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The Chansons of Mathieu Lasson: Music at the Courts of Lorraine and France, ca. 1530

RICHARD FREEDMAN

Introduction

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The connections between musical style and social circumstance are paradoxically both obvious and elusive. The sponsorship of musicians, for instance, seems to have been a necessary obligation of Renaissance princes. The appointments, privileges, and international opportunities such benefactors afforded their musical dependents, therefore, stemmed directly from the organization and aims of the social fabric in which they all found themselves entwined. But the pressures exerted upon these musicians can hardly have determined the character of their creative efforts with quite the same success that it shaped their material and administrative surroundings.

Poetic and musical choices, the raw materials from which we infer patterns of taste, influence, and innovation, result from a complex combination of artistic freedom and social contract. The focus of this study is one such amalgamation, the musical output of Mathieu Lasson, a composer and singer of the early sixteenth century. Lasson, we shall discover, spent by far the bulk of his career at the ducal court of Lorraine in the provincial town of Nancy, seemingly far from any of the major centers of music making and distribution of the Northern Renaissance. Yet as leader of a select choir of musicians in the employ of Duke Antoine of Lorraine, Lasson's musical horizons stretched far beyond the apparent provincial confinement of his surroundings to Paris and the royal court of France.

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Music at Court

The needs of Renaissance government served well to bind in a single regime the common interests of a central dynasty and an elite selection of its subjects. The court of Lorraine at Nancy was just such an alliance: it centered on the reigning duke and his immediate family, but it also embraced the many nobles, clerics, advisors, and servants who were at once the means and the meaning of central authority. "In an age of personal monarchy," writes Keith Thomas, "the court was both the royal household and the center of government. It was at court that decisions were taken, careers advanced, and patronage distributed."¹

A singer or player employed by the dukes of Lorraine served at the pleasure of his patrons, yet the caprice of princely taste was only one of several forces confronting musicians at court. At Nancy, like the court of France, each man found himself subject to the duties and privileges defined by the hierarchical organization of the ducal household. In the *écurie*, or ducal stable, a band of trumpeters or shawmists performed at outdoor processions or other large gatherings of the assembled court. The *chambre*, in contrast, was that division of the household dedicated to the personal needs of the duke himself. Here a lutenist, an organist, and others whose duties centered on private entertainment were known as *valets de chambre*, an honorific title also bestowed upon a small circle of advisors—nobles, physicians, and official chroniclers. By far the most lucrative privileges and regular musical duties of those associated with the court of Lorraine, however, were those that fell to the singers of the ducal *chapelle*, an administrative body charged with the daily celebration of divine wor-

¹ Keith Thomas, review of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400–1800* (London, 1977), *The New York Review of Books* XXIV/21–22 (January 26, 1978), 18.

The best study of the overall structure and history of the court of Lorraine is Henri Lepage and Alexandre de Bonneval, "Les Offices des duchés de Lorraine et de Bar et la maison des ducs de Lorraine," *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* XIX (1869), 17–440. See also the scholarly debate that followed certain of the points raised in this study: Henri Lepage, "Note à-propos des offices des duchés de Lorraine et de Bar," *Journal de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* XIX (1870), 91–94; and M. du Hautoy, "Notes additionnelles au travail de M. Henri Lepage intitulé 'Les Offices des duchés de Lorraine et de Bar,'" *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* XXI (1871), 49–64. Concerning courtly society in early sixteenth-century France, see Pierre Louis Roederer, *Conséquences du système de cour établi sous François I^{er}* (Paris, 1833).

The financial administration of the ducal coffers is documented in Comte Antoine de Mahuet, *Biographie de la chambre de comptes de Lorraine* (Nancy, 1914). The annual account books of the ducal household are now part of Series B of the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle at Nancy. Further on these records, see the heading *Documents* at the conclusion of this essay.

ship in the ducal palace and its adjacent parish church, St.-Georges.²

The development of music and of musical patronage at Nancy, in short, was tied both to the political needs of Renaissance statecraft and the ceremonial requirements of the Catholic liturgy. And perhaps not surprisingly, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, ducal singers had allegiances to both church and court. But by the second quarter of the sixteenth century, modest musical resources were stretched so thin and administrative authority was so hazy that secular and ecclesiastical officers at Nancy arranged a new division of labor there. The church of St.-Georges would continue to maintain a choir of skilled singers, including choirboys and an organist, in order to fulfill the many liturgical obligations there, from the daily celebration of Mass to the observance of special private endowments and devotions. According to long-standing tradition, the duke of Lorraine retained the prerogative of nominating those who would receive the various monetary and honorific awards administered by the collegiate church. But in order that the ceremonial needs of the court itself would no longer interfere with those of St.-Georges, the ducal household now maintained a select group of singers—*La Chapelle du duc*—expressly for musical performances at court.

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The hierarchy and organization of the ducal chapel of St.-Georges had been drawn largely along ecclesiastical lines. Here in the private household, by contrast, it was set out according to the musical specialties of its members. The singers were identified not according to the priestly orders or other distinctions they held, but simply by voice part. Thus the now familiar designations of *tenoriste* and *chantré* are joined by *haulcontre* and *bassecontre*. Naturally this suggests not merely that the private choir was capable of performing polyphonic compositions, but that they did so as a matter of routine. And of all the singers employed in Duke Antoine's private choir, one man seems to have held special sway at court. Mathieu Lasson first arrived at Nancy in 1527 and by 1530 had achieved the distinction of *maître des enfants* of the private chapel, a post he held exclusively until his death

² A general chronicle of musicians and musical establishments at Nancy appears in Albert Jacquot, *La Musique en Lorraine*, 3rd edn. (Paris, 1886). For a detailed study of these institutions during the early sixteenth century, see Richard Freedman, "Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine During the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987).

The threefold division of musicians according to the plan of chapel, chamber, and stable is one familiar to students of Renaissance musical patronage. Concerning this arrangement as it existed at the court of France, for instance, see Stephen Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study," (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1975); Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris, 1910); and Henry Prunières, "La Musique de la chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François I^{er}, 1516–1547," *L'Année musicale* I (1911), 215–51.

some twenty-five years later (see Table 1 for a summary of references to Lasson). In his day, Lasson was surely the single most important musician at Nancy: choirmaster, educator, and a composer of chansons and motets.

Our current biographical picture of Mathieu Lasson rests largely on the work of three modern scholars. Relying upon documents found at Nancy, François Lesure has shown that Lasson was at the court of Lorraine starting in 1528 and that he also served the parish church of St.-Georges in a number of capacities: *maître des enfants*, canon, and *trésorier*. Lesure also discovered, through an index of *Lettres-patentes* granted by Antoine de Lorraine, that Lasson was nominated to receive benefices and other appointments at religious institutions throughout the duchy of Lorraine. However, none of these seems actually to have required that the singer abandon his posts at Nancy.³

Thanks to research published in separate studies by Bonnie Blackburn and Craig Wright, it is also known that Lasson received his early training and first ecclesiastical appointment at the Cathedral of Cambrai. In 1517 the young singer was sent by the chapter to attend the University of Louvain, where he remained for at least the next year. And by 1523 Lasson was again retained by the cathedral, this time as a *petit vicaire*. According to Wright, Lasson is last mentioned in the chapter records in 1524.⁴

My own research in the archives of the ducal court of Lorraine has yielded a good deal of additional information about Lasson's tenure at Nancy (see Table 1). It is now clear, for instance, that he joined the ducal chapel in 1527, not 1528. As Lesure suggested, he soon

³ François Lesure, "Some Minor French Composers of the Sixteenth Century," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York, 1966; repr. edn., New York, 1978), p. 542; and Lesure, "Mathieu Lasson," *Encyclopédie de la musique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1961), III, p. 35. According to several ducal proclamations now preserved at Nancy our singer was named to posts at Pont-à-Mousson, Vaudemont, and Bouçonville in 1543, 1549, and 1553, respectively. See Étienne Delcambre, *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Meurthe-et-Moselle. Série B—Lettres-patentes des ducs de Lorraine et de Barrois*, 5 vols. (Nancy, 1949–51), II, pp. 74–75; and III, p. 50. These appointments are listed in Table 1.

⁴ Lasson's association with Cambrai is documented in Craig Wright, "Musiciens à la cathédrale de Cambrai," *Revue de musicologie* LXII (1976), 217, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, "The Lupus Problem," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970), p. 71. According to Blackburn, it was customary for choirboys from the cathedral to pursue their studies at Louvain. But if the young singer was sent there to school, as the chapter records suggest, he was nevertheless not included among those who matriculated, at least according to A[rnold Hubert] Schillings, ed., *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1903–63), III [1485–1527].

TABLE 1
Mathieu Lasson at Nancy^a

<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1527	B. 1038, 63 ^r	In chapel list
1529	B. 1040, 64 ^v	In chapel list
I-30-1530	B. 1041, 76 ^v	<i>Maître en chappelle</i>
VI-4-1530	B. 18, 121 ^v	Prebend and canonicat at St.-Georges
VI-27-1530	B. 1041, 87 ^r	
VIII-28-1530	B. 1041, 120 ^r	Paid for funeral expenses of Charlot
XII-27-1530	B. 1041, 95 ^v	Journey to France with Duke Antoine
1530	B. 1041, 68 ^v	<i>Maître des enfants</i>
VII-12-1531	B. 1046, 77 ^r	<i>Maître des enfants</i>
IX-1531	G. 592, 7 ^v /8 ^r	Paid at St.-Georges
1531?	G. 592, 8 ^v	<i>Maître de la chappelle</i>
1531	B. 1046, 65 ^r	In chapel list (3/4 year only—remainder <i>en France</i>)
II-1532	G. 592, 9 ^r	Among <i>chantres</i>
320 IX-10-1532	B. 1049, 84 ^r	<i>Maître des enfants</i>
1532	B. 1049, 62 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
VII-5-1535	B. 1056, 94 ^v	Purchases a house
1535	B. 1056, 63 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
IX-1-1536	B. 1057, 150 ^r	Purchases viols
1536	B. 1057, 65 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
IV-3-1537?	G. 626, 113 ^v	
VI-1537	G. 592, 33 ^v	At St.-Georges
1538	B. 1060, 65 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
1539	B. 1062, 37 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
V-10-1540	B. 1063, 123 ^v	<i>Maître de la chappelle</i> , for <i>enfants</i> on trip to France
1540	B. 1063, 35 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
1540?	B. 1063, 178 ^v	Paid for clothing of <i>enfants</i> and of viol players
1541	B. 1068, 41 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
I-22-1543	B. 1072, 135 ^r	Paid for purchase of clothing for <i>enfants</i>
X-22-1543	B. 1072, 86 ^r	Among traveling group for journey to Valenciennes
XII-14-1543	B. 22, 197 ^v	Appointed <i>curé</i> of <i>hôpital</i> of Notre Dame de Pont-à-Mousson
1543	B. 1072, 35 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
III-4-1544	3E. 2545	Receives gift from Jehan Cardinal <i>dit</i> <i>Romain</i>

TABLE 1 (*continued*)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Summary</i>
V-12-1544	B. 1075, 18 ^v	Purchases a horse
1544	B. 1073, 48 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
1545	B. 1077, 29 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
III-2-1546	B. 1078, 163 ^r	Paid for purchase of clothing for <i>enfants</i>
1546	G. 628	M.L. on endorsement page
1546	B. 1078, 46 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
1547	B. 1082, 43 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
1547?	B. 1082, 141 ^r	Paid for purchase of clothing for <i>enfants</i>
1548	B. 1084, 43 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
VIII-30-1549	B. 23, 340 ^r	Receives prebend at St.-Jean-Baptiste de Vaudémont
1549	B. 1086, 56 ^r	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
VI-2-1550	B. 26, 66 ^r	Founds Mass at priory of Dieu-s'en-Souviennne in Bar
1551	B. 1092, 66 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
IV-23-1552	B. 1092, 142 ^r	With four <i>enfants</i>
VI-18-1552	3E. 2547, 23 ^r -4 ^r	Among canons of St.-Georges making petition to civil authority
VI-30-1552	B. 1092, 142 ^r	With four <i>enfants</i>
VII-29-1552	G. 629	M. Lasson on endorsement page
1552	B. 7251, 5 ^r	<i>Chantre</i> , listed in census of Nancy
1552	B. 1092, 66 ^v	In chapel list as <i>maître des enfants</i>
II-13-1553	3E. 2547, 104 ^r -05 ^r	Rents in chapter of St.-Pierre at Bouçonville
III-29-1553	3E. 2547, 108 ^r	Receives vineyard income
V-1553	G. 630	House the object of some reconstruction
VI-3-1553	G. 592, 33 ^r	Acquires the house of another member of St.-Georges
XII-30-1553	G. 592, 34 ^r	House let to another following his death
I-10-1554	3E. 2548, 69 ^r -70 ^v	Execution of testament
VIII-6-1554	G. 592, 35 ^r	<i>Obit</i>
1596	G. 643	<i>Obit</i>

^aAll documents cited in this table may be found at the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle at Nancy. Further on the contents of this repository, see under "Documents" at the conclusion of this study.

became a canon and the esteemed *trésorier* of the collegiate church of St. Georges. But it was not at the parish chapel that Lasson was master of the choirboys. By 1530 that post was held by Loys de Paris, while Lasson was *maître des enfants* of Antoine's private chapel. Indeed a civic census of 1552 clearly distinguished between *Lasson chantre de Saint Georges* and an unnamed *maître des enffans de choeur*. Both singers lived on the rue de la Bourdiere across from St.-Georges, but they were clearly not the same man.⁵

Lasson's esteemed position at court was unrivaled during his time at Nancy. As leader and *maître des enfants* of the private ducal chapel he taught and housed the choirboys, acquired instruments for use at court, headed the musical corps of singers and shawmists who typically accompanied their patron on trips abroad, and even made funeral arrangements for singers who died while in ducal service. Just when and where Lasson himself died has been something of an open question. François Lesure noticed that an *obit* in his memory was recorded at St.-Georges in 1595, but presuming that he was in his teens when sent to university, he must surely have died long before that date. In fact the *obit* was observed as early as the sixth of August 1554, suggesting that Lasson died about a year before. Although the exact date of Lasson's death has yet to come to light, it is certain that he died sometime in 1553: he was alive at least until the third of June, and was dead by the thirtieth of December, when his house was rented by another member of the chapter of St.-Georges.⁶

The matter of Lasson's house seems to have been a subject of some debate in the months following his death. On the tenth of January 1554, a *notaire* who served the ducal palace, Jean Rouyer, recorded a dispute that surrounded the execution of Lasson's testament. An argument arose as to whether the house and its contents belonged to the chapter of St.-Georges or to Lasson's heir, a man named Jehan Tirelot. The legal details of the contested estate need not concern us here. What does matter is that Tirelot, called Lasson's cousin in the notarial act, was a resident of the diocese of Cambrai.

⁵ The census, compiled for the year ending December 31, 1552, by a certain R. Girard, survives as B. 7251 of the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle at Nancy. The references in question appear on fols. 5^r and 5^v, respectively, along with the names of other singers and priests who lived on the same street, now known as the Grand Rue, that also passes in front of the ducal palace and the former site of St.-Georges. Further on the census, see Henri Lepage, "Rôle des habitants de Nancy 1551-1552," *Journal de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* II (1853), 139, 172, and 196. Concerning streets and street names, see Charles Courbé, *Les Rues de Nancy du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*, 3 vols. (Nancy, 1885).

⁶ The document in question, Nancy G. 592, fol. 35^r, is transcribed in Freedman, pp. 513-14. The other documents cited appear on fols. 33^r and 34^r of the same register from St.-Georges.

From this, as well as from the facts of Lasson's early training, we may venture to guess that he was a native of the same region.⁷

Mathieu Lasson, in summary, was by far the most important musician of his day at Nancy. He was a teacher, choir director, and composer to the ducal court. But Lasson's career was not bound exclusively to either the ducal chapel of St.-Georges or even to Nancy. The ducal composer, for instance, is known to have accompanied his patron on a number of official missions to neighboring European courts. These visits may well have helped either to promote Lasson's music among the musical circles of those courts, or even to influence his compositional style according to foreign taste. Indeed, one such visit, undertaken in honor of the coronation of Eleanor of Austria as queen of France in 1531, seems to have performed both of these functions. Members of the House of Lorraine figured prominently in the coronation ceremony, which took place on March 5, 1531, at the abbey of St.-Denis outside Paris.⁸ Claude de Guise, the king's trusted lieutenant and governor of the province of Champagne, had served as the bride's escort in France since the wedding itself in July of 1530. His brother, the duke of Lorraine, can be placed in the area well in advance of the coronation and official entry into Paris. A dispatch written by a diplomat in the service of Henry VIII of England, Sir Francis Brian, reveals that Duke Antoine and a large entourage had arrived in Paris by January 20, 1531—some six weeks before the planned event.⁹

Financial documents from Antoine's household for the first quarter of 1531 provide additional clues as to the length and itinerary of the voyage. Totals of fixed monthly expenditure—the *despences*

⁷ The singer's former colleagues eventually received his dwelling, while Tirelot settled for Lasson's personal effects—see Freedman, p. 514–16.

⁸ The coronation of Queen Eleanor is recorded in Theodore Godefroy, *Le Cérémonial françois*, 2d edn., 2 vols., ed. D. Godefroy (Paris, 1649), I, pp. 487–509; 789–803. The official entry of the new queen into Paris was delayed by foul weather until the 16th of the month. See Alexandre Tuetey *et al.*, eds., *Registre des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, 16 vols., *Histoire générale de Paris* (Paris, 1883–1948), II, pp. 111ff. Information about the events leading up to the marriage can be found in a commentary to a modern edition of Jean Serre's "Epistre de la venue de la Roynne Allénor au royaume de France et du recouvrement de messieurs les daulphin et Duc d'Orleans." See Anatole de Montaiglon and James de Rothschild, eds., *Recueil de poésie française des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1855–78), XI, pp. 227–52.

⁹ The original document, British Record Office, State Paper VII, 274, has been summarized in James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 22 vols. (London, 1880), V, pp. 25–26. Brian's communication, signed at Paris on January 20, ends with a remark that "the duke of Lorraine is here with a great train." Payments and endowments made by François about the time of the coronation confirm that Antoine and his brothers were with the royal court in the first months of 1531. See *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, II, pp. 7–20 (Entries No. 3867, 3920, 3928, 3930, and 3939).

ordinaires—are missing from the annual account of 1531 for the months of January, February, and March. A corresponding gap in the section of the account book devoted to special individual payments confirms the duration of Antoine's trip: there are no payments to be found for any date between January 3 and April 11, 1531. The fact that each of the latter two payments were made at Bar-le-duc, Antoine's retreat just inside the French border, suggests that the duke and his household used that town as a stepping stone for the voyage between Nancy and Paris.¹⁰

Each member of the ducal household who figured in the trip was paid by accountants at Nancy for nine months only—the first quarter of the year designated as having been paid “in the account for the journey in France,” or simply “in France.” From payments so worded we may attempt to reconstruct Antoine's itinerant court. As Sir Francis Brian reported, it was very large. What is more, members of three administrative groups of musicians at the ducal court were represented in Paris: singers and choirboys from Antoine's private chapel (including their leader, Lasson), a lutenist and an organist from his chamber group, and four shawmists of his *écurie* (see Document 1; a transcription of this record appears at the conclusion of this study).

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DOCUMENT 1

B. 1046, fols. 65^r-66^r

Nancy, 1531

To Bertrand Mittat, organist of my lord the duke, the sum of thirty-seven *francs six gros*, currency of Lorraine, as wages for three quarters of the present year. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 37 *francs 6 gros*. First quarter paid during the trip in France.

To Mathieu Lasson, the sum of one-hundred and twelve *francs six gros* as wages for the said three quarters by *quittance*. For this: 112 *francs* To him for the care of the *enfants* for the said three quarters: 75 *francs*. And for the first quarter paid in France.

To Maistre Pierre, *tenoriste* in the said chapel, the sum of 112 *francs six gros* currency of Lorraine as wages for three quarters of the said year. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 112 *francs, 6 gros*. And for the first quarter paid in France.

¹⁰ B. 1046. The two framing payments (January 3 and April 11) may be found on the recto and verso of fol. 73 respectively. The entourage seems to have returned to Nancy by early May. Fol. 13^r, at the very start of the payments for the year, makes explicit the reason for the gap: in the margin of the overall total for January, one finds the following inscription: “*Monseigneur le duc et son train ne este en Lorraine que deux jours et demy et le demorant est coucher du veayge de France.*” Between the January and April payments, moreover, another rubric confirms that a separate account was made for the trip “*Item est fiat despence de moys de fevrier et mars en compte du veayge de France.*” This book, however, does not survive.

To Pierre Le Conte, *haulbois*, the sum of ninety *francs* currency of Lorraine as wages for the said three quarters. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 90 francs. And for the first quarter paid in France.

To Jacques de Sanct Lane, also *haulbois*, a similar sum of ninety *francs* of the said currency as three quarters of his wages. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 90 francs. And for the first quarter paid in France.

To Loys du Bois the sum of 90 *francs*, currency of Lorraine, as wages for the said three quarters. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 90 francs. And for the first quarter paid in France.

To Pierre Ripniere, called Moruyn, the same sum of 90 *francs* of the said currency as his wages for three quarters. Here rendered by *quittance*: 90 francs. And for the first quarter paid in France.

Marginated: Lacking the *quittance* of sixty *francs* because of Pierre Ripniere's death before the end of this account. Ninety *francs* normally counted by the present treasurer. Other funds recorded in account for the journey in France [see transcription for canceled items in this note].

To Robert de Berry also ninety *francs* for the said three quarters of his wages. Here rendered by *quittance*. For this: 90 francs. And for the first quarter paid in France.

The journey to Paris probably provided Lasson and his colleagues from Nancy with new audiences for their music. Indeed, it hardly seems coincidental that by far the majority of Lasson's extant compositions—six out of a total of nine works—are preserved in but a few of the offerings of Pierre Attaignant, concentrated in four of the anthologies brought out by the official French music printer during 1534 and 1535 (see Table 2).

Three of Lasson's sacred compositions, for instance, appear in a series of motet volumes begun in 1534.¹¹ And these works embrace a wide range of musical procedures and textural types. His *Virtute magna* joins a flowing polyphonic fabric of arching melodic lines with the formal symmetry of the responsorial prayer it sets.¹² *In manibus tuis*, in

¹¹ This motet series has been issued in modern transcription under the editorial supervision of Albert Smijers and A. Tillman Merritt as *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, 14 vols. (Monaco, 1934–64). For the contents of the collections, see Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 255–81.

¹² For a modern edition of this work, see Smijers and Merritt, XIII, pp. 36–43. On the mistaken ascription of the motet to de Silva, see Winfried Kirsch, *Die Motetten des Andreas de Silva. Studien zur Geschichte der Motette im 16. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Tutzing, 1977), p. 90. The attribution to Philippe Verdelot first appeared in Rhau 1538⁸, a publication that took *Virtute magna* and three other motets from Moderne 1532¹⁰, including one by Verdelot. Rhau's typesetter may

contrast, relies on a centonate text drawn from the Psalms, among other sources, phrases joined to an overwhelming variety of musical figures: declamatory homorhythm, flowing counterpoint, and stark sonorities.¹³ But of all Lasson's motets preserved in Attaignant's anthologies, *Anthoni, pater inclyte* stands out as a work of special character and significance. Each of the two *partes* opens homorhythmically, fitting musical complements to the apostrophic verbal gestures with which the anonymous author invoked a beneficent *pater*.¹⁴

TABLE 2

Mathieu Lasson's Works and Their Sources^a

Motets

1. Anthoni, pater inclyte (a 4)

Attaignant 1534¹⁰, No. 20, M. Lasson

Modern Edition: Albert Smijers and A. Tillman Merritt, eds., *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, 14 vols. (Monaco, 1934-64), VIII, pp. 185-91.

2. Congratulamini mihi omnes (a 4)

Regensburg 852, No. 9, Lasson.

Treviso 7, fols. 10^v-12^r, Lasson.

Wrocław 5, No. 77, Lasson.

Gardane 1539¹³, No. 10, Lasson.

Gardane 1549¹⁰, No. 10, Lasson.

Scotto 1549^{10a}, No. 10, Lasson.

Berg 1554¹⁰, No. 38, Lasson.

Scotto 1562², No. 10, Lasson.

Modern Edition: Richard Freedman, "Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine During the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987), pp. 415-24.

3. In manibus tuis (a 4)

Attaignant 1535³, No. 25, M. Lasson.

Modern Edition: Smijers and Merritt, XI, pp. 176-83.

4. Quem dies vidi (a 2)

Berg 1549¹⁶, No. 22, M. Lasson [a two-voice arrangement of Lasson's *La grant douceur*].

have inadvertently credited *Virtute magna* to the same composer. The exclusively German transmission of the Verdelot ascription casts doubt on the authenticity of Rhau's claim, especially when weighed against Attaignant's obvious familiarity with other works by Lasson.

¹³ A modern edition of this composition appears in Smijers and Merritt, XI, pp. 176-83.

¹⁴ For a complete modern edition of this motet, see Smijers and Merritt, VIII, pp. 185-91. I am grateful to Professor Joseph Russo of Haverford College for generously providing me with an elegant translation of the Latin text of *Anthoni, pater inclyte*.

TABLE 2 (*continued*)

Modern Edition: Dietz Degen, ed. *Schöne und liebliche Zweigesänge*, Hortus Musicus 74 (Kassel, 1951).

5. Virtute magna (a 4)

Berlin 321, No. 24, de Silva.
 Leipzig 51, No. 68, anonymous.
 Louvain 163, vol. 57^v, M. baston [i.e., M. Lasson?].
 Padua D 27, fols. 16^v–18^v, M. Lasson.
 Regensburg 875–877, No. 7, Lasson.
 Regensburg 940–941, No. 288, Phil. Verdeloth.
 Treviso 7, fols. 14^v–16^v, anonymous.
 Ulm 237, fols. 49^v–50^v (superius), anonymous.
 Wrocław 3, No. 37, Lasson.
 Wrocław 5, No. 150, Lasson.
 Wrocław 12, No. 10, Verdelot.

Moderne 1532¹⁰, No. 12, anonymous.
 Attaignant 1535⁵, No. 5, M. Lasson.
 Rhau 1538⁸, No. 37, Philippus Verdelot.
 Gardane 1539¹², No. 9, Lasson.
 Gardane 1545⁴, No. 9, Lasson.
 Berg 1555¹⁰, No. 36, Lasson.
 Rampazetto 1564⁶, No. 9, Lasson.

Modern Edition: Smijers and Merritt, XIII, pp. 36–43

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*Chansons***6. En l'ombre d'ung buyssonnet (a 4)**

Attaignant ca. 1528⁹, No. 15, M. Lasson.
 Scotto 1535⁸, No. 13, Ioan. L'hirtier.

Modern Edition: Albert Seay, ed., *Thirty Chansons for Three and Four Voices from Attaignant's Collections*, Collegium musicum 2 (New Haven, 1960), pp. 46–51.

7. La grant douceur (a 4)

Attaignant 1535¹⁴, No. 5, M. Lasson.
 Modern Edition: See below, Example 1.

8. L'oeil a plaisir (a 4)

Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 6, M. Lasson.
 Modern Edition: See below, Example 3.

9. Pour satisfaire (a 4)

Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 20, M. Lasson.
 Modern Edition: See below, Example 4.

^aAn explication of the sigla used in this table appears at the conclusion of this study.

Prima Pars

Anthoni, pater inclyte
 Qui Paduanus diceris,
 Gloria caeli pradite,
 Nobis succurre miseris.

Secunda Pars

O Anthoni pater,
 Veni clara proles Hispaniae,
 Splendida lux Italiae,
 Serva ducem Anthonium
 Conjugem cum prosapia,
 Ac nobilis consilium
 Cum subdita plebe pia.

Translation

Anthony, renowned father,
 Who is called Paduan,
 Furnished with the glory of heaven,
 Help us wretched ones.

O Anthony father,
 Come brilliant offspring of Spain,
 Splendid light of Italy,
 Protect duke Anthony,
 The husband with the family
 And the advice of a noble one
 With the pious subdued populace.

The similar treatment of the two exhortations (in addition to their common texture, they both end with a pause on D) is also echoed in the imitative passages that follow: each describes the geographical heritage of the man just mentioned, and each ends with a firm cadence on G (see mm. 6 and 54, and mm. 21 and 66, respectively). The syntactic pairing of invocation and description is therefore reflected in the structural coordination of homorhythm, active counterpoint, and closure. Nor did Lasson neglect the local details of his text in favor of broad rhetorical statements. Word painting at *caeli* (mm. 21ff.) and *lux* (m. 64), as well as the imperative, declamatory setting of *veni* (mm. 54ff.), indirectly enhance the vivid emblems of this offering.

Anthoni, pater inclyte appears at the conclusion of the eighth book from Pierre Attaignant's 1534 series of motets, a volume of about twenty works, most of them intended to commemorate various Marian feasts, along with a few for the feasts of the Epiphany, the Apostles, and the Holy Trinity. Lasson's contribution to the volume, in contrast, was rubricated *De Sancto Anthonio* by Attaignant's typeset-

ter, evidently meaning the St. Anthony of Padua identified in the first couplet of the text. Yet the motet cannot simply be dismissed as a somewhat anomalous addition to the otherwise relatively homogeneous liturgical function of the texts set in the other motets of the collection. Indeed, the *secunda pars* of this motet is not a liturgical prayer at all, but a secular Latin rhyme in praise of *ducem Anthonium*, Duke Antoine de Lorraine, Lasson's principal patron.¹⁵

Antoine may well have held his beatified namesake in special regard. A miniature depicting the saint—and accompanying an oration and gradual for another St. Anthony that begins *Anthoni, pater inclyte*—appears in a beautifully illuminated book of hours prepared for the duke in 1533. Antoine de Lorraine himself is pictured in prayer on nearby folios.¹⁶ The book of hours also contains an exhaustive gallery of the heraldic emblems of Duke Antoine and his ancestors, a dynastic heritage that embraced the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily. Indeed, the dukes of Lorraine continued to feature the emblems of the two realms on their official crests long after all hope of ever regaining either territory was lost. The author of Lasson's motet text was apparently well-aware of these historical claims, for his allusion to the duke suggests the fealty of Spanish and Italian lands that could in no way have been real possessions of the House of Lorraine: *Clara proles Hispaniae splendida lux Italiae serva ducem Antonium conjugem cum prosapia*. In its melding of verbal heraldry and personal piety, this piece surely served well to honor the duke of Lorraine.¹⁷

Lasson's tribute to the renowned lineage of Duke Antoine is perhaps a blatant reminder of how the exigencies of courtly patronage might have shaped the form and function of the art it sponsored. Perhaps more important, however, is what the dynastic vision of this motet does *not* recall about the House of Lorraine: grandiose claims over a defunct medieval inheritance make for compelling propaganda, but they rarely bear any direct relationship to political realities. During the early sixteenth century the dukes of Lorraine looked not

¹⁵ The text of the *prima pars* does not figure in any liturgical source of which I am aware. But it does resemble a text set by Adrian Willaert and published in 1539. A modern edition of this motet appears in Adrian Willaert, *Opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck *et al.*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 3 (Rome and Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1950–), I, pp. 30–33.

¹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat., Ms 302. The Saint Anthony in question appears on fols. 80^v-81^r of the manuscript. Further on Antoine's *horae*, see Abbé Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927), I, pp. lxvi and lxxx; and II, pp. 243–45. Also see Léopold Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits du fonds de la Trémoille* (Paris, 1889), pp. 11–15.

¹⁷ Additional information on the dynastic claims of René II and his heirs appears in Henri Lepage and Emmanuel Briard, "Des Titres et prétentions des ducs héréditaires de Lorraine," *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* XXXV (1885), 301–455.

to their moribund past but rather to their immediate neighbors—and especially the kingdom of France—for political support. It was just this closeness, ironically, that is likely to have brought Lasson's motet in praise of Antoine to Attaignant's attention in the first place.

Mathieu Lasson's trip to Paris in the retinue of Duke Antoine, as we have just learned, seems to have brought music from the ducal court to new audiences among the French musical public. But this trip is also likely to have provided Lasson and other musicians from Nancy a perfect opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of musical currents at the royal court and its principal ecclesiastical institution, the Ste.-Chapelle du Palais. In all, more than two dozen singers were in the service of either the king's private chapel or the Ste.-Chapelle at the time of Lasson's visit. A number of these singers are known to have been composers, too. Of their surviving works, it is those of Lasson's counterpart at court, Claudin de Sermisy, that typify the stylistic vogue then in full swing at the court of France. And Sermisy's lyrical chansons—many of them first published at just about the time of Lasson's visit—seem to have held a singular influence over the ducal composer's own works in this genre.

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Three of the four chansons ascribed to Lasson appeared in Attaignant's *Trente et une chansons* of September 1534 (Attaignant 1534¹⁴), an anthology that embraces a wide spectrum of the poetic and musical traditions then current among chanson composers (see Table 3).¹⁸

Certain of the texts set here look to popular lyrics for their inspiration, verse that often dwells on erotic exploits that unfold against the pastoral landscape. *J'ay veu soubz l'umbre d'ung buisson*, for example, recalls in its frank dialogue and formulaic turns of phrase the *gaulois* currents of many popular poems:

J'ay veu soubz l'umbre d'ung buisson
 Une fille de bonne taille,
 Qui disoit a son mignon:
 Tu ne sais chose qui vaille.
 Remues la paille, gentil garsonnaille,
 Sur le joly jonc, dessus le joly jonc.

Craignez vous que je vous faille?
 J'iray d'estoc et de taille
 Pour appaiser le bedon.
 Remues la paille, gentil garsonnaille,
 Sur le joly jonc, dessus le joly jonc.

¹⁸ On the dating and contents of Attaignant 1534¹⁴, see Heartz, pp. 265–66.

TABLE 3
 Contents and Stylistic Types in *Attaignant 1534*¹⁴

1. O douce amour	Claudin [Ste.-Chapelle]	Parisian ^a	
2. Il est en vous	Claudin	Parisian	
3. Tant ay gravé	Janequin [Angers]	Parisian	
4. Si par souffrir	Courtois [Cambrai]	Franco-Flemish ^b	
5. La grant douceur	Lasson [Nancy]	Parisian	
6. L'oeil a plaisir	Lasson	Parisian	
7. Amour, passion incréable	Claudin	Parisian	
8. Par fin despit	Claudin	Parisian	
9. Ung coup d'essay	Janequin	Provincial ^c	
10. J'ay congé prins	Gombert [Imperial Chapel]	Franco-Flemish	
11. Souffrés ung peu	Janequin	Parisian	
12. De vray amour	Janequin	Provincial	
13. De cueur le don	Certon [St.-Chapelle]	Parisian	
14. Jectés le hor	Certon	Parisian	
15. Amour au cueur	Le Heurteur [Tours]	Provincial	
16. L'espousé la premiere		Provincial (narrative text)	331
17. Le doulx baisier	Pathie [Roy. and Imp. Service]	Parisian	—
18. J'ay trop d'amours	Lupi [Cambrai]	Parisian	
19. Pour ma maistresse		Parisian	
20. Pour satisfaire	Lasson	Parisian	
21. Martin menoit	Alaire [Notre-Dame de Paris]	Provincial (narrative text)	
22. Je l'ayme bien	Hesdin [Beauvais]	Provincial	
23. Si nostre amour	Certon	Parisian	
24. Les mesdisan qui sur moy	Certon	Parisian	
25. Cesse mon oeil	Pathie	Parisian	
26. J'ay veu soubz l'umbre	Rousée [Paris?]	Provincial (narrative text)	
27. Mon confesseur m'a dict	Janequin	Provincial (narrative text)	
28. L'ardent vouloir	Claudin	Parisian	
29. Voulant amour	Mahiet [Imperial Chapel?]	Franco-Flemish	
30. Madame ung jour	Le Heurteur	Provincial	
31. Le trop dissimuler		Franco-Flemish	

^aParisian = homorhythmic texture, clear phrasing

^bFranco-Flemish = generally imitative and continuous texture

^cProvincial = no set type, but very active rhythmic profile, variable texture

Not all the poems in Attaignant's collection, however, are so ignoble. Quite to the contrary, the volume opens with a more serious lyric, *O douce amour*, that entreats with lofty praise rather than common jests. In its prosody and subject alike the text is typical of those set to music in the *Trente et une chansons* of 1534. It consists of two rhymed quatrains of decasyllabic lines:¹⁹

O douce amour, o contente pensée
 Qui me rend seur, certain, et satisfait,
 Comme ma peine est bien recompensée
 Quant chascun doubte et j'ay le bien parfait.
 Je voys l'ouvrage a plusieurs imparfait,
 Mais j'ay le mien plus mien que mon désir;
 Car mon amour me donné par effaict
 Sçavoir, debvoir, fermeté, et plaisir.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Attaignant's anthology of 1534 is as much a compendium of current musical styles as it is of poetic ones, a variety that can be attributed both to the range of lyrics found here and to the regional affiliations of the composers who set them. Narrative poems like *J'ay veu soubz l'umbre d'ung buisson*—conversational, bucolic, and often ribald—elicit lively rhythms and frequent changes in musical texture from any of a number of Parisian and provincial masters. Jean Rousée's setting of this text, like the chanson *Martin menoit son pourceau au marché* by his Parisian colleague Alaire, embodies many of the musical traits traditionally associated with this sort of poetry.

The serious love lyrics of Attaignant's collection seem to have elicited more controlled responses from the composers represented in this print. It is in these works, in fact, that the affiliation of geography and musical style are in clearest evidence. The works of Claudin de Sermisy and Nicolas Gombert, composers associated with the courtly

¹⁹ The poem is attributed to François I^{er} in a manuscript of poems that originated at the royal court, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr., Ms 11716. See Claudin de Sermisy, *Opera omnia*, ed. Gaston Allaire and Isabelle Cazeaux, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 52 ([Rome], 1970–), IV, p. xi; and a notice in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* XXIV (1924), 37.

Twenty-one of the thirty-one texts set to music in Attaignant 1534¹⁴ were reprinted in 1535 as part of a larger anthology of French verse, *S'ensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles*, probably by the Parisian publisher Alain Lotrain. A modern edition of the collection appears in Brian Jeffery, ed., *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, 2 vols. (London, 1971–76), II, pp. 127ff. Texts drawn from Attaignant's *Trente et une chansons* appear in this edition as Nos. 1a, 1b, and 192–212. The poetic readings used in the present study are taken from Jeffery's book.

Hubert Daschner supposed on the basis of the 1535 print that the nine texts set to music in Attaignant's collection were successive stanzas of a longer poem. See Daschner, *Die gedruckten mehrstimmigen Chansons von 1500–1600. Literarische Quellen und Bibliographie* (Bonn, 1962), p. xxvi.

households of France and the Empire, here offer profiles that are respectively typical of the so-called Parisian and Franco-Flemish schools of chanson composition.²⁰ Gombert's *J'ay congé prins*, with its long melodic lines and contrapuntal texture, is an exercise in polyphonic art, reflecting an approach to chanson composition that reappears in this print in *J'ay trop d'amours* by Jean Lupi of the cathedral of Cambrai and in the anonymous *Le trop dissimuler*.²¹ The concise melodic design and homorhythmic texture of Claudin's *Il est en vous* represents a vastly different conception of the chanson. And much the same concern for coordinated polyphonic motion and text declamation can be heard in this print among the works of Pierre Certon, who was employed in the French capital as master of the choirboys at the Ste.-Chapelle.²²

Composers from the cathedral choirs of the French provinces occasionally acknowledge the principal stylistic types fostered at the imperial court under Gombert or at the French royal court under the musical leadership of Claudin. But in general they show no uniform conception of melodic style, texture, or form. Clément Janequin's *De vray amour*, for instance, looks to Claudin's largely concise and homorhythmic chansons for elements of its poetic form, scansion, and tone. It has a wide-ranging melismatic style, however, that is hardly consistent with the royal composer's usual restraint. Guillaume Le Heurteur's setting of Clément Marot's eight-line *Amour au cueur* also displays a highly melismatic style. Overlapping cadences and frequent changes in musical texture, moreover, produce an effect entirely outside either the homorhythmic simplicity of the Parisian style or the imitative counterpoint of the northern ideal.²³

²⁰ On the place of the repertory of this chansonnier in the diverse stylistic milieu of the Parisian chanson, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "The 'Parisian Chanson': Problems of Style and Terminology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXI (1978), 198–211. Bernstein's study also contains partial or complete transcriptions of works in this print by Alaire, Le Heurteur, Lupi, and Rousée.

²¹ A modern edition of Gombert's chanson appears in his *Opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 6 ([Rome and Neuhausen-Stuttgart], 1951–), XI, pp. 29–31. On Lupi's career, see Courtney S. Adams, "Jean Courtois" *The New Grove V*, pp. 2–3.

²² A modern edition of Claudin's *Il est en vous* appears in his *Opera omnia*, III, pp. 92–94. An overview of Certon's career appears in Henry Expert and Aimé Agnel, eds., *Pierre Certon. Chansons polyphoniques publiées par Pierre Attaignant*, 3 vols., *Maîtres anciens de la musique française. Série des compositeurs et auteurs parisiens 2–4* (Paris, 1967–68). Certon's four chansons from the *Trente et une chansons* of 1534 appear in Vol. I, pp. 20–27 of this edition.

²³ An edition of Janequin's chanson appears in his *Chansons polyphoniques*, 6 vols., ed. A. Tillman Merritt and François Lesure (Monaco, 1965–71), II, pp. 122–25. For a complete modern transcription of this piece, see Bernstein, pp. 206–09.

Mathieu Lasson's contributions to the *Trente et une chansons* of 1534, however, are quite unlike the works of other provincial masters found in this print, for here is a non-Parisian composer whose chansons could well serve as a model of the Parisian style itself,²⁴ particularly as it is embodied in the music of Claudin de Sermisy. Lasson's indebtedness to Claudin is plainly evident in his *La grant douceur* (see Example 1)²⁵ which appears to have been cut from the same cloth as Claudin's *Par fin despit* (see Example 2).²⁶

Both pieces share the homorhythmic texture, clear phrasing, and closed formal plan typical of the Parisian repertory as a whole. Each is constructed from four principal phrases, the last of which, a reprise of the first line, is itself repeated in a closing flourish. The poetry chosen by Lasson resembles that usually sought out by Claudin as well: lyrical, four-line stanzas of decasyllabic verse. And Lasson's melody, like Claudin's, blends smoothly with the customary scansion of these ten-syllable lines as two hemistichs of four and six syllables, here manifest as the dactylic rhythms and syncopated cadential formulas that are hallmarks of the sixteenth-century chanson.²⁷

The first and last of these four phrases are by far the most stable ones. Each concludes with a convincing cadence on the final of the given mode, after having first moved away from such decisive closure at the medial *coupe*. The second and third phrases of these chansons are, in contrast, far less complete. Their cadences do not fall on the final of the mode, and they instead explore melodic ranges and directions only hinted at in the other lines. In Lasson's piece, the structural pairing of unstable and stable cadences in these phrases calls

²⁴ This observation was made by Bernstein, p. 205.

²⁵ The melody of Lasson's chanson was later reworked as a Latin contrapuntal duo, *Quem dies vidit*, that was published in Berg 1549¹⁶, a collection edited and selected by Erasmus Rotenbucher. Works from this anthology appear in Dietz Degen, ed., *Schöne und liebliche Zweigesänge*, Hortus musicus 74 (Kassel, 1951).

²⁶ Claudin was also credited with a three-voice version of this piece (first published in 1535 and later falsely attributed to Clément Janequin), apparently a reduction of the four-voice work found in the 1534 print. Modern editions of both versions appear in Claudin de Sermisy, *Opera omnia*, IV, pp. 47–49.

A two-voice reduction of Claudin's piece was brought out in 1545 by Georg Rhau. For a modern edition of this work see Bruce Bellingham, ed., *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica. Tomus I, II, 1545*, Georg Rhau: Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538–1545 in praktischer Neuausgabe 6 (Kassel, 1980), pp. 194–95.

The melody used by Claudin was taken up for an anonymous four-voice setting of *Par fin despit* published by Attaignant in 1529. For a modern edition of this work along with references to later settings of the same tune, see Albert Seay, ed., *Anonymous Chansons Published by Pierre Attaignant*, 4 vols., *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 93 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983–86), II, pp. xiv and 78–79.

²⁷ Concerning scansion of the French decasyllabic verse, see Michel Burger, *Recherches sur la structure et l'origine des vers romans*, Société de publications romanes et françaises 59 (Geneva, 1957), pp. 20–25.

EXAMPLE 1. M. Lasson, *La grant douceur*, Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 5.

La grant dou - leur

La grant dou - leur de

La grant dou - leur de

La grant dou - leur

4

de ma loy - al - le seur [loy - al -

ma loy - al - le seur [loy - al -

ma loy - al -

de ma loy - al - le

7

- le seur] M'a as - seu - ré et don - né seu -

- le seur] M'a as - seu - ré et don - né seu -

le seur M'a as - seu - ré et don - né seu -

seur M'a as - seu - ré et don - né seu -

11

re - té De son a - mour par quoy me

re - té [De son a - mour] par quoy me tiens

re - té [De son a - mour] par quoy me

re - té De son a - mour par quoy me tient tout

15

tiens tout seur,

tout seur,

tient tout seur [tout seur],

seur,

18

Que son doux cuer je suis par seu - re -

Que son doux cuer je suis par seu - re - té [par

Que son doux cuer je suis par seu -

Que son doux cuer je suis par seu -

22

té [par seu - re - té],
seu - re - té],
re - té,
re - té,

25

que son doux cueur je suis par seu - re -
que son doux cueur je suis par seu - re - té [par
que son doux cueur je suis par seu -
que son doux cueur je suis par seu -

29

té [par seu - re - té].
seu - re - té].
re - té].
re - té].

EXAMPLE 2. Claudin, *Par fin despit*, Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 8.

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attention to the effete word play upon which the entire poem depends: an initial pause on *douceur* leads to a stable one on *loyalle seur* in verse 1; and *doux cuer* similarly leads to *seureté* in verse 4. (Indeed, the latter syllable reappears in *asseure*, *seureté*, and *seur* in verses 2 and 3.)²⁸

L'oeil a plaisir, another of the three chansons by Lasson in the *Trente et une chansons* of 1534, also suggests that melodic structure and not just polyphonic texture holds the key to the dissemination of the Parisian idiom set out by Claudin (see Example 3).²⁹ This work, with its staggered vocal entries and fleeting hints at imitative writing, at

²⁸ Similar word play can be seen in Marot's *Amour au cuer*, set in Attaignant 1534¹⁴ by Le Heurteur, though here a rather diffuse musical design does little to heighten the effect. See the modern transcription of this piece in Bernstein, pp. 206–09. For a translation of the poem in question, see p. 235 of the same study.

²⁹ A complete modern edition of Lasson's *L'oeil a plaisir* appears in Freedman, pp. 470–72.

EXAMPLE 3. M. Lasson, *L'oeil a plaisir*, Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 6.

L'oeil a plai -
 L'oeil a plai - sir et
 L'oeil a plai - sir et l'es - prit se con - ten -
 L'oeil a plai - sir et l'es - prit se con -
 sir et l'es - prit se con - ten - te, Puis que au jour -
 l'es - prit se con - ten - te, se con - ten - te, Puis que au jour - d'ui
 te [se con - ten - te], Puis que au jour - d'ui
 ten - te (et l'es - prit se con - ten - te), Puis que au jour - d'ui

first adopts a manner of composition somewhat removed from the terse economy of means just encountered. Yet, close examination of the superius part in particular will reveal that the chanson actually adheres rather closely to the structural plan of Claudin's approach: the opening and closing lines are stable, two-part units, while the medial phrases provide increased rhythmic activity, more frequent changes in register, and open cadences that contrast with the relative closure of what precedes and follows.

Pour satisfaire, the last of Lasson's works from the *Trente et une chansons*, presents a coordination of melodic structure and polyphonic texture that is almost the reverse of *L'oeil a plaisir* (see Example 4).³⁰ In this piece, texture, rhythmic style, formal plan, and cadential hi-

³⁰ A complete modern edition of *Pour satisfaire* appears in Freedman, pp. 473–75.

EXAMPLE 4. M. Lasson, *Pour satisfaire*, Attaignant 1534¹⁴, No. 20.

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains the first four lines of the piece, and the second system contains the next four lines, starting with a measure number '5' at the beginning of the first staff. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The lyrics are: 'Pour sa - tis fai - re a l'es - prit tour - men - té, De ce - luy - men - té, De ce - luy qui se tour - men - té, De ce - luy qui'.

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erarchy are all quite typical of Claudin's ideal. But in contrast to the varied contours of Claudin's (and Lasson's) usual melodies, the four phrases of *Pour satisfaire* are surprisingly uniform in their overall design—this is plainly unlike the balanced repose of the other melodies.

The melodic and cadential plan shared by *La grant douceur*, *L'oeil a plaisir*, and *Par fin despit* is by no means limited to these few works. But nowhere is it so completely and consistently embodied as in the works of Claudin de Sermisy. Claudin, in fact, seems to have championed this method of chanson composition with striking consistency. This model, a hierarchical pattern of cadences and rhymes, was de-

rived in part from the conventions of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century melodies, particularly the repertory of monophonic *chansons rustiques*, some of which revive the ancient outlines of the *virelai*. The plan of *Par fin despit*, in short, is the result of historical trends that long predate its publication. But the piece and its patent parallels in Lasson's chansons can also reveal something of the later spread of this emerging Parisian ideal. Perhaps more telling than the search for homorhythmic textures or rhythmic mottos, the degree to which composers acknowledged this particular melodic scheme (and its principal variants in the case of longer *huitains* and *dixains*) can help to show how the influence of Claudin's music and the Parisian vogue it represents were felt outside the French capital.³¹

Of all provincial composers represented in the 1534 book, Mathieu Lasson was the only one who so enthusiastically adopted Claudin's lyrical chanson style. There was, moreover, ample opportunity for him to learn this model. Lasson's patron had close ties to the royal court (the ducal entourage had visited Paris in the winter of 1531), thus providing the composer with both the means to learn of music there and good cause to emulate what he heard. Yet Lasson's appropriation of Claudin's model goes well beyond the necessities of any immediate commission. He could, after all, have satisfied Duke Antoine's presumably Parisian tastes with far less trouble by emulating such elements of surface detail as homorhythmic texture, the opening dactyl, and the division of the decasyllabic lines. That Lasson took pains to avail himself of the structure of Claudin's chansons as well as their general texture and rhythmic profile shows instead that Antoine's composer took a personal interest in replicating Claudin's style down to the subtler details of its melodic structure. Patrons might have determined the general countenance of courtly life, but they could no more control the detailed workings of artistic creation than they could wholly prevent the interchange of intellectual ideas, philosophical concepts, or theological teachings. Antoine of Lorraine apparently struck his subjects with enough awe to elicit such stentorian gestures of admiration and fealty as *Anthoni, pastor inclyte*. But it seems unlikely that flattery was the only purpose of Lasson's chansons. Indeed, striking testimony to the circumstances that led the ducal composer to emulate Claudin so closely comes in the form of two musical fragments I recently uncovered at Nancy.

³¹ The subject of Claudin's style and its relationship to that of other chanson composers, including Lasson, is discussed in Bernstein, "Melodic Structure in the Parisian Chanson: A Preliminary Study in the Transmission of a Musical Style," *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Edward Roesner and Eugene K. Wolf (Madison, forthcoming). I am grateful to Professor Bernstein for sharing with me the findings of this article in advance of its publication.

New Evidence About Music at Nancy ca. 1530

The two music leaves were found in the binding of a sixteenth-century rentbook from the collegiate chapter of St.-Georges, parish church of the ducal palace. A title page identifies this volume as a register, commencing in 1534, from the *fabrique* of the small church. The book is absolutely uniform in its construction and paper type, thus suggesting that it was assembled and bound before the entries, divided into four administrative sections, were made.³² The binding—stamped leather covers rather than the usual vellum or suede wrappers—is unique among financial documents that survive from St.-Georges and the adjoining ducal palace, probably because it was an ongoing register rather than a summary of the accounts for a single year.

Some two dozen pieces of paper of various sizes were used to stiffen the separate front and back boards of this book, among them two pages of music, each in a different format and each in the hand of a different scribe (see Plates 1 and 2). Other documents used as stiffeners help to date the musical fragments and to identify the chapter of St.-Georges as the place where the book is likely to have been bound. There are fragments of fifteenth-century theological treatises, scraps from a Latin print mentioning Martin Luther, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the month of August 1523, as well as various letters and financial records pertaining to members of the chapter of St.-Georges. Not all of these are legible, but the earliest visible among them seems to be a receipt from the *rentier* of the church, dating from 1529. The latest, a letter to a singer in the chapel choir named Christophe Masson, was penned during June of 1531. It may be assumed with reasonable certainty that the papers used in this binding—including therefore the musical fragments—were gathered from a scrap heap at St.-Georges not long before the rentbook was started in 1534.³³

³² The rentbook in question is cote G.626 of the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle, entitled "Papier des Acquests et rachaps et fabrique de l'église Saint George de Nancy depuis la Saint Jehan mil cinq cens trente quatre." The tome measures 29.5 cm high × 21 cm wide and is approximately 3.5 cm thick.

The paper, which is gathered in quaternions, bears a watermark that is very similar to those found in documents of the ducal court from the first half of the sixteenth century. This watermark appears in Lucien Wiener, *Étude sur les filigranes des papiers lorrains* (Nancy, 1893), pp. 65–66 and Plate 23, No. 4. According to Wiener, paper bearing this mark was made in the town of Troyes in eastern France. Other facsimiles of this mark appear in Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 2d edn., 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1923), III, pp. 446–48, Nos. 8288–8291.

³³ Since my discovery of the fragments in February 1984, M. Hubert Collin, director of the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle, has kindly arranged

Fragment B, found among the papers used to stiffen the rear cover of the rentbook, is certainly the less scrutable of the two musical scraps. Both sides of this sheet, which measures approximately 15 by 10 centimeters, feature a number of five-line staves. (They are likely to have been drawn with a rastrum or other special instrument, for though they vary in vertical distance from one another between 0.7 and 0.9 cm they are all quite regular and all 1.3 centimeters in height.) The verso of the fragment (not shown) contains only the blank staving, but the recto (Plate 2) features the bassus part from a setting of a narrative chanson, *Or my rendez mon Karolus* (see Example 5a). The work represented by this lone voice apparently stems from a musical and textual tradition distinct from that represented by two other known settings of the poem: a five-voice version found without ascription in Munich 1508, and a four-voice piece ascribed to Guillaume Le Heurteur in Attaignant's *Vingt et neuf chansons* of 1530 (Attaignant 1530³; see Example 5b).³⁴

The textual refrain in all three works is the same, except for a small but potentially significant orthographic detail. The scribe of the Munich manuscript spelled the name in the poem *Carolus*, while Attaignant's typesetter and the writer of the Nancy fragment spelled it as *Karolus*. This might suggest that the text of the chanson (or at least its writer) originated in eastern France (and possibly Lorraine) for the orthography of this region is more likely than any other French-speaking territory to show the influence of the German-speaking lands to the east.³⁵

The musical and textual traits distinguishing the Nancy bassus part from Le Heurteur's setting, however, far outweigh this similarity of spelling. A comparison of the three texts in question shows that the Nancy version features one fewer refrain and verse than the poem

for their removal from the rest of the binding. He informs me that no other musical materials were uncovered during the removal of the fragments, which continue under the same cote of G. 626 as accompanying leaves. I am very grateful to M. Collin and his expert staff for their assistance in the recovery and photography of the musical fragments.

Complete descriptions of the two fragments appear in Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols., Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1 ([Neuhausen-Stuttgart], 1979–88), IV, p. 45^o.

³⁴ The contents of Attaignant's print are listed in Hertz, pp. 231–32. A partial transcription of the anonymous five-voice setting appears in Freedman, p. 484. Concerning the partbooks in which this work appears, see *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, ed. Marie Louise Göllner, 2 vols., Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen 5 (Munich, 1979), I, pp. 68–76.

³⁵ Concerning the linguistic peculiarities of the region around Nancy, see Jean Lanher's short essay, "La Langue Lorraine au moyen âge," *Écriture et enluminure en Lorraine au moyen âge. Catalogue de l'exposition "La Plume et le parchemin" organisée par la Société Thierry Alix du 29 mai au 29 juillet 1984 en la chapelle des cordeliers, Musée historique lorrain, Nancy* (Nancy, 1984), pp. 179–81.

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PLATE 1. Nancy G 626A

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PLATE 2. Nancy G 626B



EXAMPLE 5a. (Anonymous), *Or my rendez mon Karolus* (fragmentary bassus), Nancy G 626B. The passages in square brackets are conjectural readings for illegible or missing areas in the source.

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Or my ren - dez mon Ka - ro - lus tant bel - le jeu - ne fil -

5
le, [Or my ren -] dez mon Ka - ro - lus n'en par - lez plus, par - lez

10
plus, Mon pe - re a - [voit] ung jar - di - net [ung jar - di - net],

15
Cou - vert de ro - se et de mu - [guet tant bel - le] jeu - ne fil - le, Or my ren - dez mon

20
Ka - ro - lus n'en par - lez [plus]. Le fils du roy sy um - bras - geoit tou - tes les

26
foys que la [bai - sot] j'a - voir da - mes la bai - sot tant bel - le jeu - ne fil -

30
le, Or my rend - dez mon Ka - ro - lus n'en par - lez plus.

found in the two other sources. And the chanson preserved in the rentbook actually combines the second and third couplets of the poem into a single pair of lines:

Text of the Poem set in *Attaingnant 1530*³ and in *Munich 1508*

Or my rendez mon Karolus [*Carolus* in *Munich 1508*]
Tant belle jeune fille

Or my rendez mon Karolus
N'en parlez plus:
Mon pere avoit ung jardinet
Couvert de rose et de muguet.
Tant belle jeune fille

EXAMPLE 5b. Le Heurteur, *Or my rendez mon Karolus* (opening), At-tainnant 1530³, No. 9.

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Or my rendez mon Karolus
 N'en parlez plus:
 Le fils du roy si umbrageoit
 Une tant belle amyge avoit.
 Tant belle juene fille, etc.

(version at Nancy combines these)

Toutes les foys que la baisoit
 La povre fille si trembloit.
 Tant belle jeune fille, etc.

The Nancy version of the chanson is unique in music as well as text. All three settings are generally syllabic, but unlike the new fragment,

Le Heurteur's version and the chanson from the Munich manuscript both make use of the same descending melodic motive (see Example 5b). The two complete settings of the chanson also share the same patter-song at *Tant belle jeune fille* and *N'en parlez plus*. The bassus part from Nancy contains neither of these motives. Thus the Nancy version of *Or my rendez mon Karolus* seems not to have been derived from either of the other two surviving settings of the text. This independence, together with the curious orthography of the name mentioned in the refrain, might indicate that the piece—and perhaps the scribe who wrote it—came from Lorraine.

The likely provenance of Fragment A (Plate 1), or at least the music it contains, is far more certain than that of the page just described. (Measuring 19 by 17.5 cm, the leaf is less regular in its overall appearance than Fragment B, largely because the staves were drawn without the help of a straight edge or other guide. No writing appears on the reverse side of the sheet.) This textless scrap, apparently part of a larger bifolium in choirbook format, contains portions of the altus and bassus parts of two four-voice compositions. One piece, corresponding to the first, third, and fourth lines of the fragment, may be identified as Claudin de Sermisy's *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené*, first printed in Attaignant's *Trete [sic] et quatre chansons musicales* of 1529 (Attaignant 1529³; see Example 6).³⁶

Claudin's piece and its as yet unidentified companion share many traits commonly associated with the Parisian chanson style discussed above: dactylic rhythms, clear phrasing, homorhythmic texture, and shifts in mensuration. But the works conform less closely in their overall poetic form and melodic design to the Parisian manner as it was embodied in previous examples of Claudin's (or Lasson's) chansons. *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* opens with a succession of four-measure phrases each ending with a cadence on G. This repetitive closure is clearly not the balanced melodic schema familiar from other of Claudin's works. Yet melodic designs like this one were often used by him for settings of the longer *huitains* and *dixains* that are to be found among his chanson lyrics. (Indeed *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené*, a

³⁶ A modern edition of *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* appears in Claudin de Sermisy, *Opera omnia*, III, pp. 31–33. To Cazeaux's list (vol. III, p. xvi of the publication just cited) of sources and arrangements of this chanson should be added the one for keyboard published by Attaignant in his *Dixneuf chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des orgues of January 1531* (Attaignant 1531⁶). See Seay, ed., *Pierre Attaignant: Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 20 ([Rome], 1961), pp. 33–36.

EXAMPLE 6. Claudin, *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* (opening), Attaignant 1529³, No. 14.

Cel - le qui m'a tant pour - me - né, A

Cel - le qui m'a tant pour - me - né, A

Cel - le qui m'a tant pour - me - né, A

Cel - le qui m'a tant pour - me - né, A

5
A eu pi - tié de ma lan - gueur, De - dens son jar - din

eu pi - tié de ma lan - gueur, De - dens son jar -

A eu pi - tié de ma lan - gueur, De - dens son jar -

eu pi - tié de ma lan - gueur, De - dens son jar -

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poem published by Clément Marot in his *Adolescence clementine* of 1532, is just such an eight-line strophic poem.)³⁷

It is in this connection that the unidentified music of Fragment A is especially important (see Example 7). This work, like the one just mentioned, also appears to be a setting of a poem longer than the usual four or five lines. But unlike the insistent cadential closure of *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* its successive three-measure phrases circumscribe at a higher level the balanced cadential pairing that was the

³⁷ The poem appears in modern edition in Clément Marot, *Oeuvres lyriques*, ed. C. A. Mayer (London, 1964), p. 180. Claudin also set other of Marot's *huitains*, including *O cruauté logée* and *J'ayme le cuer*. Modern editions of these poems appear on pp. 197–98 of the publication just cited.

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EXAMPLE 7. (Anonymous), Textless fragment (contratenor and bassus), Nancy G 626A. The passages in square brackets are conjectural readings for illegible or missing areas in the source.

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essence of Claudin's conception of such chansons. (Measures 3 and 10 pause on D, while 6 and 13 come to rest on G.) Each of these six-measure lines thus corresponds to the cadential hierarchy established in Claudin's treatment of the decasyllabic lines in his settings of quatrains. What is more, the shift in mensuration at measure 14 fulfills a

function similar to the changes in phrasing and ambitus that appeared in the medial lines of such songs, just as the return to the opening cadential pattern in this newly-discovered piece recalls the closed formal plan typical of Claudin's works.

If this textless work cannot positively be identified as a piece by Claudin himself, it is nevertheless likely to have been composed within his musical orbit. *Le jaulne et bleu*, for example, found without ascription in Attaignant's *Trente et cinq chansons musicales* of 1529 (Attaignant c. 1528⁷) bears a special resemblance to the work just described.³⁸ In both pieces the altus and bassus parts correspond remarkably in their overall contours and in the cadences they support (compare mm. 1–13 of the Nancy fragment with mm. 1–15 of *Le jaulne et bleu*). And in *Le jaulne et bleu* these paired cadences complement the prevailing rhyme scheme of the first two couplets of this eight-line poem.

There is good reason, in short, to associate both works of our textless fragment with a style of composition cultivated at Paris and the royal court during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. One of the works was penned by Claudin de Sermisy. The other—in every way analogous to the first—also bears a resemblance to a piece that appeared in the Attaignant chanson repertory about the time that Claudin's *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* was first published. Neither of the pieces preserved in the textless fragment seems to embody exactly the model of melodic design typically found in Claudin's (and Lasson's) settings of quatrains, but both point unswervingly towards Paris and the royal court as their place of origin. And if there were any doubt that works published in Paris during the late 1520s could have traveled to Nancy by the early 1530s, we need only recall that musicians from the ducal capital, including Mathieu Lasson, had come to Paris in the winter of 1531. Indeed Claudin's *Celle qui m'a tant pourmené* must have been very much in the air at the time: it was issued in a keyboard arrangement by Attaignant in January of that year, the same month that Lasson arrived in Paris with the household of Duke Antoine de Lorraine.³⁹ Perhaps it was the ducal composer him-

³⁸ A modern edition of this chanson appears in Seay, ed., *Anonymous Chansons*, I, p. 72. Other arrangements of it are listed in p. xviii of the same volume. A seven-line version of the *huitain*, *Le jaulne et bleu* has been printed in Jeffery, II, p. 211.

³⁹ See note 9, above. The anonymous *Le jaulne et bleu*, just singled out for its stylistic and structural resemblance to the unidentified work contained in the Nancy fragments, also appeared in a keyboard arrangement during Lasson's visit to Paris (Attaignant's *Vingt et cinq chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des orgues* of February 1531 (Attaignant 1531⁷). For a modern transcription of this arrangement, see Seay, ed., *Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard*, pp. 33–36.

self who brought Claudin's music back to Nancy and St.-Georges as an example of the latest Parisian musical vogue.

Curiously, still other evidence suggests that Lasson was perhaps not the only musician who might have conveyed Fragment A to Nancy. Christofle Masson, a singer who served at St.-Georges during 1530 and 1531, may well have also had close ties to the French capital. Several of his letters, in fact, are among the papers used to stiffen the binding in which the Nancy musical fragments were discovered, and one of these, written at the nearby town of Pont-à-Mousson, was addressed by Masson to his mother: *A ma bon mere demorant à paris* ["To my good mother, dwelling in Paris"]. Masson, like his colleague Lasson, might also have maintained contacts with Paris during the early 1530s.⁴⁰

The Nancy fragments reveal much about musical life at the court of Lorraine during the early 1530s. There is little reason to doubt, for instance, that the political circumstances of the years around 1530 provided the perfect chance for musicians at Nancy to hear the latest musical offerings of the French capital and the royal court. Nor was the efficacy of Mathieu Lasson's appropriation of current fashions there lost on even the dullest of courtiers: by emulating the royal musician Claudin's style of chanson composition Lasson entertained his patron, Antoine, with music virtually identical to the sort that was enjoyed by the king of France. Imitation, therefore, may have been the sincerest form of flattery for prince and musician alike. Lasson was surely not the only composer of the early sixteenth century to have adopted Claudin's conception of the chanson, but he was certainly among the very first provincial masters to have done so. Members of the House of Lorraine can hardly have understood the magnitude of Lasson's debt to Claudin. Yet, without their sponsorship and the opportunities it provided, the spread of this compositional ideal might well have taken a different course.

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⁴⁰ Masson, however, may have been a native of Metz, the imperial bishopric to the north of Nancy. In the letter to his mother he calls himself Christofle de Mets. I have not had the opportunity to examine Masson's letters since the time that the musical fragments were removed from the binding. Perhaps they will reveal something more of the singer's career and his ties to the French capital.

APPENDIX

Musical Sources and
Their Bibliographical Sigla*A. Manuscripts*

Berlin 321	Berlin, former Pruessische Staatsbibliothek, Ms Landesberg 321 [lost].
Leipzig 51	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 51.
Louvain 163	Louvain [Leuven], Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms 163 [destroyed].
Munich 1508	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms 1508.
Nancy G. 626A	Nancy, Archives Départementales, G. 626, Binding Fragment A
Nancy G. 626B	Nancy, Archives Départementales, G. 626, Binding Fragment B
Padua D 27	Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms D 27.
Regensburg 852	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms A.R. 852.
Regensburg 875-77	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms A.R. 875-877.
Regensburg 940-41	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms A.R. 940-941.
Treviso 7	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo, Ms 7.
Ulm 237	Ulm, Münster Bibliothek, von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung, Ms. 237 ^(a-d) .
Wrocław 3	Wrocław [Breslau], former Stadtbibliothek, Ms Mus. 3 [missing since 1945].
Wrocław 5	Wrocław [Breslau], former Stadtbibliothek, Ms Mus. 5 [missing since 1945].
Wrocław 12	Wrocław [Breslau], former Stadtbibliothek, Ms Mus. 12 [missing since 1945].

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B. Early Printed Books

The sources listed in this section are identified by the printer's name and the number given in François Lesure, ed. *Recueil imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e siècles. Répertoire international des sources musicales Ser. B, Vol. I* (Munich-Duisburg, 1960).

Attaignant [c. 1528] ⁷	<i>Trente et cinq chansons musicales a quatre parties. . . .</i> Paris: Pierre Attaignant, [1529].
Attaignant [c. 1528] ⁹	<i>Six gaillardes et six pavanes. . . .</i> Paris: Pierre Attaignant, [1530].

- Attaignant 1529³ *Trete et quatre chansons musicales a quatre parties.* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529.
- Attaignant 1530³ *Vingt et neuf chansons musicales a quatre parties.* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1530.
- Attaignant 1531⁶ *Dixneuf chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des orgues. . . .* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1531.
- Attaignant 1531⁷ *Vingt et cinq chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des orgues. . . .* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1531.
- Attaignant 1534¹⁰ *Liber octavus. XX musicales motetos quatuor quinques vel sex vocum modulus habet.* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1534.
- Attaignant 1535³ *Liber undecimus. XXVI musicales habet modulus quatuor et quinques vocibus. . . .* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1535.
- Attaignant 1535⁵ *Liber decimustertius. XVIII musicales habet modulus quatuor quinques vel sex vocibus. . . .* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1535.
- Berg 1549¹⁶ *Diphona amoena et florida. . . .* Nuremberg: Johann von Berg und Ulrich Neuber, 1549.
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Berg 1554¹⁰ *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum. . . .* Nuremberg: Johann von Berg und Ulrich Neuber, 1554.
- Berg 1555¹⁰ *Secundus tomus evangeliorum. . . .* Nuremberg: Johann von Berg und Ulrich Neuber, 1555.
- Gardane 1539¹² *Fior de motteti tratti dalli mottetti del fiore. . . .* Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1539.
- Gardane 1539¹³ *Mottetti del frutto a quatro. Primus liber. . . .* Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1539.
- Gardane 1545⁴ *Flos florum primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fior.* Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1545.
- Gardane 1549¹⁰ *Excelentiss. autorum diverse modulationes. . . .* Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1549.
- Giunta 1526² *Motetti de la corona libro secondo.* Rome: [G. Giunta], 1526.
- Le Roy 1578¹⁵ *Second livre de chansons a trois parties. . . .* Paris: Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1578.
- Moderne 1532¹⁰ *Primus liber cum quinque vocibus. Motteti del fiore.* Lyons: Jacques Moderne, 1532.
- Rampazetto 1564⁶ *Mottetti del fiore a quattro voci, novamenti ristampati. . . .* Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1564.
- Rhau 1538⁸ *Symphoniae iucundae atque breves quatuor vocum. . . .* Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538.

- Rhau 1542⁸ *Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum. . .* Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542.
- Scotto 1535⁸ *Il primo libro de le canzoni franzese. . .* Venice: Ottaviano Scotto, 1535.
- Scotto 1549^{10a} *Excelentiss. autorum diverse modulationes. . .* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1549.
- Scotto 1562² *Motetti del frutto a quatro voci. Libro primo. . .* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1562.

Documents

All records cited in this study may be found in series B and G (court and ecclesiastical records) now preserved in the Archives Départementales of Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy. The principal guides to this repository are Étienne Delcambre, *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Meurthe-et-Moselle. Série B—Lettres-patentes des ducs de Lorraine et de Barrois*, 5 vols. (Nancy, 1949–51); Émile Duvernoy, *Répertoire numérique des Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle. Séries antérieures à 1790* (Nancy, 1916); and Henri Lepage, *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790. Meurthe*, 6 vols. (Nancy, 1873–91).

Fiscal accounts compiled at the court of Lorraine during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries used as their monetary standard the *franc Lorraine* (also known in local parlance simply as the *fran*). Each *franc* consisted of twelve *gros*, which in turn were each made up of sixteen *deniers*. Thus the *franc Lorraine* equalled 192 *deniers*. It seems to have been common practice for fiscal officers to convert each individual payment in the local currency into its equivalent in a more widely used money, the *livre Tournoy*, which was worth about 5/4 of the *franc Lorraine*. The *livre* consisted of twenty *sols*, and each *sol* was made up of twelve *deniers*, thus yielding 244 *deniers* per *livre*. Nancy accountants, however, were not always so exact in their calculations and often simply approximated the exchange according to a proportion of six *francs* to five *livres*. Further on the subject of this regional currency, see Guy Cabourdin, *Les Ducs de Lorraine et la monnaie (1480–1635)*, *Annales de l'Est* 5th ser., XXVII/1 (Nancy, 1975). Cabourdin and George Viard have compiled a useful glossary of archival, fiscal, and legal terms for the period in question: *Lexique historique de la France d'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1978).

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DOCUMENT 1

B. 1046, fols. 65^r-66^r

Nancy, 1531

Annual payments to some musicians who traveled to France.

A Bertrand Mittat organiste de mondict seigneur le duc la somme de trente sept frans six gros monnoye de Lorraine pour ses gaiges de trois quartiers en l'année presente par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce: xxxvii frans, vi gros. Et pour le premier quartier paye au veage de France.

A Mathieu Lasso la somme de cent douze frans six gros pour ses gaiges desdictes trois quartiers par quittance. Pour ce: c xii frans.

A luy pour l'entretènement desdictes enffans pour lesdictes trois quartiers lxxv frans.

Et pour le premier quartier payé en France.

[fol. 65^v] A Maistre Pierre tenoriste en ladicte chappelle la somme de cent douze frans six gros monnoye de Lorraine pour ses gaiges de trois quartiers en ladicte année par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce: xii frans, vi gros.

Et pour le premier quartier payé en France.

A Pierre Le Conte haulboys la somme de quatre vingts dix frans monnoye de Lorraine pour ses gaiges desdictes trois quartiers par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce: iii^{xxx} frans.

Et pour le premier quartier payé en France.

A Jacques de Saint Lane aussi haulboys pareille somme de quatre vingts dix frans dicte monnoye pour lesdictes trois quartiers de ses gaiges et par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce icy: iii^{xxx} frans.

Et pour le premier payé comme dessus.

[fol. 66^r] A Loys du Bois la somme de quatre vingts dix frans monnoye de Lorraine pour ses gaiges desdictes trois quartiers par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce: iii^{xxx} frans.

Et pour la premier quartier payé en France.

A Pierre Ripniere dit Moruyn pareille somme de quatre vingts dix frans dicte monnoye por ses gaiges desdictes trois quartiers par quittance: iii^{xxx} frans.

Et pour le premier payé en France.

Marginated: Require quittance de lx frans. Pour ce que ledict Pierre Ripniere aeste mort avant l'année finys au de ce compte. Et que ce tresorier compte ici iii^{xxx} frans et du reste [canceled: doit] en doit [canceled: France] esté fait despence au compte du veage de France qui serva pour toute l'année à ceste cause en soit par ce à monseigneur le duc.

A Robert de Berry aussi quatre vingts dix frans pour lesdictes trois quartiers de ses gaiges par quittance cy rendue. Pour ce: iii^{xxx} frans.

Et pour le premier quartier payé en France.