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CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE IN THE LABORDE CHANSONNIER

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August, 1995

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts (Musicology)

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CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE IN THE LABORDE CHANSONNIER ABSTRACT

Miriam H. Tees

The Laborde Chansonnier (Wash.L.C. 2.1 L25 Case) is one of the most important but least studied of the Franco-Burgundian chansonniers of the fifteenth century. It contains 106 chansons, 22 of which are unica.

The manuscript has four layers. The first was copied by Scribe 1 whose style conforms closely to that of the scribe who copied the Wolfenbüttel (1460-65) and Nivelle chansonniers (1460-70). The second was copied by Scribe 2 whose hand resembles that of the Dijon (1470-75) and Copenhagen (1470-80) chansonniers. The third and fourth layers were copied by various later scribes. The dates of the chansons themselves vary widely, but I have found that those copied by Scribe 1 are usually concordant with an earlier group of chansonniers (c. 1460-70) while many of those by Scribe 2 are found in the later group (1470-85), and those copied by the scribes of the third and fourth layers in still later sources up to 1520 and even later.

Fallows, Brown, Montagna, Kenney, Perkins and others have discussed the transformation of the style of the chanson over the course of the 15th century. Little has been written specifically on the period of the Laborde chansonnier. With reference to musical features such as melodic style, imitation, cadences, metrical structure, role of the contratenor, and range of note values, I discuss the style of

the chansons, first in general, and then layer by layer, charting the changes in a crucial period. Although these changes are gradual, it is possible to follow the development of the chanson during the period between 1450 and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Laborde Chansonnier contains twenty-five unica, of which four have appeared in modern editions, and one of which is incomplete. I have transcribed the other twenty and also four other chansons which I could not find in modern editions. They are found in Appendix 11, and a number of them have been used in the analysis of the style of the chansons.

CHRONOLOGIE ET STYLE DANS L'OEUVRE DU CHANSONNIER LABORDE

SOMMAIRE

Miriam H. Tees

Le Chansonnier Laborde (Wash.L.C. 2.1 L25 Case) est un des plus important mais le moins étudié des chansonniers franco-burgundiens du quinzième siècle. Il comprend 106 chansons dont 25 sont unica.

Le manuscrit a quatre volets. Le premier fut copié par le Scribe 1 dont le style est conforme à celui du scribe qui avait copié les chansonniers Wolfenbüttel (1460-65) et Nivelle de la Chaussée (1460-70). Le deuxième fut copié par le Scribe 2 dont le style ressemble à celui des chansonniers de Dijon (1470-75) et Copenhagen (1470-80). Les troisième et quatrième volets furent copiés par plusieurs scribes plus tard. Les dates des chansons mêmes varient beaucoup, mais j'ai trouvé que celles copiées par le Scribe 1 sont normalement concordantes avec un groupe de chansonniers antécedents (c. 1460-1470) tandis que plusieurs chansons par le Scribe 2 se trouvent parmi les chansonniers des années 1470 et 1480, et ceux du troisième et quatrième volets dans les chansonniers ultérieures, jusqu'à 1520 ou plus.

Fallows, Brown, Montagna, Kenney, Perkins, et autres ont discuté la transformation du style de la chanson pendant le quinzième siècle, mais on n'a pas beaucoup écrit sur la periode du Chansonnier Laborde lui-même. Dans le contexte des éléments comme le style mélodique, les cadences, l'imitation,

la structure métrique, le rôle du contratenor, et l'étendue des valeurs des notes, j'étudie le style des chansons, d'abord en général et puis volet par volet, en décrivant les changements. Bien que les changements soient progressifs, il est possible de suivre le dévelopement de la chanson pendant la période que s'étend d 1450 et le début du seizième siècle.

Le Chansonnier Laborde contient vingt-cinq unica dont quatre sont déjà publiés dans les editions modernes et dont une seule est incomplète. J'ai transcrit les autres vingt chansons et en plus quatre autres chansons que je ne pouvais trouver ailleurs. Elles se trouvent dans l'Appendix 11, et j'ai utilisé plusieurs de celles-ci dans l'analyse des styles des quatres volets.

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- No. 31. Je suis ennuye
- No. 33. Si par souait No. 34. Tant moins en ay plus No. 35. Tant plus m'efforce
- No. 36. Le plus heureux
- No. 38. Dangier tu mas tollu
- No. 44. Lenguerant
- No. 47. O Belle dyane
- No. 60. Quel remede
- No. 64. Je serviray
- No. 66. Les desloyalles
- No. 73. N'estil secours
- No. 74. Les desleaux sont
- No. 76. La pourueance

CHANSONS NOT READILY AVAILABLE IN TRANSCRIPTION

- No. 24. Tant fort me tarde -- Philippon?
- No. 68. En voyant sa dame -- Busnois
- No. 83. Je ne me puis voir
- No. 98. La grant paine que yo sento

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of preparing this thesis has been a great delight to me. Forty years ago I became a librarian because I wanted to work with old and rare books, especially illuminated manuscripts. My career took me through many interesting paths, but never to work with the old and rare. In retirement, I have come to study early music, a field which has interested me all my life, and to spend many months examining a fifteenth century manuscript, the Laborde Chansonnier, with its charming illuminated initials and borders. The courses and papers I have written in the Master's program have given me a new world to live in. The many people who have helped me to come to this new world have my great gratitude.

First, and most important, is Professor Julie Cumming who has been my adviser for the thesis, and whose fascinating seminars have opened many new directions for me. In doing an assignment for her seminar on the fifteenth century motet, I came across the Laborde Chansonnier, and realized that here was a possibility for a thesis. In my efforts to find a direction for the thesis, to find readings, to transcribe chansons, and to analyse the material I had gathered, as well as to write a lucid paper, she has given the me the strongest possible help and support.

I am also indebted to my other teachers at McGill, especially Professor Paul Helmer, from whom I had courses in

mediaeval and renaissance music, an invaluable course in paleography, and a seminar on the music from the Abbey of St. Martial which whetted my appetite for more knowledge of mediaeval music. Professor Peter Schubert led me through the intricacies of the theory of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of modal counterpoint without which I could not have transcribed the Laborde chansons. Many others have instructed me and encouraged me, and to them all I am grateful.

I am also indebted to Dr. Mary Cyr who encouraged me to enter the music program. Not only did she give me good advice, but she invited me to come as a special student to her seminar on performance practice in early music, to see if, with my less-than-adequate background, I could manage such a course. Without her encouragement I doubt if I would have embarked on a Master's degree at all.

I am grateful to the Music Department of the Library of Congress where I spent a week examining the Laborde Chansonnier, and to the Cynthia Leive, music librarian at McGill, and her staff, for their help. Corinne Dutton has read the thesis for me and made some useful suggestions. Camille Coté edited the French translation of the Abstract. I am also grateful for the support of my family and my many friends who have been somewhat taken aback by my return to the university in retirement.

INTRODUCTION

Howard Mayer Brown comments that,

The history of the Burgundian chanson from its beginnings in Dufay and Binchois through the generation of Busnois and Ockeghem and on to the contemporaries of Josquin is one of gradual modification and enrichment of detail. With so many constant and uniform features, the fifteenth-century chanson offers a particularly rich field for the study of subtle stylistic detail, but there was in fact no fundamental change in its basic premises until the end of the century.

These words are borne out by a study of the Laborde Chansonnier (Washington, Library of Congress, 2.1 L25 case), which was copied by several scribes at different dates over the last half of the fifteenth century.

This thesis attempts to study the development of "subtle stylistic detail" in the four layers of Laborde which can be identified and dated. A number of scholars have studied the Chansonnier and most have discussed the dating of the various layers, based on the dates of the concordant chansonniers, on the dates of the composers, and on the work of the various scribes and to some extent of the artists. Little attempt has been made to differentiate the styles of the chanson in such narrow time frames as we find in the four layers of Laborde. On the other hand, much work has been done on the style of the chansons from the period of Machaut to the Josquin era and the

Brown, Howard Mayer, "The Transformation of the Chanson at the End of the Fifteenth Century," Report of the Tenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Ljubljana, 1967, ed. Dragotin Cvetko, University of Ljubljana, 1970: 83.

work of these scholars is, of course, relevant to a study of the development of the style in Laborde. A discussion of this literature is an integral part of the thesis.

I have studied the chansons copied by each scribe and attempted to show the gradual development of style over the period. Several chansons from the early (before 1465), middle (1465-75), and late (1480s and 1490s, and even early 16th century) periods will be examined.

Central to the argument of this thesis is the dating of the chansons. I have based this on a number of factors. First, the concordant chansonniers have given a latest possible date for many of the chansons although many of them were copied again and again in later chansonniers. I have normally used the dates published in the Census Catalogue as a basis for dating the chansonniers, taking the earliest concordant source to date the chansons. Secondly, the dates of the death of the composers provide terminal dates for the chansons. Thirdly, the literature provides dates for many of the chansons themselves: for example, Hamm's chronology of Dufay's work. Fourthly, the styles of the scribal hands and the artists' illuminations in Laborde can sometimes be equated

²Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, eds., <u>Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music</u>, <u>1400-1550</u>, 5 vols, (Neuhausen Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979-88).

Ocharles E. Hamm, A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1964.

with those in other chansonniers, thus giving a clue to the dates of the chansons they copied or decorated.

Four complete lists of the chansons are found in Appendices 1, 2, 3, and 4, arranged alphabetically, by number, by scribe, and by estimated date. Two sources are of particular importance in establishing this information, both of which contain complete lists of the chansons in Laborde giving concordances: a seminal article by Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff⁴ and a thesis by Duff James Kennedy dated 1987 which also gives modern editions of each chanson where they existed at that time. 5

Part I of the thesis deals with background to the study of style: a description of the Chansonnier, a study of the concordant chansonniers as they impinge on Laborde, and a study of the scribes with a glance at the artists. Most of this work is based on the literature.

Part II is an analysis of the style of the chansons as found in the four layers of Laborde. Here I have discussed the work of a number of scholars, both in general and in particular as it relates to a particular date or composer or concordant source. I have then analysed the chansons from Laborde, showing statistically some of the changes over time,

⁴Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Untersuchen zu Gestalt, Entstehung und Repertoire des Chansonniers Laborde," <u>Archiv</u> für Musikwissenschaft, 41 (1984): 113-146.

Duff James Kennedy, "Six Chansonniers Français: the Central Sources of the Franco-Burgundian Chanson," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1987.

and choosing a number of examples from each layer to show the stylistic change. Subtle it is, but gradual change is there.

The texts of the chansons are almost entirely based on poems of courtly love. I have not attempted to study the texts, nor have I made any study of the artists, although I have included a number of comments from other scholars about the artists.

As part of the preparation of the thesis, I have transcribed a group of unica found in Laborde, as well as four chansons which I could not find transcribed elsewhere:

No. 24, "Tant fort me tarde", ascribed to Philippon and also found in Florence 176 (FlorBn Magl.176) and Casanatense (RomeC 2856); No. 68, "En voyant sa dame", ascribed to Busnois, and found in BolC Q17 and Dijon (DijBM 517), and two anonymous chansons: No. 83, "Je ne me puis voir" from Florence 176, and "La grant paine" from AmiensBM 162. Judging from the work of Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff⁶ and Duff James Kennedy⁷, there are twenty-five unica in Laborde, of which one, "Greveuse mest vostre accointance", has been transcribed by Helen Bush, ⁸ two, "Je nay dueil", and "Il ne menchault" have appeared in the

⁶Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 113-146.

⁷Kennedy, vol. 1, 259-410.

Helen Bush, "The Laborde Chansonnier," <u>Papers of the American Musicological Society: Annual Meeting, Cleveland Ohio, 1940</u>, ed. Gustave Reese, (Richmond, Va., William Byrd Press, 1946) 70-72.

collected works of Ockeghem, and one, "Si a tort", was published by Petrucci in Odhecaton. One of the unica is incomplete: No. 14, "Je nay pouvoir". I have not attempted to include the texts in my transcriptions, nor have I added ficta.

My transcriptions are listed in the Table of Contents, and are found in Appendix 11.

Ockeghem, Johannes, <u>Collected Works</u>, ed. Richard Wexler with Dragan Plamenac, vol. 3, Motets and Chansons, (Philadelphia, American Musicological Society, 1992) 67-68.

¹⁰Helen Hewitt, ed., <u>Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A</u>, published by Ottaviano Petreucci, (New York, Da Capo Press, 1978).

PART 1. BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1. THE LABORDE CHANSONNIER

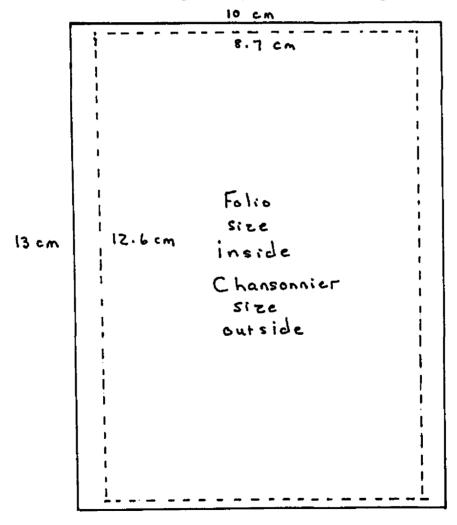
The Laborde Chansonnier (Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, Music Division. MS M2.1.L25 Case) is one of the central Franco-Burgundian chansonniers of the fifteenth century. Little is known of its provenance. According to Helen Bush, 11 it was first discussed in June, 1857, in a report read before the Comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France by Alexandre Vincent who noted that the Marquis of Laborde had brought it to the attention of the Comité and of Vincent. A footnote states that it was bought shortly afterwards by the Marquis who was a distinguished archaeologist and historian of French art. The manuscript remained inaccessible until it was made available to Eugénie Droz in the early 1920s, and it was sold in 1932 at Sotheby's by the then Marquis. The Library of Congress bought it in February, 1936, from Mr. Goldschmidt of E.P. Goldschmidt & Co. of London. Dr. Bush made great efforts to find more about the provenance of the manuscript, both through a study of the writings of the Marquis of Laborde, and by trying to trace the coat of arms which appeared "originally on f. 72' and has been added to ff. 8', 25', 33', and 56'".12 Gutierrez-Denhoff, assisted by Madame Loyau of the "Section Heraldique" of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut de

llBush 56-59.

¹²Bush 58-59.

Recherche et d'Histoire de Textes (IRHT), Paris, suggests that the family Morin de Mondeville may be considered as the first owner of the chansonnier, but some doubt remains. Dr. James Pruett has worked on it in recent years, and informed me in a letter that he had had some success, but did not say what he had found.

This small chansonnier, measuring 10 x 13 x 3 centimetres, has covers of plain yellow vellum, probably dating



¹³Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 132-136.

from the sixteenth century; it is kept in a modern cardboard box containing also a red velvet box embroidered with silver thread bearing the arms of the Marquis of Laborde. The folios measure only 126 x 87 mm. and have been heavily trimmed, so that the composer attributions are sometimes cut in half or removed altogether, and folio numbers are sometimes lost.

The manuscript has been described in detail by a number of scholars. When it was first purchased by the Library of Congress in 1936, the then head of the music department, Oliver Strunk, reported on it in his annual report. Helen Bush described it in 1940 at the American Musicological Society, quoting Jeppeson and earlier writers who mention Laborde. Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff published a thorough examination of the chansonnier in 1984, with a full description of its physical characteristics and its repertoire. In 1987, Duff James Kennedy, in his dissertation on six French chansonniers, made an exhaustive study of these chansonniers, including Laborde, giving details of their physical characteristics, concordances, and all the variants

Hamm, Census Catalogue vol. 2, 125-126.

¹⁵Oliver Strunk, Report of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936 (Washington, D.C., United States. Government Printing Office, 1936) 134-137.

¹⁶Bush 56-79.

¹⁷Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 113-146.

¹⁸Kennedy, vols. 1 and 2.

found in the chansons in the different chansonniers.

Laborde is made up of 20 gatherings, with 151 folios, many of which are beautifully ornamented with miniatures, initials, and borders in colour or grisaille. The chansons were copied in ink on parchment by five to seven scribes working at different dates, and are written on one or sometimes two openings; the cantus is on the left-hand or verso side with the text of the refrain or first verse below the staves and the rest of the text beneath it. The tenor and contratenor are written on the right or recto side, and have only the text incipits.

The scholars who examined the chansonnier numbered the chansons 1 to 106, adding three, 8a, 13a, and 13b, which suggests to me that there were originally 109 chansons, although this is never mentioned in the literature. Three chansons which are included in the index, Dufay's "Le Serviteur", and the anonymous "Ce quon fait" and "Le jolis tetin", are completely missing, while six others have missing parts, so there are in fact a total of 100 complete chansons today. Originally there were 150 leaves in 20 quaternions, preceded by three double leaves containing an alphabetical index. The first gathering lacks its first folio (7a), which contained the superius and text of the opening motet, "Ave regina celorum". Oliver Strunk, in his personal notes which Helen Bush used, speculated that the reason Folio 7a is missing is that the second owner wished to erase all evidence

of a previous owner. 19 Missing also are ff. 17a, 17b, and 18 in the third gathering, which included the tenor and contratenor of "Non pas que je veille" and the cantus and text of "Comme femme" and the complete "Le serviteur." The two missing chansons, "Ce quon fait" and "Le jolis tetin", were in the fourth gathering. Kennedy comments,

The fourth gathering is unusual in that part of the gathering was lost during the actual copying itself, yet the scribe, who must have known of the damage, seems to have made no attempt to remedy the situation. The gathering consists of only two bifolios, ff. 21/24 and 22/23. Curiously, music is missing between folios 21' and 22, but nothing is missing between the corresponding opening of folios 23'-24.20

Folio 50a, containing the tenor and contra of "Esse bien fait" and the cantus and text of "Soyez apprentiz" is also missing, but its torn margin can be seen. Folio 135, which began the residuum of "Garison scay" is also missing.²¹

The description of the gatherings is somewhat confused by the missing folios. Gutierrez-Denhoff provides a table, which I have adapted here, from which she deduced the earliest status of the manuscript from its current state (see Table 1 on the next page).

An index was prepared by Scribe 2, covering the chansons numbers 1 to 93 and numbers 96 and 99. Scribe 1 copied numbers 1-47 and 50-58 as well as numbers 96, 99, and 100,

¹⁹Bush 62.

²⁰Kennedy 30-31.

²¹Kennedy 26-30.

TABLE 1

TABLE 1

WUNBERING OF CHANSONS, GATHERINGS, AND FOLIOS

Chanson No.	<u>Gathering</u>	Original Gathering	<u> Polio</u>	Remarks
Index	1	(a)	2r-7v	Index
1-5	1 2	Ъ́	(7ar)-14v	Pirst leaf missing
5-12	3	C	15r-20v	Mid leaf missing
12-16	4	đ	21r-24v	2d,3d,mid dbl leaf missing
16-23	5	e	25r-32v	•
23-30	6	f	33r-40v	
30-37	7		41r-48v	
37-43	8	Ē	49r-55v	3rd leaf missing
43-50	9	g Ł i	56r-63v	
50-58	10	ķ	64r-71v	
58-65	11	ï	72r-79v	
65-71	12	E	80r-87v	
71-77	13	n	88r-95v	
77-84	14	0	96r-103v	
84-91	15	9	104r-111v	
91-94	16	ą	112r-119v	115r-119v empty
94	17	ř	120r-127v	empty
	18	S	128r-135v	empty
	19	t	135ar-135gv	
95-102	20	u	135hr-142v	Pirst leaf missing
102-106	21	٧	143r-150v	·

while Scribe 2 copied 48-50 and 59 to 81. The handwriting in the index for those following No. 81, that is, those copied by Scribe 3a, 3b, and 3c, is clearly different from that of Scribe 2. The last 11 chansons are not included in the index, and were copied by Scribes 4a and 4b.

The folios have been numbered three times by different hands at different times, although much of the numbering has been lost by trimming the top edge of the manuscript in binding. The original numbering system in Roman numerals was

²²Gutierrez-Denhoff, Laborde, 117.

prepared by Scribe 2, who prepared the index; it coincides with the index, but does not number the index folios. A second ink numbering may have been made in the 17th or 18th century, in Arabic numerals, and includes the index as well as the text folios, so it differs from the original system by seven folios. However, it does not take into account seven missing folios, that is, those on which the missing chansons and parts of chansons were copied, called by Bush 17a and b, 21a, b, and d, and 50a and b, so that from folio LII/52 the numbers are the same. A third system, in pencil, probably introduced in the twentieth century, does not coincide with either of the other two. Bush and Gutierrez-Denhoff follow the second system, which I will also use.

Laborde now contains 106 pieces or parts of pieces, 102 French chansons, two Italian chansons, and two motets, one with a missing superius; all but five are in three voices. Rondeaux are the most common, but there are 19 bergerettes and one ballade. Among the later chansons are some which are not in the formes fixes, and there are two motets, the first piece and the hundredth. Oliver Strunk reported at the time of its purchase by the Library of Congress that, in the chansonnier itself, twenty of the chansons are attributed to Frye, Caron, Baziron, Convert, Dufay, Busnois, Ockeghem, Tinctoris, Prioris, and Hayne van Ghizeghem. He reported 36 other known attributions by these composers as well as Michelet,

²³Strunk 134-137.

Morton, and Molinet, and a number of the chansons have been attributed since that time on the basis of concordances. These include Agricola, Barbignant, Fedé, Basin, Bedingham, Binchois, Pietrequin, Delahaye, and Joye. Fifty-six are still without attribution.

Thorough studies of the concordances of the chansons have been made by Gutierrez-Denhoff²⁴ and especially by Kennedy. Sixty-four chansonniers copied between about 1420 and 1558 contain concordant chansons with Laborde. Tables 2 and 4 show those chansonniers with more than five concordant chansons, the Dijon and Wolfenbüttel chansonniers having the most with 39 and 35 respectively. The concordant sources will be discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

Twenty-five of the chansons are unica, two of which have been attributed to Ockeghem (Il ne menchault" and "Je nay dueil") and have been recently published; 26 another has been published by Bush in her article quoted above. 27 Most of the other chansons have been published in one or other of the modern editions of the concordant chansonniers or in the collections of the works of various composers. Those unica not published elsewhere and those which are in other sources but which I could not find in modern editions, (a total of 24)

²⁴Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 140-146.

²⁵Kennedy, vol. I 259-410.

²⁶Ockeghem, 66-67.

²⁷Bush 70-73.

have been transcribed by me and are found without texts in Appendix 11.

CHAPTER 2. THE CHANSONNIERS AND THEIR CONCORDANCES

Laborde Chansonnier is one of number οf а chansonniers copied for the most part in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, containing French chansons composed by some 25 composers, and originating in many parts of Europe. To study the development of the style of the chansons, it is necessary to establish their dates. A useful method is to look at the dates and provenance of the concordant chansonniers. 28 Obviously, a chanson found in any chansonnier must have been composed before the chansonnier was copied, so a latest possible date can be assigned to each chansons based on the date of the chansonnier. It is, of course, possible for chansons to be copied into later chansonniers.

The chansonniers

have more or less similar physical They are in small characteristics. choirbook format (average cl9 x 14 cm), usually upright rather than oblong, with one chanson copied on each opening. The discantus part and one or more underlaid stanzas of text appear on the verso side of the opening, with the tenor and contratenor parts opposite on the recto. The tenor and contratenor usually have text incipits only, and some sources all the parts have only incipits of the texts ... Many of these MSS provide visual as well as musical delights: they are neatly elegantly (though not accurately) copied, with illuminated initials and miniatures cleverly and

²⁸Sigla and complete title, provenance, date, number of pieces, and concordances with Laborde are shown for all concordant chansonniers in Appendix 7.

beautifully decorated with whimsical or grotesque faces and other motifs. 29

Many of the chansonniers were probably not intended for performance, but used as reference books, and the more Charles Hamm³⁰ elaborate ones as presentation copies. believed that small "fascicle-manuscripts" were passed from musician to musician and musical establishment to musical establishment, and were used by copyists to prepare the chansonniers. Allan Atlas agrees with Hamm, suggesting that this method of dissemination of music ensured that the compositions of the era could agree closely from manuscript to manuscript. Atlas prefers to call "fascicle-manuscripts" "parent sources", since he sees them as the base sources from which various chansons were copied. He discusses a methodology of relating sources in his work on the Capella Giulia Chansonnier (VatG XIII.27).31 He bases the relationship between two or more manuscripts not solely on the number of concordant pieces in each, as postulated by Eileen

¹⁹Stanley Boorman and Herbert Kellman, "Sources, MS IX,8: Renaissance Polyphony, Chansonniers," New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 17 (London, Macmillan, 1984) 681.

Musicologica, 34 (1962): 166-184.

³¹ Allan Atlas, ed., <u>The Capella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G. XIII.27</u>, Part 1, (Brooklyn, N.Y., Institute of Medieval Music, 1975) Commentary 39-48.

Southern in her article on Escorial IV.a.24. He looks rather for the presence of a number of works that appear nowhere other than in the related sources, or for a large number of concordances in which the readings in each are virtually the same.

Droz and Piaget identify 90 extant chansonniers with French poetry of the 15th century, many containing musical settings. 33 Gutierrez-Denhoff and Kennedy identify sixty-four chansonniers with chansons concordant with those in Laborde. Table 2 shows the country of origin and the date of those which have five or more concordances with Laborde. A complete list of these concordant chansonniers, giving sigla and the concordant chansons in Laborde, is found in Appendix 7, and Appendix 8 gives a table showing the number of chansons by each of Laborde's scribes found in each concordant chansonnier.

³²Eileen Southern, "El Escorial, Monastery Library, Ms. IV.a.24", <u>Musica Disciplina</u>, 33 (1969): 48-49. The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24 (Biblioteca del Monasterio) dates from the 1460s and was compiled in Italy. Martha K. Hanen described it in a publication of the Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ottawa, 1983. It has 12 concordant chansons with Laborde, 11 copied by Scribe 1 and 1 by Scribe 2.

³³ Eugénie Droz and A. Piaget, eds, <u>Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhetorique</u>, 2 vols, 1925 (New York and London, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968) 105-109.

³⁴Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 140-147.

³⁵Kennedy 259-410.

³⁶Hamm, <u>Census Catalogue</u>. The dates and provenance in Table 2 are based on the <u>Census Catalogue</u> unless other information has been found in the literature.

Although most of the poems are in French, most of the chansonniers are of Italian provenance, with a few from Germany, Spain, England, Silesia, or the Low Countries; there is, however, an important early group from France of which Laborde is one.

TABLE 2
CHANSONNIERS HAVING MORE THAN FIVE CONCORDANT CHANSONS

SHOWING DATE AND PROVENANCE

m 04 /m · 1\		7.460
EscSL IV.A.24 (Escorial)	Italy	1460
MunBS Germ 810 (Schedel)	Germany	
ParisBN 57 (Nivelle)	France	1460
WolfA 287 (Wolfenbüttel)	France	1460
VerBC 287 (Verona)	France	1461
DijBM 517 (Dijon)	France	1465
	France	1470
ParisBNR 2973 (Cordiforme)	France	1470
SevC 5-1-43/ParisBNN 437	Italy	1470
PavU 362 (Pavia)	France	1473
FlorBN Magl.176	Italy	1475
NHavY 91 (Mellon)	Italy	1475
BerlPS 40098 (Glogauer)	Silesia	1480
FlorR 2356	Italy	1480
MonteA 871 (Montecassino)	Italy	1480
		1480
LonBLR 20.A.xvi (London)	France	1483
PerBC 431 (Perugia)	Italy	1485
RomeC 2856 (Casanatense)	Italy	1485
BerlSM 78.c.28	Italy	1490
BolC Q16 (Bologna)	Italy	1490
ParisBNF 2245	France	1490
BolC Q17 (Bologna)	Italy	1490s
FlorBN BR229 (Florence 229)	Italy	1492
FlorBN Magl.178	Italy	1492
VatG XIII.17 (Capella Giulia)	Italy	
ParisBNF 1597	France	
SegC s.s. (Segovia)	Spain	1500
CopKB 1848 (Copenhagen)	France	
E /E/		

Table 2 clearly that the early chansonniers were on the whole French, whereas the later ones were copied and, no doubt

owned, in Italy. Howard Mayer Brown³⁷ points out that French culture was foremost in court circles everywhere, so the French chansons would have been sung beyond the borders of the French-speaking world. The courts of Naples, Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, and Venice as well as those in Germany, England, Spain, and elsewhere, would have known these chansons and included them in their chansonniers.

Since Laborde has been identified as a French or Franco-Burgundian chansonnier, the most significant of concordant chansonniers for this study are those of French provenance: those known as Dijon, Copenhagen Wolfenbüttel, Nivelle de la Chausée and Florence 2794. Of the 106 chansons in Laborde, 65 are also found in these five chansonniers. Knud Jeppesen38 was the first to establish the relationship between the Laborde and the first three of these chansonniers in his study of the Copenhagen Chansonnier. his edition of Capella Giulia Chansonnier (VatG XIII.17), Allan Atlas identifies the different groups to which many of the chansons belong. He shows the chansons in Laborde to belong to family groups with Florence 2794 (7 chansons), Dijon (4 chansons), Wolfenbüttel and Casanatense 2856 (RomeC 2856)

³⁷Howard Mayer Brown, Music in the Renaissance (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1976) 89-90.

Manuskript Thott 291/8 der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1927) reprint with new introductory remarks, (New York, 1965) XXIV-XXXVI.

(3 chansons each), Bologna Q 17, Canti C, and Copenhagen 1848 (2 chansons each) and Bologna Q 16, Brussels 11239, Florence 229, Heilbron, Paris 2245, Segovia, TurBN I.27, and Verona 757 (1 chanson each).

Gutierrez Denhoff, in her edition of the Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier, 39 added the more recently discovered Nivelle de la Chausée, and follows Atlas's lines of foliation to categorize the chansonniers. Perkins describes Gutierrez-Denhoff's methodology:

In order to confirm the family relationship posited for the five Burgundian collections, Gutierrez-Denhoff then proceeds to subject Wolfenbüttel's sister sources to the same kind of codicological scrutiny that she has previously devoted to Wolfenbüttel itself in her opening chapter. suggests, once again on the authority of historians of book illumination, that three of the four chansonniers were also decorated somewhere in the Loire Valley along the axis from Nantes to Angers Bourges: Copenhagen and Laborde indeterminate locations and Nivelle perhaps in Tours; the latter two, like Wolfenbüttel, in the early 1460s, and Copenhagen apparently some five to The exception in this regard is ten years later. Dijon Chansonnier, which was probably illuminated in Dijon itself at about the same time as the Copenhagen Chansonnier completed. 40 being

³⁹Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff, <u>Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier</u>, <u>Wolfenbüttel</u>, <u>Herzog August Bibliothek</u>, <u>Codex Guelf.187 Extrav.: Untersuchungen zu Repertoire und Überlieferung einer Musikhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts und ihres Umkreises</u>, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985).

⁴⁰Leeman L. Perkins, "Modern Methods, Received Opinion, and the Chansonnier," <u>Music and Letters</u>, 69 (1988): 359.

Kennedy and Rifkin⁴¹ add Florence 2794 to the Franco-Burgundian family.

The two earliest of these chansonniers are Wolfenbüttel and Nivelle de la Chausée. Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chausée (ParisBN 57) is the earliest manuscript of the six, probably dating from 1460-65. It is the most recent to have been discovered, having been sold at Sotheby's in 1939 and owned by Geneviève Thibault. Nivelle contains sixty-six works, all French-texted chansons, of which nineteen are concordant with Laborde. There are eighteen unica, and the rest by most of the same composers found in Laborde. There are, however, none by Caron or Hayne, which leads Thibault to assign it an early date. An interesting sidelight is the attribution of some of the unica copied by Scribe 2 to Delahaye, a composer whose work rarely appears elsewhere, but whose name Gutierrez-Denhoff noticed, partly trimmed off, in Laborde. 42

Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf 298 Extravagantium), which has been published in modern edition edited by Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff⁴³ contains 56 chansons, of which 36 are concordant with Laborde. All the chansons are without attribution, although scholars have been able to identify a number of composers, most of whom are

⁴¹Joshua Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances for some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries," <u>Journal of the American Musicological Society</u>, 26 (1973): 305-306.

⁴² Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 119-120.

⁴³Gutierrez-Denhoff, Wolfenbüttel.

represented in Laborde. Based on the composers whose works are included in Wolfenbüttel, and on her study of the scribal hands, the illuminations, and the musical and poetic repertory, as well as on its relationship with other chansonniers of the same family, Gutierrez-Denhoff dates Wolfenbüttel as approximately 1461-65.

Two other important chansonniers are Dijon and with a northern French or Burgundian Copenhagen, both provenance, possibly Dijon itself, and both of a slightly later date: Dijon from 1465-70, or even later, and Copenhagen Dijon (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517) 1470-80. contains 161 pieces, all French chansons except one Latin motet and two bitextual pieces, 39 of which are concordant with Laborde. 44 Fifty of the 161 chansons have been published in Trois Chansonniers Français du XVe siècle, edited by Droz and Rokseth. 45 Perkins out that the care taken by the scribe to write out all the strophes of the poetry, thus making the work useful as literature, emphasizes that it was prepared for a French milieu. Again, many of the same composers are included, but here are chansons by Hayne, Caron, Molinet, and Ockeghem who composed at a later date.

Hamm, Census Catalogue, vol. 1 168-169.

⁴⁵Eugénie Droz and Yvonne Rokseth, eds, <u>Trois Chansonniers</u> <u>Français du XVe siècle</u>, (Paris, F. Paillart, 1927. Reprint, New York, Da Capo Press, 1978).

⁴⁶Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, <u>The Mellon Chansonnier</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) vol.2, 156.

Copenhagen 291 (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 291), published in modern edition in 1927 by Jeppesen, 1 also seems to have originated in northern France or Burgundy in the 1470s. 1 contains 33 French chansons, eighteen concordant with Laborde, none of them attributed in the manuscript, but now known to have been the work of many of the same composers, and some of a later date as found in Dijon. Barret suggests a French, rather than a Burgundian origin for the chansonnier, identifying eleven of the 22 poets as native to Dijon. Copenhagen and Dijon are closely related: they are similar as to repertory, they share a scribe, and their artistic decoration is similar in style.

Florence 2794 (Florence. Bibioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794) can probably be dated in the 1480s. Of 68 works, 59 are French chansons for three or four voices. Composers include some from a considerably later date such as Josquin, but also Compère, Agricola, Busnois, and Ockeghem. Rifkin connects this chansonnier with Laborde and with Dijon by comparing the scribal hands. 50

These five Franco-Burgundian chansoniers are especially

⁴⁷Jeppesen, Copenhagen.

⁴⁸ Hamm, Census Catalogue, vol. 1, 163-164.

⁴⁹ Charles Edward Barret, "A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier: Dijon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 517 (Ancien 295)," Ph.D. Dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1981, 78-86.

⁵⁰Rifkin, 318-319.

important in dating the chansons in Laborde. As can be seen from Table 2 and Appendices 7 and 8, there are, however, many other chansonniers with concordant chansons in Laborde. Using the dates of all the chansonniers, it has been possible to establish a latest possible date for each of the chansons.

In dating the chansons, the composers also provide useful clues. Appendix 5 shows the composers of the six Franco-Burgundian chansonniers, arranged by date of death when known, and showing in which chansonniers they are found. Naturally chansons by the popular composers continued to be copied later, even after their deaths, but the later chansonniers are more likely to contain works by later composers. The table shows a trend to find the older composers in the older and the younger in the later sources. In dating the chansons, the date of death of the composers has been used as well as the date of the earliest concordant source.

Other factors are useful in dating the chansons. Most important is the fact that Laborde was copied by perhaps seven scribes, and illuminated by several artists. The dates of three of the seven scribes and artists can be related to those of other chansonniers, which helps to confirm the dates of the chansons. The scribes and artists will be discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3. THE SCRIBES AND ARTISTS.

Of particular interest to this study is the fact that a number of scribes can be identified in the Laborde Chansonnier, and their styles are comparable to the styles of other chansonniers, which helps in the dating of the various chansons. A number of scholars have puzzled over the Laborde Bush. 51 Gutierrez-Denhoff 52 and Kennedy 53 summarize previous scholarship. All agree that most of the copying was done by two scribes who probably worked some ten or fifteen years apart and copied both music and text. Scribe 1, who copied chansons 1 to 47, 51 to 58, 96, 99 and 100, worked in the style of the Wolfenbüttel and Nivelle chansonniers which are dated 1460-70, and can be associated with the Frye-Bedingham generation of composers. 54 Scribe 2 copied chansons 48 to 50 and 59 to 81. His style corresponds to that of the scribes of the Copenhagen and Dijon chansonniers which are dated 1470 to 1480, and can be associated with the Ockeghem/Busnois generation. The remaining chansons were copied by at least three if not five other scribes.55 Here we find more compositions by later composers although Ockeghem

⁵¹Bush 61-63.

⁵²Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 117-132.

⁵³Kennedy 47-74.

⁵⁴Gerald Montagna, "Johannes Pullois in Context of His Era," Revue Belge de Musicologie 42 (1988): 105.

⁵⁵Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 118.

and Hayne are still found. Rifkin points out that the scribe who copied Florence 2794 also copied a group of chansons found in Laborde (Nos. 82, 83 84. 86. and 95). Table 3 bears out

TABLE 3
CONCORDANCES IN CHANSONNIERS WITH MORE THAN

FIVE CONCORDANT CHANSONS

		Scribe 1	Scribe 2	Scribe 3-5
1460-65	Wolfenbüttel	33	3	
1460-65	Nivelle	15	4	
1460-70	Schedel	6		
1460-74		11	1	
1468-72	Pavia	6	1	
1470s	Plorence Magl. 176	14	4	2
1470-75		20	15	4
1470-77	Cordiforme	12	2	
1470-80	Copenhagen 291	13	5	
1470-85	Seville/Paris	18	7	
1475-76	Kellon	15	2	
1479-1516	Capella Giulia	8	2 5 7 2 4 7 1 2	10
1480-84	Pizérécourt	13	7	1
1480-85	Plorence Ricc. 2356	8	1	3
1480-90	Perugia	5	2	
1480-1500	Montecassino	4	2	1
1483088	LonBLR 20 A.xvi			1 7 7 3
1485-90	Casanatense	6	5	7
1487	Bologna Q16	2	1	3
1488	Plorence Ricc. 2794		3	9
1490s	Bologna Q17	1	7	
1490-98		1	5	
1492-93	PlorenceBM 229	3 2 3	5 1 3 7 5 5 1	4
1492-94	PlorenceMagl.178	2	1	5
1500	ParisBNC 1597	3	1	7
1500	Verona 757	2	1	2
1502	Segovia	2	1	2
1525	Copenhagen 1848	3		6

the contention that there are more concordances with the

⁵⁶Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 118. Gutierrez-Denhoff assigns Chansons 82, 83, and 84 to Scribe 3a, 86 to 3c, and 95 to 4a; my examination of the microfilm did not convince me that the scribal hand differed from chanson to chanson, but she may have other reasons for her decision.

earlier scribes in the earlier chansonniers, and vice versa.

The first scholar after Vincent to examine Laborde was Knud Jeppeson who discussed it in his comparative study of five chansonniers in the preface to his edition of the Copenhagen Chansonnier. 57 He was the first to struggle with the dating of the work of the scribes, and later scholars have found his conclusions somewhat bizarre. He and his reviewer, K. Dèzes, 58 thought of

the two scribes [1 and 2] as writing their pieces in the MS at different times, after which the miniature painters began, the later writers not making their entries until these had finished. Because of scribe I's more fluent style of writing, among other things, Jeppesen dates scribe 2 as working between 1470-80 and scribe 1 between 1480-90, thus asking us to accept the unusual situation of a scribe leaving blank pages in the beginning of a MS to be filled in later by someone else.

Like others, he believed that the last folios, from folio 101v to the end, were copied by a third scribe.

Later scholars have disagreed with Jeppesen and Dèzes as to the order in which the scribes worked, and have concluded that there were as many as seven scribes working consecutively.

Dr. Oliver Strunk, in a communication with Bush, 60

⁵⁷Jeppesen XXIV-XXXVI.

⁵⁸K. Dèzes, "Neuausgaben alter Musikwerke...Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier...von Dr. Knud Jeppesen, Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft X (1927-28): 505.

⁵⁹Bush 61.

⁶⁰Bush 62.

posited that the manuscript was originally the work of a single scribe and a single artist, that it was acquired at a later date by a new owner who had a number of new entries made, and had his coat of arms displayed in the manuscript. Scribe 2 filled in the folios 61v-64r left blank by Scribe 1, and continued on later folios. Strunk stated,

Although the composers of many chansons have not been identified, Dufay's works head the list of those recorded by scribe 1. This, plus the fact that a very few compositions by Ockeghem and Busnoys appear in the first 71 folios, would lead to the assumption that Scribe 1 worked about 1475 or shortly thereafter. Scribe 2, on the other hand probably worked before 1485. The basis for this supposition is the fact that in folios 72' to 101, recorded by Scribe 2, Obrecht, Josquin, and Isaac are not represented while Busnoys and Ockeghem are the leading composers. Compère appears only in the later additions. This comparison shows a real difference in time if not in place. §1

Besides summarizing earlier scholarship, Helen Bush also had some ideas of her own. She maintained that the first 71 folios, that is, the first 58 chansons, were copied by Scribe 1 and illustrated by Artist 1, with the exception of folios 61v-64, or chansons 48 to 50, left blank by Scribe 1 and filled in by Scribe 2. Scribe 1 also copied folios 136, 138, and 139, or chansons 96, 99, and 100. It was she who noticed that the style of Scribe 1 showed the same characteristics as that of Wolfenbüttel, Nivelle, and Pavia, 62

⁶¹Bush 63.

⁶²PavU 362, a French chansonnier from 1473, contains 48 compositions, 40 of then chansons, with seven concordances with Laborde, all copied by Scribe 1.

but the Laborde chansonnier is even more beautiful and elegant than the others. Folios 72v through 10l, or chansons 59 through 8l, were copied by Scribe 2, whose pointed notes are similar to those found in Dijon and Copenhagen. She says of the third section of the manuscript:

The workmanship in this third section (f. 101'ff) shows haste and lack of care and undoubtedly belongs to the sixteenth century. The inclusion of one chanson, "La grant paine que yo sento "in a setting that is not only strictly chordal and syllabic but also dependent upon classic poetic meter, points to a probable 16th-century origin. The music of the rest of the chansons from this third part, however, may have been written in the previous century and merely copied later, as the composers cited at the top of many of the compositions were active in the 15th as well as in the 16th century. §4

Joshua Rifkin studied scribal concordances in some Renaissance manuscripts in Florentine libraries, taking no account of initials or decorations. He reports on a number of instances in which he finds the same scribal hand in more than one manuscript. In his discussion of Florence 2794, he points out that the two principal copyists can be found in the principal Franco-Burgundian chansonniers discussed by Knud Jeppeson Scribe 1 of Florence 2794 added several pieces to the Laborde chansonnier: folios 101v-104, 105v-106, and 120v-21, which consist of "A une dame" by Busnois (No. 82),

⁶³ See Appendix 11, No. 98, and Example

⁶⁴Bush 60.

⁶⁵Rifkin 305-326.

⁶⁶Jeppeson XXIV-XXXVI

the anonymous "Je ne me puis voir" (No. 83), "De vous servir", by Hayne or Fresneau (No.84), Ockeghom's "Les desleaulx ont" (No. 86) and "Je nay dueil" (No. 95). "De vous servir" is also found in Ms. 2794, and Rifkin includes copies from both chansonniers in his article so that they can be compared. Gutierrez-Denhoff thinks these chansons were copied by three different scribes, 3a, 3c, and 4a.67

In his doctoral thesis, Duff J. Kennedy⁶⁸ makes a thorough study of the styles of the scribes of six ?ranco-Burgundian chansonniers: Laborde, Wolfenbüttel, Nivelle, Dijon, Copenhagen, and Florence 1794. Like the other scholars, Kennedy identifies two primary scribes, 1 and 2, found in the first two layers, and a third layer with two or three scribes. The music hand of Scribe 1 is similar but not identical to that of the scribes of Wolfenbüttel and Nivelle, as well as of Pavia and Mellon, whilst the hand of Scribe 2 is similar to that of the scribes of Dijon and Copenhagen. Perkins, in the Mellon Chansonnier,⁶⁹ states that the hands of Dijon and Copenhagen are identical. Charles Barret, in his dissertation on Dijon, gives further evidence of this:

There is, however, one important and unique characteristic of the scribe of this chansonnier that can be seen also in his notation of Cop 291 and his work as

⁶⁷In my examination of these chansons in the microfilm copy of Laborde, they all appear to have been copied by a single hand.

Kennedy 50-61.

⁶⁹Perkins, Mellon, vol.2, 182

the second scribe in Lab; he always wrote the cue incipits, when there was enough room, directly beneath the Superius, which ... carried the refrain of the chanson. This is the wrong place for it.

Kennedy notes that in the third layer of the chansonnier, there are at least three new scribes. His Scribe 3 copies folios 101'-104, 105'-106, and 120'-121, or chansons 82-84, 86, and 95, as noted by Rifkin. His Scribe 4 copied folios 104'-105 and 106'-114', or chansons 85 and 87 to 94. His Scribe 5 added folios 136'-138 and 139'-149, or chansons 97-98, and 101-106.

Martella Gutierrez-Denhoff reviewed the scribal ascriptions again in 1984. In dating the layers of Laborde, she coordinates criteria other than simply the scribal hand, basing her opinion on the composers and the concordances (see Tables 2, 3, and 4). She also examines the artists. Her conclusions are found in Table 4.

She identifies four generations of composers: the Dufay generation (or layer I), including Binchois, Frye, Morton, Basin, and Bedingham; the Ockeghem generation (or layer 2), including Joye, Delahaye, Caron, Barbingant, Baziron, Convert, Fresneau, Michelet, and Hayne; the third generation (or layer 3), including Molinet, Agricola, Tinctoris, Pietrequin, Prioris, and Compère. She points out that the chansons copied by Scribes 1 and 2 belong to layers 1 and 2, and notes that

⁷⁰Barret 12.

¹¹Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 120.

Dufay is totally absent in the work of Scribe 2. She states,

Both layers [layers 1 and 2] contain an insignificant part of that generation of composers who worked into the beginning of the sixteenth century. The chansons in layer III, however, can be traced back to later representatives of the Ockeghem-generation...as well as to several composers of the third generation. Finally, this last generation has been more popular with the copyists of part IV, though compositions by Hayne and Ockeghem are also there. 12

In attempting to date the scribes, she discusses some of the composers: Frye, Basin, and Tinctoris. The work of the first two was copied by Scribe 1, and is found in the earlier chansonniers, Frye in Wolfenbüttel and Nivelle, and Basin in Italian sources of around 1465. An early work of Tinctoris, "Vostre regard", is copied by Scribe 2, and found in Dijon. She states,

It can be demonstrated that layer I was created a few years earlier than layer II, perhaps before 1465: by the absence in Laborde, layer II, of the older generation of composers (particularly Frye; by the Basin chanson first having been recorded in Laborde, layer I, and only afterwards in early Italian sources; and finally by the presence in Laborde, layer II, of a chanson in Burgundian style by Tinctoris who belongs to a later generation. Is

She thinks that the entire chansonnier was bound together from the beginning, since the change of Scribe 1 and 2 does not coincide with the gatherings, and she identifies five "postscript" scribes who worked at two different periods of

¹²Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde", 120. This quotation and the next were translated by Inge Bastian for me to use in preparing this thesis.

⁷³Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 122

TABLE 4 SCRIBES, SHOWING FOLIOS AND CHARSON NUMBERS COPIED

	T	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			1	
Scr. 1	Scr. 2	Scr.3a	<u> 8cr.3h</u>	8cr.3c	Serela	Scr. 4b
1460-67	1467-75	1485-95	1485-95	1485-95	1495-1510	1500-20
Ar-61r				<u> </u>		
41-47						
<u> </u>	61v-64r					
	148-50					
64v-72r						
\$ 51-58						
	72v-101r					
	59-81					
		101v-104r	<u> </u>			
		ER7-84				
			104v-105r			
			£ 85			
				105x-106r		
				1.86		
			1064-1147			
. <u></u>			\$ 87-94			
					120x-121r	
					895	
(135hr)-136r						
1 96						
						136V-134R
						197-98
139v-139r						3.
99-100						
17-484		<u> </u>				1391-1492
·			1			#101-106

115r-120r: empty; 121v-135v: empty; 135ar-135hv missing.

time. She speaks of layers I, II, III (Scribes 3a, 3b, and 3c) and IV (Scribes 4a and 4b). Table 4 illustrates her assessment.

Except for Rifkin, she is the first to try to date the work of the later scribes, based on concordances with some of the Italian sources, as well as on the work of Rifkin described above which dates Scribe 3 in the 1480s. The fact that none of the chansons from Scribes 3 and 4 are found in early manuscripts such as Escorial (1460-74), and Porto (OpBP 714, 1454-60) points to a later date for them. London 20.A.XVI, which originated in 1483-90 in France "shows clear evidence of connections between its repertoire and that of Laborde layer III," especially Scribe 3b. She dates the entries of Scribe 4a and 4b still later based on concordances with Paris 1597 (ca 1500) and St. Gall 462 (1510,1530) She sums up her findings in a table, finally dating the Scribes as follows:

TABLE 574

Scribe	1	1460-67
Scribe	2	1467-75
Scribe	3a−c	1485-95
Scribe	4a	1495-1510
Scribe	4b	1500-1520

The evidence from the Laborde artists bears out the evidence of the scribes. Strunk agreed with Jeppesen that Artist 1 worked with Scribe 1, and that two artists illustrated the work of Scribe 2. Helen Bush does not distinguish

¹⁴Gutierrez-Denhoff "Laborde" 136.

between the artists copying the work of Scribes 1 and 2, but she discusses their work.

Approximately two-thirds of the MS have beautifully illuminated scroll and foliage decorations in the upper corners of the pages and in some cases down the sides, while the initial letters often contain charming and delightful miniatures. The last third of the volume, on the other hand, is entirely without decoration or even initial letters, although a space has been left for the latter.

Kennedy identified three styles of decoration. He points out that the artist who decorated the chansons copied by Scribe I painted the most elaborate initials and top and side panels, with clear colours and very delicate pen and brush strokes. The artist or artists for Scribe 2 painted fewer panels; their colours were darker, and their strokes coarser. In the third layer, there is virtually no decoration at all.

Gutierrez-Denhoff examined the artists carefully and identified as many as 12 different hands, but insisted that there was no overlap between the artist working with Scribe 1 and that of Scribe 2. She noted links between the art motifs in the borders of the chansons copied by Scribe 1 with that in two Viennese manuscripts, <u>Livre du cueur d'amours espris</u>, created by René d'Anjou in the 1460s⁷⁶ and the <u>Teseida</u> by

⁷⁵Bush 60.

⁷⁶René of Anjou was a ruler, poet and painter known for the "Livre du Cueur d'Amours espris," (Cod. Vind. 2597; National Library of Vienna) of which he was the author and quite possibly the illustrator. (F. Unterkircher, ed., <u>King René's Book of Love (Le Cueur d'Amours Espris)</u> (New York: George Braziller, 1975)

Bocaccio, as well as one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: Cas des nobles hommes et femmes, also by Bocaccio, dated 1468. These patterns were known in the workshops of the Loire region, where Bourges, Tours, and Nantes were of great importance both in music and in the art of illumination. The art work of other chansonniers, including Nivelle and Wolfenbüttel, show connections with these cities. Thus Gutierrez-Denhoff dates the work of Scribes 1 and 2 in the 1460s and 70s. 77

Thibault described Nivelle and commented on its fine decorations, probably done at Tours or Bruges in the style of Jean Fouquet. Paula Higgins, however, who wrote the introduction to the 1984 facsimile edition of Nivelle, speculates that it was compiled in Bourges. Higgins comments,

Several chansons are attributed to Basiron in the closely related Laborde chansonnier, a manuscript which art historians believe to have been decorated at least in part by Jean Coulombe of Bourges.

Since Nivelle was copied in the 1460s or early 1470s, this

[&]quot;Gutierrez-Denhoff, "Laborde" 132.

¹⁸Geneviève Thibault, "Le Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chausée", Annales Musicologiques: Moyen Age et Renaissance 7 (1964-77): 11-16.

Paula Higgins, "Introduction," Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée (Bibliothèque nationale. Paris. Rés. Vmc.ms.57, ca. 1460) (Geneva, Minkoff Reprint, 1984), X. Higgins says "This opinion was first expressed to me in September of 1979 by Professor John Plummer of Princeton University and the Pierpont Morgan Library and was subsequently confirmed to Professor Claude Schaefer of Paris."

bears out the fact that the illuminations date from then.

The scholars mentioned above have all speculated on the significance and dating of the work of the scribes. In my view, the most likely explanation is that all the folios of the manuscript were prepared at one time, and that Scribe I began the work of copying but did not complete it, probably intending a chansonnier with 100 items. This is the more likely since I notice that Scribe 1 stopped at the 58th chanson, leaving 66 folios blank, and then, as if to finish the collection, copied chansons 96, 99 and 100. Many of the chansonniers of the time begin and end with motets; often, the opening motet was Frye's "Ave Regina Celorum". Here we have Scribe I beginning with "Ave Regina", and going to number 100 to copy an anonymous "Dulcis amica dei".

To sum up the work of these scholars and attempt to synthesize their findings, I find myself in essential agreement with Gutierrez-Denhoff. Based on the dates of the concordant chansonniers, of the composers, and of the scribes, one can come to the conclusion that Scribes 1 and 2 were closely connected with the other five Franco-Burgundian chansonniers, while the scribes in the "postscript" section copied work of later composers and were connected with a wider variety of sources both inside and outside France. I shall base my analysis on Table 5.

PART 2. ANALYSIS OF STYLE

CHAPTER 4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY CHANSON

In Part I of this study, I described the Laborde Chansonnier and discussed the contemporary sources with concordant chansons as well as the riddle of the scribes and artists. An effort has been made to establish the dates of the chansons using these elements. Because we have found that there are four layers to the Laborde chansonnier, we have an opportunity to examine the early, middle, and late chansons to look for a marked development in style from one layer to the other. Based on many discussions of the changing styles of the chanson, particularly those by Brown^{§0}, Fallows^{§1}, Hanen^{§2}, Hasselman^{§3}, Hewitt^{§4}, Higgins^{§5}, Jones ^{§6}, Kenney^{§7},

Howard Mayer Brown, "Chanson," New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 4 (London, Macmillan, 1984) 135-145; and "The Genesis of a Style: the Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530," Chanson and Madrigal, 1480-1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast, ed. James Haar (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1964) 1-50.

Bound Fallows, <u>Dufay</u>, (London, J.M. Dent, 1982) Chapter 8, "The early songs," and Chapter 12, "The late songs"; and "Robert Morton's Songs: a Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1978; and "Dunstable, Bedyngham, and O Rosa Bella", <u>Journal of Musicology</u> 12 (1994): 287-305.

Martha K. Hanen, <u>The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24</u> (Ottawa, Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ltd, 1983) I, Commentary.

⁸³Margaret Paine Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

Helen Hewitt, ed., <u>Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A</u>, (New York, Da Capo Press, 1978) 58-69.

Montagna⁸⁸, Perkins⁸⁹, and Schavran⁹⁰ and taking the best estimate of the dates, using the concordant sources, the dates of death of the composers, and dates found in the literature, I have looked at the style of the chansons in Laborde using a variety of criteria: meter, rhythm, relative voice ranges, cadences, melodic style, the role of the contratenor, and imitation. In this chapter and the next I will discuss the development of the style of the chansons in general, and some of the features that are common to the chansons in all the layers of Laborde. In later chapters I will discuss the style of each layer, and analyse a number of examples from Laborde.

As we have seen, the Laborde Chansonnier was apparently copied over a period of some sixty years, from 1460 to 1510 or even 1520. Polyphonic chansons had, however, been composed

⁸⁵ Paula Marie Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and the Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1987.

⁸⁶George M. Jones, "The "First" Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Codex 2794: a Study in the Method of Editing 15th-Century Music," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972.

⁸⁷ Sylvia W. Kenney, <u>Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise</u>, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1964) 147-168.

⁸⁸Montagna, 83-117.

⁸⁹Leeman L. Perkins, "Toward a Typology of the 'Renaissance' Chanson." <u>Journal of Musicology</u> 6 (1988): 421-427; and "Modern Methods" 356-364; and Mellon vol. 2.

⁹⁰Henrietta Schavran, "The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Codice Aldini 3621: a Study of Song Tradition in Italy circa 1440-1480", Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1978.

for more than a hundred years before that. Hasselman, in her dissertation on the French chanson in the fourteenth century discusses the early development of the chanson, pointing out the influence of the motet, the chace, and the trouvère songs on the later chanson, and its gradual development in the early fourteenth century. The formes fixes, (ballade, rondeau, and virelai), songs dealing with courtly and frustrated love as embodied in the ideals of chivalry, developed during this period and were used until the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the earliest stage, the chanson was arranged with triplum, cantus and tenor, to which a contratenor was later added. After 1360, the triplum abandoned, leaving the cantus, tenor, contratenor arrangement which is the norm in the fifteenth century. 92

Guillaume de Machaut, who died in 1377, is the first composer to have written a significant number (70) of polyphonic chansons nearly a hundred years before the period of the Laborde Chansonnier. They were set to poems in the formes fixes, ballades, virelais, and rondeaux, most of them being ballades. Most of them are

treble-dominated, with one or more florid melodic lines supplied with text, one or more slower-moving accompanying lines (tenors and contratenors) and an occasional faster-moving upper part, called a 'triplum'... Since there are so few stylistic links between the conductus-like chansons of the earlier generation and the treble-dominated style of Machaut,

⁹¹ Hasselman, Chapter III.

⁹²Hasselman 237.

with its emphasis on rhythmically unstable, intricately decorated melodic lines, it may be that Machaut himself invented the new chanson style that was to dominate secular polyphony for almost 200 years.

Machaut was followed by a number of composers through the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth who composed chansons virtually in his style. next great innovator was Dufay who composed 80 songs, two thirds of them written before 1440.94 Although ballades were giving way to rondeaux, Dufay's earliest pieces tended to be Each line of text had its own clearly defined ballades. melodic shape, with its own voice range, closing with a cadence. The melodic line, carried by the superius, tended to be florid and sometimes had an untexted opening and closing. The tenor voice was the main structural voice, controlling the harmonic movement, frequently moving in contrary motion with The contratenor, in the same range as the the superius. tenor, often moved with the tenor and existed to add colour and texture, and to carry rhythmic impetus, especially at cadences. Fallows discusses Dufay's use of rhythm, pointing out his marked rhythmic flow forming a "gentle undulation" rather than a "bounce" in his chansons, and suggests that "the juxtaposition of the various rhythmic elements - the hemiola, the trochaic 6/8 and the iambic 6/8...had become something of

⁹³Brown, "Chanson" 136.

⁹⁴Fallows, <u>Dufay</u> 86-102.

a cliché." Dufay's style developed over his lifetime, and "a stylistic hiatus in his songs suggests that he composed little surviving secular music during his decade at Cambrai, 1439-1450, but that the return to Savoy in the 1450s brought about a new lease of life in him as a song composer, with new stylistic ideas." This new style will be discussed later.

The other leading composer before 1450 was Binchois (1400-1460) whose chansons were less inventive as to texture and rhythm than Dufay's but still had many of the same characteristics. Fallows describes him as excelling in the effortlessness of melody, using a relatively simple style, with an almost complete absence of hemiola or rhythmic intricacy. All but one of his songs is in triple time, and the vast majority were rondeaux with four- or five-line stanzas. His chansons were probably intended to be sung by one voice only, unlike Dufay's which were designed for several voices? Slavin points out his particular interest in articulating musical form using cadential voice leading, distinguishing between midpoint and final, often using the

⁹⁵Fallows, <u>Dufay</u> 99.

[%]Fallows, Dufay 152.

⁹⁷David Fallows, "Binchois, Gilles," <u>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u>, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol.2 (London, Macmillan, 1984) 713.

octave leap cadence.98

Sylvia Kenney describes the chanson of circa 1450.

"The chanson, then, provides the standard by which the stylistic change of 1450 may be measured most easily. On the Continent during the first half of the century, the predominant chanson style was that of the accompanied melody with a rather ornate vocal line, set against two voices which were rhythmically less active, the tenor and contratenor...The transition from this style to one in which discant and tenor are coupled against a harmonic contratenor took place around the middle of the century."

This is the point at which we begin to find the chansons of the Laborde Chansonnier. Laborde contains a number of the chansons by older composers such as Dufay and Binchois, some of which were composed some time before they were copied into Laborde. Some of the earliest chansons were composed in the 1450s or even earlier, and those in the first layer must be dated by 1465 at the latest.

⁹⁸ Dennis Slavin, "Some Distinctive Features of Songs by Binchois: Cadential Voice Leading and the Articulation of Form," Journal of Musicology 10 (1992): 342-361.

⁹⁹Kenney 148.

CHAPTER 5. THE STYLE OF THE LABORDE CHANSONNIER.

We turn now to the style of the chansons found in the socalled Franco-Burgundian chansonniers, and particularly to those in the four layers of the Laborde Chansonnier. The chanson is an essentially conservative genre, and throughout the Sifteenth century it retained many of the features established by Machaut. Most were rondeaux, although there were also bergerettes (a later form of virelai), and a few The form of the music was closely related to the ballades. form of the text in that the phrases of music followed the lines of the text, but there was almost no word painting. Most chansons had three voices: cantus, tenor, contratenor. Melodies, found in the cantus, consisted largely of "long, gently-curved arches, arranged so that they balanced each other neatly. 100 Triple meter was common, although many were also in duple meter. Composers made frequent use of octave-leap and double-leading-tone cadences. Imitation was used in the early chansons, especially by Dufay in his later works, but it was not as important as it became in the early sixteenth century. Fallows discusses Dufay's style in his late songs composed after 1450, and points out a return to the solemn, courtly style of the earlier composers such as Machaut and Eustache Deschamps, and the ability to match the music to the mood. He also notes less obvious show and experimentation than in the earlier songs, but he finds

¹⁰⁰Brown, "Transformation" 80.

the "music of far greater refinement, a style in which each note plays a role more important than heretofore." 101

Over the period of the chansonniers, the style changed considerably, from Dufay and Binchois through Busnoys and Ockeghem to Josquin and Prioris. By the 1520s, the formes fixes had largely disappeared, and the subject matter took on a broader aspect. Four-voice chansons were the norm, harmonies had become more tonal, and cadences were normally "V-I". Triple meter was rare. Imitation took on a new importance, .

Certain characteristics are common to all layers. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chansons were based on poems in the formes fixes, rondeaux predominating. Three voice texture continued to be the norm, and the most common language was French, although some texts were written in Spanish, Italian, Dutch, or German. Each line of text had its own musical phrase, usually beginning syllabically and ending in an extended melisma which occurred especially in the early songs, and usually toward the ends of the lines of text. Howard Mayer Brown argues that text underlay in the chansonniers is in any case unreliable, and that the fact that there are many more notes than syllables makes it certain that melismas did exist, but modern editors may not know exactly where in the line they are found. 102 Fallows, however, in

¹⁰¹Fallows, Dufay 161-2.

¹⁰²Brown, "Genesis" 8.

his dissertation about Robert Morton's songs, asserts that careful examination of the music can show where the text should lie, because the cadences clearly fit the ends of the lines of poetry, but that the scribes were careless in their text underlay, and did not match the poetic line endings with the cadences. 103

These features - the use of the formes fixes, especially the rondeaux, three-voiced chansons with French text, melismas in the melodic line, - are common to all fifteenth century chansons, but in other respects changes can be noted. role of the contratenor changed over the period. In the early years, the cantus and tenor were normally composed first, and could stand alone harmonically with no dissonant fourths. The contratenor was added last to provide harmonic filler and to enliven the rhythm. Its role changed appreciably over the period. Kenney describes the contratenor in Frye's chansons as "having a rhythmic as well as a harmonic function to fulfil, for it is often this voice which keeps the motion going after the cadence."104 In her view, the contratenor continued to fluctuate in function between the purely supportive voice and as an integrated part of the whole. It adapted to the changes which took place in the relationship between cantus and tenor, from one in which the cantus was primary, and the tenor an accompanying part to mutual

¹⁰³David Fallows, "Robert Morton" 4-6.

¹⁰⁴Kenney 149-50.

interdependence between them.

In attempting to draw conclusions from a study of the chansons from the four layers of Laborde, I looked at various parameters -- meter, number of breves, melismas, cadences, voice ranges, imitation - some of which were inconclusive.

Looking at the meter of the chansons, the vast majority of the chansons are in duple meter, usually tempus imperfectum diminutum. In the earlier chansons, however, there were many with triple meter (tempus perfectum). Table 6 below shows the change.

TABLE 6

METER OF THE CHANSONS, BY DATE

	Duple	Triple
Before 1460	1	3
1460-65 (layer 1)	32	22
1466-75 (layer 2)	20	4
1480-98 (layer 3)	13	1
1490+ (layer 4)	9	0

An examination of the presence of hemiolas, however, was not productive. Almost all the chansons in triple meter, in whatever layer, had hemiolas, but of course since there were fewer triple meter chansons in the later layers, there were fewer hemiolas.

Attempts to correlate the date with the number of breves were inconclusive, although one might notice longer pieces in the middle period, 1460-75.

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF BREVES BY DATE

<u> Breves</u>	40-50 Breves	<u>50-100</u>	More than 100
Before 1460	8	-	-
1460-65 (layer 1)	4	15	15
1466-75 (layer 2)	13	13	9
1480-90 (layer 3)	8	8	4
1490+ (layer 4)	8	2	

Equally inconclusive was an attempt to correlate the date with the number of melismas, though there are apparently fewer and shorter melismas in the later chansons.

Cadences were frequently of the octave leap or the double leading tone variety, although there were, of course, many "V-I" cadences. There were also frequent two voice cadences in which one voice or the other rested, omitting the third of the scale. The table shows that the earlier chansons had proportionately more octave leap, double leading tone, and two-voiced cadences than the later ones, but that in the latest chansons, two-voice cadences were often used. A detailed list of the cadences in the chansons is found in Appendix 8.

TABLE 8

TYPES OF CADENCE, BY DATE

	" <u>V-I</u> "	Dbl-Ldg-Tone	Oct-Leap	<u>2-voice</u>
Before 1460	4	3	3	1
1460-65 (layer 1)	40	36	28	22
1466-75 (layer 2)	22	12	13	18
1480-90 (layer 3)	10	3	3	9
1490+ (layer 4)	9	4	2	5

The ranges of the voices show some change. In the early chansons, the tenor and contratenor are frequently in the same range, whereas in the later chansons, the contratenor's range is lower than that of the tenor. The table below shows the number of chansons in each layer with same-range tenor and contratenor and with contratenors which are at least a fourth below the tenor.

TABLE 10

VOICE RANGE OF TENOR AND CONTRATENOR

	Same Range	Contratenor lower
Before 1460	3	1
1460-65	35	23
1465-75	11.	15
1480-89	1	12
1490+	•	8

Imitation was common in all the layers; only ten of Scribe 1's 58 chansons lacked imitation, 5 of Scribe 2's 23, and 3 of the 21 copied by the later scribes. In the early chansons, imitation was normally confined to two voices. and, when imitation did occur in three voices, the third imitated only a few notes. Only three of the 48 copied by Scribe 1 had imitation in three voices, seven of the 18 copied by Scribe 2, and eight of the 18 copied by the later scribes, all of which had substantial three-voice imitation.

From this general overview, we can expect to find some changes in the layers of Laborde. The earlier chansons are more likely to be in rondeau or bergerette form, to use triple

meter and long melismas in the melodic line. Rhythms in the early chansons are fairly simple, using hemiolas and dance rhythms, but they become more complex in the second and third layer, with complex syncopation and the use of fusae and dotted notes. The melodic line - the cantus -is characteristically arched, and contains no word painting, but matches the form of the poetry. The norm is a leapy contratenor which is not integrated with the other two lines but fills in the harmonies and continues the rhythm at cadences, and overlapping voice ranges in tenor and contratenor. Imitation, where it exists, will be in only two voices. The cadences are more likely to be of the octave-leap or double-leading-tone type,

In late layers, we can expect fewer formes fixes, more chansons in duple meter, fewer melismas and again simpler rhythms. The contratenor will be better integrated with the other two lines, often in imitation of the other lines. There will no longer be octave-leap and double-leading-tone cadences.

I will turn now to looking at the different styles of the early, middle, and late chansons and to the chansons which I have chosen as illustrative of the four layers of the Laborde Chansonnier. Appendix 2 has a complete list of the chansons, arranged by scribe, or layer.

CHAPTER 6. STYLE OF THE FIRST LAYER OF CHANSONS (SCRIBE 1)

The first three chansons to be examined are well known classics by Dufay and Binchois, composed in the 1450s or earlier. They are found in the first layer of Laborde, copied by Scribe 1. They are characteristic of the early chansons described above.

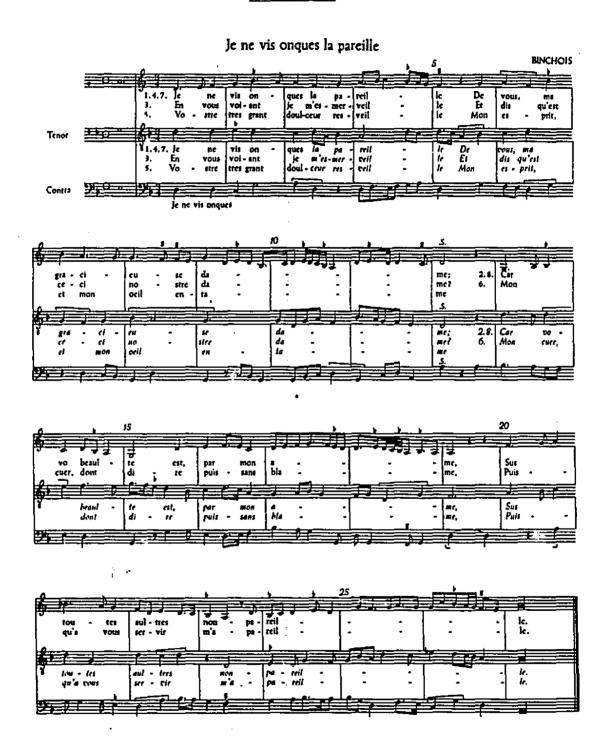
"Je ne vis onques" (Example 1), a rondeau probably by Binchois (1400-1460) or perhaps by Dufay (1400-1474), is one of the very early chansons in Laborde since it is known to have been sung at the Banquet of the Oath of the Pheasant (Le Banquet du voeu) in 1454 and Strohm thinks it was probably composed then. 105 It is found in some of the earliest chansonniers such as Trent 90 (1452-59), Nivelle (1460s), Wolfenbüttel (1461-5), and Schedel (MunBS Germ810, 1460-70). 106 As one would expect, it is a in triple meter and melismas occur at the ends of the lines of text. The final cadence is a "V-I" type, but it has an octave-leap cadence at midpoint. It is unusual in that there is no imitation, the rhythms are complex especially in the cantus line, with dotted notes and fusae, and the range of the contratenor is clearly below that of the tenor, but in general it is typical of its time.

Dufay's "Par le regart" (See Example 2) is another of the

¹⁰⁵strohm, 442

¹⁰⁶Concordant sources: ParisBNR 2973; FlorBN Magl.176; FlorR 2356; MonteA 871; ParisBN 57; ParisBNF 1597; MunBS Gers. 810; TrentC 90; WolfA 287.

EXAMPLE 1



from: Guillelmi Dufay, Opera Omnia, ed. Heinrich Besseler, vol. 6. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-66)

EXAMPLE 2



from: Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., <u>Mellon Chansonnier</u>, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University, 1979)

earliest chansons in the Chansonnier, dated before 1456, and found in many early chansonniers such as Trent 93 (1450-56), Porto (OpBP 714, 1454-60), and Wolfenbüttel (1461-5). 107 It is a three-voiced rondeau, in triple meter, again with complex rhythms. As in "Je ne vis onques," there is no imitation. The ranges of the tenor and contratenor are the same, the two voices frequently crossing. The contratenor contains leaps and rapid movement from one end of the range to the other in mm 1-2, 3-4, 16-17. All three cadences are the double-leading-tone type. The text begins relatively syllabically, but goes on to extended melismas at the ends of the lines, especially at the end of the piece, where the rhythm becomes complex in the cantus.

Similar characteristics are found in "Comme femme" (Example 3), a rondeau by Binchois believed by Strohm to have been composed after 1445. 108 but possibly later since the earliest chansonniers in which it is found are Wolfenbüttel (1461-5) and Escorial (1460-74). 109 It was often used in later Masses and motets. As one would expect, it too is in

¹⁰⁷ Perkins in the Mellon Chansonnier dates this chanson at 1440 because of a concordance with the Porto manuscript (p. 400), but later scholars, such as Reinhold Strohm, p. 546, and Fallows, <u>Dufay</u>, p. 160, date the Porto manuscript about 1460. Concordant sources: Berl.78.C.28; Esc. IV.a.24; NHavY 91; MonteA 871; PavU 362; ParisBNF 15123; OpBP 714; SevC 5-1-43; TrentM 93; WolfA 287.

¹⁰⁸ Strohm, 442.

¹⁰⁹Concordant sources: VatG XIII.27; ParisBNR 2973; DijBM 517; EscSL IV.a.24; FlorBN Magl.176; Nhavy 91; SevC 5-1-43; WolfA 287.

EXAMPLE 3



from: Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., <u>Mellon</u> Chansonnier, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979)

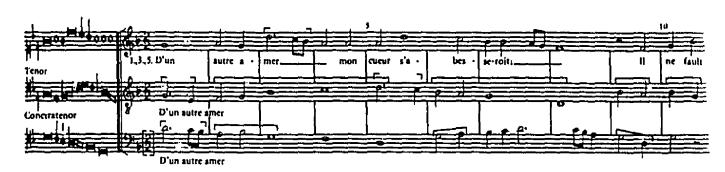
triple meter, and again has complex rhythms only at the end of the cantus. The range of the tenor is the same as that of the contratenor which is clearly a harmonic filler; it leaps frequently, as much as an octave, and, at cadences, it is the voice which carries the music forward. Here we have one measure only of imitation, opening in the tenor followed by the superius in m. 2.

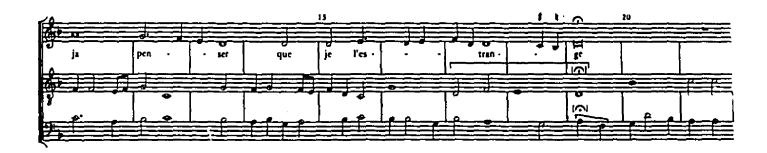
Of a slightly later date, "Dung aultre amer" and "Si par souait" have many of the same characteristics as those just discussed. "Dung aultre amer" (Example 4) by Ockeghem (1410-1497) dates at the latest from 1465 since it is in found in Wolfenbüttel (1461-5) and Nivelle (1460s). The type of melody, the melismas, the similar range of tenor and contratenor, the role of the contratenor and the types of cadence are the same. It is one of those in the less common duple meter and the rhythm is quite simple throughout.

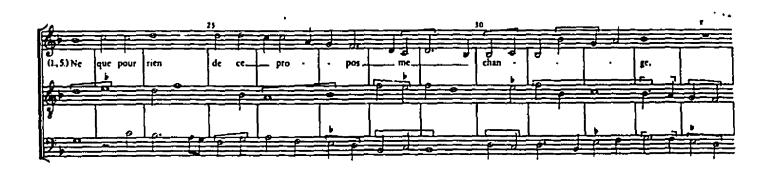
"Si par souait ce pouoit faire" (Example 5) is an anonymous unicum copied by Scribe 1. This duple meter chanson has the typical two-voice imitation in mm. 6-10 and 15-16 and again in mm. 22-24 between the superius and the tenor voice. Characteristically, the tenor and leapy contratenor have a very similar range, and the later is used harmonically and as a continuation at cadences. In this chanson, the rhythm is

ll0Concordant sources: Boic Q17; RomeC 2856; VatG XIII.27; CopKB 291; CopKB 1848; DijBM 517; FlorBN Magl.178; FlorR 2356; FlorR 2974; ParisBN 57; ParisBNF 2245; ParisBNF 15123; SevC 5-1-43; WolfA 287.

EXAMPLE 4 D'un autre amer









from: Johannes Ockeghem, <u>Collected Works</u>, Richard Wexler with Dragan Plamenac, eds., , vol. 3, "Motets and Chansons," (Boston: American Musicological Society and Schirmer, 1992)

EXAMPLE 5

33. Si par souait ce pouoit faire



see Appendix 11, No. 33.

simple, with little syncopation, like that of "Dung aultre amer."

Somewhat different from the chansons discussed above, and forming a bridge to the second layer of chansons copied by Scribe 2, is another of the anonymous unica which I have transcribed entitled "L'enquerant" (Example 6). It is in duple meter, with very elaborate rhythms, including much syncopation and many fusae or 32nd notes. Imitation occurs between the superius and tenor in a number of places: mm. 1-2, 4-5, 9-12, and 14-16, which in a 40-breve chanson is substantial, but there is none in the contratenor. The contratenor voice, unlike that in the earlier chansons, is much more closely integrated with the other voices both in note values and in rhythm, and in melodic style. It still leaps, but there are also leaps in the other voices. There is still considerable crossing in range between the tenor and the contratenor, but the latter is usually well below the tenor. Both cadences are of the "V-I" type.

To sum up, many of the chansons in Laborde's first layer, copied by Scribe 1, have similar characteristics. They are often in triple meter (tempus perfectum). Rhythms may be simple or complex and have frequent hemiolas, but little syncopation except when leading up to the cadence. The superius dominates. Each line of text has its own musical phrase, usually beginning syllabically and ending in an extended melisma. Imitation is used, but sparingly, and is

EXAMPLE 6



from: Appendix 11, No. 44.

usually between the superius and tenor voices, rarely including the contratenor. The range of the contratenor is not very different from that of the tenor, and it tends to be used to fill in the harmonies either below the tenor voice or between the tenor and superius and to continue the rhythm at internal cadences; it is not well integrated melodically with the other voices, often having substantial leaps. Cadences tend to include octave leap and double leading tone types and sometimes two-voiced, as well as the standard "V-I". in "L'enquerant" we see the beginnings of a style which is more common in layer 2.

CHAPTER 7. STYLE OF THE SECOND LAYER OF CHANSONS (SCRIBE 2)

The second layer of chansons, copied by Scribe 2, dates from 1465-1475, although some chansons were composed earlier. The transition in style from the first layer is gradual, in that many of the chansons resemble Scribe 1's "L'Enquerant". There is more imitation, occasionally in three voices, the contratenor is often better integrated with the other voices, the rhythms are usually more complex, with more syncopation using dotted notes and fusae. Duple meter is more common and there are more "V-I" cadences.

"Joye me fuit" (Example 7) by Busnois (1430-1492) is found in six other chansonniers, of which the earliest are Trent 91 (1460-80) and Dijon (1465). Paula Higgins describes Busnois's innovative style, especially his use of imitation in all voices, and his almost exclusive use of the "V-I" cadence She says, "Busnois's long, arching, wide-spanned melodic lines are perhaps his most singular achievement", and sees them as a vital element in the "trend toward the expansion of vocal ranges and the increasing independence of voice parts."117 Here we find the long, arching melodies, imitation in three voices in the opening measures, and "V-I" cadences. Typical of this layer are the complex rhythms, duple meter, and the closer integration of the contratenor with the other voices.

IllHiggins, "Busnois" 35.

¹¹²Higgins, "Busnois" 55.



Quant principes meno equi sa labi usa, Au resculle à Demunea communi di plaure? Lus demands de mannaula als gence l'incime ... a "et Susannauec. Je ne guy tous, anon mauldire l'eure Que na celay par qui e mal au reure. Man peut entre qu'il n'a pas componisance.

from: Leeman L. Perkins and Harold Garey, eds., <u>Mellon</u> <u>Chansonnier</u>, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

EXAMPLE 7: JOYE ME FUIT, Continued.



"Il ne menchault" (Example 8) by Ockeghem (1410-1497) is a three-voice rondeau in duple meter, probably dating from the mid-1470s according to Wexler. Brown describes Ockeghem's chansons as following the tradition of the courtly chanson, but states that

"He unifies his compositions by making the contratenor approach more closely the other voices in melodic importance, and by using imitation, sequences, and motives to make a well-integrated texture."

Here the contratenor begins as a harmonic underpinning, but in the later measures becomes an integral part of the texture of the chanson. The rhythms are generally simple with some syncopation and more dotting in the last seven or eight measures, and there is two-voice imitation for seven measures in the middle of the piece. It is a unicum in Laborde, and is typical of layer 2.

"Quel remede", a unicum, is an anonymous rondeau which I have transcribed (Example 9). It has some of the characteristics of this layer of Laborde: imitation between superius and tenor in mm. 1-2 and 20-22, a complex rhythm, a better integrated contratenor with a range below that of the tenor, which marches in contrary motion with the tenor in many places. The contratenor is, however, is still leapy, and the final cadence is of the octave-leap type. Since it was copied

¹¹³Richard Wexler and Dragan Plamenac, eds., <u>Johannes Ockeghem</u>
<u>Collected Works</u>, vol. 3, Motets and Chansons, (Boston: Schirmer, 1992) LXIX.

¹¹⁴Brown, "Genesis" 8-9.

Il ne m'en chault



from: Johannes Ockeghem, <u>Collected Works</u>, Richard Wexler and Dragan Plamenac, eds, vol. 3, Motets and Chansons, (Boston: American Musicological Society and Schirmer, 1992).

60. Quel remede



from: Appendix 11, No. 60.

by Scribe 2, it can be dated before 1475, and its style does not contradict this.

"Les desloyalles ont le temps" (Example 10), another anonymous unicum which has many of the characteristics of layer 2. It is a rondeau in duple time, with a considerable amount of imitation: in superius and tenor in mm. 5-12 and in all three voices in mm. 13-17. The range of tenor and contratenor are still identical, but the contratenor is better integrated with the other two voices than in some of the earlier chansons. Its rhythms are syncopated, with many dotted notes, fusae, and rests.

More of the chansons from layer 2, 1465-75, are bergerettes although rondeaux are still the rule. The chansons are largely in duple time (tempus imperfectum diminutum) and the rhythms are more elaborate with syncopation and more fusae or thirty-second notes. Imitation has become common, especially between the cantus and tenor voices, and sometimes is found in all three voices. The range of the contratenor is now usually well below that of the tenor, and it is likely to be much better integrated with the other parts and contain fewer leaps.

66. Les desloyalles ont le temps



from: Appendix 11, No. 66.

CHAPTER 8. STYLE OF THE THIRD LAYER OF CHANSONS (SCRIBE 3)

The third layer of chansons were copied by Scribes 3a, 3b, and 3c between 1485 and 1495. Again, they have many of the characteristics of the earlier chansons, and some of them were actually composed earlier such as Busnois's "A une dame" which appeared in the Dijon Chansonnier (1465-9) and Fresneau's "Nuyt et jour", rlso in Copenhagen (CopKB 291, 1470-80). Still, one can see a trend toward some change: imitation in three voices is more common; rhythms are simpler with less syncopation and dotting; the contratenor is better integrated with the other voices.

A typical chanson from layer 3 is Compère's "Mes pensees ne me lessent" (Example 11). Compère (1445-1518) wrote chansons ranging in style from that of Dufay to a late more melismatic and regularly imitative style of 1496. During the 1485-90, he composed most of his three-voice chansons. Barton Hudson comments,

Usually the superius and tenor form the basic structure, supported by a contratenor or bass which moves in a low range and rarely crosses the tenor. Sometimes all three voices engage in imitation. 115

This seems to describe "Mes pensees," and the dates fit with the earliest concordant chansonniers, Pixérécourt (Paris BNF 15123, 1480-84), London BLR 20.A.xvi (1480-83), and

lls Barton Hudson, "Compère, Loyset," New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1984) vol 4, 597.

Mes pensées



from: Loyset Compère, <u>Opera Omnia</u>, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972)

EXAMPLE 11: MES PENSEES, continued



Dangier y est qui si fort me court seure, Qu'il n'est vivant qui de ce me sequeure. Celle mesme ny veult la maintenir, Mes pensées...

Mais je say blen de ce je vous asseure,
Oue de mon vueil je setroje au desseure.
Se je y povoje par nul tour parvenir,
Mais se ensemble nous povons convenir,
Force sera que pour elle je meure.
Mes pensées...

•

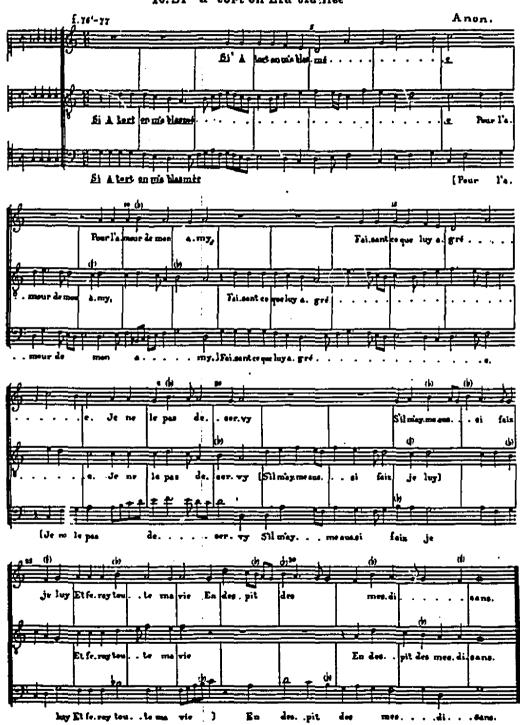
Florence 2794 (before 1488). 116 Here we have imitation at the octave between contratenor and superius beginning in mm. 1 and 3 respectively, and beginning in m. 5 the tenor comes in at the fifth; imitation continues throughout the entire chanson. Melismas are rare, and occur at various points in the line, not simply at the end, as in the earlier chansons. The range of the contratenor is from B below Middle C to D above and the tenor's from B below Middle C to Middle C, but the contratenor is consistently below the tenor. On the other hand, there are still some double-leading tone cadences, and the rhythm is still quite syncopated. An unusual feature of "Mes pensées" which Hewitt says foreshadows later patterns is the "wide spacing of the various phrases composing each of the three vocal parts (separated from each other by rests varying in length from one-half measure to eight measures)."117

"Si a tort ma blamée" (Example 12), is an anonymous 3-voice chanson copied by Scribe 3b. It was published in Odhecaton in 1501 by Petrucci but not found in any of the concordant manuscripts. It has many of the features of the later style. The piece is in duple meter, and the rhythms are much less complex than those in, for example, "L'Enquerant"; there are many repeated notes with the same note value, and there are far fewer dotted rhythms and syncopations. Hewitt

¹¹⁶Concordant chansonniers: BolC Q17, VatG XIII.27, FlorBN Magl.178, FlorBN BR229; FlorR 2794, LondBLR 20.A.xvi, MonteA 871, Odhecaton, ParisBNF 1597, Paris BNF 15123, ZwiR 78/3.

¹¹⁷Hewitt, 67.

70. Si a tort on ma bla;nee



from: Helen Hewitt, ed., <u>Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A</u> (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978)

suggests that its syllabic setting of text is far removed from the early chansons in Odhecaton, lik and its presence among the chansons copied by Scribe 3b assigns it a date in the late 1480s or early 90s. It does not conform to the formes fixes, though its text is still a poem about a faithful lover. Here imitation occurs in all three voices, in mm 1-5, 12-16, 21-25, and 30-32, which is significant in a 33 breve chanson. The contratenor here is much better integrated with the other two voices, though its range, from B-flat below Middle C to F above, is exceptionally wide, whilst the cantus and tenor cover only 7 notes, D to C above Middle C, and G below middle C to F above, respectively. The final cadence is a "V-I" and, as in "Mes pensées", there are a number of two-voiced cadences. The text underlay, taken from the Laborde Chansonnier, still shows syllabic openings of each line and melismatic endings in lines 1 and 3 in all three voices.

"Pour vos plaisirs" (Example 13) is a 3-voice rondeau by Agricola, also found in Florence 2794 which is dated before 1488. It opens homophonically, but there is much imitation in the upper two voices: mm. 5-11 and 12-14, which in a 15 measure piece is significant. The rhythms here are not as simple as those of "Si a tort", but there are still many repeated notes. The voice range of the superius is very narrow: F above Middle C to the E above, and that of the tenor from E below Middle C to F above. The contratenor, however,

¹¹⁸ Hewitt, 68-9.



from: Allan Atlas, ed., <u>The Capella Giulia Chansonnier</u>, (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1975)

EXAMPLE 13: POUR VOS PLAISIRS, continued



has a very wide range, from B-flat two below Middle C to F above, and often goes above the tenor voice. All but one cadence is of the "V-I" type, the other having two-voices.

"Je ne me puis voir" (Example 14) is the only unicum copied by one of the third group of scribes. It has many of the features of the earlier chansons: triple meter, complex rhythms with many hemiolas and dotting, double-leading-tone and octave-leap cadences. These features lead one to think that this chanson may have been composed earlier than the 1480s. The range, however, of the contratenor voice is well below that of the tenor, and it is well integrated with the other two voices.

The style of the third layer of chansons can be seen to be slightly different again from the first two layers. The rhythm may be somewhat simpler than in the second layer, with more repeated notes and less dotting and syncopation. Melismas are rare unless important to the text, and imitation may occur in three voices. The contratenor has a wider range, and is bette integrated with the other voices. The cadences vary, but there are a number with two voices and fewer with double leading tones or octave leaps.

83. Je ne me puis voir



from: Appendix 11, No. 83.

CHAPTER 9. STYLE OF THE FOURTH LAYER OF CHANSONS (SCRIBE 4)

The final layer, probably copied in the 1490s and early 1500s, has only seven examples in Laborde. By this time, there is a considerable difference in the style from the earliest layer.

Ockeghem's "Je nay dueil" (Example 15), a unicum, has a number of new features. It has four voices, shown in Laborde as Superius, Tenor, Contratenor, and "Bazis". It opens in the contratenor with four ascending breves, which is answered immediately in the superius, and in mm. 7-10, while the tenor and bass rest, the superius again imitates the tenor. There are several sections where one voice rests, while the other three carry on, and there are a number of instances where two voices parallel each other: for example, the tenor and contratenor in mm. 1-3 and mm. 17 and 18, and the superius and tenor at mm. 40-44. There are many repeated notes, and the rhythm is simple, with few dotted notes or suspensions until the last few measures when the pace of the music increases. The cadences are conventional four-voice "V-I" cadences. The melodies are simpler, and in smaller units, and appear to be more syllabic and less melismatic than earlier chansons. 119

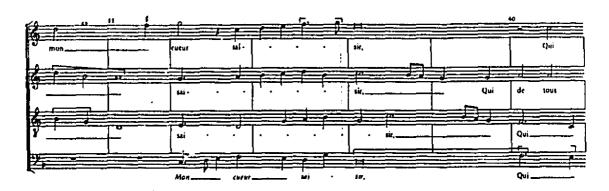
Another four-part piece is Prioris's "Consomo la vita mya" (Example 16), a strambotto a 4 with superius, alto, tenor, and contratenor. Its earliest concordant chansonnier

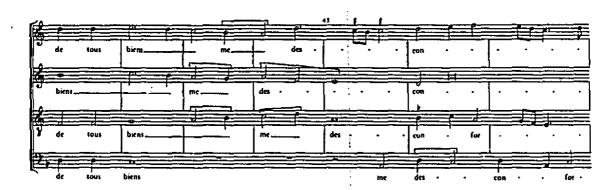
¹¹⁹Concordant sources: Bold Q17; BrusBR 228; RomeC 2856; VatG XIII.27; FlorBN Magl.178; FlorBN BR229; FlorR 2794; LonBLR 20.A.XVI; Odhecaton, SegC s.s; VerBC 757.

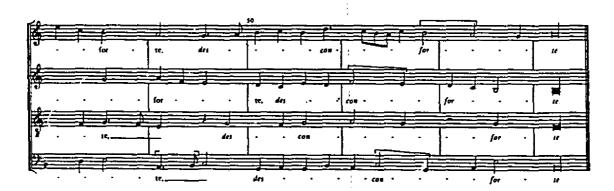


from: Johannes Ockeghem, <u>Collected Works</u>, eds. Richard Wexler and Dragan Plamenac, vol. 3, Motets and Chansons, (Boston, American Musicological Society and Schirmer, 1992)

EXAMPLE 15: JE NAY DUEIL, continued







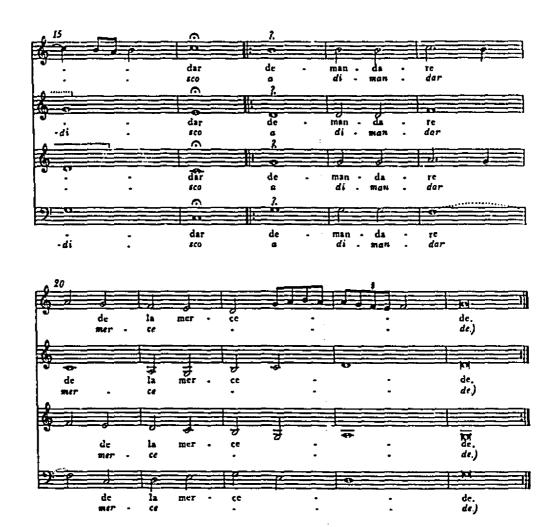
- Ma douleur est plus que trop forte,
 Car sans avoir aucun plaisir,
 J'en ay dueil...
- Je n'ay plus riens qui me conforte; D'ocil ne voy plus que desplaisir. Hort est le plus de mon desir. Car que'dque chose qu'on m'aporte, J'en ay dueil

Consommo la vita mya



from: Johannes Prioris, <u>Opera Omnia</u>, T. Herman Keahy and Conrad Douglas, eds., (Neuhausen-Stuttgart; American Musicological Institute and Hanssler, 1982)

EXAMPLE 16: CONSOMO LA VITA MIA, continued



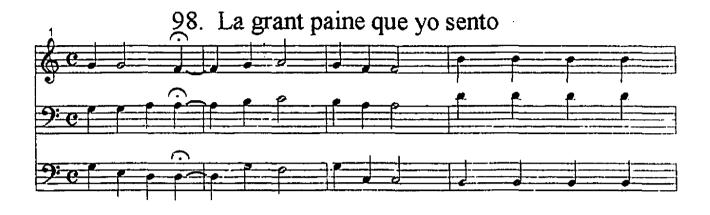
Consumo la mia vita a poco a poco E non ardisco a dimandar mercede, Per non uscir di questo ardente foco, Che è dolce molto più ch'altri non crede; Ma solo al mio bisogno Amore invoco, Che ricognosca la mia pura fede, Che se ben ardo, spero ardendo forte Come phenice renovar mia sorte.

is Paris BNF 1597, dated about 1500. Here we find no imitation, but a homophonic, chordal texture throughout with few melismas except before the final cadence. Rhythms are very simple, with repeated semibreves, and no suspensions. The melody is simple in the extreme, almost entirely with repeated notes or step-wise scales. Even more simple is a three-part piece called "La grant paine que yo sento", (Example 17) an unicum. It is completely homophonic and chordal, with five fermatas in its 13 measures.

More interesting is "Pencer en vous" (Example 18). attributed to Hayne, also found in ParisBNF 1597(ca 1500) and ParisBNF 2245 (1490-98). In duple meter, with three voices, it opens in the contratenor, imitated in m. 2 by the superius The tenor's theme in mm. 6-7 is and in m. 3 in tenor. imitated by the superius in m. 8-9. The contratenor's range is slightly below that of the tenor, but it rarely goes above the tenor; it plays an important role in carrying on the melody at cadences, and has a long section with eighth notes after a cadence in m. 35, and the fact that it begins the imitation is unusual. The superius has the simplest line, with step-wise melodies and repeated notes, whilst the tenor and contratenor often move in parallel with the superius and each other, and often have an embellishing function. 120

By the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the sixteenth, composers used more imitation and began to include

¹²⁰ Concordant Sources: ParisBNF 1597; ParisBNF 2245.







from: Appendix 11, No. 98.

Penser en vous



CMM 740

from: Johannes Prioris, Opera Omnia, T. Herman Keahy and Conrad Douglas, eds, (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hannsler, 1982)

EXAMPLE 18: PENCER EN VOIS, continued



a fourth voice. Texts were freely chosen, the formes fixes were disappearing. The melodies were built on smaller units, with rhythmically distinct motives. 121 The contratenor was well integrated, melismas were rarer, the rhythms simpler, with repeated notes, and homophonic texture. Duple meter was the rule. The changes from the 1460s are gradual, but they can be traced through the four layers of Laborde.

¹²¹Brown, "Transformation" 79.

CONCLUSION

The Laborde Chansonnier lends itself to a study of the changes in the chanson during the second half of the fifteenth century because it is possible to date the work of the seven scribes who copied it. A study of the literature about the Chansonnier itself and its scribes and artists, about the concordant chansonniers, and about the style of the chanson forms the basis for my own analysis of the development of style.

As Howard Mayer Brown stated in the passage quoted on Page 1 of this paper, 122 the changes which took place in the chanson over the fifty to seventy-five years from the time of Dufay and Binchois to that of Ockeghem and Busnois were gradual and often subtle. I have chosen chansons from each layer of the Laborde Chansonnier which illustrate the changes clearly, but there were many others in which the change was not so clearly marked. Through the period when imitation in two voices was the norm, there were chansons in which there was no imitation or in which it could be seen in three voices, sometimes only for a few notes. The change in the role of the contratenor from filling out the harmony and providing rhythmic emphasis to melodic and rhythmic integration in the structure of the music happens gradually. The decrease in melismas at the end of every line does not occur all at once. The abandonment of triple meter in favour of duple meter is

¹²²Brown, "Transformation" 83.

not sudden. Besides, the dating of each chanson is not exact, and cannot be certified.

Nonetheless, change did gradually take place. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, four-voice chansons were more common, and imitation became the norm in all three or four voices. The contratenor became lower in range and had a more important role to play in both the harmony and in imitation. Melismas became rarer, rhythms simpler, cadences more commonly "V-I". The change did not take place all at once, but can be traced gradually over time.

The transcription of the unica has been an important part of the preparation of this thesis. Most of the unica are delightful pieces which should see the light of day, and which only need to be texted to become part of the known repertoire. Using the stylistic changes in the four layers, one can also make a claim that the anonymous unica, which can be dated only by their layer in Laborde, tend to be typical of the other chansons of the same layer, or form a bridge from one style to the next, like "L'enquerant". Thus they bear out the contention that the change of style developed gradually through the period.

Over all, however, this interesting chansonnier with its seven scribes copying a repertoire composed over forty or fifty years provides a useful source for examining the chansons over a period which has not been profoundly examined. Much work has been done on the early chansons such as those of

Dufay and Binchois and on the late chansons such as those of Josquin and his contemporaries, but the years between 1460 and 1500 have not been thoroughly studied. There is much that remains to be examined, but the work I have done shows that there is indeed a "gradual modification and enrichment of detail" and a subtle development in the style of the fifteenth century chanson.

¹²³Brown, "Transformation" 83

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APPENDIX 1. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHANSONS

Title	Composer	No.
A vne dame jay fait veu	Busnoys	82
Allez regretz	Hayne/Obrecht	101
Amours amours	Hayne	75
Ave Regina	Frye	1
Ce nest pas jeu	Ockeghem	85
Ce quon fait	Anonymous	13a
Cest pour aymer	Prioris	105
Charge de dueil	Anonymous	57
Comme femme	Binchois	9
Consomo la vita mya	Anonymous	97
Dangier tu mas tollu	Anonymous	38
De mesiouir	Baziron	13
De tous biens plaine	Hayne/Obrecht	49
De vous seruir	Anonymous	84
Dittez moy	Compere	89
Dulcis amica dei	Anonymous	100
Dung aultre amer	Ockeghem	10
En attendant	Agricola	91
En voyant sa dame	Виѕпоуѕ	68
Esse bien fait	Anonymous	39
Estil mercy	Busnoys?	20
Fors seulement	Ockeghem/Obrecht	80
Garison scay	Anonymous	96
Greueuse mest vostre	Anonymous	42
Helas mamour	Caron	4
ll ne menchault	Ockeghem	63
Jamais si bien	Anonymous	69
Jamaiz ne seray	Anonymous	55
Jaqueline si actende	Busnoys	41
Jay mains de bien	Busnoys	70
Jay prins amours	Obrecht?	22
Je le prens	Anonymous	50
Je le scay bien	Baziron	7
Je nay dueil	Ockeghem	95
Je nay pouoir	Anonymous	14
Je ne me puis voir	Anonymous	83
Je ne requier	Anonymous	29
Je ne vis onques	Dufay	32
Je seruiray	Anonymous	84
Je suis ennuye	Binchois?	31
Joye me fuit	Busnoys	81
La Despourueue	Ockeghem	48
La grant paine	Anonymous	98
La pourueance La saison en est	Anonymous	76
La saison en est Le corps sen va	Compere	102
re corha asu As	Busnoys	17

APPENDIX 1. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHANSONS

Title	Composer	No.
Le despourueu Infortune	Anonymous	59
Le jolis tetin	Anonymous	13b
Le plus heureux	Anonymous	36
Le seruiteur	Dufay	8a
Le souuenir de vous	Morton	43
Lenquerant	Anonymous	44
Les desieauk sont	Anonymous	74
Les desloyalles	Anonymous	66
Les desloyauk	Ockeghem	86
Les grans regretz	Anonymous	103
Les treues damours	Anonymous	79
Lomme banny	Anonymous	5 3
M vostre cueur	Busnoys	77
Ma bouche rit	Ockeghem/Obrecht	23
Ma maistresse	Ockeghem	2
Ma plus ma mignonne	Convert	62
Mais que ce fust	Compere	94
Malheureulx cueur	Dufay	18
Mercy mon dueil	Anonymous	46
Mes pensees	Compere	87
Mon cueur a demy	Prieris	71
Mon cueur et moy	Prioris	21
Mon desir	Anonymous	28
Mon seul plaisir	Dufay	52
Mon souuenir	Hayne/Obrecht	90
Mort Jappelle	Anonymous	72
Naray je jamais	Morton	45
Ne me veilles	Anonymous	16
Ne pour cela	Anonymous	30
Nestil secours	Anonymous	73
Non pas que je veille	Frye/ Joye	8
Nos amys vous abuses	Anonymous	58
Nul ne latelle	Baziron	5
Nuyt et jour	Anonymous	93
O Belle Dyane	Anonymous	47
(O dieu damours)	Anonymous	78
Par le regart	Dufay	54
Pencer en vous	Anonymous	106
Plus quautre	Prioris	104
Pour changer lair	Convrt	61
Pour prison	Binchois	56
Pour voz plaisirs	Agricola	92
Presque transi	Ockeghem	67
Puis que si bien	Anonymous	12

APPENDIX 1. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHANSONS

Title	Composer	No.
Quant ce viendra	Busnoys/Ockeghem	19
Quel remede	Anonymous	60
Recours donneur	Anonymous	6
Se je garde bien	Anonymous	37
Se mieulx ne vient	Convert	11
Si a tort	Anonymous	88
Si dieu me faisoit	Anonymous	25
Si la face ay pale	Dufay	51
Si par souait	Anonymous	33
Sil auient	Michelet	27
Soyez aprantiz	Frye?	40
Tant est mignonne	Anonymous	26
Tant fort me tarde	Anonymous	24
Tant moins en ay plus	Anonymous	34
Tant plus mefforce	Anonymous	35
Tart ara mon cueur	Molinet	99
Tout a par moy	Frye	3
Vostre bruit	Dufay	15
Vostre regart	Tinctoris	65

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF CHANSONS BY NUMBER

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
1	Ave Regina	1460	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Frye
	Ma maistresse	1460	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	•
	Tout a par moy	1485	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Frye
4		1465	1	1/1	Rondeou a 3	Caron
5	Nul ne latelle	1485	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Baziron
6	Recours donneur	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
7	Je le scay bien	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Baziron
8	Non pas que je veille	1460	1	1/3	Rondeau a 3	Frye/ Joye
8a	Le seruiteur	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
8	Comme femme	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois
10	Dung autre amer	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
11	Se mieulx ne vient	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Convert
12	Puis que si bien	1465	1	1/2	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
13	De mesiouir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Baziron
	Ce quon fait	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le jolis tetin	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
14	Je nay pouoir	1465	1	1/1	a 3	Anonymous
	Vostre bruit	1455	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Ne me veilles	1465	1	1/1	Virelai ? a 3	Anonymous
	Le corps sen va	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys
	Malheureutx cueur	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
	Quant ce viendra	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys/Ockeghem
	Estil mercy	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys?
	Mon cueur et moy	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Prioris
	Jay prins amours	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Obrecht?
	Ma bouche rit	1465	1	1/1		Ockeghem/Obrecht
	Tant fort me tarde	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Si dieu me faisoit	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Tant est mignonne	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Sil auient	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Michelet
	Mon desir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Je ne requier	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Ne pour cela	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
	Je suis ennuye	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois?
	Je ne vis onques Si par souait	1454	•	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	•	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Tant moins en ay plus Tant plus mefforce		1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le plus heureux	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	•	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Se je garde bien	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
90	Dangier tu mas tollu	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF CHANSONS BY NUMBER

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Antist	Form	Composer
39	Esse bien fait	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
40	Soyez aprantiz	1455	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
41	Jaqueline si actende	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
42	Greueuse mest vostre	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
43	Le souuenir de vous	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Morton
44	Lenquerant	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
45	Naray je jamais	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Morton
	Mercy mon dueil	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	O Belle Dyane	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
48	La Despourueue	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
49		1465	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
_	Je le prens	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
51	, ,	1436	1	1/1	Ballade a 3	Dufay
	Mon seul plaisir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Lomme banny	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Par le regart	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
55		1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Pour prison	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois
57	Charge de dueil	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
	Nos amys vous abuses		1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le despourueu Infortu	1475	2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
60	Quel remede	1475	2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
61	Pour changer lair	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Convrt
	Ma plus ma mignonne		2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Convert
	li ne menchault	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
	Je seruiray	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
	Vostre regart	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Tinctoris
	Les desloyalles	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Presque transi	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	_
	En voyant sa dame	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys
	Jamais si bien	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
70		1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	_
	Mon cueur a demy	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Prioris
	Mort Jappelle	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Nestil secours	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
	Les desleaulx sont	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	_
	Amours amours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Hayne
	La pourueance	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	M vostre cueur	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
	(O dieu damours)	1470	2	2+3	Combinat a 4	Anonymous
	Les treues damours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Fors seulement	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem/Obrecht
81	Joye me fuit	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF CHANSONS BY NUMBER

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
82	Avne dame jay fait ve	1475	3a	2+3	Bergerette a 3	Busnoys
83	Je ne me puis voir	1485	3a		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	De vous seruir	1485	3a		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
85	Ce nest pas jeu	1488	3b		Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
	Les desloyauk	1475	3c		Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
87	Mes pensees	1484	3b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
88	Si a fort	1495	3b	2+3	'a3	Anonymous
88	Dittez moy	1475	3b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
90	Mon souuenir	1485	3b		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
91	En attendant	1488	3b		Rondeau a 3	Agricola
92	Pour voz plaisirs	1488	3b		Rondeau a 4	Agricola
93	Nuyt et jour	1488	3b		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
94	Mais que ce fust	1490	3b		a 3	Compere
95	Je nay dueil	1488	4a		a 4	Ockeghem
96	Garison scay	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Anonymous
97	Consomo la vita mya	1500	4b		Strambotto a 4	Anonymous
98	La grant paine	1500	4b		a 3	Anonymous
99	Tart ara mon cueur	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Molinet
100	Dulcis amica dei	1465	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Anonymous
101	Allez regretz	1488	4b		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
102	La saison en est	1488	4b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
103	Les grans regretz	1495	4b		a 3	Anonymous
	Plus quautre	1500	4b		a 3	Prioris
105	Cest pour aymer	1495	4b		Rondeau a 3	Prioris
106	Pencer en vous	1495	4b		a 3	Апопутои я

APPENDIX 3. CHANSONS BY SCRIBE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
1	Ave Regina	1460	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Frye
2	Ma maistresse	1460	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	•
3	Tout a par moy	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Frye
4	Helas mamour	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Caron
5	Nul ne latelle	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
6	Recours donneur	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
7	Je le scay bien	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Baziron
8	Non pas que je veille	1460	1	1/3	Rondeau a 3	Frye/ Joye
8a	Le seruiteur	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
9	Comme femme	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois
10	Dung aultre amer	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
11	Se mieuk ne vient	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Convert
12	Puis que si bien	1465	1	1/2	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	De mesiouir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Baziron
13a	Ce quon fait	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le jolis tetin	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
	Je nay pouoir	1465	1	1/1	a 3	Anonymous
	Vostre bruit	1455	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Ne me veilles	1465	1	1/1	Virelai ? a 3	Anonymous
	Le corps sen va	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys
	Malheureux cueur	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
	Quant ce viendra	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys/Ockeghem
	Estil mercy	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys?
	Mon cueur et moy	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Prioris
	Jay prins amours	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Obrecht?
	Ma bouche rit	1465	1	1/1	_	Ockeghem/Obrecht
_	Tant fort me tarde	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Si dieu me faisoit	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Tant est mignonne	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
27		1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Michelet
	Mon desir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Je ne requier	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Ne pour cela	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	-
31	•	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois?
	Je ne vis onques	1454	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Si par souait	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Tant moins en ay plus		1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Tant plus mefforce	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le plus heureux	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Se je garde bien	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Dangier tu mas tollu	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
39	Esse bien fait	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous

APPENDIX 3. CHANSONS BY SCRIBE

Νo.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
40	Soyez aprantiz	1455	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Frve?
41		1485	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	-
42	Greueuse mest vostre	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
43	Le souuenir de vous	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Morton
44	Lenguerant	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
45	Naray je jamais	1485	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Morton
	Mercy mon dueil	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
47	O Belle Dyane	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Anonymous
	Si la face ay pale	1436	1	1/1	Ballade a 3	Dufay
	Mon seul plaisir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Lomme banny	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Par le regart	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
	Jamaiz ne seray	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Pour prison	1460	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Binchois
	Charge de dueil	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	_
	Nos amys vous abuses		1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Garison scay	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Anonymous
	Tart ara mon cueur	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Molinet
	Dulcis amica dei	1465	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Anonymous
	La Despourueue	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
	De tous biens plaine	1465	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
	Je le prens	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Le despourueu Infortus		2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
		1475	2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Pour changer lair	1475	2 2	1/1	Rondeau a 3 Rondeau a 3	Convrt
	Ma plus ma mignonne II ne menchault	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Convert
	Je seruiray	1475	2	2+3		Ockeghem
	Vostre regart	1475	2	2+3 2+3	Bergerette a 3 Rondeau a 3	Tinctoris
86	Les desloyalles	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Presque transi	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
	En voyant sa dame	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys
	Jamais si bien	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Jay mains de bien	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	. · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	Mon cueur a demy	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Prioris
	Mort Jappelle	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Nestil secours	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
74	Les desleaulx sont	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
75	Amours amours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Hayne
76	La pourueance	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
77	M vostre cueur	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	•
78	(O dieu damours)	1470	2	2+3	Combinat a 4	Anonymous
79	Les treues damours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
	Fors seulement	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem/Obrecht
81	Joye me fuit	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys

APPENDIX 3. CHANSONS BY SCRIBE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
82	A vne dame jay fait ve	1475	3a		Bergerette a 3	Busnoys
	Je ne me puis voir	1485	3a		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
84	De vous seruir	1485	3a		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
85	Ce nest pas jeu	1488	3b		Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
86	Les desloyauk	1475	3с		Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
87	Mes pensees	1484	3b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
88	Si a tort	1495	3b		'a3	Anonymous
89	Dittez moy	1475	3b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
90	Mon souuenir	1485	3b		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
91	En attendant	1488	3Ь		Rondeau a 3	Agricola
92	Pour voz plaisirs	1488	3b		Rondeau a 4	Agricola
93	Nuyt et jour	1488	3b		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
94	Mais que ce fust	1490	3b		a 3	Compere
95	Je nay dueil	1488	4a		a 4	Ockeghem
97	Consomo la vita mya	1500	4b		Strambotto a 4	Anonymous
98	La grant paine	1500	4b		a 3	Anonymous
101	Allez regretz	1488	4b		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
102	La saison en est	1488	4b		Rondeau a 3	Compere
103	Les grans regretz	1495	4b		a 3	Алопутои
104	Plus quautre	1500	4b		a 3	Prioris
105	Cest pour aymer	1495	4b		Rondeau a 3	Prioris
106	Pencer en vous	1495	4b		a 3	Anonymous

APPENDIX 4. CHANSONS BY DATE OF EARLIEST SOURCE

Si la face ay pale	No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
32 Je ne vis onques	51	Si la face av pale	1436	1	1/1	Ballade a 3	Dufay
15				1			_
1		•	1455	1	1/1		_
2 Ma maistresse 1460 1 1/3 Bergerette a 3 Ookeghem 8 Non pas que je veille 1460 1 1/3 Rondeau a 3 Frye/ Joye 8 Le seruiteur 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 54 Par le regart 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 56 Pour prison 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 3 Tout a par moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 5 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Baziron 6 Reccurs donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 7 Je le scay bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 10 Dung aulfre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 12 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Ba	40	Soyez aprantiz	1455	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Frye?
8 Non pas que je veille 1460 1 1/3 Rondeau a 3 Frye/ Joye 8a Le seruiteur 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 9 Comme femme 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 54 Par le regart 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 55 Pour prison 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 56 Pour prison 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 57 Tout a par moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 58 Helas mamour 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 59 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 50 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 50 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 50 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 51 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 51 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 51 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Conwert 51 Se mieuk ne vient 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Conwert 51 Se mieuk ne vient 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 Le jois tetin 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 Le jois tetin 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 Malheureuk cueur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 51 Malheureuk cueur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 52 Estil mercy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 53 Mabouche rit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys/Ockeghem 54 Tant fort me tarde 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Prioris 55 Gi dieu me faisoit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 56 Tant est mignonne 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 57 Sil auient 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 58 Le pus neureur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 59 Je ne requier 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 50 Per gearde bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 51 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 52 Si dieu me faisoit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 53 Dangier tu mas tolu 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 54 Tant plus metforce 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 55 Le plus heureux 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 56 Le plus heureux 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 57 Se je garde bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 58 Le plus heureux 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau	1	Ave Regina	1460	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Frye
8a Le seruiteur 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 9 Comme femme 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 54 Par le regart 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 55 Pour prison 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 3 Tout a par moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 4 Helas mamour 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 56 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 57 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 58 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 59 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 60 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 61 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 61 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 61 Se mieub ne vient 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 61 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 61 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 61 Dung außtre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 61 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 61 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 61 Re me veilles 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 61 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 61 De prison 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 61 Re veilles 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 61 Re veilles 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 62 Estil mercy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys/Ockeghem 62 Estil mercy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys/Ockeghem 63 Estil mercy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys/Ockeghem 64 Tant fort me tarde 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Rondeau a 3 Convert 65 Tant est mignonne 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 65 Si dieu me faisoit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 66 Tant est mignonne 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 67 De neequier 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3	2	Ma maistresse	1460	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	Ockeghem
9 Comme femme 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 54 Par le regart 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 56 Pour prison 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 3 Tout a par moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Frye 4 Helas marmour 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 5 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 6 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 7 Je le scay bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 10 Dung auftre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dockeghem 11 Se mieu'x ne vient 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Convert 12 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 14 Je nay pouoir 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 15 Ne me veilles 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 16 Ne me veilles 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Dufay 19 Quant ce viendra 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 19 Quant ce viendra 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 10 Malheureux cueur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 10 Malheureux cueur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys 11 Bergerette a 3 Ockeghem 12 Jay prins amours 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Busnoys? 11 Mon cueur et moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Prioris 12 Jay prins amours 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Prioris 13 Ma bouche rit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 14 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 15 Si dieu me faisoit 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 16 Ne pour cela 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 17 Le suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 18 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 19 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 19 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 10 Ne pour cela 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 11 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 11 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 11 Je suis ennuye 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 12 Je pus heureux 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 Dangier tu mas toliu 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 14 Tant moins en ay plus 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 15 Le	8	Non pas que je veille	1460	1	1/3	Rondeau a 3	Frye/ Joye
54 Par le regart 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Dufay 56 Pour prison 1460 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Binchois 3 Tout a par moy 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Caron 5 Nul ne latelle 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 6 Recours donneur 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Baziron 10 Dung aultre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 10 Dung aultre amer 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Ockeghem 12 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/2 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 12 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/2 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 12 Puis que si bien 1465 1 1/2 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 13 De mesiouir 1465 1 1/2 Rondeau a 3 Ano	8a	Le seruiteur		1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	_
10					1/1		
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37 Se je garde bien 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 38 Dangier tu mas tollu 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 39 Esse bien fait 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 41 Jaqueline si actende 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Busnoys 42 Greueuse mest vostre 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 43 Le souuenir de vous 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Morton		•					•
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39 Esse bien fait 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Anonymous 41 Jaqueline si actende 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Busnoys 42 Greueuse mest vostre 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 43 Le souuenir de vous 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Morton							-
41 Jaqueline si actende 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Busnoys 42 Greueuse mest vostre 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 43 Le souuenir de vous 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Morton							_
42 Greueuse mest vostre 1465 1 1/1 Bergerette a 3 Anonymous 43 Le souuenir de vous 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Morton							_
43 Le souuenir de vous 1465 1 1/1 Rondeau a 3 Morton		•					
				1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Апопутоиз

APPENDIX 4. CHANSONS BY DATE OF EARLIEST SOURCE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
45	Naray je jamais	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Morton
46	Mercy mon dueil	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
47	O Belle Dyane	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
52	Mon seul plaisir	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Dufay
53	Lomme banny	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
55	Jamaiz ne seray	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
57	Charge de dueil	1465	1	1/1	Bergerette a 3	
58	Nos amys vous abuses	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
96	Garison scay	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Anonymous
99	Tart ara mon cueur	1465	1	1/1	Rondeau a 4	Molinet
100	Dulcis amica dei	1465	1	1/1	Motet a 3	Anonymous
49	De tous biens plaine	1465	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
69	Jamais si bien	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
80	Fors seulement	1465	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem/Obrecht
71	Mon cueur a demy	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Prioris
72	Mort Jappelle	1470	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
78	(O dieu damours)	1470	2	2+3	Combinat a 4	Anonymous
48	La Despourueue	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
50	Je le prens	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
59	Le despourueu Infortu		2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
60	Quel remede	1475	2	2/3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
61	Pour changer lair	1475	2	1/1	Rondeau a 3	Convrt
62	Ma plus ma mignonne		2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Convert
63	Il ne menchault	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
64	Je seruiray	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
65	Vostre regart	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Tinctoris
66	Les desloyalles	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
67	Presque transi	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
68	En voyant sa dame	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Busnoys
70	Jay mains de bien	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	_
73	Nestil secours	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	_
74	Les desleauk sont	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
75	Amours amours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Наупе
76	La pourueance	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
77	M vostre cueur	1475	2	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
79	Les treues damours	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
81	Joye me fuit	1475	2	2+3	Rondeau a 3	Виѕпоуъ
82	A vne dame jay fait ve		3	2+3	Bergerette a 3	
86	Les desloyaux	1475	3	2.5	Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
89	Dittez moy	1475	3		Rondeau a 3	Compere
87	Mes pensees	1484	3		Rondeau a 3	Compere
83	Je ne me puis voir	1485	3		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
50	ee to the bala soft	1700	J		ivoliucau a 3	retoriyinous

APPENDIX 4. CHANSONS BY DATE OF EARLIEST SOURCE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	Artist	Form	Composer
84	De vous seruir	1485	3		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
90	Mon souuenir	1485	3		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
85	Ce nest pas jeu	1488	3		Rondeau a 3	Ockeghem
91	En attendant	1488	3		Rondeau a 3	Agricola
92	Pour voz plaisirs	1488	3		Rondeau a 4	Agricola
93	Nuyt et jour	1488	3		Rondeau a 3	Anonymous
95	Je nay dueil	1488	4		a 4	Ockeghem
101	Allez regretz	1488	4		Rondeau a 3	Hayne/Obrecht
102	La saison en est	1488	4		Rondeau a 3	Compere
94	Mais que ce fust	1490	3		a 3	Compere
88	Si a tort	1495	3	2+3	' a3	Anonymous
103	Les grans regretz	1495	4		a 3	Anonymous
105	Cest pour aymer	1495	4		Rondeau a 3	Prioris
106	Pencer en vous	1495	4		a 3	Anonymous
97	Consomo la vita mya	1500	4		Strambotto a 4	Anonymous
98	La grant paine	1500	4		a 3	Anonymous
104	Plus quautre	1500	4		a 3	Prioris

APPENDIX 5. COMPOSERS AND THEIR CHANSONS

COMPOSER	TITLE	NO.
Agricola	En attendant	91
Agricola	Pour voz plaisirs	92
Baziron	De mesiouir	13
Bazıron	Je le scay bien	7
Baziron	Nul ne latelle	5
Binchois	Comme femme	9
Binchois	Pour prison	56
Binchois?	Je suis ennuye	31
Busnoys	A vne dame jay fait veu	82
Busnoys	En voyant sa dame	68
Busnoys	Jaqueline si actende	41
Busnoys	Jay mains de bien	70
Busnoys	Joye me fuit	81
Busnoys	Le corps sen va	17
Busnoys	M vostre cueur	77
Busnoys/Ockeghem	Quant ce viendra	19
Busnoys?	Estil mercy	20
Caren	Helas mamour	4
Compere	Dittez moy	89
Compere	La saison en est	102
Compere	Mais que ce fust	94
Compere	Mes pensees	87
Convert	Ma plus ma mignonne	62
Convert	Se mieuk ne vient	11
Convrt	Pour changer lair	61
Dufay	Je ne vis onques	32
Dufay	Le seruiteur	8a
Dufay	Malheureuk cueur	18
Dufay	Mon seul plaisir	52
Dufay	Par le regart	54
Dufay	Si la face ay pale	51
Dufay En o	Vostre bruit	15 1
Frye Frye	Ave Regina	3
	Tout a par moy	ა 8
Frye/ Joye	Non pas que je veille	40
Frye? Hayne	Soyez aprantiz	75
Hayne/Obrecht	Amours amours	101
Hayne/Obrecht	Allez regretz De tous biens plaine	49
Hayne/Obrecht	Mon souuenir	90
Michelet	Sil auient	27
Molinet	Tart ara mon cueur	99
Morton	Le souuenir de vous	43
Morton	Naray je jamais	45
14101 (01)	maray je jamais	40

APPENDIX 5. COMPOSERS AND THEIR CHANSONS

COMPOSER	TITLE	NO.
Obrecht?	Jay prins amours	22
Ockeghem	Ce nest pas jeu	85
Ockeghem	Dung aultre amer	10
Ockeghem	Il ne menchault	63
Ockeghem	Je nay dueil	95
Ockeghem	La Despourueue	48
Ockeghem	Les desloyauk	86
Ockeghem	Ma maistresse	2
Ockeghem	Presque transi	67
Ockeghem/Obrecht	Fors seulement	80
Ockeghem/Obrecht	Ma bouche rit	23
Prioris	Cest pour aymer	105
Prioris	Mon cueur a demy	71
Prioris	Mon cueur et moy	21
Prioris	Plus quautre	104
Tinctoris	Vostre regart	65

APFENDIX 6 COMPOSERS OF CHANSONS BY DATE OF DEATH SHOWING INCLUSION IN CHANSONNIERS

Composer Birth Death Laborde Nivelle Wolfen Dijon Copen Florence 1460-1520 1460-65 1460-65 1470-75 1470-80 1488

					 001110	10171	0-00	1400
Binchois	1400	1480	Y	Υ	Y	Y		Υ
Bedingham	1422	1460	Y		Y	Y		
Symon	1420	1473			•	Ý	Υ	
Dufay	1400	1474	· Y	Y	Υ	Ÿ	•	Y
Frye	1450	1474	Y					Ÿ
Morton	1430	1476	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Υ	•
Basin	1457	1476	Y					
Fede	1415	1477	Y	Y				
Barbignant	1440	1480	Y	Ý		Y		
Joye	1425	1483	Y					
Busnois	1430	1492	Y		Y	Y	Y	Υ
Ockeghem	1410	1497	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Υ	Y
Basiron	1440	1497	Y		Y		Y	Y
Наупе	1445	1497	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Caron	1450	1500	Y		Υ	Y		
Pietrequin	1450	1500	Y					
Obrecht	1450	1505	Y					
Fresneau	1470	1505	Y					Y
Agricola	1446	1506	Y					Y
Molinet	1435	1507	Y			Y	Y	
Japart	1474	1507						Y
Tinctoris	1435	1511	Y					
Prioris	1460	1514	Y		Y		Υ	
Compere	1445	1518	Y			Y		Y
Josquin	1440	1521						Y
Sermisy	1490	1562						

APPENDIX 7

CHANSONNIERS CONCORDANT WITH LABORDE

showing concordant chansons

- AmiensBM 162 French origin, ca.1500 19 pieces
 Amiens. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 162
 Concordances: 98, 100
- BerlSM 78.c.28 Naples or Florence, 1490-1500 43 pieces
 Berlin. Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussicher
 Kulturbesitz. Kupferstichkabinett,
 MS 78.C.28 (olim Hamilton 451)
 Concordances: 1,3,8a,40,45,52,54,58
- BerlPS 40098 Silesia (now Poland), c. 1480 294 pieces
 Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS Mus.4009
 (olim Z98 and Z8037; missing since 1947)
 "Glogauer Liederbuch"
 Concordances: 1, 4, 15, 23, 59, 75
- BolC Q16 Rome or Naples, A: 1487; B: 1490/1500 131 pieces
 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q16
 (olim 109)
 Concordances: 4, 49, 75, 82, 89, 91
- BolC Q17 Northern Italy, 1490s; before 1500 71 pieces Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q17 (olim 148)
 Concordances: 10, 84, 87, 90, 94, 95, 101, 103
- BolC Q18 Bologna, 1502-6; early 16th C. 90 pieces Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q18 (olim 143)
 Concordances: 4, 59
- BrusBR 228 Brussels/Mechlin, 1516-1523 58 pieces
 Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 228
 Concordances: 95
- BrusBR 11239 Savoy, before 1501 24 pieces Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 11239 Concordances 101, 103
- BrusBR IV.90 Brussels/Tournai, 1511 22 pieces Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS IV.90 (almost identical to TourBV 94) Concordances: 90, 95, 101, 103
- Cambril 1760 France, ?1503-9; c. 1509; [1498-1502] 57 pieces Cambridge. Magdelene College, Pepys Library. MS 1760 Concordances: 97

Capella Giulia Chansonnier, see Vat XIII.27

CopKB 291 Dijon or France, 1470-80 35 pieces
Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliothek. MS Thott 291 80
"Copenhagen Chansonnier"
Concordances: 5, 10, 11, 13b, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 41, 49, 50, 61, 62, 77, 96, 99

CopKB 1848 Lyons, 1525 278 pieces
Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliothek. MS Ny
kongelige Samling 1848 20
Concordances: 10, 26, 52, 84, 89, 90, 93, 94, 103

Dijon or France, 1465-9; add: 1480 161 pieces
Dijon. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 517 (olim 295)

Concordances: 4, 8a, 9, 10, 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26,
27, 37, 41, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 55, 57, 61, 62, 65,
67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 86, 89,
95, 99

EscSL IV.a.24 Naples, 1460-74 124 pieces
Escorial. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial.
Biblioteca y Archivo de Musica. MS IV.a.24
Concordances: 2, 8a, 9, 19, 40, 45, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58,

FlorBN BR229 Florence, 1492-3

Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Banco
Rari 229 (olim Magliabechi XIX 59)

Concordances: 4,8,8a,48,59,70,75,77,84,87,91,94

FlorBN Magl. 107bis Florence, before 1513 42 pieces
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
Magliabechi XIX.107bis
Concordances: 101, 103

FlorBN Magl.ll2bis Genoa, 1460-70 50 pieces
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
Magliabechi XIX. 112bis
Concordances: 1

FlorBN Magl.117 Florence, 1515 55 pieces
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
Magliabechi XIX 117
Concordances: 97, 103

FlorBN Magl.121 Florence, 1510 37 pieces
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
Magliabechi XIX.121
Concordances: 49, 91

- FlorBN Magl.176 Florence, 1475-80 86 pieces
 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
 Magliabechi XIX.176
 Concordances: 9, 15, 19, 23, 24, 27, 32, 37, 40, 43, 45,
 48, 52, 53, 57, 65, 71, 81, 82, 83
- FlorBN Magl.178 Florence, ca. 1492-4 73 pieces
 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
 Magliabechi XIX.178
 Concordances: 10, 49, 87, 90, 91, 94 99. 101
- FlorBN Panc.27 Northern Italy ?Mantua ?Florence 187 pieces
 Early 16th Century
 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
 Panciatichi 27
 Concordances: 4
- FlorC 2439 Brussels/Mechlin, 1506-14 87 pieces
 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica
 Luigi Cherubino. MS Besevi 2439 "Basevi Codex"
 Concordances: 21, 95
- FlorR 2356 Florence, 1480/85; late 15th C. 72 pieces Florence. Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2356 Concordances: 10, 23, 32, 43, 45, 49, 52, 57, 84, 90, 99, 101
- FlorR 2794 French court, 1480s, before 1488 68 pieces Florence. Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2794 Concordances: 1, 8a, 10, 13, 17, 49, 56, 75, 77, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 93, 101, 102
- HeilbS X/2 Frankfurt am Main, 1550s 31 pieces
 Heilbronn. Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung. MS X/2
 Concordances: 89
- LeipU 49
 Leipzig, 1558
 Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche
 49 (1-4) (olim III, A.a 17-20) and MSs
 Thomaskirche 50 (olim A.a.21)
 Concordances: 101
- LonBL 31922 London, 1510-20 109 pieces
 London. British Library. Reference Division.

 Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 31922

 "Henry VIII Manuscript"

 Concordances: 49
- LonBL 35087 Bruges? 1505-6 78 pieces
 London. British Library. Reference Division.

 Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 35087

Concordances: 90, 94, 97

LonBLR 20.A.xvi France, 1483-8; 1490; 1499 28 pieces
London. British Library. Reference Division
Department of Manuscripts. MS Royal 20 A.xvi
Concordances: 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 95, 101

Mellon Chansonnier, see NHavY 91

MonteA 871 Naples, 1480-1500 144 pieces
Monte Cassino. Biblioteca del'Abbazia MS 871
(olim 871N) (Benedictine; Repertory 1430-80)
Concordances: 8a, 32, 40, 49, 54, 75, 87, 99

MunBS Germ 810 Liepzig/Augsburg/Nuremburg, 1460-70 128 pieces
Nunich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. HandschriftenInkunabelabteilung. MS Germanicus monacensis
810 (olim Mus.3232; Cim 351a; = Mai M 208)
"Schedel Liederbuch"
Concordances: 1, 18, 23, 32, 51, 52

NHavY 91 Naples, 1475-6 57 pieces
New Haven. Yale University. Beinicke Library for
Rare Books and Manuscripts. MS 91. "Mellon
Chansonnier"
Concordances: 3, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 40, 41, 45,
46, 49, 53, 54, 58, 81, 82

Nivelle de la Chausée Chansonnier, see Paris BN 57

OpBP 714 Ferrara, 1454-60 19 pieces
Oporto. Biblioteca Pública Municipale. MS 714
Concordances: 8a, 52, 54

OxfBC 213 Venice, 1420-36 326 pieces
Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Canonici Miscellaneous
213 (= MadanSC 19689)
Concordances: 51

ParisBN 57 France: Tours? 1460s or 1470s 63 pieces
Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département de la
Musique. MS Rés. VMC 57. "Nivelle de la
Chausée Chansonnier"
Concordances: 3, 10, 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32,
45, 53, 57, 69, 71, 72, 78, 99

ParisBNC 504

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département de la Musique. Ms Rés. VM7 ms 504 III (Egenolff) Concordances: 89, 101

- ParisBNC 676 Mantua, 1502 (Isabella d'Este) 87 pieces Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département de la Musique. Fonds du Conservatoire. MS Rés. Vm7 676 Concordances: 89, 101
- ParisBNF 1596 Cognac, 1495 6 pieces
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Fonds français. MS 1596
 Concordances: 105
- ParisBNF 1597 Paris, ca 1500 67 pieces
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Fonds français. MS 1597 (olim
 Colbert 1625) "Lorraine chansonnier"
 Concordances: 10, 32, 80, 87, 90, 95, 100, 101, 102,
 104, 106
- ParisBNF 2245 France, 1490-8 26 pieces
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Fonds français. MS 2245
 Concordances: 80, 85, 90, 101, 103, 106
- Paris BNF 15123 Florence, 1480-4 170 pieces
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Fonds français. MS 15123
 (olim. Suppl. Fr. 2637) "Pixérécourt Chansonnier"
 Concordances: 4, 8a, 10, 22, 37, 40, 43, 45, 48, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 65, 70, 75, 81, 87, 99
- ParisBNN 4379 Naples or Rome. 96 pieces
 I. 1470-80; II. early 15th; III. 1422; IV. late 15th C.
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises.
 MS 4379. (See also SevC 5-1-43)
 Concordances: 1, 2, 3, 4, 8a, 9, 10, 11, 15, 22, 23, 37,
 41, 45, 49, 52, 54, 56, 59, 65, 70, 75, 77, 79, 99
- ParisBNR 2973 Savoy, 1470-77 44 pieces
 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des
 Manuscrits. Collection Rothschild. MS 2973
 (shelf mark: 1.5.13. "Cordiforme Chansonnier"
 Concordances: 3, 8a, 9, 15, 20, 22, 23, 32, 43, 45, 49, 52, 53, 70
- PavU 362 Savoy, late 1460s or early 1470s 44 pieces Pavia. Biblioteca Universitaria. MS Aldini 362 (olim 131.A.17)
 Concordances: 8a, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56
- PerBC 431 Naples, 1480-90; ca 1485 129 pieces Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta MS 431 (G.20)

Concordances: 1, 4, 8a, 22,43, 49, 75

RomeC 2856 Ferrara, 1485-90 123 pieces
Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. MS 3856 (olim
OV 208) "Casanatense"
Concordances: 4, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 49, 59, 75, 77, 81,
85, 90, 91, 92, 94, 99, 101, 102

SegC s.s. Toledo, 1500-3 204 pieces Segovia. Archivo Capitular de la Catedral. MS s.s. Concordances: 4, 22,75, 85, 90, 101, 106

SevC 5-1-43 Naples or Rome, 1470-85 129 pieces Seville. Catedral Metropolitana. Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina. MS 5-1-43 (olim Z Tab 135, No. 33) (See also ParisBNN 4379) Concordances: 1, 2, 3, 4, 8a, 9, 10, 11, 15, 22, 23, 37, 41, 45, 59, 52, 54, 56, 59, 65, 70, 75, 77, 79, 99

SGallS 461 Low countries or Italy, ca. 1500 49 pieces
Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 461. "Sicher
Liederbuch"
Concordances: 80

SGallS 462 Paris, later Glarus, 1510, 1530 87 pieces
Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS. 462. "Heer
Liederbuch"
Concordances: 92, 97, 100, 102

SGallS 463 Glarus, 1540 187 pieces Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 463. "Tschudi Liederbuch" Concordances: 97, 100

StrasBM 222 Strasbourg or Freibourg, 1411/1450 193 pieces Strasbourg. Former Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 222 C.22 (destroyed in 1870) Concordances: 51

TourBV 94 Bruges, 1511 22 pieces
Tournai. Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS 94.
See BrusBR IV.90

TrentC 89 Trent, 1460-80 193 pieces
Trent. Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del
Buon Consiglio. MS 89
Concordances: 4, 15, 51, 75

TrentC 90 Trent, 1452-9 333 pieces
Trent. Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del
Buon Consiglio. MS 90
Concordances: 1, 8a, 32,40

TrentC 91 Trent, 1460-80 158 pieces
Trent. Musio Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del
Buon Consiglio. MS 91
Concordances: 81

TrentM 93 Trent, 1450-6 272 pieces
Trent. Museo Diocesano. MS BL (but unoffically referred to as MS 93 in recognition of relationship to TrentC 87 to 92)
Concordances: 54

TurBN I.27 Turin, ca 1500 49 pieces
Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria MS
Riserva musicale I.27 (olim Regia Biblioteca
dell' Università,qm III.59)
Concordances: 89

Ulms 237 Central Germany, 1530-40, 109 pieces
Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche
Familienstiftung. MS 237 (a-d)
Concordances: 49

VatG XIII.27 Florence, 1492-4 109 pieces
Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

MS Capella Giulia XIII 27. "Codex Medici"

Concordances: 4, 8a, 9, 10, 15, 23, 43, 49, 59, 75, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 99, 101

VatU 1411 Florence, 1440-1450 19 pieces
Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

MS Urbinates Latini 1411
Concordances: 51, 56

VerBC 757 Verona, c1500 65 pieces Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLVII Concordances: 1, 4, 59, 91, 101

WolfA 287 France: Loire valley? 1461-5 56 pieces Wolfenbüttel. Herzog August Bibliothek. MS
Guelferbytanus 287 Extravagantium
Concordances: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8a, 9, 10, 11, 13, 13a, 13b, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 32, 39, 41, 43, 45, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 69, 80

ZwiR 78/3 Zwickau? 1535-45 26 pieces Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXVIII.3 (=VollBM 12) Concordances: 87

APPENDIX 8. CONCORDANT SOURCES SHOWING SCRIBES, BY DATE OF MS.

Manuscript	Origin	Date	Sc.1	Sc.2	Sc.3a	Sc.3b	Sc.3c	Sc.4a	Sc.4b
OxfBC 213	Italy	1436	1						
VatU 1411	Italy	1440	2						
StrasBM 222	Germany		1						
TrentC 93	Italy	1450	1						
TrentC 90	Italy	1452	4						
OpBP 714	Italy	1454	3						
EscSL IV.a.24	Italy	1460	11	1					
FlorBN Magl.112bis		1460	1						
MunBS Germ 810	Germany		8						
ParisBN 57	France	1460	15	4					
TrentC 89	Italy	1460	3	1		,			
TrentC 91	Italy	1460		1					
VerBC 287	France	1461	2	1		1			1
WolfA 287	France	1461	32	3					
BerlK	Italy	1465	8						
DijBM 517	France	1465	20	15	1	1	1	1	
CopKB 291	France	1470	12	6					
ParisBNN 4379	Iltaly	1470	18	7					
ParisBNR 2973	France	1470	12	2					
SevC 5-1-43	Italy	1470	18	7					
PavU362	France	1473	6	1					
FlorBN Magl.176	Italy	1475	14	4	1	1			
NHavY 91	Italy	1475	15	2	1				
BerIPS 40098	Silesia	1480	4	2					
FlorR 2356	Italy	1480	8	1	1	1			1
MonteA 871	Italy	1480	4	2		1			
ParisBNF 15123	Italy	1480	15	6		1			
LonBLR 20 A.xvi	France	1483				5		1	1
FlorR 2794	France	1485	6	3	1	6			2
PerBC 431	Italy	1485	5	2					
RomeC 2856	Italy	1485	7	5		5			2
BerISM 78.c.28	Italy	1490	8						
BolC Q16	Italy	1490	1	2	1	2			
ParisBNF 2245	France	1490		1		2			3
FlorBN BR229	Italy	1492	3	5		4			
FlorBN Magl.178	Italy	1492	2	1		4			1
VatG XIII.27	Italy	1492	8	4		9			1
BolC Q17	Italy	1493	1		1	3		1	2
ParisBNF 1596	France	1495							1
Amiens	France	1500	1						1
ParisBNF 1597	France	1500	3	1		2		1	4
SegC s.s.	Spain	1500	2	1		2			2
SGallS 461	Netherids			2					
TurBN 1.27	Turin	1500				1			
BrusBR 11239	Savoy	1501	_						2
BolC Q18	Italy	1502	1	1					
ParisBNC 676	ltaly	1502	1	1	1				1
CambriP 1760	France	1503				_			1
LonBL 35087	Netherlds					2			1
FlorC 2439	Netherids	1506	1		1			1	

APPENDIX 8. CONCORDANT SOURCES SHOWING SCRIBES, BY DATE OF MS.

Manuscript	Origin Date	Sc	.1Sc.2	Sc.3	BaSc.3bS	c.3cSc.4a	Sc.4b
FlorBN Panc.27	Italy 1510	1					
LonBL 31922	England 1510		1				
SGalls 462	France 1510	- 1			1		2
BrusBR IV.90	Netherlds1511					1	2
TourBV 94	Netrherld 1511					1	2
FlorBN Magl.107bis	Italy 1513						2
FlorBN Magl.117	Italy 1515						2
FlorBN Magl.121	Italy 1515		1		i		
BrusBR 228	Netherlds1516						2
CopKB 1848	France 1525	3	. ,	1	3		2
UlmS 237	? 1530		· 1			•	
ZwiR 78/3	Germany 1535				1		
SGalls 463	France 1540						1
HeilbS X/2	Germany1550				1		
LeipU 49	Germany1558						1

APPENDIX 9. CADENCES BY DATE AND SCRIBE

Abbreviations; DLT

DLT: Double Leading Tone Cadence.

OLCT: Octave-leap cadence. 2-vce: 2-voice cadence. Phry: Phrygian cadence. F: Final X: not Final.

S: Superius; T: Tenor: C: Contratenor

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	V-1°	DLT	OLCt	2-vce	Phr	fFinal	Med
51	Si la face ay pale	1436	1	Х	FΧ	Х	С		С	С
	Je ne vis onques	1454	1	FX	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	x			Ğ	Ď
	Vostre bruit	1455	1	X	XX	F			Ď	Č
40	Soyez aprantiz	1455	1	X	FX	·			Ď	Ď
	Ave Regina	1460	1	Х		FΧ			F	Č
	Le seruiteur	1460	1	Х	FX				Ċ	Ď
9	Comme femme	1460	1	Х	FX	Χ		Х	Č	D
54	Par le regart	1460	1		XXX				Ġ	D
56	Pour prison	1460	1		Χ	FΧ	S		F	С
2	Ma maistresse	1460	1		XXX	XX		F	Α	С
3	Tout a par moy	1465	1	Х	Х	FΧ			G	С
4	Helas mamour	1465	1	FΧ	Х		T		F	F
5	Nul ne latelle	1465	1	F	XX	XX	T		F	F
6	Recours donneur	1465	1		XX	F			F	F
7	Je le scay bien	1465	1	Х	F	Χ			G	С
10	Dung aultre amer	1465	1	Х	XX	F			G	D
11	Se mieuk ne vient	1465	1	Χ	F	Х			G	Ð
12	Puis que si bien	1465	1	FXX			С		F	С
	De mesiouir	1465	1	F	Χ				G	G
	Ce quon fait	1465	1		Χ	F	CC		G	С
13b	•	1465	1		XX	F	T		G	G
14	Je nay pouoir	1465	1						F	F
	Ne me veilles	1465	1				С		F	F
17	•	1465	1	XX		F	T		D	Α
	Malheureuk cueur	1465	1	XXX	Х			F	Ε	Ε
19		1465	1	FXX					Α	D
	Estil mercy	1465	1	FX			CC		G	D
21		1465	1	FX		Х	CC		G	Α
	Jay prins amours	1465	1						Α	Ε
	Ma bouche rit	1465	1			X		F	Α	Ε
	Tant fort me tarde	1465	1	X		F	_		G	D
	Si dieu me faisoit	1465	1	F			C		F	F
26	Tant est mignonne	1465	1	X		FX			G	C
27	+···	1465	1	Х	Х	F	CC		C	G
	Mon desir	1465	1		X	FX	C		C	C
	Je ne requier	1465	1	••	F				C	C
	Ne pour cela	1465	1	X	F	Х	_		G	G
	Je suis ennuye	1465	1	X	F	_	С	X	C	C
	Si par souait	1465	1	X	X	F		7	D	Α
	Tant moins	1465	1	FX			_		C	G
	Tant plus mefforce	1465	1	FX			C		C	G
	Le plus heureux	1465	1	F					D	A
38	Dangier tu mas tollu	1465	1		FX				С	C

APPENDIX 9, CADENCES BY DATE AND SCRIBE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	5/1	DLT	OLCt	Empty	Phr	Final	Med
39	Esse bien fait	1465	1	FX	Х				G	Α
41	Jaqueline si actende		1	FX					Ċ	C
42	Greueuse mest	1465	1		XX	FX			F	С
	Le souuenir de vous	1465	1	FX			С		D	Α
	Lenquerant	1465	1	FX					Α	С
	Naray je jamais	1485	1	FX	ΧF			Χ	D	Α
	O Belle Dyane	1465	1	FXX					D	D
	Mon seul plaisir	1465	1		Х	F			С	С
	Jamaiz ne seray	1465	1	Х		F	С		G	D
	Charge de dueil	1465	1	FX	Х				G	C
	Nos amys	1465	1		FΧ		С		Α	D
99	Tart ara mon cueur	1465	1	FXX		Х			С	G
8	Non pas que je veille	1465	1	FXX	Х		С		C	D
	Mercy mon dueil	1465	1				XXX		G	Α
	Lomme banny	1465	1		XXX	F			F	D
37	Se je garde bien	1465	1	F	Х		Т		G	Α
96	Garison scay:	1465	1	F	Х		Х		D	G
100	Dulcis amica dei	1465	1	F	Х				F	
49	De tous biens plaine	1465	2	FX	Х				G	D
69	Jamais si bien	1465	2	FX	Х				G	F
80	Fors seulement	1465	2	F			TTT		Α	Α
71	Mon cueur a demy	1470	2	FXXX					G	D
72	Mort Jappelle	1470	2	FΧ		Χ			G	D.
82	A vne dame	1475	3a	FXXX			С		D	D
83	Je ne me puis voir	1475	3a			F			Bfl	G
	De vous seruir	1475	3a	FX			C		G	С
86	Les desloyaulx ont	1475	3с			F	C		D	Ε
	Soubz les branches	1475	2							Bfl
61	Pour changer lair	1475	2	Х		F	С		D	Α
62	Ma plus ma mignonn	(1475	2	Х	F	Х	S		Ε	Ε
63	Il ne menchault	1475	2	FX			C		G	F
67	Presque transi	1475	2	F	XXX				Ε	G
70	Jay mains de bien	1475	2	FX		X	С		G	G
77	M vostre cueur	1475	2	FXXX	X	X			D	D
	Les treues damours	1475	2			FX	C		Bf	F
	Vostre regart	1475	2	FXX	Х	X			G	G
50	Je le prens	1475	2	FX	Х		С		G	F

APPENDIX 9. CADENCES BY DATE AND SCRIBE

No.	Title	Date	Scribe	5/1	DLT	OLCI	Empt P	hr	Final	Med
75	Amours amours	1475	2	FX			CCC		G	G
	Joye me fuit	1475	2	FX	XX		С		D	F#
48	La Despourueue	1475	2	X	Х	Χ	C		F	F
59	Le despourueu	1475	2	6-1		F	CC		G	A
60	Quel remede	1475	2	Х		F	С		F	Bfl
64	Je seruiray	1475	2		F	Х	С		D	D
66	Les desloyalles	1475	2			FX			D	
68	En voyant sa dame	1475	2	FX					F	C
73	Nestil secours	1475	2	FXX	Х				G	G
74	Les desleaulx sont	1475	2	Χ	Х	F	C		D	D
76	La pourueance	1475	2	FX			CC		С	G
89	Dittez moy toutes	1480	3ь	F			С		D	D
87	Mes pensees	1484	3ь							
90	Mon souuenir	1485	3b	F	XX		C		G	Bfl
92	Pour voz plaisirs	1488	3ь	FXXX			С		F	F
85	Ce nest pas jeu	1488	3b	F		Χ			G	D
91	En attendant	1488	3b	F	Χ				F	F
93	Nuyt et jour	1488	3b	Χ	F		T		F	G
95	Je nay dueil	1488	4a	F				Χ	Α	С
101	Allez regretz	1488	4b	FX	Х				F	С
102	La saison en est	1488	4 b	F			CC		G	F
	Mais que ce fust	1490	3b	FXX			С		G	G
88	Si a tort	1495	3b	FX			SSCC		G	
	Les grans regretz	1495	4b	FX			C		G	D
105	Cest pour aymer	1495	4b	F			С		С	G
106	Pencer en vous	1495	4b	F			CC		G	G
	Consomo la vita mya	1500	4b	Х	F				G	C
	La grant paine	1500	4b	F					G	
104	Plus quautre	1500	4b	FX	Х	Х	TCCC		G	G

APPENDIX 10

EXAMPLES OF SCRIBAL HANDS IN THE

LABORDE CHANSONNIER

Je ne vis onques. Jay prins amours SCRIBE 1:

SCRIBE 2: Quel remede.

SCRIBE 3A: A une dame.

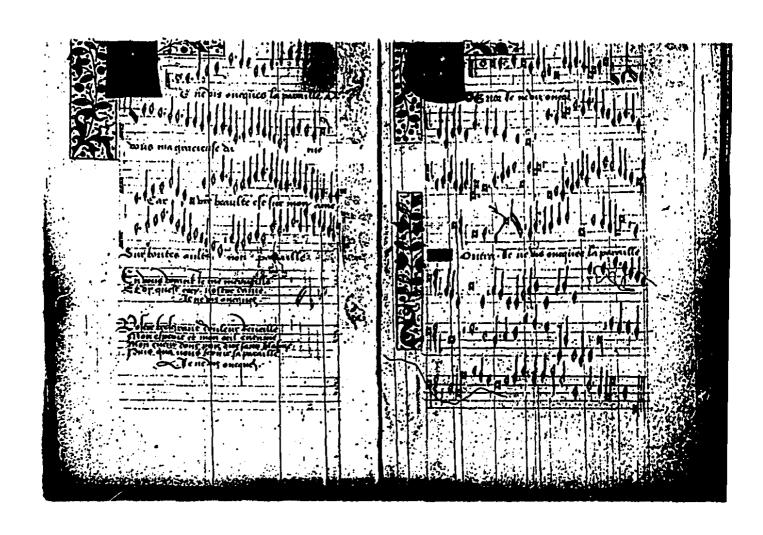
SCRIBE 3B: Mon souvenir.

SCRIBE 3C: Pencer en vous.

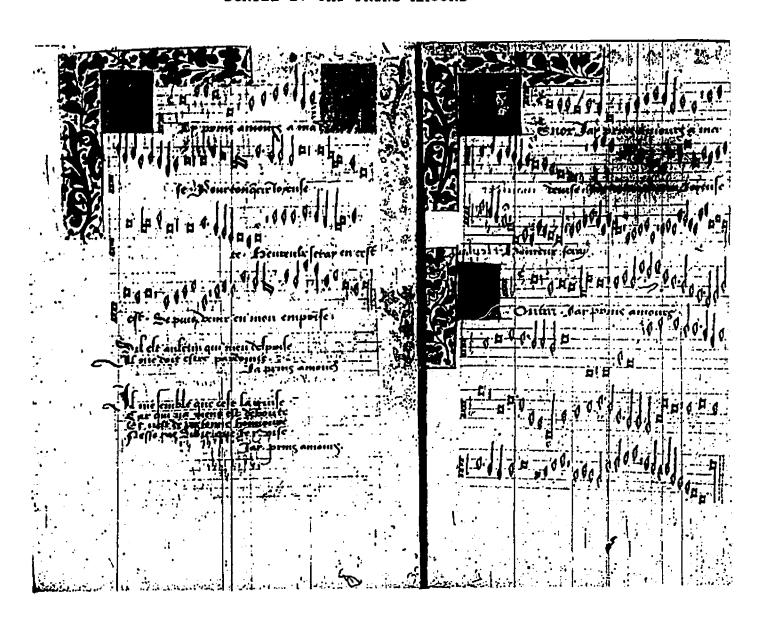
SCRIBE 4A: Je nay deuil

SCRIBE 4B: Consomo la vita mya

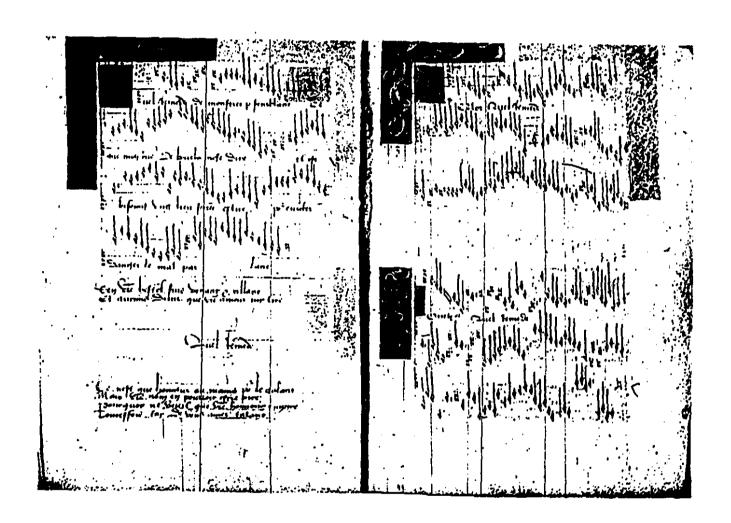
SCRIBE 1: JE NE VIS ONQUES



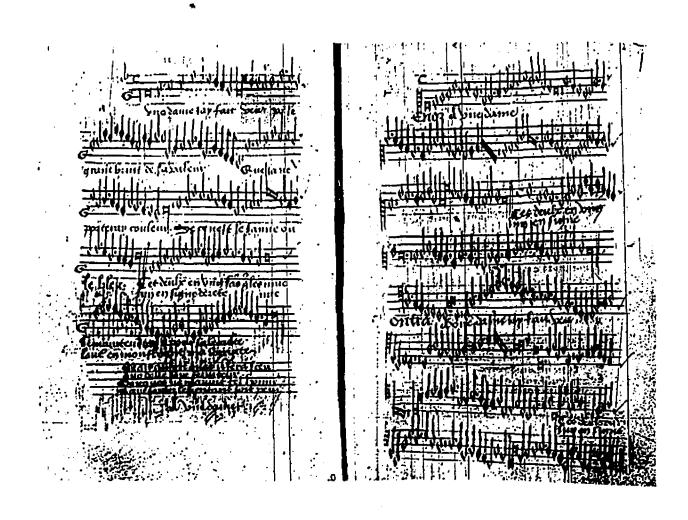
SCRIBE 1: JAY PRINS AMOURS



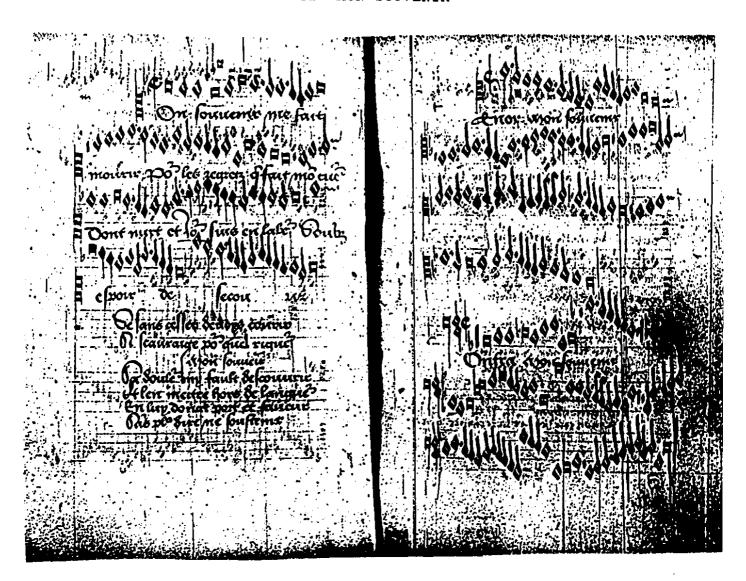
SCRIBE 2: QUEL REMEDE



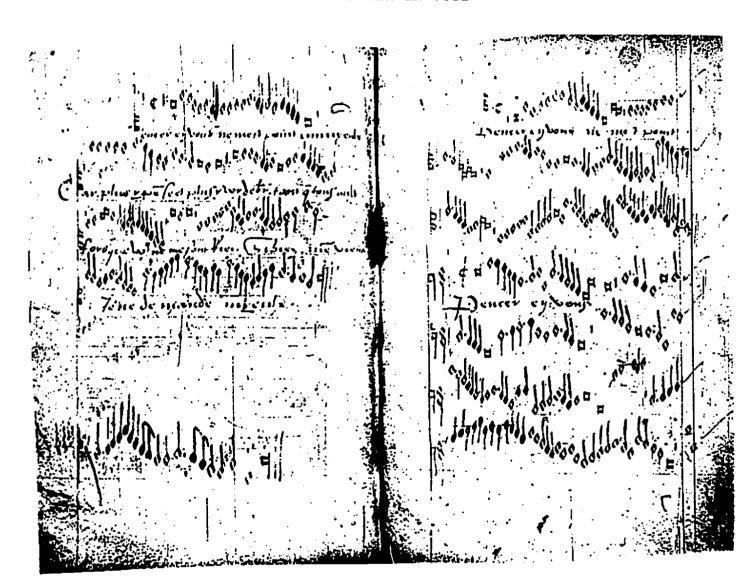
SCRIBE 3a: A UNE DAME



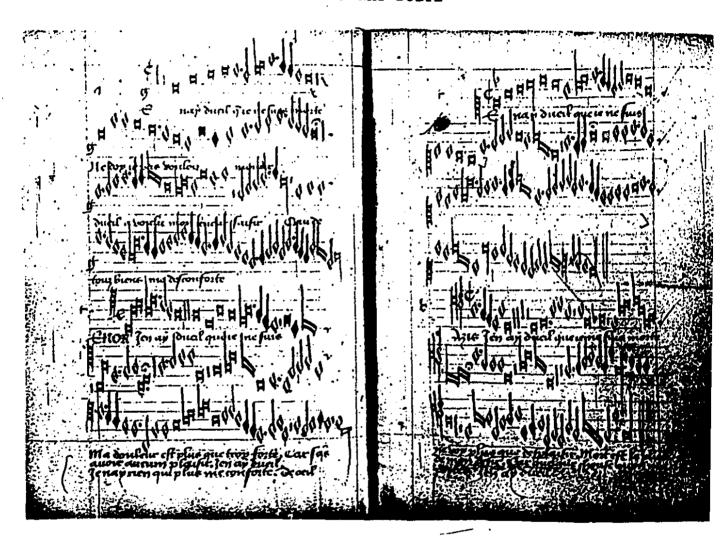
SCRIBE 3b: MON SOUVENIR



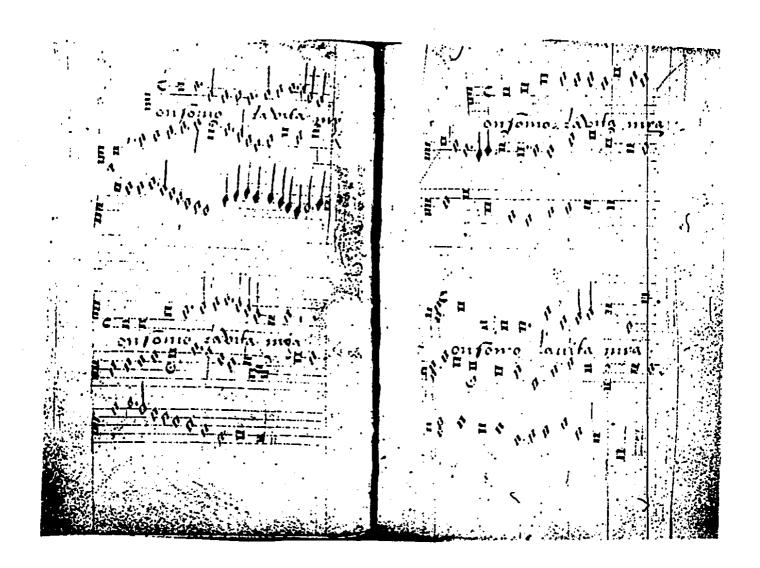
SCRIBE 3c: PENCER EN VOUS



SCRIBE 4a: JE NAY DUEIL



SCRIBE 4b: CONSOMO LA VITA MYA



APPENDIX 11

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ANONYMOUS UNICA AND

CHANSONS NOT FOUND IN OTHER MODERN SOURCES

UNICA

- No. 6. Recours donneur
- No. 12. Puisque si bien
- No. 16. Ne me veilles
- No. 25. Si Dieu me faisoit
- No. 28. Mon desir
- No. 30. Ne pour cela
- No. 31. Je suis ennuye
- No. 33. Si par souait
- No. 34. Tant moins en ay plus
- No. 35. Tant plus m'efforce
- No. 36. Le plus heureux
- No. 38. Dangier tu mas tollu
- No. 44. Lenguerant
- No. 47. O Belle dyane
- No. 60. Quel remede
- No. 64. Je serviray
- No. 66. Les desloyalles
- No. 73. N'estil secours
- No. 74. Les desleaux sont
- No. 76. La pourueance

CHANSONS NOT READILY AVAILABLE IN TRANSCRIPTION

- No. 24. Tant fort me tarde -- Philipon?
- No. 68. En voyant sa dame -- Busnois
- No. 83. Je ne me puis voir
- No. 98. La grant paine que yo sento

The transcripts were made largely from a microfilm copy of the Laborde Chansonnier. Those few which were partially unreadable were checked in the Chansonnier itself which I was able to see at the Library of Congress in February, 1995. Professor Julie Cumming helped me a great deal with this work.

In preparing the transcripts, I used the half note for the breve. Ligatures are marked with a bar over the inclusive notes. Black notes are marked by small triangles under the affected notes. Errors in the manuscript are signalled with small notes or rests above or below the staff.

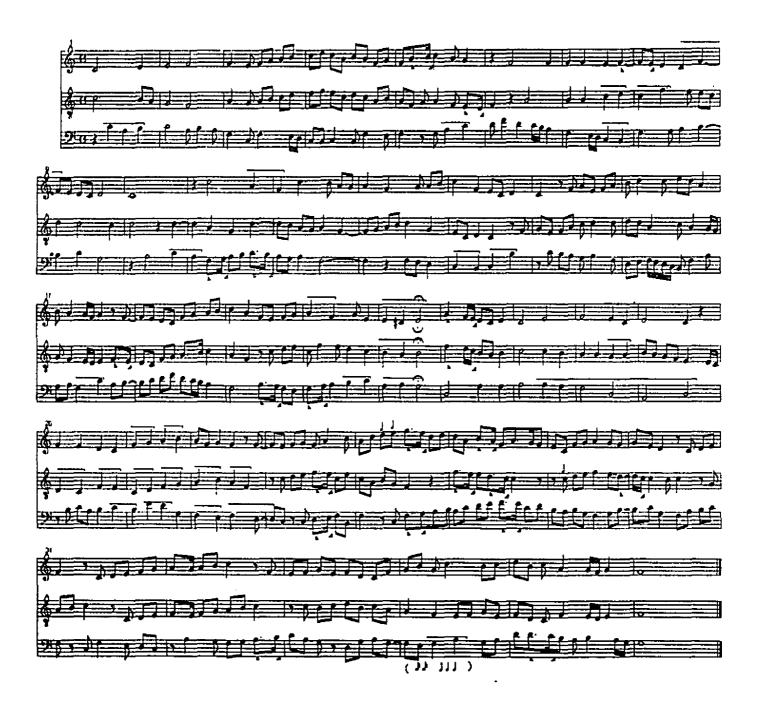
In printing the transcripts I have used <u>Finale 3.0</u> (Coda Music Technology, 1994).

6. Recours donneur



12. Puisque si bien mest advenu





25. Si Dieu me faisoit si heureux







31. Je suis ennuye de ma vie







35. Tant plus m'efforce de loyaulment servir

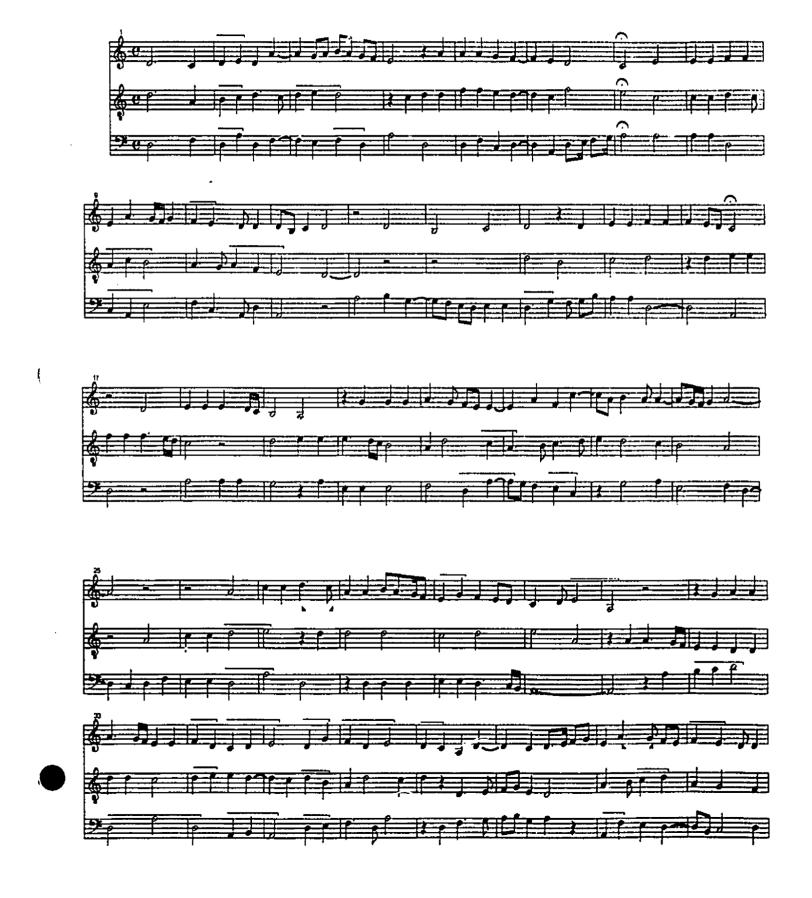




38. Dangier tu m'a tollu ma dame















60. Quel remede





66. Les desloyalles ont le temps







74. Les desleaux sont en la saison mis





24. Tant fort me tarde ta venu -- Philippon?

