

"OR SUS VOUS DORMEZ TROP"

The Singing of the Lark in French

Chansons of the Early Sixteenth Century.<sup>x)</sup>

af Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

A four-part chanson known as "L'alouette" ("Or sus vous dormez trop") was published in 1528 by the Parisian music printer Pierre Attaingnant in an edition entirely devoted to the music of Clément Janequin. Many other chansons exhibit better musical qualifications to be singled out for comment from among the vast repertory of Parisian chansons than this rather awkward composition. Nevertheless, "L'alouette" has been discussed several times by musicologists since François Lesure pointed out in 1951 that basically the same text and music could be found in a three-part chanson printed as early as 1520 by Andrea Antico in Venice (1). This interest in "L'alouette" is due to the fact that, if the two chansons could be proven to be different versions of the same composition, it would be the earliest datable composition from Janequin's hand and also the first example in the sixteenth century of an extensive use of sound-imitation, in this case bird song, a technique closely associated with Janequin.

It might seem a bit exaggerated to increase the literature on this topic, had the discussion not so far been conducted on the basis of a rather incomplete study of the sources,

x) The following libraries have supplied microfilms and other material: Bibliothèque Nationale, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv Kassel, Statsbiblioteket (Århus) and Det kgl. Bibliotek (København); without their assistance this article had not been possible. I also wish to thank Jerry Call and the Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, University of Illinois, and Nanie Bridgman, Bibliothèque Nationale, for their help in clarifying some problems, and John Bergsagel who read my manuscript and offered numerous valuable suggestions. Above all, with this article I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Henrik Glahn for his support and patience during my years of study.

and the most interesting aspects only hinted at in passing. The following study aims at demonstrating that the three-part chanson is an independent composition closely connected with the repertory of "popular arrangements" flowering in the first decades of the century, and that Janequin's achievement is to develop and transform this tradition. Some of the theories advanced by others will be considered later on.

#### The three-part chanson (2)

An examination of the sources containing the three-part chanson shows that it must have been widely circulated during the first quarter of the sixteenth century; sources whose places of origin were in France, Italy and Spain transmit it independently as an anonymous composition:

a) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms.Magl.XIX. 117 is rather difficult to date exactly. The MS was probably written in Florence, it contains Italian pieces ascribed to "Laiolle" and "Dbaccio fioretino", and in the course of time several scribes have worked at it. The contribution of the original scribe, who was either a Frenchman or an Italian with a good knowledge of French, consists mainly of three series of chansons, each one unusually homogeneous in contents: fol.1-13 three-part popular arrangements, fol.37-41 (new foliation: 31-35) Burgundian chansons for three voices all with the word "regretz" in the first line of text ("Sourdez regretz", "Venez regretz" etc.), fol.65v-66 and fol.67v-82 (42v-43 and 44v-59) four-part popular arrangements. This repertory seems to be collected during the years 1510-20. "Or sus vous dormez trop" is placed in the first series (fol.8v-10), a circumstance we shall return to later.

b) København, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Saml. 1848 2<sup>o</sup> is a collection of small booklets, independent fascicles and a few single bifolios containing 278 compositions, mainly French chansons (173 items), but also including many motets, four masses and several other groups of pieces, e.g. eight German Lieder without texts. The whole collection was copied and used as a private archive during some years up

to c.1525 by an otherwise unknown "Charneyron", who presumably worked as a musician-copyist at Lyons (3). When the music passed out of date he had the collection bound carelessly, maybe in a paper cover, which must have come apart after a short time, since the MS later (c.1800) had to be rebound. As a result of this, its structure can only be realized after an extensive reconstruction of the original contents (4). "Or sus vous dormez trop" on pp.439-40 is placed within the last very disordered third of the MS (pp.319-450); originally the chanson belonged to a small fascicle, which chiefly contained three-part popular arrangements and was copied in a single operation (consisting of the present pp.375-76, 419-22, 439-42 and 393-94).

c) Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, M.454, a large choir-book written in Spain during the first part of the sixteenth century by many different scribes (5). Apart from a number of secular Spanish songs the repertory is dominated by sacred music of Spanish or Franco-Flemish origin (by Josquin, Mouton, A. de Fevin, J. Anchietta, Peñalosa, A. de Mondejar, Escobar etc.). "Or sus vus dromestrop madama joliete" (fol. 155v-157) is the only piece with French words in the MS. It was copied on some pages which apparently had been left without music between two bodies of Latin church music, each one mainly consisting of motets by Spanish composers (fol. 138v-154 and fol.158v-178v). On fol.140 a date "20 faber 1525" is mentioned, and on fol.162 "1532".

d) Only two part-books remain of the set of three which A. Antico printed in Venice for the publisher A. de Giunta in 1520 as "Chansons a troys" (RISM 1520/6). These volumes reflect the popularity the French three-part arrangements enjoyed in Rome where Antico worked between 1510 and 1520, that is during the reign of Pope Leo X (1513-21) who himself had tried his hand at this type of composition (6). "Chansons a troys" contains forty French chansons, the last one being "Or sus vous dormez trop" (no.40), and a Virgil motet "Dulces exuviae" by Mouton or Willaert (no.41) all printed without names of composers (7).

Actually one further source exists which contains the three-part chanson, the MS known as Tschudi's Liederbuch (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms.463) of which only the discantus and a fragment of the altus part have survived. Arnold Geering assumed in 1933 that Aegidius Tschudi from Glarus, a pupil of Zwingli and Glarean, had started his collection of music while studying in Paris 1517-20 (8). This assumption has later been stated as a fact by several authors, who regarded the MS as a source for the musical life in Paris around 1520 (9). Unfortunately, this is not true, the MS must have been written at least ten years later (10). Not only has Tschudi tried to organize the separate groups of compositions according to the system of twelve modes formulated by Glarean in his great work "Dodecachordon" (1547), a theory Glarean had not yet arrived at in his "Isagoge in musicen" from 1516 (11), but it also appears that Tschudi has carefully copied the whole section in which "Or sus vous dormez trop" is found from Antico's "Chansons a troys" (12). For our purpose the MS is just a testimony of the wide dissemination the Antico print obtained.

The sources of the chanson differ from each other in several textual and musical details; these variants are tabulated in Appendix I following the transcription. They show without any doubt that each scribe or editor has worked from a different, now lost source of music and that, accordingly, the Florence MS, the Copenhagen MS, the Barcelona MS and the Antico print are independent sources. The musical variants are primarily found in the second part of the chanson (mm.29-102), the section containing onomatopoeia and nonsense verses, and characteristically the superius and bassus show the greatest variability (13).

The first part of the chanson (mm.1-29) and the final lines (mm.95-102) are very close to the three-part popular arrangements. Howard Mayer Brown has described the three- and four-part popular arrangements as varieties of the polyphonic

"chanson rustique", both of which crystallized during the years around 1500 (14). Their use of monophonic models is characterized in that the melodic and rhythmic formulation of the popular tune tends to permeate all voices of the chansons. In the four-part arrangements the pre-existing tune is often paraphrased and wanders freely among the voices or is arranged in duos alternating with four-part homorhythmic passages, where the meter can change from double to triple, in brief, the style well-known from Petrucci's editions. The three-part arrangements on the other hand adhere to a somewhat simpler and more old-fashioned style. A practice often met with is to accompany the unadorned pre-existing tune in the tenor by simple imitations and conventional counterpoints in the outer voices. This typical arrangement can be found in other shapes, e.g. with the tune placed in the superius and accompanied homorhythmically by the lower voices, but also considerably more sophisticated compositions exist which involve paraphrasing and genuine imitative textures. The three-part arrangements were greatly favoured in French Court Circles during the first decades of the sixteenth century, and their popularity spread quickly to every musical establishment.

The tenor of "Or sus vous dormez trop" has every appearance of being a pre-existing tune. It sets the first lines of text in a simple pattern of repeating phrases: ABAB' (mm.1-29), and at the close of the chanson the B-element turns up again in the tenor (mm.95-102). In these sections the outer voices are imitative, the technique being in some instances slightly more adventurous than what is seen in the typical arrangements, e.g. the augmentation of the tenor in the first measures or the close imitation with an extra entry of the tenor in mm.8-10. The long middle part of the chanson forms a striking contrast to these sections. Here the representation of the lark and other birds in virtuoso singing and the rapid declamation of mock threats are the main things; the harmonic flow comes to a near standstill, in a long pas-

sage (mm.60-94) the tenor only sounds two different notes: c' - a, whereas the rhythmic activity greatly increases. In this way the whole section makes up a humorous-lyrical interpolation in a chanson otherwise in the style of the three-part popular arrangement (15).

The use of sound-imitations has precedents in the history of music. In the French chace and the Italian caccia of the fourteenth century vivid situations were created by imitating the sounds of nature and of human activities, e.g. hunting, fishing or market scenes, often, especially in the caccia, with an undercurrent of eroticism. While the onomatopoeia in the caccia forms part of a genre which is as much a literary as a musical one, the shouts, playing of instruments, bird songs etc. are used with an entertaining virtuosity in a more directly descriptive and straightforward way in the French chace (16). This tendency can be seen even more clearly in a group of polyphonic virelais dating from the second half of the fourteenth century. Compared with contemporary French secular music and poetry as exemplified by the elaborate ballades, which were the highly-esteemed expression of courtly life and love, they show a surprising simplicity and vivacity in both text and music; Willi Apel finds in them a possible 'echo of thirteenth-century village poetry' and assumes 'that they belong to a bourgeois culture of northern France' (17).

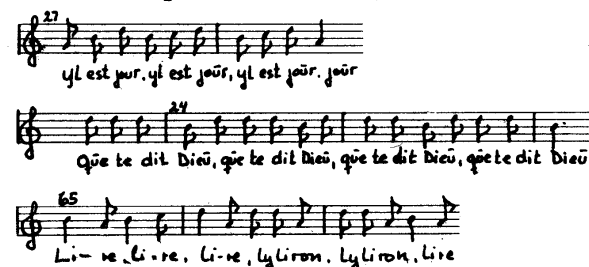
A much-beloved subject for these songs was the call to awake and enjoy the day of May, love and the singing of the birds. In a widely-diffused virelai the theme is treated in this way (18):

"Or sus, vous dormez trop, Ma dame joliette  
Il est jour lèves sus, Escoutés l'aloecte:  
Que dit Dieu, que te dit Dieu ...  
Yl est jour, yl est jour, yl est jour,  
jour est, si est ...  
Dame sur toutes en biauté souveraine,  
Par vous, jolis et gay, Ou gentil moys de may,  
Suy et seray, Et vuel mectre paine.

Or tost nacquaires, cornemuses sonés:  
Lire, lire, lire, lyIRON, lyIRON, lire,  
Tytinton, tytinton ...

The text of the sixteenth-century chanson was evidently moulded upon the first part of the older virelai, transforming the virelai into a popular lyric of the later period by the addition of the burlesque continuation. Also the bird motives show a strong resemblance to the virelai:

Ex.1 Anonymous (Virelai) "Or sus dormez trop" superius.



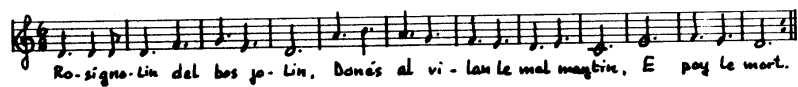
These motives are found in shapes nearly identical in all the chansons depicting birds; in Vaillant's virelai "Par maintes foyes" the lark sings in the same manner: "Lire, lire, lire, liron. Que te dit Dieu ... Il est jour ..." (mm.64-92), the cuckoo sings: "cucu, cucu ..." (mm.23-25) and the nightingale: "Tue, tue ... oci,oci, oci ... fideli, fideli ..." (mm.38-48) (19), the two last-mentioned are also heard in the sixteenth-century chanson. The fixed rendering of bird song obviously had a traditional background building on common knowledge.

There is good reason to assume with W. Apel that the virelais did not fulfil the same functions as the courtly ballades. However, in all probability they were not sung at dance festivals as Apel writes (20), their still rather complicated and refined structure betrays the court musician, but the intention was without doubt to render an atmosphere not unlike that of a popular festival with all its entertaining qualities, and thus transferring elements belonging to popular music to the courtly sphere and to another musical idiom, possibly cultivated, as Apel proposed, in courtly

circles less elevated than those of southern France.

The sixteenth-century "Or sus vous dormez trop" does not show any musical similarity to the virelai "Or sus ..." except for the bird motives. However, the tenor of the sixteenth-century chanson is very like the popular tune "Rossignol du bois" (ex.2) as regards melodic outline and general appearance; this tune is used as tenor c.f. in another well-known fourteenth-century virelai, which appears in two rather different versions: "He, tres doulz roussignol" 4v by Borlet and "Ma trédol rosignol" 3v (21).

Ex.2 Anonymous "Ma trédol rosignol" tenor.



The onomatopoetic songs may have survived during the fifteenth century in shapes resembling this tenor, one must imagine that their opening verses were followed by bird imitations, as a colourful ingredient of a popular musical culture, a culture of which we only catch a glimpse thanks to the rare cases where popular elements have been introduced into the music of the ruling classes. As for "Or sus vous dormez trop", it is impossible to decide whether the widely known virelai had passed into the popular music and lived on thus transformed, or it is a popular song unknown to us which during the centuries has inspired the virelai as well as providing the model for the sixteenth-century chanson. However, this type of song is not to be found among the repertory of the two monophonic chansonniers from the end of the fifteenth century which are our chief sources of the popular songs (22). This does not necessarily mean that the onomatopoetic song did not exist in this century, only that the compilers of these rather one-sided collections did not show any interest in it. Only along with the popular arrangements does this type emerge again. It occurs during a period with strong political tendencies towards the establishment of absolute monarchies and at a time when the life

of the upper classes was characterized by ceremonial splendour as well as a bourgeois fondness for popular entertainment. And after the beginning of music printing in France the onomatopoetic compositions were soon exploited commercially by Attaignant in his editions of Janequin's large-scale programme chansons.

Finally, the close connection of the sixteenth-century "Or sus vous dormez trop" with the repertory of three-part popular arrangements is confirmed by its location in three of the sources. In the Florence MS and the Antico print it forms part of musical anthologies, the repertories of which were carefully selected by the compilers from among the mass of compositions circulating in small fascicle manuscripts. The Antico print contains a unified repertory of three-part chansons, chiefly popular arrangements (23), whereas the original scribe of the Florence MS has organized his repertory in three markedly different series: one each of three- and four-part arrangements and one series of Burgundian "regretz"-chansons; this plan of his was not carried on by the later scribes. The section of the Copenhagen MS in which the chanson is found was apparently copied in its entirety directly from a fascicle manuscript, which on its central opening had a Latin piece while the first and last pages were filled out with popular compositions and a single five-part chanson by Josquin, a structure characteristic of fascicle manuscripts (24). The first series of three-part chansons in the Florence MS (fol.1-13) includes some other interesting compositions. Certainly, onomatopoetic chansons like "Or sus vous dormez trop" are not to be found in any known source dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but a few chansons here display features revealing that tendencies of this kind were not alien to the popular arrangements; see for example the tiny yelping dog in "Je men alle veoir mamye" (fol.4v-5) (25) or this teasing passage from "Pleust a la virge mari" (fol.5v-6) using a standard birdlike refrain (26):

## Ex.3 Anonymous "Pleust a la virge mari".

Lielie Li-re, Lielie Li-re. mon joly cœur luy respond, Lielie Li-re,  
 Lielie Li-re, Lielie Li-re. mon joly cœur luy respond, Lielie Li-re, etc.  
 Lielie Li-re, Lielie Li-re. mon joly cœur luy respond, Lielie Li-re

The four-part chanson (27)

In 1528 Pierre Attaingnant brought out as one of his very first publications the "Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin". This collection contained five four-part chansons: "Le chant des oyseaux", "La guerre", "La chasse", "L'alouette" and "Las povre cuer", all except for the last one programme or descriptive chansons (28). Most authors discussing Janequin's "L'alouette" consider it practically identical to the three-part chanson if the contratenor part is ignored, and two authors, Yves F.-A. Giraud and Courtney Adams, argue that the four-part chanson should be regarded as the original version. Both of these statements are erroneous.

The contratenor gives, as A. Tillman Merritt writes, clear evidence of being the last voice composed (29). It does not participate in the opening imitation, but enters with the words "Ma dame joliette" even while the other voices are singing the opening words. And it has a tendency to run its own course moving a bit faster than the other voices and introducing phrases of text and musical motives that do not occur in the other parts; worthy of note are the passages mm.66-69 and 71-72 where it repeats the slightly blasphemous phrase "Te rogamus audi nos sainte teste Dieu". The continual crossing of the contratenor and superius parts (mm.1-8, 13-16, 34-36 etc.) resulting from the low tessitura of the latter (c'-c", mostly c'-a') destroys the melodic design of the superius and changes the charming lightness of the imitative first section into a rather disconcerting tex-

ture. This crossing of upper parts certainly occurs in other chansons by Janequin (30), but always in an unobtrusive way, e.g. in connection with points of imitation or as deliberate sound effects, and never as frequently as here (31).

If the contratenor is problematic in the first part of the chanson this is due to the fact that here the voices of the three-part chanson are adopted almost unaltered - in mm.30-31 the version of the Barcelona MS is followed. Later on, in the onomatopoetic sections where the composer had free play so to say, the superius, tenor and bassus are to a great extent rearranged: in mm.50-53 the rhythmical activity is increased by the use of fusae (semiquavers) in complementary patterns - normally the fusae are met with only as grace notes in popular arrangements and other chansons from the beginning of the century; the long passage mm.68-94, where in the three-part chanson the tenor had only two different notes, is recomposed not only by means of rhythmical modifications, the rapid declamation in the superius and bassus and the use of coloration in the tenor and superius, but also of newly composed passages (superius mm.89-94 and tenor mm.70-90). As a result of the now much greater number of notes the text had of course to be adjusted by additional repetitions and the insertion of new phrases; compared with the four preserved versions of the three-part chanson the text shows the greatest conformity to the one printed by Antico (cf. mm.61-64, 69-70 and 80-85). The whole onomatopoetic section is in this adaptation more impressive than before, and here also the four voices go together more successfully.

It is beyond doubt that Janequin and his contemporaries regarded "L'alouette" as his work. In the "Verger de musique contenant partie de plus excellents labours de M.G. Janequin ... revuez et corrigez par luy mesme" (32) published in Paris by Le Roy & Ballard in 1559, a year after the death of the composer, it is carefully noted that "La guerre" appears

'avec la cinquiesme partie adjoutee par Verdelot sans y rien changer'. But concerning "L'alouette" no mention is made of it being an adaptation of an earlier chanson.

"L'alouette" is also included without any alterations in the revised edition of "Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin" printed as "Les chansons de La guerre La chasse Le chant des oyseaux Lalouette Le rossignol Composees par maistre clement Jennequin ..." by Attaingnant in 1537 (33). In this edition the last chanson of Attaingnant's 1528 edition has been replaced by the short programme chanson "Le rossignol" (34), which is much more consistent with the other chansons than the insignificant "Las povre cueur". And two of the chansons are revised: in the first part of "La chasse" four measures (mm.8-11) are suppressed, while in the second part three new voices are added, making it a seven-part composition; "Le chant des oyseaux" has been cut down to little more than half its original length by merging the singing of the different birds into one long section and omitting the passages which introduced and ended the original separate sections (35). Within a short time the contents of the revised edition were reprinted in "Le Difficile des Chansons. Premier livre contenant xxii Chansons ... de la facture & composition de maistre Clement Jennequin..." by Jacques Moderne at Lyons (36). However, Moderne's musical editor apparently was dissatisfied with the edition of 1537 and made his own independent revisions. Only the altus part-book belonging to this print has survived, but it is to a certain extent possible to reconstruct the editor's efforts: "La guerre" and "Le rossignol" are taken over unaltered; "La chasse" is printed in the seven-part version (the part-book also contains the "Secundus Altus"), but the deleted four measures are here retained in the first section; "Le chant des oyseaux" is the original version of 1528; and for "L'alouette" he has composed an entirely new altus part (37).

The new altus is in several respects superior to the contratenor of the Attaingnant editions: it enters in imitation of the other voices with the proper words "Or sus..", it does not use phrases of text not found in the other voices, and the crossings between the superius and altus are fewer in number. It fits the other parts perfectly and performs its share of the sound imitations just as well as the Attaingnant contratenor without being in the same degree independent; only in the passage where it joins in the triplets of the tenor (mm.73-79) it may seem less effective (38). The editor showing such familiarity with Janequin's production was hardly Janequin himself, since the new altus part for "L'alouette" was never used in later editions. Moderne's editor for secular compositions was in all probability the composer P. de Villiers, as Layolle was for the sacred repertory (39).

In the foregoing there have been several allusions to the role of music publishers and editors in the history of "L'alouette". Their importance is evident in the case of Moderne's edition of c.1540, but the same presumably applies to Attaingnant's editions as well. There are reasons to assume that Attaingnant was his own musical editor as well as publisher and printer at least during the first years. His first publication demonstrating the new method of music printing, the "Chansons nouvelles" of 1528, was the result of a long period of preparation and experiment. The choice of music to print must have been very carefully considered, the success of his enterprise depended on it. The chief part of the four-part chansons found in the series of chansonniers which he brought out during the years 1528-30 must have been collected by Attaingnant even before the edition of "Chansons nouvelles". Not until 1530 did newly composed chansons begin to occupy a prominent place in his chansonniers, and when in 1529 his stock of four-part chansons was running low Attaingnant resorted to old-fashioned three-part pieces for "Quarante et deux chansons

a troys parties..." (40). Attaingnant's repertory in these early editions, which he used once again as models for the arrangements contained in the collections of lute and keyboard tablatures issued 1529-31, constitutes what we today term "the early Parisian chanson".

Stylistically these chansons are more diversified than one would expect from the usual textbook descriptions; in the chansonniers popular arrangements stand side by side with freely composed settings of poems by, for example, the Court poet Cl. Marot, or in many chansons the popular and the courtly elements are intermingled. The early Parisian chanson has not yet been sufficiently studied and at several points its history is still obscure. It is outside the scope of this article to discuss these questions in detail, it must suffice to note here that Attaingnant when selecting his repertory included many of the most beloved and widespread compositions of the preceding decade (41), of which he could be reasonably certain that they would appeal to his customers.

In the light of this the "Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin" looks like something of an experiment. If it was, its lasting success was also a proof of Attaingnant's ability to judge the potentialities of the music market correctly. There can be no doubt that Attaingnant thought highly of Janequin's music and that they maintained close contact with each other in spite of the composer's residence at Bordeaux (42). Janequin was for many years the only composer whose secular works were brought out by Attaingnant in separate editions (43). The contents of this collection comprised presumably Janequin's whole production of programme chansons until then, since he failed to deliver enough to fill out the standard 16 leaves of the part-books, a shortcoming made good in the new edition of 1537 as previously mentioned. These extended chansons certainly did not fit into the chansonniers Attaingnant normally printed or planned to print. But what in all probability prompted Attaingnant

to embark upon this apparent experiment was the nature of these compositions. Among the four programme chansons were not only two chansons continuing the old tradition of bird chansons but also two others in which the onomatopoeic tradition was transformed into a new type of entertaining chanson, which to an eminent degree could as well propagate political messages as represent in sound pictures the life of the various classes of society during the reign of François I.

In "La chasse" Janequin treats the stag hunt, the favourite sport of the nobility and the King's passion, with a realism and vividness never heard before. "La guerre" tells the story of the Battle of Marignano in 1515, the greatest military triumph of François I. Janequin presumably composed this homage to the King's heroism and generalship during or after 1525, the most difficult year of François' reign, when the King after the disastrous Battle of Pavia was kept prisoner in Spain (44). The political message of this chanson is just as clear as it is in "Chantons sonnons trompettes", written in celebration of the return of the Princes, who had been detained as hostages in Spain instead of their father. After the Peace of Cambrai, which imposed enormous burdens on the people of France, the Princes passed through Bordeaux in the summer of 1530; Janequin's chanson of rejoicing was published by Attaingnant within a few months (45). After the first success of the programme chansons Janequin chose as his subjects not only the deeds of the King and the nobility but also scenes of daily life, as, for example, in "Voulez ouyr le cris de Paris" 1530 (46). Compared with his total production of chansons (c.250) the programme chansons never became numerically an important part of Janequin's work, but having regard to reeditions and the preferences of his public they have a tendency to overshadow the rest.

The use of onomatopoeia was not common during the years just before the publication of "Chansons de maistre Clement



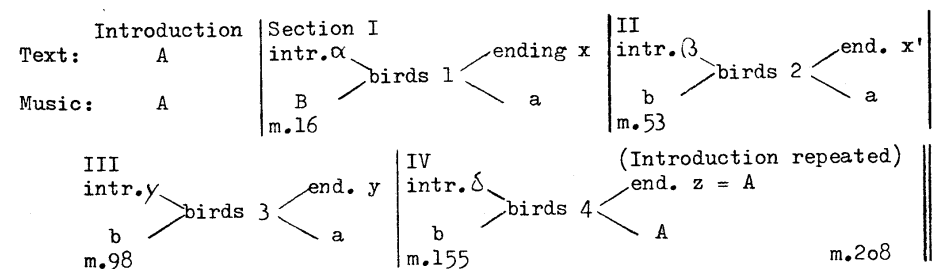
Janequin", but it is occasionally found in short passages in the early Parisian chansons (47). Attaingnant printed in "Chansons nouvelles" the anonymous chanson "A mon resveil ung oyseaulx jay oy" (no.22), which contains passages (mm.11-17, 20-23 and 26-30) of bird song (ex.4). Besides, "Chansons nouvelles" contained Claudin de Sermisy's setting of a presumably popular tune on the "L'alouette"-subject "Il est jour dit l'alouette" (no.7) (48); Claudin's chanson does not use sound-imitations, but its opening motive "Il est jour" is identical with the corresponding motives in "L'alouette".

Ex.4 Anonymous "A mon resveil" (49).

In "Trente chansons musicales a quatre parties..." (50) published the following year Attaingnant included the charming "Et moulinet vire tourne" (no.16), in which the sounds of a mill are used along with a "rotary" melodic motion; for the last four measures a fifth part enters:

Ex.5 Anonymous "Et moulinet vire tourne".

The earliest published chanson by Janequin "Reconfortez le petit cuer de moy", printed in "Chansons nouvelles" (no.28) and also found in the Copenhagen MS (51), is related to the chansons rustiques. It is in fact a four-part arrangement using as model for the superius a tune found in both of the monophonic chansonniers (52), but Janequin not only paraphrased the tune freely but also treated the whole type of composition in such a free way that he, as in the case of the programme chansons, transformed it completely; it became a Parisian chanson with its synthesis of different elements. Also the two bird chansons in "Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin" are closely connected with the popular tradition. In "L'alouette" Janequin rearranged the three-part chanson of c.1510 as a four-part piece, and he also used the layout of the three-part chanson as pattern for the original version of "Le chant des oyseaux". This extended chanson consists of five sections: An Introduction (music A) and four Sections (I-IV), each Section consisting of an introduction (music B) followed by a long passage of bird imitations and an ending, which uses the music of the Introduction; the last Section repeats both text and music of the Introduction (52):



Each of the four Sections could actually serve as a complete bird chanson very similar to "L'alouette". The music of the introductions and endings, the elements B and A, closely adheres to the style of the four-part arrangements. Apart from

this the two chansons also have many of the bird motives in common; one passage in the contratenor of "L'alouette", the previously mentioned phrase mm.66-69 and 71-75, can be heard in a shape nearly identical in "Le chant des oyseaux":

Ex.6 Janequin "Le chant des oyseaux" superius.



Finally, we will consider the roles of "Or sus vous dormez trop" and "L'alouette" in the creation of the programme chanson, the most colourful feature of the early Parisian chanson. The three-part chanson has often as a matter of course been accepted as a work of Janequin's youth. However, the sources furnish strong evidence in favour of considering it an anonymous composition. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that Janequin could be the author all the same, but at present every proof is wanting (54). Still, there can be no doubt that "Or sus vous dormez trop" represents the very type of chanson which inspired Janequin's great programme chansons, and that he beforehand was well acquainted with this chanson.

The four-part "L'alouette" may be Janequin's first attempt at programme chansons; the rather awkward part-writing at some points is not characteristic of Janequin, and "L'alouette" is also rhythmically more complicated than his other programme chansons. The present writer, however, prefers another explanation of these peculiarities: having seen "La guerre", "La chasse" and "Le chant des oyseaux", Attaignant at once became interested in marketing the chansons. With the intention of printing a homogeneous collection of real 'chansons nouvelles' he urged Janequin to deliver more chansons of this sort. Janequin was unable to do this at short notice and resorted to making an arrangement of the widely known three-part chanson, incidentally quoting his own "Le chant des oyseaux" in the new contratenor. In making

this arrangement of an older chanson and including it among his own compositions Janequin acted in complete accordance with common practice of the time.

#### NOTES

- 1 Fr. Lesure: "Clement Janequin. Recherches sur sa vie et son oeuvre." *Musica disciplina* V (1951) p.157. Further comments on "L'Alouette" can be found in: Fr. Lesure: "Les chansons a trois voix de Clément Janequin" *Revue de musicologie* 1959 p.193; Cl. Janequin (eds. Fr. Lesure et A. Tillman Merritt): *Chansons polyphoniques*, Monaco 1965-71, I p.182; Daniel Heartz: "'Les Goûts Réunis', or the Worlds of the Madrigal and the Chanson Confronted" *Chanson and Madrigal* 1480-1530 (ed. J. Haar), Cam.Mass.1964, p.88; A. Tillman Merritt: "Janequin: Reworkings of Some Early Chansons" *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music* (ed. Jan LaRue), New York 1966, p.603; Yves F.-A. Giraud: "Zu Clément Jannequins 'Chant de l'Alouette'" *Die Musikforschung* 22 (1969), p.76; Lawrence F. Bernstein: "'La Courone et fleurs des chansons a troys': A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1973, p.1; Courtney Adams: "Some Aspects of the Chanson for Three Voices during the Sixteenth Century" *Acta Musicologica* 1977, p.227.
- 2 See Appendix I; the transcription differs in several details from the modern edition in Janequin: *Chansons* ...I, p.106.
- 3 Only two fascicles were not written by Charneyron, but used and completed by him; also, some pieces have been added by a later user.
- 4 For further information see my thesis *Musikhåndskriftet Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2º, Det kgl. Bibliotek, København*. University of Copenhagen 1978 (unpubl.), which includes a complete reconstruction of the MS.

- 5 I have not been able to consult a microfilm of the whole MS, but have relied on a thematic catalogue prepared by the late Prof. Knud Jeppesen (cf. "Knud Jeppesen's Collection in the State and University Library (Århus, Denmark). A Preliminary Catalogue" *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning* VII (1976) pp.21-49) and the description in H. Anglés: *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos* I, Madrid 1941, p.112. Anglés dates the MS to the end of the 15th century and the first years of the 16th century.
- 6 A five-part setting of the tune "Cela sans plus".
- 7 See Bernstein: "La Courone.." pp.8-15 which also contains an annotated table of contents.
- 8 A. Geering: *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformations* (Schweizerische Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft VI) Aarau 1933, p.92.
- 9 See e.g. *Chanson and Madrigal 1480-1530* p.6 (H.M. Brown) or p.113 (D. Heartz).
- 10 Tschudi did not follow Glarean to Paris, cf. H.-C. Müller: art."Tschudi" in *MGG* 13 (1965-66) col. 928-29; Müller dates the MS c.1540-50.
- 11 Cf. Frances B. Turrell: "The 'Isagoge in Musicen' of Henry Glarean" *Journal of Musical Theory* III (1959) pp.97-139.
- 12 St. Gall MS 463 no.33-46 are identical with the following numbers in Antico's print: nos. 24, 12, 40, 22, 11, 1, 4, 37, 14, 29, 5, 38 and 6; Tschudi has written in full the repetitions only indicated in the print and corrected a few errors in text and music; he has maintained Antico's Italianate spellings for the words of "Or sus vous dormez trop".
- 13 The version printed by Antico is four brevis-measures shorter than the other versions; mm.51-52, 72 and 92, all of which are repetitions of the immediately preceding measures, are omitted, presumable on typographical considerations, the superius part-book could not have contained any more notes, the text being adjusted accordingly.
- 14 H.M. Brown: "The Chanson rustique: Popular Elements in the 15th- and 16th-Century Chanson" *JAMS* 1959 p.16; "The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson 1500-1530" *Chanson and Madrigal 1480-1530* p.1; "The Music of the Strozzi Chansonier" *Acta* 1968 p.115; *Music in the*

- French Secular Theater 1400-1550*, Cam. Mass. 1963; *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Cam. Mass. 1963.
- 15 D.Heartz points out in "Les Goûts Réunis ..." p.112 n.32 that 'Sebastiano Festa uses the same tenor as Janequin in his "L'ultimo di di Mazo un bel matino". This four-part villota was printed in RISM 1526/6 and can also be found in several Italian MSS dating from c.1520-30; for a complete concordance see K. Jeppesen: *La Frottole* I (Acta Jutlandica XL:2) Århus 1968, p.138; modern ed. in F. Torrefranca: *Il Segreto del Quattrocento*, Milano 1939, p.486. However, only the first eight notes of the tenor have any resemblance to the tenor of "Or sus vous dormez trop", and this similarity is too slight to be significant considering the elementary character of the short phrase. This tenor intonation also opens the anonymous centone "L'ultimo di di maggio senti cantar" 4v in Bologna, Civio Museo, MS. Q21; ed. in Torrefranca: *Il Segreto* . . . p.488, cf. also Jeppesen: *La Frottole* III (Acta Jut. XLIII:1) Århus 1970, pp.82-90.
  - 16 Cf. e.g. the delightful chace "Tres dous compains" in the Ivrea Codex; modern ed. in *Medieval Music. The Oxford Anthology of Music* (ed. W. Thomas Marrocco and N. Sandon) London 1977, p.161.
  - 17 Willi Apel: *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, Cam. Mass. 1950, p.16 and p.3.
  - 18 In the Codex Ivrea and the MSS Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq.fr. 6771 (Codex Reina) and It. 568; for a complete concordance see G. Reaney: "The MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Italien 568" *Musica Disciplina* 1960, p.62; modern ed. in Apel: *French Secular Music*..., no.70.
  - 19 Ibid. no.69; cf. also the virelais nos. 50, 67-68 and 71.
  - 20 Ibid. p.16.
  - 21 Ibid. no.67 and 68.
  - 22 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. f.fr.9346, cf. Th. Gerold (ed.): *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux*, Strasbourg 1921, and Ms. f.fr.12744, cf. G. Paris et A. Gevaert (eds.): *Chansons du XVe Siècle*, Paris 1875.

- 23 Cf. Bernstein: "La Courone..." pp.8-15; Bernstein writes p.15: 'The compilers ... seem to have been cognizant of the unique properties of this piece ("Or sus vous dormez trop" no.40), however, printing it last among the chansons of this collection, and thereby setting it off from the other pieces in the book.' This opinion was apparently not shared by the contemporary scribe of the Florence MS or by Aegidius Tschudi who copied some parts of the contents. Moreover, the traditional contrasting role of the last composition is in this collection assigned to the Latin piece "Dulces exuviae" (no.41).
- 24 Concerning fascicle manuscripts see Ch. Hamm: "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era" *Acta* 1962, p.166, and my thesis pp.61-86 (cf. note 4 above).
- 25 Modern ed. in H.M. Brown: *Theatrical Chansons...*, no.37.
- 26 Other chansons with "Tirelire / Turelure" refrains cf. H.M. Brown: *Music in the French Secular Theatre...*, pp.277-78.
- 27 See Appendix II.
- 28 Modern eds. in Janequin: *Chansons...I*, pp.5-118.
- 29 Cf. Tillman Merritt: "Janequin: Reworkings...", p.605.
- 30 Cf. "Le chant des oyseaux" mm.39, 64-65 and 194; "La guerre" II mm.56-60, 89-91, 112-113, 125-127 and 140; "La chasse" I mm.33-34, 37-38, 64, 77 and 138-139, II mm.11 and 107-110.
- 31 Yves F.-A. Giraud regards the three-part chanson as an extremely faulty copy of Janequin's four-part original made by the scribe of the Florence MS and then printed by Antico ("Zu Clément Janequins 'Chant de L'Alouette'", p.77). This theory can safely be regarded as disproven by the discussion of the sources of the three-part chanson above. Comparing the three-part chanson with the eight chansons known to be composed by Janequin in three parts, all appearing after 1550, Courtney Adams ("Some Aspects...", p.236 and p.245) finds it entirely dissimilar, and from this the author draws the inevitable conclusion that the four-part chanson must be the original version!
- 32 RISM A/I J456.
- 33 RISM A/I J444.
- 34 Janequin: *Chansons...II*, p.197.

- 35 The shortened version of "Le chant des oyseaux" is found in Janequin: *Chansons...II*, p.184; for a more detailed discussion of these revisions see Tillman Merritt: "Janequin: Reworkings...".
- 36 RISM A/I J459; the five chansons (nos.17-21) are printed in exactly the same order as in the 1537 edition, cf. Samuel F. Pogue: *Jacques Moderne. Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century*, Genève 1969, pp.163-165.
- 37 See Appendix II; the Bourdeney-Pasche MS contains a complete version of the "L'alouette" printed by Moderne. The Moderne altus is in the transcription placed below the Attaignant contratenor.
- 38 Yves F.-A. Giraud and Courtney Adams (cf. note 31 above) regard the altus as an unhappy (Giraud) attempt on the part of Moderne to make the version printed by Antico into a four-part composition because he had no access to Janequin's chanson; the authors apparently consulted the sources in a very superficial way.
- 39 Cf. Pogue: *Jacques Moderne...*, pp.64-67.
- 40 For a chronology and catalogue of the Attaignant prints see D. Heartz: *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music*, Los Angeles 1969.
- 41 The Copenhagen MS, written at Lyons c.1520-25, contains many concordances with Attaignant's early prints; cf. note 4 above.
- 42 Concerning Janequin's biography see P. Roudié et Fr. Lesure: "La jeunesse bordelaise de Clément Janequin (1505-1531)" *Revue de musicologie* 1963, p.172, and Janequin: *Chansons...I*, p.I-V.
- 43 Three new collections of chansons by Janequin appeared in 1533, 1540 and 1549 respectively, cf. Heartz: *Attaignant...*, no.40, 90 and 155; not until 1550 did Attaignant bring out a collection of chansons by another composer: Josquin des Prez (no.162).
- 44 Cf. Heartz: "Les Goûts Réunis..." p.112.
- 45 "Trente et six chansons musicales..." no.1, RISM 1530/4; modern ed. in Janequin: *Chansons...I*, p.175.
- 46 Ibid. p.146.

[illegible]

[illegible]

que te dict dieu, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, il est pur, il est pur, il est pur, que te dict dieu, que te dict dieu, que te dict dieu, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te.

[illegible]

60

qu'on tue ce faïx vilain ja- lous co-cu cornu, tout malheu- reux, tout mal- au- tru,

3 3 1

dieu, que diët dieu, que diët dieu, tout malheu- reux, tout malau- tru, tout far- ci-

qu'on tue ce faïx vilain ja- lous co-cu cornu, tout malheu- reux, tout malau- tru,

qui ne veut nige des brayes dung vieux pan- du, quil soit pendu, quil soit brusle, quil  
- neux, co - cu co - cu co - cu co - cu  
il ne veut nige les brayes dung vieux pendu, quil soit ba - tu, quil soit ly - e, quil soit hu - cha, de - chi - que -

soit perdu, quil soit brulé ce malau-tru, ce malau-tru, ho ho ho ho quil est lait, fi-de-ly de ce villain cocu comu fi-de-  
 co - cu co - cu co - cu co - cu co-cu co - cu co - cu co - cu co-cu co-  
 - te, quil soit has- te, ho ho ho ho ho ho ho ho quil est lait, fi- de - ly quil soit

*- luy tu - ez, fia - pez, ba - tez, ce pauvre vilain comme un co-cu, se-ny reny se-ny se-ny reny se-ny*

*- cu cocu cocu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu co-cu*

*pis, li-e, ba-tu, serre, troussé, in-con-ti-neut pen-du, ou autrement qui souffre que sa femme ou son-*

90 95

- ny ny ny ny ny se - ny sang se - ny, ou autre - ment ten va mou -

souf - fre, souf - fre, souf - fre, souf - fre, souf - fre, ou ail - le - ment ten va mou -

- fre de la bai - ser, de l'embrasser, de l'ac - cer sans cot - ter, ou autre - ment ten va mou -

100

- nr, mourir, ou autre- ment ten va mou - nir

- nr, ou aul- tre- ment ten va mou - nir.

- nr, mourir, ou autre- ment ten va mou - nir.

## II Clément Janequin:

"L'alouette: Or sus vous dormez trop" (in four parts)

Superius

Or sus or sus vous dor-mez trop ma dame joli- et - - te,

Contratenor  
(Attainment)

Ma da-me joli- et - te vous dor-mez trop ma da-me joli-et -

Altus  
(Moderne)

Or sus or sus vous dor-mez trop ma

Tenor

Or sus or sus vous dor-mez trop ma dame joli-et - - te, ma dame

Bassus

Or sus or sus vous dormez trop ma da-me jo-li-

ma dame jo-li-et-te. il est, il est jour le- ves sus. es- cou, escoutez  
- te, ma da- me jo-li-et- te. il est, il est jour levez sus, es- cou, es- cou, escou- tez la-lou-et- te, es-  
da-me joly- et- te, ma da-me joly- et- te, ma da-me joly- et- te, il est, il est jour le- ves sus,  
jo-li, ma dame joly- et- te. il est, il est jour levez sus, es- cou,  
- et- te, ma da-me jo-li-et- te, il est, il est jour levez sus, escou, escou,

la-lou-et- te, escou, escou, es- cou, escoutez la-lou-et- te, es- coutez la-lou-et-  
- coutez, es- coutez, escou, es- coutez la-lou-et- te, es- coutez, es- coutez, escoutez la-louette,  
es- coutez la-lou-et- te, escoutez la-lou-et- te, es- cou- tes, escoutez la- lou- et-  
es- cou- tez la-lou-et- te, es- cou, es- cou- tez la-lou-et- te,  
escoutez la-lou-et- te, escou, escoutez la-lou-et- te.

- te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, pe-ti-te, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, il est jour, il  
peti- te, pe- ti- te, peti- te, peti- te, que te dit dieu, il est jour, que te dit dieu, peti- te, ty ty fera  
- te, pe- ti- te, pe-ti- te, pe-ti- te, il est jour, ij il est jour ij il est jour ij il est jour,  
- et, il est jour, il est jour, il est jour, il est jour, il est jour, il est jour, il est jour, jour, jour, jour, il est  
pe- ti- te, pe-ti- te, pe-ti- te, il est jour ij il est jour ij il est jour ij il est jour, que dit

est jour ij il est jour, il est, il est jour, jour, jour, jour, jour, pe- ti- te  
Li- ne ly ty fere li- ne li- pi- ti fere, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, ty, il est jour,  
jour, jour, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti-  
jour ij il est jour ij il est jour, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, que te dit dieu, que te dit  
dieu, que dit dieu, que dit dieu, il est jour, ij il est jour ij il est jour ij il est jour ij il est jour.

pe- ti- te, ty pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti-  
il est jour ij que te dit dieu, ij que te dit dieu, ty il est jour ij il est jour, il est jour.  
- te, pe- ti- te, que te dit dieu, ij que te dit dieu, peti- te, peti- te, peti- te, peti- te, at  
dieu ij que te dit dieu, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, peti- te, pe- ti- te, il est jour, il est  
que te dit dieu ij que te dit dieu ij pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, peti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te.

- te, Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re ly fere li- ne ly ty pi- ty, re li-  
Li- re li- ne ly- non fere li- ne ly ty pi- ti- re Li- re Li- non, Li- re fere li- ne ly  
Li fere li- ne li- ti- pe- ti- et li- re Li- re fere li- ne li- re Li- re Li- non at fere li- ne li- et li- re li-  
jour, Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re ly fere li- ne ly ty pi- ti- re ly fere li- ne ly ty pi- ti- re li- re li-  
- te, Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re Li- re ly fere li- ne li- ty pi- ty, re li- ne li- re li- re li-.

non, que dit dieu ij que dit dieu, quon tue ce faulx jaloux cornu co- qu, tout esper-  
que dit dieu ij que dit dieu, fere li- ne ly fere li- ne ly ty pi- ty, quon tue ce faulx jaloux co- qu, tout chassieule,  
- non, peti- te, pe- ti- te, pe- ti- te, que dit dieu ij que tue soit ce faulx jaloux cornu co- qu, tout malostu, tout  
- non, que dit dieu ij que dit dieu tous chassieule,  
- non quon tue ce faulx jaloux cornu co- qu, tout malostu.

- du, tout malostu, il ne vault mye les brayez dung vieul pen- du, Tu- e  
tout marmiteux, pin chose li- ne li- chindin, Te ro- gamus audi nos sainte taste dieu, pe-  
esperdu, tout cachi- eux il ne vault point les brayez dung viel pendu, que soit hachie de  
tous fer- ci- neux tous marmiteux, co- qu coqu  
- du tout esper- du, il ne vault mye les brayez dung vieul pendu, quil soit tor- che, dessi- que-

70. tu - e ce coquin coquin i j coquin i j co-quin. pin chose lie li chin chin chac chac floe floe chery li chin pin  
 - ti - te. sain - de teste dieu, sain - de testes dieu, il est jour, il est temps, il est temps, temps daller boye fan  
 cinquante ba- tu, frappe, que soit fue te que soit broste co- quin, marault, Lour- din, lourdault, pe-  
 co-qu coqu co-qu co-qu coqu co-qu co-qu co-quin, marault Lour- din, lourdault, pe- tin, pe-taut, ny-  
 le, batu, pap- pe, quil soit brus- le, quil soit hul- le. hou, hou, hou quil est lait le jaloux.  
 80. chose lie li chin chin chac chac floe floe chery li chin fide- ly fide- ly ocy o- cy. tu - e, tu - e,  
 fari lani la rom fan, fari lani la rom fan, or oy- ez, or oy- ez, or  
 - tin, pe- tau, ni- au, ni- gau, be- din, bedau, ve- sin, vessau, le vit- lain coqu coqu co- qu, hou,  
 - ault, mygault, be- din, bedault, ves- sin, vessaut, co- qu coqu coqu co- qu coqu coqu. hou, hou quil est  
 hou, hou, hou quil est lait le jaloux. quil soit li- e, tres bien ba- gue, seme, brousse, fort garro -  
 85. tu - e ce vil- lain cor- nu co- qu. che- ny cheny cheny cheny che-  
 oy- ez, fari lani la rom fari lani la rom fari lani la rom, on vous fait assavoir de parles ayeux que couez lost pour recir par  
 hou quil est lait, tor- tu bassu cor- nu coqu, ou aul- tiement que seuffre, quant a sa femme  
 lait, hou hou quil est lait ce coqu co- qu. tor- tu, bos- su, va faux truant coquin pruant tout malspensant  
 - te, et puis get- te dens ung fos- se, ou aul- tiement quil seuf- fe quant a sa  
 90. - ny cheny che-ny. lissez la esiou- yr sauter, jouer, gaudir chacun en bete nir, parler a son plaisir, vol- ler et dor-  
 vaulx le traistre coqu teigneux, bandu, mor- veux, bossu, boi- teux, tortu, rom- gneux, testu, briqueux, ba- tu.  
 souffe de la baiser de laccoler de lembresser et rever- ser que chacun pregne son plai-  
 et mes- di- sant, souf- fre. soeuf- fre, soeuf- fre, soeuf- fre, soeuf- fre.  
 femme on sof- fie de la bai- ser de la- lo- lar de lembra- ser et rever- ser, que cha- cun

95. - mir croquis a plaisir, ou aul- tiement va ten mou - nir, mou- nir, ou aul- tiement va ten mou - nir,  
 que lon condamne mou - nir, mou- nir, que lon condamne a mou - nir.  
 - sir, ou aul- tiement vat en mou- nir, ou aul- tiement vat en mou- nir.  
 soeuf- fre, ou aul- tiement ten va mou- nir, ou aul- tiement ten va mou- nir.  
 fa- ce son plai- sir, ou aul- tiement ten va mou- nir, mou- nir, ou aul- tiement va ten mou- nir

## Sources:

(Abbreviations: S=superius; Ct=contratenor; A=altus; T=tenor; B=bassus; lo=longa; br=brevis; sbr=semibrevis; mi=minima; smi=semiminima; fu=fusa; .=the preceding value is dotted.)

## I

- a) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XI X. 117, fol. 8v-10; Anonymous. The transcription of music and text is based primarily on this source.  
 Musical variants: S 83.1-2 mi:g' - smi:g'. T 7.1-2 mi:c' - 2smi:b-a; T 11.3-4 mi:c' - 2 smi:b-a. B 42.1 mi:f; B 60 2 sbr:f.  
 Errors: S 34.1 sbr. T 32.3 sbr-rest. B 6.3-4 mi:d - 2 smi:c-B; B 88.3-4 mi.  
 Text: S 20.2-4, 26.3-29.1, 42-43, 46-48.2 and 71.4-73.3 no text; S 67.3 "vieulx" is missing. T 9.1-2 "joliette"; T 23.4-25.2 no text. B 67.3 "vieulx" is missing; B 93.2-95.1 no text.
- b) København, Det kongl. Bibliotek, Ny kongl. Saml. 1848 2°, p. 439-440 (no. 268); Anonymous. S is called "Altus" in MS.  
 Musical variants: S 37-41 see b1; S 42-43 2 br: a'; S 45 see b2; S 59.3-4 sbr:b'; S 83 2 sbr:g'-c"; S 95.1-2 2 mi:e'. T 7.1-2 mi:c'-2 smi: b-a; T 44 br:d'; T 45 see b2; T 54.3-4 2 mi:b; T 78.3-4 sbr:a; T 79.1 mi-rest. B 40-41 2 br:c; B 45 see b2; B 54-56 3 br:c; B 59.3-4 sbr:g; B 88.1-2 sbr:e; B 93.3-4 2 mi:f.



Errors: S 6.3-4 mi:f' - 2 smi:e'-d'; S 9.4 smi is e'; S 22.4 sbr; S 63-64 missing. T 36.1-2 3 smi:a-b-c' are missing. B 47.3-4 missing; B following 80 are 3 superfluous mi:f; B 81.1-2 mi.  
Text: S 1.4-2.2, 9-13.3, 15-16.2 and 20.2-102 no text; S 4, T 5 and B 6 "tropt"; S 5.2 "joliete"; S 18 and T 20 "escoute". T 8.2-14.3 and 16-19 no text; T 23.4-102 has no text, but the scribe has erroneously placed the remainder of T's text under the B-part: T 37 etc. "dist"; T 44-45 (cf. b2) "ty ty ty"; T 60-63 "tout maloreulx, tout maloutreu"; T 98.4-102 no text. B 11-13.2, 17-18, 23-24 and 29-102 no text (B 29-102 has the text belonging to T); B 13.4-15 "Il est jour il est jour lesus".

- c) Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, M. 4 5 4, fol.155v-157: Anonymous "or sus or sus vus dromestrop".  
Musical variants: S 15.1-2 2 mi:e'; S 30-31 see c1; S 42-43 2 br:a'; S 53.3-4 mi:-smi:d'. T 44-45 lo:d'; T 84.2-4 mi:c' - sbr:a'; T 88 sbr::c' - mi:a. B 27.1-3 sbr::c; B 30-31 see c2; B 52.3-4 mi:B - 2 smi:B; B 53.1-2 mi:c - smi-rest - smi:c; B 54-56 lo:c - br:c; B 82 4 mi:f; B 84 2 sbr:d; B 93.3-4 2 mi:f. STB 48.1-2 fermata.  
Errors: S 30.3 sbr; S 37.1-2 mi-rest.  
Text: The words are written very carefully by a Spanish scribe, who obviously had no knowledge of French. His version is so corrupt that it is superfluous to note the textual variants here.

- d) 'Chansons a troys' A. Antico, Venezia 1520 (RISM 1520/6), no.40: Anonymous. Only S and B part-books have been preserved.  
and  
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 463 (Tschudi's Liederbuch), no.36: Anonymous. This piece was copied from the Antico print; only the S-part has survived.  
Musical variants: S 5.2 smi is f'; S 25.1 2 smi:e'-d'; S 31.2-3 sbr.c' (no rest); S 38-39 see d1; S 42-43 lo:a'; S 54-55 see d2; S 71.1 mi:a'; S 78 mi-2 smi-mi-2 smi:a'; S 93.3-4 sbr-rest; S 95.1-2 2 mi:e'; S 96.2-3 and 100.2-3 mi::a'-smi:g'. B 6.1-2 sbr:e; B 27.1-3 sbr::c; B 35.2 and 36.1 smi-rest - smi:f. SB 51-52, 72 and 92 are left out.  
Text: S 5 and B 8 "jolyette"; S and B 15 "leves"; S 31 etc. "dit"; S 37.2-40.1 "il est jour ij"; S 54.2-55 "que te dit dieu ij que dit dieu"; S and B 57-68 "con tue ses faulx jaloux cornu cornu, tout maloutru, tout esperdu, il ne vault les brayes dung viel pendu"; S 69-79 "tue ij dessus ij ij ij coqu ij ij ij fideli ij ij ij"; S 80-85 "tue ij ij les vieux cornu coquus"; S and B 96 etc. "mori/morir/mory". B 34.4-35.1 "que dit dieu"; B 35.2-36.3 "que te dit dieu ij"; B 68.2-73.2 "que son hache,

dechiquette, batu, frappe, qui soit huste"; B 77.3-95.1 "quil est lait, qui soit prise, bane, serre, trousse, incontinent perdu, ou aultrement que souffre que a samye on offre de la baisier, de la oller, soubrioter que chinprengne son plaisir".  
Modern edition: Clément Janequin: Chansons polyphoniques (eds. A. Tillman Merritt et François Lesure) I, Monaco 1965, p.99.

## II

## First version:

'Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin...' P. Attaignant, Paris n. d. (1528) (RISM A/I J443), no.4.  
Text: Ct 34.4-36.3 "fere lire ly ti ty fere lire li ty piti fere li".  
For later 16th century editions of this version see Janequin: Chansons I, p.182.  
Modern editions: H. Expert: Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française VII, Paris 1898, p.105; A.T. Davison and W. Apel: Historical Anthology of Music, Cam Mass. 1964, I p.109; Janequin: Chansons I p.106.

## Second version:

- 1) 'Le Difficile des Chansons. Premier livre contenant xxii Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties... de la facture & composition de maistre Clement Jennequin...' J. Moderne, Lyon s. d. (1540) (RISM A/I J459), no.20 "Lalouette". Only the A part-book has survived. The A-part for this piece is different from the Attaignant Ct; in the transcription it is placed below that part.  
Errors: A 1-14 the clef is misplaced.
- 2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Rés. Vm<sup>a</sup> 851 (Bourdeney - Pasche MS), p.577 "La Alouette de Clement Jennequin a quatre voix". The A-part is identical with the A in Moderne's print; presumably the chanson was copied from that source.  
Musical variants: S 44.4 and 45.2 2 smi:a'. T 89.1-3 sbr::c'.  
Errors: SATB 91-92 are missing.