

## READING LABORDE

### *The Significance of Johannes Ockeghem's chansons in the context of the Chansonnier Laborde<sup>1</sup>*

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THE CHANSONS of Johannes Ockeghem hold a central position in the composition of the chansonnier *Laborde*.<sup>2</sup> No less than nine of its attributable chansons are Ockeghem's.<sup>3</sup> Thus not only is almost half of Ockeghem's chanson œuvre (ca 19 chansons) to be found in *Laborde*, more than in any other contemporary source,<sup>4</sup> but he is also together with Busnois (eight chansons) and Hayne van Ghizeghem (eight chansons) the predomi-

1 This paper is an extract from my book *Das Chansonnier Laborde - Studien zur Intertextualität einer Liederhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Quellen und Studien zur Musikgeschichte von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart Bd. 36 (Basel, 1997).

2 Washington D. C., Library of Congress, Ms. M.2.1 L25, Case.

3 *Ma maistresse, D'ung aultre amer, Ma bouche rit, La despourveue, Il ne m'enchault, Presque transi, Fors seulement, Les desleaulx ont la saison, Je n'ay dueil* (in the order of their appearance in *Laborde*). *Il ne m'enchault* is an unicum in *Laborde*. For further details and analyses of these and other chansons of Ockeghem, cf. by this author *Die Chansons Johannes Ockeghems - Ästhetik des musikalischen Raumes*, Neue Heidelberger Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft Bd. 19 (Laaber, 1992).

4 Especially the sources related to *Laborde*, which I will call, according to the research by Paula Higgins and others, "Loire Chansonniers", because they probably all originated in the Loire valley and were connected somehow to the French royal court: *Nivelle, Copenhague, Dijon* and *Wolfenbüttel*. The latter source is the most closely connected to *Laborde*.

nant composer of *Laborde*. This holds true not only for the mere quantity, but also for the placement of his chansons: their relation to other pieces show clearly their significant position in the grouping of the first part of *Laborde*. This leads immediately to the question: what were the criteria for the placement of the chansons in general? Were the chansonniers mere anthologies, grouped in historical sections according to the generations of composers, as one might suppose reading editorial commentaries and publications concerning our repertory? Astonishingly, nobody has, to my knowledge, yet considered formal and thematic aspects of the chanson texts as criteria for the specific grouping of the pieces. Even a superficial overview of the sequence of the first verses (whose emblematic significance has been shown frequently, especially for the process of quotation) shows the importance of this textual aspect. Thus the side-by-side placement of *Tant moins en ay* and *Tant plus mef-force<sup>5</sup>* or *La despourveue* and *De tous tous biens plaine<sup>6</sup>* is certainly an important hint about the reasonning of the 'editor(s)'<sup>7</sup> in the placement of the pieces. But this is but one feature. Poetic form, rhyme, topoi, musical quotation, musical modes, relation between composers, etc. are used to form 'chapters', little dialogues in the 'novel' chansonnier. In this context the illuminations of the chansonnier gain a new quality. Yes, they are ornaments, but in a rhetorical sense. The little figures are figures of speech.<sup>8</sup> A chansonnier of the fif-

5 f.45'-46 and 46'-47.

6 f. 61'-62 and 62'-63.

7 We do not know for certain who, how many and which professionals or other people were involved in the conception and set-up of any of the Loire-Chansonniers. I will call these unknown people 'editor' or 'compilator' in the singular, although there could have been (and this is even probable) several of them.

8 Until recently I myself thought of the illuminations as unrelated, standardised patterns produced by the workshops without direct regard of the pieces. A closer examination showed, at least for the first group analysed in the following, the contrary. *Ave regina* shows, as a unique feature in *Laborde*, a man and a woman *together* in one letter, the man folding his hands in prayer and looking to the side, the woman looking prudishly downwards. Nevertheless, the closeness of the two bodies carries an erotic message under the pious surface. In *Ma maistresse* the same man and the same woman (they have the exact same clothing, the woman wearing in addition a fashionable *buppe*) look towards each other from opposite pages, the woman having the same downcast look as in *Ave regina*. In the second part of this bergerette the man points with his finger at the woman. This is correlated to the direct speech in this text part. In *Tout a par moy* a different couple is shown. The man finds himself under a dark canopy, his eyes downcast and seemingly in mourning. This is a quite striking extension of the text's *topos* of

teenth century is not in the first place a musical collection for musical execution (nobody has ever corrected the mistakes which made this execution impossible!) It is a literary work of art, in which the single pieces are not single, closed works of art, grouped loosely and by chance. Their grouping creates an intertextual potential for the reader which can change the content and meaning of the single works, and the editor created this potential.

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absenting and mourning. The woman looks away from him and is obviously 'absent' as well. The couple of *Ma maistresse* returns in *Helas m'amour*. It is an interesting variation of the second part of Ockeghem's bergerette. The man is again pointing at the woman but looks in a different direction. As the *contrafactum* text opens with the same exclamation as in *Ma maistresse*, this is clearly a hint to this piece. The gesture and composure of the man are those of an accusation. His suffering is underlined by a serpent biting a tree (possibly the tree of temptation). *Nul ne l'a telle* is illustrated with a man alone, hinting at the absent woman. He is framed by two serpents kissing or biting each other. The happy mood of this chanson is underscored by a naked putto illustrating the second part of this bergerette. *Recours d'onour* is the first chanson without an illustration with people. On the other hand it shows the richest ornamentation of the whole chansonnier. Flowers, animals, birds, etc. are almost overwhelming. As this piece might be a secret dedication to Ockeghem the seemingly unmotivated outburst of ornamentation acquires a new sense. It is quite remarkable that another of the only four pieces in *Laborde* with a complete ornamental frame around the verso page is by Ockeghem (*Ma bouche rit*), the others being the anonymous *L'enquerant* (which I think is a piece by Busnois, as *Recours d'onour*) and Dufay's *Se la face ay pale*. Finally, *Je le scay bien* shows a funny commentary to a seemingly desperate piece. Two male, nude putti imitate a loving couple, the one standing and the other kneeling down towards his 'mistress'. This illustration is unique in *Laborde* and can be understood as a parody. As the whole first group somehow is a commentary and a parody of *Ma maistresse*, this is a quite fitting closure of the first group of pieces!

- 9 The chansonnier *Nivelle de la Chaussée* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmc. Ms. 57) has not yet been edited but is available as a facsimile edition (Paula HIGGINS, ed.: *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée*, Geneva, 1984). The chansonnier Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 517 is still awaiting a complete and modern edition. Apart from PLAMENAC'S facsimile edition the partial edition of DROZ, ROKSETH and THIBAULT (*Trois Chansonniers français du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1927; reprint New York, 1978) is hardly usable and Charles E. BARRET'S edition ('The Dijon Chansonnier; Contents, Forms, Transcriptions', Masters Thesis, University of Louisville 1964) is not generally available. JEPPESEN'S famous and meritable edition of the chansonnier Copenhagen (*Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier: Das Manuskript Thott 2918 der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1927; reprint New York, 1965) is now outdated as well and would need updating. Finally, the chansonnier *Wolfenbüttel* has been edited by Martella GUTIÉRREZ-

Paula Higgins has convincingly shown that *Laborde* is part of a group of chansonniers (*Nivelle*, *Copenhague*, *Dijon*, *Wolfenbüttel*)<sup>9</sup> that is not 'Burgundian' (as earlier thought) but originating in the Loire valley and probably closely connected to the king's court in Tours. The important and central position of Ockeghem's pieces in *Laborde* makes it highly likely that it was created for some personality, if not the king himself, at this court. In any case, the addressee must have been well aware of the aesthetic ambiance in which the texts and their music originated. Some of the texts strongly suggest that they were created interdependently, e.g. as question and answer. The grouping in *Laborde* suggests moreover, that their music was conceived as an extension and intensification of this literary exchange.

One of the most striking examples for the thoughtful and careful placement of the pieces in *Laborde* is the opening sequence of pieces. It consists of the opening motet and six chansons. All six chansons of this group share a common *topos*, formulated by a male voice: seeing or not being able to see the mistress. These pieces are related modally, they are all in the F-mode with one significant exception, Frye's *Tout a par moy*. This very example clearly shows the modal consciousness of the compilator. The theme of the text is absenting and the cult of solitude of a man mourning the loss of his beloved mistress. The modal contrast of the G-dorian general mode of *Tout a par moy* with the surrounding pieces in F intensifies the textual symbol which is itself already present through a tension between the A-phrygian beginning and G-dorian overall mode in the piece itself. It may be noted that the few pieces of the repertory in the transposed dorian mode which begin in D-A and end in G all have a strong *affectus tristitiae*.

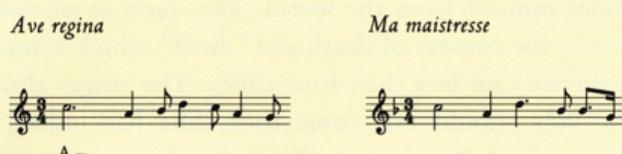
The opening motet of *Laborde* and of the closely connected *Wolfenbüttel* chansonnier,<sup>10</sup> Frye's *Ave regina*, exposes in its text the central quality not only of the virgin Mary, but also of any ideal woman in the repertory of the fifteenth century: the lily and the rose, symbols of virginity and beauty. The motet is no mere opening prayer for the addressee, transmitted through Mary ("funde preces", says the text<sup>11</sup>), it serves as a contrast to the following piece,

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DENHOF (*Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Musikalische Denkmäler Bd. X, Mainz 1988). Unfortunately the very few text analyses of this edition are highly unsatisfactory.

<sup>10</sup> Of the first thirty pieces in *Laborde* which have any concordance at all, only three do not have a concordance with *Wolfenbüttel*.

<sup>11</sup> For the texts cf. Appendix 1.

EXAMPLE I, *Ave regina*, *Ma maistresse*, opening formulas

Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*. The praised virginity is "la mortelle ennemye" of the singer's desire in *Ma maistresse*. Both pieces are musically related not only through their common mode, but through the opening formula in the superius. As general as this allusion might seem, I have not found a single other example of a similar beginning in the whole chanson repertory. The position of this melodic formula in the opening phrase is sufficient to convert it to a kind of catalytical point of quotation which functions in the same way as a shared rhyme or a quotation of a single word in an opening verse.

The following chanson *Ma maistresse* is the central piece of the first group. It has direct relations with *Helas m'amour*, *Nul ne l'a telle* and *Recours d'honneur*. Two text variants of *Laborde* create a relation to the opening motet: "et ma plus que ault amye" instead of "plus grant amye" in Wolfenbüttel and, even more distinctly, "Doubtant que priere soit endormie" instead of "pitie soit endormie" in all other sources. The perfect qualities of the lady are the very reason for her unattainability, which makes the singer suffer. As the virgin Mary is the prime example of such a woman, the exchange of "pitie" and "priere" creates a parodic link between both pieces and extends the character of the opening motet as well.

The text of Frye's *Tout a par moy* is closely related to *Ma maistresse*. The most striking features in this respect are so called 'formal'. For the *rhetoriqueurs* these were the most essential ones, more essential than the text content. The formal features are the musical *valeurs* of the texts and as such not different from musical motifs, cadences and rhythms. To link two texts by their rhyme or their poetical form was no different from linking them through musical quotation. In our case the links are particularly close: both texts are *cinquain decasyllabe* (although the one is a bergerette and the other a rondeau) and share the -ie and -oye rhymes. In taking the -oye rhyme as its first rhyme, *Tout a par moy* functions as if it were a follow-up of *Ma maistresse*. The

rhymes suggest a dialogue between both pieces. The *topos* of not being able to see the lady in *Ma maistresse* evolves in *Tout a par moy* to the image of the singer who hides himself from the world "afin quon ne me voye". "Regretz" and "occye" evoke the context of death and "duel", which is mentioned (not counting the refrain) no less than four times. The singer threatens to kill himself if the lady should not come back. She has indeed become the "mortelle ennemye" of *Ma maistresse*. Interestingly enough, *Wolfenbüttel* and *Nivelle* present a completely different second strophe with the variant:

Et fussiez vous plus fort mon ennemye:  
Et non pourtant se mourir en devoye  
En la poursuite de vous servir ma ioye  
Navez paour qua iamais vous oublie  
Et fussiez vous plus fort mon ennemye  
Car cest mon sort quil fault que vostre soye.

Although the word "ennemye" would have made a closer relation to the rhyme word in *Ma maistresse*, the editor of *Laborde* changed the content of the second strophe, because the *topos* of 'loyal service' until death was not fitting at all in the context of the first group of chansons in *Laborde*. It is highly likely that the editor knew the *Wolfenbüttel* version, because the first part of *Laborde* is very closely related to this source. The singer in *Laborde* is near death because of the separation from his beloved. This separation has become a definite loss ("car iay perdu").

The conscious and careful changes in the texts of otherwise famous chansons goes even further in the next chanson, Caron's *Helas que pourra devenir*, changed to *Helas m'amour ma tres parfete amye* in *Laborde*. Again, this version is unique to *Laborde* and shows clearly that the editor wanted to establish a close link to Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*. The new version is one of the most striking examples of a textual *contrafactum* in our repertory. Obviously it was more important that the new text create a relation to *Ma maistresse* than that it fit the music, because the verses not only grew from octosyllabe to decasyllabe (as *Ma maistresse*) but the strophes became *quatrain* instead of *cinquain*! Moreover, the new text provides once more the -ye rhyme en chaining the refrain of *Tout a par moy* and *Helas m'amour*. The rhymes of the original text *Helas que pourra devenir* would not have met this task (the second rhyme being -ise). Through the *contrafactum* character the main topoi of the first group are restated and intensified. Even more fascinating are the musical relations to both *Ma maistresse* and *Ave regina*.

The openings of *Ave regina* and *Helas m'amour* bear the same striking resemblance as *Ave regina* and *Ma maistresse*.<sup>12</sup> But whereas Ockeghem paraphrases Frye's superius and the sequence of the harmony F-a-c g-b'-d, Caron is intrigued by the imitation of the falling third and the opening falling chord in Frye's tenor.

EXAMPLE 2, *Ave regina* and *Helas m'amour*, openings

The image shows two staves of musical notation side-by-side. The left staff, labeled 'Ave regina', is in common time (indicated by a 'C') and has a treble clef. It consists of three lines of music. The first line starts with a quarter note 'F' followed by eighth notes 'A' and 'C'. The second line starts with a quarter note 'G' followed by eighth notes 'B' and 'D'. The third line starts with a quarter note 'A' followed by eighth notes 'C' and 'E'. The right staff, labeled 'Helas m'amour', is also in common time with a treble clef. It has three lines of music. The first line starts with a quarter note 'F' followed by eighth notes 'A' and 'C'. The second line starts with a quarter note 'G' followed by eighth notes 'B' and 'D'. The third line starts with a quarter note 'A' followed by eighth notes 'C' and 'E'. The notation is identical to the 'Ave regina' staff.

I am convinced that Caron knew both pieces and that he may have composed *Helas m'amour* specifically with both pieces in mind. The quotation of *Ma maistresse* is even more obvious. The second phrase of *Helas m'amour* opens with an imitation a fifth below, the exact same constellation as in *Ma maistresse*. The falling third c"-a' is ostentatiously repeated before the triad d"-bflat'-g'. At this very point the imitation becomes a *fuga ad minimam*. Could Caron have already thought of Ockeghem as a master of canonic devices and hinted at him with a very skilful passage?

EXAMPLE 3, CARON, *Helas m'amour*

The image shows a single staff of musical notation in common time with a treble clef. The staff is divided into three sections by vertical bar lines. The first section is labeled 'Im. 5ta b.' (Imitation 5th bass). The second section is labeled 'ad minimam'. The third section continues the pattern. The notation consists of sixteenth-note patterns, primarily consisting of eighth-note pairs (eighth-note followed by a sixteenth-note) and sixteenth-note chords.

12 For the beginnings of the first seven pieces of *Laborde*, cf. Appendix 2

The phrase after the middle pause exposes again the harmonic sequence of *Ma maistresse* in a very striking imitation which has a clear hinting quality: the beginning of *Ma maistresse* is so particular not only because of its harmony and the simultaneous imitation but because of its rhythmic layout as well. Caron must have thought of this rhythmic feature in this passage of *Helas m'amour*.<sup>13</sup>

EXAMPLE 4, *Ma maistresse* (bar 1), *Helas m'amour* (bar 31)

The image contains two musical staves side-by-side. The left staff is labeled "Ma maistresse" and has a measure number "1" above it. It features a single melodic line in common time, with a basso continuo line below it. The right staff is labeled "Helas m'amour" and has a measure number "31" above it. It also features a single melodic line in common time, with a basso continuo line below it. Both staves begin with a forte dynamic.

The next piece of the first group, Basiron's *Nul ne l'a telle sa maistresse*, could have been composed for *Laborde* as well. This bergerette includes textual and musical references to *Ma maistresse*. The clearest reference is naturally the first verse with the mentioning of "maistresse" and the *topos* of her uniqueness (because of the later mentioned "biens dont elle a grant largesse", compared to "parfaicte en biens" in *Ma maistresse*). The *topos* of seeing is mentioned in different ways. First there is the mentioning of uniqueness again in "Je ne vis oncques la pareille", a quotation of the famous Binchois song (we will discuss this later). Then there is an implicit enticing of the lady to let the singer see her, "Car plus la voy plus mesmerveille". Another hint at *Ma maistresse* is the mentioning of her "grant bruit" which the singer wants to spread through the singing of his song, by the way one of the most charming thematical ideas and reasonings for the intensification of poetry through music. A very interesting relation is created with the probably original text of Caron's *Helas m'amour*, "Helas que pourra devenir". In both texts the object "cœur" is put in an enjambement: "Nul ne l'a telle sa maistresse / mon cœur" and "Helas que pourra devenir / mon cœur". This means that

13 One can conceive of the beginning of *Ma maistresse* as a mensural canon.

## EXAMPLE 5

a) Johannes Ockeghem, *Ma maistresse*b) Basiron, *Nul ne l'a telle*EXAMPLE 6, *Ma maistresse*

a) Basiron, m. 15



b) Ockeghem, m. 7



Caron's original text was present in the mind of the editor or even the text author of *Nul ne l'a telle*. As a whole the text can be considered as a textual variation of *Ma maistresse*, using allusions to two other chansons. This is all the more likely as the music uses material from this song.

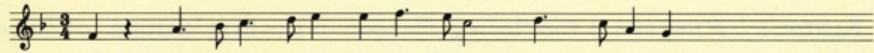
The beginning once again exposes the harmonic sequence of *Ma maistresse*, using simultaneously but in exchanged voices the falling thirds  $c'-a$  and  $f'-d'$ . The tenor has the rising fourth from the countertenor of *Ma maistresse*. Ockeghem's superius is somewhat hidden but clearly present in the countertenor which functions as middle voice in the beginning. The end of the superius appears in the superius of *Nul ne l'a telle*, using the same cadence as Ockeghem. The third phrase exposes the beginning motive of Ockeghem's second phrase; moreover, it contains a token part of the famous sequence in *Ma maistresse*. The second parts of both bergerettes start with the same homophonic rhythm. Moreover, there is another imitative allusion in this part. What is more, Basiron quotes in this passage Binchois' *Je ne vis oncques la pareille*. This could well be a hint at the composer considered to be Ockeghem's teacher. Finally, *Nul ne l'a telle* contains a closing sequence similar to the one in Caron's *Helas m'amour*, which has the same rhythm as the sequence of *Ma maistresse!* If we now consider the fact that Basiron was

## EXAMPLE 7

## EXAMPLE 8

Caron	Basiron

## EXAMPLE 9

*Recours d'onneur*, m. 16*Ma maistresse*, m. 43

employed in the Sainte Chapelle in Bourges, an institution closely connected with the royal court and especially with Johannes Ockeghem, the quotations become a very important clue to the origin of *Laborde*. As Paula Higgins has shown, Ockeghem visited Bourges on November 6, 1462. Louis XI's residence in Bourges from December 28, 1466 to February 20, 1467 may well have been an occasion for the creation of the chansonnier *Laborde*.<sup>14</sup>

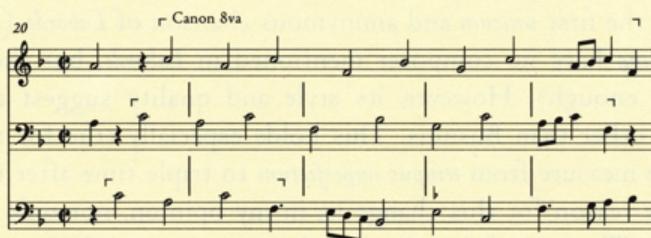
*Recours d'onneur* is the first *unicum* and anonymous chanson of *Laborde* (*Ma maistresse* and *Ave regina* have no composer mentioned in *Laborde*, but these pieces were famous enough). However, its style and quality suggest the authorship of none other than Busnois. This holds especially true for the idea of changing the measure from *tempus imperfectum* to triple time after the middle cadence. The reason for this change is, in my opinion, not only an original musical idea. The text of this chanson does not seem to deliver any reason for such a strong musical device. Only in the context of quotation of the first group of *Laborde* does this make great sense. Again the refrain creates a link to *Ma maistresse*, enchaining an -esse rhyme with "Nul ne l'a telle" and mentioning "ma maistresse" in the fourth verse of the refrain. In this context, the phrase "Don't be displeased if I call you my mistress" acquires a new sense. If the chanson is by Busnois, he may ask his master to allow him

<sup>14</sup> Paula HIGGINS, 'Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers: The Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges', *Acta Musicologica*, LXII/1 (1990), pp. 1-28.

not only to call Ockeghem his master (without getting angry to be called this in a female gender!) but, what is more, to make a musical allusion to his master's famous chanson *Ma maistresse* (see Example 9). Moreover it creates a link to the similar passage of *Nul ne l'a telle*. The change of measure is a hint at the *tempus perfectum* of *Ma maistresse*. If the assumption of an inherent dedication is true, the text of the refrain takes another turn of sense. "You are the source of honour and happiness, to whom everybody has to come back". How true this is for many composers of *Laborde*, especially for Busnois and Basiron! The first strophe hints once more at the impossibility of seeing the maistresse. Couldn't it be a hint at the separation of Busnois and Ockeghem after the years of apprenticeship in Tours? In any case, the chanson is, in mode, style and text closely related to the other chansons of this group.

Basiron's *Je le scay bien* is the closing chanson of the first 'chapter' of *Laborde*. The following chansons are clearly different in every respect and form a new group with the *topos* of 'loyal service'. *Je le scay bien* is, as are its two predecessors, a *quatrain octosyllabe* text. It speaks retrospectively of events which are "twenty years past" and still cause pain. Again the text is centered around this very day when the singer saw his lady for the first time. The *topos* of seeing

## EXAMPLE 10

*Je le scay bien*, m. 20

and the mentioning of "tant de deuil" (see the text in Appendix 1) create the relations to the other texts of this group. The mentioning of "nostre dame" may create a link to the opening motet *Ave regina*. Apart from the mode, there is no clear musical relation to any of the other chansons of the group. However, the long passages of syllabic diction in repeated notes remind one of a similar passage in *Ma maistresse*. There is quite a striking passage of imitation in the second half which may be understood as a hint at this chanson (there is the falling third *c-a* but the following harmony is not *g-bflat-d* but

*eflat-g-bflat) and at the passage in Caron's *Helas m'amour*: The frequent play with the triad f-a-c may recall the opening motet as well.*

Looking over the chansons of the first group in *Laborde*, a story can be constructed. It is not necessarily a linear one but is as 'spatial' as the combination of text and music in one single chanson. It is, to use my own expression, a kaleidoscopic story. A man is torn between the admiration of a woman with the typical qualities of the virgin Mary (*Ave regina*) and his carnal desire, a 'mortal' conflict (*Ma maistresse*). The *topos* of mourning is developed in *Tout a par moy*, the singer weeps in a self chosen loneliness. In a *contrafactum* of *Ma maistresse*, the singer threatens and implores his lady with the perspective of his own death, creating a link to her quality of mortelle ennemye. The singer tries to find comfort in a dialogue with his heart, reflecting on the perfect qualities of the lady (*Nul ne l'a telle*). He may find consolation through "incessantly" singing the fame of the lady instead of incessantly lamenting. The singing brings almost charming and tender thoughts in his mind, the utopia of reaching her grace as a ship reaches a harbour (*Recours d'onour*). Finally, the singer looks back after twenty years, imploring the virgin Mary and the lady to grant him peace and to heal the wound caused the very day when he saw his lady for the first time.

The structure of the beginning of *Laborde* opens new perspectives not only to the specific historical background of this chansonnier, but to the analysis and understanding of the peculiar concept of a work of art in such a context. I think it highly likely that composers of the generation of pupils (such as Basiron) of this *maistre et bon pere* compiled this songbook for the French court, honoring its famous *maistre de chapelle* and mighty treasurer through variations on *Ma maistresse* and other chansons of his.

The first group of chansons in *Laborde* is but one example of Ockeghem's significance in the compilation of *Laborde*. The following is a brief summary of the relations between Ockeghem's chansons and other 'chapters' of the 'novel' *Laborde*.

*D'un autre amer* has very close textual relations to the other chansons of its group, *Non pas que je veuille* and *Se mieulx ne vient*, the one developing the *topos* of unchangeability of the singer's feelings, the other being a mock chanson of this very *topos* ("I'll only stick to my lady if nothing better comes along").

*Ma bouche rit* is put together with the famous *J'ay pris amours a ma devise* which has close musical relations through its mode, musical diction and a quotation. Both chansons might have a common compositorial origin.

The group from folio 59' is dedicated to diverse goddesses. Its opening chanson, *O belle dyane* contains a quotation of *Ma maistresse*. The following chanson, Ockeghem's *La despourveue* is an antithesis to Ghizeghem's *De tous biens pleine est ma maistresse* (on the one hand loss, on the other abundance). The closing chanson *Je le prens sur ma conscience* musically quotes *De tous biens pleine*. I think it highly likely that this chanson and *O belle dyane* were composed for *Laborde*.

Caron's *Le despourveu* (folio 72') has a textual link to *La despourveue*.

Ockeghem's *Il ne m'enchaunt* shares its text topoi and poetical form with Convert's *Ma plus ma mignonne*. Interestingly enough, this chanson also contains a musical quotation of Dufays *Ma plus mignonne de mon cuer*.

*Les desloyalles* (folio 80') is, similar to Caron's *Helas m'amour*, a textual and musical *contrafactum* of Ockeghem's *Les desloyaux*. The following chanson is Ockeghem's *Presque trainsi*. Thus this whole group is again an 'Ockeghem chapter' in *Laborde*. Another parody of *Les desloyaux* is to be found later in *Les desleaulx sont en leur saison mis* (folio 91').

The chapter from folio 84' is a 'mourning group'. Three of the five chansons of this group have in their second refrain verse the words "ma maistresse", two of them as a rhyme word. *J'ay moins de bien* and *Jamais si bien* are related through their musical assonance and text contents. The placing of Delahaye's *Mort j'appelle* in this group may be another hint at the close relation of this composer with Ockeghem.

A further hint in this direction is to be found in Delahaye's *O dieu d'amours* whose third refrain verse is "Celuy dont je fuz maistresse" and which contains a musical allusion to this chanson. In *Nivelle*, *O dieu d'amours* is coupled with Busnois' *Ma damoiselle ma maistresse*!

A very close relation unites Ockeghem's *Fors seulement* with Busnois' *Joye me fuit*. They share poetical form and rhyme scheme and contain musical paraphrases of each other.<sup>15</sup> Although they are coupled in *Dijon* as well, *Laborde* contains some singular text variants of *Joye me fuit* which are directly attributable to the text of *Fors seulement*.

*Les desloyaux* is part of a group developing the *topos* of 'loyal service'. It has the particularity that its text is a political parody of this *topos*. Again, *Laborde* offers a unique text variant, exposing the political background even

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<sup>15</sup> It is more likely, though, that Busnois quotes Ockeghem.

stronger than in other versions. As we find so many chansons connected to this chanson in *Laborde*, they may contain a hint concerning the background of the origins of our chansonnier.

As the original plans for the chansons with four voices were only realised rudimentarily, Ockeghem's four part chanson *Je n'ay dueil* stands isolated. Nevertheless, at the bottom of folio 121 we find the first text verse of *Je ne demande aultre degré*, a chanson by Busnois. Both composers may have been, alongside with Basiron and Caron, instrumental for the compilation of this unique chansonnier.

### Appendix I

**I. Ave regina celorum**

Mater regis angelorum  
O Maria flos virginum  
Velut rosa velut lilium  
  
Funde preces ad filium  
Pro salute fidelium  
O Maria flos virginum  
Velut rosa velut lilium

**2. Ma maistresse et ma plus que ault amye**

De mon desir la mortelle ennemye  
Parfaicte en biens sonques le fut ame  
Celle seule de qui court bruit et fame  
Destre sans per ne vous revrayge mye

Helas de vous bien plaindre me devoie  
Si ne vous plait que briefvemēt vous revoye  
Mamour par qui daultre amer na puissance  
Car sans vous voir quelque part que soye  
Tout avant que vois me desplaist et ennoye  
Jusques alors ie nauray souffisance.

Incessament mon dolent cuer lermye  
Doubtant que priere soit endormie  
Que ia ne soit ma tant amee dame  
Mais si ainsi est malheureux me clame  
Je ne requier plus vivre heure ne demye.

Ma maistresse...

**3. Tout a par moy affin quon[ne me voye]**

Si tresdolent que plus ie ne porroye  
Je me tien seul comme une ame esbaye  
Faisant regrets de ma doulante vye  
Et de fortune qui si fort me guerroye.

Pensez quel duel mon desplaisir menvoye  
Car iay des maulx a si tresgrant monjoie  
Que je crains fort que briefvemēt je moccye.

Tout a par moy affin quon ne me voye  
Si tresdolent que plus je ne porroye  
Je me tien seul comme une ame esbaye

Car iay perdu asi que tant chier avoye  
Dont ne matens pour nesune que voye  
Jamais de riens me trouver resiouye  
Mais languir nest que tant que desuye  
Mon deul tenant sans avoir bien ne ioye<sup>16</sup>

Tout a par moy affin quon ne me voye

16 The version in *Wolfenbüttel* goes as follows:

Et non pourtant se mourir en devoye  
En la pousuite de vous servir ma ioye  
Navez paour qua iamaiz vous oublie  
Et fussiez vous plus fort mon ennemye  
Car cest mon sort quil fault que vostre soye.

4. **Ma maistresse et ma plus que ault amye**

De mon *desir* la mortelle ennemye  
*Parfaict* en biens sonques le fut ame  
 Celle seule de qui court bruit et fame  
 Destre sans per ne vous revrayge mye

*Helas* de vous bien plaindre me devoie  
 Si *ne vous plaist* que biefment vous revoye  
*Mamour* par qui daultre aymer nay puissance  
 Car sans vous voir *en quelque part que soye*  
 Tout avant que vois me *desplaist et ennoye*  
 Jusques alors ie nauray souffsance

Incessament mon *dolent* cuer larmye  
 Doubtant que priere [*pitié*] soit endormyey  
 Que ja ne soit ma tant amee dame  
 Mais saincy est si malheureux me clame  
 Que plus ne *quier vivre heure ne demye*

*Helas mamour* ma tres *parfete amye*  
 Si *ne vous plaist* mestraindre vostre grace  
 Je ne requiers heure temps ny espace  
 De vivre plus fors en merencolie

A ce faire *desir* si me convye  
 Pour le *plaisir* que prans en votre face  
*Helas mamour* ma tres *parfete amye*  
 Si *ne vous plaist* mestraindre vostre grace

Vostre beaulte a ma pensee ravie  
 Si griefvement que ie ne say que face  
 Et si *pitié* ma grant *douleur* nefface  
 En dangier suis que sur pietz ie desvie

5. **Nul ne la telle sa maistresse**

Mon cuer que vous et moy lavons  
 Se bien considerer savons  
 Les biens dont elle a grant largesse.

Au vray dire ce quil me semble  
 Je ne vis oncques la pareille  
 Tant belle et tant bonne est ensemble  
 Car plus la voy plus mesmer veille

De son maintien regardons quesse  
 Affin que nous parachevons  
 Ce bruit si grant que nous devons  
 Dire en tous lieux sans point de cesse

Nul ne la telle sa maistresse...

A qui chaiscun doit recourir  
 Penses que vostre amour me blesse  
 Et de *deuil* me *faictes mourir*  
 Car se aultrement je nay plaisir  
 Je meure de *deuil et de destresse*

Recours donneur et de liesse

7. **Je le scay bien ce qui mavint**

Damer jour que vous vy madame  
*Jeu tant de duel* que par mon ame  
 Je ne sceus que mon cuer devint.

De joye ou paix ne me souvint  
 Et nay pas tort par nostre dame.

Je le scay bien ce qui mavint  
 Daymer jour que vous vy madame

Oncques paix a moy ne revint  
 Se ne lavez dieu en ait lame  
 Car il est mort soubz la lame  
 Il estoit bon des ans a vingt.

Je le scay bien...

6. **Recours donneur et de liesse**

A qui chaiscun doit recourir  
 Ne prenez pas en desplaisir  
 Se je vous nomme *ma maistresse*.

Or pensez quel desplaisir messe  
 Quant je ne vous voy a loisir  
 Recours donneur et de liesse

Chanson	Topic	Mode	Cadences	Relations to other chansons
<i>Ave regina</i> (Frye)	devotional motet; Mary's qualities	lydian (#)	C; F A♭	<i>Helas que pourra</i>
<i>Ma maistresse</i> (Ockeghem)	conflict between perfect lady and erotic desire; impossibility of seeing the mistress	lydian (b) 2nd part: dorian allusion	F; C-G D 2nd part: F-C; A	<i>Helas que pourra</i> <i>Nul ne la telle;</i> <i>Recours d'bonneur</i>
<i>Tout a par moy</i> (Frye)	Mourning in loneliness and separation; hiding from the view of others	G-dorian with beginning D-A	A♭; D; G	Text: "Ma mais- tresse"
<i>Helas m'amour</i> (Caron)	same as <i>Ma maistresse</i>	lydian (b)	F; C; A	<i>Ma maistresse;</i> (textual contrafactum); <i>Ave regina</i>
<i>Nul ne la telle</i> (Basiron)	"Cœur"; perfect qualities of <i>maistresse</i> ; possible happiness	lydian (b) 2nd part: g- dorian allusion	F; A♭ 2nd part: F; D-f-a	<i>Ma maistresse;</i> <i>Je le scay bien</i>
<i>Recours d'onleur</i>	possibility of seeing <i>maistresse</i> ; possible happiness	lydian (b)	C; F	<i>Ma maistresse</i>
<i>Je le scay bien</i> (Basiron)	Seeing; retrospective of doleful story	lydian (b)	F; C; A♭ B	<i>Nul ne la telle</i>

A♭ = phrygian cadence on A

lydian (b) = lydian mode with fixed b

(Frye): Ave Regina  
Laborde, f. 7v-9r

Superius      A - ve re - gi - na

Tenor

Contratenor

6      ce - lo - rum ma - ter re - gis an -

11      ge - lo - rum O Ma - ri - a flos vir - gi -

16      num ve - lut ro - sa ve - lut li - li -

21

um      Fun - de      pre -

26

ad      do - mi -

31

num      pro      sa - lu - te      fi - de - li -

36

um      O      Ma - ri - a      flos vir - gi - num      ve - lut ro -

Musical notation for Ave Regina, page 7v-9r, measure 41. The music is written in three staves: soprano, alto, and basso continuo. The soprano staff begins with a fermata over two notes. The lyrics "sa ve-lut li - li - um" are written below the alto staff. The basso continuo staff shows a bass clef and an 8th note, indicating a sustained note or a specific performance instruction.

Der Superius des ersten Teils fehlt in Laborde und wurde nach Riccardiana 2794 ersetzt. Im Contratenor T. 34 1-2 wurde M-C zu Sb verbessert und die M-Pause zur Sb-Pause.

(Ockeghem): Ma maistresse  
Laborde, f. 9v-11r

Superius

Ma mais - tres - se et ma plus que ault

Tenor

Contra

6

a - mi - e De mon de - sir la mor - tell en - ne -

11

mi - e Par faict en biens sonc - ques le fut

16

a - me Cel - le seul - le de

21

qui      court      bruit      et      fa -

26

me      Des - tre      sans      per      ne      vous      re - vrai -

31

ge      my -      e      He - Car      las      sans      de      vous

37

vous      voir      bien      quel      que      plain -      dre      part      me      que      de      ie      voy - soy -      e      e      Tout      Si      quanc -

45

ne vous  
- que - fois me plait que des brief - ment vous re - voy -  
ment vous et en - noy -

53

e e Ma - mour par qui doultr' a - mer na puis -  
e Jus- ques a- lors ie nau- ray souf -

61

-fi- san - san - ce ce

Incessamment mon dolent cuer frennie  
Doubtant que priere soit endormie  
Que ia ne soit ma tant amee dame  
Mais si ainsi est malheureux me clame  
Je ne requier plus vivre heure ne demye

Mas maistresse et ma plus que ault amie...

Frye: Tout a par moy  
Laborde, f. 11v-12r

Superius

Tout a par moy af - fin quon ne me voi -

Tenor

Contra

6

e Si tres - do - lent

11

que plus je ne pou - roy - e

16

Je me tiens seul comme a - me es - ba - y -

21

Fai-sant re-gretz de ma dou-len-te vi-

26

e Et de for-tu-

31

ne qui si fort me guer-roy-

Im Contratenor wurden die Takte 16-17 nach Wolfenbütel korrigiert;  
T.28,1 wurde die Br zur Sb korrigiert.

36

Pensez quel deul mon desplaisir menvoye  
Car iay des maulx a si tresgrant monioye  
Que je crains fort que briefvement je moccye  
Tout a par moy affin quon ne me voye  
Si tresdolent que plus je ne porroye  
Je me tiens seul comme une ame esbaye

Car iay perdu asi que tant chier avoye  
Dont ne matens pour nesune que voye  
Jamais de riens me trouver resiouye  
Mais languir nest que tant que desuyte  
Mon deul tenant sans avoir bien ne ioye

# Caron: Helas mamour

Laborde, f. 12v-13r

Superius

Tenor

Contra

8

16

24

32

ne re - quiers heu - re

8

40

temps ny es - pa - ce de

8

48

vi - vre plus fors en me - ren -

8

56

co - li - e

8

Laborde hat eine völlig andere Textierung als die parallelen Quellen. Dies geht so weit, dass das ursprüngliche Rondeau cinquain hier quatrain ist. Der Text wurde völlig dem kontextualen Ma Maistresse angepasst (vlg. Goldberg, Das Chansonnier Laborde, S. 70ff.). Im Contratenor T. 37-39 unterlief dem Schreiber offenkundig ein Irrtum, so dass eine Sb fehlt. Die Stelle wurde nach Pixérécourt verbessert.

A ce faire desir si me convye  
Pour le plaisir que prans en votre face  
Helas mamour ma tres parfecte amye  
Si ne vous plaist mestraindre vostre grace

Vostre beaulte a ma pensee ravie  
Si griefvement que ie ie ne scay que face  
Et si pitie ma grant douleur <nefface>  
En dangier suis que sur pietz ie desvie

Helas mamour ma res parfecte amye

P. Baziron: Nul ne la telle  
 Laborde, f. 13v-15r

Superius

Tenor

Contra

5

10

15

20

Les biens dont ell' a grant lar -

ges - se Au vray di - re ce  
Tant bel- le et tant

Au vray di - re ce

qui bon- me sem - est en- sem- ble  
qui me sem - ble

Je ne plus vis la onc - voy ques la pa -  
Que ne plus vis la onc -

40

48

plus rail - le  
ques la pa - rail - le  
me- mer- veil - le

This section contains three staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a clef, a key signature of one flat, and a '48' measure number. It features diamond-shaped note heads and various rests. The lyrics 'plus rail - le', 'ques la pa - rail - le', and 'me- mer- veil - le' are written below the notes. The middle staff starts with a '8' and continues the musical line. The bottom staff also starts with an '8'. Measure numbers '48' and '56' are placed above the first and second staves respectively.

56

me- mer- veil - le

This section contains three staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a clef and a '56' measure number. It features diamond-shaped note heads and various rests. The lyrics 'me- mer- veil - le' are written below the notes. The middle staff starts with an '8' and continues the musical line. The bottom staff also starts with an '8'. Measure numbers '48' and '56' are placed above the first and second staves respectively.

## 2. Strophe

De son maintien regardons quesse  
 Affin que nous parachevons  
 Ce bruit si grant que nous devons  
 Dire en tous lieux sans point de cesse

Nul ne la telle sa maistresse....

# Recours donneur

Laborde, f. 15v-16r

Superius

Re - cours don - neur et de li -

Tenor

Contra

8

es - se A qui

16

chais - cun doit

24

re - cou - rir

32

Ne pre - nes pas en des - plai -

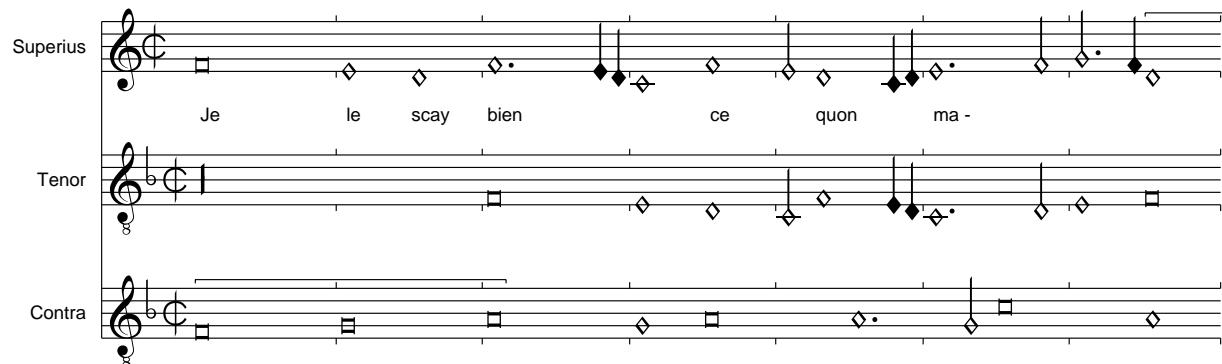
40

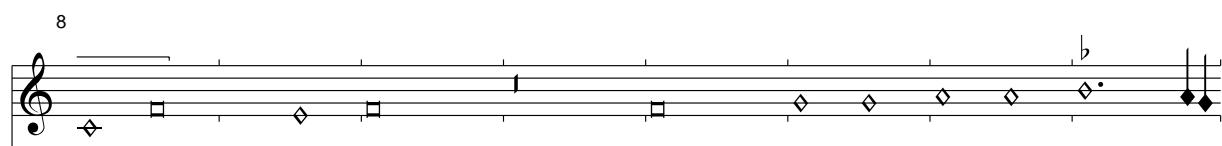
sir Se ie vous nom - me ma mais - tres -

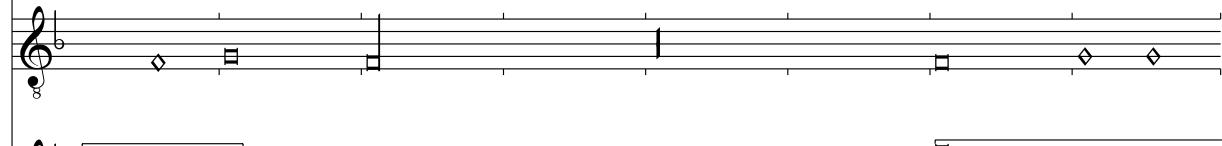
48

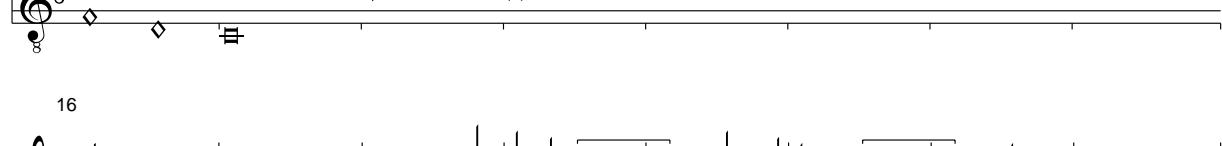
Or penses quel desplaisir messe  
Quant je ne vous voy a loisir  
Recours donneur et de plaisir  
A qui chaiscun doit recourir  
  
Penses que vostre amour me blesse  
Et de dueil me faictes mourir  
Car se aultrement je nay plaisir  
Je meure de deuil et de destresse  
  
Recours donneur et de liesse...

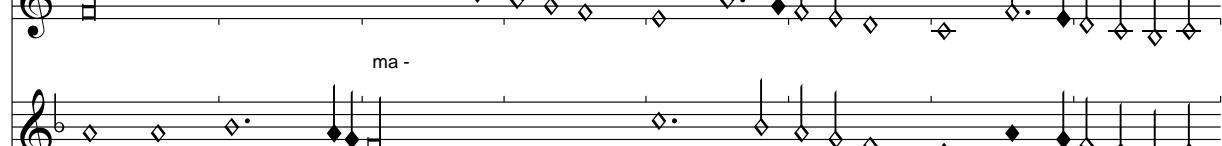
P. Baziron : Je le scay bien  
 Laborde, f. 16v-17r

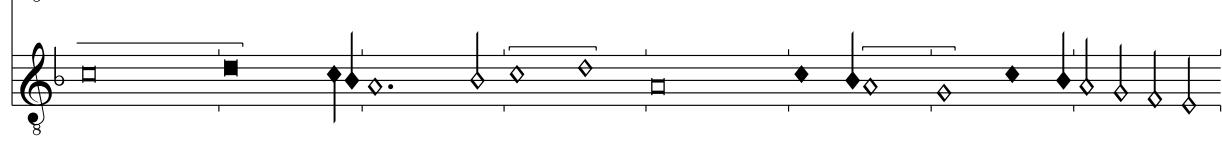
Superius      

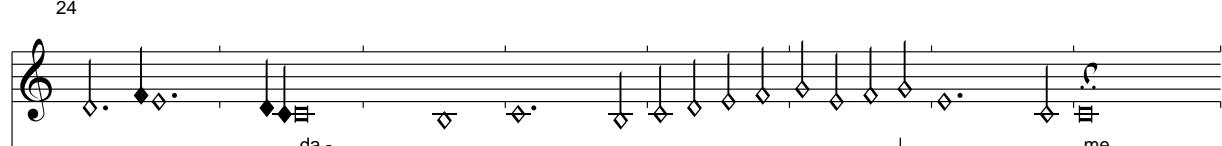
Tenor      

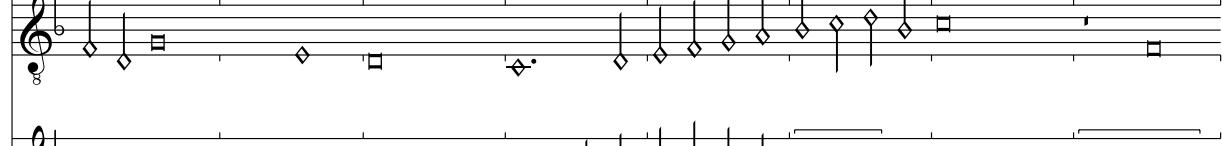
Contra      

8      

16      

24      

32      

39      

32

Jeu tant de deul que par mon a-

me Je ne sceuz que mon cuer

40

de -

vint

48

56

vint

De joye ou paix ne me souvint  
Et nay pas tort par nostre dame  
Je le scay bien ce qui mavint  
Daymer jour que vous vye madame

Oncques paix a moy ne revint  
Se ne lavez dieu en ait lame  
Car il est mort soubz la lame  
Il esteoit bon des ans a vingt

Je le scay bien ce qui mavint...