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# THE CHANSONS OF MATTHAEUS PIPELARE

by RONALD CROSS

FOUR Flemish and four French chansons of Pipelare survive.<sup>1</sup> In light of conflicting attributions, however, one of them, *Vray dieu quel paine*, may not be his composition. The chansons range from an elaborate, polyphonic style to a chordal, frottola-like style, as do also the sacred works of the composer. Though Pipelare's creative talent and imagination found perhaps their greatest outlet in his Masses, the chansons, even the few works that have come down to us, reflect admirably upon the composer's ability, and some of them are among the most engaging of his works. *Fors seulement* (setting II), to judge from the number of sources in which it is preserved, must have been among the most popular chansons of the period.

### *Een vrolic wesen*

Five sources preserve the Pipelare setting; of these, two ascribe it to Pipelare, one to Pierre de la Rue, and in two sources it is anonymous. The most authoritative of these manuscripts and one of the two that attribute the work to Pipelare (MS Basevi 2439 of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Florence) is carefully and beautifully written. The other source that gives Pipelare's name is the Pernner Codex (Regensburg, Proskesche Bibliothek), a poorly written manuscript. However, the fact that the two codices give Pipelare as the composer is enough reason to credit the piece to him, in spite of the ascription to Pierre de la Rue in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 18810. The fourth manuscript — Trent, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 1497-4 — is only a fragment and contains the piece *a* 3, without the superius and without a

<sup>1</sup> References to passages and measure numbers are to the author's edition, *Matthaeus Pipelare: Opera omnia*, Vol. I (American Institute of Musicology, Rome, 1966). MSS and early prints that contain works of Pipelare have been mentioned only when necessary, since complete listings of original sources as well as modern editions are contained in the author's "The Life and Works of Matthaeus Pipelare," *Musica disciplina*, XVII (1963), 97.

composer's name. The Trent MS is in choirbook notation, and the three lower parts of the original are transposed a fifth higher.<sup>2</sup> (Pipelare's superius contains the original melody of *Een vrolic wesen* and is taken from the setting by Barbireau, to be mentioned below.) The fifth source is the Sicher Tablature — St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 530.<sup>3</sup>

Moser and Baumann (who apparently based his remarks on those of Moser) have stated that a version of *Een vrolic wesen* found in the *Liederbuch* of Arnt von Aich, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F IX 63, and in MS F X 17-20, No. 47, of the same library is by Pipelare.<sup>4</sup> They offer no evidence in support of this. In both sources the setting is anonymous.

The most famous of all the settings of *Een vrolic wesen* is, of course, the one by Jacob Barbireau, who is presumably the original composer to set the text. A more felicitous example of the three-part Flemish lied in the second half of the 15th century could hardly be found. The melody enjoyed a lasting popularity, as evidenced by its appearance in versions preserved in a large number of manuscripts and prints. One of the most interesting of these is the *Livre plaisant et tres utile pour apprendre a faire et ordonner toutes tablatures*, published by Guillaume Vorsterman of Antwerp in 1529.<sup>5</sup> It is a free and simplified translation of Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getuscht* (Basel, 1511). In place of a composition by Virdung, *O haylige, onbeflecte zart iunckfrawschafft marie*, the *Livre plaisant* presents Barbireau's *Een vrolic wesen*, first as a three-part chanson (fols. 13<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>), then as a keyboard arrangement (fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>), and finally as a lute arrangement (fols. 26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>).<sup>6</sup> Barbireau's piece replaces

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Benvenuto Disertori, "Il Manoscritto 1947-4 di Trento e la canzone 'l'ay prins amours', *Rivista musicale italiana*, XLVIII (1946), 3. Disertori assumes on the basis of Vienna 18810 that the composition in Trent is by Pierre de la Rue.

<sup>3</sup> In his study of the Sicher Tablature ("Der St. Galler Organist Fridolin Sicher und seine Orgeltabulatur," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch*, VII [1938]), Walter Robert Nef also assigns the work to Pierre de la Rue, evidently through his acquaintance with the Vienna source.

<sup>4</sup> Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer* (Stuttgart, 1929), p. 143; and Otto A. Baumann, *Das deutsche Lied und seine Bearbeitungen in den frühen Orgeltabulaturen* (Kassel, 1934), p. 39. Moser gives what he conceives to be the original version of the melody of *Een vrolic wesen*. The result, however, is a tune of his own fancy.

<sup>5</sup> The only known extant copy was bought in Brussels in 1531 by Ferdinand Columbus, the son of Christopher, and is now in the Seville Library, which was founded by Ferdinand.

<sup>6</sup> See Charles Warren Fox, "An Early Duet for Recorder and Lute," *The Guitar Review*, 1949, No. 9, pp. 24-25. Fox gives a transcription of the lute version, which preserves in tablature the two lower voices of the chanson; the discantus was presumably played by a recorder.

Virdung's also in Jan van Ghelen's *Dit is een zeer Schoon Boecxken om te leeren make alderhande tablatueren wten Discante*, a Flemish translation of the *Livre plaisant* that was published in 1554 at Antwerp and in 1568 at The Hague.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A translation of *Musica getutscht* into Latin by Othmar Luscinius (Nachtgall), *Musurgia seu Praxis Musicae*, published in Strasbourg in 1536 and 1542, preserves the Virdung composition.

An excellent study of the numerous *Een vrolic wesen* pieces is found in Johannes du Saar's *Het leven en de composities van Jacobus Barbireau* (Utrecht, 1946). To his list of twenty-one manuscript sources we can add only the following: (1) the Trent MS mentioned above, containing Pipelare's composition; (2) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 18832, No. 50, the setting by Isaac (one part lost); (3) London, British Museum, Add. MS 31922, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, an anonymous setting *a* 3. Barbireau's composition served in various ways as a basis for further works. His superius preserves its original function in Pipelare's setting. It forms the altus of two other settings.<sup>8</sup> Barbireau's bassus forms the superius of an anonymous three-part composition, the altus of Isaac's chanson, the bassus of a three-part setting by Ghiselin, and the bassus of an anonymous four-part piece.<sup>9</sup>

A comparison of the settings by Barbireau<sup>10</sup> and Pipelare shows how different are the aims and techniques of these two composers in approaching the same passage. Pipelare, for instance, characteristically indulges in syncopation, whereas Barbireau employs very little — a difference revealed near the beginning of the two versions of the chanson. There is a good deal more motion in Pipelare's setting, for example, in measures seven and eight. At the cadence in measures nineteen and twenty, Pipelare continues the motion by letting the voices conclude their phrases at different times, while Barbireau ends the voices simultaneously. In measures thirty-three to five, Pipelare employs

<sup>8</sup> A fifth higher in Regensburg, Codex Pernner, fols. 278<sup>v</sup>-279<sup>r</sup>, ascribed to "H. Bucis." The second setting is preserved in Basel, Universitätsbibl. F X 17-20, No. 47, and in the *Liederbuch* of Arnt von Aich, No. 28.

<sup>9</sup> The locations of these works are (1) Anon., *a* 3: St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 462, fols. 65<sup>r</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>; (2) Isaac: Regensburg, Codex Pernner, fols. 280<sup>v</sup>-281<sup>r</sup>; (3) Ghiselin: Florence, Bibl. del Conservatorio di Musica, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>; (4) Anon., *a* 4: *ibid.*, fols. 27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The Barbireau version is printed in *Jacobus Barbireau: Opera omnia*, ed. Bernhard Meier, II (Rome, 1957), 11; René Lenaerts, *Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de 16de eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1933), Supplement, p. 28; J. P. N. Land, "De luit en het wereldlijk lied en Duitschland en Nederland," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, IV (1892), 26; *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Jahrgang XIV<sup>1</sup> (1907), p. 5.

independent counterpoint, whereas Barbireau's three voices move in parallel motion. On the whole Barbireau's setting tends to reflect an almost Burgundian delicacy and clarity, while Pipelare's version is thicker, more ornate and more rollicking.

Barbireau's lied is ideally suited for instruments, which accounts for the number of intabulations that survive. It seems to have been conceived by the composer as an instrumental piece, probably a duet for voice (or recorder) and lute.<sup>11</sup> Pipelare's setting is also more instrumental than vocal, a quality borne out by the fact that in the Trent fragment the superius is intentionally omitted;<sup>12</sup> a voice, recorder or other instrument performing the superius may find a felicitous accompaniment by letting viols, a lute, or a keyboard instrument perform the three lower parts.

The text of *Een vrolic wesen* concerns a pleasant maid whose youthful and sweet ways compel the singer to desire no other. The Flemish text survives only for one stanza — though there must have been others — and is not given in any of the sources for Pipelare's work.<sup>13</sup> Three stanzas survive in German. The German version (from the *Liederbuch* of Arnt von Aich) is, however, not a translation, but a new text — a song of travel.<sup>14</sup>

*Ic weedt een molenarinne*

Our survey of *Een vrolic wesen* concerned the arrangements, adaptations, and settings of a particular melody during the 15th and 16th centuries. But in tracing the vicissitudes of *Ic weedt een molenarinne*, we must follow the evolution of an idea. The miller's wife, conceived variously as an object of desire or as a fickle woman, has been romanticized in Western literature in much the same way as the shepherd has been with his bucolic and supposedly idyllic life. But whereas it was the aristocratic pastoral poets who dealt with the shepherd, it was the common people who sang of the miller's wife and from whom the subject spread to the people at court, the latter reveling in the ribald texts. It was not until the early 19th century that the loves of ladies of the mill were refined and made the object of extended art works. During the Renaissance there were only occasional settings of Müllerin poems.

<sup>11</sup> See Fox, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> See Disertori, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> It is found in the Tournai MS, printed in Johannes du Saar, *Het leven en de composities van Jacobus Barbireau*, p. 104, and René Lenaerts, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> Printed in Du Saar, *op. cit.*, p. 122; the spelling is modernized in Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser, *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich* (Kassel, 1930), pp. 56-7.

The basis for Pipelare's setting is an anonymous composition *a 3*, found in London, British Museum, Add. MS 35087, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, *Ik weet een molenaarinne*.<sup>15</sup> The harmonic idiom of the London piece indicates that it is perhaps two decades older than Pipelare's setting. Although a hasty glance would indicate that Pipelare paraphrases all three parts, it is the bassus that he mainly draws upon, deriving from it — sometimes by repeating phrases, sometimes by embellishing them — almost his entire composition.

The opening phrases of the two compositions are different. Pipelare's first phrase, moreover, seems to have no clear relation to any other setting. The reason for his idiosyncratic procedure is obscure. (We shall return to this point later.) Pipelare's tenor, which transposes the melody down a whole step, is the voice most like the bassus of the London piece. In the concluding section, Pipelare's superius and the London bassus have an almost note-for-note relation. There is one conspicuous difference between the two pieces: whereas in the anonymous work the first part of this phrase is followed by a repetition, in Pipelare's it is followed by an extension.

Pipelare also follows his model in the London MS by changing what must have been the original structure of the song, *aab*, to *abCC* (or *aBB*). The other extant Müllerin pieces, which we shall discuss below, all have the form *aab*; it is found in the folk songs and polyphonic settings alike. In Pipelare's version the music for the opening quatrain can be represented as *ab* or simply as *a*, and it is the remaining three lines and their music that are repeated. The repeat, however, is not as clear-cut as the letters may seem to indicate, for its beginning has new material, to match the words "Rijk God."

This is one of Pipelare's most delightful chansons, and it is also one of the most gratifying to perform. The lusty rhythms and robust phrases drive energetically forward, practically breaking into laughter on the words "wou zij mijn molenaarinnekin zijn" at measure thirty-seven. Pipelare includes a good deal of imitation, somewhat more than usual. The opening phrase is treated in four-part imitation, as is the phrase beginning with the words "goed cooren." In both instances the effective order of entries is altus, bassus, superius, tenor. The phrase "in alle deze landen" is very interestingly set out. First the melody appears in the superius, with a counterpoint in the altus, the other voices being silent. Then the melody and its counterpoint are repeated by the tenor and

<sup>15</sup> Printed by Johannes Wolf in *25 driestemmige oud-Nederlandsche liederen* (Amsterdam, 1910), p. 2.

bassus, the tenor continuing the phrase for the words "en mach geen schoonder zijn," while the altus comes in again with a new contrapuntal line. Before the tenor has finished, the superius has re-entered with the complete phrase for "in alle deze landen." The repetition (beginning at measure thirty-nine) of the last section — though not an uncommon device — is, in this piece, another stroke of musical mastery. The chanson is best performed softly *marcato*, which adds a final touch of merriment.

Van Duyse tries to reconstruct the basic popular melody of *Ich weedt een molenarinne*.<sup>16</sup> In doing this he compresses Pipelare's superius, transposes it a whole step higher, and cuts off the repeat at the end. As we have already pointed out, the tenor carries the first part of the melody more than the superius does. Willems also has sought to extract the popular melody from Pipelare's superius.<sup>17</sup> He transposes the tune a fifth higher.

No. 20 in Johann Ott's *Hundert und ain und zweintzig neue Lieder*, printed by Formschneider at Nuremberg in 1534, is a piece by Arnold von Bruck, *Ich weis mir ein Mülnerin*.<sup>18</sup> Bruck's piece, a fine one, is based on Pipelare's setting. The latter's tenor, by and large, becomes Bruck's superius. Apparently, however, Bruck did not like the change Pipelare made in the opening phrase, for he uses the same beginning as the London piece; we may safely assume that this represents the more common form of the melody. Bruck did not base his entire composition directly on the popular melody or on the London piece rather than on Pipelare, since in Bruck's setting there are a few short phrases and configurations that are found only in Pipelare's setting. In addition, Bruck follows the transposition used by Pipelare. Towards the end of Bruck's superius the resemblance is closer to Pipelare's superius than to his tenor. It is to be noted that Bruck follows the apparently original form of the melody by not repeating the last section.

A fourth composition should probably be added to the London-Pipelare-Bruck series. Though only the superius of this piece survives, it

<sup>16</sup> Florimond van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche Lied*, I (The Hague, 1903), 866-7.

<sup>17</sup> Jan Frans Willems, *Oude Vlaemsche Lieder* (Ghent, 1848), p. 492; the same version is found in J. A. and L. J. Alberdingck Thijm, *Oude en nieuwe Kerstliederen* (1852), p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> This piece is transcribed by Leopold Nowak and printed in *Das deutsche Gesellschaftslied in Österreich, 1480-1550*, (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Jahrgang XXXVII<sup>2</sup> [1930]), p. 12.

is enough to reveal the close relationship to the compositions discussed above. This melody is from a print in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504, Vol. II, No. 24. Only the three volumes that formed the discantus of the original print survive. Nanie Bridgman has ably shown that these volumes are undoubtedly from a print of Christian Egenolff's.<sup>19</sup> A number of scholars<sup>20</sup> had previously thought that this discantus in Paris was the upper part of another incomplete print known as the *Kampen Liedboek* — this name being derived from its discovery in the Dutch town of Kampen. Only fragments of the lower parts of this print remain; among them, however, is a table of contents. There were thirty-seven pieces in the *Kampen Liedboek*, all Flemish. (Volume II of the Paris collection contains thirty-six Flemish songs.) *Ik weet een molenarinne* is listed as No. 25 in the table of contents of the *Kampen Liedboek*, but does not survive in any part.<sup>21</sup>

The song was also used as the basis for instrumental dances. A lute piece called *Die Mülnerin* is found in the *Lautenbuch* of Stephen Craus from Ebenfurt,<sup>22</sup> but its melody shows deviations far from the Pipelare-Bruck tradition; there has also been a change of mode. Another instrumental version, found in Hans Newsidler's *Lautenbuch* of 1540,<sup>23</sup> shows, along with the one mentioned above, the transition that took place between the London-Pipelare-Bruck series and the Senfl piece, *Ich weisz ein stolze Müllerin*, to be mentioned below. The two lute pieces may have been based directly on the one by Senfl; however, the latter was not published until 1544. Another dance melody, entitled *Die schöne Müllerin*, is contained in Heckel's *Lautenbuch* of 1562.<sup>24</sup> This tune is almost identical with Senfl's tenor. The Senfl setting, in a print by

<sup>19</sup> "Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique (A propos du recueil Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504 de la Bibl. nat. de Paris)," *Annales musicologiques*, III (1955), 77-178.

<sup>20</sup> Such as Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. viii; Lenaerts, *op. cit.*, p. 16; and Charles van den Borren, "Inventaire des manuscrits qui se trouvent en Belgique," *Acta musicologica*, V (1933), 127.

<sup>21</sup> Further about the *Kampen Liedboek*, see Florimond van Duyse, "Oude Nederlandsche meerstemmige liederboeken," and C. W. H. Lindenburg, "Het 'Kamper' liedboek," in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, III (1891), 147-160, and XVI (1940), 48-62, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Transcribed by Adolf Koczirz and printed in *Österreichische Lautenmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert*, (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jahrgang XVIII*<sup>2</sup> [1911]), pp. 88-9. Ebenfurt is in Lower Austria, northwest from Wiener Neustadt, near the Hungarian border.

<sup>23</sup> Printed *ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>24</sup> Printed in Franz M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1886), II, 32.



Johann Ott,<sup>25</sup> belongs to an entirely different world from that of the Pipelare setting. Senfl's lied, strictly chordal throughout and rhythmically clear-cut, is gay and bouncy, but lacks some of the artistic and contrapuntal mastery of Pipelare's composition.

Only one stanza survives for the Flemish text; it comes from Pipelare's piece in the Cambrai MS. Bruck's composition also has only one stanza of text, which is a translation of the Flemish text used by Pipelare. There are two different poems for the melody and its outgrowths; these have been referred to<sup>26</sup> as (1) *Ich weiss mir ein Mülnerin, ein wunder-schönes Weib* and (2) *Frau Eselin*, the complete texts surviving only in German sources. The earliest source to provide the complete words (six stanzas) of the first poem is the *Bergliederbüchlein*, 1740.<sup>27</sup> In this source the third and fourth lines of text of the earlier versions (sung to a repetition of the music for the first two lines) are omitted and the last line in the first four stanzas is repeated.

Pipelare's setting evidently belongs to the category that uses the first poem, since the German translation set by Bruck forms the first stanza of the text found in the *Bergliederbüchlein*. We suspect, however, that there might have been another version that made up the complete text as used by Pipelare, for the style of the first stanza seems to be different from that of the following stanzas. Also, the German words probably indicate a water mill, whereas the Flemish version must have referred to a windmill, since the Low Countries are noted for their windmills. In the superius and bassus of the Cambrai MS, windmills are portrayed in the miniatures that go with Pipelare's piece.<sup>28</sup>

The second text, *Frau Eselin*, is sordid, but nonetheless clever. This is the text that Senfl used. (His setting provided only the first stanza.) Both texts are alluded to by Johann Fischart in his *Gargantua*,<sup>29</sup> chap-

<sup>25</sup> *Ein hundert fünfzehn weltliche u. einige geistliche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1544). A reprint by Robert Eitner, Ludwig Erk and Otto Kade in *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*, Vols. I-III (1873-76). Senfl's piece is on pp. 155-7. It is also found in *Ludwig Senfl: Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Edwin Löhner and Otto Ursprung, Vol. V (Basel, 1949), p. 64.

<sup>26</sup> By Elizabeth Mincoff-Marriage (ed.), *Souterliedekens* (The Hague, 1922), p. 268.

<sup>27</sup> A modern reprint by Elizabeth Mincoff-Marriage, *Bergliederbüchlein: Historische-kritische Ausgabe* (Leipzig, 1936).

<sup>28</sup> See the facsimile in the edition of Pipelare, *Opera omnia*, Vol. I, p. xix.

<sup>29</sup> *Die abenteuerliche und ungeheuerliche Chronik von . . . Gargantua* (1575; a modern edition by Richard Fischer, Stuttgart, 1953), written in imitation of the Rabelais work. Fischart is also known for his adaptation of the Eulenspiegel legends into verse, *Eulenspiegel Reimensweise* (1572).

ters 33 ("Frau Eselin") and 34. In spite of the obviously secular character of the words, psalms and religious texts were set to melodies called "The tune of the Müllerin." Some of these melodies bear an affinity to the one Pipelare used.<sup>30</sup> Others show little or no relationship.<sup>31</sup>

A number of Rhenish folksongs still preserve the first poem, *Ich weiss mir ein Mülnerin, ein wunderschönes Weib*, though the melody has been changed beyond recognition. In these folksongs there is no mention of the infidelity of the miller's wife, and the miller finally agrees to sell nothing and drink nothing if she will only let him in.<sup>32</sup>

There is no direct relation between the song *Ic weedt een molenarinne* as set by Pipelare and the great revival of interest in Müllerin stories in the early Romantic era, though the latter is undoubtedly the outgrowth of a long tradition that included the former. Obviously, a study of these Romantic conceptions, be they transformations or recreations, is far beyond the scope of our present subject.

#### *Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen*

We have seen that Barbireau's *Een vrolic wesen* formed the basis of a number of compositions that were popular among the Flemish, French and German-speaking peoples for more than a century. And in the case of *Ic weedt een molenarinne* we have seen that Pipelare's setting was one of a group of pieces popular mainly along the Rhine and Danube valleys, this group in turn being part of a larger musico-literary tradition

<sup>30</sup> One of these is a *souterliedeken* (the text is Psalm 24), for which the modern editor has supplied the original Flemish text taken from Pipelare's setting; see Elizabeth Mincoff-Marriage, *Souterliedekens een Nederlandsch Psalmboek van 1540 met de oorspronkelijke volksliederen die bij de melodieën behooren* (The Hague, 1922), pp. 268-9. Another tune used for sacred purposes that has some relation is printed in Van Duyse, *op. cit.*, p. 866; Wilhelm Bäumker, "Niederländische geistliche Lieder nebst ihren Singweisen aus Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, IV (1888), p. 153; and Ludwig Erk and Franz M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, I (Leipzig, 1893), 497.

<sup>31</sup> The oldest of these is one that was contained in Strasbourg MS 222 C 22, written before 1430 and destroyed by fire in 1870. Heinrich von Laufenberg set a Marian song (*Ich weiss mir ein stolze maget rin*; the meter and rhyme scheme correspond to the German secular version used by Bruck) to a melody with the inscription *In die wisse Div (sic) stolze müllerin*. It is printed in Erk and Böhme, *op. cit.*, I, 498 and Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 43. Five different religious texts were given to be sung with *De wise van de Molenarinne* by Symon Cock in his *Een devoot ende profitelyck Boecxken* (Antwerp, 1939). A modern reprint by Daniel F. Scheurleer (same title), The Hague, 1889. Two very different transcriptions of the melody after this source are given in Van Duyse, *op. cit.*, p. 866, and Erk and Böhme, *op. cit.*, I, 497.

<sup>32</sup> Some modern versions are referred to in Erk and Böhme, *op. cit.*, I, 499.

embracing most of Europe for many centuries. There are fewer compositions based on the tune *Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen*. For, although the melody was undoubtedly well-known in its time, it enjoyed neither the wide geographical spread nor the lasting popularity of both the other tunes.

Pipelare's setting of *Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen* — as was also true of *Een vrolic wesen* and *Ic weedt een molenarinne* — was not the first polyphonic arrangement of its basic melody. The style of an anonymous setting *a* 3 in London, British Museum, Add. MS 35087, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>, indicates that it is an earlier setting.<sup>33</sup> Among the various chansons, Pipelare's presents the clearest and most unadorned statement of the melody. The tune is used as a cantus firmus in the tenor. The superius, by means of anticipatory imitation, foreshadows the entries of the tenor, while the lowest part has little, if any, thematic relation to the upper parts. The form of the chanson is *abaBB*. We have already seen a final repetition of this type in Pipelare's *Ic weedt een molenarinne*.

The chanson abounds in rhythmical interest, with melodic fragments and motifs alternating between on-the-beat rhythms and off-the-beat rhythms. The three parts present a constant interplay of accents, with syncopated rhythms predominating. Especially prominent is a rhythmic motif of a syncopated dotted quarter-note and three eighth-notes, followed by a quarter-note or half-note that appears twenty times. Intense awareness of rhythm and constant syncopation are probably the distinguishing elements of Pipelare's style as a whole.

Despite the thematically unrelated bassus and the contrasting rhythms the piece has an organically tight structure; the bassus, for example, begins each *B* section with its line from measure six. Another interesting aspect of this chanson is the delightful manner in which Pipelare slips into repetition by letting the parts begin differently. We have already observed this in *Ic weedt een molenarinne*, and it is to be found in his works to such an extent that it can be considered a primary stylistic characteristic.

The use of a thematically unrelated bassus may have been suggested to Pipelare by the anonymous three-part composition mentioned earlier that comes down to us in the London MS. Though the bassus of this piece has imitation at one point, it is free for the rest of the composition. The form of the piece is *abab*. In the first *a* and *b*, the superius states each phrase before the tenor enters:

<sup>33</sup>Printed in a modern edition in Johannes Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

A keyboard transcription of the chanson *a 4* by Nicolas Craen, who succeeded Pipelare as *zangmeester* of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at the Cathedral at 's-Hertogenbosch, is found in the Sicher Tablature (St. Gall, MS 530, fol. 66<sup>r</sup>). The setting by Craen, although *a 4*, is very similar to the one by Pipelare, incorporating several features found in the latter composition; for example, there is an exact repetition — indicated by a sign in the source — of the final section. Craen's setting also resembles Pipelare's in that the form of the melody at the beginning of the first *b* section differs slightly from the one usually found. However, Craen has unified the bassus with the rest of the composition by having it participate in imitation to a greater extent. Craen begins his setting by presenting the melody in a different rhythm from that found in the settings of Pipelare and others. Craen also employs more imitation than does Pipelare.

A chanson *a 5* by Benedictus Ducis<sup>34</sup> is a more extended work, and one in which several motifs are developed. An attempt to portray the words by means of the music is very successful. The close union of words and text is not achieved by word-painting or any artificial device, however, but rather by a general association of the melodic and rhythmic elements of both words and music. For the most part, the words are set syllabically in a type of melodic declamation. But there is comparatively little imitation, and the rhythmic values are often not repeated either. The declamation is thus confined to each voice and, since the individual parts rarely coincide, a strictly polyphonic style is maintained throughout. In effect, the listener is presented with a number of possibilities for each phrase, each varying as speech inflections might vary; the section that sets the words "en harren lachende mondt" ("and her laughing mouth"), measures fifteen through nineteen, is a good example of this. The piece is really a fine one and achieves a magnificent climax when, after the *secundus discantus* states the final part of the theme, the *superius* enters with a syncopated variant and then declaims the final words "ic ben betrogen" ("I am betrayed").

In the setting *a 6* by Jerome Venders<sup>35</sup> the two voices that sing the *cantus firmus* (the second *superius* and the first *altus*) are in canon. A

<sup>34</sup> Melchior Kriesstein, *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones* (Augsburg, 1540), No. 62. A modern edition in Lenaerts, *op. cit.*, p. 130, and *Das Chorwerk*, No. 92 (1964), p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Kriesstein, *Selectissimae . . . cantiones*, No. 61. A modern edition in Lenaerts, *op. cit.* p. 135.

setting by Josquin Baston may have existed.<sup>36</sup> Two chansons *a 4* are found in *Het ierste musyck boexken* (Antwerp, 1551): one by Tielman Susato, No. 9, and one by Carolus Swillaert, No. 12.<sup>37</sup> Susato uses imitation in all four voices for his setting. In Swillaert's composition the three lowest voices, which utilize original material, usually enter in points of imitation, while the top part has the popular melody. A chanson by Johannes Zacheus, *a 4*, is contained in a print of 1554.<sup>38</sup>

Two four-part *Missae Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen*, one each by Noel Bauldewyn and Ludwig Daser, are contained in sources at Munich.<sup>39</sup> A five-part anonymous Mass is found in a 's-Hertogenbosch manuscript.<sup>40</sup> The Bauldewyn Mass is based on several versions of the melody. The Kyrie, Gloria, Benedictus and Agnus I all use Pipelare's form of the tenor as their *cantus prius factus*. In the first part of the Credo, a fifth voice is added, which sings the tenor of the London piece. The rest of the Mass is undoubtedly based on what must be the tenors of other settings. Thus instead of a *Missa omnium carminum*, this Mass becomes what might be called a *Missa omnium tenorum ex Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen*. Kellogg has said that Daser's Mass is based on the chanson by Ducis.<sup>41</sup> Daser's model, however, is hard to discern; indeed, the work seems to be based more on its own head-motif.

An anonymous *Salve Regina* that incorporates the melody, found in MS 34 at Munich, completes the list of known compositions based on our melody. The motet uses the London tenor as its *cantus firmus*, while the plainsong of the antiphon is paraphrased in the superius. The poly-

<sup>36</sup> Luigi Torchi (in "I Monumenti dell'antica musica francese a Bologna," *Rivista musicale italiana*, XIII [1906], 504-505) mentions such a piece as one of three by Baston in a collection at Bologna. The MS, however, is unknown there. Cf. Lenaerts, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Modern reprints in Florimond van Duyse, *Het ierste musyck boexken van Tielman Susato* (Amsterdam, 1908), p. 27 and p. 37.

<sup>38</sup> *Dat ierste boek van den nieuwe duytsche liedekens* (Maastricht, 1554), No. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Mus. MS 7, fols. 60<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>r</sup>, and Mus. MS 8, fols. 58<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>r</sup>. Bauldewyn's Mass is also preserved anonymously in Jena, Universitätsbibl., Chb. 8, fols. 35<sup>v</sup>-104<sup>r</sup>; see Karl Roediger, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Jena* (Jena, 1935), pp. 21\*-22\*, where Kyrie I is printed in the original notation. The entire Kyrie is printed in modern transcription in René Lenaerts, *The Art of the Netherlanders* (Cologne, 1964), p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Koorboek 75, fols. 154<sup>v</sup>-180<sup>r</sup>; see Albert Smijers, "Meerstemmige muziek van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, XVI (1940), 1.

<sup>41</sup> King Kellogg, *Die Messen von Ludwig Daser* (Munich, 1938), p. 11.

phonic setting begins with the words *Vita dulcedo*, the preceding words being left for performance in chant.

*Morkin ic hebbe ter scholen gheleghen*

Unfortunately, only the first line of text is provided in the sole source that preserves this frothy chanson. This incipit means: "Little mother, I have been to school a long time."

The piece is in two sections, the second (beginning at measure thirty-three) repeats the first and adds a codetta in triple time. There are three prominent points of four-part imitation in the composition, two in the first section and one in the second. The music is altered somewhat at the end of the repetition, for the time interval between the second and third phrases is reduced by six measures. In doing this the imitation in the lower three parts is eliminated and the setting is infused with new part writing in the lower parts while the superius melody remains the same.

Since the text does not survive, an instrumental performance of this delightful piece has to suffice. Nothing will be lost in such a performance, however, for the music seems made to order for a consort of woodwinds, brass or viols or for a broken consort. The ranges of the parts are for soprano, alto, and first and second tenor, thereby automatically emphasizing the lightness of texture.

*Fors seulement* (Two Settings)

The famous three-part chanson *Fors seulement* by Ockeghem held a particular attraction for Renaissance composers. The numerous settings — all (with the exceptions to be discussed below) based in one way or another on Ockeghem's chanson — include contributions from many important composers of the time. Sometimes there are two settings by one composer, which perhaps is true of Ockeghem himself;<sup>42</sup> if so, he was probably the first to adapt his own chanson. Whatever may be the case with Ockeghem, it is clear that Pipelare composed two different *Fors seulement* settings; however, in what is presumably the second setting, he breaks with the Ockeghem tradition and, by using different melodic ideas, creates an entirely new piece. Several compositions were in turn based on Pipelare's chanson. These, which form a small group by themselves, unrelated to all the other *Fors seulement* settings, will be discussed later.

<sup>42</sup> The second setting bears an attribution to Ockeghem, but the ascription has been questioned by Otto Gombosi; see his review in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1 (1948), 49-50.

In the excellent study of *Fors seusement* by Otto Gombosi,<sup>43</sup> thirty-two pieces are discussed and more than twenty manuscripts and prints that contain *Fors seusement* settings are mentioned.<sup>44</sup> The chanson was so popular that what might be called chains of settings occur in such manuscripts as the Pernner Codex and others. The Basevi Codex 2439, for example, contains six settings.<sup>45</sup> Another of these chains (in the Sicher MS, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 461) consists of no less than twelve chansons. The following table will show at a glance how the various composers represented in the Sicher *Liederbuch* utilized Ockeghem's chanson in their settings. Page numbers refer to the modern reprint of the manuscript.<sup>46</sup>

Table of *Fors seusement* settings  
found in the Sicher *Liederbuch*

Page	Composer	Setting	Comments
2	Ockeghem	<i>a 3</i>	
4	Ockeghem	<i>a 3</i>	Superius of the above used as a c. f. in the bassus.
6	Josquin (attributed elsewhere to Ghiselin)	<i>a 4</i>	Ockeghem's bassus retained as a c. f. in the superius.
8	Pipelare	<i>a 4</i>	New material; no relation to the other pieces.
10	Verbonnet (= Ghiselin)	<i>a 4</i>	Ockeghem's altus used as a c. f. in the altus until measure 49, then in the superius.
12	Obrecht	<i>a 4</i>	Ockeghem's superius used as a c. f. in the altus.
14	Pierre de la Rue	<i>a 4</i>	Ockeghem's superius used as a c. f. in the altus; new material in other parts.
16	Brumel (attributed elsewhere to Alexander Agricola)	<i>a 4</i>	Ockeghem's superius used as a c. f. in the altus; new material in other parts.

<sup>43</sup> Jacob Obrecht, *eine stilkritische Studie*, (Liepzig, 1925), pp. 16-34.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Léon de Burbure, in his discussion of the Codex Basevi 2439 ("Étude sur un manuscrit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle contenant des chants à quatre et à trois voix suivie d'un Post-scriptum sur le Bellum Musicale de Cl. Sebastiani," published separately and also in *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, XXXIII [1882], pp. 9 and 17), thought that the *Fors seusement* chansons were musical exercises given by Ockeghem to his pupils.

<sup>46</sup> Franz J. Giesbert, *Ein altes Spielbuch aus der Zeit um 1500* (Mainz, 1936).

Page	Composer	Setting	Comments
18	J. Agricola	a 4	Ockeghem's superius used as a c. f. in the bassus.
20	Anonymous	a 4	Ockeghem's superius used as a c. f. in the bassus.
22	Anonymous	a 4	Altus drawn from Ockeghem's altus; other parts are free, but begin with a motif somewhat similar to the opening motif of Pipelare's piece.
24	Jacobus Romanus	a 4	Ockeghem's altus used as a c. f. in the altus; other parts have new material.

Sometimes a setting is attributed to more than one composer; for instance, a composition ascribed to Brumel in the Sicher, the Pernner and the Basevi 2439 MSS is ascribed to Alexander Agricola by Petrucci in his *Canti C*. (A similar double ascription of Pipelare's second setting is mentioned below.) In Brussels MS 228 the same setting by Brumel (or Agricola) appears anonymous with the addition of a second text, *Du tout plongiet au lac de desespoir* (a combination both apt and forceful!)<sup>47</sup>

Pipelare's first setting, the one based on Ockeghem's composition, survives in only one source: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Codice Basevi 2439, fols. 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>. The style of the setting indicates that it must have been the earlier one; hence we term this piece, setting I. The chanson retains Ockeghem's superius as a cantus firmus in the altus. While the superius of Pipelare's composition imitates the altus throughout, the two lower voices, after introductory imitation, are freer, with the bassus providing primarily a slower-moving harmonic support. Several long silences in the various parts reduce the texture to two- or three-part writing. The piece is finely knit together through the use of interlocking motivic material derived from the cantus firmus. The scalewise upward motion of this part in measure twenty-two is imitated in the tenor, measure eighteen, in the bassus, measure twenty-three, and somewhat in the superius in measure twenty-seven (a good example of internal imitation), all of which prepares for the next entry of the cantus firmus in measure thirty-one. The movement by thirds in the last two phrases of the cantus firmus is likewise woven into the other parts,

<sup>47</sup> Modern editions: *ibid.*, p. 16; Johannes Wolf, *Jakob Obrecht: Werken* (Amsterdam, 1908ff.), *Wereldlijke Werken*, p. 85; and Robert Maldeghem, *Trésor musical*, XXI (1885), *Musique profane*, p. 27. Maldeghem assigned it to Pierre de la Rue.



not only by imitation, but also by the frequency with which skips of the third occur in this section. Of course, Ockeghem's melody is itself very skillfully wrought, bringing back previous melodic ideas as the melody unfolds; the phrase beginning in measure fifty-six, for example, echoes the phrase beginning in measure nineteen. The extremely low range of the parts should be noted, the piece really being for alto, tenor, bass and basso profundo. (The lowest note for the latter is but one short of two octaves below middle C.)

The words of *Fors seulement* portray a consuming rancor of the heart; they are somewhat fatalistic. At the beginning of Pipelare's *Missa Fors seulement* in the Wolfenbüttel MS (fol. 56<sup>r</sup>)<sup>48</sup> there is a miniature that depicts St. Sebastian's martyrdom, indicating that the *Fors seulement* text may have been symbolically associated with St. Sebastian just as the *L'Homme armé* text was associated with St. Michael. Certainly the entire poem is a fitting description of St. Sebastian's mystical love. The allusion to death then becomes more than figurative.

The second chanson of Pipelare with the *Fors seulement* text — probably the work primarily responsible for establishing his renown — is undoubtedly one of the most delightful of the smaller compositions that have come down to us from the master's pen. The restrained and lingering beauty of the slow melody, in the tenor voice, leaves the listener with a remembrance that does not quickly vanish. The overwhelming popularity that the chanson enjoyed during the Renaissance is attested to by the fourteen manuscripts and early prints that preserve it. It is well known to modern writers also, having appeared ten times in modern editions.<sup>49</sup>

Five sources attribute the work to Pipelare. Petrucci's first edition of *Canti B* (1502), however, ascribes the piece to Pierre de la Rue, a fact that has given rise to some confusion among modern writers;<sup>50</sup> but in the second edition of *Canti B* (1503) the chanson is anonymous. In the

<sup>48</sup> A facsimile of fols. 55<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>r</sup> is printed in connection with Ludwig Finscher's article on Pipelare in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. X, *Tafel* 79.

<sup>49</sup> Since the publication of the concordances in "The Life and Works of Mattheus Pipelare," *Musica disciplina*, XVII (1963), the piece has appeared again in a modern transcription in Martin Picker, *The Chansons Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), p. 233 (after Brussels 228), and in Helen Hewitt, *Ottaviano Petrucci, Canti B numero cinquanta* (Chicago, 1967), p. 168.

<sup>50</sup> Julien Tiersot, for example, takes Otto Kade to task for thinking that the chanson is by Pipelare, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 473. (In referring to the *Odhecaton*, Tiersot obviously means *Canti B*.) In his monograph, *Pierre de la Rue: een bio-bibliographische studie* (Brussels, 1952), Jozef Robyns includes the work among La Rue's compositions.

keyboard version found in the Sicher Tablature, fol. 97', the composition is transposed a fifth down.

Whereas Pipelare's first version of *Fors seulement* pairs the voices occasionally, his second setting, in which the voices are also paired, lays stress upon contrasting the two pairs. The voices of the first pair, the superius and bassus, begin in imitation, while those of the second pair, the altus and tenor, enter together in measure thirteen, the altus as a harmonic accompaniment to the tenor, which has the melody. The altus and tenor are characterized by notes of longer value than are the other two voices and make less use of ornamentation. The melody itself, whose penetrating expressiveness dominates the entire tonal ensemble of the chanson, is related to Ockeghem's chanson only in the first few notes, the repeated notes. The ranges of the parts in this setting are high rather than low: mezzo-soprano, alto, alto, tenor. The second alto often crosses above the first. One reason for the lack of imitation may be that the principal melody (or the cantus firmus) begins each phrase with several repeated notes: phrases one, three, four, six and seven beginning on A, phrase two on C above and phrase five on E below.

This composition by Pipelare forms a group with several other chansons.<sup>51</sup> The first of these<sup>52</sup> has the tenor of the Pipelare piece as its own, but lower by a fourth and with a few differences that result mainly from ornamentation. (One version of this work has been suggested as the model upon which Pipelare based his chanson.)<sup>53</sup> The second chanson

<sup>51</sup> See Gombosi, *Obrecht*, p. 17.

<sup>52</sup> *Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis composita*, Hieronymus Formschneider (Nuremberg, 1538), No. 46 (the only surviving copy of the print in the Universitätsbibl. in Jena). A modern transcription in Martin Picker, *op. cit.* See also the remarks in Picker, "The Chansons Albums of Marguerite of Austria," *Annales musicologiques*, VI (1958-63), 74.

<sup>53</sup> In a paper read before the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, December, 1960, " 'Fors seulement' and the C. F. Technique of the 15th Century" (the New York Public Library contains a bound copy of this paper), Helen Hewitt mentioned a three-part anonymous chanson (No. 29 in her list) found in London, British Museum, Add. MS 35087, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>, that she believes to be Pipelare's model. The chanson is actually the same as the Formschneider, No. 46. In the London MS, the chanson is transposed and highly ornamented, so much so that it almost appears, at least at first glance, to be a different piece. It seems logical to assume that Pipelare based his work on the three-part London setting, just as he based his settings of *Ic weedt een molenarinne* and *Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen* on models in this London MS; however, as regards *Fors seulement*, this is perhaps not quite as clear cut, for the late date of the Formschneider print and the great popularity of the Pipelare work are two factors which suggest that the Pipelare version might be the "original" of this group.

in this group is an anonymous four-part chanson<sup>54</sup> that utilizes Pipelare's tenor in its superius. The altus begins with a reference to Ockeghem's altus, and the lowest voices begin with a reference to his bassus. The third of these anonymous chansons, again in four parts,<sup>55</sup> preserves Pipelare's tenor as its own tenor with only minor deviations and one inserted phrase, measures forty-five to forty-nine. The superius occasionally hints at Pipelare's tenor. The contra and bassus begin with a paraphrase of Pipelare's bassus and superius. Some imitation has been sparingly woven into the fabric, which is more polyphonic than that of Pipelare's chanson.

Antoine de Févin was the composer of another *Fors seulement*.<sup>56</sup> In his three-part setting the middle voice, that is, the tenor, begins with a paraphrase of Pipelare's bassus, but from measure twenty to the end, it is an ornamented version of Pipelare's tenor. Févin's highly ornamented superius begins by imitating the tenor — itself a version of Pipelare's bassus. Especially prominent in Févin's superius is a phrase found likewise in Pipelare's superius, measures nineteen to twenty-three. The bassus joins in the polyphonic elaborations and shares in the ornamented style of the other voices, but with less reference to Pipelare. Willaert's five-part *Fors seulement* chanson<sup>57</sup> is based on the one by Févin and utilizes Févin's tenor in the superius.

The Pipelare work is found in the Segovia MS as a *sainte chansonnette* with a biblical text. Pipelare based his beautiful five-part *Missa Fors seulement* on his own chanson. Nicolas Gombert composed an interesting five-part *Missa Fors seulement*, based on two models — the

<sup>54</sup> Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G. B. Martini, MS Q 19, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>. In the paper by Hewitt, referred to in the preceding footnote, this is listed *a* 5 (No. 28).

<sup>55</sup> Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 125-8, fol. 144<sup>v</sup>. The chanson was printed by Maldeghem in *Trésor musical*, XVIII (1882), *Musique profane*, No. 3, pp. 3-9, with the title *Beauté du ciel* and a text (beginning "O qu'à bon droit les Grecs") by Ronsard.

<sup>56</sup> The piece is attributed to him in Cambridge, Samuel Pepys Library, MS 1760, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>. The chanson is preserved without attribution in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Mus. MS 1516, No. 129; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504, No. LI (discantus only; see Bridgman, "Christian Egenolff . . .," p. 166); Giunta, *Chansons à troys* (Venice, 1520), No. 4 (the tenor part is missing); Formschneider, *Trium vocum carmina*, No. 31 ("Jösken" has been written in as an ascription by an early hand); and Johann Petreius, *Trium vocum cantiones centum* (Nuremberg, 1541), No. 73 (transposed a fifth higher than in the Formschneider print). Printed after Petreius in a modern edition by Johannes Wolf, *Jacob Obrecht: Wereldlijke Werken: Bijlagen*, No. 4, pp. 90-92. Helen Hewitt, in her paper, refers to Févin's chanson (No. 31 in her list) as a parody of the one by Pipelare.

<sup>57</sup> Kriesstein, *Selectissimae . . . cantiones*, No. 43.

Pipelare and the Févin.<sup>58</sup> A keyboard fantasy on Pipelare's chanson was published by Attaignant.<sup>59</sup> Pipelare's tenor appears as a cantus firmus in one part of Verdelot's five-part motet *Infirmiorem nostram*.<sup>60</sup>

*Vray dieu d'amours*

A number of Renaissance chansons bear the text incipit *Vray dieu*. Many of these reveal no relation to each other, either musically or textually. The connection of some of these compositions with France and Italy is so intricate, so vaguely defined, that the texts are themselves sometimes formed by a mixture of both languages. The music, too, is often involved in *fricassées* or *incatenature*. We shall first turn our attention to a melody that apparently had the text *Vray dieu d'amer [d'amor] conforte l'amoureux qui nuit et jour*. Two of the three sources that preserve Pipelare's arrangement of this melody ascribe it to him. The piece is almost identical with an anonymous composition that appears with no text incipit in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Mus. DCCLVII, fols. 63<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>r</sup>. Actually the Verona and Pipelare versions are so similar that it is misleading, if not incorrect, to refer to them as two different compositions, though in this discussion we shall do this to aid in distinguishing them. The arrangement ascribed to Pipelare is probably the later, and it is likely that either he saw fit to make only a few changes in the Verona piece or else rewrote it from memory for some particular need. The changes, however, interestingly show the direction of his musical taste.

The music of the Verona piece has the structure *ababcc*. The other version, however, lets first the two higher voices, then the two lower voices, sing the *b* sections, thus making the form of the piece *abbabbcc*. What appears to have been the text of these compositions is a ballade, as we shall see. Nonetheless, it would not be amiss to call the composi-

<sup>58</sup> See Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Leben und Werk* (Bonn, 1938), pp. 189-92, for an analysis of the Mass, which is printed in a modern edition by Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert: Opera omnia*, II (Rome, 1954), 89-116.

<sup>59</sup> *Dix neuf chansons musicales reduictes en la tablature des orgues, Espinettes, Manicordions* (Paris, 1530) fol. 18<sup>v</sup>; a facsimile edition by Eduard Bernoulli, *Pierre Attaignant; Chansons und Tänze. Pariser Tabulaturdrucke aus dem Jahr 1530 von Pierre Attaignant* (1914), p. 36. A transcription of the keyboard fantasy is printed in Albert Seay, *Pierre Attaignant: Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard* (Rome, 1961), p. 43.

<sup>60</sup> Printed in Johannes Ott, *Secundus tomus novi operis . . .* (Nuremberg, 1538); for other sources see Edward Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, III (1950), 206, 223.

tions, if not frottola-inspired, at least frottola-like in texture. Both are Italianate in style, especially the Verona piece, which is chordal throughout. The version ascribed to Pipelare is also chordal; but here he gives the effect of pseudo-polyphony by using florid two-part writing in the *b* sections and by introducing some ornamentation.

The most notable difference between these two settings is their harmonic structure. The Verona version is less straightforward in its harmony. For example, the flattened seventh degree of the scale in measure eight, which creates a subtonic rather than leading-tone triad, is simply a dominant in measure seven of the other piece. Even where both versions have a normal contrapuntal cadence of a major sixth opening out to the octave, differences appear; a deceptive cadence is found in measure eleven of the Verona version, rather than the authentic cadence in measure ten of the Pipelare version. On the whole, Pipelare's harmony is simpler, more "key-conscious." The Verona piece has vaguer, less tonally directed, more fleeting harmony.

Pipelare uses triple meter for the first of the two *c* sections, while the Verona version keeps both of the *c* sections in duple meter. At a few places the Pipelare setting contains some ornamentation that would make a fast performance difficult, but some of this may be instrumental. The Verona piece has a pause after the first four chords, which is not observed in the Pipelare version.

The first few measures of the superius — exactly as they are found in the Verona MS — were used by Tinctoris as an example in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), Book III, chapter 3.<sup>61</sup> Tinctoris provides the melody (or as much of it as he gives) with the text *Vray dieu d'amer conforte l'amoureux qui nuit et jour*. It appears, then, that this is the text of both the Verona and Pipelare versions of this piece. The poem was printed by Arnoullet in *L'Esperit troublé*.<sup>62</sup> The text of the chanson is thus that of the poem in Arnoullet's print.

The superius of the Verona composition occurs as the tenor part of *Pourquoy je ne puis dire* by Johannes Stokhem, printed by Petrucci in

<sup>61</sup> Reprinted by Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, IV (Paris, 1876), 149; an English translation, *Art of Counterpoint*, by Albert Seay (Rome, 1961). Cf. Helen Hewitt, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 135. The English translation of Seay follows the Bologna MS of this treatise, rather than the Brussels MS that Coussemaker followed, and the underlay to this example in the Bologna MS reads *O barbara virgo pulcherrima*.

<sup>62</sup> Frédéric Lachèvre lists the poem in his *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1922), as contained in *L'Esperit troublé . . .* (Paris, 1538). Another edition was printed by Olivier Arnoullet, (Lyon, n.d.). Lachèvre indicates that the poem is a ballade.

the *Odhecaton* (1501), No. 16.<sup>63</sup> The Verona superius forms the bassus of an anonymous composition, Heilbronn, Gymnasialbibliothek, MS X. 2, No. 18. This work is incomplete, however, since only the bassus part book of the Heilbronn MS survives.<sup>64</sup>

Johannes Japart wrote an unusual four-part composition (found in another Petrucci print, *Canti C, N° 150* [1503], No. 96) which, besides keeping a slightly modified version of the Verona superius as its own, has a two-note litany in the contra invoking St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Simon and St. Luke. The tenor and bassus carry the incipit *Vray dieu*, the superius *Vray dieu damours*.

*Vray dieu quel paine*

Another melody that is of particular interest to us is *Vrai dieu d'amor chi me conforterà*. It forms the basis of a composition that has been ascribed to Pipelare in one source. The same piece, credited in one source to "Gaspart" and in one to Compère, is anonymous in four other manuscripts. The melody may also be found combined with *Uccellino, bel uccellino, come sa tu ben cantar, falalilelon . . .*<sup>65</sup>

The superius and tenor of the composition almost form a canon. The final section of the chanson is in triple meter and has the melody in the tenor. On the whole the composition is somewhat severe and contains awkward dissonances. Perhaps the setting is intended to parallel the dark hues and chained agony of the expressionistic text. In view of the conflict in attributions, it is unlikely that the composition is by Pipelare.

The range of style in Pipelare's works, though even more obvious in his sacred compositions, is apparent from the few chansons that survive, for while some of them are light and airy in texture, there is a marked density in others. These are more polyphonic than the models on which they are based; that is, the writing is richer in detail, places more emphasis on contrary motion, and tends to fill up the cadences at the ends of phrases with continuing motion. The moods of the chansons vary also, ranging from dark melancholy to a rollicking boisterousness.

<sup>63</sup> Modern edition, Hewitt, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*, pp. 255-7.

<sup>64</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>65</sup> See the discussions in Fausto Torrefranca, *Il Segreto del Quattrocento*, (Milan, 1939), *passim*; printed, p. 527. Modern editions of the text of *Vray dieu quel paine* in Gustav Gröber, "Zu den Liederbüchern von Cortona," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI (1887), 390, and Rodolfo Renier, "Un Mazzetto di poesie musicali francesi," *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica: in memoria di Napoleone Caix e Ugo Angelo Canello* (1886), pp. 271-88.