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Towards a Reticular Analysis of Josquin’s Five-Voice Chansons
Towards a Reticular Analysis of Josquin’s Five-Voice Chansons

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Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the MA degree in Musicology

Department of Music
Faculty of Arts and Sciences
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Abstract

The examination of Josquin’s five-voice *chanson* repertoire provides an overview of historical information about composer, the *chanson* as a musical genre, and the manuscript sources containing them. Furthermore, it advances the knowledge of the musical structure and text expression of the works. Analysis of this repertoire by means of Joshua Rifkin’s concept of motivicity attempts to advance the understanding of the compositional process in the early Renaissance. Motivicity proved useful as a tool not only in this regard, but also by making apparent needed changes to the text underlay. A discussion of the concept of modal affect or ethos and its relevance to secular polyphony of the early Renaissance opened up the question of text expression in Josquin’s five-voice *chanson* repertoire, a subject still requiring further investigation.
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Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to perform a reticular analysis to further the classification and definition of Josquin’s repertoire of 5-voice *chansons*. This repertoire includes 19 pieces in all: *Cent mille regretz*, *Cueur langoreux*, *Cueur desolez/Plorans pluravit*, *Douler me bat*, *Du mien amant*, *En non saichant*, *Faule d’argent*,

*Incessament livré suis*, *Incessament mon povere cuer*, *Je me complains*, *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer*, *L’amyé a tous/Je ne vis oncques*, *Ma bouche rit*, *Mi larés vous*, *N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir*, *Nymphes des bois*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de duel*, *Plusieurs regretz*. The study of a phenomenon termed by Joshua Rifkin ‘motivic’, along with textual analysis will serve as my primary research tools. Grouping of trends will also help in defining stylistic categories within the repertoire. Furthermore, some of these groupings may in the future help to make historical connections and to place certain of his pieces within Josquin’s musical career, while others may highlight and explain some of the changes in compositional practices that might bridge the gap in the switch from modal to harmonic musical conception that was soon to follow.

The Introduction provides a short overview — a setting of historical background and an outline of key concepts, issues, and methods. The section: ‘Josquin Biography’ looks at the most current information on Josquin’s life. ‘History of the Chanson’ covers the span from the origin of the genre to the period when Josquin composed his works, encompassing both musical milieu and compositional process. ‘Josquin’s Chanson Repertoire’ examines the general characteristics of the repertoire and the probability of the authenticity of the individual pieces. The section on Manuscripts states the historical information and content of each source. The sections listed so far form the background to
the latter more analytical sections of the text.

The second part of the thesis deals with structural analysis, both textual and musical, of Josquin’s five-voice *chansons*. Of special interest are analyses using the concept of motivicity and the in-depth discussion of modal affect and text expression. In the Appendices, the ‘*Chanson* Motivicity Profiles’ provide a quick reference to the reader on the motivicity analyses of the individual *chansons*.

This thesis advances the knowledge of the musical structure and text expression of the works by systematically looking at the motivic characteristics of Josquin’s music. Analysis of Josquin’s five-voice *chanson* repertoire by means of Joshua Rifkin’s concept of motivicity attempts to improve the understanding of compositional process in the early Renaissance. Motivicity proved useful not only as a tool highlighting and making sense of the motivic framework inherent in the, but also by revealing the correct text underlay. A discussion of the concept of modal affect or ethos and its relevance to secular polyphony of the early Renaissance has opened up the question of text expression in Josquin’s five-voice *chanson* repertoire: a subject still requiring further investigation. Although, the applicability of modal affect to this repertoire was neither fully proved nor disproved, it provided a strategy for analysis of the emotional elements of the text/music relationship.

**Historical Background**

Josquin Desprez was considered to be one of the most important composers of his day. Certainly his pieces were widely distributed and he worked for many well known patrons. He was one of the earliest composers to work with the new poetic verse form:
the *chanson*, and also one of the first to increase the musical texture of compositions by including a fifth voice in some of these secular pieces.

Several changes in musical conception and practice converged around the time of the emergence of Josquin's five-voice *chansons*. The early sixteenth century saw a move away from the older style of composition, which relied on a given tenor line often derived from chant and around which the composer added the other voices, towards the elimination of the *prius factus*, resulting in a 'through-composed' style. The addition of a fifth voice had repercussions on the method of composing. The compositional method of setting each individual line one at a time against a pre-existing melody in a five-voice texture, while still managing to avoid unwanted dissonant clashes when all the voices sounded together, no longer seems viable or practical. The dense texture created by using this compositional method could only result in either the duplication of many notes or in crunching dissonances. It was this time when theoretical treatises began describing a new method of composition - simultaneous conception, where all the voices are taken into consideration at once. Compositional construction based on the interplay of motives (Rifkin's 'motivicity') could fit in with this new approach and provides an alternative method that does not necessitate the sounding of all voices at any given moment. In other words, in this new musical construction, not all lines needed to be heard simultaneously, meaning that duplication of notes and any harsh vertical sonorities could be avoided. Furthermore, this repertoire serves as an example of the increased harmonic sensitivity on the eve of the creation of modern day tonality and perhaps even reveals some embryonic forms of the soon to come tonal framework.
Motive

In the fall of 2002, Dr. Paul Merkley, graduate student Catherine Lamarre and I formed a research team to study the applicability and usefulness of motivicity, as defined by Joshua Rifkin, for the analysis of Josquin’s 5-voice chanson repertoire. Some of the initial analyses were conducted by students in the seminar course MUS 5900 held at the University of Ottawa in that same fall semester, while the rest were completed by the smaller research team and then again later revised by myself. This team then did a cursory examination and presented its findings in a paper read at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference (held at the University of Ottawa in 2003), which was organized by several graduate programs at the University of Ottawa and Carleton University. This research group, however, dealt exclusively with the utility of the motivicity method (a term coined by Joshua Rifkin) as an analytical tool and did not extend its work to include any sort of textual analysis or study of historical context, nor did it attempt to categorize the repertoire based on these analyses. This, of course, is where my work picks up the investigative trail.

Rifkin describes ‘motivic’ as “the maximum permeation of a polyphonic complex by a single linear denominator or set of denominators . . . a unit of music characterized not just diastematically but rhythmically as well.”¹ In other words, motivicity is motivic repetition either within one voice or throughout several voices of a piece of music. The repeated motive must have the same contour (ups and downs) and the same rhythm. The analysis performed by the motivicity research team also allowed for related denominators. Unlike the eighteenth and nineteenth-century idea of a motive that undergoes evolution and transformation, as demonstrated by the works of Beethoven,

¹ Rifkin.
the motivicity denominators do not, however the motivicity team would still consider the motives to be somewhat organic.²

Analysis through the method of motivicity can reveal various aspects of the music. It can, as was previously observed in several examples already examined by the research team, reveal harmonic sensitivity at cadence points. Furthermore, the team noted that in some cases the denominator in the lowest sounding voice is drastically altered or abandoned completely at a cadence point, taking on a ‘harmonic’ role typical of later tonal writing. In other words, motivicity is not only important in its presence, but also in its absence. I will take issue with this point in my thesis, attempting to find all of the manifestations of this phenomenon in Josquin’s chansons to help further our understanding of the composer’s perceptions of the roles of the voices in this new through-composed structure, as well as how this increased attention to vertical sonorities prepared the way for the tonal system. Another issue that motivicity helps to explain is the compositional make-up of the concluding music of each song. This seems to be more complex and in some cases combines elements from some of the previously heard denominators.

**Textual Issues**

Poetic form is one textual means by which the repertoire may be divided. Most of the analysis of the poetic forms has been done previously, in particular in Congleton’s thesis on Josquin’s chansons. Although her thesis as a whole is now outdated, she thoroughly and accurately covers the issues of poetic structure. The texts appear in one

² Rifkin.
of two forms, the *rondeau* and the *chanson*. The *rondeau* is the last of the *formes fixes* to be used in music. The *rondeau* includes a refrain and verses, which reuse the same music. The *chanson* was a new genre at that time. In a *chanson*, each line comprises ten syllables, with a caesura after the fourth syllable.

Questions about the poetic division between songs intended for the court and those appropriate for the merchant class remains veiled. The subject matter and language of the *chansons* should be taken as clues; however, this method does not always work quite as one expects. For example, *Faute d'argent*, which makes a clear reference to a prostitute, and which therefore might be considered to be included in the category of the *chanson rustique*, can be found in a manuscript known to have been presented to Filippo Strozzi, from Rinucinni, the nephew by marriage of Pope Leo X.

As previously mentioned, motivicity analysis may give hints as to the proper texting of some of the pieces, and thus, I will also examine the question of text underlay. The grouping of the notes into motives clearly defines points of articulation that logically correspond to segments of the text. These musical deviations are not necessarily evident without motivic analysis. Atlas enumerates the rules of text underlay found in various theories that began appearing in the 1530s, at least two decades after the composition of this repertoire. 3 Although many of these treaties contradict each other and even themselves, a basic set of rules can still be gleaned. This combination of examining sources with the rules in mind and with the advantage of seeing the motivic grouping of notes has resulted in improvements to the text underlay provided in the critical edition of Josquin's work.

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Correct text underlay is very important for my analysis of the music and text relationship involving text expression. Inaccuracy of text underlay will lead to a false impression of Josquin’s musical correlation with the poetic text. Musical phrasing as manifested in phrasing, rhythm, and motivic contour may indicate Josquin’s acuteness to the rhythm and meaning of the text during composition. My analysis of the question of text expression follows several avenues. The repetition of music for different text intrinsic to the rondeau form does not allow for easy analysis of music/text relationships, whereas the chanson form contains no musical repetitions to complicate the analysis of text expression.

A relationship certainly exists between the textual phrasing of the poetic line and how Josquin translated the textual divisions into his music. For example, the repertoire seems full of 4-note denominators to accompany the four first syllables of many of the poetic lines in the chansons with chanson verse form. This seems to be a point of sensitivity on the part of the composer to the poetic divisions of the text: the caesura after the first four syllables. Furthermore, there seem to be several of these four-note denominators that make their appearance in more than one chanson and some common traits can be observed between most of these, such as their rhythm and the repetition of notes. These traits serve as another means of categorizing and dividing the repertoire in my efforts to further define it.

To ensure a correct understanding of the piece, I checked carefully that the correct accidentals were either added or left out before either comparing denominators between pieces or attempting to make my analysis of text expression. Even though the critical edition contains many suggested accidentals, I do not agree with the accuracy of all of

Although attempts to categorize Josquin’s five-voice repertoire have been made by Lawrence Bernstein\footnote{Lawrence F Bernstein, ‘Chansons for Five and Six Voices,’ \textit{The Josquin Companion}, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 393-422.} and Leeman Perkins\footnote{Leeman L. Perkins, ‘Toward a Typology of Renaissance Chanson,’ \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 6 n 4 (1988): 421-47.}, neither has used the obviously motivic construction to its full potential, and so their definitions of five-voice chansons fall far short of the results obtained with motivicity as a central analytical approach. Bernstein, writing about Josquin’s five-voice chansons, suggested a typology based on poetic structure first (once again the \textit{chanson} versus the \textit{rondeau}), then sub-types based on musical procedures such as canons and use of a tenor \textit{prius factus}.\footnote{Bernstein, ‘Chansons for Five and Six Voices’, 393-422.} Perkins also concerned himself with creating a typology of chansons in much the same manner as Bernstein, also using the verse form as a factor, but going on further to examine how this results in music/text relationships by way of text-generated rhythms, observance of the caesura, and articulation of cadences. He also examined the concept of points of imitation as well as distinguishing Josquin’s freer imitative procedure, later termed ‘motivic’ by Rifkin.\footnote{Perkins, ‘Toward a Typology of Renaissance Chanson’, 421-47.} He does not expand on this last point but merely mentions his general observation. This is the point where I will take up the case, systematically analyzing motivicity in the repertoire, rather than simply making the generalized indentification of a compositional trend.

The issue of authenticity is a large one that must be taken into consideration when categorizing the repertoire. The reliability of the attributions of these chansons to
Josquin is dealt with in Rifkin’s “Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices Problems of Authenticity and Style,” and Bernstein’s “Ma bouche rit et mon cœur pleure: a chanson a 5 attributed to Josquin des Prez”, as well as by others. Although many questions still remain as to whether all of these chansons were composed by Josquin, I will not actively pursue this avenue in my thesis, but merely reiterate the various arguments already presented by other scholars. This is a topic that requires continual re-examination as new evidence arises and hypotheses are presented. The scholars themselves, more often than not, disagree on the subject of authenticity. This occurs primarily because of the lack of solid evidence and thus requires each scholar to individually ask the same questions anew when revisiting the repertoire. This may seem repetitive, but this allows new ideas and interpretations to surface and the interplay of differing opinions helps to eliminate assumptions and avoids the pitfalls of making conclusions on shaky ground. The more pieces that researchers are able to authenticate, the easier it then becomes to properly analyse and make statements about the repertoire as a coherent whole. Nonetheless, regardless of whether or not this repertoire was composed exclusively by Josquin, it still functions as a useful repertoire to analize as a body of work from this period that had a wide influence since it was considered to be by our influencial composer for such a long period of time. Furthermore, the pieces within the repertoire do overall exhibit common motivic structures. The repertoire also allows a good testbed for my study of the utility of motivicity as an anylitical tool for this time period and genre.

Manuscript sources containing pieces from the repertoire in question have their own bibliography, which I will consult for various purposes, including questions of authenticity, geographical and historical placement of the repertoire, and the accuracy of
the reading. This body of literature focuses on two aspects: the application of
codicological (including elements such as dating of a manuscript and its fasicles) and
music-paleographical (including elements such as text-underlay, custodies, and other
aspects of scribal notation) evidence to Renaissance repertoire. This secondary literature
on the manuscripts includes: Atlas, Hamm, Kellman, Picker, Tarcani, Warmington, and
others. I do not contribute any significant information to the knowledge about origin of
any of the manuscripts, but I will use the information that existing studies provide as
described. The codicological aspects help with historical questions, and the
paleographical elements help with getting accurate readings of the *chansons* in the
manuscripts.

The first issue addressed in my work is the motivic analysis of the repertoire. The
analyzed *chansons* required comparison with the original manuscript sources to see if
these offer a further clue to this analysis. In some cases, these were altered as other
evidence presented itself in the original manuscripts. The poetic structure of each
*chanson* was examined. As well, the question of authenticity divided the repertoire. The
juxtaposition of these and other factors provide a better understanding of the complexities
of the repertoire and the composer’s intents.

**Josquin Biography**

So as not to confuse things from the start, a reminder is necessary that recent
information found by Dr. Lora Matthews and Dr. Paul Merkley, and summarized by
Richard Sherr, amend the previous knowledge of the composer’s life. As a result of their
various discoveries, “the biography of Josquin Desprez has been separated from that of
another singer, Iudochus de Picardia, also known as Josquin de Kessellia, who served in the choir of the cathedral of Milan from 1459-1472, then passed into the chapel of Duke Galeazzo Sforza, was admonished for “setting aside the work” of the duke to “write for others” in March of 1473, was given paper to compile a book for the ducal chapel (1 October 1475), undertook a pilgrimage to the monastery of Saint Anthony of Vienne in the dauphinate in April 1479, and in 1480s was listed as a cleric in the Milanese ducal chapel. His father’s name was Honodius, and it was he—not Desprez—who held the canonry in the church of San Giuliano in Gozzano, a benefice that became vacant at his death in 1498.\(^9\)

Although David Fallows briefly summarized Josquin’s biography in his article, Approaching a New Chronology of Josquin: an Interim Report, no comprehensive chronology that takes into account all these major changes to the Josquin’s biographical information has been published. Furthermore, many contemporary works on the composer simply list a chronology without sighting the documentation that supports the information making it difficult to easily separate the biographies of the two musicians without a current time-line like the following one that I drafted from various references.

One of the documents discovered by Merkley and Matthews revealed the composer’s full name as Jossequin Lebloitte dit Desprez.\(^10\) “Lebloitte,” evidently Josquin’s birth name but not the one that he used to our knowledge in Milan, Rome, Ferrara, and Aix-en-Provence, appears to be a gallicized version of the middle-Netherlandish name Bloet.”\(^11\) Through other of these documentary findings, our

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\(^10\) Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 544.

\(^11\) Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 214.
knowledge of Josquin’s family tree has expanded: his father was Gossard Lebloitte (in one document “de Bloittere”\textsuperscript{12}) dit Desprez, his uncle, Gilles Lebloitte dit Desprez, and aunt, Jacque Banneston.\textsuperscript{13} The aunt’s name, Banneston, suggests that Josquin may have been related to the singer Antoine Baneston, who worked at various times in Milan, Ferrara, and the Papal Chapel, and who acted as a procurator for Josquin’s benefices in 1489.\textsuperscript{14}

**Chronology of Josquin’s Life**

In the following text, note that an asterix (*) appears before the entries where it is not clear if the information does indeed refer to our composer (Josquin) or where the information is speculative.

**mid-1450s?**
Josquin’s birth date, birth place and early education remain a mystery. Fallows suggests a mid-1450s birth date guessing that he must have been at least twenty upon entering the court of King René d’Anjou in the mid-1470s.\textsuperscript{15} A clue to his birth place is provided when: “Just before his death in Condé he asked that his name be placed on the roll of residents who had not been born in the city, and he indicated that he had been born beyond the “Noire Eauwe,” or black water, a toponym that has not been definitely located.”\textsuperscript{16} Merkley discusses the possibilities for Josquin’s schooling:

We still do not know in which institution Josquin received his early training. Could this have been in the choir school in Saint-Quentin? Were there occasions on which Josquin and Compère traveled to chapter meetings or other functions in the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin? Did either composer have an influence on the music sung in that church? We know that in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, choir schools grew rapidly in sophistication. In 1508 the chapter of the cathedral of Bourges attempted to engage a musician named Josquin as the master of the boys.”\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{12} Fallows, “Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin”, 132.
\textsuperscript{13} Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 456-59 and 463-65.
\textsuperscript{14} Fallows, “Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin”, 132.
\textsuperscript{15} Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 131.
\textsuperscript{17} Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 581.
December 1466
In the city of Condé-sur-Escaut, “Jossequin Lebloitte dit Desprez” is named a beneficiary of his uncle Gille and aunt Jacque Banestonne, to inherit their house and land upon the death of the last surviving spouse. Whether Josquin was present is not clear nor how old he was when this bequest was made.18

1475 (at the latest) to 1478 (at the earliest)
Josquin worked at the court chapel of King René d’Anjou where it appears that “he held two benefices at a time, exchanging positions frequently. Perhaps the benefices were exchanged in a manner that did not require documents that one might have expected in the sections of the Vatican letters and letters of supplication that have been searched to date.”19 One of the benefices is known from an obligation made by “Jusquinus des Pres” in Aix-en-Provence dated February 1475, concerning the permutation of benefices in Tours and Aix. Another benefice is known from an expectative of 26 March 1478, held by him in the collegiate church of Ste.-Maxe du Château in Bar-le-Duc.20 Josquin may have remained at the court until 1480, only to depart at the death of the king.21

19 April 1477
A “Josquinus Pratensis, cameracensis dioecesis, clericus et cantor capelle” was in Aix-en-Provence to appoint a procurator22

26 March 1478
An expectative was registered for him in the court of René d’Anjou.23

4 August 1481
A procurator represents Josquin in Aix-en-Provence to cease the obligation made in 1475 while at the court of René d’Anjou.24

Winter 1483 (document dated 26 February 1482 since Condé used Roman style dating)
Josquin made a claim to inherit an inn and property in Condé-sur-Escaut from uncle, Gilles, and aunt, Jacque Banneston, the will having been made in 1466.25 The property included a house called “ostel au mouton” and the property running the walls of the city on one side, and the River “Hoynne” (the Haine) on another, and the “ostel de Crepin” on the third.26 Before Easter (30 March), Josquin visited the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Condé for the first time since the beginning of the French Wars in 1477 and appointed Robert de Maulde, the canon of this church, and others to be procurators of his property in this city.27

19 Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 582.
20 Matthews & Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez and his Milanese Patrons’, 457 n. 73.
21 Fallows “Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin, 133.
22 Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 203.
23 Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 203.
June 1484
A papal supplication attested to Josquin’s presence in the service of the newly reigning cardinal, Ascanio Sforza, and named him as a commensual familiar.

19 August of 1484-1490
A notarial document of Milan shows that Josquin obtained and was permitted to hold the benefice at the rectory of the parish church of Saint-Aubin, near Bourges, despite his lack of ordination. (legal transfer witnessed by a royal secretary of the French parliament, Jean Guibertceau, singer Hector Charlemagne, known to the composer from his time at the court of René d’Anjou). This document refers to Josquin as a “cleric of Cambrai” and a singer of the duke of Milan.

*Sometime between 1484-1490
Serafino dall’Aquila writes a poem dedicated to Ad Jusquino suo compagno musico d’Ascanio and in two frottole in Petrucci’s collection of these ditties refers to “Josquin d’Ascanio”. Do any of these cases denote our composer?

1489
“Gaps in the Roman record for the period of Josquin’s service in the papal chapel have made his beneficial career unclear for those years. In the summer of his entry into that choir (1489) Desprez was granted indults typical for new papal singers, including the right to hold three incompatible benefices (and to resign or exchange them) and the dispensation de linguis, giving him the possibility of holding benefices in dioceses in which he might not know the vernacular language.”

January 7 1489
While in Milan, Josquin appoint procurators (Petrus Perrini, Claudius de Nybro, and Antonius de Poldo) to travel to Rome to resign his benefice of the church of Saint-Aubain in the diocese of Bourges. However on 11th or 12th of February he revoked and reappointed new procurators to perform this duty: Antonius Galeston [Baneston], Marbrianus de Orto, and Innocentius Cosse (All three of whom were papal singers).

August 1489 until at least March 1494 (at least, but gone by 1500)
Josquin served as a ducal singer at the papal chapel.

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31 Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 218, 225.
33 Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 582.
Merkley state without explanation that Josquin must have left by 1500. Was Merkley thinking, as Fallows suggested in ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 134 that that he may be the Josquin at the household of Ascanio Sforza in 1499.
18 August of 1489
Josquin received from Pope, Innocent VIII, a blanket indult to be able to hold up to three benefices, without residence and without having knowledge of the local language, and with the ability to exchange benefices.\textsuperscript{37} Sherr notes that in this document Josquin “specifies the dioceses of Cambrai, Liège, Thérouanne, and Tournai, all this reinforcing the notion that he was a native speaker of French, although a cleric of the diocese of Cambrai.”\textsuperscript{38}

9 September of 1489
Josquin received a expectative permitting him to claim a benefice in the diocese of Cambrai that soon would become vacant “along with a grant of a canonry/prebend in the church of St. Omer in the diocese of Thérouanne, the bull stating specifically that it should have force as if it had been granted on 1 November 1486 (the “official” date of expectatives issued by Innocent VIII).”\textsuperscript{39}

30 March of 1491
“Josquin made the obligation to pay an annate on any benefice he might receive through the use of those indults [of 18 August of 1489].”\textsuperscript{40}

29 September 1493
This document, found in registers during the reign of Alexander VI, Josquin requested more time to publish bulls concerning the parish churches of Monstiers and St. Michael de St. Sauveur et Deigman, both in the diocese of Cambrai, held by Stephanus Le Feure at the time, and whom he wished to supplant.\textsuperscript{41} “Chancery regulations required in this case (an attempt to deprive someone of a benefice) that the present possessor be called before the judges within six months of the claim, and that the final sentence be delivered within a year. Josquin says that he received a decision in his favor and had published the bulls concerning the other church within the required time period. He therefore asks for a prorogation of another year to publish those bulls. This means that the original action had been initiated at least a year and probably a year and a half before the date of this supplication, in 1491 or 1492.”\textsuperscript{42} Sherr also highlights the fact that another papal singer, Marbranus de Orto also made a supplication on 13 July of 1493 for these same benefices, which stated that “Le Feure was to be deprived of them because he had not received a dispensation allowing him to hold incompatible benefices.”\textsuperscript{43} Sherr proceeds on the hypothesis that a lawsuit involving all three must have occurred sometime between the years of 1491-93 although no document to this evidence is known to exist.\textsuperscript{44}

8 November 1493

\textsuperscript{37} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 65-6.
\textsuperscript{38} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66.
\textsuperscript{40} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.
\textsuperscript{41} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66-7.
\textsuperscript{42} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 67.
\textsuperscript{43} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 67 and n.10.
\textsuperscript{44} Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 67.
A bull found Josquin again trying to supplant someone from a benefice “claiming that Emericus de Honstadt had made a simoniacal agreement with Martinus Kegels, and asking for a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of St. Theodore in the parish church of Bassaytea in the diocese of Cambrai.”

9 November of 1494
A bull showed that Josquin received a canonry/prebend in the church of St. Géry in the diocese of Cambrai.

9 November 1494
Rome granted “Judocus de Pratis” a canonry and prebend for the church of Saint-Géry in the diocese of Cambrai. In February of 1495, a correction to the above document was made, replacing the original name with “Judocum”, suggesting that Josquin is still in Rome and noticed the mistake.

*23 December of 1498 and 8 February 1499
Two letters referred to a Josquin “servitore” of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, may be Josquin Desprez.

*25 September 1501
A “Joschin” sent a composition from Blois to Ferrara. This same person was known to be in Blois 13 December, looking for singers for Ercole d’Este.

June of 1503 until 22 April 1504
Josquin worked as the master of the ducal chapel in Ferrara. In April of 1503, the singer-recruiter Girolam da Destola from the court of Duke Ercole d’Este in Ferrara, was sent to conduct the composer from Lyons (where the Ascanio Sforza chapel resided at the time as well as those of Louis XII and Philip the Fair) to Ferrara. During his period of employment there, all of the records show an income from his work at the chapel totalling 200 per year. Lockwood suggests that Josquin departed the Ducal court of Ercole d’Este in Ferrara after 22 April 1504 to go to the Church of Our Lady at Condé on 3 May 1504 to escape the ongoing dangers of the plague, which had broken out in July 1503 in that city.

3 May of 1504 until his death
Josquin obtained a benefice as a new canon at the church of Notre Dame in Condé-suri

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50 Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 16.
52 Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 332.
Escaut. Josquin may have obtained this post via a three-way exchange between Loyset Compère and singer Pierre Duwez. Documents kept in the Archivio di Stato of Ferrara included two acts of behest dated 30 May 1503 lawfully giving Josquin possession of the canony and prebend of the church of Saint Mary of Condé. His residence there spanned the reigns of Julius II and Leo X.

*11 September 1508*

“When the canons of the cathedral of St-Étienne of Bourges were seeking a new master of the choirboys, they targeted as the object of their search one “dominus Josquin,” who was in all likelihood the composer Josquin des Prez. The chapter wrote letters to him, consulted an influential relative of one of the canons about “how best to persuade him to come,” and subsequently on October 19th, dispatched a messenger from Bourges “to Picardy” in order to search for him. Apparently, “dominus Josquin” never took up the canons’ offer, but their persistence in attempting to hire as their master a man who was by then the most renowned composer of the day does suggest that the position had assumed new importance.”

*22 May of 1509*

A supplication explains that Josquin had made a permutation of benefices with Martinus Buriau, priest and rector of the parish church of Fiesce in the diocese of Arras, whereby Josquin exchanged a canony and prebend chaplaincy at the altar of St. Marius in the church of St. Mary Magdalene in the city of Arras. Upon finding that “the income of the Arras benefice was less than the income of his former benefice, and, in order that he not lose any money, he and Martinus ask that he be granted a pension of 48 Rhenish florins (about 24 ducats): 36 from the income of the parish church of Fiesce held by Martinus Buriau and 12 from the income of the parish church of Granves held by Theodore Buriau, brother of Martinus.” The question still remains at to when he originally held the benefice in Arras and when the exchange was made.

*4 January 1513*

Another supplication again for compensation for an unequal exchange of benefices, this time concerning the chaplaincy at the altar of St. Catherine in the cathedral of Tournai which Josquin had exchanged with Egidius du Riis for a benefice in the parish church of Martin de Loderine in the diocese of Tournai; in this case the pension requested was much less: 6 ducats. One question posed by this is when did he originally hold the benefice of St. Catherine and when was the exchange made? As the supplications of 22

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58 Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 174. See in this same article, page 186 for a listing of all the documents tracing these events.
59 Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 68.
May 1509 and 4 January 1513 prove the only instances of Vatican documentation between 1503 and 1513, Sherr assumes that within this time frame he dealt mainly with local authorities concerning benefices unless special circumstances such as these required him to involve the papacy in Rome.61

*1520

“On the advice of Margaret of Austria, her nephew Emperor Charles V ordered a payment to two singers from Condé, one named “Josquin,” who had travelled to his court in 1520 to present chansons to him.” Does the expression “present chansons” mean that they were to sing or to deliver written music perhaps in a manuscript?

27 August 1521

Josquin died and was buried in the choir of the church of Notre-Dame in Condé-sur-Escaut.62 On 23 August, Josquin had received the mayor of Condé and some aldermen on his deathbed to make the request that he be named in the rolls listing foreigners so that his property would not be turned over to the Lords and Ladies at his death. Instead he bequeathed his property to the church where he worked and was buried.63

*1611

“Osthoft mentions the well-know woodcut of 1611 in Opmeer’s Chronografia (made after a painting now lost in the Church of St. Gudule in Brussels) as the only surviving likeness of Josquin.”64

“There are gaps in the record of court service: the years between his service for the King of Anjou and the first notice of Josquin in Milan it 1484, the years following his documented tenure in the papal chapel, and the period after the fall of Milan to the French in 1499 and before his appointment in Ferrara in April of 1503.”65

The Effect of Patronage on Josquin’s Musical Output

Referring to the period of his employment in the chapel of Duke Ercole d’Este, Merkley asked the question “How can one characterize his contribution to the musical

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61 Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 69.
64 Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoft’s Josquin Monograph”, 531
65 Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 548.
repertoire of the court, and how closely was it tied to occasions and to the specific needs and wishes of the duke and members of his retinue? A similar question can easily be asked, although somewhat in reverse, with regards to his chanson output: were any of them commissioned by a patron(s) and were they for a specific occasion or to be performed in a certain type of setting, evidently one that was more secular? Do any of the texts refer to a specific member of the court? For example, were any of the unrequited love poems written somewhat as an inside joke making reference to known scandals within the court circle? Some of these questions are more easily answered when looking at the laments, since they are tied to the death of an individual, such as Ockeghem in the case of Nymphes des bois.

**Josquin’s Musical and Courtly Connections**

**Ties to the Court of Margaret of Austria**

Josquin may have come into contact with the prestigious and active literary-artistic circle of Margaret of Austria through Marbriano de Orto, who was attached to her court in 1506, as was de la Rue, beginning in 1508. It is possible that Josquin was the poet’s own choice [Lemaire de Belges’ choice for setting his poem Plus nulz regretz]; it seems reasonable to suppose that Jean Molinet, Lemaire’s teacher and relative, knew the composer, or at least knew of him, because the composer set his text for his Déploration on the death of Ockeghem, rather than the text of Crétin set by other composers. In addition Molinet lived in Valenciennes, a short distance from Condé. Lemaire could have known him through Molinet, from his circle of acquaintances in courts of France and the low countries, or perhaps from his time in Lyons. In 1503 Lemaire wrote a poem to commemorate the death of his patron Louis of Luxembourg, and following the conceits of that genre, called on a musician to compose a lament. One version of the poem names Hylaire, and another names Josquin. It has been argued that Josquin composed Cœurs desolez, the cantus firmus of which is taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, for this reason.67

The 1520 document in the earlier listed chronology points to another possible physical connection to Margaret of Austria’s nephew, Emperor Charles V.

**Possible Ties to the French Court**

Glareanus’ Dodecachordon (printed in 1547), book 3 ch. “De Iodoco Pratens”

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67 Merkley, “Josquin Desperez in Ferrara”, 569.
proves the only early document locating Josquin in the court of Louis XII of France. He provides this information in reference to a specific musical piece, but fails to give any dates.\textsuperscript{68} Lowinsky commented on this supposed event: “Was ever a royal monotone so nicely put in his place as Louis XII of France, who wished to have the composer write a piece in which he could participate, and for whom Josquin wrote a four-part composition in which the king was given one tone to sing throughout the work?”\textsuperscript{69} He further noted that “There is in fact some question of whether the king is Louis XI, according to the manuscript source, or Louis XII, according to Glarean, and even whether the composer is Josquin.”\textsuperscript{70} Although Glarean does not necessarily represent an accurate source of information, other hints could indicate Josquin’s connection to this illustrious court. For example, the exchange of the benefices resulting in Josquin obtaining that in Condé-sur Escaut:

reveals an important connection between Josquin and Compère and it may be asked how well the composers knew each other and whether they served in the same court for a time. If the latter was still an active member of the chapel of Louis XII at this time, it is possible that they did. Indeed it may be asked who succeeded Ockegem in 1497, not in his position as treasurer of the abbey of Saint Martin in Tours but in fulfilling the musical function of the principal composer of the King of France.\textsuperscript{71}

Patrick Macey suggested another potential connection between Josquin and the French court, arguing “that Misericordia Domini was composed for King Louis XI in about 1482, mainly because the first and last lines of its unusual text had special meaning to Louis, who had the first line painted on 50 scrolls in 1481 and reputedly uttered both lines on his deathbed.”\textsuperscript{72} Fallows cited Jeremy Noble’s discovery that Josquin used chants here only in the liturgy of Tours in his two motets, Liber generationis and Factum

\textsuperscript{68} Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez in Ferrara’, 549. See this article for further arguments for Josquin having served at some point in the court of Louis XII.
\textsuperscript{69} Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoff’s Josquin Monograph”, 531 n. 1a.
\textsuperscript{70} Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoff’s Josquin Monograph”, 531 n. 1a.
\textsuperscript{71} Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 564.
\textsuperscript{72} Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 148.
est autem. This suggests that Josquin composed these during those same years working for Louis XI.⁷³

In terms of patronage, Josquin’s habitation in a location other than France would not necessarily provide an obstacle for him to compose for the King. Merkley asserted that “... it would be incorrect to assume that Josquin severed his ties with the French court when he resigned Saint-Quentin, or that he no longer composed for secular patrons after he left Ferrara, indeed ... Some of his works can be lined to occasions in secular courts after 1504.”⁷⁴

To further fuel the argument for Josquin’s connection to the French court, Bernstein observed that “Josquin’s music enjoyed an extensive reception at the royal court of France (not to mention the Josquin “sightings” at Blois and Lyons in 1501 and 1503).”⁷⁵ Bernstein elaborated, suggesting that the members of Louis XII’s musical chapel knew at least one of Josquin’s multi-voice chansons, Faute d’argent.⁷⁶

Josquin as Student and Teacher

Josquin as Ockeghem’s Student

Teacher/student relationships claimed in contemporaneous documents and treaties include Johannes Ockeghem as Josquin’s teacher and many well-known composers as his students. Cosimo Bartoli, Ragionamenti accademici (Benece, 1567) described this musical apprenticeship: “... I am well aware that in his day Ockeghem was, as it were, the first to rediscover music, then as good as dead, just as Donatello discovered sculpture

⁷⁴ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 564.
⁷⁵ Bernstein, ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms’, 38.
⁷⁶ For further discussion see Bernstein, ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms’, 51.
in his. And on may also say that Josquin, Ockeghem’s pupil, was a natural prodigy in
music, just as our own Michelangelo Buonarotti has been in architecture, painting, and
sculpture . . .”77 Gioseffo Zarlino’s The Art of Counterpoint of 1558 also mentioned the
connection between the two composers: “We should take as examples such Masses as
that of P. Molu, which is written that it may be sung equally well, with or without the
rests, and that of Ockeghem, who was Josquin’s teacher, which may be sung in any
tempus or prolotion with good effect . . .”78 Again Vincenzo Galilei, Discorso intorno
all’uso delle dissonanze (1591) “. . . Giovanni Ockenghe che fu poi maestro di Josquin . . .
.”79 Higgins cited the following quotation from Jerome Cardan, De Musica, part 3 (1574):
“For the rest, Ockeghem, the teacher of Josquin, has written a 36-voice canon . . .”80

Josquin as Teacher

“When Josquin himself died in 1521, allusions in musical writings to him as both
a father and teacher proliferated almost as rapidly as did the claims of younger composers
purporting to have studied with him.”81 This list of supposed students included Hermann
Finck, Teofilo Folengo, Nicolaus Gombert, Mouton, Willaert, Richafort, Jannequin,
Maillard, Claudin, Moulu, Certon, Arcadelt, Orlando, and the self-named apprentice,
Adrian Petit Coelico.

80 Sighted in Higgins, “Musical ‘Parents’ and Their ‘Progeny’”, 175-6 n. 39 from Hieronymus Cardanus,
Teofilo Folengo in his *Toscolano* (1521), Hermann Finck in his *Practica musica* (Wittenburg, 1556), and other theorists and historians describe Josquin “as a “master” and “father” who had taught a new music to his disciples.” For example, Hermann Finck names Nicolaus Gombert as Josquin’s follower and I. Megnier describes Orlando di Lasso as Josquin’s student in one of his sonnets (Paris, 1584).

Pierre de Ronsard provides a lavish description of Josquin, master and teacher of music, in *Livre des mélanges* (1560):

... the divine inspirations of music, poetry and painting do not arrive at perfection by degrees, like the other sciences, but by starts, and like flashes of lightning, one here, another there, appear in various lands, then suddenly vanish. And for that reason, Siré, when some excellent worker in this art reveals himself, you should guard him with care, as being something so excellent that it rarely appears. Of such men have arisen within six or seven score years Josquin Desprez, a native of Hainaut, and his disciples Mouton, Willaert, Richafort, Jannequin, Maillard, Claudin, Moulu, Ceriton, [from ed. Of 1572] and Arcadelt, and now the more than divine Orlando, who like a bee has sipped all the most beautiful flowers of the ancients and moreover seems alone to have stolen the harmony of the heavens to delight us with it on earth, surpassing the ancients and making himself the unique wonder of our time.”

Adrian Petit Cicolico names himself a pupil of Josquin’s on the title page of his *Compendium musices* of 1552. Vincenzo Galilei, in his *Discorso intorno all’uso delle dissonanze*, also reasserted Cicolico’s claim. Higgins commented on how

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82 Teofilo Folengo “O Ioquine Deo gratissime, nascere mundo/Compositure duo, quem clament musica patrem . . . , “ from [Teofilo Folengo], *Opus Merlini Cocaiti poetae Mantuani Macaronicorum . . .* (Toscolano, 1521).


“musicologists have tended to dismiss Coclico’s claim, to have been Josquin’s student as unfounded self-aggrandizement - New Grove, s.v. “Coclico, Andrianus Petit,” by Albert Dunning - but the specificity with which he describes Josquin’s alleged pedagogical methods and particularly the new evidence . . . concerning the seeking out of Josquin des Prez as a master of the choirboys suggests to me that this somewhat skeptical view of Coclico’s remarks deserves serious rethinking.”

**History of the Chanson**

**Origins of the Chanson**
Josquin’s *chansons* compositions fit into an existing tradition in which our composer takes the genre to the next level of sophistication. To properly understand and appreciate his musical advancements, a study of the context from which they arouse and musical repertoire to which he would have been exposed serves as a foundation and point of comparison for the analysis of newly introduced musical methods.

Although broader definitions exist, for the present purposes *chansons* can be concisely defined as fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphonic songs with French text. These French poetic texts highlight themes of courtly love or *fin amour* in the manner of *Le Roman de la Rose*. For secular genres, such as this one, the syllable count and, therefore, the poetic form defines, and could almost be said to dictate, the musical

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90 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 472.
structure.  

The texts that fifteenth-century composers chose to set, virelais, ballades, and especially rondeaux, express for the most part the dying ideals of chivalric love, in which the unworthy courtier pines for his unattainable lady. They reflect, in other words, the waning of the Middle Ages more obviously than they herald the intellectual claims of a new birth of arts and letters. Their music, on the other hand, often rises above the mediocre level of the poetry. An ornately beautiful, carefully wrought melody in the top voice is usually balanced by an equally fine but somewhat simpler melody in the tenor, and this contrapuntal framework is completed by a contratenor, which is mainly responsible for filling out the sonority and keeping the motion going forward at cadences. The history of the chanson from about 1430 to about 1500 involves a continuous process of refinement and change. Gilles Binchois and Gillaume Dufay, through Antoine Busnois, Johannes Ockeghem, and Alexander Agricola. Some of the later fifteenth-century composers began to control and manipulate their free-flowing melodic lines by means of a network of motives and by imitation among all the voices, but the basic stylistic conventions were not overthrown until the advent of the equal-voiced imitation chanson a 4 by Josquin Des Prés and his near contemporaries, Heinrich Isaac, Loyset Compère, and Pierre de La Rue.  

Monophonic songs of the trouvères and troubadours survive from as early as the thirteenth century. Although at the time some of these secular songs sometimes appeared in an upper voice of a motet, along with other texts and a plainchant tenor, “polyphonic compositions in which all the voices sing the same lyrical poem (or where the top line, intended to be sung, is accompanied by one or two newly invented subordinate lines) are extremely rare before the middle of the 14th century.”  

Several polyphonic songs survive from the late 13th and early 14th centuries. This repertoire embraces three-voice rondeaux, consisting of 16 composed by Adam de la Halle, one by Jehannot de L’Escurel and two in the Picard roll (F-Pn Pic.67) dating from the early 14th century. “In addition, the late 13th-century manuscript F-Pn fr. 12786 contains on ff. 77-82 a group of 35 poems (mostly rondeaux) with spaces that can only have been intended to contain polyphonic music of the kind found in Adam de la Halle’s chansons.” The style of most of these resembles that of the conductus, with the musical

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93 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
94 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
95 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
structure of note-against-note counterpoint, often with the lowest or middle voice
carrying the main melody.\textsuperscript{96} The written out scores included the text beneath the lowest
voice of the texture.\textsuperscript{97} Musicologists conjecture that these earliest polyphonic \textit{chansons}
may have been composed around popular monophonic melodies.\textsuperscript{98}

\textbf{Guillaume de Machaut}

Guillaume de Machaut provided the earliest instance of a composer writing an
extensive collection of polyphonic songs, the style of which differs drastically from the
conductus-like construction of those compositions by Adam and Jehannot.\textsuperscript{99} With his
extensive output, “he can legitimately be called the first important composer of
polyphonic chansons.”\textsuperscript{100} His \textit{chansons} mainly consisted of “treble-dominated
polyphonic songs, with one or more florid melodic lines supplied with text, one or more
slower-moving accompanying lines (tenors and contratenors) and an occasional faster-
moving upper part called ‘triplum’.”\textsuperscript{101} His musical style emphasized rhythmic
instability and incorporated intricately decorated melodic lines.\textsuperscript{102} His repertoire contains
mainly two, three, and four voice settings in the \textit{formes fixes} including \textit{ballades}, \textit{virelais}
(or ‘\textit{chansons baladées}’, as he called them) and \textit{rondeaux}.\textsuperscript{103} Musicologists theorize that
“Machaut himself invented the new chanson style that was to dominate secular

\textsuperscript{96} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{97} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{98} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{99} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{100} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{101} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{102} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
\textsuperscript{103} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
polyphony for almost 200 years.104 The similarity of the new genre to earlier motets may point to these as Machaut’s inspiration.105

Philippe de Vitry provided another possible originator of this genre. Although none of his secular pieces survive, “an anonymous 14th-century poetic treaties credits him with having ‘found the manner of the lais and simple rondeaux’, a statement that may acknowledge his innovations in the realm of secular polyphony, but may merely suggest that he established those poetic forms in the manner in which musicians would continue to use them, or that he set those poetic forms to monophonic music.”106 The output of polyphonic chansons increased from the first half or quarter of the fourteenth century, composed largely of Machaut’s 70 or so compositions, to well over 400 surviving ones in the last three or four decades of the century.107 The period dating from before the 1400 and including the first two or three decades of the fifteenth century, between Machaut and Du Fay (c 1360-1420), saw the overlapping of two generations of composers. The earlier group of ‘mannerist’ composers, many of whom “worked at the papal court in Avignon (J.S. Hasprois, Johannes Haucourt) and at the courts of Foix or Aragon Gracian Reyneau, Jaquemin de Senleches, Pierre Tailhandier and Trebor), or the in Italy (Anthonello de Caserta, Philippus de Caserta and Matteo da Perugia), composed more complex settings of three-part ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, with its opporrtto incorporate sounds from nature, such as bird calls. They followed the structure of Machaut, with their treble-dominated texture consisting of a florid melody with text accompanied by two slower-moving voices (tenor and contratenor) which provided

104 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
105 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
106 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
107 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.
support.”\textsuperscript{108} “This basic scheme is capable of great variety, however: the contratenor sometimes approaches the cantus in speed and complexity; some chansons have two floride melodies, each supplied with text; in some a fourth voice, called ‘triplum’, is added above the others.”\textsuperscript{109} Rhythmic complexities, including intricate syncopations and polyrhythms, characterized their musical output.

By contrast, compositions of the younger group, including those by Nicolas Grenon, Rechard Loqueville, Estienne Grossin, Franchois Lebertoul, Guillaume Legrant, Johannes Reson, Hugo and Arnold de Lantins, Johannes Cesaris, Johannes Carmen, and Johannes Tapissier, were less complex in nature.\textsuperscript{110} Their simplification meant that the shorter rondeaux replaced the longer ballades and multi-stanza virelais. The composers further paired-down their compositions by writing slower contratenors that filled in the harmonies to compliment the tenor and by reserving melismas for phrases openings and closures.\textsuperscript{111} Their simpler style established the conventions for the remainder of the 15\textsuperscript{th}-century.\textsuperscript{112} Johannes Ciconia, Matteo da Perugia, and Baude Cordier are among those composers whose work embodied elements of both the older and younger styles, with their repertoire forming a bridge between the two groups.\textsuperscript{113}

**Burgundian or Franco-Flemish School**

The modern terms Burgundian or Franco-Flemish school refer not to a scholarly institution, but rather a school of musical thought brought about by a concentration of

\textsuperscript{108} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{109} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{110} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{111} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{112} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{113} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473-4.
musical education in the geographic area under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy. This location produced a large number of well-trained musicians in the 15th-century who dispersed their talents and musical styles across Western Europe.\textsuperscript{114} These designations however, should not blind musicologists to the evident musical importance of various centres outside this area, particularly in France.\textsuperscript{115}

**Guillaume Du Fay**

Guillaume Du Fay takes central stage among the composers of *chansons* in the second quarter of the 15th-century. He illustrated his text on a wide range of poetic moods and themes with his use of various techniques, including long held notes, octave descents and ascents, imitative patterns, and chromatics.\textsuperscript{116} This variety and attention to the tone of his pieces particularly distinguish him from his contemporaries.\textsuperscript{117} He almost exclusively set *chansons* in the *formes fixes* and of these he preferred the *rondeaux* to the ballad or the *virelais*, an inclination that he shared with most of his contemporaries.\textsuperscript{118} “Du Fay inherited the treble-dominated three-part texture from earlier generations, but in his chansons this traditional model underwent considerable revision and refinement.”\textsuperscript{119} His early works introduced a metrical simplicity to the melodic line with only the frequent insertion of hemiolas. Later, he created a new stylistic convention used by composers for 150 years to follow, in which he grouped his melodies into irregular beats

\textsuperscript{114} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{115} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.
\textsuperscript{116} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474-5.
\textsuperscript{117} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474-45.
\textsuperscript{118} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
\textsuperscript{119} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
of twos and threes. Du Fay refined his control of tonality, and he took ever greater
care to integrate the various strands of texture into a homogeneous whole (while never
abandoning the layered structure of treble-dominated texture), by moving all three voices
at approximately the same speed, for example, or by increasing the amount of imitation
among the voices."121

Gilles Binchois

Although now often perceived as a lesser contemporary of Du Fay, Binchois
music saw a much wider distribution in the 1420s and 30s "and in many ways his
restrained and refined style can be considered to represent the central tradition of the
chanson in those years."122 The simplicity of Binchois’s music with the lower voices
supporting the simple melody allows for the clarity of the text.123

"Around 1450, various changes in the chanson style took place, of which three
should be mentioned here. The first is syntactical: the contratenor moved into a range
below the tenor, becoming a true bass line for the first time in musical history; that
affected all kinds of polyphony (including, for example, the emergence of a consistent
style of four-voice sacred polyphony at the same time."124 The second concerns text-
setting with the expansion of the music so that the same four-line rondeau that took two
minutes in the 1420s or 30s, took six or seven minutes in the 1450s around the time of
Compère and Agricola - “a development that surely contributed to the ultimate

120 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
121 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
122 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
123 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
124 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.
abandonment of the formes fixes."\textsuperscript{125} The third change involved the revival of the old virelai form.\textsuperscript{126}

**Busnoys**

Brown described Busnoys "as a sophisticated melodist particularly adept at writing long and elaborately shaped vocal lines. Often they are made up of melodic clichés, cadence formulae and turns-of-phrase common to all Franco-Flemish composers of his time, but Busnoys filled his melodies with finely wrought details and organized them in carefully balanced segments. His technique of beginning each phrase syllabically with a clearcut motif and continuing with faster motion and a long melisma on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable derives from earlier masters; but normally took great pains to contrast the differing formal and melodic functions of phrase beginnings and endings. Moreover, in his music, individual phrases tend to be longer and more complex (they are often subdivided, for example, into several smaller units) than those of earlier composers."\textsuperscript{127}

Like Ockeghem, Busnoys, tried to unify the three-voice texture by playing down the traditional voice roles of the cantus melody, the supporting tenor melody, and the contratenor filler voice. Busnoys accomplished this in part by writing the voice parts so that they often moved together in 3rds and 10ths, a technique that came to be identified with him, and his younger contemporaries, Jacob Obrecht and Alexander Agricola.\textsuperscript{128}

"The amount of imitation Busnoys wrote in any one chanson varies greatly; some have

\textsuperscript{125} Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
\textsuperscript{126} Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
\textsuperscript{127} Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
\textsuperscript{128} Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
very little, whereas others include fully developed points of imitation between two or
even all three voices at the beginnings of most or all of the phrases."¹²⁹ Busnoys
composed some chansons with the melodic line of popular tunes providing scaffolding
for his polyphonic setting, often with rondeaux lyrics. Although not necessary to fill the
‘harmony’ (sonorities), Busnoys set about a third of these chansons for four voices, “the
texture that was to become standard for secular as well as sacred music by about
1500.”¹³⁰

1470: The “New” Generation Preceding Josquin

About 1470, “a new and startling generation [of chanson composers] arose.”¹³¹

Among these, Hayne van Ghizeghem proved the most successful with copies of his
chansons De tous biens plaine and Allez regrets attaining the largest numbers among the
chansons of the time and also remaining in the common repertoire for some 70 years.¹³²

However, Loyset Compère provided the greatest innovations, demonstrated by his new
imitative techniques and decorative melismatic lines.¹³³ Furthermore, Alexander
Agricola’s melodic lines represent the most elaborately ornamented of the entire 15th
century output. Still the purpose of the ornaments of both these composers and their
contemporaries was not to illustrate the mood of the text.

The composers of this era favoured the motet-chanson, usually in a three-voice
setting, in which a lower voice sang in a Latin text, usually derived from a chant.¹³⁴ Also

¹²⁹ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
¹³⁰ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
¹³¹ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
¹³² Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
¹³³ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476.
¹³⁴ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 476-7.
at this time the ‘instrumental’ chanson sprang-up in the work of Johannes Martini, distinguished from those with text by their lack of clear separations typically made evident by the poetic lines.\textsuperscript{135} “None of these works has any identifiable text beyond the opening words, and it must be assumed that these were simply titles of pieces that stand firmly in the chanson tradition but were evidently intended for instrumental ensemble performance.”\textsuperscript{136}

\textbf{Josquin and His Generation}

The decades immediately surrounding 1500 marked a major change in compositional strategies and methods of both secular and sacred works, moving away from more rigid structures and towards a more flexible construct based on motives. “In secular and sacred works, musical style changed radically towards the end of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century. The generation of Franco-Netherland musicians whose careers span the several decades before and after 1500 - in the first place, Josquin Desprez, but also Jacob Obrecht, Henricus Isaac, Pierre de La Rue, Jean Mouton, Antoine de Févin and many others - forged new techniques that became central to 16\textsuperscript{th}-century musical language.”\textsuperscript{137} The continued use of \textit{cantus firmus} did not prevent the composers from moving away from the common scaffolding procedures of the Middle Ages, which relied heavily on the pre-exiting line to determine the overall design of a given piece.\textsuperscript{138} Instead, this new group of composers

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
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single motif. In its 16th-century classical formulation, this technique produced a series of points of imitation, interrupted for variety and contrast by occasional chordal passages. The composer planned his piece without recourse to any predetermined scheme [e.g. Through-composed]; he varied the texture and changed the character of the music at will, shifting from full sounds to thin, from strict imitative counterpoint to dialogue among parts of the choir to thickly scored chords as his mood and the music requirements dictated.\textsuperscript{139}

These techniques created equality among the voices never fully achieved until this time, although Du Fay and Ockeghem had attempted to blur the distinctions between the voice parts.\textsuperscript{140} The greatest innovation of Josquin’s generation of composers took the form of “change from a hierarchical texture, in which each voice has a special function, to a texture in which all the voices, while independent, are equal in importance and in melodic style.”\textsuperscript{141} This in turn allows a texture where one voice or group of voices might lead in some musical passages, while other voices would take over elsewhere in the pieces. “These new techniques radically changed the relationship of individual voices and hence the way music actually sounded.”\textsuperscript{142} “Specifically in the chanson, the new technique of imitative counterpoint applied to equal but independent melodic lines enabled composers more easily to abandon the predetermined repetition schemes of the \textit{formes fixes}.\textsuperscript{143}

Despite the waning use of the \textit{rondeaux}, \textit{ballade}, and \textit{virelais} structural forms, some composers of this generation continued to use these repetition patterns in their compositions.\textsuperscript{144} Composers, including Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, Mouton, Févin, Ninot le Petit, Braconnier, and Antoine Brumel abandoned the use of the \textit{formes fixes} almost entirely in their \textit{chansons}, whereas Pierre de La Rue, Johannes Prioris, Antoine de

\textsuperscript{139} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
\textsuperscript{140} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
\textsuperscript{141} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
\textsuperscript{142} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
\textsuperscript{143} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
\textsuperscript{144} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
Longueval, and Antonius Divitis included settings of *rondeaux* and *virelais* in their *chansons* repertoire.\textsuperscript{145}

**Musical Influences on Josquin from Prior Generations**

The previous description of Busnoys’ syllabic and motivic style with his use of small musical units shows striking similarities to motivicity described by Rifkin as an integral component of Josquin’s writing style. Fallows traced the influence of Busnoys’ musical writing style on Josquin by citing the examples of Busnoys’ *In hydraulis* and Josquin’s *L’homme armé*. Again Fallows pointed to the influence of the earlier composer’s chanson compositions, such as *Mon mignault musequin*, on Josquin’s *Adieu mes amours*.\textsuperscript{146} Fallows also noted the similarity of the five-line *rondeau* stanza alignment of this piece and its quasi-canonic treatment in the lower voices to Ockeghem’s *S’elle m’amera* and the anonymous *Quant je suis*.\textsuperscript{147}

**Chansons in the Period Immediately Following Josquin’s Generation**

Brown described the post-Josquin generation of *chanson* composers as comprising a great divide between the Franco-Flemish and French musical styles:

Much discussion of the chanson repertory of the second quarter of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century has taken place against a background of presumed differences in national or regional approaches to musical style. This view has stressed the apparent contrast between the predominately imitative and contrapuntal style favoured by Franco-Flemish composers such as Gombert (who worked at the Netherlands Habsburg court and whose chansons were issued principally by Flemish printers such as Susato) and the patent lyricism and homorhythmic textures preferred by French composers, above all the royal musician Serreys (whose output figures largely in the offerings of the official French printer Attaignant).\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{145} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 478.
\textsuperscript{146} Fallows, “Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin”, 135, 147 n.32.
\textsuperscript{147} Fallows, “Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin”, 135.
\textsuperscript{148} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 478.
**Performance Practice**

How Josquin's *chansons* were performed, by whom and for who are natural questions, particularly in the context of a secular repertoire. Many of these questions remain unanswered without further documentary evidence, however, small musical analytical details can often provide hints. For example, the music might highlight a portion of the text relevant to a patron or a specific occasion for which the piece was composed.

**Voice vs. Instrument**

Brown's article "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson", discusses the performance practices often as evidenced in the art of the period. Furthermore, "The musical sources themselves offer few clues about performance practice, and those few are apt to be misleading. The presence of a complete text beneath the music, for example, indicated that the line can be sung but does not prove that it need always be sung, and the absence of a text does not necessarily signal an instrumental part."\(^{149}\) Furthermore, added accidentals provide the best hint that a piece of music was performed instrumentally.

**Performance Practice of Canons**

In examining Willaert's *Christi Virgo*, Lowinsky discussed the use of *musica ficta* in a canonic situation:

An essential question must be faced in the performance of such canonic works: do the canonic parts follow their leaders, interval for interval, or does each of the canonic partners have the right, indeed the duty, to adjust his part according to the rules of *musica ficta*? The answer is indubitable: the harmonic and contrapuntal laws governing the relationship of four parts must function whether or not these parts are constructed canonically. In other words: the *musica ficta* rules cannot be suspended by a canon - a situation made particularly clear in the present work where a canon at the third, be it higher or lower, can never be literal but can function only if the

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\(^{149}\) Brown, 'Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson', 90.
The Printing Press: Its influence on the Chanson Audience and Josquin's Place in Musical History

The implications of the invention of the printing press for this repertoire are several-fold, including the printing of poetry, music, the musical audience, and Josquin's renown.

"Popular poems, intended to be sung, circulated throughout France during the 16th century in cheaply printed books of verse; the melodies for some of them survive in several manuscripts prepared for the aristocratic circles round Louis XII, who evidently cultivated for a time this attractive genre, intended in the first place for the amusement and education of the urban lower and middle material extensively, and he himself wrote a substantial number of popular arrangements."  

Certainly, many composers used well-known texts or a popular song melody, such as a cantus firmus. Joquin's five-voice chanson repertoire provides several examples of both of these categories, including Cœur désolé, Ma bouche rit, and Faute d'argent, which will be discussed in further detail later.

Building on the invention of the printing press, the ability to print musical notation provided a previously unavailable opportunity for the documenting and distribution of musical compositions. Printed manuscripts also provided another venue for attributions, both correctly and incorrectly made, to appear. This meant that chanson could be purchased, performed, and heard by members of the emerging merchant class, as well as expanding its presence and use within the court setting. We can certainly ask

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151 Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 472.
the question as to whether composers such as Josquin catered to the tastes of this merchant class with any of their chanson or whether they continued to produce these small-scale compositions exclusively according to the desires of courtly or other patrons. *Chansons*, being shorter and less complex and therefore more easily used in the home, as opposed to liturgical music, formed a large percentage of the pieces distributed by various printing presses.

Various musicologists including Jessie Ann Owens and Andrew Kirkman addred the question of why Josquin held such a crucial position in our perception of music of the early Renaissance and in the unfolding process of music history. Petrucci’s prints, made possible by the new advancements in printing press, provided the primary foundation for the perceptions of the composer held by the theorists and early historians, such as Glarean, Zarlino, and Zacconi.\(^{152}\) The difficulty of accessing manuscript sources and of deciphering the notation, already out of use, contained in them, placed the generation prior to Josquin out of reach.\(^{153}\) These facts naturally show Josquin in sharp contrast, if by nothing else than sheer availability of his music. However, his musical prowess is acknowledged even by Glarean, who does direct some criticism of this obviously talented composer.

Jessie Ann Owens, in her article “How Josquin became Josquin”, attributed the extent of Josquin’s renown, as compared to other only slightly earlier composers who found equal recognition during their lifetimes, to the invention of the printing press. Furthermore, his fame extended well passed his death for the same reason. Owens commented that “This technological breakthrough coincided with Josquin’s moment in


time. The resulting changes in the way music was transmitted and information about composers was recorded put Josquin in a far different position from that of his equally illustrious predecessors.”

Owens observed:

Printing did not create a single, universal past that remained part of the historical consciousness from its own day to the present, but it did enable the past to survive somewhat longer than had been the case previously. The sixteenth century witnessed the publication of a number of anthologies that boasted in their titles of containing both old and recent music (“tam verterum quam recentiorum”). Josquin was sometimes mentioned in the titles, and his music almost always was placed at the beginning of the collections. A music teacher like Gallus Dresler, writing in 1564, could recommend to his pupils that they study four different types of music: the spare style of Josquin based on well-crafted imitation, the style of Josquin’s contemporary Isaac that employed a chant melody as a pre-existent line, the style of dense imitative polyphony prevalent in the music of Clemens, and the text-expressive style of the young Orlando di Lasso. The music, ranging in date from the 1480s to the 1560s, was readily available in the historicizing anthologies. I double that a comparable range was possible in the period before printing.

The question of whether Josquin was merely in the right place at the right time or whether there was more to it than that is discussed further in the Owens’ article: “How Josquin Became Josquin”.

**Compositional Process in the Early Renaissance**

**Information Gleaned from Renaissance Theorists**

Theoretical writings provide the only knowledge we have about the act of composition in Medieval and early Renaissance times. Around the period of Josquin, theorists began explaining a change in composers’ conceptions of and approaches to their art.

Wexler cited Pietro Aaron’s explanation in his *De institutione harmonica* of 1516 of the old and new compositional methods and hints at the reasons for the newly adopted

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approach:

Many composers were of the opinion that the soprano should be composed first, then the tenor, and after the tenor the bass. This happened because they lacked the order and understanding of what was necessary to compose the alto. Thus they had many awkward places in their compositions because they had to insert unisons, pauses, and ascending and descending leaps difficult for the singer or performer, so that those works had little sweetness and harmony. For in composing the soprano first and then the tenor, once the tenor was made there was sometimes no room for the bass, and once the bass was made, there was no place for many notes in the alto. Therefore, in considering only part by part, that is when the tenor is being composed, if you pay attention only to harmonizing this tenor [with the soprano], and the same with the bass, it is inevitable that each part will suffer where they come together. Therefore the modern composers had a better idea, which is apparent from their compositions in four, five, six, and more voices, in which each part has a comfortable, easy and agreeable place, because they take all parts into consideration at once and not as described above. And if you prefer to compose the soprano, tenor, or bass first, you are free to follow that method and rule, as some at present do, who often begin with the bass, sometimes with the tenor, and sometimes with the alto. But because this will be awkward and uncomfortable for you at first, you will begin part by part; nevertheless, once you have gained some experience, you will follow the order and method described before. 156

Wexler suggested that this description "seems to imply that four composers with whom he was acquainted, Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, and Agricola, composed using a newer method." 157 The second last sentence also hints at the emerging importance of the bass part in the musical texture. Aaron commented:

It is easily apprehended, however, that the composers of our time do not follow the custom of older composers in putting these four parts together always in this order, which we ourselves often do, having imitated the most outstanding men in this art, especially Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, and

156 Reproduced in Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 389-90 from translation of Bonnie J. Blackburn’s in ‘On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century’ JAMS 40 (1987) 210-84 at 215. La immaginazione di molti compositori fu, che prima il canto si dovessi fabricare, da poi il tenore, et doppo esso tenore il controbasso. Et questo avenne perché mancorno del ordine et cognizione di quello che si richiede nel far del controaltot: et però facevano assai inconvenienti ne le loro compositioni: perché bisognava per lo incommo che vi ponessino unisoni, pause, alti ascendent et discendent, difficili al cantore ovvero pronontiante: in modo che detti canti retavano con poca soavità et harmonia: perché facendo prima il canto over soprano, di poi il tenore, quando è fatto detto tenore, manca alcuna volta il luogo al controbasso: et fatto detto controbasso: assai note del contro alto non hanno luogo: per la qual cosa considerando solamente parte per parte, cioè quando si fà il tenore, se tu attendi solo ad accordare esso tenore, et così il simile del controbasso, convesi che ciascuna parte de gli luoghi concordanti patisca. Onde gli moderni in questo meglio hanno considerato; come è manifesto per le compositioni da essi a quatro a cinque a sei, et a più voci fatte: de le quali ciascuna tiene luogo commodo facile et grato: perché considerano insieme tutte le parti et non secondo come di sopra è detto. Et se a te piace componere prima il canto, tenore o controbasso, tal modo et regola a te resti aritaria: come da alcuni al presente si osserva: che molte fiate danno principio al controbasso, alcuna volta al tenore, et alcuna volta al contro alto. Mà perché questo a te sarebbe nel principio mal agevole et incommodo, a parte per parte comincerai: non dimeno di poi che ne la pratica sarai alquanto esercitato, eguirai l’ordine et modo inanzi detto.

Agricola, with whom I had greatest friendship and familiarity in Florence.\textsuperscript{158}

Wexler and others inferred “from this comment that these four are among the modern composers who ‘take all the parts into consideration at once.’”\textsuperscript{159}

Wexler’s most important point follows:

“By placing each voice in its own individual range, making the voices equal in terms of their overall character and rhythmic values, substitution a paraphrase cantus firmus that migrates throughout the textures for the old-fashioned long-note cantus firmus, and providing a point of imitation at the outset of each phrase of counterpoint, composers of the late fifteenth century formulated what some have called the ‘a cappella ideal’. \textbf{It may well be that the migrating paraphrase cantus firmus provided a rationale for the employment of pervading imitation.} Because segments of the cantus firmus could be borne in theory by any voice in any given phrase, composers may have thought it more ‘artful’ to obscure its destination by starting all voices alike at phrase beginnings.\textsuperscript{160}

A Glarean anecdote in his \textit{Dodecachordon} gives us a hint about how Josquin himself approached composition:

When he had composed a new song, he gave it to the singers to be sung, and meanwhile he walked around, listening attentively whether the concordant sound came together well. If he was dissatisfied, he stepped in: “Be silent,” he said, “I will change it!”

Those who knew him say that he published his works after much deliberation and with manifold corrections; neither did he release a song to the public unless he had kept it to himself for some years, the opposite of what Obrecht appears to have done.\textsuperscript{161}

Owens suggested that it was common practice for composers to listen to their music in this way until at least the mid-16\textsuperscript{th} century when musical scores came into more common usage.\textsuperscript{162}


\textsuperscript{159} Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 392.

\textsuperscript{160} Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 389. Please note that bold was added to the quotation by myself.

\textsuperscript{161} Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 329 n. 28, 330.

\textsuperscript{162} Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 330, 29.
The Use of Scores

Wexler referred to Jessie Ann Owens’ discussion of Luzzasco Luzzaschi’s 1606 description of Cipriano de Rore’s compositional method in 1559 (he incorrectly states 1557) by use of a cartella, “he used to write the compositions made first by him in his mind, as was always his custom.” As Owen indicated, a cartella was a kind of pasteboard with a specially prepared surface from which it was possible to erase whatever had been written. She went on to propose that Rore employed the cartella to write down at least some voices of a phrase that began with a point of imitation, for she did not believe that he needed a full score. Then he copied the result into a set of partbooks, erased the cartella, and perhaps used it either to work out the remaining voices of the phrase or else to begin fashioning the next point of imitation. If Owens is right, then what Luzzaschi meant by ‘compositions made first by him in his mind’ does not mean the same thing as some have supposed Aaron intended by ‘they take all the parts into consideration at once’. If it was Luzzaschi’s intention to suggest that Rore could compose all the voices of an entire piece at the same time, then the composer should have had no need of the intervening cartella.” Wexler points out that composers probably did not compose an entire piece in their head, but rather that most likely, they “would have been able to compose four or five voices more or less simultaneously for a single phrase, which, after all, was the basic structural unit for most masses and motets composed in Aaron’s time.”

The use of scores is uncertain at this time. “Even though the vast majority of

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164 Wexler, 391.
165 Wexler, 392.
166 Wexler, 393.
music from the period survives in choirbook or partbook format, it seems probable that composers created counterpoint in score. In fact, there is at least some reason to suppose that Josquin and Isaac used scores of one kind or another. Martin Ruhnke read the German theorist Lampadius as saying, in his *Compendium musices* of 1537, ‘By the time of Josquin and Isaac it was usual to write the parts together in score.’ But as Owens has pointed out, Lampadius’s meaning is rather more difficult to interpret that that.\(^{167}\)

It is also interesting to note that Glareanus commented that Josquin often held onto his works for some years before he allowed public distribution of them.\(^{168}\)

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**The Implications of a Fifth Voice on Compositional Process**

The contrapuntally naïve *Brunette m’amiette*, attributed to the *Odhecaton* of Johannes Stokem, a composer who held posts at Liège and possibly at Bruges and also at the court of Maximilian I, provides the earliest known datable canonic chanson *a 5*.\(^{169}\)

Rifkin observed that “five-voice writing in Josquin’s day entailed a set of compositional assumptions distinct from those prevalent in music for fewer - and even, in some cases, more - voices.”\(^{170}\) Although Rifkin did not elaborate on exactly what he meant by this statement, he may have been thinking of several variables including voice doubling and fitting all the voices into a narrow range without awkward movement in any of them, as well as avoiding unwanted dissonant sonorities.

Rifkin quoted Blackburn’s summary of how the composers of Josquin’s generation conceived five-voice *chanson* writing:

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\(^{167}\) Wexler, 393.


\(^{169}\) Bernstein, ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms.’ 53 n. 30.

\(^{170}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 3.
Writing with five equal voices in an imitative style became the norm only in the 1530s... Up until about 1515, five-part writing, whether for chanson, Mass, or motet, normally involved either the use of a cantus firmus or a canon between two voices. The technique of composing with four equal voices had long since been established; five-part composition was thought of as $4 + 1$ ($=\text{canon}$), or $4$ engenderings $5$ ($=\text{canon}$). \(^{171}\)

However, Blackburn’s above description of “the new compositional” method does not seem to agree with those of the theorists of the day, such as Aaron refered to earlier, who begin to describe a new method of composition based on simultaneous concept. Although some of Josquin’s five-voice chanson repertoire might agree with Blackburn’s description, it would seem difficult to remove a voice from the texture without disturbing the intricate web of motives.

**The Addition of Another Voice to an Existing Composition**

The question must be asked when dealing with five-voice (or more) chansons whether the fifth voice was added to an existing four-voice composition or the initial incarnation was the five-voice composition in its entirety. It is known that additional voices were sometimes added to compositions both in sacred and secular works.\(^{172}\) In the liturgical setting for example, “The Ferrarese virtuoso singer Antoine Collebaud, called Bidon, whom Alfonso d’Este retained in his smaller chapel... composed a sixth part to the Miserere, to be found in the manuscript Saint-Gall 463.”\(^{173}\) Amid the repertoire under present examination, two of the chansons require immediate attention. Plaine de deuil, although a five-voice chanson in all other sources, appears in a four-voice version in Bruss 228. Ma bouche rit appears as a six-voice chanson in Tielman Susato’s print.

\(^{171}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 3 sights from Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons’.


\(^{173}\) Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara,” 570.
Josquin’s *Chanson* Repertoire

**General Characteristics**

Josquin’s *chansons*, regardless of the number of voices for which they are written, generally contain some common traits. Brown notes how “Josquin often repeated phrases in ways that are easily comprehensible if untraditional, and he was especially apt to associate musical repetition with poetic lines that rhyme.”

Josquin incorporated any *cantus firmus* he relied on with a certain amount of consistency depending on the number of voices in the *chansons*. “Josquin treated his borrowed material in the manner he reserved for three-part popular arrangements; that is, the outer voices imitate the cantus firmus, but the tenor enters last and presents the melody in its simplest and most complete form while the outer voices either continue their imitation or move in parallel motion.” Févin, Mouton, Ninot le Petit, as well as other composers of the late 15th and early 16th century also composed using a similar formula. For the most part, this does not hold true in the 5-voice *chanson* repertoire studied here; however, I will discuss how Josquin integrated his *cantus firmus*. Furthermore, *cantus firmi* are not evident in all the pieces of this repertoire. “In four-part popular arrangements the borrowed material is often paraphrased rather than presented as a *cantus firmus*, and Josquin sometimes put the popular melodies into canons with themselves to form a solid structural framework around which the other voices weave their complex and varied web; he did so, for example, in *Fault d’argent*, and in *Adieu mes amours [a 4]*, in which the lowest voices move in free canon.”

Fault also appears as a five-voice *chanson* that will be discussed in more detail later. *Fault*

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174 Brown, and others, ‘*Chanson*,’ 477.
175 Brown, and others, ‘*Chanson*,’ 478.
176 Brown, and others, ‘*Chanson*,’ 478.
177 Brown, and others, ‘*Chanson*,’ 478.
d’argent paraphrases from the popular melody associated with that same text. Other versions of this same chanson make use of this same melody, as discussed in detail by Jacques Barbier.

**Josquin’s Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire**

Sixteenth century manuscripts and prints credit Josquin with 19 five-voice chansons: *Cent mille regretz,* *Cueur langoreulx,* *Cueur desolez/Plorans ploravit,* *Douler me bat,* *Du mien amant,* *En non saichant,* *Faute d’argent,* *Incessament livré suis,* *Incessament mon povre cœur,* *Je me complains,* *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer,* *L’amye a tous/Je ne vis oncques,* *Ma bouche rit,* *Mi larés vous,* *N’espe pas ung grant desplaisir,* *Nymphes des bois,* *Parfons regretz,* *Plaine de dueil,* *Plusieurs regretz.**

Although *La spagna* might be added to this list, the obvious instrumental nature and Spanish influence clearly distinguish it from the French-texted chansons under consideration here and, therefore, will not be examined in this study. Musicologists have also suggested the addition of various anonymous chansons to Josquin’s canon. For example, Jaap Van Bethem proposed that Josquin composed the anonymous five-voice chanson, *Consideres mes incessantes plaintes/Fortuna desperata,* found in the Vienna 18746 manuscript. This ‘chanson complaints’ against misfortune “may have been composed for regent Margaret of Austria, to whose taste in poetry and music its elegiac character conforms so closely.”**

Van Bethem’s argument hinges on its noted similarity to Josquin’s *Nymphes des Bois.* “We might carry this speculation a step further and

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179 Picker, ‘Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*’, 441. I have not checked whether this is a unica in this manuscript or whether it appears in other sources.
180 Picker, ‘Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*’, 441-2.
say that Josquin may have remembered his rivalry with Isaac for appointment at Ferrara, and consciously or unconsciously attempted to match Isaac in composing a *Fortuna in mi.*  

Although these speculations may hold some truth, in this study, I will only be considering *chansons* that have been attributed clearly to our composer in at least one source and will individually consider the authenticity of each.

**Josquin’s Chanson as Compositional Exercises**

Fallows suggested that the three- and four-voice *chansons* written before about 1480 seem to be exercises meant to help Josquin to work out technical problems with the exclusion of a few markedly masterful works, such as *Adieu mes amours, Entrée suis, Le vilain,* and *Plus nulz regretz,* written later, by 1508.  

Could the five-voice *chansons* have served a similar purpose, acting as small-scale works that would help the composer to try new compositional techniques to avoid ‘crunches’ in a five-voice texture as a new level of complexity was added.

**The Placement of Josquin’s Five-Voice Chansons in the Chronology of His Life**

Certainly, it seems likely that Josquin composed his five- and six-voice *chansons* at a similarly late date as his other more complex five- and six-voice pieces, such as his motets. Fallows believed that Josquin wrote most of these motets between 1500-1510, except for *Illobata,* which he says must be from earlier.  

None of Josquin’s 5-voice  

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181 Picker, ‘Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*,’ 442.  
183 Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 147, 150.
*chansons* appear in either manuscript or printed sources prior to 1508.\(^{184}\) Fallows clung to the view that Josquin’s five- and six-voice *chansons* came from his years in Condé, after 1504, with the exception of *Nymphes des bois*, most likely written in 1497 or shortly thereafter, following the death of Okeghem on the 6th of February of that year.\(^{185}\)

Exactly how this repertoire fits into Josquin’s musical career remains a mystery. For example, were these pieces written for a patron in that city or for another elsewhere? How might this repertoire be appropriate to the Condé setting and his residence there? Hopefully, further study and discoveries will help to answer these and other questions.

**Josquin’s General Musical Stylistic Elements**

Macey described the formal and compositional procedures employed by Josquin in his five-voice *chanson* repertoire as “highlighting the rhyme scheme by repeating music for lines with the same rhyme; marking the caesura after the fourth syllable of the line with a rest in the music; placing two of the voices in strict canon as a structural armature; and finally providing a single cross-relation for expressive effect, often in the final section of the chanson.”\(^{186}\) “Many of Josquin’s five-voice chansons are settings of a single stanza of a *rondeau cinquain* with an *aabba* rhyme scheme; the rhyme of the first four lines is highlighted by repeating sections of music as AABB. The final line receives new music; both text and music are then repeated to form a closing couplet, CC.”\(^{187}\) This final musical clause is what I have termed a codetta, which will be addressed later.

Macey continues to speak about how “Josquin uses rests to mark the caesura after the

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\(^{184}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 5.  
\(^{185}\) Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 134, 150.  
\(^{186}\) Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’, 407.  
fourth syllable in each of the decasyllabic lines. . . By consistently marking the caesura for each line of text, and by repeating the same music for lines with the same rhyme, Josquin highlights the syntax and the rhyme scheme of the poetry.”188 Although similar music accompanies rhyming lines, the chansons are none-the-less through-composed.

Meconi pointed out that Josquin often constructs his chansons with an overarching tonal or harmonic scheme.189 Meconi here seemed to forget that Josquin worked within a modal and not a tonal system. However, Josquin’s work certainly does seem to display some sort of musical coherence, perhaps even a modal one.

**Musical Canons within the Repertoire**

Macey asserted that nearly all Josquin’s five- and six-voice chanson settings rest structurally on a strict canon between two of the voices, which the other voices sing above. He claims that *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* and *Nymphes des bois* are the only two chansons that do not contain such structural canons.190 According to Osthoff, *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, Mi larés vous,* and *En non saichant* are the only of the five-voice chansons without a canon or *cantus firmus.*191

Blackburn clarified the use of canon in *En non saichant*:

Susato printed the superius with the following directions: “CANON. Une quarte plus bas,” giving no time interval. In fact, the part itself is not canonic; the singer merely transposes his line down a fourth, so that the superius lies beneath the contra tenor. The word “canon” is used, as often happens, in its literal meaning as “rule.” Leipzig 49 omits the canonic directions and simply notates the part a fourth lower. Susato’s unusual procedure provides a hint that the superius is a *cantus prius factus* whose original pitch agrees with his notation, and indeed this is the case; it is identical with the superius of an anonymous four-part composition on the same text, found in Ulm, Schermar’sche Bibliothek, MSS 237 and Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS

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191 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 37, 38 n. 28.
125-128. The readings of the superius in the four-part version match those of the Leipzig
manuscript, thus confirming the superiority of the contrafactum for this particular passage.

The question arises which version of “En non saichant” is the original; did the
anonymous composer take one voice from Josquin’s chanson and write three new ones? Or did
Josquin borrow the superius of the anonymous version and write four new voices? Susato’s
“canon” suggests the latter, and an examination of the music confirms this impression. The four-
part version is written very skilfully in imitative counterpoint. Each new phrase of text engenders
a new point of imitation. In contrast, the five-part version has only the merest snatches of
imitation.192

**Cross Relations within the Repertoire**

Macey noted the prominent use of cross-relations particularly in *Plusieurs*

*regretz, Douleur me bat, Incessament livré suis, Parfons regretz*, and *Plaine de duiel.*

These Josquin usually placed in the closing C section, often repeated for emphasis.193

“The skilful and sparing use of just one cross-relation that is then repeated for good
measure might even be seen as a hallmark of Josquin’s late chansons.”194 *Douleur me
bat*- B ₄ & B ₅ mm. 37-8, 45-6; *Nymphes des bois*- E ₅ & E ₄ mm. 124-5, 140-1; *Je ne me puis tenir d’aîmer*- B ₄ & B ₅ mm. 66 (B ₅ in tenor of several sources); *Parfons
regretz*- A section.195 “Incessament *[mon povere cuere lamente]* features attenuated cross-
relations of B ₄ in bar 51 and B ₅ in bar 53, and similarly in bars 56 and 58. *Plaine de
dueil* likewise has B ₄ in bar 35 and a signed B ₅ in bar 37.”196

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193 Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’,” 408.
194 Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’,” 408.
195 Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’,” 408.
196 Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’,” 411 n.11.
How Josquin exploited these cross relations for expressive purposes will be discussed in the later section on text expression.

**Authenticity of Josquin’s Five-Voice Chansons**

The topic of the Authenticity of Josquin’s five-voice *chansons* is reviewed in the context of this study as one of many factors and subdivisions for categorizing and defining this repertoire. Attributes of this collection of *chansons* can only be fully defined when the boundaries of the repertoire are thoroughly established. However, it is no simple task to find reliable evidence for authenticity or lack thereof.

Scholars use a range of reasons for doubting a work and suggesting that it should be removed from Josquin’s canon (i.e., de-attributed) “including style, mensural practice,
treatment of borrowed material and source dissemination.” However, although a theorist or musicologist certainly may express their concerns about the authenticity of a work, I strongly disagree with eliminating any piece from a composer’s repertoire without overwhelming proof. Furthermore, stylistic considerations do not, on their own, constitute “proof” for de-attribution for the obvious reason that a composer may experiment with and work within different styles. Moreover, de-attributing a piece on the basis of a personal opinion that a particular piece is not of the same complexity or quality as the rest of a composer’s output seems absurd, since not all works belonging to any composer are of equal artistic value. In addition, any incorrect de-attribution obscures the picture for any musicologist or theorist wishing to study the repertoire. Until more evidence surfaces, it is preferable for people to state simply their uncertainty and allow others to make the appropriate judgement call and proceed with their studies with due caution. Hence, in the current study, I have avoided making such statements and have confined my comments to the analysis of the pieces themselves.

In the particular case of Josquin’s five-voice chanson repertoire, Rifkin commented that a disproportionate number of the compositions attributed to the composer rest on shaky ground for their attribution to him. In his study, Rifkin both looked at the reliability of the sources and also turned to Josquin’s five-voice motets for style comparisons. From these analyses, he attempts to satisfy questions of authenticity. However, I have just stated my issues with this method of de-attribution.

In the following sections, I individually address the question of authenticity for each chanson.

Cent mille regretz

Non-court sources attribute *Cent mille regretz* to La Rue, but it also appears without attribution in court manuscripts and French prints, appearing in Attaingnant’s 1550 collection of Josquin chansons.\(^{199}\) However, the La Rue attribution predates its appearance in Attaingnant’s print, and thus, the piece is now generally considered to be composed by him.\(^{200}\)

Cueurs desolez

*Cueurs desolez* appears in both Attaingnant’s Josquin chanson collection\(^{201}\) and another of Attaingnant’s prints, *Trente et quatre chansons musicales* of 23 January 1529\(^{202}\), reprinted after April 1530 and before 18 June 1531.\(^{203}\) Although Heartz stated that the Appenzeller version printed in the *Chansons a quatre parties par M. Benedictus*, Antwerp 1541, is “an authoritative edition of Benedictus Appenzeller deserving more weight than Attaingnant’s attribution,”\(^{204}\) this actually proves to be a different setting of the text.

Cueur langoreux

Susato’s print is the first to attribute *Cueur langoreux* to Josquin:

Prior to Susato, this piece has no attributed source - indeed, no sources at all - beyond a now fragmentary collection of Masses, motets, chansons, and frottole issued by the Roman printer

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\(^{199}\) Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 190 n. 18, n. 20, p 193.

\(^{200}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 56.

\(^{201}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 56.


\(^{203}\) Heartz, ‘Pierre Attaingnant’, 381.

\(^{204}\) Heartz, ‘Pierre Attaingnant’, 215 n. 4.
Niccolo de Judici in or about 1526. Time and place of publication suggest that we treat this volume with some caution: not only does it follow Josquin’s death by some half a decade, but a considerable distance separates it from the scene of the composer’s last seventeen years. Paradoxically, however, that very distance may turn out to speak more for the attribution than against it. While I have not had the chance to compare readings, it hardly seems likely that Susato would have taken Cœur langoureux from an Italian edition of two decades earlier, not that d Judici in Rome would have had direct access to the presumably Netherlandish sources on which Susato did ultimately draw. In all probability, therefore, we can associate the ascription of Cœur langoureux with two widely separated lines of transmission; and even if neither of them has a visible anchor in Josquin’s lifetime - and, indeed, one only manifests itself twenty-four years after his death - their combined testimony still yields a strong case for accepting this work, at least provisionally.\textsuperscript{205}

\textit{Douler me bat}

\textit{Douler me bat} first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato’s print.\textsuperscript{206}

\textit{Du mien amant}

\textit{Du mien amant} first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato’s print.\textsuperscript{207}

\textit{En non saichant}

Blackburn argued that “the expressiveness of the setting points” to Josquin’s authorship.\textsuperscript{208} Again, like Rifkin, Blackburn attempted to put forward arguments based purely on stylistic grounds, an unsound method of proceeding. This chanson first appears in Susato’s 1545 collection and Attaingnant’s manuscript, which often draws on this source.\textsuperscript{209} Leipzig 49, a later version and the only other one known other than

\textsuperscript{205} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.
\textsuperscript{206} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 12.
\textsuperscript{207} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 12.
\textsuperscript{208} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 7.
\textsuperscript{209} See under RISM J681 in my source description for the discussion of Attaingnant’s reliance on Susato’s print.
Attaingnant’s reprint of Susato, also attributes the *chanson* to Josquin, but contains the text *Venit ad me omnes.*\(^{210}\) Blackburn noted the *En non saichant* in the Leipzig differs enough from the other sources to suggest that it derives its reading from an earlier and ‘superior’ source to the other two mentioned here.\(^{211}\) The attribution of this *chanson* to Josquin in what seems to be independent lines of transmission supports the view of his authorship. However, the late date of all sources involved and weak lines of transmission damage his claim.\(^{212}\)

“In an article published in 1970, Jaap van Benthem suggested that *En non saichant* originated as a four-voice chanson and that the *quinta pars* represented a later addition to the work; but six years later, Blackburn advanced what - to this reader, at least - looked like persuasive arguments to show that the voice in fact formed part of the texture from the outset.”\(^{213}\) Rifkin argued that by making this statement, Blackburn caught herself in a paradox, since he claimed that it actually decreases the likelihood of Josquin’s authorship.\(^{214}\) However, how does its existence as a four-voice verses a five-voice composition influence this judgement, since, as Rifkin himself discussed, Josquin was known to have written five-voice compositions including *chansons.*

Leipzig 49 contains a *contrafacta* attributed to Josquin of *En non saichant* (fol. 189v), with the text *Veni ad me omnes.*\(^{215}\)

\(^{210}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 44.
\(^{212}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 7-8.
\(^{215}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 42.
Faule d’argent

“Josquin’s five-voice Faule d’argent is surely the multi-voice chanson most securely attributed to the master. It is, in fact, the only canonic chanson a 5 to survive with an ascription to Josquin in a manuscript compiled during his lifetime.”\textsuperscript{216} Two unrelated sources ascribed Faule d’argent to Josquin: Augsburg Stadts und Staatsbibliothek, MS 142a and Florence Biblioteca del Conservatorio Basevi MS 2442, with the latter being the earliest fully texted version.\textsuperscript{217} Furthermore, like Nymphes des bois, the version in Susato 1545 seems to be different from those found in the above mentioned sources, suggesting that it may be from a different line of transmission.\textsuperscript{218} Also, it mislabels the leading cononic voice “contratenor”, instead of “tenor”.\textsuperscript{219}

Leipzig 49 contains a contrafacta of Faule d’argent (fol. 189v), without attribution and with the text Delevi ut nubem.\textsuperscript{220} The reading of this version matches many details of earlier sources.\textsuperscript{221} Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. MS 1873 contains another version not known to Smijers.\textsuperscript{222} Blackburn claimed that Florence 2442 contains the earliest fully texted version and most reliable reading.\textsuperscript{223} “The scribe of Florence 2442 . . . mistakenly gives the voice the signature of one flat; it is the canonic follower that should have this signature.”\textsuperscript{224}

\textsuperscript{216} Bernstein, ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms,’ 51 n. 29.
\textsuperscript{217} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49, 58.
\textsuperscript{218} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.
\textsuperscript{219} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50.
\textsuperscript{220} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 42.
\textsuperscript{221} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49.
\textsuperscript{222} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49.
\textsuperscript{223} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50.
\textsuperscript{224} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50 n. 51.
**Incessament mon povre cueur**

*Incessament mon povre cueur* is attributed to Pierre de La Rue in a non-court source, but it also does appear in court manuscripts and French prints attributed to Josquin, including Attaignant’s 1550 collection of Josquin *chansons*. Meconi said “*Incessament* also appears, now correctly attributed [to La Rue], in two of Le Roy and Ballard’s publications, 1560c and 1572.”

**Incessament livré suis**

*Incessament livré suis* first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato’s print.

**Je my complains de mon amy**

*Je my complains* first appears in Vienna 18746, and Munich 1508 is the first to attribute it to Josquin.

**Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer**

“The chanson belongs to the group of seven pieces - all but two of them for five voices - that Attaignant added to Susato’s collection when he reprinted it in 1550.”

Attributed to Nicholaus Gombert in Munich 1508 and another intabulation, Claudin in

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226 Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 193. Blackburn also agrees that it is generally considered to be by La Rue. Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 56.
228 Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 12.
229 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 54-5 n. 66.
one, and “N.C.”, thought to refer to Nicolaus Cracoviensis, in another. Rifkin’s stemma suggests two lines of transmission, “The first of these, retains the French text but undergoes some corruption in the musical readings, leads to Attaignant’s edition of 1550 and, through it, to the editions of Le Roy & Ballard as well as, most likely, the late in tabulation London 29247. The second branch of transmission both introduces a minor error at bar 60 in the contra and substitutes a Latin text, *Date siceram moerentibus*, for the original French poem; the sources representing this branch consist of Regensburg 211-215 and 1018, Munich 326, and, in all likelihood, Budapest 23, as well as the tablatures of Ochsenkuhn and Heckel.” Rifkin commented on the speedy diffusion of this piece given that there remain no existing sources prior to ca.1540. It traveled to Poland by 1542, southern German within one more year, and Spain by 1546. Attaignant provides the earliest attribution to Josquin. Budapest 23, from a separate line of transmission, also attributes this chanson to our composer. Although Munich 1508 and Regensburg 211-215 include attributions for most of their contents, neither source contains any for this chanson, which Rifkin suggests may indicate that the piece “circulated more or less from the start without clear indication of authorship.” “In sum, the transmission of *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* hardly speaks for Josquin’s authorship, and both the late date - not only of the attribution but of the transmission itself - and the confusion over the piece tend rather to argue against it. We have, therefore, no real reason to think of him as the composer.”

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Budapest, National Széchényi Library, MS Bârtfa 23, No. 140, a single bass partbook manuscript dated around 1550, attributes the work to Josquin\textsuperscript{238}; Ochsenkuhn, *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten* (Brown, 1558), No. 9, fol. 19, to Claudin\textsuperscript{239}; and Munich, Universitätbibliothek, MS 326, No. 6, fol. 8, a single altus partbook, originating in Augsburg, dated 1543, to Zinsmaister. However, the name “L. Zinsmaister” is written after the previous piece, *Conscendit jubilans*. Since authors’ names given after a piece are quite rare, Ludwig Finscher, believing that the ascription may belong to *Date siceram*, says with fine perception: “If *Date siceram merentibus* should really be by Zinsmaister and not the previous hymn, then this ‘Kleinmeister’ must have been a very respectable composer.”\textsuperscript{240} Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, MS 12, No. 6 also attributes the *chanson* to Incertus. However, “although the piece is signed ‘Incertus’ in the manuscript, Bohn attributes it to ‘[Phil. Berdelot.]’. Why this should be is not clear.”\textsuperscript{241} Mudarra’s intabulation, previously known in the guise of a motet, *Respice in me, Deus*, and attributed to Gombert in this source, turns out to be a *Contrafactum* of Josquin’s setting of *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* \textsuperscript{242} “The in tabulation was published four years before Attaignants’s *Trente sixiesme livre*, the first known printed source of “Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer”.”\textsuperscript{243} Miguel Fuenllana’s five-voice motet intabulation of *Lauda Syon*, in his *Orphenica lyra* of 1554, also attributed to Gombert, once again turns out to be another intabulation of the same *chanson*, with its unusual use of the bass part as the

\textsuperscript{238} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.  
\textsuperscript{239} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32.  
\textsuperscript{240} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32-3.  
\textsuperscript{241} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.  
\textsuperscript{242} The intabulation appears in Emilio Pujol’s modern edition of Mudarra’s *Tre libros de musica en cifra para vihuela* (Seville, 1546). Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 30-2, 4.  
\textsuperscript{243} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 30.
vocal line.\textsuperscript{244} "On bibliographical grounds, the evidence for Gombert’s authorship of ‘Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer’ appears superior: two sources printed in Gombert’s lifetime deriving from a third, earlier source - all found in a country where Gombert worked - stand against one source ascribed to Joaquin (not counting the reprints derived from it) published twenty-nine years after his death, and the early seventeenth-century lute in tabulation (London, British Library, Add. Ms 29247, fol. 35), likewise attributed to him."\textsuperscript{245}

"‘Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer’ appears in two later (and related) publications by Le Roy and Ballard, the \textit{livre des melanges} of 1560 and the \textit{Mellange de chansons} of 1572. To judge from the readings, both versions were taken from Attaingnant’s print; both are attributed to Josquin. The unique copy of the 1560 print - a single soprano partbook - was lost during the Second World War. Smijers, who knew it, did not indicate any variants from Attaingnant in the critical notes (Wereldlijke Werken, Bundel III, p. xiv). Since the chanson was published in the \textit{Werken}, a new source has come to light: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 1508, No. 110, without attribution."\textsuperscript{246}

An Organ tablature of Johannes of Lublin (Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow, MS 1716), where the piece appears on fol. 200, attributes it to N. C. "The manuscript was copied in the present piece bears the date 1542. The initials ‘N. C.’ have been interpreted as standing for ‘Nicolaus Cracoviensis,’” the polish composer Nicolaj of Cracow; his initials also appear over other pieces in the manuscript."\textsuperscript{247}

"‘Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer’ had a checkered career in German and East

\begin{footnotes}
\item[244] Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 30-1.
\item[245] Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 31.
\item[246] Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 301 n. 6.
\item[247] Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.
\end{footnotes}
European sources in the guise of a motet with the text *Date siceram moerentibus*. Only one of these sources names Josquin as author. Three are anonymous; in the remainder, the composer is variously given as Claudin, Verdelot, L(eon hard) Zinsmaister, and “N. C.” Anonymous in: Heckel, *Discret. Lauten Buch* (Brown, 1562), No. 68, p. 196; Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek, MS A.R. 1018, No. 27 (five partbooks, written in 1562)\(^{248}\), Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek, MS B 211-215, No. 30 (five partbooks stamped 1538, but at least one piece carries the later date of 1543)\(^{249}\).

The earliest of the eight sources [for *Date siceram moerentibus*] cited dates from twenty years after Josquin’s death. In the light of the sources with the chanson text and the Latin *contrafacta* in Spanish sources, we may safely dismiss the attributions to Leonhard Zinsmaister and Verdelot; Nicolaj of Cracow may only be credited with the intabulation of *Date siceram moerentibus*. The ascription to Claudin, confirmed on stylistic grounds by Peter Mohr, loses validity since *Date siceram* has been unmasked as a chanson. Besides, the work is much too Netherlandish in conception to fit into Claudin’s chanson style.

Many of the *contrafacta* versions are datable before the first known appearance of the chanson in print. (Indeed, most of Josquin’s chansons were published only long after his death.) In fact, a thorough examination of the variant readings of the extant sources of “Je ne me pus tenir d’aimer” and its *contrafacta* - fourteen in all - reveals that none of the versions was copied from Attainnant with the exception of the one printed by Le Roy and Ballard and, possibly, that of the Budapest manuscript. It also shows, surprisingly, that Attainnant has the poorest readings among the vocal sources.\(^{250}\)

Blackburn noted that only the Spanish and Polish *contrafacta* possess attributions to the many different composers. Furthermore, *contrafacta* works of Josquin rarely contain his name and arrangements sometimes become associated with the arranger rather than the composer. Blackburn cited the example of Conrad Rupsch’s arrangement of Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappées as Haec dicit Dominus.*\(^{251}\)

Despite the evidence of the sources, Blackburn rejected the attribution to Gombert on stylistic grounds after comparing these intabulations to other of Gombert’s five-voice chansons, many of which she transcribed from the sources, as they do not appear in

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\(^{248}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32

\(^{249}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32.

\(^{250}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 34.

\(^{251}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 37.
modern editions.\textsuperscript{252}

\textit{L'amye a tous/ Je ne vis oncques}

\textit{L'amye a tous} appears uniquely in Attaingnant’s print and was attributed there to Josquin.\textsuperscript{253}

\textit{Ma bouche rit}

Uppsala 76 b is the first source to transmits \textit{Ma bouche rit}, where it appears anonymously. It predates the Tylman Susato printed anthology \textit{Septiesme livre} (RISM 1545), where \textit{Ma bouche rit} appears in a six-voice version with an added \textit{quinta pars}.\textsuperscript{254} Van Benthem argues that the sixth voice found in the Susato print was a later addition to the \textit{chanson}.\textsuperscript{255} Meconi agreed that Bernstein had made “a convincing case for the inauthenticity of the setting of \textit{Ma bouche rit} attributed to Josquin.”\textsuperscript{256}

\textit{Mi larés vous}

Rifkin asserted that \textit{Mi larés vous} appears exclusively in RISM 1540.\textsuperscript{257} He observes that “Neither date nor place of origin makes this collection an obvious candidate for reliability, at least concerning Josquin; we have, in other words, no compelling reason to accept its attributions to him.”\textsuperscript{258}

\textsuperscript{252} Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32-1.
\textsuperscript{254} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 1 n. 1.
\textsuperscript{255} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 1 n. 1.
\textsuperscript{256} Meconi, ‘Poliziano, \textit{Primavera}, and Perugia 431: New Light on \textit{Fortuna desperata}’ 496 n. 124. For further details see Bernstein’s ‘\textit{Ma bouche rit}’, 253-86.
\textsuperscript{257} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 11.
\textsuperscript{258} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices: Problems of Authenticity and Style,’ 11.
N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir

N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir first appears and was first attributed to Josquin in RISM 1540.\(^{259}\)

Nymphes des bois

Two independent sources, both compiled within his lifetime, attribute Nymphes des bois to Josquin: Petrucci’s Motetti a cinque (1505) and Medici Codex.\(^{260}\) Like Faute d’argent, the version in Susato 1545 seems to be different from those found in the above mentioned sources, suggesting that it may be from a different line of transmission.\(^{261}\) These two factors result in a secure attribution to Josquin. Vatican PL 1980-1 (The Medici Codex), where it appears on folios 125v-126, is “the only source from Josquin’s lifetime that preserves the original text.”\(^{262}\)

Parfons regretz

Parfons regretz first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Attaingnant’s print.\(^{263}\)

Plaine de dueil

Plaine de dueil first appears in Brus 228 and was first attributed to Josquin in

\(^{259}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 12.
\(^{261}\) Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.
\(^{262}\) Lowinsky, ‘Music in the Culture of the Renaissance’, 26 n. 39.
Ataingnant’s print. Although a 4-voice version of *Plaine de deuil* appears in Brus 228, a 5-voice version is found here with the addition of a superius part. Was the fifth voice added for the purposes of this manuscript? Can we assume that they had a group of five musicians?

*Plusieurs regretz*

*Plusieurs regretz* first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Ataingnant’s print. This *chanson* also appears in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny. Kgl. Saml. MS 1848. Leipzig 49 contains a *contrafacta* of *Plusieurs regretz* (fol. 191), without attribution and with the text *Sana me Domine*. Another *contrafacta* version appears in Montanus & Neuber, *Secunda pars magni operas musici* (RISM 1559), with a different text, *O Virgo genetrix*.

*Settings by Other Composers*

A detailed treatment of all these settings is out of the scope of this thesis; therefore, I have included just this list of other textual settings.

Bernstein demonstrated the musical similarities between Férin’s three-voice setting of *Faute d’argent* and others using the same melody, including Josquin’s

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266 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 44.
267 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 42.
268 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 44.
version. He “argued that Févin modelled his *Faul Te d’argent* on Josquin rather than the other way around, removing that as a polyphonic model for Josquin.”

Josquin’s version of *Ma bouch rit* is an arrangement of Ockeghem’s earlier *bergerette* setting. Furthermore, an anonymous *baguette* found in Florence 229, seemingly takes the melodic line of Ockeghem as a model to set the similar line of poetry “Ma bouche plaint les pleurs de ma pensée.”

Benedict (Appenzeller) also set *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* for five voices, which Susato included in his print, *Le cinquiesme livre* (RISM 1544), fol 13v, British Library, Add. MS 34071, also in an eighteenth-century transcription derived from the Susato print. Another five-voice version appears in British Library, MSS Roy. App. 31-35, fol. 31v., thought to be by Derick Gerarde. Both versions only set the first four lines of the text. This makes sense in the context of Blackburn’s hypothesis that Josquin’s version of the text is in fact a combination of two poems.

Brus 228 houses an anonymous four-voice setting *Cueurs desolez*, which Martin Picker conjectured belongs in La Rue’s canon, as he believes do many of the *chansons* setting contained in this manuscript.

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269 Bernstein, Lawrence F. ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms.’ 51-55.
271 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 57 n. 77.
273 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 40 n. 34.
274 Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 189.
Manuscripts and Printed Sources Containing Josquin’s Five-Voice *Chansons*

**General Overview**

I have assembled historical and physical characteristics of the sources housing this repertoire. Knowing the background of the sources in which the pieces from this repertoire are found can provide a basis for attempting to answer questions such as where or for whom these pieces may have been composed.

Lack of surviving sources from Josquin’s lifetime is a constant source of frustration for musicologists. Blackburn discussed some lost sources that may have contained some of the known five-voice *chanson* repertoire of Josquin’s or perhaps other pieces no longer found elsewhere.\(^{275}\)

However, after his passing, Josquin’s music found a new audience in Germany and German-speaking areas starting around the 1530s. “Between 1535 and the end of the century, some eleven different publishers issued forty-one titles containing Josquin’s music,” many motets.\(^{276}\) Several compositions that bear his name only appear in some of these late German sources and are, therefore, most likely unauthentic. Since his name sold books, it seems likely that a publisher might simply add the composer’s name to boost sales. To support this idea, Owens quoted the comment made in 1540 by George Forster: “I remember a certain eminent man saying that, now that Josquin is dead, he is putting out more works than when he was still alive.”\(^{277}\) Naturally, the German audience would not harbour concern about the accuracy of text underlay with text in a foreign

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\(^{275}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 60-67.  
language as would a French speaking audience.

**Historical Information and Content**

*Augsburg, Stadts- und Staatsbibliothek, MS 142 a*

South German manuscript with the section containing *Faulque d'argent* dating from the years 1508-1513 according to Rifkin\(^{278}\) and 1505-14 according to Bernstein.\(^{279}\) The manuscript itself divides into three distinct sections with different watermarks, although Parts I and III share some common scribes.\(^{280}\)

The manuscript was “Originally misbound, with some folios in incorrect order.”\(^{281}\)

“The manuscript once belonged to Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520-83), a resident of Augsburg; it remained in the possession of the Herwart family until 1620, when it was presented to the Augsburg library.”\(^{282}\)

This manuscript contains *Faulque D'argent*, appearing in Part II.\(^{283}\)

*Brussels 228*

Brussels 228 was compiled at the Netherlands court, Brussels/Mechelen, belonging to the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex, ca. 1508-16.\(^{284}\)

“The chronology of this manuscript has most recently been discussed by Flynn Warmington in ‘A Master Calligrapher in Alamire's Workshop: Towards a Chronology

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278 ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices: Problems of Authenticity and Style,’ 2.
279 ‘Chansons for Five and Six Voices,’ 396.
284 Bernstein, ‘Chansons for Five and Six Voices, 400 and Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 211.
of his Work,' paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicalological Society (Ann Arbor, 1982).\textsuperscript{285}

Bruss 228 contains \textit{Plaine de deuil} (f 48v-49), as well as a 4-voice composition by an anonymous composer on the same text as \textit{Plusieurs regretz} (f 42v-43), and a 5-voice anonymous composition on the text of \textit{Cueur desolez} (f 40v 42).

\textbf{Florence 2442}

Florence 2442 is a French or Florentine set of partbooks probably dating between 1508 and 1515.\textsuperscript{286}

This manuscript contains a version of Josquin's \textit{Faute d'argent}.

\textbf{FlorL 666}

This manuscript contains \textit{Nymphes des bois} with a different spelling of the poem.\textsuperscript{287}

\textbf{Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS mus. 1508}

These mid-16\textsuperscript{th}-century partbooks, apparently of Netherlandish origin, were owned by Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520-83) of Augsburg. Wilelm V, Duke of Bavaria, in 1585 purchased the Herwart collection, and it is now placed in court library at Munich.\textsuperscript{288} “The manuscript was apparently copied from prints dating from as late as

\textsuperscript{285} Bernstein, \textit{Chansons for Five and Six Voices}, 400, n.15.
\textsuperscript{286} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.
\textsuperscript{287} Meconi, \textit{Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court}, 287.
\textsuperscript{288} Hamm, \textit{Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550}, vol. 3, 221.
Physically, this manuscript is composed of two kinds of paper, one thicker that seemed to be added later.°290 “Original alphabetical index of 4-voice works on ff.3-6’ of D book gives pieces numbers and attributions.” “Original alphabetical index of 5-voice works at beginning of Q book gives folio numbers (later crossed out by J. J. Maier and replaced with modern piece numbers).”°291 One main scribe, as well as several additional scribes, is responsible for this manuscript.°292

Blackburn noted that “Manuscripts of chansons with full French texts are exceedingly rare in Germany - Munich 1508 is a notable exception and bespeaks the international flavor of artistic life at the court of Munich. All other German manuscripts containing chansons by Josquin give only incipits of the texts.”°293

This manuscript contains *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, Je my complains de mon amy,* and *Incessament mon pouvre cueur laments.* The scribe of *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* made his entries at the end of the *chansons a 5* section.°294 *Je my complains de mon amy* was transcribed by the main scribe of the manuscript who organized the structure of the manuscript and who wrote out most of the pieces.°295 The scribe of *Incessament mon pouvre cueur laments* contributed to the end of the *chansons a 4* section of the manuscript. This *chanson* appears in this section of the source, even though it is actually

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°290 Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 212 n. 4.
°294 Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*.
a five-voice canonic composition, where the canon is indicated in the Bassus partbook.\textsuperscript{296} The four-voice section of the manuscript seems to date back to about 1542-43.\textsuperscript{297}

**RISM 1508: Petrucci’s Motetti a cinque**

Doubts about some of the mass repertoire contained in this Second Petrucci print, published on 30\textsuperscript{th} of June 1505, have prompted Fallows, in his article ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, to argue that Petrucci may have lost contact with Josquin as early as 1504.\textsuperscript{298}

This print contains the first appearance of *Nymphes des bois* (ie. prior to 1518), but without its French text and calling on the composers: “Josquin piersson brumel comper.”\textsuperscript{299}

**RISM 1540**

The print, *selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones*, was published at Augsburg in 1540 by Sigmund Salblinger and Melchior Kriesstein.\textsuperscript{300} It contains Josquin’s *Mi laris vous* and *N'esee pas ung grant desplaisir*.

**RISM J681-Attaingnant (Pierre)Trente Sixiesme Livre**

(contenant xxx. chansons tres musiclaes, a quatre, cinq et six parties, dont le cinqyesme livre contient les cinquiesmes et sixiesmes parties, le tout de la

\textsuperscript{296} Taricani, ‘A Chansonnier form a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508’, 150, 246 n. 15.


\textsuperscript{298} Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 140, 146.

\textsuperscript{299} Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 289.

\textsuperscript{300} Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices: Problems of Authenticity and Style,’ 11.
composition de feu Josquin des Prez. Trez correctement imprimes par Pierre Attaingnant . . . 14 Martii 1549 (=1550 n.s.))

Printed by Attaingnant 14 March 1550, Attaingnant took most of his musical reading from Susato’s print, although omitting a few pieces including Nymphes des bois, and adding several more chansons.\(^{301}\) Despite this, Attaingnant did ensure that some small alterations were made, particularly to the text, but also to the music.\(^{302}\) One major change was the editor regularizing and modernizing of the French text.\(^{303}\) Furthermore, Attaingnant took pains to underlay the text properly relying on the rules enumerated by Zarlino, whereas Susato simply places all the text at the opening of a given phrase.\(^{304}\) Musically, “Attaingnant’s editor also modernized cadences by largely eliminating the under-third formula.”\(^ {305}\)

Blackburn suggested that Claude Gervaise may have edited this print. Besides editing, he also did arrangements and composed dance music for Attaingnant.\(^ {306}\)

This print contains the largest number of Josquin’s five-voice chansons contained in any source, including *Cent mille regretz*, *Cueur desolez*, *Cueur languorous*, *Douleur me bat*, *Du mien amant*, *En non saichant*, *Faute d’argent*, *Incessament livré suis*, *Incessament mon povere cuer lamente*, *Je me complain*, *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer*, *L’amye a tous*, *Ma bouche rit* (à 6), *N’essee pas un grand desplaisir*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de deuil*, *Plusieurs regretz*.

“The copy of the 36elivre now at Uppsala containing Josquin’s chansons, was

\(^{301}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 55-6.

\(^{302}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 56.

\(^{303}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 57.

\(^{304}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 58.

\(^{305}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 59.

\(^{306}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 56.
earlier held in Mainz.”

RISM 1545

The Flemish printer Tielman Susato’s produced ‘Le Septiesme Livre’ in 1545.

Susato’s book raises problems. What were his sources? Judging from the remarks in his
dedication to Lazarus Doucher, we may guess that Josquin’s chansons were not readily available.
Susato says that he had waited for some time until he found music worthy of being dedicated to
his friend: “It is the present book of chansons for five and six parts, composed by the late
lamented Josquin des Prez, in his time most excellent and highly eminent in musical knowledge,
and I wanted to begin to print these works so that everyone would be able to keep them in
perpetual memory as he well deserved.”

If Susato had not printed these pieces, we would have only a sketchy knowledge of
Josquin as a composer of five- and six-part chansons, for aside from Susato - and the later reprints
of Attaingnant (1549) and Le Roy and Ballard (1560 and 1572), which are based on Susato - the
following twelve chansons (of the twenty-three) either have no concordances or are preserved
anonymously or under the name of another composer. . . Several more might be added if we
could prove that the handwritten sources were copied from Susato’s book.


While no term is specified, earlier books indicate that the privilege was valid for three or
four years . . . Thus, Attaingnant made a reprint of Susato’s work at the earliest moment
possible.”

Alterations appear in different printings even though they may be marked with the
same date.

This manuscript contains the first appearance of En non saichant, the first to
attrbution to Josquin of Cueur langoreux, Faulre d’argent, a six-voice version of Ma
bouche rit (attributed here to Josquin), and Nymphes des bois, containing a different

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308 The five-voice chansons include: Douleur me bat, Du mien amant, En non saichant, Incressment livr
suis, Parfons regretz, Plaine de deul, Ma bouche rit.
309 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 54.
310 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 55-6 n. 70.
311 Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 57 n. 78.
312 Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 1 n 1.
spelling of the text.

**Uppsala 76 b**

"The source was compiled no earlier than 1511 and probably no later than the 1530s." The manuscript paper reveals several "Watermarks: (1) generally resembles Briquet #12510 (several variations); (2) pot with crown; (3) small pot; (4) candlestick; (5) shield surmounted by cross; (6) Gothic letter "N"." The Music is notated in mensural notation copied by a single scribe with the lute intabulations having been added later by a different scribe.

This manuscript is the first to transmits *Ma bouche rit*, where it appears anonymously.

**Vatican PL 1980-1: Medici Codex**

A single scribe copied this manuscript in Rome. Only two of the four original partbooks now remain. The manuscript was probably compiled for Giulio de' Medici (1478-1534; Pope Clement VII after 1523).

"Original index on f. [iii] of each book lists Masses, motets, and "Canzoni" separately; within each group, pieces listed in order of appearance (One Mass listed out

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313 Meconi, 'French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity', 287.
314 Bernstein 'Ma bouche rit et mon cœur pleure: A Chanson a 5 Attributed to Josquin des Prez,' 256.
320 Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 24 and Bernstein, 'Ma bouche rit et mon cœur pleure: A Chanson a 5 Attributed to Josquin des Prez,' 255.
of sequence).” “Inked calligraphic initials; Medici family coat of arms and cardinal’s hat on f. 1 in each book. Watermark generally resembles Briquet #491.”

The manuscript was acquired, perhaps ca. 1553-63, by Ulrich Fugger (1526-84), of Augsburg (possibly through Ulrich’s book collector, Henricus Scrimger); and later incorporated in the Palatine electoral library in Heidelberg.321

This manuscript contains *Incessament mon pove cueur*, attributed here to La Rue, and *Nymphes des bois*, the only version from Josquin’s lifetime that preserves the original text.322

**Vatican 1982**

Only one partbook, with voice designation “Cantus” on the cover, remains of the original four books of Vatican 1982.323 This book copied in Rome ca. 1513-23 was compiled for Giulio de’ Medici (1478-1534; Pope Clement VII after 1523) or for another member of Medici family, as made evident by the Medici family coat of arms on the cover.324 A single scribe copied the manuscript, with the exception of the last piece, which was added by different hand.325

The manuscript was acquired, perhaps ca. 1553-63 by Ulrich Fugger (1526-84), of Augsburg (possibly through Ulrich’s book collector, Henricus Scrimger). It was later admitted into the Palatine electoral library in Heidelberg.326

The manuscript contains *Cent mille regretz*, attributed in this source to La Rue.

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Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 18746

Assembled by Alamire’s workshop functioning in Brussels and Mechelen, this set of partbooks is from the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex.\(^{327}\) It is dated 1523 and signed by Petrus Alamire himself, appearing in the tenor and second tenor partbooks, and it belongs to the last era of the functioning of this workshop.\(^{328}\)

These partbooks house many of Josquin’s five-voice chansons, including only the incipits or titles of each entry. The Netherlands court scribe named ‘C’ in the Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550 is the scribe of this manuscript.\(^{329}\)

Alamire’s workshop, functioning from about 1495 until 1535, included scribes working for the chapels of the Brussels and Mechelen court of Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, Archduke Charles, later Charles V, and briefly Mary of Hungary.\(^{330}\) Vienna 18746 is among the third group marking the second half of the workshop’s activity, dating from 1521 until Alamire’s retirement in 1534.

Fallows stated that the Alamire manuscripts containing Josquin’s masses includes a number of jokes “as though the copyist were attempting to add levity to the task of the singers”.\(^{331}\) Fallows escaped enumerating exactly what the humour entails or whether Bruss 288 contains any. Follows observed that Alamire worked in Mechelen or Brusses, in close proximity to Condé, where Josquin spent the last seventeen years of his life and, therefore, in the case of Josquin’s masses, was probably in a better position than Petrucci,

\(^{327}\) Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 213.
\(^{328}\) Kellman, ‘Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources’, 214.
\(^{329}\) Hamm, Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550.
residing in Venice, to know what pieces truly belonged in Josquin's canon.\footnote{Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.} Fallows described Alamire's workshop as the "premier scribal workshop of the Low Countries, apparently directed by a man who had extensive contacts through the area (He was, after all, also active as a spy.)"\footnote{Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.} With a potentially later birth date, perhaps in the mid 1450s any of the Alamire sources of both chansons and other works may now potentially be placed historically closer to the time of the actual composition of the works they contain.\footnote{Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.}

Physically, the manuscript contains "Watermarks: (1) Gothic letter "P" surmounted by four-petalled flower (see Briquet #8652 for approximate pattern); (2) Gothic letter "C" (resembles Briquet #8113)."\footnote{Hamm, \textit{Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550}, vol. 4, 107.}

The original intended recipient remains unknown, however, "the manuscript was acquired by the Fugger family of Augsburg (nowak 1948), probably by Raimund Fugger the Elder (1489-1535)," of Augsburg.\footnote{Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 161.} The manuscript may even have been commissioned by the family. "The Fuggers, wealthy bankers, had frequent contact with the courts, but almost certainly had dealings with Alamire as well."\footnote{Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 13.}

In a letter to Margaret from Augsburg dated 12 March 1519, her secretary, Jean Marnix informed her that he had urged Alamire, who was then in Augsburg with nothing to do, to visit the duke of Saxony and find out whohis guests were. Marnix noted that Alamire was no stranger to the duke's court ("auquel in a bonne habitude"). It is perhaps in this period, when he was frequenting the commercial and banking centers in Augsburg and
Nuremberg, that Alamire made acquaintance of Raimund Fugger, merchant and nephew of Jakob Fugger, the financier who played a crucial role in Charles’s election.”³³⁸ Since Alamire’s workshop copied this manuscript after Josquin’s death, it seems likely that the manuscript served a commemorative purpose.³³⁹ “There is no evidence that this manuscript was prepared specifically for Frederick [of Saxony], but it is clearly a part of the collection sent to him from the Netherlands court.”³⁴⁰

“Raimund Fugger the Younger of Augsburg (1528-1569) amassed more than 250 music books, some inherited from his father (1489-1535) and the majority acquired before 1566, when an inventory was made.”³⁴¹ A note in another print owned, signed and dated 1534 by “Jacob Förper” (Fugger) reads “when we looked the part over, a few small errors were found; although they could be readily identified and changed by an expert, we have indicated them all here in order to obviate long searching.”³⁴² The corrections marked in the edition suggest that the Fuggers made use of their music books.

Furthermore, the partbooks are unornamented indicating that they were not presentation manuscripts but rather ones that would be utilized.

Emperor Ferdinand III purchased the Fugger library and brought it to Vienna in 1656.³⁴³

Vienna 18746 may have been intended for instrumental use. Signs that a manuscript may be intended for instrumental use could include: music raised or lower by

³⁴³ Hamm, 108.
an octave, i.e., an octave jump when compared with another source because the notes
cannot be played by the instrument that is playing that line; accidentals where they would
normally not be indicated because a singer would know where to insert them; and very
little text underlay. In the case of this manuscript, text incipits are the only words
indicated. In the case of the two texts that begin with Incessament, this incipit does not
give the singer enough information to know which text to sing unless they are very well
known chansons.

The partbooks contain a large number of pieces from Josquin’s chanson output
and involve many of his five-voice ones, including Cent mille regretz (f 7v-8), Douleur
me bat (f 33-34),\textsuperscript{344} Du mien amant (f 38-38v), Incessament livré suis (f 38v-39), Je me
complains (f11v),\textsuperscript{345} Parfons regretz, Plusieurs regretz, Incessament mon povere
cueur lament (f 16), Plaine de deuil (f 36). Although a 4-voice version of Plaine de deuil
appears in Brus 228, a 5-voice version is found here with the addition of a superius part.
Was the fifth voice added for the purposes of this manuscript? Can we assume that they
had a group of five musicians?

**The Chansons Texts: Structural Analysis, and Historical Information**

Attaingnant’s print modernized and regularized the French text of the chansons
found in Susato’s print. Blackburn gives a table of the changes made in the contents of
the superius partbook only:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Susato</th>
<th>Attaingnant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baise languorously</td>
<td>Bayses langoureux</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{344} There is also another setting of this text within this manuscript.
\textsuperscript{345} The incipit reads $mi$ instead of $me$. 
Although I will note some of the changes in spelling, I do not in my study go through and mark all the changes in Attaingnant’s print unless they pertain to changing the meaning in the expression of a phrase of text.

**Textual Structure**

The text and its structure formed the basis from which Josquin created his music. Later we will see how our composer highlighted the textual caesura divisions following the fourth syllable apparent within each ten-syllable line. Some scholars have commented on the how the music sometimes mirrors the rhyme scheme of the poetry. In this study I will not continue with this line of inquiry, however, it is one of the next steps required in the systematic analysis of this repertoire.

The majority of Josquin’s five-voice *chansons* have the following rhyme schemes and syllabic counts:

- aabba
  
  10 10 10 10 10

  *Cent Mille Regretz*, *N’esst pas ung grant desplaisir*, *L’amye a tous*, *Cueur langoreux*, *Incessament mon povre cueur*, *Plusieurs Regretz*, *Plaine de dueil*, *Parfons regretz*, *Dumien amant*, *Douleur me bat*, *Incessament livré suis*, and *Cueur desolez* (but 3rd line 8 syllables)

- abba
  
  10 10 10 10

  [Blackburn, *Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources*, 57.]
Faut de d'argent and Mi larés vous possesses the same rhyme scheme, but all the lines comprise 8 syllables.

abcaabb
8 8 6 8 8 6 10
Je me complains.

abbbcbce
8 6 8 6 6 6 6
Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer.

ababab
8 6 7 6 9 8
En non saichant.

abbbcbce
8 6 8 6 6 6 6
Nymphes des bois.

Because no text survives beyond the text incipit for Ma bouche rit, no analysis of the textual structure is possible.

Cueurs desolez

Text, composed perhaps by Lemaire de Belges, was written on the death of Jean de Luxembourg, Seigneur de Ville, in 1508 (a portion of text has the acrostic VILLE)\footnote{Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 173, 327.} If Lemaire de Belges did indeed write the text of this chanson, this would offer another literary connection between Josquin and the Habsburg-Burgundian court, the other being his setting of Molinet’s Nymphes des bois.\footnote{Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 173.}

The text for the cantus firmus uses the 3\textsuperscript{rd} verse of the responsory Libera me from the Requiem mass and is written in the Quinta Pars:

Piorans ploravit in nocte, He cried in the night
et lacrymæ eius in maxillis eius, And his tears
non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius. There is no one who is consoled
Of all who were dear to him.

This choice of cantus, Plorans ploravit, is obvious and logical given that this
chanson is a lament.

**Cueur langoreulx**

*Cueur langoreulx* has an aabb rhyme scheme with decasyllabic verses divided
into two hemistichs of four and six syllables, respectively. All these traits are “common
to the refrain of a rondeau cinquin; indeed, it presumably derives, via the insertion of the
present line 2, from the refrain of a rondeau quatrain published in the Jardin de
plaisance of 1501. Whatever its origin, though, the poem differs from the typical
rondeau strophe by its articulation into units of two plus three lines rather than three plus
two. Josquin’s setting mirrors this peculiarity in adopting the formal layout AABCD.”

**En non saichant**

In the fully texted four-voice anonymous version in Cambrai 1250128, the second
line of text reads “De douleur est son cuer plain.” Blackburn noted the “very odd
quality about this text, in which identical words are substituted for genuine rhymes. The
two end words in the middle lines have the same sound as the others, but different
meanings. Lines 1-2 present the view of a third person, lines 3-6 that of the first person.
The length of the lines does not agree: 8 7 7 6 9 8. The text seems less specific than most
chanson texts; usually there is some explanation of the source of sorrow . . . Moreover,

349 Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 5. In a footnote, Rifkin questions this since he notes that
it maybe that all cinquain chansons are similar, no matter what the text.
most chanson texts are written from the point of view of the first person: “je” and “vous.” Might these six lines be an excerpt from a longer poem?"\(^{351}\)

**Fault d’argent**

In Attaiengt’s print, the last line reads incorrectly “Femme qui dort pour argent on reuelle.” Other settings of this same text contain other variances such as “Madame dort pour argent on l’esveille” found in those of N. Beauvoys and Févin. “Quant elle dort . . .” appears in earlier readings of the poem and both Willaert’s setting and that of Josquin’s housed in Florence, Bibliotea del Conservatorio, MS B 2442 read “Femme qui dort, pour argent on Leesville.”\(^{352}\)

**Je me complains**

Alan Curtis was confused by the last line of the text. His initial translations, “Knit Knit, Fine knitting,” he modified when he discovered that “tricoter” only gained its modern day usage in the late sixteenth century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, “according to Godefroy’s *Lexique*, “tricot” is a very old word for a stick, and “faire tricoter quelqu’un” meant to make someone dance by beating him with a stick. Another meaning was “faire l’amour.” The original “belle tricotée” was probably “The Beaten One” in the latter sense.\(^{353}\) The *tricotet* was a dance performed in the mid-seventeenth until the early eighteenth century.\(^{354}\)


\(^{352}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 58 n. 79, n. 80.

\(^{353}\) Curtis, ‘Josquin and “La belle Tricotée”’, 3.

\(^{354}\) Curtis, ‘Josquin and “La belle Tricotée”’, 5-6.
*Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*

Blackburn hypothesized that Josquin’s version of the text is, in fact, a combination of two poems (and not a *rondeau cinquain*), each four lines in length that divide the text in half. The first deals topically with a man’s unhappy love, whereas the second seemingly changes person, and the speaker directly addresses his lady.\(^{355}\)

*L’amy a tous*

Josquin used a *cantus firmus* in the Quinta pars that he took from *Je ne vis oncques* by either Gilles de Bins, dit Binchois or Busnoys. There is no text provided for the Quinta pars in *L’ayme a tous*. This could mean that it was played on an instrument or that the text was well know and so is not need to be written in. Fuel to the latter theory is the frequent borrowing from this same piece by various composers including two Credos by Agricola, Brumel’s *James que la*, Obrecht’s *Missa Plurimorum carminum I* (all using the tenor), Ghiselin’s *Salve regina* on the superiusm and La Rue’s *Salve regina IX*, which uses both the superius and tenor.\(^{356}\) However, the longer notes values with which it is heard here make it difficult to comprehend the words of *Je ne vis oncques* and only the first verse could be sung.

*Je ne vis oncques* ends on a ‘g’ final with a flat in the tenor part only. Which version of this *chanson* (ie. which manuscript) is the tenor used in *L’amy a tous* most like?

The text of the earlier *chanson* provides a great contrast in textual meaning from Josquin’s. Where as *Je ne vis oncques* is honest in its meaning in praising a great lady,

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\(^{355}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 40.

*L'amye a tous* is sarcastic and insults its subject in a guise of giving a compliment.

Fallows discussed the authorship of this *chanson* which is “ascribed to Dufay in Montecassino and to Binchois in the much more obviously trustworthy Nivelle: if there were no ascriptions at all, one would 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.”

It is interesting that *Je ne vis oncques la pareille* parallels Busnoys’s *C’est bien maleur*.

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*Ma bouche rit*

The manuscripts only included one phrase of the text most probably because the chanson employed a well-known text. However, Rifkin reasoned that the lack of text shows that this chanson belongs to the instrumental rather than the vocal repertoire. The critical edition shows this one line of text reiterated ad infinitum throughout the chanson, which seems unlikely to have happened in performance. The one line embodies an ironic contrast with tears on the inside, but a smile on the surface. The second half of the line of text in Okeghem’s baguette version found in Susato reads “ma pensee pleure” (my thought weeps), but the sentiment remains unchanged. Matthews suggested that the text may be intended as a pun on ‘boucherie’, meaning butcher shop.

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357 Fallows, ‘Trained and immersed in all musical delights,’ 34-36.
358 Fallows, ‘Trained and immersed in all musical delights,’ 36.
360 Thank you to Dr. Lora Mathews for sharing her suggestion with me.
There are various other 16th-century chansons with the opening text *Ma bouche rit et mon c
teur pleure*, which continue with different continuations of the text. These similar textual openings are found in the poem *debat Ma bouche... Oeul pleure*, in *Oroison* by Molinet and in yet another text used by Ockeghem.361

**Nymphes des bois**

The deplorative poem was written for Ockeghem, following his death 6 February, 1497362 by Jean Molinet (1435-1507), a poet/musician working at the Habsburg-

Burgundian court. “When Ockeghem died in 1497, two laments on his death by the French poets Guillaume Cretin and Jean Molinet call upon a number of living composers to mourn “our good father” or “our good master and father.” Josquin des Prez, who set the Molinet text to music in a work of breathtaking beauty, was subsequently referred to by numerous sixteenth-century writers as Ockeghem’s “pupil”, and Ockeghem in turn attained posthumous renown as the “teacher of Josquin”.”363

“Although motet-chansons were almost always serious in nature (and when they were not, they seemed to be poking fun at the tradition), Josquin was the first since

Ockeghem to use the genre to mourn the death of a composer, and his idea to turn Molinet’s poem into a motet-chanson via the addition of material from the Latin Introit for the Requiem mass was surely to create a connection with Ockeghem’s earlier work of mourning [*mort tu as navre de ton dart/Miserere* to Binchois].”364

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361 Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, 209 and Fallows, 263.
“Brumel” proceeds “La Rue” (perchon) in the 1545 Susato Print.365

“Although motet-chanson always have at least one Latin-texted voice, usually
drawing on plainchant set in longer note values, La Rue’s (*Plorer, gemir, crier/Requiem*)
is the only motet-chanson beside Josquin’s to use the Introit of the Requiem mass (though
their readings diverge by the time they get to ‘dona eis’.”366

Honey Meconi found it interesting that despite La Rue’s residence in the
Hapsburg-Burgundian, Josquin, whose relationship to the court remains unknown, and
not La Rue, set Molinet’s poem to music. She added that “the interpolation of an
additional line of text suggests that Josquin is not setting the work specifically at
Molinet’s instigation.”367 Which line of text Josquin added is not clear, however,
Lowinsky suggested that Josquin inserted the extra line of text, ‘Doct, élégant de corps et
non point trappé’, between Molinet’s original 7th and 8th lines when he set the text. He
continues by pointing out that Molinet never wrote a poem of thirteen lines in length.368

Other writers elegized Okeghem in memorial poems, including the French court
poet Guillaume Cretin, whose poem other composers set to music at about the same
time.369 Cretin’s lengthy poem included a segment that called on a series of living
musicians to mourn the death of the master musician, instructing them as follows:
“Agricolla, Verbonnet, Prioris / Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compere / Ne parlez
plus de joyeux chantz ne ris / Mais composez ung Ne recorderis / Pour lamerter nostre
maistre et bon pere / Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospere / Prenez Fresneau, pour

365 Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204 n. 89.
voz chantz accorder / La perte est grande et digne a recorde."  Earlier in the poem he also "presented a list of departed musicians (including Busnoys and Regis) who were to welcome the composer to heaven." Meconi notes the absence of La Rue. Another passage chastises other poets, including Moline, for not properly remembering Ockeghem: "Sus Moline, dormez vous, ou resvez? / Vos sens sont ilz si pressez ou grevez / Que ne pouez prendre papier et plume? / A quoy tient il que aujourd'hui n'estrivez / Contre la mort, et soudain n'escripevez / De Okergan quelque petit volume?" Molinet responded with two memorials for Ockeghem: the French Nymphes des bois and the Latin Johannis Obghem Epitaphium ("still a living language, but no longer anyone's native tongue, and rarely used by Moline") These poetic verses represent the only memorial poems written by Moline for an individual in no way connected to the Habsburg-Burgundian court. Furthermore, although both very short epistles, they prove to be the only instance where Moline produced more than one elegy for a person, save for his multiple memorials for Philip the Good. Molinet mimics Cretin's plea to composers still living to mourn in both poems. In Johannis Obghem Epitaphium, he names Busnoys and Regis, while in Nymphes des bois, another list appears, this time including "Josquin perchon brumel compere." Meconie noted this obvious quoting has lead in some instances to the confusion of the poems. "Literature at the time was typically interlarded with quotations or semi-quotations, borrowings, and references to earlier works, and there are various phrases that reappear in works of

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370 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203.
371 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203
372 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203.
373 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203.
374 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203.
375 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 203.
376 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 204.
377 Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 204.
mourning from as far back as the previous century; ‘nimphes des bois’, for example, is found in Deschamps’s elegy for Machaut. Certainly in ‘Nymphes des bois’ the identical order for the composers, with the substitution of ‘perchon’ for ‘Gaspar’, can leave little doubt of Molinet’s source. The line Molinet was mimicking included a composer he knew personally (Compère), a composer working at the Hasburg-Burgundian court (Gaspar, who must be Weerbeke), and the composer who was ultimately to set Molinet’s poem to music (Josquin).”

The known correspondence of the two poets some time between 1498 and 1502, and perhaps other contact, shows how it may have been that this battle of words came to pass. However, it seems strange that Molinet replaced Weerbeke for La Rue, since in 1497, the former held a more widely recognized position in court circles. Meconi suggested that perhaps Weerbeke’s departure from the court in June or July of 1498 may have ‘forced’ Molinet to include La Rue among the list of composers. If this were true, then the writing of the poem would necessarily date from after his departure. Although this is postpones the date of the poem following the death of the composer, such commemorations often appeared quite far after the event.

Meconi sites the example of Molinet’s poem, *L’Arbre de Bourgonne sus la mort du duc Charles* (9 April, 1498), for Charles the Bold, which the poet wrote almost ten years after the death of the duke in 1477. A later date for the composition of the elegy also provides a better reason for Molinet’s inclusion of La Rue, since his fame was starting to spread. Meconi suggested one more alternative - that at a later date only ‘Perchon’ (La

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378 Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204.
380 Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204.
Rue) replaced ‘Gaspar’ because of La Rue’s growing musical reputation.\textsuperscript{384} With the earliest date of only 1512 for the poetic sources, all of these hypotheses remain possible. The manuscript collection of poems, BNF fr. 24315, containing \textit{Nymphes des bois}, also finds Crétin’s \textit{deploration} for Braconnier in the same hand as the former. Therefore, with Braconnier’s death occurring only in 1512, these entries into this manuscript cannot date from before this time.\textsuperscript{385}

Some musicologists identify La Rue with ‘pierchon’ named among the other composers in the second line of the second stanza.\textsuperscript{386} Furthermore, some musicologists hypothesize that the composers listed studied under Okeghem.\textsuperscript{387}

Different spellings are apparent in the different sources.\textsuperscript{388}

The original poem by Jean Molinet c.1498 (BNF f. 24315, fo. 96r) reads as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Nymphes des boys deesses des fontaines
Chantres expers de toutes nations
Changez voz vois fort cleres et haultaines
En cris trenchantz et lamentations
Car atropos tres terrible satrape
A vostre Okgam atrape en sa trape
Vray tresorier de musique et chef doeuvre
Grand dommage est que la terre le coeuvre
Acoutrez vous dhabitz de doceul
Josquin perchon brumel compere
Et pleurez grosses larmes doeil
Perdu avez vostre bon pere
Requiescat in pace
Amen
\end{verbatim}

Nymphes of the woods, goddesses of the fountains,
Expert singers of all nations,
Change your strong, clear, lofty voices
Into trenchant cries and lamentations,

\textsuperscript{384} Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.  
\textsuperscript{385} Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.  
\textsuperscript{386} Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 219.  
\textsuperscript{387} Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 219 and other books.  
\textsuperscript{388} Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 287.
Because Atropos, terrible satrap,
Has caught your Ockeghem in his trap.
True treasurer of music and masterpiece,
Great loss it is that the earth covers him!
Clothe yourselves in mourning,
Josquin, perxon, Brumel, Compère,
And cry great tears from your eyes;
You have lost your good father.
May he rest in peace.
Amen.\textsuperscript{389}

\textit{Plusieurs regretz}

Brus 228 contains an anonymous setting of this same text. Picker also refered to another \textit{chanson} with a differing first line, but with the identical concluding four lines of text.\textsuperscript{390}

\textbf{Text Setting}

\textit{Motivicity}

My analysis has shown that there seem to be reoccurring motivic traits common to many of the pieces within Josquin’s repertoire. These include ascending and descending scale passages; two or three repeated notes, usually commencing on the second note of the motive; and dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The motives overall tend to be constructed with mainly stepwise motion with few large leaps, and if there are any leaps, these tend to be counteracted with scale passages.

\textsuperscript{389} Copied from Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 287 with here expansion of abbreviations and sometimes modernized spelling along with her translation.
\textsuperscript{390} Jeffery, ‘The Literary Texts of Josquin’s Chansons’, 418.
4-Note Motives

The four-note motive is the most prevalent trait showing a commonality between many of the *chansons*. Although others such as Bernstein have noted this phenomenon, none until now havetracked the motives in a systematic manner as I have attempted to do. The reason for doing this in an organized way is to be able to catorgorize and define characteristics of the repertoire as a whole and to advance our understanding of how the motives fit together to form the backbone of the music.

Four-note motives only work with *chanson* texts where there are 10 syllables per line with a caesura after the fourth syllable. Often, at least one of the voices will have a rest after the fourth syllable of the line immediately before the caesura, which gives more weight to the idea of treating the first four syllables of a line and the last six syllables as having separate musical motives. *Parfons regretz* provides an example of this:

Figure 2: 4-Note Motive in *Parfons regretz*

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\[\text{Af - - fin qu'en dueil}\]
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*Parfons regretz*: Contratenor mm. 47–49

Alternately, sometimes the syllable immediately preceding the caesura receives a long note value.\(^{391}\)

Derivatives of these 4-note motives are apparent where extra notes have been added to one of the syllables, typically on either the second, third or forth beat. Those on the fourth beat are essentially conventional melismatic phrase endings, such as those seen in *Faute d'argent*, *Nymphes des bois*, *Douleur me bat*, *Ma bouche rit*, and *Incessament*

\(^{391}\) Congleton.
livré suis. Sometimes these 4-note motive derivatives first appear as a 4-note motive and then afterwards in either elaborated form or with an added melisma. This is the case in *Plusieurs regretz, Douleur me bat*, and *Parfons regretz* (at the beginning).

Figure 3: 4-Note Motive in *Plusieurs regretz*

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*Cent mille regretz* provides an interesting twist to the typical 4-note motive.

There are the normal ten syllables in the first line of text with the caesura after the fourth beat, however, the pronunciation of the ‘-le’ in ‘mille’ makes it seem like there are five syllables. The musical motive reflects the pronunciation and, therefore, contains five notes that in turn change the flow of the line. The rest of the *chanson* continues with the expected 4-note motives.

It should be noted that those *chansons* that do not contain lines of ten syllables with a caesura still demonstrate an attention to the syllabification, and the music is text-based.

**Similar Motivic Ideas Among Chansons**

Blackburn highlighted Josquin’s fondness for imitative descending lines in quarter notes in *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* (mm. 51-70), *Plusieurs regretz* (mm. 47-end), *Faulle d’argent* (mm. 12-24), *Du mien amant* (mm. 32-34), and *Parfons regretz*. 
(mm. 46-60). \(^{392}\) “This is the type of theme that Josquin likes to use for the last or the
penultimate phrase.” \(^{393}\)

**Figure 4: A Common Descending Motive in *Je ne me puis***

![Musical notation]

*Je ne me puis* - Superius, mm. 51-54.

**Figure 5: A Common Descending Motive in *Parfons regertz***

![Musical notation]

*Parfons Regertz* - Superius, mm. 43-49.

**Homophonic or Polyphonically Opening Texture**

After examining the individual motives, the next line of attack in my analysis is to
address how Josquin assembled these motives to form the structure of the *chansons*. By
looking in particular at the openings of each piece, I have observed whether the motives
create a homophonic or polyphonic texture. From these observations, we are beginning
to get a glimmer of how Josquin conceived of these compositions.

**Homophonic**

The Superius and Contratenor create a homophonic opening for *Cent mille*
*regertz*, and although the Tenor and Bassus enter homophonically as the first two voices
end their initial motive, the other voices join the texture with staggered entries, therefore,
creating an overall polyphonic texture from that point (mm.3).

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\(^{392}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 39 n. 32.

\(^{393}\) Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 39 n. 32.
The homophonic openings of *Cœur langoureux*, *Mi lâres vous tousjours languir*, *En non sachant*, *Du mien amant*, and *Nymphes des bois* have the participation of three voices. *Cœur langoureux* begins homophonically with the participation of the Superius, Contratenor and Bassus. Nonetheless, the next motivic entry occurs very soon after at the beginning of mm. 3. *Mi lâres vous tousjours languir* begins homophonically with the Superius, Contratenor and Quinta Pars leading the first motivic segment, in which the next voice, the Tenor, enters at the beginning of mm.3. The Contratenor, Quinta pars and Bassus harmonize the opening of *En non sachant* before the voices break into polyphony with the entry of the Superius in the middle of mm.2. The Superius, Bassus and Contratenor open *Du mien amant* homophonically, with the remaining voices entering staggered with the motive starting on the downbeat of mm. 3, as the last note of the 4-note motive is sounding in the opening three voices. Although the Contratenor delays its initial entry, it still remains in sync with the Superius and Bassus and does not disturb the homophonic feel of the opening. The Superius, Contratenor and Tenor enter together at the beginning of *Nymphes des bois* with the all voices moving homophonically despite the fact that the Tenor houses the *cantus firmus* and thus has a different text. In the opening, the *cantus firmus* participates in the motivicity, or rather, Josquin uses it as the basis for the motivicity. The second section of this *chanson* (mm.111) begins homophonically with all but the Tenor participating.

Josquin gave *Cueurs desolez* a mainly homophonic opening with all voices participating, with the exceptions of the Quinta Pars containing the *cantus firmus*. Although the Tenor enters with the other voices at the opening, it extends its first note so that it displaces the remainder of the motive, creating a slight bit of polyphony although
this merely creates a slight juxtaposition and does not really distract from the overall homophonic sound of the few opening measures. Although the cantus firmus provides the basis for some of the motivicity later in the piece, it does not participate at the outset of this piece. Polyphonic motivicity only truly begins with the entrance of the Superius, with the second half of the first line of text, and accompanied by a new motive.

**Polyphonic**

The Superius commences the polyphonic opening of *N’esse pas ung grant* desplaisir with the Bassus entering half a bar later. The Contratenor commences the polyphonic opening of *Douleur me bat* with the Superius entering half a bar later. *Parfons regretz* opens polyphonically led by the Contratenor and the Tenor, who, although they enter together, have different rhythms that result in the syllables not sounding together. The next motivic voice enters in mm. 3.

Although *Faute d’argent* and *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* both have polyphonic opening, they continue homophonically. Polyphony opens *Faute d’argent* with the Bassus leading the motivicity to be followed half a bar later by the Tenor. Despite this, the Superius, entering after the Bassus and Tenor parts, comes in simultaneously with the Bassus, moving homophonically with one another at the end of mm. 5. The Contratenor commences the polyphonic opening of *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer*. However, the next voices to enter, the Superius and Quinta Pars, do so simultaneously and continue homophonically.

A voice other than the main leading voice takes the lead at the opening polyphony in *Plusieurs regretz, Incessament livé suis, Plaine de deuil, L’amye a tous, Je ne me*
puis tenir d’aimer. Je me complains, Ma bouche rit, and Incessament mon pove cuer lamente. The Superius leads the polyphonic opening of Plusieurs regretz with the next voice entering half a bar later. Although the Superius takes the lead at the beginning of chanson, the Tenor part mainly bears this responsibility the majority of the time. Unexpectedly, the Bassus leads the opening polyphonic motivicity in Incessament livé suis, a chanson in which the Tenor leads all other motivic entries, although on two occasions accompanied by other voices to fulfill this role. Interestingly, the Tenor voice leads the polyphonic opening of Plaine de dueil since, for the remainder of the chansons, the Quinta Pars is the exclusive leader of the motivicity. L’amye a tous begins polyphonically with all the voices immediately participating in the motivicity, except for the Quinta Pars, containing the cantus firmus and which remains independent from the motivic texture. The Quinta Pars does however begin the piece simultaneously with the leading motivic Contratenor voice, with the Tenor entering only half a bar later. An unusual feature of the opening of this chanson is a single note, ‘d’, separated from the next entry by a rest, which appears in the Bassus on the downbeat of the first bar of the piece. The syllable ‘La’ accompanies the lone note in Bessler’s complete edition. This solitary ‘d’ seems to serve no purpose, as it doubles the note sung in the Quinta Pars, and it is useless for the purposes of text underlay. The Contratenor leads the polyphonic opening of Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer with the Quinta Pars and Superius entering on the downbeat of the next bar. Je me complains opens polyphonically with the Contratenor leading the initial motivicity with the Tenor entering half a bar later. Although all six of the voices but the Bassus and Contratenor enter together to open Ma bouche rit, the rhythm of the note values results in a polyphonic texture, with voice parts staggering the
enunciation of the syllables. The Contratenor then joins the texture half a bar later.

*Incessament mon povere cœur lamente* begins polyphonically with the Superius and Tenor leading together. The longer first note of the Superius, however, displaces the motive so that they appear staggered, and the next motivic voice enters in mm. 3.

**Leading Voice(s) of the Motivicity**

The reason for my analysis of which voice leads the motivicity was prompted by a question of the role of each voice-part and whether any hierarchy existed in this new compositional style. Although nothing conclusive has resulted from this particular part of my analysis, I have however included my observations as they may still prove useful when at a later time juxtaposed with other musical details. Furthermore, the question of the hierarchy of voices still remains unanswered in this context.

The Superius or a group of three or four voices lead most of the motivicity in *Cœur langoureux* with the exception of one entry led by the Contratenor and another by the Bassus. The Superius is included in all but one of the aforementioned groupings. The Contratenor leads most of the motivicity in *Mia rès vous toujours languir*, with the Quinta Pars taking over the role on one occasion and with the opening motivic segment of the piece lead by a group, including the Contratenor, Quinta Pars and Superius.

Bassus serves as the main leading voice for motivicity in *Faute d’argent* and *Parfans regretz*. In *Faute d’argent*, the Bassus mainly leads the motivicity, although it is led also once by each of the Superius and Contratenor parts and twice by the tenor joining the Bassus. The leading Bassus is also sometimes paired with the tenor. My revised text underlay facilitated the identification of the leading voice. The Bassus leads
most of the motivicity in *Parfons regretz*, with the exception of one entry led by the Tenor, one by the Contratenor, and one by a Contratenor and Tenor pairing. This last opens the piece.

The second Superius (or Altus) leads every motivic entry in *Cueurs desolez*. Tenor leads the majority of the motivic entries in *Cent mille regretz, Plusieurs regretz*, and *Incessament livré suis*. The Tenor voice mainly leads the motivicity in *Cent mille regretz*, with Contratenor taking over this duty on one occasion. Two pairs, one (the Superius and Contratenor) and another (the Contratenor and Bassus), also take a turn to lead. The Tenor leads the motivicity for the most part in *Plusieurs regretz*, however the Superius leads the first motivic entry at the beginning of the *chanson* and again once more later in the piece. Also the Contratenor leads once and a Superius and Bassus combination also takes a turn. The Tenor leads almost all motivity in *Incessament livré suis*, although it is joined by other voices on two occasions, once by the Superius and once by the both the Bassus and Superius. The only time that the Tenor does not take this role occurs at the opening of the piece, where the Bassus takes control.

The Quinta Pars leads all the motivic enteries in *Plaine de dueil*, with the exception of the first one, led by the Tenor.

Several of the voices share the responsibility of leading the motivicity in *Douleur me bat, N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir, L’amye a tous, Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, Je me complains, Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, Du mien amant, En non saichant, Incessament mon povere cueyr lamente, Nymphes des bois*, and *Ma bouche rit*. The Superius leads the motivicity most often in *Douleur me bat*, with the Tenor also leading three times and the Contratenor twice. These three voices also lead the motivicity as a
group on two occasions. The Superius or Tenor mainly lead the moticity in *N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir*, with a Tenor and Contratenor pairing and a group consisting of the Tenor, Contratenor and Bassus taking a turn to lead. The Tenor and Contratenor lead independently most of the moticity in *L’amye a tous*, with the Superius occasionally leading a segment. Several voices lead the motivicy in *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer*, with the Superius doing so three times, the Contratenor twice, and the Bassus and Quinta Pars each once. Furthermore, a Contratenor and Quinta Pars pairing and a Superius and Tenor pairing each lead the moticity once. The Tenor and Contratenor lead mainly the motivity of *Je me complains*, with Superius occasionally taking on that role. There are also several instances of two or more voices leading together. The Contratenor most often leads the moticity in *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer*, but with the Superius, Bassus and Quinta Pars all taking their turn and with one instance of the paired Superius and Tenor. The paired Contratenor and Tenor frequently lead the moticity in *Du mien amant*, however the Tenor and Superius pairing also take a turn to lead, as well as one occurrence of the paired Superius and Bassus and once a grouping of Contratenor, Bassus and Tenor. All voices lead the moticity at various points in *En non saichant*, with the Contratenor and Superius individually taking their turns, while the other leading motivic entries involve more than one voice and as many as four. Bad text underlay in the critical edition of *Incessament mon povre cuer lamente* making it more challenging to resolve which voice leads the motivity in a given phrase or segment. However, with my adjustments to the text underlay, I have determined that the Tenor leads the moticity on four occasions, the Bassus on three and the Superius once. Furthermore, pairings of Superius and Tenor, Contratenor and Quinta Pars, and Contratenor and Bassus each take
a turn at leading the motivicity. The Superius, Quinta Pars or the paired Contratenor and Bassus lead most of the motivicity in the first half of *Nymphes des bois*, with the Contratenor taking the lead on two occasions and the Bassus on one. Also, three voices share the lead on two different occasions, once involving the Superius, Contratenor and Tenor and the other including once again the Superius and Contratenor, but this time joined by the Quinta Pars. All but the Tenor voices begin the motivicity together twice in the second section of this *chanson*, and on one occasion all the voices enter together. The Superius leads all three remaining entries save one, led by the Contratenor. The lack of text, with the first line of poetry repeated ad infinitum in *Ma bouche rit*, makes it a challenge to analyze which voices leads the motivicity. Whereas in the other *chansons*, the lines of text aid to determine approximately where a motivic second begins and ends. However, without the text as reference, the task becomes more arduous because it is difficult to tell when a motive maybe part of a first motivic section or simply one that Josquin has carried over to a second and separate section that may even overlap with the first. The six-part version of this *chanson* further complicates all these problems.

‘Codettas’

As I analyzed the *chansons* by way of motivicity, I began to notice trends or rather confusion with regard to how to approach the end of the piece. I would often see that motives returned which had previously appeared much earlier in the composition. I also noticed that often, the final line of text repeated and that a cadence sometimes divided this from the rest of the piece. I have named these distinct conclusive sections apparent in some of the repertoire ‘codettas.’
Douleur me bat, Incessament mon poyre cuer lamente, N’essee pas ung grant
desplaisir. Parfons regretz all have what I call ‘codettas.’

Cadences define and separate some of these codettas from the rest of the chanson. The codettas may be composed of exact repetition of previous musical phrases, collages of previously heard motives, a mixture of reused and new motives, or completely new motives. Several also use homophony to further characterize the ending, a musical device reminiscent of ‘amen’ used for many compositions for the church. The following are examples from Josquin’s repertoire showing various codettas.

Douleur me bat cadences at mm. 45, separating the main body of the chanson from the extended codetta lasting from mm. 45-62. mm. 45-53 exactly replicate mm 37-45 both in text and in music.

Figure 6: Cadence Before the Codetta in Douleur me bat
The codetta of *N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir* starts at mm. 35 after a cadence on ‘D’, the forth of the mode. This codetta reiterates the second half of the last line of text. In contrast to the independence of the line found previously throughout the *chanson*, in the final 5 measures (starting at mm. 40), all voices but the Quinta Pars, which is holding a single note A, are sung in homophony.

**Figure 7: Cadence Before the Codetta in *N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir***

The second, repeated cadence in the codetta section of *Douleur me bat*, at mm. 53, ushers in the final restatement of the last six syllables of text with new motivic material, with the exception of the motive in the Tenor (mm. 53-55) taken from the Bassus just preceding, but part of the larger segment of repeated material. This creates a sense of overlap between these two seemingly separate sections of the codetta.
Josquin forms the codetta of *Incessament mon pove cueur lamente* from the repetition of the second half of the last line of text, the music for which uses both new and previously heard motives.

*Parfons regretz* has a codetta that repeats the final line of text to different music. It has a mixture of new motives as well as two returning motives. One of these, first heard previously in the Contratenor (mm. 49-52), returns in the codetta in the Tenor (mm. 62-67), and the other, heard earlier in the Countratenor (mm. 14-17) reoccurs in a slightly altered form in the Superius (mm. 63-67).

The lines of text are often repeated, so that the repetition of the second half of the final line of text comes as no surprise, and this device cannot be seen as distinguishing
this last segment as codetta or concluding section. Instead, single iterations of four previously heard motives are introduced into the texture, which also includes a new motive exclusive to this closing segment.

**Chansons Without a ‘Codetta’**

None of the following *chansons* end with a codetta: *Cueurs desolez, Cuer langoreulx, Je me complains, Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, L’amy e a tous, Ma bouche rit, Mi larés vous tousjours languir*

Since these *chansons* have no codettas, how do they conclude? An increase in rhythmic speed, or ornamentation or some other stylistic feature seems to add interest to the closing measures of these pieces. Again, it must be seen whether these final sections contain new or previously heard material.

In *Cueurs desolez*, the last line of text repeats in its entirety, however there is no actual cadencial division in the music to create a codetta section.

Josquin concludes *Cueur langoreulx* by slightly extending the final line of text for emphasis, while the Superius holds its final note for a surprisingly long 10 bars.

A constant quarter note beat in the Tenor and Bassus (mm. 53-55) add interest to the closing phrase of *Je me complains*.

**Figure 11: Quarter Notes at the Close of Je me complain**

![Figure 11: Quarter Notes at the Close of Je me complaint](image-url)

*Je me complains, Tenor mm. 53-57*
Josquin forms the final phrase of text and music of *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer* partially from previously heard material, including two motives taken from the first phrase of the *chanson*, one first heard in the Contratenor (mm. 57-58) and subsequently reoccurring in the two following phrases of text in the same voice. This final phrase also has a new motive all its own.

Although *L'amye a tous* has no codetta, the final lines of text, like the other preceding ones, repeats, elaborated in its final iteration by a slightly extended melisma in the Contratenor (mm. 79-81).

In *Ma bouche rit*, a dense repetition of short 4- and 5-note motives and a long
held final note in the Superius solidify the end of the chanson.

The texts of the second, third and final lines of *Mi larés vous tousjours languir* are repeated, though the last one only in two voices. A time signature change emphasises the first occurrence of the final line of text with its singular entry in the Tenor part at mm. 28-29. Following this, in mm. 32, there is a moment of homophony on the persistent penultimate line of text, ending in mm. 33 with a cadence on G, the modal final. This final segment, mm. 33-43, cannot be seen as a codetta because although the final line of text has already appeared, it has only done so very sparsely in the texture, occurring only in the Tenor (mm.28-29) and Contratenor (mm. 30-33) parts.

Figure 15: Time Signature Change at the Close of *Mi larés vous tousjours languir*

![Time Signature Change](image)

*Mi larés vous tousjours languir* - Tenor mm. 28-9

Figure 16: The Final Text at the Close of *Mi larés vous tousjours languir*

![Final Text](image)

*Mi larés vous tousjours languir* - Contratenor mm. 30-33

**Vertical Motivic Projection**

Looking at how Josquin projected the motivicity points to how he assembled his intricate web of motives to create his compositions.

*L’amy a tous, Cœurs desolez, Cent mille regretz, Du mien amant, En non

saichant, Faute d’argent, Mi larés vous tousjours languir*, and *Nymphes des bois* all
project motivicity mainly vertically, but also horizontally as well. *L’amye a tous* finds
the motivicity projected mainly vertically, yet with instances of motivic repetition within
a voice (Contratenor mm. 61-64). In *Cœurs desolez*, the motivicity is mainly projected
vertically; however, there are also instances where it is horizontal. In the Bassus mm. 13-
19, for example, the same motive repeats three times in a row, each time to the same text.
This motive is also found elsewhere in other voices, so that it also functions vertically as
well as horizontally. *Cent mille regretz*, although mainly motivically projected
vertically, in mm. 29-40 of the Superius, the motive repeats accompanying the same line
of text.

**Motivicity and Rhyme Scheme**

Do the same or relative motives reoccur in lines with the same end rhyme? Macey
suggests that Josquin does try to observe this in his setting of the motet-chanson,
*Nymphes, nappés*.\(^394\)

**Text Underlay as Clarified by Motivicity**

Accurate text underlay is of extreme importance as it has implications for issues
of text expression, which will be discussed later, since it could lead to a faulty musical
analysis.\(^395\) In the section dealing with text expression, we will begin to see how it might
be critical for the text and music to correctly line-up.

There are still other necessary corrections to be made to the text underlay in the
critical edition. When determining the definitive text underlay, motives can sometimes

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\(^394\) Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*’, 410.
\(^395\) Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara,” 579.
provide a key. Also, textual repetition patterns (repetition of text to use up the notes in
the music) could perhaps be determined from looking at the repertoire as a whole? The
following are some of my suggested changes to the text underlay of the critical edition
based on several different criteria.

The text underlay for the Bassus from mm. 46 to the conclusion of *Cent mille
regretz* needs correction in the edition, a change made more obvious by motivic analysis.

**Figure 17: Changes to the Text Underlay Required in *Cent mille regretz***

\[\text{Figure 17: Changes to the Text Underlay Required in *Cent mille regretz*}\\
\text{que mort sou - dai - ne,}\\
\text{Puis - quil est for - ce}\\
\text{Cent mille regretz. Bassus mm. 46-7}\]

The motivic patterns suggest several changes to the text underlay of *Faute d'argent* such
as in the Bassus part at mm. 26-29.

**Figure 18: Changes in the Text Underlay Required in *Faute d'argent***

\[\text{Figure 18: Changes in the Text Underlay Required in *Faute d'argent*}\\
\text{se ie le dis, se ie le dis,}\\
\text{las ie scay bien pour - quoy}\\
\text{Faute d'argent. Bassus mm. 26-29}\]

**Voice Range**

The number of exceptionally narrow voice ranges in this repertoire, revealed
through my analysis, came to me as a surprise. Perhaps a small range in one of the voices
made composing easier so as to avoid overlapping or crossing of voices with the addition of a new fifth voice to the musical texture, previously predominantly only four voices. Motivic compository method also plays a role in this since the motives themselves have very narrow ranges. Perhaps the *chanson* with an interval of a 5th as the range for one or more of the voices could be seen as highlighting the growing importance of interval of a dominant to tonic relationship as music begins to demonstrate hints that it's moving from the modal world to a tonal language.

Within this repertoire, there are five *chansons* with at least one voice having a narrow range, and of these, two *chansons* have two voice parts each with a small range. *Incessament livré suis* is the one and only case in this repertoire with as small a voice range as a fourth, whereas all the others mentioned here have a range of a fifth. There are three instances of these small voice ranges found in the Quinta pars, including in *Plusieurs regretz*, *Je me complains*, and *Incessament livré suis*. There are two other examples of the voice range of a fifth in superius parts in *Je me complains* and *Parfons regretz*, and whereas *Plusieurs regretz*, *Douleur me bat*, and *Nymphes des bois* have the voice range of the fifth in their Tenor parts. In the case of *Nymphes des bois*, the Tenor is a *cantus firmus* taken from a Requiem introit. The small voice range in the latter case of an introit would seem logical.

The *chansons* having a voice range covering the interval of a 5th include the Tenor in *Douleur me bat* and *Nymphes des bois*; the Superius and Quinta in *Je me complains*; the Quinta and Tenor in *Plusieurs regretz*; and the Superius in *Parfons regretz*. The only *chanson* with a voice spanning no more than the interval of a 4th is the Quinta Pars in *Incessament livré suis*. 
Bass Function

It is in the Baroque era of music that the harmonic function came to rely on and be grounded on the bass voice of the musical texture. In medieval ages and the time of the Renaissance, the musicians assigned the Tenor part the most important role in music. The medievalists always assigned the *cantus firmus* to the Tenor part, around which they would compose the rest of the voices to form the piece. The question still remains as to the exact point in musical history at which the transition from the modal to the tonal system began. Certainly modal traits still remain in the Baroque music of Bach, for example, and I would suggest that in the repertoire studied here, glimmers of tonal conception begin to appear but do not seem to progress any further. Continuing with this line of questioning, theorists and musicologists ask when the bass part became the bearer of harmonic function as opposed to the Tenor. *Plaine de doulz, Plusieurs regretz*, and *Incessament livre sui* show traces of an increasing awareness of the Bass voice for carrying a harmonic function.

In *Plusieurs regretz*, it appears as though an extra note is placed in the Bassus part after the voice has completed a motive in measure 25. The voices cadence with the support of what looks like a typical V-I bass movement of harmonic music writing. At this moment, the Tenor part is in the middle of sounding a motive.

In *Incessament livre sui*, the Bassus bears harmonic function at mm. 30-32. Here, the Tenor part remains silent.
Mode

The following sections discuss mode, in the context of Gregorian Sacred Chant, then polyphony, and secular polyphony. A thorough examination of the concept of mode is necessary in order to understand the musical milieu in which the repertoire was composed and to be able to perform proper analysis of the material. For an accurate study we need to know as much as possible about how Josquin approached and thought about his composing. For example, we need to know whether Josquin’s choice of mode was a conscious one. Therefore, I address here the composer’s modal selection, as well as methods of modal determination by modern-day theorists. ‘The Determination of Mode Assignment of Josquin’s Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire’ is the key segment of this section, forming the basis for later analysis.
**What is Mode?**

Opinions on the modal system differ drastically among theorists. Brown asserted that “we should stop thinking about polyphonic modality in the sixteenth century as a general and mutually agreed upon theory, valid at all times and places during a hundred years, and begin instead to investigate the application of particular modal principles to individual repertories, which embody particular kinds of sixteenth-century tonality.”

All these discrepancies make the analyst’s job all the more difficult.

**The Composers Choice of Mode: What the Theorists Say**

*The present conception of the eight musical modes*

We consider scarcely any other part of music equally worthy of explanation, equally pleasant, as the one which we are about to discuss now, the treatment of musical modes. For this is so in agreement with human nature that it seems naturally ingrained in many men, very useful not only for passing judgement on each song, but also for properly arranging the verses of poets, and most helpful in understanding many passages in distinguished composers.

Choice of mode seems to be intimately connected with the concept of modal ethos.

Little is known about how and why composers selected particular modes for specific works, especially for freely composed pieces that do not make use of pre-existent musical material such as plainchant. However, it is unlikely that the choice of mode was haphazard. To judge from; Josquin’s own music, mode was sometimes suggested by the mood and subject matter of the words. More specifically, in Josquin’s own mind the ‘mi’ modes with finals of E (modes 3 and 4) were regarded as especially suited for texts of lamentation and sorrow.

Although theorists advise careful selection of the mode of their composition, based on the text they choose to set to music, they omit explaining the practical steps for making such a decision. Palisca, in his article on ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance’, gives an historical overview of what theorists have discussed on the topic.

Around the last years of the fifteenth century, we begin to read in the music manuals that a polyphonic composition should conform in mood to the subject of the text, and that the best means

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397 Glarean, 68.
to this end is to choose an appropriate mode (Gaffurio 1496, Bk. 3, Ch.15). About 1540 the
choice of mode was considered decisive by at least two authors - Matteo Nardo (fol. 57v) and
Giovanni del Lago (1540, section 39) - who said that the first thing a composer should do is to
study the text or other subject and on that basis choose the mode of the composition. After the
middle of the sixteenth century, the theoretical literature was quite consistent in demanding that a
composer fashion a work in a mode suitable to the subject. 399

The obvious reason for this careful attention to the choice of mode results from a
renewed interest in ancient Greek culture.

**Mode in the Context of Secular Polyphony**

Although mode seems of importance according to the theorists, it is not until
Aaron that there is any reference to it in the context of secular polyphony. Therefore, we
must ask if mode is indeed important in secular music, and if so, is it as important as it is
for sacred music?

Even in his secular music, the careful selection of mode for expressive reasons
seems to be a logical step for a composer such as Josquin who paid such close attention
to detail and emotional content, but is this what actually occurred? We must look at the
possibility of such a conscious selection in a later section by examining clues in the
music itself. Before this however, we must first review the complex subject of modal
identification and examine how humanism may enter may play into the discussion

**Identification of the Mode of a Composition**

The determination of the mode of a given piece proves the largest hurdle to
overcome when discussing mode in a polyphonic context. The theorists, editors of
printed volumes and manuscript copyists frequently confuse their modal assignations and

399 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 126.
between these groups there are no consistencies for determining the mode of any given piece. Pietro Aaron’s *Trattato della natura et cognizione di tutti gli tuoni di canto figurato non da altrui piu scritti*, published in Venice in 1525, provides the first extensive treatise on dealing with modes in a polyphonic context. Brown cited two examples of differing opinions on modal designation between musicians. Aaron assigned pieces ending on ‘d’ to modes 1 or 2, whereas Attaignant’s editor may do the same or may rather instead consign them to modes 7 or 8. Again, with pieces ending on ‘c’, Aaron allocated them to modes 5, 7 or 8, whereas Attaignant’s editor confined them only to modes 7 or 8. Brown noted how these differing views show separate trends and practices, demonstrating that a common procedure had not yet been established.

Glarean explained his method of modal identification by means of intervals commonly used:

*Concerning the common understanding of the modes.*

Songs can be understood thoroughly from a certain background to be gained, as the philosophers day, through certain rather easy and entirely common rules, which however, because they aid the memory and have been propounded by teachers not unskilful in this art, certainly should not be neglected. And they are of this sort: Songs of the first mode frequently leap from re to la. Examples are *Gaudeamus omnes*, *Salve regina*, *Ave maris stella*. Songs of the second mode leap from re to fa. Examples are *Salve sancta parens*, *Terribilis est*, *Emendemus in melius*. Songs of the third mode move from mi to fa, which is a sixth away from it, as in *Pange lingua*, *Discibuit Jesus*, *Omnia queae fecisti nobis domine*. Songs in the fourth mode move from mi to la. Examples are *Tota pulchra es*, *Resurrexi*, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*. Songs in the fifth mode move from mi to sol. Examples are *O saecum*, *Regnum mundi*, *Illuminare Jerusalem*. Songs in the sixth mode move from fa to la. Examples are *O quam admirabile*, *Homo quidam fecit*. Songs in the seventh mode move from ut to sol. Examples are *Puer natus est nobis*, *Viri Galilaei*, *Summae Trinitatis*. Songs of the eighth mode move from ut to fa. Examples are *Veni sancte Spiritus*, *Spiritus domini*, *Besper autem sabbati*.  

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403 Glarean, 71. Please note that bold was added to the text by myself.
The Determination of Mode Assignation of Josquin's Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire

Perkins noted that in his manuscript examination of the Nivelle Chansonnier, the tenor and cantus define the closing cadences in the majority of the 66 chansons housed therein.⁴⁰⁴ Conflicting clefs with, for example, one voice with a flat and perhaps a second voice with two, further complicate the determination of mode.

Occasions when the tenor has a pluperfect range, meaning that the range extends beyond the usual limits of the central octave without covering the added range of fourth or fifth, have been noted.⁴⁰⁵ "Were the range to be expanded to that extent, the result could be seen as a modal mixture, the combination within a single voice or part of the characteristic octaves of both the authentic and the plagal modes based on the same final." ⁴⁰⁶ An ‘irregular’ designation entails one of two things. Either that the final sonority was transposed to determine the mode⁴⁰⁷ or, as in the case of Cœur desolez, a ‘b’ flat key signature appears with an ‘f’ final. In the later situation, no transposition is possible since there is no C mode and, therefore, the mode is defined as an irregular F authentic.

My modal assignation, upon which I base further analysis and discussion, has resulted in my dividing the repertoire in question as follows:

Mode 1
Cent Mille Regretz, Mi l'ares vous toujours languir, Plusieurs Regretz, Parfons

Regretz, Cœur langoreux are in authentic D mode (mode 1). Plaine de dueil is also in mode 1, however, in the version of the chanson in Brussels 228, all parts have a ‘b’ flat,

changing the mode to the plagal E mode (mode 4). *Faulxe d’argent* provides an exception to the rules of flats for determining mode. It has a ‘b’ flat in all parts, which would normally require the ‘d’ final to be a transposed A mode. However, because there is no A mode, it is considered to be in the authentic D mode.

**Mode 2**

*Incessament livré suis, En non saichant, Je me complains, Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer, N’essee pas unggrant desplaisir, L’ameye a tous* are in plagal D mode (mode 2).

**Mode 3**

*Nymphes des bois, Ma bouche rit,* and *Du mien amant* are in authentic E mode (mode 3).

**Mode 4**

*Douluer me bat* is the only one of Josquin’s 5-voice *chansons* in plagal E mode (mode 4).

**Mode 5**

*Cueur desolez* is an irregular authentic F mode (mode 5), where there is a ‘b’ flat key signature that would normally require the final to be transposed; however, there is no C mode, therefore, the ‘f’ final defines the mode as F authentic.\(^{408}\)

**Mode 8**

*Incessament mon povere cueur* the only *chanson* of this repertoire in plagal G mode (mode 8).

\(^{408}\) Tinctoris, in his *De natura* Ch.8, explains this exception and designation.
Origins of the Concept of Modal Affect: What is Modal Affect or Ethos?

‘Modal Affect’ has to do with the emotional reaction that compositions in a certain mode could supposedly elicit from the musical audience. Its applicability to this time period and repertoire forms the central question under discussion. The main question at hand is whether Josquin consciously decided to compose a piece in a certain mode for emotional reasons. This is an easy enough question to ask, but finding an answer is far from straightforward. I will start with a discussion of the applicability of the concept of humanism to this repertoire, followed by a similar dialogue with regards to the concept of modal affect, and will then end with a more general commentary about text expression in Josquin’s five-voice chansons.

Modal Affect and its Relationship to Humanism

Why does the topic of humanism come into play here? The reason that I address it is to evaluate its relevance to this repertoire. To do this, humanism must be examined on several different levels: the poet, the poem, the musician, the genre, and the individual pieces. Classical references in the text do not necessarily equate to humanism. Likewise, emotional musical content does not correspond to humanism. Difficulty in determining if a poet and his works are humanist is often a topic for debate, nor is the case of the musician and his oeuvre anymore clearcut. For poetical discussions, I rely heavily on literary scholars. For musical analysis of this question, I turn to the theorists
of the time and to specific musical observations. My work here only touches the surface of this discussion.

**Definition and Historical Background**

‘Humanism’, a term, which at present refers to an emphasis on human values, finds its origins in the Renaissance terms *humanist* and *humanities*, which signify a return to the study of Ancient Greece.\(^{409}\) Indeed, the essence of Humanism is found in its imitation of Ancient Greek concepts. Kristeller describes

> a humanist was a professor or student of the *studia humanitatis*, of the humanities...
>
> And the *studia humanitatis*, although the term was borrowed from ancient authors and was consciously adopted for a programmatic stress on the human and educational values of the studies thus designated, had stood ever since the early 15\(^{th}\) century for a well defined cycle of teaching subjects listed as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy, all of them to be based on the reading of the classical Greek and Latin authors.\(^{410}\)

Kristeller explained that this group of humanistic disciplines held a central position in the Italian Renaissance, whose influence extended to other regions.\(^{411}\) She continued by explaining the origin of the word itself:

> It seems that “humanist,” probably coined in the slang of university students, designated a professional teacher of the humanities, and that “humanities,” or *studia humanitatis*, was understood to include such subjects as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. This well-defined cycle of studies consisted, in other words, of the subjects that would train a student to speak and write well, both in prose and in verse and primarily in Latin (which was still the accepted language of the schools and of the Church, of law, and of international diplomacy); it included the study and writing of history, and finally one of the philosophical disciplines - moral philosophy. Since the humanists were firmly convinced that it was necessary for each genre of writing to follow the models of ancient literature, the study of the Greek and Latin classics became a central and inseparable part of humanistic education: to study poetry meant to study the ancient poets as well as to learn how to write verse. In this way we can understand why Renaissance humanism was both literary and scholarly in its central concern, that classicism was at its heart, and why it spread through the influence of the humanists into all of Renaissance civilization.\(^{412}\)

The reintroduction of these classical ideas and classical allusions changed the


\(^{410}\) Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 3.


style of approach in these humanistic disciplines from the cold and calculated to the poetic and elegant:

The nature of this humanist influence is also characteristic: it consists primarily in the introduction of fresh classical sources and in the restatement of their ideas, in the vogue of classical quotations and allusions, in the use of the newly refined methods of historical and philological scholarship, and in an attempt to replace the specialized terminology of the medieval schools, their tight methods of arguing, their elaborate commentaries and disputed questions, by treatises, dialogues, and essays written in a smooth and elegant style . . .

The humanists considered classical antiquity their major guide and model in thought and literature from Greek and Roman authors, with episodes from classical history and mythology, with ideas and theories derived from ancient philosophers and writers. Finally, the humanists were professional rhetoricians, that is, writers and critics, who wished not only to say the truth, but to say it well, according to their literary taste and standards. They believed in the ancient rhetorical doctrine that a professional speaker and writer must acquire and show skill in making any idea that is related to his chosen topic plausible to his public. Consequently, a given idea is often expressed in phrases that aim at elegance rather than at precision, and many times, especially in a dialogue but do not express the author's final or considered view.\footnote{Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and the Arts, 26.}

All the humanistic writers aimed at infusing morals into their works:

The humanists inherited from the ancient and medieval grammarians and literary critics the view that moral instruction is one of the main tasks of the poet. Hence there is a moral or even moralistic note in some of the poetry they wrote, and in the interpretation they gave of the ancient poets in the classroom and in their published commentaries. The humanists also followed ancient and medieval theory and practice in their belief that the orator and prose writer is a moral teacher and ought to adorn his compositions with pithy sentences quoted from the poets or coined by himself. To facilitate his task, a humanist would gather quotations and sentences in a commonplace book, and some writers would publish collections of sentences, proverbs, or historical anecdotes from which an author could freely quote on the appropriate occasion.\footnote{Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and the Arts, 27.}

. . . The humanists shared the view of many ancient and medieval authors that one of the tasks of historiography is to teach a moral lesson. Much Renaissance historiography is sustained by this belief. In the same way, the extensive biographical literature produced during the period is often animated by the desire to supply the reader with models of pious conduct. But it makes a difference whether the persons whose lives are described as models of human conduct are Christian saints or ancient statesmen and generals, philosophers and poets, contemporary princes, citizens, or artists.

**Humanism in Poetry**

Humanism infuses the poietic style of writing into all of its disciplines, however, the art of poetry itself, Latin in particular, needs its proper discussion:

It is true that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries poetry was understood as the ability to write Latin verse and to interpret the ancient poets, and that the poetry which the humanists
defended against some of their theological contemporaries or for which they were crowned by popes and emperors was a quite different thing from what we understand by that name. Yet the name poetry, meaning at first Latin poetry, received much honor and glamor through the early humanists, and by the sixteenth century vernacular poetry and pros began to share in the prestige of Latin literature. It was the various branches of Latin and vernacular poetry and literature which constituted the main pursuit of the numerous “Academies” founded in Italy during that period and imitated later in the other European countries.415

Who were these humanistic poets? Of particular relevance to this work on Josquin’s five-voice chansons are the poets of the chansons texts. Although not all the authors are known, a determination can be made about whether those with text attributed to them are humanistic poets. Furthermore, analysis of the individual anonymous texts can help to determine if they can be considered humanistic. Philip-August Becker made a case “for calling Jean Lemaire de Belges the earliest humanistic poet in France.”416 Conversely, Jean Frappier allowed “him not more than a few outer trappings of antique culture, gleaned from Italian or Latin texts and mixed in an incongruous fashion with the predominant strain, the late medieval heritage of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.”417 “Born at Bavai in Hainaut (hence, “de Belges”) about 1473, Lemaire became prominent as poet-chronicler to Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low countries.”418 Although little of his work was set to music, there is an anonymous musical setting of his Épître de l’amant vert, a lament written for Margaret of Austria, found in her manuscript, Bruss 228.

This manuscript also contains Josquin’s 5-voice chanson Plaine de dueil, as well as several other compositions by our composer. There is of course a closer connection between Jean Lemaire de Belges and Josquin. Lemaire’s poetry provided the text for two of Josquin’s four-voice chansons, Plus nulz regretz, written to celebrate the Treaty of

415 Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and the Arts, 178.
418 Heartz, 195.
Calais in 1508, and *Mille regretz*. This last is attributed to Josquin in Tylman Susato’s 1546 Josquin collection, and only the Superius is found in Attaignant’s earlier *Vingt et sept chansons musicales à quatre parties* of 1533, along with an unusual attribution to “J. lemaire,” the poet, rather than the composer.\(^1\) If *Plus nulz regretz* “is another instance of collaboration, as it seems likely, the question of date must be raised anew. Lemaire did not outlive 1514–1515, at which time he was, like Josquin, in French royal service. The lament, connected with both their names and taken up by a printer so close to the Chapel Royal as Attaignant, may well have been intended originally for Queen Anne, who died early in 1514, or even King Louis, who died at the end of the same year. Josquin’s primordial position with regard to the “new,” or “Paris,” chanson becomes even stronger, if our surmise is correct.”\(^2\)

*Cueurs desolez* offers another possible humanistic text with its reference to Orpheus’s Lyre. The following is an example cited by Hartz of the figure of Orpheus used as a model in humanistic circumstances:

> French humanists were particularly attracted to the fifteenth-century Italian scholar Marsilio Ficino, who claimed that ancient music had been revived in his day and laid stress upon the declaiming of verses to the accompaniment of the Orphic lyre... in France the legend of Orpheus took a strong grip on poetic imaginations. Versifiers used it by preference when called upon to praise musicians or musical patrons.\(^3\)

**Humanism in Music Theory**

Kristeller argued that a

combination of Burgundian traditions of music and Italian literary influences is apparent

\(^1\) Hartz, 200-2.  
\(^2\) Hartz, 202.  
\(^3\) Hartz, 210.
in the career of Francesco Gafori who was not merely the only Italian professor of music, but also one of the outstanding representatives of musical humanism. Whether Gafori owed his humanistic inclinations to Godendach we do not know; nor do we know who were his teachers in the humanistic fields. The fact that Gafori had much in common with the attitudes of contemporary humanists has been noticed by many scholars and is confirmed by his writings. He is proud of his elegant Latin, criticizes the style of his “illiterate” opponents, Ramis and Spataro, and apologizes for writing one of his treatises in the vernacular for the instruction of uneducated readers. He claims to raise music to its ancient dignity. He had several ancient Greek treatises on music translated into Latin, and one of these translations, made for Gafori by Johannes Baptista Burana of Verona, survives in a manuscript of Lodi. The humanist tendency of Gafori is of some importance since he was a great authority during the sixteenth century, and since he was in no way isolated in this respect. The claim that music was being restored to its ancient dignity, so commonly repeated during the sixteenth century down to the Camerata Fiorentina, can be traced back to the fifteenth century.  

A student of the Flemish Carmelite Johannes Bonadies or Godendach, Gafori’s meeting with Tinctoris in Naples may also have influenced his musical conception.  

**Applicability of Humanistic Analysis to Josquin’s Music**

Despite the previously heard assertion that Glarean was a musical humanist, what does humanism in music look like?

In view of the importance ascribed to the choice of mode, it is surprising that there is very little consistency in the characterization of the emotional associations or ethos of the eight modes of polyphonic music in the instruction books of the period. Whereas much of what was said about modality technically was derived from an analysis either of plainchant or of polyphonic practice, the statements on ethos show a mixed pedigree. Some of the characterizations were clearly transferred from a modal system that was quite foreign to both plainchant and polyphonic practice, namely, the classical Greek system. Other characterizations had independent medieval origins within the plainchant tradition, deriving partly from Guido of Arezzo (Ch. 15; Babb 1978, 69) and Johannes dictus Cotto vel Affligemensis (Ch. 16; Babb 1978, 133) and partly from patristic literature, particularly Clement of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine. Finally, a number of moral-ethical-emotional associations appear to be founded on experience with polyphonic music.  

**Ethos of the Modes: The Greek and Christian Modal Associations**

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422 Kristeller.
423 Kristeller.
424 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 126.
Unfortunately, the Greek and Christian modal ethos associations do not agree, making it difficult to determine which characteristics and moods the theorists and musicians of Josquin's day associate with which modes. Therefore, even if we did know that Josquin utilized the concepts of modal ethos in his compositions, we don't necessarily know which mood he intended:

The disparities between the Greek and Christian systems may be obvious to us, but they were not to the users and theorists of the Christian modes. So the ethical characteristics of the Greek modes were unwittingly assigned to the similarly named Christian modes. This misunderstanding particularly affected the four authentics: Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian. Thus Gaffurio (1518, Bk. 4, Ch. 2; Miller 1977, p. 180) speaks of the Dorian's modesty and constancy (see Table 3), while Glarean qualifies it as majestic and grave and adds that it is very suited to heroic poetry (Bk. 2, Ch. 21, p. 118). Hypodorian is thought by Gaffurio to be full of inertia and sluggishness. Aron (Ch. 25) considers it suitable for tears and lamentations, while Glarean (Bk. 2, Ch. 16, P. 102) deems it serious, forbidding, and submissive. These characterizations of the Hypodorian go right through Bermudo (Bk. 5, Ch. 33, fol. Q1v), Vicentino (Bk. 3, Ch. 6), Hermann Finck (fol. Rr3c), and Zarlino (1558, Bk. 4, Ch. 6, trans. P. 58).

Heracleides considered the Hypodorian haughty, pompous, and somewhat conceited (Athenaeus Deipnosophi 19.642D). Aristotle described the Phrygian as enthusiastic, violently exciting, emotional, and capable of arousing religious ecstasy (Politics 1340B, 1342B). It was by means of this mode that Timotheus, it was told, had inspired Alexander to rise from the banquet table, don his armor, and go out to battle. The story may have something to do with establishing the tradition that this was a martial mode. There is some agreement also concerning the Mixolydian, which Plato called mournful (Republic 398d), Aristotle plaintive and restrained (Politics 1340B), and pseudo-Plutarch passionate (De musica 1136D).

Many including Gaffurio (1518), Aron (1525), Nardo (ca. 1530), Glarean (1547), and Finck (1556), attributed the ability to incite anger to the Phrygian mode. Inconsistency persists with the characterization of the Hypophrygian. Gaffurio (1518, Bk. 4, Ch. 8) considered it grave and quiet; Aron (1525, Ch. 25), restful and tranquil; Glarean (1547, Bk. 2, Ch. 18, p. 110), melancholic and plaintive; and Finck (1556, fol. Rr4r), as being suitable to serious, witty and lamenting texts.

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425 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 130.
426 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 129.
427 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 130.
428 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 130.
Whereas for Plato, the Lydian was soft, convivial and slack (*Republic* 398e), in contrast, it was jovial and pleasing for Gaffurio. Nonetheless, Gaffurio also stated that the ancients used it for funerals and lamentations (1518, Bk. 4, Ch. 5, trans. P. 183). Aron believed it able to relieve melancholy, anxiety and troubles (Ch. 25). Glarean thought it convivial and Bacchic (Bk. 2, Ch. 25, p. 127); Bermudo, lascivious and sensual (Bk. 5, Ch. 3, fol. Q1v); and Vicentino haughty and cheerful.

Classical literature describes Mixolydian as “being mournful, plaintive, at once passionate and restrained, preserved this general character in some authors (Ramos de Pareja, 1482, Tract. 3, Ch. 3, Wolf 57; Gaffurio 1518, Bk. 4, Ch. 5, trans. P. 184), whereas others regarded it as lascivious (Aron, 1525, Ch. 25; Zarlino, 1558, Bk. 4, Ch. 24, trans. P. 72) and still others as haughty and proud (Bermudo Bk. 5, Ch. 3, fol. Q2v; Vicentino Bk. 3, Ch. 11).”

Both the Greek and Christian systems were limited to seven available diatonic octave species. But the Christians rejected one of these and applied the ethnic names to different individual octave species from those given the names by the Greeks. If we chart the species and their nomenclature according to Cleonides (19.4-20.10, Solomon 1980, 155) and the ecclesiastical tradition (Table 2, left and right columns, respectively), we find that only one species has a common name, the Hypodorian - and even that not always.

Palisca provided a very thorough synopsis of the various ethos of the modes as understood and described by different theorists in the below table.

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429 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’’ 130.
430 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’’ 129.
431 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’’ 130. NB- There was no mode named Hypomixolydian in the classical tradition.
Table 1: Mode Ethos in the Renaissance

Mode Ethos in the Renaissance

Table 3
Ethos of the Modes: Classical and Renaissance Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Gaffurio 1518</th>
<th>Aron 1525</th>
<th>Glarean 1547</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Dorian</td>
<td>majestic, masculine, steadfast</td>
<td>constant, severe; moves phlegm</td>
<td>happy, joyful; excites all affections</td>
<td>grave, prudent, dignified, modest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Hypodorian</td>
<td>haughty, pompous, confident</td>
<td>slow, slothful, sluggish</td>
<td>tearful, grave</td>
<td>serious, forbidding, submissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Phrygian</td>
<td>exciting, martial</td>
<td>incites to anger, war</td>
<td>pugnacious, angry</td>
<td>mournful; incites to battle, rage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Hypophysyagian</td>
<td>austere; appeases anger</td>
<td>quiet, grave; calms excited</td>
<td>restful, tranquil</td>
<td>melancholy, plaintive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Lydian</td>
<td>funereal, sad, convivial</td>
<td>weeping, lamenting</td>
<td>relieves melancholy, burdens</td>
<td>harsh, convivial, Bacchic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Hypolydian</td>
<td>Bacchic, intoxicating</td>
<td>tearful, lamenting</td>
<td>induces tears, compassion</td>
<td>pleasing, not elegant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Mixolydian</td>
<td>threnodic, lamenting</td>
<td>exciting, withdrawn</td>
<td>mixture of modesty and joviality</td>
<td>suitable for praises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Hypomixolydian</td>
<td>sublime, free of corruption</td>
<td>merry, happy</td>
<td>natural charm, sweetness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voice range and other musical properties were also determining factors in the Greek’s conception of ethos, including such attributes as “the height of pitch, certain qualities of melody, the genera of melody - diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic - and to rhythms and meters.”

Aristides Quintilianus described the moal ethos voice range associations:

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432 Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 127.
Of the tonoi, or keys, some are hypatoid, or low, some mesoid or intermediate, and others netoid or high. Aristides Quintilianus associated the low with tragic compositions, the middle with dithyrambic, and the high with nomic composition. Aristotle also distinguished melic compositions with respect to ethos, of which there were three classes: the diastaltic, through which the spirit was awakened; the medial, through which the soul was brought to quietude; and the systaltic, through which one was moved to painful passions (1.12; Mathiesen 1983, 92-93).433

The diastaltic ethos, using the lower region of the voice, expressed the majestic and a manly state of the soul; it was suitable for the expression of heroic deeds and for tragic poetry. The hesychastic (medial) ethos, employing the middle of the range, inspired a calm and peaceful disposition; it fitted hymns, paens, eulogies, and didactic poetry. The systaltic ethos, which exploited the highest region of the voice, drew the mind down into a humble and feminine state; it was suited to the expression of erotic affections and to dirges and lamentations (Cleonides, in Strunk 1950, 45).434

The most erotic texts of the Josquin’s five-voice chanson repertoire are Faule d’argent and L’amye a tous, however, a lower voice range was not apparent in either case.

Palisca created from a composite of disparate sources, Categories of Ethos associated with tonal pitch.435

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433 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 127.
434 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 127.
Table 2: Classica Categories of Ethos Associated with Pitch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region of the voice/Modes</th>
<th>Ethos</th>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>Affections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>low (hypatoid) [B–a]</td>
<td>diastaltic</td>
<td>heroic poetry, tragedy</td>
<td>majestic, peaceful, tranquil, manly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypophrygian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypolydian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypodorian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>median (mesoid) [f–c’]</td>
<td>hesychastic</td>
<td>hymns, paeans, eulogies; didactic, dithyrambic poetry</td>
<td>calm, peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high (netoid) [c’–g’]</td>
<td>systaltic</td>
<td>dirges, laments, nomic</td>
<td>humble, erotic, painful, feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixolydian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypermixolydian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The system of harmoniai provides an aspect of ancient ethos, more compatible with that of the modern modes. The associations of harmoniai to mode,

according to one school of modern commentators, were octave scales similar to the plainchant modes. Theses scales could be represented by their octave-species, but they were undoubtedly more complex collections of melodic formulae. Many of the associations that became attached to the entities called Dorian, Phrygian, and so on probably referred to qualities of the harmoniai. Thus, when Heracleides Ponticus praised the Doraian as manly and majestic and pseudo-Plutarch called it steadiest and foremost in masculine ethos, the reference was probably to its potential melodic content.  

**The Usage by Composers of the Concept of Modal Affect in Josquin’s Time**

The central question under investigation revolves around whether or not Josquin and his contemporaries used these ancient concepts of modal ethos as a component of their compository process. However, this is not a question easily answered. Lowinsky suggested one method of approach:

We have long known that the symbolism of the modes was discussed by theorists of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Yet, nobody has made a systematic attempt to find out whether

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436 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 128-129.
the composers thought in similar terms. The method would be simple enough: first we should have a juxtaposition of theoretical statements; finally a comparison between the contents of the texts and the meaning of the modes according to the theorists.\footnote{437}

However, here Lowinsky has over simplified the question. One problem is that not all theorists agree on the names or even the number of modes. If there is this disparity amongst the theorists, most likely differing understandings of modes exist amid composers. Then, there is the potentially different treatment of sacred and secular works. However, in a sense, his recommendations are what I am attempting to do or at least begin.

One concern is that the names of the Greek modes were applied to the octave species in the ninth century. Unfortunately, “with few exceptions, musicians and theorists assumed that the plainchant modes were identical to similarly named Greek modes and that the characteristics attributed by ancient writers to the Greek modes could be transferred to those of plainchant.”\footnote{438}

Whereas pitch distinguished ethos (sometimes called ‘ethical effect’ by Palisca, in the Greek modes) the interval species decided the ethos with the plainchant modes. Therefore, “it is evident that there was little possibility of actual transfer of the ethical effect just named from the ancient to the modern.”\footnote{439}

Modal ethos also came to be based on plainchant experience and not only name-based traditions. Nonetheless, the ancient associates still influence this experience-based understanding.\footnote{440} Gil de Zamora (Ch. 15, pp. 100-105) and Ramos de Pareja (Tract 3, Ch. 3) propagated this type of discussion, which Aron and German theorists, such as

Hermann Finck (Bk. 4) also referred to.\textsuperscript{441}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Gil de Zamora, ca. 1240</th>
<th>Ramos de Pareja 1482</th>
<th>H. Finck 1556</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Dorian</td>
<td>flexible, suited to all affections</td>
<td>flexible, suited to all affections; moves phlegm, rouses from sleep, alleviates laziness, sadness</td>
<td>rouses somnolent, relieves cares, mourning; purges phlegm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Hypodorian</td>
<td>severe, mournful</td>
<td>severe, mournful</td>
<td>mournful, heavy, serious, humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Phrygian</td>
<td>severe, inciting, restores health</td>
<td>severe, inciting; suits proud, irritable, wild men</td>
<td>moves choler and bile; suits battles, lofty deeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Hypophrygian</td>
<td>caressing, chatty, flattering</td>
<td>caressing, chatty, adulating, lascivious; without charm</td>
<td>represents servant who serves the pleasures of a lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Lydian</td>
<td>modest, delightful; sweetens, relieves despairing</td>
<td>delightful, modest, merry; cheers the sad, despairing</td>
<td>gentler affections; calms disturbed; modest, delightful, merry; solace for afflicted and desperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Hypolydian</td>
<td>induces tears, piety</td>
<td>induces tears, piety</td>
<td>opposite of Lydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Mixolydian</td>
<td>erotic and happy; represents adolescence</td>
<td>erotic and happy; represents adolescence</td>
<td>used in invectives; terrifying, not serious to elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Hypomixolydian</td>
<td>sweet and gloomy, in manner of the solitary</td>
<td>sweet and gloomy, in manner of solitary people</td>
<td>appeasing; soothes anger with gentleness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{441} Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 131.
The most practical approach to modal ethos in the Renaissance, transmitted by Zarlino and Vicentino, entailed “recognizing a mode’s technical resources of intervallic combinations, both successive and simultaneous, and the moods they awakened.”

“Zarlino who cited most of the classical associations in his historical Chapter 5 of Book 4 of his Istitutioni, closed that chapter with a cynical commentary in which he attributed the variety and contradictions in characterizing the modes to changing customs and usages, to lack of understanding by writers, and to errors in transmission.” He also explored natural musical traits that provided opportunities for expression in his book on counterpoint. Palisca cited as an example of Zarlino’s description of Mode 1:

The first mode has a certain effect midway between sad and cheerful because of the semiditone which is heard in the concentus above the extreme notes of the diapente and diatessaron, and because of the absence of the ditone in the lower part [of the diapente]. By nature this mode is religious and devout and somewhat sad; hence we can best use it with words that are full of gravity and that deal with lofty and edifying things (1558, Bk. 4, Ch. 18, trans. P. 58). “Equally significant is the way in which Zarlino spoke of the affections of the twelve modes in his book on counterpoint. He noted that among the imperfect consonances the major thirds and sixths, though sweet and smooth, are sad and languid. Consequently, when the major thirds and sixths fall on the final or on the note that divides the octave into a fourth and fifth, as it does in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, eleventh, and twelfth modes, these modes are “gay and lively.” This is partly because the major third is placed below the minor, this is, the fifth is harmonically divided, as is most natural. Other modes are sad and languid because the minor third falls on the final and mediating note, as in the first, second, third, fourth, ninth, and tenth. Here the fifth is arithmetically divided, which is less natural to the hearing (Bk. 3, Ch. 10, trans. Pp. 21-22).”

By contrast, Vicentino “eclectically and pragmatically adapted the classical traits to practical experience.” “Thus he found mode 1 agreeable and devout and more virtuous than wanton... Of the second mode he declared that its nature was akin to the

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442 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 131.
444 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 132.
446 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 133.
447 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 133.
first’s, only more cheerful and modest, because the species of fourth was now below that of the fifth. The third mode he found to have little cheer unless accompanied by a mixture of the chromatic and enharmonic, when it could be cheerful in four voices . . . The fourth mode he deemed funereal, and the fifth proud and haughty, yet cheerful, which he found held for the Mixolydian also.”

The musical literature of the early 16th century lacks the theoretical basis for thinking that the composers of the time consciously and consistently considered the mood or tone of any given mode when selecting one, if that itself was deliberately done, when composing. However, there are theoretical treatises that explain how ‘the ancients’ understood and categorized the roles played by the modes. Gaffurius serves as an example with his explanations of the Greek practices.

Nowhere, either in Gaffurius or elsewhere, has it been indicated whether these practices were transported into modern usage. The Renaissance saw resurgences of interest in ancient Greek society, and I will discuss these as they relate to the act of composition, such as in the functioning for the courts, literature and music.

John, an unidentified theorist from about 1100, in his writings articulates clear distinctions between the modes and the ability for any musician to recognize them upon hearing them. However, these writings date from much earlier than our period of study and apply themselves strictly to liturgical music. The next theorists to confront the matter of this type of relationship between textual subject/mood and mode are no longer talking about mode, but are now thinking tonally.

Lowinsky cited Josquin’s use of the Lydian and Hypolydian modes in his *Fortuna*

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448 Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 133.
449 For further information see Palisca, ‘Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music’.
and its accordance with the contemporary theoretical interpretation of these modes. The Hypolydian, Bartolom Ramos de Pareja, in his *Musica practica* of 1482, associated with the planet or God Venus, the female and pious Fortuna, and the Lydian with Jupiter, the strong and joyful Fortuna.450

Glarean quoted from Gaffurius’s *de Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*:

‘But when the most invariable and serious moods are changed to those which are called or felt to be pleasant and less severe, they are expressed just as the place in the proverb concerning changing from Dorian to Phrygian’. So says Franchinus. He means by these words that the Phrygian fit’s the more agreeable and lighter subjects, although in chapter 5 of the same book, he forthwith says that the Phrygian mode is suitable for incitement to war and therefore is to be portrayed by a fiery color and to be shown by the anapaest. But everyone maintains the same thing about the Dorian, for which reason we cannot elicit the sense of this adage in this way. For I think that the Phrygian is more suitable to severe, religious music, as elegies, laments, and funeral music. Yet what mode is there which cannot be applied to different songs, provided that the happy genius of such as Josquin des Prez, or Pierre de la Rue, or similar men, is present?451

He seems to say that ultimately mode does not matter when other means can be used by skilled and talented musicians to elucidate any mood.

**The Applicability of Modal Affect to Polyphonic Secular Music**

**Text Expression on a Theoretical Level**

How does a modern-day musical theorist approach analysis of modal ethos in Josquin’s music? Merkley noted that “the task of defining something as intangible as sacred expression in a work from another time ought to give one pause,”452 and this task becomes even more difficult in secular works. How do we know that *chansons* were modally conceived? Theorists such as Aaron who were contemporary with Josquin are still describing a modal system in their treatises. Furthermore, all the first discussions of

451 Glarean, 130. Please note that the bold was added to the text by myself.
modal ethos concerned sacred music, specifically chant. Brown suggested that Aaron may have been the first musician to write extensively about precisely how the modes should be used in writing polyphonic compositions and in judging those that had already been composed, but earlier theorists made it clear that for them it was a matter of course that modality applied equally well to polyphony and to chant. As early as 1480, Johannes Tintorius, in his treatise written in Naples, explained briefly the way in which a polyphonic composition should be judged modally, even if his musical examples were drawn exclusively from chant. “In 1487, Nicolaus Burtius instructed budding composers about the order in which they should compose voices, but he began the chapter by telling them they should know the modes, and his first topic within the chapter concerns modal ethos; the implication is clear that he understood modality to be a necessary tool of the polyphonic composer. Writing in Wittenberg in 1511, Johannes Cochlaeus clearly connected modality with polyphony, even though his formularize no explanation of how to do it in practice. Numerous other writers on modality in chant offer in their treatises examples drawn from polyphony, or make it clear that they supposed polyphony to be “modal”.”

Brown cautioned musicologists not to assume that any of these aforementioned authors wrote about how composers approached music in practice. However, it at least shows that music theorists, and more than likely the composers as well, were at least thinking about how they might apply the Ancient Greek ideas of modal ethos.

All of Attaignant’s published chanson volumes, with the exception of the one devoted to Josquin des Prez, “show unmistakable signs of having been arranged by the

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editor or publisher in modal order.”  This shows an attention to mode as an important aspect or characteristic of compositions. Why were the Josquin prints not ordered in such a manner? Maybe this was more difficult with the works of Josquin because he enjoyed playing with mode, especially modulation and this made categorizing the repertoire more challenging.

“Scholars have, with good reason, put the setting and expression of text forward as one of the most important stylistic elements of this period. For secular works studies have emphasized the correspondence of the music with the structure of the verse, for example the musical articulation of caesuras in chansons such as Plus nulz regretz or Mille regretz. For sacred works attempt have been made to relate musical elements to specific points in the text.”

Florentius, at the request of Ascanio Sforza, prepared a treatise on music in which the first chapter in particular focused on the effects of music on the listener:

“On the praise, power, utility, necessity and the effect of music” mirrors with admirable clarity the new concept of music emerging in the Renaissance - the very concept that we need to understand if we are to comprehend the immense changes in Josquin’s evolution as a composer. Of course, the “effects of music,” traditionally mentioned in the theory of music, become a topos in the 1480s. I have shown elsewhere that Tinctoris wrote a treatise of the twenty effects of music (neatly divided, however, between the religious and the secular), Gafori concentrated on it in his Theoricon musicae of 1480 and 1492, and even Ramos lost all his native skepticism when dwelling on the miraculous effects of music as recounted by the ancient writers. The ancient legends were called upon to account for the new excitement, the new psychological dimension that the music listener of the time experienced, and no composer exceeded Josquin in the range and strength of emotions that he was capable of eliciting from the combination of Flemish counterpoint and Italian harmony.

Glarean’s Christian beliefs lead him to accuse Josquin of lack of judgement by not properly restraining the liveliness of his talent. None-the-less, Glarean found in Josquin the fulfillment of his beloved humanistic ideals.

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456 Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez in Ferrara,’ 572. See Elders for example in secular works.
Among the most important constituents of Josquin’s leap forward is his approach to word-setting.

Josquin’s sensitivity to word-setting, and his perceived departure in this respect from his predecessors, is the cornerstone of his estimation by sixteenth-century theorists. Increased emphasis on and eventual domination of the text in musical setting emerges strongly in a succession of humanist-oriented treatises beginning with Gaffurius and Cochlæus. For Glarean, a pupil of Cochlæus, as for most humanists steeped in Platonic modes of thought, this emphasis on expression is closely linked with revivalist concerns with ethos, a concern integral to his theory of a twelve-mode system. Thus appropriate and decorous affective expression were indivisible from estimation of compositional skill, and in this respect Josquin was seen as preeminent.

This rise in this estimation of music was inseparable from its association with poetry, from a humanist perspective the pinnacle of the Studia humanitatis. Whether or not this can be seen as a direct expression of the Aristotelian indivisibility of music and poetry, it seems clear that notions of poetic imitation played a major role in endowing music with the rhetorical weight, in tandem with words, to express moods and affections.\(^{39}\)

Brown considered imitation and emulation of other composers as a humanistic trait.\(^{40}\)

Johannes Tinctoris, in his 1477 book Liber de arte contrapuncti (The Art of Counterpoint), urges modern composers to model their work after the likes of Ockeghem, Regis, Busnois, Caron, Faugues, and the older Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay. He compared this musical emulation to the literary rhetoric by citing Virgil’s use of Homer as a model.\(^{41}\) Brown cited examples of rhetorical imitatio as early as the 1480s.\(^{42}\)

**Text Expression on a Practical Level**

On a practical and concrete level, the most difficult question to answer is: How can one tell if a chanson is humanistic? Each element of the composition must be examined to determine this including both the text and the music.

From a poetic standpoint, how does unrequited love of the courtly love chanson fit into the humanistic central focus on morality? Certainly Josquin’s borrowed cantsus

\(^{41}\) Brown, ‘Emulation, Competition, and Homage’, 41 n. 51.
\(^{42}\) Brown, ‘Emulation, Competition, and Homage’, 43.
*firmus, Je ne vis oncques* provides a foil to the scathing text *L'amy a tous*. Whereas in the former the lady in question is held in the highest of praise, in the later her promiscuity and infidelity is highlighted and ridiculed. Whether or not morality is the main concern, the choice of *cantus firmus* text can be seen as referential in a way reminiscent of the ancients.

Latin was the main language of Renaissance humanism as it provided a clear link back to the ancients.\(^{463}\) Therefore, Josquin and other composers used it in particular by borrowing a Latin *cantus firmus* to lend a sense of authority to a composition. A eulogy, such as *Nymphes des bois*, is the clearest example of how a Latin text added weight to a composition.

A more clear case of humanism would be “Josquin’s setting of a humanistic text on the Passion in which Christ is compared to Jupiter, the work of a famous Milanese poet.”\(^{464}\) However, Lowinsky noted that a patron may have determined the choice text rather than Josquin himself and furthermore, Lowinsky did not explain how the music itself might be humanistic.\(^{465}\)

From a musical/humanistic perspective, Kirkman’s article, ‘From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin’, discusses how Ambros placed more value on his motets than his Masses because the former allowed for more musical freedom:

\[\ldots\text{Grasped\ldots} \text{The meaning and the value of the words, that one could not properly sing a psalm full of contrite penitence in the manner of a rejoicing psalm of thanksgiving, and further that the motet must seek out its worth and its meaning in something other than the mere blameless clothing of a cantus firmus with more or less artful counterpointing voices, [something] for which, in the}\]


\(^{464}\) Lowinsky, “Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza”, 537. Note that Lowinsky suggest that the patron is Ascanio Sforza, however the date of his association with the Sforza’s seems to be later than the presumed composition date.

\(^{465}\) Lowinsky, “Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza”, 537. Note that Lowinsky suggest that the patron is Ascanio Sforza, however the date of his association with the Sforza’s seems to be later than the presumed composition date.
end, the composer would have a freer hand in the more conventional from of single Mass movements. 466

In other words, the idea that the lack of reliance on a pre-existing cantus firmus raised the level of musical worth and allowed for a less constrained musical expression. 467 Although, Ambros comments here about motets, this concept could also apply to chanson, especially since, many of these do not posses a cantus firmus and Josquin is making use of the new motivic architecture. Yet, as previously mentioned, a cantus firmus could also ally itself with humanism.

The use of tetrachords provides one clear example of humanism in musical terms. In speaking of humanism in the context of chanson composers of the mid to later 1500s, Heartz referred back to Josquin, saying that “The use of the descending diatonic tetrachord to express grief in the chanson is at least as old as Josquin’s ‘Je me complains de mon amy’ . . . Wherever the descending tetrachord comes into prominence, we may suspect some humanist intent, for it was the very symbol of the Greek tonal system, few other features of which were either understood or agreed upon.”468

Modal Affect in Josquin’s Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire

The repertoire can easily be divided into textual subjects. I have done this as follows with each chanson accompanied by its modal assignment in parentheses:

Laments-Nymphes des bois (3) and, Cœur desolez (5 irregular).

Chanson rustiques/ humorous- Faute d’argent (1 irregular), L’amye a tous (humorous, satiric, but also courtly) (2), Ma bouche rit (3).

466 Kirkman, ‘From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin’, 455.
468 Heartz, 213.
Courtly love-melancholy- *Cent Mille Regret* (1), *Mi l'ares vous tousjours languir* (1),
*Plusieurs Regret* (1), *Parfons regret* (1), *Cueur langoreulx* (1), *Plaine de dueil* (1 or
4), *Incessament livré suis* (2), *Incessament mon poyre cuer* (8), *En non saichant* (2),
*Je me complaints* (woman’s voice?) (2), *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* (2), *L’amye a tous*
(not love, but also humorous) (2), *Ma bouche rît?* (we don’t have enough of the text to
know) (3), *Du mien amant* (3), *Douleur me bat* (mentions God, perhaps more serious?)
(4), *N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir* (2).

**The Effect of a Pre-existent Cantus Firmus on Josquin’s Choice of Mode**

One of the most crucial questions of the role of the *cantus firmus* in its new
context in the composition of a new piece is whether it affects the mode chosen by the
composer. The other question is how it works in a motivic context. Does it serve as a
basis of motives or does it operate independently from the motives in the surrounding
voices? Does a *cantus firmus* predetermine the mode?

Let us examine the case of *L’amye a tous* with the *cantus firmus* from the tenor of
*Je ne vis oncques*, which is now placed in the Quinta pars of Josquin’s *chanson*. *Je ne vis
oncques* ends on a ‘g’ final with a ‘b’ flat in the tenor part only. The tenor range goes
from a low ‘d’ below the treble clef staff, to an ‘a’ above the staff. Therefore, *Je ne vis
oncques* is in authentic G mode (mode 7) with a plus perfect tenor. *L’amye a tous* also
ended on a ‘g’ final, but the ‘b’ flat was found in all parts. The tenor in Josquin’s setting
ranged from a low ‘c’ below the treble staff to an ‘f’ in the top space of the staff.
Therefore, *L’amye a tous* is in the plagal D mode (mode 2). Was the decision to switch
modes from the old composition to the new conscious on Josquin’s part? He did not have
to alter or transpose the tenor to accomplish the change. In this case, it is not clear
whether Josquin consciously selected the mode of this composition. Another case is
clearer.

_Nymphes des bois_ has as its base a Latin _cantus firmus_, like Josquin’s six-voice chanson-
motet, _Nymphes, nappés_, which is also a lament.\footnote{Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s _Nymphes, nappés_,’ 408. See Elders for more information about _Nymphes, nappés_.}

**Mode Defining Motives**

Once one conquers the challenges of determining the mode of the _chanson_, the
next question is whether or not the content of the music reflects a modal affect. The final
sonority and the tenor range determine the mode of a piece. However, neither of these
elements comments on the contour of the individual musical lines, the interaction
between the voices, or the resulting sonorities. Given the motivic nature of Josquin’s
_chanson_ repertoire, it seems natural to turn to these motives to see how they might reflect
the mode. But what does one look for? Which notes defined a given mode in the eyes of
musicians of the early sixteenth century?

**Text Expression through Modal Manipulation**

Glarean, in his _Dodekachordon_ of 1547, commented on Josquin’s modal
distortion in his repertoire from his mature period. This is part of the “unrestraint” with
which Glarean accuses the composer of flirting.\footnote{Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 355.}

Patrick Macey gave an example of text expression in Josquin’s six-voice motet-

\footnote{Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s _Nymphes, nappés_,’ 408. See Elders for more information about _Nymphes, nappés_.}
\footnote{Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 355.}
chanson lament, Nimphes nappés of a cross-relation of E sharp to E natural.\footnote{Macey ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s Nimphes, nappés,’ 401.}

“Josquin, more than any other composer of his generation, exploits this harmonic variety and clearly leads his voices so that there can be no doubt about the intended opposition between \( E^\flat \) and \( E^\flat \).”\footnote{Lowinsky, ‘Musica ficta in the Josquin Editions’, 786.}

Lowinsky brought up the idea of modulatory inflection in his analysis Josquin’s De profundis.\footnote{Lowinsky, ‘Musica ficta in the Josquin Edition’, 792.} He also discussed Josquin’s constant modulation in his motet Absalon fili mi and further noted how dissonance patterns, in the form of an appoggiatura, add to the musical impression of pain apparent in the text, which Josquin pieced together from various sources and which forms David’s lament on the death of his son Absalom.\footnote{Lowinsky, ‘Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza’, 538.}

Lowinsky pointed to Josquin’s use of musica ficta for symbolic purposes.\footnote{Lowinsky, “The Goddess Fortuna in Music”, 237.} Lowinsky’s article: “The Goddess Fortuna in Music, with a Special Study of Josquin’s Fortuna d’un gran tempo”, discusses the prevalent use of symbolism in the art and literature of this time period, as well as Josquin’s own love of the same.

\textbf{Cantus Firmus, Mode and Textual Theme}

Josquin used a \textit{cantus prius factus} in his humorous \textit{chansons} N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir, L’amye a tous, and Ma bouche rit. The subject of homage to a grand lady in \textit{Je ne vis oncques} provides a witty contrast to the sarcastic text on the same theme in Josquin’s \textit{L’amye a tous}. The source of the \textit{cantus firmus} in \textit{L’amye a tous}, in plagal D mode, is from \textit{Je ne vis oncques}, in authentic G. Is this mode change intentional since no alteration in the key signature had to be made to the cantus to give the new
composition a different mode?

Josquin borrowed the melody of Okeghem's bergerette of *Ma bouche rit* to stand for his Superius in his *chanson* on the same text. Josquin also used a pre-existing melody in his two laments *Nymphes des bois* and *Cueur desolez*. These two along with *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir* take their *cantus firmus* from a liturgical source, so they can be termed 'motet-chansons'. Josquin, in *Nymphes des bois*, lowered the *cantus firmus* by a semitone from the original *Introit* from the Mass for the Dead. This moves it into the Phrygian mode, associated with mourning for the early Greeks. It is highly implausible that the *cantus firmus* would have been moved for reasons of voice range given so slight a change. If the original had been transposed by a third or a fourth, for example, we would have to question whether Josquin did so for voice range considerations, but that is not the case here.

The anonymous *Cueur desolez* in Brus 228 also uses a *cantus firmus*, the Dies Irea from the mass for the dead.

**Laments: Points of Analysis and Discussion**

No striking similarities are apparent between *Nymphes des bois* and *Cueur desolez*, the two laments in this repertoire. Nonetheless, analyses of both offer a rich palate for discussion. The two differ in overall tone resulting from their construction and points of interest. *Nymphes des bois* opens with an ascending motive in the superius followed by downward motion. Whereas in *Cueur desolez*, there is a sense that there is a tempo increase caused by the introduction of smaller note values as the end of the

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476 Elders, 'Sign and symbol in Music for the Dead,' 135.
chanson nears, in *Nymphes des bois* Josquin changes to longer held note values with the entrance of the final Latin phrase, and the texture becomes more chordal rather than the small motive units in Imitation that make up the majority of the piece.

**Nymphes des bois**

‘Gematria’ serves as a potential analytical tool although non-standardized spelling in the time period in question makes it difficult to make an accurate addition of the numerical value of the individual letters.

Bonnie Blackburn cited Dieter Heikamp’s notes about Josquin’s numerical references to Okeghem in several of his *cantus firmus*.477 The sixty-four notes of the cantus equate to the sum of the letters in ‘Ochkeghem’ in the ‘natural order’ system. “However, the spelling ‘Okeghem’ if far more common in French sources, there is some doubt about Ockeghem’s own spelling, the only known autograph signature being transmitted in a 19th-c book after a lost original.”478

Elders pointed to the use of ‘gematria’ at the end of *Nymphes des bois*, where he counted 64 notes, the totality of the corresponding number of each letter in Okeghem’s name.479 Jaap van Benthem and Willem Elders again performed similar analysis on the frottola, *El grillo*, thought to be by Josquin. Both musicologists suggest that the notes in various sections of the work add up to the numerical equivalent of Josquin’s name and thus believed that this confirms his authorship.480 Although, even if their analysis is

478 Bonnie Blackburn, ‘Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables,’ *Josquin Companion*, 60n. 25.
479 Elders, ‘Sign and symbol in Music for the Dead,’ 144.
480 Fallow, ‘What happened to *El grillo*,’ 398.
correct, this could mean that the composer dedicated the piece to Josquin, rather than it being written by him, as shown by *Nymphes des bois*.

**Cueur desolez**

The text, *Cueur desolez*, attracted three musical settings, one of which is the five-voice setting by Josquin in Attaingnant’s *Trent sixiesme livre* and another a five-voice anonymous unica version in Brus228. What are the implications of these numerous settings? Is the text well known? Are these composers residing near to each other? Are these three laments written for the same person? If they are written for the same person, then presumably they would have been written near the same time, shortly after the death of the person they are elegizing. Furthermore, if they were written in memory of the same person, then either the composers or their patrons knew this person. Again, either this is a well-known person or they lived close to one another. Presumably Marguerite of Austria must have known the person for whom the elegy was written since it appears in her manuscript. According to Elders, Jean Lemaire de Belges wrote the text for the death of Louise de Luxembourg (d. 1503) or Jean de Luxembourg (d.1508).481 If the musical styles between the three are similar, this may indicate that the composers may have lived in close proximity to each other. Reynolds noted the similar “thumb print” in general between the compositions of Josquin, La Rue and Compere.482

There is an acrostic “Ville” with the text of *Cueur desolez* in Brus 288. Does this appear in one of the other two versions? Is the text or the music or both written like an

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481 Elders, ‘Sign and symbol in Music for the Dead,’ 128.
elegy? What does the anonymous composer of the Brus 228 manuscript do with his setting of the text? Is it still meant to be an elegy for the same person? It also opens with a 4-note motive. A text comparison needs to be made between the two versions.

It is interesting that the anonymous unica versions of *Cueur desolez* and *Plusieurs regretz*, both texts also set by Josquin, are found back to back in Marguerite’s manuscript. Brus 228 and Vienna were both manuscripts produced by the Alamire workshop.

The most persuasive hints supporting a conscious modal choice on the part of Josquin are his use of cross relations to manipulate the mode for emotional purposes and the specific case of *Nymphes des bois*, with its semitone lowering of the *cantus firmus* from the original *Introit* taken from the Mass for the Dead.
Conclusion

I have begun the work of systematically analyzing and categorizing Josquin's 5-voice chansons repertoire.

Although an exact understanding of compositional process and the idea of simultaneous conception still remain illusive, analysis by way of motivicity enables a clearer picture of the changing musical structure at this time. The breaking of the motivicity in the Bassus for harmonic purposes hints at its more important role in the modal system to come. Motivicity also proved to be a useful tool for analysis, highlighting changes in text underlay and structural elements that would not so easily have been seen, as is shown in my examples.

One surprising discovery was that this repertoire contains an unexpectedly large number of chansons having voices with extremely small ranges. This may at least partly be a result of the small motivic units that make-up the pieces, as they themselves have a narrow range and only comprise a few notes.

Although I don't believe that a conclusive statement can be made about whether or not this repertoire can be considered humanistic or that modal ethos played a role, clearly Josquin does pay careful attention to the texts that he sets and in doing so gives them a decidedly expressive aspect. Further analysis of individual motives needs to be conducted to observe whether they outline the mode of the piece. This will assist with a further understanding of the role of the motive as an expressive device. Therefore, further analysis has the potential to establish the connection between the individual motives and the text they accompany.

The work done here provides a good step of departure towards a better
understanding of musical structure of five-voice chansons.
Appendices

Chansons Texts: Translations, Rhyme Schemes, and Line Syllabification

Note that all translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Cent mille regretz, me poursuivent sans cesse,
Deuil me conduit et plaisir me delaisse,
Et fortune si tres mal me promene,
Que ma languer vault pis que mort soudaine,
Puis qu'il est force, qu'ainsi je vous delaisse.

One hundred thousand regrets pursue me unceasingly,
Grief drives me and pleasure abandons me
And fortune leads me so very badly
That my languor is worse than sudden death
Since it is forced on me thus to abandon you.

aaba
10 10 10 10

Cueurs desolez par toute nation,
Assemblez dueil et lamentation,
Ne cherchez plus l'armoniance,
Lyre d'Orpheus, pour voz resiouyssance,
Mais plongez vous en desolations.

Desolate hearts throughout all the nation
Make grief and lamentation
Search no longer for harmony
Orpheus's lyre, for your rejoicing
But plunge into desolations.

Aabba
10 10 8 10 10

The text for the cantus firmus uses the 3rd verse of the responsory Libera me from the Requiem mass and is written in the Quinta Pars:

Plorans ploravit in nocte,
et lacrymae eius in maxillis eius,
non est qui consoletur eam
ex omnibus caris eius.

He cried in the night
And his tears
There is no one who is consoled
Of all who were dear to him.

Cueur langoreulx qui ne fais que penser,
Plaindre, gémir, plouer et souspirer,
Resiouys toy, car ta belle maistresse
Par sa pitie te veult donner liesse,
Ioye et plaisir pour te reconforter.

Languorous heart that does nothing but think
Complains, trembles, cries and sighs
Rejoice, because your fair mistress
By her pity wants to give you happiness
Joy and pleasure to comfort you
Aabba
10 10 10 10

Douleur me bat et tristesse m'afole,
Amour me nuyt et malheur me consolle,
Vousloir me suit, mais aider ne me peult,
Jouyr ne puis d'ung grant bien qu'on me veult,
De vivre'ainsi, pour dieu, qu'on me décolle.

Pain tortures me and sadness crowds in on me
Love harms me and despair consoles me
Desire (wish) follows me, but it can’t help me
I cannot enjoy a great good because they want me
To live in this way, for God, that tear me apart.

Aabba
10 10 10 10

Du mien amant le deppart m'est si grief,
sad
Que de la mort, certaine suis en brief,
a
Mon cueur en est le vray pronosticueur,
Car la prison d'amoureuse licueur,
Sans nul respit me cause ce meschief.
mischief.

From my love the beginning is for me so
That of death, for certain comes swiftly (in
brief moment)
My heart is the true prognosticator
Because the prison of the amorous liquor
(nectar)
Without any respite causes me this

II
En moy n'y a ny ressort ny relief,
Adieu amy adieu seigneur et chief,
Fort triumphant et illustre vaincueur,
Par testament ie te laisse mon cueur,
Et bois morir, et adieu derechier.

In me there is neither escape nor relief,
Goodbye friend goodbye lord and chief,
Strong triumphant and illustrious
vanisher,
By testament I leave you my heart,
And drink to die, and immediate goodbye.

Aabba
10 10 10 10

En non saichant ce qu'il luy fault,
Douleur en son cueur plain,
Je languis, non en deffault,
Et de riens ne me plains,
Puisque tout habandonner me fault,
De tous regretz demourray plain.
Without knowing what he needs (for himself)
Pain in his full heart,  
I languish, not in defect  
And I complain of nothing  
Because I must abandon all  
And remain full of all regrets

Ababab  
8 6 7 6 9 8

**Fault d'argent, c'est douleur non pareille,**  
Si ie le dis, las, ie scay bien pourquoy,  
Sans de quibus, il se fault tenir quoy.  
Femme qui dort, pour argent se resveille.

Lack of money, is a sadness without parallel  
If I say it, alas, I know well why,  
Without which, you need something to live on  
Woman who sleeps, for money awakens.

Abba  
10 10 10 10

**Incessament, livré suis** à martire,  
Triste et pensif, tousjours mon mal empire, becomes  
Ainsi dolent me conduit des plaisire.  
Celle qui peult, ne me veult secourir:  
Mon malheur est de tous aultres le pire.

Ceaselessly, I am lead to martyrdom,  
Sad and pensive, always my distress worse  
Thus sadness gives (brings) me displeasure  
She who can, does not want to save me:  
My grief is of all others the worst.

Aabba  
10 10 10 10 10

**Incessament mon povre cuer** lamente,  
Sans nul repos souvenir me tourmente,  
ayant ennuy sans aulcun amandement,  
Bany je suis de tout esbanterment,  
Et si languis pres de mort vehemente.

Unceasingly my poor heart laments,  
Without any repose remembrance torments me,  
Having irritation without any amendment,  
I am banished of all celebrating (dancing)  
And so languors near to vehement death.

Aabba  
10 10 10 10 10

**Je me (mi) complains** de mon amy,  
Qui me souloit (tant) venir veoir  
La fresche matinée, Or est il prime’et s'est midi,
Et si n'oy nouvelle de luy, s'aproche la vesprée.
La tricoon, la belle tricôtée.

I complain about my friend,
Who used to come to see me so often
The early morning, now it is prime and it is noon
And if I have no news of him, Vespers approach.
The trickster, the beautiful deceived

Abcaabb
8 8 6 8 8 6 10

Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer
   Celle qui point ne m'aime,
Je me doibz bien des conforter,
   Car j'é perdu ma peine,
Ma dame souveraine,
   Recevez vostre amy,
Par vostre bonte pleine,
   Ou mort est a demy.

I cannot prevent myself from loving (you/her?).
So who does not love me at all,
[Now] I must be really discomforted,
Because I lost my pain (hurt)
My sovereign lady,
receive your friend,
By your full bounty,
where death is halfway here.

Ababbcbcc
8 6 8 6 6 6 6

L'amye a tous et qui n'esconduit ame,
La plus commune pour une si grand dame,
Qui a ung seul as ton amour donnée,
Et cueur et corps du tout habandonnée.
Pense tu point en recepvoir le blasme.

Friend to all and who does not posses a soul
The most common for such a grand lady
Who has given your heart to one alone
And heart and body abandoned completely.
Think you not that you'll receive the blame?

Aabba
10 10 10 10 10

Text of the cantus firmus of L'amye a tous, Je ne vis oncques, as recorded in the Laborde Chansonnier and my translation:
Je ne vis oncques la pareille,  
De vous ma gracieuse dame  
Car vostre beaute est sure mon ame,  
Because your beauty is on/above my soul  
Sur toutes aultres non pareille  
Above all others who are not (your) equal

En vous voyant je me merveille  
Et de qu'est cecy nostre dame,  
Je ne vis oncques la parailee,  
De vous ma gracieuse dame

Vostre tres grant douleur reveille  
Mon esperit et mon oeil entame  
Mon cœur donc puis dire sans blame  
Because it is preparing to serve you (that) .

Puis qu'a vous servir sa parailee(s'aparaille)  
Je ne vis oncques la parailee,  
De vous ma gracieuse dame

Ma bouche rit et mon cœur pleure,  
My mouth laughs and my heart weeps

Mi l'arés vous tousjours languir,  
I must always languish because of you,  
Mon bien, ma joye, ma souvenance,  
My well being, my joy, my memory  
De doeil morai sans esperance,  
Of grief I would die without hope,  
Se ne me venés secourir.

Abba
8 8 8 8

N'essee pas ung grant despaisir,  
Is this not a great displeasure  
Quant ie n'ose pour mon plaisir,  
When I do not dare for my pleasure  
Pour mon bien et pour ma santé,  
For my well being and for my health  
Faire du mien ma volenté,  
Do of mine my will,  
Et si n'ay point d'aultre desir.  
And if there is no point of other desire.

Aabba
8 8 8 8

La deploration de Johan. Okeghem

Nymphes des bois, déesses des fontaines,  
Chantres expers de toutes nations,  
Cangez voix fort clères et haultaines  
En cris tranchantz et lamentations.
Car d'Atropos les molestations
Vostre'Okeghem par sa rigueur attrappe
Le vray tresoir de musicque'et chief d'oeuvre,
Qui de trepas désormais plus n'eschappe,
Dont grant doumaige'est que la terre coeuvre.

Acoutrez vous d'abitz de deuil:
Josquin, Brumel, Pichon, Compère,
Et plorez grosses larmes de'oeil:
Perdu avez vostre bon père.
Requiescat in pace. Amen.

Nymphes of the woods, goddesses of the fountains,
Expert singers from all nations,
Change your strong voice clear and high (loud)
Into piercing cries and lamentations.
Because from Atropos the molestations
Your Okeghem by his rigor catches
The real treasure of music and composer,
Who from death escapes no longer,
Of which it is a great a pity that the earth covers him.

Dress yourselves in clothes of mourning:
Josquin, Brumel, Pichon, Compere,
And cry large tears form your eyes:
Lost is your good father.
May he rest in peace. Amen.

Ababcb
8 6 8 6 6 6 6

Parfons regretz et lamentable ioy,
Venez a moy, quelque part que is soye,
sans point dissimuler,
Pour promptement mon cuer executer,
Afin qu'en dueil et larmes il se noye.

Profound regrets and lamentable joy,
Come to me, no mater where it is,
Without point dissimulates,
To promptly execute my heart,
In order that in grief and tears it drowns

Aabba
10 10 10 10 10

Plaine de dueil et de melancholy,
Voyant mon mal qui tousiours multiplye,
Et qu'en la fin plus ne le puis porter,
Contraincte suis pour moy reconforter,
Me rendre'a toy, le surplus de ma vie.

Full of grief and of melancholy
Seeing my pain that always multiplies,
and in which the end can no longer carry
I am constrained to comfort myself
I give myself to you, the remainder
of my

II
Je te requiers et humblement supplie,
Pour les douleurs de quoy je suis ramplie,
Ne me vouloir jamais abandonner,
-
Pluisqu'a vous suis la reste de ma vie.

I request of you and humbly beg,
For the pain of which I am filled,
That you will never wish to abandon me,
Because you are the rest of my life.

III
Il ne me chault quy quy en pleure ou rie;
A vous je suis: besoing n'est que le nie,
Plus n'est possible a moy dissimuler,
dissimulate,
Parquoj je dis en parlant de cueur cler,
Qu'a vous me rens la reste de ma vie.

It does not matter to me who cries or laughs about it;
To you I belong: I need to deny
It is no longer possible for me to
Which is why I say in speaking of a clear heart,
That to you I give the rest of my life.

Aabbba
10 10 10 10 10

Plusieurs regretz, qui sur la terre sont,
Et les douleurs qu'hommes et femmes ont,
N'est que plaisir envers ceulx que ie porte,
Me tourmentant,de si piteusse sorte,
Que mes espris ne schavent plus qu'ilz font.

Many regrets that are on the earth,
And the sorrows that men and women have,
There is no need to deny the pleasure [love] I bear towards them,
Tormenting me, of a most piteous fate,
That my mind (spirit) no longer know what they are doing.

Aabbba
10 10 10 10 10
Motivicity Samples

Figure 1: Motivicity Analysis of Je ne me puis

31. Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer.

A cinq.

Josselin des Prés.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Superius.} & \\
& \quad J e \quad n e \quad m e \quad p u i s \quad t e \quad n i r \quad d' a i \quad m e \quad C e l \quad l e \quad q u i \quad p o i n t \quad n e \quad m'ai \quad m e, \\
\text{Contratenor.} & \\
& \quad J e \quad n e \quad m e \quad p u i s \quad t e \quad n i r \quad d' a i \quad m e \quad C e l \quad l e \quad q u i \quad p o i n t \quad m e \quad m'ai \quad m e, \\
\text{Tenor.} & \\
& \quad J e \quad n e \quad m e \quad p u i s \quad t e \quad n i r \quad d' a i \quad m e \quad C e l \quad l e \quad q u i \quad p o i n t \quad m e \quad m'ai \quad m e, \\
\text{Quinta Pars.} & \\
& \quad J e \quad n e \quad m e \quad p u i s \quad t e \quad n i r \quad d' a i \quad m e \quad C e l \quad l e \quad q u i \quad p o i n t \quad m e \quad m'ai \quad m e, \\
\text{Bassus.} & \\
& \quad J e \quad n e \quad m e \quad p u i s \quad t e \quad n i r \quad d' a i \quad m e \quad C e l \quad l e \quad q u i \quad p o i n t \quad m e \quad m'ai \quad m e, \\
\end{align*}
\]
Chanson Motivicity profiles

_L’amye a tous_ 441/671=65.72% permeation. _L’amye a tous_ finds the motivicity projected mainly vertically, yet with instances of motivic repetition within a voice (Contratenor mm. 61-64). Two, three, or four repeated notes (often quarter or half notes) proves a common motivic device. Segments of the text repeat often, overlapping with the proceeding fragment of text. No cadence separates the final line of text from the one that precedes them and as before, the text repeats several times. Mainly new motives accompany the final line of text with one instance of a motive related to previously heard material (Tenor mm.71-3 related to the motive in the Tenor, mm. 11-13). Mm. 74 to the end finds the Superius moving in a melodic line, free from motivic material. Furthermore, all the parts except for the Quinta pars break from motivic scaffolding before the end of the _chanson_.

_Cent mille regretz_ 561/674=83.23% permeation. Although mainly motivically projected vertically, in mm. 29-40 of the Superius, the motive repeats accompanying the same line of text. Only the third line of text fully repeats, whereas only the final 4 syllables of the last line of text repeat. Many times, a motive begins the same way, to be lead in a different direction with each occurrence of the motive taking a different possible conclusion to the same opening notes. Josquin could not set the opening words of the _chanson_, “Cent mille regretz,” a 4-note motive because even though one counts only four syllables of text, the singer must pronounce it as five. The ‘-le’ in “mille” is pronounced as a separate syllable, but since it appears in the middle of the line of text and not at the end, it is only counted as one. Therefore, the natural rhythm of five syllables that are pronounced in the text, match the five notes in the music in four of the five voices. A
cadence in measure 40, with the participation of three of the five voices would be
analysed in the tonal system as IV. This marks the only instance in this chanson where a
musical and textual phrase ends simultaneously in all the present voices without any
overlapping of a newly introduced phrase. Thus this cadence divides the piece in two,
the first section comprising the opening three lines of text, and the concluding section, the
final two lines of text. Cent mille regretz does not include a codetta; however, Josquin
composed the music slightly more densely from mm. 46 onward until the end at mm62.
Many of the motives as well as other instances in unmotivic sections of the chanson use
two reoccurring ideas which cannot be thought of as motives in and of themselves:
repeated notes, usually two but occasionally three, and a dotted half, usually followed by
at least one and often several, quarter notes.

Cueur desolez 413/537=76.91% permeation. The music show motivicity projected
vertically and horizontally. The Quinta Pars forms a cantus firmus and retains its Latin
text. The chanson both opens with as well as containing other 4-note motives. Josquin
plays with the rhythmic motive composed of a dotted half note followed by a quarter note
and employs this motive mainly in ascending and descending scale passages. Often the
last four syllables of a line of text are repeated. However, the last line of text repeats in
its entirety. Despite this, there is no actual cadencial division in the music to create a
codetta section. This more extended setting of the final line of text non-the-less helps to
give a sense of closure to the chanson. The motivicity is mainly projected vertically,
however there are also instances where it is horizontal. In the Bassus mm. 13-19, for
example, the same motive repeats three times in a row, each time to the same text. This
motive is also found elsewhere in other voices, so that it also functions vertically as well
as horizontally. The *cantus firmus* provides several snippets of music with the other voices pick-up making them into motives. In other words, in this *chanson*, Josquin used the given music of the *cantus* to construct his composition, by creating motives out of the music that it provided.

*Cueur langoreulx* 525/590= 88.98 % permeation. The motive first heard in the Contratenor (mm. 4-5) reoccurs throughout the *chanson*. This chanson has no codetta, rather the final line of text is slightly extended for emphasis. Also, the Superius holds their final note for 10 bars.

Rifkin notes that the music of *Cueur langoreulx* “demarcates the lines clearly and even pays careful respect to the caesura after each initial hemistich, especially in lines 1-3.”

“Motivic economy and exploitation of surface-structural ambiguity” define this *chanson* according to Rifkin.

*Douleur me bat* 522/556= 93.88% permeation. A cadence at mm. 45 separates the main body of the *chanson* from the extended codetta lasting from mm. 45-62. mm. 45-53 exactly replicate mm 37-45 both in text and in music. The second, repeated cadence at mm 53 ushers in the final restatement of the last six syllables of text with new motivic material with the exception of the motive in the Tenor (mm. 53-55) taken from the Bassus just preceding, but part of the larger segment of repeated material. This creates a sense of overlap between these two seemingly separate sections of the codetta.

*Du mien amant* 423/432=97.92% permeation. This *chanson* opens with a 4-note motive, as well as containing others. Some common motive traits involve the repetition of a note two or three times as well as two pair of repeated notes heard back to back. A unison on

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483 Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 5.
‘a’, scale degree 4 in tonal terms creates a cadence point at mm.45, immediately before the last phrase of text. This concluding phrase contains two returning motives previously heard in the chanson and one motive unique to the passage.

En non saichant 373/613=60.85% permeation. The music projects the motivicity both vertically and horizontally. This chanson opens as well as containing other 4-note motives. It also boasts several 3-note motives, which accompany three syllables of text. A common feature among motives is the rhythm of a doted half followed by either one or three quarter notes. Two cadences enclose a homophonic section between mms. 21-23. Mm.20 cadences on a ‘d,’ forming a IV sonority in tonal terms and a cadence on the modal ‘a’ concludes the homophonic interlude. The homophony accompanies the text “Je languis,” repeated twice and then in some voices a third, this time returning to polyphony and immediately followed by the continuation of the text.

Faute d’argent 787/871=90.36% permeation. The music projects motivicity both vertically and horizontally. Although this chanson contains 4-note motives, it does not open with one. This chanson contains two versions of a single motive where one motive is found within another. Sometimes the shorter, and sometimes the longer version, appears. The repeated text of the final phrase serves as no distinguishing feature, since all or part of many of the lines of text repeat. Previously heard as well as new motives set the concluding iteration of the final line of text. This chanson provides several examples of how motivicity analysis can help to clarify the text underlay.

“In bars 12-16 and their repetition at bars 17-21, for example, the familiar descending motive on “c’est douleur non pareille,” heard alternately in the outer voices, remains at the same pitch level while the canonc second and fourth voices present their contrasting
motive at two transposition levels and at two different points of temporal intersection with the descending line. Similarly, in bars 25-30, the dotted version of the motive "Se [*si] je le dis," chasing the undotted version of the canonic voices at the distances of a semibreve, keeps obstinately to a single pitch level even as the undotted version changes from one to another.\textsuperscript{485}

\textit{Incessament livré suis} 472/489=96.52\% permeation. 6 of the 17 notes that are not a returning motive are found at a cadence point in bars 30-32 in the Bassus part. At this point in the \textit{chanson}, the Tenor is not present in the texture. Therefore, the Bassus takes on a harmonic bearing function. There are rhythmic motives that return with different melodic contour. The last line of text is repeated with new motivic material and serves as a codetta.

\textit{Incessament mon povre cuer lamente} 499/594=84.01\% permeation. The codetta is formed from the repetition of the second half of the last line of text, the music for which uses both new and previously heard motives.

\textit{Je me complains} 530/656=80.79\% permeation. Josquin sets the mournful opening line of text with a descending tetrachord, stereotypical of sorrow until the time of Mozart. (Curtis, 1) It contains 4-note motives. The same motive often accompanies different lines of text. \textit{Je me complains} has no codetta however a constant quarter note beat in the Tenor and Bassus (mm. 53-55) add interest to the closing phrase.

\textit{Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer} 780/797=97.86\% permeation. Most of the time a line of text repeats although not always accompanied by the same motive. Motives often repeat accompanied by different text. Josquin forms the final phrase of text and music of \textit{Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer} partially from previously heard material including two motives

\textsuperscript{485} Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices,' 6-7.
taken from the first phrase of the chanson and one first heard in the Contratenor (mm. 57-58) and subsequently reoccurring in the two following phrases of text in the same voice. This final phrase also has a new motive all its own. Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer contains no codetta, however, the repetition homophonically of the second half of the final line of text gives a sense of conclusion to the chanson. One motive that first appears in the Contratenor (mm. 8-12) returns in an isolated occurrence in the Bassus part (mm 17-20).

In Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer, “a through-composed chanson without any scaffolding device, he took full advantage of the possibilities of imitative writing and choral dialogue to vary the texture of the music and to extend each phrase by working with one or more motifs very much in the manner of a motet.”

L’amye a tous 441/671=65.72% permeation. L’amye a tous opens with a 4-note motive. Similarly to Nymphes des bois, two, three, and four repeated notes are common traits or ideas among many of the motives of the chanson. This chanson does not have a discrete codetta section. Much of the concluding music is not motivically composed. Once again as a piece with a cantus the question arises as to how the pre-existing melody functions within its new context and how it impacts on the motivicity. Josquin placed the cantus in the Tenor in longer note values so that it can be distinguished from the rest of the text as would be done if a tenor chant was utilized for the same purpose. Thus it may remain separate from motivic interaction between the other parts and serves as a basis for the vertical sonorities. In this case, it does not seem that any of the motives find their origins in the cantus part. Although L’amye a tous has no codetta, the final lines of text, like the others preceding ones, repeats, elaborated by a slightly extended melisma in the Contratenor (mm.79-81).

486 Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
Ma bouche rit 511/622= 82.15% permeation. Josquin in Ma bouche rit, projects the
motivicity both horizontally and vertically. Furthermore, motives reappear seemingly
randomly. Ma bouche rit has no codetta. Instead, dense repetition of short four and five
note motives and a long held final note in the Superius solidify the end of the chanson.
Mi larés vous tousjours languir 318/441=72.34% permeation. The music projects the
motivicity horizontally and vertically. This chanson contains 4-note motives. A dotted
half note followed by a quarter note is a rhythmic feature found in several motives.

Change in meter in mm. 28-29 of the Tenor line. The text of the second, third, and final
line of Mi larés vous tousjours languir are repeated, though this last, only in two voices.
A time signature change emphasises the first occurrence of the final line of text with its
singular entry in the Tenor part at mm. 28-29. Following this in mm. 32, there is a
moment of homophony on the persistent penultimate line of text, ending in mm. 33 with
a cadence on G, the modal final. This final segment, mm. 33-43, cannot be seen as a
codetta because although the final line of text has already appeared it has only done so
very sparsely in the texture, occurring only in the Tenor (mm28-29) and Contratenor
(mm. 30-33) parts.

N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir 492/544=90.44% permeation. Motivicity more dispersed
with motives with frequently reappearing and not confined to a single clause or phrase of
text. The codetta of N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir starts at mm. 35 after a cadence on
‘D’, the forth of the mode. This codetta reiterates the second half of the last line of text.
In contrast to the independence of line found previously throughout the chanson, in the
final five measures, (starting at mm. 40) all voices but the Quinta Pars, which is holding a
single note ‘A’, sing in homophony. This chanson projects motivicity both horizontally
and vertically. In mm. 20-30 the motive in the Superius projects horizontally, but
simultaneously appears in the Contratenor voice. This motive is one that also sounded earlier in the chanson, again in the Superius voice. In each reiteration, the motive accompanies a different line of text. The chanson ends homophonically from mm. 40-44. *Nymphes des bois* 657/817=80.42% permeation. The piece projects the motivicity both vertically and horizontally. Josquin uses repeated notes in pairs, groups of threes and groups of fours to form part of his motivic construction. He also frequently utilizes the rhythm of a dotted whole note followed by a half note. Although some motives appear perhaps only twice in the chanson in close proximity to each other, some other motive reoccur frequently throughout, sometimes slightly altered, but still recognizable as being related. Confusing when analyzing this particular chanson is the fact that the motives are not always presented at the beginning of a musical phrase, nor necessarily corresponding to the beginning of a line of text.

This chanson uniquely is possessed of two distinct sections, three if considering the Latin conclusion as separate, comprising mm. 1-110, mm. 111-14, and mm. 143-158 respectively. Josquin introduces little variation in note values and mainly uses breves and semibreves. The sombre subject of the text may explain this choice. Josquin uses an introit for his tenor line, retaining the Latin text. This drives us to ask how motivicity functions in this chanson since a pre-existing line forms part of the texture? The tenor part does participate in the motivicity, for example, in mm. 7-10. This implies Josquin used selected pitches for the *cantus prius factus* as a motive that he then introduced into the other voices. At other times however, the tenor holds a single note for extended period of time (mm. 28-41), a practice common when using religious texts as a *cantus*. This makes the part more audible to the listener so that they are able to pick out the chant
from the texture. The tenor line remains silent for the second section of the chanson to return in the third. This third section begins homophonically with the setting of the Latin text “Requiescat in pace” but returns to polyphony for the concluding “Amen.” Other homophonic begin and divide the second section of the chanson. In actuality, the music from mm. 127-142 replicates in its entirety mm. 111-126 with different lines of text. Of interest to note is the distinction between the two iterations in the division of the same material into smaller musical motives. Whereas in the first musical statement the corresponding line of text contains a caesura after the fourth syllable, in the second appearance of the music, the caesura occurs in this new text, unusually, after the fifth syllable. No codetta.

Parfons regretz 530/541=97.97% permeation. The music that sets the second half of the first line of text (mm. 10-20) recurs to set the second half of the second line of text (mm. 20-28). It is repeated in its entirety with only very slight changes in note values as needed to accommodate the different music that proceeds both occurrences. One phrase of music comes close to repeating to accompany a different line of text (mm. 28-36 and mm. 36-44). Parfons regretz has a codetta that repeats the final line of text to different music. It has a mixture of new motives as well as two returning motives. One of these, first heard previously in the Contratenor (mm. 49-52), returns in the codetta in the Tenor (mm. 62-67), and the other, heard earlier in the Countratenor (mm. 14-17) reoccurs in a slightly altered form in the Superius (mm. 63-67). The lines of text are often repeated, so the repetition of the second half of the final line of text comes as no surprise and this device cannot be seen as distinguishing this last segment as codetta or concluding section. Instead, single iterations of 4 previously heard motives are introduced into the texture that
also includes a new motive exclusive to this closing segment.

*Plaine de deuil* 429/438 = 97.94% permeation. This canson has 4-note motives. Also, many of the motives begin with three repeated notes or one note followed by two repeating notes. This *chanson* has three verses of text, however the third line of the second verse is missing. Were all verses performed and if so was the *chanson* as a whole simply repeated? There is no codetta and the final line of text only repeats to a similar extent as previous line of text. The lack of a codetta would make the repetition of the whole *chanson* with the different verses of text more plausible. There are insistences where the motivicity is projected horizontally such as in the Tenor line in particular where, between mm. 7-22, the same motive is heard four times. Again at mm. 37-41, a different motive is repeated back to back in the same voice, this time in the Bassus.

*Plusieurs Regretz* 608/642 = 94.70% permeation. The opening motive in the Contratenor poses an interesting question. Where does it actually begin and end? The last note of the motive seems to be the first note of its repetition. A pair of motives heard simultaneously in the Contratenor and Tenor of one phrase of text (mm. 27-33) return in the following phrase with the same pairing and set to a different line of text (mm. 36-42) and surrounded this time by different material. The codetta repeats the text and motives almost exactly except of the closing few perfections. Triplets used at the end of the last two phrases of the text and music in the Bassus (mm. 49-50) and Contratenor (mm. 57-58) respectively serve as an ornament and slight change to the ending of motives. This change in rhythm provides a high point of interest immediately before the codetta and at the end of the codetta, helping to giving a sense of closer to the *chanson*.

Josquin mirrored the poetic structure in the music, which, “composed around a canon, the
structural device that he used more than any other settings of serious courtly lyrics.\textsuperscript{487}

*Plusieures regretz* has a *chanson* text containing a strophe of five lines, each of which is ten syllables in length with a caesura after the fourth. The line endings rhyme in an aabba pattern that can be observed in other pieces in Josquin’s *five voice repertoire including* *Cent mille regretz, Incessament livré suis, Incessament mon pove cuer lamant, Plaine de dueil, Parfons regretz, Du mien amant, Douleur me bat,* and *Fault d’argent.*

The texts of *N’essee pas ung grant desplaisir,* and *Cueur desolez* also contain the same rhyme pattern, but their line lengths are shorter. All the voices perform the same courtly love text.

\begin{quote}
Plusieurs regretz, qui sur la terre sont,  
Et les douleurs, qu’hommes et femmes ont,  
N’est que plaisir envers ceulx que ie porte,  
Me tourmentant de si piteusse sorte,  
Que mes espris ne schaivent plus qu’ilz font.
\end{quote}

The music of *Plusieures regretz* is not built on a *cantus firmus* melody, but rather the music is comprised of a series of motives that the voices repeat in turn. The separation of a single line of text is indicated by the caesura after the fourth syllable of the text that is reflected frequently in the music by a notated rest. Sometimes the first note of a motive beginning after the caesura is the last note of a perfection and can be seen as being allied to the first note of the next perfection. In a sense this seemingly oddly placed note acts like a modern day upbeat and helps to propel the music forward.

The majority of the *chansons* confine one motive to one segment of text with sometimes the entries of the next set of motives and segment of text overlapping slightly the previous. In *Plusieur regretz,* the motives and voice entries of each line of text do overlap with the preceding segment. Of course, this does not mean that the same motive

\textsuperscript{487} Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.
cannot be used again elsewhere in the *chansons* for another line of text. Motives reoccur at a different time in this *chanson* with different text such as the one found in the Contratenor mm. 24-26 that returns again in the same voice in mm. 33-35. At both this points the motive is heard simultaneously with another motive, a simpler four-note motive. Only some of the *chansons* that display motivicity have the simultaneous sounding of motives within a single line of text. Those that do include *Fault d’argent*, *Plaine de dueil*, and *Incessament mon pvre cuer lamente*. The exception to this occurs in a selection of the *chansons*, where there is a closing codetta like section that often repeats the last line of text and differs structurally from the bulk of the piece. *Plusieurs regret* has such a codetta starting at mm. 51. This repeats the last line of text and the music itself is reiterated with only small changes pertaining to the closing four bars of the piece where the contratenor adds a final melisma and the bassus part alters to take on a more functional “harmonic” role for the final cadence. The motive in the bassus part also changes at mm. 24-25. These last two notes in harmonic terms give the root of the cords V-I. Although at this time, musicians functioned modally clearly in this instance the notes chosen in this context should be examined closely. Since the tenor part, who would normally carry the *cantus firmus* and therefore be the structural voice of a piece, is silent at the cadence point, it seems natural for another voice to step in to provide that structure. Perhaps at this moment, we are observing part of the embryonic stage of tonal harmony and the eventually shift in the role of the bearer of the harmony from the tenor to the bass voice.

Analysis by way of motivicity reveals changes to text underlay, indicates where the same text might be repeated. In the Contratenor mm. 1-5 and mm. 12-19 the repeated
motive seems to overlap, in other words, one note seems to be both the end of one motive and the beginning of the next. This makes it difficult to know exactly where to put the text underlay. If the text is added based on the laws of text underlay, the result seems to be a shifting of the meter creating a syncopation and a teasing of the listener.
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