

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]



uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES



FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

Jessica Thirlwall

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Musicology)

GRADE / DEGRÉ

Department of Music

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Towards a Reticular Analysis of Josquin's Five-Voice *Chansons*

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Nicole Labelle

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Lori Burns

Murray Dineen

Gary W. Slater

LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

**Towards a Reticular Analysis of Josquin's Five-Voice
*Chansons***

Jessica Thirlwall

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



Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-494-11431-2

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-494-11431-2

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	v
List of Figures	vi
Abstract	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction	1
Historical Background.....	2
Motivicity	4
Textual Issues	5
Josquin Biography.....	10
Chronology of Josquin's Life.....	12
The Effect of Patronage on Josquin's Musical Output	18
Josquin's Musical and Courtly Connections.....	19
Ties to the Court of Margaret of Austria.....	19
Possible Ties to the French Court	19
Josquin as Student and Teacher	21
Josquin as Ockeghem's Student.....	21
Josquin as Teacher	22
History of the <i>Chanson</i>	24
Origins of the Chanson.....	24
Guillaume de Machaut	26
Burgundian or Franco-Flemish School	28
Guillaume Du Fay	29
Gilles Binchois	30
Busnoys	31
1470: The "New" Generation Preceding Josquin	32
Josquin and His Generation.....	33
Musical Influences on Josquin from Prior Generations.....	35
Chansons in the Period Immediately Following Josquin's Generation	35
Performance Practice.....	36
Voice vs. Instrument	36
Performance Practice of Canons	36
The Printing Press: Its influence on the Chanson Audience and Josquin's Place in	
Musical History	37
Compositional Process in the Early Renaissance.....	39
Information Gleaned from Renaissance Theorists	39
The Use of Scores	42
The Implications of a Fifth Voice on Compositional Process	43
The Addition of Another Voice to an Existing Composition.....	44
Josquin's <i>Chanson</i> Repertoire.....	45
General Characteristics	45
Josquin's Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire.....	46
Josquin's Chanson as Compositional Exercises.....	47
The Placement of Josquin's Five-Voice Chansons in the Chronology of His Life	47
Josquin's General Musical Stylistic Elements	48

Musical Canons within the Repertoire	49
Cross Relations within the Repertoire	50
Authenticity of Josquin's Five-Voice Chansons	51
Settings by Other Composers	64
Manuscripts and Printed Sources Containing Josquin's Five-Voice <i>Chansons</i>	66
General Overview	66
Historical Information and Content	67
Augsburg, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek, MS 142 a	67
Brussels 228	67
Florence 2442	68
FlorL 666	68
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS mus. 1508	68
RISM 1508: Petrucci's Motetti a cinque	70
RISM 1540	70
RISM J681-Attaignant (Pierre) Trente Sixiesme Livre	70
RISM 1545	72
Uppsala 76 b	73
Vatican PL 1980-1: Medici Codex	73
Vatican 1982	74
Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 18746	75
The <i>Chansons</i> Texts: Structural Analysis, and Historical Information	78
Textual Structure	79
<i>Cœurs desolez</i>	80
<i>Cœur langoreulx</i>	81
<i>En non saichant</i>	81
<i>Fault d'argent</i>	82
<i>Je me complains</i>	82
<i>Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer</i>	83
<i>L'ame a tous</i>	83
<i>Ma bouche rit</i>	84
<i>Nymphes des bois</i>	85
<i>Plusieurs regretz</i>	90
Text Setting	90
Motivcity	90
4-Note Motives	91
Similar Motivic Ideas Among <i>Chansons</i>	92
Homophonic or Polyphonically Opening Texture	93
Leading Voice(s) of the Motivcity	97
'Codettas'	100
<i>Chansons</i> Without a 'Codetta'	104
Vertical Motivic Projection	106
Motivcity and Rhyme Scheme	107
Text Underlay as Clarified by Motivcity	107
Voice Range	108
Bass Function	110
Mode	111

What is Mode?	112
The Composers Choice of Mode: What the Theorists Say	112
Mode in the Context of Secular Polyphony	113
Identification of the Mode of a Composition	113
The Determination of Mode Assignment of Josquin's Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire	115
Mode 1.....	115
Mode 2.....	116
Mode 3.....	116
Mode 4.....	116
Mode 5.....	116
Mode 8.....	116
Origins of the Concept of Modal Affect: What is Modal Affect or Ethos?.....	117
Modal Affect and its Relationship to Humanism.....	117
Definition and Historical Background	118
Humanism in Poetry.....	119
Humanism in Music Theory.....	121
Applicability of Humanistic Analysis to Josquin's Music.....	122
Ethos of the Modes: The Greek and Christian Modal Associations	122
The Usage by Composers of the Concept of Modal Affect in Josquin's Time	127
The Applicability of Modal Affect to Polyphonic Secular Music	132
Text Expression on a Theoretical Level.....	132
Text Expression on a Practical Level.....	135
Modal Affect in Josquin's Five-Voice <i>Chanson</i> Repertoire	137
The Effect of a Pre-existent Cantus Firmus on Josquin's Choice of Mode	138
Mode Defining Motives	139
Text Expression through Modal Manipulation	139
Cantus Firmus, Mode and Textual Theme.....	140
Laments: Points of Analysis and Discussion	141
Nymphes des bois.....	142
Coeur desolez	143
Conclusion.....	145
Appendices	147
Chansons Texts: Translations, Rhyme Schemes, and Line Syllabification	147
Motivcity Samples	154
Chanson Motivcity profiles.....	160
Bibliography.....	173
Manuscript Sources.....	173
Information about Manuscripts	173
Analytical	175
Historical	180

List of Tables

Table 1: Mode Ethos in the Renaissance	125
Table 2: Classica Categories of Ethos Associated with Pitch.....	127
Table 3: Ethos of Modes: The Medieval Ecclesiastical Tradition	129

List of Figures

Figure 1: Cross Relations in <i>Douleur me bat</i>	51
Figure 2: 4-Note Motive in <i>Parfons regretz</i>	91
Figure 3: 4-Note Motive in <i>Plusieurs regretz</i>	92
Figure 4: A Common Descending Motive in <i>Je ne me puis</i>	93
Figure 5: A Common Descending Motive in <i>Parfons regretz</i>	93
Figure 6: Cadence Before the Codetta in <i>Douleur me bat</i>	101
Figure 7: Cadence Before the Codetta in <i>N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir</i>	102
Figure 8: A Motive Returning in the Codetta of <i>Douleur me bat</i>	103
Figure 9: A Motive Returning the Codetta of <i>Parfons regretz</i>	103
Figure 10: A Motive Returning in the codetta of <i>Parfons regretz</i>	103
Figure 11: Quarter Notes at the Close of <i>Je me complain</i>	104
Figure 12: Quarter Notes at the Close of <i>Je me complain</i>	105
Figure 13: A Motive Returning at the Close of <i>Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer</i>	105
Figure 14: Elaborated Repeat at the Close of <i>L'ame a tous</i>	105
Figure 15: Time Signature Change at the Close of <i>Mi larés vous tousjours languir</i>	106
Figure 16: The Final Text at the Close of <i>Mi larés vous tousjours languir</i>	106
Figure 17: Changes to the Text Underlay Required in <i>Cent mille regretz</i>	108
Figure 18: Changes in the Text Underlay Required in <i>Faulte d'argent</i>	108
Figure 19: Harmonic Function in the Bassus Voice of <i>Incessamment livré suis</i>	111
Figure 20: Motivity Analysis of <i>Je ne me puis</i>	154
Figure 21: Motivity Analysis of <i>Du mien amant</i>	157

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.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Paul Merkley for his guidance in the initial stages of my thesis work and to Dr. Nicole Labelle for successive assistance. I very much appreciated the consultations and discussions with my school college Catherine Lamarre, which greatly aided my progress and focus. Special thanks should be extended to my family and friends for their support and assistance, particularly Stephen Thirlwall and Rama Deljouravesh for their editorial assistance, as well as, Nathalie Thirlwall, Gale Thirlwall, Amelia Brunet, and Sarah Wilkinson.

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 langoreulx*, *Cueur desolez/Plorans ploravit*, *Douler me bat*, *Du mien amant*, *En non saichant*, *Faulte d'argent*, *Incessament livré suis*, *Incessament mon povre cueur*, *Je me complains*, *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*, *L'ame a tous/Je ne vis oncques*, *Ma bouche rit*, *Mi larés vous*, *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*, *Nymphes des bois*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de dueil*, *Plusieurs regretz*. The study of a phenomenon termed by Joshua Rifkin 'motivicity', 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 treaties 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.

Motivicity

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 'motivicity' 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, *Faulte 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 divisions 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 treatises 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.

³ See Allan W. Atlas, *The Norton Introduction to Music History: Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 286-288.

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

them. Nicholas Routley offers a concise and detailed overview of the rules of *musica ficta*, which served as a guide for my own decisionmaking.⁴

Although attempts to categorize Josquin's five-voice repertoire have been made by Lawrence Bernstein⁵ and Leeman Perkins⁶, 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 *chanson* versus the *rondeau*), then sub-types based on musical procedures such as canons and use of a tenor *prius factus*.⁷ 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 'motivicity' by Rifkin.⁸ 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 identification 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

⁴ Nicholas Routley, 'A Practical Guide to *Musica Ficta*,' *Early Music* 13 (1985): 59-71.

⁵ Lawrence F Bernstein, 'Chansons for Five and Six Voices,' *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 393-422.

⁶ Leeman L Perkins, 'Toward a Typology of Renaissance Chanson,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6 n 4 (1988): 421-47.

⁷ Bernstein, 'Chansons for Five and Six Voices', 393-422.

⁸ Perkins, 'Toward a Typology of Renaissance Chanson', 421-47.

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 analyze as a body of work from this period that had a wide influence since it was considered to be by our influential 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 analytical 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 fascicles) 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

⁹ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 545 and Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 224.

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"¹²) dit Desprez, his uncle, Gilles Lebloitte dit Desprez, and aunt, Jacque Banneston.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 1489.¹⁴

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.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."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 16th 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."¹⁷

¹² Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin", 132.

¹³ Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 456-59 and 463-65.

¹⁴ Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin", 132.

¹⁵ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 131.

¹⁶ Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara", 549 and Matthews and Merkley, "Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez", 215.

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 diocesis, 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 “Hoyne” (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

¹⁸ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 12.

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.

²⁴ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 12.

²⁵ Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 456-59, 463-65 and Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 544-5.

²⁶ Matthews and Merkley, “Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez”, 208-9.

²⁷ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 13.

June 1484

A papal supplication attested to Josquin's presence in the service of the newly reigning cardinal, Ascanio Sforza²⁸, and named him as a commensual familiar.²⁹

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 Guiberteau, singer Hector Charlemagne, known to the composer from his time at the court of René d'Anjou)³⁰ This document refers to Josquin as a "cleric of Cambrai" and a singer of the duke of Milan.³¹

*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".³² 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 indulgences 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."³³

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.³⁴ 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).³⁵

August 1489 until at least March 1494 (at least, but gone by 1500)

Josquin served as a ducal singer at the papal chapel.³⁶

²⁸ Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', 548.

²⁹ Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', 545.

³⁰ Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', 545.

³¹ Matthews and Merkley, "Tudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte di Deprez", 218, 225.

³² Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', 542.

³³ Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara", 582.

³⁴ Sherr, 'Chronology of Josquin's Life and Career', 14.

³⁵ Sherr, 'Chronology of Josquin's Life and Career', 14.

³⁶ Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', 546; Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 133, 147; Sherr "A Biographical Miscellany", 66; and Sherr, 'Chronology of Josquin's Life and Career', 14. 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.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.”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).”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].”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.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.”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.”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.⁴⁴

8 November 1493

³⁷ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 65-6.

³⁸ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66.

³⁹ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁴⁰ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁴¹ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 66-7.

⁴² Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 67.

⁴³ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 67 and n.10.

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.”⁴⁵

9 November of 1494

A bull showed that Josquin received a canonry/prebend in the church of St. Géry in the diocese of Cambrai.⁴⁶

9 November 1494

Rome granted “Judocus de Pratis” a canonry and prebend for the church of Saint-Géry in the diocese of Cambrai.⁴⁷ In February of 1495, a correction to the above document was made, replacing the original name with “Iudocum”, suggesting that Josquin is still in Rome and noticed the mistake.⁴⁸

***23 December of 1498 and 8 February 1499**

Two letters referred to a Josquin “servitore” of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, may be Josquin Desprez.⁴⁹

***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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

3 May of 1504 until his death

Josquin obtained a benefice as a new canon at the church of Notre Dame in Condé-sur

⁴⁵ Sherr ‘A Biographical Miscellany’, 67 and n.11 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁴⁶ Sherr ‘A Biographical Miscellany’, 67 and n.12.

⁴⁷ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁴⁸ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁴⁹ Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez in Ferrara’, 546 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 15.

⁵⁰ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 16.

⁵¹ Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez in Ferrara’, 547 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 16.

⁵² Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 332.

Escaut.⁵³ Josquin may have obtained this post via a three-way exchange between Loyset Compère and singer Pierre Duwez.⁵⁴ Documents kept in the *Archivio di Stato* of Ferrara included two acts of behest dated 30 May 1503 lawfully giving Josquin possession of the canonry and prebend of the church of Saint Mary of Condé.⁵⁵ His residence there spanned the reigns of Julius II and Leo X.⁵⁶

***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.⁵⁷ 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.”⁵⁸

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 canonry 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.”⁵⁹ The question still remains as 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.⁶⁰ 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

⁵³ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 544, 547-8 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 16.

⁵⁴ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 548 and 550-560.

⁵⁵ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 550-560.

⁵⁶ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 68 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 17.

⁵⁷ Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 174 and Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 17.

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.

⁶⁰ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 68 and n.14.

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 “Joskin,” 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**

“Osthoff 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 in 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

⁶¹ Sherr “A Biographical Miscellany”, 69.

⁶² Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 456-59 and 463-6 and Lowinsky, “Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza”, 535.

⁶³ Sherr, ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career’, 18.

⁶⁴ Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoff’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?”⁶⁶ 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 *Cueurs 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"

⁶⁶ Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', 570.

⁶⁷ Merkley, "Josquin Desprez 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.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?”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.”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 Ockeghem 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.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.”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*

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.

⁶⁹ Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoff’s Josquin Monograph”, 531 n. 1a.

⁷⁰ Lowinsky, “Helmuth Osthoff’s Josquin Monograph”, 531 n. 1a.

⁷¹ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara”, 564.

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*, *Faulte d'argent*.⁷⁶

Josquin as Student and Teacher

Josquin as Ockeghem's Student

Teacher/student relationships claimed in contemporaneous documents and treatises include Johannes Ockeghem as Josquin's teacher and many well-known composers as his students. Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti accademici* (Benice, 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

⁷³ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 148.

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 one may also say that Josquin, Ockeghem's pupil*, was a natural prodigy in music, just as our own Michelangelo Buonarroti 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 prolation 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 Coclico.

⁷⁷ Owens, “Music Historiography and the Definition of ‘Renaissance,’” *Notes* 47 (1990): 311.

⁷⁸ Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint: Part Three of Le istituzioni harmoniche*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New York: Norton, 1968), 243.

⁷⁹ Owens, “Historiography,” 323, n. 59.

⁸⁰ Sighted in Higgins, “Musical ‘Parents’ and Their ‘Progeny,’” 175-6 n. 39 from Hieronymus Cardanus, *Writings on Music*, trans. and ed. Clement A. Miller (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 153.

⁸¹ Higgins, “Musical ‘Parents’ and Their ‘Progeny,’” 179.

Teofilo Folengo in his *Toscolano* (1521)⁸², 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.”⁸³ For example, Hermann Finck names Nicolaus Gombert as Josquin’s follower⁸⁴ and I. Megnier describes Orlando di Lasso as Josquin’s student in one of his sonnets (Paris, 1584).⁸⁵

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, Sire, 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, Certon*, [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.”⁸⁶

Adrian Petit Coclico names himself a pupil of Josquin’s on the title page of his *Compendium musices* of 1552.⁸⁷ Vincenzo Galilei, in his *Discorso intorno all’uso delle dissonanze*, also reasserted Coclico’s claim.⁸⁸ Higgins commented on how

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

⁸³ Owens, ‘Music Historiography,’ 310, nn. 15-16, and 3131, n. 24 and Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 179 n. 74.

⁸⁴ Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 176 n. 42 sights Hermann Finckh, *Practica musica* (Wittenburg, 1556; facs. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971), f. Aiiiv. “Nostro vero tempore novi sunt inventores, in quibus est *Nicolaus Gombert, Isoquini piaae memoriae discipulus*, qui omnibus Musicis ostendit viam, imò semitam ad quaerendas fugas ac subtilitatem . . .”

⁸⁵ Owens, ‘Music Historiography,’ 310, nn. 15-16, and 3131, n. 24 “Floruit tunc etiam Iosquinus de Pratis, *qui vere pater Musicorum dici potest* . . .,” from I. Megnier, sonnet in *Continuation du mellange d’Orlande de Lassus* (Paris, 1584).

⁸⁶ Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 176, n. 44 sights Pierre de Ronsard, *Livre des mélanges* (1560), dedication, quoted in Strunk, *Sources Readings*, 289.

⁸⁷ *Compendium musices* *ab Adriano Petit Coclico discipulo Iosquini de Pres* . . . (Nuremberg, 1552; facs. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954) Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 177 n. 56.

⁸⁸ “. . . et furono quelli che cominciarono a insegnare con alcuni ordini et regole la pratica del Contrapunto grandemente miglirateet arricchite da *Adriano scolare di Josquino* . . .” Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 176 n. 41 cites the quote appearing in Owens, “Music Historiography,” 232, n. 59.

“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.”⁸⁹

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 arose 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.⁹⁰ 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

⁸⁹ Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’, 176 n. 43 quoting from Albert Dunning, ‘Coclico, Andrianus Petit,’ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

⁹⁰ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 472.

structure.⁹¹

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 from Gilles Binchois and Guillaume 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 à 4* by Josquin Des Près and his near contemporaries, Heinrich Isaac, Loyset Compère, and Pierre de La Rue.⁹²

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.”⁹³

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.⁹⁴ “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*.”⁹⁵ The style of most of these resembles that of the *conductus*, with the musical

⁹¹ Merkley, “Josquin Desprez in Ferrara,” 572.

⁹² Brown, ‘Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson,’ 89.

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.⁹⁶ The written out scores included the text beneath the lowest voice of the texture.⁹⁷ Musicologists conjecture that these earliest polyphonic *chansons* may have been composed around popular monophonic melodies.⁹⁸

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.⁹⁹ With his extensive output, “he can legitimately be called the first important composer of polyphonic chansons.”¹⁰⁰ His *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’.”¹⁰¹ His musical style emphasized rhythmic instability and incorporated intricately decorated melodic lines.¹⁰² His repertoire contains mainly two, three, and four voice settings in the *formes fixes* including *ballades*, *virelais* (or ‘*chansons baladées*’, as he called them) and *rondeaux*.¹⁰³ Musicologists theorize that “Machaut himself invented the new chanson style that was to dominate secular

⁹⁶ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

⁹⁷ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

⁹⁸ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

⁹⁹ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

¹⁰¹ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

¹⁰² Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 473.

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 treatise 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 opporto 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.”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.”¹⁰⁹ Rhythmic complexities, including intricate syncopations and polyrhythms, characterized their musical output.

By contrast, compositions of the younger group, including those by Nicolas Grenon, Rechart 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.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.¹¹¹ Their simpler style established the conventions for the remainder of the 15th-century.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.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

¹⁰⁸ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹⁰⁹ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹¹⁰ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹¹¹ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹¹² Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

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.¹¹⁴ These designations however, should not blind musicologists to the evident musical importance of various centres outside this area, particularly in France.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.¹¹⁶ This variety and attention to the tone of his pieces particularly distinguish him from his contemporaries.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.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.”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

¹¹⁴ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹¹⁵ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474.

¹¹⁶ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474-5.

¹¹⁷ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 474-45.

¹¹⁸ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.

¹¹⁹ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 475.

of twos and threes.¹²⁰ “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*.”¹²⁵ The third change involved the revival of the old virelai form.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.”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.¹²⁸

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

¹²⁵ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 476.

¹²⁶ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 476.

¹²⁷ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 476.

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.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.”¹³⁶

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 15th 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 16th-century musical language.”¹³⁷ The continued use of *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-existing line to determine the overall design of a given piece.¹³⁸ Instead, this new group of composers

began to work with motifs as the smallest units of musical construction, creating in the process pieces consisting of chains of interlocking phrases, each of them devoted to the manipulation of a

¹³⁵ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.

¹³⁶ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.

¹³⁷ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.

¹³⁸ Brown, and others, ‘Chanson,’ 477.

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 [ie. 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.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.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."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."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 *formes fixes*."¹⁴³

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

¹³⁹ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

¹⁴⁰ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

¹⁴¹ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

¹⁴² Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

¹⁴³ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

¹⁴⁴ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 477.

Longueval, and Antonius Divitis included settings of *rondeaux* and *virelais* in their *chansons* repertoire.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 hydaulis* 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*.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*.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 16th 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 Sermisy (whose output figures largely in the offerings of the official French printer Attaignant).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Brown, and others, 'Chanson,' 478.

¹⁴⁶ Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin", 135, 147 n.32.

¹⁴⁷ Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin", 135.

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

¹⁴⁹ Brown, "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson", 90.

intervals of each part change constantly.¹⁵⁰

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."¹⁵¹ Certainly, many composers used well known texts or a popular song melody, such as a *cantus firmus*. Josquin's five-voice chanson repertoire provides several examples of both of these categories, including *Cœur desolez*, *Ma bouche rit*, and *Faulte 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

¹⁵⁰ Lowinsky, "*Musica ficta* in the Josquin Edition", 791 sights himself from the Medici codex 3: 161.

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 addressed 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

¹⁵² Kirkman, 'From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin', 444-445.

¹⁵³ Owens, 'Music Historiography and the Definition of 'Renaissance'', 325.

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.”¹⁵⁴

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 Dressler, 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 doubt that a comparable range was possible in the period before printing.¹⁵⁵

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

¹⁵⁴ Owens, “How Josquin Became Josquin”, 271.

¹⁵⁵ Owens, “How Josquin Became Josquin”, 272.

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 imaginatione di molti compositori fù, che prima il canto si doversi fabricare, da poi il tenore, et doppo esso tenore il controbasso. Et questo avvenne perchè mancorno del ordine et cognitione di quello che si richiede nel far del controalto: et però facevano assai inconvenienti ne le loro compositioni: perchè bisognava per lo incommodo che vi ponessino unisoni, pause, alti ascendenti et discendenti, difficili al cantore overo pronontante: in modo che detti canti retavano con poca soavità et harmonia: perchè 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 fa il tenore, se tu attendi solo ad accordare esso tenore, et così il simile del controbasso, conviene 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: perchè 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 arittraria: 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 perchè 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.

¹⁵⁷ Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 392.

Agricola, with whom I had greatest friendship and familiarity in Florence.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.’”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’. **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.**¹⁶⁰

A Glarean anecdote in his *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.¹⁶¹

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

¹⁵⁸ Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 392 sights translation by Blackburn. Nostri tamen temporis compositores facile deprehenduntur: hanc non servare veterum consuetudinem: ut parte, quas diximus: quattuor tali smper ordine concinnent: quod nos quoque crebro facimus: summos in arte viros imitati praecipuae vero Iosquinum. Obret. Isaac. Et Agricolam: quibus cum mihi Florentiae familiaritas: et consuetudo summa fuit.

¹⁵⁹ Wexler, ‘Simultaneous Conception’, 392.

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

¹⁶¹ Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 329 n. 28, 330.

¹⁶² Wegman, ‘And Josquin Laughed’, 330, 29.

The Use of Scores

Wexler referred to Jessie Ann Owens’¹⁶³ 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.”¹⁶⁴ “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*.”¹⁶⁵ 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.”¹⁶⁶

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

¹⁶³ Owens, ‘The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore’s Compositional Process’, JAMS 37 (1984), 270-98 at 276.

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 than 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

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:

¹⁶⁷ Wexler, 393.

¹⁶⁸ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 145.

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 (=cantus firmus), or 4 engenderings 5 (=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 referred 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'.

¹⁷² Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 14.

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."¹⁷⁴

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."¹⁷⁵ Févin, Mouton, Ninot le Petit, as well as other composers of the late 15th and early 16th century also composed using a similar formula.¹⁷⁶ 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."¹⁷⁷ *Fault d'argent* also appears as a five-voice *chanson* that will be discussed in more detail later. ***Fault***

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*, *Faulte d'argent*, *Incessament livré suis*, *Incessament mon povre cueur*, *Je me complains*, *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*, *L'ameye a tous/Je ne vis oncques*, *Ma bouche rit*, *Mi larés vous*, *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*, *Nymphes des bois*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de dueil*, *Plusieurs regretz*.¹⁷⁸

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."¹⁷⁹ Van Bethem's argument hinges on its noted similarity to Josquin's *Nymphes des Bois*.¹⁸⁰ "We might carry this speculation a step further and

¹⁷⁸ Rifkin, *Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices*, 1.

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*.”¹⁸¹ 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 1508.¹⁸² 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 *Illibata*, which he says must be from earlier.¹⁸³ None of Josquin's 5-voice

¹⁸¹ Picker, ‘Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*’, 442.

¹⁸² Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 139. For further discussion see Richard Sherr, ‘*Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman Style’, *JAMS* 41 (1988) 434-64.

¹⁸³ Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 147, 150.

chansons appear in either manuscript or printed sources prior to 1508.¹⁸⁴ Fallows clinged 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

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.

¹⁸⁷ 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, Schermer’sche Bibliothek, MSS 237 and Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS

¹⁸⁸ Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*,’ 407.

¹⁸⁹ Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 198. Also see H. E. Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period, part 2: Method of Musical Art, 1300-1600, Oxford History of Music*, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905) 240.

¹⁹⁰ Macey, ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*,’ 407-8.

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*, *Incessamment livré suis*, *Parfons regretz*, and *Plaine de dueil*.

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 $\natural$ & B $\flat$ mm. 37-8, 45-6; *Nymphes des bois*- E $\flat$ & E $\natural$ mm. 124-5, 140-1; *Je ne*

me puis tenir d’aimer- B $\natural$ & B $\flat$ mm. 66 (B $\flat$ in tenor of several sources); *Parfons*

regretz- A section.¹⁹⁵ “*Incessamment [mon povre cuer lamente]* features attenuated cross-

relations of B $\natural$ in bar 51 and B $\flat$ in bar 53, and similarly in bars 56 and 58. *Plaine de*

dueil likewise has B $\natural$ in bar 35 and a signed B $\flat$ in bar 37.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 46-7.

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.

Figure 1: Cross Relations in *Douleur me bat*

The image shows a musical score for the chanson 'Douleur me bat' by Josquin des Prez, measures 37-38. It is a five-voice setting. The voices are arranged from top to bottom: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The lyrics are: 'veult, De vi - vre'ain -'. The score illustrates cross relations, which are chromatic alterations of a single pitch class in different voices. Specifically, in measure 37, the Soprano voice has a B-flat, while the other voices have a B-natural. In measure 38, the Soprano voice has a B-natural, while the other voices have a B-flat. This creates a chromatic contrast between the voices.

Douleur me bat-mm. 37-8

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.”¹⁹⁷ 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.¹⁹⁸ 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*.

¹⁹⁷ Fallows, ‘Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin’, 140.

¹⁹⁸ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.

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 Attaignant's 1550 collection of Josquin *chansons*.¹⁹⁹ However, the La Rue attribution predates its appearance in Attaignant's print, and thus, the piece is now generally considered to be composed by him.²⁰⁰

Cueurs desolez

Cueurs desolez appears in both Attaignant's Josquin *chanson* collection²⁰¹ and another of Attaignant's prints, *Trente et quatre chansons musicales* of 23 January 1529²⁰², 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 Attaignant's attribution,"²⁰⁴ this actually proves to be a different setting of the text.

Cueur langoreulx

Susato's print is the first to attribute *Cueur langoreulx* 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

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.

²⁰² Heartz, 'Pierre Attaignant', 214-15.

²⁰³ Heartz, 'Pierre Attaignant', 381.

²⁰⁴ Heartz, 'Pierre Attaignant', 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 langoreulx* 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 langoreulx* 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.²⁰⁵

Douler me bat

Douler me bat first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato's print.²⁰⁶

Du mien amant

Du mien amant first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato's print.²⁰⁷

En non saichant

Blackburn argued that "the expressiveness of the setting points" to Josquin's authorship.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 Attaignant's manuscript, which often draws on this source.²⁰⁹ Leipzig 49, a later version and the only other one known other than

²⁰⁵ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 2.

²⁰⁶ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12.

²⁰⁷ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12.

²⁰⁸ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 7.

²⁰⁹ See under RISM J681 in my source description for the discussion of Attaignant's reliance on Susato's print.

Attaignant'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 *Venite ad me omnes*.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 44.

²¹¹ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 7.

²¹² Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 7-8.

²¹³ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 7.

²¹⁴ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 7.

²¹⁵ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 42.

Faulte d'argent

“Josquin’s five-voice *Faulte 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.”²¹⁶ Two unrelated sources ascribed *Faulte 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.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.²¹⁸ Also, it mislabels the leading cononic voice “contratenor”, instead of “tenor”.²¹⁹

Leipzig 49 contains a *contrafacta* of *Faulte d’argent* (fol. 189v), without attribution and with the text *Delevi ut nubem*.²²⁰ The reading of this version matches many details of earlier sources.²²¹ Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. MS 1873 contains another version not known to Smijers.²²² Blackburn claimed that Florence 2442 contains the earliest fully texted version and most reliable reading.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.”²²⁴

²¹⁶ Bernstein, ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms,’ 51 n. 29.

²¹⁷ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49, 58.

²¹⁸ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.

²¹⁹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50.

²²⁰ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 42.

²²¹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49.

²²² Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 49.

²²³ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50.

²²⁴ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 50 n. 51.

Incessament mon povre cuer

Incessament mon povre cuer 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*.²²⁵ Meconi said "*Incessament* also appears, now correctly attributed [to La Rue], in two of Le Roy and Ballard's publications, 1560c and 1572."²²⁶

Incessament livré suis

Incessament livré suis first appears in Vienna 18746 and was first attributed to Josquin in Susato's print.²²⁷

Je my complains de mon amy

Je my complains first appears in Vienna 18746²²⁸, and Munich 1508 is the first to attribute it to Josquin.²²⁹

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."²³⁰ Attributed to Nicholas Gombert in Munich 1508 and another intabulation, Claudin in

²²⁵ Meconi, 'French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity', 190 n. 18, n. 20, p. 193.

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.

²²⁷ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12.

²²⁸ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12.

²²⁹ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 54-5 n. 66.

²³⁰ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 8.

one, and “N.C.”, thought to refer to Nicolaus Cracoviensis, in another.²³¹ 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.”²³² 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 1546.²³³ Attaignant provides the earliest attribution to Josquin.²³⁴ Budapest 23, from a separate line of transmission, also attributes this chanson to our composer.²³⁵ 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.”²³⁶ “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.”²³⁷

²³¹ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 8.

²³² Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 8-9.

²³³ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 9.

²³⁴ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 9.

²³⁵ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 9.

²³⁶ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 9.

²³⁷ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 9-10.

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, MS Bártfa 23, No. 140, a single bass partbook manuscript dated around 1550, attributes the work to Josquin²³⁸; Ochsenkuhn, *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten* (Brown, 1558), No. 9, fol. 19, to Claudin²³⁹; and Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 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.”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.”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*²⁴² “The intabulation was published four years before Attaignant’s *Trente sixiesme livre*, the first known printed source of “Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer”.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

²³⁸ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.

²³⁹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32.

²⁴⁰ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 32-3.

²⁴¹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.

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.

²⁴³ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 30.

vocal line.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 intabulation (London, British Library, Add. Ms 29247, fol. 35), likewise attributed to him.”²⁴⁵

““Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer” appears in two later (and related) publications by Le Roy and Ballard, the *livre des melanges* of 1560 and the *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 *Werken*, a new source has come to light: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 1508, No. 110, without attribution.”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 Micolaj of Cracow; his initials also appear over other pieces in the manuscript.”²⁴⁷

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

²⁴⁴ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 30-1.

²⁴⁵ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 31.

²⁴⁶ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 301 n. 6.

²⁴⁷ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 33.

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, *Discant. Lautten 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; Micolaj 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 Attaingnant with the exception of the one printed by Le Roy and Ballard and, possibly, that of the Budapest manuscript. It also shows, surprisingly, that Attaingnant 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 *Nimphes, 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

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.²⁵²

L'ame a tous/Je ne vis oncques

L'ame a tous appears uniquely in Attaignant's print and was attributed there to Josquin.²⁵³

Ma bouche rit

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

Mi larés vous

Rifkin asserted that *Mi larés vous* appears exclusively in RISM 1540.²⁵⁷ 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."²⁵⁸

²⁵² Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 32-1.

²⁵³ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 56 and Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 13.

²⁵⁴ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 1 n. 1.

²⁵⁵ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 1 n. 1.

²⁵⁶ Meconi, 'Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: New Light on *Fortuna desperata*' 496 n. 124. For further details see Bernstein's '*Ma bouche rit*', 253-86.

²⁵⁷ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 11.

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 *Faulte 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 Attaignant'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.

²⁶⁰ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 2.

²⁶¹ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 2.

²⁶² Lowinsky, 'Music in the Culture of the Renaissance', 26 n. 39.

²⁶³ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12-13.

Attaignant's print.²⁶⁴ 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 Attaignant's print.²⁶⁵ This *chanson* also appears in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny. Kgl. Saml. MS 1848.²⁶⁶

Leipzig 49 contains a *contrafacta* of *Plusieurs regretz* (fol. 191), without attribution and with the text *Sana me Domine*.²⁶⁷ Another *contrafacta* version appears in Montanus & Neuber, *Secunda pars magni operas musici* (RISM 1559), with a different text, *O Virgo genetrix*.²⁶⁸

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 *Faulte d'argent* and others using the same melody, including Josquin's

²⁶⁴ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12-13.

²⁶⁵ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 12-13.

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.²⁶⁹ He “argued that Févin modelled his *Faulte d’argent* on Josquin rather than the other way around, removing that as a polyphonic model for Josquin.”²⁷⁰

Josquin’s version of *Ma bouch rit* is an arrangement of Ockeghem’s earlier *bergerette* setting.²⁷¹ 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.”²⁷²

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.²⁷³

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.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Bernstein, Lawrence F. ‘Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms,’ 51-55.

²⁷⁰ Meconi, ‘Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: New Light on *Fortuna desperata*’ 496 n.124. Sights Bernstein, Lawrence ‘The Chanson at the Court of Louis XII: A Reevaluation’ (A paper presented at XVIIIth Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University London, July 1990.

²⁷¹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 57 n. 77.

²⁷² Brown, ‘Emulation, Competition, and Homage’, 14 n. 21.

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

²⁷⁵ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 60-67.

²⁷⁶ Meconi, 'Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: New Light on *Fortuna desperata*' 496 n.124.

²⁷⁷ Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin", 277.

language as would a French speaking audience.

Historical Information and Content

Augsburg, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek, MS 142 a

South German manuscript with the section containing *Faulte d'argent* dating from the years 1508-1513 according to Rifkin²⁷⁸ 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 *Faulte 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

²⁷⁸ ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices: Problems of Authenticity and Style,’ 2.

²⁷⁹ ‘Chansons for Five and Six Voices,’ 396.

²⁸⁰ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol.1, 13.

²⁸¹ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol.1, 13.

²⁸² Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 1, 13.

²⁸³ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol.1, 13.

²⁸⁴ Berstein, ‘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 Musicaological Society (Ann Arbor, 1982)."²⁸⁵

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

Florence 2442

Florence 2442 is a French or Florentine set of partbooks probably dating between 1508 and 1515.²⁸⁶

This manuscript contains a version of Josquin's *Faulte d'argent*.

FlorL 666

This manuscript contains *Nymphes des bois* with a different spelling of the poem.²⁸⁷

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS mus. 1508

These mid-16th-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.²⁸⁸ "The manuscript was apparently copied from prints dating from as late as

²⁸⁵ Bernstein, *Chansons for Five and Six Voices*, 400, n.15.

²⁸⁶ Rifkin, 'Josquin's Chansons for Five Voices', 2.

²⁸⁷ Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, 287.

²⁸⁸ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 3, 221.

1541.”²⁸⁹

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 *Incessamment mon pourceur 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 *Incessamment mon pourceur 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

²⁸⁹ Meconi, 'French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity', 212 n. 4.

²⁹⁰ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 3, 221.

²⁹¹ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 3, 221.

²⁹² Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 3, 221.

²⁹³ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 41-2.

²⁹⁴ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*.

²⁹⁵ Taricani, 'A Chansonier from a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508', 150.

a five-voice canonic composition, where the canon is indicated in the Bassus partbook.²⁹⁶

The four-voice section of the manuscript seems to date back to about 1542-43.²⁹⁷

RISM 1508: Petrucci's Motetti a cinque

Doubts about some of the mass repertoire contained in this Second Petrucci print, published on 30th 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 1504.²⁹⁸

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 pierrsson brumel comper."²⁹⁹

RISM 1540

The print, *selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones*, was published at Augsburg in 1540 by Sigmund Salblinger and Melchior Kriesstein.³⁰⁰ It contains Josquin's *Mi larés vous* and *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*.

RISM J681-Attaingnant (Pierre)Trente Sixiesme Livre

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

²⁹⁶ Taricani, 'A Chansonier from a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508', 150, 246 n. 15.

²⁹⁷ Taricani, 'A Chansonier from a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508', 200.

²⁹⁸ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 140, 146.

²⁹⁹ Meconi, 'French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity', 289.

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 Attaignant . . . 14 Martii 1549 (=1550 n.s.))

Printed by Attaignant 14 March 1550, Attaignant 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, Attaignant 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, Attaignant 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, "Attaignant'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 Attaignant.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*, *Faulte d'argent*, *Incessament livré suis*, *Incessament mon povre cueur lamente*, *Je me complain*, *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*, *L'amy a tous*, *Ma bouche rit (à 6)*, *N'esse pas un grand desplaisir*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de deuil*, *Plusieurs regretz*.

"The copy of the 36^elivre 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.”³⁰⁷

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 Attaignant (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 composer³⁰⁸ . . . Several more might be added if we could prove that the handwritten sources were copied from Susato’s book.³⁰⁹

“Susato’s book appeared “Avecq Grace & Previlege De Limperiale Maieste.”

While no term is specified, earlier books indicate that the privilege was valid for three or four years . . . Thus, Attaignant made a reprint of Susato’s work at the earliest moment possible.”³¹⁰

Alterations appear in different printings even though they may be marked with the same date.³¹¹

This manuscript contains the first appearance of *En non saichant*, the first to attribution to Josquin of *Cueur langoreulx*, *Faulte d’argent*, a six-voice version of *Ma bouche rit* (attributed here to Josquin),³¹² and *Nymphes des bois*, containing a different

³⁰⁷ Heartz, ‘Pierre Attaignant’, 135.

³⁰⁸ The five-voice chansons include: *Douleur me bat*, *Du mien amant*, *En non saichant*, *Incessament livr suis*, *Parfons regretz*, *Plaine de deuil*, *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.³¹³

Uppsala 76 b

“The source was compiled no earlier than 1511 and probably no later than the 1530s.”³¹⁴ 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”.”³¹⁵ The Music is notated in mensural notation copied by a single scribe with the lute intabulations having been added later by a different scribe.³¹⁶

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

Vatican PL 1980-1: Medici Codex

A single scribe copied this manuscript in Rome.³¹⁷ Lowinsky in his facsimile of the manuscript dated it ca.1518-23.³¹⁸ Only two of the four original partbooks now remain.³¹⁹ The manuscript was probably compiled for Giulio de' Medici (1478-1534; Pope Clement VII after 1523).³²⁰

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

³¹³ Meconi, ‘French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity’, 287.

³¹⁴ Bernstein ‘*Ma bouche rit et mon cuer pleure*: A Chanson a 5 Attributed to Josquin des Prez,’ 256.

³¹⁵ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 3, 261.

³¹⁶ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 3, 261.

³¹⁷ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 24 and Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 2.

³¹⁸ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 24.

³¹⁹ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 24.

³²⁰ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 24 and Bernstein, ‘*Ma bouche rit et mon cuer 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 *Incessamment mon povre 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, Henrics 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.

³²¹ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 4, 25.

³²² Lowinsky, ‘Music in the Culture of the Renaissance’, 26 n. 39.

³²³ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 4, 25.

³²⁴ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 4, 25.

³²⁵ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 4, 25.

³²⁶ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. 4, 25-6.

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*.

³³⁰ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 10.

³³¹ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142 n. 26.

residing in Venice, to know what pieces truly belonged in Josquin's canon.³³² 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.)"³³³ 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.³³⁴

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)."³³⁵

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.³³⁶ 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."³³⁷ "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 who his 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

³³² Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.

³³³ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.

³³⁴ Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin', 142.

³³⁵ Hamm, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 4, 107.

³³⁶ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 161.

³³⁷ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 13.

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 Fücher" (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

³³⁸ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 20-21.

³³⁹ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 29.

³⁴⁰ Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', 213 n. 123, 214 n. 127.

³⁴¹ Hertz, 'Pierre Attaingant', 131.

³⁴² "Da man den Tenor auff's new overseen/ seind etlich gering errores funden/ welche ob sie gleich von einem net lichen hetten leichtlich mügen uñ geendert werden/ haben wir sie doch hie alle angezeigt/ auff das wir dich des langen suchens uberheben." Hertz, 'Pierre Attaingant', 70 n. 10.

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),³⁴⁴ *Du mien amant* (f 38-38v), *Incessament livré suis* (f 38v-39), *Je me complains* (f 11v),³⁴⁵ *Parfons regretz* (f 36v), *Plusieurs regretz*, *Incessament mon povre cuer 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:

Susato	Attaingnant
Baise	Bayses
languorously	langoureux

³⁴⁴ There is also another setting of this text within this manuscript.

³⁴⁵ The incipit reads *mi* instead of *me*.

Du	Dun
saischant	sachant
grant	grand
Nymphes	Nimphes
souhaitter	souhaiter
congie	conge
larez	laurez ³⁴⁶

Although I will note some of the changes in spelling, I do not in my study go through and mark all the changes in Attaignant'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'esse pas ung grant desplaisir, L'ame a tous, Cueur langoreulx, Incessament mon povre cueur, Plusieurs Regretz, Plaine de dueil, Parfons regretz, Du mien amant, Douleur me bat, Incessament livré suis, and Cueur desolez (but 3rd line 8 syllables)

abba

10 10 10 10

³⁴⁶ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 57.

Faulte 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.

ababbcbc
8 6 8 6 6 6 6 6

Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer.

ababab
8 6 7 6 9 8

En non saichant.

ababbcbc
8 6 8 6 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)³⁴⁷

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*.³⁴⁸

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,	He cried in the night
et lacrymae eius in maxillis eius,	And his tears

³⁴⁷ Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 173, 327.

³⁴⁸ Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 173.

non est qui consoletur eam
exomnibus 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.

Cœur langoreulx

Cœur langoreulx has an aabba 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.”³⁴⁹

En non saichant

In the fully texted four-voice anonymous version in Cambrai 1250128, the second line of text reads “De douleur est son cœur plain.”³⁵⁰ 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.

³⁵⁰ Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 48.

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 Attaingant's print, the last line reads incorrectly “Femme qui dort pour argent on reueille.” 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, Biblioteca 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

³⁵¹ Blackburn, ‘Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, 48-9.

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 e 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'amy e tous*. This could mean that it was played on an instrument or that the text was well known and so is not needed 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 superius and La Rue's *Salve regina IX*, which uses both the superius and tenor.³⁵⁶ However, the longer note 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 e tous* most like?

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

³⁵⁵ Blackburn, 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources', 40.

³⁵⁶ Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 119, 325.

L'amyé 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 Nivelles: 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 Nivelles chansonnier seems to know the difference between Binchois and Busnoys.”³⁵⁷ It is interesting that *Je ne vis oncques la pareille* parallels Busnoys’s *C’est bien maleur*.³⁵⁸

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.³⁵⁹ 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.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Fallows, ‘Trained and immersed in all musical delights,’ 34-36.

³⁵⁸ Fallows, ‘Trained and immersed in all musical delights,’ 36.

³⁵⁹ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices’, 1 n. 1.

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 cuer 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

³⁶¹ Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, 209 and Fallows, 263.

³⁶² Lowinsky, ‘Ascanio Sforza Life’, 560 n. 128.

³⁶³ Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”,’ 179.

³⁶⁴ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 180.

“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:

“Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris / Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compere / Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris / Mais composez ung Ne recorderis / Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon pere / Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospere / Prenez Fresneau, pour

³⁶⁵ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204 n. 89.

³⁶⁶ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 181.

³⁶⁷ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 173 n. 8.

³⁶⁸ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 287 sights Lowinsky’s comments in *The Medici Codex*, text vol., 214.

³⁶⁹ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 203.

voz chantz accorder / La perte est grande et digne a recorder.”³⁷⁰ Earlier in the poem he also “presented a list of departed musicians (including Busnoys and Regis) who were to welcome the composer to heaven.”³⁷¹ Meconi notes the absence of La Rue.³⁷² Another passage chastises other poets, including Molinet, for not properly remembering Ockeghem: “Sus Molinet, 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’huy n’estrivez / Contre la mort, et soubdain n’escripvez / De Okergan quelque petit volume?”³⁷³ 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 Molinet”)³⁷⁴ These poetic verses represent the only memorial poems written by Molinet 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 Molinet produced more than one elegy for a person, save for his multiple memorials for Philip the Good.³⁷⁵ 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.”³⁷⁶ Meconie noted this obvious quoting has lead in some instances to the confusion of the poems.³⁷⁷ “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

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; ‘nymphes 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).”³⁷⁸ 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.³⁷⁹ 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.³⁸⁰ 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.³⁸¹ Although this 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 1477.³⁸² 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.³⁸³ Meconi suggested one more alternative - that at a later date only ‘Perchon’ (La

³⁷⁸ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204.

³⁷⁹ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 203 n. 88.

³⁸⁰ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 204.

³⁸¹ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.

³⁸² Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.

³⁸³ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.

Rue) replaced ‘Gaspar’ because of La Rue’s growing musical reputation.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 *Nymphes des bois*, also finds Crétin’s *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.³⁸⁵

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

Different spellings are apparent in the different sources.³⁸⁸

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

Nymphes des boys deesses des fontaines
 Chantres experts 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
 Acoultrez vous dhabitx de doeul
 Josquin perchon brumel compere
 Et pleurez grosses larmes doeil
 Perdu avez vostre bon pere
 Requiescat in pace
 Amen

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

³⁸⁴ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.

³⁸⁵ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 206.

³⁸⁶ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 219.

³⁸⁷ Meconi, ‘Pierre de la Rue’, 219 and other books.

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, perchon, Brumel, Compère,
 And cry great tears from your eyes;
 You have lost your good father.
 May he rest in peace.
 Amen.³⁸⁹

Plusieurs regretz

Brus 228 contains an anonymous setting of this same text. Picker also referred to another *chanson* with a differing first line, but with the identical concluding four lines of text.³⁹⁰

Text Setting

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.

³⁸⁹ Copied from Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', 287 with here expansion of abbreviations and sometimes modernized spelling along with her translation.

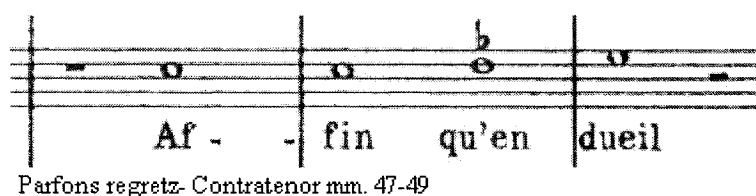
³⁹⁰ Jeffery, 'The Literary Texts of Josquin's Chansons', 418.

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 have tracked 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 categorize 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*



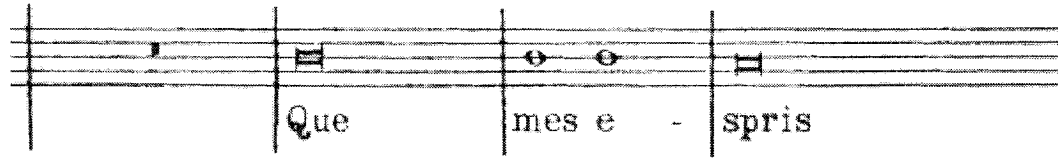
Alternately, sometimes the syllable immediately preceding the caesura receives a long note value.³⁹¹

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 fourth beat. Those on the fourth beat are essentially conventional melismatic phrase endings, such as those seen in *Faulte d'argent*, *Nymphes des bois*, *Douleur me bat*, *Ma bouche rit*, and *Incessamment*

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*



Plusieur regretz-Tenor mm. 43-6

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), *Faulte 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*

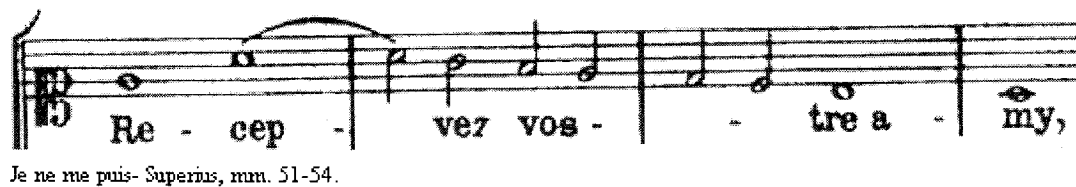
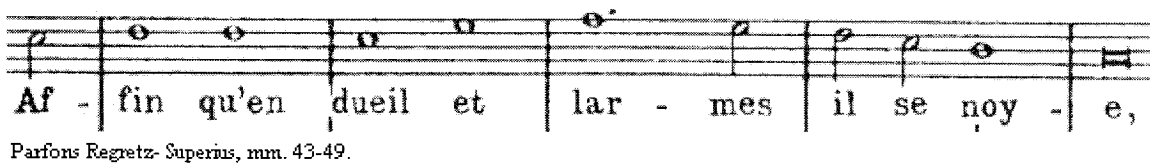


Figure 5: A Common Descending Motive in *Parfons regretz*



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 regretz*, 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).

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 *Cueur langoreulx*, *Mi larés vous tousjours languir*, *En non saichant*, *Du mien amant*, and *Nymphes des bois* have the participation of three voices. *Cueur langoreulx* 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 larés 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 saichant* 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 *Faulte d'argent* and *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer* both have polyphonic opening, they continue homophonically. Polyphony opens *Faulte 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*, *Incessamment livé suis*, *Plaine de dueil*, *L'ame a tous*, *Je ne me*

puis tenir d'aimer, *Je me complains*, *Ma bouche rit*, and *Incessamment mon povre cueur 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 *Incessamment 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'amyé 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.

Incessamment mon povre cuer 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 *Cueur langoreulx* 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 *Mi larés vous tousjours 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 *Faulte d'argent* and *Parfons regretz*. In *Faulte 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'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*, *L'ame 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 povre cueur 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 motivicity 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 motivicity in *L'amy e tous*, with the Superius occasionally leading a segment. Several voices lead the motivicity 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 motivicity once. The Tenor and Contratenor lead mainly the motivicity 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 motivicity 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 motivicity 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 motivicity 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 *Incessamment mon povre cueur lamente* making it more challenging to resolve which voice leads the motivicity in a given phrase or segment. However, with my adjustments to the text underlay, I have determined that the Tenor leads the motivicity 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 section 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, Incessamment mon povre cuer lamente, N'esse 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*

45

me dé - col - le,
me dé - col - le,
de
me dé - col - le,

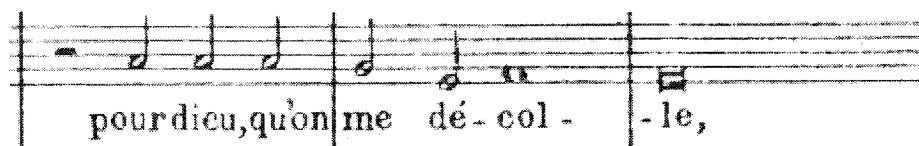
Douleur me bat- mm. 44-45.

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 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'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*

Figure 7 shows a musical score for the cadence before the codetta in *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*. The score is written for three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music ends at measure 35. The lyrics are: "tre de - sir,". The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The music ends at measure 35. The lyrics are: "tre de - - sir,". The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The music ends at measure 35. The lyrics are: "d'aul-tre de - - sir,". The text "N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir- mm. 34-5" is written below the bottom staff.

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.

Figure 8: A Motive Returning in the Codetta of *Douleur me bat*

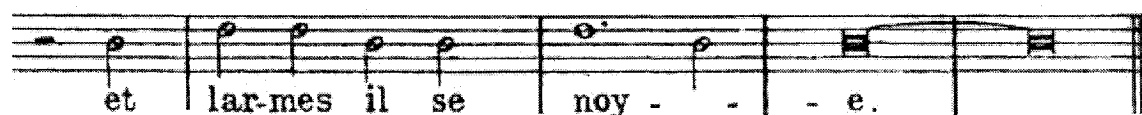
Douleur me bat- Tenor mm. 53-55.

Josquin forms the codetta of *Incessamment mon povre cuer 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).

Figure 9: A Motive Returning the Codetta of *Parfons regretz*

Parfons regretz- Tenor mm. 62-67

Figure 10: A Motive Returning in the codetta of *Parfons regretz*

Parfons regretz- 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*, *Cueur 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 12: Quarter Notes at the Close of *Je me complain*

Je me complain- Basses rum. 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.

Figure 13: A Motive Returning at the Close of *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*

Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer- Contra 57-59

Although *L'amy e 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).

Figure 14: Elaborated Repeat at the Close of *L'amy e a tous*

L'amy e a tous- Contratenor rum. 79-81

]

In *Ma bouche rit*, a dense repetition of short 4- and 5-note motives and a long

project motivicity mainly vertically, but also horizontally as well. *L'amyé a tous* finds the motivicity projected mainly vertically, yet with instances of motivic repetition within a voice (Contratenor mm. 61-64). In *Cueurs 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

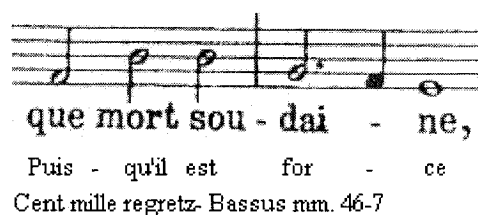
³⁹⁴ Macey, 'An expressive detail in Josquin's *Nymphes, nappés*', 410.

³⁹⁵ Merkle, "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.

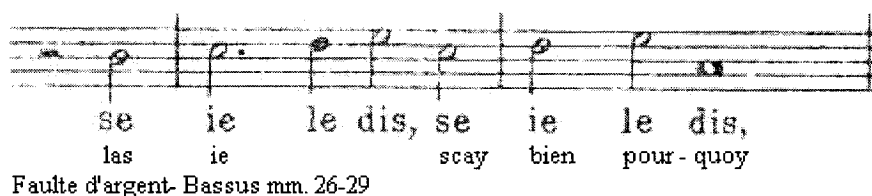
The text underlay for the Bassus from mm. 46 to the conclusion of *Cent mille regretz* needs correction in the edition, a change made more obvious by motivic analysis.

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



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

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



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. *Incessamment 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 *Incessamment 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 *Incessamment 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 dueil*, *Plusieurs regretz*, and *Incessamment livré suis* 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 *Incessamment livré suis*, the Bassus bears harmonic function at mm. 30-32. Here, the Tenor part remains silent.

Figure 19: Harmonic Function in the Bassus Voice of *Incessamment livré suis*

30

lent, ain - si do - lent

me con

ain - si do - lent

Ain - si do - lent,

Ain - si do - lent,

Incessamment livré- mm.30-33

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 repertoires, which embody particular kinds of sixteenth-century tonality.”³⁹⁶ 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.³⁹⁷

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.³⁹⁸

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

³⁹⁶ Brown, ‘Attaignant’s Modally Ordered Chansonnières,’ 98.

³⁹⁷ Glarean, 68.

³⁹⁸ John Milsom, ‘Analysing Josquin,’ *Josquin Companion*, 433.

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 copiests frequently confuse their modal assignments and

³⁹⁹ Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 126.

between these groups there are no consistencies for determining the mode of any given piece.⁴⁰⁰ Pietro Aaron's *Trattato della natura et cognitione 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.⁴⁰¹ 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.⁴⁰²

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 say, 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*, *Discubuit Jesus*, *Omnia quae 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 sacrum*, *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*.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Brown, 'Attaignant's Modally Ordered Chansonniers,' 97.

⁴⁰¹ Brown, 'Attaignant's Modally Ordered Chansonniers,' 97.

⁴⁰² Brown, 'Attaignant's Modally Ordered Chansonniers,' 97.

⁴⁰³ Glarean, 71. Please note that bold was added to the text by myself.

The Determination of Mode Assignment of Josquin's Five-Voice Chanson Repertoire

Perkins noted that in his manuscript examination of the Nivelles 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 assignment, 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 tousjours languir*, *Plusieurs Regretz*, *Parfons*

regretz, *Cœur langoreulx* 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,

⁴⁰⁴ Perkins, ‘Modal Species and Mixtures’, 184.

⁴⁰⁵ Perkins, ‘Modal Species and Mixtures’, 183.

⁴⁰⁶ Perkins, ‘Modal Species and Mixtures’, 183.

⁴⁰⁷ Perkins, ‘Modal Species and Mixtures’, 183.

changing the mode to the plagal E mode (mode 4). *Faulte 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

Incessamment livré suis, En non saichant, Je me complains, Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer, N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir, L'ame 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

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

Mode 5

Cœur 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

Incessamment mon povre cœur 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 15th 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

⁴⁰⁹ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 24.

⁴¹⁰ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 3.

⁴¹¹ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 70-71.

⁴¹² Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 25.

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.⁴¹³

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.

. . . 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.⁴¹⁴

Humanism in Poetry

Humanism infuses the poetic 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

⁴¹³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 26.

⁴¹⁴ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 27.

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 Hinaut (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 *Epître 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 duel***, 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.

⁴¹⁶ Hertz, n.5 220 sights Philip-August Becker, *Jean Lemaire: Der erste humanistische Dichter Frankreichs*. Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner, 1893.

⁴¹⁷ Hertz, n.6 220,195 sights Jean Frappier, ‘L’Humanisme de Jean Lemaire de Belges,’ *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et renaissance* 25 (1963):289-306.

⁴¹⁸ Hertz, 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.⁴¹⁹ 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."⁴²⁰

Cueurs desolez offers another possible humanistic text with its reference to Orpheus's Lyre. The following is an example cited by Hertz 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.⁴²¹

Humanism in Music Theory

Kristeller argued that a

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

⁴¹⁹ Hertz, 200-2.

⁴²⁰ Hertz, 202.

⁴²¹ Hertz, 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.⁴²²

A student of the Flemish Carmelite Johannes Bonadies or Godendach, Gafori’s meeting with Tinctoris in Naples may also have influenced his musical conception.⁴²³

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.⁴²⁴

Ethos of the Modes: The Greek and Christian Modal Associations

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).⁴²⁵

Heracleides considered the Hypodorian haughty, pompous, and somewhat conceited (Athenaeus *Deipnosophisti* 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).⁴²⁶

Many including Gaffurio (1518), Aron (1525), Nardo (ca. 1530), Glarean (1547), and Finck (1556), attributed the ability to incite anger to the Phrygian mode.⁴²⁷

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.⁴²⁸

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 (*Repulic* 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).”⁴²⁹

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.⁴³⁰

Palisca provided a very thorough synopsis of the various ethos of the modes as understood and described by different theorists in the below table:⁴³¹

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

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

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."⁴³²

Aristides Quintilianus described the modal ethos voice range associations:

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. Aristides 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, paeans, 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 *Faulte d'argent* and *L'ame 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

⁴³³ Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 127.

⁴³⁴ Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 127.

⁴³⁵ Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 128.

Table 2: Classica Categories of Ethos Associated with Pitch

Classical Categories of Ethos Associated with Pitch			
Region of the voice/Modes	Ethos	Genres	Affections
low (hypatoid) [B–a] Hypophrygian Hypolydian Hypodorian	diastaltic	heroic poetry, tragedy	majestic, peaceful, tranquil, manly
median (mesoid) [f–c'] Dorian Phrygian Lydian	hesychastic	hymns, paeans, eulogies; didactic, dithyrambic poetry	calm, peaceful
high (netoid) [c'–g'] Mixolydian Hypermixolydian	systaltic	dirges, laments, nomic	humble, erotic, painful, feminine

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. These 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 Dorian as manly and majestic and pseudo-Plutarch called it steadiest and foremost in masculine ethos, the reference was probably to its potential melodic content.⁴³⁶

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

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.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.”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.”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.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

⁴³⁷ Lowinsky, ‘The Goddess Fortuna in Music’, 237-8 n. 47.

⁴³⁸ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 127.

⁴³⁹ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 128.

⁴⁴⁰ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 131.

Hermann Finck (Bk. 4) also referred to.⁴⁴¹

Table 3: Ethos of Modes: The Medieval Ecclesiastical Tradition

Table 4 Ethos of the Modes: The Medieval Ecclesiastical Tradition			
Mode	Gil de Zamora, ca. 1240	Ramos de Pareja 1482	H. Finck 1556
I Dorian	flexible, suited to all affections	flexible, suited to all affections; moves phlegm, rouses from sleep, alleviates laziness, sadness	rouses somnolent, relieves cares, mourning; purges phlegm
II Hypodorian	severe, mournful	severe, mournful	mournful, heavy, serious, humble
III Phrygian	severe, inciting, restores health	severe, inciting; suits proud, irritable, wild men	moves choler and bile; suits battles, lofty deeds
IV Hypophrygian	caressing, chatty, flattering	caressing, chatty, adulating, lascivi- ous; without charm	represents servant who serves the plea- sures of a lord
V Lydian	modest, delightful; sweetens, relieves despairing	delightful, modest, merry; cheers the sad, despairing	gentler affections; calms disturbed; modest, delightful, merry; solace for afflicted and des- perate
VI Hypolydian	induces tears, piety	induces tears, piety	opposite of Lydian
VII Mixolydian	erotic and happy; represents adoles- cence	erotic and happy; represents adoles- cence	used in invectives; terrifying, not seri- ous to elders
VII Hypomixolydian	sweet and gloomy, in manner of the solitary	sweet and gloomy, in manner of solitary people	appeasing; soothes anger with gentle- ness

Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,' 131.

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.”⁴⁴²

“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.”⁴⁴³ He also explored natural musical traits that provided opportunities for expression in his book on counterpoint.⁴⁴⁴ 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).⁴⁴⁵ “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, theses 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).”⁴⁴⁶

By contrast, Vicentino “eclectically and pragmatically adapted the classical traits to practical experience.”⁴⁴⁷ “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

⁴⁴² Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 131.

⁴⁴³ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 131-132.

⁴⁴⁴ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 132.

⁴⁴⁵ Palisca, ‘Mode Ethos in the Renaissance,’ 132-133.

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."⁴⁴⁸

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.⁴⁴⁹ 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*

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 fits 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

⁴⁵⁰ "The Goddess Fortuna in Music", 237.

⁴⁵¹ Glarean, 130. Please note that the bold was added to the text by myself.

⁴⁵² Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara," 572.

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 Tinctoris, 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 he offers 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”.⁴⁵³ Brown cautioned musicologists not to assume that any of these aforementioned authors wrote about how composers approached music in practice.⁴⁵⁴ 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

⁴⁵³ Brown, ‘Attaignant’s Modally Ordered Chansonnières,’ 97-98.

⁴⁵⁴ Brown, ‘Attaignant’s Modally Ordered Chansonnières,’ 98.

editor or publisher in modal order.”⁴⁵⁵ 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.”⁴⁵⁶

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 *Theoricum 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.⁴⁵⁷

Glarean’s Christian beliefs lead him to accuse Josquin of lack of judgement by not properly restraining the liveliness of his talent.⁴⁵⁸ None-the-less, Glarean found in Josquin the fulfillment of his beloved humanistic ideals.

⁴⁵⁵ Brown, ‘Attaignant’s Modally Ordered Chansoniers,’ 77.

⁴⁵⁶ Merkley, ‘Josquin Desprez in Ferrara,’ 572. See Elders for example in secular works.

⁴⁵⁷ Lowinsky, ‘Ascanio Sforza’s Life’, 550.

⁴⁵⁸ Kirkman, ‘From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin’, 449.

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 Cochlaeus. For Glarean, a pupil of Cochlaeus, 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.⁴⁵⁹

Brown considered imitation and emulation of other composers as a humanistic trait.⁴⁶⁰

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.⁴⁶¹ Brown cited examples of rhetorical *imitatio* as early as the 1480s.⁴⁶²

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*

⁴⁵⁹ Kirkman, 'From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin', 453-4.

⁴⁶⁰ Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 38-9.

⁴⁶¹ Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 41 n. 51.

⁴⁶² Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 43.

firmus, *Je ne vis oncques* provides a foil to the scathing text *L'ame 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:

... Graped ... 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

⁴⁶³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 28.

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 form 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 possess 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, Hertz 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 plains 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’amy a tous** (humorous, satiric, but also courtly) (2), **Ma bouche rit** (3).

⁴⁶⁶ Kirkman, ‘From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin’, 455.

⁴⁶⁷ Kirkman, ‘From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin’, 456.

⁴⁶⁸ Hertz, 213.

Courtly love-melancholy- *Cent Mille Regretz* (1), *Mi l'ares vous tousjours languir* (1), *Plusieurs Regretz* (1), *Parfons regretz* (1), *Cueur langoreulx* (1), *Plaine de dueil* (1 or 4), *Incessamment livré suis* (2), *Incessamment mon povre cueur* (8), *En non saichant* (2), *Je me complains* (woman's voice?) (2), *Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer* (2), *L'ame a tous* (not love, but also humorous) (2), *Ma bouche rit?* (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'esse 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'ame 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'ame 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'ame 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, *Nimphes, nappés*, which is also a lament.⁴⁶⁹

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.⁴⁷⁰

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

⁴⁶⁹ Macey, 'An expressive detail in Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés*,' 408. See Elders for more information about *Nimphes, nappés*.

⁴⁷⁰ Wegman, 'And Josquin Laughed', 355.

chanson lament, *Nymphes nappés* of a cross-relation of E sharp to E natural.⁴⁷¹

“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 $\sharp$ and E $\flat$.”⁴⁷²

Lowinsky brought up the idea of modulatory inflection in his analysis Josquin’s *De profundis*.⁴⁷³ 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.⁴⁷⁴

Lowinsky pointed to Josquin’s use of *musica ficta* for symbolic purposes.⁴⁷⁵ 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.

Cantus Firmus, Mode and Textual Theme

Josquin used a *cantus prius factus* in his humorous *chansons* *N’esse pas ung grant desplaisir*, *L’ame a tous*, and *Ma bouche rit*. The subject of homage to a grand lady in *Je ne vis oncques* provides a witty contrast to the sarcastic text on the same theme in Josquin’s *L’ame a tous*. The source of the *cantus firmus* in *L’ame a tous*, in plagal D mode, is from *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

⁴⁷¹ Macey ‘An expressive detail in Josquin’s *Nymphes, nappés*,’ 401.

⁴⁷² Lowinsky, ‘*Musica ficta* in the Josquin Editions’, 786.

⁴⁷³ Lowinsky, ‘*Musica ficta* in the Josquin Edition’, 792.

⁴⁷⁴ Lowinsky, ‘Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza’, 538.

⁴⁷⁵ Lowinsky, “The Goddess Fortuna in Music”, 237.

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 *Cœur 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.⁴⁷⁶ 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 *Cœur desolez* in Brus 228 also uses a *cantus firmus*, the Dies Irae from the mass for the dead.

Laments: Points of Analysis and Discussion

No striking similarities are apparent between *Nymphes des bois* and *Cœur 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 *Cœur desolez*, there is a sense that there is a tempo increase caused by the introduction of smaller note values as the end of the

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’ is far more common in French sources, there is some doubt about Okeghem’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

⁴⁷⁷ ‘Zur Struktur der Messe “L’omme are super voces musicales” von Josquin Desprez,’ *Musikforschung*, 19 (1966), 121-41 at 132.

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

⁴⁸¹ Elders, 'Sign and symbol in Music for the Dead,' 128.

⁴⁸² See Reynolds for a discussion of musical influence. Reynolds, C. 'Musical evidence of compositional planning in the Renaissance: Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 n 1 (1987): 53-81

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 *Cœur 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 langueur vault pis que mort soudaine,
Puis qu'il est force, qu'ainsi je vous delaise.

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.

aabba
10 10 10 10 10

Cueurs desolez par toute nation,	Desolate hearts throughout all the nation
Assemblez dueil et lamentation,	Make grief and lamentation
Ne cherchez plus l'armoniance,	Search no longer for harmony
Lyre d'Orpheus, pour voz resiouyssance,	Orpheus's lyre, for your rejoicing
Mais plongez vous en desolations.	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,	He cried in the night
et lacrymae eius in maxillis eius,	And his tears
non est qui consoletur eam	There is no one who is consoled
exomnibus caris eius.	Of all who were dear to him..

Cueur langoreulx qui ne fais que penser,	Languorous heart that does nothing but think
Plaindre, gémir, plourer et souspirer,	Complains, trembles, cries and sighs
Resiouys toy, car ta belle maistresse	Rejoice, because your fair mistress
Par sa pitié te veult donner liesse,	By her pity wants to give you happiness
Ioye et plaisir pour te reconforter.	Joy and pleasure to comfort you

Aabba
10 10 10 10 10

Douleur me bat et tristesse m'afolle,
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 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 pronosticqueur,
Car la prison d'amoureuse licqueur,

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 triumpant et illustre vaincqueur,

Par testament ie te laisse mon cueur,
Et bois morir, et adieu derechief.

In me there is neither escape nor relief,
Goodbye friend goodbye lord and chief,
Strong triumpant and illustrious
vanquisher,

By testament I leave you my heart,
And drink to die, and immediate goodbye.

Aabba
10 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, tousiours mon mal empire,
 becomes
 Ainsi dolent me conduit des plaisir.
 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 cueur lamente,
 Sans nul repos souvenir me tourmente,
 ayant ennuy sans aulcun amandement,
 Bany je suis de tout esbatement,
 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 tricoton, la belle tricotée.

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 desconforter,
Car j'é perdu ma peine,
Ma dame souveraine,
Recepez 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.

Ababbcbc
8 6 8 6 6 6 6 6

L'ameye a tous et qui n'esconduit ame,	Friend to all and who does not posses a soul
La plus commune pour une si grand dame,	The most common for such a grand lady
Qui a ung seul as ton amour donnée,	Who has given your heart to one alone
Et cueur et corps du tout habandonnée.	And heart and body abandoned completely.
Pense tu point en recepvoir le blasme.	Think you not that you'll receive the blame?

Aabba
10 10 10 10 10

Text of the *cantus firmus* of **L'ameye a tous**, *Je ne vis oncques*, as recorded in the Laborde Chansonnier and my translation:

Je ne vis oncques la pareille,	I have never seen the equal
De vous ma gracieuse dame	Of you my gracious lady
Car vostre beaulte 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 merueille	On seeing you I marvel
Et de qu'est cecy nostre dame,	and it is of this that our lady is made . . .
Je ne vis oncques la paraille,	
De vous ma gracieuse dame	

Vostre tres grant douleur reveille	Your very great sadness awakens
Mon esperit et mon oeil entame	My spirit and my eye opens
Mon cuer donc puis dire sanc blasme	My heart therefore can say without blame,
Puis qu'a vous servir sa paraille(s'aparaille)	Because it is preparing to serve you (that) . .

Je ne vis oncques la paraille,
De vous ma gracieuse dame

Ma bouche rit et mon cuer 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.	If you do not come to save me.

Abba
8 8 8 8

N'esse 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 8

La deploration de Johan. Okeghem

Nymphes des bois, déesses des fontaines,
Chantres experts de toutes nations,
Cangez voz voix fort clères et haultaines
En cris tranchantz et lamentations.

Car d'Atropos les molestations
 Vostre'Okeghem par sa rigueur attrappe
 Le vray trésor de musique'et chief d'oeuvre,
 Qui de trépas désormais plus n'éschappe,
 Dont grant doumaige'est que la terre coeuvre.

Acoutez vous d'abitz de deuil:
 Josquin, Brumel, Pirchon, 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, Pirchon, Compere,
 And cry large tears from your eyes:
 Lost is your good father.
 May he rest in peace. Amen.

Ababbcbc
 8 6 8 6 6 6 6 6

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

Profound regrets and lamentable joy,
 Come to me, no matter 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 mélancolye,
 Voyant mon mal qui tousiours multiplie,
 Et qu'en la fin plus ne le puis porter,
 Contrainte suis pour moy reconforter,
 Me rendre'à 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

life.

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 quoy en pleure ou rie;

A vous je suis: besoing n'est que le nie,
Plus n'est possible a moy dissimuler,
dissimulate,

Parquoy 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.

Aabba

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 esprits 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.

Aabba

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.

Josquin des Prés.

Superius. 5

Contratenor.

Tenor.

Quinta Pars.

Bassus.

Je ne me puis te - nir d'ai - mer Cel - le qui point ne m'ai -

10

me, cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me, me, cel - le qui point ne
me, cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me, cel - le qui point ne
Je ne me puis te - Cel - le qui

15 20

cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me, cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me, Je me doibz
m'ai - me, Je me doibz bien des.
nir d'ai - mer Cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me,
m'ai - me, cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me, Je me doibz
point ne m'ai - me, cel - le qui point ne m'ai - me,

55

Re - cep - vez vos - tre a - my, re - cep - vez vos -
 my, re - cep - vez vos - tre a - my, re - cep - vez
 - vez vos - tre a - my, re - cep - vez vos - tre a - my, re - cep - vez
 cep - vez vos - tre a - my Par vostre bon - te
 my, re - cep - vez vos - tre a - my,

60

- tre a - my Par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei -
 vos - tre a - my Par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei -
 vos - tre a - my Par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne,
 plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne, par vos - tre bon - té plei -
 Par vos - tre bon - té plei - ne par vos - tre bon - té plei -

65 70

ne, Ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est
 ne, Ou mort est a de - my ou mort
 Ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my,
 - ne, Ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de -
 ne, Ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de -

75

a de - my.
 est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my.
 ou mort est a de - my.
 my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my.
 my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my, ou mort est a de - my.

Figure 2: Motivic Analysis of *Du mien amant*

23. Du mien amant.

A cinq.

Josquin des Prés.

Superius. Du mien a - mant le dep - part m'est si grief, le
En moy n'y a ny res - sort ny re - lief, ny

Quinta Pars. Du mien a - mant le
Eu moy n'y a ny

Contratenor. Du mien a - mant, du mien a - mant le
En moy n'y a, en moy n'y a ny

Tenor. Du mien a - mant le dep - part m'est si
Eu moy n'y a ny res - sort ny re -

Bassus. Du mien a - mant le dep - part m'est si
En moy n'y a ny res - sort ny re -

10 dep - part m'est si grief, Que de la mort, que de la mort, que
res - sort ny re - lief, A - dieu a - my, a - dieu a - my, a -

15 dep - part m'est si grief, le dep - part m'est si grief, Que de la mort, que de la
res - sort ny re - lief, ny res - sort ny re - lief, A - dieu a - my a - dieu a -

grief, grief, Que de la mort, que de la
lief, lief, A - dieu a - my, a - dieu a -

20 tai - ne suis en brief, cer - tai - ne suis en brief,
dieu sei - gneur et chief, a - dieu sei - gneur et chief,

Que de la mort cer - tai - ne suis en brief, Mon
A - - - dieu a - my, a - dieu sei - gneur et chief, chief, Fort

mort my, cer - tai - ne suis en brief, Mon
mort my, a - dieu sei - gneur et chief, Fort

que de la mort cer - tai - ne suis en brief,
a - - - dieu a - my, a - dieu sei - gneur et chief,

25

Mon cœur en est le vrai pro-no sti-equeur, le vrai pro-
Fort tri-um-phant et il-lu-stre vain-equeur, et il-lu-
Mon cœur en est le vrai pro-no sti-equeur,
Fort tri-um-phant et il-lu-stre vain-equeur,
cœur en est le vrai pro-no sti-equeur, Car
tri-um-phant et il-lu-stre vain-equeur, Par
cœur en est le vrai pro-no sti-equeur Car
tri-um-phant et il-lu-stre vain-equeur, Par
Mon cœur en est le vrai pro-no sti-equeur
Fort tri-um-phant et il-lu-stre vain-equeur,

35

no-sti-equeur, Car la pri-son da-mou-reu-se li-equeur, da-mou-reu-
stre vain-equeur, Par te-sta-ment ie te-lais-se mon-cœur, ie te-lais-
Car la pri-son da-mou-reu-se li-equeur, da-mou-reu-
Par te-sta-ment ie te-lais-se mon-cœur, ie te-lais-
la pri-son da-mou-reu-se li-equeur, da-mou-reu-
te-sta-ment ie te-lais-se mon-cœur, ie te-lais-
la pri-son da-mou-reu-se li-equeur, da-mou-reu-
te-sta-ment ie te-lais-se mon-cœur, ie te-lais-
Car la pri-son da-mou-reu-se li-equeur, da-mou-reu-
Par te-sta-ment ie te-lais-se mon-cœur, ie te-lais-

40 45

se li-equeur, Sans nul re-spit me cau-se ce me-
se mon-cœur, Et vois mo-rir, et a-dieu de-re-
se li-equeur, Sans nul re-spit me cau-se ce me-
se mon-cœur, Et vois mo-rir, et a-dieu de-re-
se li-equeur, Sans nul re-spit me cau-se ce me-
se mon-cœur, Et vois mo-rir, et a-dieu de-re-
se li-equeur, Sans nul re-spit me cau-se ce me-
se mon-cœur, Et vois mo-rir, et a-dieu de-re-
se li-equeur, Sans nul re-spit me cau-se ce me-
se mon-cœur, Et vois mo-rir, et a-dieu de-re-

Chanson Motivicity profiles

L'amy e a tous 441/671=65.72% permeation. ***L'amy e 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.”⁴⁸³ “Motivic economy and exploitation of surface-structural ambiguity” define this *chanson* according to Rifkin.⁴⁸⁴

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

⁴⁸³ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 5.

⁴⁸⁴ Rifkin, ‘Josquin’s Chansons for Five Voices,’ 6.

‘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 dotted 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.

Faulte 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 canonic 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.”⁴⁸⁵

Incessamment 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 *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.

Incessamment 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.

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. *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.

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 ***Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer*** partially from previously heard material including two motives

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.”⁴⁸⁶

L'ame a tous 441/671=65.72% permeation. *L'ame 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'ame 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 dueil 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 insinuations 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.”⁴⁸⁷

Plusieurs 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*, *Incessamment livré suis*, *Incessamment mon povre cueur lamant*, *Plaine de dueil*, *Parfons regretz*, *Du mien amant*, *Douleur me bat*, and *Fault d’argent*.

The texts of *N’esse 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.

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 esprits ne schavent plus qu’ilz font.

The music of *Plusieurs 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

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 *Incessamment mon povre 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 regretz* 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.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Augsburg 142

Brown 1548

Brussels 228

Munich 1508

RISM J681

RISM 1508

RISM 1537

RISM 1540

RISM 1545

Uppsala 76

Vatican PL 1980-1

Vatican PL 1982

Vienna 18746

Information about Manuscripts

Hamm, Charles, ed. *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music*

1400-1550. Vol. IX. Hanssler-Verlag: American Institute of Musicology, 1988.

- Heartz, Daniel. *Pierre Attaingant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.
- Kellman, Herbert, ed. *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535*. Ludion Ghent Amsterdam: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Lowinsky, Edward. *The Medici Codex of 1518: A choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino. Monuments of Renaissance Music*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Picker, Martin. 'Josquiniana in Some Manuscripts at Piacenza.' *Josquin Proceedings*. 1971. 247-55
- Taricani, JoAnn. 'A Chansonier from a Library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508.' PhD. Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1986. [DIA 47 (May 1987): 3906 A]
- Warmington, Flynn. 'A Master Calligrapher in Alamire's Workshop: Towards a Chronology of his Work.' Paper read at the annual Meeting of AMS (Ann Arbor, 1982).]

Analytical

Allaire, Gaston G. 'Some Overlooked Modulations in the Works of Josquin des Pres?'

Revue Belge de Musicology 46 (1992): 33-51.

Allaire, Gaston G. 'Performance Practice idiosyncracies of the modes of the Fa-Fa and

Ut-Sol Fifth Species in Pre-1600 Polyphony.' *Revue Belge de Musicology* 51

(1997): 63-80.

Atlas, Allan W. *The Norton Introduction to Music History: Renaissance Music: Music in*

Western Europe, 1400-1600. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998.

Barbier, Jacques. "'Faulx d'argent": Modeles polyphoniques et parodies au XVIe

siècle.' *Revue de Musicology* 73 (1987): 171-202.

Bernstein, Lawrence F. 'Chansons for Five and Six Voices.' *The Josquin Companion*.

Ed. Richard Sherr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 393-422.

Bernstein, Lawrence F. 'Ma bouche rit et mon *cœur pleure*: a chason a 5 attributed to

Josquin des Prez.' *The Journal of Musicology* 14 n 2 (1996): 151-82.

Blackburn, Bonnie. 'On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century.' *Journal of the*

American Musicological Society 40 n 2 (1987): 210-84.

Blackburn, Bonnie. 'Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables.'

Josquin Companion, ed. Richard Sherr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000:
51-88.

Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Attaignant's Modally Ordered Chansoniers.' *Essays in*

Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson, eds. Lewis Lockwood and Edward
Roesner. USA: American Musicological Society, 1990: 75-100.

Congleton, J. L. 'The Chansons of Josquin des Prez.' PhD. Diss. Washington

University, 1981. [[DAI](#) 42 (Oct 1981): 1362A]

Curtis, Alan. 'Josquin and "La belle Tricotée."' *Essays in Musicology: in honor of*

Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday, eds. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow.
Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969: 1-8.

DeFord, Ruth I. 'Zarconi's Theories of *Tactus* and Mensuration.' *Journal of the*

American Musicological Society 14 n 2 (1996): 151-82.

Elders, Willem. 'Sign and Symbol in Music for the Dead.' *Symbolic Scores: Studies in*

the Music of the Renaissance. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994: 121-150.

Gaffurio, Franchino. *The Theory of Music*. Walter Kurt Kreyszig Trans. New Haven:

Yale University Press, 1993.

Gaffurius, Franchinus. *De Harmonia Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus*. Clement A.

Miller. Trans. American Institute of Musicology, 1977.

Glarean, Heinrich. *Dodecachordon*. 2 vol. Clement A. Miller. Trans. American

Institute of Musicology, 1965.

Judd, Christle Collins. 'Modal Types and *Ut, Re Mi* Tonalities: Tonal Coherence in

Sacred Vocal Polyphony from about 1500.' *Journal of the American*

Musicological Society 45 (1992): 428-67.

Litterick, Louise. 'Chansons for Three and Four Voices.' *The Josquin Companion*, ed.

Richard Sherr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 335-391.

Macey, Patrick. 'An expressive detail in Josquin's *Nymphes, nappés*.' *Early Music*. 31

(3) (August 2003): 401-412.

Meconi, Honey. 'Is Underlay Necessary?' *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance*

Music, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows. New York: Schirmer, 1992: 284-

91.

Milsom, John. 'Analysing Josquin.' *The Josquin Companion*. Ed. Richard Sherr.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. 431-84.

- Owens, Jessie Ann. 'The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270-98.
- Palisca, Claude V. 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance.' *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, eds. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner. USA: American Musicological Society, 1990: 126-139.
- Perkins, Leeman L. 'Modal Species and Mixtures in a Fifteenth-Century Chanson Repertory.'
- Perkins, Leeman L. 'Toward a Typology of Renaissance Chanson.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6 n 4 (1988): 421-47.
- Powers, Harold S. 'Is Mode Real?' Pietro Aron, the Octenary System, and Polyphony.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 428-70.
- Randel, Don M. 'Music and Poetry, History and Criticism: Reading the Fifteenth-Century Chanson.' *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*. Eds. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner. USA: American Musicological Society, 1990. 52-74.

Reynolds, C. 'Musical evidence of compositional planning in the Renaissance: Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 n 1 (1987): 53-81.

Rifkin, Joshua. 'Josquin's Five-Voice Chansons:' A paper read at the Colloquium on European Secular Music of the 16th Century (Rutgers University, 1984) and, in an expanded form, at the International Josquin Symposium: Utrecht 1986 (the paper was not published, however, in the proceedings of that symposium).

Rifkin, Joshua. 'Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert's *Videns Dominus flente sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Motet Composition in the 1520s.' *Hearing the Motet: essays on the motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 243-264.

Rifkin, Joshua. 'Motivicity, Constructivism, Humanism: on Josquin's *Huc me sydereo*.' Paper read at the Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, London, July 1990.

Routley, Nicholas. 'A Practical Guide to *Musica Ficta*.' *Early Music* 13 (1985): 59-71.

Van Benthem, Jaap. 'Text, Tone, and Symbol: Regarding Busnoys's Conception of *In hydaulis* and its Presumed Relationship to Ockeghem's *Ut heremita Solus*.'

Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music, ed.

Paula Higgins. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999: 214-253.

Historical

Bernstein, Lawrence F. 'Josquin's Chansons as Generic Paradigms.' *Music in*

Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood, eds. Jessie

Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997.

35-55.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. 'Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources.' *Journal of the*

American Musicological Society 29 (Spring 1976): 30-76.

Bloxam, M. Jennifer. 'Masses Based on Polyphonic Songs and Cononic Masses.' *The*

Josquin Companion, ed. Richard Sherr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000:

151-210.

Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage.' *Journal of the*

American Musicological Society 35 (Spring 1982): 1-48.

Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson.'

Current thought in Musicology, ed. John W. Grubbs. Austin and London:

University of Texas Press, 1976: 89-137.

- Brown, Howard Mayor et al. 'Chanson.' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 5, ed. Sadie Stanley. Oxford, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001: 472-484.
- Fallows, David. 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin: an Interim Report.' *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 19 (1999): 131-150.
- Fallows, David. 'What happened to *El grillo*.' *Early Music* 31 (3) (August 2003): 391-400.
- Higgins, Paula. 'Musical "Parents" and Their "Progeny": The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe.' *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, eds. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997: 169-186.
- Heartz, Daniel. 'The Chanson in the Humanist Era.' *Current Thought in Musicology*, ed. John W. Grubbs. Austin-London: University of Texas Press, 1976: 193-230.
- Jeffery, Brian, ed. *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, 2 vols. London, 1971.
- Kirkman, Andrew. 'From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin.' *Journal of Musicology* 17 (Fall 1999): 441-458.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. 'The Moral Thought of Renaissance Humanism.' *chapters in Western Civilization*. Eds. Contemporary Civilization staff of Columbia College, Vol. 1. New York - London: Columbia University Press, 1961: 289-355.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 2 vols. Princeton-Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Lowinsky, Edward E. 'Ascanio Sforza's Life: A Key to Josquin's Biography and an Aid to the Chronology of His Works.' *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989: 541-564.

Lowinsky, Edward E. '*Musica ficta* in the Josquin Edition.' *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989: 779-93.

Lowinsky, Edward E. 'Music in Renaissance Culture.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (1954): 509-53.

Lowinsky, Edward E. 'On the Use of Scores by Sixteenth Century Musicians.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1 (1948): 17-23.

- Lowinsky, Edward E. 'Helmuth Osthoff's Josquin Monograph.' *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989: 531-540.
- Macey, Patrick. 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin.' *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 147-204.
- Macey, Patrick. 'Josquin's *Misericordias Domini* and Louis XI.' *Early Music* 19 n 2 (1991): 163-77.
- Matthews, Lora and Paul A. Merkley. 'Josquin Desprez and his Milanese Patrons.' *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 434-463.
- Meconi, Honey. 'French Print Chansons and Pierre de la Rue: A Case Study in Authenticity.' *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, eds. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997: 187-213.
- Meconi, Honey. *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Meconi, Honey. 'Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: New Light on *Fortuna desperata*.' *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999: 465-503.

Merkley, Paul. "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara." *Journal of Musicology*. 18 (fall 2001): 544-583.

Merkley, Paul and Lora Mathews. "Iudochus de Picardia dn Jossequin Lebloitte dit Desprez: The Names of the Singer(s)." *Journal of Musicology*. 16 (Spring 1998): 200-226.

Merkley, Paul and Lora Mathews. *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception." *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, eds. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997: 271-280.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "Music Historiography and the Definition of 'Renaissance.'" *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the music Library association* 47 (1990): 305-330.

Palisca, Claude V., ed. 'Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music.' *Three Medieval Treatises*. 1978.

Perkins, Leeman, L. 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII

and Louis XI (1422-83).’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 507-66.

Reese, Gustav. *Music in the Renaissance*. 2nd. ed. New York: Norton, 1959.

Rifkin, Joshua. ‘Josquin’s chansons for five Voices Problems of Authenticity and Style.’

Paper read at the *Colloquium* on European Secular Music of the 16th Century (Rutgers University 1984) and in expanded form at the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht, 1986. Made available courtesy of the author.

Rifkin, Joshua. ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s *Ave Maria* . . . *Virgo serena*.’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 n. 2 (2003): 239-350.

Sherr, Richard. ‘A Biographical Miscellany: Josquin, Tinctoris, Obrecht, Brumel.’ *Musicologia Humana: Studies in honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, eds. Siegfried Gmeinwieser, David Hiley and Jörg Riedlbauer. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994: 65-74.

Sherr, Richard. ‘Chronology of Josquin’s Life and Career.’ *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 11-20.

Wegman, Rob C. “‘And Josquin Laughed . . .” Josquin and the Composer’s Anecdote in

the Sixteenth Century.’ *Journal of Musicology*. 17 (Summer 1999): 319-357.

Wexler, Richard. ‘Simultaneous Conception and Compositional Process in the Late Fifteenth Century.’ *Antoine Busnoys: Method, meaning and context in late medieval music*, ed. Paula Higgins. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999: 389-398.