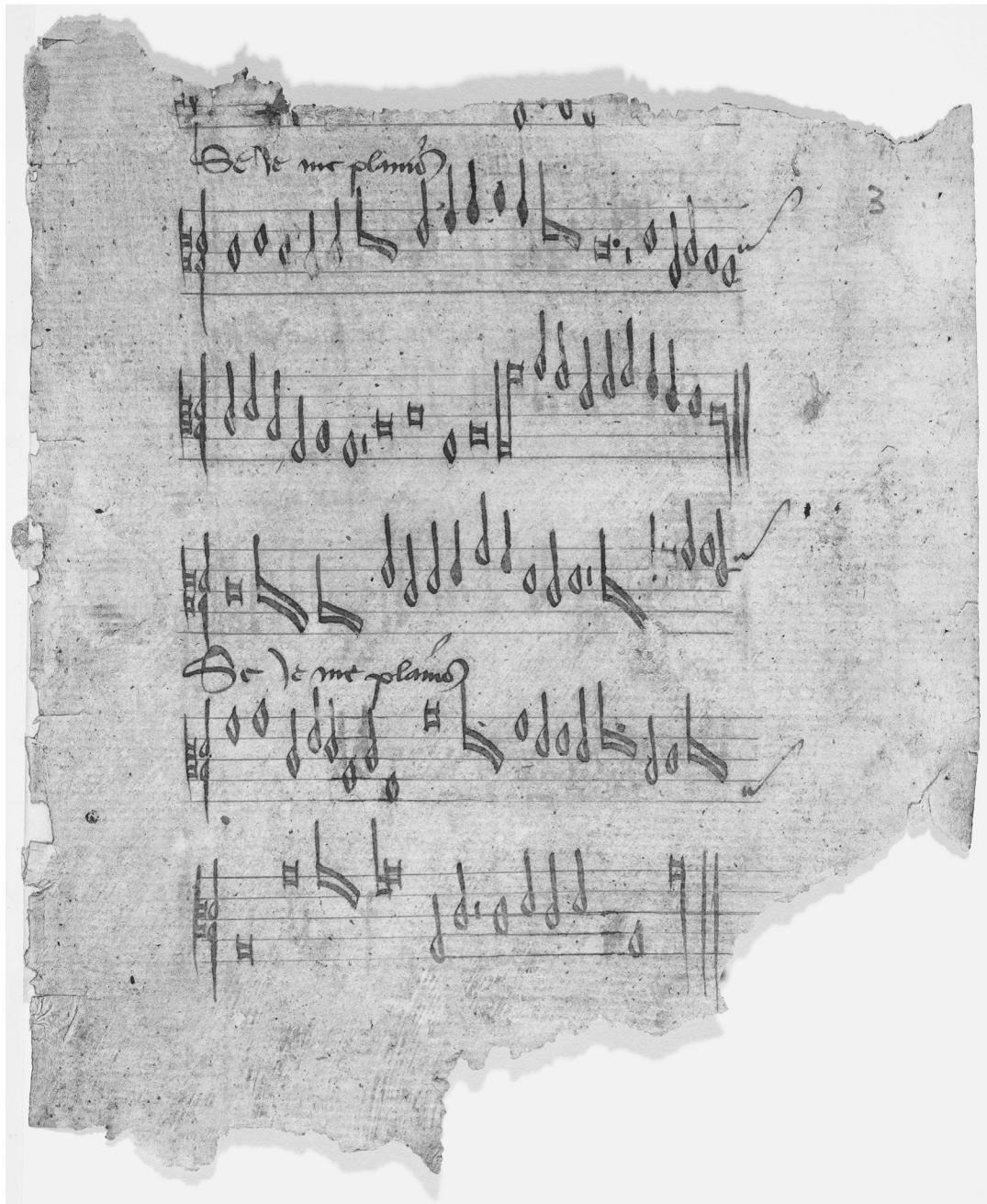
No. 2 (f.1v): discantus, contratenor and bits of tenor for the first half of the anonymous and unique combinative chanson *Passés tout oultre*



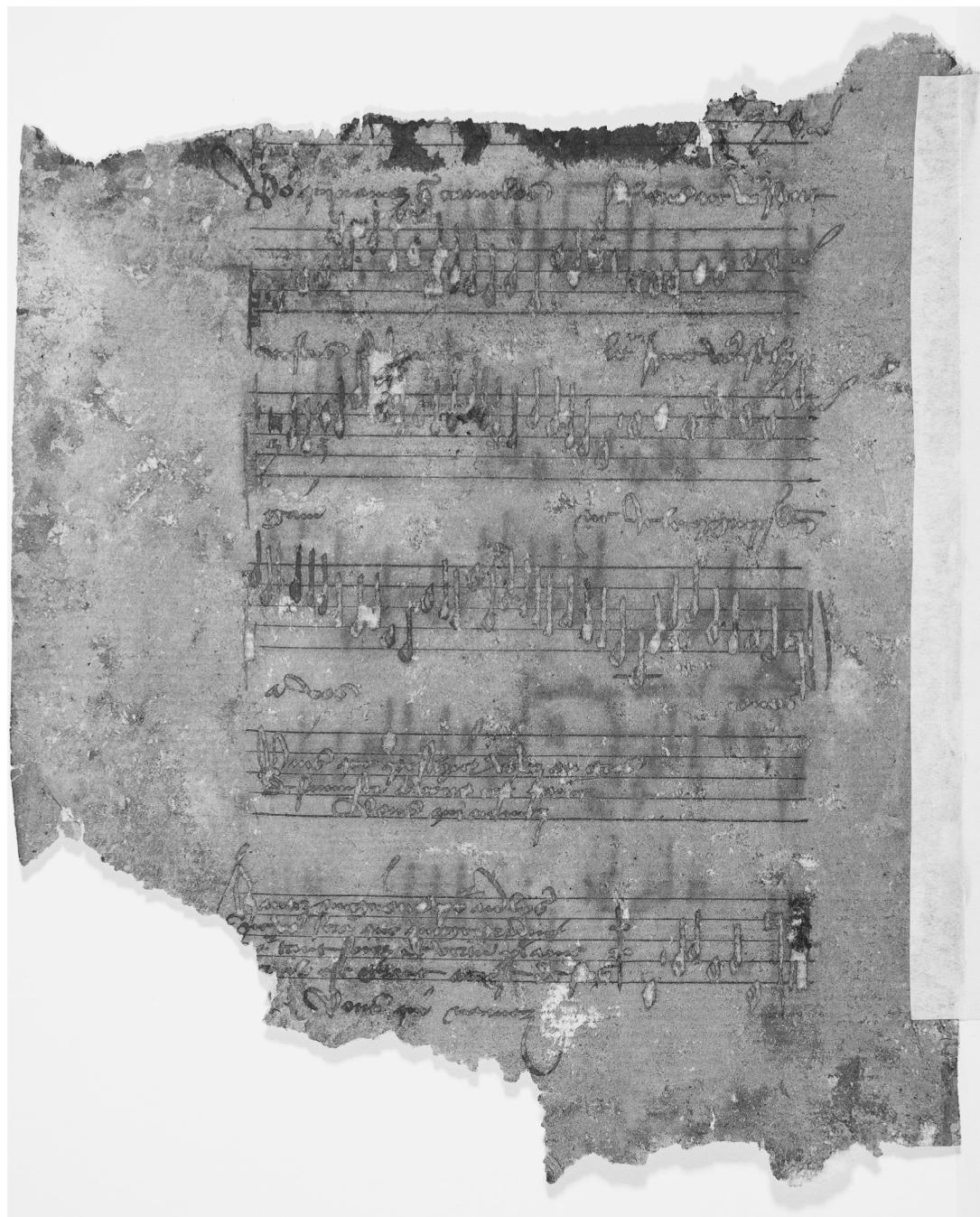
No. 3 (f.2v but certainly a recto): text fragment of an unknown song



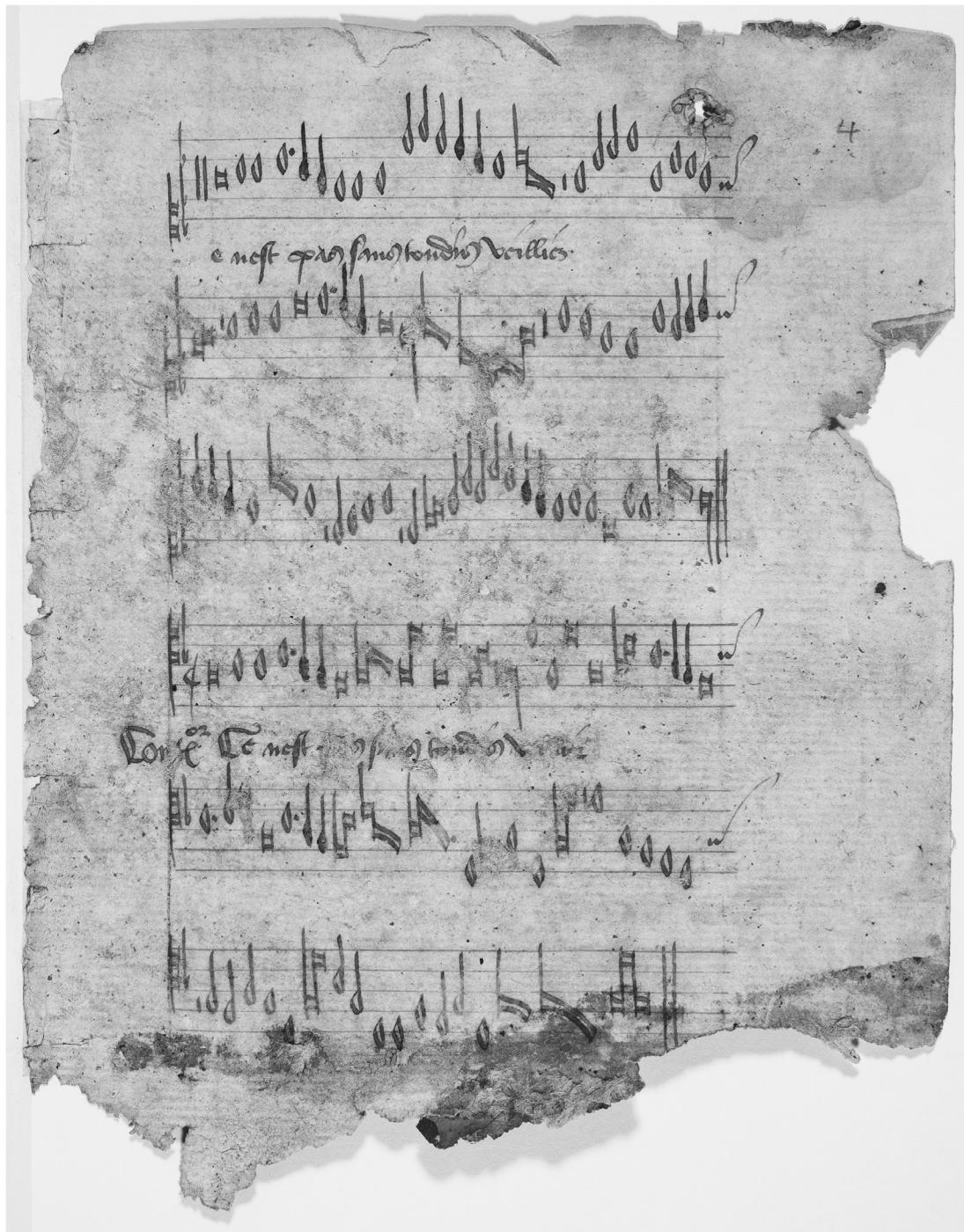
No. 4 (f.2r but certainly a verso): discantus for the first half of *Fortune lesse moy la vie*

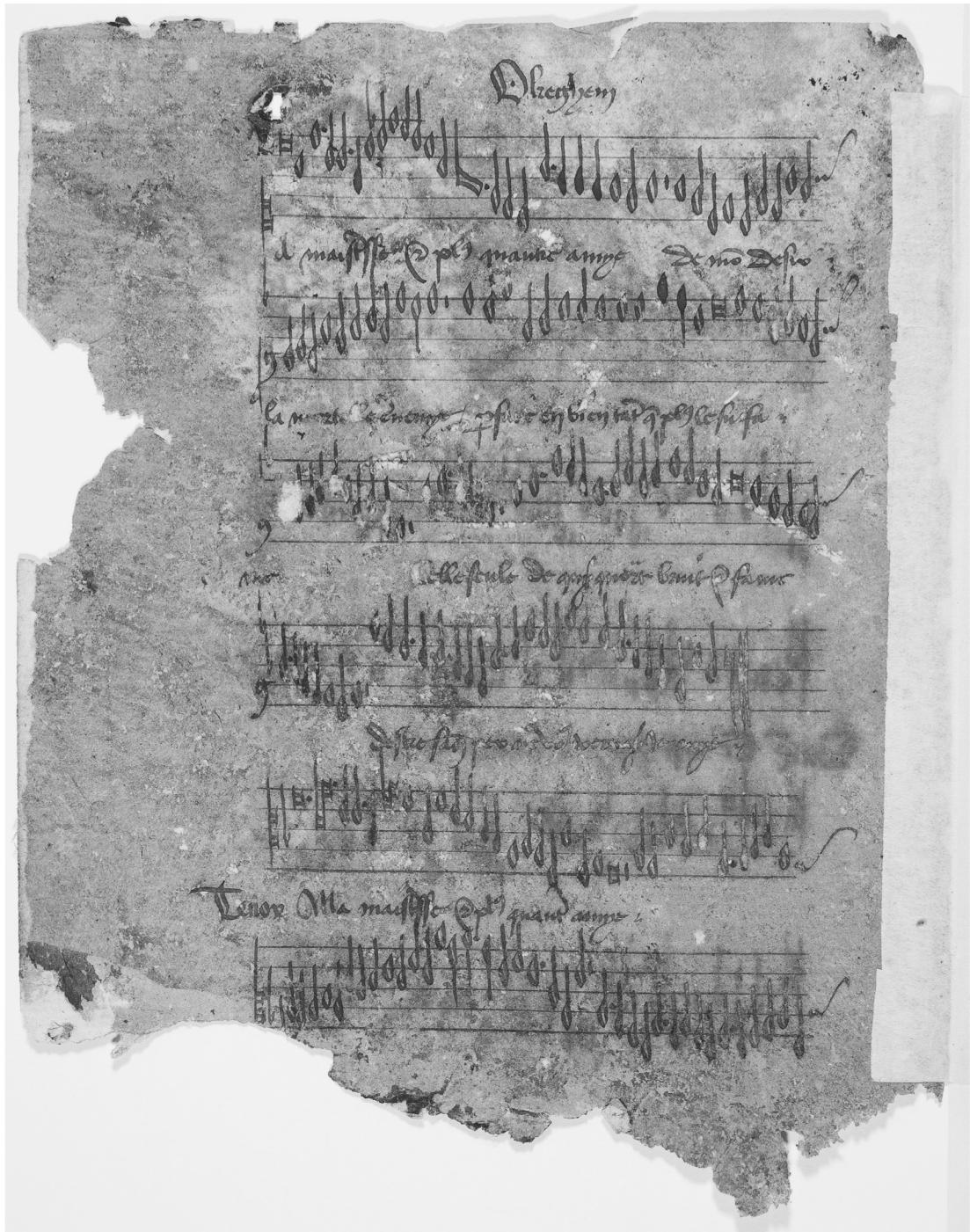


No. 4 continued (f.3r): tenor and contratenor for second half of *Fortune lesse moy la vie*



No. 5 (f.3v): discantus for rondeau opening perhaps *Vous qui n'amez que Camelos* with, at the very bottom of the page, the last few notes of the contratenor

No. 6 (f.4r): discantus and contratenor for *Ce n'est pas sans tousdis veillier*

No. 7 (f.4v): discantus and part of tenor for first half of Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*

OCKEGHEM AS A SONG COMPOSER

Hints towards a chronology

AS RECENTLY as five years ago six of Ockeghem's songs had never been printed at all and many others were available only in editions that were very old or very poor or both. But in 1992 they were published almost simultaneously by Clemens Goldberg, Wolfgang Thein and Richard Wexler.¹ In particular Wexler's complete and consistent publication of the songs was a major event, one that for the first time gave the opportunity for a closer look at him as a song composer. The importance of this is obviously that a large number of sources from Ockeghem's lifetime contain songs by him; they offer hints about the distribution of his music and about its chronology. There is at least a hope of establishing a fairly solid backbone for Ockeghem studies on the basis of the songs, whereas the sources of the masses and motets offer very few hints. Because the songs were not published they have

¹ Clemens GOLDBERG, *Die Chansons Johannes Ockeghems: Ästhetik des musikalischen Raumes*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 19 (Laaber, 1992). Wolfgang THEIN, *Musikalischer Satz und Textdarbietung im Werk von Johannes Ockeghem*, Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge, 13 (Tutzing, 1992). Richard WEXLER, with Dragan PLAMENAC, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works*, III: *Motets and Chansons*, American Musicological Society, Studies and Documents, 7 (Boston, 1992).

been marginalized in Ockeghem studies to date; and there seems a good case for suggesting that they should be absolutely central.

What follows is mainly an outline of attempts to sketch the chronology of Ockeghem's songs and offer a few preliminary conclusions about what it may mean.

Wexler printed twenty-two songs. Of the three pieces added in the appendix he wrote that "questions of their authorship cannot be resolved definitively at this time" (p. ix). He was right to add them, and he was also right to put them in an appendix; but his remark on the authorship seems too politically restrained, since the body of recent writing on these pieces is emphatically against including them in the Ockeghem canon. There is, admittedly, a certain amount of disagreement about *Au travail suis*, but my own view is firmly that it is by Barbingant, not Ockeghem;² and I ignore it in what follows.

The songs are listed in Table 1. Each entry contains on its second line details that are no longer relevant to the discussion: mensuration signs, line lengths, and cadence pitches. But I have left them in in case they should be of interest for some other purposes (they suggest, for example, that *Quant de vous seul* falls well outside Ockeghem's normal patterns and may not in fact be by him). Each entry also includes tabulation of its total range and lowest pitch (which will become relevant later); and at the end of the second line the number of surviving sources, preceded by the number with ascriptions. Most important for the present purposes is the listing of the songs in chronological order of the earliest known sources, or rather in terms of their latest possible dates.

Of those twenty-two songs, fifteen appear in sources completed by about 1470, thus almost thirty years before his death. We can return later to the seven songs found in later sources. But the fifteen songs that are definitely pre-1470 seem to suggest that his main compositional activity was across the twenty years 1450-70.

2 As outlined in David FALLOWS, 'Johannes Ockeghem: the Changing Image, the Songs and a New Source', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), pp. 218-30, see pp. 223-5. The view tentatively expressed there is challenged in C. GOLDBERG, *Die Chansons Johannes Ockeghems...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-207 and 344-5, and more cautiously doubted in W. THEIN, *Musikalischer Satz...*, *op. cit.*, p. 58. While a proper response to their comments would merit several pages, I find myself increasingly confident that the song is in fact by Barbingant.

Table I

Trent 93 (?1453-4)

12. <i>Ma maistresse</i>	V5/3:10	f16 T=Ct 1@/7
O: 7f 4f 7c/ 8d 8c//C: 9d(b) 10f 15a		

Trent 90 (late 1450s)

14. <i>O rosa bella</i> (2vv)	d14 (1 voice)
C	unicum

1460 (death of Binchois)

13. <i>Mort tu as navré/Miserere</i> (4vv)	B8:8	G17
O: 10a 9d/ C: 15a 7d(b) 12d(or a) 7d		1@/2

Schedel (ca.1460)

11. <i>Ma bouche rit</i>	V5/3:10	c16 T=Ct 6@/18
C: 8g(c) 8c 10g(e)/ 10a(f) 10e// 8g 7a(f) 8e/11a		

Nivelle (ca.1465)

3. <i>D'ung aultre amer</i>	R4:10	B17 T=Ct 6@/18
Φ: 8d 11d/ 15b(g) 11g		
4. <i>Fors seulement l'attente</i>	R5:10	A20 low Ct 2@/7
Φ: 18a 12d 11a/ 14f 16a		
19. <i>S'elle m'amera/Petite</i> (4vv)	R5:8	A17 4@/10
C: 8a 7a 11a/ 10a 11d		
21. <i>Tant fuȝ gentement resjoui</i>	V6/3:8	A18 T=Ct unicum
C: 6d 7c(a) 6e(a)/ 7a(f) 7f 8d// 8c 7a 9d		

Dijon 517 (ca.1470)

9. <i>L'autre d'antan</i>	R5:8	c17 ext Ct 5@/7
6b(g) 6g(e) 6a/ 9c 10g*		
10. <i>Les desleaulx ont la saison</i>	R4:8	G16 low Ct 1@/2
C: 6d 7e/ 7a 11d		
15. <i>Prenez sur moy</i>	R5:8	(d) 15 low Ct 8@/11
O: ??		
16. <i>Presque transi</i>	V5/3:10	G18 ext Ct 1@/2
O: 6g 6c 6g/ 6g 7e// 6g(e) 6g 7c/9e		
17. <i>Quant de vous seul</i>	R5:8	A18 T=Ct unicum
C: 7d 9a 3d/ 11a 6d (?)		

Laborde, 2nd layer (ca.1470)

6. <i>Il ne m'en chault</i>	R5:8	G19 low Ct
Φ: 7a 6a(f) 7d/ 7d 10g		unicum
8. <i>La despourveue</i>	R5:8	B16 T=Ct
Ο: 6f 7f 5f/ 7?c(f) 7f		1@/3

Montecassino 871 (ca.1480)

18. <i>Qu'es mi vida</i> (4vv)	Cancion	D21 low Ct&B
		1@/2

Casanatense 2856 (ca.1480)

20. <i>Se vostre cuer eslongne</i>	R5:10	F19 low Ct
Φ: 7f 8a 9f/12b 8f (n.b. this division not that of Wexler)		2@/2

Riccardiana 2794 (by about 1485)

1. <i>Aultre Venus estes</i>	R4:8	A17 T=Ct
Φ: 8f 9d/ 9c 9f		unicum
22. <i>Ung aultre l'a</i>	R5:8	G20 low Ct
Φ: 10[c] 7c 8g/ 11a(f) 9g		2@/2

London Royal 20 A.xvi (by about 1485)

7. <i>Je n'ay dueil</i> (4vv)	R4:8	G22 low Ct&B
Φ: 12a 13a/ 14c 14a		2@/7

Paris f.fr. 2245 (by about 1490)

5. <i>Fors seulement contre ce</i>	R5:10	F20 low Ct
Φ: 10g 14f 14a(f)/ 9?f 16g		2@/6

Basevi 2439 (after 1500)

2. <i>Baisiés moy donc fort</i>	R4:8	D22 low Ct
Φ: 16a(d) 13d 13a(d) 16d		1@/2

That should surprise nobody, except that he was appointed head of the Royal Chapel in 1453, and had therefore presumably demonstrated some kind of excellence of a very special kind. But there are other ways of viewing that appointment: first there is no clear evidence that such appointments were made on the basis of compositional skill (and Leeman Perkins has noted that there was no other known composer of polyphony there at the time,³ in fact

³ Leeman L. PERKINS, 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-83)', *JAMS*, XXXVII (1984), pp. 507-66, see p. 522.

none recorded until the arrival of Fresneau in 1470); second, the main task in such a position was presumably administrative and diplomatic. His later appointment as Treasurer of St Martin in Tours is plain evidence that he had administrative gifts; the trip to Spain in 1469-70 seems to have been largely diplomatic; and the later character portrait by Francesco Florio attests to his charm. That is, while he could indeed have done large numbers of compositions dating back to 1440 or earlier, there seems no imperative need to push the evidence in an attempt to find such pieces: probe, certainly; but not push.

Plainly the strongest basis for probing is in the virelai *Ma maistresse*, found near the end of the Trent manuscript 93, on paper that Suparmi Saunders dated 1452.⁴ For some years we have all been a bit cautious about some of these watermark dates; after all the *tête-de-boeuf* watermark found here and elsewhere in the Trent codices is one of the most common watermark patterns of that generation. But it remains hard to resist the latest views on these manuscripts, particularly Peter Wright's proposal that most of Trent 93 was in fact copied in or near Munich, before Johannes Wiser came to Trent in 1455; and I am grateful to Peter Wright for sharing his belief that these pages were probably copied in about 1453-4.⁵ In any case *Ma maistresse* appears among the group of songs near the end of the manuscript, a group that includes two pieces by Bedyngham, who died in 1460, and Dufay's *Franc cuer gentil*.⁶

Nobody familiar with it needs telling that *Ma maistresse* is a work of the most consummate skill. If *Ma maistresse* was copied by 1454 in Bavaria and therefore composed perhaps by 1450, then several other works may be comparably early – though it remains possible that none of them survives.

⁴ Suparmi E. SAUNDERS, *The Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks* (New York and London, 1989), p. 186; *Ma maistresse* begins on fol. 375, the second leaf of the final gathering, which she describes as her fig. 22.

⁵ Informal communication, but based on materials presented in Peter WRIGHT, *The Related Parts of Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MSS 87 (1374) and 92 (1379)* (New York and London, 1989), esp. pp. 302-7, and P. WRIGHT, 'Johannes Wiser's Paper and the Copying of his Manuscripts', *I codici musicali trentini: Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. P. WRIGHT (Trent, 1996), pp. 31-53.

⁶ A summary listing appears in D. FALLOWS, 'Songs in the Trent Codices: an Optimistic Handlist', *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta*, ed. Nino PIRROTTA and Danilo CURTI (Trent, 1986), pp. 170-9, on p. 174.

Before exploring the possibility of other early pieces among the surviving works of Ockeghem, it is necessary to confront the matter of his *O rosa bella* setting, found in Trent 90 on paper now confidently dated 1456.⁷ This simply takes Bedyngham's discantus line and adds another voice in more or less the same range – something found in several other arrangements of *O rosa bella* from the same date and in the same sources. I have recently suggested that the original song was from the very early 1440s and that Ockeghem's arrangement would be done only shortly thereafter.⁸ But the difficulty with that suggestion is that none of the known gimel settings of *O rosa bella* appears in any source datable before Trent 90. Moreover, it must have taken a few years for *O rosa bella* to make its impact. A date in the 1450s for Ockeghem's version now seems to me far more probable. It does look very much as though the gimel tradition was of the 1450s; and that in its turn suggests that my earlier view of it as a student work may be badly wide of the mark. Within the limitations of its genre, the piece does have a certain perfection, once the evident copying errors are ironed out.

The next steps in the chronological pattern are easy enough. *Mort tu as navré* was surely composed almost immediately after Binchois died, namely September 1460; though its sources are both much later. And the virelai *Ma bouche rit* appears in the Schedelsches Liederbuch, copied in about 1460. This date seems fairly solid, established ninety years ago by Richard Stauber, drawn as it is from script comparisons with a number of precisely dated literary manuscripts in Schedel's hand.⁹

This is perhaps the moment to pause and reflect on the strange circumstance that Ockeghem was master of the French Royal Chapel already in 1454 but that not a note of his music is found in any French source earlier than about 1465: until then the only known sources are German. The simple reason for this is of course that we do not have any French or Franco-

7 P. WRIGHT, 'Johannes Wiser's paper...', *op. cit.*, pp. 34 and 35.

8 D. FALLOWS, 'Dunstable, Bedyngham and *O rosa bella*', *The Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), pp. 287-305, on p. 299.

9 Richard STAUBER, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*, in: *Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, ed. Hermann GRAUERT, vol. 6, parts 2-3 (Freiburg i.Br., 1908), pp. 41-4, drawing attention to similar handwriting in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 484 (including, fols. 1-45, a copy of Alanus ab Insulis, dated (fol. 45) 20 December 1456, fols. 48-97, Boethius, dated 1457, and, fols. 98-100, Leipzig disputes of 1459), clm 129 and clm 130 (lecture notes dated 1459).

Flemish songbook between the Escorial chansonnier of the 1430s and the chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée of the early 1460s. On the other hand, it remains true that there is not a note of his music in the enormous Buxheim keyboard manuscript of around 1460 – which does include such relatively late songs as Dufay's *Le serviteur*, *Par le regard* and *Franc cuer gentil*, none of which is likely to have been composed much before 1450. Nor is there any song by Ockeghem in the Italian sources before the Mellon chansonnier of ca. 1475, with one exception: the *prima pars* of *Ma maistresse*, textless like the Trent source, copied at a late stage into the chansonnier Escorial 'B', surely at least a decade after it had appeared in Trent. There is a fair quantity of music in these manuscripts; and the important message here is that we need to be just a little cautious in too enthusiastically pushing pieces back to the 1450s merely to fill a gap in Ockeghem's biography.

Returning, however, to what does happen to survive, there are four more songs in the Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée, very plausibly dated around 1460-65 by Paula Higgins.¹⁰ These include three of his most successful works: *D'ung aultre amer*, *Fors seulement l'attente* and *S'elle m'amera*; alongside them is one of the loveliest, albeit *unicum*, the virelai *Tant fuz gentement resjoui*. This manuscript also ascribes the rondeau *Au travail suis* to Ockeghem, an ascription I reject in favour of the Dijon ascription to Barbingant (in any case the Nivelle copy is marred by a bizarre flat key-signature that hardly implies a trustworthy exemplar). This is relatively little against the eight pieces ascribed in Nivelle to Busnoys; and there seems only a slender chance that any of the unattributed pieces here is by Ockeghem. There is in any case no hint in Nivelle to suggest that its compiler was particularly close to Ockeghem.

The Wolfenbüttel chansonnier, for which I have recently proposed a date of around 1467,¹¹ adds nothing more: *Ma maistresse*, *D'ung aultre amer*, *Ma bouche rit* and *Fors seulement*, with *S'elle m'amera* only among the later additions. And in the earliest layer of the Laborde chansonnier, perhaps from about the same time, there is only again *Ma maistresse*, *D'ung aultre amer* and *Ma bouche rit*. These last two sources are largely synoptic, and they are relatively small col-

¹⁰ Paula HIGGINS, ed., *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée* (Geneva, 1984), see in particular p. III.

¹¹ D. FALLOWS, 'Trained and Immersed in all Musical Delights: Towards a New Picture of Busnoys', *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. P. HIGGINS (Oxford, forthcoming).

lections; but at the same time they appear to have been compiled very close to French royal court circles. That they add nothing more by the man who for a dozen years had been master of the Royal Chapel once again urges caution about suggesting earlier dates for some of the other songs.

The repertory increases a little with the next group of song collections, the materials copied by a single hand into the Copenhagen chansonnier, the Dijon chansonnier and the second layer of Laborde. These I date in the very early 1470s;¹² and they add seven more pieces. They amount in any case to a far larger collection of music than we had previously. If we add to these the poetry manuscript known as the Chansonnier de Rohan, from about the same date, as Martin Löpelmann very cogently argued many years ago,¹³ we find the same repertory. That is to say that there is nothing in the Rohan manuscript that is not in the sources mentioned so far; and there are only six pieces in those chansonniers that are not in Rohan. None of the pieces found only in later sources appears in the Rohan chansonnier.

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At this point the matter of voice-ranges becomes potentially helpful, as illustrated in Table 2. The ranges Ockeghem uses in the songs are not necessarily any indication of chronology, but a few patterns are easy to see. First, broadly speaking, the ranges increase with the later sources: the post-Laborde pieces have ranges of 19 to 22 notes, with a single exception; whereas the earlier pieces have 16 to 18 notes, again with a single exception.

12 Edward Barret argues that Dijon was completed before the death of Cardinal Jouffroy in 1473, see C. E. BARRET, Jr., 'A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier' (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1981), I, p. 225. A rather earlier date, ca. 1465-69, proposed in Martella GUTIÉRREZ-DENHOFF, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 29 (Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 125, derives from a scheme that accepts the relative chronology proposed here but puts everything some four to five years earlier than seems likely.

13 M. LÖPELMANN, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 44 (Göttingen, 1923), pp. VIII-XII.

Table 2

4vx

13. *Mort tu as navré* 19. *S'elle m'amera* 18. *Qu'es mi vida* 7. *Je n'ay dueil*
 C2 C4 C2/1 C4 C1 C4 C5 G2 C1 C4

Virelais

12. *Ma maistresse* 11. *Ma bouche rit* 16. *Presque transi* 21. *Tant fuz*
 C1 C3 C3 C2 C4 C4 C2 F3 C1 C4 C4

Rondeaux

3. *D'ung aultre amer* 8. *La despourveue* 9. *L'autre d'antan* 17. *Quant de vous*
 C1 C4 C4 C2 C4 C4 C1 C4 C4 C1 C4 F4

10. *Les desleauxx* 6. *Il me n'en chault*
 4. *Fors seulement l'attente* 15. *Prenez sur moy* 1. *Aultre Venus estes*
 C1 C1 F3 C2 C4 F3 C2 C4 F4 C1 C4 F4

20. *Se vostre cuer* 22. *Ung aultre l'a* 5. *Fors seulement contre* 2. *Baisiés moy*
 C2 F3 C1 C4 C1 C4 C1 C4

The exception among the earlier sources is the astonishing *Fors seulement l'attente*, famously built with two high voices in close to equal range with a wide-range contratenor well below them. It is a special musical design for a special purpose; and its importance in this particular context is as a reminder that a fairly limited voice-range is not necessarily a matter of chronology: there are plenty of earlier pieces by other composers with wide voice-ranges. On the other hand, the patterns that emerge from the tabulation of ranges do seem to suggest that, other things being equal, Ockeghem tended to write in particular ways at particular times in his life.

Take, for example, the case of the four-voice songs. *Mort tu as navré* of 1460 and *S'elle m'amera*, copied in about 1465, are fundamentally very different in their musical design. *Mort tu as navré* has a structure rather like that of a tenor motet, though with the main melody line moving independently of the lower voices. *S'elle m'amera* has the borrowed *Petite camusette* melody in the three lower voices and a separate rondeau in the top voice, albeit sharing some of the melodic material from the borrowed melody. But both works have a roughly similar set of voice-ranges, spanning a total of only 17 notes (that is, two octaves and a third). Most important here is the place of the contratenor broadly above the tenor and the tenor roughly in the same range as the bassus. In fact in both these songs the bassus tends to function like a contratenor in relation to the tenor; in *Mort tu as navré* it even has octave-leap cadences, and in *S'elle m'amera* the only reason the tenor doesn't go quite so low is the imitative structure of the three lower voices. I have elsewhere outlined my reasons for thinking that *S'elle m'amera* must date from around 1460, reasons to do with its style and design in relation to similar songs by Busnoys, particularly his very closely related *On est bien malade*.¹⁴ So it may be no great surprise that these two four-voice songs of Ockeghem are so similar in their range and voice-relations.

The other two four-voice songs have a far wider range. In adding two new voices to the discantus and tenor of Cornago's *Qu'es mi vida*, Ockeghem had a lower new contratenor and particularly allowed his bassus to go well below the other voices – with spectacular results. Finally *Je n'ay dueil* is, in terms of its ranges, the most extraordinary song of the entire fifteenth century, with the contratenor well below the tenor and the bassus well below the con-

14 D. FALLOWS, 'Trained and Immersed...', *op. cit.*

tratenor.¹⁵ Four quite different tessituras and a total range of three octaves, the entire range fully used in the course of the work's relatively few bars.

Certainly there is a 22-note range in three of his masses – *Cuiusvis toni*, *Prolationum* and *L'homme armé*. And four of Josquin's masses have a 22-note range. But these are all far more extended works; and the extreme notes are

¹⁵ This remark concerns only the four-voice version that occurs in all but one of the surviving sources. Discussions of the piece occur in Martin PICKER, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 61-2, and, building on Picker's findings, Louise LITTERICK, 'The Revision of Ockeghem's "Je n'ay dueil"', *Le Moyen français*, 5 (1980), pp. 29-48. Louise Litterick argues most cogently that it could have begun as a three-voice song, then expanded by the composer with the addition of a contratenor in the same range as the tenor (as in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q17) and then further revised (again by the composer) to produce the extraordinary version found in all other sources. C. GOLDBERG, *Die Chansons Johannes Ockeghems...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-9, also concludes that everything goes back to a three-voice original (which he prints, pp. 429-30, and uses as the basis for his analysis). If they are right, three further observations about the hypothetical original three-voice version may be appropriate: first, its decidedly thin textures, with extended passages in only two voices, align it with Ockeghem's own *Fors seulement l'attente* as well as with certain other songs of those years or slightly later, among them Regis's *S'il vous plaist que vostre je soye* and Compere's *Mes pensees*; second, its range of only 17 notes aligns it with other Ockeghem songs that I propose below may have been composed in the early 1460s; third, however, the use of a low contratenor voice is quite unlike that of his other early chansons with the single exception of *Fors seulement l'attente*, which has a remarkably similar use of the two higher voices and similarly explores boldly unusual textures. On the other hand, I would firmly reject the implication of all these writers that Ockeghem's final version is unsatisfactory. The irrational dissonance Picker mentions (*The Chanson Albums...*, *op. cit.*, p. 62) in bar 36 (his edition and Wexler's) is no stranger than many in the masses, some of which are presented in Ernst KRENEK, 'A Discussion of the Treatment of Dissonances in Okeghem's Masses as Compared with the Contrapuntal Theory of Johannes Tinctoris', *Hamline Studies in Musicology*, 2 (1947), pp. 1-26. Moreover, H. E. WOOLDRIDGE's remark about a "distressing bareness of sound", which Picker quotes in support of his case, needs perhaps to be read in the context of what I would consider a most remarkably judicious assessment of the piece: "The composition is for four voices only, yet it extends through three octaves; a peculiarity which creates sometimes a distressing bareness of sound, though sometimes indeed, especially towards the close, effects of great richness and solidity are produced." (*The Oxford History of Music*, II (Oxford, 1905), p. 214). The performance at the congress by the Ensemble Gilles Binchois seemed evidence enough that this is in fact one of Ockeghem's most superbly conceived and bold compositions.

used only rarely. And once again in the case of Ockeghem's *L'homme armé* and *Prolationum* masses there are good structural reasons why the ranges expand so far. But in those two songs the extreme notes are aggressively exploited.

That *Je n'ay dueil* was added in the last layer of Laborde perhaps some time in the 1480s and appears in the British Library chansonnier Royal 20 A.xvi indeed suggests that it may be a very late work; it appears in no earlier source and is quite unlike anything else in his songs; and it thereafter had a fairly wide distribution. A date around 1480 seems by no means out of the question.

It is of course far harder to date the Cornago arrangement. There seems widespread agreement that it dates from Ockeghem's documented Spanish trip of 1469-70, though clear proof is plainly lacking. With the information that Cornago was in Paris in 1449, when he received a bachelor's degree at the university,¹⁶ there seems a good chance that the two composers were acquainted long before 1469; and it is always unwise to associate a piece and a document quite so eagerly. Certainly the broad pattern of texture and voice-ranges does appear to indicate that this may be a late work: with its 21-note range it is exceeded among the songs only by *Je n'ay dueil* and *Baisiés moy*.

Turning now to the virelais,¹⁷ there is a rather different pattern. All appear in sources copied by 1470. All have their tenor and contratenor in essentially the same range, but there are further details that invite notice. The first two both have a 16-note range (which may surprise those who think of *Ma maistresse* as far bolder than the more restrained *Ma bouche rit*); and both have tenor and contratenor firmly fixed on the same bottom note. The musical results may be strikingly different; but in terms of the underlying structure they are almost identical.

The other two virelais have a wider range, and both have their tenor and contratenor roughly an octave below the discantus. But *Tant fuz gentement* has its 18-note range only because of a single low A in the contratenor; in most other ways it is like the two earlier songs, except that its astonishingly

¹⁶ As revealed by Robert STEVENSON in *Inter-American Music Review*, 8/2 (1987), p. 52.

¹⁷ My reasons for using the term 'virelai' rather than 'bergerette' are outlined in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig FINSCHER, vol. I (Kassel, 1994), cols. 1411-13, s.v. 'Bergerette'. Briefly stated, there is no formal difference between the virelais of the 1450s and those of the late 14th century.

restrained manner keeps the range down. And of course that detail stresses the dangers of simply tabulating ranges without considering what they mean in the individual piece: the numbers are just a starting-point for further enquiry, though they are often stimulating and even surprising. In the case of *Presque transi*, the wider range is far more substantial. *Presque transi* is particularly notable for its wide contratenor line, only one note short of two octaves, largely as a result of its astonishing surge into the top register for the *tierce*.

That is to say that *Presque transi* represents a move in a slightly different direction. More than that, though, it suggests for those four virelais a composition order that precisely reflects their appearance in the sources. I suspect that anybody who knows the music well would be inclined to agree that this represents a plausible sequence for the four pieces.

The other point to draw from this, though, is that all four virelais are basically constructed with tenor and contratenor in the same range. The use of a low contratenor that seems to have been favoured by other composers from some time in the 1450s is not found here; and we shall see that a similar pattern obtains in the rondeaux.

What first strikes the eye about the first four rondeaux is that the tenor and contratenor occupy the range an octave below the discantus; that is, they are more like *Tant fuz gentement* and *Presque transi* than the earlier virelais. Moreover, *L'autre d'antan* has a contratenor line rather like that of *Presque transi* in its wide range, here soaring above the tenor. This was so unusual that two later sources have it rewritten to a more restrained range. So perhaps that wide contratenor-range explains why *Presque transi* is known only from two sources. But it also tempts the thought that these two works may have been composed at around the same time, entirely different though they are in their musical mood and design.

Similar patterns make it tempting to think that *D'ung aultre amer* could be from around the same time as *Tant fuz gentement*. At least these criteria do seem to suggest that it may have been rather later than the only other Ockeghem song to survive today in 18 sources, *Ma bouche rit*. Once again, then, the pattern suggested by ranges appears to reflect the pattern of the earliest surviving sources.

It would be tedious to continue this narrative through all the other songs, though the scheme should be clear enough from the diagram: the ranges increase roughly in line with the date of the earliest source. The only

obvious exception is *Aultre Venus estes*, which I would suggest could be far earlier than its late first appearance might suggest; much of its musical syntax is very similar to that of *La despourveue* and *D'ung aultre amer*.

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But those conclusions, tentative though they may be, and based on a relatively small number of pieces, obviously focus on the manifest problems of Ockeghem chronology. They do seem to suggest that a fair proportion of his songs were written well after 1470. Only six of them, to be sure, but prompting the possibility that he was still composing as late as 1480 and perhaps later still. More perplexingly, though, they make it seem harder to resist the notion that none of the surviving songs is likely to have been composed much before the earliest surviving source of 1454.

One obvious explanation would be that he was mainly a church musician and composed secular works only at particular times in his life. On the other hand the latest printed statement on chronology, that of Reinhard Strohm, proposes a date of 1455 for the Caput Mass, which all commentators think of as his earliest four-voice mass:¹⁸ incidentally, its total range is of 19 notes, less than any other of his four-voice masses. Bearing in mind the extensions that result from the much greater length of a mass cycle, Strohm's date fits astonishingly well with the information offered by the voice-ranges of the songs.

Beyond that, the evidence of the voice ranges can suggest a date for another of his sacred works. For most of his sacred music, as already mentioned, direct comparisons are extremely difficult: like Binchois, he seems to have inhabited a rather different world as a sacred and secular composer; moreover, most of the masses are not only extremely long but in four voices. And in general there are very few three-voice sections of more than a few bars among them: he tended to devise his reduced-voice sections mainly in two voices, with just smaller sections of them in three voices. But there is one work that seems directly and fruitfully comparable, namely the Requiem.

¹⁸ Reinhard STROHM, *The Rise of European Music* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 422-3.

The entire work has a range of only 20 notes, just one more than the Caput mass. The Introit and Kyrie have a range of 17 notes, like the two four-voice songs I have dated around 1460; and, more to the point, the whole work is remarkably similar to *Mort tu as navré* in its structure with the tenor and bassus in roughly the same ranges.¹⁹ The three-voice sections function just like the rondeaux and virelais I have placed around 1460, namely *Tant fuz gentement*, *D'ung aultre amer*, *Presque transi* and *Les desleaulx*. Many years ago, Richard Wexler tentatively suggested, on largely historical grounds, that the Requiem was composed for the funeral of Charles VII in July 1461;²⁰ the musical evidence appears to point in the same direction.²¹

On a broader front, though, it begins to seem very hard indeed to believe that Ockeghem was at any particularly advanced age when appointed to lead the royal chapel by 1454. Current views of his birthdate range from as early as 1410 to as late as 1425; the evidence of the songs – which is the only clear musical evidence that survives – points very strongly towards the latter end of that period or perhaps even later still. While I am uncomfortably aware that I have only just gone on record as believing that Josquin des Prez was far younger than previously thought,²² I would like to note that I have also recently proposed that the works of Busnoys go back much earlier than the sources record;²³ and it is in that context – after all, using the very same song sources – that I would propose that it is very hard indeed to suggest

19 That statement assumes that a very large proportion of the voices are wrongly named in the Chigi Codex.

20 R. WEXLER, 'Which Franco-Netherlander Composed the First Polyphonic Requiem Mass?', *Papers from the First Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies ...*, 1982, ed. W. H. FLETCHER, American Association for Netherlandic Studies: Papers in Netherlandic Studies, I (Lanham MD, 1985), pp. 171–6.

21 It may also be relevant that large portions of the Introit and the Gradual reflect the style of those in the series of Mass Proper cycles copied into the manuscript Trent 88 during the late 1450s.

22 D. FALLOWS, 'Josquin and Milan', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), pp. 69–80.

23 'Trained and Immersed...', *op. cit.*, dating certain works to the later 1450s. It is harder to feel sanguine about the suggestion that some of his works can be dated to the 1440s, as outlined in P. HIGGINS, 'Love and Death in the Fifteenth-Century Motet: A Reading of Busnoys's *Anima mea liquefacta est/Stirps Jesse*', *Hearing the Motet: Essays in the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores PESCE (New York and Oxford, 1997), pp. 142–68; but Higgins promises a fuller justification of that dating in her forthcoming monograph on Busnoys.

that any known work of Ockeghem could be earlier than 1450. We do not have the evidence to eliminate the possibility – proposed over a century ago by de Burbure – that he was an extremely young man when he appeared among the singers at Antwerp in 1443-4 and a relatively precocious young man when appointed head of the French Royal Chapel. That is also to say that Guillaume Crétin's remark that it was a great misfortune for such a man to die before the age of 100 has no clear evidential value. I really do wish to propose that a birthdate after 1425 is by no means absurd.

But more generally I propose that any future exploration of his chronology and his musical development needs to begin from what has hitherto been the most neglected part of his output, the songs.

THE LIFE OF JOHANNES REGIS, CA. 1425 TO 1496

I

The information so far published on the life of Johannes Regis has ignored virtually all the surviving archives of the town where he spent his last forty-five years, Soignies. It has relied largely on two archival publications from the early years of this century. Consequently it not only confuses many men with the same name but loses ten years from the end of his life and has his career as a composer beginning between ten and fifteen years too late.

Current reference works report that Regis was probably born in about 1430; that he was in Soignies at various times between 1458 and 1483, latterly as a canon of the church of St-Vincent; that in 1460-62 he was involved in negotiations to bring him to Cambrai as master of the choristers, negotiations which were unsuccessful but followed by some residence there as Dufay's *clerc*; that he was choir-master at Antwerp in 1463; and that he probably died in about 1485⁽¹⁾. Of those details, only two items survive further investigation: the canonry at St-Vincent and the negotiations with Cambrai — though even the latter now appear in a new light.

In 1938 Cornelis Lindenburg published an extended study of the composer; and in 1956 he presented an edition of the complete works⁽²⁾. Both may have been impressive for their time; but, as so easily happens, they put an end to

In preparing this article I incurred considerable debts: to Gérard Sauvage, former president of the Cercle Archéologique du Canton de Soignies, who first pointed me to the Soignies archives; to Jacques Nazet, conservateur at the Archives de l'État, Tournai, and endlessly patient with questions concerning the history of the Soignies chapter; to Fernand Leclercq of Mons, who supplied me with xeroxes of material from periodicals not available in England; and to the staff at the three main archives concerned in this study — at Tournai (where the Soignies archives were temporarily held until 1986), Mons and Lille — all of whom made my visits pleasant in their various different ways. For various further details or comments I am indebted to Nigel Davison, Walter de Keyzer, Peter Lefferts, Henri Vanhulst, Rob C. Wegman and Ronald Woodley.

⁽¹⁾ See particularly the articles in MGG (Cornelis Lindenburg) and *The New Grove* (Keith Mixter). Among various other scattered details discussed elsewhere in this article, there are two recently suggested dates for the composer's death: 16 May 1502 proposed in the unsigned article in the 12th edition of the *Riemann Musik Lexikon: Personenteil L-Z*, ed. W. GURLITT (Mainz, 1961), but withdrawn in the *Ergänzungsband: Personenteil L-Z*, ed. C. DAHLHAUS (Mainz, 1975); and 2 May 1491, proposed by Jozef Robijns in 1970 (see n. 104 below). Neither appears to have been taken up by other writers; and, as will become clear, both must refer to other men of the same name.

⁽²⁾ C.W.H. LINDENBURG, *Het leven en de werken van Johannes Regis* (Amsterdam [1939]); Johannes Regis, *Collected Works*, ed. C.W.H. LINDENBURG (American Institute of Musicology, 1956 = Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 9, vols. 1-2).

research when they should have provided a starting-block. The articles in MGG and *The New Grove* show no evidence of further thought; and the only serious attempt during the next years to build on Lindenburg's work — twenty excellent pages in Edgar Sparks's study of cantus firmus treatment⁽³⁾ — suffered from relying too literally on the published material.

There are several reasons why we need further information and a fundamental reconsideration of Regis. Biographical findings on other composers in the second half of the fifteenth century have considerably upset what once seemed a fairly strong relative chronology: with the news that Josquin was born around 1440 and the widely-held opinion that Okeghem may have been born as early as 1410, there is now some doubt about Wolfgang Stephan's view (1937) that it was essentially Regis who established the style of the motet in five or more voices on a cantus firmus as cultivated by later composers⁽⁴⁾. Yet Edward Lowinsky, in one of his last articles, described what he saw as the emerging trend of simultaneous composition — culminating in the work of Josquin — in which Regis was given the key position in the development between Dufay and Josquin⁽⁵⁾.

More recently Edward Houghton has convincingly suggested that an anonymous six-voice motet in the Chigi Codex is by Regis; and, like Lowinsky, he proposed that Regis could have been a major influence on Josquin⁽⁶⁾. Controversies concerning the chronology and interrelationships of the many surviving *L'homme armé* Masses begin to point increasingly to the one that can be given the earliest secure date, that of Regis copied at Cambrai in 1462-63. The greater availability of editions of music by most of the leading composers of the later fifteenth century has increased the urgent need for a new study, as has the recently increased body of publications on Busnoys, Josquin and Obrecht. Edgar Sparks, with the sharp musical perception that characterizes so much of his work, drew attention to one further feature of Regis: "Regis shows a sensitivity to sonorous effect which, in an age devoted to effects of line and rhythm, is sufficient to mark him as a musical thinker of unusual independence"⁽⁷⁾. That, to my ear, is one of the most attractive features of his motets and chansons. It is the prime justification for what follows, even if his music has only a peripheral role in the discussion.

⁽³⁾ E.H. SPARKS, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420-1520* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 181-188, 195-203 and related footnotes.

⁽⁴⁾ W. STEPHAN, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Kassel, 1937 = Heidelberg Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 6), pp. 24-36.

⁽⁵⁾ E.E. LOWINSKY, "Canon Technique and Simultaneous Conception in Fifteenth-century Music: a Comparison of North and South", in R.L. WEAVER, ed., *Essays on the Music of J.S. Bach and other Divers Subjects: a Tribute to Gerhard Herz* (Louisville, 1981), pp. 181-222, especially pp. 194-195, the final section, entitled "Dufay's successor" and devoted to Regis.

⁽⁶⁾ E.F. HOUGHTON, "A 'New' Motet by Johannes Regis", *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 33 (1983), pp. 49-74.

⁽⁷⁾ SPARKS, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

But his main claim to importance perhaps lies in his appearance among the sacred music publications of Petrucci. These include not a note by Okeghem or Dufay and only one brief piece by Busnoys. But they do include six works by Regis, notably four works in the genre in which his importance appears to have been supreme — the five-voice motet : Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque, libro primo* of 1508 actually opens with Regis's *Clangat plebs* and includes among its eighteen works four by Regis alongside four by Obrecht and only three by Josquin. Exactly what that may mean is open to question. But Regis is almost certainly the oldest composer found in Petrucci's collections of sacred music.

So this article, based mainly on a study of the Soignies documents, attempts to reopen the story on a composer who is of considerable significance even though his known works comprise only two Mass cycles, one Credo, eight motets and two chansons⁽⁸⁾.

II

Most of his compositions are ascribed simply “Regis”. There are only four exceptions. The Chigi Codex gives the ascription “Johannes Regis” for his motet *Clangat plebs*⁽⁹⁾ as does Tinctoris⁽¹⁰⁾; and the rondeau *S'il vous plaist* appears in the Florentine MS Banco Rari 229 as by ‘Joannes Regis’ and in Petrucci's *Canti C* (1503) as “Jo Regis”⁽¹¹⁾. Beyond these, Tinctoris calls him “Johannes Regis” in two of his lists of distinguished composers⁽¹²⁾.

⁽⁸⁾ To these we can confidently add the six-voice motet *Ave Rosa speciosa/ Beata mater/ [L'homme armé]*, proposed in HOUGHTON, *op. cit.* A further tentative proposal is that Regis may have composed the incomplete four-voice Mass of which fragments are preserved in *A-LiS* 529, *B-Br* 5557 and *PL-Pu* 7022, see R.C. WEGMAN, “The Twelfth Gathering of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557”, in R. WEGMAN and E. VETTER, eds, *Liber amicorum Chris Maas : Essays in Musicology in Honour of Chris Maas on his 65th Anniversary* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 15-25, on pp. 20-21.

⁽⁹⁾ *I-Rvat* Chigi C VIII 234, fol. 281v. I shall return below to the fact that the three other ascriptions to him there read just “Regis”.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Bk 3, ch 8; it is published in E. DE COUSSEMAKER, ed., *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem*, 4 (Paris, 1876; henceforth CousS 4), pp. 76-153, on p. 152, and A. SEAY, ed., *Johannis Tinctoris : Opera theoretica* (American Institute of Musicology, 1975-1978 = Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, ser. 22; henceforth CSM 22), vol. 2, pp. 11-157, on p. 156. A translation appears in A. SEAY, *Johannes Tinctoris : The Art of Counterpoint* (American Institute of Musicology, 1961 = Musicological Studies and Documents, ser. 5, henceforth MSD 5), on p. 140.

⁽¹¹⁾ See H.M. BROWN, ed., *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Chicago, 1983 = Monuments of Renaissance Music, vol. 7), no. 102.

⁽¹²⁾ In the “Prologus” to the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (ed. CousS 4, p. 77; CSM 22/2, p. 12; trans. MSD 5, p. 15) and in the *Complexus viginti effectuum musices*, No. 9 (ed. CousS 4, p. 200; CSM 22/2, p. 176). The *Complexus* is further edited in L. ZANONCELLI, *Sulla estetica di Johannes Tinctoris, con edizione critica, traduzione e commentario del “Complexus effectuum musices”* (Bologna, 1979), pp. 74-114, see p. 110. On the history, date and title of the *Complexus*, see below, note 124. One further possible ascription is noted in WEGMAN, “The Twelfth Gathering”, p. 16, formerly on *B-Br* 5557, fol. 121 (the front of the gathering that contains his Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini*), but now covered by other material, see the facsimile in WEGMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Wegman reads “J. Regis” with the “Re” written as a solmization syllable.

Given the confusion of earlier discussions, that seems the right place to start. And the next move must be to Cambrai, where the extensive surviving archives include several references to his association with Dufay. Individually, they may leave an open case; but taken together they plainly all refer to the composer.

Regis first appears in the chapter acts for 10 November 1460, when Dufay was deputed to invite him to become master of the boys at Cambrai and, failing that, suggest another candidate ⁽¹³⁾ :

Fuit conclusum quod mandetur pro Johanne Regis ut sit magister puerorum, et scribat eidem magister G. du Fay, quod, si venire noluerit, advisabitur de alio.

It was a matter of some urgency, since the previous *magister puerorum* had been sacked in June. But ten months after Dufay had invited Regis, there seems still to have been no clear response : on 28 September 1461 the chapter ordered an enquiry into the state of the choirboys, and on 9 December Johannes du Sart was appointed temporary master⁽¹⁴⁾. Nearly two years later the negotiations were still continuing when the chapter acts noted a special demand from Regis on 9 July 1462⁽¹⁵⁾ :

Ad videndum tam de reedificatione domus puerorum quoad provisionem Johannis Regis qui venturus est ut fiatur magister eorumdem puerorum ac de ceteris tangentibus eosdem pueros.

To investigate both the rebuilding of the choirboys' house in accordance with the requirement of Johannes Regis who is to come as their master, and for other things relating to those boys.

Seven of the canons, Dufay among them as well as the Archdeacon and the Dean, were deputed to look into the possibilities. The size of this subcommittee suggests that the matter was both serious and expensive : evidently they still wanted Regis very much, but his demands were considerable. For whatever reason, only two months later Johannes du Sart was eventually appointed permanent master of the choristers, on 13 September 1462⁽¹⁶⁾.

In those same years, payment records show that three works by Regis were copied into the Cambrai choirbooks : in 1462-63 his Mass *L'homme armé* and his Offertory *Regina celi letare*; and in 1464-65 his Mass *Crucis*⁽¹⁷⁾. In all three entries,

⁽¹³⁾ *F-CA* 1060, fol. 98, ed. in C. WRIGHT, "Dufay at Cambrai : Discoveries and Revisions", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), pp. 175-229, doc. 15. The expulsion of the previous master, Robert le Canonne, and the appointment of Dufay, Johannes Monami and Nicole Boidin "ut videant de alio et referant" is recorded on fol. 84v (25 June 1460).

⁽¹⁴⁾ Both decisions recorded in *F-CA* 1060, fol. 127v; for the latter, see also Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 197 and 206.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *F-CA* 1060, fol. 145.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *F-CA* 1060, fol. 149, see WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁽¹⁷⁾ *F-Ladn* 4G 4670 (*Comptes de la fabrique*, 1462-1463), fol. 26v and fol. 28v, 4G 4672 (*Comptes de la fabrique*, 1464-1465), fol. 23v, all printed in J. HOUDROY, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai* (Paris, 1880) — also as *Mémoires de la Société des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille*, 4th ser., vol. 7 (Lille, 1880) — pp. 194-195. For all the copying accounts Houdroy gave just a single year (in these cases, 1462 and 1464 respectively) though in fact the accounts run from the year starting on St Bartholomew's day, 24 August. The identification of these works is discussed below.

the composer's name is given just as "Regis". There was presumably a direct connection between this copying and the considerable interest the chapter showed in employing Regis as master of the choristers.

A decade later, Regis appears twice in the executors' account of Dufay's estate as having managed the income accruing from Dufay's benefice at Watie-braine near Soignies. We shall return to those references. For the moment it is enough to note that he is described there as "Messire Jehan Regis, chanoine de Sougnies". This is the evidence that the composer was a canon at the church of St-Vincent, Soignies.

But it is as well to note at this point that there can be no serious question concerning the identity of the composer with the man mentioned in these documents from Cambrai. In the negotiations for the new choirmaster he is clearly known to Dufay; and information from Soignies will clarify the extraordinary delay involved. The copying accounts, which are surely related to the search for a choirmaster, show that we are talking of the composer. Moreover at least one of Regis's compositions indicates a direct connection with Dufay: his Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini* is based primarily on the two chants used by Dufay in his own Mass of the same name, and uses the same rare version of the first of those chants⁽¹⁸⁾.

Finally there is the case of Compere's motet *Omnium bonorum plena*, composed certainly no later than 1474 and perhaps in 1472⁽¹⁹⁾. The text ends with a list of musicians. Dufay is given the place of honour, followed by Du Sart and a series of famous names. The last name apart from that of the composer himself is Regis⁽²⁰⁾.

III

Cornelis Lindenburg was unable to locate any relevant documents from Soignies⁽²¹⁾. So he worked mainly from two archival publications by Amé Demeuldre. In May 1940 a bomb attack destroyed much of the documentary material in the Archives de l'État at Mons, including, for instance, the complete archives of the

⁽¹⁸⁾ See D. FALLOWS, *Dufay* (London, 1982), p. 209 and fn. 19.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Going against the accepted date of 1470-1474 for this motet, I earlier proposed October 1468, see FALLOWS, *Dufay*, pp. 77-78. L.L. PERKINS, "The *L'Homme Armé* Masses of Busnoys and Okeghem: a Comparison", *Journal of Musicology*, 3 (1984), pp. 363-396, correctly points out, p. 366, n. 6, that my view was hasty; moreover, it is perhaps significant that the motet omits the two masters of the choirboys in the years 1466-1469, Rasse de Lavanne and Robert le Canonne (reinstated briefly in 1467 after his sacking a decade earlier), as already noted in L. FINSCHER, *Loyset Compère (c1450-1518): Life and Works* (American Institute of Musicology, 1964), p. 15, n. 14. G. MONTAGNA, "Caron, Hayne, Compère: a Transmission Reassessment", *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp. 107-157, on pp. 111-112, suggests as a more convincing possibility the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral on 5 July 1472.

⁽²⁰⁾ On the close juxtaposition of Dufay and Regis in Pierre Moulu's much later motet *Mater floreat*, see below p. 171.

⁽²¹⁾ LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 3, n. 3.

collegiate of Ste-Waudru as well as the account-book of the *greffe scabinal de Soignies*. So the prospect for further research looked bleak. But in fact most of the Soignies archives had remained in Soignies, merely inaccessible. They now form part of the Archives de l'État de Mons and are listed in a recent catalogue by Jacques Nazet⁽²²⁾. Relevant to the fifteenth century are : a set of seventy-three annual volumes of the *comptes de la quotidienne*, which include records of payments to all resident canons of St-Vincent⁽²³⁾; monthly payment lists of the *comptes de la haute livraison* for 1427-28 and 1465⁽²⁴⁾; thirty-one volumes of the *comptes de la massarderie de Soignies* (of which twenty-eight are classified among the *Archives locales*)⁽²⁵⁾; testamentary material including the executors' distribution accounts for the estates of the composers Binchois and Guillaume Malbecque⁽²⁶⁾; volumes of the *greffe scabinal de Soignies*⁽²⁷⁾; and part of the obit-book for the church of St-Vincent compiled some time between 1500 and 1510⁽²⁸⁾.

The name "Regis" appears only three times among these documents, all in the early sixteenth-century obit-book. Two concern the obit of Johannes Regis and his wife Johanna⁽²⁹⁾: it will be clear in a moment that this cannot have been the composer, who was a priest and therefore unmarried. But under 9 April there is a reference to a sum of money "pour les messes de Nostre Dame acquis par sire Jan Leroy escollastre dit Regis"⁽³⁰⁾. At St-Vincent the position of *escollastre*, or schoolmaster, was always held by a canon⁽³¹⁾. Unfortunately, however, the lists

(22) J. NAZET, *Inventaire des archives du chapitre et de la paroisse de Saint-Vincent de Soignies (XII^e-XX^e s.)* (Brussels, 1986). All the items in the category "Chapitre de Soignies" were deposited in the Archives de l'État at Mons by the Dean of Soignies in three groups on November 1963, April 1965 and November 1967, see NAZET, p. 6; see also R. WELLENS, "Les archives du chapitre de Saint-Vincent et de la cure de Soignies", *Annales du Cercle Archéologique du Canton de Soignies*, 23 (1964), pp. 119-122.

(23) *B-Mae* (= Mons, Archives de l'État), chapitre de Soignies (henceforth CS) 146-202. Some of these volumes contain the accounts for several years bound together.

(24) CS 506-509.

(25) CS 939-945 and *B-Mae* Archives Locales (henceforth AL), P.413 (1420-1421) to P.436 (1498-1499). These last came to Mons in 1953 from the collection of Paul de la Roche de Thieusies, see A. LIBOIS, *Inventaire des archives de la famille de la Roche de Thieusies* (Brussels, 1970).

(26) Binchois in CS 42 (which call number supercedes the earlier "Numéro provisoire 500" cited in *The New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "Binchois" and in FALLOWS, *Dufay*); it is discussed in M. SCHULER, "Neues zur Biographie von Gilles Binchois", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 33 (1976), pp. 68-78. Malbecque's account is now CS 44.

(27) The registers were indeed lost in the bombing of 1940 but survive in copies made by the indefatigable Amé Demeuldre, published in instalments in *Annales du Cercle Archéologique du Canton de Soignies* (henceforth ACAS), 15 (1955) — 29 (1977-1979).

(28) *B-Mae*, Obituaries, 51 (only for six months of the year; the second volume is lost), edited in A. DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires de la collégiale de Saint-Vincent, à Soignies* (Soignies, 1904) — also published as ACAS, 2 (1897-1904), pp. 101-350.

(29) "Obitus Johannis Regis et uxoris eius ac Nicolay eorum filii de Noefville" and "Obitus Johannis Regis et Johanne ejus uxoris", see DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 259 (16 May).

(30) DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 222.

(31) A. DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre de Saint-Vincent à Soignies, ses dignitaires et ses chanoines* (Soignies, 1902) — also published as ACAS, 3 (1902) — p. 46-49 : "L'écolatrie".

of canonical payments from the later fifteenth century almost invariably detail the schoolmaster's payment simply with the word "escollastre". The single exception for the years that concern Regis is in the entry for the year 1482-3, where he appears as "Messire Jehan le Roy escollastre"⁽³²⁾. But there is also an entry recording a payment on the occasion when he celebrated his first Mass, 23 October 1463, and therefore giving us a date by which he had been ordained priest⁽³³⁾ :

A messire Jehan le Roy escollaustre de le dite eglise liquels dist se premiere messe en ycelle le dimence, 23 jour dou mois d'octembre; et a lui donnet et rendet a celli cause de par messires et a leur commande 6 ob. d'or arnouldes, dou pris de 22s chacune, sont : £ 6 12s.

Since the minimum age for ordination as priest was 25, he was born before 1438.

In addition there is a reference in the accounts of the *grand baillage* of Hainaut for 1481-82 describing him *escollastre* of Soignies and naming another Jehan le Roy who was a bourgeois of Soignies⁽³⁴⁾ :

De messire Jehan le Roy prestre, chanoine et escolastre de l'eglise de Saint Vinchien a Sougnies, lequel ou terme de ce compte s'est desherité d'un fief tenu de mon dit tresredoubté seigneur a cause de sa dit conté de Haynaut et court de monseigneur, et l'a leissié en la main du dit baily pour secureté de deux pentions montés ensemble £25 par an par lui vendus a Jehan le Roy bourgeois du dit Sougnies, monta a vandaige £250. A esté receu pour le service et demy commid (??) denier la somme de £25, à condition de le rabattre sur le principal service du dit fief, se cy apres a faute de paiement desdits pentions on a tout le frais et charge d'icelle, ce dit fief estoit vendu, pourquoy le dit baily fait cy en dit recepte de la dite somme de : £25 tournois.

Those references therefore make it possible to clarify most of the details in the entry, already mentioned, from the executors' distribution account of Dufay's estate.

The clarification lies in another executors' account, that of the composer Guillaume Malbecque, who had been a colleague of Dufay as a member of the Papal Chapel from 1431 to 1438 and became a canon of Soignies in 1440, remaining there until his death on 29 August 1465. Malbecque's account includes the following entry⁽³⁵⁾ :

A maistre Guillaume Dufayt, canonne de Cambray, a cause de son persenaige de Watiebraine dou Noel '64 et St Jehan '65, que ledit testateur avoyt rechupt comme son recheveur : a lui payez et rendus, contet : £40.

To maistre Guillaume Dufay, canon of Cambrai, for his parsonage at Watiebraine from Christmas 1464 to St John's Day 1465 (i. e. two semi-annual payments on December 25 and June 24), which the said testator received as his (Dufay's) receiver : paid to him and accounted, amounting to : £40.

(32) CS 191 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1482-1483), A M1 p. 2. In this and later references to the account books that have neither pagination nor foliation : A = first set of accounts within the volume; M = *mises* (expenditures, as opposed to R = *recette*, which always precedes the *mises*); 1 = first subsection of the *mises*, as numbered in the account book; p. 2 is my own pagination (unwritten) within that section. This may seem complex, but it does reflect the structure of the document and seems preferable to inventing an unwritten foliation for such substantial volumes.

(33) CS 187 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1463-1464), B M4 p. 2.

(34) F-Ladn B 10445 (*Comptes du grand baillage de Hainaut*), fol. 1, mentioned, though without detailed reference, in DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 282.

(35) CS 44, fol. 16.

Up to this point Dufay's income from Watiebraine, which is close to Soignies, had been collected on his behalf by Malbecque. Evidently it was then collected by another composer, Regis. This is clear from the three mentions of Watiebraine in the account of Dufay's estate. The first reads⁽³⁶⁾ :

Item : de messire Jehan Regis, chanoine de Sougnies, ad cause du personnage de Watiebraine qui fu audit defunct, ont esté recupetes qu'il deboivo pour ung demi an avant que il fu permué par ledit defunct, £20 Haynnaut, qui valent : £16 13s 4d.

Item : from Messire Jehan Regis, canon of Soignies, for the parsonage of Watiebraine in the possession of the said deceased, have been received that which he (Regis) owed for half a year, before the said deceased permuted it, £20 of Hainault, which are (in money of Paris) : £16 13s 4d.

The permutation mentioned in this entry is detailed elsewhere in the account⁽³⁷⁾ :

Item : du personage de Watiebraine, duquel soloit avoir ledit defunct £40 Haynnaut par an, ad cause que 1 peu devant son trespas l'avoit resigné et donné a Sire Alixandre son chapellain, n'a esté receu riens.

Item : for the parsonage of Watiebraine, from which the said deceased used to receive £40 of Hainault per annum, because he resigned it a little before his death and gave it to Sire Alixandre (Bouillart, his chaplain, who in the event predeceased him by a few weeks), nothing has been received.

The final entry, on the last codicil to the account, is the famous one stating that Regis had used the last six months' receipts (mentioned above) and a silver girdle to purchase an annual Mass commemorating Dufay at Soignies⁽³⁸⁾ :

Item : Messire Jehan Regis, chanoine de Sougnies, qui fu cleric audit defunct, avoit receu du personage de Watiebraine £16 13s 4d, et se li ont donné lesdits executeurs une chainture toute d'argent, qui fut prisié £13; moennant lesquelles parties s'est comprins et oblegié de fonder en ledite eglise, comme il a fait, ung obit perpetuel pour ledit defunct, sont : £29 13s 4d.

Item : Messire Jehan Regis, canon of Soignies, formerly *cleric* to the said deceased, had received from the parsonage of Watiebraine £16 13s 4d, and the said executors have given him a girdle of silver, valued at £13; using which items he (Regis) has undertaken to found in that church (St-Vincent de Soignies) a perpetual Mass in memory of the said deceased, costing : £29 13s 4d.

Dufay's obit is duly recorded in the surviving early sixteenth-century obit-book of St-Vincent, valued at 20s per annum, which amounts to a yield of just under 3 % on the capital⁽³⁹⁾. I shall return later to the meaning of the phrase "qui fu cleric audit defunct". For the rest, these documents place the identification of the composer Regis on a firm footing. At this point, however, the story becomes much more difficult.

(36) *F-Ladn* 4G 1313, p. 34.

(37) *F-Ladn* 4G 1313, p. 13.

(38) *F-Ladn* 4G 1313, p. 35. The position of this, and particularly of the entry on p. 34, suggests that Dufay retained his living at Watiebraine until Christmas 1473.

(39) DEMEULDRE, *Les obitaires*, p. 292, under 12 June : "Obitus venerabilis domini et magistri guillermi du fayt egregii canctoris necnon ecclesie cameracensis canonici". The calculations on the percentage are as follows : £20 at Soignies are worth £16 13s 4d at Cambrai; and this is confirmed elsewhere in Dufay's distribution account (p. 33) by the comment "tout a le monnaye de Cambrai 24 gl. monnaye de Flandres, qui valent 20s T pour le livre"; the total of £29 13s 4d at Cambrai (monnaye de Flandres) is therefore worth £35 12s at Soignies (monnaye de Tournai).

Jean le Roy is the name under which the composer is known in the Soignies accounts⁽⁴⁰⁾. Unfortunately, however, that name is extremely common, both in Soignies and elsewhere. To begin to clarify the documentary position here we must identify several of the other people named Jean le Roy in the surviving accounts from Soignies.

1. Jean le Roy *brakenier*, owner of houses in the Rue du Pont at Braine-le-Comte. All accounts of the *quotidienne* from 1424-25 to the end of the century mention rents derived from these houses⁽⁴¹⁾. They are most fully explained in the entry for 1439-40 with a paragraph opening “Pour faute de rente sour les masures [all accounts from 1452-53 onwards read ‘maisons’] Jehan le Roy en le ruwe Dou Pont a Braine”⁽⁴²⁾; but all subsequent account books describe them as “qui furent Jehan le Roy”. This Jehan le Roy was therefore presumably dead by 1441.

2. Jean le Roy *marchand*, who on 11 February 1469 (NS) purchased a house opposite the great porch of the church⁽⁴³⁾; on 25 February 1482 he appears also to have purchased another house backing on to it⁽⁴⁴⁾. The *comptes de la massarderie* from 1480 to 1497 record him as paying rent for land, including an alleyway leading

⁽⁴⁰⁾ E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, 6 (Brussels, 1882), p. 47, suggests that his real name might be the Flemish De Coninck — an idea that goes back to the comment in F.-J. FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 7 (Brussels, 1841), p. 373, s.v. : “les Belges seuls étaient dans l’usage alors de citer les hommes de lettres, les savans et les artistes, par le génitif de leur nom latin”. See also VANDER STRAETEN, *op. cit.*, 4 (Brussels, 1878), p. 11, with a list of eighteen composers with names in the Latin genitive, all of which he takes to be translations of Flemish originals. In the case of Regis (as of several others) there is no clear evidence for this; and Soignies, then as now, was Francophone. *Op. cit.*, 6 (1882), p. 292, he identifies Regis with Jean de Coninck, *hoogteneur*, at s’Hertogenbosch in 1532, though on p. 48 of the same volume he suggests this is merely a relative of the composer; and in *op. cit.*, 7 (Brussels, 1885), p. 121, describes him as “que nous avons vu attaché, en 1515, à la chapelle royale de Paris”, though without further documentation. In view of Cretin’s evidence (see below) that the composer died before Okeghem, neither identification can be correct; I can only assume that the latter is a slip of the pen.

⁽⁴¹⁾ CS 154 (1424-1425), second supplement to the main accounts : “A Jehan le Roy brakenier pour ses 3 maison en le rue Dou Pont”.

⁽⁴²⁾ CS 166 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1439-1440), C M p. 3 (fol. 20).

⁽⁴³⁾ “Vente par Colart Dieu à Jean le Roy, marchand, demeurant tous deux à Soignies, d’une maison vis-à-vis le grand portail de l’église”. The entry comes from the *greffe scabinal de Soignies*, ed. ACAS, 20 (1960-1961), p. 109. In this and later quotes from the *greffe scabinal*, I have necessarily retained the orthography and punctuation of Amé Demeuldre’s transcriptions, since the original documents are lost.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ “Vente par Colart le Carlier, dit Henau, vendeur de vin et marchand de ghimpire, demeurant à Soignies, à Jehan le Roy du même lieu, d’une maison gisant en la rue qui va de la ruelle qu’on dit des Lombars, vers la halle au blé et grant de dîme du dit Soignies, faisant le derrière d’une maison gisant devant le grand portail de l’église”. *Greffé scabinal*, ed. ACAS, 23 (1964), p. 85.

between the two houses⁽⁴⁵⁾. Without the first-named document which describes him as *marchand* it would of course have seemed logical to identify this man as the composer, living immediately opposite the church, especially since one of the plots of land on which he paid rent had previously been owned by Ernoul de Gavre, Dean of the church.

3. Jehan le Roy *carpentier*. He appears regularly in the *comptes de la massarderie* from 1445 to 1458, virtually always specified as *carpentier* even when that information is obvious from the context⁽⁴⁶⁾; one entry even calls him carpenter to the canons⁽⁴⁷⁾. The early sixteenth-century obit-book twice mentions land on the rue des Tillereaux “on which had once stood the house of Jehans Gowars and lastly of Jehan le Roy *carpentier*”⁽⁴⁸⁾; elsewhere it mentions a “court” in the “rue allant a le caffeniere” formerly owned by him⁽⁴⁹⁾. The fact that he disappears from the accounts after 1458 suggests that he died then. But it is just possible that he can be identified with the next.

3a. In June 1459 the chapter made a gift to Jehan le Roy, servant of the canons, on the occasion of his marriage⁽⁵⁰⁾:

Et a Jehan le Roy, serviteur a mesdits seigneurs, qui se maria et tint le solempnitet de ses noeches a Sognies ou mois de juing apries ensuivant, se luy firent pareillement a celly cause donner et delivrer 3 florins otels que dis sont, que montent yec a conter : 66 s.

This document seems normally to have been associated with the composer, who, however, was a priest only three years later⁽⁵¹⁾. But the entry is in fact much more likely to refer to our next candidate.

(45) “De Jehan le Roy pour une plache de Werissay de laquelle on a fait ung courtisiel qui fu maistre Ernoul de Gavre parmi aulcune aultre partie par lui depuis reprise a la ville gisant d'allez le grant moulin : 2s 6d”; “Dudit Jehan le Roy pour une allee qu'il a allant de se maison devant le grant portail de l'eglise par deseure la ruelle des Lombars a une aultre maison qu'il a d'autre part la dite ruelle : 18d”. Both entries appear in : CS 944 (*Comptes de la massarderie de Soignies*, 1480-1481), fol. 8; AL P.432 (1481-1482), fol. 8; CS 945 (1482-1483), fol. 8v; AL P.433 (1488-1489), fol. 8v; AL P.434 (1493-1494), fol. 8; AL P.435 (1496-1497), fol. 8; and AL P.436 (1498-1499), fol. 9v. In AL P.437 (1530-531), fol. 12v, they are recorded as belonging to Jehan Chisaire.

(46) CS 941 (1445-1446), fol. 15v, fol. 16, fol. 22; AL P.420 (1447), fol. 24-24v; AL P.421 (1447-1448), f. 29v; AL P.422 (1447), fol. 18; AL P.425 (1456-1457), fol. 17, fol. 18, fol. 20-21; AL P.426 (1457-1458), fol. 5v, fol. 13v-14, fol. 15v-16, fol. 21v-22v. He also appears in CS 171-173 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1445-1448), B M3 *passim*.

(47) “A Jehan le Roy carpentier a mes seigneurs liquelx fut a le ville le joesdi xii jour de may pour mettre pieche de bois tant au loncq de le cauchie que on a fait en le quairiere a l'encontre de haulbe pour retenir le cauchie que on y a fait en l'estet l'an '46; payet sur ses frais pour ce jour : 7s”. CS 942 (1446-1447), fol. 15v.

(48) DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 291 (12 June) and p. 300 (23 June).

(49) *Op. cit.*, p. 295 (16 June).

(50) CS 182 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1458-1459), B M4, p. 1. Like many of the account books, this survives in two copies, kept together in the same folder. The present transcription is from the second copy.

(51) DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 282, and virtually all subsequent literature on the composer.

4. Jean le Roy *clerc* is the most confusing of all. He had a major role in the administration of the church of St-Vincent during Regis's lifetime, since it was he who compiled and signed all volumes of the *comptes de la quotidienne* from 1474-5 to 1487-88⁽⁵²⁾. On enquiry I was informed that such a position could be entrusted only to a canon (as it was, for example, at Cambrai). But the statutes of St-Vincent state unequivocally that the *escollastre* may not hold any other position within the collegiate⁽⁵³⁾: it would not be possible for the composer, who we know to have been *escollastre* at least in 1481-83, to have been *quotidianier* at the same time. Moreover, a survey of *quotidianiers* through the fifteenth century, as represented in the surviving account books, shows that after 1429 there are only three account books signed by canons of the church : for the most part the task was evidently entrusted to a professional accountant⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Further to that, two entries in the *greffe scabinal* name "Jehan le Roy *clerc*", recording land transactions of March 1469 and September 1483⁽⁵⁵⁾. Plainly they cannot refer the composer, who was a priest and canon by 1463 and would therefore not be described merely as "clerc". Even more confusingly, however, this man seems to have been accountant to the estate of Guillaume Malbecque in 1465-66. The first paragraph of the distribution account opens and closes as follows⁽⁵⁶⁾ :

Ch'est ly comptes et renseignemens des biens, meubles, debtes, ... de feu monsieur Guillaume Mallebecque, a son temps doyen et canonne de l'eglise Monsieur Saint Vinchien de Soignies... Aussi sur ce payet par les mains de Jehan le Roy, clercq d'icelle dite execution, le quel dit compte et ycelui de bestenier et sergant fait tant en recepte comme en mises tout par amandement.

Jehan le Roy *clerc* also had an annuity, a wife and a son, as witnessed in an entry from the *comptes de la massarderie* of 1472-3⁽⁵⁷⁾ :

A Jehan le Roy clercq est ossy deubt cascun an a le vie de luy et de Hanin le Roy, son fil, qu'il eult de Jehanne Espillet, qui fut se femme, estés comme dessus : £20.

⁽⁵²⁾ CS 190, fascicle 10 (1474-1475), to CS 194, fascicle 2 (1487-1488).

⁽⁵³⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 47.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ They include : Jacquemart des Cuesmes in CS 158-159 (1431-1433); Jehan Rigault in CS 160-168 (1433-1444); Jehan Damagnes in CS 169-172 (1444-1448); Colart le Cambier in CS 173 (1448-1449); Jehan de le Croix in CS 174-187 (1450-1464); Colart Misonne in CS 188-189 (1464-1466); and Jehan des Enfans in CS 196-201 (1492-1498). The volumes CS 190/1-9 (1469-1474) are signed by various canons. In each of these volumes, all the canons are named except for those that go under their title, namely "Prevost", "Doyen", "Tresorier" and "Escollastre". A biographical dictionary of all canons who can be associated with the church appears in DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, pp. 56-359.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ "28 mars 1469 (NS). Vente par Estassart Guiot dit Des Bailles à Jean le Roy, clercz, demeurant tous deux à Soignies, de biens à Soignies"; *Greffre scabinal*, ed. ACAS, 20 (1960-1961), p. 110.

"4 septembre 1483. Constitution par Gilles Poliart dit Gillain, cambier de Soignies, et ses frères Jean et Colart Poliart dits Gillain, au profit de Jean le Roy, clercq de Soignies, d'une rente sur biens à Soignies au lieu dit le Rieu dou Bos"; *Greffre scabinal*, ed. ACAS, 23 (1964), p. 90.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ CS 44, p. 1.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ AL P.431, fol. 8.

The name of his son, Hanin, is obviously a diminutive of Jehan; and he in fact succeeded his father as *quotidianier* in 1488-89, signing it “Hanin le Roy” in that year⁽⁵⁸⁾ but in the years 1489-91 signing them “Jehan le Roy le jeune”. Since the 1472-3 entry implies that Jehan senior’s wife is already dead, there is a distinct possibility that he was the “serviteur a mesdis seignours” rewarded on his marriage in 1459.

The collegiate itself therefore included at least three men called Jehan le Roy : one was the composer, *escollastre* (unequivocally recorded as such in 1463 and 1481-83) and a canon; the second was a *clerc*, buying land in 1469 and accountant to the chapter from 1474 to 1488; and the third was accountant to the chapter in 1488-91. It was presumably the potential confusion of identical names that led to the composer being almost always described simply as “*escollastre*” in the accounts, thereby rendering extremely delicate the task of tracing his life.

Besides these five clearly identifiable men called Jehan le Roy who were not the composer but regularly appear in the Soignies accounts, there are others who are more difficult to separate out. They include : “Jehan le Roy, couvreur d’estrain” in 1485⁽⁵⁹⁾; “Jehan le Roy, fils de Jean” in 1478⁽⁶⁰⁾; and — conceivably the latter’s father — “Jehan le Roy l’ainé” in 1494⁽⁶¹⁾. And in May 1476 an annuity was founded for Jean le Roy, husband of the late Jeanne le Pilette, and his sons Venchenot and Colin, all resident in Soignies⁽⁶²⁾. The second son, Colin, could conceivably be identifiable with a Nicholas le Roy mentioned in the early sixteenth-century obit-book as still living in Soignies⁽⁶³⁾, or with an already deceased Nicholas, son of Jehan and Jehanne, mentioned in the same obit-book as living 9 km from Soignies⁽⁶⁴⁾.

There are further references in the *greffe scabinal*⁽⁶⁵⁾ the obit-book⁽⁶⁶⁾ and the *comptes de la massarderie*⁽⁶⁷⁾ which could refer to any of the above or to others not already accounted for. And one of these may have been the “Jehan le Roy bourgeois du dit Sognies” to whom the composer sold a fief in 1481-2⁽⁶⁸⁾.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ CS 194, fascicle 3 : this orthography is repeated several times in the course of the account.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *Greffre scabinal*, 15 November 1485, ed. ACAS, 23 (1964), p. 93.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ *Greffre scabinal*, 4 December 1478, ed. ACAS, 21 (1962), p. 135.

⁽⁶¹⁾ *Greffre scabinal*, April 1494, ed. ACAS, 24 (1965), p. 52.

⁽⁶²⁾ *Greffre scabinal*, 13 May 1476, ed. ACAS, 21 (1962), p. 133. There is obviously an unverifiable chance that “Jeanne le Pillette” is identical with “Jehanne Espillet”, wife of Jean le Roy *clerc*. Similarly the last two references could refer to the same family.

⁽⁶³⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 180.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 259, see above, note 29. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 6, proposes that his father was the composer.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ 5 September 1480, ed. ACAS, 22 (1963), pp. 115-116; 18 April 1481 (NS), ed. ACAS, 22 (1963), p. 117; 14 January 1482 (NS), ed. ACAS, 23 (1964), p. 84; 24 October 1482, ed. ACAS, 23 (1964), p. 87.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, pp. 151, 228, 247, 272, 288.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ AL P.432 (1481-1482), fol. 9v; P.433 (1488-1489), fol. 23v-24; P. 434 (1493-1494), fol. 1, fol. 3-3v, fol. 9, fol. 15v; P.435 (1496-1497), fol. 3-3v, fol. 11, fol. 16v-17, fol. 30v.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ See note 34 above.

But the point is simply that the name Jehan le Roy is bewilderingly common even among the scattered remaining documents on fifteenth-century Soignies. At least this preliminary attempt to organise them has definitively disassociated the composer from most of the surviving entries in the various accounts.

V

The clear information established so far for the composer is that he was *escollastre*, and therefore a canon of Soignies, already on 23 October 1463 when he celebrated his first Mass, that he was a resident canon at the time of Dufay's death in 1474, and that he was still *escollastre* in 1481-2 when he sold his fief as well as in 1482-3 when he is actually named in the *comptes de la quotidienne*.

As mentioned earlier, the prebendal payments to the *escollastre* were in general made under that title without naming the holder of the position. They must therefore be supported by other materials if we are to identify him. For the first half of the century there is enough supplementary information to allow a relatively secure identification. In 1426 Jehan le Carlier dit le Gillon replaced Jehan Verdoisant (Voiredisant, Woiredisant); and in 1441 the chapter arranged for obits both for Verdoisant and, in anticipation, for le Carlier⁽⁶⁹⁾. Le Carlier died on 14 November 1449⁽⁷⁰⁾; and for the next five years the *comptes de la quotidienne* include no payments for an *escollastre* until Henri de Gavre, who had been a canon for some years, began to be paid under that title in 1456-7⁽⁷¹⁾. During these years it is fairly easy to trace details of a canon's residence because a fully resident canon received, in addition to his corn and flour, a cash payment of £18 11 s. With that information, the residence of the *escollastre* from the appointment of Henri de Gavre can be traced as follows⁽⁷²⁾:

1456-57	£18 11s	full residence
1457-58	£18 11s	full residence
1458-59	£18 11s	full residence
1459-60	£18 8s 6d	almost full residence
1460-61	£18 11s	full residence
1461-62	£6 18s 11d	mostly absent
1462-63	no payment (no entry)	entirely absent
1463-64	£18 11s	full residence

It is difficult in this context to resist the conclusion that Henri de Gavre ceased to be *escollastre* (that is, presumably, died) some time late in 1461 and was replaced by Regis after a short interregnum.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ See DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 343 and pp. 480-482 (document), and DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 263. A very rough list of *escollastres* appears in DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 49.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 263; for more details, see DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 269.

⁽⁷¹⁾ CS 180 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1456-1457); for more details on Henri de Gavre, see DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 131.

⁽⁷²⁾ CS 180 to CS 187, all A M p. 1.

A new canon was required to pay his first year's emoluments to the chapter⁽⁷³⁾. To receive his full stipend, a canon was required to be present for 32 weeks of the year⁽⁷⁴⁾, which is to say that Regis could have earned that amount if he had become *escollastre* by the beginning of November 1462 for an accounting year ending on 24 June. That in its turn fits well with the chapter ordinance stating that the *escollastre* must become a priest within one year of his reception⁽⁷⁵⁾ : he celebrated his first Mass at the end of October 1463. I shall return later to how this clarifies the negotiations with Cambrai.

From 1464-65 through to 1495-96, the surviving lists of payments for resident canons record Regis's continual presence, with three exceptions. The accounts are missing from July 1466 to June 1469. And he appears to have been absent from July 1477 to the beginning of September 1478 : the account for 1477-78 has no payment at all for the *escollastre*⁽⁷⁶⁾; and that for 1478-79 has his payment reduced with the comment "y rabat 53 jours par lui perdus : en jul 21, en aoust 31 et septembre 1 jour"⁽⁷⁷⁾ — an entry so specific as to endorse the evidence for his actual presence at other times when he was paid. In any case, however, we know that Regis was still *escollastre* in 1481-3.

The next years' accounts all survive apart from 1491-92. But here an external development helps to confirm that Regis retained the position. In 1491 the chapter negotiated with Pope Innocent VIII for powers to shore up the finances of the choirboys, severely depleted by devaluation as a result of the recent wars. The solution was to abandon the position of *escollastre* when it next became vacant and to use that prebend to help support the master and the choirboys, increasing their number from four to six⁽⁷⁸⁾. It makes sense in this context to believe that the arrangement was made at a point when the current *escollastre* was approaching the end of his days.

That change took effect in the summer of 1496. Whereas one prebend had been used to pay for the boys and their master from 1448-49⁽⁷⁹⁾, with the comment "le prebende dez enffans de cuer", starting in 1496-97 they were supported by two prebends, noted as "Enfans de cuer double"⁽⁸⁰⁾. Starting from that year and in all subsequent years there is no entry for the *escollastre*; the last of the uninterrupted series of references to that position is for the year 1495-96⁽⁸¹⁾. This entry in fact has an annotation in a later hand, albeit so hastily written and so heavily

⁽⁷³⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 22.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 19 and (for paragraph in the statutes) p. 402.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ "Item quod infra annum a tempore sue receptionis se faciat in sacerdotem promoveri. Quod si facere obmiserit, ut dictum est, ipso iure vacabit scholastra predicta", see DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 467.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ CS 190 fascicle 13, A M p. 1.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ CS 190 fascicle 14, A M p. 1.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 48 and (for the document) pp. 472-479.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ CS 173, A M p. 1.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ CS 200, A M p. 1.

⁽⁸¹⁾ CS 199, A M p. 1.

abbreviated that I cannot confidently read it. But the nature of the surrounding information is such that the upshot is clear. At this point the anticipated vacancy occurred. Evidently Regis died in the early summer of 1496.

Certainly he was dead by the time of Okeghem's death on 6 February 1497, for in Guillaume Cretin's *Deploration... sur le trepas de feu Okergan* Regis is named among the composers who will greet Okeghem in the afterworld⁽⁸²⁾ :

Là du Fay, le bon homme survint,
Bunoys aussi, et aultres plus de vingt,
Fede, Binchois, Barbincant et Doustable,
Pasquin, Lannoy, Barizon très-notable,
Copin, Regis, Gille Joye et Constant.

All of those mentioned about whom we have any clear information died before Okeghem⁽⁸³⁾; and there is no mention of such major living luminaries as Josquin, Mouton, Obrecht and Agricola.

The surviving half of the obit-book from the first decade of the sixteenth century records, in another context, that the Mass in memory of “sire Jehan Lerois escollastre” took place on November 13th⁽⁸⁴⁾.

The virtual certainty that Regis died in the middle of 1496 tantalisingly reopens the matter of the date and purpose of the Chigi Codex⁽⁸⁵⁾. Its original layer has a fairly simple layout. The first half, fols. 1-142, was devoted to thirteen Masses by Okeghem (all but one of the surviving cycles reliably ascribed to him)⁽⁸⁶⁾. The

⁽⁸²⁾ E. THOINAN (= Antoine Rocquet), ed., *Déploration de Guillaume Cretin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem* (Paris, 1864), p. 33.

⁽⁸³⁾ Dufay died in 1474, Busnoys in 1492, Fede perhaps in about 1477, Binchois in 1460, Dunstable in 1453, Gilles Joye in 1483, Constant in 1481; see articles on all these composers in *The New Grove Dictionary*. Basiron was dead by June 1491, according to a forthcoming article by Paula Higgins. That leaves only Barbincant, Pasquin, Lannoy and Copin unaccounted for.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ “de prendre a l'obit sire Jehan Lerois escollastre que on fait le lendemain du jour Saint Martin en novembre comme appet folio...” [number omitted, presumably intended to be added later], DEMEULDRE, *Les obituaires*, p. 263 (19 May).

⁽⁸⁵⁾ I-Rvat Chigi C VIII 234; see the excellent new facsimile, with an “Introduction” by H. KELLMAN, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 22 (New York, 1987).

⁽⁸⁶⁾ The cycle missing from Chigi is the three-voice Mass *sine nomine* ascribed to him in I-VERc 759 and found fragmentarily in B-Bc 33346; see D. PLAMENAC, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem : Collected Works* (2nd corrected edition. New York, 1959-1966), vol. 1, no. 2. There seems no reason to doubt that ascription, nor to doubt — from its style and layout — that it is an extremely early work, perhaps considered too immature for inclusion in the grand *summa* that opens the Chigi Codex. On the other hand, there are several factors that give rise to caution about the possibility that Chigi really represents all Okeghem's accepted Mass cycles. Tinctoris quotes from Okeghem's otherwise unknown Mass *La belle se siet* (see PLAMENAC, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. XLII, and surely trustworthy, even if we reject the three Masses quoted and ascribed to Okeghem by Zacconi in 1592, see PLAMENAC, *op. cit.*, p. XLI-XLII). Moreover there are several details which remind us that the Chigi Codex was compiled a considerable distance from Tours, where Okeghem spent most of his last forty-five years. For example, Chigi normally gives his name as “Ockeghem” whereas all sources with any claim to a connection with the composer give “Okeghem” : this includes F-Dm 517 (5 ascriptions), F-Pn Vnm 57 (4 ascriptions), GB-Ctc R.2.71 (1 ascription), I-Fr 2794 (4 ascriptions) and I-Rc 2856 (5 ascriptions) as well as all references in the writings of Tinctoris. Another detail that seems to have escaped notice is that on the second opening of his Mass *Ma maistresse* (fols. 61v-62) the Tenor and Contratenor voices are exchanged, a matter that has led to some confusion in analyses of the work.

second half, fols. 143-286, with an elaborately decorated first opening, begins with a sequence of Mass music by other composers, including a group of four *L'homme armé* Masses; and it ends with twelve motets of which five, or perhaps six, are by Regis. In his classic study of the codex, Herbert Kellman pointed out that Regis and Okeghem are the only composers there not explicitly connected with the Hapsburg-Burgundy circle from which the manuscript originated. He also suggested that the codex might therefore be a "memorial edition" to Okeghem and Regis⁽⁸⁷⁾. Among his evidence was the scribal and decorative style, which, in the context of other known work from the Bourgeois-Alamire circle, suggested a date for the manuscript within the last few years of the fifteenth century, and the way in which those two composers were the only ones represented by a substantial body of works, respectively at the beginning and the end of the manuscript. A weakness in his suggestion was the view then current that Regis had died twelve years earlier than Okeghem. With the evidence that Regis died in the summer of 1496, only a few months earlier than Okeghem, Kellman's theory becomes considerably more attractive.

So it is perhaps worth emphasising here that there are several problems with the Regis theory. First, Regis occupies only 24 openings of Chigi as against the 138 devoted to Okeghem; and none of his Mass music is included. Second, two of the six Regis motets are presented anonymously in Chigi, one of them the first in the group; one of the ascriptions is in a much smaller writing; and his full name "Johannes Regis" appears only on the last motet. Third, the sequence of Regis motets is interrupted just before the end by Okeghem's *Intemerata Dei mater* and Compere's *Sile frigor* (here given anonymously). In his most recent statement on the manuscript, Kellman has in fact suggested that these two motets may have been added "just before its completion" because they had some special significance for the owner⁽⁸⁸⁾. And it is doubly tempting to observe that the two known five-voice motets of Regis that do not appear in Chigi would actually have taken up precisely the amount of space now occupied by the Okeghem and Compere motets⁽⁸⁹⁾. But there is as yet no palaeographical confirmation of

(87) H. KELLMAN, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex : The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C. VIII. 234", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), pp. 6-19, on pp. 13-16.

(88) KELLMAN "Introduction" (see note 85), pp. vi-vii.

(89) These figures are derived from comparison of the space taken up by the other motets in Chigi : his *Salve sponsa* (*Collected Works*, ii, p. 1) would take two openings; and *Ave Maria* (*Collected Works*, ii, p. 42) would take three. Reluctant though I am to pile Pelion onto my speculative Ossa, it is further intriguing to note that a clear logical sequence of Regis's motets could result : the group opens with his two motets with humanistic texts in hexameters, *Lux solemnis* and *Celsi tonantis*; then comes a group with prose texts adapted from the liturgy; and finally, if we suggest that *Salve sponsa* was the second of the missing works, come the two motets with texts in elegiac couplets — the last being his most successful work, praised by Tinctoris and one of the extraordinarily few works to have been copied twice into Vatican choirbooks (*Cappella Sistina* 15 and 16).

Kellman's theory that they could have been added later. The attractive coincidence of the death-dates of Okeghem and Regis demands added caution in evaluating this wonderful manuscript that still leaves so much room for discussion.

VI

One further new document almost certainly concerns the composer. According to the *comptes de la quotidienne* at Soignies, a Jehan le Roy was master of the choristers (though clearly not yet master of the school) as early as 1451-52⁽⁹⁰⁾ :

A Johannes le Roy, maistre des enfans de le dite eglise, en ayde des frais et despens de Gillechon de Ghillenghien pour l'an de ce compte : £6.

Given the commonness of the name, there is obviously no conclusive connection between the master of the boys in 1451 and the *escollastre* of 1462; but on balance the identification seems more than likely and the progression from one to the other natural. If so, Regis had at least nine years' experience as master of the choristers in Soignies at the time when he was invited to hold the same position at the larger, richer and more prestigious Cambrai. In Cambrai the master of the choristers was normally a *grand vicaire* — a position that would be extremely attractive, both professionally and financially, to the master of the choristers at Soignies.

In the context of this document, it seems fairly clear that Gillechon was a choirboy. Strictly speaking, this is no more certain than that the Johannes le Roy mentioned here is the same man who later became *escollastre*. But both hypotheses are reasonable; and I shall proceed on the assumption that both are correct. It should become clear that many other details thereby fall into place.

If Regis was master of the choirboys in 1451-2 and entrusted with the upkeep of one of them, his birthdate would probably have been somewhat earlier than the 1438 suggested by the date of his first Mass. Twenty-five seems the youngest age at which anybody would receive the responsibilities he had in 1451-2, implying a birthdate nearer 1425.

From there it now seems possible to return to the statement in the executors' account of Dufay's estate and its description of Regis as "qui fu cleric audit deffunct". This has always been construed as meaning that Regis was Dufay's secretary at some stage after the negotiations of 1460-62; but obviously that is virtually impossible since we now know that Regis was a fully resident canon of Soignies with substantial administrative responsibilities from 1462. Moreover the statutes of the Soignies chapter include a special oath committing the *escollastre*

⁽⁹⁰⁾ CS 175 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1451-1452), A M5 p. 1. The accounts run from the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June).

to full residence so long as he holds the position⁽⁹¹⁾. Bearing that in mind, I recently suggested that the phrase meant merely that Regis was “clerc” to Dufay’s benefice at Watiebraine⁽⁹²⁾. But that too now seems difficult to believe : it was simply, I am afraid, the nearest explanation to hand, failing to explain why a collector of income who was a canon should be referred to as “clerc”. It seems considerably more likely that it refers to the more distant past, before Regis was canon, and its inclusion in the account merely explains why the canon of Soignies should have been responsible for collecting Dufay’s income from Watiebraine. It could even have helped to clarify which particular Jehan Le Roy was meant.

“Clerc” is a tricky title, covering all kinds of activity both within and without a medieval collegiate. (The accounting activity of Jehan Le Roy, *clerc* of Soignies has already been mentioned; and in fact the word is also used in Soignies documents to refer to choirboys.) However, Dufay had his own chaplain during the last years of his life, one Alexandre Bouillart — mentioned earlier — whose tombstone described him as “chapelain de l’eglise et de M^e Guillaume Dufay”⁽⁹³⁾, but who in Dufay’s will is described as the composer’s servant : “Item lego domino Alexandro servitori meo”⁽⁹⁴⁾. It seems likely that Regis had some similar position with Dufay.

Now if it is correct that Regis was master of the choristers in Soignies from 1451-2 until he was made canon in 1462, then any time he spent at Cambrai serving Dufay would need to have been earlier than that. Moreover, since Dufay was in Italy between April 1452 and November 1458, Regis could hardly have served Dufay during those years; and after Dufay’s return to Cambrai only two years elapsed before he was deputed to invite Regis to become master of the Cambrai choristers. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that Regis was in Cambrai serving as Dufay’s *clerc* during the 1440s and no later than April 1452 — which again fits well with a birthdate not later than about 1425.

In view of his impending appointment as master of the choristers at Soignies, Regis would almost certainly have been a singing man at Cambrai, a *petit vicaire*. Unfortunately there are no surviving accounts for the *petits vicaires* at Cambrai between 1411-12 and 1453-54⁽⁹⁵⁾; but the probability seems high.

⁽⁹¹⁾ The statutes for the induction of the *escollastre* at Soignies (as revised in 1423) actually open with this requirement : “In primis tenebitur in sui receptione primaria ille, cui scolastria conferetur, quod continuam et perpetuam residentiam personaliter faciet in ecclesia sonegiensi... que residentia sibi nullatenus poterit relaxari”; from DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 467.

⁽⁹²⁾ FALLOWS, *Dufay*, p. 8 and note.

⁽⁹³⁾ E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, 6 (Brussels, 1882), p. 313. The tombstone is now lost.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ F-Ladn 4G 1313, p. 71, ed. HOUDROY, *Histoire artistique* (1880), p. 411.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ F-Ladn 4G 6789/2 (1411-1412) and 4G 6789/3 (1453-1454). I know of no evidence for the undocumented comment in F. Delcroix, “La maîtrise de Cambrai”, *Mémoires de la Société d’Émulation de Cambrai*, 68 (1921), pp. 71-115, on p. 56f, that he was “petit vicaire et choriste” at Cambrai; but the evidence may well be there among the dauntingly enormous archives of the church.

It is also intriguing, for these now appear to have been astonishing years in Dufay's career, in the history of music at Cambrai and in the wider history of Mass polyphony. It has recently been observed that in the year 1449-50 there is a copying payment at Cambrai for a quite exceptional quantity of Mass music : polyphonic Mass Ordinary music filling 228 folios and polyphonic Mass Proper music filling 168 folios⁽⁹⁶⁾. Assuming eight folios for each cycle — which is the average length of the cycles in the manuscript Trent 88 — this amounts to 28 Ordinary cycles and 21 proper cycles, all composed by 1450. Even taking account of all known sources from elsewhere in Europe, no more than half that quantity now survives. Much of it seems likely to have been new. Some of this music must have been by Dufay, but surely not all ; and there seems a very good chance that other composers at Cambrai during those years were involved. Regis obviously now becomes a prime candidate for the composition of some of the lost music, perhaps even of some that survives⁽⁹⁷⁾. Independently of that speculation, however, it is now easy to see why Regis was Dufay's first choice for a new master of the choristers at Cambrai in 1460.

It is intriguing in yet another respect. Between March and December 1450, Dufay visited Italy with a group of nine singers, very possibly, in my view, performing his Mass for St Anthony of Padua at the dedication of Donatello's high altar in the Basilica of St Anthony in Padua⁽⁹⁸⁾. The complexities of the Mass and a comment in Dufay's will make it clear that the work needs singers of the highest quality. There is surely a serious possibility that Regis was one of this companions on that visit. Dufay was back in Cambrai by 15 December 1450⁽⁹⁹⁾ ; by the middle of the next year Regis was master of the choristers at Soignies.

Moreover this would have been an excellent time for Soignies to employ a new master who had such a distinguished pedigree. In December 1445 Pope

⁽⁹⁶⁾ *F-Ladn* 4G 4656 (*Comptes de la fabrique*, 1449-1450), fol. 30, ed. WRIGHT, "Dufay at Cambrai", pp. 225-226 (doc. 16). Alejandro Enrique Planchart appears to have been the first to recognise the importance of this entry, which he discusses in "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy", *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), pp. 117-171, on pp. 142-143; see also D. FALLOWS, "Dufay and the Mass Proper Cycles of Trent 88", in N. PIRROTTA and D. CURT, eds, *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta : Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger : La musicologia come missione* (Trent, 1986), pp. 46-59, and D. FALLOWS, *Dufay*, 2nd revised edition (London, 1987, and New York, 1988), p. 309, supplementary note for p. 63.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ As one example among many, PLANCHART, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices", pp. 145-149, notes that the anonymous three-voice Mass for St Anthony Abbot in *I-TRmn* 89, fol. 59v-71 (see FALLOWS, *Dufay*, p. 192 and notes), precisely follows the liturgy of Cambrai and suggests that it may be the lost Mass of that title by Dufay. My knowledge of the music leaves me unable to see any trace of Dufay's style in the work ; and I would suggest (if we accept Planchart's arguments) that it was by some other composer resident in Cambrai during the 1440s (FALLOWS, *op. cit.*, p. 310, note for p. 192). Obviously Regis becomes a candidate, even though his only firmly ascribed sacred piece in three voices is probably much later.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ FALLOWS, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67 and pp. 185-186. See also D. FALLOWS, "Dufay, la sua Messa per Sant'Antonio e Donatello", *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali*, 2-3 (1986-1987), pp. 3-19.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ *F-CA* 1058, fol. 245, see WRIGHT, "Dufay at Cambrai", p. 188.

Eugenius IV had issued a Bull permitting the chapter to use one of its prebends to pay for a group of four choirboys and their master, who was to instruct them in grammar and singing⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. In 1441 the chapter had given the *escollastre* Jehan le Carlier a plot of land on which to build a new house for himself and the choirboys, designated to become the *escollastrie* in perpetuity⁽¹⁰¹⁾. Moreover in 1440 the chapter had appointed as canon a distinguished composer and former member of the Papal chapel, Guillaume Malbecque; and in 1453 it was to appoint as its new provost the composer Binchois, on his retirement from the Burgundian court chapel choir. Several of those developments probably did not originate with the Soignies chapter; but taken together they witness a pattern into which the appointment of one of Dufay's favoured pupils fits extremely well.

VII

There are a few more documents, which have played a large part in most descriptions of Regis's life and which almost certainly concern other men with the same name.

Several writers state that Regis spent some time in Mons and others that he was paid for copying at Cambrai Cathedral⁽¹⁰²⁾. Those statements go back to the same three entries in the *comptes de la fabrique* of Cambrai: in 1474-75 a massive payment "Johanni Leroy de Montibus pro 30 codicibus primi voluminis legendarii novi: £70"; one in 1475-76 "Domini Johanni Leroy super scripturam voluminis S. Legendarii huius ecclesie: £25"; and one in 1477-78 reading "Missus fuit magnus vicarius apud Montes in Hanonia pro visitando cum domino Johanne

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 48 and (for the document) pp. 469-471. The change in the accounting procedure came only in 1448-1449, as recorded in CS 173. Further on this, see N. JOACHIM, "Notice sur la chanterie, la maîtrise et les musiciens de l'ancien chapitre de St-Vincent à Soignies", *Courrier de St-Grégoire*, 22 (1910), pp. 9-11, 25-32, 41-45, 49-53, 61-66, 73-76; and 23 (1911), pp. 17-21, 29-32, 37-44, 53-56, 69-73, 77-81, 85-88. This article contains a useful summary of the musically relevant material in the writings particularly of Demeuldre; the matter of the Bull is discussed in vol. 22, p. 28. Two months earlier Eugenius IV had made a similar provision for the church of Our Lady in Antwerp, see J. VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, "De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters van de Antwerpse O.-L.-Vrouwekerk tijdens de 15^e eeuw", in *Gouden jubileum gedenkboek van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht knapenkoor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkatedraal te Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1978), pp. 29-72, on p. 31. On the extensive wider activity of Pope Eugenius IV on establishing choirschools, see the summary of relevant Italian materials in G. CAT-TIN, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-century Italy", *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. I. FENLON (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 21-36, on pp. 22-24.

I should note in passing that the earlier documents tell us rather more about music in Soignies, and particularly record the presence there of the composers Cameraco and Johannes Le Grant. But these raise complicated issues best left for another occasion.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*, p. 48 and (for the document) pp. 480-482; see also JOACHIM, *loc. cit.* It may be relevant that the church of Our Lady in Antwerp made a similar provision for its choirboys and master in the very same year, see VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, pp. 5-6, and many later writers.

Leroy primum volumen legendarii huius ecclesie ac disponendo de litteris aureis et ligatura dicti voluminis : 72s”⁽¹⁰³⁾. Certainly Mons is only fourteen kilometers from Soignies; and the copyist, like the composer, was apparently a priest. But it is highly unlikely that a senior resident canon of Soignies who had charge of a choirschool there, known in Cambrai as a composer and an associate of Dufay, should be a) working as a copyist of purely textual material, however grand his productions, b) described as being in Mons and c) mentioned in the Cambrai accounts without being described as a canon of Soignies. Besides, for what it may be worth, in all the Cambrai documents the composer is named Regis whereas the copyist is named Jehan Leroy (using the French form within a document that is in Latin). The copyist resident in Mons cannot be the same man as the composer.

In the exhibition catalogue *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd* (1970), Jozef Robijns states in passing that Regis died on 2 May 1491⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. Without further discussion or at least documentation it is difficult to believe that there is any particular reason for thinking that the document apparently found by Robijns necessarily concerns the composer rather than one of the host of other men who carried the same name⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

At least one of these appears to have been active in Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch. The documents, in order of their appearance are : Johannes Regis, a singer at the church of St Michael, Ghent, in 1482-83⁽¹⁰⁶⁾; Johannes Regis “onsz bovensanger” at 's-Hertogenbosch for eight weeks in 1484-85⁽¹⁰⁷⁾; “Jan de Coninck”, a vicar at the church of Our Lady, Antwerp, in 1497; and a Johannes Regis who was a singer buried there in 1502, leaving a small bequest to the church⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ HOUDOUY, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai*, pp. 200-201 and p. 95. This may explain why Lindenburg (MGG, s.v.) says that Regis was a *canonicus foraneus* at Soignies. The statutes of the chapter (printed in DEMEULDRE, *Le chapitre*) say much about non-resident canons; but all the available evidence — presented below — shows that Regis was present more or less continuously from 1463 to 1496.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd : tentoonstelling... Dendermonde, 14 november — 6 december 1970* (Dendermonde, 1970), p. 199.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Beyond those mentioned elsewhere in this article, there is a manuscript of Petrus Comestor's *Historia scolastica* (B-Br 14663) signed (fol. 453) : “Scripta et completa... per manus Iohannis Regis presbyteri possessoris... (1455)”, see J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1901), p. 82. This cannot have been the composer, who did not become “presbyter” until 1463. I am indebted to Rob C. Wegman for the reference. The hand here, incidentally, has nothing in common with that of the Cambrai signature mentioned in note 114 below.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ R. STROHM, letter to the editor, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), p. 577, without further documentation.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, pp. 6-7, citing A. SMIERS, *De illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam, 1932), p. 179.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ LINDENBURG, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, citing Léon de Burbure's posthumously published notes (though there is no such reference in VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *op. cit.*). This last reference may explain the puzzling death-date 16 May 1502 for the composer in the *Riemann Musik-Lexikon* (but withdrawn in the relevant *Ergänzungsband*), see note 1 above.

Reinhard Strohm has recently suggested that the singer at St Michael's, Ghent, may have been the composer; and the inclusion of so far unexplained texts for St Michael in the surviving *L'homme armé* Mass of Regis makes his hypothesis extremely attractive⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. Against that, however, one must now consider a) the evidence laid out above demonstrating that the canon of Soignies (definitely resident there in 1482-3) was a composer of some significance and b) the lack of any suggestion in either the musical sources or the writings of Tinctoris that there could have been two composers called Johannes Regis. The singer in Ghent can hardly have been the composer.

There is, however, just a chance that those documents explain the "ghost" reference to Regis as choirmaster at Antwerp. In 1880 Jules Houdoy wrote that "Ce compositeur... était, ainsi que l'établit un *Compte de Cambrai*, maître des enfants dans l'église d'Anvers, en 1463"⁽¹¹⁰⁾. Subsequent searches for this reference among the various Cambrai documents for 1463 have proved fruitless. Van den Nieuwenhuizen's research at Antwerp has raised no reference to Regis as master of the choristers⁽¹¹¹⁾. In any case we know that Regis was at Soignies celebrating his first Mass in October 1463; and the discussions above have made it seem almost certain that he was in Soignies throughout that year. Perhaps Houdoy was simply jumping to conclusions, based on the copying payment for "II messes qui ont été rapportées d'Amtverps contenant 16 feullés"⁽¹¹²⁾ which, in Houdoy's

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ STROHM, *loc. cit.*

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ HOUDOY, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai*, p. 83. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 5, states that he cannot find such documentation among the Cambrai documents, though he does find a prebend for Servatius Regis in 1462-1463 (presumably at Cambrai, though his wording is not entirely clear). So far as I can tell, this and many other references to Regis at Antwerp all derive from that single comment of Houdoy. In the same place Houdoy suggests that the composer might be the son of Théodoric Regis who was a Cambrai choirboy in 1394; but this is sheer guesswork prompted by the similarity of names; see also VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, 6 (1882), p. 465, note 2. I imagine it is those two comments of Houdoy which made Lindenburg say (MGG, s.v.) [geboren] "vermutlich in Antwerpen oder Cambrai".

⁽¹¹¹⁾ VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, "De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters". Although the name of Johannes Regis does not appear in the payment registers, so comprehensively discussed in that article, Van den Nieuwenhuizen states, p. 42, that it is not possible to compile a complete list of singers who were present at this period. He does, however, show beyond a shadow of doubt (p. 47) that Barbireau became choirmaster not in 1448, as normally stated, but around 1484-1485 and that Barbireau was born in 1455-1456; see also K.K. FORNEY, "Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp", *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp. 1-57, on p. 38, with the information that Antoon van der Wijngaerde was choirmaster from before 1471 until c. 1484. On the other hand a new set of ordinances for the master of the choirboys was drawn up at that church in about 1460 (printed VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *op. cit.*, p. 63, from Antwerp, Kathedraalarchief, Capsa 19 Dominorum Nr. 48, fol. Iv-II, which is the register for the years 1463-1470). The new ordinances at that time could well imply a change, or an anticipated change, of master. There was at Antwerp a singer Michiel Regis, received in 1444-1445, who made his will in 1470 and died on 19 January 1473, *op. cit.*, p. 43. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 2, also quotes a reference by Burbure to a Guillaume Regis received in 1442, though this is probably a misreading for Willem Gravi received in that year, see VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁽¹¹²⁾ F-Ladn 4G 4671 (*Comptes de la fabrique*, 1463-1464), fol. 24v, printed, with errors, in HOUDOY, *Histoire artistique*, p. 195.

edition, immediately precedes the payment for Regis's Mass *Crucis*⁽¹¹³⁾. Another possibility is that Houdoy's pen simply slipped and he wrote "Antwerp" for "Soignies". Whatever the origin of this statement, the available facts make its truth all but impossible for the composer who was a canon of Soignies.

There is at Cambrai a Hebrew prayer book with the inscription "Johannes Regis Cameracensis"⁽¹¹⁴⁾. We shall see that Tinctoris described the composer as unread (*minime literatus*); and it seems unlikely that he could actually read any Hebrew. This too may well therefore refer to another man with the same name. If the composer really did write this inscription it would need to have been in the 1440s, as we have seen; but unless he then left the book at Cambrai it would be difficult to explain why it now lies in the Cambrai municipal library. At the very least, it would be rash to conclude that we have here an autograph signature of the composer.

One final reference, which leaves no conclusive evidence for concerning the composer, is the item from the Cambrai chapter acts of 27 September 1482 printed by Lindenburg⁽¹¹⁵⁾. Here Hermes Huberti acts as proctor for Dominus Johannes Regis who is resigning a benefice at "Wintiscalda" (apparently Scheldewindeke, 17 km from Ghent) in order to take up one at Berleghem (which Lindenburg was unable to identify). Obviously this is some distance from what we know as the composer's working orbit. But he would almost certainly have held further benefices. Moreover, the document quoted above (p. 149) shows that in 1481-1482 the composer was rearranging some of his financial affairs. There therefore seems at least a possibility, albeit unconfirmed, that this entry indeed concerns the composer.

VIII

It is now time to draw together the information presented so far and flesh it out a little, taking account of his surviving music.

Because of the date of his first Mass he was almost certainly born by 1438. But already in the summer of 1451 he was master of the choristers at Soignies and entrusted with the lodging of Gillechon de Ghillenghien, who was presumably a choirboy. It therefore seems unlikely that he was less than about 25 in 1451; and a birthdate around 1425 seems closer to the mark than Lindenburg's 1430.

(113) *F-Ladn* 4G 4672 (*Comptes de la fabrique*, 1464-1465), fol. 23v, printed in HOUDOY, *loc. cit.*

(114) *F-CA* MS 946. A facsimile of the signature appears in LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 4, and in W. ELDERS, *Componisten van de Lage Landen* (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1985), p. 164. The inscription is inside the front cover in the Western sense.

(115) "Datum die 27º Septembris [1482] Hermes Huberti procurator Domini Johannis Regis rectoris ecclesie de Wintiscalda resignavit in manibus dominorum meorum eamdem ecclesiam causa permutationis de eadem cum domino Henrico de Beka rectore parochialis ecclesie de Berleghem"; *F-CA* 1061, fol. 146v, ed. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 6, note 2.

So in the mid-1440s he was about twenty years old and a suitable age not only to be a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral but also to act as Dufay's *clerc*. He was also old enough to be composing at that stage and may have contributed to the large quantity of new music copied at Cambrai in 1449-1450.

In 1451 he was master of the choristers at Soignies, with its recently reorganised choral foundation and newly built choir school; and he apparently stayed there for the rest of his life, albeit negotiating quite seriously for the same position at Cambrai in response to Dufay's invitation in November 1460. These negotiations look extremely strange from the surviving Cambrai documents. But, with further details of his life clarified they perhaps make more sense if I may be excused a slightly fanciful reconstruction, as follows.

When Cambrai first approach Regis in November 1460, Henri de Gavre is still *escollastre* at Soignies. Regis has been master of the choirboys there for nearly ten years and already has been an active composer for nearly twenty years. He is naturally eager to move to the same position at Cambrai where he sang as a young man, which is much richer and larger than Soignies, with its awesome international reputation recently enhanced by Dufay's return from Italy.

As it happens, Binchois has died at Soignies only two months earlier, on 20 September 1460. He was elected provost of Soignies when he retired from distinguished service in the Burgundian Court chapel, in 1452; that is to say, the second most famous composer of the day became provost at about the time when we first know Regis was master of the choirboys (and it is even possible that the two events were causally related, though Binchois did not take up full residence until the last three years of his life).

There is a further important character in the story here, the composer Guillaume Malbecque. He was a colleague of Dufay at the Papal Chapel for five years in the 1430s and has been a resident canon of Soignies since 1440. After twenty years of residence, Malbecque in fact becomes Dean of Soignies at about this time⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Perhaps he and Binchois had dreamed of the day — which will become reality a few decades later — when an Italian will single out Soignies for its fine singers⁽¹¹⁷⁾, and a more local commentator can claim that its choir almost equals that of Cambrai⁽¹¹⁸⁾. It is difficult to resist the thought that Malbecque will put considerable pressure on the excellent master of his choristers not to return to his *alma mater*; and he will surely invoke the name of the recently lamented Binchois.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ CS 184 (*Comptes de la quotidienne*, 1460-1461) have him as an ordinary canon; in CS 185 (1461-1462) he appears as the Dean.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ "Partorisce particolarmemente questo luogo molti bonissimi musici con voci eccellenti, & perfette", L. GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione... di tutti i paesi bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), p. 268; 2nd edition (Antwerp, 1581), p. 500.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ J. LESSABAEUS, *Hannoniae urbium et nominatorum locorum ac coenobiorum...* (Antwerp, 1534), fol. A6-6v, ed. in Baron DE REIFFENBERG, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, 1 (Brussels, 1844), pp. liii-lxxii, translated in G. DECAMPS and A. WINS, *Description abrégée des villes, des localités les plus renommées et des monastères du Hainaut et de quelques contrées voisines* (Mons, 1885), pp. 11-12. The relevant passage reads: "And I cannot name in all of Hainault a chapter more noble and more famous for its music. Even in our days it has enjoyed in this respect a reputation which is scarcely less great than that of the collegiate church at Cambrai": "Atque haud scio an tota Hannonia generosius habeat sodalicium ac vocalius, nam Cameracenam hac parte laudem haud multis prae se parasangis hactenus habuit". He continues: "Fit enim non omnino reflante Superum numine, ut sedis locique amoenitatis non solum gratia, verum etiam munificentiae plane basilicae cupiditate solicitati vocales musici undique eo confluant, haud secus atque in alvearia apes, ubi proventum faciant uberrimum".

Malbecque and Binchois have both known Dufay for over thirty years and know him to be an increasingly difficult man. It is easy to imagine Malbecque being quite persuasive in explaining the potential drawbacks of what might seem the most attractive position in Western Christendom.

Still, Regis accepts, perhaps in the early summer of 1461 — already aware that his six-month delay is poor behaviour. No sooner has he done so than Henri de Gavre falls ill. We can imagine that Malbecque is the first to see the possibilities here. If the dying *escollastre* — whose musical distinction, if any, has not survived the succeeding half-millennium — were to be replaced by the extraordinarily promising composer and choirmaster already resident in Soignies, two ends will be achieved; the increased strength of Soignies as a musical centre; and the continued presence of Regis.

Malbecque explains all this to Regis, perhaps a little prematurely. It is enough to persuade Regis that he could indeed be very much better off at Soignies should things turn out as Malbecque hopes. A canonry anywhere is incomparably more lucrative than a position as master of the boys; and it is held for life. In this context all the earlier points made by Malbecque begin to register. But there are two problems: Henri de Gavre is not in fact dead or even definitively dying; and even if he should die there is only the wishful thinking of Malbecque to suggest that Regis — who is at this point not even a priest — will succeed him.

Moreover he has already accepted the Cambrai position. What does he do? He plays for time. Perhaps he simply stops replying to letters. And by about October 1461 Henri de Gavre dies, leaving the coveted position vacant. But still it is not his, and evidently it takes some time and political manoeuvering to bring him in line for it; clearly there will be no shortage of candidates and of advocates for them who are both influential and rich.

Come May or June 1462 and Cambrai are beginning to become extremely impatient. It is now eighteen months since they sacked their last choirmaster. Regis may be clearly the best man for the job and he may be Dufay's favoured candidate; but they cannot wait for ever. So a more direct ultimatum is sent, to which Regis has only one possible response (apart, of course, from telling the truth); he says he has always been dissatisfied with certain aspects of the Cambrai setup and needs an assurance that there will be a new house for the choirboys and various other expensive modern facilities. He may well even mention the beautiful new facilities he will be leaving in Soignies. His demand is so great that it takes seven canons to consider its feasibility.

Then either the truth comes out or Regis gets his canonry. And he prepares to fulfil the terms of the chapter statutes by becoming a priest one year later, at a fairly advanced age. With remarkable alacrity the Cambrai chapter appoints Jehan du Sart to the choirmastership.

Returning now to more documentable fact, the years 1462-1463 show the earliest evidence for his compositions; the Offertory *Regina celi* and the Mass *L'homme armé* were copied into the choirbooks at Cambrai. Since the copying of the Regis works at Cambrai began just after the end of these negotiations, possibly Regis sent them by way of apology and amendment. If so, we can suggest that they were recent at the time they were sent. No *Regina celi* ascribed to Regis survives; but there seems a good possibility that this may be the anonymous three-voice setting in the Vatican manuscript San Pietro B 80, where it appears directly after Dufay's four-voice *Ave regina celorum* (copied at Cambrai in 1464-1465) and Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* (evidently composed for Cambrai, perhaps in 1472)⁽¹¹⁹⁾. This *Regina celi* is a work of the most remarkable beauty

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ I-Rvat San Pietro B.80, fols. 30v-31. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis*, p. 102, suggests that the missing work may be the four-voice *Regina celi letare Alleluia* in the Chigi Codex, fols. 53v-55, and even draws attention to a passage in Regis's *Ave Maria* (b.97-104) that he believes matches (woordelijk... herinnert) one in the Chigi piece (b.21-25). The similarity of the two passages eludes me. But, more important, this is one of the pieces added much later to Chigi, probably in Spain; and it seems entirely unlike anything of Regis, with its doggedly imitated points crudely separated. It has some intriguing ostinato passages, particularly at the end of the work; but the music seems very much in the Spanish style of the years around 1500.

and skill, strongly reminiscent of the Mass Proper music from the 1440s now widely considered to be by Dufay — which is to say that one could easily accept it as a work by one of Dufay's pupils⁽¹²⁰⁾. As for the Mass *L'homme armé*, we need to be slightly cautious in assuming that it is the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium/ L'homme armé* ascribed to Regis in the Cappella Sistina MS 14 : Tinctoris in 1473 stated that both Busnoys and Regis had used the sign “02” in their *L'homme armé* Masses, and the Regis Mass in Cappella Sistina 14 contains neither the sign nor any passage where it could possibly have been used⁽¹²¹⁾. Recent research has increasingly shown that Tinctoris was extremely well-informed and accurate in his citations. The likelihood that Regis composed two Masses on the tune must be considered a strong possibility : Josquin, Morales, Palestrina and perhaps Pierre de la Rue did the same; moreover Regis used the tune again in the six-voice motet *Ave Rosa speciosa* (assuming it indeed to be his)⁽¹²²⁾.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ The copying payments describe this as an Offertory, whereas *Regina celi* is almost always found as an antiphon, see *Liber Usualis*, p. 275, with text and melody corresponding exactly to the discantus of this setting. PLANCHART, “Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices”, pp. 141-142, suggests that this reflects changing liturgy at Cambrai during those years, with the changes to some extent influenced by Dufay. Peter Lefferts informs me of an English Benedictine ordinal of ca. 1400 which mentions *Regina celi letare Alleluia* as an Offertory for the season from Easter to Trinity, *GB-Csyc* D27, fol. 51v, see The Abbess of Stanbrook [L. McLACHLAN] and J.B.L. TOLHURST, eds, *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 73 for 1934 (London, 1936), p. 57. On the style of this movement compare the chant paraphrases of the 1440s and other works of Dufay, as laid out in D. FALLOWS, “Introit Antiphon Paraphrase in the Trent Codices : Laurence Feininger's *confronto*”, *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediæval Music Society*, 7 (1984), pp. 47-77, and FALLOWS, “Dufay and the Mass Proper Cycles of Trent 88” (see above, note 96).

⁽¹²¹⁾ TINCTORIS, *Proportionale musices*, Bk 3, ch 5; ed. CousS 4, p. 175; CSM 22/2a, p. 55; translated in A. SEAY, *Johannes Tinctoris : Proportions in Music (Proportionale Musices)* [= Colorado College Music Press Translations, no. 10 (Colorado Springs, 1979)], p. 43. The Mass in in *I-Rvat*, Cappella Sistina 14, fols. 117v-127, ed. LINDENBURG, *Johannes Regis : Completa Works*, 1, pp. 1-24, and L.K.J. FEININGER, *Missae super L'homme armé* (= *Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae*, ser. 2 [Rome 1948], fascicle 5). For the observation that there is no possible opportunity for using “02” in this Mass, I am indebted to Rob Wegman, who discusses the matter in his forthcoming dissertation on the Masses of Obrecht (University of Amsterdam). It may be relevant that five of the sixteen works that Tinctoris mentioned in the *Proportionale* appear in the manuscript Cappella Sistina 14, as first noted by Seay in CSM 22/1, p. 25, where he added : “It would have been of benefit to know more about the provenance of this source, for one is tempted to suggest that Tinctoris may well have worked with this codex”. Since then, Adalbert Roth has apparently shown that Cappella Sistina 14 was copied (together with the main corpus of Cappella Sistina 51) in Naples, see the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (American Institute of Musicology, 1979-1988 = Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 1), iv, p. 28, citing Roth's as yet unpublished dissertation. But on the other hand Seay's insight would further confirm that the Regis *L'homme armé* Mass there is unlikely to be the one discussed by Tinctoris in view of its lack of this mensuration sign.

⁽¹²²⁾ See E.F. HOUGHTON, “A 'New' Motet by Johannes Regis”, *Tijdschrift van der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 33 (1983), pp. 49-74. The *L'homme armé* melody appears only in the lowest voice, three times through : it is reduced to its four main melodic components, with repetitions eliminated, and interspersed with other material.

In 1462 he also became canon and *escollastre* at Soignies, celebrating his first mass on 23 October 1463; and in the year 1464-1465 his Mass *Crucis* was also copied at Cambrai. Shortly after that, perhaps in 1472, must have been the occasion when Compere composed his motet *Omnium bonorum plena* naming Regis among several other composers. Since the main dedicatee of the motet was evidently Dufay, there is no need for a particular explanation of why it named this distinguished pupil of his, now in his late forties.

From the mid-1470s there are several events to chronicle. First, the earliest actual surviving copies of any of his music and therefore (if one accepts the necessary cautions about the identity of the *L'homme armé* Mass copied in 1462-1463) the earliest clear *terminus ante quem* for any of it. The Mellon Chansonnier, written in Naples but largely representing a repertory associated with the Low Countries, includes Regis's beautiful but entirely baffling rondeau *Puisque ma dame* — a work that combines two texts in such a bizarre way that no comparable song can be found in the surviving sources : here is evidence of his startling originality. The Chansonnier Cordiforme, copied in Savoy and showing no evidence of influence from the North, includes his wonderfully restrained and long-limbed rondeau *S'il vous plaist*, a work more easily analysed but equally difficult to put into any known stylistic tradition of the time⁽¹²³⁾.

Also in the 1470s are the references to him and his works in the writings of Johannes Tinctoris. He mentions Regis in his two earliest surviving treatises, written in ca. 1473-1474. The list of ten internationally famous composers in the *Complexus viginti effectuum musices* includes Regis, who is named after Okeghem and Busnoys; and the “Prohemium” to his *Proportionale musices* lists the “modern composers, Okeghem, Busnois, Regis and Caron, the most outstanding masters of composition that I have ever heard”⁽¹²⁴⁾. In the *Proportionale*, Regis also

⁽¹²³⁾ For *Puisque ma dame ne puis voir/ Je m'en voy et mon cuer demeure*, see, most recently, L.L. PERKINS and H. GAREY, eds, *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven, 1979), no. 11, with a plainly frustrated attempt to explain what is happening in the song. One problem is that although the second text looks as though it ought to be a four-line rondeau stanza, incompletely presented, its musical phrase-structure conflicts disturbingly with that of the first text. For *S'il vous plaist que vostre je soye*, see H.M. BROWN, ed., *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Chicago, 1983), no. 102. In the three-voice version which seems to be its original form (an added fourth voice appears in Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1503), it has quite exceptionally sparse textures : thus the first nineteen bars of Brown's edition have only three bars in which all three voices sound. It is also unusual in the breadth of its melodic lines and the nature of its imitations.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ *Complexus*, ed. CousS 4, p. 200, CSM 22/2, p. 176, Zanoncelli (see note 12), p. 110; *Proportionale*, “Prohemium”, ed. CousS 4, p. 154, CSM 22/2a, p. 10. Taken together, however, these two lists of composers raise certain problems, particularly as concerns the date of the *Complexus*. The *Complexus* is normally dated 1472-1473 (CSM 22/1, p. 7), because it is dedicated to Beatrice of Aragon, still described simply as daughter of King Ferdinand, whereas in 1476 she became Queen of Hungary, which title was used for her “in the registers of the Neapolitan court and in her own correspondence from the time of her official betrothal in the summer of 1475” (L.L.

receives the inverted compliment of being castigated — alongside Caron, Boubert, Faugues and Courbet — as *minime litteratus*, poorly read in the theoretical writings, as contrasted with Okeghem and Busnoys who are described as *competenter latinitate*⁽¹²⁵⁾. All seven composers, he says, had ignorantly followed the English in using “C-dot” as an augmentation signature. And later, as already mentioned, Tinctoris blames Regis and Busnoys for their incorrect use of the sign “02” in their *L'homme armé Masses*⁽¹²⁶⁾.

Then there is a change. In his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, dated 11 October 1477, the prologue includes a list of five great contemporary composers in which Regis comes second only to Okeghem, followed by Busnoys, Caron and Faugues⁽¹²⁷⁾; and later in the book his motet *Clangat plebs* and Busnoys’ motet

PERKINS, in PERKINS and GAREY, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, vol. 1, p. 17). But this dedication appears only in the Brussels copy (possibly autograph : *B-Br MS II-4147*, ed. CousS 4, pp. 191-195) : unfortunately the last two folios of this manuscript have been torn out, though the original index shows that they originally contained the completion of the treatise. The paragraph concerning the great composers therefore survives only in the much later Ghent manuscript (*B-Gu 70*, ca. 1503-1504, ed. CousS 4, pp. 195-200). In that manuscript the entire opening section is severely curtailed and recast, omitting the dedication. The suspicion that other passages later in the treatise may similarly have been recast arises primarily from the inclusion of Obrecht among the list of composers : our current knowledge of his life suggests that he is unlikely to have achieved any wide reputation before the very late 1470s. Moreover, the Cambrai manuscript containing excerpts from Tinctoris’s *De inventione et usu musice* (*F-CA 416*) increases the number of “effects” from twenty to twenty-seven and considerably changes their order and wording; see R. WOODLEY, “The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris’s Fragmentary Treatise *De inventione et usu musice*”, *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 239-268. Unfortunately, in this version, each “effect” is severely curtailed and there is no specific reference to composers. But the likelihood remains that if Tinctoris once substantially revised this, the most “humanistically” learned of his treatises, he could well have done so twice. (On Tinctoris and humanism, see Seay’s comments in CSM 22/2, pp. 163-164, and R. WOODLEY, “Renaissance Music Theory as Literature : on Reading the *Proportionale Musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris”, *Renaissance Studies*, 1 [1987], pp. 209-220). For that reason, I prefer to call the Ghent version by the title that appears there, *Complexus viginti effectuum musices* — using *Complexus effectuum musices* only for the incomplete Brussels version with the dedication to Beatrice.

This leads back to the correspondences between the “Prohemium” of the *Proportionale* and the 19th “effect” in the *Complexus viginti effectuum musices*. The *Proportionale* mentions the famous composers in the order : Dunstable, Dufay, Binchois, Okeghem, Busnois, Regis, Caron. The *Complexus* has the same composers in the same order, but adding Jacobus Carlerii, Robert Morton and Jacobus Obrecht, asking “who does not know of them?” It seems likely that he added these last three names — or at least that of Obrecht — rather later. Since they would represent simply additions, this modifies but does not essentially deflect my argument that the changed order in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* could have significance.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ *Proportionale*, Bk 3, ch 3, ed. CousS 4, p. 172, CSM 22/2a, p. 49, translated SEAY, *Proportions*, p. 37. I might add that this provides yet further evidence of lost music by Regis : his currently known works include no example of “C-dot” mensuration and no passage that could use it as an augmentation signature.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ *Proportionale*, Bk 3, ch 5, ed. CousS 4, p. 175, CSM 22/2a, p. 55, translated SEAY, *Proportions*, p. 43.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, “Prologus”, ed. CousS 4, p. 77, CSM 22/2, p. 12, translated SEAY in MSD 5, p. 15. Continuing the discussion from note 124, it is notable that Tinctoris lists here the seven composers already mentioned in the *Proportionale* adding only Faugues, who does not appear in the *Complexus viginti effectuum musices*.

Congaudabant are singled out for their beauty and *varietas*⁽¹²⁸⁾. On both occasions, therefore, Tinctoris now names Regis before Busnoys.

Obviously it would be dangerous to base too much on the different sequence of the names after no more than four years. There are after all several contemporary lists of famous composers which name Busnoys but omit Regis entirely; among them are those in Eloy d'Amerval's *Livre de la deablerie* (unless the mysterious "Jorges" mentioned there is Regis), in Jean Molinet's *Le naufrage de la Pucelle*, the anonymous *Ars cantus mensurabilis et inmensurabilis* of 1482, Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia's *Musica practica* (ca. 1472) and Adam von Fulda's *Musica* (1490)⁽¹²⁹⁾. But the changed order of the names on both occasions in Tinctoris' later book does of course reflect the prominence Regis was to receive in the publications of Petrucci. There might just be a case for suggesting that Regis's full stature was recognized later than that of the precocious Busnoys, that at some stage in the mid-1470s people quite suddenly registered that Regis was not merely another of the many skilled composers active in the circle of Dufay but somebody with an exceptionally individual voice⁽¹³⁰⁾. It may also be relevant that this change coincides precisely with Regis's one documented absence from his duties in Soignies, from July 1477 to the beginning of September 1478.

Hints of a similar prominence appear in the wording of Pierre Moulu's motet *Mater floreat*, perhaps composed at the French royal court in 1517. Its first half reads as follows⁽¹³¹⁾.

Mater floreat florescat modulata musicorum melodia. Crescat celebris Dufay cadentia, prosperetur preclaris Regis; Busnoys, Baziron subtiles glorientur. Triumphet Alexander magnificus, congaudea[n]t Obreth, Compere, Eloy, Hayne, La Rue memorables. Josquin incomparabilis bravum accipiat.

The strangest thing there, of course, is the omission of Okeghem, master of the French royal chapel for over forty years. But the position of Regis is nevertheless difficult to ignore.

(128) *Op. cit.*, Bk 3, ch 8; ed. CousS 4, p. 152, CSM 22/2a, p. 156, translated Seay in MSD 5, p. 140.

(129) Further references on all of these are in FALLOWS, *Dufay*, pp. 259-260 (editions of 1987 and 1988, pp. 257-258).

(130) Recent research has clarified the outlines of Busnoys' life and chronology, see particularly P.M. HIGGINS, *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-century France and Burgundy* (diss., Princeton University, 1987). The earliest documents concerning him are in 1460 and 1464 at Tours, prior to his arrival at the Burgundian court chapel shortly after 1464. He clearly composed a substantial quantity of music before reaching the Burgundian court, but little of it is likely to antedate 1460 by more than a few years. Regis was probably composing at least ten years earlier than Busnoys. Busnoys' star rose extremely fast.

(131) From *I-Fl Acquisti e doni* 666, fols. 51v-55, ed. in E.E. LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex of 1518: a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* (Chicago, 1968 = Monuments of Renaissance Music, vol. 3-5) no. 17. I have here followed Lowinsky's punctuation, MRM 3, p. 73, though the music clearly implies a new section beginning "Regis, Busnoys, Baziron subtiles glorientur". The grammar here is difficult since, in classical Latin, although "celebris" can be a nominative singular, "preclaris" must be dative or ablative plural; moreover there seems no evidence for a deponent verb "prosperor". In Lowinsky's punctuation Regis is given a separate sentence of his own; but in either case he precedes Busnoys and Baziron.

This article is concerned with the documentation of Regis's life, not with the music, which is a massive subject in itself. Nevertheless there does seem a case for suggesting that the delicate change in priority reflects something that happened in Regis's composition during the 1470s. And I believe that the change concerned was the move from Mass composition (all in four voices, so far as we know) to the writing of motets, mostly in five voices. This theory becomes more plausible in the light of the knowledge that Regis was old enough to be composing actively already in the 1440s at Cambrai and could well therefore have had at least two entirely different phases to his career. His contribution to the Chigi Codex is entirely of motets in five voices (and perhaps six). When Petrucci gave him such unusual prominence in the years after 1500 it was again — with the exception of one Credo included in his large collection of *Fragmenta missarum* — motets, all but one of them in five voices. There seems a fair case for believing that when Tinctoris praised *Clangat plebs* late in 1477 it was a relatively new work in a new style⁽¹³²⁾. More than that, however, the evidence presented here makes it almost inevitable that most of his grand motets were in fact composed in and for Soignies. We have virtually no information about the choir at the church of St-Vincent; but the music stands to explain why it was singled out in the next century as one of the finest in the Low Countries.

⁽¹³²⁾ The case is clearly stated in W. STEPHAN, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette*, pp. 25-26, based largely on the evidence of the Trent codices.

BUSNOYS AND THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY: A NOTE ON 'L'ARDANT DESIR' AND 'FAICTES DE MOY'

THERE are several references to 'L'ardant desir' from around the time of the Mass that Rob Wegman argues must be by Busnoys. It appears among the list of seventeen chansons in Nicole de la Chesnaye's *Condamnacion de banquet*: thirteen of these can be identified confidently with chansons circulating in the early 1470s.¹ It is named as a *basse danse*, along with 'Je languis', in Martial d'Auvergne's *Arrets d'amour*, written in the early 1460s.² And there are two related polyphonic elaborations headed 'L'ardant desir' in the Buxheim keyboard manuscript of the same date,³ both with a Tenor line that is plainly a somewhat confused version of the line Wegman has deduced to be the tenor of the Mass.

Nevertheless, the chanson itself must be considerably earlier and opens up some intriguing possibilities about Busnoys's attitudes. It appeared in Strasbourg MS 222 C.22, according to the inventory made by Edmond de Coussemaker shortly before the source itself was lost in the fire of 1870.⁴ Coussemaker recorded only the text opening 'L'ardan desir', the information that it was in three voices, and the first eight notes of the Discantus line; but these notes match the opening of the two Buxheim arrangements closely enough to establish the identity beyond doubt.

The chronology of the Strasbourg manuscript and its music remains inscrutable. But the broad outline seems to be that there are two main layers, albeit confusingly interspersed with one another: the later, in void notation, includes works by Dufay and Binchois likely to go as late as 1440; the earlier, in full-black notation, has music reaching back to the middle of the fourteenth century and may well have been finished by 1411—the date entered on folio 142 of the manuscript. 'L'ardan desir' appears in the earlier full-black notation, albeit in a section of the manuscript mainly filled with pieces in the apparently later void notation.

With the Strasbourg incipit, the two Buxheim arrangements and Wegman's deduced version of the original tenor, we can get closer to the music for 'L'ardant desir'. The Discantus reconstruction in Ex. 1 must be regarded as a tentative outline: the Buxheim intabulations tend to play fast and free with Discantus lines, and the smaller details are almost impossible to recover. Moreover, with a convincing

¹ The best edition and discussion of this passage is in Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, pp. 93-94.

² The relevant passage is printed in Frederick Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse*, Brooklyn, 1968, p. 79. The full text is edited by Jean Rychner, Paris, 1951.

³ *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, ed. Bertha Antonia Wallner, ii ('Das Erbe deutscher Musik', xxxviii), Kassel, 1958, Nos. 133-4.

⁴ F. 107 (No. 188). A facsimile of Coussemaker's inventory (now Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, MS 56.256), edited by Albert Vander Linden, appears as *Le Manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, XV^e siècle* ('Thesaurus Musicus', ii), Brussels, n.d. [c.1975]. A thematic index, using this and other early descriptions, appears in *RISM*, B IV/3, Munich, 1972, pp. 550-92.

version of the tenor it is easier to understand why the two Buxheim versions were so confusing: both of them occasionally halve or double speed, and do so—we can now see—in different places. As for the third voice, although there are several places where the two Buxheim readings are plainly related, it seems better to refrain from reconstruction, because these arrangements quite often included entirely new Contratenor lines.

Ex. 1

Since the two sections of the song cadence on the same pitch, with the second section about half of the length of the first, it is almost certainly a virelai. Virtually all rondeau settings have their mid-point cadence on a subsidiary pitch and two halves of roughly equal length. There is a slim possibility that it could have been a ballade, though in that case one would expect not only a longer second half but a more exact 'rhyme' between the phrases at the ends of the two halves.⁵ Moreover, the apparent 'open' and 'closed' endings of the second half also point to the virelai tradition.

⁵ There is, in fact, a ballade from around 1400 with the text 'L'ardant desier qui mon cuer art/Si ardent . . .'. It is published, from its unique source at Utrecht, in *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, ii, ed. Willi Apel ('Corpus mensurabilis musicae', liii), American Institute of Musicology, 1971, No. 156. The music is entirely independent of the Buxheim settings. No further text survives, but it would in any case probably cast no relevant light on the matter to hand. Two further texts with the same opening, set to music in the sixteenth century, are noted in Brown, op. cit., pp. 249–50. Ardent Desir seems to have been a predictably common allegorical name: in Martin Le Franc's poem *Le Champion des dames* (c.1440–42), this is the name of the eponymous champion's horse.

In any case, the knowledge that this must have been a virelai neatly offers a context for the music. That form has a strange and varied history, of which two details in particular are relevant here. First, the French virelai seems to have become virtually extinct shortly after 1400, only to be revived some time around 1450—at which point Busnoys was one of the first to exploit it extensively, though with a musical style quite different from anything in the earlier repertory.⁶ Second, among the surviving late fourteenth-century virelais there is a small number similar in style and scope to 'L'ardant desir'. These apparently continue the tradition set by Machaut's virelais Nos. 30–32. Apart from sharing the duple time and simple counterpoint of the Machaut pieces, they tend to be unusually short (and therefore appropriate to the full three-stanza form that is otherwise almost entirely confined to Machaut's works in the genre). It is worth tabulating the lengths of the sections and the cadence pitches of all these pieces alongside those of 'L'ardant desir'. The lengths are given in breves with—for the sake of simplicity—concluding *longae* counted as two. Also for simplicity, the anonymous songs are identified purely by their location in Apel's edition, which still provides the easiest means of glancing through most of the fourteenth-century French song repertory.⁷

L'ardant desir	20 D	10 E/16 D	
Two-voice virelais:			
Mort pour quoy	20 C	14 D/14 C	ed. Apel, No. 208
Tant plus vos voye	22 D	13 E/13 D	ed. Apel, No. 226
Tres dolz et loyaulk	25 C	12 E/15 C	ed. Apel, No. 228
Ma dame voiés	24 C	14 D/14 D	ed. Apel, No. 206
Se je souspir	18 F	10 G/10 F (Machaut)	ed. Schrade, No. 30
Moult sui de bonne	26 G	13 A/17 G (Machaut)	ed. Schrade, No. 31
De tout sui	28 F	12 D/12 C (Machaut)	ed. Schrade, No. 32
Three-voice virelais:			
Puis qu'autrement	20 C	11 D/11 C	ed. Apel, No. 219
Combien que j'iae	23 D	12 E/12 D	ed. Apel, No. 187
Va t'en mon cuer	26 C	16 D/16 C	ed. Apel, No. 232
Puis que l'aloé	34 C	16 D/16 C	ed. Apel, No. 220
Adyou adyou dame	30 D	13 C/13 D (Landini)	ed. Apel, No. 48

The relative lengths of the sections are extremely consistent in these pieces (though only two others have the extended 'closed' ending of 'L'ardant desir'). Similarly, the pattern of pitches for the main articulating cadences is—with just one exception—that the 'open' ending of the second section is a step above the final and the 'closed' ending is on the final. There is another detail that the works share with those three virelais of Machaut: the way their Discantus lines constantly play about with a small number of melodic motifs and restrict their movement to relatively

⁶ There is no published discussion of this, though I have argued the point in a paper 'Virelai and Bergerette', delivered to various audiences in England and the USA.

⁷ *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Willi Apel ('Corpus mensurabilis musicae', liii), American Institute of Musicology, 1970–72. A more recent edition of those virelais not found in the Machaut sources or the Chantilly manuscript is *French Secular Music: Virelais*, ed. Gordon K. Greene ('Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century', xxi), Monaco, 1987. Since the anonymous works are arranged there in alphabetical order, no further reference need be given here.

simple note-values. That in its turn offers further reasons for regarding the reconstructed Discantus of 'L'ardant desir' in Ex. 1 as a mere outline: it would be extremely surprising if there were no recurrence of the semiminim pattern in bar 2; and we can be almost certain that the remainder would have contained the elaborate motivic treatment we know from all the other works in the genre. As a final observation it may be noted that most of these pieces have a quick succession of short lines with — unusually among the secular genres — no rest between poetic lines. It is, therefore, impossible to guess at the form of 'L'ardant desir' beyond the now obvious fact that it was a virelai. Apart from 'L'ardant desir', all the pieces in this list come from sources that put their composition before about 1400. They provide a highly convincing and coherent musical context for 'L'ardant desir'; and they show that Busnoys based his Mass cycle on a song that was at least 70 years old. No remotely comparable case appears among the Mass cycles from the later fifteenth century.

One last point should be added here. Although the evidence of Martial d'Auvergne suggests that 'L'ardant desir' was adapted to become a *basse danse* tenor in later years, Busnoys was evidently working with the original polyphonic song, because the motto opening in the first four movements of the Mass follows the outline of the song's Discantus line.

There is, in fact, one further unnoticed case of Busnoys's being curious about the songs of a much earlier generation. His rondeau 'Faictes de moy tout ce qu'il vous plaira'⁸ uses a text that had previously been set in the first decades of the century. The Discantus and Tenor of this earlier setting appear in the Vatican MS Urb. lat. 1411, folios 4^v–5¹, clumsily and inaccurately copied, with a stanza of text so garbled that it is easy to see why the identity was overlooked. But the song fragments at Montserrat recently described by M^a Carmen Gómez⁹ fortunately provide nearly all the missing information, especially the full Contratenor and most of the remaining text. Here the Tenor is almost entirely lost, though it can now be reconstructed from Vatican MS Urb. lat. 1411. The Discantus (not quite complete) was in a form slightly more florid than in Urb. lat. 1411. And there are gaps in the first stanza of the poem (thus hindering identification with any of the other sources); but that stanza has already been adequately reconstructed by Howard Mayer Brown, working just from the manuscripts of Busnoys's setting. Between them the Montserrat and Vatican manuscripts supply all the music of the earlier song. And Montserrat gives virtually all the remaining text, which is not known either from the Vatican or from any of the known Busnoys sources.

Professor Gómez proposes a date of around 1420 for the Montserrat fragments; and they can hardly be any later. The setting of 'Faictes de moy' looks very much like the kind of music Fontaine was producing in the first fifteen years of the century, with its mainly regular four-bar phrases, its alternation of texted and untexted units, its largely syllabic declamation, its relatively simple cadence layout and its characteristic upward resolution of dissonances. The main point, however, is that it was highly unusual for a French composer of the Busnoys generation to set a text

⁸ In *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown ('Monuments of Renaissance Music', vii), Chicago, 1983, No. 221. Its earliest known source dates from the 1480s.

⁹ M^a Carmen Gómez, 'El manuscrito 823 de Montserrat (Biblioteca del Monasterio)', *Musica disciplina*, xxxvi (1982), 39–93. Her transcription of the Montserrat version of 'Faictes de moy' appears on pp. 85–87. I am particularly grateful to Professor Gómez for having sent me copies of this important source.

known from an earlier song. Although Busnoys's version contains no musical reflection of that earlier setting, the very fact of his having set an earlier text is intriguing. And the discovery that he used another song from around 1400 for one of his Mass cycles begins to bring things into a new focus.¹⁰ At the very least, these findings endorse Wegman's characterization of Busnoys as a man 'eager to show his literacy and learning'.

¹⁰ On the other hand, they may not help much in clarifying one of the major problematic cases among Busnoys's songs, his 'Con tutta gentilezza', *A Florentine Chansonnier*, ed. Brown, No. 53. This text, too, was set to music around 1400, by Andrea Stefani. But—as Brown notes in his extended commentary on the song—musical and poetic form match so poorly in Busnoys's setting that it is difficult to believe that he had anything to do with their assembly.



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‘Trained and immersed in all musical delights’: Towards a New Picture of Busnoys

If Busnoys had died in 1482 rather than 1492, some things would have looked different. A conference ten years ago would have heard the first evidence that Busnoys had been in Tours in the early 1460s, though Paula Higgins in fact published this only in 1984; most delegates would have arrived with no certain information about the composer earlier than his appearance at the court of Burgundy soon before Philip the Good’s death in 1467. A conference ten years ago would not have had to confront the eight mass cycles that have been attributed to Busnoys since then: the six *L’homme armé* cycles and the cycle *Quant ce viendra* attributed to him by Richard Taruskin as well as the cycle *L’ardant desir* attributed to him by Rob Wegman—all of them still controversial matters. It would not have been able to profit from Howard Mayer Brown’s eloquent stylistic profile of the songs published in *A Florentine Chansonnier*, from the new biographical and social profile in Paula Higgins’s thesis, from Richard Taruskin’s edition of the sacred works, with its extensive commentary, from an enormous body of work on the manuscript sources, and so on. Nor would it have known two pieces only recently identified: the glorious motet *Gaude caelestis Domina*, which Rob Wegman located in Cappella Sistina 15 on the basis of the Tinctoris quote; and the ballade *Rejois toi terre de France*, for which Andrea Lindmayr noted traces of an ascription in Pixérécourt, traces that leave it virtually beyond doubt that it was ascribed there to Busnoys—though perhaps this would have been revealed at a Busnoys conference ten years ago, since it now turns out that Don Giller had independently reached the same conclusion in a seminar paper of 1980.¹

This is a revised and expanded version of the Keynote Address delivered at the Busnoys Conference.

¹ As Giller informed me in a letter of 5 Oct. 1992. For the published items mentioned in this paragraph, see Paula Higgins, ‘*In hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois’, *JAMS* 36 (1986), 36–86; Richard Taruskin, ‘Antoine Busnoys and the *L’Homme armé* Tradition’, *JAMS* 39 (1986), 255–93,

The main changes of the last ten years have been on two fronts. The first was to draw attention away from Busnoys's years at the Burgundian court, beginning to see the extraordinary richness of the central-French tradition, the importance of the entire Loire Valley circle both for Busnoys and for the history of music in the second half of the fifteenth century. If I had been invited to a Busnoys quincentenary conference in 1982 I would almost certainly have read a paper arguing that the 'central' chansonniers then thought to be Burgundian were from the Loire Valley area—as I did argue in an AMS chapter paper that year, reviving a paper originally presented in England five years earlier to mark fifty years of *Trois chansonniers* and *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier* (both published in 1927). It now turns out that Paula Higgins was independently framing the same argument far more thoroughly and persuasively for her doctoral thesis; my paper was confined to the dustbin and that is now all old news.² But the fuller exploration of music in the Loire Valley area remains a major task for the next few years. The second main change has been to begin to appreciate the true quality and influence of Busnoys's music. Previously he seemed the quintessential Burgundian court composer; now he looks like the man who brought the newly cosmopolitan ideas of the French court to the Burgundian Netherlands, to a court that had earlier in the century been a major cultural centre but had recently seen little that was new. Previously Busnoys seemed a man whose brief and prolific career was almost immediately eclipsed by the brilliance of Obrecht and Josquin; now he begins to look like the main catalyst for the earlier works of both composers.³ These are major changes in outlook; it is these that justify a conference marking the fifth centenary of his death. Ten years ago, it would have been much harder to raise the financial support for such an event.

It would also have been hard to raise the scholarly support. Certainly Busnoys had recently been given new prominence in 1979 with the edition of the Mellon Chansonnier, by Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey, the first publication of any substantial number of his works since *Trois chansonniers* of half a century earlier,

and ensuing correspondence; Rob C. Wegman, 'Another Mass by Busnoys', *ML* 71 (1990), 1–19, and ensuing correspondence; Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Monuments of Renaissance Music, 7; Chicago, 1983); Paula Marie Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987); Richard Taruskin (ed.), *Busnoys LTW*, Commentary (New York, 1990); Rob C. Wegman, letter to *ML* 71 (1990), 633–5 at 635; Andrea Lindmayr, *Quellenstudien zu den Motetten von Johannes Ockeghem* (Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 16; Laaber, 1990), 69–73.

² Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois', ch. 5; the essence of her findings was already outlined in her introduction to the facsimile *Chansonnier Nivelle de La Chausée* (Geneva, 1984). The case is also stated in Leeman L. Perkins, 'Modern Methods, Received Opinion and the Chansonnier', *ML* 69 (1988), 356–64. My own unpublished argument of 1977 was prompted primarily by a passing remark in Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances in Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *JAMS* 26 (1973), 305–28 at 391 n. 37.

³ Again the gist of the matter is presented in Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois', though different aspects of his influence are outlined in Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', and in various articles by Rob C. Wegman.

and indeed the only such publication since *Trois chansonniers* in which a literary scholar has equal billing with a musicologist. Moreover, perhaps many of us here had our first major encounters with Busnoys through the marvellous 1970 record devoted to his songs, directed by Joshua Rifkin—aided, incidentally, by the spirited viol-playing of Richard Taruskin—and Bruno Turner’s 1978 record of the mass *L’homme armé*.⁴

But within the last decade several scholars present here have moved Busnoys into the centre of the stage. They have brought out new dimensions of his character and musicianship. They have found hidden messages in his work. They have shown that we cannot understand Josquin and Obrecht, perhaps even Okeghem and Dufay, without further clarification of Busnoys’s achievements, an insight pioneered by Edgar Sparks,⁵ but in several ways still waiting there like a time-bomb. They have understood that one of the most fascinating features of his larger works is the way he explores the use of time, juxtaposing passages of intense activity with passages of almost total immobility, an exploration on which Josquin later built with such brilliance. They have helped musicians to realize how music that may once have seemed a little bland is not only driven by an unusually powerful musical mind but also crucial to the changes that shook the musical world in the years around 1480—changes that are still in the most urgent need of clarification.

On the other hand, it looks very much as though the body of surviving works would have been more or less the same if Busnoys had died ten years earlier: that is, most of his known music was probably written before 1482. Appendix A is a rough chronology of the songs—a fairly mindless listing, based on what seem to be the current views of source dates. Many people will have different views on some of these dates; moreover, the list gives very little attention to the obvious truth that any such date represents only a *terminus ante quem* and that many songs must be far earlier than the list suggests.

Even so, section 13 of the list shows that only nine songs make their first appearance later than the Pixérécourt songbook of about 1480; for five of these I have proposed an earlier date in any case, and two others look good cases for elimination as spuria. It would be very hard to argue that any song confidently by him is likely to be later than 1482.

Further than that, though, the list suggests that up to forty-two of his songs were composed before he appeared at the court of Burgundy, perhaps early in 1467. This case is harder to argue confidently, since much depends on the date of the Dijon songbook (I would put it around 1470, but some put it earlier, some

⁴ *Antoine Busnoys: Chansons*, The Nonesuch Consort, directed by Joshua Rifkin: Nonesuch H-71247; *Binchois motets and Busnoys Mass L’homme armé*: Pro Cantione Antiqua, directed by Bruno Turner: Deutsche Grammophon Archiv Produktion 2533 404.

⁵ Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), ch. 8.

rather later), where it was copied, and how soon music composed at the court of Burgundy could reasonably have found its way into a central-French manuscript. Much may also depend on one's view of how much secular song it would have been appropriate to compose at the Burgundian court around the time of Philip the Good's last illness and his death in June 1467.

Moreover, some of this depends on my view that his virelais are from the earlier part of his career and that the virelai was a form not much cultivated at the court of Burgundy, hence the presentation in section 7 of the two virelais that first appear later than the Dijon chansonnier.⁶

Nevertheless, even Pixérécourt contains only twelve songs not found earlier. Given that manuscript's Florentine origin and its inclusion of several works up to forty years old at the time, it would be fairly easy to offer stylistic arguments that some of these pieces are also from well before 1470; and the alarming number of Pixérécourt ascriptions among section 15, the spuria, has already been used by others to question the authority of several more Busnoys ascriptions here and in Florence 229.⁷

In other words, a tendentious view of the chronology could almost make a case for saying that fewer than a dozen of his known songs are likely to date from his years at the court of Burgundy. Others may have a clearer view of whether such a case would be entirely fair or convincing. But even its possibility underlines a major change brought about by the source research of recent years. On balance, my suggestion that two-thirds of his known songs may be pre-1467 could well be a conservative estimate.

At the moment the chronology of his sacred music seems far less clear. Given the thin survival of the sources, a similar diagram would yield little sense, though far more may well date from his Burgundian years. In any case, much has been written about the sacred music over the past decade and very little about his songs. So these remarks today focus on the songs, because he is after all the most prolific French song composer between Dufay and Claudio de Sermisy (and the only challengers in any language would be Encina, Cara, and Tromboncino, all of whose works are far slighter). If I have a keynote to sound here, it is that it is time to give more attention to Busnoys the songwriter.

That is why Appendix A contains more information than is necessary for the simple chronological point it supports. The spread of the sources and of the ascriptions offers further useful clues. For example, most of the earliest songs appear in the Rohan poetry manuscript, and many of the next group are in early

⁶ For a brief outline of the virelai form in these years, together with the reasons for preferring the term virelai to the more customary 'bergerette', see David Fallows, 'Bergerette', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, i (Kassel and Stuttgart, 1994), cols. 1411–13.

⁷ Gerald Montagna, 'Caron, Hayne, Compère: A Transmission Reassessment', *EMH* 7 (1987), 107–57 at 128.

sections of that most perplexing of all poetry sources, Paris 1719, a document that merits the most detailed exploration from a musical viewpoint.⁸ As another example, the only early songs on the list that are not in the Dijon chansonnier apart from the ballade *Resjois toi* (sect. 1) are the two songs copied into Trent 89 apparently in the early 1460s (sect. 5).⁹ Given also the very different pattern of their other sources, one must conclude either that there is an earlier and quite different stage of his career about which we still know nothing, or that the Trent 89 dating is wrong, or that Gerald Montagna was right to suspect their ascriptions in Pixérécourt and Florence 229 (he was judging purely from their style).¹⁰ Similarly, the earliest songs all seem to appear in Nivelle, but again with the exception of *Resjois toi*. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for believing this was composed in about 1461, though, and further discussion would be more appropriate after hearing Andrea Lindmayr's latest thoughts on the matter.¹¹

Obviously, though, this list draws attention to the matter of his earliest songs, more specifically to how early we can suspect that he started composing. If he had really composed two-thirds of his sixty-four songs by 1467, the chances are that his earliest works are from well before 1460.

That is where the poetry manuscript Paris 9223 becomes interesting—the one edited by Raynaud in 1889 as *Rondeaux et autres poésies*—more specifically its last section, in a different script and with an origin different from the rest, sharing, for example, nothing at all with the companion Paris 15771. In this last part of Paris 9223 there is a poem actually ascribed to Busnoys: it is in section 14 of

⁸ The Rohan manuscript, Berlin 78 B 17, is edited in Martin Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan* (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 44; Göttingen, 1923). For Paris 1719, see Françoise Féry-Hue, *Au grey d'amours... (Pièces inédites du manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1719): étude et édition* (= Le moyen français, vols. 27–28; Montreal, 1991).

⁹ Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, *The Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks, with a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trent in the Fifteenth Century* (diss., University of London, 1983; repr. New York, 1989), 206. On the other hand, she offers the same paper date for the anonymous *Missa Quant ce viendra*, also in Trent 89—that is, the Mass that Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', attributes to Busnoys; it is printed in *Busnoys LTW*, Music, 208. For the song *Quant ce viendra* in Trent 88 she offers (p. 198) watermark evidence for a date of about 1462. If we accept these watermark dates (and there is as yet no particularly cogent reason not to do so apart from one's natural hesitation in accepting a watermark date in a complicated manuscript without further supporting evidence), there could be a good case for putting the song *Quant ce viendra* well back into the 1450s.

¹⁰ See above, n. 7.

¹¹ My remarks on *Resjois toi* are unfortunately rather scattered. I take the liberty of listing them here as witness of the way my own views evolved and may continue to evolve in the future: 'English Song Repertoires of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 103 (1976–7), 61–79 at 68 (initial identification of its occasion and suggestion that the composer is 'presumably Ockeghem'); 'Johannes Ockeghem: The Changing Image, the Songs and a New Source', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 218–30 at 222 (statement that a better knowledge of Okeghem's work and hearing it on the recording of Okeghem's complete songs quite changed my mind and suggested it was a 'composer of lesser stature'); review of Martin Picker's *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht: A Guide to Research* in *ML* 70 (1989), 247–9 at 279 (eager endorsement of the work as being by Busnoys, based on the identification presented in the original typescript version of Lindmayr's thesis). Now that I know the work of Busnoys rather better, that too seems a little naïve, but I am not yet ready for my next glib observation on the work.

Appendix A since it has no music, the rondeau 'Lequel vous plairoit mieulx trouver'.¹²

In 1985 Barbara Inglis published what counts as the most recent literary study of that source. She gave very good reasons for believing that this last part of the manuscript was copied in 1458 at the court of Brittany. She impressively identified no fewer than eight of the fifteen named poets with men present at that court in that year, the single year of the reign of Duke Arthur III, famous earlier in his life for his military exploits as Arthur de Richemont.¹³ Since it was not her main topic, Inglis mentioned this only briefly; but there are very full payment lists for the court in that year, and all eight poets were plainly present.

Within the new picture of Busnoys's early works, the possibility that he had written the poem by 1458 looks unavoidable. That same section of Paris 9223 also contains the poem 'En tous les lieux', here ascribed to Monseigneur Jacques, but found with a four-voice setting by Busnoys in Nivelle (sect. 2 of App. A). Again it was Barbara Inglis who very convincingly identified Monseigneur Jacques for the first time as Jacques de Luxembourg, brother-in-law of Duke Arthur III of Brittany, also known as Monseigneur de Saint-Pol and brother of the famous general Louis, Comte de Saint-Pol. Jacques is the main poet in this part of the manuscript, with his name above twenty-one of the sixty-four poems; his work is found in no other source apart from two musical settings, and Inglis makes a very good case for believing that this was his own personal collection.¹⁴ If his poetry was not very widely distributed, it becomes very tempting to suggest that Busnoys was in fact present at the court of Brittany in the later 1450s, that is, before his first documented presence at Tours, in 1461. It may even be relevant that Saint-Pol is less than 20 miles from Béthune, where Busnoys seems to have grown up; so perhaps Jacques de Luxembourg or de Saint-Pol (whose wife, incidentally, came from nearby Roubaix) provides the link between the young composer and the court of Brittany.

Even more temptingly, there is another poem here by Jacques that survives in a musical setting: the rondeau 'Qu'elle n'y a je le mainctien', found in Dijon with

¹² *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1889), 153. Even though the poem has the rondeau form of most songs of that era, there must be some doubt as to whether it was intended for music. It has a kind of dialectic unsuitable for musical expression and rare in the surviving song repertory of the time. As Raynaud remarks (*Rondeaux*, p. xii), it is a kind of jeu-parti, posing a courtly question, elaborating it, and finally answering it.

¹³ *Une nouvelle collection de poésies lyriques et courtoises du XVe siècle: Le manuscrit B.N. Nouv. Acq. Fr. 15771*, ed. Barbara L. S. Inglis (Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle, 48; Geneva and Paris, 1985), app. A: 'Notice sur le manuscrit B.N. fr. 9223', 213–14.

¹⁴ A brief outline of the life of Jacques de Luxembourg appears in Joseph Vaesen and Étienne Charavay (eds.), *Lettres de Louis XI roi de France*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1895), v. 364, where he is called 'Jacques de Saint-Pol ou, pour mieux dire, de Luxembourg, dernier frère du connétable [i.e. Louis], seigneur de Richebourg'; it reports that he had fought in the battles of Formigny (1450) and Gavre (1453), was a member of both the Order of the Golden Fleece and that of St Michel, and died on 20 Aug., 1487. On his elder brother Louis, see *Lettres de Louis XI*, ii. 227: he was born in 1418, appointed constable of France on 5 Oct. 1465, to the order of St Michel in 1469, and was executed for lèse-majesté at the age of 57 on 19 Dec. 1475.

anonymous music in a style not at all distant from that of Busnoys's early works. Moreover, in Dijon it immediately precedes two songs by Busnoys, only the second of which is ascribed to him there. The music is in Ex. 2.1. This is not the moment to explore it in detail, except to note that anyone familiar with Busnoys's early work will see several familiar details, among them the flawless treatment of dissonances that sets him apart from nearly all his contemporaries.

Ex. 2.1. Anon., *Qu'elle n'y a je le mainctien* (Dijon, fos. 106^v–108^r)

MS: ♩ ♩

1. 5. Qu'el - le n'y a, je le mainc - tien,
4. Ces - te que - rel - le je sous - tien,

Et a ce cas cy le mainc - tien
Non ob - stant que je me re - tien

Et le ten - dray
De n'en plus par -

Ex. 2.1. *cont.*

13

ler tout mon vi - vant, tout que de - vant,

17

Af - fin de mieux d'or en a - vant Lou - er son
Fors que cha - cun lui est de - vant Di - re en tous

MS: B

21

gra - ci - eux mainc - tien.
lieux, com - me ap - pert bien.

It is worth adding here that Inglis was working from the very full second documentary volume of Hyacinthe Morice's history of Brittany (1744).¹⁵ Although

¹⁵ Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1742-6); the entries quoted here are all from vol. ii (Paris, 1744). These volumes contain the preparatory documentary work towards Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, completed by Dom Charles Taillandier, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1750-6). I should add that I have made no attempt to explore the original documents, which must surely yield further pertinent information.

Ex. 2.1. *cont.*

25

2. Il me sem -
3. De tous biens

ble, quant a ma part, Que ce doit es - tre ung con - te a part,
a si bon - ne part Qu'on ne sa - roit en nul - le part

Car nul - le ne peut a - pro - chier.
De rien la po - voir re - prou - chier.

the particular court account she used (cols. 1722–7) contains hundreds of names, it frustratingly ends with a brief mention of '12 clercs of the chapel, nine trumpets and minstrels', none of them named. It is very hard to resist thinking that Busnoys may have been among them. Plainly these documents need to be rechecked. Incidentally, a search in Morice for anybody named Antoine, with the name Busnoys perhaps mistranscribed, was fruitless; but there is a certain Jean de

la Haye, found in 1449 among the gentlemen of the Viscount de Rohan, being exempted military service (col. 1513), and in 1457 being appointed Capitaine au Baillage de Chastelaillon (col. 1710). There is nothing to say that he is the composer whose songs in Nivelle are in a style so like that of Busnoys; but at least the dates are more plausible than the 1443 generally associated with the composer Delahaye.¹⁶ It is also worth adding that the brief comments Inglis offered about Paris 9223 were peripheral to her study, and the manuscript has not been considered thoroughly since Raynaud's edition of 1889. Like so many other poetic sources of the fifteenth century, it merits careful study as a chansonnier by a music historian; and this particular one points directly at the court of Brittany in the late 1450s as a substantial source of musical patronage, a matter that plainly invites the most urgent attention.

One point that emerges clearly from Appendix A is that there are several four-voice pieces among Busnoys's earliest known songs: *Resjois toi, En tous les lieux, Vous marchez*, and perhaps *On a grant mal/On est bien malade*. It is too easy to assume that a composer, any composer, will write four-voice songs later than three-voice ones. In the case of Busnoys and his secular work, that may well be the reverse of the true situation. In these apparently early works he shows himself a highly skilled composer in four voices.

Given that prevalence of four-voice music, the early history of the combinative chanson takes on a new interest. Another important recent event was the publication in 1989 of a substantial anthology of combinative chansons, edited by Maria Rika Maniates. Anyone glancing at that volume must have been struck by patterns of interrelationships between works, of which one concerns pieces by Okeghem and Busnoys. Between Okeghem's *Petite camusette* setting and Busnoys's *On est bien malade*, there are several similarities.¹⁷ The most obvious is the way both run the borrowed melody in simple imitation through all three lower voices (rare within this repertory); another is how in both songs the upper voice shares in several details of that imitative network; yet another is the way both lay out their lower voices in a broad ABA pattern, that is, with the imitative network at the start returning in the second half. But there is more. The voice-ranges in the two pieces are almost identical, as are their lengths (forty-six breves for Okeghem, intriguingly forty-seven for Busnoys).

It is hard to put all this down to accident. Perhaps Busnoys was following the pattern set by Okeghem, just as his *Resjois toi* seems to follow the scheme of

¹⁶ No dictionary entry quite gives the full and correct story on Delahaye, though it can be assembled from Higgins, *Chansonnier Nivelle de La Chausée*, p. vi, and Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois', 280–1. A complete edition of his surviving music is in the press, edited by Jane Alden, to whom I am indebted for sharing information about the composer. [Ed.: Nevertheless, it seems pertinent to the argument that the Jean Delahaye of 1443 was evidently in the service of the Duke of Brittany. See Higgins, *Chansonnier Nivelle de La Chausée*, p. vi.]

¹⁷ Maria Rika Maniates (ed.), *The Combinative Chanson: An Anthology* (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 77; Madison, 1989), nos. 20 and 29.

Okeghem's *Mort tu as navré*. It is equally possible that this reflects a kind of rivalry between the two composers; and there is just a chance that Okeghem was refining on a pattern set by Busnoys (though Okeghem's is surely the finer piece, more tautly constructed; and it survives in a large number of sources). But in any case both songs presumably date from the early 1460s when they were together in Tours: Okeghem's *Petite camusette* appears in both Nivelle and Wolfenbüttel, though *On est bien malade* is not found earlier than Dijon.

There is just one more combinative chanson that has a single melody shared between all three lower voices in this way, again by Busnoys, his *Vous marchez du bout du pied*, also first found in the Nivelle chansonnier.¹⁸ This one stands just a little aside from the other two: its ranges are different; it is longer; and the top voice is rather less distinct from the three lower voices in its style. But technically it works in the same way; and it shares with Okeghem's *Petite camusette* that curious phenomenon of a single isolated note to open one of the lower voices (a detail found in several later pieces but not, I think, earlier). Plainly these three pieces belong together and add one further detail to the relationship between Busnoys and Okeghem—adding to the details already present in their two *L'homme armé* masses, in *In hydraulis*, in *Resjois toi*, in the documentation, and perhaps in *Ut heremita solus*. Nobody need be surprised if more emerges in the near future.

Another point about *On est bien malade* can be added here. In his edition of Florence 229, Howard Mayer Brown drew attention to the relation between this and another setting of the same materials.¹⁹ Brown plausibly hinted that the new and bigger version could be the work of Isaac, an eager reworker of other people's music, though he would probably concede that the piece contains little trace of the compulsive contrapuntal ingenuity found in so many of Isaac's rewritings. In fact the keyboard intabulation in St Gallen 530 offers the missing link between the two versions.²⁰ With this, it becomes possible to suggest that Busnoys rewrote his own piece in two stages, perhaps even adapting it for an audience less interested in combinative chansons. Ex. 2.2 shows the opening of all three versions, with Dijon on the bottom. Again, one could spend a lot of enjoyable time exploring the differences, but for the moment it is enough to point out that the St Gallen version shares some details with Dijon and others with Florence 229.

So it looks as though this is another case of Busnoys rewriting, to add to the better-known cases of *Je ne puis vivre*, *Quant ce viendra*, and *Ung plus que tous*. It

¹⁸ Ibid., no. 34. To the manuscripts named by Maniates should be added the Speciálník Codex, p. 255, and two much later sources in the hand once thought (wrongly) to be that of Lukas Wagenrieder: Munich 328–31, no. 122 (where it is headed simply 'Carmen in fa'), and Vienna 18810, no. 56, where it is (impossibly) ascribed to 'Henrichus ysaac'.

¹⁹ Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, Text vol., 65, 122–3, and 283; the two versions are both printed in the Music vol., nos. 183 and 183A.

²⁰ Fos. 67v–68r (no. 75), with an inscription to 'Andreas Busnois'. It is now published in *St. Galler Orgelbuch: Die Orgelintabulatur des Fridolin Sicher (St. Gallen, Codex 530)*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx and Thomas Warburton (Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler, 8; Winterthur, 1992), 172.

Ex. 2.2. Busnoys, *On est bien malade*, mm. 1–13: (a) Florence 229, fos. 193v–194r; (b) St Gallen 530, fos. 67v–68r; (c) Dijon, fos. 177v–178r

(a)

On est bien ma - la - de

On est bien ma - la - de

On est bien ma - la - de

On est

(b)

On est bien ma - la - de

On est bien ma - la - de

On est bien ma - la - de

On est

(c)

On a grant mal

On est bien ma - la - de

On est bien ma - la - de

On est

begins to suggest a pattern which in its turn raises the name of another frequent rewriter and adapter of his own materials among fifteenth-century songwriters, Binchois.²¹

²¹ On Binchois and revision, see David Fallows, 'Embellishment and Urtext in the Fifteenth-Century Song Repertoires', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (1990), 59–85 at 62–73. Further hints of

Ex. 2.2. *cont.*

4

la - de

de

par a - mer trop

bien ma - la - de

par a - mer

par trop a - mer

MS: la - de

MS: pour a -

bien ma - la - de Pour a - mer trop

MS: On est bien ma - la - de Pour a - mer

This moves us on to slippery ground, but it is worth outlining. Okeghem declared his debt to Binchois much more openly, not just in *Mort tu as navré* but also in the mass on *De plus en plus*, though there is no documentation of direct

Binchois as a reviser of his own work can be seen in Dennis Slavin, 'Binchois' Songs, the Binchois Fragment, and the Two Layers of Escorial A' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), especially 43–72.

Ex. 2.2. *cont.*

7

par trop a - mer Je mi le -

par a - mer trop Je

trop

2

MS: 1

mer trop Je les - se -

trop Je

personal contact between the two. For Busnoys the case is far trickier, and it is made more difficult by current uncertainty about which of the late pieces ascribed to Binchois are really by him. Perhaps it is easiest to begin with *Je ne vis onques la pareille*, ascribed to Dufay in Montecassino and to Binchois in the much more obviously trustworthy Nivelle: if there were no ascriptions at all, one would

Ex. 2.2. *cont.*

10

vay un mat - ti-not

18

mi le-vay un mat - ti - not Men

36

ray un ma - ti - not M'en en - tray

54

Je mi le-vay un ma - ti - not

72

mi le-vay un ma - ti - not M'en

90

Je mi le - vay un ma - ti - not

surely be inclined to guess that it was by Busnoys. The arguments against that were twofold: first that the piece was sung at the Feast of the Pheasant early in 1454, long before Busnoys was known to be active, though what I have just said about his earlier years tends to modify that objection; the second, which still seems to hold true, is that the Nivelle chansonnier seems to know the difference

between Binchois and Busnoys. Strangely, one would reach the same view about *Tout a par moy*, ascribed to Walter Frye in Mellon and Laborde but to Binchois again in Nivelle, and also about *Comme femme desconforte*, ascribed to Binchois only in Mellon. Perhaps the same could be said of the textless song in the Schedelsches Liederbuch, with a confusing ascription earlier read as being to Busnoys but now generally read as Binchois. All four plainly belong in the same stylistic world as the early songs of Busnoys. Moreover, Paula Higgins has pointed out that the decoration for several works of Busnoys in Nivelle and related manuscripts, the wild boar, also appears in the contratenor initial for the Nivelle copy of *Tout a par moy*.²²

Now if these four pieces are all by Binchois, they are the only surviving works from the last decade of his life, so there is virtually no basis for evaluating the ascriptions from the viewpoint of style; all one can say is that the copyists of Nivelle and Mellon both knew that Binchois and Busnoys were two different people and presumably knew that they were men of entirely different generations. I think we must take their evidence on trust; in which case it looks as though Busnoys's early style grew out of Binchois's last style. His early songs are riddled with references to those pieces, most particularly to *Je ne vis onques la pareille*: Ex. 2.3 presents passages from Busnoys's *C'est bien maleur* in parallel with *Je ne vis onques*—and again it would be easy to devote a lengthy discussion to the similarities and differences between the two. Moreover, his *En soustenant vostre querelle* takes its opening text line from the last line of Binchois's *De plus en plus*, as Frederick Crane pointed out to me.

To broaden the picture a little, one could add that the opening music of *En soustenant* comes directly from a piece by Dufay, *Dieu gart la bonne sans reprise* (see Ex. 2.4), and that a very large number of Busnoys's early works include a cadence that matches the one at the end of Dufay's *Le serviteur* (Ex. 2.5 gives a few of them). But from the viewpoint of style it is those late works apparently by Binchois that seem to create the context for Busnoys's early songs. The Dufay references are more superficial and seem to betoken simply his fascination with earlier music, about which I have written elsewhere.²³

²² Paula Higgins, 'Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song', *EMH* 10 (1991), 145–200 at 180–1. I should like to express my shame at reading there in n. 111 that I had informed Professor Higgins that I believed *Tout a par moy* to be 'in the style of neither Binchois nor Frye'; this is what I would now consider a thoroughly irresponsible and unconsidered remark. More to the point would be the bland impartiality of my comments in *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*, ed. G. Thibault and D. Fallows (Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Première Série, 23; Paris, 1991), pp. cxii–xciv.

²³ David Fallows, 'Busnoys and the Early Fifteenth Century: A Note on "L'ardant desir" and "Faictes de moy"', *ML* 71 (1990), 20–4. Some conclusions offered there must now be modified in the light of Joshua Rifkin's paper for this conference (see Ch. 20); in particular, it can no longer be considered certain that *Faictes de moy* was originally composed for the much earlier text it now carries in Florence 229 and Pixérécourt, since Rifkin has shown that these are sources that elsewhere demonstrably added earlier and inappropriate texts to later music. Moreover, the rondeau has a four-line stanza, whereas Busnoys's music seems designed for a five-line stanza: both these sources add an extra line from the beginning of the third stanza; and one other source presents the music with a fragment of entirely unrelated text.

Ex. 2.3. Comparison of (a) Binchois(?), *Je ne vis onques*, mm. 1–5 and 12–16 with (b) Busnoys, *C'est bien maleur*, mm. 1–5 and 15–19

(a)

(b)

12

15

Ex. 2.4. Comparison of (a) opening of Dufay, *Dieu gart la bonne* with (b) Busnoys, *En soustenant*

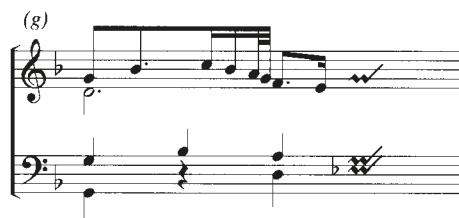
There might even be some room for wondering whether there wasn't a conscious decision involved when Anthoine de Busne chose the pen-name of Busnoys, just as Gilles de Bins was called Binchois; these pen-names are common enough, but the similarity of those two is intriguing. If so, that could even explain why Busnoys seems to have accepted a position in the household of Charles the Bold really rather suddenly, as we shall hear later from Paula Higgins. He may in a sense have liked to see himself as the true successor of Binchois.

With that in mind, it may be time to re-explore the dates and origins of the earliest songbooks on the list. Briefly, the latest information, mainly from Paula Higgins and Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff and heavily supported by the art historians they consulted, is that all three—that is, Nivelle de la Chaussée, Wolfenbüttel, and the first layer of Laborde—date from the first half of the 1460s.²⁴ The way Appendix A works out might seem to suggest that Wolfenbüttel is the earliest of them all; but a fuller diagram of Wolfenbüttel, Appendix B, makes that seem unlikely, since there are several songs here found only among the additions to Nivelle and several found otherwise in the second

²⁴ Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois', 234–308; Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 29; Wiesbaden, 1985), ch. 4; further details on these manuscripts appear in Charles Edward Barret, Jr., 'A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier' (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College, 1981), and Duff James Kennedy, 'Six chansonniers français' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1987).

Ex. 2.5. Final cadence of (a) Dufay, *Le serviteur* compared with cadences by Busnoys:
 (b) *C'est bien maleur*; (c) *Quant vous me ferez* (end); (d) *Ma plus qu'assez*; (e) *M'a vostre
 cuer*; (f) *In hydraulis*; (g) *Missa Quant ce viendra*; (h) *Gaude caelstis*; (i) *En tous les lieux*



Ex. 2.5. *cont.*

layer of Laborde (those below the line in App. B), among them Hayne's *De tous biens plaine*, which can hardly have been written before about 1465; it also contains a version of the anonymous *J'ay pris amours* with a low contratenor, apparently devised later than the one in Laborde.²⁵ That is, Wolfenbüttel could be the latest of these three early sources, even though it is also the one that contains the largest proportion of earlier classics. So it is of some interest in the study of how music by Binchois and others was received in the 1460s.

Higgins in particular has shown that the 'central' chansonniers have nothing to do with the Burgundian court area and has argued for their origins in French court circles in the Loire Valley; but their location has been no further specified than somewhere in the area between the Loire Valley cities and, rather south of the Loire, Bourges. This is mainly because the illuminators have been only approximately identified and none of the songbooks has been identified with a particular recipient—partly because in the case of Dijon and Wolfenbüttel the presumed dedication pages have been torn out.

In fact Wolfenbüttel contains a clear statement of its intended recipient. At my recent first personal encounter with the manuscript I was puzzled to notice that the labelling of the contratenor was confused in some of the early songs: the text scribe had written the initial letter 'C' as though he was not aware that the illuminator would later add a decorated 'C' at the beginning of the line. This was the case in nos. 2–5 but not thereafter. That obviously raised the question of why it had not happened for the first piece, Frye's *Are regina celorum*, and it soon became clear from other palaeographical details that this had been added slightly later.²⁶

²⁵ There are several songs from the years around 1450 that survive with two different and mutually incompatible contratenors, one in the same range as the tenor (following a pattern that goes back over a century) and the other in a range well below the tenor (reflecting the new preferences of the 1450s and after). In most cases the pattern of the sources clearly shows that the low contratenor is later. For *J'ay pris amours* the situation is not quite so clear, given that the equal-range contratenor appears, apart from Laborde, only in rather later sources—Paris 4379, fos. 27^v–28^r, and the intarsia (finished 1476) in Urbino, Palazzo ducale, Studiole of Federico II da Montefeltro. But it seems reasonable to assume that the low contratenor is indeed later: there are enough cases of extremely close agreement between Wolfenbüttel and the first layer of Laborde for it to be clear that they were in general copied from the same exemplars; and it almost follows from this that the presence of the low contratenor in Wolfenbüttel makes its copying later than that of the first layer of Laborde—in other words, that the low contratenor was not yet available in that scribal workshop when the first layer of Laborde was copied. I spell out the case with all its uncertainties because this is in my view the crucial detail in their relative copying dates. The presence of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* is another slightly slippery detail, since much depends on how young Hayne really was when he was described as a 'jeune fils' in 1457 and on how old he would need to have been to have composed such an enormously influential piece. There is broad agreement, however, that it can hardly have been composed before 1465; and that happens to fit well with the pattern of the surviving sources, especially the pattern outlined here.

²⁶ It may be worth adding that Wolfenbüttel would be a particularly satisfying source for close analysis of all kinds. Thus the minimal trimming means that the marginal pricking is nearly all visible: evidently the pricker used a device that provided two parallel sets of five pricks: one set has a total breadth of about 9.5 mm. per system (this is the one actually used for ruling the staves in Wolfenbüttel); the other set, starting with the highest prick on the same level, was rather wider, with its fourth prick parallel to the fifth prick of the first set, and with a total depth of nearly 12 mm. That this ruling device is rather more elaborate than I, at least, had previously imagined makes it seem all the more probable that there is no accident in the number of central-French chansonniers with staves of either 9.5 or 12 mm.

That inevitably led to a closer look at the first twelve pieces originally copied into Wolfenbüttel and the realization that their initial letters form an acrostic, yielding the name Estiene Petit.

Curiously, that could explain why these twelve pieces contain more unica than the rest of the manuscript (there is otherwise only one *unicum* in its entire main layer). In the name Estiene Petit the letter E appears four times and T three times, both of them fairly rare as initial letters for songs of that era. It is hard to guess whether any of these songs was specially composed for the acrostic or whether the scribe simply drew on more obscure repertory to fill the gaps; but the question could perhaps be explored. (With hindsight, this acrostic should have been obvious, since two later songbooks have recently been identified from acrostics in the same way: the monophonic chansonnier de Bayeux for Charles de Bourbon, noticed by Jay Rahn, and Florence 121, with the name of Marietta [Pugi], noticed by Bonnie Blackburn.)²⁷

There are two likely identifications for Estiene Petit, father and son, both of them closely linked to the French royal courts. The father was appointed royal *notaire et secrétaire* on 2 October 1433 and died on 1 March 1465; presumably he was born in the first decade of the century. He was also *receveur général* for Languedoc from 1440 until his death, and he came to a certain prominence as the senior accountant assigned to explore the financial affairs of Jacques Cœur in the years 1450–3. He was raised to the nobility in 1452; and a royal charter of 1457 refers to him as ‘nostre amé et feal conseiller maistre Estienne Petit’. The family home was in Montpellier, where he was mainly resident and where he was buried, though he evidently spent much time at the royal court and at Bourges, particularly in the later years of Charles VII’s reign.²⁸

But his son, Estiene Petit junior, seems to have a far stronger claim on the Wolfenbüttel songbook. He was born on 3 November 1449 (dying in 1523) and became *notaire et secrétaire* to Louis XI on 1 August 1467 at the age of almost 18. In fact the position passed from Estiene senior to his eldest surviving son Jacques in 1463 or 1464; and he in his turn passed it on to the next son, Estiene junior in 1467. But in a letter exempting Estiene junior from the *tailles*, dated 4 November 1481, Louis XI refers to ‘the services he has done me since the time of his youth, and which he still does every day in my presence’.²⁹ Wolfenbüttel could perhaps be a retirement

²⁷ Douglas Jay Rahn, ‘Melodic and Textual Types in French Popular Songs, ca. 1500’ (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978); Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Two “Carnival Songs” Unmasked: A Commentary on MS Florence Magl. XIX. 121’, *Musica disciplina*, 35 (1981), 121–78.

²⁸ The fullest documented account of his life is in André Lapeyre and Rémy Scheurer, *Les Notaires et secrétaires du roi sous les règnes de Louis IX, Charles VIII et Louis XII (1461–1515): Notices personnelles et généalogies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978), i. 249. For the charter of 1457, see Gaston Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1890), v. 429. Once again I must add that I have made no serious attempt to follow up the documents mentioned there and that any such search seems likely to prove useful.

²⁹ For an account of his life, see Lapeyre and Scheurer, *Notaires*, i. 249–52; for his elder brother Jacques, 252–3. For Louis XI’s comment of 4 Nov. 1481, see *Lettres de Louis XI*, ix. 87–8.

present for the father; but it seems far more likely to have been a precious gift for the son, a rising courtier in the circle of Louis XI. Given the evidence already mentioned for thinking that Wolfenbüttel is later than either Nivelle or the first layer of Laborde, 1467 in fact looks an extremely attractive date—that is, the manuscript could have celebrated Estiene's receiving that royal position at the age of 18.

While so much else about these manuscripts remains uncertain, it may be premature to decide between the two. But in either case, the evidence connects the songbook with the royal court circle;³⁰ and that in its turn does the same for the three closely related manuscripts—Laborde, Dijon, and Copenhagen. That seems the important issue. Perhaps one of the main tasks for the next few years will be to reconsider the view that Louis XI was interested only in hunting and politics, discouraging culture of any kind—a view mainly derived from Commynes.³¹

Another conclusion is rather more tentative. The first song in the Wolfenbüttel acrostic is by Busnoys, his *Est il mercy*. Its first four lines open with the words 'Est il', as a possible reference to Estiene; the second and fourth lines both contain within them all the letters of the name 'Estiene Petit'; and the first line contains all but the last T. There seems a possibility—as I said, tentative—that Busnoys composed *Est il mercy* specifically for Estiene Petit.

Be that as it may, there are some clearer conclusions to be drawn from these remarks about Busnoys: that his pre-Burgundy years show an astonishing profusion of songs, probably over two-thirds of what now survives; that he may well have been at the court of Brittany in the 1450s; that the songs of the early 1460s link up in various ways with those of Okeghem; and that he seems also to have owed much to the songs of Binchois, the man addressed in Okeghem's lament as 'pere de joyeuseté'—a slightly strange remark in the light of his known output. Perhaps, though, that is the sense of my title, 'Trained and immersed in all musical delights', which is an attempt to translate the words of Jean Molinet:³²

Car tu es instruis et imBUS
En tous musicaulx esbaNOIS

Molinet's poetic exchange with Busnoys must date from a lot later, probably after 1475, when Molinet officially became Burgundian court chronicler.³³ The poem

³⁰ In the circumstances, it should be no surprise that the name 'Philippe St Symons', perhaps to be read on fo. 69^r of the manuscript, is that of the son of Louis St Symons, an écuyer of Charles VIII, as noted in Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier*, 26–8; nor that she notes, pp. 24–6, that the binding fragments are of material related to royal court documents.

³¹ A point already made in Higgins, 'Antoine Busnois', 300, drawing attention to the extended study by Alfred Gandilhon, 'Contribution à l'histoire de la vie privée et de la cour de Louis XI (1423–1481)', *Mémoires de la Société historique, littéraire, artistique, et scientifique du Cher*, 4th ser., 20 (1905), 335–97, and 21 (1906), 1–120.

³² *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Noël Dupire, 3 vols. (Paris, 1936–9), ii. 795: 'Lettre à maistre Antoine Busnois', lines 3–4.

³³ Noël Dupire, *Jean Molinet: La vie—les œuvres* (Paris, 1932), 13–17; see also David Fallows, 'Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s' (forthcoming).

still remains to be explored and elucidated: most of it seems to be just obscene; to pull out the hard information there will take some skill, though it surely contains items of importance. That is just another of the many dimensions the study of Busnoys can take over the coming years as we continue to immerse ourselves in his musical delights.

Appendix A

Outline Chronology of Busnoys's Songs

The chronology is based almost entirely on earliest known sources as currently dated. In the listing of sources an asterisk (*) means that the source contains an ascription to Busnoys; sources after a semicolon (;) are text sources. Unless otherwise stated, everything is in $\frac{4}{4}$ mensuration and in three voices with the contratenor in a range below the tenor. Fuller details on all songs and their sources appear in the article by Leeman L. Perkins, below, Ch. 13.

1. c.1461

Resjois toi terre/Rex pacificus (ballade, 4vv; mens. O/ $\frac{4}{4}$)
Pix* MC 871

2. Nivelle (?early 1460s) but not in *Wolf* or *Lab 1* or *Mel*; all also in *Dij* and most texts in *Roh*

C'est bien malheur (rondeau; mens. O)

Niv* Dij*; not in Roh

C'est vous en qui (virelai; mens. O, $\frac{4}{4}$; T=Ct)

Niv* Dij*; Roh

En tous les lieux (virelai; 4vv; mens. O, $\frac{4}{4}$)

Niv Dij*; Par1719 Par9223(Monsr Jaques) Roh

Laissez Dangier (virelai; mens. $\frac{4}{4}$)

Niv* Dij BolQ16; Roh P7559

Ma damoiselle (rondeau; mens. O; T=Ct)

Niv* Dij*; Roh

Quant vous me ferez (rondeau; mens. O)

Niv Dij* Cop; Lo380 Roh Par1719 Par1722

Soudainement mon cuer (virelai; T=Ct)

Niv* Dij Cop; Roh

Vous marchez/L'autrier/Vostre beauté (a 4)

Niv* Dij Tr91 Spec Mun328 Vienna18810 (Henrichus ysaac); not in Roh

3. *Wolf* (?mid-1460s); also in *Niv*, *Dij*, *Mel*, and *Roh*; all (but only these) also in *Lab 1*

Est il mercy (rondeau; mens. O; extended Ct)

Niv* Wolf Lab1 Dij Cord Mel*; Roh Jard

Le corps s'en va (rondeau)

Niv* Wolf Lab1 Dij Mel*; Roh and 6 other text sources

Quant ce viendra (rondeau; mens. O)

Niv Wolf Lab1* Tr88 EscB(hockengem) Dij* Tr89 Tr91 Mel Fl176; Roh

3a. *Wolf but not in Niv*

Ja que lui (virelai; mens. C, ♀) Hacqueville

Wolf Lab1 Dij* Cop Mel Sev; not in Roh

4. *Remaining Jacqueline d'Hacqueville songs*

A vous sans autre (rondeau; mens. C; 3 equal voices)

Dij* Mel; Jard

Ha que ville (rondeau; mens. C)

Dij Cas* Sev* Fl229; Roh

Je ne puis vivre (virelai; mens. O, ♀)

Dij*, revised in Mel; Jard

5. *Trent 89, apparently copied on paper of 1462–4 (Saunders)*

Chi dist on benedicite (rondeau)

Tr89 Glog Pix* Fl229* Sev BolQ18

Mon seul et cele (rondeau)

Tr89 Glog Pix* Fl176 Fl229 Par4379

6. *Dijon* (?by 1470) but no earlier source

A qui vens tu tes coquilles (rondeau)

Dij Mel*

Au gré de mes ieulx (virelai; 2.p. a 2; mens. O, C2)

Dij*

A une dame (virelai; mens. C) ?Haqueville

Dij* Mel Fl176 BolQ16 Lab3* CG; Roh Par1719

Bel Acueil (rondeau; mens. O; 3 equal voices)

Dij* Mel; Par1719

En soustenant (rondeau) [first line from *De plus en plus*]

Dij Mel Cas* (FR2356 index); Roh Par1719

En voyant sa dame (rondeau; mens. C; 2 high voices over Ct)

Dij* Lab2 BolQ16; Par1719 Par1722 *Chasse*

J'ay mains de biens (virelai)

Dij Lab2 Cord Pix* Fl229* Sev Cape; Par1719

Je m'espais de vous (rondeau; mens. O)

Dij*; Roh

Joye me fuit (rondeau)

Dij* Lab2 Tr91 Cas* Mel* Pix* Fl176; 4 text sources

Ma plus qu'assez (virelai; mens. O, Φ ; 2 equal voices over Ct)

Dij* Cop; Jard

M'a vostre cuer (virelai)

Dij Lab2 Cop Cas* FR2794 BolQ16 Fl229 Sev; Par1719

Mon mignault musequin/Gracieuse plaisant (rondeau; a 4)

Dij Fl229* Odh SG461*

On a grant mal/On est bien malade (rondeau; a 4)

Dij*, revised in SG530 (Andreas busnois), revised again in Fl229

Quelque povre homme [A] (rondeau; mens. O)

Dij*; Par1719 Fleur

Vostre gracieuse accointance (rondeau; mens. O)

Dij*

7. *Remaining virelais; apparently a form not favoured at the Burgundian court*

Ce n'est pas moy (virelai; mens. Φ , O2)

Pix* BolQ16

Maintes femmes (virelai; a 4; mens. Φ , Φ)

Sev CantiC*; cited Tinctoris in *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477)*

8. *In addition, I would add most of his other four-voice works to the pre-Burgundian period (further to the five already mentioned)*

Amours nous traite/Je m'en vois (rondeau; a 4)

Pix* FR2794 Fl229*

Corps digne/Dieu quel mariage (rondeau; a 4)

Fl229 Ber40021* CantiC*

Je ne demande aultre de gré (rondeau; a 4)

CamR.2.71 Cas* Pix Fl229 Sev Odh* Seg* BolQ18 SpinacinoII

L'autrier la pieça/En l'ombre/Trop suis jonette (a 4)

Sev*

L'autrier que passa (?rondeau; a 4)

CantiB*

Une filleresse/Vostre amour/S'il y a (?rondeau; a 4)

Fl229* CantiC

This excludes, as probably later: *Acordés moy, In mijnen sin, J'ay pris amours tout au rebours, Terrible dame*—thus giving a total of forty-two pieces (nearly two-thirds) that offer *prima facie* evidence (that is, before any stylistic considerations) of predating his Burgundian court years.

9. *Pieces in Mellon (c.1475) not already accounted for*

Au porre par nécessité (rondeau)

Mel Sev Glog Pix*

O Fortune trop tu es dure (rondeau)

 Mel Pix* Fl176* Sev (twice)

Pour entretenir (rondeau)

 Mel* Cas* Glog FR2794

Ung plus que tous (rondeau)

 Mel*, revised Pix Fl229 Sev; Jard Lille 402 Dres

10. Pieces in Cas (c.1481) not already accounted for

Acordés moy (rondeau; a 4)

 Cas* Pix Fl229 Odh (BolQ16 index)

Le monde est tel (?rondeau)

 Cas*; Par1719 Par1722

Pucelotte que Dieu vous gart (ballade)

 Cas* Pix Par16664

Seule a par moy (rondeau; mens. O2)

 Cas* Pix Fl229*

11. Piece cited by Ramos (1482, though the book was reportedly written ten years earlier), as noted by Bonnie J. Blackburn

J'ay pris amours tout au rebours (?rondeau; a 4)

 Odh* Seg(Johannes Martini)

12. Pieces in Pixérécourt not already accounted for

Adregne qu'advenir (rondeau)

 Pix* BolQ16

Bone chiere (?rondeau)

 Pix*

Con tutta gentileça (?rondeau)

 Pix Fl229*; much earlier source for text

Faictes de moy (rondeau)

 Pix Fl229* Sev Ver757; much earlier sources for text

Faulx mesdisans (?rondeau)

 Pix Fl229*

Ma tres souveraine (rondeau)

 Pix* BolQ16 Sev

Quant j'ay au cuer (rondeau)

 Pix*; Jard

Quelque povre homme [B: second and entirely different setting]

 Pix* Sev; Par1719 *Fleur*

Terrible dame (?rondeau; 4vv)

 Pix*

Ung grand povre homme (?rondeau)

 Pix* Fl229* Sev Linz529

(But remember, from above: *Ce n'est pas moy, Amours nous traite.*)

13. Remaining pieces not already accounted for

Fortuna desperata (strophic)

Seg* Cape Sev and 25 more sources; Lo16439

In mijnen sin (4vv)FC 2439* *CantiC**Je ne demande lialté* (?rondeau)

BolQ16 Fl229*

Sans avoir fait (?rondeau)

BolQ16 Per431* Par676(Isach)

(But remember, from above: *Corps digne*, *L'autrier la pieça*, *L'autrier que passa*, *Maintes femmes*, *Une filleresse*.)

14. Appendix of poetic texts ascribed to Busnoys

'Cent mille fois le jour' (virelai)

Roh Fabri*

'Lequel vous plairoit mieulx trouver' (rondeau)

Par9223* (perhaps 1458)

'Reposons nous entre nous amoureux' (rondeau)

Molinet sources* Namur Jard; music perhaps cited in Sev quodlibet

15. Appendix of conflicting ascriptions for songs unlikely to be by Busnoys and therefore ignored above

Amours amours (rondeau; a 4: Japart)

Fl229 Odh(Japart) BolQ18(A busnois)

Amours fait moult/Il est de/Tant que nostre (rondeau; a 4: Japart)

Cas(Jo Jappart) FR2794 Fl229(Jannes Japart) CG BolQ17(A busnois) Basl-4(Pirson), etc.

Both perhaps confused with *Amours nous traitte*.*Cent mille escus* (rondeau: Caron)

Wolf Dij Pix(?Busnoys) Fl229(Busnoys) Cas(Caron) CG(Caron), etc.

Perhaps confused title with *Cent mille fois le jour*.*D'ung aultre amer* (rondeau: Okeghem)

Niv(O) Dij(O) Cas(O) FR2794(O) Par2245(O) BolQ17(O) Pix(Busnoys)

Pix ascription is inexplicable.

Et qui la dira (?rondeau; a 4: Japart)

Fl107bis(Japart) BolQ17(A busnoys)

J'ay bien choisi (Hayne)

Cas(Hayne) Pix(Busnoys) Glog Fl229

Je ne fay plus (rondeau: Mureau)

Fl176(G mueran) Fl229(Antonius busnoys) CG(Gil Murieu) Par2245(Mureau)

BolQ17(A busnois) Seg(Loysette Compere)

Je suis venu vers mon amy (Hayne)

Cas(Haine) Glog Pix(Busnoys) Fl229

Le serviteur hault guerdonné (rondeau: a 4, based on D and T of Dufay's song)

Odh, but ascribed only in the first printing

Pour tant se mon volour s'est mis (rondeau: Caron)

Sev Fl229(Caron) CG(Caron); cited perhaps by Aaron as Busnoys

Se brief je puis (rondeau: Caron)

Cas Pix(Busnoys) Fl229(Caron) Sev

Appendix B

Inventory of Wolfenbüttel 287

All pieces are anonymous here: composers' names are taken from elsewhere. Concordant sources are listed only when they are likely to throw light on the possible date of this manuscript. Items in Nivelle and the first layer of the Laborde chansonnier (nos. 1–47 and 51–8, with often bizarrely close readings) are denoted by their serial numbers; numbers preceded by 'a' (as in 'a63' for no. 3) are later additions to the manuscript concerned.

The list shows: five of the seven unica come within the dedicatory acrostic **ESTIENE PETIT** (nos. 2–13); nos. 1–41 overlap heavily with the first layer of Laborde, which is not represented thereafter; the entire manuscript overlaps heavily with Nivelle, though the added pieces of Nivelle are to be found throughout Wolfenbüttel; and there is no case of even two pieces following one another in the same order as in either of the other two sources. This would seem to imply that all three sources drew on a common repertory, that Nivelle is comfortably the earliest of them, and that Wolfenbüttel was compiled shortly after the completion of the first layer of Laborde.

<i>no.</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>composer</i>	<i>Niv</i>	<i>Lab1</i>	<i>others</i>
1	<i>Ave regina celorum</i>	Frye		1	several pre-1460
2	<i>Est il mercy</i>	Busnoys	30	20	Dij, etc.
3	<i>Se mieulx ne vient</i>	Convert	a63	11	Dij, etc.
4	<i>Tout a par moy</i>	Frye	22	3	Ber 78.C.28, etc.
5	<i>Ja que ly ne</i>	Busnoys		41	Dij, etc.
6	<i>Et fusse je duc</i>	unique			
7	<i>N'aray je jamaiz</i>	Morton	a1	45	Dij, etc.
8	<i>Esse bien fait</i>	—		39	
9	<i>Pour refraindre</i>	unique			
10	<i>En m'esbatant (a 4)</i>	unique			
11	<i>Tant plus en ay</i>	unique			
12	<i>Jamaiz je sceray</i>	—		55	Dij only
13	<i>Tres noble et</i>	unique			
14	<i>De m'ejouir</i>	Basiron		13	FR 2794 only
15	<i>Nul ne l'a telle</i>	Basiron		5	Cop only
16	<i>Je ne requiers que</i>	—		29	Cop only
17	<i>Le joli tetin</i>	—		13b	Cop only
18	<i>Je le scay bien</i>	Basiron		7	

<i>no.</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>composer</i>	<i>Niv</i>	<i>Lab1</i>	<i>others</i>
19	<i>Mon cuer et moy</i>	Prioris		21	Cop FC2439
20	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Dufay		8a	Tr 90, etc.
21	<i>Malheureux cuer</i>	Dufay		18	Sched only
22	<i>Ma maistresse</i>	Okeghem		2	Tr 93, etc.
23	<i>Ma bouche rit</i>	Okeghem	41	23	Sched, etc.
24	<i>Comme femme</i>	Binchois		9	EscB, etc.
25	<i>Quant ce vendra</i>	Busnoys	4	19	Tr 88, etc.
26	<i>D'ung aultre aymer</i>	Okeghem	53	10	Dij, etc.
27	<i>O rosa bella</i>	Bedyngham			several pre-1460
28	<i>Par le regart</i>	Dufay		54	several pre-1460
29	<i>J'ay prins amours</i>	—	58	22	(Lab has high Ct)
30	<i>Je ne vis onques</i>	Binchois	40	32	Tr 90, etc.
31	<i>Las ay je tort</i>	—			Fl 176 only
32	<i>Se la face ay palle</i>	Dufay		51	several pre-1460
33	<i>Mon seul plaisir</i>	Bedyngham		52	several pre-1460
34	<i>Chargé de dueil</i>	—	35	57	Dij, etc.
35	<i>Fors seullement</i>	Okeghem	3		Lab 2nd layer, etc.
36	<i>Le corps s'en va</i>	Busnoys	42	17	Dij, Mel
37	<i>S'il advent</i>	Michelet	a64	27	Dij, etc.
38	<i>Le souvenir</i>	Morton		43	Dij, etc.
39	<i>Ce qu'on fait</i>	—		13a	
40	<i>Helas que pourra</i>	Caron		4	(Lab diff. text); Dij, etc.
41	<i>Tant est mignonne</i>	—	a60	26	Dij, etc.
42	<i>O infame deloyaulté</i>	—			Dij only
43	<i>De tous biens plaine</i>	Hayne			Lab 2nd layer, etc.
44	<i>Ravi d'amours</i>	—			Dij, etc.
45	<i>Je ne seray plus</i>	Philipet			Sev, Fl 229
46	<i>La plus mignonne</i>	Dufay	51		
47	<i>Pour le mal</i>	—	6		
48	<i>Qu'ara d'amours</i>	—	unique		text: Roh
49	<i>Fortune laisse moy</i>	—			CamR.2.71, Pav, Porto
50	<i>S'elle m'aymera</i>	Okeghem	43		Dij, etc.
51	<i>Au travail suis</i>	Barbingant	56		Dij, only
52	<i>Cent mille escuz</i>	Caron			Dij, etc.
53	<i>Jamais si bien</i>	—	48		Lab 2nd layer, Dij
ADDED PIECES					
a54	<i>Ma dame trop</i>	Charles			Tr 89, etc.
a55	<i>Belle de parler</i>	unique			
a56	<i>Entre Peronne</i>	Rubinus			Dij, etc.

Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s

A major change of historical perspective has come about in the past ten years, the realisation that the chansonniers generally called “Burgundian” or “Franco-Flemish” were copied in central France. For half a century, the chansonniers at Dijon, Copenhagen and Wolfenbüttel along with the Laborde chansonnier in Washington have counted as prime evidence for the cultural riches of the court of Burgundy. Perhaps the earliest hint that this cannot have been right came from a passing comment in Joshua Rifkin’s little article on “Scribal Concordances”, published in 1973¹; and he was later to be more specific at the Wolfenbüttel conference of 1976². It was an easy step from there to seeing that the lesser composers of the Burgundian court were very poorly represented in these four chansonniers – very few pieces, and in general plainly poor readings. The overwhelming presence of Busnoys was irrelevant, since he was in any case a composer whose music was widely copied in many parts of Europe. Moreover, since the court was mainly resident in Bruges, Brussels and other cities of what is now Belgium, a “Burgundian” court chansonnier might be expected to contain at least something with Flemish text, which these do not. Evidently the clue to the origin of these manuscripts must lie in the lives of the more obscure composers found there: Basiron, Convert, Delahaye and so on. In the early 1980s Paula Higgins managed to identify Basiron at Bourges³ and to consult art historians who judged that the painting in these books was central-French⁴. With her further discovery that Busnoys was in Tours and Poitiers at least in the early to mid 1460s⁵, it now seems almost certain that these famous chansonniers are central-French. There remains much to be explored about them, much to be found out about their origin. But there can no longer be any case for associating them with the Burgundian court of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.

Even so, it would be absurd to suggest that there were no polyphonic songbooks at the court of Burgundy, particularly after Charles the Bold’s accession in 1467: he was himself a keen musician, singer and composer⁶; he personally employed three of the most influential song composers around 1470, Hayne, Busnoys and Morton. Plainly the songbooks existed but are now lost. What would they

have contained? Presumably first and foremost songs by the known court composers, sadly few of which can be identified: two by Simon Le Breton, two by Constans van Languebroeck, both currently textless, probably three by Adrien Basin, five by Gilles Joye, perhaps two by Charles the Bold himself, Robert Morton – with twelve works to his name, though four of them seem to be spurious⁷ – as well as Hayne van Ghizeghem and Antoine Busnoys. In passing it could be noted that all of these composers are known only by songs, with the single exception of Busnoys. Further to that, they seem to have confined their efforts to the rondeau form with the exceptions only of Busnoys and single Italian-texted song by Joye.

The aim of this paper is to explore the possibility that the writings of the Burgundian court chronicler Jean Molinet contain direct information about what a court chan-

1. J. Rifkin, “Scribal Concordances for some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries”, *JAMS* 26 (1973), pp. 305–28, on p. 391, n.37: “The history of all these *chansonniers* remains obscure – rather surprisingly so, in view of their celebrity and obvious importance”.
2. L. Finscher, ed., *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, I: Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 6 (Munich, 1981, but reflecting the proceedings of a conference held in 1976), p.23; Rifkin also refers to similar doubts expressed in the thesis of Louise Litterick, “The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI of the British Library” (diss., New York University, 1976), pp.66–7.
3. P. Higgins, Introduction to facsimile of *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chausée* (Geneva, 1984), p. X; the information was later expanded in Higgins, “Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers: the Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges”, *AcM* 62 (1990), pp. 1–28.
4. P. Higgins, Introduction (s.u.3), pp. VIII–IX; see also her thesis “Antoine Busnoys and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-century France and Burgundy” (diss., Princeton University, 1987), pp.214–308, esp. 286–92.
5. P. Higgins, Introduction (s.u.3), p. V; on the Poitiers connection, see Higgins, “Musical Politics in Late Medieval Poitiers: A Tale of Two Choirmasters” (forthcoming).
6. D. Fallows, “Robert Morton’s Songs” (diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1978), pp. 303–17.
7. op. cit., passim. The details are summarized in *The New Grove*, s.v. “Morton”.

sonnier would have contained. Two of his poems in particular cite whole strings of chanson titles. Already from that formulation of the question it should be clear that the case is not at all simple. First, though, it seems better to approach the question of the Burgundian court repertory from other directions.

Of the song sources that happen to survive from the years 1450–1490, only two seem at all likely to come from the Franco-Flemish border area where the court was active. One is the collection in Paris, f.lat. 16664, first described by Nanie Bridgman at the 1980 Wolfenbüttel conference, though its music had been printed a century earlier by Coussemaker⁸. It contains four Latin pieces, one in Italian, three in Flemish and four French songs, including Busnoys' presumably late (i.e., Burgundian) *Pucelote que Dieu vous gart*; but this appears to be the commonplace book of a travelling teacher, and it is unlikely to help much with a view of the court repertory. The other is a little more promising. It is a fragment in Munich discovered by Christoph Petzsch twenty years ago, containing bits of nine songs⁹. Among them is a song with good Flemish text, *Een vroualien edel van naturen*, previously known only from southern German sources where its text is adapted to German. There are also two pieces by the most famous of the court composers, Binchois – one of them not previously identified, namely the last three bars of the contratenor line of his famous *Dueilangoisseux*¹⁰. And there is one by yet another court composer, Robert Morton. To judge from the quality of the readings and from the script, this fragment could well come from the Franco-Flemish border area, though it is a relatively informal manuscript. The case is hardly proven, but at least this fragment contains the kinds of music one would expect to find in a songbook connected with the Burgundian court circle. The identification of *Dueilangoisseux* seems unexpected: it was composed before about 1435, whereas the Munich fragment must date from well after 1460, since it contains Morton's *N'aray je janaïs*. As will emerge later, the Burgundian court may have kept the earlier songs of Binchois in repertory much longer than other centres.

There are two much larger songbooks from elsewhere that seem to be particularly fruitful sources of music by Burgundian court composers. One is the Mellon chansonnier, copied in Naples in the mid-1470s¹¹. It contains a large body of songs by Busnoys, two of them (*Quant ce viendra* and *Je ne puis vivre*) in versions rather different from those in the Dijon chansonnier – that is to say, it looks as though Mellon has those two in revisions that may date from his Burgundian years. Mellon is the only

chansonnier to indicate Basin's first name, with the initial "A"; it contains three songs by Joye and three by Morton; and Mellon is the only source to contain Morton's *L'homme armé* setting with its text that remains effectively incomprehensible since it seems to include local court references that cannot any longer be construed with any confidence – and were probably not understood in Naples. It is also the unique source for one of the two known songs by Regis, who spent most of his mature life in Soignies, just south of Brussels. This is not to deny that the Mellon chansonnier was copied in Naples and contains some specifically Neapolitan repertory (such as the songs of Vincenet); nor that it contains many other kinds of non-Burgundian music, such as the English songs and the one known song of Guillaume Le Rouge, a musician at the court of Charles d'Orléans. Even so, there is a fair quantity of music in Mellon that seems to come directly from the Burgundian court – and Ronald Woodley has outlined a scenario that plausibly explains that situation¹².

The other chansonnier that may reflect the Burgundian court repertory is the Casanatense manuscript 2856, copied at Ferrara in about 1480¹³. Here there seems a good case for thinking that much of its music comes directly from the Franco-Flemish border area. It is the only musical source to name Dusart, choirmaster at Cambrai, and Malcort, perhaps the Albertinus Malcort at Ste-Gudule, Brussels, from 1474, paid for copying a songbook in

8 N. Bridgman, "Paroles et musique dans le manuscrit latin 16664 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", in U. Günther and L. Finscher, eds., *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 10 (Kassel, 1984), pp. 383–409. It is further discussed in W. Hering, "De polyfone compositis in het manuscript no. 16664 uit het fonds latin van de Bibliothèque Nationale te Parijs", *TVNM* 39 (1989), pp. 28–37, and further literature cited therein.

9 Chr. Petzsch, "Ein Fragment mit acht dreistimmigen Chansons, darunter Lochamer Liederbuch, Nr. 4", *Mf* 27 (1974), pp. 319–22.

10 The presence of this ninth piece was first reported in M. Bente, et al., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Katalog der Musikhandschriften, i: Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, 5/1 (Munich, 1989), pp. 338–9; but the music is there unidentified.

11 Complete edition and facsimile in L. L. Perkins and H. Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven, 1979).

12 R. Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: a Text and a (Possible) Context", *Early Music History* 8 (1988), pp. 173–244.

13 For bibliography, see H. Kellman, ed., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979–88), iv, pp. 18–20.

1475¹⁴; it also has two pieces by Barbireau, two by Basin, one by Paulus de Rhoda, two by Obrecht (which must now count among his earliest surviving works) and almost half of the known songs of Hayne van Ghizeghem. Two of the pieces most improbably ascribed to Robert Morton in the Perugia chansonnier 431 have here what seem to be their correct ascriptions¹⁵. It also has three pieces with Flemish titles. Moreover, some of the French titles are presented in curious orthography that points to Flemish exemplars: thus Okeghem's *Ma bouche rit* appears as "Ma bouce fijt". Even though it is plain throughout this manuscript that the scribe neither knew nor cared about the original French titles or indeed the correct names of the composers, many of which are absurdly garbled, it is surely true that the spelling "fijt" can only come from a Flemish exemplar. There is also "Dunch auuter amer", for example.

None of these details would even suggest the case by itself; it begins to look persuasive only when they are taken cumulatively. Whatever the merits of the view that Casanatense and Mellon are the two major chansonniers with a fair proportion of material that looks as though it could come directly from the Franco-Flemish border area where the Burgundian court had its residences, the editor of music by the Burgundian court composers from the 1450s to 70s must go there first. But, to repeat, both sources plainly contain much other material; they can hardly count as Burgundian chansonniers. Even so, these four sources offer the background to the main topic to be explored here, namely the evidence offered by Jean Molinet's citations.

There are five poems by Molinet that cite chansons¹⁶. All cite them in the same way, namely as the first or last line of a stanza. The earliest is the play *Le mistere de saint Quentin* – anonymous, though Noël Dupire has made a very good case for its being by Molinet¹⁷. This contains a group of eleven stanzas that each end with a chanson title.

As a brief excursus, this raises two points that have no musical significance but are examples of the way musical history can clarify nonmusical matters. First, it is surely pertinent to add those citations to Dupire's evidence that the play, in its surviving form, is indeed the work of Molinet, because he seems to be the only French poet of the time who cited songs in this way. It is a technique much more commonly found in Spanish literature of the fifteenth century¹⁸: there are several Spanish poems, starting in the early 1460s, that quote a song or poem at the end of each stanza, poems that I have used elsewhere to reconstruct some of the early stages of the Spanish polyphonic song repertory¹⁹. In fact it seems almost certain that Mo-

linet got the idea from that Spanish tradition of the *citador*. In his response to a poem by Busnoys he borrows all the lines of the Busnoys poem in succession, quoting one at the end of each stanza of his new poem²⁰. This device can be found in much earlier Latin poetry; but, as concerns the fifteenth century, it seems otherwise unique to Spanish poetry, the *glosa*, a tradition going back well before 1460.

14 B.H. Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500" (diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), p.627.

15 D. Fallows, "Robert Morton's Songs" (s.u.6), pp. 447–51.

16 Any student of Molinet's poetry is primarily indebted to the thorough, precise and judicious work of Noël Dupire: his bibliographical study *Étude critique des manuscrits et éditions des poésies de Jean Molinet* (Paris, 1932); his biographical and critical study *Jean Molinet: la vie – les œuvres* (Paris, 1932); and his three-volume edition, *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1936–9). All are irreplaceable since the main manuscript (Tournai 105) perished in World War II, as did the editor. The bibliography on Molinet and music is relatively brief: M. Brenet, "Quelques passages concernant la musique dans les poésies de Jehan Molinet", *Bulletin de la Société Française de Musicologie*, 1 (1917), pp.21–7; A. Van der Linden, "La musique dans les chroniques de Jean Molinet", in *Mélanges Ernest Closson* (Brussels, 1948), pp.166–80; C. MacClintock, "Molinet, Music, and Medieval Rhetoric", *MD* 13 (1959), pp.109–21; F. Ferrand, "Le grand rhétoriqueur Jean Molinet et la chanson polyphonique à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne", in D. Buschinger and A. Crépin, eds., *Actes du colloque 24–29 mars 1980: Musique, littérature et société au moyen âge* (Paris, 1980), pp.395–407. This last in fact briefly explores the significance of the citations; even so, the best introduction to the subject remains the "Liste des incipit de chansons" in Dupire's edition, vol.3 (1939), pp.1235–41. There are no entries on Molinet in either *MGG* or *NG*.

17 N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet: la vie* (s.u.16), pp. 144–7. The play is edited in H. Chatelain, *Le mistère de St. Quentin* (Saint-Quentin, 1908).

18 The musical implications of these poems are best studied in the thesis of J. Whetnall, "Manuscript Love Poetry of the Spanish Fifteenth Century: Developing Standards and Continuing Traditions" (diss., University of Cambridge, 1986), pp. 127–89 and 294–369. It should be added in passing that Paul Zumthor sees the roots of these citations in medieval Latin poetry and its influence on French poetry around 1200, see his *Le masque et la lumière* (Paris, 1978), pp.160–62; but he cites no specific examples, and the cases known to me are by no means comparable with Molinet's use of either the *citador* or the *glosa*.

19 D. Fallows, "A Glimpse of the Lost Years: Spanish Polyphonic Song, 1450–70", in J. Wright, ed., *New Perspectives on Music: Essays in Honor of Eileen Southern* (Warren, Michigan, 1992), pp.19–36.

20 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz* (s.u.16), pp.798–801.

Both devices are quite different from the quodlibet-chanson, which does appear to have a French history. It may also be relevant that at one stage in his famous Chronicle Molinet quotes an extensive Spanish speech, a most unusual thing to do in a French narrative²¹. And that is the second point of this excursus: the editors of the Chronicle remark that this passage is by itself no evidence that Molinet knew Spanish²²; I would suggest that the use of the *citador* and the *glosa* in his poetry offers the supplementary evidence that is needed. Whatever Molinet's background, a knowledge of Spanish and of Spanish literature belongs there.

Two further poems of Molinet cite just a small number of chansons: *Le hault siege d'Amours*²³ cites four songs and the *Collaudation a Madame Marguerite*²⁴ cites seven. The *Collaudation* is of particular interest here, because it is firmly dated 1493. Of the seven songs it cites, two are lost and two are among the most famous songs of the time, Hayne's *De tous biens plaine* and Okeghem's *D'ung autre amer*. But the other three are apparently by Binchois: *Comme femme* and *Je ne vis onques la pareille*, both from the 1450s, though still found in sources after 1490; and, once again, *Dueilangoisseux*, definitely by him and from the early 1430s. *Dueilangoisseux* is not found in any known musical source later than the 1460s; but there seems a good case for thinking that it remained in some repertoires much later than that.

Still, the main Molinet poems in the *citador* form are the *Oroison a nostre dame*²⁵, with the first and last lines of each stanza citing a chanson, 36 in all, and the *Debat du vieil gendarme et du viel amoureux*²⁶, citing chansons as the first line of each stanza plus the last line of the entire poem, 41 in all. Between them there is an overlap of 15 songs. So they mention a total of 62 French songs.

Table 1 summarizes the materials quoted by Molinet in those two poems, putting them in a rough chronological order based mainly on the earliest available sources and their currently accepted dates. A few simple comments can be made.

First, there is almost nothing here likely to date after about 1470. The seven pieces listed as "before 1480" are in that category simply because they have no source that can confidently be dated before 1470: in most cases their style emphatically argues for a date in the 1460s. More important, though, the list includes none of the famous songs of the 1470s, pieces that recur again and again in the chansonniers of the time: Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Amours amours*, *Mon souvenir* and *Allez regretz*; Mureau's *Je ne fay plus*; Compere's *Mes pensees*, *Dictes moy* and *Le renvoy*;

and so on. On the other hand, the list does include many of the most widely distributed songs of the 1460s. A date of around 1470 therefore seems all but certain for Molinet's two major *citador* poems, though it is just possible that the *Oroison* is a little later than the *Debat*.

The numbers of angle-brackets are not just the number of known sources containing a particular song. They are from another list, not presented here, which simply identifies the eight or ten songs from each decade that have the largest number of known sources²⁷. Thus, for example, there is here a very full representation of the most often copied songs from the 1450s: the only widely copied French songs of that decade that are not cited by Molinet are Busnoys's *Quant ce viendra* and Barbingant's *L'homme banny de sa plaisirance*. And part of the point of including this information is obviously that it is important to be a little cautious about drawing conclusions from their presence in the list. Many of the pieces that Molinet cites would probably appear in a similar *citador* written in Florence, Naples or even Nuremberg, if such existed.

But there is much more to be said about this list. There are thirteen songs not found in any musical source. If this really is a record of the Burgundian court repertory, that sort of proportion should surprise nobody: no songbooks happen to survive from that area. On the other hand I believe we can take it that they are indeed the incipits of known songs. The entire nature of these Molinet poems is that they regularly cite known songs; there is nothing particularly difficult in writing this kind of thing; and its success surely depends on the readers recognizing the song citations – which is the justification for this whole enquiry. Briefly, there is no reason for him to have cheated by padding it out with songs that did not exist. Moreover, in two of these unidentified cases the poem survives in sources and contexts where one would expect them to have musical settings.

At least four of the songs may well be monophonic. Of course there is Robert Morton's early polyphonic setting

21 G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, eds., *Chroniques de Jean Molinet* (Brussels, 1935–7), ii, p. 244.

22 Op. cit., iii, p. 36.

23 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz* (s.u. 16), pp. 569–83.

24 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz* (s.u. 16), pp. 265–8.

25 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz* (s.u. 16), pp. 468–75.

26 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz* (s.u. 16), pp. 616–27.

27 It is planned to be in my extended study, *Art Songs of the Burgundian Era, 1415–1480*, scheduled for publication by Oxford University Press.

of *L'homme armé*, which I believe dates from 1464; and although there happen to be no early settings of *Allegié's moy* or *Se congié prens*, there is every possibility that such settings existed by then. But their inclusion in the list cannot be taken as evidence that they were polyphonic songs; all that was necessary for Molinet's device was that they should be known songs.

Next, there is a surprisingly large proportion of early songs, most of them by Binchois. No surviving songbook of around 1470 contains more than the occasional song from before 1440: some from the early 1460s have Dufay's *Se la face ay pale*, for example; and the Buxheim keyboard book of around 1460 contains a similarly long spread of early pieces. But the pattern of the surviving central-French and Italian songbooks at this time is that they contain very little indeed that is more than twenty years old. In that respect, Molinet's poems are unusual.

Still, the next inevitable observation about the list of pieces quoted by Molinet is that it does not in fact fit the criteria mentioned above as the likely signs of a Burgundian court song repertory. Nothing with Flemish text; nothing by Simon le Breton, Gilles Joye, Constan van Languebroeck or even Charles the Bold (though it is hard to be sure we have the correct texts for either of the songs tentatively attributed to Charles); only the most famous piece of Basin; only the two most famous pieces of Morton; of Hayne van Ghizeghem only *De tous biens plaine* (though if Molinet's poems are from around 1470, that may be all he had composed by then). The only external comfort for the theory that this represents the Burgundian court repertory is the absence of lesser central-French composers: nothing of Barbingant, Basiron, Convert, Delahaye or Fcde, though there may be the one known song by Souspison, recently identified by Paula Higgins as an incompetent choirboy at Bourges in 1470²⁸.

Further to that, there is no significant overlap with the main sources mentioned earlier as containing prima facie Burgundian court material – Mellon and Casanatense. There is more overlap with the second Escorial chansonnier and the French-script layer of the Colombina chansonnier. In one sense, that may be a function of date: these are the sources that most fully reflect the repertory of the 1450s and 1460s; whereas Mellon and Casanatense reflect the songs of the 1470s, the next generation after Molinet's two poems. But there are questions here that need exploring.

The first question concerns Molinet himself and where he was. He did not become the official court chronicler until 1475, when his predecessor died; the little that can be

documented about his life suggests that he lived mainly in Valenciennes, some fifty kilometers from Lille and rather further from Brussels. It has also been stated that during the 1460s he was at the court of Savoy; but Noël Dupire argues very plausibly that this is based on a misreading and that Molinet was indeed in the Burgundian court ambience from 1464, when he wrote the *Complainte de Grece* followed by a string of poems that plainly express the Burgundian viewpoint²⁹. If that is correct, his contact with the court itself was mostly indirect. More than that, around 1470, he was strictly an outsider, possibly being groomed by Chastellain to succeed him as court chronicler but not yet with any actual court position.

That may offer the context for the *Oroison* and the *Debat*. In 1467 Duke Philip the Good died, to be succeeded by Charles the Bold. Charles was a keen and active musician, as testified by many witnesses³⁰; and it certainly looks as though the revival in the court's musical activity after about 1460 was driven mainly by Charles. If those two poems are really from around 1470, they could well have been written to impress Charles, to prepare the way for Molinet's eventual appointment as court chronicler.

At that point he was merely an aspirant from outside. But he was evidently a skilled musician: many of his poems use extensive musical references accurately; he exchanged poems with Compere, Busnoys, Verjus and – an intriguing footnote – the doctor who attended Dufay in his last illness, Gerard Wattrelet³¹; he wrote two laments for Okeghem, one of them set to music by Josquin; there seems no reason to doubt that he is indeed the composer of the chanson *Tart ara mon cœur sa plaisirance*, ascribed to "Molinet" in three sources of independent authority; and he would therefore almost certainly be the "Molinet" named among the musicians in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena*, currently dated about 1472. There also seems a very good chance that he is the "Molinet" addressed in the anonymous quodlibet-song *Vous qui parlés du gentil Bu-*

28 P. Higgins, "Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers: the Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges", *AcM* 62 (1990), pp. 1–28.

29 All these details of Molinet's life are documented and argued in N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet: La vie* (s.u.16), pp.7–25. That the Savoy theory is repeated in P. Zumthor, *Le masque et la lumière* (Paris, 1978), p.43, must surely be an oversight.

30 See above, note 6.

31 N. Dupire, ed., *Les faictz et dictz*, (s.u.16), p.812; see also D. Fallows, *Dufay* (London, revised 2nd edition, 1987), p.309.

céphal, apparently composed by 1460³². Born in 1435, he studied in Paris and was apparently still there in 1460, when he was 25 years old³³. So he was probably an active musician already in his Parisian years.

In that light, the apparent contradictions in this list of songs are easier to understand. Sadly, the list cannot be considered to represent the Burgundian court repertory around 1470. Molinet was peripheral to the court circle and his main musical experience at this point was probably gathered in Paris. That is why songs of the 1450s are so well represented. But it also explains why the songs of the 1460s here contain a larger proportion of pieces from the Burgundian court composers. In 1470 he had been loosely associated with the court for at least six years and he was presumably aware of its interests and priorities.

Is it possible, though, that those priorities included a continued interest in the earlier songs of Binchois? These are notably rare in surviving musical sources after 1450. A few details can be taken in evidence. The *basse danse* sources of the late fifteenth century include a fair number of dances based on material from the 1420s, much of it by Binchois. The court chapel seems to have appointed no new composers of any stature between the 1430s and 1457; it looks as though Philip the Good reestablished the choir partly to impress and please his new wife, Isabelle of Portugal, whom he married in 1429, and that he lost interest in the choir more or less as he lost interest in Isabelle, namely quite soon. When Robert Morton and Hayne van Ghizeghem arrived in 1457, most of the singers had been there a very long time; what distinction the choir had must have dated back to the 1430s³⁴. Effectively, the picture that begins to emerge is of a court establishment heavily aware of its history, more inclined to revere that history. The song-books that happen to survive are all from centres of what could be called “new” culture: the Italian courts, desperately seeking the latest novelties from the north; the French courts, establishing a new confidence with the return from prison of Charles d’Orléans, the new relative stability of the court of Charles VII and that of René of Anjou. It is no surprise that these took an interest in new material; and it is equally no surprise that the Burgundian court, the only one with an uninterrupted tradition going back many years, should retain an interest in its earlier musical achievements.

So that may explain the heavy representation of earlier music, particularly by Binchois. If Molinet’s two main song-citation poems really were intended to impress the music-loving Charles the Bold, they offer a distant reflection of the court repertory, a list of song titles that Molinet

would have expected Charles and the courtiers to recognize. Reconstruction of the court chansonniers remains impossible; but Molinet’s evidence can at least be used alongside the details mentioned earlier.

32 Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms Aldini 362, fols. 28v–29.

33 N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet: la vie* (s.u. 16), p. 9.

34 Details in J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939).

Table 1 Song citations in Molinet's *Debat* and *Oroison*D = Molinet, *Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux*O = Molinet, *Oroison a nostre dame*H = Molinet, *Le hault siege d'Amours*M = Molinet, *Collandation a Madame Marguerite* (1493)Q = (probably) Molinet, *Mystere de saint Quentin*

Source abbreviations are those commonly in use except that 'ColF' is the French-script layer of the Colombina chansonnier now divided between Seville and Paris.

Dates are of course all approximations, based on available sources and their likely dates.

possibly monophonic songs				
O Allegiés moy douerce plaisirne brunette				
O Se congé prendz de mes belles amours				
D L'homme armé doibt on redoubier				Q
before 1430				
D Une fois avant que morir	(13)	[anon.]	P1066Q etc	
before 1440				
DO Adieu jusques je vous revoye		[Binchois]	EscA M902/Roh Jard	
D Adieu mes tres belles amours	(7)	[Binchois]	EscA MuEm Stras Tr92, Bux x3/Jard	
D De plus en plus se renouelle		[Binchois]	Ox EscA	
O Doeul angouesseux rage desmesuree	(10)	[Binchois]	Ox Mancini EscA EscB M902 etc	QM
DO Esclave puist il devenir	(6)	[Binchois]	EscA EscB MuEm RU1411 Stras, Bux/Jard	
D Je n'y fays tousjours que penser	(4)	[Binchois]	EscA EscB M902 RU1411	
O Se la face ay palle et defaicte	(12)	[Dufay]	NYB Ox RU1411 EscB Wolf etc, Bux x2	
before 1450				
D Mon coeur chante joieusement		[Binchois]	M902 RU1411 BerK Pav/Roh Jard etc	
DO Mon seul plaisir ma douce joye	(14)	[Bedyngham]	Schedel EscB Berk ColF etc	Q
DO Pour prison ne pour maladie	(7)	[Binchois]	RU1411 EscB ColF Pav, etc	Q
O Quant de dire adieu me souvient		[anon.]	Cord	
D Terriblement suis fortuné (sic)	(5)	[anon.]	Tr90 EscB BerK ColF etc/Roh Lans Jard	Q
before 1460				
D A cheval tout homme a cheval		[anon.]	EscB/Jard	
DO Comme femme desconforte	(11)	[Binchois]	EscB ColF Wolf M9659 etc	M
O D'ung autlre amer	(16)	[Okeghem]	Labl Wolf Niv etc/Roh Jard etc	M
D En ung gent et joyeux pourpris		[anon.]	Tr90 EscB Pix/Vergier	
D J'ay pris amour a ma devise	(17)	[anon.]	EscB ColF Niv etc/Roh Jard etc	II
DO Je ne vis onques la pareille	(11)	[Binchois?]	Tr90 Schedel Niv etc/Roh Jard etc	QH
DO Le serviteur hault guerdonné	(17)	[Dufay]	EscB Tr90 ColF Pav etc, Bux x2	QH
DO Ma bouchet rit et mon oeil pleure	(18)	[Okeghem]	Schedel Niv ColF etc/Roh Jard etc	M
D Mon oeil est de temte tempuré		[anon.]	(Trent 89 Mass)/Roh Jard	
DO Par le regard de vos beaux yeux	(15)	[Dufay]	Tr93 EscB BerK ColF etc, Bux/Jard	
D Se ung peu d'esperance j'avoye		[Pulloys]	Tr90 BerK Niv Pix	
DO Tout a par moy que on ne me voye	(9)	[Frye]	BerK ColF Niv etc, Bux/Roh Jard etc	
before 1470				
D Cy dict en benedicté		[Busnoys]	Tr89 ColF Glog Pix F229 BQ18	
DO De tous biens plaine	(30)	[T Layne]	Wolf Pav Dij Lab2 Mel etc	HM
D Je ne seray plus vert vestu		[P. de Pres]	Wolf ColF F229/Roh Jard Vergier	
O Le corps s'en va et l'ame vous demeure		[Busnoys]	Nir Labl Wolf Dij Mel/Roh etc	
D Le souvenir de vous m'y tue	(15)	[Morton]	Bux Labl Wolf etc/Roh Jard	
D N'aray je jamés mieux que j'ay	(15)	[Morton]	FscB Wolf M9659 BerK ColF etc	
D Nostre amy vous vous abusés		[Basin]	Bux EscB Labl BerK Mel, BuxA/Jard	
DO Tard ara mon coeur sa plaisirne	(12)	[Molinet]	ColF Lab2 etc/Jard	
DO Vostre bruyt et vostre grand fame	(9)	[Dufay]	Tr89 Labl Cord Mel etc/Jard etc	

before 1480			
D Cela sans plous et puis hola	(11) [Colinet]	RCas F176 etc	
DO Gente de corps, belle aux beaux yeux	[anon.]	FR2356 (or P9346)	
D Je ne demande autre de gré	(9) [Busnoys]	CTrin ColF etc & Tinctoris (1477)	
D L'autre d'antan par la passa	(9) [Okeghem]	Dij Mel Cord etc & Tinctoris (c1474)	
DO Pour quelque paine que j'endure	[anon.]	ColF & Heyns Mass (Br5557)	
D Si fault que je perde ma dame	(anon.)	FR2356 Pix/Roh	
D Tousjours me souvient de la belle	[anon.]	ColF/Lans380 Chasse	
tricky cases			
O Adieu ma dame adieu vous dy	[? in Agnus II of Brughier's M. carminum]		
O Au povre amant qui quiert son adventure	[? perhaps <i>Le pure amant</i> in CMCJ]		
O Dame d'aymer confortez l'amourcux	[? 'Vray dieu d'amours confortez l'amourcux' in MC & Tinctoris 1477]		
O Ma douce seur ma desirée	[? Souspison in RCas]		
unidentified			
D A deux genoux l'argent au poing			
D Il est mort le singe Lottart			
D Mon flaiollet ne vault plus riens			
D Pour promesse ne pour avoir			
O Ce simple amant qui est hors du chemin			
O Langueur sans fin et vie maleuree			
O Le temps passé ne pouelt plus revenir			
O Ma dame m'a presté une galée			
O Par souspirer plourer gemir et plaindre			
O Quand je vous vois ma plaisant creature			
O Toute joye m'eslongera			
O Traictiés la paix de l'amoureux indigne			
O Vecy l'amant qui vient pour vous servir			
line from <i>Dueil angoisseux</i>			
text R4: 10: Roh P1719 (?'Quatuons' in Bux) text: Jard Roh			

Overlap of 15 songs between D and O

Composers: Binchois 11; Dufay 4; Okeghem 3; Busnoys 3; Morton 2; Adrien Basin, Bedyngham, Colinet de Lannoy, Frye, Hayne van Ghizeghem, Phillipet de Pres, Pulloys, Molinet, Souspison.

WALTER FRYE'S *AVE REGINA CELORUM*
AND THE LATIN SONG STYLE

In the château of Montreuil-Bellay, 15 km south of Saumur and the river Loire, there is a tiny oratory with a vaulted ceiling. Among the painted decorations on that ceiling are included every note of all three voices of a sacred polyphonic piece, Walter Frye's *Ave regina celorum*.¹ It was probably painted in the early 1480s, that is, at around the same time that Federico II da Montefeltro had two complete polyphonic pieces cut in intarsia for his *studiolio* at Urbino² and another for his *studiolio* at Gubbio.³ If any broader pattern is implied by these almost simultaneous displays, it may well be that this was the moment in history when it became common for every educated person to be able to read polyphonic music.

The tour guides at Montreuil-Bellay explain that *Ave regina celorum* is a composition by a Scottish monk who was a student of Ockeghem.⁴ It is not clear where that information comes from, but the few known details of Walter Frye's

1 For reproductions and discussion, see GENEVIÈVE THIBAULT, *L'oratoire du château de Montreuil-Bellay: ses anges musiciens – son motet polyphonique*, «Quadrivium», XII 1971, pp. 209–23.

2 The anonymous *J'ay pris amours* and the otherwise unknown four-voice song in praise of Federico, *Bella gerit musas*; see, most recently, NICOLETTA GUIDOBALDI, *La musica di Federico: immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino*, Olschki, Florence 1995.

3 *O rosa bella*, in a version apparently no longer known. Sadly the Gubbio panel, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, was restored, with the music eradicated, before it came to New York in 1939 (information kindly provided by Olga Raggio of the Metropolitan Museum). The only known record of its earlier state is a tentative transcription of the opening 'of two of the parts' (which do not seem to fit together), made from a photograph owned by William Barclay Squire (d.1927), when it was in the possession of Prince Lancolotti at Frascati, published in CECIE STAINER, *Dunstable and the Various Settings of O rosa bella*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», II 1901–2, p. 5. Squire's photo seems not to survive. Photographs of the panel in its present state, with the music book open but blank, appear in PRESTON REMINGTON, *The Private Study of Federigo da Montefeltro, a Masterpiece of XV Century Trompe-l'Oeil*, «Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art», XXXVI/1, January, 1941, section 2, pp. 3–13, on p. 8, and EMANUEL WINTERNITZ, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, 2nd ed., New Haven, 1979, pl. 55a (right-hand panel).

4 That he was 'un moine écossais' is reported in the booklet *Montreuil-Bellay* by C. de Thuy, La Guerche-de-Bretagne, 1989, 20; that he was a student of Ockeghem came from a typescript leaflet available in the oratory. Such tourist information sheets normally lack footnote references; but it is not always wise to disregard their information, which may come from some local source unknown to music historians.

life say absolutely nothing about any association with Ockeghem and are confined to his activity in England: they declare him to be resolutely English.⁵ That in itself is odd, in an age when the newly independent French had no reason to love England or anything English, particularly so soon after the end of the Hundred Years War. In fact it would be easier to explain if the composer had indeed been Scottish, because the *auld alliance* between Scotland and France was a powerful factor in the politics of the time. Both countries had a common cause in their fear of England's imperialistic tendencies. But here in central France Walter Frye's little motet held the place of honour. There is of course no evidence that whoever commissioned the painting knew that the music was by an Englishman; for what it may be worth, only two of its many known sources today contain an ascription, and they are from Germany and southern Italy. But the style of the music is so decisively English that it is hard to think of a reasonably informed patron not recognizing its national origin. In any case it seems obvious enough that, then as now, music can move beyond the confines of political prejudice.

Even so, at that particular time and place, the choice of this particular piece is puzzling. It seems much more puzzling, for example, than the inclusion of sections from the same motet into altarpieces⁶ by the so-called Master of the Embroidered Foliage, since the painter was evidently working in Bruges, where a close relationship with England was a vivid commercial reality. Moreover those were just little sections of the music painted onto the scrolls or books held by the angels; what we have in Montreuil-Bellay is the entire motet, painted clearly enough to have been used by singers in the oratory.

Another kind of context for *Ave regina celorum* in Montreuil-Bellay comes from two of the central-French chansonniers of the mid-1460s. In both the Wolfenbüttel chansonnier and the Laborde chansonnier *Ave regina celorum* stands as the opening piece; it is moreover the only Latin-texted piece in either, apart from one added very late to the Laborde chansonnier. It may also have headed the original layer of the Colombina chansonnier (now split between Seville and

5 See, for example, Brian Trowell's entry *Frye, Walter* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980) and the expanded version in its Second Edition (London, 2001).

6 Sources for the piece are listed below in the Appendix. The piece itself has been several times reprinted: the standard critical edition is in *Walter Frye: Collected Works*, ed. by Sylvia W. Kenney, Americal Institute of Musicology, 1960 (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser.19) no. 5; it is also available in GUSTAVE REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, Norton, New York 1954, pp. 94-5, REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 395-6, and PAOLO EMILIO CARAPEZZA, *Regina angelorum in musica picta. Walter Frye e il "Maître au feuillage brodé"*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», X 1975, pp. 134-54: 140-41.

Paris),⁷ itself similarly containing only two other Latin pieces, both added rather later. In these manuscripts the explanation is easier to see. Evidently in some people's minds a good chansonnier opened with a prayer, like a good meal. And there are very few good musical prayers of those years that are brief enough to sit comfortably at the head of a chanson collection. I shall return presently to some other examples of the genre.

But Walter Frye's *Ave regina celorum* holds a special place in the 15th-century repertory. With 23 known sources,⁸ it was more widely distributed than any other single work of polyphony before the astonishing success of Hayne van Ghizeghem's two early masterpieces, *De tous biens plaine* and *Allez regetz*, both of which survive today in 30 sources, reaching down to the middle of the 16th century. Those two songs must be from the late 1460s, a moment at which we begin to find a very large number of song manuscripts and works began to stay in the repertory for over half a century, particularly with the rise of music printing after 1500. They also benefited from the growing tradition of basing new works on one voice of an older work: when in the years after 1500 musicians were playing dozens of works built around the Tenor of *De tous biens plaine* or *Allez regetz*, it was perhaps inevitable that they should have continued to take an interest in at least seeing copies of the original song. But there is no such simple explanation for the success of Frye's *Ave regina celorum*, composed perhaps around 1450. There were in fact four sacred pieces built around it, all from around 1500 and two of them by Obrecht, whose fascination with English music is yet to be explored; but they play almost no part in the work's astonishing success.⁹ None of the sources for Frye's *Ave regina celorum* is likely to have been copied after 1500, a matter that makes the number of its surviving sources even more remarkable. Moreover, the summary at the end of the Appendix

7 See *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Sevilla 5-I-43 & Paris N.A.Fr. 4379 (p1)*, ed. by Dragan Plamenac, Brooklyn, 1962. The sixth gathering of the manuscript opens with an empty page, on the verso of which *Ave regina celorum* starts. Although the hand that wrote this gathering had already appeared in the fifth gathering, there is a good possibility that the gatherings are not now in their present order. For a brief statement that this was probably the earliest of the three scripts involved in the manuscript, see STANLEY BOORMAN, *Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique*, in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. by Iain Fenlon, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 319–46:326–30.

8 Listed below in the Appendix; a fuller account of the sources appears in my *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

9 The four works are: Obrecht, mass *Ave regina celorum*; Obrecht, motet *Ave regina celorum*, using the Tenor down a third in Dorian mode, surviving only in Petrucci's *Canti C* (Venice, 1504); Agricola, motet *Salve regina*, similarly using the Tenor down a third, edited in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, xxii, vol.4, p. 20; and the anonymous motet *O decus innocencie*, surviving only in Petrucci's *Motetti C* (Venice, 1504), edited in RICHARD SHERR, *Selections from Motetti C*, Garland, New York 1991 (Sixteenth-century Motet, II), p. 109.

shows that the sources are fairly evenly spread across five decades and across all parts of Europe except the Iberian peninsula.

The piece is intriguing in other ways too. There are just two pieces of the 1440s and 1450s that had such massive international careers: *Ave regina celorum* and *O rosa bella*. Both are by Englishmen, which is in itself slightly odd: much has been written about the success of English music on the continental mainland during those years, but neither piece fits at all well stylistically into the picture of English influence that we now have. More intriguingly, both pieces show an odd disparity between musical form and poetic form; in fact for both pieces various scholars over the years have suggested that the original text was different, even though there is absolutely no trace of any other text among the many sources for either. To conclude that a song with English words needed a new text to make a substantial career on the continental mainland is one thing; to assume that this always happened can seem a touch incautious. But the question will not go away, particularly when, as in the case of both *O rosa bella* and *Ave regina celorum*, there is no known English manuscript. Much has been written about *O rosa bella*: it is the most extensively discussed song of the entire fifteenth century.¹⁰ But there has been less discussion of Walter Frye's *Ave regina celorum*.¹¹ It seems time to try to redress the balance.

Obviously the first step in understanding a piece of music is to find its genre. That is, essentially, to look for pieces in the same style or with the same formal features. In the case of an oddity like *Ave regina celorum*, this is more important than usual, and its search leads in some odd directions.

1. *The English ballade*

It has many times been remarked that *Ave regina celorum* looks exactly like an English ballade of the 1450s: in two sections, the first rather shorter than the second, both ending with the same 'rhyming' cadential bars. Sylvia Kenney laid out the case excellently, giving comparative lengths of the sections in *Ave regina celorum* and various ballades demonstrably by English composers:¹² an adaptation and expansion of her diagram appears in Table 1. The table is expanded mainly

¹⁰ The earliest extended study of the song is in VICTOR LEDERER, *Über Heimat und Ursprung der mehrstimmigen Tonkunst*, Leipzig, 1906; the most recent at the time of writing is my own *Dunstable, Bedyngham and O rosa bella*, *The Journal of Musicology*, XII 1994, pp. 287–305.

¹¹ The main statements to date are: SYLVIA W. KENNEY, *Four Settings of "Ave regina celorum"*, in *Liber amicorum Charles van den Borren*, Antwerp, 1964, pp. 98–104; EAD., *Walter Frye and the contenance angloise*, New Haven, 1964, especially pp. 62–78; and CARAPEZZA, *Regina angelorum in musica picta*, pp. 134–54.

¹² KENNEY, *Walter Frye*, pp. 62–78.

TABLE I
ENGLISH 'BALLADES' AND THEIR LENGTHS

Bedyngham	<i>Myn hertis lust</i>	19 + L/ 23 + L	ref: 6+L T = Ct/ 8ve leap
Frye or Bedyngham	<i>So ys emprentid</i>	19 + L/ 27 + L	ref: 6+L T = Ct/ parallel
Bedyngham	<i>Gentil madonna</i>	12 + L/ 21 + L	ref: 5+L T = Ct/ parallel
Frye	<i>Ave regina celorum</i>	20 + L/ 22 + L	ref: 8+L Low Ct/ 8ve leap
Frye	<i>Alas alas alas</i>	20 + L/ 28 + L	ref: 3+L Low Ct/ 8ve leap
'Watlin Frew'	(textless, 2vv)	19 + L/ 22 + L	ref: 4+L

by the addition of Bedyngham's *Gentil madonna*, which seems relevant to the story (even though its original form is still in question), and by the information about the relative pitch-ranges of the Tenor and Contratenor lines as well as the design of the final cadence, both of which offer hints about the chronology of the pieces. The adaptation is both in resequencing the pieces in accordance with that chronology and in designating section lengths differently: by not counting the final long, representing it merely by 'L'; and by giving the full length of each section (thereby stressing their similarity of scope), simply marking the length of the refrain after these numbers.

Kenney also noted how several of these pieces appear in non-English sources with Latin contrafacted texts. Although there is no source that gives the slightest hint of *Ave regina celorum* having ever had a different text, the case is strong and has been well made; moreover, as Kenney pointed out, there is no surviving English source for the piece: if there were one, perhaps it would contain the English text she was seeking. There is no need to explore this area yet again except to make three points.

First, the history of the ballade form in the fifteenth century is very simple. Between about 1440 and 1480 the number of ballade settings demonstrably by non-English composers can be counted on the fingers of one hand: Ockeghem's lament for Binchois in 1460, *Mort tu as navré*; Busnoys' welcome for King Louis XI in 1461, *Resjois toi terre de France*; Pulloys' welcome to pope Calixtus III in 1455, *La bonté du Saint Esperit*; and a piece that appears only in Trent 89 with the Latin text *Assit Henus rex sincerus*, surely a contrafactum of a

piece in the style of the Ockeghem and Busnoys ballades.¹³ The remainder, of which there is a fairly large number, are all either ascribed to English composers, or found with English text, or plainly in the style of the demonstrably English ballades.¹⁴

Second, there are some anomalies in the form of Frye's *Ave regina celorum*. The poem is of only six lines, and to make it fit the bipartite form of the music, with its 'rhyming' cadences, it has been necessary to repeat lines 3-4 at the end.¹⁵ (Gustave Reese argued that this turned the antiphon into a responsory, but he also conceded that this musical form for a responsory does not appear before the 1520s;¹⁶ and I would in any case suggest that there are great dangers in explaining details of this kind of piece in terms of a supposed liturgy.) In fact two of the sources do not have this textual repetition, as Kenney points out, but that can hardly be taken as disputing the agreed form of the text as set to music in the remaining sources. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the text fits the music here uncommonly well.

The related formal matter concerns the discrepancy between the Latin text and strict ballade form. In all the English ballades the first section is of course repeated; in the 'Latin' version of *Ave regina celorum* it is not. I simply leave that question hanging and shall return to it at later.

And a third anomaly arises from Sylvia Kenney's diagram, as adapted in Table 1. It shows that the dimensions of *Ave regina celorum* are precisely those of many other English ballades of the time. But it needs a few qualifying comments. The most important of these is that the ballades all have just two lines of text for the prima pars of the music, whereas *Ave regina celorum* has four lines. That is to say that as music on the page *Ave regina celorum* is precisely like the other pieces, but as a combination of music and text it is entirely different – first in having denser texting in the prima pars, but not in the secunda pars; second in having no repeat of the prima pars.

¹³ Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (formerly Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 89 (now 1376), f.148v (no.601). The piece is still unpublished.

¹⁴ Perhaps the central demonstration of this lies in the consistency of style among the songs in London, British Library, Add.Ms. 5665 (the 'Ritson manuscript') f. 65v-73 (c1460); they are published in *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, ed. by John Stevens, London, 1975 (Musica Britannica, XXXVI), nos. 2-9. For further discussion see DAVID FALLOWS, *English Song Repertoires of the Mid-fifteenth Century*, «Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association», CIII 1976-7, pp. 61-79.

¹⁵ The text appears as an antiphon in *Liber Usualis*, p.1864, and *Processionale Monasticum*, p. 270. For an early printed edition, see RICHARD PYNSON, *Processionale ad Usum Sarum 1502*, facs. ed. Richard Rastall, Clarabricken, 1980, f. 160. All present the text simply as a first mode antiphon for the Virgin Mary, with six lines of text. REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 94, notes that the text appears in FRANZ JOSEPH MONE, *Latinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1854, p. 202, as a responsory for Maundy Thursday «in einer Hs. des 14. Jahrh. zu Lichtenthal».

¹⁶ REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 94.

Obviously, if *Ave regina celorum* is a contrafact of an English ballade, those problems evaporate. But I suspect that this is not the case, which is the point to which my argument is moving.

2. *Latin texted pieces in the chanson repertory*

The next area to investigate is Latin-texted pieces in the chansonniers. This arises essentially from my own efforts to compile a catalogue of the polyphonic song repertory from 1415 to 1480.¹⁷ Sections of the catalogue devoted to English, French, German, Italian and Spanish texts were easy to define. But once the catalogue was laid out in that way a Latin section had to be added as well: there were so many pieces that survive only with Latin texts.

Ave regina celorum plainly had to be there. The entire catalogue has a little over 2000 main entries, of which the largest body is obviously the French, with some 1200 entries. In the Latin section there are only 87 main entries, but 317 headings in all. That is to say that most of the Latin headings are cross-references to elsewhere in the catalogue where songs in other languages are reported to have contrafact texts. In fact, even of the 87 main Latin entries, 28 are for pieces that are almost certainly contrafacta; so five-sixths of the 317 Latin headings are contrafacta. A further dozen are for apparently instrumental pieces that have titles in some kind of Latin; nine are political pieces, four are goliardic drinking songs, and four are very early pieces in English fragmentary sources that otherwise contain songs.¹⁸ Even so, that leaves seventeen pieces that are definitely devotional, that almost certainly began their lives with their present Latin texts, and that appear almost exclusively in the secular song manuscripts – just like *Ave regina celorum*.

Now a slightly odd feature of what I choose to call these 'Latin songs' is that so few of them use the Latin Classical metres. After all, these metres had been used by poets from the time of Charlemagne onwards, and several examples appear in the full-dress motet repertory of the fifteenth century. But among the 'Latin songs' they are extremely rare. In the age of burgeoning humanism, one might expect that composers would have taken a special interest in the Classics. But that is apparently not the case.

The only setting of Classical Latin known to me from the years before 1480 is the setting of Horace's ode *Tu ne quesieris*, in Trent 89.¹⁹ I might mention in

¹⁷ *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*.

¹⁸ They are included only for the sake of completeness and are irrelevant to the repertory being considered here.

¹⁹ Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (formerly Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 89 (now 1376), f. 168v-170 (no.616); it is published in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 15, p. 256.

passing that this piece contains many stylistic traits of the English composers and particularly of Walter Frye, whose motet *O florens rosa* has a similar mensuration scheme and similar dimensions. Moreover, the anonymous *Tu ne quesieris* setting has Frye's characteristic F-tonality as well as a melismatic opening section that closes, like that of *Ave regina celorum*, on a half cadence over C. Perhaps it is time the *Tu ne quesieris* setting was explored a little further.

Other evidence of Classical metres in the song repertory of the fifteenth century includes three pieces with texts in elegiac couplets, each setting just a single couplet in two halves. The point to be made about these, though, is that they have absolutely nothing else in common. The earliest is the tiny piece *Si quis amat* in two early English sources. Another is Tinctoris's little song *O virgo misere mei* – a perfectly normal Marian prayer, despite its heading in the Mellon chansonnier saying it is dedicated to Beatrice of Aragon. And the third is the four-voice song *Bella gerit musas*, praising Federico da Montefeltro and known only from an intarsia in his *studiolo* at Urbino.²⁰ There is, to repeat, nothing in common between these songs except that they set only a single elegiac couplet each and that their rarity stresses the small place of Classical metres in the fifteenth-century song repertory.

Beyond these, there are four songs in straight dactylic hexameters. Like two of the three in elegiac couplets, these are all on medieval texts that postdate the Virgilian renaissance of the age of Charlemagne: so what is surprising about them is simply that there are so few musical settings of such a substantial medieval poetic repertory. One sets Petrarca's greeting to Italy, *Salve cara Deo tellus*, very much in the manner of the cantilenas of Dufay or Lymburgia. Another is the New Year's song *Viminibus cinge* in the Glogauer Liederbuch and in the Strahov codex: to some extent this is in a style of its own, and has nothing to say about the broader interest in Classical metres among composers. The third is a canonic piece in the Schedelsches Liederbuch, *Candida virginatas paradisi cara colonis*, setting a text known from many medieval sources. But the fourth is the song *Dulcis amica Dei* by Johannes Prioris, the piece chosen to open both Johannes Heer's Liederbuch and the French songbook in the Pepys library at Cambridge.

3. Songs as grace

That in its turn brings us to the matter of Latin songs used to open and close chansonniers. I mentioned earlier that *Ave regina celorum* opens both the Laborde

²⁰ See note 2 above.

Chansonnier and the Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier, that it is the only Latin piece in Wolfenbüttel and that there is only one other Latin piece in Laborde. That other Latin piece is in fact the one just mentioned, *Dulcis amica Dei* of Johannes Prioris; and it opens the manuscript's last section.

The tradition of starting with a prayer goes into the sixteenth century. In Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (Venice, [1501]), the opening piece is De Orto's *Ave Maria*; there are in fact two further Latin-titled pieces in the collection, but they are ones that belong firmly in the secular instrumental repertory, namely Isaac's *Benedictus* (a movement from his mass *Quant j'ay au cuer*, but firmly established in the secular textless repertory) and Agricola's *Si dedero. Canti B* (Venice, 1502) is slightly more complex: it actually opens with Josquin's perplexing four-voice *L'homme armé*, perhaps because it could be fitted on to a single page; but the next piece is Compère's *Virgo celesti*, one of only two five-voice pieces in the collection. Moreover, like all three of the *Canti* volumes, *Canti B* is basically divided into a four-voice section and a three-voice section; the three-voice section opens with the only other Latin-texted pieces in the book, namely Brumel's *Ave ancilla trinitatis* and Obrecht's *Si sumpsero*. His *Canti C* (Venice, 1504) also opens with a sacred piece, Obrecht's four-voice *Ave regina celorum*, based interestingly enough on the Tenor of Walter Frye's earlier setting. There are six other pieces with Latin titles among the 139 works in this massive collection, but all belong very much within the secular repertory; they are not devotional pieces in the sense of Obrecht's *Ave regina celorum*.

Mention of Petrucci's *Canti C* is a reminder that the same can happen with concluding pieces. It ends with Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moy*, his famous three-out-of-one canon. This piece also ends the Copenhagen chansonnier; and it opened the Dijon chansonnier (as we know from its original index, though the page containing the piece is now lost). Nobody would suggest that *Prenez sur moy* was a prayer; its place in all three books was more as a special and remarkable work, as well as, again, one that could be fitted onto a single page. But then again it is worth remembering that a good meal in devout household not only begins but ends with a prayer.

Frustratingly there are very few chansonniers of the fifteenth century that seem to adhere to a predesigned plan that was actually completed. Many of the song manuscripts were originally left with empty pages at the end for the addition of new material. One fully completed manuscript is indeed the one at Copenhagen, ending with *Prenez sur moy*. Another complete chansonnier, as least as concerns its musical notes, is the Florentine chansonnier now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. No texts were added, but all the music is there and it ends with two prayers: Frye's *Ave regina celorum* and the anonymous, probably

English, *O pulcherrima mulierum*. Immediately before those two, incidentally, is another piece that looks like a ballade but is otherwise unknown;²¹ perhaps this too, like *Ave regina celorum*, is a devotional Latin piece in the form of a ballade.

O pulcherrima mulierum also opens the Pixérécourt chansonnier,²² immediately followed by another widely distributed Latin piece, Touront's *O gloriosa regina*. There is no other Latin piece among its 170 works – that is, unless the concluding textless piece (also not known from any other source) should be sacred: it looks like a rondeau, but more on that topic later.

There are other songbooks that raise the possibility that they began with prayers. The Florence manuscript Biblioteca Riccardiana 2356 opens with a textless piece (also textless in the Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiana XIX.176) which is in a distinctively English style, perhaps in the manner of Frye or Bedyngham. This is not in ballade form; more like a rondeau. But it seems very likely to be a devotional piece. Also in Florence, Magliabechiana XIX.107bis originally opened with Josquin's still apparently unpublished four-voice motet *In pace in idipsum* before starting on its mainly secular repertory. But there is a curious addition before this in another hand: it is just the end of a discantus line, as though the beginning were on a lost facing page.²³ But the 'rhyme' between the end of the prima pars and the secunda pars clearly marks the piece as in ballade form; and the style of the piece is again not at all unlike the works of Frye and Bedyngham. Perhaps this was another English prayer added to open the collection.

The story could continue – for example with the strange and otherwise unknown piece that opens the Buxheim Keyboard Manuscript, *Jhesu bone*, also in a decidedly English style. But the point must be clear enough: that these books very often opened with a prayer and sometimes ended with one. Moreover that these pieces tended to belong to a devotional rather than a liturgical repertory, and that in their extent and design they fitted with the secular songs that made up the majority of the collections.

Of these, *Ave regina celorum* seems to be the earliest, but the next great success in the genre was Johannes Touront's *O gloriosa regina mundi*. Like most of Touront's pieces, it has a text that is devotional but not otherwise known and not in any apparent metrical pattern. Its musical form is roughly that of a rondeau stanza. This is common enough in the years after about 1460: starting perhaps with Martini's apparently instrumental pieces, there was a substantial group

²¹ See the edition in PETER REIDEMEISTER, *Die Chanson-Handschrift 78 C 28 des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts*, München, 1973, no. 40.

²² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. f.fr. 15123.

²³ The entire fragment is published in my *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, p. 646.

of abstract compositions that look at first glance as though their music might have originated for a rondeau text.²⁴ Only on closer inspection does it become clear that it would be vain to search for the missing original text, because the music does not divide up into individual lines in the manner of all such original rondeaux. This is in fact true of almost all Touront's smaller Latin-texted pieces: none of them has ever been found with a non-Latin text; all look as though they might have been rondeaux (or, in one case, a virelai); but in no case does this idea survive closer examination. Needless to say, the texts are all of just a single stanza, without the repeats that the musical rondeau form was originally designed to make possible.

The standard edition, that of Bertran Davis,²⁵ divides the piece exactly in half, at bar 51 (of a total 102), and divides the text in the same way, with 38 syllables before the break and 33 syllables after it. On the other hand, Reinhard Strohm²⁶ seems to have been the first to notice that there is in fact an element of musical rhyme, between bars 23–28 and bars 90–96, this last bringing in the final cadence of the work. Now Strohm may not have known that in the Munich manuscript 5023 there is in fact a repeat sign at bar 32, that is, the next cadence after the repeated section. This particular manuscript may not carry much authority; it is a late and provincial German schoolmaster's collection. But a division at that point does have a certain musical sense, particularly in being one of only three internal cadences on the final, and the strongest of them. If we then plot the proportions of the two halves, they work out remarkably similar to those of Bedyngham's *Gentil madona* (as in Table 1).²⁷ Certainly *Gentil madona* has always been a problem piece; and the matters of its form and original language have not yet been resolved. But the pattern this appears to imply about *O gloriosa* is once again that we are dealing with a kind of quasi-ballade form adapted to the purposes of a devotional chanson with Latin text.

It is time to return to Frye's *Ave regina celorum* and see what conclusions can be drawn from investigating its genre, or rather its genres.

In form, it aligns itself absolutely with the English ballade repertory, at least outwardly. More loosely, it aligns itself with pieces that appear to be in song

²⁴ On this genre, see DAVID FALLOWS, *Rondeau, B: Das mehrstimmige Rondeau des Mittelalters*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 8 Bärenreiter, Kassel 1998, coll. 541–9: 548.

²⁵ *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, ed. by Bertran E. Davis, Madison WI, 1978, p. 176.

²⁶ *The Rise of European Music*, p. 397, note 79.

²⁷ The lengths of the sections are: 31 + L/ 58 + L.

forms but have either Latin text or no text at all. It is entirely unlike any of the English liturgical music of the time.

In technique and style, it again stands alongside the works of Bedyngham and Frye, a distinctively English style. However, returning to my adaptation of Sylvia Kenney's diagram in Table 1, a bland listing of cadential structure and the relationship of the Contratenor to the Tenor suggests that it was rather later than most of the other comparable pieces. Only Frye's own ballade *Alas alas alas* has both a Contratenor in lower range and octave-leap cadences. (The Table could have included the group of English ballades in the Ritson manuscript, British Library, Add. Ms. 5665; but the same conclusion results.) That would suggest that the piece was composed in the early 1450s.

In manuscript survival, it would appear to be a secular song, despite its devotional character. Of its manuscripts, only *Magliabechiana xix.112bis* is devoted to sacred music. One further detail of its manuscript survival should perhaps be noted here, and it comes from the variants readings in parallel sources (mostly noted in the commentary to Kenney's edition): these variants are completely scattered in their distribution. Against the normal run of such things, the normally synoptic Wolfenbüttel and Laborde chansonniers share no variant readings, and they are also texted quite differently; the variants found in the other central-French source, namely the Montreuil-Bellay oratory ceiling, agree with Trent, Verona, Bratislava and Speciálník, none of which one would expect to have anything in common with it; the Grog collection painting, done in Bruges, shares readings with Bratislava, Speciálník and Schedel, besides opening with a unique upbeat; and so on. I have not encountered any piece of that generation with such a bizarre distribution of its readings. That would seem to suggest that the work was enormously more widely copied than we now know.

In function it is harder to define. From what has gone before, the piece can hardly be considered liturgical. Its appearance at the beginning of two, perhaps three, chansonniers and at the end of another can align it with grace at the start or end of a meal; or perhaps more pertinently with the cross at the head of the page that catholic priests still often use when starting a letter. But that accounts for only four sources, all interestingly enough from about 1465. For the rest, it is as though this was an exceptionally well-loved piece that found its way into the secular collections partly because it was the right kind of size.

The three paintings appear to fall well outside that pattern. The two madonnas may well have been painted for lay fraternities. But what of the oratory in Montreuil-Bellay? My only suggestion there is to note that the patron was a sister-in-law of René of Anjou, a man who made a point of collecting exotic art and of searching out the unfamiliar. Perhaps, here too, there was a virtue in

choosing a piece that was relatively brief, one that could be fitted visibly onto the tiny oratory ceiling. On the other hand – and this perhaps points rather to a social context for the work – it is easy to think that the choice of music for both the madonnas and the oratory ceiling would have fallen on music that the patrons would have recognized instantly and known intimately; that is, pieces they might have performed rather than ones they simply heard. If, as the spread of its variants appears to suggest, the piece was enormously widely copied, perhaps its distribution was precisely among lay circles and their music making.

In general it is hard to associate the often extremely difficult secular songs of that generation with amateur performers; the grand chansonniers that survive give every impression of having been reference collections, beautiful books, rather than items used for music-making in the home. But later in the fifteenth century there is increasing evidence of manuscripts that could have been used at home; and it is easy to imagine that Walter Frye's *Ave regina celorum* had an important place in that repertory. It has all the right ingredients, quite apart from its musical power. It is relatively simple; its layout with the voices in three different ranges makes it more suitable for amateur performance; its quasi-bal-lade structure gives it a familiar form, easily understood; its openly English musical style gives it a certain exotic flavour; its devotional text makes it acceptable in all circles; and the Latin language made it unnecessary to use the rather rough adaptations found particularly in the German collections of the time. No wonder it had such success.

APPENDIX

SOURCES FOR FRYE'S *AVE REGINA CELORUM* AND THEIR ORIGINS

Berlin [BerK], Staatliches Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78.C.28, f.47v-49. 1460s; Florence.

Berlin, former Preussische Staatsbibliothek (now in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska), Ms. Mus. 40098 (Glogauer Liederbuch), f.G3v/G9v/G11v (no.144). 1480s; Głogów, Poland.

Bratislava, Inc.318-I, no.11, and Inc. 33, no.5. 1490s; Košice, Slovenia.

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX.112bis, f.29v-30. 1460s; Genoa.

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794, f.15v-16. 1470s; central France.

Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna, Ms. II A 7 (Codex Speciálník), p.408-9 (four-voice version). 1490s; Bohemia.

Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Ms. 871, reported in index as being on the now lost opening 63. 1480s; Naples area.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ.mon. 810 (Schedelsches Liederbuch), f.37v-39. 1460s; Nuremberg.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. mon. 5023, f.12v-13, D of prima pars (texted) and T of 2nda pars only, as intervening folio is lost. 1490s; Bavaria.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3725 (Buxheimer Orgelbuch, nos. 159, 160, 238b and 258. 1460s; South Germany or Eastern Switzerland.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 'Augusta', Ms. 431, f.82v-83 [op.92]. 1490s; perhaps Naples area.

Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 5-1-43, f.37v-38v, lacking secunda pars of T and Ct as the next leaf is lost. 1480s; perhaps Naples.

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Ms. 1377 (formerly Ms. 90), f.298v-299 (4-voice version) and f.371v-372. 1450s; Northern Italy.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. DCCLVII, f.53v-55 (four-voice version). 1490s; Northern Italy.

Washington DC, Library of Congress, Ms. M2.1 L25 (Laborde Chansonnier), f.8-9, lacking prima pars of D as first page is lost. 1460s; central France.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Ms. Guelf. 287 Extrav., f.1-2, lacking prima pars of D as preceding page is lost. 1460s; central France.

Paintings

Montreuil-Bellay, Château oratory ceiling, complete piece. 1480s; central France.

Paris, collection of R. J. Grog (formerly in Féral collection), painting attributed to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. One angel holds a choirbook containing, on facing pages, b.1-18 of D & T (no Ct). 1480s; Bruges.

Polizzi Generosa (Sicily), Chiesa Madre (formerly in S. Maria degli Angeli), triptych attributed to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. One singing angel holds a scroll containing b.1-14 of T, texted. 1480s; Bruges.

In geographical origin, the sources divide up as follows:

Belgium: Grog, Polizzi

France: Laborde, Montreuil, FRicc, Wolfenbüttel

Germany: Buxheim (x4), M5023, Schedel

Italy: BerK, Col, F112, Montecassino, Perugia, Trent90 (x2), Verona

Poland: Glogau

Slovenia & Bohemia: Bratislava, Speciálník

In terms of chronology, they divide up as follows:

1450s: Trent90 (x2)

1460s: BerK, Buxheim (x4), F112, Laborde, Schedel, Wolfenbüttel

1470s: FRicc

1480s: Col, Glogau, Grog, Montecassino, Montreuil, Polizzi

1490s: Bratislava, M5023, Perugia, Speciálník, Verona



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Who Composed *Mille Regretz*?

AT FIRST GLANCE the case looks easy. The song that for over a century has counted for vocal groups and their audiences as the most famous and moving work of Josquin des Prez really cannot be by him. Among twenty-four sixteenth-century sources, the only ones to credit it to Josquin are Narváez's vihuela tablature of 1538 and just two of the four partbooks of Susato's *Unziesme livre* published in 1549. The earliest known sources of the piece are from 1533, already twelve years after the composer's death. If one thing has become increasingly clear from Josquin research of the last half century, it is that these late sources must be viewed with extreme scepticism. As early as 1540, Georg Forster had remarked that "I remember a very great man saying that after his death Josquin had composed more works than in his lifetime."¹

It is also a classic example of how new information can be added into the factual record without reflection on how it changes the balance of probabilities. Already Eitner had reported in his *Quellenlexikon* that there was an Attaingnant print of 1533 crediting the piece to "J. Lemaire"; but nobody later had seen the print. It came to public knowledge only in the 1960s, in the private collection of the pianist Alfred Cortot. In many ways that print still awaits full investigation: it is one of the few key documents of early western music still to remain in private hands, now in the collection of the pianist's nephew, Jean Cortot; and only the discantus partbook survives.

It would be quite wrong to say that the partbook and its information have been ignored: at the time they were well and seriously discussed by both Daniel Heartz and Martin Picker.² But there are two important points that these two men, who surely count

1. "Memimi summum quendam virum dicere, Josquinum iam vita defunctum, plures cantilenas aedere, quam dum vita superstes esset." From his preface to his motet collection RISM 1540⁶, a volume that contains nothing ascribed to Josquin. Helmuth OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962-65), 2:9, quotes this passage, suggesting that the "very great man" could well have been Martin Luther, formerly a close acquaintance and moreover famously enthusiastic about Josquin's music.

2. Daniel HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaingnant* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 97, and a fuller statement in HEARTZ, "The Chanson in the Humanist Era," *Current Thought in Musicology*, ed. John W. GRUBBS (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976): 193-230, at 199-202. Martin PICKER, "Josquin and Jean Lemaire: Four Chansons Re-examined," in Sergio BERTELLI and Gloria RAMAKUS (eds.), *Essays Presented by Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978): 447-56.

among the most professional and most discriminating of recent researchers into Renaissance music, failed to make. First, if a piece survives with many ascriptions to a very famous composer and just one to an almost unknown figure, it very often turns out that the almost unknown figure is the composer. Second, in all such cases it is wise to pay particular attention to the earliest source or the earliest ascription. Both considerations undermine what was in any case a wobbly ascription.

Some of Heartz's and Picker's conclusions, with thirty years' hindsight, are less than compelling. They asserted that the work was in the purest Josquinian style: that they said little to support that view is less worrying than the way such assertions look in the late 1990s, when we can see how many works have now been eliminated from Josquin's *oeuvre*, and how much earlier views on what was "Josquinian" were based on works that are probably not his. If we are looking for a better picture of what Josquin did, we must for the moment resist stylistic or aesthetic judgments and look hard at the documentary case for each piece. For *Mille regretz*, that case looks very thin indeed.

Heartz and Picker also both suggested that the ascription "J. Lemaire" referred to the famous poet Jean Lemaire de Belges. Heartz conceded that there is no other known case of an Attaingnant print (or indeed any early music print) containing an ascription for the text rather than the music. He also noted that if the poem was indeed by Jean Lemaire de Belges, then it cannot have been written for the Emperor Charles V as implied by the title *Cancion del emperador* in Narváez's intabulation of 1538, since Charles became emperor three years after Lemaire's death. One might add, as a gloss to Heartz's remarks, that this consideration further weakens the credibility of the ascription of the piece to Josquin in the Narváez print.

Martin Picker took the discussion in a different direction by putting *Mille regretz* alongside the anonymous setting of a poem demonstrably by Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Sous ce tumbel*, his famous lament at the death of the *Amant vert*, Margaret of Austria's pet parrot. He proposed, following a much earlier suggestion of Droz and Thibault, that *Sous ce tumbel* was by Josquin and that the similarity of the two works both supports his connection with Jean Lemaire de Belges (already known from Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*, setting a poem unquestionably by Lemaire) and endorses the surviving Josquin ascriptions for *Mille regretz*.

Picker's case for *Sous ce tumbel* being by Josquin rests on three main factors: its position immediately before two unquestionable Josquin works, *Plus nulz regretz* and *Entree suis*, in the Brussels chansonnier 228, a manuscript that shows occasional evidence of organization by composer; the apparent quote at the outset from Josquin's lament at the death of Ockeghem, *Nymphes des bois*; and the stylistic similarity of *Mille regretz*.

Any composer could easily have copied the opening of *Nymphes des bois*, with an obvious allusion that would be wittily appropriate for the *Amant vert* of the poem. Recent discoveries show that *Nymphes des bois* was more widely diffused than was once thought;³

and it is hard to think that such a glorious work should not have been known. Since there is considerable doubt as to who composed *Mille regretz*, attention must focus on the song's context in Brussels 228.

First, it must be observed that the song immediately precedes the only other known Lemaire setting in the manuscript, namely *Plus nulz regretz*: if the matter of groupings is to be invoked, that must stand as the *prima facie* explanation for the position of *Soubz ce tumbel*. As Kellman has shown, Josquin seems not to have been well known at the court of Burgundy; Lemaire, on the other hand, was the official court poet and Brussels 228 comes from the collection of Margaret of Austria.

Second, though, *Plus nulz regretz* stands in a rather special place in Brussels 228. It has the most elaborate decoration of any song apart from the opening group and the piece that opens the three-voice section (*Pour ung jamais* on ff. 50v-51r); it is the only piece in the manuscript with an ascription; and it stands on the first opening of gathering E. All three features would seem to suggest a new beginning. That *Soubz ce tumbel* precedes it, on the junction between two gatherings, hardly encourages the view that the pieces form a planned group and gives no fuel whatsoever to the notion that this is a group of Josquin pieces.⁴

What should be said here is that the Attaingnant ascription "J Lemaire" could easily refer not to the famous poet, who had died eighteen years before the date of the print, but to a composer who is otherwise unknown.⁵ There are after all many composers known only from a single piece: those even among the pre-1536 Attaingnant prints listed by Hertz include Adorne (41-17), Barbette (31-27), Beaumont (18-1), Bridam (41-21), Couillart (46-2), Fescam (45-27), Fran^çois (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-?). Nor am I aware of biographical support for the existence of any of these composers.

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 the title of *Plus nulz regretz* as "Plus mille regretz".⁶ An intriguing gloss on that is the existence of another piece called *Mille regretz*. It is in the isolated printed discantus partbook in Paris (Rés.

3. A later source with a Latin text commemorating Josquin himself is reported in Henri VANHULST, "Le manuscrit C¹," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1997): 95-102; for a new French poem to the same music in *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles chansons* (Geneva: Jacques Viviane, [c.1520]; only known copy in CH-Gpu, Se 9765 Rés); see the discussion in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d. ed., ed. Ludwig FINSCHER (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994-99), s.v. "Genf," by Raymond MEYLAN, vol. 3, col. 1257.

4. It is true that there are some groupings by composer

in this manuscript, notably Pierre de la Rue: the opening group of four-voice pieces, nos. 2-12 (though nos. 6 and 11 are not ascribed to him anywhere), and the opening group of three-voice pieces, nos. 44-46, immediately followed by three pieces of Compere. But these are at the beginnings of the two main sections of the manuscript, and there is little sign of such organization otherwise.

5. A point made in Joshua RIFKIN's unpublished paper, "A Singer Named Josquin," n. 15.

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

Vm⁷ 504) reliably attributed to the publisher Christian Egenolff and currently dated ca. 1535, on ff. Gg6-Gg7 (no. V). It appears there straight after Josquin's *Plus nulz regetz* (no. III) and *Adieu mes amours* (no. IV). Given that all pieces in this collection lack the composer's name and that there is elsewhere some evidence of grouping (nos. 17-33 are all taken directly from Petrucci's *Canti B* of 1502), there seems at least a marginal possibility that this is Josquin's setting. It is therefore presented herewith (Ex. 1). Plainly it does not belong to the group of later pieces based on the "Josquin" *Mille regetz*, such as those of Gombert and Susato, which use its materials. As the edition shows, the text can be fitted effortlessly to the music; the shorter phrases in bars 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. While there are many French poems with that structure, there seems nevertheless a good chance that this is indeed a setting of the same poem. It is obviously dangerous to attempt an evaluation of a four-voice piece when only the top line survives, so it needs to be stressed at this point that the Egenolff piece is anonymous and that it shows no more contact with what we think of a Josquinian style than does the more famous setting.

Attaingnant printed hardly any Josquin before his late chanson print of 1549 (itself mostly culled from Susato's 1545 volume). Among his thirteen books of motets, he has only two by Josquin, some would think the greatest motet composer of them all: *Virgo salutiferi* and the five-voice *Salve regina*, both of them widely distributed and widely attested as by Josquin. Otherwise, apart from *Mille regetz* with its ascription to Lemaire, there is only the four-voice chanson *Cueurs desolés*, ascribed to "Josquin des pres" in 1529³ but beyond all reasonable doubt by Benedictus Appenzeller.⁷

Susato, as well, seems to have almost entirely ignored Josquin except in his famous collection of Josquin songs in the *Septiesme livre* of 1545 (1545¹⁵). Otherwise his only ascriptions to Josquin are for *Mille regetz* and for *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir* (in 1544¹³; and repeated in his 1545 print). The ascription of *Mille regetz* in Susato's *L'unziesme livre* is particularly tricky. It reads "Io. de Pres." (S) and "Io. de Pres" (T), the other voices being anonymous.⁸ In general "Io" is the standard abbreviation for Johannes, not Josquin. Even though Susato gives Josquin Baston as "Jo Baston" elsewhere several times, the ascription here nevertheless demands caution.

7. To these we must add the two four-voice canonic songs *Basiés moy* and *En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet* presented anonymously in one of Attaingnant's earliest prints, *Chansons et motetz en canon a quatre parties sur deux* (c.1528; HEARTZ no.3), of which a complete copy has now been located in the private library of Graf Schweinitz (on loan to D-W), see Ludwig FINSCHER, "Attaingnantdrucke aus einer schlesischen Adelsbibliothek," in Axel BEER and

Laurenz LÜTTEKEN (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Hortschansky zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 33-42. But this early volume of Attaingnant is taken almost wholesale from Antico's *Motetti novi et chanzoni francoise a quattro sopra doi* (RISM 1520³).

8. These ascriptions are precisely the same in both known editions of Susato's *Unziesme livre* (the only known copy of the later edition is in A-Wn S.A. 76.F.44).

Example 1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Rés. Vm⁷ 504, no. V

Moreover the piece has a very odd place in the book. All other songs take up a full page in each partbook, just occasionally continuing on to the top line of the facing page; and the composer's name is printed in large letters at the top of the page in all four partbooks. Just this opening is different, containing three songs: Rocourt's *Plaindre n'y vault*, with the full-size name; then *Mille regretz*, going from bottom left to top right, with the ascription in tiny letters in only two partbooks; and finally Susato's "response", *Les miens aussi*, with an ascription again in tiny letters but in all four partbooks (twice "Tylman Susato", twice "Tylma Susato"). The reason for the "Jo de Pres" ascription being omitted from two partbooks was lack of space: there was too much material on this opening.⁹ But the general picture here is plainly unpromising.

Our understanding of the evolution of the "Parisian" chanson is bedevilled by the shortage of printed or manuscript sources between about 1510 and the first Attaingnant prints of 1528; but the existing picture would certainly encourage the notion that *Mille regretz* comes from the later 1520s. It may be a marvellous piece, but how much is that view influenced by the assumption that it is by Josquin des Prez? *Mille regretz* must owe at least part of its popularity to being the single "Josquin" work that fits beautifully to the needs of an amateur SATB group. Technically speaking, there is nothing here that is beyond the wit of a far lesser figure.

9. The technique and problems of ascription here are similar to those in Italian madrigal prints outlined in Stanley BOORMAN, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions, and Some Newly Anonymous Compositions, From the Early Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 109-57.

At this point I should mention that I have held the views expressed above since first reading Daniel Heartz's book on *Attaingnant* in 1970 and learning that the 1533 print had actually been found. The details of the case may have accumulated gradually in my mind over the years (often in conversation with people who have felt likewise, though I do not believe anybody has made these doubts public¹⁰); but the discovery of the 1533 print seemed to me already then severely to undermine the dubious case presented by the other sources and the style of the piece. How could a late work by the man who was by then unchallengeably the most famous composer who had ever lived have circulated so widely without an ascription? And it was only in the course of an attempt to edit the piece for the New Josquin Edition that things began to look different. As a preliminary to the discussion, it seems necessary to present the full listing of sources for *Mille regretz*, giving the source abbreviations to be used in the New Josquin Edition.

Manuscripts

- Bs¹ Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MSS F.IX.59-62, SATB f. 29^r (no. 59), Anonymous
- Bs² Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MSS F.X.17-20, S f. 10^r; AB f. 10^v; T f. 11^v (no. 21), Anonymous
- Bl Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40194, ff. 12^v-13^r [T partbook only], Anonymous
- Ca Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 125-128 (*olim* 124), SATB f. 131^r, Anonymous. Full text in S partbook
- Gd Gdańsk (Danzig), Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences), MS 4003 (*olim* Mus. q.20), SATB f. 16^v, Anonymous. All voices carry full text
- Mu¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 1501 (= Maier 207), S f. 20^v; ATB f. 21^v (no. 40), Anonymous
- Mu² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 1516 (= Maier 204), SATB no. 22, Anonymous
- Re Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, MS Freie Künste Musik 3/I, no. 46 [B partbook only], Anonymous

Early Printed Editions

- At *Chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, April 1533) [S partbook only], f. 11^r, J le maire. Fully texted
- Su *L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons amoureuses a quatre parties* (Antwerp: Tylman Susato, 1549), SATB, ff. 9^v-10^r, Jo de Pres (ascription in S and T partbooks only; A and B are anonymous). All voices carry full text

10. They have been outlined in Louise LITTERICK, "Forgotten Works," in the informally circulated book of essays for the conference *New Directions in Josquin Scholarship*, ed. Rob C. WEGMAN (Princeton University Department of Music, 1999): 122-31, esp. 125-27; she

repeats the doubts in her chapter for *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard SHERR (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). They are also outlined in Joshua Rifkin's unpublished paper "A Singer Named Josquin."

Intabulations

Am Amsterdam, Toonkunst-Bibliotheek, MS 208. A. 27 (*olim* Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, Bibliotheek, MS V. B. 13), ff. 27^v-28^r, Anonymous. In German lute tablature

Kl Klagenfurt, Kärtner Landesarchiv, MS GV 4/3, ff. 23^v-24^r, Anonymous. In German keyboard tablature

Mu³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 266 (= Maier 248), f. 41^r, Anonymous. In Italian lute tablature

Mu⁴ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 272 (= Maier 253), f. 47^v, Anonymous. In German lute tablature

Wr Wrocław (Breslau), Biblioteka Kapitulna, MS 352, ff. 54^v-56^r (no. 54), Anonymous. In German lute tablature

Ger *Tabulatur auff die Laudten ... Durch Hanns Gerle ...* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1533), ff. 40^v-41^r (no. 32), Anonymous. In German lute tablature

New *Der ander theil des lautenbuchs ... durch mich Hansen Newsidler* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1536), ff. Ee3^v-Ee4^v, Anonymous. In German lute tablature

Nar *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica ... por Luys de Narbaez* (Valladolid: Diego Hernandez de Cordova, 1538), ff. 40^v-42^r, Jusquin. In Spanish vihuela tablature. Ascription is on preceding page (f. 40^r): "Comiençan las canciones Francesas y esta primera es una que llaman la cancion del Emperador del quarto tono de Jusquin."

Ph¹ *Carminum quae chely vel testudine canuntur, trium, quatuor, et quinque partium liber secundus* (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1546), ff. e3^v-e4^r, Anonymous. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves. This intabulation concords with **Gerle 1533⁴**

Ph² *Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de luc a trois et quatre parties livre deuxieme* (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1546), ff. e3^v-e4^r, Anonymous. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves. This is bibliographically identical with Ph¹ and similarly concords with **Gerle 1533⁴**.

Ph³ *Hortus musarum in quo tanquam flosculi quidam selectissimorum carminum collecti sunt* (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1552), pp. 52-53, Anonymous. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves

Hec¹ *Lautten Buch ... Durch Wolffen Heckel von München ...* (Strasbourg: Urban Wyss, 1556), "Discant" [= 1st lute part], pp. 66-69, Anonymous; no copy survives of the "Tenor" partbook. In German lute tablature

Hec² *Lautten Buch ... Durch Wolffen Heckel von München ...* (Strasbourg: Christian Müller, 1562), "Discant" [= 1st lute part], pp. 66-69, Anonymous; "Tenor" [= 2nd lute part], pp. 55-57, Anonymous. In German lute tablature

Ph⁴ *Theatrum musicum* (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1563), f. 22^r, Anonymous. In French lute tablature on 5-line staves. This concords with **Phalèse 1552²⁹**

Of these sources, four tablatures could be dropped immediately as having no independent value: Ph¹ and the identical Ph² are both derived straight from Ger; Ph⁴ comes directly from Ph³; and the incompletely surviving Hec¹ was reprinted almost exactly in Hec². But in any case examination needed to begin with the staff-notation sources.

Obviously it seemed wise to start by attempting to reconstruct the earliest surviving version, that in the Attaingnant discantus print of 1533 (At). Apart from anything

else, all previous modern editions have used the late Susato print (Su), and it would be good to explore the possibility of presenting the music differently. Musically, there were just two variant readings in the surviving discantus partbook: even minims rather than the dotted figure in bar 4 (see Ex. 2), and a lightly embellished suspension in bar 21 (see Ex. 3). It was good to note that these readings were supported by various manuscript sources: for bar 4, Bs¹, Bs², Gd and Mu²; and for bar 21 all these apart from Gd.

Those findings were satisfying, because they offered a good case for thinking that the lower voices of those manuscripts could be used to reconstruct the remainder of the At version. Long ago Bruce Whisler's doctoral thesis on Mu² had established that a very large proportion of its pieces were copied directly from *Attaingnant*.¹¹ There was no such clear case here, because these untexted sources occasionally tie notes that are separate in their exemplars; but there was a good case for thinking that they at least belonged to the same part of the stemma and were perhaps taken straight from At.

The resulting reconstructed four-voice version had two added advantages: first, at least two of the manuscripts directly imitated the suspension at bar 21 with the same figure in the tenor at bar 23 (see Ex. 3), which was to be expected; second, and far more interesting, all four, together with the isolated tenor partbook B1, had the tenor falling a fourth to E in bar 25 rather than the more familiar G (Ex. 4). This last was a turning point in the investigation. The E at that point would offer a reading in my edition that was seriously and fascinatingly different from all previous modern editions; and its falling fourth was in many ways part of a pattern that obtained throughout the song. For all those variants, only Ca and Mu¹ agreed with Su, whereas the other staff-notation sources resoundingly endorsed the version derived from the At part of the stemma.

Example 2 Variants in bar 4

ii. Bruce A. WHISLER, *Munich, Mus. Ms. 1516: A Critical Edition* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1974).

Example 3 Variants in bar 21 and 23

Example 4 Variant in bar 25

But this turning-point actually turned in a rather surprising direction. It was time to consider the tablature sources. All were embellished, so there was little hope of finding either endorsement or contradiction of such tiny variants. So it was a surprise to find that all the tablatures apart from Nar unambiguously supported the tenor G at bar 25 rather than the E; that is, they all clearly had a first-inversion chord in the first half of the bar, with G as the bass, adding the E root only for the second half of the bar. That gave pause for thought, since it is reasonable to expect an intabulation to prefer the easiest solution—the root-position chord throughout the bar. The reading of all but one of the tablatures (agreeing with the staff-notation sources Su, Ca, and Mu¹) is definitely a *lectio difficilior* in tablature terms and should be taken seriously. In that context it needs

to be remembered that At is not quite so absolutely the earliest surviving source: the tablature Ger was published in the same year, 1533.

Returning to bar 4, there were more surprises. None of the sources in staff-notation of the bassus matched the non-dotted figure in the At discantus: they all had the dotted rhythm familiar from editions based on Susato. Perhaps that should not be too worrying: the momentary dissonance that results is in some ways rather attractive. But again it was notable that most of the tablatures endorsed the dotted rhythm in both voices, among them the earliest, Ger.

At the very least, it was now beginning to seem as though it would be irresponsible to present an edition based on At and related sources. To do so would merely be to offer something else for the sake of being different—something to justify the labour of exploring the work's full source basis for the first time. There was a further point here that now seemed relevant: the text presented in the Attaingnant print cannot be correct, since its fourth line does not rhyme with the first. For most purposes it is better to consider the stemma for the text separately from that for the music; but in this new context it began to look like yet another indication that Attaingnant printed a corrupt version of the song.

In fact the picture now was of two main branches in the song's transmission: a "Parisian" one in At and sources perhaps copied from him; and a "Flemish" one in Su (Antwerp), Ca (Bruges) and Mu¹ (origin not determined, but perhaps south German). Of those traditions it was the "Flemish" one that looked far better; the "French" one had a corrupt text and several musical variants that did not withstand full scrutiny.

The next and (in my mind) decisive turning-point came with an examination of the lute tablatures at the cadences in discantus bar 21 and tenor bar 23. In general tablatures embellish all cadences, so there would be no reason to expect them to offer any useful insights here. But it happens that two of the tablatures emphatically do not embellish the cadence at bar 21 (Mu⁴ and Ph³) and two do not in bar 23 (Mu⁴ and Hec²). It was the last thing I expected to find. In that context it suddenly became significant that the staff-notation sources have a slightly (if only slightly) inconsistent pattern here: Gd has a simpler suspension at both cadences (supported in bar 23 by the isolated tenor partbook Bl); and Bs¹ embellishes the two voices differently.

That in its turn led to two conclusions that may seem obvious enough but needed resisting at the early stage of source comparison. The first conclusion is that in staff-notation sources the insertion of a suspension or the decoration of a cadence is the easiest and the first kind of corruption that can arise; moreover, the simplification of a cadence like this is emphatically not the kind of thing you would expect a scribe to do on his own initiative. On top of the growing doubts about the "Parisian" readings in bar 4 and bar 25, the findings here finally convinced me that a responsible new edition of *Mille regretz* would once again need to take Su and the two related sources as its basis. The

second conclusion, surely one that would be endorsed by all musicians who have ever loved the piece, is that the stark unembellished and unsuspended cadence is astonishingly beautiful, in some ways one of the most ineffably moving touches in this tiny piece.

Those conclusions inevitably change the balance of probabilities about who composed the piece. The case for the prosecution presented at the start of this essay continues to look fairly formidable. But if Attaingnant really did have a version of *Mille regretz* that was corrupt in both its text and its music, perhaps he was working from a distant copy that named the poet rather than the composer, or simply got the composer's name wrong. It remains true that in the twenty years of his publishing activity prior to the 1549 Josquin collection (itself mainly taken from Susato), he published only two motets by Josquin and ascribed to him one song that is demonstrably by Benedictus Appenzeller. He really cannot be considered a reliable informant on Josquin des Prez.¹²

But the situation with Susato can be read differently. The Josquin songs he printed in his 1545 volume may not all be unanimously accepted as his today, but in most cases he was the first person to print them; the collection does betoken an active interest in Josquin. Moreover we know that Susato had a special interest in *Mille regretz*: he composed a three-voice parody of the song, printed in his 1544 volume; he printed an adaptation of it to become a pavane in his *Derde musyck boezcken* of 1551; he composed two settings of the *response* to the poem, *Les miens aussi*, that in three voices printed after his own three-voice *Mille regretz*, that in four voices after the "Josquin" setting. Put those details on top of the stemmatic evidence that he printed the best surviving version of the song, and it begins to look as though his ascription should not be taken lightly.

The last two considerations are ones that particularly concern your own work, my dear Herbert, since I first heard you speak at the 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chicago, on the occasion when you revealed for the first time—alongside much else about Josquin's last years—the special place of his motet *Pater noster-Ave Maria* in Josquin's obsequies and the likelihood that it is one of his last works.¹³ Because, with the view for the first time in my adult life that *Mille regretz* could really be by Josquin, I naturally began turning the pages and ransacking my aural memories for anything comparable in his work. *Mille regretz* shares nothing significant with the other famous Phrygian piece considered to belong to his last years, the mass *Pange lingua*; but then I have recently argued that this could well be from far nearer to 1510 than 1520.¹⁴ But there are the most astonishing parallels in the six-voice *Pater noster*: in its 120 bars there

12. It is of course true that in these years Attaingnant concentrated his efforts mainly on the publication of new works — a matter that is even more true of his Lyons contemporary Moderne, who printed not a note of Josquin's music.

13. A view challenged in Daniel E. FREEMAN, "On the

Origins of the *Pater noster - Ave Maria* of Josquin Des Prez," *Musica disciplina* 45 (1991): 169-219.

14. "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin: an Interim Report," forthcoming in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* NS 19 (1999): 1-20.

are only four suspensions; and, despite its six voices, the motet gloriously exemplifies the astonishingly restrained textures, the gentle repeated notes, and the phrase parallelism of *Mille regretz*. The exploration of those similarities must be a task for another day, perhaps when its forty known sources have been fully explored. So too must be the point that emerges so clearly from these pieces, as from so much else of Josquin, namely that a major part of his genius was in the ability to cut down the number of notes, rather as Debussy was to recommend four hundred years later. Both *Mille regretz* and *Pater noster* seem to achieve that in the most magical way.¹⁵

The second detail concerns our first personal conversation, some six months later, when you described some details of your paper for the 1972 Josquin Festival-Congress, most particularly the matter of the famous payment record reporting that two singers from Condé, one of whom was called Joskin, had visited the emperor Charles V in September 1520 and been paid a reward for *aucunes chansons nouvelles*.¹⁶ Your brilliant analysis of the document and of earlier views about it indeed serves to reinforce the point that Josquin des Prez was not particularly well known at the Netherlands court, or at least not to the accountant who later reimbursed the treasurer for this sum and made a record to explain the payment. But, as we have often discussed since, this is perhaps the weakest of your arguments for this particular case, since it could be mere chance that the accountant abbreviated the entry rather than spelling out Josquin's full name and titles. Besides, there is the further issue of Josquin's age: back then it looked as though Josquin would be about eighty years old at the time and hardly likely to be making such trips. Now we seem to be agreed that Josquin was born later than once thought; in fact my current view is that he was born in about 1455 and would therefore have been almost exactly sixty-five at the time—still young enough to travel, to sing, and to write peerless masterpieces.

Whether *Mille regretz* was one of them we shall probably never know; but I am now inclined to think that the *cancion del emperador* was indeed one of Josquin's very last works and written for Charles V.

15. Hermann FINCK, *Practica musica* (Wittenberg: heirs of Georg Rhaw, 1556), f. Aii^r, remarked that Josquin's music was *in compositione nudior, hoc est, quamvis in inveniendis fugis est acutissimus, uititur tamen multis pausis* (quoted from OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 1:92, who however misprints

"invendis" for "inveniendis").

16. Herbert KELLMAN, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: the Evidence of the Sources", in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. Edward E. LOWINSKY (London: Oxford University Press, 1976): 181-216, at 186-89.

What happened to *El grillo*

IN terms of how often it has been recorded and published, *El grillo* is among the most popular works of the ‘Josquin’ canon. For large choirs and solo ensembles, amateur and professional, it is a sure-fire success, the kind of piece that always works as an encore. So readers may be surprised to know that there is only one early source for the piece, namely the third book of frottolas—*Frottola libro tertio* (illus.1)—published by Ottaviano Petrucci early in 1505, with an unchanged reprint two years later. By contrast, there are 30 16th-century sources of Josquin’s *Plus nulz regretz*, which is hardly ever performed today.

We may be lucky to have even that single source of *El grillo*, for two reasons. First, most of the frottolas printed by Petrucci are unique to his prints. Of 653 pieces in his ten surviving frottola books, only just over a quarter are known from elsewhere. Second, *El grillo* is not at all typical of the frottola repertory in general. In fact nobody has ever found anything like it. The clipped opening homophonic phrases, the delightful run-out at the words ‘longo verso’, the tongue-twisting repeated notes at ‘dale beve grillo canta’—these are features that choir-directors have all sought in vain elsewhere in the music of its time. More than that, there is very little else in the frottola repertory that works with a four-voice choir or ensemble: in general these are pieces that seem to demand a solo voice and three accompanying instruments. So it is no surprise that *El grillo* appears almost at the end of this third book of frottolas, no.60 out of 62. But for the need to fill up the last gathering of the book, Petrucci may never have bothered to print it at all.¹

More of a surprise is that it reached modern

edition so late. There has been no time since about 1510 when Josquin has not been unanimously accepted as the greatest composer of the early 16th century. But the earliest modern edition of this piece was in 1931, when it appeared in Arnold Schering’s popular *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen*. One reason for its late modern appearance, and its complete non-career in the 16th century, may be the ascription ‘Iosquin Dascanio’.

That wording appears only for this and for just one other piece, a further frottola printed by Petrucci, *In te Domine speravi*. As early as 1829 Kiesewetter published *In te Domine speravi* alongside Josquin’s *La Bernardina* precisely to demonstrate that Josquin Dascanio could not possibly be Josquin des Prez.² For what it may be worth, *In te Domine speravi*—also something of a favourite among choirs—was not published as a work of Josquin until 1950, in the famous Davison and Apel *Historical anthology of music*;³ all the earlier editions were in volumes devoted to a complete source. For this, as for *El grillo*, the editors were very careful to give the composer as ‘Josquin d’Ascanio’; nobody even suggested that this was identical with Josquin des Prez. That possibility seems to have been hinted at for the first time by André Pirro in 1940,⁴ and laid out fully by Helmuth Osthoff in the first volume (1962) of his great monograph on Josquin.⁵

At a very late stage, then, scholars began to conclude that Josquin d’Ascanio was indeed Josquin des Prez. Whether they were right remains an intractable question. It is true that two documents have recently (at last) been discovered with evidence that Josquin des Prez was employed by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in 1484, leaving him in July 1485;⁶ but the musical

IOSQ.VIN DASCANTO.

Soprano

L grillo el grillo e bō cātore Che tiene lōgo uerfo Dale beue grillo canta Dale dale beue beue grillo grillo
 cāta cāta El grillo el grillo e bon cātore Ma nō fa como gialtri ocelli Come li hā cātato un poco Q. f. la magior
 Van de fatto i altro loco Sempre el grillo sta pur saldo
 el caldo Alhor cāta sol per amore A capite

Tenor

El grillo el grillo e bō cātore Che tiene lōgo uerfo Dale beue grillo cāta Dale dale beue
 beue grillo grillo cāta cāta El grillo el grillo e bō cantore Ma non fa como gialtri ocelli Come li hā cātato un poco
 Van de fatto i altro loco Sempre el grillo sta pur saldo
 Q. f. la magior el caldo Alhor cāta sol per amore

Bassus

El grillo el grillo e bō cātore Che tiene longo uerfo Dale beue grillo cāta Dale dale beue beue
 grillo grillo cāta cāta El grillo el grillo e bō cātore Ma nō fa como gialtri ocelli Come li hā cātato un poco Q. f. la magior
 Van de fatto i altro loco Sempre el grillo sta pur saldo
 el caldo Alhor cāta sol per amore

Bassus

El grillo el grillo e bō cātore Che tiene lōgo uerfo Dale beue grillo cāta Dale dale beue beue grillo grillo cāta cāta
 El grillo el grillo e bō cantore Ma nō fa como gialtri ocelli Come li hā cātato un poco Q. f. la magior el caldo
 Van de fatto i altro loco Sempre grillo sta pur saldo!
 Alhor cāta sol per amore

1 *El grillo*, from *Frottole libro tertio* (Venice: Petrucci, 1505), ff.61v–62

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar.878/3 (formerly Mus. pr. 120))



2 A detail of illus.1, showing various errors in the the altus part. An early 20th-century handwritten correction can be seen on the second line. (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar.878/3)

style of *El grillo* (and of *In te Domine speravi*) makes such an early date of composition most unlikely. It is also true that the poet Serafino dall'Aquila (1466–1500) wrote a sonnet dedicated *Ad Jusquino suo compagno musico d'Ascanio*. This could mean 'To Josquin his friend, a musician of Ascanio', or it could mean 'To Josquin, his colleague as a musician of Ascanio'. Either way, it seems (to me) clear that the poem does indeed concern Josquin des Prez, who may therefore have had some further association with Ascanio Sforza at a later date. Three letters of late 1498 and early 1499 state that Ascanio Sforza then had a servant called Juschino; but the letters are entirely about hunting dogs and give absolutely no grounds for thinking that this Juschino was a musician.

There is another problem here. To read 'Iosquin Dascanio' as meaning somebody who happened to be in the employment of Ascanio seems perverse: at least, none of the scholars I have queried on the matter has managed to produce another such case. The two most usual meanings of such a formulation are 'Josquin who comes from a place called Ascanio' (the German town of Aschersleben, in Brandenburg, was Latinized as Ascania; but it would be premature at this point to propose that these pieces are by a German Josquin; or perhaps it could be a misprint for the town of Asciano, 20 km east of Siena), or 'Josquin the son of Ascanio', slightly unlikely because Ascanio is an Italian name (classically that of

the son of Aeneas), whereas Josquin is a Franco-Flemish name, one particularly favoured in 15th-century Flanders. But, until any of these doubts and guesses can be put on firmer ground, the two songs must remain as possible works of Josquin des Prez. Even if clear evidence of a different composer should emerge, *El grillo* is one piece that is most unlikely to lose its place in the repertory. This is a piece loved for what it is, not for who wrote it.

So it is worth exploring some details that seem to have been overlooked, and which can be seen in the new edition given here as ex.1. They suggest that we may not have the piece in the best of shape. Petrucci's print has a fair number of mistakes that should have jumped to the eye of even the most casual proofreader. Some of them can be seen from a detail taken from the altus part (illus.2). Here the first four notes, to the words 'El grillo', return in the second printed line, just after the elaborate repeat sign, but as only three notes. It is perfectly obvious that the first is an error and should have been corrected.⁷ Immediately after that three-note statement there is a note missing just before the D with a fermata at the word 'cantore'. In the unique copy of the first edition (in Munich), the missing note has been added in blue-black ink. The annotator has even signed the correction: the letters 'g.c.' in a circle below the text are the initials of Gaetano Cesari, whose transcriptions, made in the years 1904–7, were

eventually published by Raffaello Monterosso and Benvenuto Disertori in 1954 as *Le frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci*.⁸ While it is interesting to speculate on how the authorities of the Bavarian State Library would react now to such annotation of a unique print, it is clear that Cesari's correction is absolutely right.

Another obvious mistake occurs at the beginning of that second line in the altus. As everybody who has ever sung the piece knows, after the final 'grillo grillo' comes the word 'canta', to two minims: the source has the word 'canta' twice in all four voices. Singers therefore have the option of singing the word 'canta' only once (which is what everybody does) or of subdividing the two minims so that 'canta' can be sung twice (which nobody would dream of doing). Actually that subdivision is theoretically possible, since there are innumerable places in the early Italian song repertoires, and particularly in the frottola repertory, where a longer note must be subdivided, especially at the end of a line; but in this particular case that seems an unlikely solution, since the printer had gone to the trouble of lining out the preceding 12 semiminims in all four voices. In the superius part that error comes at the beginning of a line, where nobody could possibly ignore it. All these easily seen errors were taken over into the two surviving copies of the second edition (November 1507) of Petrucci's *Frottole libro tertio*, now in Regensburg and Vienna.

As a further detail, in bar 37 of the altus the third note is *d'* in the source, creating a 6-4 chord. I have changed the note to *c'* in order to give something more plausible within the style of the time. That is

not an inevitable change: the moment passes by too fast for it to sound particularly ugly. On the other hand, it seems worth giving a piece like this the benefit of the doubt, to fix a detail if it can be done by moving a note by only one step. With that said, though, there is another detail that really cannot be fixed, and it is perhaps the clearest hint that whoever composed this piece was not fully in control of the notes. At bar 32 of the Altus there is a perfectly pointless rest in the middle of a word. Obviously it was inserted just to avoid parallel 5ths. It's not very impressive.

But the most bizarre error is the position of the elaborate double-repeat sign. Again it is perhaps easiest to read this from the altus voice-part (illus.2). That sign soon after the start of the second printed line means that you should repeat both the preceding and the following sections: that is, at the end of bar 17 you repeat back from the beginning and then repeat back to bar 17 from bar 29. This is wrong beyond any shadow of doubt. Common sense would suggest that after 1-22 there is a repeated section, 23-9, to accommodate lines 5-8 of the text; and that after the end of the piece the words 'a capite' (printed only after the superius) indicate a repeat of 1-22. That is in fact how the work is almost always performed. But Petrucci's print clearly directs a form of: 1-17, 1-17, 18-29, 18-29, 30-39, 1-17 (perhaps followed by a repeat of 1-17). This makes so little sense—musical or textual—that it can only be considered a further error in the source: the repeat of 18-29 would involve an absurd interruption of the sense that continues from line 6 to line 7 of the text; and the sudden ending at bar 17 would be without

Commentary to ex.1 (overleaf)

Apart from matters that should be clear from the edition itself, the following changes have been made:

- bars 7-11: Superius and bassus have simply one *longa*, with a fermata.
- bar 17: The last two notes in all voices carry the text 'canta canta', perhaps implying a subdivision to four semiminims.
- after bar 17: All voices have a double repeat, that is, forwards as well as backwards.

after bar 22: All voices have only a single barline, suggesting just a sectional division, with no implication that the piece ends here.

bars 24-5, tenor:
Rhythm Sb—Mi—Mi—Sb—Mi—Mi, adjusted to give homophony.

bars 33-5: All voices carry the text 'Alhor canta sol'.

bars 35-7: All voices carry the text 'per amore'.

bar 37, altus, third note:

Source has *d'*, corrected here to *c'*.

Ex.1 *El grillo*

Superius El gril - lo, el gril - lo è bon can - to - re Che

Altus El gril - lo, el gril - lo è bon can - to - re Che

Tenor El gril - lo, el gril - lo è bon can - to - re Che

Bassus El gril - lo, el gril - lo è bon can - to - re Che

6 tie - ne lon - go ver - - - - - so. Da - le be - ve

tie - ne lon - go ver - - - - - so. Da - le be - ve

tie - ne lon - go ver - - - - - so. Da - le be - ve

tie - ne lon - go ver - - - - - so. Da - le be - ve

14 gril - lo can - ta, da - le, da - le be - ve, be - ve gril - lo, gril - lo can - ta.

gril - lo can - ta, da - le, da - le be - ve, be - ve gril - lo, gril - lo can - ta.

gril - lo can - ta, da - le, da - le be - ve, be - ve gril - lo, gril - lo can - ta.

gril - lo can - ta, da - le, da - le be - ve, be - ve gril - lo, gril - lo can - ta.

18 [Fine]

El gril - lo, el gril-lo è bon can - to - re. Non fa co - mo, co - mo gli al - tri - o -
 Van de fat - to, fat - to in al - tro

El gril - lo, el gril-lo è bon can - to - re. Non fa co - mo, co - mo gli al - tri - o -
 Van de fat - to, fat - to in al - tro

El gril - lo, el gril-lo è bon can - to - re. Non fa co - mo, co - mo gli al - tri - o -
 Van de fat - to, fat - to in al - tro

El gril - lo, el gril-lo è bon can - to - re. Non fa co - mo, co - mo gli al - tri - o -
 Van de fat - to, fat - to in al - tro

26

-cel - li: Co - me gli han can - ta - to un po - co Quan - do l'à ma - gior el
 lo - co; Sem - pre el gril - lo sta pur sal - do.

-cel - li: Co - me gli han can - ta - to un po - co Quan - do l'à ma - gior el
 lo - co; Sem - pre el gril - lo sta pur sal - do.

-cel - li: Co - me gli han can - ta - to un po - co Quan - do l'à ma - gior el
 lo - co; Sem - pre el gril - lo sta pur sal - do.

-cel - li: Co - me gli han can - ta - to un po - co Quan - do l'à ma - gior el
 lo - co; Sem - pre el gril - lo sta pur sal - do.

33 A capite

cal - do, ma - gior el cal - do Al - hor can - ta sol per a - mo - re.

cal - do, ma - gior el cal - do Al - hor can - ta sol per a - mo - re.

cal - do, ma - gior el cal - do Al - hor can - ta sol per a - mo - re.

parallel in the music of the time. There seems no plausible alternative but to split that double-repeat sign, putting the second half of it after bar 22. Those details are just a further indication that all is not well with the only source of *El grillo*.

At this point it becomes important to look at the poem, which is also very odd within the known Italian poetry of the time. On the surface it is a fairly standard kind of *ballata* or *barzelletta*: lines 1–4 constitute the *ripresa*, which one would expect to be repeated at the end (as confirmed by the note ‘a capite’ at the end of the superius and by the fermata sign at bar 22 in all four voices); lines 5–8 are the *piedi*, characteristically repeated with the same two lines of music; lines 9–10 are the *volta*, the section that leads back from the rhyme-scheme of the *piedi* to that of the concluding *ripresa*.

	syllables
<i>[Ripresa]</i>	
El grillo è bon cantore	7
Che tiene longo verso.	7
Dale beve grillo canta.	8
El grillo è bon cantore.	7
<i>[Piedi]</i>	
5 (Ma) Non fa como gli altri ocelli:	9
Come gli han cantato un poco	8
Van de fatto in altro loco;	8
Sempre el grillo sta pur saldo.	8
<i>[Volta]</i>	
Quando l'à magior el caldo	8
10 Alhor canta sol per amore.	9

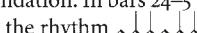
Metrically, though, this is very strange. The line-lengths marked above indicate that there are problems with the state of the text as we have it here. Such irregularity is extremely uncommon in Italian poetry.

First, the *ripresa* seems to be in seven-syllable lines, while the *piedi* and *volta* are basically in the eight-syllable lines characteristic of a *barzelletta*. I have not managed to locate any comparable example, but it seems to be intended.

Second, the *ripresa* includes one line of eight syllables (line 3). This line cannot possibly be emended, and surely takes its form because of musical imperatives—as though the music were in fact composed first. Its apparently ungrammatical structure could

support that view: there seems no sensible way of construing this line.

Third, line 5 poses enormous problems. Poetically, it can be reduced to the eight syllables of the rest of this section simply by the omission of the first syllable (which I have done). But that in its turn draws attention to the bizarre circumstance that the music for all four voices is unmistakably designed for a line of ten syllables.

What can we do about this? First we must make another musical emendation. In bars 24–5 the source gives the tenor voice the rhythm . Most of the rest of the song is homophonic, none more so than this particular section, bars 23–9. Surely it is only sensible to change the tenor rhythm here to match the other voices? There is so much else wrong with the source that this adjustment looks like a tiny detail. Second, though, we must acknowledge that homophonic writing of this kind is almost invariably syllabic. The only way for a line of eight syllables to go to music of ten syllables is for two of the syllables to be repeated. There is no trace of such a repetition in the source, but we have already seen enough problems here to move on to that extra emendation. Previous editions manage to turn line 5 into ten syllables by ignoring the elision at ‘gli altri’; and for line 7, to the same music, they create nine syllables by ignoring the elision at ‘fatto in’, and find various unsatisfactory solutions to the remaining non-existent syllable. This is by no means to suggest that breaking elisions is disallowed: it can be found everywhere in early Italian song (and needs to happen in lines 6 and 8); but it is definitely to say that in this particular case it is far better to look for other ways to make the music work. My solution is to eliminate the word ‘Ma’ and match the resulting eight-syllable lines to the music by repeating the words ‘come’ (line 5) and ‘fatto’ (line 7). It seems the only sane way forwards.

That may seem a touch bold. But the nature of these early printed frottola books is such that the text underlay is often extremely approximate. Broadly, the music was set in type first, with the texts set and printed later; and very little attempt was made to get the alignment right (though it is true that in the particular case of *El grillo* the results mostly look acceptable). In general, any attempt at understanding the text underlay of the Petrucci frottola

repertory must begin with the intabulations of Franciscus Bossinensis that Petrucci printed in 1509. Here, the requirements of the lute tablature mean that the voice part printed above the tablature is more generously spaced, and there is much more room for confidence that the text and underlay represent a clear editorial decision.

That in its turn leads to the boldest of my proposals, concerning the last bars of the piece. The nine-syllable line 10 seems hard to emend and just as hard to explain except as an adjustment made by the composer of the music. Even with the printed text retained, however, three problems in the available editions immediately strike the eye (illus.3):³ the odd accentuation at 'canta sol'; the many repeated notes

at the beginning of the third printed stave of the altus part (bars 35–9 in ex.1), which have led to repetition of the words 'per amore' (twice in the altus and once in the bassus) in most modern editions; and most particularly the odd accentuation of the words 'per amore' in all voices.

After what has been said already, a solution to all three of those problems ought to be obvious. Simply repeat the words 'majior el caldo' at bars 33–5—that is, at the point where the source presents the words 'Alhor canta sol'. This throws the entire last line into the last musical phrase, which seems only logical. That in its turn is quite in line with what must be done to underlay text at all to most of the frottolas that Petrucci printed.

³ The end of *El grillo* as it appears in *Josquin des Prés, Werken, Wereldlijke Werken*, ed. A. Smijers, M. Antonowycz and W. Elders, Bundel V, afl. 54 (Amsterdam, 1968), no.53, p.15. By permission of the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis.

THE main point of this enquiry is to say that most sources need a closer look, and that when a piece is known from only one source—or, as in the case of *El grillo*, one source plus another that is an almost identical copy—the reader needs to think of a range of ways in which that one source could be wrong. More than that, it seems important to start by trying lots of different possibilities, perhaps later rejecting some of the more extreme guesses. Most readers, I hope, will be quite happy with my first suggested emendations; some will be more reluctant to accept the last two.

As a postscript, though, the results have an intriguing impact on some theories advanced by Jaap van Benthem in 1980.¹⁰ He noted that the *ripresa* comprises two sections (bars 1–11 and 12–17), each containing 88 notes, and that each section of the *piedi* comprises 77 notes (that is, bars 23–9). I would obviously add that this neatly inverts the seven-syllable structure of the *ripresa* and the eight-syllable lines of the *piedi*.

Beyond that—and returning now to my last proposed emendation, the text repetition at bars 33–5—it is intriguing to note that if we omit that repeated section the music of the *volta* comprises once again 77 notes.

Van Benthem had taken the discussion into another direction, pointing out that the number 88 spells out the name ‘Des Prez’ in gematria and using that as evidence that the piece is indeed by Josquin

des Prez. He also pointed out that twice through the *piedi* (77×2) plus the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ bars of the *volta* (33 notes) added up to 187, which the name ‘Josquin des Prez’ spells in gematria. The final unconsidered section is of 64 notes, which he interprets as 8×8 , thus again ‘Des Prez’. Willem Elders added a further gloss to that, counting the *ripresa* as 97 notes (that is, if you like, my 77 plus the 20 that I omitted) and proposing a musical emendation that added two further notes, bringing the total to 99, which spells ‘Josquin’ in gematria.¹¹ It would be easier to accept this proposal if there were any plausible explanation of the number 77 for the *piedi*.

A different postscript is just to say that my proposed emendations all have their direct impact on the sound of the piece, sharpening the edges, as it were. From the age of 18 I had the privilege of making music with two men who both had an enormous impact on everything I have done since, and who both continued to help and encourage me across the years. In so many ways Philip Brett and John Stevens were entirely different kinds of men; and it is quite wrong to group them together in this manner. But in several important ways they were the same: they continued making music throughout their lives, never losing sight of what happens on the stage; they had a fascination with number, particularly as it affects musical form; they constantly shared a keen perception of how text and music relate; and they were never shy of hypotheses.¹²

¹ The book comprises eight gatherings of eight leaves each, thus a total of 64 leaves, the last of which contains Petrucci’s colophon. *El grillo* is on ff.61v–62. On the matter of texting to all four voices, in the first eight frottola books of Petrucci, there are only three other pieces fully texted, all of them in the first book.

² R. G. Kiesewetter, *Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst*, in Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut, *Verhandelingen over de vraag: Welke verdiensten hebben zich de nederlanders ... in het vak der toonkunst verworven* (Amsterdam, 1829), *Musikalische Beilagen*, pp.71–2.

³ *Historical anthology of music*, ed. A. T. Davison and W. Apel, i

(Cambridge, MA, 1950), no.95b, p.98.

⁴ A. Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris, 1940), pp.171–2.

⁵ H. Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez* (Tutzing, 1962–5), i, p.31. Osthoff had earlier outlined the position in his article on Josquin for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vii (Kassel, 1958).

⁶ All documents mentioned in this paragraph are summarized, by date, in *The Josquin companion*, ed. R. Sherr (London, 2000), pp.11–20.

⁷ First pointed out in J. van Benthem, ‘Fortuna in Focus’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, xxx (1980), pp.1–50, at pp.45–6, n.90.

⁸ The set of Petrucci frottola books in Munich has several such corrections initialised by Cesari. Others are initialised ‘RS’, which presumably refers to the other man who edited and published a large quantity of Petrucci frottolas in those years, Rudolf Schwartz.

⁹ *Josquin des Prés. Werken, Wereldlijke Werken*, ed. A. Smijers, M. Antonowycz and W. Elders, *Bundel V*, afl. 54 (Amsterdam, 1968), no.53, pp.14–15. Exactly the same reading appears in *Josquin des Prés: 2 Italian songs for 4 voices or instruments*, ed. B. Thomas, Early Music Library, xcix (Brighton: London Pro Musica Edition, 1991), no.1. As concerns their treatment of the repeat signs, it is perhaps to be expected that the *Werken* presents what

is in the source without worrying how it should be interpreted. Bernard Thomas indicates that the 'a capite' should reach to bar 29, presumably after it has been repeated. That seems an impossible place to end the composition.

10 See n.7 above.

11 W. Elders, 'New light on the dating of Josquin's *Hercules Mass*', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, xlviii (1998), pp.112–49, at pp.115–16.

12 Much of the work and thinking for this article is part of my preparation for an edition of Josquin's four-voice secular music for the New Josquin Edition. Whether the editorial board will accept all my hypotheses remains to be seen.

Influences on Josquin

Five hundred years ago Ottaviano Petrucci published a book with the simple title *Misse Josquin*. That may be the first such statement of *auctoritas* in music. Earlier monographic volumes were devoted to the work of Guillaume de Machaut and Adam de la Halle, for example, but these were part of a literary tradition, containing primarily poetry: there are many manuscript books devoted to the work of a single poet or literary figure, reaching back hundreds of years before Petrucci's *Misse Josquin*. But there is almost no evidence of such books in music before September 1502.

One could say the same about the history of ascriptions in music. Before about 1400 any such ascriptions in the musical sources are again within a literary tradition – for example in the troubadour and trouvere manuscripts – and may in most cases actually concern the poet rather than the composer. Then in the first decade of the fifteenth century there are quite suddenly a lot of manuscripts of polyphony that give the composers' names: the Chantilly Codex (F-CH, MS 564), the main Trecento manuscripts, the Mancini Codex (I-La, MS 184), and so on.

So the very habit of musical ascription was only about a hundred years old when Petrucci published that book devoted for the first time to the work of a single composer. And it is easy to go on from there and agree that there was a good reason why Petrucci featured a single composer: like so many music publishers after him he knew that one of the easiest ways of selling a book was to sell the author, to sell, in fact, by *auctoritas*. The rest was perhaps inevitable: *Misse Josquin* was such a success that Petrucci had to reprint it no fewer than five times;¹ soon those five masses had been produced in infinitely more copies than any other polyphony before then, and indeed more than any until Jacques Arcadelt's first book of four-voice madrigals in 1538. Moreover, Petrucci's *Misse Josquin* played a key role in making Josquin the most revered composer throughout the sixteenth century, the very personification of *auctoritas* in music.

1 Jeremy Noble, »Ottaviano Petrucci: his Josquin Editions and Some Others«, *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus (Florence, 1978), pp. 433–45; Stanley Boorman, »Petrucci at Fossumbrone: Some New Editions and Cancels«, *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1981), pp. 129–53.

That is the historical backdrop to my main discussion, which concerns the other side of the coin, namely the ways in which that same Josquin himself reacted to *auctoritas*, in other words, what older music he drew on and how he drew on it.

To outline the scope of the question, the appendix to this article lists compositions ascribed to Josquin that draw on other materials. The only category of materials not listed is church chant, simply because it is there throughout Josquin's music and had been in much polyphony since the eleventh century. Chant had of course the most complete *auctoritas* of all music: it was as authoritative as the bible; it was devoutly believed to have been communicated to Pope Gregory the Great by the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove singing in his ear. Presumably God was the composer, the ultimate *auctoritas*.² But in all borrowings, whether of polyphony or monophony, a major problem here is that many »Josquin« works are of dubious authorship; I have tried to be clear on their current status as I see it. Another is that it is often hard to be certain which way a particular kind of influence went; and we shall need to return to that question.

Only one clear point emerges from this listing. Johannes Ockeghem appears more often than any other composer; and that is perhaps inevitable, particularly since Josquin's lament »Nymphes des bois« appears to imply that Josquin was not only a favoured pupil but the most famous. (I use the word »pupil« in the very broadest sense, for there is no clear evidence of any such relationship between the two composers, however plausible the suggestion may seem.) For the rest, there is little to see: Binchois once, perhaps twice, Guillaume Dufay perhaps once, Hayne van Ghizeghem with five different settings of his most successful song, »De tous biens plaine«, though perhaps not all of them are by Josquin. Otherwise, nobody appears more than once apart from Josquin's apparent contemporary Jean Mouton, but both his appearances in the list are unclear: there is room for dispute as to whether (as I believe) Josquin's »Dulces exuviae« is based on the setting by Mouton; and it is not at all certain that there is any direct relationship between the »Le villain« settings of the two composers. That is to say that the appendix is – at least to me – remarkably lacking in clear pointers. I present it nevertheless, in case others can see patterns. There is no trace here of the name that will be important for the latter part of this paper, that of Jacob Obrecht.

2 I owe to Jesse Rodin (Harvard University) the observation that Josquin incorporated passages from plainsong Credo I into Credo settings ostensibly based on other material more consistently than any other composer of the time except Marbriano de Orto – with whom Josquin is united in many other ways.

Perhaps a better way to start exploring Josquin and *auctoritas* is with a naive question about which composers are likely to have influenced his earliest work. First among those of the older generation must inevitably be Dufay, quite simply because he was the greatest musical figure of the age. I have recently suggested elsewhere that Josquin went to Cambrai as a young man, in the early 1470s, and that the »Des Press« mentioned in the Cambrai motet »Omnium bonorum plena« by Loyset Compère may indeed be Josquin.³ Now the only traces of Dufay normally discussed in Josquin are the slight similarities between what seems to be Josquin's earliest Mass, *L'ami Baudichon*, and Dufay's Mass *Se la face ay pale*. But Dufay's Mass must have been at least a quarter century old when Josquin wrote his; and the piece much more likely to have fuelled Josquin's imagination is the first of the six anonymous *L'homme armé* Masses in the Naples manuscript (I–Nn, MS VI.E.40), now known to have been copied in the very late 1460s, therefore shortly before the likely date of Josquin's *L'ami Baudichon* Mass.⁴

On the other hand there may be one case that has been overlooked, namely Josquin's motet »Alma Redemptoris mater / Ave regina caelorum«. Generally this has been cited as a clear allusion to Ockeghem, because there is an absolute identity between the unaccompanied opening of the Tenor line in Ockeghem's »Alma Redemptoris mater« and the Superius in the two-voice opening of Josquin's motet.⁵ Three points need to be stressed, however. First, the similarities are to some extent fuelled by their both being based on the same chant, which has a very distinctive opening melody. Second, the similarities reach no further than the seventh note, the first bar; while the allusion may have been intentional, there is nothing else to support it and there is no deeper trace of Ockeghem in this motet. Third, Josquin has not picked up on the most original feature of Ockeghem's piece, namely that the paraphrase of the chant is in the second voice down, which thereby becomes the Tenor, with two voices in ranges below that, so strictly both a Bassus and a Sub-bassus. So Josquin, despite a bar in common, has not followed Ockeghem's texture; and he has nothing in common with Ockeghem's formal design.

For this, it would seem that Josquin indeed went to Dufay. As concerns texture, chant treatment, and formal layout, the closest predecessor is Dufay's late four-voice »Ave regina caelorum«. Josquin has precisely the same voice-ranges as Dufay (and quite different from those of Ockeghem); he opens with

3 David Fallows, »Josquin and Trent 91: Thoughts on *Omnium bonorum plena* and his Activities in the 1470s«, forthcoming in a volume edited by Marco Gozzi and Danilo Curti-Feininger.

4 This, too, is discussed in Fallows, Josquin and Trent 91 (*ibid.*).

5 As for example in Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, vol. 1 (Tutzing, 1962), p. 8.

the same broad gesture, a duo for the Superius and Contra followed by a duo of the same length for Tenor and Bassus treating the same material (but, in Josquin's cases, including an inversion of the counterpoint), leading to the first appearance of all four voices together. In its outward form, and indeed in its contrapuntal transparency, Josquin's »Alma Redemptoris mater / Ave regina caelorum« owes enormously more to Dufay than to Ockeghem.

The nature of Josquin's debt to Ockeghem is quite different. It is easy to make the case for his influence on Josquin, as well as for Josquin treating him as *auctoritas*. The prime witness is obviously Josquin's lament for Ockeghem, »Nymphes des bois«. This is astonishingly unlike any other known work of Josquin and could be read as a brilliant exercise in blending the techniques of Ockeghem with his own style in the late 1490s.⁶ That the poem – by Jean Molinet – puts Josquin's name first among the list of musicians who will mourn their »bon père« is as clear a statement of debt and, I take it, of *auctoritas* as one could hope to find. Other elements of that debt have been mentioned many times: the way »Adieu mes amours« draws directly on a tradition of combinative chansons established by Ockeghem with his own »Petite camusette«; the way Josquin's »Petite camusette« reflects techniques found in Ockeghem's much earlier setting; the way the Superius of »D'ung aultre amer« is built into Josquin's »Victimae paschali laudes«. These are enough to make a clear case. So it is less important that scholars have now been expressing some doubt about whether Josquin is really the composer of the Mass *D'ung aultre amer* and the two works that Albert Smijers printed alongside it. Nor does it matter so much whether Josquin composed any of the three »Fors seulement« settings ascribed to him, or even the unascribed »Fors seulement« setting that many of us are convinced is indeed by Josquin.⁷

»Fors seulement« raises another question, namely the difference between the *auctoritas* of a composer and the *auctoritas* of a piece. Famously, Ockeghem's »Fors seulement« provided the materials for twenty-six later settings plus the

6 Jaap van Benthem now believes that »Nymphes des bois« was composed some years after Ockeghem's death in 1497; see Jaap van Benthem, »La magie des cris trenchant: Comment le vray trésorier de musique échappe à la trappe du très terrible satrappe«, *Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450–1650: Actes du colloque international Louvain-la-Neuve ... 1999*. Musicologica neolovaniensia, Studia 9, ed. Anne-Emanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001), pp. 119–47.

7 This is the one in the manuscript D-As, 2^o Cod. 142a, fols. 40^v–42^r. The best available edition is in *Fors seulement: Thirty Compositions for Three to Five Voices or Instruments from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 14, ed. Martin Picker (Madison, 1981), no. 22, pp. 76–9. The case for this as a composition of Josquin was made by Martin Stachelin, Martin Picker, Louise Litterick, and Joshua Rifkin.

Mass of Obrecht. Plainly this case is very different from the ones mentioned earlier. Perhaps the tradition stems partly from Ockeghem's eminence, his position as a figure of authority. Certainly it stems partly from the bizarre nature of the song's music: this is one of the most unusual and distinctive songs of its generation, with its Superius and Tenor seeming almost interchangeable at certain points, and with the Bassus covering an enormous range and running down well below the other voices. But it must also be a matter of individual emulation, of one composer noting that several others have composed settings of »Fors seulement« and wishing to add to the tradition. It is easy to agree on that much, but it is almost impossible to quantify the proportion with which those various components, and others, contributed to the growth of that tradition.

In the case of the largest tradition of all in those years, namely the settings of »De tous biens plaine«, it would be very hard to argue that the original chanson is either distinctive or especially fine, merely that it soon turned out to have a Tenor that worked very well for brief abstract pieces. More than that, though, it was a Tenor that did not work at all well for Mass cycles. The very few attempts at Masses on »De tous biens plaine« all seem to have been stillborn.

»L'homme armé« shows the opposite situation. Composers recognized that this symmetrically formed melody was perfect for large-scale designs and particularly for Mass cycles. Shorter settings are not only very few in number but musically disappointing pieces.

The difference between the situations of »De tous biens plaine« and »L'homme armé« is important because both traditions appear to arise from elements of musical convenience and from elements of emulation. That is to say that in considering the widest application of musical intertextuality – the myriad ways in which one piece of music can allude to another – it is good to see different subcategories but also to remain aware that any particular pair of pieces can sit in several different subcategories at the same time.

Even more intriguing are the cases of the Mass cycles based on the chansons »Malheur me bat« and »Fortuna desperata«. These are among Josquin's most impressive Masses, in some ways the most technically ambitious of all his works. Both Masses use all three voices of the three-voice song on which they are based and, more surprisingly, do so in much the same way: they take the Tenor as the Tenor in the Kyrie and Gloria; Superius as the Superius in the Credo; Contra as Contra in the Sanctus. Both Masses break new ground in using the Contratenor of the original song as the cantus firmus in the Sanctus.⁸ Both include several

8 The same does happen in the anonymous Mass *Ma bouche rit*, known uniquely from A-Wn, MS 11883, fols. 285^v–94^r.

quotes from all three voices of the original song at the beginnings of movements. Both, bizarrely, use the same melodic material to open the section »Et incarnatus est« (ex. 1). So the two Masses belong together in many ways, most of them apparently conscious. And I think it is possible to show that the Mass *Malheur me bat* must be the later of the two.⁹

Example 1a: Josquin, *M. Fortuna desperata*, »*Et incarnatus est*«

Example 1b: Josquin, *M. Malheur me bat*, »*Et incarnatus est*«

Intriguingly the polyphonic songs on which they are based are both almost certainly by composers of no other known music. The song »Malheur me bat« does appear twice with ascriptions to Ockeghem, and twice with ascriptions to Johannes Martini, but all who have studied it now agree that by far the most likely composer is the one given only in the chansonnier of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, namely »Malcort«. As so often, there is a very good case for thinking that the piece is by the most obscure of the composers named, Malcort.¹⁰

9 I have outlined my reasons for thinking this in David Fallows, »Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin: An Interim Report«, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* N. F. 19 (1999), pp. 131–50.

10 Barbara Haggh has identified two possible candidates for the composer of this song. An Abertijn Malcourt, active as a singer, music copyist and choirmaster at the church of Ste Gudule

A roughly similar situation obtains with the composer of the song »Fortuna desperata«. Like »Malheur me bat«, it survives in a large number of sources (in fact 29), of which until recently it was thought that just one had an ascription: the Segovia Cathedral choirbook (E-SE) credits the song to Antoine Busnoys.¹¹ People have long been inclined to doubt ascriptions in Segovia if they were not supported elsewhere; and it was in any case obvious that the song has nothing in common with any other known work of Busnoys. But it was only a few years ago that Joshua Rifkin noticed that we do indeed have another ascription for this piece, namely in the Cappella Giulia chansonnier (I-Rvat, C.G.XIII.27) copied in the early 1490s in Florence. This clearly credits the song to »Felice«. Fortunately we have a little documentation about Felice, owing to the researches of the indefatigable Frank d'Accone, who found a certain Felice di Giovanni Martini as a singer at Florence Cathedral from 1469 to 1478, when he may have died.¹²

It may be just a bizarre coincidence that these two matching Masses, among the greatest Josquin composed, are both based on chansons by composers of such complete obscurity. And it is certainly true that Josquin chose two of the most successful songs of their generation; that is, we could well be dealing with the *uctoritas* of the song, not the composer. It is possible that Josquin neither knew nor cared who composed these two songs: both survive in a large number of anonymous copies. But if it is true that Josquin went out of his way to explore songs by obscure composers, there may at last be a pattern here.

There may on the other hand be an entirely different pattern. One of the classic intractable problems in music around 1500 concerns the relationship

in Brussels from 1474, retired in 1513 and reported as dead on 9 December 1519. And a Hendrick Malecourt reported as a tenor at the Guild of our Lady in Bergen-op-Zoom from 1480 to 1497. See Barbara Haggith, »Crispijke and Abertijne: Two Tenors at the Church of St Niklaas, Brussels«, *Music & Letters* 76 (1995), pp. 325–44.

- 11 The case of Busnoys as an influence on Josquin must await another occasion. I have elsewhere remarked on how the third *Agnus Dei* of Josquin's Mass *L'homme armé sexti toni* alludes to Busnoys; and there have been many comments about Josquin's indebtedness to Busnoys. But the more direct line of influence from Busnoys actually leads to Obrecht – a matter perhaps stated clearly for the first time in Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley, 1963, Reprint New York, 1975), p. 238, and more fully explored in Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford, 1994).
- 12 Joshua Rifkin, »Busnoys and Italy: The Evidence of Two Songs«, *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford, 1999), pp. 505–71. It should be stated clearly that Rifkin's view is by no means universally accepted, see in particular the extended statements by Honey Meconi, »Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: New Light on *Fortuna desperata*«, *ibid.*, pp. 465–503, and *Fortuna desperata: Thirty-Six Settings of an Italian Song*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 37, ed. Honey Meconi (Middleton 2001). My statement above makes my own position clear.

between Josquin's Mass *Fortuna desperata* and that of Obrecht. There is an undeniable intertextuality between Obrecht's »Osanna« and Josquin's final »Agnus Dei«. Reinhart Strohm was perhaps the first writer to suggest that Obrecht came first;¹³ before that, writers from Otto Gombosi to Helmuth Osthoff and Barton Hudson had been inclined to believe that Josquin could never have borrowed from a lesser composer. With the more recent views on the dates both of Josquin's life and of his music, it begins to seem as though he was a composer who continued to borrow ideas from others throughout his life. It is emphatically my own view that Strohm was right and that any attempt to describe the difference between the two versions can work only if Obrecht is considered the model. Again, I am not going to argue the case here, partly because another researcher is currently at work on it and partly because I wish to move on to a few more details about the *Fortuna desperata* Masses of Josquin and Obrecht.

Example 2a: Josquin, *M. Fortuna desperata*, »Sanctus«

Example 2b: Jacob Obrecht, *M. Fortuna desperata*, »Agnus I«

The first is just to point out that there is at least one other respect in which the two Masses share material. It is most easily seen in the opening of Josquin's »Sanctus«, where the Superius has a simple turning figure that then serves as an ostinato throughout the »Sanctus« section on two different pitches, F and C (ex. 2a). The origin of this is in fact in the first »Agnus Dei« of Obrecht's Mass

13 Reinhart Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 620–33.

(ex. 2b), where the Altus has an ostinato figure, slightly longer and always on F, but again carrying throughout the movement. There is another difference in Obrecht's ostinato figure, which is that it has appeared in all the earlier movements, often in particularly visible passages at the beginnings of sections, so its use in the first »Agnus« is a culmination of something fed in from the first. Josquin uses it just the once and – if you accept my view that Josquin's Mass is later than Obrecht's – he prefers to keep it to just that one movement. The second point to make is that in most external respects the two Masses are astonishingly different, a matter that has always made the question of the relationship between the two hard to see clearly. It is almost as though Josquin had answered the astonishing fluency of Obrecht by working for the simplest means, the sparest textures. As Osthoff noted, Josquin's Mass is only 824 bars long as against the 1117 bars of Obrecht's.¹⁴

These matters all become intriguing when seen in the context of Josquin's *Malheur me bat* Mass, because once again there is a Mass by Obrecht on the same song. What first drew my own attention to this Mass in the context of Obrecht is that this is the only known case of Josquin using a segmented cantus firmus of the kind so often used by Obrecht.¹⁵ Just as Obrecht does in his Mass, Josquin divides the Superius and the Tenor of the song into totally irrational sections, which are then repeated or otherwise transformed. There is another detail that is not found elsewhere in Josquin, namely the Tenor treatment in the first »Agnus Dei«, in which all note values less than a semibrevis are ignored and omitted; again it is a technique much favoured by Obrecht. With those two details taken on board, there is another detail that strikes the ear, namely the second »Agnus Dei«, an astonishing duet in canon at the 2nd. Here Josquin makes use of sequential repetition more than anywhere else in his known work. One figure of a rising fourth and a fall of a step appears six times in each voice, and it is followed by a series of falling thirds that seems never to end. It is almost as though he were offering a parody of Obrecht: certainly it seems very hard to listen to these grotesquely overextended sequences without smiling. The two Masses also have musical sounds in common that I cannot yet put my finger on, though there are two that are presented here.

14 Osthoff, Josquin Desprez (cf. fn. 5), pp. 147–8.

15 The classic statement on segmented cantus firmus is in Sparks, *Cantus Firmus* (cf. fn. 11), pp. 259–68.

Music score for Jacob Obrecht's 'Qui tollis' in four voices: Soprano (S), Tenor (T), Alto (A), and Bass (B). The score is in common time (indicated by '8'). The vocal parts are arranged in a four-line staff. The lyrics 'Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta' are written below the staff. The vocal parts enter at different times, creating a layered texture. The Alto (A) and Bass (B) parts begin earlier than the Soprano (S) and Tenor (T) parts.

Example 3a: Jacob Obrecht, *M Malheur me bat*, »Qui tollis«

Music score for Josquin's 'Qui tollis' in four voices: Soprano (S), Tenor (T), Alto (A), and Bass (B). The score is in common time (indicated by '8'). The vocal parts are arranged in a four-line staff. The lyrics 'Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di' are written below the staff. The vocal parts enter at different times, creating a layered texture. The Alto (A) and Bass (B) parts begin earlier than the Soprano (S) and Tenor (T) parts.

Example 3b: Josquin, *M. Malheur me bat*, »Qui tollis«

The first (ex. 3), at the beginning of the second section of the »Gloria«, with the words »Qui tollis peccata mundi«, is really just a matter of textural spacing, though the sounds are remarkably similar. The second, in the »Credo« at the words »Et homo factus est« (ex. 4), is intriguing in that for exactly half the chords Josquin uses a different chord; but again the sound seems related. Both could easily be coincidences were it not for: (a) the other Obrecht-related details already mentioned in Josquin's *Malheur me bat* Mass, (b) the demonstrable links between Josquin's *Malheur* and *Fortuna* Masses, and (c) the demonstrable links between the *Fortuna* Masses of Josquin and Obrecht. One further detail – which I first noticed in Wolfgang Schlüter's novel called *Dufays Requiem* (Berlin, 2001) – is that the two titles *Fortuna desperata* and *Malheur me bat* are both extremely surprising for Mass cycles. No further text survives for »Malheur me bat«, but the full poem of »Fortuna desperata« is full of contradictions to the Christian message. Neither gives any hint of the promise of a better world to come, which is surely the central message of most religions.

Now these various considerations obviously lead to the conclusion that if anybody took an interest in these two songs by otherwise unknown composers it was Obrecht, not Josquin. Beyond that, though, if we agree that in both works Josquin drew on Obrecht, it may be appropriate to describe Obrecht as a major figure of *auctoritas* for the mature Josquin.

Example 4a: Jacob Obrecht, *M. Malheur me bat*, »*Et homo factus*«, and 4b: Josquin, *M. Malheur me bat*, »*Et homo factus*«

APPENDIX

Borrowed materials in Josquin (excluding chant)

(Note: All works are preceded by their number in the New Josquin Edition; in the case of those already published in the NJE, a single prefixed star denotes that the editor considers their authorship doubtful and two prefixed stars that the editor thinks it impossible that the work is by Josquin des Prez. Those not yet published in the NJE (and therefore without accepted judgment on their status) have their numbers in square brackets. Items in vol. 28 (the secular works in four voices) have the stars allocated by me, as the editor of the completed but as yet unpublished volume, though it is not certain whether the Editorial Board will accept my views.)

Ach hülff mich Layd (Adam von Fulda)

NJE *28.2: Ach hülff mich Layd (accepted only by me so far): Adam's T is B

Allez regrezt (Hayne van Ghizeghem)

NJE **7.1: Mass »Jo de pratis« in Jena U 21 (almost certainly by Johannes de Stokem): Hayne's ST are ST

NJE **7.2: Mass (almost certainly by Compère): Hayne's T is T

A une dame (Busnoys)

NJE [20.7]: Missus est Gabriel angelus, 5vv (perhaps by Mouton): Busnoys' T is T

Comme femme desconforteec (Binchois)

NJE [27.8]: Stabat mater, 5vv: Binchois' T is T

De tous biens plaine (Hayne van Ghizeghem)

NJE 13.2: Credo De tous biens: Hayne's T is T

NJE [22.6]: Victime paschali laudes: Hayne's S is S

NJE [20.12]: Scimus quoniam (Annaberg 1126¹⁶): Hayne's S is S

NJE 27.6: 3vv song; Hayne's S with two voices in canon

NJE 28.9: 4vv song: Hayne's ST with two voices in canon

Dulces exuviae (Mouton)

NJE 28.11: Dulces exuviae: Mouton's S is S

D'ung aultre amer (Ockeghem)

NJE 7.3: Mass D'ung aultre amer (problematic authorship): Ockeghem's T is T

NJE 13.10: Sanctus (*Fragmenta missarum*): Ockeghem's S is S

NJE [22.5]: Tu solus qui facis: opening of ST used

NJE [22.6]: Victime paschali laudes: Ockeghem's S is S

16 See Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, vol. 2 (Tutzing, 1965), p. 102–3.

Fors seulement l'attente (Ockeghem)

NJE *28.16: 4vv setting (probably by Ghiselin): Ockeghem's B up a 12th is S

NJE [30.4]: 6vv setting (only one voice survives): Ockeghem's T is T

Fortuna desperata (probably by Felice)

NJE 8.2: Mass Fortuna desperata: SAT are SAT

NJE *27.11: 3vv song: ST with new florid bassus

J'ay pris amours (anon.)

NJE [25.14, VII]: Christe fili Dei: S is A

Je ne vis onques la pareille (Dufay or Binchois)

NJE [29.13]: L'amye a tous, 5vv: T is T

La belle se siet (monophonic song)

NJE *13.3: Credo (probably by R. de Fevin): is T

NJE 27.20: setting, 3vv: melody paraphrased in all voices

L'ami Baudichon (monophonic song)

NJE [5.1]: Mass L'ami Baudichon: is T

Le villain (Mouton)

NJE 28.22: Le villain, 4vv (relationship unclear)

L'homme armé (monophonic song)

NJE [6.2]: Mass L'homme armé sexti toni: all voices

NJE [6.3]: Mass L'homme armé super voces musicales: is T

NJE *28.23: setting, 4vv: is T

Ma bouche rit (Ockeghem)

NJE [29.15]: 5/6vv song (doubted): Ockeghem's S is S

Mais que ce fust (Compère)

NJE [30.5]: J'ay bien cause, 6vv (doubted): Compère's S is S

Malheur me bat (?Malcort)

NJE 9.1: Mass Malheur me bat: SAT are SAT

Mater patris (Antoine Brumel)

NJE 10.1: Mass Mater Patris (sometimes doubted): paraphrase, with SAT in Agnus III

Mon seul plaisir (Ninot le Petit)

NJE **9.2: Mass in Leipzig Thomaskirche 51 (only two voices survive: rejected by NJE): paraphrase

N'aray je jamais (Robert Morton)

NJE 9.3: Mass Di dadi (sometimes doubted): Morton's T is T, but B in Osanna and Agnus III

Petite camusette (monophonic song)

NJE [30.7]: Petite camusette, 6vv

Quem dicunt homines (Richafort)

NJE **12.3: Mass in MilA 46, fol. 1^v–11^r, »Josquin«, perhaps also by Richafort, rejected by NJE (unpublished)

Rosina wo war dein gestalt (anonymous)

NJE **9.4: Mass in Leipzig Thomaskirche 51 (rejected by NJE): T is T

Tout a par moy (Walter Frye or more probably the Agricola version)

NJE 8.1: Mass Faysant regretz: T is T, with S as S in Agnus III

Une musque de Biscaye (monophonic song)

NJE 28.35: Une musque, 4vv: is S

NJE [5.2]: Mass Une musque (sometimes doubted): is T

The theme of this conference draws attention to a group of questions that were at the top of the agenda twenty years ago but have since been dropped. The questions concerned how you can tell whether a particular line in music before about 1520 was intended for voice or instrument or a combination of the two. In the years between about 1982 and 1992 there were many who wrote and spoke about this. But temperatures quickly rose, and the intellectual level of the discussion correspondingly fell. By 1992 so many uncharitable things had been said – at public discussions and in print – that most of us moved on to other topics.¹ To use the terminology of cricket, we „retired hurt“. In doing so we left a lot of unfinished business behind us.

In retrospect it is clear that one of the problems was that we all had previously established agendas. The young turks among us wanted to blow away the cobwebs that had accumulated over the years:² we wanted to look at the evidence rather more severely; we wanted to see if there weren't other ways of reading the evidence. Others, mainly the more senior scholars, wanted to build on what was already strong, a performing tradition that had quite recently become fully professionalized and was beginning to produce recordings of astonishingly high quality.³ I wish to return to that theme today for three main reasons. The first is that after a fifteen-year silence on these matters it seems to me time for a younger generation of musicians and researchers to look at the questions again. They can come afresh to them, without as much of a debt to the earlier generation. There were many pressing questions that were left unanswered in the early 90s; and I would like others to try to confront some of them for us. There is a second reason that I would like the theme to be reopened, which is that I am beginning to feel that the current generation of performers falls into two extreme camps, neither of which leaves me happy: one camp performs absolutely everything with voices alone; and

¹ My own summary of what things looked is in „Secular polyphony in the 15th century“, in: Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Performance practice: music before 1600*, (= The New Grove Handbooks in Music), London, 1989, 201–221. A few later thoughts were outlined in „The early history of the Tenorlied and its ensembles“, in: Jean-Michel Vaccaro, ed., *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance* Paris 1995, 199–211.

² Those „young turks“ included Andrew Parrott, Christopher Page, Roger Bowers, and myself, soon joined by even younger turks such as Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Dennis Slavin and Lawrence Earp.

³ Of these, the most outspoken and influential was undoubtedly Howard Mayer Brown. In addition to many reviews, particularly in *The Musical Times* and *Early Music*, there is a good summary of his position in *Performance practice: music before 1500*, op. cit., 147–166, especially 152–154.

the other seems to have returned to what I would call the 1950s view, that almost any solution would have been possible and therefore almost any solution is acceptable.

As concerns the latter viewpoint, I would like to quote what I wrote nearly a quarter of a century ago about the search for information about ensembles:⁴

Anyone who has examined the surviving sources of mediaeval music is likely to conclude that many institutions compromised, and the issue is surely not whether a particular kind of performance could have taken place in the middle ages so much as what was then considered the best performance. The social historian may be interested in all kinds of music making, but the student of the music that happens to survive needs to know what was thought to be the ideal performance, the one that is worth emulating in an attempt to revive the music today.

I am here to say that there are many matters on which agreement should have been possible twenty years ago and should be possible again now. Obviously we shall never know exactly how the music sounded: after all, we have enough trouble with music in the late nineteenth century just before the recorded era. But there are plenty of issues that can be established with a fair degree of likelihood.

A third reason for wanting to return to the theme is that I have a viewpoint that seems hardly to have been expressed back in the 1980s. That viewpoint is quite simply this: any voice can sing almost any written musical line and may well have done so in the fifteenth century. But unless that voice sings the line with text it is not really a voice so much as a musical instrument. In other words: a voice that sings text is an entirely different animal from a voice that sings textlessly.

There is obviously a rider to that, which is that a musical line that needs text is quite different from one that does not. However: with that point established, there are lots of subquestions that arise and need to be explored. I am going to explore just one of them today, namely the difference between a voice that looks as though it needs text and one that really does need text. And it is best explored through the three *Canti* volumes of Petrucci, since all the songs there lack text, though some of them quite definitely had text in their earlier incarnations. So the question is in some ways a continuation of what I presented here four years ago at the conference in honour of Petrucci.⁵

The question itself came to me at a late stage in preparing my recent edition of the four-voice songs of Josquin, published by the New Josquin Edition in August of this year.⁶ Because the volume and its commentary amount to

⁴ David Fallows, „Specific Information on the ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400–1474“, in: Stanley Boorman, ed., *Studies in the performance of late mediaeval music*, Cambridge 1983, 109–159, at p. 109.

⁵ David Fallows, „Petrucci's *Canti* volumes: scope and repertory“, *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 25 (2001), 39–52.

⁶ *The collected works of Josquin des Prez*, vol. 28: *Secular works for four voices*, ed. David Fallows, Utrecht 2005.

some six hundred pages, I thought it would make a certain impact on the field. Unfortunately, since then there have been two more publications on closely related topics and particularly Petrucci. In September came the report on the 2001 Venice conference on Petrucci, running to a magnificent eight hundred pages and leaving me very much in the shade.⁷ Then, just a few weeks ago, came the product of Stanley Boorman's life-work on Petrucci, his *Catalogue Raisonné* of the printer's work with a highly detailed introduction: this reaches no fewer than thirteen hundred pages, the result of some forty years spent looking at Petrucci's publications.⁸ So with over two thousand new pages about Petrucci my mere six hundred pages risk being overlooked entirely; and I take this occasion to draw attention to them, if only to say some things that I should have said there but didn't understand until it was too late.

It was only at the last moment of assembling the edition that I noticed a detail that should have been obvious earlier, namely that almost half of the pieces made use of popular songs – seventeen out of thirty-nine.

The interest of the matter within Josquin's work has three separate dimensions. One of these is just that he does appear to use popular songs more often than many of his contemporaries. This first became clear in exploring the four-voice *Dictez moy bergere*, which was better known with an ascription to Pierre de la Rue. In her 1986 dissertation about the songs of La Rue, Honey Meconi was the first to throw doubt on his authorship of the piece, firstly because the setting of popular songs was not La Rue's way.⁹ When she wrote that, Meconi was not aware that there was a contrary ascription to Josquin. And when I made that identification and saw what she had written I of course pounced on the matter of a popular song to support my own hope that the song could be by Josquin.

The second way in which it is interesting for the study of Josquin is that there seems a very good case for thinking that certain features of Josquin's music arise from his interest in popular songs. More than any of his northern contemporaries, he cultivated simple and syllabic music that communicated without artifice. Particularly in his later works, notes are cut down to a minimum; nothing lacks a clear musical purpose; everything goes towards direct expression. And I am beginning to think that his interest in popular songs fuelled that development, just as it is likely that it arose at least partly from his ambition to compose music that communicated.

And the third reason that it seems interesting to me is that this interest in popular songs is mainly confined to his secular works in four voices. So far as I can see, there are no popular songs quoted in his motets. Among the masses, only the two *L'homme armé* masses and the Mass *L'ami Baudichon*

⁷ *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e al stampa musicale*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia, Venice 2005.

⁸ Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue raisonné*, Oxford 2006.

⁹ Bibliographical details that are now easily accessible in the commentary to my edition are not repeated here.

use popular melodies.¹⁰ In the three-voice songs there is very little. More surprisingly still, among all those late songs in five and six voices there are only two that use popular songs: the six-voice *Se congié prens* and the five-voice *Faulte d'argent*. That is particularly surprising because these works are nearly always built around a simple melody in the middle voices, usually treated in some kind of canon. Those melodies often have the style of a popular song, but none of them appears elsewhere or in one of the collections of popular songs from those years. Nor does any of the texts appear in the innumerable little collections of popular poetry that were so favoured in the early years of the sixteenth century.¹¹ In fact, they could hardly have appeared there, because the texts Josquin used for his late songs are thoroughly courtly in their design, form, and vocabulary. It is just the melodic style that owes something to the popular song repertory.

Essentially, then, Josquin's interest in popular songs is confined to the secular music in four voices. That in its turn links up with my view that Josquin rather tended to use the secular works in four voices as exercises for other things.¹² They were his private workshop, where he explored interesting ideas that he later incorporated into larger works. That in its turn obviously fuels my second point above: that he was using these popular songs as a way of honing his means of musical expression, making it simple and making it communicate more directly.

But the other matter that came clear very late in the assembly of the edition was more concerned with text and the placing of text in these pieces. To cut first to my conclusion, I became increasingly convinced that none of these popular song settings was intended to be performed with text: it gradually seemed to me that they used the popular song because it would be recognized, and that it is a mistake to treat them as consort songs. The importance of this – if correct – is obviously that a line that is perfectly suited to carrying the text of the popular song was never intended to be sung to that text: it was just an abstract line that would make its point because it was recognized.

Let me illustrate this with a few examples, beginning at the other end of the spectrum, namely with works where a famous polyphonic chanson is incorporated into new polyphony. We can begin with Obrecht's magnificent four-voice *J'ay pris amours* setting that appears in Petrucci's *Canti B*. In the first section (ex. 1) the discantus has the discantus of the original three-voice rondeau setting, absolutely unchanged. Theoretically one could sing it. But then the next section, on the next opening of *Canti B*, borrows only the tenor line of *J'ay pris amours*, transposed down a fifth in the bassus; the third section borrows the tenor line again, this time transposed up a fifth, in the contra;

¹⁰ In saying that I am, perhaps rashly, accepting the now widely accepted view that the Mass *Une musque de Biscaya* is not by Josquin.

¹¹ A modern edition of the entire poetic repertory is in Brian Jeffery, ed., *Chanson verse of the early Renaissance*, 2 vols., London 1971–1976.

¹² David Fallows, „Approaching a new chronology for Josquin: An interim report“, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, New Ser. 19 (1999), 131–50.

and the final section yet again borrows the tenor, at its original pitch, in the tenor. Now it happens that in the original *J'ay pris amours* you can text the tenor just as well as the discantus. But it is perfectly obvious that Obrecht's large fantasy was not intended to be done in that way. Apart from anything else, the four full stanzas here are incompatible with the rondeau form of the poem: for the rondeau form the second stanza would have needed to stop half way through and repeat from the beginning. What Obrecht created was something that loosely followed the design of the rondeau, in that it is roughly the same length; but it cannot possibly have carried the rondeau text.

Ex. 1: Jacob Obrecht, *J'ay pris amours* (Canti B numero cinquanta, Venezia: Ottaviano Petrucci 1501, Reprint New York 1975, A III'-A III).

The image displays two systems of musical notation on five-line staves. The top system begins with a highly decorative initial 'J' followed by the text 'J'ay pris amours'. The soprano line is labeled 'Obrecht.' The middle system contains two basso lines, both labeled 'Bassus', with the word 'Eius' appearing at the end of the second basso line.

Another example would be the setting of *J'ay pris amours* credited in the *Odhecaton* to Busnoys (ex. 2): it carries the title *J'ay pris amours tout au rebours* because it borrows the original tenor, keeps it in the tenor, but inverts all its intervals. Again, one could text this line, because it keeps exactly the same phrases and phrase-lengths of the original tenor. But it seems most unlikely that anyone would ever have done so or even thought of doing so. What needs to be clear, though, is that the style of all four voices here is very much that of a courtly rondeau setting. There is nothing here that actually looks non-vocal or instrumental. It would be perfectly easy to perform this with four voices. But that brings us back to the questions with which I began. Whatever the style of those three voices, they cannot have been designed with text in mind; and the tenor could indeed carry text but almost certainly did not do so.

Ex. 2: Antoine Busnoys (Johannes Martini?) *J'ay pris amours*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin, in: David Fallows et alii, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton [...]. A quincentenary performing edition*, Amherst, MA. 2001 (= Amherst Early Music Performing Editions), 78.

Another example from the *Odhecaton* is Johannes Japart's setting of *J'ay pris amours* (ex. 3). This takes the top voice of the original song, puts it in the top voice, and adds three new voices below it. From the viewpoint of my theme here, this is an impossible case to argue. It looks exactly like a consort song, so to speak. A voice could perfectly well sing the top line; it could repeat back and forth in the manner of the rondeau; and the resulting work would not be

much longer than the original three-voice song. (It would be slightly longer because the textures are a bit fuller and need slightly slower performance to make their impact. Or at least that is the way it seems to me.) So it would be quite wrong for me to say that I know how the piece was intended to be performed. But I will say that it seems to me to belong with the category of arrangements of polyphonic song lines and therefore to be instrumental in conception.

Ex. 3: Johannes Japart, *J'ay pris amours*, ed. by Julie E. Cumming, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*, op. cit., 42.

The musical score consists of two systems of music. The top system starts with a blank measure, followed by a vocal entry for 'Alto' (measures 1-2), then 'Tenor' (measures 3-4), and finally 'Bassus' (measures 5-6). The lyrics 'Jay pris amours' are written below each vocal entry. The bottom system begins with a vocal entry for the 'Tenor' (measures 7-8), followed by 'Bassus' (measures 9-10), and then continues with 'Tenor' (measures 11-12) and 'Bassus' (measures 13-14). The lyrics 'Jay pris amours' are written below the 'Tenor' entries in the second system.

There are hundreds of these arrangements from these years. Another example is in my Josquin edition, the setting of *Fors seulement l'attente* credited both to Josquin and to Ghiselin. This takes the extraordinary contratenor from Ockeghem's three-voice rondeau setting, puts it up an octave to the top of the texture, and creates three more lines to go with it. Adding text to that contratenor would be impossible in any case. So however you look at it this is an abstract four-voice fantasy. I mention it here just as another example of the genre.

But the point about these pieces is that everything in their musical structure looks vocal. There is absolutely nothing in any of them that could not appear in a purely vocal piece; there is nothing that could not appear in a polyphonic mass cycle. But one can say that they were not intended to carry text. One can say this with more certainty about some pieces than about others. For the

Obrecht and Busnoys *J'ay pris amours* one can be fairly certain; for the Japart *J'ay pris amours* one could conceivably argue all night, but that argument would need to be in terms of genre and source context rather than style; and in the case of the Josquin or Ghiselin *Fors seulement* I would be surprised but not mortified if somebody felt differently.

Yet another kind of case is Josquin's four-voice *De tous biens plaine* setting. Here he has taken both the discantus and the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's original rondeau: absolutely unchanged and absolutely singable. Below them he has put two equal low voices, both running very fast and in very close unison canon. Again it may be a case of something one could argue about all night, but I would suggest – largely from the context – that the point of the piece is Josquin's contribution, namely the lower-voice canon and that to start doing all the repeats involved in the performance of a full rondeau would defeat the point of the piece.

One last case of polyphonic borrowing could be considered here, namely the setting of *Ach hülff mich leid* credited to Josquin in only one of its sources, but elsewhere credited to La Rue, Bauldeweyn, and Buchner. (Incidentally, against all earlier commentators, I do propose in the Commentary that the case for Josquin is very strong here.) The piece is based on the song *Ach hülff mich leid* by Adam von Fulda, which is an absolutely classic example of the German Tenorlied: a texted and melodic tenor voice around which the other three voices create their counterpoint. (In parentheses I should add that there is of course dispute about how these Tenorlieder were conceived and performed; but that is perhaps peripheral to my issue here.¹³ Josquin, or whoever, has taken Adam's tenor and put it down a fifth into the bassus, adding three new above it – or, more precisely, adding just two new voices for the opening *Stollen*: the fourth voice does not enter until the *Abgesang*.

Once again it would be perfectly possible to sing text to the bottom voice, so I have added it in the edition. It then becomes a bass consort song. There are another twelve later settings of this melody, the last – or at least the last known to me and included in my commentary on the song – being the setting by Michael Praetorius published in 1609. None of them takes anything other than the tenor of Adam's original; none of them puts it upside down or backwards. All could perfectly well be consort songs for a voice and instruments. My suspicion is that they may not be. But here I am even more uncertain than in the case of Japart's *J'ay pris amours*. What does seem important, though, is to register that it is not necessarily that way. The „Josquin“ setting could perfectly well be a purely instrumental piece, using the famous melody as a basis.

Now is the time to move to popular songs. And the first exhibit is Obrecht's setting of the song *T'Andernaken op den rijn* (ex. 4). As with the many other settings of that song, the melody is put into the tenor and the other voices weave a joyful fantasy around it. The original song seems to have six stanzas,

¹³ The case is most clearly presented in Stephen Keyl, „Tenorlied, Discantlied, polyphonic Lied: voices and instruments in German secular polyphony of the Renaissance“, *Early Music* 20 (1992), 434–445.

so a sung performance would need to take the music through six times, which I suggest would make little sense. At least here, there is not much room for argument. The tenor can easily take the text of any of those six stanzas; but it hardly seems likely that Obrecht would have expected to hear it in that way.

Ex. 4: Jacob Obrecht, *T'Andernaken*, ed. by Adam K. Gilbert, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*, op. cit., 138.

The musical score consists of four systems of three staves each. The top staff is in common time, the middle staff in common time, and the bottom staff in common time. The vocal parts are labeled as follows: the top staff is 'Tander naken', the middle staff is 'Tenor Tander naken', and the bottom staff is 'Conta Tander naken'. The score is numbered 1 through 15. The music is written in a clear, historical musical notation with note heads and stems. The vocal parts are primarily in eighth and sixteenth note patterns, with some sustained notes and rests. The score shows a consistent rhythmic pattern across the staves and systems.

The same can be said about Josquin's little four-voice setting of the *L'homme armé* melody at the beginning of Petrucci's *Canti B*. There is no possibility at all of setting the text to the borrowed tenor here, for several reasons. First, Josquin has used only two-thirds of the melody. Second, the rhythms of the melody have been smoothed out so that lots of notes would need subdividing

to create a textable version. And in fact he has adapted the rhythms to become sixteen *semibreves* followed by eight *minime* and then four *breves*. Of course one of the magical features of the *L'homme armé* melody is that it remains instantly recognisable even without its rhythms. But, whatever the purpose of this little exercise may have been, it is hard to think that it was intended as a medium for projecting the famous poem.

We can move on from there to Josquin's famous four-out-of-two canon *Baisiez moy*. The two lower canonic voices concord exactly with the form of the melody in one of the monophonic chansonniers in Paris, the chansonnier „de Bayeux“. I have accordingly added text to them as in that chansonnier. The top voices could easily be texted, as they are in most other editions of the song; but the examination of all the sources convinced me that the best reading was one that could carry the text really rather badly, particularly in bars 4–5. I preferred to follow the logic of the stemmatics rather than that of texting; and eventually decided – for this and various other reasons – to omit text from the two upper voices. In fact both Jaap van Benthem and Louise Litterick had already concluded that text could not be added to the top voices without creating some very uncharacteristic moments.¹⁴ On further thought I suggested that none of the voices needs to carry text.

That viewpoint in fact arose from listening to some summer-school students playing Josquin's *Bergerette savoysienne* on recorders. It sounded so much more convincing that way than with a voice and instruments. The same is the case with another well known and often recorded Josquin song, *Comment peult avoir joye*. But I am not going to argue the case, partly because it was that kind of thinking that, in my view, led everybody astray all those years ago: saying „Oh yes, it seems to me better that way“ and „Of course Josquin must have thought it that way“. I do wish to say, though, that there is – as with the other pieces – no compelling reason for thinking that the familiar melodies should be sung with their familiar texts. They work perfectly well without them and in my view sound better that way.

Similarly, I cannot argue the case about his brilliant Italian song, *Scaramella*, partly because the three surviving sources are all fully texted. All I can say about that song is that editing would have been enormously easier if I had concluded that it was just an instrumental fantasy that uses the popular melody twice through, once on C and then once a fifth lower on F. Certainly the sources all contain eccentricities that are best explained by hypothesizing that the music was never intended to carry text. Again, though, the hard logical argument cannot be made. Like a good boy I followed the sources rather than turning Josquin's music into something that I think he ought to have composed.

¹⁴ Jaap van Benthem, „The scoring of Josquin's secular music“, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 35 (1985), 67–96, at p. 77. Louise Litterick, „Chansons for three and four voices“, in Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin companion*, Oxford 2000, 335–391, at pp. 351–353 and especially note 34.

But there is perhaps no harm in ending with another tricky case among the Josquin songs: *Une musque de Biscaye*. The lovely melody is treated in canon at the fourth between the top two voices. Once again I have texted them according to a monophonic songbook in Paris, where there are four stanzas of text. But among the nine surviving sources for this song not a single one has any text beyond the incipit; and among those sources there are several that in general add texts, among them Florence 229, the Cortona partbooks and the Columbina chansonnier. There was a really nasty moment near the end where nothing could be made to work unless two syllables were sung to a single note. But I swallowed that. Only later did I see that a far saner solution would be again to refrain from texting any of the voices.

My conclusion is easy. Just that there are many more subdivisions of the repertory around 1500 than are generally proposed today; and that among the „popular arrangements“ there are many that were never intended to carry text in any voice. Exactly how many it is hard to say, but we cannot ignore them.



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Josquin and ‘Il n’est plaisir’

BEFORE it was lost in World War II, there was a substantial organ book in Warsaw containing several works ascribed to Josquin.¹ According to an inscription inside the book it belonged to the Monastery of the Holy Ghost in Kraków; and the date 1548 appears on p.318. Fortunately photographs made before the war have survived.²

Among the seven Josquin ascriptions in that manuscript is one to an untitled song in three voices, here presented as ex.1.³ In 1969 Martin Staehelin⁴ recognized the song as one credited to ‘henricus ysaac’ in a set of partbooks from the years around 1530, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs.18,810.⁵ There are several significant differences between the Warsaw and Vienna versions. First, Vienna has the piece in four voices, whereas Warsaw has it in only three; but the merest glance at that fourth voice is enough to show not just that it is an addition but that it is a very feeble one indeed. That full four-voice version was published many years ago by Johannes Wolf in his pioneering edition of Isaac’s secular music, so there is no point in reprinting it again here.⁶ But it is perhaps enough to note how in ex.1 all three voices are involved in the imitation; the fourth voice in Vienna never takes part in the imitation except for the occasional desultory falling scales at bars 28–34, the kind of thing any beginner could do.

A second difference in Vienna is that there is a continuation, a *secunda pars* preceded by a double bar.⁷ This *secunda pars* works the same melodic material but treats it in strict canon at the 4th between the two upper voices; it is also quite definitely in four voices, as witnessed by many details, not least the pure canon at the 4th between the two lower voices for the last eight bars. That the continuation is in four voices whereas the first section was in three (plus the pathetic added voice in Vienna)

should be clear enough evidence that the two are not sections of a single piece.⁸

A third difference between Vienna and Warsaw is that the Vienna version is written a 4th lower, so that the bassus voice, for example, goes down to D below the bass clef. Quite what those different written pitches represent it is hard to say; but there are several other such examples from those years.

The copyist of the Vienna manuscript is an Augsburg organist by the name of Bernhart Rem, a man who also copied another set of essentially synoptic partbooks perhaps a few years earlier, Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod.Ms.328–31;⁹ here the same two pieces are again copied as a single work, with the same added voice to the first, and at the same lower pitch as in Vienna.¹⁰ The only significant difference here is that the music is unascribed, like everything else in that set of partbooks.

Two more sources of the Warsaw music are also available. One is a keyboard tablature in Basel: almost certainly in 1513, Hans Kotter copied the music into a book belonging to the prominent Basel citizen and music-lover Bonifacius Amerbach.¹¹ He gave it the title ‘Nil nest plasier’. And it has long been known that it is an intabulation of a piece otherwise known from the print *Trium vocum carmina*, published by Hieronymus Formschneider at Nuremberg in 1538: this is a set of three partbooks, containing music from up to 80 years earlier; there is no printed title for any of the 100 pieces it contains, but some titles have been written in, and the Jena copy has the title ‘Il n’est plaisir’ by this piece.¹² It was Peter Woetmann Christoffersen who recognized that the piece has the same melody as a much simpler setting in the Kongelige Bibliotek at Copenhagen, a mainly homophonic three-voice setting.¹³ This carries rather more text: sadly nothing like

Ex. 1 Attrib. Josquin des Prez, *Il n'est plaisir*

Discantus

8

Il n'est plai - sir n'es - ba - te-ment Que de la ger - re fre - quen - ter.

15

22

30

37

The musical score consists of three staves representing the Discantus, Tenor, and Bassus voices. The Discantus staff is in soprano C-clef, the Tenor staff in alto F-clef, and the Bassus staff in bass G-clef. The time signature is 2/4 throughout. The score includes lyrics in French: "Il n'est plai - sir n'es - ba - te-ment Que de la ger - re fre - quen - ter." Measures are numbered 8, 15, 22, 30, and 37. The music features various musical markings such as dots, dashes, and slurs, typical of early printed music notation.

a complete poem but two lines that confirm the correct title for the song, 'Il n'est plaisir ne esbatement/Que de la gerre frequenter'. In addition, as ex.1 shows, those words fit the music perfectly.

What those three sources therefore confirm is that the synoptic manuscripts in Munich and Vienna are quite wrong to give the piece the titles 'lombre' (Vienna) and 'Ain lumbre' (Munich). Those headings presumably refer to the various interrelated poems that open 'En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet' or 'A l'ombre d'ung buissonnet'; and it is true that one of Josquin's settings of that melody has a few details about it that might just reflect something in the 'Il n'est plaisir' melody.¹⁴ But with three different settings of the 'Il n'est plaisir' melody its identity is clear and unambiguous; Bernhart Rem, the copyist of the Munich and Vienna manuscripts, quite definitely got the title wrong. Oddly, by doing that he managed to obscure the identity of the piece: Johannes Wolf's edition of Isaac's secular music presented the Munich/Vienna version with the title 'L'ombre' and the Basel intabulation as 'N'il n'est plaisir'; and so far as I can tell the identity of the two was not established in print until the *New Grove* of 2001.¹⁵ But with that established we have five sources of the music, each with its eccentricities.

There is just one significant variant in the music, namely at the end: the Basel tablature and the Formschneider print of 1538 both end as in ex.2—not just adding an extra beat so that a modern barred transcription has no need for a bar of different length but slightly tightening the imitation. Both versions are good; I do not see how either of these versions can be considered a corruption: particularly the agreement between Warsaw, Munich and Vienna for the version in ex.1 seems to be eloquent. But an attempt

to draw a picture of the source situation looks like this:

Basel F IX 22 (1513)	tablature with ending ex.2; ascribed to Yzaack
Formschneider (1538)	partbooks with ending ex.2
Munich 328–31 (c.1528)	partbooks down a 4th with wrong text, extra voice and inappropriate continuation
Vienna 18810 (c.1530)	partbooks down a 4th with wrong text, extra voice and inappropriate continuation; ascribed to Ysaac
Warsaw 564 (1548)	tablature; ascribed to Josquin

The piece is ascribed to Isaac in two sources, Basel and Vienna. Both are very dubious witnesses. Among its 55 compositions, Basel credits Isaac with Josquin's *Que vous ma dame* (no.2), Brumel's *Gracieuse plaisir meuniere* (no.5),¹⁶ Agricola's *Si dedero* (no.9), Martini's *La martinella* (no.16) and Josquin's *Adieu mes amours* (no.21). Since almost all the other ascriptions in this manuscript are to known Germanic keyboard players, it seems most likely that these ascriptions concern the intabulations. The ascriptions in Vienna seem a little slapdash: of its 86 pieces, 73 carry ascriptions, of which 13 are contested elsewhere; of those contested Vienna seems to be correct for only three, to be almost certainly wrong for six, leaving four cases unclear (including the present piece).¹⁷ On the other hand, the Josquin ascription that comes only in the Warsaw tablature is not much better: of the source's seven Josquin ascriptions, two are absolutely solid (for a section of his *Missa De beata virgine*), three are almost certainly wrong (for Craen's *Ecce video celos apertos*, La Rue's *Si dormiero* and the anonymous *Si biber*).¹⁸ An unchallenged ascription is for a massive

Ex. 2 Attrib. Josquin des Prez, *Il n'est plaisir*, different ending

and magnificent Kyrie setting that was missing from the 1991 list of the New Josquin Edition,¹⁹ entering the literature only with Barton Hudson's 1999 volume xiii, where it is apologetically added at the end with a statement that it cannot be by Josquin.²⁰ At 137 breves in length it at least merits consideration as Josquin's longest Kyrie by a considerable margin.²¹ And the difficult contested ascription is the case of *Il n'est plaisir*.

The Basel tablature of 1513 provides evidence that the piece was composed within the lifetimes of both Isaac (d.1517) and Josquin (d.1521), so it could have been composed by either. But the documentary case beyond that is deeply ambivalent; and one of the lessons we have learned in Josquin research over the past few years is that a case built purely on musical style is likely to be misleading: it now turns out that we know far less about the styles of the time than we thought; much of what we may feel instinctively is built on works for which the documentary case clearly contradicts Josquin's authorship; and simple quality judgements are dangerous because there are so many superb composers in the Josquin generation. Even so, a few simple points could be made in favour of Josquin's authorship.

First, it seems to be based on a simple popular tune, with lines alternating eight and seven syllables. Popular tunes have a surprisingly large role in Josquin's secular music in three and four voices.²² Second, the piece makes remarkably bold use of thin textures: almost half of its length (fully 18 breves) is in only two voices; that kind of restraint is a prominent feature in Josquin's work.

It is easy to see what is going on here. After the first two lines (to which I have added text in ex.1), the discantus carries a third line at bars 17–21, a fourth line at bars 24–7, perhaps two shorter lines at bars 31–4 and a final line at bars 37–40, repeated at bars 40–3. The rests between each line are the evidence that this is the basic groundplan of the piece. Each of those lines is preceded in the tenor by exactly the same music imitated an octave lower. So imitation at the 5th has no role in the primary design of the piece, though the tenor does have imitation at the 5th when the discantus enters at bars 8–11 and at the 4th when the discantus enters at 30–3. The bassus also has moments of imitation: pre-imitation at the 5th at the beginning; pre-imitation at the octave

in bars 15–16; pre-imitation at the 4th in bars 26–30, itself intriguingly anticipating at the octave what the tenor is to produce at bars 30–5.

This is a kind of treatment that has no precise replication among the solidly ascribed three-voice works of Josquin, who tends to prefer imitation at the 5th or the 4th as the basic plan. But it does occur in three works that stand on the margins of his output. Two of them survive only in the much-questioned Florence manuscript Magliabechi xix.178: these are the songs with the titles *Je me* (NJE 27.17) and *Je n'ose plus* (NJE 27.18), the latter also boasting a repeat of its final phrase, as in *Il n'est plaisir*. But both of those look like *forme fixe* settings (the first a virelai, the second a rondeau). Also in virelai form but with a text of a popular nature is *Et trop penser*, surviving in four sources and having octave imitation between discantus and tenor throughout.²³ For treatments of popular songs in this way we must turn to Josquin's four-voice work: here there is strikingly similar treatment in his *Bergerette savoyenne* (NJE 28.6) and plainly related treatment in the canonically structured *Comment peult avoir joye* (NJE 28.7). Those last two provide a musical and stylistic context for *Il n'est plaisir* among the fully secure works of Josquin.

It is rather harder to explore this matter in Isaac: the only attempt at a complete edition of his songs is now over a century old, including many pieces that are extracted from his Masses or otherwise transmitted in confusing ways (like *Il n'est plaisir*). On the other hand, the pattern of octave imitation and pre-imitation in popular song is also present in Isaac's work, most particularly in his German settings, albeit with the main melody often in the tenor line. Oddly enough the pattern is once again found more often in the four-voice works:²⁴ *Christ ist erstanden* (p.4), *Es het ein Baur ein Töchterlein* (p.7), *Fille, vous avés mal gardé* (p.27, with the contratenor always leading the imitation). What does not happen in Isaac, though, is the consequential continuation of this pattern throughout a piece: even in *Fille, vous avés*, which is perhaps the closest, the second half turns into a witty alternation of duos and homophonic full sections; so the musical effect here is less of imitation than of repetition.

The upshot of those investigations is that there seems to be no piece like *Il n'est plaisir*.

Whether it is by Josquin or by Isaac or by somebody else entirely, it remains a beautifully turned treatment of a popular tune, a work that really does not deserve to be ignored.

But why is it that a work like this can sit on the edges of the Josquin literature and remain entirely unexplored? This is not the only one. In my recent New Josquin Edition volume of the *Secular works for four voices* there were three previously unpublished pieces that are in easily available and well-known sources, three more available only in doctoral theses, one that had been published only in a tablature version and yet another that had not

been printed since 1878.²⁵ Part of the reason may be that we have enough works of Josquin. And in the past half-century there has been much disattribution, to the degree that anything not in a central source is liable to be dismissed as possibly inauthentic. That was a tradition perhaps initiated by Joseph Kerman's passing comment, in a famous article about something else entirely, that 'spurious works lurk scandalously in the Josquin canon'.²⁶ Over 40 years later, I would be inclined to reverse Kerman's view. Now, it seems, seriously good works lurk scandalously beyond the touchlines of the Josquin canon.

1 Archiwum Warszawskiego Muzycznego im. Stanisława Moniuszki, Ms.564.

2 Copies are listed in the New Josquin Edition (hereafter NJE), vol.19, Commentary (Utrecht, 1998), p.19, and in vol.3, Commentary (Utrecht, 2003), p.84.

3 Ms.564, pp.240–1, ascribed 'finitur Josquin (nichth ganczer)'; it is published in *The Cracow tablature, ca. 1548*, ed. W. Insko, 2 vols. (Łódź, 1992), ii, pp.65–6. Wyatt Insko—now a distinguished organist and conductor—had earlier presented transcriptions of the whole manuscript in W. M. Insko, 'The Cracow tablature' (diss., Indiana University, 1964). Until then, broad knowledge of the manuscript was available mainly from Z. Jachimecki, 'Eine polnische Orgeltabulatur aus dem Jahre 1548', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ii (1919–20), pp.206–12, with a good inventory of its contents. This indicated the seven Josquin ascriptions it contains, though without drawing particular attention to them. Even so, it is at first glance odd that the information seems not to have found its way through to Josquin scholarship before 1998, when Martin Just incorporated it into his commentary to NJE, vol.19.

4 M. Staehelin, 'Zu einigen unter Josquins Namen gehenden Ordinariumskompositionen', *Die Musikforschung*, xxii (1969), pp.195–7.

5 S ff.21–22, A ff.18–19, T ff.18v–19v, B f.19–19v, ascribed 'henricus ysaac' with incipit to all voices: 'lombre'.

6 Heinrich Isaac: *Weltliche Werke*, ed. J. Wolf, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jahrg. xiv/1, Band 28 (Vienna, 1907), pp.92–3.

7 Printed in Wolf, ed., *Heinrich Isaac: Weltliche Werke*, p.94.

8 For that reason I am not happy with the explanation of the words 'nichth ganczer' in Warsaw offered in Staehelin, 'Zu einigen unter Josquins Namen', pp.196–7. He suggests that it is because the *secunda pars* is lacking. Editors of the NJE have read it as 'mit ganczer', which means even less.

9 D. Fallows, 'The copyist formerly known as Wagenrieder: Bernhart Rem and his circle', *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext*, ed. T. Göllner and B. Schmid (Munich, 2006), pp.212–23. On the identity, see J. Rifkin, 'Jean Michel and "Lucas Wagenrieder": some new findings', *TVNM*, lv (2005), pp.113–52, especially pp.144ff.

10 S ff.81v–82 (Ain lombre), A ff.54v–55v (Ain lombre in re), T

ff.133–134v (Carmen in re), B ff.69–70v (Ain lombre in re), anonymous.

11 Basel University Library, F IX 22, ff.4v–6, ascribed 'Heinricus Yzaack'; see the description in J. Kmetz, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel, 1988), pp.75–84, with the specific date when this piece was copied on p.76. It is published in Heinrich Isaac: *Weltliche Werke*, ed. J. Wolf, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jahrg. xiv/1, Band 28 (Vienna, 1907), p.160, and in *Tabulaturen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1: Die Tabulaturen aus dem Besitz des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach*, ed. H. J. Marx, Schweizerische Musikdenkäler, vi (Basel, 1967), no.3.

12 No.37. It is published in *Hieronymus Formschneyder: Trium vocum carmina*, ed. H. Mönkemeyer, *Monumenta musicata ad usum practicum*, 2 vols. (Celle, 1985), i, p.59.

13 Ms. Ny kgl. samling 1848 2^o, p.393 (no.218). It is published in P. W. Christoffersen, *French music in the early sixteenth century*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1994), iii, p.59.

14 This is the setting published as NJE 27.2, earlier printed in the *Werken*, ed. A. Smijers *et al.*, as *Wereldlijke werken*, no.61, see particularly bars 6–14. Accounts of the various versions of

this melody are in the commentaries to NJE 27 (1991), pp.56–7, and NJE 28 (2005), pp.184–5.

15 *New Grove II*, in the work-list for Josquin (xiii, p.259). But the identity could easily have been established from anything more than a cursory glance at *Das Tenorlied: Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450–1580*, ed. N. Böker-Heil et al., Catalogus Musicus, ix, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1979–86), iii, p.427.

16 Details in D. Fallows, *A catalogue of polyphonic songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford, 1999), p.172.

17 Details in NJE vol.28 (2005), Commentary, pp.15–16.

18 On second thoughts, as concerns *Si bibero* I am not at all so sure; but that is for another day. It is published in *Hieronymus Fomschneyder: Trium vorum carmina*, no.81.

19 ‘Appendix: New Josquin Edition: List of Works’, *Proceedings of the international Josquin symposium Utrecht 1986*, ed. W. Elders (Utrecht, 1991), pp.209–17, at p.210.

20 It might be added that the judgement was based only on the tablature. There are in fact three staff-notation sources among the Bárifa manuscripts in Budapest, as noted already in Staehelin’s article of 1969—an article that gives a very thorough account of the Josquin ascriptions in the manuscript but seems to have been entirely overlooked by Josquin scholarship until now. There is, for instance, no mention of it in discussions of that manuscript in the commentaries to NJE vols.19 (1998), 13 (1999), 14 (2002) and 3 (2003). That an article by a scholar who already had an enviable reputation when it was published should have disappeared without trace is one of the mysteries of modern bibliographical control.

21 I am grateful to David Black, then a graduate student at Harvard University, for having made his transcription of this piece available to me. Staehelin, ‘Zu einigen unter Josquins Namen’, in fact gives a few trenchant reasons for thinking it is

not by Josquin; but the piece at least deserves to be published. Its final section in particular has what would seem to me some remarkably Josquinian ostinato patterns.

22 D. Fallows, ‘Josquin and popular songs’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, xxix (2005), pp.161–71.

23 *A Florentine chansonnier from the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, ed. H. M. Brown, Monuments of Renaissance Music, viii, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1983), no.196. It was rejected as spurious in the commentary to NJE, vol.27 (1991), pp.68–9. I plead for its authenticity in my forthcoming *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2008).

24 With page numbers following the edition of Johannes Wolf cited in n.6 above.

25 Details in NJE, vol.28 (Utrecht, 2005), p.xi.

26 J. Kerman, ‘A profile for American musicology’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xviii (1965), pp.61–9, at p.66.

PETRUCCI'S *CANTI* VOLUMES: SCOPE AND REPERTORY

Famously, Petrucci's *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A* of 1501 was the first collection of polyphonic music printed from moveable type. More importantly, but more seldom noted, it begins the commerce of music publishing, because Petrucci followed it with almost fifty similar volumes over the next eight years. That entirely changed the way polyphony was distributed, the way musicians lived, and the way composers became famous.

So it is as well to note at the outset that the accepted dates for this event may well be wrong. The only known copy of the first edition lacks, among much else,¹ its final page, where Petrucci normally put the date of publication. So the date given in almost all modern literature comes from the dedicatory letter at the beginning of the volume, namely 15 May 1501. Recently Leofranc Holford-Strevens noted that the date printed, „decimo octavo cal. iunias“, does not exist, since anybody who knew enough Latin to write that florid letter would certainly know that 15 May was correctly rendered as „idibus maiis“; so he suggested that „iunias“ may be a misprint for „iulias“ and that the date of the letter was therefore 14 June.²

On the other hand, the date of the dedicatory letter is unlikely to have been the date of publication. It appears on the first pages of this very large volume, pages that were presumably set and printed first. Another twelve gatherings would need to be produced before the book was ready to be published. The dedicatory letter could have been postdated; but that seems unlikely. A different, and in my view more plausible, date of publication comes from viewing Petrucci's activities and rate of printing over the following months.

His next volume was the direct continuation of *Odhecaton A*, namely *Canti B numero Cinquanta*, published on 5 February 1502; and it seems almost inevitable that work on this would have started the moment the *Odhecaton* was completed. Table 1 lists the known publications of Petrucci's first years. It shows that *Motetti A* was done at the rate of 18 leaves a month and *Misse Josquin* at the rate of 17 leaves a month. Then the pace quickened, perhaps partly because the next book was in any case a reprint of the *Odhecaton* and partly because the system was becoming clearer. With the Brumel and Ghiselin volumes in the summer of 1503, the rate almost doubled, and this

¹ For an analysis of that copy (I-Bc Q 51), and the demonstration that only 51 of the original 104 leaves now survive, see Stanley Boorman, „The ‚first‘ edition of the *Odhecaton A*“, *JAMS* 30 (1977) pp. 184–207.

² This is reported in Bonnie J. Blackburn, „Lorenzo de’ Medici, a lost Isaac manuscript, and the Venetian ambassador“, in: *Musica Franca: Essays in honor of Frank D’Accone*, ed. I. Alm, A. McLarmore, and C. Reardon (Stuyvesant, NY 1996), pp. 19–44, at p. 34.

is the time at which Stanley Boorman has shown that Petrucci moved from triple-impression to double-impression printing.³

TABLE 1

Date	Title	Months	Rate
?	<i>Odhecaton A</i> : 104ff	?	?
5 ii 1502	<i>Canti B</i> : 56ff	?	?
9 v 1502	<i>Motetti A</i> (texted): 56ff	3	18
27 ix 1502	<i>Misse Josquin</i> (partbooks): 76ff	4½	17
14 i 1503	(<i>Odhecaton A</i> , 2nd edn.): 104ff	3½	30
24 iii 1503	<i>Misse obreht</i> (partbooks): 76ff	2½	30
19 v 1503	<i>Motetti ... B</i> (choirbook): 72ff	2	36
17 vi 1503	<i>Brumel</i> (Masses): 64ff	1	64
15 vii 1503	<i>Joannes ghiselin</i> (Masses): 66ff	1	66
10 viii 1503	(<i>Canti B</i> , 2nd edn.): 56ff	1	56
31 x 1503	<i>Misse Petri de la Rue</i> : 56ff	2	28
10 ii 1504	<i>Canti C</i> : 168ff	3½	48
23 iii 1504	<i>Misse Alexandri Agricole</i> : 68ff	1½	45
25 v 1504	(<i>Odhecaton A</i> , 3rd edn.): 104ff	2	52

If we assume that *Canti B* was prepared at roughly the same speed as *Motetti A* (which had the additional problem of considerable text underlay) and *Misse Josquin* (which was in the innovative form of partbooks), work would have started about three months before publication, namely early November 1501. Conversely, positing the same rate for preparation of the *Odhecaton*, but starting – not finishing – in May 1501, would again suggest a publication date of early November.

There are two possible objections to that scenario. First is the view expressed by Stanley Boorman that Petrucci would have waited after the first publication to see whether it had sufficient success to merit a successor.⁴ I suggest that the very use of „A“ in the title was a clear statement that others were to follow. As an astute businessman, Petrucci would have known that a client-base is not built on a single book. Besides, the extra few months would hardly be enough to make it clear whether the *Odhecaton A* had been a commercial success.

The second objection is that the first gathering contains an accurate index, so was perhaps, following documentable later practice, printed last. While that is certainly possible, I suggest that it would not have been at all difficult to

³ Stanley Boorman, „A case of work and turn: Half-sheet imposition in the early sixteenth century“, *The Library*, 6th series, 8 (1986) pp. 301–21.

⁴ Stanley Boorman, „The 500th anniversary of the first music printing: A history of patronage and taste in the early years“, *Muzikološki zbornik* 37 (2001) pp. 33–49, at p. 39.

cast off the entire volume accurately from the start. No great skill was needed to see that certain pieces required not one but two openings (nos. 36–8, 69, 79, and 92–4); nor that others would take up only a single page and therefore needed to be put together in pairs (nos. 83–4, 86–7, 89–90) apart from the one that went on the last verso, to face the colophon. The kind of advance planning that was plainly necessary for all of Petrucci's volumes – most particularly the later volumes containing masses presented in partbooks – would make the prior preparation of the index easy and perhaps even necessary.

I do not insist on that last argument: given the necessary planning it would obviously have been possible to print the first gathering last. But until further evidence comes to light I suggest that the more plausible date of publication is indeed early November 1501.

★

Whatever the truth of its date, the *Odhecaton* cannot be viewed alone. It belongs with Petrucci's two other song volumes, *Canti B* of early 1502 and *Canti C* of early 1504. The three books contain secular pieces by Franco-Flemish composers, presented mostly without texts, apparently for instrumental performance; all three seem to have drawn on the same group of exemplars. After May 1504, when he reprinted the *Odhecaton A* for the second and last time, Petrucci never came back to that repertory, except for some of the lute intabulations of Spinacino (1507) and perhaps in the lost tablature book of Giovan Maria (1508).⁵ In every other respect he then turned to other materials: motets, masses, frottole.

That is the first surprise about Petrucci's output. One would have thought, as Petrucci evidently did, that the market was for large numbers of small secular pieces that were fairly easy to perform on instruments. That he so soon turned away from this repertory suggests that he was wrong: evidently there was a far better market in the ferociously difficult and extended masses of Josquin, Obrecht, Brumel, Ghiselin, La Rue, Agricola, and others. That in its turn seems to say that his market turned out to be collectors rather than performers.

The evidence lies in the shape of the books. Mass cycles and motets had never been presented in small oblong format, so far as we can tell. That format was established for the three *Canti* volumes. In fact it seems to have been new in western printing, and was extremely rare in western manuscripts. But there are earlier examples in music-books: the earliest known today is the *Glogauer Liederbuch* of around 1480, copied in Eastern Germany; and only four more

⁵ See Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental music printed before 1600* (Cambridge, MA 1965), p. 14. Hernan Colón's description of it for his library catalogue states that the first piece was entitled „come feme“, evidently one of the several pieces based on the tenor of the rondeau by Binchois, perhaps in fact the 3-voice setting by Agricola found in *Canti C*, no. 121.

survive among the Italian songbooks from the years between 1480 and 1500.⁶ Given the difficulties that were involved in developing the typography for polyphonic music, it may seem additionally astonishing that Petrucci should have decided to use oblong format; but the explanation must surely be technical: that the extraordinary difficulties of aligning the notes accurately on the staff in separate runs through the press were slightly simplified by the use of a page in oblong format. But it happens that most music prints over the next half century were going to be in the oblong format so bizarrely pioneered by Petrucci; and music prints retained that shape even after Attaignant's introduction of type-pieces that included notes on stave-sections, thus eliminating the need for multiple runs through the press.

Upright format music printing in those years is more or less confined to special efforts like Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* of 1516. That elegant folio choirbook is the earliest book of printed polyphonic music that was not in oblong format; and the next was the Grimm & Wrysung *Liber selectarum cantionum* of 1520. Both were done from woodcuts, thus again from a single run through the press, thereby making their upright format easier to handle. That those two volumes now survive in more copies than any other music book of the early 16th century may be explainable partly by their size, which makes them hard to lose; but the degree to which they were copied from seems to indicate that they were widely used. So they could well stand as evidence that Petrucci's oblong quarto format was a commercial mistake. Church choirs continued to use folio choirbooks for much of the 16th century; and it is very hard to imagine any ecclesiastical institution using Petrucci's little partbook editions of either masses or motets. In any case, it is clear that several institutions copied masses from Petrucci's printed partbooks into their own folio choirbooks.⁷

So the *Canti* volumes set the agenda on format, for better or more likely for worse. Petrucci retained that format even when he made the change to partbooks for the first book of Josquin masses in September 1502. His move to partbooks is even less easy to understand. Here the only surviving precedent on the continental mainland is again the *Glogauer Liederbuch*, though there are occasional examples of a single voice written out informally, and a few pictures that seem to suggest singing from part-sheets.⁸ What is clear is that very soon after Petrucci's innovation the partbook became very popular throughout Europe – though mainly for secular songs, which is the one reper-

⁶ *I-Bc* Q 17, *I-Fn* Magl. XIX. 178, *I-MOe* Alpha F. 9.9, and *I-VEcap* 757. Perhaps I should also mention the Brussels basse-danse manuscript, *B-Br* 9085, still hard to date and in several other ways a highly unusual document. The case of the Escorial songbook from the 1430s, *E-E* V.III.24, is very special indeed: although it looks outwardly like a normal octavo songbook its music is written in „landscape“ fashion across the pages; something similar is done on some pages of the manuscript *A-Wn* 5094.

⁷ See Martin Staehelin's article in this volume.

⁸ See MGG², s.v. „Stimmbuch“. There are signs that the tradition may have existed already in England, but that is unlikely to have been known to Petrucci.

tory where Petrucci only once used partbooks (in his very last publication). But that is peripheral to the present discussion except in that the odd format of the *Canti* volumes appears to have set the agenda for his entire musical output and for what followed over the next years.

Those three *Canti* books contain between them 286 compositions. The titles of the volumes proclaim them as containing respectively 100, 50 and 150 songs. In fact those figures are very approximate, though since the pieces were not numbered nobody but a bean counter need have noticed. But it is worth reflecting on why, after books of 96 and 51 songs he produced one containing no fewer than 139 in his *Canti C*. It was the largest volume Petrucci ever published, by a considerable margin, with 168 leaves. Most of his later publications had either 56 or 64 leaves. Perhaps he was determined to get rid of all that carefully assembled material so that he could move on to other things, such as the series of frottola books that he began nine months later. We shall see in due course that there is an additional explanation for this.

Canti C also seems not to have been a great success. That conclusion arises not from its surviving in only a single edition so much as from the very small number of later copies made from it: throughout Europe there are manuscript and printed copies done on the basis of the *Odhecaton* and *Canti B*; but there is virtually nothing copied from *Canti C* apart from eighteen pieces in the Munich manuscript 1516.⁹ There is also a larger number of otherwise unknown pieces in *Canti C*. Those are just two indicators that the volume was far less successful than its two predecessors. And it could well be that this too has its explanation in the book's enormous size. It would surely have cost three times as much as the smaller volumes, and have come well above the level of what the industry today calls an impulse purchase.

All three volumes are laid out in the same broad manner, in several respects. First, they open with four-voice music; and three-voice music is confined to a separate section at the end. It is hard to think of a precedent for this except the Casanatense chansonnier 2856 in Rome and the Bologna manuscript Q 17; but both those cases the two halves are the other way round. On the other hand, it seems extremely likely that the scheme did have precedents, now lost. More surprisingly, the indexes of all three volumes give three-voice music a separate section in a way that all users must find extremely frustrating.

Second, in general they open with a sacred piece. This is a feature with a certain tradition through the songbooks of the 15th century, as though all good songbooks begin and end with a prayer, like all good meals.¹⁰ As it happens, none of the Petrucci songbooks ends with a prayer: they simply end with a piece that can fit on a single page. That may be why his *Motetti A* (1502) ends oddly with a piece that cannot conceivably be considered either

⁹ As demonstrated in Bruce A. Whisler, *Munich, Mus. Ms. 1516: A critical edition* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester 1974), vol. 1, pp. 20–23.

¹⁰ Further discussed in David Fallows, „Walter Frye's *Ave regina celorum* and the Latin song style“ (in press).

a motet or sacred, namely Josquin's three-voice canonic setting of „De tous biens plaine“.

Third, in *Canti B* and *Canti C* the four-voice section ends with a group of canonic pieces. I have not encountered this elsewhere. *Canti C* also ends with a canon (Ockeghem's „Prenez sur moy“), something previously seen in the *Motetti A* of 1502, which both begins and ends with canons. In both cases that must have resulted from a search for a piece that could be contained on a single page.

But my main task here is to outline the repertory contained in these three volumes. There are various ways of looking at it.

One way would be by viewing the number of individual copies of their pieces that survive in manuscripts demonstrably earlier than Petrucci's prints. For the *Odhecaton* the figure is 263, that is, an average of three earlier copies for each song. By contrast, for *Canti B* the figure is only 20, or an average of 0.4 copies for each song.

That is to say that the *Odhecaton* contained a very large proportion of songs that were extremely popular in the preceding decades. In *Canti B* there is far less of this: many of the pieces were known, but they were not so famous.

For *Canti C* the situation is more complicated: the bald figure is 104, that is, an average of 0.75 earlier copies for each song. But if we break *Canti C* down into sections the picture looks more intriguing. For nos. 1–62 there is only a single earlier copy of anything (this is the anonymous „L'amour de moy“, found in the Paris manuscript f.fr. 1597, which some people in any case think well after 1500); for nos. 63–94 there are 29 earlier copies. Then there is a sudden change: for nos. 95–107 there are 59 earlier copies, which is to say an average of almost five earlier copies for each, even more than in the *Odhecaton*. That is, after a large body of apparently recent material the volume quite suddenly starts on a group of much earlier and very famous pieces, by Ockeghem, Caron, Busnoys and their generation. For the last 32 pieces in *Canti C*, nos. 108–139, there are 15 earlier copies, an average of 0.5 each.¹¹

So that could suggest that *Canti B* and *Canti C* were mainly of more recent work but that at the last moment Petrucci ran out of new music and began drawing again on earlier repertory. But there could be a better explanation. Petrucci (or Petrus Castellanus) may have originally planned three volumes each containing 100 pieces but found that the difficulties of completing the *Odhecaton A* suggested that it would be more prudent to confine *Canti B* to a mere 50 pieces.¹² If so, perhaps the 50 pieces dropped from the original plan for *Canti B* eventually went into *Canti C*, done at a time when Petrucci had

¹¹ In relation to Jeremy Noble's observations (elsewhere in this volume) on the lack of French music in Petrucci's early publications, it may be of interest to note that the three *Canti* volumes contain nothing found in either of the two most famous French chansonniers of the early 16th century, London, British Library, Harley 5242, and Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1760.

¹² Those difficulties are amply documented in Boorman, „The ‚first‘ edition of the *Odhecaton A*“.

sorted out his initial difficulties. Some support for that theory comes from another way of looking at the repertory.

We can look at the dates of the songs, as determined very approximately from the dates of their earliest known sources. Obviously that information, though again in solid numbers, is even harder to use correctly than the number of earlier copies: the accident of manuscript survival is hard to quantify; many songs could be much earlier than their first surviving copy; and some of the manuscript dates are still unclear. But the results are nevertheless indicative of general trends. Exactly half of the music in the *Odhecaton* was demonstrably in the repertory by 1490; the same is true of almost a quarter of the *Canti C* music, but for *Canti B* there are only 7 pieces demonstrably known by 1490.

	by 1470	by 1480	by 1490	total
<i>Odhecaton A</i>	4	18	26	48
<i>Canti B</i>	—	—	7	7
<i>Canti C</i>	5	7	20	32
total	9	25	53	87

So the three volumes differ in their spread of earlier repertory, and *Canti C* has differences within its own sections. But of the 286 pieces in all three volumes there are 9 demonstrably earlier than 1470 (3%), 25 demonstrably earlier than 1480 (9%), and 53 found earlier than 1490 (18%).

To put those figures into some kind of a context: three months ago, the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival programmed 141 dated compositions. 54 of them were new; and a further 49 were from the 1990s. But there were also 15 from the 1980s (10%), ten from the 1970s (7%), five from the 1960s (3%). In addition, there were three from the 1950s (by Scelsi, Berio and Ligeti) and four from the 1940s (one by Messiaen and three by Cage). So the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival in the year 2000 had almost exactly the same proportion of works over 20 and over 30 years old, just a slightly smaller proportion over ten years old, and a larger number of pieces more than 40 years old. Petrucci can sometimes look as though he was drawing on much older repertory in his first publications, but that picture is misleading.

Very few pieces indeed are by dead composers: eleven by Busnoys (d. 1492); eight by Hayne van Ghizeghem, who presumably died at about the same time; five by Ockeghem (d. 1497).¹³ This is remarkable if we bear in mind the contents of some Flemish manuscripts of the time. The Chigi Codex, copied probably in 1505, contains almost all Ockeghem's known sacred music, plus a mass by Busnoys. The Florence Conservatorio manuscript 2439, perhaps from around 1508, also contains five works of Ockeghem. Later Petrucci was to print five motets of Regis (d. ca. 1495), three more works of Busnoys and

¹³ See note 35 below for my firm view that Stokem was still alive when the volumes were printed.

– as the oldest choice of all – the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadrus, which date from the first half of the 15th century. But these are a tiny proportion of what Petrucci printed. In general he printed the latest music.

That in turn leads to a theme that I must briefly resurrect. Recent literature continues to suggest that masses and motets are easier to date than songs. The large number of song manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century, most of them fairly closely datable, does in fact make it far easier to date songs than sacred music, for which precious few sources survive. Just as I have elsewhere argued that the style of the approximately datable songs can give hints at the dates of the sacred music,¹⁴ I would argue now that the fairly full information about the dates of materials in the three *Canti* volumes of Petrucci should be used as a guide to the dating of the other music he published. I recently tried to show that the works in Petrucci's first book of Josquin masses were all composed within the preceding ten years,¹⁵ and I am inclined to suggest that this should be the first hypothesis for some of his other volumes of sacred music. Petrucci was aware of setting a new agenda in several ways; repertory was one of them.

Returning, though, to the composers in the *Canti* volumes, the names best represented there make a slightly unexpected list. At the top is Loyset Compère, with 28 works, which makes it all the odder that Petrucci never printed a collection devoted to Compère's music (unless his sacred music was mostly old, which is what is in fact currently believed). Second is Alexander Agricola, with 21 works; and Petrucci's very next project after *Canti C* was a volume of Agricola's masses. Only then comes Josquin des Prez, with 19 works; and the same number are by Johannes Japart, on whom more later.

But the main way of assessing the scope of the three *Canti* volumes must be in terms of stylistic genre. And the point this is leading to is that there are very few pieces indeed that do not fall surprisingly easily into one of a small number of categories.

In the commentary to her edition of the *Odhecaton* Helen Hewitt offered an immensely complex taxonomy of the styles found there, and her study remains most informative.¹⁶ But sixty years later, with far more information on the dates of the surrounding sources, on the composers, and on the styles, the picture begins to look a lot simpler.

We can begin by putting aside the two smallest groups. One of these is movements extracted from mass cycles. Given that most manuscript songbooks of

¹⁴ David Fallows, „Ockeghem as a song composer: Hints towards a chronology“, in: *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris 1998), pp. 301–316; Fallows, „Trained and immersed in all musical delights: Towards a new picture of Busnoys“, in: *Antoine Busnoys: Method, meaning, and context in late medieval music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford 1999), pp. 21–50.

¹⁵ David Fallows, „Approaching a new chronology for Josquin: An interim report“, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Neue Folge 19 (2000) pp. 131–150.

¹⁶ Helen Hewitt, ed., *Petrucci: Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, MA 1942), pp. 60–104.

the 1490s and later contain a fair number of pieces extracted in this way, it is a little surprising that only two examples have so far been identified among the 286 works in the three volumes. One is the ubiquitous *Benedictus* from Isaac's mass *Quant j'ay au cuer*, found in the *Odhecaton* (no. 76). And the other is the first *Osanna* of Obrecht's mass *Cela sans plus*, in *Canti B* (no. 13) with the heading „Obrecht In missa“. Petrucci's avoidance of mass sections may have been partly because he had already planned to print volumes of masses.

The other small genre is the motet. As Julie Cumming's recent book shows,¹⁷ Latin texted music of the 15th century comes in many different forms, and since there are only ten examples among the *Canti* volumes there is little point in trying to divide them up.¹⁸ It is enough to say that the *Odhecaton* opens with De Orto's otherwise unknown „Ave Maria“ and later includes Brumel's extremely popular „Mater Patris“; that *Canti B* should have opened with Compere's „Virgo celesti“ (though in fact Josquin's little „L'homme armé“ setting fills the first page and the Compère piece comes second), opening its three-voice section with Brumel's „Ave ancilla Trinitatis“, and that *Canti C* opens with Obrecht's otherwise unknown „Ave regina celorum“, opens its three-voice section with the anonymous „Alma Redemptoris mater“ (known as early as the manuscript Trent 91 from the 1470s) and has four other Latin-texted pieces that are all fairly odd (two of them by Crispinus van Stappen). There would be profit in spending a little time exploring these last four pieces to see where they fit into the broader stylistic picture, but this is not the time to do so.

With those two tiny categories out of the way, the next smallest is canonic pieces – using the word in its modern sense of one voice derived directly from another (since there are many examples here of the strict medieval usage of a voice subjected to verbal instructions). Many of these pieces look as though they should have texts, but their musical design is dictated primarily by the canonic structure: often they turn out in practice to be very hard to text, and in any case they stand well apart from the remaining songs stylistically and formally. As noted earlier, the four-voice section of *Canti B* ends with a group of four canonic works, interrupted by just one song of Obrecht.¹⁹ Similarly in *Canti C*, with a group of no fewer than seven, again interrupted by a single imitative chanson.²⁰ *Canti C* ends with Ockeghem's three-out-of-one canonic chanson „Prenez sur moy“. Most of these canons are of two basic types: the four-out-of-two type at the fourth and the four-out-of-three type with just the two upper voices in canon, again at the fourth; both types appear to have been initiated by Josquin in the years around 1480.²¹ It is perhaps merely intriguing that Petrucci did not include any in the *Odhecaton*; but the whole

¹⁷ Julie E. Cumming, *The motet in the age of Du Fay* (Cambridge 1999).

¹⁸ They are: *Odh*, nos. 1, 62; *Canti B*, nos. 2, 39; *Canti C*, nos. 1, 13, 32, 66, 113, 124.

¹⁹ Nos. 34, 36–8.

²⁰ Nos. 105–6 and 108–12; other canons in *Canti C* are nos. 13, 43, 57–8, 61, 139.

²¹ Fallows, „Approaching a new chronology for Josquin“, p. 138.

genre was to become popular later, with both Antico and Attaingnant devoting prominent volumes early in their careers to such canons.²²

Anyway, those three smaller categories of music in the *Canti* volumes now clear the way for the three main categories, which we can call the forme-fixe chanson, the free form song, and the fantasia.

The forme-fixe chansons are easy to identify since most of them are found in manuscripts from the 1490s and earlier. Many survive elsewhere with their complete texts, either rondeaux or virelais; the texts are courtly and almost always in French, with lines of 8 or 10 syllables. Quite when the genre died out is not yet clear, but most of those with a full fixed-form text were composed by about 1490. Generally they were in three voices, though Petrucci often added an extra voice, in most cases unique to his prints so perhaps specially composed.²³ Against the 33 examples in the *Odhecaton* there are 11 in *Canti B* and only 13 among the 139 songs of *Canti C*.²⁴

Two subcategories of the forme-fixe chanson are again almost too small to note. The combinative chanson, normally in four voices with popular song material in one of the lower voices (never in the top voice), belongs to a tradition that may have begun with Ockeghem in the early 1460s.²⁵ And the motet-chanson, again apparently always with a forme-fixe poem in the top voice but with a Latin-texted cantus firmus normally in the bass,²⁶ has a tradition that may go back to Compère in the 1470s. Both categories are found in the *Odhecaton* and in *Canti C* but not in the smaller *Canti B*.

For all these forme-fixe songs, the tradition of presenting them with only a text incipit goes back in Italian sources to the Casanatense chansonnier, perhaps of around 1480. Helen Hewitt mounted a powerful argument to suggest that Petrucci presented them without text simply because the texts could be taken from elsewhere and it would have been too hard technically for him to add them in his prints.²⁷ Well: he managed well enough in the *Motetti* volumes, starting in 1502, so that problem had been long solved by the time he got to

²² Namely Antico's *Motetti novi et chanzoni franciose a quattro sopra doi* (RISM 1520³) and Attaingnant's *Chansons et Motets en Canon a quatre parties sur deux* (RISM [c.1528]¹⁰); on the discovery of the first known complete copy of the latter, in the private library of Graf Schweinitz (on loan to D:W), see Ludwig Finscher, „Attaingnantdrucke aus einer schlesischen Adelsbibliothek“, in: *Festschrift Klaus Hortschansky zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer and Laurenz Lütteken (Tutzing 1995), pp. 33–42.

²³ Various reasons have been suggested for the inclusion of those added voices, among them that the musicians of Petrucci's time preferred a four-voice texture; but all three volumes include a substantial section devoted to three-voice songs. More plausible would be the suggestion that these pieces were all so well known that potential buyers of the Petrucci prints would probably already have owned copies: the new voices added novelty to the volumes.

²⁴ Those with an added voice in Petrucci have an asterisk here. *Odh*, nos. 2*, 4*, 8*, 9*, 12*, 13*, 20*, 38, 42, 43, 45, 52–5, 57–60, 65–6, 68, 71, 77, 82–3, 85–9, 91, 93; *Canti B*, nos. 16*, 20*, 43–8, 50; *Canti C*, nos. 72, 77*, 79*, 92, 93*, 95*, 96*, 97*, 98, 101*, 132, 135–6.

²⁵ *Odh*, nos. 3 (5vv), 16–17, 31; *Canti C*, nos. 70, 81–2, 87–8, 99.

²⁶ *Odh*, nos. 46, 67, 81, 84; *Canti C*, nos. 75, 80, 133.

²⁷ Hewitt, Petrucci: *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, pp. 31–42.

printing *Canti C*. As Louise Litterick argued twenty years ago, it is hard to resist the view that there was a thriving tradition of textless performance of this repertory in Italy, starting in the early 1480s.²⁸ Even the most fully texted song manuscripts from Italy of the years around 1490, like Florence 229 or the slightly earlier Pixérécourt chansonnier (*F-Pn f.fr. 15123*), tend to give only a single stanza, which is plainly insufficient for a proper sung performance; that those texts are heavily garbled by scribes with insufficient knowledge of French is in that context a secondary detail, though it supports the case. Plainly these songs were used in Italy by Italian musicians as instrumental pieces, whether or not that seems an adequate musical response to works of such delicacy. Petrucci was just continuing an established pattern.

With that in mind, it would be as well to continue to the genre we can call fantasies. These are works that surely never had a text. The „fantasies on a *cantus prius factus*“ normally take one of their voices from a well known earlier chanson: „J'ay pris amours“ and „De tous biens plaine“, among the most widely disseminated songs of the 1460s, repeatedly contribute a single line to these fantasies. Often they are in longer note-values than the remaining voices; sometimes they are inverted or reversed. While these lines do come from forme-fixe chansons it is hard to imagine the music of these arrangements being subjected to the repetition patterns that the forme-fixe makes necessary if you are to sing the whole text. It seems only rational to conclude that in general these pieces were intended to be performed once through, without any repeats, and probably on instruments. This is a very large genre, accounting for 12 pieces in the *Odhecaton*, 4 in *Canti B*, and 37 in *Canti C* – almost one-fifth of the repertory in the three books.²⁹

Slightly more controversial is the category one might call „Free fantasies“. It accounts for only 17 pieces across the three books, but it is an important one.³⁰ These often look a little like forme-fixe chansons but have none of the line-divisions that are essential to any song. It is a genre that seems to go back to the works of Johannes Martini in the 1470s: at least, among the 44 known secular works of Martini there is not a single text incipit that can be matched with any of the known poetry collections of the time unless the music is also borrowed from a known forme-fixe chanson (as in the preceding category). Those by other composers often have fanciful names like „La Bernardino“ or „La stangetta“. Some have sacred titles: „Si dedero“, „Si sumpsero“. What does seem clear is that they never had texts, and that they do indeed lie at the root of the imitative fantasy in the 16th century. There should be no need to apologize for using that title.

It must be added, though, that the use of the word „controversial“ arises because these pieces are in many ways indistinguishable from certain motets

²⁸ Louise Litterick, „Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music of the late 15th century: Texted and untexted parts in the sources“, *Early Music* 8 (1980) pp. 474–485.

²⁹ *Odh*, nos. 6, 21–2, 34, 39, 47–8, 69, 73, 78, 80, 95; *Canti B*, nos. 3, 24, 30, 42; *Canti C*, nos. 2–3, 12, 14–15, 23–25, 33, 35–6, 38, 50, 55–6, 59–60, 63, 67–8, 78, 83, 85, 114–22, 125–7, 137–8.

³⁰ *Odh*, nos. 44, 49–50, 56, 63, 74; *Canti B* nos. 40, 49; *Canti C*, nos. 51, 54, 69, 89, 123, 128–31.

and mass movements: the famous Isaac Benedictus, mentioned earlier, would have gone straight into that category if it hadn't been noticed that it in fact comes from one of his masses; and several of the motets could well have done the same. Only the sheer quantity of such pieces by Martini inspires confidence that the category existed at all.

This leaves only the free-form songs, which are for the most part instantly distinguishable from the rest. Normally they are in four voices and imitative; towards the end there are repeated notes and usually a short section in contrasting triple time. The text incipits in Petrucci nearly always have a light and popular tone, quite unlike the courtly tone of the forme-fixe chansons; and when the texts can be recovered their lines tend to be of 6 or 7 syllables as against the 8 or 10 syllables of the forme-fixe chanson. Those texts are more likely to be found in the little printed chapbooks of French popular verse now published in new editions by Brian Jeffery,³¹ whereas the texts of the forme-fixe chanson tend to be in larger collections devoted to rondeaux and virelais. There is very little indeed in this free-form repertory that can be dated before about 1490; and most of it must have been composed in the ten years leading up to *Canti C*. This accounts for some 70 songs across the three volumes, and there is almost never any difficulty in distinguishing it from the forme-fixe genres.³²

Perhaps a subdivision of that category is the basically homophonic free-form song. Many of these are in three voices, but in most other respects they resemble the main group of imitative free-form songs. There are fewer than 20 across the three books.³³

Subgenres aside, then, and forgetting the tiny number of motets, mass movements and canons, there are just three main categories of music that account for almost everything in those three volumes: the forme-fixe chanson, the abstract fantasy, surely instrumental, and the free-form song. There were fewer than thirty pieces that did not instantly fall into one of those categories. It may be that more careful thought or analysis would answer the remaining questions: but in the case of Josquin's „Cela sans plus“ and „La plus des plus“, for example, I could not feel confident in saying whether they were forme-fixe chansons or abstract fantasies. It is my strong instinct that they are indeed abstract fantasies; and their surrounding pieces in the *Odhecaton* would seem to support that view. But the case looked far less watertight than with the other works in that category, and caution suggested leaving them unclassified. The same was the case with Josquin's „Adieu mes amours“: some scholars believe this is a combinative chanson, others that it is an abstract fantasy on a borrowed popular melody; it seemed better kept out of a pigeon-hole.

³¹ Brian Jeffery, ed., *Chanson verse of the early Renaissance*, 2 vols. (London 1971–1976).

³² *Odh*, nos. 7, 19, 23, 28–30, 32–3, 36, 41, 70 {3vv}, 75 {3vv}, 92, 94, 96; *Canti B*, nos. 3–7, 9–12, 14–15, 17–18, 21–3, 27, 29, 33, 35, 41 {3vv}; *Canti C*, nos. 5–7, 9–11, 16–21, 26, 29–31, 34, 37, 40–42, 44–7, 49, 52–3, 71, 76, 86, 100, 102, 107, 134.

³³ *Odh*, nos. 18, 25–6, 34, 37, 40, 72, 79, 90; *Canti B*, nos. 25, 51; *Canti C*, nos. 22, 27–8, 62, 64, 103–4.

Here are the pieces that do not fall easily into one of those categories:

Odh:

- 5 Brunette (Stokem)
- 7 Nenciozza mia (Japart)
- 10 Bergerette savoyene (Josquin)
- 14 Adieu mes amours (Josquin)
- 15 Por quoy non (La Rue)
- 24 Cela sans plus [Japart]
- 27 Tmeiskin [?Japart]
- 51 Se mieulx (Compere)
- 61 Cela sans plus (Josquin)
- 64 La plus des plus (Josquin)

Canti B:

- 1 L'omme armé (Josquin)
- 8 L'autrier qui passa (Busnoys)
- 19 Coment peult haver joye (Josquin)
- 26 Una moza falle yo [anon.]
- 28 Fors seulement/[Du tout plongiet] (La Rue)
- 31 Je cuide/De tous biens (Japart)
- 32 Franch cor qu'as tu/Fortuna (De Vigne)

Canti C:

- 4 Tant que nostre argent durra (Obrecht)
- 39 Le second jour [=In mijnen sin] (Busnoys)
- 48 Je sey bien dire (Josquin)
- 65 Quant vostre ymage [anon.]
- 73 Je ne suis mort [anon.]
- 74 Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Jovanes (Japart)
- 84 Vilana che sa tu far [anon.]
- 90 Questa se chiama (Japart)
- 91 Serviteur soye (Stokem)
- 94 Je sui d'alemagne (Stokem)

The important point is that several names keep turning up in this list of unclassified pieces. Josquin seven times. There are those who think of the songs in three and four voices as the least original part of his output, but none of these pieces fits easily into the received patterns of the time, and each seems to say something new and individual. The much-maligned Johannes Japart appears six times: I mentioned earlier that he is one of the best represented composers in the *Canti* volumes, coming after only Compère and Agricola. His music is well represented in other sources, both earlier and later, but he is less acknowledged today, partly because he composed no masses or motets.

The picture here seems to say that he, too, is a song composer of some individuality.

Finally there is the similarly little known composer Johannes Stokem, who appears three times in this list. He has recently come to some prominence as the man who appeared in the papal choir under the name Johannes de Pratis and was therefore confused with Josquin.³⁴ But interest in his music has not gone much further than that. The seven works by him in the *Canti* volumes all declare him to be a composer of considerable individuality who rarely followed the trends. And there is one further point to be made about Stokem: I refuse to accept the view that he died in October 1487; this is based on a still unpublished supplication located by Adalbert Roth.³⁵ But everything about the style and sources of all his songs declares him to be a composer active in the years after 1490. Not just that, but he is a figure of the most enormous musical interest.

Those few songs that cannot easily be classified merit special attention. But the broader issue is about the conclusions that can be offered about how Petrucci's *Canti* volumes can be used in an academy for the performance of early music. One must conclude that the volumes were printed with the intention that they be used for textless performance, presumably by instruments, despite the arguments against this from Helen Hewitt and despite the admirable caution of Howard Mayer Brown who listed only eight of the 286 pieces in his catalogue of *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*. To play any of the pieces on instruments must be historically correct, in the sense that it plainly happened. On a more subjective and aesthetic front, however, it is clear that both the forme-fixe chansons and the free-form songs were originally intended to carry texts and derive much of their musical design and impact from those texts. Where the texts can be recovered, they should be sung; where texts cannot be found, it may just be better to leave the music unperformed. But there still remains a large repertory, the works here called fantasies, that was surely intended for an instrumental ensemble. These include some of the most haunting music of their time and I urge their intensive further exploration.

³⁴ Pamela F. Starr, „Josquin, Rome, and a case of mistaken identity“, *JM* 15 (1997) pp. 43–65.

³⁵ Starr, „Josquin, Rome, and a case of mistaken identity“, at p. 54, note 24. The supplication, dated 4 October 1487, is for a benefice at the cathedral of Erlau, Hungary, made vacant by the death of „Johannes de Prato, alias Stokem“. Very often such supplications were made on the basis of misinformation; since Stokem was paid as a member of the papal choir to the end of September 1487, somebody must have moved very quickly indeed to secure the benefice so suddenly vacated. If Stokem survived past 1487, as I am convinced he did, it would be easier to suggest him as the composer of the Mass „Allez regretz“, ascribed in Jena Ms. 21 to „Jo. de pratis+“ (printed in *Werken van Josquin des Prés: Missen*, no. 20). In his commentary to the New Josquin Edition, vol. 7 (1997), Thomas Noblitt mounts an extended argument to show why the work cannot be by Josquin des Prez.

ALAMIRE AS A COMPOSER

Petrus Alamire is named as the composer of a work in the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18810 (VienNB Mus. 18810) – not an Alamire manuscript but one of the group of sources from the 1520s associated with Lucas Wagenrieder. It is a four-voice setting of the Low-Dutch song *T'Andernaken op den Rijn*, with the borrowed melody in the tenor. That melody is known from many other tenor settings, most of them in three voices.¹

In 1978 both Henrik Glahn and Warwick Edwards were the first, independently, to publish the information that this is the piece that appears in the manuscript Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4° (CopKB 1872), with an added fifth voice and with the word *Krumbhörner* above the original bassus where one would normally find an ascription.² In 1987, Matthias Schneider pointed out that the tenor line also appears in the manuscript Wittenberg, Staatliche Lutherhalle, S 403/1048 (WittenL 1048).³ Apparently no one has yet identified two further sources for the piece, in Hans Gerle's *Tabulatur auff die Laudten* (BrownI 1533), no. 30, and in Hans Newsidler's *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch* (BrownI 1536), no. 51.⁴

And it is worth just pausing there to register the work's range of sources: all seem to date from around 1530, apart from the Copenhagen partbooks of the early 1540s (CopKB 1872). Whatever this piece is, it was fairly widely distributed in the last years of Petrus Alamire's life.

Example 1 is a short score of the work, with the added fifth voice from Copenhagen on an extra stave in smaller notes. The fifth voice is plainly a later addition. That should be obvious even without a knowledge of the three sources that have no trace of the voice,⁵ not so much because the piece can stand without it (which is true of many perfectly credible lines of those years), but because of the aimless way in which the extra voice wanders around filling gaps, completely loses its way

¹ Many of these are printed in R. TARUSKIN ed., *T'Andernaken: Ten Settings in Three, Four and Five Parts*, (*Ogni Sorte Editions*, 7), Coconut Grove, 1981. In the following list I give only the earliest known source. The three-voice settings are: Tylng (TrentC 87), anon. in BrusBR II.270, Obrecht (RISM B/1501), Lapidida (RISM B/1504¹), Agricola (RISM B/1504²), Henry VIII (LonBL 31922), Brumel (MunU 328–31), Hofhaimer (SGaLLS 530 etc., in one source with a fourth voice). The four-voice settings are those of Senfl (RISM B/1544³⁰ only), Alamire (with an added fifth voice in CopKB 1872) and the mass of Pierre de la Rue (JenaU 21). In five voices is only Senfl (RISM B/1534¹⁷). In addition there is an isolated tenor line in Maastricht (MaastR s.s.). A two-voice lute setting appears in the *Marsh Lutebook* (Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.2.13). The mass entitled *Tandernaken* in ErlU 473/4 is Brumel's mass *Bon temps*.

² H. GLAHN ed., *Musik fra Christian III's tid: Udalgte satser fra det danske hofkapels stemmebøger* (1541), (*Dania Sonans*, 4), Copenhagen, 1978, p. 36; W.A. EDWARDS, *The Instrumental Music of Henry VIII's Manuscript*, in *The Consort*, 34 (1978), pp. 274–282, at p. 281. A facsimile of the opening of the fifth voice appears in E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire: muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karel's tijd (1500–1535)*, Leuven, 1999, p. 86. This version was edited, without knowledge of the Vienna concordance and thus of the composer's name, in: B. THOMAS, *London Pro Musica Edition RB1*, London, 1972.

³ See the introduction to the facsimile: M. SCHNEIDER ed., *Collection of German, French and Instrumental Pieces: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 18 810*, Peer, 1987, p. 10.

⁴ Howard Mayer Brown had noted that the two intabulations were of the same piece but had not identified any staff-notation source; see H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, rev. 2nd ed. 1967.

⁵ In fact the two lute tablatures are effectively in three voices, as often happens in such arrangements.

in bars 14–18, and often conceals the textural variety that gave life to the original piece: see in particular bars 7, 12 and 22. That is not to say that the voice is illiterate; merely that the music seems better without it.⁶

But it is the nature of the fifth voice that draws attention to the qualities of the original four-voice work. Its main eccentricity is that it has almost no rests: once started, the music moves inexorably for its full four minutes. But within that texture, the work has considerable control and variety. Bars 3–4 show the bass running in tenths with one or other of the upper voices, but the device is used here far more sparingly than in many other works of the time. All the voices flow freely and inventively, with a resourceful range of rhythmic patterns, of melodic individuality and of cadential placement. The two short imitative passages are also well handled: the one at bars 11–14 may seem simple, but it uses its idea imaginatively, has carefully irregular harmonic rhythms and in general provides a welcome variety to the texture; and the one at bars 21–23 shows the same qualities. It would be hard to fault the part-writing of this version.

It seems almost certain that the original four-voice version was actually conceived for crumhorns. No other instrument has quite the range limitations of the crumhorn. All four voices exactly fill a range of a ninth, rising from the low F in the bass, from tenor c in the two middle voices, and from g in the discantus. So they match the pitches and total ranges of the bass, tenor and alto crumhorns as described by Praetorius⁷ and by Agricola in 1529.⁸ No other piece in the Vienna partbooks (VienNB Mus. 18810) has those range limitations. That can hardly be a coincidence, and the Copenhagen annotation surely reflects that. Certainly the famous intarsia of a set of five crumhorns done by Giovanni da Verona on the door of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican can stand as evidence that crumhorn ensembles were accepted by about 1510.⁹ The same could be concluded from the set of four crumhorns presented in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht und auszgezogen* (Basel, 1511), fol. B4.

Beyond that, we have evidence of Alamire's association with the crumhorn in the postscript to the autograph letter he wrote to King Henry VIII in May 1515: the earliest item in the enormous series of references in English documents to Alamire's activities as a spy. Some of it is facsimiled in the Alamire exhibition catalogue,¹⁰ but not the key sentence, given here:¹¹

⁶ The one place where it seems to have parallel unisons with the original bass (bar 16) is alongside a different reading in the bass in CopKB 1872, which makes sense (d for the B); and there are two further problem notes: a low A at the end of bar 8, which I have emended to d (again, in CopKB 1872 the bassus has d here); and in bar 25 the penultimate note is miswritten as G for A, but that is hardly the composer's fault. I mention those details purely because Richard Taruskin says that the editor of one edition (Bernard Thomas) "was forced to make some drastic changes in the 'vagrant' to avoid trouble" (TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4); that seems an overstatement.

⁷ See the analysis in K.T. MEYER, *The Crumhorn: Its History, Design, Repertory, and Technique*, (Studies in Musicology, 66), Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 119–122.

⁸ If Barra Boydell has interpreted him right, see B.R. BOYDELL, *The Crumhorn and other Renaissance Wind-cap Instruments: A Contribution to Renaissance Organology*, Buren, 1982, p. 35 and pp. 46–48.

⁹ For a reproduction, see E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, New Haven – London, 1979, pl. 49a; for authorship and dating, see p. 191. See also, BOYDELL, *The Crumhorn*, frontispiece (reproduction) and pp. 18–19 (discussion); and MEYER, *The Crumhorn*, p. 54 (reproduction) and p. 50 (discussion).

¹⁰ E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, p. 20, fig. 3.

¹¹ London, Public Record Office, SP 1/10, piece 199v.

Hic ego mitto vestre sacre maiestate unum cantum de musica cum quinque vocum: est optimum et bonum. Ego missi vestre maiestate sex parvos libros, ubi multa bona intra sunt, cum magistro Allexandro Aurifabri, etc.

Ego rogo quod maiestas vestre vult considerare paupertatem meam.

Ego dimisi unum manicordium cum pedale in Grimtwitz. Et misi vestram maiestatem dredecim Cromhorns: pro talia non sum recompensatus, sed spero.

A translation of the relevant bits would read: 'Here I send your majesty a musical piece in five voices: it is excellent and good ... And I have sent your majesty thirteen crumhorns, for which I have not been rewarded, but I hope.' That could just be an elaborate code concealing political information: after all, thirteen is an unusual number to send.¹² But the main body of the letter is already so incriminating that this postscript is unlikely to mean anything other than what it seems to mean. Evidently Alamire was aware of the crumhorn and of ensembles of crumhorns; and this can still offer gentle support to the view that his *T'Andernaken* was composed specifically for crumhorns. So there is something particularly tempting in his reference to an unnamed piece in five voices that he sends with the letter.

It is tempting for several reasons. First, a single piece rather than a larger codex is in itself a slightly unusual gift for the monarch, coming from Alamire of all people. Second, the lack of further information about it in the letter suggests that there was something in the piece that Henry would immediately understand. Since the largest surviving composition of Henry VIII apart from his *Quam pulchra es* is his own setting of *T'Andernaken*, he would surely recognize the intended flattery.¹³ It is hard to resist speculating on the possibility that Alamire sent something that would immediately attract Henry's attention among the hundreds of gifts he received each year.

The work's authorship has been doubted in the past.¹⁴ Some of the reasons need exploring. The key point here is that Alamire signed some of the manuscripts he copied; perhaps the Vienna copyist mistook such a signature for an ascription of the music. There are indeed Alamire signatures in his manuscripts, listed by Flynn Warmington in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁵ Two are in VienNB Mus. 18825, but on the outside paper covers of the partbooks, well away from any music. Two

¹² Keith Polk pointed out at the Alamire conference (Leuven, 25–28 November 1999) that crumhorns, then as now, have two characteristics that would make it desirable to have more than the minimum number. First, their very limited range of a ninth means that they were less adaptable than most other instruments. Second, they are unusually temperamental instruments and often malfunction; having several to choose from would be an asset. In the next century Michael Praetorius mentioned in his *Theatrum instrumentorum* (1620) that a complete set of crumhorns should comprise nine instruments; see KENTON, *The Crumhorn*, p. 118.

¹³ His *T'Andernaken* setting is printed in J. STEVENS ed., *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*, (*Musica Britannica*, 18), London, 1962, rev. ed. 1969, no. 78. In my view there is no virtue whatsoever in the doubts that have been expressed about whether this is really Henry's work; see D. FALLOWS, *Henry VIII as a Composer*, in C. BANKS, A. SEARLE and M. TURNER eds., *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on His 70th Birthday*, London, 1993, pp. 27–39.

¹⁴ For the record, it should be mentioned that Hans-Joachim Moser suggested that the piece could be by Hans Kugelmann; but he was working only from the Copenhagen partbooks (CopKB 1872) and did not know of the Alamire ascription. See H.-J. MOSER, *Instrumentalisten bei Ludwig Senfl*, in W. LOTT, H. OSTHOFF and W. WOLFFHEIM eds., *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge: Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 123–138, on p. 127. The fullest statement of the case against Alamire's authorship is in TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4; and his views have been accepted in SCHNEIDER, *Collection*, p. 10. In what follows I have not attempted to dismember Taruskin's argument in detail, since it was written twenty years ago and was part of a preface to a performing edition.

¹⁵ F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 44.

1

4

7

11

14

The image shows five staves of a musical score, likely for a five-voice choir. The staves are arranged vertically, with the top staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. Measure numbers 17, 20, 23, 26, and 29 are indicated at the beginning of each corresponding staff. The music consists of sixteenth-note patterns and includes various rests and dynamic markings. The score is written on a standard five-line staff system.

Example 1. Petrus Alamire, *T'Andernaken op den Rijn*, with added fifth voice from CopKB 1872.

appear at the ends of sections in the secular song partbooks VienNB Mus. 18746, but placed so that there was no possibility of thinking that they were ascriptions; these are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue;¹⁶ and it is hard to see how even the most ignorant copyist would think that these were ascriptions, though I cannot imagine why Alamire signed them. One appears at the bottom of one of the unbound part-sheets in VienNB 9814, for a work firmly and clearly headed with the name of Verbonnet. And the last is at the bottom of the single part-sheet now inserted in VienNB 11778, containing the texted *Patrem* and *Agnus* 3 of Josquin's *Missa Fortuna desperata*. This last could conceivably be read as an ascription; and it is perfectly possible that there were many similar cases among Alamire sources that have not survived. But the documentation would seem to show that Alamire was internationally known as a copyist, not as a composer. While the Vienna copyist could have made that mistake, it seems far more likely that he would have thought twice before concluding that this was really a composition by the famous copyist. That is, the very fact that Alamire was not famous as a composer adds credibility to the ascription.¹⁷

Other arguments against the piece include the view that music for a group of crumhorns is mostly likely to be German. Alamire was of course German by birth, but let that pass, since his career was entirely in the Low Countries. But both the Vatican intarsia, mentioned above, and Petrus Alamire's letter to Henry VIII seem clear enough evidence that groups of crumhorns were known elsewhere, so that argument quickly falls.

Another part of the case is that it would be Alamire's only known composition. But there are dozens of composers from the early sixteenth century known from only a single work. Among the compositions printed by Attaingnant in the first eight years of his activity as a music publisher, 1528–1535, there are fifteen composers known from only a single work. That hardly seems in itself grounds for denying them the single work ascribed to them. And, for what it may be worth, another composition of Alamire will be proposed below.

There is no reason why the man who processed more polyphonic music than anybody of his generation should not have composed; in fact one could almost say that it would be slightly odd if he did not.¹⁸ But it remains true that the ascription (like many others at that time) could be based on a misunderstanding. To approach this question we should have a further look at the Vienna partbooks and Taruskin's definitely pertinent remark that "the Vienna manuscript ... has a large number of proven misattributions".¹⁹

For the eighty-six pieces in VienNB Mus. 18810 there are seventy-two ascriptions, which is a high proportion for sources of that time. Thirteen of these are contested elsewhere. In three cases the Vienna scribe was certainly right.²⁰ In four other cases it is not possible to take a position on the right composer.²¹

¹⁶ KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 48, p. 160, and cat. no. 49, p. 162.

¹⁷ I thank Joshua Rifkin for that observation, made at the Alamire conference (Leuven, 25–28 November 1999).

¹⁸ At the Alamire conference Keith Polk pointed out that the publisher Tylman Susato was also a prolific composer.

¹⁹ TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4.

²⁰ Nobody doubts that he was right (along with many others) in giving the song *Tous les regretz* (no. 63) to Pierre de la Rue, even though there is an ascription elsewhere to Josquin; Edgar Sparks has carefully argued that *Ach got wem soll ichs klagen* (no. 4) is indeed by *Noel Balduin*, as given in Vienna, rather than by Grefinger; and *Die prunlein die da vliessen* (no. 14) must be by Hofhaimer, even though three later prints give it to Isaac, see H.J. MOSER, *Paul Hofhaimer: ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus*, Stuttgart, 1929, p. 121.

²¹ No. 11, *Carmen [Leal schraj tante]: Petri de la rue*, but perhaps by Josquin; no. 19, *Carmen: Henricus ysaac*, texted and ascribed to Hofhaimer in *RISM B/1542**; no. 36, *Lombre [Il n'est plaisir]: Henricus Ysaac*, but elsewhere ascribed to Josquin; no. 59, *Ach hulff mich layd: Noel Balduin*, but perhaps by La Rue or Josquin.

But in six cases he was almost certainly wrong, often disastrously so. He credits Pierre de la Rue with *Adieu Florens* of Pietrequin Bonnel (no. 39), *Ain frölich wesen* of Pipelare (no. 41), and bizarrely Sermisy's most famous song, *Jouissance vous donneray* (no. 62), which he presents yet again, this time anonymously. He credits Isaac with the song *Vous marchez du bout du pied* (no. 55), by Busnoys, and found in sources from around the time of Isaac's birth, and *Si dormiero* (no. 57), which is ascribed to La Rue in the highly authoritative FlorC 2439 (though elsewhere to Alexander, Josquin and Heinrich Finck). He also gives Conrad Rupsch the younger as the composer of *Nun bitt wir den haylichen gayst* (no. 81), which Johann Walter had printed as his own in his *Geystliches gesangk Buchleyen* (RISM A/I/W 167).

About half of the ascriptions in VienNB Mus. 18810 have no confirmation or contradiction in other sources. Only twenty of the other ascriptions in Vienna are actually confirmed elsewhere. That is actually a fairly high proportion for sources of this kind, but it does endorse Taruskin's point, that ascriptions in this manuscript should be treated with some caution. On the other hand, it is notable that the clear misascriptions in Vienna are all to famous composers of the day. Alamire does not fall into that category.

But one more point about VienNB Mus. 18810 concerns a concordance with an Alamire manuscript, one that seems to have been overlooked. The four-voice song *Plus outre* is the one that appears, with its complete text, in the set of Alamire part-sheets in VienNB 9814. There are four matters of interest here. First the readings in VienNB Mus. 18810 almost exactly replicate those in the Alamire part-sheets: perhaps they shared a common exemplar, but perhaps VienNB Mus. 18810 was copied from the Alamire part-sheets; after all, its text opening plainly alludes to the motto of the emperor Charles V. And one might suggest, as a rider to that comment, that the Alamire exhibition catalogue shows that there is room for fresh thought on what we should perhaps be calling the 'Wagenrieder workshop'.²² Second, two of the voices in VienNB 9814 (fol. 144 and fol. 146) have below them the little sign that appears so often at the end of pieces in the Alamire manuscripts, as though to denote that they had been checked by somebody, perhaps Alamire. One could interpret that information in at least two ways for the *T'Andernaken* setting: either that the Vienna scribe saw the sign, recognized it as Alamire's, and entered the presumed ascription over the piece; or that this is a sign of a kind that nobody would confuse with an ascription. Third, the piece is another work with extremely unusual texture, namely four voices in more or less the same range. Fourth, the piece offers very strong indications that the Vienna scribe was aware of Alamire's work as a copyist.

In any case Alamire was in Augsburg in 1519.²³ If it is right that VienNB Mus. 18810 was copied in Augsburg, albeit a few years later, there is every chance that some of it was done on the basis of materials actually provided by Alamire.

We should pass on from there to the *Missa Sancta Dei genitrix* in JenaU 21. In the La Rue edition, Evan Kreider reports that the rubricated ascription originally read *Petrus Alamyre*, and was then adjusted to read *Petrus la Rie* or perhaps *la Vie*. He also argued that the lack of scratching in

²² Lucas Wagenrieder was first identified as the Vienna copyist by Theodor Kroyer in 1903, and endorsed by all students until Martin Staehelin threw doubt on it, though it was subsequently re-endorsed by Staehelin's student Rainer Birkendorf. It seems easy enough to suggest that several scribes were involved and that the processes of the 'Wagenrieder workshop' are far more closely related to those of the Alamire workshop than has been generally recognized.

²³ See, for example, the remarks and documentation given in SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, p. 20.

this adjustment suggests almost instant correction.²⁴ If I read his commentary correctly, the three editors of the edition had agreed that this was very much in La Rue's style before they noticed a concordance. The section *Pleni sunt celi* appears in Rhaw's *Bicinia* of 1545 (*RISM* B/1545⁶), firmly ascribed to Petrus de la Rue. Whether Rhaw's view on the matter is more to be trusted than that of the Alamire workshop is another matter. But the elaborate canonic treatment and the obsessive use in all voices of the seven-pitch melody that underlies the mass would seem to endorse their judgment that the mass is indeed by Pierre de la Rue, despite the odd nature of the Jena ascription, even after it had been corrected. But there are three points to be made about this.

First, by an astonishing coincidence, this piece appears immediately after La Rue's *Missa T'Andernaken*. Could the rubricator have had in his mind that Alamire had set this melody and absent-mindedly written his name after Petrus over the next mass? Second, whatever the true authorship of the piece, the rubricator seems to have thought nothing wrong with the idea that Petrus Alamire had composed. This manuscript was prepared in the Alamire workshop.²⁵ Whoever did the rubrics may just have seen an ascription with a musical rebus for the *la* and momentarily confused Petrus Alamire with Petrus de la Rue. Third, if the JenaU 21 scribe could confuse one Petrus with another, so perhaps could others. Is there just a possibility that the *T'Andernaken* setting ascribed to Petrus Alamire is in fact by Petrus de la Rue?²⁶

So if people were desperate not to credit this really rather fine *T'Andernaken* setting to Petrus Alamire, perhaps La Rue would be a possibility. But the catch here comes from the various different versions of the *T'Andernaken* melody used in the fourteen known settings (omitting the Senfl four-voice setting, which is a freer fantasy).

Example 2 shows the melody: the main line is taken from the settings of Brumel and Obrecht, which happen to be the same. Above and below the staves are the variant readings in other settings;

Abbreviations (in Example 2):

<i>A</i> = Agricola	<i>RISM</i> B/1504 ³
<i>B</i> = Brussels	BrusBR II.270
<i>H</i> = Hofhaimer	SGalls 530
<i>L</i> = Lapicida	<i>RISM</i> B/1504 ³
<i>M</i> = <i>Marsh Lutebook</i>	Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.2.13
<i>P</i> = Petrus Alamire	CopKB 1872
<i>R</i> = Pierre de la Rue	JenaU 21
<i>S</i> = Senfl (five-voice setting)	<i>RISM</i> B/1534 ¹⁷
<i>T</i> = Tyling	TrentC 87
<i>W</i> = Smits van Waesberghen	MaastR s.s.
<i>8</i> = Henry VIII	LonBL 31922

²⁴ N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/6), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1996, pp. xv–xvi. I am grateful to Dr. Nigel Davison for providing, before this edition was published, a similar report of his own reading of the manuscript (letter of 6 February 1986).

²⁵ See the outline description in E. JAS, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 21* (JenaU 21), in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 20, p. 103, though without discussion of the problems involved in this ascription.

²⁶ Oddly enough, the Vienna scribe always wrote La Rue's name in the genitive, *Petri de la Rue*, though he used the nominative form for *Paulus Hofhaymer*, *Henricus Ysaac*, *Henricus Finck*, *Antonius Prumel*, *Petrus Alamire* and, when he used the Latin form, *Ludovicus Sennfl*. Only La Rue has the genitive *Petri*.

The musical score consists of four systems of staves, each with a different key signature and time signature. The staves are labeled with various initials representing different reading variants. The first system (measures 1-5) includes labels HMS, BHLMR8, and [APW]. The second system (measures 6-10) includes label W and AP. The third system (measures 11-15) includes label HM. The fourth system (measures 17-21) includes labels AHPRW, ALPRTMW8, RW, W, and R8. The fifth system (measures 23-27) includes labels B8, HS, W, PW, and P. The sixth system (measures 29-33) includes labels H and A. Measure numbers 6, 11, 17, 23, and 29 are indicated on the left side of the score.

Example 2. Variant readings of the melody *T'Andermaken op den Rijn*.

square brackets mean that a beat is omitted entirely. Except in one case the example omits variants in the Tyling version (T), which is over half a century earlier than any of the others; and it omits most variants from Lapidida (L), which has some very odd differences not found elsewhere. But for the rest all essential variants are there, though with some rhythms a little simplified. And perhaps the first thing to notice is that the melody appears in absolutely regular units of two bars (that is, four breves) except at the end, where all versions agree in having just half a bar at bar 31.

The other variants are mostly small. In bar 3, there is a slight difference in Hofhaimer (H), Senfl's five-voice setting (S) and the late English version found in the *Marsh Lutebook* (M), which may therefore go back to a German source. At bars 4–5 the variant above the stave is from the anonymous setting in Brussels (B), Hofhaimer, Lapidida, Henry VIII (given by '8' to avoid confusion with Hofhaimer), the *Marsh Lutebook* and the mass of Pierre de la Rue (R). That is to say that the main version here is found only in Tyling, Obrecht, Brumel and Senfl.

But the point at issue is that the variant below the stave at that point, the metrically irregular omission of the d', appears only in the settings of Agricola (A), Petrus Alamire (which I give here as 'P' to distinguish it from Agricola), and the isolated tenor voice in Maastricht published by Smits van Waesberghe (hence W);²⁷ Agricola and Petrus Alamire are synoptic also at bar 8 (though Henry VIII shares their reading), and most particularly at bars 10–12, where again they miss half a bar. Moreover at that point the details of their embellishments are exactly the same.

Those variants would seem to show that the composer of the Petrus Alamire setting had some connection with Agricola, who spent the last six years of his life at the Burgundian court at a time when Alamire was associated with the court as a copyist; and they might even suggest a dating for the Alamire setting rather earlier than its known sources of the years around 1530. The variants also emphatically imply that he was not the same person who composed the mass by Pierre de la Rue.

In fact, at bars 17–18, where things become more complicated, a single reading is shared by Agricola, Petrus Alamire, La Rue and again the Maastricht/Waesberghe fragment. But La Rue does not otherwise reflect the versions of Agricola and Alamire.

The other main conclusion to be drawn from those variants concerns the details that Hofhaimer and Senfl share: they should surprise nobody, but they do suggest that there is a specific German version of the melody, which in its turn gives even less credibility to the notion that the Alamire setting is by an unnamed German composer.

I therefore conclude that, despite a certain unreliability in the ascriptions of the Vienna part-books, there is every indication that this *T'Andernaken* setting is by Petrus Alamire. Moreover it was composed with crumhorns in mind. Whether the added voice was also Alamire's work and whether this was indeed the piece that he sent to Henry VIII with all those crumhorns, are plainly questions harder to answer.

But the thought needed raising because a similar uncertainty surrounds the last work to be discussed here, the setting of *La Spagna*, also in five voices, ascribed to Josquin. It appears in CopKB 1872 only a few pages after Alamire's *T'Andernaken*;²⁸ it adapts its famous tenor in exactly the same way, with repeated notes and small embellishments; and it is the one piece in these part-books that seems similar in texture and rhythmic style to the Alamire *T'Andernaken*. Among the

²⁷ J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Een 15de eeuws muziekboek van de stadsminstrelen van Maastricht?*, in J. ROBIJNS ed., *Renaissance-muziek 1400–1600: donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, (*Musicologica Lovaniensia*, 1), Leuven, 1969, pp. 247–268, with facsimile (fol. 26v–27) and transcription (p. 264).

²⁸ As noted by Kenton Meyer; see MEYER, *The Crumhorn*, 1983, p. 130.

thirty-five five-voice works in CopKB 1872, this *La Spagna* setting is the only other piece to fit exactly for an ensemble of five crumhorns – though in this case there is no annotation to say so: I merely conclude from the rarity of that precise range configuration and the similarity of the two pieces that this *La Spagna* setting was also composed with crumhorns in mind.

The *New Josquin Edition* list reports six further sources for this piece, all of Germanic origin and mostly with the text *Propter peccata nostra*, which plainly will not fit.²⁹ All but two ascribe it to Josquin, as does the Heidelberg court inventory. But although it was published with approval both by Osthoff³⁰ and the editors of the *Josquin Werken*, nobody today seems to accept his authorship.³¹

All the sources of the piece are to some extent synoptic and contain a number of errors that are not corrected in the modern editions.³² All are simple and eliminate some very rough counterpoint. But they do not affect the work's thick textures, which remain uncharacteristic of Josquin. Perhaps those textures arose from the genre; and to explore that matter further it would be good to know of any further works in the style of these two.

But it can be said that both pieces contain many cases of the so-called *Satzfehler*, which Edgar H. Sparks used to eliminate several works from the Josquin canon: the sounding of the leading-note suspension simultaneously with its resolution in a cadential progression. Though this is not unknown in even the very best works of Josquin, it never occurs so frequently: I find ten cases of *Satzfehler* in each piece.

We have, then, two pieces of similar length with similar density of texture, similar harmonic and contrapuntal vocabulary, similar ranges apparently intended for a group of crumhorns, with the tenor in the same position, used in a similar manner. But in other ways they are hard to compare, not least in that one is plainly a five-voice piece whereas the other is a four-voice piece with an added voice. *La Spagna* is also a little more florid, and it has nearly twice as many rests. In *La Spagna* imitation is never in more than two voices at a time, whereas the two most prominent imitations in *T'Andernaken* are in three voices.

²⁹ The *NJE* list is so far circulated informally and primarily to editors of the edition; I am grateful to the editorial board for making it available to me. Manuscripts: CopKB 1872, *Anon.*; CopKB 1873, *Anon.*, *Propter peccata*; DresSL 1/D/6 (bassus voice only), *Josquin, Propter peccata que peccasti*; HradKM 22 (tenor voice only), *Josquin de Pres, Propter peccata quae peccasti*; RokyA 22 (discantus voice only), *Josquin, Propter peccata quae peccasti*. Prints: Formschneider, *RISM B/1537*, *Ios.*, *Propter peccata quae peccasti*; Berg & Neuber, *RISM B/1559*, *Iosquin de Pres, Propter peccata quae peccasti*. For the Heidelberg inventory, see J. LAMBRECHT, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar' von 1544*, Heidelberg, 1987; it reads on folio 51: *Miserere mei, Propter peccata, Josquin (auch in puchln.A.)*.

³⁰ See H. OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2, Tutzing, 1965, p. 237.

³¹ See S.R. CHARLES, *Josquin des Prez: A Guide to Research*, New York – London, 1983, p. 40; and Jeremy Noble's worklist for S. SADIE ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

³² Rather than presenting the work again, I simply refer the reader to two easily available editions: OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2, pp. 397–401; and A. SMIJERS, M. ANTONOWYCZ and W. ELDERS eds., *Josquin des Prés, Werken, Wereldlijke Werken*, 5/54, Amsterdam, 1968, no. 52, pp. 8–13. Suggested emendations (which apply to both editions) include: 6 ii adjust to match 88 ii; 8 v adjust rhythms so that second note is a minim and the following notes follow the rhythmic pattern just heard in ii and iv; 12 i second and third pitches f' and e'; 15 iv last note G; 19 v last note must be deleted; 22 i last three notes a third higher; 24 iv last note G; 35 iv penultimate note a; 50 i–ii and 52 i rhythms adjusted to match 49 i; 53 iv second note d; 54 i pitches g' f' d' c' d'; 69 v adjust rhythm of the first three notes to match what follows in ii; 69 v last note c; 80 i adjust rhythms to match 77 i; 89 ii for c' read d'. Some of these changes (and some different ones) are silently incorporated into the practical edition: D. STEVENS ed., *Josquin des Pres: La Spagna for String Quintet or Consort of Viols*, New York, 1993.

On the other hand, if a need arose for five-voice crumhorn music Alamire could have fulfilled it initially by adding a fifth voice to *T'Andernaken* and then gone on to compose *La Spagna* in five voices, using a slightly more assured style seen, for example, in the opening passage, in the fuller use of rests, in the less compulsive use of imitation, and in the slightly wider range of melodic material.

Of course the ascription of anonymous pieces on the basis of style is always dangerous. But at least the genre and style of the five-voice *La Spagna* setting put it in the same category as *T'Andernaken*. I do wish to insist, however, that the ascription of *T'Andernaken* in VienNB Mus. 18810 should be taken seriously: while any unsupported unique ascription must be treated with caution, the handful of bizarre ascriptions in Vienna are more than counterbalanced by Alamire's known association with the crumhorn and by the form of the melody he used, almost exactly that of Agricola. I also wish to suggest that any future study of the 'Wagenrieder workshop' should take serious account of its likely connections with, and perhaps influence from, the workshop of Petrus Alamire.

Henry VIII as a Composer

ERASMUS found it hard to believe that an autograph letter he received in 1507 was Prince Henry's unaided work. Its immaculate humanistic Latin and its confident diplomatic style seemed far beyond the powers of a fifteen-year-old boy. Even the assurance of Lord Mountjoy was not enough to convince him that the prince had had no help until he actually saw drafts with Henry's autograph corrections.¹

Henry's musical compositions elicit a more mixed response from commentators today. All but two of the works ascribed to him are in what, with less than complete accuracy, we call the 'Henry VIII Manuscript' – the large anthology generally dated around 1518, and certainly copied after 1513, containing over a hundred secular pieces, of which thirty-three are ascribed to 'The Kynge H. viij'.² Most of them are fairly slender efforts; some are just a few bars of contrapuntal cliché with a mindlessly busy upper line; several contain parallel fifths or rough contrapuntal clashes; and at least one is demonstrably an earlier piece to which Henry added a dismally incompetent fourth voice. It is on the basis of these that Henry VIII's composing activities are often considered something of a joke, with the added assumption (following Erasmus's initial instinct about the letter) that anything good about them was probably the work of another hand.³ Further consideration suggests otherwise.

Edward Halle's chronicle mentions that in the summer of 1510 Henry VIII 'did set .ii. goodly masses, every of them fyve partes, whiche were song oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diverse other places'.⁴ The Masses are lost, but there is no good reason to doubt Halle's testimony. Certainly Halle – like so many other chroniclers – was inclined to exaggeration, and the passage from which these words come puts much emphasis on the young King's exceptional energy; but his details on the two Masses look sober enough. Many of his expected readers would have known whether or not the works existed and whether they had been widely sung. It is not entirely clear from what Halle says whether the Masses were actually in five voices or simply had five movements, so they could just have been in only three voices; there is no need to be too confident of the weight of the word 'goodly' for works that seem not

to have been much recopied; and at the most literal level one could also note that while Halle says they were also sung elsewhere he does not go so far as to say that they were sung by other choirs, away from the King's presence. But even if they were feeble by professional standards of the time, their mere existence indicates that at the age of nineteen Henry VIII was a composer of rather more stature than we might guess from some of the little trifles entered in the Henry VIII Manuscript a few years later.

A kinder reading of Halle would make it possible to advance more substantial claims. He does indeed seem to be saying that they were in five voices, which was the most common medium for English Masses of the time. Moreover there are very good political reasons why it should later have seemed wise to suppress Latin Mass compositions by Henry, irrespective of whether they were any good.

One of his Latin sacred pieces does survive, the extended three-voice 'Quam pulchra es', copied much later into John Baldwin's commonplace book, with the words 'Rex henricus octavus' written twice on the opening.⁵ Certainly it is no masterpiece: it returns too often to cadences on C, and many of the lines are a shade ungainly – though Ernest Walker was too stern when he described it as 'dull exercise-work'.⁶ What it does show is faultless (if slightly bland) part-writing and a clear sense of how textures can be varied and paced over a longer musical argument. It also shows an informed command of *tempus perfectum* and simple proportions; some apparent errors in the proportion-signs as they appear in the manuscript look more like faults of transmission than of composition. Again there is no compelling reason to doubt that the piece is his. Baldwin may have been copying in the last decade of the century, but his ascriptions are generally reliable and his choice of pieces for that strange anthology shows an active and knowledgeable interest in the music of Henry's reign and earlier.⁷

Returning now to the music in the Henry VIII Manuscript, it is worth disposing immediately of misconceptions about two of his finest pieces there. The three-voice 'Taunder naken' (no.78: here and in what follows all numbers refer to those in John Stevens's complete edition of the manuscript) has been described as heavily indebted to continental settings of the same tune,⁸ whereas it is thoroughly independent, owing no more to the slightly earlier settings of Agricola, Brumel, Hofhaimer, Obrecht and Lapicida than these owe to one another; moreover the top line may be fussy but it is no more so than those of Hofhaimer and Lapicida.⁹ In fact I would be inclined to claim that Henry's version is an extremely good and well-planned piece, its melodic and structural peaks placed with some skill. The unforgettable 'Pastime with good company' (no.7) is widely stated to have borrowed from Richafort's 'De mon triste desplaisir', whereas the two share only their melodies: Richafort's three lower voices are heavily imitative and bear all the signs of a piece composed in the mid-1520s (it was first published in 1529) providing a new contrapuntal context for a received melody.¹⁰ The

Ex. 1. 'Gentil prince'

melody that Richafort borrowed for this setting could easily have originated with Henry VIII, for it was in fact known on the continent with its English title; at least, a version in Melchiore de Barberiis's tenth lutebook (Venice, 1549) has the heading 'Pas de mi bon compagni'.¹¹ As such it could well join a long history of English songs found on the continent either with added French texts or intabulated with the English text opening given in garbled form.

There is in fact just one piece by Henry VIII that demonstrably borrows received

polyphony. This is 'Gentil prince de renom' (no.45): three of the voices are in the earliest book of printed part-music, Petrucci's *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501),¹² and plainly Henry's contribution is just the stumbling contratenor line already mentioned, the third voice down in John Stevens's edition (ex.1). Here 'stumbling' may be too generous a word: some of it is thoroughly incompetent. For the first phrase (bars 1–6) there is hardly an appropriate note: Henry begins by doubling the major third of the chord and holds that pitch through an incompatible chord change, only to leap inconsequentially down a fourth to double another major third. But the repeat of the original music in bars 6–9 shows a sudden change to assured competence. Only one conclusion seems possible: that the young Henry had been set the instructional task of adding a new voice and started extremely badly, so his teacher wrote that line for the next phrase to show him how it could be done. From there onwards the line shows more confidence but very little skill. In fairness it is worth noting that the unsupported fourth chord at the beginning of bar 11 may just be an accident of transmission, since the single variant reading in the *Odhecaton* is an E flat in the bass at this point (found also in Vicenzo Capirola's later intabulation). But the parallel fifths to the next note and the implied octaves to the one after that are a little rough (though not grotesque). For the rest of the piece the new line works out a little melodic gambit (DCDED CBA) in various ways, some more successful than others: the accented passing notes in bars 12, 14 and 19 are just permissible, as is the implied seventh chord at bar 17 (there had already been one in bar 5), the A at the beginning of bar 15 is terrible, the footling dip at the beginning of bar 21 creates fifths with the bass, and bar 18 shows a complete loss of concentration, particularly in its four consecutive unisons with the tenor.

No teacher would spell all that out, of course. This is the work of a hesitant pupil who will get better with practice; so it is easy to imagine that his teacher, having given an example of how it could be done in bars 6–9, would show some pleasure at the marginal elegance with which Henry handled that melodic gambit and would let the infelicities pass without comment, preferring to move him on to the next exercise. But those details are important now because they show exactly the nature of the exercise: the opening bars are the clearest evidence that Henry was then at an extremely elementary stage in his musical studies. Nothing else in the manuscript even approaches this in point of incompetence. It is easy to conclude that the piece would not have been recopied but for the eminence of its author. On the other hand there is nothing deceitful about adding a fourth voice to a three-voice piece: the same printed collection, Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, contains at least eight such additions, five of them unique to that volume and several of them rather poor; and Allan Atlas has argued that composers adding an extra voice, or even slightly modifying a received work, often also added their names to the music thus transformed.¹³

There is, moreover, something to be learned from the nature of the piece that Henry's teacher – presumably – chose. It is almost an exercise in minimalist chanson

writing: the discantus has a range of only four notes (apart from a dip to the low E in bar 3 and related points), the tenor has a range of only a fifth, and the harmonic range is exceptionally limited. In many ways it is one of the earliest harbingers of what was to become the four-voice 'Parisian chanson' style of the 1520s, that extraordinary generation of restraint and control in word-setting;¹⁴ and its ballade-derived form results in the opening material (itself immediately repeated) being alluded to again at the end of the piece. It might almost be possible to suggest that Henry's teacher chose a superb example for that stage in his studies but also showed a clear eye for the ways in which song composition was evolving.

'Helas ma dame' (no.10, illus.1) also looks as though its contratenor could be a clumsy addition: the accented upward passing notes in bars 2 and 9 betray an inexperienced hand, as does the angular line in bar 11 and perhaps even the momentary parallel fifths between tenor and contratenor in bar 3 (and it is worth again noticing that the problems in bars 2 and 3 are eliminated at the repeats of that passage in bars 6–7, though the entire opening section is repeated warts and all as bars 13–20).¹⁵ French origin for the other three voices has been suggested because the discantus line derives from a known monophonic chanson,¹⁶ and its three-voice setting resembles many works by Compère and others from around 1500. But various details here combine to suggest that everything except the melodic outline could be Henry's work. The first to have struck my own ear is the turning figure in bar 6 (discantus and bass), a device of a kind often found in English music (indeed in Henry's music) but rare in the continental repertory. That in its turn immediately draws attention to parallel fifths between tenor and bass at the beginning of that figure – a feature that is in fact rather well hidden by the contrary leap of the contratenor line, but one that would hardly be tolerable in a three-voice version (with all voices falling a step together). Briefly, it seems inconceivable that the three-voice framework – charming though it is – could be the work of a skilled composer or that it could be chosen by a responsible teacher as a model for the young prince.

Moreover, there are several details here that seem to build on the experience of working with 'Gentil prince'. Both pieces have the same tonality, and in both the discantus and tenor run in parallel sixths almost throughout. This technique is easy and effective, well within the grasp of any moderately musical child; and adding the bass poses very few extra difficulties, particularly if, as here, he has the model of 'Gentil prince'. That is to say Henry has now progressed a little.

'En vraye amoure' (no.81) presents a similar though trickier case. The cautious simplicity of its contratenor prompted John Stevens to note that it 'looks suspiciously like one of Henry's added parts'. Where the music repeats, the contratenor similarly repeats; and the result is pleasant enough, despite exposed parallel fifths in bar 10 – a feature often found in the added voices of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*. But this piece too goes back to a French melody. Warwick Edwards noticed and kindly drew my attention to



Illus. 1.

'Helas ma dame' from the
'Henry VIII manuscript' (Add.
MS. 31922, fols. 18v, 19.).

the same melodic outline in Loiset Compère's four-part 'Alons fere nos barbes', a work with an obscure but earthy macaronic text.¹⁷ As it happens there is an earlier source for the tune, with yet another text, 'Helas je l'ay perdue', in another monophonic chansonnier in the Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr.12744.¹⁸ This clarifies the procedure adopted both in Henry's piece and that of Compère: the first phrase of the original virelai tune



appears in the discantus, but the second phrase is in the tenor (from bar 9 in Henry's version); and the final section (from bar 21) has no basis in the surviving monophonic song though it does have its parallel in Compère. The Compère piece appears, like 'Gentil prince', in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, so it is possible that the three main voices of 'En vraye amoure' are also Henry's work, drawing both on the original tune and on Com-

père.¹⁹ Here too, Henry's counterpoint draws heavily on parallel sixths; but it uses a slightly wider vocabulary, especially in bars 9-12. Moreover, apart from that detail in the contratenor and a couple of rhythmic details that may be copying errors, the piece is technically 'correct'.²⁰ Part of the correctness is the result of caution, in the mainly very simple contratenor line, and in the many exact repeats of material already presented. One could even imagine that the teacher had cajoled Henry to avoid overreaching himself (and there is no need to reflect on the broader political implications of that advice).

So it may well be that Henry is also the composer of the whole of the considerably more ambitious 'Adieu ma dame et ma maistresse' (no.9). There are again passages that the counterpoint teacher in me would suggest rewriting, but they are in all the voices, not just the contratenor. There is, as John Stevens noted, a slightly better version of the three main voices in a later printed playbook, where it has the English text 'Time to pass with goodly sport' (no.9A), though again with parallel fifths in bars 7 and 18. It is hard to draw simple conclusions as to Henry's contribution here; but there seems a good chance that at a later date, and with more skill at his fingertips, Henry reworked the music with its new English text. The point here is that all the pieces mentioned so far have French texts and are in four voices. No other French settings by him are known; the remainder are in English and nearly all in three voices. I suggest, then, that these French-texted pieces are his earliest efforts, heavily based on French models. Thereafter he turned to English.

But the technique of simple parallel sixths is one that evidently continued to appeal to Henry. Virtually nothing else happens in 'Pertime with good company' (no.7), 'Whoso that will for grace sue' (no.79), 'Alack alack what shall I do' (no.30), 'Whereto should I express' (no.47) and 'O my heart' (no.15). As a slight modification of that, he tries the same with parallel thirds in 'Green groweth the holly' (no.33). But for all their simplicity of means, these are astonishingly beautiful and memorable pieces. In terms of technique, there is still nothing here beyond a moderately intelligent schoolboy; but at the same time there are good reasons why several of them are often performed today – reasons, it seems to me, that go beyond the name of the composer.

There are still technical blunders. 'O my heart' has four pairs of parallel fifths with the bass in bar 2 – which could easily have been avoided by putting a low C in the bass (a vast improvement in almost every way, I would have thought). 'Pertime with good company' has very nasty fifths at bar 4 (repeated at the end), very similar to those in the three 'original' voices of 'Helas ma dame'. These are only in the Henry VIII Manuscript version (no.7); for the slightly different version of the song in BL, Add. MS. 5665, the Ritson Manuscript (no.7A), they are eliminated. Further to that, though, the Ritson version has at least one more change that shows a touch of genius: at bar 11 the original falling phrase from high C is changed to echo the opening of the song, thereby welding together the materials in the approach to the final cadence. One explanation could be

that a more skilled hand touched up the work of the royal dabbler; but the entire theme of the discussion so far has been to show Henry gradually gaining skill, confidence, judgement and originality. My own exploration of the pieces leaves me with no doubt that both versions could be his work and very little doubt that both really are his.

Three more conclusions now seem inevitable. First, his initial fumbling efforts must date from the very earliest years of the century. In 1502 he became heir apparent; but before that he was destined for the church, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in which context it would be perfectly natural for a ten-year-old boy to receive musical instruction. In any case, noble children at this time were habitually trained in music. The earliest source of 'Gentil prince de renom' known to us today is the *Odhecaton* of 1501; but it must surely have been in circulation before that. This is not to assert that Henry's first efforts are necessarily so early; and it is definitely not to deny that the Henry VIII Manuscript includes pieces composed after he became king in 1509; but it is to say that there are also several that go back long before then. In the years before his accession, he seems to have been all but isolated from everybody; he had plenty of time to develop the skills that he so brilliantly showed in the early years of his reign. If he could write Mass cycles at the age of nineteen and immaculately diplomatic letters to Erasmus at fifteen, he could well have been struggling with 'Gentil prince de renom' at eleven. The French songs ascribed to him, the ones that give the most fuel to condescending attitudes, were probably all done by the time he was about sixteen. Any reader who has tried to teach bright nineteen-year-olds to write polyphony in the Renaissance style without too many parallel fifths may have cause to reflect on that.

Second, those pieces are elementary teaching exercises, presumably the kind of thing that most composers of the time went through in their youth. For most, of course, they were thrown away; in Henry's case, we still have those exercises because he became King of England. They give what may well be unique evidence of compositional instruction at the time.

Third, as concerns those very simple but beautiful English songs, they are all of a piece with the young prince who made a point of excelling in everything he did, whether archery, horsemanship, tossing the caber or exchanging Latin letters with the leading intellect of his day. He was by no means the only courtier of his time to have composed music. Most learned a musical instrument, many of them performed publicly. Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy composed, sang very badly (to the acute embarrassment of his courtiers) and had his motets performed for him at Cambrai Cathedral. But the sheer quantity of Henry's works suggests the kind of energy we know from other aspects of his life. More than that, though, the best of them – particularly 'Taunder naken' (no.78) and 'Though some saith' (no.66) – reflect the genius noticed by all those who encountered him, and which they described in words that were widely read as mere flattering hyperbole. Then as now, few people are happy with the notion that a hereditary monarch is brilliant.

When Erasmus described his disbelief about a letter from a young boy he was answering a correspondent who in 1529 had doubted the authority of a pamphlet published as by Henry VIII. What you seem not to understand, Erasmus replied, is that this man is phenomenally gifted and has been since he was a small child. Sadly, Erasmus – reputedly once a choirboy under Obrecht – had nothing to say about Henry's music. But it is hard to deny that there is a rare distinction about his best pieces. His reputation has been muddled by the preservation of those childhood exercises. If the muddle is a cause for regret, their survival offers a fascinating glimpse of a precocious child's early musical studies.

NOTES

- 1 Erasmus to Johannes Cochleaus, 1 April 1529, in P.S. Allen and others (eds.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906–47), vol. vii, no.2143. Henry's letter (known only from its inclusion in the letter of 1529) is *ibid.*, vol.i, no.206; for an English translation see R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson (eds.) with notes by W.K. Ferguson, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Collected Works of Erasmus, vol.ii (Toronto, 1975), pp.128–9.
- 2 British Library, Add. MS. 31922; see the full edition in John Stevens (ed.), *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*, Musica Britannica, xviii (London, 1962, and later revised editions). The source and its music are also discussed at length in John Stevens, *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961; 2nd edn. revised, Cambridge, 1979). Of his other two known pieces, 'Quam pulchra es' is discussed below. 'King Harry the VIIth pavyn' (in BL, Royal Appendix 58, Stowe MS. 389, and two later continental tablatures where it carries the title 'Pavane Lesquerarde'), is published in John Stafford Smith, *Musica antiqua* (London, 1812), p.41, Frank Dawes, *Ten Pieces by Hugh Aston and Others*, Schott's Anthology of Early Keyboard Music, vol.i (London, 1951), p.16, and John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (London, 1992), no.48; further information appears in Ward, *ibid.*, vol.i, p.19 and in John M. Ward, 'The manner of dauncyng', *Early Music*, iv (1976), pp.127–42, especially n.43.
- 3 To the items listed in the bibliography of David Greer, 'Henry VIII', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol.viii, pp.485–6, may be added the more recent items mentioned in the footnotes here. See also: William Chappell, revised H. Ellis Woodridge, *Old English Popular Music*, vol.i (London, 1893), pp.41–6; Jeffrey Pulver, 'King Henry VIII. – Musician', *Monthly Musical Record*, xliv (1913), pp.37–8; later comments in Pulver's *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927), pp.222–3, where he remarks that since writing the earlier article 'I have had the opportunity of examining these royal compositions more carefully, and have had to reverse many of the complimentary remarks I made'; Anthony Lewis (ed.), *Henry VIII: three songs of his own composition* (Paris, 1936); Thurston Dart, 'Origines et sources de la musique de chambre en Angleterre (1500–1530)', in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *La musique instrumentale de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1955), pp.77–84; Nigel Davison, 'The Western Wind Masses', *The Musical Quarterly*, lvii (1971), pp.427–48; and Peter Holman, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII' in David Starkey (ed.), *Henry VIII: a European court in England* (London, 1991), pp.104–6.
- 4 Charles Whibley (ed.), *Henry VIII by Edward*

Hall (London, 1904), vol.i, p.19. Given the strange and ambiguous wording, it should be recorded that this is an accurate transcription from the 1560 edition of Halle's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre & Yorke* (BL, G.6005.) and that the three copies dated 1548 and recorded as separate editions in the BL catalogue (G.6003., G.6004., and C.122.h.4.) contain only orthographical variants: 'dyd' for 'did', 'songe oftentimes' for 'song oftentimes' and 'divers' for 'diverse'. Much of Halle's narrative of the reign of Henry VIII may be hearsay, but at the time discussed in this sentence the court was in Windsor and Halle himself was a pupil at Eton College (Whibley, op. cit., p.v). The passage has often been quoted in discussions of Henry VIII as a composer, including E.F. Rimbault, *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads* (London, 1851), pp.12–15, Lady Mary Trefusis (ed.), *Songs, Ballads and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry the Eighth* (Oxford, 1912), pp.xvii–xviii, Gerald Hayes (ed.), *King's Music: an anthology* (London, 1937), p.20. Hayes also mentions Lord Herbert of Cherbury's much later reference to two motets by Henry 'which were usually sung in his chapels', but reasonably suggests that it may be a confused echo of Halle's comment.

5 BL, R.M. 24.d.2., fols.166v–167. It is edited in Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol.ii (London, 1776), pp.534–540, and in Lady Mary Trefusis, ed. cit., pp.51–60 – this last a very reliable edition, credited (p. xx) to 'Miss [Cecilia] Stainer'. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol.ii (London, 1782), chapter 5, states that 'Dr. [Philip] Hayes of Oxford, is in possession of a genuine copy, in which the first Movement is in a measure wholly different from a Score of the same composition that has been lately printed' [i.e. by Hawkins from the Baldwin manuscript]. The difference in Hawkins's edition is simply that he inexplicably transcribed the cut-circle mensuration of the first section in

2/1 time throughout (though with remarkably few actual errors); but Burney does appear to suggest that what Hayes possessed was indeed another early manuscript, now lost.

6 Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford, 1907), p.29; (3rd edn., revised by J.A. Westrup, 1952), p.45.

7 The most recent findings are incorporated into the index of the manuscript's contents by Jessie Ann Owens for the facsimile published in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol.viii (New York, 1987), pp. ix–xvii; some fuller details on further sources are in Roger Bray, 'British Library, R.M.24. d. 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): an index and commentary', *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, xii (1974), pp.137–51. Henry's piece is (perhaps significantly) the last in a section of the manuscript, fols.134v–167, containing much music from his generation, including works by Taverner, Fayrfax, Cooper and Dygon; earlier, at fols.103v–107, there is even a group of seven pieces manifestly from the mid-fifteenth century – three ascribed to Bedyngham (d. 1459–60) and the others anonymous. Certainly there are some errors of ascription in Baldwin's manuscript: see, for example, the summary in Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London, 1981), p.58; but six apparent errors in 188 pieces, most of them ascribed, seems a creditably low number.

8 Richard Taruskin, *T'Andernaken* (Coconut Grove, Florida, 1981), p.3, notes similar openings in the 'T'Andernaken' settings by Agricola and Lapicida, both in Petrucci's *Canti C numero cento cinquanta* (Venice, 1503/4), and adds 'Henry has clearly copied them', adducing this as evidence in support of the ascription to Henry VIII. As further evidence, Taruskin states that the tenor is 'garbled' in bar 5, though without specifying the nature of the garbling (which eludes me) or saying how this can be used as evidence.

9 Much more must be said on the history of 'T'Andernaken' settings one day, because it

covers many of the central issues in musical style between about 1420 and 1540; but the outlines of the story can be assembled from Warwick Edwards's excellent study, 'The Instrumental Music of Henry VIII's Manuscript', *The Consort*, xxxiv (1978), pp.274–82, in which see p.281, n.26, and from Taruskin, op. cit. In addition to the settings given by Taruskin and the Brussels version mentioned by Edwards, there is yet another, identified and drawn to my attention by Robert Spencer. It is a two-part lute setting in the Marsh Lute Book (Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS. 23.2.13, pp.54–5), untitled and not quite complete, with the discantus running in almost uninterrupted *minime* above the borrowed tenor. Although the manuscript is from the mid-1580s, there is nothing here that one would be surprised to find in, for example, Spinacino's lutebooks of 1507.

10 See the detailed bibliographical remarks in John Ward, 'The Lute Music of MS Royal Appendix 58', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xiii (1960), pp.117–25, especially pp.123–4. The Richafort piece is published in Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), no.16; the fullest report on its later history and sources is in Adrienne F. Block, *The Early French Parody Noël, Studies in Musicology*, xxxvi (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1983), vol.ii, no.71.

11 This fascinating information seems to have been noted for the first time by Arthur J. Ness, 'Melchiore de Barberiis', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (London, 1980), vol.ii, pp.136–7. On the lutebook and its contents, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: a bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp.113–14.

12 Published in Helen Hewitt (ed.), *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), no.90. An intabulation appears in Otto Gombosi (ed.), *Compositione di meser*

Vincenzo Capirola (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955), no.31, with the title 'Gentil principe: canto agieroso et bello'. Gombosi's unfortunately phrased remark (p.lxxxiii) that the added line 'does not contribute much to the musical glories of this bloody dilettante' may have its root in linguistic problems but, more important, it reflects a failure to appreciate that this must be the earliest surviving effort of a small boy. Gombosi also notes that Hewitt's fuller text, 'Gentil duc de Lorraine, prince de grant renom' (also used by John Stevens), from the monophonic chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 12744 (ed. in Gaston Paris, *Chansons du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1875), no.148), is most unlikely to be correct: its form is hardly compatible with that of the *Odhecaton* chanson, and its melody in f.fr. 12744 is entirely unrelated.

13 Allan W. Atlas, 'Conflicting Attributions in Italian Sources of the Franco-Netherlandish Chanson, c.1465 – c.1505: a progress report on a new hypothesis', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts* (Cambridge, 1981), pp.249–93.

14 A point already made in passing by Lawrence F. Bernstein in 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson', *The Journal of Musicology*, i (1982), p.302, n.71.

15 As a modification to John Stevens's normally excellent edition, I suggest that the tenor line in bar 16 has been wrongly emended: the first note must be a quaver (following the source), and the correct emendation is that the C in bar 18 should be a dotted crotchet – thus bringing the phrase into line with bars 1–2 and 5–6.

16 See Théodore Géroid (ed.), *Le manuscrit de Bayeux* (Strasbourg, 1921), no.44.

17 Published in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Loyset Compère: opera omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. XV, vol.v (n.p., 1972), p.8. The song runs only to bar 24 of that edition. The remainder is another song, 'Et ou la trouveroye', which has different ranges, different metrical form, unrelated musical style, and

appears in only one of the six sources. 'Et ou la trouveroye' appears again tacked on to the end of yet another Compère song, 'Mon pere m'a donné' (ed. Finscher, p.38), where, once again, it has all those same differences and appears in only one of the song's three sources. In addition 'Mon pere m'a donné' is in a woman's voice, being a classic *malmariée* text, whereas 'Et ou la trouveroye la femme au petit con' is very distinctively male.

18 Gaston Paris, op.cit., no.108. There is nothing in either this or Compère's text to explain Henry's title.

19 In fact Henry's setting helps clarify the nature of Compère's, with its intricately structured imitations and cross-rhythms, containing the germs of the technique found even more elaborately in his 'Scaramella' (Finscher, op.cit., p.65).

20 There seem to be at least three copying errors here. The discantus line in bar 4 would be better if it matched the parallel passage in bar 16; the tenor in bar 20 would avoid parallel fifths if it followed the parallel passage in bar 8; and the end of the tenor (bar 24) would be much improved if it followed the outlines of that same passage by opening with six semiquavers and a quaver (rather than the reverse).



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

III. Two equal voices: a French song repertory with music for two more works of Oswald von Wolkenstein

As should be clear from the first sentence, this was originally written as a pendant to Lorenz Welker's article, 'New light on Oswald von Wolkenstein: central European traditions and Burgundian polyphony', *Early music history* 7 (1987), 187–226.

V. Ballades by Dufay, Grenon and Binchois: the Boorman fragment

Long after this was published I saw that Gilbert Reaney had contributed an undated sheet of addenda and corrigenda to his CMM xi/7 (1983), which mentions, among other details, the Boorman fragment. My own copy of the book does not include this sheet; nor does the copy in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. I noticed it only when consulting the copy in the Basle Institute of Musicology, where it was pasted into the front of the book.

VII. Johannes Ockeghem: the changing image, the songs and a new source

It was not realistic for this reprint to reproduce the Ockeghem picture in colour, as it had been originally on the cover of *Early Music*; but I hope my point is clear enough from the present reproduction. By way of compensation, I have added a full set of full-size plates of the Trinity College fragment: I am deeply grateful to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge for allowing this.

IX. The life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496

Among the copious literature on Regis that followed this article I would particularly like to mention Pamela F. Starr, 'Southern exposure: Roman light on Johannes Regis', *Revue belge de musicologie* 49 (1995), 27–38, with an impressive haul of Vatican documents that both embellish and clarify my suggestions. French documentation is added in Agostino Magro, 'Le compositeur Johannes Regis et les chanoines de Saint-Vincent de Soignies et Saint-Martin de Tours: une nouvelle contribution', *Revue belge de musicologie* 52 (1998), 369–76.

X. Busnoys and the early fifteenth century: a note on *L'ardant desir* and *Faictes de moy*

This was a pendant to Rob C. Wegman's article, 'Another mass by Busnoys?', *Music & Letters* 71 (1990), 1–19.

XII. Jean Molinet and the lost Burgundian court chansonniers of the 1470s

I would now recast my conclusions. In the light of the conclusions reached in essay II I now believe that the large number of Binchois songs is evidence not of Molinet's wanting to please a Burgundian patron but of Binchois' tremendous success and the longevity of his music (matters touched on earlier in this essay). Molinet's repertory is a witness to how the French song repertory looked to an educated and informed music-lover in the years around 1470.

XIV. Who composed *Mille regretz*?

This gave rise to a most energetic riposte from Joshua Rifkin: 'Who really composed *Mille regretz*?', *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in honor of Edward H. Roesner*, eds David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller and John Louis Nádas (Middleton, WI, 2008), 187–208.

XV. What happened to *El grillo*

Responses to this article include Marianne Hund, 'Fresh light on Josquin Desprez's *El grillo*', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 56 (2006), 5–16, and Grantley McDonald, 'Josquin's musical cricket: *El grillo* as humanist parody', *Acta musicologica* 81 (2009), 39–53. For my eventual edition in the *New Josquin Edition* 28 (Utrecht, 2005), the editorial board rejected some proposals and added two more of their own. In my *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2009), 205–8, I eventually argued that the piece is indeed probably by Josquin Desprez.

XVIII. Josquin and *Il n'est plaisir*

Note 15: the identity of Wolf's 'L'ombre' and 'N'il n'est plaisir' was in fact established ten years earlier in Martin Picker, *Henricus Isaac: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1991), p. 101.

XX. Alamire as a composer

Concerning pp. 253–4: inspection of choirbook 21 in Jena makes it absolutely certain that the ascription originally read 'Petrus alamyre', later (perhaps immediately) changed to 'Petrus la rue' (whereas the ascription for the previous mass was 'Petrus de la Rue'). Quite what that means is another question; but at the very least it is intriguing that this should happen on the mass immediately after La Rue's Mass *Tandernaken*.

XXI. Henry VIII as a composer

The man who guided the young Henry VIII through the initial stages of counterpoint tuition with such skill and such awareness of the latest continental trends has almost certainly been identified as the lutenist, writer and courtier Giles Duwes, first reported as 'Luter unto our dearest Sone the Duke of Yorke' in November 1501, when Henry was ten years old, but still in the court until his death in 1535, see Dietrich Helms, *Heinrich VIII. und die Musik: Überlieferung, musikalische Bildung des Adels und Kompositionstechniken eines Königs* = Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster, vol. 11 (Eisenach, 1998), pp. 243–7 and 397–409 – a magisterial study much neglected, partly because there is no index to its almost 500 pages of dense and solidly argued detail.

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