

# RESTORING OCKEGHEM'S *MORT, TU AS NAVRÉ*\*

for Jaap van Benthem

The text and the music of the ballade *Mort, tu as navré* have been published many times, beginning with Stéphen Morelot's discussion and catalogue of the contents of Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517 in 1856. They have been widely discussed ever since under several headings: as the only securely datable work of its composer, Ockeghem;<sup>1</sup> as an early representative of a genre, the motet-chanson;<sup>2</sup> and as the single most important primary source of information concerning the individual it commemorates: Gilles de Bins, called Binchois (d. 1460).<sup>3</sup> This last aspect of the piece has perhaps led to the most discussion. It was the principal reason for Morelot's citation of several lines of its text, and it probably accounts for the unusually large number of previous published modern editions (including five of both text and music at the time of writing);<sup>4</sup> but it may also have contributed to a certain scholarly urge to read more into the text than the quality of its single manuscript reading can sustain. One might add a fourth heading to those just enumerated: *Mort, tu as navré* is one of the latest extant musical settings of that most courtly of song-forms, the ballade. Though this facet has so far been but little discussed, considering *Mort, tu as navré* as a ballade teases out certain problematic details of both its text and music. Some of these date back to the very earliest editions, and have been enshrined in each new publication. My purpose here is to identify these details and to resolve them as far as possible, with the caveat that the defects of the source do not always admit of definitive solutions.

In certain respects, the performing edition included here as an appendix owes much to Jaap van Benthem's elegant version of 1995. I offer this new version to him upon the occasion of his retirement from teaching, as a token of my affection and admiration for a dear friend.

## TEXT

The text of *Mort, tu as navré* is preserved uniquely in the Dijon chansonnier.<sup>5</sup> The work's only other source, Montecassino 871, has a garbled reading of the ballade text's first three lines in the Discantus, and a couple of Latin incipits for the second part of the music in the lower voices (see Appendix).<sup>6</sup> But although Dijon's reading is substantially complete, it includes significant lacunae and scribal problems which generations of scholars have laboured to put right, albeit with mixed results.<sup>7</sup> Certain modern editors have misinterpreted aspects of the poem's structure (precisely because of the problems associated with its transmission in Dijon); others identify certain problems but leave others unaddressed. Ultimately none is entirely satisfactory. The following discussion

addresses three principal issues that require clarification: first, the correct order of the poem's three strophes; second, the lacunae in what I take to be the second strophe; third, the scribal issues that obscure the reading of what I take to be the final strophe.

A new edition of the text appears below. Where an emendation replaces a word (as opposed to supplying a missing one) it is given in italics, with Dijon's reading appearing alongside the line. Brackets denote abbreviations in the source and missing incipits, while accolades indicate lacunae supplied editorially. Superscript letters refer to noteworthy emendations in modern editions discussed below the poetic text (some of which I have adopted). Editions are noted by the name of the editor and the year of publication (see note 4 for complete references). My translation appears in parallel.

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	[M]ort, tu as navré de ton dart <sup>a</sup>	Death, you have wounded with your dart
	Le pere de joyeuseté	The father of joyousness
	En deployant ton estandart	By unfurling your standard
	Sur Binchois, patron de bonté.	Over Binchois, model of goodness.
5	[S]on corps est plaint et lamenté	His body is grieved over and lamented
	Qui gist soubz lame.	That lies beneath the tombstone.
	Helas plaise vous en pitié	Alas, please you for pity's sake
	Prier <sup>b</sup> pour l'ame.	To pray for his soul.
	Reticque <sup>c</sup> se dieu me gard	Rhetoric, so God keep me
10	Son serviteur a regretée.	Has lost her servant.
	Musicque par piteux regard	Music, out of piteous regard,
	{A} <sup>d</sup> fait deul et noir a portée.	Has put on mourning weeds.
	Pleurez hommes de feaulté <sup>e</sup>	Lament, ye men of fealty
	{L'omme sans blame} <sup>f</sup> .	The blameless man.
15	Veuillez <sup>g</sup> v[ost]re université <sup>h</sup>	May your community
	{Prier pour l'ame} <sup>i</sup> .	Pray for his soul.
	En sa jonesse fut soudart	In his youth he was a soldier
	De honorable mondanité,	Of honourable worldliness.
	Puis a esleu la milleur part	Then he chose the better portion
20	Servant dieu en humilité	Serving God in humility
	Tant luy soit en chrestienté	So great may be in Christendom
	Son no[m] et fame est	His name and fame
	Qu'ï deno[ment] <sup>k</sup> grant voulonté.	That they betoken the strength of mind that was his.
	Priez pour l'ame.	Pray for his soul.

Marix 1937 proposes the following sequence of text-lines (resulting in a corruption of the ballade form): 1-8; 9-13, 15; 1-4, 17-24. Note the literal interpretation of the *rentrements*, and the absence of lines 13 and 16.

- <sup>b</sup> Morelot 1856, Van Benthem 1995: 'priez'.
  - <sup>c</sup> Wexler 1992 and Van Benthem 1995 invert strophes 2 and 3.
  - <sup>d</sup> Missing in source. Van Benthem 1995: 'Fait grand deul et noir a portée'; Fallows 1998: 'Fait deul et noir a sa portée'; Barret 1981: 'Fait deul et noir elle a portée'.
  - <sup>e</sup> Trowell 1976: 'faculté'.
  - <sup>f</sup> Line missing in source, omitted in Marix 1937 and Trowell 1976, left blank in Pope/Kanazawa 1978, Wexler 1992. Davies 1982: 'faites reclame'; Van Benthem 1995: 'qui est sans blame'; Fallows 1998: 'qui gist soubz lame'. The spelling of 'lomme', adopted here, is frequently attested elsewhere in Dijon. That of 'blame', and its rhyme with 'ame', is also found in Dijon, in the anonymous rondeau *En quelque lieu qu'on sache aller* (fols. 86<sup>v</sup>-87, new fols. 89<sup>v</sup>-90).
  - <sup>g</sup> Marix 1937, Pope/Kanazawa 1978: 'vueillez, vostre université'; Trowell 1976, Van Benthem 1995: 'veillez, vostre université'. Marix and Trowell overlook the omission of the missing lines in strophe 2 (see notes a and f); a correct reading renders the comma superfluous. In turn, the reading of 'vueillez' as 'veillez' (in the sense of 'keep watch', as over a bier), implied in all four readings and specifically discussed in Trowell 1976 and Lowinsky 1984, is unwarranted.
  - <sup>h</sup> Pope/Kanazawa 1978 have a full stop here.
  - <sup>i</sup> Line missing in source, omitted in Marix 1937 and Trowell 1976, left blank in Wexler 1992. Pope/Kanazawa 1978, Van Benthem 1995: 'Priez pour lame'.
  - <sup>j</sup> Marix 1937, Trowell 1976, Barret 1981: 'qu'i', an interpretation adopted here.
  - <sup>k</sup> All editions: 'detient', erroneously; Ms. has 'denoment de' (corruption).
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### *Form: The Order of the Strophes*

The piece's form as transmitted in Dijon invites several questions. There are signs that the scribe had, at best, an imperfect understanding of what he was copying, and that the exemplar from which he copied may itself have been flawed (Facsimile 1).<sup>8</sup> He correctly underlays the text of part A on the first opening: the third and fourth lines are placed below the first and second in the Discantus part. But then it is difficult to explain the *rentrements* or cue lines on the second opening (placed in all voices but the Contratenor bassus), which appear to prescribe a repeat of the song's opening verses (as in a rondeau). Richard Wexler has already remarked on this anomaly in his edition and in a subsequent article;<sup>9</sup> but since the rondeau is by far the most common form in the second half of the fifteenth century (indeed, *Mort, tu as navré* is the only ballade in the main copying layer of Dijon), these *rentrements* may be an automatism that has stood uncorrected.

Another indication of scribal confusion concerns the correct order of the song's three strophes. The scribe sets out an entire strophe (beginning with the line 'Retorique, se dieu me gard') on the first opening, between the music of the Discantus and Tenor; another full strophe (beginning with the line 'En sa jonesse fut soudart') is placed on the second opening, between the music of the Contratenors altus and bassus. But such placement is anomalous, since the text of additional strophes is usually placed on the same opening as the music that sets it. (In the absence of other ballades, the procedure may be observed in Dijon's many virelais.) Thus, text-placement consistent with

Oit lu no naitre de bon dant  
 Et deplorant par effondant

Le pœr de fortuſſe  
 par duntout patron de bouc

Etlor infereux infereux par

Ombraſſer le pœr

Vente ſolenn

Ombraſſer le pœr

on rous eſt glant et d'amenor

gite ſoulz l'ame helas elais lous en pœr

Etlor Ouey

Ombraſſer le pœr

Ombraſſer le pœr

Ombraſſer le pœr

Facsimile 1. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517, fols. 163<sup>v</sup>-165 (new fols. 166<sup>v</sup>-168).

normal practice would put the first four lines of each strophe on the first opening, and the last four (beginning with the lines, 'Pleurez, hommes de feaulté' and 'Tant luy soit en chrestienté', respectively) on the second. Perhaps the scribe was deterred from doing so for reasons of space: most often, he places additional lines on the blank staves remaining on the verso beneath the Tenor, but none were available here. Further, the single staff between the Discantus and Tenor would have been insufficient to accommodate a total of eight lines, plus a space between them to distinguish between the two strophes.

To speculate any further is difficult and ultimately inconclusive, although it is worth observing that many of the polytextual pieces in the same gathering also exhibit haphazard text-placement (albeit for slightly different reasons).<sup>10</sup> Be that as it may, the scribe's confusion may well account for the view of Wexler and Van Benthem, that the order of the second and third strophes as it appears in the source is incorrect, and should be reversed. They argue that it is illogical that the strophe in which Rhetoric and Music mourn their departed servant should precede that which sketches his biography.<sup>11</sup> But surely serving God would constitute a better part, not only than soldiering, but also than rhetoric (poetry) and music. These could hardly be placed after Binchois' call to divine service in an assessment of his life and worth.<sup>12</sup> Further, an exhortation to all of Christendom (lines 20–21) is a stronger conclusion than one to the community invoked in lines 13–16.

Another argument in favour of the Dijon scribe's order is found in the poem's refrain. In the first stanza, 'Prier pour lame' has the verb-form in the infinitive, running on from the imperative in the preceding line: 'Alas, please you for pity's sake / To pray for his soul'. In what I take to be the second stanza the scribe has omitted the refrain, precisely because it is implicit at this point: 'May your community / pray for his soul'. The context again makes clear that here too the verb-form is infinitive, with the imperative being supplied in the preceding line. But in the last stanza the refrain is once again written out, because this time the infinitive ('prier') is changed directly to the imperative ('priez'), thereby requiring no mediation in the previous line: 'Pray for his soul!' As we shall see, line 23 is problematic, but it clearly signals the end of a sense-unit just before the refrain.<sup>13</sup> Though relatively rare, such a twist in the tail at the end of the final stanza is not without parallels in the ballade literature;<sup>14</sup> and the use of the direct imperative is a forceful conclusive gesture, in comparison with which the reverse order of strophes appears less plausible.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Lacunae in Strophe 2*

The absence of the refrain from the second stanza is easy enough to explain, and has been noted above. More puzzling is the omission of line 14, which must also have had four syllables. Several possible emendations have been suggested. The most interesting is that in Fallows 1998, which posits the transposition of the corresponding line of the first stanza along with the refrain (thus, 'pleurez hommes de feaulté / qui gist soubz lame / vueillez vostre université / prier pour lame'). This has the obvious virtue of explaining

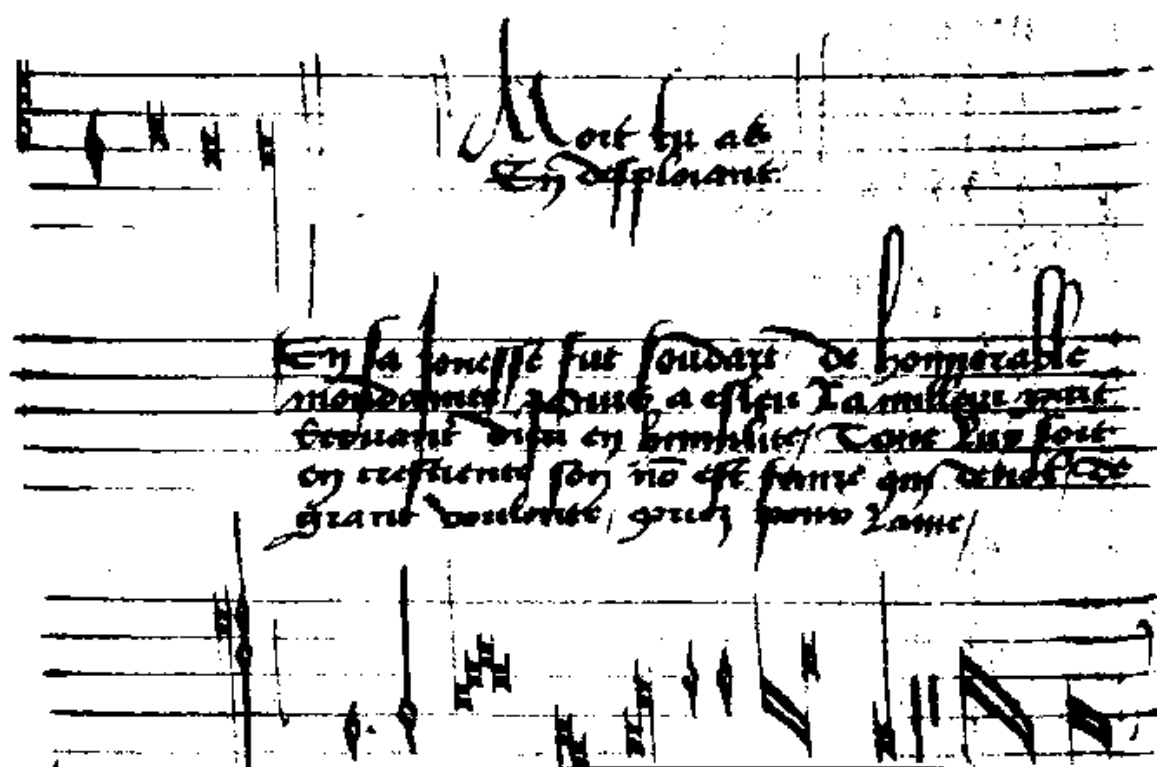
what is otherwise so puzzling: that the line was left out in the first place. But surely by the same reasoning one would expect to find the same line in the same place in the third strophe as well, and that is not the case. Further, it seems odd that the poet would allow a grammatically ambiguous construction to stand ('qui' might be taken to refer here to the preceding word 'feaulté', which makes little sense), when he might so easily have fashioned the previous line otherwise, unambiguously (e.g., 'Pleurez l'omme de feaulté / Qui gist soubz lame'). The same objection may be urged against the emendation proposed in Van Benthem 1995, which introduces 'qui' in the same manner.<sup>16</sup> In the absence of firm clues, the solution adopted here (slightly adapted from Van Benthem) is syntactically correct and logical.

The remaining lacuna is more straightforward. Line 12 lacks a syllable. Clearly this is the word 'a', which alters the tense of 'fait' to accord with that of 'portée' in the same line, and with that of 'regrettée' in line 10. An interesting emendation proposed in Trowell 1976 seeks to make sense of the ambiguous word 'université' by giving it an antecedent, 'faculté', in line 13. It is easy enough to see how a scribe might misread and invert the letters 'ea' for 'ac'; on the other hand, 'université' might be taken in the wider sense of 'community', and as far as we know, Binchois never obtained a degree, so it is unclear why scholars should be invoked at this point.<sup>17</sup> Since Dijon's reading presents no other problems of sense or syntax, I have adopted it.

### *The Reading of Strophe 3*

The third stanza is the most problematic, as any attempt at translation soon demonstrates.<sup>18</sup> As noted previously, lines 21–3 probably form a complete sense-unit, but its meaning is obscured by several problematic readings. The first of these is line 22, 'son nom est fame', which Wexler renders as 'his name is famed', although this construction would require an accent on the final 'e', which the rhyme-scheme forbids. It is just possible to interpret the passage in the sense that 'his name embodies fame', but this seems a rather capricious turn of phrase. I would propose instead that 'est' is a corruption of 'et'. The construction 'nom et fame' is, by contrast, a commonplace of the literature of the period, like other similar couplings ('bruit et fame', for example, is found in Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*<sup>19</sup>) and its meaning is perfectly straightforward. This reading has certain implications for what follows.

The next line is given in all the preceding editions as 'qui detient de grant voulonté', and has been interpreted by translators as 'whoever has great good will', or other similar constructions. There are several problems with both interpretations. First, the paleographical evidence can only be described as dubious (Facsimile 2). The configuration that is meant to be 'tient' is nothing like the scribe's rendering of these letters in the word 'chrestienté' in the preceding line. The letter meant for an 'e' is quite clearly an 'o': the only ambiguity on this point is the result of the descender of a letter 's' (of the word 'soit') directly above it. Then, the strokes forming the letters 't' and 'i' are by no means unambiguous. The putative 't' lacks the inward curve at its peak that characterises that letter elsewhere; in fact, there is only a tiny nick to the right of the downward stroke to



Facsimile 2. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517, fol. 165 (new fol. 168), detail.

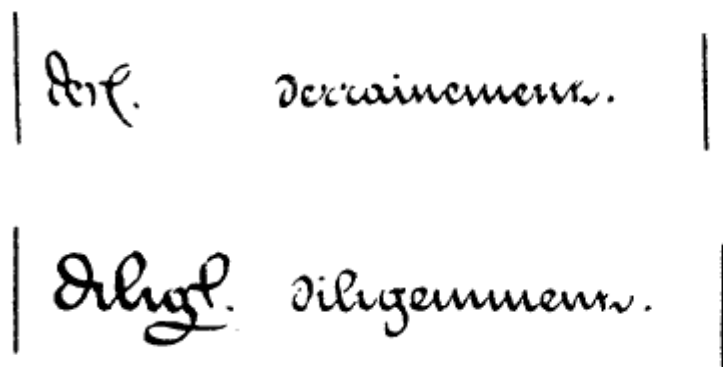
suggest the crossing of 't'. And there is another reason to look askance at this reading: the absence of any words in middle French beginning with the five letters 'd', 'e', 't', 'i' and 'o'.

Leaving aside for a moment the last component of the word, one is left with two possibilities: that the manuscript is corrupt, or that another letter (or letters) is intended. (A third solution, that the first two letters might be construed as the separate word 'de', seems unsustainable on grammatical grounds). In either case, the letter 'n' suggests itself as the most plausible alternative in the present context. True, the scribe's rendering of 'n' elsewhere often exhibits a rounded curve that seamlessly connects the two vertical strokes (as in the word 'honnorable' in the same strophe); but not infrequently, these two strokes are more distinct, and the connecting stroke between them is far less clearly defined (as in the words 'jonesse' and 'mondanité'). As to the alternative presented above in the complete text of the chanson (scribal corruption resulting in a reading of 't' and 'i'), it is easy to imagine the scribe mistaking an 'n' in his exemplar for those two letters. Groupings of the letters 'i', 'n', 'm', 't' and 'u' are readily confused in the script of the time, as the script of the word 'humilité' in the same strophe illustrates. But as we will see, careful examination of the last part of the word diminishes the likelihood of a corruption, and shows 'n' to be the correct reading.

At the end of the word there is what looks at first glance like an 'l', but whose loop lacks the tear-drop configuration of the scribe's usual rendering of that letter. In fact, this looped stroke is one of the more standard scribal abbreviations (though it is found more commonly in Latin than in French). It often denotes a declension, and so the group of letters it represents often begins with a vowel. It may substitute for a great many,

configurations: most often it is 'is', but one also finds 'um', 'as', 'em', 'ant', 'er', 'ius', 'us', and still others – none of which seem appropriate to this context (*i.e.*, following an 'o'). Far more rarely, however, the sign denotes abbreviations beginning with a consonant. The most frequent of those listed in Louis-Alphonse Chassant's *Dictionnaire des abréviations* is 'ment', which here yields the word 'denoment', with the meaning of 'indicate' or (in my translation) 'betoken'. Since Chassant shows no fewer than three examples of this abbreviation (all of them in French), one can confidently propose 'denoment' as the correct reading (see Figure 1).<sup>20</sup> This verb clearly applies to the subjects 'nom et fame' in the preceding line, whose relation in turn to Binchois is made clear by the interpretation of the scribal 'qui' as 'qu'i' (as first suggested in Marix 1937: see my translation).

Figure 1. L.-A. Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abréviations Latines et Françaises* (Evreux, 1846), abbreviations for 'derrainement' and 'diligemment' (details from p. 21–22)



Incidentally, the identification of the last pen-stroke of 'denoment' as an abbreviation gives us a clue to the origin of the corruption 'detient': it seems that Marix (the only Francophone among previous text editors of the song) correctly interpreted the stroke as an abbreviation; but she misread the preceding letters, interpreting 't' and 'i' for 'n', which entailed that the next letter must be an 'e' (since, as we have noted, no French words begin with the combination 'detio...'). The rest of the word was deduced from a limited remaining number of options. In this respect it must be stressed that the Latin forms represented by the abbreviative stroke are endless, but in French Chassant gives only the one.

We are now left with the problem that there is one syllable too many in the line as transmitted in Dijon. The source reads 'Qui denoment de grant voulonté'. (Only two vowels or silent consonants astride two words can result in elision, seen elsewhere with 'de honorable' and 'vostre université'.) A possible explanation may be proposed with reference to the phrase 'grant voulonté'. This is one of several formulations that occur in connection with the word 'voulonté'. As we have seen, the phrase as it appears here is usually taken to mean 'most willingly' or 'great good will'; but such a meaning would be more obviously conveyed by the adjective 'bonne', whose association with the latin



phrase 'bonae voluntatis' would have been self-evident to any medieval Christian. The three examples of the phrase 'grant voulonté' cited in Tobler-Lommatzsch's *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* all have the particular sense of 'strength of mind', 'strength of will' or 'determination';<sup>21</sup> and they are all preceded by a preposition: 'a', 'par' and 'de'. One may see how Binchois' determination to quit soldiery in favour of divine service might cause his name and fame to shine the brighter and to 'betoken his great strength of mind'.<sup>22</sup> More mundanely, one can also imagine that a scribe might almost automatically associate the word 'de' and the phrase 'grant voulonté'; the word might also be explained as an instance of dittography (following its appearance as a syllable in the preceding word).

Much in the foregoing depends on the notion that the Dijon scribe was someone whose grasp of what he was copying was, at best, imperfect, and whose ability to identify lacunae and corruptions must have been very slight. Bearing this in mind, we may now examine the music, which bears signs of a suprisingly similar state of affairs.

#### MUSIC: THE LATE POLYPHONIC BALLADE

Towards the end of the genre's history one distinguishes two main strands of the polyphonic ballade. One is the lighter, pastoral type (like Josquin's *Une musique de Biscaye*), among which may be reckoned combinative pieces (Busnoys' *Amours nous traicte / Je m'en voys*, for example). *Mort, tu as navré* belongs to the other strand, the commemorative or ceremonial genre that links the ballade to the late medieval motet.<sup>23</sup> Of the many extant ballades of this type, only two can be shown to be closely contemporaneous with Ockeghem's: *La bonté du Saint Esperit* by Pullois (composed in honour of a pope during the mid-to-late 1450s)<sup>24</sup> and *Resjois toi terre de France*, probably written in the early 1460s in honour of Louis XI (its recently identified ascription to Busnoys in the Pixérécourt chansonnier has met with broad, if qualified, acceptance).<sup>25</sup> Pullois' work has all the hallmarks of the grand, commemorative ballade: part A has *ouvert/clos* endings, and the end of part B incorporates a musical rhyme with that of part A (both these traits are usually lacking in the lighter type of *ballade* during this late stage of the form's history). *Resjois toi*, by contrast, departs from these conventions in a number of ways: it has an unusual stanzaic structure incorporating *layé* elements (the sixth and eighth lines have just four syllables); it quotes plainchant in the lower voices; its two sections are in different mensurations (respectively O and  $\Phi$ ), which in turn explains the lack of a musical rhyme between parts A and B. All of these features are exactly replicated in *Mort, tu as navré*. The fact that the two pieces were most likely written within a very few years – perhaps a few months – of each other thereby acquires special significance. Whatever the merits of Pixérécourt's ascription, everything places *Resjois toi* within the immediate circle of the French court.

The two works, then, are twinned. In only one important respect do they differ: where *Resjois toi* has an *ouvert* ending, *Mort, tu as navré* does not – or at least, neither

source has any trace of *signa congruentiae* near the end of the first musical section. Against the overwhelming prevalence of the *ouvert/clos* strategy among surviving commemorative ballades (and taking into account *Mort, tu as navré*'s similarity in all other respects to *Resjois toi*), this lacuna naturally excites suspicion.<sup>26</sup> Could Ockeghem have failed to provide an *ouvert* cadence in so conventionalised a genre as this? If a plausible cadence is all that is required, one hasn't far to look. One bar before the close of the first section is a cadence on *A* that fits the bill exactly.

Two syntactical considerations convince me that the adoption of this half-close as authentic is justified. First, it leads into the reprise (which begins on an *A* sonority) far more convincingly than the final sectional cadence, whose alternation of *A* and *D* sonorities becomes rather stilted when it is followed by the reprise, as it does in all the editions – and most recordings – of the song.<sup>27</sup> A second consideration has to do with Ockeghem's style: precisely this melodic figure (or something very close to it) appears in other songs by Ockeghem at medial closes or *ouvert* endings (Example 1). These

Example 1. (a) *Ma bouche rit*, half-close of tierce (Discantus); (b) *Se vostre cuer*, medial cadence (Discantus); (c) *Prenez sur moy*, medial cadence (Discantus) after Van Benthem, *TVNM* 47 (1997), 116–118.



include the virelai *Ma bouche rit* (at the *ouvert* ending of the tierce),<sup>28</sup> the rondeau *Se vostre cuer*, and possibly also the canonic rondeau *Prenez sur moy*.<sup>29</sup> Though it would be too much to speak of an Ockeghemian fingerprint (it is also found in Dufay's *Vostre bruit et vostre grant fame* at the medial cadence, and at the *ouvert* ending of the tierce of Josquin's *Que vous madame / In pace*), the appearance of this figure as a half-close in no fewer than three of the other extant songs lends the proposed emendation an element of stylistic plausibility: in terms of the composer's practice it is not at all unusual. And practical performance has reinforced my conviction that the pacing of *Mort, tu as navré* is much more striking that way.<sup>30</sup>

- ★ This study could not have been completed without the advice and guidance of many friends and scholars who shared with me the vexing editorial ambiguities of *Mort, tu as navré*. First my thanks go to Lois Tidy for her enthusiasm in discussing these matters with me, and for her careful proof-reading of my final typescript and edition. My thanks go also to Jaap van Benthem, whose methods and approach inspired this study; to Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Bonnie Blackburn, who read my typescript and made many invaluable suggestions; to Cl. Gilbert Dubois (Bordeaux), Pierre Aquillon (C.E.S.R., Tours), Peter Grillo (Toronto), and Geoffrey Bromiley (Durham), who advised me on various textual matters; to Andrew Kirkman, who read and discussed with me an early draft. Last but not least, I thank David Fallows for countless hours spent in discussion and speculation, for commenting on my final draft, supplying many materials, and for his suggestions in the matter of the text-underlay of the Discantus. The findings and the edition included here were presented at the Annual Convention of the American Musicological Society, held in Toronto in November 2000. I thank the Orlando Consort, who demonstrated the open/close endings of part A by singing a stanza, for their friendly participation.
- 1 On the implication of the probable date of *Mort, tu as navré* for the chronology of Ockeghem's works, see F. Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem. Masses and Models* (Paris 1997), 56–61. See also D. Fallows, 'Johannes Ockeghem. The Changing Image, the Songs and a New Source', in *EM* 12 (1984), 218–230.
  - 2 See for instance (and most recently) H. Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', in *Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XL<sup>e</sup> Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, ed. P. Vendrix (Paris 1998), 381–402.
  - 3 One such study is E.E. Lowinsky, 'Jan van Eyck's *Tymotheos*. Sculptor or Musician?', in *Studi musicali* 13 (1984), 33–105 (see esp. 60–61); repr. in E.E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. B. Blackburn (Chicago/London 1989), Vol. 1, 351–382 (364). See also D. Fallows, 'Binchois', in *NGD* 2 (London 1980), 709–722.
  - 4 Editions are as follows, and are of both text and music unless otherwise stated (recordings are listed only where the text incorporates significant emendations):
    - 1) S. Morelot, 'Notice sur un manuscrit de musique ancienne de la Bibliothèque de Dijon', in *Mémoire de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte d'Or* 4 (1853–1856), 133–160; Appendix, No. 3 (music with first stanza underlaid; see also partial transcription of text [lines 1–4, 9–12, 17–20] on 152). Repr. as *De la musique au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Notice sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Dijon* (Paris 1856) [Morelot 1856].
    - 2) J. Marix, *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1937), n. 54, 83–35 (poetic form misinterpreted) [Marix 1937].
    - 3) T. Dart, B. Trowell, *Invitation to Medieval Music* (London 1967–1978), vol. 3 (1976), 22–26 (poetic form misinterpreted) [Trowell 1976].
    - 4) I. Pope, M. Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871. A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1978), 427–430 and 635–636 (English translation) [Pope/Kanazawa 1978].
    - 5) C.E. Barret Jr., *A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier. Dijon, Bibliothèque de la ville, Ms. 517 (ancien 295)* (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College 1981), 1031–1039 [Barret 1981].
    - 6) Peter Davies in booklet accompanying LP *Johannes Ockeghem. Complete Secular Music*, Medieval Ensemble of London, dir. Peter and Timothy Davies (London: Decca D254 D3, 1982), 12; reissued as CD 436 194–2, 44–45 (text only; English translation) [Davies 1982].
    - 7) R. Wexler, D. Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works*, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia 1992),

lxxxiv–lxxxvi and 77–78 (English translation) [Wexler 1992]; text reproduced with facsimile of Dijon in R. Wexler, ‘Ockeghem and Politics’, in *TVNM* 47 (1997), 5–32.

8) J. van Benthem, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Mass Sections* (Utrecht 1994–), Vol. II/1, xiii–xiv and 38–41 [van Benthem 1995].

9) D. Fallows in booklet accompanying CD, *Ockeghem, Missa de plus en plus & Chansons*, Orlando Consort (Hamburg: Archiv Produktion 453 419–2, 1998), 14 (text only; English translation) [Fallows 1998].

See also the discussion of the text in E.E. Lowinsky, ‘Jan van Eyck’s *Tymotheos*’, which is based, however, on an incorrect interpretation of the poetic form (see notes a, f and g) [Lowinsky 1984]. Another unpublished edition not included in the above list is in D. Kemp, *Polytextual Compositions of the Dijon Chansonnier* (M.A. thesis, Columbia University 1955), 105–109.

- 5) Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 517, fols. 163<sup>v</sup>–165 (new fols. 166<sup>v</sup>–168). Facsimile edition *Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Manuscrit 517*, with introduction by D. Plamenac (Brooklyn n.d.).
- 6) Montecassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, Ms. 871, 388–389.
- 7) For a full account of the scribal problems associated with Dijon, see Barret 1981, esp. 8–28. Barret remarks that the neatness of the scribe’s calligraphy is misleading: ‘there are very few pieces without at least one notational error and many have more than one’ (15). He notes that, despite the scribe’s presumed French origin, ‘[the] texts themselves are not free of striking variations or errors’, citing ‘omissions, garbling and transpositions that can destroy both the sense and the rhyme scheme’ (16).
- 8) Barret notes that the scribe sometimes ‘confused’ rondeaux and virelais, and mentions several instances where the ‘arrangement of the voices and the incorrect distribution of the text [...] [suggests] that [the scribe] did not know the piece or that his exemplar was defective’ (*ibid.*, 14).
- 9) Wexler, ‘Ockeghem and Politics’, 5–6; and Wexler 1992, lxxxv–lxxxvi. Marix 1937 takes these *rentrements* at face value, obscuring the piece’s form. Barret suggests that they might be cue incipits or even titles (*op. cit.*, 12–13).
- 10) On this point, Barret remarks that ‘when the piece was a four-voice double or triple chanson, or a chanson motet, the extra text was inserted in whatever vacant spot was available’ (*op. cit.*, 14).
- 11) See Wexler 1992, lxxxv; Wexler, ‘Ockeghem and Politics’, 5; and Van Benthem 1995, xiv.
- 12) I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for stressing this point to me (private communications, 21 May, 2000). Again, ‘a potted biography that ends with the subject’s progress from soldiering to serving God is surely the climax of the poem’ (private communication, 19 December, 1998).
- 13) Here it is worth mentioning a scribal error in the formal interpretation of the poetic text: a stroke has been placed incorrectly after the word *denoment*. It should follow *fame* two words previously, since these strokes usually indicate the ends of lines.
- 14) Several ballades in *Le jardin de plaisance* have refrains that change in the course of the poem, though in the vast majority of cases some element is retained in common: see fol. lxiii (*Ballade du loup garoux*); fol. cxiii (beginning with the line *Plus nay le vit tel que souloie*) and fol. cxxiii<sup>v</sup> (*Mignon maintien, gorgiasse beaulté*). Still more significantly, two reserve the change to the last strophe: see fol. lxi<sup>v</sup> (*Ballade de bergerie*) and fol. cxxiii<sup>v</sup> (*Une dame d’excellente beaulté*). In this last example, the formulation of the refrain changes from the conditional (*Parfaicte en*

- bien seroit la plus du monde*) to the affirmative future (*Parfaicte en bien sera la plus du monde*), a nearly identical situation to that in *Mort tu as navré*. See E. Droz, A. Piaget (edd.), *Le jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique* (Paris 1910–1925). I thank David Fallows for showing me these ballades.
- 15 Finally, text-critical principles dictate that where two interpretations are possible, the reading transmitted in the source should take precedence. This most neutral standpoint favours the order adopted here.
  - 16 I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for discussing this difficult passage with me. Ironically, the one parallel in the polyphonic ballade literature, the anonymous *Resjois toi* ascribed to Busnoys, which has identically-placed four-syllable lines, survives only with a single stanza, and so cannot help us in verifying or disproving the various hypotheses concerning this passage.
  - 17 See Wexler, 'Ockeghem and Politics', 8, for a literal (but in my view, unwarranted) interpretation of the word.
  - 18 The translators of the poetic text (Wexler 1992 and 1997, Davies 1982, Lowinsky 1984 and others) overlook the grammatical and syntactical problems raised by this passage.
  - 19 Edition in Wexler 1992, lxxxii–lxxxiii and 75–6.
  - 20 See L.-A. Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abréviations latines et françaises* (Évreux 1846; repr. after 5th edition [Paris 1884] Hildesheim/New York 1970). The three words in which this abbreviation is attested with this group of letters are *derrainement* (21), *diligemment* (22), and *premierement* (65). I thank Jaap van Benthem for alerting me to the existence of this volume. For the meaning proposed here of *denoment*, see A. Tobler, E. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin 1915–), Vol. II, col. 397 (the German is *bestimmen*).
  - 21 Tobler, Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, 95. Lieferung, cols. 709–710 and 715. The German equivalents are *Wille*, *Willenskraft*, and *Entschlossenheit*.
  - 22 Christopher Page has pointed out to me that the reference to the 'milleur part' of line 19 derives from the episode of Mary and Martha, Luke 10:38–42, which medieval commentators interpreted as an allegorical vindication of the contemplative life as compared with the active.
  - 23 See D. Fallows, 'Ballade', in *MGG*<sup>2</sup>, Sachteil 2 (Kassel etc. 1999), cols. 1129–1134.
  - 24 G. Montagna, 'Johannes Pullois in the Context of his Era', in *RBM* 42 (1988), 83–117, places *La bonté du saint esperit* in the reign of Pius II (1458–1464), but the reign of his predecessor Callixtus III (1455–1458) is equally plausible. Editions are in P. Gülke, *Jean Pullois, Opera Omnia*, CMM 41, 34; G. Adler, O. Koller, *Sechs Trienter Codices ... II. Auswahl*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jg. 11/1, Vol. 22 (Vienna 1904), 103; and M.K. Hanen, *The Chansonier El Escorial IV.a.24* (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen 1983), no. 49.
  - 25 On *Resjois toi*, see the excellent study by A. Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Resjois toi terre de France/Rex pacificus. An Ockeghem Work Reattributed to Busnoys', in *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. P. Higgins (Oxford 1999), 277–294, which includes a new edition. (Another is in Pope/Kanazawa 1978, 391–394). The link with Louis XI was first made in A. Pirro, 'Un manuscrit musical du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle à Montcassin', in *Cassinensia* 1 (1929), 205–208. It has since been pointed out by Leeman Perkins that the text of *Resjois toi*, with its aspiration to a united French realm under a strong crown, places it with equal plausibility in the last years of the reign of Louis's father, Charles VII, during which the successful conclusion of the Hundred Years' war was consolidated (see Pope/Kanazawa

1978, 626, n. 29). As Lindmayr-Brandl avers, Pixérécourt is hardly the most reliable of sources as concerns ascriptions, and the style of *Resjois toi* does not immediately call Busnoys to mind (or at least not the mature Busnoys). But whoever composed it and for whatever occasion, it is clear that *Resjois toi* is closely related to, and contemporaneous with, *Mort, tu as navré*.

- 26 Barret mentions several instances in Dijon of missing *signa congruentiae* at medial cadences in rondeaux, and of scribal placement of medial cadences in the virelais on the mistaken assumption that they were rondeaux (*op. cit.*, 14).
- 27 It is the rather leaden, static aspect engendered by the frequent repetition of this passage in the existing editions and sound-recordings that first led me to consider the possibility of an *ouvert/clos* interpretation.
- 28 The numerous sources for this piece disagree as to the precise reading of this passage, but the majority gives the reading adopted in Example 1. See Wexler 1992, lxxviii-lxxxii and 73-74.
- 29 Naturally, the placement of the medial cadence of *Prenez sur moy* is one of the most hotly debated questions of Ockeghem scholarship. For two recent studies, see J. van Benthem, 'Prenez sur moy vostre exemple. *Signae*, Text and Cadences in Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moy* and *Missa Cuiusvis toni*', in *TVNM* 47 (1997), 99-118; and D. Fallows, 'Prenez sur moy. Ockeghem's Tonal Pun', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1 (1992), 63-75.  
 Here I cannot resist a mention of the anonymous work (No. 761 in the Trent Codices) that David Fallows has tentatively placed within the Ockeghem circle (D. Fallows, 'The "Only" Firmly Instrumental Piece. A Commentary on Benvenuto Dissertori', in *I codici musicali trentini: nuovi scoperte e nuove orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. P. Wright (Trento 1996), 81-92). While Fallows refrains from a more positive identification, the implications of his discussion point at least to the possibility of Ockeghem's authorship. In the context of the present discussion, any attempt to enlist the piece's half-close in support of the same conclusion is obviously open to the charge of circular argument; so I offer it here with all due caution. See also B. Dissertori, 'L'unica composizione sicuramente strumentale nei codici trentini', in *Collectanea historiae musicae* 2 (1957), 135-145.
- 30 I thank the Clerks' Group and its director, Edward Wickham, not only for their open-mindedness in trying out my emendation, but also for enthusiastically incorporating it into their performance on their sound recording for ASV (CD GAU 215). It should be noted that at the time the recording was made (February 1999), my thoughts on the text had not yet crystallised.

## APPENDIX

### A NEW EDITION OF *MORT, TU AS NAVRÉ*

#### *A Note on Texting*

Despite its scruffy appearance, Montecassino's reading of the music is rather more reliable and consistent than Dijon's, and is adopted here as the primary one. As to the texting of the lower voices, I am convinced by Van Benthem's arguments concerning the probable absence of text until the very end of the work (from bar 50), at 'Pie Ihesu domine, dona ei requiem'. Van Benthem notes the absence of clear plainchant matches for the preceding music with the text set out in Dijon (in the Tenor first section, the fragmentary 'Miserere, miserere, pie' and in the second, 'Quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine'), which contrasts sharply with the unmistakable nature of the quotation itself. And it must be significant that that quotation is singled out for imitation, a device otherwise conspicuously absent from *Mort, tu as navré*. Finally, Van Benthem remarks on the telling coincidence of this Latin text-phrase with the refrain 'Prier/z pour lame', the one illustrating the other: all these points seem consistent with Ockeghem's generally logical stance with regard to borrowed material. However, it is unlikely that the superfluous Latin text phrases originated with the scribe of Dijon. The one *incipit* in Montecassino at the beginning of the second section ('Q[ui]a si cruce') is similar enough to Dijon's to suggest that the two followed similar exemplars; besides, it is unlikely that the Dijon scribe had sufficient nous to initiate such a reworking himself. That such a fragmentary use of plainchant would be unique in the motet-chanson literature (as Honey Meconi observes)\* need not deter one from conjecturing it. It savours strongly of a retrospective (not to say archaising) attitude to the partial texting practices of past generations (especially with respect to ceremonial ballades), here embodied in the person being memorialised. For this reason, I doubt whether Ockeghem really was 'writing in a kind of vacuum' when he composed *Mort, tu as navré*.\*\*

This archaising tendency may also be hinted at in the text-setting of the Discantus. A rest occurs at bar 15 shortly before the end of part A. Dijon's underlay is ambiguous, but suggests that this highly melismatic final phrase be sung to the final syllable of verses 2 and 4 of each strophe. Melismas at the close of part A were common during the ceremonial ballade's heyday, and I have acted on the suggestion here.\*\*\* For the rest, my text-underlay follows two basic premises: first, that it should be consistent from strophe to strophe (that is, changes of syllable should occur on the same notes as far as possible),

\* Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-chanson', 386, fn 25.

\*\* *Ibid.*, 385.

\*\*\* Admittedly, the melismas in the older ballades often occur between the *ouvert* and *clos* cadences. On the other hand, apportioning the words of verses 2 and 4 of each strophe between the two music phrases of bars 12-15 and 15-19 proves difficult precisely because of the highly melismatic character of the melody after bar 15.

and second, that words are not repeated. One must assume that a fifteenth-century singer performing (as opposed to merely reading) from a chansonnier like Dijon would have to begin by memorising the text, and match it to the music as he sang. Further, having established a satisfactory underlay for the first stanza, he might naturally seek to retain it as far as possible in subsequent ones, if only for convenience's sake (in which case the repetition of words within lines seems to be ruled out). Some might object that individual stanzas often differ with regard to word-stress (all of the modern editions of *Mort, tu as navré* work on that assumption); but that impression is conditioned by modern-day approaches to text-setting, and may have had no place in the hyper-conventionalised *modus operandi* of the *formes fixes*. Applying the principle of consistency in *Mort, tu as navré* has posed no special problems.



[Discantus]

C[ontratenor]

T[enor]

B[assus]

5

1. Mort, tu as na - - - vré de ton  
 2. En des - ploy - ant ton es - tan -  
 4. Re - - - to - ric - que se dieu me -  
 5. Mu - - - sic - que par pi - teux re -  
 7. En sa jo - nes - - - se fut sou -  
 8. Puis a es - leu la mil - leur

10

dart Le pe - - - re de joy - yeu - se -  
 dart Sur Bin - - - choi, pa - tron de bon -  
 gard Son ser - - - vi - teur a re - gre -  
 gard A fait deul et noir a por -  
 dart De hon - no - - - ra - ble mon - da - ni -  
 part Ser - vant dieu en hu - mi - li -

15

té,  
té.  
tée.  
tée.  
té,  
té.

20

3. Son  
6. Pleu - - -  
9. Tant

25

corps est plaint  
rez hom - - - mes  
luy soit en

30

et la - - - men - - - té  
de fe - - - aul - - - té  
chres - - - ti - - - en - - - té

35

Qui gist soubz la - - -  
L om - - - me sans bla - - -  
Son nom et fa - - -

40

me. He - - - - - las  
me. Vueil - - - - - lez  
me, Qu i de - - - -

45

plai - - - - se vous en pi - tié  
 vos - - - - tre u - - - ni - ver - si - té  
 no - - - - ment grant vou - lon - té.  
 Pi - e

50

Pri - - -  
 Pri - - -  
 Pri - - -  
 Jhe - su do - mi - ne  
 Pi - e Jhe - su do - mi - ne do -  
 Pi - e Jhe - su do - mi - ne

55

er pour la - - - - me.  
 er pour la - - - - me.  
 ez pour la - - - - me.  
 do - na e - i re - - qui - em.  
 na e - i re - - qui - em.  
 do - - - - na e - i re - - qui - em.

SOURCE VARIANTS (unless otherwise stated, variants listed below are from Dijon)

*Mensuration signs*

- 1-19 no sign (Mont)  
O in D, Ct, T only (Dij)  
20-60 C in D, Ct, T only (Dij)  
C in all voices (Mont)

*Flat signatures*

- sig ♭ in Ctb cancelled or omitted  
after 33 (Mont)  
sig ♭ in D cancelled or omitted  
after 14/2 (Mont)

*Signum congruentiae*

- 18<sup>1</sup> (all voices): no signum (Dij, Mont)

*Variants in pitch and duration, ligatures*

(a) [Discantus]

- 9<sup>1-2</sup>: Br (Mont) 46<sup>2</sup>-47<sup>1</sup>: lig.  
11<sup>1</sup>: rest missing (Mont) 47<sup>2</sup>-48<sup>1</sup>: lig.  
11<sup>2</sup>: no ♯ (Dij) 50-53: rests missing (error)  
18<sup>1-3</sup>: Sb c' Mi b (Mont) 57<sup>2</sup>: 2 col-Sm c', b  
20-3: rests missing (error)

(b) C[ontratenor]

- 7<sup>2</sup>: 2 Sb 21<sup>2</sup>-22<sup>1</sup>: no lig.  
8<sup>1</sup>: 2 Sb 25<sup>1</sup>-27<sup>1</sup>: lig.  
10<sup>2</sup>: f (error) 36<sup>2</sup>: b (error)  
12<sup>2</sup>: Sb a, Mi rest 49<sup>2</sup>: 2 Mi  
16<sup>2</sup>-17<sup>1</sup>: dotted Sb 52<sup>3</sup>: dotted Mi e', Sm d'  
18: Br, Lo

(c) T[enor]

- 3<sup>2</sup>-4<sup>1</sup>: dotted Sb f, Mi e 23-24: Lo  
9-10: 2 Sb e, 2 Sb d, 2 Sb c 30-31: lig.  
11: Sb, imp. Br 41-42: lig.  
14: imp Br, Sb 56<sup>2</sup>-57<sup>1</sup>: no lig.

(d) C[ontratenor] b[assus]

- 3<sup>2</sup>: missing (error) 39-40: lig.  
19<sup>1</sup>: d (Mont) 41-46: lig. 2 Br B, A; lig. 4 Br A, a, f, d  
31: 2 Sb 56<sup>1</sup>-57<sup>1</sup>: no lig.

<i>Text</i>		
1	Ct	Miserere (Dij)
1	T	miserere miserere pie (Dij)
1-19	D	Mort, tuas navre de fone dart le pere de/En desployant son estan dart (Mont)
1-60	D	full texting (Dij)
20	Ct	Q[ui]a si cruce (Mont)
	Ctb	pie jesu do[m]ine dona ei req[u]iem (Mont)
20	T	Quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine (Dij)
50	T	Pie Jh[esu] d[omi]ne dona ei: requiem (Dij)