

**Robert Morton's Songs:
A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century**

By

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Preface

This dissertation started life as an attempt to clear the ground on two English composers of songs in the mid-fifteenth century, Robert Morton and John Bedyngham. The twelve songs ascribed to Morton, which initially seemed to offer fewer problems, were to be studied first to present an outline of a method and a terminology for discussing fifteenth-century song, and also because they belong firmly in the "Burgundian" tradition whose style was evidently known throughout the continent and regarded as classic during the years in which Bedyngham, for instance, wrote in a more identifiably provincial style. With Morton's songs described and explained, it would then have been easier to approach the more intriguing problems of Bedyngham's songs with a clearer view of their context. But Morton soon became so large a subject in itself that Bedyngham had to be lopped off: the results of my work on Bedyngham have gone into an article on that composer for The New Grove and into various spoken and written presentations.

The dissertation, then, is centered on the song tradition at the court of Burgundy during the years of Charles the Bold. 1457 is not only the year in which Morton is first recorded there, but also the year which began with a terrible disagreement between Charles, then count of Charolais, and his ailing father, Philip the Good and ended with Philip formally handing over most of the executive power to his son at a meeting of the Estates General in Ghent. Morton disappears from the records in 1476, a few months before Charles; and though it is unlikely that the composer came to the same unpleasant end as his Duke, it seems that his surviving songs probably all come from these years 1457 to 1476.

Any study of Morton obviously owes much to previous publications. The first biographical study by Alexandre Pinchart (1867) laid the basis of all that has followed. Jeanne Marix (1939) expanded it slightly, having two years earlier completed the publication of the nine works known at the time to have ascriptions to Morton. Two more works were identified by Dragan Plamenac who has done so much to further studies of fifteenth-century song. The fullest published summary of Morton's work and position remains Peter Gülke's article "Morton" in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1961). With all but two of Morton's works published in some form or other, it seemed important to try and draw conclusions from the wide range of conflicting sources and to use that information in an effort to understand the music better, to put it in its context, and to examine further directions in which a study of fifteenth-century song could proceed.

I have therefore started straight in with the music. Part one of the dissertation discusses the songs that seem to be securely attributed to Morton: each song forms the basis of a brief essay on some aspect of the song tradition. Only then, in Part two, is Morton's life discussed, partly because the life is important only in the context of his music, partly because biographical conclusions can be drawn more easily when the music has been examined, and partly because it provides a suitable springboard for Part three. A further springboard to Part three comes from a chapter on Morton's patron, Duke Charles the Bold. Part three deals primarily with ascription problems and in so doing attempts to identify the style of the

Burgundian court tradition as against that of the other cultural centers in Europe. Four of the songs ascribed to Morton are thereby shown to be most unlikely to have been composed by him; and it is hoped that the detailed argument and extended textual discussions that lead to this relatively insignificant conclusion may be considered worthwhile in themselves.

Since I have been so long writing this dissertation I have incurred an enormous number of debts. My supervisor, Professor Philip Brett has helped me far beyond the call of duty, from the day he first showed me I wanted to be a musicologist twelve years ago, through many perverse difficulties, including an extraordinary careful reading of most of this material when he was supposed to be on sabbatical leave, and down to the moment when he persuaded me to put everything else aside and finish the project. My two other readers, Professors Edgar H. Sparks and Alan H. Nelson have also contributed far more than the mere reading of my drafts.

Of the many libraries that have helped my work I am particularly grateful to the staff of the University of California at Berkeley music library, the University of London library, the British Library Reference Division, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Bibliothèque royale and the Archives du Royaume in Brussels, the Archives départementales du Nord in Lille, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.

For help with the French texts I am most grateful to Dr Brian Jeffery, and for help with the Spanish to Professor Mark Accornero.

Many others have helped by reading sections, giving advice, or merely by listening patiently. Among them I would particularly like to mention, Professors Ian and Margaret Bent, Thomas Binkley, Professor Howard Mayer Brown, Professor Richard L. Crocker, Dr Pierre Cockshaw, Dr Warwick A. Edwards, Professor Daniel Heartz, Patricia McKann, Professor Rodney Merrill, O.W. Neighbour, Sarah Newman, Dr Lily Segerman-Peck, Professor Dragan Plamenac, Brad Robinson, Dr John Stevens, Andrea von Ramm and my wife Polly. To all of these, many of whom may not be aware how much they helped, my deepest thanks. But two particularly important debts should be recorded separately, if only because of their more unusual nature.

First, two scholars also working on Morton have been most generous with their material: Professor Brian Trowell was kind enough to let me see the typescript of his forthcoming article on the composer for The New Grove and to let me see his personal copy of his astonishing Cambridge dissertation, with many manuscript annotations; Professor Allan Atlas, whose edition of Morton's complete works is also now in proof, was equally extremely generous with his material and ideas. It was particularly generous of Allan Atlas to send me a xerox of the entire commentary to his edition while it was still in typescript; and though there is very little in the second half of this dissertation with which he will agree (and, indeed, relatively little in the first part), he will surely understand how much of it is indebted to his own penetrating and exhaustive work. Moreover, it is probably true to say that this kind of a study of so little material would be psychologically impossible without the

kind of interchange he afforded me at a crucial moment and which has driven me further and further towards the roots of questions. That my final opinions differ sharply from those of my two seniors, both questions of authorship and in terms of my estimation of the sources, should not in any way imply lack of admiration for their work: rather the contrary.

Second, the opportunity of performing the majority of Morton's songs in many concerts of fifteenth-century music with the group Musica Mundana (Judith Nelson, Steven Hart, Thomas Buckner, Penny Hanna and Pamela Crane) was a rare privilege. Many ideas have slipped in here which rightly belong to my colleagues in that group; and several others would never have happened without their cooperation. My deepest thanks to them and to the many appreciative audiences who received Morton when they really deserved Dufay.

David Fallows

Gospel Oak, August 1976;

Old Trafford, September 1977.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

Fuller references for all the main manuscripts used appear in the Appendix.

The list appended here is merely a key to a system that has been used in most studies of the fifteenth-century song repertoires over the past twenty years, and has a history going back to Ludwig and Bessler. For most other purposes this would perhaps be the correct moment to discard all the old sigla and replace them with the far more consistent system used by the Répertoire international des sources musicales; but the very universality of the latter system tends to make its use cumbersome when the subject under discussion is so sharply limited and particularly when there is a widely accepted and understood series of references already available.

BerK	Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 28
Bux	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften- Abteilung, Cim. 352b (formerly Mus.Ms. 3725) (Buxheimer Orgelbuch)
CantiB	<u>Canti B numero cinquanta</u> . Venice: O. Petrucci, 1501 (Old Style) - RISM 1502 ²
CantiC	<u>Canti C no. cento cinquanta</u> . Venice: O. Petrucci, 1503 (Old Style) - RISM 1504 ³
Chasse	Octavien de Saint Gelais and Blaise d'Autiol, <u>S'ensuit La chasse et le depart d'amours</u> . Paris: Veuve Treperel and Jehan Jehannot, [1507].

- Cas Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2856
- CG Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
C.G. XIII. 27
- CMC Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7-I-28
- CMP Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, 1335 (formerly 2-I-5)
(Cancionero de Palacio)
- Col Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-I-43, part of
which is now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
f.fr.nouv.acq.4379, f 1-42
- CopI Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Thott 291 8^{vo}
- CopII Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Ny kgl.
Samling 1848 2^o
- Cord Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973
(Chansonnier Cordiforme)
- Dijon Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique, 517
- EscB El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, IV.a.24
- F176 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale,
Magliabechini XIX, 176
- F229 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco
Rari 229 (formerly Magliabechini XIX, 59)
- Fabri Pierre Fabri, Le grant et vray art de pleine
rhetorique. Rouen: Symon Gruel, 17 Jan 1521
(Old Style)
- Glogau Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.
40,098 (Glogauer Liederbuch)

- Grey Cape Town, South African Public Library,
Grey Collection 3.b.12
- Jardin Le jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique.
Paris: [Antoine Vérard, 1501]
- Laborde Washington, Library of Congress, M 2.1 L 25
(Laborde Chansonnier)
- Lansdowne London, British Library Reference Division,
MS. Lansdowne 380
- Loch Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40613
(Lochamer Liederbuch).
- Mbs 9659 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 9659
- Mellon New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript
Library, Ms. 91 (Mellon Chansonnier)
- ModB Modene, Biblioteca Estense, X.1.11
- Nivelle Neuilly-sur-Seine, Former library of the late
Madame la comtesse H. de Chambure, Chansonnier
Nivelle de la Chaussée.
- Odh Harmonice musices odhecaton A. Venice: O. Petrucci,
1501 - RISM 1501
- Oporto Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 714
- Ox213 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213
- Paris Unless otherwise stated, Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale, fonds français
- Parma Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parm. 1158
- Pavia Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. Aldini 362
- Perugia Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Cod. 431
(formerly G 20)

- Pix Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français
15123 (Chansonnier Pixérécourt)
- Q16 Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale,
Q16 (formerly Martini 109)
- RiccII Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2356
- Rohan Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 B 17
(Cardinal de Rohan's chansonnier)
- Schedel Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-
Abteilung, Cgm 810 (formerly Mus. Ms. 3232)
(Schedelsches Liederbuch)
- Segovia Segovia, Catedral, Ms. without shelf-mark
- Spinacino2 Francesco Spinacino, Intabulatura de lauto,
libro secondo. Venice: O. Petrucci, 1507
- Brown 1507₂
- Verona 757 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLVII
- Wolf Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek,
Cod.-Guelf. 287 Extrav.

NOTE ON THE EDITIONS

The formal edition of each song appears at the beginning of the chapter in which that song is discussed. At the end of the chapter appear the inventory of sources, the editorial notes, any valid alternative editions, and a Variorum which includes all relevant variants within a single score. Fuller details of the commentary appear on p. 28 at the beginning of the commentary to the first song.

The Variorum seems perhaps the most important innovation of this dissertation. It is, after all, relatively easy to transcribe from a single source and to add an "algebraic" commentary giving all the variants from other manuscripts; but the need to produce a Variorum of a dozen sources requires extremely careful choice of the base source, otherwise the Variorum will be impossibly complicated. In practice this required a separate transcription from each source, careful annotation of each, detailed comparison of the resulting transcriptions one voice at a time, and then a cautious assembly of the final picture. I believe that the discipline has led me to the best source in each case, and the effort seems justified in view of the number of editions of fifteenth-century song that seem to me, because of their different approach, to have chosen less good sources for their base.

Part I: The Authentic Works

Chapter One

Le Souvenir: the Words and the Music

The words had neither so much sense,
wit, or fancy, as to withdraw the
attention from the music, nor the
music so much of art, as to drown
all feeling of the words.

Scott, Quentin Durward, ch. 4

1.4.7. Le sou-ve-nir de vous me sa-e Mon
 3. Quant je vous voy par-mi la ru-e Je
 5. Seul-le dé-meu-re des-pour-veu-e, De á-

Tenor Le souvenir de vous

Contra Le souvenir de vous

seul bien, puis-ques ne vous voy; 2.8. Car ie vous ju-re,
 plains en di-sant a par moy:
 me nul con-fort ne re-çoy. 6. Je souf-fre-ray,

sur ma foy, que sans vous ma joie
 sans faire ef-froy Jus-sans-ques a vos-

est per-du e.
 tre re-ve-nu - e.

The composers of French songs in the second half of the fifteenth century inherited their style from Binchois and Dufay. That style was one with melodic lines that were primarily melismatic, whereas the songs of the 1420s, when Dufay and Binchois were writing their earliest works, had been largely syllabic with melismas confined, in the main, to the sections before and after the declamation of the text. If any single trend can be discerned in the chronological progress of those two composers in their setting of words, it is the move away from syllabic writing and repeated notes in the 1420s, via a gentler iambic or trochaic style of melody in which the even declamation was preserved in spite of the more florid details within the line, and culminating in a consistently florid line far more loosely connected with the syllabic structure of the poem. Whereas in the 1420s and 1430s declamation was a prime consideration in setting words to music, by the 1460s the influence of Dufay in particular had led towards a feeling for the supreme importance of melodic line; and there is hardly any other moment in the history of music when song lines have been so consistently melismatic.

That more florid style is today made confusing by the state of the manuscripts. Many of the sources contain only a portion of the complete poem for the song; and there are very few cases indeed in the second half of the century where the text is underlaid to the music with sufficient care to constitute what could reasonably be called a performing version. Fortunately, however, the music itself contains many of the answers that seem to be absent in the manuscript transmission. The increase in melismatic writing did not bring with it the complete breakdown of correlation between text and music that the sources might suggest. There was, rather, a loose

relationship between the two: the change had been from a tight bond to a far freer and more flexible interchange that perhaps gave more scope to both. And since this dissertation is concerned with songs and song styles it must begin by looking at how that relationship works. This first chapter will therefore concern only the Discantus part of Robert Morton's most widely distributed song, Le souvenir de vous me tue.

The first stanza of the poem is four lines long. If the Discantus of Morton's setting is laid out as in ex. 1 it too divides easily into four lines with a short sequential extension at the end of the final phrase. The movement of the lower parts confirms this analysis: the only true cadences appear at the ends of lines in the diagram.

This clear division is worth stressing at the outset because it must surely carry with it some implications about the intended word-setting. It would seem reasonable to suppose that each phrase fits one of the poetic lines; but the manuscripts tend to suggest otherwise, and modern scholars, with their faith pinned perhaps a little too strongly to the idea of an Urtext, have not been anxious to contradict the sources.⁽¹⁾ In the only published edition of Le souvenir, for example, Knud Jeppesen took his underlay straight from the manuscript he used: the second text line does not begin until the middle of the second musical line, and the fourth text line begins at the middle of the fourth musical line. Yet the consistency with which each of the musical lines begins with a short phrase followed by a rest and a longer more melismatic phrase should be evidence that such underlay must be regarded with the deepest suspicion. Jeppesen evidently felt, as many other writers on the subject have felt, that there was insufficient correlation between the words and the music of the songs in

Ex. 1

this tradition for it to be possible to formulate any definite principles of text underlay.

Many details of the texting in this song are probably insoluble; but at the same time there seem to be perfectly clear answers to many more questions and it would be perverse to use the lack of detailed answers as an excuse for claiming that no working principles can be established. The first step in examining these songs is almost always to look for the "musical line," as in ex. 1, to check the conclusions reached by reference to the other parts, particularly in the placing of cadences, and then to see whether it makes sense to underlay the poem with one poetic line to each musical line. And while the shape of Le souvenir is clearer than that of many other songs from the time, practically the entire repertory can be analysed in this way with comparative ease; and

in most cases the poem fits perfectly.

Indeed, it is possible to go further and to say that in this repertory the form of the poem can almost always be determined by examining the music alone. In the broadest terms it is possible to see relatively quickly which of the formes fixes a song follows, as we shall see in later chapters. But it is usually also easy to see how many musical lines are present; and experience shows that for songs whose text does survive the number almost always agrees with the number of lines in that text. And on the closest level it is sometimes possible - though less often than with the songs of the early fifteenth century - to determine the lengths of the poetic lines. Such considerations are particularly important and useful because so many songs survive with no text, with incomplete text or even with the wrong text; and to establish the correct verbal text remains one of the urgent duties in the study of fifteenth-century song.

But, to return to the line-structure in Le souvenir, it seems that we must accept the assumption that certain things obvious to the scribe and the musician of the fifteenth century did not need to be spelled out in the manuscripts. Of the thirteen surviving sources for the music of Le souvenir, only one has each of the four lines of the poem beginning below the notes to which they must have been sung.

A similar case concerns the position of what we shall call the "mid-point cadence" in a Rondeau.⁽²⁾ Since the Rondeau form entails repetition back to the beginning from the middle of the musical stanza (and once again, it is convenient to employ the concept of the musical stanza as opposed to the poetic stanza) there must be some point from which to return, a point at which a convenient close is made or which leads gracefully back

to the beginning. And though this concept may also seem obvious, any experience with modern editions of fifteenth-century song will show that errors are easily made. In his edition of Dufay's songs Heinrich Besseler needed to add the signum congruentiae to mark the mid-point cadence in Entre vous gentils amoureux and Ce jour de l'an: in both cases he adds the signum at the end of the second poetic line but before the end of the second musical line - or at least, before the second musical line had reached a full cadence, and it may be taken as axiomatic and confirmed by the examination of any fifteenth-century songs that the "mid-point cadence" is always a full cadence or at least a half cadence, for to end in mid-phrase is surely to utter nonsense.⁽³⁾ Similarly, Felix Salzer used a section of Dunstable's Rondeau Durer ne puis running just past the mid-point cadence for analysis in his Structural Hearing, with results predictably misleading for the ensuing analysis.⁽⁴⁾

As these examples are intended to show, it is easy to miss even the most apparently obvious principles in fifteenth-century word-setting, so it is important to begin the study of fifteenth-century song with a clear concept of the meaning of musical line as against textual line, with the knowledge that at the end of one of the musical lines there should be a mid-point cadence. This will not always be marked, particularly in sources from the later years of the century. Of the thirteen surviving sources for Le souvenir only two mark the mid-point cadence, and even they do so in only two of the parts. The reason is presumably, once again, that the point is obvious - so long as one knows one is looking out for it. It has often been said that the true meaning of the signum congruentiae is "something happens here." This interpretation is corroborated by another Morton Rondeau,

N'aray je jamais, whose mid-point appears unexpectedly at a half cadence: every one of the fifteen surviving sources marks that point with a signum. In this case the difficult question is answered in the manuscripts, whereas the far simpler question of the mid-point of Le souvenir is left to the understanding of the singer. Put another way, intensive study of sources presupposes a previous understanding of the music: many of the answers are to be found only in the music.

.....

The first stanza of the poem Le souvenir runs:

Le souvenir de vous me tue
 Mon seul bien puisque ne vous voy
 Car je vous jure sur ma foy
 Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.

Its form is absolutely characteristic of the Rondeau at this stage in its history. The stanza might also well have five lines instead of four, and ten-syllable lines instead of eight-syllable lines. Other stanza patterns are much rarer, such as the six-line stanza of Paracheve ton entreprise or lines of a different length. But the a b b a rhyme-scheme is essential to the structure of the Rondeau and could not be otherwise: a Rondeau with a four-line stanza always rhymes a b b a. (5)

And here is the one respect in which the musical form does not match the poetic form. Ex. 1 shows clearly that the first and third musical lines are paired: both contain the same "rhyming" fall after the cadence; both begin with a five-note figure which tends to rise. By contrast, musical lines two and four each begin with a shorter falling figure and continue with a leap of a third followed by an upward scale; and they both end actually on the cadence. The musical form, then, should perhaps be expressed

as a b a b whereas the poem rhymes a b b a.

In other circumstances this difference between musical and poetic rhyme-schemes would perhaps be evidence that the music was not originally written for the poem Le souvenir; and the later stages of this dissertation will contain several examples of how such clues can be followed. But in this case it seems that the text is correct. The Rondeau is by far the most common song form in this generation; and stylistically the music of Le souvenir belongs within the Rondeau tradition. The cadence at the end of the second musical line, where one would expect to find the mid-point cadence, is not only the strongest cadence apart from the final cadence, but it lies a fourth below the final cadence, at the pitch forming the strongest contrast to the end of the piece. Of the three commonly employed French forms, Rondeau, Ballade and Bergerette, only the Rondeau has a single section: the others are divided into two sections in the manuscripts. The only possible form other than that of the Rondeau would be a simple stanzaic form (which would characteristically have the rhyme-scheme a b a b in each stanza).

Yet the very shape of this Discantus line makes simple stanzaic form unlikely. The essence of the Rondeau form is that the first half, up to the mid-point cadence, can stand by itself and be repeated, therefore that it should contain a musical balance and completeness within itself; the second half has no need of such independence since it never appears alone, and need only make sense in relation to the first half. This is precisely what happens in Le souvenir.

The first half contains the most perfectly balanced melodic shape. The first five notes outline the central ambitus of the part; the rest of

the first musical line rises up to a peak note on the high A, returns to cadence on the starting note, F, and falls to C, the lower note of the central ambitus originally outlined. The second melodic line begins with a fall from here down to the lowest note of the part, and then rises - in a manner reminiscent of the first line - to a peak on F, the starting note, before falling to make its cadence on C. These two musical lines are therefore balanced in all kinds of ways: the use of the middle and upper register for the first line as against the middle and lower registers for the second line; the exchange in function of the F and the C in the two lines; and in both being four perfections long. Moreover they stand repetition as a pair much more than do the third and fourth melodic lines, for their material is not too economic: it is only with the addition of the last two lines that one understands the motivic quality of the rising scale and of the fall of a minor third followed by a whole tone. These are factors in the ultimate unity and coherence of the whole song but not in the balance of the matching pair of lines that form the first half of the song.

The second half has no such balance within itself. It entirely neglects the lower range, but instead moves upwards to a B flat, higher than any note in the first half. Figures introduced in the first two lines are expanded in the complementary third and fourth lines. The only new ideas are the upward leap of a fourth and the downward scale figure that precedes the last two cadences. With the peak on B flat established, the Discantus moves gently down to the concluding F through cadences on A and on G; but each step in this downward progression is preceded by a repeat of the B flat and another stepwise descent to prepare for the cadence. This second half thereby has a momentum, a sense of direction that is entirely lacking in the

balanced first half; and the extension of the final phrase only enhances the urgency in its melodic contour.

These musical features are those of the Rondeau form, of a form whose first half must stand independently but whose totality must add something significant to the first half. That the rhyme scheme of the poem is not underscored by that of the music is more a result of the line becoming slightly more important than the declamation. It is not unique to Le souvenir. The same happens, for instance, in two songs of Binchois, Adieu mes tres belles amours and Amours et souvenir de celle.⁽⁶⁾ What happens here is simply a loosening of the tight bonds between music and poetry, a freer relationship that allows more scope to the musical line.⁽⁷⁾

But is the poem therefore merely a scaffold of words upon which a delicately carved vocal line could be formed? In many senses it is. Here, as in most other Rondeaux of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the first couplet acts as a "motto" for the whole song, a crystallization of the poem's content.⁽⁸⁾ So it requires an equally balanced and self-contained musical setting, as it has here. But, as John Stevens has shown in respect of early Tudor song, the music makes no attempt to mimic the meaning of the words, partly because such a device would be counterproductive in what is in effect a strophic song. On the other hand, the shape of the melodic contour does play a part in developing the meaning of the poem. Transferring the effects and balance of the Discantus line, as described above, to the whole song, we get a scheme as follows:

Poetic form	Musical form	Musical mood
I Le souvenir de vous me tue	A	balance
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy,		
Car je vous jure, sur ma foy,	B	increased excitement
Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.		
II Quant je vous voy par mi la rue	a	balance
Je plains en disant à par moy:		
"Le souvenir de vous me tue,	A	refrain: resignation
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy."		
III Seulle demeure despourveue,	a	balance but moving towards
De ame nul confort ne reçoÿ		
Je souffreray, sans faire effroy	b	
Jusques à vostre revenue.		emotional peak
IV Le souvenir de vous me tue	A	final refrain
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy,		
Car je vous jure, sur ma foy,	B	
Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.		coming to a close

If this diagram reveals nothing very interesting about the essence of the poem itself, it does, however, show that the music adds a dimension to the poem by expressing not the mood but the form of the verse. Part of the success of the musical Rondeau is that while retaining a simple four stanza structure it presents the "a" section three times in the middle of the poem in such a way that a substantial momentum is gathered when the music eventually moves on to the "b" section again at the end of the third

stanza - a momentum which makes the final repetition of the first stanza in stanza four both inevitable and necessary.

It should be clear enough from what has been said already that the form of the poem directly determines the form of the music: that is the case throughout medieval song and it is something that will affect many of the discussions in this dissertation. And a fundamental assumption with all such song is that, as John Stevens has said, the music "expresses" not the content of the music but its form.⁽⁹⁾ Indeed the poem itself is an expression of form rather than of ideas: its sentiment, that of the forlorn lady deserted by her faithless lover, is one of the relatively small number of themes explored in the courtly love lyric; its individuality as a poem is more in the way that theme is used as a medium for courtly persuasion, the courtly rhetoric of the poem.

But that idea can perhaps be refined a little further. For there do seem to be details in the setting of the first stanza which apply more to that stanza than to the following ones. Let us look again at the opening phrase: (ex. 2).

Might there not be a case for suggesting that the word "tue" is matched by a dying fall in the music, a fall that suits the word better than it suits the word "rue" in the next stanza? And equally, is it reading too much into the undefined features of text-underlay to see the high A as singularly appropriate to the word "vous", particularly in helping the singer to give his line a sense of clear direction? Such questions must be approached with considerable caution. But what of the final couplet? Does there not seem to be a growth of excitement in the musical lines that fully matches the meaning of "For I swear to you, by my faith, that without

Ex. 2

Le sou - ve - nir de vous me tu - e
(Underlay from Dij and Per)

you my joy is lost?" To answer these risky questions it may be necessary to steer a careful course between two extremes: the first extreme is the one that sees significance in every detail and attempts to analyse fifteenth-century vocal lines in the same way as one would analyse, say, the lines in a Wagner opera, forgetting the entirely different philosophical and historical context in which medieval man lived; and the other extreme is what one might call the extreme medieval view, the one that opposes any attempt to see "madrigalisms" in medieval song. This particular song, it seems to me, suggests that the sensitive line would be somewhere between those two.

An approach to defining the degree to which this apparent word-painting is really part of the style and the tradition can be made by returning to the more practical question of text-underlay. For the present purposes it is sufficient to consider two factors: the degree to which there is an unequivocally "correct" matching of words and music in a song (and therefore also an unequivocally "incorrect" matching); and the placement of text below the music in a modern edition which can really only provide one answer.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the repertories of the earlier fifteenth century and those of the years around 1500 a third consideration is relevant: the

habits and techniques used by scribes and printers to match the correct words to the correct music. But few of them employ any techniques of underlay as such.

The opening of the third stanza raises a problem of texting that may show the way to understanding how words and music relate. The first two words, "Seulle demeure," contain five syllables, whereas the first musical phrase which is followed by a rest has previously been used for a textual phrase of four syllables. There are two possible solutions (ex. 3). First, the word "demeure" can straddle a rest. This solution begins from the supposition that the musical form so closely matches the poetical form that the details of text underlay are exactly the same in each stanza. It also assumes that the short rest in the second perfection does not in any way interrupt the flow of the line. Slightly strange though this solution may seem, it is concordant with one of the main complaints made about fifteenth-century music by Thomas Morley a century later. However, the presence of a five-syllable unit at the beginning of the third stanza as against a four-syllable unit in the first suggests that the stanzas are not precisely matched in terms of caesura placement (which will be discussed below) and that this solution is not likely to be appropriate. The second solution is to fit all five syllables of "Seulle demeure" below the existing five notes of the first musical phrase. Here the assumption is that words should not be split across a rest, that the integrity of the individual word is more important than the syllabification of the musical line, and that the curious accentuation whereby the final "-e" of "demeure" lies on a metrically strong note is the lesser of two evils.

This final anomaly is common in French song of the fifteenth century.

Ex. 3

Seul- le de-meu-re despourveue
or Seul- le de - meu - re despourveue

Ex. 4

Indeed it is endemic to the style. The metrical structure of French poetry has always been based on a syllable count rather than on accent, for it is considered essential to the French language that no syllable be accentually more important than any other. The only exception to this rule is the final "-e," virtually silent in conversation, which takes on the value of a syllable for poetic purposes, but when found at the end of a line is not included in the metrical count of the verse. Such a syllable, then, is the only one in French poetry to be less accented than any others. This is a simple feminine ending, and about half of all lines in French poetry end with this light "-e." Exactly half of the lines in Le souvenir do so.

However the musical style of the fifteenth century shows precisely the reverse characteristic. It has already been mentioned that each musical line of Le souvenir moves towards a full cadence between Discantus and Tenor. The cadential note inevitably becomes the strongest moment in the musical line, the point towards which everything else moves, within

this style. The contradiction by which half of the poetic lines have their only subsidiary accent on the strongest musical moment seems to have been unacknowledged by the composers of the time. It was merely an inherent paradox of the style. Any suggestion that the apparent feminine ending to the first musical line of Le souvenir, for instance, was calculated to resolve this paradox and to match the feminine ending to the first poetic line is contradicted by the appearance of a similar feminine ending at the end of the third musical line, whose poetic equivalent has no such feminine ending. Part of the life of the French song tradition in the fifteenth century arises from this tension between musical meter and verbal meter. It was these soft feminine endings in the poem that avoided too hard a cadence at the end of each musical line. And it is in such details that we can see the essence of the quiet tactful nature of the classic chanson in high style.

In the case of "Seulle demeure," then, the appearance of the final "-e" on the musically and metrically strong note E should not appear out of place. But there is a further reason why it is an acceptable solution to the underlay problem. Any discussion of the development of rhythmic thought in the music of the fifteenth century will conclude that one of the dominant historical tendencies is the progression from a strong consciousness of the bar-line-equivalent towards a tremendous freedom in rhythmical patterns breaking across the meter.⁽¹¹⁾ A rhythmically independent analysis of the first measures of Le souvenir (ex. 4) could well produce the solution that the return to the low F in the Contratenor at the second beat of the second perfection constitutes the beginning of the second metrical unit, thus that the first beat of the perfection is not

(Ex. 4 on p. 16)

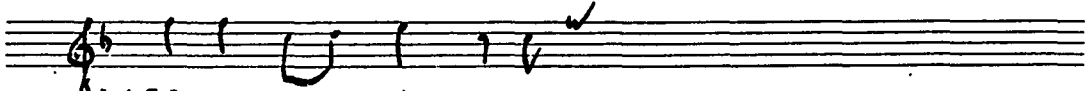
accentual and is in no way unsuitable for the final syllable of "demeure." I am inclined to view this not merely as a possible solution but as the solution envisaged by the composer when he wrote his song.

Expanding this idea slightly, we can move on to the opening phrases of the other musical lines and see what the underlay possibilities are. The second line in all stanzas of the poem begins with a discrete three-syllable unit; and it may seem reasonable to underlay them to the three separate notes of the first phrase. However, in both the second and the third stanza the third syllable belongs grammatically with the rest of the line: Je plains // en disant a par moy


De ame // nul confort ne reçoï

If the first line can be changed around in the third stanza, perhaps the second line can be altered to fit better in both second and third stanzas.


Ex. 5



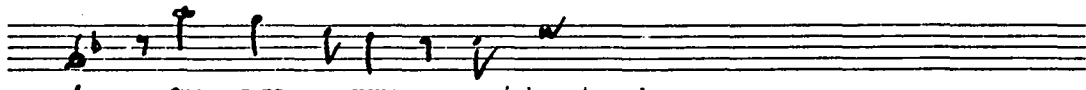
1.4.7. Le sou - ve - nir de vous me tue
 3. Quant je vous voy parmi la rue
 5. Seul - ie de - meu - re despourveue



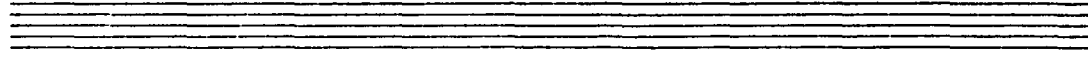
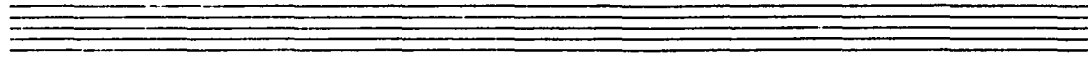
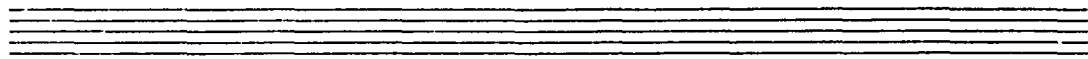
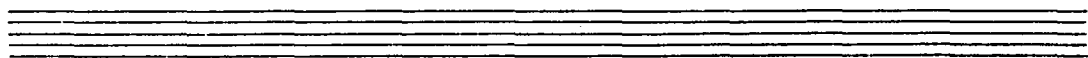
Mon seul bien puisque ne vous voy
 Je plains en disant a par moy
 De - me nul confort ne recoy



2.8. Car ie vous ju - re par ma moy
 6. Je souf - - re - ray sans faire effroy



Que sans vous ma joie est perdue
 Jus - - ques a vostre revenue



Ex. 5 shows what seems to be the only satisfactory solution to the underlay of the first phrase of each line. According to classical French metrics a ten-syllable line had a couppée or caesura after the fourth syllable. This repertory is a little early to obey such strict rules, and in any case the lines are of eight syllables. But it is easy to see that the divisions in the musical lines and in the poetic lines are in fact the standard caesura. The caesura is not discussed, so far as I am aware, by either poetic or musical theorists of the fifteenth century; but its presence is clearly discernible in this song. Its position is not always the same; it varies between the second and the fifth syllable. But there can be little doubt that these are the correct positions; nor can there be much doubt that this is the most appropriate underlay for the first half of each line, because here again it is a consideration of verse form that determines the procedure, not blind faith in the scribes or in the emotional content of the poetic line.

But it is precisely these variations between the different stanzas in their caesura placement that suggest an answer to the questions about the "emotional content" or "word painting" in the melodic line. Although solutions to the underlay of subsequent stanzas have been arrived at, they are not ideal: the separated units at the beginning of each musical line fit the first stanza extremely well, but the other stanzas require adjustment.

That in turn suggests something important about the nature of all the formes fixes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a characteristic they share which separates them in nature from the more straightforward strophic forms of the centuries before and after. In a strophic song there

is always a danger that too close a matching of words and music in the first stanza will result in a far looser matching in subsequent stanzas and that the song therefore ends more weakly - in terms of the union of words and music. This can be overcome, in a strophic song, only by an extremely cautious approach to words-and-music in all stanzas; and it is easy to point to famous songs from all centuries in which the strong matching of the words to the music in the opening stanza results in a weak final stanza. The forms of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries avoid that. The Rondeau and the Bergerette end with a repeat of the opening stanza; the Ballade ends each of its three stanzas with an identical refrain line. Of these forms, perhaps the Rondeau is the most perfect, because between the total unity of the first and last stanzas there is also a short refrain at the end of the second stanza which adds another section of total unity at an asymmetrical point within the song. Perhaps that characteristic may help to explain the Rondeau's extreme popularity over practically two hundred years during which well over half of the surviving French song repertory has that form. Within that framework it seems rash to suppose that there could be no specific matching of music to words in the first stanza of Le souvenir.

In terms of such reasoning, also, the suggested underlay in ex. 5 seems acceptable. It explains why the opening phrase of musical lines one and three is longer than that of musical lines two and four. And it is eminently singable. There can be very little question about either the allocation of text phrases to musical phrases or about the precise underlay of nearly half the text syllables.

The underlay of the remainder of the text is more difficult. The surviving theoretical works on texting are all from the sixteenth century

and discuss a different repertory and a solution that will work well for one song works badly for another. Solution one, that adopted in the edition, is merely to spread the words more or less evenly across the remainder of the notes. It has the advantage of being relatively non-controversial and singable. Solution two, presented in ex. 6, is offered here as a logical (and musical) alternative. It begins from the observation that the first phrase of each line is relatively syllabic and that each musical line becomes increasingly florid. Therefore the principle in this particular song, and many others, may be to begin syllabically, presenting the full text before moving off into a melisma to close the line. The second basis of this solution is the observation that each melodic line rises very consciously to a carefully placed peak note and then falls gracefully to its cadence in more florid manner. The pattern in which these melodic peaks fall has already been mentioned: it is obviously a fundamental building block in a repertory stressing such a conscious balance of melodic contour. Is it possible that the placing of text syllables is also related to the same pattern? This solution is presented, for what it is worth, even though it is specifically tied to this one song and does not have any general applicability.

Finally the solutions offered must be checked against the variorum edition of the Discantus with a view to understanding how the variants may effect editorial decisions. This whole chapter has been written on the basis of the Discantus readings in the Pixérécourt codex, compiled in the 1480s and in Florence. Geographically, the manuscript has little to recommend it as a potential source for a composer at the Burgundian court in Brussels. However, in nine other sources for the Discantus, remarkably

Ex. 6



1.4.7 Le sou - ve - nir de vous me tu - - e
 3. Quant je vous voy per-mi la ru - - e
 5. Seul-le de-neu-re des -pour - veu - - e



Mon seul bien, puis-ques ne vous voy;
 Je plains en di-sant a par moy:
 De s - me nul con-fort ne re - qoy.



2.8. Car ie vous ju -re, sur ma foy,
 6. Je souf- fre- ray, sans faire ef - froy



que sans vous ma joie est per - du -
 Jus - ques a vos - tre re - ve - nu -



e.
 e.

few variants are recorded. (The variorum edition omits only those variants that are palpable errors.) Five sources have only one variant, two have only two variants, and the other two sources, with three and four variants, do not have enough agreement with any other sources to present any serious challenge against the claim that Pix represents the median version of the Discantus.

Three variants are worth discussing.

1. The first two notes appear as one half note in F176. This leaves only four notes in the first phrase, insufficient for the five syllables in the third stanza. The reading is unique among the ten sources and appears in a manuscript containing no text. It must be regarded as an error.

2. The tie between the Es in measures 8 and 9 makes it impossible to underlay the first stanza coherently. Since the variant appears in four sources which otherwise show complete independence musically and geographically (CopII from Lyons, Q16 Neapolitan, RiccII Florentine and Wolf "northern") this is the kind of reading that must be taken very seriously. If the reasoning in this chapter is in error, this variant is the clue to it. On the other hand, the evidence presented in the variorum to this piece and others speaks so strongly in favor of the Pixérécourt readings that the other reading may be accounted an error. Moreover, the sources supporting Pixérécourt here are equally widely dispersed in terms of their normal filiation and their geography: F176 Florentine, Cord Savoyard, Dijon "northern", and Perugia Neapolitan.

3. The occasional dotted-note figures replacing a simple quarter note are considerably less common and certainly less widely dispersed than one would imagine. Dijon is consistently slightly more florid, but

always quite alone in its floridity. None of this could alter the texting in any significant way, except at m.17 where the added portamento notes might indicate that a syllable change was required.

Footnotes

1. Howard Mayer Brown, "The Genesis of a Style" (1964), p. 8, writes that "this multiplicity of solutions would appear to be a fundamental characteristic of the style." It is the aim of this chapter to qualify that comment. The major published attempt to assert rules for underlay in the fifteenth-century song tradition is in Jeppesen, "Die Textlegung" (1927), in which he concludes that Zarlino's rules are not valid for the fifteenth century, that the final syllable should always be underlaid to the final note of a phrase, and that it is possible that a series of equally long notes, particularly if they have long values, should have a syllable each unless their melodic shape implies an ornamental character.
2. The term "mid-point cadence" is used largely because it is convenient and not confusing. Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), calls it the "medial cadence" which seems rather too loose in its implications for the present purposes, and moreover is used in some harmony textbooks today to denote any cadence in which the final chord has its third degree as the highest note. Reidemeister (1972) calls it "Mittelzäsur" (p. 51) and "Mittelcadenz" (p. 52). The literature on the subject has tended to avoid discussing the songs in the kind of detail that requires a standardization of terminology.
3. Cadence and its definition will be discussed in the next chapter.
4. Salzer, Structural Hearing (1952), vol. 2, p. 337; the analysis is explained in vol. 1, p. 279.
5. See H. Chatelain, Recherches sur le vers français au XVe siècle (1907), passim.
6. Binchois, Chansons, ed. Rehm (1957), p. 4-5 and p. 7.

7. The most important texts on this relationship are concerned with music from the next century, see John Stevens, Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (1964), and Philip Brett, "Word-setting in the Songs of Byrd" (1971-2). But that is not to suggest that the problems are entirely different from those facing the nineteenth-century song writer: on those see particularly the stimulating and perceptive books by Jack M. Stein, Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts (1967) and Poem and Music in the German Lied from Gluck to Hugo Wolf (1971). It was those books that originally made me aware of the importance of the questions discussed in this chapter.
8. For this and for the fullest available examination of how the Rondeau works as a poetic form see Daniel Poirion, Le poète et le prince (1965), esp. p. 313-26, 333-43, 348-60.
9. Stevens, Music & Poetry (1964), p. 60f, 65, 103ff.
10. There may be an argument for an "open" underlay technique leaving all decisions to the performer. But the decision to edit at all implies that the editor is more familiar with the tradition and repertory than most singers, so also that his carefully considered guesses should form at least a basis for the undeniable instinct of singers experienced in fifteenth-century song. Perhaps I should say here that I owe a great debt for long discussions of this subject to two of the few singers today who fall into that category, Andrea von Ramm and Judith Nelson.
11. This will be discussed further in chapter 3. On the developments leading up to Morton's era see in particular Bessler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon (1950, rev. 2, 1974), ch. VII, "Der neue Stromrhythmus," p. 109-24, and Hamm, A Chronology (1964), passim.

Editorial Practice

The formal edition of Le souvenir appeared at the beginning of this chapter on p. 2. The commentary that follows here, like those for the other chapters, has four main sections:

1. The Inventory. The list of sources begins with ascribed sources. All others are anonymous: they are listed in alphabetical order by the abbreviation commonly given to them. A key to the abbreviations appears on p.vii. Each source is further described in the appendix.

2. The Commentary. It has three sections:

a) A list of editions offered and an identification of their base texts.

b) A table giving variable factors that cannot be included in the Variorum: the key-signatures (on which, see ch. 4); the mensuration signs (see ch. 3); the presence of a signum congruentiae to denote the mid-point cadence (see ch. 1); the texting of the first stanza (t - complete, i - incipit only); the presence of the remainder of the poem; and any further relevant points.

c) A list of "palpable errors" not included in the Variorum.

Such a listing may seem a little controversial, but in practice it works out relatively easily. Most of them are either rhythms that do not add up or pitches that are one step wrong. A curious observation arises from the separation of such errors: they almost all occur in the Contratenor part. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that many of the variants to the Contra in the Variorum are also simple copying errors even though they may look and sound feasible.

3. Text transcription, with a brief commentary. For the verbal text a single source was normally chosen. Modern practice has been followed in differentiation u from v, i from j and in adding the minimum of diacritical signs.

4. The Variorum which omits texts but aims to incorporate all musical variants from all sources into a single score.

When algebraic reference is necessary the system used is that of Musica Britannica volumes: sb - whole note (semibreve); m - half note (minim); c - quarter note (crotchet); q - eighth note (quaver); sq - sixteenth note (semiquaver). References are made to measure, stave and symbol, in that order: thus, on p. 35 "13 ii 4" means "bar 13, second stave, fourth symbol."

Le souvenir de vous me tue

Rondeau quatrain

Fl76 f 52v-53 (no. 36) "Morton"

CopI f 25 (formerly f 26) (no. 20) Tenor and Contra only since the facing page is missing

CopII p. 141

Cord f 30v-31 (no. 24)

Dijon f 87v-88

Laborde f 55v-56 (no. 43)

Perugia f 78v-79 a4 Discantus and Contra both texted. The unique fourth part is added in a later hand.

Pix f 20v-21 (no. 18)

RiccII f 47v-48 (no. 36)

Q16 f 138v-139 (no. 119)

Wolf f 47v-48

Previous Editions:

ed. Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonier (1927), p. 37 (Discantus and text from Dijon; Tenor and Contra from CopI)

Arrangements:

Bux f 162-162v (no. 250) Salve radix josophanie (ed. Wallner, 1958-9, vol. 3, p. 407)

Bux f 165-165v (no. 256) Le sovenir (ed. Wallner, op.cit., p. 414-5)

Spinacino 2f 14v (Brown 1507₂ no. 9) Le sovenir

Additional text sources:

Chasse X iii "Rondel d'une dame à son amy"

Jardin f 68 (no. 68) "Autre rondel" (different after line 3)

Rohan f 185 (no. 579)

Text editions:

ed. Campaux, François Villon: sa vie et ses oeuvres (Paris, 1859),
p. 339-340 (from Jardin) as possibly in the style of Villon

ed. Lacroix, Oeuvres de François Villon (Paris, 1922), p. 172

(from Jardin) among the attributed works on the basis of inclusion in the edition by Campaux and stylistic conviction. (The case for the Villon attribution has since lapsed and seems difficult to support, especially considering that it is based on an extremely corrupt text of the poem.)

ed. Löpelmann, Die Liederhandschrift (1923), p. 360 (after Rohan),

Droz and Piaget, Le Jardin, vol. 2 (1925), cite as additional sources 1) Attaignant's Septiesme livre (RISM 1540¹³) which however, like RISM 1539¹⁷, contains only Maillard's Le souvenir de mon bien me rend triste, 2) Moderne's Le Parangon des chansons: Neufviesme livre (RISM 1541⁸) which contains the same song, and 3) Phalèse's Hortus Musarum II (Brown 1553₁₀) which contains a song for voice and lute, Le souvenir qu j'ay de ma maistresse, modern ed. in Laurencie, Mairy and Thibault, Chansons au luth ...(1934). Neither of these songs bears any perceptible relation to Morton's work. The same may be said of the contemporary work by Certon, Le souvenir de mes belles amours in Attaignant, 24e livre (RISM 1547¹¹).

Le souvenir 2)

Related compositions:

- 1) Le souvenir a3 CG f 58v-59 (no. 53) "Arnulfus G" (=Giliardus) quotes all three parts of Morton's song at the opening and continues to paraphrase Morton's Discantus. Opening printed Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater (1963), p. 135.
- 2) Le souvenir a2 Segovia f(orig)203v (no. 158) "Tinctoris" employs the Tenor of Morton's song and embellishes its Discantus. ed. Mellin, The Music of Johannes Tinctoris (1973), p. 493-4.
- 3) Le souvenir a4 Segovia f(orig) 116v-117 (no. 45) "Johannes Tinctoris" is a fantasy based on Morton's Discantus. The two top parts both use it, albeit at different pitches. Both add substantial rests between phrases, and both occasionally add new material. The third voice begins like Morton's Discantus but continues freely. The lowest voice is entirely free. ed. Mellin, op. cit., p. 491-2.

Text citations:

- 1) Condemnacion de Banquet in a list of seventeen chansons (see the edition in Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater, p. 93).
- 2) Jean Molinet, Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux, line 225, ed. N. Dupire, p. 625.
- 3) Quodlibet, Mon seul plaisir, line 32. See edition in Jeffery, Chanson Verse (1971), p. 49 and Droz and Piaget, Le Jardin de Plaisance (1910-1925), no. 18. None of the known musical settings of this quodlibet contains any reference to Morton's music.

Le souvenir 3)

4) The first line appears as the refrain in three chanson texts:

a) A Rouen la bonne ville Lucca MS 2022 f 151 ed. Amos Parducci.

"La canzone di Mal maritata in Francia nei secoli xv-xvi, " Romania, 38 (1909), p. 286-325), on p. 311-2.

b) Nous yrons jouer sur la verdure. Sources:

i) S'ensuivent seize belles chansons nouvelles s.l.n.d.

ed. A. Percheron, 1867; ed. Baillieu, Bibliothèque Gothique, 14 (1874);

ed. B.K. Jeffery, Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance (1971), p.242-243.

ii) S'ensuyvent dixsept belles chansons nouvelles s.l.n.d.

ed. A. Percheron, 1862; ed. Baillieu, Bibliothèque Gothique, 18 (1874);

ref. B.K. Jeffery, Chanson Verse, p. 256.

iii) Alain Lotrian, S'ensuyt plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles (1543),

ed. J.-B. Weckerlin, L'ancienne chanson populaire en France (1887),

p. 384-385; H. Poullaille, La fleur des chansons d'amour au XVIe siècle (1943), p. 156-157.

iv) Brown also reports this poem in Lucca 2022 f 174v but I cannot check this.

This poem is the model for the Noels mentioned by Brown no. 264 l and

264 m. No music survives unless this is the piece referred to in

S'ensuyvent plusieurs basses dances (?Moderne) f B2v "Verdure" and

f D3v "A la verdure." It is even remotely possible that the music

is related to the lute piece "Basse Dance Verdurant" in Attaignant,

Dixhuit basses dances (1529: RISM 1530⁷) f 31v, no. 50, ed. D. Heartz,

Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute Published by Pierre Attaignant,

Paris (1529-1530)(Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1964), p. 92-93.

Le souvenir 5)

A. Arena, Ad suos compagnones (Lyon, 1533) contains the dance

"Verdemont" see Hartz, "The Basse Dance" (1958-63), p. 335.

This dance is not in the presumably earlier edition of Arena in

U.C. Berkeley, Music Library (Shelf Mark: PA 8570 S22 AS 1530 Case X)

c) Povre coeur, tant il m'ennuye, anonymous chanson with music in

four parts in RISM (c.1528)⁴ f 14v (no. 27), ed. Albert Seay,

Thirty Chansons for Three and Four Voices from Attaignant's Collections

1960, p. 97-105.

None of these three poems bears any relation to Morton's song apart

from the quotation of its first line. All three have the same form,

which is, in turn, entirely different from that of Morton's song.

5) The devis of Claude Bouton, "Souvenir tue" has no direct relation

to Morton's song. (First cited in the context by Droz and Piaget,

Le Jardin de plaisance, vol. 2, 1925; subsequently also by Jeppesen

and Brown; for further discussion see chapter 9, below).

Editions:

1. Formal edition (p.2). Music base: Pix; text base: Roh.
2. Four-voice version (p.38). Base: Perugia.
3. Variorum (p.39). Base: Pix.

Source	Key-sig.	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent text	Notes
Pix	b b b	C C C	-	t i i	-	
CopI	[] - -	[] - -	-	[] i -	-	Disc. missing
CopII	- - -	- - -	-	t - -	-	
Cord	- - -	0 0 -	§ § -	t t t	complete	Contra has only 11.1&3 of text
Dijon	- - -	C - C	-	t i i	complete	
F176	- b -	0 - 0	-	i i i	-	"Morton"
Laborde	b b b	0 0 0	-	t i i	complete	
Perugia	b b b b	- - - 0	-	t i t i	-	a4; text garbled
Q16	b b b	0 0 0	-	i i -	-	
RiccII	- - b	C C C	§ § -	i i i	-	Contra has 3 flats key-sig: F B f
Wolf	- b b	0 0 0	-	t i i	complete	

List of errors not incorporated into the Variorum:

Discantus: 12 i - 13 i: Lab and Wolf have c q q and the remainder omitted

Tenor: 13 ii 4: q for c CopII/ 14 ii 5: G for A Lab/15 ii 3: A for G CopII

Contra: 1 iii 3: E for D CopII/ 8 iii 4: om. RiccII/ 12 iii 4 - 13 iii 1:

G for F Wolf/ 14 iii 1: followed by a superfluous qC Per/ 15 iii 4:

q-rest omitted Per/14 iii 3: c for q Lab and Wolf/ 15 iii 3: C for B

Lab. and Wolf

Text

Le souvenir de vous me tue
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy;
Car je vous jure, sur ma foy,
Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.

Quant je vous voy par mi la rue
Je plains en disant à par moy:
Le souvenir de vous me tue
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy.

Seulle demeure despourveue,
De ame nul confort ne reçooy.
Je souffreray, sans faire effroy
Jusques à vostre revenue.

Le souvenir de vous me tue
Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy;
Car je vous jure, sur ma foy,
Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.

Emendations: none

Major variants: 1.4: "joie" as "liesse" in Dijon, Laborde, Wolf/1.5:

"Quant vcus estes hors de ma veue" in Chasse, Cord, Dijon, Laborde, Wolf/
11.5-end in Jardin read as follows:

Quant de vous ay perdu la veue

Je meurs de tristesse et d'ennoy.

Le souvenir &c

Hellas, ma chiere seur tenue,

Vueilliez avoir pitié de moy

Car pour vous tant de mal reçooy

Qu'oncques fist amant soubz la nue.

Le souvenir &c

Four-voice version

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano, Tenor, Alto, and Bass. The lyrics are in French and are repeated in each voice part. The score is divided into three systems of staves.

System 1:

- Soprano: Le souvenir [texted]
- Tenor: Le souvenir de nos
- Alto: [texted]
- Bass: Le souvenir [texted]

System 2:

- Soprano: [texted]
- Tenor: [texted]
- Alto: [texted]
- Bass: [texted]

System 3:

- Soprano: [texted]
- Tenor: [texted]
- Alto: [texted]
- Bass: [texted]

The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings. The lyrics are enclosed in brackets where they are not fully written out. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the instruction "Cin. Ms." in the bass staff.

Variorum

Handwritten musical notation for the first system. It consists of four staves. The top staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (Bb), and a common time signature (C). The first measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "P F176". The second measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "Dij 016". The second, third, and fourth staves contain a melodic line with various note values and rests, including a fermata over the final note of the second staff.

Two empty musical staves.

Handwritten musical notation for the second system. It consists of four staves. The top staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (Bb), and a common time signature (C). The first measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "Dij A Per". The second measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "B 016". The third measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "D Lar". The fourth measure contains a whole note chord with the annotation "Capit 016 Per long". The second, third, and fourth staves contain a melodic line with various note values and rests, including a fermata over the final note of the second staff. Below the fourth staff, there are several annotations: "Capit 016 Per long", "Capit 016 Per", "Capit 016 Per long", and "Capit 016". At the bottom of the system, there are two empty staves with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (Bb), and a common time signature (C), with the annotation "D Per" in the first measure.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "Lat" and below it is "Larg".

Musical score for measures 10-14, consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The notation is dense with various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The first measure of this system is marked with a "10" above the staff.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "Dij" and below it is "Rit".

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "Dij" and below it is "Cres".

Musical score for measures 15-19, consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The notation is dense with various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The first measure of this system is marked with a "15" above the staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "Per" and below it is "p. 16". To the right, there is another note with "Dij" above it and "Rit" below it. Further right, there is a note with "Lat" above it and "Larg" below it, with "(Bar 1-2-3)" written below that.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "P. 16" and below it is "Dij". To the right, there is another note with "Dij" above it and "Rit" below it.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes a quarter note with a fermata, followed by two eighth notes, and a final quarter note. Above the first note is the word "P. 16" and below it is "Rit".

Chapter Two

N'aray je jamais: the Counterpoint

Les oyseaus deviennent danseurs
Dessus mainte branche flourie,
Et font joyeuse chanterie
De contres, deschans et teneurs.
Charles d'Orléans, Rondeau no. 34

1.4.7. N'a-ray je ja - mais mieux que
 3. Ne fai-tes sur moy plus d'es -
 5. Vos-tre suis a vous me ten -

Tenor N'araye iamays

Contra N'araye iamais

j'ay Suis je là où je de - mou - ray M'a - mour et tou - te ma
 say Car vous cc- gnois-sez bien de vray Que je suis es - meu à
 dray Au- tre def- fen- se n'y me - tray Car vous a - vez trop de

plai - san - ce 2.8. N'a - rez vous ja-mais co+ gnois-
 oul - tran - ce 6. Et po- voir de pren - dre ven -
 puis - san - ce

san - ce Que je suis vostre et le se - ray.
 gen - ce Mais di - tes moy que je fe - ray.

It scarcely need be said that the words Tenor and Contratenor in the fifteenth century have a meaning entirely different from those in normal use today. But it is worth observing that while the sources of fifteenth-century song will present a piece without text, without ascription, without mensuration signs, without key-signature and even without clefs, the one piece of information scarcely ever omitted is the designation of the lower parts as Tenor and Contratenor. Evidently the difference between the two was of some importance to the musician and should be taken seriously today. Perhaps more surprising is the degree to which these designations are the same in all sources. Although the manuscripts in different areas of Europe followed different conventions as to where on the page the Contratenor and the Tenor were placed, there seems to have been no doubts as to which was which.⁽¹⁾ Wrong ascriptions, wrong texts, wrong clefs and even wrong parts are common; but not wrong part designations. It is therefore logical to separate the Tenor and the Contratenor in these discussions, to look at the Tenor alone before proceeding to examine the entirely different musical world inhabited by the Contratenor.

A further reason for taking the Tenor first is that throughout this repertory the Tenor and the Discantus alone always make perfect harmonic and contrapuntal sense. Any case where they are not independently complete probably goes back to an error in the sources. Moreover, for many musicians the Discantus and Tenor parts apparently contained the essence of the music: the keyboard arrangements in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch almost invariably use a free Contratenor part, unrelated to that in the model; and many other sources throughout the century contain songs with the Contratenor part replaced by another, often ascribed to a different composer. Shortly after

Morton's era this began to break down: the Contra became an integral part of the polyphony and ultimately its basis as the bass line. But in Morton's day, and in his music, the Contra was harmonically inessential. Logically it was dispensable.

While the song manuscripts are unanimous about the naming of the Tenor and the Contra they scarcely ever name the third part. Those few that do are inconsistent: Discantus, Cantus, Superius, Cantus superior and Supremum are all found.⁽²⁾ Of these, Discantus seems the best for the present purposes. Cantus was also used to denote "song" and even "voice." Today it is too close for comfort to Cantus firmus; and it implies that the part was necessarily sung. (Even if it was normally sung, this is certainly not of essence.) Superius and related words imply that it is the upper part, which it need not be. On the other hand Discantus implies that it should be in Discant relation to the Tenor. The term is not consistently supported by the theorists or the song sources; but precisely such circumstances make it necessary for today's student to intervene and create some coherence and consistency in a situation which is essentially not at all complicated. Structurally, the only important thing about the Discantus part is that it should form complete and self-sufficient counterpoint with the Tenor. This is the case throughout fifteenth-century song up to Morton and beyond.

A linguistic anomaly arises from the use of the word: the harmonic entity formed by Tenor and Discantus together is described as "Discant." Since nothing musically incorrect is implied here, both are retained.

.....

With Morton the Tenor still has an importance rather in excess of its musical identity. A glance at the Tenor line of N'aray je jamais

shows that it has little individuality of its own. Compared with the Discantus part which rises up a tenth in its first phrase with a great flourish and which is filled with unforgettable musical gestures, the Tenor is stodgy and uninteresting: it may have a carefully carved shape but it has no very strong character. Nevertheless, it is the Tenor that is borrowed for the three Mass cycles and the motet which take Morton's song as their model. The reasons have perhaps more to do with the requirements and the nature of a Cantus firmus than the importance accorded to the Tenor line as such; but this process is also symptomatic of the time-honored position of the Tenor as the center of all music. And it is this that governs the counterpoint the Tenor forms with the Discantus.

The rules of Discant, of two-part counterpoint, as they developed - or rather remained stable - in the music theorists from the twelfth century until the fifteenth have been traced elsewhere.⁽³⁾ Suffice it to say here that even though the details of part movement may look a little different from those of eighteenth-century two-part counterpoint, the basic outlines are more or less the same.

The center of the story in fifteenth-century counterpoint is the cadence. One counterpoint treatise of the time gives a series of no fewer than fifty-two examples.⁽⁴⁾ In every case the Discantus and the Tenor arrive at either an octave or a unison. In all cases but one, that perfect consonance is preceded by a consonance, a suspension and a resolution of the suspension onto a sixth or a third leading to the final resolution - precisely as in m.5-6 of N'aray je jamais. The same sequence of events occurs at the end of the second musical line at m.8-9 and at the very end of the piece. There are only five such cadences in Le souvenir: at the end of each of the four musico-poetic lines and at the end of the

concluding melisma. In N'aray je jamais the pattern of cadences is rather more complicated and requires further comment.

There are two ways in which a cadence is avoided. The first of these is at m.15-16 where the Tenor and the Discantus move outward from a major sixth to an octave but without a previous suspension. What results is merely the normal movement of the two parts between the various permissible intervals, but no cadence as such. In the songs of the fourteenth century this progression would be used frequently as a strong articulation point: that was an age in which the major sixth, probably tuned considerably wider than today, was an interval of extreme tension, officially a discord that could only progress outwards to an octave. In Morton's music its use is more relaxed: in m.7-8 the major sixth is treated as an interval with no other properties than concordance. Even so it is remarkable how often the sixth is made to progress outwards, though without apparent cadential properties, as in m.15-16.

The second type of avoided cadence is complete except for the resolution onto a perfect consonance: in m.3-4, for instance, the cadence is almost concluded but the Discantus leaps a fourth to continue the line for another two measures. The same happens in m.12-13, m.18 and m.20-21. Each time the upward leap of a fourth - a favorite of Morton's melodic style - deflects the cadence and adds new momentum to the line.

A glance at the progress of the two-part counterpoint of the Discantus and the Tenor in N'aray je jamais shows that the various divisions of the musico-poetic lines (also determined by melodic analysis) are confirmed by the movement of the Tenor. The end of the first poetic line at m.6 is supported by an outward movement of the two parts from a sixth to an octave.

Two other octave consonance appear in the phrase, but neither is cadential: the first is at m.4 where the octave is taken in passing by the Tenor while the Discantus waits, and the second is at m.5 where its function is merely to prepare the actual cadence.

Subsequent cadences are rather less clearly articulated. The second musical line is clear enough, and it needs to be for it is unusually short in relation to the first. The ear needs help to understand that the expansive opening line is to be followed by this little whisp of a line; so the Tenor progresses stubbornly down to the low A. But a cadence so clearly approached could easily result in a more aggressive articulation than is required at this particular point in this particular song. So the continuity is maintained by means of two devices commonly encountered in the repertory. First, the Tenor carries on past the cadence, albeit for only one note. Second, the Contratenor places an F below the A cadence, with the same "deceptive cadence" effect that is familiar from more recent harmonic practice.

The need for a less clearly articulated cadence here derives from the nature of the Discantus. Of the five musical lines it contains, the first and the last are practically identical - (the differences between the two will be discussed in the final section of this chapter) - and they frame the other three lines in several ways. In terms of melodic contour the framing is clear: the range of lines 1 and 5 stretches a full two notes higher than the other three lines. They are also the only two lines to cadence on D, the "home note" or tonal center of the song.

That this formation in the Discantus determines the structure of the Tenor appears further in the third and fourth lines. If the cadence at

the end of the second musical line was given aspects of continuity, the third and fourth lines have their cadences placed so that they will make no interruption at all. In fact both lines contain cadences in mid-flow. The cadence onto C at m.10-11 occurs so soon after the beginning of the line that there is no danger of its being confused with any main articulation. The cadence at m.17-18 articulates the end of the fourth line, but none of the parts stops at this point: all three continue in such a way that the final line begins almost imperceptibly.

Between these two consciously weakened cadences comes what may be the weakest of all: the mid-point cadence. Some of the function of a mid-point cadence was discussed in the preceding chapter; but its importance as a cadence was not discussed. Obviously such a cadence is a crucial point in a Rondeau of this brevity. It must articulate both the continuation of the piece and the return to the beginning; it must serve as a final cadence at the end of the second stanza; and its mood in relation to that of the final cadence proper determines the whole spirit of the song. In this particular case Morton uses an idea that is unusual in the first half of the century but is more common in his own generation: a half close. It raises a question; it leaves an air of uncertainty; and it gives the Rondeau rather more continuity than it might otherwise have had. Seen in comparison with a full cadence, its nature is simple. It contains no suspension and no perfect consonance. Instead it is a mere arrival on a triad. Normally the third is on top, for it will be the leading note to the first phrase in which the Discantus normally begins with the "home note." In this particular case the Discantus rests for the first measure and the Tenor begins the piece, with the "home note."

So it is the Tenor that has the third at this half close. On the other hand there is no sense of true cadential progression between the half close at the mid-point cadence and the beginning of the repetition: there is no suspension and the Contratenor does not progress as it would in a cadence. This half-close, then, is merely a resting place from which it is possible to return to the beginning or continue.

One curious feature of such half closes is that they almost invariably close, as here, on the Dominant (though such terminology was of course unknown in the fifteenth century). The reason was that the third of a triad on the Dominant is the leading note to the Tonic. But whatever the reason, and whatever it may have been called, the fifth degree of the scale increased very much in importance during the later years of the fifteenth century. Surprisingly often in Morton's songs the crucial cadence or cadences are on the fifth degree and the effect is of a Dominant-Tonic relationship. If the first chapter showed how Morton's melodic lines owe something to a predecessor at the Burgundian court, Binchois, it is probably true that in the increasingly central function of the Dominant tonality, Morton again shows the influence of that same composer.

But this is a passing feature in the course of the whole song and its harmonic movement. The formal design by which the first and last musical lines in the Discantus, clearly separated from the rest, are equally clearly separated by the more conclusive nature of their cadences, is matched by the movement of the Tenor in those lines. In lines 2-4 the Tenor closely follows the contour of the Discantus, following it in thirds and sixths, and matching the kinds of small repetitions found in m.15-17. In lines 1 and 5, on the other hand, the Tenor is more freely constructed, moving down to a tenth below the Discantus, and providing different cadential figures in m.5 and m.22 although the Discantus is identical in

these two measures. In terms of melodic shape it is clearly the Discantus that leads. Its contours are carefully balanced, its melodic peaks deployed with a consciousness as to their effect, its general mood matching that of the poem. The Tenor, by contrast, has none of that freedom of movement: it is cramped in its shape; its melodic contours and peaks have no coherence of their own, and the part has no separate identity. That it seems all to be built out of two melodic modules which are constantly reworked is more symptomatic of Morton's melodic invention than of the relative importance of Discantus and Tenor.

By contrast, Le souvenir is far more clear-cut. Each poetic line is articulated with equal clarity. There are none of the graduated articulations that are found in N'aray je jamais. We have already seen how each musical line of the Discantus in Le souvenir is articulated by a "caesura" shortly after the beginning. How is this matched in the Tenor? In every case the Tenor continues while the Discantus rests. It covers over the gaps. Moreover there are no cadential patterns at these points: in m.2 the parts progress in parallel thirds; in m.5 they intertwine; in m.9 the Tenor moves out to a tenth by a leap of a fifth; only in m.13-14 is there a trace of cadential progression between the two parts, but with no discord or suspension. The total impression of the structure of these two parts is of clearly articulated phrases whose Discantus caesura is covered over by the progression of the Tenor. With the two songs side by side it is easy to see that Le souvenir has a kind of classic simplicity in its form and relies for its success on the perfect juxtaposition of exquisitely balanced melodic lines, whereas N'aray je jamais is a far more subtle organism built to frame and support its one beautiful opening phrase.

It is easy to see also that there are slight differences in the counterpoint. The crowded writing of N'aray je jamais leaves less room for openly independent gestures on the part of the Tenor; so the Tenor moves largely in thirds and sixths with the Discantus. In Le souvenir a Tenor of more independence has both more leaps of a fifth and more consonances of a fifth as well.

But linear independence is not sufficient to make it a continuous melodic line rather than a supporting part designed as accompaniment to a melody. It has logic of course: the first, third and fourth lines of Le souvenir each begin with some form of the same melodic figure which appears in the Discantus at the one place where it is not to be found in the Tenor: at the second line. But most of the gestures make sense only when seen together with the Discantus. The rests that interrupt the line in m.5, for instance, can only have been inserted to clarify certain relations of the Tenor and the Discantus: a little use of imitation; a momentary prefiguration of the Discantus idea; and an effect produced by working in the same range which we shall encounter many more times in the following chapters - a momentary freezing of the harmonic progression, causing a short rest in the musical progression in anticipation of the rise to a climax in m.6. Otherwise the part plays the inevitable subsidiary role: it rises a little to meet the high points of the Discantus in m. 11 and 15; it makes its closes dutifully, with no two cadences using the same melodic material. It is a line with clarity and balance when taken together with the Discantus, but absolutely no shape when taken alone.

Both songs also avoid imitation between the two parts: the opening phrase of N'aray je jamais contains the only imitation in either song.

With the progress of the century imitation was becoming increasingly common in the song repertoires; and it is perhaps characteristic that Morton's two most widely distributed songs were backward-looking in this respect as in several others.

But the most important feature shared by these two songs and others by Morton is the continuity between the musical lines produced by the movement of the Tenor line. The standard pattern within the fifteenth-century song repertoires was that the Discantus and the Tenor would cadence and stop while the Contratenor filled the gap between the lines. In the present two songs this pattern can only be seen at the mid-point cadence of Le souvenir and at the end of the first line of N'aray je jamais. Otherwise the Tenor continues and tides over the gap to the beginning of the next line in the Discantus. The most startling case is in N'aray je jamais at m.18-19; but it is equally effective at m.4-5 of Le souvenir. This means that the musico-poetic structure is far less clear from the Tenor alone than it is, for instance, in most songs of Dufay and Binchois. It also means that it makes less sense to try to set words to the Tenor part here, even though two sources of N'aray je jamais do have text underlaid to the Tenor. (Cord and Mbs 9659; but see Appendix I.) Continuity and flow are hallmarks of both these songs: comparison with the contemporary songs of the young Hayne van Ghiseghem, of Adrien Basin, of Caron, or of the young Busnois - all of whom will appear later in the discussion - show that this feature in Morton's work is both unusual and forward-looking.

One result was a change in the function of the Contratenor; and it is to this that we must now turn.

.....

Study of the Contratenor must begin with the ways in which it moves when joining the end of one phrase to the beginning of the next. This will be called the "Standard Contratenor function." If Discantus and Tenor cadence together at the end of a musical line and then stop, there is normally a space of three or four beats during which there is complete repose on an octave or unison. Below such a concord the Contra must keep moving or the whole song will draw to a standstill. In one sense this is the point at which the Contra becomes essential to the musical fabric. But inevitably the Contra patterns at this point are often reduced to mere doodling.

Only two examples of Standard Contratenor function appear in the music examined so far: the mid-point cadence of Le souvenir and the end of the first line of N'aray je jamais. In N'aray je jamais the Contra starts an octave below the Tenor and moves innocuously to another concord a fifth below the Tenor. Its main function here is surely to keep the music moving. Below the octave in the upper voices the Contra has four notes open to it: B flat, G, F and D. It uses three of them, avoiding the one that would seriously change the character of the cadence. At the mid-point cadence of Le souvenir the Contra rests briefly and then moves up the triad between the Tenor and the Discantus: again there are four notes available, and the Contra uses all except the A, the note that would give the effect of a "deceptive cadence." In both cases the Contra patterns are clichés; and much though a composer may try to vary the figurations used, he is hard-pressed to lift standard Contratenor function above that level. The situation arises from the completeness of the Discantus-Tenor duet. If they are complete between themselves the Contratenor is inevitably

superfluous. All it can do is either support the concordance or modify it.

Earlier in the century the Contratenor still had its original function: that of a part moving in the same range as the Tenor and to some extent supplementing its moves. Here too its choice of moves was restricted; but not nearly so much as after its supposed liberation and transference to a range below that of the Tenor.

This liberation was fairly new in Morton's time. Among the songs of Binchois only two seem to move in this direction: Adieu jusques je vous revoye and Se je souspire plains et pleure.⁽⁵⁾ In both cases the Contra does occasionally cross above the Tenor; and in both cases its rhythmic movement is controlled almost entirely by two factors: the rhythmic movement of the Tenor, and the Standard Contratenor function. Among the songs of Dufay there is only one whose Contratenor remains firmly below the Tenor as it does in Morton's Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais: Du tout m'estoie.

The opening of Dufay's song (ex. 1)⁽⁶⁾ shows what the lower Contra position meant to him. Manuscript distribution, mensuration and the shape of the melodic line place the song among the last by Dufay; and it makes musical sense to see the piece as belonging at least to the same period as the two Morton songs under discussion. Standard Contratenor function is apparent at m.5. M.4 shows ways in which Dufay's Contra is strongly tied to the other parts in its rhythms. Throughout, Dufay's Contra tends to move in tenths with the Discantus. This is largely because his Discantus and Tenor tend to move in contrary motion; in Morton the Discantus and the Tenor are much more parallel in their movement, so the Contra correspondingly gains in apparent independence.

Ex. 1

Dufay #

Du tout m'es - toi - e a-ban-don -

Tenor Du tout

Contra Du tout m'estoie

né A vous ser-vir

Ex. 2

N'ar-ay je ja - mais mieulx que j'ay

Tenor

Contra

Alternative contra: see Variorum for sources

Hypothetical Contra

The Contratenor of N'aray je jamais contains many leaps of a fifth and a fourth. This is a direct result of the downward shift of the Contra range. If it had been in the same range as the Tenor it would have contained more thirds and, characteristically, octave leaps. Even so the falling fifth in N'aray je jamais dominates the piece more than is absolutely necessary. In the first line, for instance, the Contra falls a fifth from A to D three times, each time on the first beat of a measure, and separated from the next such fall by exactly two measures. Limited though the possibilities for the Contra may be, they are not limited to quite that extent. To express it in the manner of the theorists: below an octave or unison concordance there are four available notes; below a third or a sixth there are three; and below a fifth (which does not occur in the upper parts of N'aray je jamais) there are two. A 7-6 suspension is the most limiting situation, for there is really only one good note below it, so at the end of m.3 and m.5, the Contra must be on A. (The limitations imposed by the cadential suspension can be confirmed by reference to the added fourth parts of Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais: at every single cadential 7-6 suspension the new Contra has an octave or a unison with the original Contra.) There are several other excellent solutions to the rest of the Contra in this musical line. Of those offered in ex. 2, one is in fact conflated from the existing manuscripts.

Evidently it was a conscious and careful choice to introduce these three regularly spaced falls of a fifth down to D. The first low D gives a firm basis for the entry of the Discantus; the second marks the melodic peak by placing a widely spaced chord below it; and the third locates the cadence - a cadence which, as previously explained, is the strongest until

the very end of the piece. But this pattern does not continue. The movement of the next phrase has no firm point of rest. Only in m.10-11, the arrival of the low C creates a new resting place on the lowest note of the piece. The middle section of the song lays considerably less emphasis on the D, resting instead on C. The low D returns as a tonal center only with the advent of the last musical line. So the Contra forms the same pattern already noted in the other two parts: the first line and its approximate repeat in the last line form two outer pillars between which the inner three lines occupy a different musical area.

Nevertheless it would be wrong entirely to dismiss the significance of that D immediately after the mid-point cadence. It, too, is reached by a fall of a fifth; and it is quitted by a seventh, an interval that is so rare within the style that Jeppesen even saw fit to call it "Der einzige Septimensprung, der in Kopenhagen zu finden ist." The D is therefore prominently placed. What are the alternatives at the composer's disposal? The high D might be the ideal note, but it would have been approached and quitted by parallel fifths with the Discantus. An F would have been better, contrapuntally speaking; but it would have destroyed an otherwise important axis in the bass outline: the moves between D and C in the Contra are formally part and parcel of the total musical structure - the only departure is at the mid-point cadence where the half-close provides the ideal spring-board for a return to the high D at the beginning; and given that one aim in Rondeau form would be to mark the contrast between the return to the beginning from the mid-point cadence and the continuation, what better contrast between the two could be found than the continuation on a low D?

Here then is a carefully placed articulation point, touching briefly

to earth in the middle of the stanza. Another kind of articulation in the piece appears in the 9-8 suspension at m.17. Relatively rare in the music of Morton and increasingly rare in the music of the fifteenth century, it serves to weaken the impact of a full cadence. The best note below the 7-6 suspension between Tenor and Discantus is of course E; and there would be no particular difficulty in employing it so long as the next note was F. The choice of G instead has two results: to soften the effect of this cadence, and to provide an inconspicuous return to the next note, the low D, the note towards which the Contratenor is ultimately aiming. Its arrival in this slightly unprepossessing manner helps the gentle fusion of the two last lines of the piece.

But it is the rhythmic structure of N'aray je jamais that most carefully directs the progress of the song and smooths over the breaks. By contrast with the dependence found in the Contras of Binchois, those of Morton show a more individual profile. Two features stand out: the trochaic figure which first appears in the Contra at m.3, and has no counterpart in the Discantus or Tenor; and the short rests inserted at points unconnected with the main structure of the song. The first is important for its gentle displacement of the main accents of the triple meter. The position of the rests is significant: by consciously avoiding the line-division of the other two parts the Contra separates itself from these. It is a part that "walks by itself" and inhabits a world different from that of the Tenor and the Discantus.

Le souvenir contains many of the same features as N'aray je jamais. The Contra is entirely confined below the Tenor; and it moves primarily in fifths and fourths. The sense of tonality is made even stronger than in N'aray je jamais by the heavy reliance on the low F throughout the first

half of the song and by its careful avoidance in the second half until the final cadence. Each of the melodic peaks in the Discantus is supported by a correspondingly low note in the Contra resulting in a wide chord distribution that highlights the important factor of the piece - the melodic line. The cadence before the last line is considerably less accentuated than the others, as though loath to interrupt the movement so soon before the end, more intent on preserving momentum so that the glorious last line has room to take its full shape. Once again, rests in the Contra appear at the points where they are least expected and least noticed.

A further feature, appearing in Le souvenir but not in N'aray je jamais is representative of the kind of direction in which harmonic thought was moving. The low F in m.4 continues through m.6 with only one brief interruption. An expansion of the same kind of idea in the Busnois Bergerette Ja que li ne (ex. 3)⁽⁷⁾ or Jo. de Erfordia's Doloroso mi tapinello (ex. 4)⁽⁸⁾ shows how composers were beginning to give their Contratenors foundational function that seems to contradict the traditional nature of the Contra. The contrast with the long-note Tenors of the fourteenth century is primarily conceptual: the first requirement of the counterpoint Morton and his contemporaries wrote was that the Discantus and the Tenor should be complete in themselves. In all three cases the Tenor and the Discantus move with an agility that is entirely independent in movement but is clearly held in position by the long pedal point below. The Contra controls the entire musical fabric with this pedal, and it was perhaps an inevitable step from here to the situation in which the lowest part held the fundamental bass of a piece. If a major difference between the music of the Middle Ages and that of the Renaissance lies in the shift of

Ex. 3

Busnois

Ja que ly ne si at-ten - de

Tenor

Contra

Car tous aul - tres en sont cas - sez Et ie

Ex. 4

Io. de Erfordia

Do - lo-ro-so mi ta- pi- nel-lo io son sul tal pu[n] - cto

Doloroso mi

Doloroso mi

structural center from the Tenor to the Bass, this kind of harbinger of things to come in Morton's song may be considered historically significant.

In Ja que li ne the whole shape of the Contra constantly controls the direction of the song. The slow striding movement in quarter notes is quite independent of the supple flow in the upper parts, but it does give them a fine backdrop against which to work. The figure in m.7-8 which is repeated a fifth higher immediately after (m.8-9) in an entirely different context as regards the upper parts - this is a sign of a new kind of lucidity and structural direction in forming a Contra, and a sign of the kind of revolutionary techniques we are not likely to find in the work of Robert Morton. The different attitudes found in the works of Morton and this Bergerette of Busnois cannot be stressed too strongly: the songs of Morton represent the central line of a tradition from which Busnois was breaking away, and it is this study of the less revolutionary pieces that can perhaps help define what Busnois and Ockeghem were doing.

In talking about polyphony at this late stage in its history, it is unwise to assume anything in terms of sequential conception. There is no particular reason to think that Morton would have completed writing the Discant pair before setting to work on the Contra below. On the other hand, the difference in conception between the Morton pieces and these few bars of Busnois must be clear. For Busnois the Contra is becoming a driving function in the song. For Morton it is subsidiary. Indeed, considering the way in which Standard Contratenor function is avoided because of the way the Tenor moves, the Contratenor becomes even more peripheral. Like Kipling's cat, Morton's Contra walks by itself.

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These discussions of the Tenor and the Contratenor are by way of preliminaries to a brief examination of the transmission problems in N'aray je jamais. The transmission of this repertory in general is complicated: it is most unusual to find two sources of a song that agree in all their readings. Recent research has convincingly used the few significant agreements to establish a new chronology and geographical distribution of the manuscripts.⁽⁹⁾ To use this information to establish texts that are unquestionably correct seems impossible, for there are variants everywhere. But it is possible to show that some readings are unquestionably wrong - not merely wrong but consciously changed for the worse by copyists or musicians who considered they knew better than the text they were copying.

It is easy to think that such conscious alteration of texts is a phenomenon dating back only to the nineteenth century, or at the worst to Morley. But the pattern of N'aray je jamais leaves no doubt that precisely the same kind of well-intentioned but misguided tinkering took place also in the fifteenth century. On the one hand it demands even more humility and caution from the modern editor; on the other it requires decisions based on the knowledge that many fifteenth-century manuscripts were prepared by people of poor taste. The modern editor may well know far better than many of his fifteenth-century colleagues.

The case in point concerns the crucial defining characteristic of N'aray je jamais. If m.3-6 of the Discantus are repeated almost exactly in the last musical line, is the Tenor also to be repeated exactly? The question is important. Just as the first chapter showed how much significant information was omitted from the manuscripts because the scribe considered

it self-evident or inessential, this chapter aims to show how the fifteenth-century scribes often added demonstrably incorrect information.

Examination of the Variorum of N'aray je jamais shows that like most songs of its time it has many different readings in different sources. But the special feature of this song in comparison to Le souvenir is that many of the variant readings are substantial and are confirmed by several otherwise independent sources. Moreover, several of the more significant variants are found in all the sources copied by French scribes (CopI, Dijon, Col, Laborde, Wolf) whereas the reading used for the edition is only in manuscripts prepared in Italy. This is particularly the case with the final line: in several French manuscripts it is the same as the first line, whereas in some Italian manuscripts, and in the edition, it ends differently.

The implications of the difference are far-reaching. Since the written music represents the music for one quarter of the song only, it is obvious that such internal repetitions are going to have their effect on the larger scale of the full repetitive Rondeau form. So if the musico-poetic form of the Rondeau is expressed as follows:

A B a A a b A B

its implications are relatively clear so long as Section A does not contain the same musical material as Section B. However, in a song like the Binchois Nous vous voyons bien Malebouche (ex. 5)⁽¹⁰⁾, in which the first and last musical lines of the stanza are identical, it might be better to represent the form as follows:

A B C A a b A B a b c a A B C A

Underlinings mark those repetitions of the A section that would not normally appear in a Rondeau. Two of them are followed immediately by another

Ex. 5

Binchois

Nous vous voy-ons bien, Ma - le - bou - - - - - che,
 3. Faus-se mau-l-vai-se poig-nant mou - - - - - che,
 5. En mor-dant dic-tes: " Je n'y tou - - - - - che,"

Faulx en - vi - eux te - nir voz plais Et ser-vir de voz
 Nul - homs ne vous tien-dra ja - mais;
 Mais par vous sont plu-sieurs def-fais 6. Qui en loy-aul - té

en - tre mes La der-rie-re sur cel - le cou - che.
 son par-fais. On vous con-noist: vous es - tes lou - che.

Music: Or 213 f 30

Text: Jard f 84v

repetition of the A section at the beginning of the song. Within a single stanza the effect of the repeat is to frame the inner lines; but within the entire song its effect is to make the first phrase even more important than it would otherwise be. The conventional repeated-note figure with its unconventional harmonies becomes the main event in the song. But this is only acceptable if the song is extremely short. The main difference between the Binchois work and that of Morton is that Morton is working on a larger canvas with a far more expansive idea.

Another case for comparison is Morton's own combinative chanson, Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé (see ch. 7). Here again the final line repeats material from the first line. But there are two differences. First, the repeat is to some extent pre-determined by the structure of the borrowed Tenor. Second, although the final line ends like the first line, it does not begin in the same way and, more important, it carefully avoids the melodic peak presented in the first phrase. In fact it stops two steps lower; and its profile is made to seem lower still by virtue of its context immediately after the peak line which reaches up to a high G. It is as though Morton were aware of the dangers of repetition and had carefully constructed the context so that these difficulties could be averted.

Such repetitions are the exception in the fifteenth-century song repertoires, for the reasons explained. In a form whose nature is derived from a series of complicated repetitions - and often a large number of them - it is important to maintain as much variety as possible within the small musical structure of the single stanza. Or so it may seem. However the characteristics of N'aray je jamais identified so far suggest that Morton

was perhaps searching in a different direction. Just as the articulation of the phrases is far smoother than in Le souvenir or in the songs of Dufay and Busnois, so also the division between the various sections of the music, the major formal articulations of the song, are made smoother by the close similarity of the material on either side of those structural divisions.

The Morton song is not an isolated case. A Rondeau by Binchois, Je ne pouroye estre joyeux (ex. 6)⁽¹¹⁾, has a final section that identically repeats the opening phrase. This song is perhaps more directly comparable to N'aray je jamais because it is less concise than Nous vous voyons; but there is an important difference in that neither the first phrase nor the last is texted: the body of the song is framed by what must be an instrumental section which is identically repeated at beginning and end. Binchois evidently intended the closing phrase to run into the beginning, and that in performance his song should continue without interruption:

Interlude: A B : Interl.: a A a b : Interl.: A B : Interlude.

Binchois was apparently tackling the same problem as Morton: that of smoothing over some of the lumps and joins in the Rondeau form. But he was approaching it in an entirely different way: not by subtle repeat but by overlapping the first and last sections of the music. N'aray je jamais cannot be performed with the ends overlapping in this way since the Discantus is constructed in five musical lines, like the poem. Any overlapping would mean that there was not enough music below which to underlay the text. It is in this sense that Morton's piece differs from that of Binchois. When Morton blurred the outlines by closely matching the end and the beginning, Binchois eliminated the break by writing one section that would

Ex. 6

Binchois Ox f 78

1.4.7. Je ne pour - roye es-
 3. Je ne croy pas que
 5. He - las, j'en suis tant

Tenor

10
 15
 Le joy - eux, Quant j'ai per - du mon cha - pi - ron
 soulx les chieux Et ait ung de tel - le fas - son.
 mou - reux Qu'a grant pai - ne le croiroit

CONtratenor

20
 25
 2.8. Qui es-toit tant bel et tant bon Que nulx ne sa-roit
 6. Car il y a bon - ne ray - son Car il est tres-tout

30
 35
 fai-re mieux.
 gra-ci - eux.

fit equally smoothly onto the beginning or the end.

A closer analogy is provided by another song from the same generation though probably rather earlier than Je ne pouroye. Acourt's Je demande ma bienvenue (ex. 7)⁽¹²⁾ is as brief as Nous vous voyons; its musical substance can really be reduced to one beautiful melodic line which appears first in m.1-6 and in slightly altered form in m.8-13. There is something infectious about the melody, and something equally perfect about the rather different form in which it returns at the end. Is it because of the slight changes that the repeat does not seem superfluous? In a way the shape of the first phrase is changed when the first three notes are chopped off at the repeat in m.8, just as the implications of the second phrase are changed by the insertion in m.11 of a rest which breaks the sweep of this little line and makes it more hesitant - as is perhaps fitting after the words "Avez bien vostre foy tenue?" Perhaps too, the structure of the lower parts helps: their harmonic implications do not change, for anything more complex under such a simple melody with such clear harmonic implications would seriously impede the song; but the notes are spaced differently and occasionally a rhythm is changed (m.9). Without these delicate changes the piece would probably not work; as it stands it is a song of most unusual compression, economy and charm.

It seems that all three composers are struggling with the formal problems and limitations imposed by the rather tight straitjackets of the Rondeau. Binchois tried to turn it into a continuous form with a linking musical interlude between the stanzas; Acourt took the idea of musical economy - already an extreme one in the Rondeau form - and carried it further but with such taste that he created one of the gems of the repertory;

Ex. 7

Accourt Or f 17

7. Je de-man-de ma bien-ve-nu-
 3. La meil-leur[rien] de-soubz la nu-
 5. Je vous ay moult long-temps per-du-

Tenor Je

Contratenor Je

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"Il a long-temps que ne vous vi
 Es-tet se l'a-ves fait ain - si
 Dont j'ai es - té en gran sous - si

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and Morton in the case of Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé repeated the line but without its distinctive melodic peak, thereby giving the song unity but no excess. In the light of this it seems most probable that N'aray je jamais, with its enormously distinctive opening line repeated at the end, would indeed have some significant differences in the lower parts: to have created another Nous vous voyons in that context would have been to stretch a simple idea far beyond its limits. Some kind of distinction between the first cadence and the last should be an important structural consideration, while on the other hand a distinctive melodic similarity would bridge over some of the uglier gaps in the Rondeau form.

Indeed something very similar happens in two Rondeaux of Ockeghem. Both L'autre d'antan and Les desleaulx⁽¹³⁾ contain a final musical line that substantially echoes the first but introduces important changes at the end as though to show that this line really rounds off the stanza.

Examination of the various readings for the Tenor and Contratenor parts at the ends of the first and last phrases of N'aray je jamais confirms this expectation. Only six of the fifteen sources transmit the music as in ex. 8a. Of these two are indeed French in origin (Laborde and Wolf), but two are Neapolitan (EscB and Mellon) and two are Florentine (Pix and RiccII). Certainly the very independence of their authority is convincing support for this reading; but a look at the other readings strongly confirms this impression.

Ex. 8b appears in two French manuscripts copied by the same scribe (CopI and Dijon) and in a section of a third manuscript copied by a Frenchman (Col). In fact the Col readings for this song repeatedly agree with those in Dijon and CopI. That somebody interposed here and changed the

Ex. 8

Musical notation for Ex. 8, consisting of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The time signature is 6/8. The music consists of a sequence of notes and rests, with some notes beamed together. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

Ex. 8b

Col

Col1

D13

Musical notation for Ex. 8b, featuring a single treble staff. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The music consists of a sequence of notes and rests, ending with a double bar line.

Ex. 8c

Berk

F176

Musical notation for Ex. 8c, featuring a single treble staff. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The music consists of a sequence of notes and rests, ending with a double bar line.

Ex. 8d

Cord

Musical notation for Ex. 8d, featuring a single treble staff. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The music consists of a sequence of notes and rests, ending with a double bar line.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

end to agree with m.5 is confirmed by the readings in two other manuscripts, Berk and Fl76 (ex. 8c) where the "adjuster" made the adjustment to the Tenor but not the Contratenor, and did not notice that he thereby caused parallel octaves between the two parts.

This by itself would not necessarily be convincing evidence that the parallelism between the two cadences was the work of a "subeditor" were it not that another "subeditor" got to work on the version of the song found in the Chansonnier Cordiforme (ex. 8d). Here the reverse solution was inserted: the cadence at m.5 was made to agree with the end. Surely the conclusive evidence of the correctness of the reading offered in the edition is that it was "corrected" by scribes in both possible directions. The only reasonable explanation is that the variants are the result of various subeditors providing their own solutions to what seemed to them a problem in the slight difference between the two cadences. It is scarcely likely that Morton was himself involved in the "revision" and simplified the song by making the two cadences more nearly identical, for it makes the piece foursquare and endlessly repetitive.

It is worth adding that, though so many copyists seem to have got it wrong, reputable composers abided by what we have taken to be the original. When the Tenor was used as the Cantus Firmus for four later compositions, among them a Mass by Josquin and a Mass by Ghiselin, the version used was the one with the more conclusive cadence at the end and the softer cadence at m.5. This is a sobering fact. Perhaps one could regard it as mere coincidence that the version the composers of the next generation used is the one the arguments offered above seem to show to be the only possible correct version; and there is of course no evidence that

what is regarded here as the "corrupt" version was even known to Josquin. Yet many copies of the song survive today and correspondingly more were available when Josquin wrote his Mass: choice would in any case have been necessary for him. One can scarcely escape the conclusion that fine musicians knew the difference between the garbled product and the real thing; but the copyists through whose work the fifteenth-century song repertoires survive were not necessarily musicians of the same rank. It is easy to take their mediocre opinions too seriously: witness the five modern publications of N'aray je jamais, all of which present the piece with matching cadences.

We are talking about details, perhaps, but it is just such details that made the difference between the fine taste that is such an important factor in the fifteenth-century song traditions and the rather less fine taste that enjoys something because it is socially acceptable. It is the knowledge of the latter that has encouraged the vision of the "Waning of the Middle Ages" (as Huizinga's translator phrased it) or of an age of superficiality and emptiness. And of course these elements were certainly present, as can be seen in the many sources of N'aray je jamais which show how people misunderstood the delicate art of Morton's song. But at its best, and in its purest form, the song literature of the later fifteenth century is one of exceptional refinement and sensitivity. Perhaps one of the main justifications for studying that tradition is that we are faced with a similar cultural problem also today: the effort to separate that which is refined and sensitive from that which makes a convincing but insufficient gesture in that direction. Plastic imitations of many kinds can be carefully made and already please many people; but they will never be the real thing. Perhaps it is easier to tell the difference in an age that is long past.

Footnotes

1. I say "seem to" merely because none has come to my notice. One famous case of false nomenclature is the Wolfenbüttel source of Ockeghem's Fors seulement, see Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 119-120; but the confusion here is between Tenor and Discantus, not Tenor and Contratenor. Parenthetically, the arrangement on the page will eventually become a useful supporting clue to geographical and chronological analysis of the fifteenth-century song sources.
2. Discantus is used in Schedel, in Paris f. lat. 16664, BM add. 34200, Tübingen Ms. 48 and in the top Glogau part-book. Arezzo Ms. 216 begins by calling it "supranus seu discantus" and continues to refer to it as "discantus." For other references see Sachs, Der Contrapunctus (1974), p. 125 and passim. Tinctoris refers to the upper part of a two-part texture as "discantus," but in three-part texture it is "supranus." Ed. Coussemaker, vol. 4 (1876), p. 155-178.
3. See especially Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 15 (1962), p. 1-21.
4. Paris, f. lat. 16664 (formerly f. Sorbonne 1479), ed. Coussemaker, vol. 4 (1876), p. 450-454.
5. Binchois, ed. Rehm (1957), p. 2-3 and p. 34.
6. After Dufay, Cantiones, ed. Besseler (1964), p. 96.
7. Transcribed from Wolf f. 5v-6. Also edited by Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonier (1927), p. 60 (from CopI).
8. After Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol. 2 (1969), p. 303. Source: Faenza Ms. 117 f 96v.
9. See especially Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonier (1975).

10. Ox 213 f 30. Since the text is incomplete and corrupt, we have used the version of the poem in Jardin f 84v. A transcription from Oxford alone is in Binchois, ed. Rehm (1957), p. 28.
11. Ox 213 f 78, see also Binchois, ed. Rehm, p. 18. One may wonder whether the same was intended in Pour tant se j'ay le barbe grise (ed. Reaney, CMM, 11/iv, p. 31). One measure of the brief introduction is the same as the penultimate measure of the postlude. Repetition here would seem superfluous; the only feasible performance solution would be to link the two together.
12. Ox 213 f 17 see the facsimile in Stainer, Dufay and his Contemporaries (1898), pl. 1. Ed. op.cit., p. 50; also Riemann, Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, vol. 2 (1907), p. 49-50, Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, vol. 2 (1959), p. 38-39.
13. L'autre d'antan ed. Droz, Rokseth & Thibault, Trois Chansonniers (1927), p. 32-33; Les desleaulx, ed. op. cit., p. 16-17.

N'aray je jamais mieul~~x~~ que j'ay

Rondeau cinquain

Col F7v-F8 (no.41) - Paris f 14v-15 "Morton"

F176 f 53v-54 (no.37) "Morton"

Mellon f 29v-30 a4 "Morton"

BerK f 17v-18 "N"

CopI f 2v-3 (no.3)

Cord f 32v-33 (no.26) a4

Dijon f 116v-117

EscB f 130v-131 (no. 111)

Grey f 121v-122 (no.82) a4 "N'aray"

Laborde f 57v-58 (no.45)

Mbs9659 f 1 Contra and end of Tenor only

Nivelle f 1v-2

Pix f 109v-110 (no. 93)

RiccII f 57v-58 (no.46)

Wolf f 6v-7

Previous editions:

ed. K. Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927), p.4 (from CopI)

ed. A. Smijers, Josquin des Pres: Werken, vol. 29 (1951), p.124 (from F176)

ed. T. Dart, Invitation to Medieval Music, vol. 1 (1968), p. 28-9 (from Col)

ed. E. Lerner, Study Scores of Musical Styles (1968), p. 72 (from Dijon)

Additional text source:

Jardin f 72 (no. 110) corrupt

Related pieces:

- 1) Gaude virgo decus morum Motet a4 uses Tenor of Morton's song
Verona Bibl. Cap., Cod. DCCLV f 104v-106
- 2) Ghiselin, Missa N'arayge uses tenor of Morton's song
Petrucci, Misse Ghiselin, 1503; Verona, Cod. DCCLVI, f 64v-76;
Leipzig, UB, Thomaskirche Ms. 51, f 52v-54v, 81-84v.
ed. C. Gottwald, Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet: Opera Omnia II
(CMM 23, 1964), p. 74-96 with a list of later sources for sections
of the mass.
- 3) Josquin, Missa Di dadi uses Tenor of Morton's song
 - i) Petrucci, Missarum Josquin Liber Tertius, 1514
 - ii) Petrucci, Missarum Josquin Liber Tertius, 1516
 - iii) Petrucci, Missarum Josquin Liber Tertius, n.d.
 - iv) Junta, Missarum Josquin Liber Tertius, 1516
 ed. A. Smijers, Josquin des Pres: Werken, 29 (1951)
- 4) (anon. ?Obrecht) Missa (N'aray je) uses Tenor of Morton's song
 - i) Berlin, ms. 40,021 (Halberstädter Codex) f 138-147
 - ii) Dresden, ms Annaberg 1126 p. 9-24 and 2-3
 - iii) Wrocaw, B U ms I F 428 (Viadrina) f 17-26
 see Martin Staehelin, "Der grüne Codex der Viadrina" (1970), p. 581-644;
see also Staehelin, "Möglichkeiten ..." (1972-3), p. 86-7.

Unrelated pieces:

Helas n'avray je mais mieux Cord f 57v-59
Porto f 67v-68

Citations:

- 1) Quodlibet Mon seul plaisir in Jardin f 72 (no.18) and elsewhere.

Line 13, "Belle, n'aurayge jamais mieuiX," probably refers to Morton's song, to judge by its context. Neither of the two musical settings of the text contains any reference to Morton's music.

Poem ed. B.K. Jeffery, Chanson verse of the early Renaissance, p. 49

- 2) Jean Molinet, Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux
line 204 (ed. N. Dupire, p. 624)

Other settings:

- 1) N'aray je jamais by Claudin de Sermisy in Attaingnant 36 chansons,
RISM 1530⁴
- 2) N'aray je jamais by Nicolas (? de la Grotte) in Le Roy & Ballard
Mellange de chansons, RISM 1572²

Editions

1. Formal edition, p. 42 Music base: Pix; text base: Nivelles
2. Four-voice version, p. 83. Base for 4th voice: Cord
3. Variorum, p. 84, Base: Pix

Source	Key-sig.	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent text	Notes
Pix	-	0 0 0		t i i	-	
BerK	- b	-		- - -	-	
Col	-	0 0 -		t i i	complete	French scribe
CopI	-	0 0 0		t i i	complete	
Cord	-	0 0 0(-)		t t i -	complete	
Dijon	-	0 0 0		t i i	complete	
EscB	- b b	-		t i i	-	
F176	- b -	0 0 0		t i i	-	
Grey	-	0 0 0 (0)		i i i i	-	
Laborde	-	0 0 -		t i i	complete	
Mbs9659	-	0		-t-i	-	Ten from m18 only
Mellon	-	0 - - (-)		t i i -	complete except last two lines	
Nivelles	-	0 0 0		t i -	complete (copy text)	
RiccII	-	0 0 -		t i i	-	
Wolf	-	0 - -		t i i	complete	

List of errors not incorporated into the Variorum:

Discantus: 4 i 3-4: dsq dsq for sq sq in RiccII/ 13 i 2: c for q in Grey

Tenor: 13 ii 2-3: e D for D E in Wolf

Contra: 3 iii 1: om. Grey/ 3 iii 2: dot missing BerK/ 10 iii 4: D for

C RiccII/ 12 iii 1: om. RiccII/13 iii 2: G for F RiccII/
13 iii 6-7: q q for sq sq Wolf/ 16 iii 3: D for C Dijon and RiccII/
17 iii 1: E for D Mellon and Nivelles 18 iii 2-4: om. Laborde
18 iii 3: G for A Mbs 9659/ 23 iii: C for D in Pix.

Text

N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay?

Suis je là où je demourray,

M'amour et toute ma plaisance?

N'arez vous jamais congnoissance

Que je suis vostre et le seray?

Ne faites sur moy plus d'essay,

Car vous congnoissez bien de vray

Que je suis esmeu à oultrance.

N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay?

Suis je là où je demourray,

M'amour et toute ma plaisance?

Vostre suis, à vous me tendray;

Autre deffense n'y metray,

Car vous avez trop de puissance

Et povoir de prendre vengeance;

Mais dites moy que je feray.

N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay?

Suis je là où je demourray,

M'amour et toute ma plaisance?

N'arez vous jamais congnoissance

Que je suis vostre et le seray?

Emendations: 1.2: "demouray" as "demourray", following CopI, Dijon,
Jardin

1.4: "cognoissance" as "congnoissance", following Col, CopI, Dijon, EscB,
Jardin

1.7: "cognoissez" as "congnoissez", following Col, CopI, Dijon, EscB, Cord

Major variants: 1.1: "N'auray je" in Jardin, "N'araige" in Col, Dijon

1.5: "le seray" as "demouray" in Mellon, EscB/ 1.8: "esmeu" as "navré"
in Col, Dijon, Laborde; "mené" in Cord, Mellon 1.11: "Je me rens et si me
rendray" in Col, CopI, Cord, Dijon, Laborde, Mellon and only excluded from
the present edition because caution and restraint seem the best courses/

1.6—end in Jardin read as follows:

Est ce le bien las que j'auray

Pour vous servir tant que vivray

Royalment a toute puissance?

N'auray je jamais, etc.

Se mieulx ne vient je quiteray

Vostre amour et departiray

Et pour ma seule souvenance

(line missing)

Souviengne vous dont dit vous ay.

N'auray je jamais, etc.

Four-voice version

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The two middle staves are in alto clef. The music is written in a common time signature. A measure number '5' is written above the first staff at the beginning of the system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The two middle staves are in alto clef. The music is written in a common time signature. Measure numbers '10', '15', and '20' are written above the first staff at the beginning, middle, and end of the system respectively. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

The third system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The two middle staves are in alto clef. The music is written in a common time signature. A measure number '20' is written above the first staff at the beginning of the system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

Variorum

Handwritten musical score for 'Variorum' on page 84. The score consists of multiple staves with musical notation and various performance instructions.

Staff 1: *Pf* *liv*

Staff 2: *P* *Cord* ⁵

Staff 3: *P* *liv* *Cord* *Col* *Dij* *P* *Cap* *Miv*

Staff 4: *Col* *Cap* *Dij* *Pray* *Lat* *long* *B* *Lat* *long* *Miv* *Cord*

Staff 5: *Col* *Cap* *Dij* *Pray* *Lat* *long* *Miv* *Cord*

Staff 6: *Cord* *Pray* *Berk* *Pray* *Miv* *long* *Pray* *Cord* *Miv*

Staff 7: *Col* *Cap* *Dij* *Pray* *Lat* *long* *Pray* *Lat* *long* *Cord*

Staff 8: *Pray* *Lat* *long* *Pray*

Staff 9: *Pray*

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Performance instructions are written in italics and include terms like *Pf*, *P*, *Col*, *Cap*, *Dij*, *Pray*, *Lat*, *long*, *Berk*, *Miv*, and *Cord*. Some instructions are accompanied by small diagrams or symbols.

Handwritten musical score on page 85, featuring two systems of music with guitar chord diagrams and various annotations.

System 1:

- Staff 1: Melody line with measure 15 marked above.
- Staff 2: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "Lab", "Lung", "Prus", and "Cord".
- Staff 3: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", and "Cord".
- Staff 4: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "F", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", and "Ex.B".
- Staff 5: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "F", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", "Ex.B", "B", "F", "Prus", "L", "W".

System 2:

- Staff 6: Melody line with measure 20 marked above.
- Staff 7: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "Lab", and "Cord".
- Staff 8: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", and "Ex.B".
- Staff 9: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", "Ex.B", "B", "F", "Prus", "L", "W", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", "Ex.B", "B", "F", "Prus", "L", "W".
- Staff 10: Chords and accompaniment. Annotations include "C", "Niv", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", "Ex.B", "B", "F", "Prus", "L", "W", "C", "C", "D", "Niv", "Cord", "Ex.B", "B", "F", "Prus", "L", "W".

Chapter three

Cousine: Rhythm and Meter

He who makes a mistake is still our friend;
he who adds to, or shortens, a melody is
still our friend; but he who violates a
rhythm unawares can no longer be our friend.

Ishaq ibn Ibrahim (9th century A.D.)

Revised version

Cou - si - ne trop vous a -

Tenor Cousine trop vous

Contra Cousine trop vous

bu - - sés Se plus que scu - ser ne me fa - ce

Qui por - tés l'a - mour a be - sa - ce Dont

vous a - mis est re - ru - sels.

Whether because of its dotted-note figures, its irregular metrical units or its frequent syncopations, Cousine immediately establishes its identity as a piece whose primary components are jaunty rhythms and irregular meter. At first sight it seems different from the two songs discussed so far. This is not merely a question of rhythm. The distribution of the parts has changed: the ambitus of the Discantus and Tenor is separated by an octave, so they relate in a different way; and the ambitus of the Tenor and Contratenor is almost the same, so that the Contra occasionally lies above the Tenor. Imitation is present almost throughout, whereas it was scarcely present in the other two songs. Most particularly, the Discantus seems to dominate the song far less: in terms of the placement of melodic peaks, and in terms of economy of melodic material, the Tenor seems to be the primary element of the song.

But Cousine is also similar to the other two songs in several ways. Familiar melodic elements in Morton's authentic songs will be assembled at a later point in this study; but one can scarcely approach Cousine immediately after discussing N'aray je jamais without noticing the many falls of a fifth in the Contra from A to D, with the D evidently on a main beat. The syntactical style in which the Discantus and Tenor tend to run in parallel while the Contra is in contrary motion begins to look like a Mortonian preference. The overlapping imitation after the mid-point cadence recalls the beginning of N'aray je jamais.

Also familiar is the clear articulation of the Discantus: it falls easily into four musical lines: m.2-7, 7-10, 11-16, 16-21. There is nothing particularly Mortonian about this, of course, but it bears mention because the only published edition of the song gives a diplomatic

reproduction of the text underlay in the manuscript RiccII which must be incorrect:⁽¹⁾ The edition is done with great accuracy - like all the work of Dragan Plamenac - but it can give a misleading impression to those not familiar with the style. The only other manuscript containing text, Pix, has the text distributed under the appropriate musical phrases and confirms what analysis declares must be the correct underlay.

More characteristic of Morton is the manner in which the Tenor and the Discantus overlap their line-ends: as in the other two songs, there are no gaps to be filled with Standard Contratenor function. But in Cousine the situation is extreme. The Tenor in lines 2 and 3 (m.8 and 10-11) anticipates the material that will appear in the Discantus, but does so before the Discantus has finished the previous line. Moreover the Tenor on these occasions begins the material of the new line without pausing at the end of the previous line. So the Tenor, while having in itself more melodic shape and intrinsic charm than the Discantus, is far less clearly articulated. In fact, to the extent that articulation here means a clear definition of the musico-poetic lines, the Tenor is not articulated at all. All the gaps exist in the Discantus alone. For all its imitative treatment of material in the Discantus, the Tenor cannot coherently carry text.

Curiously the Contra's use of the same range as the Tenor (rather than the lower range of the two preceding songs) does not substantially alter its style of movement. Most of the time it still remains below the Tenor; so it is still independent and it still has many leaps of a fifth and a fourth. Only three times does it move above the Tenor, and it does so with the same progression on each occasion (ex. 1). It is as though Morton were not at home with the idiom of Tenor and Contra in the same range.

Ex. 1 (Morton: Cousine)

Tenor

Contra

Tenor

Contra

Tenor

Contra

But familiarity with the idiom is difficult to estimate since the song survives in two different versions. Though the revisions in the second version are not on the large scale we shall later encounter with Paracheve ton emprise and Il sera pour vous, they are clear and suggest that the composer had a hand in them. Of the two versions, the earlier survives in three almost identical copies, while the revision is in one source only. Changes appear at three points in the song:

a) The final cadence is changed from the "octave leap" type to the falling fifth found in the other Morton songs examined so far. The Contra now falls to A, two notes lower than what is otherwise the lowest note of the piece. Possibly the revision arose from the increasingly archaic quality of the octave leap cadence in this repertory. It may be permissible to speculate that the octave leap cadence is evidence that the original version of Cousine was one of the earliest surviving Morton songs.

b) The opening measure of the Tenor has an added note in the revision. Its effect can be understood only in relation to the discussions in chapter 2, for the progression thereby ceases to be a cadence. The discord and the resolution that are necessary components of a cadence are eradicated. Consequently the revised version avoids the cadence that stopped the flow of the song before it had started. Now there is more continuity leading up to the entry of the Discantus even though the imitation is no longer exact.

c) The small changes in Tenor and Contratenor at m.6 are most easily explained by a change of barring in the edition, for they change the rhythmic effect at this point. With a view to understanding the

meaning of the barring and the nature of the change, we should now examine the rhythmic structure of the song.

.....

Cousine presents special problems to the transcriber who wishes to put bar-lines into his score. Plamenac, who edited the only published edition of the song, observed:

Its melodic line shows the rhythmical flexibility so characteristic of the "Burgundian" music of the period; in the transcription that will be found in our musical supplement an attempt has been made to indicate these subtle shifts in rhythmical relations by means of appropriate barring (change of binary and ternary rhythms).⁽²⁾

His comment raises four questions: to what extent is this rhythmical flexibility confined to the melodic line? is there really no simpler and more logical solution? in what way is this kind of flexibility "characteristic of the 'Burgundian' music of the period"? and finally, if there are other examples of similar rhythmic flexibility, can they be used to help establish a similar barring for Cousine?

That last question will be answered later on in this chapter and provides the ultimate rationale for the barring offered in the edition.

The first question answers itself, once asked. The apparent melodic flexibility of the Discantus is constantly dependent on the movement of the Tenor. Accent, articulation and phrase in this music are determined by cadences; and a cadence requires two parts to define it. What is perhaps surprising in Cousine is that the main accent points, as defined by the cadence formations between Discantus and Tenor, are

present in all three parts, not just two. The cadences ending at the beginning of m.3, 4, 7 and 21 are all accompanied by a fall of a fifth in the Contra, while that ending at the beginning of m.16 has the Contra in the middle mirroring the Discantus a fourth below as was so often the custom in a slightly earlier generation. Other features helped place the barlines in this edition: the falling fifths in the Contra and the repeated figures in the upper parts (usually accompanied by equally repeated figures in the Contra): m.11-12, 16, and to a lesser degree 1-2 and 18-19. Into the same category comes the repeated pattern in ex. 1.

Of course the answers are not simple even with these clear-cut criteria. In m.7-8 the accentuation of the Tenor seems to work against that in the Discantus. But the general trend shows that all three parts work together for the same rhythmic flexibility which is not merely melodic, even though it may have been conceived initially from a melodic viewpoint.

If the barring in the edition approximately represents the accentual scheme of the music, it is fair to ask how appropriate it is to bar the piece in this way. This transcription differs slightly from that of Plamenac, with regard to barring, but in no fundamental respect. I reduced note-values to one quarter of their original value, whereas Plamenac reduced them only by half. Consequently my thinking tended to divide the piece into units of three and four ($3/4$ and $4/4$) whereas Plamenac lays it out in units of three and two ($3/2$ and $2/2$). Already the difference says something: that both approaches are conditioned by the structure and appearance of today's notation with all its implications.

Further it shows how a different reduction can change the appearance of a piece; songs that look perfectly simple in the original note-values of transcriptions by Jeppesen or Thibault begin to look complicated in copies with quartered note-values. Is it inventing imaginary problems to make reductions in the notation and then seem confused about the "appropriate" barring - particularly since the fifteenth-century song sources contain no barlines?

Reduction of note-values can be justified in practical terms even if not in philosophical terms. Reduced note-values make it easier to see the rhythmic structure of a piece; and even if the problems of beaming and barring can make such an edition more subjective and interpretative than some would wish, the large portions of the music in which there is really only one musical solution, and the considered efforts the practice demands of the transcriber both make quartered note-values the best approach for this particular set of pieces. Strangely, reduction of note-values seems to be a catalyst for persuading the editor to examine critically the music he transcribes; most modern transcriptions in unreduced note-values contain errors and musical impossibilities of a kind that are usually absent from reduced-note transcriptions.

Arguments for barring are more easily documented, for music presented in score has practically always been barred. This goes as much for the keyboard sources as for the scored-out sources of part-music described by Lowinsky.⁽³⁾ Frequently the barlines were merely inserted automatically at regular intervals; sometimes they were added at more irregular intervals and seem more closely related to the actual content

of the music. But in practically all cases their main function was merely to guide the eye as to the synchronization of the various voices. The same may be said of today's notation. In four-square, regularly accentuated music, the implications of the bar-line are of course accentual; but only vicariously so: they are primarily conceptual divisions to help the mind through. In less stolid music, whether of the nineteenth or the twentieth century, the barline has no such accentual implication. Perhaps the most common exclamation of music-teachers today is "Play through the bar-line." The "Tyranny of the barline" is a fiction of the theorist, and its only justification is in the playing of simpletons.

Irregular barring is more a preference than a principle. But in the case of Cousine and of the next song to be discussed, Que pourroit plus faire, it is logically the best solution. Attempts to bar either of these pieces in regular groups of two, three or four all end up with the final note appearing in the middle of a bar. This may not in itself be reprehensible; but since all the other cadences appear at equally illogical positions, there seems little point in pursuing such barring except faute de mieux.

There are songs in which regular barring against the lie of the cadence points to something essential in the song. Dufay's Entre les plus plaines d'anoy, quoted in chapter 14, is a case in point: the whole first half of the song is a constant strain to return to the correct cadence position as defined by the regular triple mensuration. And it is possible that the same is the case in Tarsis (ex. 6) which is therefore barred with Mensurstriche.

The mensural situation that made these pieces possible is the result of an historical development covering the whole fifteenth century. Several writers have shown the broad general progress from C mensuration that was so prevalent in the songs up to around 1430 to the O mensuration that slowly became more popular but eventually gave way to C. Perhaps it is relevant to observe that C and O involve a constant flow of perfection, imperfection and alteration; in short, they require the reader always to be aware of the exact position of a note within the perfection, for its actual value varies according to its context. Consequently, in these mensurations the barlines are more nearly accentual than in almost any other style of notation in the history of music.⁽⁴⁾

But by the middle of the century, with C almost obsolete, the O mensuration begins to be treated more freely. Alteration becomes more rare in the sources, and often the rules described by the theorists and practiced in earlier manuscripts are disregarded. On the one hand the basic precept of similis ante similem imperfici non potest⁽⁵⁾ is clearly quite inappropriate in many cases; and on the other, Charles Hamm⁽⁶⁾ looks with dismay at a passage from Dufay's Par le regart in the Laborde chansonnier (ex. 2a) which must be transcribed as in ex. 2b, not, as the rules might suggest, as in ex. 2c.

In fact Par le regart, one of Dufay's very finest and most widely copied songs, is an example of the kind of rhythmic freedoms that were becoming possible within the O mensuration. But they are rather different from those in Cousine. Dufay's song has a melodic line with a syncopated effect; it breaks free from the barlines over a period of three or four perfections, but then returns at the end of the phrase. The lower parts

The image shows three musical examples, Ex. 2a, Ex. 2b, and Ex. 2c, arranged vertically on a page. Above the first example, the title 'Par le regard' and the composer 'Dufay' are written. Each example is on a single five-line staff. Ex. 2a shows a sequence of notes with stems pointing down, including a half note, a quarter note, and several eighth notes. Ex. 2b and Ex. 2c show more complex rhythmic patterns with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes, and some notes with stems pointing up. The examples are separated by empty staves.

help preserve the implications of the perfection, and seem to avoid the irregular accentuations of the Discantus. The result is a long flowing line that has its own shape and direction, moves independently of the basic metrical structure of the piece, but always returns to the basic scheme whose position is never forgotten. The kind of melodic freedom that was made possible by the use of the slow 0 mensuration is perhaps the strongest single factor in making the reputation of the "Burgundian chanson" what it was. In so many ways the mensuration was ideally suited to overcoming the stern formality of the poetic forms, rhyme schemes, limited vocabulary and even more limited harmonic range. Composers of all ages have felt the same freedom in a slow triple time the feeling that once the inevitable pattern of alternating weak and strong beats has been broken, then a truly expressive melody can arise.⁽⁷⁾ The two Morton songs previously discussed, Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais, are less obviously free in their use of triple time than Dufay's Par le regard.

But they contain a carefully judged manipulation of the accentual patterns from which the Tenor scarcely departs. Particularly in Le souvenir, the Tenor has the kind of line which anybody would bar in 3/4 throughout even if asked to bar it freely.

But in this context, various anomalies are worth considering. Le souvenir is so obviously in triple meter that three of the sources do not even bother with a mensuration sign. Four include the expected mensuration sign: O. But two others have a different mensuration sign: C. These two sources are Pix, which in every other way repeatedly declares itself to be far the best source of the song, and Dijon, the most scrupulously prepared of the northern song manuscripts. Whatever their failings, these two sources were written by people with a strong awareness of the details of what they wrote. It is unreasonable to suppose that the compilers had not noticed that this song is in a strong triple meter. The mensuration sign must therefore in this case have a different meaning: it cannot mean that the musician should (or could) feel the music in duple time. So there can be little doubt that the difference between O and C for these musicians was purely concerned with the interpretation of alteration and perfection. All three parts of Le souvenir contain notes tied across the "barline." The Contratenor part in particular could easily be read wrongly if the reader was expecting perfect breves which were imperfected. With the C mensuration sign, each note had precisely its notated value, and all possibility of error was averted. The mensuration sign had no metrical significance.

Nor is it likely that the mensuration sign had much meaning in regard to tempo. Another Morton song, Que pourroit plus faire, has a C

mensuration in four sources, but \emptyset in a fifth. This may be an error, but if so it is a carefully considered error, for it is copied with great care in all three parts of a scrupulous manuscript. It is difficult to see what difference the change in mensuration would have made. Perhaps a fuller study of variants in mensuration sign in songs of this period would yield fruitful results, for they are much more common than in the previous generation: Hamm notes only eleven variants within the works of Dufay and all of these are in relation to the presence or absence of the stroke of diminution.⁽⁸⁾ In Morton's generation Tinctoris⁽⁹⁾ was able to point to the "inexcusabilis error" of Ockghem in signing his song L'autre d'antan with O3; error it may be, according to Tinctoris's lights, but the fault may not have been¹ with the composer: Mellon and Q16 sign the song \emptyset 3, while Dijon gives it C3 and Cas gives it \emptyset 3. In matters mensural, this was evidently an age of flux.

From these and similar examples it seems that the metrical structure of a piece in this generation is to be determined from the music alone, not from the mensuration sign. In Cousine the first two metrical units set up a pattern of triple time by virtue of their repeated figures; and it is possible to see the piece as being in triple time throughout but with certain interruptions, expansions and compressions, as follows:

(i) in the first part of the song three 4/4 measures are inserted into the edition: each may be seen as an expansion of a 3/4 measure as in ex. 3;

(ii) the mid-point cadence in this repertory normally has a full perfection to itself, so it is reasonable to see m.10 as a compression of ex. 4; This helps the point of imitation just beginning in the Tenor;

Ex. 3

original

suggested derivation:

Ex. 4 after n. 10 of Cousine

Ex. 5 after n. 16 of Cousine

Presumably it is the same point of imitation that appears again twice in m.16, and may therefore be a compressed form of ex.5;

(iii) only m.19 works differently: the increased excitement leading to the end of the piece is helped by the sequential treatment of the final two beats of m.18.

With these principles of rhythm and barring in mind it is easy to see that the earlier version of m.6 has different metrical implications. Logically, the Tenor should be rebarred as in the edition of that version; the Contra movement endorses this decision. Perhaps the original derivation of the phrases could be similar to that in ex.5. But certainty is less possible in this case. It seems logical that the revision was put into effect precisely because of this uncertainty, because the metrical implications here were unclear and confusing.

While it may be dangerous to impute a rationale of the metrical structure to Morton, just as it is dangerous to use this construct as a way of explaining a change that may in actuality have been accidental, one thing is clear: the C mensuration means nothing in terms of the metrical groupings of the piece.

.....

Concerning the question of the degree to which the rhythmic style of Cousine is characteristic of the song style at the time in the Burgundian court, it can fairly be said that the characteristic style is not this but the style of Le souvenir. That song most fully typifies the central tradition of the time - which is why it was chosen as the starting-point for these discussions. Nevertheless, there is a small group of pieces in a style similar to that of Cousine, and, like many small

stylistic groups, it helps define the character of the song under discussion. It also helps explain what Plamenac meant when he mentioned "the rhythmical flexibility so characteristic of the Burgundian music of the period."

Mention has already been made of Tarsis (ex. 6)⁽¹⁰⁾, a piece with no surviving text beyond that opening word (or title) but all the signs of a Rondeau quatrain. With many similar rhythms and melodic figures it also has a rhythmic irregularity that recalls Cousine. But the firm manner in which each musical line concludes is quite different from the style of Cousine. Nor can the piece so easily be analysed as a series of expanded measures with a single overall metrical scheme.

When the similar opening figures in exx.7-9⁽¹¹⁾ are compared with those in Cousine and Tarsis it begins to seem possible that the similarities are mere musical small change. But inasmuch as the surviving pieces with this manner of opening figure also have the same irregular mensural features, some picture emerges of a category of pieces with results resembling that of a poetic pu. In fact such a suggestion may not be far wide of the mark, for the poetic text of Cousine also has echoes in other songs.

Adrien Basin's Nous amis, trop vous abusez, which is also closely related, is transcribed and discussed in ch. 11 where the whole group's implications and relations are examined further. The connection is largely textual rather than musical. The same could be said of Duke Charles's own Madame trop vous m'esprenez which is transcribed and discussed in ch. 9. Both songs belong to the Burgundian court of Morton's time.

Ex. 6

Anon. F229 f 83v-84

Tarsis

Tenor Tarsis

Contra Tarsis

5

10

Ex. 7

F Rubinet

F229 f 108v-109

Pour mieulx valoir
 Tenor Pour mieulx valoir
 Contra Pour mieulx valoir

Ex. 8

F Rubinet

F229 f 109v-110

Je voy
 T[enor] Je voy
 Contra Je voy

Ex. 9

F229 f 146v-147

[no title]
 Tenor

Yet another song with both verbal and musical allusions to Morton's Cousine is Nous amis sont che les mos. Unfortunately only the Discantus survives, and the poem is incomplete and corrupt. But even though the only surviving source is Neapolitan, it is fair to guess that this song also originated at the Burgundian court (ex. 10)⁽¹²⁾.

Though it contains no verbal allusion to any of the songs under discussion, nor cites any of its musical material specifically, the Rondeau La plus grant chiere merits discussion in the same context (ex. 11)⁽¹³⁾. It contains many of the same metrical characteristics of Cousine, but in rather simpler form that in turn makes Cousine seem more comprehensible. Moreover this is the one song that is almost certainly modelled on Morton, for its text pays homage to him, and describes the occasion on which he and the young Hayne van Ghiseghem visited Cambrai.

It was published by Marix from the Dijon manuscript. Other versions of the music in the Pixérécourt chansonnier and in F229 have apparently escaped attention because the song has a different text there. The new text, Se j'ay des maus outre mesure, is corrupt and incomplete. But it is clear from what remains that it was a Rondeau cinquain, whereas the music is for a Rondeau quatrain. Whoever added the new text evidently had no understanding of how words and music are matched in the song repertory from which he took the music. Nor did he have much insight into poetic form: the first line of the third stanza in Pix is appended to the second stanza, and the remainder of the text is omitted.

Ex. 10

Anon. EscB f 125v

Nous a - sy - es sont che
les mos De nous en - voy - er en ga - le - e ?
Que d'ardaint N/4 soy - es bru - le - e, Se ne
chan - giés vos - tre pour - pos.

Ex. 11

Anon.

1.4.7. la plus gran chie - re de ja - mais
 3.8 on es-té ser - vis de beaux mais
 5. En-co-res vous iure et pro - metz

Tenor

Contra

10
 Ont fait a Cam - brai le ci
 Tout par-tout ou ilz ont es - té
 Sur bas in - stru - mens a plan - te

2.8. Mor - te
 6. Ont jou -

15
 ton et Hay - ne en ve - ri - té On ne vous
 é et si fort chan - té Qu'on les a

20
 pour - roit dire huy mais.
 ou † y pres de Mais.

25

The appearance of a new text in the same language for an older piece is unusual in the song manuscripts of the time. In Italy, collections of Laude were beginning to appear containing sacred texts to be sung to French secular songs, and in the next generation the French Noël written to the music of existing chansons was to become a veritable cult. Similarly, new secular texts in a familiar language are relatively common for songs in little-known languages such as English. But examples like this are most rare. It is tempting to suggest that the new text was inserted because the older one was so closely connected to an occasion long forgotten at the time and place of compilation of the Pixérécourt manuscript.

Fortunately the Pixérécourt source was more careful about the music, which appears here in a far more grammatical form than in Dijon. So it is worth re-editing the piece, and attempting to underlay the original Rondeau quatrain text in a practical manner.

The metrical pattern is clear from the edition which shows how in this respect it is remarkably similar to Cousine, if simpler in conception. Its shape is simple and clear. Triple meter is set up in m.1 and confirmed in m.2. Expansion of this pattern occurs in m.3; and the break is confirmed by a repetition of the new expanded rhythmic pattern in m.4. All four measures could as easily have been written with the meter of the first two measures. The effect would have been extremely bland; but the underlying presence of such a simple scheme is the clue to the success of the rhythmic figures in the piece.

Triple meter continues without significant interruption or deflection until m.21. Here the introduction of a 4/4 measure amounts merely to a

shifting of the barline, for it is corrected in m.25 by the insertion of a 2/4 measure. But comparison with the first half of the song and with Morton's Cousine suggests that it would be inappropriate to bar the song regularly (as we have done with Dufay's Entre les plus plaines). An important difference between the conception of La plus grant chiere and many other songs in apparently irregular rhythm is that the return to a scheme which would have been correct within a regular barring is entirely coincidental. The 2/4 bar towards the end of La plus grant chiere was emphatically not inserted to correct the irregularity caused by the insertion of the 4/4 measure at m.21. It is an independent irregularity inserted for the same reason as the 2/4 measure at the end of Morton's Cousine: merely to increase the excitement towards the final cadence. And it is in this respect that La plus grant chiere comes closer to the actual manner of Cousine than any of the other songs mentioned in this chapter. (14)

But La plus grant chiere is still far simpler in conception than Cousine. The musical lines are separated in most un-Mortonian fashion; and the metrical pattern is far more easily seen than that of Cousine. Not that this should imply any kind of value judgment: La plus grant chiere is perfectly conceived to match the simple uncomplicated joyful text with suitable jogging music which occasionally surprises with a rhythmic irregularity. It is thus particularly curious that anybody should have seen fit to add the words of a soulful love-lyric, Se j'ay des maus outre mesure, below such ebullient music.

At first glance, La plus grant chiere would give the impression of having been written by the composer of Cousine. With the clear evidence

from the text that Morton cannot reasonably have been the composer, and that the piece was written by somebody who knew Morton and probably knew his music, we can see that Morton's work was more like a model. As so often, the parody shows certain aspects of the model's style and context more clearly than the model itself; and in other ways, primarily in its counterpoint and linear movement, it is quite unrelated.

La plus grant chiere confirms the suggested interpretation of the rhythmic style of Cousine.

Footnotes

1. Annales Musicologiques, 2 (1954), p. 172.
2. Annales Musicologiques, 2 (1954), p. 117.
3. Lowinsky, "Early Scores in Manuscript," Journal of the American Musicology Society, 13 (1960), p. 126-173.
4. Cooper and Meyer, The Rhythmic Structure of Music (1960), p.108-115, give a rhythmic analysis of the first Kyrie of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacopi and reach the same conclusions after first having explained the mensural system in a manner that demonstrates a certain unfamiliarity with its workings. "Composers then used no bar lines, and we are not at all sure what the norms of style really are - how this music was performed and how it sounded." Purely by careful application of their musical sensitivity the authors reached conclusions that are confirmed by the original notation and its implications.
5. See Tinctoris, ed. Coussemaker, vol. 4 (1876), p. 57 and p. 67 where the rule is still transmitted as a basic ingredient of the mensural system.
6. Hamm, A Chronology... (1964), p. 118-119.
7. Compare Robert Fadley, "Wagner's Musical Sketches for Siegfrieds Tod," in Harold Powers (ed.), Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk (1968), p. 459-494, footnote 24 on p. 478.
8. Hamm, op.cit., p. ix-x.
9. Coussemaker, Scriptorum ..., vol. 4 (1876), p. 156.
10. F229 f 83v-84. Errors: 8 i 5-7: q sq sq/ 11 ii 6-7: C B
11. F229 f 108v-109; f 109v-110, and f 146v-147. On the possible identity of Rubinet see Pirro, "Robinet de la Magdalaine," (1933)

12. EscB f 125v (no.106a). Southern's inventory of EscB implies that all three parts survive; but the facing page actually contains the lower parts of a different piece.
13. Sources: Dijon f 115v-156 with full text; F229 f 73v-74 "Se ie fay;" Pix f 183v-184 with the Rondeau cinquain text "Se i'ay des maus outre mesure"; formerly in RiccII between f 14 and f 15 as indicated by the index: "Se j'ay de mal outre mesure." Printed Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p. 86-87 (from Dijon). The present edition retains the Dijon text but for its music follows Pix, except:
6 iii 1-3: q q c in Pix and F229, corrected after Dijon and after m.29. F229 has several small variants. Dijon has more substantial variants, particularly in the Contra at m.17-18 and 21-22.
14. Marix refused to admit this and merely balanced her accounts by inserting just one $2/4$ measure before the mid-point cadence. So she managed to get two of her cadences on the first beat of the bar, whereas an unthinking $3/4$ barring would get only one of the first beat. But her small improvement still does not solve the main problem: that the metrical structure of the piece is obscured. Her barlines thus defeat their own end. They neither clarify any underlying structure in the music nor explain what is happening.

In his extremely important article "Early Scores in Manuscript," Lowinsky presents every possible argument against irregular barring (see especially the last section, beginning p. 156); yet he does not take into account the consideration that in Cousine and many pieces like it, regular barring is entirely pointless. Only whimsy can decide whether to bar in two or three since the mensuration signs are plainly irrelevant. (See above,

but note also that La plus grant chiere has the mensuration 0 in all sources whereas the metrically identical Cousine has C in all sources.) We cannot know how the fifteenth-century musician barred a piece on his tabula; but if we must bar the music at all, we might as well do so in a way that helps us to understand the music. Lowinsky fears that such a procedure will involve interpretation - as though skilful editing were anything else. In fairness to Lowinsky it should be pointed out that his discussion concerns all polyphonic music: it is general whereas ours here is specific and comes only to specific conclusions applicable perhaps only to the pieces being discussed. The best evidence concerning barring in the fifteenth century is in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, which Lowinsky does not mention. Its barring is confusing and deserves further study; but it certainly would not meet with Lowinsky's approval.

Cousine trop vous abusés

Rondeau quatrain

F 176 f 95v-96 (no.65) "Morton"

Pix f 17v-18 (no.15) revised version

RiccII f 9v-10 (no.5)

RiccII f 34v-35 (no.28)

Previous edition:

ed. Plamenac, "The Second Chansonnier ..." Annales Musicologiques,
2 (1954), p. 172 (from RiccII no.5)

Possible citation:

Rabelais Bk.5, ch. 33 bis mentions "Ma cousine" but may not have been referring to Morton's song.

Edition:

1st version (p.116): F176, RiccII/5, RiccII/28

Errors 11 ii 2: q q in RiccII/28 / 16 iii 3: RiccII/28 has an inexplicable signum congruentiae.

Revised version (p.87): Pix

Errors: 6 ii 3-4: the second q begins a new line. It seems to have been common practice to separate out syncopated notes at line-ends in this way. Perhaps the error in RiccII/28 at 11 ii 2 arose from a similar situation in the copy text.

In this version the only revisions are:

1 ii 4-5: replacing cD/ 6 ii 2: replacing q.D sqB/ 6 ii 4-5:

replacing D F/ 6 iii 3-4: replacing q c/ 20 iii 3-4: replacing cA/

21 iii: low A is new.

Source	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent Text
F176	C C C	-	i i -	-
RiccII/5	C C C	-	t i i	-
RiccII/28	C C C	at 16 iii 3!	[] i i	-
Pix	C C C	-	t i i	-

Text

Base: RiccII f 9v-10

Cousine trop vous abusés

Se plus que scuser ne me face

Qui portés l'amour a besace

Dont vous amis est refuseis.

Emendations: 1.2: "fate" as "face" to agree with the rhyme scheme/

1.3: "besac" as "besace" following Pix/ 1.4: "dout" as "dont"

following Pix

Note: Since the two text sources are approximately similar in their readings, both copied in Florence and both apparently closely related either through a common parent source or through more direct copying, there seems little hope of coming much closer to the original poem for this song.

First version

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle staff is labeled 'Tenor', and the bottom staff is labeled '[Contra]'. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics 'Cousine' are written above the vocal line in the first system. Measure numbers 5, 10, 15, and 20 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The score concludes with a double bar line at the end of the third system.

Chapter four

Que pourroit : Chromaticism

Neque sub b mollis signum
apponi est necessarium,
immo si appositum videatur,
asininum esse dicitur.

Tinctoris, De Natura et Proprietate Tonorum
(1476)

1.4.7. Que pourroit plus faire u - ne da - - me Que de
 3. S'el-le le che - rist plus qu'autre a - me Et qu'en ce
 5. Se pa - reil-le - ment il ne l'a - - me Loi - al et


Tenor Que pourroit

Contra Que pourroit plus

5
 met-tre son los sa fa - me Es mains d'ung loi-al ser-vi-
 mon-de le re - cla - me Pour sa for- tune et pour son
 se-cret et sans - bla - me, Pu- gny doit estre a la ri-

10
 teur, 2.8. En ha - ban - don-nant corps et cueur
 eur
 gueur, 6. Puis qu'el-le luy fait tant d'hon-neur

15
 Pour le guer - don-ner sans dif-fa - me.
 De l'a - mer trop plus que son a - me.
 20



Although Que pourroit plus faire superficially resembles Cousine in the irrationality of its metrical makeup, there is little point in barring it according to the same principles because the result would be (ex. 1) so cumbersome as to be self-defeating. The bewildering succession of bars with two, three, four and five beats defeats its own purpose. A decision to bar it irrationally is inevitable, for once again a regular barring would result in all the cadences being at irrational positions within the bar. However a barring with the gentle irrationality of the edition is to be preferred to the jolting eccentricity of ex. 1. This should not be interpreted as a contradiction of the principles laid down in the last chapter, but rather as an indication of some of the ways in which Que pourroit plus faire is a very different kind of song.

It is perhaps the most homophonic of Morton's songs. Tenor and Contra tend to move with the same rhythmic pattern, as in m.1-2, m.5, and to a lesser extent in m.7, m.9 and m.12-15. Add to this homogeneity the unusually even spacing of the three parts in Que pourroit and the result is a classic example of the fullness and richness that characterize the court tradition of the time. Much more obviously song-like than Cousine, it is serious, introspective and just a little cloying. Cousine, by contrast, is all lightness and air, surprise and insituation in its rhythmic figures, a piece that might even not be for singing, as it seems to ask for performance with the sharpest and brightest sounds available, sounds that will not obscure any of the figures and shapes. Where Cousine's essence is the ebullient jog of its rhythms, Que pourroit is concerned with something entirely different: it is concerned with long flowing lines with no interruption.

Ex. 1

que pourroit etc.

Tenor

Contra

For all its homophonic movement, Que pourroit has rhythmic shapes that are pastel-shaded, unclear. The figure in the Tenor at m.2 (ex.2) looks similar to that opening Cousine, but its implications are surely quite different. Here is a line that must on no account be allowed to stand out from the rich texture of the song, a line in which pitches are more important than rhythms, one whose importance is textural rather than rhythmic. The same figure in Cousine was thematic and set the mood as well as the meter for the piece. Que pourroit is different, and it would be a mistake to treat it as though it were the same.

Lines, not rhythms, dominate this song, so it is important to ensure that the lines flow correctly. The difficulty here does not concern the rhythms, but the chromaticism which is therefore the main topic of this chapter. The piece contains conflicting key-signatures and a middle-section in which the editorial accidentals will raise questions even in the least curious mind.

.....

On the whole the song repertory of this time is not one in which intricate chromaticism plays an important part. If it were, the manuscripts would surely contain far more accidentals than they do. Chromaticism here is a more peripheral feature, a means towards the end of creating the lines and shapes that are central to the repertory. Because the problems involved are less far-reaching and less complex than those in the later fourteenth-century, for instance, they have been studied less in the past and few answers have been offered. Each case demands close individual consideration.

Que pourroit, like most of the other songs considered in this

Ex. 2

dissertation, has different key-signatures in different sources. The Contra has two flats in Pix and Parma but only one flat in the other three sources, for instance. There seem to be three viable explanations for this: scribal error, the preservation of the song in different versions, or the possibility that the song was written according to different conventions in different manuscripts.

In this case the last seems to apply. The extra flat is of course on the E, a note which only appears three times in the entire Contratenor. The first of these must be a flattened since it lies one note above a leap of a fifth, since the Tenor note above it is a B flat, approached by an upward leap of a fourth, and since there is a hint of a cadential progression between the Tenor and the Contra at this point.

In the three sources that do not contain E flat in the signature, this note can be justified as being part of the *musica recta*; it should not be considered *musica ficta*. The difference is stressed by many theorists, and should be explained briefly here. ⁽¹⁾

Musica ficta (or false musica) is not unwritten accidentals. It comprises any chromatic notes, written or unwritten, other than those in the musica recta (or musica vera). Musica recta is the normal scale which includes B flat as well as B natural, two notes of equal importance within the system and already implied as such even though no flat appears in the key-signature. Musica ficta (or falsa) is thus any "black" note except for B.flat.

It would therefore be better to divide accidentals in fifteenth-century music into four categories:

written ficta

written recta

unwritten ficta

unwritten recta.

A further subdivision should be made. The distinction made by the theorists between chromaticism propter necessitatem and propter pulchritudinem is most simply (if slightly over-simply) explained as that between notes altered for the sake of the harmony, and those altered for the sake of the melody.

One more aspect of musica recta seems to be implied in the music: in a key-signature of one flat, the musica recta consists of the hexachords on F, B flat and C, and thus includes E flat, whereas B natural now becomes part of the musica ficta. While unequivocal theoretical evidence has not been adduced in support of this, it seems logical; and it works for the songs under discussion here.

Within this conceptual framework, the first E flat would be described as musica recta, propter necessitatem (since it is a fifth below

a B flat) in the three sources where it does not appear as part of the key-signature. It should therefore be added editorially, even if it is not spelled out in the sources. The need for editorial accidentals, those which would originally have been added by the performer, is in no way diminished by the distinctions described above.⁽²⁾

The second E in the Contratenor is less simple, for it leads upwards in a figure that will take the Contra to a high A: if it is performed flat it will involve either a melodic outline of an augmented fourth or an editorial flat on the A. The A flat is clearly out of the question because it would then involve the other parts and the subsequent measures in such contortionist chromaticism that the results could only be distressing. So the only real alternatives become E natural at the beginning of the measure or an outline of an augmented fourth. The theorists do not explicitly outlaw the augmented fourth as a melodic interval: the rules about mi-contra-fa concern vertical intervals. But even so, the outline is slightly ugly, and in other circumstances the choice between this and an E natural in the Contra would be a difficult one. Fortunately the sources here come to our aid, and endorse what in any case would seem the most likely solution: of the three sources without E flat in the key-signature, one, Col, has an accidental flat inserted before this particular note. The augmented fourth outline is evidently to be retained.

The third E in the Contra is the difficult one, and cannot be considered merely in terms of the line in which it appears. In such terms the musician would presumably play E natural, since the line would otherwise again outline an augmented fourth. But E natural here would

result in a vertical interval of a diminished fifth with the Discantus (actually a diminished twelfth). It seems probable, however, that in this case the E natural is correct, that the vertical diminished fifth should be accepted before the melodic augmented fifth. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the note appears just after two scale figures in the other two parts, rising from D to B flat, both inevitably through E natural. The second reason is that the passing diminished chord cannot be entirely foreign to fifteenth-century polyphony. The opening of the Rondeau Quelque povre homme que je soie by Busnois shows the kind of context in which a diminished chord is quite unavoidable, even after the most cavalier editorial intervention: it is a passing chord, just like the one suggested for m.13 of Que pourroit (ex. 3).⁽³⁾ Written by one of Morton's colleagues at the Burgundian court, and coming from the same generation, Quelque povre homme should be enough to dispel any illusions about all fifths in this repertory being perfect. Not that a diminished chord is likely to have been common: far from it. But in the Busnois it is as inevitable as it is obviously intentional. And in such cases as m.13 of Que pourroit where it is a passing chord between two solid F chords and where the whole directions of the lines around makes E natural seem inevitable, the diminished chord must be accepted.

Even so, the E flat clearly indicated by the key-signature in Pix and Parma can be changed to E natural only by *musica ficta*. Perhaps the main distinction between *musica ficta* and *musica recta* in such a context is that *ficta* requires some compelling reason for its insertion whereas *musica recta* is a more free-flowing chromaticism which requires

Ex. 3 Busnois

Quelque povre hom - me que je soi - e

Tenor

Contra

no particular justification. It would seem however that the very inclusion of E flat in the key -signatures of Parma and Pix indicates a more cautious approach to chromaticism, and a modification of convention in respect of musica recta and its relation to musica ficta.

Parma is a late source, perhaps copied by Gafori in the late 1480s. Its caution in the realm of accidentals is shown by the highest note in m.17 of the Discantus which is preceded by a flat. To this scribe, the

flat on the lower B in the key-signature was apparently not enough to ensure that the singer did not sing B natural on this high note, approached by a leap upwards and quitted by a downward scale! Assuming both that it is not a simple error and that the song is not placed in some kind of transposition by which the high B is really outside the hexachord system and must therefore be signed as such, it is likely that the scribe had different expectations from his reader - in short, that he was working to a different convention. For Pix and Parma, musica recta flats were not to be inserted indiscriminately, so E flats were carefully added to the key-signature of the Contra; the earlier sources Col and Glogau naturally assumed that these notes would be performed E flat and did not bother to include them. The different readings result from different conventions of notation.

These solutions to the inflexion of the three Es in the Contratenor obviously raise problems in the two other parts. In Pix and Parma the song has "conflicting key-signatures," - two flats in the Contra but only one in the Discantus and Tenor. The problem raised ~~thereby~~ is only theoretical, since practically all the Es in the Discantus and Tenor are above an A and must therefore be E natural. For this is the essential function of conflicting signatures: if there is a B flat in the upper part any E below it will inevitably be flattened, so the flat is put in the key signature of the lower part, whereas if there is an A in the lower part any E above it must be E natural and it would therefore be counterproductive to include an E flat in the key-signature of the upper voices. Given the nature of fifteenth-century counterpoint, such a situation is inevitable. The appearances of the note E in the upper

parts where there is no A below fall into two categories: at 6 i 1, 7 i 1 and 13 ii 2 there is an A below so soon after or before that there would be no call to flatten the E; the three others, at 11 i 2, 12 i 3 and 12 ii 5, require separate consideration.

The problem caused here by the conflicting signatures is more real. None of the sources has any written accidentals between m.10 and m.14 except for the single flat in Col in the Contra at the beginning of m.12. Three conflicting assumptions cause all the trouble. The first assumption is that the mid-point cadence of a song should, if it does not occur on an open octave or an open fifth, at least occur on a major triad. The second is that if the Contra has an E flat at the beginning of m.11, the Discantus should not sound E natural simultaneously, and should therefore be flattened. The latter assumption is corroborated by the principle of mi-contra-fa; the first is more difficult to test.

The whole theory of editorial accidentals is based on just such situations: the performer would not need telling if a major chord was always required at the mid-point. The evidence of intabulations in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch together with the few cases where the sharps actually are written in leads to a fair degree of confidence that major thirds were the norm if not the rule. In this particular case a major chord seems even more likely in that the Tenor and the Discantus proceed from a sixth on that chord outwards to an octave both when the song repeats back to the beginning and when it continues. Since the one rule that appears in practically all medieval counterpoint texts is that the major sixth moves out to the octave whereas the minor sixth moves inwards to a fifth, this provides yet more evidence supporting an

F sharp in the middle of m.11.

On the other hand, however, E flat for the second note of m.11 and F sharp for the third note are made incompatible by a third assumption, which is that a leap of an augmented second is rare enough within this repertory that if it did occur it would be clearly indicated to avoid any confusion. With no signs of it in any of the four surviving sources there is little likelihood of its having been intended.

Since these assumptions tend to exclude each other, one of them must be incorrect. Either a melodic augmented second is normal, or a clash of E natural against E flat in the Contra is acceptable, or the mid-point cadence need not be on a major chord. The augmented second is theoretically possible, but it results in a curiously near-eastern sound at the cadence; and while nobody need scorn curious cadences there can be little doubt about its total inapplicability here. All the foregoing discussions and every note of the repertory support the idea that the supple melodic line is the most important thing for a Discantus part. Moreover, the continuation from such a cadence would result in a line so full of altered chromatic degrees as to be fussy beyond the degree of tolerability. This is plainly unacceptable. It is similarly unlikely that things could be made much better by leaving the second note of m.11 as E natural, retaining the brief passing dissonance with the Contra, for although it would allow a major chord for the mid-point cadence, the approach would have the kind of dissonance that does not really seem in keeping with the kind of lines found otherwise in the fifteenth-century song repertories and particularly in this unusually smooth-flowing song.

So there seems little alternative but to allow the mid-point cadence

must land on a minor chord. Evidently a major chord at this point in the song is not an invariable rule, and the progression of the Discantus and the Tenor outwards to an octave after this cadence is not so important as it may have seemed.⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, the discussions in chapter 2 suggested that a real cadential progression required a dissonance, and a suspension before resolution; the idea mooted there that the sixth progressing to an octave was not in itself sufficient to constitute a cadence seems confirmed by the situation here. Apparently the strict rules governing the counterpoint of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were beginning to break down: progression outwards to an octave from a major sixth was not the invariable rule and there may be a danger in adding too many editorial accidentals in places where the flow of the line was perhaps more important than the articulation provided by the cadence.

That decision taken, the next measure is far less problematic. The falling figure in m.12 must go through E flat because it again coincides with an E flat in the Contra, and because it is still governed by the shape of the previous phrase. But on rising again it must pass through E natural not only because it is rising higher and will need the C hexchord, but also because the Tenor imitation likewise implies E natural. Mutation on the D in the Discantus is perfectly normal and a simply executed process. The solution seems satisfactory; and its simplicity indirectly adds conviction to the theory that the mid-point cadence is on a minor chord.

How does such a conclusion affect decisions about the editorial accidentals added at cadence points elsewhere in the piece? While the

question is not easily answered, it can at least be countered by the observation that all the editorial sharps have been added in places where the following sequence of events occurs: (i) preparation by a minor consonance (a third or a sixth); (ii) the progression of one part downwards to produce a strong dissonance; (iii) the half resolution of the other part to produce a "minor dissonance" (major sixth or minor third); and (iv) the final resolution to an open octave. The assumption that this is still an invariable sequence should be viewed with increasing caution as the fifteenth century progresses, but nothing in Que pourroit plus faire makes it seem inconvenient or improbable.⁽⁵⁾

Moreover a glance at the spacing of these cadences suggests that they are indeed important and placed with care. In most cases the musico-poetic line contains two such cadences, one more important than the other. Just as in Le souvenir each line was concluded by a cadence, so here the pattern of cadence is evidently part of the structural basis of the piece, though slightly different in execution. Here the first line contains two cadences, the first in close position with the Discantus descending, the second in open position with the Tenor falling in what is the more standard and final cadential manner. The second line has the same sequence except that another cadence appears at the end, in a much weaker position. In the third line the stronger cadence comes first and is followed by the deliberately weak mid-point cadence discussed on the previous pages. The fourth line has its intermediate cadence twice, in m.13 and again in m.14, before reaching its concluding cadence in m.15-16. The final line is not articulated in this way but moves straight through to its final cadence without any intermediate stopping

place, just as obviously befits the line that concludes a piece; perhaps it is also relevant to note that this is the most ambiguous line rhythmically.

The pattern of these cadences therefore lends credence to the series of editorial accidentals added in the accompanying edition, just as the frequency of the cadences goes some way towards explaining why this song, for all its evident concern with the flow of the lines, does not have the same freedom that is found in Le souvenir or N'aray je jamais, songs which might perhaps be ascribed to Morton's fuller maturity.

Application of the same principles of editorial accidentals to N'aray je jamais shows more strongly how the sources avoided giving unnecessary information. In the mid-point cadence of N'aray je jamais there can be little actual doubt as to the correct reading, except that the sharp in m.14 must now be in question. Ex. 4 presents the passage (Discantus and Tenor only since in this case the Contra happens to be immaterial) with all the necessary accidentals written in and numbered. Flat no. 2 appears in ten of the fourteen sources, although most performers would probably be inclined to have included it even without the accidental to tell them. With that flat agreed, flats 3 and 4 are inevitable and flat no. 1 becomes most desirable. Flat no.1 is found in only three of the fourteen sources: it is in Pix and Grey, the two latest manuscripts containing the song, and it is in Nivelle, a slightly earlier manuscript to which N'aray je jamais is added in a later hand, perhaps dating from the 1490s. The appearance of this flat exclusively in such late sources may raise some suspicion as to its authenticity, because it is difficult to find **any** convention by which a note in this

Ex. 4

(from N'aray je jamais)

Disc

Tenor

Distribution of the accidentals in the sources:

Col 0

Cop1 0

Dij 0

RiccII 0

BexK 2

Cord 2

Lab 2

Mel 2

Wolf 2

Fl76 2 (3 in key-signature)

EscB (3 in key-signature)

Gray 1 2

Niv 1 2

Pix 1 2 3

particular context would automatically be flattened; however the subsequent shape of the line containing it is in itself a convincing argument for flattening. Moreover the presence of flat no. 3 (about which there cannot be any reasonable doubt) in only one source (together with two others in which it appears as part of the key signature) underlines the fact that many flats are simply not included in the majority of surviving sources.

The sharp no. 5 is much more difficult. It appears in no source and is not necessary according to the rules for cadential *musica ficta* outlined above. Although the note is sharpened in many earlier editions of the song it seems superfluous. Since Morton apparently did not expect the mid-point cadence of Que pourroit plus faire to contain a sharpened third, it would evidently be wrong to assume that this note in N'aray je jamais must be sharpened. Therefore no sharp has been added here in the edition.

Of the fourteen known sources containing this section of N'aray je jamais, only Pixérécourt contains more than two of these five accidentals. Once again, it is Pixérécourt which contains the fullest and most convincing evidence. Since the manuscript is Florentine and relatively late its evidence should be approached with caution. The quality of its readings can be explained in two ways: either it was based on exemplars of unusually high quality; or its exemplars had been extremely carefully reviewed by a fine musician with a strong sense of order, in other words they had been sub-edited. Until there is more evidence to support one or other of these conclusions it will be necessary to suspect the latter and repeatedly to search for any kind of readings that could

conceivably be more reliable or more musically convincing than those in Pixérécourt; on the other hand, the bulk of the evidence found so far points to the unlikely conclusion that Pixérécourt in spite of being Florentine and in spite of being so late is in fact the best source for an edition of Robert Morton's songs. At the same time the manuscript evidently contains a fuller set of accidentals than would be considered normal in Morton's time: Tinctoris would probably have considered such unnecessary spelling out of the obvious an insult to his intelligence. It is possible that in this respect Pixérécourt saw the intervention of a later musician, but in this respect only. And his interventions show both an awareness of earlier traditions and a knowledge of the respect in which their conventions had been changed.

Footnotes

1. Most of the material in the following paragraphs is based on M. Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta," Musica Disciplina, 26 (1972), p. 73-100.
2. This need is perhaps most forcefully reviewed by Lowinsky, Forward to Musica Nova accommodata per Cantar et Sonar Organi, ed. Colin Slim (Chicago, 1964).
3. Dijon f 65v-66.
4. Between the sections of a piece rules for progressions were rarely adhered to strictly. A survey of the progression between mid-point cadence and the beginning in Dufay's Rondeaux shows the Tenor falling a major sixth and a seventh (three times) and shows many cases of parallel progression. On the other hand Binchois much more often observes strict progression in this situation; and that^{is}/the tradition from which Morton springs.
5. There are some doubts, however, about the correct interpretation at m.10 of Cousine. The Tenor pattern here has already appeared at m.6, will appear again at m.10 and is implied in several other places. If this cadence does not need to progress from a major sixth, many of the others may need review.

Que pourroit plus faire une dame

Rondeau cinquain

Parma f 45v-46 "Morton"

Col C10v-D1 (no.16) - Sev f 24v-25

Glogau I f viii, II g i, III g iii (no.130) "Numine Ihesu celice"

Pix f 50v-51 (no.45)

RiccII f 15 (no.10) incomplete: only Tenor from m.11 and Contra

Additional text source:

Rohan f 115 (no.280) (only complete version of the poem)

Unrelated pieces:

Que puet plus faire une maistresse Pix f 19v-20 (no.17)

Fl76 f 55v-57 (no.39)

Edition:

1. Formal edition (p.118) Music base: Pix; text base: Rohan
2. Glogau version complete with contrafact text (p.140)
3. Variorum (p.141-142) Base: Pix

Source	Key-sig	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent text	Notes
Pix	$b \ b \ bb$	C C C	$\S \ \S \ \S$	t i i	-	
Col	$b \ b \ b$	$\emptyset \ \emptyset \ \emptyset$	- - -	i i i	-	
Glogau	$b \ - \ b$	C C C	- - -	t t t	-	Contrafact
Parma	$b \ b \ bb$	C - -	- - -	i i i	-	"Morton"
RiccII	$- \ b \ b$	$[] [] C$	$[] - -$	$[] i i$	-	Incomplete

Error not incorporated into the Variorum: 15 iii 1-4: c q q c for c. q q q Col

Text

Que pourroit plus faire une dame
 Que de mettre son los, sa fame,
 Es mains d'ung loial serviteur
 En habandonnant corps et cueur
 Pour le guerdonner sans diffame?

S'elle le cherist plus qu'autre ame
 Et qu'en ce monde le reclame
 Pour sa fortune et pour son eur,
 Que pourroit plus faire une dame
 Que de mettre son los, sa fame,
 Es mains d'ung loial serviteur?

Se pareillement il ne l'ame
 Loial et secret et sans blasme,
 Pugny doibt estre à la rigueur,
 Puis qu'elle luy fait tant d'honneur
 De l'amer trop plus que son ame.

Que pourroit plus faire une dame
 Que de mettre son los, sa fame,
 Es mains d'ung loial serviteur
 En habandonnat corps et cueur
 Pour le guerdonner sans diffame?

Emendations: none

Major variants: 1.1: "Que pouroit" in Pix, RiccII; "Que poroit" in Parma
"Quy poroit" in Col/

Latin contrafact text in Glog:

Base: Discantus part book

Numine Ihesu celice,

Omine laudis affice,

Viminemspine refice;

Lumen tuo ludico,

Flumineque roseo

Omnis in hoc seculo

Perlustra et emenda.

Emendations: 1.4: "lucido" omitted, added from Tenor/

Major variants in Tenor: 1.2: "liudis" for "laudis"/ 1.3: "vimine" for
"viminem".

In margin of all three partbooks: "Rex eterne" (erased in Tenor and Contra)

Glogau version

Nu-mi-ne Ihe-su ce-li-ce, O-mi-

Nu-mi-ne Ihe-su ce-li-ce, O-mi-

Numine Ihesu celice

ne lau-dis af-fi-ce, Vi-mi-ne spi-ne re-fi-

ne lau-dis af-fi-ce, Vi-mi-ne spi-ne re-fi-ce

ce, Lu-men tu-o lu-ci-do, Flu-mi-ne que ro-se-o Om-nis

lu-men tu-o lu-ci-do Flu-mi-ne que ro-se-o Om-nis

in hoc se-cu-lo Per-lus-tra et e-men-da.

in hoc se-cu-lo Per-lus-tra et e-men-da.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including notes and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *rit*.

Musical score for measures 10-14. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains the melody with dynamic markings *mf* and *rit*. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef and provide harmonic accompaniment. Measure numbers 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 are indicated at the beginning of their respective measures.


Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including notes and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *rit*.

Musical score for measures 15-16. It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains the melody with dynamic markings *mf* and *rit*. The bottom staff is in bass clef and provides harmonic accompaniment. Measure numbers 15 and 16 are indicated at the beginning of their respective measures.

Musical score for measures 17-20. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains the melody with dynamic markings *mf* and *rit*. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef and provide harmonic accompaniment. Measure numbers 17, 18, 19, and 20 are indicated at the beginning of their respective measures.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including notes and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *rit*.

Chapter five



Paracheve ton entreprise: Thought and Afterthought

Ya sonavan los clarones
E las trompetas bastardas,
Charamías e bombardas
Façían distintos sonos:
Las baladas e cançiones
E rondeles que façían;
Apenas los entendían
Los turbados coraçones.

Marqués de Santillana, El sueno,
ed. Amador de los Ríos, p. 229.

Par a - che ve ton
Se je n'ay dueil as -
A. toy re - sis #

Tenor

Bassus

5
sez, en tre pri - se
ad vi - se
ter je n'ad vi - se: En Comb - me

10
tu as des + sus nous em - pri -
don - nant tel - le de - vi -
le moy du tout à ta gui -

15
se, For tu - ne ad - ver -
se Qui me la ren - ver -
se A. la re - ver -

20

se; Et tout en
se. Du haut en bas à
se;

25

ung coup me tra- ver-se, Car mieux
la se, ver-se Tu ne

30

MOU - rir que vi-vre pri-se, Tant me es
se - ras par moy re-pri-se, Da me

35

di - ver - se.
per - ver - se.

Two sources contain the music for Paracheve ton entreprise, but they differ in details that suggest that the piece underwent carefully considered revisions, probably at the hands of the composer himself. The discussion of N'aray je jamais showed how details of form can make a substantial difference to the effect of a piece, just as a comparison of the Discantus parts of Le souvenir attempted to show that the various manifestations of cadential embellishment are not totally interchangeable; so also, the rhythmical implications of the two versions of a passage in Cousine have appeared to be essentially different, and to affect the whole piece. All these kinds of change can be found in Paracheve ton entreprise, but in ways that make it possible to see how each version constitutes a piece in itself and how the changes must be conscious revisions, not errors of transmission.

Perhaps the most startling change is at the mid-point cadence. The version of the song in Cas is one beat shorter than that in the Mellon chansonnier. Such a change would hardly have been made inadvertently: since the song is in triple meter, the disturbance of that pattern caused by the missing beat in Cas would not go unnoticed by a reader using it. It is obviously possible that the Mellon source derives from somebody who thought that the Cas manuscript, or one like it, was in error, and who accordingly emended the piece to be in triple meter throughout.⁽¹⁾ However it is more likely that the Mellon chansonnier version represents an earlier form of the piece which was later rewritten in important ways. The compilation of Mellon precedes that of Cas by more than a decade. It may be dangerous to deduce rigid ideas about the sequence of the two versions from this fact; but almost

every detail of the changes will support the hypothesis that the Mellon presents an earlier version. Cas is used as the basis of the edition; the Mellon version is presented as the main text of the Variorum, so that the differences between the two can easily be seen.

The removal of one beat around m.19-20 can affect the Tenor immediately after the mid-point cadence. In Mellon the second half of the piece begins with the Tenor moving precisely as it did at the beginning. So the clearly audible seam in most rondeaux at the point at which the music repeats back to the beginning is joined up. The Tenor now begins exactly the same whether it is continuing or repeating. Practically continuous performance becomes possible.

Desirable though this may be, continuous performance makes the piece amorphous. One can well imagine the composer having done this in a flash of inspiration to create a continuous piece, and then thinking better of it, substituting a figure which uses the same melodic outline for several measures (see ex.2), but which cannot be confused with the one at the beginning of the song. On the other hand it is difficult to imagine the emender with the Casanatense version in front of him finishing up with the form in Mellon. It is more probable that this small revision was away from the amorphous consequences of literal repetition in the original song. And for the same reasons it seems likely that all the other changes in the Cas version were also made by the composer himself.

Both manuscripts show evidence of close contact with the Burgundian court circles, even though Mellon was apparently prepared in Naples and Cas in Ferrara. Contacts existed between the Neapolitan court and that

of Burgundy; and Mellon contains several pieces by composers from the Burgundian court in convincing versions as we shall see later. In particular the Morton song Il sera pour vous, to be discussed in Chapter 7, appears here in a form that would be barely comprehensible away from the composer's close circle. Cas, though dating from the 1490s, prepared in Ferrara and containing no texts at all, contains ascriptions to obscure composers from the area around the Burgundian court; subsequent discussions will give reason increasingly to trust both the ascription and the musical readings of this manuscript.

But any judgment as to the authenticity of the Cas versions must ultimately be made from a musical standpoint. Do they show a significant improvement? Do they show an understanding of the aims of the original composition? Do they interfere with the essential fabric of the piece to such an extent that only the composer would have wanted to make the changes?

In addition, it is useful to apply a distinction between essential and inessential variants. The principles of the variorum editions presented here are to show up the important variant readings and not to confuse them with "palpable errors." In this context, "palpable errors" consist of rhythms that do not add up, notes placed one pitch wrong and similar features. Were it not so cumbersome, there would be an advantage also in distinguishing the essential from the inessential in the Variorum. Cadential figuration is the most obvious kind of inessential variant that can only be distinguished subjectively. But below that each case is ambivalent: some variants are more "essential" than others. The compiler of such a Variorum would be reliant on

subjective musical judgment. So only the errors that are hardly likely to be considered viable variants by any serious student of the subject are excluded from the *Variorum* and relegated to the commentary. With these qualifications in mind, it makes sense to examine the changes in Paracheve as though they were Morton's own revision. It assumes much; but the viewpoint makes the variants seem comprehensible.

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The change in the Contratenor at m.11-12 shows the kind of revision that makes simple musical sense if seen as a composer's revision. The deceptive cadence at m.11 leads the Contratenor down to D, from whence it will rise up through the range of an octave. Since the Discantus and Tenor will both fall stepwise, it is logical for the Contratenor to move upward stepwise from the F: the inserted B in m.12 clarifies the musical logic. The note is there also for a far more important musical reason: the beginning of m.12 is somewhat bare while the Tenor rests. The addition of the dotted rhythms eases the transition from the full rhythmic textures of the previous measures to the relative simplicity of m.12-16. But in the light of this, the dotted rhythm in the Contratenor at m.11 may have seemed too fussy, and one can see the delicate but distinctive change made by the new even note pattern in the Casanatense revision.

Perhaps something similar happened in m.24. The Mellon figure in the Contratenor is also fussy, not only in rhythm, but also in the way it strives almost desperately to fill the gap from D to D. It is a striking example of Standard Contratenor function at its most ineffectual. Further, it may have seemed that this was too soon after the mid-point

for so conclusive a cadence. The Cas version/^{is}perhaps not much better, but it is a gesture: it substitutes a momentary deceptive cadence and a much simpler transitional figure to bring the melody down to the low D needed for the next phrase. Rhythmically it still has the effect of placing a 6/8 measure across the barline and minimizing the accent at the cadence; but it surely does so more clearly in the revised version. Melodically it is far better since it moves decisively, whereas the previous version merely ran around in circles.

Clarification of the musical idea can also be seen at m.25. The change here is minimal compared with the others under discussion. But the substitution of a simpler harmony and a less ambiguous rhythmic scheme seems to show the mind of a maturer, clearer-thinking man.

Another change which perhaps shows the reviser's intentions is in m.30. Mellon gives Discantus and Tenor in strict unison imitation here, and it is possible that an earlier version included a Contratenor reading D B A which would fit with the upper parts.⁽²⁾ Its sound would have been unsatisfactory, but it is difficult otherwise to explain the improbable first-inversion chord on the last beat of the measure in Mellon. Imitation had been pursued literally in the longer but similar passage at m.11-16, but to pursue it in the same way here would entail returning also to the D A D A D Contratenor of the earlier section; for the other obvious solution of m.30 is bare and ugly, as can be heard from the transcription of Mellon. The decision to make the imitation less literal enables the Contratenor to fall from C to F, giving a firm chord on the last beat of the measure. This also avoids what are otherwise virtual parallel octaves between the Discantus and the Contratenor (m.30-31).

With that change it is inevitable that the return to F in the next measure should be delayed as long as possible, so that the revised rhythm in m.31 comes as a natural consequence. The new rhythm also has the advantage of providing a simple 6/8 pattern, one that is sufficiently strong in placing the mensural accent to allow the imitation at the distance of one beat to seem accentually matched: the Tenor reaches the high A on what is mensurally the accentual beat, and the Discantus reaches it on a different beat whose accentual character is provided by the new falling fifth in the Contratenor.

The desire for more 6/8 rhythms across the barline may also explain the change in the Contra at m.5-6. At the same time, the delay of the A in m.6 slightly offsets the otherwise dominating presence of the 6/8 rhythm within the measure in the top parts.

That such bare rhythmic schemes seemed wrong to the more mature Morton is implied by the change in m.26-27. It begins with the rectification of a most unsatisfactory interval of a fourth below the C in the Tenor at m.27: the upward resolution here might just be acceptable were it not that the Discantus is in the middle of a series of dissonances and resolutions against the Tenor. As it stands it clearly will not do. The Contra A must arrive on the beat. But the result is a sequence of six equal notes. So the dotted rhythm in m.26 is inserted to improve the situation.

The other variants are more difficult to explain logically. Whether the repeated notes in m.28-29 of the Discantus were transferred to the Contra for some simple reason, it is difficult to say. Equally, the altered melody in m.6-7 can be explained in many ways, though none seems

particularly convincing.⁽³⁾ Nevertheless the changes that can be explained all seem essential, seem to aid in clarifying the textures and rhythms of the song and are sufficiently bold to suggest the hand of the composer himself.

In the same way it seems likely that repeated hearing convinced somebody, perhaps Morton, that the identity of the Tenor in m.20 with that in m.1 was less than a good idea. A slight compression of the rhythmic ideas in m.20 would also close the slightly embarrassing gap before the entry of the Discantus in m.21. The only point of the full measure is to effect the slight pun by which the listener is left uncertain as to whether the piece is repeating or continuing. The new rhythm enables the return without the loss of any metrical space, and it results in an acceleration of the ideas ushering in the second part. It is fervently to be hoped that this change is the result of second thoughts on the part of the composer. The excision of a beat because it is no longer necessary is the kind of move one would expect from the composer of Cousine; and indeed the presence of such a revision in Paracheve may well be the ultimate justification for the kinds of analysis applied to Cousine in chapter 3. The bulk of the changes support the conclusion that a responsible edition must present both versions but give strong preference to that in Cas since it apparently represents the composer's last thoughts on the piece, not those of an adaptor.

.....

Examples of less essential variants can be seen in the Variorum editions of some of the other Morton songs. In Le souvenir, for instance, none of the changes seems essential: the various held notes in m.4-6 are

clearly alternatives about which somebody had given a little thought, but it would be pointless to make any heavy weather of the differences. The other variants are scattered around the manuscripts one at a time; none of the sources is sufficiently radical in its variants to lay claim to being a different version.

At the other end of the scale, Que pourroit is transformed in the Glogauer Liederbuch. Along with new text come florid embellishments in the Discantus and various other small changes in the lower parts. But the musical fabric is unmolested: this is almost certainly the work of another hand. So the one incontrovertible change in the musical logic, that at m.10, seems unrelated and, for the present purposes, inessential. Curiously, with Que pourroit each of the other sources has one substantial variant: Parma in the Discantus at m.4 and Col in the Tenor at m.10. If any two of these were to appear in the same source, this would be grounds for suspecting a revision of the piece. But with the scattered changes we have, it is more reasonable to think of isolated tinkering by divers hands.

Changes in Cousine and N'aray je jamais have been mentioned in their respective chapters. Here it is sufficient to point out that Cousine might also qualify as an example of a song with the composer's revisions, and the two versions are accordingly included in the edition. N'aray je jamais, on the other hand, has clearly been played around with interminably by all kinds of musicians. With fourteen sources it shows every level of alteration, and is therefore also a solemn warning to anybody wishing to draw conclusions from a piece that survives in only two manuscripts.

.....

The texting in Paracheve presents problems that lead again to the question of essential and inessential changes. A glance at the edition shows that the words (about which more will be said in the next chapter) do not fit easily, certainly not with the ease encountered in most of the songs discussed so far. One stanza is underlaid to the music in Mellon; the remainder is taken from a poetry treatise of the early sixteenth-century, Pierre Le Fevre's Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique (1521). In Cas, however, the piece has no text, but merely the words "La perontina." No continuation is known, but the words may reveal more about the background of the song than meets the eye.

The first possible reason for the title is that suggested by Howard Mayer Brown who cautiously asserted that "The Tenor of Robert Morton's "La Perontina" may paraphrase the monophonic melody (of "A vous point veu la Perronnelle")."⁽⁴⁾ It is to be expected that a popular French song with such a title would be referred to casually as "La Peronelle," and such a French word would easily undergo permutation to the Italianized form "La Perontina." Presumably the kind of paraphrase Brown saw in the Tenor is as shown in ex. 1.⁽⁵⁾

This diagram, when spelled out, shows both the extraordinary insight and the flaws of Brown's thesis. The simple monophonic song cadences on the same notes as the Tenor of Morton's piece. Further, the first and second halves of the Tenor begin identically in Morton's song and in the monophonic song. Such a repeat is practically unexampled in the polyphonic song tradition, though more commonly found in monophonic songs. Still, when so much has been said, the final line of the song can only

Ex. 1

Tenor of Paracheve from Mellon

Avez point veu (Paris f.fr.12744 f 27v)

A-vez point veu la Per-ron-nel-le

Que les gen-dar-mes ont a-me-née ?

Ilz ont a - bi - llee comme ung pai-ge

C'est pour pas-ser le Dau-phi - né.

be connected with the monophonic piece by a severe stretch of the imagination, and one is tempted to wonder whether the Morton Tenor might not equally be a parody of some other monophonic song, if it is a parody at all. The whole question of parody and borrowing in the fifteenth-century song repertory is of the manner of quicksilver: what looks like a clear citation today may well be invisible tomorrow. That may explain the cautious formulation with which Brown phrased his statement.

A second possibility is that the Italian title is the incipit of a full Italian text, either the original text for the song or a contrafact substituted for the less comprehensible original. This idea incorrectly implies that the French language was not generally understood in the courts of Italy in the fifteenth century. In Italy, as in England, French was the courtly language, spoken more widely than any but Latin. Most of the manuscripts of French polyphonic song between 1380 and 1490 were written on Italian or German soil, the best being from Italy: in them the texts are occasionally spelt strangely, but there is absolutely no evidence for lack of comprehension of them among the educated. The suggestion of an Italian secular contrafact for a French song of the fifteenth century should be viewed with the deepest suspicion.

The reverse possibility, that the original text was Italian and the French an afterthought, is more feasible. Italian was evidently not commonly understood in the North and it is possible that the need for Morton to produce more music performable in the courts of the low countries may have prompted him, or somebody, to substitute a French poem. But, since the Mellon manuscript containing the French text was itself written on Italian soil and contains songs in Italian, English, Latin and Spanish

as well as in French, the evidence suggests that if the Italian text had been the original one, the Mellon scribe would very probably have used it. In any case, glib though the observation may seem, "La Perontina" is not a characteristic opening for an Italian courtly poem. As Brown implies in his remark, it is more like the beginning, or even the title, of some song in the folk idiom; and there is nothing in Morton's music to suggest that we are dealing with that tradition, unless it be the strange phenomenon observed by Brown. I do not believe that "La Perontina" is intended as the incipit of a longer poem whose text was sung to the music of Morton's song.

More probable is a theory based on the similarity of the title "La Perontina" to so many of the titles that were to be given over the next hundred years and more to instrumental pieces. This tradition stretches right back. A fourteenth-century dance tune in the British Library, add. 29987 is entitled "La Manfredina." Fifteenth-century bassadanza music appears with titles such as "La ingrata," "La giloxia" and "La fia guilmin."⁽⁶⁾ So, also, it is about at the time of the Morton title "La Perontina" that we begin to find pieces about which we can be fairly certain that they are instrumental fantasies: "La Martinella" (by Johannes Martini), "La Bernadina" (by Josquin) and so on. The implication of the title "La Perontina" is that the scribe, at least, thought of Morton's song as an instrumental piece; and indeed it has several times convincingly been presented as such on phonograph records.

Casatense is apparently the first of a number of Italian manuscripts consistently omitting the poetic texts of the songs they contain. Previously all manuscripts had attempted to transmit the

poems for at least some of the songs. Only in cases of complete confusion did scribes omit text. But now it seems that texts were beginning to be omitted by preference. The layout of Cas makes it clear that the scribe never intended to add poetic texts. It is of course possible to see this as happening at a time when poetry collections were becoming more readily available and were perhaps even printed (though no such printed collection before the Jardin de plaisance of 1501 survives) and that the singer would either know the poem or be able to locate it easily in one such poetry anthology.⁽⁷⁾ But it seems considerably more likely that the untexted music manuscripts were prepared for consumers who wished to play the music on an instrumental ensemble without voice.⁽⁸⁾ After all, the text of the Mass was still well known but was usually present in manuscripts of sacred polyphony.

If Casanatense was indeed prepared for instrumental performance it is clear that the word "incipit" used to describe the words under the beginning of each part is misleading. Its implication is of something "beginning" which must therefore logically have a continuation. But the tag may not be this. In La Martinella and La Bernadina, for instance, it is, so far as we can tell, merely a title. In "Ile fantasies de Joskin" it is a description and presumably an ascription. In fact, it is likely that "La Martinella" is also some kind of an ascription, for the piece is ascribed to Johannes Martini in several sources. Another problem with the word "incipit" is that, as with Brown's suggestion concerning "Avez point veu la Perronelle," the name was often taken from the body of the song, particularly in the sixteenth century. "Incipit" is therefore a misleading word (and potentially ungrammatical); but it is retained in this dissertation because it is now standard terminology and any

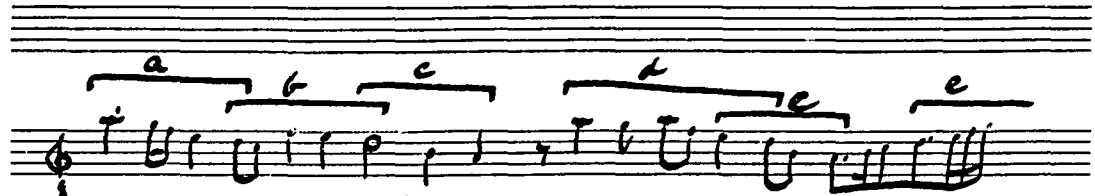
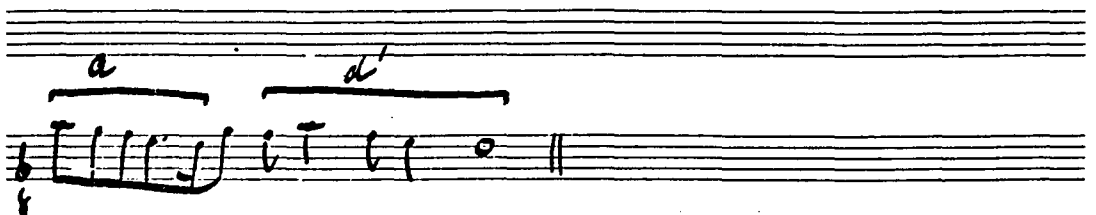
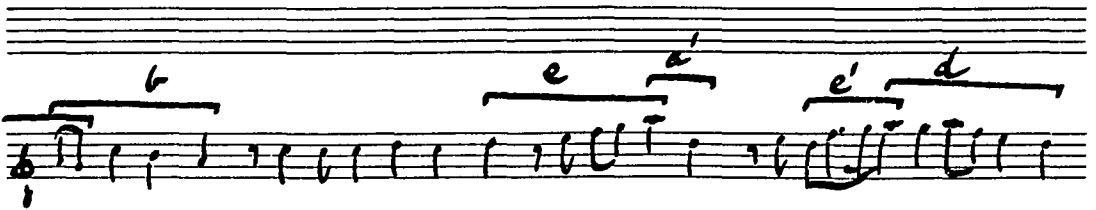
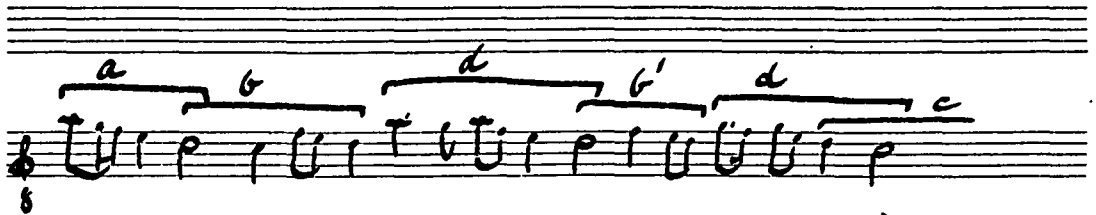
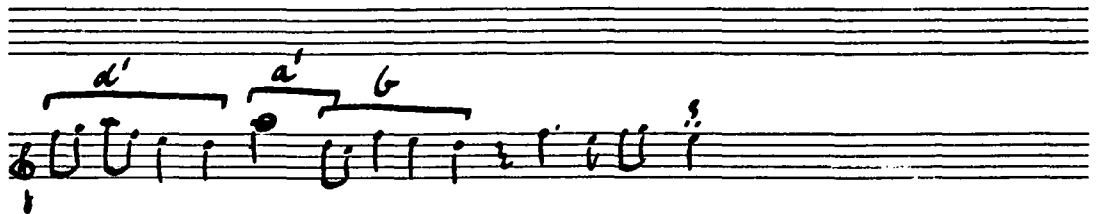
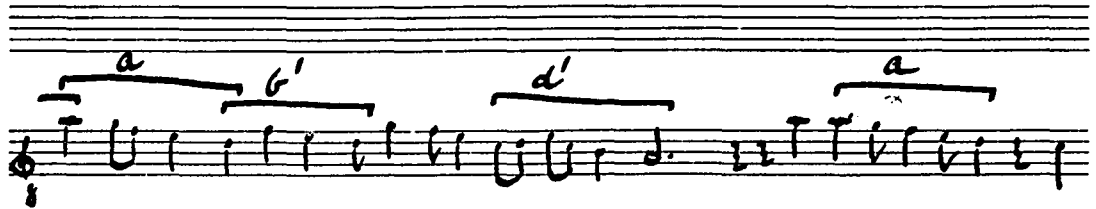
linguistically precise alternative (such as the possible but ungainly "identification tag") is cumbersome. The reader is merely asked to remain aware of the range of possibilities it may cover. Thus "La Perontina" is probably some kind of title. But where did it come from?

The most likely answer is that it was a reading error.

"Perontina" and "Paracheve" have the same number of letters, the same number of ascending strokes, and the letters "P" and "r" in the same places. The vowels "e", "o" and "a" are all easily confused if written in a cursive hand. For the penultimate letter, the confusion between "v" and "n" is a mistake made by everybody who has spent any time reading early scripts. In the middle of the word, the change of the letter "h" to "ti" is also a common mistake. It is surely easier to assume a series of such mistakes than to seek some more sophisticated reason for the title? Once the change had been made, even if somebody had spotted the error, it is easy to imagine the title sticking, for it is certainly pretty. And the addition of a definite article at the beginning would be standard for a certain type of instrumental piece.

Here then is a substantial change, but an entirely inessential one. It should not be presented too prominently in any edition of the music. If the explanation is acceptable, the appearance of the song with the title "La Perontina" in the Italian manuscript requires no further comment except the observation that the song is particularly suitable as an instrumental ensemble piece. Indeed, like several of Morton's songs, it may seem in some ways more suitable for such purposes than for the heavy-duty requirements set up by the addition of a Rondeau text, for it shows an extreme economy of melodic material. Ex. 2 demonstrates how

Ex. 2

Tenor of Paracheve from Cas

the Tenor part is made up of just a few relatively insignificant snatches of material.

Morton's songs come from a highly sophisticated court atmosphere, indeed from a cultural hothouse, and there is every reason to believe that the audiences for which he wrote were of the utmost sensitivity. Perhaps they were duly appreciative of the small delicate gestures the composer made in order to distinguish the two halves of the piece. The first half is characterized most strongly by the moments at which the Tenor and Discantus cross and intertwine in unison imitation while the Contra rocks negligently between A and D; contrasted with these is the moment at an equivalent point in the second half where the three parts stand almost still for a whole perfection, before embarking on a slightly similar but much less exaggerated passage of rocking and intertwining which will lead eventually to the high G in the Discantus which marks the melodic peak of the song. Perhaps, too, his audiences were capable of appreciating the thinning of the texture that marked that moment in the first half, just as they were able to appreciate the coming together of the three parts at the point in the second half into a simple root-position triad in close position. The device of suddenly arresting an intricate polyphonic texture with the simplest of chords has often been exploited by the best (and many not so good) composers of all ages, and it rarely fails. In Morton's case it provides a perfectly judged moment of repose in a slightly restless piece. It makes a point. But is it enough to save the piece from the effects of over-concentration of material? Perhaps for Morton's audiences, for the most sophisticated listeners; but the less sensitive Ferrarese clientèle for which the

Casnatense manuscript was prepared were probably less attuned to the small details that held the form of the song together. Thus the song was used as an instrumental piece in which the economy of material which had previously been the most risky and dangerous factor in the conception became its most obvious quality, and the one that would perhaps have appealed to the Italian court rather more than the French: wit and epigram.

Footnotes

1. Actually Marix, in her edition of the piece, did just this. Knowing only the Casanatense source she silently emended the middle section to produce triple meter throughout. Yet the very improbability of her reconstruction when compared with the Mellon version testifies strongly to the authenticity of the latter.
2. For the Variorum edition it seemed better to treat the D at 30 ii 3 in Mellon as an error; but, as suggested here, it may be a hint of yet another earlier version of the song.
3. Might it be merely an attempt to provide parallels in the Discantus between m.6-7 and m.9-10?
4. Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater (1963), "Catalogue of Theatrical Chansons," no. 34.
5. The Tenor of Paracheve used in the example is that in Mellon which supports Brown's case most strongly. Brown was probably using the Marix edition which is an incorrect transcription from Cas. The monophonic song is in Paris, f.fr. 12744, f 27v. A fuller and perhaps slightly later version of the text is printed in Jeffery, Chanson Verse (1971), p.144-145.
6. From the dance treatise of Domenico, Paris, f.it. 972.
7. The most persuasive explanation of this viewpoint is in Helen Hewitt's preface to her edition of Petrucci's Harmonice Musices Odhecaton (1942). It probably goes without saying that my own opinion is strongly opposed to hers. I feel that the sources without any text at all were prepared for instrumental performance by a circle of musicians who did not appreciate the full quality of these songs

but were satisfied to hear them in this incomplete form. Since this idea proceeds more or less inevitably from my views on the songs as expressed in this dissertation, I do not stop to labor it in detail here.

8. See Martini, Secular Pieces, ed. Evans (1975), p.xii-xiii for an outline of some arguments that suggest the pieces in Cas might have been intended for instrumental ensemble performance.

Paracheve ton entreprise

Rondeau sixain

Cas f 92v-93 "Morton"; parts have only the incipit "La perontina"

Mel f 54v-55 earlier version; Discantus texted with one stanza of the
poem Paracheve ton entreprise

Previous Edition:

ed. Marix, Les musiciens (1937), p. 97-8 (from Cas)

Additional text sources:

Jardin (c. 1501 and later eds.), f 68 (no.67) "Rondeau excellent pour
personne fortunee"

Fabri (1521 and later eds.), f 24v-25 "Exemple de rondeau clos et ouvert"
ed. in Héron, vol. 2 (1890), p. 65-66

Edition:

1. Formal edition (p.144-5). Music base: Cas; Text base: Jardin adapted
2. Variorum based on earlier version (p.168-9) Base: Mellon

Source	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Part-names	Notes
Cas	0 0 0	§ § -	La perontina	-	"Morton"
			La perontina	Tenor	
			La perontina	Bassus	
Mel	0 0 -	§ § -	t i i	-	One stanza of text
				Tenor	
				Contra	

Error not incorporated into the Variorum: 30 iii 3: D for E in Mel

Emendation of Formal edition: 25 i 4-5: gA changed to sqB sqA as in Mel

Text

Base: Jardin with lines 7-9 transferred to the end.

Paracheve ton entreprise
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise,
 Fortune adverse
 Et tout en ung cop me traverse,
 Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.

Se je n'ay dueil assez, advise
 En me donnant telle devise
 Qui me renverse.
 Paracheve ton entreprise
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise,
 Fortune adverse.

A toy resister je n'avise:
 Comble moy du tout à ta guise
 A la reverse
 Du hault embas à la renverse
 Tu ne seras par moy reprise,
 Dame perverse.

Paracheve ton entreprise
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise,
 Fortune adverse,
 Et tout en ung cop me traverse,
 Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.

Emendations: 1.1: "entreprinse" as "entreprise" following Fabri/
11.7-9 from 11.13-15/11.13-15 from 11.16-18/11.16-18 from 11.7-9

Major variants in Fabri: 1.2: "dessus" as "contre"/1.4: "Et tout en ung"
as "De ton dard à"/11.7-9 as follows:

Puis que tu es de mal aprise,

Ne laisse point de moy ta prise;

Tost me renverse.

1.14: "Comble" as "Chouille"/1.15: "Verse moy converse"/1.16: "Espand
ton venin et le verse"/1.17: "Sur moy; ja n'en seras reprise"

Variorum

Par a che ve ton emprise que

Tenor Paracheve ton emprise

Contra Paracheve ton emprise.

tu as contre moy enpri se For

tune ad ver

3.

se Et tout a un coup me reverse

20 25

bon. an.

Detailed description: This system contains the first two staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'se Et tout a un coup me reverse'. It features a fermata over the first measure and a '20' above the second measure. The second measure has 'bon.' above it, and the third has 'an.' above it. A '25' is above the final measure. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef, starting with a piano (p) dynamic and a first fingering [1] in the first measure.

Que mieulx morir que vivre prise fan

30

(Dinkdon)

Detailed description: This system contains the third and fourth staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'Que mieulx morir que vivre prise fan'. It features a fermata over the first measure and a '30' above the fourth measure. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef, with a first fingering [1] in the first measure and '(Dinkdon)' written below the fourth measure.

t est ad ver se

35

Detailed description: This system contains the fifth and sixth staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 't est ad ver se'. It features a fermata over the first measure and a '35' above the second measure. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef, with a first fingering [1] in the first measure.

Chapter six

Mon bien ma joyeux (sic): finding a satisfactory verbal text

Alle littel childer syng
Prayses to our yonge Kyng
Some syng sherpe and some syng flat
Alma Mater Exeat.

Alle engels in ye skie
Maken loude melodie
With sackbut, organ, pipe and drum
Ad Terrorem Omnium.

Ye povre beastes in ye stalle,
Alack, they cannot syng at alle
Ne cock ne henne of either sexe
De Minimis Non Curat Lex.

Osbert Lancaster, Drayneflete Revealed (1949)



1.4.7. Mon bien ay - me, ma joy - e et
 3. Ne cui - dez point que ja - mais je
 5. Si vous es-tes en au - cu - ne des -

Tenor 1.4.7. Mon bien ay - me, ma joy -
 3. Ne cui - dez point que ja -
 5. Si vous es-tes en au - cu -

Contra

ma ri - ches - se, Mon seul de - sir, ma
 vous - lais - se, Car sur ma foy de
 - tres - se Je vous sup - ply que

et ma ri - ches - se, Mon seul de - sir,
 mais je vous lais - se, Car sur ma foy
 ne des - tres - se Je vous sup - ply

par - fai - cte li -
 pen - ser je ne
 ne - don - nez ra -

ma par - fai - cte li -
 de pen - ser je ne
 que me don - nez ra -

es - se, Tout mon con - fort et
 ces - se En vostre a - mour, vous
 dres - se, Af - fin que sai - che en

es - se, Tout mon con - fort
 ces - se En vostre a - mour,
 dres - se, Af - fin que sai - che

tout le quoy, et vous en
 quant con - quant
 que ay gnois - et
 de sez com -
 bien, 2.8. J'ay bien, bien, 6. Souf- bien, bien, bien

vos - tre frez de
 coeur, mal,
 et vous car peu
 a j'en
 2.8. J'ay 6. Souf -
 vos - tre frez de
 coeur, et vous mal, car peu
 a - j'en

vez le scay ou
 myen rien,
 Qui loy - au - Donc vis en
 ment s'en - deul et
 vez le scay ou myen rien
 Qui loy - au - ment s'en -
 Donc vis en deul et

tre - en
 fi - rent pro - mes - tres-grant tris - tes - se. se.
 tre - fi - en tres - rent pro - mes - grant tris - tes - se. se.

No poetic text survives in the single remaining source of Morton's Mon bien ma joyeux. In the preceding chapter doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of using the word "incipit" to describe the identification tags at the beginnings of song parts; here is an upsetting case in point. Two parts have the incipit "Mon bien ma joyeux" which is grammatically impossible. The third part has the incipit "Morton bien." This may have been a private joke or perhaps some way of confirming the ascription at the head of the page.⁽¹⁾ However it may be a slip. If so, the slip may also have been present in the copy the scribe had in front of him, in which case it is also possible that what had been a slip on the part of the previous scribe was now construed as an ascription. Such reflections lead to doubt as to the authorship of the piece; but these matters will be taken up fully in the second part of this dissertation. Here is the place to consider ways of identifying and verifying the correct text of the song in what are obviously adverse circumstances.

While poetry manuscripts are relatively common, very few of them contain poems that were actually set to surviving music, and in most of these we are dealing with a single isolated poem among a whole collection: Ockeghem's Fors seulement and Dufay's Le serviteur hault guerdonné are examples of song texts that appear in many poetry manuscripts. But there are only four sources containing any substantial number of poems set to music in the fifteenth century. These are the manuscript of Cardinal de Rohan, the Vérard print Le Jardin de Plaisance, the British Library manuscript, Lansdowne 380, and the Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. f.fr.1719.

It is the concentration of song poetry in these collections that encourages the distinction between song poetry and literary poetry. This should not be interpreted as implying any value judgment, for there is none: in fact external and internal differences between song poetry and literary poetry are difficult to find. Yet Charles d'Orléans, in his own manuscript of his poetry, was careful to distinguish between Chansons and Rondeaux though the two categories seem both formally and poetically identical.⁽²⁾ The only reasonable explanation for the grouping of song poetry separately in the four sources mentioned in the preceding paragraph is that most of the poems must have been conceived specifically for a musical setting: they were presumably therefore the work of the composer himself or of a close associate.⁽³⁾ The more recent composer's habit of leafing through volumes of lyric poetry in search of something that strikes his fancy for a musical rendering seems quite foreign to the procedure of the medieval musician who apparently was often his own poet. We know this to be the case for the troubadour and trouvère generations, for Guillaume de Machaut and for Oswald von Wolkenstein: the norm was therefore established and there is little to suggest any substantial change until the spate of Serafino and Petrarch settings in the early sixteenth century. The move towards setting another poet to music may well have begun in fifteenth-century Italy when poems by Lionardo Giustiniani and Petrarch were apparently sung by improvvisatori; but that seems to have been a specific tradition and had little to do with the courtly song repertoires of the north.

In any case, the tendency to separate song poetry from literary poetry in the surviving sources gives some guidance in the search for the correct texts of songs. In the Rohan manuscript, for instance, there is probably still much song material waiting to be identified. It contains the poem En triumpant de cruel dueil which appears with a corrupted opening and no second or third stanzas in the Porto song manuscript with an ascription to Dufay.⁽⁴⁾ Another Dufay song is therefore completed. Rohan also contains the poem Mon seul plaisir, as set by Bedyngham, with an alternative first line, Ma seulle plaisant: in this form it can easily be traced back to Charles d'Orléans and to the English version of the same poem in the British Library manuscript Harley 682.⁽⁵⁾

If the sources and their characteristics are one kind of guide towards the correct verbal text, form is another. The poem underlaid to Morton's Paracheve ton entreprise in Mellon is only one stanza long, and the manuscript contains no further lines. The form of the music is evidently that of a Rondeau. It is continuous with the exception of a subsidiary mid-point cadence; and it has neither the change of pace that characterizes the Virelai nor the rhyming cadences that characterize the Ballade. If it is a Rondeau with a six-line stanza, the poem must be completed from elsewhere. As it happens, the two sources of complete Rondeaux with this first stanza are rather different in their later stanzas. The earlier of the two, the Jardin de Plaisance, is already thirty years later than the probable composition date of the song; and in spite of being another twenty years earlier than the other text source,

and of being the kind of source where one would expect to find a song text, it is surely corrupt, for the rhyme scheme it presents is quite irregular.

Paracheve ton entreprinse
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise
 Fortune adverse,
 Et tout en ung cop me traverse
 5 Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.

Du hault embas a la renverse
 Tu ne seras par moy reprise,
 Dame perverse;
 10 Paracheve ton [entreprinse
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise
 Fortune adverse.]

Se je n'ay dueil assez, advise
 En me donnant telle devise
 15 Qui me renverse
 A toy resister je n'avise:
 Comble moy du tout à ta guise
 A la reverse.

Paracheve ton [entreprinse
 20 Que tu as dessus nous emprise
 Fortune adverse,
 Et tou en ung cop me traverse
 Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.]

The rhyme scheme established in the first stanza is a a b / b a b. But the second stanza begins b a b, that is, like the second half of the stanza, not the first. The third stanza runs a a b / a a b - with two rhyme schemes for the first half of a stanza. This formal scheme cannot be correct for a Rondeau.

Although published in 1521, Pierre Fabri's Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique presents the poem at least in a formally acceptable condition. The rhyme scheme is regular.

Paracheve ton entreprise
 Que tu as contre moy emprise,
 Fortune adverse;
 De ton dard a coup me traverse,
 5 Car mieux mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.

Puis que tu es de mal aprise,
 Ne laisse point de moy ta prise.
 Tost me renverse.
 10 Paracheve [ton entreprise]
 Que tu as [contre moy emprise,]
 Fortune [adverse]

A toy resister ie n'advise.
 Chouille moy du tout a ta guise;
 15 Vers moy converse;
 Espand ton venin et le verse
 Sur moy; ia n'en seras reprise,
 Dame perverse.

Paracheve [ton entreprise
 20 Que tu as contre moy emprise,
 Fortune adverse;
 De ton dard a coup me traverse,
 Car mieux mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.]

There is another case in the works of Morton where the Jardin text goes wrong after the first stanza: N'aray je jamais. In that case the Jardin source hardly merits a second glance, because there are so many reliable sources for the poem in musical manuscripts. But these two examples serve as a reminder that the Jardin is often unreliable in transmission, and must always be treated with extreme caution. In the case of Paracheve there are only two text sources and both are late; but with the two it is possible to try a hypothetical reconstruction which explains some of the corruptions in the Jardin text. If the lines in Jardin got jumbled at some stage in the transmission - and they must have been, since the rhyme scheme is clearly incorrect as it stand - an attempt to untangle them results in a text that begins to reconcile the differences between the two sources:

	Paracheve ton entreprise	Jard: entreprinse
	Que tu as dessus nous emprise,	
	Fortune adverse,	
	Et tout en ung cop me traverse,	
5	Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,	
	Tant m'es diverse.	
	Se je n'ay dueil assez, advise	Jard: 1.13
	En me donnant telle devise	Jard: 1.14
	Qui me renverse	Jard: 1.15
10	Paracheve ton entreprise	
	Que tu as dessus nous emprise,	
	Fortune adverse.	
	A toy resister ne n'avise:	Jard: 1.16
	Comble moy du tout a ta guise	Jard: 1.17
15	A la reverse	Jard: 1.18

Du hault embas a la renverse	Jard: 1.7
Tu ne seras par moy reprise	Jard: 1.8
Dame perverse.	Jard: 1.9

20 Paracheve ton entreprise
 Que tu as dessus nous emprise,
 Fortune adverse,
 Et tout en ung cop me traverse,
 Car mieulx mourir que vivre prise,
 Tant m'es diverse.

The only section of this reconstruction which is entirely different from Fabri is lines 7-9. And it may well be that the Jardin version here is preferable to the comparatively bland reading in Fabri.

Fabri cites the poem as an example of "Rondeau clos et ouvert," with reference to how the refrain lines are integrated into the whole poem. Yet this important theoretical characteristic of the Rondeau seems not to be present in the poem Fabri presents. A good example of "ouvert" can be seen in Morton's Le souvenir:

Le souvenir de vous me tue
 Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy;
 Car je vous jure, sur ma foy,
 Que sans vous ma joie est perdue.

Quant je vous voy parmi la rue
 Je plains en disant à par moy:
 "Le souvenir de vous me tue
 Mon seul bien, puisque ne vous voy,"
 etc.

The second stanza prepares for the return of the opening lines and changes its meaning by placing it in oratio recta. The same can be achieved in a more subtle way by the positioning of the verb. If the

first half of stanza 2 has no main verb it can all become a clause, subordinate to the main verb in the subsequent refrain. Another Morton example shows how this form of "ouvert" works:

Que pourroit plus faire une dame
 Que de mettre son los, sa fame,
 Es mains d'ung loial serviteur
 En habandonnant corps et cueur
 Pour le guerdonner sans diffame?

S'elle le cherist plus qu'autre ame
 Et qu'en ce monde le reclame
 Pour sa fortune et pour son eur,
 Que pourroit plus faire une dame
 Que de mettre son los, sa fame,
 Es mains d'ung loial serviteur?
 etc.

But the "ouvert" Rondeau is not nearly so common in the song poetry of the fifteenth century as its relatively heavy representation in the works of Morton might suggest. It is as though the poets of the time were for the most part less interested in taking full advantage of the syntactical possibilities of the form than in carefully balancing the phrases and lines that would fill the form. Close syntactic structure, so much a characteristic of more recent lyric poetry, is not an important factor for most fifteenth-century poets, it would seem. This may explain why it is that Fabri's example of a rondeau with one ending "ouvert" is not quite as convincing as it might be. However, the reconstruction of the Jardin version along the formal lines of Fabri does result in an "ouvert" at line 10 - after the three lines which are entirely different from Fabri.

It is quite possible that Fabri's printers bungled the poem. He was dead by the time his book was first published in 1521; and his career as a poet had been at its peak over thirty years earlier, when he wrote an epitaph for Louis XI and when he was judge and Prince of the Puy de la conception de Notre-Dame at Rouen. There are many years and gaps of transmission between the time when the successful poet may have heard the poem and recognized it as having an "ouvert" and when his insight was printed along with the poem in a version which did not show that characteristic.

Returning to the only version of the poem to appear with the music, the single stanza in Mellon: it is inaccurate in at least two places. The third and sixth lines must surely not end with the same word having the same meaning. Also the construction in line 5, "que ... que" makes little sense and is corrected in both the later printed sources. Mellon agrees with Fabri in what must surely be the correct reading of the second line: "contre moy emprise," rather than "contre nous emprise." On the other hand, in line 4 it agrees more with Jardin than with Fabri. With all due reservations, then, the emended Jardin text has been used for the edition here.

A search for the full poem of Mon bien ma joyeux leads to a rather different kind of compromise. Since the title as it stands in Pix cannot be correct, the variety of openings under which we must look for possible candidates becomes correspondingly larger. Should we emend to "Mon bien ma joyeuse..." or may we be more cavalier in emendation? Almost anything beginning with the words "Mon bien" and subsequently containing some reference to "joye" must be taken into consideration.

Several can be ruled out immediately. The first possible source in which to look for such a poem, the Rohan manuscript, does contain two Rondeaux beginning "Mon bien." No. 94 begins "Mon bien, mon mal, ma joye, ma tristesse." But although the line contains all the necessary words and is a full ten syllables long, the stanzas have only four lines whereas the music divides into five lines, cadencing at m.6, 13, 19, 25 and 30. So convincing are these five equally spaced cadences that this Rohan poem with four lines cannot be correct for the music.

Another poem in Rohan begins "Mon bien, mon amy." However it contains no mention of any "joye;" it also has a four-line stanza, and the lines are only five syllables long, which must be too short for the long florid lines of Morton's song. The poem is worth mentioning here because it raises another consideration. The commentators to the edition of the Jardin de Plaisance state incorrectly that the whole first stanza of this poem appears in both sources, Jardin and Rohan, and that the poem continues differently thereafter. In fact the two sources share only the first line. This is an extremely common situation in the fifteenth century, the age of the poetic Puy. In the circle around Charles d'Orléans, for example, there are eleven different Rondeaux and a Ballade beginning with the line "En la foret de Longue Attente," and eleven different Ballades open with "Je meurs de soif aupres de la fontaine." In practical terms this means that even a whole line of identity between a poetic source and a musical source is not sufficient to demonstrate the identity of the piece.

Further search for Morton's poem leads to two possible candidates in Rondeau cinquain form:-one in the Jardin de Plaisance, beginning

"Mon bien m'amour ma joye et mon desir," and a poem in the Oxford manuscript, Taylor Institution, MS.8^oF3, beginning "Mon bien aymé ma joye et ma richness."

The theoretical choice between these two is relatively easy. Jardin contains many song texts, as we have already seen. The Oxford manuscript is later, and its nature is aptly described by the title of Kathleen Chesney's edition of the manuscript: More Poèmes de Transition. She thereby implies a close connection with the manuscripts Lille 402 and Dresden Ms. Jean du Saxe, edited by Marcel Françon as Poèmes de Transition. The latter volume contains a poem beginning "C'est temps perdu" which continues differently from the text of the song variously ascribed to Morton and Caron. The Oxford manuscript contains several poems that start like fifteenth century songs, but only one that continues the same. Indeed it even contains another Rondeau cinquain beginning "Mon bien aymé, pour vostre grace avoir." It therefore seems most probable that the Taylorian poem is not the actual poem set by Morton.

The Jardin text is theoretically a strong candidate, but is not entirely practical because it shows signs of corruption. Lines one and two each end with the word "desir" - something scarcely likely to be part of the original poem. Moreover the second stanza has a line missing. Obviously it would be possible to graft on a new line from elsewhere or even to reconstruct one. But whereas in the case of Paracheve it was possible to reconstruct a version from Jardin without actually inventing anything, now the case is not so simple. It is surely better to take a poem that survives complete and apparently correct, particularly if its form is evidently that of the lost original.

To use the Taylorian poem rather than that in Jardin seems to make sense. Neither of them exactly matches the text incipit in the music, which must be corrupt: either of them could be correct. Against the Taylorian poem is the consideration that the manuscript contains otherwise only one known song text of the fifteenth century. In its favor is its containing several poems that begin exactly as known song texts and continue with exactly the same form. So even if this poem is probably not the one set by Morton, it may well be in the same form: and the form fits the music perfectly. This version has accordingly been used for the edition.

.....


Setting these words to the music is a complicated process because one of the dominating features of the song is that the Discantus and the Tenor have the same range. The differences are minimal: the highest note of the piece appears only in the Discantus (G in m.16-17), and the lowest fifth of the range is more systematically exploited by the Tenor. Otherwise the two parts take almost equal turns on top. Even at cadences the Tenor is not always the lower of the two; at m.9 and 12 the Discantus behaves as if it were the Tenor within the normal cadential structure described in chapter 2. Although the Tenor can be identified as such by analysis, it does not state its claims at all clearly: it is the lower part for the other four main cadences, but on the last of these the Discantus falls down to the final by step, as the Tenor would normally do, whereas the Tenor here takes the final suspension on to the seventh degree of the scale.

Ex. 1 shows the closeness of style between the two parts. All the

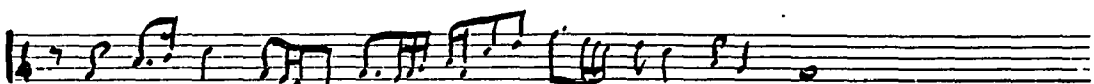

Ex. 1

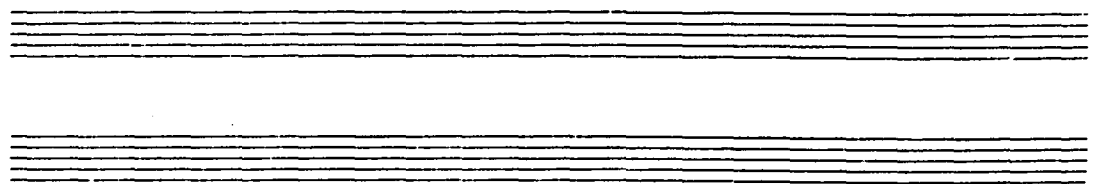
Disc. 
 Ten. 



lines begin with unison imitation; and it is more than mere imitation, for it is sufficiently exact to be termed canon.⁽⁶⁾ And as with another song from the Burgundian court with canonic imitation as its main structural feature, Vostre allee by Binchois, the closeness of style between the parts presses more than ever the question of whether the work is best performed as a solo song or with several of the parts texted. The similarity of the parts in this Morton song is closely bound up with his evident attempt to compose a work with the minimum of melodic material: in particular the triadic figure that opens the upper parts seems to lie at the root of practically everything that happens in the piece. But this observation does not diminish the importance or the difficulty of the main question.

Perhaps the identity of content and similar importance of the two parts is most easily approached by comparison with an Ockeghem song in which a superficial similarity led several fifteenth-century scribes and many modern editors to confuse the Tenor and the Discantus. His Fors seulement l'attente que je meure has not yet appeared in an edition that underlays the text correctly. Reese observed that the Wolfenbüttel manuscript underlays the text to the wrong part; the same happens in Dijon. The accompanying transcription is intended to show how the Discantus and the Tenor are in fact rather carefully defined, how the Discantus is articulated with an extraordinary clarity and how the Tenor, in spite of so many similarities, does not match the words with the same care as the Discantus (ex. 2). Further, it seems that the only way in which the Tenor is at all matched to the Discantus is in its melodic movement at those points where it is in imitation of the Discantus.

15

Pour- ce que suis de vous per - dre bien seu -
Quant de par vous n'ay riens qui me de - meu -

#

re.
re.

Otherwise it moves as an accompanying part, with scarcely any more claim to be a setting of the words than the Contratenor. To claim that the Tenor part was texted and sung is of course "authentic," in the sense that the part is texted in at least two fifteenth-century manuscripts, and indeed in two that are considered by many to be among the most "authentic" manuscripts of the time; but to do so would be to suggest that the careful spacing of the lines in the Discantus part and the almost entirely syllabic declamation of the Discantus are accidental or at best peripheral. To suggest this is to relegate the art of Ockeghem's songs to a status of primitive pre-Renaissance curiosity. To reject it, as we must, and to suggest that these features are a real part of Ockeghem's art is to contradict the sources, even the best of them. But again, there is a distinct need to press the claims of intelligence in dealing with the sources and to strive for an ideal version of each work. There need be no talk of the composer's true intention, since the documentable alternative modes of performance blessed by composers through the sixteenth century and even beyond make any assertions as to the one correct instrumentation suspect. Yet there is usually a solution more intelligent and perceptive in ideal circumstances than all others: it is for this we strive; and it is generally revealed by a close study of the music, not a blind following of the sources.

For the truth of the situation in Ockeghem's song is far clearer than in the Morton piece. In Ockeghem the Tenor has no articulation point after the end of the first musical line except at m.20. In Morton the situation is different: each line is articulated as clearly in the Tenor as in the Discantus. So also the movement of the Tenor becomes

subsidiary in Ockeghem the moment the Discantus enters: at m.6 it has a line that would be meaningless and shapeless without the Discantus above. In Morton, on the other hand, there is scarcely anything in the Tenor that could not equally well be there without the Discantus: only with the formulaic cadential measures is there evidence that another voice is more important in the composer's mind.

This is not to suggest qualitative comparisons between the two songs but to underline their differences, to distinguish between a song with two apparently equal parts and one whose parts are almost identical in function. In the case of Morton it would seem that if one part was sung, so was the other.

But the situation of the two equal parts in Mon bien is unusual within this repertory, and it is also possible that there is some other reason for it. For instance, it might be thought that this is merely an instrumental ensemble piece to be performed with two matching instruments on the top lines, and that the search for the correct text was difficult merely because there is no correct text. After all, the style of the top parts does not seem entirely vocal in conception. And the way in which the parts intertwine might seem detrimental to a clear presentation of the text.

This argument can be approached by reference to a song which may well have been the original source of Morton's inspiration for Mon bien: it is found only in the Laborde chansonnier (f 53v-55) containing much of the material used in Mon bien (ex. 3).

The first measure of the Discantus is the same as that of Morton's piece, and the first two beats of the Contra are also identical in Morton.

Ex. 3

Greveuse m'est vostre accointance

anon.

1.5. Gre-veu-se m'est vostre a-coin-tan
 4. Cre-és que je ne aul-tre puis-sah - -

Tenor Greveuse m'est vostre actointance

'Tenor' (1) Greveuse m'est

ce Et le sou-ve-nir de vostre oeil
 ce Fors que de pan-cer a vostre a- cueil

Re - cueil vient que je n'es-pe-ran-ce De ja-mais vous
 Le - quel vient de vos-tre cognois-san-ce Par quoy suis en

aspre voir a mon veil.
 et ri-gou-reux dueil.

5
8
10
15
20



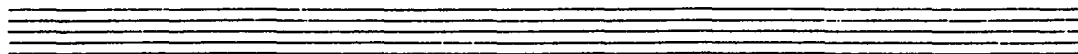
Musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line with a fermata over a whole note, followed by a double bar line. The second measure of the system is marked with a '25' above the staff. The text '[remainder of text missing]' is written below the staff in this measure. The system concludes with a double bar line.



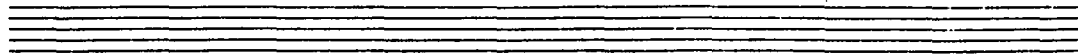
Musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line with a fermata over a whole note, followed by a double bar line. The second measure of the system is marked with a '30' above the staff. The system concludes with a double bar line.



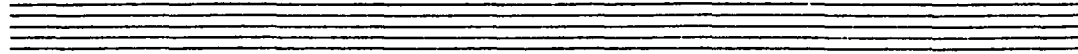
Musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line with a fermata over a whole note, followed by a double bar line. The second measure of the system is marked with a '35' above the staff. The system concludes with a double bar line.



Empty musical staff consisting of five lines.



Empty musical staff consisting of five lines.



Empty musical staff consisting of five lines.

Throughout the Discantus there are phrases and figurations found also in Mon bien. Certainly, if one is singable, so is the other. So also, the text underlaid in the manuscript of Greveuse, even if it is not philologically flawless, is carefully matched to the Discantus: its lines correspond well with the musical lines of the song.

Reasons for thinking that Greveuse was the model, and Mon bien the later piece stem from the tradition-bound nature of the former. In terms of part-ranges, for instance, the Laborde song shows Tenor and Contra in approximately the same range, with the Discantus a standard fifth higher. Mon bien flouts normal convention by having the Discantus and Tenor in the same range and the Contra below - an octave below.

So also in terms of tonality and cadences. The musical lines of Greveuse cadence on C, F, A, C, C, F, whereas those of Mon bien cadence on C, F, C, C, F. Morton provides nothing to take the ear away from the F tonality. When Pirro observed "Il y a du mouvement et de la fermeté tonale dans Mon bien," he was not exaggerating.⁽⁷⁾ Indeed a glance at the Contra and how it supports the repeated F cadences in the upper parts, confirms the feeling that Morton was not afraid of returning to F. The note appears so frequently in the Contra that one scarcely dare count its appearances; and the diagrammatical reduction of the progress of the part shows that it does little to disperse the feeling of inevitability of the next F cadence (ex. 4). It is as though Morton wished to show how the slightly loose and undisciplined writing of Greveuse could be tightened.

The whole structure of Greveuse is typical of so many Bergerettes of the era when Dufay was writing his last songs and Busnois his first.

Ex. 4

Reduction of the Contra of Mon bien ma joyeux

Musical score for Ex. 4, showing a reduction of the contra part of "Mon bien ma joyeux". The score consists of seven staves of music in G major, 3/4 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (F major), and a common time signature. The music is written in a single melodic line with various note values and rests. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff shows a continuation with some notes beamed together. The fourth staff ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The fifth staff continues the melody. The sixth staff shows a continuation with some notes beamed together. The seventh staff ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Ex. 4a further reduction

Musical score for Ex. 4a, showing a further reduction of the contra part of "Mon bien ma joyeux". The score consists of a single staff of music in G major, 3/4 time. The music is written in a single melodic line with various note values and rests, representing a further reduction of the original piece.

Morton's output contains no surviving Bergerette, but certain features are so standard in the other composers that they would presumably also have been found in any Bergerette he wrote. The style did tend to be more relaxed and open, for the music did not have to withstand so many repeats. The second half was normally in a contrasting meter, as in Greveuse, even though there was not always a new mensuration sign to designate it. There was also normally a complete change of musical material for the second half, a contrast in texture and style so that the return of the opening would be all the more gratifying. At the same time it was important that the change should not be too abrupt, so the second half normally, as here, included a coda (after the signum congruentiae at m.32) which was only sung the second time and which gradually reintroduced the material from the first half of the song. Another characteristic feature of Greveuse is the use of imitation to begin every line except the first, which happens in many other Bergerettes of the time: O belle Dyane (anon. Laborde), Malheureux cuer (Dufay), Helas mon dueil (Dufay), Ma plus qu'assez (Busnois) and Soudainement mon cuer a pris (anon. CopI). The composer of Greveuse, then, was writing a standard Bergerette well within traditional lines. And the main difference in Morton's song is that it is an extreme experiment in economy which cannot directly be compared with anything else of the time.

Taking only the first half of Greveuse, Morton has tightened up the material, transformed the texture from that of the standard song tradition to become something more like the texture of a Trecento Caccia, and exaggerated the tonal weight on F. Greveuse has little to distinguish

it: it is a competent piece of workmanship taking no risks. Beside it, and presumably taking it as a starting point, is Morton's daring Rondeau "Mon bien." Where the earlier composer was traditional in his whole approach, Morton took risks. Whether he carried off his tightrope walk is another question.

Footnotes

1. Perhaps a similar case is Johannes Vincenet's Fortune par ta cruauté which appears in Perugia 431 with the incipit "Fortuna vincinecta;" in Bologna, Bibl. Univ. ms. 596, H.H.2⁴, a lute intabulation with the Discantus in staff notation is similarly entitled.
2. See Charles d'Orléans, Poésies, ed. Pierre Champion (1923).
3. Poets can be identified for very few French texts set to music between 1400 and 1480. Among them are:

Christine de Pizan: Dueil angoisseux (Binchois)

Charles d'Orléans: Mon cuer chante (Binchois), Mon seul plaisir (Bedyngham), Je ne prise point (anon. EscB and Pix), Va tost mon amoureux (anon. EscB).

Alain Chartier: Du tout ainsi (Caron), Il n'est dangier que de vilain (anon. Ox 213), Je n'ay povoir (anon. Laborde), Joye me fuit (Busnois), Triste plaisir (Binchois)

Anthoine de Cuise: Les douleurs (Dufay)

Le Cadet d'Albret: Mon bien m'amour (Dufay)

Le Rousselet: Malheureux cuer (Dufay), Quant james aultre (anon. Pavia)

François Villon: Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur (Delahaye)

Jean II de Bourbon: Allez regretz (Hayne), Faisons boutons (Compere), Vous me faittes morir (Compere) all ascribed in Paris 2245.

Blosseville: J'en ay le dueil (anon. Dijon)

Jaques (? de Savoie): En tous les lieux (Busnois)

4. The music is edited by Besseler in Dufay, Cantiones (1964), no. 72; the reconstructed song is published in Guillaume Dufay, Two Songs, ed. D. Fallows, Early Music Series, no. 23 (London, 1975), and discussed in D. Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs Reconstructed," Early Music, 3, (1975), pp. 358-60.
5. The English version is reconstructed in Two Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Songs, ed. D. Fallows, Early Music Series, no. 28 (London, 1977), and discussed in D. Fallows, "Words and Music in Two English Songs of the Mid-Fifteenth-Century: Charles d'Orléans and John Lydgate," Early Music, 5 (1977), pp. 38-43.
6. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (1958), p. 303, proposes the term "pseudo-canon" in relation to some remarkably similar writing by Morton's English contemporary John Plummer.
7. Pirro, Histoire (1940), p. 118. It might be worth adding that H.C. Wolff, Die Musik der alten Niederländer (1956), seems to be of the opinion that the piece is in five parts. I cannot suggest any reason for this statement.

Mon bien ma joyeux

Rondeau cinquain

Pix f 188v-189 (no. 162) "Morton"

ed. Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p. 98-99

Possible texts:

1. Mon bien, m'amour, ma ioye et mon desir, Jardin f 74 (no.132) corrupt

2. Mon bien aymé, joye et ma richesse, Taylor p. 141 (no.281)

ed. Chesney, More Poèmes de transition (1965), p. 74

Related piece and possible model:

Greveuse m'est vostre accointance (Bergerette), Lab f 53v-55 (no.42)

ed. Bush, "The Laborde Chansonnier," (1946), p. 70-72

References:

Pirro, Histoire (1940), p. 118

Wolff, Die Musik der alten Niederländer (1957), p. 192

Edition: p.171

Superscript: "Morton"

(i): "Mon bien ma ioyeux"

(ii): "Tenor: Morton bien"

(iii): "Contra: Mon bien ma yoyeux"

No more text in the manuscript. The poem used here comes from Taylor.

Emendations:

7 ii 4: B in Pix/ 27 i 7 - 28 i 2: double values in Pix

Chromaticism:

The following high Fs are preceded by flats:

4 i 4, 9 ii 5, 16 i 2, 23 i 7

Since these can denote nothing more than that the note is a fa outside the hexachord system, they are omitted from the edition.

All the low Bs are preceded by flats:

4 iii 2, 11 iii 3, 29 iii 1

It is a pity that all the flats appear where one would assume the note to be flattened anyway, but none appear at the B above middle C, a note whose every appearance raises a question of chromaticism.

As it stands this piece is probably corrupt. In m.3, for instance, more exact imitation would result in acceptable counterpoint, whereas the readings in the edition are unacceptable. An emendation has been made in m.7. The difference between the Discantus in m.22 and m.28 should also probably be emended, but since no fully convincing solution is apparent, none has been included.

Text

Unique source: Oxford, Taylor Institution, MS. 8^oF3 (formerly Arch.I.d.22),
p.141

Mon bien aymé, ma joye et ma richesse,
 Mon seul desir, ma parfaicte liesse,
 Tout mon confort et tout quant que ay de bien,
 J'ay vostre coeur, et vous avez le myen
 Qui loyaument s'entrefirent promesse.

Ne cuidez point que jamais je vous laisse,
 Car sur ma foy de penser je ne cesse
 En vostre amour, vous le congnoissez bien,
 Mon bien aymé, ma joye et ma richesse,
 Mon seul desir, ma parfaicte liesse,
 Tout mon confort et tout quant que ay de bien.

Si vous estes en aucune destresse
 Je vous supply que me donnez radresse,
 Affin que saiche en quoy, quant et combien
 Souffrez de mal, car peu j'en scay ou rien,
 Donc vis en deul et en tresgrant tristesse.

Mon bien aymé, ma joye et ma richesse,
 Mon seul desir, ma parfaicte liesse,
 Tout mon confort et tout quant que ay de bien,
 J'ay vostre coeur, et vous avez le myen
 Qui loyaument s'entrefirent promesse.

Chapter seven

Il sera pour vous/ L'homme armé: Homage and Expansion

Also use not to pley at the dice ne at the tablis,
Ne none maner gamys uppon the holidayis;
Use no tavernys where be jestis and fablis,
Syngyng of lewde balettes, roundelettes, or virolais;
Nor erly in mornyng to fecche home fresch mais,
For yt makyth maydins to stomble and falle in the breirs
And afterward they telle her councele to the freirs.

(A paraphrase of the Third Commandment from
Ms. Laud 416, ca. 1460; after Wright and
Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae, vol.2, p.27)

1.4.7. Il se-ra pour vous con - ba - tu Le
 3. Son or-gueil te - nons a - ba - tu S'il
 5. En peu d'heu-re l'a - res ba - tu Au

Tenor L'on - me, l'on-me, l'omme ar-mé l'omme armé, L'omme ar-

Contra L'on-me, l'on-me l'omme armé, l'omme armé,

doub - té Turcq, Mais-tre Sy- mon. 2.8. Cer-tai-ne-ment
 chiet en voz mains le fe - lon. 6. Vi- ve Sy- mon -
 plai - sir Dieu, puis di-ra [t] on: #

me doibt on doub - ter, et l'omme ar-mé. On a fait par-tout cri-

doibt on doub - ter, L'omme armé A l'assault, A l'assault,

ce se - ra mon, -et le Bre- ton,
 er, à l'assault D'un hau- bre - gon de fer.
 Que cha- cun se doibt ar - mer. Al'assault, A l'assault,

15 Et de croc de ache a - ba - tu.
 Que sur le Turcq s'est en- ba - tu.
 L'on-me, l'on-me, l'omme ar - mé, l'omme armé, L'omme armé doibt on doub-ter.
 L'on-me, l'on-me, l'omme ar-mé, l'omme ar-mé, L'omme armé doibt on doub - ter.

For some eighty years it was tacitly assumed that Morton was the composer of L'homme armé, a melody that became the basis of more polyphonic Mass cycles than any other in the history of music. Based on the knowledge only of the four-part piece L'homme armé in the Casanatense manuscript (p.244), the idea had to be discarded in 1942 with the emergence of the Mellon chansonnier in which the same piece appears anonymously in a slightly different version and with only three parts (p.203). Several characteristics of this version show that Morton's connection with L'homme armé was rather more complicated than had at first appeared; and the Casanatense piece is clearly a later adaptation of that in Mellon which thus becomes the main focus of the first part of this chapter.

In Mellon, the two lower parts carry the L'homme armé text while the Discantus has an entirely different text, a Rondeau quatrain beginning Il sera pour vous combatu. The song is thereby shown to be a combinative chanson, firmly in the tradition defined and described by Maniates.⁽¹⁾ In a combinative chanson the inner parts normally quote some "popular" melody or melodies of syllabic and four-square character while an upper part is newly composed in one of the courtly forms. The "popular" Tenor, then, is borrowed material serving as a core, while the new song on top is to be regarded as the composer's main contribution. The form of the song is the form of the new poem in the Discantus, not that of the borrowed material.

There is no reason at all to believe that Morton wrote his own "borrowed" material; the tune had in any case been used by Dufay for his L'homme armé mass around 1450. Like many other composers, Morton

wrote a work that includes the tune as a Tenor. He was not the last, and almost certainly not the first. But even if he had been the first, it is most unlikely, given the tradition into which the song falls, that he would have written his own tune for the Tenor.

So there is little need to be troubled about the passage in Pietro Aaron's Toscanello explaining "che da Busnois fussi trovato quel canto chiamato l'ome arme" and to wonder about a conflict of ascription for the present piece.⁽²⁾ Aaron cannot be talking about the work ascribed to Morton which would not be described in that way, but with the text set to the Discantus, Il sera pour vous. Besides, as Bukofzer observed, the work mentioned by Aaron is in C prolation, whereas both sources of Morton's song agree in giving it the innovative mensuration $\text{C}\bar{3}$.⁽³⁾ There are many pieces to which Aaron could be referring. The surviving secular L'homme armé pieces from that time are listed at the end of this chapter. None of them is likely to be the Busnois setting, which, as Plamenac said, must be presumed lost if it ever existed.⁽⁴⁾ Nor is it possible that Aaron was implying that Busnois wrote the original song: to judge from Dufay's mass, the song was current a good twenty years before Busnois started composing.

Discussion of the ascription of the song Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé raises questions on two levels: first, the differences between the two versions are sufficiently large to admit the possibility that the ascription of the rearrangement; second, the Casanatense manuscript itself ascribes the piece not "Morton" but "Borton". For Ambros, who was charting unknown territory, it was enough to observe that the names were similar and that the piece was probably by the chaplain at the

Burgundian court.⁽⁵⁾ Today more care is required: and in particular it is important to observe that the same manuscript elsewhere includes Morton's name correctly spelt. But there is ample evidence that the copyist of the Casanatense manuscript wrote what he saw or thought he saw without exerting any editorial policy, particularly in the lettering: several composers' names appear in varying versions within pages of one another, and many of the text incipits do not make sense as they stand. Moreover, the text of the Mellon Discantus contains references to Simonet le Breton, a singer whose entire professional career was spent at the Burgundian court chapel. Line two explains that the poem is addressed to "Maistre Simon" and the third stanza includes the line "Vive Simonet le Breton." The familiar manner in which the text addresses Simon implies that the composer was a colleague in that choir, or at least knew him well: Morton, his colleague for seven years, would be a likely composer of the piece, even if the Casanatense ascription were not known.

There are in fact two musicians with the name "Simon le Breton": one of them died in 1473 at Cambrai while the other was still singing at 's Hertogenbosch in 1482 and 1483. But the two are fairly easily distinguished.

One Simon le Breton was a member of the Burgundian ducal chapel choir already in 1431 when Binchois wrote his motet Nove cantum melodie for the occasion of the baptism of Philip the Good's short-lived first son by Isabel of Portugal, Anthoine of Burgundy.⁽⁶⁾ The text of the motet names all the singers taking part, Simon among them. He was evidently a new chaplain at the time, for on the earliest surviving list of the chapel in the reign of Philip the Good, compiled in 1436, he is fourteenth

chaplain out of seventeen. (They were always listed by seniority within the choir.) Simon remained in the chapel until 1464 at which point he retired to Cambrai cathedral, where he had a canonicate provided some years previously "vigore nominationis ducis burgundiae." In the 1460s he is listed among the members of the confraternity of Saint-Jacques-sur-Coudenberghe in Brussels, as "Her Simon Britonis mynsheeren zanghere." He died at Cambrai in 1473 and was buried in the chapel of St. Stephen in the cathedral, near where Dufay was buried a year later. According to Dufay's will Simon had given him several effects of some value. Among them was a picture of Our Lady with Simon himself included as donor: this picture Dufay desired to have placed on the altar of the Chapel of St. Stephen on feast days and on the obit days both of himself and of Simon. Apparently Simon was a close friend of the greatest composer of his day: in his will Dufay describes him as "quondam dominus meus et confrater dominus Symon le Breton."⁽⁷⁾

The documents therefore provide a clear continuity between the Burgundian chaplain of 1431 to 1464 and the Cambrai canon from 1464 to his death in 1473. Two songs can also be connected with the same singer. The Flemish-texted song Vie sach oit bider dach is ascribed "Simonet" in Fl76.⁽⁸⁾ That this is the same Simon is suggested by its strong stylistic similarity to a French Rondau quatrain Nul ne s'i frotte, ascribed in Per 431 to "Magister Symon" and based on the motto of Anthoine de Bourgogne - Philip the Good's eldest illegitimate son, a figure of most considerable power and influence within the Burgundian court and often called in modern studies "le grand-bastard."⁽⁹⁾ These two songs, then, must be the work of the same man who was later such a close friend of Dufay.

Possibly also connected with the same singer is a story in the notorious Cent nouvelles nouvelles. No. 98, "Les amants infortunés," is ascribed in the first printed edition (Vérard, 1486) to "Lebreton" although the earlier and more authoritative Glasgow manuscript gives it to "L'auteur." Wright suggests the Burgundian court and the years 1450-1460 for the compilation of the collection. The inclusion of another story by "Caron" implies the possibility that the court musicians also took part in the narrative pastime.⁽¹⁰⁾ But the more elevated rank of most of the storytellers makes the identifications unlikely.

With or without the story, however, the biographical picture of Simon the court singer is complete enough and hermetic enough to separate him entirely from the Symon Britonis mentioned at the collegiate church of 's Hertogenbosch in 1482 and 1483.⁽¹¹⁾ None of the documents, nor either of the songs, nor Dufay's will could possibly refer to this other musician with the same name who lived for some years after our Simon's death. Equally, there can be no doubt that the singer at the Burgundian court is the person mentioned in the Mellon song, for we shall see that the form of the L'homme armé poem and melody used in the Tenor will connect this setting of the song musically with the Burgundian court.

The original L'homme armé poem was presumably a four-line stanza as follows:

L'homme armé doibt on doubter:

On a fait partout crier

Que chacun se doibt armer

D'un haubregon de fer.

With its rhyming seven-syllable lines and final six-syllable line on a different rhyme, the poem gives every impression of being the first stanza of a longer poem. Its manner is less sophisticated than that of the poems encountered so far in this dissertation; several writers have credibly suggested that it is a propaganda poem concerned with the raising of troops against an expected invasion.⁽¹²⁾ Certainly the "armed man" was a symbol of political suzerainty in Europe at least since the days of Charlemagne.

One of the characteristics of poems of a popular nature is that their text varies widely from one source to the next, so it is significant that the text for the lower parts of Morton's song as transmitted in the Mellon manuscript is almost exactly the same as that for a monophonic version of the same song presented in Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, VI E 40, a manuscript whose dedicatory poem implies that it comes straight from the Burgundian court.⁽¹³⁾ Nor can there be any possibility that the Neapolitan scribe of the Mellon manuscript copied his text from the Naples manuscript, for the dedicatory poem of the latter also refers to the "late Prince Charles" and must therefore have been written and sent after 1477, whereas the reference to the "Princess" Beatrice in the Mellon manuscript makes it clear that it was copied before her marriage to King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary in 1476. The extreme similarity of orthography between the Mellon manuscript and the slightly later Naples one thus makes it most likely that the Morton song came to Naples and to the Mellon manuscript directly from the Burgundian court; and it also adds another factor to the growing quantity of evidence pointing to extremely close cultural links between the Aragonese court in Naples

and the Burgundian court in the north.

A glance at the new poem added by Morton for his *Discantus* explains why it is not found in any other sources. Its meaning is extremely obscure - very much in the manner of a private joke. Even in its own time it was probably incomprehensible to anybody not acquainted with Simon le Breton, Morton and their circle. And it may never be possible fully to understand its meaning. It is almost certainly wrong to relate the poem to some crusade against the "Turkish peril" as both Hannas and Cohen suggest.⁽¹⁴⁾ Serious though the threat of the infidel was throughout the fifteenth century, an aging chaplain would scarcely be expected to take part in the fighting. If this was the case, the poem could be interpreted only as mocking Simon for not going to battle with the rest, and this does not tally with the evident respect in which Simon was held. The doubté Turcq of the poem must symbolize something else.

By the same token, whatever the original meaning of the L'homme armé poem, it seems most unlikely that so serious a political concept as the raising of troops was the subject of Morton's joyful song. Some different "armed man" is intended. And it is equally improbable that the armed man is an allusion to some early form of contraceptive, as has been implied,⁽¹⁵⁾ if only because it would be extremely bad taste in a song referring to a sixty-year-old cleric.

The poem is most easily understood if it is assumed that it was written for a specific occasion. A poem mentioning someone by name and wishing him good health can only be occasional. The obvious occasion for a song of this kind would surely be Simon's retirement from the choir.

The account books of the Burgundian court for June to August 1464 contain the entry:

Mr. Simon le Breton, ayant pris congié de Mgr. qui de sa grace espediale lui accorda lesdis gaiges et robes une annee entiere apres icelui congié.⁽¹⁶⁾

Such retirement after over 33 years' service in the choir indeed merited a gesture of the Duke's "grace espediale." (Binchois received a similar favor on his retirement twelve years earlier, though there is no surviving reference to the reason.) This would be a big occasion in the choir.

If the song was written for this occasion, the words begin to make more sense. "Il sera pour vous combatu" simply explains that the other singers will remain behind and continue the "battle" of singing daily services while Simon is far away in his retirement, still receiving his payment though he does not take part in the battle. This would also explain the otherwise unintelligible opening of the third stanza: "En peu d'heure l'arés batue." To interpret it as indicating that in a few hours he will formally have retired and his battle will be complete makes sense; to think of it as an optimistic prognostication as to the outcome of some more literal battle makes none. Finally, the exclamation "Vive Simonet le Breton" will be familiar to anyone who has attended a few retirement parties.

To read the poem more closely in these terms is dangerous, because the private jokes involved can probably never fully be construed. But it is possible that the line "Vive Simonet le Breton/ Qui sur le Turcq s'est embatu" refers to the fight of all churchmen: the fight against faithlessness,

which is symbolized in this case by the Turk or infidel. Singing the divine service is part of the fight of the Christian army.

Even more tentatively, it might be suggested that the "crocq de ache abatu" could mean - among many other things - a conductor's baton, even though there is no direct evidence of conducting in the Burgundian choir. There is, in fact, a curious miniature in the Copenhagen chansonnier above one of the two surviving songs ascribed to Simon, Nul ne s'y frotte. There inside the letter "T" is none other than L'homme armé himself with his "haubregon de fer" and a long lance. This may well be a coincidence: the song is unascribed in Copenhagen and there is no evidence that the scribe knew the composer's name; moreover the miniatures in this and the other northern commercially copied song-books seem to have been copied exclusively for decoration, not for interpretation. But if any singer in the Burgundian chapel were called upon to conduct, it would at this time presumably have been Simon, for the three members senior to him were apparently no longer singing: Nicaise Dupuis, the first chaplain, had a purely administrative post and seems never to have sung; the second chaplain, Robert le Pele, is described as "Prevost de Watennes" and probably did not take a regular part in the services, and finally, Anthoine Mauret, the third chaplain, is described as "aumousnier;" so even if he did sing, he would scarcely have been expected to combine the duties of almoner with those of musical director. (17)

Such speculation about Simon's possible role as a conductor may go beyond the responsible interpretation of the comprehensible facts. But the main drift of Morton's poem must surely be along the lines

suggested here. Even without understanding the details we can be practically certain that the piece was written for Simon's retirement at the end of May 1964. This in turn supports Morton's authorship, for he and Gilles Joye are the only known composers in the chapel of 1464 apart from Simon himself.

The dating suggested contradicts that implied by earlier writers. Cohen wrote "It is safe to assume that the composer ... belonged to the generation of Dufay and Binchois, and maintained close ties with the Burgundian court."⁽¹⁸⁾ Bukofzer dates the song from the first half of the century on the basis of its style. Indeed the Discantus strongly resembles those of major prolation songs from the 1420s and the early 1430s: the repeated notes at the beginning, the gentle hemiola in the second measure, the rise to a melodic peak after the mid-point cadence and the use of a fourth line that repeats much of the material from the first; these are all strong characteristics of the style employed by Binchois at the Burgundian court thirty five years earlier in the days when Simon was a new member of the choir. Particularly important for Bukofzer were the "archaic cadences of English descant and fauxbourdon, which compel the Contratenor to follow the cantus at the fourth below."⁽¹⁹⁾ But the "octave-leap" cadence, the most common alternative to a parallel cadence, was already well established by 1425, being frequently used in even the earliest works of Binchois and Dufay;⁽²⁰⁾ and the parallel cadence is found in many later works of Ockeghem, so it cannot be used as a means of dating the piece in the first half of the century. Morton used the parallel cadence here because he chose to do so, not because he knew no other.

Before examining the many ways in which this is an extremely curious song, we should observe two reasons why it belongs firmly in the 1460s rather than the 1430s in spite of many traits which would suggest otherwise.

First, the Tenor and the Contratenor relate in a way not found before the combinative chanson tradition of the 1460s and 1470s. The Tenor part takes the borrowed L'homme armé melody but passes one phrase of it on to the Contratenor during the middle section of the song, just as happens in several chansons of Busnois and his generation.⁽²¹⁾ Songs from the earlier generation with different texts in different voices survive, but they are more strictly related to the motet in their form: sharing a text in this way is not one of their characteristics.

Second, the C3 mensuration which appears in both sources of Morton's song is characteristic of a genre of songs written in the 1460s or thereabouts, among them the four-part anonymous Files a marier setting in Col (K9v-K10), the combinative chanson He Robinet/Trigalore/Par ung vert pre, the incomplete combinative chanson []/Galoises/J'aime une dame in the same manuscript and the second part of the combinative chanson Je soloie faire-danser/Herbergerés vous in EscB. Recent research into the use of mensuration in the fifteenth century has shown how rarely a scribe changed the mensuration sign of any piece he copied. And the very independence of the musical readings for this song in Cas (from Ferrara) and Mellon (from Naples) should dispel any speculation that the song was originally written with any other mensuration than C3. This sign is unlikely to appear before 1450 at the earliest: it came into being partly because perfect prolation was beginning to be used more frequently as an indication of augmentation

in a Tenor cantus firmus.⁽²²⁾ It is difficult to find C3 in any song manuscript earlier than Mellon, dating from the early 1470s.

The mensuration sign and the text exchange in the Tenor and Contra thus seem to confirm the later date suggested for the song. The undeniably archaic character of the Discantus is perhaps a conscious pastiche, as would surely be appropriate at the retirement of a singer whose career stretched back to 1431.

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The song's style is very different from anything encountered so far in this dissertation. The matching of words and music in the Discantus is such as would normally suggest that the two were not meant to match and that Morton - or somebody - had merely tacked the new text onto an older song which had never been intended to carry these words. For the first line ends with no cadence, in fifteenth-century terms, but merely a longer note. The second line continues past its cadence. The third is followed by a melisma which is not only long enough to hold another line of text but also contains the melodic peak of the song; and it asserts its importance by ending with the only cadence in the piece that is not on G. The last line is set to a curtailed repeat of the music for the first line and a half of the poem. The structure is therefore fundamentally different from the standard one in which each line closes with a cadence.

The best way to understand how this happened is to begin, as Morton presumably did, with the borrowed melody. Of the numerous L'homme armé settings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, two besides Morton's can be associated directly with the Burgundian court:

the Mass cycle of Busnois and the set of six L'homme armé masses now in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. VI E 40. Although both are probably later than Morton's setting, they preserve a version of the melody that is close enough to Morton's for it to be considered the version current in the Burgundian court.(ex.1). In this version the original four-line poem has grown to seven lines as follows:

- A L'omme, l'omme, l' omme, (l'omme armé)
 L'omme armé doibt on doubter. (doibt on douhter)
- b On a fait partout crier
- b Que chacun se viegne armer
- c D'un haubregon de fer.
- A L'omme, l'omme, l'omme armé, (l'omme armé)
 L'omme armé doibt on doubter.⁽²³⁾

What must have started life as a simple four-line poem has now become something more complicated, a ternary form in which small extensions at the end of the lines of the "A" section serve to make that section as long as the three-line section in the middle. (The letters alongside the poem show how the melody is constructed.)

Assuming that Morton wished to put a Rondeau above this poem, the normal choice in a combinative chanson - he was faced with a difficult decision. Where was he to put the mid-point cadence? If he were to put it anywhere but at the end of line two or at the end of line five of the borrowed song he would entirely destroy any coherence that remained in the old poem; so he had the choice of either a first part much longer than the second, or a second part much longer than the first.

Ex. 1



L'om-me, l'om - me, l'omme ar - mé, (L'omme ar-mé)

L'omme ar-mé doit on doub - ter, (doibt on doub- ter).

On a fait par - tout cri - er

que cha - cum se viegne ar - mer

D'un hau - bre - gon de fer.

L'om- me, l'om - me, l'omme ar - mé, (l'omme ar- mé)

L'omme ar-mé doit on doub - ter.

Transcribed from Naples, f 62v

One solution would be to use a Rondeau cinquain, a form in which the mid-point cadence always came after the third line. The first five lines of the L'homme armé Tenor could be "compressed" by means of the part-exchange already described, with line four sung by the Contratenor. However, this would have left still only the two last lines of the L'homme armé song to match the two lines in the second half of the Rondeau cinquain. Though such a solution might nearly have worked, it was rejected, perhaps partly because the final two lines of L'homme armé are slightly shorter than even the first two: they lack the final repeat of the words "Doibt on doubter". This would mean that the music for the first three lines was more than twice as long as that for the final two lines, which were in any case little more than a repeat of the beginning.

So the alternative solution was chosen: a Rondeau quatrain with a mid-point cadence after line 2. And there are signs that a little adaptation was necessary to make it fit. A long upbeat before the entry of the Tenor melody enabled Morton to dispose of three syllables before the music had started, so to speak; and at the other end of the first half, another four syllables were added on a monotone after the mid-point cadence had arrived. In the second half the Tenor could be shortened a little by passing on one of the lines to the Contratenor part. The fourth line could be set above the repeat of the first two lines of the borrowed melody (m.13-17): but this time, instead of starting the Discantus before the Tenor as he had done at the beginning, Morton allowed the Tenor to start the phrase so that the closing melisma in the Discantus should not be too long or seem too much out of proportion.

That Morton allowed the last three measures of the Discantus to become a repeat of the opening is of course primarily a result of the ABA form of the Tenor. Even so, this may be a further case of pastiche. It was suggested earlier that the repeat in N'aray je jamais (ch. 2, above) harked back to the techniques of a previous generation, particularly of Binchois; and with this in mind, it is easier to see what was meant by the long melismatic line in measures 10-12 of the Discantus, for a very similar use of an untexted melisma in the middle of a song may be seen in the second halves of the Binchois Rondeau settings Adieu jusques je vous revoye and Adieu adieu mon joieux souvenir.⁽²⁴⁾ In the latter, the melismatic line is the one that carries the highest note of the melody, as it does in the Morton song. Once again elements of pastiche look back specifically to the great composer of the Burgundian court from the earlier years of Philip the Good's reign.

Perhaps this attempt to see the problems from the composer's point of view does not explain everything: however they are rationalized, the line and the underlay still seem bizarre. But other explanations are far less satisfactory. To consider it as an instrumental piece is unacceptable because of the implied texting in the part-exchange at m.9-11 and because of the closeness with which the text fits both Tenor and Contratenor. To consider it a fragment from a larger Mass cycle, a tradition in which close matching of the words and the music is not so strictly observed, must remain a possibility - and it will be seen later that a Mass movement by Binchois is noticeably similar in style. But comparison of the two will show that such a hypothesis is unlikely. I do not believe it can be a Mass section.

Assuming, then, that it is a song, it is certainly a combinative chanson. Is there any possibility that a different text was originally underlaid to the upper part? The answer is of course Yes: at every turn in the fifteenth-century song repertory there are examples of songs newly texted for a variety of reasons. But what form would that notional original text have had? Given the music, the original text can only have been a Rondeau, for the tradition of the combinative chanson was normally that one of the courtly forms was employed for the Discantus, and this work can certainly not have been a Ballade or a Bergerette. If it was a Rondeau, how many lines could the stanza have had? A three-line stanza might be a possibility, since this would match with the form of the Tenor. But such a form was scarcely used for the musical Rondeau in the fifteenth century; and the main problem with a three-line stanza here would be that the repeated notes would present an embarrassment. We have already seen that the five-line stanza would not work. Thus the original must really have been a Rondeau with a four-line stanza. Finally, how many syllables per line would the "ideal" text for this song have? With fewer than eight it would get in serious trouble in measures 8 and 9; with more than eight it would get in serious trouble in measures 1-6. Clumsy though it may seem, then, the best poem for the Discantus line Morton wrote is in precisely the form of the one preserved: a Rondeau quatrain with an eight-syllable line. Whether this song obeys the maxim that in fifteenth-century song the poetic form can be deduced correctly from the musical form is a moot point. But there is no reason to believe that the music was originally written for any other poem.

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The central problem concerning Il sera pour vous relates to the differences between its two sources. The preceding discussion has mostly concerned the texted but anonymous version in Mellon. In Cas, the only source with an ascription, the added fourth part brings in its trail various other alterations of some significance. Since many students of the piece have been reluctant to credit Morton with the authorship of the original song, but only with the added part and the changes, it is important to enumerate the differences in detail. They may be categorized under three main headings.

1. Harmonic changes at the two main cadences in m.5 and m.17.

The parallel "fauxbourdon" cadences in the Mellon version become "dominant-tonic" cadences in Cas. It has already been observed that Bukofzer was perhaps hasty in his conclusion that these cadences necessarily dated the three-voice version in the first half of the century and the four-voice version in the second half. Both forms of cadence are frequently found at all periods between 1425 and 1480. The change of cadence in this song is normally described as an attempt to "update" the archaic qualities of the three-voice version. But a more convincing reason is close at hand: it is an attempt to solve the problem of how to add a fourth part. Within the harmonic language of the time there is really no way of adding a fourth part below a parallel cadence of this kind: the result would be either consecutives or a dominant seventh chord, neither of which was to be desired at the time since the former was finally eradicated in the 1430s and the latter was yet to be formulated even though it can be found in certain works of the later fifteenth century. But a simple change of one note in the original

Contratenor part very easily solved all the problems and allowed for a simple cadence whose harmonic implications were slightly different but whose validity as a cadence was equally strong.⁽²⁵⁾

Along with this change came another small change in the earlier part of the same measure in the original Contratenor. The parallel fourths with the Discantus in the first part of this measure already implied a parallel cadence at the end of the measure. The revised version avoided this implication and also made the movement of the Contratenor stronger.

2. Rhythmic changes

Such changes are not normally subsumed under the heading of significant variants within sources. Nevertheless there is a pattern in the rhythmic changes here. First, it is clear that the new rhythmic figures make the underlay of the Mellon text impossible. Particularly the words "A l'assault" become impossible with the new jogging rhythm in the Tenor at m.20 and in the Contratenor at m.13. Second, the tendency to reduce all rhythms in the middle section of the song to this simple jogging pattern makes for a much stronger contrast with the doubly overlapped falling fifths in m.3-4 and m.15-16 at either end of the song. A clearer ABA form results. Presumably, then, this is a reworking for instrumental ensemble: the texting loses its coherence, and a new characteristic of overall form is added. Since the Casanatense manuscript has only text incipits throughout, it may be assumed to have been intended primarily for purely instrumental performance, in which case this version of the piece was obviously preferable.

3. Melodic change

In m.9-10 of the Mellon version a four-note figure was repeated with a short rest between its two statements. This led straight into the long untexted melisma which was discussed earlier. In Cas the section is entirely changed. The rhythm is again reduced to a uniform job and the rest at the end of m.9 is omitted. With the insertion of a rest at the end of m.10 instead, the result is a two-bar phrase which can balance the ensuing three-bar phrase. For this to happen the first phrase must be made to look more like a coherent entity in itself, less like the lead into a long melisma. So the phrase, instead of repeating itself, turns downward again. This is an important alteration since it affects the whole perception of the middle of the piece: it creates two balanced phrases which stand between the closely related opening and closing sections. This, too, would seem to derive from an attempt to translate a song into an abstract instrumental piece.

Reasons for this adaptation are easily suggested: a piece whose text was a private joke written for a specific occasion had served its function. Recasting the former combinative chanson as an instrumental piece on the L'homme armé material must have seemed a good idea. Yet the question remains whether Morton himself was responsible for the Mellon version, and it is possible to argue that Morton received credit for the piece in Casanatense although he only wrote the added part and made a few changes in the rest.

Perhaps an answer to this question may be sought by beginning with the premise that the Mellon version transmits the song as it was sung at Simon's retirement in 1464, simply because the texts found in Mellon

cannot be fitted to the Casanatense version. And Morton's claim to this version is strong because he was one of only two known composers at the court in 1464: one would be tempted to guess that he was the author of the song, whether it was ascribed to him or not. To go further one should ask if there is any other evidence that Morton adapted songs or wrote new parts?

Two other songs of Morton have added parts. Le souvenir has a fourth part in the Perugia manuscript (ex. 2a). It is added in the middle of the texture, and in its effort to avoid embarrassment succeeds only in being innocuous. This is the kind of extra voice so often encountered in the later sources. The first forty-two songs of Petrucci's *Odhecaton* are all in four parts, most of them originally three-part songs with a new voice added: for Petrucci, the three-part texture of the earlier songs meant bareness, whereas today it is difficult to construe his later additions as anything but crude efforts to thicken the texture of a misunderstood style. In the Perugia manuscript the new part to Le souvenir is added in a different hand, and there is no reason to suppose that Morton could have been involved in its construction.

The added part to N'aray je jamais (ex. 2 b) presents a rather different case. Not only does it appear in three manuscripts, but it moves with a freedom and lucidity that adds materially to the original three-part song. Moreover two of its appearances are in specially commissioned "occasional" manuscripts whose compilation suggests responsible care and whose provenance declares their independence from one another. (Cord from French Savoy and Mellon from Naples.) A mere comparison of the openings of the two four-part pieces shows the difference between the hesitant fourth part for Le souvenir and the more

Ex. 2

Le so - vi - nir de vos m'a tuote
Tenor Le sove - air de nos
Contralto Le sovenir m'a tuote

Transcribed from Per f 78v-79

N'a-ray je ja-mais mieulx que
Tenor
Contralto
Contralto s'placet

Transcribed from Mel f 29v-30

aggressive part in N'aray je jamais, with its boldly free and independent rhythms and its willingness to fill in the 6/3 chord implied on the last beat of m.2. Firmly labelled "Si placet" in Mellon, it is a part that justifies its inclusion in any edition of Morton's songs. We have several times remarked on the closeness of cultural contacts between the Burgundian court and that in Naples, as witnessed even by the reliable version of Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé in Mellon; so it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the Mellon fourth part to N'aray je jamais may stem from Morton himself, and that even if he did not write it, it was known to him. The part's appearance in three different manuscripts from different areas of Europe adds to its credibility.

A similar case is the fourth part added to Dufay's Rondeau Donnés l'assault.⁽²⁶⁾ Here again two entirely independent sources attest to a relatively wide distribution of the fourth part (Tr93 and Mellon). The song appears in three parts, with an ascription to Dufay, in Tr87; and this should be evidence that Dufay's original conception was in three parts, even if the opening imitation were not a clear enough indication. The new fourth part rides with a tremendous boldness that strongly suggests it is Dufay's. It is free and unfettered, but every gesture contributes to the conception of the original three-part composition. Even though it causes difficulties in the application of editorial accidentals (as Besseler's edition shows) the new part makes the piece more impressive and more fascinating while retaining the song's original spirit. One may even speculate that it was the success of such additions that tempted the arrangers of the later fifteenth century to add new parts to other works in an ever increasing volume.

Donnés l'assault is ascribed to Dufay in both the three-part version in Tr87 and the four-part version in Mellon. Similarly N'aray je jamais is ascribed to Morton in two three-part versions, Fl76 and Col, while the four-part version in Mellon also bears his name. There is no evidence that the compiler of the Mellon collection thought the addition of a new part was any dilution of the original composer's authorship, nor does the musical evidence suggest it. Although it is only speculation to suggest that both added parts were the work of the original composer, there is no particular reason to think otherwise.

In the case of Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé there are several reasons to suspect that the original composer was also the reviser. The alterations are the result of a conscious effort to change the character of the piece, to adapt it to different circumstances. Two matters may be considered:

1. The new Contratenor is entirely within the style of the existing parts, especially the original Contratenor. Within that tradition an added part is usually either fussy and shapeless like that to Le souvenir or strongly individual, proclaiming the genius of the new composer or the dexterity of his performer. This one adds crucial features of cadential definition and added imitation to give the piece that symmetry which was not desired in a Rondeau but most beneficial in an abstract instrumental piece.

2. The small adjustments to the original three parts are far more characteristic of a composer rewriting his own work than of another hand improving it. In adaptations by a new hand, it was common for the arranger to dispense entirely with a whole voice and write a new

one, or even two new voices; but not to interfere with the material that had been borrowed. To alter details as outlined above with such a sure and economic hand bears witness to an intimate knowledge and understanding of the original song and its aims. Most essential changes of reading within this repertory show either a vast improvement on the original or a complete misunderstanding of it, as arguments in the previous chapters have attempted to show. The very responsibility and sensitivity of the Cas version is persuasive evidence that both this and the three-part original are the work of the same man, Robert Morton.

.....

One external factor may have influenced some choices in the revision of this song as an instrumental piece. In 1937 Oliver Strunk noticed a striking resemblance between the Morton piece (which he knew only in its four-part version in Cas) and the section "Cum sancto spiritu" at the end of the Gloria of the Missa L'homme armé by Busnois. According to Strunk's description, the section amounted to little more than the three lower parts of the Morton setting with a different Discantus on top. He concluded:

Either the Morton setting borrows directly from the Busnois mass, or both compositions go back to the hypothetical original by Busnois, to which Aaron alludes.⁽²⁷⁾

The subsequent discovery of an earlier version of the Morton piece, that in Mellon, naturally requires a substantial revision of Strunk's hypothesis. More important, however, is the consideration that the relationship between the Busnois and the Morton version in Cas is not quite as Strunk described. Ex. 3 is a copy of the Busnois "Cum sancto

Ex. 3

Cum sancto spiritu

Buisnois

This image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Cum sancto spiritu" by Buisnois. The score is organized into three systems, each containing four staves. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The music features a variety of rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Several specific passages are circled in black ink, highlighting particular melodic or harmonic elements. The first system's top staff has a circled passage in the final measure. The second system's third staff has a circled passage in the second measure. The third system's first staff has a circled passage in the first measure, the second staff has a circled passage in the second measure, and the fourth staff has a circled passage in the final measure. The score concludes with a double bar line and a sharp sign (F#) above the final note.

spiritu" with those parts which bear a resemblance to the same section in Morton's setting encircled. In the two lowest parts the similarity amounts to only a handful of notes.

The important structural difference between the two is not shown on the diagram: the part-exchange whereby the Contratenor takes one line of the Tenor melody in the middle section is predictably not followed in the Busnois, for such part-exchange is characteristic of the combinative chanson, and not of the Tenor mass.

The similarities between the Morton version and this section are more apparent than real, since they result merely from the four parts occupying similar ranges in both settings and from the Tenor being presented at a more "song-like" speed than elsewhere in the cycle. Busnois chose a quicker triple-meter to round off his Gloria. As a result the descending fifths in the Tenor at m.4 and m.17 came out as a strong motive that invited close imitation in the other parts; and although he uses it more than did Morton, the result is inevitably to recall Morton's version. Most of the similarities can be interpreted as the inevitable counterpoints to that particular Tenor in C3 mensuration set in four parts.

Busnois and Morton were colleagues in the same choir, and it is possible that when Busnois chose the unusual C3 mensuration for this section he recalled the use Morton had made of the same mensuration. Yet the precise form of the Tenor used by Busnois is closer to that of the Naples masses than to that in Morton's song.

The greatest difference between the Morton and the Busnois pieces

is in phrase structure. Whereas Morton's Discantus is carefully moulded to the phrasing of the Tenor and to the requirements of the Rondeau text, that of Busnois is free to develop its own form in which too close a reliance on the Tenor would be considered not an advantage but a limitation. So the Discantus consists of five loosely-knit phrases of approximately equal length. That this is merely part of a larger movement is seen from the cadences which are all on G \sharp in a self-contained Rondeau form greater variety is called for. Finally, there is a looseness of the phrase-structure in the lower parts, again not synchronising with the Tenor, nor even with the Discantus. Such differences between the two settings should not be interpreted as the differences between Morton and Busnois; rather they are the differences between a self-contained song and a fragment from a mass movement. And it is for this reason that the tentative possibility raised earlier that Morton's piece could be part of a mass setting should be rejected.

With some differences between the two settings defined as resulting from the differences of form, and with some similarities defined as sheer coincidence, three factors of similarity remain: the three-fold imitation of the falling fifth figure in m.3-4 and m.16-17 of Busnois, m.3-4 and 15-16 of Morton (actually, in Busnois this is four-fold imitation with the Discantus also taking part); the cadence figure at m.5 and at the end; and the contrast between the repeated notes of the imitated falling fifth at each end of the piece and the steadier jogging rhythms in the middle. Curiously enough, all three characteristics are among the features already noted as being found in the four-part Cas setting but not in the three-part Mellon setting. Is it possible that Morton took ideas

from the younger but superior master when he recast his earlier song?

It seems possible: it is an explanation consistent with the available music, even though to suggest it places further weight on the string of hypotheses which must necessarily be essayed in the absence of further evidence. The Busnois mass is hardly likely to have been written much before the accession of Charles the Bold in 1467, the year in which his name first appears in the court records.⁽²⁸⁾ The mass is therefore almost certainly later than the Mellon song suggested as having been composed in 1464. The frequent appearance of Busnois songs in the manuscripts of the 1470s indicates that his star rose fast and Morton may well have been moved to show respect for the younger man. The four-part *Cas* arrangement could have been made at any time before the compilation of that manuscript in the early 1490s: with no document reporting Morton's existence after 1478 it is impossible to give an earlier terminus ad quem. So the explanation is also consistent with the available historical facts, and perhaps offers a sharper focus on Strunk's insight. Subsequent research shows that the pieces were connected, but that the influence was the reverse of what Strunk suggested: Morton's later revision of the song was apparently influenced by material in Busnois.

To summarize the conclusions proposed in this chapter: the three-voice combinative chanson Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé in Mellon was evidently composed by Morton to celebrate the retirement of Simon le Breton from the Burgundian court chapel in May 1464; the Tenor was taken from a well known song of popular character; the Discantus was a conscious pastiche of an earlier song style; Morton later recast

his occasional song as an instrumental piece, adding one part, making certain formal changes for the new medium and using certain ideas found in the "Cum sancto spiritu" of the Busnois Missa L'homme armé; and this recasting took place some time after 1470.

Footnotes

1. Maniates, "Combinative Chansons in the Dijon Chansonnier," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 23 (1970), p. 228-281, gives a useful summary of the forms a combinative chanson can take. The aesthetic problems posed by such songs are discussed in Maniates, "Mannerist Composition in Franco-Flemish Polyphony," The Musical Quarterly, 52 (1966), p. 17-36.
2. The passage is discussed by Brenet, "L'homme armé," Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, 30 (1898), p. 124-128, most fully by Plamenac, "Miscellen," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, 11 (1928-29), p.376-383, and again by Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier...", The Musical Quarterly, 28 (1942), p.14-49, on p.19-20; Peter Gülke, "Das Volkslied..." (1961), p. 193, writes: "Möglicherweise war l'homme armé ein Volkslied und zugleich eine Schöpfung Robert Mortons!" (The punctuation is his own.) Anything is possible. But there is no more reason to ascribe the tune to Morton than to Dufay, whose setting must be some fifteen years earlier. In as much as he is saying that such a melody may well have been "composed" by a known composer, one can only agree. But neither the style nor the date makes it likely that Morton had any hand in the original conception.
3. Bukofzer, op.cit., p.20
4. Plamenac, op.cit., p. 383. Catherine Brooks, in her dissertation Antoine Busnois as a Composer of Chansons (New York University, 1951), p.20, makes the interesting point that since the Busnois Missa L'homme armé was evidently the direct model for Obrecht's mass of the same name, there might be some justification in regarding Aaron's

attribution as reflecting a degree of auctoritas connected with the name of Busnois.

5. Ambros, Geschichte der Musik, Vol.3 (1868), p. 57, note 1.
6. All discussions of the piece known to me relate it to the birth of the prince, but this is improbable since the motet includes his name which cannot have been given to him until he was born and his sex was determined. Moreover, the musicological literature placed his birth on 30th September, 1430, rather than 30th December: the correct date was provided by Clarke, "Musicians of the Northern Renaissance," p. 75. The motet was surely written for performance at the infant's baptism in the church of Saint-Jacques-sur-Coudenberghe in Brussels on 18th January 1431.
7. The documents pertaining to his career at the Burgundian court are summarized in Marix, Histoire (1939), p.242-257; Dufay's will is printed in Houdoy, Histoire artistique de ... Cambrai (Lille, 1880), p. 409-414, and elsewhere; the reference to Philip's nomination for the canonicate is in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1046, f 70a; the fraternity reference is from Pinchart, Archives, vol. 2 (1863).
8. Printed in Lenaerts, Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de zesteinde eeuw, (1933), p.2-3.
9. Printed in Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonier (Copenhagen, 1927), p.58-59. See Jeppesen's preface p. XX for a discussion of the motto.
10. Thomas Wright (ed.), Les cent nouvelles nouvelles (Paris, 1858).
11. Smijers, De illustre lieve Vrouwe Broederschap ... (1932), p.175 &177.
12. Hannas, "Concerning Deletions...", Journal of the American Musicological

Society, 5 (1952), p.155-186 on p. 168; Cohen, The Six L'homme armé Masses... (1968), p.19-21; Chew, "The Early Cyclic Mass...", Music and Letters, 53 (1972).

13. See the discussion of the manuscript in Judith Cohen, The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms VI E 40 (American Institute of Musicology, 1968).
14. Hannas, loc.cit.; Cohen, op.cit., p.19-21.
15. Thomson, An Introduction to Philippe (?) Caron (Brooklyn, 1964), p.13 attributes this interpretation to Torrefranca, Il Segreto del Quattrocento (Milan, 1939), p. 18, who, however, merely characterizes the song as "oscena" without further details.
Brian Trowell, in his forthcoming Grove article on Morton, draws attention to an acrostic in this poem: Il cesse au Q; I am not at all certain how this should be interpreted.
16. Marix, Histoire... (1939), p. 257; a couple of slips in the transcription have been corrected after comparison with the source, Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes, reg. 1922, f 130v.
17. Marix, op.cit., p. 257 and passim. Jeppesen, op.cit., p. XXVII, agrees that miniatures in these manuscripts are not expressive but points to a change of style in the sixteenth century with the manuscript Tournai 94 (and its pair, Brussels, II/90).
18. Cohen, op.cit., p.20.
19. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonier...", p. 19.
20. Compare Wolfgang Marggraf, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Oktavsprungkadenz," Die Musikforschung, 18 (1965), p.399-400.
21. Similar examples appear in the appendix to Maniates, "The Combinative Chansons...", (1970).

22. Compare Charles Hamm, A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay... (Princeton, 1964), p.162 and passim.
23. Transcribed from Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms.VI E 40, f 62v; facsimile in Cohen, op.cit., opposite p.10.
24. Binchois, Die Chansons..., ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Mainz, 1957), p.2 and p.1.
25. One other possible solution to the problem appears in m.15 where the new Contratenor doubles the C but rises to the D while the other part falls to B. This is only permissible when the final chord can contain a third. Such a situation was however still unacceptable so the other course had to be chosen.
26. Printed in Dufay, Cantiones, ed. Besseler, CMM i/6 (1964), p.86-87. The edition gives the impression that Besseler had overlooked the Tr93 source for the new Contratenor II, but the details of its variants are listed in the Critical Notes, p.LV. Besseler does not discuss the authenticity of this part, but its inclusion in the edition implies his approval. Added parts to Se la face ay pale are consigned to the appendix of opera dubia.
27. Strunk, "Origins of the 'L'homme armé' Mass, "Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, 2 (1937), p.25-26, on p.26.
28. Hannas suggests 1475 for the composition of the Busnois mass, but firmly qualifies this as a guess, op.cit., p.168-169. The guess is based on Strunk's stylistic estimate of 1475 and on the likelihood that Charles the Bold would have wanted some such piece to adorn his meeting with the Emperor Frederick II at Trier in 1475. Attractive though such a suggestion is, it is only one of many occasions on which Charles was concerned to demonstrate the military and artistic strength of his court to the rest of Europe.

of the L'homme armé melody.

Further discussion of the many Mass cycles and textual citations of material related to the L'homme armé tune has not been added here; its relevance, as chapter 8 attempted to show, is to the Tenor, not to Morton's song.

Editions:

1. Original version (p.203). Base: Mellon.
2. Revised four-voice version (p.244). Base: Cas.

Original version: Mellon f 44v-45

Editorial changes:

3 i 5-6: q q in the source. The q. sq reading is taken from m.15 and from Cas. There is no apparent justification for the Mellon reading which results in an open fourth with the Contratenor and must be in error.

Editorial accidentals present a slight problem. The subsemitonium modi in m.5, 12 and 17 is simple enough. The rest are determined by the F in the Contratenor at m.3 and m.15: it must be sharpened to avoid a diminished fifth with the Tenor, and can be accepted as an approach to a cadence.

(The added part in Cas makes the sharp at m.15 even more necessary.) But with these notes sharpened, a pattern is laid for all high G and F figures in the lower parts: so sharps must be added in m.9 and m.11. It is possible that the tradition of the parallel cadence requires sharps at 5 iii 5 and 17 iii 5.

Doubtful passages:

1. 6-7 ii & iii: in the version of the melody in the manuscript Naples

VI E 40, f 62v, the last words here are a repeat of "doibt on doubter" which would in fact fit the available notes rather better than the words "l'omme armé." The pattern of the first two lines, as found in Naples and as begun in the Mellon version, is that after the full seven syllables the final phrase is repeated, so there would be a good argument for restoring this balance in the Morton song. However, the reappearance of the canonic descending fifth figure earlier associated with the words "L'homme armé" suggests that Morton had this text in mind. The sound of two singers singing the words in close canon is one of the strongest humorous elements in the structure of the song and should not be edited away.

2. 11 iii 2: the F one would expect on this note is incompatible with the E in the Discantus and must therefore be retained even though it is counter to any other readings of the L'homme armé tune. Could it be a slip on the composer's part?

3. 15 i 1: the G might be improved by a change to B, but it is confirmed by the reading in Cas. Moreover a B would make the last line of the song consist almost entirely of that note.

4. Two more cases of unusual counterpoint appear. 2 ii 3 leaps to a dissonance with the Discantus which resolves upwards. It is confirmed by Cas. 4 i 2 is a dissonance not easily explained by the received rules; it is best seen as a needed articulation within a long stretch devoted to an unchanging G chord.

Evaluation of the source:

The two errors noted above are surprising in a source that is otherwise totally convincing. Details of underlay are particularly clear in this song, though elsewhere in the same manuscript they are scarcely observed.

Revised four-voice version: Cas f 156v-157

Editorial change:

ll iii 2: F in original, as indeed in the surviving versions of the L'homme armé melody. However, the circumstances which make the change necessary in the three-part version are unaltered in the four-part version except in that the addition of the extra part makes the texture thicker and makes the weak counterpoint between the Discantus and the Contra altus less jarring.

Evaluation of the source:

There is no way to be certain which of the differences from Mel are the result of conscious revision, which of poor transmission. Certainly the ascription "Borton" must be accounted an error. No composer of that name is known, and Morton is surely intended, since the discussions in chapter 8 lead to the conclusion that even if the piece were anonymous it could be attributed with reasonable certainty to either Morton or Joye, the only known composers in the Burgundian court at the time of its composition.

The nonexistent counterpoint between ii and iv in m.2, between iii and iv in m.9 and the slightly unusual dissonance at ll iv 2 are both within the bounds of acceptability for an added part of this kind. It is a general axiom, but particularly true in the fifteenth century, that contrapuntal rules are less strictly observed in texture of four parts than of three.

Variants from Mellon found in Cas:

1. Harmonic changes.

5 iii 2-3: Eq Fq/5 iii 5: D for C/ 17 iii 2-3:Eq Fq/ 17 iii 5: D for C

2. Rhythmic changes.

6 iii 1-2: c/ 6 iii 4: c q/ 7 ii: c. c./ 9 i 1-2: c/ 9 i 4: c q/

9 iii 1-2: c/ 10 ii 1: c q/ 10 ii 2-3: c / 13 iii 1-2: c/ 13 iii 4-5: c/

16 i 1: c q c

3. Melodic changes.

9 i 4: flat added/ 10 i 1-2: c/ 10 i 3: Gc q-rest

4. Presumed transmission errors.

3 i 5-6: c c in Mel corrected to q. sq in Cas/ 11 iii 2: G in Mellon incorrectly changed to F in Cas.

5. Other changes.

3 iii 1: F in Mel, G in Cas/ 9 ii 4: E in Mel, G in Cas

Text

(Discantus)

Il sera pour vous combatu
 Le doubté Turcq, Maistre Symon,
 Certainement ce sera mon
 Et de crocq de ache abatu.

Son orgueil tenons abatu
 S'il chiet en voz mains le felon:
 [Il sera pour vous combatu
 Le doubté Turcq, Maistre Symon.]

En peu d(e) heure l'arés batu
 Au plaisir Dieu, puis dira [t] on:
 Vive Symonet le Breton
 Que sur le Turcq s'est enbatu.

[Il sera pour vous combatu
 Le doubté Turcq, Maistre Symon,
 Certainement ce sera mon
 Et de crocq de ache abatu.]

Tenor & Contratenor

L'ome, l'ome, l'ome armé, (l'ome armé)
 L'ome armé doibt on doubter (et l'ome armé).
 On a fait partout crier (à l'assault)
 Que chacun se doibt armer (à l'assault)
 D'un haubregon de fer.
 L'ome, l'ome, l'ome armé, (l'ome armé)
 L'ome armé doibt on doubter.

Revised four-voice version

The image displays a musical score for a revised four-voice version of the hymn "L'om armé". The score is arranged in three systems, each containing four staves. The top staff of each system is the vocal line, with lyrics written below it. The three lower staves in each system represent the instrumental accompaniment for the Tenor, Alto, and Bass voices, with their respective labels placed to the left of the staves. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "L'om armé, l'om armé" in the first system, and "L'om armé" in the second and third systems. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Measure numbers 5, 10, and 15 are indicated above the vocal lines. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the third system.

Chapter Eight

Plus j'ay le monde: Traces of Morton's Style

Stilkritische Beobachtungen werden vielfach so von Eitner wie Ambros, biobibliographischen Daten beiläufig angehängt, wo sie ein Einzelergebnis beweisen sollen.

Kurt Huber, in Festschrift ...Sandberger (1918), p. 173.

#5

Plus j'ay le mon - de re-gar - - dé, Plus je

Tenor

Contrateno

Detailed description: This system contains the first three measures of the piece. It features a vocal line with lyrics and two piano accompaniment staves. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line starts with a quarter rest, followed by eighth notes for 'Plus j'ay le mon - de' and a half note for 're-gar -'. The piano accompaniment consists of eighth notes in the right hand and quarter notes in the left hand.

voy mon pre - mier chois A - voir le bruit

Detailed description: This system contains measures 4 through 7. The vocal line continues with 'voy mon pre - mier chois' and 'A - voir le bruit'. The piano accompaniment includes some sixteenth-note patterns. Measure numbers 4, 5, 6, and 7 are indicated above the vocal line.

15

et le vois De los, de gra - ce et de

Detailed description: This system contains measures 8 through 11. The vocal line includes 'et le vois' and 'De los, de gra - ce et de'. The piano accompaniment continues with eighth and quarter notes. Measure numbers 8, 9, 10, and 11 are indicated above the vocal line.

beaul - té.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 12 through 14. The vocal line ends with 'beaul - té.' followed by a double bar line. The piano accompaniment concludes with a final chord. Measure numbers 12, 13, and 14 are indicated above the vocal line.

Plus j'ay le monde appears in its only remaining source with two different and unrelated texts underlaid to the Discantus, one Italian and the other French. Both contain metrical and grammatical errors to the extent that no convincing reconstruction can be made on the basis of the existing material. But the important matter here is not how to emend the texts but to decide whether the song was composed with French or Italian text in the first place. The next chapter will show that nothing is known of Morton's life apart from his years at the Burgundian court, and subsequent chapters will discuss the dubious authenticity of songs ascribed to him which have texts in languages other than French. To be able to show at this stage that one of the more authentic songs was apparently written with Italian text would be to open many new possibilities with respect to Morton's life. On the other hand, to show that this song, like all the others discussed so far, was almost certainly written with French text places limits on the likelihood of other works by him having been written in Italian.

Certainly the copyist of the manuscript seems to have given preference to the French text: in the index to the manuscript he omitted the Italian title and named the song by its French title, slightly Italianized: "plus zay le monde - 97" (on f 3). For the scribe, who was evidently an Italian working in Naples or Rome, this was the title that most strongly identified the song. Perhaps when he compiled the index the Italian text had not yet been added.

And the second piece of evidence supports this conclusion. The Italian text shows every sign of having been composed by the scribe himself. A diplomatic transcription of the second stanza with all its

erasures and alterations demonstrates this point. In the transcription scored out words are placed in parenthesis:

(vero po)
 E non vo yo pero tacere
 (E non poria amor tazere) Da ricordar de la (tua) bontade
 Che e in te et honestade
 (Pero te priegho che fay lo to d'avere)
 Quando te vedo me fay godere.

These can scarcely be copyist's errors; nor can they result from copying one source and correcting from another, since there are too many changes. Rather they show continuing evidence of rewriting, and of a not very creative mind in action. Were it not for the difference between the two versions of the last line, it might have been possible to argue that the copyist was trying to reconstruct a poem vaguely remembered but not committed to paper. But with the evidence before us, it seems far more likely that he was composing as he went. This would also explain why even the final version is both metrically irregular and poetically commonplace.

Three further reasons for believing the original to have been French are more subjective in nature, but serve well to support the evidence presented so far. The first of these concerns the rhetorical tone conveyed by the music. Although word-painting as such is quite foreign to the tradition, its musical rhetoric can often be startlingly vivid. The frivolity of Il sera pour vous is as clear from the music as is the languorous atmosphere of Le souvenir and the expansive courtly adoration of N'aray je jamais. The two poems for the song discussed in

this chapter are strongly contrasted in mood. In the French quatrain the poet praises his lady above all others in the world; the Italian double quatrain is in the genre of the recuesta, a plea to an unyielding lady for pity and recognition. In the music the very optimism of the opening triadic figure which lies at the root of all the other melodic material in the piece evokes the unworried spirit of the French poem far more than the beseeching tone of the Italian text, even after due allowance has been made for the psychological distance between the fifteenth century and the twentieth.

Second, an attempt to underlay the Italian text results in an unpleasantly crowded effect whereas the French can emerge at a more leisurely pace (ex.1).⁽¹⁾ Such a judgment may seem to assume too much about the essential similarity of the French and Italian song traditions of the time, just as it may impute too much effect to the two extra syllables per line. But the Italian song falls just uncomfortably short of being syllabic and has none of the flow of the more melismatic works in the small surviving Italian song repertory from the fifteenth century.

That the pace of texting in the French version is comparable to other songs in the repertory appears from the final piece of evidence. The proportions of the piece are almost exactly those of Morton's French Rondeau quatrain also with an eight-syllable line, Le souvenir:

	<u>total length</u>	<u>line 1</u>	<u>line 2</u>	<u>line 3</u>	<u>line 4</u>
<u>Le souvenir</u>	19	4	4	4	7
<u>Plus j'ay le monde</u>	18	4	4	4	6

And even if the lines do not flow with the ease of those in Le souvenir, there is enough similarity of style to group the songs together. In

Ex. 1 Attempt to underlay the Italian text to Plus j'ay le monde

1. Ma - don - na bel - la s'è 'l t'in pia - ze - re
 2. E non vo yo pe - ro ta - ce - re

Mos-trar ver me qual - che pie - ta de

Da ri - cor - dar de la bon - ta - da

Non u - sar tan-ta cru - del - ta - de
 Chi è in te et ho - nes - ta - de

Ma sem-pre si - a be - nigno el to vo - le -
 Quan-do te ve - do me fay go - de -

re.
 re.

terms of mood, tone, and syntax Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais have enough in common with Plus j'ay le monde to suggest a stylistic grouping. Within Morton's own output, Plus j'ay le monde belongs scarcely at all with works such as Paracheve, Cousine, Mon bien ma joyeux and Que pourroit plus faire, but with these two classic examples of the Burgundian court tradition.

The single surviving French quatrain for Plus j'ay le monde, is presumably the first stanza of a Rondeau which does not survive complete. Unfortunately, even the surviving stanza is corrupt, for it has a metrical scheme of 8 / 7 / 7 / 8 syllables which is not to be found among surviving French Rondeaux of the fifteenth century.⁽²⁾ So the edition presented here is itself a makeshift, available for scholarly investigation but not appropriate for performance. But it leaves little doubt that the original was indeed a full French Rondeau with a four line stanza and eight syllables per line.

.....

There is, however, a musical problem if the original was a full Rondeau. This may be the most extreme example in Morton's work of economically used material: can it survive the multiple repetitions of the Rondeau form? It is best to approach this question by comparison not with Mon bien ma joyeux, which keeps to the same material throughout, but rather with N'aray je jamais and Il sera pour vous both of which repeat their first line at the end with only slight modifications. For Plus j'ay le monde repeats the material at the end and also retains the same material throughout.

The kernel appears at the beginning in the Discantus, (ex.2) comprising a rising triad with the upper third filled in, followed by a

Ex. 2

Musical notation for Example 2, Disc. Tenor part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, and 3 indicated above the notes.

Disc.

Ex. 3

Musical notation for Example 3, Disc. Tenor part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 3 and 4 indicated above the notes.

Ten.

Ex. 4

Musical notation for Example 4, Disc. Tenor part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 14, 15, 16, and 17 indicated above the notes.

Disc. 14

Ten.

Ex. 5

Musical notation for Example 5, Disc. Tenor part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 17, 18, and 19 indicated above the notes.

Ten. 8

Ex. 6

Musical notation for Example 6, Disc. Tenor part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 13, 14, and 15 indicated above the notes.

Disc. 13

Ten

Ex. 7

Musical notation for Example 7, Contra part. The staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, and 3 indicated above the notes.

Contra

falling triad with the lower third filled in. The material is reminiscent of N'aray je jamais; but here it is confined to a single range of the Discantus, a part which is centered on the fifth G to D,^{and} only departs from it in line 3. It is this insistence on a small range that most strongly gives the impression of musical economy.

In the second phrase the Discantus begins with the same material but moves off in a different direction subsequently; and in fact it has a counter-subject, for the original motif appears a fourth lower in the Tenor (ex.3). At the end of the song the same sequence of events occurs, this time compressed (ex.4). In both the Discantus and the Tenor the final note of the phrase is now omitted but replaced by the first note of the next phrase which begins two beats earlier than at the beginning of the song. Here, as in N'aray je jamais, the essential similarity of the first and last lines is offset by the real differences that help round off the musical stanza.

Elsewhere in the song the Tenor moves in the G to D range and recalls the same motif in a less obvious way, as in ex.5. In m.13 the Tenor anticipates the final phrase of the Discantus (ex.6). Possibly too, the same opening motif is reflected in the opening of the Contratenor, a figure which appears again, in the Tenor part, at the beginning of the second half of the piece (ex.7).

Only the need for brevity, surely, can justify such concentration of material. Where N'aray je jamais and Il sera pour vous relied for their success on the contrast of the middle section and the significant changes at the very end, here it is the concentrated exploitation of one idea that most strongly characterizes the song. But in all four

songs the idea of musical economy and of repeated material within one stanza seems to be part of Morton's musical style. The remainder of this chapter will examine the possibility of isolating this and other features as distinguishing the music of Morton from that of his contemporaries and colleagues.

.....

It is first of all worth remarking that a sample of eight songs is scarcely sufficient material on which to base any solid stylistic generalizations especially when the sample includes such diverse works as Il sera pour vous (a conscious pastiche), Cousine (a deliberate and bold experiment in metrical patterns), and the extraordinary Mon bien ma joyeux alongside such traditional court songs as Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais. Yet the attempt must be made here, since we now reach the end of the songs that can be ascribed to Morton with any confidence. Four other songs are ascribed to him in sources of the fifteenth century, and the third part of the dissertation will be devoted to showing how each of them raises so many questions of authenticity that it would be extremely dangerous to base any estimate of his work, far less any conclusions about his style on a corpus that includes any of those four.

In such circumstances it seems important at this stage to draw together any features that have been observed in the songs discussed so far and to try to evaluate their significance by placing them in the context of Morton's contemporaries. For these purposes an attempt was made to assemble the songs of those composers who are known to have been working at the Burgundian court chapel during Morton's time

there. Only Busnois was omitted because the difficulty of collecting and evaluating his complete songs would be quite out of proportion with the tentative conclusions that could be drawn from such a comparison. So the body of material with which Morton's seven reasonably authenticated songs have been compared consists of the twenty songs ascribed to Hayne van Ghizeghem, the two ascribed to Constans van Languebroeck, the two ascribed to Basin (a third is also ascribed to Morton and has therefore been left out of the discussion for the time being), the two ascribed to Simon le Breton, and the five ascribed to Gilles Joye.⁽³⁾

The first feature for comparison was the repetition of material from the first line in the last line, as found in N'aray je jamais, Il sera pour vous, and Plus j'ay le monde. It is not found in any of the other works examined. In Gilles Joye's Poy che crudel fortuna the first section and the second section end with a coda of six measures which are the same in each case, but this is simply a characteristic of the Ballade form in which the song is cast and has nothing to do with the feature identified in Morton's Rondeaux.⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, none of the other songs studied even shows the kind of economy of material found in Mon bien ma joyeux. In this respect Morton is apparently individual and bold. It might be observed that two songs of Ockeghem contain this feature: L'autre d'antan has a final line which begins like the first line and turns it into a coda; and Les desloyaulx displays a curious feature in that the last line is similar to the first except for one small interruption.⁽⁵⁾ Later in the century also this feature can be found in the growing tradition of songs based on folk material and moving towards the style that was to culminate in the classic Parisian chanson of the 1520s. These features are to be seen

for instance in two songs in Petrucci's Canti B: the anonymous Je suis trop jeunette and Pierre de la Rue's Ce n'est pas jeu d'estre sy fortunée.⁽⁶⁾ Such a feature is therefore not unique to Morton, but does seem otherwise not to be characteristic of composers at the Burgundian court.

Much comment already has been made on the way Morton tended to structure the Discantus and the Tenor so as to avoid what was termed "Standard Contratenor function."⁽⁷⁾ This seems indeed to be characteristic of his work. Only in Plus j'ay le monde does Standard Contratenor function appear more than once, and there may therefore be good reason for regarding this as an early work. Hayne van Ghiseghem, by contrast, could be considered the classic exponent of Standard Contratenor function. In six of his songs every single cadence is followed by S C F; and a further six omit it in only one cadence. The figures are equally high in the work of Basin and Constans. Only Simon le Breton seems to avoid S C F as carefully as Morton, if his two surviving songs are any basis for judgment.

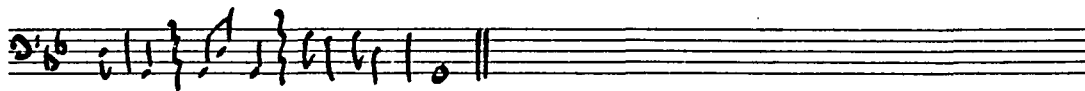
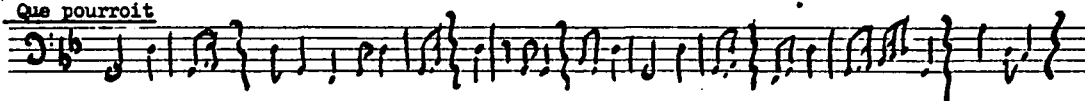
Jeppesen's reference to "Der einzige Septimensprung, der in Kopenhagen zu finden ist"⁽⁸⁾ is more to the point than the nature of his remark might at first suggest. He was referring to the leap of a seventh in the Contra of N'aray je jamais at m.15 which is not to be paralleled elsewhere among the thirty songs of the time in the manuscript CopI. This same interval appears three more times in Morton's work, each time in the Contra: in Paracheve ton emprise at m.9 in Que pourroit at m.18 and in Il sera pour vous at m.16-17. By contrast no leap of a seventh is to be found anywhere in the work of

Constans, Basin, Joye or Simon le Breton. In Hayne it occurs only four times: once in the fourth part of Allez regretz, probably added by some other hand for inclusion in the Odhecaton of 1501, twice in very late works (De quatre nuys and Pource que j'ay jouy) and otherwise just once, in his J'ay bien choisi (also ascribed to Busnois). Again, it would be difficult to draw firm conclusions from such figures based on only seven Morton songs and a handful of songs by his contemporaries and colleagues; but a preference is indicated.

Even the falling fifth figure found so prominently in the Contra parts of Cousine and Paracheve as well as in Le souvenir, N'aray je jamais and in most of the other Morton songs (ex.8) is considerably rarer in the music of his contemporaries than one might reasonably expect. In the work of Hayne van Ghiseghem it is most infrequent: J'ay bien choisi (also ascribed to Busnois) contains the fall from D to G ten times, and Se une fois contains it five times, but both are lengthy pieces and show none of the insistence on the interval suggested in the shorter works of Morton. Otherwise there is absolutely no emphasis on this interval in Hayne's work. The fall A to D appears five times in Joye's textless song (Marix, 1937, no.57) and the fall G to C occurs six times in a textless song of Constans (Marix, 1937, no.58). Otherwise there is no remarkable use of the interval in either of these composers, nor in the songs of Simon le Breton. The same could be said of Basin except that his Madame faytes moy savoir includes nine falls of a fifth, albeit on different pitches. Time limits a search for falling fifths in the songs of Busnois and Ockeghem; but the effort would be largely in vain, for the aim is not to prove that Morton was the only

Ex. 8

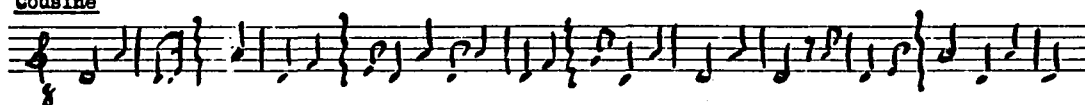
Que pourroit



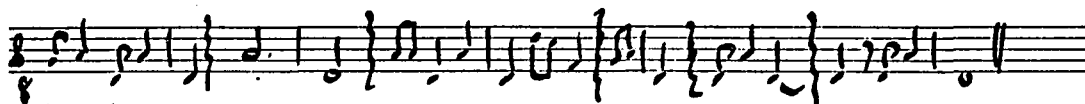
N'aray je



Cousine



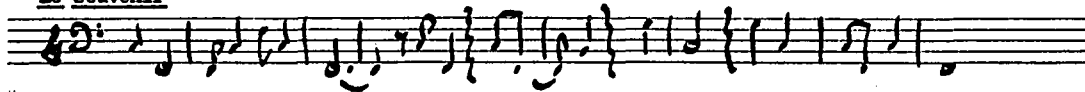
Paracheve



Plus j'ay le monde



Le souvenir



composer to exploit the figure, merely to explore the context of his songs and to show what kinds of musical gestures came most naturally to him.

Whether formal preferences are indicated by his avoidance of the Ballade and the Bergerette, it is difficult to say. This may merely be the chance survival of certain pieces but not of others. It may also be a question of his generation, one that tended to favor the Rondeau form. The Ballade was rare at this late date and is not found in the work of the other composers under consideration, nor in that of Busnois.⁽⁹⁾ Ockeghem, however, used the Ballade form for his lament at the death of Binchois in 1460, Mort tu as navré de ton dart, and it must have been Ockeghem too, in his capacity as Chapel master to the kings of France, who wrote the Ballade Resjois toi terre de France in a very similar style, welcoming a new King, presumably Louis XI who acceded to the throne in 1461, the year after Binchois died.⁽¹⁰⁾ An obviously occasional Ballade by Pullois beginning La bonté du Saint Esperit seems to date from the same time.⁽¹¹⁾ The one possible Ballade of Gilles Joye may be in some other form, since it survives only with Italian text and displays many stylistic curiosities.⁽¹²⁾ Avoidance of the Bergerette form is more difficult to explain, for there are thirteen Bergerettes among the sixty three surviving songs of Busnois, and the form was cultivated by Dufay also in his old age.⁽¹³⁾ But, these apart, Morton was not the only composer of his time whose surviving work consists entirely of Rondeaux: the same is the case with Hayne van Ghiseghem, Simon le Breton, Constans and Basin.⁽¹⁴⁾

Tonality is a feature that must be treated with care since there is so much disagreement as to the number of editorial accidentals required, and since pieces were often transposed.⁽¹⁵⁾ Morton's Le souvenir, for instance, is intabulated a fifth higher than usual in Buxh im no. 250; and the Morton or Basin piece Vien avante appears in its two different sources a fourth apart. However it may be significant that while eleven of Hayne's twenty surviving songs are in a tonality one would describe as being G minor, this tonality is avoided by Morton who uses it only in Que Pourroit. Three of Morton's songs are in D minor, (N'aray je jamais, Cousine, Paracheve), whereas only one of Hayne's output is clearly in that tonality⁽¹⁶⁾ which is also rare in Morton's other contemporaries.

But at this point the factors separating Morton's work from that of his colleagues and contemporaries become even more intangible, and it is better to conclude by noting a few melodic and contrapuntal details that seem to appear several times within Morton's work, turns which, like the falling fifth in the Contratenors of ex. 8 seem to have come easily from his pen.

Ex.9 shows two examples of a very similar rocking motion over that same falling fifth in the Contra. Here Discantus and Tenor overlap with unison imitation in both Cousine and Paracheve.

Ex.10 exemplifies another kind of movement over a rocking fifth in the Contra. Close position and overlapping parts are used in a comparable manner again in Plus j'ay le monde and in N'aray je jamais, as shown in ex.11. Further melodic similarity between Cousine and Paracheve is seen in ex.12.

Ex. 9

10 11 12 13 Cousine

13 14 15 16 Paracheva

Ex. 10

1 2 3 4 Que pourroit

1 2 3 4 Cousine

Ex. 11

Plus j'ay
N'aray je jamais

Ex. 12

Paracheve
Cousine

Along a different line of inquiry, parallels might be sought for the strange counterpoint in m.8-9 of Plus j'ay le monde (ex.13). Similar examples of questionable part-writing are found in Paracheve, Cousine and Que pourroit (ex.14) and with slightly more assured independence of the parts in N'aray je jamais (ex.15). Perhaps this observation could provide a first handhold towards the daunting question of finding a chronological sequence for Morton's works.

One contrapuntal feature that recurs is the progression from a fifth to a sixth over a static lower note as in ex.16 . In each case the result is a cadence whose flavor comes closest to "Mortonian" of all the details identified so far.

This is not the place to summarize such findings or to draw conclusions. Obviously Cousine, Paracheve and Que pourroit plus faire have many points of contact while the two F major songs, Le souvenir and Mon bien ma joyeux, are stylistically more removed from the general run of characteristics mentioned. Even more obviously, the combinative chanson Il sera pour vous/ L'homme armé is stylistically in an entirely different world.

But it is perhaps surprising, even gratifying, to realize how many features can be identified and how a relatively compact idea of Morton's musical style emerges. He worked at the court of Burgundy, and the evidence of the preceding chapters is that he assimilated the style of the musicians around him while himself remaining an individual composer whose music - to judge by the details that have played an important role in the discussions in this and previous chapters - was as refined and courtly as the ambience in which he lived. While it would be an exaggeration

Ex. 13

Musical notation for Ex. 13, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text Plus j'ay is written above the final notes.

Ex. 14

Musical notation for Ex. 14, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text que pourroit is written above the first part, Cousins above the second part, and Disc. and Contre are written below the staff.

Ex. 15

Musical notation for Ex. 15, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text N'aray je jamais is written above the final notes.

Ex. 16

Musical notation for Ex. 16, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text Plus j'ay is written above the first part, Paracheve above the second part, que pourroit above the third part, and Le Souvenir above the fourth part.

to attribute greatness or even major importance to him on the slim showing of these few songs, there is evidence here that Morton's position in one of the most admired musical establishments of the fifteenth century was fully earned.

Footnotes

1. Ex.1 presents the Italian underlaid to the Discantus; the effect of the French text can be seen directly from the edition.
2. Chatelain, Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e siècle (Paris, 1907), passim.
3. Sixteen of Hayne's songs are printed in Marix, Les Musiciens (1937): Amours amours, De tous biens plaine and Alez regretz can be found in Hewitt, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton (1942); Se je vous eslonge is printed in Picker, The Chanson Albums (1965). Both songs of Constans are in Marix, op.cit. The songs of Basin are not published in easily accessible form: Madame trop is transcribed in chapter 11 infra, Nos amis in chapter 13; his third song Vien avante is edited below and discussed in chapter 13, but since it is also ascribed to Morton it is omitted entirely from the discussion here. Simon le Breton's Nul ne se frotte is published in Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927) and his Wie sach oit is in Lenaerts, Het Nederlands polifonies lied (1933). Joye's works are scattered: two are in Marix, op.cit., Ce qu'on fait is published by Plamenac in Musical Quarterly, 1951, p.541 and in van Molle, Indentification d'un portrait de Gilles Joye (1960). Merci mon dueil is unpublished but can be found in Mellon f 28v-29, Fl76 f 8v-9 and Laborde f 58v-59. Poy che crudel fortuna, also unpublished, is in Oporto.
4. I hope to discuss the form of this song on some other occasion, largely because of its similarity to John Bedyngnam's Gentil madonna, a song whose best transmitted text is Italian but which might originally have been written with English text. Poy che crudel fortuna is so

different from anything else of Joye and indeed from anything else in the Burgundian tradition that it raises serious questions at every turn. It may well not be his work; and even if it is, it should probably not be considered seriously in a discussion of the musical style cultivated at the Burgundian court.

5. Both Ockeghem songs are published in Droz, Rokseth and Thibault, Trois chansonniers (1927).
6. Both are published in Hewitt, Canti B (1967), p.111-113 and p.114-116.
7. Standard Contratenor Function is discussed in chapter 2, supra.
8. Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927).
9. A list of songs by Busnois is printed in Brooks, "Antoine Busnois, Chanson Composer," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 6 (1953), p.111-135, on p.124-127. It is used here for its listing of the forms only.
10. Mort tu as navré de ton dart is published in Marix (1937), p.83-85; Resjoi toi terre de France is in Pix f 43v-45 and in MC p.375.
11. Pullois, Collected Works, ed. Gulke (1967), p.34-35.
12. See note 4 above.
13. Brooks, op.cit. The late Bergerettes of Dufay are nos. 23 and 24 in Besseler's edition.
14. One Bergerette, Se je vous eslonge, is ascribed to Hayne, but both Picker (The Chansons Albums, p.145) and Lerner (Agricola, Collected Works, vol.5) are inclined more to accept the contrary ascription to Agricola in F 178. If it is the work of Hayne it must surely be one of his last works; in any case it comes from a generation long after Morton's.

15. Reference to tonality in terms of key-signature or mode is avoided here since it can describe only one part at a time. Clumsy though it may seem, the terminology used here has the advantages of alerting the reader to many of the qualifications that must be understood.
16. Pource que j'ay jouy (ed. Marix, op.cit., p.125) is very much in D minor. His Plus n'en aray (ed. Marix, op.cit., p.124) finishes on D but goes through some strange tonal contortions to get there; it seems better to avoid naming a tonality for this piece.

Plus j'ay le monde regardé (Madonna bella)

Rondeau quatrain

EscB f 126v-127 (no.107) orig. f 97 "morton" Index f 3: Plus zay le monde

Text edition:

ed. Pirrotta, "Su alcuni testi" (1973), p.151.

Text

Base: EscB, unique source

Plus j'ay le monde regardé,
 Plus je voy mon premier chois
 Avoir le bruit et la vois
 De los, de grace et de beaulté.

Emendations: non, though there might be some point in adding a syllable to the second and third lines so that they equal the eight syllables of the first and fourth. Evidently the first stanza of a rondeau quatrain.

Substituted Italian text in the same source:

Ma donna bella se'l t'è in piazere
 Mostrar ver me qualche pietade,
 Non usar tanta crudeltade
 Ma sempre sia benigno el to volere.

E non vo yo pero tacere
 Da ricordar de la bontade
 Chi è in te et honestade
 Quando te vedo me fay godere.

Emendations: none, though several have already been made by the copyist of the manuscript who may well have been composing the poem as he went along, see p.248; it seems unlikely that this poem ever had a "correct" form that scanned properly.

Part II: Biographical

Chapter Nine

Robert Morton's Life

Fate tried to conceal him
by naming him Smith.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Boys

While the primary concern of this dissertation is to examine songs and their musical style, there comes a point at which biographical documents begin to become important: hitherto I have made every effort to concentrate attention on the music and to try to avoid the alluring temptations of material related to the Burgundian court, but since the discussions of Morton's possible authorship of the remaining works inevitably hangs to some extent on biographical data, this seems the correct stage at which to describe, evaluate and correct the known facts about Morton's life and about the musical ambience created by his main patron Charles the Bold.

All the surviving documents bearing on the life of Morton concern his years as clerc and chappelain in the chapel choir of the Burgundian court from 1457 to 1476, the final decade of the long reign of Philip the Good and the first eight years of the brief and tumultuous reign of his son Charles the Bold.⁽¹⁾ In the archives he is normally designated "Messire Robert Morton" or just "Messire Morton" with the spelling occasionally varied to "Mourton" and "Moriton." All the songs attributed to him are ascribed "Morton" or, in the case of one manuscript, "Mortom" (possibly "Mortoni") and their style belongs to those years. So there is no reason to question the accepted view that the Burgundian court chapel singer and the composer are one.

Morton first appears in the court accounts for 1457, with an authorization for him to be dressed as one of the court chapel:

A Robert Morton, chappelain anglois, la somme de soixante douze livres dicte monnoye [viz livres Tournois] pour don à lui fait par monditseigneur pour soy aidier à monter et habillier à son

dernier parlement de ladite ville de Bruxelles, et pour soy
entretenir avec les chantres de la chappelle de monditseigneur.⁽²⁾

This is the only document to describe him as an Englishman. Though the order is undated it is likely that Morton entered the chapel at the very end of the year, for his name does not appear on the list of chapel payments for 1457.⁽³⁾ (There is no apparent justification for Pichart's dating of the 1457 order as "between August and November."⁽⁴⁾ And since lists of chapel payments for the years 1458 and 1459 are missing, the first documentation of his presence in the choir itself is on the list beginning October 1460.⁽⁵⁾ Here, in the list of fifteen chappelains, five clercs and five sommeliers, he appears in the junior position of fourth clerc. Remaining in the choir for another fifteen years, he slowly gained seniority.

Several brief absences are quite carefully chronicled by the compilers of the Burgundian court accounts; and since they have not always been recorded so accurately by modern scholars they are mentioned here as an example of the extreme care taken in these accounts.

In 1464 Philip the Good gave Morton permission to work in the household of Charles count of Charolais, the future Duke Charles the Bold. Morton continued to be paid as a member of the ducal chapel, whose accounts contain an annotation saying that he was absent and that care should be taken to ensure that he was not receiving any other income in addition to that from the chapel. The first absence was granted for nine months which in the event stretched to nine months and twelve days: beginning 1st June 1464, he remained with Charolais until 12th March 1465.⁽⁶⁾

Present again in the ducal chapel from 13th March 1465 until at least the end of August 1465, he was with Charolais for another three months some time between 1st October 1465 and the end of September 1466.

An unpublished document from October 1470 records Morton's absence for twenty five days from 20th July to 13th August of that year.⁽⁷⁾

A Phelippe du Passage, Messire Pasquier des Prez chappellains, Johannes de Trecht et Messire Robert Morton clerics de la chappelle domestique de monseigneur: la somme de cinquante six livres quatorze solz dudit pris [viz livres Tournois] à oulx deue à cause de leurs gaiges ordinaires de certains tours que du congié de monseigneur ilz ont esté absens de ladite chappelle, combien que en cas semblables autres supportz d'icelle sont demourez comptez ... Le dit Messire Robert: d'icellui xx^e de Juillet au xiii^e jour d'Acoust ou tous incluz sont comprins xxv jours, dont ses gaiges ordinaires montent £xvi, xvii s. vi d. ... Ledit somme de £lvi, xiii s., dont monditseigneur veult qu'ilz soyent payez et de grace especiale leur a accordé avoir icelle somme par les mains de son dit argentier pour et par ses lettres patentes donnees à Hesdin le iiii^e jour d'Octobre lxx et rendues garnie de quittance de chacun d'eulx pour sa part et portion contenant ... en conscience d'avoir esté dehors par lesdits jours des congié et licence de monseigneur. Aver quatre certiffications du maistre de la chambre au devers du monseigneur contenu que chacun d'eulx n'a esté compté par les escroés par lesdits jours chacun pour lui declaire ladite somme de: £lvi, xiiii s.

The qualification "du congié de monseigneur" (with the Duke's permission) implies that this was merely a vacation of some kind, and in any case that it was an exception within the severely regulated organization of the court chapel. The paymaster evidently took great care that the correct money should be paid for the correct services: all four singers were paid their normal wages, but out of a special fund, not the chapel budget

that normally paid them; and the document goes on to order a certificate from the compiler of the daily escroés stating that they were indeed absent on those days and not paid. The already detailed accounts of the Dukes of Burgundy had become even more careful with Charles the Bold's reorganization of his financial affairs in 1468.

The escroés,⁽⁸⁾ or lists of daily household payments, are an important source of detailed information as to the movements of the court and its members. Each day two long parchment lists were made containing the names of all those present and the monies due to them: at the end of the three month period this information would be gathered together in the court's quarterly accounts which also included material expenditures and, of course, income. While many of these parchment escroés have been preserved by generations of conscientious archivists, they ceased to be useful after the compilation of the quarterly accounts, so there is no systematic collection of them. Yet conflicting information about the promotion of Morton to chappelain and about the date he left the Ducal service made it necessary to assemble a handlist of those escroés that concern the chapel during the crucial months. Table 1 (at the end of this chapter) contains this handlist which shows that Morton was present down to and including 19th February 1475 (New Style). Then after an absence of some months he appears again on the lists for 13th and 14th June. The inclusion of the day of the week, the date and the place on each escroé leaves no doubt about the accuracy of this information: there is no possible confusion of new and old style dating here, and the extraordinary detail of the accounts makes it extremely unlikely that they should have listed Morton as being present when he was not. It is

also unlikely that any cogent explanation will ever be available to show why he should have been absent for three and a half months in the middle of the gruesome siege of Neuss and then return for a mere two days.

On the other hand it is unlikely that he died on 14th June. Here the documents are all secondary and some of them demonstrably wrong, but the effort to review them may help clear a bit of the confusion.

Alexandre Pinchart mentioned a document giving a list of debts for Charles the Bold in which Morton is reported as being owed a quarter of his annual wages for 1475.⁽⁹⁾ Nobody else has reported seeing this document. For what the information may be worth, Pinchart's notes (Brussels, Royal Library, II 1200; the musical notes are in coffret no.9) include a copy of this document entitled "Etat des dettes de Ch. le Tém." with the annotation "nc. 1796"; but considerable search in the Bibliothèque Royale and in the Archives du Royaume at Brussels failed to produce the original from which this was copied. Yet Pinchart's conclusion that Morton died at the end of March 1475, that is, at the end of the quarter of a year for which the Duke was in debt to him, must be incorrect. We know that he was alive on 14th June; and the unexplained absence between 19th February and 13th June may have been paralleled by similar absences for reasons less serious than outright death.

Another lost document appears to show that Morton was still at the Burgundian court in 1478. The second, augmented, edition of the Fétis Biographie universelle des musiciens (1864) asserts:

[Morton] se trouvait encore au tableau de cette chapelle en 1478, suivant l'état qui en fut fait dans cette même année, après la mort de Charles le Téméraire.

Later the article again refers to the same list, thereby giving it additional credence. However the information is almost certainly wrong. Pinchart's above-mentioned biography of Morton published three years (1867) later opens:

Les renseignements qui suivent, relatifs à ce musicien, complètent et rectifient ceux qui nous avons communiqués à M. Fétis, pour la nouvelle Biographie universelle des musiciens.

In the preface to the second edition of his Biographie universelle Fétis acknowledges Pinchart's help. Fétis evidently relied on him for the new information on Morton - and rightly so, for Pinchart, forty years his junior and an assistant archivist at the Archives du Royaume in Brussels, had spent many years studying the account books of the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁰⁾ The new information in Pinchart's 1867 article clearly shows that since submitting information to Fétis, he had gone carefully through the account books of the Burgundian court for the reigns of Philip and Charles. Practically all the relevant information from these sources on not only Morton but also Binchois is presented in the new article.⁽¹¹⁾ But among the many facts in the 1867 Morton article which amplify those in Fétis, there is only one that seems to correct the earlier work. This is the omission of any mention of Morton's presence in 1478 and the substitution of a new assertion that the list of Charles the Bold's debts included payment to Morton for three months' work in 1475. It must therefore be assumed that the reference to the 1478 document in Fétis was the one Pinchart wished to rectify three years later. The document which had first appeared to Pinchart to be a list of

those still present in the chapel in 1478 turned out on re-reading to be a list of Charles's outstanding debts. Such mistakes are easily made, but in this case it is curious that both articles, normally careful in citing their sources, omit any detailed reference to this particular document. Thus, although Pinchart must be accounted in error when he finally deduced from the document that Morton died in March 1475, this statement in the 1867 article may be read as a withdrawal of his claim that any document bore witness to Morton's presence in the Burgundian court in 1478.

In fact Morton probably left the chapel officially at the end of January 1476. The relevant document was mentioned by Pirro⁽¹²⁾ but, like so much else in his excellently detailed but poorly indexed book, seems not to have been noticed by subsequent writers: it is a sixteenth-century copy of some earlier documents, among them an "Estat de la maison" of Charles the Bold, dated 31 December 1475 from Nancy and making no mention of Morton's name. Yet on f 2v of this manuscript there appears the following sentence:

Monseigneur le duc par ses lettres patentes du 14^e fevrier anno 74 [i.e. 1475, New Style] a accordé à Messire Pierre Basin aparavant cleric de la chappelle le premier lieu de chappellain de la chappelle qui eschiera vacante par mort, resignation ou [something illegible] ; fait la 25^e jour dudit mois de fevrier.

This is an extremely common kind of ecclesiastical document, providing the beneficiary with an expectative so that he could take up the new appointment immediately it became vacant. The crucial document is copied immediately below it in the same sixteenth-century manuscript:

Monseigneur a retenu messire Pierre Basin en son chappellain domestique de sa chappelle ou lieu de messire Robert Morton qui est pour un franc; le premier jour de fevrier anno 75 [i.e. 1476, New Style].

Thus although Morton may not have been present more than a total of three months in 1475, his position as a chappellain was not officially vacated until the end of January 1476; and whereas the timing of the expectative for Pierre Basin and the extremely intermittent attendance of Robert Morton during the final year of his service may perhaps be taken as indicative of a terminal sickness leading to his eventual death in January, it also seems likely that the document of February 1476 might have alluded to him as "feu" (late) if he had died recently.

Indeed, there is even a possibility that he remained alive after this, if the document cited by Pinchart in 1867 is the same as that mentioned by Fétis (presumably on the basis of Pinchart's research) in 1864. This statement of Charles the Bold's debts was evidently drawn up in 1478 after his death, though specifying debts owed some years before. Just as the accounts are punctilious in recording the reasons for each payment, they are careful always to note who exactly is being paid. Widows and orphaned children are frequently found in the accounts.⁽¹³⁾ Since, according to Pinchart's account, no beneficiary other than Robert Morton himself is mentioned, it must be assumed that Morton was still alive in 1478, so far as the paymaster of the Burgundian court knew.

On a different matter which Pinchart construed correctly, a later misreading of his work led to a further error. From 1457 until at least 1470 Morton's status within the chapel was that of clerc. A list of

payments for 6th August 1474 shows that he had by then been promoted chappelain. However the date of his promotion was unknown since Pinchart knew no list of the chapel between October 1470 and August 1474. Pinchart clearly stated this:

...ce n'est que postérieurement à 1470 qu'il fut élevé à la dignité de chapelain. Dans le tableau du personnel de 1474, Morton occupe le sixième rang parmi ceux qui étaient revêtus de ces dernières fonctions. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Unfortunately the source normally used by subsequent biographers, the considerably more accessible Histoire (1939) by Jeanne Marix, relays this information incorrectly. Citing Pinchart as her source, Marix writes:

Ce n'est qu'en 1470, sous le règne de Charles le Téméraire, que Morton est promu à la dignité de chapelain.

Almost imperceptibly, "Later than 1470" has slipped into "Later, in 1470." And the error has turned up as fact in most subsequent studies. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Once again, the escroés can establish the correctness of Pinchart's hypothesis and define the date rather closer. Working largely in Brussels, Pinchart did not make use of the escroés, most of which, for these years, are in Lille. Nine surviving escroés for 1471 down to and including Thursday, 20th June (at Abbeville; Lille. Archives du Nord, 118, 645) describe Morton as clerc; I was unable to locate any escroés after that until Monday, 20th July, 1472 (Archives du Nord, 118, 738) at which point Morton was a chappelain earning 18s. a day.

Perhaps the main interest in defining the date he became a chappelain is that it gives even less basis to the hypothesis that Morton was kept in an inferior position by Philip the Good and only promoted

by Charles the Bold whose favourite he was. The position of clerc was a minor one from which most graduated to become chappelain within a few years, but Morton remained in it for nearly fifteen years. If Morton had been unjustly held back by Philip in this way, it would surely have been remedied by Charles immediately on his accession in June 1467: Charles was not one to move slowly in any of his dealings.

It has been suggested that Morton's delayed promotion was because he had not yet been ordained priest and that all chappelains had to be priests. Once again the facts do not bear this out. An unpublished ordonnance of Charles the Bold's household promulgated on 1st January 1468 (i.e. 1469, New Style) begins its extensive discussion of the choir and its duties with this paragraph:

Monditseigneur entent que ou nombre des douze chappellains denommés au chapitre de la chapelle pourront estre auchuns non prestes qui neantmoins auront gages entiers de chapelain; et ausi que au nombre des clerzcz et sommeliers pourront estre prestes qui neantmoins n'auront gages que de clerzcz ou sommeliers; et selon les merites desponables de voix et bons services desdiz clerzcz et sommeliers ilz pourront mo[n]ter de degré en degré, ascavoir sommelier en estat de clercc, et clerzcz en chapelains quant l'opportunité y sera et leurs merites le exigeront selon le bon plaisir de monditseigneur. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Hatton 13, f 10v)

If it was an innovation to allow laymen to be chappelains, then Morton's long stay as a clerc would be explained: only after the ordonnance of January 1468/9 was he eligible to be a chappelain, and he was promoted as soon as a position became vacant. But there is every sign that the principle had been in effect for some years. Indeed the ordonnance has

a two-page introduction stating that its contents are a codification of previous practice, for the accounts are scrupulous in giving titles to those who are paid.

Evidence that Robert Morton was a priest from the time he entered the court chapel comes clearly from these accounts. He is always styled with the title "Messire" whereas many of his colleagues appear without any title. A survey of all available account books from the reigns of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold (details of which will be published elsewhere) shows considerable consistency in the use of these titles.⁽¹⁶⁾ Practically all the chappelains, and usually one of the clercs, were given the title "Messire" in all the documents - quarterly accounts, daily escroés and special payments within the accounts. These titles are retained consistently across the years. But some chappelains have no title at all. Binchois was one of these; others include Jehan de la Tour, Johannes Augustin dit de Passaige, Constans van Languebroeck and Jaquet le Fevre. Changes of status are non-reversible: Julien Floquet who has no title in the lists up to 1438 appears in 1439 and in all lists thereafter as "Messire." And two of those without titles were subsequently appointed to special prebends at Cambrai Cathedral for those who were not priests. The evidence of all these titles is that Morton was already a priest in 1460.

So, in the absence of any documentable institutional reason for Morton's having remained a clerc so long, one is reduced to suggesting that it was connected with his having been employed as a composer and performer of secular music whereas the chapel choir was primarily an institution for fine singing of church music, as is witnessed by the

remarkably small number of works that can be ascribed to members of the chapel apart from Binchois. (17)

One document supports the suggestion that Morton's main function at court was not as a singer in the chapel. The text of a song in Dijon f 158v-159 reads:

La plus grant chiere de jamais
 Ont fait a Cambray la cité
 Morton et Hayne en verité:
 On ne le vous pourroit dire huy mais.

Se on esté servis de beaux mais
 Tout par tout ou ilz ont esté.
 (La plus grant chiere, etc.)

Encores vous iure et prometz
 Sur bas instrumens a planté
 Ont joué et si fort chanté
 Qu'on les ouy pres de Mais.

It was evidently no delicate warbling, this performance, and the enthusiasm of the people of Cambrai hints at being something similar to today's following of the popular stars. The city which by several accounts housed the finest choir in Europe would hardly have been so excited about another excellent choirman; nor would music of the highest quality be in short supply in the city where Dufay had made his home from 1458 until his death in 1474. Morton and Hayne had made an entirely different kind of impact, if the song is to be believed. The ability to arouse the crowds in this way is rarely compatible with good choir singing.

Morton's connection with Hayne van Ghiseghem in the poem is to be expected. Both composers are represented in the surviving sources exclusively by secular music; and both can be documented for precisely the same years around the court of Burgundy. In 1457, the year in which Morton first appears, the boy Hayne was billeted with the much older chaplain, Constans van Languebroek - a man of noble descent, if one is to judge from his appointment in Cambrai to a prebend "pro nobili." The document recording this payment is the household account not of Duke Philip, but of his son Charles count of Charolais. Hayne's next appearance in the documents is at the accession of Charles the Bold in 1467, where there is a reference to him, Adrien Basin and Antoine Busnois as being "varlets de chambre" to the new Duke,⁽¹⁸⁾ so it must be concluded that Hayne remained all this time with Charles. This in turn implies that a visit by Hayne and Morton to Cambrai would have taken place either during one of Morton's two spells with Charles's household in 1464-66 or sometime between his accession and the date of the last document recording Hayne's presence at the court in July 1472.⁽¹⁹⁾

.....

Morton's career before and after his eighteen years in the Burgundian court can be approached only by guess work.

That he was born in England is attested only by the description "chappellain angloix" in the 1457 document recording his entry to the ducal chapel. The document may be translated as follows:

To Robert Morton, English chaplain, the sum of 72 livres, a gift from the duke to help him outfit and dress himself on his last departure from Brussels and to set himself up among the singers of the duke's chapel.

There is a certain ambiguity about the wording: whose "last departure from Brussels" is meant? That of the Duke or that of Morton? If the latter, this carries with it the implication that Morton had already been in Brussels or around the Burgundian court for some years before 1457.

After 1475 he apparently left the ducal chapel, though I have argued above that he may still have been alive in 1478. It is therefore possible that he could be identified with the Rogertus Anglicus who was a papal singer in 1485 or with the Robertus de Anglia in the same chapel in 1493;⁽²⁰⁾ later still, in 1499, the cantor "messer Roberto Inglese" joined the singers at the Ferrarese court.⁽²¹⁾ Yet since the Burgundian court records and the musical manuscripts all refer to him as "Morton", such identification is unlikely. Certainly the "Robertus de Anglia" who was choirmaster at S. Petronio, Bologna, between 1467 and 1475 cannot be identifiable with Morton who is most painstakingly chronicled at the Burgundian court during those years. And the composer "Robertus de Anglia" to whom two songs are ascribed in the Oporto manuscript is almost certainly to be identified with the Bologna choirmaster because of the extremely close connections between the Oporto manuscript and the area around Bologna, because of the mensural style of the songs which Ramos de Pareia described as being characteristic of the Bologna choirmaster and because their style is in any case entirely unlike that of Robert Morton's songs.⁽²²⁾ Moreover it has already been remarked that the Burgundian singer seems always to have gone under the name "Morton."

The difficulty of tracing the composer among English documents is compounded by the relatively common nature of his name. Both the Will

and the Inventory of property survive for one Robert Morton, gentleman, who died in 1488.⁽²³⁾ He had a house in London and another at Stondon, Hertfordshire; but the extremely detailed inventory of their contents reveals nothing to suggest that he was interested in music or that he spent any part of his life at the court of Burgundy. Rather the opposite, for a large collection of plate and household materials suggests a man who had built his home over many years, and the presence "in the maydyn's chambre" at London of "an olde harpe, viij*d*" as the only musical instrument and practically the lowest valued item in the whole inventory shows at best an awareness that music existed.⁽²⁴⁾ The payment of a debt "to the preste that sang for my lady, xvj*s*, viij*d*." is one of the few debts whose recipient is not mentioned by name (the others are those for the apothecary and the brewer); and a bequest "to a preste to synge for hym x yeres, lxvj*li*. xii*js*. iii*jd*." betokens a concern not for music but for his soul.

The executors of the will are besides the testator's wife and a family friend John Morton,⁽²⁵⁾ Bishop of Ely who later became a Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robard Morton, then Master of the Rolls and soon to be bishop of Worcester. Neither the testator nor the executor could possibly be the composer at the Burgundian court; and while it might be worth checking the documents thought to refer to either of these two in the hope that some may rightly belong to the composer, there is ultimately little hope of sorting out any convincing division of the various Robert Mortons in England.⁽²⁶⁾

For the same reason it is difficult to trace Morton's previous or subsequent career elsewhere. It is most unlikely that the Robert Morton

at Rouen in 1429-30 could have been the composer.⁽²⁷⁾

Two further biographical clues may perhaps be seen among his songs. If the extremely corrupt poem Mon bien, m'amour, ma joye et mon desir in the Jardin de plaisance is the correct one for the music of Mon bien ma joyeux, then it is possible that its acrostic MARIE M[O]RELET, if it could be connected with any historical personage, might give some additional leads in a search for further documents on Morton. Similarly there is a possibility that Le souvenir de vous me tue is a song based on the motto of a member of the Bouton family, for although the dedicatee mentioned in many earlier studies,⁽²⁸⁾ Claude Bouton, was probably born in about 1488⁽²⁹⁾ and his motto was in fact "Souvenir tue," there is a possibility that Claude's father Philippe Bouton may have had the motto "Le souvenir de vous." Philippe was a senior courtier who was very close to Antoine de Bourgogne (whose motto is commemorated in Simon le Breton's song Nul ne s'i frotte) and embarked on his second marriage in 1472.⁽³⁰⁾ Methodical investigation has failed to reveal any way these two clues could be followed; but they are recorded here as possible starting-points from which a fuller picture of Morton's life may one day be assembled.

Morton, then, born in England, was formally employed at the Burgundian court chapel at the very end of 1457, though he may have been around the court before that date. Starting in the humble position of fourth clerc, he had become third clerc by 1464 and second clerc by the next year, though from June 1464 until August 1465 and for another three months in the subsequent year he was away at the court of Charles, Count of Charolais, son of Duke Philip and soon to become Duke Charles the Bold.

Between June 1471 and July 1472 Morton was promoted to chappelain. At the end of January 1476 he left the choir, having been absent much during the preceding year. He was perhaps still alive in 1478, so far as the Burgundian court paymaster knew. Apart from those twenty years he cannot be traced.

Footnotes

1. The standard summary in Marix, Histoire (1939), p.209-210, though forty years old, is substantially complete except for the details discussed in this chapter.
2. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord (henceforth ADN), B 2026, f 359v.
3. The list is printed in Marix, (1939), p.254 as being for 1456; the correct date is given earlier in the same book, p.xvi, as 1st January 1457 to 31st December 1457. Part of the missing account for 1456 has been located by Pierre Cockshaw, "Fragments d'un compte" (1966); previously Bibliothèque Royale, ms. II 2756, it is now housed in the Archives Générales du Royaume (henceforth AGR), C C 1866bis.
4. Pinchart, Archives, vol. 3, p.160.
5. Lille, ADN B 2040, printed in Marix (1939), p.254-55. Once again, the date is wrong but is given correctly earlier, on p.xvi. It should perhaps be added that the court accounts for the years 1458 and 1459 survive as ADN B 2030 and B 2034 but that they do not contain lists of chapel payments.
6. See Marix. For the extra twelve days see Brussels, AGR, C C 1922, f 136, the account for March to May 1465: Audit messire Robert Morton pour sesdictes gaiges et quart de robe au pris que dessus; et pour lesdits trois mois compris xii jours qu'il esté devers monditseigneur de Charrollois du consentement de monditseigneur: £ xlviiii, iii s. The original document authorizing Morton's stay with Charolais is curious because it also authorizes nine months' paid vacation for one of the very oldest members of the chapel, Jehan de la Tour; but Jehan

- did not also go to Charolais: he was sick with gout. Brussels, AGR, C C 1922, f 132.
7. Brussels, AGR, C C 1925, f 56v-57.
 8. See Vaughan, Charles the Bold (1973), p.192, fn.1.
 9. Pinchart in Messenger des sciences historiques (no volume number) (1897), p.99. The same material is reprinted exactly in Pinchart, Archives des arts, sciences et lettres, vol. 3 (Ghent, 1881), p.160-161.
 10. See the long article on Pinchart by Henry Hymans in Biographie nationale ... de Belgique, vol.17 (Brussels, 1903), col. 522-534.
 11. In fact the only new information published since is a) the document in which Philip the Good authorizes a messenger to go to Binchois in 1437 with money for a ring to cure toothache and b) the documents cited here in fn. 7 and fn. 12.
 12. Pirro, Histoire de la musique... (1940), p.118 citing Paris, Bibl. nat. f.fr. 3867, f 2v. For the life of Pierre Basin, see Marix, op.cit., and van Doorslaer, "La Chappelle musicale de Philippe le Beau," (1934).
 13. A pension was paid by Charles specifically to the sons of the famous blind Spanish musician Jehan de Fernandez in 1469: " A Charles et Hannequin de Fernandes filz de feu Jehan de Fernandes jadiz joueur de bas instruments et serviteur domestique du dit feu Monseigneur le duc." Brussels, AGR C C 1924, f 30-30v. Later, on the death of the singer Jehan Stuart, a sum of money was paid to his widow to enable her to return to England in Dec. 1477. Lille ADN B 2115. Both documents are unpublished.
 14. Pinchart, 1867, p.100.

15. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (1954), p.98; Grove, 5th edition (1954); MGG vol.9 (1961); Riemann Musik-Lexikon, 12th edition, Personenteil L-Z (1961); Marc Honneger, Dictionnaire de la Musique, vol. 2 (1970).
16. Unfortunately the transcriptions of chapel lists in Marix (1939), p.242-263 omit the titles: she evidently thought them irrelevant. My further research into this subject is in a large article, "Binchois Documentation," still in preparation.
17. This comment may surprise those who know Marix, Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne (1937). Yet much of the music there is quite unrelated to Philip the Good's reign or patronage. Fontaine and Vide really belong to the reign of John the Fearless. The Foliot piece on p.237-9 is in fact a double canon, as pointed out in Reese, p.38: when resolved the piece appears clearly to be in the style of the Josquin era and cannot be related to the Burgundian court musician of 1431; the manuscript containing the piece, Vatican, Cap. Sist. 42 belongs firmly in the sixteenth century. (Mr. Richard Sherr, whose dissertation includes a study of this manuscript, kindly informs me that the leaf in question was copied between 1507 and 1512). Hayne's activity belongs to the reign of Charles the Bold and was apparently never directly supported by Philip. And Grenon probably did most of his composing while at Cambrai cathedral. The remaining total is: Joye, 5 songs; Simon le Breton, 2 songs; Constans van Languebroeck, 2 textless songs.
18. Reese says they were varlets to the old Duke, but this cannot be the case. They do not appear in the accounts until after Charles

- the Bold's accession. The accounts for the final years of Philip's life are fairly complete: unfortunately the only surviving household account for Charles before his accession is that for 1457, Lille ADN B 3660. For Constans and his prebend "pro nobili" see Cambrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms.1046 f 143v-144.
19. Though rarely acknowledged in print, it is obvious that Hayne did not die in 1472. Several of his songs are in a style that belongs more to the 1490s. See especially De quatre nuys (Marix, Les musiciens, p.105), La regretee (op.cit. p.115-118), and Pour ce que j'ay jouy (op.cit.,p.125-126). Marix, "Hayne van Ghiseghem,"(1942), on p.281, hints at her belief that Hayne did live on in the south, as is testified by the almost complete absence of his songs in Burgundian sources: the Italian manuscripts of the years 1480-1500 are the major repository of his work.
20. See Haberl, in Vierteljahresschrift für Musikgeschichte, 3 (1887), p.243 and 246.
21. See Lewis Lockwood, "'Messer Gossino' and Josquin Despres," Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel, ed. Robert L. Marshall (Kassel and Hackensack, 1974), p.15-24 on p.18.
22. Bessler, "Falsche Autornamen" (1968) accepted these two songs as the work of Morton and added to them the song Le serviteur which appears anonymously in the Oporto manuscript but elsewhere with an ascription to Dufay. His arguments are dealt with in some detail in my paper "Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection," for a volume of essays in memory of Thurston Dart, ed. Ian D. Bent and Michael Tilmouth. See also Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier

- (1975), p.178-180. The two songs of Robertus are edited in D. Fallows, Galfridus and Robertus de Anglia: Four Italian Songs (Newton Abbott, 1977).
23. The Will is in the Public Record Office, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register "Milles" f 18, see J. Challenor C. Smith, Index of the Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558 (The British Record Society, 1893), vol. 2, p.378. The Inventory is in the British Library, Ms. Add. 30,064. Both are described and printed in full by E.M. Thompson, "The Will and Inventory of Robert Morton, A.D. 1486-1488," The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 33 (1877) p.308-330. Prof. Lawrence Gushee kindly drew my attention to the Inventory and the article describing it.
24. As concerns prices, a comparison could be made between the old harp and Morton's books: "a masseboke, in 2^o fo. Domine demonstra, xls.," "a sawter, in 2^o fo. quoniam tu prius, vs.," "a prymer, in 2^o fo. minans oculos, iijs. iiijd.," and "a sawter, in 2^o fo. mis meis, ijs. viijd." ibid., p.318.
25. On Cardinal John Morton see D.N.B. 13 (1894), p.1048-1050; more recent information is in A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (Oxford, 1957), vol.2, p.1318-1320. Cardinal Morton was in fact present at the Court of Burgundy as a refugee from Yorkist rule in 1463, and remained in France until 1470; he was in Flanders for similar reasons in 1483-1485 after which he returned to become Archbishop of Canterbury to Henry VII.

26. Bishop Robert Morton's life is summarized in Emden, op.cit., p.1320-1321. The only documents here that could conceivably refer to the composer include a canon and a prebend at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, from 25th October 1481 to before March 1486 and the authorship of the poem "Lyarde" printed in Wright and Halliwell (eds.) Reliquiae antiquae, vol. 2 (1845), p.280-282. The editors do not make this attribution but merely describe the poem's source as "MS. Eccl. Cath. Lincoln, fol. paper, saec. XV. compiled by Robert Morton, in the reign of Henry the Sixth."
27. P.A. Chéruel, Histoire de Rouen sous la domination anglaise au quinzième siècle... (1840), vol.2, p.68, quoting from Archives municipales de Rouen, Registre A, f 252: "Ensuit l'estat de la composition de la ville de Rouen"... "Item fut prinse par les gens et officiers du roy et par Robert Morton grand partie des chaisnes qui au temps de la dicte composition estoient au travers des rues de la dicte ville, lesquelles chaisnes furent portés au chastel de Rouen et apliqués au profict d'iceluy seigneur; lesquelles pouvoient valloir - - -£500." Chéruel estimates 1419 or 1430 as the date of the document which would not merit mention here had it not been put forward as concerning the composer by A. Parris, The Sacred Works of Gilles Binchois (1965), p.20, and repeated in print by Isabelle Cazeaux, French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1975), p. 243.
28. Droz and Piaget, Le jardin de plaisance, vol.2 (1925), p.130; Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927), p.xx; Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater, (1963), p. 255.

29. Pierre Palliot, Histoire généalogique des comtes de Chamilly de la maison Bouton (Dijon and Paris, 1671); Dictionnaire de biographie française, vol.7 (Paris, 1956). Beauvois, however, Un agent politique (1882), suggests a date nearer 1473 for his birth.
30. Pierre Palliot, Preuves de l'histoire généalogique des comtes de Chamilly de la maison Bouton (Dijon, 1665), p. 46. On Philippe Bouton as a poet see Louis Mourin, "Le 'Dialogue de l'homme et de la femme' attributable à Philippe Bouton," Scriptorium, 1 (1946-7), p.145-151; also Jean de la Croix Bouton, "Un poème à Philippe le Bon sur la Toison d'or," Annales de Bourgogne, 42 (1970), p.5-29. Recent evidence of Philippe Bouton's interest in music comes from Herbert Kellman's discovery that he was the original owner of the Chigi Codex.

Table 1: list of escroés for Burgundian court chapel, 1474 and 1475

Sources:

- B Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Etates et audiences, reg.9;
a collection of escroés bound together.
- L Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 3438 (for 1474) and
B 3439 (for 1475), part of a series of boxes numbered B 3400-3441,
each box containing between 20 and 200 escroés normally for a period
of one year. Briefly enumerated in H. David, "Charles le Travailant,"
(1967), p. 86.
- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 8255, a collection of
escroés bound together: 10 Nov 1435-1464 (with many large gaps);
1474-1475; 1501.

Place	Day	Date	Reference	
Tilmont	Wed	13 July	B f.242	
Tricht	Wed	20 July	B f.243	
Nuyssse	Sat	6 Aug	P f.43	
Nusse	Sun	7 Aug	B f.244	
Nuyssse	Sun	14 Aug	B f.245	
Nuyssse	Fri	19 Aug	B f.246	
Nuyssse	Sun	28 Aug	P f.44	
Nuyssse	Mon	29 Aug	B f.247	
Nuyssse	Tues	30 Aug	P f.45	ed. Marix, p.261
Nuyssse	Sat	10 Sept	P f.48	
Nuyssse	Wed	14 Sept	L 119 091	
Nuyssse	Thurs	15 Sept	L 119 092	
Nuyssse	Wed	21 Sept	L 119 094	
Nuyssse	Mon	26 Sept	L 119 096	
Nuyssse	Sat	8 Oct	L 119 105	
Nuyssse	Thurs	20 Oct	L 119 109	
Nuyssse	Fri	21 Oct	L 119 110	
Nuyssse	Mon	24 Oct	L 119 111	
Nuyssse	Sat	12 Nov	L 119 114	
Nuyssen	Tues	15 Nov	L 119 115	
Nuyssen	Wed	16 Nov	L 119 116	
Nuyssen	Tues	22 Nov	L 119 119	
Nuyssen	Wed	30 Nov	L 119 124	
Nuyssen	Sun	18 Dec	L 119 130	
Nuyssen	Wed	21 Dec	L 119 131	
Nuyssen	Fri	23 Dec	L 119 132 (illegible)	

1475 (New Style)

Nuyssen	Thurs	5 Jan	L 119 180	ed. Douillez, Doc. 19
Nuyssen	Sun	15 Jan	L 119 183	
Nuyssen	Fri	20 Jan	L 119 185	
Nuyssen	Sun	22 Jan	L 119 188	
Nuyssen	Sat	4 Feb	L 119 196	
Nuyssen	Sat	11 Feb	L 119 198	
Nuyssen	Sun	19 Feb	L 119 202	Morton absent after this day
Nuyssen	Wed	1 Mar	B f.250 bis	
Nuyssen	Fri	3 Mar	P f.28	
Nuyssen	Sat	4 Mar	P f.29	
Nuyssen	Tues	7 Mar	P f.31	
Nuyssen	Thurs	9 Mar	L 119 203	
Nuyssen	Fri	10 Mar	P f.32	
Nuyssen	Sat	11 Mar	P f.33	
Nuyssen	Sun	12 Mar	P f.34	
Nuyssen	Mon	13 Mar	P f.35	
Nuyssen	Tues	14 Mar	P f.36	
Nuyssen	Wed	15 Mar	P f.37	
Nuyssen	Thurs	16 Mar	P f.38	
Nuyssen	Fri	31 Mar	P f.49	
Nuyssen	Sun	9 Apr	B f. 252	
Nuyssen	Mon	17 Apr	B f.253	
Nuyssen	Thurs	27 Apr	P f.51	
Nuyssen	Sun	30 Apr	P f.52	
Nuyssen	Mon	8 May	P f.54	
Nuyssen	Fri	12 May	P f.55	

Nuyse	Sun	14 May	B f.255	
Nuyse	Thurs	25 May	P f.56	
Nuyse	Fri	2 Jun	P f.57	
Nuyse	Tues	13 Jun	P f.58	Morton present
Nuyse	Wed	14 Jun	P f.59	Morton present
Nuyse	Thurs	15 Jun	P f.60	
Nuyse	Fri	1 July	B f.257	
Camp lez				
Bayon	Fri	6 Oct	L 119 208	
Nancy	Tues	24 Oct	L 119 213	
Nancy	Fri	3 Nov	L 119 222	
Nancy	Fri	14 Dec	L 119 225	
Nancy	Wed	20 Dec	L 119 233	
Nancy	Thurs	28 Dec	P f.27	
Nancy	Sat	30 Dec	L 119 237	
{Nancy	Sun	31 Dec	Paris, B.n., f.fr. 3867}	

Chapter Ten

Charles the Bold as a Patron of Music

Là chantoit chansons et rondeaux,
dont lui même avoit faict le dict,
et les disoit gracieusement, pour
donner secretement et couvertement
à entendre à sa dame, en se complaignant
en ses rondeaux et chansons, comment
l'amour d'elle le destraignoit.

Livre de faicts de... Boucicault

It has already been shown that the only composer of any quantity of music at the court of Philip the Good in the early years was Binchois. During the very last years of the reign, however, other composers were employed: Morton, Hayne van Ghiseghem and Busnois. But in all three cases it looks as though Charles the Bold was the main patron; and particularly since he was clearly an important personal patron to Morton, this chapter examines Charles's musical interests more closely.

17th January 1457 was the day of the final break between Charles count of Charolais and his father Philip the Good. The occasion was Philip's attempt to appoint a member of the powerful de Croy family to a position in his son's household; the reason was the increasing tension between the aging Duke and his irascible son.⁽¹⁾ Philip's wife, Isabel of Portugal, was present at the famous argument and placed herself between the Duke and Charles in order to prevent these two fiery personalities from coming to physical blows, as she later explained. Whatever the reason or reasons, Philip found it hard to forgive either his wife or his son and heir. Charles made this the opportunity to become entirely independent and visited his father no more than twice a year thereafter. Isabel retired to her convent in the Château of La Motte-aux-Bois, and only emerged briefly in 1468 for the negotiation of her son's marriage to Margaret of York.

Charles left his father's court in 1457, and at the end of that same year Morton first appears in the court accounts. Since Charles later apparently asked specifically for Morton's services he must have known Morton before the beginning of 1457.⁽²⁾ This corroborates the hypothesis that Morton had already been working in Brussels for some

time, either as a free-lance musician or connected with some institution whose records have not been recovered. It is likely that his presence around Brussels and the court was the result of encouragement and patronage from Charles, not Philip the Good.

While Philip may have been a generous patron of the arts, the impression left by the sources is that he was not a particularly discerning music-lover. After the brutal death of his father John the Fearless he allowed the chapel to lapse and only the efforts of John's widow, Margaret of Bavaria, preserved some semblance of continuity within the choir. Evidence of a more stable chapel choir with fine musicians does not reappear until around 1431; and there is every justification for suspecting that this was on the instance of the new wife he married in 1429, Isabel of Portugal.

Isabel came from one of the most literary families of fifteenth-century Europe. Her father King João I was the author of two moral treatises, as was her brother King Duarte. A further brother, the Infante Dom Pedro, was not the author of his notorious Travels but certainly had a hand in their compilation and was himself the author of yet another moral treatise. Her next brother, Henrique, is famous as Henry the Navigator, one of the most inspired explorers of his day and reputedly the founder of chairs in Theology, Mathematics and Medicine at the University of Lisbon. And one of the most impressive artistic collaborations of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese Cardinal's tomb at S. Miniato al Monte in Florence, combining work by Rossellino, Poliziano, Andrea della Robbia and Botticelli, was commissioned by Isabel of Portugal for her nephew Jaime (d.1459).⁽⁴⁾

Beyond her renowned skill as a political negotiator, little is recorded of Isabel's character. The literary tastes of her later years have recently been traced by C.C. Willard: they show that in her retirement to the cloister she was still cultivated and discerning in her reading, eschewing the morbid religiosity of so many of her contemporaries. Willard concludes that during these final years of her life (1457-1472) she was less concerned to save her own soul than to save the skin of her son by her gentle influence - the only kind to which he was in the least bit susceptible.⁽⁵⁾ Evidently she remained close to Charles during these last years and may have been the only thoroughly judicious and honest adviser he had. The revoltingly euphemistic chronicles of Molinet give some example of what Charles expected from his confidantes; and the defection of Philippe des Commynes to Louis IX in 1472 was at least partly because he could not tolerate life in this dishonest atmosphere. After his mother's death in 1472, Charles embarked on those hotheaded adventures that earned him the epithet "Rash" and brought him to an inevitable and gruesome end at the battle of Nancy five years later.

If Isabel's influence on Charles in her retirement was largely political, there can be little doubt that in earlier years she took great care over the details of his education. Throughout her life she repeatedly described herself as a foreigner with nothing of her own but her son. Charles, for his part, used the phrase "nous autres Portugalois" when mentioning his insistence on courtly honor. Most probably Isabel was the one who made sure of Charles's musical education, which seems to have been more extensive than that of any other fifteenth-century ruler, and who encouraged his love of the art.

His interest was evidently stimulated at an early age for in 1441, when he was seven, Charles received a gift of a harp from his young wife, Catherine de France. Payment was made from the ducal exchequer.⁽⁶⁾ A year later he received another harp as a gift from his mother.⁽⁷⁾ These could of course have been the normal courtly appurtenances of any young prince of the age. But later his love for music is repeatedly described in the chronicles. The Milanese Johanne Petro Panigarola, for instance, describes some of his sparetime activities at the siege of Neuss in May 1475:

Even though he is in camp, every evening he has something new sung in his quarters and sometimes his lordship sings, though he does not have a good voice.⁽⁸⁾

The court chronicler, Jean Molinet, himself credited with the music of one song, tactfully omits any reference to the Duke's singing since the purpose of his chronicle was primarily adulatory. He writes of the same siege:

Melodious sounds, tubes, tambours, trumpets, clairons, flutes, musettes and chalemels resounded in the air and produced a harmony so delightful that they drove away all melancholy, bringing new joy and rousing all weary hearts to the throne of perfect joy. Particularly in the Duke's quarters, at certain hours (aux heures limitees) one could hear a most sweet noise so pleasant to the ear that it seemed an earthly paradise and a thing more divine than human; and just as Orpheus broke down the doors of hell with the sound of his harp, the sound of these musical instruments....⁽⁹⁾

Later in the same chapter he returns to the matter of music:

After repriming his body (la refection du corps) he reprimed his soul and passed his days, not in empty vanity or in worldly spectacles

but with holy scriptures, stories that were approved and highly recommended, and particularly in the art of music which he was more enamoured than of anything else, and not without cause, for music is the resonance of the heavens... And just as King Charlemagne had honored this science in his time when he ordered expert musicians from Rome to teach those in France to sing correctly, Duke Charles collected the most famous singers in the world and kept a chapel filled with such delightful and harmonious voices that, apart from celestial glory, there is no such joy.⁽¹⁰⁾

Molinet was paid to write what he wrote, and he did his job so well that it is difficult to separate the fact from the flourish.

Thomas Basin, however, was an entirely independent witness, being a contemporary historian of Louis XI. In a character sketch of his hero's rival, Charles the Bold, he writes:

He showed an interest in religion, loving excellent singers as did his father. So he always had a worthy and magnificent chapel and took great pleasure in the singing of his singers; and he even himself sometimes sang in private.⁽¹¹⁾

The singing may not always have been as private or discreet as Basin suggests. Panigarola's independent and confidential opinion that the Duke had a poor singing voice is echoed by Chastellain and de la Marche, both of them court chroniclers with every expectation that what they wrote would be read by the Duke. Chastellain, comparing the old Duke Philip with his new successor, Charles, makes only one reference to music:

He [Charles] had a fine clear voice, except for music in which he was expert.⁽¹²⁾

And de la Marche writes:

He loved music very much, even though he had a poor voice.

A slightly later chronicler, Philippe Wielant writes:

He also took pleasure in music and was himself a musician.
He could compose and sing willingly though he by no means
had a good voice.⁽¹³⁾

Even allowing for the fact that Chastellain and de la Marche are often synoptic and cannot be taken as unrelated witnesses, the private communication of Panigarola and the gratuitous witness of Wielant combine to leave the impression that Charles did sing, and much to the embarrassment of his courtiers. Whether the remarks about the poor voice in de la Marche and Chastellain were broad hints to the Duke that he should sing less, or whether they were references to self-deprecatory comments of the Duke himself, it is difficult to tell.

Wielant's reference to his ability as a composer is corroborated elsewhere. Olivier de la Marche writing at the time of Philip's victory at Gaveren in 1453 says:

... He [Charles] danced very well. He learned the art of music so thoroughly that he composed (mectoit sus) chansons and motets, and had fully mastered the art (avoit d'art parfaitement en soy).⁽¹⁴⁾

Elsewhere he writes:

He was skilled in music and composed the music for several chansons which were well constructed and well written.⁽¹⁵⁾

No other contemporary value judgment survives, though one performance is recorded:

Charles composed a motet and all its music, which was sung in his presence after Mass had been said in Cambrai Cathedral by the master and the children on 23rd October 1460, the day of St. Severinus.⁽¹⁶⁾

Dufay, who would have been present on the occasion, gave Charles "six books of various kinds of music" (six livres de diverse chanteries) though retaining their use for his own life. They are listed as such in Dufay's execution testamentaire, made at his death in November 1474.⁽¹⁷⁾

These documents set Charles apart from his father or from other patrons of the arts in the fifteenth century. In addition there survive descriptions of music at state occasions such as his wedding to Margaret of York, the treaty of Trier and many others;⁽¹⁸⁾ the lists of the ducal chapel for his years have yet to be fully published;⁽¹⁹⁾ the payments to minstrels and to travellers carrying music have mostly been mentioned, but not coordinated;⁽²⁰⁾ the ordonnance for the reorganization of the ducal household in January 1469, including elaborate instructions regarding the choir, must be evaluated and compared with the descriptions of the household made in 1474 by Olivier de la Marche;⁽²¹⁾ further, one would like to know how common it was for a ruler of the time to have his chapel perform "a beautiful musical service and office all day long"⁽²²⁾ and whether this may not have been the occasion for the cycle of six L'homme armé masses which, according to the dedication of its manuscript, "Duke Charles used to enjoy."⁽²³⁾

While there is material for an ample study of the musicianship and musical patronage of Charles the Bold, the questions at issue for a study of Robert Morton are two: first, was Morton sufficiently a protégé of Charles the Bold to have been held back from promotion in the chapel of Philip the Good for this reason; second, is it likely that Morton was involved in teaching Charles music, as several authorities assert?

It is entirely possible that Morton was a special favorite of Charles.

Charles evidently must have known Morton before his appointment to the court chapel in 1457, as we have seen. Moreover, Morton is more characteristic of the kind of court musician hired under Charles than that preferred by Philip. It was Charles who promoted composers: Hayne van Ghiseghem, Busnois, Morton, Adrien Basin all appear to owe their appointments at court to Charles - and presumably the same would be the case with the anonymous composer of the cycle of six L'homme armé masses in the Naples manuscript.

Lewis Lockwood has shown how a marked change in the hiring habits of Italian courts is apparent around 1470. Previously the leader of the musical establishment had been an administrator, a trusted servant. Now he became a prestige figure, in particular a famous composer.

Lockwood writes:

The new patronage around 1470 seeks to obtain musicians steeped in the secrets of the craft of composition ... The composer is singled out for special treatment, and he is now being hired for his strictly musical abilities. He begins for the first time to attain the role of "artist" even though his product is less readily perceived by the average spectator than that of the painter. I take this to be indicative of an important turning point, for we see the composer accorded the same kind of professional honor that had accrued earlier to painters ...⁽²⁴⁾

Perhaps the same tendency can be seen further North in the court of the Duke of Burgundy; and it explains rather more convincingly why Morton remained at the bottom of the roster, and rose only in the reign of Charles the Bold, at a time when Busnois quickly rose to become master of the chapel. Such an explanation is easier to swallow than any hypothesis about a private vendetta with Duke Philip on account of Morton's alliance

with Charles.

As concerns Morton's hypothetical position teaching Charles the elements of music, this is a notion that easily emerges from the documents only if the reader forgets that Charles was twenty four years old when Morton first appeared at the Burgundian court, and that just as easily vanishes in the light of this fact. Since de la Marche already describes Charles as an accomplished composer in 1453, it is patently incorrect to say that Morton taught him the "first principles" of music after 1457.⁽²⁵⁾ Perhaps the common belief is best expressed in Bukofzer's words:

From 1457, Robert Morton taught the future Charles the Bold, at that time still Duke [sic] of Charolais ... After the death of Morton, Charles was instructed in counterpoint by Busnois, who later became also the music teacher of Mary of Burgundy.⁽²⁶⁾

Though Bukofzer cites no source and van Doorslaer cites one that does not contain the information,⁽²⁷⁾ the idea goes back to Fétis:

While still count of Charolais he begged his father to grant him Morton ... and kept him for six months, doubtless to learn how to notate the songs he composed. Having become Duke of Burgundy, he showed generosity towards Busnois ... making him accompany him on voyages and making him gifts "in consideration of many agreeable services he made him and for several reasons which he does not wish to specify here" (pour aucunes causes dont il ne veult autre declaration ici estre faicte). These agreeable services were probably of the same kind as those of Morton.⁽²⁸⁾

Since Busnois was a singer and a composer, the agreeable services must be assumed to have been singing and composing unless otherwise specified. This was the normal wording in the accounts for musical services.⁽²⁹⁾ The services Charles did not wish to specify might have

been the ghost-writing of compositions for the new Duke, but the phrasing suggests something rather more contraband - probably work as a political agent, for which musicians were always well-qualified and frequently employed. There is nothing in the documents to suggest that either Morton or Busnois was employed to instruct Charles in the elements of musical notation. To extrapolate from this persuasively but misleadingly argued hypothesis of Fétis and conclude, as did Bukofzer, that Charles studied the early stages of music with Morton and then progressed to take "counterpoint" - whatever that may mean in the fifteenth century - from Busnois, is easy but obviously quite unjustified.⁽³⁰⁾ De la Marche's witness that Charles was already an accomplished musician and composer in 1453 suggests that he received musical instruction in his youth, as one would expect, in which case Busnois, Simon le Breton or Jean de la Tour would be likely teachers.

But perhaps the strongest evidence that Morton had no significant influence on Charles the composer survives in two songs that are ascribed to the Duke. Scarcely even mentioned in the musicological literature, they have enough in common to support the authenticity of both and to set them apart from any trace of Morton's style.

The first song is listed in the index of RiccII as "Del ducha di borghogna." Although Charles had probably been dead a few years when this manuscript was compiled, there can be little doubt that he is meant, for there is absolutely no evidence that Philip the Good composed, and any work of his would be long outdated by 1480. Unfortunately the folios that contained the piece in RiccII are missing, but what may well be the same piece survives in the Perugia manuscript ascribed "Dux Burgensis" (ex.1, p.319). It appears there with the text incipit

Madamme trop vos me spremes, of which a full stanza survives in the copy of the piece in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. As though matching Charles's own gruesome fate and that of his lands, the song appears in other sources with five different text incipits and in one case transposed down a third but without compensating accidentals.⁽³¹⁾ No complete poem has been retrieved for the song. Nevertheless the music is clear enough and points stylistically towards the early work of Hayne van Ghiseghem, to Busnois and in particular to one song of Adrien Basin, his Ma dame faites moy savoir (ex.2, p.321). All three composers are listed as "varlets de chambre" at Charles the Bold's accession in 1467 and had probably held that post for some time already.⁽³³⁾ The stylistic similarity naturally raises the suspicion that one of these men - perhaps Basin - would have taken a substantial part in the finishing of the song; but it equally confirms that the Perugia ascription "Dux Burgensis" refers to Charles.

The second song has a slightly more doubtful claim to Charles the Bold's authorship, for the only evidence is the annotation "Dux Carlus" found in the Bologna Ms. Q16 in the place where one would expect to find the text incipits (ex.3, p.323).⁽³⁴⁾ Moreover the song is otherwise found only in sources compiled around 1500, and even appears with an ascription to Josquin. But this ascription has not been accepted either by the editors of the complete edition or by Josquin's biographers. Hewitt shows that the ascription, like several in the first edition of the Odhecaton (1501), is omitted from later editions, presumably because some reliable authority informed Petrucci or his editor Petrus Castellanus that the song was not by Josquin.⁽³⁵⁾ Osthoff points out that a song

entitled Helas ma dame is by Josquin and is found in many of the same sources as Ma dame helas; thus the erroneous Josquin ascription could have arisen from a confusion of these two text openings.⁽³⁶⁾ With the Josquin ascription dismissed, an attempt to place Ma dame helas within the repertory of the Odhecaton leads to the conclusion that this must be among the very earliest pieces in that volume.⁽³⁷⁾ Thus while the nature of the Q16 ascription is less than conclusive, much of the musical evidence suggests that Charles the Bold could have been the composer. The song contains several details above and beyond its family resemblance to the more firmly ascribed piece: the figures with which the Contratenor joins the lines so clearly separated in the Discantus and Tenor; the implied move to triple meter that precedes most of the cadences in a context where duple meter is normally strongly emphasized;⁽³⁸⁾ and perhaps also the way in which the highest notes are at structurally significant points in the song.⁽³⁹⁾

Further similarities offer themselves. The ranges are similar in function if not in detail; various figurations are common to both songs; the two songs are approximately the same length, and in any case substantially longer than anything ascribed to Morton. The only feature that might suggest a later date is the habit of running the Contratenor in sixths and tenths below the Discantus; but since the same feature appears often in the earliest (pre-1477) songs of Busnois, the Duke's servant, it can scarcely be used as an argument that "Dux Carlus" is not an ascription and a convincing one. (The same feature appears, albeit briefly, in Basin's Ma dame faytes moy.)

If these two works are by Charles the Bold Morton cannot have been a strong influence on his work, for scarcely any trace of his style is to be found among them. Morton was just one of several composers employed by the music-loving prince. Charles the Bold's importance for Morton was enormous, hence the attempt to assemble a more complete list of the Duke's musical accomplishments in this chapter. But Morton's influence on Charles is unidentifiable.

Footnotes

1. Vaughan, Philip the Good (1970), p.338-340; Kirk, History of Charles the Bold (1864), vol.1, p.160-163. Chastellain has the most detailed report, Oeuvres, vol.3, p.230-294.
2. The 1457 household accounts for Charles survive, Lille ADN B 3771, and Morton's name is not there.
3. Marix, Histoire (1939), p.144-145.
4. For the information in this paragraph see F.M. Rogers, The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal (1961); Alves, Dom Henrique o Infante (Oporto, 1894).
5. Willard, "Isabel of Portugal, Patroness of Humanism?" (1967).

Evidence of work towards a more comprehensive portrait of Isabel may be found in Monique Sommé, "Les déplacements d'Isabelle de Portugal et la circulation dans le sud des Pays-Bas bourguignons au milieu du XV^e siècle," Revue du Nord, 52 (1970), p.183-197, and in the announcement of a biography in preparation by C.C. Willard. At present the fullest study remains that of Amoury de Lagrange (1938).

6. Lille, ADN B 1972 f 257. Cited Pinchart, Archives, vol.3,p.154. De Laborde, Les Ducs, preuves, vol.1, p.380; Marix, p.122-123. The harp was purchased from Jehan de la Court, harpist to Catherine de France, Comtesse de Charolais.
7. Lille, ADN F 137 f 209. Cited Pinchart, op.cit.; van den Borren, Dufay, p.58. The harp was purchased from Jehannin d'Arras, harpist to Isabel of Portugal.
8. Vaughan, Charles the Bold (1973), p.162, citing Milan, Archivio di Stato, pot. est. Borgogna 516-17/44. The document will presumably be published in the appropriate volume of Kendall and Ilardi (eds.),

Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-1483 (Athens, Ohio, 1970-). The daily escroés of household payments show that Charles brought his entire chapel with him to the siege of Neuss.

9. Molinet, Chroniques, ed. Doutrepont and Jodogne, vol. 1 (1935), p.58.
10. op.cit., p. 62.
11. Basin, Histoire de Louis XI, ed. Samaran, vol. 2 (1966), p.354.
The original is in Latin.
12. Chastellain, Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.7, p.229. The whole comparison is paraphrased in Putnam, Charles the Bold (1908), p.162-169.
13. Vaughan, Charles the Bold (1973) citing P. Wielant, Recueil des antiquités de Flandre, ed. J.J. de Smet, Recueil des chroniques de Flandre, vol. 4, (Brussels, 1865), p.57. Also in Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p.xxiii.
14. Mémoires, ed. Beaune and D'Arbeaumont, vol.2, p.334.
15. Mémoires, vol. 1, p. 122.
16. Houdoy, Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai (Lille, 1880), p.87, citing Lefebvre, "Matériaux pour l'histoire des arts dans le Cambrésis, "Mémoires de la société d'émulation de Cambrai, 31 (1869), p. 276.
17. Houdoy, op.cit., p. 87.
18. Several are listed in Pirro, Histoire (1940), p.116-117. See also Vaughan, Charles the Bold (1973), p.53.
19. Some are published in Marix, Histoire (1939) and Douillez, De Muziek (1957).

20. See Pinchart, Archives, vol. 3 (1881); Marix, Histoire (1939); Pirro, Histoire (1940), p. 115-117; van Doorslaer, "La Chapelle Musicale.." (1934).
21. Bodleian Library, Ms. Hatton 13, briefly described in de Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc calligraphe et enlumineur ...," Scriptorium, 23 (1969), p.437-440. The de la Marche description of the chapel is printed in his Oeuvres, ed. Beaune and D'Arbeaumont, vol. 4, p.2.
22. Vaughan, op.cit., p. 162 citing Die Cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant (Leiden, 1517), f 337.
23. Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Ms VI E 40 f 64. "Carolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat."
24. Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este," Studi musicali, I (1972), on p. 125.
25. van Doorslaer, "La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau," Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 4 (1934), p.21-57 and 139-165 on p. 24.
26. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier....," (1942), p. 28; he expresses the same idea in "Popular and Secular Music in England," (1960), on p. 130.
27. Doorslaer's reference is to van der Straeten, Histoire vol. 3, p.161, where no such information appears; nor do I find it elsewhere in van der Straeten. Doorslaer's footnoting system is by a series of numbers, each of which refers to a different item in the concluding bibliography. It is therefore possible that a misprint here conceals a reference to either Pinchart's Archives or to Inventaire ... Lille. Pinchart, Archives, vol. 3, p. 161 contains the sentence; Ce n'est que momantanément, de juin a novembre 1463, que Philippe le Bon

autorisa Robert Morton à servir le comte de Charolais son fils.

But even this is not documentation of his assertion.

28. Fétis, Biographie universelle, 2nd. ed., vol. 2 (1861), p.252.
29. See, for instance, Pinchart, Archives, vol. 3, p. 153, for a similarly worded payment to the harpist Pierre Thierry.
30. A further extension of the fantasy is in Romain Goldron, Minstrels and Masters (1968 trans. of 1966 French original), p.89:
 "Charles, as a child, received lessons in counterpoint from Robert Morton, an excellent composer of the Dunstable school. (Morton was one of a number of Englishmen who served at the Burgundy court, and it was, in fact, through them that the Franco-Flemish musicians knew about the ideas of Dunstable and his group.)" It is unfortunate that the only English musician recorded at the court before 1475 should have been credited with bringing to Europe a style that had already been absorbed thirty years earlier.
31. The complete sources are: F229 f 284v-285, text incipit: Si fault; MC p.404-405 (no.116), text incipit: Non sia gyamay; Pix f 192v-193, text incipit: Or est mon bien; Per f 69v-70, ascribed "Dux Burgensis," text incipit: Ma damme trop vos me spremes; Q16 f 45v-46, text incipit: Ma dame trop vous; Speciálník p.378-379, text beginning Domine Deus virtutum, a 5th lower; Tr89 f 419v-420 (no.773), textless, a 3rd lower throughout but without compensating accidentals; Wolf f 65v-66 with 5-line text beginning Ma dame trop vous mesprenes.
32. See especially Hayne De tous biens plaine and Allez regretz.
 Tinctoris, Vostre regart is also in a similar style.

33. Brussels, AGR CC 1925, f 337v. Busnois, in his motet In hydraulis, described himself as "illustris comitis de Chaulois indignum musicum" thereby dating the work earlier than Charles's accession as Duke of Burgundy in 1467 and witnessing his employment by Charles at this early date.
34. The sources are Odhecaton f 71v-72 (no.66), text incipit: Ma dame helas, ascribed to Josquin in the 1501 edition, but not in subsequent editions; Q16 f 146v-147 (no.126), text incipit (?ascription): "Dux Carlus;" Verona 757 f 7v-8, a step lower, textless, ascribed "Josquin." The piece is printed in Hewitt (ed.) Harmonice Musices Odhecaton (1942), p.359-360.
35. Hewitt, op.cit., p.7-8. She also suggests that the only other source ascribing the piece to Josquin, Zwickau, was at least partly copied from the 1501 Odhecaton, since it contains similar readings.
36. Osthoff, Josquin des Pres, vol. 2 (1965), p. 300.
37. Other pieces in Odhecaton that may be equally early are no.9, Amours amours by Hayne, no. 57, Alez regretz by Hayne, no. 60, Fortune par ta crudelte by Vincinet, no.71, Les grans regretz by Hayne and no.85 Marguerite.
38. This is based on a brevis beat. In terms of Hewitt's Odhecaton edition it would be described as being in units of two measures changing to units of three measures before the cadence.
39. In Ma dame trop both Discantus and Tenor have their highest note only once, in the final phrase at m.36; in Ma dame helas these two parts have their highest note twice each, but one of these times they have it together, at m.61 in the final phrase.

Ex. 1

Madame trop vous m'esprenés

Transcription of music: from Per f 69v-70, ascribed "Dux Burgensis"

Text: from Wolf f 65v-66.

Underlay: editorial

Emendations: l2 i 4-5: c. q in Per, q q in most other sources.

Ex. 2

Madame faytes moy savoir

Transcription of music: from Cas f 25v-26, ascribed "Basin" and with text incipit "Ma dame m'amie."

Text: from Pix f 93v-94 and F229 f 237v-238

Ex. 3

Helas ma dame

Transcription of music: from Q16, f 146v-147

Emendations: 2 o i 2: c/ 22 ii 3: F

Ex. 1

Ma dame trop vous m'esprenés

Charles the Bold

Ma da - me trop vous m'esprenés

Tenor

Contra

10

Quant vers moy ne vous gou -

ver - nes

15

20

Aul - tre - ment qui l'ose - roit di -



re; Car

25

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the piano accompaniment, and the bottom is the bass line. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The lyrics 're;' and 'Car' are positioned below the vocal staff. A measure number '25' is written above the final measure of the system.



onc-ques saint tant de mer ti-

30

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics 'onc-ques saint tant de mer ti-'. The middle and bottom staves are the piano and bass accompaniment. A measure number '30' is written above the final measure of the system.



re N'en - du - ra que vous me-

35

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics 're N'en - du - ra que vous me-'. The middle and bottom staves are the piano and bass accompaniment. A measure number '35' is written above the final measure of the system.



do - nes.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics 'do - nes.'. The middle and bottom staves are the piano and bass accompaniment. The system ends with a double bar line.

Ex. 2

Ma dame faytes moy savoir

[?Adrien] Basin

Ma da - me fay - tes moy sa -

Tenor

Bass

5

#

voir que m'os me - trai en ma de -

10

vi - se que sy por - te - ray cou -

5

#

15

lier gri - se En a - ten -

20

dant ou pren - dray noir.

* 25

noir.

Ex. 3

Ma dame helas

? Charles the Bold

The musical score is presented in three systems, each consisting of three staves. The first system includes the following labels: "Dux Carlus" on the top staff, "[D]ux Carlus" on the middle staff, and "Dux Carlus" on the bottom staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. A fermata is placed over a note in the first system, and a measure rest is indicated by a large '10' in the second system. A sharp sign is placed above a note in the third system, and a measure rest is indicated by a large '15'. The fourth system begins with a measure rest indicated by a large '20'. The score concludes with a double bar line.

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains measures 25 and 26. Measure 25 begins with a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. Measure 26 contains a whole rest. The middle staff is in bass clef and contains measures 25 and 26. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains measures 25 and 26.

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains measures 27 and 28. Measure 27 contains a melodic line with a slur. Measure 28 contains a melodic line with a slur and an accent mark (^) over the final note. The middle staff is in bass clef and contains measures 27 and 28. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains measures 27 and 28.

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains measures 29 and 30. Measure 29 contains a melodic line with a slur. Measure 30 contains a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The middle staff is in bass clef and contains measures 29 and 30. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains measures 29 and 30. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Four empty musical staves are provided at the bottom of the page, each consisting of five horizontal lines.

Part III: The Doubtful Works

Chapter Eleven

Vien avante: Adrien Basin, Pierre Basin and the Court Circle

Le seigneur a en son obéissance
Officiers de noble entendement,
Et la vivent par tres belle ordonnance;
Dames seigneurs y convient souvent
A beaux soupers; la sont maint instrument,
Dancer, chanter, toute joie y habonde.

Eustache Deschamps, Bal. 1197

(1. F#)

Vien avante morte dolente

Tenor
Vien avante

Bassus
Vien avante

10

(1. F#)


(1. F#)



The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of notes with some beamed eighth notes. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains notes with a sharp sign (#) above them. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a sequence of notes.



The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains notes with a sharp sign (#) above them. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains notes with a sharp sign (#) above them. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains notes with a sharp sign (#) above them.



Five sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically.

It will require considerably deeper knowledge of the surviving manuscripts than is at present available to estimate how much of the finest song repertory from the fifteenth century has disappeared. From the next century there are some figures to guide us: Hertz produces impressive calculations to suggest a mere 0.15 per cent survival rate for Attaingnant's printed books.⁽¹⁾ But these figures refer to the total number of volumes, not to pieces of music. It is possible, indeed probable, that large quantities of trivial and ephemeral music from the fifteenth century are lost; on the other hand it is likely that much of the best music has survived. Few of the extant manuscripts contain more than fifteen per cent of songs that cannot be found in other sources. Of that fifteen per cent, the proportion of songs of the very highest quality is small. Occasional works mentioned by the theorists may have been lost; but it becomes more and more clear that they are only apparently lost, being buried anonymously in one of the many uncatalogued or under-studied collections, as the recent work of Hamm and Staehelin has shown.⁽²⁾ Even though Dufay's will and letters refer to works by him of which no trace survives, it seems distinctly possible that the "Opera omnia" do in fact contain the greater part of his output. Even so, it is obvious that the student of a composer with only a dozen surviving works to his name must tread carefully. The present chapter requires even more care since its central figure is Adrien Basin, the man to whom Morton's Vien avante is also ascribed, and a composer known from only two other pieces.

For all his relative obscurity Adrien Basin mixed in the right circles. The only printed reference to him notes his appearance alongside Hayne van Ghiseghem and Busnois in the accounts of the Burgundian court at the

accession of Charles the Bold in 1467.⁽³⁾ Perhaps the mention would have attracted more attention from historians had not Marix merely noted that the three were paid as singers, failing to add that all three were described as "chantre et varlet de chambre."⁽⁴⁾ Marix implies that they were singing with the chapel, though not as regular members. In fact the reference describes a very different state of affairs: the three men were employed specifically as singers of secular music. Presumably composition was also part of the job: Hayne's twenty surviving compositions are all songs, among them some of the finest and most influential of their generation; Busnois's secular songs far outnumber his surviving sacred music. Whatever the details of the situation, whoever was more fully responsible for the cultivation of secular songs in the court of Charles the Bold, Basin was listed and paid as an equal with Hayne and Busnois, two of the most distinguished composers of the century. He deserves closer consideration.

Three more documents tell of his existence in and around the Burgundian court. The first is in the 1457 household expenses of "Madame la Contesse de Charrolois" (Isabelle de Bourbon, who married Charles in 1454 and died in 1465, two years before he became Duke of Burgundy), Mademoiselle de Bourgogne and Madame de Ravenstein. It lists payments of three shillings per day to Basin in Brussels on 4th-12th July 1457, and on 1st August and 22nd September of the same year.⁽⁵⁾ In each case he is listed after Jehan de la Chappelle who is paid nine shillings per day, three times as much. Jehan was presumably chaplain, and Basin his clerc.

In 1470, two years after the accession of Charles the Bold, the court expense register records a special gift of money for a robe and

a pourpoint for Adrien Basin.⁽⁶⁾ Finally, the missing registers for 1475 and 1476 contained records of payments to Adrien for the whole year, £59 for 1475 and £77 for 1476, as we learn from a selective but relatively orderly series of abstracts from the registers made in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.⁽⁷⁾

Of the three songs attributed to him, only one, Nous amis, is actually ascribed "A. Basin." The other two, Madame faytes moy savoir (presented in chapter 10 above) and Vien avante which is also ascribed to Morton, have the simple ascription "Basin." And it happens that there is another member of the Burgundian court musical establishment with this name.

Pierre Basin is first recorded as a Clerc attached to the maîtrise of Saint-Donatien, Bruges, where he was Maitre de chant from 24th December 1465 until some time before 23rd June 1466 when he is no longer listed. Van Doorslaer states that he was at the Burgundian court from 1st January 1467;⁽⁸⁾ he was certainly there from 1st September 1467 when he was paid 11/- together with a wage of 4/- a day as sommelier.⁽⁹⁾ From 1st March 1468 (New style) he got a raise and remained on that salary until he was promoted to clerc on 16th August 1475. Less than six months later, on 1st February 1476, he was promoted to chappelain in the place left by Robert Morton.⁽¹⁰⁾ He remained at the Burgundian court chapel until at least 7th July 1485⁽¹¹⁾ and retired to Saint-Donatien, Bruges, where he retained the 14th Prebend until his death on 19th April 1497. Between 17th January 1491 and January 1492 he was temporary Maitre des choraux at Saint-Donatien, in the absence of Jérôme de Clibano. His tombstone, now destroyed, described him as "conciliarus Ducis Burgundiae."

Though he was obviously a person and a musician of stature, and though he succeeded to Morton's own position in the Burgundian court chapel, Pierre is unlikely to have composed any of the surviving Basin music. Neither of the manuscripts indicates that more than one Basin composed, and in the absence of closer information it is reasonable to assume that all the pieces ascribed to Basin may be by the same man.⁽¹²⁾ The career of Adrien Basin, though perhaps less spectacular, put him into close contact with musicians who were also writing songs, in particular Hayne van Ghiseghem and Busnois. Moreover, it will begin to emerge from this chapter that the songs ascribed to Basin probably antedate 1467, the year in which Pierre Basin first arrived at the Burgundian court. On the basis of the available evidence, it must be concluded that the three Basin ascriptions refer to Adrien.

Adrien Basin's main musical distinction, on the basis of the surviving songs lies in the song Nous amis vous vous abusez which is cited by Jean Molinet, intabulated in the Buxheim keyboard collection, made the subject of a parody Mass by Tinctoris and quoted in the Glogauer Liederbuch complete with its opening words which thereby acquire the singular honor of being the only words of French in the entire Glogau collection. This is all considerable achievement for a piece by a composer of perhaps two other known works. Even more so considering the song is one of the shortest of the repertory - a mere twelve measures long. But Basin's gain is our loss, for such a compact work provides precious little evidence on which to base any stylistic estimate of the composer.

The third song ascribed to Basin is quite different from Nous amis. Ma dame faytes moy savoir is a long rambling piece that brings out each

point slowly after the manner of the longer Hayne van Ghiseghem songs. Moreover, stylistic adaptability may well be of essence here, since Madame faytes moy savoir is practically identical in style to the song Ma dame trop vous m'esprenés ascribed to Duke Charles. (The two songs appear as exx.1 and 2. in chapter 10). The similarity goes far beyond the musical and verbal materials of the opening phrase. It includes similar part-ranges (relative to one another), similar movement in all three voices, and similar rate of presentation of the material. It also includes the placing of cadences. Both pieces cadence only the first and last lines on the final; the second and penultimate lines cadence on the Dominant. The syntax of the three voices, the phrase structure, the imitative techniques and the gentle lilted rhythmic irregularities towards the ends of phrases would mark the pieces as coming from a similar ambience even if we did not know that their respective composers were servant and patron.

The ascription of three such different pieces to one composer limits the usefulness of stylistic discussion in an attempt to determine the value of the ascriptions, nevertheless it does point to a few details of the interrelationship of the various composers at the Burgundian court. The similarity of the two Madame pieces does suggest that there is some kind of puy involved. Not in the sense of the Troubadours, of course, nor of the bourgeois puys being cultivated in the fifteenth century;⁽¹³⁾ these were far more public entertainments, something for professional entertainers to test their mettle before their colleagues. Such a pursuit is hardly likely to have taken place at the Court of Burgundy. Nor is it likely to have been very similar to the extraordinary poetic

salon assembled by Charles d'Orléans at Blois where polished poets vied in the nearest noble equivalent of the puy. At the Burgundian court something different seems to have been happening. After all, the court at the time included no known poets but Molinet and Philippe Bouton. It seems rather that Charles indulged in a friendly exchange of pieces with some of his court musicians, Basin his valet de chambre, and Morton whose presence he had specifically requested from Philip the Good. Whether Basin actually helped Charles in the composition of Ma dame trop vous m'esprenés is immaterial: the two pieces evidently belong together both in mood and in style. Presumably they also date from the same time.

This last observation, if valid, is important in relation to another similar circle of pieces mentioned briefly in chapter 3. Morton's own Cousine trop vous abusés may, in the circumstances, also be indirectly related to Duke Charles's Madame trop vous m'esprenés. Certainly the Morton piece has textual allusions to the anonymous and fragmentary Rondeau Nos amys sont che les mos (chapter 3, ex.10) and to Adrien Basin's other surviving song Nous amis vous vous abusés. The issue here is less the precise extent of the relationship between the pieces than the variety of different ways in which such relationships jump to the eye and to the ear. Fuller details of the relationships could be sought, but there is little doubting that they exist.

That in its turn gives some help in dating the pieces, for it seems most unlikely that Charles would have become involved in such frivolous and relatively time-consuming pastimes after he had become Duke in 1467. Certainly there is plenty of evidence that he continued to devote time to his music, but the extraordinary fullness of his life after 1467 casts

doubt on the likelihood of leisure time for composition. Bearing in mind that before 1467 Charles already had Busnois, Hayne van Ghiseghem and Adrien Basin in his employ and had given part-time work to Robert Morton there seems more justification for offering here hypothetical dates for the two songs by Charles, two songs by Basin and for Morton's own Cousine trop vous abusés: all five may have been written before 1467.



.....

The incipit Vien avante morte dolente is the only surviving trace of text for the piece that is the main subject of this chapter. It might suggest that the full poem was originally Italian, but this is not necessarily the case. Many of the incipits in the Casanatense manuscript (where this one is found) are corrupt, though not with sufficient consistency to allow generalization as to the nature of the errors. Thus the Italian La Martinella is given a French slant as "La Martinelle" while the French Une musique de Biscaye suffers what looks like the opposite change, becoming "Uno mosque de biscayo." Italian is sometimes incorrectly spelt as in Tanto l'afano. Many titles imply derivation through the Flemish, as in "Dunch aulter amer" (for D'ung aultre amer) and "Ma bouce fijt" (for Ma bouche rit). In short, no simple rule can be made to explain the errors in this source, many of them probably due more to the scribe's lack of interest than to his linguistic preferences.

There is therefore no compelling reason to believe the original text was Italian rather than French. The words as they stand look more Italian, to be sure, but they might just as well have originally been a French opening such as "Viens avant, Mort, [mā]dolente."⁽¹⁴⁾ I have encountered no such poem, but manuscripts are still coming to light and it seems to me

considerably more likely that the correct poem for this song is French.

For its style is emphatically that of the French tradition, not the Italian. Discantus and Tenor are in octave imitation much of the time, and this use of imitation asserts itself gradually through the piece so that in the last line even the Contratenor is included. The song's strongest characteristic is perhaps its clear formal division. The Discantus is carefully divided into five lines, each of which ends with a half note (in the transcription). Such a literal approach to form building is in itself slightly unusual within Morton's output, but it is to be found elsewhere in the repertory, and in fact in precisely the same manner in Basin's Madame faytes moy savoir; and comparison with the other Basin song, the two songs of Charles the Bold and other works of the court repertory suggests that this too is a rondeau cinquain with French text.

One curious characteristic of harmonic syntax also places the piece among certain other works of the French tradition. On several occasions in the course of the song a  rhythm causes an irregular dissonance with one of the other parts on the second note, as in m.4, m.5, m.13 and m.14. Other cases appear in the Perugia version of the piece (see Variorum); but in that manuscript one of them, that in the Tenor at m.5, is made consonant by a change in the rhythm to . The dissonance created by these figures, if they are performed as written, is not to be found in the authentic works of Morton.

A similar example in Adrien Basin's Nous amis not only provides a stylistic context for Vien avante but also helps explain how this came about and what it means.





Ex. 1

Handwritten musical notation for the first system of Ex. 1, measures 1-4. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns and rests. A measure rest is present at the beginning of the first staff. The word "Berk" is written above the first measure of the top staff and below the first measure of the middle staff. A measure rest is present at the end of the first staff.



Handwritten musical notation for the second system of Ex. 1, measures 5-8. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns and rests. The word "Berk" is written above the first measure of the top staff and below the first measure of the middle staff. The word "Lab" is written below the first measure of the middle staff. The word "Berk" is written below the third measure of the middle staff. The word "Lab" is written below the fourth measure of the middle staff. The word "Berk" is written below the first measure of the bottom staff. The word "Lab" is written below the second measure of the bottom staff. The word "Berk" is written below the third measure of the bottom staff. The word "Lab" is written below the fourth measure of the bottom staff. A measure rest is present at the end of the first staff.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system of Ex. 1, measures 9-12. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns and rests. The word "Berk" is written below the third measure of the middle staff. A measure rest is present at the end of the first staff.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system of Ex. 1, measures 13-14. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns and rests. The word "Berk" is written below the first measure of the bottom staff. A measure rest is present at the end of the first staff.

Ex.1 is a Variorum of Nous amis.⁽¹⁵⁾ The piece includes dissonances similar to those described: they are spelled out in ex. 2. What the Variorum shows is that several of the  figures appear in the Mellon manuscript as . This relieves the ugly parallel fifths in m.6. However, if the reading of  as  were to be regarded as a notational convention rather than a copying error, this would resolve all the situations in ex. 2.

Some kind of confirmation that such a solution is appropriate may be found in the Buxheim intabulation of Nous amis. The intabulation itself is dubious evidence since the intabulator seems to have been working from a misaligned transcription so that, for instance, the canonic writing between Tenor and Discantus in m.2 appears as a series of parallel octaves. He also followed his usual intabulation practice in devising his own Contratenor. But the embellishments in the Discantus and the Tenor at the opening do tend to confirm these suggestions about the rhythmic interpretation (ex.3). For all the additional notes, the essential notes come exactly where we would expect to find them in a literal interpretation.

Similar evidence may be gleaned from the Variorum (ex.1). At m.5, BerK has the  figure and only Mellon has the dotted figure. The other two manuscripts, EscB and Laborde have a different dotted figure:  with the third note of the group, the D, omitted. In this case, the second note of the group, the E, actually arrives at the correct moment as determined by our hypothesis. These two manuscripts thus give the first note its correct length, put the second note in a far better place, and omit the third.

Ex. 2

Musical notation for Exercise 2, Ex. 2. The notation is written on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with notes marked with fingerings 1, 5, 6, and 9. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with notes marked with an 'x' and a double bar line. The music is in 2/4 time and consists of four measures.

Ex. 3

Musical notation for Exercise 3, Ex. 3. The notation is written on three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with notes marked with a sharp sign. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a bass line with notes marked with a sharp sign. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with notes marked with a sharp sign. The music is in 2/4 time and consists of four measures.

Ex. 4

Musical score for Ex. 4, featuring vocal parts (Tenor and Contra) and piano accompaniment. The score is written in 8/8 time and includes a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piece consists of 10 measures. The vocal parts are written in treble clef, and the piano accompaniment is written in bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The key signature is B-flat, and the time signature is 8/8. The score is divided into four systems of three staves each. The first system includes labels for 'Tenor' and 'Contra' on the second and third staves respectively. The score concludes with a double bar line at the end of the 10th measure.

Ex.4 is an attempt to produce a critical score of Nous amis. It is largely a conflation of the BerK and EscB versions which seem, on the basis of the foregoing reasoning, likely to have been approximately what Basin originally wrote. Below certain rhythmic figures is an additional set of rhythm-signs suggesting the correct rhythmic interpretation. A similar attempt has been made in the edition of Vien avante: it seems a legitimate extension of conventions more familiar in baroque music and one that makes sense in this context.

As concerns Nous amis, one more consideration is in order. When the opening phrase was incorporated into a Glogauer Liederbuch quodlibet, it was incorporated with the rhythmic adjustment suggested here.

Another piece from the Burgundian court repertory manifests the same difficulties and the same contradiction between the sources: The Rondeau Cent mille escus by Busnois must have a dotted rhythm in all three parts at the beginning. Once again the logic of the counterpoint makes this necessary. But the sources are quite inconsistent in their application of the dotted rhythm.(ex.5).

The full implication of all these rhythmic adjustments is perhaps less far reaching than it might at first seem. The case for a large-scale application of inégalité to the fifteenth-century song repertories is insecure. Perhaps we are dealing here more with scribal negligence, with inaccurately notated music in an age when notation was in flux and different conventions obtained in different areas. The isolated dotted figures added in Mellon, in Perugia and in Glogau imply that each of these scribes was subconsciously editing, rewriting what he saw to make it fit in more closely to what he had heard.⁽¹⁶⁾ Whatever the reason, Morton's

Ex. 5

Handwritten annotations above the staves:

- Top staff: Cas 81b / Dij F229 / 909
- Middle staff: Cas 81b / Dij F229 / 909

Variorum of the opening of Cent mille escus after nine of the eleven complete sources:

Base sources:

Per f 48v-49

Col g9v-g10

CantiC f 122v-123 (including an extra voice)

Reading 'a':

Cas f 22v-23

Dijon f 152v-153

F229 f 71v-72

Q16 no. 127

Reading 'b':

Glogau no. 274

Reading 'c':

Cord f 29v-30

authentic songs leave no such ambiguity. Performed as they stand they satisfy the most stringent requirements of contrapuntal logic. But all three songs ascribed to Basin require this kind of rhythmic adjustment.

As regards the style of Vien avante in general, no other piece by Morton has comparable details. Whether or not the suggested rhythmic interpretation is valid, the piece is closer in style to Basin's Nous amis than to anything in the authentic Morton corpus. The imitation is always at the octave, never moved to the unison for variety; nor do the parts overlap in the delicate way found in Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais, even though something of the kind may be found in m.13. Moreover its Contratenor, even though mostly well below the Tenor, has markedly different characteristics from those in Morton's more securely ascribed songs: in particular, it has less marked movement in fourths and fifths and closes with the archaic "octave leap" cadence. Among Morton's works this would seem to suggest an early date, except that the high proportion of shorter note-values suggests the contrary.

If Vien avante is a rondeau cinquain, as analysis suggests it must be, here is yet another strike against its claim to be a work of Robert Morton, for it was more his habit to make the first half of the song shorter so that the second could develop a more flowing lyric line. Here the last two lines are rather shorter than those in the first half of the song. They scarcely have time to make their impact.

One final question should be asked in relation to Vien avante. The trend in the fifteenth century seems to have been towards the use of shorter note values in later years. Does this seem the kind of piece a composer would write after having written Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais?

The answer in relation to Mon bien ma joyeux is surely yes; for that is a piece that attempts the impossible, breaks new boundaries in musical expression, albeit in a modest kind of way. No such claim could be made for Vien avante. If it is by Morton, it would be an early piece, but its note values and its source distribution contradict this. Here, surely, is evidence that Vien avante is probably not an authentic work of Morton.

Footnotes

1. Heartz, Pierre Attaingnant Royal Printer of Music (1969), p.120-123.
2. Hamm, "Another Barbingant Mass," Essays ... Plamenac (1969), p.83-90;
Staehein, "Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung...", (1972-3).
3. Marix, Histoire, p.260.
4. Brussels, AGR CC 1923 f 69v.
5. Paris, Bibl. nat. f. fr. 5904 f 32-39, f 40 and f 43 respectively.
6. Brussels, AGR CC 1925 f 337v; January 1470 (New Style).
7. Brussels, AGR CC 1796 f 99.
8. Van Doorslaer, "La Chappelle musicale de Philippe de Beau,"
Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 4 (1934),
p.21-57 and 139-165; all information in this paragraph is from that
article unless otherwise specified.
9. Brussels, AGR CC 1923 f 19. Marix, p.260, incorrectly dates this
document 1st September 1468.
10. Pirro, Histoire, p. 118, citing Paris, Bibl. nat. f. fr. 3867 f 2v.
11. Paris, Bibl. nat. f. fr. 5904 f 52.
12. Consider by way of contrast the situation with the brothers Hugo
and Arnold de Lantins: all the works are ascribed specifically to
one or the other (indeed one piece is ascribed to both). See
Van den Borren, Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance liégeoise
(1950).
13. On the nature of the puy in the fifteenth century see D. Poirion,
Le poète et le prince (1965), p.38-40, and p.155-156 (footnotes).

14. Or, remembering that this was the manuscript in which Paracheve ton entreprise appeared as La Perontina, we might even suggest some more distant solution.
15. The sources for the piece are BerK f 36v-37, EscB f 124v-125 (no.105), Laborde f 67v-68, Mellon f 79v-80 ascribed "A. Basin"; intabulated in Bux f 160v (no.245); text in Jardin f 62v (no.23). Cited in Molinet, Le débat line 169 (ed.Dupire, p.623). Opening quoted in quodlibet O rosa bella/ Hastu mir die laute bracht, Glog no.117. Used as the basis of a Mass cycle in Modena L 454, cited by Tinctoris as his own in the preface to his Tractatus alterationum (Coussemaker, Scriptores, vol.4, p.66). Previous edition Reidemeister, Die Chanson-Handschrift ... (1973), p.54 (from BerK). The Variorum base here follows EscB except where that manuscript differs from all the others in m.6 i and ii. Errors not incorporated into the Variorum: ll i 3-4: A B for BC in BerK/ 4 iii 5: D for E in Lab/ 6 iii 3-4: A C for B A in BerK.
16. One other rhythmic variant in the manuscripts of Nous amis may be mentioned here. The dotted figure in m.4 of the Contra is notated in the Laborde manuscript as minor color. This is a device, common in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, by which the coloration of a pair of notes within imperfect time was to be interpreted not in the apparent way - as a triplet - but as a dotted figure. Transcribers of the past twenty years have generally agreed that this is the correct transcription. But see Rehm (ed.), Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois (1957) for disagreement. In fact

none of the mensural treatises of the fifteenth century contains any reference to such a device. Collins presents the information in App.III to his dissertation The Performance of Coloration, Sesquialtera, and Hemiola (1963), p.292-312: the earliest direct reference to minor color is in Felsztyn's Opusculum musices (ca. 1519). Perhaps the matter can be reconsidered in the context of this Basin piece: it is less a question of documentation than of approximate notation. Further on the dangers of taking early rhythms too literally see Michael B. Collins, "The Performance of Sesquialtera and Hemiolia in the 16th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 17 (1964), p.5-28.

Vien avante morte dolente

Form unknown (?Rondeau quatrain)

Per f 60v-61 "Morton" (textless)

Cas f 65v-66 "Basin" (text incipit only) a fourth lower

Previous edition:

ed. Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p.94 (from Per)

Edition:

1. Formal edition, (p.326-327) Base: Cas

2. Variorum, (p.348-349) Base: Perugia

Perugia is used for the Variorum because it is the only other source of the piece and its variants are sufficiently substantial to suggest it constitutes an earlier version. The increased floridity at the end of the Discantus has no particular significance; but the substantial improvement in Cas at m.10 suggests that the changes in m.7 are also the result of revision..

Source	Key-sig	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Notes
Per	b b b	C C C	-	-	"Morton"
Cas	- - -	C C C	! ! !	i i i	"Basin" a 4th lower

Error not incorporated into the Variorum:

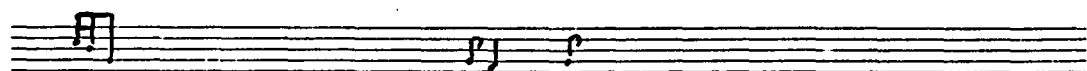
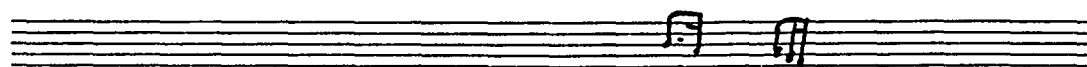
8 iii 2: om. Perugia

Variorum

First system of musical notation. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle staff is labeled 'Tenor' and has a bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is labeled 'Contralto' and has a bass clef with a key signature of one flat. Above the first staff, there is a chord symbol 'A'. The music is written in a common time signature.

Second system of musical notation. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle and bottom staves are accompaniment lines with bass clefs and a key signature of one flat. The system includes several annotations: a '5' above the first measure of the top staff, a '9' above the second measure, and 'F 9' above the third measure. The music continues in a common time signature.

Third system of musical notation. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is an accompaniment line with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The system continues the musical piece in a common time signature.



Chapter twelve

Pues servicio: Enrrique and Spanish song

"Son," the old guy says, "no matter how far you travel, or how smart you get, always remember this: some day, somewhere," he says, " a guy is going to come to you and show you a nice brand-new deck of cards on which the seal is never broken, and this guy is going to offer to bet you that the jack of spades will jump out of this deck and squirt cider in your ear. But, son," the old guy says, "do not bet him, for as sure as you do you are going to get an ear full of cider."

Damon Runyon, The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown

1. Pues ser - vi - cio vos des - pla - ze I lo - ar vos
 4. Es - to sien - to que vos pla - ze: El do - lor que

Tenor

Contra

des-con-ten - ta, Lo que más vos sa-tis - fa - ze
 m'a-tor-men - ta. Sy mi fin vos sa-tis - fa - ze.

Yo no sien - to quién lo sien - ta. 2. Y con es -
 Yo no sien - to quién lo sien - ta. 3. Pues a mi

to mi sen - tir No sa - be qué no - do si - gua,
 mu-cho ser - vir Vos mos - tra-des e - ne - mi - gua.

Considerable confusion has arisen around the subject of Pães serviço. The song appears in the Cancionero de Palacio (CMP) with an ascription to "enrrique." As such it was published in the editions of the manuscript by Barbieri (1890) and Anglès (1947). On 23rd February 1951 Manfred Bukofzer wrote to Anglès pointing out that the same song occurs in the Perugia ms. 431 (Per) with the fourth part missing and with an ascription to Morton. In the preface to the second volume of his edition (1951), Anglès quoted Bukofzer's letter and inexplicably stated that the "enrrique" ascription was not in fact to be found in the Cancionero de Palacio, that the original attribution was a guess of Barbieri's and that he had taken over the ascription into the new edition by an oversight which he now wished to correct.

Unfortunately, access to the Cancionero del Palacio can be extremely difficult, so this final incorrect statement has been generally accepted. In the preface to his edition of the CMP texts (1965),⁽¹⁾ Romeu briefly alluded to the fact that the ascription is really there but he did not repeat the information in the place one would expect to find it, in the commentary to the song itself. Consequently, to those who have not yet read the fine print of Romeu's extensive preface, it still appears as though there is no ascription in CMP to contradict the one to Morton in Perugia.

But even if the Enrrique attribution had been an error introduced by Barbieri, its implications should have raised a few serious questions. The piece is sufficiently integrated into the Spanish repertory of the Cancionero de Palacio, and more particularly with the two other works of Enrrique, to leave little doubt that it belongs squarely within that

tradition. In retrospect it seems strange that no questions were asked concerning Morton's authorship;⁽²⁾ and even stranger that Stevenson should have used the Morton concordance to substantiate his assertion that the Spanish repertory of the time was indistinguishable from the French.⁽³⁾

The tradition began with Bukofzer who first discussed the piece in 1942 when he knew only the textless Perugia source. Writing about Morton, he stated: "Only one of his pieces is written in the English idiom, a textless chanson (?) printed in Marix, p.93."⁽⁴⁾ A decade later, having found the concordance in CMP, he wrote in the New Oxford History of Music that the piece was "written in a very pronounced English idiom, which is much less marked in his other works."⁽⁵⁾ In that both comments point to the basic truth that Pues servicio is stylistically quite different from the rest of the music ascribed to Morton, both are valid. But his opinion that the piece represented English style needs examination.

Bukofzer's observation should be seen in its own historical context. One of his major contributions to musicological thought was the clarification of the concept of an English style in fifteenth-century sacred music.⁽⁶⁾ He not unnaturally wished to define something similar in secular music. Yet he was severely tied by the lack of material until the emergence of the Mellon chansonnier containing three songs with English text. In his 1942 description of the Mellon manuscript he began to try to piece together a portrait of English song style. There was still little material for such a venture, and Bukofzer's argument became elusive to the point that neither here nor elsewhere did he

explain what it was that he found so English about Pues serviço.

One could hazard some guesses. First must surely have been the way the opening of Pues serviço recalls the opening of one of his newly-discovered Frye songs, Alas alas (ex.1).⁽⁷⁾ In his discussions of that song he printed one of the few surviving English songs from insular sources, Alas departyng is ground of woo (ex.2)⁽⁸⁾ and asserted that it "served as a model both textually and musically for Alas alas ..."⁽⁹⁾ This cannot be the case: the mensuration is different, the cadences are all on different notes, the whole harmonic and melodic style is different, and the texts have practically nothing in common or at least their similarity is confined to the opening word "Alas" and the unremarkable coincidence that line 2 of Frye's song ends with the cliché "none other can y syng" while the anonymous song has "other song can I not syng." Bukofzer also expressed doubts, but they did not make him swerve from his main point:

The two songs are, of course, not identical, but they do prove the existence of an English tradition in secular music of the fifteenth century, and they do furnish tangible evidence of the existence of an English idiom.⁽¹⁰⁾

And yet the only way the evidence seems "tangible" is that both songs are written on D and the first move in the Discantus is a leap up a minor third followed by a return to D through E. These characteristics are also to be found in Pues serviço, and it is easy to see the connection being made.

Another clue of English style for Bukofzer would perhaps have been the predominantly homophonic nature of Pues serviço. The concept

Ex. 1

Walter Frye

A-las, a-las, a-las, a-las, is

Ex. 2

A-las, de-par-tyng ys ground of woo, O-ther songe

A-las, de-par-tyng ys ground of woo, O-ther

of "English Discant" was perhaps one of Bukofzer's most original and provocative insights; and even though subsequent research has shown that some of his arguments and terminology were incorrect and ultimately extremely misleading,⁽¹¹⁾ the identification of a certain kind of "conductus style" in some chant settings of the Old Hall manuscript did lead the way to defining the individuality of English music at that time. Interesting though the idea may be, however, and clearly though Bukofzer's mind picked a route through the jungle of incomplete and conflicting information, it does seem that to identify this one of many homophonic pieces in the Cancionero de Palacio as English is to set a dangerous precedent. It is surely easier to explain it in terms of the emerging Spanish tradition than in terms of an English tradition that had virtually evaporated some fifty years earlier?

Bukofzer's clearest and final statement concerning the English idiom mentions "three essential traits which characterize it : (1) the "block-chord" or note-against-note style with all parts moving in the same rhythm; (2) a strong preference for 6/3 chords and full triads; (3) emphatic use of consonant progressions at the expense of unprepared dissonances."⁽¹²⁾ The final characteristic was standard throughout Europe well before the middle of the fifteenth century and so does not affect the present discussion. There is only one real 6/3 chord in Pues servicio, and that is not in the close position which Bukofzer had in mind. Later study will show that though the texture is full, it is far less homophonic than may at first appear; and its homophony is more Spanish than English. And if there are some 34 full triads in the 29 measures of the piece, this factor by itself

is not sufficient to suggest non-Spanish style in the music.

The phrase structure of the various voices suggests that the apparent homophony of the piece is not comparable to the homophony of the English works. In the opening phrases the Tenor and Discantus are largely homophonic: the rhythmic figure of the second phrase (m.6-7) in parallel thirds confirms the implication of pairing that can be seen throughout the first two lines. If this is so, the second D in m.5 of the Tenor cannot be an upbeat to the second phrase, but is rather a feminine ending to the first. Similar feminine endings appear in the Tenor at m.9, m.11 and m.14. These feminine endings are consistently contradicted, however, by the different phrasing implied in the Contratenor at these points. At m.5 the final two notes in the Contra can only be performed and understood as an upbeat to the next phrase. The rest at the end of m.8 equally clearly implies phrasing through the subsequent phrase, specifically against the direction of the phrase in the Tenor part. The same happens in m.14. The result is a texture of some intricacy: so those moments when the three voices really are together, such as m.21-22, act as respite from the conflicting nature of the voices otherwise.

Such phraseology is surely not characteristic of English music in the later fifteenth century. But it is also ^{not} found in the music more securely attributable to Morton, for in them the voices, especially the Contratenor, are considerably more independent of one another. Indeed, Bukofzer remarked on the dissimilarity of the song from the rest of Morton's surviving work. Considering this it is all the more surprising that subsequent writers seem to have ignored the doubts

about Morton's authorship expressed by Anglès in 1951.

Even though he thought the Enrique ascription was an invention of Barbieri's, Anglès argued that the piece seemed Spanish, first of all on the basis of its musical form. Such a firm cadence in the middle followed by a double bar (in both manuscripts) strongly suggested that the piece was a *Cançión* or *Villancico*. For a *Rondeau* to have a double-bar in the middle would be most unusual (I have not come across this in any documented *Rondeau*), particularly when connected with so strong a cadence; and in any case the proportion 4:2 of the two halves would also be uncharacteristic of the *Rondeau*. The piece could perhaps be a French *Bergerette*, but by the second half of the fifteenth century this was a much more expansive form. It is of course possible to believe that Pues servicio originally had an English text and that it has no parallel among the English songs merely because so little of that repertory survives from the years 1420-1490. But large quantities of English lyric poetry do survive; and the *Bergerette/Virelai* form is extremely rare.

Anglès next argued the Spanish origin of Pues servicio by pointing to CMP no.454, El bevir triste me haze, which is annotated in the manuscript "Cançion contrahecha a Pues servicio vos desplaze, letra y punto." (Song modelled on Pues servicio in both words and music.) (Ex.3)⁽¹³⁾ The song is an interesting example of fifteenth-century use of a musical model, for it is unlikely that any twentieth-century student would have noticed the connection between the two pieces without having been told. Anglès pointed to the identical rhyme scheme in the *Estribillo* (refrain, or first section) of the two

Ex. 3 Canción contrahecha a Pues servicio vos desplaze, letra y punto.

1. El be-vir, tris-te, me ha - ze Que'l

[Tenor]

[C]ont[ta] El bivir triste me haze

me - rir só - lo con - sien-ta El do - lor tan-to me

1^o pla - ze, quan - t'os pla - ze que lo sien-ta.

2^o

2^o

The musical score is written on four systems of three staves each. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the Tenor line, and the bottom is the Canto line. The music is in 6/8 time and G major. The lyrics are in Spanish and are written below the vocal line. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are: "1. El be-vir, tris-te, me ha - ze Que'l", "[Tenor]", "[C]ont[ta] El bivir triste me haze", "me - rir só - lo con - sien-ta El do - lor tan-to me", "1^o pla - ze, quan - t'os pla - ze que lo sien-ta.", "2^o", "2^o".

songs. Although the words of the Estrofa (stanza, or second section) do not survive, the form of the music leaves little doubt that they too would have had the same scheme of meter and rhyme as in Pues servicio. Anglès also observed that the two songs are the same length, with twenty measures in the first half and nine in the second. This similarity is however only approximate, since the considerably freer phrasing of El bevir triste results in entirely different phrase-lengths; and the final cadence of each section occurs on an off-beat. Two further features connecting the song might have been mentioned, and they are of the kind that would be most important to a fifteenth-century musician: the part-ranges are the same in both songs; and both have the same words "que lo sienta" at the end of the Estribillo in the single refrain line which is as important with the Cançión and the Villancico as with the French Ballade.

The new song is apparently much later in style, and in many ways improves considerably on the earlier work. The three parts move with a fluidity that allows them to exchange roles much more: each contributes to the harmonic movements, each contributes melodic material, and each has moments of purely ornamental figuration. The rhythmic freedom is a strongly featured characteristic: cadences appear at all points in the measure and held notes frequently cross from one perfection to the next. However this is less the rhythmic freedom of Morton's own Que pourroit plus than of other Spanish songs such as Urreda's De vos i de mi,⁽¹⁴⁾ or La que tengo no es prisión of F. de la Torre.⁽¹⁵⁾ Another respect in which Contrahecha seems an improvement is in its cadences which are carefully deployed across

different degrees of the scale whereas Pues servicio returns distressingly often to its final D. But the Contrahecha shows little of the same control of melodic peak: the high A which was so carefully prepared in Pues servicio is not highlighted in any way in El bevir except in that it is avoided in the Estrofa.

Anglès used the connection of Pues servicio and El bevir to emphasize the way the "Morton" song was integrated into CMP. Another sign of the integration might have been seen in the Enrrique ascription; for even if it had been an invention of Barbieri's it would have been unkind for Anglès to call it "sin algun fundamento."⁽¹⁶⁾ The style of Pues servicio matches nicely with Enrrique's Mi querer tanto vos quiere (ex.4),⁽¹⁷⁾ only two songs later in the collection. Part-ranges and tonality are almost the same. This piece also has some of the same homophonic manner of Pues servicio. In terms of melodic shape they are strikingly similar, especially in the opening phrase and in the cadential figuration which appears at m.20 in Mi querer and m.28 in Pues servicio.⁽¹⁸⁾ Only the different mensurations separate the pieces somewhat. Mi querer is a more intricate piece, and it is in four essential parts; but the similarities of style are undeniable. Moreover, for what the information may be worth, the opening of the Estrofa is similar in both pieces as also in the third piece ascribed to Enrrique, Pues con sobra la tristura (ex.5).⁽¹⁹⁾ Stylistically, the music of Pues servicio belongs in the CMP repertory and with the other songs of Enrrique.

Nor is there anything to suggest that the music was not originally written for the Spanish poem, though the poem does appear alone in a

Ex. 4

Enrique

Disc.

Contra I 1. Mi que - rer tan - to vos quie - re, Muy gra - ci - o - sa
 4. Si que - rer tan - to vos quie - re, Cau - sa - lo que sois

Tenor

Contra II

don - se - lla, que por vos mi vi - da
 tan be - lla,

15 mue - re Y de vos no tie - ne que - re - ll
 20

25 Tan - to sois de mi que - r i - da Con a - mor i le - al
 30 Que de vos non se que di - ga Vien - do v - uestra que -

tad,
 tad.

Ex. 5

Pues con sobra de tristura: opening of 2nda pars

Enrique

Vos pues - tes la ven - ce - do - [ra]

poetry manuscript not particularly musical in its connections. The poem is in the closed form of the *Cançión* which modern scholarship normally distinguishes from the *Villancico* in that there is no *Vuelta*:⁽²⁰⁾ in *Pues servicio* the rhyme scheme of lines 9-12 is exactly the same as that of the *Estribillo*, (lines 1-4) whereas in a *Villancico* line 9 would rhyme with the end of the *Mudanza* (line 8), returning only gradually to the rhyme scheme of the *Estribillo*.

The phrasing of the first half strongly suggests that the music was turned for this poem. The first line starts effortlessly with a regular two syllables per measure and just one syllable in the fourth measure so that the feminine ending of the poetic line could aptly be matched in the music. The second musical line is one measure shorter. This in turn requires more density of text-projection: the first measure contains three syllables. It might be possible to suggest this implied that the original poem had a shorter second line, but it makes more sense to see it as a carefully contrived effort to increase the pace. At first the increase is only gradual, and the gentle manner in which the Tenor follows the *Discantus* at the third below lends a sense of reassurance that is underpinned by the gentle rocking of the *Contratenor* in fourths and fifths to provide the root-position for each chord. But the greatest tension is built in the next line. The *Discantus* here is fragmented into three sections: the second is a rhythmic diminution of the first, and the third treats the second sequentially, raising it a step. At the same time the *Contratenor* has a jagged rising figure in m.11-12 which adds to the carefully controlled excitement. When the fourth line begins at m.15

the ear expects another step in the sequence now set in motion. Instead there is a sudden relaxation which very soon leads on to the peak at high A (m.17) which the whole line has implied. This peak is prepared by the Tenor which rises from D through F and G to A in m.15-16, just as the Contratenor does the same a measure later. Little though the fifteenth-century song attempted to mimic its poem, this work seems to match the progression of the first four lines of Pues servicio just as it might be spoken dramatically. It is difficult to imagine the music being more appropriate to other words; similarly it is difficult to point to any example of contrafact in the fifteenth-century polyphonic repertory that is matched to the music with such skill.

If the song belongs so firmly in the Spanish context, the question of its ascription requires an attempt to date it. For the music is far distant in style from any of Morton's French songs which were presumably composed for the Burgundian court during his years of continuous residence there between 1457 and 1475. The only circumstances in which it could have been written there would be as a special favor for Isabel of Portugal, wife of Philip the Good. She seems to have been a far more discerning patron of the arts than her husband, and during the years she and Charles count of Charolais (later Duke Charles the Bold) were partially estranged from the ailing Duke Philip, Morton was apparently favored by Charles.⁽²¹⁾ In 1456/7 Isabel retired to La Motte-aux-Bois until her death in 1472, and it might be argued that she wished some Iberian musical comfort in her old age. But this seems a far fetched explanation for such a song coming from Morton's pen.

If he had written it there, one would expect the song to appear in some Northern manuscript, and one would expect to find in it some trace of the style of his other songs, just as one would expect to find some other evidence of Isabel's preference for things Spanish in her old age, together with an explanation of why the song had ~~Castilian~~ Castilian text in preference to her own mother tongue, Portuguese.

Whoever wrote the song must surely have done so in Spain or in Spanish territories such as the Aragonese royal court at Naples. If the composer was Morton, it must therefore have been either before 1457 when he joined the Burgundian court or after 1476 when the records of his presence there end. The years in between are well enough documented to leave no possibility of his having visited Spain while a Burgundian chaplain.

Precise dating of the song is a problem, because there is no song in the CMP which has precisely the same shapes and style. But some clue is provided by the use of tempus perfectum. This mensuration is found in only 14 of the 458 surviving songs in the collection.⁽²²⁾ The considerably higher proportion of works in perfect time in the slightly earlier Cancionero of the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville (CMC) confirms what other studies of mensuration in the fifteenth century suggest,⁽²³⁾ namely that tempus perfectum was most popular in the years 1430 to 1470 and shortly thereafter became rare. It seems that the perfect time pieces are among the earliest in the CMP. Moreover, the manner of Pues servicio suggests that it may even be among the earliest of this group and therefore one of the earliest pieces of the whole surviving Spanish song repertory from the fifteenth century.

Certainly the songs of Urrede, Cornago and Triana, all dating from around the years 1470-1490, make a much freer use of imitation and of florid writing in the Contratenor parts.⁽²⁴⁾ One would therefore want to place Pues servicio in the 1460s, precisely the years when Morton seems least likely to have been its composer.

To date it after 1475 seems rash, not only because its style points towards an earlier date, but also because it is difficult to imagine how a composer who had written songs with the floridity and control of Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais and had indulged in the rhythmic experiments of Cousine and Que pourroit plus faire could return to such a relatively simple style. Moreover, Morton had established a reputation at the Burgundian court and purely on the basis of this his name would have been respected in Spain enough to have been attached to this song and any others he wrote there if he had come there after working at the Burgundian court. After all, the court of Burgundy was the most famous of its kind. It is unrealistic to suggest that he went from there to Spain and left no trace.

So the only possible alternative is that he may have been in Spain or Spanish lands before 1457. The hypothesis is attractive, for it raises the possibility that he went from there to the Burgundian court as a result of the connections Isabel of Portugal retained with the Iberian peninsula. Nor is it beyond the bounds of possibility that Morton's name may one day turn up in a Spanish archive and that his earlier presence in Spanish lands can be documented. The complete absence of any information on Morton's life before 1457 leaves the road open for speculation.

Nevertheless it would seem that the ascription to Morton can only be acceptable under these conditions. If he was not in Spain in the years before 1457, the song is almost certainly not his. In the circumstances, Pues servicio must be considered a work of most dubious authenticity.

Moreover, to suggest this as a work of Morton would be to accord him an importance that seems quite out of line with his stature as seen elsewhere. For he would be the composer of what may be the earliest piece in the CMP, and one of the founders of the Spanish polyphonic song tradition as it survives from the later fifteenth century. To suggest this is to make an outrageous claim that simply does not fit in with what we otherwise know of Robert Morton.

On the other hand, there is little difficulty in accepting the ascription to Enrrique in CMP, for one of his other songs is remarkably similar in style, as we have seen. Biographical data on Enrrique are sparse, but Anglès has shown that he was a servant of Carlos, prince of Viana in 1461, the year of the prince's sudden death.

Another servant of Prince Carlos at the time was the famous Catalan misogynist poet Pere Torroella,⁽²⁵⁾ to whom the poem Pues servicio has been ascribed. Torroella was in the Prince's service as early as 1438 as a page (escudero); in 1446 he is recorded as a sword bearer (oficial de cuchillo). At other stages in his life he worked for King Juan of Navarre in whose retinue he is recorded in 1441, 1458 and again in 1464 after the death of Prince Carlos. However the connection with Prince Carlos seems the crucial factor

in view of the single poetry manuscript containing the poem of Pues servicio.

This is now in a private library in Barcelona. Baselga is of the opinion that the manuscript was copied by Pere Martínez, the librarian to the Prince;⁽²⁶⁾ and the inclusion of a poem by the Prince himself tends to confirm that opinion. Pues servicio is unascribed in the manuscript, but appears among a group of Torroella's pieces. Its misogynistic mood is consistent with his other work, and the poem has been accepted by Bach y Rita as being by Torroella.⁽²⁷⁾ (Bach y Rita was aware of neither the existence nor the authorship of the musical setting.) This attribution seems convincing and has been accepted by Romeu.⁽²⁸⁾

But even if the evidence that Torroella wrote the poem is not conclusive, its appearance in that manuscript is strong confirmation of Enrique's authorship for the music. The manuscript, the composer and the presumed poet all belonged to the household of Prince Carlos of Viana. This together with the style of the music, must be as conclusive as evidence can be that Morton did not compose the song.

It is easy to see that a Spanish song found its way into the Perugia manuscript, for Atlas has shown that the source was compiled near Naples, which at the time contained the Aragonese court.⁽²⁸⁾ It is less easy to see why the Perugia scribe should have written the name of Morton at the top of the piece; for its Spanishness is obvious even to the twentieth-century ear. But such questions about the Perugia ascriptions will keep returning in the following pages.

This chapter has perhaps labored the question of Morton's possible

authorship of the song more than it merited. The Perugia ascription makes little sense. Yet the sceptical reader will entertain doubts in his mind at each stage in the argument; it is as though stylistic arguments can easily be inverted and turned on themselves. It is possible that the CMP version is slightly adapted by Enrrique who also added the fourth part, but that the music is Morton's. It is possible that Enrrique added a text from near at hand, namely from the Viana court repertory. It is possible that this curiously un-Mortonian song was indeed the work of Robert Morton and merely a freak within his surviving output, like Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé. But to accept any of these suggestions is to ignore the vast bulk of the stylistic and documentary evidence and to reject common sense.

Footnotes

1. Romeu, Introducción (1965), p.14. Allan Atlas was kind enough to draw my attention to this comment.
2. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (1954), p.99; Stevenson, Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus (1960), p.231, 251, 294.
3. Stevenson, op.cit., p.304-5.
4. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier," (1942),p.25.
5. The New Oxford History of Music, 3 (1960),p.130.
6. Bukofzer, Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen (1936); art. "Diskatus," MGG, 3 (1954), col. 559-77.
7. Mellon, f 77v-79, Schedel f 80v-82 ascribed "Frey" and with contrafact text O sacrum convivium. Edited by S. Kenney, Walter Frye: Collected Works (1960).
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 191, f 195. Edited J. Stainer, Early Bodleian Music, 2 (1901), p.72-73.
9. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier," (1942), p.45.
10. ibid., p. 46.
11. For some revisions of Bukofzer's views see especially Trowell, "Faburden and Fauxbourdon," Musica Disciplina, 13 (1959), p.43; Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint and Harmony," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 15 (1962), p.1-21; Kenney, Walter Frye (1964), chapter 5, "The Theory of Discant."
12. The New Oxford History of Music, 3 (1960), p.166.
13. CMP f 299v-301 (f 299v and 301 are in one hand, f 300-300v in another.)

New mensuration signs in all parts at m.21, where the second opening begins, suggested to Barbieri that this was a new piece. He accordingly published the two halves in his edition (1890) separately as no.272 and no.459. However comparison with the model, Pues serviço, shows that the two halves belong together as one work. The transcription by Anglès contains several errors which are listed here (in terms of his edition) merely as a caution respecting the edition of a manuscript which is virtually unobtainable in microfilm: 3 iii 2: m-rest omitted/ 6 iii 4-7 iii 1: ligature omitted/ 11 iii 1-2: ligature omitted/ 12 iii 1: by similis ante similem, the first sb should be perfected, so the first note is sb. and the second sb/ 16 iii 4 - 17 iii 1: ligature omitted/ 20 ii 2 and 20 iii 2: there are no fermate in the manuscript. 21 i, ii, iii: all three parts have a new mensuration sign/ 26 ii 5- 27 ii 1: should be tied/ 28 ii and 28 iii 2: fermate omitted. The first two lines of text are written over erasures; apparently the song was first copied with a different text.

The 4th between Discant and Tenor at m.21 is most unusual in such a piece. An earlier example is in the Binchois Agnus Dei, Marix Les Musiciens (1937), p.185, but this is a special piece that names two parts "Tenor," with consciously unusual results. In El bevir it is far more a mere passing moment in the contrapuntal fabric; and as such it must be regarded either as a solecism or as a sign that the song is much later than the mensuration would suggest. If it is a solecism, it is not the

only one. The barely disguised parallel octaves at m.27-28 or the equally scantily covered fifth at m.2 attest to a composer who was not entirely at ease with three voices.

14. CMP no.17.
15. CMP no. 48.
16. Anglès, Cancionero de Palacio, 2 (1951), p.24.
17. Mi querer presented after Anglès, op.cit., 1 (1947), p.38-40.
Sources are CMP f 19v-20; CMC f 48v-49 (no.30), ed. Querol (1971), p.39-40.
18. It would be dishonest not to point out that the cadential figure in Mi querer matches only the CMP version of Pues servicio.
It is possible that Enrrique took the 3-part piece, changed one of the cadences, added a new part, and signed his name to it.
But I think the burden of proof must lie with anyone who wishes to espouse this viewpoint.
19. Pues con sobra presented after Anglès, op.cit., 1 (1947), p.19-20.
Sources are CMP f 10v-11 and CMC f 3v-5 (no.2), ed. Querol (1971), p.1-2.
20. See Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico," Annales Musicologiques, 2 (1954), p.189-214, on p.198-199.
All the terminology used in this section of the chapter is taken from Pope's article. Romeu, p.136-139, proposes a rather different use of the terms. The problem, as so often, is that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources are ambiguous and contradictory in their use of the terms, so modern scholarship has the alternative of authentic ambiguity or of a more arbitrarily devised terminology which can aid precise discussion.

21. See chapter 10 on these points.
22. The following songs in CMP are in tempus perfectum: nos.1, 17, 22, 23, 27, 37, 48, 53, 62, 64, 66, 115, 409, 454. Besides the two songs discussed in this chapter, these include all three songs ascribed to Urreda.
23. Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon (1950); Hamm, A Chronology (1964); Bank, Tactus, Tempo and Notation (1972).
24. For a discussion of the style of these composers see Stevenson, Spanish Music (1960); for the style of Urreda see in particular, Hewitt, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton (1942), p.88. Romeu, in his classification of the poetic schemes found in CMP, identifies only three other songs with the same scheme as Pues servició : Enrrrique's Pues con sobra (see ex.4), Urreda's Nunca fue pena mayor (CMP no.4), and de la Torre's Damos gracias a ti Diós (CMP no.32). All four must belong to the earliest layer of pieces in CMP.
25. Bach y Rita, The Works of Pere Torroella (1930). Torroella is reputed to have been the father of the finest Spanish songwriter (as well as poet and dramatist) of the next generation, Juan del Encina, see Bach, p.26-7. Further on the court at Viana see Desdevises du Dézart, Carlos d'Aragon, prince de Viane (Paris,1889).
26. Baselga, El Cancionero Catalan (1896).
27. In his play, Infierno de amor, Garci Sánchez de Badajoz quotes the poem and puts it into the mouth of the poet Monsalve. Romeu (1965), p.260, rejects the implied attribution as being one of several in Infierno which do not correspond to the known facts. The play was

- first printed in 1511 in the Cancionero General (f 91).
28. Edición crítica (1965), p.260. When Romeu states that Torroella and Enrrique were both connected with the court of Navarra, I presume he means Viana. Torroella can be documented as working at both courts, but Enrrique only at Viana. Torroella was also at the court of Naples, see in particular Eugenio Mele, "Qualche nuovo dato" (1938).
29. Atlas, "On the Origins...", (1974). I am most grateful to Professor Atlas for sending me the script of this unpublished paper in which he expressly withdraws the statements about the provenance of Per 431 presented in his dissertation (1971). The material is discussed briefly in the revised published version of his dissertation, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.253-4.

Pues serviçio vos desplaze

Cançión

Per f 62v-63 "Morton" textless a3

CMP f 17v-18 (no.27) "enrrique" with full Spanish text a4, the fourth part added later in smaller notes. Not mentioned in the index.

Previous editions:

ed. Barbieri, Cancionero musical (1890), p.258-9 (from CMP)

ed. Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p.93 (from Per).

ed. Anglès, Cancionero musical de Palacio, 1 (1947), p.34-35 (from CMP).

Text sources:

CMP f 17v

Barcelona, Ms. of Pero Martínez, f 22v

First two lines cited by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz in his Infierno de Amor, printed in the Cancionero general (1511 etc.) f 91.

Text editions:

ed. Barbieri, Cancionero musical (1890) (from CMP).

ed. Baselga, El Cancionero Catalán (1896), p.396 (from Barcelona)

ed. Bach y Rita, The Works of Pere Torroella (1933), p.250 (from Barcelona)

ed. Romeu, Edición crítica (1965), p.259-260 (from CMP with variants in Barcelona and Garci Sánchez listed).

Related piece:

El bevir triste me haze Cançión

"Cançión contrahecha a Pues serviçio vos desplaçe, letra y punto."

CMP f 299v-301 (no.454)

ed. Barbieri, Cancionero musical (1890), no.272 and no.459.

ed. Angès, Cancionero musical de Palacio, (1951), p.203-204.

Edition:

1. Formal edition (p.351). Music base: Perugia; text base: CMP.
2. Four-voice version (p.380). Base: CMP.
3. Variorum concerning variant sections only (p.382). Base: Perugia.

Perugia

The following Ds are inexplicably preceded by flats: 8 iiii,
12 iii 5, 19 i 1/ 21 i: new mensuration sign/ 24 iii 2: flattened

CMP

Errors: 9 i 2: rest missing/ 27 iii 5: must be an error, though
no reasonable emendation is apparent/ 28 iii 3 and 29 iii: G in ms.
Angès emends by changing the final note to F, but even though a
similarity to m.20 is thus obtained, the resulting dominant 7th chord
seems unstylistic.

Ascription: the word "enrrique" is in light ink, and evidently once
missed the normally observant eye of Angès; but it is very similar
to the two other ascriptions to the same composer on f 10v and f 19v.
There is no reason to doubt it.

The new fourth part is added in a smaller writing style; but the variety of writing styles and hands in the CMP makes it difficult to be sure whether the part was added substantially later or even by a different scribe. The scribe adding the part labeled it 'I. Contra' and put the figure '2us' before the designation of the old Contra.

Variorum

Confined to two sections only. Also: 5 ii: m. in CMP, m c in Per.

Source	Mensuration	Key-signature	Texting	Mid-point	Notes
Per	0 0 0	- - b	- - -		"Morton"
CMP	ò 0 0 0	- - - -	t i i		"Enrique"

Text (perhaps by Pere Torroella)

Pues serviço vos desplaze,
 I loar vos descontenta,
 Lo que más vos satisfaze
 Yo no siento quién lo sienta.

Y con esto mi sentir
 No sabe qué modo sigua,

Pues a mi mucho servir
 Vos mostrades enemiga.

Esto siento que vos plaze:
 El dolor que m'atormenta.
 Sy mi fin vos satisfaze,
 Yo no siento quién lo sienta.

Emendations: 1.1: "desplaze" as "desplase" in CMP/ 1.7: "servir"
 as "serviros" in CMP, but the last syllable is below the note to
 which the next word, "vos", should be sung and seems to be in a
 slightly different shade of ink.

Four-voice version

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with four staves. The top staff of each system is the vocal line, and the bottom three are piano accompaniment. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 5/4.

System 1:

- Vocal: **Pues ser-vi-çio vos despla-ze**
- T[en]or: **Pues servicio vos desplaze**
- 1. Contra: **Pues servicio vos desplaze**
- 2us Contra: **Pues servicio vos desplaze**

System 2:

- Vocal: **¡ Loar vos des-con-ten-ta lo que más**

System 3:

- Vocal: **vos satisfaze Yo no sien-to quién**

Measure numbers 5, 10, and 15 are indicated above the vocal lines.

2^o [Fine]

lo sien - - ta.

Y con es -
Pue s a

Y con esto mi sentir

Y con esto mi sentir

Y con esto

to mi sentir No sa - be que mo do si -
mi mu ch o s e r v i r (o s) vos mostra - des en -

e - mi - gua.
gua.

Esto siento que vos plaze:
El dolor que m'atormenta.
Sy mi fin vos satisfaze,
Yo no siento quien lo sienta.

Variorum

Musical score for three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The score consists of measures 8 through 29. Measure 8 is the start of a phrase. Measures 9-13 are grouped together. Measure 14 is the start of a new phrase. Measures 15-18 are grouped together. Measure 19 is the start of a new phrase. Measures 20-23 are grouped together. Measure 24 is the start of a new phrase. Measures 25-28 are grouped together. Measure 29 is the final measure of the piece, ending with a double bar line.

Musical score for two staves (treble and bass clefs). The score consists of measures 24 through 29. Measure 24 is the start of a phrase. Measures 25-28 are grouped together. Measure 29 is the final measure of the piece, ending with a double bar line.

Eight sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically on the page.

Chapter Thirteen

Elend: German Song and the Contrafact Tradition

Man horet aber richen schal
von quinten, quarten one zal,
octaf und prym, quint discantieren ublich;
galander clymmet in accutis uff eynmal,
so felt die lerch in gradibus irn sussen fal,
uss scharpfen dönen sydelt, harpfet nachtigall,
daz sie zesammen donen, discantieren.

Des harders guldin rey, from the
Colmarer Liederhandschrift (ca. 1470)

E - lend du hast um - fan - gen mich, Ich

weiss nicht wes ich's kla - gen soll.

Mein höch - ste frau, zwar ich mein dich: Wär ich bei dir so wär mir wohl,

Wenn ichs ge - sin So sind da - hin Mein Freud dass ich nicht bei dir bin.

The word *chanson* has been studiously avoided in these discussions of Morton's songs, primarily because it lies too easily on the tongue and has sometimes been too freely employed. Bukofzer was only slightly apologetic in his statement that there were, by his definition, English chansons.⁽¹⁾ *Chanson-style* and *Ballade-style* are terms seriously abused in several of the more general historical studies of recent decades. Since this study attempts to reverse the approach of the general history, so to speak, by looking at only a few of the smallest trees in one corner of the forest, it attempts also to avoid terminology that presupposes an overview of the whole century. An approach to the tree that regards its prime function as being part of a forest may do less than justice to the individuality of the tree itself. The word *chanson* tends to evoke today, as it did in Bukofzer's time, an enormous body of material in many languages.

There is moreover still very little evidence that a writer who mentions the "Burgundian *chanson*" is focusing the question any further. If it is taken to apply quite strictly to those French songs written in the province of Burgundy then the only fifteenth-century song known to me for which this could be said even as a probability, let alone a relative certainty, is the rondeau Adieu vous dy l'esper de ma jonesse preserved anonymously and uniquely in the Cordiforme manuscript: it contains the line "Adieu Dijon où je me suis deduit."⁽²⁾ If the range of applicability for the word Burgundian is extended to include the lands owned by the Duke of Burgundy and specifically the ducal court, the situation looks more amenable to definition, for Binchois, Hayne, Morton, Busnois and other composers spent most of their lives at the

court of Burgundy. But the recent emergence of evidence that Dufay wrote most of his songs at the courts of Rimini and Savoy calls for some attempt to distinguish the qualities of the Burgundian French songs written in the north from that of other French songs written on more Italianate soil.⁽³⁾ Such a study would probably not be in vain but it would be peripheral to the discussion of Morton's songs. Common usage today is still to refer to the age of Binchois and Dufay as the Burgundian era; so any song of that generation becomes a Burgundian chanson. For the present purposes it is best to avoid the word Burgundian unless coupled with a specific reference to the court.

If the words Burgundian and chanson have been avoided because they have the disadvantage of presupposing too many dubious historical concepts, the word song has the slight advantage of emphasising the words-and-music questions. It becomes perhaps less necessary to remind the reader constantly that the songs of Morton or any other fifteenth-century composer are in many ways solutions to the same problems that face all song writers. For in spite of half a century of enthusiastic performance by both amateur and professional musicians, "early music" is still a category somehow separated from the standard repertory for the musical public. Any small gesture that can help to bridge that gap, to point the ways in which fifteenth-century music is closer to the standard repertory, is surely beneficial.

But the main reason for the choice of the neutral word song is the desire to retreat a little from the sometimes excessively nationality-conscious discussions of fifteenth-century music which

appeared particularly in the 1930s and still leave their mark on much musicological thought today. Such an approach has been more damaging to Morton than to some, for students of his work have too often sought first of all traces of an English idiom, and thereby given undue prominence to Pues serviço, a piece which is in any case probably not by him, as was seen in the last chapter. If the one document which describes him as "chappelain angloix" had been lost, perhaps much of the effort would have been saved, and students would have been directed more quickly to his masterpieces, Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais.

The question of national style begins to become unavoidable in relation to the song Elend du hast, for its seven surviving sources transmit five different texts in four different languages; and the only way towards determining its correct form is through attempting to fit the music into certain traditions which can be associated with certain forms of text.

Another consideration should be voiced as a preface to this kind of discussion. The musician of the fifteenth century who lived with the music was presumably far more sensitive to the differences between the national traditions than is today's student. Whereas it had been relatively modest to pursue the studies in previous chapters on the assumption that a conscientiously analytical student of twentieth-century microfilms can understand aspects of the word-setting, structure and contrapuntal syntax of the songs that may have eluded the copyist or performer in the fifteenth century, and to discuss the songs under the assumption that many of the scribes whose work is our

only record of fifteenth-century song had at best an imperfect grasp of the art they were transmitting, it becomes important to recognize that in attempting to trace national traditions the modern historian is at a most serious disadvantage in relation to the fifteenth-century scribe. The earlier musician - however ignorant or insensitive he may have been - had presumably heard the songs he copied, and probably heard them many times, performed by musicians of vastly varying talents. He had also heard a large number of songs unknown to us; he had a larger sample from which to draw categories and to which to relate questions such as nationality. But most important, he was aware of the unwritten traditions, both the performance styles exercised in various areas and the large quantities of unwritten music. It is therefore with considerable trepidation that we attempt to discern clues as to the original form of the song discussed in this chapter.

The simplest place to begin is Marix's transcription of the only source ascribing the piece to Morton, the Perugia manuscript, which we shall see must have derived the piece ultimately from a German source. In Perugia the piece appears with no text but the heading "Motectus - Morton." Marix assumed, reasonably enough, that it was therefore a sacred piece, and presented it as such. Although the word "motectus" had many possible implications to a fifteenth-century musician,⁽⁴⁾ it is clear that the manner and style of the piece are simply not those of the sacred motet as cultivated at the Burgundian court and similar institutions during the years 1450-1480. Sacred music was then practically always in four parts; and the flighty lines of Morton's piece, especially

in the Discantus and Contratenor, indicate a secular tradition.

Use of such material in sacred music was confined almost exclusively to the areas of Eastern Europe: the Glogauer Liederbuch, and the Codex Speciálník are particularly rich in examples of songs by Dufay, Busnois, Caron and others with Latin sacred texts added. The reason for such sacred contrafacts - whether they were for church use or for private family devotions, for instance - is not easily defined; but there is a sufficiently large number of them to leave a clear indication that it was a tradition cultivated in the East of Europe, largely in the German-speaking areas, and is practically non-existent in the Western sources. There is no evidence that secular songs were sung with Latin contrafact texts in the courts of Burgundy and Savoy. In Italy there is considerable evidence of a similar tradition, that of the Lauda in which a sacred Italian text, usually by a named poet and several stanzas long, was added to a secular song; and in the next century "sainctes chansonettes" and "noëls" were to be a good market prospect for any printer. But in the fifteenth century the Latin contrafact seems to belong exclusively to the Germanic sources.

And in fact such a source for Morton's song survives. One of the many contrafacts in the Speciálník codex is this very song with the text: (ex.1)

Tu sine principio
 Tu sine fine manens
 Laudibus incipio
 Glorificare te canens
 Ave Jhesu criste fili virginis
 sanctorum omnium.

Ex. 1

Tu si - ne prin-ci - pi - o,
 Tu si - ne fi - ne ma -
 nens;
 Lau - di - bus in - ci - pi -
 Glo - ri-fi-ca-re te ca - nens,
 A - ve Jhe - su cri - ste
 fi - li vir-gi - nis co - ro - na sanc-to-rum om - ni - um.

The poem is characteristic of many such contrafacts. It begins as a sturdy rhyming quatrain and then dissolves towards the end. Although it has not been possible to identify any source for these words, they are probably taken from elsewhere, to judge from similar cases.⁽⁵⁾

The thought-processes of the Speciálník contrafactist (if he may be described as such) are relatively easily reconstructed even without precise knowledge of his text sources. He located the first two musical lines of the song without difficulty - there may even have been a corona at the mid-point cadence in m.13, though it is found in none of the surviving sources - and he underlaid the first two lines of a four-line quatrain with rather more care than is sometimes found in such work. All should have been well for him now to continue to underlay the third and fourth lines of the quatrain to the rest of the song, for after the mid-point cadence all three parts begin again with a clear point of imitation that sets a new mood and represents a clear departure from the melodic material of the first half of the song. Since this particular mid-point cadence is almost exactly in the center of the song, there would be no need for him to have expected difficulties. However the second half of the song is unusual in being clearly divided into at least three musical lines, not two. There can have been no doubt in the contrafactist's mind that the next line was to be underlaid to measures 14-17 while the answering phrase in the music perfectly fitted the final line of the quatrain, even down to the detail that the word "glorificare" is ideally matched to the repeated eighth-notes in m.18. But at this point the song still had six more measures to run, and while it would be well within the

tradition to finish with a melisma of that length, this case was different, for m.21-23 begin with a new point of imitation whose repeated notes demand syllabic writing. Accordingly the contrafactist added extra words which are difficult to fit into any coherent metrical pattern in relation to the previous quatrain, but provide an appropriate end to the poem in terms of content.

The result is a makeshift, like so many contrafacts. And, also in common with the contrafact tradition in general, it probably bears little relation to the form of the original poem for the music. These contrafacts rarely have precisely the same form as the original poem: they are the true witnesses of the dissipation of the courtly song tradition once outside its own ambience. A case in point is the Glogau contrafact of Morton's Que pourroit plus faire as Numine Jesu: the Latin has seven lines of text against the French's five lines in the first stanza.⁽⁶⁾ Once the song is changed from its original context, the delicate balance of words and music, the severely classical form, is upset; and it seems particularly important to make every effort to reconstruct the original. In view of the manner in which the contrafact text was apparently supplied to this song, it is little help in the search for the correct text.

Even if there were no other known text for the song being considered here there would be no doubt that the *Speciálník* piece is a contrafact. The text is clearly cobbled together; and the style and format of the music are those of a song. In its context within the manuscript it belongs with many other contrafacts whose originals are well known. But if separated from its context, it could well have made

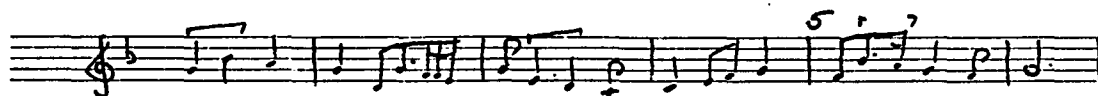
its way to the compiler of the Perugia manuscript with some sacred text.⁽⁷⁾ In such circumstances, the Perugia copyist would probably have recognized the contrafact for what it was and omitted the Latin text, but retained the word "Motectus," in the absence of any more convincing text, to remind himself of his source.

Another possibility is that the word "Motectus" is merely a misreading of the word Morton added - as sometimes happened - below one of the parts in the scribe's exemplar. We have already seen now the Contratenor of Mon bien ma joyeux has the text incipit Morton bien.⁽⁸⁾ It is possible that the Perugia scribe may have seen such an inscription and placed it at the head of the piece thinking it was a title. This may be so: it is difficult to feel certain about the motives of a scribe adding an apparent title above a work, for titles in this position are relatively rare in fifteenth-century polyphony sources except for Mass cycles. It is simpler to assume the obvious, that the word "Motectus" relates to a Latin contrafact text, if only because the piece still survives in two German sources and at least one other source that points towards a German exemplar: the Perugia readings for the song correspond remarkably closely to those in Schedel and Speciálník; and the three sources together separate themselves off from the others in their readings.

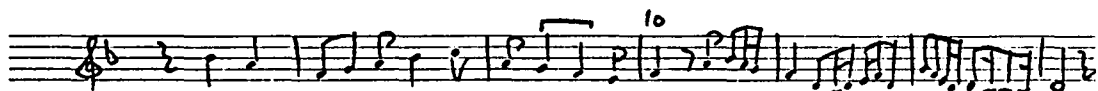
But the only convincing and full poem for the song is to be found in Dijon where there is a complete French rondeau quatrain beginning Vive ma dame. The first stanza of the same poem appears also in Pixérécourt. This poem gives no impression of having been tossed together for the purposes of underlaying something to the music,

as did the Latin in *Speciálník*: it is well turned and elegantly presented in the manuscript.⁽⁹⁾ Only in the underlay does the manuscript give a hint that something may be amiss. Line 3 of the poem begins at m.11, before the mid-point cadence, and line 4 begins only shortly after it at m.16. The final two words are spread across the rest of the *Discantus* as though to imply a gigantic melisma. Of course the discussions in chapter one should guard against any great surprise on seeing such underlay. But the feeling that all is not well is confirmed by the underlay in *Pixérécourt*, a source whose underlay is normally good even when the texts are poor. In this case the scribe's solution more or less follows the logic of the *Speciálník* source: the four lines of the quatrain take him down to the end of m.21, but leave him on one leg, so to speak, since the next phrase begins immediately with a point of imitation and repeated notes. But rather than inventing new works or taking in the beginning of the next stanza, the scribe ingeniously repeats the first line of the poem again at the end. This in its turn suggests one possibly acceptable way of matching the French poem to the music and it is appended here because it makes more immediate sense than either of those in the sources. If the last line of the stanza is repeated (ex.2)⁽¹⁰⁾ the result would show the reasons for the parallelism between m.17-18 and m.21-22. On the face of it this has the virtue of being both pragmatic and convincing; yet the reasons why it is not acceptable are so far-reaching, so essential for an understanding of the whole repertory, that I must deal with them at some length so that their implications can be fully understood.

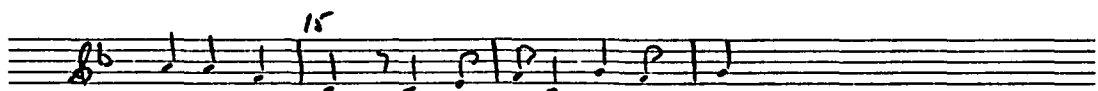
Ex. 2



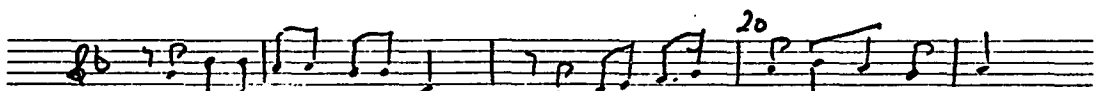
1.4.7. Vi - ve ma da - me par a - mours
3. En el - le sont tous mes la - bours
5. Ses ieulx me don - nent grant se - cours



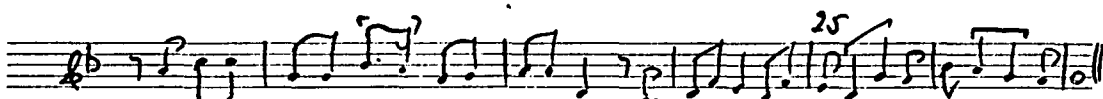
Qui m'a don- né tou - te li-es - se;
Et aus- si tou - te ma ri-ches - se.
Et c'est de moi dame et prin-ces se;



2.8. Je la [re-] tiens pour ma mais- tres- se
6.C'est de tout mon cueur la no - bles- se,



D'i-cy a la fin de mes jours
Je n'ay ail-leurs autre #ecours



D'i-cy a la fin de mes jours.
Je n'ay ail-leurs au-tre re-cours.

Discantus part and text taken

from Dij f 139v

Such text repetition appears in a slightly earlier repertory, just as it is frequent and characteristic in the imitative four-part French song repertory of the 1490s. But the tradition discussed in this dissertation has the kind of purity and classicism that makes such a practice seem most unlikely. To prove this on the basis of the sources is of course scarcely possible; examination of the manuscripts for their information on underlay, chromaticism and even on the notes has shown how much they left to the understanding of the musician, and how much incorrect information was included out of ignorance. The mere absence of repetition in the courtly song sources should not be regarded as proof that this was not part of the tradition. But some hint may be taken from the few examples where repetition does appear. Earlier in the century it appears in the Italian repertory: Ciconia's O rosa bella and Lizadra donna, the anonymous Merce o morte.⁽¹¹⁾ In all these cases a single musical phrase is repeated sequentially, and its text is repeated with it. The same happens in Files a marier/ Se tu t'en marias by Binchois.⁽¹²⁾ Here some of the text is not written out: the second voice is entirely untexted. But the repetition is explicit in the manuscript and follows the line of the music. Some text is repeated in Dufay's La belle se siet:⁽¹³⁾ repeated notes and repeated motifs would tell us of the repetition even if it were not to be seen in the source. After Morton's generation began a new genre, the four-voice imitative chanson as practised perhaps first by Compere.⁽¹⁴⁾ Here long repeated phrases lead the way to text-repetition that seems integral to the shape and form of the song. Just as in the earlier Ciconia examples the Ballata form was loosely assembled and concentrated

on freedom of space to expound its text, so also in the Dufay and Compere the form exceptionally takes a subsidiary role within the music.

This, compared with the carefully turned tradition of the strict court song represented in the work of Morton, is another musical world. The earlier discussions of the union of text and music in Le souvenir should have laid the way to understanding that the repetition of a word, let alone a phrase, would entirely destroy the delicate balance at which the song aimed. The line-by-line and stanza-by-stanza matching of the text and the music ceases to have any meaning if text is repeated. And the gentle move in each musical line from syllabic or partially syllabic openings to more melismatic continuations makes repetition unnecessary. It is difficult to integrate the idea of verbal repetition into the profile of the court tradition which has been established over the preceding pages. One might even venture to say that it seems, from this viewpoint, that if text is indeed repeated at this point in the song, Morton probably did not write it.

There is of course one example of documented text repetition in Morton's work: the Tenor of Il sera pour vous/ L'homme armé.⁽¹⁵⁾ Here every detail of text and repetition is carefully written out in the Mellon manuscript. But this too can be related back to the true synthesis of textual and musical form in the Discantus. The chapter on that song showed how the Discantus was the leading part, the one to define the form; it also showed how Morton faced a particular compositional problem, that of fitting the L'homme armé

melody below a rondeau, or indeed any other courtly form: its ABA structure seemed to fight against all the inherent characteristics of the established forms. In the circumstances, the rondeau was retained inviolate, and the L'homme armé melody, not being a courtly form, was sacrificed to some degree. And the manuscript clearly shows this. But to say so is only to confirm the assertion that text repetition can scarcely occur in the courtly forms. These are forms whose very conception fights against any kind of repetition of text within phrases.

Final demonstration of this point must await another occasion, for it requires careful examination of a large repertory over eighty years and a consideration of the relationship of text and music as it changed between Ciconia on the one hand and Compère on the other. It requires examination of the sources for any hints they may offer that the concepts outlined in chapter one may be wrongheaded; and it requires careful revision of most of the published editions, especially those containing music from the Morton generation. But on the basis of what I have seen I am most hesitant to accept the solution in ex.2. as an acceptable texting for a song in this tradition.

Another possible solution to the texting takes its lead from the observation that the Tenor part falls more conveniently into four large phrases. The years during which Morton was at the Burgundian court also saw the rise of one of the most remarkable song composers of the age, Hayne van Ghiseghem. His rondeau De tous biens plaine leaves very little doubt that the text rightfully belongs with the Tenor part, so such a procedure was not unknown in the tradition.⁽¹⁶⁾

And with a line of ten syllables it would be easy to underlay a rondeau quatrain to the Tenor part of the Morton song. However, Vive ma dame has lines only eight syllables long, and the situation is just as difficult as with the Discantus: to make sense, the final line must be repeated. In ways this solution is attractive, since it makes use of the parallelism of the repeated-note phrases, and it matches both line-ends with the rising octave figure. But once again, there is no precedent within the French song tradition of the time. (ex.3)⁽¹⁷⁾

The first two publications of this song were by German scholars who knew nothing of the Morton ascription nor of the French text. So they naturally assumed, from its appearance in the Schedelsches Liederbuch, that it was a German Tenorlied right within the tradition of fifteenth-century German music.⁽¹⁸⁾ They had little reason to doubt this. The song is in the first section of the manuscript, copied before Dr. Schedel left Nuremberg and embedded within a series of indubitable Tenorlieder.⁽¹⁹⁾ Later in his collection he was to include songs from the French, but the first ones were all German. Subsequent discoveries tend to confirm the opinion of the German scholars. The Italian manuscript RiccII preserves the piece with the one word title Elent; and the curious pseudo-Italian text incipit in Bologna Q16, "Lent et scolorito" ("slow and discolored") is obviously another elaborated version of the same thing.⁽²⁰⁾ Most recently the discovery of the song in contrafacted form in Speciálník corroborates this estimate of its position within the German repertory. Thus, of the seven known sources for the song, four are

Ex. 3

1.4.7. Vi - ve ma da - me par a - mours
 3. En el - le sont tous mes la - bours
 5. Ses yeux me don - nent grant sa - cours

Qui m'a don-né tou-te li-es - se;
 Et aus-si tou - te ma ri-ches - se.
 Et c'est de moi dame et prin-ces - se;

2.8. Je la [re-]tiens pour ma mais-tres - se
 6. C'est de tout mon cueur la no - bles - se,

8 D'i-cy a la fin de mes jours
 Je n'ay ail-leurs au - tre re - cours

D'i - cy a la fin de mes jours.
 Je n'ay ailleurs autre .re - cours.

either German or provided with some form of a German text incipit, while that in Perugia implies the use of a German source as its exemplar. Against the mere two sources with French text, this looks like strong opposition.

Yet, as it happens, none of the German sources can have the correct text. The poem Elend du hast umbfangen mich in Schedel was used for the two German editions. But this well known text has an equally well known tune of its own. Many settings of the poem in the German songbooks, both monophonic and polyphonic, agree in the use of this melody, which is printed and analyzed in Baumann.⁽²¹⁾ The versions intabulated in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch all follow the same melody. Rosenberg made substantial efforts to show that the Morton Tenor was merely an elaborated version of the more well-known tune. But his efforts lack conviction. Ex. 4⁽²²⁾ shows his attempt to match the Tenor in Schedel with the more well-known melody which he here takes from the Lochamer Liederbuch. In the event he forces the two together by making the cadences land in the same places. In measures 1-9 (of the Lochamer Liederbuch version) he makes one measure of Schedel equal to three of Loch. Measures 10-19 run more or less alongside, in equal note values, until in measures 20-24 Schedel must sit out five measures. From there to the end Rosenberg has to "rubberize" the two versions, making one measure of Schedel worth now one, now two, and on one magnificent occasion five measures of Loch. The skeptical reader is bound to feel that the two melodies have little in common apart from their cadences which fall on the same degrees in both.

Ex. 4

Loch p. 5

Schedel

El- lend dw

hast umb - fan - gen mich. Ich weiss nit wem ichs

kla - gen sol. Mein höch - ste frau zwar ich

mein dich, wer ich pey dir so wer mir sol. Wenn ichs

we - syn so sind da - hin mein frewd das ich

nit pey dir bin.

Even so, the German text can be made to fit the music in at least a plausible fashion. It requires first of all the rejection of the theorizing about the relation of the Tenor part to the German song which led Rosenberg to publish his rather stilted version. It is necessary, instead, to go through all the normal routines of examining the structure of the line, and using one's sense of musical balance.⁽²³⁾

For there can be little doubt that the original song was German. There are several indications in the music to show how the piece belongs within that tradition. One of the most startling is a section near the beginning of the song Mein gmüth das wüth in the Glogauer Liederbuch. Measures 3-5 correspond very closely to m.2-4 of Morton's song (ex.5).⁽²⁴⁾ Other apparent direct citations are found in two sections of a brief piece in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, Spyra (ex.6).⁽²⁵⁾ A different kind of citation is found in the whole first half of a three-part piece in the Glogauer Liederbuch with the same incipit, Enelende: in music example 7,⁽²⁶⁾ crosses denote those notes that are present at the same position in the Morton song. Clearly one was modeled after the other, though the dissimilarity of the two second halves suggests that the modeling was not rigorous.

More evidence of the piece's position within the German tradition appears in one of the Quodlibets in the Glogauer Liederbuch. The opening of the Discantus appears as one of the melodic citations in the Quodlibet. (ex.8)⁽²⁷⁾ Immediately preceding the "Enelende" citation is one from Mes amis of Adrien Basin (discussed in chapter eleven.) The presence,

Ex. 5

Mein gmüth das wüth [in heisse glut nach dir]

= Elend m. 2-4

Ex. 6

Spýra

= Elend m. 12-15

= Elend m. 24-27

Ex. 7

Enelende du host

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics "Enelende du host" and a fermata over the final note. The middle staff is a vocal line with a fermata over the final note. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with a fermata over the final note.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a fermata over the final note. The middle staff is a vocal line with a fermata over the final note. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with a fermata over the final note.

Perugia only!

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a fermata over the final note. The middle staff is a vocal line with a fermata over the final note. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with a fermata over the final note.

Three empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines.

Ex. 8

in cor-te - si - a, in cor-te - (sia)
Nos a - mis. E - ne - len - de

This musical score for Ex. 8 consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are "in cor-te - si - a, in cor-te - (sia)". The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are "Nos a - mis. E - ne - len - de". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in G major, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature.

Ex. 9

Pa - ra - tus sum sem-per mo- ri pro te.

[Tenor]
[Contra]

This musical score for Ex. 9 consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are "Pa - ra - tus sum sem-per mo- ri pro te.". The second staff is a vocal line for Tenor in G major, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature. The third staff is a vocal line for Contralto in G major, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature. The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature.

cheek by jowl in a Polish manuscript, of these two fragments apparently from colleagues at the Burgundian court chapel is of little significance in itself. But the use of French for the Basin quote implies that the composer or compiler of the Quodlibet had no compunction about including a French text-fragment; so if he had any idea that "Enelende" was really a French song, he would surely have done so in this case also.⁽²⁸⁾ The fragment he cites corresponds to the "Morton" version, and not to any other settings of the Elend text.

There is no context for the music within the French traditions, so far as I can tell. One possibility is that the original text was English, of course, and there is even a passage in the Ritson manuscript which bears certain affinities to m.21-23 of Elend (ex.9).⁽²⁹⁾ But comparison of the two only serves to emphasize the difference: the demonstratively introduced 6-3 chords, the overlapping of the parts and the parallel chord sequences immediately place the English song in a different world.

It may or may not be a coincidence that several similar melodic patterns appear in an English song of which only one part survives, but which has very little of the style of monophonic song in its line (ex.10).⁽³⁰⁾ John Stevens who first published the song felt doubt as to whether it was monophonic or polyphonic but tended towards feeling it was monophonic. This seems unlikely, especially in view of the wide range of note values in the music. On the other hand, if the song is one part of a polyphonic setting, its style belongs to the early sixteenth century, not the fifteenth century as Stevens suggests.

Ex. 10

6 My hert ys so plun-gyt yn greffe Ther may no
 6 bran my balys on - bynde Tyll y 'on-ys may sse my leffe It
 10 wyll not com owt off my mynd, A - lace
 15 for avne thu art on - mynd Why ssu-ffrys thu my hart to brek In two
 Ffor y may not my la - dy ffynd Y wot y
 20 dye ffor greffe am wo.

Very little English song of the fifteenth century survives, and a certain ruthless imagination is necessary in order to reconstruct a tradition; to place Elend among this English music is to grasp at a straw in order to create a new stylistic category merely because no other hypothesis is convincing.

But the context of the song within the German repertory is convincing. Only the difference of the melody from the known Elend melody causes difficulties. Yet the appearance of the first word in both the Glogau quodlibet, the Glogau model and the Discantus of the Schedel source as "Enelende" suggests the possibility that the original poem was different, perhaps beginning "En (viz. "in") elend."

If the song is German the acute problems caused in underlaying text to the Discantus are resolved. Very few German polyphonic songs from the fifteenth century have text to the Discantus, and those few that do are simple folk melodies.⁽³¹⁾ That several songs in Schedel have text below the Discantus is merely a symptom of Dr Schedel's lack of any particular care in choosing a place for text on his often crowded pages. Thus also in the case of Elend, his inclusion of a little text below the Discantus is of no consequence.

That the Glogau Quodlibet quotes from the Discantus rather than the Tenor would be because it quoted the first sounds of the song, namely the entry of the Discantus in Vorimitation.

Internal evidence indeed suggests that the song is a Tenorlied. The Tenor is usually the last voice to enter at points of imitation, in line with a tradition that was to continue through the songs of the sixteenth century and through to the chorale-prelude. The Discantus

part is fussy in a way that countermelodies sometimes are: the frequent cadences, often furnished with elaborate under-third figurations in the middle of a phrase, indicate that if this was conceived as the melody part, it was not very well conceived.

At the same time it needs saying that there seems to be no precise stylistic twin to this piece within the German repertory. Without that the arguments offered above must remain to some extent hypothetical. The song is perhaps closest to Mein gmüth das wüth already quoted;⁽³²⁾ but it seems slightly more melismatic in the shape of its Tenor, though the loss of the correct verbal text makes such a judgment difficult.

All things considered, Elend belongs more within the tradition of German songs found in Schedel than with the less courtly manner found in Glogau and the Lochamer Liederbuch. The repertory of Schedel, though containing several concordances with Glogau, is the closest of the surviving collections to showing what a courtly repertory in German may have been like. Unfortunately Schedel was not sufficiently noble to have had access to any collection truly representative of the courtly art of the German polyphonic song; and this Elend setting may be the closest surviving witness of that tradition.

.....

The implication of the Morton ascription in Perugia may seem to be that the scribe considered the song to be French. But the evidence of the filiation and of the heading "Motectus" shows that his ultimate exemplar was German or Eastern European, so if the Perugia scribe really thought the song French he cannot have had strong evidence for

his assertion. RiccII shows a different case: its readings are those of the two sources with French text, Dijon and Pixérécourt; and the latter seems to be the source of many other readings in that manuscript; even so the Italian scribe of RiccII added a German incipit to his song. Even though only one word long, this incipit is strong evidence that the scribe believed what stylistic study and comparison with the repertories shows must be the case, that the song is part of the German repertory. Moreover the composer of the Quodlibet O rosa bella/Hast du mir in Glogau also thought the song German. So we are not in the position of asserting the song's German style against the express evidence of the fifteenth-century musicians who knew the repertory. We are rather using stylistic analysis to support the clear and considered opinion of several surviving manuscripts against the apparent evidence of Perugia - evidence that is supported by Dijon but not otherwise.

French origin is out of the question. The appearance of the song with French text in two sources of otherwise independent authority speaks less strongly than the evident discomfort with which the text is added and the German style of the music. If the composer had been involved in the few musical changes in the French version he would surely also have made changes to accommodate the new text. No such change was made, and it is therefore difficult to give any credence to the French version of the song. The only basis for accepting the Morton ascription would be to believe that Morton was employed in Germany before coming to the Burgundian court in 1457, and that he wrote the song in Germany early enough for it to find its

way into Schedel's collection before 1463. By this reasoning one could also argue that the startling appearance of identical material in two other German pieces of the time and the formal modeling of the first half after yet another were the ways an English expatriate attempted to take on the German style.

Possible connections with German courts cannot be ruled out. Slightly earlier in the century Johannes Brassart of Liège worked at the imperial courts of Albrecht II and his successor Friedrich IV. His one surviving German piece, a setting of the well-known melody, Christ ist erstanden, similarly shows signs of the Locham/Glogau tradition while including imitation and certain other features of the French repertory.⁽³³⁾ It is also substantially different in style from his other works. There is a possibility that Morton followed a similar career and that this piece is his single surviving attempt to write in the German style, with no trace of the style found in his other songs.

For my own part, however, I am inclined to doubt it. The song is probably not by Morton and the fussy manner of its Discantus would reflect little credit to him if it were. Although an authoritative text cannot be reconstructed, the song was almost certainly written with German text, it seems; and there is plenty of evidence from its style and its spread of sources that it represents the German tradition at its most formal in the 1450s. Like many other songs in Italian sources from the last two decades of the fifteenth century it probably travelled around with no text or merely an incipit; and it is likely enough that with the half-remembered opening of the genuinely Mortonian Que pourroit plus faire⁽³⁴⁾ as a stimulant to the

mind, a late fifteenth-century copyist could easily have written down the ascription to Morton, letting his pen carry him ahead of the serious second thoughts that would surely have rejected the suggestion.

Footnotes

1. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier...", (1942), p.14.
2. Edited in Kottick, The Unica in the Chansonnier Cordiforme (1967), p.65.
3. I have outlined some of the considerations here in the sleeve notes to the record, Dufay: Fifteen Songs (1974).
4. Tinctoris, Diffinitorium Musicae (ca. 1474) writes: Motetum est cantus mediocris qui verba cujusvis materiae sed frequentius divinae supponuntur. The evasiveness of this definition is emphasized when it is compared with his entry for Cantilena: Cantilena est cantus parva cui verba cuiuslibet materiae sed frequentius divinae supponuntur. F. Blatt, Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis, (800-1200)fasc. "Miles-Mozytia" (Copenhagen, 1963) has no entry for Motetus; DuCange has an entry but it helps little. The Tinctoris passage is well discussed in Reidemeister, Die Chanson-Handschrift (1973), p.33-41. Reese succinctly outlines the problems of the word Motet in Music in the Renaissance (1954), p.20-21. However exception must be taken to one sentence: "pieces labeled 'Motectus' (or something similar) survive in a form apparently intended for instrumental use (at least, there is no text), whatever the original form may have been." He is, I think, referring to one piece only, Elend as found in the Perugia codex..I know of no other example in fifteenth-century song. Gülke ingeniously suggests (Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, 1974, p.100) that the title Motectus is merely an indication that there is a Tenor cantus firmus. My impression is that the word would not have been used in that sense at such a late date.

5. At one point in the Lochamer Liederbuch three different song Tenors are contrafacted with different parts of the same poem (Ave dulce tu frumentum), see Salmen and Petzsch (eds.), Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. It would be impossible to reconstruct the original poem from its presentation here, for the lines are scattered quite inconsequentially across the three songs; but with the full poem at hand it is easy to see the derivation of each particular sub-poem.
6. See chapter 4 and the corresponding edition.
7. It might be worth adding that the Latin text with which the song reached the Perugia compiler was probably not Tu sine principio, as found in Speciálník, for there seem to be very few cases of the same Latin contrafact appearing in different manuscripts of the same song. This could be taken into consideration by those who would make of Frye's Ave regina caelorum a mere contrafact.
8. See chapter 6, p. 173.
9. Dijon is one of the few song-books of the period to contain nothing but French text. It might therefore be the first source to substitute a French contrafact text for one in another language.
10. Discantus and text are both from Dijon, f 139v.
11. The Ciconia songs are edited in S. Clercx, Johannes Ciconia (1960) vol. 2; five songs with Italian text and repeated phrases are to be found in Bologna, MS 2216 (BU)p.97-101.
12. Binchois, Die Chansons, ed. W. Rehm (1957), p.52. The text for the Tenor is omitted in the manuscript and in this edition, but was identified by Martin Picker, "The Cantus Firmus in Binchois' Files a marier," (1965).

13. H. Besseler (ed.), Guillaume Dufay, Cantiones (1964), p.27.
14. The earliest song in this tradition may be the Busnois (or Isaac) Vous marchez du bout du pied, found in Dijon, Niv and many later sources. Several examples are in the manuscript Capella Giulia XIII, 27 dated ca. 1492-94 by Atlas. Among the songs of Compere, ed. Finscher, see in particular Alons fere nos barbes, L'autre jour me chevauchoye, Lourdault, Une plaisant fillette and Vostre bergeronette. Many of these songs open with a point of imitation in which two voices present the whole first poetic line before the other two voices enter with the same material. The first line is therefore repeated, in effect. This paves the way to all four voices repeating text and music later on in the piece without any apparent incongruity.
15. See chapter 7.
16. Of the many published editions of the song, the only one to underlay the text to the Tenor in this way is that of Thurston Dart, Invitation to Medieval Music, vol. 2 (1969), p.37-38.
17. From Dijon f 139v. Emendations: 8 ii 3: A/ 9 ii 1: G/ 11 ii 1: A
18. The surviving German polyphonic song of the fifteenth century is relatively easily assembled being mostly confined to four sources. The earliest, the works of Oswald von Wolkenstein (ed. Schatz and Koller in DTO 18, 1902) contains 31 polyphonic songs, but at least 8 are contrafacts of fourteenth-century French and Italian songs. The group should be ignored for the present purposes. The Wolkenstein manuscripts are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2777 and Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. without call

number. The Lochamer Liederbuch (Berlin, Ms. 40613) containing 9 polyphonic songs has been edited most recently by Walter Salmen and Christoph Petzsch (1972). The German songs of the Schedel'sches Liederbuch (Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, cgm. 810), 69 in number, are available only in the old edition by Robert Eitner, Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, 12 (1880), Beilage. The edition by Heinrich Bessler promised since the 1940s for publication in Das Erbe deutscher Musik was evidently with the printers some months before his death, but has still not appeared. Finally, 70-odd German songs of the Glogauer Liederbuch (Berlin, Ms. 40098), manifesting more variety of style than the other collections, are available in the edition of Ringmann and Klapper in Das Erbe deutscher Musik, 4 (1954). Most of the rest is edited by Heinz Funck, Deutsche Lieder aus fremden Quellen (Das Chorwerk, 45, 1937).

19. See Bessler's article "Schedel" in MGG, 11 (1968).
20. A comparable case to Q16's expansion of the German Elent to Lent e scolorito is found in John Bedyngham's English Ballade So ys emprentid in my avisaunce which appears in Laborde as Soyez aprantiz, but in MC as Soyez aprentis an amours.
21. Baumann, Das deutsche Lied und seine Bearbeitungen (1934), p.92-94.
22. Adapted to the conventions of this dissertation from Rosenberg, "Übertragungen einiger bisher nicht aufgelöster Melodienotierungen..." (1931-2), p.71-72. The upper line is the homophonic melody in the Lochamer Liederbuch, p.5, the lower is the "Morton" Tenor in Schedel. Rosenberg argues (p.75) that the similarities between the two melodies

are sufficient to suggest a common root for both.

23. In fact the underlay in Schedel places lines 1 and 2 of the poem below the same music, implying a repeat of the first section in accordance with the most common of German song-forms, the so-called Barform. It seems to me that if a repeat was intended in this song at least one of the sources would contain an indication at the point from which the repeat was to be made. None even contains a corona. I do not think this music is in Barform. Moreover the poem, if it did repeat, would do so after the second line, not the first.
24. Glogau no. 223, presented here after Ringmann(ed.), p.26; the piece is also in Schedel, f 110v.
25. Spyra. Buxheim no.148, presented here after Wallner (ed.), p.197. Notes with a superscript "8" are an octave higher in the manuscript. Spyra is one of the mystery titles in Buxheim. It may have something to do with the organist Conrad von Speyer.
26. Enelende, Glogau no.134, presented here after Ringmann (ed.), p.14.
27. From the Quodlibet O rosa bella/Hast du mir die Laute bracht, Glogau no.117, presented here after Ringmann (ed.), p. 41.
28. There is no apparent continuity of meaning between the fragments in any of the three quodlibets of the Glogauer Liederbuch. Therefore it cannot be argued that the German text was more appropriate to the context:musical considerations alone governed the choice.
29. End of the English song Thou man enured with temptacion, London, British Library, Ms. add. 5665 (The Ritson Manuscript), f 70v-71.

30. Stevens, Music and Poetry ... (1961), p. 124, edited from Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms. 158, f 92. It is the only music in the manuscript otherwise of miscellaneous content.
31. Among them see Glogau no. 250, Elslein liebstes Elselein (Ringmann, p.15), no.50, Es leit ein schloss (Ringmann, p.16), no.189 and no.53 Ich sachs eins mals (Ringmann, p.20 and 21). For anything else the Tenor remains the main text-bearing voice in German song down to the iconoclastic - or wrongly transmitted - Insbruck ich muss dich lassen of Isaac.
32. Bessler, "Deutsche Lieder von Robert Morton und Josquin," (1948/71) groups Elend with two other songs in Schedel: no.24, Mein herz in hohen freuden ist, and no.25, Käm mir ein trost zu dieser Zeit, He calls all three "nicht...eigentliche Tenor-'Lieder', sondern ... freiere 'Bearbeitungen'"(p.176). However the strongly periodic structure of the Tenors in both these songs places them on a much less sophisticated plane than the song discussed here.
33. The piece is published in Brassart: Omnia Opera, ed. K. Mixter, vol. 2 (1971), p.1; for his biography see Mixter, "Johannes Brassart: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study," pt. 1 Musica Disciplina, 18 (1964), p.37-62.
34. Bessler, op.cit., uses the evidence of Que pourroit to support his contention that Morton wrote Elend. The arguments are a) that the two are in the same key, b) that they have the same ambitus in the Discantus (sic: in fact it is the two lower parts that have the same ambitus; the Discantus of Que pourroit goes lower than that of Elend) and c) that they have other melodic factors in common.

The evidence may be interpreted either way, and in this case it would be no surprise to me to find that subsequent evidence proves me wrong and Besseler right. As it stands, however, the chance of Morton's authorship for Elend must be regarded as an extremely long shot. The work can be justified as his only by dint of most complicated speculation.

Elend du hast umbfangen mich (Vive ma dame) Form doubtful

Per f 63v-64 "Motectus Morton"

Dij f 139v-140 "Vive ma dame" Index f 4v: Vive ma dame par amours

Pix f 48v-49 (no.43) "Vive ma dame"

Q16 f 107v-108 (no.102) "Lent et scolorito" Index f 3v: Lent et scolorito

RiccII f 15v-16 (no.11) "Elent" Index f 1v: Elent

Schedel f 11v-12 (no.11) "Elend du hast umbfangen mich" Index f 167: Elend

Spec p.403 "Tu sine principio"

Facsimiles:

Dij: Besseler and Gülke, Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik(1974),p.101

Schedel, ibid.

Previous editions:

ed. Eitner, Das deutsche Lied (1880), p.68-69 (from Schedel)

ed. Rosenberg, "Übertragungen...", (1931-2), p.71-72 (Tenor only, from
Schedel)

ed. Rosenberg, Das Schedelsche Liederbuch, (ca.1933), p.8-9 (from Schedel)

ed. Marix, Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne (1937),p.204 (from Per)

ed. Besseler and Gülke, Schriftbild (1974), p.100 (first section only
from Schedel and Dijon)

Related pieces:

Loch p.5 monophonic "Tenor": Ellend dw hast umbfangen mich

(facs. in Besseler and Gülke, Schriftbild, p.100)

Keyboard intabulations in Loch p.76, Bux no.48, 49, 50, 94, 95 and 96.

Quodlibet O rosa bella/ Hastu mir die Laute bracht (Glog no.117) cites the opening of the Discantus with text.

Mein gmüth das wüth Glog no. 223 and Sched f 110v

Enelende Glog no. 134

Spÿra Bux no. 148

References:

Baumann, Das deutsche Lied und seine Bearbeitungen in den frühen Orgeltabulaturen, no. 35

Rosenberg, "Übertragungen einiger bisher nicht aufgelöster Melodienotierungen.." Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, 14 (1931-2), p. 67-88

Bessler, "Deutsche Lieder von Robert Morton und Josquin," (1948/71)

Bessler and Gülke, Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, (1974), p. 100-101.

Edition:

1. Formal edition (p. 384). Music base: Schedel; text base: Loch
modernized
2. Variorum (p.430) Base: Pix
3. Examples to "Note on the Sources" (p.426).

Source	Key-sig	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent text	Notes
Per	- b -	0 0 0	-	- - -	-	"Motectus Morton"
Dij	b b b	0 0 -	-	t i -	complete	French rondeau quatrain, Vive ma dame
Pix	b b b	0 0 0	-	t i i	-	same poem as Dij
Q16	b b b	∅ ∅ ∅	-	i i i	-	Incipit: Lent et scolorito
RiccII	- b bb	0 0 0	-	i i i	-	Incipit: Elent
Sched	- - -	0 0 -	-	f t -	-	Text: Elend du hast
Spec	- - -	0 0 -	-	t - -	-	Text: Tu sine principio

List of errors not incorporated into the Variorum:

Discantus: 2 i 2: originally C for D in Sched, but with correction mark/ 9 i 4: sb. for m. in Sched/ 12 i 1-4: m. sm m. sm for m sm m sm in Sched/ 17 i 2: m-rest for sb-rest Sched/

Tenor: 7 ii 4 - 8 ii 1: stem missing from ligature in Dij, giving b b for sb sb/ 8 ii 3: A for B in Dij/ 9 ii 1: om. RiccII/ 9 ii 1: G for F in Dij/ 11 ii 5 - 12 ii 2: Bsb. for Bsb Am in Spec/ 19 ii 5: om. Per/

Contratenor: 5 iii 1: om. Sched/ 26 iii 1: rest om. Q16/ 26 iii 2-3: D B for F D Spec/ 26 iii 4: A for G Per

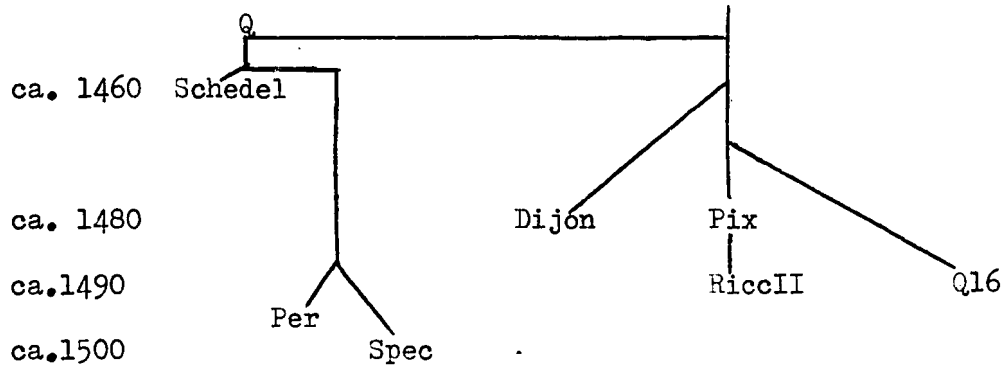
Note on the Sources

The Variorum is based on Pix only because this results in the least complicated set of variants; yet several readings in Pix and its neighboring sources are almost certainly wrong. In m.3, for instance, Pix, RiccII and Dijon all have the Discantus and Contra both leap to a dissonance of a seventh which is substantially ameliorated by the figuration in the sources Per Schedel and Spec (ex.1).

Something similar happens at m.11-12. The Discantus leaps a fourth to G against a Contratenor A in Dijon, Pix, Q16 and RiccII. The Contratenor reading in Per Schedel and Spec is far more satisfactory.

These two examples may provide the clue for deciding on the correct reading at m.10-11. It seems logical to suggest that the original version is that in ex. 2a, as found in Per and Spec, that somewhere the Tenor B was misread A, as in ex. 2b from Dijon, and that the obvious solecism was wrongly emended as in ex. 2c from Pix, RiccII and Q16. The 6/4 chord at the beginning of m.11 in this final version is poor and cannot be correct.

So Schedel has been used for the edition. Unfortunately it contains more errors than any other source. It has been reconstructed with the help of the closely related versions Per and Spec; the Western manuscripts were used as a guide to chromaticism. In as much as a stemma of the sources is possible, it would look something like this:



Ex. 1a Ex. 1b

3 Pix Recull 3 Per Sche Spe

Ex. 2a

10 Per Sch Spe

Ex. 2b

10 Dij

Ex. 2c

10 Pix Recull Q16

German text

Sources:

Schedel f 11v-12 Part of first stanza underlaid to Tenor; even less underlaid to Discantus.

Schedel f 154-5 12 stanzas of a different poem "Ellend hat mich umbfangen" (ed. in Fromann, see below) which fits the music well but differs from the text underlaid to the music rather too strongly to permit its use for an edition of the music.

Loch p. 5 3 stanzas of a poem corresponding to that in Schedel f 11v-12; ed. in Salmen and Petzsch (see below), facs. in Ameln (see below).

Editions:

Eitner, Das deutsche Lied (1880), p.68-9 (Loch)

Rosenberg, Das Schedelsche Liederbuch (1933), p.8-9 (from Loch)

Salmen and Petzsch (1972), p.16-18 (from Loch)

Fromann, "Das Münchener Liederbuch," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 15 (1883), p. 117-119 (from Schedel)

Ameln, Lochamer Liederbuch (1972) (facs.)

Base: Loch

Elend, dw hast umbfangen mich,
 Ich waiss nit wem ichss klagen sol.
 Mein höchste fraw, swar ich main dich,
 Wer ich pey dir, so wer mir wol.
 Wenn ichss wesynn,
 So sind dahin
 Mein frawd, das ich nit pey dir bin.

Meim herz ist wee, wenn es gedenckt
 Das es von dir geschaiden ist,
 Vor unmut es sich nyder senckt.
 Ich pitt dich, fraw, zu aller frist
 Hallt dich zu mir
 In steter begir!
 Desgleichen will ich tun zu dir.

Was ich ir sich, so gefellt mir nit
 Fur dein gestallt, das wiss für war;
 Mein herz vor jamor schier zerbricht.
 Lässt dw dich icht verweisen, zwar:
 Es wirt dich gerewen
 Solchs falschs untrewen,
 Des ich dir, fraw, doch nit getraw.

Emendations: 1.8: "Meinem herzen" in MS/ 1.10: "senckt" as "sencket"/
 1.11: "zu aller frist" is Petzsch's hypothetical emendation of the
 original "durch all den guet" / 1.14: "Desgleichen" as "Des selben
 geleichen"/1.16: "wiss" as "wisse fraw"

The text used for the edition is transliterated into modern German.

French text

Base: Dijon

Vive ma dame par amours
 Qui m'a donné toute liesse;
 Je la retiens pour ma maistresse
 D'icy à la fin de mes jours.

En elle sont tous mes labours
 Et aussi toute ma richesse.

[Vive ma dame par amours
 Qui m'a donné toute liesse.]

Ses jeulx me donnent grant secours
 Et c'est de moi dame et princesse.
 C'est de tout mon cueur la noblesse;
 Je n'ay ailleurs autre recours.

[Vive ma dame par amours
 Qui m'a donné toute liesse;
 Je la retiens pour ma maistresse
 D'icy à la fin de mes jours.]

Emendations: 1.4: "tiens" as "retiens" following Pix and scansion/

1.12: "recours" as "secours" to avoid redicte with 1.9

Variorum

Handwritten musical score for the first system of 'Variorum'. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for woodwinds (likely Flute and Clarinet) with various fingerings and articulations such as 'Dij', 'Per', 'Sch', and 'Spe'. The middle three staves are for strings (Violin I, Violin II, and Viola/Cello), with fingerings like '1', '5', and '7' indicated. The bottom staff is the bass line, with fingerings like '7', '6', and '5' shown. The music is in a common time signature and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Handwritten musical score for the second system of 'Variorum'. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for woodwinds, with fingerings like '10' and '11' noted. The middle three staves are for strings, with fingerings like '7', '6', and '5' indicated. The bottom staff is the bass line, with fingerings like '7', '6', and '5' shown. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes some rests. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and accents.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 15-18. The score consists of three staves: a vocal line (top), a piano line (middle), and a bass line (bottom). Measure 15 is marked with a fermata and the annotation 'd Spe'. Measure 16 has '15' above it. Measure 17 has 'Dij' above it. Measure 18 has 'B scha' above it. Above the vocal staff, there are annotations: 'Per Sch Spe' with a downward arrow, and 'Dij Per Sch Spe' with a square box. Below the piano staff, there are annotations: 'Per Sch Spe' and 'Dij'. Below the bass staff, there is an annotation: 'D Per'.

Two empty musical staves.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 20-25. The score consists of three staves: a vocal line (top), a piano line (middle), and a bass line (bottom). Measure 20 is marked with a fermata and the annotation 'Per Sch Spe'. Measure 21 has 'Per Sch Spe' above it. Measure 22 has 'Dij Per Sch Spe' above it. Measure 23 has '1. 7016' above it. Measure 24 has '25' above it. Measure 25 has 'G B Dij' above it. Above the vocal staff, there are annotations: 'Per Sch Spe', 'Dij Per Sch Spe', and 'Per Sch Spe'. Below the piano staff, there are annotations: 'Per Sch Spe', 'Dij', and 'G B Dij'. Below the bass staff, there are annotations: 'Dij P 016 Per Spe', 'p. Per', 'Per Sch', 'v L Sch Spe', and 'C Dij'.

Two empty musical staves.

Chapter fourteen

C'est temps: Caron and the Question of Ascriptions

A songe that is trewe and ful of swetnes
May be evyll songe and tunyd amyse;
The songe of hymselfe yet never the les
Is true and tunable, and syng it as it is.

Then blame not the song, but marke wel this:
He that hath spit at another man's songe
Will do what he can to have it songe wronge.

Wm. Cornyth, A Parable Between Informacion
and Musicke

C est
te m p z

Tenor C est tempz perdu etc

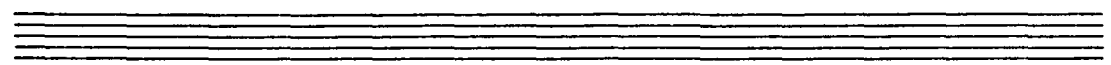
Contra C est tempz perdu etc

perdu d'estre
en

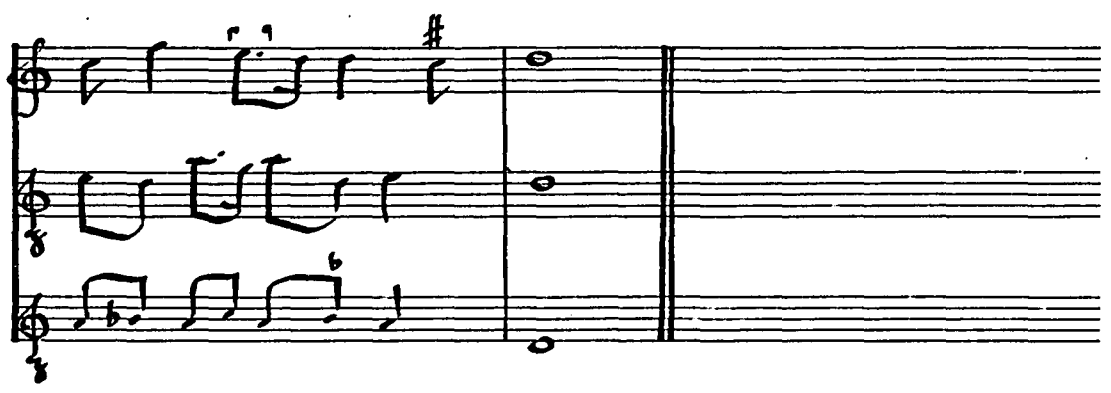
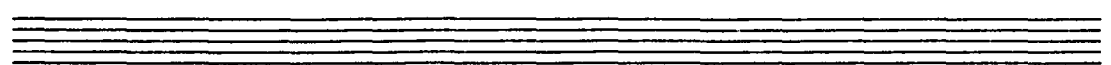
A H O U R S



Musical notation system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains measures 10, 11, and 12. Measure 10 has a '10' above it. Measure 11 has a '5' above it. Measure 12 has a '5#' above it. The middle staff has a bass clef and contains measures 10, 11, and 12. Measure 10 has a '5' above it. Measure 11 has a '5' above it. Measure 12 has a '5' above it. The bottom staff has a bass clef and contains measures 10, 11, and 12. Measure 10 has a '5' above it. Measure 11 has a '5' above it. Measure 12 has a '5' above it.



Musical notation system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains measures 13, 14, and 15. Measure 13 has a '13' above it. Measure 14 has a '14' above it. Measure 15 has a '15' above it. The middle staff has a bass clef and contains measures 13, 14, and 15. The bottom staff has a bass clef and contains measures 13, 14, and 15.



Musical notation system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains measures 16 and 17. Measure 16 has a '16' above it. Measure 17 has a '17' above it. The middle staff has a bass clef and contains measures 16 and 17. The bottom staff has a bass clef and contains measures 16 and 17.



If the style of Vien avante (see chapter 11) looks like that of C'est temps, the similarity of the two could explain why the compiler of the Perugia manuscript, or of the source from which he worked, thought both songs were by the same composer. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the basis for deciding whether that scribe was right, and both pieces are by Morton, or whether he was wrong, in which case the only documentable alternative is the information in the Casanatense manuscript, that Vien avante is by Basin and C'est temps by Caron. There is more extant music by Caron than by Basin; but that hardly makes the problem simpler.

The apparent similarity of the two pieces as they appear in the Perugia manuscript is the result of many external factors. The voices have similar part ranges (in Perugia, that is; our edition has Vien avante at the Casanatense pitch, a fourth lower). They also move similarly. In particular, the Contratenor lines in m.17 and 18 of Vien avante prepare for the final cadence in a way similar to m.15 and 16 of C'est temps. Moreover the low C of the Contratenor part appears just twice in each piece, significantly breaking what seems almost like a drone on D, and the second time also providing a kind of preparation for the return that leads to the final cadence. The structural importance of this is different in the two pieces, because Vien avante finishes on G and C'est temps on D, but the effect on the ear is remarkably similar.

Another point of contact between the two pieces is their form. Both are apparently Rondeaux quatrains but with an extension between the end of the second line and the mid-point cadence, an extension

just long enough to admit the possibility that they are actually Rondeaux cinquains. Moreover both open homophonically and then build their second, third and fifth lines in canonic imitation between the upper parts with the Contratenor joining briefly in the imitation at the last line. Each song takes its mid-point cadence with the Discantus hovering on the third of the chord, and each resolves the uncertainty thus created by having a proper cadence in the middle of the next phrase, exactly three breves later. Between these two cadences, the beginning of the second half of the song opens with each in the same manner of successive entry of Discantus and Tenor, albeit without imitation in either case. With the exception of the second, all the lines cadence on equivalent degrees of the scale.

These similarities suggest that the composer of the one owed something to the composer of the other, but scarcely that the two were composed by the same man. There are other factors of similarity, in the use of imitation and canon. That strange moment in Vien avante where the canonic writing is interrupted by one non-canonic note to avoid a problem in part-writing has its exact parallel in C'est temps at m.3, where the B in the Discantus would strictly require E in the Tenor immediately after, which however would give a fourth below the Discantus and would be therefore ungrammatical. Apparently without blinking the composer cheats and puts an F in the Tenor. A composer of the next generation, perhaps even of the next decade, would have allowed the fourth to stand and made it sound consonant by placing a C in the Contratenor, thereby making a perfectly satisfactory first inversion triad; but this generation was still one in which the Tenor

was required to make perfect counterpoint with the Discantus.

These factors may perhaps help to explain why it could happen that a scribe or some other musicians of the time could think the two were by the same man. Yet there are stylistic differences. The Contratenor of Vien avante occasionally rises above the Tenor whereas in C'est temps it is kept firmly below. The difference might well be ascribed simply to chronological development: there are grounds for seeing the whole fifteenth century in music as an evolution from harmony with a Tenor and a Contratenor in the same clef and with the same range through the more separated parts until the Contratenor became so regularly the lowest part in its own right that it joined in the imitation, became the harmonic foundation of the music and acquired the name Contratenor Bassus or simply Bassus. Within this pattern - slightly simplified though it may be - the chronological development from the structure of Vien avante to that of C'est temps is only a matter of years, and has nothing to do with the fact that the two pieces may be by different composers. Indeed, Morton himself wrote at least two songs with Tenor and Contra in the same range.

But there is a further feature that the two songs have in common which would not have been visible to the copyist of the parts, though it must surely have been audible. A progression between the Tenor and the Contratenor that includes movement in octaves not only appears in both pieces, but does so with the same Discantus context in each: ex.1.

Ex. 1a

from Vien avant m. 11

Example 1a shows three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats. The music consists of three measures. The first measure has a whole note chord in the top staff (F4, A4, Bb4) and a whole note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4, Bb4). The second measure has a half note chord in the top staff (F4, A4) and a half note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4). The third measure has a half note chord in the top staff (F4, A4) and a half note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4). The bottom staff has a whole note chord in the first measure (F3, Ab3, Bb3) and half notes in the second and third measures (F3, Ab3).

Ex. 1b

from C'est temps m. 15

Example 1b shows three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats. The music consists of three measures. The first measure has a quarter note chord in the top staff (F4, A4, Bb4) and a quarter note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4). The second measure has a quarter note chord in the top staff (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4). The third measure has a quarter note chord in the top staff (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord in the middle staff (F4, Ab4). The bottom staff has a whole note chord in the first measure (F3, Ab3, Bb3) and half notes in the second and third measures (F3, Ab3).

Such a progression is not to be found in the more authentic works of Morton. Yet it is found relatively often in Caron's works; and in general the arguments in favour of an ascription of C'est temps to Caron rather than Morton are compelling even though James Thomson, in his dissertation on Caron, seemed hesitant to lay too strong a claim on this piece for his composer.

It is firstly the spread of the sources that makes C'est temps seem an improbable work of Morton. Its ascription to Morton in the Perugia manuscript alongside the ascriptions to Morton of the pieces discussed in the three preceding chapters is, in the circumstances, already a reason for doubt; but further doubt arises from its presence in the manuscripts Florence 229 and Verona 757, neither of which contains otherwise a note of Morton. Both are from the 1490s or later, and the delicate question being considered here requires brief mention of the situation with late sources and with sources containing only a single piece by Morton.

Only three sources later than Florence 229 and Verona 757 contain any Morton: Speciálník and CopII both contain Le souvenir, a piece with enough sources to classify it as one of the songs that was available all over Europe for a number of years; and Grey contains N'aray je jamais, the most widely represented piece by Morton. That C'est temps, with only six sources, is in Florence 229 and Verona 757, neither of which contains any other Morton, is at least a matter for suspicion: both sources contain several pieces by Caron.

Sources containing only a single piece by Morton are, not surprisingly, more frequent. But the pattern they set is rather more

surprising in the degree to which they suggest scepticism as to certain songs. Parma contains only Que pourroit of Morton, but since it has no more than eleven pieces in all, its witness is misleading. BerK, Nivelles and Grey contain only N'aray je jamais, Morton's most widely distributed song, and therefore the most likely to have found its way into sources that otherwise contain none of his music; CopII and Speciálník contain only Le souvenir, the next most widely distributed song. The other two manuscripts with only one piece are Schedel, containing Elend, and CMP, containing Pues serviço, both songs viewed already with deep suspicion. Once again, the presence of C'est temps in Florence 229 and Verona 757 leaves the impression that it may not be by Morton.

James Thomson, analyzing the musical style of Caron, singled out three figures that he found particularly common in Caron's works.⁽¹⁾ He was understandably hesitant about them, being prudent enough not to suggest that they were fingerprints of Caron's style; yet it is curious that they appear in C'est temps but not in the more authentic works of Morton.

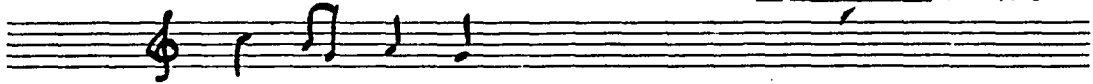
They are:

1. Ex. 2, which appears in m.5-6 of C'est temps, Ex. 3.
2. A triadic motive exemplified in the Missa Jesus autem transiens and the Missa L'homme armé,⁽²⁾ found in m.14-15 of C'est temps.
3. Ex. 4, which opens C'est temps (though it does also appear in Paracheve ton entreprise).



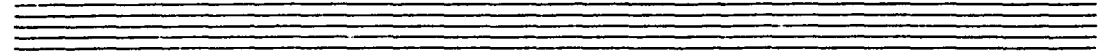
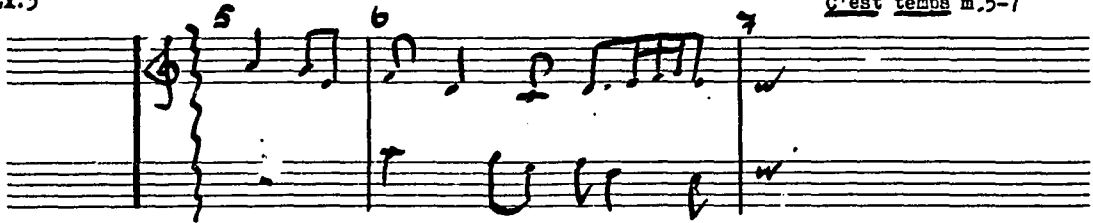
Ex.2

from Thomson, An Introduction (1964), p.25 and 31



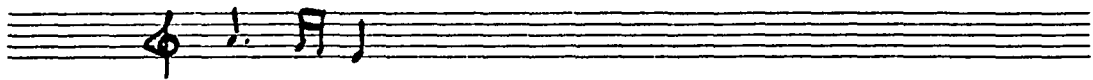
Ex.3

C'est temps m.5-7



Ex.4

from Thomson, An Introduction (1964), p.32



Another feature that draws special attention in Caron's work is his use of canon. Perhaps the most famous case is in his song Helas que pcurrai devenir in which the Discantus and Tenor intertwine in a bewildering series of canonic passages at every possible time interval but with special attention to the closest. The close canonic imitation that begins in C'est temps on the last note of m.2 (Discantus) is admittedly neither as extensive nor as intricate as the imitations at the same time-interval in Helas (see ex.6) but it does suggest an interest in artifice that it is hard to find in the more securely attributable works of Morton.

Yet a further feature found in Caron's music but not in other songs of Morton is the strange counterpoint shown in ex.1. This curious progression whereby two parts can move from a unison out to an octave also appears, for instance, in Caron's Mort ou mercy (ex.5), a song that deserves its position in a dissertation on the songs of Morton by virtue of the fact that Marix misread its incipit as "Morton mercy" and deduced that it referred to Robert Morton.⁽³⁾ This is not possible: quite apart from the correct reading of the text, which is confirmed in Mellon, a source unknown to Marix, the song is in a long drawn and expansive style that places it considerably later than any surviving song of Morton. The Contratenor begins the imitation which at the opening of the piece and after the mid-point cadence runs through all three parts; this too is a favorite opening gambit of the next generation but scarcely to be encountered in the songs of Morton or his contemporaries.

Further similarities between Mort ou mercy and C'est temps could

Ex.5 Caron: Mort ou merci (after DFO, 7, p 235-6)

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four systems of three staves each. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The third system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The fourth system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are markings '5' and '##' above the first system, '##' above the second system, '10' and '#' above the third system, and '15' and '#' above the fourth system.

20

Musical notation for measures 20-24. Measure 20 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody in the upper voice and a bass line in the lower voice. Measure 21 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 22 has a flat sign above the staff. Measure 23 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 24 ends with a double bar line.

25

Musical notation for measures 25-29. Measure 25 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody in the upper voice and a bass line in the lower voice. Measure 26 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 27 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 28 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 29 ends with a double bar line.

30

Musical notation for measures 30-34. Measure 30 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody in the upper voice and a bass line in the lower voice. Measure 31 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 32 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 33 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 34 ends with a double bar line.

35

Musical notation for measures 35-39. Measure 35 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody in the upper voice and a bass line in the lower voice. Measure 36 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 37 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 38 has a sharp sign above the staff. Measure 39 ends with a double bar line.

be mentioned. The free open use of duple time, the presence of several figures that seem to require interpretation along the lines of inégalité mentioned in chapter 11, and the intricate rhythmic shapes across the tactus (see m.31-4) as well as the striding nature of the Contratenor in m.7-9.

But to return to the differences between C'est temps and other surviving Morton songs, perhaps the most startling is its lack of melodic flow. Not all Morton has the grace that was seen in Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais; but all does show that conscious search for line and balance, especially in the Discantus parts. Whatever its other qualities, the highest part of C'est temps could hardly be credited with melodic persuasiveness. In many ways it recalls the opening of Caron's most famous song Helas, see ex. 6. In both, grace is sacrificed to richness and to a variety of motivic material.

C'est temps differs from all the other Morton songs except the equally dubious Vien avante in its metrical structure. It would not be true to say that these are the only songs in the corpus with an imperfect mensuration; but they are the only ones in which that mensuration is confirmed by the fall of the accents and by the total length of the song.

Thus C'est temps separates itself from the known body of Morton's work in its syntactical structure, in its melodic sense, and in its use of mensuration. When the song is put alongside the rest of Morton's work, it raises suspicions from a stylistic viewpoint, just as it had done from a consideration of its sources. One could

Ex.6 Caron: opening of Helas que pourra devenir (after EDM, 4, p.92)

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music is in 6/8 time and begins with a whole rest on the first staff, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes across all three staves.

The second system of musical notation starts with a measure number '5' above the first staff. It continues with three staves of music in the same clefs and time signature as the first system, featuring a variety of rhythmic patterns including eighth and sixteenth notes.

The third system of musical notation starts with a measure number '10' above the first staff. It continues with three staves of music, showing more complex rhythmic figures and some accidentals, including a flat sign in the bottom staff.

perhaps explain the curiously crabbed melody by saying that it (like Vien avante) was an early work, written at a time when Morton had not developed the sense of perfectly balanced contour found in Cousine and Paracheve nor the classical smoothness of line found in Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais; but conversely, the only reasonable explanation of the strange selection of sources containing the piece would be that it is later than the other works. So while there may not be sufficient evidence to state that the piece is definitely not by Morton, the attempt to explain its presence among his work would entail enough contradictions to discourage any classification that did not relegate it to the severely doubtful works of Morton.

.....

Yet such a conclusion brings us face to face with the strangest paradox in this whole study. Four songs ascribed to Morton and appearing close together in the manuscript Perugia 431 now appear all to be of doubtful authenticity, and each for entirely different reasons. One ascribed to Basin in another source was rejected from the Morton canon partly because nobody but a scribe very close to the Burgundian court would even have heard of Basin and an ascription to such an obscure composer always commands tremendous respect. One ascribed elsewhere to Caron was considered a doubtful risk for Morton because it seemed close to Caron's style and because it appeared in two late manuscripts that contain no other Morton. Pues servicio was rejected because it gives no evidence of having been written with any text other than the Spanish one it has in the Cancionero del

Palacio; because there is no known evidence of Morton's having been in Spain; because it is far more Spanish in style than anything else in Morton's output; because it has nothing at all in common with any of his other works; and because it seems to come from a time when we know Morton was at the Burgundian court chapel. Finally Vive ma dame/Elend was rejected because it belongs so firmly in the mainstream of German court song in the years 1460 to 1480 and its inclusion would require assumptions of Morton's presence in Germany during the 1450s.

These arguments are naturally tentative since their biographical aspects are based on the assumption that all his creative years were those spent at the Burgundian court and the stylistic judgments are based on only a hundred or so measures of music accepted as relatively authentic. Yet the very variety of ways in which the four pieces ascribed to him in Perugia seem not to be authentic somehow adds to the strangeness of the situation and demands some attempt to organize the contradictions into a coherent pattern.

Evidence in support of the Morton ascriptions in the Perugia manuscript may be assembled as follows:

1. Perugia ascribes four pieces to Morton, more than to any other single composer, unless "M" (9 ascriptions) and "FM" (4 ascriptions) are counted.

2. With only 38 pieces ascribed out of a possible 172, Perugia cannot be classed as one of the sources to ascribe with profligacy. (And, by way of contrast, the source that contradicts two of the Morton ascriptions, Cas, attempts to provide an ascription for practically every piece.)

3. With the surviving ascriptions in the manuscript including one to Magister Symon (le Breton) and one to Dux Burgensis (presumably Charles the Bold), the manuscript gives every impression of having been compiled by somebody well acquainted with the Burgundian court circle.

4. Naples, where Allan Atlas traces the origins of this manuscript,⁽⁴⁾ was evidently the center that had the most connections with the court of Burgundy.

5. The four Morton ascriptions appear together and were presumably taken from a common parent source. They seem to support one another; but, on the other hand, the arguments that weaken the authority of any one of those ascriptions must correspondingly weaken the authority of the others.

And indeed, the manuscript's credibility as a source of Morton songs must fall on several points:

1. Le souvenir, which appears here with a pedestrian (and unique) fourth part has text underlaid to the Discantus and, of all parts, the Contratenor. The text is in such appalling state that one might reasonably ask whether the scribe could be trusted to read an ascription correctly. As it happens, this piece - one of Morton's most famous - is not ascribed in Perugia; and the texts both here and elsewhere in the manuscript show clearly that the scribe was distinctly ill at ease not merely with the French language but also with French scribal practice.

2. The title "Motectus" on the song Elend du hast /Vive ma dame implies that it was copied from a source with a Latin contrafact text (see chapter 13 above). Such sources have so far been found

only in Eastern European areas,⁽⁵⁾ and the evidence strongly suggests that this work derived from a Germanic manuscript.

3. At the same time, the piece Pues servicio is otherwise only known from Spanish sources (one musical, the rest poetical), and is strongly in the Spanish style of the 1460s. If the Perugia scribe copied this and his "Motectus" from the same parent source, perhaps the source was less uniform than he had imagined. Such mindless copying of a little fascicle that just came into his hands is in fact the most cogent explanation of the curious discrepancy of style between these two pieces: if the scribe had heard them both he would immediately have sensed the difference and would presumably have had second thoughts about ascribing both of them to Morton.

4. Purely as a document and as a book, the Perugia manuscript is perhaps the least prepossessing of all the fifteenth-century songbooks. Some pages are laid out in formal fashion, but for the most part the book is a ragbag of bits and pieces, written in widely divergent styles, probably assembled over a number of years and full of the kinds of musical errors that suggest an extremely disorderly mind in the scribe. And if the arguments presented earlier in this dissertation, particularly those in chapter 2, have suggested that there is every reason to exercise great caution in accepting the authority of the more formal and traditionally set-out sources, then a source such as this requires even more care - not necessarily because of the scrappy writing and disorganized assembly, but because there is repeated evidence throughout the manuscript that the copyist had misunderstood his sources.

There might be an argument for suggesting that the scribe had received a "fascicle-manuscript" containing these four pieces with one ascribed to Morton and had simply deduced that all four must be his; yet my own reaction to such a suggestion would be that it is difficult to imagine which of these four could possibly be an authentic work of Morton.

.....

It may perhaps help focus the situation a little if the other Morton ascriptions are briefly examined.

Of the twelve pieces discussed in this dissertation the only one to be ascribed to Morton in more than one source is also the most widely distributed song, N'aray je jamais. Of the eight sources containing ascriptions to Morton, five have his name only once: two of these, Mellon and Col, ascribe N'aray je jamais and are thereby supported both by one another and by the ascription of the same piece in Florence 176; the other three are slightly more difficult to accept unreservedly, Pix ascribing the unicum Mon bien ma joyeux, EscB ascribing the unicum Plus j'ay le monde and Parma ascribing Que pourroit. But of these three, Pix seems a highly responsible manuscript in every way, particularly in its musical readings, and EscB is extremely sparing with its ascriptions as well as being an excellent source in terms of its musical readings. Parma is largely devoted to theoretical works by Gaffori with a small musical collection comprising four anonymous pieces, six ascribed "Gofforus" and one piece ascribed to Morton, an ascription so unexpected in its context and so convincing in terms of concordant sources and

musical style that it has been accepted with confidence.

This leaves only the three sources with several ascriptions to Morton, Florence 176, Casanatense and Perugia 431.

The Florence manuscript contains three pieces that can be ascribed to Morton and all three are so ascribed in that manuscript. Only the ascription for N'aray je jamais is actually confirmed elsewhere, but none is contradicted and the lie of the ground seems to support a feeling of confidence in them. Chapter 2 showed how the reading of N'aray je jamais in Fl76 led to the belief that it contains corruptions (like most other sources of this particular song); but consideration of emendations or alterations in the actual notes should probably be kept separate from attempts to evaluate the ascriptions in the same manuscript. In this source the three Morton ascriptions for Le souvenir, N'aray je jamais and Cousine seem to have been entered by a hand different from the one that copied the music, to judge from the microfilm;⁽⁶⁾ but the writing is in a fifteenth-century style and probably not a significantly later addition. The writer, who Rifkin suggests also proofread the manuscript, entered them presumably because he had special reasons for knowing that the pieces were by Morton - reasons perhaps not evident to the original copyist. An ascription to a major composer in such circumstances might be suspect, but when made to Morton, a man of fewer than a dozen surviving songs, it carries substantial persuasion.

The carefully written song manuscript in the Biblioteca Casanatense at Rome occupies a special place among the sources for

Morton's songs because it is written entirely in one hand and shows signs of being more carefully prepared and organized than any other collection of the time - not in being lavish, for it has none of the precious elegance of the Cordiforme chansonnier, but in each song having its place that had evidently been decided long before copying began. The greater part of the volume is taken up with songs in three parts: only occasionally, when a right-hand page would otherwise have been left blank, a canonic piece in four parts is inserted. The four-part music proper is all collected in the last folios of the manuscript, beginning with f 145v. José Llorens⁽⁷⁾ has shown that the arms at the foot of f 3v are a combination of those of the families Este and Gonzaga, and he identified the manuscript as having been prepared for the wedding of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga in 1490. His suggestion is supported by the 23 pieces ascribed to Johannes Martini in the manuscript,⁽⁸⁾ constituting a larger contribution than came from any other composer: Martini was at the Este court in Ferrara from before 1475, and his letters to Isabella show that he was her music teacher.⁽⁹⁾ Nothing, however, except the arms and the planned writing of the manuscript suggest that it is in any way special.

It contains four pieces that might be by Morton, and they are ascribed: "Caron," "Basin," "Morton" and "Borton." Of those, the one with his name in the correct form, "Morton," appears in the Casanatense manuscript with the evidently corrupt title "La perontina" (see chapter 5), whereas the full text in the Mellon chansonnier and two other poetry collections begins "Paracheve ton entreprise."

In relation to these problems, the following points could be made:

1. The manuscript adds ascriptions to all but seventeen of its 123 pieces. Most of them seem reliable, but the scribe was surely searching for as many attributions as he could find, and he may therefore have made errors. Josquin appears as "Boskim," and the scribe may not have been very close to Josquin, for that piece, the four-out-of-two canon En l'ombre d'un buissonet, appears without any indication that it is canonic. The ascription "Borton" on the four-part version of L'homme armé has been accepted as referring to Morton ever since its first discovery by Ambros, announced in 1868; and the arguments presented in chapter 7 should have been sufficient to confirm what for Ambros was an uninformed guess; yet that form of the name, so carefully inscribed at the head of the piece, is a warning that the compiler or the copyist was not fully aware of the details of the Burgundian court's musical chapel.

2. Yet, close though the manuscript is to the world of Martini (23 ascriptions) and Agricola (16 ascriptions), there is also a largish representation of an earlier generation of composers from the Burgundian court, suggesting some fairly close connection and direct sources. Of the nineteen surviving pieces attributable to Hayne van Ghiseghem, ten appear here, nine of them ascribed to him. There are only three unica in Hayne's surviving works, and two of them are in this manuscript. Also from the North is the only known piece by "Jo Dusart" who is mentioned in Compere's motet Omnium bonorum plena and was Magister puerorum at Cambrai cathedral in

1462-4: ⁽¹⁰⁾his piece Rose playsant is ascribed elsewhere to Caron (F229) and to Philipon (Canti C). Eleven pieces are ascribed to Busnois, and the presence of pieces ascribed to lesser northern composers such as Basin, Molinet, Morton and Joye suggests deeper northern roots. There are in addition several titles in Flemish or showing Flemish influence in their orthography: Scon lief, Ghenochte drive, Velupern laet aus as well as Dunch aulter amer and Ma bouch fijt, to mention only the most obvious examples. And finally, for what it is worth, the motto of Charles the Bold, "Je l'ay empris," appears at the head of a work by Ghâselin, and even though the music is actually part of the Kyrie from his Missa De les armes (Petrucci, 1503), the Duke's connection with the motto is undisputed.

Many of the spellings in the manuscript, and particularly the spelling "Borton" and the curious formulation "La perontina," seem to suggest a scribe adhering slavishly to the parent source; and this could either be because he was stupid or because he had some reason for confidence in the information it contained. So it would be rash to ignore that ascriptions here of C'est temps to Caron and of Vien avante to Basin. Even with due allowance for its latish date (c.1490) and for its unusual nature (having no texts at all), there is every reason for taking the Casanatense manuscript very seriously, particularly as concerns its ascriptions of northern pieces.

Returning to the Perugia manuscript from Casanatense is a disturbing experience, a return from an extremely elegant and formal manuscript to a messy and disorganized one, from - it must be admitted - a source so careful that it conceals much of its own character to one

so disorganized that it may never entirely be sorted out. But the crucial issue between them concerns their conflicting ascriptions for Vien avante and C'est temps. For whereas the two other Morton ascriptions in Perugia seem relatively easily disputed in terms of national song traditions, styles and dates, these two are far more dangerous, concerning composers who worked in approximately the same tradition and perhaps lived close to one another - but half way across Europe from either of the sources under consideration.

But there is so much about the Perugia manuscript that is strange - bizarrely copied somewhere in the Neapolitan area, full of different pen styles, ascribed with unrecognizable initials and replete with musical blunders - that these four ascriptions to Morton must surely be regarded as requiring special treatment: while there is plenty of room for disagreement concerning their authorship, there can be no question that each is extremely dubious and that they inevitably weaken one another.

Footnotes

1. James Thomson, The Works of Caron: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Style (diss., New York University, 1959) summarized in Thomson, An Introduction to Philippe(?) Caron (Brooklyn, 1964) which remains the major contribution on the composer apart from the article by Geneviève Thibault in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
2. Thomson, An Introduction (1964).
3. Marix, Histoire (1939), p. 196.
4. Atlas, "On the Origins of the Manuscripts Berlin 78.C.28 and Perugia 431 (G 20)," unpublished paper, 1974.
5. This statement must be qualified since the emergence of Grey, a Benedictine manuscript containing several contrafacts and evidently emanating from the Northern Italian area, see Cattin, "Nuova fonte" (1973); but the weight of evidence still seems to suggest German origin for this piece and its source.
6. Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances (1973), on p. 318 states that a main music hand copied all the music down to f 132 and that a different hand added much of the text, all the ascriptions, the foliations and the index; the second scribe may also have proofread the volume.
7. Llorens, "El c6dice Casanatense 2.856" (1967), on p.165-9.
8. Three others are ascribed to him elsewhere, see Martini, Secular Pieces, ed. Evans (1975).
9. See Martini, op.cit., p. viii-x.
10. See Finscher, Loyset Comp6re (1964), p. 15.

C'est temps perdu d'estre en amours Form unknown (?Rondeau quatrain)

Per f 61v-62 "Morton" "Est temps"

Cas f 51v-52 "Caron" "C'est tamps perdu"

Col N1v-N2 (no.117) - Sev f 99v and Par f 31 "C'est tempz perdu d'estre
en amours"

F229 f 92v-93 "C'est temps perdu"

RiccII f 82v-83 (no.66) "[C]'est temps perdu" (omitted from index)

Verona 757 f 64v-65

Previous editions:

ed. Marix, Les Musiciens (1937), p. 95 (from Per)

ed. Thomson, Caron (1976), p. 170 (from Cas)

Facsimile:

Col: in Plamenac, Facsimile Reproduction (1962), p. 73.

Related poem:

C'est temps perdu de servir sans congnoistre

Dresden, MS Jean de Saxe no. 91

Lille 402, no. 91

Paris 1719 f 22

Paris 1722 f 25v (with extensive variants)

Paris 19182 f 88v

La chasse et le départ (1507), Vii "Rondeau d'un amant à sa dame"

Modern editions of this poem:

Bancel, Cent quarante cinq rondeaux d'amours (1875), no. 112

Françon, Poèmes de transition (1938), p.204 (from Lille)

Edition

1. Formal edition (p.433-434) Base: Col
2. Variorum (p.461-462) Base: Col

Source	Key-sig	Mensuration	Mid-point	Texting	Subsequent text	Notes
Col	-	C C C	♯, ♯, -	i i i	-	
Cas	-	C C C	♯, ♯, ♯	i i i	-	"Caron"
F229	b - -	♭ ♯ ♭	-	i i i	-	
Per	-	C C C	-	i i i	-	"Morton"
RiccII	b - -	C C C	-	i - -	-	
Ver	-	C C C	-	- - -	-	

List of errors not incorporated into the Variorum:

Discantus: 4 i 4-5: sf sf for sm sm RiccII/ 7 i 7-8: BA for AG Ver/

7 i 8: F for G Per/ 9 i 3: followed by an extra mD F229/

13 i 5: sb for m F220/ 14 i 3: m for sb RiccII/16 i 2: m for sb RiccII

Tenor: 8 ii 8 to 9 ii 2: sb sb Ver, causing parallel 5ths/ 14 ii 3:

m for sb RiccII/

Contra: 4 iii 2: D for C F229/ 7 iii 4-5: m. for m+m-rest RiccII/

13 iii 4: D for C F229

Text

Base: Col

C'est tempz perdu d'estre en amours

(no more survives)

Major variants: "C'est tamps perdu" Cas/"Est temps" Per, RiccII

Variorum

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Variorum". The score is organized into three systems, each consisting of three staves. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system includes annotations such as "F#229", "#Per", "Pcas", "F#229", and "F#229". The second system features a measure starting with a "5" above the staff, and includes "Rca5" and "F#229 Rca5". The third system contains "P P#229 10", "Cas Rca5 Ver", "Cas P#229 Rca5", "Pcas", "Pcas", "F# Per", and "Pcas". The handwriting is in black ink on aged paper.

Handwritten musical score for guitar, consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains the main melody. The middle staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with various annotations. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The first measure of the top staff has the annotation "Cas F229 Ruff". The second measure of the top staff has the annotation "15". The third measure of the top staff has the annotation "blas blas". The first measure of the bottom staff has the annotation "Cas Ruff F229 Var Pot". The second measure of the bottom staff has the annotation "P F229 Ruff". The third measure of the bottom staff has the annotation "an Cas Ruff b7229".

Seven empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically. They are currently blank and contain no musical notation.

Part IV : Conclusion

Chapter fifteen

Morton's legacy

Brusselle adieu, ou les bains sont jolyz,
Les estuves, les filletes plaisans;
Adieu beauté, leesse et tous deliz.

Eustache Deschamps, Ro. 552

Morton's worthiness as a subject for a doctoral thesis may well need some explaining here. With one third of the small body of surviving music ascribed to him now rejected as probably not his work, what is left?

The answer, of course, is far more positive than mere figures suggest. The remaining songs have more clearly definable qualities than did the assortment of pieces hitherto assumed to be Morton's work. The various chapters have attempted to show how Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais fully earned their places among the most widely distributed songs of their time, how Que pourroit plus faire has similar qualities right in the centre of the Burgundian court song tradition and may have missed complete success only because of a slightly over-ripe chromaticism, how Cousine lies in a series of pieces from the richest and most generous musical patron of the 1460s and 1470s, how Mon bien m'amour witnesses interesting experiments with the material from an earlier song, and how both Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé and Paracheve ton entreprise are further witness of a resourceful mind attempting to mould new patterns with a strongly formalized courtly musical art.

Every effort has been made to keep value judgments approximately in line with those that can be discerned from the surviving fifteenth-century sources. Nobody need apologize for expressing unbounded enthusiasm over Le souvenir or N'aray je jamais since both appeared in as many sources as any song from their time or before, excepting only Hayne van Ghiseghem's De tous biens plaine. Even so, Morton's name was perhaps not so widely known as his music, and the main

purpose of this concluding chapter is to glance at some of the contemporary references to him or his work with a view to pulling the value judgments expressed here more severely into line with those of the fifteenth century.

John Hothby's famous list of composers must be the earliest of the theoretical references to Morton. Seay dates the Dialogus in arte musica ca. 1480, just before the publication of the Musica practica of Ramos against whose theories it is directed.⁽¹⁾ In the section "de Clavibus" Hothby explains the various meanings of the word "clavis" to his student. For Ramos it had meant only a clef (in the modern sense), but for Hothby and for the ancients he cites, its meaning is much broader. In particular it can mean the first note of a piece, for this normally "opens the door" to what is to come and is therefore something akin to "keynote" in the modern sense. He explains this further by adding:

Satis manifesta sunt veluti in missa Te Gloriosus in qua
G acuta depicta aperit carmen illud sicut ostium clavis
In quam plurimis quibusdam aliis cantilenis recentissimis
quarum conditores plerique adhuc vivunt, Dunstable Anglicus ille,
Dufay, Leonel, Plumere, Frier, Busnoys, Morton, Octinghem,
Pelagulfus, Micheleth, Baduin, Forest, Stane, Fich, Caron, A
secundi ordinis invenitur, quae clavis sane rarissima est,
quam divus Gregorius insectatur et tuus Ycart artis musicae
expers quamvis cantores imitari conetur.

Spelling and grammar are dubious throughout the manuscript in which this treatise is found, and punctuation is always at question.⁽²⁾

But a rough translation is as follows:

These things are clear enough, for instance, in the Missa Te Gloriosus in which a written high G opens the carmen [the Discantus part] just as a key opens a door. In many other most recent songs, many of whose composers are still living, Dunstable the Englishman, Dufay, Leonel [Power], Plummer, Frye, Busnoys, Morton, Ockeghem, Pelagulfus, Michelet, Baduin, Forest, Stane, Fich, Caron, A of the second order is found; but it is extremely rare for St Gregory inveighed against it, and your Ycart, so skilled in the art of music, tried to imitate it.

This list of composers is merely a list of those who happen to have written pieces that demonstrate Hothby's point; it does not imply any value judgment whatsoever apart from the assumption that their practice is orthodox and may be held up as an acceptable refutation of the ideas expressed by Ramos. On the other hand, these are the composers who came to mind for Hothby, and it is worth identifying the lesser-known names which provide a context for Morton.

The Missa Te Gloriosus has been identified by Reinhard Strohm in the Ms. Lucca 238.⁽³⁾ Only the end of the Kyrie and the Gloria survive, both with the highest part written in G clef and beginning on the note G. Since it is in five parts, it cannot have been very old at the time Hothby was writing.

Dunstable, Dufay, Leonel, Plummer, Walter Frye, Forest, Caron, Busnois and Ockeghem are all well-known and distinguished company for Morton. It need only be added that Leonel died in 1448, Dunstable in 1453, Dufay in 1474, Frye in 1475: some of the men on the list were already dead, as Hothby remarked.

Michelet is known from just one song, the rondeau cinquain S'il advient que mon dueil me tue ascribed to him in Fl176; it appears anonymously in Nivelles, CopI, Dijon, Laborde and Wolf with the text appearing in Rohan and Jardin. Stane must be Stone, the composer of a Deo gratias agamus (4vv) in Lucca 238 and of two pieces in Modena α .X.1.11, Ibo michi ad montem mirre and Tota pulchra es; both the style of the music and the position of the pieces within the Modena manuscript declare the composer to be an Englishman.

It is possible that Fich is Henricus Tik. The scribal corruption that made Ockeghem into Octinghem, Frye into Frier and Stone into Stane could easily have made more substantial mistakes. Moreover the appearance of the Missa Te Gloriosus and the Stone piece in the Lucca codex, now in the city in which Hothby wrote his Dialogus, encourages the identification of Fich with the Henricus Tik whose 3-voice mass also appears in that manuscript. He is also mentioned by the anonymous theorist in the Seville manuscript C III 23 as "enricus thil'r."⁽⁴⁾ Nevertheless there seems a strong case for suggesting that Hothby's "Fich" actually stands for Jehan Fedé. The kinds of scribal errors found in the sources of the time could easily turn Fedé to Fich. The "de" at the end can easily become "ch" if the ascending stem of the "h" is merely placed a little too close to the "c". Five works of Fedé survive, and he was sufficiently famous to have been mentioned in three poems of the time, Greban's Complainte de la mort de Jacques Milet (1466), Créatin's Deploration sur la trepas de Jean Ockeghem (1497) and Eloy d'Amerval's Livre de la deablerie (after 1500).⁽⁵⁾

Pelagulfus raises no particular problems because there simply is no known fifteenth-century composer with a similar name. He has disappeared without further trace. Indeed it is difficult even to think of other composers of the time whose names begin with P except for Philippon and Pietrochino Bonegli da Piccardia, sometimes called Pietrequin.⁽⁶⁾ The situation with Hothby's "Baduin" is altogether different because so many composers have names beginning with B. Baldeweyn and Barbireau are later and need not be considered. But there would be strong grounds for identifying Baduin with Bedyngham, Barbingnant or possibly Brebis. Of these, Bedyngham seems the most attractive, being an Englishman who may, like Hothby, have studied at Oxford.

Such is Morton's context in the list of examples supplied by Hothby. A motley collection of composers, but nevertheless containing most of the important names of the century, excepting only Binchois and Hayne van Ghiseghem. Their music may not in fact have been very well known to Hothby, for he was in Italy and they were at the Burgundian court. But it is within this context that Hothby's knowledge of Morton must be seen.

When Tinctoris mentioned Morton he was being far more selective. Describing the qualities of music in his treatise Complexus effectuum musices, he says under the nineteenth "effect" that "Music glorifies those who are proficient in it." (Musica peritos in ea glorificat.) After tracing the idea through Biblical and Classical antiquity, he adds that in his own time many musicians have benefited in this way:

Quis enim Joannem Dunstaple, Guillelmum Dufay, Egidium Binchois, Joannem Okeghem, Anthonium Busnois, Joannem Regis, Firminum Caron, Jacobum Carlerii, Robertum Morton, Jacobum Obrechts non novit . Quis eos summis laudibus non prosequitur, quorum compositiones per universum orbem divulgate, dei templa, regum palatia, privatorum domos summa dulcedine replent.⁽⁷⁾

For who does not know of John Dunstable, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois, Jean Ockeghem, Anthoine Busnois, Johannes Regis, Firmin Caron, Jacobus Carler, Robert Morton and Jacob Obrecht? Who does not honor with the greatest praise those whose compositions, spread across the whole world, fill the temples of the Lord, the palaces of Kings and private houses with the greatest sweetness?

High praise indeed; and the names are evidently selected with great care. Tinctoris, after all, was not ignorant about the work of other composers of his time. His work is full of citations from their music and comments on their practice. How might this list have been constructed?

Evidently it began with units of three. There is a long tradition in medieval literature of mentioning names three at a time; it can be documented through the same period in England, for instance, where Chaucer, Lydgate and Gower were frequently cited in one breath though they are widely different in style, scope, interests and date.⁽⁸⁾ Dunstable, Dufay and Binchois belonged together as a unit in the same way, and the tradition continued through to the seventeenth century.⁽⁹⁾ Another unit of three contemporary composers is Ockeghem, Busnois and Regis. All from the same generation and presumably well acquainted with one another, they too would easily have been included in the list

together, even though Regis is clearly inferior to the other two as a composer and wrote far less music, to judge from what survives.

The first six names on the list are therefore easily explained, and their presence is to be expected. The last four require rather more comment. Obrecht, for instance, is mentioned here for the first time, and although he had evidently begun to acquire an international name, his star was still on the ascendant.⁽¹⁰⁾ Caron has been discussed: his work is considerably more voluminous than what survives of Morton, but the only song by him to have a distribution comparable to that of the most successful Morton songs is his curious Helas que pourroit devenir.

It is difficult to accept with equanimity Tinctoris's suggestion that everybody has heard of Jacobus Carler. There are two men and one piece of music that might be connected with this name. A Jehan le Carlier was cantor at Saint-Vincent, Soignies, from 1426 to 1449.⁽¹¹⁾ The other possible candidate would be Jehan Charvet, called Petit Jehan. He is first documented at the Burgundian court as a clerc in the chapel of Philippe le Bon, still count of Charolais in February 1411 (New Style).⁽¹²⁾ He appears in the records of the ducal court in 1420, 1425, 1428 and 1431 as well as in the regular chapel lists from 1436 to 1441 where he still appears as a clerc with the nomenclature "Jehan Charvet dit Petit Jehan." In the next list, of 1442, he appears as the head sommelier of the chapel, thus in an inferior position to the one he previously held, and remained such until 1461 when he is mentioned for the last time. Perhaps he retired from singing in 1442 after his career of thirty years and was pensioned off

to the less arduous tasks of sommelier.⁽¹⁴⁾ The name Petit Jean appears as the ascription of one composition, the combinative chanson Mon trestout et mon assotee/ Il estoit ung bon homme in Mellon (no.28, p.64-69). A large four-part piece covering an exceptional three openings of the manuscript, it can hardly have been written before 1460. It would seem, then, that this may be another case of fragmented personalities. (Doppelmeister would be the wrong word, since at least three people are concerned and the word Meister is inappropriate in the circumstances.) The Petit Jan of the Mellon song is almost certainly different from the Jehan Charvet dit Petit Jehan of the Burgundian court (fl.1411-1461) who in turn must be different from the cantor Jean Carlier at Soignies in 1426-1449 . Since the Mellon manuscript was written in Naples and Tinctoris may even have had a hand in its compilation, it is possibly correct to suggest that the man he mentioned in the treatise was the composer of the song, and entirely separate from the other two characters mentioned above. But if so, the change of the name from Petit Jean (in the Mellon manuscript) to Jacobus Carler.(in the treatise) is considerable, and is only explicable if we hypothesize that Tinctoris did indeed confuse the three gentlemen mentioned in this paragraph. Petit Jean was the name of a Burgundian court singer whose real name was Jean Charvet, a name which in turn was similar to that of the Soignies cantor Jean Carlier.

Mention of the Mellon manuscript helps focus another aspect of the list Tinctoris assembled. All his names - assuming an identification of Carler to be correct - appear in Mellon except only the earliest,

Dunstable, and the latest, Obrecht. Moreover two of them, Carler and Regis, are not known as song composers,⁽¹⁵⁾ while for Binchois this is far the latest surviving ascription of any work. It would be wrong to conclude that Tinctoris was working from Mellon (which however includes two pieces by him at strategic points); his unusually wide knowledge of the music of his time is repeatedly displayed in his writings. However, the appearance of the names in a Neapolitan codex of the same decade as the treatise suggests that Tinctoris was, understandably, seeing things from a Neapolitan viewpoint and writing for a Neapolitan audience. Other manuscripts thought to have been copied in Naples and of similar date do not endorse his selection; but none of them can be associated directly with the Aragonese royal court which owned the Mellon manuscript and served as patron for Tinctoris. Tinctoris apparently knew that for his readers the ten most famous composers of the century included Carler and Morton. But the wider conclusion from this is not that Morton was, as Tinctoris suggested, world famous; it is merely that he was known in the Neapolitan court.

The references in the theoretical literature are therefore both ambivalent in terms of a final evaluation of Morton's position in his own time. Moreover his name is omitted from several other lists of famous composers from this time. The Treatise in Seville C III 23, dated 1482, mentions Dunstable, Dufay, Binchois, Ockeghem, Busnois, Constans, Faugues, Pullois, Urreda, Martini and "enricus Til'r,"⁽¹⁶⁾ several of them from the Burgundian court, several of the represented by less surviving music than Morton. Later lists of musicians already

cited as containing the name of Fedé also omit Morton's name while including those of several extremely obscure composers.

Morton's name seems not to have been universally known. The manuscripts of his music confirm this. Only one work, the ubiquitous N'aray je jamais, is ascribed to him in more than one source. Nor is the name widely distributed. Apart from the four ascriptions in the Perugia manuscript - all to doubtful works - there are three in Fl76, two in Cas, and otherwise one each in Col, EscB, Mel, Parma and Pix. While this is more notice than can be listed for most "minor" composers of the fifteenth century, it is not spectacular.

But a more encouraging impression of his impact may be gleaned from certain manuscripts of the 1480s. RiccII, though not once mentioning his name, contains six songs elsewhere ascribed to him, one of them twice. No other composer is so well represented in this Florentine manuscript. And while Pix includes more works by Busnois, once again a total of six pieces ascribable to Morton seems a generous share. Pix is perhaps the best selected and best edited of the fifteenth century song manuscripts. These songs were evidently included as a result of careful choice.

The most convincing evidence of Morton's importance is found in the list of later works and citations based on Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais. It is possible, even likely, that the many musicians and poets who came into contact with these pieces did not know who had written them. Yet the measure of Morton's success must be based on the success of his works, not the dispersal of his name.

Two pieces by Tinctoris based on Le souvenir confirm that

Morton's music was known in Naples and endorse the evidence of Tinctoris's own statement. The freer piece by "Arnulphus G" attests to a wider dispersal, for D'Accone has firmly identified this composer as the Florentine singer Arnulphus Giliardi.⁽¹⁷⁾

The motet and three Mass cycles based on N'aray je jamais are probably Morton's greatest claim to distinction. It might seem natural to suppose that one of the Masses, Josquin's early *Missa Di Dadi*, led the way to the others, by Ghiselin and the anonymous cycle in the Halberstädter codex which Staehelin has convincingly suggested is the work of Obrecht. Yet in terms of Tenor usage the three cycles have little in common; and the Ghiselin cycle employs a form of the Tenor with dotted notes in the last beat of m.4, a variant not found in any other source but used consistently throughout this cycle. It seems unlikely that the two later cycles derive from that of Josquin because he never names his model. His cycle is named *Missa Di Dadi* after the dice depicted at the beginning of each Tenor statement to denote the degree of augmentation required.⁽¹⁸⁾ Why the accoutrements of the gambler should have been introduced so blithely into the notation and structure of a Mass cycle has never been explained. Nor is it clear whether there is any particular reason to associate the technique with Morton's song. But both Ghiselin and Obrecht (if he was the composer of the third cycle) evidently saw the song in a different light. Their settings cannot have been related to that of Josquin. And indeed the enormous number of manuscripts from the later years of the century containing N'aray je jamais should leave no cause for surprise that it was used for

Tenor material several times.

The use of opening lines or titles of poems in other works of literature always requires particularly critical examination. And in Morton's case the inclusion of Le souvenir de vous me tue and N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ai in quodlibets has no particular significance. The famous quodlibet ballade Mon seul plaisir seems to be made up entirely of chanson lines, but many of the songs cited can no longer be traced; the inclusion of the Morton titles merely confirms that the songs existed and were to be found in the collections available to the writer of the quodlibet. The same goes for Jean Molinet's Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux: each stanza opens with a quote from a chanson, and though a higher proportion can still be identified today, there is still no value-judgment implied in the inclusion of the two Morton songs. Molinet, also working at the Burgundian court, obviously knew of Morton's songs: his work includes no fewer than eleven quotes from Binchois, the greatest master of that court circle.

Of more importance is the inclusion of Le souvenir among a list of seventeen songs in Nicole de la Chesnaye's Condemnacion de Banquet, for here the songs are specifically mentioned as songs, and good ones. The best discussion of the list is by Howard Mayer Brown,⁽¹⁹⁾ and makes a fuller description of the details here superfluous; but it is worth pointing out that the list includes three songs by Dufay, three by Busnois, two by Hayne, and one each by Ockeghem, Joye, Molinet, Colinet de Lannoy and Morton; moreover at least eleven of them survive in a large number of sources. Only four of the songs

remain anonymous, and only one song can no longer be traced. In this kind of context, the citation of Le souvenir may be taken as an honor.

So each piece of evidence presents the same picture. Morton's main success was with Le souvenir and N'aray je jamais, pieces evidently considered among the finest of their kind, and surviving today in more sources than we have for most of the works of the most famous composers of the time. His other work was less successful, partly, no doubt, because at least two of them (Cousine and Il sera pour vous/ L'homme armé) were written for specific occasions, having little meaning in other contexts - and indeed the same could well be the case for Mon bien ma joyeux.

Yet his position in the Burgundian court places him at the centre of the new generation of song composers who were emerging in the 1460s and 1470s to bring the final crown to the tradition of the French chanson that remains to this day one of the great classical genres in the history of music. There is very little evidence from the available documents to suggest that Morton held any particularly prestigious position within that court, though arguments have been offered for thinking that his renown there was rather higher than his relatively lowly position might indicate. Working in the circle that produced Busnois and Hayne van Ghiseghem, in which the strongest influence was that of Binchois, and in which the work of Dufay and more recently of Ockeghem was well known, Morton earns his position in history by virtue of having written two songs that may be considered among the most perfect examples of that repertory.

This picture is not substantially changed by the realization that four of the songs ascribed to him are probably spurious, nor by the relative popularity among concert audiences today of La perontina and Il sera pour vous. The songs that attracted attention in his own time were the ones that most closely adhered to the central line of the court tradition, that most fully exemplified the purity and nobility of the song tradition inherited from Dufay and Binchois.

Footnotes

1. Seay, "The 'Dialogus Johannis Octtobi Anglici in arte musica'," (1955), on p.92 for the dating. The treatise is edited by Seay, Johannis Octtobi: Tres Tractatuli contra Bartholomeum Ramum, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 10 (1964), p.61-76. The text presented here is not entirely that in Seay's edition: some punctuation has been changed and one abbreviation has been expanded differently. For help in this I am most grateful to Dr. D.P. Walker of the Warburg Institute and to Dr. G.B. Pineider of Florence who supplied a microfilm of the manuscript Florence, Bibl. naz., Magl. XIX, 36 astonishingly fast.
2. "So far as the Dialogus is concerned, not one quotation that could be checked against another source is correct, for there are scribal omissions of all types, ranging from simple omissions of text to complete misreadings and misunderstandings." (Seay, "The 'Dialogus...'", p.87).
3. Strohm, "Ein unbekanntes Chorbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts," Die Musikforschung.
4. The citation is printed by Bukofzer, "Über Leben und Werke von Dunstable," Acta Musicologica, 8 (1936) on p.102-104.
5. See the summary in The New Grove, art. "Fede".
6. Pietrochino's achievement is well summarized by Atlas.
7. Coussemaker, Scriptorum ... 3 (1876), p.199-200.
8. See A. Renoir, The Poetry of John Lydgate (London, 1967), p.146.
9. Johannes Nucius, Praeceptiones musicae poeticae... (1613) mentions all three together.
10. Reese, p.140, implies an estimate of ca. 1487 as the date for this

treatise which must be one of his last. Tinctoris could have known of Obrecht through his own visit to the Low Countries to collect singers in 1487 (Reese, p.139) or from Obrecht's visit to Ferrara the same year (op.cit, p.187). The earliest known archival reference to Obrecht is from 1476 when he was zangmeester in Utrecht, see Finscher, in MGG, 9 (1961), col. 1815.

11. A. Vander Linden, "Guillaume Dufay, fut-il chanoine de Soignies?" Revue Belge de Musicologie, 18 (1964), p.28-31, on p.30. Vander Linden gives no source for this information which is not to be found in Demeuldre, Le chapitre de Saint-Vincent à Soignies (1902).
12. Marix, Histoire (1939), p.158-9 citing Lille ADN B 1931, f 78.
13. Marix, Histoire (1939), p.158-9 and 175-6.
14. The normal progression was from sommelier to clerc to chappelain. "Et selon les merites dispon de voix et de bons services desdiz clercez et sommeliers, ilz pourront monter de degre en degre, ascavoir sommelier en estat de clerc, et clercez en chapelains quant l'oportunite y sera et leurs merites le exigeront selons le bon plaisir de monditseigneur." Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Hatton 13, f 11. Instructions of 1469 but doubtless reflecting earlier tradition for the most part. The document also makes it clear, however, that the sommeliers never sang, but acted as Vergers and Acolytes in the chapel. Normally a position for a young man aspiring to join the chapel, it might well have been accorded to a more responsible and mature man who for some reason no longer sang.

15. One other song by Regis does survive, in Cord, F229 and Cantic; it is the rondeau quatrain S'il vous plait.
16. Bukofzer, op.cit.
17. D'Accone, "Some Neglected Composers..." (1970) presents a full assembly of facts relating to Giliardi on p.264-271. These include: the ascriptions in F176 normally transcribed "Xinolfo Schard" which he shows must read "Arnolfo Giliardi"; two Magnificats in P676 and Mi2269; a reference to Hotby's Dialogus in arte musica; Francesco Corteccia's reference to his Holy Week Responses still being sung in Venice in 1570; and archival references to his presence in Florence from 1473 to 1492. To these it may be added that the same man is probably the Arnulphus de S. Gilleno, author of a brief discourse on singers printed in Gerbert, Scriptorum ... vol. 3, p.316-318. Atlas argues, diss., p.281-4, that D'Accone is wrong in seeing Giliardi's Le souvenir as an early example of parody. He suggests instead that Brown is correct (Music in the French Secular Theater, p.255) when he says that it "begins like [Morton's song] but continues freely." Neither is quite right. The whole Discantus part is a parody of Morton's Discantus: it preserves much of the melodic material and contour of the original as well as strictly following the cadence placement and spacing. If the lower parts begin exactly as Morton's song and then continue independently, at least they bear more than a passing resemblance to the original, particularly at the mid-point cadence.

18. For a description of how it works, see Sparks, Cantus Firmus...
(1963), p.267-8.
19. Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater 1400-1550, (1963),
p.93.

APPENDIX

Description of the Main Sources

Barcelona, private library of Marqués de Barbará y Manresana,
poetry manuscript of Pero Martínez.

Inventory and Description: Baselga, El Cancionero Catalán de la
Universidad de Zaragoza (1896), p.393-399.

Discussions: Massó Torrents, Repertori de l'antiga literatura
catalana, vol 1 (1932), p.21; Romeu Figueras, p.217.

Estimated provenance and date: late 15th century, perhaps the
Court of Viana.

Baselga writes (p.394) on the basis of information from
Sr. Llabrés, that it was probably copied by "el aragonés fray
Pedro Martínez, bibliotecario del Principe don Carlos de Viana,
cuyas son las indicaciones frar p. M puestas al frente de la
mayoría de las obras en el código transcritas."

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.40,098 (Glog) Lost since
World War II.

Inventory: Ringmann, Das Glogauer Liederbuch, vol.1 (1936),p.102-119

Transcriptions: Ringmann, Das Glogauer Liederbuch (Das Erbe Deutscher
Musik, vols. 4 and 8, 1936-7)

Discussions: Freitag, "Die Herkunft des Berliner Liederbuches" (1920);
Ringmann, "Das Glogauer Liederbuch (um 1480)" (1932); Salmen, "Glogauer
Liederbuch" (1956); Stephan, "Drei Fragen zum Glogauer Liederbuch"(1956);
Feurich, Die deutschen weltlichen Lieder (1970).

Estimated provenance and date: Glogau on the Oder (Silesia) Cathedral,
ca.1480 (Ringmann). Freitag dates it between 1477 and 1488; Feurich
dates ca. 1470.

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 17 (formerly Hamilton 674)

Complete edition: M. Löpelmann, Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (1923).

Discussions: Lemm, "Das Manuskript des Kardinals de Rohan" (1914).

Estimated provenance and date: ?Paris, ca. 1470. The arms on f 22 are those of Louis Malet de Graville, d. 1516 as a very old man who had worked at French royal courts. Subsequently it apparently passed to his daughter, Anne who may have added Ballades 43 (pt.2)-46.

Belonged to Cardinal Armand de Rohan (1674-1749); bought by the Berlin library at the Hamilton sale in 1882. Nos. 9 and 11 are thought to have been written at the 1463 siege of Paris. Many of the poems are specifically Parisian in content.

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 C 28 (formerly Hamilton 451) (BerK)

Inventory and Transcription of unica: Reidemeister, Die Chanson-Handschrift 78 C 28 des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts... (1973)

Discussions: Boese, Die lateinischen Handschriften... (1966), p.215-216 (written with help of information from H. Bessler); Atlas, "On the Origins of the Manuscripts Berlin 78.C.28 and Perugia 431," (1974); Reidemeister, op.cit.; Atlas, "The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.234-5.

Estimated provenance and date: Florence ca. 1465.

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16 (Q 16)

Inventory: thematic list of contents in Pease, "A Report of the Codex Q 16," Musica Disciplina, 20 (1966), p.57-94; concordances listed in Fuller, "Additional Notes" (1969).

Discussions: as above but see also Pease, "A Re-examination of the Caccia Found in Bologna, Civico Museo, Codex Q 16" (1968); Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.235-6; diplomatic description in Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol.2 (1969), p.10-16.

Estimated provenance and date: 1487 Domenicus Marsilius finished copying the main layer (down to no.107), and the rest was presumably added soon after. Haberkamp (p.66) suggests Naples on the basis of the strong Spanish representation and Atlas (p.235-6) confirms this on the basis of the musical readings. Fuller suggests Naples or the Papal Court at Rome.

Cape Town, South African Public Library, Grey Collection 3.b.12 (Grey)

Description and inventory: Cattin, "Nuova fonte italiana della polifonia intorno al 1500," Acta musicologica, 45 (1973), p.165-221; see also Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.238.

Transcriptions of sacred repertory: Cattin, "Canti polifonici..." (1972)

Estimated provenance and date: Northern Italy, possibly Florence or Mantua (Cattin, p.184); probably before 1506, the year of the first published Cantorino of the Cassinese congregation. "La sola legittima conclusione ... è che il cod. Grey fu compilato in uno dei monasteri confluiti nella Congregazione di S. Giustina o Cassinese" (p.181).

Purchased by Sir George Grey from Quaritch in 1860. Sold by Sotheby in 1859 as part of the library of the Florentine collector Guglielmo Libri.

Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, (Ms.) Thott 291 8^{vo} (CopI)

Complete transcription and inventory: Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927).

Discussions: Abrahams, Description ... (1844).

Estimated provenance and date: French, Jeppesen suggests 1470-80 (op.cit. p.xxxvi). Perhaps slightly later than Niv since of the ten pieces the two manuscripts share, five are among the eight added later to Niv.

From the library of Count Otto Thott (1703-1785) who possibly purchased it in England though the manuscript was still in France in 1736. Jeppesen convincingly shows that it belonged to the musician and composer Jean du Moulin (fl. 1534-d.1563).

Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2^o (CopII)

Discussions: Glahn, "Et fransk musikhåndskrift fra begyndelsen af det 16. århundrede," Fund og forskning, 5-6 (1958-9), p.90-109 with an English summary, p.225-6. See also Plamenac in Annales Musicologiques, 4 (1956), p.261-5 and Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), esp. p.69, 100.

Estimated provenance and date: Lyon, 1500-1525. Both Plamenac and Glahn

feel that it was written over a short span of time, but the repeated pieces (with different readings, see below) suggest that it was assembled casually, perhaps over a decade. The manuscript was purchased at Sotheby's in February 1921, coming from the collection of a Monsieur Chossat. An entry inside reading "Bibliothèque Ste. Hélène" establishes a provenance from the Jesuit Library in Lyon, situated in the rue Sainte-Hélène since 1867. The hypothesis of a Lyon provenance is confirmed by a watermark, Briquet no.8018, found in Lyon around 1515, and by the song on p.10-11, "Sur le pont d'Avignon" retexted to read "Sur le pont de Lyon."

Dijon, Bibliothèque publique, Ms.517 (formerly 295) (Dij)

List of contents: Picker in Journal of the American Musicological Society, 26 (1973), p.337-40.

Transcriptions: dissertation in progress by Charles E. Barrett, Jr. (George Peabody College for Teachers). First fifty pieces in Droz, Thibault & Rokseth, Trois chansonniers français (1927).

Discussions: Morelot (1856), Plamenac, op.cit., Picker, op.cit., Rifkin (1973), Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier (1927).

Estimated provenance and date: Flanders, 1470-80 (Jeppesen, p.xxxvi).

Plamenac writes (op.cit., p.3): "Probably originated at the court of the Dukes of Burgundy about 1470-75, [and] has remained in the Burgundian capital ever since it was written." Since the Burgundian court was not in Dijon for any substantial length of time after 1430, this hypothesis must fall. The date is confirmed by the heavy representation of Busnois and Ockeghem together with the presence of Compere only in the last year.

El Escorial, Monastery Library, IV.a.24 (formerly IV.o.5) (EscB)

Inventory: Southern, "El Escorial, Monastery Library" (1969);

Transcriptions: Kultzen, Der Codex Escorial (1956); Hanen, The Chansonnier El Escorial (1973).

Discussions: Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol.2 (1969), p.18-23; Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.242.

Estimated provenance and date: Naples, 1460s (Atlas)

Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229 (formerly Fondo Magliabechiano XIX, 59)

Inventory: Becherini, Catalogo, p.22-29, contains a list of contents.

Transcriptions: forthcoming edition by Howard Mayer Brown, Monuments of Renaissance Music (Chicago), 2 vols.

Discussions: Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol. 2 (1969), p.53-4; Atlas,

The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.248; D'Ancona, La miniatura fiorentina (1914), vol. 1, p.83-5, vol. 2, p.677.

Estimated provenance and date: Florence, ca. 1491 (see Atlas, p.248).

Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Fondo Magliabechiano XIX, 176 (F176).

Inventory: Becherini, Catalogo, p.72-5, contains a list of contents but with several transcription errors.

Transcriptions: Ruth Piette, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechini XIX, 176: Transcription and Commentary (MA thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1957).

Discussions: Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol.2(1969), p.57-8; Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.246-7; Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances" (1973), p. 318.

Estimated provenance and date: Florence, late 1470s, "certainly no later than c.1480" according to Atlas who bases his argument on the similar repertory in Pix and RiccII and on the complete absence of anything from the Josquin generation.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2356 (RiccII)

Inventory: Plamenac, "The 'Second' Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana," in Annales Musicologiques, 2 (1954), p.105-187; additions and corrections in Annales Musicologiques, 4 (1956), p.261-5.

Discussions: Plamenac, op.cit.; Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol.2 (1969), p.54-7; Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances" (1973), p.313-318; Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.256.

Estimated provenance and date: first half of the 1480s, Florence (see Atlas, p.256). In 1550 it belonged to Andrea Sardelli in Florence and additions were apparently still being made to the manuscript at this point.

Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, Ms.1335 (formerly 2-I-5) (CMP)

Inventory: Anglés, Monumentos de la Musica Espanola, 5 (1947), p.25-32.

Transcriptions: Barbieri, Cancionero musical (1890); Anglés, Cancionero

Musical de Palacio, 2 vols. (1947-51); texts ed. Romeu Figueras (1965)

Discussions: Stevenson, Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus (1960).

Estimated provenance and date: two layers. Stevenson suggests that the first layer was compiled for the circle at Alba de Tormes (p.305, citing Barbieri, p.8). However Anglés feels "que esto concionero estuvo al servicio de la corte del rey Fernando el Católico, la cual, musicalmente, guardó relación estrecha con la casa de los Duques de Alba." (CMP, i, p.17). First layer perhaps ca. 1485-90; second layer over the next fifteen years.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm [Codex germanicus monacensis] 810, formerly Mus.Ms. [Musica manuscripta] 3232 or Cim [Cimelia] 351a (Schedel).

Inventory: J.J. Maier, Die musikalischen Handschriften (1879), p.125-30.

Edition: supposedly forthcoming ed. H. Besseler, R. Kienast and P. Gülke in Das Erbe deutscher Musik. The German songs are transcribed in Eitner, Das deutsche Lied (1880).

Discussions: Birmingham, Schedel's Song Book (1974); Besseler, "Hartmann Schedel," MGG, 11 (1963), coll. 1609-1612.

Estimated provenance and date: copied for his own use by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) mostly during his years as a student in Augsburg, 1460-63. No.48 is dated "1461 scolastice" and it is to be assumed that most of the manuscript was copied around that date: Besseler places most of it before 1462. ("Nach Ausweis von Parallelquellen schrieb er den grössten Teil bereits in Leipzig, spätestens als Magister artium, 1460-1462"). No.120 is dated "anno lxxvii": Besseler

suggests that Schedel left the volume in Augsburg while he studied in Padua, 1463-6, and wrote the rest on his return to Germany, finishing the manuscript in 1467. It is sometimes difficult to evaluate Bessler's statements as the full documentation will be published only in his edition.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim[elia] 352b, formerly Mus.Ms. 3725 (Bux)

Facsimile: ed. B.A. Wallner, Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch (1955)

Transcriptions: ed. Wallner, Das Erbe deutscher Musik, vols. 37-39 (1958-59).

Inventory: E. Southern, The Buxheim Organ Book (1963), p.133-152.

Discussions: in addition to the above-mentioned works, and the earlier studies cited therein, see the dissertations of Hans-Rudolf Zöbele (Munich) and Robert S. Lord (Yale).

Estimated provenance and date: Munich, ca. 1465 with additions during the next decade (Wallner, 1955, p.vii). Probably the court of Duke Albrecht III and the circle around his court organist Conrad von Paumann (1410-1473). Subsequently came to the Carthusian house at Buxheim from which it was auctioned in 1883 and purchased by the Bavarian State Library. Wallner's dating is based on Ulrich Fütterer's arrival in Munich from his native Landshut in 1465.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms. 9659

Description: Petzsch, "Fragment mit acht dreistimmigen Chansons....,"

Die Musikforschung, 27 (1974), p.319-322.

Provenance: From the state of f 3v-4, it was evidently found in a binding. Petzsch says "bei den lat. Fragmenten" presumably implying that the binding was one of the Latin manuscript collection in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Estimated provenance and date: from the spelling of the French and Flemish texts, one may surmise Northern origin. This may be one of the only surviving song manuscripts from the area in which Morton worked. It is possible, from the repertory and readings, that it was prepared about the same time as Loch and Berk, with which it has special concordances, perhaps around 1460. If so, it is one of the earliest surviving sources of Morton song.

New Haven, Connecticut, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 91 (Mellon)

Inventory, facsimile and transcriptions: forthcoming from Leeman L. Perkins.

Discussions: Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century (The Mellon Chansonnier)," (1942); Rehm, "Mellon Chansonnier," MGG, 9 (1961); Perkins, "Concerning the Provenance of the Mellon Chansonnier," Abstracts... Toronto (1970); Besseler and Gülke, Schriftbild, (1973), p.98-9.

Estimated provenance and date: Naples, before or around 1476.
 Perkins provides good evidence for the Neapolitan connection.
 Since one piece is dedicated "Beatissime virgini domine beatrix de Aragonia" the manuscript must be before 15th November 1476 when she married Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. Purchased from A. Rosenthal (London) in 1936.

Oxford, Taylor Institution, Ms. 8^oF3 (formerly Arch. I. d. 22)
 Description, inventory and edition of the unica: K. Chesney, More Poèmes de Transition (Oxford, 1965).

Estimated provenance and date: probably finished ca. 1515 but containing poetry from the previous forty years (p.6); origin unknown; belonged to Johannes de Bourdieu in 1716 according to note on f 1; bookplate of Hamilton A. Roberts of Bangor; came to Taylor Institution in 1876.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 15, 123 (Pix)
 Inventory: thematic list of contents in Pease, Music from the Pixérécourt Manuscript (1960), p.69-93; inventory of Italian pieces in Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol. 2 (1969), p.184-5.
 Discussions: Pease, "Pixérécourt" (1962); Brown, "Critical Years" (1970); Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975).

Estimated provenance and date: Florence, before 1484 (Atlas, p.254-5).
 Brown points to the close relationship of F229, suggesting a common

scribal shop in Florence and a date around 1490 (p.90). Atlas observes, however, that the absence of works from the Josquin generation indicates a slightly earlier date; he proposes 1484 as a terminus ante quem since that was the year Isaac arrived in Florence and the manuscript contains nothing of his. He also observes that the "Florentine tradition" represented in this manuscript is different and presumably somewhat earlier than that represented in CG, F229, Q17 and F178.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rothschild 2793 (Cord)

Inventory: Kottick, "The Chansonnier Cordiforme" (1967).

Transcriptions: Kottick, The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme (diss., Univ. of North Carolina, 1963); Kottick, The Unica (1967).

Discussions: to items mentioned above add Kottick, "Chansonnier Cordiforme," MGG (1973); anon., "The Bad Bishop's Book of Love Songs" (1964); Schavran, review of Kottick (1963) in Current Musicology (1970).

Estimated provenance and date: Savoy, ca. 1470-77. The arms on f D are those of Jean de Montchenu and indicate that he was still a priest. In 1477 he became bishop. During the years 1470-77 he was Vicar-General and Councillor to Jean-Louis of Savoy, Bishop of Geneva; he was also cellarer to the monastery of Saint-Anthoine de Vienne and Commaner of Ranvers.

Paris (Neuilly-sur-Seine), Bibliothèque G. Thibault, Chansonnier
Nivelle de la Chaussée (Niv)

N.B. Since the owner's death in 1975 this manuscript has been held
in probate but is expected to go eventually to the Bibliothèque
nationale.

Inventory and transcriptions: none.

Discussions: Sotheby sale catalogue for 7th March 1939, p.49;
Jeppesen, The Copenhagen Chansonnier (1965), p. [i] ; Thibault,
"Le Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée" (1976).

Estimated provenance and date: ca. 1460 (Pirro); French.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parm. 1158. (Parma)

Inventory: none.

Discussions: Gasperini, Catalogo generale (1911), p.18-19 with three
plates (of f2, f 47v-48, f 55v-56) - the "Mortcn" ascription is
erroneously catalogued as "Horton." Bessler, "Deutsche Lieder"
(1948), first supplied the correct reading. See also Sartori,
"Gaffurius" (1955); Gallo, "Citazioni" (1966) and Jeppesen, La
Frottola, vol.2 (1969), p.88-9.

Estimated provenance and date: Jeppesen identifies the dedicatee
of nos. 8 and 10 as Marchese Guglielmo de Monferrato (1404-1483).
The first treatise is dedicated to "Phlippum trexenum clericum
laudensem," evidently a compatriot of Gafuri. Perhaps somewhere in
the area around Milan, then, and perhaps in the 1470s. The first
treatise seems to have been written at Lodi.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta" Cod.431 (G20) Per

In ventory: Italian pieces listed in Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol.2 (1969), p.190-3.

Discussions: Jeppesen, op.cit., p.89; Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (1975), p.253-4; Hernon, Perugia Ms. 431 (G 20): A Study of the Italian Pieces (diss., Peabody, 1972); Atlas, "On the Origins of the Manuscripts Berlin 78.C.28 and Perugia 431 (G 20)" unpublished paper, 1974.

Estimated provenance and date: Neapolitan. Atlas ("On the Origins") even suggests the Aragonese Royal court, though presenting no strong evidence. Perhaps as early as 1480, though there is evidence that the copying went on for many years. In 1556 it belonged to the musical theorist Raffaele Sozi of Perugia (1529-1589).

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 2856 (formerly O.V. 208) (Cas)

Transcriptions: Wolff, The Chansonnier Biblioteca Casanatense 2856 (1970).

Discussions: Llorens, "El Códice Casanatense 2.856" (1967), p.161-178; Atlas (1975), p.239-40.

Estimated provenance and date: Ferrara ca. 1490. Llorens points to the arms on f 3v as being those of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzago, but then inexplicably suggests a date around 1480, though they did not marry until February 1490. Atlas suggests 1490 as a date, and further argues that the later additions on ff 131v-146 were entered by Ghiselin when he visited the Ferrara court in 1491.

His main evidence is that three pieces are here ascribed to Ghiselin, whereas no piece elsewhere in the manuscript is ascribed to him; Atlas does not attempt to explain why the volume should still have been in Ferrara at the time, when its dedicatees were in Mantua.

Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare Colombina, Ms. 5-I-43, part of which is now (Col)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f.fr. nouv. acq. 4379 f 1-42.

Inventory: D. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," The Musical Quarterly, 37 (1951), p.501-542, and 38 (1952), p.85-117 and 245-277.

Facsimile: Dragan Plamenac, ed., Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris n.a.fr. 4379 (Pt.1) (1962).

Discussions: Plamenac, "A Reconstruction..."

Estimated provenance and date: Purchased by Fernando Colón in Rome in 1515. Atlas tentatively suggests Neapolitan or Roman origin. The three entirely unrelated hands and three numbering systems suggest that the manuscript was assembled in stages. Pope implies (Anuario, 19, 1964) that she thinks it comes from Modena.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLVII (757) (Ver)

Inventory: none.

Discussions: Smijers, "Vijftiende en Zesteinde eeuwsche Muziekhandschriften," Tijdschrift, 14 (1935), p.165-181 on p.178;

Turrini, "Il patrimonio musicale della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona...", (1953); Jeppesen, La Frottola, vol. 2(1969), p.95.
 Estimated provenance and date: perhaps from Verona, ca. 1490 to 1500, to judge from the repertory.

Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, M 2.1 L25 Case (Lab)
 Inventory and description: Bush, "The Laborde Chansonnier" (1946).
 Discussions: see report prepared anonymously by Oliver Strunk in Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1936 (Washington, 1936), p.134-7; Rifkin, "Some Scribal Concordances" (1973), p.319.

Estimated provenance and date: Bush suggests ca. 1475 for the first layer; before 1485 for the rest. From the "Burgundian" scribal workshop. The final section, which includes a text in Italian and one in Spanish, may date from the 1490s and have been added in another part of Europe.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod-Guelf. 287 Extrav. (Wolf)
 Texts alphabetized: Droz, Rokseth and Thibault, Trois chansonniers français (1927).

Discussions: Jeppesen (1927), p.xxiv-xxvi; H.M. Brown in MGG 14 (1968), coll.810-11 under the heading "Wolfenbütteler Handschriften."
 Estimated provenance and date: Paris or Flanders, early 1470s. Jeppesen's estimate Burgundy, 1480-90 (op.cit., p.xxxvi) is endorsed by Brown but cannot be correct.

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