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Rhétorique and musique: the poetry of musical networks in fifteenth-century France

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RHÉTORIQUE AND *MUSIQUE:* THE POETRY OF MUSICAL NETWORKS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

by

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To my late grandmother

Mary Swain

And to my sons

Ellis and Marlowe

generations past and future

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ABSTRACT

The death of Jean de Okeghem in 1497 inspired eulogies by contemporary poets, most notably Jean Molinet and Guillaume Crétin. Molinet's brief lament, *Nymphes des bois*, was famously set to music by Josquin Desprez. Crétin's much longer poem, *Déploration…sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem*, while not associated with any extant musical composition, demonstrates familiarity with musical repertoire and figures — likely tied to his own time as singer in the royal court. Crétin called on a specific group of musicians to lament Okeghem as their "maître et bon père:" Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris, Josquin, Gaspar, Brumel, and Compère. Musicologists have contemplated the implications of this list for revealing aspects of the lives and music of these musicians that remain lost in the historical record. However, the rationale behind this list has proved elusive.

I place Crétin's *Déploration* within the context of lament literature of the time period, focusing on the role of genealogical constructions in the late Middle Ages, and

examining the place of the *Déploration* within the practice by *rhétoriqueur* French poets of incorporating historiography into their verse writing. Crétin postulated a "family tree" of musicians of France, following similar formulations for artists and writers. Comparable lists in the literature of the time period reinforce this reading shedding further insight into the kinds of identity built around this frame. I examine Crétin's *Déploration* alongside works by other poets, including Molinet and Jean Lemaire, in order to demonstrate that around 1500, an idea of a distinctively French ("*Alexandrine*") sound and style in both language and music was emerging in circles associated with the French royal court. Crétin's poem reveals an ecological network of musical operations in smaller courts, churches, and municipalities. I argue that the lists in the poem outline a network of people connected through French language and music.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives nationale de France
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Chantilly	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, MS 564 ("Chantilly Codex")
Chigi	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234
Dijon517	Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517 ("Dijon Chansonnier")
f. / ff.	folio / folios
Godefroy	Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (1881)
LonRC1070	London, Royal College of Music, MS 1070
LU	*Liber Usualis,* Tournai, 1956
Medici	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Acq. e doni 666 ("Medici Codex")
NJE	*New Josquin Edition*, general editor Willem Elders (Utrecht 1987–2017)
ms. fr.	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, fonds français
Paris	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr.
VatS	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina
VerBC 761	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLXI

I. INTRODUCTION

In 2009 the Italian writer Umberto Eco was invited by the Louvre to curate a series on a theme of his choice; in the autumn, the series "Vertige de la Liste" (Vertigo of Lists), explored a favorite topic of his, the list. Eco expounds: “The list is the origin of culture. It's part of the history of art and literature. What does culture want? To make infinity comprehensible…We like lists because we don't want to die.”[1] Eco describes making lists as giving definition and boundaries to things that seem too large to represent. By making lists of properties, Eco suggests, we perform the process of making these things comprehensible and definable.

In many ways this project started with a list. A group of musicians listed in a poem posed the question to me and many musicologists before me, why these particular names in this particular group? Soon the network behind the list began to emerge—musicians appearing at different times in France, often in association with the French royal court. The historiography of the arts in their courtly environment in the late Middle Ages often depends on the kinds of records court accountants kept of salaries and other remunerative expenses paid to musicians. However, on 27 October 1737, a terrible fire annihilated the main building of the archives of the Chambre des Comptes on the Île de la Cité in Paris. Parchments containing registers and accounts were engulfed in flames or

[1] Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists,* trans. Alastair McEwen (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 15.

thrown out of the windows, trampled underfoot in the chaos.[2] Thousands of volumes chronicling the administration of the many institutions in France, including the royal court, perished.[3] The loss of so many materials in this event and others like it has been an impediment for scholars of one of the most significant cultural institutions in early modern Europe. These calamities have left a thirty-five-year documentation gap from 1475-1515. Yet every indication from other sources indicates that the traditional musical institutions of the king's *chapelle* and *maison* continued to flourish throughout this time period.[4] Following the itinerant court, these "other sources" are dispersed across France in municipal records, collegiate church records, records from other courts in Europe, and court chronicles.

In this context, I examine another kind of historical source, the poem, which enacts the intricate connections between musicians and poets, past and present, to shape a microcosm of the musical environment that flourished at the end of the fifteenth century in France. The death of Jean de Okeghem, the premier *chapelain* of the royal chapel of the king of France, on 6 February 1497, inspired his contemporary writers to eulogize his life and works as a musician and servant of the king.[5] Guillaume Crétin's *Déploration*…

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[2] Michel Nortier, "Le sort des archives dispersées de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris," Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 123 (1965): 471. See also A.-M. de Boislisle, Chambre des Comptes de Paris. Pièces justificatives pour servir à l'histoire des premiers présidents (1506-1791) (Nogent-le-Rotrou: Impr. de Gouverneur, 1873).

[3] Nortier, "Le sort des archives," 481.

[4] Leeman L. Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (Autumn 1984): 514.

[5] J. M. Vaccaro, "Jean de Ockeghem, tresorier de l'eglise Saint Martin de Tours de 1459 (?) a 1497," in *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd. Tentoonstelling gehouden in het Stadhuis te Dendermonde*, 14 november - 6 december 1970 (Dendermonde, 1970), 68.

sur le trépas de Jean Ockeghem was among the first offerings of posthumous praise for Ockeghem.[6] Crétin belonged to a network of writers, active in northern France and Burgundy during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, known as the *rhétoriqueurs*.[7] Known for their intricate rhyme schemes, the *rhétoriqueurs* were fascinated by complex word games and puns, experimentation with sounds in assonances, and multiple meanings, fashioning allegorical narratives, using dreams, symbols, and mythologies. Crétin wrote at the height of the popularity of the *rhétoriqueur* school and was highly regarded not only by his peers, but also in the French literary circles of the next generation. His *Déploration* outlines a group of musicians centered in France and northern Europe, whose repertory and practice rippled across the musical soundscapes of Europe in the last decades of the fifteenth century and into the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This dissertation investigates overlapping networks that together gave shape to a musical environment in the kingdom of France in the fifteenth century. These networks come alive in lists of musicians appearing in the poetry of the *rhétoriqueurs*. With the loss of so many of the materials to which we as historians turn, we are faced with a fundamentally epistemological question. How do we come to historical knowledge about this era? What are the criteria for knowledge? Documents like Crétin's poem demonstrates how someone in Crétin's world would shape their own understanding about

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[6] Guillaume Crétin, *OEuvres poétiques*, ed. Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932), 60-73.

[7] Michel Simonin, ed. *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le XVIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 2001. The term comes from the titles of treatises using the term rhetoric, such as, Jean Molinet's, *Des arts de seconde rhétorique*.

what something is: by creating lists, or networks of like items—in this case, musicians of the French royal court. Many times these lists appear in lament literature, in particular the *déploration funèbre* of the *rhétoriqueur*. Lists of musicians parallel other kinds of lists, of poets or theorists, wise men or nobility. Genealogies of fame and glory rise from these lists, particularly in the fifteenth century. Lists of musicians, lament literature, and genealogies share networked discursive spaces, which may allow us fresh insight into musical practice in French court circles.

The Problem of Archives

Despite the fragmented archival remains, scholarship on music in fifteenth-century France has helped piece together the remaining documentation from this period. Brenet's *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France* remains a central resource, providing crucial archival information on musicians at the court from the 1450s to the 1470s, which she contextualizes within court practice.[8] While the economic situation for funding the court chapel was bleak due to a depletion of funds during the Hundred Years' War, there remained a flourishing musical culture surrounding the court throughout the fifteenth

[8] Michel Brenet, *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1911). "Michel Brenet" is the male pseudonym for the female scholar Marie Bobillier. I will use her publication name of choice, but refer to her with the feminine pronoun.

century, as would befit the status of the monarch. Building on the work of Brenet,[9] Leeman Perkins identifies two notable documentary lacunae in the accounts of the court chapel in 1422-1447 and 1475-1515, gaps that have become a constant source of frustration for writers on music of the French royal court.[10] In a study on the chapels of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, Richard Sherr confronted the same difficulty, which he partially surmounted by consulting papal supplication records, thereby filling in some of the information during the second documentary gap outlined by Perkins.[11] Since requests for benefices had to be approved by Rome, Sherr identifies several of these requests coming from the French court and French clerics in the first couple of decades in the sixteenth century, particularly around the year 1510, allowing him to piece together and identify several members of the royal chapel through these records.

More recent studies have filled in additional gaps in the documentation. On the basis of new archival work, Agostino Magro details the precise nature of Ockeghem's administrative work as treasurer of St. Martin and as the administrator of a small fief

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[9] Leeman L. Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (Autumn 1984): 507–566. According to Perkins, "Documentation relating to the musical organization of the court under Charles VIII and Louis XII is thus almost entirely wanting, and yet there is every indication from other sources that the traditional institutions continued to flourish all through the thirty-five-year period in question without interruption." ("Musical Patronage," 514). Perkins does not identify such "other sources," and merely refers to the entry "Valois" in the *New Grove Dictionary*.

[10] Perkins, "Musical Patronage."

[11] Richard Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding Their Deaths," *Journal of Musicology* 6 (Winter 1988): 60–82.

during the time he was employed by the French royal court.[12] Because of the troubles with the chapter, the French king, Louis XI, repeatedly was compelled to write on behalf of Ockeghem, granting him the leadership and authority to carry out his duties. Ockeghem had a high level of responsibility and rank within the hierarchy of the court administration and the town of Tours. This connection also demonstrates the ties the royal court had in overseeing St. Martin, as well as the king's practice of orbiting around Tours and the Loire Valley as a capital. While Magro's article is less about the actual musical institutions and more about Ockeghem's administrative roles, it nevertheless sheds light on the extent to which a composer, famed as such even in his own time, is employed by the court.

While the French royal court was centralized around the king, it was also part of a network with many smaller courts in France. Thus, in recent years, scholars have begun to study the French royal court through under-explored examinations of town and church records, sources, and literature relating to these smaller courts. Theodor Dumitrescu, for example, drawing on the archival records of the collegiate church in Blois, was able to establish both a broader picture of Prioris (establishing his identity as Dionysus Prioris, the Latinized version of Denis Prieur) within the French royal court during the time of Louis XII, and place the composer's geographical center more securely in the Loire Valley.[13] Such discoveries illuminate the interrelationship between various institutions,

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[12] Agostino Magro, Frank Dobbins, and Lisa Blauvelt-Weil, "'Premierement Ma Baronnie de Chasteauneuf:' Jean de Ockeghem, Treasurer of St Martin's in Tours," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 165–258.

[13] Theodor Dumitrescu, "Who Was 'Prioris'? A Royal Composer Recovered," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (Spring 2012): 5-65.

places, and figures involved in creating and supporting music culture in fifteenth-century French realms. Dumitrescu further outlined the interaction of the collegiate church with the royal court, which involved Prioris and other singers across institutions. Likewise, Magro's discussion of Ockeghem's involvement with St Martin in Tours shows the composer as simultaneously active and geographically present in the dual spheres of court and church.

How we approach the archives reveals certain assumptions about how institutions are organized and the roles played by their musical personnel. In the wake of such studies as Richard Vaughan's series on the dukes of Burgundy, we may be tempted to compare a fifteenth-century court with a pre-modern, centralized institution around the ruling sovereign.[14] The archival records reveal, however, that these courts built parallel networks of interconnectedness with each other and with other institutions, such as the collegiate churches. These records, of course, also reveal the larger roles a musician might play within these networks: as administrator, cleric, land-owner, diplomat, priest, and teacher. Because the environment of music lies in this multiplicity of roles and institutions, approaching the archives with a broad view may prove fruitful.

In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in France, the regional archives for each *département* were inventoried and catalogued. In order to facilitate this process,

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[14] See Richard Vaughan's monograph series, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002.); *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.); *Philip the Good: The Apogee of the Burgundian State* (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1970; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008); and *Charles the Bold: The last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (New York, Barnes & Noble Book, 1974; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011).

each type of document was divided into a date category and a subject category, or *série*. For example, Séries A-I contain the documents dated before 1790, and within this stretch, the documents containing information about courts and their jurisdiction are in Série B. But as we have seen even with Ockeghem, musicians and composers often have many duties in their employment that are not strictly musical, and as much of this is connected with sacred functions. Thus finding such information about Ockeghem in Série G, the category for secular clergy, is not surprising, since it includes documentation on collegiate chapters, dioceses, and parishes—as we know from Dumitrescu and Magro. Dumitrescu also reported some documents from Série E, the category containing documents concerning different fiefs. The modern organization of archival documents in France reflect an understanding of institutions that may not be consistent with how the institutions were formed or how people moved around in them.

Indeed, the organization and cataloguing protocols of the French archives established after the eighteenth century have impacted how modern scholars have approached fifteenth-century music. Barbara Haggh, for example, has pointed out a potential misreading of the archival catalogue system that has led scholars to misunderstand foundations and institutions, which are the basic funding structures for musical activity in the fifteenth century.[15] The archival cataloguing system favors the

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[15] Foundations, according to Haggh, are "introduced with the establishment of an initial endowment and later supported both by the collection of tithes and taxes and the receipt of offerings, bequests, property, or rents thereon, transferred to augment the endowment," whereas, "institutions are corporate entities introduced by consensus and funded by primarily taxes or fees." See Barbara Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 95.

institutional model, but foundations were how music was funded in the church. In order to fully research a foundation, though, one would have to research across the subject categories, or *séries*.[16] In short, Haggh underlines the difficulty of addressing documents organized in ways that mask the original institutions. Ironically, the dispersal of documents across *séries* may, in the end, prove to be an advantage for French archival studies in the fifteenth century, as many of these avenues are yet under-explored.

Chapter Summary

The French poetic literature of the time period also offers opportunities for historical reflection. Cretin's *Déploration* for Ockeghem is an important source for understanding the musical environment in the kingdom of France at the end of the fifteenth century. In the first chapter I explore and coalesce aspects of Crétin's biography, which has not been reconsidered in scholarly literature in nearly a century. Nor has Crétin's biography been studied at any length in English language scholarship. A key fact often overlooked by musicologists is that as a singer, Crétin would have overlapped with Ockeghem in the service of the French king. I argue that the depiction in the *Déploration* of a real musical network stems from the credibility of Crétin as a witness of and participant in musical activity. The second chapter delves more deeply into the *Déploration* itself. I contextualize the context of the poem both in terms of laments for other musicians and of the poetic genre of the *déploration funèbre*. Because Crétin's

[16] Haggh, "Foundations," 102: "The systematic consultation of an entire series of a single type of source, which has often been the method followed by musicologists, ensures misleading results reflecting only one part of the foundation process."

poem ends with the intriguing list of composers, I delve into the known biographies of these musicians in the third chapter, holding what we do know alongside what Crétin seems to be telling us in the poem—an exercise that only seems to corroborate further the French court circle leaning of the poem. The fourth chapter shifts slightly away from the *Déploration*, considering Crétin rhetorically held alongside Ockeghem by the poet Jean Lemaire. I examine lists of musicians, many of them the same, in two of Lemaire's poems, *Plainte du Désiré*, a lament, and *Concorde des deux langages*. These lists reveal the arena in which rhetoric and music, as understood from fifteenth-century French language point of view, overlap in the poetic context. In the final chapter, I contemplate the broader implications of these lists as discursive frameworks, particularly through the lens of genealogy. The cultural activity of these lists simultaneously transcend and reinforce the social networks they portray. Crétin's poem reveals that musical patronage at the royal court of France was a decentralized endeavor, an ecology operating through smaller courts, churches, and municipalities, enacted and sustained by the intertwining of music and poetry.

Puis d'Ockeghem, l'harmonie tresfine

II. PRELUDE

Mort tu as navré / Miserere

In his *L'art de dictier* (1392), the poet Eustache Deschamps (1346–ca.1407) describes what would soon become the arts of the *seconde rhétorique*, wherein music and rhetoric would be allied in poetic expression, each emphasizing their respective experience of the world.[1] In his lament in two ballades for the poet and musician Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–1377), Deschamps called Machaut a "noble rhétorique," a term synonymous with poet, one skilled in versification and in music (fig. II.1).[2] Machaut was no stranger to the companionship of Rhétorique and Musique, personifications of which appeared in his *Prologue* and in the *Remede de Fortune.* Accompanying the two, Scens (meaning) completed the triumvirate that gave the "rhétorique"— that is, the poet—the skills needed to create effective songs in the tangible expression of sweet thought, pleasure, and hope, a trinity of virtues (Dous penser, Plaisance, and Esperance) he personified in his own

[1] Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs,"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 8–9.

[2] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 8.

poetry.[3] Rhétorique and Musique personifed what Deschamps described in his treatise as "musique naturele" and "musique artificiele," that is, music spoken in a natural language and music "spoken" in the created language of the six solmization tones. Their

Fig. II.1 - Two ballades on the death of Machaut by Eustache Deschamps

Ballade 123	Ballade 124
Armes, Amours, Dames, Chevalerie,	O fleur des fleurs de toute melodie,
Clers, musicians, faititres en françois,	Tresdoulz maistres qui tant fustes adrois,
Tous sophistes, toute poeterie,	O Guillaume, mondains dieux d'armonie,
Tous ceuls qui ont melodieuse voix,	Apres voz faiz, qui obtendra le chois
Ceuls qui chantent en orgue aucune fois	Sur tous faiseurs? Certes, ne le congnoys.
Et qui ont chier le doulz art de musique,	Vo noms sera precieuse relique,
Demenez dueil, plourez, car c'est bien drois,	Car l'en plourra en France et en Artois
La mort Machaut le noble rethorique.	La mort Machaut, le noble rethorique.
Onques d'amours ne parla en folie,	La fons Circé et la fonteine Helie
Ains a esté en tous ses diz courtois,	Dont vous estiez le ruissel et les dois,
Aussi a moult pleu sa chanterie	Ou poetes mistrent leur estudie
Aux grans seigneurs, a Dames et bourgois.	Convient taire, dont je suis moult destrois.
Hé! Orpheus, assez lamenter dois	Las! C'est par vous qui mort gisez tous frois,
Et regreter d'un regart autentique,	Qui de tous chans avez esté cantique.
Arethusa et Alpheus, tous trois,	Plourez, harpes et cors sarrazinois,
La mort Machaut le noble rethorique.	La mort Machaut, le noble rethorique.
Priez pour lui si que nul ne l'oublie:	Rubebes, leuths, vielles, syphonie,
Ce vous requiert le bailli de Valoys,	Psalterions, trestous instrumens coys,
Car il n'en est au jour d'ui des mois.	Rothes, guiterne, flaustes, chalemie,
Complains sera de princes et de Roys,	Traversaines, et vous, nymphes de boys,
Jusqu'a longtemps pour sa bonne pratique;	Tympanne aussi, mettez en euvre dois,
Vestez vous noir, plourez tous, Chapmenois,	Et le choro n'y ait nul qui replique,
La mort Machaut, le noble rethorique.	Faictes devoir, plourez, gentils Galois,
	La mort Machaut le noble rethorique.

Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres Complètes*, eds. Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878), 1:245-246.

[3] Jordan Stokes, "In Search of Machaut's Poietics: Music and Rhetoric in *Le Remede de Fortune*," *Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014): 396–7. See also Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

combination with Scens generated a song infinitely sweeter than either "musique" sounding alone.[4]

The union of Rhétorique and Musique inspired their inclusion in another lament for a musician: Okeghem's *Mort, tu as navré de ton dart*/*Miserere*, commemorating the Burgundian court musician Gilles Binchois, who died on 20 September 1460 in Soignies (fig. II.2). The poem's text calls on Rhétorique and Musique to mourn the loss of their servant. In many ways, the laments for Machaut and Binchois are similar: they follow the lament form of opening with mourning and ending with consolation, a structure that remained fairly consistent in laments of the middle ages. However, even while maintaining this basic pattern, a shift in lament literature occurs around the middle of the fifteenth century.[5]

In the fourteenth century, the miseries of the Hundred Years War and the Black Death shaped experiences of death. In response, lament literature turned toward the macabre or personal meditation. Death was unavoidable human destiny, and the literature did not minimize the reality of its severity.[6] When the constant presence of death became less

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[4] François Cornilliat, *Or ne mens: couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les "grands rhétoriqueurs*," (Paris: H. Champion, 1990), 198–99. See also discussion in Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 185.

[5] Christine Scollen-Jimack, "Funeral Poetry in France: From Octavien Saint-Gelais to Clément Marot," in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland,* ed. Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 155–56. Scollen-Jimack outlines briefly the tradition and shift of lament literature in the middle ages, as does Christine Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie Françoise de 1450 à 1550* (Paris: Editions Honoré Champion, 1978), 295–96.

[6] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 295.

Fig. II.2 - Text and translation: Okeghem, *Mort, tu as navré de ton dart*

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

Transcription and translation by Fabrice Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 4.

frequent in France's collective anxiety after the end of the war, funereal expressions shifted. The transitions is particularly in literature commemorating the death of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1467, laments for whom provided subsequent models commemorating other rulers or nobility.[7] In the process moving from mourning to consolation, elaborate and lofty language memorialized the ruler in a manner that reinforced his magnificence. The poets created elaborate *mises-en-scène* in which cohorts

[7] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 312–15.

of abstractions and personifications were called together to eulogize the deceased. In the consolation, an apotheosis was achieved as the body of the ruler was placed in a glorious monument or tomb, his fame preserved, surviving the deceased in its glory.[8] While many of these poems are extensive in length and scope, the structural pattern of this lament of mourning into apotheosis became standard in the latter half of the fifteenth century. While significantly shorter than these impressive *déplorations*, Okeghem's lament for Binchois reveals the same patterns and tropes that emerged in the middle of the century.

The text for *Mort, tu as navré* is conveyed in the main source of the song's transmission, the chanson manuscript known as the "Dijon Chansonnier."[9] *Mort, tu as navré* appears in the latter part of the book, in a section of combinative chansons—chansons with more than one text—mostly for more than three voices. The song is a four-voice piece with a French text in the uppermost voice and a Latin text in the tenor and, to all indications, the contratenor and bassus as well (fig. II.3). Some have described this form as a motet-chanson — though in this case it would appear to bear more likeness to the ceremonial, polytextual late medieval motet.[10]

Fabrice Fitch has pointed to problems with the version transmitted here: scribal

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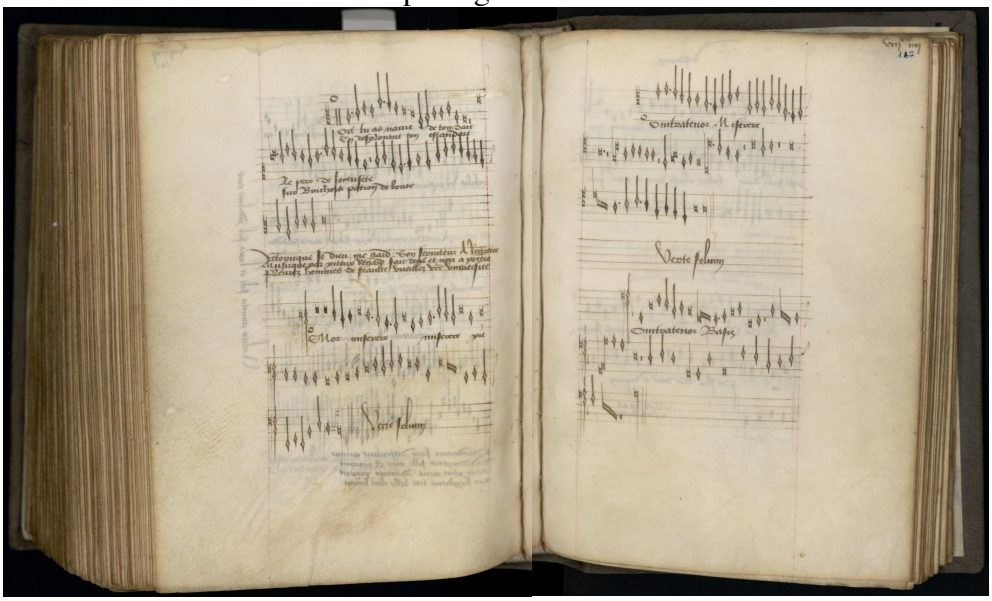
[8] More discussion of this concept of *survie par gloire* will follow in chapter 2.

[9] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517 ("Dijon Chansonnier"). Hereafter, cited as Dijon517. Source description, Richard Wexler, *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works*, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1992), lxxxiv–lxxxvi.

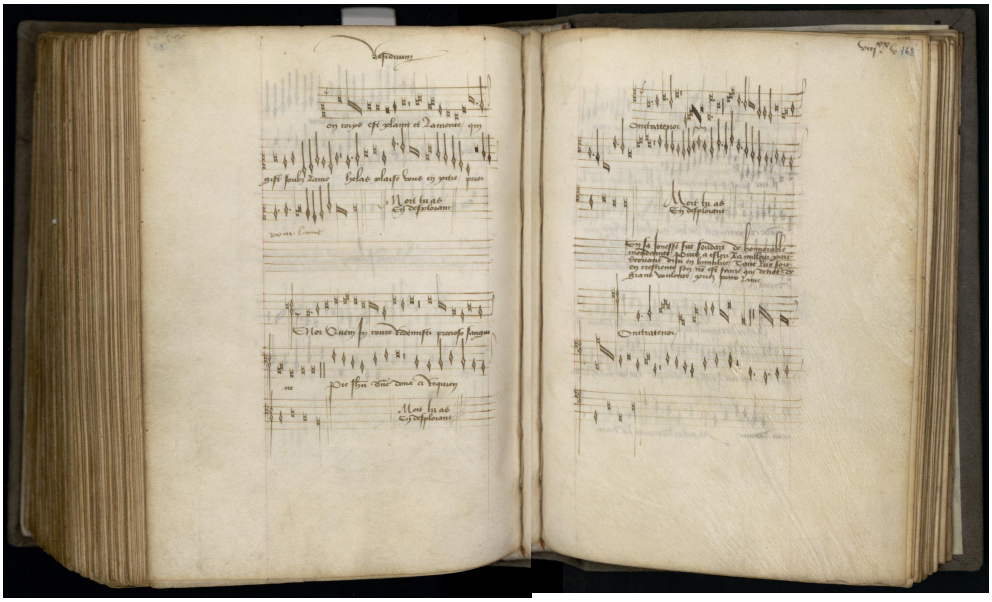
[10] Honey Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France," *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997,* ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 381-402. Fabrice Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 51 (2001): 2–3.

Fig. II.3 - Dijon517, ff. 166v–168

First opening. ff. 166v–167



Second opening. ff. 167v–168



peculiarities obscuring the order of the strophes and the lacunae in one of the strophes.[11]

[11] Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 8. I have reproduced Fitch's transcription and translation of the text in figure II.2 with one change. In the English, I substituted "clothes," which I have bracketed, for "weeds."

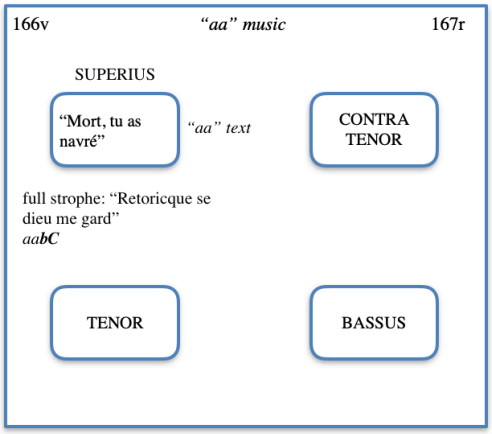
In most pieces copied into the manuscript, the scribe underlaid the first part the text in the superius, with incipits in the other voices, and remaining verses in the empty space below the music for the superius. Since the voice parts were laid out in choirbook format over an opening, any text for extra verses was tucked after, between, or underneath the different parts (fig. II.4). In the case of "Mort, tu as navré," the scribe squeezed an extra

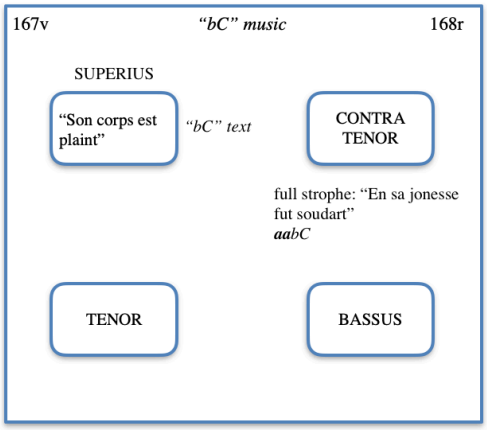
Fig. II.4 - Diagram of layout of ballade

a [M]ort, tu as navre de ton dart
Le pere de joyeuseté
a En desployant ton estandart
Sur Binchois, patron de bonté
b [S]on corps est plaint et lamente
Qui gist soubz lame.
Helas plaise vous en pitie
C Prier pour l'ame.

a Retoricque se dieu me gard
Son serviteur a regretée.
a Musicque par piteux regard
{A}d fait deul et noir a portée.
b Pleurez hommes de feaulté
{L'omme sans blame}
Vueillez v[ost]re université
C {Prier pour l'ame}.

a En sa jonesse fut soudart
De honnorable mondanite,
a Puis a esleu la milleur part
Servant dieu en humilite
b Tant luy soit en chrestiente
Son no[m] et fame est
Qu'i deno[ment] grant voulonté.
C Priez pour l'ame.





strophe between the superius and the contratenor part on the verso of the first opening (ff. 166v–167). The next strophe is likewise squeezed between the contratenor and bassus on

the recto of the second opening (ff. 167v–168).

The placement of the strophes introduces a performance conundrum. Since *Mort, tu as navré* is a ballade, following the typical form *aab*, the music is divided into two major parts: the "aa" section displayed on the first opening and the "b" along with the refrain "C" on the second. The first strophe, *Mort, tu as navré*, is underlaid in the superius, as already stated. The entire strophe beginning "Retoricque se dieu me gard" lies directly below it, including the text that would be sung to the music of "b" section and "C" refrain, which appears on the next opening. The same situation applies to the strophe beginning, "En sa jonesse fut soudart;" because the strophe's entire text is on the recto of the second opening, the "a" section music is separated from the "a" section text by a page turn. Unless the musicians had memorized the text (or the music), the layout of the strophes is impractical. As Jane Alden points out, however, these chansonniers invite multiple reading experiences.[12] The unusual layout of *Mort, tu as navré* may imply an experience more suited to a listener, perhaps following along, than a performer; inclusion of a little mensural treatise at the beginning of Dijon517, as well as visually clear headings, help guide the listener's experience through the book.[13]

Okeghem's *Mort, tu as navré* is his only extant ballade, written at a time when the popularity of the musical form had almost entirely waned.[14] It may be that his choosing

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[12] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 212.

[13] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 69–70.

[14] Wexler, *Johannes Ockeghem,* lxxxv; Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 3.

the ballade form was in homage to Deschamps's commemorative ballades for Machaut, which, within a French court context, he likely knew. Both of Deschamps's ballades were set into one four-voice motet by Franciscus Andrieu in the manuscript known as the "Chantilly Codex:" *Armes, amours, dames, chevalerie tous soffistes, toute poëtrie / O flour des flours de toute melodie Guillaume, mondains diex d'armounie* (f. 52).[15] The layout of parts in Chantilly ascribes one of Deschamps's ballades to one voice and the other ballade to another, while the voices labeled as tenor and contratenor are not texted. *Mort, tu as navré* is also the only ballade in Dijon517, which comprises mainly rondeaux and virelais. This circumstance may help explain another scribal peculiarity.

As already mentioned, the piece is laid out over two openings. For the second opening, following every voice, except the contratenor bassus, an incipit displays the opening text for both "a" sections: "Mort tu as" and, directly below it, "En desploiant" (fig. II.5, detail 1).[16] What the incipits are supposed to indicate is unclear. Fitch suggests that they seem to prescribe a repeat of the song's opening, as in a rondeau, and that their inclusion may have been an accidental force of habit.[17] However, rondeaux typically only have a one-line cue for the refrain, called a *rentrement*, these do not appear next to the music but as part of the residual text typically beneath the voice or voices on the page. If this were a habit-induced miscopying, as Fitch suggests, a single line might

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[15] Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, MS 564 ("Chantilly Codex")

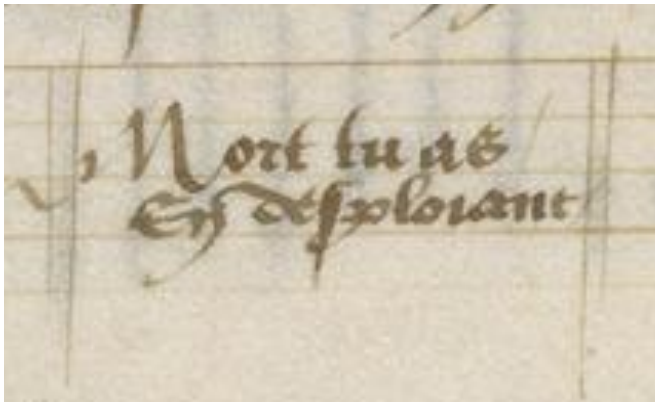
[16] Both Wexler and Fitch refer to these as "rentrements," which is a little misleading. It is true that they quote the opening line, as a rentrement does, but they clearly are not functioning as a rentrement, neither is this a rondeau. I find it more useful to describe these examples as "incipits."

[17] Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 7.

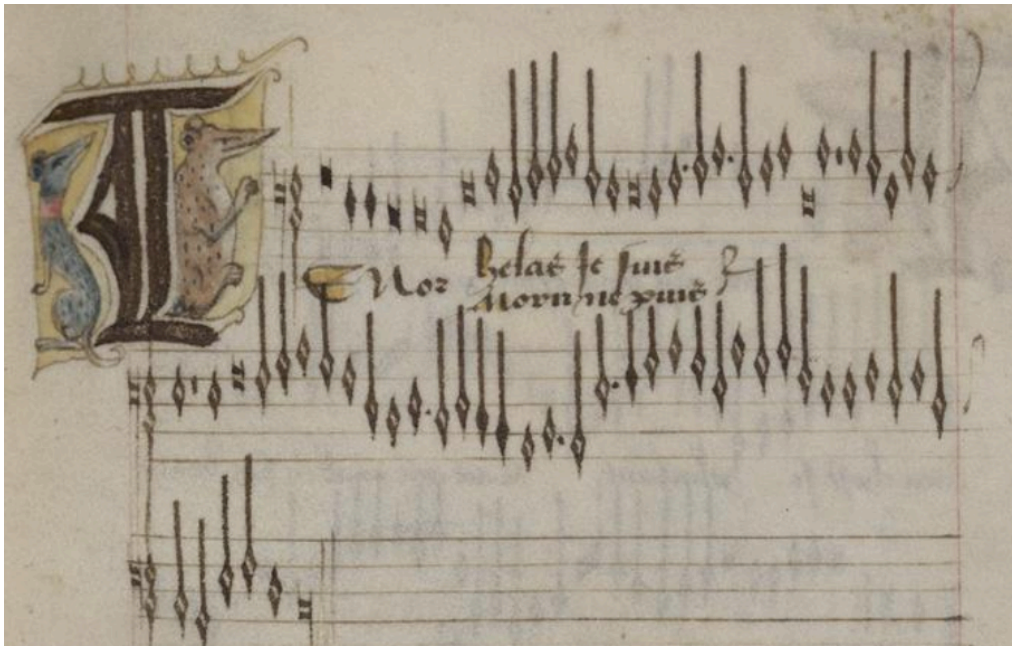
make more sense, but a double-line incipit in three of the four voices seems less tenable. Additionally, rondeaux are usually written across one opening. The other kind of piece in this manuscript that occupies two openings—the virelai—may at first glance reflect a kind of visual analog to the situation in *Mort, tu as navré* possibly making sense of

Fig. II.5 - Details from Dijon517

f. 67v, detail 1



f. 57r, detail 2



these orphan incipits. The second openings of virelais typically include an incipit with both of the opening lines displayed on second opening of this manuscript (see for example, fig. II.5, detail 2: Okeghem, "Presque transi," tenor). It could be that the scribe was less familiar with the mechanics of laying out a ballade, and thus emulated the only other kind of piece in the manuscript copied over two openings. However, this scenario differs enough—the double incipits are clearly connected to individual voices—that it fails to explain the situation satisfactorily. The "orphan" incipits in *Mort, tu as navré* remain an anomaly, yet the visual coherence with virelais may underscore the readerly engagement with the book.

The unusual placement of the strophes has raised the question their ordering. In his edition of the work, Richard Wexler advocates for the strophe appearing on the second opening ("En sa jonesses," f. 168) to be the second strophe of the three-strophe poem, followed by the strophe squeezed into the first opening ("Retoricque," f. 166v). Wexler's reasoning, which is followed by Jaap van Benthem, is that it is more logical for an account of Binchois's life to precede the strophe that calls on Rhétorique and Musique, though neither really elaborates on the point.[18] Fitch, on the other hand, sees no need to alter the order in the manuscript, arguing that a celebration of Binchois's life and a call to Christendom is a more compelling ending (fig. II.2).[19]

The argument ought to take into account patterns in lament poetry. In the context of

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[18] See Wexler, *Johannes Ockeghem,* lxxxv; and Jaap van Benthem, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Mass Sections* (Utrecht 1994-) 2:1, xiv.

[19] Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 4, 7. Fitch supports his argument with mention of private communication with noted philologist Leofranc Holford-Stevens.

funereal poetry, the ordering that Fitch advocates—and the one that appears in the manuscript—is in fact the more consistent with emerging mid-fifteenth century schemes. The first strophe states the problem: Death has taken Binchois, lament has begun, and his body is laid to rest beneath a tombstone, opening a miniature *mise-en-scène*. Here Binchois is called "pere de joyeusete," perhaps alluding to the inherent joyousness of the harmony of rhetoric and music that Machaut describes in his writings.[20] In the second strophe, Rhétorique and Musique enter the scene to lament, along with Binchois's community.[21] Rhétorique and Musique even put on the *noir* covering, an important facet of these allegorical funereal tableaux.[22] The third strophe reaches the apotheosis. Binchois's life and virtue are recounted; and we learn that his name and fame will be great in Christendom.

The poem offers rich visual depictions of the funerary proceedings, but Okeghem's setting adds a multi-sensory element to the moment. As stated earlier, the upper voice sings the chanson text, the poetic lament, but the tenor and two contratenor voices sing a passage derived from the *Dies irae* sequence of the Requiem Mass (fig. II.6).[23] The piece starts with relatively close voicing, melismatic writing, and absence of the discantus on the word "Miserere," out of which the chanson text rises in the upper voice. The

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[20] Stokes, "In Search of Machaut's Poietics," 399–400 expounds on this "joyousness"; further discussion in Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 100–31.

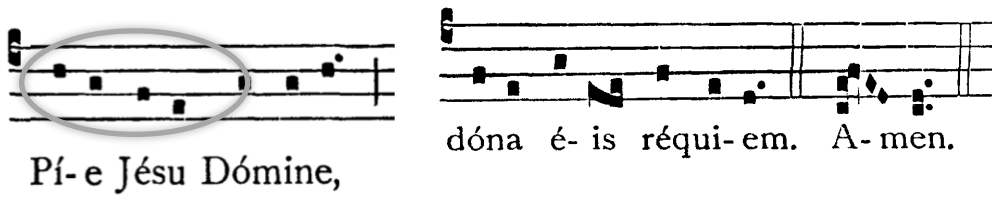
[21] Fitch suggests that "community" seems to the best translation for "université," since no actual association with a university is known of in Binchois's life. Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 7.

[22] See chapter 1.

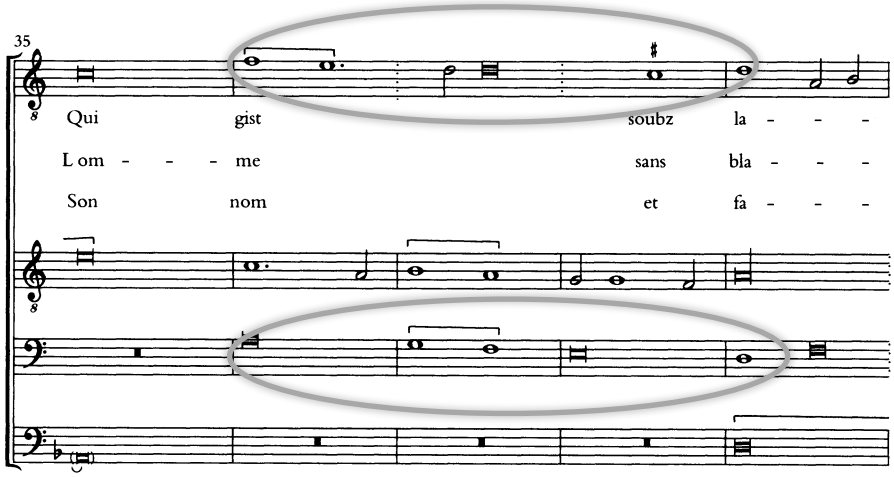
[23] *LU*, 1813.

"Miserere" creates a sonic *mise-en-scène*. Text and music are imbued with a meaning pointing to a visuality beyond the sonic. Once the discantus enters, the polytextual, polyphonic texture not only places the diverse parts of the tableau into one frame but also allows their multiplicity to sound simultaneously. The funeral scene is complete as we experience the harmony of Rhétorique and Musique, not only in the poetic verse, but also in the sounds of the liturgical lament, "Pie Jhesu, Domine, dona ei requiem," elements of which can be heard permeating the polyphonic texture at certain moments (fig. II.6).[24]

Fig. II.6 - Pie Jesu Domine from *Dies irae* sequence, Requiem Mass



mm. 35–39, *Mort, tu as navré*

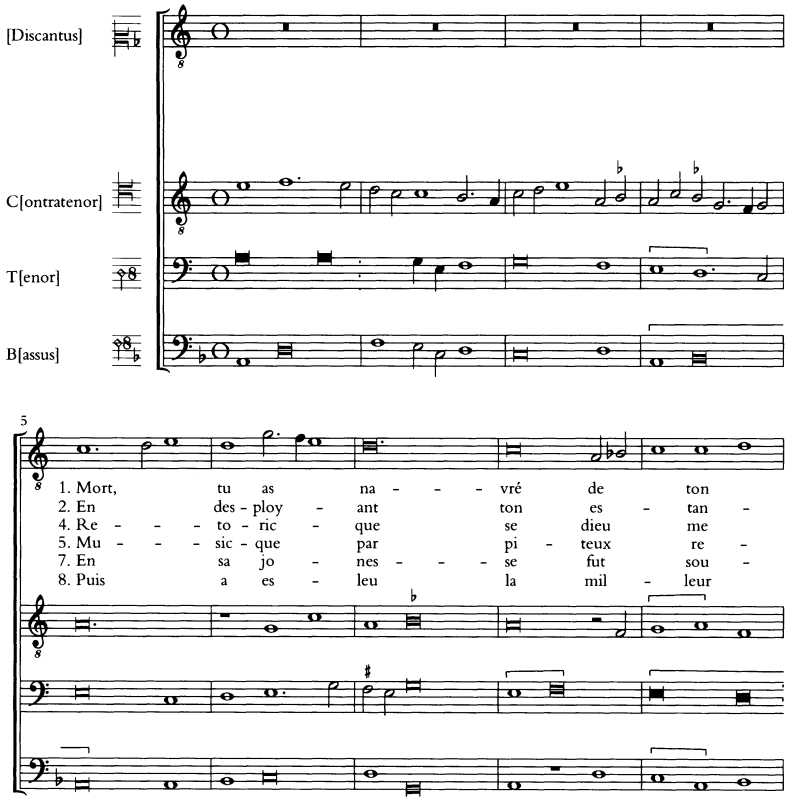


Returning to Deschamps's lament for Machaut, the contrast between his pair of

[24] Musical examples from edition in Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's 'Mort, tu as navré,'" 19–22.

ballades and Okeghem's lament for Binchois exhibits the stylistic shift in *déploration* schemes. Deschamps's commemoration dwells in the lamentation space, meditating on the death of the "noble rhétorique," but with no move to glory.[25] By contrast, the lament for Binchois dwells in each stage the fifteenth-century lament: mourning the death, honoring the life, and achieving apotheosis. The three strophes of Okeghem's ballade provide in miniature a preview of the grand *déploration* that would be written in his own honor.

Fig. II.7 - Opening measures: Okeghem, *Mort, tu as navré*



[25] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 367.

CHAPTER 1 - Guillaume Crétin (ca. 1450–1525): Singer, Poet, Courtier

In August 1484, the musician Jean de Okeghem visited Bruges from Tours.[1] The notice of a gift of wine calls him "domino Thesaurano Turonensi" (lord treasurer of Tours), "primo capellano regis Franciae" (first chapelain of the king of France), and "musico eccelentissimo" (most excellent musician).[2] Although the details of this visit are unknown, such formulations convey that the treasurer of St. Martin's in Tours and the first chapelain of the king's chapel was also highly regarded as a musician, even relatively far from his place of employment. Almost a decade earlier, Johannes Tinctoris, in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), had named Okeghem among the foremost composers of his generation.[3]

After his death on 6 February 1497, praise for Okeghem continued with poetic laments that were subsequently set to music. The poet Jean Molinet wrote a two-part

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[1] Modern scholarship has consistently spelled the composer's name as "Ockeghem" (with a "c"). David Fiala offers new evidence supporting the spelling without a "c" as a more definitive orthography. "La très véritable signature de J. de Okeghem et ses implications philologiques," *Revue de musicologie* 105 (2019): 145–158.

[2] Agostino Magro, "'Premierement Ma Baronnie de Chasteauneuf': Jean de Ockeghem, Treasurer of St Martin's in Tours," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 203. Magro confirms the quotation and adds the folio number of the excerpt found in Bruges, Bisschoppelijk Archief, Kapittelakten van St. Donaas, 1483–1492, fol. 48, cited previously in the following: Michel Brenet, "Jean de Ockeghem: Maître de la chapelle des rois," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 20 (1893): 13; Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* (Brussels: Libraire Européenne, 1867), 1:100–101; and Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (Brussels: Imprimerie de Delevingne et Callewaert, 1850), 5:46. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

[3] For more on Tinctoris's evaluation of Okeghem see Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Did Ockeghem Listen to Tinctoris?" in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes,* Tours, 3–8 fevrier 1997, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998): 599–640.

epitaph in honor of the composer: a Latin ballade, "Qui dulcet modulando," and the French poem, "Nymphes des bois," the latter set to music by Josquin des Prez.[4] Okeghem was further honored by Erasmus, whose "Joanni Okego musico summo epitaphium" (in his *Epigrammata* of 1518) was set to music in the motet "Ergone contincuit" by the composer Johannes Lupi.[5] And Okeghem's great skill of Okeghem was praised by the poet Nicole le Vestu in a *Chant royal* (1523).[6]

One of the first posthumous pieces written in his honor, however, was the substantial lament for which no extant music exists by the French poet Guillaume Crétin, *Déploration…sur le trépas de Jean Ockeghem*.[7] Over the course of the poem, Crétin called on poets and musicians, past and present, mythical and historical, to lament the death of France's great musical servant Okeghem. A stanza toward the end of the poem has long interested musicologists, primarily for the collection of musicians named:

Agricolla, Verbonnet, Prioris,	Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,
Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compère	Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brumel, Compère
Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris,	Speak no more joyous songs nor laugh,
Mais composez ung Ne recordis,	But compose a *Ne recordis*,
Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon père.	To lament our master and good father.
Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospère	Prevost, Ver Just, and Piscis Prospère
Prenez Fresveau pour vos chantz accorder,	Along with Fres[n]eau join your song,
La perte est grande et digne à recorder.	For the loss is great and worth recording.

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[4] Jean Molinet, *Les Faictz et Dictz*, ed. Noël Dupire (Paris: S.A.T.F., 1937) 2: 831-33.

[5] J. M. Vaccaro, "Jean de Ockeghem, tresorier de l'eglise Saint Martin de Tours de 1459 (?) a 1497," in *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd. Tentoonstelling gehouden in het Stadhuis te Dendermonde, 14 november - 6 december* 1970 (Dendermonde, 1970), 68.

[6] Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter, BnF), ms. fr. 1537, ff. 57v-60. Vaccaro, "Jean de Ockeghem," 69-71.

[7] Guillaume Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932), 60-73.

Scholars have contemplated the list's implications for revealing aspects of the lives and music of these musicians, many details of which remain lost in the historical record.

The rationale behind this list has proved elusive. According to David Fallows, Crétin "seems to name the leading composers active in 1497." Yet seen from this perspective, as Fallows also remarks, the list reveals several gaps. He observes that there is "no mention of Obrecht, Orto, La Rue, Isaac, Mouton, Tinctoris, Gafori, or Martini (who died only a few months after Okeghem); this may be because their main activity was outside France."[8] Discoveries in recent years have edged the group that is explicitly named closer to the French royal court, hinting at an explanation behind Crétin's inclusions and omissions. I believe that the list reflects a network of musicians connected with the French royal court, a group for whom Okeghem stood as a musical figurehead.

The value of the *Déploration* in speaking to a tangible musical network depends on establishing Crétin as someone situated in this environment. The connection between Okeghem and Crétin goes back more than a decade before Okeghem's death to when Crétin was a singer in the French royal chapel; Crétin's biography reveals that the two figures overlapped in the service of the French king. Cretin's early career intersected with musical, poetic, and courtly networks of late fifteenth-century France; his *Deploration* for Okeghem provides a glimpse into these networks. Yet Crétin's biography has not been examined since the 1932 account of his life prepared by Kathleen Chesney in the

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[8] David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 209.

introduction to her edition of his poetry.[9] Chesney drew on a 1903 article by Henry Guy that gives an overview of the poet's life and works; this preceded his 1910 book on the *rhétoriqueurs*, the first volume of his history of sixteenth-century French poetry.[10] Chesney expanded of this biographical sketch through archival accounts of the Maison du Roi and the chapel registers of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle of Vincennes, the first of which also discussed in Michel Brenet's 1910 work on the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris; the chapter registers in Paris and Vincennes were unedited and unpublished at the time.[11] Beyond this, Chesney assessed mentions of Crétin in bibliographies and dictionaries of French literature from earlier centuries. Because, as indicated, present scholarship continues to rely heavily on Chesney's work as a chief source of information regarding the life and poetic works of Crétin, my discussion reassess aspects of his biography in light of current research. With this crucial update, we are better able to understand implications of his roles in the spheres of the French royal court (See Appendix 1).

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[9] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, ix–cix.

[10] Chesney says of Guy's article that "it must serve as a base for all study of Crétin," ix. Henri Guy, "Un souverain poète français, Maître Guillaume Crétin, son nom, ses amis, sa gloire," *Revue d'histoire littéraire* 10 (1903): 553-89. Guy's edition of Crétin's *Chroniques* serves as a useful complement to collected and individual publications of Crétin's poetry. *La chronique française de maître Guillaume Crétin*, dans la *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1904-05; *Histoire de la poésie française au XVIe siècle*, vol. 1, *L'école des rhétoriqueurs* (Paris: Champion, 1910).

[11] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, x. See list of works consulted on p. 349 where Chesney provides call numbers for works consulted at the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter, AN and BnF). See Michel Brenet, *Les musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris: Picard et fils, 1910). Michel Brenet is the male pseudonym under which the French musicologist Marie Bobillier (1858-1918) published. I will continue to use her publishing name but with the feminine pronoun.

Early Biographic Considerations

Nearly nothing is known about Crétin's background. The scant information regarding his family or place of origin suggests that he was from Paris. Supporting evidence for this claim points to a mention of him in a poem in context with the city and a few peculiar rhymes that would belie a Parisian accent. The poet Clément Marot (1496–1544) stated that Crétin was Parisian in his poem "Des poëtes françoys, à Salel," an epigram to his fellow poet Hugues Salel (1504–1553). Marot traced his own writerly family tree ("mon arbre paternel") through the French poets from the thirteenth-century poet Jean de Meun up Salel.[12] Because Marot listed several French poets along with their places of origin, the poem's larger context reinforces the claim that Crétin was from Paris.[13] The line from Marot—"Villon, Crétin, ont Paris decoré" (Villon and Crétin have adorned Paris)—is the most direct evidence we have about Crétin's home, which also correlates what we know

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[12] Clément Marot, *Œuvres complètes…revues sur les éditions originales,* ed. Pierre Jannet (Paris: E. Picard, 1868), 3:71. The poets that Marot included, in the order given, are Jean de Meun, Alain Chartier, Octavian St-Gelays, Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire, Georges Chastelain, François Villon, Guillaume Crétin, the brothers Arnoul and Simon Gréban, Jean Meschinot, Guillaume Coquillart, and Hugues Salel. See Hélène J. Harvitt, "Hugues Salel, Poet and Translator,"*Modern Philology* 16 (1919): 595-605.

[13] For example, in the lines preceding, Maitre Alain [Chartier] "takes glory" to Normandy, his birthplace; Octavien [St Gelais] renders Cognac "eternal;" and Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire, and Georges [Chastelain] "sing" for Hainaut. Marot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jannet, 3:71, lines 2–6. Confirmation of places of origin can be found in the following: James Laidlaw, "Alain Chartier (ca 1385-20 March 1430)," *Literature of the French and Occitan Middle Ages: Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi and Ian S. Laurie (Detroit: Gale Group, 1999) 208: 60–71. And Frederic J. Baumgartner, "Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-?)," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Sixteenth-Century French Writers*, ed. Megan Conway (Detroit: Gale Group, 2006) 327: 249–255.

of the Parisian poet François Villon.[14]

Some linguistic traits in Crétin's poetry also point to a Parisian background. In her discussion of rhyme schemes, Chesney commented that for Crétin the vowels *er* and *ar* rhyme, as in *perdoit* and *par doit*.[15] As she then noted, referring to the foundational study of fifteenth-century French poetic rhymes and meters by Henri Chatelain (1907), in Paris in the second half of the fifteenth century, the *er* and *ar* sounds would not have been heard as distinct sounds. Chatelain also gave an example of rhymes in a poem by Villon, the other Parisian poet, that might support this conclusion.[16]

Although scholars generally accept Paris as Crétin's birthplace, a few other conjectures surface in the literature. The only one substantial enough to bear mentioning is Nanterre, a town northwest of Paris. Chesney attributed this to La Croix du Maine, whose 1584 bibliography of French literature was one of the earliest of its kind. However, Chesney cited the eighteenth-century edition of this bibliography, and the comment about Nanterre was made by the editor, Bernard de la Monnoye, in his notes to La Croix's entry on Crétin.[17] Presumably, according to Chesney, this information was

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[14] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xi. Chesney cites Marot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jannett, 3:71. Guy, "Un souverain poète français, Maître Guillaume Crétin, son nom, ses amis, sa gloire," 554**.** Biographical details of Villon can be found in Judy Kem, "François Villon (1431–ca 1463?)." *Literature of the French and Occitan Middle Ages: Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi and Ian S. Laurie (Detroit: Gale Group, 1999) 208: 272–279.

[15] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xli. This example is found in line 813, Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 125.

[16] Henri Chatelain, *Recherches sur le vers français au XVe siècle: rimes, mètres et strophes* (Paris: Champion, 1907; reprint Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 35.

[17] La Croix du Maine (François Grudé) and Antoine du Verdier. *Les bibliothèques françoises de La Croix-du-Maine et de Du Verdier,* eds., Jean Bouhier, Camille Falconet, Bernard de La Monnoye, and Jean-Antoine Rigoley de Juvigny. 6 vols, (Paris: Saillant et Nyon, 1772-73).

inferred from Crétin's poem *l'Oraison à Ste-Genevieve,* which contains the line: "Est que naquis en ce lieu de Nanterre" (which is born in that place of Nanterre).[18] But Chesney dismissed this suggestion, having found no trace of Crétin or his family in the documents connected to Nanterre. She also argued that the passage in question is not about the poet, but rather the saint honored in his writing.[19]

Just as we have very little information about Crétin's place of birth, the closest we have to a birthdate is derived from an epitaph inscribed on his tomb in Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes, where he served as treasurer for much of his later life.[20] Although the tomb itself, like most of the interior of the chapel, no longer exists, in part as a consequence of the Revolution, it was sketched and described in great detail by two eighteenth-century French historians and archaeologists— L'abbé Jean Lebeuf and Aubin-Louis Millin.[21]

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[18] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 57, line 24.

[19] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xi. Chesney briefly touched on two other hypotheses for the poet's birthplace and characterized both as pure speculation: Lyon and Falaise. Falaise, a town in Normandy, is mentioned in passing with no reference to the source of this speculation. The Lyon theory came from the brothers Nicolas and Richard Lallement (1763), who made the puzzling suggestion that since it appeared from his letters that Crétin was often in Lyon, he must have had family connections, which would be the only reason to induce him to make such a long journey.

[20] Further information on PAGE X and Appendix 1.

[21] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xviii. Chesney cites two sources for the epitaph: Jean Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville de Paris et de tout le diocèse de Paris* (Paris: Librairie de Féchoz et Letouzey, 1883) 2:413–14 and Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités Nationales* (Paris: M. Drouhin, 1790–1798) 2:52. L'abbé Jean Lebeuf (1687–1760) was an eighteenth-century priest, historian, and scholar, who wrote extensively on the history of France. The edition of his *Histoire de la ville de Paris* cited by Chesney is a nineteenth-century reprint, prepared by Hippolyte Cocheris, of the fifteen volume *Histoire* first published in 1745–1760. Aubin-Louis Millin (1759–1818) was a librarian, archaeologist, and art historian. Both Lebeuf and Millin studied and described artifacts and monuments of France thoroughly. In many cases, the archaeological descriptions done by these scholars and others are the only remaining information of places destroyed in the French Revolution or subsequent wars and are useful to be aware of from the perspective of art history and materiality.

Millin depicted Crétin's tomb as located on the right side of the choir inside the church; he also included a drawing of a sculpture of Crétin in religious vestments. Two inscriptions were placed on the figure, at the head and foot: the first named Crétin, and the second described his accomplishments and character in a short Latin epitaph.[22]

Fig. 1.1 - Drawing of sculpture of Crétin in Ste-Chapelle de Vincennes

[22] Millin, *Antiquités Nationales*, 52.

Unfortunately, this sculpture no longer exists, likely destroyed in the French Revolution along with much of the interior of the Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes. The Latin epitaph stated that Crétin had been in the service of four kings: "Quatuor ille olim Regum comes ordine honeste / Vixit, vir meritis et pietate major" (In his time, he lived as a respected servant of four kings, a man of merit and great piety).[23] The four kings refer to Louis XI (r. 1461–1483), Charles VIII (r. 1483–1498), Louis XII (r. 1498–1515), and François I (r. 1515–1547). If Crétin had indeed been born in the early 1460s, as Chesney posits based on the epitaph, he would have been in his mid-sixties at the time of his death in 1525.[24] Situating his birthdate in the early 1450s would also be reasonable, however, and would have the benefit of placing him in his early to mid twenties at the time of his first recorded employment, a benefice he would have been more likely to receive if he had already been ordained.

Early scholarship also contains discrepancies over the poet's proper name. During his lifetime and the century following his death, his name had appeared as "Guillaume Cretin"—or, occasionally, spelled "Crestin," which would support the pronunciation

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[23] Millin, *Antiquités Nationales*, 52. The full texts of the inscription read thus: the first, "Cy gist vénérable et discréte personne M. Guillaume Crétin, en son vivant Aumonier du Roy, Chantre et Chanoine de la Sainte Chapelle du Palais à Paris, jadis Trésorier de céans, lequel trespassa le xxx jour de Nov. l'an M. Ve. XXV."; and the second inscription, framed by his feet "Quisquis es, ô hospes, jacet hac sub mole Crétinus / Crétinus, placidam posce dari requiem. / Quatuor ille olim Regum comes ordine honeste / Vixit, vir, meritis et pietate major. / Historiam à Franco complexus ad usque Capetum / Hugonem abruptum morte reliquit opus. / Hocce tui desiderium tenue derelinquis / Cetera ne vatem sint habitura parem."

[24] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xi. Chesney states that since the epitaph said the he was companion to four kings, he had to have been born no later than the first years of Louis XI's reign (1461–1483).

reflected by the modern spelling with an accent aigu.[25] One of the first scholars to suggest that his name might be otherwise was Gilles Ménage (1650), who, in his etymological dictionary, explored the origins of the old French word "cretin," which refers to a small, strong basket.[26] He remarked here that Guillaume Crétin was actually the *nom de guerre* (i.e. pen name) for Guillaume du Bois. Ménage supported his assertion, referencing the opening quatrain in Crétin's address to Frère Jean Martin:[27]

Le G. du bois, alias dit Crétin,	G. du Bois, otherwise called Crétin,
En plumetant sur son petit pulpitre,	In pecking on his letter desk,
A mynuté ceste presente epistre,	Has recorded this present letter,
Pour l'envoyer a Frere Jehan Martin.	To send to Brother John Martin.

Pointing to this poetic evidence, scholars continued to refer to the poet as Guillaume du Bois, not the least of whom was Ernest Thoinan, in the preface to his stand-alone edition of the *Déploration* widely cited by musicologists.[28]

Both Guy and Chesney saw this as a misunderstanding. Guy objected strongly to the idea that the poet's name was "Guillaume du Bois," stating that the "G. du Bois" of the poem meant that Crétin, as treasurer of the *chapelle* in the *bois de Vincennes*, was, quite

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[25] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xi. Examples of this spelling can be found in manuscripts of Crétin's letter to François Robertet. Chesney cites the source of this letter in BnF, Ms. fr. 12490, f. 78v. There is another example in BnF, Ms. fr. 1717, f. 67, which also contains his reply. For more on these manuscripts, see n. X below.

[26] Gilles Ménage, *Dictionnaire d'etymologie,* 2nd ed. [*Origines de la langue françoise* (1650)] (Paris: J. Anisson, 1694), 234-35.

[27] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 299.

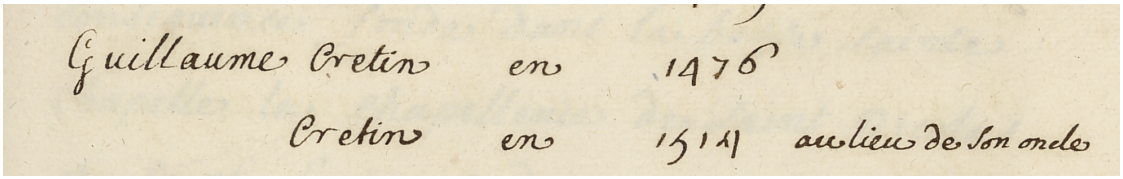
[28] See Ménage, *Dictionnaire d'etymologie*, 234-5; the editor's note by Bernard de la Monnoye in La Croix du Maine, *Les bibliothèques françoises,* 324. Guillaume Dubois Crétin, *Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem, musicien, premier chapelain du roi de France et trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours*, ed. Ernest Thoinan (Paris: A. Claudin, Libraire-Editeur, 1864), 2–3.

literally, writing "from the Bois" or "du Bois." Guy also interpreted "Le G. du bois" as an obvious pun: Guillaume who lives in the Bois, but is also *le geai du Bois* (the jay of the forest), who was "pecking" at his desk.[29] Chesney concurred, suggesting that this quatrain was the kind of word game the poet enjoyed. Indeed Chesney notes that all the evidence in any of the acts, registers, and letters between the poet's friends indicate that "Guillaume Cre[s]tin" is the name used, with no trace of "du bois."[30]

Crétin: The Singer

Crétin's early employment placed him directly at the heart of the French royal court. The earliest documented mention of him is from 1476, when "Guillaume Cretin" is listed as *chapelain perpétuel* of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, a benefice he held until a nephew ("au lieu de son oncle") took it over in 1514 (fig. 1.2).[31] The responsibilities for the *chapelains perpétuels* varied from foundation to foundation, but their primary role was to ensure that masses were said on behalf of the deceased soul(s) honored through

Fig. 1.2 - Detail from list of *chapelains perpétuels*, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris



[29] Guy, "Un souverain poète français," 553.

[30] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* x-xi.

[31] Gilles Dongois, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Sainte-Chappelle* (1709), AN LL 630, f. 321. Dongois was a canon of Sainte Chapelle de Paris and wrote a three-volume history of the Sainte-Chapelle. Chesney drew on Dongois's history and Michel Brenet's *Les musiciens de Sainte-Chapelle*.

the foundation.[32] While the *chapelains* probably sang plainchant in accordance with the regular liturgy, no indications in their responsibilities, specifically indicate singing of any kind, let alone polyphonic performance. Crétin's musical abilities must nonetheless have been noticed at some point, because in 1486 he is named among the chapel singers of the king of France, "Guillermus Cretin."[33]

In the intervening decade, in addition to his chaplaincy at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, Crétin obtained a parish benefice and joined the king's chapel singers. If he had not already been ordained, he certainly would have been a priest by the time he possessed the position of rector at the church of St. Leger in the diocese of Troyes. Because much of the royal court documentation is missing between 1475 and 1515. This information comes to us from one of a series of executorial letters requested by the French crown and prepared for Pope Innocent VIII on 28 July 1486.[34] On the list compiled from these letters, members of the king's "cantores-capellani" were indicated with benefices they currently held along with benefices they were seeking; Okeghem was named at the head as

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[32] For a succinct description on the organization of the chapter at Sainte-Chapelle du Palais see Eugène Pottet, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris: histoire, archéologie, 1246-1912* (Paris: Asselin et Houzeau, 1912), 51-8. See Barbara Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 95-6. The account in Sauveur-Jérôme Morand's *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle royale du Palais enrichie de planches* (Paris: Clousier, 1790) gives a description of the establishment of all the foundations of the Sainte-Chapelle.

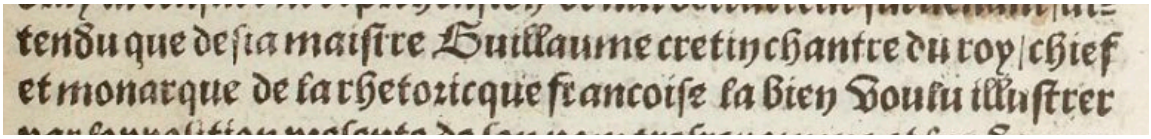
[33] Leeman Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 552.

[34] Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 552.

prothocapellanus.[35] The executorial letter of 1486 indicates that Crétin sought to exchange his parish benefice of St. Leger for what was probably a higher-paying cathedral position in Evreux. That Crétin was seeking a benefice at this Cathedral, a benefice he is known to have exchanged later in 1502, allays any lingering doubt that the name "Guillermus Cretin" refers to the poet.[36] Crétin's musical work under Okeghem's leadership can thus be documented by the mid 1480s.

When Crétin appeared in the 1486 collection of singers, he was joined by some of the musicians whom he would include later in the *Déploration*—most notably Compère, but also Fresneau, Poisson, and Prepositi. Presumably he remained a singer in the king's *chapelle* for the next several years, because the poet Jean Lemaire referred to him as a "chantre du roy" in his preface to *Le Temple d'honneur et de vertus,* written in honor of Pierre of Bourbon, his employer, who died in 1503 (fig. 1.1).[37] Lemaire published the poem in Paris in 1504 along with a copy of the letter that Crétin had written to him.

Fig. 1.3 - Detail from 1504 print of Lemaire's *Le Temple d'honneur*



…maistre Guillaume cretin chantre du roy / chief et monarque de la rhetoricque francoise…

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[35] The other *cantores-capellani* on this list are as follows: Radulphus Calvi, Robertus Caulier, Ludovicus Colebart, Ludovicus Compatris (Compère), Guillermus Crétin, Radulphus Fabri, Johannes de Fontenay, Johannes Fresneau, Guillermus Gigard, Petrus Mignot, Johannes Piscis (Poisson), and Bartolomeus Prepositi.

[36] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, xii.

[37] Further discussion in chapter 4.

In addition, there is another document from 1504 that refers to Crétin as "chantre et chappellain ordinaire du roy" in a document disputing a benefice.[38]

After 1504 there is no further mention of Crétin as a royal singer, which seems to indicate that when he joined the chapter in Vincennes, he was no longer a singer in the royal chapel. On 14 March of that year, he exchanged with the poet Jean Dronin his Evreux benefice (requested back in 1486) for the benefice of Fidelaire, of which he took possession on 21 March and held until his death.[39] By the end of 1504, Crétin was either in Paris or in Vincennes; and as Chesney notes, the registers of the respective Sainte-Chapelles of the two cities allow us to follow the details of Crétin's career.[40]

The records of the Vincennes chapter indicate Crétin's regular attendance. When a *chantre* position became vacant at the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris in 1511, he asked the chapter to be relieved of his position as treasurer. We know that his request was not granted, however, because he remained on the register until 1522. A certain master Jean Nicolay filled the position of *chantre,* but he left after less than a year.[41] When it became clear that Nicolay would not be continuing in the role, Crétin may have reached out to

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[38] Paul Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou: Sacred and Secular Music in the Literary Program and Ceremonial* (Tempe, Ariz: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017), 151, n. 61, citing Blois, Archives départmentales Loir-et-Cler, 21 H 146. I became aware of this document for the first time in the recent publication by Paul Merkley; as far I know, this is newly discovered documentation concerning Crétin. Merkley quotes from a summary of an ecclesiastical trial held in Paris in 1504, in which Crétin, referred to as "chantre et chappellain ordinaire du roy," complains that a benefice in the diocese of Angers had been unjustly seized.

[39] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xii.

[40] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xii.

[41] Brenet, *Les Musiciens de Sainte-Chapelle,* 59.

Louis XII to advocate on his behalf. On 26 September 1512, the king wrote to the chapter proposing that they appoint Crétin, but they declined, electing a "Guillaume de Paris," whose presentation the king confirmed.[42] It was not until the end of his life that Crétin finally obtained the appointment of *chantre,* after Guillaume de Paris left in 1523. In the last months of his life, Crétin was too infirm to sing and asked for a replacement to be appointed.[43] He passed away in November 1525, in a house provided by the chapter of Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.[44]

Fig. 1.4 - Crétin the Singer

1476	*chapelain perpetual*, Ste Chapelle, Paris
1486	*cantor-capellanus,* French royal chapel
14 March 1502	exchanged Evreux benefice with Jean Dronin for benefice of Fidelaire
21 March 1502	took possession of benefice, held until death (Nov 1525)
1503	referred to as *chantre du roy* by Jean Lemaire
1504	referred to as *chantre et chappellain ordinaire du roy* in ecclesiastical trial in Paris

Crétin: The Courtier and Poet

References within Crétin's own writing from the last decade of the fifteenth century allow us to address further details of his biography. Chesney claimed that he arrived in

[42] Brenet, *Les Musiciens de Sainte-Chapelle,* 59; Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle royale*, 115.

[43] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xviii.

[44] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xix.

Lyon "without a doubt" in 1498.[45] She based this conclusion primarily on his connection with Lemaire, who around this time had just come to Villefranche, just north of Lyon up the Soane river, as a financial clerk for Pierre II of Bourbon.[46] In his *Œuvres*, Lemaire describes himself as becoming the treasurer for the Beaujolais during the period after the death of Charles VIII (April 1498) and the marriage of Margaret of Austria (presumably her first marriage to John, Prince of Asturias, in the spring of 1497).[47] Although it is therefore reasonable to conclude that Crétin arrived in Lyon in 1498, no known document contains the start date of Lemaire's employment.

Relying on Chesney's account, the most we can say for certain is that Crétin's arrival in Lyon occurred sometime after the death of Charles VIII, which depends on his association with Lemaire. Her biography can leave the impression that Crétin spent most of career in Paris but for this brief sojourn in Lyon, the impetus of which must have been inspired by literary connections.[48] Since Chesney's writing, we now know that Crétin was employed in the French royal court, rendering moot his connection with Lemaire for the

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[45] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, xii.

[46] Chesney, xii. She bases this information on a biography of Jean Lemaire (1893) by Ph. Aug. Becker, who draws on an edition of Lemaire's poetry published just before his biography: *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, ed. A. Jean Stecher (Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever Frères et Sœur, 1891), 4:440. The edition of the *Œuvres* provides a transcription of what is called "Fragment de Chroniques" from BnF NAF 4061.

[47] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, ed. Stecher, 4:440. The Beaujolais, the capital of which was Beaujeu, was a province under the jurisdiction of the Dukes of Bourbon. Villefranche-sur-Soane is another town in the province. As a fragment of a chronicle, the passage is in Latin: Ad suos Margaretha flandrensi Philippi archiducis sorore que postmodum bethice regi nupsit. Hic tandem post famosissimam illam expeditionem Siculam ad suos reversus Regnum suum peuniis exhausteum sed pacatissimum Ludovico Aurelianensi reliquit.

[48] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, x.

purposes of dating: where else would Crétin be but with the court in Lyon?

In the first years of his reign, Louis XII based his court in Lyon for much of the time while pursuing his claims to Milan through his paternal grandmother, Valentina Visconti (fig. 1.5).[49] After his coronation in Reims in the spring of 1498, Louis spent most of the summer in Paris and the following winter in the Loire Valley. By the summer of 1499, Louis settled in Lyon to oversee his invasion into Milan, overthrowing Ludovico Sforza. After the successful endeavor of his army, Louis performed his triumphal entry into Milan in October 1499. After establishing his rule, he left the city six weeks later in the charge of Gian Giacomo Trivulzo, who was unable to withstand Ludovico's return conquest in February 1500. After having been in the Loire Valley to baptize his newborn daughter, Claude, Louis returned to Lyon to oversee renewed efforts at expelling Ludovico, this time under the deft command of La Trémoille, who reestablished France's control in Milan. Ludovico was ultimately captured in northern Italy on 17 April; in May the fallen duke was brought back to Lyon. Thereafter, he was imprisoned in a fortress near Bourges until his death in 1508. To celebrate the decisive defeat of Ludovico, Louis, along with the queen who had just joined him, held a tournament in Lyon in late May 1500 lasting over two weeks. While members of the nobility working closely with Louis would have had ample reason to reside in the area while he was there—as was the case with Pierre of Bourbon—attendance at the tournament brought a concentrated

[49] Further discussion on Louis XII's first two years in chapter 3. See Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, for details concerning Louis's Milanese conquest.

convergence of both male and female French nobility to the city.[50] Louis's presence in Lyon remained frequent in the following years as he extended his conquests on the Italian peninsula.

Fig. 1.5 - Location of Louis XII in the first years of his reign

26-27 May 1498	**Reims.** Coronation.
2 July 1498	**Paris.** First official entry.
Summer 1498	**Paris.** Until the autumn.
Winter 1498-1499	**Loire Valley.** January, marriage with Anne of Brittany.
10 July 1499	**Lyon**. Formal entrance into the city.
6 October 1499	**Milan.** Triumphal entry.
mid-November 1499	**France.** Leaving Gian Giacomo Trivulzo in charge of Milan.
Winter 1499–1500	**Loire Valley.** Baptism of newborn daughter, Claude.
February 1500	**Lyon.** Oversight of army.
2 May 1500	**Lyon.** Defeated Ludovico Sforza brought to the city.
Late May 1500	**Lyon.** Grand tournament hosted by king and queen celebrating their victory.

The secretarial infrastructure of the royal and noble courts would also have been present in Lyon. A network of correspondence displays the associations between the writers and courtiers. The poetic epistle had become a popular genre in French literary

[50] Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. René de Maulde-La Clavière (Paris: Renouard H. Laurens, 1889) 1:288–93. D'Auton gives a description of the event, including who was in attendance.

circles during the end of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries; these letters could take a variety of stylistic forms depending on their kind.[51] Chesney describes two broad categories of letters: *l'épître artificelle* and *l'épître naturelle*. The former were modeled on classical forms, such as the letters of Ovid, and were meant to be public, often addressing political matters or providing courtly praises or laments.[52] While some of the letters fall under these *artificelle* categories of "heroic" or "letters of praise or edification," the overwhelming majority were the latter type, *naturelle,* and intended for a specific recipient. These were familiar letters to colleagues and other members of the French *literati*.[53]

Some of the earliest sources for these letters—a group of manuscripts compiled by François Robertet and his son at the beginning of the sixteenth century—reveals the webs of correspondence, carefully copied and preserved by the Robertet family. The collection contains not only the *épîtres* between Crétin and Robertet, but also poetic works of the leading *rhétoriqueurs* of the fifteenth-century, from Georges Chastelain to Jean Lemaire and Clément Marot.[54] Inside the epistolary community, members held each other in

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[51] See Francis Suard, "Les Épîtres de Guillaume Crétin" in *La Grande Rhétorique: Homage à la memoir de Paul Zumthor,* eds. Rose M. Bidler and Giuseppe Di Stefano (Montreal: Edition Ceres, 1994), 175-188. Suard draws on the doctoral thesis by Patrick Joole, *L'Épître en vers et les Grands Rhétoriqueurs* (University of Paris X, 1991). For this essay, Suard states that he relies heavily on Joole's chapter on the letters Crétin, expanding and clarifying where necessary (175).

[52] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xxviii-xxix.

[53] Guy, "Un souverain poète," 555.

[54] Douglas outlines these manuscript sources in "Critical Edition of Robertet," 7-65. Crétin's letter to François Robertet and its reply are found BnF ms. fr. 1717, f. 67ff. This manuscript is part of set of three copied by François's son, Jean: BnF mss. fr. 1716, 1717, and 1721. Crétin's work appears in all three, as well as in BnF ms. fr. 12490, which was copied by François Robertet, probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

esteem joined by their shared interest in the French language and shared experience in court life.[55] Crétin wrote more than thirty letters between the 1495 and his death in 1525; all but a very few were in verse.

Lemaire was one of several literary friends with whom Crétin was acquainted during his stay in Lyon. Other connections pointing to Lyon likewise center around the household of Pierre de Bourbon, which may have offered the opportunity for a literary circle of friends to develop. Crétin shared correspondence with Jacques de Bigues and François Robertet, both of whom were employed in secretarial positions to both the king and, like Lemaire, Pierre de Bourbon. The letters themselves are not dated, but evidence indicates that they are from these years in which Louis was based in Lyon for much of his time. One of Crétin's earliest poetic letters, signed "de Lyon" (vv 66–68), and evidently written not long after the death of Charles VIII, was addressed to Jacques de Bigues, who was a member of the royal household as *valet de chambre ordinaire* to both Charles VIII and Louis XII and servant in the household of Pierre de Bourbon.[56] A second letter to Bigues follows seemingly not long after the first and alludes to an illness and convalescence of Bigues.[57] In both letters, Crétin wrote to Bigues warmly, as a close friend.

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[55] Suard, "Les Épîtres," 175.

[56] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 254–256 (v. 50, "puis le trespas du Roy nostre bon maître"). Jacques de Bigues wrote a full description of the funeral ceremony and its details for Pierre II de Bourbon, who died on 10 October 1503. Sections from his *Pompe funèbre de Pierre II* are quoted in Jean-Marie de La Mure, *Histoire des ducs Bourbon*, vol. 2 (Paris 1868; published after a manuscript copy, 1675), 463-4.

[57] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 256-68. Also Guy, "Un souverain poète," 561.

Crétin also shared correspondence with François Robertet, the son of the early *rhétoriqueur* Jean Robertet. François was also a secretary for the Bourbonnais household and a servant to the king, most likely inheriting positions from his father.[58] François was not as prolific a poet as his father, nor as ambitious in poetics as Crétin. But the two had collaborated around 1498 on a pair of poems that the younger Robertet had written in praise an unnamed "dame sans sy" (lady without fault), probably Anne of Brittany: *L'arest de la louenge de la dame sans sy* and *L'appel interjecté par telles nommées dedans contre la dam sans sy*.[59] In *L'arest de la louenge* Robertet invited four poets, including Crétin and himself, into a competition to praise this *Dame*.[60] Around the time these poems were written, Robertet had been secretary to Anne of France, Duchess of Bourbon, for several years, and had also begun service as secretary to the recently crowned French king, Louis XII.[61]

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[58] Catherine Margaret Douglas, "A Critical Edition of the Works of Jean and François Robertet," MA thesis, University of London, 1962. Much of Douglas's thesis, though not all the information on François, is published and revised in her edition of Jean Robertet's poetry, *Jean Robertet: Œuvres*, ed. C. Margaret [Douglas] Zsuppan (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970). See also, C. A. Mayer and D. Bentley-Cranch, "François Robertet: French Sixteenth-Century Civil Servant, Poet, and Artist," *Renaissance Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 1997): 208–22.

[59] Douglas, "Critical Edition of Robertet," 277–78, 512–16. Douglas reviews the possible candidates concerning who the Dame is, and Anne of Brittany is the most logical choice, especially considering Robertet's association with her. *L'apel* refers to the queen seated with her ladies in waiting (v. 10), which, Douglas states, refers to a miniature of Anne and her attendants. Around this time, Robertet also composed rondeaux based on Anne of Brittany's motto, *Non mudera*. In addition, Robertet is mentioned in Anne of Brittany's accounts, including as a designer for some of the jewelry for her attendants in her *Ordre de la Cordelière*.

[60] See lines 16–17, Douglas, "Critical Edition of Robertet," 516–18.

[61] Douglas, "Critical Edition of Robertet," 275-7, 515. See also Mayer and Bentley-Cranch, "François Robertet," 208-9. He should not be confused with his ambitious brother Florimond Robertet, who became a secretary to the king and held a high profile at court.

The correspondence between Crétin and Robertet seems to have occurred after 1504. In one letter, when Crétin wrote to Robertet he addressed him by the title, "secretaire de roy et de Monseigneur de Bourbon, Bailly d'Usson, Esleu d'Auvergen et Receveur de forestz," referring to an administrative position nominated by Pierre of Bourbon on 28 May 1498 and confirmed on 5 June 1500.[62] Crétin's letter, sent from "tresorier de la chapelle du Bois de Vincennes," would have to have been written after his 1504 appointment as treasurer in Vincennes. Throughout the letter, Crétin described their close friendship evoking the history of their connection.

C'est t'amitié qui tient la mienne esprise, Tant qu'elle et moy pour bon amy lyons Ton cueur au myen, et si enmy lyons, Loups, ou lyepars te scavois estre encloz…	It is your friendship that holds mine captive, such that it and I have bound ourselves as "bon amy." Your heart to mine, and you know yourself to be protected if enemy lions, wolves, or leopards…

In one stanza, a *rime équivoque* (equivocal rhyme) on the word "lyons"—first as a verb, then a noun—just at the moment when Crétin focuses mostly intently on their friendship, may allude to a time when they were both in Lyon. The *rime équivoque*—popular among the *rhétoriqueurs*, especially Crétin—is especially useful for creating a sonic emphasis with words, because equivocal rhymes sound entire words and beyond, rather than just

[62] Douglas, "Critical Edition of Robertet," 277. Mayer and Bentley-Cranch, "François Robertet," 208-9. They both refer to the following source: BnF Sèrie Généalogique, Pièces Originales 2501, dossier Robertet 56175, no. 95.

final syllables, as in the case of a *rime riche*.[63]

The connection between Crétin, Lemaire, Jacques de Bigues, and François Robertet was verifiably practical: all four had positions in the French royal court; Lemaire, Bigues, and Robertet were also employed by Pierre de Bourbon. Because of their respective court positions, they likely connected not only in Lyon but also at other court residences in France. The close friendship that linked these writers could even have gone back well before the period after Charles VIII's death. Personnel attached to any noble court in France would probably have experienced a constant process of separation and reconnection, as the courts were in constant motion; the exchange of epistolary poems reveals a visible network of colleagues.[64] After the turn of the century, Crétin expressed his desire to leave courtly life in a letter to his friend François Robertet:[65]

Or a propos de ceste court bragarde Retraicte veulx avant trois mois sonner, Car j'ay malheur qui si grant umbre agarde Qu'apres labeur ne puis bien moissonner.	I wish to retire from this showy court before three months sound, For I am kept in the shadow of my great misfortune, that after my labor, I do not harvest well.

After at least two decades of life at the court, Crétin objected to the extravagant ambition and the instability his position entailed. Probably in his mid-forties, he shifted his career to a more stable canon position, as discussed earlier. After taking over the treasurer

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[63] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 249-52. One of the definitive dicussions on equivocal rhymes in present scholarship is by François Cornilliat. See especially his discussion devoted to *rime équivoque*, which touches on origins, functions, meanings, and even how it functions in a musical sense, "*Or ne mens:" couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les "grands rhétoriqueurs"* (Paris: H. Champion, 1994), 25–255.

[64] Suard, "Les Épîtres,"175.

[65] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, 251.

position at the Ste Chapelle de Vincennes in 1504, Crétin was regularly recorded present in attendance at chapter meetings. Fig. 1.6 shows Crétin sitting in a library with the unmistakeable Château de Vincennes in the background.[66]

Fig. 1.6 - Crétin as canon in Vincennes

While Crétin may no longer have been in the direct employ of the court, positions in Vincennes and Paris were well within the king's orbit. Additionally, in the first years of Francis's reign, Crétin was made *aumônier ordinaire*, which gave him a salary from the court from 1516 until 1522—though specific duties connected to the courtly benefice were probably performed by a substitute, since Crétin remained in his chapter.[67] Crétin

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[66] This miniature is found at the beginning of a volume of his *Chroniques françoyses*, BnF ms. fr. 2818, *Recueil sommaire des cronicques françoyses par Cretin*, f. Hv.

[67] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, xv–xvii. See BnF ms. fr. 21449, *Officies et domestiques de la Maison de Francis I, 1516–1549*.

was also instrumental in petitioning the newly crowned Francis I to attend to the maintenance of the *chapelle* in Vincennes, which had fallen into disrepair.[68]

The extensive gap in the court registers across the last quarter of the fifteenth century leaves minimal material on the particulars of personnel at the French royal court.[69] Crétin's life at court could have begun as early as the latter years of Louis XI's reign; he continued to serve through the reign of Charles VIII and into the early reign of Louis XII's. During this time, he would have come into contact and perhaps even sung with every living composer he mentioned at the end of the *Déploration*. If the early part of Crétin's career was spent in the service of the French court, as we have good reason to believe, the details of this career have disappeared with those of his colleagues.

Crétin certainly wrote the *Déploration* for Okeghem while in this milieu—traveling with the court among the singers and intersecting with poets of the secretarial class. The people named in the poem were those in Crétin's social reality, a mirror of allegorical lament reflecting his actual life. The depiction in the *Déploration* of real social and artistic networks stems from the credibility of Crétin as a witness of and participant in their activity. Crétin's poem can thus be a resource for our understanding of this cultural environment in the kingdom of France at the end of the fifteenth century.

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[68] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, xv–xvi. See his rondeaux XXVII, "Au nom de la Chapelle du boys de Vincennes," 56 and XLVIII, "Dudict Crétin au nom de la Chapelle du bois de Vincennes, audict Seigneur," 228.

[69] Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 544.

CHAPTER 2 - *Déploration sur le trepas…de Jean Ockeghem*

Crétin's *Déploration* sits at the intersection of two literary traditions: poems honoring musicians and the *déploration funèbre*, a genre of poetic lament particular to the *rhétoriqueurs*. Scholars trace the origins of this latter tradition to Jean Molinet's *Throsne d'Honneur*, written in 1467 on the death of his employer, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.[1] While most *déplorations funèbres* were written for nobility, poets also commemorated fellow poets, artists, and musicians.[2] Jean Robertet wrote his *Complaint sur le mort de Chatelaine* in honor of the Burgundian chronicler and poet Georges Chastellain (1415–1475), whom some credit as one of the first in the *rhétoriqueur* tradition. Molinet's *L'épitaphe de Simon Marmion* was written for the Burgundian artist (ca. 1425–1489), known for his paintings and manuscript illuminations.[3] Crétin's *Déploration* for Okeghem adds to this genre the lament for a musician. The elaborate and lofty language of these memorializations rendered the individual in a manner that bolstered their magnificence.

The *déploration funèbre* followed the particular narrative trajectory typical of the lament literature as discussed earlier in connection with Okeghem's *Mort, tu as navré* —a

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[1] Christine Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie Françoise de 1450 à 1550* (Paris: Editions Honoré Champion, 1978), 312–15.

[2] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort,* 366.

[3] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 362ff. For more on Simon Marmion see Sandra Hindman, "The Case of Simon Marmion: Attributions & Documents," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1977): 185-204. The Robertet family is discussed in greater detail in the first chapter.

structural progression from sorrow to apotheosis.[4] Lament literature usually included a description of a mourning scene. The *déplorations funèbres*—that is, funeral lamentation—made the visual and ceremonial aspects explicit, emulating Molinet's *Throsne d'Honneur*, which became a model for subsequent *déplorations*.[5]

The imagery of the *déploration* proceeds through a predictable sequence of tableau-like episodes already common in lament literature. The poem opens with the protagonist falling asleep and entering a kind of vision or dream landscape (*paysage onirique*) wherein the protagonist finds himself by a tomb.[6] A joyful garden or spring-like setting welcomes the visitor but is violently intruded upon by a black covering (*noire couverture*), indicated by either the clothing of the mourners, a change in the scene's environment (such as a storm), or both.[7] The death of a noble, worthy person is presented for mourning, with calls for an extended community of mourners that include present figures, as well as those from the past, many of whom may be allegorical, biblical, or mythical. These passages of mourning frequently contain musical descriptions both vocal and instrumental, with specific instruments and sometimes musicians named. During the ceremony, the mourners give a recitation of the lineage and great feats in the life of the

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[4] See discussion on Okeghem's *Mort, tu as navré*.

[5] The following adopts the descriptive terminology of Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, which expresses concepts consistent within literary scholarship. See Françoise Joukovsky, *La gloire dans la poésie française et néolatine du 16e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1969); and *Paysages de la Renaissance* (Paris: PUF, 1974).

[6] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 338. The first *paysage onirique* of the *rhétoriqueurs* can be found in Chastelain's *L'Oultre d'amour* when the poet goes into a kind of surrealist sleep.

[7] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 368.

deceased, which establishes the legitimacy of the inheritence bequethed to his heirs. The funeral ceremony closes as the body is placed in a glorious monument or tomb, suitably reflecting the magnificence of the deceased. The tomb thus stands as an apotheosis, preserving the glory of their fame (*survie par gloire*).

The concept of surviving through glory developed later in the fifteenth century. The idea of *survie par gloire* depicted by a monument or tomb is static, honoring the feats of the deceased as finished achievements. A shift in meaning emerged with Molinet's *L'épitaphe de Simon Marmion*, the painter who died in 1489, and continued particulary in other *déplorations* for painters, poets, and musicians.[8] For them *survie par gloire* meant a continuation of their accomplishments, even after their death. The work of the artists was equated with the triumphs of the noble warrior; thus worthy of the same kind of glory. When a warrior dies, however, he no longer acts; his work is done. But artists will leave the products of their skill to collect future accolades, sustaining their glory into future generations.[9]

Considering the poetic tradition honoring musicians alongside the themes of glory in the *déploration funèbre* reveals a larger context for these particular literary examples, placing musicians within a broader community of artists. The two ballades by Eustache Deschamps commemorating the death of Guillaume de Machaut, as discussed earlier, are an early example of poems honoring musicians in this era of French literature. In the fifteenth century, poems honoring musicians include Crétin's *déplorations* for Okeghem

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[8] Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort*, 362

[9] Further implications of this kind of artistic glory discussed in the final chapter.

and, later, Braconnier (and Févin) and, of course, Molinet's pair of epitaphs for Okeghem, the Latin epitaph *Johannes Obghem epitaphium* and French *Épitaphe de J. Ockeghem,* also known as *Nymphes des bois*.[10] None of these poems are set to music, except for the Deschamps ballades set by François Andrieu, and Molinet's French epitaph famously set to music by Josquin.

Poems containing lists of musicians are so prevalent in literature and in musical settings that it is beyond the scope of this present study to explore the topic with justice, though the final chapter includes further discussion concerning the rhetorical implications of creating lists such as these.[11] In addition to those by Crétin, Molinet, and Lemaire, I draw attention to a few instances germane to their milieu. Simon Gréban, an early *rhétoriqueur*, wrote a *Complainte sur le mort de Jacques Milet*, another poet who died in 1466, in which four musicians—Okeghem, Du Fay, Fedé, and Binchois—were called upon to provide music.[12] The poet and musician Eloy d'Amerval named nineteen musicians in his *Livre de la deablerie*, which was probably written in the early 1490s, though not printed until 1508. Most of these musicians are also included in Crétin's lists:

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[10] Jean Molinet, *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet,* 3 vols., ed. Noël Dupire (Paris: SATF, 1937), II:831-833.

[11] The following includes some key discussions on topic of musician lists, both in poetry and music. Elizabeth E. Leach traces the tradition in the fourteenth century from Machaut and the "musician motets" of the Chantilly Codex, "Dead Famous: Mourning, Machaut, Music, and Reknown in the Chantilly Codex," in Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, MS. 564),"* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 63–93. Jane Hatter discusses fifteenth-century musical laments for musicians in "*Musica*: Music about Music and Musicians, 1450-1530," (PhD diss, McGill University, 2014) 104–10.

[12] Arthur Piaget, "Simon Greban et Jacques Milet," *Romania* (1893): 230-43. Du Fay, Fedé, and Binchois are also included in the list of departed musicians in Crétin's *Deploration* (vv. 209–213).

Dunstable, Du Fay, Binchois, Fede, "Jorges," Hayne, Le Rouge, Busnoys, Basiron, "Barbingham," Agricola, Okeghem, Compère, Mureau, Prioris, Josquin, Brumel, and Tinctoris—a veritable "who's who" in music in fifteenth-century France.[13] In chapter 4, I will also examine a few instances of lists of musicians in poems by Jean Lemaire from the early sixteenth century. Finally, the motet *Omnium bonorum plena* written by Loyset Compère, also on Crétin's list, is a prayer to the Virgin Mary written around 1470, naming fourteen musicians for whom she, in turn, is requested to pray.[14] Crétin's *Déploration* for Okeghem is an intersection of poetic and musical traditions and of the people included in them. A detailed analysis of the poem reveals Crétin's intimate knowledge of poetry and music both in form and content; examining aspects of the poem's dating and context also illustrates the literary dialogue in which the poem takes place.

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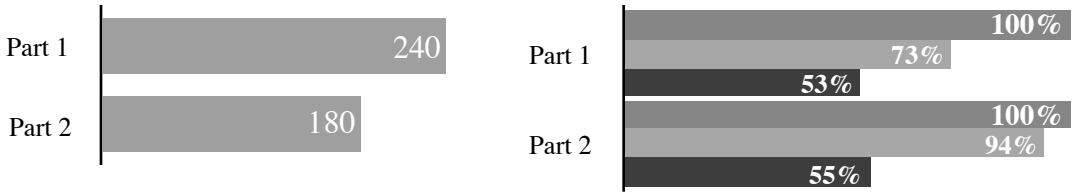
[13] David Fallows suggests that "Jorges" may be the Georget de Brelles in Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena* and that "Barbingham" could be either Bedyngham or Barbingant *Josquin Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 210-11. Barbignant is included in Crétin's list of departed musicians (v. 211). See Michel Brenet, "Un poète-musicien Français du XVe siècle: Eloy d'Amerval," *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* 1 (1901), 46-53. Also see Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy." (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1987), 262-69, and "Speaking of the Devil and *Discipuli:* Eloy d'Amerval, Saint-Martin of Tours, and Music in the Loire Valley, ca. 1465-1505," in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honor of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, eds. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofrance Holford-Strevens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 169-182.

[14] Discussion of this motet in David Fallows, *Josquin*, 25-29 and Joshua Rifkin, "Compere, 'Des Pres,' and the Choirmasters of Cambrai: *Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered," *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009), 55-73.

Structure and Content of the *Déploration*

The formal structure of poems of this scale and type tends to be alternating sections of meter and prose, that is, a *prosimetrum.*[15] Further analysis reveals a unique structure to the poem that I argue reflects the configuration of a polyphonic motet. Crétin's *Déploration* consists of 420 lines of decasyllabic verse. These divide along thematic lines into two large parts of 240 and 180 lines, respectively, revealing a 4:3 proportion. Within each part I identify three smaller sections, based on thematic division (a summary of the content and the structure given below in fig. 2.2).[16]

Fig. 2.1 - Proportional division of parts and percentage division of sections



These sections do not correlate proportionally as neatly as the two larger parts; however, a graphic distribution of the sections shows that the percentage distribution of lines per section is roughly comparable for each part (fig. 2.1). The design of the poem reflects the division of a motet with a *prima pars* and *secunda pars* in diminution, which may explain

[15] More on the *prosimetrum* as a genre in Chapter 4. See discussion in Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs,"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 160–64 and Nathalie Dauvois, ed., *Le prosimètre à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm/Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 2005).

[16] For the full French text and detailed English summary of the poem see appendix 2.

why this is not a *prosimetrum*. Interpolations of prose would disrupt the motet-like scheme. Crétin's *Déploration* is commensurate with the scale and content of the genre, but I am aware of no other *déploration funèbre* that follows this polyphonic composition structure. Knowing that Crétin was a singer in the royal chapel, surrounded by some of the most significant composers of the time, it is difficult to see the plan for the poem as anything but intentional, especially in light of its honoree.

Fig. 2.2 - Summary of content and outline of structure

lines	**PART I** *passive dream sequence*		**PART II** *active addresses from poet*
1–106	**Section 1**: The poet is stricken with grief and falls into a heavy sleep. He dreams that he as at the tomb of Okeghem. Musique leads him, nature, and musicians on instruments into a funereal celebration.	241–312	**Section 1**: Address to the Poets led by Dame Rhétorique: (ancient) Tullus, Virgil, [Sixtus] Propertius, "Tilburce," Catullus; (modern) Chastelain, Alain Chartier, Simon Greban, Meschinot, Milet, Nesson, Molinet, St. Gelays
107–184	**Section 2**: Four rondeaux by ancient and mythical musical fathers: Tubal, David, Orpheus, and Chiron.	313–380	**Section 2**: Recounting Okeghem's life and good character: in service to three kings, premier chapelain, treasurer at St. Martin's
185–240	**Section 3**: Funereal celebration continues with Sapho, Mercury, Pan, and Arion performing songs. A choir of deceased musicians (Du Fay, Busnoys, Fede, Binchois, Barbingant, Dunstable, Pasquin, Lannoy, Basiron, Copin, Regis, Gilles Joye, Constant, and Hayne) sing Okeghem's works. Then Musique wakes the poet and commands him to tell what he saw and remember Okeghem forever.	381–420	**Section 3**: Address to the Still Living: Rulers and people of Tours, Musicians, Evrard de la Chapelle (his successor at St. Martin's), and the choir boys.

Echoing imagery modeled in previous *déplorations*, the beginning of the first part opens with the figure of a poet, stricken by grief, falling into a dream landscape (*paysage*

onirique) and arriving in front of a monument to the departed. He asks who has died, and the narrator informs him that it is Okeghem, "le vaillant Tresorier de Sainct Martin" (v. 36). The monument is set in a vernal landscape framed in lush greenery by Zephyr (representing spring as the gentle west wind) and Flora (a former nymph turned into a goddess by Zephyr). Borreas (the harsh north wind) violently cuts into the scene casting a dark shadow of mourning ("Feist tout couvrir de noire couverture," v. 46).[17] The scene turns to mourning as Calliope and all the nine muses begin their sad songs. Dame Musique approaches the marble tomb as the mistress of ceremonies and presents Okeghem as her son, imploring those present to grieve ("Approchez vous, venez plorer mon filz" [All of you approach, come to grieve my son] v. 62). After the instruments begin to play, voices join in to a *Libera*, referencing the Requiem mass for the dead. The personified figure of Nature joins the lament with the trees, birds, and flowers.[18] Musique turns to all musicians ("tous les musiciens") to sing psalms, vigils, and masses ("chanter psalter, vigiles et prou messes" v. 92); and even ancient musicians ("mesmes les anciens") are implored to performs songs and poems of mourning for her son ("feissent dictez, rondeaux et virelaiz" v. 98).

The ancient musicians oblige as the next section opens with four biblical and mythical musical fathers — Tubal, David, Orpheus, and Chiron—performing their

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[17] See H. David Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 56-57, 121-22, 355-56. And, of course, Botticelli's painting, *La Primavera*, is an iconic example of the use of these classical, mythical figures in this context.

[18] Further discussion on the literary role Nature plays in poetry from this era in chapter 4.

respective rondeaux. Each of the four rondeaux are introduced by *l'acteur*, a figure whose role in late-medieval poetry is pervasive and multi-layered. The *acteur* is a kind of first-person witness-narrator, but whether or not this person is the author is left ambiguous.[19] Somewhat like a court chronicler, the *acteur* relates events in a manner that was understood as unmediated by interpretation but also authoritative, drawing on the value of prose texts to convey authority even in verse contexts.[20] In the fiction of allegorical space, the voice of the *acteur* connects the scene to the audience in a way that signals the veracity of the account.

The introduction to the musical fathers by the *acteur* lends credibility not only to the virtues of Okeghem of which they sing but also to the legitimacy of Okeghem as their musical heir; each musical father signals a different aspect of Okeghem's professional activity, representing their bequest to him. Tubal—likely a misprint of "Jubal," a descendent of Cain—is referred to as the "father of them that play upon the harp and the organs" in the biblical account of Genesis, thus making him the first to be referred to as a musician in the Hebrew Bible.[21] Tubal draws attention to Okeghem's skill, praising his ability to compose according to the rules of counterpoint ("sans ung seul poinct de ses reigles enfraindre" v. 111 [without a single infranction in the rules of counterpoint]) and

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[19] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry,* 28–30.

[20] Cynthia Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 200–3. Describing the voice of the *acteur* as presented by Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*, Brown states that his strategy "served to complicate the relationship of authoritative, authorial, and narrative voices," 202.

[21] Reference is to Genesis 4.21 in the Douay-Rheims English translation.

pointing to a thirty-six voice motet as evidence ("Trente six voix noter…en ung motet") (vv. 112–13). There is little specific information identifying this composition; the few literary references likely stemmed from Crétin's reference.[22] A theorist, Sebastian Virdung, clarified in 1504 this was a canon of six six-part canons, and Robert Eitner suggested that an anonymous thirty-six voice *Deo gratias* could be this enigmatic composition, though this worked out as a series of nine-voice canons. In his editorial notes to the piece, Richard Wexler gives a brief analysis of the canons demonstrating that matters of style raise doubt about this attribution, in addition to a problematic historical record.[23] The *Deo gratias* may not be the piece to which Crétin referred, but that work is yet unidentified.

The second biblical character is David, who, of course, is the royal psalmist whom the muses inspire as he takes up his harp to sing psalms of lament for Okeghem, the "tresorier notable" (v. 130). David's role first as musician to the King of Israel, then as king himself, invokes the royal space that Okeghem occupied, made explicit in the reference to his position of treasurer at the royal abbey of Saint Martin of which the king

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[22] Nicole le Vestu, *Chant royal*, BnF, ms. fr. 1537, ff. 57v-60 and Henricus Glareanus, *Dodekachordon* (Basel, 1547), 454.

[23] Bertha A. Wallner, "SebastianVirdung von Amberg: Beiträge zu seiner Lebensgeschichte," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 24 (1991), 97–98 and Robert Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke* (Berlin, 1877), 311, as discussed in Edward E. Lowinsky, "Ockeghem's Canon for Thirty-six Voices: An Essay in Musical Iconography," in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, eds. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 155–180 and Richard Wexler, *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works* (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1992) 3: li–liii.

of France was titular abbot.

The mythical musical fathers—Orpheus and Chiron—are already familiar musical figures in medieval literature. However, it seems entirely possible that Crétin's inclusion of Chiron is also an allusion to the name of Okeghem's long-time procurator, Geoffrey Chiron.[24] The appearance of Orpheus evokes a connection to his home on mythical Mt. Parnassus, the place of the fountain of the muses.[25] Orpheus joins Okeghem to the community of poets and musicians whom the muses serve through a phrase that kindles layers of reference in a kind of *mise-en-abyme*. The second line of Orpheus's rondeau (v. 150) begins with the phrase "Dueil angoisseux," which may simply be the affective expression of "anguished grief;" but it may also refer to the popular song of Binchois based on the poem by Christine de Pizan, a lament on the death of her husband.[26] If Binchois is indeed indexed by this phrase, a complex array of literary connection is conjured by his presence in lists of musicians in poetry, including Simon Greban's lament for the poet Jacques Milet and Eloy d'Amerval's *Livre de la deablerie* discussed above. Quoting a chanson title in the course of a rondeau may also point to Molinet's practice of doing the same in his poetry. The chanson by Binchois sets Christine de Pizan's lament but does not itself designate a specific person for whom he laments. The chanson's opening phrase, however, is picked up by Guillaume Du Fay in his chanson of lament, *En*

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[24] Magro, "Premierement Ma Baronnie."

[25] More on Parnassus below in the discussion of *Nymphes des bois* and in chapter 5. See also H. Colin Slim, "Musicians on Parnassus," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12 (1965): 134-163.

[26] Christine de Pizan, *Œuvre poètiques*, ed. Maurice Roy (Paris, 1886–96) I: 7.

triumphant de Cruel Deuil, possibly written in response to Binchois's death, which may then recall the other lament for Binchois, Okeghem's own *Mort, tu as navré*.[27] Fruthermore, it seems appropriate that the phrase "deuil angoisseux" from the poem by Christine de Pizan mourning her husband would appear in the rondeau by Orpheus, the figure who lamented his spouse Euridice. Orpheus is the source for these intertwined relationships that the reference inspires. After the four rondeaux, the *auteur* calls on four additional mythic characters also associated with Parnassus—Sapho (v. 185), Mercury (v. 188), Pan (v. 191), and Arion (v. 198)—to perform songs with the instruments.

As their music finishes, a choir of Okeghem's already deceased contemporaries sing a concert of Okeghem's works. Crétin names three masses—*Missae my-my, Au travail suis, cujus vis toni*—a Requiem and a motet *Ut heremita solus*. The choir includes a list of fifteenth century composers and singers: Du Fay, Busnoys, Fede, Binchois, Barbingant, Dunstable, Pasquin, Lannoy (Colinet de Lannoy), Barizon (Basiron), Copin, Regis, Gilles Joye, Constant (Constans Breuwe), and Hayne van Ghizeghem. While some of these names represent many of the more famous musicians of their time, others are less well known.

With careers spread across France and Burgundy, finding a point of commonality

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[27] David Fallows, "Two more Dufay Songs Reconstructed," *Early Music* 3, no. 4 (October 1975): 358–360. See also Sean Gallagher, "Musical Quotation or Compositional Habit? The Case of Guillaume Du Fay's *En triumphant de cruel dueil*," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, edited by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman, 635-642 (Florence, Italy: Villa I Tatti, 2013); also see Nicoletta Gossen, *Musik in Texten, Texte in Musik: der poetische Text als Herausforderung an die Interpreten der Musik des Mittelalters* (Winterthur, Schweiz: Amadeus, 2006). Despite the differing opinions on the attribution of Du Fay's *En triumphant*, the same reasoning could be made with or without it.

among these men, either geographically or biographically, proves difficult. Crétin may have encountered some of these composers personally; Fedé, for example, became a canon in the Ste Chapelle of Paris during the time Crétin was *chapelain* there. Fedé is also mentioned by Simon Greban and Eloy d'Amerval. We know that Constans provided housing and possible musical training for the young Hayne van Ghizeghem, a prolific chanson composer. In fact, Hayne himself (misspelled as "Hame," v. 221) makes an appearance in this stanza after the singers, where he picks up the lute to join in with *Ut hermita solus*.[28] It may be that the geographic and political distinctions of France and Burgundy are less relevant in the cultural interchange of musicians and poets of the French language, a fact subtly reinforced by the chanson tradition. As the concert comes to a close, Musique wakes the protagonist, urging him to remember what he saw and join the singers in commemorating the deceased forever, initiating the shift of the narrative into *survie par gloire*. The first part of Crétin's poem is passive and allegorical, while the second part is active, current, and future-facing.

The second part begins with Dame Rhétorique addressing poets both ancient (Tullus, Virgil, Prosperce, Tilburce, Catulle) and modern (Chastelain, Alain Chartier, Simon Greban, Meschinot, Milet, Nesson, Molinet, and St. Gelais). Like Okeghem's

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[28] For a discussion of attribution and style of the known version of "Ut heremita solus" in Motetti C (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504) see Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Ockeghem's Motets: Style as an Indicator of Authorship: The Case of *Ut heremita solus* Reconsidered," in *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 499–520. See analysis in Paula Higgins, "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father:' Intertextuality and Creative Patrilineage in Musical Tributes by and for Johannes Ockeghem," in *Tod in Musik Und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philipps Des Schönen*, ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2007), 2:277–314.

Mort, tu as navré, the allegorical figures of Musique and Rhetorique lead their progeny in mourning. The latter cohort of poets named represents some of the leading *rhétoriqueurs*. Crétin addressed Molinet in particular, asking him why he had not yet offered his own lament for the musician. He urges him to write a "petit volume" for Okeghem without delay. Scholars have taken this to mean that Crétin's *Déploration* was written before Molinet's epitaphs for Okeghem.

The following section continues with a recounting of Okeghem's career in service to three kings, proclaiming his virtues and accomplishments. The final section of the poem addressed four groups: the city of Tours, living singers, Evrard his successor, and the choir boys.[29] The stanza of living singers is the same that opened discussion in the first chapter:

Agricolla, Verbonnet, Prioris,	Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,
Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compère	Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brumel, Compère
Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris,	Speak no more joyous songs nor laugh,
Mais composez ung Ne recordis,	But compose a *Ne recordis*,
Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon père.	To lament our master and good father.
Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospère	Prevost, Ver Just, and Piscis Prospère
Prenez Fresveau pour vos chantz accorder,	Along with Fres[n]eau join your song,
La perte est grande et digne à recorder.	For the loss is great and worth recording.

In the section addressing the deceased singers, Musique summons them to sing a *Libera* from the Requiem Mass. Here, the living singers are asked to sing a *Ne recorderis,* which is a Matins responsory from the Office for the Dead.[30] In a progression from ancient to modern, the poem finally takes a turn towards the future. In the last stanza, the "enfans de

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[29] The stanza of living singers is the same that opened my discussion in chapter 1.

[30] *Liber usualis* (Tournai, 1956), 1792.

choeur" (choir boys, vv. 413-420) join in remembering Okeghem forever. Through this poem Crétin created a kind of secular foundation for the musician's soul to be remembered in perpetuity, or *survie par gloire*.

Wake up, Molinet!

As mentioned earlier scholars have understood the summons to Molinet—"Sus Molinet, dormez vous, ou resvez?" (v. 277)—imbedded in the address to poets to mean that his own epitaphs were written after that of Crétin. Moreover I suggest that their respective eulogies for Okeghem are part of a larger literary conversation between the two poets. As someone who worked in the sphere of Burgundy, Molinet was outside the immediate orbit of the French court, though this seems to have mattered little in literary circles. Crétin and Molinet exchanged a series of letters probably written during in the period between the late 1490s and 1504, though no exact dates are given. The letters showcase a dazzling display of linguistic cleverness. Each praised the other's skills, and, in doing so, praised the art of the French language.

Crétin's first letter to Molinet—a poetic *épitre naturelle* of four decasyllabic dixains—begins with a four-line salutation wherein he addresses the poet, creating an equivocation on his name: Molinet / "mol il n'ayt."[31]

Lettres allez sans sejourner en place, Que ne soyez es mains de Molinet; Et le gardez que desir mol il n'ayt A m'escripre, mais vouloir bien ample a ce.	Letters go forth without delay to the hands of Molinet; And keep the desire to not write to me easily influenced by his deep wish to do so.

In the letter, he postures in humility and praises Molinet's work, calling him "maistre"

[31] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 320. In the third line, "mol" is "molle" in modern French.

and “docteur” (On t’a voulu maistre et docteur eslire [All wish to elect you master and doctor]) (v. 14). Crétin had also referred to Okeghem as “docteur” (*Déploration*, vv. 312–13), which does apply to one who has been granted an official university degree but can also refer to one who is a highly esteemed in knowledge even without the degree.[32]

After Crétin’s initial offering in verse, Molinet responded in prose. Extolling Crétin’s excellence in the three fragrant flowers of grammar, music, and rhetoric.[33] He stated that Crétin should follow Octavien—fellow *rhétoriqueur,* Octavien Saint-Gelays—in receiving the prize of the “verger liligere,” that is a crown of lilies (doibz obtenir le pris au verger liligere). The imagery invoked here likely refers to the prize of the *puys*, a poetry contest in honor of the virgin Mary.[34]

Along with his letter, Molinet sent two verbal canons that play on their respective names; each a single eight-line strophe preceded with a puzzle: “mais madame rethoricque, plus adventureuse que moy, t’envoye de la rime, et une couple de canons pour en fair la raison” (but madame rethoricque, more adventurous than me, sends to you the rhyme, and a couple of canons to solve) (fig. 2.3). In Molinet’s first canon a rhyme scheme is set forth: the third and eight syllables are to rhyme for two lines, then followed

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[32] Godefroy defines “doctor” as “savant, capable.” See also Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wöterbuch* (Bonn: F. Klopp, 1928–2002), 3:112, which reiterates that, though typically used as a university-granted title, it carried implications of the authority to teach, thus gives an amplification of meaning when used alongside “maistre.”

[33] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 323. Since Saint-Gelays died of the plague in 1502, it is likely that this series of letters was written before then.

[34] Gérard Gros, *Le poète, la vièrge et le prince du Puy: Étude sur les Puys marials de la France du Nord du XIVe siècle à la Renaissance* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1994). Further discussion in chapter 5.

Fig. 2.3 - Two canons by Molinet sent to Crétin

Canon: Doublez le tiers et le huytiesme, Vous avrez quatriesme et dixiesme.	Canon: Double the third and the eighth, You have the fourth and the tenth.
Molinet n'est sans bruyt, ne sans nom, non, Il a son son, et comme tu vois, voix, Son doulx plaid plaist mieulx que ne fait ton ton, Ton vif art ard plus cher que charbon bon, Tes trenchans chantz perchent ses parois roidz, D'entre gent gent ont nobles Franchois choiz, Se ne doibz doigtz boubter en son laict laid, Car souvent vent vient au molinet nect.	Molinet is without sound, without name, no, He has his sound, and as you see, voice His sweet cry pleases better than your tone, Your bright, burning scheme more costly than good coal, Your shrewd songs perching on their stiff walls, Between the niceties the French nobles have chosen, Your fingers do not have to destroy the sound of unseemly songs, For often the wind comes to clear the little windmill.
Cretin de jongz, d'osiere, ou de festu, Faiz tu ton fol d'ung vert molu molin? Molinet veult, quant de toille est vestu; Veulx tu combatre ung vieillart abbatu, Battu son chef, pour son corps mettre a fin, Affin d'avoir bruyt ainsi qu'il a fin? Afin meilleur depuis decembre n'euz; Breneux soit il qui le fait ruyneux.	Cretin of the reed, of the willow, or of the straw, Does your tone make a fool of the green grain of the mill? Molinet wishes, when the cloth is clothed; Do you wish to combat a beaten down old man, Beat your leader, for his body to place at the end, In order to have the sounds as well as he has? For he has not had better since December; The shit makes him ruined.

by one line in which the fourth and tenth are the same; the pattern repeats for the next three lines, and the last two lines continue without the third. The last two words of the strophe equal the first two, punning on his name. The poem itself is a riddle, perhaps at the end he invokes Fortune's shifting wheel.[35] In the second canon, he plays on the word "cretin," which meant a small, woven basket; in the penultimate line he may also be

[35] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 324.

referencing a time frame within which he wrote.[36]

Crétin's reply—his second missive—to Molinet mirrored the form he received, accepting the challenge presented: a letter in prose followed his own two canons; certainly these letters and canons form a pair. He wove in allusions to Molinet's poems both in imagery, content, and rhymes. The last line of Molinet's first canon reference the turning of the windmill. Crétin echoed the image in the first phrase of his letter, "Molinet rondement tournant" (Molinet/the windmill turning around and around).

Later in the letter, he engaged with the idea of "bruyt" (sound or noise) referenced in the canons, filling the paragraph with sonic imagery with references to singing: "Et si le Cretin se tient a son raucoque, sachant vertu estre aussy bien chantee par les bas ton que du hault bruyant, il n'y a pourtant matiere de redargution canonicque contre luy" (And if the Cretin keeps up his raucousness, while knowing virtue to be sung well from the low tones to the brilliant high ones, it would thus be a matter of canonical reprimand against him). The quality of sounds are imbued with the quality of a person's character; further down in the letter, he acknowledges Octavien by also mentioning the poet and his "meliflue rethoricque" (harmonious rhetoric). The end of the letter silences the noise as Crétin responds "in low voice," and the canons he includes at the end also relieve the conflict posed in Molinet's canons. The way Crétin's reply intricately engages Molinet's on a detailed level, both in rhymes and content, probably means that they were written

[36] Some terminology clarification in the second canon, as follows: jongz = jonc: a herbaceous plant with a long, flexible stem that grows in damp places; osier: a willow branch; festu = paille: straw; breneux: stained with fecal matter.

within a short time frame.[37]

The letter also contains identifying information with respect to its time and place: "non affin de adouleir tes canons, mais en voix basse de Crétin respondre a leur tumult, pour l'adieu, qu'il te gard De Lyon se treiziesme d'aoust, par le tien tout a plain —Crétin" (not to praise your canons, but to respond to their tumult in the low voice of Crétin, by the farewell sent to you from Lyon this thirteenth of August, modestly yours —Cretin).[38] No year is given, but it seems likely that the August to which he referred was in the year 1499, the month after Louis XII made his first royal entry into the city.

The letters between the two were not included in the earliest known source of Crétin's *Déploration,* a 1527 printed collection of Crétin's poetry published two years after the poet's death by François Charbonnier, whom Crétin had mentored.[39] Some of Crétin's writing had been printed on an individual basis in other collections of poetry—much as they appeared in manuscript collections—but it seems that the first collection of his own poetry was this print.[40] Jean Lemaire even encouraged Crétin to publish more: in the dedication to Crétin in his *Les Illustration de Gaule*, Lemaire stated that if Crétin would only open up his works for publishing then others could see that, "tout ce peu que [j'ai]

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[37] The two most musicologically problematic of Okeghem's pieces mentioned by Crétin—the thirty-six voice motet and "Ut heremita solus"—both incorporate canons. An interesting thought for future exploration may be to consider the writing of literary canons like these, replete with their own sonic planes, alongside the puzzles Crétin left in the *Déploration*.

[38] Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* 326.

[39] Guillaume Crétin, *Chantz royaulx, oraisons et aultres petitz traictez* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1527).

[40] For example, his letter to Jean Lemaire appears in the preface to Lemaire's *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, published in Paris in 1504 discussed in chapters 1 and 4.

de grace et de felicité en ce langage vient de ta discipline" (Every little grace and felicity I have in this language comes from your instruction).[41] The Charbonnier print has served as served as exemplar for subsequent collections of Crétin's poetry. The first of these was prepared in the eighteenth-century edition prepared by the publisher Antoine-Urbain Coustellier (1723), who also added Crétin's correspondence with Molinet.[42] Ernst Thoinan (1864) prepared an edition of the single poem based on the Coustellier publication.[43] Chesney herself used Charbonnier as the main source for her complete edition as well as the basis of its organization, any poems not included in the initial print —for example, the correspondence with Molinet—were added after the original body.[44]

If indeed the *Déploration* fits within this correspondence, then dating the poem is also intertwined with their dialogue. Although Crétin obviously wrote the poem sometime after 6 February 1497, Michel Brenet was the first to draw attention to an upper limit to its date. At the end of the poem (vv. 405–8), the poet addresses Evrard de la Chapelle, whom Charles VIII appointed to succeed Okeghem as treasurer of St. Martin two days after the composer's death. Yet the same reference to him as successor also seems to

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[41] Guy, "Un souverain poète," 554. See Lemaire, *Œuvres*, II: 257.

[42] *Les Poesies de Guillaume Crétin* (Paris: Antoine-Urbain Coustelier, 1723).

[43] Guillaume Dubois Crétin, *Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem, musicien, premier chapelain du roi de France et trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours*, ed. Ernest Thoinan (Paris: A. Claudin, Libraire-Editeur, 1864).

[44] Guillaume Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932), ciii.

indicate that he had not yet taken possession of the post:[45]

Hé Maistre Evrard, vous estes successeur D'ung excellent docteur, bien le scavez: Je vous requir, quant serez possesseur, Faictes bastir orgues de grant doulceur.	Master Evrard, as you well know, you are the successor of an excellent doctor: When you become the "possessor," I implore you to build organs of great sweetness.

As Brenet explained, the chapter resisted Evrard's appointment because of his illegitimate birth—implications of which discussed in the final chapter. They maintained their objections as late as 9 Novemer 1498, and Evrard was not installed until in the following year. Brenet thus concluded that the poem must have been written between his appointment and some time in 1499 – the exact date unknown.[46] Upon reviewing the scholarship discussing the matter, however, I offer an additional observation that may delimit a portion of that year. Reports of the year of Okeghem's death vary, no doubt because of a lack of clarity with respect to old/new style recordings of his February death.[47] Yet the year of Evrard's installation is presented without variance, leading me to conclude that this must have occurred after mid–late spring of 1499, further substantiating my hypothesis.

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[45] Michel Brenet, *Jean de Ockeghem, maître de la chapelle des rois Charles VII et Louis XI* (Paris: Champion, 1893). Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques,* xxxiv. See also Stephen Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study," (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 41–42 and 126-7.

[46] Brenet, "*Jean de Ockeghem,"* 1-32. Also Vaccaro, "Jean de Ockeghem" and Magro, "Premierement Ma Baronnie," 202.

[47] Further explanation of old/new style found in Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 784–785.

I propose the following timeline for the correspondence between the two poets, which includes my suggested dating for both Crétin's *Déploration* and Molinet's epitaphs (and Josquin's setting), as well as relevant contextual information (fig. 2.4). We know that Crétin's must be written after 9 February 1497 because of the date of Evrard's appointment, but it may as late after the spring of 1499, because of the delay with Evrard's installation. If we are to take the list of living singers at the end of the poem to be singers within the orbit of the French court, then the only way to account for the inclusion of Gaspar van Weerbeke would be in the narrow window between June 1498 and November 1499 during which he is recorded to be in France, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. An additional piece of information may offer a final terminus: in his *Déploration*, Crétin calls upon Octavien St.-Gelais to console all those around with his sweet songs (vv. 301–6). Because Octavien died of the plague in 1502, his death date can serve as a final delimitation. Furthermore, if there were any doubt surrounding placing Molinet's poem after Crétin's based simply on the line calling for the "petit volume," we now have a model of the poetic interaction between the two. The subtle and detailed ways Molinet responds to Crétin's *Déploration* in language and content, stylistically reinforces the pairing of the two, which then may indicate that the two commemorations were written within a relatively short time span.

Fig. 2.4 - Proposed timeline of poems commemorating Okeghem

Dates in italics hypothetical

Date	Activity
6 February 1497	Death of Okeghem
9 February 1497	Charles VIII appoints Evrard de la Chapelle as successor.
April 1498	Charles VIII dies; Louis XII succeeds.
1498	Jean Lemaire begins employment with Pierre de Bourbon near Lyon.
Autumn 1498	Louis XII leaves Paris after having spent the summer establishing appointments. Crétin's Letter No. 1 to Crétin
December [*1498*]	Molinet's Letter No. 1 plus two canons to Crétin. Mention of the month December.
August [*1499*]	Crétin's Letter No. 2 plus two canons "de lyon" to Molinet. Forms a pair with Molinet's Letter No. 1.
Late 1499–1500	**Crétin's *Déploration* for Okeghem** (Letter No. 3?) Implores Molinet to write "quelque petit volume" for Okeghem.
1500	**Molinet's epitaphs for Okeghem** (Letter No. 2?) Forms a pair with Crétin's *Déploration*.
1500-03	**Josquin's setting of Molinet epitaph: *Nymphes des bois.***
1502	Death of Octavien St-Gelais
1503	Josquin leaves France for Ferrara via Lyon.
1504	Crétin becomes canon in Vincennes.

Josquin's *Nymphes des bois*

Molinet's French epitaph *Nymphes des bois* became the basis of another "motet-chanson" commemorating the death of a composer, this time Josquin for Okeghem. The author is unknown for the text of Okeghem's *Mort, tu as navré*, lamenting Binchois, but

Josquin chose a text by the notable poet Molinet for a commemorative piece Okeghem—*rhétorique* and *musique* once again come together.

As mentioned already, Molinet's eulogy for Okeghem is two poems: the Latin ballade and French epitaph. The earliest source for the French *Nymphes des bois* is a collection of poetry from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Paris 24315, f. 96r, which features many poems by the *rhétoriqueurs,* including some of the pieces exchanged between Molinet and Crétin.[48]

Within this particular manuscript, *Nymphes des bois* is part of a series of epitaphs for musicians and a painter, a fact that seems to have been overlooked in current musicological literature (figure 2.5).[49] According to a notice at the end of the manuscript (f. 159), the book's contents had been collected by members of the Malet de Graville family and completed in the mid-sixteenth century. The arms of Claude d'Urfé are

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[48] A typographical error seems to account for source misidentification of Molinet's French text in recent scholarship on Josquin's *Nymphes des bois,* which has been reported as located in BnF ms. fr. 24215. A consultation of the catalogue of the BnF indicates that the manuscript 24215 is a seventeenth-century account of a voyage to Constantinople. The edition of Molinet's works prepared by Noël Dupire (1936–39) correctly identifies the source of the French poem found in BnF ms. fr. 24315. See Annie Coeurdevey, "Josquin des Prés, Nymphes des bois, déploration sur la mort de Johannes Ockeghem: de l'étude des sources à l'analyse," *Musurgia*, 7 (2000): 50; Jaap van Benthem includes both numbers at different points, "La magie des cris trenchantz: Comment le vray trésorier de musique échappe à la trappe du très terrible satrappe," in *Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450–1650: Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain-la-Neuve, 23–25 September 1999*, eds. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie Blackburn (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 2001), 119; and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "*Venez plorer ma desolation*: Lamenting and Mourning Nymphs in Culture and Music around 1500," in *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture,* eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 375.

[49] Three sequential epitaphs beginning on f. 99v end with the devise "Du bien le bien," which is the motto of the early 16th c poet Jacque Le Lieur (c. 1480–1550), a participant in the *puys* of Rouen. See François Gabriel Théodore Busset de Jolimont, *Notice historique sur la vie et les Œuvres de Jacques Le Lieur* (Moulins: Imp. de M. Place, 1847) and Lucien René Delsalle, *Rouen à la Renaissance sur les pas de Jacques Le Lieur* (Rouen: Librairie L'Armitière, 2007).

stamped on its green calf-skinned binding. This poetry manuscript was probably part of the library that Anne de Graville—herself a noted poet— inherited from her father and, in turn, passed on to her second daughter, Jeanne (d. 1542), who then brought the library to her marriage with Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558).[50] Anne's father, Louis Malet de Graville (ca. 1433–1516), was the original owner of the Rohan Chansonnier, which contains the texts of over six hundred French poems, of which seventy-eight songs—and nearly a quarter of the entire repertoire—have concordances in musical settings among the five Loire Valley chansonniers.[51]

Fig. 2.5 - Contents in Paris 24315, fols. 95–99v

Folio(s)	Title	Author
95r–v	Epitaph for Simon Marmion, painter	Molinet
96r	*Nymphes des bois*	Molinet
96r–99r	Plain sur le trespas de Lourdault chanter	Crétin
99v	Épitaphes "de Guillot" dit Billon, chantre et orfèvre	unknown: possibly poet Jacques Le Lieur

[50] André Vernet, "Les manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au château de La Bastie," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 120 (1976): 81-97. For more on Anne de Graville see Maxime de Montmorand, *Anne de Graville: sa famille, sa vie, son Œuvre, sa postérité* (Paris: A. Picard, 1917). For further on this library see Nicolas Ducimetière, "La bibliothèque d'Honoré d'Urfé: histoire de sa formation et de sa dispersion à travers quelques exemplaires retrouvés," *Dix-septième siècle* 4 (2010): 747–73.

[51] Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Societies: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169–70. The text chansonnier is called the "Rohan Chansonnier" for the arms of its eighteenth-century owner, Cardinal Armand Gaston Maximilien de Rohan, at the opening of the collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17.

Josquin's musical setting of *Nymphes de bois* is found in two print sources and one manuscript: Petrucci, *Motetti a cinque, Libro primo* (Venice, 1508); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms. Acq. e doni 666 ("Medici"); and the seventh book of chansons in five and six voices attributed to Josquin, published by Susato (Antwerp, 1545).[52] As is well known, the piece exhibits some distinctive notational features. In the sources with the original French text, the notation is black throughout the entire piece and in all the voices, no doubt more as a symbolic gesture of mourning than as a proportional device, since the coloring carries no mensural value in this context.[53] The line "Acoultrez vous d'habitz de dueil" reinforces this observation. Josquin's setting begins the *secunda* pars with this line, highlighting the significance of the image. If in *Mort, tu as navré* Rhétorique and Musique were called on to put on their mourning clothes ("Ad fait deul et noir a portée"), here the composers Josquin, Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, and Compère are entreated to do the same (fig. 2.6). The greater context of lament literature further solidifies the symbolism: the *noire couverture* is a necessary part of the mourning scene from the overt clothing of mourning to the more symbolic, as in the shadow cast in Crétin's *Déploration* (v. 46).

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[52] NJE 29.18, 278. In addition to these three main sources, NJE lists a manuscript in private collection (Leuven, private collection of Gilbert Huybens, MS c1, S ff. 6–7v). See commentary in Edward E. Lowinsky, ed., *The Medici Codex of 1518,* MRM 3-5 (Chicago, 1968). Josquin's piece inserts a line where there is not one in Molinet's (fig. 2.6). van Benthem, "La magie des cris trenchantz," 124.

[53] Coeurdevey, "Josquin des Prés, Nymphes des bois," 53; van Benthem, "La magie des cris trenchantz," 124; and Fallows, *Josquin*, 213. Previous scholars have suggested that the blackened notes must symbolize to mourning, based on pervasive cultural associations. My examination of the importance of the color in poetic laments solidifies the theory.

Fig. 2.6 - Text and translation: Jean Molinet, *Nymphes des bois*

Text according to Paris 24315	
Nymphes des bois, deesses des fontaines, Chantres expert de toutes nations, Changez vos voix fort claires et haultaines En cris trenchans et lamentacions; Car Atropos, tres terrible satrape, A vostre Obgam atrape en sa trape, Vray tresorier de musique et chef d'oeuvre; Grand dommage est que la terre le coeuvre. Acoultrez vous d'habitz de dueil, Josquin, Perchon, Brunel, Compere, Et pleurez grosses larmes d'oeul; Perdu aves vostre bon pere. *Requiem*	Nymphs of the woods, goddesses of the fountains, Skilled singers of every nation, Turn your voices, so clear and lofty, Into piercing cries and lamentation; Because Atropos, such a terrible satrap, Has caught your Okeghem in her trap, The true treasurer of music and master, That the earth covers him is great sorrow. Put on the clothes of mourning, Josquin, [Pierre de la Rue], Brumel, Compère, And weep great tears from your eyes, For you have lost your good father. *Requiem*

As in Okeghem's piece for Binchois, here, too, we may have a sonic *mise-en-scène.* Like *Mort, tu as navré*, Josquin's setting combines the French poetic text with a portion from the Requiem Mass—in Josquin's case used as a *cantus prius factus* in the tenor.[54] For modern listeners used to the affective portrayals of weeping emerging in songs of lament from the seventeenth century and later (the introduction of the *basso lamento* in Monteverdi's *Lamento della ninfa* comes to mind), we might miss how the sound of lament might be signaled to a fifteenth-century listener—that is, through the Mass and Office of the Dead. Poetic laments illustrate scenes of mourning around the

[54] The chant used in the *c.p.f.* in the tenor is from the Introit of the Requiem Mass and the verse at the end of the Postcommunion, "Requiescant in pace. Amen." *LU*, 1807, 1815.

tomb that are full of these liturgical sonic descriptors; for example, Crétin even calls for a *Libera* from the Mass to be sung (v. 77), for a performance of Okeghem's own Requiem Mass, and for the *Ne recorderis* from the Office. The musical settings reflect a dialogue with the poetic tradition, bringing the imagery of the poetry into the sonic space. This time, instead of a tomb, the scene is at the fountains of Parnassus—an even grander apotheosis than was achieved for Binchois.

Placing *Nymphes des bois* in conversation with the polyptych imagery of fifteenth-century mourning allows us to hear the polyvalence of the polyphony. Wolfgang Fuhrmann explores the significance of nymphs for mourning here and in Josquin's *Nimphes nappés*.[55] Because of the combination of the French poetry with a Latin text both in *Nymphes des bois* and *Nimphes nappés*, he suggests that because nymphs of the chanson text were not to Josquin's taste, the pagan themes would be Christianized through the liturgical text. Futhermore, he argues, wood nymphs would have represented nature itself, *musica mundana*, so that nymphs are an allegory for a dirge of the universe. Fuhrmann, however, overlooks the role of nymphs in much of literature. My reading of the nymphs in this poem is that they refer to attendants of the fountain muses on Parnassus and are to Josquin's taste, after all. One of the foundational texts in fifteenth century France was *Ovid moralisé*, a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* prepared in the

[55] Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "*Venez plorer ma desolation*: Lamenting and Mourning Nymphs in Culture and Music around 1500," in *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture,* eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 377, 380–87.

fourteenth century that circulated widely.[56] The account of the fountain of the Muses, who are attended by the wood nymphs, on Parnassus is evoked repeatedly in the fifteenth century literature: the fountain is the source of fame or glory. Deschamps, in his Ballade 124 for Machaut also called on the "nymphes des bois" (v. 19), exhorting them to take up instruments in sounding mourning. In his *Complaincte* on the death of Georges Chastelain in 1476, Jean Robertet named Parnassus and the fountains specifically (vv. 116–24).[57] The waters of the great tears wept by Josquin, La Rue, Brumel, and Compère are reimagined in this scene as the source of the fountain through which Okeghem will *survie par gloire*, attended by the nymphs and the goddesses.

Survie par gloire

In his *Déploration*, Crétin uses lists of names to create a memorial to Okeghem through an appeal to different networks. Okeghem's *survie par gloire* is encoded in these lists of names. One of the main reasons musicologists return to this poem is the list of names of the well-known living musicians at the end: Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris, Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brumel, and Compère. For Crétin, creating a list of names was a discursive exercise of building identity, drawing on tools embedded in the literary

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[56] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 80–88.

[57] While much of the imagery and stylization in this *Complaincte* is typical for the genre, certain passages of Robertet's *Complaincte* clearly provide a model for Crétin's *Déploration* for Okeghem. See *Jean Robertet: Œuvres*, ed. C. Margaret [Douglas] Zsuppan (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 159–77. For broader implications see further discussion in final chapter and Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères: la liste des auteurs illustres à la fin du Moyen Age," *Modern Language Notes* 116 (September 2001), 634.

discourses with which his readers were already familiar.

The stanza's rhetorical power speaks to a historical network beyond the boundaries of the poetic text. Focusing on the 1490s, the years just preceding and following Okeghem's death, the known record of some of these musicians indicates direct employment in the French royal court. For the rest, certain cases of alignments of gaps in both the documentation of their biographies and of the French royal court suggest the possibility of their activity within French royal court circles. Crétin's poetic witness makes these connections more explicit: he ties them together in a metaphorical *chapelle du roi*. The poem's historical backdrop reveals that the branches of this musical family tree—as we will come to see in the last chapter— reach across institutions, demonstrating networks of mutually sustaining relationships.

CHAPTER 3 - *Les bon fils:* Assembling the French Royal *Chapelle*

In January 1477, King Louis XI sent two letters addressed to the people of Poitiers. A letter of 9 January announced the recent death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who had been assassinated on 26 December. Louis describes with appropriate sobriety how Sforza had been murdered at the church where he had been attending Mass:[1]

> Chers et bien amez, nous avons sceu puis aucuns jours la detestable et cruelle mort de la personne de feu nostre beau frere le duc de Milan, à qui Dieu pardoint, et commant elle a esté faicte et commise par ung cousteau en la gorge et en l'eglise de ladicte villle…
>
> Dear and beloved friends, we have just learned of the detestable and cruel death, some days ago, of the deceased person our brother-in-law, the duke of Milan, to whom may God give pardon, and how it was done and committed by a knife to the throat at the church in that town…

This grief soon changed into rejoicing. Three days later Louis sent another letter to the people of Poitiers, bidding them to celebrate the good news he had just received regarding the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who had died on the battlefield in Nancy on 5 January.

> …les bonnes et agreables nouvelles que premierement nous ont aportees noz chevauchers de nostre escuyrie du trespas du duc de Milan et du duc de Bourgoigne, noz anciens ennemis.
>
> …the good and happy news that was just brought to us by our own horsemen of the death of the duke of Milan and of the duke of Burgundy, our old enemies.

Hence at the beginning of 1477 two of the most prominent musical patrons at the time,

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[1] Joseph Vaesen and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI, Roi de France (1475–78)* (Paris; Librairie Renouard, 1898), 4: 108, 114.

the dukes of Burgundy and Milan, were killed within weeks of each other. Both rulers had dedicated significant resources to their musicians and chapels, as had their contemporaries. Just a few years earlier, Tinctoris had written the following in the dedication to his *Proportionale musices*, echoing themes of sustaining honor and glory explored in the previous chapter:[2]

> Denique principes christianissimi quorum omnium, rex piissime, animi, corporis, fortunaeque donis longe primus es, cultum ampliare divinum cupientes more davidico capellas instituerunt, in quibus diversos cantores per quos diversis vocibus (non adversis) Deo nostro jocunda decoraque esse laudatio, ingentibus expensis assumpserunt; et quoniam cantores principum (si liberalitate, quae claros homines facit praedicti sint) honore, gloria, divitiis afficiuntur, ad hoc genus studii ferventissime multi incenduntur.
>
> Lastly the most Christian princes, of whom, most pious King, you are by far the foremost in the gifts of mind, of body, and of fortune, desiring to augment the Divine Service, founded chapels after the manner of David, in which at extraordinary expense they appointed singers to sing pleasant and comely praise to our God with diverse (but not adverse) voices. And since the singers of princes, if their masters are endowed with the liberality which makes men illustrious, are rewarded with honor, glory, and wealth, many are kindled with a most fervent zeal for this study.

If both of these "Christian princes" had chapels at "extraordinary expense," one wonders about what happened to the chapels when these princes were gone.[3] Three years later, in 1480, we are faced with the same question concerning the death of René d'Anjou, who

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[2] Latin text accessed online via *Thesaurum Musicarum Latinarum* (TML), http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/TINPRO_TEXT.html (Accessed 5 February 2019). English text taken from Johannes Tinctoris, "Proportionales Musices: Dedication," in Leo Treitler, ed., *Source Readings in Music History, Oliver Strunk, Editor*, Revised Edition (New York: Norton, 1998) 292.

[3] For music at the court of Charles the Bold see Paula Marie Higgins, "Antonie Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1987), ch. 2, especially with respect to Busnoys's activity.

had invested significantly in his chapel in Provence. And in 1483 Louis XI, the king of France, the "most Christian" king, died of illness and old age. Between 1476 and 1483, many of the members of the Crétin's stanza were in the early stages of illustrious musical careers, and these were partially shaped by these deaths.

During the years leading up to these events rulers initiated concerted efforts to build their chapels in the manner described by Tinctoris above, sometimes even through recruitment of specific singers with known musical reputations. Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan made a concerted effort to increase the size and status of his chapel, including hiring Gaspar van Weerbeke in 1471. Galeazzo waged a recruiting war with rival courts, sending one of his singers, Cardinus, to Okeghem in France in 1472 for assistance in finding singers.[4] By the end of the decade, around thirty singers in Milan were listed as requiring the vestments necessary for feast days, including Loyset Compère (joined July 1474) and Jehan Fresneau (joined 1476).[5] In France, René d'Anjou began actively moving his court to Provence, gradually reducing his presence in Angers and moving to Provence fulltime, with residences in Aix and Tarascon among others.[6] We know that Josquin joined his court by 1476.[7] With respect to Louis XI, we know relatively little after 1475 because so many documents were destroyed during the French

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[4] Paul A. Merkley and Laura Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 77–80.

[5] Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 101–2, 179–80; 242–43.

[6] Paul Merkley. *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou: Sacred and Secular Music in the Literary Program and Ceremonial* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017), 40–90.

[7] Merkley, *Music and Politics at the Court of René d'Anjou*, 327.

Revolution. But before this date, members from Crétin's stanza appear on court chapel records: Jehan Fresneau (1469–76) and Jehan Poisson (1473–74).[8] By the same token, in a discussion of institution building, we should not overlook the fact that the 1470s—a decade of stabilization and growth for France after the tumultuous Hundred Years War—was also when many of the same rulers were literally building their chapels, creating foundations for expansions and growth to physical buildings to adequately express their own honor and glory.[9]

Among some of the ramifications resulting from these deaths, the disruption of the institutions gave occasions not only for musicians to travel other courts in search of employment but also for nobility to seek out musicians to bolster their own princely chapels. When Galeazzo Maria died, out of the approximately thirty singers active in 1476, twelve were released from service.[10] Of these, Compère and Fresneau presumably went to France, and five others went to Ferrara: Antonio Baneston, Peroto Bernardo, Cornelius de Fiandria, Johannes Jappart, and Daniel Schach. And yet of the dozen singers who had been released in 1477, some returned either permanently or occasionally to

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[8] Michel Brenet, *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France,* 39–40. See also BnF 20685, 623, 631.

[9] See Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973) and Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: The Universal Spider* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971). Also see Irit Ruth Kleiman, *Philippe de Commynes: Memory, Betrayal, Text* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013) for an engaging account of this time in Louis XI's court from the perspective of his relationship with his chronicler Philippe de Commynes. The digital humanities project "Mapping Gothic France," led by Stephen Murray of Columbia University, provides a vivid description of the simultaneous building of the physical and administration institutions that formed the basis for the fifteenth-century expansions. Accessed 12 April 2019, http://mappinggothic.org/.

[10] Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage at the Sforza Court*, 242-4.

Milan by 1480; and in the 1480s and 1490s, Ludovico Sforza once again maintained an active musical establishment, as can be seen from the life of Gaspar, who spent much of his career there beginning in 1471. When René d'Anjou died in 1480, Louis XI was keen to incorporate eight members from René's chapel into his own, because they were "the best singers that could be found;" Josquin may or may not have been among the "best singers."[11] Because the death of Louis XI falls within the years of lost court documents, assessing the fate of his chapel after 1483 is more fraught. Examining the last record of singers' salaries from 1475 to the 1486 list compiled from a series of executorial letters—the same list already mentioned because of Crétin's inclusion—demonstrates a degree of stability within the institution, with over half the personnel apparently remaining constant over the eleven-period (fig. 3.1).[12] Because the French monarchy never depended on an individual king neither did the need for his chapel.[13] In France, the function of the *chapelle du roi* was to sing the Mass and office for the king; the chapel traveled with his itinerant court.

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[11] Fallows, *Josquin*, 58.

[12] 1475 list found on BnF 20685, f. 630; 1486 list is on Leeman L. Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 552.

[13] Fredric Baumgartner in *Louis XII* (New York: Saint Martin's, 1994), 58 describes the ceremony in which the *grand écuyer* "resurrects" the royal standard from the tomb of a newly-deceased king proclaiming: "le roi est mort" followed by "vive, le roi" (the king is dead; long live the king). Partly owing to the custom, the newly-crowned French king may not come into contact with the body of his predecessor, which is why when Charles VIII died in Amboise, Louis XII quickly left nearby Blois to go to Paris in April 1498.

Following the itineraries and possible travel routes of the intinerant French king and the nobility can offer a geographical framework from which to measure events and intersections. If the c*hapelle du roi* followed the French king, then following the king will

Fig. 3.1 - Comparison of known personnel, *chapelle du roi*

Names in bold appear on both lists.

1475	1486
Caullier	Calvi
Chiron	**Caulier**
Clerc	**Colebert**
Collebert	Compere
Cousin	Crétin
Fresneau	Fabri
Fontenay	**Fontenay**
Gigard	**Fresneau**
Lannoy	**Gigard**
Modeine	**Mignot**
Poisson	**Poisson**
Rouille	Preposite
Viels	

lead us to the *chapelle*. Returning to the stanza of living musicians in Crétin's *Déploration* in light of his close connection with French royal court circles, a rationale for Crétin's inclusions and omissions emerges. Examining the extant documentation of the musicians named in this stanza reveals that each intersected with the musical establishment at the French royal court before 1500. Yet revelations are only partial. Voids in their known biographies coincide with not only the forty-year lacuna in French court documents (1475–1515), but also significant political transitions in western Europe.

The following discussion traces the known biographies of the musicians of Crétin's stanza in the context not only of the court chapel transitions mentioned above, but also of the French invasions into Italy led first by Charles VIII (1494–95) and then Louis XI (1498). What we already know about these musicians has been gleaned over centuries of research and, thus, requires a broad sweep of secondary sources to align older research with newer discoveries. I also explore the implications of Crétin's court connections to convey historical insight about musicians connected to the French court scene leading up to 1500, enriching an area of inquiry otherwise impoverished by the destruction of archival documents.

"Pour vos chantz accorder"

In my assessment of the musicians of Crétin's stanza, I begin with a thorough examination of what is known about a group of highly esteemed but today little-known musicians. Crétin's line "Prevost Ver Just tant que Piscis Prospère" prompts the question: to whom these names refer? As the original print and oldest source of the poem are without punctuation, commas indicating divisions between names and modifiers are editorial. The first questions regarding "Prevost Ver Just," then are: Which Verjust is this? And is this one person or two people? In 1926 Eugenie Droz and André Pirrò published a pair of articles outlining the biography of the singer Jean Cornuel (b. ca. 1435), who was called Verjust. His career began and ended in Cambrai, where he died in 1499. Cornuel also spent some time in Italy, singing at San Pietro at the Vatican and for the ducal chapel of Milan in 1474. Pirrò also recorded Cornuel in Cologne and the chapel of Matthias

Corvinus in Hungary. It is unlikely that this successful singer is the Verjust of Crétin's *Déploration*: everyone else in this stanza belongs to the next generation and had associations with the French royal court.

Another Verjust was discovered by Stephen Bonime in 1975: a singer and "varlet du chambre" for Charles VIII named Estienne Guillot, dit Verjust.[14] Payments to Guillot are first recorded in the accounts of the *maison du Roi* (AN KK 76), rather than the *chapelle du roi*. Sometime during the 1490s, Guillot must have changed positions, because he is observed to be a singer in the king's chapel in 1501 (Appendix 3).[15]

Another mention of Verjust relays that he is a favorite singer of the king. In an anonymous account of Philip the Fair's journey to Spain in 1501, we learn that the entourage sojourned in Blois for a time; there Philip and his wife accompanied the king Louis XII and queen, Anne of Brittany, to Mass on 8 December, the day of "nostre dame" (that is, the feast day of the conception of Mary). The Mass was sung and performed by the "beautiful voices" of the singers of the king's *chapelle*, as the anonymous chronicler observed. One singer, named "Verjus," was singled out as a favorite of the king and everyone; the chronicler describes him as "le second maistre Alixandre" (the second

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[14] Stephen Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music: An Archival Study" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 48-49. Most of the biographical information for Verjust comes from the archival sources examined and cited in Bonime's dissertation. The singer is also mentioned in Louise Litterick, "The Manuscript Royal 20.a.Xvi of the British Library," Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1976, 59.

[15] Paris, AN, KK 76, fols 162^{v} and 182^{v}, *Compte des Menus Plaisir du Roi*, 1 October 1490 to 30 September 1491. Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 48 and 130.

master Alexander), presumably referring to Agricola.[16] Such a reference also presumes the esteem with which Agricola was held and may even point to activity about which we are unaware due to the gaps in Agricola's own career.

Estienne Guillot, dit Verjust, appears next in the records of the king's offerings, alms, and devotions during the fiscal year spanning October 1506–September 1507, holding the position of curé of St. Nicolas de Blois, one of the three chapels of the royal residence, located in the "chasteau du jardin." While Louis XII was in residence in Blois for the eleven weeks from 9 November 1506 to 26 January 1507, Guillot sang Mass for the king thirty-one times.[17] Apparently, Guillot went to Italy not long thereafter. In 1510, the name "Estienne Guyot," though without the qualifier "dit Verjust," was crossed out in a payment record in the budget for the duchy of Milan, then under French rule, for the position of *chastelain* of Porta Fodesta in Piacenza.[18] If Guillot had been in the king's entourage, a position in Milan at this time would have been logical, since Louis was involved with his conquest of Venetian territory (1508–-1513).[19]

The 1517–18 *comptes* for the chapel determine the death date of Estienne Guillot:

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[16] "Le viije jour de Decembre Monseigneur sejourna en la ville de Blais, jour de nostre dame, et fut le Roy a la messe acompaignye de Monseigneur et la Royne acompaignie de Madame et de chacun son estat, qui fut une moult belle chose a veoir tant de noblesse; et chanterent et firent le service les chantres du Roy, qui est fort somptueuse chappelle de belle voix tant comme dessus, et y est ung chantre nomme Verjus qui est le second maistre Alixandre et est fort ayme du Roy et d'un chacun." Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 3410, transcribed by Joseph Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1841), II, 568. Quoted in Bonime, "Anne of Bretagne," 131.

[17] Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 48 and 131, cites Paris, AN, KK 88, *Compte des offrandes, aumônes et dévotions du roi* (1er octobre 1506-30 septembre 1507), ff. 2, 27, 45, and 64.

[18] Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 48 and 131, cites Paris, AN, J. 910, no. 1

[19] Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 209-227.

spring of 1518, since he was only paid half his salary for the fiscal year that began in October 1517. The entry states that "Maistre Conrard Reynier [Conrad Rein], chantre ordinaire de la chappelle du roy" would receive a portion of the salary of "le feu prevost d'Anjou Verjust (the deceased provost of Anjou Verjust)." [20] Because Guillot is here called "prevost d'Anjou," the first time the title appears with the name "Verjust" in the known documents, scholars have assumed that the line from Crétin's *Déploration* refers to "Prevost Verjust" as one person.[21] Since this document was not known to Bonime at the time of his dissertation, he leaves open the possibility that Crétin was referring to someone else: "If Prévost and Prospère could be traced at the French court—Piscis (Poisson) can—then the likelihood would be great that Crétin's Verjust is Estienne Guillot."[22] Another "Prévost" suggested by Olivier Carrillo and Agostino Magro fits this role nicely: the singer Bartolomeus Prepositi (the Latin version of *prevost*), a royal chapel singer from the 1486 list.[23] That "Prevost" should refer to Bartolomeus in this case, rather

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[20] John T. Brobeck included this as new archival information from Paris, AN, KK 289, ff. 385v-86. "The motet at the court of Francis I" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 27 and 582-83. Brobeck includes the entirety of the text of KK 289, ff. 1, 359, 360, 362 in an appendix to "Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515-1547)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995): 236-38. Christelle Cazaux includes the same passage as appendix material (Doc. 2) in *La musique à la cour de François Ier* (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2002), 237-39.

[21] Brobeck, "Musical Patronage," 195 and Cazaux, *La musique*, 44-5.

[22] Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 49.

[23] Jean Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, ed. Olivier Carrillo and Agostino Magro (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), vii-viii.

than Verjust, seems likely.[24] Crétin would have known him at this time; and he revisits several former colleagues from this 1486 chapel list in this stanza, including Poisson, Fresneau, and Compère.[25] Additionally, Verjust is not called "prevost" until well after Crétin's poem was written.

The name "Guillot" appears in one other situation: an apparent miscopying in a 1516 manuscript (BnF ms. fr. 5118) of the name "Hilaire Guillot," who served as the "premier chappellain et maistre de la chappele du Roy notre Sire" from April to September 1515.[26] Since there is no other record of a person by this name, the entry is probably a mash-up of either Hillaire Bernonneau or Estienne Guillot, both singers in the chapelle and candidates for such a role. Earlier in the same document, we find a statement that "maistre hillaire bernnoneau, chappellain et maistre de la chappelle" received payments for May–September 1514; later, "maistre Hillaire, premier chappelain," is referred to again. Hillaire Bernonneau had been a "maistre de la chapelle" in 1510–11, but other than the statement in MS5118 about his service in 1514, nothing is known of Bernonneau until he receives payment in 1519 as *varlet de chambre*.

Both John Brobeck and Christelle Cazaux wonder about the implications of this manuscript for the question of the unnamed "maistre de la chapelle" in the record of

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[24] Theodor Dumitrescu notes that the French and Latin versions of names are used interchangeably in records, citing Bartolomeus Prepositi (Prevost) in his examples. "Who Was 'Prioris'? A Royal Composer Recovered," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (2012), 15.

[25] Leeman Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France," 552.

[26] Brobeck, "The Motet," 27. The mansucript is Paris, BnF, ms fr 5118. The folios in question (ff. 39-41) are transcribed in Brobeck, "The Motet," 238-39

Louis XII's funeral (AN KK 89). Brobeck argues that since further mention of Hillaire Bernnoneau is found after 1514, it may be that Estienne Guillot succeeded Hillaire in 1515. Hilaire was a seasoned singer who led the chapel in the funeral ceremonies and through the transition to a new king, where he was replaced by the younger Anthoine de Longueval.[27] However, Cazaux states that "Hillaire Guillot" must refer to Bernnoneau, because "Hillaire" is referred to throughout the MS 5118. She also argues that he must be the *maistre* in Louis XII's funeral, because "maistre Hillaire" is listed as receiving black robes for the occasion.[28] Without further information about either figure, it is difficult to say with certainty to whom "Hillaire Guillot" refers.

We do have one piece of music ascribed to a "Verjeust": the chanson *Au hault de la roe de Fortune* in Paris 2245. Given the likelihood that this manuscript dates from the late 1490s and the collection of composers represented, this "Verjeust" probably refers to "Estienne Guillot" and not "Jean Cornuel."[29] Further support for this "Verjust" being Guillot comes from a mention I have been able to identify in a manuscript of Lemaire's *Plainte du Désiré* (Paris 1683), written around 1504, on which more in the next chapter. Verjust was known to Lemaire, which may explain why the text of the chanson appears in other poetry manuscripts of the early sixteenth century. The text set to music is an *unicum* in Paris 2245, which was probably prepared for Louis d'Orleans shortly before he

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[27] Brobeck, "Musical Patronage," 198.

[28] Cazaux, *La musique*, 343.

[29] David Fallows, *A Catalgoue of Polyphonic song*, 33. See also, Litterick, "The Manuscript Royal," 59.

became Louis XII of France.[30]

The phrase "Piscis Prospere" likewise throws up problems: to whom does it refer? And is this one person or two? Jehan Poisson (Piscis) was a singer for the *chapelle du roy,* appearing on the chapel payment lists in 1473 and 1474.[31] Poisson also appears on the 1486 list compiled from benefice requests, which is the same list where Crétin is named a *cantores-cappellani*. In 1492 Poisson received a prebend at St Martin of Tours given by Charles VIII.[32] No further evidence or known compositions are extant. While some of have considered "Prospère" to refer to a singer about whom nothing is known, it is more likely that "prospère" is a modifier for "Piscis." Rather than referring to an individual, as the editions convey, it could simply be the adjective "prospère," providing a third instance of the rhyme "-père" in this stanza. Thus, the line would read "tant que Piscis prospère" (as well as prosperous Piscis).[33]

The singer Jehan Fresneau was active in the French royal court from around 1469

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[30] Fallows, *A Catalogue*, 33. Texts appear in Paris BnF 1722, f. 15v, Paris BnF 7559, f. 7, and Vergier, f, F1.

[31] BnF, Ms. fr. 32511, Cabinet des titres, vol. 685, fol. 317v. Another copy of the same is found in Paris, BnF, MS fr 20684, fols 623 and 631. Brenet, *Musique et musiciens,* 62. See also Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 48 and 131, and Vaccaro, "Jean de Ockeghem," 64-65. Vaccaro consulted BnF MS fr 32511, but there appears to be a misprint in his citation (64), which lists the Cabinet des titres volume number as "1685," rather than the correct "685."

[32] *Lettres de Charles VIII*, ed. by Paul Pélicier (Paris: Renouard, 1902) III: 277. See also Brenet, *Musique et musiciens*, 40.

[33] When Brenet copied the poem from the Thoinan edition (56), she did not capitalize "prospère," as he does. In all other editions, "Prospère" is capitalized as if it were another person, however, no such person has surfaced in extant sources. See *Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem, musicien, premier chapelain du roi de France et trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours,* ed. by Ernest Thoinan (Paris: Claudin, Libraire-Editeur, 1864), 40. Carillo and Magro also mention the possibility that "prospère" describes Piscis and is not another individual. See the discussion in Jean Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, viii, note 2.

until 1476, consistently appearing on chapel pay records.[34] Having left Tours in 1476, Fresneau joined the chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, but his time in Milan was cut short after the murder of Galeazzo in December 1476. Fresneau was among those who departed in 1477, presumably returning to France, as a document in 1480 calls him a singer for the king. As previously mentioned, he also appears on the 1486 list. He probably stayed in the Loire Valley as a member of the royal chapel until his death either in 1505 or later. In notarial acts from 1494, 1500, and 1505, Fresneau is identified as a canon of St Martin in Tours. Out of this group of lesser known musicians, Fresneau has the most known compositions: five chansons and one mass. Three of the chansons have carry conflicting attributions to Agricola or to Hayne van Ghizeghem, respectively, which perhaps speaks to his integral involvement in the French musical circles.

"Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon père"

The lesser-known musicians are without a doubt centered around the French royal court, and may have still held positions there even at the time of Okeghem's death. By contrast, the first list of musicians in the stanza includes many of the leading composers active at the end of the fifteenth century. Reviewing the known biographies of this group of composers reveals opportunities for each of them to have intersected with the French Royal court. And documentation gaps in the biographical records line up neatly with the time period evinced by Crétin's text. All evidence points to these musicians having been employed by the French court.

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[34] For further detailed summary on his biography see Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, viii-xii. Also see footnote 2.

The least-disputed associations are those of Prioris and Compère. The career of Dionysus Prioris was firmly centered around French court circles.[35] As early as 1491, Prioris was employed as chapel master of Louis d'Orléans in Blois. When Louis was crowned in 1498, Prioris continued his service in the Royal Chapel until his death. Compère is first documented with the French royal court in 1486.[36] We know he joined the court chapel in Milan in July 1474 and served there until the murder of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in December 1476. Like Fresneau, Compère was among those who left Milan in February 1477. During this time, both Compère and Fresneau would have been colleagues of Gaspar; as such a connection with their future stanza-mate was established several years earlier.

Though Compère probably came to France directly after his release from Milan, his whereabouts are unknown for the next nine years. Some evidence suggests that he encountered the Bourbon court during this time period.[37] Four chansons in Paris 2245 bear the name "Bourbon" as the author of their texts: Loyset Compère's *Ne doibt on prendre* in the last portion of Dijon517; the same composer's *Faisons boutons* and *Vous me faites mourir*, in Paris 2245, a volume belonging to Louis d'Orléans; and Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Ales regretz*, also in Paris 2245. As shown by Eugénie Droz and Geneviève

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[35] Dumitrescu, "Who Was 'Prioris'?" 5-65.

[36] Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court," 507–66.

[37] Mary Beth Winn Marvin, "The Texts of the Chansons of Loyset Compere," PhD diss, Yale University (1974), 30.

Thibault, "Bourbon" can only refer to Jean II, himself a known poet.[38] Other scholars, meanwhile, have observed an influence of Hayne's style on Compère, which has led in turn to a thread of speculation about connections between the two composers and the Bourbons. Jeanne Marix speculated that Hayne, for whom we have no documentation after his presence alongside Charles the Bold at the siege of Beauvais in 1472, might not have "found haven" at the court of Jean II, and even "formed a friendship" with Compère there.[39] Hayne is mentioned in Crétin's *Déploration* among the deceased composers, . Compère could have joined the court in Moulins, but just as probable is an encounter with the Bourbons during the first years of Charles VIII's reign, while Charles was still in his minority, between 1483 and 1486. The duke of Bourbon, Jean II, was a close attendant of the king during most of this period.[40] Or Compère may have come to Moulins, and then joined with the royal court thereafter; there is no evidence to confirm either hypothesis. By 1486 we know that Compère was in Charles VIII's chapel, and that he was a member of Charles's entourage during the Italian invasion in 1494-95.[41] Compère stayed at the French court until April 1498, when he became resident dean of St Géry in Cambrai until April 1500.

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[38] Jeanne Marix, "Hayne von Ghizeghem, Musician at the Court of the Fifteenth Century Burgundian Dukes," *Musical Quarterly* 28 (1942), 281.

[39] Jeanne Marix, "Hayne von Ghizeghem," 281. Marix also cites O. Gombosi, "Ghizeghem und Compère: Stilgeschichte der burgundischen Chanson," in Studien zur Musikgeschichte, *Festschrift für Guido Adler* (Vienna: Universal-Edition A.G., 1930), 100-106.

[40] See Pelicier, ed., *Lettres de Charles VIII*. And Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Breholles, *Titres de La Maison Ducale de Bourbon* (Paris, 1867), 400–15.

[41] Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984; 2nd ed., 2009), 223.

Other composers in the list can be connected to the French court only through inferences from other sources. Little is known of Alexander Agricola's whereabouts between 1476 and 1491, and again between 1494 and 1500, at which point he went to the Hapsburg-Burgundian court.[42] In October 1491, Agricola is recorded as a cathedral singer in Florence under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici.[43] But Agricola must have been in France before this time, because in April 1492, Charles VIII wrote to Pietro de' Medici asking for the return of his singer Agricola, who had already left Florence for Naples.[44] Agricola may not have returned to France until late 1492. He visited Naples again from February to March 1494, stopping again in Florence along his way. His documentary record fades for the rest of the decade, but in 1494–95, Charles VIII was also moving through Florence towards Naples, so it is quite possible that Agricola and his former employer connected again.

Also known as Johannes Ghiselin, Verbonnet probably travelled to Naples with Agricola during this time. After having served as a singer at the court of Ferrara from 1490 to 1492, Verbonnet became a singer at San Giovanni in Florence until 1493.[45] A

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[42] Bonnie Blackburn (personal communication) has found that he was in Hungary at the court of Matthias Corvinus in 1486, and probably remained there for a few years.

[43] Frank A. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), 344.

[44] Martin Picker, "A Letter of Charles VIII of France Concerning Alexander Agricola," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese,* ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 668-69. Agricola's movements in Italy at this time are summarized in Allan W. Atlas and Anthony M. Cummings, "Agricola, Ghiselin, and Alfonso II of Naples," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), 540-48.

[45] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 225.

documentary gap in his biography lasts from 1494 until 1501.[46] At some point he must have joined the French royal chapel, because in 1501, Verbonnet was in Blois and referred to as a singer for "his most Christian majesty," the King of France.[47] Later, when Josquin travelled to Ferrara in 1503, Verbonnet accompanied him.

Josquin's first substantial position as a singer was at the court of René d'Anjou in Provence from 1476 until René's death in 1480.[48] While Josquin's presence at René's chapel in Aix-en-Provence has been known for some time, Paul Merkley has recently expanded some of the details.[49] The earliest dated document is from 19 February 1476, wherein Josquin exchanged a benefice in the parish of Puy-Sainte-Réparade in the diocese of Aix, just north of the town, for one in Lamotte, diocese of Toul, in the Lorraine.[50] An undated document wherein Josquin obtains the Puy-Sainte-Réparade

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[46] Atlas and Cummings, "Agricola, Ghiselin, and Alfonso II of Naples," 545.

[47] Fallows, *Josquin*, 202.

[48] See Fallows, *Josquin*.

[49] Françoise Robin, "Josquin des Prés au service de René d'Anjou?" *Revue de Musicologie* 71 (1985): 180–81.

[50] Merkley quotes this document in *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou*, 312–13.

benefice must precede this one, so Josquin may have been in Aix as early as 1475.[51] Regardless, Josquin was active in Aix until René's death in 1480. Louis XI absorbed many of René's singers into his own court, and Josquin may have been among them. Or he might have gone to Condé, since he was present in Condé in February and March 1483, laying claim to a will made by his uncle Gille Lebloitte dit Desprez and his wife Jaque Banestonne.[52] Around 1484 Josquin travelled to Italy. Between 1484 and 1489, he moved back and forth between Milan and Rome, at times accompanying Ascanio Sforza.[53] Josquin joined the papal chapel in Rome in 1489, remaining there until 1494. The years following contain sparse information concerning his whereabouts until 1503,

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[51] Merkley's report of how Josquin obtained the benefice of Puy-Sainte-Réparade is puzzling (See *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 309–12). Merkley states that he exchanged a benefice with Johannes Josséaume, which implied that Josquin had another benefice before the chaplaincy in Puy-Sainte-Réparade. He provides a transcription, translation, and photograph of the document. Aix, Archives Départmentale Bouches de Rhône Notaires, 309 E 389, f. 209v. The document was from Oliverius, the archbishop of Aix and offers the benefice to Josquin: "The sufficiency of your discretion and suitability, by reason of your virtues, induce us to render liberal grace to you." He states that a chaplaincy at Puy-Sainte-Réparade had become vacant, because its possessor, Johannes Josséaume, had given free resignation (*liberam resignationem de eadem*) of it to the archdiocese through his procurator Petrus Donnel. Josséaume obtained another chaplaincy at the church of the Blessed Mary of Masséna [sic] at the alter Mary Magdalene. (Surely Merkley means "Marseilles" [Latin="Massilia"] here, judging from the document reproduction.) In the document, Oliverius describes the foundation of the chaplaincy of Puy-Sainte-Réparade by two men who had been former priests Our Lady of Sorrows of Masséna [sic]. From this document, Merkley infers that Josséaume exchanged his new benefice in Masséna/Marseilles with Josquin, who possessed it before. Marseilles was in a different diocese, and no connection of Josquin to Marseilles can be found. Neither can I find any evidence of a place called "Masséna," which Merkley claims—without a citation—was a fifteenth-century community of Nice. A seventeenth-century war hero from Nice, André Masséna, is commemorated extensively in the area, but even a genealogical probe into his background does not take us as far back as the fifteenth century.

[52] Fallows, *Josquin*, 357.

[53] For further analysis on these years, see Joshua Rifkin, "Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic," in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019).

when he joined the court at Ferrara. During these years Josquin had at least intermittent connections with the French royal court, if not official employment.[54]

The biography of Antoine Brumel offers yet another suggestive documentary gap. After his six-year position as *magister puerorum* in Geneva (1486–92), Brumel's whereabouts are unknown until 1498, when he joined the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.[55] He held this position until he joined the Court of Savoy in 1501. On 1 June 1501, Duke Philibert of Savoy appointed Antoine Brumel, "formerly a royal singer" (*dudum cantori regiis*), perhaps implying earlier employment with the French royal court.[56] No doubt "royal" here refers to the French king, but the description has been puzzling since no further evidence appeared to link Brumel to the French court in the late fifteenth

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[54] See Joshua Rifkin's discussion in "A Black Hole?: Problems in the Motet Around 1500," in *The Motet Around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 45-50.

[55] Pierre Pidoux, "Antoine Brumel à Genève (1486–1492)," *Revue de musicologie* l (1964), 110–12, and Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 307-08.

[56] Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, "La Cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1504 al 1550," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia,* 5 (1970): 6-7. Bouquet's transcription, footnote 5: "[…]Philbertum dux Sabaudie, Chablaisi […] volumus manifestum quod nos circumpicientes sensum, scientiam, prudentiam devotionem et in arte musice et cantorie experientiam ac fervantem studium aliasque immensas virtutes venerabilis dilecti oratoris nostri domini anthonii Brunelli dudum cantoris regii ex nostra certa scientia actenta maxima benevolentia qua erga nos afficitur et amplectitur […] Domini Anthonii presentem tamquam benemeritum et cantorem capelle nostre continuum quamdiu benefecerit et nostre fuerit voluntatis harum serie retinemus […] sub stipendis quinquecentum flor. annualium aliisque preheminentis, prerogativis, comoditatibus, honoribus et oneribus per consimiles cantores nostros acthenus in dicta capella nostra […] Datam Gebennis, die prima mensis junii anno domini 1501." Chambéry, Archivio Dipartimentale della Savoia, *Fonds rétrocédés de Turin*, Inv. 124, SA. 3625, cc 10r-v.

century.[57] Neither can we easily dismiss the designation as an oblique reference to his most recent service as *magister puerorum* at Nôtre Dame in Paris, a post that he held from January 1498 until shortly before the end of 1500. Although the court and cathedral had close connections of personnel and in terms of liturgy, the two had separate institutional identities that were not easily confused.[58]

The only king this description could refer to is Charles VIII, who reigned throughout the gap between 1492 and 1498. Incidentally, the years Brumel was at Notre Dame were times when the future French king was most present in Paris. Charles VIII had not visited the city since 1493, but after his funeral procession in April 1498, followed by Louis XII's royal entry in July of the same year, the new king spent much of the year and some of the next in Paris in order to establish his administration.[59]

During the six years between 1492, when Brumel left his position as *magister innocentium* at Saint Pierre in Geneva, and his appointment at Nôtre Dame in 1498, we have only a single record of his whereabouts: an honorary gift of wine and bread provided to him at the cathedral of Troyes in the spring of 1497.[60] The document recording the gift calls him "canon and singer of Laon en Lannoys" (chanoine et chantre

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[57] Litterick, "The Manuscript Royal," 60, n. 70. She cites *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, II, 685, demonstrating that "the adjective *royal* is defined as that which belongs to or is connected with a king; heraldry books also use the adjective *royal* solely for the arms and crown of a king, in distinction, for example, to those of the heir apparent, who is certainly a member of the royal family."

[58] Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 196-97.

[59] Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 55–70.

[60] Pierre Pidoux, "Antoine Brumel à Genève (1486–1492)," *Revue de musicologie* l (1964), 110–12.

de Lan en Laulnois).[61] When he came to Notre Dame he was referred to as "magister Anthonius Brumet presbyter canonicus laudunensis," canon-priest from Laon; because of his status as priest and canon, he was given a stall between the canon-priests and canon-deacons of the cathedral, rather than being seated with the lower clergy.[62] Because of these connections with Laon, it has long been assumed that Brumel came to Paris from there.[63] Even if this occurred, it does not necessarily explain the whole story of the intervening six years (1492–98). We may gain some perspective by considering the implication of "recently a royal singer."

The connection with Charles VIII can be strengthened through an examination of some of the earliest manuscript sources where Brumel's music appears. In the large book of masses—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLXI (VerBC 761), we encounter the earliest copies of a concentrated collection of pieces by Brumel. Joshua Rifkin has shown, based on paleographical and heraldic evidence, that VerBC 761 was copied in Rome. Judging from the coats of arms depicted, it is likely that the book was created in 1495 to commemorate the wedding of Isabetta Brenzoni and Giorgio Maffei, the

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[61] Rob C. Wegman, "Ockeghem, Brumel, Josquin: New Documents in Troyes," *Early Music* (2008): 209, 215. ADA, g1867: Troyes Cathedral, Comptes de la Grand-Chambre, 1496/7. f.110v (some time between March and June 1497) "Pour vng demy present faict a vng nommé Brumel, chanoine et chantre de Lan en Laulnois, de quatre pintes de vin a huit deniers tourn. la pinte, de quatre pains blancs a v den. t. le pain, et iij den. tourn. pour le porter, valent iiij sc. vij den. tourn." Wegman also remarks in the same essay that "so modest an ecclesiastic" is treated with such honor. And that later the tenorist of the king is treated to an equal honor (208-9).

[62] Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 307-08

[63] Pidoux, "Antoine Brumel à Genève," 110; Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 173.

offspring of prominent Veronese families.[64] The book was copied on paper that shares the same watermark as that used for Sistine Chapel manuscripts of the late fifteenth century; and the scribe, a certain Hieronymous Beltrandi, was employed by the Sistine Chapel, who also had connections to Francesco Maffei, cousin of the groom and *scriptor Apostolicus*; Maffei lived in Rome.[65] Rifkin's proposed dating is corroborated by his identification of Beltrandi as the scribe and by the latter's employment at the Sistine Chapel, as well as the date of the Maffei-Brenzoni wedding.[66]

Connecting the copying of this manuscript to Rome early in 1495 intersects with Charles VIII's brief Roman occupation in January of that year while on his way to Naples.[67] We know that Charles was traveling with his chapel, and that Comère was traveling in his retinue, thanks to a Ferrarese document discovered by Lewis Lockwood: a letter from Ferrante d'Este to his father Ercole on the occasion of meeting Compère in Charles VIII's retinue in Fall 1494 on his way to Italy.[68] Because of Compère's presence in Charles's retinue, a sudden influx of Compère's music appears in a source from the papal Sistine Chapel choirbooks: five motets and a Magnificat setting were all copied into VatS 15 during the years 1495–97. If we take the phenomenon of Compère's music

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[64] Joshua Rifkin, "A Scriptor, a Singer, and a Mother Superior: Another Story about MS DCCLXI of the Bibliotheca capitolare in Verona" in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam and Gioia Filocamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 312

[65] Rifkin, "A Scriptor, a Singer, and a Mother Superior," 312-13.

[66] Rifkin, "A Scriptor, a Singer, and a Mother Superior, 314-15.

[67] Charles's itinerary can be established through *Lettres de Charles VIII*. Also see Appendix 3.

[68] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 223. Also Lewis Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este," *Studi musicali* 1 (1972), 129f

suddenly appearing in a papal choirbook thanks to his physical presence in the region as a precedent, the new dating of VerBC 761 to Rome in 1495 can suggest a similar story with respect to Brumel: this sudden emergence of Brumel's music coincides with the presence of Charles VIII in Rome. Pieces by Brumel also appear in VatS 15 (*Magnificat anima mea*) and VatS 41 (*Missa Victime paschali laudes*); the latter also appears in VerBC 761. Furthermore, a *Magnificat Quarti Toni,* attributed in different sources to Alexander Agricola and Brumel, is also included (without attribution) in VatS 15.

Richard Sherr has dated a group of manuscripts—to which these portions of VatS 15 and VatS 41 belong—to 1495–97 based on dates of copy and a heraldic reference to the French royal court that connects to the French invasion of Rome in January 1495.[69] Not all the gatherings of all of VatS 15 and VatS 41 are from this time, but the Brumel pieces are.[70] Sherr suggests that a French scribe added Magnificat settings to the already well-established mass repertoire of VatS 14, VatS 51, and VatS 35, which indicates the scribe's French nationality and the French presence in Rome.[71]

In order to have made the Italian journey with Charles VIII's chapel, Brumel must

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[69] Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Neuhausen, Germany: American Institute of Musicology / Hänssler Verlag, 1996, 25, 65, 224. The other manuscripts from this "French invasion" era of manuscripts include VatS 63, 23, 49, and 197. The same disputed *Magnificat quarti toni* in VatS 15 is also in VatS 63, but it is not in a gathering that Sherr has dated from the 1495-97 time.

[70] Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 224. Sherr lists the item number of the manuscript in order of date of copy. in the time between 1495-1497, this is the following order. VatS 15: 26-28, 30, 33-39; VatS 63: 13; VatS 15: 1-25, 29, 31-32, 40-81; VatS 23, 18; VatS 41: 4, 9; VatS 49: 4-7, 12; VatS 63: 5, 15-17; VatS 197. In VatS 15, Brumel's *Magnificat anima mea* is item number 37, and in VatS 41, *Missa victimae paschali laudes* is number 9.

[71] Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 65. Sherr also suggests that perhaps that the French singer and copyist Orceau was the scribe of VatS 15, as he was for later manuscripts from this "French invasion" group.

have become a royal singer sometime between 1492 and 1494. After the king's conquest of Naples, he brought the army back to France by the end of 1495 and remained based in Lyon for much of 1496. Charles's plans for a second invasion were stalled, and he finally left the Lyon region in the summer of 1497 to return to the Loire Valley. Except for a visit to Moulins in February 1498, Charles was in Amboise from December 1497 until his untimely death in April 1498. Brumel may have parted ways with the royal chapel when Charles left Lyon; his sojourn in Troyes in the early summer of 1497 could easily have fallen on the way from Lyon to Paris.

Of all the musicians mentioned in Crétin's stanza, the extent documents offer the fewest obvious connections to the French royal court with respect to Gaspar van Weerbeke.[72] After spending much of the time since 1471 in Milan, Gaspar left the duchy in 1495 without the permission or knowledge of Ludovico Sforza (il Moro), beginning a short tenure as a singer in the chapel of Philip the Fair.[73] Gaspar's sojourn in the Hapsburg-Burgundian Court continued until the summer of 1498, at which point documentation dwindles until he was again in Milan in the autumn of 1499.

This documentary gap—summer 1498 until autumn 1499—demands further investigation. Honey Meconi's survey of the 1498 *escroes*, or daily lists, of Philip the Fair's chapel reveals Gaspar's inclusion on 10 June 1498. He is not present in the next

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[72] Much of the following will appear in my essay "Gaspar van Weerbeke and France: The Poetic Witness of Guillaume Crétin" in *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Interpretations*, co-edited by Paul Kolb and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Brepols Publishers, *forthcoming 2019*.

[73] Paul Merkley and Laura Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 402.

escroe, dated 3 July.[74] Ludovico il Moro must have soon discovered that Gaspar was availabile. Already on 13 July Ludovico sent a letter expressing his desire that Gaspar return to Milan:[75]

Havendo noi inteso che Mr Gaspar de Verbecha quale altre volte e stato nostro cantore de capella ha trovato in Franza tri cantori quali sono boni per la capella nostra, ne habiamo ricevuto piacere, et desiderando che vengino da noi con epso M. Gaspare Per le presente li promettemo che venendo loro daremo ad M. Gaspare la provisione [fol. 257v] sua consueta, et al Tenorista ducati sedeci de provisione il mese, et alli supranisti dodeci ducati per caduno il mese como dasemo ad tutti li altri quali havemo in la dicta nostra capella, et poi de veste et de omne altra cosa li tractaremo in quello modo che facimo tutti li altri nostri cantori, Delche perche habijno piu certeza che quello li promettemo li sara atteso, habiamo voluto sottoscrivere le presente de nostra propria mano, et cosi promettemo che la provisione sua cominciara al tempo che se partirano per venire in qua. Mediolani xiij. Julij 1498 Ludovicus Maria subscripsit. B. Ch. [=Bartolomeo Chalco, the secretary].

We have been pleased to have heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers that are good for our chapel; and wishing that they come to us with the same Messer Gaspare, by the present letter we promise them that on their coming, we shall give messer Gaspare his usual provision and to the tenorist 16 ducats of provision per month, and to the sopranos 12 ducats each per month, as we give to all the others whom we have in our said chapel; and also regarding clothing and every other thing we shall treat them in the manner that we do all our other singers. Regarding which, so that they have more certainty that what we promise will be attended to, we have wished to sign this present letter with our own hand, and thus we promise that their provision will begin from the time that they will leave to come here. Milan, 13 July 1498. Signed Ludovicus Maria.

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[74] Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 65.

[75] I thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing not only information regarding these archival records but also the transcription and translation, on which the above translation is based, of Milan, Archivio di Stato, Registri ducali 123, fols 257r–v. Transcriptions also can be found in Gerhard Croll, "Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke," PhD diss. (University of Göttingen, 1954), ix; Emilio Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza. Ricerche e documenti milanesi," *Archivio storico lombardo* 14 (Milan, 1887, reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), 327; and in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 403, fn. 197.

The contents of this letter reveal that Gaspar was "in France" and in good musical company. Ludovico's letter outlines compensation details for Gaspar and the singers, two sopranos and a tenorist, should they accept his offer. The recipient is unknown; the text survives only through the record in the ducal registers. The same is the case with a second letter, dated 18 August, in which Ludovico not only gives Gaspar full authority to hire the singers but also agrees to whatever arrangements Gaspar has made with them.[76]

A second letter on the same day gives Gaspar and the three singers assurances of safe conduct during their journey to Milan:[77]

Havemo dato commissione ad Gasparro da Verbech nostro cantore de cercare et condurre ad noi alcuni altri cantori soprani et uno tenorista per la capella nostra, et persuadendone per la fede et affectione quale continuamente ne ha demonstrato exequira questa nostra commissione fidelmente et con prudentia concedemo per virtu de queste nostre ad epso Gasparro ampla auctorita de pratichare concludere et stabilire cum quelli cantori chepso ellegira el stipendio et provisione como a luy parira meglio et essere conveniente, promettendo noi, et cosi promettiamo per le presente sottoscripte de nostra propria mano attendere et observare tutto quello chepso Gasparro promettera in nostro nome per exequutione de la commissione nostra. Mediolani 18. Augusti 1498. Ludovicus M subscripsit.

We have given commission to Gasparro da Verbech our singer to find and bring to us some more singers, sopranos and one tenorist for our chapel; and being persuaded by the faithfulness and affection that he has demonstrated continuously that he will execute this commission of ours faithfully and prudently, by the strength of these words we grant to said Gaspar ample authority to bring about, conclude, and establish with those singers that he designate the salary and provisions as will seem best and most appropriate to him [i.e., Gaspar], we promise; and thus we promise through the present signature by our own hand to follow and observe all that said Gaspar will promise in our name in order to execute our commission. Milan 18 August 1498. Ludovicus M signed.

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[76] Again, I thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing her transcription of Milan, Archivio di Stato, Registri ducali 192, fols 7r–v. Translation is mine. The text of this letter can also be found in Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le xix^e^ siècle*, 8 vols (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1867-88), 4:11, and in Gerhard Croll, "Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke," ix.

[77] The letter giving assurance of safe conduct is referred to, but not quoted, in Emilio Motta, *Musici alla corte degli Sforza*, 328 and Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, 6:11.

Though most biographical accounts presume that he returned to Milan not long afterwards, in the autumn of 1498, it is unclear when he actually traveled back to Milan, and whether or not the singers went with him.[78] He had definitely arrived there by November 1499, as Ercole d'Este, himself present in the city, tried to recruit him as *maestro di cappella* to replace the recently deceased Johannes Martini (see Fig 3.2).[79]

Fig. 3.2 - Gaspar's location in the 1490s

Year	Biography
1472–95	**Milan and Rome.** Leaves Milan between April and October 1495, without Ludovico il Moro's permission
1495-1498	**Burgundy.** Joins the chapel of Philip the Fair in Hapsburg-Burgundy
10 June 1498	Last appearance on Philip's *escroe* (absent on the following *escroe*, 3 July)
Summer 1498	**France**
13 July 1498	Letter from Ludovico Sforza: "Having heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers."
18 August 1498	Letters from Sforza giving full authority for Gaspar to hire these singers and guaranteeing their safe conduct in travel to Milan
Aug 1498-Nov 1499	*No extant documentation*
November 1499	**Milan.** Ercole d'Este unsuccessfully attempts to recruit Gaspar.

[78] Motta takes this document as proof that Weerbeke and the other singers made the journey to Milan in the autumn of 1498. *Musica alla corte degli Sforza*, 328. The biographical account in *Grove Music* also surmises his return in autumn 1498. See Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke [Werbeke, Werbeck], Gaspar [Jaspar, Gaspart] van', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 March 2018).

[79] Lockwood, *Music and Renaissance Ferrara*, 225.

Ludovico's first letter, indicating that Gaspar was "in France," was written within a few weeks of Gaspar's departure from Burgundy. This indicates that one way or the other, Ludivico learned of Gaspar's arrival soon after the fact. Moreover, given the attempt by Louis d'Orléans in 1495 to assert his claim on the Duchy of Milan, Ludovico's use of the phrase "in France" is unlikely to be a general reference to the region north of the Alps. In other words, the political circumstances at the time give every reason to believe that Ludovico meant what he said. Gaspar's being in France, of course, fits neatly with the implications of the rest of Crétin's list. With that in mind, we might consider some events that took place in France during the spring of 1498—events that Ludovico followed with intense interest.

At the beginning of 1498, affairs between Italy and France were relatively calm. An Italian ambassador remarked in a letter that "things in France have been quiet."[80] But on 7 April, Charles VIII died unexpectedly and without an heir from a head injury at his residence in Amboise. His closest male relative, his cousin Louis II of Orléans, quickly assumed the crown without protestation from his noble peers. Even the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon, Anne and Pierre, the most likely contenders, sent their congratulations promptly to Louis II, now King Louis XII.[81]

Charles VIII's sudden death ended the peace with Italy: rulers across Europe sprang

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[80] "Le cosse de Franza passano molto quiete." Donato de Preti, ambassador in Milan to the marquis of Mantua on 8 April 1498. From document (Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, E XIX, 3) quoted in Leon Pélissier, "Nouvellistes italiens à Paris en 1498," *Bulletin de la Societé historique de Paris et d'Ile-de-France* 19 (Paris: Champion, 1892), 146.

[81] Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 51-58.

into action, not expecting the transition from Valois to Orléans to go as smoothly as it did. Moving closer to the French border, Emperor Maximilian brought his army into Burgundian territory controlled by his son Philip the Fair. Anxieties grew, especially among the Italians, regarding the question of Louis XII's intentions with respect to his claims to Milan through his paternal grandmother, Valentina Visconti. As Duke of Orléans, Louis had made an attempt to assert his claim while accompanying Charles VIII during his Italian conquest of 1494–95.

Louis's coronation clarified his stance as he took the titles King of France and Duke of Milan. Ludovico, who would have felt the threat most keenly, acted quickly to deduce the details of Louis's ambitions. The Italian rulers in general, but especially Ludovico, sent agents to France charged with gathering information about the changing court and the sentiments and aspirations of Louis XII.[82] Detailed correspondence survives from the first few months of Louis XII's reign, a product of multiple intelligence initiatives. Indeed the occasion to report on the news of the French court offered an influx of employment opportunities during the spring and summer of 1498, resulting in large numbers of Italians rapidly taking residence in Paris, the place through which most exchanges already travelled.[83] The nineteenth-century French historian Léon Pélissier, who transcribed and published many of the accounts and letters, called these writers "les nouvellistes italiens" (the Italian newsmen).

During the first months of his reign, Louis XII also centered his activities in Paris and

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[82] Pélissier, "Nouvellistes italiens," 147.

[83] Pélissier, "Nouvellistes italiens," 147.

its vicinity, as mentioned earlier. The day after Charles's burial, 2 May 1498, Louis arrived at the Château de Vincennes, just outside of Paris, remaining the next few weeks to guarantee court appointments. On 26 May he arrived in Reims for his coronation, followed by a tour in northeast France. In a letter addressed from Reims on 26 May, a certain Philippe from Valperga wrote to the Chancellor of Savoy conveying details of the king's coronation and plans for travel leading up to the king's official entry into Paris.[84] Although his exact route is unknown, we know that Noyons and Compiègne, both on a pilgrimage route, were included in the itinerary—and that travelling from Reims to Paris along pilgrimage routes is possible.[85] Such a route would have taken the king's entourage close to the border between France and Burgundy, during the time between Gaspar's last appearance on the Burgundian *escroes* and before he was seen in France. Louis XII entered Paris on 2 July. Meetings with the *Parlement* and the business of establishing his administration kept him in Paris for most of the summer.[86]

A likely scenario for Gaspar's movements arises from this historical backdrop, if one contextualizes Ludovico's recruitment letters using the heightened correspondence that took place between Paris and Milan. That Gaspar came to France from Burgundy is

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[84] Leon Pélissier, "Documents sur le première année du règne de Louis XII tirés des archives de Milan," *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889), 59-60.

[85] Considering pilgrimage routes as an option, it is possible to take routes included in the way of St James from Reims to Paris. The Reims Tournai route would have intersected with the Via Thiérache, which goes from Olloy-sur-Viroin to St Quentin, right above Guise (in the town of Buironfosse), quite close to the border between France and Flanders at the end of the fifteenth century. In St Quentin, the route called the Chemin Estelle begins, going through Noyon and Compiègne to Paris.

[86] Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 63-77.

apparent, but the surrounding details point to a larger context for Ludovico's 13 July

Fig 3.3 - Comparison of Gaspar's and Louis XII's movements

	Gaspar in the 1490s	The first months of Louis XII's reign
1472-1495	**Milan.** In the chapel of Ludovico Sforza. Left in 1495 without Sforza's permission.	
1495-1498	**Burgundy.** Joined the chapel of Philip the Fair in Hapsburg-Burgundy.	
April 1498		**Blois.** After Charles VIII's death on April 7, Louis receivee pledges of loyalty from French noble peers.
2 May 1498		**Vincennes.** Arrived at Château to guarantee court appointments
26-27 May 1498		**Reims.** Coronation. Followed by a tour in Nothern France, which included stops in **Noyons** and **Compiègne.**
10 June 1498	Last appearance on Philip's *escroe* (absent on the following *escroe*, 3 July)	
2 July 1498		**Paris.** First official entry.
Summer 1498	**France.** ***Paris?***	**Paris.** Until the autumn.
13 July 1498	Letter from Ludovico: 'Having heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers.'	
18 August 1498	Letters from Sforza giving full authority for Gaspar to hire these singers and guaranteeing their safe conduct in travel to Milan.	
Aug 1498-Nov 1499	**Unknown.** No extant documentation of Gaspar.	
Winter 1498-1499		**Loire Valley.**
Summer 1499		**Lyons**. Managing invasion into Milan.
October 1499		**Milan.** Triumphal entry.
November 1499	**Milan.** Ercole d'Este unsuccessfully attempted to recruit Gaspar.	

letter asking that Gaspar return to Milan. A plausible explanation for Gaspar's movements could be that when he left Burgundy, he came to Paris, possibly even traveling with Louis's entourage (fig 3.3). Crétin was probably in Paris at that moment and could have become acquainted with Gaspar then. Some of the Italians who had already gathered in Paris may have been familiar to him from his years in Italy. A former colleague may have recognized Gaspar and sent word to Ludovico that Gaspar was musically active in France, prompting the duke to encourage his contact to lure Gaspar back to Milan.

Placing Gaspar in this French context also has historiographical implications. This biographical survey of musicians listed in Crétin's stanza demonstrates some connection to the household of the King of France by the end of the century except for Gaspar. Reading Crétin's stanza as a performative list of singers at the French royal court offers the tantalizing possibility that Gaspar joined Louis XII's *chapelle* sometime in 1498. In Louis's entourage, he would have travelled to Lyons in the spring of 1499, coming into contact with Crétin, and then to Milan in the autumn. Following Sforza's defeat, Louis performed his victorious entry into Milan on 6 October 1499. The following month Ercole d'Este, who had been in Milan since the occasion of Louis's arrival, attempted to

recruit Gaspar into Ferrarese service.[87] At this point Gaspar parted ways with Louis's entourage; by 1500 he was employed in the papal chapel in Rome.[88] Because the documentation detailing the *chapelle du roi* for these years is now lost, we can only speculate about Gaspar's role in or associations with this institution from the broader context of Ludovico's letters and Crétin's poem.

This reading of the documents might also clarify the motivations behind Gaspar's earlier movements. Indeed the relationship between Ludovico Sforza and Gaspar during the last few years of the fifteenth century carries implications for Gaspar's probable association with the French royal chapel. Gaspar left Milan sometime between April and October 1495. In April he had made a payment on a rental property in Milan.[89] Then he first appears on Philip's *escroe* on 8 October 1495, and is present on all surviving *escroes* from then until his departure in June 1498.[90] Later in October 1495, Sforza wrote to Philip the Fair of Burgundy acknowledging Weerbeke's entry into the service of the archduke but expressing displeasure that Weerbeke had deceived him and not taken leave.[91]

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[87] For further discussion on Ercole's presence in Milan see Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979), 196, fn. 11.

[88] The fact that his tenure with Louis would have only been a year should not problematize this speculative narrative; the personnel of the *chapelle du roi* was shifting and changing considerably around the turn of the century. Brobeck outlines some of these shifts in "The Motet at the Court of Francis I," 4-5.

[89] Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court,* 396.

[90] Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue,* 65.

[91] Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court,* 396.

Events in Milan between are relevant to this discussion, because during the summer of 1495 Louis, as the Duke of Orléans, made his first advance toward claiming Milan. Accompanying Charles VIII's conquest into Italy, Louis had stayed behind in Asti while Charles invaded Naples. Although Louis was ultimately unsuccessful in his conquest of Milan that summer, he did remain encamped close by for several weeks—just before Gaspar left for Burgundy. That autumn, Charles joined Louis on his departure from Naples, and the royal entourage returned to France.[92] It seems plausible that Gaspar encountered the entourage of either the King of France or the Duke of Orléans during this sojourn. Furthermore, the opportunity to travel to the north may have presented itself, with members of the royal entourage crossing the Alps. If Gaspar left with them, his connection with French royal court circles could date back even earlier. Although we do not know exactly what drew Gaspar left for the North, nor how he got there, he found a willing employer in Philip the Fair, who was able to pay him at the highest level—a possibility probably unavailable to the French royal court, as it staggered home after a significant financial investment in the Italian invasion.[93]

Stepping back from these details, we can now read Crétin's memorial to Okeghem as articulating networks of individuals, all active in France. In the last section of the *Déploration*, Crétin signified the royal chapel through the stanza calling upon the living musicians. Given Crétin's connections with the French royal court, his poetic testimony reflects a reliable narrative of the assemblage of musicians serving the French king at the

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[92] Further discussion of these events found in Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 42-49.

[93] Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 65.

end of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER 4 - *Rhétorique et Musique*: Jean Lemaire on Crétin and Okeghem

At the end of the third book of his *Illustrations des Gaule*, the poet Jean Lemaire includes a letter to a certain M. Maistre François Le Rouge, dated 1513. In the course of the letter, Lemaire states that he wishes to show how the French language had been enriched and exalted by the works of "monsieur le tresorier du boys de Vincennes, maistre Guillaume Crétin." Lemaire adds that, in a similar manner, music has been ennobled by "monsieur le tresorier de saint Martin de Tours, Ockeghem" (see fig. 4.4 for text).[1] By 1513 Lemaire had been employed in the household of Anne of Brittany at Blois for at least a year.[2] The previous seven years had been spent at the court of Margaret of Austria, where in 1507 he had succeeded his mentor Jean Molinet in his post as official court chronicler, *indicaire*. Lemaire's position at Anne's court was a return to the French court circles where he had begun his career.

Because of his personal connection with Crétin and his rhetorical connecting of Crétin and Okeghem, Lemaire's life and writings warrant further contextualization. Born in Hainaut around 1473, Lemaire's earliest tutelage came from Molinet, with whom he had a close relationship. In several places Lemaire refers to Molinet as "precepteur et

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[1] This letter is quoted in *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, ed. A. Jean Stecher (Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever Frères et Sœur, 1891), 3:197. François le Rouge is identified in the letter as "Conseiller ordinaire, et maistre des Requestes de la Royne nostre souveraine Dame." Since Lemaire was at the court of Anne of Brittany by this time, he was likely a colleague of le Rouge.

[2] Biographical information for Lemaire can be found in Pierre Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges écrivain franco-bourguignon* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1972) and in the introduction of Jean Le Maire de Belges, *La Concorde des deux langages*, ed. Jean Frappier (Paris, Droz, 1947), vii–lxvii.

parent."[3] In another source Lemaire is referred to as Molinet's "nephew."[4] While no extant documentation corroborates that Molinet was Lemaire's biological uncle, it seems that at least he was his godfather.[5] Eventually Lemaire went to study at the University of Paris; it is unknown whether he obtained a degree.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Lemaire's first prominent position of employment was as a financial clerk for Pierre de Bourbon in 1498. In this position in Villefranche-sur-Saone, a town just north of Lyon, he would have been under the supervision of François Robertet, secretary to Pierre.[6] Until Pierre's death on 10 October 1503, Lemaire was in the milieu of some of the leading poets and thinkers in France; indeed during this time especially since Louis XII and his court were largely based in Lyon, surrounded by his court. As noted earlier, the first documented connection between Lemaire and Crétin was during these years in Lyon, during which Lemaire later recalled receiving encouragement from Crétin.[7]

On the death of Pierre de Bourbon, Lemaire wrote one of his first significant pieces, the *Temple d'honneur,* which he dedicated to Louis of Luxembourg, Comte de Ligny, in a

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[3] See Lemaire, *Œuvres*, ed. Stecher, 3:255, 4:190, 522.

[4] *Épitaphe de maniere de dialogue de feus de memoire eternelle messire George Chastellain autrement dit l'Adventureux et maistre Jehan Molinet… par Jehan Le Maire, nepveu dudict Molinet*. BnF ms. fr. 1717, f. 96.

[5] Noël Dupire, *Jean Molinet: La Vie, Les Œuvres* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1932), 2-3.

[6] Catherine Margaret Douglas, "A Critical Edition of the Works of Jean and François Robertet," MA thesis, University of London, 1962. See also, C. A. Mayer and D. Bentley-Cranch, "François Robertet: French Sixteenth-Century Civil Servant, Poet, and Artist," *Renaissance Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 1997): 208-22.

[7] Also discussed in chapter 1. Lemaire, *Œuvres*, ed. Stecher, 2:255-6.

successful bid to secure another position. This success was short-lived, however, as Ligny died just a couple months later, on 31 December 1503. Although Lemaire must surely have sent a manuscript of the poem along with the dedication to the Comte de Ligny, the earliest extant source is a 1504 print issued in collaboration with the Parisian printer Verard.[8] Included in this edition was not only the original dedication to the Comte, but also a second dedication to Pierre's widow and former Regent of France, Anne de Beaujeu. Through the latter dedication Lemaire was doubtless seeking another position, though he seems to have been unsuccessful in this attempt. Mentions of Crétin and Molinet act as a kind of reference letter in his search for employment: the publication included a portion of a letter from Crétin to Lemaire, praising his skill; Lemaire opens the *Temple d'Honneur* by describing himself as a "disciple" of Molinet. These dedications helped Lemaire situate his professional narrative both literarily and politically. As Cynthia Brown has noted, "one figure advertises a prestigious poetic connection, the other an important political association."[9]

The original dedication had been enough to secure a position with the Comte de Ligny. By the time of the publication of *Temple d'Honneur*, in the months after the count's death, Lemaire was again vying for employment and needed stronger letters of recommendation. In the same year he composed *Plainte du Désiré* to commemorate the Comte, dedicating it to Anne of Brittany—but it was not until the turn of 1511–12 that he

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[8] Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 41-46. Brown outlines Lemaire's bids for court appointments through the dedication process in his first major pieces.

[9] Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers*, 40.

was able secure an appointment at the Queen's court. In the autumn of 1504, Lemaire entered Margaret of Austria's service, where he remained for the next seven years.[10] Though he never had an appointment directly with the king's court, Lemaire nevertheless was active in the circles of France's nobility and literary elite.

Plainte du Désiré

Lemaire's description of Crétin and Okeghem as representatives of French language and music demonstrates the value he placed on the connection between the musical and literary arts. He was probably acquainted with musicians in the French court circles, if not directly involved with music-making. An early example of this association comes from *Plainte du Désiré* (1504), where he summons court musicians by name in a call to lament not unlike Crétin's own invocation in the *Déploration*. Before we turn to the stanza in question, it is worth considering the poem as a whole. This substantial work, consisting of 724 lines, is a *prosimetrum*, alternating between prose and verse sections.[11] Like many of the *rhétoriqueur* poets who created works of this type and scale, Lemaire fashioned the *Plainte* allegorically. In the prose opening, the *acteur* introduces the two main allegorical figures, the Nymphes "Peinture parée" and "riche Rhétorique." These figures attend Dame Nature, who is described as bereft of one of her flowers—a reference

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[10] David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 293, footnote 58: "The first document of his employment in the household of Marguerite of Austria is transcribed in Noël Dupire's review of the Yabsley edition in *Romania* 59 (1933), 463-6, at 464."

[11] Anne Schoysman, "Prosimètre et *varietas* chez Jean Lemaire de Belges," in *Le prosimètre à la Renaissance,* eds. Estelle Doudet and François Cornilliat (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2005), 111-124.

to de Ligny.[12] Lemaire's choice of allegorical figures draws not on the customary moral, political, or social personifications, but rather on creative images.[13]

The goal of the poem is consolation. Each figure in the respective section will use her arts to console Nature, who is depicted as weeping, yet never speaks ("sans mot sonner").[14] Nature is introduced as "Dame Nature naturée," referencing the medieval concept of *natura naturata*, the already created nature that is passive—or, in this case, voiceless. At the end of the introduction, Nature stands by the tomb and sighs. Peinture is featured in the first verse section of 248 lines, thirty-one decasyllabic octaves. She speaks for Nature: "Les verbes que Nature prononça, sont cy apres recitez."[15] Attending to Nature's grief, Peinture attempts to create a portrait of Nature, whose "belle portraiture" has been changed in her grief to a "noire couleur," reminiscent of the "noire couverture" of earlier *déplorations funèbres*. Unfortunately, Peinture is unable to wield her art, her colors, to comfort Nature.

François Cornilliat points out that Lemaire here reflects a long medieval tradition of associating colors with rhetorical figures (aligning with *delectatio*), yet Lemaire also alters their meaning.[16] The colors do not, in fact, have the rhetorical power of

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[12] For helpful exposition see Cynthia J. Brown, "Language as a Political Instrument in the Work of Jean Lemaire De Belges and Other Poets of the Rhétoriqueur Tradition," PhD diss. (University of California, Berkley, 1978), 230-47. Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:158.

[13] Brown, "Language as a Political Instrument," 230.

[14] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:158.

[15] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:158.

[16] François Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens:" Couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les "Grands Rhétoriqueurs"* (Paris: Champion, 1994), 744-54.

consolation, because at the end of Peinture's verse Nature is not consoled and remains silent.[17] Cornilliat demonstrates that the poetry itself is not silenced outlining a tumultuous poetic style, full of atypical repetitions. Thus, Peinture's discourse is emotive rather than rhetorical.[18] Cornilliat notes in particular the repetitions in the sounds of the poetry as emblematic of the flood of emotions, the verbal equivalent of weeping:

> O grief instant mal prius, mal devisé, / Malaffreant, malheureux, malapoinct, / Que les cieux ont fait tournet en un poinct. (vv. 13–15)
>
> Dueil double, deuil douloureux et dolent, / Dueil renforcé sur toute doleance (vv. 25–26)

This moment is sonically highlighted not only through *équivoque*—as discussed in the first chapter—but also in its stylistic context. Rhétorique, Cornilliat explains, would never dwell in this kind of affective space.[19]

The longer verse section spoken by Rhétorique focuses more intentionally on the form and delivery of the *plaint*. Comprised of 476 lines of decasyllabic, fourteen-line strophes, it is almost twice the length of Peinture's speech. If the goal is consolation, then Rhétorique steps in to be Boethius's Philosophy.[20] Following a more standard *déploration* format, Rhétorique encourages the orators to not dwell on the pallor of Nature, a pallor

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[17] Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens,"* 749.

[18] Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens,"* 744.

[19] Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens,"* 744. Further examples in his n. 19.

[20] Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 14; 89–96. See also Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens,"* 755. Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy,* itself a prosimetrum, provided the model for the medieval use of the form.

born out of failed colors, but rather to praise the deeds and life of the deceased. She regrets that dead poets are no longer available to aid in the lament, naming Latin and French poets known for their own *déplorations,* including Virgil and Catullus, Alain Chartier, Jacques Millet, Arnoul Greban, Jean Robertet, Georges Chastellain, and Octavien St-Gelais—poets already familiar to us from the discussion of Crétin's *Déploration* in Chapter 2. Rhétorique turns to the living poets for inspiration, calling on Molinet, Crétin, d'Auton, the "second" Robertet, and even Jean Lemaire himself to lament.[21]

In the following strophe, Rhétorique turns to those who can assist her most in lamenting: the musicians, whom he invokes with a kind of reverse *humilité*. "Musiciens vous ne vous devez feindre, / Que pour le feu bienvoulu ne chantez." (Musicians, you must not pretend that you do not willingly sing for the dead.)[22] Through music the appropriate tone ("un grave accent") for grief is found, already inherent in the lamentations of Jeremiah, Orpheus's lament, and the songs for *tenebres*.[23] Through these sources Rhétorique finds a suitable model for grief in music.

No sooner does Rhétorique introduce music in this capacity then she brings it alongside the other arts as an object of delight and study for the honoree, their deceased

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[21] "C'est un second Robertet." The poet Jean Robertet had two sons: François, who was the older one, and Florimond. The younger was an important secretary in the French royal court in the sixteenth century, but François was known to have written a modest amount of poetry. See Chapter 1.

[22] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:173.

[23] Stanzas 11–12: "Ainsi qu'on dit les Threnes Hieremie;" "Orphee esmut a suivre et l'ouyr;" "Fais donque un chant ainsi que de tenebres."

patron. “Qui ayma plus peinture somptueuse, / L’art de bien dire, histoire fructueuse, / Musique aussi douce et voluptueuese, / Ou qui mist plus son estude en tous biens?” (Who loved more the sumptuous painting, the art of the well-spoken work, fruitful history, as well as sweet and full music, or who studied more all these aspects?) Together these form a “harmonie” that can coax Nature to rejoice and defeat the enemies of Mort and Envie, the battle against which forms a frame for recounting the brave deeds of de Ligny. It seems that Rhétorique has deployed her harmonious arts successfully until the *acteur* takes us back to the scene by the tomb. Nature weeps once more, then takes her leave, still voiceless.[24] Lemaire leaves the question of consolation ambiguous; but when Nature walks away, her handmaidens Peinture and Rhétorique accompany her. Perhaps she ponders them in her heart, waiting like the Virgin for the Advent of Consolation. Or perhaps her disappearance is emblematic of that which is unknowable in the world. In any case, Rhétorique has made a persuasive argument for the virtuous power of the “harmonie” produced when poetry, music, and rhetoric come together.[25]

Interest in this poem on the part of musicologists has heretofore focused largely on the stanzas that include names of musicians. Situating these stanzas in the larger narrative demonstrates that Lemaire sees music as playing an integral role in his overall rhetorical goals. This, in turn, begins to shed light on his association of Crétin with Okeghem.

The sources for the *Plainte* provide two versions of the stanzas about music. As

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[24] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:185-6. “…et puis tourna sa chere assez tranquille et serene vers les assistans, comme en signe de les saluer. Ce fait, en un instant elle ne fut plus visible, mais se disparut avec ses deux belle Nymphes.”

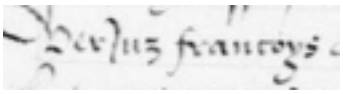
[25] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:175, “Or meslez donc telle harmonie ensemble.”

David Fallows has noted, the earlier version, dedicated to Anne of Brittany, is found in two different manuscripts, presumably written around the time of the poem in 1504.[26] The later version was printed ca. 1509 by Jehan de Vingle in Lyon, with the dedication reassigned to Lemaire's then-employer Margaret of Austria. Fallows's discussion is centered on Josquin and the five-voice *Cueurs desolez/Plorans*; he notes that whereas in the later version the poem names "Josquin," in the earlier version Rhétorique actually addresses "Hylaire." But the differences between the two versions reach beyond this substitution of a single name. Comparing the manuscript version to the print version passed down into modern editions, the passages concerning music are altered in key ways.

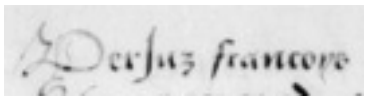
Even leaving aside the substitution of Josquin for Hylaire, we find notable differences is in the choice of names (fig. 4.2). In the next stanza, Agricola is substituted for "maistre Evrard," while Evrard's inclusion is moved later in the stanza, alongside Hylaire (in his new position), Conrad, and Pregent. In the manuscript editions, Pregent is written as "JaPregent," and there is also mention of "Verjuz francoys" (fig. 4.1). Given the company in the poem, this "Verjuz" is probably the Étienne Guilliot mentioned in the previous chapter. Perhaps the qualifier "francoys" was to distinguish him from the "Verjuz" of Jean

Fig. 4.1 - Appearance of "VerJuz francoys" in the early manuscript sources

BnF ms. fr. 1683 (f. 15)



BnF ms. fr. 23988 (f. 11v)



[26] BnF, ms. fr. 1683 (ff. 14v–15v) and BnF, ms. fr. 23988 (ff. 11r-v)

Cornuel, who had been a friend of Molinet. This appearance of Verjust has not been mentioned before in musicological scholarship; it further solidifies his presence in French court circles. Assuming the manuscripts were copied around 1504 and that the dedication to Anne of Brittany still applied, the explanation for the first set of names is fairly straightforward: these are all musicians in the royal court, whether in the queen's chapel, the king's chapel, or in a chapel in Blois.

Fig. 4.2 - Comparison between earlier manuscript sources and later print edition.

Words in bold indicate differences between manuscript and print. Words underlined refer to differences between the two manuscript sources.

Strophe	BnF ms fr 1683 (stanzas, ff 14v-15v) / BnF ms fr 23988 (ff 11r-v)	Modern edition based off print (Lemaire, *Œuvres*)
11	(Last three lines.) … (1686) Ainsi quon **grans plainctz a** Jheremye / (23988) Ainsi quon les threnes iheremie Car aduis est quon pleure et qu'on larmie En recordant telz chans peu fleuretez.	(Last three lines) … Ainsi qu'on **dit les Threnes** Hieremie: Car aduis est qu'on pleure, et qu'on larmie, En recordant telz chants peu flouretes.

Strophe	BnF ms fr 1683 (stanzas, ff 14v-15v) / BnF ms fr 23988 (ff 11r-v)	Modern edition based off print (Lemaire, *Œuvres*)
12	Vng **grant** accent musique larmoiable Est bien seant a ce dueil pitoiable Pour parfournir noz Lamentacions A toy **hylaire** en priere amiable Le deffunct mande estre tant **formidable(?)** Quon puist chanter la complainct louable (1683) Sur **les motz tristes** et les composicions / (23988) Sur tes motez et composicions Faiz donc ung chant ainsi que de tenebres Sans mignotise et sans point dillecebres Remply de dueil en ses proporcions Comme on faisoit es grans pompes funbres Jadiz a Romme, on aux festes celebres Disis, querant par troux et par latebres Son mary mort aumoins par fictions.	Vn **graue** accent, musique larmoyable, Est bien seant à ce dueil pitoyable, Pour parfournir noz lamentations. A toy **Iosquin** en priere amiable, Le defunct mande estre tant **seruiable**, Qu'on puist chanter sa complainte louable Sur **tes motets** et compositions. Fais donque vn chant ainsi que de tenebres, Sans mignotise et sans point d'illecebres, Rempli de dueil en ses proportions, Comme on faisoit es grands pompes funbres, Iadis à Romme, ou aux festes celebres D'Isis: querant par troux et par latebres, Son mary mort, aumoins par fictions.
13	Bien fineray pour ung tel chant produire **De maistre evrard** dont musicque fait luire Le nom pluscler cent foiz que fin argent Jauray aussi pour le mieulx faire bruire **VerJuz francoys** qui bien si vouldront duire **Et puis conrard naura** vouloir de **fuire** **Et croy que aussi ne fera Ja pregent** Tous bons espriz **a tous** gens de science …	Bien fineray pour vn tel chant produire **D'Agricola**, dont musique fait luire Le nom, plus cler cent fois que fin argent. I'auray aussi pour le mieux faire bruire, **Hilaire, Eurart**, qui bien s'y voudront duire, **Conrad, Pregent n'auront** vouloir de **faire**, **N'y autrement qui chante par art gent.** Tous bons esprits, **toutes** gens de science, …
14	**Quoy** oultre plus en tout art vertueuse Se delecta sans forme impetueuse Suiuant le train des bons nobles anciens Qui ayma plus paincture sumptueuse Lart de bien dire, a **ch*ac*un** fructueuse **Lystoire** aussi doulce et voluptueuse Ou qui mist plus son estude en tous biens…	**Quel** autre plus en toute art vertueuse Se delecta, sans form impetueuse Suiuant le train des bons nobles anciens? Qui ayma plus peinture somptueuese, L'art de bien dire, **histoire** fructueuse, **Musique** aussi douce et voluptueuse, Ou qui mist plus son estude en tous biens?…

Why would Lemaire substitute Josquin and Agricola for Hylaire and Evrard? A straightforward reason has to do with Lemaire's employment situation. Hylaire and Evrard were associated with Anne of Brittany, the poem's original dedicatee, and Josquin and Agricola, by contrast, had been in the orbit of the Hapsburg-Burgundian court by the time of the poem's second dedication. Are Conrad and Pregent merely incidental, then? And what of Verjust, who warranted inclusion in Crétin's *Déploration*, but gets eliminated in Lemaire's printed *Plainte*? Fallows offers another scenario for the change from "Hylaire" to "Josquin."[27] Rhétorique asks Hylaire/Josquin to sing a worthy lament ("chanter sa complaincte louable"). Fallows suggests this was a signal from Lemaire that Hylaire, the royal musician, would be expected to compose a lament for Louis of Luxembourg, which would make sense in 1504 when Anne of Brittany was the dedicatee and Josquin was away in Ferrara. Fallows goes on to note that Hylaire must not have followed through, because the address is then changed to Josquin, who had returned to the region by 1509. This appeal to Josquin has inspired others to conjecture if an existing piece which piece might have resulted from this plea. Osthoff made the case for the five-voice *Cueurs desolez/Plorans*, but that Fallows rejects for both Josquin and Hylaire as possible composers.[28] Fallows proposes Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés/Circumdederunt*, based on choice and treatment of the tenor. He observes that the French text follows the stylistic fashioning of a *rhétoriqueur* poet, perhaps even Lemaire. Fallows also makes a

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[27] Fallows, *Josquin*, 293–4.

[28] Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962–1965), 1:64–7 and Fallows, *Josquin*, 294–6.

stylistic argument for dating the piece closer to the death of Louis of Luxembourg.[29] In either case, any literal implications that Lemaire's rhetorical gesture towards Hylaire/ Josquin may have remain speculative at best. In any event, the matter of Josquin and Hylaire, however, does not even explain the shifting cast of other musicians in the poem.

Concorde des deux langages

Through his dedication of *Plainte du Désiré,* Lemaire made an unsuccessful bid to join Anne of Brittany's court. After serving Margaret of Austria for seven years, he again reached out to the French court, motivated by factors both personal and political.[30] Since succeeding Molinet as Margaret's *indicaire* in 1507, he had served her as a confidante and chronicler. Lemaire was also appointed to oversee the building of a cathedral and convent in Brou, for which he had been sent to the Roman curia to advocate in 1506 (this was his first trip to Italy). Around the end of 1510 or the beginning of 1511, matters surrounding cathedral's construction became tense between Lemaire and Margaret's administrators at her residence in Malines, so much so that, fearing total disgrace, he began to look for other employment.[31]

Lemaire's writings positioned him to find favor with the French court, as he took an actively pro-French stance in a pamphlet criticizing Pope Julius II, the *Traicté de la difference des schismes et des consiles de l'eglise* of 1511. The pope had aligned himself

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[29] Fallows, *Josquin*, 296–300.

[30] I refer to bibliographic information in note 2.

[31] Details in LeMaire, *La Concorde*, ed. Frappier, xviii–xix. See also the series of letters Lemaire wrote to Margaret of Austria, Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher, ed., 4:396–426.

with other European rulers, including Margaret of Austria and Louis XII, against the Venetians in the League of Cambrai, the proceedings of which closed at the end of 1508. By 1510, no longer faced with the Venetian threat, Julius's actions underlined his desire to remove the French presence from Italy, putting Louis at war with the papacy until Julius's death in February 1513. In order to gain support for fighting the Church, Louis XII urged a propaganda campaign against the abuses of the pope.[32] When Lemaire dedicated the *Traicté des schismes* to Louis XII, he signaled to the king that he was placing his talent in the polemical service of France.[33] Around the same time, Lemaire wrote his *Concorde des deux langages*; by March 1512, he became *indicaire* for Anne of Brittany, remaining in this post until her death on 9 January 1514.

The political background of Louis's Italian wars is relevant to both of Lemaire's 1511 writings. In his *Traicté des schismes*, Lemaire's aim was to provide a historical account of the papacy in order to demonstrate that church schisms have nearly always been caused by popes and healed by councils, especially French councils. The expanded title makes this aim clear: *…et de la preemininence et utilité des Conciles de la sainte Eglise Gallicane*. When Julius II began deposing and excommunicating allies of France, especially Alfonso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, in September 1510, Louis XII held a synod of French bishops in Tours.[34] The resolution of the synod, which Julius ignored,

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[32] Jennifer Britnell, "Antipapal Writing in the Reign of Louis XII: Propaganda and Self-Promotion," in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England, and Scotland,* eds. Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 41–43.

[33] Britnell, "Antipapal Writing," 50–51.

[34] Baumgartner, *Louis XII*.

stated that the pope did not have the right to make war with a foreign prince, and that if he did so then the prince had the right to invade the Papal States and to withhold obedience from the pope through a general council. As conflicts continued in Italy throughout 1511, France sought an alliance with Florence, which declined to take such a risk; they did, however, allow the French to convene their schismatic *conciliabulum* in Pisa, causing the pope to retaliate against Florence. Eventually the *conciliabulum* moved to French-controlled Milan in 1512, and later to Lyon, where it dissolved. Louis XII's attempts at an association with Florence in 1511 become a key aspect of Lemaire's *Concorde des deux langages*.[35]

The political situation between France and Italy rests on the surface of the *Concorde*, articulated to the extent that Lemaire was able to please the French king and obtain a desired position in the court.[36] Lemaire lays out his exposition of political concord in the prologue, which opens at the scene of a debate between two people, one preferring the "langue Françoise" and the French, and the other the "langage Toscan" and the Florentine: language and nation are here held in parallel. Each debater presents the case for his respective language, listing its merits alongside the skilled practitioners, including Jean de Meun, Molinet, and Crétin, on the one hand, and Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the "trois Florentins," on the other. The author acts as moderator of the debate,

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[35] Alexandra Pénot, ed. "*Le traicté intitulé la concorde des deux langages* de Jean Lemaire de Belges. La question du vernaculaire dans un contexte de rivalité politique et linguistique franco-italienne," *Corpus Eve* [Online], *Éditions de textes ou présentations de documents liés au vernaculaire*, placed on line 12 March 2018 (Accessed December 10, 2018). http://journals.openedition.org/eve/1389

[36] Cynthia J. Brown, "Jean Lemaire's *La Concorde des deux langages*: The Merging of Politics, Language, and Poetry," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1980): 29–39.

encouraging the debaters to think of the languages not in opposition but as possessing equal value. In the latter part of the prologue, the author worries less about literary concord, focusing on the national and cultural aspects represented by "langage." An alliance of language will bring an alliance of communication, promoting concord between "le peuple de Florence" and "la noblesse François." Moreover, such a connection is a public good; it counters the war and violence shown by the Venetians, who are against those "de nostre langue." Thus, the author advocates for moral and political unity for Florence and France, implicitly in opposition to both Venetian and Papal pretensions for the peninsula.

At the end of the Prologue, the author describes the journey to concord allegorically as a story of a young poet who travels from the temple of Venus to the temple of Minerva in pursuit of higher meaning. The *Concorde* is also an aesthetic treatise, weighing the merits of the diversity of linguistic expression, the *deux langages*. The author explains that he will use the poetic mode of Tuscan and the Florentines, that is, tercets, or *terza rima*, Dante's meter, for the description of the Temple of Venus; for the section on the Temple of Minerva he will use the "prose et rhythme Françoise, qu'on dit Alexandrine." The *Concorde* is cast in five sections: a prose prologue, the Temple of Venus section in tercets, another prose section, the Temple of Minerva in alexandrines, and a concluding prose section—a *prosimetrum*, like the *Plainte du Désiré* and so many other large-scale poems of the *rhétoriqueurs* inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*. The prologue introduces the political inspiration underlying the piece, but when Lemaire moves into the verse sections, present political concerns are largely left implicit. The concord that the young

poet pursues is intellectual:

Chardonnerets, en diminutions, Lynottes, gays, trestous, à qui mieux mieux, Firent ouyr leurs jubilations.	Chardonnerets, in diminutions, Lynottes, finches, all, who better still, Have made their jubilations.
Leurs poincts d'orgues, volerent aux hauts cieux Leurs versets dits alternativement Delecterent les oreilles des Dieux.	Their soaring points flying high to the heavens Their verses said alternately Pleasing the ears of God.

We find the most overt references to music in the *Concorde des deux langages* in an extensive passage at the Temple of Venus. Evoking the liturgical hours, the matins bells sound ("que matines sonnerent"), and Venus opens her cloister (vv. 217–19). Four groups of music-makers perform in turn. The birds break in agreeably ("entrebrisé d'accords"), intoning a sweet chant ("entonnerent doux cantique"; vv. 220–22).[37] Lemaire creates a kind of sonic and ceremonial crescendo through "sounding" rhymes: the morning bells "sonnerent" (v. 218), the birds "entonnerent" (v. 220), and the temple "resonnerent" (v. 222). While birdsong is fairly often associated with Venus, Lemaire specifies the type of song they sang, hinting at the language of polyphony. Small birds, mostly finches (chardonnerets, lynottes, and tarins), make proportions and diminutions (vv. 227–29). Perhaps alluding to common symbolic use of finches to represent the Passion or the Resurrection, Lemaire may have been referencing not only the Mass, the ultimate symbol of the Passion, but also another pseudo-liturgical dream scene with Venus from the early fourteenth century, Jean de Condé's *Messe des Oiseaux,* wherein Venus presides over a

[37] The word "entonnerent" (infinitive="entonner") refers to intoning psalms or chants in a liturgical setting. According to Godefroy, "entrebriser"="romper" or "interromper" (to break in or interrupt).

Mass celebrated by birds.[38] Condé's text formed the basis for a late fourteenth-century poem by an English poet, John Clanvowe's *Boke of Cupide* (ca. 1385).[39] Like the *Messe*, Clanvowe's *Cupide* is also a dream vision with Venus in a debate sequence between the nightingale and the cuckoo, who appear frequently in fourteenth-century poetry as debate partners. The two birds dispute the qualities of their respective songs, or languages. The nightingale dismisses the cuckoo's monotonous song as tedious and dull. The cuckoo replies, "For my songe is both trewe and pleyn / Al though I can not breke hit so in veyne, / As thou dost in thy throte, I wote ner how."[40] Elizabeth Leach has observed that the verb for the nightingale's song is "breke" (break), meaning to trill or modulate the notes of the song. Leach connects this breaking to the Latin word *frangere* (literally, "to break"), as used in music theory treatises to describe rhythmic subdivisions of notes in polyphony.[41] It may be that Lemaire drew inspiration for the scene in *Concorde des deux langages* from either the *Boke of Cupide* specifically or to the nightingale/cuckoo debate tradition more generally.[42] Like the nightingale and the cuckoo, Lemaire's *Concorde* is a

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[38] Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 102.

[39] Leach, *Sung Birds,* 240.

[40] Sir John Clanvowe, *The Boke of Cupide*, 83, lines 117–19, in *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. by V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge, 1975), quoted in Leach, *Sung Birds*, 243.

[41] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 243 and 250. A search in the online music theory treatise database, *Thesaurarum Musicarum Latinarum* (TML) for the term "frangere" (and its stem "fract-") results in several examples from fourteenth and fifteenth century music theory treatises describing polyphonic rhythmic division.

[42] That Clanvowe was an English poet should not be too troubling, as Leach points out that the exchange between England and Hainaut, the homeland of Molinet and Lemaire—as well as many other poets and musicians—was strong during this period. Indeed Tinctoris himself pointed to England as the fount and origin of the "new [musical] art." See Leach, *Sung Birds*, 240.

debate between two languages, with polyphonic sound playing a key role in the characterizations of linguistic sounds.

As the birds finish their "hymne" at Venus's altar, ancient and mythical musicians take their turns, many of whom are familiar figures in the music-scapes of late-medieval poetry: Arion, Orpheus, Terpandros, Apollo, Linus, Thamyras, Tubal, and Pythagoras.[43] As they finish, all sorts of instruments, from winds to strings, are asked to be silent for the angels by whom the heaves are served (vv. 244–55). Finally, from the middle of it all, from the heart, we can hear breaking in "musique Alexandrine," followed by the music of Josquin, Okeghem, and Compère.

Au fin mylieu du coeur, ouyr pourrez Entrebriser musique Alexandrine, Et de Iosquin les verbes coulourez.	In the very center of the heart, you may hear Breaking away Alexandrine music, And by Josquin the colored compositions.
Puis d'Ockeghem, l'harmonie tresfine. Les termes doux de Loïset Compere, Font melodie aux cieux mesme confine.	And the very fine harmony of Okeghem, The sweet frames of Loyset Compere, Make melody approaching [that of] the heavens themselves.

The verb "entrebriser" is also that used for the chorus of the birds: both birds and musicians "break in." The finches that opened the scene are now echoed by the polyphony of France's great musicians "breaking in." If polyphonic sound has a linguistic component in this scene, then its pairing with "musique Alexandrine" is all the more remarkable.

In this passage, "musique Alexandrine" no doubt refers to Alexander Agricola, a

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[43] Terpandros was an ancient Greek poet, musician, and writer, who lived on the island of Lesbos in the 7th century BCE. Linus is a figure from Greek mythology, a musician and master of eloquent speech, often represented as the brother of Orpheus.

colleague of Josquin, Okeghem, and Compere at different points in his career. But it is also striking that Lemaire settles on the term *alexandrine*, which he had just explained in the prologue referred to French prose and rhythm: "qu'on dit Alexandrine." Lemaire could have drawn an equivocation on Agricola's name—a literary device employed by *rhétoriqueurs*. In that moment in the prologue, Lemaire identifies the Alexandrine meter as the defining property of the *langage Françoise*, French language, and culture. At this point in French literature, the Alexandrine, while not novel, was still unusual enough that its usage seems hardly incidental or accidental.

The alexandrine is most widely remembered for its use by French poets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the French, twelve-syllable line has its origins in the twelfth century.[44] However, it was not used extensively in medieval poetry, which favored the decasyllable as the preferred poetic "long form." In the fifteenth century, the twelve-syllable line began to be known as the "alexandrine," referring to the epic poem, *Roman d'Alexandre* (1150). In the early part of the sixteenth century, a national mythology developed around this epic.[45] Lemaire was influential in the development of the alexandrine, expanding its usage as a national symbol. Not until later in the century did the association shift from the symbolic function to the metric function

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[44] Guillaume Peureux, "Alexandrine," in*The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* fourth ed., edited by Stephen Cushman, et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 35-6; Jacqueline Flescher, "French," in *Versification: Major Language Types,* ed. by W. K. Wimsatt, (New York: New York University Press, 1972), 177-90; M. L. Gasparov, "Romance Syllabic Verse," in *A History of European Versification,* ed. by M. L. Gasparov. G. S. Smith, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 125-131.

[45] Olivier Halévy, "La vie d'une forme: L'Alexandrin renaissant (1452-1573)," *L'information littéraire* 56 (2004): 38-43.

that the alexandrine is most known for. Drawing on a term with such specific connotations, Lemaire explicitly named this musical space as French.

The musical performances are followed by a list—almost a taxonomy—of poetic, lyric, and musical genres—"beaux mots" that could be used to praise Venus (vv. 292–321), from comedy to lyric verse, sapphic odes, the *dit*, cantilenas, and odes; hymns, elegies, chansons, and motets; the lais, ballades, virelais, and rondeaux; the chant royal and other psalms and hymns. Altogether these make an unceasing, sweet noise ("bruit souef") in the Temple of Venus.

The sonic harmonies at the Temple of Venus also can be heard as an exploration of the eternal harmony of higher meaning. When the young poet sets out on his journey to search for love, he is also on a philosophical quest. We see that Lemaire himself is the poet, fashioning a parallel with Petrarch: they both leave their homelands (Hainaut/Florence) and go to France (Lyon/Avignon) looking for love and fulfillment. In a dream, Lemaire is ushered to the Temple of Venus by Mère d'Amours. He meets Dangier and BelAccueil, allegorical personifications borrowed from the *Roman de la Rose*. When he arrives at the temple, a vernal landscape full of song celebrates Venus. Another figure, Genius, presides as the high priest of this paradise, preaching the power of love and the brevity of life. The love presented here, though, is a carnal, physical, human, affective love; as the poet will learn, it will not provide true *concorde*. When the poet offers a gift of a miniature he painted, Dangier deems it unacceptable, and throws him out of the Temple of Venus to wander in the desert. The second prose section follows the poet in his roaming, during which he realizes his dissatisfaction with the love proffered in the

Temple of Venus, but he still does not know what lies ahead.

Coming upon a large, impressive rock, the poet stops to read an inscription at the foot of the mountain. The section in alexandrines conveys the text on the inscription, explaining that the Temple of Minerva is at top of this mountain but cannot be reached because it is too steep and sharp. The Temple is described as a haven for nobles, rich in knowledge and virtue, and where "le langage toscan et la langage françoise" live in unity and peace.

In the final prose section, the poet has another dream wherein the transcription is explained by the figure Labeur Hystorien (Historical Labor). Here we learn that the *concorde* of the languages is in the Temple of Minerva. The harmony of language will communicate the divine message of higher meaning. At the beginning of the poem began a journey in pursuit of love, but the Temple of Venus—earthly, carnal love—is only part of the journey; it is incomplete. Unlike Molinet's Raison, which replaces love in order to get to the divine, reason is a higher form of love arrived at through a process that begins with earthly love, a divine harmony of loves.[46] We also learn that, like the Temple of Minerva on its unscalable mountain, true *concorde* is unattainable in this life; the poet can only perceive in partial reflection the whole that Labeur Hystorien revealed to him.[47] In the *Plainte du désiré*, consolation was never found, though Rhétorique revealed a harmony of languages—historiography, rhetoric, and music. In the *Concorde*, true

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[46] Michael Randall, *Building Ressemblance: Analogical Imagery in the Early French Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 101.

[47] Randall, *Building Ressemblance,* 100. Randall also points out the Neoplatonic influence on Lemaire in the Lyon circles.

concorde is not attained, but Labeur Hystorien gives us a glimpse, again, of a harmony of languages.

In the final section on the Temple of Minerva, Lemaire likely referenced the city of Lyon—and by extension the French king. The inspiration for the mountain-top temple may come from Lyon itself. The royal residence, Château de Pierre Scize, was built as a fortress on a cliff above the Saône River, overlooking the city.[48] When the French king made his official entrance into Lyon, it was through the gate of Pierre Scize. When Louis brought the defeated Ludovico Sforza to France from Lyon, he was held temporarily in the fortress prison of Pierre Scize before transfer to a fortress in the Loire Valley. The fortress and château of Pierre Scize were destroyed in 1793 during the French Revolution, but a few depictions remain giving us a glimpse of the former magnificence of the place (fig. 4.3).[49]

Fig. 4.3 - William Marlow, *A View of the Château de Pierre-Scize*

[48] François Dallemagne, *Les défenses de Lyon: Enceintes et fortifications* (Lyon: Éditions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 2010) and Arthur Kleinclausz, ed., *Histoire de Lyon: Des origines à 1595* (Lyon: Librairie Pierre Masson, 1939).

[49] William Marlow (1740–1813), *A View of the Château de Pierre-Scize on the river Saône at Lyon,* National Galleries of Scotland, Paxton House.

If the Temple of Minerva represents an iteration of the French royal court, then perhaps Labeur Hystorien is its *indicaire,* evoking the role created for the father of the *rhétoriqueurs*, Georges Chastelain, which Lemaire himself had inherited. The duties of the *indicaire* was to not only chronicle events, but to both imbue them with meaning and discern their significance. The *indicaire* gave voice to both the present prestige of whom he served through prose (as chroniclers had done) and the vision of future glory through verse.[50]

Harmonie "Alexandrine"

As we have seen in both of these poems, harmony is an important concept to Lemaire, and in both of these poems, he folds music into his discussion. Considering the use of music by Lemaire—and indeed by the *rhétoriqueurs* in general—is a twofold enterprise. First, the *rhétoriqueur* poets conceive of music in the theoretical plane where the marriage of rhetoric and music offers a kind of wholeness of linguistic expression and knowledge. This rhetorical frame extends a kind of Boethian harmony of the spheres previewed in Deschamps's *L'art de dictier*.

Second, the historical arena presented in the poems reflects actual networks of human interaction. Poets and musicians are historical figures, not simply abstractions of *rhétorique* and *musique*. The groups of musicians arrayed reflect the poets' knowledge of, and even interaction with, music and musicians in their social circles. The *Concorde*, like the early version of the *Plainte du desire,* is a direct appeal to the French court. In both

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[50] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 50–54.

documents, Lemaire bids for employment; thus the social frames he draws on reflect the institution from which he desires to draw favor. As with Crétin's *Déploration*, incorporating lists into descriptions is a discursive act. The lists of names are properties defining what something is or is not.

Returning to the 1513 letter with which we began, Lemaire addresses a M. François le Rouge, who is identified as *Conseiller ordinaire, et maistre des Requestes de la Royne nostre souveraine Dame*: in other words, he is an administrative employee for the Queen of France, Anne of Brittany (see text below in fig. 4.4). When Lemaire addresses le Rouge, he is indirectly addressing the queen. He makes a similar gesture in the *La Concorde des deux langages*, indirectly addressing Louis XII through his friend Jean Perréal, a painter in the king's court. As mentioned earlier, he draws a parallel between Okeghem and Crétin. This paragraph presents both the theoretical implications of the Rhétoriqueur concepts of equating music and rhetoric and the historical implications of associating these practices in a real French court context. Crétin and Okeghem are personified as Rhétorique and Musique, and their language is joined to become the harmonized language of France.

Fig. 4.4 - Transcription and translation of Lemaire's 1513 letter

A MONSIEUR MAISTRE FRANCOIS LE ROUGE,[51]

Conseiller ordinaire, et maistre des Requestes de la Royne nostre souveraine Dame.

En la fin de mon troisieme livre des Illustrations de France, iay bien voulu à la requeste et persusaion daucuns mes bon amis, adiouster les Œuvres dessuscrites. Et mesmement les communiquer à la chose publique de France, et de Bretaigne: à fin de leur monstrer par especiauté, comment la langue Gallicane est enrichie et exaltee, par les Œuvres de monsieur le tresorier du boys de Vincennes, maistre Guillaume Crétin: tout ainsi comme la Musique fut ennoblie par monsieur le tresorier de saint Martin de Tours, Ockeghem, mon voisin, et de nostre mesme nation. Et pource que Rhétorique, et Musique sont une mesme chose, et que le langage Latin, Toscan, et François, se rapportent lun à lautre, tout ainsi comme une petite trinité: et quen ces trois experiences, et en toute autre literature ta doctrine est experte, et indifferente oultre le tien langage naturel de Bretaigne Armorique (laquelle est vray Troyen, comme ie puis imaginer) à ceste cause pour lhonneur et reverence que ie doy à ton humanité, ie desire que la verité soit congnue par toutes nations Gallicanes: et non seulement pour ceste cause, mais à description et illustration de Bretaigne Armorique, laquelle est une partiularité de Gaule, et dont ie desire singulierement descrire les merveilles tant antiques que modernes, et qui non point esté memorez par autres, pour exercer deument et convenablement mon office, à lhonneur et perpetuelle renommee des maiestez du Roy et de la Royne, ausquelz Dieu doint bonne vie et longue.

My goal is to show them especially how the Gallican language is enriched and exalted by the works of *monsieur* the treasurer of the *bois de Vincennes*, maistre

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[51] Transcription follows Lemaire, *Œuvres*, Stecher ed., 3:197-98. The transcription I provide follows Stecher's edition in all spelling and punctuate except for "v"'s and "u"'s, which I have altered to reflect modern usage.

Guillaume Crétin. Just as Music is ennobled by *monsieur* the treasurer of Saint Martin of Tours, Okeghem, my neighbor, and of our same nation. And because Rhetoric and Music are the same thing, and the languages Latin, Tuscan, and French are related one to the other, like a small trinity; and that in these three experiences, and in all other literature of your expert knowledge…I desire that the truth be known to all Gallican nations…to the honor and perpetual name of their majesties the King and the Queen, may God give them a good and long life.

CHAPTER 5 - *L'arbre* and *les réseaux*: Genealogy, Networks, and Trees

> *Premièrement du Royaulme de France, pour ce que c'est le plus bel, le plus plaisant, le plus gracieux et le mieulx pourporcioné de tous les aultres*.[1]
>
> First on the Kingdom of France, because it is the most beautiful, the most pleasing, the most gracious, and the most well-proportioned of all the others.

Defining the physical characteristics of the kingdom of France was the central aim of Charles VII's court chronicler and *roi d'armes* Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry in his *Le livre de la description des pays*, finished toward the end of his life, sometime after 1451.[2] His work was one of the earliest treatises of descriptive geography in French and is invaluable for revealing not only the geographic knowledge of a French courtier but also how he moved around in it.[3] The *Description* opens with lavish praise of France's proportions, which surpassed all other kingdoms.[4] The first proportion he outlined was of the seasons. France, like no other kingdom, he states, has two seasons: summer (from April to October) and winter (from October to April); compared to the climates of other countries, France's summer was never too hot, nor the winter too cold.[5] Even the shape of France bespokes its seemly proportion. Gilles plots the borders of the kingdom anchored

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[1] Gilles Le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays,* ed. by Ernest Théodore Hamy (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908), 30.

[2] Bouvier, *Le livre de la description,* 10. Defined as "after the recovery of Guyenne," which was in 1451.

[3] Bouvier, *Le livre de la description,* 3 and 25.

[4] See above quote, Bouvier, *Le livre de la description,* 30.

[5] Bouvier, *Le livre de la description,* 30.

around four points: Saint-Jean-Pied-du-Port, in the Pyrenees; Lyon, on the Rhone river; L'Escluse, now known as Sluis, in Flanders; and St. Mathieu, the westernmost tip of Brittany and of the kingdom. If the points are connected, the kingdom is in the shape of a losenge, neither long nor square, and neatly bisected by the Loire River, which passes through the middle.[6] Rivers are the first matter of topography that Gilles addresses, after the borders of the kingdom. He names most of the major rivers in France, starting at their sources and plotting their courses through major towns through which the rivers pass until they either intersect with another river or go out to sea. Yet he finds that the only rivers worth mentioning are those that carry ships or boats ("En cedit royaulme a moult de bonnes rivieres portans navire"[7]). As a major artery in France, the rivers would have been a vital part of this well-traveled courtier's life. For an itinerant court, rivers were a key apparatus for connecting people. Thus, their status as a leading component of the physical parameters of the kingdom manifested the social reality that navigated them.

Defining the kingdom of France was not only a geographic endeavor, but also a sociological enterprise. Examining the development and patterns of social relationships of the end of the middle ages reveals a cultural self-consciousness infused with symbolism, allegory, and myth. One of the most influential Latin works in fifteenth-century France was Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium (Genealogy of the Pagan*

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[6] Bouvier, *Le livre de la description* , 38.

[7] "This kingdom has many good rivers for carrying ships." Later he states that the other rivers are not worth mentioning, because they do not carry ships. Bouvier, *Le livre de la description,* 32, 38.

Gods), written in 1360 and revised until the author's death in 1374.[8] This massive undertaking sought to synthesize Greek and Roman mythology through a detailed genealogical tree, untangling the complex labyrinth of relationships of nearly a thousand mythological figures. Boccaccio assembled not only an encyclopedic compendium of the gods but also a collection of hundreds of excerpts of ancient poetry. As a *prosimetrum*, the *Genealogia* exemplified many attributes popular in fifteenth-century poetry—epic scale, allegory, and myth—both in content and in form. As a work that circulated widely, it was known well by Jean Lemaire and (most likely) the cohort of *rhétoriqueur* poets. Lemaire consulted the *Genealogia* when writing about the attributes of Minerva in *La concorde des deux langages*, summarizing her qualities as a goddess of wisdom and virtue.[9] He also drew on it extensively in his own multi-volume history of France, *Les Illustrations de Gaul*, which reached into a mythic past to begin his history of the kingdom of France.[10] As an official court chronicler, Lemaire would have been familiar with the model of a genealogy in medieval historiography. The narrative of genealogy was a structural principle of the social world in which the poets were embedded.[11]

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[8] Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011) 9–10.

[9] Donald Stone, "Some Observations on the Text and Possible Meanings of Lemaire de Belges' *La Concorde des Deux Langages*," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance 55 (1993), 70–71.

[10] Pierre Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges écrivain franco-bourguignon* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1972), 433.

[11] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 46–7.

Genealogy in the Late Middle Ages

Genealogical narratives emerged in the twelfth century, around the same time noble families began to coalesce their vertical structures through blood relationships.[12] The profile of the family tree rooted aristocratic society. Gabrielle Spiegel lucidly outlines the role of genealogy in medieval historiography in her article, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative."[13] Spiegel frames her argument through a discussion of historiographical practices in the Middle Ages, outlining how these histories seem to fall short of modern-day standards of historical accuracy and criticism. Where the medieval historian moves freely into fiction and myth, propaganda and symbolism, the modern historian prioritizes the authentic and scientific, reliability and fact.[14]

Spiegel argues that medieval historical texts represent a distinct cultural phenomenon, exhibiting the values of the society from which they emerge. These texts must therefore be read as chronicles of historical truths for that society, both in the forms they take and the functions they serve.[15] Medieval historians, Spiegel suggests, had a mimetic view of narrative rather than an interpretive one; events therefore had to be represented in the correct order, with eyewitness testimony.[16] Any deviance into criticism was considered a deception. If myths developed around stories, therefore, these were relayed faithfully

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[12] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 47.

[13] Spiegel, "Genealogy."

[14] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 43–44.

[15] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 44, 53.

[16] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 44–45.

along with the texts. In this sense the historian was more a compiler of texts than an author.[17]

As dynastic inheritance practice solidified, so did overtones of dynastic myth and the idea of the French kingship being an unbroken succession. Genealogy thus became an important conceptual metaphor in historical literature in medieval France, beginning in the thirteenth century. In order for the kingship to be represented in such a way, a kind of narrative *mythos* was inscribed into the genealogy, symbolically shaping the significance of the past.[18] Spiegel outlines two ways the genealogy functioned in histories: first, as a form that supplies the narrative model, and second, as an interpretive function, giving significance and meaning to the past.[19] The formal structure of hereditary succession governed the establishing of the legal hereditary birthright, and the organization of chronological time, articulated through dynasties rather than calendars. Spiegel states that genealogy functions as "an image of connected historical relationships fundamentally grounded in social reality, that very social reality history was meant transparently to display."[20] The legitimacy of successive rights was established through extensive vitae of personal characteristics and deeds. The collective and interrelational strength of these acts bestowed the value of the filiative model.[21] The aesthetic properties of the literary

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[17] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 45.

[18] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 47–48.

[19] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 48.

[20] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 52.

[21] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 49–50.

traditions that conveyed these narratives hold in tension the capacity to address not only an account of the inherited past but also its symbolic aspirations.

Crétin's *Déploration* as Genealogy: Observations and Implications

With Spiegel's commentary in mind, we return to where we began: Guillaume Crétin's *Déploration sur le trespas de Jean Ockeghem,* which clearly draws on the features of genealogy as a historical narrative. The poem opens with Dame Musique in the garden by the tomb mourning for her son, Okeghem (vv. 54–66), perhaps evoking the biblical mother figures of Eve or Mary, who also mourned for their sons in a garden. The mother Musique implores all musicians to perform songs of mourning, beginning with the biblical fathers of Tubal and David and the mythic fathers Orpheus and Chiron. The musical lineage continues through Sapho, Mercury, Pan, and Arion before the songs of the fathers cease. Then the lineage continues with figures from the recent past, beginning with Du Fay (d. 1474) and Busnoys (d. 1492). These musicians join together to sing a concert of Okeghem's works; the collective action establishes a lineage. At the end of the opening dream sequence, Musique tells the poet that he must remember what he saw and join in to remember the deceased forever. In a historical chronicle such as this, eyewitness testimony of this kind is key to establishing authority.[22]

By going back to the earliest musical fathers, Crétin set in motion an unbroken line of succession. In the second part of the poem, the musical lineage is echoed by a poetic

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[22] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 45.

lineage, from ancient to modern poets, this time led by Dame Rhétorique. In order for hereditary succession to take place, the next step in the genealogy is for Okeghem's legitimacy to be confirmed. Okeghem's status is sanctioned through a recitation of his character and his deeds, as full a vita as possible; this appears in the second section of the second part (vv. 313–80). Okeghem's good character and faithful service over the course of the dynastic time of three kings are sufficiently recorded for his place in this musical family tree to be established.

The remaining issue of succession is who the musical heirs will be. Crétin gives us this information when he calls on Agricola, Verjust, Prioris, Josquin, Gaspar, Brumel, and Compère to lament their "good master and father." But the poet does not stop with the musicians of this stanza; he also mentions Evrard as Okeghem's successor. We have already observed the difficulties Evrard faced in securing his appointment to Okeghem's now vacated position as treasurer at St. Martin in Tours. Crétin's mention of Evrard seems all the more pertinent considering that this is the denoument of a genealogical construction, and since the claims brought against Evrard concerned his ineligibility owing to an illegitimate birth. Crétin, as a court insider, could easily have been aware of the disputation; in the course of the poem, perhaps he is signaling his loyalty to Evrard's claims.

In the last section, the present generation is called on in groups that represent the capacities that defined Okeghem's work. The address to the people of Tours connects to his involvement in the civic life of Tours (vv. 381–88); the list of singers (vv. 389-404) refers to his role in the in the royal chapel; and naming Evrard (vv. 405–12) indicates his

position as treasurer. In the poem the last of Okeghem's sons are the choirboys (*enfanns du cueur*; vv. 413–20), that is, the future generation. Indeed in specifying all these groups Crétin is pointing to the future, because the functions Okeghem's work performed will be continued by the next generation. This is the ultimate *survie par gloire*.

Identifying the *Déploration* as a genealogy raises questions about its relationship to the forms and function of genealogical writing at this time. The philologist Howard Bloch has explored these issues through the lens of medieval European history.[23] Both Spiegel and Bloch reference a shift towards patrilineal structure around the twelfth century, identifying the literary genre of the *chanson de geste* as a manifestation of the change.[24] Bloch's approach highlights the linguistic aspects of this process, demonstrating how language—ontologically interwoven with society—both facilitated and articulated the rising patrilineal trend.[25] In other words, genealogical terms were the "mental structure" that formed notions of meaning between relationships.[26] Even though genealogical frameworks have been widely used throughout history, the historian Walter Pohl reminds us that uses of genealogies vary depending on their historical context and are useful to the

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[23] R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

[24] Spiegel, "Genealogy," 47, 50; Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 13–15 and his entire third chapter is devoted to the literary forms of *chansons de geste* among others.

[25] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies,* 19.

[26] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies,* 34.

extent that they elucidate kinship relationships within a given time and place.[27] Such relationships are central to Crétin's *Déploration*.

Appraising the implications for reading the *Déploration* as a genealogy directs us to consider the extent to which this text and others like it are a form of historical writing. Adrian Amstrong and Sarah Kay have explored the relationship between poetry and history between the thirteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, a time when the historical chronicle was written primarily in prose.[28] During this period, many writers were responsible for producing both prose and verse works. Elements of both types occasionally blended into each other: authors writing lyric verse and historic chronicles experimented with lyrico-narrative forms, mainly the *dits* and the *prosimetrum*, incorporating historiographical elements into verse composition. The result of these efforts raised the status of verse to a mode of historical knowledge with a capacity to convey historical truths.[29] Verse historiography allowed for an aesthetic exploration of memorialization, merging the recording of historical facts with a first-person, experiential narrative. The perception of events as they were experienced was an equally valued kind of historical truth, foregrounding the process of memorialization over the content of the recorded event.[30] Remarking on the exceptional link between verse and historiography in

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[27] Pohl, "Genealogy: A Comparative Perspective from the Early Medieval West," in *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia,* eds. Walter Pohl, Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter (Brill, 2016), 232, 255.

[28] Chapter 3 of Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry,* is devoted to this discussion.

[29] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 49–50.

[30] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 55–59.

late-medieval France, Amstrong and Kay write: “If prose is best suited to recording the outer event, verse is more appropriate for capturing the inner, often mysterious nature of the lived event.”[31] The truth of a historical event was not the same as the factual details; the subjective process of reflection and memory also have significance as “history.”[32] The advantage of poetic forms to historiography was their ability to forge connections among readers, fellow poets, patrons, and other members of their audience as they related to the past. Verse evoked a truth of experience that prose could not.[33]

Verse historiography, which holds in tension the factual and the subjective, becomes a poetic form ideally suited to late-medieval genealogy, which also hovers between the facts of kinship relations and symbolic aspirations. Thus, in addition to the historical implications of Crétin's *Déploration*, we must also consider the poem’s literary and figurative ambitions. In the case of this musician genealogy, kinship relationships are not based on consanguinity but on a literarily constructed set of filial relationships—a musical family located in French circles. The poem outlines the “grand musiciens” of France, with Okeghem as their sovereign father, connected in a symbolically unbroken thread of hereditary succession back to the musical ancestors of Tubal, David, Orpheus, and the rest. Crétin's subjective memorialization of the details of this musical family is an important part of the historical truth of musical culture in late fifteenth-century France.

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[31] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry,* 54.

[32] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry,* 60.

[33] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry,* 70.

Lists of Artists *par gloire*

Crétin's *Déploration* also belonged to an emerging group of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French writings that exalted the work of the artist.[34] The *survie par gloire* of the *déploration* is part of a greater conversation reflecting on the artist's pursuit of glory, as modeled on the glory and victory of rulers or warriors. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet explores these themes in literature that lists the names of celebrated authors and other artistic groups.[35] Crétin's *Déploration* fits firmly in this tradition. Cerquiglini-Toulet points to the *puys* as one of the origins of the shift towards the glory of the arts.[36] As far back as the thirteenth century, a primary activity of artist societies in northern France was a regular competition in which a winner was literally crowned as "literary royalty," a sovereign artist.[37] The effects of these events seeped into depictions of artists, writers, and musicians in a manner parallel to rulers and nobility. One example is Eustache Deschamps's choice to call Guillaume de Machaut the "noble rethorique."[38] In another

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[34] Paula Higgins has noted this phenomenon in musical circles, though her examination focuses exclusively on musical lineage particularly in a context of the shifting role of the composer from 1450-1600. She develops a theory of "creative patriarchy" or "creative patrilineage" in a larger conversation motivated by a feminist intervention of patriarchal traditions in music history. "Musical 'Parents' and their 'Progeny:' The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. by Anthony M. Cummings and Jessie Ann Owens (Warren, Mich: Harmonie Park Press, 1996), 169–86.

[35] Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères: la liste des auteurs illustres à la fin du Moyen Age" 116 *Modern Language Notes* (2001): 630-643.

[36] For more background on the *puys*, see Chas. B. Newcomer. "The Puy at Rouen." *PMLA* 31, no. 2 (1916): 211-31.

[37] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 631.

[38] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 633. Also see the Prologue of this dissertation.

instance, from around 1350, Jean de Savoie referred to Philippe de Vitry as the "prince of musicians."[39] Jean Robertet uses Petrarch's name for its rhyme with "monarch," depicting him crowned with laurels, no longer reserved for great warriors, in his *Complaincte* on the death of Georges Chastelain.[40]

Certain key locations recur in the literature glorifying artists. First, and arguably among the most significant, is Parnassus, an imaginary location that evoked the site of the Fountain of Muses, which brought inspirations to poets, writers, and musicians. As depicted in the widely circulated text *L'Ovide Moralisé,* the fountain signals three sources of fame or nobility: arms, letters, or birth—that is, a warrior, a poet, or a king.[41] A second location is a cemetery, which was reimagined as a place of glory in René d'Anjou's *Livre du cœur d'amour épris*. In the "l'ospital d'Amours" in René's *Livre du cœur*, a cemetary sets apart tombs for the "plusgrant excellence et espicialitie," who include Ovid, Machaut, Boccaccio, Jean de Meun, Petrarch, and Alain Chartier.[42] The cemetery becomes a key feature in lament literature of the fifteenth century, particularly in the *déplorations funèbres*.[43] Furthermore, these *déplorations* become key vehicles for

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[39] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 633.

[40] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 633.

[41] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 634.

[42] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 634. See René d'Anjou, *Le livre du cœur d'amour épris*, ed. by Florence Bouchet (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2003), 280–88, 292–94.

[43] See prologue on *Mort, tu as navre* and chapter 2 on Crétin's *Déploration*.

articulating the glory of the artist.[44] The tomb becomes a monument, a miniature of the life of the great artist.

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century literary texts include many lists of poets, musicians, and artists. Cerquiglini-Toulet argues that these texts are key in the crystallization of renown surrounding these groups.[45] She points to an early inspiration for these lists, a popular *chanson de geste* by Jacques de Longuyon titled *Les Voeux du Paon* (1312), which introduces a series of nine great heroes (or "worthy ones"), *neuf preux*, in an almost liturgical formation of three groups of three: pagan heroes (Hector, Alexander, and Caesar), Jewish heroes (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabees), and Christian heroes (Arther, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon).[46] De Longuyon also signals the greatness of these figures by composing the *chanson* in alexandrines, which, as we have seen, carries symbolic significance.[47] Enumerations of artists emerge in literature following the pattern of the *neuf preux*.[48] We have already examined many of these literary examples for both poets and musicians. In fact, Eloy d'Amerval opens his list of illustrious musicians with the statement: "these are the great musicians" (v. 18829). These

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[44] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 637.

[45] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 636.

[46] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 636.

[47] See chapter 4 on the alexandrine in the Renaissance.

[48] For more on the *neuf preux* see Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Fama et les preux: Nom et renom a la fin du Moyen Age," *Medievales* 24 (Printemps 1993): 35–44.

enumerations of celebrated artists serve the purpose of emphasizing the glory of their work; the great writer is equivalent to the great warrior.[49]

These lists also point to a promise of the future, often connecting the artist with a specific location. In his Ballade 1474, for example, Deschamps connects Machaut, de Vitry, and others with the province of Champagne.[50] We saw in the first chapter that Clement Marot linked Crétin and Villon with the city of Paris: "Villon, Crétin ont Paris decore."[51] Marot, who elsewhere referred to Crétin as "un souverain poete francais," lists French writers along with their places of origin in his writerly family tree "mon arbre paternal." In doing so, Marot folded the genealogical narrative—so necessary for underpinning the sustenance of the nobility—into the realm of writers. As the birth of artistic nobility emerged at the end of Middle Ages, so did the notion of artistic succession.[52] And as this succession connected the sovereignty of the ruler over a place, so, too, did artist sovereignty lie in geographic terms. Thus, as Marot named Crétin "un souverain poete francais," when Lemaire links Crétin and Okeghem as leaders in language and music, respectively, he implies that Okeghem is "un souverain musicien francais." And if Okeghem is the musical father of France, his musical sons are also of France. Language, music, and nation are inextricably and symbolically linked.

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[49] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 638.

[50] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 637.

[51] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 637; also chapter 1.

[52] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 638.

The enumerations of artists evince a deeper understanding of the connections within their communities. Cerquiglini-Toulet suggests that, in defining a "grand écrivain," the author is connected to language and nation. She also argues that the writer's work participates in a larger conversation, open to gloss and commentary and becoming the subject of debate or argument.[53] Thus, the great writer must write with a level of elegance and density worthy of his literary posterity. The majestic pose of the writer at the tomb signals that the work stands beyond the writer's own death. Meter connected the tomb to the monumental: the alexandrine elevated the epitaph to the inscription of greatness for posterity, as we saw in Lemaire's *Concorde des deux langages*.[54] As fellow and successive writers engage with the text of the "grand écrivain," a kind of filiation of the text itself occurs, creating a twofold symbolic genealogy of the author and the text.

Following Cerquiglini-Toulet's formulation, the work of the "grand musicien" must also participate with elegance and skill, in a larger musical discourse, signaling a glory that will extend to posterity. The memorialization of Okeghem extends the literary projection of "grand écrivain" to that of a "grand musicien." Thus, the musical references and quotations that are so much a part of polyphonic practice at this time can also be seen from the perspective of producing a "text" that is glossed and commented on, debated and argued. Paula Higgins has observed several such instances in pieces commemorating Okeghem, Busnoys's *In hydraulis* and Josquin's *Nymphes des bois*, which she connects to

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[53] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 641.

[54] Cerquiglini-Toulet, "A la recherche des pères," 642-43.

Okeghem's own *Mort, tu as navré*, particularly through motivic means.[55] She and others have harnessed the term "intertextuality" from twentieth-century literary criticism to describe the wide-spread use of allusions in polyphonic composition.[56] While citation and allusion may be as widespread in literature as genealogy is in historical discourse, here this practice has a particular symbolic function. By engaging with Okeghem's work in such a way, his "sons" establish the worthiness of his musical "text" and the legitimacy of Okeghem as their musical "father." He is the "grand musicien" of France, located geographically by the network of his posterity, both textual and personal.

The implications of these changing notions of artistic glory for pieces of music listing musicians is undeniable. Like the tradition for enumerating writers, such examples go back well into the fourteenth century. For example, several motets in the codex "Chantilly" contain lists of musicians, including otherwise unknown singers and theorists.[57] Examples in the fifteenth century include Compere's *Omnium bonorum plenum*.[58] Although these works warrant and can sustain further analysis beyond here and

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[55] Paula Higgins, "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father': Intertextuality and Creative Patrilineage in Musical Tributes by and for Johannes Ockeghem," in *Tod in Musik Und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philipps Des Schönen*, ed. by Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, 2:277–314, *Wiener Forum Für Ältere Musikgeschichte* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2007), 282.

[56] Higgins, "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father,'" 281; Paula Higgins, "'In Hydraulis' Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 1 (1986): 36–86*;* see also John Milsom, "Imitatio, 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge 2005) pp. 141– 151.

[57] For a description of the manuscript, see Gilbert Reaney, "A Postscript to 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047,'" *Musica Disciplina* 10 (1956): 55–59.

[58] See Joshua Rifkin, "Compere, 'Des Pres,' and the Choirmasters of Cambrai: *Omnium Bonorum Plena* Reconsidered," *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009): 55–73.

the previous chapters, the main goal here is to contextualize these pieces in a broader artistic culture of increasing self-definition and intentionality. Musicians are not excluded from the class of artistic "royalty" of the poet; rather, "Musique" and "Rhetorique" intertwine in shared pursuit of artistic glory.

The "Genealogy" Motets

In addition to lists of artists that reference genealogical features, a further type of music from our milieu deserves closer scrutiny: motets often referred to as "genealogy motets." These comprise Josquin's *Liber generationes* and *Factum est autem* and Prioris's *Factum est [autem] cum baptizaretur.* These motets quote the passages in Matthew 1:1–17 and Luke 3:21–38 outlining the genealogy of Christ. Occupying a prominent place in the liturgy, the chants set the gospel readings for the end of Matins on Christmas (for the Matthew text) and Epiphany (for the Luke text), that is, the first and last days of the twelve-day Christmas season. The texts themselves may seem tedious to modern listeners—a series of "sons of" and "fathers of," enumerating the names of Old Testament patriarchs up to the birth of Christ. Indeed Jeremy Noble has noted that "it would be hard to conceive of any biblical texts much less evidently attractive to a composer."[59] And David Fallows observes: "For a composer they are two of the most improbable motet texts available anywhere, since they are both simply strings of names…It is hard to imagine Josquin, or anybody, composing such motets for any normal

[59] Jeremy Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ and their Musical Settings," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Minerve: Paris, 2001), 197.

purposes."[60] In the context of a literary culture full of enumerations of names in genealogical construction, however, these passages might not have struck a contemporary listener as particularly tedious.

Bringing to bear the significance of genealogy in the fifteenth century on these seemingly unusual motet texts may offer insight into their purpose and function. The chants on which the motets are based appear sporadically and unpredictably in the earlier Middle Ages, but by the later centuries, celebrations extended beyond a monastic context into universal practice, often accompanied by special directions and elaborate rituals.[61] A growing interest in genealogy more generally probably played a role in the expansion of this practice. Noble outlines some of the developments that led to these polyphonic settings.[62] As the celebrations of the genealogy gospels grew more embellished, the chants became more decorated.[63] Some attempts to apply simple polyphonic procedures emerged in fifteenth-century sources.[64] Because these chants served a liturgical purpose, the scope of Josquin's extensive four-voice contribution to the tradition appears

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[60] Fallows, *Josquin,* 95, 96

[61] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 197, 199.

[62] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 198.

[63] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 200.

[64] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 202. Noble mentions a practice at the Cluniac priory, Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris that applied a technique usually found in Passion texts. Three voices—high, middle, low—share a monophonic melody then come together for three-part polyphony, creating an alternation of textures.

unexpectedly.[65] Noble surmises that these motets actually serve a paraliturgical function, which leads to speculations concerning the circumstances of their creation.

Although *Liber generationes* is based on an E-mode chant that is widespread in northern and central liturgical traditions, Noble finds only two instances of the Epiphany chant that Josquin used for *Factum est autem*: it was known in the diocese of Le Mans and at the abbey of St-Martin in Tours, which had its own use as the royal abbey.[66] Josquin's setting is a fourth higher than the St-Martin chant, but at a pitch level identical to that of the Le Mans chant—and yet no record of a musical establishment at Le Mans capable of performing complex polyphony survives. By contrast, with Okeghem as treasurer at St-Martin for decades, along with lavish support from the French king, the Tours version may be the one on which Josquin drew for an occasion probably involving the French king.[67] Noble concludes that the piece must have been composed for Louis XI, who had made his residence in Tours his central location for much of his reign (1461–83). Noble also infers that the occasion for Josquin's presence in Tours was that the composer was part of the group of singers Louis had brought from René d'Anjou's chapel after the duke's death in 1480. Fallows adds that the work must have been composed for the Christmas season from 25 December 1480 to 6 January 1481, on the basis that after Louis's second apoplectic fit in September 1481, the singers were sent to the Sainte-

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[65] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 205.

[66] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 206.

[67] Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ," 207.

Chapelle in Paris.[68] "It is tempting," Fallows writes, "to think that the sheer craziness of setting such texts could happen only the circles around Louis XI," who was, "a fanatic as well as a carefully cultivated eccentric."[69] Whatever one's opinion may be of Louis XI, Noble does establish an origin in the Touraine for the *Factum est autem* chant.

One more hypothesis concerning the circumstances surrounding the motets bears mentioning, though its conclusions are less tenable than the others. Paul Merkley offers the possibility that Josquin wrote these pieces while at the court in Aix-en-Provence in the 1470s. Merkley finds that the repetitive nature of the motets serves a "meditative function," which might have allowed René to ponder his own sacral significance, "connecting him in a very personal way to his own experience."[70] The presumption that repetition signals meditation may be anachronistic, however, considering the extent to which literature of this time period includes lists.[71] The Cemetery of Distinction from René's *Livre de cuer*, moreover, explores the histories of the distinguished dead "in a formulaic and repetitive way, just like the *Liber generationes*."[72] For all of this, since this

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[68] Fallows, *Josquin*, 99.

[69] Fallows, *Josquin,* 95-96.

[70] Paul Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou: Sacred and Secular Music in the Literary Program and Ceremonial* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017), 354.

[71] Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 356.

[72] Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 354.

"formula" appears in such a large number of contemporary literary examples, it hardly serves as a distinguishing characteristic.[73]

Merkley also explores another possibility that originated with Thomas Brothers: that the motets were connected to the papal chapel. Brothers suggests that the inspiration for these pieces was the depiction of the Matthew genealogy on the Sistine Chapel ceiling: "Few people had ever seen visual representations [of the genealogy]…The significance of this rare appearance needs to be related to the rarity of fancy polyphonic setting of *Liber generationes*."[74] Thus, Merkley posits a date after 1489, with Josquin possibly even receiving guidance from Michelangelo.[75] This scenario is impossible: Michelangelo painted the Sistine Chapel ceiling between 1508 and 1512; we know the motet existed by 1504.[76]

A French origin seems unmistakable, but not all scholars hold to a date ca. 1480. As Joshua Rifkin points out in his argument against this early date, the connection between

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[73] Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 354. Merkley forces to reconcile the Touraine origins of the *Factum est autem* chant by positing that René had access to the St-Martin use, which could have been a desirable acquisition because of the city's association with Charlemagne, and because his personal confessor was the bishop of Tours. This would be unprecedented and seems extremely unlikely. Furthermore, Jeremy Noble makes a specific point of the exclusivity of St-Martin's use, "The Genealogies of Christ," 207.

[74] Quoted in Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 355.

[75] Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 356.

[76] Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Court of René d'Anjou,* 356. While 1508 is certainly after 1489, and it is possible that there may have been the confluence of the motet and the ceiling at some point in the Sistine Chapel, Merkley seems to be clearly arguing for the ceiling's inspiration on the motet when he explores a "strong visual-artistic connection" in the motet—a connection he also makes to the Aix triptych, *Le Buisson ardent*, painted by Nicolas Froment.

Tours and the French royal court certainly did not end with Louis XI's death.[77] Rifkin observes that neither motet appears in a source before the sixteenth century. *Liber generationes* is included without its Epiphany counterpart in VatS 42, in the portion Richard Sherr has dated between 1507 and 1512.[78] In two sources, which, incidentally, are the only sources for *Factum est autem*, both motets appear as a pair: Petrucci's *Motetti C* (1504) and LonRC1070, a manuscript with strong connections to French court circles.[79] Through study of the gathering structure and scribal hand of LonRC1070, Rifkin connects the copying of these motets to the earlier gatherings, which he dates to 1505 or slightly earlier.[80]

One further possibility jibes with Rifkin's arguments. If these motets carry symbolic significance—as genealogies tend to do—the Christmas season of 1498, the first after Louis XII's coronation, may be a plausible occasion. After Louis became king in April 1498, one of his chief agenda items was the annulment of his coerced marriage to Louis XI's daughter, Jeanne.[81] While these proceedings began as early as June, the final annulment verdict was not delivered until 17 December 1498. Louis received the news at

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[77] Joshua Rifkin, "Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's 'Ave Maria…Virgo Serena,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): 331.

[78] Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Neuhausen, Germany: American Institute of Musicology / Hänssler Verlag, 1996), 58, 161.

[79] Rifkin, "Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet," 331.

[80] Joshua Rifkin, "A Black Hole? Problems in the Motet Around 1500," in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, edited by Thomas Schmidt-Beste, Collection "Épitome Musical." (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 48. For more on this source, Rifkin devotes Appendix 2 of this essay to a detailed description, 71 –75.

[81] This process discussed in Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: Saint Martin's, 1994), 71–82.

Amboise, just north of Tours; the next day he was at the Château de Chinon, just south of Tours, to meet Cesare Borgia, sent by the pope to find a wife in France.[82] The principal defense Louis brought to the annulment proceedings was that Jeanne could not bear an heir because of a disability, an accusation she eschewed. Nevertheless, the marriage was annulled by mid-December, and by 7 January, the day after Epiphany, Louis signed a marriage contract with Anne of Brittany in Nantes.[83] Louis's whereabouts on Christmas are unknown, but it seems likely that he would have remained in the Loire valley region before traveling to Nantes, just further down the Loire River.

If ever a fifteenth-century French king needed a symbolic genealogy motet, Louis XII certainly did then, when the rights of succession must have been forefront in his mind. When he unexpectedly became king after Charles VIII's untimely death, the crown transferred to the House of Orléans; the priority for his annulment and remarriage also focused his need for an heir. What better place to inhabit the ritual of royal liturgy than at St-Martin in Tours, the royal abbey of which the king was titular abbot? While the explanation of this situation is no less circumstantial than the others, it does bring the piece into closer contact with its transmission and, at least as argued by Rifkin, style. If accepted, it also provides another reason to believe that Josquin was in the orbit of the French royal court at the time as much evidence—not the least Crétin's *Déploration*—seems to suggest. Furthermore, these motets would then be more closely connected to Prioris's genealogy motet, which likely is connected with Louis XII as well, given the

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[82] Baumgartner, *Louis XII,* 77–79.

[83] Baumgartner, *Louis XII,* 79.

composer's history with the king.[84] If verse holds a historiographical role, perhaps these motets can also frame the tension between the factual and the subjective. The substantial form of the motets evoke a shape suitable for the symbolic aspirations of the late medieval genealogy.

L'arbre and *les réseaux*

Another example of biblical genealogy gained in popularity in the later Middle Ages: the tree of Jesse, as depicted in the prophetic Old Testament passage, Isaiah 11:1.[85] As pervasive as genealogy in human history, the tree metaphor is also a recurring image; yet like genealogy, the way the metaphor is symbolically appropriated varies depending on the language and values of its depiction. The French social historian Christiane Klapisch-Zuber suggests that trees of Jesse became popular as genealogical representations only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[86] She charts this development along the same pattern of the history of the genealogy: the growth of interest in genealogies grew alongside aspirations of lineage and inheritance in the late eleventh and into the twelfth centuries.

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[84] For more see Theodor Dumitrescu, "Who Was 'Prioris'? A Royal Composer Recovered," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 1 (April 1, 2012): 5–65; Richard Wexler, "The Complete Works of Johannes Prioris," PhD diss. New York University, 1974.

[85] Vulgate: et egredietur **virga** de **radice** Iesse et flos de **radice** eius ascendet (Isaiah 11:1)

[86] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 105–6. See also her essay, "The Tree," in *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images c. 13th - c. 18th Centuries*, eds. Molho, Curto, Koniordos (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 293–310.

Distinguishing between "genealogies" and "family trees," Klapisch-Zuber explains that genealogy clarifies and legitimates succession, whereas family trees depict a flourishing and future proliferation.[87] The three main graphic systems of genealogy depict this distinction.[88] The oldest is drawn from the ancient Roman *stemma*: wavy lines, like ribbons, painted in the atriums of Roman patricians connecting images of ancestors. The second system emerged by the tenth century, largely drawn from didactic or scientific sources, in which a hierarchy of relationships was shown as names placed in medallions, connected by lines. These first two graphic systems convey an understanding of filiation as a descending structure, like a stream from a source.[89] Chronology proceeds from the top, the source, downwards through the generations. The descendent imagery serves the genealogical view of filiation and succession well. The third graphic system, however, the tree of Jesse, flips the genealogy upside-down, beginning in the root, branching upwards, and growing leaves and flowers.[90] The Christology of the *virga Jesse* also bore eschatalogical implications. The prophetic tree culminates in the perfection of Christ, a metonym for the broader world progressing upward toward spiritual perfection.[91] This flourishing tree of the later Middle Ages became increasingly popular from the late fourteenth into the sixteenth century, a shift that "was equivalent to giving greater weight

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[87] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 108.

[88] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 110-11.

[89] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 112.

[90] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 111.

[91] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 121.

to future hopes than to some myth of origins."[92] The genealogical relationships depicted in the tree of Jesse emphasize the symbolic continuity and community of lineage rather than its details and channels. The flourishing genealogy is at the heart of the artistic *survie par gloire*.

In several instances instruments are held in the hands of the figures represented in the tree's branches, surrounding the Virgin.[93] Figure 5.1a is a historiated Bible—a copy of the French translation by Guyart des Moulins—from early fifteenth-century France. The image opens the gospel of St. Matthew, in front of the same text Josquin set in his *Liber generationis*. Figure 5.1b, also from early fifteenth-century France, opens a copy of Jacques de Voragine, *Légende dorée*, the popular and widely-copied lives of saints. Like so many poetic depictions of filiated glory, the image incorporates is a sonic component, frozen and silent in the medium, yet symbolically resonant.

Returning to the image of the family tree, we can consider the rhetorical power of the arborial metaphor by thinking about how trees were defined in the middle ages. In his *Etymologies*, Isidore states that a tree (*arbor*) is thought to be derived from the word field (*arvum*), because both "cling to the earth with fixed roots." The root, he goes on to define, is called *radix* because it is "fixed in the ground in the manner of 'radiating spokes'" (radius).[94] The trees of the natural world and the iconography of the Jesse trees brings an image to lists of authors, painters, and musicians.

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[92] Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," 127.

[93] See Susan L. Green, *Tree of Jesse Iconography of Northern Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

[94] Isidore, *Etymologies*, 17.vi.1 and 14.

Fig. 5.1 - Depictions of Tree of Jesse with instruments

a) 1411, Bible historiale, British Library, Royal MS 19 D III, f. 458.

b) Early 15th c, BnF, ms fr 184, f. 5

The relationships articulated in these lists reinforce how the authors or musicians formed connections among themselves—yet so often in modern scholarship, when we look at these lists, we connect them to a patron. The historiography of musical patronage inherently creates a narrative that reinforces this arborial model of center root and spokes, with musicians radiating around their patron. Crétin's poem prompts us to consider a more nuanced picture.

Research in forest ecology in recent decades has shown that the invisible sustaining infrastructure of trees in forests is an underground system called mycorrhizal networks, a symbiotic relationship between a vast structure of subterranean fungi and the roots of trees. If science has improved our understanding of the relationships of trees, perhaps it can help us improve our ideas about metaphorical family trees. Key questions fueling research into these networks have to do with how resources are transferred, how plants communicate the presence of pests and diseases, and what influence they have in the competition of the ecosystem.[95] The field of cultural ecology asks similar questions about human society: how do resources get transferred? How do communication and competition operate within the social ecology?[96]

Drawing on botanical imagery is not a new idea. The famous example of Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*, describes rhizomes, a particular kind of root structure, in opposition to an arborescent (that is, hierarchic, tree-like) conception of knowledge.

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[95] François P. Teste, Suzanne W. Simard, Daniel M. Durall, Robert D. Guy, Melanie D. Jones, and Amanda L. Schoonmaker, "Access to Mycorrhizal Networks and Roots of Trees: Importance for Seedling Survival and Resource Transfer," *Ecology* 90 (October 2009): 2808-2822.

[96] See especially Hubert Zapf, "Literary Ecology and the Ethics of Texts," *New Literary History* 39, No. 4, Reexamining Literary Theories and Practices (Autumn, 2008): 847-868.

Rhizomes may be a helpful way to explore the connectivity of multipliticies, but many who apply Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of the rhizome fail to acknowledge the presence of the tree, which is still there in the forest. Mycorrhizal networks hold in tension the hierarchy of the tree's branches and its symbiotic relationship with fungal network that supports it and connects it to other trees. Indeed vertical and lateral relationships held together in historical and symbolic value is at the heart of a fifteenth-century genealogical tree.

Returning once more to Crétin's *Déploration*, we might reconsider the musical genealogy in ecological terms: how are musicians sustained? How are resources transferred? At the French royal court at the end of the fifteenth century, musical institutions and members of the royal court were sustained through benefices, wages, and interrelationships; musical activity was an ecology operating through smaller courts, churches, and municipalities. If we, too, are asking about trees, albeit metaphorical ones, then we might effectively draw on the ecological questions that mycorrhizal networks offer. The symbiotic relationships of musicians, poets, and patrons operate in broader networks, transferring resources, communicating, and competing with one another in a larger cultural forest.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Guillaume Crétin's biography

Items in italics are hypothetical based on above discussion

c.1450–60	Birth
1476	*chapelain perpetual*, Ste Chapelle, Paris
1486	*cantores-capellani,* French royal chapel
13 Aug [*1499*]	Crétin replied to Molinet "de Lyon"
1498-1502	*Two letters to Jacques de Bigues*
1500-1504	*Letter to F. Robertet, expressing desire to leave courtly life*
14 March 1502	Exchanged Evreux benefice with Jean Dronin for benefice of Fidelaire.
21 March 1502	Took possession of benefice, held until death (Nov 1525)
1503	Referred to as *chantre du roy* by Jean LeMaire.
1504	Referred to as *chantre et chappellain ordinaire du roy* in ecclesiastical trial in Paris
23 Oct 1504	Crétin sent to treasurer of France to receive documents for Ste-Chapelle, Paris. Accompanied by Robert Mancel, fellow *chapelain-perpétual*
1504	Crétin becomes canon before November.
28/30 Nov 1504	Crétin becomes treasurer of Ste-Chapelle, Vincennes
5 Dec 1504	Crétin received by the canons at Ste-Chapelle, Vincennes
1505-1508	Crétin recorded in attendance at chapter meetings in Vincennes: 1505 (at least three times), 1506 and 1507 (one time), 1508 (three times)
24 Oct 1509	Crétin received a salt distribution with other members of the Ste Chapelle, Paris
1509-1511	Crétin in regular attendance at chapter meetings in Vincennes
19 Sept 1511	Crétin asked canons if he could resign as treasurer. However, he stays on the registers until 1522. He also hoped to fill a *chantre* vacancy at Ste Chapelle, Paris. But on 22 Oct 1511, Jean Nicolay assumes this position. After staying for only a year, the position became vacant again, and Louis XII advocated to the chapter for Crétin to fill it. However, a certain "Guillaume de Paris" filled the position until 1523.

1511–1523	Regular participant and winner in the *Palinods de Rouen*. (*Œuvres poétiques*, xv)
1516–1522	Crétin became *aumônier ordinaire*. At which point his Paris benefice probably went to his nephew
1522-1524	Crétin advocated for building and repair of the chapelle in Vincennes (letters to François I)
1523	"Guillaume de Paris" left the *chantre* position. Crétin assumes *chantre* at Ste-Chapelle, Paris, giving the treasure position at Vincennes to his nephew.
Aug-Oct 1525	Crétin's health declined
Nov 1525 (between 11th-29th)	Death of Crétin

Appendix 2. Edition of Crétin's *Déploration* on the death of Okeghem.

Extant Sources:

Guillaume Crétin, *Chantz royaulx, oraisons et aultres petitz traictez*. Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1527. BnF, Rés. Ye-1256 (2).

Les Poesies de Guillaume Crétin. Paris: Antoine-Urbain Coustelier, 1723. BnF, département Arsenal, RESERVE 8-BL-8707.

Guillaume Dubois Crétin, *Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem, musicien, premier chapelain du roi de France et trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours*, ed. Ernest Thoinan. Paris: A. Claudin, Libraire-Editeur, 1864.

Guillaume Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Kathleen Chesney. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932.

The transmission between the four sources is fairly smooth with minimal discrepancy, but each edition is prepared according to editorial principles of its respective scholarly era. In this edition, I convey a close reading of the earliest extant source of the poem, the 1527 print. The punctuation, capitalization and spelling of the reference text have been respected except for some adaptations of use: abbreviations are written out, i/j and u/v distinguished, and apostrophes added. Occasionally the print includes a slash "/" for punctuation purposes; these have been interpreted into commas or periods as seemed sensible. Certain constructions in which words were joined have been separated (e.g. *tresfine = tres fine*). In some cases, final *e* accents have been added. Old grammatical forms are conserved (e.g. *ou* for *au*, *se* for *se*, *ne* for *ni*, *dont* for *d'où*).

Déploration dudict Crétin sur le trespas de feu Okergan tresorier de sainct Martin de Tours

Chargie de deuil par desmesure faix
Considerant les tres dangereux faictz
Et grans assaulx des deesses fatalles,
Du genre humain ennemyes capitalles
Et mesmement de la fiere Atropos
Qui frappe, fiert et rue a tous propos
Sur papes, roys, empereurs, ducs, et contes
Pensant aussi qu'elle mect en ses comptes
Tant clercs que layz, tant nobles que villains
Tant grans prelatz, que paovres chapellains.

Foible, estonné, lasche, remi, et las
pour le recit plain d'immortelz helas
Du cas fatal n'agueres advenu
D'angoisseux deuil me veiz circonvenu
Posé que avant eusse congnu gens maintz
Payant le deu et tribut des humains
Lors sur ung lict du dur travail tendu
Par grant courroux me mys plat estendu
Ou je receu d'ennuy si lourde somme
Que fuz contrainct dormir et prendre somme.

En ce dormir pour repos j'euz mesaise
L'homme dormant ne sera jamais aise
Se du travail dont il aura veillé
En son dormir se treuve travaillé
Mais neantmoins souvent advient nouvelle
Sur jour que apres la nuict se renouvelle.

Ainsi m'advint, car a ung seul moment
Feuz transporté devant le monument
Du bon seigneur que franchement amoye
Dont a present mon cueur pleure et larmoye
Nommer le fault, mais se pourra il faire?
Possible n'est sans premier satisfaire
Et contenter le debvoir de nature.

Le pas cruel qui vivans desnature
L'a prins, ravy et saisy en ses lacz
Il est donc mort? c'est mon; mais qui? helas
C'est Okergan, le vaillant tresorier
De Sainct Martin qui eust grant tresor hier
Et huy n'a riens fors le merite seul
Que ores emporte avecques ung linceul.

En ung vergier peuple de beau cypres
Que Zephirus avoit plante cy pres

Avec sa soeur Flora tres favorable
Estoit le corps du Seigneur venerable[;]
Mais Borreas en faulchant la verdure
Feist tout couvrir de noire couverture[.]

Les grans souspirs et chauldes larmes d'oeil
Se feirent lors par si extreme dueil
Que oncques de roy ou de pape de Romme
N'ouy parler avoir veu tant plaindre homme.

Calioppe et toutes les neuf muses
Sonnerent cors, flutes, et cornemuses
Par chantz piteux a l'entour du cercueil[.]

Musique aussi en luy faisant recueil
Vint au devant, qui de cost ung viel arbre.
Feist entailler son sepulchre de marbre
Auquel il feust tantost mis et pose
Quant c'eust este pour son propre espouse
Plus n'en eust sceu faire qu'elle faisoit.

En complaignant aux assistans disoit
Cueurs adveillez en tristesse confitz
Aprochez vous venez plorer mon filz
Plorez celluy qui tant a decore
Mon bruyt & loz que par luy encor ay

Chapeau flory de bonne renommee.

Plorez celluy qui m'a tousjours aymee
Servy de cueur au doigt et a I'oeil, si que
On I’appelloit la perle de musicque.

La dame adonc regardant ca et la,
Fainct son parler, pour le grand deuil qu'elle ha
Puis en I’instant la compaignie assemble,
Et instrumentz faict accorder ensemble

Harpes et Iucz, orgues, psalterions
Musettes, cors, et manicordions,
Fleutes, flajolz, cymbales bien sonnantes
Parmy les voix d'organnes resonnantes.

Ung libera en doulx chant et piteux
Fut si bien dit que I’homme despiteux
Tant dur soit il eust par compassion
Plongé son cueur, en dueil et passion.
Tous les presens tendrement souspiroient
Tres fondamment, et ensemble ploroient
Comme rempliz d’excessive douleur
Arbres et fleurs en changerent couleur,
Petitz oyseaux en muerent leurs chantz,
Les preaux verdz en devindrent seichans.

Musicque apres ceste doulce armonye
Feit ordonner pour la ceremonie
Torches, flambeaux, sumptueux luminaire
Manteaux de deuil, I'armoirie ordinaire
Donner pour dieu, accomplir voeuz, promesses
Chanter psaultiers[,] vigiles[,] et prou messes
Tant en effect selon ordre et raison
Qu'il appartient a homme de maison.

Ce fait pria tous les musiciens
Qui furent la, mesmes les anciens,
Que sur le corps par maniere de laiz
Feissent dictez, rondeaux[,] et virelaiz
En complaignant son filz: et que chascun
De piteux son luy en donnast quelcun.

Alors Tubal le bon pere ancien
Qu'on dict et tient premier musicien
Qui sur marteaux trouva sons et accordz
Ses orgues print, se joigneit pres du corps
Et a voix saincte avec son instrument
Ce present dict profera proprement.

Rondeau. Tubal.
C'est Okergan qu'on doibt plorer et plaindre

C’est luy qui bien sceut choisir et attaindre

Tous les secretz de la subtilité

Du nouveau chant par sa subtilité

Sans ung seul poinct de ses reigles enfraindre;

Trente six voix noter, escripre, et plaindre

En ung motet; est ce pas pour complaindre

Celluy trouvant telle novalité?

C’est Okergan.

Musiciens se doibvent huy contraindre

Et en grandz pleurs leurs cueurs baigner et taindre

En le voyant ainsi mort allité

Disantz son nom par immortalité

A tousjours doibt demourer sans extaindre.

C’est Okergan.

L’acteur

Lors se leva David royal psalmiste

Des muses droit servant commensal miste

Qui promptement a sa harpe accordée

Et sans auoir sa leçon recordée

En soy monstrant soubdain et prinsaultier

Ces motz chanta, en tenant son psaultier.

Rondeau. David.

En chant de pleur doibt bien psalmodier

Tout bon esprit et bien estudier
A lamenter ce tresorier notable
Que mort a huy convoyé a sa table
Puis que aultrement n'y peult remedier
C'est ung edict qui n'est fait d'huy ne d'hier
Quant I'heure vient force est expedier
Le partement qui est fort lamentable.
En chant de pleur.

Dieu le scavra tres bien stipendier
Car en son temps s'est voulu desdier
A faire chant devot et delectable
Pour eviter le gouffre espouentable
Dieu ne Ie veult des cieulx repudier.
En chant de pleur.

L'acteur

Puis Orpheus en chant armonieux
Sans soy monstrer fort cerimonieux
De cueur rassis et honneste vouloir
Sa harpe print, et pour plus fort douloir
Et le dueil veoir en augmentation
Se dictié fait de lamentation.

Rondeau. Orpheus.

Musiciens pensez de lamenter

Dueil angoisseux debvez en l'ame anter
Et vous monstrer par tristesse remis
Quant vous voyez celluy a terre mys
Qui de vostre art a sceu parlamenter.

Voz cueurs debvez en couroux tourmenter,
Et de regretz vos ennuys augmenter,
Car huy perdez la fleur de voz amys
Musiciens.

De chantz plaisans ne fault plus guermenter
Mais en douleurs vous experimenter
Ainsi que gens de tous plaisirs remis
Tristes, perplex, pesans et endormis,
A plaintz et pleurs se fault tous presenter
Musiciens.

L'acteur
Chiron Centaure, es montz de Thessalie
Laisse Achilles, prent sa harpe et sa lye
Aux assistens fort contristez du cas
De voix tremblant resonnant un peu cas
Piteusement la matiere poursuyt
Et en plorant dit le mot qui sensuyt.

Rondeau. Chiron.

Plorer le fault, ce bon chantre tant saige,
Qui par escript a touché maintz passages,
Et si tres bien de la gorge a passe
Helas enfans, or est il trespass
Trop importun, nous en est le message.

Tant beau, tant net, de corps et de visage
Fut en son temps et jamais n'eust usage
De consentir ung fait mal compassé.
Plorer le fault.

C'est grand meschef quant ung tel personnage
Avant cent ans accompliz perd son aage(sic)
Et qu'on le voit entre les vers tassé
Son esperit est lassus in pace
Mais quoy? le corps pourrit qui est dommaige.
Plorer le fault.

L'acteur

Dame Sapho de Pan belle amoreuse
Contre Atropos austere et rigoureuse
Feit et chanta ung dictié plain d'argus.
Mercure aussi qui endormit Argus
La se trouva, sans gueres demourer,
Pour le deffunct de son jeu honnorer.

Pareillement Pan le dieu D'arcadie
Lors s'esfforça et mit son estudie
A suader pastours et pastourelles
Abandonner loges, brebis, tourelles
Pour regretter ce pillier de musique
Et promptement feit ung dict heroique
Que sur le corps luy et ses gens chanterent.

Puis Arion que les daulphins porterent
Dont evada le peril de la mer
En son jeu dict que moult faict a blasmer
Quiconques est amy de la science
Et la ne vient pour veoir la pacience
De musique ore, ainsi fort desolée.

La personne est en son dueil consolée,
Quant aucun voit qui compaigner la vueille,
Ung cueur dolent quiert qu'ung aultre se dueille.
Son dict finy, tous instrumentz cesserent,
Et sur ce poinct les chantres commencerent.

La du Fay le bon homme survint,
Bunoys aussi, et aultres plus de vingt
Fede[,] Binchois, Barbingant[,] et Doustable
Pasquin[,] Lannoy, Barizon tres notable
Copin[,] Regis[,] Gilles joye[,] et constant.

Maint homme fut aupres d'eulx escoutant,
Car bon faisoit ouyr telle armonye;
Aussi estoit la bende bien fournye.

Lors se chanta la messe de my my
Au travail suis, et cujus vis toni
La messe aussi exquise et tres parfaicte
De Requiem, par ledict deffunct faicte
Hame en la fin dit avecques son lucz
Ce motet, Ut heremita solus,
Que chascun tint une chose excellente

Musique lors la dame tres dolente
Non congnoissant qu'eusse du dueil ma part
Pour ce qu'estions dessoubz ung arbre a part,
Hastivement me feit venir vers elle
Et quant congneut mon couraige et bon zele
Me commanda estre prest et pourveu
D'enregistrer tout ce que j'avoye veu.

Oultre me dit et chargea par expres
De publier et dire loing et pres
Aux chantres tous sa doctrine ensuyvans
Que du deffunct tant que seroient vivans
En leur façon et composition
Feissent tousiours commemoration

En ce disant pour ung cry qu'el ouyt
Soubdainement du lieu s'esvanouyt
Elle et ses gens feirent ung si grand sault
Que de frayeur m'esveillay en sursault.

O dur reveil piteux a reciter
Comment pourray sans me necessiter
En ce papier coucher dictz ne escriptz?
Veu que ne puis cueur ne bouche inciter
Langue ne voix esmouvoir, n'exciter
A prononcer fors pleurs, plainctes et criz.

A peine scay si je liz ou escriptz
Plaisir m'est dueil, plus me sont pleurs que riz
Mon corps se voit a la terre citer
Je suis perplex, en l'affaire qu'ay pris
Besoing me fust que aultre acteur mieulx apris
Vint a present mon sens ressusciter.

Que n'euz je lors I'eloquence de Tulle
Ou de Virgile, ou ceulx qu'on intitulle
Grands orateurs et poetes laurez
Boece ou est il, qui ne me congratulle?
Ou est Properce et Tiburce ou Catulle
Pour recueillir tous leurs escriptz dorez

Affin d'avoir tous les faictz honnorez
Du bon seigneur qui tant a decorez
Et embelliz les livres de musique,
Et de sa main nous en sont demourez
D'ouvraige exquis si tres bien labourez
Qu'il semble ouyr ung droict chant angelique

Hé! Chastelain et Maistre Alain Chartier,
Où estes-vous? Il me fust bien mestier
Avoir de vous quelque bonne leçon;
Simon, Greban, qui feustes du mestier
Que n'avez vous laissé pour heritier
Ung Meschinot, ung Milet, ung Nesson,
Pour hault louer Ie melodieux son
La voix, le chant, et subtile façon
De ce vaillant renommé Tresorier?
Helas faut il qu'ainsi nous le laisson?
La raison veult que memoire en façon
Mais ad ce suis trop inutile ouvrier.

Sus Molinet, dormez vous, ou resvez?
Vos sens sont ilz si pressez ou grevez
Que ne pouez prendre papier et plume?
A quoy tient il que aujourd'huy n'estrivez
Contre la mort et soubdain n'escripvez
De Okergan quelque petit Volume?

Ardent desir ad ce mon cueur allume,
Mais mon gros sens dur comme fer d'anclume

N'aproche en riens le don que vous avez
Si toutesfois quelque chose en resume
Excusez moy, si de tant je presume
Affection m'esmeut, vous le scavez

Considerez qu'avez art et praticque
Et veu aussi que dame rethorique
En tous voz faictz vous porte et favorise
Plustost de luy deussiez faire cantique
Que moy qui suis en elegance etique
Et du scavoir qui la main auctorise

Si j'ay failly d'avoir Ia charge prise
Et que a bon droict on me blasme ou mesprise
Pour mon escript rural et mecanicque
Si ne debvez pourtant lascher I'emprise
De l'exaulcer, car il vault qu'on Ie prise,
Et bien digne est d'estre mys en cronicque.

O sainct Gelays, reverend orateur,
Besoing seroit que feussiez or acteur
De quelque lay pour adoulcir mes plaingz;
En ce ne vueil vous estre adulateur,
Mais tant vous tiens de vertus zelateur
Que avrez pitié de celluy que je plaingz.

De vos escriptz les livres sont tous pleins
Vostre bon bruict volle par champs et plains
Chascun le scait, de ce ne suis menteur

Helas seigneur recueillez mes complains
Ne tenez pas mon dict assez ample, ains
Plaignez la mort de ce vaillant docteur.

Docteur Ie puis nommer en la science
Et prens tesmoings tous musiciens, se
Jamais en fut ung aultre plus parfaict
Pour en juger en saine conscience
Mortz et vivans prendront en pacience
Tous exceda et par dictz et par faict.

En son vivant a maint ouvraige faict
En style hault, ou n'a riens imparfaict
Comme on le scait par vraye experience
C'est grant douleur, le veoir par mort deffaict,
Veu qu'il estoit personnaige d'effect,
Comblé d'honneur, et de bonne prudence.

Il a vescu si tres honnestement,
Et haultement son estat maintenu
Riens n'a gasté par fol gouvernement,
On voit comment son Œuvre et bastiment
A proprement et bien entretenu
Maint paovre nud a vestu, soustenu,
Nourry, tenu a sa propre despense,
Pour dieu a faict beaucoup plus qu'on ne pense.

Humble aux petitz, aux grandz se monstroit grant
Honneur querant, sans vaine ambition,

Et qu'il soit vray, son loz m'en est garant
Au demourant son cueur fut labourant,
Vertuz querant par augmentation
D'affection mainte fondation
Fonda si on en veult estre recordz
Ung bien pour l'ame, en vault bien cent au corps.

Par quarante ans et plus il a servy
Sans quelque ennuy, en sa charge et office
De trois roys a tant I'amour desservy
Que aux biens le vy appeller au convy
Mais assouvy estoit d'ung benefice
Quant au service et divin sacrifice
Sans aulcun vice eut cueur fervent et plain
A droict nommé le premier chappellain.

Gens du clergé et college notable
Chant lamentable en cueur et en chapitre
Faire debvez pour cest homme louable
Tant amyable humain doux et traictable
Assez capable d'obtenir crosse ou mytre
Oncques tel tiltre il n'emprint faire tistre
Mais au pulpitre alloit tout le premier
De dieu servir estoit bon coustumier.

Jamais ne fut ingrat de son scavoir
Pour le scavoir ay largement tesmoings
De bien chanter a faict son plain devoir

De son avoir a bien voulu pourveoir
Luy vif pour voir, a vuide ses mains
A ses germains indigens et humains
L'ung plus I'ung moins tous ses biens a fait prendre
C'est ung nota que chascun doit apprendre.

A demonstrer qu'on doibt fort detester
La lascheté des faulx executeurs
Vous qui viuez, prenez de bien tester
Et encontre eulx, devant dieu protester
Car ilz seront voz grans persecuteurs
Lors qu'ilz devroient estre soliciteurs
De vostre fait ilz suyuront leur affaire
Qui veult donner soy mesme le doibt faire.

Ainsi l'a faict et bien sen est trovué
Comme j'entens, et croy certainement
Ses biensfaiz l'ont de tout peché lavé
Et sainct Martin de perdre I'a saulvé
Qu'il a requis et servy loyaument
De tous ses layz, il a faict le payement
Sans en charger ne parent, ne affin
La bonne vie actraict la bonne fin.

Seigneurs de Tours, et peuple, regrettez
Celluy qu'on doibt plus plaindre que ne dys

En son vivant vous a si bien traictez
Soyez devotz, enclins, et apprestez
A prier dieu qu'il luy doint paradis
Pour ung seul bien il vous en payera dix
Se luy prestez tout vous sera rendu
Oncques bien faict dict on, ne fut perdu.

Chantres, plorez ce notable seigneur
En visitant ses doulx chantz angelicques
Il a este de vertu enseigneur
L'appuy, I'apport, le seul piller d'honneur
Et clair myrouer des ecclesiasticques
Le vray guydon de tous bons catholicques
Des simples gens familier exemplaire
Plaisant a tous, a Jesus puist il plaire.

Agricolla[,] verbonnet[,] prioris
Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compere,
Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris,
Mais composez ung Ne recorderis,
Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon pere.
Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospere,
Prenez Fresveau, pour vos chantz accorder;
La perte est grande et digne a recorder.

He maistre Everard vous estes successeur

Dung excellent docteur, bien le scavez:
Je vous requier, quant serez possesseur
Faictes bastir orgues de grant doulceur
II m'est advis que faire le debvez
Et tous les jours si l'aisement avez
Quelque motet sonnez qui a dieu plaise
Pour le deffunct, il en sera plus aise

Enffans de cueur, ne faictes plus leçons
De fleuretiz, mais note contre note
Sur Requiem, en doulcettes façons;
Puis accordez voz chantz et piteux sons
Sans ce que aulcun riens y adiouste ne oste
Et priez dieu qu'il reçoive a son hoste
Le tresorier dict Okergan, affin
Qu'en Paradis chante a jamais sans fin.

Mieulx que pis.

Appendix 4. The Lesser-known musicians.

	Jean Fresneau	**Jean Poisson**	**Etienne Guillot, dit Verjust**
1468	First certain document: 14 June 1468 "Jo. Fremniau" in Cambrai, *petit vicaire* at the cathedral. Not sure when he arrived there.		
	Ordained in Cambrai.		
	(1468-9, the accounts are lost, but he may have been employed there from Sept 1468)		
1469-70	*Chapelain ordinaire*, la chapelle royalle		
1471-2	*Chapelain, la chapelle du roy*		
1472	Duke of Milan sent letter to Okeghem, to get some good singers; probably following this request that Fresneau became integrated with this chapel. Alongside Gaspar, Compere, Martinit, etc.		
1473-4	*Chapelain, la chapelle du roy*	singer, *la chapelle du roy*	
1474	*In the comptes ending sept 1474, a "Jehannequin Fresneau, Escuyer" received a sum to better his estate* "It is quite unlikely that this would be the Jean Fresneau member of the chapel de chant even if no other Fresneau does not seem to gravitate, with regard to these accounts around the royal court"		

Appendix 4. The Lesser-known musicians.

	Jean Fresneau	**Jean Poisson**	**Etienne Guillot, dit Verjust**
	Lists lost between 1475 and 1515.		
1476	Joined chapel of Duke of Milan Galeazzo Maria Sforza		
1476	14 Nov 1476 -- benefice request from Duke of Milan to Pope, asking for Fresneau to get a benefice recently vacated by Arnolphino de Ripa.		
1477	Feb 1477 safe conduct list of departures from Milan "Johannes de Frania" following death of duke.		
	Which also included Compere, Jean Japart, and colinet de Lannoy.		
	Probably returned to Tours.		
1478	9 April 1478 Permutating benefices from Milan to St Gery de Cambrai (?)		
1480	Notary act confirming with the French court 28 Feb 1480 "chapelain et chanteur du roi de France"		
1486	Letters confirming with the French court. "Canon of St Martin in Tours" July. Benefice requests sent to Innocent VIII.	One of the *cantores-capellani* on the list of benefice requests	

Appendix 4. The Lesser-known musicians.

	Jean Fresneau	**Jean Poisson**	**Etienne Guillot, dit Verjust**
1490-91	Possible that Compere also attached to St Martin in Tours: a "compere" mentioned in the material accounts of the collegiate church for the years 1490-91		*Chantre et varlet de chambre* to Charles VIII
1492		Received a prebend at St Martin of Tours from Charles VIII	
1494	24 May 1494, notarial act. Canon of St Martin; "prevost of Mayet" (one of the prevost-ships connected to the St Martin chapter); also procurator for the chapter of St Martin.		
1500	9 Feb 1500 same		
1501			Member of Royal Chapel at Blois, "second maitre Alixandre"
1505	13 Feb 1505 Canon of St Martin; "prevost of Mayet" Executor of will of "Maistre Gervays Jubuy, chapelain" and thus granted a rent of 500/yr		
1505-6			curé of St. Nicolas de Blois; chanted mass for Louis XII thirty-one times between Nov and Jan
1510			Chatelaine of Porta Fodesta, Piacenza

Appendix 4. The Lesser-known musicians.

	Jean Fresneau	**Jean Poisson**	**Etienne Guillot, dit Verjust**
1513	9 May 1513 a "Johannes de Fresne", *capellanus et cantor cappelle,* clerc du diocese de Cambrai, left with members of the queen's chapel.		
1515			Possibly sang for funeral of Louis XII
1518			Died.

Appendix 5. Locations of singers before 1500.

	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500s
Compère	**Cambrai.** Early 1470s **Milan.** July 1474-Feb 1477	***Unknown.*** *1477-1486* **France.** 1486-1498, singer, *chapelle du roi*	**France.** 1486-1498 **Cambrai.** April 1498-April 1500, dean of St.-Géry	
Prioris			**France.** From 1491, chapelmaster in Blois for duke of Orléans; continued in service of French king	**France.**
Agricola	**Cambrai.** 1475-76	***Unknown.*** *1476-1491* **Hungary**, 1486. **France.** Before October 1491, singer for Charles VIII	**Florence**. October 1491; 1493 **Naples.** Visits May-June 1491; Feb-March 1494 **France.** Before October 1491; 1493; *(after 1494?)* ***Unknown.*** *1494-1500*	**Burgundy.**
Verbonnet			**Ferrara.** 1490-1492 **Florence.** 1493 **Naples.** 1494 ***Unknown.*** *1494-1501; (in Florence with Agricola)* **France.** Before 1501, royal singer	**France.** 1501 **Ferrara.** 1503
Josquin	**Provence**. 1475-1480	***France.*** 1480-1483 **Milan & Rome.** 1484-1489 **Rome.** 1489-1494, papal chapel choir	***Unknown/France/Cambrai.*** *1494-1503*. Intermittent connections with French royal court	**France.** 1501 **Ferrara.** 1503
Brumel		**Geneva.** 1486-1492 *magister puerorum*	***Unknown/France(?).*** *1492-1501* **Paris.** 1498-1500, Notre-Dame, *magister puerorum*	**Savoy.** 1501 'formerly a royal singer'
Gaspar	**Milan & Rome.** 1472-1495	**Milan & Rome.** 1472-1495	**Milan & Rome.** 1472-1495 **Burgundy.** 1495-1498 **France.** *1498-99* **Milan.** 1499	**Rome.** 1500

Appendix 6. Location of the French

king[1]

King	Year	Month	Location
Louis XI	1476	Jan-Feb	Loire Valley (Plessis)
Louis XI	1476	Mar to Jun	Lyon
Louis XI	1476	July	Roanne, Orleans
Louis XI	1476	Aug-Dec	Loire Valley (Plessis)
Louis XI	1477	Jan	Loire Valley
Louis XI	1477	Feb-Oct	Somme/Picardy region
Louis XI	1477	Nov-Dec	Loire Valley (Plessis-du-Parc)
Louis XI	1478	Jan	Loire Valley (mostly Plessis)
Louis XI	1479	May 21	Loire Valley
Louis XI	1479	June 2-3	Seine Valley - Chateau Landon
Louis XI	1479	June 6-11	Seine Valley - Puiseaux
Louis XI	1479	June 12	Seine Valley - St Cyr near Troyes
Louis XI	1479	June 14	Seine Valley - Milly
Louis XI	1479	June 16	Seine Valley - St Denis
Louis XI	1479	June 17	Seine Valley - Vincennes
Louis XI	1479	June 19-26	Seine Valley - Coulommier, Méry-sur-Seine
Louis XI	1479	Aug - Dec	Loire Valley

[1] Based on Vaesen and Charavay, eds, *Lettres de Louis XI* and Pélicier, ed., *Lettres de Charles VIII*.

King	Year	Month	Location
Louis XI	1480	Jun - April	Loire Valley (mostly Plessis)
Louis XI	1480	May - Aug	"Seine Valley" (S/SE/E of Paris)
Louis XI	1480	June 7	Vincennes
Louis XI	1480	Sept - Dec	Loire Valley (Plessis)
Louis XI	1481	Jan	Poitiers
Louis XI	1481	Feb-Sept	Loire Valley & Environs
Louis XI	1481	Oct-Dec	Anjou/Poitier regions
Louis XI	1482	Jan-Feb	Thouars
Louis XI	1482	Mar	Loire region
Louis XI	1482	May 9-12	Lyon
Louis XI	1482	May16-earlyJuly	Up through Allier
Louis XI	1482	mid July-Sept	Loire Valley/N Allier area, Clery
Louis XI	1482	Sept-autumn	Loire (Ambroise/Plessis)
Louis XI	1482	Nov-Dec	Plessis
Louis XI	1483	Jan-Aug	Plessis/Montilz
Louis XI	1483	June 29	Clery
Charles VIII	1483	Sep -Dec	Loire (mostly Amboise)
Charles VIII	1484	Jan-April	Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1484	May 19	Meaux
Charles VIII	1484	May 30	Reims
Charles VIII	1484	July 29	Vincennes

King	Year	Month	Location
Charles VIII	1484	Aug 2	Paris
Charles VIII	1484	Nov, Dec	Gien
Charles VIII	1484	Dec	Montargis
Charles VIII	1485	Jan	Montargis
Charles VIII	1485	Feb	Paris
Charles VIII	1485	Mar	Pontoise, Evreux
Charles VIII	1485	April - May	Rouen
Charles VIII	1485	June	Poissy
Charles VIII	1485	July	Vincennes
Charles VIII	1485	Aug	Mercoussis, Malesherbes, Milly, Orleans
Charles VIII	1485	Sept	Orleans, Beaugency, Blois
Charles VIII	1485	Nov	Courtempierre, Puisseaux, Melun
Charles VIII	1486	Feb	Vincennes
Charles VIII	1486	Mar	Paris
Charles VIII	1486	Apr	Vincennes
Charles VIII	1486	May	Troyes
Charles VIII	1486	June	Troyes, Melun, Vincennes
Charles VIII	1486	July	Vincennes, Creil
Charles VIII	1486	Aug	Senlis, Beauvais
Charles VIII	1486	Sep - Oct	Compiegne
Charles VIII	1486	Dec	Montils-les Tours
Charles VIII	1487	Jan	Amboise
Charles VIII	1487	Feb	Poitiers

King	Year	Month	Location
Charles VIII	1487	March	Bourg, Bordeaux, Parthenay
Charles VIII	1487	Apr	Thouars
Charles VIII	1487	May-June	Laval
Charles VIII	1487	June-Aug	Ancenis
Charles VIII	1487	Aug	Chateaubriant
Charles VIII	1487	Sept-Oct	Laval
Charles VIII	1487	Nov	Caen, Pont-Audmer, Rouen
Charles VIII	1487	Dec	Poissy, Paris
Charles VIII	1488	Jan	Vincennes, Paris
Charles VIII	1488	Feb	Poissy, Paris
Charles VIII	1488	March-May	Charenton, Marcoussis
Charles VIII	1488	May-July	Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1488	Sept	Angers & environs
Charles VIII	1488	Oct	La Rouche-Talbot, Le Mans, La Flzche
Charles VIII	1488	Nov	Etampes, Malesherbes, Milly-en-Gâtinois
Charles VIII	1488	Dec	Villepreux, Poissy
Charles VIII	1489	Jan	Villepreux, Melun, Paris
Charles VIII	1489	Feb	Chartres, Vendome, Chinon
Charles VIII	1489	Mar-Dec	Loire Valley residences
Charles VIII	1490	Jan	Orleans
Charles VIII	1490	Jan-Feb	Moulins, St. Pourcain, Aiguperse
Charles VIII	1490	Mar	Lyons, Tarase, Bieu-sur-Loire Oreary
Charles VIII	1490	Apr-Aug	Loire Valley residences

King	Year	Month	Location
Charles VIII	1490	Sept-Oct	Anger, Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1490	Oct-Dec	Lyon
Charles VIII	1490	Dec 23	Moulins
Charles VIII	1491	Jan	Moulins
Charles VIII	1491	Feb-March	Loire
Charles VIII	1491	Feb-March	Mantes
Charles VIII	1491	March-April	Loire
Charles VIII	1491	May-Sept	Loire
Charles VIII	1491	Oct-Nov	Laval
Charles VIII	1491	Nov-Dec	Loire
Charles VIII	1492	Jan	Loire Valley, Vincennes
Charles VIII	1492	Feb-March	Paris and environs
Charles VIII	1492	May	St Germain-en-Laye
Charles VIII	1492	July	Paris, Savigny, Marcoussis, Etampes
Charles VIII	1492	Aug	Paris, Melun
Charles VIII	1492	Sept-Dec	Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1493	Jan	Melun, Paris, St. Germain-en-Laye, Poissy, Paris
Charles VIII	1493	Feb-March	Paris
Charles VIII	1493	Apr-June	Senlis, Compiegne
Charles VIII	1493	June-July	Paris, Melun
Charles VIII	1493	Aug	Puisieux, Orleans, Courelles, Orleans
Charles VIII	1493	Sept-Dec	Loire Valley residences

King	Year	Month	Location
Charles VIII	1494	Jan-Feb	Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1494	Feb	Moulins
Charles VIII	1494	March-July	Lyon and environs
Charles VIII	1494	Aug	Vienne, Grenoble
Charles VIII	1494	Sept	Asti
Charles VIII	1494	Oct	Pavia
Charles VIII	1494	Nov	Pisa. Florence
Charles VIII	1494	Dec	Viterbo, etc
Charles VIII	1495	Jan	Rome
Charles VIII	1495	Feb-May	Naples
Charles VIII	1495	June-July	en route
Charles VIII	1495	July	Asti, N. Italy
Charles VIII	1495	Aug-Oct	Turin, N. Italy
Charles VIII	1495	Nov	Grenoble-Lyon
Charles VIII	1495	Dec	Lyon
Charles VIII	1496	Jan-Feb	Lyon
Charles VIII	1496	Mar	Amboise, Sens
Charles VIII	1496	Apr	Lyon
Charles VIII	1496	May	Roanne, Lyon
Charles VIII	1496	May-June	Lyon
Charles VIII	1496	July-Oct	Loire Valley
Charles VIII	1496	Nov-Dec	Lyon

King	Year	Month	Location
Charles VIII	1497	Jan-May	Lyon
Charles VIII	1497	Jun-Nov	Moulins
Charles VIII	1497	Dec	Amboise
Charles VIII	1498	Jan - early Feb	Amboise
Charles VIII	1498	Feb 28	Moulins
Charles VIII	1498	Mar-April	Amboise

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