

The Chansonnier Cordiforme

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The Chansonnier Cordiforme*

BY EDWARD L. KOTTICK

THE CHANSONNIER CORDIFORME (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973) was described first by Émile Picot,¹ who offers information important to the history of the manuscript. After a cursory treatment of the volume's physical characteristics, Picot proceeds to describe the heraldry that is part of the first miniature:

En bas se voient des armes écartelées: Aux 1^{er} et 4^e de gueules, à la bande d'argent, chargée d'une aigle impériale; aux 2^e et 3^e d'or à trois pals d'azur. L'écu, de forme italienne, est timbré d'un chapeau ecclésiastique. . . .²

Identification of the heraldry appearing in a manuscript can, if done thoroughly, reveal important information about the original owner. But Picot does not describe all the characteristics of the crest (understandably, since he was engaged in the enormous task of cataloguing the Rothschild library); and he limits his remarks to, "Il appartenait sans doute à quelque élégant protonotaire."

Dealing next with the paleography, Picot notes that the Italian texts are corrupt, indicating that the scribe had little knowledge of the language. He assumes that "les incorrections du text italien permettent de penser que la transcription des paroles et de la musique est l'oeuvre d'un artiste flamand ou français, attaché à quelque cour d'Italie." Picot does not explain why he believes the manuscript was copied by a French or Flemish hand in an Italian court, unless it is because one-third of its contents consists of songs with Italian texts. As we shall see, subsequent investigation indicates that he was probably correct.

Finally, Picot identifies three owners of the *chansonnier* prior to its acquisition by Baron James de Rothschild:

* See E. Kottick, "The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973." Volume I: The Manuscript and Study of the Music. Volume II: An Edition of the Music (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, diss., 1962). The texts were edited by Robert White Linker, then of the Romance Language Department at the University of North Carolina, now at the University of Georgia.

¹ *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu Monsieur le baron James de Rothschild*, IV (Paris, 1912), 314-317.

² *Op. cit.*, 314. In non-technical terms: the shield is divided into four quadrants. The upper-right and lower-left quadrants are red with an oblique band of silver, and on each band is an imperial eagle. The upper-left and lower-right quadrants are gold with three vertical bands of blue. The shield is Italian in shape, and above it is an ecclesiastical hat. A color photograph of the heraldry can be found in "The Bad Bishop's Book of Love Songs," *Horizon* (Winter, 1964), p. 27. This popular article on the Chansonnier Cordiforme, prepared by the editorial staff of *Horizon*, contains full-size color reproductions of fols. D, 3^v-4, and 19^v-20.

Le volume porte l'ex-libris d'un Pucci, chevalier de Malte. Il provient en dernier lieu de bibliothèques de Chédeau (Cat., 1865, n° 587) et du Baron Jérôme Pichon (Cat., 1869, n° 636; 1897, n° 900).

The bookmark of Pucci will be described shortly. Of Chédeau and Pichon we know nothing, and must assume that Picot secured his information from catalogues and other sources not available in this country.

Such is the extent of Picot's treatment of the historical aspects of the Chansonnier Cordiforme. It remains only to add that he begins his discussion by dating the volume, without corroborating evidence, as, "fin du xv^e siècle. . . ."

The next description of the Chansonnier Cordiforme appeared in the catalogue of an exposition of French music held under the auspices of the Bibliothèque Nationale in January and February of 1934.³ The single paragraph, which offers no new information, is headed, "Recueil de chansons françaises et italiennes. Fin de xv^e s.—Coll. Henri de Rothschild." In view of Picot's careful examination of the paleography, one would not expect to read here that the volume's contents were "copiées à la même époque par deux mains différentes (l'une italienne, l'autre française)."

In the year following the exposition, Jean Porcher and Eugénie Droz published an article entitled, "Le chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu,"⁴ in which a study of the heraldry led them to the identity of Picot's "élégant protonotaire." In addition, an approximate time for the compiling of the chansonnier was established by the authors' tracing of significant events in Montchenu's life. The two scholars were aided in their task by Geneviève Thibault, who identified the composers of some of the chansons in the manuscript; by Max Prinnet, who deciphered the heraldry; and by J. Lesellier, who did the research in the Vatican archives. To Picot's original statement about the heraldry was added the following: the oblique silver band is engrailed, the imperial eagle is blue, a gold *tau* appears in the first and third quadrants directly above the eagle, and the ecclesiastical hat above the shield is black.

Thus we find that the first and third quadrants (red, with an oblique engrailed silver band) are the coat of arms of the family of Montchenu of Dauphiné,⁵ which bordered on what was then the Duchy of Savoy. Porcher and Droz either neglected to mention, or did not realize, that the blue eagle indicates the Geneva branch of the family.⁶ The second

³ Amédée Gastoué et al. (eds.), *La musique française du Moyen âge à la Révolution* (Paris, 1934), pp. 30-31.

⁴ In *Trésors des bibliothèques de France* (1934), pp. 100-110.

⁵ See also: Johannes B. Rietstap and Henri Roland (eds.), *General Illustrated Armorial* (Lyon, n.d.), IV, plate CCXXXIII: Jouffroy d'Eschavannes, *Armorial universel* (Paris, 1844), p. 277; August Roche, *Armorial généalogique et bibliographique des évêques de Viviers* (Lyon, 1894), II, 89.

⁶ Rietstap, *loc. cit.*

and fourth quadrants (gold with three vertical bands of blue) are the crest of the Ternier family.⁷ The armorial symbols of the two families apparently were united around the middle of the 14th century when Richard de Montchenu, great-grandfather of Jean, married Jacqueline de Ternier.⁸ The gold *tau* (above the head of the eagle) is the symbol of the cross of the monastery St. Antoine of Vienne,⁹ where Jean was first a monk, then a canon.¹⁰ The black color of the hat indicates that the ecclesiastic station of the wearer was below that of a bishop; the number of tassels on the hat establishes his rank as priest.

From study of these details the date of compilation of the manuscript can be fixed: between 1460 and 1476. It is known that before 1460 Jean was only a canon at St. Antoine, and would not have had the priestly number of tassels on his hat. In 1477 he became Bishop of Agen (in title only) and in 1478 was appointed Bishop of Viviers.¹¹ As a bishop, his hat would have been red, with one more tassel on each side; therefore, he probably acquired the chansonnier prior to 1477.

Porcher describes the manuscript again in his booklet *La bibliothèque Henri de Rothschild* (Paris, 1949). He mentions (p. 13) that the miniatures were done by a painter from Savoy, but how he reached this conclusion is not explained. In response to a query of mine, however, Porcher later stated that similarities between the style of the Chansonnier Cordiforme and that of other manuscripts known to be illustrated by Savoyard painters (for example, the *Heures de Louis de Savoie*, Paris Bibl. Nat., lat. 9473; and the *Histoire de Merlin*, Bibl. Nat., fonds fr. 91) led him to the hypothesis that the miniatures of the former were also done by a Savoyard.¹²

The manuscript is bound in red velvet and shaped in the form of a double heart.¹³ The leaves are vellum and measure 18.5 cm. along the spine, and 16 cm. across the lobes of the heart. Both binding and leaves are edged with gold. Out of a total of 72 folios, the first four (here designated as fols. A, B, C, and D), are unnumbered; otherwise, arabic numbering is used on the verso side of each folio. The music begins on fol. D^v and continues through fol. 64. Fols. 64^v to 68^v are blank.

The inside of the binding contains the heraldry of Pucci, the nobleman mentioned by Picot as one of the owners of the manuscript. The

⁷ *Op. cit.*, VI, plate XIV.

⁸ Roche, *Armorial*, II, 90.

⁹ d'Eschavannes, *Armorial*, p. 29.

¹⁰ Roche, *op. cit.*, II, 91.

¹¹ Roche, *loc. cit.*

¹² Jean Porcher, personal letter, April 28, 1962.

¹³ Two other examples of 15th-century heart-shaped MSS are listed in the above-cited *Trésors*, p. 110. The first is the *Hours of Amiens*, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (lat. 10536). The second appears in the hands of a young man in a painting in the National Gallery at London. Both are single hearts.

name "Pucci" is lettered below and to the left of the coat of arms (see Pl. I).¹⁴ Directly below the crest is a quotation from the fifth verse of Psalm 143 (Vulgate 142): "Memor fui dierum antiquorum." To the left of Pucci's crest are various numbers: "Cat. No. 2973," "F⁹4," "IV⁶ 13" (crossed out), and "IL¹⁰⁰" (crossed out); to the right is "I.5.13."¹⁵

Fols. A to C^v contain an alphabetical table of contents (see Pl. I). The table is inaccurate; of the 47 text incipits given, five are concluding sections of other pieces, and two incipits are omitted. The letters "GLP," probably representing the initials of an unknown former owner, are enclosed in an oval on fol. C. When Picot described the chansonnier in 1912, he included a table of contents of his own compilation.¹⁶ It too is defective. Picot separated fifteen Italian from thirty-two French pieces and assigned a number to each one. Two of his Italian incipits are concluding sections of other works, and one piece is omitted; of the French, two are concluding sections.

The Chansonnier Cordiforme contains fourteen pieces with Italian texts and thirty with French texts. All but two are for three voices: *Chiara fontana de' belli costumi* (5^v-6) is a two-voice piece, and *N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay?* (32^v-33) includes a fourth voice. The parts are arranged in *cantus collateralis*; the superius is on the left side of the opening, the tenor is on the right, and the contratenor begins at the bottom of the left side and continues at the bottom of the right. The words "tenor" and "contratenor" appear at the beginning of their respective parts.

The texts and music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme were notated throughout by the same scribe and the same copyist, or possibly by several hands having the same characteristics. The handwriting looks like a late gothic hand under humanistic influence. Some cursive elements are present, but fundamentally it is a clear hand that avoids the heavy black letters of gothic, and the exaggerated strokes of *lettre bâtarde*. Abbreviations and variations in spelling common to the period appear in the text.

Both notation and calligraphy were done in a neat, clear manner, and are comparatively easy to read. That the Chansonnier Cordiforme was

¹⁴ That the name belongs to the heraldry is confirmed by Rietstap, *op. cit.*, V, plate CIV.

¹⁵ The purpose of the first and last numbers is known. The MS had the catalogue designation of 2973 when it was in the Rothschild Library. Upon acquiring this library in 1933, the Bibliothèque Nationale retained the Rothschild catalogue numbers as call numbers, since it was their intention to keep the collection intact; hence the Chansonnier Cordiforme is known as "Rothschild 2973." See Julian Cain, *La Bibliothèque Nationale pendant les années 1945 à 1951* (Paris, 1954), p. 110. The number I.5.13 was added to the MS by the Bibliothèque Nationale, and a hand-written entry of I.5.13 has been placed in the margin opposite the description of the MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy of Picot's *Catalogue*. . . . The origin of the three remaining numbers is unknown to me.

¹⁶ Picot, *op. cit.*, IV, 314-317.

carefully compiled is indicated by the small number of notational errors—I have found only sixteen.

The manuscript's two miniatures are on fols. D and 3^v, and, as is appropriate in a heart-shaped chansonnier, they deal with the theme of love.¹⁷ The first shows a stylishly attired young woman being pierced by an arrow from Cupid's bow. To the left, the goddess Fortuna stands by on her wheel of fortune. Below is the heraldry of Jean de Montchenu, supported by two winged *putti*. In the second painting we see the same young woman walking arm in arm with a young man.

Decoration of initials is extensive; the manuscript contains 254 illuminated letters. Enclosed in squares or rectangles, and surrounded by filigree, they are primarily uncial in shape. Other chansonniers often have one elaborately illuminated initial on each opening, while the other initial letters receive little or no decoration. In the Chansonnier Cordiforme one frequently finds as many as five illuminated initials on one opening, although none of them is as large or detailed as in some other manuscripts.

Examination of the initials reveals that they were executed by two different artists. The initials of the second hand are darker than those of the first. In painting the letter "C" (contratenor), which always appears on the bottom of the verso side of the folio, the first hand extended the rectangle that surrounds the letter below the inner margin, while the second hand allowed the margin to cut off the corner of the rectangle. The first artist used a variety of "T"s when indicating the tenor part on the top of the recto side of each folio; the second used only one shape, which differs from those of the first (see Pl. II and Fig. 1). The greater

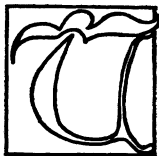
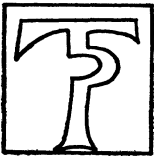
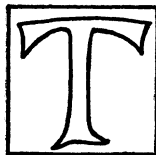


Fig. 1



Illuminator II

Illuminator I

INITIALS BY ILLUMINATORS ONE AND TWO

share of the initials was painted by the first hand, who began the manuscript and stopped temporarily on fol. 39^v. The work of the second hand appeared for the first time on fol. 40 and continued to fol. 55^v. From here to the end the two artists closely followed one another; the first

¹⁷ See the reproduction in the cited *Horizon* article, pp. 27-29.

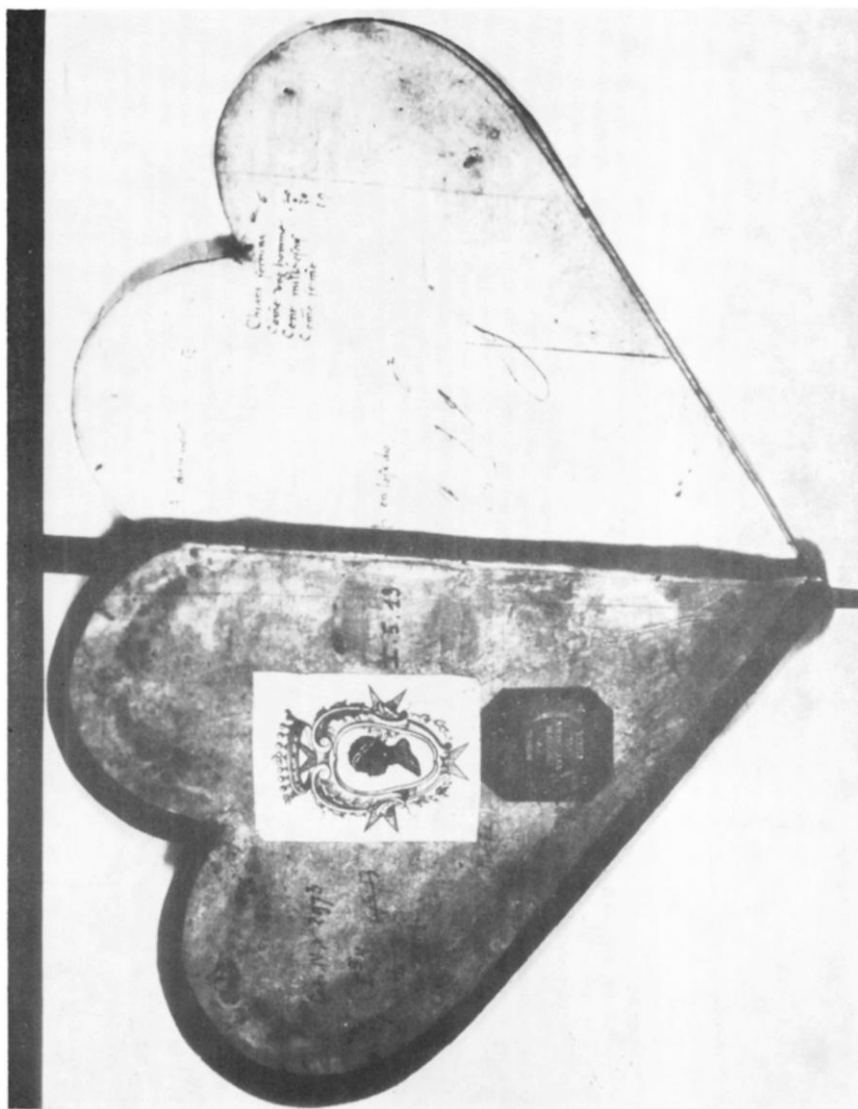


Plate I. Chansonnier Cordiforme: inside cover and beginning of table of contents.

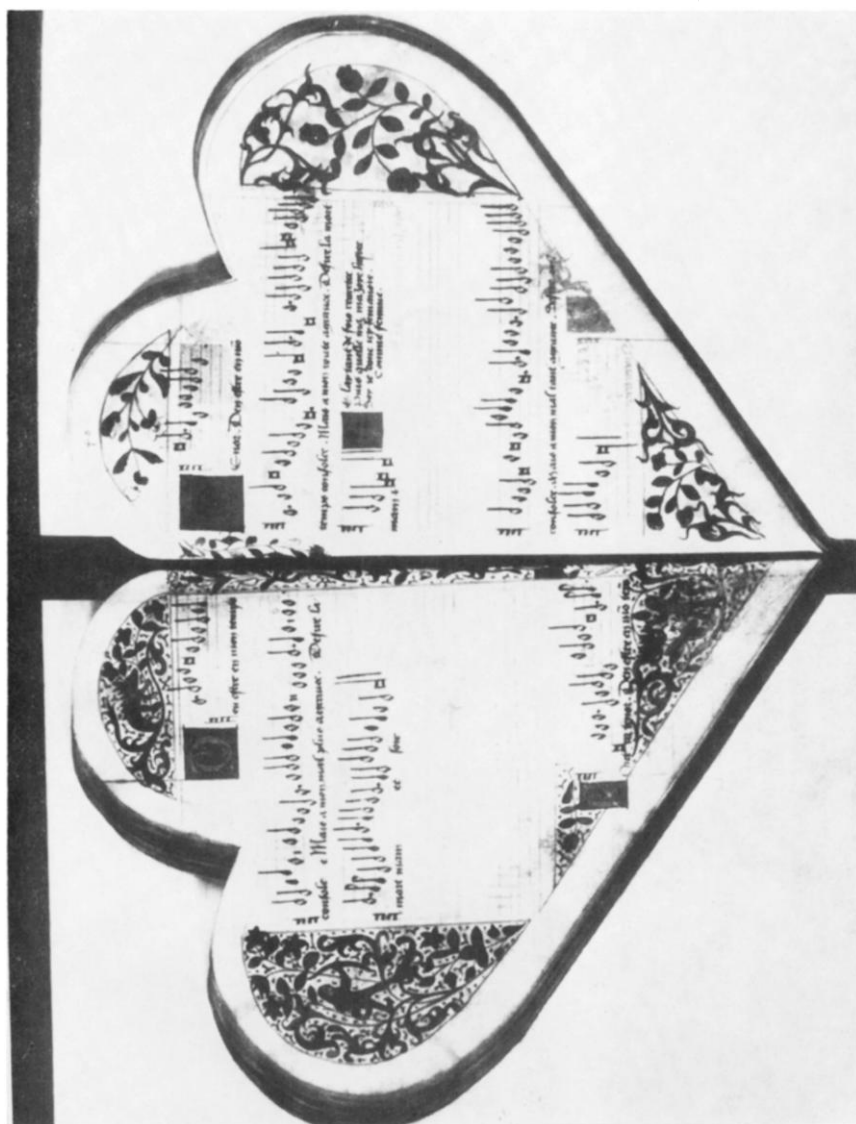


Plate II. Chansonnier Cordiforme, fols. 39^v-40.

painted fols. 56 to 58, the second, fol. 58^v to 61^v; the first ended his work with fols. 62 to 63^v, and the second finished the last page, fol. 64.

A comparison with other manuscripts of known French origin indicates that the style of the illumination is French. One manuscript copy of *Le Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, for example, compiled in France near the end of the 15th century, contains marginal illuminations so close in style to those of the Chansonnier Cordiforme that one might suspect they were executed by the same person.¹⁸ It is more likely, however, that they were done by different artists in separate illumination shops, and that similar or identical pattern books were used.

Two distinct levels of ornamentation can be seen in the marginal illuminations, although the style and technique of both are the same. The first, which extends from fol. D to fol. 39^v, includes flora, fauna, monsters, etc. The second, from fols. 40 to 47^v, consists only of plant life and omits the filigree work between the leaves and stems (see Pl. II). Marginal illumination ends with fol. 47^v, although a floral decoration of the initial at the top of each page continues through fol. 55^v.

It has been possible to identify the composers of eighteen of the forty-four chansons through attributions in concordant sources. The composers of another ten are unknown, although the pieces appear in one or more manuscripts. The remaining sixteen songs are unique to the Chansonnier Cordiforme, and, so far as can be determined, are found in no other 15th- or early 16th-century manuscripts or printed works.

Analysis of the forty-four pieces reveals some rather sharp distinctions between what I choose to call Italian and Franco-Burgundian styles. Melodies in Italian style are less ornamented, have more repeated notes, larger note values, and a narrower range, than those in the Franco-Burgundian style. In the first, the tendency is toward short phrases with well-marked cadences, little imitation, and a syllabic setting; in the second, longer phrases with concealed cadences, a more frequent use of imitation, and a melismatic style. Although both are treble-dominated, the Italian pieces show a more homophonic style with less crossing of parts. The *ballata* is the typical Italian form, the *rondeau*, *ballade*, and *bergerette*, the typical Franco-Burgundian. Examples 1 and 2 illustrate most of these points.

Although the pieces with French texts differ from one another, they all exhibit the characteristics of the Franco-Burgundian style. The Italian pieces, however, contain examples of both the Franco-Burgundian and the Italian styles. Thus the textual division into fourteen Italian and thirty French works differs from the stylistic division of seven in Italian style and thirty-seven in Franco-Burgundian style. *Ben lo sa Dio* (1^v-2), *La*

¹⁸ A description of this MS and a reproduction of one of its folios may be found in *Précieux manuscrits à peintures du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Hotel Drouot, 1960), p. 15.

Ex. 1

Per la mya cara

First system of musical notation for Ex. 1. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Per la mya ca - - - - -". The piano accompaniment and bass line provide harmonic support.

Second system of musical notation for Ex. 1. It continues the three-staff format. The vocal line has the lyrics "ra, o dol - ce a - mo - re,". The piano accompaniment and bass line continue with harmonic support. There are sharp signs above the vocal staff and a flat sign below the bass staff in this system.

Ex. 2

Come ung homme desconforté

First system of musical notation for Ex. 2. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Co - - - me ung". The piano accompaniment and bass line provide harmonic support.

Second system of musical notation for Ex. 2. It continues the three-staff format. The vocal line has the lyrics "hom - - - me des - con - for - té". The piano accompaniment and bass line continue with harmonic support.

gratia de voe (10^v-11), *Per la mya cara* (11^v-12), *Morte, merce, gentile aquela altera* (12^v-13), *Finir vogl[i]o la vita mya* (13^v-14), *Amor con Parco tesso* (14^v-15), and *O meschin' enamorati* (17^v-19), all exhibit the Italian characteristics discussed above. *Hora cridar* "oy me" (D^v-1), *Dona gentile he belle come l'oro* (2^v-3), *Gentil madona de non me habandonare* (3^v-5), *Chiara fontana de' belli costumi* (5^v-6), *O pelegrina, o luce* (6^v-8), *O rosa bella* (8^v-10), and *O pelegrina, o luce* (15^v-17), are in French style. The composers of the first group of songs are unknown to us, but of the second group we know three: Dufay, who wrote *Dona gentile*; Bedingham, the author of *Gentil madona*; and Dunstable, the composer of *O rosa bella*.

It should not be assumed that the Italian and Franco-Burgundian styles never mixed; on the contrary, elements of one often are found in the other. *Hora cridar* "oy me," for example, though thoroughly French in style, shows Italian influence in its use of repeated notes. Dunstable's *O rosa bella*, one of the famous chansons of the 15th century, is a strophic setting of a *ballata* text.

Some general style characteristics can be distinguished between the two generations of the Franco-Burgundian school represented in the Chansonnier Cordiforme. Triple meter, a more frequent use of hemiola, and a tendency toward smaller rhythmic values are characteristic of the earlier generation, while the later uses triple and duple meters with about equal frequency, is rhythmically more straightforward, and uses more of the larger rhythmic values. The overall pitch range in the earlier group is narrower, and the voices cross each other more frequently. The later group shows a marked increase in the use of fuller sonorities. The VII₆-I cadence, and the V-I cadence with the upward leap of an octave in the contratenor, are characteristic of the earlier generation, while the V-I cadence with the 5-1 leap in the contratenor is more usual in the later. Examples three and four are typical of the contrast between the two generations.

It is recognized widely that 15th-century composers often reworked chanson material as a basis for liturgical music, as in the paraphrase Mass. The paraphrase chanson, where either text, music, or both, paraphrase a pre-existing chanson, is less well known. *Ma bouche plaint les pleurs de ma pensee* (46^v-48) is a musical and textual paraphrase of the first half of Ockeghem's famous *bergerette*, *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*. Both are in the Chansonnier Cordiforme. *J'ay pris amours a ma devise* (23^v-24), another well known chanson, is paraphrased in the Dijon Chansonnier, where the waggish textual parody begins, *J'ay prins deux poux a ma chemise* (127^v-128). In Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 176, it appears as *J'ay pris ung poul en ma chemise*. *Morte, merce, gentile aquela altera* (12^v-13), and *Amor con l'arco tesso* (14^v-15) are paraphrases of the first and second halves respectively of a *Morte, merce*

Ex. 3

Mon seul plaisir, ma douce joye

Mon seul plai - sir, ma dou - ce

jo - - - - -

This musical score is for a three-part setting of a French song. It is written in 3/4 time and the key of D major. The vocal line (top staff) begins with the lyrics 'Mon seul plai - sir, ma dou - ce' and continues with 'jo - - - - -'. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves. The right hand (middle staff) plays a simple harmonic accompaniment, while the left hand (bottom staff) provides a rhythmic and harmonic foundation with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Ex. 4

J'ay moins de bien

J'ay — moins de bien que s'il — n'en es -

toit —

This musical score is for a three-part setting of a French song. It is written in 4/4 time and the key of D major. The vocal line (top staff) begins with the lyrics 'J'ay — moins de bien que s'il — n'en es -' and continues with 'toit —'. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves. The right hand (middle staff) plays a simple harmonic accompaniment, while the left hand (bottom staff) provides a rhythmic and harmonic foundation with eighth and sixteenth notes.

by the Spanish composer Juan Cornago. Cornago's chanson is particularly interesting in that its second half is a paraphrase of its first. *Amor con l'arco tesso* is therefore a paraphrase of a paraphrase.

The importance of the Chansonnier Cordiforme to the study of 15th-century music needs no emphasis. It is, of course, one of the most beautiful and lavish chansonniers known to us; its unusual shape alone is enough to recommend it to our attention. As indicated, its repertoire includes some of the most popular and widespread chansons of the day, as well as some found only in a few other sources. In the first instance it offers new musical and textual variants to a relatively well known repertoire; in the second, it provides an important additional source for anonymous pieces such as *Helas! n'aray je jamais*, which appears in only one other source. Finally, it enlarges the repertoire of 15th-century song with a group of sixteen *unica*¹⁹ of high quality, many of which exhibit interesting and unusual style traits.

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CONTENTS AND CONCORDANCES OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Sources and sigla (* = text only)

Manuscripts	
*Ber 78B17	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B17 (Chansonnier Rohan).
Ber 78C28	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 C28 (Hamilton 451).
Ber Z98	Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, MS Z98 (Glogauer Liederbuch), three part books.
Bol Q16	Bologna, Museo Civico, Bibliografia musicale (<i>olim</i> Liceo Musicale), Cod. Q16.
Bol Q18	Bologna, Museo Civico, Bibl. Mus., Cod. Q18.
Cop 291*	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 291* (Chansonnier Copenhagen).
Cop 1848-2*	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. Samling, 1848-2*.
Dij 517	Dijon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 517.
Esc IV, a.24	Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS IV, a. 24.
Flo 27	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 27.
Flo XIX, 59	Florence, B. N. C., MS Magl. XIX, 59 (B. R. 229).
Flo XIX, 121	Florence, B. N. C., MS Magl. XIX, 121.
Flo XIX, 176	Florence, B. N. C., MS Magl. XIX, 176.
Flo XIX, 178	Florence, B. N. C., MS Magl. XIX, 178.
Flo 2356	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2356.
Flo 2794	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794.
*Lon 380	London, British Museum, MS Lansdowne 380.
Lon 31922	London, British Museum, Additional MS 31922.
MC 871	Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, Cod. 871.
MC 871N	Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, Cod. 871N.

¹⁹ An edition of the sixteen *unica* and a discussion of their style can be found in E. Kottick, *The Unica in the Chansonnier Cordiforme*. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, Vol. 42 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

Sources and sigla (* = text only)

Manuscripts

- Mun 328-331* Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, MSS 328-331.
Mun 351a Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 351a (Mus. MS 3232) (Schedelsche Liederbuch).
Mun 352b Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 352b (Mus. MS 3725) (Buxheimer Orgelbuch).
NH Mel New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Mellon Chansonnier.
Par Niv Paris, Bibliothèque G. Thibault, Chansonnier Nivelles de la Chaussée.
Par 1597 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 1597.
**Par 1719* Paris, B. N., fonds fr. 1719.
**Par 1722* Paris, B. N., fonds fr. 1722.
Par 15123 Paris, B. N., fonds fr. 15123 (Chansonnier Pixérécourt).
**Par 24315* Paris, B. N., fonds fr. 24315.
Par 4379 Paris, B. N., nouv. acq. fr. 4379.
Par 676 Paris, B. N., Réserve Vm⁷. 676.
Pav 362 Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. Aldini 362.
Per 431 Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. 431 (G. 20).
Por 714 Porto, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 714.
Pra IV, 47 Prague, Strahov Monastery, D.G. IV, 47.
Rom XIII, 27 Rome, Città di Vaticana, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio della Cappella Giulia, MS XIII, 27 (Medici Codex).
Rom 1411 Rome, Città di Vaticana, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Arch. della Cappella Giulia, Cod. Urb. Lat. 1411.
Rom 2856 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 2856.
Sev 5.1.43 Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Cod. 5.1.43.
Tr 89 Trent, Biblioteca di Castello del Buon Consiglio, Cod. 89.
Tr 90 Trent, Biblioteca di Castello del Buon Consiglio, Cod. 90.
Tr 1947-4 Trent, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. 1947-4.
Ulm 237 Ulm, Bibliothek des Münsters, MS 237abcd.
Ver DCCLVII Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Mus. DCCLVII.
Wash 252 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS. M2.1 L252 Case (Chansonnier Laborde).
Wol 287 Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, MS extrav. 287.

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Form *Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis composita* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1538).
 **Jardin* *Le jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhétorique* (Paris: Antoine Verard, ca.1501).
Odh *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice: Ottaviano dei Petrucci, 1501).
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The contents of the manuscript follow; collated sources are listed under the headings of MS (manuscript), EP (early printed works), and ME (modern editions). The sources are listed alphabetically by *sigla*, except that those containing attributions are given first.

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
1. Hora cridar "oy me"	[D] ^r -1	MS: <i>Esc IV</i> , a.24, 88 ^r -89; <i>Pav 362</i> , 25 ^v -26; <i>NH Mel</i> , 142-143.
2. Ben lo sa Dio	1 ^r -2	
3. Dona gentile he belle come l'oro [Dufay]	2 ^r -3	MS: <i>NH Mel</i> , 84-85, Dufay; <i>Pav 362</i> , 52 ^v -53. ME: <i>Besseler O</i> , no. 8.
4. Gentil madona de non me habandonare [Bedingham] (<i>contrafacta</i> : Fortuna helas)	3 ^r -5	MS: <i>Mun 351a</i> , 48 ^r -49 (Fortuna helas), J. Bodigham; <i>Ber 78C28</i> , 18 ^r -19; <i>Esc IV</i> , a.24, 117 ^r -118; <i>MC 871</i> , 114 ^v ; <i>NH Mel</i> , 120-123 (text reads: fortuna elas/gentil madona); <i>Par 4379</i> , 21 ^r -22; <i>Par 15123</i> , 89 ^v -90; <i>Pav 362</i> , 26 ^v -27.
5. Chiara fontana de' belli costumi	5 ^r -6	
6. O pelegrina, o luce	6 ^r -8	MS: <i>Pav 362</i> , 53 ^v -54.
7. O rosa bella [Dunstable]		MS: <i>Por 714</i> , 54 ^r -56, Bedyngnam; <i>Rom 1411</i> , 22 ^r -23, Donstable; <i>Ber 78C28</i> , 40 ^v -42; <i>Dij 517</i> , 93 ^v -95; <i>Esc IV</i> , a.24, 35 ^v -37 (à 4); <i>MC 871N</i> , 102 (C only); <i>Mun 352b</i> , nos. 39, 103, 104 (organ tablature); <i>Par 4379</i> , 30 ^v (S only); <i>Par 15123</i> , 90 ^v -92; <i>Pav 362</i> , 41 ^v -43; <i>Sev 5.1.43</i> , 50 (T and C only); <i>Tr 89</i> , 119 ^v -120 (with 3 <i>concordantiae</i> by Bedingham); <i>Tr 90</i> , 361 ^r -362 (with 3 <i>concordantiae</i> marked <i>Gimel</i> , <i>alius Gimel</i> , and <i>secundus contratenor</i>). ME: <i>Ambros</i> , II, 535; <i>Buk-D</i> , 55; <i>DTÖ</i> , XIV, XV, 229;

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
		<i>HAM</i> , I, no. 61; <i>Lederer</i> , I, 361-373; 383-395; <i>Morelot</i> , app. I; <i>Schering</i> , 163 (reduction into organ tablature); <i>Wallner</i> , 38, 141, 142 (reduction into organ tablature).
8. La gratia de voe	10 ^v -11	
9. Per la mya cara	11 ^v -12	ME: <i>Chan-Mad</i> , p. 175.
10. Morte, merce, gentile aquela altera (concordances are for Cornago's setting)	12 ^v -13	MS: <i>MC 871</i> , 16 ^v , Cornago (text reads, <i>Morte, mercé, gentil aquila altera</i>); <i>Esc IV</i> , a.24, 91 ^v -92.
11. Finir vogl[i]o la vita mya	13 ^v -14	
12. Amor con l'arco tesso (concordances are for Cornago's piece)	14 ^v -15	MS: <i>MC 871</i> , 16 ^v (appears as second part of <i>Morte, mercé, gentil aquila altera</i> [no. 10 in the <i>Cordiforme</i>]), Cornago; <i>Esc IV</i> , a.24, 91 ^v -92 (appears as second part of <i>Morte, mercé, gentil aquila altera</i> [no. 10 in the <i>Cordiforme</i>]).
13. O pelegrina, o luce	15 ^v -17	MS: <i>MC 871</i> , 7 ^v -8. [Not the same piece as no. 6]
14. O meschin' enamorati	17 ^v -19	
15. Comme ung homme desconforté	19 ^v -20	
16. S'il vous plaist que vostre je soye	20 ^v -21	
17. L'autre jour par ung matin	21 ^v -23	MS: <i>Bol Q16</i> , 39 ^v -40; <i>Par 15123</i> , 82 ^v (S and T only).
18. J'ay pris amours a ma devise	23 ^v -24	MS: <i>*Ber 78B17</i> , 160; <i>Bol Q16</i> , 122 ^v -123; <i>Dij 517</i> , 7 (T and C only); <i>Flo 27</i> , 41 ^v ; <i>Flo XIX</i> , 59, 189 ^v (S and T only); <i>Lon 31922</i> , 41 ^v -42 (variant C); <i>Par 4379</i> , 27 ^v -28; <i>Par 15123</i> , 21 ^v -22; <i>Per 431</i> , 85; <i>Tr 1947-4</i> , 7-8 (variant C, no text); <i>Wash 252</i> , 31 ^v -32 (variant C). EP: <i>*Arnoullet</i> , 55; <i>*Jardin</i> , 71 ^v ; <i>Par 504</i> , I, 17. ME: <i>*Droz</i> , II, no. 102; <i>*Löpelmann</i> , no. 470; <i>Rie-SIMG</i> , 139; <i>Trois Chans</i> , 3; <i>Wolf-O</i> , 94.
19. L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa [Ockeghem]	24 ^v -25	MS: <i>NH Mel</i> , 48-49, Okeghem; <i>Rom 2856</i> , 52 ^v -53, Okeghem; <i>Dij 517</i> , 20 ^v -21; <i>Par 15123</i> , 32 ^v -33. ME: <i>Ambros</i> , V, 12; <i>Trois Chans</i> , 32.
20. De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse [Hayne]	25 ^v -26	MS <i>Dij 517</i> , 14 ^v -15, Hayne; <i>Flo XIX</i> , 178, 34 ^v -35, Hayne; <i>NH Mel</i> , 82-83, Heyne; <i>Pav 362</i> , 34bis ^v -35, Heyne; <i>Rom 2856</i> , 66 ^v -67, Haine; <i>*Ber 78B17</i> , 184-184 ^v ; <i>Bol Q16</i> , 118 ^v -119; <i>Cop 291^a</i> , 5 ^v -6; <i>Cop 1848-20</i> , 201 (T only); <i>Flo 27</i> , 25 (with variant C); <i>Flo XIX</i> , 59, 187 ^v -188 (with variant C); <i>Flo XIX</i> , 121, 24 ^v -25; <i>Flo 2356</i> , 32 ^v -33; <i>Flo 2794</i> ,

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
		18 ^v -19; <i>Lon</i> 31922, 40 ^v -41; <i>MC</i> 871N, 344; <i>Par</i> 676, 42 ^v -43; <i>Par</i> 15123, 105 ^v -106; <i>Per</i> 431, 80; <i>Sev</i> 5.1.43, 39 (T and C only); <i>Ulm</i> 237, 15, 16, 17; <i>Wash</i> 252, 62 ^v -63; <i>Wol</i> 287, 52 ^v -53; EP: * <i>Chasse</i> ; <i>Odh</i> , 22 ^v -23 (à 4); <i>Par</i> 504, III, 16 (S only); ME: <i>Ambros</i> II, 576; <i>Gombosi</i> , suppl., XIV; <i>Hewitt</i> , no. 20; <i>Jeppesen</i> , no. 5; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 575; <i>Morelot</i> , suppl., V; <i>NOH</i> , 247; * <i>Restori</i> , no. 21; <i>Smijers</i> , V, 144; <i>Trois Chans</i> , 20.
21. J'ay moins de bien [Busnois]	26 ^v -28	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 59, 56 ^v -57 (first half only), Busnoys; <i>Par</i> 15123, 178 ^v -179 (first half only) Busnoys; <i>Dij</i> 517, 153 ^v -155; * <i>Par</i> 1719, 109; <i>Sev</i> 5.1.43, 90 ^v -91; <i>Wash</i> 252, 85 ^v -87.
22. Vostre bruit [Dufay]	28 ^v -29	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 36 ^v -38, Duffay; <i>NH Mel</i> , 42-43, Duffay; <i>Wash</i> 252, 22 ^v -23, Duffay; <i>Ber</i> Z98, no. 273; <i>Par</i> 4379, 20 ^v ; * <i>Par</i> 24315, 30 ^v ; <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 85 ^v -86; <i>Tr</i> 89, 415 ^v -416. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 63; * <i>Jardin</i> , 75. ME: <i>Besseler</i> G, 25; <i>Besseler</i> O, no. 83; * <i>Droz</i> , II, no. 145; <i>DTÖ</i> , XXII, 114; * <i>Montaignon</i> , X, 190-191; <i>Ringmann</i> , I, 66.
23. Cent mille escus [Caron]	29 ^v -30	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 59, 71 ^v -72, Busnoys; <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 41 ^v -42, Caron; <i>Rom</i> 2856, 26 ^v -27, Caron; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 184; <i>Ber</i> Z98, no. 274 (organ tablature); <i>Dij</i> 517, 152 ^v -153; <i>Flo</i> XIX, 178, 61 ^v -62; <i>Par</i> 15123, 10 ^v -11; <i>Per</i> 431, 58; <i>Sev</i> 5.1.43, 45 ^v -46; <i>Ver</i> DCCLVII, 61 ^v -62 (no text); <i>Wol</i> 287, 63 (S only). ME: <i>Ambros</i> , II, 554; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 574; <i>OH</i> II, 52; <i>Ringmann</i> , I, 67 (organ tablature); * <i>Wallis</i> , 124.
24. Le souvenir de vous me tue [Morton]	30 ^v -31	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 52 ^v -53, Mortom; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 185; <i>Bol</i> Q16, 121 ^v -122; <i>Cop</i> 291 ⁸ , 26 (T and C only); <i>Cop</i> 1848-2 ^o , 141; <i>Dij</i> 517, 87 ^v -88; <i>Flo</i> 2356, 53 ^v -54; <i>Mun</i> 352b, no. 256 (organ tablature); <i>Par</i> 15123, 20 ^v -21; <i>Per</i> 431, 88; <i>Wash</i> 252, 55 ^v -56; <i>Wol</i> 287, 47 ^v -48. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 55; * <i>Chasse</i> , 3; * <i>Jardin</i> , 62 (initial verse only). ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, no. 18; <i>Jeppesen</i> , 37; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , 579; <i>Wallner</i> , 414 (organ tablature).
25. L'omme bany de sa plaisance [Barbingant]	31 ^v -32	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 54 ^v -55, Fede; <i>NH Mel</i> , 58-59, Barbingant; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17,

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
		118 ^v ; <i>Dij</i> 517, 97 ^v -98; <i>Par Niv</i> , 24 ^v -25; * <i>Par</i> 1719, 87 ^v ; <i>Par</i> 15123, 29 ^v -30; <i>Pav</i> 362, 21 ^v -22; <i>Wash</i> 252, 66 ^v -67. EP: * <i>Jardin</i> , no. 22. ME: * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 294; <i>Meier</i> , II, 13.
26. N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay? [Morton]	32 ^v -33	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 53 ^v -54, Mortom; <i>NH Mel</i> , 56-57 (à 4: C II <i>si placet</i>), Morton; <i>Ber</i> 78C28, 17 ^v -18; <i>Cop</i> 291 ⁸ , 3 ^v -4; <i>Dij</i> 517, 116 ^v -117; <i>Esc</i> IV, a. 24, 130 ^v -131; <i>Flo</i> 2356, 63 ^v -64; <i>Par Niv</i> , 1 ^v -2; <i>Par</i> 4379, 14 ^v -15; <i>Par</i> 15123, 109 ^v -110; <i>Wash</i> 252, 57 ^v -58; <i>Wol</i> 287, 6 ^v -7. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 62; * <i>Jardin</i> , 72. ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, No. 110; <i>Jeppesen</i> , 4.
27. Le serviteur hault guerdonné [Dufay]	33 ^v -34	MS: <i>MC</i> 871N, 103, Duffay; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 91 ^v ; <i>Ber</i> 78C28, 4 ^v -5; <i>Dij</i> 517, 92 ^v -93; <i>Esc</i> IV, a. 24, 76 ^v -77; <i>Flo</i> XIX, 59, 278 ^v ; <i>Flo</i> 2794, 22 ^v -23; * <i>Lon</i> 380, 241 ^v ; <i>Mun</i> 352b, nos. 11, 226 (organ tablature); * <i>Par</i> 1719, 87; * <i>Par</i> 1722, 87; <i>Par</i> 4379, 25 ^v -26; <i>Par</i> 15123, 92 ^v -93; <i>Pav</i> 362, 40 ^v -41; <i>Per</i> 431, 77; <i>Por</i> 714, 64 ^v -65; <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 84 ^v -85; <i>Tr</i> 90, 358 ^v ; <i>Wol</i> 287, 24 ^v -25. EP: * <i>Jardin</i> , 87; <i>Odh</i> , 37 ^v -38 (à 4, variant C). ME: <i>Besseler</i> O, no. 92; * <i>Droz</i> , 11, no. 274; <i>DTÖ</i> , XIV, XV, 238; <i>Hewitt</i> , 294 (variant C); * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 176; * <i>Restori</i> , no. 28; <i>Trois Chans</i> , no. 3; <i>Wallner</i> , 6, 284 (organ tablature).
28. Fortuna, par ta cruaulté [Vincinet]	34 ^v -36	MS: <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 40 ^v -41, Vincinet; <i>NH Mel</i> , 44-45, Vincinet; <i>Ber</i> Z98, no. 275 (organ tablature); <i>Bol</i> Q16, 116 ^v -117 (à 4); <i>Bol</i> Q18, 37 ^v -38 (à 4); <i>Flo</i> XIX, 59, 50 ^v -51; <i>Par</i> 15123, 166 ^v -167; <i>Sev</i> 5.143, 61 ^v -62; <i>Ver</i> DCCLVII, 66 ^v -67 (no text). EP: <i>Odh</i> , 65 ^v -66, Vincinet. ME: <i>Hewitt</i> , no. 60; <i>Ringmann</i> , I, 68 (organ tablature).
29. Est il mercy de quoy [Busnois]	36 ^v -38	MS: <i>NH Mel</i> , 15, 16, Busnois; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 100 ^v -101; <i>Dij</i> 517, 59 ^v -60; <i>Wash</i> 252, 29 ^v -30; <i>Wol</i> 287, 2 ^v -3. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 57; * <i>Jardin</i> , no. 49. ME: * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 216.
30. Comme feme desconfortee [Binchois]	38 ^v -40	MS: <i>NH Mel</i> , 62-63, Binchoys; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 117; <i>Dij</i> 517, 41 ^v -42 (variant C); <i>Esc</i> IV, a.24, 131 ^v -132; <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 123 ^v -125; <i>Mun</i> 328-331, 121; <i>Par</i> 1597, 29 ^v ; <i>Par</i> 4379, 13 ^v -14; <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 88 ^v -89; <i>Wol</i> 287, 31 ^v -32. EP: * <i>Arnoul-</i>

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
		<i>let</i> , 4; * <i>Jardin</i> , 62, 93. ME: * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 289; <i>Rehm</i> , 53; <i>Trois Chans</i> , 9.
31. Tout a par moy [Frye]	40 ^v -42	MS: <i>Par Niv</i> , 26 ^v -27, Binchois; <i>NH Mel</i> , 88-89, Frye; <i>Wash</i> 252, 11 ^v -12, Frye; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 83; <i>Ber</i> 78C28, 29 ^v -30; <i>Flo</i> 2356, 69 ^v -70; <i>Mun</i> 352b, no. 252 (organ tablature); <i>Par</i> 4379, 18 ^v -19; * <i>Par</i> 24315, 28 ^v ; <i>Pra</i> IV, 47; <i>Wol</i> 287, 4 ^v -5. EP: * <i>Jardin</i> , 77. ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, no. 164; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 138; <i>Plamenac</i> , XXXVII, 530; <i>Rehm</i> , 55; <i>Wallner</i> , 410 (organ tablature).
32. Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure [Ockeghem]	42 ^v -44	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 32 ^v -34, Ochechem; <i>Mun</i> 351a, 62 ^v -64, Ockeghem; <i>NH Mel</i> , 74-77, Ockeghem; <i>Par Niv</i> , 52 ^v -54, Ockeghem; <i>Rom</i> 2856, 61 ^v -63, Ockeghem; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 83 ^v -84; <i>Ber</i> Z98, no. 267 (organ tablature); <i>Cop</i> 1848-2 ^o , 401 (no text); <i>Flo</i> 2356, 34 ^v -35; * <i>Par</i> 1719, 61, 132; <i>Par</i> 4379, 4 ^v -6; <i>Par</i> 15123, 30 ^v -32; <i>Rom</i> XIII, 27, 76 ^v -77; <i>Wash</i> 252, 32 ^v -34; <i>Wol</i> 287, 29 ^v -31. EP: <i>Od</i> h, 59 ^v -60, Okenhem; <i>Form</i> , no. 86; * <i>Jardin</i> , 61, 71 ^v . ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, nos. 10, 13; <i>Eitner</i> , no. 8; <i>Gombosi</i> , no. 5; <i>HAM</i> , I, no. 75; <i>Hewitt</i> , no. 54; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 142; <i>Ringmann</i> , I, 61 (organ tablature); <i>Trois Chans</i> , 9; <i>Wolf-SUS</i> , 39.
33. Mon seul plaisir, ma douce joye [Dufay, Bedingham]	44 ^v -46	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 58 ^v -59, Duffay; <i>Por</i> 714, 59 ^v -60, Bedyngnam de Anglia; * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 82 ^v -83; <i>Ber</i> 78C28, 20 ^v -21; <i>Esc</i> IV, a.24, 27 ^v -28; <i>Flo</i> 2356, 54 ^v -55; * <i>Lon</i> 380, 238 ^v ; <i>Mun</i> 351a, 22 ^v -23; <i>Par</i> 4379, 23 ^v -24; <i>Par</i> 15123, 68 ^v -70; <i>Pav</i> 362, 24 ^v -25; <i>Wash</i> 252, 65 ^v -66; <i>Wol</i> 287, 41 ^v -42. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 55; * <i>Jardin</i> , 62. ME: <i>Besseler</i> O, no. 90; * <i>Droz</i> , II, no. 18; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 137; <i>Wallis</i> , no. 208.
34. Ma bouche plaint les pleurs de ma pensee	46 ^v -48	MS: <i>Flo</i> XIX, 59, 35 ^v -36.
35. Vray dieu d'amours	48 ^v -49	
36. Helas! je n'ay pas osé dire	49 ^v -50	
37. Or ay jay perdu mes amours	50 ^v -52	
38. Adieu vous dy	52 ^v -54	
39. Terriblement suis fortunee	54 ^v -56	MS: * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 125; <i>Ber</i> 78C28, 8 ^v -9; * <i>Lon</i> 380, 241; <i>Par</i> 4379, 26 ^v -27; <i>Pav</i> 362, 17 ^v -19; <i>Tr</i> 90, 286. EP: * <i>Arnoullet</i> , 55; * <i>Jardin</i> , 70 ^v -71. ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, no. 96; <i>DTÖ</i> , XVII, 112; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 322.

TITLE	FOLIO	SOURCES
40. De mon povoir vous veul complaire	56 ^v -57	
41. Helas! n'aray je jamais	57 ^v -59	MS: <i>Por</i> 714, 67 ^v -69.
42. Quant du dire adieu me souvient	59 ^v -60	
43. Je ne veis onques la pareille	60 ^v -62	MS: * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 93; <i>Flo</i> XIX, 176, 50 ^v -51; <i>Flo</i> 2356, 78 ^v -79; <i>MC</i> 871, 29 ^v ; <i>Mun</i> 351a, 94 ^v -95; <i>Par</i> 1597, 41; <i>Tr</i> 90, 352 ^v ; <i>Wash</i> 252, 45 ^v -46; <i>Wol</i> 287, 38 ^v -39. ME: <i>Besseler</i> G, 24; <i>Besseler</i> O, no. 91; <i>DTÖ</i> XXII, 102; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 183; <i>Rehm</i> , no. 57.
44. Faites mon scavoir de la belle	62 ^v -64	MS: * <i>Ber</i> 78B17, 88; <i>Mun</i> 352b, no. 125 (organ tablature). EP: * <i>Jardin</i> , 95. ME: * <i>Droz</i> , II, 194; * <i>Löpelmann</i> , no. 161; <i>Wallner</i> , 163 (organ tablature).