A STUDY OF THE SECULAR MUSIC OF THE MAJOR COMPOSERS AT THE COURT OF BURGUNDY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THESIS

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Reginald Leon Couch, B. A.

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PREFACE

Thanks to the work of many scholars during the last half-century, the music of the fifteenth century is now fully appreciated; mere mention of the names Dufay, Binchois, Ockeghem or Obrecht immediately brings to mind one of the most brilliant periods in the history of music. With these composers and their contemporaries who developed to its highest point, even if they did not invent it, one of the finest of all musical styles, music enters a new phase: they sowed the seeds of polyphony whose later flowering was to dominate Europe for centuries.

In spite of the work of scholars who have concerned themselves mostly with transcription of these composers' works, little has been said about the development of styles during the fifteenth century. The present work is intended to ascertain the most important stylistic developments of one major composer, Binchois, and several lesser composers: Grenon, Fontaine, Vide, Joye, Constans, Morton and Hayne. All of these musicians were employed by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1420-1467), when he was one of the richest, most powerful and most respected of all the sovereigns of Europe.

As is true of the art in any period, music can best be judged in the light of contemporary life. The author has included, therefore, a brief survey of the history of the Court of Burgundy (including a genealogical chart to be found in Appendix I) with some biographical facts concerning the composers at this court.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

> . . . the most Christian princes, . . . desiring to augment the divine service, founded chapels after the manner of David, in which at extraordinary expense they appointed singers to sing pleasant and comely praise to our God with diverse (but not adverse) voices. And since the singers of princes, if their masters are endowed with the liberality which makes men illustrious, are rewarded with honor, glory, and wealth, many are kindled with a most fervent zeal for this study.
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> At this time, consequently, the possibilities of our music have been so marvelously increased that there appears to be a new art. . . .[1]

Thus does Johannes Tinctoris (ca. 1446-1511), the eminent theorist, pay tribute to the princes of that age for their efforts on behalf of music; among such princes were those of the court of Burgundy.

As a reward for the courage shown by Philip the Bold (a younger brother of the future Charles V) in the battle at Poitiers (1356), King John II of France conferred upon him, in the year 1363, the crown of Burgundy. The King had received the Duchy of Burgundy in 1360 at the death of Duke Philip of Rouvre. Through marriage to the richest heiress

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[1]Johannes Tinctoris, "Proportionale Musices," Scriptorum de medii aevi nova series, C. E. H. de Coussemaker, editor, IV, 154a. Translation from Oliver Strunk, editor, Source Readings in Music History, (1950), pp. 194-195.

in Europe, the widowed Countess Margaret of Flanders, Philip the Bold became the master of Flanders, Brabant, Artois, and the counties of Rethel and Nevers.

Philip the Bold is shown to us by Christine de Pisan as "a prince of great knowledge, industry, and will."[2] These qualities became apparent in his establishment of the Council of States.[3]

When Philip the Bold died on the 27th of April, 1404, his son John, called "the Fearless" (a name won in the battle against the Turks at Nicopolis in 1396), became Duke of Burgundy.

> This John was very courageous and high spirited, and was a man subtle, doubting, and suspicious, and trusted no one. For this reason he always wore armour under his robe and had his sword girt and made himself redoubted and feared above all others.[4]

On the 23rd of November, 1407, John the Fearless ordered the assassination of the Duke of Orléans (brother of the insane King, Charles VI); thus he precipitated a civil war between the Burgundians and the Orléans faction, who

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[2]F. Funck-Brentano, The Middle Ages, Vol. II of The National History of France, edited by F. Funck-Brentano, (9 vols.), p. 486.

[3]This Council of States was a chain of command rule established to govern his possessions. See H. Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State," American Historical Review, XIV (1909), 417-442.

[4]F. Funck-Brentano, op. cit., p. 492.

called themselves the "Armagnacs" after their leader, Count Bernard d'Armagnac. In spite of this civil war, no independent national consciousness existed, mainly because of the Burgundian pride of belonging to the "greatest, most advanced, and most glorious country of France."[5] However, this event extinguished all hope of reconciliation between Burgundy and the three royal dukes, Berry, Bourbon and Brittany, who embraced the cause of the deceased Orleans.

John the Fearless traveled throughout France frequently after he became Duke of Burgundy and, without a doubt, met Nicolas Grenon who was at that time instructor of grammar at Cambrai.[6] The earliest mention of Grenon is in 1399, when he became canon at Saint-Sepulcre in Paris.[7] In 1403 he was instructor of the choirboys at Laon; from 1408 on he taught grammar at Cambrai[8] and in 1412 was called into the service of the Duke of Burgundy where he remained until at least September, 1419 (the last mention of him in the court records).

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[5]P. H. Lang, "The So-called Netherlands Schools," Musical Quarterly, XXV (1939), 48.

[6]Jeanne Marix, Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne, p. 136.

[7]Jeanne Marix, Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne, p. xiii. Also Marix, Histoire, p. 136.

[8]The young Dufay arrived there about 1409.

In 1425 the papal archives of Rome mention Grenon's entrance into the Papal Chapel. Several other singers from the court of Burgundy are also listed, including Pierre Fontaine[9] (who had preceded him there by five years). However, unlike Fontaine, Grenon did not return to the court of Burgundy.[10]

In the same year (1419) that Grenon was last mentioned in the Burgundian court records, John the Fearless, who was "double dealing: one man in public, another in secret,"[11] attempting reconciliation with the King of France, was slain on the bridge of Montereau-faut-Yonne by the Dauphin, who later became King Charles VII.[12] This event severed Burgundy from France and within a year's time John's heir, Philip the Good, retaliated by effecting a union with England.

Duke Philip, doubtless foreseeing the success of the English King Henry V in his efforts to gain control of

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[9]Jeanne Marix, Les Musiciens, p. xiii. "Grenon reste trois ans auprès du Pope avec plusieurs chantres de Philippe le Bon, J. du Passage, P. Fontaine, Toussains de la Ruelle, Foliot. Le départ de Grenon, l'année où il est nommé chanoine à Cambrai, precède de quelques mois l'entrée de Guillaume Dufay à la chapelle pontificale."

[10]Marix, Histoire, p. 67. "He is found at Cambrai in 1449."

[11]E. F. Jacob, Henry V and the Invasion of France, p. 131.

[12]F. Funck-Brentano, op. cit., p. 502.

France, in addition to avenging his father's death, concluded the Treaty of Troyes (1420); he added his military strength to that of England, the arch-enemy of France, and thereby established himself as an independent prince, as a sovereign beside sovereigns.

It had been agreed upon in the Treaty of Troyes (1420) that the French King Charles VI was to be succeeded not by his own son, the Dauphin, but by the English King Henry V.[13] Henry V was not to glory for long for both he and Charles VI died in 1422, leaving as a new heir to the thrones of France and England the one-year-old Henry VI. Philip the Good refused to be Regent in France for the young King and the English then appointed the Duke of Bedford (1389-1435) to this post (an appointment that was indirectly to influence French music), and from all appearances an independent France was no more.

When Philip the Good became duke of Burgundy he retained the court musicians of his father's chapel. One of these was Pierre Fontaine who had been in the service of the first two dukes of Burgundy from at least ca. 1404.[14] Little is known about Fontaine other than that he was born in Rouen, probably studied with Guillaume Ruby, spent

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[13]E. F. Jacob, op. cit., pp. 144f.

[14]Marix, Histoire, p. 132.

seven years in Rome[15] (1420-1427) and returned in 1436 to the court of Burgundy. His name is omitted from the court records in 1447 and in 1451 the name Nicolas de Graincourt replaces that of Fontaine.[16]

From an anonymous chanson found in the Escurial manuscript[17] we can gather something of the character of this composer:

> Fontaine, a vous dire le voir
> Sans plus blasonner blanc ne noir,
> Souffrir vous doit pour tous potages,
> Que le regart des beaulx visages
> Dorenavant pussies avoir.
>
> Car pour vous a raison mouvoir
> Pas ne ferez vostre devoir
> Se vous demandez aultres gaiges.
> Fontaine, a vous dire le voir.
>
> Vray est qu'a la fois Bon voloir
> Vous fera en pensant douloir
> Et regreter ces doulx ymages;
> Mais neantment devenir sages
> Vous convient, pour mieulx en valoir.
> Fontaine, a vous dire le voir.

There is also mention of Fontaine as an outstanding person at the court in Binchois' motet "Nove Cantum Melodie."[18]

The Dauphin, refusing to recognize the Treaty of Troyes, assumed the title of Charles VII and aided by the

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[15]See page 4, footnote 9.

[16]Marix, Histoire, p. 167.

[17]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 16.

[18]Ibid., p. 212.

remarkable peasant girl, Joan of Arc (1412-1431), who drove the English besiegers from Orléans in 1429, was crowned King of France at Rheims in 1429. Yet Philip the Good remained in undisputed possession of the Netherlands. Philip, either through purchase, conquest or marriage, obtained the duchies "of Luxemburg, Brabant, and Limburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Frisia."[19]

With the annexation of these territories, Philip the Good was faced with the problem of uniting the duchy politically. In order to do that he reinstated the system of Councils founded by his grandfather, Philip the Bold.[20]

In 1435 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, feeling that his father's death had been revenged, broke his alliance with the English and in the Treaty of Arras not only put an end to the unnatural alliance with England but brought peace to the French people. Here was, indeed, a prince "beloved of God, who freed his subjects from the fury of war."[21]

Philip the Good's ambition was to revive the age of knighthood; therefore he set up the "Order of the Knights

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[19]C. V. Langlois, "History," Medieval France, Arthur Tilley, editor, p. 129.

[20]See note 3 of this chapter.

[21]Cartellieri, The Court of Burgundy, p. 11.

of the Golden Fleece." Knights "sans peur et sans reproche" flocked to the court of Burgundy when it was the richest, most brilliant, most artistic court in all Europe.[22]

Paul Henry Lang, speaking of the court of Burgundy in Dijon, says:[23]

> . . . it was entirely French and was, in fact, one of the great intellectual centers of France; the literary language of the duchy was French, and a national consciousness appeared only vaguely and timidly in political poetry and historical writings.[24]

The magnificence of the court of Burgundy is found not only in riches, festivals, and diplomacy but in the arts as well: music, painting and sculpture. The court had its own chapel choir consisting of paid singers who

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[22]Philip de Commines, Memoirs of Philip de Commines, A. R. Scoble, editor, 2 vols., (1900), i.13. Commines says, "The expenses and dresses both of women and men were great and extravagant; and their entertainments and banquets more profuse and splendid than in any other place I ever saw."

[23]P. H. Lang, "The so-called Netherlands Schools," Musical Quarterly, XXV (1939), 48.

[24]Cartellieri, op. cit., p. 10. Cartellieri also speaks of the French culture: "French was the language of the court. . . . They recognized Flemish as the official language, learnt it themselves and required a knowledge of it in their officials. At the same time it was necessary for every ambitious man to know French."

were usually composers as well.[25] Music also played its part in the entertainment of the court and the "Feast of the Pheasant" can be taken as one example of the role played by music of a more secular nature.[26]

To the court of Burgundy came the Fleming Jan van Eyck (1385-1440) whose altarpiece (1432) in Ghent (the greatest work of older Netherlands art and the earliest known painting in oil) shows an organ with a keyboard which is almost completely chromatic.[27] Claus Sluter (d. 1404) created his masterpieces of sculpture for Philip the Bold.[28]

The chroniclers of the Burgundian court were numerous: Georges Chastellain (1404-1475), Jean Molinet (1474-1506), Philip de Commines (1445-1511), Oliver de La Marche (1428-1502) and Christine de Pisan (1363-1430).

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[25]The duties of the musicians, which ranged from being singers of the choir to being librarian of the court or being secretary of the duke, can be found in Marix, Histoire, passim, especially on p. 129 where we find the musician Jehan le Caron mentioned as being librarian.

[26]Ibid., pp. 37-43.

[27]Miniature reproduction in G. A. Kinsky, A History of Music in Pictures, (1930), p. 56.

[28]Rogier van den Weyden (1400-1464) and Robert Cam in (1375-1444) worked at Brussels. Hans Memling (ca. 1430-1494) established himself at Bruges and Hugo van der Goes (active 1465-1482) at Bruges and Ghent. Cartellieri, op. cit., p. 17.

Philip the Good was more than just a patron of the arts as he spent many hours in the chambers of the various artists and actually essayed his own hand at music.

> . . . un compte de l'année 1410 nous apprend qu'il jouait de la harpe. Par contre, il apportera les plus grands soins à l'éducation musicale de son fils Charles. Le jeune comte de Charolais jouait de la harpe a l'âge de sept ans; il apprit le chant, les règles de la composition.[29]

Contemporary with most of the artists named above was Jacques Vide, a musician who was "mentionné pour la première fois au mois de décembre 1423 avec le titre de valet de chambre; il est secrétaire en 1428 et disparaît des comptes après 1433."[30]

Owing to the great wealth of the Dukes of Burgundy and to their assiduous cultivation of music and the other arts, the court of Burgundy received one of the greatest musicians of the first half of the fifteenth century, Gilles Binchois. The number of his works in the contemporary manuscripts is second only to those of Dufay and Dunstable.

Gilles Binchois, Egidius Binchoys, Gilles de Binche or Gilles de Bins, as his name is variously written, was born at Mons (ca. 1400) in the province of Hainault and was "so genannt nach seinem Geburtsorte Binche, einem Städtchen bei Mons im Hennegau."[31] Little is known concerning his early

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[29]Marix, Histoire, p. 18. [30]Ibid., p. 161.

[31]August Wilhelm Ambros, Geschichte der Musik, II, p. 498.

life other than that he probably studied in the Cathedral of Cambrai and that he was in the service of William Pole, Count of Suffolk in 1424.[32] We ascertain from lines in the "Déploration"[33] on his death by Ockeghem that he was a good patron, was of world-wide fame and was at one time a soldier:

> Mort tu as navré de ton dart
> Le pere de joyeuseté
> En desployant ton estandart
> Sur Binchois, patron de bonté,
> En sa jonesse fut soudart
> De honnorable mondanité,
> Puis a esleu la milleur part,
> Servant Dieu en humilité.

Although Binchois did not travel in Italy or Germany, his works were known in both of those countries; e.g. the tenor of his chanson "Je loe amours" appears in both the Locheimer Liederbuch and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch which were contemporary German collections.

From 1430 to his death (1460) he was in the employ of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, as chaplain and secretary to the Duke, the latter position being that formerly held by Jacques Vide.

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[32]Manfred F. Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century," Musical Quarterly, XXVIII (1942), p. 28.

[33]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 83.

Eloy d'Amerval, in his Livre de la Deablerie,[34] written about 1500, gives us some idea as to the high regard in which both Binchois and Hayne were held by a contemporary who was both poet and composer:

> La sont les grans musiciens,
> Qui composent tousiours liens,
> Comme j'apercoy en maint lieu,
> A la grant louenge de Dieu
> Quelque chanterie nouvelle.
> Doulce, plaisant, devoste et belle,
> Hympnes, proses, messe motez,
> . . . . . .
> Comme Dompstaple et du Fay,
> Qui tant doulcement en leur temps,
> Par bel et devost passe-temps
> Ont composay (ce scay-je bien)
> Et plusieurs aultres gens de bien:
> Robinet de la Magdalaine,
> Binchoiz, Fede, Jorges et Hayne
> Le Rouge, Alizandre, Okeghem,
> Bunoiz, Basiron, Barbingham,
> Louyset, Mureau, Prioris,
> Jossequin, Brumel, Tintoris
> Et beaucoup d'aultres, ie t'asseure,
> Dont n'ay pas memoire a cest heur. . . .

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, the admirable prince of a magnificent dominion, died at Bruges on the 15th of June, 1467, leaving his duchy in a condition of incomparable prosperity. The despair into which his kingdom was thrown upon his death is an acknowledgment of his subjects' great love and respect for him.

Upon the death of Philip the Good his son, Charles the Bold (formerly the Count of Charolais) became Duke of

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[34]Charles F. Ward, "Humanistic Studies," University of Iowa Studies, II (1923), pp. 225-226.

Burgundy.[35] Several of our musicians are found serving the new duke: Gilles Joye, Robert Morton and Constans de Languebroek. Of Gilles Joye, Marix says:

> Au mois de septembre 1462, Gilles Joye remplace Guillaume Werel. Promu chapelain en 1464, Gilles Joye paraît sur tous les états jusqu'en 1468 où gravement malade il est absent de la chapelle. . . . Il meurt en 1484.
>
> . . . il fut non seulement remarquable theologien, mais encore un excellent poète.[36]

Constans de Languebroek or Constans d'Utrecht entered the court in 1442 and remained there until 1479. He died two years later in 1481.[37]

A Spanish musical treatise, written in the fifteenth century, names both Constans and Binchois among musicians highly advanced in the art of counterpoint:

> This is a science in the manner of composition as well as in singing and playing. I doubt if in the future men will be able to make more progress with regard to these things: composing, singing, and playing on all the instruments of the world. I do not doubt that there may be some new things among the

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[35] Andrew R. Scoble, editor, Memoirs of Philip de Commines, I, (1900), 298. Commines says that Charles the Bold "was reputed one of the richest and most powerful princes in Christendom, and possessed, in jewels, plate, household stuff, and books, more than any other three houses of Europe could boast of. Of ready money I have seen more elsewhere (for Duke Philip the Good had levied no taxes for a long time), and yet he left his son above 300,000 crowns in ready cash. . . ."

[36] Marix, Histoire, p. 213.

[37] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

> inventions, but I doubt that men will be able more subtly to arrange or discant the counterpoint composed by very learned and singular persons, that is: Dunstable, Dufay, Johannes Ockeghem, maestro of the chapel of the king of France, Binchois, Constans, Busnois, Faugues, Enricus Thil'r, (?) Pulois, Johannes Ut Rreode, Johannes Martini.[38]

The English singer Robert Morton was also attached to the court of Charles the Bold. Morton had been employed by Philip the Good (1457), but in 1465 Charles of Charolais (before he became Duke of Burgundy) begged him from his father's service. Jeppesen has summarized the remaining known facts of his life: "Morton . . . war 1466 zweiter Clerk und 1474 sechster Kaplan des Grafen von Charolais (der spätere Karl der Kühne); er starb ca. 1476."[39]

The Belgian musicologist Coussemaker reports that the English theorist, John Hothby, recalls Morton among other

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[38]Escurial, CIII 23, fol. 3. English translation by the present writer; original Spanish quoted after Bukofzer, "Uber Leben und Werke von Dunstable," Acta Musicologica, VIII, (1936), pp. 103-104:

> Esta es sciencia asi en el modo del conponer como del cantar y tañer que dudo si los advenideros podran pasar mas adelante quanto toca estas tres cosas que son: componer, cantar y tañar en todos los instrumentos del mundo. non dudo, que non aya algunas cosas nuevas en las invenciones, della mas no que mas solilmente puedon hordenar nin discantar el contrapunto conpuesto por mui doctas y singulares personas, donde fueron; dustable, dufay, ihohannes ockeghem, maestro de capilla del rey de francia, binchois, constas, busnois buillelmus, faugueus, enricus thil'r, pulois, johannes ut rreode, johannes martini.

[39]K. Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier, Leipzig, (1927), p. xxxiii.

well-known musicians of the fifteenth century. Coussemaker says:

> Certain dialogues by the author [John Hothby], in which many musicians of the 15th century are remembered, are found in Codex XIX, D.36 of the Magliabechian Library under this title: "Dialogus Johannis Hothbi Anglici in arte musica." Musicians therein mentioned are: "Dunstable, Dufay, Iconal, Plumer or Plumet, Frier, Busnoys, Morton, Ockinghem, Pelagulfus, Micoletti, Boduin, Forest, Stane, Fich, Caron."[40]

As does Hothby, Johannes Tinctoris lists Morton (and Binchois) among musicians whose compositions are widely known:

> . . . in our time we have investigated how many musicians have succeeded gloriously. For who is not familiar with John Dunstable, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois, Johannes Ockeghem, Anthoine Busnois, Jean Regis, . . . Robert Morton, Jacob Obrecht? Who does not attend with highest praise those whose compositions have been published throughout the world, filling temples of the gods, kings' palaces and private dwellings with the greatest sweetness? . . . When such honors have been attained, they will reach immortal fame as leading composers of the world. . . .[41]

The truth of Tinctoris' statement is attested by the survival of Morton's rondeaux, "N'aray-je jamais mieulx" and "Le souvenir de vous"[42] in many sources.[43]

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[40]See Coussemaker's introduction to "Johannes Hothbi: Regulae super Proportionem," in Scriptores, ed. by E. H. Coussemaker, Vol. III, p. xxx.

[41]Johannes Tinctoris, "Tractatus de Musica," Scriptores, E. H. Coussemaker (editor), Vol. IV, p. 200.

[42]These two pieces are printed in Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier, pp. 4 and 37 respectively.

[43]Marix, Histoire, p. 210.

There was definitely a very close tie between Constans, Morton and our last musician, Hayne. When the youth Hayne van Ghizeghem came to the court of Burgundy he was placed in the charge of Constans who became his teacher.[44] It is probable that Hayne had known Constans before his entrance into the service of the Duke of Burgundy since Ghizeghem (the birthplace of Hayne) is a small town about thirty kilometers from Ghent and close to Languebroek where Constans was probably born. In 1467 Hayne[45] was "valet de chambre" and singer to Philip the Good; he remained in the service of Charles the Bold after the death of Philip; he followed Charles to war and probably met death at the siege of Beauvais in 1472.[46]

The anonymous Chanson, "La plus grand chiere,"[47] describes the enthusiasm with which Morton and Hayne were welcomed at Cambrai. The author says:

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[44]Marix, "Hayne van Ghizeghem, Musician at the Court of the Fifteenth Century Burgundian Dukes," Musical Quarterly, XXVIII, (1942), p. 277.

[45]For a confusion of Hayne with his father (?) see Jeppesen, op. cit., p. xxxiii.

[46]Marix, "Hayne", op. cit., p. 279. This early death would explain the small number of his works and the absence of sacred music for which a maturer technique is demanded.

[47]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 86.

La plus grant chiere de jamais
Ont fait a Cambray la cité
Morton et Hayne: en verité,
On ne le (vous) pourroit dire huy mais.

Se ont esté servis de beaus mais
Tout par tout ou ilz ont esté
La plus grant chiere de jamais

Encores vous jure et prometz:
Sur bas instrumens a planté[48]
Ont joue, et si fort chanté

La plus grant . . .

Crétin, in his famous "Déploration" on the death of Ockeghem (written ca. 1495), recalls Hayne's virtuosity on the lute. In this poem Crétin summons all good musicians to mourn the death of Ockeghem.

Hayne, at the end, performed with his lute
The motet, Ut hermita solus
Which all held to be an excellent thing.[49]

Several recent scholars state that there is almost no late fifteenth century collection of secular music that does not include chansons of Hayne.[50] His chansons, of

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[48]"bas" here means soft. See Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, p. 385.

[49]Marix, Histoire, p. 207:
Hame en la fin dict avecques son lucz
Ce motet, ut heremita solus,
Que chascun tint une chose excellent.

[50]Marix, "Hayne," op. cit., p. 276; Jeppesen, op. cit., p. xxx; Helen Hewitt, editor, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A, p. 13. Hewitt says: "Hayne's 'Ales regres' . . . appears in no less than twenty manuscripts. . . ."

which only about a score have been recovered, reveal the new trends of his time.

Five years after the last mention of Hayne in the court records the "obstinate, headstrong, tenacious" Charles the Bold[51] met disaster at the battle of Nancy (5th of January, 1477), in which he and 1400 of his men were killed. With the death of the last of the great dukes of Burgundy, whose political rise and fall has been sketched here, the duchy was formally united with the French crown. The Burgundian states, founded by Philip the Bold in 1363, were no more.

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[51]For an account of the inward life of Charles the Bold see Memoirs of Philip de Commines, A. R. Scoble, editor, passim. For the death of Charles the Bold see Hilaire Belloc, Miniature of the French History, pp. 211-223. For the "Decay of the House of Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century," see A. Tilley, Medieval France, pp. 131-137.

CHAPTER II

MUSICO-LITERARY ANALYSIS

Although the rhythmic and contrapuntal complexity of the secular music of the Burgundian composers was an antithesis to that of the late fourteenth century, the literary forms were rooted in the traditions of the *Ars Nova*. The chanson forms used by Machaut, the French representative of the *Ars Nova*, were also used by the Burgundian composers almost to the exclusion of any other forms. The French term chanson[1] is a generic one used to include a number of specific poetic forms (*formes fixes*) set to music in this period. Of these forms the most important are the *rondeau*, *ballade* and *virelai*. At the time of Machaut the form most frequent in use was the

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[1]Although the term *chanson* in itself means nothing but "song" and *chansonnier* nothing but "song-collection," it (chanson) has come to denote a secular part-song set preferably to French words. For this reason, the French has been adopted in spite of the fact that it compels us at times to refer to such a paradox as an "English chanson." For an example of an "English chanson," see Bukofzer, "The first English chanson of the Continent," *Music and Letters*, XIX, (1939), p. 23.

ballade; however, in the fifteenth century at the court of Burgundy the form found in greater abundance was the rondeau.[2]

The rondeau form was a primitive one of folk origin, sung as an accompaniment to a dance. In fact, Gennrich explicitly states that "it is the only song-form for which, up to the present, no ecclesiastical origin can be found."[3] The rondeau, which in its early history was known as the ronde, rondet or rondet de carole, was in the thirteenth century the chief secular form in polyphonic art-music.[4] However, its definite form did not crystallize until the fourteenth century, meanwhile passing through various phases; e.g. the initial strophe (A) increased from two lines to three and finally to four.

The rondeau with a strophe of four lines (rondeau quatrain) was popular throughout the fifteenth century.

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[2]Of the eighty compositions published by Marix, Les Musiciens, seventy-two are in the form of the rondeau. Of fifteen Burgundian secular works not published by Marix, thirteen are also rondeaux.

[3]Friedrich Gennrich, Gundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes, Halle, (1932), p. 62. "Es ist die einzige Liedgattung der bis jetzt kein kirchliches Vorbild hat nachgewiesen werden können."

[4]Hewitt, op. cit., p. 44.

Its literary form is ABBA abAB abba ABBA[5] Musically, the refrain (initial ABBA) was composed and succeeding verses were sung to this refrain music in such a manner that the complete musical performance followed the scheme: αβααaβαβ. The text of a rondeau quatrain set to music by Hayne is typical:

	Literary	Musical
De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse	A	α
Chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur;	B	
Car assouvye est en valeur	B	β
Autant que jamais fut deesse	A	
En la veant j'ay tel leesse	a	α
Que c'est paradis en mon cueur.	b	
De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse	A	α
Chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur.	B	
Je n'ay cure d'autre richesse	a	α
Si non d'estre son serviteur,	b	
Et pource qu'ill n'est chois milleur	b	β
En mon mot porteray sans cesse:	a	
De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse	A	α
Chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur;	B	
Car assouvye est en valeur	B	β
Autant que jamais fut deesse.[6]	A	

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[5] Capitals represent end-rhymes of refrain; lower-case indicate end-rhymes of stanza; Greek letters, α and β signify the two sections of the music of the rondeau. Each may comprise two or more musical phrases, depending on the number of poetic lines in the refrain.

[6] E. Droz, Trois Chansonniers Francais de XVe Siecle, p. 20. Underlining in poems indicates refrain text.

In the second half of the century we often find rondeaux with a strophe of five lines (rondeau cinquain).[7] The division of the strophe into two parts is found after the third verse. The additional verse of the first part repeated the end-rhyme of either the first or second verse, therefore producing AAB or ABB. The musical treatment of the rondeau quatrain and the rondeau cinquain are identical. The text of Morton's rondeau cinquain illustrates the new musico-literary scheme:

	Literary	Musical
N'araige jamais mieulx que j'ay	A	α
Suige la ou je demourray,	A	
M'amour et toute ma plaisance?	B	
N'arez vous jamais congnoissance	B	β
Que je suis tout vostre et seray?	A	
Ne faictes de moi plus d'essay;	a	α
Car vous congnoissez bien de vray	a	
Que je suis navre a outrance.	b	
N'araige jamais mieulx que j'ay	A	α
Suige la ou je demourray.	A	
M'amour et toute ma plaisance?	B	
Je me rens et si me rendray,	a	α
Autre defense n'y mettrary,	a	
Car vous avez trop de puissance	b	
Et si pouez prendre vengence,	b	β
Mais dictes moi que je feray.	a	

[7] Ibid., p. 112. Droz explains that the twenty-one line form, which was constructed on an initial five-line strophe, was known as the "rondeau double," whereas the sixteen-line variety, built on an initial four-line strophe, was called simply "rondeau."

	Literary	Musical
N'araige jamais mieulx que j'ay	A	
Suige la ou je demourray,	A	α
M'amour et toute ma plaisance?	B	
N'arez vous jamais congnoissance	B	
Que je suis tout vostre et seray?[8]	A	β

In the majority of the compositions of this period one finds the little sign S. , or a variation thereof. This sign, called signum congruentiae,[9] serves a two-fold use: first, it is used in the manuscript to indicate points of coincidence in the various parts; second, it is used to indicate a point of return in the musical form. When it is used in this latter manner, it is found at the cadence which ends the musical form **a**. Therefore, if the form is a rondeau quatrain the sign appears at the close of the second musical phrase, if a rondeau cinquain, after the third phrase.

The rare rondeau sixain (i.e. a rondeau with refrain of six lines of equal length) is found in both literary and musical sources. Vide's chanson, "Vit encore ce faux dangier;"[10] is an interesting example for its deviation from the standard rondeau cinquain and its similarity to the rondeau sixain. A repetition of line one of the refrain

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[8]Printed in Jeppesen, op. cit., p. 4.

[9]Droz, op. cit., p. 112. Also W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600, (1942), p. 94.

[10]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 26.

text at the end of the first strophe produces a form paralleling that of a rondeau sixain. The musical unity of this piece is enhanced by the repetition of the initial melodic phrase (with the rhythm slightly modified) at the end of the first strophe.

Hayne's "La regretée" illustrates the type of verse which appears for the first time in the second half of the fifteenth century and is found in many of the formes fixes, known as layée. Short inserts or interpolations are found between the lines of text which are of normal length. The end-rhymes of these short verses may be essential to the construction of the poem or, as in the case of "La regretée,"[11] merely echo the rhyme of the preceding verse without disturbing a rhyme-scheme already complete without the interpolations.[12] The text of the rondeau cinquain layée is as follows:

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[11]The piece is printed in Marix, Ibid., p. 115. For an example in which these short verses are essential to the construction of the poem see Hewitt, op. cit., p. 51.

[12]Of the seventy-two rondeaux published by Marix, Les Musiciens, twenty-nine are in the form of the rondeau quatrain, twenty-six in the form of the rondeau cinquain, one possible rondeau sixain, and one rondeau cinquain layée. Other rondeaux cannot be classified because of the lack of text. Reese, Renaissance, p. 99, erroneously labels Hayne's "La regretée" as a rondeau septain.

	Literary	Musical
La regretée en tous biens acomplie	A	
De honneur, de los et de grace remplye,	A	
Je vous supplie		α
Tres humblement qu'il vous plaise,		
ma dame,	B	
N'avoir desdaing se celui qui vous ame	B	
De cueur et d'ame		β
A vous loer sens et langue desplie.	A	
Pour le bon bruit qui en vous multiplie,	a	
Dont ce voy France honnourée et emplie.	a	α
Raison me plie		
A vous nommer se jamais le fut femme	b	
La regretée, en tous biens acomplie,	A	
De honneur, de los et de grace remplye	A	
Je vous supplie		α
Tres humblement qu'il vous plaise,		
ma dame.	B	
Se a vous amer je me . . . emplie,	a	
Amour le veult, Bon Vouloir luy supplie.	a	α
Mais desamplie		
Vous voye d'ung los qui tarnit votre fame:	b	
C'est que pitié vostre cueur point n'en-		
tame	b	
Qui vous est blasme,		β
Mais en mon cueur ce mal tais et replie.	a	
La regretée . . . etc.	AABBA	α.β

The poetry of the rondeaux can be conceived in lines of eight, nine, ten, eleven or twelve syllables. The octosyllabic meter combines conciseness with an appealing rhythm and seems to be the best form for the purposes of the rondeau. However, the number of syllables increased throughout the period. The earlier composers Grenon, Fontaine and Vide chose both octosyllabic and decasyllabic verses without showing a preference for either. Binchois' chansons show his predilection for the octosyllabic verse by choosing it for fifty per cent of his rondeaux, the

others being divided between the nine and the ten-syllable lines. Our youngest composer, Hayne, used the line of ten or eleven syllables in preference to that of eight.

All of the rondeaux bear the characteristic feature of the appearance of the refrain at the end of the middle strophe and at the end of the final strophe. Other features shared by the rondeaux in general are: (1) each verse of refrain is assigned its own musical phrase, (2) several stanzas of different words are systematically adapted to one musical setting, and (3) absence of musical development as a result of total absence of repeated words or groups of words within a phrase.

The virelai[13] is a second forme fixe used in the chansons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although there is no virelai per se in the compositions under study, there is a bergerette, which may be considered as an offspring of the virelai. The origin of the virelai is difficult to trace because of its similarity to the rondeau and it may be a variant of this form since the earliest traces of the virelai are not quite so old as those of the rondeau. The word virelai can be found early in the thirteenth century but at this time it as yet had no connotation linking it with a specific musical or literary

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[13] A thorough discussion of the virelai form can be found in Hewitt, op. cit., p. 48.

form; without a doubt its later meaning derived from some folk refrain like "Sus, sus au virelai."[14] In spite of the fact that the form later called virelai existed in music and in the poetry in the fourteenth century, it was not as yet called by that name even in France. Machaut preferred to call it the chanson balladée;[15] Landini, the Italian composer, called this form the ballata[16] (this must not be confused with the French ballade); and the Arabs called a similar form the Zajal.[17]

In the early part of the fifteenth century the virelai follows the following pattern.[18] First, there was an initial refrain, which was variable as to the number of verses (usually 4 or 5), number of syllables in each verse, and in rhyme sequence. Second, there was the stanza proper (or couple) consisting of three parts: (1) the ouvert section which differed from the refrain in rhyme-sequence,

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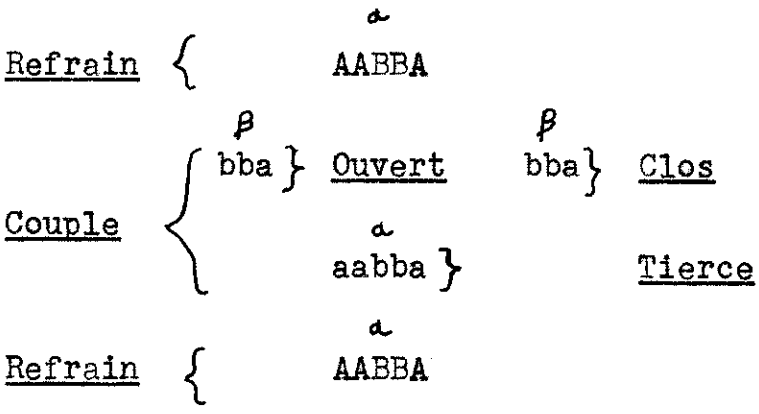
[14]Gilbert Reaney, "Concerning the Origins of the Rondeau, Virelai, and Ballade Forms," Musica Disciplina VI, (1952), 161. Reaney suggests that the virelai might be of Arabian-Spanish origin. Ibid.

[15]For an example of a chanson balladée see A. Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, (1931), p. 18.

[16]For an example of the Italian ballata see Johannes Wolf, editor, Sing- und Spielmusik aus älterer Zeit, (1931), p. 14. The writer has used the American reprint called Music of Earlier Times, (1946). Wolf has erroneously labelled this work a madrigal; however, it is a ballata.

[17]See footnote 14. [18]After Hewitt, op. cit., p.48.

often in metrical length, and consisted of fewer verses; (2) the clos section which has a new text symmetrically identical with the ouvert section as to rhymes, rhyme-sequence and number of syllables to each verse, and is sung to the same musical setting with (usually) an individual ending tonally planned to bring the β section to a final close,[19] and (3) the tierce consisting of a new text which reproduces exactly the form and rhyme-sequence of the refrain and is sung to the refrain music. Third, each stanza (or couple) was followed by a repetition of the refrain text and music. This exhibits the musico-literary scheme of:[20]



In the virelai proper we find several stanzas, normally three; however, for a virelai with only one stanza,

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[19]L. Ellinwood, in his discussion of "Francesco Landini and His music," Musical Quarterly, XXII (1935), pp. 190-216, uses the Italian terms verto and chiuso for ouvert and clos.

[20]Capitals represent end-rhymes of refrain; lower-case indicate end-rhymes of stanza; Greek letters, α and β signify the two sections of the music of the virelai or bergerette.

the term bergerette is used. Only one of the ninety-five compositions being studied is in the form of the bergerette. Grenon's "La plus belle et doulce figure"[21] will therefore be analyzed here. It might be observed that the rhyme-scheme bba found in ouvert and clos is somewhat unusual since most of the virelais of the latter part of the century show ccd.

		Literary	Musical
Refrain	La plus belle et doulce figure,	A	a
	La plus noble gente faiture,	A	
	C'est ma chiere dame et mestresse.	B	
	Bon an, bon jour, joye et liesse	B	
	Li doinst dieux, et bone aventure.	A	
Ouvert	C'est tout mon biem, c'est ma deesse,	b	β
	Celle par qui ma dolour cesse,	b	
	En qui je preing ma noreture,	a	
Clos	Qui servir vueil sans nul destresse	b	β
	De cuer tant que voglie me lesse:	b	
	N'en ce monde d'autre n'ay cure.	a	
Tierce	Former la sut dieus de nature	a	a
	Blans, blons, tout par mesure,	a	
	Playsanment, y jouta jesnesse,	b	
	Largesse, honour, toute noblesse	b	
	En fais, en dis et en parleure.	a	
Refrain	La plus belle et doulce figure,	A	a
	La plus noble gente faiture,	A	
	C'est ma chiere dame et mestresse.	B	
	Bon an, bon jour, joye et liesse	B	
	Li doinst dieux, et bone aventure	A	

Grenon's "La plus belle et doulce figure" is an early example, if not the earliest, musical setting of a bergerette. The relationship of the final harmonies to the initial harmonies in the two sections is of particular

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[21]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 4.

importance since it shows the need for the ouvert and clos endings. The ouvert and clos endings were therefore used to aid the tonal progressions from one section to another.[22] This one-stanza type of the virelai form was to enjoy considerable vogue in the latter quarter of the fifteenth century.[23]

The last of the formes fixes found in the works under discussion is the ballade.[24] The ballade form as used by the Burgundian composers is a continuation of the form most frequently encountered in the works of Machaut.[25] The writer is well aware that Binchois and his contemporaries were born one hundred years after Machaut; and that there are possibly two generations of composers between the two men. However, from the standpoint of form the works of Grenon, Fontaine and Binchois are more closely related to

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[22]For further information concerning these tonal progressions, see Ellinwood, op. cit., p. 215.

[23]There are seven in the Odhecaton, six in Trois Chansonniers and eight in Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier.

[24]Of the ninety-five compositions included in this study, eight are in the form of the ballade. Of the compositions published by Marix, Les Musiciens, six (Nos. 1, 7, 33, 34, 39 and 41) are in the form of the ballade; of those not published by Marix, two are in the form of the ballade.

[25]Of the polyphonic examples of Machaut's secular music, we find twenty-one rondeaux, forty-one ballades and eight virelais.

those of Machaut[26] than are those of the generations represented by Solage, Selesses, Thebor, Philippot de Caserta, Vaillant, Cuncleir, Anthonellus de Caserto, Perusion, Hasprois, Cordier, Cesaris, Tapissier and Lebertoul.[27] With these men the ballade form reached the remarkable length of 120 to 152 measures, whereas those of Machaut were never more than forty-four measures in length. Other differences will be pointed out in the chapters concerned with melodic lines and dissonances.

In the rondeau and virelai forms, the refrain always retained its independence and its position at the beginning of the poem but in the ballade it lost its importance and became a part of the stanza. The poem thus came to have in general three stanzas each of seven or eight lines,[28] the last one or two lines (the refrain) being the same in each stanza. Hewitt has listed the significant features of the ballade stanza as follows:

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[26]Since Binchois was librarian for Philip the Good, we may assume that he had access to "les quarte gros manuscrits de Guillaume de Machaut dont Philippe le Bon a herité de Jean Sans Peur et de Philippe le Hardi. . . ." Marix, Histoire, p. 129.

[27]Willi Apel, "French Secular Music After Machaut," Acta Musicologica, XVIII-XIX (1946-1947), p. 17.

[28]According to the fifteenth century theorists, these stanzas should be composed of as many verses as the first verse of the refrain had syllables but this seems not to have been followed universally. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 53.

> First, two parallel literary sections which presented a 'cross rhyme.' Second, a section which was free as to rhyme scheme except that this should not duplicate that of the beginning. Third, the refrain.[29]

Normally this produces a poetical scheme of ababbcbc with the third and fourth lines being sung to the music, α, of lines one and two; this musical repeat is ordinarily accomplished by repeat marks, a distinguishing feature of the ballade. The remainder of the stanza is through-composed, forming musical section β. The text of Fontaine's ballade, "Pastourelle en un vergier," will be set down for reference:[30]

		Literary	Musical
	Pastourelle en un vergier	a	α
	Ouy complaindre et gemir,	b	
	Disant, las! en quel dangier	a	α
	Me fait amours maintenir.	b	
	Plus ne veul aynssy languir,	b	β
	Je me rens du tout a luy.	c	
Refrain	Au besoing voit-on l'amy.	C	
	Car pour les mauls alegier	a	α
	Que souvent me fait sentir	b	
	Ay donne a un bergier	a	α
	Mon cuer sans le departir.	b	
	Pour lui veul vivre et mourir,	b	β
	Or, ayt dont pite de my:	c	
Refrain	Au besoing voit-on l'amy.	C	
	Il aroit bien le cuer fier	a	α
	C'il me volit relenquir	b	
	Et pour un autre changier,	a	α
	Veul qu'il s'est volus offrir	b	
	A moy de bon cuer sievir	b	β
	Auant si l'esprovay aynssy:	c	
Refrain	Au besoing voit-on l'amy.	C	

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[29]Ibid.

[30]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 12.

This ballade, comprising verses of seven syllables, does not have an interlude nor an individual second ending for the repeated (α) section as do most of the ballades studied. It is one of the shortest of the ballades (comprising only fifteen measures); it is also unique because of the strict chordal style employed throughout the entire setting. One might wonder if Bush[31] had examined this chanson before she made the following statement:

> It is interesting to notice that this [chordal] style of writing is reserved almost exclusively for sacred works and as far as the author has been able to observe, there are practically no outstanding instances of chordal writing in the polyphonic chanson.

Grenon's ballade "Je ne requier de ma dame"[32] is heterometric, the lines differing in length; it has the rhyme-scheme ababbcbc. Between the α section and the β section Grenon has included both an individual second ending and an interlude.

There are six ballades by Binchois. "Mesdisans m'ont cuidie desfaire," "J'ay tant de deul," and "deul angouisseux"[33] are built on a nine-, ten-, and eleven-syllable

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[31]Helen Bush, "The Emergence of the Chordal Concept in the Polyphonic Period," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Music, Cornell University, 1939, p. 28.

[32]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 1.

[33]The first and second compositions are printed Ibid., pp. 63 and 49 respectively. The latter is published in Adler and Koller, editors, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Osterreich, VII, (1900), 242.

verse, respectively, with the rhyme-scheme ababbcbc. A second ending connects the prima pars tonally with the secunda pars.[34] "Je loe amours"[35] has a decasyllabic verse and the same type of ending for the prima pars as do the three compositions just discussed; however, it differs in rhyme-scheme, showing ababbccdd. The verses of "Ma dame que j'ayme"[36] consist of eight syllables as do the verses of most of Binchois' rondeaux. The rhyme-scheme is as follows: ababbcbc. There is no individual second ending but it has an interlude of two measures between the two partes. The last ballade to be discussed is "Adieu mon amoureuse joye."[37] It has a nine-syllable verse with a rhyme-scheme of ababbcc. All of the ballades discussed have the same musical form of: α β .

Three of Binchois' ballades[38] are unified by means of musical rhyme (i.e. musical identity). The last phrase (the refrain) of the β section is related to or identical with a portion or all of the last phrase of the α section. This musical repetition produces a form paralleling the reprisenbar or rundkanzone (rounded chanson); that is, $\alpha\alpha\beta\beta$. Of

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[34]The author has used the Latin "pars" instead of using the English "part" to avoid confusion with "part" meaning "voice." See Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 38.

[35]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 52.

[36]Ibid., p. 60.

[37]Published in Adler and Koller, op. cit., p. 241.

[38]"J'ay tant de deul," "Je loe amours," and "Mesdisans m'ont cuidie desfarie."

course, the very fact that the ballade form requires a repetition of the α section of the music in itself provides a factor making for a certain measure of musical unity.

There is one work which does not fall into any of the foregoing categories. This piece, "Files a marier"[39] by Binchois, is cast into the form αα ββ, a simple binary form. While the musical form of this work is perfectly clear, and one that at a later period was so frequently used as to be considered a "fixed form," it is most unusual in the fifteenth century and, of course, may not be classified as one of the contemporary formes fixes. The first section of the music is repeated exactly (indicated by repeat marks in the manuscript) to the same text; the second section is also repeated, but to a new text, the repeat here being written out.

Musical feeling and treatment of words do not vary with the various forms employed by the Burgundian composers, nor do they call for a change of attitude or style on the part of the composer. As it was with Machaut, the favorite subject is love, especially love that gives the singer cause to complain. It is seldom that the dominant theme of chivalrous love, with all the subtlety, delicacy and

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[39]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 46. Also in Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, editors, The Historical Anthology of Music, p. 74.

idealism it implies, is laid aside for another.[40] The musical mood is always one of melancholy, of a gentle dissatisfaction with life or of resignation. These factors can be seen in the following prose translation of "De plus en plus" set to music by Binchois. The original French poem may have been written by the composer himself.[41]

> More and more there is renewed,
> My sweet lady, noble and fair,
> My will to see you.
> Hence comes my very great desire
> To hear news of you.
>
> Don't think that I hold back,
> Since always you are the one
> Whom I wish to obey.
> More and more there is renewed,
> My sweet lady, noble and fair,
> My will to see you.
>
> Alas, if you are cruel to me
> I shall have such anguish in my heart
> That I shall want to die:
> But this would be without abandoning your service
> And still upholding your cause.
>
> More and more . . . . . .

In the fifteenth century the connection between poetry and music was very close. It is significant that Eustache Deschamps, writing in 1392, had called the art of versification "musique naturelle" and musical composition "musique

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[40]Van den Borren, "A Light of the Fifteenth Century: Dufay," Musical Quarterly, XXI (1935), p. 295.

[41]The following translation is taken from Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 248, the original French appearing with the music on p. 74.

artificielle."[42] Throughout the Middle Ages poets had been musicians and musicians poets.[43] Among the composers under study, Binchois, Joye and Hayne are known to have continued this tradition.[44] Concerning this subject Jeppesen says:

> Das Verhältnis der Tonkunst der Poesi gegenüber ist überhaupt in dieser Periode, trotzdem Dichter und Komponist oft eine und dieselbe Person ist, kein besonders intimes.[45]

There was also a close connection between the musicians and the poets serving at the court of Burgundy. We know, for instance, that Binchois set music to the poems of at least three contemporary poets: "Triste plaisir"[46] by Alain Chartier, the national writer of France; "Mon cuer chante joyeusement"[47] by Charles d'Orléans; "Dueil

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[42]Jeppesen, op. cit., p. xxxvii. Jeppesen quotes from Raynaud, editor, Oeuvres completes de Eustache Deschamps, Paris (1891).

[43]Ellinwood, op. cit., p. 215, has published the ballata (French virelai) "Per seguir la speranca" by Landini. Ellinwood says, "the text as well as the music is known to be by Francesco [Landini]." Ibid., p. 199.

[44]For further information on this subject see Marix, Histoire, p. 189; Marix, "Hayne," p. 285; Jeppesen, op. cit., p. xxxviii.

[45]Jeppesen, op. cit., p. xxi.

[46]Published in Wooldridge, The Polyphonic Period, Vol. II of Oxford History of Music, edited by Hadow, p. 46.

[47]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 65.

angoisseux"[48] by Christine de Pisan. The reputation of many chansons went beyond the boundaries of secular music. At least two of the chansons are found as contrafacta with sacred Latin texts replacing the original French text.[49] "Adieu mes tres belles amours"[50] is replaced with the words "Ave corpus" in the Munich State Library; "C'est assey"[51] is found in the same manuscript with the text "Virgo rosa venustatis."[52] Likewise, many of the chansons went beyond the boundaries of the musical profession altogether. Some were so well known that their first lines became familiar phrases to the cultivated courtier. Many poems were written which incorporated chanson beginnings: the works of Jean Molinet are full of such quotations.[53] Also Nicole de la

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[48]Published in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, edited by G. Adler and O. Koller, VII, (1900), p. 242.

[49]Such a composition in which a vocal text is replaced by a new one, more particularly a secular text by a sacred one (or vice versa), is called by the Latin term contrafactum. The German term Kontrafactur and the French saincte chansonnette are equivalent terms in these languages. Marix, Les Musiciens, p. xvii, says, "On ne se gênait pas, il est vrai, pour introduire les chansons à l'eglise; au texte frivole on substituait un text sacré et l'oeuvre défendue devenait 'saincte chansonnette'."

[50]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 31.

[51]Ibid., p. 40.

[52]Ibid., pp. xxiv-xxv, note 77.

[53]Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the Fifteenth Century," Musical Quarterly, XXVIII (1942), p. 32.

Chesnaye, in his "Condamnacion des bancquetz," names several compositions by the Burgundian composers.[54]

A discussion of the problem of adjusting words to notes of the chansons lies outside the scope of this work.[55] Suffice it to say that the enigmatic condition of the manuscripts in this respect is an indication that the correct application of the words to the vocal line was the task of the singer. There are a few places where one finds that the copyist has added a dotted line connecting one of the words with a note to show that they belong together.[56]

The composers of the period did not frequently indulge in the technique of "Augenmusik" ("Eye music," i.e. appealing to the eye rather than to the ear). However, "Las, j'ay perdu mon espincel"[57] could possibly be an example of symbolism, bordering on "Augenmusik." The manuscript gives a complete musical setting for the superius and tenor but the staves for the contratenor (so

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[54]Among these are: "Alez regretz" and "De tous biens plaine" by Hayne; "Non pas" by Gilles Joye, and "Le souvenir" by Morton.

[55]For a discussion of this problem see Wooldridge, "The Treatment of the Words in Polyphonic Music," The Musical Antiquary, I, (1910), pp. 73-177.

[56]For examples see Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 12, m. 16; p. 21, m. 26; p. 33, m. 5; p. 35, m. 8; p. 56, mm. 26-27.

[57]Ibid., p. 23.

labeled) are left blank. These empty staves may describe the words "Las, j'ay perdu. . ." ("Alas, I have lost. . ."). As an example of another favorite poetic technique of the period, one might cite the rondeau "Rendre me vieng,"[58] of Binchois in which the first letters of the lines spell out the name "Robin Verel" as an acrostic; presumably this person was being honored by having this poem written especially for him.

In conclusion of our study of the musico-literary forms used by the Burgundians, we may state that these composers were consistent in their treatment of these poetic forms. In fact, Hewitt says:

> So faithful was the composer's adherence to the poetic text before him that, on sufficient acquaintance with these forms and their musical settings, the form of a text which had been set but subsequently lost could be prophesied with some accuracy, even in the absence of that text. It then follows that one can single out on internal evidence the compositions which show connection with the common fifteenth-century poetic formes fixes and, conversely, those which exhibit no such connection.[59]

There was the danger that such frequent use of these forms with their incessant repetitions at brief intervals might produce monotony when handled by unresourceful musicians. But nothing of the kind occurred when these forms were used by Binchois, Hayne and the other musicians at the court of Burgundy.

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[58]Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 74.

[59]Hewitt, op. cit., p. 38.

CHAPTER III

MELODIC STRUCTURE

Other than the consistent use of the formes fixes, the most prominent feature of the music of the Burgundian composers is the moderately florid and ornamented style of melody employed. The long, graceful curves of the superius,[1] the simple rhythms of the less ornamented tenor, and the contrasting rhythm of the unmelodic contratenor produce a texture which is but a continuation of that used by Francesco Landini. Undoubtedly while Grenon, the oldest of our composers, was serving in Italy he came under the influence of Landini. This composer, the most outstanding Italian master of the Trecento and the single Italian composer of world renown between 1325 and 1500, anticipated in his later secular works the style of writing used by the Burgundian composers to bring to the French art-song "a new style of unsurpassed charm and beauty, perhaps the

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[1]The terms superius, discant, cantus and treble are designations (interchangeably used by some authors) given for the top voice of polyphonic compositions of the Medieval and Renaissance periods of music history. Tenor denotes that part lying next below the superius: this voice has about the same range as the lowest part called the contratenor, the two often crossing each other in the period under discussion.

artistic high-point in the entire history of the French song."[2]

This style of writing, characterized by an "unborrowed treble melody" supported by two lower voices, has sometimes been called the "ballade style."[3] However, since it was by no means restricted to the ballade form and likewise suffered no such decline within the Burgundian period as did this form, the designation "treble-dominated style" applied to it by other scholars[4] seems more appropriate.

As the designation "treble-dominated style" indicates, the superius (intended for vocal performance) was in both melodic and rhythmic structure the most prominent of the three voice-parts used in the secular chansons of the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[5] The melodic line of this superius, underneath which the manuscripts usually show the words of the chanson, is smooth and flowing,

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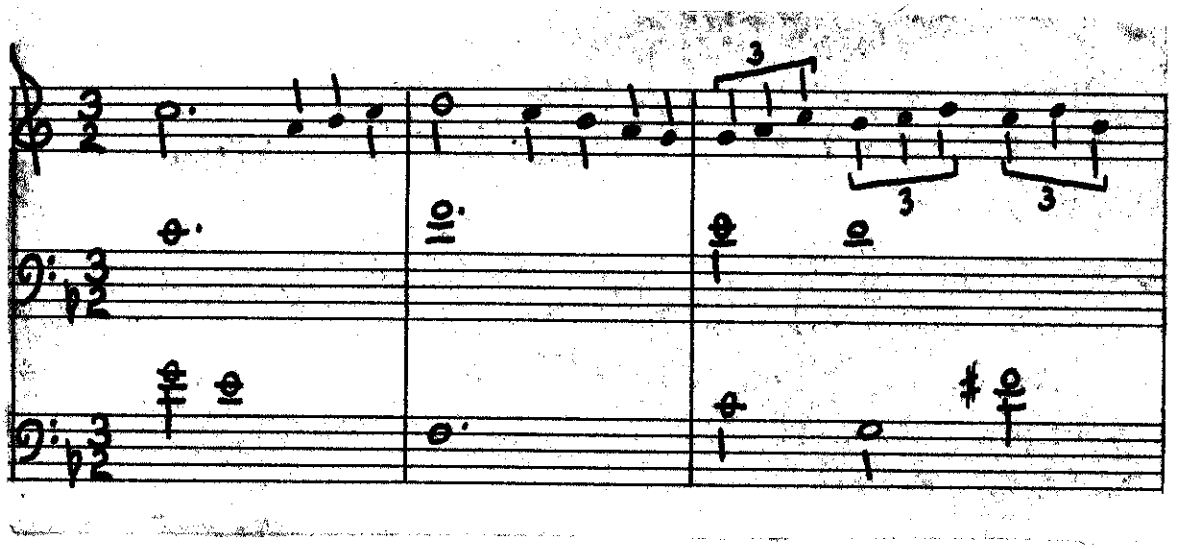
[2]Willi Apel, "Chanson," Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 130.

[3]For example, Ellinwood, Landini, passim.

[4]Reese, Music in the Renaissance, passim.

[5]As evidence of the relative activity of the voices in the works of the Burgundian composers (excluding Hayne) a count of the notes employed shows that the superius contains the largest percentage of the entire number of notes in any one chanson, i.e. forty per cent; the contratenor comes second with thirty-two per cent and the tenor last with twenty-eight per cent. When compared, these percentages stand in the ratio 10:8:7.

characterized to a great extent by diatonic movement. The tenor, while remaining within vocal possibilities, makes larger leaps (such as fourths, fifths and octaves) and usually stands without words. The distinctly unvocal contratenor which, although it often rivals the superius in maintaining variety and rhythmic animation and the tenor in its daring use of leaps, remained subordinated to the upper voices; this also shows no words accompanying it in the manuscripts. A passage from Grenon's "Je ne requier de ma dame"[6] has been selected as a characteristic example of this "treble-dominated style."



[6]Printed in Johannes Wolf, Music of Earlier Times, p. 4.

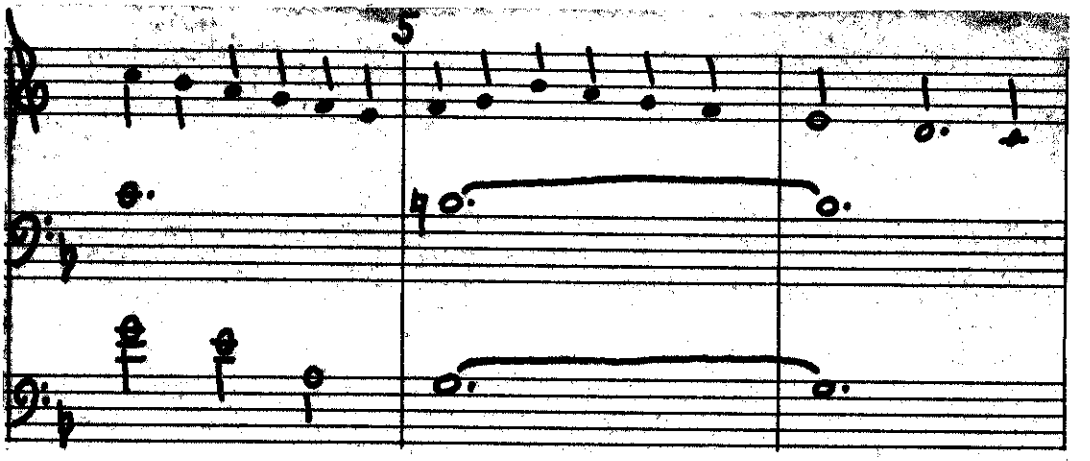


Fig. 1.--The "treble-dominated style" of the early Burgundian Period.

It is significant that contemporary theorists demanded a well-constructed tenor even in this "treble-dominated style." Pietro Aron, theorist of the early sixteenth century, states that "the tenor is the firm and stable part, the part, that is, that holds and comprehends the whole concentus of the harmony."[7]

Like Aron, Tinctoris affirms the importance of the tenor voice: "for in every composition this [tenor] is the principal part and basis of the whole relationship."[8]

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[7]Pietro Aron, Trattato della natura e cognizione di tutti gli toni di canto figurato, (1525). Translation from Strunk, Source Reading in Music History, p. 209.

[8]Tinctoris, Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum, xxiv (CS, IV, 29a-29b). Translation after Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, footnote 6, p. 209.

A statement in an anonymous unpublished section from a little-known collection of treatises of the fifteenth century provides some enlightenment as to one manner of composition in this period. This anonymous author also shows the different contemporary approaches to secular and sacred composition: "In the composition of motets the composer should first write the tenor, while in the composition of ballades, rondeaux, and virelais he should first compose the treble."[9]

Judging from internal evidence, the contratenor, which serves as a secondary "filling-in" voice, usually moving below but sometimes coming above the tenor, was the last part to be composed; however, another contemporary theorist, Guillielmus Monachus, writing in 1482, recommends a second, somewhat different, method of composing and while not necessarily giving it "last place" again tells us that the contratenor was written only after the tenor had been completed.

> Write a good-sounding tenor in long notes, i.e. a separate and nondiminished part, and if you wish, make the contratenor bassus under the tenor as diminished as you wish, and make your superius diminished like the contratenor bassus and observe

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[9]Bukofzer, "Fauxbourdon Revisited," Musical Quarterly, XXXVIII, (1952), p. 38. Bukofzer quotes from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 410, part II, fol. 7v-8r. The text reads: "Qui vult condere modulum [motetum] fiat primo tenor. . . . Et qui vult condere baladam, rotundellum, viriledum spalmodium fiat primo discantus."

> that almost all the consonances between the contratenor bassus and the superius be tenths.[10]

A definite change in the character of the superius occurred in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Prior to the turn of the century melodic writing remained in strict bondage to the current fashion of employing frequent rests which continually interrupted the melodic flow; however, the melodies of Grenon and Fontaine are characterized by ample, flowing curves in stark contrast to those of the late French Ars Nova. Grenon and his contemporary Fontaine, evidently influenced by the style of Italian trecento music, freed their melodies from the rhapsodic treatment of the lines of the French Ars Nova. A section from the superius of the rondeau "Amans ames"[11] by Cordier may be used as an example of the manner in which rests served to cut up the melodies of the late Ars Nova. Contrast figure 2 with the superius of figure 1.

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[10]Guillielmus Monachus, "De preceptis artis musice et pratice compendiosus libellus," Scriptores, III, 298.

> Fac tenorem bene intonatem grossum, hoc est diminutum et non disjunctum, et fac, si velis, contratenorem bassum subtus tenorem ita diminutum sicut contratenorem bassum, et fac quod consonantie contratenoris bassi cum suprano suo sint quasi omnes decime.

[11]Printed in Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 51.

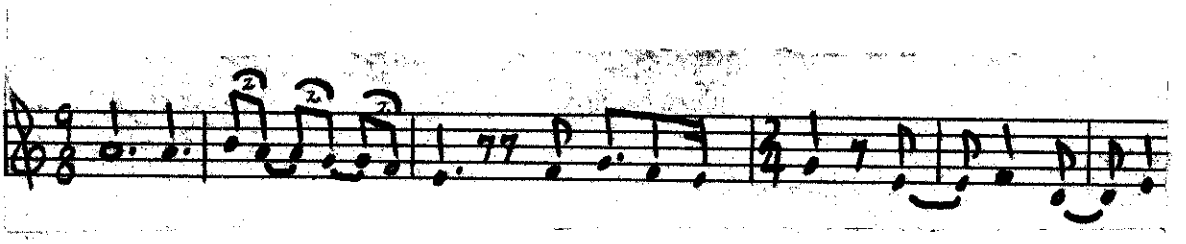

Fig. 2.--Rests interrupting the melodic flow of Ars Nova music.

In the works of Binchois a characteristic curve comprising two phrases is often encountered. The contour of the initial phrase is constructed on the principle of a swift ascent to a crest, followed by a leisurely, rather melismatic descent to a cadence, as is seen in "Qui veut mesdire."[12] The melodic line of the second phrase usually

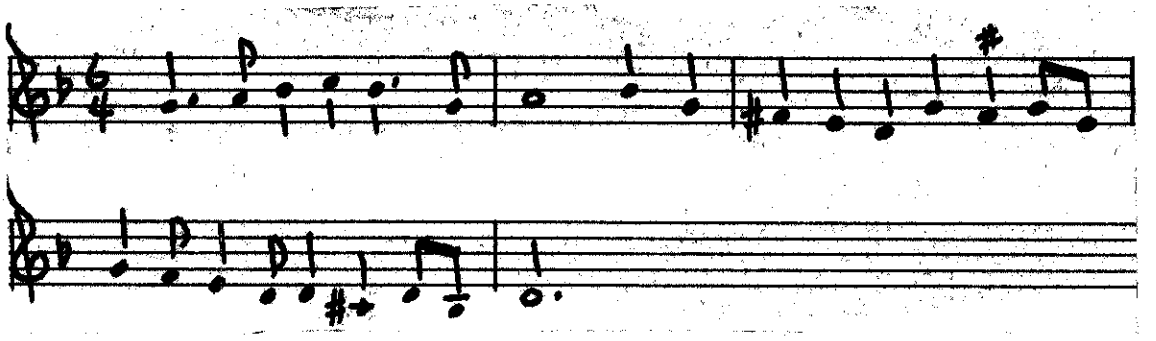

Fig. 3.--Characteristic initial phrase often encountered in the works of Binchois.

begins with three repeated notes which are followed by an ascent to a peak one measure before the cadence. The type

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[12]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 71.

of contour found in the second phrase[13] seems to have been a favorite of Binchois for he uses it consistently and frequently throughout all his chansons.

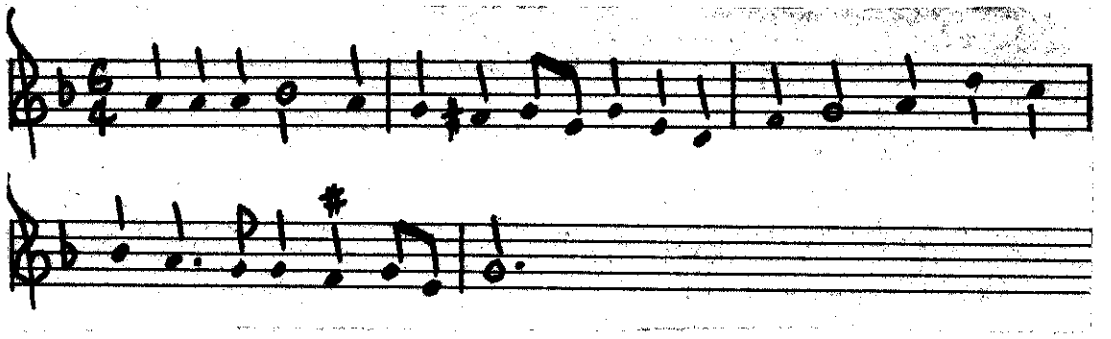

Fig. 4.--Characteristic second phrase frequently encountered in the works of Binchois.

Martin le Franc, in his poem "Le Champion des Dames," contrasts the melodies of Binchois and Dufay with those of Tapissier, Carmen and Cesaris, musicians of the early fifteenth century:

> Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris,
> Not long ago so well did sing
> That they astonished all Paris
> And all who came foregathering.

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[13] Ibid.

But still their discant held no strain
Filled with such goodly melody
So folk who heard them now maintain
As Binchois sings, or Dufay.[14]

However graceful the curves, however charming the melodies of Binchois and Dufay may seem to us, they did not wholly satisfy their own creators, nor could these composers suppress the jealousy they felt for two blind rebec players who visited the court of Burgundy with Isabella of Portugal. In his poem "Le Champion des Dames," Martin le Franc tells of observing the reactions of Binchois and Dufay while they were listening to the two Spanish musicians:

I have seen Binchois to be ashamed,
And lapse into silence before their rebecs;
And Dufay vexed and frowning
That he had not so sweet a melody.[15]

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[14]Martin le Franc, Le Champion des Dames (c. 1430). This section of the poem is printed in C. van den Borren, "A Light of the Fifteenth Century: Dufay," Musical Quarterly, XXI, (1935), 284. A miniature from the Paris copy of Le Champion des Dames, showing Dufay and Binchois, is printed in Kinsky, A History of Music in Pictures, p. 54. The original French reads as follows:

Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris,
N'a pas longtemps si bien chanterrent
Qu'ilz esbahirent tout Paris
Et tous ceulx qui les frequenterrent;
Mais oncques jour ne deschanterrent
En melodie de tel chois
Ce m'ont dit qui les hanterrent
Que G. Dufay et Binchois.

[15]Borren, "A Light of the Fifteenth Century: Dufay," Musical Quarterly, XXI, (1935), p. 284.

J'ay veu Binchois avoir vergongne
Et soy taire emprez leur rebelle,
Et Dufay despite et frongne
Qu'il n'a melodie si belle.

The melodic grace of Binchois' chansons greatly influenced the works of his contemporary and successor, Hayne. This same characteristic curve that we have found so frequently in the works of Binchois appears also in the chansons of Hayne, except that a more gradual ascent to the peak is employed by Hayne. It is unusual indeed when Hayne does not begin his composition with this feature. Contrasted with Binchois, so sensitive a composer and yet so consistent as to style, Hayne represents irregularity itself. The balance of the phrases in "A la audienche," the gentle flowing melody of "De tous biens plaine"[16] are in complete opposition to the other dry and formalistic works of Hayne.[17] A further characteristic of Hayne's melodies is the unusual, sometimes even excessive, length of the individual phrases. An examination of the works of Hayne and those of his older and younger contemporaries shows that phrase-length reached its highest peak with Hayne. It is significant that Petrucci selected perhaps the best of Hayne's chansons for inclusion in the Odhecaton,

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[16]Published in Hewitt, op. cit., p. 263; Jeppesen, op. cit., p. 7; Droz, op. cit., p. 20. The tenor of this composition was to become one of the most popular tenors of the period and was drawn upon to provide a cantus firmus for many works, including Compere's "Omnium bonorum plena." The Latin text of this work, the well-known "Prayer for Singers," also pays a subtle tribute to the older composer by opening with a translation of the incipit of Hayne's chanson, "De tous biens plaine."

[17]Marix, "Hayne," Les Musiciens, p. 284.

an anthology of the finest and best known compositions of the late fifteenth century.

Considering our composers in chronological order, we find the favorite range for the superius was a twelfth in the works of Grenon and Fontaine, but increased to a fifteenth by the time of Morton and Hayne; the range of the tenor remained fairly steady at a twelfth or thirteenth; the contratenor shows an increase in range from a thirteenth to a seventeenth. What is possibly more instructive than the range of these parts which is not so vastly different from those employed today in choral writing, is the curious lay of the three parts. All three voices employ the fifth between g and d' (i.e. the G below middle C and the D above), this being the lowest fifth of the superius range and the highest for the tenor and contratenor. The upper limit of the superius rises slightly (from e" to g"), but more noticeable is the descent of the lower limit of the contratenor from c to F and even to D. It will be noticed that both g" and D exceed the limits of the Gamut. The author has listed below the extremities attained by the three voices, superius, tenor and contratenor, in the works of the eight composers studied. The average ambitus used by each of the composers for the various voices is also included.

TABLE 1

EXTREMITIES AND AVERAGE RANGE
OF THE VARIOUS VOICES

Composer	Lowest limit	Highest limit	Average range
	Superius		
Grenon	a	e"	9th
Fontaine	g	d"	9th
Vide	g	e"	9th
Binchois	f	f"	10th
Joye	g	d"	10th
Constans	g	c"	10th
Morton	g	g"	10th
Hayne	f	f"	10th
	Tenor		
Grenon	c	a'	9th
Fontaine	B	f'	10th
Vide	B^b	g'	10th
Binchois	G	b'	10th
Joye	d	g'	9th
Constans	c	f'	10th
Morton	c	g'	9th
Hayne	c	a'	9th
	Contratenor		
Grenon	c	a'	9th
Fontaine	F	f'	10th
Vide	c	g'	8th
Binchois	F	a'	11th
Joye	B^b	f'	11th
Constans	G	f'	12th
Morton	F	e'	9th
Hayne	D	f'	12th

Fontaine's "J'ayme bien celui" is of special significance in regard to range. In the Bologna, Liceo mus., MS Q15, this piece is given for three voices, superius,

tenor and contratenor; however, the Escorial V. iii.24[18] manuscript shows these same three voices together with an added contratenor which is labeled "contratenor trompette." This added contratenor ranges as low as D, a perfect fourth lower than any tone found in the original three parts. This far exceeds the lower limit of Guido's tone system--which comprised but twenty notes ranging from G to e".[19] Besseler,[20] who has made a study of the closing passage of this extra contratenor, has concluded on internal evidence that it was added not by Fontaine himself but by Dufay. These findings are in accord with the opinion of the German theorist and composer of the second half of the fifteenth century, Adam von Fulda, who credits Dufay with the extension of the lower and upper limits of the Gamut:

> As time passed, and as their ability developed, musicians became more discerning. Not satisfied with Guido's "hand" and his instruction, whenever they transposed a melody, they added notes below Gamma and,

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[18]This manuscript originated at the Burgundian court in the second quarter of the century. See Reese, op. cit., p. 35.

[19]Bartolome Ramis, the Spanish theorist of music, in his Musica practica of 1482, expands (theoretically) the range to three complete octaves from F to f". It might be noted, however, that the credit for having systematically explored the bass region goes to Ockeghem (1430-1495) and his generation, in spite of occasional excursions beyond Guido's tone limits in the time of Binchois and Dufay.

[20]Heinrich Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, (1950), pp. 45-50.

> correspondingly, notes above e la. Of this practice I believe the venerable Guillaume Dufay stood out as the initiator, and believe that all later musicians imitated him, many, however, following their own desire rather than his authority. Many of these follow this practice without any technical knowledge of the art of music, while in others the practice of this art is inborn.[21]

As can be seen from the chart above, each of the three voices increased its range during the fifteenth century. This chart is of special importance, however, since it shows that the decreasing amount of crossing between the tenor and the contratenor throughout the fifteenth century was a result of the expansion of the tonal range. In the period after Binchois the tenor decreased its ambitus somewhat while the contratenor deepened. As a result, the amount of crossing between voices decreased until the final period when crossing had almost completely disappeared. Table 2 shows statistically, composer by composer, how this decrease took place:

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[21] Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica, 3 vols., (1784), Facsimile ed., (1931), iii, p. 352. The text reads as follows:

> "Transfluxis vero temporibus, auctis ingeniis subtiliores esse coeperunt musici, manu and Guidonis praeceptis non contenti, sed cantum toties quotiens transponentes, invenerunt infra plures voces adiiciendas esse, similiter supra e la plures associandas voces. Cuius rei venerabilem Guilhelmum Dufay inventorem extitisse credo, quem and modernisres musici omnes imitantui: multi tamen plus voluntati quam auctoritati btemperantes, quorum plures usum sine artis notitia sequuntur, cum pluribus sit innatus usus musicae artis."

TABLE 2

CROSSING OF TENOR AND CONTRATENOR IN THE COMPOSITIONS OF THE EIGHT COMPOSERS STUDIED

Composer	Percentage of time in which contra and tenor are inverted
Grenon	.62
Fontaine	.55
Vide	.49
Binchois	.46
Joye	.40
Constans	.40
Morton	.15
Hayne	9

Beginning with the later works of Landini, compositions were normally written for three voices, a vogue that was to continue until the latter half of the fifteenth century. However, by 1500 writing in four parts had become the usual procedure. This change was probably brought about by three factors, all of which are closely related. First, the desire and attempt for greater sonority; second, the expansion of the tonal range of the individual voices and therefore of the expansion of the entire compass of the composition; third, the frequent crossing between tenor and contratenor, especially in the period before 1450.

As we have seen in our study of the tonal ranges, the tenor and contratenor usually had about the same range, so that the lowest note might fall to the tenor as readily as to the contratenor. After 1450, probably from the influence of Ockeghem (the leader of the next generation),

the contratenor (which literally means "against the tenor") split into two parts: the contratenor altus (high contratenor) or simply altus and the contratenor bassus (low contratenor) or simply bassus. See the following table:

TABLE 3

THE DIVISION OF THE CONTRATENOR INTO TWO PARTS

1400	After 1450
Superius	Superius
	Contratenor altus
Tenor	Tenor
Contratenor	
	Contratenor bassus

With the establishment of four-part writing, the composers at times resorted to the curious practice of adding one part (usually the altus) to the favorite secular works of the older generation of composers, thereby bringing them into line with the new taste and new fashion. This added voice was customarily indicated in the manuscript as "si placet" ("if it pleases /you/"; i.e. "ad libitum"); its use was therefore purely optional. Both internal and external evidence indicate that this extra voice was not always (if ever) added by the original composer of the chanson: e.g. the style of this added voice may not coincide with that of the original three: again, some manuscripts actually name the author of the si-placet

voice which is in each case another than the original composer.[22]

One of the most interesting aspects of fifteenth century secular music is its use of "key signatures." Of the eighty-eight three-part compositions included in this study, twenty-three show no signature, indicating that these pieces are written in the untransposed position of the modes. Sixteen compositions show a signature of one flat in each voice, indicating that they are written in a mode which has been once transposed (up a fourth or down a fifth). Three of the three-part compositions show two flats in the signature for each voice, an indication that the pieces have been "twice transposed" (down a second) from the normal position of the modes. Of the five four-part compositions, only one shows no signature, and two have one

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[22]*Si placet* compositions: "De tous biens plaine" by Hayne is given in Droz, *op. cit.*, and Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, with three voices, however, in Hewitt, *op.cit.*, it is given with *si placet* voice added; "Amours amours" by Hayne is given in the *Odhecaton* with an added *si placet* altus; "A la audience" by Hayne is published in Marix and Hewitt with four voices. Hewitt claims on internal evidence that the altus, although not indicated in the source as such, is also an added voice (*si placet*). Speaking of "A la audience" Hewitt says: "the characteristic stride of Hayne's melodies, in half and whole notes formed into long, graceful curves (averaging thirteen to sixteen measures in length) is quite disturbed by the notes of the Altus which clatter along in quarters and eighths, which stop for rest whenever a difficult harmonic situation presents itself, and which do not conform to the custom of marking the close of each line of text with melismas, cadence and rest characteristic of and inherent in the style of the vocal chanson." Hewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

flat in each voice (occasionally the manuscripts will show three flats in one voice; however, one of these three flats is merely a duplication at the octave of one of the others). The remaining fifty-three pieces have signatures which require special consideration.

In the polyphonic compositions from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries it is not uncommon to find different "key" signatures in the various voices of a single composition; "conflicting signatures" and "partial signatures" are terms applied by recent scholars to such signatures.[23] In three-part compositions the two upper voices often have no signature while the lowest voice has a signature of one flat; sometimes both lower voices show a signature of one flat while the superius is without signature. In some cases, the lowest voice or the two lower voices have two flats in the signature while the superius has only one; some compositions show a flat only in the tenor. Only one piece has one flat in the two upper voices while the lowest voice has none.

Several scholars have attempted (usually without success) to account for the variance between the signatures of the voices of these compositions. The first

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[23]E.g., E. Lowinsky, "The Functions of Conflicting Signatures in Early Polyphonic Music," Musical Quarterly, XXXI, (1945), pp. 227-256; Willi Apel, "Partial Signatures in the Sources Up to 1450," Acta Musicologica, X, (1938), pp. 1-13.

of these, Rudolf Ficker,[24] presented a hypothesis which associated the part without a signature with a Gregorian melody. Ficker says: "Dieses Fehlen der b-Vorzeichnung im Diskante lässt daher für das 15. Jahrh. in den meisten Fällen auf die Verarbeitung eines choralen Cantus Firmus in dieser Stimme schliessen."[25] Jeppesen, regarding this theory, states: "Eine solche Hypothese würde aber auf eben so schwachen Füssen stehen, da man in diesem Falle eine einigermassen solide Konstanz in der Überlieferung voraussetzen müsste."[26] Jeppesen continues to prove the hypothesis untenable by pointing out that secular works making no use of Gregorian melodies often have the same type of "conflicting signatures." Jeppesen then proposes that the use of "conflicting signatures" arises out of practices linked purely with notation rather than resting on a musical basis, that they are the result of the same sort of carelessness and inconsistency found in the manuscripts as regards the placement of text.[27] Opposed to Jeppesen's hypothesis is the opinion of Apel that:

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[24]Rudolf Ficker, "Die Kolorierungstechnik der Trienter Messen," Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, (1920), p. 15.

[25]Ibid. The present writer has quoted after Jeppesen, op. cit., p. LXIII.

[26]Jeppesen, op. cit.

[27]See p. 39 of this thesis.

> To assume that the writer has given accidentals in so many places where they are needed but has just 'omitted' or 'forgotten' them in numerous other places, is surely not in accord with the principles of an unprejudiced investigation.[28]

Lowinsky,[29] in a more recent investigation, explains that "conflicting signatures" were mainly the result of the types of cadences produced by the various modes.[30] However, other practical reasons are also given:

> If a piece had no B at all, a signature of B-flat was superfluous. If it had only one or a few B-flats, they could more easily be indicated by individual accidentals than by a key signature that had to be repeated at the beginning of each line. The medieval composer was eminently practical.[31]

Another factor influencing "conflicting signatures," as Hewitt[32] has pointed out, is that occasionally the "altus

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[28]Apel, "Partial Signatures," Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 6.

[29]Lowinsky, op. cit., p. 228, has pointed out that "the theories mentioned have a far-reaching practical effect may easily be seen from Jeppesen's and Apel's editorial policies. Jeppesen, who sees in conflicting signatures only carelessness on the part of the scribe, is naturally inclined to add many editorial flats in voices without a key signature. Apel thinks 'that no supplementary accidentals (B-flats) are permissible in modern transcriptions and interpretations of compositions of this period'."

[30]Ibid. For a detailed discussion of the cadence influence on "key signatures" see this article.

[31]Ibid., p. 241.

[32]Hewitt, editor, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A, p. 17.

is in canon with the superius at the 5th below," necessitating an extra flat in the lower imitative voice.

As a by-product of preparing a usable transcription of the motets in the early fifteenth-century Ms. J. II. 9 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, Richard Hoppin[33] has drawn the conclusion that these "conflicting signatures" are used to identify the modes (either transposed or untransposed) of the various voices. It is the contention of Hoppin that "partial signatures are an indication of pitch levels lying a fifth apart, which in turn imply the use of two modes simultaneously or of the same mode in a transposed and untransposed position."[34] Perhaps at last we have a satisfactory, unbiased, tested and proved explanation of the "conflicting signatures" found in the sources of fifteenth-century music. The present writer cannot confirm the findings of Hoppin since a study of the modes used in each voice of these Burgundian compositions remains outside the scope of this study.

The compositions by the Burgundian composers show a greater frequency of and more variety in the use of "conflicting signatures" than do those of the Odhecaton. Of

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[33]Richard H. Hoppin, "Partial Signatures and Musica Ficta in Some Early Fifteenth-Century Sources," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VI (1953), pp. 197-215.

[34]Ibid., p. 203.

the three-part compositions, twenty-seven show ♮, b, b;[35] two show ♮, ♮, b; two with b, b, 2b; seven with ♮, b, ♮; six with b, 2b, 2b; and one with ♮, 2b, 2b. There is only one composition in which the signature shows more flats in the two upper voices than in the lower voice; i.e. b, b, ♮. In this instance, it should read, b, ♮, b, since the tenor is the lowest-sounding voice. Of the four-part compositions, two show "conflicting signatures;" one with ♮, ♮, b, b and the other with ♮, b, b, b. The two two-part compositions show b, b and ♮, b.

The above statistics are in complete accord with Apel's findings based on the Trent Codices in which the signature of ♮, b, b prevails as against the signature ♮, ♮, b which had been more frequent in the fourteenth century. What are the reasons for this change? Apel sees in the greater regularity the use of partial signatures:

> a stronger feeling for, and a clearer expression of 'tonality' . . . and may be justly considered as one of the early traces of a development towards the rationalization and simplification of the tonal language. . . . The preference given to the signature ♮,b,b, in particular indicates an increasing tendency towards the 'heavy' realm of the B-flat which is equivalent to a stronger stress of the harmonic basis.[36]

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[35]The "♮" indicates that the voice has no signature, "b" that the signature is one flat (B flat) and "2b" that the signature is two flats (B flat and E flat). The signatures are indicated here in the order of the voices from the highest to the lowest.

[36]Apel, "Partial Signatures," Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 11.

Thus the prevalence of the signature♮, b, b in our study is one feature significant of the changes taking place in the fifteenth century in the spaces of "tonality."

It is interesting to note that this change in "tonality" is in agreement with the shift from a higher to a somewhat lower range, from a light to a heavier texture (i.e. the change from three-part writing to that of four). By the turn of the sixteenth century the signatures had become more uniform,[37] and at least one sixteenth-century theorist voiced his opinion on the use of "conflicting signatures":

> I oppose also the carelessness of some composers who, without deeper consideration, place a B-flat in one part of their polyphonic works, mostly in the lowest part. I say that such license is forbidden and not permitted, it is not even taken into consideration by the true musician.[38]

The number of accidentals within the works of the Burgundian composers is small in comparison with the number found in the works of the musicians of the French Ars Nova. B-flat, of course, was commonly used, being an essential part of the hexachordal system; E-flat and A-flat are found mainly as representing B-flat when the compositions are in once- or twice-transpositional position. F-sharp, C-sharp and G-sharp were the only sharps used; if actually appearing

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[37]See Hewitt, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

[38]Aron, Aggiunta del Toscanello, (1523). Quoted after Lowinsky, op. cit., p. 259.

in the manuscript, they are found serving a "coloristic" purpose, but are frequently required as accidentals to be inserted by the performer (largely at cadences) according to the laws governing musica ficta.[39] There is, however, one F-flat[40] and one E-sharp.[41] The use of f" flat was not recognized theoretically until 1516 by Aron in De Institutione Harmonica. Aron states: "In case the melody needs to ascend even higher, it will be necessary to insert a flat for the first position lying beyond Guido's hand, above e" . . .[42] All the tones included in the system established by Guido (i.e. G to e") had a place on the so-called "hand of Guido." Singers were well acquainted with these tones but became confused in their solmization when

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[39]In modern editions of fifteenth century music an accidental added above or below a note (or within parentheses) indicates that they are absent in the manuscript but are inserted by the editor according to the known rules of musica ficta. Some scholars hold that in the music of the first half of the fifteenth century utmost caution should be used by editors in inserting accidentals; see footnote 25 of this chapter.

[40]In the chanson, "N'araige jamais mieulx," by Morton, published in Jeppesen, op. cit., p. 4, m. 4.

[41]In the chanson, "Pour vous tenir-Mon doulx amy tenes," by Fontaine, published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 13, m. 10.

[42]Pietro Aron, De Institutione Harmonica, (1516). The text is as follows: "Quod si altius etiam progredi oportueri, necesse quidem erit, b molle in prima extra manum positione supra E la fingere. . . ." After Lowinsky, op. cit., p. 255.

tones outside the Gamut appeared in the music. Therefore, the composer placed a flat before f", not intending it to be lowered but only to indicate that it (f") is to be sung fa just as would any F within the Gamut. It is interesting to know, however, that the application of this flat by no means had the unanimous approval of the theorists. Stephanus Vanneus, a theorist of the early sixteenth century says:[43]

> But I must take occasion to answer certain composers of figured music with whom I much disagree. It has been their custom to place a flat in the soprano whenever they go beyond e", as if they thought (so it seems to me) that they had reached the utter limits of the sky in e". They do not seem to consider that f" is the very next tone to e" anyway. Tell me now, I ask you, is not this kind of musica ficta foolish and a madman's business? According to the natural order /of musica vera/ F /in any octave/ is always F fa anyway. Consequently it makes no sense to provide it with a flat which represents the syllable fa. Those who do this intend, I believe, to make things easier for the beginners in music.

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[43]Stephanus Vanneus, Liber I, Cap. X. The text reads: "Sed ut illis cantus figurati compositoribus (a quibus longe dissentio) aliquando respondeam, qui dum transcendunt E la, b circulare in suprano consueverunt, ultimum coeli metam, pro meo judicio in E la terinari credentes, F post E, proximum esse minime cogitantes, dicita quaeso, est ne ficta Musica ista, inmo stulta ac furore plena, quoniam si in littera F recto naturalique ordine, Fa notula semper reperitur, tali loco, b molle quod eandem notulam representet, subdere non oportet. Hoc enim pro mea sententia faciunt, ut discere valentibus ad musicam facilior sit aditus." After Lowinsky, Ibid. Helen Hewitt, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton B, unpublished, has drawn similar conclusions concerning the use of f" flat, based, however, on different sources.

The e# was used to cancel the e flat in the signature, therefore equaling our 4 sign.

In Chapter II we stated that the rhythmic structure in the works of the Burgundian composers was in complete antithesis to that of the late Ars Nova. Apel, speaking of this period, states:

> A certain relationship to the music of our day may be seen in the two most remarkable stylistic traits of the late ars nova, that is, the rhythmic complexity and the dissonant quality of its music. Although present-day music goes way beyond that of the late fourteenth century in point of dissonance, the opposite statement is true with regard to rhythm. In fact, the compositions of this period are full of rhythmic finesse and tricks which defy the imagination even of the most radical "syncopator" of our day.[44]

On the other hand, in the fifteenth century a steady rhythmic flow replaces the more elaborate and complex rhythmic situation characterizing the late French Ars Nova. Contrast the following section taken from Selesses' "En attendant"[45] (a late Ars Nova ballade) with Fig. 1, pp. 43-44:

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[44]Willi Apel, "French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century," Acta Musicologica, X, (1938), p. 20.

[45]Printed in Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 49.

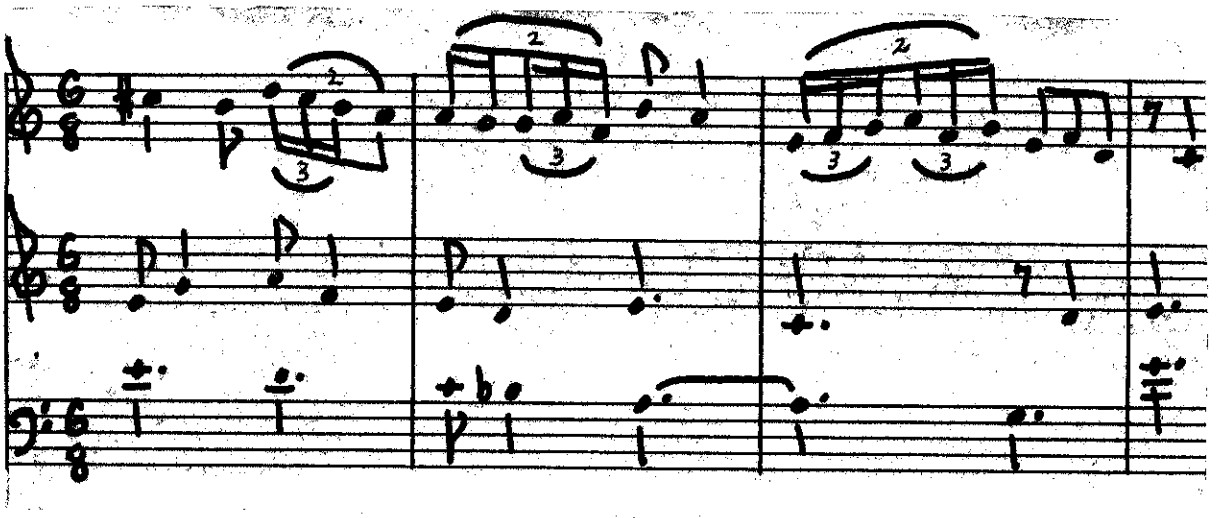

Fig. 5.--The rhythmic complexity of the late Ars Nova

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, generally speaking, tempus imperfectum, prolatio maior (modern equivalent $\frac{6}{8}$) was the favorite meter, as can be seen in the chansons of Grenon, Fontaine, Vide and to some extent in those of Binchois. During the period of Binchois it was supplanted by tempus perfectum, prolatio minor (modern equivalent $\frac{3}{4}$), which in turn lost favor to tempus imperfectum, prolatio minor (modern equivalent $\frac{2}{4}$) in the third quarter of the century.

Frequently, in the music of the fifteenth century, we find a rhythmical device known as hemiola. This is a feature in which rhythmic patterns in $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$ are combined either successively in one voice or simultaneously in different voices producing an effect of two-three relationship, hence the name hemiola (one-and-a-half). This

rhythmical device is used primarily in cadences, as in the final cadence of Vide's "Il m'est se grief."[46]

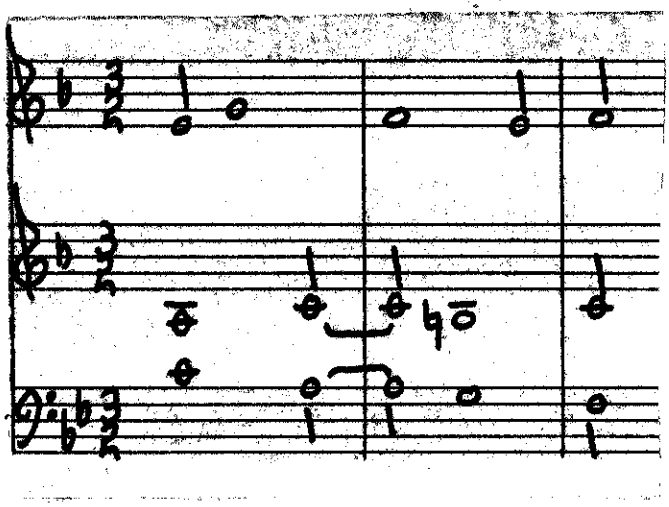

Fig. 6.--Hemiola

Another rhythmic feature of the chansons is the use of repeated notes in the initial phrase, as is illustrated in the accompanying example from Binchois' "Amours et souvenir."[47] This is one of the most characteristic features of Binchois' works, occurring in nearly all of his chansons, and is often used to begin as many as four different phrases in one piece. This repeated-note figure reminds us of a similar figure which was to become a characteristic feature of the canzona, the sixteenth-century instrumental counterpart of the chanson.

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[46]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 21.

[47]Ibid., p. 46.

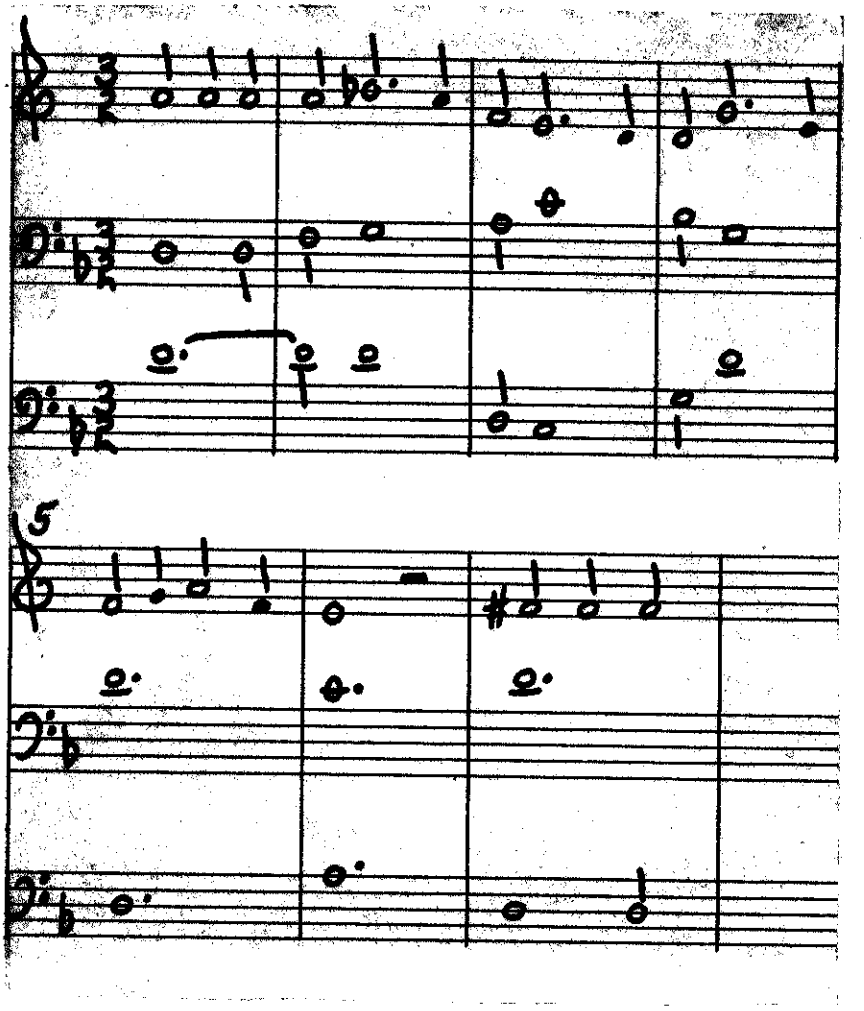

Fig. 7.--Characteristic repeated-note figure in the initial phrase of many chansons.

Although syncopation, the deliberate upsetting of the normal rhythm, reached its all-time peak of complication in the works of the late fourteenth-century composers (especially in the secular works of Machaut--where it first appears--Cunelier, Cordier, Solage and others) it is used extensively by the Burgundian composers as well. It might be noted in Hayne's "La regretée"[48] that syncopation is

[48]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 117.

accomplished by two means: by tying notes over from weak to strong beats and by use of the agogic accent.

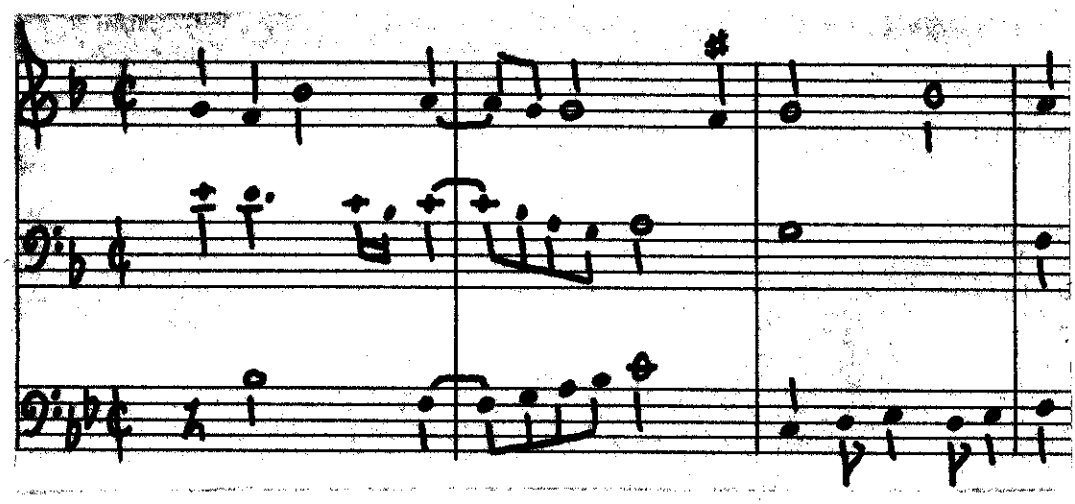

Fig. 8.--Two types of syncopation found in Hayne's "La regretée."

The influence of Italy, especially of Landini, can be seen in some of the chansons that employ melodic sequences. Melodic sequences, which occasionally appear in melismas of early fifteenth-century music, are frequently found in the music of the Italian Trecento[49] but are seldom encountered in the music of the French Ars Nova. In Grenon's "Je ne requier de ma dame"[50] we see a trace of Italian influence, yet the idea of sequence is only faintly suggested:

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[49]Further on the Italian sequences, see Ellinwood, "Francesco Landini and His Music," Musical Quarterly, XXII, (1935), p. 198; Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 16, and Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, p. 369.

[50]Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 1.

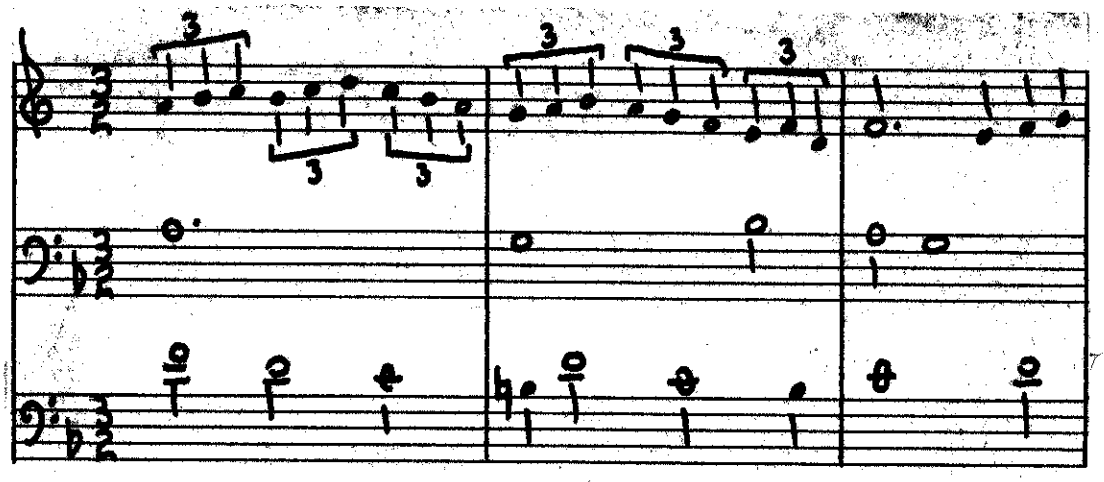

Fig. 9.--Melodic sequence in the early fifteenth-century French music.

In Binchois' "Ma dame que j'ayme"[51] we find a clear example of Italian influence in the melodic sequence found in the superius; in this passage the supporting voices,

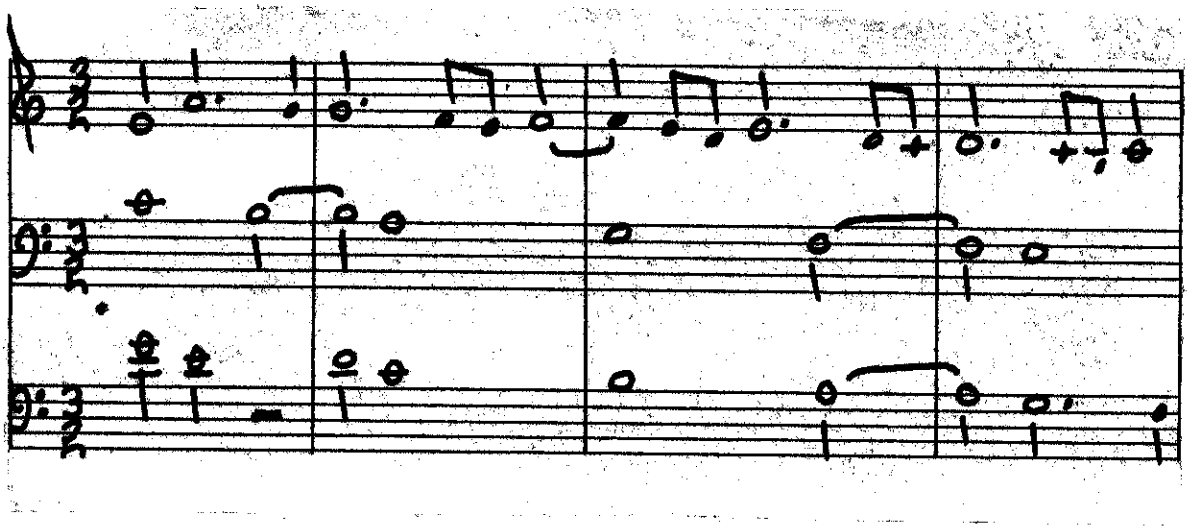

Fig. 10.--Melodic sequence combined with English sixth-chords.

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[51] Ibid., p. 60.

also taking part in the sequence, unite with the superius in the sixth-chord style common in contemporary English writing.

It is seldom that any of the Burgundian composers repeat a musical phrase; however, there is one instance where Binchois (in his rondeau "Je ne pouroye estre joyeux") quotes the first phrase, note for note in all voices, at the close of the piece.

Occasionally Binchois will use a brief rhythmic figure sequentially within a phrase, a device which, although introduced casually and not consistently, acts as a unifying factor. This device, consciously developed and consistently employed in later periods, is of rare occurrence among the Burgundian composers. The figure in measure 20 of Fig. 11 is used throughout the chanson "Bien puist."[52]

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[52] Ibid., p. 39.

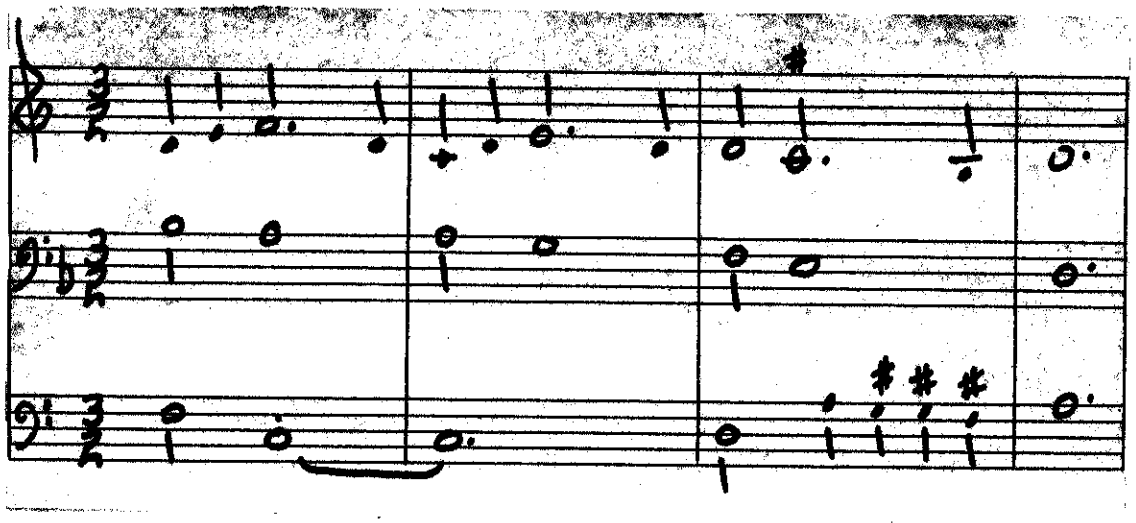

Fig. 11.--Sequential rhythmic figure

Although the Burgundians were not the inventors of imitation,[53] many of the chansons composed in the latter half of the century show evidence of this compositional technique which was to become the outstanding feature of the sixteenth-century chanson. In the first half of the fifteenth century imitation was not used to any extent; however, the late Burgundian and Franco-Netherlandish composers (Ockeghem, Obrecht and later Josquin) were to develop the idea of "through-imitation" into an established system, perhaps the greatest contribution of the Netherlands School to the art of composition.

Only seven of the secular works of Binchois contain examples of imitative writing; five of these contain only one occurrence of imitation and two employ it throughout.

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[53]See Heinrich Besseler, Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Potsdam, (1931), p. 194.

Among those of the last group "Files a marier"[54] is unusual for its consistent use of imitation between the two upper voices; for the superius always announces the subject and is answered in the altus either by exact imitation or by a phrase in very free imitation. Both of these parts are in counterpoint to the tenor which is in slower notes, while the contratenor (bassus) fills in with quicker notes or with long sustained notes. This composition "anticipates much of the joyful liveliness of the program chansons by Janequin, which however, it far excels in true musical vitality."[55]

In the opening phrase of "Quoyque dangier"[56] we find an interesting example of imitation which is, however, rather cleverly hidden for the point of imitation is presented at a different place within the phrase in each voice while all voices begin at the same time. The imitated figure, announced in the contratenor, is given a tonal answer by the tenor a fourth higher followed by imitation in the superius an octave above the original entry.

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[54]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 46.

[55]Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, editors, The Historical Anthology of Music, p. 223; a piece by Janequin for comparison may be found in H. Expert, Les Maitres musiciens de la renaissance francaise, (1894), p. 105.

[56]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 73.

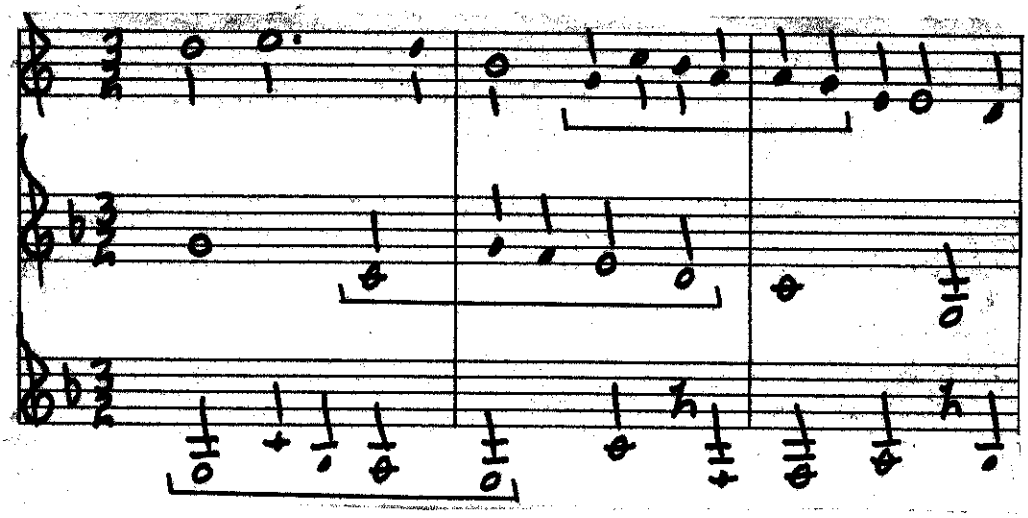

Fig. 12.--Disguised imitation

"Vostre alee me desplait tant"[57] by Binchois is unique for this period in its consistent use of "initial imitation" and in the manner in which this is carried out. Each line of words is set to its own melodic figure which is stated first in the contratenor, imitated first in the superius and then in the tenor. Curiously, this imitation is invariably at the unison (in each voice of every phrase) and all phrases show the imitating voices entering after the same interval of time, i.e. three beats. This piece is also interesting for its use of a motive resembling a counter-subject in that it is set against each of these imitating figures in turn.

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[57] Ibid., p. 81.

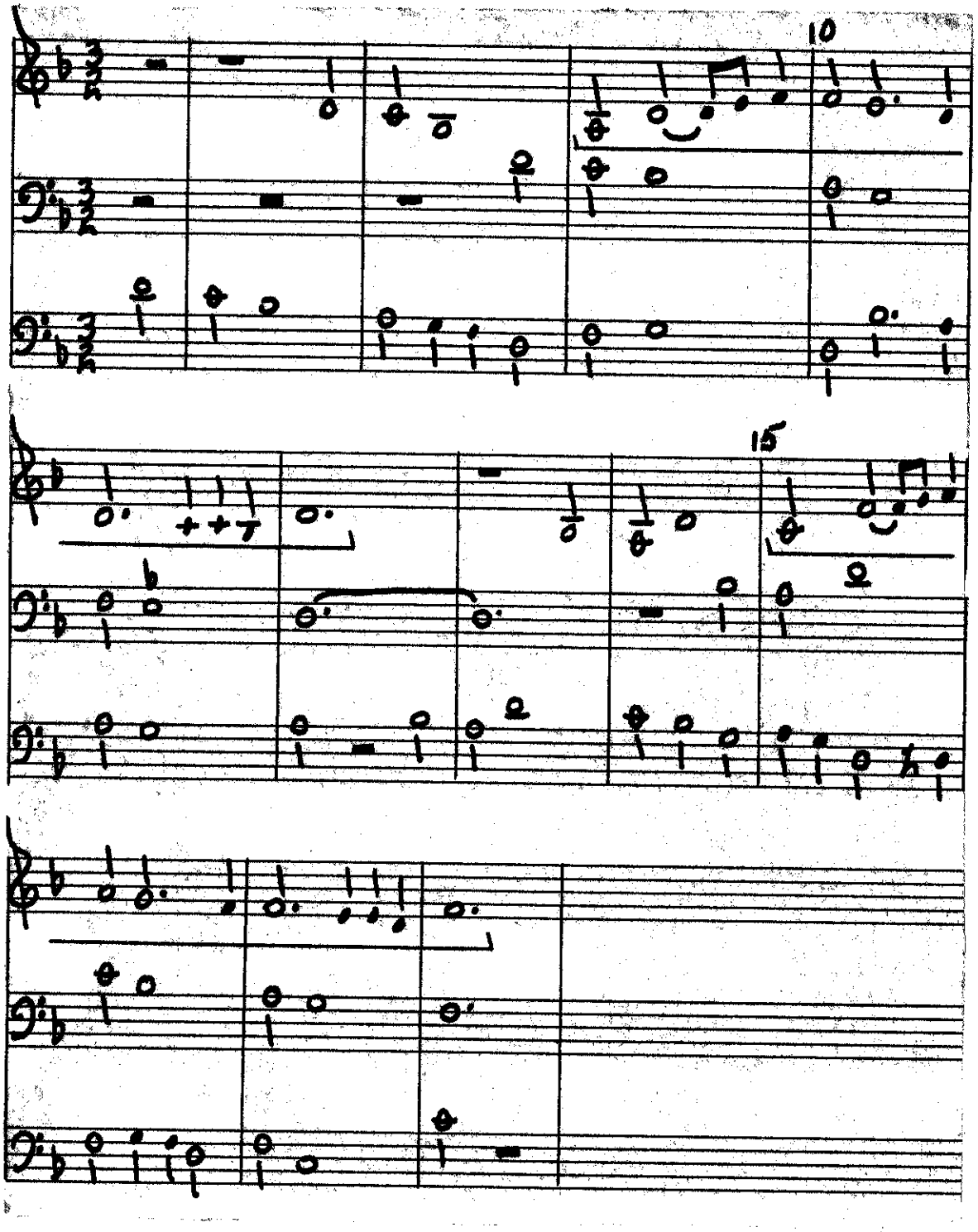

Fig. 13.--Imitation with a counter motive

Like his slightly later contemporary Busnois (with whose music his is sometimes confused in the sources) Hayne

tends to begin his three-part chansons with all the voices in imitation. He is by no means consistent in this compositional technique, however, for some of his chansons show all three voices starting together in a non-imitative manner; others begin with the two upper voices in imitation over a non-imitative contratenor which frequently continues on its way while the upper parts cadence and rest.[58] This latter technique is indicative of the struggle of the lower parts for equality with the superius; however, at this stage only the tenor has achieved this status.[59] The goal of complete equality of all parts in which the contratenor also takes part in the imitation, was to be achieved by the Netherlands composers. In the first part of Fig. 14, from Hayne's "La regretée,"[60] we find the two upper voices in imitation over a non-imitative contra. In the second part of Fig. 14 (mm. 28-32) can be seen the typical manner of phrase connection--the contra continues to spin out its

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[58]Hewitt, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton, A, 1942, pp. 60ff, calls these the three stages in the development of the Netherlands technique: the first being that in which all voices begin together, no imitation being present; the second, that in which the two upper voices are in imitation over a non-imitative contra; the third in which all voices participate in the imitation.

[59]Ibid., p. 62.

[60]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 115.

line while the upper parts cadence, rest and introduce a new line of words with a new point of imitation.

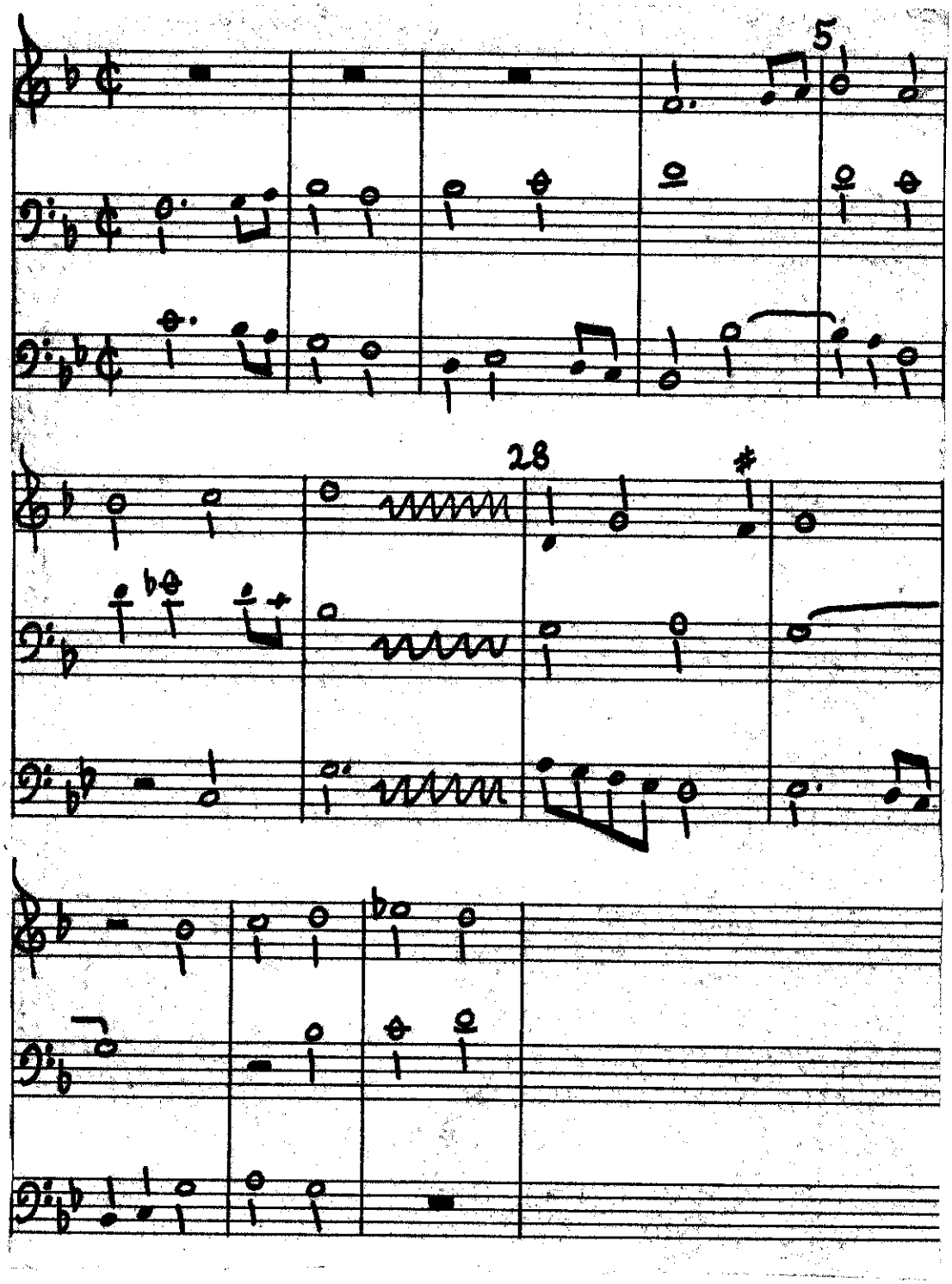

Fig. 14.--Upper voices in imitation over a non-imitative contratenor.

The author has attempted, in this chapter on melodic structure in the Burgundian chansons, to show that while the Burgundians were at times naive in their essays at sequence, imitation and other means of obtaining melodic unity, and although they failed to introduce any novel inventions save meager steps toward four-part writing, they did bring about a fusion of Italian, English and French elements which a century later reached fruition in the works of Josquin and his contemporaries.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HARMONIC STRUCTURE

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the style of the Burgundian composers was a fusion of two elements which had originated beyond the borders of the duchy in the fourteenth century: the forms were those long used in France and the melodic line showed the strong influence of Italy; however, we must turn to England and her contemporary composers for the chief influence upon the harmonic structure.[1]

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[1]The author is well aware of the dangers inherent in the use of the term "harmony" in this period. There can be little doubt that the music of the Renaissance must be classified as contrapuntal since composers still thought in terms of combining horizontal lines; however, it is equally certain that, consciously or unconsciously, considerations that would today be called "harmony" did enter into the compositions of all the polyphonic music of the past. Rudolf Ficker in "Primäre Klangformen" Jahrbuch Peters (1929),p.21, as quoted in Glen Haydon, The Evolution of the Six-Four Chord, pp. 2-3, has advocated this interpretation stressing the balance that exists between the two factors in all polyphony. "It is truly one of the most peculiar and incomprehensible circumstances that up to the present time the whole of musicological research has held doggedly to the fiction that all our European music is to be considered as being derived exclusively from the melodic aspect. . . . Now our polyphony is not, as is so often asserted, a musical phenomenon but a compromise resulting from the balancing of the heterogeneous energetic elements Klang (the term Klang is here always to be understood in the extended sense of chord) and Melos. Polyphony arose from the fusion (Verschmelzung) of two originally quite distinct musical procedures, melodic on the one hand, and harmonic on the other." The terms "chord," "combination" and "harmony" are used interchangeably by the present writer as applied to the so-called vertical phenomena. Whether or not these particular terms were in use during the period under discussion need not enter into the question here.

It has been recognized from contemporary to present times that the English composers exerted a direct influence upon the music of France; the exact nature of this influence remains to the present a much disputed subject. The first reference to English influence was made in Martin le Franc's Le Champion des Dames (c. 1440). The author of this poem asserts that Binchois and Dufay were superior to the older composers in Paris because they had adopted a "nouvelle pratique de faire frisque concordance" and "contenance angloise." The text is as follows:[2]

> For these a newer way have found,
> In music high and music low,
> Of making pleasant concord sound
> In 'feigning,' rest, mutatio.
> The English guise they wear with grace,
> They follow Dunstable aright,
> And thereby have they learned apace
> To make their music gay and bright.

The influence of the English was even recognized by the musician and theorist, Tinctoris, who speaks of the

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[2]Martin le Franc, Le Champion des Dames, (c. 1440). This section of the poem is printed in Reese, Renaissance, p. 13. In the above stanza the expressions "music high and low" and "feigning, . . . mutatio" mean "music loud and soft" and "applying musica ficta, . . . modulating," respectively. The French text is as follows:

> Car ilz ont nouvelle pratique
> De faire frisque concordance
> En haulte et en basse musique,
> Et fainte, en pauze, et en muance,
> Et ont prins de la contenance
> Angloise et ensuy Dunstable
> Pour quoy merveilleuse plaisance
> Rend leur chant joyeux et notable.

"new music" whose "fount and origin is held to be among the English"; he also says that this new music is now continued only among the French composers.

> At this time, consequently, the possibilities of our music have been so marvelously increased that there appears to be a new art, if I may so call it, whose fount and origin is held to be among the English, of whom Dunstable stood forth as chief. Contemporary with him in France were Dufay and Binchoys, to whom directly succeeded the moderns Ockeghem, Busnoys, Regis and Caron, who are the most excellent of all composers I have ever heard. Nor can the English, who are popularly said to shout while the French sing, stand comparison with them. For the French contrive music in the newest manner for the new times, while the English continue to use one and the same style of composition, which shows a wretched poverty of invention.[3]

Likewise in his "Liber de arte contrapuncti" Tinctoris speaks of the influence of Dunstable upon the composers of his own generation and states that only the music composed within the last forty years was judged worth hearing:

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[3]Tinctoris, "Proportionale musices," (c. 1467), Scriptores, Coussemaker, editor, IV, 154b. Translation after Strunk, op. cit., p. 195. Text from Coussemaker is as follows: "Quo fit ut hac tempestate, facultas nostre musices tam mirabile susceperit incrementum quod ars nova esse videatur, cujus, ut ita dicam, novae artis fons et arigo, apud Anglicos quorum caput Dunstable exstitit, fuisse perhibetur, et juic contemporanci fuerunt in Gallia Dufay et Binchois quibus immediate successerunt moderni Okeghem, Busnois, Regis et Caron, omnium quos audiverim in compositione praestantissimi. Haec eis Anglici nunc (licet vulgauter jubilare, Gallici vero cantare dicuntur) veniunt conferendi. Illi etenum in dies navos cantus nouissime inveniunt, ac isti (quod miserrimi signun est ingenii) una semper et eadem compositione utuntur."

> . . . although it seems beyond belief, there does not exist a single piece of music, not composed within the last forty years, that is regarded by the learned as worth hearing. Yet at this present time, not to mention innumerable singers of the most beautiful diction, there flourish, whether by the effect of some celestial influence or by the force of assiduous practice, countless composers, among them Jean Ockeghem, Jean Regis, Antoine Busnoys, Firmin Caron, and Guillaume Faugues, who glory in having studied this divine art under John Dunstable, Gilles Binchoys and Guillaume Dufay, recently deceased. Nearly all the works of these men exhale such sweetness that in my opinion they are to be considered most suitable, not only for men and heroes, but even for the immortal gods. Indeed, I never hear them, I never examine them, without coming away happier and more enlightened. As Virgil took Homer for his model in that divine work the Aeneid, so I, by Hercules, have used these composers as models for my modest works, and especially in the arrangement of the concords I have plainly imitated their admirable style of composing.[4]

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[4]Tinctoris, "Liber de arte contrapuncti," (c. 1477), Scriptores, Coussemaker, editor, IV, 76. . . . quod satis admirari nequco, quippiam compositum nisi citra annos quodraginta extat, quod auditu dignum ab eruditis existimetur; hac vero tempestate, ut praeterem innumeros concentores venustissime pronuntiantes, nescio an virtute cujusdam coelestis influxus, an vehementia assiduae exercitationis in finiti florent compositores, ut Johannes Okeghem, Joannes Regis, Anthonius Busnois, Firmunus Caron, Guillermus Faugues, qui novissimis temporibus vita functos Joannes Dunstable, Egidium Binchoys, Guillermus Dufay se praeceptores habuisse in hac arte divina gloriantur. Quorum amnium omnia fue opera tantam suavitudinem redolent, ut, mea quidem sententia, non modo hominibus heroibusque verum etiam Diis immortalibus dignissima censenda sint. Ea quoque profector numquam audir, nunquam considero quin laetior ac doctior evadam, unde quimadmodum Virgilius in illo opere divino Eneidos Homero, ita iis Hercule, in meis opuscules utor architypis; praesertim autem in hoc, in quo, concordantias ordinando, approbabilem eorum componendi stilum plane imitatus sum. English translation after Strunk, op. cit., p. 199.

Laudatory remarks concerning Dunstable, Dufay, Binchois, Constans, et al, were made by a Spanish theorist of the fifteenth century.[5] The anonymous writer continues with a paraphrase of Tinctoris's De arte contrapuncti, remarking on the important change in music during the last forty years.

> Many others have brought music to its peak, and indeed have illuminated and purified [or clarified] music as much in the forty years from 1440 to 1482 as all of those before in the 1440 years since the birth of Christ.[6]

Much has been written by recent scholars as to the exact nature of this "English countenance" (contenance angloise) which prompted Tinctoris to mark a new musical era. Generally the opinion has been that the outstanding characteristic of the English technique was their use of discant and faux-bourdon which, as we will see later, did apparently affect the style of writing employed by the Burgundians to a certain extent. Apel[7] states, however,

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[5]For this portion of the treatise see page 13 of this thesis.

[6]Escurial CIII 23, fol. 3. English translation by the present writer; original Spanish quoted after Bukofzer, "Uber Leben und Werke von Dunstable," Acta Musicologica, VIII (1936), pp. 103-104. The text is as follows: Otros muchos, que en este tiempo florescieron la musica etanto, que mas la esclarescieron y purificaron en quarenta anos, que fueron desde los quarenta fasta los ochenta y dos, que todos los pasados en mill y quatrocientos y quarenta anos, que fueron del nascimiento de jhesu christo.

[7]Apel, "English Music," Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 242.

that its "most striking trait . . . is a most beautiful type of melody based on the degrees of the triad." There was a marked increase in the melodic use of the major and minor third during the course of the fifteenth century and a few chansons even exhibit melodies which are little more than ornamented triads. Besseler[8] finds the essence of English composition in a new cantabile style of melodic writing and a flowing rhythm in smooth triple or compound meter (tempus perfectum and tempus perfectum diminutum), features that have been pointed out in Chapter III. These stylistic traits, important as they are, seem not to be the clue to the "sweetness exhaled by the works of these men." It would seem that the influence of England did not lie primarily in certain melodic intervals, in discant or faux-bourdon, or even in new meters, but in a more decisive and striking caution in the treatment of dissonance,[9] a fact confirmed by examination of the sources. The various scholars dealing with this period have failed to point out that Tinctoris also says that he has taken these composers for his model "and especially in the arrangement of the concords plainly imitated their admirable style of composing." It will be noticed also that the anonymous

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[8]Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, passim.

[9]This hypothesis has previously been proposed by Bukofzer, "Uber Leben und Werke Dunstable," et al.

Spanish theorist states that he "doubts that men will be able more subtly to arrange or discant the counterpoint composed by very learned and singular persons . . . Dunstable, Dufay, et al."[10] Furthermore, he states that they have "illuminated and purified [purificaron] music," and thereby implies that it was the use of dissonance which brought about this change in musical style. Let us put this hypothesis to the following tests: first, was this treatment of dissonance something new in the English music of the first quarter of the fifteenth century? Second, did this same element enter French music during the period of Dufay and Binchois?

Bukofzer has pointed out the drastic change in attitude towards dissonance brought about by Dunstable and his contemporaries, a change seen more clearly when their music is compared with that of the generation which preceded them:

> Dissonances were still [i.e. in the late fourteenth century] treated in the medieval manner as special cases of free syncopation, which is perhaps the most distinctive feature of 14th-century music. Dissonances could enter freely as the result of rhythmic displacement and needed no preparation. On the other hand, when not justified by rhythmic displacement they could nevertheless be present because the rules of part-writing provided that it was sufficient for any one voice to be consonant with only one of the others (preferably the tenor). . . .
>
> In the first quarter of the 15th century a rather sudden change takes place, the phases of which can be observed in the music of Dunstable and his less well

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[10]See the quotation on page 13 of this thesis.

> known contemporaries, notably Piamor and Leonel Power. The part-writing is being purged of free dissonances and syncopation. The combination of voices is now based on the new concept that they must form an integral harmonic unit in which each member is consonant with all the others (the fourth between two upper voices is regarded as consonant if a third or fifth is sounded below it). The structural dissonances are reduced to a single type, that which is 'prepared' on the weak beat as a consonance . . . the dissonant syncopation has been formalized and transformed into the suspension. . . .[11]

Perhaps Martin le Franc's mention of a "nouvelle pratique de faire frisque concordance" may be taken literally rather than judged a mere product of poetic fantasy for, as we have seen above, a new manner of composition singularly English (it makes its appearance nowhere else simultaneously with its manifestation in England) presents aspects which promise to bring about a revolution in the structure of music.

As has already been mentioned above, John, the English Duke of Bedford, became Regent of France after the death of his brother, Henry V, in 1422. From 1422 until 1435 the Duke maintained a chapel of his own in France; since Dunstable was "canonicus" and "musicus" in the service of the Duke of Bedford, we may assume that he spent this period in France. We have no definite proof that Dunstable met Dufay or Binchois. However, it is certainly possible that Binchois and Dunstable may have met, while Binchois

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[11]Bukofzer, "John Dunstable: A Quincentenary Report," Musical Quarterly, XL, (1954), p. 43.

was traveling in the retinue of either the Count of Suffolk or the Duke of Burgundy. It is also likely that Binchois' contemporary, Dufay, who also traveled extensively (throughout France, Italy and Burgundy) came into contact either with Dunstable himself or with other composers who had felt his disseminated influence. In any case, this same treatment of dissonance also appears to a certain extent in the works of Binchois and to an even greater degree in the music of his younger contemporaries.

If we examine the works of Grenon, Fontaine and Vide, we find many chansons in which the composers have treated dissonance in the same haphazard manner as did the English musicians of the pre-Dunstable (or, for that matter, pre-Burgundian) era. However, there are many chansons among the works of these same composers that show the "pan-consonant style of writing," as Bukofzer has called it.[12] In the following example from Vide's "Il m'est si grief"[13] we find both prepared and unprepared suspensions, the former being a characteristic of the contemporary English style, the latter of the Burgundian technique. Measures 29-32 are unusual because of the dissonance exhibited by a non-chord tone appearing in one voice against the consonant

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[12]Bukofzer uses the term "pan-consonant" as meaning "all consonant"; i.e., all voices are in a consonant relation to each other.

[13]Published in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 21.

resolution of either a prepared or unprepared suspension in another voice.[14]

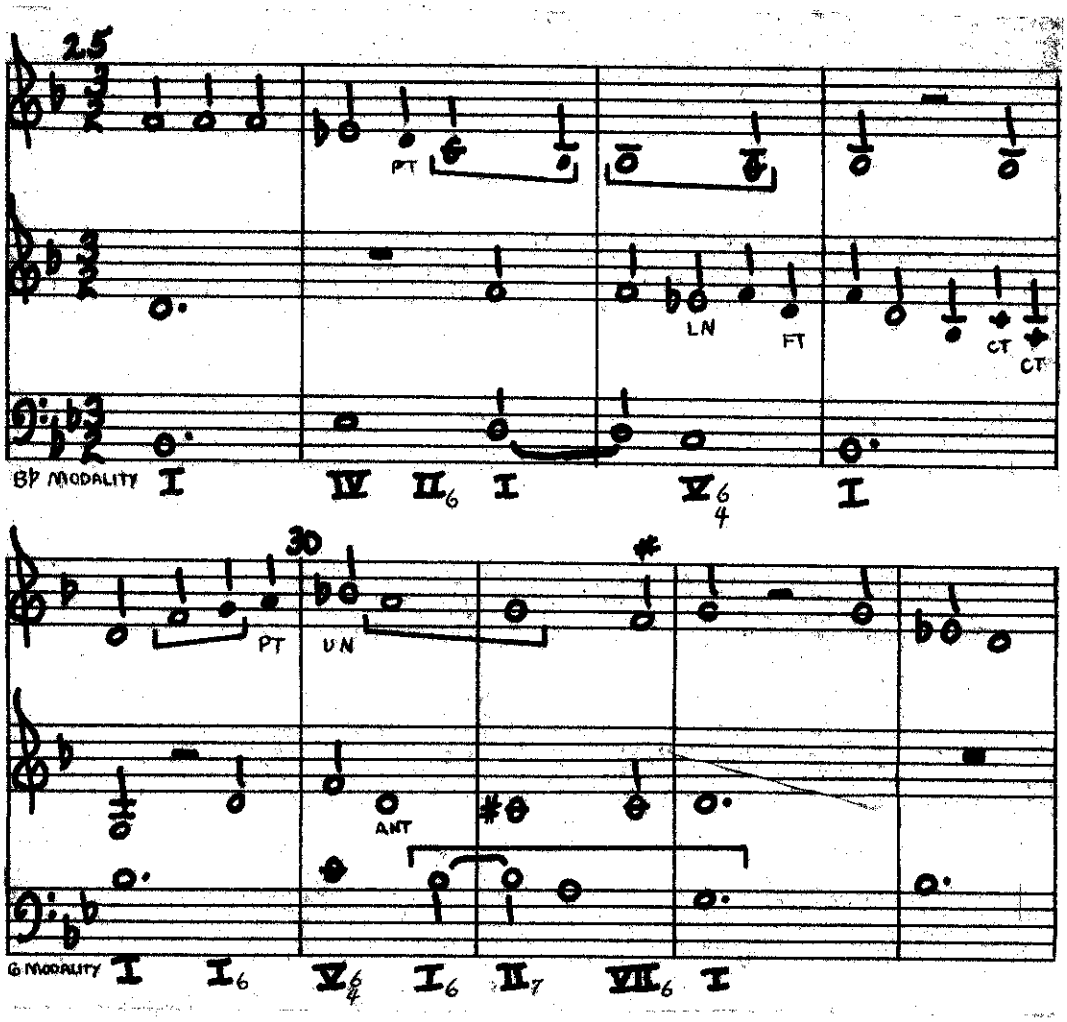

Fig. 15.--Early Burgundian treatment of dissonance

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[14]The following abbreviations are used: = preparation (if any), suspension and resolution; ct = changing tone; pt = passing tone; ft = free tone; e = escape tone; ln = lower neighbor; un = upper neighbor; ant = anticipation. Terminology after McHose, The Contrapuntal Technique of the 17th and 18th Centuries.

In measure 27 of the above example we find an early but correct use of the passing six-four chord, i.e. $I_6 - V_4^6 - I$. From such examples as the above Stainer[15] concluded that the six-four chord was of Burgundian origin. He says:

> The second inversion of the common chord has generally been considered of modern growth, but it is of frequent occurrence [in the Burgundian works], sometimes preceded by preparation, as if discordant, at others, without preparation.[16]

It is obvious that the six-four combination was common at this time; however, it is hardly justifiable to assume that it was considered the second inversion of the common chord. Haydon,[17] who has made a study of the development of chords through the cadence formulas, concludes that

> even the presence of a relatively large number of these accented unprepared six-four chords in the music of Dufay and his contemporaries is scarcely sufficient ground for reaching the conclusion that the six-four chord in its modern sense was consciously used by the composers of that period. . . .[18]

This suddenly arising caution in the treatment of dissonance becomes more apparent in the works of Binchois, Morton and Hayne. It will be noticed in Figure 16, taken

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[15]Stainer, Dufay and his Contemporaries.

[16]Ibid., p. 38.

[17]Glen Haydon, The Evolution of the Six-four Chord.

[18]Ibid., p. 20.

from Binchois' "Adieu jusque je vous revoye,"[19] that all suspensions are considered discordant and are preceded by preparation, although the preparation in measure 24 is embellished.

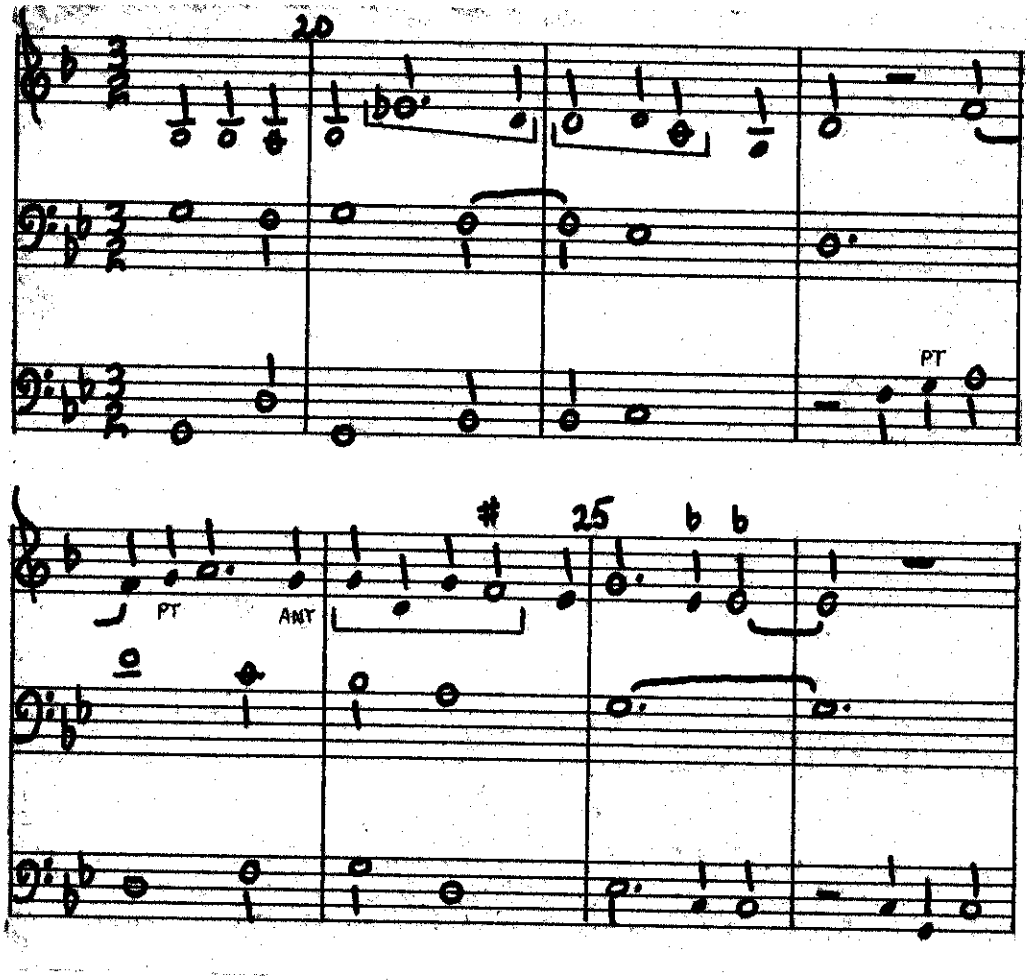

Fig. 16.--Suspensions considered as discordant and preceded by preparation.

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[19]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 27.

Another factor of English music which influenced French composers was the full sonorities obtained through the use of chords in their first inversion. These sixth-chords are usually encountered in the clausulae[20] of these Burgundian chansons. Although sixth-chords were not unknown in medieval music of the continent, they had not been emphasized as strongly or used as persistently in series or chains as they had been in England. French composers received fresh stimulus from contemporary English musicians; therefore the sonority obtained by use of chords in their first inversion was a matter of increased emphasis only. Most theorists writing on the subject of sixth-chords sanctioned the maximum use of no more than three successive chords in this style; however, some of the Burgundian composers overstep this rule[21] as shown in Fig. 17 from Binchois' "Toutes mes joyes sont estaintes:"[22]

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[20]Clausulae is here used to denote the cadential formulas of fifteenth-century music.

[21]Bush, op. cit., p. 95.

[22]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 79.

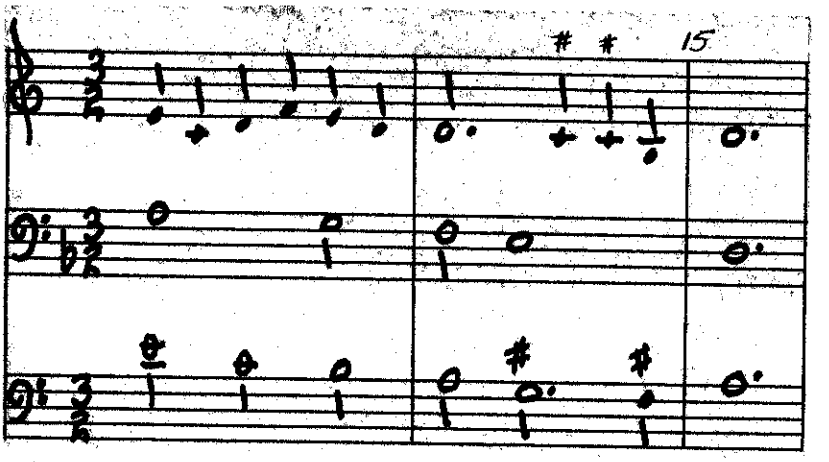

Fig. 17.--The English sixth-chord style as found in some Burgundian chansons.

This style of writing in which a sixth appears between the outer voices and a fourth between the two upper voices was not to become an established technique of writing in France as it already had in England. By the third quarter of the fifteenth century we find another manner of composition, the very antithesis of the sixth-chord style, becoming popular: a method of composition in which the outer voices produce tenths, therefore diminishing the possibility of fourths occurring between the upper voices. Marix[23] noted this change without, however, giving any reasons for it when she said, "the rugged passages in open fourths . . . which had been characteristic of the older

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[23]Marix, "Hayne," Les Musiciens, p. 287.

music, were now on the wane." Hewitt,[24] speaking of the next generation of composers, finds an extended use of parallel tenths between outer voices in the instrumental tricinium. She says, "the use of like melodies in both outer voices in absolute parallelism in tenths" is a device characteristic of instrumental writing in this period.[25] In nearly all of the compositions of our youngest composer, Hayne, we find extended sections in which the outer voices form tenths. It would seem that such passages represent a recognized method of composition which calls for tenths, either consecutively or on the principle beats, between the outer voices.

It was not by chance that fourths were disappearing at the time, for Guillielmus Monachus, theorist of the late fifteenth century, describes in some detail a method of composition in which tenths are to be found between the outer voices. These, in turn, make specific consonances with the tenor. Monachus says:

> Write a good-sounding tenor in long notes, i.e. a separate and nondiminished part, and if you wish, make the contratenor bassus under the tenor as diminished as you wish, and make your superius diminished like the contratenor bassus, and observe that almost all the consonances between the contratenor bassus and the superius be tenths.
>
> Also take care that the consonances between the tenor and the lowest contratenor bassus be these:

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[24] Hewitt, Odhecaton A, p. 81. [25] Ibid.

> octave, fifth, sixth, or third. The penultimate concord is always to be a fifth and the antepenultimate concord a third or an octave.
>
> Also note that in this style you may first write the superius, which may form these consonances above the tenor: octave, sixth, fifth, or third. But the penultimate concord must always be a sixth and the last concord an octave. . . .[26]

Hayne's "Gentil gallans"[27] is an excellent example of the manner in which composers followed the rules laid down by Monachus, especially the rule concerning tenths in the outer voices.

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[26]Guillielmus Monachus, "De preceptis artis musice et pratice compendiosus libellus." Scriptores III, p. 298.

"Fac tenorem bene intonantem grossum, hoc est diminutum et non disjunctum, et fac, si velis, contratenorem bassum subtus tenorem ita diminutum sicut volueris, et fac suprnaum tuum diminutum sicut contratenorem bassum, et fac quod consonantie contratenoris bassi cum suprano suo sint quasi omnes decime.

Item nota quod consonantie contratenoris bassi cum tenore sunt iste, scilicet: octava, quinta, sexta et tertia bassa; ita quod penultima concordii sit semper quinta bassa, et antepenultima sit tertia bassa vel octave bassa.

Item nota quod in isto modo tu potes facere supranum primum tenendo istas consonantias, scilicet: octavam, sextam, quintam, tertiam altam; sed quod penultima concordii sit semper sexta, ultima vero sit octavo. . . ."

English translation after Charles Warren Fox, "Non-Quartal Harmony in the Renaissance," Musical Quarterly, XXXIII, (1945), p. 42.

[27]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 110.

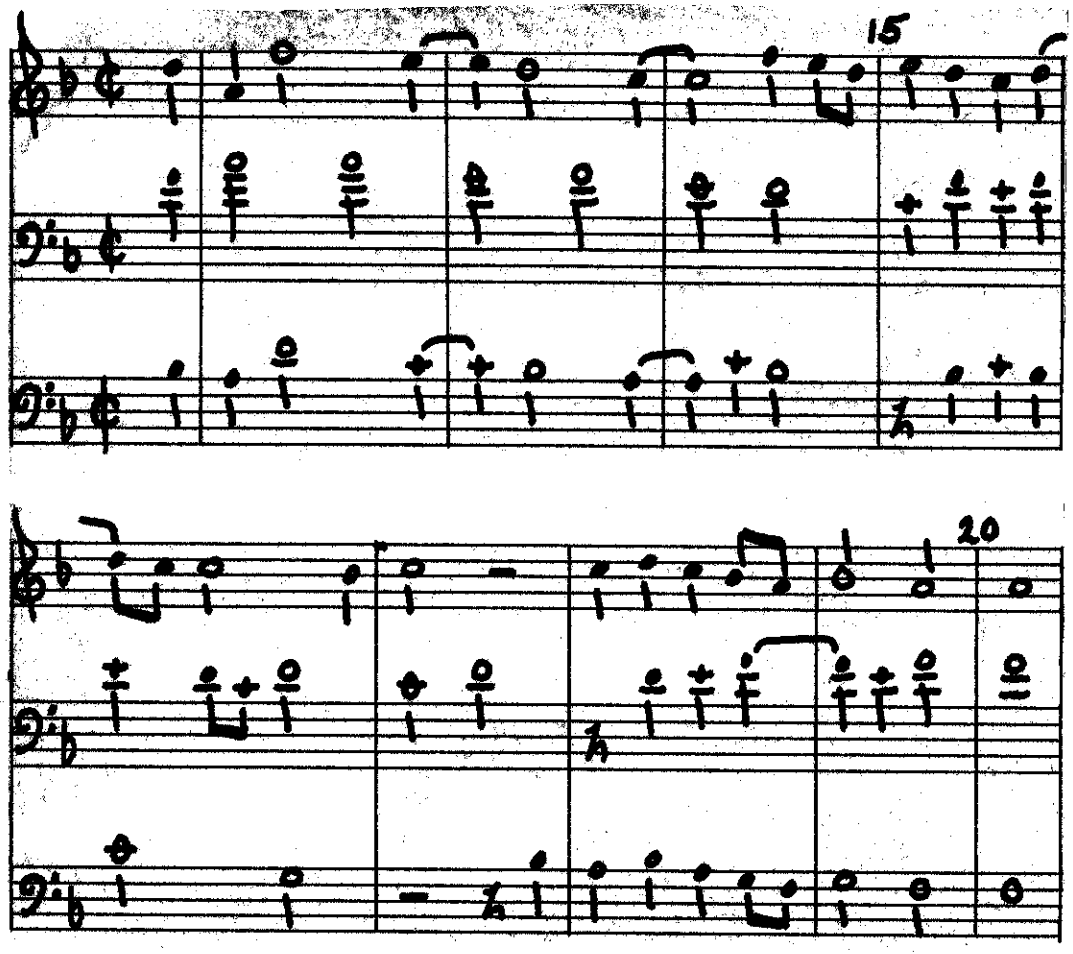

Fig. 18.--Late Burgundian method of composition in which tenths appear in the outer voices.

By the end of the fifteenth century this style had become an accepted manner of composition. Gafurius speaks of it also and names several composers who follow this method in their writing:

> There has been instituted a very famous procedure in counterpoint, in which the notes of the bass move in tenths with those of the superius, the

> tenor moving in concord with both other parts. Tinctoris . . . Compere [et al] follow this procedure.[28]

As can be seen from the above quotations from Gafurius and Monachus, this "very famous procedure" had a far-reaching effect harmonically, for its rules dictated that each of the three voices had to be consonant in relation to each of the two remaining voices; it might be stressed here that the interval of the fourth as an essential interval[29] was disallowed in this particular method of composing and was therefore treated as a dissonance. Charles Warren Fox has pointed out that the first inversions of triads can, in this style, appear only in open position but never in closed, and he brings forward many compositions which support this statement and which are

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[28]Gafurius, Practica musice (1496), fol. e e i i recto. English translation after Reese, Music of the Renaissance, p. 179.

[29]In common practice the term "essential" has been applied to those combinations which were allowed to enter and proceed freely, i.e. without special preparation and resolution, and the term "unessential" to those combinations which required special treatment with regard to the manner in which they were approached or quitted. In short, a fourth that does not constitute an element in the harmonic progression and one that can be considered a non-harmonic tone is an unessential fourth.

clearly examples of the sort of writing these theorists describe.[30]

In the early Organum a great many compositions consisted of a progression of two voices in parallel fourths; however, when composers began to write in three parts the fourth was preferred in that position in which the fifth occurred above the lowest voice and the fourth between the two upper voices. In the early fifteenth century it was established that the fourth should be used as a consonant interval only in this relation. During the third quarter of the fifteenth century, as is apparent in certain works of Joye, Morton and Hayne, one style of writing became current in which the fourth was not used, exception being made at cadences. Fox has labeled the harmonic basis of this style of writing "Non-Quartal Harmony." In his investigations Fox found that the works employing "Non-Quartal Harmony" did occasionally show a fourth between upper parts; in his opinion composers were striving to attain an ideal (i.e. of no fourths), yet at times perhaps found this ideal difficult of attainment. It would appear, however, that the style described by

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[30]Credit for the discovery of works which fulfill the requirements laid down by Monachus must be given to Fox who has presented his findings in his valuable article on "Non-Quartal Harmony," a study which has been of great assistance to the present writer in his approach to the harmonic schemes employed by the Burgundian composers.

Monachus and Gafurius was not purely a matter of theory but of rather widespread practice even if it has not at all times been perfectly realized.

Compositions in the "Non-Quartal Style" appeared only after 1460 and none of our compositions by the earlier composers--Grenon, Vide, Fontaine or Binchois--are in this style. It will be noted that in the works of these early fifteenth-century composers the superius and the tenor usually form a satisfactory duet; likewise the tenor and contratenor form a correct, if uninteresting, duet. However, because of the frequent bold dissonances, usually a perfect fourth, the superius and contratenor alone cannot be considered proper counterpoint, thereby nullifying its possibility as a duet.

On the other hand, in many of the compositions of our later composers, Joye, Constans, Morton and Hayne, consonances are so regulated that any two voices (i.e. superius and tenor, tenor and contra, or superius and contra) may be combined and will form a duet which fulfills all the rules of contemporary counterpoint.[31] There are some compositions among this group of composers that do contain a few essential fourths, usually at cadence points. Among

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[31]The author has refrained from giving any statistics regarding this subject since it is at times questionable whether a fourth is to be regarded as an essential or an unessential tone.

these are Hayne's "Mon souvenir," "Amours," "De tous biens" and Joye's "Non pas." The beginning of Morton's "Est temps"[32] is given below as an example of a composition in which all parts are in a consonant relation to each other.

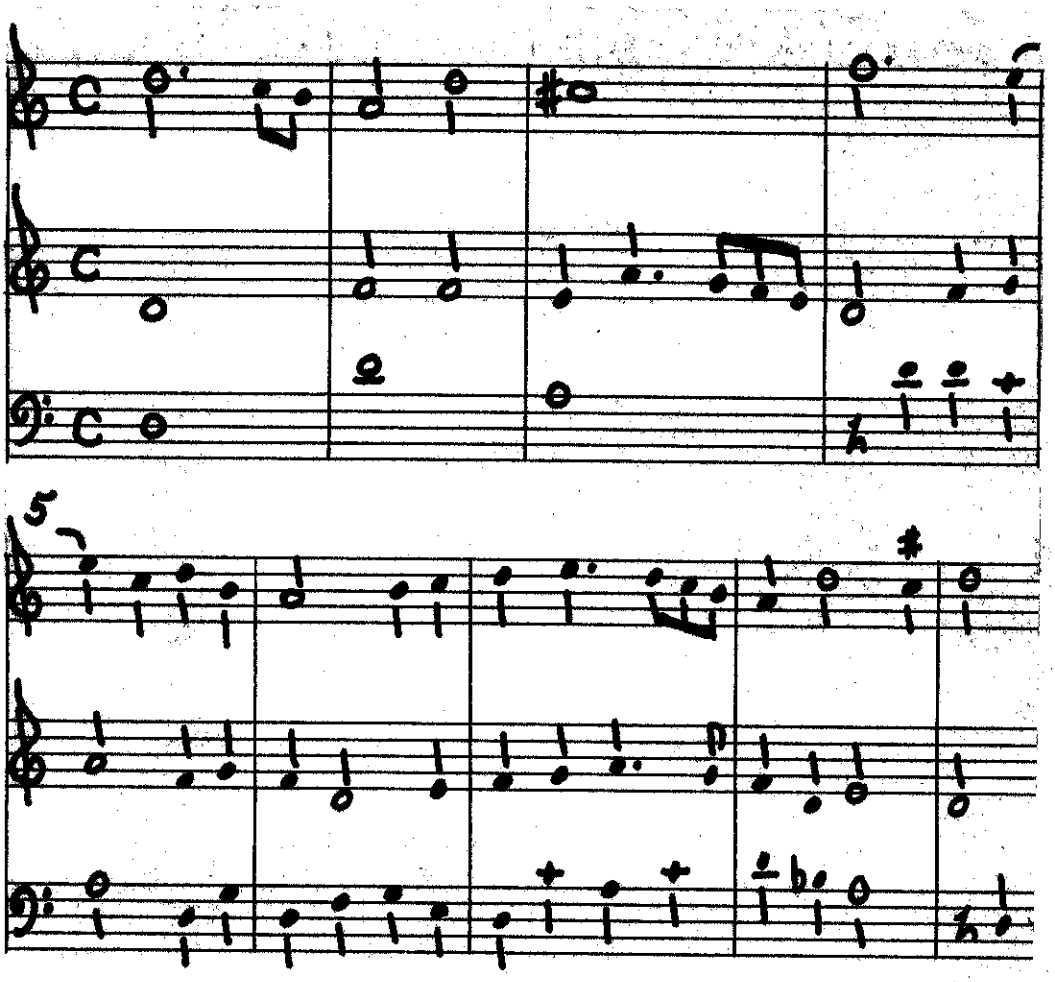

Fig. 19.--"Non-Quartal Harmony" as found in some late Burgundian chansons.

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[32]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 95.

Compositions with a si placet voice show many essential fourths between the added voice and the original three voices. While it might seem that this would be a justifiable criterion for determining whether a four-part chanson not labeled si placet had been originally a three-part composition, this would not necessarily be true since it seems in the nature of four-part writing that fourths must occasionally appear between the two highest parts; however, if one ignored the altus and found that the remaining three parts fulfilled the conditions laid down by Monachus and discussed here, then one might draw the conclusion that this altus had been added later.

The "Non-Quartal Style" brought about certain cadential harmonic implications. In the early fifteenth century the universal cadential formula was a VII_6 (or II) progression from a penultimate to a final I chord, with the final chord containing the vertical sonorous combination of a fifth and octave (such as c g c'). It is clear that it was impossible to maintain the "Non-Quartal Principle" if this clausula was used since the final chord would contain an unessential (unresolved) fourth between the two upper voices. In the final cadence of Grenon's "Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amée"[33] we see the cadential formula of

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[33]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 7.

VII_6-I with the final chord showing a fifth and an octave combination.

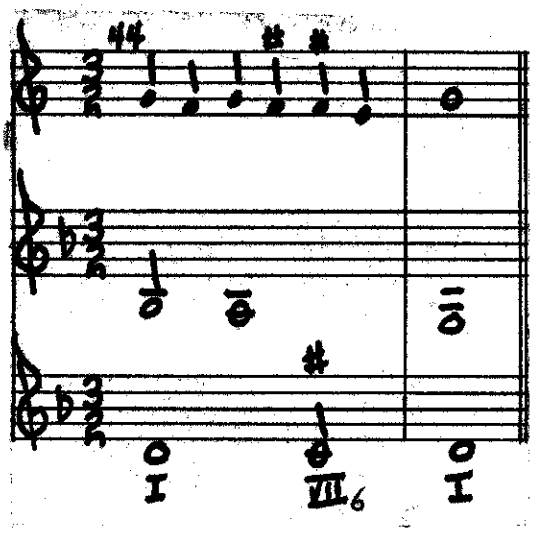

Fig. 20.--Early Burgundian VII_6-I clausula with fifth and octave in final chord.

In the above illustration we find an example of the melodic "cadence of the lower third" (German: "Unter terz Kadenz"), commonly (and erroneously) called the "Landini cadence." In this the superius descends from the tonic through the leading-tone to the "third below" and then from this leaps up a minor third to the final chord-tone. This type of cadence exists in the works of Landini's French contemporary, Machaut, as well as in those of the other Italian composers. Binchois usually chose to use this same cadence; however, he replaces the VII or II in the pen-ultimate chord with a V, as in the final cadence of

"Helas que poray je."[34] In the "cadence of the lower third" both leading-tone and sixth of the scale are harmonic with the other voices; where Binchois substitutes a V for these other chords, the "third below" (sixth of the scale) becomes non-harmonic with the lowest voice and its leap upward to the tonic becomes all the more remarkable.

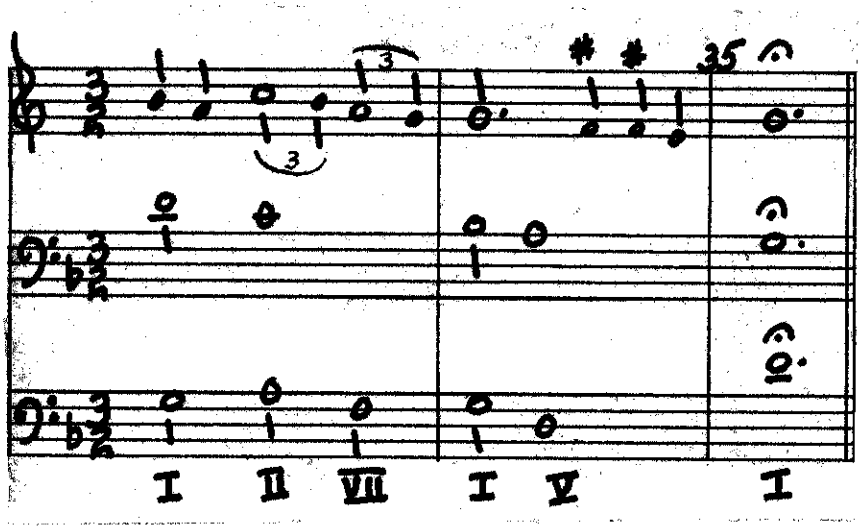

Fig. 21.--V-I clausula with fifth and octave in final chord.

With the advent of the V-I cadence the composers were faced with the problem of avoiding parallel fifths between the final chords. Their principal method of avoiding them is by crossing the tenor and contratenor so that, in the

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[34]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 48.

score at least, the two voices do not progress in parallel motion from one fifth to another.[35]

When the "Non-Quartal Style" came into vogue the final chords involving only unisons or octaves (such as C-c-c') became common. This type of ending marked a harmonic decline from the point of view of sonority rather than an advance from the c-g-c' type. However, it brought about a melodic improvement in that the contratenor leaps only a fifth down (or a fourth up) from the penultimate chord to the final chord;[36] in that the contra now sounds the root of the tonic chord, a step forward has also been made towards the cadential progression later to become normal. The final cadence of Joye's "Non pas"[37] has been chosen as an early example of the V-I progression in which the

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[35]Note the characteristic fifteenth-century treatment in Fig. 21 where the bass skips an octave to the fifth of the final chord. Haydon, op. cit., p. 17, states, "such examples . . . deal a severe blow to the theory that the music of the fifteenth century is merely an association of melodies and the harmonies are incidental by-products. Surely such a part would not be written for the beauty of the melodic line (in the construction of which wide skips were generally avoided . . .). No, this and similar examples show quite positively that the harmonic attitude was strongly developed."

[36]Hewitt, op. cit., p. 20, has pointed out that forty-five of the forty-nine three-part compositions in the Odhecaton A bring all three voices to a close on the final of the mode.

[37]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 88.

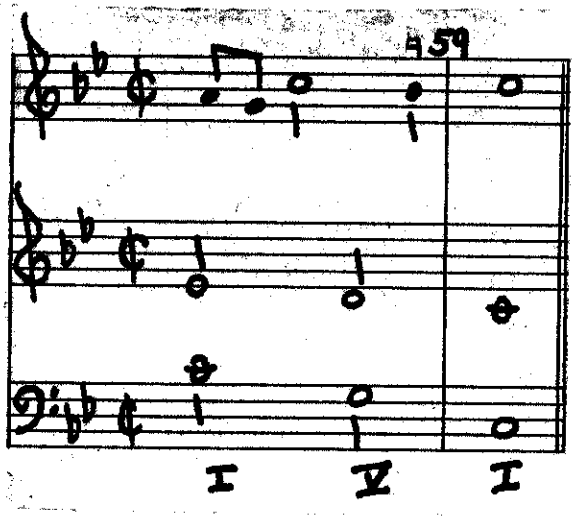

Fig. 22.--Early V-I harmonic progression with contratenor leaping down a fifth to final.

contratenor leaps down a fifth to the final. These V-I progressions, which first appeared in the cadences of these Burgundian compositions, were gradually incorporated into the body of the compositions and thereby evolved a technique dependent upon the bass.

One of the most important cadential characteristics of the late Burgundian compositions is the "drive to the cadence." Our younger composers, Joye, Constans, Morton and Hayne, often built up tension toward the end of a piece, creating a feeling of expectancy of the final chord. This "drive to the cadence," as the phenomenon has been called, was achieved by stepping up the melodic pace and the harmonic rhythm, by increasing the contrapuntal complexity or by combining these features to produce an effect of

stretto. The final cadence of Hayne's "Penser en vous"[38] illustrates this "drive to the cadence" in that the melodic motion is accelerated from halves, quarters and sometimes eighths to eighths and sixteenths. The pace of the harmonic rhythm is also increased.

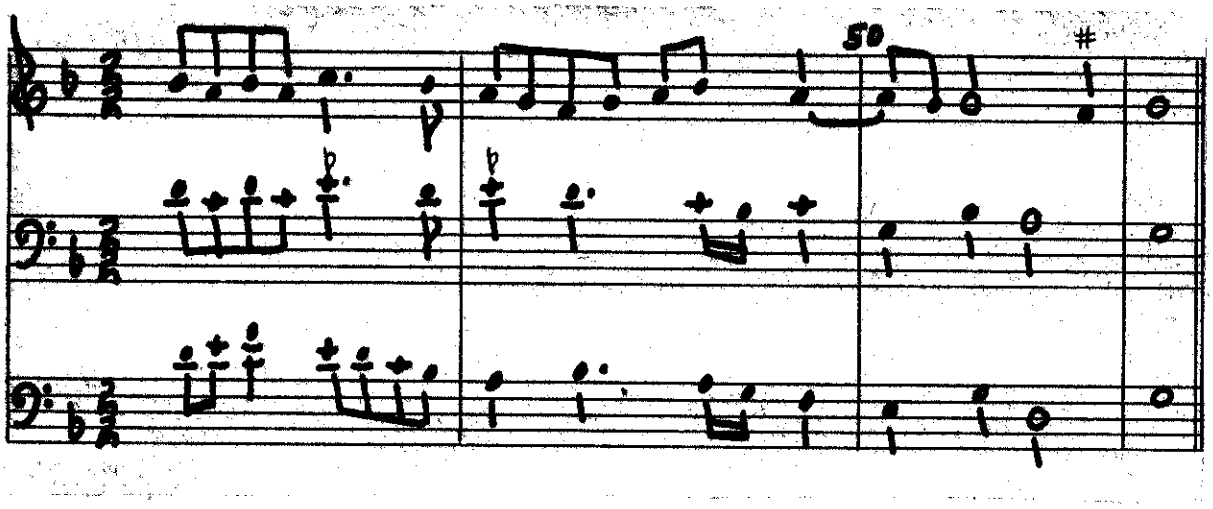

Fig. 23.--"Drive to the cadence"

It is not likely that this type of ending is of Burgundian origin. It seems to have begun with Ockeghem and to have become a characteristic of the composers of his generation and to have reached perfection with Josquin. It is likely that Hayne used this formula only in his latest works.

Although the inclusion of the third of the triad in a final cadential chord within a composition is of common

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[38]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 122.

occurrence, its appearance in the last chord of the entire composition is quite consistently avoided. Only one of the ninety-five compositions studied here, Binchois' "Bien puist,"[39] shows the third of the triad in the final chord. In this case the contratenor instead of leaping up an octave to the fifth of the triad, leaps up a major sixth to the third. Hewitt[40] has stated:

> The appearance of the 3rd in final chords of compositions is actually something new in the history of musical composition. Composers throughout the Middle Ages have consistently exhibited a preference for the indeterminate root and 5th. While this practice still persists in some degree after 1500, sixteenth-century writing shows many complete final chords in contrast to fifteenth-century composition in which they are of rare occurrence.

Apel[41] has gone so far as to say "that prior to 1500, the third was not admitted in the final chord." It is true that a preference was shown for the root and fifth in the final chord of compositions from the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. However, there are numerous examples from the music of the fifteenth century and even earlier which include the third in the final chord. Machabey[42] claims that examples of the third in the final chord can be found

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[39]Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 39.

[40]Hewitt, op. cit., p. 22.

[41]Apel, "Third," Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 744.

[42]Machabey, Histoire et evolution des formules musicales du Ier au XVe siecle, p. 215.

as early as the thirteenth century. Indeed, he states that a hundred years before the time of Philippe de Vitry several composers ended their motets with a third or sixth. The third in the final chord became more frequent in the thirteenth century when Adam de la Halle ended compositions with chords of three sounds.[43] A more recent study made by Bush[44] has borne out these claims. Her findings relating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are as follows:

> Total number of examined chords composed by 15th-century composers, through Obrecht, equals 393; out of this number, 37 include third in chord. Thus slightly over 9% of final chords use third. Total number of examined chords composed in first quarter of 16th century equals 664; out of this number, 284 include third in chord. Thus, approximately 43% of final chords use third.[45]

Monachus, the fifteenth-century theorist, among his rules for the placement of concords (the vertical aspect!) mentions the possibility of ending compositions with either a third or a unison:

> And note that concerning the composition of four voices or with four voices above a certain cantus firmus, or above a certain cantus figuratus, you

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[43] Bush, op. cit., p. 6.

[44] Ibid., p. 138.

[45] Ibid. In spite of these early attempts at sonority in the final chord, the earliest known cadence fulfilling all the requirements of what we today term a "perfect cadence"--even to the inclusion of a third in the final chord--is used by Machaut at the end of the ballade "Il m'est avis."

> always place the contratenor bassus a fifth below the tenor in the penultimate chord. In order that in the antepenultimate chord it may be a third below and that in the chord preceding this it may be in a fifth below, the principal or first note should be a unison (i.e. unison between contratenor bassus and tenor) and the last of the concords should be either a unison or an octave. The supranus indeed should always be a sixth above the tenor in its penultimate chord so that the end of the concords may always be an octave above the tenor. And the first note in like manner should be an octave, the remaining notes, however, should always be a sixth. The altus, on the contrary, should always be a fourth above the tenor in the penultimate chord (and) in order that in the antepenultimate chord it may be a third above, let it be a fourth above in the chord before that, so that the last (interval between the altus and tenor) may always be a third above or a unison, or an octave below, and the first notes in a like manner. . . .[46]

From the foregoing musical and theoretical evidences we can safely state that the third in the final chord, a common idiom in the sixteenth-century music, was used prior to this period, the preference remaining however "for the indeterminate root and fifth."

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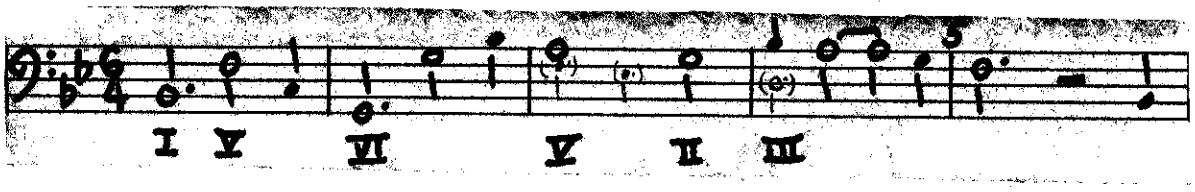
[46]Guillelmus Monachus, "De praeceptis artis musicae et practicae compeniosus livellus. Coussemaker, op. cit., III, 295. English translation after Bush, op. cit., pp.211-212.

"Et nota quod circa compositionem quatuor vocum sive cum quatuor vocibus supra quemlibet cantum firmum, sive supra quemlibet cantum figuratum facias quod contratenor bassus semper teneat quintam bassam in penultima concordii. Item quod antepenultima sit tertia bassa, et illa que est antepenultima sit quinta, ita quod principium sive prima nota sit unisonus et ultima concordii et jam unisonus vel octava bassa. Supranus vero semper teneat suam penultimam sextam altam supra tenorem, ita quod finis concordii sit semper octava alta supra tenorem. Et prima nota partier etiam sit octava, relique autem notule sint semper sexte. Contra vero altus semper faciat suam penultimam quartam supra tenorem, ita quod antepenultima sit quarta, et antecedens sit semper tertia, ita quod ultima sit semper tertia, ita quod ultima sit semper tertia alta vel unisonus, vel octava bassa, et prima notula pariter. . . ."

Several of the chansons show strong harmonic implications in the movement of the contratenor. It has already been stated that the contratenor was, in the early fifteenth century, merely a "filling-in part." Fontaine's "Pour vous tenir" may be taken as an exception to the case of the contratenor being merely a "filling-in part," since it performs the harmonic function of a real bass line. To the modern ear the true harmonic properties implied by this bass line are not upheld by the other voices, mainly because of the lack of proper cadences. The contratenor of Fontaine's "Pour vous tenir"[47] will be given as an early example of a contratenor performing the harmonic function of a bass-line by leaping up a fourth or down a fifth in dominant to tonic progressions.



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[47] Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, p. 13.

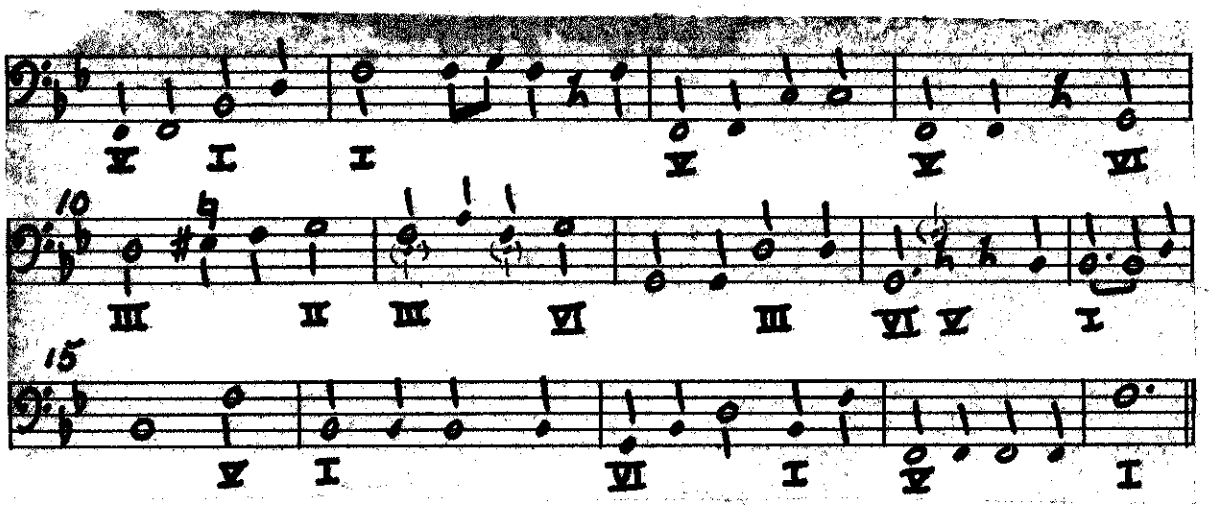

Fig. 24.--Early example of a contretenor performing the harmonic function of a bass line.

In concluding our study of certain aspects of the harmony of these Burgundian composers, it may be stated that in general the "seeds of harmonic propriety" which were sown during the time of Dunstable continued to germinate in the works of the Burgundians and considerable progress was made towards the modern sense of euphony in the combination of several parts. Because of the restrictions placed by the Burgunidans on the treatment of dissonance and because of the clarification they brought to it, it became the privilege of the generation of Josquin to ripen these seeds and bring to full bloom the "principle

of harmonic propriety, which alone renders possible the construction of sentences conveying a clear and distinct musical intention . . . the most essential motive of musical means and methods."[48]

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[48] H. E. Wooldridge, The Polyphonic Period, Vol. II, Oxford History of Music, edited by Sir Henry Hadow (7 vols.), p. 86.

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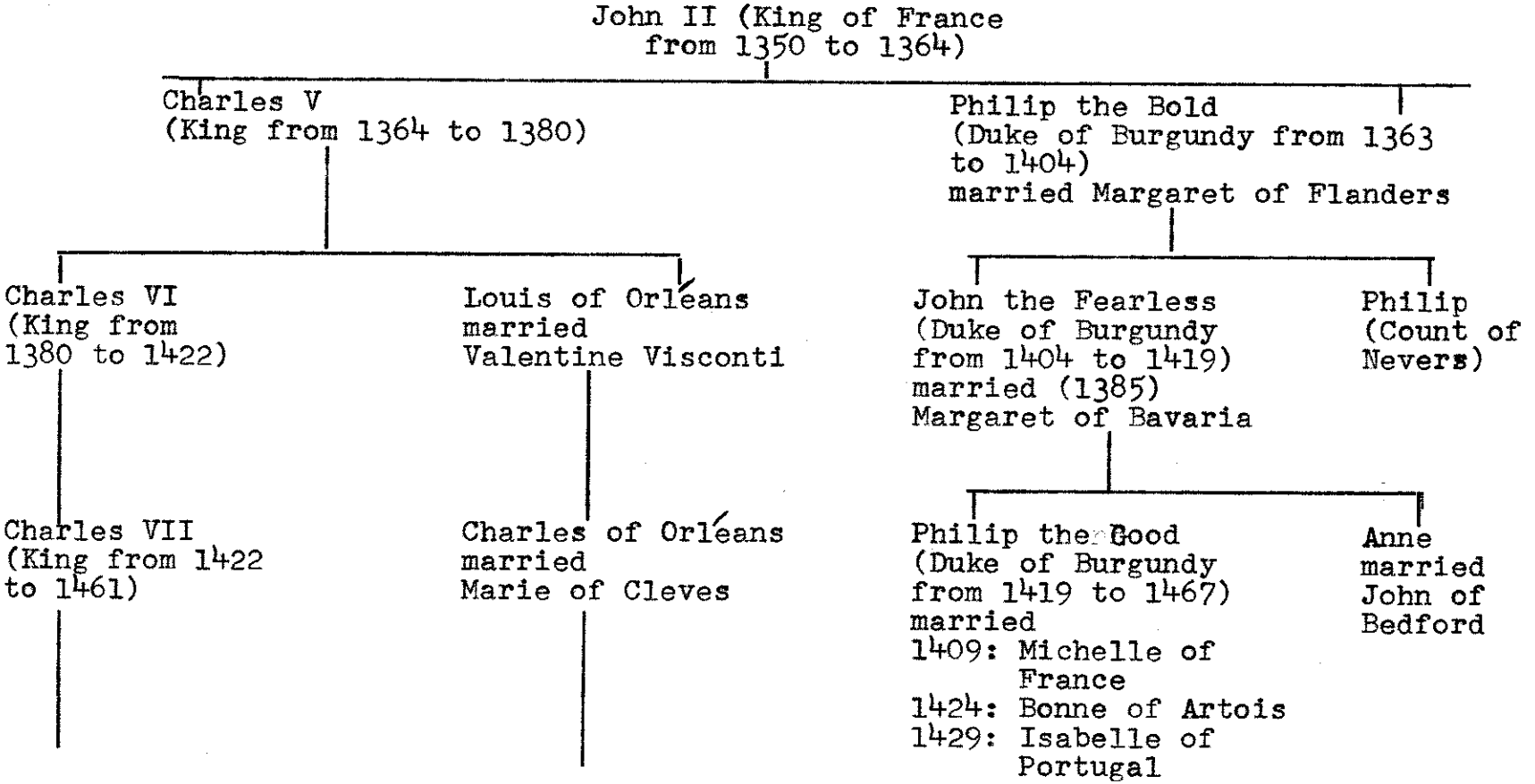
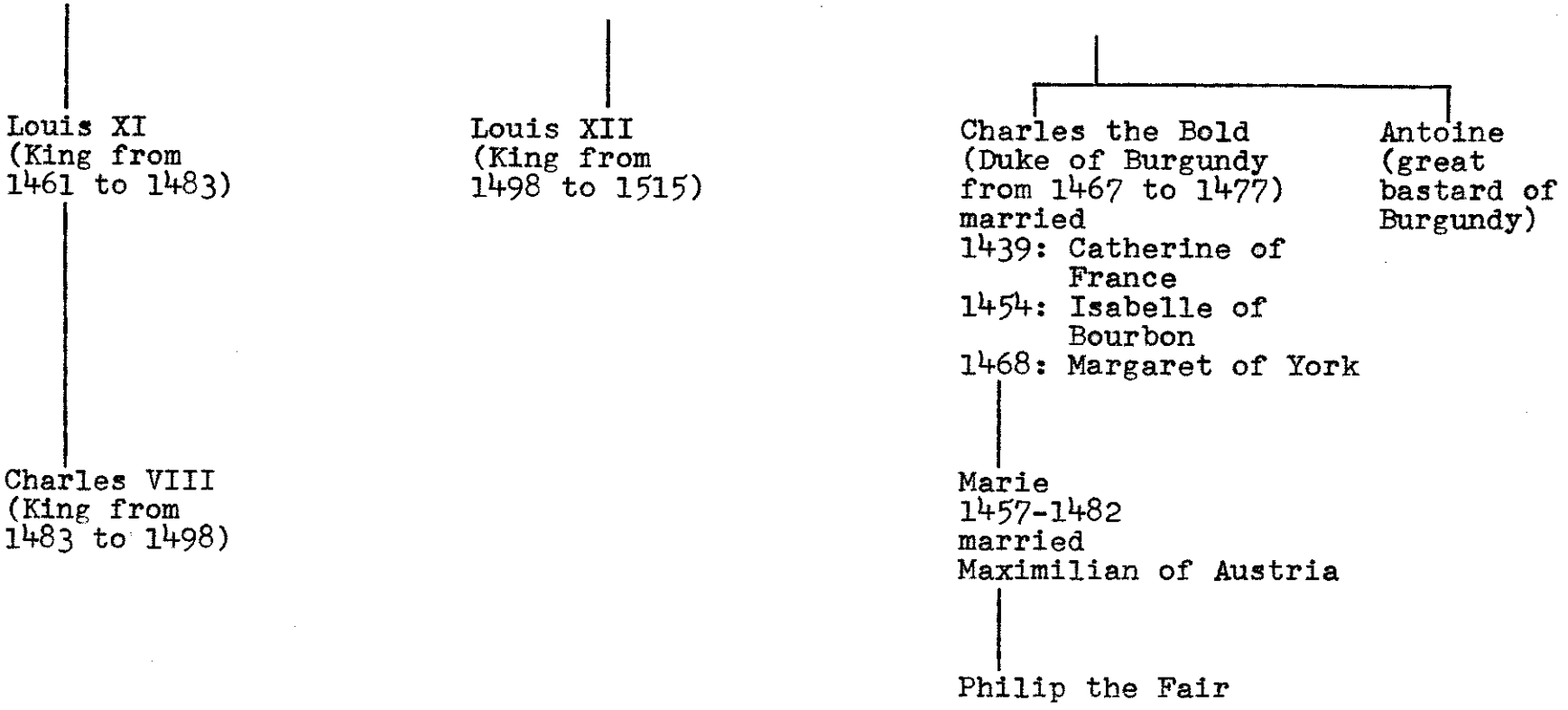
APPENDIX I

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY




Louis XI
(King from
1461 to 1483)
Charles VIII
(King from
1483 to 1498)
Louis XII
(King from
1498 to 1515)
Charles the Bold
(Duke of Burgundy
from 1467 to 1477)
married
1439: Catherine of
France
1454: Isabelle of
Bourbon
1468: Margaret of York
Antoine
(great
bastard of
Burgundy)
Marie
1457-1482
married
Maximilian of Austria
Philip the Fair

APPENDIX II

List of Compositions and Their Source

The subsequent list consists of: first, the composers in their chronological order; second, the composers' compositions listed alphabetically by incipit; third, the modern published sources.

Abbreviations

DTOe . . . . Adler and Koller, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol. VII
BesEP. . . . Besseler, "Die Entstehung der Posaune," Acta Musicologica, XXII (1950), 8-35
BesMR. . . . Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance
HAM. . . . . Davison and Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, Vol. I
DrozT. . . . Droz, Trois chansonniers français du XVe siècle
HeOdh. . . . Hewitt, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A
JeKop. . . . Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier
MarixM . . . Marix, Les Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle (1420-1467)
SchG . . . . Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen
WolfM. . . . Wolf, Music of Earlier Times
WoolP. . . . Wooldridge, The Polyphonic Period

Composer	Composition	Source	
Grenon	Je ne requier	MarixM	p. 1
		WolfM	p. 33
"	Je suy defait	BesMR	p. 192
"	Las plus belle	MarixM	p. 4
"	La plus jolie	MarixM	p. 6
"	Se je vous ay	MarixM	p. 7
Fontaine	A son plaisir	MarixM	p. 9
"	J'aime bien	BesEP	p. 35
"	Mon cuer pleure	MarixM	p. 10
"	Pastourelle	MarixM	p. 12
"	Pour vous tenir	MarixM	p. 13
"	Sans faire de vous	MarixM	p. 14
Vide	Amans doubles	MarixM	p. 17
"	Espoir m'est venu	MarixM	p. 20
"	Et c'est assez	MarixM	p. 19
"	Il m'est si grief	MarixM	p. 21
"	Las! j'ay perdu	MarixM	p. 23
"	Puisque je n'ay plus	MarixM	p. 24
"	Vit encore ce faux dangier	MarixM	p. 26
Binchois	Adieu jusques je	MarixM	p. 27
"	Adieu ma doulce	MarixM	p. 29
"	Adieu m'amour	MarixM	p. 30
"	Adieu mes tres belles amours	MarixM	p. 31
"	Adieu mon amoureuse	DTO^{e}	p. 241
"	Amoreux suy	MarixM	p. 33
"	Amours et qu'as tu enpense	MarixM	p. 34
"	Amours et souvenir	MarixM	p. 36
"	Ay; douloureux disant	MarixM	p. 37
"	Bien puist	MarixM	p. 39
"	C'est assez	MarixM	p. 40
"	De plus en plus	SchG	p. 36
		HAM	p. 74
"	Deul angouisseux	DTO^{e}	p. 242
"	En regardant	MarixM	p. 41
"	En sera il mieux	MarixM	p. 43
"	Esclave puist-il	BesMR	p. 196
		MarixM	p. 44
"	Files a marier	HAM	p. 74
		MarixM	p. 46
"	Helas que poray je	MarixM	p. 48
"	J'ay tant de deul	MarixM	p. 49
"	Je loe amours	MarixM	p. 52
"	Je ne fai tousjours	MarixM	p. 54
"	Je ne poroye	MarixM	p. 55
"	La merchi	MarixM	p. 57

Composer	Composition	Source	
Binchois	L'ami de ma dame	DTO^{e}	p. 244
"	Les tres'doulx yeus	MarixM	p. 58
"	Lyesse m'a mande salut	DTO^{e}	p. 255
"	Ma dame que j'aime	MarixM	p. 60
"	Ma leese a changie	MarixM	p. 61
"	Mesdisans m'ont cuidie	MarixM	p. 63
"	Mon cuer chante	MarixM	p. 65
"	Mon doulx espoir	MarixM	p. 66
"	Mon seul et souverain pl plaisir	MarixM	p. 67
"	Mort en merchy	MarixM	p. 69
"	Pour prison ne pour maladie	MarixM	p. 69
"	Qui veut mesdire	MarixM	p. 71
"	Quoyque dangier	MarixM	p. 73
"	Rendre me vieng	MarixM	p. 74
"	Se je souspire	MarixM	p. 76
"	Se j'eusse	DTO^{e}	p. 245
"	Se la Belle	DTO^{e}	p. 246
"	Seule esgaree	MarixM	p. 77
"	Suis venu	MarixM	p. 129*
"	Toutes me joyes	MarixM	p. 79
"	Tristre plaisir	WoolP	p. 46
"	Vostre alee	MarixM	p. 81
Joye	Non pas	MarixM	p. 87
"		MarixM	p. 89**
Constans		MarixM	p. 90**
"		MarixM	p. 59**
Morton	Est temps	MarixM	p. 95
"	L'omme arme	MarixM	p. 96
"	La perontina	MarixM	p. 97
"	Le souvenir de vous	JeKop	p. 37
"	Mon bien ma joyeux	MarixM	p. 98
"	N'arige jamaix mieulx	JeKop	p. 4
"		MarixM	p. 93**
"		MarixM	p. 94**

*Attributed to Hayne by Marix, Les Musiciens; see Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century," Musical Quarterly, XXVIII (1942), 17.

**Printed without text or incipits.

Composer	Composition	Source	
Hayne	A la audienche	MarixM	p. 100
		HeOdh	p. 411
"	Ales regres	HeOdh	p. 341
"	Amours amours	HeOdh	p. 231
		DTO^{e}	p. 257
"	Ce n'est pas jeu	MarixM	p. 103
"	De quatre nuys	MarixM	p. 105
"	De tous biens plaine	HeOdh	p. 263
		JeKop	p. 7
		DrozT	p. 20
"	De vous amer	MarixM	p. 106